THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

THE PAPYRUS OF ANI.
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THE PAPYRUS OF ANI

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE EGYPTIAN TEXT
WITH INTERLINEAR TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION,
A RUNNING TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION, ETC.,

BY

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PREFACE.

The Papyrus of Ani, which was acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum in the year 1888, is the largest, the most perfect, the best preserved, and the best illuminated of all the papyri which date from the second half of the XVIIIth dynasty (about B.C. 1500 to 1400). Its rare vignettes, and hymns, and chapters, and its descriptive and introductory rubrics render it of unique importance for the study of the Book of the Dead, and it takes a high place among the authoritative texts of the Theban version of that remarkable work. Although it contains less than one-half of the chapters which are commonly assigned to that version, we may conclude that Ani's exalted official position as Chancellor of the ecclesiastical revenues and endowments of Abydos and Thebes would have ensured a selection of such chapters as would suffice for his spiritual welfare in the future life. We may therefore regard the Papyrus of Ani as typical of the funeral book in vogue among the Theban nobles of his time.

The first edition of the Facsimile of the Papyrus was issued in 1890, and was accompanied by a valuable Introduction by Mr. Le Page Renouf, then Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. But, in order to satisfy a widely expressed demand for a translation of the text, the present volume has been prepared to be issued with the second edition of the Facsimile. It contains the hieroglyphic text of the Papyrus with interlinear transliteration and word for word translation, a full description of the vignettes, and a running translation; and in the Introduction an attempt has been made to illustrate from native
Egyptian sources the religious views of the wonderful people who more than five thousand years ago proclaimed the resurrection of a spiritual body and the immortality of the soul.

The passages which supply omissions, and vignettes which contain important variations either in subject matter or arrangement, as well as supplementary texts which appear in the appendices, have been, as far as possible, drawn from other contemporary papyri in the British Museum.

The second edition of the Facsimile has been executed by Mr. F. C. Price.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

January 25, 1895.
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INTRODUCTION.

THE VERSIONS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

The history of the great body of religious compositions which form the Book of the Dead of the ancient Egyptians may conveniently be divided into four periods, which are represented by four versions:

I. The version which was edited by the priests of the college of Annu (the On of the Bible, and the Heliopolis of the Greeks), and which was based upon a series of texts now lost, but which there is evidence to prove had passed through a series of revisions or editions as early as the period of the Vth dynasty. This version was, so far as we know, always written in hieroglyphics, and may be called the Heliopolitan version. It is known from five copies which are inscribed upon the walls of the chambers and passages in the pyramids of kings of the Vth and VIth dynasties at Ṣaḥḥāra; and sections of it are found inscribed upon tombs, sarcophagi, coffins, stelae and papyri from the XIfth dynasty to about A.D. 200.

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1 See Naville, Todtenbuch (Einleitung), p. 39.
2 Hence known as the "pyramid texts."
3 I.e., Unás, Têh, Pepi I., Mentu-em-sa-f, and Pepi II. Their pyramids were cleared out by MM. Mariette and Maspéro during the years 1880-84, and the hieroglyphic texts were published, with a French translation, in Recueil de Travaux, t. iii.-xiv., Paris, 1882-93.
4 In the XIfth, XIIIfth, and XIIIIfth dynasties many monuments are inscribed with sections of the Unás text. Thus lines 206-69 are found in hieroglyphics upon the coffin of Amamu (British Museum, No. 6654. See Birch, Egyptian Texts of the Earliest Period from the Coffin of Amamu, 1886. Plates XVII.-XX.); ll. 206-14 and 268-84 on the coffin of Ṣaḥḥāra (see Lepsius, Denkmäler, ii., Bl. 99.); Maspéro, Recueil, t. iii., pp. 200 and 214 ff.); ll. 206-10
II. The Theban version, which was commonly written on papyri in hieroglyphics and was divided into sections or chapters, each of which had its distinct title but no definite place in the series. The version was much used from the XVIIth to the XXth dynasty.

III. A version closely allied to the preceding version, which is found written on papyri in the hieratic character and also in hieroglyphics. In this version, which came into use about the XXth dynasty, the chapters have no fixed order.

IV. The so-called Saite version, in which, at some period anterior probably to the XXVIth dynasty, the chapters were arranged in a definite order. It is commonly written in hieroglyphics and in hieratic, and it was much used from the XXVIth dynasty to the end of the Ptolemaic period.

The earliest inscribed monuments and human remains found in Egypt prove that the ancient Egyptians took the utmost care to preserve the bodies of their
dead by various processes of embalming. The deposit of the body in the tomb was accompanied by ceremonies of a symbolic nature, in the course of which certain compositions comprising prayers, short litanies, etc., having reference to the future life, were recited or chanted by priests and relatives on behalf of the dead. The greatest importance was attached to such compositions, in the belief that their recital would secure for the dead an unhindered passage to God in the next world, would enable him to overcome the opposition of all ghostly foes, would endow his body in the tomb with power to resist corruption, and would ensure him a new life in a glorified body in heaven. At a very remote period certain groups of sections or chapters had already become associated with some of the ceremonies which preceded actual burial, and these eventually became a distinct ritual with clearly defined limits. Side by side, however, with this ritual there seems to have existed another and larger work, which was divided into an indefinite number of sections or chapters comprising chiefly prayers, and which dealt on a larger scale with the welfare of the departed in the next world, and described the state of existence therein and the dangers which must be passed successfully before it could be reached, and was founded generally on the religious dogmas and mythology of the Egyptians. The title of "Book of the Dead" is usually given by Egyptologists to the editions of the larger work which were made in the XVIIIth and following dynasties, but in this Introduction the term is intended to include the general body of texts which have reference to the burial of the dead and to the new life in the world beyond the grave, and which are known to have existed in revised editions and to have been in use among the Egyptians from about B.C. 4500 to the early centuries of the Christian era.

The home, origin, and early history of the collection of ancient religious texts which have descended to us are, at present, unknown, and all working theories regarding them, however strongly supported by apparently well-ascertained facts, must be carefully distinguished as theories only, so long as a single ancient necropolis in Egypt remains unexplored and its inscriptions are untranslated. Whether they were composed by the inhabitants of Egypt, who recorded them in hieroglyphic characters, and who have left the monuments which are the only trustworthy sources of information on the subject, or whether they were brought into Egypt by the early immigrants from the Asiatic continent whence they came, or whether they represent the religious books of the Egyptians incorporated with the funeral texts of some prehistoric dwellers on the banks of the Nile, are all questions which the possible discovery of inscriptions belonging to the first dynasties of the Early Empire can alone decide. The evidence derived from the
enormous mass of new material which we owe to the all-important discoveries of 
ma"staba tombs and pyramids by M. Maspero, and to his publication of the early 
religious texts, proves beyond all doubt that the greater part of the texts comprised 
in the Book of the Dead are far older than the period of Menâ (Menes), the first 
historical king of Egypt.1 Certain sections indeed appear to belong to an 
infinitely remote and primeval time.

The earliest texts bear within themselves proofs, not only of having been 
composed, but also of having been revised, or edited, long before the days of king 
Menâ, and judging from many passages in the copies inscribed in hieroglyphics 
upon the pyramids of Unâs (the last king of the IVth dynasty, about B.C. 3333), 
and Tetâ, Pepi I., Mer-en-Râ, and Pepi II. (kings of the VIth dynasty, about 
B.C. 3300-3166), it would seem that, even at that remote date, the scribes were 
perplexed and hardly understood the texts which they had before them.2 The 
most moderate estimate makes certain sections of the Book of the Dead as known 
from these tombs older than three thousand years before Christ. We are in any 
case justified in estimating the earliest form of the work to be contemporaneous 
with the foundation of the civilization3 which we call Egyptian in the valley of

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1 "Les textes des Pyramides . . . . nous repor"tent si loin dans le passé que je n'ai aucun moyen 
"de les dater que de dire qu'elles étaient déjà vieilles cinq mille ans avant notre ère. Si extraordinaire 
"que paraisse ce chiffre, il faudra bien nous habituer à le considérer comme représentant une 
"évaluation à minima toutes les fois qu'on voudra rechercher les origines de la religion Égyptienne. 
"La religion et les textes qui nous la font connaître étaient déjà constitués avant la Ier dynastie : c'est 
"à nous de nous mettre, pour les comprendre, dans l'état d'esprit où était, il y a plus de sept mille 
"ans, le peuple qui les a constitués. Bien entendu, je ne parle ici que des systèmes théologiques : si 
"nous voulions remonter jusqu'à l'origine des éléments qu'ils ont mis en œuvre, il nous faudrait 
"reculer vers des âges encore plus lointains." Maspero, La Mythologie Égyptienne (in Revue de 
"l'Histoire des Religions, t. xix., p. 12 ; and in Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes, t. ii., 
"p. 236). Compare also "dass die einzelnen Texte selbst damals schon einer alten heiligen Literatur 
"angeh"rten, unterliegt keinem Zweifel, sie sind in jeder Hinsicht alterthümlicher als die ältesten 
"uns erhalteren Denkm"äler. Sie geh"ren in eine fur uns 'vohistorische' Zeit und man wird ihnen 
"gewiss kein Unrecht anthehen, wenn man sie bis in das vierte Jahrtausend hinein versetzt." 
"Erman, Das Verhältnisse der ägyptischen su den semitischen Sprachen, in Z.D.M.G., Bd. XLVI, p. 94. 
2 "Le nombre des prêtres et des formules dirigées contre les animaux venimeux montre quel 
"effroi le serpent et le scorpion inspirait aux Egyptiens. Beaucoup d'entre elles sont écrites dans 
"une langue et avec des combinaisons de signes qui ne paraissent plus avoir été complètement 
"compri"ses des scribes qui les copiaient sous Ounas et sous Pepi. Je crois, quant à moi, qu'elles 
"appartiennent au plus vieux rituel et remontent au delà du règne de Mih." Maspero, La Religion 
3 "So sind wir gezwungen, wenigstens die ersten Grundlagen des Buches den Anfängen den 
"Ägyptischen Civilization beizumessen." See Naville, Das Ägyptische Todtenbuch (Einleitung), 
Berlin, 1886, p. 18.
the Nile. To fix a chronological limit for the arts and civilization of Egypt is
absolutely impossible.

The oldest form or edition of the Book of the Dead as we have received it supplies
no information whatever as to the period when it was compiled; but a copy of the
hieratic text inscribed upon a coffin of Menthu-ḥetep, a queen of the XIth dynasty,²
about B.C. 2500, made by the late Sir J. G. Wilkinson,⁴ informs us that the chapter
which, according to the arrangement of Lepsius, bears the number LXIV.,⁵ was
discovered in the reign of Ḥesepti,⁶ the fifth king of the Ist dynasty, about B.C. 4266. On this
coffin are two copies of the chapter, the one immediately following the other. In the rubric
to the first the name of the king during whose reign the chapter is said to have been
"found" is given as Menthu-ḥetep, which, as Goodwin first pointed out,⁷ is a mistake for
Men-kau-Rā,⁸ the fourth king of the IVth dynasty, about B.C. 3633;⁹ but in the
rubric to the second the king's name is given as Ḥesepti. Thus it appears that
in the period of the XIth dynasty it was believed that the chapter might
alternatively be as old as the time of the 1st dynasty. Further, it is given to
Ḥesepti in papyri of the XXIst dynasty,¹⁰ a period when particular attention
was paid to the history of the Book of the Dead; and it thus appears that the
Egyptians of the Middle Empire believed the chapter to date from the more

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¹ The date of Men-āt, the first king of Egypt, is variously given B.C. 3867 (Champollion), B.C. 5004
(Mariette), B.C. 5802 (Lepsius), B.C. 4455 (Brugsch).
² See Chabas, Arch. Zeitschrift, 1865, p. 95. On the subject of the Antiquity of Egyptian Civilization
generally, see Chabas, Études sur l'Antiquité Historique d'après les Sources Égyptiennes, Paris, 1873—
Introduction, p. 9.
³ The name of the queen and her titles are given on p. 7 (margin) thus:—

⁴ It was presented to the British Museum in 1834, and is now in the Department of Egyptian and
Assyrian Antiquities.
⁵ Todtenbuch, Bl. 23-25.
⁶ the 'Ošeraš šén of Manetho.
⁷ Arch. Zeitschrift, 1866, p. 54.
⁸ See Guillerme, Rite Funéraire Égyptien, chapitre 64, Paris, 1876, p. 10, note 2.
⁹ The late recension of the Book of the Dead published by Lepsius also gives the king's name
as Men-kau-Rā (Todtenbuch, Bl. 25, l. 31). In the same recension the CXXXth
Chapter is ascribed to the reign of Ḥesepti (Bl. 53, l. 28).
¹⁰ Naville, Todtenbuch (Einleitung), pp. 33, 139.
remote period. To quote the words of Chabas, the chapter was regarded as
being "very ancient, very mysterious, and very difficult to understand" already
fourteen centuries before our era.\footnote{Chabas, \textit{Voyage d'un Égyptien}, p. 46. According to M. Naville (Einleitung, p. 138), who follows
Chabas's opinion, this chapter is an abridgement of the whole Book of the Dead; and it had, even
though it contained not all the religious doctrine of the Egyptians, a value which was equivalent to the
whole.}

The rubric on the coffin of Queen Menthu-ḥetep, which ascribes the chapter
to Ḥeseq-ti, states that "this chapter was found in the foundations beneath the
"hennu" boat by the foreman of the builders in the time of the king of the
"North and South, Ḥeseq-ti, triumphant";\footnote{See Goodwin, \textit{Aeg. Zeitschrift},
1866, p. 55, and compare the reading from the Cairo papyrus of Men-em-meter given by Naville (\textit{Todten-
buch}, ii, p. 139).} the Nebseni papyrus says that
"this chapter was found in the city of Khemennu (Hermopolis) on a block of
"ironstone (?), written in letters of lapis-lazuli, under the feet of the god";\footnote{Naville, \textit{Todtenbuch}, Bd. I., Bl. 76, l. 52.} and the
Turin papyrus (XXVIIth dynasty or later) adds that the name of the finder was
Hera-ta-ta-fr, the son of Khufu or Cheops,\footnote{Lepsius, \textit{Todtenbuch}, Bl. 25, l. 31.} the second king of
the IVth dynasty; about B.C. 3733, who was at the time making a tour of
inspection of the temples. Birch\footnote{ "The most remarkable chapter . . . . . is the 64th . . . . . It is one of the oldest of, and is
attributed, as already stated, to the epoch of king Gaga-Makheru \(\begin{array}{c}
\text{ܪ}\text{ܪ}\text{ܪ}
\end{array}\), or Menkheres . . . . . . \footnote{\textit{Todtenbuch} (Einleitung), p. 139. Mr. Renouf also holds this opinion, \textit{Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.},
1803, p. 6.} "This chapter enjoyed a high reputation till a late period, for it is found on a stone presented to
"General Peresiski by the late Emperor Nicholas, which must have come from the tomb of
"Petememphis,\footnote{\textit{I.e.}, Asaf el-baḥriyeh, or Asaf of the north, behind Dér el-ḥaṣarf, on the western bank of the Nile, opposite
Thebes.} in the El-Assasif, and was made during the XXVIIth dynasty . . . . . . Some more
"recent compiler of the Hermetic books has evidently paraphrased it for the Ritual of Turin." Bunsen,
\textit{Egypt's Place in Universal History}, London, 1867, p. 142. The block of stone to which Dr. Birch
refers is described by Golénischeff, \textit{Ermitage Impérial, Inventaire de la Collection Égyptienne}, No. 1101,
pp. 169, 170. M. Maspero thinks it was meant to be a "prétendu fac-similé" of the original slab,
which, according to the rubric, was found in the temple of Thoth, \textit{Revue de l'Histoire des Religions},
t. iv., p. 299, and \textit{Études de Mythologie}, t. i., p. 368.}
the oldest in the Book of the Dead; the former basing his opinion on the rubric, and the latter upon the evidence derived from the contents and character of the text; but Maspero, while admitting the great age of the chapter, does not attach any very great importance to the rubric as fixing any exact date for its composition. Of ḫeruḥātāf the finder of the block of stone, we know from later texts that he was considered to be a learned man, and that his speech was only with difficulty to be understood, and we also know the prominent part which he took as a recognized man of letters in bringing to the court of his father Khufu the sage ṭettetētā. It is then not improbable that ḫeruḥātāf’s character for learning may have suggested the connection of his name with the chapter, and possibly as its literary reviser; at all events as early as the period of the Middle Empire tradition associated him with it.

1 “On explique d’ordinaire cette indication comme une marque d’antiquité extrême; on part de "ce principe que le Livre des Morts est de composition relativement moderne, et qu’un scribe égyptien, "nommant un roi des premières dynasties méphitées, ne pouvait entendre par là qu’un personnage "d’époque très reculée. Cette explication ne me paraît pas être exacte. En premier lieu, le chapitre "LXIV. se trouve déjà sur des monuments contemporains de la Xe et de la XIe dynastie, et n’était "certainement pas nouveau au moment où on écrivait les copies les plus anciennes que nous en ayons "aujourd’hui. Lorsqu’on le rédigea sous sa forme actuelle, le règne de Mykérinos, et même celui "d’Housaphitā, ne devaient pas soulever dans l’esprit des indigènes la sensation de l’archaïsme et du "primitif: on avait pour rendre ces idées des expressions plus fortes, qui renvoyaient le lecteur au "sécles des Serviteurs d’Horus, à la domination de Ra, aux âges où les dieux régnaient sur l’Égypte.”


2 Chabas, Voyage, p. 46; Wiedemann, Egyptische Geschichte, p. 191. In the Brit. Mus. papyrus No. 10,060 (Harris 500), ḫeruḥātāf is mentioned together with I-em-ḫetep as a well known author, and the writer of the dirge says, “I have heard the words of I-em-ḫetep and of ḫeruḥātāf, whose many "and varied writings are said and sung; but now where are their places?” The hieratic text is published with a hieroglyphic transcript by Maspero in Journal Asiatique, Sér. VIème, t. xv., p. 404 ff., and Œuvres Égyptiennes, t. l., p. 173; for English translations, see Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. iii., p. 386, and Records of the Past, 1st ed., vol. iv., p. 117.

3 According to the Westcar papyrus, ḫeruḥātāf informed his father Khufu of the existence of a man 110 years old who lived in the town of ṭettet-Seneferu: he was able to join to its body again a head that had been cut off, and possessed influence over the lion, and was acquainted with the mysteries of Thoth. By Khufu’s command ḫeruḥātāf brought the sage to him by boat, and, on his arrival, the king ordered the head to be struck off from a prisoner that ṭettetētā might fasten it on again. Having excused himself from performing this act upon a man, a goose was brought and its head was cut off and laid on one side of the room and the body was placed on the other. The sage spoke certain words of power (𓊤𓊦𓊣𓊬𓊦𓊣𓊣𓊦), whereupon the goose stood up and began to waddle, and the head also began to move towards it; when the head had joined itself again to the body the bird stood up and cackled 𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦. For the complete hieratic text, transcript and translation, see Erman, Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar, Berlin, 1890, p. 11, plate 6.
INTRODUCTION.

Passing from the region of native Egyptian tradition, we touch firm ground with the evidence derived from the monuments of the IInd dynasty. A bas-relief preserved at Aix in Provence mentions Aasen and Ankef\(^1\), two of the priests of Senet or Senta,\(^2\) the fifth king of the IInd dynasty, about B.C. 4000; and a stele at Oxford\(^3\) and another in the Egyptian Museum at Gizeh\(^4\) record the name of a third priest, Sheri,\(^5\) a "royal relative"\(^6\). On the stele at Oxford we have represented the deceased and his wife seated, one on each side of an altar,\(^7\) which is covered with funeral offerings of pious relatives; above, in perpendicular lines of hieroglyphics in relief, are the names of the objects offered,\(^8\) and below is an inscription which reads,\(^9\) "thousands of loaves of bread, thousands of vases of ale, thousands of linen garments, thousands of changes of wearing apparel, and thousands of oxen." Now from this monument it is evident that already in the IInd dynasty a priesthood existed in Egypt which numbered among its members relatives of the royal family, and that a religious system which prescribed as a duty the providing of meat and drink offerings for the dead was also in active operation. The offering of specific objects goes far to prove the existence of a ritual or service wherein their signification would be indicated; the coincidence of these words and the prayer for "thousands of loaves of bread, thousands of vases of ale," etc., with the promise, "Anpu-khent-Amenta shall give thee thousands of loaves of bread, thy thousands of vases of ale, thy thousands of vessels

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\(^1\) Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 170. In a mastaba at Saqqara we have a stele of Shere,\(^1\) a superintendent of the priests of the ka,\(^1\) wherein the cartouches of Senet and Per-Ab Sen both occur. See Mariette and Maspero, *Les Mastaba de l'ancien Empire*, Paris, 1882, p. 92.

\(^2\) See Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Bl. 9.

\(^3\) See Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulog*, 1885, pp. 31, 32, and 213 (No. 1027).

\(^4\) A discussion on the method of depicting this altar on Egyptian monuments by Borchart is may be found in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXI, p. 1 (*Die Darstellung innen versierter Schalen auf eigt. Denkmälern*).

\(^5\) Among others, (1) \[\text{[Image]}\] ; (2) \[\text{[Image]}\] ; (3) \[\text{[Image]}\] ; (4) \[\text{[Image]}\] ; the word incense is written twice, \[\text{[Image]}\]. Some of these appear in the list of offerings made for Unás (l. 147) and for Tetá (l. 125, 131, 133; see *Recueil de Travaux*, 1884, plate 2).

\(^6\) \[\text{[Image]}\] .

\(^7\) The sculptor had no room for the \[\text{[Image]}\] belonging to \[\text{[Image]}\].
"of ungents, thy thousands of changes of apparel, thy thousands of oxen, and
"thy thousands of bullocks," enables us to recognise that ritual in the text
inscribed upon the pyramid of Tetā in the Vth dynasty, from which the above
promise is taken. Thus the traditional evidence of the text on the coffin of
Menthu-ḥetep and the scene on the monument of Sherā support one another,
and together they prove beyond a doubt that a form of the Book of the Dead
was in use at least in the period of the earliest dynasties, and that sepulchral
ceremonies connected therewith were duly performed.2

With the IVth dynasty we have an increased number of monuments, chiefly
sepulchral, which give details as to the Egyptian sacerdotal system and the funeral
ceremonies which the priests performed.3 The inscriptions upon the earlier

(Recueil, ed. Maspero, t. v., p. 58.)

2 The arguments brought forward here in proof of the great antiquity of a religious system in
Egypt are supplemented in a remarkable manner by the inscriptions found in the maṣṭaba of Seker-
khā-baiu at Saqqārah. Here we have a man who, like Sherā, was a "royal relative"
and a priest, but who, unlike him, exercised some of the highest functions of the Egyptian priesthood
in virtue of his title. (On the see Max Müller, Recueil de Travaux, t. ix,
p. 166; Brugsch, Ägyptologie, p. 218; and Maspero, Un Manuel de Hiéroglyphes Égyptiens, p. 9.)
Among the offerings named in the tomb are the substances which are also mentioned on the stele of Sherā of the IIInd dynasty, and in the texts of the Vth dynasty.
But the tomb of Seker-khā-baiu is different from any other known to us, both as regards the form
and cutting of the hieroglyphics, which are in relief, and the way in which they are disposed and
grouped. The style of the whole monument is rude and very primitive, and it cannot be attributed to
any dynasty later than the second, or even to the second itself; it must, therefore, have been built during
the first dynasty, or in the words of MM. Mariette and Maspero, "L'impression générale que l'on reçoit
au premier aspect du tombeau No. 5, est celle d'une extrême antiquité. Rien en effet de ce que nous
sommes habitués à voir dans les autres tombeaux ne se retrouve ici... Le monument... est
certainement le plus ancien de ceux que nous connaissons dans la plaine de Saqqarah, et il n'y a
pas de raison pour qu'il ne soit pas de la 1re Dynastie." Les Mastaba de l'ancien Empire; Paris, 1882,
p. 73. Because there is no incontrovertible proof that this tomb belongs to the 1st dynasty, the
texts on the stele of Sherā, a monument of a later dynasty, have been adduced as the oldest evidences
of the antiquity of a fixed religious system and literature in Egypt.

3 Many of the monuments commonly attributed to this dynasty should more correctly be
described as being the work of the IIInd dynasty; see Maspero, Geschichte der Morgenländischen
Völker im Alterthum (trans. Pietschmann), Leipzig, 1877, p. 56; Wiedemann, Ägyptische Geschichte,
p. 170.

* Ptḥ-ḥepes bore this title; see Mariette and Maspero, Les Mastaba, p. 113.
monuments prove that many of the priestly officials were still relatives of the royal family, and the tombs of feudal lords, scribes, and others, record a number of their official titles, together with the names of several of their religious festivals. The subsequent increase in the number of the monuments during this period may be due to the natural development of the religion of the time, but it is very probable that the greater security of life and property which had been assured by the vigorous wars of Seneferu, the first king of this dynasty, about B.C. 3766, encouraged men to incur greater expense, and to build larger and better abodes for the dead, and to celebrate the full ritual at the prescribed festivals. In this dynasty the royal dead were honoured with sepulchral monuments of a greater size and magnificence than had ever before been contemplated, and the chapels attached to the pyramids were served by courses of priests whose sole duties consisted in celebrating the services. The fashion of building a pyramid instead of the rectangular flat-roofed maṣṭaba for a royal tomb was revived by Seneferu, who called his pyramid Khâ; and his example was followed by his immediate successors, Khufu (Cheops), Khâf-Râ (Chephren), Men-kau-Râ (Mycerinus), and others.

In the reign of Mycerinus some important work seems to have been undertaken in connection with certain sections of the text of the Book of the Dead, for the rubrics of Chapters XXXvii. and CXLVIII.3 state that these compositions were found inscribed upon “a block of iron (?) of the south in letters of real lapis-lazuli under the feet of the majesty of the god in the time of the King of the North and South Men-kau-Râ, by the royal son Ḫeṇrutatâf, triumphant.” That a new impulse should be given to religious observances, and that the revision of existing religious texts should take place in the reign of Mycerinus, was only to be expected if Greek tradition may be believed, for both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus represent him as a just king, and one who was anxious to efface from the minds of the people the memory of the alleged cruelty of his

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1 He conquered the peoples in the Sinaiatic peninsula, and according to a text of a later date he built a wall to keep out the Aamu from Egypt. In the story of Saneha a “pool of Seneferu” is mentioned, which shows that his name was well known on the frontiers of Egypt. See Göhnisch, Atg. Zeitschrift, p. 110; Maspero, Mélanges d'Archéologie, t. iii., Paris, 1876, p. 71, l. 2; Lepsius, Denkmäler, ii., 2a.

2 The building of the pyramid of Médum has usually been attributed to Seneferu, but the excavations made there in 1882 did nothing to clear up the uncertainty which exists on this point; for recent excavations see Petrie, Medum, London, 1892, 4to.

3 For the text see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 99; Bd. I., Bl. 167.
predecessor by re-opening the temples and by letting every man celebrate his own sacrifices and discharge his own religious duties. His pyramid is the one now known as the "third pyramid of Gizeh," under which he was buried in a chamber vertically below the apex and 60 feet below the level of the ground. Whether the pyramid was finished or not when the king died, his body was certainly laid in it, and notwithstanding all the attempts made by the Muhammadan rulers of Egypt to destroy it at the end of the 12th century of our era, it has survived to yield up important facts for the history of the Book of the Dead.

In 1837 Colonel Howard Vyse succeeded in forcing the entrance. On the 29th of July he commenced operations, and on the 1st of August he made his way into the sepulchral chamber, where, however, nothing was found but a rectangular stone sarcophagus without the lid. The large stone slabs of the floor and the linings of the wall had been in many instances removed by thieves in search of treasure. In a lower chamber, connected by a passage with the sepulchral chamber, was found the greater part of the lid of the sarcophagus, together with portions of a wooden coffin, and part of the body of a man, consisting of ribs and vertebrae and the bones of the legs and feet, enveloped

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1 Herodotus, ii, 129, 1; Diodorus, i, 64, 9.
2 According to Diodorus, he died before it was completed (i, 64, 7).
3 According to 'Abd el-Latif the Khalif's name was Mâmun, but M. de Sacy doubted that he was the first to attempt this work; the authorities on the subject are all given in his Relation de l'Egypte, Paris, 1810, p. 215-221. Tradition, as represented in the "Arabian Nights," says that Al-Mâmun was minded to pull down the Pyramids, and that he expended a mint of money in the attempt; he succeeded, however, only in opening up a small tunnel in one of them, wherein it is said he found treasure to the exact amount of the moneys which he had spent in the work, and neither more nor less. The Arabic writer Idris, who wrote about A.H. 623 (A.D. 1226), states that a few years ago the "Red Pyramid," i.e., that of Mycerinus, was opened on the north side. After passing through various passages a room was reached wherein was found a long blue vessel, quite empty. The opening into this pyramid was effected by people who were searching for treasure; they worked at it with axes for six months, and they were in great numbers. They found in this basin, after they had broken the covering of it, the decayed remains of a man, but no treasures, excepting some golden tablets inscribed with characters of a language which nobody could understand. Each man's share of these tablets amounted to one hundred dinars (about £50). Other legendary history says that the western pyramid contains thirty chambers of parti-coloured syenite full of precious gems and costly weapons anointed with unguents that they may not rust until the day of the Resurrection. See Howard Vyse, The Pyramids of Gizeh, vol. ii., pp. 71, 72; and Burton, The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night; 1885, vol. v., p. 105, and vol. x., p. 150.
4 Vyse, The Pyramids of Gizeh, vol. ii., p. 84. A fragment of this sarcophagus is exhibited in the British Museum, First Egyptian Room, Case A, No. 6646.
5 With considerable difficulty this interesting monument was brought out from the pyramid by Mr. Raven, and having been cased in strong timbers, was sent off to the British Museum. It was
in a coarse woollen cloth of a yellow colour, to which a small quantity of resinous substance and gum adhered. It would therefore seem that, as the sarcophagus could not be removed, the wooden case alone containing the body had been brought into the large apartment for examination. Now, whether the human remains there found are those of Mycerinus or of some one else, as some have suggested, in no way affects the question of the ownership of the coffin, for we know by the hieroglyphic inscription upon it that it was made to hold the mumified body of the king. This inscription, which is arranged in two perpendicular lines down the front of the coffin reads:—

[Hail] Osiris, {King of the North and South,} Men-kau-Rā, living for ever, born of heaven, conceiv'd of Nut, ñt; ñt as en Seb mer - f pesás - s mut - k Nut her - k

Nut, heir of Seb, his beloved. Spreadeth she thy mother Nut over thee

embarked at Alexandria in the autumn of 1838, on board a merchant ship, which was supposed to have been lost off Carthage, as she never was heard of after her departure from Leghorn on the 12th of October in that year, and as some parts of the wreck were picked up near the former port. The sarcophagus is figured by Vyse, *Pyramids*, vol. ii., plate facing p. 84.

1 As a considerable misapprehension about the finding of these remains has existed, the account of the circumstances under which they were discovered will be of interest. "Sir, by your request, I " send you the particulars of the finding of the bones, mummy-cloth, and parts of the coffin in the " Third Pyramid. In clearing the rubbish out of the large entrance-room, after the men had been " employed there several days and had advanced some distance towards the south-eastern corner, some " bones were first discovered at the bottom of the rubbish; and the remaining bones and parts of " the coffin were immediately discovered all together. No other parts of the coffin or bones could be " found in the room; I therefore had the rubbish which had been previously turned out of the same " room carefully re-examined, when several pieces of the coffin and of the mummy-cloth were found; " but in no other part of the pyramid were any parts of it to be discovered, although every place was " most minutely examined, to make the coffin as complete as possible. There was about three " feet of rubbish on the top of the same; and from the circumstance of the bones and part of the " coffin being all found together, it appeared as if the coffin had been brought to that spot and there " unpacked.—H. Raven." *Pyramids*, vol. ii., p. 86.

2 They are exhibited in the First Egyptian Room, Case A, and the fragments of the coffin in Wall-

Case No. 1 (No. 6647) in the same room.


5 It seems that we should read this god’s name *Keb* (see Lefèbure, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXI., p. 125); for the sake of uniformity the old name is here retained.
Now it is to be noted that the passage, "Thy mother Nut spreadeth herself over thee in her name of 'Mystery of Heaven,' she granteth that thou mayest exist as a god without thy foes, {O King of the North and South} Men-kau-Rā, living for ever!

1 See the texts of Tetā and Pepi I. in Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, t. v., pp. 20, 38 (ll. 175, 279), and pp. 165, 173 (ll. 60, 163), etc.

2 So far back as 1883, M. Maspero, in lamenting (Guide du Visiteur de Boulaq, p. 310) the fact that the Būlāq Museum possessed only portions of wooden coffins of the Ancient Empire and no complete example, noticed that the coffin of Mycerinus, preserved in the British Museum, had been declared by certain Egyptologists to be a "restoration" of the XXVth dynasty, rather than the work of the IVth dynasty, in accordance with the inscription upon it; but like Dr. Birch he was of opinion that the coffin certainly belonged to the IVth dynasty, and adduced in support of his views the fact of the existence of portions of a similar coffin of Seker-em-sa-f, a king of the IVth dynasty. Recently, however, an attempt has again been made (Aeg. Zeitschrift, Bd. XXX, p. 94 ff.) to prove by the agreement of the variants in the text on the coffin of Mycerinus with those of texts of the XXVth dynasty, that the Mycerinus text is of this late period, or at all events not earlier than the time of Psammeticus. But it is admitted on all hands that in the XXVIth dynasty the Egyptians resuscitated texts of the first dynasties of the Early Empire, and that they copied the arts and literature of that period as far as possible, and, this being so, the texts on the monuments which have been made the standard of comparison for that on the coffin of Mycerinus may be themselves at fault in their variants. If the text on the cover could be proved to differ as much from an undisputed IVth dynasty text as it does from those even of the Vth dynasty, the philological argument might have some weight; but even this would not get rid of the fact that the cover itself is a genuine relic of the IVth dynasty.
celebration of funeral rites; but a text forming the Book of the Dead as a whole does not occur until the reign of Unás (B.C. 3333), the last king of the dynasty, who according to the Turin papyrus reigned thirty years. This monarch built on the plain of Šakkāra a stone pyramid about sixty-two feet high, each side measuring about two hundred feet at the base. In the time of Perring and Vyse it was surrounded by heaps of broken stone and rubbish, the result of repeated attempts to open it, and with the casing stones, which consisted of compact limestone from the quarries of Țura.¹ In February, 1881, M. Maspero began to clear the pyramid, and soon after he succeeded in making an entrance into the innermost chambers, the walls of which were covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions, arranged in perpendicular lines and painted in green.² The condition of the interior showed that at some time or other thieves had already succeeded in making an entrance, for the cover of the black basalt sarcophagus of Unás had been wrenched off and moved near the door of the sarcophagus chamber; the paving stones had been pulled up in the vain attempt to find buried treasure; the mummy had been broken to pieces, and nothing remained of it except the right arm, a tibia, and some fragments of the skull and body. The inscriptions which covered certain walls and corridors in the tomb were afterwards published by M. Maspero.³ The appearance of the text of Unás⁴ marks an era in the history of the Book of the Dead, and its translation must be regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of Egyptological decipherment, for the want of determinatives in many places in the text, and the archaic spelling of many of the words and passages presented difficulties which were not easily overcome.⁵ Here, for the first time, it was shown that the Book of the Dead was no compilation of a comparatively late period in the history of Egyptian civilization, but a work belonging to a very remote antiquity; and it followed naturally that texts which were then known, and which were thought to be themselves original ancient texts, proved to be only versions which had passed through two or more successive revisions.

³ See *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., pp. 177–224; t. iv., pp. 41–78.
⁴ In 1881 Dr. Brugsch described two pyramids of the VIth dynasty inscribed with religious texts similar to those found in the pyramid of Unás, and translated certain passages (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd., xix., pp. 1–15); see also Birch in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1881, p. 111 ff.
⁵ The pyramid which bore among the Arabs the name of Maṭṭabat el-Farḍún, or “Pharaoh's Bench,” was excavated by Mariette in 1858, and, because he found the name of Unás painted on certain blocks of stone, he concluded that it was the tomb of Unás. M. Maspero's excavations have, as Dr. Lepsius observes (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XIX., p. 15), set the matter right.
Continuing his excavations at Saqqara, M. Maspero opened the pyramid of Tetâ,¹ king of Egypt about B.C. 3300, which Vyse thought² had never been entered, and of which, in his day, the masonry on one side only could be seen. Here again it was found that thieves had already been at work, and that they had smashed in pieces walls, floors, and many other parts of the chambers in their frantic search for treasure. As in the case of the pyramid of Unâs, certain chambers, etc., of this tomb were found covered with inscriptions in hieroglyphics, but of a smaller size.³ A brief examination of the text showed it to be formed of a series of extracts from the Book of the Dead, some of which were identical with those in the pyramid of Unâs. Thus was brought to light a Book of the Dead of the time of the first king⁴ of the VIth dynasty.

The pyramid of Pepi I., king of Egypt about B.C. 3233, was next opened.⁵ It is situated in the central group at Saqqara, and is commonly known as the pyramid of Shekh Abu-Manşûr.⁶ Certain chambers and other parts of the tomb were found to be covered with hieroglyphic texts, which not only repeated in part those which had been found in the pyramids of Unâs and Tetâ, but also contained a considerable number of additional sections of the Book of the Dead.⁷ In the same neighbourhood M. Maspero cleared out the pyramid of Mer-en-Râ, the fourth king of the VIth dynasty, about B.C. 3200;⁸ and the pyramid of Pepi II., the fifth king of the VIth dynasty, about B.C. 3166.⁹

¹ The mummy of the king had been taken out of the sarcophagus through a hole which the thieves had made in it; it was broken by them in pieces, and the only remains of it found by M. Maspero consisted of an arm and shoulder. Parts of the wooden coffin are preserved in the Gizeh Museum.
³ They were copied in 1882, and published by M. Maspero in Recueil de Travaux, t. v., pp. 1–59.
⁴ The broken mummy of this king, together with fragments of its bandages, was found lying on the floor.
⁶ It had been partially opened by Mariette in May, 1880, but the clearance of sand was not effected until early in 1881.
⁸ It was opened early in January, 1850, by Mariette, who seeing that the sarcophagus chamber was inscribed, abandoned his theory that pyramids never contained inscriptions, or that if they did they were not royal tombs. The hieroglyphic texts were published by Maspero in Recueil de Travaux, t. ix., pp. 177–91, Paris, 1887; t. x., pp. 1–29, Paris, 1888; and t. xi., pp. 1–31, Paris, 1889. The alabaster vase in the British Museum, No. 4493, came from this pyramid.
⁹ This pyramid is a little larger than the others of the period, and is built in steps of small stones; it is commonly called by the Arabs Haram el-Maâtabat, because it is near the building usually called
Thus we have before the close of the VIth dynasty five copies of a series of texts which formed the Book of the Dead of that period, and an extract from a well-known passage of that work on the wooden coffin of Mycerinus; we have also seen from a number of maṣṭabas and stelae that the funeral ceremonies connected with the Book of the Dead were performed certainly in the IInd, and with almost equal certainty in the I1st dynasty. It is easy to show that certain sections of the Book of the Dead of this period were copied and used in the following dynasties down to a period about A.D. 200.

The fact that not only in the pyramids of Unās and Tetā, but also in those of Pepi I. and his immediate successors, we find selected passages, suggests that the Book of the Dead was, even in those early times, so extensive that even a king was fain to make from it a selection only of the passages which suited his individual taste or were considered sufficient to secure his welfare in the next world. In the pyramids of Tetā, Pepi I., Mer-en-Rā and Pepi II. are found many texts which are identical with those employed by their predecessors, and an examination of the inscription of Pepi II. will show that about three-fourths of the whole may be found in the monuments of his ancestors. What principle guided each king in the selection of his texts, or whether the additions in each represent religious developments, it is impossible to say; but, as the Egyptian religion cannot have remained stationary in every particular, it is probable that some texts reflect the changes in the opinions of the priests upon matters of doctrine.1

The “Pyramid Texts” prove that each section of the religious books of the Egyptians was originally a separate and independent composition, that it was written with a definite object, and that it might be arranged in any order in a series of similar texts. What preceded or what followed it was never taken into con-

Maṣṭabat el-Far‘ūn. See Vyse, Pyramids, vol. iii., p. 52. The hieroglyphic texts are published by Maspero in Recueil de Travaux, t. xii., pp. 53-95, and pp. 136-95, Paris, 1892; and t. xiv., pp. 125-52, Paris, 1892. There is little doubt that this pyramid was broken into more than once in Christian times, and that the early collectors of Egyptian antiquities obtained the beautiful alabaster vases inscribed with the cartouches and titles of Pepi II. from those who had access to the sarcophagus chamber. Among such objects in the British Museum collection, Nos. 4492, 22,559, 22,758 and 22,817 are fine examples.

1 A development has been observed in the plan of ornamenting the interiors of the pyramids of the Vth and VIth dynasties. In that of Unās about one-quarter of the sarcophagus chamber is covered with architectural decorations, and the hieroglyphics are large, well spaced, and enclosed in broad lines. But as we advance in the VIth dynasty, the space set apart for decorative purposes becomes less, the hieroglyphics are smaller, the lines are crowded, and the inscriptions overflow into the chambers and corridors, which in the Vth dynasty were left blank. See Maspero in Revue des Religions, t. xi., p. 124.
sideration by the scribe, although it seems, at times, as if traditions had assigned
a sequence to certain texts.

That events of contemporary history were sometimes reflected in the Book of
the Dead of the early dynasties is proved by the following. We learn from the
inscription upon the tomb of Heru-khuf at Aswan,\(^1\) that this
governor of Elephantine was ordered to bring for king Pepi II.\(^2\) a pigmy,
\(^2\) from the interior of Africa, to dance before the king and amuse
him; and he was promised that, if he succeeded in bringing the pigmy alive
and in good health, his majesty would confer upon him a higher rank
and dignity than that which king AssÀ conferred upon his minister Ba-ur-TÁTÁ,
who performed this much appreciated service for his master.\(^3\) Now AssÀ was the
eighth king of the Vth dynasty, and Pepi II. was the fifth king of the VIth
dynasty, and between the reigns of these kings there was, according to M. Maspero,
an interval of at least sixty-four, but more probably eighty, years. But in the text
in the pyramid of Pepi I., which must have been drafted at some period between the
reigns of these kings, we have the passage, "Hail thou who [at thy will] maketh to
pass over to the Field of Aaru the soul that is right and true, or dost make ship-
"wreck of it. Ra-meri (i.e., Pepi I.) is right and true in respect of heaven and in
"respect of earth, Pepi is right and true in respect of the island of the earth
"whither he swimmeth and where he arriveth. He who is between the thighs of
"Nut (i.e., Pepi) is the pigmy who danceeth [like] the god, and who pleaseth the heart

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\(^1\) The full text from this tomb and a discussion on its contents are given by Schiaparelli, *Una
tomba egiziana inedita della VIIª dinastia con iscrizioni storiche e geografiche*, in *Atti della R. Accademia
dei Lincei*, ann. ccli, 1893, pp. 22-53. This text has been treated by Erman (Z. D. M. G., Bd. XLVI, 1892, p. 574 ff), who first
pointed out the reference to the pigmy in the pyramid texts, and by Maspero in *Revue Critique*, Paris,
1892, p. 366.


\(^3\) On the pigmy see Stanley, *Darkest Africa*, vol. i., p. 198; vol. ii., p. 40f.; Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen
ton Aethiopien*, Berlin, 1887, p. 7.
INTRODUCTION.

"of the god [Osiris] before his great throne. . . . The two beings who are over
the throne of the great god proclaim Pepi to be sound and healthy, [therefore]
"Pepi shall sail in the boat to the beautiful field of the great god, and he shall do
"therein that which is done by those to whom veneration is due."¹ Here clearly
we have a reference to the historical fact of the importation of a pigmy from the
regions south of Nubia; and the idea which seems to have been uppermost in the
mind of him that drafted the text was that as the pigmy pleased the king for
whom he was brought in this world, even so might the dead Pepi please the god
Osiris² in the next world. As the pigmy was brought by boat to the king, so
might Pepi be brought by boat to the island wherein the god dwelt; as the
conditions made by the king were fulfilled by him that brought the pigmy, even so
might the conditions made by Osiris concerning the dead be fulfilled by him that
transported Pepi to his presence. The wording of the passage amply justifies
the assumption that this addition was made to the text after the mission of Assà,
and during the VIth dynasty.³

Like other works of a similar nature, however, the pyramid texts afford us no
information as to their authorship. In the later versions of the Book of the
Dead certain chapters⁴ are stated to be the work of the god Thoth. They
certainly belong to that class of literature which the Greeks called "Hermetic,"⁵
and it is pretty certain that under some group they were included in the list of the
forty-two works which, according to Clement of Alexandria,⁶ constituted the
sacred books of the Egyptians.⁷ As Thoth, whom the Greeks called Hermes, is
in Egyptian texts styled "lord of divine books,"⁸ "scribe of the company of the
gods,"⁹ and "lord of divine speech,"¹⁰ this ascription is well founded. The

¹ For the hieroglyphic text see Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, t. vii, pp. 162, 163; and t. xi, p. 11.
² Pieterschmann thinks (Aeg. Zeitschrift, Bd. XXXI, p. 73 f.) that the Satyrs, who are referred to
by Diodorus (i, XVIII) as the companions and associates of Osiris in Ethiopia, have their origin in
the pigmies.
³ The whole question of the pigmy in the text of Pepi I. has been discussed by Maspero in
Recueil de Travaux, t. xiv, p. 186 ff.
⁴ Chapp. 30b, 164, 378 and 148. Although these chapters were found at Hermopolis, the city of
Thoth, it does not follow that they were drawn up there.
⁵ See Birch, in Bunsen, Egypt's Place in Universal History, vol. v, p. 125; Naville, Todtenbuch
⁷ On the sacred books of the Egyptians see also Iamblichus, De Mysteriis, ed. Parthey, Berlin
1857, pp. 260, 261; Lepsius, Chronologie, p. 45 ff.; and Brugsch, Aegyptologie, p. 149.
pyramid texts are versions of ancient religious compositions which the priests of the college or school of Ànnu\(^1\) succeeded in establishing as the authorized version of the Book of the Dead in the first six dynasties. Râ, the local form of the Sun-god, usurps the place occupied by the more ancient form Tmu; and it would seem that when a dogma had been promulgated by the college of Ànnu, it was accepted by the priesthood of all the great cities throughout Egypt. The great influence of the Ànnu school of priests even in the time of Unâs is proved by the following passage from the text in his pyramid: "O God, thy Ànnu is Unâs; O God, thy Ànnu is Unâs. O Râ. Ànnu is Unâs, thy Ànnu is Unâs, O Râ. The mother of Unâs is Ànnu, the father of Unâs is Ànnu; Unâs himself is Ànnu, and was born in Ànnu."\(^2\) Elsewhere we are told that Unâs "cometh to the great bull which cometh forth from Ànnu,\(^3\) and that he uttereth words of magical import in Ànnu."\(^4\) In Ànnu the god Tmu produced the gods Shu and Tefnut,\(^5\) and in Ànnu dwelt the great and oldest company of the gods, Tmu, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set and Nephthys.\(^6\) The abode of the blessed in heaven was called \(^7\) Ànnu, and it was asserted that the souls of

\(^1\) Ànnu, the metropolis of the thirteenth nome of Lower Egypt; see Brugsch, \(\text{Dict. Géog.}\), p. 41; de Rouge, \(\text{Géographie Ancienne de la Basse-Égypte}\), p. 81; and Amelineau, \(\text{La Géographie de l’Égypte à l’Époque Copte}\), p. 287. Ànnu is \(\text{[N]}, \text{Genesis xili, 45; [N], Genesis xili, 50; [N]}\) Ezekiel xxx. 17; and Beth Shemesh, \(\text{[N] [N] [N] [N]}\), Jeremiah xliii. 13; and the Heliopolis of the Greek writers (\(\text{Hleopolis}\), Strabo, XVII. I, \(\text{[N], 27, 28}\); Herodotus, II, 3; Diodorus, I, 57, 4).

\(^2\) \(\text{Maspero, Unâs, ll. 591, 592; and compare Pepi I, ll. 690, 691.}\)

\(^3\) See line 596.

\(^4\) \(\text{Maspero, Pepi I, l. 465, 466.}\)

\(^5\) \(\text{The Pyramid of Pepi II, l. 665.}\)

\(^6\) In reading Egyptian religious texts, the existence of the heavenly Ànnu, which was to the Egyptians what Jerusalem was to the Jews, and what Mecca still is to the Muhammadans, must be
the just were there united to their spiritual or glorified bodies, and that they lived there face to face with the deity for all eternity. 1 Judging from the fact that the texts in the tombs of Ḫeru-ḥetep and Nefru, and those inscribed upon the sarcophagus of Taḵā, all of the XIth and XIIth dynasties, differ in extent only and not in character or contents from those of the royal pyramids of Saḵkāra of the Vth and VIth dynasties, it has been declared that the religion as well as the art of the first Theban empire are nothing but a slavish copy of those of northern Egypt. 2

The Theban version, which was much used in Upper Egypt from the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasty, was commonly written on papyri in the hieroglyphic character. The text is written in black ink in perpendicular rows of hieroglyphics, which are separated from each other by black lines; the titles of the chapters or sections, and certain parts of the chapters and the rubrics belonging thereto, are written in red ink. A steady development in the illumination of the vignettes is observable in the papyri of this period. At the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty the vignettes are in black outline, but we see from the papyrus of Hunefer (Brit. Mus. No. 9901), who was an overseer of cattle of Seti I., king of Egypt about B.C. 1370, that the vignettes are painted in reds, greens, yellows, white, and other colours, and that the whole of the text and

1 The importance of Ānnu and its gods in the VIth dynasty is well indicated by a prayer from the pyramid of Pepi II. (for the texts see Maspero, Recueil, t. x., p. 8, and t. xii., p. 146), which reads:—

"Hail, ye great nine gods who dwell in Ānnu, grant ye that Pepi may flourish, and grant ye

that this pyramid of Pepi, this building built for eternity, may flourish, even as the name of the

god Tmu, the chief of the great company of the nine gods, doth flourish. If the name of Shu,

the lord of the celestial shrine in Ānnu flourisheth, then Pepi shall flourish, and this his pyramid

shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity. If the name of Tefnut, the lady of

the terrestrial shrine in Ānnu endureth, the name of Pepi shall endure, and this pyramid shall

endure to all eternity. If the name of Seb flourisheth . . . . the name of Pepi shall flourish,

and this pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity. If the name of the

Nut flourisheth in the temple of Shent in Ānnu, the name of Pepi shall flourish, and this

pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity. If the name of Osiris

flourisheth in This, the name of Pepi shall flourish, and this pyramid shall flourish, and this his

work shall endure to all eternity. If the name of Osiris Khent-Āmenta flourisheth, the name

of Pepi shall flourish, and this pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all

eternity. If the name of Set flourisheth in Nubt, the name of Pepi shall flourish, and this

"pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity.""

2 Maspero, La Religion Égyptienne d’après les Pyramides de la V° et de la VI° dynastie. (In Revue des Religions, t. xii., pp. 138, 139.)
vignettes are enclosed in a red and yellow border. Originally the text was the most important part of the work, and both it and its vignettes were the work of the scribe; gradually, however, the brilliantly illuminated vignettes were more and more cared for, and when the skill of the scribe failed, the artist was called in. In many fine papyri of the Theban period it is clear that the whole plan of the vignettes of a papyrus was set out by artists, who often failed to leave sufficient space for the texts to which they belonged; in consequence many lines of chapters are often omitted, and the last few lines of some texts are so much crowded as to be almost illegible. The frequent clerical errors also show that while an artist of the greatest skill might be employed on the vignettes, the execution of the text was left to an ignorant or careless scribe. Again, the artist at times arranged his vignettes in wrong order, and it is occasionally evident that neither artist nor scribe understood the matter upon which he was engaged. According to M. Maspero\(^1\) the scribes of the VIth dynasty did not understand the texts which they were drafting, and in the XIXth dynasty the scribe of a papyrus now preserved at Berlin knew or cared so little about the text which he was copying that he transcribed the LXXVIIth Chapter from the wrong end, and apparently never discovered his error although he concluded the chapter with its title.\(^2\) Originally each copy of the Book of the Dead was written to order, but soon the custom obtained of preparing copies with blank spaces in which the name of the purchaser might be inserted; and many of the errors in spelling and most of the omissions of words are no doubt due to the haste with which such "stock" copies were written by the members of the priestly caste, whose profession it was to copy them.

The papyri upon which copies of the Theban version were written vary in length from about 20 to 90 feet, and in width from 14 to 18 inches; in the XVIIIth dynasty the layers of the papyrus are of a thicker texture and of a darker colour than in the succeeding dynasties. The art of making great lengths of papyrus of light colour and fine texture attained its highest perfection in the XIXth dynasty. An examination of Theban papyri shows that the work of writing and illuminating a fine copy of the Book of the Dead was frequently distributed between two or more groups of artists and scribes, and that the sections were afterwards joined up into a whole. Occasionally by error two groups of men would transcribe the same chapter; hence in the papyrus of Ani, Chapter XVIII. occurs twice (see within, p. cxlviii.).

\(^1\) Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 62.  \(^2\) Naville, Todtenbuch (Einleitung), pp. 41-43.
The sections or chapters of the Theban version are a series of separate and distinct compositions, which, like the sections of the pyramid texts, had no fixed order either on coffins or in papyri. Unlike these texts, however, with very few exceptions each composition had a special title and vignette which indicate its purpose. The general selection of the chapters for a papyrus seems to have been left to the individual fancy of the purchaser or scribe, but certain of them were no doubt absolutely necessary for the preservation of the body of the deceased in the tomb, and for the welfare of his soul in its new state of existence. Traditional selections would probably be respected, and recent selections approved by any dominant school of religious thought in Egypt were without doubt accepted.

While in the period of the pyramid texts the various sections were said or sung by priests, probably assisted by some members of the family of the deceased, the welfare of his soul and body being proclaimed for him as an established fact, in the Theban version the hymns and prayers to the gods were put into the mouth of the deceased. As none but the great and wealthy could afford the ceremonies which were performed in the early dynasties, economy was probably the chief cause of this change, which had come about at Thebes as early as the XIIth dynasty. Little by little the ritual portions of the Book of the Dead disappeared, until finally, in the Theban version, the only chapters of this class which remain are the XXII1nd, XXII1rd, CVth, and CL1st. Every chapter and prayer of this version was to be said in the next world, where the words, properly uttered, enabled the deceased to overcome every foe and to attain to the life of the perfected soul which dwelt in a spiritual body in the abode of the blessed.

The common name for the Book of the Dead in the Theban period, and probably also before this date, is \(\text{pert em hru}\), which words have been variously translated: "manifested in the light," "coming forth from the day," "coming forth by day," "la manifestation au jour," "la manifestation à la lumière," "[Kapitel von] der Erscheinung im Lichte," "Erscheinen am Tage," "[Caput] egrediendi in lucem," etc. This name, however, had probably a meaning for the Egyptians which has not yet been rendered in a modern language, and one important idea in connection with the whole work is expressed by another title which calls it "the chapter of making strong (or perfect) the Khu."

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1 See Naville, *Todtenbuch (Einleitung)*, p. 2c. On the titles "Book of the Dead" and "Ritual Funéraire" which have been given to these texts, see Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, p. 3; De Rougé, *Revue Archéologique*, N.S., t. 1., 1860, pp. 69-100.

In the Theban version the main principles of the Egyptian religion which were held in the times when the pyramid texts were written are maintained, and the views concerning the eternal existence of the soul remain unaltered. Many passages in the work, however, show that modifications and developments in details have taken place, and much that is not met with in the early dynasties appears, so far as we know, for the first time. The vignettes too are additions to the work; but, although they depict scenes in the life beyond the grave, they do not seem to form a connected series, and it is doubtful if they are arranged on any definite plan. A general idea of the contents of this version may be gathered from the following list of chapters:

Chapter I. Here begin the Chapters of "Coming forth by day," and of the songs of praise and glorifying, and of coming forth from, and going into, the underworld.

Vignette: The funeral procession from the house of the dead to the tomb.

Chapter Ia. The Chapter of making the mummy to go into the puat on the day of the burial.

Vignette: Anubis standing by the bier upon which the mummy of the deceased is laid.

Chapter II. [The Chapter of] coming forth by day and of living after death.

Vignette: A man standing, holding a staff.

Chapter III.* Another Chapter like unto it (i.e., like Chapter II).

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter IV.* Another Chapter of passing along the way over the earth.

This Chapter has no vignette.

1 The various chapters of the Book of the Dead were numbered by Lepsius in his edition of the Turin papyrus in 1842. This papyrus, however, is a product of the Ptolemaic period, and contains a number of chapters which are wanting in the Theban version. For convenience, Lepsius' numbers are retained, and the chapters which belong to the Saite version are indicated by an asterisk. For the hieroglyphic text see Naville, Einleitung, p. 193 ff.

2 Another title reads: "The Chapter of going in to the divine chiefs of Osiris on the day of the burial, and of going in after coming forth." This chapter had to be recited on the day of the burial.

3 A commonest name for the tomb.

4 The Egyptian underworld.

5 "The union with the earth."

6 In some papyri Chapters II and III are united and have only one title; see Naville, Todtenluch, Bd. I, Bl. 6.
Chapter V. The Chapter of not allowing the deceased to do work in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased kneeling on one knee.

Chapter VI. The Chapter of making ushabtiu figures do work for a man in the underworld.

Vignette: An ushabti figure ʃ.

Chapter VII. The Chapter of passing over the back of Apep, the evil one.

Vignette: The deceased spearing a serpent.

Chapter VIII. Another Chapter of the tuat, and of coming forth by day.

Vignette: The deceased kneeling before a ram ʃʃ.ʃʃ.

Chapter IX. The Chapter of passing through the tuat.

Vignette: The deceased kneeling before a ram.

Chapter X. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter XLVIII.)

Chapter XI.* The Chapter of coming forth against his enemies in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XII. Another Chapter of going into, and coming forth from, the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XIII. The Chapter of going into, and of coming forth, from Amentet.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XIV. The Chapter of driving away shame from the heart of the deceased.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XV. A Hymn of praise to Rā when he riseth in the eastern horizon of heaven.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Rā.

Chapter XVa. 1. A Hymn of praise to Rā when he setteth in the land of life.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Rā.

Chapter XVa. 2. A Hymn of praise to Rā-Harmachis when he setteth in the western horizon of heaven.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Rā.

Chapter XVb. 3. Another hidden Chapter of the tuat, and of passing through the secret places of the underworld, and of seeing the Disk when he setteth in Amentet.

Vignette: The god or the deceased spearing a serpent.

Chapter XVIa. [No text: being only a vignette.]
Scene of the worship of the rising sun by mythological beings.

Chapter XVII. Without title or text.

Vignette: Scene of the worship of the setting sun by mythological beings.

Chapter XVIII. Here begin the praises and glorifyings of coming out from,
and going into, the underworld in the beautiful Amenta; of coming out by day, and
of making transformations and of changing into any form which he pleaseth; of
playing at draughts in the sek chamber; and of coming forth in the form of a living
soul: to be said by the deceased after his death.

Vignette: The deceased playing at draughts; the deceased adoring the lion-
gods of yesterday and to-day; the bier of Osiris with Isis and Nephthys at the foot
and head respectively; and a number of mythological beings referred to in the text.

Chapter XIX. Without title.

Vignette: The deceased adoring the groups of gods belonging to various cities.

Chapter XX.* The Chapter of the crown (?) of victory.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXI. Without title.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXII.* The Chapter of giving a mouth to a man in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXII. The Chapter of giving a mouth to the deceased in the
underworld.

Vignette: The guardian of the scales touching the mouth of the deceased.

Chapter XXIII. The Chapter of opening the mouth of the deceased in the
underworld.

Vignette: The sem priest touching the mouth of the deceased with the
instrument ð.

Chapter XXIV. The Chapter of bringing words of magical power to the
deceased in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXV. The Chapter of causing a man to remember his name in the
underworld.

Vignette: A priest holding up ñ before the deceased.

Chapter XXVI. The Chapter of giving a heart to the deceased in the
underworld.

Vignette: Anubis holding out a heart to the deceased in the underworld.

Chapter XXVII. The Chapter of not allowing the heart of a man to be
taken from him in the underworld.
Vignette: A man tying a heart to the statue of the deceased.\(^1\)

Chapter XXVIII. [The Chapter of] not allowing the heart of a man to be taken from him in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased with his left hand touching the heart upon his breast, kneeling before a demon holding a knife.

Chapter XXIXa. The Chapter of not carrying away the heart of a man in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXIXb. Another Chapter of a heart of carnelian.

Vignette: The deceased sitting on a chair before his heart, which rests on a stand ⯄.

Chapter XXXa. The Chapter of not allowing the heart of a man to be driven away from him in the underworld.

Vignette: A heart ⯄.\(^2\)

Chapter XXXb. The Chapter of not allowing the heart of a man to be driven away from him in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased being weighed against his heart in the balance in the presence of Osiris, “the great god, the prince of eternity.”

Chapter XXXI. The Chapter of repulsing the crocodile which cometh to carry the magical words ðū ḫḥ mḥt ⯄ from a man in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased spearing a crocodile.

Chapter XXXII. [The Chapter of] coming to carry the magical words from a man in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXXIII. The Chapter of repulsing reptiles of all kinds.

Vignette: The deceased attacking four snakes with a knife in each hand.

Chapter XXXIV. The Chapter of a man not being bitten by a serpent in the hall of the tomb.\(^3\)

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXXV. The Chapter of not being eaten by worms in the underworld.

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\(^1\) Two variants (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 38) show the deceased sitting before his heart, and the deceased presenting his heart to a triad of gods.

\(^2\) Or the deceased adoring his heart ⯄; see also Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 42

\(^3\) ðū ḫḥ mḥt 'āmīḥāt.
Vignette: Three serpents.
Chapter XXXVI. The Chapter of repulsing the tortoise (äpsæ).
Vignette: The deceased spearing a beetle.¹
Chapter XXXVII. The Chapter of repulsing the two merti.
Vignette: Two uræi, which represent the two eyes of Ra.
Chapter XXXVIIIa. The Chapter of living upon the air which is in the underworld.
Vignette: The deceased holding a sail, emblematic of air.
Chapter XXXVIIIb. The Chapter of living upon air and of repulsing the two merti.
Vignette: The deceased attacking three serpents, a knife in his right hand and a sail in his left.
Chapter XXXIX. The Chapter of repulsing the serpent in the underworld.
Vignette: The deceased spearing a serpent.
Chapter XL. The Chapter of repulsing the eater of the ass.
Vignette: The deceased spearing a serpent which is biting the neck of an ass.
Chapter XLI. The Chapter of doing away with the wounding of the eyes in the underworld.
Vignette: The deceased holding a knife in the right hand and a roll in the left.
Chapter XLII. [The Chapter] of doing away with slaughter in Suten-ḥenen.
Vignette: A man holding a serpent.²
Chapter XLIII. The Chapter of not allowing the head of a man to be cut off from him in the underworld.
This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter XLIV. The Chapter of not dying a second time.
This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter XLV. The Chapter of not seeing corruption.
This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter XLVI. The Chapter of not decaying, and of living in the underworld.
This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter XLVII. The Chapter of not carrying off the place (or seat) of the throne from a man in the underworld.

¹ Or the deceased holding a knife and staff and standing before äpsæ.
² For the variant vignettes see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 57.
This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XLVIII. [The Chapter of a man coming against] his enemies.
This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XLIX.* The Chapter of a man coming forth against his enemies in the underworld.
Vignette: A man standing with a staff in his hand.

Chapter L. The Chapter of not going in to the divine block a second time.
Vignette: A man standing with his back to the block.¹

Chapter LI. The Chapter of not walking upside down in the underworld.
Vignette: A man standing.

Chapter LII.* The Chapter of not eating filth in the underworld.
This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LIII. The Chapter of not allowing a man to eat filth and to drink polluted water in the underworld.
This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LIV. The Chapter of giving air in the underworld.
This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LV. Another Chapter of giving air.
Vignette: The deceased holding a sail in each hand.²

Chapter LVI. The Chapter of snuffing the air in the earth.
Vignette: The deceased kneeling, and holding a sail to his nose.

Chapter LVII. The Chapter of snuffing the air and of gaining the mastery over the waters in the underworld.
Vignette: A man holding a sail, and standing in a running stream.

Chapter LVIII.* The Chapter of snuffing the air and of gaining power over the water which is in the underworld.
Vignette: The deceased holding a sail.

Chapter LIX. The Chapter of snuffing the air and of gaining power over the water which is in the underworld.
Vignette: The deceased standing with his hands extended.

Chapters LX., LXI., LXII. The Chapters of drinking water in the underworld.

¹ Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 21.
² A variant vignette of Chapters LV. and XXXVIII. represents the deceased being led into the presence of Osiris by Anubis; see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 68.
Vignettes: The deceased holding a lotus; the deceased holding his soul in his arms; and the deceased scooping water into his mouth from a pool.

Chapter LXIII. The Chapter of drinking water, and of not being burnt with fire.

Vignette: The deceased drinking water from a stream.

Chapter LXIIIa. The Chapter of not being boiled (or scalded) in the water.

Vignette: The deceased standing by the side of two flames.

Chapter LXIV. The Chapter of coming forth by day in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased adoring the disk, which stands on the top of a tree.

Chapter LXV. [The Chapter of] coming forth by day, and of gaining the mastery over foes.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Rā.

Chapter LXVI. [The Chapter of] coming forth by day.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LXVII. The Chapter of opening the doors of the tuat and of coming forth by day.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LXVIII. The Chapter of coming forth by day.

Vignette: The deceased kneeling by the side of a tree before a goddess.¹

Chapter LXIX. Another Chapter.

Chapter LXX. Another Chapter.

Chapter LXXI. The Chapter of coming forth by day.

Vignette: The deceased with both hands raised in adoration kneeling before the goddess Meh-urt.²

Chapter LXXII. The Chapter of coming forth by day and of passing through the hall of the tomb.

Vignette: The deceased adoring three gods.

Chapter LXXIII. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter IX.)

Chapter LXXIV. The Chapter of lifting up the legs and coming forth upon earth.

Vignette: The deceased standing upright.

Chapter LXXV. The Chapter of travelling to Annu (On), and of receiving an abode there.

¹ For the variant vignettes see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 8o.

² One of the two variant vignettes shows the deceased in the act of adoring Rā, and in the other the deceased kneels before Rā, Thoth, and Osiris; see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 83.
Vignette: The deceased standing before the door of a tomb.

Chapter LXXVI. The Chapter of [a man] changing into whatsoever form he pleaseth.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LXXVII. The Chapter of changing into a golden hawk.

Vignette: A golden hawk ♂.

Chapter LXXVIII. The Chapter of changing into a divine hawk.

Vignette: A hawk.

Chapter LXXIX. The Chapter of being among the company of the gods, and of becoming a prince among the divine powers.

Vignette: The deceased adoring three gods.

Chapter LXXX. The Chapter of changing into a god, and of sending forth light into darkness.

Vignette: A god.

Chapter LXXXI. The Chapter of changing into a lily.

Vignette: A lily.

Chapter LXXXIa. The Chapter of changing into a lily.

Vignette: The head of the deceased rising out of a lily 🌸.

Chapter LXXXII. The Chapter of changing into Ptah, of eating cakes, of drinking ale, of unloosing the body, and of living in Anu (On).

Vignette: The God Ptah in a shrine.

Chapter LXXXIII. The Chapter of changing into a phoenix.

Vignette: A phoenix.

Chapter LXXXIV. The Chapter of changing into a heron.

Vignette: A heron.

Chapter LXXXV. The Chapter of changing into a soul, of not going into the place of punishment: whosoever knoweth it will never perish.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LXXXVI. The Chapter of changing into a swallow.

Vignette: A swallow.

Chapter LXXXVII. The Chapter of changing into the serpent Sa-ta.

Vignette: A serpent.

Chapter LXXXVIII. The Chapter of changing into a crocodile.

Vignette: A crocodile.

Chapter LXXXIX. The Chapter of making the soul to be united to its body.

Vignette: The soul visiting the body, which lies on a bier.
Chapter XC. The Chapter of giving memory to a man.
Vignette: A jackal.

Chapter XCI. The Chapter of not allowing the soul of a man to be shut in.
Vignette: A soul standing on a pedestal.

Chapter XCI. The Chapter of opening the tomb to the soul and shadow of a man, so that he may come forth and may gain power over his legs.
Vignette: The soul of the deceased flying through the door of the tomb.

Chapter XCI. The Chapter of not sailing to the east in the underworld.
Vignette: The hands of a buckle grasping the deceased by his left arm.

Chapter XCV. The Chapter of praying for an ink jar and palette.
Vignette: The deceased sitting before a stand, upon which are an ink jar and palette.

Chapter XCV. The Chapter of being near Thoth.
Vignette: The deceased standing before Thoth.

Chapters XCVI., XCVII. The Chapter of being near Thoth, and of giving

Vignette: The deceased standing near Thoth.

Chapter XCVIII. [The title of this chapter is incomplete.]

Chapter XCV. The Chapter of bringing a boat in the underworld.
Vignette: A boat.

Chapter C. The Chapter of making perfect the khu, and of making it to enter into the boat of Rā, together with his divine followers.
Vignette: A boat containing a company of gods.

Chapter CI. The Chapter of protecting the boat of Rā.
Vignette: The deceased in the boat with Rā.

Chapter CI. The Chapter of going into the boat of Rā.
Vignette: The deceased in the boat with Rā.

Chapter CI. The Chapter of being in the following of Hathor.
Vignette: The deceased standing behind Hathor.

Chapter CI. The Chapter of sitting among the great gods.
Vignette: The deceased seated between two gods.

Chapter CV. The Chapter of satisfying the ka. Vignette: The deceased burning incense before his ka.

Chapter CV. The Chapter of causing joy each day to a man in Ḫet-ka-Ptah (Memphis).
Vignette: An altar with meat and drink offerings.

Chapter CVII. The Chapter of going into, and of coming forth from, the
gate of the gods of the west among the followers of the god, and of knowing the souls of Amentet.

Vignette: Three deities: Rā, Sebek, and Hathor.
Chapter CVIII. The Chapter of knowing the souls of the West.
Vignette: Three deities: Tmu, Sebek, and Hathor.
Chapter CIX. The Chapter of knowing the souls of the East.
Vignette: The deceased making adoration before Rā-Ḥeru-khuti.
Chapter CX. The beginning of the Chapters of the Fields of Peace, and of the Chapters of coming forth by day, and of going into, and of coming forth from, the underworld, and of attaining unto the Fields of Reeds, and of being in the Fields of Peace.
Vignette: The Fields of Peace.
Chapter CXI. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter CVIII.)
Chapter CXII. The Chapter of knowing the souls of Pe.
Vignette: Horus, Mesthā, and Ḫāpi.
Chapter CXIII. The Chapter of knowing the souls of Nekhen.
Vignette: Horus, Ṭuamāutef, and Qebhsennuf.
Chapter CXIV. The Chapter of knowing the souls of Khemennu (Hermostopolis).
Vignette: Three ibis-headed gods.
Chapter CXV.* The Chapter of coming forth to heaven, of passing through the hall of the tomb, and of knowing the souls of Ånnu.
Vignette: The deceased adoring Thoth, Sau and Tmu.
Chapter CXVI. [The Chapter of knowing the souls of Ånnu.
Vignette: The deceased adoring three ibis-headed gods.
Chapter CXVII. The Chapter of taking a way in Re-stau.
Vignette: The deceased, holding a staff in his hand, ascending the western hills.
Chapter CXVIII. The Chapter of coming forth from Re-stau.
Vignette: The deceased holding a staff in his left hand.
Chapter CXIX. The Chapter of knowing the name of Osiris, and of going into, and of coming forth from, Re-stau.
Vignette: The deceased adoring Osiris.
Chapter CXX. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter XII.)
Chapter CXXI. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter XIII.)
Chapter CXXII.* The Chapter of the deceased going in after coming forth from the underworld.
Vignette: The deceased bowing before his tomb, which is on a hill.
Chapter CXXIII. The Chapter of going into the great house (i.e., tomb).
Vignette: The soul of the deceased standing before a tomb.
Chapter CXXIV. The Chapter of going in to the princes of Osiris.
Vignette: The deceased adoring Mesthā, Ḥapi, Ṭuamāutef and Qebhsennuf.
Chapter CXXV. The words which are to be uttered by the deceased when he cometh to the hall of Maāti, which separateth him from his sins, and which maketh him to see God, the Lord of mankind.
Vignette: The hall of Maāti, in which the heart of the deceased is being weighed in a balance in the presence of the great gods.
Chapter CXXVI. [Without title.]
Vignette: A lake of fire, at each corner of which sits an ape.
Chapter CXXVIIa. The book of the praise of the gods of the gerti

This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter CXXVIIa. The Chapter of the words to be spoken on going to the chiefs of Osiris, and of the praise of the gods who are leaders in the ĭuat.
This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter CXXVIII.* The Chapter of praising Osiris.
Vignette: The deceased adoring three deities.
Chapter CXXIX. (This Chapter in now known as Chapter C.)
Chapter CXXX. The Chapter of making perfect the khu.
Vignette: The deceased standing between two boats.
Chapter CXXXI.* The Chapter of making a man go into heaven to the side of Rā.
This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter CXXXII. The Chapter of making a man to go round about to see his house.
Vignette: A man standing before a house or tomb.
Chapter CXXXIII. The Chapter of making perfect the khu in the underworld in the presence of the great company of the gods.
Vignette: The deceased adoring Rā, seated in a boat.
Chapter CXXXIV. The Chapter of entering into the boat of Rā, and of being among those who are in his train.
Vignette: The deceased adoring Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Horus, Hathor.
Chapter CXXXV.* Another Chapter, which is to be recited at the waxing of the moon [each] month.

This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter CXXXVIA. The Chapter of sailing in the boat of Rā.
Vignette: The deceased standing with hands raised in adoration.
Chapter CXXXVIB. The Chapter of sailing in the great boat of Rā, to pass round the fiery orbit of the sun.

This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter CXXXVIIA. The Chapter of kindling the fire which is to be made in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter CXXXVIIIB. The Chapter of the deceased kindling the fire.
Vignette: The deceased seated, kindling a flame.
Chapter CXXXVIII. The Chapter of making the deceased to enter into Abydos.

Vignette: The deceased adorning the standard $\text{𓊁}$.
Chapter CXXXIX. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter CXXIII.)
Chapter CXL.* The Book which is to be recited in the second month of pert, when the utchat is full in the second month of pert.

Vignette: The deceased adorning Ânpu, the utchat, and Rā.

Chapters CXLIA-CXLIII. The Book which is to be recited by a man for his father and for his son at the festivals of Âmentet. It will make him perfect before Rā and before the gods, and he shall dwell with them. It shall be recited on the ninth day of the festival.

Vignette: The deceased making offerings before a god.
Chapter CXLIV. The Chapter of going in.
Vignette: Seven pylons.
Chapter CXLVA. [Without title.]
This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter CXLVB. [The Chapter] of coming forth to the hidden pylons.
This Chapter has no vignette.
Chapter CXLVI. [The Chapter of] knowing the pylons in the house of Osiris in the Field of Aaru.

Vignette: A series of pylons guarded each by a god.
Chapter CXLVII. [A Chapter] to be recited by the deceased when he cometh to the first hall of Âmentet.
Vignette: A series of doors, each guarded by a god.

Chapter CXLVIII. [The Chapter] of nourishing the khu in the underworld, and of removing him from every evil thing.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXLIX. [Without title.]

Vignette: The divisions of the other world.

Chapter CL. [Without title.]

Vignette: Certain divisions of the other world.

Chapter CLI. [Without title.]

Vignette: Scene of the mummy chamber.

Chapter CLIA. [Chapter] of the hands of Ânpu, the dweller in the sepulchral chamber, being upon the lord of life (i.e., the mummy).

Vignette: Anubis standing by the bier of the deceased.

Chapter CLIA. The Chapter of the chief of hidden things.

Vignette: A human head.

Chapter CLII. The Chapter of building a house in the earth.

Vignette: The deceased standing by the foundations of his house.

Chapter CLIIIa. The Chapter of coming forth from the net.

Vignette: A net being drawn by a number of men.

CLIIIb. The Chapter of coming forth from the fishing net.

Vignette: Three apes drawing a fishing net.

Chapter CLIV. The Chapter of not allowing the body of a man to decay in the tomb.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLV. The Chapter of a Št of gold to be placed on the neck of the khu.

Vignette: A Št.

Chapter CLVI. The Chapter of a buckle of amethyst to be placed on the neck of the khu.

Vignette: A Buckle.

Chapter CLVII*. The Chapter of a vulture of gold to be placed on the neck of the khu.

Vignette: A vulture.

Chapter CLVIII.* The Chapter of a collar of gold to be placed on the neck of the khu.

Vignette: A collar.
Chapter CLIX.* The Chapter of a sceptre of mother-of-emerald to be placed on the neck of the khu.

Vignette: A sceptre ₋.

Chapter CLX. [The Chapter] of placing a plaque of mother-of-emerald.

Vignette: A plaque.

Chapter CLXI. The Chapter of the opening of the doors of heaven by Thoth, etc.

Vignette: Thoth opening four doors.

Chapter CLXII.* The Chapter of causing heat to exist under the head of the khu.

Vignette: A cow.

Chapter CLXIII.* The Chapter of not allowing the body of a man to decay in the underworld.

Vignette: Two utschats, and a serpent on legs.

Chapter CLXIV.* Another Chapter.

Vignette: A three-headed goddess, winged, standing between two pigmies.

Chapter CLXV.* The Chapter of arriving in port, of not becoming unseen, and of making the body to germinate, and of satisfying it with the water of heaven.

Vignette: The god Min or Amsu with beetle's body, etc.

Chapter CLXVI. The Chapter of the pillow.

Vignette: A pillow.

Chapter CLXVII. The Chapter of bringing the utschat.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXVIIIa. [Without title.]

Vignette: The boats of the sun, etc.

Chapter CLXVIIIb. [Without title.]

Vignette: Men pouring libations, gods, etc.

Chapter CLXIX. The Chapter of setting up the offering chamber.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXX. The Chapter of the roof of the offering chamber.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXI. The Chapter of tying the ābu.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXII. Here begin the praises which are to be recited in the underworld.
This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXIII.  Addresses by Horus to his father.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Osiris.

Chapter CLXXIV.  The Chapter of causing the khu to come forth from the great gate of heaven.

Vignette: The deceased coming forth from a door.

Chapter CLXXV.  The Chapter of not dying a second time in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased adoring an ibis-headed god.

Chapter CLXXVI.  The Chapter of not dying a second time in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXVII.  The Chapter of raising up the khu, and of making the soul to live in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXVIII.  The Chapter of making up the body, of making the eyes to see, of making the ears to hear, of setting firm the head and of giving it its powers.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXIX.  The Chapter of coming forth from yesterday, of coming forth by day, and of praying with the hands.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXX.  The Chapter of coming forth by day, of praising Rā in Amentet, and of ascribing praise unto those who are in the tuat.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Rā.

Chapter CLXXXI.  The Chapter of going in to the divine chiefs of Osiris who are the leaders in the tuat.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Osiris, etc.

Chapter CLXXXII.  The Book of establishing the backbone of Osiris, of giving breath to him whose heart is still, and of the repulse of the enemies of Osiris by Thoth.

Vignette: The deceased lying on a bier in a funeral chest, surrounded by various gods.

Chapter CLXXXIII.  A hymn of praise to Osiris; ascribing to him glory, and to Un-nefer adoration.

Vignettes: The deceased, with hands raised in adoration, and the god Thoth.

Chapter CLXXXIV.  The Chapter of being with Osiris.

Vignette: The deceased standing by the side of Osiris.
Chapter CLXXXV. The ascription of praise to Osiris, and of adoration to the everlasting lord.

Vignette: The deceased making adoration to Osiris.

Chapter CLXXXVI. A hymn of praise to Hathor, mistress of Amentet, and to Meh-urt.

Vignette: The deceased approaching the mountain of the dead, from which appears the goddess Hathor.

The version akin to the Theban was in vogue from the XXth to the XXVIth dynasty, i.e., about b.c. 1200–550, and was, like the Theban, usually written upon papyrus. The chapters have no fixed order, and are written in lines in the hieratic character; the rubrics, catchwords, and certain names, like that of Āep, are in red. The vignettes are roughly traced in black outline, and are without ornament; but at the ends of the best papyri well-painted scenes, in which the deceased is depicted making adoration to Rā or Horus, are frequently found. The names and titles of the deceased are written in perpendicular rows of hieroglyphics. The character of the handwriting changes in different periods: in the papyrus of the Princess Nesi-Khonsu (about b.c. 1000) it is bold and clear, and much resembles the handsome style of that found in the great Harris papyrus;¹ but within a hundred years, apparently, the fine flowing style disappears, and the writing becomes much smaller and is somewhat cramped; the process of reduction in size continues until the XXVIth dynasty, about b.c. 550, when the small and coarsely written characters are frequently difficult to decipher. The papyri upon which such texts are written vary in length from three to about thirty feet, and in width from nine to eighteen inches; as we approach the period of the XXVIth dynasty the texture becomes coarser and the material is darker in colour. The Theban papyri of this period are lighter in colour than those found in the north of Egypt and are less brittle; they certainly suffer less in unrolling.

¹ The Books of the Dead written in the hieroglyphic and hieratic characters which belong to the period of the rule of the priest-kings of the brotherhood of Amen form a class by themselves, and have relatively little in common with the older versions. A remarkable example of this class is the papyrus of Nesi-Khonsu which M. Maspero published (Les Momies Royales de Dér el-Bahari, p. 600 f.). The text is divided into paragraphs, which contain neither prayers nor hymns but a veritable contract between the god Āmen-Rā and the princess Nesi-Khonsu. After the list of the names and titles of Āmen-Rā with which it begins follow eleven sections wherein the god declares in legal phraseology that he hath deified the princess (𓊫𓊭𓊏𓊊𓊩𓊛) in Āmenta and in Neter-khert; that he hath deified her soul and her body in order that neither may be destroyed; that he hath made her divine like every god and goddess; and that he hath decreed that whatever is necessary for her in her new existence shall be done for her, even as it is done for every other god and goddess.
The Saitic and Ptolemaic version was in vogue from the period of the XXVIth dynasty, about B.C. 550, to probably the end of the rule of the Ptolemies over Egypt. The chapters have a fixed and definite order, and it seems that a careful revision of the whole work was carried out, and that several alterations of an important nature were made in it. A number of chapters which are not found in older papyri appear during this period; but these are not necessarily new inventions, for, as the kings of the XXVIth dynasty are renowned for having revived the arts and sciences and literature of the earliest dynasties, it is quite possible that many or most of the additional chapters are nothing more than new editions of extracts from older works. Many copies of this version were written by scribes who did not understand what they were copying, and omissions of signs, words, and even whole passages are very common; in papyri of the Ptolemaic period it is impossible to read many passages without the help of texts of earlier periods. The papyri of this period vary in colour from a light to a dark brown, and consist usually of layers composed of strips of the plant measuring about 2 inches in width and $14\frac{1}{2}$ to 16 inches in length. Fine examples of Books of the Dead of this version vary in length from about 24 feet (B.M. No. 10,479, written for the ʿuṭḥeb Ḥeru, the son of the ʿuṭḥeb Tchεhrâ) to 60 feet. Hieroglyphic texts are written in black, in perpendicular rows between rules, and hieratic texts in horizontal lines; both the hieroglyphics and the hieratic characters lack the boldness of the writing of the Theban period, and exhibit the characteristics of a conventional hand. The titles of the chapters, catchwords, the words $\text{ɾ̀w}$ which introduce a variant reading, etc., are sometimes written in red. The vignettes are usually traced in black outline, and form a kind of continuous border above the text. In good papyri, however, the scene forming the XVIth Chapter, the scene of the Fields of Peace (Chapter CX.), the Judgment scene (Chapter CXXV.), the vignette of Chapter CXLVIII., the scene forming Chapter CLI. (the sepulchral chamber), and the vignette of Chapter CLXI., fill the whole width of the inscribed portion of the papyrus, and are painted in somewhat crude colours. In some papyri the disk on the head of the hawk of Horus is covered with gold leaf, instead of being painted red as is usual in older papyri. In the Græco-Roman period both texts and vignettes are very carelessly executed, and it is evident that they were written and drawn by ignorant workmen in the quickest and most careless way possible. In this period also certain passages of the text were copied in hieratic and Demotic upon small pieces of papyri which were buried with portions of the bodies of the dead, and upon narrow bandages of coarse linen in which they were swathed.
THE LEGEND OF OSIRIS.

The chief features of the Egyptian religion remained unchanged from the Vth and VIth dynasties down to the period when the Egyptians embraced Christianity, after the preaching of St. Mark the Apostle in Alexandria, A.D. 69, so firmly had the early beliefs taken possession of the Egyptian mind; and the Christians in Egypt, or Copts as they are commonly called, the racial descendants of the ancient Egyptians, seem never to have succeeded in divesting themselves of the superstitious and weird mythological conceptions which they inherited from their heathen ancestors. It is not necessary here to repeat the proofs of this fact which M. Amélineau has brought together, or to adduce evidence from the lives of the saints, martyrs and ascetics; but it is of interest to note in passing that the translators of the New Testament into Coptic rendered the Greek ἀβγάς by άμεν, the name which the ancient Egyptians gave to the abode of man after death, and that the Copts peopled it with beings whose prototypes are found on the ancient monuments.

The chief gods mentioned in the pyramid texts are identical with those whose names are given on tomb, coffin and papyrus in the latest dynasties; and if the names of the great cosmic gods, such as Ptaḥ and Khnemu, are of rare occurrence, it should be remembered that the gods of the dead must naturally occupy the chief place in this literature which concerns the dead. Furthermore, we find that the doctrine of eternal life and of the resurrection of a glorified or transformed body, based upon the ancient story of the resurrection of Osiris after a cruel death and horrible mutilation, inflicted by the powers of evil, was the same in all periods, and that the legends of the most ancient times were accepted without material alteration or addition in the texts of the later dynasties.

2 Lc., 3:11.
3 See St. Matthew xi., 21; Acts ii., 27, etc.
The story of Osiris is nowhere found in a connected form in Egyptian literature, but everywhere, and in texts of all periods, the life, sufferings, death and resurrection of Osiris are accepted as facts universally admitted. Greek writers have preserved in their works traditions concerning this god, and to Plutarch in particular we owe an important version of the legend as current in his day. It is clear that in some points he errs, but this was excusable in dealing with a series of traditions already some four thousand years old. According to this writer the goddess Rhea [Nut], the wife of Helios [Ra], was beloved by Kronos [Seb]. When Helios discovered the intrigue, he cursed his wife and declared that she should not be delivered of her child in any month or in any year. Then the god Hermes, who also loved Rhea, played at tables with Selene and won from her the seventy-sixth part of each day of the year, which, added together, made five whole days. These he joined to the three hundred and sixty days of which the year then consisted. Upon the first of these five days was Osiris brought forth; and at the moment of his birth a voice was heard to proclaim that the lord of creation was born. In course of time he became king of Egypt, and devoted himself to civilizing his subjects and to teaching them the craft of the husbandman; he established a code of laws and bade men worship the gods. Having made Egypt peaceful and flourishing, he set out to instruct the other nations of the world. During his absence his wife Isis so well ruled the state that Typhon [Set], the evil one, could do no harm to the realm of Osiris. When Osiris came again, Typhon plotted with seventy-two comrades, and with Aso, the queen of Ethiopia, to slay him; and secretly got the measure of the body of Osiris, and made ready a fair chest, which was brought into his banqueting hall when Osiris was present together with other guests. By a ruse Osiris was induced to lie down in the chest, which was immediately closed by Typhon and his fellow conspirators, who conveyed it to the Tanaitic mouth of the Nile. These things happened on the seventeenth day of

1 For the text see De Iside et Osiride, ed. Didot (Scripta Moralia, t. iii., pp. 459-69), § xii. ff.

2 The days are called in hieroglyphics "the five additional days of the year," see Brugsch, Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum, Abt. ii. (Kalend.

3 Osiris was born on the first day, Horus on the second; set on the third, Isis on the fourth, and Nephthys on the fifth; the first, third, and fifth of these days were considered unlucky by the Egyptians.

4 The mouths of the Nile are discussed and described by Strabo, XVII, 1, 18 (ed. Didot, p. 681); and by Diodorus, I, 33, 7 (ed. Didot, p. 26).
the month Hathor,1 when Osiris was in the twenty-eighth year either of his reign or of his age. The first to know of what had happened were the Pans and Satyrs, who dwelt hard by Panopolis; and finally the news was brought to Isis at Coptos, whereupon she cut off a lock of hair² and put on mourning apparel. She then set out in deep grief to find her husband’s body, and in the course of her wanderings she discovered that Osiris had been united with her sister Nephthys, and that Anubis, the offspring of the union, had been exposed by his mother as soon as born. Isis tracked him by the help of dogs, and bred him up to be her guard and attendant. Soon after she learned that the chest had been carried by the sea to Byblos, where it had been gently laid by the waves among the branches of a tamarisk tree (.epsilon tau), which in a very short time had grown to a magnificent size and had enclosed the chest within its trunk. The king of the country, admiring the tree, cut it down and made a pillar for the roof of his house of that part which contained the body of Osiris. When Isis heard of this she went to Byblos, and, gaining admittance to the palace through the report of the royal maidens, she was made nurse to one of the king’s sons. Instead of nursing the child in the ordinary way, Isis gave him her finger to suck, and each night she put him into the fire to consume his mortal parts, changing herself the while into a swallow and bemoaning her fate. But the queen once happened to see her son in flames, and cried out, and thus deprived him of immortality. Then Isis told the queen her story, and begged for the pillar which supported the roof. This she cut open, and took out the chest and her husband’s body,³ and her lamentations were so terrible that one of the royal children died of fright. She then brought the

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1 In the Calendar in the fourth Sallier papyrus (No. 10,184) this day is marked triply unlucky, and it is said that great lamentation by Isis and Nephthys took place for Un-nefer (Osiris) thereon. See Chalas, Le Calendrier, p. 50. Here we have Plutarch’s statement supported by documentary evidence. Some very interesting details concerning the festivals of Osiris in the month Chioiak are given by Lorei in Recueil de Travaux, t. iii., p. 43 ff.; t. iv., p. 21 ff.; and t. v., p. 85 ff. The various mysteries which took place thereat are minutely described.

2 On the cutting of the hair as a sign of mourning, see W. Robertson Smith, The Religion of the Semites, p. 395; and for other beliefs about the hair see Tylor, Primitive Culture, vol. ii., p. 364, and Fraser, Golden Bough, pp. 153–208.

3 The story continues that Isis then wrapped the pillar in fine linen and anointed it with oil, and restored it to the queen. Plutarch adds that the piece of wood is, to this day, preserved in the temple of Isis, and worshipped by the people of Byblos. Prof. Robertson Smith suggests (Religion of the Semites, p. 175) that the rite of draping and anointing a sacred stump supplies the answer to the unsolved question of the nature of the ritual practices connected with the Ashera. That some sort of drapery belonged to the Ashera is clear from 2 Kings xxiii., 7. See also Tylor, Primitive Culture, vol. ii., p. 150; and Fraser, Golden Bough, vol. i., p. 304 ff.
chest by ship to Egypt, where she opened it and embraced the body of her husband, weeping bitterly. Then she sought her son Horus in Buto, in Lower Egypt, first having hidden the chest in a secret place. But Typhon, one night hunting by the light of the moon, found the chest, and, recognizing the body, tore it into fourteen pieces, which he scattered up and down throughout the land. When Isis heard of this she took a boat made of papyrus—a plant abhorred by crocodiles—and sailing about she gathered the fragments of Osiris’s body. Wherever she found one, there she built a tomb. But now Horus had grown up, and being encouraged to the use of arms by Osiris, who returned from the other world, he went out to do battle with Typhon, the murderer of his father. The fight lasted many days, and Typhon was made captive. But Isis, to whom the care of the prisoner was given, so far from aiding her son Horus, set Typhon at liberty. Horus in his rage tore from her head the royal diadem; but Thoth gave her a helmet in the shape of a cow’s head. In two other battles fought between Horus and Typhon, Horus was the victor.

This is the story of the sufferings and death of Osiris as told by Plutarch. Osiris was the god through whose sufferings and death the Egyptian hoped that his body might rise again in some transformed or glorified shape, and to him who had conquered death and had become the king of the other world the Egyptian appealed in prayer for eternal life through his victory and power. In every funeral inscription known to us, from the pyramid texts down to the roughly-written prayers upon coffins of the Roman period, what is done for Osiris is done also for the deceased, the state and condition of Osiris are the state and condition of

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1 The ark of “bulrushes” was, no doubt, intended to preserve the child Moses from crocodiles.

2 Μάλλον δὲ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ Ὀσηρίου τῆς ἤλεγχον ὧν εἴρεθα καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐβαζόν γῆς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν βαύνα, καὶ γεγασάθη τὸ τε λευκοτέρον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φύρατον καὶ τὸν ὄφρομάχον κ.λ. By the festival celebrated by the Egyptians in honour of the model of the lost member of Osiris, we are probably to understand the public performance of the ceremony of “setting up the Ἀττ in Tattu,” which we know took place on the last day of the month Choiaik; see Loret, Les Fêtes d’Osiris au mois de Khuiak (Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 32, § 87); Plutarch, De Isis, § xviii.

3 An account of the battle is also given in the IVth Sallier papyrus, wherein we are told that it took place on the 26th day of the month Thoth. Horus and Set fought in the form of two men, but they afterwards changed themselves into two bears and three bears and three nights in this form. Victory inclined now to one side, and now to the other, and the heart of Isis suffered bitterly. When Horus saw that she loosed the fetters which he had laid upon Set, he became like a “raging panther of the south with fury,” and she fled before him; but he pursued her, and cut off her head, which Thoth transformed by his words of magical power and set upon her body again in the form of that of a cow. In the calendars the 26th day of Thoth was marked triply deadly. See Chabas, Le Calendrier, p. 28 ff.
the deceased; in a word, the deceased is identified with Osiris. If Osiris liveth for ever, the deceased will live for ever; if Osiris dieth, then will the deceased perish.¹

¹ The origin of Plutarch's story of the death of Osiris, and the Egyptian conception of his nature and attributes, may be gathered from the following very remarkable hymn. (The text is given by Lecrain, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1879, pl. xxi-xxvii. A French translation of it was published, with notes, by Chabas, in Revue Archéologique, Paris, 1857, t. xiv., p. 65 ff.; and an English version was given in Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. iv., p. 99 ff. The stele upon which it is found belongs to the early part of the XVIIIth dynasty, by which is meant the period before the reign of Amenophis IV.; this is proved by the fact that the name of the god Amen has been cut out of it, an act of vandalism which can only have been perpetrated in the fanatical reign of Amenophis IV.) —

Hymn to Osiris.

"(1) Hail to thee, Osiris, lord of eternity, king of the gods, thou who hast many names, thou disposal of created things, thou who hast hidden forms in the temples, thou sacred one, thou KA who dwellest in Tattu, thou mighty (2) one in Sekhem, thou lord to whom invocations are made in Anu, thou who art over the offerings in Anna, thou lord who maketh inquisition in two-fold right and truth, thou hidden soul, the lord of Qerert, thou who disposes affairs in the city of the White Wall, thou soul of Ra, thou very body of Ra who restest in (3) Suten-benen, thou to whom adorations are made in the region of Nart, thou who maketh the soul to rise, thou lord of the Great House in Khemenu, thou mighty terror in Shas-hetep, thou lord of eternity, thou chief of Abytu, thou who sittest upon thy throne in Ta-tchesert, thou whose name is established in the mouths of (4) men, thou uniformed matter of the world, thou god 'Tum, thou who providest with food the ha's who are with the company of the gods, thou perfect khu among khu's, thou provider of the waters of Nu, thou giver of the wind, thou producer of the wind of the evening from thy nostrils for the satisfaction of thy heart. Thou makest (5) plants to grow at thy desire, thou givest birth to . . . . . to thee are obedient the stars in the heights, and thou openest the mighty gates. Thou art the lord to whom hymns of praise are sung in the southern heaven, and unto thee are adorations paid in the northern heaven. The never setting stars (6) are before thy face, and they are thy thrones, even as also are those that never rest. An offering cometh to thee by the command of Seb. The company of the gods adorest thee, the stars of the nat bow to the earth in adoration before thee, [all] domains pay homage to thee, and the ends of the earth offer entreaty and supplication. When those who are among the holy ones (7) see thee they tremble at thee, and the whole world giveth praise unto thee when it meeteth thy majesty. Thou art a glorious sâhu among the sâhu's, upon thee hath dignity been conferred, thy dominion is eternal, O thou beautiful Form of the company of the gods; thou gracious one who art beloved by him that (8) seeth thee. Thou setteth thy fear in all the world, and through love for thee all proclaim thy name before that of all other gods. Unto thee are offerings made by all mankind, O thou lord to whom commemorations are made, both in heaven and in earth. Many are the shouts of joy that rise to thee at the Uak* festival, and cries of delight ascend to thee from the (9) whole world with one voice. Thou art the chief and prince of thy brethren, thou art the prince of the company of the gods, thou stablishest right and truth everywhere, thou placest thy son upon thy throne, thou art the object of praise of thy father Seb, and of the love of thy mother Nut. Thou art exceeding mighty, thou overthrowest those who oppose thee, thou art mighty of hand, and thou slaughterest thine (10) enemy. Thou settest thy fear in thy foe, thou removest his boundaries, thy heart is fixed, and thy feet are watchful. Thou art the heir of Seb and the sovereign of all the earth;"

* This festival took place on the 17th and 18th days of the month Thoth; see Brugsch, Kalendarische Inschriften, p. 235.
Later in the XVIIIth, or early in the XIXth dynasty, we find Osiris called
the king of eternity, the lord of everlastingness, who traverseth millions of years
in the duration of his life, the firstborn son of the womb of Nut, begotten of Seb,
the prince of gods and men, the god of gods, the king of kings, the lord of lords,
the prince of princes, the governor of the world, from the womb of Nut, whose
existence is for everlasting.² Unnefer of many forms and of many attributes, Tmu
in Annu, the lord of Akert,³ the only one, the lord of the land on each side of the
celestial Nile."³

In the XXVIth dynasty and later there grew up a class of literature repre-

"Seb hath seen thy glorious power, and hath commanded thee to direct the (11) universe for ever and
ever by thy hand.

"Thou hast made this earth by thy hand, and the waters thereof, and the wind thereof, the herb
thereof, all the cattle thereof, all the winged fowl thereof, all the fish thereof, all the creeping things
thereof, and all the four-footed beasts thereof. (12) O thou son of Nut, the whole world is gratified
when thou ascendest thy father's throne like Ra. Thou shinest in the horizon, thou sendest forth
thy light into the darkness, thou makest the darkness light with thy double plume, and thou floodest
the world with light like the (13) Disk at break of day. Thy diadem pierceth heaven and becometh
a brother unto the stars, O thou form of every god. Thou art gracious in command and in speech,
thou art the favoured one of the great company of the gods, and thou art the greatly beloved one of
the lesser company of the gods.

"Thy sister put forth her protecting power for thee, she scattered abroad those who were her
enemies, (14) she drove back evil hap, she pronounced mighty words of power, she made cunning
her tongue, and her words failed not. The glorious Isis was perfect in command and in speech,
and she avenged her brother. She sought him without ceasing, (15) she wandered round and round
the earth uttering cries of pain, and she rested* not until she had found him. She overshadowed
him with her feathers, she made wind with her wings, and she uttered cries at the burial of her
brother. (16) She raised up the prostrate form of him whose heart was still, she took from him of
his essence, she conceived and brought forth a child,† she suckled it in secret (?) and none knew the
place thereof; and the arm of the child hath waxed strong in the great house of Seb. (17) The
company of the gods rejoiceth and is glad at the coming of Osiris's son Horus, and firm of heart and
triumphant is the son of Isis, the heir of Osiris."‡

¹ For the text see the papyrus of Ani, pl. ii., and pl. xxxvi., l. 2.
² I.e., the underworld.
³ ∑ ∑ ∑ ∑ ∑ ∑; see Ani, pl. xix., l. 9.

* Literally, "she lighted not," ∑; the whole passage here justifies Plutarch's statement (De Iside
de Osiride, 16) concerning Isis: Ἀδύτῳ δὲ γιγαντίων χωλίτην τῷ κύον τερτείου καὶ θρώνων.
† Compare Plutarch, op. cit., § 19: Τὸν Ε' ἵππος μετὰ τὸν νεκρὸν Ἐ σούρδες συγκεκριμένον, τεταρτικές γένους καὶ
άνθρωπης ἐκάκων γνῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλονα.
‡ The remainder of the hymn refers to Horus.
sent by such works as "The Book of Respiations,"1 "The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys,"2 "The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys,"3 "The Litanies of Seker,"4 and the like, the hymns and prayers of which are addressed to Osiris rather as the god of the dead and type of the resurrection5 than as the successor of the great cosmic god Tmu-Rā. He is called "the soul that liveth again,"6 "the being who becometh a child again,"7 "the firstborn son of unformed matter, the lord of multitudes of aspects and forms, the lord of time and bestower of years, the lord of life for all eternity."7 He is the "giver of life from the beginning;"8 life "springs up to us from his destruction,"9 and the germ which proceeds from him engenders life in both the dead and the living.10

1 The text of this work, transcribed into hieroglyphics, was published, with a Latin translation, by Brugsch, under the title, Sai an Sinsin sive liber Metempsychosis veterum Aegyptiorum, Berlin, 1851; and an English translation of the same work, but made from a Paris MS., was given by P. J. de Horrack in Records of the Past, 1st series, vol. iv., p. 121 ff. See also Birch, Facsimiles of Two Papyri, London, 1863, p. 3; Devéria, Catalogue des MSS. Égyptiens, Paris, 1874, pp. 130 ff., where several copies of this work are described.
2 The hieratic text of this work is published with a French translation by P. J. de Horrack, Les Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys, Paris, 1886.
3 A hieroglyphic transcript of these works, with an English translation, was given in Archæologia, vol. liii., London, 1891.
4 Toutefois, on remarque dans cet écrit une tendance à la doctrine de la résurrection du corps plus marquée que dans les compositions antérieures (Catalogue, p. 13).
5 Ibid., viii., 21, ix., 8.
6 Ibid., vii., 21, ix., 8.
7 Ibid., vii., 21, ix., 8.
8 Ibid., iii., 18.
9 Ibid., ix., 26.
THE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL LIFE.

The ideas and beliefs which the Egyptians held in reference to a future existence are not readily to be defined, owing to the many difficulties in translating religious texts and in harmonizing the statements made in different works of different periods. Some confusion of details also seems to have existed in the minds of the Egyptians themselves, which cannot be cleared up until the literature of the subject has been further studied and until more texts have been published. That the Egyptians believed in a future life of some kind is certain; and the doctrine of eternal existence is the leading feature of their religion, and is enunciated with the utmost clearness in all periods. Whether this belief had its origin at Anu, the chief city of the worship of the sun-god, is not certain, but is very probable; for already in the pyramid texts we find the idea of everlasting life associated with the sun’s existence, and Pepi I. is said to be “the Giver of life, stability, power, health, and all joy of heart, like the Sun, living for ever.” The sun rose each day in renewed strength and vigour, and the renewal of youth in a future life was the aim and object of every Egyptian believer. To this end all the religious literature of Egypt was composed. Let us take the following extracts from texts of the VIth dynasty as illustrations:

1. Ha Unás án šem-nek ás met-θ šem-nek ãnyet
   Hail Unás, not hast thou gone, behold, [as] one dead, thou hast gone [as] one living

hems Her ḫent Ausar
   to sit upon the throne of Osiris.

---

1 Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 167 (l. 65).
2 Recueil de Travaux, t. iii., p. 201 (l. 206). The context runs “Thy Sceptre is in thy hand, and thou givest commands unto the living ones. The Meket and Nekhbet sceptres are in thy hand, and thou givest commands unto those whose abodes are secret.”
INTRODUCTION.

2. **Rā-Tem i-nek sa - k i-nek Unás**
   O Rā-Tum, cometh to thee thy son, cometh to thee Unás.

3. **tet - k en tetta**
   thy body for ever.¹

3. **Tem sa - k pu penenAusār pá-nek seteb - f anx - f anx - f**
   O Tum, thy son is this Osiris; thou hast given his sustenance and he liveth; he liveth,

4. **ânx Unás pen án mit - f án mit Unás pen**
   and liveth Unás this; not dieth he, not dieth Unás this.²

4. **hetep Unás em ânx em Amenta**
   Setteth Unás in life in Amenta.³

5. **au âm - nef sda en neter neb âââââa pá nehel ter - f**
   He¹ hath eaten the knowledge of god every, [his] existence is for all eternity

5. **pâ tetta em sâh - f pen en merer - f âri - f mestet - f**
   and to everlasting in his sâh² this; what he willeth he doeth, [what] he hateth

5. **ân âri - nef**
   not doth he do.⁴

³ Ibid., t. iv., p. 50 (I. 445). The allusion here is to the setting of the sun.
⁴ i.e., Unás. ⁵ See page lix.
⁶ Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 61 (II. 520, 521).
6. ḫn ka nḥr ḫn kā sem ḫn
Live not shall thou die.\textsuperscript{1}

In the papyrus of Ani the deceased is represented as having come to a place remote and far away, where there is neither air to breathe nor water to drink, but where he holds converse with Tmu. In answer to his question, "How long have I to live?"\textsuperscript{2} the great god of Annu answers:

Thou shalt exist for millions of millions of years, a period of millions of years.

In the LXXXIVth Chapter, as given in the same papyrus, the infinite duration of the past and future existence of the soul, as well as its divine nature, is proclaimed by Ani in the words:

I am Shu [the god] of unformed matter. My soul is God, my soul is eternity.\textsuperscript{3}

When the deceased identifies himself with Shu, he makes the period of his existence coeval with that of Tmu-Rā, \textit{i.e.}, he existed before Osiris and the other gods of his company. These two passages prove the identity of the belief in eternal life in the XVIIIth dynasty with that in the Vth and VIth dynasties.

But while we have this evidence of the Egyptian belief in eternal life, we are nowhere told that man's corruptible body will rise again; indeed, the following extracts show that the idea prevailed that the body lay in the earth while the soul or spirit lived in heaven.

Soul to heaven, body to earth\textsuperscript{4} (Vth dynasty.)

\textsuperscript{1} Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 170 (Pepi, l. 85).
\textsuperscript{2} Plate XIX., l. 16 (Book of the Dead, Chapter CLXXV.).
\textsuperscript{3} Plate XXVIII., l. 15.
\textsuperscript{4} Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 71 (l. 582).
There is, however, no doubt that from first to last the Egyptians firmly believed that besides the soul there was some other element of the man that would rise again. The preservation of the corruptible body too was in some way connected with the life in the world to come, and its preservation was necessary to ensure eternal life; otherwise the prayers recited to this end would have been futile, and the time honoured custom of mummmifying the dead would have had no meaning. The never ending existence of the soul is asserted in a passage quoted above without reference to Osiris; but the frequent mention of the uniting of his bones, and of the gathering together of his members, and the doing away with all corruption from his body, seems to show that the pious Egyptian connected these things with the resurrection of his own body in some form, and he argued that what had been done for him who was proclaimed to be giver and source of life must be necessary for mortal man.

The physical body of man considered as a whole was called khat, a word which seems to be connected with the idea of something which is liable to decay. The word is also applied to the mummmified body in the tomb, as we know from the words "My body (khat) is buried." Such a body was attributed to the god Osiris; in the CLXIIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead his great

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1 Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 45 (l. 304).
3 Already in the pyramid texts we have — "Rise up, O thou Teta! Thou hast received thy head, thou hast knitted together thy bones, thou hast collected thy members." Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 49 (l. 287).
4 Papyrus of Ani, pl. vii., l. 28, and pl. xix., l. 8.
THE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL LIFE.

divine body rested in Annu."¹ In this respect the god and the deceased were on an equality. As we have seen above, the body neither leaves the tomb nor reappears on earth; yet its preservation was necessary. Thus the deceased addresses Tmu²: "Hail to thee, O my father Osiris, I have come and I have "embalmed this my flesh so that my body may not decay. I am whole, even as my "father Kheperā was whole, who is to me the type of that which passeth not away. "Come then, O Form, and give breath unto me, O lord of breath, O thou who art "greater than thy compeers. Stablish thou me, and form thou me, O thou who art "lord of the grave. Grant thou to me to endure for ever, even as thou didst grant "unto thy father Tmu to endure; and his body neither passed away nor decayed. "I have not done that which is hateful unto thee, nay, I have spoken that which thy "ka loveth; repulse thou me not, and cast thou me not behind thee, O Tmu, to "decay, even as thou doest unto every god and unto every goddess and unto "every beast and creeping thing which perisheth when his soul hath gone forth "from him after his death, and which falleth in pieces after his decay . . . . "Homage to thee, O my father Osiris, thy flesh suffered no decay, there were no "worms in thee, thou didst not crumble away, thou didst not wither away, thou "didst not become corruption and worms; and I myself am Kheperā, I shall "possess my flesh for ever and ever, I shall not decay, I shall not crumble away, "I shall not wither away, I shall not become corruption."

But the body does not lie in the tomb inoperative, for by the prayers and ceremonies on the day of burial it is endowed with the power of changing into a sāḥu, or spiritual body. Thus we have such phrases as, "I germinate like the "plants,"³ "My flesh germinateth,"⁴ "I exist, I exist, I live, I live, I germinate, I "germinate,"⁵ "thy soul liveth, thy body germinateth by the command of Rā

¹ Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 77, l. 7.
² This chapter was found inscribed upon one of the linen wrappings of the mummy of Thothmes III., and a copy of the text is given by Naville (Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 179); for a later version see Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 75, where many interesting variants occur.
³ Chapter LXXXIII., 3.
⁴ Chapter LXIV., l. 49. (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 76.)
⁵ Chapter CLIV. (Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 75.)
"himself without diminution, and without defect, like unto Rā for ever and ever."¹

The word sāhu, though at times written with the determinative of a mummy lying on a bier like khat, "body," indicates a body which has obtained a degree of knowledge² and power and glory whereby it becomes henceforth lasting and incorruptible. The body which has become a sāhu has the power of associating with the soul and of holding converse with it. In this form it can ascend into heaven and dwell with the gods, and with the sāhu of the gods, and with the souls of the righteous. In the pyramid texts we have these passages:—

1. ṭēs - ūu  
   Tetā  
   pu  
   un - ūu  
   āāā  
   pek - ūa  
   hems - k
   Rise up thou  
   Tetā  
   this.  
   Stand up thou mighty one  
   being strong.  
   Sit thou

   xent  
   neteru  
   āri - k  
   ennu  
   āri  
   en  
   Ausār  
   em  
   Ḥet - āa  
   āmēt  
   Ānnu
   with the gods, do thou that which did  
   Osiris in the great house in Ānnu.

   sēsēp - nēk  
   sāh - k  
   ān  
   t'ēr  
   ret - k  
   em  
   pet  
   ān
   Thou hast received thy sāh, not shall be fettered thy foot in heaven, not

   xēsef - k  
   em  
   ta
   shalt thou be turned back upon earth.³

2. ḏnet  
   hēri - k  
   Tetā  
   em  
   hru - k  
   pen  
   āhā - bā  
   xēft  
   Rā
   Hail to thee, Tetā, on this thy day [when] thou art standing before Rā [as]

¹ Compare Coptic CA, "magister."
² Revue de Travaux, t. v., p. 36 (l. 271). From line 143 of the same text it would seem that a man had more than one sāhu, for the words "all thy sāhu," occur. This may, however, be only a plural of majesty.
In the late edition of the Book of the Dead published by Lepsius the deceased is said to "look upon his body and to rest upon his sāh," and souls are said "to enter into their sāh"; and a passage extant both in this and the older Theban edition makes the deceased to receive the sāh of the god Osiris. But that Egyptian writers at times confused the khat with the sāh is clear from a passage in the Book of Respirations, where it is said, "Hail Osiris, thy name endureth, thy body is established, thy sāh germinateth"; in other texts the word "germinate" is applied only to the natural body.

In close connection with the natural and spiritual bodies stood the heart, or rather that part of it which was the seat of the power of life and the fountain of good and evil thoughts. And in addition to the natural and spiritual bodies, man also had an abstract individuality or personality endowed with all his characteristic attributes. This abstract personality had an absolutely independent existence. It could move freely from place to place, separating itself from, or uniting itself to,
The ka or double.

the body at will, and also enjoying life with the gods in heaven. This was the *ka* $\text{Redis}$, a word which at times conveys the meanings of its Coptic equivalent $\text{beer}$, and of $\text{redos}$, image, genius, double, character, disposition, and mental attributes. The funeral offerings of meat, cakes, ale, wine, unguments, *etc.*, were intended for the *ka*; the scent of the burnt incense was grateful to it. The *ka* dwelt in the man's statue just as the *ka* of a god inhabited the statue of the god. In this respect the *ka* seems to be identical with the *sekhem* $\text{Res}$ or image. In the remotest times the tombs had special chambers wherein the *ka* was worshipped and received offerings. The priesthood numbered among its body an order of men who bore the name of "priests of the *ka*" $\text{Res}+\text{Arch}$, and who performed services in honour of the *ka* in the "*ka* chapel" $\text{Arch}$.

In the text of Unás the deceased is said to be "happy with his *ka*" $\text{Arch}$ in the next world, and his *ka* is joined unto his body in "the great dwelling" $\text{Arch}$; his body

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1 The first scholar who seriously examined the meaning of the word $\text{Redis}$ was Dr. Birch, who collected several examples of the use and discussed them in his *Mémoire sur une Patère Égyptienne du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1858, p. 59 ff. (Extrait du t. xxiv. des Mémoires de la Société impériale des Antiquaires de France). Dr. Birch translated the word by être, personne, emblème, divin, génie, principe, esprit. In September, 1878, M. Maspero explained to the Members of the Congress of Lyons the views which he held concerning this word, and which he had for the past five years been teaching in the Collège de France, and said, "le *ka* est une sorte de double de la personne humaine d'une matière moins grossière que la matière dont est formé le corps, mais qu'il fallait nourrir et entretenir comme le corps lui-même; ce double vivait dans le tombeau des offrandes qu'on faisait aux fêtes canoniques, et aujourd'hui encore un grand nombre des génies de la tradition populaire égyptienne ne sont que des *daoules*, devenus démons au moment de la conversion des félahs au christianisme, puis à l'islamisme." These views were repeated by him at the Sorbonne in February, 1879. See *Comptes Rendus du Congrès provincial des Orientalistes*, Lyons, 1878, t. i., pp. 235-263; *Revue Science de la France et de l'Étranger*, 2e série, 8e années, No. 35, March, 1879, pp. 818-820; *Bulletin de l'Association Science de France*, No. 594, 1879, t. xxi., p. 373-384; Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, t. i., pp. 1, 35, 126. In March, 1879, Mr. Renouf read a paper entitled "On the true sense of an important Egyptian word" (Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. vi., London, 1879, pp. 494-508), in which he arrived at conclusions similar to those of M. Maspero; and in September of the same year M. Maspero again treated the subject in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. i., p. 152 ff. The various shades of meaning in the word have been discussed subsequently by Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* (Suppl.), pp. 997, 1230; Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Pataennes*, Abt. i., p. 10; Bergmann, *Der Sarkophag des Panchemisis* (in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1883, p. 5); Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Ägypter*, p. 126.

2 $\text{Arch}$, l. 472.

3 $\text{Arch}$, l. 482.
having been buried in the lowest chamber, "his ka cometh forth to him."\(^1\) Of Pepi I. it is said:—

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{āḥā} \quad \text{uāb - k} \\
&\text{Thou art pure, thy ka is pure, thy soul is pure, thy form is pure.}\(^3\)
\end{align*}
\]

The ka, as we have seen, could eat food, and it was necessary to provide food for it. In the XIIth dynasty and in later periods the gods are entreated to grant meat and drink to the ka of the deceased; and it seems as if the Egyptians thought that the future welfare of the spiritual body depended upon the maintenance of a constant supply of sepulchral offerings. When circumstances rendered it impossible to continue the material supply of food, the ka fed upon the offerings painted on the walls of the tomb, which were transformed into suitable nourishment by means of the prayers of the living. When there were neither material offerings nor painted similitudes to feed upon, it seems as if the ka must have perished; but the texts are not definite on this point.

The following is a specimen of the ka’s petition for food written in the XVIIIth dynasty:

"May the gods grant that I go into and come forth from my tomb, may the Majesty refresh its shade, may I drink water from my cistern every day, may all my limbs grow, may Hāpi give unto me bread and flowers of all kinds in their season, may I pass over my estate every day without ceasing, may my soul

\(^1\) *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 166, l. 67.
\(^3\) *Ibid.*, l. 112.
alight upon the branches of the groves which I have planted, may I make myself
cool beneath my sycamores, may I eat the bread which they provide. May I
have my mouth that I may speak therewith like the followers of Horus, may I
come forth to heaven, may I descend to earth, may I never be shut out upon the
road, may there never be done unto me that which my soul abhorreth, let not my
soul be imprisoned, but may I be among the venerable and favoured ones, may I
plough my lands in the Field of Aaru, may I arrive at the Field of Peace, may
one come out to me with vessels of ale and cakes and bread of the lords of
eternity, may I receive meat from the altars of the great, I the ka of the prophet
Amsu.’

To that part of man which beyond all doubt was believed to enjoy an eternal
existence in heaven in a state of glory, the Egyptians gave the name ba, a word which means something like ‘sublime,’ ‘noble,’ and which has always
hitherto been translated by ‘soul.’ The ba is not incorporeal, for although it
dwells in the ka, and is in some respects, like the heart, the principle of life in man,
still it possesses both substance and form: in form it is depicted as a human-headed
hawk, and in nature and substance it is stated to be exceedingly refined or
ethereal. It revisited the body in the tomb and re-animated it, and conversed with
it; it could take upon itself any shape that it pleased; and it had the power of
passing into heaven and of dwelling with the perfected souls there. It was
eternal. As the ba was closely associated with the ka, it partook of the funeral
offerings, and in one aspect of its existence at least it was liable to decay if not
properly and sufficiently nourished. In the pyramid texts the permanent dwelling-
place of the ba or soul is heaven with the gods, whose life it shares:

\[
\text{\textit{sek Unás per em hru pen em áru māā en}}
\]

Behold Unás cometh forth on day this in the form exact of

\[
\text{\textit{ba án\text{ñ}x}}
\]

\footnote{\textit{Recueil de Travaux}, t. iv., p. 52 (l. 455).}
The Doctrine of Eternal Life

2. 
\[\text{ba - sen met Unás}^1\]
Their soul is in Unás.\(^2\)

3. 
\[\text{dḥā ba - k emma neteru}\]
Standeth thy soul among the gods.\(^3\)

4. 
\[\text{ḥa Pepi pu i-nek maat Hēru mēš - s ṣu}\]
Hail, Pepi this! cometh to thee the eye of Horus, it speaketh with thee.

\[\text{i-nek ba - k ām neteru}\]
Cometh to thee thy soul which is among the gods.\(^4\)

5. 
\[\text{wāb ba - k ām neteru}\]
Pure is thy soul among the gods.\(^5\)

6. 
\[\text{āny Ausrār āny ba ām Netāt āny Pepi pen}\]
As liveth Osiris, and as liveth the soul in Netat, so liveth Pepi this.\(^6\)

7. 
\[\text{tā - s baiu - k Pepi pen xent paut neteru em}\]
It placeth thy soul Pepi this among the greater and lesser cycles of the gods in

\[\text{tut ārāt ām - thā hāt - k}\]
the form of the uræi [which] are on thy brow.\(^8\)

---

\(^{1}\) \text{I.e., the soul of the gods.}
\(^{2}\) \text{Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 61 (l. 522).}
\(^{3}\) \text{Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 55 (l. 350), and see Pepi I, ll. 19, 20.}
\(^{4}\) \text{Ibid., t. v., p. 160 (l. 13).}
\(^{5}\) \text{Ibid., t. v., p. 183 (l. 166).}
\(^{6}\) \text{Ibid., t. v., p. 184 (l. 167).}
\(^{7}\) \text{I.e., the Eye of Horus.}
In connection with the *ka* and *ba* must be mentioned the *khaibit*, or shadow of the man, which the Egyptians regarded as a part of the human economy. It may be compared with the *skia* and *umbra* of the Greeks and Romans. It was supposed to have an entirely independent existence and to be able to separate itself from the body; it was free to move wherever it pleased, and, like the *ka* and *ba*, it partook of the funeral offerings in the tomb, which it visited at will. The mention of the shade, whether of a god or man, in the pyramid texts is unfrequent, and it is not easy to ascertain what views were held concerning it; but from the passage in the text of Unä, where it is mentioned together with the souls and spirits and bones of the gods, it is evident that already at that early date its position in relation to man was well defined. From the collection of illustrations which Dr. Birch appended to his paper *On the Shade or Shadow of the Dead*, it is quite clear that in later times at least the shadow was always associated with the soul and was believed to be always near it; and this view is

1 *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 184 (l. 168).
2 See *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 62 (l. 523).
supported by a passage in the XCIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead,\(^1\) where it is said:—

\[\text{em} \quad \text{xená} \quad \text{ba - á} \quad \text{sauti} \quad \text{χαιβιτ-á} \quad \text{un} \quad \text{uat}\]

Let not be shut in my soul, let not be fettered my shadow, let be opened the way

\[\text{en} \quad \text{ba - á} \quad \text{en} \quad \text{χαιβιτ-á} \quad \text{maa - f} \quad \text{neter áa}\]

for my soul and for my shadow, may it see the great god.

And again, in the LXXXIXth Chapter the deceased says:—

\[\text{maa - á} \quad \text{ba - á} \quad \text{χαιβιτ-á}\]

May I look upon my soul and my shadow.\(^3\)

Another important and apparently eternal part of man was the khu \(\text{khù}\), which, judging from the meaning of the word, may be defined as a "shining" or translucent, intangible casing or covering of the body, which is frequently depicted in the form of a mummy. For want of a better word khu has often been translated "shining one," "glorious," "intelligence," and the like, but in certain cases it may be tolerably well rendered by "spirit." The pyramid texts show us that the khu's of the gods lived in heaven, and thither wended the khu of a man as soon as ever the prayers said over the dead body enabled it to do so. Thus it is said, "Unás standeth with the khu's,"\(^3\) and one of the gods is asked to "give him his sceptre among the khu's;"\(^4\) when the souls of the gods enter into Unás, their khu's are with and round about him.\(^5\) To king Tetá it is said:—

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\(^1\) Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 104, ll. 7, 8.
\(^2\) Ibid., Bd. I, Bl. 101.
\(^3\) Recueil de Travaux, t. iii., p. 188 (l. 71).
\(^4\) Ibid., t. iii., p. 215 (l. 274).
\(^5\) Ibid., t. iv., p. 61 (l. 522).
He hath plucked his eye from himself, he hath given it unto thee to strengthen thee therewith, that thou mayest prevail with it among the khu's.

And again, when the god Khent-mennut-f has transported the king to heaven, the god Seb, who rejoices to meet him, is said to give him both hands and welcome him as a brother and to nurse him and to place him among the imperishable khu's. In the XCIInd Chapter the deceased is made to pray for the liberation of his soul, shadow, and khu from the bondage of the tomb, and for deliverance from those "whose dwellings are hidden, who fetter the souls, who fetter souls and khu's "and who shut in the shadows of the dead"; and in the XCIs Chapter is a formula specially prepared to enable the khu to pass from the tomb to the domains where Ra and Hathor dwell.

Yet another part of a man was supposed to exist in heaven, to which the Egyptians gave the name sekhem. The word has been rendered by "power," "form," and the like, but it is very difficult to find any expression which will represent the Egyptian conception of the sekhem. It is mentioned in connection with the soul and khu, as will be seen from the following passages from the pyramid texts:

Cometh to thee thy sekhem among the khu's.

---

1 I.e., Horus.
2 Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 19 (l. 174).
3 Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 41 (l. 289).
4 See below, p. 117.
5 See below, p. 115.
THE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL LIFE.

2. **uāb sekhem k am xu**
   Pure is thy sekhem among the khu's.¹

3. **āhā uāb k uāb ka k uāb ba k uāb**
   Thou art pure, pure is thy ka, pure is thy soul, pure is

   **sekhem k**
   thy sekhem.²

A name of Rā was **sekhem ur**, the "Great Sekhem," and Unās is identified with him and called:

   **sekhem ur sekhem em sekhemu**
   Great sekhem, sekhem among the sekhemu.³

Finally, the name, **ren**, of a man was believed to exist in heaven, and in the pyramid texts we are told that

   **neser en pen henā ren f anx pen henā ka f**
   Happy is Pepi this with his name, liveth Pepi this with his ka.⁴

Thus, as we have seen, the whole man consisted of a natural body, a spiritual body, a heart, a double, a soul, a shadow, an intangible ethereal casing or spirit, a form, and a name. All these were, however, bound together inseparably, and the welfare of any single one of them concerned the welfare of all. For the well-being of the spiritual parts it was necessary to preserve from decay the natural body; and

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¹ *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 175 (l. 113).
² *Ibid.,* t. iv., p. 44, l. 393.
³ *Ibid.,* t. v., p. 185, l. 169.
certain passages in the pyramid texts seem to show that a belief in the resurrection of the natural body existed in the earliest dynasties. 1

The texts are silent as to the time when the immortal part began its beatified existence; but it is probable that the Osiris 2 of a man only attained to the full enjoyment of spiritual happiness after the funeral ceremonies had been duly performed and the ritual recited. Comparatively few particulars are known of the manner of life of the soul in heaven, and though a number of interesting facts may be gleaned from the texts of all periods, it is very difficult to harmonize them. This result is due partly to the different views held by different schools of thought in ancient Egypt, and partly to the fact that on some points the Egyptians themselves seem to have had no decided opinions. We depend upon the pyramid texts for our knowledge of their earliest conceptions of a future life.

The life of the Osiris of a man in heaven is at once material and spiritual; and it seems as if the Egyptians never succeeded in breaking away from their very ancient habit of confusing the things of the body with the things of the soul. They believed in an incorporeal and immortal part of man, the constituent elements of which flew to heaven after death and embalmment; yet the theologians of the V1th dynasty had decided that there was some part of the deceased which could only mount to heaven by means of a ladder. In the pyramid of Tetâ it is said, "When Tetâ hath purified himself on the borders of this earth where Ra hath purified himself, he prayeth and setteth up the ladder, and those who dwell in the great place press Tetâ forward with their hands." 3 In the pyramid of Pepi I.

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1 E.g., [Image] “This Pepi goeth forth with his flesh.” Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 185, l. 169.

2 The Osiris consisted of all the spiritual parts of a man gathered together in a form which resembled him exactly. Whatever honour was paid to the mummified body was received by its Osiris, the offerings made to it were accepted by its Osiris, and the amulets laid upon it were made use of by its Osiris for its own protection. The sahu, the ha, the ba, the htu, the khebt, the sekhem, and the ren were in primeval times separate and independent parts of man’s immortal nature; but in the pyramid texts they are welded together, and the dead king Pepi is addressed as “Osiris Pepi.” The custom of calling the deceased Osiris continued until the Roman period. On the Osiris of a man, see Wiedemann, Die Osirianische Unsterblichkeitslehre (in Die Religion der alten Aegypter, p. 128).

the king is identified with this ladder: "Isis saith, 'Happy are they who see the " 'father,' and Nephthys saith, 'They who see the father have rest,' speaking unto " the father of this Osiris Pepi when he cometh forth unto heaven among the stars " and among the luminaries which never set. With the uræus on his brow, and his " book upon both his sides, and magic words at his feet, Pepi goeth forward unto " his mother Nut, and he entereth therein in his name Ladder."1 The gods who " preside over this ladder are at one time Rā and Horus, and at another Horus and " Set. In the pyramid of Unās it is said, " Rā setteth upright the ladder for Osiris, " and Horus raiseth up the ladder for his father Osiris, when Osiris goeth to [find] " his soul; one standeth on the one side, and the other standeth on the other, and " Unās is betwixt them. Unās standeth up and is Horus, he sitteth down and is " Set."2 And in the pyramid of Pepi I. we read, "Hail to thee, O Ladder of God, " hail to thee, O Ladder of Set. Stand up, O Ladder of God, stand up, O Ladder " of Set, stand up, O Ladder of Horus, whereon Osiris went forth into heaven. . . . . " This Pepi is thy son, this Pepi is Horus, thou hast given birth unto this Pepi even " as thou hast given birth unto the god who is the lord of the Ladder. Thou hast " given him the Ladder of God, and thou hast given him the Ladder of Set, " whereon this Pepi hath gone forth into heaven. . . . . Every khu and every god " stretcheth out his hand unto this Pepi when he cometh forth into heaven by the " Ladder of God . . . . that which he seeth and that which he heareth make him " wise, and serve as food for him when he cometh forth into heaven by the " Ladder of God. Pepi riseth up like the uræus which is on the brow of Set, and " every khu and every god stretcheth out his hand unto Pepi on the ladder. Pepi " hath gathered together his bones, he hath collected his flesh, and Pepi hath gone " straightway into heaven by means of the two fingers of the god who is the Lord " of the Ladder."3 Elsewhere we are told that Khonsu and Set "carry the " Ladder of Pepi, and they set it up."

When the Osiris of a man has entered into heaven as a living soul,4 he is regarded as one of those who "have eaten the eye of Horus";5 he walks among

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1 Rebus de Travaux, t. v, p. 190, ll. 181, 182.
2 Ibid., t. iv, p. 70, l. 579 ff.
3 Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie, t. i, p. 344, note 1.
4 Ibid., t. iii, p. 165 (l. 169).
the living ones 𓊚𓊙𓊓. the deification of
heaven become "God, the son of God," and all the gods of
his bones are the gods and goddesses of heaven; his right side belongs to Horus, and his left side to Set; the goddess Nut makes
him to rise up as a god without an enemy in his name "God," and God calls
him by his name. His face is the face of Ap-uat, his eyes are the great ones
among the souls of Anu, his nose is Thoth, his mouth is the great lake, his
tongue belongs to the boat of right and truth, his teeth are the spirits of Anu, his
chin is Khert-khent-Sekhem, his backbone is Sema, his shoulders are Set, his
breast is Beba, etc.; every one of his members is identified with a god. Moreover,
his body as a whole is identified with the God of Heaven. For example it is said
concerning Unas:

Thy body is the body of Unas this. Thy flesh is the flesh of Unas this.

Thy bones are the bones of Unas this. Thy passage is the passage of Unas this.

The passage of Unas this is thy passage.

1 Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 183 (l. 166).
2 𓊚𓊙𓊓. Ibid., t. viii., p. 89 (l. 574).
3 See pyramid of Tet, (Recueil, t. v.), l. 45, 137, 197, 302.
4 Ibid., t. vi., p. 23 (l. 198).
5 Ibid., t. iii., p. 202 (l. 209).
6 Ibid., t. v., p. 38, (l. 279).
7 Ibid., p. 26 (l. 222)
8 Ibid., t. viii., p. 88 (l. 565 ff.).
Further, this identification of the deceased with the God of Heaven places him in the position of supreme ruler. For example, we have the prayer that Unas “may rule the nine gods and complete the company of the nine gods,” and Pepi I., in his progress through heaven, comes upon the double company of the gods, who stretch out their hands, entreat him to come and sit down among them.

Again, the deceased is changed into Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis. It is said of Pepi I., “Behold it is not Pepi who entreateth to see thee in the form in which thou art, O Osiris, who entreateth to see thee in the form in which thou art, O Osiris; but it is thy son who entreateth to see thee in the form in which thou art, O Osiris, it is Horus who entreateth to see thee in the form in which thou art”; and Horus does not place Pepi at the head of the dead, but among the divine gods. Elsewhere we are told that Horus has taken his Eye and given it to Pepi, and that the odour of Pepi’s body is the odour of the Eye of Horus. Throughout the pyramid texts the Osiris of the deceased is the son of Tmu, or Tmu-Ra, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, and Nut, the brother of Isis, Nephthys, Set, and Thoth, and the father of Horus; his hands, arms, belly, back, hips and thighs, and legs are the god Tmu, and his face is Anubis. He is the brother of the moon, he is the child of the star Sothis, he revolves in heaven like Orion and Sothis, and he rises in his place like a star. The gods, male and
female, pay homage to him, every being in heaven adores him; and in one interesting passage it is said of Pepi I. that "when he hath come forth into heaven he will find Rā standing face to face before him, and, having seated himself upon the shoulders of Rā, Rā will not let him put himself down again upon the ground; for he knoweth that Pepi is more shining than the shining ones, more perfect than the perfect, and more stable than the stable ones . . . . . . When Pepi standeth upon the north of heaven with Rā, he becometh lord of the universe like unto the king of the gods." To the deceased Horus gives his own ka, and also drives away the ka's of the enemies of the deceased from him, and hamstrings his foes. By the divine power thus given to the deceased he brings into subjection the ka's of the gods and other ka's, and he lays his yoke upon the ka's of the triple company of the gods. He also becomes Thoth, the intelligence of the gods, and he judges hearts; and the hearts of those who would take away his food and the breath from his nostrils become the prey of his hands.

The place of the deceased in heaven is by the side of God in the most holy place, and he becomes God and an angel of God; he himself is triumphant,

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1. [Textual references and notes related to ancient Egyptian practices and beliefs.]
and his *ka* is triumphant.\(^1\) He sits on a great throne by the side of God.\(^8\) The throne is of iron ornamented with lions' faces and having the hoofs of bulls.\(^6\) He is clothed in the finest raiment, like unto the raiment of those who sit on the throne of living right and truth.\(^4\) He receives the *wperit* crown from the gods,\(^5\) and from the great company of the gods of Annu.\(^6\) He thirsts not, nor hungerers, nor is sad;\(^7\) he eats the bread of Ra and drinks what he drinks daily,\(^8\) and his bread also is that which is spoken by Seb, and that which comes forth from the mouth of the gods.\(^9\) He eats what the gods eat, he drinks what they drink, he lives as they live, and he dwells where they dwell;\(^10\) all the gods give him their food that he may not die.\(^11\) Not only does he eat and drink of their food, but he wears the

\(^1\) *Revue de Travaux*, t. v. p. 189 (l. 179).


\(^7\) *Ibid.*, t. iii. p. 208 (l. 234).

\(^8\) *Ibid.*, t. iii. p. 198 (l. 191 l.).

apparel which they wear, the white linen and sandals; he is clothed in white, and "he goeth to the great lake in the midst of the Field of Peace whereon the "great gods sit; and these great and never failing gods give unto him [to eat] of "the tree of life of which they themselves do eat that he likewise may live." The bread which he eats never decays and his beer never grows stale. He eats of the "bread of eternity" and drinks of the "beer of everlastingness" which the gods eat and drink; and he nourishes himself upon that bread which the Eye of Horus has shed upon the branches of the olive tree. He suffers neither hunger nor thirst like the gods Shu and Tefnut, for he is filled with the bread of wheat of which Horus himself has eaten; and the four children of Horus, ḫāpi, Tumātēf, Qebhesenuf and Amset, have appeased the hunger of his belly and the thirst of his lips. He abhors the hunger which he cannot satisfy, and he loathes the thirst which he cannot slake; but he is delivered from the power of those who would steal away his food. He is washed clean, and his ka is washed clean, and they eat bread together forever. He is one of the four children of Horus who live on right and truth, and they give him his portion of the food with which they have been so abundantly supplied by the god Seb that they have never yet known what it is to hunger. He goes round about heaven even as they do, and he partakes of their food of figs and wine.
Those who would be hostile to the deceased become thereby foes of the god Tmu, and all injuries inflicted on him are inflicted on that god;\(^1\) he dwells without fear under the protection of the gods,\(^2\) from whose loins he has come forth.\(^3\) To him "the earth is an abomination, and he will not enter into Seb; for his soul hath "burst for ever the bonds of his sleep in his house which is upon earth. His "calamities are brought to an end, for Unâs hath been purified with the Eye of "Horus; the calamities of Unâs have been done away by Isis and Nephthys. "Unâs is in heaven, Unâs is in heaven, in the form of air, in the form of air; he "perisheth not, neither doth anything which is in him perish.\(^4\) He is firmly "established in heaven, and he taketh his pure seat in the bows of the bark of "Râ. Those who row Râ up into the heavens row him also, and those who row "Râ beneath the horizon row him also."\(^5\) The life which the deceased leads is said to be generally that of him "who entereth into the west of the sky, and who "cometh forth from the east thereof."\(^6\) In brief, the condition of the blessed is summed up in the following extract from the pyramid of Pepi I. :—\(^7\)

"Hail, Pepi, thou hast come, thou art glorious, and thou hast gotten might like the god "who is seated upon his throne, that is Osiris. Thy soul is with thee in thy body, thy form of "strength is behind thee, thy crown is upon thy head, thy head-dress is upon thy shoulders, "thy face is before thee, and those who sing songs of joy are upon both sides of thee; those "who follow in the train of God are behind thee, and the divine forms which make God to "come are upon each side of thee. God cometh, and Pepi hath come upon the throne of "Osiris. The shining one who dwelleth in Netat, the divine form that dwelleth in Teni, hath "come. Isis speaketh unto thee, Nephthys holdeth converse with thee, and the shining ones "come unto thee bowing down even to the ground in adoration at thy feet, by reason of the "writing which thou hast, O Pepi, in the region of Saa. Thou comest forth to thy mother "Nut, and she strengtheneth thy arm, and she maketh a way for thee through the sky to the "place where Râ abideth. Thou hast opened the gates of the sky, thou hast opened the "doors of the celestial deep; thou hast found Râ and he watcheth over thee, he hath taken "thee by thy hand, he hath led thee into the two regions of heaven, and he hath placed thee "on the throne of Osiris. Then hail, O Pepi, for the Eye of Horus came to hold converse "with thee; thy soul which was among the gods came unto thee; thy form of power which "was dwelling among the shining ones came unto thee. As a son fighteth for his father, and "as Horus avenged Osiris, even so doth Horus defend Pepi against his enemies. And thou

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1. Le Caire, t. iv, p. 74 (l. 602).
2. Ibid., t. iii, p. 202 (l. 209).
3. Ibid., t. v, p. 53 (l. 340).
4. Ibid., t. iv, p. 51 (l. 447 f.).
5. Ibid., t. v, p. 104 (l. 665).
6. Ibid., t. v, p. 159, (ll. 1-21).
"standest avenged, endowed with all things like unto a god, and equipped with all the forms of Osiris upon the throne of Khent-Amenta. Thou doest that which he doeth among the immortal shining ones; thy soul sitteth upon his throne being provided with thy form, and it doeth that which thou doest in the presence of Him that liveth among the living, by the command of Ra, the great god. It reapeth the wheat, it cutteth the barley, and it giveth it unto thee. Now, therefore, O Pepi, he that hath given unto thee life and all power and eternity and the power of speech and thy body is Ra. Thou hast endowed thyself with the forms of God, and thou hast become magnified thereby before the gods who dwell in the Lake. Hail, Pepi, thy soul standeth among the gods and among the shining ones, and the fear of thee striketh into their hearts. Hail, Pepi, thou placest thyself upon the throne of Him that dwelleth among the living, and it is the writing which thou hast [that striketh terror] into their hearts. Thy name shall live upon earth, thy name shall flourish upon earth, thou shalt neither perish nor be destroyed for ever and for ever."

Corporal pleasures. Side by side, however, with the passages which speak of the material and spiritual enjoyments of the deceased, we have others which seem to imply that the Egyptians believed in a corporeal existence,¹ or at least in the capacity for corporeal enjoyment, in the future state. This belief may have rested upon the view that the life in the next world was but a continuation of the life upon earth, which it resembled closely, or it may have been due to the survival of semi-savage gross ideas incorporated into the religious texts of the Egyptians. However this may be, it is quite certain that in the Vth dynasty the deceased king Unâs eats with his mouth, and exercises other natural functions of the body, and gratifies his passions.² But the most remarkable passage in this connection is one in the

¹ Compare "O flesh of Teth, rot not, decay not, stink not." Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 55 (l. 347).
² Compare the following passages:—

"Pepi goeth forth with his flesh"; ibid., t. v., p. 185 (l. 169).
"thy bones shall not be destroyed, and thy flesh shall not perish"; ibid., p. 55 (l. 353).
pyramid of Unás. Here all creation is represented as being in terror when they see the deceased king rise up as a soul in the form of a god who devours "his fathers and mothers"; he feeds upon men and also upon gods. He hunts the gods in the fields and snares them; and when they are tied up for slaughter he cuts their throats and disembowels them. He roasts and eats the best of them, but the old gods and goddesses are used for fuel. By eating them he imbibes both their magical powers and their khu’s. He becomes the "great Form, the form among forms, and the god of all the great gods who exist in visible forms," and he is at the head of all the sūtu, or spiritual bodies in heaven. He carries off the hearts of the gods, and devours the wisdom of every god; therefore the duration of his life is everlasting and he lives to all eternity, for the souls of the gods and their khu’s are in him. The whole passage reads:

"(496) The heavens drop water, the stars throb, (497) the archers go round about, the " (498) bones of Ākeru tremble, and those who are in bondage to them take to flight when " they see (499) Unás rise up as a soul, in the form of the god who liveth upon his fathers and " who maketh food of his (500) mothers. Unás is the lord of wisdom, and (501) his mother " knoweth not his name. The gifts of Unás are in heaven, and he hath become mighty in " the horizon (502) like unto Tmu, the father that gave him birth, and after Tmu gave him birth " (503) Unás became stronger than his father. The kāt’s of Unás are behind him, the sole of " his foot is beneath his feet, his gods are over him, his uraei are [seated] (504) upon his brow, " the serpent guides of Unás are in front of him, and the spirit of the flame looketh upon [his]"
"soul. The (509) powers of Unás protect him; Unás is a bull in heaven, he directeth his
steps where he will, he liveth upon the form which (506) each god taketh upon himself, and
he eateth the flesh of those who come to fill their bellies with the magical charms in the
Lake of Fire. Unás is (507) equippèd with power against the shining spirits thereof, and
he riseth up in the form of the mighty one, the lord of those who dwell in power (?). Unás
hath taken his seat with his side turned towards Seb. (508) Unás hath weighed his
words with the hidden god (?) who hath no name, on the day of hacking in pieces the first-
born. Unás is the lord of offerings, the untier of the knot, and he himself maketh abundant
the offerings of meat and drink. (509) Unás devoureth men and liveth upon the gods, he
is the lord to whom offerings are brought, and he counteth the lists thereof. He that
cutteth off hairy scalps and dwelleth in the fields hath netted the gods in a snare; (510) he
that arrangeth his head hath considered them [good] for Unás and hath driven them unto
him; and the cord-master hath bound them for slaughter. Khonsu the slayer of [his] lords
hath cut their throats (511) and drawn out their inward parts, for it was he whom Unás
sent to drive them in; and Shesem hath cut them in pieces and boiled their members in
his blazing caldrons. (512) Unás hath eaten their magical powers, and he hath swallowed
their spirits; the great ones among them serve for his meal at daybreak, the lesser serve for
his meal at eventide, and the least among them serve for his meal in the night. (513) The
old gods and the old goddesses become fuel for his furnace. The mighty ones in heaven
shoot out fire under the caldrons which are heaped up with the haunches of the firstborn;
and he that maketh those who live (514) in heaven to revolve round Unás hath shot into
the caldrons the haunches of their women; he hath gone round about the two heavens in
their entirety, and he hath gone round about the two banks of the celestial Nile. Unás is
the great Form, the Form (515) of forms, and Unás is the chief of the gods in visible forms.
Whatever he hath found upon his path he hath eaten forthwith, and the magical might of
Unás is before that of all the (516) sâhu who dwell in the horizon. Unás is the firstborn of
the firstborn. Unás hath gone round thousands and he hath offered oblations unto hundreds;
he hath manifested his might as the Great Form through Sah (Orion) [who is greater] than
(517) the gods. Unás repeateth his rising in heaven and he is the crown of the lord of the
horizon. He hath reckoned up the bandlets and the arm-rings, he hath taken possession of
the hearts of the gods (518). Unás hath eaten the red crown, and he hath swallowed the
white crown; the food of Unás is the inward parts, and his meat is those who live upon
(519) magical charms in their hearts. Behold, Unás eateth of that which the red crown
sendeth forth, he increaseth, and the magical charms of the gods are in his belly; (520) that
which belongeth to him is not turned back from him. Unás hath eaten the whole of the
knowledge of every god, and the period of his life is eternity, and the duration of his
existence is (521) everlastingness, in whatsoever he wisheth to take; whatsoever form he
hateth he shall not labour in in the horizon for ever and ever and ever. The soul of the
gods is in Unás, their spirits are with (522) Unás, and the offerings made unto him are
more than those made unto the gods. The fire of Unás (523) is in their bones, for their
soul is with Unás, and their shades are with those who belong unto them. (524) Unás hath
been with the two hidden (?) Kha (?) gods who are without power (?) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . (525); the
seat of the heart of Unás is among those who live upon this earth for ever and ever and
"ever."
The notion that, by eating the flesh, or particularly by drinking the blood, of another living being, a man absorbs his nature or life into his own, is one which appears among primitive peoples in many forms. It lies at the root of the wide-spread practice of drinking the fresh blood of enemies—a practice which was familiar to certain tribes of the Arabs before Muhammad, and which tradition still ascribes to the wild race of Caḥṭān—and also of the habit practised by many savage huntsmen of eating some part (e.g., the liver) of dangerous carnivora, in order that the courage of the animal may pass into them.¹ The flesh and blood of brave men also are, among semi-savage or savage tribes, eaten and drunk to inspire courage.² But the idea of hunting, killing, roasting and eating the gods as described above is not apparently common among ancient nations; the main object of the dead king in doing this was to secure the eternal life which was the peculiar attribute of the gods.

¹ Robertson Smith, The Religion of the Semites, p. 295; Fraser, Golden Bough, vol. ii., p. 86.
² The Australian blacks kill a man, cut out his caul-fat, and rub themselves with it, "the belief being that all the qualifications, both physical and mental of the previous owner of the fat, were communicated to him who used it"; see Fraser, Golden Bough, vol. ii., p. 88.
THE EGYPTIANS' IDEAS OF GOD.

The word neter and its meaning.

To the great and supreme power which made the earth, the heavens, the sea, the sky, men and women, animals, birds, and creeping things, all that is and all that shall be, the Egyptians gave the name neter. This word survives in the Coptic nert, but both in the ancient language and in its younger relative the exact meaning of the word is lost. M. Pierret, following de Rougé, connects it with the word and says that it means "renovation" (renouvellement), but Brugsch renders it by "göttlich," "heilig," "divin," "sacré," and by three Arabic words which mean "divine," "sacred or set apart," and "sacred" respectively. By a quotation from the stele of Canopus he shows that in Ptolemaic times it meant "holy" or "sacred" when applied to the animals of the gods. Mr. Renouf says that "the notion expressed by nul" as a noun, and nutra as an adjective or verb, must be sought in the Coptic nute, which in the translation of the Bible corresponds to the Greek words θύαμας, οὐράς, οὐράω, οὐρω, 'power,' 'force,' 'strong,' 'fortify,' 'protect,'" and he goes on to show that the word neter means "strong" or "mighty." M. Maspero, however, thinks that the Coptic nomi has nothing in common with neter, the Egyptian word for God, and that the passages quoted by Mr. Renouf in support of his theory can be otherwise explained. His own opinion is that the signification "strong," if it ever existed, is a derived and not an original meaning, and he believes that the word is

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1. Several examples of the different ways in which the word is spelt are given by Maspero, Notes sur différents points de Grammaire (in Mélanges d'Archéologie, t. ii., Paris, 1873, p. 140).
4. Hibbert Lectures, p. 95.
5. A number of examples are given in Tatham, Lexicon, Oxford, 1835, pp. 310-806.
so old that its first sense is unknown to us. The fact that the Coptic translators of the Bible used the word nouti to express the name of the Supreme Being shows that no other word conveyed to their minds their conception of Him, and supports M. Maspero's views on this point. Another definition of the word given by Brugsch makes it to mean "the active power which produces and creates things in "regular recurrence; which bestows new life upon them, and gives back to them "their youthful vigour,"1 and he adds that the innate conception of the word completely covers the original meaning of the Greek φύσε and the Latin natura.

But side by side with neter, whatever it may mean, we have mentioned in texts of all ages a number of beings or existences called neteru, or ⲫ ⲧ ⲧ, or ⲫ Ⲩ ⲧ, or ⲧ ⲧ Ⲩ, or ⲧ ⲧ ⲧ, or ⲩ ⲧ, or ⲧ ⲧ ⲧ, or ⲩ ⲧ ⲧ ⲧ, which Egyptologists universally translate by the word "gods." Among these must be included the great cosmic powers and the beings who, although held to be supernatural, were yet finite and mortal, and were endowed by the Egyptians with love, hatred, and passions of every sort and kind. The difference between the conceptions of neter the one supreme God and the neteru is best shown by an appeal to Egyptian texts.

In the pyramid of Unás it is said to the deceased,

\[ \mu n - k ~ \dot{\acute{a}}r \, \, \, \, k e s \, \, \, n e t e r \]
Thou existest at the side of God.

In the pyramid of Tetā it is said of the deceased,

\[ \mu tā \, s e l \, \, \, e m - n e f \, \, \, n e s u \]
He weigheth words, and, behold, God hearkeneth unto the words.

\[ \mu s \, n \, \, \, e n \, \, \, T e t ā \, \, n e t e r \]
God hath called Tetā (in his name, etc.).

1 Die thätige Kraft, welche in periodischer Wiederkehr die Dinge erzeugt und erschafft, ihnen neues Leben verleibt und die Jugendfrische zurückgibt." Religion und Mythologie, p. 93.

2 Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, t. iii., p. 202 (l. 209).

3 Ibid., t. v., 27 (l. 231, 232).

4 Ibid., p. 26 (l. 223).
In the pyramid of Pepi I. an address to the deceased king says,

\[\text{seisop - nek} \quad \text{aru} \quad \text{neter} \quad \text{aaa - k} \quad \text{am} \quad \text{xir} \quad \text{neteru}\]

Thou hast received the form of God, thou hast become great therewith before the gods.\(^1\)

\[\text{fâ en} \quad \text{mut - k} \quad \text{Nut} \quad \text{un - nek} \quad \text{em neter en} \quad \text{xep - k} \quad \text{em ren - k} \quad \text{en neter}\]

Hath placed thy mother Nut thee to be as God to thine enemy in thy name of God.\(^3\)

\[\text{tua} \quad \text{Pepi} \quad \text{pen neter}\]

Adoreth this Pepi God.\(^4\)

\[\text{Pepi} \quad \text{pu} \quad \text{ár} \quad \text{neter} \quad \text{sa} \quad \text{neter}\]

Pepi this is then God, the son of God.\(^5\)

All these extracts are from texts of the Vth and VIth dynasties. It may be urged that we might as well translate neter by “a god” or “the god,” but other evidence of the conception of neter at that early date is afforded by the following passages from the Prisse papyrus,\(^6\) which, although belonging at the earliest to the XIth dynasty, contains copies of the Precepts of Kaqemna, written in the reign of Senefru, a king of the IVth dynasty, and the Precepts of Ptah-hetep, written during the reign of Assa, a king of the Vth dynasty.\(^7\)

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\(^1\) Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 160 (l. 19).
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 162 (l. 33).
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 191 (l. 185).
\(^4\) Ibid., t. viii., p. 89 (l. 574).
\(^5\) See Facsimile d’un papyrus Égyptien en caractères hiératiques, trouvé à Thèbes, donné à la Bibliothèque royale de Paris et publié par E. Prisse d’Avennes, Paris, 1847, fol. The last translation of the complete work is by Virey, Études sur le Papyrus Prisse, Paris, 1887.
\(^6\) M. Amélineau thinks (La Morale Égyptienne, p. xi.) that the Prisse papyrus was copied about the period of the XVIth dynasty and that the works in it only date from the XIth dynasty; but many Egyptologists assign the composition of the work to the age of Assa. See Wiedemann, Ägyptische Geschichte, p. 201; Petrie, History of Egypt, p. 81.
1. Views held in the first six dynasties.

Not known are the things which will do God.¹

2. Thou shalt not cause terror in men and women, [for] is opposed God [thereto].²

3. The eating of bread is according to the plan of God.³

4. If thou art a farmer, labour (?) in the field which hath given God [to thee].⁴

5. If thou wouldst be like a wise man, make thou [thy] son to be pleasing unto God.⁵

6. Satisfy those who depend on thee, so far as it may be done by thee; it should be done by those favoured of God.⁶

¹ Plate ii., l. 2. ² Plate iv., line 8. ³ Plate vii., l. 2. ⁴ Plate vii., l. 5. ⁵ Plate vii., l. 11. ⁶ Plate xi., l. 1.
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7. If, having been of no account, thou hast become great, and if, having been poor, thou hast become rich, when thou art governor of the city be not hard-hearted on account of thy advancement, because

\[ \text{ firepower - nek} \quad \text{mer} \quad \text{septu} \quad neter \]

thou hast become the guardian of the provisions of God.¹

8. \[ \text{mertu} \quad neter pu \quad setem än \quad setem en \quad mesepu \quad neter \]

What is loved of God is obedience; disobedience hateth God.²

9. \[ \text{makh} \quad sa \quad nefer \quad en \quad tat\text{t} \quad neter \]

Verily a good son is of the gifts of God.³

Passing from the Prisse papyrus, our next source of information is the famous papyrus⁴ containing the "Maxims of Anî," which are well known through the labours of de Rouge,⁵ Maspero,⁶ Chabas⁷ and Amélineau.⁸ We should speak of them, however, more correctly as the Maxims of Khonsu-ḥetep.⁹ The papyrus

¹ Plate xiii., l. 8.
² Plate xvi., l. 7.
³ It was found in a box laid upon the floor of the tomb of a Christian monk at Dér el-Medinet, The text was given by Mariette in Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq, publiés en fac-simile sous les auspices de S.A. Ismaïl-Pacha, Khédive d'Égypte.
⁵ In the Journal de Paris, 15 Mars, 1871; and in the Academy, Aug. 1, No. 29, p. 386, 1871.
⁶ L'Égyptologie, Série I., tt. i., ii., Chalons-sur-Saône and Paris, 4to., 1876–78. This work contains the hieratic text divided into sections for analysis, and accompanied by a hieroglyphic transcript, commentary, etc.
⁷ La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère—Étude sur le Papyrus de Boulaq, No. 4, Paris, 1892. This work contains a more accurate hieroglyphic transcript of the hieratic text, full translation, etc.
⁸ Maspero, Lectures Historiques, p. 16; Amélineau, op. cit., p. ix.
was probably copied about the XXIInd dynasty; but the work itself may date from the XVIIIth. The following are examples of the use of neter:—

1.  pa neter er seâauâ ren - f
    The God is for magnifying his name.¹

2.  ḫennu en neter betu - tuf pu sehebu senemeh - nek
    The house of God what it hates is much speaking. Pray thou

   em âb mert âu metet - f nebt âmennu âri - f
   with a loving heart the petitions of which all are in secret. He will do

   ḫeru - tuk setemu - f â t'et - tuk sesep utennu tu-k
   thy business, he will hear that which thou sayest and will accept thine offerings.²

3.  âu iâu neter - kuâ unnu
    Giveth thy God existence.³

4.  pa neter âput pa maâ
data God will judge the right.⁴

5.  utennu neter - ku sau - tu er na betu - tuf
    In offering to thy God guard thou against the things which He abominateth.

² Ibid., p. 36.
³ Ibid., p. 103.
⁴ Ibid., p. 138.
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Views held in the XVIIIth dynasty.

Behold with thine eye His plans. Devote thyself to adore His name. It is He who giveth souls to millions of forms,

and He magnifieth whosoever magnifieth him. Now the God of this earth is the sun who is the ruler of the horizon, [and] his similitudes are upon earth; is given incense with their food offerings to these daily.¹

If she (i.e., thy mother) raiseth her hands to God, he will hear her prayers [and rebuke thee].

Give thyself to God, keep thou thyself daily for

God; and let to-morrow be as to-day.²

¹ Amélineau, La Morale, p. 141. ² Ibid., p. 149. ³ Ibid., p. 172.
The passages from the pyramid of Pepi show at once the difference between God and the gods. *neter* as God, and the “gods” *neteru*; the other passages, which might be multiplied almost indefinitely, prove that the Being spoken of is God. The *neteru* or “gods” whom Unás hunted, and snared, and killed, and roasted, and ate, are beings who could die; to them were attributed bodies, souls, *ka's*, spiritual bodies, *etc.* In a remarkable passage from the CLIVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 179, l. 3) the deceased king Thothmes III. prays:—

Preserve me behind thee, O Tmu, from decay such as that which thou workest

for god every, and goddess every, for animals all, for reptiles all;

for each passeth away when hath gone forth his soul after his death, he perisheth.

Of these mortal gods some curious legends have come down to us; from which the following may be selected as illustrating their inferior position.

**THE LEGEND OF RĀ AND ISIS.**

Now Isis was a woman who possessed words of power; her heart was wearied with the millions of men, and she chose the millions of the gods, but she esteemed more highly the millions of the *khu's*. And she meditated in her heart, saying, “Cannot I by means of the “sacred name of God make myself mistress of the earth and become a goddess like unto
"Rā in heaven and upon earth?" Now, behold, each day Rā entered at the head of his holy mariners and established himself upon the throne of the two horizons. The holy one had grown old, he dribbled at the mouth, his spittle fell upon the earth, and his slobbering dropped upon the ground. And Isis kneaded it with earth in her hand, and formed thereof a sacred serpent in the form of a spear; she set it not upright before her face, but let it lie upon the ground in the path whereby the great god went forth, according to his heart's desire, into his double kingdom. Now the holy god arose, and the gods who followed him as though he were Pharaoh went with him; and he came forth according to his daily wont; and the sacred serpent bit him. The flame of life departed from him, and he who dwelt among the cedars (?) was overcome. The holy god opened his mouth, and the cry of his majesty reached unto heaven. His company of gods said, "What hath happened?" and his gods exclaimed, "What is it?" But Rā could not answer, for his jaws trembled and all his members quaked; the poison spread swiftly through his flesh just as the Nile invadeth all his land. When the great god had stablished his heart, he cried unto those who were in his train, saying, "Come unto me, O ye who have come into being from my body, ye gods who have come forth from me, make ye known unto Kheperā that a dire calamity hath fallen upon me. My heart perceiveth it, but my eyes see it not; my hand hath not caused it, nor do I know who hath done this unto me. Never have I felt such pain, neither can sickness cause more woe than this. I am a prince, the son of a prince, a sacred essence which hath proceeded from God. I am a great one, the son of a great one, and my father planned my name; I have multitudes of names and multitudes of forms, and my existence is in every god. I have been proclaimed by the heralds Tmu and Horus, and my father and my mother uttered my name; but it hath been hidden within me by him that begat me, who would not that the words of power of any seer should have dominion over me. I came forth to look upon that which I had made, I was passing through the world which I had created, when lo! something stung me, but what I know not. Is it fire? Is it water? My heart is on fire, my flesh quaketh, and trembling hath seized all my limbs. Let there be brought unto me the children of the gods with healing words and with lips that know, and with power which reacheth unto heaven." The children of every god came unto him in tears, Isis came with her healing words and with her mouth full of the breath of life, with her enchantments which destroy sickness, and with her words of power which make the dead to live. And she spake, saying, "What hath come to pass, O holy father? What hath happened? A serpent hath bitten thee, and a thing which thou hast created hath lifted up his head against thee. Verily it shall be cast forth by my healing words of power, and I will drive it away from before the sight of thy sunbeams."

The holy god opened his mouth and said, "I was passing along my path, and I was going through the two regions of my lands according to my heart's desire, to see that which I had created, when lo! I was bitten by a serpent which I saw not. Is it fire? Is it water? I am colder than water, I am hotter than fire. All my flesh sweateth, I quake, my eye hath no strength, I cannot see the sky, and the sweat rusheth to my face even as in the time of summer." Then said Isis unto Rā, "O tell me thy name, holy father, for whatsoever shall be delivered by thy name shall live." [And Rā said], "I have made the heavens and the earth, I have ordered the mountains, I have created all that is above them, I have made the water, I have made to come into being the great and wide sea, I have made the 'Bull of
"his mother," from whom spring the delights of love. I have made the heavens, I have "stretched out the two horizons like a curtain, and I have placed the soul of the gods within "them. I am he who, if he openeth his eyes, doth make the light, and, if he closeth them, "darkness cometh into being. At his command the Nile riseth, and the gods know not his "name. I have made the hours, I have created the days, I bring forward the festivals of the "year, I create the Nile-flood. I make the fire of life, and I provide food in the houses. I "am Kheperá in the morning, I am Rá at noon, and I am Tmu at even." Meanwhile the poison was not taken away from his body, but it pierced deeper, and the great god could no longer walk.

Then said Isis unto Rá, "What thou hast said is not thy name. O tell it unto me," and the poison shall depart; for he shall live whose name shall be revealed." Now the poison burned like fire, and it was fiercer than the flame and the furnace, and the majesty of the god said, "I consent that Isis shall search into me, and that my name shall pass from me "into her." Then the god hid himself from the gods, and his place in the boat of millions of years was empty. And when the time arrived for the heart of Rá to come forth, Isis spake unto her son Horus, saying, "The god hath bound himself by an oath to deliver up his two eyes" (i.e., the sun and moon). Thus was the name of the great god taken from him, and Isis, the lady of enchantments, said, "Depart, poison, go forth from Rá. O eye of "Horus, go forth from the god, and shine outside his mouth. It is I who work, it is I who "make to fall down upon the earth the vanquished poison; for the name of the great god "hath been taken away from him. May Rá live! and may the poison die, may the poison "die, and may Rá live!" These are the words of Isis, the great goddess, the queen of the gods, who knew Rá by his own name.¹

Thus we see that even to the great god Rá were attributed all the weakness and frailty of mortal man; and that "gods" and "goddesses" were classed with beasts and reptiles, which could die and perish. As a result, it seems that the word "God" should be reserved to express the name of the Creator of the Universe, and that nekteru, usually rendered "gods," should be translated by some other word, but what that word should be is almost impossible to say.²

From the attributes of God set forth in Egyptian texts of all periods, Dr. Brugsch, de Rougé, and other eminent Egyptologists have come to the opinion that the dwellers in the Nile valley, from the earliest times, knew and worshipped one God, nameless, incomprehensible, and eternal. In 1860 de Rougé wrote:—"The

¹ The hieratic text of this story was published by Plejte and Rossi, Le Papyrus de Turin, 1869–1876, pl. 31–47, and 131–138; a French translation of it was published by M. Lefébure, who first recognized the true character of the composition, in Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1883, p. 27 ff; and a German translation by Wiedemann is in his collection of "Sonnensagen," Religion der alten Ägypter, Münster, 1890, p. 29 ff.
² A similar difficulty also exists in Hebrew, for דֵּדוֹנָן means both God and "gods"; compare Psalm lxv., r.
unity of a supreme and self-existent being, his eternity, his almightiness, and
external reproduction thereby as God; the attributing of the creation of the world
and of all living beings to this supreme God; the immortality of the soul, com-
pleted by the dogma of punishments and rewards: such is the sublime and
persistent base which, notwithstanding all deviations and all mythological em-
bellishments, must secure for the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians a most
honourable place among the religions of antiquity." 1 Nine years later he de-
developed this view, and discussed the difficulty of reconciling the belief in the unity
of God with the polytheism which existed in Egypt from the earliest times, and he
repeated his conviction that the Egyptians believed in a self-existent God who was
One Being, who had created man, and who had endowed him with an immortal
soul. 2 In fact, de Rougé amplifies what Champollion-Figeac (relying upon his
brother's information) wrote in 1839: "The Egyptian religion is a pure mono-
theism, which manifested itself externally by a symbolic polytheism." 3 M. Pierret
adopts the view that the texts show us that the Egyptians believed in One infinite
and eternal God who was without a second, and he repeats Champollion's dictum. 4
But the most recent supporter of the monotheistic theory is Dr. Brugsch, who has
collected a number of striking passages from the texts. From these passages we
may select the following:—

God is one and alone, and none other existeth with Him—God is the One, the One who
hath made all things—God is a spirit, a hidden spirit, the spirit of spirits, the great spirit
of the Egyptians, the divine spirit—God is from the beginning, and He hath been from the
beginning. He hath existed from old and was when nothing else had being. He existed
when nothing else existed, and what existeth He created after He had come into being. He
is the Father of beginnings—God is the eternal One, He is eternal and infinite and endureth
for ever and aye—God is hidden and no man knoweth His form. No man hath been able to
seek out His likeness; He is hidden to gods and men, and He is a mystery unto His
creatures. No man knoweth how to know Him—His name remaineth hidden; His name is
a mystery unto His children. His names are innumerable, they are manifold and none
knoweth their number—God is truth and He liveth by truth and He feedeth thereon. He is
the king of truth, and He hath established the earth thereupon—God is life and through Him

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2 La croyance à l'Unité du Dieu suprême, à ses attributs de Créateur et de Législateur de l'homme,
qu'il a dû d'une âme immortelle; voilà les notions primitives enchâssées comme des diamants indes-
structibles au milieu des superstitions mythologiques accumulées par les siècles qui ont passé sur cette
vieille civilisation. See *Conférence sur la Religion des anciens Egyptiens* (in *Annales de Philosophie
IDEAS OF GOD.

only man liveth. He giveth life to man, He breatheth the breath of life into his nostrils—God is father and mother, the father of fathers, and the mother of mothers. He begetteth, but was never begotten; He produceth, but was never produced; He begat himself and produced himself. He createth, but was never created; He is the maker of his own form, and the fashioner of His own body—God Himself is existence, He endureth without increase or diminution, He multiplieth Himself millions of times, and He is manifold in forms and in members—God hath made the universe, and He hath created all that therein is; He is the Creator of what is in this world, and of what was, of what is, and of what shall be. He is the Creator of the heavens, and of the earth, and of the deep, and of the water, and of the mountains. God hath stretched out the heavens and founded the earth—What His heart conceived straightway came to pass, and when He hath spoken, it cometh to pass and endureth for ever—God is the father of the gods; He fashioned men and formed the gods—God is merciful unto those who reverence Him, and He heareth him that calleth upon Him. God knoweth him that acknowledgeth Him, He rewardeth him that serveth Him, and He protecteth him that followeth Him.¹

Because, however, polytheism existed side by side with monotheism in Egypt, M. Maspero believes that the words “God One” do not mean “One God” in our sense of the words; and Mr. Renouf thinks that the “Egyptian neter never became a proper name.”² Whether polytheism grew from monotheism in Egypt, or monotheism from polytheism we will not venture to say, for the evidence of the pyramid texts shows that already in the Vth dynasty monotheism and polytheism were flourishing side by side. The opinion of Tiele is that the religion of Egypt was from the beginning polytheistic, but that it developed in two opposite directions: in the one direction gods were multiplied by the addition of local gods, and in the other the Egyptians drew nearer and nearer to monotheism.³

From a number of passages drawn from texts of all periods it is clear that the form in which God made himself manifest to man upon earth was the sun, which the Egyptians called Ra  

¹ Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie, pp. 96–99. The whole chapter on the ancient Egyptian conception of God should be read with M. Maspero’s comments upon it in La Mythologie Égyptienne (Études de Mythologie, t. ii, p. 189 ff.).
² Hibbert Lectures, p. 99.
³ Hypothesen omtrent de woording van de Egyptische Godsdienst (in Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 25); and see Lieblein, Egyptian Religion, Leipzig, 1884, p. 10.
⁴ See the chapter “Dieu se manifestant par le soleil,” in Pierret, Essai sur la Mythologie Égyptienne, pp. 18, 19.
the walls of tombs, stelae, and papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty; and these prove that the Egyptians ascribed the attributes of the Creator to the creature. The religious ideas which we find in these writings in the XVIIIth dynasty are, no doubt, the outcome of the religion of earlier times, for all the evidence now available shows that the Egyptians of the later periods invented comparatively little in the way of religious literature. Where, how, and in what way they succeeded in preserving their most ancient texts, are matters about which little, unfortunately, is known. In course of time we find that the attributes of a certain god in one period are applied to other gods in another; a new god is formed by the fusion of two or more gods; local gods, through the favourable help of political circumstances, or the fortune of war, become almost national gods; and the gods who are the companions of Osiris are endowed by the pious with all the attributes of the great cosmic gods—Rā, Ptah, Khnemu, Khepera, and the like. Thus the attributes of Rā are bestowed upon Khnemu and Khepera; the god Horus exists in the aspects of Ḥeru-maat, Ḥeru-khent-ān-ḫaa, Ḥeru-Khuṭi, Ḥeru-nub, Ḥeru-beḥuṭet, etc., and the attributes of each are confounded either in periods or localities: Tmu-Rā, and Menthu-Rā, and Amen-Rā are composed of Tmu and Rā, and Menthu and Rā, and Amen and Rā respectively, and we have seen from the hymn quoted above (p. lli.) that already in the XVIIIth dynasty the god Osiris had absorbed the attributes which belonged in the earlier dynasties to Rā alone.

Still more remarkable, however, is the progress of the god Amen in Egyptian theology. In the early empire, i.e., during the first eleven dynasties, this god ranked only as a local god, although his name is as old as the time of Unas; and

1 E.g., the litany from the tomb of Seti I., published by Naville, La Litanie du Soleil, Leipzig, 1875, p. 12 ff.

3 “Amen and Amen,” 𓊒𓊒𓊒𓊓, are mentioned in l. 538 of the inscription of this king; see Maspero, Recueil, t. iv., p. 66.
it is not until the so-called Hyksos have been expelled from Egypt by the Theban kings of the XVIth dynasty that Amun, whom the latter had chosen as their great god, and whose worship they had declined to renounce at the bidding of the Hyksos king Apepi,\textsuperscript{1} was acknowledged as the national god of southern Egypt at least. Having by virtue of being the god of the conquerors obtained the position of head of the company of Egyptian gods, he received the attributes of the most ancient gods, and little by little he absorbed the epithets of them all. Thus Amun became Amun-Ra, and the glory of the old gods of Anu, or Heliopolis, was centred in him who was originally an obscure local god. The worship of Amun in Egypt was furthered by the priests of the great college of Amun, which seems to have been established early in the XVIIIth dynasty by the kings who were his devout worshippers. The extract from a papyrus written for the princess Nesi-Khonsu,\textsuperscript{2} a member of the priesthood of Amun, is an example of the exalted language in which his votaries addressed him.

"This is the sacred god, the lord of all the gods, Amun-Ra, the lord of the throne of the world, the prince of Apat,\textsuperscript{4} the sacred soul who came into being in the beginning, the great god who liveth by right and truth, the first ennead which gave birth unto the other two enneads,\textsuperscript{4} the being in whom every god existeth, the One of One,\textsuperscript{4} the creator of the things which came into being when the earth took form in the beginning, whose births are hidden, whose forms are manifold, and whose growth cannot be known. The sacred Form, beloved, terrible and mighty in his two risings (?), the lord of space, the mighty one of the form of Khepera, who came into existence through Khepera, the lord of the form of Khepera; when he came into being nothing existed except himself. He shone upon the earth from primeval time [in the form of] the Disk, the prince of light and radiance. He giveth light and radiance. He giveth light unto all peoples. He sailleth over heaven and never resteth, and on the morrow his vigour is established as before; having become old [to-day], he becometh young again to-morrow. He mastereth the bounds of eternity, he goeth round about heaven, and entereth into the Taat to illumine the two lands which he hath created. When the divine (or mighty) God,\textsuperscript{4} moulded himself, the heavens and the earth were made by his

\textsuperscript{1} The literature relating to the fragment of the Sallier papyrus recording this fact is given by Wiedemann, \textit{Aegyptische Geschichte}, p. 299.

\textsuperscript{2} The hieratic text is published, with a hieroglyphic transcript, by Maspero, \textit{Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire}, t. i., p. 594 ff., and pll. 25–27.

\textsuperscript{3} A district of Thebes on the east bank of the Nile, the modern Karnak.

\textsuperscript{4} See within, p. xvii.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{merti neter neferet}. M. Maspero translates "dieu exerçant sa fonction de dieu, dieu en activité de service," or "dieu désiant."
"conception. He is the prince of princes, the mightiest of the mighty, he is greater than the gods; he is the young bull with sharp pointed horns, and he protecteth the world in his great name 'Eternity cometh with its power and bringing therewith the bounds (?) of 'everlastingness.' He is the firstborn god, the god who existed from the beginning, the governor of the world by reason of his strength, the terrible one of the two lion-gods, the aged one, the form of Khepera which existeth in all the gods, the lion of fearsome glance, the governor terrible by reason of his two eyes, the lord who shooteth forth flame [therefrom] against his enemies. He is the primeval water which floweth forth in its season to make to live all that cometh forth upon his potter's wheel. He is the disk of the Moon, the beauties whereof pervade heaven and earth, the untinging and beneficent king, whose will germinateth from rising to setting, from whose divine eyes men and women come forth, and from whose mouth the gods do come, and [by whom] food and meat and drink are made and provided, and [by whom] the things which exist are created. He is the lord of time and he traverseth eternity; he is the aged one who reneweth his youth; he hath multitudes of eyes and myriads of ears; his rays are the guides of millions of men; he is the lord of life and giveth unto those who love him the whole earth, and they are under the protection of his face. When he goeth forth he worketh unopposed, and no man can make of none effect that which he hath done. His name is gracious, and the love of him is sweet; and at the dawn all people make supplication unto him through his mighty power and terrible strength, and every god lieth in fear of him. He is the young bull that destroyeth the wicked, and his strong arm fighteth against his foes. Through him did the earth come into being in the beginning. He is the Soul which shineth through his divine eyes, he is the Being endowed with power and the maker of all that hath come into being, and he ordered the world, and he cannot be known. He is the King who maketh kings to reign, and he directeth the world in his course; gods and goddesses bow down in adoration before his Soul by reason of the awful terror which belongeth unto him. He hath gone before and hath established all that cometh after him, and he made the universe in the beginning by his secret counsels. He is the Being who cannot be known, and he is more hidden than all the gods. He maketh the Disk to be his vicar, and he himself cannot be known, and he hideth himself from that which cometh forth from him. He is a bright flame of fire, mighty in splendours, he can be seen only in the form in which he showeth himself, and he can be gazed upon only when he manifesteth himself, and that which is in him cannot be understood. At break of day all peoples make supplication unto him, and when he riseth with hues of orange and saffron among the company of the gods he becometh the greatly desired one of every god. The god Nu appeareth with the breath of the north wind in this hidden god who maketh for untold millions of men the decrees which abide for ever; his decrees

1 Literally "his heart," "āb-f.  
2 I.e., Shu and Tefnut.  
3 I.e., the Sun and the Moon, "uš.ti.  
4 Šep.; other examples of the use of this word are given by Brugsch, Wörterbuch (Suppl., p. 690).
"are gracious and well doing, and they fall not to the ground until they have fulfilled their purpose. He giveth long life and multiplieth the years of those who are favoured by him, he is the gracious protector of him whom he seteth in his heart, and he is the fashioner of eternity and everlastingness. He is the king of the North and of the South, Amen-Ra, king of the gods, the lord of heaven, and of earth and of the waters and of the mountains, with whose coming into being the earth began its existence, the mighty one, more princely than all the gods of the first company thereof."

With reference to the origin of the gods of the Egyptians much useful information may be derived from the pyramid texts. From them it would seem that, in the earliest times, the Egyptians had tried to think out and explain to themselves the origin of their gods and of their groupings. According to M. Maspero they reduced everything to one kind of primeval matter which they believed contained everything in embryo; this matter was water, Nu, which they divided, and everything which arose therefrom was a god. The priests of Annu at a very early period grouped together the nine greatest gods of Egypt, forming what is called the paut neteru or "company of the gods," or as it is written in the pyramid texts, paut üâl, "the great company of gods"; the texts also show that there was a second group of nine gods called paut nel eset, or "lesser company of the gods"; and a third group of nine gods is also known. When all three pauts of gods are addressed they appear as The great cycle of the gods in Annu was composed of the gods Tmu, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set and Nephthys; but, though paut means "nine," the texts do not always limit a paut of the gods to that number, for sometimes the gods amount to twelve, and sometimes, even though the number be nine, other gods are substituted for the original gods of the paut. We should naturally expect Ra to stand at the head of the great paut of the gods; but it must be remembered that the chief local god of Annu was Tmu, and, as the priests of that city revised and edited the pyramid texts known to us, they naturally substituted their own form of the god Ra, or at best united him with Ra, and called him Tmu-Ra. In the primeval matter, or water, lived the god Tmu, and when he rose for the first time, in the form of the sun, he created the world. Here at once we have Tmu assimilated with Nu. A curious passage in the pyramid of Pepi I. shows that while as yet there was neither

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1 La Mythologie Égyptienne (Études, t. ii., p. 237).
2 See Pyramid of Tetâ, l. 307 (Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 46).
heaven nor earth, and when neither gods had been born, nor men created, the
god Tmu was the father of human beings,\(^1\) even before death came into the world.
The first act of Tmu was to create from his own body the god Shu and the
goddess Tefnut;\(^2\) and afterwards Seb the earth and Nut the sky came into being.
These were followed by Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys.

Dr. Brugsch's version of the origin of the gods as put forth in his last work
on the subject\(^3\) is somewhat different. According to him there was in the
beginning neither heaven nor earth, and nothing existed except a boundless
primeval mass of water which was shrouded in darkness and which contained
within itself the germs or beginnings, male and female, of everything which was
to be in the future world. The divine primeval spirit which formed an essential
part of the primeval matter felt within itself the desire to begin the work of
creation, and its word woke to life the world, the form and shape of which it had
already depicted to itself. The first act of creation began with the formation of an
egg\(^4\) out of the primeval water, from which broke forth Rā, the immediate cause
of all life upon earth. The almighty power of the divine spirit embodied itself in
its most brilliant form in the rising sun. When the inert mass of primeval matter
felt the desire of the primeval spirit to begin the work of creation, it began to
move, and the creatures which were to constitute the future world were formed

\(^1\) Recueil de Travaux, t. viii., p. 104 (l. 664). The passage reads:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
mes & Pepi & pen & an & atf & Tmu & an & \textit{\textbf{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{xepert}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}} pet & an
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Gave birth to Pepi this father Tmu [when] not was created heaven, not

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
\textit{\textbf{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{xepert}}}}}}}}}}}}}} & ta & an & \textit{\textbf{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{xepert}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}} & re\theta & an & neteru & an & \textit{\textbf{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{xepert}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}} & met
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

was created earth, not were created men, not were born the gods, not was created death.

\(^2\) Recueil de Travaux, t. vii., p. 170 (l. 466).

\(^3\) Religion und Mythologie, p. 101.

\(^4\) A number of valuable facts concerning the place of the egg in the Egyptian Religion have been
according to the divine intelligence Maâ. Under the influence of Thoth, or that
form of the divine intelligence which created the world by a word, eight elements,
four male and four female, arose out of the primeval Nu, which possessed the
properties of the male and female. These eight elements were called Nu and
Nut, Heh and Hehet, Kek and Keket, and Enen and Enenet, or Khemennu,
the "Eight," and they were considered as primeval fathers and mothers. They are
often represented in the forms of four male and four female apes, who stand in
adoration and greet the rising sun with songs and hymns of praise, but they also
appear as male and female human forms with the heads of frogs or serpents.
The birth of light from the waters, and of fire from the moist mass of primeval
matter, and of Râ from Nu, formed the starting point of all mythological
speculations, conjectures, and theories of the Egyptian priests. The light of the
sun gave birth to itself out of chaos, and the conception of the future world was
depicted in Thoth the divine intelligence; when Thoth gave the word, what he
commanded at once took place by means of Ptah and Khnemu, the visible
representatives of the power which turned Thoth's command into deed. Khnemu
made the egg of the sun, and Ptah gave to the god of light a finished body. The first past of the gods consisted of Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set,
Nephthys and Horus, and their governor Tmou or Atmu.

In a late copy of a work entitled the "Book of knowing the evolutions of Râ,"
the god Neb-er-tcher, the "lord of the company of the gods," records the story of
the creation and of the birth of the gods:—"I am he who evolved himself under
" the form of the god Kheperâ, I, the evolver of the evolutions evolved myself,
" the evolver of all evolutions, after many evolutions and developments which
" came forth from my mouth." No heaven existed, and no earth, and no
" terrestrial animals or reptiles had come into being. I formed them out of the
" inert mass of watery matter, I found no place whereon to stand. . . . , I was
" alone, and the gods Shu and Tefnut had not gone forth from me; there existed

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1 Brugsch, Religion, pp. 128, 129.
2 Ibid., p. 132.
3 Ibid., p. 140.
4 Ibid., p. 142.
5 Ibid., pp. 149, 152.
6 Ibid., p. 158.
7 Ibid., p. 158.
8 Ibid., p. 161.
9 Ibid., p. 161.
10 Ibid., p. 163.
11 Ibid., p. 187.
12 The variant version says, "I developed myself from the primeval matter which I had made."
and adds, "My name is Osiris, [image], the substance of primeval matter."
"none other who worked with me. I laid the foundations of all things by my will, 
and all things evolved themselves therefrom.¹ I united myself to my shadow, 
and I sent forth Shu and Tefnut out from myself; thus from being one god I 
became three, and Shu and Tefnut gave birth to Nut and Seb, and Nut gave 
birth to Osiris, Horus-Khent-an-maa, Sut, Isis, and Nephthys, at one birth, one 
after the other, and their children multiply upon this earth."²

The reader has now before him the main points of the evidence concerning the 
Egyptians’ notions about God, and the cosmic powers and their phases, and the 
antropomorphic creations with which they peopled the other world, all of which 
have been derived from the native literature of ancient Egypt. The different 
interpretations which different Egyptologists have placed upon the facts demonstrate 
the difficulty of the subject. Speaking generally, the interpreters may be divided 
to two classes: those who credit the Egyptians with a number of abstract ideas 
about God and the creation of the world and the future life, which are held to be 
especially the product of modern Christian nations; and those who consider the 
 Ease of the Egyptian as that of a half-savage being to whom occasional glimmerings 
of spiritual light were vouchsafed from time to time. All eastern nations have 
experienced difficulty in separating spiritual from corporeal conceptions, and the 
Egyptian is no exception to the rule; but if he preserved the gross idea of a 
primeval existence with the sublime idea of God which he manifests in writings of 
a later date, it seems that this is due more to his reverence for hereditary tradition 
than to ignorance. Without attempting to decide questions which have presented 
difficulties to the greatest thinkers among Egyptologists, it may safely be said that 
the Egyptian whose mind conceived the existence of an unknown, inscrutable, 
eternal and infinite God, who was One—whatever the word One may mean here— 
and who himself believed in a future life to be spent in a glorified body in heaven, 
was not a being whose spiritual needs would be satisfied by a belief in gods who 
could eat, and drink, love and hate, and fight and grow old and die. He was 
able to describe the infinite God, himself being finite, and it is not surprising 
that he should, in some respects, have made Him in his own image.

¹ The variant version has, "I brought into my own mouth my name as a word of power, and I 
straightway came into being."

² The papyrus from which these extracts are taken is in the British Museum, No. 10188. A 
hieroglyphic transcript and translation will be found in Archæologia, vol. lxxi., pp. 446–449. For the 
passages quoted see Col. 26, l. 22; Col. 27, l. 5; and Col. 28, l. 20; Col. 29, l. 6.
THE ABODE OF THE BLESSED.

The gods of the Egyptians dwelt in a heaven with their ka's, and khu's, and shadows, and there they received the blessed dead to dwell with them. This heaven was situated in the sky, which the Egyptians believed to be like an iron ceiling, either flat or vaulted, and to correspond in extent and shape with the earth beneath it. This ceiling was rectangular, and was supported at each corner by a pillar |; in this idea, we have, as M. Maspero has observed, a survival of the roof-tree of very primitive nations. At a very early date the four pillars ||||, were identified with "the four ancient khu's who dwell in the hair of Horus,"| who are also said to be "the four gods who stand by the pillar-sceptres of heaven." The Egyptian heaven.

These four gods are "children of Horus," |||, and their names are Amset |||, Hāpi,

|||, Tuamātēf, |, and Qebhsennu|, |||. They were supposed to preside over the four quarters of the world, and subsequently were acknowledged to be the gods of the cardinal points. The Egyptians named the sky or heaven pet. A less primitive view made the heavens in the form of the goddess Nut |, who was represented as a woman with bowed body whose hands and feet rest on the earth |. In this case the two arms and the two

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1 Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 55 (l. 473); and compare |. 2 Ibid., t. v., p. 136 (l. 171).

2 Ibid., t. v., p. 17 (l. 233).

3 Ibid., p. 39 (l. 281).

4 Ibid., p. 10 (l. 60)
legs form the four pillars upon which the heavens are supported. Nut, the sky goddess, was the wife of Seb, the earth god, from whose embrace she was separated by Shu, the god of the air; when this separation was effected, earth, air, and sky came into being. Signor Lanzone has collected a number of illustrations of this event from papyri and other documents, wherein we have Seb lying on the ground, and Shu uplifting Nut with his outstretched hands. The feet of the goddess rested on the east, and her hands on the west; this is shown by the scene wherein Shu is accompanied by two females who have on their heads "east" and "west" respectively. The child of the union of Seb and Nut was the Sun, who was born in the east in the morning, and who made

1 *Dizionario di Mitologia Egitia*, tavv. 150 ff.  
his course along his mother’s body, until he set in the west in the evening. The moon followed the sun’s course along his mother’s body, but sometimes a second female is represented bowed beneath Nut \(^1\) (Fig. 2), and this is believed to signify the night sky across which the moon travels. In an interesting picture which M. Jéquier has published \(^2\) the goddess is depicted lying flat with her arms stretched out at full length above her head; on her breast is the disk of the sun, and on her stomach the moon. Those who believed that the sky was an iron plane imagined that the stars were a numbers of lamps which were hung out therefrom, and those who pictured the sky as a goddess studded her body with stars. One scene makes the morning and evening boats of Rā to sail

along the back of Nut; \(^3\) another depicts Shu holding up the boat of the sun wherein is the disk on the horizon \(Ω\). \(^4\) A third from the sarcophagus of Seti I. represents Nu the god of the primeval water holding up the boat of the sun, wherein we see the beetle with the solar disk facing it accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, who stand one on each side; behind Isis stand the gods Seb, Shu, Ḫek, Ḧu, and Sa, and behind Nephthys are three deities who represent the doors through which the god Tnu has made his way to the world. \(^5\)

Within the two bowed female figures which represent the day and the night sky, and which have been referred to above (Fig. 2), is a third figure which is bent

\(^{1}\) Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 155.  
\(^{2}\) Le Livre de ce qu’il y a dans l’Hadès, p. 3.  
\(^{3}\) Ibid., tav. 157.  
\(^{4}\) Ibid., tav. 158.  
\(^{5}\) Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie, p. 216.
round in a circle; the space enclosed by it represents according to Dr. Brugsch the Tuat or Egyptian underworld, wherein dwelt the gods of the dead and the departed souls. This view is supported by the scene from the sarcophagus of Seti I. (Fig. 1.) In the watery space above the bark is the figure of the god bent round in a circle with his toes touching his head, and upon his head stands the goddess Nut with outstretched hands receiving the disk of the sun. Though nearly all Egyptologists agree about the meaning of the word being "the place of departed souls," yet it has been translated in various ways, different scholars locating the Tuat in different parts of creation. Dr. Brugsch and others place it under the earth; others have supposed it to be the space which exists between the arms of Shu and the body of Nut, but the most recent theory purporting is that it was situated neither above nor below the earth, but beyond Egypt to the north, from which it was separated by the mountain range which, as the Egyptians thought, supported the sky. The region of the Tuat was a long, mountainous, narrow valley with a river running along it; starting from the east it made its way to the north, and then taking a circular direction it came back to the east. In the Tuat lived all manner of fearful monsters and beasts, and here was the country through which the sun passed during the twelve hours of the night; according to one view he traversed this region in splendour, and according to another he died and became subject to Osiris the king, god and judge of the kingdom of the departed.

The souls of the dead made their way to their abode in the "other world" by a ladder, according to a very ancient view, or through a gap in the mountains of Abydos called PeKa according to another; but, by whichever way they passed from earth, their destination was a region in the Tuat which is called in the pyramid and later texts Sekhet-Aaru, which was situated in the

1 Brugsch, op. cit., p. 211.
2 The legend reads: "This is Nut, she receiveth Ra."
3 Luftbuch. p. 1622.
4 Lanzone, Domicile des Esprits, p. 1; Dictionnaire, p. 1292.
5 Maspero, La Mythologie Égyptienne (Études, t. ii., p. 207); Jéquier, Le Livre, p. 3. The eastern mountain peak was called Bakhatet, and the western Manu.
6 I.e., the Field of reed plants.
Sekhet-Hetep,¹ and was supposed to lie to the north of Egypt. Here dwell Horus and Set, for the fields of Aaru and Hetep are their domains,² and here enters the deceased with two of the children of Horus on one side of him, and two on the other,³ and the “two great chiefs who preside over the throne of the great god proclaim eternal life and power for him.”⁴ Here like the supreme God he is declared to be “one,”⁵ and the four children of Horus proclaim his name to Ra. Having gone to the north of the Aaru Field he makes his way to the eastern portion of the tuat, where according to one legend he becomes like the morning star, near⁶ his sister Sothis.⁷ Here he lived in the form of the star Sothis, and “the great and little companies of the gods purify him in the Great Bear.”⁸ The Egyptian theologians, who conceived that a ladder was necessary to enable the soul to ascend to the next world, provided it also with an address which it was to utter when it reached the top. As given in the pyramid of Unas it reads as follows⁹:—“Hail to thee, O daughter of Amenta, mistress of Petenu (†) of heaven, thou gift of Thoth, thou mistress of the two sides of the ladder, open a way to Unas, let Unas pass. Hail to thee, O Nau, who art [seated] upon the brink of the Lake of Kha, open thou a way to Unas, let Unas pass. Hail to thee, O thou bull of four horns, thou who hast one horn to the west, and one to the east, and one to the north, and one to the south, . . . . . let Unas pass, for he is a being from the purified Amenta, who goeth forth from the country of Baqta. Hail to thee, O Sekhet-Hetep, hail to thee, and to the fields which are in thee, the fields of Unas are in thee, for pure offerings are in thee.”

¹ I.e., the Field of Peace.
² Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 191 (l. 182).
³ Ibid., p. 150 (l. 262).
⁴ Ibid., t. vii., p. 163 (l. 402).
⁵ Ibid., t. iv., p. 49 (l. 432).
⁶ Ibid., t. v., p. 186 (l. 80, 172, 177).
⁷ Ibid., t. v., p. 55 (l. 475).
⁸ Ibid., t. iv., p. 68 (l. 567).
⁹ Ibid., t. iv., p. 69 (l. 576 ff.).
The souls of the dead could also be commended to the care of the gods above by the gods of Ánnu, and thus we find it said in the pyramid of Unás: "O gods of the west, O gods of the east, O gods of the south, O gods of the north, ye four [orders of gods] who embrace the four holy ends of the universe, and who granted to Osiris to come forth to heaven, and to sail over the celestial waters thereof with his son Horus by his side to protect him and to make him to rise like a great god from the celestial deep, say ye to Unás, 'Behold Horus, the son of Osiris, behold Unás, the god of the aged gods, the son of Hathor, behold the seed of Seb, for Osiris hath commanded that Unás shall rise like the second of Horus, and the four khu's who are in Ánnu have written this command to the great gods who are in the celestial waters.'" ¹

And again, "When men are buried and receive their thousands of cakes and thousands of vases of ale upon the table of him that ruleth in Ámenta, that being is in sore straits who hath not a written decree: now the decree of Unás is under the greatest, and not under the little seal."²

The plan of the Sekhet-Ḥetep which we find in the Book of the Dead during the Theban period will be described below, and it is therefore sufficient to say here that the ideas of the happy life which the deceased led had their origin in the pyramid texts, as may be seen from the following passage:—"Unás hath offered incense unto the great and little companies of the gods, and his mouth is pure, and the tongue which is therein is pure. O ye judges, ye have taken Unás unto yourselves, let him eat that which ye eat, let him drink that which ye drink, let him live upon that which ye live upon, let your seat be his seat, let his power be your power, let the boat wherein he shall sail be your boat, let him net birds in Áaru, let him possess running streams in Sekhet-Ḥetep, and may he obtain his meat and his drink from you, O ye gods. May the water of Unás be of the wine which is of Rā, may he revolve in the sky like Rā, and may he pass over the sky like Thoth."³

Of the condition of those who failed to secure a life of beatitude with the gods in the Sekhet-Áaru of the Ṭuat, the pyramid texts say nothing, and it seems as if the doctrine of punishment of the wicked and of the judgment which took place after death is a development characteristic of a later period.

¹ Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 69 (I. 572–75).
² Ibid., t. iv., p. 71 (I. 583).
³ Ibid., t. iii. (I. 191–95).
THE GODS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

The following are the principal gods and goddesses mentioned in the pyramid texts and in the later versions of the Book of the Dead:

Nu " represents the primeval watery mass from which all the gods were evolved, and upon which floats the bark of "millions of years" containing the sun. This god's chief titles are "Father of the gods," "begetter of the great company of the gods," He is depicted in the form of a seated deity having upon his head disk and plumes.\footnote{1 Lanzone, Dizionario, tav. 166, No. 2. For fuller descriptions of the gods and their titles and attributes see Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie, Leipzig, 1884-88; Pierret, Le Pantheon Égyptien, Paris, 1881; Wiedemann, Die Religion der alten Aegypter, Münster, 1890; Strauss and Conze, Der altägyptische Götterglaube, Heidelberg, 1889. For illustrations of the various forms in which the gods are depicted, see the Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia, Turin, 1881 (not yet complete).}

Nut, the female principle of Nu; she is depicted with the head of a snake surmounted by a disk, or with the head of a cat.\footnote{2 Lanzone, op. cit., tavv. 168-71.}

Ptah was associated with the god Khnemu in carrying out at the Creation the mandates of Thoth the divine intelligence; his name means the "opener," and he was identified by the Greeks with Ηφαίστως, and by the Latins with Vulcan. He was worshipped at a very early date in Memphis, which is called in Egyptian texts "The House of the Ka of Ptah," and according to Herodotus his temple there was founded by Menâ or Menes.\footnote{3 Ταύρον ἐκ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἵππον ἐξωσορθαι ἐν αἰθή (ii., 99).}

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and gave birth to his body, and established unending and unvarying right and truth upon the earth." As a solar god he is called "Ptah, the Disk of heaven, who illumineth the world by the fire of his eyes," \(\text{\textcopyright} \)\textsuperscript{1} and in the Book of the Dead he is said to have "opened" the mouth of the deceased with the tool \(\text{\textcopyright} \)\textsuperscript{2} with which he opened the mouths of the gods.\textsuperscript{1}

He is depicted in the form of a mummy standing upon \textit{maāt} \(\text{\textcopyright} \)\textsuperscript{3}, and in his hands he holds a sceptre on the top of which are \(\text{\textcopyright} \), \(\text{\textcopyright} \), the emblems of power, life, and stability; from the back of his neck hangs the \textit{menāt} (see p. i, note 2).\textsuperscript{2}

Ptah formed at Memphis the chief member of the triad \textbf{Ptah-Sekhret} and \textbf{Nefer-Tmu}.

In many texts the god Ptah is often joined to the god \textbf{Seker} \(\text{\textcopyright} \), whose individual attributes it is not easy to describe; Seker is the Egyptian name of the incarnation of the Apis bull at Memphis. That Seker was a solar god is quite clear, but whether he "closed" the day or the night is not certain. Originally his festival was celebrated in the evening, wherefrom it appears that he represented some form of the night sun; but in later times the ceremony of drawing the image of the god Seker in the \textit{henu} boat \(\text{\textcopyright} \) round the sanctuary was performed in the morning at dawn, and thus, united with Ptah, he became the closer of the night and the opener of the day. He is depicted as a mummied body with the head of a hawk, and he sometimes holds in his hands \(\text{\textcopyright} \), \(\text{\textcopyright} \), \(\text{\textcopyright} \), emblems of power, sovereignty, and rule.\textsuperscript{3}

Another form of Ptah was \textbf{Ptah-Seker-Āsār} \(\text{\textcopyright} \), wherein the creator of the world, the sun, and Osiris as the god of the dead, were represented. A large number of \textit{faience} figures of this triune god are found in graves, and specimens exist in all museums. He is represented as a dwarf standing upon a crocodile, and having a scarabæus upon his head; the scarab is the emblem of the new life into which the deceased is about to break, the crocodile is the emblem of the darkness of death which has been overcome. According to some the element of Ptah in the triad is the personification of the period of incubation which follows

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\(\text{\textcopyright} \)\textsuperscript{1} Naville, \textit{Todtenbuch}, Bd. I, Bl. 34, ll. 4, 5.

\(\text{\textcopyright} \)\textsuperscript{2} Lanzone, \textit{op. cit.}, tavv. 87–91.

\(\text{\textcopyright} \)\textsuperscript{3} Lanzone, \textit{op. cit.}, tav. 368.
death and precedes the entry into eternal life, and the symbols with which he is accompanied explain the character attributed to this god.¹

The god Ptaḥ is also united with the gods Ḫāpi, Nu and Tanen when he represents various phases of primeval matter.

**Khnemu** worked with Ptaḥ in carrying out the work of creation ordered by Thoth, and is therefore one of the oldest divinities of Egypt; his name means "to mould," "to model." His connexion with the primeval water caused him to be regarded as the chief god of the inundation and lord of the cataract at Elephantine. He dwelt in Ānu, but he was lord of Elephantine, and "the builder of men, the maker of the gods, and the father from the beginning." Elsewhere he is said to be

Maker of things which are, creator of what shall be, the beginning of beings, father of fathers, and mother of mothers.

He supported the heaven upon its four pillars in the beginning, and earth, air, sea, and sky are his handiwork. He is depicted in the form of a man having a ram's head and horns surmounted by plumes, uræi with disks, etc.; in one hand he holds the sceptre and in the other the emblem of life. Occasionally he is hawk-headed, and in one representation he holds the emblem of water, in each hand. On a late bas-relief at Philæ we find him seated at a potter's table upon which stands a human being whom he has just fashioned.²

**Khepera** was a form of the rising sun, and was both a type of matter which is on the point of passing from inertness into life, and also of the dead body which is about to burst forth into a new life in a glorified form. He is depicted in the form of a man having a beetle for a head, and this insect was his type and emblem among ancient nations, because it was believed to be self-begotten and self-produced; to this notion we owe the myriads of beetles or

¹ Lanzone, op. cit., p. 244.  
² Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 336, No. 3.
scarabs which are found in tombs of all ages in Egypt, and also in the Greek islands and settlements in the Mediterranean, and in Phoenicia, Syria, and elsewhere. The seat of the god Khepera was in the boat of the sun, and the pictures which present us with this fact only illustrate an idea which is as old, at least, as the pyramid of Unás, for in this monument it is said of the king:

\[
\text{\( \begin{array}{c}
op\ f \\
\text{He flies}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
em
\text{like a bird,}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
op\ f \\
\text{he alighteth like a beetle}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{em nest sut}
\end{array}
\text{upon the empty throne}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{amt uda - k Rā}
\end{array}
\text{in thy boat, O Rā.}
\]

In the XVIIIth dynasty Queen Hêtëeshet set declared herself to be “the creator of things which came into being like Khepera” and in later times the scribes were exceedingly fond of playing upon the word used as a noun, adjective, verb and proper name.

Tum, or Atemu, i.e., “the closer,” was the great god of Annu, and the head of the great company of the gods of that place. It would seem that he usurped the position of Ra in Egyptian mythology, or at any rate that the priests of Annu succeeded in causing their local god, either separately or joined with Ra, to be accepted as the leader of the divine group. He represented the evening or night sun, and as such he is called in the XVth chapter of the Book of the Dead “divine god,” “self-created,” “maker of the gods,” “creator of men,” “who stretched out the heavens,” “the lightener of the tuat with his two eyes,” etc.

1 Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 330.
2 Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 57 (l. 477).
3 Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abh. iii., Bl. 22.
4 Compare Mission, t. i., p. 595; and in the account of the Creation found in B.M. papyrus No. 10,188, Col. xxvi.,
5 Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 19, 20.
The “cool breezes of the north wind,” for which every dead man prayed, were supposed to proceed from him. He is, as M. Lefébure has pointed out, always depicted in the form of a man; he wears the crowns $\hat{\text{y}}$ and holds both the sceptre $\hat{	ext{i}}$ and emblem of life $\hat{\text{f}}$. On a mummy case at Turin he is depicted in the boat of the Sun, in company with the god Kheperâ; between them are the beetle and sun’s disk $\hat{\text{G}}$.\textsuperscript{1} In later times the Egyptians called the feminine form of Tmu Temt $\hat{\text{G}}\hat{\text{t}}\hat{\text{w}}$.\textsuperscript{2}

Rā $\hat{\text{r}}\hat{\text{t}}\hat{\text{q}}$ was the name given to the sun by the Egyptians in a remote antiquity, but the meaning of the word, or the attribute which they ascribed to the sun by it, is unknown. Rā was the visible emblem of God, and was regarded as the god of this earth, to whom offerings and sacrifices were made daily; and when he appeared above the horizon at the creation, time began. In the pyramid texts the soul of the deceased makes its way to where Rā is in heaven, and Rā is entreated to give it a place in the “bark of millions of years” wherein he sails over the sky. The Egyptians attributed to the sun a morning and an evening boat, and in these the god sat accompanied by Kheperâ and Tmu, his own forms in the morning and evening respectively. In his daily course he vanquished night and darkness, and mist and cloud disappeared from before his rays; subsequently the Egyptians invented the moral conception of the sun, representing the victory of right over wrong and of truth over falsehood. From a natural point of view the sun was synonymous with movement, and hence typified the life of man; and the setting of the one typified the death of the other. Usually Rā is depicted in human form, sometimes with the head of a hawk, and sometimes without.\textsuperscript{3} As early as the time of the pyramid texts we find Rā united with Tmu to form the chief god of Ânu, and at the same period a female counterpart Rât $\hat{\text{G}}$ was assigned to him.\textsuperscript{4}

Shu $\hat{\text{s}}\hat{\text{u}}\hat{\text{t}}\hat{\text{r}}$, the second member of the company of the gods of Ânu, was the firstborn son of Rā, Rā-Tmu, or Tum, by the goddess Hathor, the sky, and was the twin brother of Tefnut. He typified the light, he lifted up the sky, Nut, from the earth, Seb, and placed it upon the steps $\hat{\text{c}}$ which were in Khemennu.

\textsuperscript{1} See Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 398.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., tav. 178.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p. 1355.
\textsuperscript{4} Pyramid of Unás, l. 253.
He is usually depicted in the form of a man, who wears upon his head a feather β, or feathers γδ, and holds in his hand the sceptre ι. At other times he appears in the form of a man with upraised arms; on his head he has the emblem ᵒ, and he is often accompanied by ρτγδ, the four pillars of heaven, i.e., the cardinal points. Among the many faience amulets which are found in tombs are two which have reference to Shu: the little models of steps △ typify the steps upon which Shu rested the sky in Khemennu △ △ △ △ △ △; and the crouching figure of a god supporting the sun's disk symbolizes his act of raising the sun's disk into the space between sky and earth at the time when he separated Nut from Seb.

**Tefnut** ठ, the third member of the company of the gods of Anu, was the daughter of Ra, Ra-Tmu, or Tmu, and twin-sister of Shu; she represented in one form moisture, and in another aspect she seems to personify the power of sunlight. She is depicted in the form of a woman, usually with the head of a lioness surmounted by a disk or uraeus, or both? in faience, however, the twin brother and sister have each a lion's head. In the pyramid texts they play a curious part, Shu being supposed to carry away hunger from the deceased, and Tefnut his thirst.3

**Seb** or Qeb न, the fourth member of the company of the gods of Anu, was the son of Shu, husband of Nut, and by her father of Osiris, Isis, Set, and Nephthys. Originally he was the god of the earth, and is called both the "father of the gods" ठ, and the "erfa झ (i.e., the tribal, hereditary head) of the gods." He is depicted in human form, sometimes with a crown upon his head and sceptre ι in his right hand; and sometimes he has upon his head a goose,4 which bird was sacred to him. In many places he is called the "great cackler" ठ and he was supposed to have laid the egg from which the world sprang. Already in the pyramid texts he has become a god of the dead by virtue of representing the earth wherein the deceased was laid.

1 See Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 385.
2 See Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 395.
3 See Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 346.
4 See Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 61.
Ausar or Osiris, the sixth member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the son of Seb and Nut, and the husband of his sister Isis, the father of "Horus, the son of Isis," and the brother of Set and Nephthys. The version of his sufferings and death by Plutarch has been already described (see p. xlvi.). Whatever may have been the foundation of the legend, it is pretty certain that his character as a god of the dead was well defined long before the versions of the pyramid texts known to us were written, and the only important change which took place in the views of the Egyptians concerning him in later days was the ascription to him of the attributes which in the early dynasties were regarded as belonging only to Ra or to Ra-Tmu. Originally Osiris was a form of the sun-god, and, speaking generally, he may be said to have represented the sun after he had set, and as such was the emblem of the motionless dead; later texts identify him with the moon. The Egyptians asserted that he was the father of the gods who had given him birth, and, as he was the god both of yesterday and of to-day, he became the type of eternal existence and the symbol of immortality; as such he usurped not only the attributes of Ra, but those of every other god, and at length he was both the god of the dead and the god of the living. As judge of the dead he was believed to exercise functions similar to those attributed to God. Among all the many gods of Egypt, Osiris was chosen as the type of what the deceased hoped to become when, his body having been mumified in the prescribed way, and ceremonies proper to the occasion having been performed and the prayers said, his glorified body should enter into his presence in heaven; to him as "lord of eternity," by which title as judge of the dead he was commonly addressed, the deceased appealed to make his flesh to germinate and to save his body from decay.\footnote{Compare \[ ...\].} The various forms in which Osiris is depicted are too numerous to be described here, but generally speaking he is represented in the form of a mummy wearing a crown and holding in his hands the emblems of sovereignty and power. A very complete series of illustrations of the forms of Osiris is given by Lanzone in his Dizionario, tavv. 258–299. The ceremonies connected with the celebration of the events of the sufferings, the death and the resurrection of Osiris occupied a very prominent part in the religious observances of the Egyptians, and it seems as if in the month of Choiak a representation of

\[\text{Navi le, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 179.}\]
them took place in various temples in Egypt; the text of a minute description of them has been published by M. Loret in Recueil de Travaux, tom. iii., p. 43 ff., and succeeding volumes. A perusal of this work explains the signification of many of the ceremonies connected with the burial of the dead, the use of amulets, and certain parts of the funeral ritual; and the work in this form being of a late date proves that the doctrine of immortality, gained through the god who was "lord of the heavens and of the earth, of the underworld and of the waters, of the mountains, and of all which the sun goeth round in his course," had remained unchanged for at least four thousand years of its existence.

Åuset or Isis, the seventh member of the company of the gods of Ânu, was the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus; her woes have been described both by Egyptian and Greek writers. Her commonest names are "the great goddess, the divine mother, the mistress of charms or enchantments"; in later times she is called the "mother of the gods," and the "living one." She is usually depicted in the form of a woman, with a head-dress in the shape of a seat, the hieroglyphic for which forms her name. The animal sacred to her was the cow, hence she sometimes wears upon her head the horns of that animal accompanied by plumes and feathers. In one aspect she is identified with the goddess Selk or Serq, and she then has upon her head a scorpion, the emblem of that goddess; in another aspect she is united to the star Sothis, and then a star is added to her crown. She is, however, most commonly represented as the mother suckling her child Horus, and figures of her in this aspect, in bronze and faience, exist in thousands. As a nature goddess she is seen standing in the boat of the sun, and she was probably the deity of the dawn.

Héru or Horus, the sun-god, was originally a totally distinct god from Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, but from the earliest times it seems that the two gods were confounded, and that the attributes of the one were ascribed to the other; the fight which Horus the sun-god waged against night and darkness was also at a very early period identified with the combat between Horus, the son of

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Isis, and his brother Set. The visible emblem of the sun-god was at a very early date the hawk
, which was probably the first living thing worshipped by the early Egyptians; already in the pyramid texts the hawk on a standard
 is used indiscriminately with
 to represent the word "god." The principal forms of Horus the sun-god, which probably represent the sun at various periods of the day and night, are:—Heru-ur
 (Ἀριωνεί), "Horus the Great"; Heru-merti
, "Horus of the two eyes," i.e., of the sun and moon, 1 Heru-nub
, "the golden Horus"; Heru-khent-khat
, "Horus-dwelling in blindness"; Heru-khuti
, "Horus of the two horizons," 2 the type of which on earth was the Sphinx; Heru-sam-tau
, "Horus the uniter of the north and south"; Heru-heckenu
, "Horus of Heken"; and Heru-behu[et]
, "Horus of Behutet." 3 The cippi of Horus, which became so common at a late period in Egypt, seem to unite the idea of the physical and moral conceptions of Horus the sun-god and of Horus the son of Osiris and Isis.

Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, appears in Egyptian texts usually as Heru-p-khart
, or "Horus the child," who afterwards became the "avenger of his father Osiris," and occupied his throne, as we are told in many places in the Book of the Dead. In the pyramid texts the deceased is identified with Heru-p-khart, and a reference is made to the fact that the god is always represented with a finger in his mouth. 4 The curious legend which Plutarch relates concerning Harpocrates and the cause of his lameness 5 is probably

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1 A very interesting figure of this god represents him holding his eyes
 in his hands; see Lanzone, op. cit., p. 618.

2 I.e., Horus between the mountains of
 Bekhatet and
 Manu, the most easterly and westerly points of the sun's course, and the places where he rose and set.

3 For figures of these various forms of Horus, see Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 214 ff.

4 Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 44 (l. 301).

5 Ὁ Ἱσίων μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν ἢσθημένον συνεπεμοίων, τεκέων ἑλπίσκος καὶ ἀθέτη τοις κάτωθεν ὑμῖν τῶν Ἀρσοκατηγοροῦ. De Iside et Osiride, § xlix.
based upon the passage in the history of Osiris and Isis given in a hymn to Osiris of the XVIIIth dynasty.\footnote{Ledain, Monuments Égyptiens, pl. xxv, ill. 2, 3.}

Set $\mathtt{\text{\textcopyright}}$, or Sutekh $\mathtt{\text{\textcopyright}}$, the eighth member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the son of Seb and Nut, and the husband of his sister Nephthys. The worship of this god is exceedingly old, and in the pyramid texts we find that he is often mentioned with Horus and the other gods of the Heliopolitan company in terms of reverence. He was also believed to perform friendly offices for the deceased, and to be a god of the Sekhet-Âaru, or abode of the blessed dead. He is usually depicted in human form with the head of an animal which has not yet been identified; in later times the head of the ass was confounded with it, but the figures of the god in bronze which are preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere prove beyond a doubt that the head of Set is that of an animal unknown to us. In the early dynasties he was a beneficent god, and one whose favour was sought after by the living and by the dead, and so late as the XIXth dynasty kings delighted to call themselves “beloved of Set.” About the XXIIInd dynasty, however, it became the fashion to regard the god as the origin of all evil, and his statues and images were so effectually destroyed that only a few which escaped by accident have come down to us. Originally Set, or Sut, represented the natural right and was the opposite of Horus,\footnote{In the pyramid of Unâs, l. 190, they are called the $\mathtt{\text{\textcopyright}}$ or “two combatants”; and see pyramid of Tetä, l. 69, where we have the spelling $\mathtt{\text{\textcopyright}}$.} that Horus and Set were opposite aspects or forms of the same god is proved by the figure given by Lanzone (Dizionario, tav. 37, No. 2), where we see the head of Set and the head of Horus upon one body. The natural opposition of the day and night was at an early period confounded with the battle which took place between Horus, the son of Isis, and Set, wherein Isis intervened, and it seems that the moral idea of the battle of right against wrong\footnote{On the personification of evil by Set, see Wiedemann, Die Religion, p. 117.} became attached to the latter combat, which was undertaken by Horus to avenge his father’s murder by Set.

Nebt-het or Nephthys $\mathtt{\text{\textcopyright}}$, the last member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the daughter of Seb and Nut, the sister of Osiris and Isis, and the
sister and wife of Set. When the sun rose at the creation out of the primeval waters, Nephthys occupied a place in his boat with Isis and other deities; as a nature goddess she either represents the day before sunrise or after sunset, but no portion of the night. She is depicted in the form of a woman, having upon her head the hieroglyphics which form her name, “lady of the house.” An legend preserved by Plutarch makes her the mother of Anpu or Anubis by Osiris. In Egyptian texts Anpu is called the son of Ra. In religious texts Nephthys is made to be the companion of Isis in all her troubles, and her grief for her brother’s death is as great as that of his wife.

Anpu, or Anubis, the son of Osiris or Ra, sometimes by Isis and sometimes by Nephthys, seems to represent as a nature god either the darkest part of the twilight or the earliest dawn. He is depicted either in human form with a jackal’s head, or as a jackal. In the legend of Osiris and Isis, Anubis played a prominent part in connexion with the dead body of Osiris, and in papyri we see him standing as a guard and protector of the deceased lying upon the bier; in the judgment scene he is found as the guard of the balance, the pointer of which he watches with great diligence. He became the recognized god of the sepulchral chamber, and eventually presided over the whole of the “funeral mountain.” He is always regarded as the messenger of Osiris.

Another form of Anubis was the god Ap-uat, the pyramid texts or “Opener of the ways,” who also was depicted in the form of a jackal; and the two gods are often confounded. On sepulchral stelæ and other monuments two jackals are frequently depicted; one of these represents Anubis, and the other Ap-uat, and they probably have some connexion with the northern and southern parts of the funereal world. According to M. Maspero the god Anubis led the souls of the dead to the Elysian Fields in the Great Oasis.

Among the primeval gods are two, Hu and Sâa, who are seen in the boat of the sun at the creation. They are the children of Tnu or Tnu-Ra, but the exact part which they play as nature gods has not yet, it seems, been satisfactorily made out. The first mention of them in the pyramid texts records their subjugation by the deceased, but in the Theban Book of the Dead.
they appear among the company of the gods who are present when the soul of the deceased is being weighed in the balance.

Tehuti or Thoth represented the divine intelligence which at creation uttered the words that were carried into effect by Ptah and Khnemu. He was self-produced, and was the great god of the earth, air, sea and sky; and he united in himself the attributes of many gods. He was the scribe of the gods, and, as such, he was regarded as the inventor of all the arts and sciences known to the Egyptians; some of his titles are "lord of writing," "master of papyrus," "maker of the palette and the ink-jar," "the mighty speaker," "the sweet-tongued"; and the words and compositions which he recited on behalf of the deceased preserved the latter from the influence of hostile powers and made him invincible in the "other world." He was the god of right and truth, wherein he lived, and whereby he established the world and all that is in it. As the chronologer of heaven and earth, he became the god of the moon; and as the reckoner of time, he obtained his name Tehuti, i.e., "the measurer"; in these capacities he had the power to grant life for millions of years to the deceased. When the great combat took place between Horus, the son of Isis, and Set, Thoth was present as judge, and he gave to Isis the cow's head in the place of her own which was cut off by Horus in his rage at her interference; having reference to this fact he is called Ap-rehui, "The judge of the two combatants." One of the Egyptian names for the ibis was Tehuti, and the similarity of the sound of this word to that of Tehu, the name of the moon as a measurer of time, probably led the Egyptians to depict the god in the form of an ibis, notwithstanding the fact that the dog-headed ape was generally considered to be the animal sacred to him. It has been thought that there were two gods called Thoth, one being a form of Shu; but the attributes belonging to each have not yet been satisfactorily defined. In the monuments and papyri Thoth appears in the form of a man with the head of an ibis, which is sometimes surmounted by the crown, or by disk and horns, or, and he holds in his left hand the sceptre, and in the right; sometimes he is depicted holding his ink-jar and the crescent moon, and sometimes he appears in the form of an ape holding a palette full of writing-reeds. Thoth is mentioned in the pyramid texts as the brother of Osiris, but whether he is the

1 See Lanzoni, op. cit., tav. 304, No. 1.  
2 Pyramid of Unas, l. 236.
same Thoth who is called the "Lord of Khemennu" and the "Scribe of the gods" is doubtful.

Maat \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture} \node at (0,0) {\text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textcopyright\textcolor{black}{\textasteriskcentered}}}}}; \end{tikzpicture}}\), the wife of Thoth, was the daughter of Ra, and a very ancient goddess; she seems to have assisted Pta\(h\) and Khnemu in carrying out rightly the work of creation ordered by Thoth. There is no word which will exactly describe the Egyptian conception of Maat both from a physical and from a moral point of view; but the fundamental idea of the word is "straight," and from the Egyptian texts it is clear that maat meant right, true, truth, real, genuine, upright, righteous, just, steadfast, unalterable, etc. Thus already in the Prisse papyrus it is said, "Great is maat, the mighty and unalterable, and it hath never been broken since the time of Osiris," and Pta\(h\)-\(h\)etep counsels his listener to "make maat, or right and truth, to germinate." The just, upright, and straight man is maat \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture} \node at (0,0) {\text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textcopyright\textcolor{black}{\textasteriskcentered}}}}}; \end{tikzpicture}}\), and in a book of moral precepts it is said, "God will judge the right (maat)". Maat, the goddess of the unalterable laws of heaven, and the daughter of Ra, is depicted in female form, with the feather \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture} \node at (0,0) {\text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textcopyright\textcolor{black}{\textasteriskcentered}}}}}; \end{tikzpicture}}\), emblematic of maat, on her head, or with the feather alone for a head, and the sceptre \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture} \node at (0,0) {\text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textcopyright\textcolor{black}{\textasteriskcentered}}}}}; \end{tikzpicture}}\) in one hand, and \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture} \node at (0,0) {\text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textcopyright\textcolor{black}{\textasteriskcentered}}}}}; \end{tikzpicture}}\) in the other. In the judgment scene two Maat goddesses appear; one probably is the personification of physical law, and the other of moral rectitude.

Het-heru, or Hathor \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture} \node at (0,0) {\text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textcopyright\textcolor{black}{\textasteriskcentered}}}}}; \end{tikzpicture}}\), the "house of Horus," was the goddess of the sky wherein Horus the sun-god rose and set. Subsequently a great number of goddesses of the same name were developed from her, and these were identified with Isis, Neith, Ius\(\text{\begin{tikzpicture} \node at (0,0) {\text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textcopyright\textcolor{black}{\textasteriskcentered}}}}}; \end{tikzpicture}}\), and many other goddesses whose attributes they absorbed. A group of seven Hathors is also mentioned, and these appear to have partaken of the nature of good fairies. In one form Hathor was the goddess of love, beauty,
happiness; and the Greeks identified her with their own Aphrodite. She is often depicted in the form of a woman having disk and horns upon her head, and at times she has the head of a lion surmounted by a uræus. Often she has the form of a cow—the animal sacred to her—and in this form she appears as the goddess of the tomb or Ta-setet, and she provides meat and drink for the deceased.¹

Meḥ-urt is the personification of that part of the sky wherein the sun rises, and also of that part of it in which he takes his daily course; she is depicted in the form of a cow, along the body of which the two barks of the sun are seen sailing. Already in the pyramid texts we find the attribute of judge ascribed to Meḥ-urt,² and down to a very late date the judgment of the deceased in the hall of double Maāt in the presence of Thoth and the other gods was believed to take place in the abode of Meḥ-urt.³

Net or Neith, "the divine mother, the lady of heaven, the mistress of the gods," was one of the most ancient deities of Egypt, and in the pyramid texts she appears as the mother of Sebek.⁴ Like Meḥ-urt she personifies the place in the sky where the sun rises. In one form she was the goddess of the loom and shuttle, and also of the chase; in this aspect she was identified by the Greeks with Athene. She is depicted in the form of a woman, having upon her head the shuttle or arrows, or she wears the crown and holds arrows, a bow, and a sceptre in her left hand; she also appears in the form of a cow.⁵

Sekhet was in Memphis the wife of Ptah, and the mother of Nefer-Tmu and of I-em-hetep. She was the personification of the burning heat of the sun, and as such was the destroyer of the enemies of Ra and Osiris. When Ra determined to punish mankind with death, because they scoffed at him, he sent Sekhet, his "eye," to perform the work of vengeance; illustrative of this aspect of her is a figure wherein she is depicted with the sun's eye for a head.⁶ Usually

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¹ A good set of illustrations of this goddess will be found in Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 314 f.
³ Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 48 (l. 427).
⁴ Recueil de Travaux, t. iv., p. 76 (l. 627).
⁵ See Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 177.
⁶ Ibid., op. cit., tav. 364.
she has the head of a lion surmounted by the sun’s disk, round which is a uraeus; and she generally holds a sceptre \(\text{ṣepy}\), but sometimes a knife.

**Bast** \(\text{ḥentpt} \text{ṣepy}\), according to one legend, was the mother of Nefer-Tmu. She was the personification of the gentle and fructifying heat of the sun, as opposed to that personified by Sekhet. The cat was sacred to Bast, and the goddess is usually depicted cat-headed. The most famous seat of her worship was the city of Bubastis, the modern Tell Basta, in the Delta.

**Nefer-Tmu** \(\text{ḥentpt} \text{nfr-tm}\) was the son either of Sekhet or Bast, and he personified some form of the sun’s heat. He is usually depicted in the form of a man, with a cluster of lotus flowers upon his head, but sometimes he has the head of a lion; in the little *faience* figures of him which are so common, he stands upon the back of a lion.\(^1\) He no doubt represents the sun-god in the legend which made him to burst forth from a lotus, for in the pyramid of Unâs the king is said to

\(\text{ḥentpt} \text{nfr-tm}\) \(\text{mḥḥ} \text{ḥentpt} \text{krs twi} \text{nfr} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt}\)

“Rise like Nefer-Tmu from the lotus (lily) to the nostrils of Rā,”

and to “come forth on the horizon every day.”\(^2\)

**Neheb-kā** \(\text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt}\) is the name of a goddess who is usually represented with the head of a serpent, and with whom the deceased identifies himself.

**Sebāk** \(\text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt}\), a form of Horus the sun-god, must be distinguished from Sebāk the companion of Set, the opponent of Osiris; of each of these gods the crocodile was the sacred animal, and for this reason probably the gods themselves were confounded. Sebāk-Rā, the lord of Ombos, is usually depicted in human form with the head of a crocodile, surmounted by \(\text{ḏnpr} \text{ḏnpr} \text{ḏnpr} \text{ḏnpr}\), or \(\text{ḏnpr} \text{ḏnpr} \text{ḏnpr}\), or \(\text{ḏnpr} \text{ḏnpr} \text{ḏnpr}\)\(^3\)

**Āmsu** \(\text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt}\), or **Āmsi** \(\text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt} \text{ḥentpt}\) is one of the most ancient gods of Egypt. He personified the power of generation, or the reproductive force of nature; he was the “father of his own mother,” and was identified with “Horus the mighty,” or with Horus the avenger of his father Un-nefer or Osiris. The Greeks identified

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\(^1\) See Lanzoni, *op. cit.*, tav. 147.


\(^3\) *Recueil de Travaux*, iv., t. p. 45 (l. 394).

\(^4\) Also read Min and Khem.
him with the god Pan, and called the chief city where his worship was celebrated Khemmis, after one of his names. He is depicted usually in the form of a man standing upon \( \text{shape} \); and he has upon his head the plumes \( \text{shape} \), and holds the flail \( \text{shape} \) in his right hand, which is raised above his shoulder.\(^3\)

**Neb-er-tcher** \( \text{shape} \), a name which originally implied the "god of the universe," but which was subsequently given to Osiris, and indicated the god after the completed reconstruction of his body, which had been hacked to pieces by Set.

**Un-nefer** \( \text{shape} \), a name of Osiris in his capacity of god and judge of the dead in the underworld. Some make these words to mean the "good being," and others the "beautiful hare."

**Åṣṭennu** \( \text{shape} \), a name given to the god Thoth.

**Mert** \( \text{shape} \), or Mer-sekert \( \text{shape} \), "the lover of silence," is a name of Isis or Hathor as goddess of the underworld. She is depicted in the form of a woman, having a disk and horns upon her head.\(^3\)

**Serek** or **Selk** \( \text{shape} \) is a form of the goddess Isis. She is usually depicted in the form of a woman, with a scorpion upon her head; occasionally she appears as a scorpion with a woman's head surmounted by disk and horns.\(^4\)

**Ta-urt** \( \text{shape} \), the Thoueris of the Greeks, was identified as the wife of Set or Typhon; she is also known under the names Åpt \( \text{shape} \) and Sheput \( \text{shape} \). Her common titles are "mistress of the gods " \( \text{shape} \), and "bearer of the gods" \( \text{shape} \). She is depicted in the form of a hippopotamus standing on her hind legs, with distended paunch and hanging breasts, and one of her forefeet rests upon \( \text{shape} \); sometimes she has the head of a woman, but she always wears the disk, horns, and plumes \( \text{shape} \).

**Uatchit** \( \text{shape} \) was a form of Hathor, and was identified with the appearance of the sky in the north when the sun rose. She is either depicted in the form of a woman, having upon her head the crown of the north \( \text{shape} \) and a sceptre \( \text{shape} \), around which a serpent is twined, or as a winged uræus wearing the crown of the north.

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\(^1\) In Egyptian the town is called Åpu \( \text{shape} \).

\(^2\) See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 332.

\(^3\) *Ibid.*, tav 124.

**THE GODS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.**

Beb, Behti, Baba, or Babu, mentioned three times in the Book of the Dead, is the "firstborn son of Osiris," and seems to be one of the gods of generation.

Hāpi is the name of the great god of the Nile who was worshipped in Egypt under two forms, i.e., "Hāpi of the South," and "Hāpi of the North," the papyrus was the emblem of the one, and the lotus of the other. From the earliest times the Nile was regarded by the Egyptians as the source of all the prosperity of Egypt, and it was honoured as being the type of the life-giving waters out of the midst of which sprang the gods and all created things. In turn it was identified with all the gods of Egypt, new or old, and its influence was so great upon the minds of the Egyptians that from the earliest days they depicted to themselves a material heaven wherein the Isles of the Blest were laved by the waters of the Nile, and the approach to which was by the way of its stream as it flowed to the north. Others again lived in imagination on the banks of the heavenly Nile, whereon they built cities; and it seems as if the Egyptians never succeeded in conceiving a heaven without a Nile and canals. The Nile is depicted in the form of a man, who wears upon his head a clump of papyrus or lotus flowers; his breasts are those of a woman, indicating fertility. Lanzoni reproduces an interesting scene in which the north and south Nile gods are tying a papyrus and a lotus stalk around the emblem of union to indicate the unity of Upper and Lower Egypt, and this emblem is found cut upon the thrones of the kings of Egypt to indicate their sovereignty over the regions traversed by the South and North Niles. It has already been said that Hāpi was identified with all the gods in turn, and it follows as a matter of course that the attributes of each were ascribed to him; in one respect, however he is different from them all, for of him it is written:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{án} & \text{ mehu en àner tut her uah set seemet dåräit} \\
\text{He cannot be sculptured in stone;} & \text{in the images on which men place crowns and uraei}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{án qemu h en} & \text{uf} \text{ án baká án xerpu tuf án} \\
\text{he is not made manifest;} & \text{service cannot be rendered nor offerings made to him; not}
\end{align*}
\]

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Here the scribe gave to the Nile the attributes of the great and unknown God its Maker.

In the pyramid texts we find a group of four gods with whom the deceased is closely connected in the “other world”; these are the four “children of Horus” Ḥapi, Ṣe-tAu-māutef, Ámset, and Qebhsenuff, and when he entered into the Sekhet-Aaru they accompanied him as guides, and went in with him two on each side. They took away all hunger and thirst from him, they gave him life in heaven and protected it when given, and they brought him from the Lake of Khemta the boat of the Eye of Khnemu. In one passage they are called the “four Khu’s of Horus” and originally they represented the four pillars which supported the sky, or Horus. Each was supposed to be lord of one of the quarters of the world, and finally became the god of one of the cardinal points. Ḥapi represented the north, Ṣe-tAu-māutef the east, Ámset the south, and Qebhsenuff the west. In the XVIIth dynasty the Egyptians originated the custom of embalming the intestines of the

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1 For the hieratic text from which this extract is taken see Birch, Select Papyri, pl. 20 ff. and 134 ff.; see also Maspero, Hymne au Nil, publié et traduit d’après les deux textes du Musée Britannique, Paris, 1868. 400.
2 Pyramid of Unás, l. 219; Pyramid of Tetá, ll. 60, 286; Pyramid of Pepi I., ll. 444, 593, etc.
3 Pyramid of Pepi I., l. 593.
4 Recueil de Travaux, t. iii., p. 905 (l. 219 f.).
5 Ibid., t. v., p. 10 (ll. 59 ff.).
6 Ibid., t. vii., p. 91 (l. 593).
7 Ibid., t. viii., p. 91 (l. 593).
8 Ibid., t. vii., p. 150 (l. 261).
body separately, and they placed them in four jars, each of which was devoted to the protection of one of the children of Horus, i.e., to the care of one of the gods of the four cardinal points. The god of the north protected the small viscera, the god of the east the heart and lungs, the god of the south the stomach and large intestines, and the god of the west the liver and gall-bladder. With these four gods four goddesses were associated, viz., Nephthys, Neith, Isis, and Selk or Serq.

Connected with the god Horus are a number of mythological beings called Ḫeru shesu1 (or shemsu, as some read it) ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ, who appear already in the pyramid of Unás in connection with Horus and Set in the ceremony of purifying and "opening the mouth"; and in the pyramid of Pepi I. it is they who wash the king and who recite for him the "Chapter of those who come forth," and the "[Chapter of] those who ascend." 2

In the judgment scene in the Book of the Dead, grouped round the pan of the balance which contains the heart of the deceased (see Plate III.), are three beings in human form, who bear the names Shai, Renenet, and Meskhenet.

Shai ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ is the personification of destiny, and Renenet ﬀ ﬀ of fortune; these names are usually found coupled. Shai and Renenet are said to be in the hands of Thoth, the divine intelligence of the gods; and Rameses II. boasts that he himself is "lord of Shai and creator of Renenet." 3 Shai was originally the deity who "decreed" what should happen to a man, and Renenet, as may be seen from the pyramid texts, 4 was the goddess of plenty, good fortune, and the like; subsequently no distinction was made between these deities and the abstract ideas which they represented. In the papyrus of Ani, Shai stands by himself near the pillar of the Balance, and Renenet is accompanied by Meskhenet, who appears to be the personification of all the conceptions underlying Shai and Renenet and something else besides. In the story of the children of Ra, as related in the Westcar papyrus, we find the goddess Meskhenet ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ mentioned with Isis, Nephthys, Heqet, and the god Khnemu as assisting at the birth of children.

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1 Recueil de Travaux, t. iii., p. 182 (l. 17).
2 ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ ﬀ, etc. Ibid., t. vii., p. 170 (l. 463).
3 See Maspero, Romains et Poésies du Papyrus Harris, No. 500, Paris, 1879, p. 27.
4 Pyramid of Unás, l. 564.
Disguised in female forms, the four goddesses go to the house of Rā-user, and, professing to have a knowledge of the art of midwifery, they are admitted to the chamber where the child is about to be born; Isis stands before the woman, Nephthys behind her, and Heqet accelerates the birth. When the child is born Meskhenet comes and looking upon him says, "A king; he shall rule throughout this land. May Khnemu give health and strength to his body."¹ The word meskhenet is as old as the pyramid times, and seems then to have had the meaning of luck, destiny, etc.²

The god Āmen, his wife Mut, and their associate Khonsu have nothing whatever to do with the Book of the Dead; but Āmen, the first member of this great Theban triad, must be mentioned with the other gods, because he was usually identified with one or more of them. The name Āmen means the "hidden one," and the founding of the first shrine of the god recorded in history took place at Thebes during the XIIth dynasty; from that time until the close of the XVIIth dynasty, Āmen was the chief god of Thebes and nothing more. When, however, the last kings of the XVIIth dynasty had succeeded in expelling the so-called Hyksos and had delivered the country from the yoke of the foreigner, their god assumed an importance hitherto unknown, and his priests endeavoured to make his worship the first in the land. But Āmen was never regarded throughout the entire country as its chief god, although his votaries called him the king of the gods. The conception which the Thebans had of their god as a god of the underworld was modified when they identified him with Rā and called him "Āmen-Rā"; and, speaking generally, in the time of the XVIIth dynasty and onwards the god became the personification of the mysterious creating and sustaining power of the universe, which in a material form was typified by the sun. By degrees all the attributes of the old gods of Egypt were ascribed to him, and the titles which among western nations are given to God were added to those pantheistic epithets which Āmen had usurped. The following extracts from a fine hymn³ will set forth the views of the priesthood of Āmen-Rā concerning their god.

¹ Compare  "the night of thy birth, and the day of thy meskhenet"; see Recueil de Travaux, t. vii., p. 161 (l. 397).
² See Gребaut, Hymne à Ammon-Rā, Paris, 1874; and Wiedemann, Die Religion, p. 64 ff.  
³ See Erman, Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar, Berlin, 1890, Bl. 10, l. 13, 14.
"Adoration to thee, O Amen-Râ, the bull in Annu, the ruler of all the gods, the beautiful and beloved god who givest life by means of every kind of food and fine cattle.

"Hail to thee, O Amen-Râ, lord of the world's throne, thou dweller in Thebes, thou bull of thy mother that livest in thy field, that extendest thy journeys in the land of the south, thou lord of those who dwell in the west, thou governor of Punt, thou king of heaven and sovereign of the earth, thou lord of things that exist, thou stabilisher of creation, thou supporter of the universe. Thou art one in thine attributes among the gods, thou beautiful bull of the company of the gods, thou chief of all the gods, lord of Maât, father of the gods, creator of men, maker of beasts and cattle, lord of all that existeth, maker of the staff of life, creator of the herbs which give life to beasts and cattle. . . . Thou art the creator of things celestial and terrestrial, thou illuminest the universe. . . . The gods cast themselves at thy feet when they perceive thee . . . . Hymns of praise to thee, O father of the gods, who hast spread out the heavens and laid down the earth . . . . thou master of eternity and of everlastingness. . . . . . . Hail to thee, O Râ, lord of Maât, thou who art hidden in thy shrine, lord of the gods. Thou art Kheperâ in thy bark, and when thou sendest forth the word the gods come into being. Thou art Tmu, the maker of beings which have reason, and, however many be their forms, thou givest them life, and thou dost distinguish the shape and stature of each from his neighbour. Thou hearest the prayer of the afflicted, and thou art gracious unto him that crieth unto thee; thou deliverest the feeble one from the oppressor, and thou judgest between the strong and the weak . . . . The Nile riseth at thy will . . . . Thou only form, the maker of all that is, One only, the creator of all that shall be. Mankind hath come forth from thine eyes, the gods have come into being at thy word, thou makest the herbs for the use of beasts and cattle, and the staff of life for the need of man. Thou givest life to the fish of the stream and to the fowl of the air, and breath unto the germ in the egg; thou givest life unto the grasshopper, and thou makest to live the wild fowl and things that creep and things that fly and everything that belongeth thereunto. Thou providest food for the rats in the holes and for the birds that sit among the branches . . . . thou One, thou only One whose arms are many. All men and all creatures adore thee, and praises come unto thee from the height of heaven, from earth's widest space, and from the deepest depths of the sea . . . . thou One, thou only One who hast no second . . . . whose names are manifold and innumerable."

We have seen above that among other titles the god Amen was called the "only One" (see above, p. xcv), but the addition of the words "who hast no second" is remarkable as showing that the Egyptians had already conceived the existence of a god who had no like or equal, which they hesitated not to proclaim side by side with their descriptions of his manifestations. Looking at the Egyptian words in their simple meaning, it is pretty certain that when the Egyptians declared that
their god was One and that he had no second, they had the same ideas as the Jews and Muḥammadans when they proclaimed their God to be “One”\(^1\) and alone. It has been urged that the Egyptians never advanced to pure monotheism because they never succeeded in freeing themselves from the belief in the existence of other gods, but when they say that a god has “no second,” even though they mention other “gods,” it is quite evident that, like the Jews, they conceived him to be an entirely different being from the existences which, for the want of a better word, or because these possessed superhuman attributes, they named “gods.”

The gods above enumerated represent the powers who were the guides and protectors and givers of life and happiness to the deceased in the new life, but from the earliest times it is clear that the Egyptians imagined the existence of other powers who offered opposition to the dead, and who are called in many places his “enemies.” Like so many of the ancient gods, these powers were originally certain forces of nature, which were believed to be opposed to those which were regarded as beneficent to man, as for example darkness to light, and night to day; with darkness and night were also associated the powers which contributed in any way to obscure the light of the sun or to prevent his shining. But since the deceased was identified with Horus, or Rā, and his accompanying gods, the enemies of the one became the enemies of the other, and the welfare of the one was the welfare of the other. When the Egyptians personified the beneficent powers of nature, that is say, their gods, they usually gave to them human forms and conceived them in their own images; but when they personified the opposing powers they gave to them the shapes of noxious animals and reptiles, such as snakes and scorpions. As time went on, the moral ideas of good and right were attributed to the former, and evil and wickedness to the latter. The first personifications of light and darkness were Horus and Set, and in the combat—the prototype of the subsequent legends of Marduk and Tiamat, Bel and the Dragon, St. George and the Dragon, and many others—which took place between them, the former was always the victor. But, though the deceased was identified with Horus or Rā, the victory which the god gained over Set only benefited the spiritual body which dwelt in heaven, and did not preserve the natural body which lay in the tomb. The principal enemy of the natural body was the worm, and from the earliest times it seems that a huge worm or serpent was chosen by the Egyptians as the type of the powers which were hostile to the dead and also of

\(^1\) Deut. vi., 4. Compare יָדַע יְהוָה יְהוָה עַל עֹלֶת סְלָבָר, Deut. iv., 35; and יָדַע יְהוָה יְהוָה עַל עֹלֶת סְלָבָר, Isaiah xlv., 5.
the foe against whom the Sun-god fought. Already in the pyramid of Unás a long section of the text contains nothing but formulæ, the recital of which was intended to protect the deceased from various kinds of snakes and worms.¹ These are exceedingly ancient, indeed, they may safely be said to form one of the oldest parts of the funeral literature of the Egyptians, and we find from the later editions of the Book of the Dead and certain Coptic works that the dread of the serpent as the emblem of physical and moral evil existed among the Egyptians in all generations, and that, as will be seen later, the belief in a limbo filled with snakes swayed their minds long after they had been converted to Christianity.

The charms against serpents in the pyramid texts of the Vth and VIth dynasties have their equivalents in the XXXIst and XXXIIIrd Chapters of the Book of the Dead, which are found on coffins of the XIth and XIIth dynasties;² and in the XVIIIth dynasty we find vignettes in which the deceased is depicted in the act of spearing a crocodile³ and of slaughtering serpents.⁴ In the Theban and Saite versions are several small chapters⁵ the recital of which drove away reptiles; and of these the most important is the XXXIXth⁶ Chapter, which preserved the deceased from the attack of the great serpent Āpef or Āpep  in his folds.⁷ In the period of the later dynasties a service was performed daily in the temple of Ṣmen-Rā at Thebes to deliver the Sun-god from the assault of this fiend, and on each occasion it was accompanied by a ceremony in which a waxen figure of Āpep was burnt in the fire; as the wax melted, so the power of Āpep was destroyed.⁸ Another name of Āpep was Nak  who was pierced by the lance of the eye of Horus and made to vomit what he had swallowed.⁹

The judgment scene in the Theban edition of the Book of the Dead reveals the belief in the existence of a tri-formed monster, part crocodile, part lion, and

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¹ Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, t. iii., p. 220.
² Goodwin, Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1866, p. 54; see also Lepsius, Altteste Texte, Bl. 35, l. 1 ff.
³ Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 44.
⁴ Ibid., Bd. I., Bl. 46.
⁵ I.e., chapp. 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, etc.
⁶ For the text see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 53; and Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 18.
⁷ See Lanzoni, Dizionario, p. 121.
⁸ The service for the Overthrowing of Āpep is printed in Archaeologia, vol. iii., pp. 393-608.
⁹ Grébaut, Hymne, p. 10.
part hippopotamus, whom the Egyptians called Am-mit 𓊭𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬 𓊬𓊬, i.e., "the eater of the Dead," and who lived in Amenta; her place is by the side of the scales wherein the heart is weighed, and it is clear that such hearts as failed to balance the feather of Maât were devoured by her. In one papyrus she is depicted crouching by the side of a lake. Other types of evil were the insect Apshai 𓊪𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬 𓊬𓊬, 8 confounded in later times with the tortoise 𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬𓊬 𓊬𓊬, which dies as Ra lives; 4 the crocodile Sebâk, who afterwards became identified with Ra; the hippopotamus, the ass, etc.

The pyramid texts afford scanty information about the fiends and devils with which the later Egyptians peopled certain parts of the Tuat, wherein the night sun pursued his course, and where the souls of the dead dwelt; for this we must turn to the composition entitled the "Book of what is in the Tuat," several copies of which have come down to us inscribed upon tombs, coffins, and papyri of the XVIIIth and following dynasties. The Tuat was divided into twelve parts, corresponding to the twelve hours of the night; and this Book professed to afford to the deceased the means whereby he might pass through them successfully. In one of these divisions, which was under the rule of the god Seker, the entrance was guarded by a serpent on four legs with a human head, and within were a serpent with three heads, scorpions, 5 vipers, and winged monsters of terrifying aspect; a vast desert place was their abode, and seemingly the darkness was so thick there that it might be felt. In other divisions we find serpents spitting fire, lions, crocodile-headed gods, a serpent that devours the dead, a huge crocodile, and many other reptiles of divers shapes and forms.

From the descriptions which accompany the scenes, it is evident that the Tuat was regarded by the Egyptians of the XVIIIth dynasty from a moral as well as from a physical point of view. 6 Æpep, the emblem of evil, was here punished and overcome, and here dwelt the souls of the wicked and the righteous, who received their punishments or rewards, meted out to them by the decree of Ra and his company of gods. The chief instruments of punishment employed by the gods were fire and beasts which devoured the souls and bodies of the enemies

1 See below, p. 258. 5 Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 49.
2 Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 17.
4 See Maspero, Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes, p. 76.
6 See Lefèbure, Book of Hades (Records of the Past, vol. x., p. 84).
of Rā; and we may see from the literature of the Copts, or Egyptians who had embraced Christianity, how long the belief in a hell of fire and torturing fiends survived. Thus in the Life of Abba Shenutī,1 a man is told that the “executioners of Amenti will not show compassion upon thy wretched soul.”2 and in the history of Pisentios, a Bishop of Coptos in the seventh century of our era, we have a series of details which reflect the Ṭuat of the ancient Egyptians in a remarkable manner. The bishop having taken up his abode in a tomb filled with mummies, causes one of them to tell his history.3 After saying that his parents were Greeks who worshipped Poseidon, he states that when he was dying already the avenging angels came about him with iron knives and goads as sharp as spears, which they thrust into his sides, while they gnashed their teeth at him; when he opened his eyes, he saw death in all its manifold forms round about him; and at that moment angels without mercy ( CreateMap in Amenti) came and dragged his wretched soul from his body, and tying it to the form of a black horse they bore it away to Amenta ( CreateMap in Amenti). Next, he was delivered over to merciless tormentors, who tortured him in a place where there were multitudes of savage beasts; and, when he had been cast into the place of outer darkness, he saw a ditch more than two hundred feet deep filled with reptiles, each of which had seven heads, and all their bodies were covered as it were with scorpions. Here also were serpents, the very sight of which terrified the beholder, and to one of them which had teeth like iron stakes was the wretched man given to be devoured; for five days in each week the serpent crushed him with his teeth, but on the Saturday and Sunday there was respite. Another picture of the torments of Hades is given in the Martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch, wherein the saint, having restored to life a man who had been dead six hours, learned that when he was about to die he was surrounded by fiends, CreateMap in Amenti, some of whom had the faces of dragons, CreateMap in Amenti, others of lions, CreateMap in Amenti, others of crocodiles, CreateMap in Amenti, and others of bears, CreateMap in Amenti. They tore his soul from his body with great violence, and they fled with it over a mighty river of fire, in which they plunged it to a depth of four hundred cubits; then they took it out and set it before the Judge of Truth, CreateMap in Amenti. After hearing the sentence of the Judge the fiends took it to a place of outer darkness where no

1 See Amédée, Monuments pour servir à l’Histoire de l’Égypte Chrétienne, p. 167.
light came, and they cast it into the cold where there was gnashing of teeth. There it beheld a snake which never slept, ἐντ ἄτ ἐνκότ, with a head like that of a crocodile, and which was surrounded by reptiles which cast souls before it to be devoured, εἰς ηὐσαχπ τηρόν ἄτοτα ἐνιρ ἀν φυγή 
ἐμοκ; when the snake's mouth was full it allowed the other reptiles to eat, and though they rent the soul in pieces it did not die. After this the soul was carried into Amenta for ever, ἐμεντ ἀγα ἐνεγ. The martyr Macarius suffered in the reign of Diocletian, and the MS. from which the above extract is taken was copied in the year of the Martyrs 634 = A.D. 918. Thus, the old heathen ideas of the Egyptian Tuat were applied to the construction of the Coptic Hell.

THE PRINCIPAL GEOGRAPHICAL
AND MYTHOLOGICAL PLACES IN THE
BOOK OF THE DEAD.

Äbtu, 𓊪𓊪, the Abydos of the Greeks (Strabo, XVII., i., 42), the
capital of the eighth nome of Upper Egypt. It was the seat of the worship of
Osiris, and from this fact was called Per-Ausār 𓊪𓊪, or Busiris, “the house of
Osiris”; the Copts gave it the name eswrt.¹ Egyptian tradition made the sun
to end his daily course at Abydos, and to enter into the Tuat at this place
through a “gap” in the mountains called in Egyptian peg, □ śpt.² These
mountains lay near to the town; and in the XIth dynasty it was believed that
the souls of the dead made their way into the other world by the valley which
led through them to the great Oasis, where some placed the Elysian Fields.³

Ämenta or Amentet, 𓊪𓊪, or 𓊨𓊪𓊪, was originally the place where the
sun set, but subsequently the name was applied to the cemeteries and tombs which
were usually built or hewn in the stony plateaus and mountains on the western
bank of the Nile. Some believe that Ämenta was, at first, the name of a small
district, without either funereal or mythological signification. The Christian
Egyptians or Copts used the word Amenta to translate the Greek word Hades,
to which they attributed all the ideas which their heathen ancestors had associated
with the Ämenta of the Book of the Dead.

Ännu, 𓊤, the Heliopolis of the Greeks (Herodotus, II., 3, 7, 8, 9, 59, 93;
Strabo, XVII., 1, 27 ff.), and the capital of the thirteenth nome of Lower Egypt.

¹ See Amélineau, La Geographie de l’Égypte à l’Époque Copte, p. 155.
² See Brugsch, Ditt. Géog., p. 227.
³ See Maspero, Études de Mythologie, t. i., p. 345.
The Hebrews called it On (Genesis xli., 45, 50; xlvi., 20), Aven (Ezekiel xxx., 17), and Bêth-Shemesh (Jeremiah xliii., 13); this last name is an exact translation of the Egyptian rîp Râ, “house of the sun,” which was also a designation of Anû. The Copts have preserved the oldest name of the city under the form wom. A Coptic bishop of this place was present at the Council of Ephesus. The city of Anû seems to have become associated with the worship of the sun in prehistoric times. Already in the Vth dynasty its priesthood had succeeded in gaining supremacy for their religious views and beliefs throughout Egypt, and from first to last it maintained its position as the chief seat of theological learning in Egypt. The body of the Aged One, a name of Osiris, reposed in Anû, and there dwelt the Eye of Osiris. The deceased made his way to Anû, where souls were joined unto bodies in thousands, and where the blessed dead lived on celestial food for ever.

An-rutf or Naarutf, a section or door of the Tuat which lies to the north of Restau; the meaning of the word is “it never sprouteth.”

An-tes(?) (see within, p. 323), an unknown locality where a light tower (?), was adored.

Ápu, the Panopolis of the Greeks (Πανωπόλις, Strabo, XVII., i., 41), the metropolis of the ninth nome of Upper Egypt, and the seat of the worship of the god Khnum, whose name is variously read Amsu, Khem, and Min. In ancient days it was famous as the centre for stone cutting and linen weaving, and the latter industry still survives among the modern Coptic population, who, following their ancestors, call their city Mastum, which the Arabs have rendered by Akhmim.

Áqert, a common name for the abode of the dead.

Bast, more fully Pa-Bast or Per-Bast, the Bubastis of the Greek writers (Herodotus, II., 59, 137, 156, 166; Strabo, XVII., 1, 27), the metropolis of the eighteenth nome of Lower Egypt, and the seat of the worship of Bast, a goddess who was identified with the soul of Isis, ba en Auset, The city is mentioned in the Bible under the form Pi-beseth,
which the Copts have preserved in their name for the city, Ἑσελίας; the Arabs
call the place Tell Basta، تل بسطة.

Het-ben bent [םנ רפ י], the name given to many sun-shrines in
Egypt, and also to one of the places in the other world where the deceased dwelt.

Het-Ptah-ka [םנ רפ י], the sacred name of the city of Memphis, the
metropolis of the first nome of Lower Egypt; it means the “House of the ka of
Ptah,” and was probably in use in the period of the 1st dynasty. Other names
for Memphis were Anub-het'et, “the city of the white wall”; Men-nefer
and Khâ-nefert.

Kem-ur [םנ רפ י], a name given to the district of the fourth and fifth
nomes of Upper Egypt.

Khemennu [םנ רפ י], i.e., the city of the eight great cosmic gods,
the Hermopolis of the Greek writers (Ἑρμοπόλις) Strabo, XVII., 1, 41),
and the metropolis of the fifteenth nome of Upper Egypt. The old Egyptian
name for the city is preserved in its Coptic and Arabic names, Ṣeret and
Eshmûnên.

Kher-âba [םנ רפ י], a very ancient city which was situated on the right
bank of the Nile, a little to the south of Annu, near the site of which the
“Babylon of Egypt” (the Βαβύλων, φρούριον ἐρυμνῶν of Strabo, XVII., 1, 30),
was built.

Manu [םנ רפ י], the name given to the region where the sun
sets, which was believed to be exactly opposite to the district of Bekha
where he rose in the east; Manu is a synonym of west, just as Bekha is a synonym
of east.

Nekhen [םנ רפ י], the name of the shrine of the goddess Nekhebet,
which is supposed to have been near to Nekheb, the capital of the third nome
of Upper Egypt and the Eileithyiaropolis of the Greeks.

Neter-khertet [םנ רפ י], a common name for the abode of the
dead; it means the “divine subterranean place.”

1 Σαβτάμιν ΝΤΕ ΧΙΡΑΙ; see Amélineau, op. cit., p. 75.
2 See Brugsch, Dict. Géogr., pp. 199, 260; Maspero, Études de Mythologie, t. i., p. 332; and
Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1864, pp. 73–76.
INTRODUCTION.

Pe, a district of the town of Per-Uatchet, the Buto of the Greeks (Boïros, Strabo, XVII., i., 18), which was situated in the Delta.

Punt, the tropical district which lay to the south and east of Egypt, and which included probably a part of the Arabian peninsula and the eastern coast of Africa along and south of Somali land.

Re-stau, or, a name given to the passages in the tomb which lead from this to the other world; originally it designated the cemetery of Abydos only, and its god was Osiris.

Sa, the Sais of the Greeks (Σαίς, Strabo, XVII., i., 23), the metropolis of the fifth nome of Lower Egypt, and the seat of the worship of the goddess Neith.

Sekhem, or, the Letopolis of the Greeks, and capital of the Letopolites nome (Strabo, XVII., i., 30); it was the seat of the worship of Horus-ur, "Horus the elder," and one of the most important religious centres in Egypt.

Sekhet-Áanru, the "Field of the Áanru plants," was a name originally given to the islands in the Delta where the souls of the dead were supposed to live. Here was the abode of the goddess Osiris, who bestowed estates in it upon those who had been his followers, and here the beatified dead led a new existence and regaled themselves upon food of every kind, which was given to them in abundance. According to the vignette of the CXth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, the Sekhet-Áanru is the third division of the Sekhet-Áetepu, or "Fields of Peace," which have been compared with the Elysian Fields of the Greeks.

Set Ámentet, i.e., "the mountain of the underworld," a common name of the cemetery, which was usually situated in the mountains or desert on the western bank of the Nile.

Suten-Áenen, more correctly Áenen-su, the metropolis of the twentieth nome of Upper Egypt, called by the Greeks Heracleopolis Magna (Strabo, XVII., i., 35). The Hebrews mention the city (Arabic, Hanes, 4) Hanes as the representative of Upper Egypt, and in Coptic times it was still of considerable size and importance; the Copts and Arabs have preserved the ancient name of the city under the forms Ánen and Ahnas.
Tanenet, a district sacred to the gods Osiris and Ptaḥ; it was probably situated near Memphis.

Ta-sert or Ta-tchesertet, a common name for the tomb.

Tep, a district of the town Per-Uatchet, the Buto of the Greeks (Strabo, XVII., i., 18), which was situated in the Delta.

Tetetet, a name given both to the metropolis of the ninth nome and to the chief city of the sixteenth nome of Lower Egypt.

Tuat, a common name for the abode of the departed.

1 I.c., Pa-ʻusâr, or Per-ʻusâr, the Busiris of the Greeks.

2 I.c., Ba-neb-Tetet, the Mendes of the Greeks.
FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

In illustration of the ceremonies which accompanied the burial of the dead the reader will find extracts from different texts printed in the Appendix on p. 264 ff. To these may be added an extract from the curious ritual which was in vogue in the Vth and VIth dynasties, and which commemorated the ceremonies which were performed for the god Osiris. It is to be noticed how closely the deceased is identified with Osiris, the type of incorruptibility. Osiris takes upon himself "all that is hateful" in the dead: that is, he adopts the burden of his sins; and the dead is purified by the typical sprinkling of water. While the gods are only accompanied by their ka's, the deceased, in right of his identification with a higher power, is accompanied by his Tjet\(^1\) also, that is, by his Osiris.

Throughout the ceremony, the Eye of Horus,\(^2\) which is represented by various substances, plays a prominent part, for it is that which gives vigour to the heart of the dead and leads him to the god. That portion of the ceremony which was believed to procure the unlocking of the jaws and the opening of the mouth of the deceased, or of the statue which sometimes represented him, was performed after the purification by water and incense had been effected; and hereby was he enabled to partake of the meat and drink offerings, wherein the friends and relatives also participated, in order that they might cement and seal their mystic unity with the dead and with the god with whom he was identified.\(^3\)

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\(^{1}\) Some fifty years ago, M. Reuven expressed his belief that the represented the four quarters of the world, and according to M. Maspero it unites in itself the four pillars which support the sky and Osiris, whom they preserve from chaos; see Recueil de Travaux, t. xii., p. 79, note 3; and Études de Mythologie, t. ii., p. 359.

\(^{2}\) On the eyes of Horus, see Lefebvre, Le Mythe Osirien—Les Yeux d'Horus, Paris, 1874; and Grébaut, Les deux yeux du Disque Soleilé (Recueil de Travaux t. i., pp. 78, 87, 112–131).

\(^{3}\) To discuss the origin and development of animal sacrifice among the early Egyptians lies outside the scope of this work. For information on the significance of sacrifice among the Semites, in whose customs many originally Egyptian ideas probably survived, see Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, p. 294 ff. On the origin of sacrificial acts, see Max Müller, Natural Religion, London, 1889, p. 184; and E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, vol. ii., p. 340. Whether the Egyptians regarded the sacrifice of bulls, geese, etc., at the tomb as expiatory offerings, can hardly yet be decided.
Certain formulae were directed to be repeated four times: a direction which takes us back to the time when the Egyptians first divided the world into four parts, each corresponding to one of the four pillars which held up the sky, that is to say, to one of the four cardinal points, East, South, West, and North, presided over by a special god. The deceased sought to obtain the assistance of each of the four gods of the cardinal points, and to have the right to roam about in his district; hence the formula was repeated four times. Originally four animals or four geese were sacrificed, one to each god, but subsequently East and North, and West and South were paired, and two bulls (or birds) only were sacrificed, one of which was called the Bull of the North, and the other the Bull of the South. The custom of four-fold repetition continued to the Ptolemaic times† and even later.

The priest whose official title was kher heb, recited the prayers, and the sem or setem priest presented the prescribed offerings. The rubrical directions are given on the margin for the sake of clearness.

"O Osiris, all that is hateful in Unás hath been brought unto thee, and all the evil words which have been spoken in his name. Come, O Thoth, and take them unto Osiris, bring all the evil words which have been spoken and place them in the hollow of thy hand; thou shalt not escape therefrom, thou shalt not escape therefrom. Whosoever marcheth, marcheth with his ka. Horus marcheth with his ka, Set marcheth with his ka, Thoth marcheth with his ka, Sep marcheth with his ka, Osiris marcheth with his ka, Khent-maati marcheth with his ka; and thy fet shall march with thy ka. Hail, Unás, the hand of thy ka is before thee. Hail, Unás, the leg of thy ka is before thee. Hail, Unás, the leg of thy ka is before thee. Osiris Unás, I have given unto thee the Eye of Horus, and thy face is filled therewith, and the perfume thereof spreadeth over thee. The libations which are poured out by thy son, which are poured out by Horus, are for thee, O Osiris, and they are for thee, O Unás. I have come, and I have brought unto thee the Eye of Horus that thou mayest refresh thy heart therewith, I have placed it beneath thy feet, and I give unto thee whatsoever hath come forth from thy body that thy heart may not cease to beat through [the want] thereof. Thy voice shall never depart from thee, thy voice shall never depart from thee."

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1 Here water shall be sprinkled.

2 Repeat four times.

3 Repeat four times and burn incense.

4 Here [pour out] fresh water, and [burn] two portions of incense.

5 Repeat four times.

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* This subject has been lucidly discussed by Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. xii., pp. 78, 79.
† See *Archéologie*, vol. iii., p. 453, at the foot.
‡ For the text and French translation, see Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 179 ff.
"[Here is] unguent, [here is] unguent. Open thy mouth, O Unás, and taste
the taste of the scent which is in the holy habitations. This scent is that which
distilleth from Horus, this scent is that which distilleth from Set, and it is that
which stabliseth the hearts of the two Horus gods. Thou purifiest thyself with
the Heru-shesu; thou art purified with natron, and Horus is purified with natron;
thou art purified with natron, and Set is purified with natron; thou art purified
with natron, and Thoth is purified with natron; thou art purified with natron, and
Sep is purified with natron; thou art purified with natron, and art established
among them, and thy mouth is [as pure] as the mouth of a sucking calf on the day
of its birth. Thou art purified with natron, and Horus is purified with natron; thou
art purified with natron, and Set is purified with natron; [thou art purified with
natron] and Thoth is purified with natron; thou art purified with natron, and Sep
is purified with natron; thy ka is purified with natron, and thou art pure, thou art
pure, thou art pure, thou art pure. Thou art established among the gods thy
brethren, thy head is purified for thee with natron, thy bones are washed clean
with water, and thou thyself art made perfect with all that belongeth unto thee.
O Osiris, I have given unto thee the Eye of Horus, thy face is filled therewith, and
the perfume thereof spreadeth over thee.

"Hail, Unás, thy two jaws are unlocked. Hail, Unás, the two gods have
opened thy mouth. O Unás, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee,
and Horus cometh thereunto; it is brought unto thee, and placed in thy mouth.
Hail, Unás, the nipples of the bosom of Horus have been given unto thee, and
thou hast taken in thy mouth the breast of thy sister Isis, and the milk which
floweth from thy mother is poured into thy mouth.

"Thou hast gotten possession of the two eyes of Horus, the white and the
black, thou hast taken them unto thyself and they illumine thy face. The
day hath made an offering unto thee in heaven, and the East and the West are at
peace with thee; the night hath made an offering unto thee, and the North and
the South are at peace with thee. These are the offerings which are brought unto
thee, the offerings which thou seest, the offerings which thou hearest, the offerings
which are before thee, the offerings which are behind thee, the offerings which are
with thee. O Osiris Unás, the white teeth of Horus are given unto thee that
thou mayest fill thy mouth therewith. A royal offering to the ka of Unás.
Osiiris Unás, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, and thou livest, and
thou art. O Osiris Unás, the Eye of Horus which strove with Set hath been

* [Scripture], "the followers of Horus."
given unto thee, and thou hast lifted it to thy lips, and thy mouth is opened thereby. O Osiris Unás, thy mouth is opened by that with which thou art filled. O Osiris Unás, that which hath distilled from thee hath been given unto thee. O Ra, may all the praise which thou receivest in heaven be in praise of Unás, and may all that belongeth unto thy body belong unto the ka of Unás, and may all that belongeth unto his body belong unto thee. O Unás, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, that thou mayest be able to taste, and that thou mayest illumine the night. O Unás, the Eye of Horus hath been given to thee that it may embrace thee. O Unás, the Eye of Horus which strove with Set hath been given unto thee, in order that the opening of thy mouth may be caused thereby. O Unás, that which flowed from Osiris hath been given unto thee. O Unás, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in order that without the help of iron thy mouth may be set free. O Unás, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in order that thy face may be adorned therewith. O Osiris Unás, the Eye of Horus hath sprinkled oil upon thee. O Osiris Unás, that which hath been pressed out of thy face hath been given unto thee. O Osiris Unás, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in order that it may shave (?) thee. O Osiris Unás, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in order that it may anoint thee. O Osiris Unás, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in order that it may lead thee unto the gods. O all ye unguents, be ye laid out before your Horus, and make ye him strong. Cause him to gain the mastery over his body, and make his eyes to be opened. May all the shining beings see him, may they hear his name, for the Eye of Horus hath been brought, in order that it may be placed before Osiris Unás. O Osiris Unás, the two Eyes of Horus have been laid like paint upon thy face.

"O clothe thyself in peace! Put thou on thy apparel in peace! May Tatet put on apparel in peace! Hail, Eye of Horus, in Tep, in peace! Hail, Eye of Horus, in the houses of Nit, in peace. Receive thou white apparel. O grant that the two lands which rejoiced to do homage unto Horus may do homage unto Set; and grant that the two lands which stood in awe of Set may stand in awe of Unás. Dwell thou with Unás as his god, open thou a path for him among the shining ones, and establish thou him among them."
THE PAPYRUS OF ANI.

The papyrus of Ani, 𓊧𓊧𓊧𓊧𓊧𓊥, was found at Thebes, and was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1888. It measures 78 feet by 1 foot 3 inches, and is the longest known papyrus of the Theban period. It is made up of six distinct lengths of papyrus, which vary in length from 26 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 7 inches. The material is composed of three layers of papyrus supplied by plants which measured in the stalks about 4\frac{3}{4} inches in diameter. The several lengths have been joined together with great neatness, and the repairs and insertion of new pieces (see plates 25, 26) have been dexterously made. When first found, the papyrus was of a light colour, similar to that of the papyrus of Hunefer (B.M., No. 9901), but it became darker after it had been unrolled, and certain sections of it have shrunk somewhat.

It contains a number of chapters of the Book of the Dead, nearly all of which are accompanied by vignettes; and at top and bottom is a border of two colours—red and yellow. At the beginning and end of the papyrus spaces of six and eleven inches respectively have been left blank. The inscribed portion is complete, and the loss of the few characters which were damaged in unrolling does not interrupt the text. It was written by three or more scribes; but the uniformity of the execution of the vignettes suggests that fewer artists were employed on the illustrations. The titles of the chapters, rubrics, catchwords, etc., are in red. In some instances the artist has occupied so much space that the

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1 The papyrus of Nebnefer, of the XVIIIth dynasty (B.M., No. 9900), measures 76 feet 81 inches by 13 inches; and the papyrus of Hunefer, of the XIXth dynasty (B.M., No. 9601), 18 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 3\frac{3}{4} inches; the Leyden papyrus of Qenna, of the XVIIIth dynasty, measures about 50 feet; and the Dublin papyrus (Da of M. Naville’s edition), XVIIIth dynasty, 24 feet 9 inches.

2 In some sections the border is painted yellow and orange.

3 See plates 1, 15, 24.
scribe has been obliged to crowd the text (e.g., in plate 11) and at times he has written it on the border (see plates 14, 17). This proves that the vignettes were drawn before the text was written.

All the different sections of the papyrus were not originally written for Ani, for his name has been added in several places¹ by a later hand. As however such additions do not occur in the first section, which measures 16 feet 4 inches in length, it must be concluded that that section was written expressly for him, and that the others were some of those ready-written copies in which blank spaces were left for the insertion of the names of the deceased persons for whom they were purchased. The scribe who filled in Ani's name in these spaces wrote hurriedly, for in Chapter XXXv., line 2 (pl. 15), he left himself no space to write the word "Osiris" in the phrase, "Ani victorious before Osiris" (compare , pl. 1, line 5); in Chapter XLIII., lines 1, 2 (pl. 17), he has written it twice; in Chapter IX., l. 1 (pl. 18), he has omitted the determinative ; in Chapter XV., line 2 (pl. 20) he meant to write "Ani, victorious in peace" (pl. 19), but wrote "Ani in triumph" ; in Chapter CXXV., line 18 (pl. 30), the word is written twice, probably, however, with the view of filling up the line; in Chapter CLI. (pl. 34) the name is written crookedly, and the determinative is omitted; and in Chapters XVIII. (Introduction, pl. 12) and CXXXIV. (pl. 22), the scribe has, in two spaces, omitted to write the name. It seems tolerably certain that all the sections of the papyrus were written about the same time, and that they are the work of scribes of the same school; the variations in the depth of the space occupied by the text and the difference in the colours of the border only show that even the best scribes did not tie themselves to any one plan or method in preparing a copy of the Book of the Dead. The text has many serious errors: by some extraordinary oversight it includes two copies of the XVIIIth Chapter, one with an unusual introduction and the other without introduction; and a large section of the XVIIIth Chapter, one of the most important in the whole work, has been entirely omitted. Such mistakes and omissions, however, occur in papyri older than that of Ani, for in the papyrus of Nebesni (B.M., No. 9900), which was written at Memphis early in the XVIIIth dynasty, of Chapters L., LVI., LXIV., CLXXX., two copies each of

¹ See Chapter XXVI, l. 1 (pl. 15); Chapter XLV., l. 1 (pl. 16); Chapter IX., l. 6 (pl. 18); Chapter CXXXIV., l. 15 (pl. 22); Chapter LXXVIII., l. 1 (pl. 25); Chap. LXX., l. 1 (pl. 28); Chapter CLXXXV., l. 15 (pl. 36).
Chapters C. and CVI., three copies, and of Chapter XVII. two extracts are given in different parts of the papyrus.¹

The papyrus of Ani is undated, and no facts are given in it concerning the life of Ani, whereby it would be possible to fix its exact place in the series of the illustrated papyri of the Theban period to which it belongs. His full titles are:—

皇家书记、记事官和会计官 {天神供奉 (i.e., revenues) of} 所有神灵。

省长 {天神供奉 (i.e., revenues) of} 王室粮仓管理官或阿拜多斯

and he is said to be “beloved of the lord of the North and South” and to “love him.” The name of the king thus referred to cannot be stated. That Ani’s rank of “royal scribe”² was not titular only is shown by the addition of the word “veritable,” and his office of scribe and accountant of all the gods was probably one of the highest which a scribe could hold.³ His other offices of “governor of the granary of the lords of Abydos,” and “scribe of the sacred property of the lords of Thebes,” further prove his rank and importance, for Abydos and Thebes were the most ancient and sacred cities of Egypt. Ani’s wife Thuthu ⁴ is described as “the lady of the house, the gemäet of Amon.” What the title “lady of the house”

¹ Naville, Einführung, pp. 48-54. ² See Brugsch, Ägyptologie, p. 223. ³ In the list of the high officers of the priesthood given by Brugsch (Ägyptologie, p. 218), we meet with an official whose title is “the scribe set over the sacred property of the gods”; Ani held a similar appointment. ⁴ File 19; her name is nowhere else mentioned in the papyrus.
means has not yet been decided, but qemāt is the title applied to the noble ladies who sang or played on an instrument in the temple of a god.\footnote{In the stele of Canopus, $\frac{\leftrightarrow}{\updownarrow} \frac{\circ}{\bigcirc} \frac{\uparrow}{\downarrow}$ is rendered by τὸν ἰερὸν παρθένον; see Brugsch, \textit{Wörterbuch}, p. 1454.} The lady Thuthu belonged to the number of the priestesses of the god Āmen-Rā at Thebes, and she always carries in her hands the sistrum and the instrument menāt $\mathcal{M}$, the emblems of her office. Thus Ani and his wife were high ecclesiastical dignitaries connected with the famous confraternity of the priests of Āmen.

An examination of the papyri of the Theban period preserved in the British Museum shows that two distinct classes of Book of the Dead papyri existed in the XVIIIth dynasty. In the first both text and vignettes are traced in black outline,\footnote{Compare the papyrus of Nebseni (British Museum, No. 9,900).} the rubrics, catchwords, \textit{etc.}, alone being in red colour; in the second the text only is black, the rubrics, \textit{etc.}, being red, and the vignettes beautifully painted in a number of bright colours. To the latter class the papyrus of Ani belongs, but, if the text and vignettes be compared with those found in any other early Theban papyri, it will be seen that it occupies an independent position in all respects. Though agreeing in the main with the papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty in respect of textual readings, the papyrus of Ani has peculiarities in spelling, \textit{etc.}, which are not found in any of them. The handwriting of the first section at least suggests the best period of the XVIIIth dynasty; but as the scribe forms some of the characters in a way peculiarly his own, the palæographic evidence on this point is not decisive. That the papyrus belongs to the period which produced such documents as the papyrus of Neb-qet,\footnote{\textit{Le Papyrus de Neb-Qed}, ed. Devéria, Paris, 1872. M. Pierret, its translator, says, “Il appartient à la plus ancienne époque des exemplaires sur papyrus.”} and the papyrus of Qenna,\footnote{\textit{Papyrus Égyptien Funéraire Hieroglyphique} (t. ii.), ed. Leemans, Leyden, 1882.} \textit{i.e.}, to some period of the XVIIIth dynasty, is tolerably certain; and we may assume that it is older than the papyrus of Hunefer, which was written during the reign of Seti I.; for, though belonging to the same class of highly decorated papyri, the execution of the vignettes is finer and more careful, and the free, bold forms of the hieroglyphics in the better written sections more closely resemble those of the texts inscribed in stone under the greatest kings of the XVIIIth dynasty. The “lord of the two lands,” \textit{i.e.}, of Upper and Lower Egypt, or the North and South, mentioned in pl. 4., is probably one of the Thothmes or Āmenhētep kings, and accordingly we may place the period of our papyrus \textit{Age of the papyrus} between 1500 and 1400 years B.C.
The text may be divided into two parts. The first part contains unusual versions of two hymns to Râ and Osiris, the vignette of the sunrise (Chapter XVI.), and the Judgment Scene accompanied by texts, some of which occur in no other papyrus. The second part comprises about sixty-two Chapters of the Theban edition of the Book, in the following order:—I., XXII., LXXII., rubric, XVII., CXLVI., XVIII., XXIII., XXIV., XXVI., XXXb., LXI., LIV., XXIX., XXVII., LVIII., LIX., XLIV., XLV., XLVI., L., XCIII., XLIII., LXXXIX., XCI., XCII., LXXIV., VIII., II., IX., CXXXII., X., [XLVIII.], XV., CXXXII., CXXXIV., XVIII., CXXIV., LXXXVI., LXXVII., LXXXVI., LXXXVIII., LXXXVIII.II. LXXXII., LXXXV., LXXXIII., LXXXIV., LXXXIa., LXXX., CLXXV., CXXV., Introduction and Negative Confession, XLI., CXXV., Rubric, CLV., CLV., XXIX., CLXVI., CLI., VI., CX., CXLVIII., CLXXXV., and CLXXXVI. The titles of these Chapters arranged according to the numeration introduced by Lepsius are as follows:—

Chapter I. "Here begin the chapters of 'coming forth by day,' and of the "songs of praise and of glorifying, and of coming forth from and of going into the "glorious Neter-khert in the beautiful Âmenta; to be said on the day of the burial; "going in after coming forth." (See pp. 19, 270 and pl. 5, 6.) The papyri belonging to the early part of the XVIIIth dynasty call this Chapter the "Chapter of going in to the divine chiefs of Osiris," The large numbers of the men attending the bier and of the weeping women are peculiar to the Ani papyrus.

Chapter II. "The Chapter of coming forth by day and of living after death." (See pp. 120, 321, and pl. 18.) This Chapter is found only in one other papyrus of the Theban period (British Museum, No. 9964). Another copy of it is inscribed upon a mummy bandage preserved in the Louvre, No. 3097.¹

Chapter VI.—[See Chapter CLI., of which it forms a part, pp. 233, 362, and pl. 32.] In the papyrus of Nebseni (British Museum, No. 9900) this Chapter stands by itself, and is entitled "Chapter of making the ushabti figures to perform work for a man in the Neter-khert," The

¹ See Naville, Einleitung, p. 103.
Chapter VIII. "The Chapter of passing through Amenta, and of coming forth by day." (See pp. 119, 320, and pl. 18.)

As a separate composition, this Chapter is found in only two other papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty.¹

Chapter IX. "The Chapter of coming forth by day, having passed through the tomb." (See pp. 120, 321, and pl. 18.)

The vignette in the papyrus of Ani is similar to that which stands at the head of Chapters VIII. and IX. in other papyri of this period.

Chapter X. [See Chapter XLVIII., pp. 123, 321, and pl. 18.]

Chapter XV. 1. "A hymn of praise to Rā when he riseth in the eastern sky." (See pp. 1, 236, and pl. 1.)

This version is found in no other papyrus.

Chapter XV. 2. "A hymn of praise to Osiris Unnefer, the great god in Abydos,"² etc. (See pp. 8, 253, and pl. 2.)

Chapter XV. 3. "A hymn of praise to Rā when he riseth in the eastern sky, "and when he setteth in the [land of] life." (See pp. 123, 322, and pl. 18–21.)

The Litany to Osiris (pl. 19) and the hymn to Rā (pll. 24, 25) which follow are variants of the XVth Chapter, similar to those published by M. Naville.³

Chapter XVIa. consists of a vignette only. (See p. 252, and pl. 2.) Strictly speaking, it should form the vignette of the XVth Chapter, or of that part of it which refers to the rising sun. Like many other ancient papyri, the papyrus of Ani has no vignette referring to the sunset.

Chapter XVII. "Here begin the praises and glorifyings of coming out from "and of going into the glorious Neter-khert in the beautiful Amenta, of coming "forth by day in all the transformations which please him, of playing at draughts, "and of sitting in the Sekh hall, and of coming forth as a living soul." (See pp. 27, 280, and pll. 7–10.)

This is one of the oldest and most important of all the Chapters in the Book of the Dead, and it contains the most complete statements concerning the Egyptian cosmogony as formulated by the college of priests of Heliopolis. The scribe seems to have accidentally omitted a large section.

Chapter XVIII. This Chapter has no title.

¹ I.e., in British Museum papyrus, No. 9964, and in a papyrus in Rome; see Naville, Einleitung, p. 118.
² This hymn may form no part of the XVth chapter, and may have been inserted after the hymn to Rā on account of Ani's official connection with the ecclesiastical endowments of Abydos.
³ Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bll. 14–30.
The papyrus of Ani contains two copies of this Chapter. In the first the gods of the localities are grouped separately, and it is preceded by a very rare introduction, in which the An-mut-f and Sa-mer-f priests introduce Ani to the gods, whom he addresses in two speeches. (See p. 71, 301, and pll. 12–14.) In the second the text is not divided into distinct sections, and the gods are not grouped. (See p. 330, and pll. 23–24.)

Chapter XXII. “The Chapter of giving a mouth to Osiris Ani, the scribe and teller of the holy offerings of all the gods.” (See pp. 25, 274, and pl. 6.)

The ceremony of giving a mouth to the deceased was, according to the vignette in the papyrus of Nebseni, performed by the “Guardian of the Balance” 

\[ \text{[Image]} \]. In the papyrus of Ani there is no vignette, and it is remarkable that this Chapter follows immediately after Chapter I.

Chapter XXIII. “The Chapter of opening the mouth of Osiris, the scribe Ani.” (See pp. 84, 306, and pl. 15.)

Chapter XXIV. “The Chapter of bringing charms unto Osiris Ani in Neter-khert.” (See pp. 85, 306, and pl. 15.)

As with other ancient Theban papyri, the papyrus of Ani gives no vignette.

Chapter XXVI. “The Chapter of giving a heart unto Osiris Ani in Neter-khert.” (See pp. 88, 308, and pl. 15.)

The vignette is probably unique.

Chapter XXVII. “The Chapter of not letting the heart of a man be taken away from him in Neter-khert.” (See pp. 100, 312, and pl. 15.)

The vignette is unusual.

Chapter XXIX. “The Chapter of not letting the heart of a man be taken away from him in Neter-khert.” (See pp. 97, 311, and pl. 15.)

No other copy of this Chapter is at present known.

Chapter XXIXa. “The Chapter of a heart of carnelian.” (See pp. 228, 359, and pl. 33.)

Chapter XXIXb. “The Chapter of not letting the heart of Osiris Ani be driven away from him in Neter-khert.” (See pp. 11, 90, 258, 309, and pl. 15.)

Chapter XLII. This Chapter is without title (see pp. 213, 353, and pl. 32), but in other ancient papyri it is called “Repulsing of slaughter in Suten-ḥenen” 

\[ \text{[Image]} \].

Chapter XLIII. “The Chapter of not letting the head of a man be cut off from him in Neter-khert.” (See pp. 111, 317, and pl. 17.)
As in other ancient Theban papyri, this Chapter is without vignette.

Chapter XLIV. "The Chapter of not dying a second time in Neter-khert." (See pp. 105, 315, and pl. 16.)

The vignette is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter XLV. "The Chapter of not suffering corruption in Neter-khert." (See pp. 106, 315, and pl. 16.)

Only one other copy of the text of this Chapter is known. Among Theban papyri the vignette is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter XLVI. "The Chapter of not perishing and of becoming alive in " Neter-khert." (See pp. 107, 316, and pl. 16.)

Only one other copy of the text of this Chapter is known (B.M. No. 9900). Among Theban papyri the vignette is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter XLVIII. "Another Chapter of one who cometh forth by day " against his foes in Neter-khert." (See pp. 123, 321, and pl. 18.)

Only one other copy of the text of this Chapter is known (B.M. No. 9900). Among Theban papyri the vignette is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter L. "The Chapter of not entering in unto the block." (See pp. 108, 316, and pl. 16.)

The text of this Chapter agrees rather with the second version in the papyrus of Nebseni than with that in B.M. papyrus No. 9964. As the Ani papyrus is of Theban origin this was to be expected.

Chapter LIV. "The Chapter of giving breath in Neter-khert." (See pp. 94, 310, and pl. 15.)

Only one other copy of this Chapter is known, and it is without vignette.¹

Chapter LVIII. "The Chapter of breathing the air, and of having power " over the water in Neter-khert." (See pp. 103, 314, and pl. 16.)

No other copy of this Chapter is known.

Chapter LIX. "The Chapter of breathing the air, and of having power over " the water in Neter-khert." (See pp. 104, 315, and pl. 16.)

Only one other copy of this Chapter is known.²

Chapter LXI. "The Chapter of not letting the soul of a man be taken away " from him in Neter-khert." (See pp. 91, 309, and pl. 15.)

The vignette is similar to that in the papyrus of Sutimes, which M. Naville believes to be no older than the XIXth dynasty.³

¹ Naville, Einleitung, p. 134. ² Ibid., p. 136. ³ Ibid., p. 100.
List of Chapters.

Chapter LXXII.—Rubric. (See pp. 26, 275, and pl. 6.)
Chapter LXXIV. "The Chapter of walking with the legs and of coming "forth upon earth." (See pp. 118, 320, and pl. 18.)
Chapter LXXVII. "The Chapter of changing into a golden hawk." (See pp. 152, 332, and pl. 25.)
Chapter LXXVIII. "The Chapter of changing into a divine hawk." (See pp. 154, 333, and pl. 25, 26.)
Chapter LXXX. "The Chapter of changing into the god who giveth light "in the darkness." (See pp. 182, 341, and pl. 28.)
Chapter LXXXI. "The Chapter of changing into a lotus." (See pp. 181, 340, and pl. 28.)
The pool of water in the vignette is uncommon.
Chapter LXXXII. "The Chapter of changing into Ptah. (See pp. 170, 337, and pl. 27.)
As in other XVIIIth dynasty papyri, this Chapter has a vignette.
Chapter LXXXIII. "The Chapter of changing into a bennu bird" (phœnix?).
(See pp. 176, 339, and pl. 27.)
Like other XVIIIth dynasty papyri, this Chapter lacks the addition which is found in the papyrus of Sutimes.
Chapter LXXXIV. "The Chapter of changing into a heron." (See pp. 178, 339, and pl. 28.)
Chapter LXXXV. "The Chapter of changing into the soul of Tmu." (See pp. 172, 338, and pl. 27.)
The vignette to this Chapter is similar to that of the papyrus of Tura, surnamed Nefer-uben-f, of the XVIIth dynasty.¹
Chapter LXXXVI. "The Chapter of changing into a swallow." (See pp. 150, 331, and pl. 25.)
Chapter LXXXVII. "The Chapter of changing into Seta." (See pp. 169, 337, and pl. 27.)
Chapter LXXXVIII. "The Chapter of changing into a crocodile." (See pp. 170, 337, and pl. 27.)
Chapter LXXXIX. "The Chapter of causing the soul to be united to its "body in Neter-khert." (See pp. 112, 318, and pl. 17.)
The two incense burners which stand, one at the head and one at the foot of the bier, are peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

¹ Naville, Einleitung, p. 97.
Chapter XCI. "The Chapter of not letting the soul of a man be captive in Neter-khert." (See pp. 114, 319, and pl. 17.)

Chapter XCII. "The Chapter of opening the tomb to the soul and the shadow, of coming forth by day, and of getting power over the legs." (See pp. 115, 319, and pl. 17.)

The vignette of this Chapter is unusual and of great interest, for in it Ani's soul accompanies his shadow.

Chapter XCIII. "The Chapter of not letting a man pass over to the east in Neter-khert." (See pp. 109, 317, and pl. 17.)

The vignette as here given is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter XCIII.A. "Another Chapter." (See pp. 110, 317, and pl. 17.)

Chapter CX. "Here begin the Chapters of the Sekhet-hetepu, and the Chapters of coming forth by day, and of going into and coming out from Neter-khert, and of arriving in the Sekhet-Áanru, and of being in peace in the great city wherein are fresh breezes." (See pp. 236, 362, and pl. 34.)

The text is here incomplete.

Chapter CXXIV. "The Chapter of going unto the divine chiefs of Osiris." (See pp. 146, 330, and pl. 24.)

In the vignette we should expect four, instead of three, gods.

Chapter CXXV. "The Chapter of entering into the Hall of double Right and Truth: a hymn of praise to Osiris." (See pp. 189, 344, and pl. 30.)

The Introduction to this Chapter as found in the papyrus of Ani is not met with elsewhere; the text which usually follows the "Negative Confession" is however omitted. The vignette as here given is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter CXXXII. "The Chapter of making a man to return to see again his home upon earth." (See pp. 121, 321, and pl. 18.)

Chapter CXXXIII. "[A Chapter] to be said on the day of the month." (See pp. 138, 327, and pl. 21.)

Chapter CXXXIII.—Rubric. (See pp. 142, 328, and pl. 22.)

Chapter CXXXIV. "A hymn of praise to Rá on the day of the month wherein he saileth in the boat." (See pp. 142, 329, and pl. 22.)

Chapter CXLVI. "The Chapter of renewing the pylons in the House of Osiris which is in the Sekhet-Áanru." (See pp. 63, 295, and pl. 11, 12.)

Chapter CXLVII. "A Chapter to be said when Ani cometh to the first Árit." (See pp. 56, 291, and pl. 11, 12.)

Chapter CXLVIII. Without title. See pp. 239, 3 66, and pl. 35.)
Chapter CLI. Scene in the mummy chamber. (See pp. 229, 360, and pl. 33, 34.)

Chapter CLV. “The Chapter of a Æe of gold.” (See pp. 225, 357, and pl. 33.)

Chapter CLVI. “The Chapter of a Buckle of carnelian.” (See pp. 227, 358, and pl. 33.)

Chapter CLXVI. “The Chapter of the Pillow which is placed under the head.” (See pp. 228, 359, and pl. 33.)

Chapter CLXXV. “The Chapter of not dying a second time.” (See pp. 184, 341, and pl. 29.)

Only one other much mutilated copy of this most important Chapter is known. In it it is declared that neither men nor gods can conceive what great glory has been laid up for Ani in his existence in the next world, and that his life therein shall be for “millions of millions of years.”

Chapter CLXXXV. “A Hymn of Praise to Osiris, the dweller in Amenta, Un-nefer within Ä büt (Abydos).” (See pp. 241, 367, and pl. 36.)

Chapter CLXXXVI. “A Hymn of praise to Hathor.” (See pp. 242, 368, and pl. 37.)
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[The Chapters within brackets are not contained in the Papyrus of Ani, but are supplied chiefly from contemporaneous papyri.]

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THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

PLATE I.

1. tua Rā xefit uben - f em yut abtet ent get
   Adoration of Rā when riseth he in horizon eastern of heaven.

2. ḫn Ausir ḫn neter ḫtep en neteru neb tu Ani ḫt - f
   Behold Osiris, the scribe of the holy offerings of the gods all, Ani!
   Saith he,

3. ḫn - ḫn ḫrā - k i - bā em ḫrērā ḫrērā em qemam neteru
   Homage to thee, who hast come as Kheperā, Kheperā as the creator of the gods.

4. ḫleased ḫk uben - k ḫn ḫn - k mut - k ḫleased ḫbā em suten neteru
   Thou risest, thou shinest, making bright thy mother, crowned as king of the gods,

5. ṭār - nīk mut Nut ḫn - s em ḫn - nīnī ḫn - zep - ṭu
   Doeth to thee mother Nut [with] her two hands the act of worship. Receiveth thee

6. Manu em ḫtep ḫtep - ṭu Maāt er ḫt - f ḫu
   Manu with content, embraces thee Maāt at the double season. May he give splendour

7. ṭū em maā - ḫn - ṭu pert em ḫbā ḫn - xī er māa
   and power together with triumph, [and] a coming forth as a soul living to see

1 Characters over which a line is printed are, in the papyrus, written in red.
Horus of the double horizon, to the ka of Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant before Osiris.


Ascribe praise to Ra, the lord of heaven, the Prince, Life, Strength, Health, Creator of the gods. Adore ye him in his Presence beautiful in his rising in the atet boat. Shall worship thee the beings of the heights, shall worship thee the beings of the deeps.

Write for thee Thoth [and] Maat day every. Thine enemy [is] given to the fire, the evil one hath fallen; his arms [are] bound, removed hath
Rā | ref-ʃ | mesu | beteš | ån | un-ʃen
Rā | his legs; | the sons of | impotent revolt; | never [again] | shall they rise up!

The House of the Prince [is] in | the sound of | those that rejoice [is] in | the dwelling

urt | neteru | em | ḫaā | maa | en | sen | Rā | em | ḫaā-ʃ
mighty. | The gods [are] | rejoicing [when] | they see | Rā | in | his rising;

saṭetu-ʃ | her | bēḥ | tain | uša | hem | neter ũn
his beams | flood with light; | the countries. | Advanceth | the majesty | of | this god

šeps | ḫnem-ʃef | ta | en | Manu | ḫet | ta | er | mest-ʃ
venerable, he arriveth [at] the land of | Manu, | [he] illumineth | the earth | at | his birth

rā | neb | peh-ʃef | er | å-ʃ | en | sef | hetep-ʃ | nā
every day, he arriveth at | his region of | yesterday. | Mayest thou be at peace with me,

maa-δ | nefšer-k | uša-δ | šep | ta | ḫu-δ | dāu
may I see | thy beauties, | may I advance | upon | the earth, | may I smite | the ass,

beḥen-δ | Sebān | se-ḥetem-nā | Apep | em | at-ʃ | maa-nā
may I crush | the evil one, | may I destroy | Apep | at | his moment; | may I see

1 The papyrus has 𓊃 𓊃 𓊃 𓊃.

B 2
the abfu fish [at] his season [of] revolution, or coming into existence, and the ant fish . . . . its, and the ant boat

in its pool; may I see Horus as guardian of the rudder [with] Thoth [and] Maat

at his two sides; may I grasp the bows of the seket boat and the stern of the atet boat.

May he grant a view of the disk and a sight of the Moon-god without ceasing every day,

and the coming forth of my soul to walk about every place it pleaseth;

may be proclaimed my name [when] it is found upon the board for offering

things, may there be placed for me offerings of food in my presence like the followers of Horus;

1 In the Leyden Papyrus of the corresponding passage has ; we should then, probably add in the text of Ani after , the words "in revolution." See Naville, Das aeg. Todtenbuch, Bl. xiv., ll. 13, 14.
24. dritis - ná duset em náa hru t'a neter
may be made for me a seat in the boat [on] the day of the going forth of the god;

27. selep - á em-bâh Ausâr en ta en maâxeru en ka en
may I be received into the presence of Osiris in the land of triumph, to the ka of

Ausâr Ani
Osiris Ani.

Appendix.

[British Museum Papyrus, No. 10.471.]

 tua Râ án suten án mer menfisut Next
Adoration of Râ by the royal scribe, the captain of soldiers, Next.

let - f án et hra-k ëxu - ëth se'pt Tem ërâ - ëxuti
He saith, Homage to thee, O thou glorious being, dowered. Tmu - Harmachis,

[when] thou risest in the horizon of heaven, a shout of joy to thee from the mouth of

hra - neb - ërë - ëth renp - trâ - ëth em áten em ëxennu
all peoples. Beautiful one, becoming young at [thy] time in (or as) the disk within

the hand of thy mother Hathor. Rising therefore in place every heart every dilateth

en ëtët ëtn - ëk ëterti em kes ëa - ën ën
for ever. Come to thee the two ëter with homage, they give a shout of joy at
uben - k ḫātī em ḫu ent pet salet - k taut
thy rising. [Thou] risest in the horizon of heaven, thou sheddest [upon] the two lands

māfekt Rā pu ḫer-ḫuti pa ḫun neteri wā ḫeli
emerald light, Rā, that is Harmachis, the boy mighty, the heir of eternity,

tut - su mes - su lēesēf suten ta ḫen ḫeg ḫuat
he begot [and] he gave birth to himself, the king of earth this, prince of the underworld,

her set Aukert per em māū seta - su
president of the mountains of Aukert, coming forth from the water, drawing himself

em Nu ren - su ser mestu - f neter ānḫ nēb mērt
from Nu, nursing himself, increasing his limbs. O god of life, lord of love,

ānḫ hrā - neb ḫet - k ḫāā - ḫdē em suten neteru
live all peoples [when] thou shinnest, O crowned as the king of the gods.

ārē en Nut nīnī en hrā - k ḫept - tu Maāt er trā neb
Maketh Nut homage to thee, embraceth thee Maāt at season every.

ḥāi - ṭen āmī - ṭet - k tehen - sen her ta em
Sing praises to thee those who are following thee, they bow down upon the earth in

Compare  Naville, Todtenbuch, I, Bl. xv, l. 13.
meeting thee, the lord of heaven, the lord of earth, the king of righteousness, the lord of eternity, prince of everlasting, ruler of gods all, god of life, maker of eternity, creator of heaven, is established by him [that] which is within it. The cycle of the gods is in

rejoicing at thy rising; the earth is in gladness seeing thy rays;

come forth the ancestors with cries of joy to see thy beauties day every. Thou goest forth

over heaven and earth day every strengthened of thy mother Nut. Thou traversest

the upper regions, thy heart is dilated with joy, the Pool of Ṭeṭeš becomes satisfied.

Sebā hath fallen, his two hands are hacked off, cuts asunder the knife

his joints. Liveth Rā in maa beautiful. The seket boat draweth on, it arriveth.
seta - tu  gemâi  mehtâ  àmentet  âbtet  her  tua - k  pauti  ta
Arrive south, north, west, east to praise thee, O substance of the earth,

yepet  èsaf  sesâ - tu  Âuset  henâ  Nebt - het  sâjâi - sen - tu
the creator of himself. Salute thee Isis and Nephthys; they sing songs of joy to thee

em  uuâ  ëui  âaisi - sen  em  sa  ha - k  ses - tu  baiu
in boat that, their hands [are] protecting behind thee. Follow thee the souls

âbtâ  hennu - nek  baiu  àmenta  beq - k  neteru  nebu  sèsêp - k
of the east, praise thee the souls of the west. Thou rulest gods all, thou receivest

àut  âb  em  âxen  kerâ - k  Nâk  âsp  en  set  âb - k
expansion of heart within thy shrine. Nak (the fiend) is judged to the fire, thy heart

ânu  en  ëtta  âp - tu  mut - k  Nut  en  âtêf - k  Nu
is dilated with joy for ever. Is decreed thy mother Nut to thy father Nu.

PLATE II.

1. tua  Âusâr  Un-nefer  neter  âa  her  âb  Âhu  suten  heb  neb
An adoration of Osiris, Un-nefer, god great within Abydos, king of eternity, lord of

Ùttà  sëbëbi  heb  em  âhâ - f  se  ëp  ën  ëkat
everlasting, traversing millions of years in the duration of his life, son eldest of the womb of
Nut, engendered by Seb the chief, lord of the ureret crown, lofty of the white crown,

 prince of gods and of men, he hath received the crook [and] flail and the dignity of

 his fathers. Gratified [is] thy heart which [is] in Set, [for] thy son Horus [is] established upon thy throne. Thou art crowned as lord of Tattu [and] as ruler in

 Abydos. Becomes green [through] thee the earth in triumph before the hand of

 Neb-er-t'ér. He leadeth in his train [that which existeth] not yet hath become in his name

 “Ta - her - seta - nef”; he toweth the earth in triumph in his name

 that of “Seker.” Mighty [is] he exceedingly and great of terror in his name

 1 I.e., Set Amenet, “the mountain region on the western bank of the Nile.” See Brugsch, Wörterbuch, p. 114b.
pu" en Aus\^{a}r untet-f henti heh em ren-f en Un-nefer
that of Osiris. He endureth for ever and everlasting in his name of Un-nefer.

dnet hrd-k suten suteniu neb neb u heq heq u bet
Homage to thee, king of kings, lord of lords, prince of princes, possessor of

taui em zat Nut heq mf taui Akert smu h\^{a}t
the earth from the womb of Nut, he hath ruled all lands and Akert. Golden of limbs,

exusbet tep m\^{a}kkia h\^{a}r tep attu-f An en heh wsebt
blue of head, emerald upon both of his sides. An of millions of years, extended

shenbet nefer hrd amm Ta-sert t\^{a}-k xu em net us
of body, beautiful of face in Ta-sert! Give thou splendour in heaven, might

em ta ma\^{a}keryu em Neter-zebt \^{a}et er Tettetu em ba \^{a}ny
on earth, triumph in Neter-khert, sailing down to Tettetu as a soul living,

\^{a}n\^{e}tib\^{i} er Abu em brenu \^{a}q per \^{a}n sn\^{e}r - tu
sailing up to Abydos as a phoenix, going in and coming out without being repulsed

\^{a}h\^{e}r seba neb u en Tuat d\^{u} f\^{a}tu-n\^{a} tau em
at the pylons all of the Tuat, may there be given to me loaves of bread in
the house of coolness, [and] offerings in Annu, a field enduring in Sekhet-Arua

and wheat [and] barley in it,— to the ka of Osiris, scribe Ani!

PLATE III.

1. t'et ãn Ausdr ãn Ani
Speech by Osiris, scribe Ani.

2. t'et - f ab-á en mut - á
Salith he: My heart my mother,

3. [ ]

4. sep sen hâti - á en [ ]
[May there] not [be] resistance to me in twice. My heart of my coming into being.

5. ãperu - [á]

6. em áhâ er - á em t'at'ai
[May there] not be repulse to me on the part of the divine chiefs;

7. meter em ãzef er - á em [ ]
judgment;

8. [ ]

[May they] not make thy separation from me in the presence of the possessor of the scales.

9. entek ka - á ãm ãkat - á
Thou art my ka within my body [which] formeth and strengtheneth my limbs.

10. [ ]

11. [ ]
Mayest thou come forth to the place of happiness [to which] advance I there. [May] not

1 An interesting variant of this passage occurs on the leather roll, British Museum No. 10,473; it runs:—

C 2
13. **sæær ren-ä en šenit**  

make to stink my name the Shenit; [may there] not be spoken lies against me

14. **tæt ker er-ä**

15. **erma neter neferui nefer setem-k**

near the god. Good, good is it for thee to hear .......

[Above the head of Anubis.]

16. **tæt án úm ut ammâ hrâ pa ulâ maât**

Saith he that is in the tomb: Graciously grant, O weigher of righteousness,

...... **en mâyait er âhâu-s**

the balance to stabilish it.

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1 In the papyrus of Hunefer (British Museum No. 9091) this chapter ends with the words, "the Shenit, in the presence of the great god, lord of Amenta," but in several others, all of a later date, the chapter has here the words:

**šenit árin re³ em âhâu nefer - en - n**

the Shenit who make men and women to be in stability. Pleasant [is it] for us

**nefer - en setem áu ab en ulâ tætu**

pleasant [is it] to hear gladness of heart at the weighing of words.

Here follows the petition, "let not lies be spoken (equals  ) against me near the great god, in the presence of the great god, lord of Amenta," and the chapter ends with,

**mâk ben³ - k un - ãa em maâyâru**

"Verily how great wilt thou be rising up in triumph!"

9 Compare the legend in the papyrus of Anhai (British Museum No. 10,472):—
Appendix.

[From a Papyrus at Parma (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 99).]

1. \( \text{letu} \ \text{her} \ \text{kheper} \ \text{en} \ \text{mehf} \ \text{mesheb} \ \text{em} \ \text{smu} \ \text{ant-f} \)
To be said over a scarab of green stone encircled with smu metal, [with] its ring (?)

2. \( \text{em} \ \text{het} \ \text{er} \ \text{et} \ \text{en} \ \text{khu} \ \text{er} \ \text{khef-f} \ \text{gemennu} \ \text{re} \ \text{pen} \ \text{em} \)
of silver, [and] placed upon the dead person at his neck. Was found chapter this in

3. \( \text{kemennu} \ \text{khef} \ \text{re} \ \text{en} \ \text{hun} \ \text{en} \ \text{neter} \ \text{pen} \ - \ s \ \text{her} \ \text{tebt} \)
Hermopolis under the feet of the majesty of god this. It [was inscribed] upon a slab

4. \( \text{en} \ \text{birt} \ \text{gemau} \ \text{en} \ \text{din} \ \text{neter} \ \text{tesef} \ \text{em} \ \text{ha} \ \text{hun} \)
of iron of the south in the writing of the god himself in the time of the majesty

5. \( \text{en} \ \text{suten} \ \text{net} \ \text{Men-kau-Ra} \ \text{maaferu} \ \text{din} \ \text{suten} \ \text{se} \ \text{Heru-tata-f} \)
of the {king of the North and South,} Men-kau-Ra, triumphant, by the royal son, Heru-tata-f;

6. \( \text{gem} \ \text{su} \ \text{em} \ \text{ua-f} \ \text{er} \ \text{arit} \ \text{sipt} \ \text{em} \ \text{er-pau} \)
[he] found it in his going to make an inspection in the temples.
When is known chapter this it maketh a man to triumph upon earth [and] in the under-world. He performeth works [and he] liveth upon things after the manner of the god. Was found chapter this in Hermopolis upon a slab of iron of the south inscribed with lapis-lazuli real under the two feet of the majesty of god this in the time of the majesty of the king of the North and South, Men-kau-Râ, by the royal son Heru-tâtâ-f triumphant! He found it in his journeying to make an inspection in the temples. Was strength with him to make him diligent in understanding [it]. He brought it as a marvellous thing to the king
when he saw that a mystery it was great, unseen [and]

unbeheld. Shall be recited chapter this by a person purified [and] washed, [one who]

hath not eaten animal flesh [or] fish. Behold thou shalt make a scarab of
green stone with its rim (?) plated [with gold and placed] within the heart of a person; it will perform for him the "opening of the mouth," anointed with änt unguent.

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PLATE III.—(continued).

Tet än Teshuti änt maä en paut neteru änt enti embab

Saith Thoth the righteous judge of the cycle of the gods great who are in the presence of

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1 Compare, Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 99.

* In British Museum papyrus No. 9901, the speech of Thoth reads:—

Verily I am justifying the name of Osiris the royal scribe Hunefer, His heart hath come forth upon the Scale, not hath he been found an evil doer.
16

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

[Plate III.

Ausār erset-ten êtet pen em un maā du utā en ãb en
Osiris: Hear ye decision this. In very truth is weighed the heart of

Ausār ân ba-f āhā em meter er-f sep-f maā her
Osiris, is his soul standing as a witness for him; his sentence is right upon

māvait ur ân qem-entu betta-f neb ân xeb-f
the scales great. Not hath been found wickedness [in] him any; not hath he wasted

sēba em er-pau ân het-f ârit ân
food offerings in the temples; not hath he done harm in deed; not

šem-f xer re-f nekau t'er un-nes tep ta
hath he let go with his mouth evil things whilst he was upon earth.

Saith the cycle of the gods great to Thoth [dwelling] in Hermopolis: Decree is it

et ân paut neteru ââ en Tehuti am xemennu ... en set

that which cometh forth from thy mouth. True [and] righteous [is] Osiris, the scribe

1 The variants are
Ani triumphant. Not hath he sinned, not hath he done evil in respect of us.

Let not be allowed to prevail Amemet over him. Let there be given to him cakes, and a coming forth in the presence of Osiris, and a field abiding in Sekhet-ḥetepu like the followers of Horus.

PLATE IV.

1. Saith Horus the son of Isis: I have come to thee, Un-nefer, [and] I have brought to thee Osiris Ani. His heart is right coming forth from the balance, not sinned hath it against god any [or] goddess any. Hath weighed it Thoth according to the decree uttered by the cycle of the gods unto him; [it is] true [and] righteous very.
Grant that may be given to him cakes [and] beer, and a coming forth in the presence of Osiris; may he be like the followers of Horus for ever!

Behold Osiris Ani. He saith: I am in thy presence, O lord of Amentet. There is no fault in my body, not have I spoken lies with knowledge, not have [1] acted with a double intent. Grant that I may be like the favoured ones who are

1 In British Museum papyrus No. 9901, the speech of Horus reads:—

Saith Horus the avenger of his father, heir veritable of Un-nefer: I am come to lead to thee Osiris Hu-nefer. He hath been judged in the scales, the weight of the balance resteth (?) upon its place.
10. ám-xet-k Ausár hési áá en neter nefer mer en neb about thee, an Osiris favoured greatly of the god beautiful, beloved of the lord
taut suten án mād meri-f Ani māñeru of the world, the royal scribe veritable [who] loveth him, Ani, triumphant
xer Ausár before Osiris.

PLATE V.

1. há em reu nu pert em hru selbes
The beginning of the chapters of coming forth by day, and of praisings

2. sexu pert hait em Neter-xert xut em and glorifications, of coming forth from and going into the under-world glorious in

3. Ámentet nefert tejet hru em qeres áq emxet pert Ámentet beautiful; to be said [on] the day of the burial going in after coming forth.

tet án Ausár Ani, Ausár án Ani anet hrá-k ha Saith Osiris Ani, Osiris, the scribe Ani: Homage to thee, bull of

5. Ámentet án Teḥuti suten hék ám-ā nuk neter åāa Ámentet, behold Thoth, the king of eternity, [is] with me! I am the god great
enma jejet ābaḥ - nā ḫer-k nuk nā em ennū en enen in the boat. I have fought for thee. I am one of those

teru tētāt semāḏneru Ausār er ẖēfta - f hru gods, the divine chiefs [who] make to be victorious Osiris over his enemies [on] day

puī en uṯāt lejet nū ḫāmsētu - k Ausār nuk [nā] that of weighing of words. I am thy advocate, Osiris. I am [one]

ennū en neteru mesu Nut semāḏnu ẖēft nū of those gods born of Nut, slayers of the enemies of

Ausār ẖēnra ẖēbâu ḫer-f nū ḫāmsētu - k ḫēru Osiris, [who] shut up the fiends for him. I am thy advocate, Horus.

āba - nā ḫer-k ẖēbî - nā ḫer ren - k nuk Tekhuti I have fought for thee, I have made the defeat [of the foe] for thy name. I am Thoth,

semāḏneru. Ausār er ẖēfta - f hru puī en uṯā making victorious Osiris over his enemies [on] day that of weighing

lejet ennū Hēt ur ur āmmī Annu nuk Teṭeṭēti se of words in the dwelling of the Old Man mighty in Heliopolis. I am Teṭeṭēti, the son of

1 Or temtu; see Brugsch, Worterbuch (Suppl.), p. 76.
Tettet[i] \( \text{du am-d em} \) Tettet[i] mesi-d em Tettet[i] un-d henā Tettet[i]; I was conceived in Tettet[i], I was born in Tettet[i]. I am with

(hai dakebit Ausar em .... Reyet semaayeru
the weepers \{and the women\} Osiris in the double land of(?!) Rekhet, \{making to be\} victorious

Ausar er χεφτα-f .... set Rā Tekuti semaayeru Ausar er
Osiris over his enemies. Ordered it Rā Thoth to make victorious Osiris over

χεφτα-f .... tu āri-nā Tekuti un-d henā Heru hru
his enemies; what was ordered did for me Thoth. I am with Horus [on] the day

hebs Tetei un tephetu en dāu urt
of clothing Teshesh, opening the storehouses of washing the still

(ab seī re en seīt em Re-stau un-d henā Heru of heart, unbolting the door of concealed things in Re-stau. I am with Horus

em nel qāh pui ābi en Ausar āmmi Sekhem.
protecting shoulder that left of Osiris in Sekhem.

āg-d āheru-d em ammu [hru] ter
I go in [and] I come out from the flames [on] the day of destroying

\(^1\) The variants are \( \text{British Museum papyrus No. 9964} = \text{XX IN} \) of Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. L, l. 5. See Birch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 115.
23. sebîu em Sekhem un-ā henā Heru hru ḫebu
the fiends in Sekhem. I am with Horus [on] the day of the festivals

cmp

24. nu Ausār āri ābet hru vi ent ḫeb āntt em Annu
of Osiris, making the offerings [on] day six of the festival Īnāt in Heliopolis.

25. nuk āb em Tēttetū Rē ūmmi ām Anū Ausār ṣeqāi
I am the āb priest in Tēttetū, Rē (?) in the temple of Osiris, lifting up

26. ta nuk maa īṣetā em Re - stau ān nuk
the earth. I see the concealed things in Re - stau this. I

27. āri - ṣem em Tēttetū nuk
read the book of the service of the Soul in Tēttetū. I am the ām priest in

28. āri - f nuk ur ārēp āb hru ārif ēmmu his belongings. I am the great chief of the work on the day of placing the ēmmu boat

29. Seker ĕr ēmāyait - tuf nuk ēm āsebāsī of Seker upon its sledge. I have received the spade

30. hru ēbēs ta em Sūnē-ḥēnēn ā īsekeni bāiu
[on] the day of digging the earth in Sūnē-ḥēnēn. O ye who make to enter souls
PLATE VI.

meny₂ em pa Æusir seteken - ten ba áger en Æusir
performed in the house of Osiris, may ye make to enter the soul perfect of Osiris,

32. án Ani ma₂yér₇u h₇n₇ - ten er pa Æusir seten₇ - f₇ ten
the scribe Ani, victorious, with you into the house of Osiris. May he hear [as] ye [hear];

33. maa - f₇ m₇₇ maa - ten áh₇ - f₇ md₇₇ áh₇ - ten hem₇₇ - f₇ m₇₇
may he see as ye see; may he stand as ye stand; may he sit as

34. h₉₇₇ - ten áйти₇₇₇ tau ḫeq en baiu meny₂ em
ye sit. O givers of cakes [and] beer to souls perfected in

35. pa Æusir p₇₉₇ - ten tau ḫeq er tr₇₇₇i en ba en Æusir
the house of Osiris, give ye cakes [and] beer at the double season to the soul of Osiris

36. Ani ma₂yér₇u xer neteru nebu Ab₇u ma₂yér₇u h₇n₇ - ten
Ani, victorious before the gods all of Abydos, victorious with you.

37. d₇ unu₇ uat áp₇₇ Màt₇₇₇₇ en baiu
O openers of the way [and] openers of the roads to souls

38. meny₂ em pa en Æusir un áref₇ - ten - nef uat
perfected in the house of Osiris, open therefore ye to him the way,

1 We must read
39. 

&upu &aREF-tEN &mâlênu &en &ba &en &Ausâr &àn
open therefore ye the roads to the soul of Osiris the scribe

40. 

hesb neter hetepu neteru nebû &Ani &henâ-tEN &âq-f
[and] accountant of divine offerings of gods all, Ani [triumphant] with you. May he go in

41. 

em &tenf &per-f &em &hetep &em &pa &Ausâr &àn
with confidence, may he come forth in peace from the house of Osiris. Not

42. 

xesef-tuf ân &sênAR-tuf &âq-f &hesu
may he be repulsed, not may he be turned back, may he go in [as he] pleaseth,

43. 

peru-f &meru &mâR-âRê-tuf &u&TI&t-f &em
may he come forth [as he] desireth, may he be victorious. May be done his commands in

44. 

pa &Ausâr &sêm-f &teet-f &henâ-tEN &khu-f
the house of Osiris, may he walk, may he speak with you, may he be a glorified soul

henâ-tEN &àn &qemenet &un-f &âm &du &mísat
with you. Not hath been found his defect there. The scales

sesu-bâ &em &sep-[f]
have been emptied of [his] trial.
Chapter of giving a mouth to Osiris, scribe [and] accountant of divine offerings of the gods.

nebu Ani maâxeru - nef em Neter-êert
all, Ani; may be he victorious in the underworld.

Têtu ûû - ûû uben - kûû em suft ânt ta leta ûû
To be said: I rise out of the egg in the land hidden. May

erfû - nû re - ûû têtu - ûû am - f embak neter ûû neb
be given to me my mouth, may I speak with it before the god great the lord of the underworld. Not may be repulsed my hand and arm by the divine chiefs of god any.

nuûk Ausûr neb Re - stau pesû Ausûr âû Anû mûûxeru
I am Osiris lord of Re-stau, shareth Osiris, the scribe Anû, triumphant,

em ennû enti tep - f (sic) xêt û - nû er merer âb - ûû
with that being who [is upon] the top of the steps. I have come at the wish of my heart

em ûû nesert âûêm - nû âûst - hrâ - k neb sesûp xêtti
from the Pool of double Fire, I have quenched [it]. Homage to thee, lord of radiance, at the head
of the Great House, [within] night and darkness. I have come to thee,

I am glorious, I am pure, my two hands [are] behind thee; thy portion

[is with] thy ancestors. Give thou to me my mouth [that] I may speak with it.

May I follow my heart at its season of fire and night.

If be known book this upon earth, [and be done it] into writing upon the coffin

my mouth it is, he shall come forth by day in forms of existence all

[which] he pleaseth, and shall go in to [his] place, and not shall he be repulsed.

1 Read "re fen, "this chapter"?
3. du ftu nef ta hq ur en dufer xaut ent Ausár
Shall be given to him cakes, beer, meat of flesh upon the altar of Osiris.

4. du-f ãq-f em htep er Sexet - Áaru er rãr utu
He shall go in in peace to Sekhet - Áaru to know command

5. pen en ámí Tettet du ftu nef pert beti ãm-s unen
this of the [one] in Tettetu; shall be given to him wheat and barley in it; there shall be

6. xer-f wmt mâ un-nef tep ta du-f ãri-f mert-f
with him green things such as were with him upon earth. He shall perform his will,

7. en mâ enen neteru enti em tuat em ñes mà
like those gods who [are] in the underworld, in the bond of regularity

heh en sep ãu Ausár ãn Áni
millions of times, Osiris scribe, Áni.

PLATE VII.

1. Ha em sebes sexu pert hait em
The beginnings of the praisings [and] glorifications, of coming out and going into

2. Neter-xert xut em Amentet nefert pert em hru em
Neter-khert glorious in Amentet the beautiful, of coming out by day in
forms of existence all which he pleaseth, of playing at draughts [and] sitting in
the hall, [and] of coming forth as a soul living.

Saith Osiris, scribe Ani, after he hath arrived in port, being glorious
what hath been done upon earth, become words all of Tmu. I am
Tmu in rising up. I am the only One. I came into existence in Nu.

I am Rā in his rising in the beginning, ruled this hath he. Who then
is he? Rā it is in the beginning [when] he rose in Suten-henen as a king
in rising up, not had come into existence the pillars of Shu, he was upon
the height of him who is in Khemenu. I am the god great [who] came into existence by himself, Nu that is, [who] created his name "paut neteru" as god. Who then is he? Rā it is the creator of the name[s] of his limbs; have come into existence these in the form of the gods who are in the train of Rā. I am without repulse is he among the gods.

Who then is he? Tmu it is in his disk;

otherwise said, Rā it is in his rising in the horizon eastern of heaven.

I am Yesterday, I know To-morrow. Who then is he?
är sef Ausar pu är ßauu Râ pu hru pui en
Now Yesterday Osiris is, now To-morrow Râ is, on day that of

sehetem ßefia - f nu Neb-er-cher am - f henâ sheq - tu
the destruction of his enemies of Neb-er-cher in it, and the appointment as prince

se - f Heru ki têt hru pui en ûu - n men hab of his son Horus; otherwise said, day that on which we established the festival

themen - entu qeres pu ent Ausar ãn ãtef - f Râ of the meeting of the dead body it is of Osiris by his father Râ,

âri - entu ãba neteru ßef ûf - n Ausar er neb when made battle the gods, when commanded us Osiris as lord of

Amentet pu trâ erêf su Amentet pu âri-entu er baiu Amentet. What then is it? Amentet it is, being created the souls

neteru ßef ûtu Ausar er Set - Amentet ki têt Amentet of the gods when commanded Osiris in Set - Amentet; otherwise said, Amentet

pu ennu pu ãtâ en ... Râ hâi neter neb er - s it is, that it is [which] maketh Râ [when] advanceth god any into it,
23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29.

āhā  āba - nef  her - s  āduā  réx  kuā  neter  puī
[he] standeth [and] he fighteth for it. I know god that

entī  ām - s  pu  trú  erēf  su  Ausār  pu  ki  tēt  Ra
who [is] in it. Who then is he? Osiris it is; otherwise said, Ra

ren - f  hennu  pu  en  Ra  nek - f  ām - f  tērēf
[is] his name, [or] the phallus it is of Ra when he uniteth with himself.

nuk  bennu  pu  enti  en  Anu  nuk  ārī  sāpu
I am bennu that which [is] in Heliopolis. I am the keeper of the book

entī  unen  pu  trú  erēf  su
of that which is, and of that which shall be. Who then is he?

Ausār  pu  ki  tēt  xat - f
Osiris it is; otherwise said, his dead body it is; otherwise said,

setāt - f  ār  en  entī  unen  xat  pu
his excrements. {Now that which is, and that} which shall be is his dead body;

ki  tēt  en  er  neheh  pu  henā  ṭētā  ār  neheh  pu
otherwise said, Eternity it is and Everlastingness, Eternity is
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

30. hrā ār tētā pu ērēh pu nuk Āmsu ēm ērēf su
the day, Everlastingness is the night. I am Āmsu in his appearance;

31. du ertā-nā ṣuti-f ēm tep-ā pu trā ērēf su
may be given to me his plumes upon my head. Who then is this?

32. ār Āmsu Ērē ṗu nēf-ā hrā ētēf-f ār ērēf su
Āmsu Ėrē is, the avenger of his father; his appearance his birth

33. pu ār ṣuti-f ēm tep-f ēmt Āuset henā Nēbt-hēt
is. His plumes upon his head are the going of Isis and Nephthys

34. ērtā en sen ērēh ērtē f ēn-sen ēm tērtētu
to place themselves upon his head, they being in the [form of] protectresses,

35. sēkā-sen ērēh men tep-f ēk ēt ērēt urēt wēt
they provide that which lacks his head; otherwise said, the two uræi great

36. āāt pu ēmt tep ētēf-sen
exceedingly are [they] upon the head of their father

PLATE VIII.

36. Tem ki ēt ēn maat-f pu ṣuti-f ēm tep-f
Tem; otherwise said, his two eyes are his plumes upon his head
Riseth up Osiris, the scribe of offerings of gods all, Ani, in triumph

in his land, he cometh into his city. What then is it? The horizon

it is of his father Tmu. I have made an end of my failings, I have removed my defects. What then is it? The cutting off the corruptible matter

Driven away are the defects all which belong to him. What then is it? The purification

it is on the day of his birth. I am purified in my double nest

great exceedingly which [is] in Suten-henen, [on] day that of offerings of

the people to god that great who [is] in it. What then is it?
"Millions of years" [is] the name of the one, “Green Lake” [is] the name of the other;
a pool it is of natron, and a pool it is of nitre; otherwise said, “Traverser of millions of years” [is] the name of the one, “Green Lake” [is] the name of the other; otherwise said, “Begetter of millions of years” [is] the name of the one, “Green Lake” [is] the name of the other. As concerning the god great who [is] in it, Rā it is himself. I pass over the way, I know the heads (?) of She - Maaat. What then is it? Re - stau pu tuaut pu rest Naarutf sebaut Re - stau it is the underworld south of Naarut, the door north of the tomb. As concerning She - Maaat Abydos it is;
The road it is [which] travelleth his father Tmu over it when he goeth to Sekhet - Aaru, [which] produceth the Achefa food of the gods behind the shrine. Now the Gate Sert the gate is of the pillars of Shu, the gate northern of the underworld it is; otherwise said, the two leaves of door that goeth Tmu through it when he goeth forth from the horizon eastern of heaven. O ye gods who are in the presence, grant to me your two arms. I am god that, I shall come into existence among you. What then is it? The drops of blood it is [which] come forth from the phallus of Rā after
36. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD. [PLATE VIII.

he set out to perform the mutilation upon himself. They came into existence

as the gods [who] are in the following of Râ, Hû and Sa, [and] they are following Tmu in the course of the day of day every. I filled,

[1] Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, for thee the uchet after

it had failed [on] day that of the battle of the two Fighters. What

then is it? The day it is of the fighting of Horus in it with Set, throwing excrement in the face of Horus, and carried off

Horus the testicles of Set, for Thoth did this with his fingers himself.

I raise up the hair at the time of storms in the sky. What then
PLATE IX.

he hath made it to depart, [and] Thoth raiseth up the hair there, and he bringeth it [i.e., the eye] living, healthy and sound, without defect to [its] lord; otherwise said,

it is the eye when it is sick, when it is weeping for its fellow; standeth up then Thoth to wash it.

I see Rā born of yesterday from the hind-quarters of Meh-urt; his strength [is] my strength, and conversely. What then is it?
enuu  en  pu  en
This is the water of heaven; otherwise said, the image it is of

maat  Ra'  tuau-tu  er  mesu-tu-f  hru  neb  ar  Meh-urt
the eye of Ra' in the morning, at his birth day every. Meh-urt

ulat  pu  en  Ra'  herenti  ar  Ausar  an  Ani  madjeru
the eye is of Ra'. Therefore Osiris the scribe Ani, triumphant,

sá  ur  en  ennu  neteru  ámiu
[is] one great of those gods who are in the following of Horus.

tet  her  tep-f  meriu  neb-f  pu  trá  erf  su
Spoken for him that loveth his lord. What then is it?

Mestá  Hápi  Tuamáutef  Qebhsennuf
Mestá, Hápi, Tuamáutef, Qebhsennuf. Homage to you, lords of

maáit  tulat  ha  Ausar  tásáiu  sát  em
right and truth, divine beings [who are] behind Osiris, causing to be annihilated

dásfat  ámiu  xet
defects, [who are in the following of] Hétep - sekhus,

The papyrus of Neb-seni has
mā - ten - wā
grant ye me that

i - huā
I may come
ter - ten
Destroy ye
tut
defects
neb
all

āri - ã āri
which belong to me
enu āri - en - ten
according to that which ye wrought
en xu
for beatified beings
VII
seven

āpu ámiu šes en neb - sen Sepa āri
these who are among the followers of their lord Sepa, made

en Anpu duset - sen hru pui en māái āri ãm
Anubis their place [on] day that of “come therefore there.”

pu trā ēref su ār enen nebu māāt Tehuti pu
What then is it? These lords of right and truth Thoth are

henā Atest neb Amentet ār šat ūr ha Ausār Mesthā
and Astes, lord of Amentet. The divine beings behind Osiris, Mesthā,

Hāpi Tā - māat - ūf Qēbḥ - sennu - ūf na pu enti em - sa
Hāpi, Ūtamāuṭef and Qēbḥ - sennu, are those who [are] behind

pa ūpeš em ūpet mehštēr ār šatāiu sāt em
the Thigh in the heaven northern. Now those who cause annihilation of
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Plate IX.

94. Video of hieroglyphs.

95. Video of hieroglyphs.

96. Video of hieroglyphs.

97. Video of hieroglyphs.

98. Video of hieroglyphs.

99. Video of hieroglyphs.

100. Video of hieroglyphs.

101. Video of hieroglyphs.

102. Video of hieroglyphs.

As for , and are in the following of , the eye is of ;

otherwise said, the flame it is following Osiris to burn up

the souls of his enemies. As concerning the defects all which belong to

Osiris, scribe of divine offerings of all the gods, , triumphant, since

he went forth from the womb of [his] mother. As concerning

the beatified beings, those seven, , , , , ,

Anubis as protectors of the dead body of ; otherwise said, behind
the place of purification of Osiris; otherwise said, beatified beings seven those are

Net'eh-net'eh Aaqetget An-ertā nef bes - f xenti heh - f
Netcheh-netcheh, Aaqet-qet, An-ertā nef bes - f khenti heh - f,

Aq - ḫer - āmmi - unnut - f Tēser - maa - āmmi - ḫet - Anes
Aq - ḫer - āmmi - unnut - f, Tēsher - maa - āmmi - ḫet - Anes,

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PLATE X.

Ubē - ḫrā-per - em - xetqet Maa - em - ḫērī - ān-neh-em - hru

ār heri tatat en na en ārūf - f Heru net ḫrā
Now the chief of the divine beings of those of his hall is Horus, the avenger of

ātēf - f ār xert hru pef māi ārēk ām ātēj Ausār ḫu
his father. As concerning day that of "Come then there," the saying to Osiris is

en Rā māāi ārēk ām maa - tu . . . . . . . . . . . . . sēr ār ēm Amentet nuk
by Rā "Come then there"; see, decreed is it for me in Amentet. I am

ḥa - f ḫer-āb T'āfī ḫu trā ṣēr ṣu Ausār ḫu
his soul within the two T'āfī. What then is it? Osiris it is [when]
āq - f er Tētētu gem - nef ba am en Rā āhā en hōpt
he goeth in to Tattu, and findeth he the soul there of Rā, embraceth [one]

en ki ām āhā emu Żeper em baiu her-āb Tāfik
the other there, and come into existence souls within the two Tēchāfi.¹

ar kēr Tāfik Heru pu nēt hrā tef - f hēnā
As concerning the two Tēchāfi, Horus it is, the avenger of his father, and

Horus - em khen-en-maa ki tēt ār ba - f her-āb Tāfik
Horus - em khen-en-maa; otherwise said, his double soul within the Tēchāfi

ba pu en Rā ba pu en Ausrā ba pu en ām Šu
the soul is of Rā, the soul is of Osiris, the soul is which [is] in Shu,

ba pu en ām Tēfnut ba - f pui en ānu Tētēt
the soul is which [is] in Tēfnut, his double soul [is] that which [is] in Tattu.

nuk maš puś pēsenē ašēt erēma - f em Ānū
I am cat that fighting (?) by the persea tree near him in Heliopolis,

kerī pui en hētem ūfētē nu Neb-er-tēr am - f pētī trā [on] night that of destroying the enemies of Neb-er-tēcher in it. What then

¹ The following text within brackets has been accidentally omitted by the scribe of the Ani papyrus, and is here supplied from that of Nebseni (B.M. 9900).
² Papyrus, Plate xiv., l. 16.
erof su mau pu l'a Rā pu lesef tetu - nef mau em
is it? Cat that male Rā is himself, and called is he "Cat" by

l'et Sa erof mau su enen ari - nef xeper
the word of Sa about him, "Like [is] he unto that [which] he hath made," and became

ren - f pu en mau ki l'et unen su pu her ari
his name "Cat"; otherwise said, Shu it is in making over

äm  en  Seb  en  Aūsār  ār  xer  peten  āšet
the property of Seb to Osiris. As concerning the fighting (?) by the persea tree

erma - f em Añnu un mesu bešelet pu her maā
near him in Añnu, the children of impotent revolt it is when is done justice

her ari en sen ār xert ĕrā pet en āba - ā
for what they have done. Now concerning night that of battle,

āq - sen pu em ābti pet āhā en ā en āba
[when] they enter it is into the eastern part of the sky, there straightway taketh place a battle

em pet em ta er ler - f ā  ām sub - f pest
in heaven [and] on the earth to its whole extent. Hail in his egg, shining

1 This restoration is certain, for traces of the characters in red still remain on the papyrus.
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em aten - f nub her bā from his disk, rising from his horizon, glittering above sky

āti sen - f em neteru setet her sebesu Shu .toFloat
without his second among the gods, sailing over the pillars of Shu, giving

nisu em kēh en re - f setet taui em xu - f winds of fire of his mouth, making bright the two earths with his radiance,

nehem - k Neb-seni Neb amāx mā neter pui sēta deliver thou Nebseni, the lord of devotion, from god that secret

āru unen ḍēh - f em āāui maḫa kerḥ of form, being his two eyebrows like unto the two arms of the scales, on night

57 57 en ḫesēḥ āāua peti trā erek su An - ā - f that of the reckoning of the destroying goddess. Who then is it? An - ā - f

pu ār ḫerḥ pef en ḫesēḥ āāua kerḥ it is. As concerning night that of the reckoning of the destroying goddess, the night

pu en nesert en ḫerit tātā serē kār it is of the burning up of the enemies, and of causing the destruction of

āsēḥ er nommet - f tenēt baiu peti trā the wicked at his block, [and] of the slaughter of souls. Who then

1 Supplied from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 60.
eref su Nemu pu shti pu en Axsir ki tet
is it? Nemu it is the slaughterer of Osiris; otherwise said,

\( \text{Apep} \ \text{pu} \ \text{un-nef} \ \text{em} \ \text{tep} \ \text{en} \ \text{u} \ \chi \ \text{er} \ \text{maa\textsuperscript{t}} \)
Apep it is, [when] he riseth up with one head having [upon it] Maat;

\( \text{ki tet Heru pu un-nef em tepui enen u} \ \chi \ \text{er} \)
otherwise said, Horus is it [when] he riseth up with two heads, one having

\( \text{maa\textsuperscript{t} ki} \ \chi \ \text{er asfet faa-f} \ \text{asfet en ari-s} \)
Maat, the other having wickedness. He giveth wickedness to the worker thereof,

\( \text{maa\textsuperscript{t} en ses} \ \chi \ \text{er-s} \ \text{ki tet Hieru pu} \)
[and] Maat to [him] that followeth after it; otherwise said, Horus is it

\( \text{d\textsuperscript{a} hem ki tet Thothu pu ki tet} \)
the great, president of Sekhem; otherwise said, Thoth it is; otherwise said,

\( \text{Nefer-Tmu pu Septu \x3cch=ef} \ \text{ket en} \ \text{ketu nu Neber-ter} \)
Nefer-Tmu it is [or] Septu, thwarting the business of the enemies of Neb-er-tcher,

\( \text{nehem-k m\textsuperscript{a} ennu en aru setau \x3cch=amenu\textsuperscript{h}} \)
deliver thou . . . . . from those watchers who bring slaughtering knives,

\( \text{septu teba meru hesq anu} \ \text{et Axsir} \)
and are provided with fingers cruel, and slay those who are in the following of Osiris,

1 Here follows the name Nebeni, etc.
enen seym - sen am - á enen hai - á er ketut - sen
not may they prevail over me, not may I fall under their knives.

peti trá erof su Anpu pu Heru pu em yent - en - maa
What then is it? Anubis it is, [and] Horus it is as Khent - en - maa;

ki tet latat pu yeseget yet en sen
otherwise said, the divine chiefs it is, the repulsers of the affairs of their;

ki tet ur en seniur en seym
otherwise said, the princes (?) of the sheniu chamber. Not may overcome

Tes - sen em enen hai - á er ketut - sen
knives their not may I fall under their instruments of torture,

her entet tuá reñ - kuá ren ári reñ - kuá máket
because I, I know name their, [and] I know oppressor

am - sen en pa Áusir satet em maaat
that, [who is] among them in the house of Osiris, shooting light from [his] eye,

en maa entuf rer en pet em nes en re - f
not seen [is] he. He goeth round heaven within the flame of his mouth,

semá Hapi [en] maa - entuf nuk uta têp ta yer
commanding the Nile, [not] being himself seen. I am strong upon earth before

1 Here follow the titles of Nebseni.
36. Rā menā - á nefer yēr Ausār enen åb - ūn åm - á
Rā, may my arrival [be] happy before Osiris. Not may your offerings [be] against me

en en heru āyē sen her entet tuā em les en
those which [are] upon their altars, because I am among the followers of

37. Neb-er - ter er ån en ḫepēru āyē - ā em
Neb-er - tcher according to the writings to Kheperu. I fly as

bak neḥek - nā em smen sek - ā ḫē ḫā Neḥeb - kau
a hawk, I cackle as a goose, I kill always like Ṣeḥeb - kau.

38. Ṛet trā set ennu pu en heru āyē - sen tut
What then [is] it? Those it which [are] upon their altars, the image

pu en maat Rā ēnā tut en maat ḫeru ā Rā Tēm
it is of the eye of Rā and the image of the eye of Horus. O Rā - Tēmu,

neb ḫēt āat ḫē ḫēxu ut a senb neteru neb u nehek - k
the lord of the Great House, Prince, life, strength, health, of gods all, deliver thou

39. mā neter pu eni trā-f ām ēm šēsen ḫēnēk - f ām
from god that whose face is in [the form of] a dog, [and] his eyebrows like

reb ānē - ām ēm ḫērit ārī ēm geb tūi en ṣē
[those of] men, he liveth upon the enemy, watching bight that of the lake

1 Here follows the name of Nebseni, etc.
41. \( \text{en \ set \ ãm} \) ñat \( \text{ßenp} \) hâtu \( \text{usf} \)
of fire, devouring bodies and swallowing hearts, and voiding

42. \( \text{setu \ en \ maa - entuf} \) ñet ñrâ erf \( \text{su} \) ñm \( \text{hâh} \)
filth, not being seen himself. Who then is it? “Eater of millions” [is]

43. \( \text{ren-f} \) \( \text{unen-f} \) \( \text{en} \) \( \text{dat} \) \( \text{år} \) ñer \( \text{ēm} \) \( \text{ Bret \( \text{en \ set \ pu} \) \( \text{pu} \)
his name, he being within the Lake. As concerning the Lake of Fire, it is that one

44. \( \text{ent\-er} \) ñm\( \text{tu} \) Nîn\( \text{nen\-r\-t\-uf} \) \( \text{er} \) \( \text{šen} \) \( \text{år} \)
which is in \( \text{Ān\-\text{r\-T\-uf}} \) near the \( \text{šen\-n\-i\-u} \) chamber; now

\( \text{šer\-f} \) \( \text{en} \) \( \text{u} \) \( \text{s\-āt} \)
treader every upon it unclean he falleth to the knives;

otherwise said, Mâ\( \text{t\-es} \) ren-f \( \text{ār\-i} \) \( \text{ā\-a pu} \) \( \text{en} \) \( \text{Ām\-\text{e\-t\-e\-t}} \)
Mâ\( \text{t\-es} \) [is] his name, the guardian of the door of Amentet;

otherwise said, Sekh\( \text{et} \) ren-f entef saa geb pu\( \text{e pu} \) \( \text{en} \) \( \text{Ām\-\text{e\-t\-e\-t}} \)
otherwise said, Sekh\( \text{et} \) [is] his name, and he guards bight that of Amentet;

otherwise said, H\( \text{e\-r\-i\-s\-e\-p\-f} \) ren-f ñeb n\( \text{er\-u} \) heri
otherwise said, H\( \text{e\-r\-i\-s\-e\-p\-f} \) [is] his name. O lord of terror, chief of

\(^1\) Added from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 64.
the two lands, lord of ruddiness, making ready the block of slaughter, living upon
entrails. Who then is it? The guardian of bight that of
Amenta. What then is it? The heart it is of Osiris, it is the devourer of
slaughtered things all. Hath been given to him the ureret crown [with] dilatation of heart as

president of Suten-henen. What then is it? Now there hath been given to him
the ureret crown [with] dilatation of heart as president of Suten-henen. Osiris it is,
he was commanded to rule among the gods [on] day that of the union of the two earths
before Neb-er-tcher. What then is it? Now he that was commanded
to rule among the gods Horus is, son of Isis, [who] was appointed to rule in the seat

1 Plate XV. of the Nebra papyrus begins with this word.
49. tef - f  Aūsār  ār  hru  pef  samat  taui  temt
of his father Osiris. Now day that of the union of the two earths, the gathering

taui  pu  er  qeres  Aūsār  ba  ānχ  āmī
of the two earths it is at the sarcophagus of Osiris, the soul living in

Suten-henen  ḫātā  ḫa  ār  āsītā  sem - nef
Suten-ḥenen, the giver of food, the annihilator of sins, he guideth [along]

uat  beh  peti trā  eref  su  Rā  pu  tēsef  nēhem - k  xer
the road of eternity. What then is it? Rā it is himself. Deliver thou ... before

50. neter  ān  pui  ḫāi  bāiu  nēsbu  āwā  ānχ
great god that the carrier away of souls, the devourer of dirt, living

em  hwaišt  saa  kektu  āmī  sēnkēt  sēntu - f
upon garbage, the guardian of darkness [living] in light, fear him

52. āmū  beh  peti trā  eref  su
those [who are] in misery. Who then is it?

113. ār  xert  bāiu  ḫer-āb  Tāfī  mā  neter  pui  ḫāi
As concerning the souls within the Tēchāf, with god that who seizeth

ba  nēsbu  háltu  ānχ  em  hwau  ārī
the soul, and eateth hearts and liveth upon the entrails, the guardian

1 Here follows the name of Nebseni.

* Papyrus of Ani, Plate X., line 7.
of the darkness [who is] within the seker boat; fear him those who live in defects.

Then is it? Suti it is; otherwise said,

Smam - ur the soul of Seb. Hail, Kheperá within

his boat, the double cycle of the gods [is] his body, deliver thou Osiris

Ani, triumphant, from those watchers who give judgment, [who]

have been placed by Neb - er - tcher to protect him and to perform the fettering of

his enemies, [who] make slaughter in the slaughter houses, there is no

coming forth from their restraint. Not may they send their

into me, not may I enter into their slaughter houses, not may I stay

1 The papyrus of Nebseni ha Spt.
within their chambers of torture, not have been done by me things of

those which hate the gods, because I am pure within the Mesqet.

Have been brought to him cakes of saffron within Tanenet.

Who then is it? Khepera within his boat, Ra it is himself.

Now those guardians who give judgment the apes are Isis

[and] Nephthys. Now those things which hate the gods wickedness are [and] falsehood.

Now the passer of the purification chamber within the Mesqet Anubis is, he is

behind the chest which holdeth the intestines of Osiris. He to whom have been given

cakes of saffron in Tanenet Osiris is; otherwise
said,

the cakes of saffron in Tanenet

[and] earth are; otherwise said, the strengthener Shu of the two earths is

in Suten-ḥen. Now the cakes of saffron the eye of Horus are,

now Tanenet the burial place is of Osiris. Hath built thy house

Tmu sent Rereḥ, pek en rert turā
Tmu, hath founded thy habitation Rereḥ, arrive drugs, purifieth

Horus, strengtheneth Set, and vice versa. Cometh he into earth this, he hath taken it

with his two feet, Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant before Osiris. He is

Tmu, he is in thy town. Turn thou back, Rehu, shining of mouth

moveable of head, turn thou back from his strength; otherwise said, turn back from

1 This is the reading of the Nebseni Papyrus, and of many others.
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

134. su ãri sau ãn maa - entuf sauti Ausar
him that keepeth guard, and not seen is he. Guarded (?) is Osiris

135. Ani entuf Auset gemet - nef su pesex - f leni en
Ani, he is Isis, he himself is found [as] he spreadeth [her] hair

hrâ - f têxêx - â er ãpt - f âuur - nef en Auset bennen - nef
over him, I scatter [it] upon his forehead. Conceived was he in Isis, engendered was he

136. em Nêbt-her behenen - sen xênenennu - f neru
in Nephthys, they cut off the things which should be cut away from him. Fear

137. em - ãet - k sêfêset - k tep ãâui - f qâh - k
followeth after thee, thy terror [is] upon his two arms. Embraced art thou

er heh ermen - sen rer - nek regit sêxêhêb - k
for millions of years by their arms, go round thee mortals, thou smitest down

138. untu xêt - k fa - nek Sami ermen - sen
the advocates of thine enemies, thou seizest the powers of darkness by their arms.

139. erê - nek sensen benêrê - k genam - k amû
Are given to thee the two sisters [for] thy delight.

Thou createth [what is] in

1er - âba amû Annu neter neb sent n nek urt ãâ
Kher-âba, [and what is] in Heliopolis. God every feareth thee, great very
140. sfsfsf k mtr nbn m m sfr s sst

and terrible art thou. God every of him that curseth him shooting arrows

141. ān k r mri k ntek Urif nbt ammu

Thou livest according to thy will, thou art Uatchit, the lady of flame.

142. āri ssnk ānt ām ssn py trè rfr s

Those who rise up against thee evil [cometh] among them. What then is it?

seta āru ṭākt manh re n n īšat

"Hidden of forms, given by Menḥu" [is] the name of the sarcophagus.

143. ren n nemmet ār sā ḫr r ṣt tkt

it is the name of the block. Now the shining of mouth [and] movable of head

144. hnn p n Aussr k t īs hnn p n Rā dr

the phallus is of Osiris; otherwise said, the phallus it is of Rā. Now

pest t k ṭk t k dpt [r] unnn Auset p ṣ h

thou spreadest thy hair, I scatter it upon his forehead, Isis it is [who]

1. We should probably add some word like “thou avengest.”
PLATE XI.—Upper Register.

The First Arit. 1. The name of its doorkeeper [is] Sekhet-hrâ-

Hall the first. The name of its watcher [is] Meti-heh; the name of the herald

Now those who rise up against me, and there is evil among them, the powers of darkness

of Sut are, when there is strife among them, for strife is flame.

May it be granted to him by the decree of those who are in Tattu to destroy the souls of his enemies!
3. am-s Ha - ḫeru tettu ān Ani maḥeru ḫesf sper er
in it [15] Ha - kheru. Saith Ani triumphant when coming to

4. ārit ţept nuk ur āri sese p-f i - nā ḫer - k Ausār
hall the first: I am the mighty one making his light. I have come to thee, Osiris.

5. tua-ā tu āb er ertu - k sta ām - k ārit
I adore thee, purified from thy foul emanations. Lead on, do not thou make

6. ren en Re - stau ḫer - k Anet - ḫrā - k Ausār em sexem - k em the name of Re-stau to him. Homage to thee, Osiris, in thy might, in

usr - k em Re - stau ḫet - tu sexem - k Ausār em ḫet
thy strength in Re-stau. Rise thou up, conquer thou, O Osiris in Abydos.

7. ḫet ḫet - k ḫet - k tu ḫesf ḫet ḫet
Thou goest round heaven, thou sailest in the presence of ḫet, thou seest the rekhit

8. neb ā verv en Rā ām - s māk t-et - ā Ausār nuk sāh
all. Hail, revolvesth ḫet in it! Verily I say, Osiris, I am a ruler

9. neter t-et - ā ḫeser ān ḫesef er - ā ḥer - s em ānēb
divine, I say let it be that there is no repulse to me at it, at its wall

10. f tābet āp wēt em Re - stau senet em
of burning coals. [1] have opened the way in Re-stau, easing

11. Read ṭēret. 2 The papyrus has ḫet.
16. men Ausār sexen enti utā dat
the pain of Osiris, making to enter that which hath weighed the standard,

ārit wat-f em ānt ur [ārit] uat selep ent Ausār
making his way in the valley, great one [making] the way. Shineth Osiris.

The Second Arit. 1.

ārit sen ren en āri āa-s Un-hāt
Hall the second. The name of its doorkeeper [is] Un-hāt;

ren sati-s Seqet - hrā ren en semā ām-s
the name of its watcher [is] Seqet - hrā; the name of the herald in it [is]

Usef tef ān Ausār Ani
ten hems-f her
Usef. Saith Osiris Ani [when he cometh to hall] this: He sitteth to

ārit tep em ūmat utā tefet em sen
do the height of the desire [of his heart], and weigheth words as the second

Tehuti maket Tehuti em keh Maāta seta
of Thoth. The virtues of Thoth making to be needly the Maāta gods hidden,

āngiu em maāt em renput - sen nuk uten at
who live upon maāt in their years. I make offerings [at] the moment

ārit wat-f āu ūmat-[ā] āri-nā sexem uat ṣā-k
of [his] making his way, I pass on, I make an entrance on the way Grant thou
that I may pass, that I may accomplish the sight of Ra with those who make offerings.

The Third Arit. 1. ärit xemt ren en ári ãa - s    Qeq - hauatu -
    Hall the third. The name of its doorkeeper [is] Qeq - hauatu -

3. ent - pehui ren en sati - s  Se - res - hrâ ren
   ent - pehui; the name of its watcher [is] Se - res - hrâ; the name

6. en semâ ãm - s Aaa t'et án Ausâr Ani nuk ëta
   of the herald in it [is] Aaa Saith Osiris Ani: I am hidden in

the great deep, O judge of the Rehui, I have come and I have destroyed the defects for

Ausâr nuk uny at - f    per en urert
Osiris. I am binding up his standard [which] cometh forth from the crown.

I have established things in Abydos, I have opened the way in Re-stau,

I have eased the pain in Osiris, [I] have made to balance his standard, I have made

The Fourth Arit. 1. ärit ãf ren
the way. He shineth in Re-stau.    Hall the fourth. The name
of its doorkeeper [is] Khesef - hrā - āšt - kheru; the name of [its] watcher [is]

Se-res - tepu; the name of the herald in it [is] Khesef - At. Salith

Ausîr ān Ani ma₅æru nuk ka se ërit Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: I am the bull, the son of the ancestress

eent Ausîr mā - ten meter - nef ëtet - f neb of Osiris. Grant ye that may give evidence for him his father, the lord of

āmmu - ëf ulā - nā bekasu ām ātu ān - nā - ëf his divine companions (?), {I have weighed in judgment} the guilty there. I have brought him

ānî er fent - f en ëtëta nuk se Ausîr āri - nā uat life to his nostril for ever. I am the son of Osiris, I have made the way,

The Fifth Ærit. 1. Ærit ëuat ren en

I have passed there into Neter-khert. Hall the fifth. The name of

āri āa - s ānî - f en fent ren en satî - s its doorkeeper [is] Ankh - f - em - fent; the name of its watcher [is]

Sabu ren en semā ām - s Teb - hrā - keha - Shabu; the name of the herald in it [is] Teb - hrā - keha -
kheft. Saith Osiris, scribe Ani, triumphant: I have brought [thy] jaw bones into Re-stau, I have brought for thee [thy] backbone into Heliopolis, gathering

{ together his many fragments. } there. I have repulsed for thee Apep. I have poured water upon the cuttings in the flesh. I have made a way among you, I am the Aged one among

---

PLATE XII.

The Sixth Arit. 1. gathering together his bones, collecting his limbs. Hall the

sasat ren en ári áa-s Atek - tau - kheq - xeru ren en sixth. The name of its doorkeeper [is] Atek - tau - kheq - kheru; the name of
its watcher [is] An - hra; the name of the herald in it [is] Ates -
hre Ani Ausar Ani i-na mân sep sen hraa Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani: I have come daily, twice.

ari-nâ uat sent â gemau en Anpu nuk
I have made the way, I have passed along [that which] created Anubis. I am

nâb wâwet hebâu mel maat mel-nâ
the lord of the werrit crown, without magical words, I, the avenger of right, have avenged

maat-f selat-nâ maat en Ausar nef ariu uat
his eye, I have bandaged [the eye of] Osiris for him, I have made the way;

sent Ausar Ani hend-ten en ari
hath passed Osiris Ani with you in

Hall the

sexef ren en âri âa-s Sexem Maatnu sen ren
seventh. The name of its doorkeeper [is] Sekhem - Maatnu - sen; the name

en sati-s Aâ - maâkeru ren en semâ en ânu-s of its watcher [is] Aâ - maâkeru; the name of the herald who [is] in it [is]

xesef yemi sel at Ausar Ani i-nâ xer-k Ausar
Khesef - Khemi. Saith Osiris Ani; I have come to thee, Osiris,

âb erfut rer-k pet maa-k Râ maa-k
pure [from thy] emanations. Thou goest round heaven, thou seest Râ, thou seest
the rebkit. Only One! Behold thou art in the sektet boat; he goeth round the horizon of heaven. I speak that which I wish to his mummy; it becometh strong. it cometh into existence as he speaketh. Thou turnest back his face. Make thou for me ways all prosperous before thee.

Words spoken when [one] cometh to pylon the first. Saith Osiris Ani.

User-á t-eff-á 'xesper má t-eff 'xesef hrá-f ári-ná uat sel-ná ári-á abu Ausár du net'ti en Ausár em maityera 'temti-ná nef gesw-f saqu-ná nef át-f šá-ben tau legt xet neb nefer ábt šetepet tefsau.

"I become strong, I speak, coming into being according to what he hath said, turning back thy face. I make the way, I pass over it. I make the purification of Osiris. I avenge Osiris victoriously. I collect for him his bones, I gather together for him his members. Grant ye cakes, and ale, and all good and pure things, and offerings of tefsau food." Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 166.
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD. [PLATE XI.—Lower Register.

maāyrə  nebt  seṭau  qat  sebti  hert  nebt
triumphant: Lady of terrors, lofty of walls, sovereign lady, mistress of

destruction, [disposer] of words, which repulse destroyers, delivering from destruction

en  i  ren  en  āri  ān  s  Neruit
{the traveller along} The name of its doorkeeper [is] Neruit.

Words spoken when [one] cometh to pylon the second. Saith Osiris, scribe

Ani  maāyrə  neb[ę]
Ani, triumphant: Lady of heaven, mistress of the world, devourer,

nebt  tenemet  tennet  er  bu  nebu  ren  en
lady of mortals; how much greater [is she] than all peoples! The name of

āri  āāu - s  Mes-Ptah  pu  ēret  šef  sper
the keeper of its door Mes-Ptah is. Words spoken when [one] cometh

er  sebţet  ūmt  ent  pa  Assār ān  ān  Ani
to pylon the third of the house of Osiris. Saith the scribe Ani,

Read  sert.

1

Le,  sert.  See Naville, Totenbuch, Bd. II, Bl. 37a.
6. [In. blank]

ma'akhu
triunphant

ma'akhu
nebt
 hatch
aaaat
abt

beloved of

the altar, mighty one of offerings,

smrt
neter
neb
chenti
[er]
Abu
ren
en
atri
aas

The name of its doorkeeper [is]

Sebaq
tetet
kef
sper
er
sebnet
sfit
an

Sebaq. Words spoken when [one] cometh to pylon the fourth. Saith

Ausir
an
Ani
sebnet
jesu
hent
taui
hetet

Osiris, the scribe Ani: Prevailer with knives, mistress of the world, destroyer

kef
nu
ur
ab
arit
sart
sfit

of the enemies of the Still heart, making the decree of dismissal of the needy

em
uu
ren
en
atri
aas

Nekau
tetet
kef

from harm. The name of its doorkeeper [is] Nekau. Words spoken when [one]

sper
er
sebnet
sbat
an
Ausir
an
Ani
kef

cometh to pylon the fifth. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani: Flame,

nebt
hau
relit
an
ha
en
setebti
tu
s

lady of breath [for] the nostrils; not shall one advance to entreat her,

an
aag
er-es
wen
tep-f
ren
en
atri
aas

not shall one come into her presence

The name of its doorkeeper is
Hentet - Arqiui. Words spoken when [one] cometh to pylon

saset an Ausdr an Ani: Lady of light, mighty one of shoutings,

not is known her breadth [or] her extent, not hath been found the like from

the beginning (?). There is a worm upon it, not is known [how great].

it was born in the presence of the Still-Heart. The name of its doorkeeper

Semati is Semati. Words to be spoken when [one] cometh to pylon the seventh.

Ani: Garment clothing the feeble one

PLATE XII.

weeping [for what] it loveth and hideth. The name of the doorkeeper [is]

1. Var.
Sákti - f.  t'et t'et  χεφτ  sper  er  sebyt  yemanet  án
Sákti - f. Words to be spoken when [one] cometh to pylon the eighth. Saith

Ausir án  Ani  maâmaru  rekehet  bes  àxem  taft
Osiris write Ani, triumphant: Fire blazing, [not to be] quenched the flame,

septet  pät  χaât  tet  smamnet  âtet  net net
provided with flames, far-reaching of hand, slaying not to be gainsaid,

át  sei  her-s  en  sent  nahi-s  ren  en  ári  áa-s
not may one pass over it through fear of the hurt thereof. The name of its doorkeeper

[is] Khu-tchet-f. Words to be spoken when [one] cometh to pylon the ninth. Saith

Ausir  Ani  ám  hât  neb  user  hereret  áb
Osiris Ani: [The one who is] at the front, lady of strength, who quieteth the heart of

mesat  neb-s  χet  300+50  em  tebon  satet  em
Mesat (?) her lord, measures three hundred and fifty in circuit, clothed with

nat  gemâu  têst  bes  hebsêt  bek
mother-of-emerald of the south, raising up the divine figure, clothing the feeble one,
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD. [PLATE XII.—Lower Register.

1.  

2.  

3.  

4.  

5.  

6.  

7.  

food(?). face every. The name of its doorkeeper is Āri-su-tchesef. Words to be spoken

when [one] cometh to pylons the tenth. Saith Osiris Ani:

High of voice, raising cries [in those who] make entreaty, fearful one

in her terror, not feareth she whosoever is within it. The name

of its doorkeeper is Sekhen - ur.

Appendix.

[The following text of the speeches of the deceased at Pylons XI.–XXI. is taken from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 161, 162.]

Pylon the eleventh. Repeater of slaughter, burner of fiends, terrible is

she [at] pylons all, making rejoicing on the day of darkness. She is holding

1 Var.
an inquisition of the bandaged feeble one. Pylon the twelfth. Invoking

the two earths, destroying those who come with light and fire (?), lady of splendour

hearkening to her lord day every. She is holding an inquisition of the bandaged

feeble one. Pylon the thirteenth. Hath stretched Isis her two hands and arms

over it, making to shine Hāpi in his hidden place. She is holding an inquisition

of the bandaged feeble one. Pylon the fourteenth. Lady of the knife,

dancer upon blood (?). I make for her [the festival of] the god Hak (?) on the day

of hearing crimes. She is holding an inquisition of the bandaged

feeble one. Pylon the fifteenth. Souls bloody (or terrible) [who] inspect
darret pert em ker; sen'eret Sebâ her
[and who] scrutinize, coming forth by night, fettering the fiend at

qub - f ertât ãâwi - sen urî - âb em at - f
'this corner, may be given their two hands [to] the Still - Heart in his moment,

ârit âtat ãm - s âu - s ãr sip en ãebâs
making advance and coming on to it. She is holding an inquisition of the bandaged

beka sebyet meht met ãs ãet ân Ausâr ãepest sper - f ãer sebyet feeble one. Pylon the sixteenth. Saith Osiris when he cometh to pylon

bem neretet nebt âatat ãaâ ãa em ãa ãe reth
this: Terrible one, lady of the rain storm, placer of defeat (?) in the souls of mankind,

çebesu mit en reth serî per gemamet devourer of the dead bodies of mankind, ordering, coming forth, and creating

sât âu - s ãer - s sip en ãebâs beka slaughters. She, she holdeth an inquisition of the bandaged feeble one.

sebyet meht met ãeyf ãebyt her snef âhî nebt Pylon the seventeenth. Hacker in pieces in blood, .......... lady of

sauiuait âu - s ãer sip en ãebâs beka flame (?). She is holding an inquisition of the bandaged feeble one.
sebyet meht met xemennu mer setau āb ēbnu merer - s
Pylon the eighteenth. Lover of fire, purifier of sinners (?), she loveth

śāt tep ēmawit neht ēt ēm uheset sebāu
slaughter, president of those who adore, lady of the temple, slaughterer of the fiends

ēm māru ēn ēdū ēy ēr ṣāp ēn ḫēbs
in the night. She is holding an inquisition of the bandaged

bebā sebyet meht met paut sert nehepu ēm ēhā - s
feeble one. Pylon the nineteenth. Disposer of light in her period of life,

wēš šememet neht ēsēr ēn ēn Tekuti teseff ēdū - s
mistress of flames, lady of the strength and writings of Thoth himself. She is

ēr ṣāp - f [ēn] ḫēbs ēn Pā-ān sebyet meht ēt aut
holding an inquisition of the bandages of Pā-ān. Pylon the twentieth. [She who]

ānūt xēn tepēh neb - s ḫēbs ēn ēm ēment
is within the cavern of her lord, "Clother" is her name, hiding

gemānu - s ḫēti ēb eq ēm ēdū - s ēr
her creations, carrying away hearts, devouring water. She is holding

ṣāp ēn ḫēbs ēn Pā-ān. sebyet meht t'āut ṭēm
an inquisition of the bandages of Pā-ān. Pylon, the twenty-first. Knife
[te'sia] er t'etu ārī hemen hai

cutting when is uttered [its name], making the slaughter (?) [of those who] advance

nebīu - s āu - s xer se'eru āmen

to her flames. She is possessing schemes hidden.

Speaketh Ān-māt-ī. He saith: [I have] come to you, O divine chiefs, mighty

dmu pēt ta Neter-xert ān - sa - teu Ausār
[who are] in heaven, earth and the nether-world, I have brought to you Osiris

Anī ān beta - f xer neteru nebī aīmu umā un - ē
Anī; not hath he sinned against gods any. Grant that he may be

henā-ten hru neb
with you day every.

fua Ausār neb Re-stau paut neteru ātt āmī
An adoration of Osiris, lord of Re-stau,[and] of the cycle of the gods great [which is] in

Neter-xert ān Ausār ān Anī tēt-f ānēf-hrā-k xent
Neter-xert. Osiris, the scribe Anī, he saith: Homage to thee, president of

Āmentet Un-nefer her-āb Ābīs ī-[d] xer - k āb-ā xer
Āmentet, Un-nefer within Abydos! I have come to thee, and my heart possesseth
maāt  ḍāt  ḍaf  em  χat-ā ḍān  tē-[tā]  ḫer  em  rekh
right and truth. Not is there sin in my body, not have I spoken lies with knowledge,

ān  ḍū-rā ṣep  sen  ḫā-k  nā  tau  ṣer
not have I acted with a motive double. Grant thou to me cakes, and a coming forth

em  ḫēb  ḫer  χaut  nebu  maāt  i  ḍū
in the presence at the altar of the lords of right and truth, a going in and a coming out

em  Neter-ḥert  ḍān  ṣentu  ba-ā  [maat]  ḏen  teḥeb
from Neter-khert, not being driven away my soul from the sight of the disk, the sight of

ān  ḫet-ta  ṣep  sen
the moon for ever: twice.

tēf  ḍān  Se-mer-f  tēf  i-ḥer-ten  ṭaḥat  ḏam
Speaketh Se-mer-f. He saith: [I have] come to you, O divine chiefs [who are] in

Re-stau  ḍān-nā-ten  ḫusār  ḫani  ḫumā  tau  mu
Re-stau. I have brought to you Osiris Ani. Grant cakes, water,

nīfē  ṣēh  em  Sekh-ḥetepet  ma  ḫēsē  ḫeru
wind, an estate in Sekhet-ḥetep as [to] the followers of Horus.

ụa  ḫusār  ṣēh  ḫet-ta  ṭaḥat  ḫeṣē  ḫre-stau
An adoration of Osiris lord of everlastingness, [and of] the divine beings lords of

Re-stau.
 án Ausir [án Ani]  țet-ḫ ñe-ḫ-brā-ḫ suten Neter-kert
Osiris [scribe Ani] he saith: Homage to thee, king of the nether-world,

heq nu Akert š-t[a] yert-ḫ reh-k[ru] seyru-ḫ k õper-k[ru]
prince of Akert, [I have] come to thee, I know thy plans, I am provided

em āru-ḫ en šuat šā-ḫ-nā āuset em Neter-kert
with thy forms in the nether-world. Grant thou to me a place in the nether-world

ernu nebu maāt sek-ā men em seyrt-heretpu
near the lords of right and truth, my estate may it be permanent in Sekhet-hetep,

sēsēp sēnḫu embah-ḫ
[may I] receive cakes before thee.

PLATE XIII.

á Telhuti semāāxuru Ausir ēr ḫēstā-f semāāxuru Ausir ēr
Hail Thoth, making victorious Osiris over his enemies, make victorious Osiris over

খēstā-f mà semāāxuru Ausir ēr ḫēstā-f ēmḥāb tēl-ēt
his enemies, as thou madest victorious Osiris over his enemies before the divine beings

āmt Rā ēmḥ ēnt Ausir ēmḥ Annu ḫērt en ḫēt
[who are] with Rā and with Osiris in Heliopolis, [on] the night of the things

1 Papyrus.
The passage in brackets is supplied from Naville, "Todtenbuch", Bd. I, Bl. 31.

Var. ṭḥ + hnt.

In many papyri the order of this and of the following sections is changed.
§ B. 1.  

är  ālāt  ḍāt  āmt  Teṭētu  Ausār pu  Ausēt pu  

Now the divine chiefs great [who are] in Tattu Osiris is, Isis is,

Nēb-tet pu Hērū pu  net - hrā tef  ār  saḥā  Tēt  

Nephthys is, [and] Horus is, the avenger of [his] father. Now the making to stand up of the Tet

em  Teṭētu  ḍāḥ  pu  en  Hērū  ḫentī  Sekhem  ān - sēn  ḫa  
in Tattu is the shoulder of Horus president of Sekhem. They are behind

Ausār em  srnr  en  ḥbs  ḥa  ḫētū  sēmāyēru  Ausār  
Osiris, in the form of bandages of clothing. Hail Thoth, making victorious Osiris

er  ḫesē - f  sēmāyēru  Ausār  ḫnī  māyēru  er  ḫesē - f  
over his enemies, make victorious Osiris Ani, triumphant, over his enemies

em  ālāt  ḍāṭ  āmt  Sekhem  khēr  ḫt  
before the divine chiefs great [who are] in Sekhem [on] the night of the things of

ēkē  em  Sekhem  ḫa  ālāt  āmt  Sekhem  
the night in Sekhem. Now the divine chiefs great [who are] in Sekhem

Hērū  ḫentī - ḫn  ḫn  ḫētū  pu  entī  em  ālāt  
Horus - khenti - ḫn - maa  Thoth are who [are] with the divine chiefs of

1 The papyrus of Nebseni adds: “as thou didst make Osiris to triumph over his enemies.”
2 Var. ḫmr, “before.”
Nadertetef  är  kerh  pui  en  xet  xaut  
Naarakhetf.  Now  night  that  of  the  things  of  the  night

het  ta  pu  er  qeres  Ausær  å  Tehuti  
of  the  festival  the  daybreak  is  at  the  sarcophagus  of  Osiris.  Hail  Thoth,

semaayeryu  Ausär  er  xæst  -  f  semaayeryu  Ausär  ån  
making  to  triumph  Osiris  over  his  enemies,  make  to  triumph  Osiris,  the  scribe

Ani  er  xæst  -  f  em  tatat  ååt  åmt  Pet  Tept
Ani,  over  his  enemies  before  the  divine  chiefs  great  in  Pet  and  Tept

kerh  pui  en  se-ahä  åaiui  en  Heru  
[on]  night  that  of  setting  up  the  columns  of  Horus  [and  of]

smen  -  tu  nef  åuat  em  xet  tef  -  f  Ausär  år  
making  him  to  be  established  heir  of  the  things  of  his  father  Osiris.  Now

tatat  ååt  åm  Pet  Tept  Heru  pu  Auset  pu  Meshå  pu  
the  divine  chiefs  great  in  Pet  and  Tept  Horus  is,  Isis  is,  Mesthå  is,  [and]

Häpi  pu  är  se-ahä  åaiui  en  Heru  tet  Set  pu  
Häpi  is.  Now  the  setting  up  of  the  pillars  of  Horus  the  saying  of  Set  is

en  åmu  -  xet  se-ahä  åaiui  eres  å  Tehuti  semaayeryu  
to  [his]  followers,  "Set  up  columns  upon  it."  Hail  Thoth,  making  to  triumph

\[1\]  The  variants  are  \[\ldots\]  \[\ldots\],  and  \[\ldots\].
Ausār er ırken f  semaâxeru  Ausār ân  Ani  māâxeru
Osiris over his enemies, make to triumph Osiris, the scribe Ani, (triumphant

nef er  Während f  en  talât  âtt  ânt  Taiu (?)  -  re kit
is he) over his enemies before the divine chiefs great in Taiu (?) - Rekhit [on]

kerh  nuit  qui  est  l'endroit  des  aumôniers  d'Isis  qui  sont  à  l'endroit
of the lying down of Isis watching to make lamentation

her  sen - s  Ausâr  âr  talât  âtt  ânt  Taiu(?) - re kit  Auset
for her brother Osiris. Now the divine chiefs great in Taiu(?) - Rekhit Isis

pu  Horu  pu  Mestha  pu  â  Thothi  semaâxeru  Ausâr er
is, Horus is, and Mestha is. Hail Thoth, making to triumph Osiris over

kerh  nuit  qui  est  l'endroit  des  aumôniers  d'Isis  qui  sont  à  l'endroit
that of Haker, at the separation of the dead, at the judgment

xâ  em  xer  ahabu  em  Teni
of good spirits, at the coming into existence of cries of joy in Teni.
PLATE XIV.

Now the divine chiefs great in Abydos Osiris is, Isis is, and

Ap-uati pu a Tehuti sma'xeru Ausar er xefta - f
Ap-uat is. Hall Thoth, making to triumph Osiris over his enemies,

sma'xeru Ausar am hesb hetep neter en neteru neb
make to triumph Osiris, the scribe, the accountant of the divine offerings of gods all,

E 3. Ani er xefta - f em tatat opit
Ani, over his enemies before the divine chiefs [who] judge

mitu kerh pui en arit saapt menta sen
the dead on night that of making the judgment of those who are annihilated.

§ G. 1. tat tat ämt ämt mitu
Now the divine chiefs great in the judgment of the dead Thoth is,

"before the divine beings among the dead [on] night that of making

saapt menta - set See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II, Bl. 79.
judgment annihilated are they."

"Var. äm uat mita, "in the way of the dead."

1 Var.
Osiris is, and Anubis is, and Asten is. Now the judgment of

those who are annihilated the imprisonment of things is for the souls of the children of

impotent rebellion. Hail Thoth, making to triumph Osiris over his enemies,

make to triumph Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, over his enemies before

the divine chiefs great in [the festival of] breaking and turning up the earth in

Tattu, [on] night that of [the festival of] breaking and turning up the earth in

their blood, and of making to triumph Osiris over his enemies. Now

the divine chiefs great in [the festival of] breaking and turning up the earth in Tattu

the coming of the fiends of Set is, [when] make they their change of form
into animals, they are slain in the presence of gods those,
and being smitten down their blood floweth among them; are granted these things
by the judgment of those who are in Tattu. Hail Thoth, making to triumph Osiris
over his enemies, make to triumph Osiris Ani over his enemies
before the divine chiefs great in Naârère’tef [on] night that of
making secret the forms. Now the divine chiefs great in Naârère’tef
Râ pu Ani pu Shu pu Bebi pu är her pu en
Râ is, Osiris is, Shu is, and Bebi is. Now night that of
making secret the forms is the presence at the sarcophagus [of] the thigh,

1 Var.  2 Var.  “Mighty one of forms.”
2 The papyrus of Neben adds “head.”
Hail Thoth, making to triumph Osiris over his enemies, make to triumph Osiris (triumphant before Osiris) over his enemies before the divine chiefs great in Re-stau, [on] night that of the lying of Anubis [with] his two hands over the things behind Osiris, and of making to triumph Horus over his enemies. Now the divine chiefs rejoice! Horus his heart dilateth with joy! the two regions are at peace through it. Hail Thoth, making to triumph Osiris over his enemies, make to triumph Osiris, the scribe, accountant of divine offerings of gods all, Ani, triumphant,
er  χεβτα - f  em  ḫat at  daat  met  amt  Rā  amt  Ausār
over his enemies before the divine chiefs great ten with Rā, with Osiris,

Amt neter neb  netert nebt  embatā  ā  Neb-er-tēr  师范大学 - f
with god every, goddess every, before Neb-er-tcher; he hath destroyed

χεβτα - f  师范大学 - f  tut  nebt  ārt - f  tētū  re
his enemies, he hath destroyed evil all belonging to him. If be said chapter

pen  āb  per  ṣu  em  kru  em - χετ  menā
this, the pure [one] cometh forth by day, after death, [and he maketh]
Chapter of opening the mouth of Osiris, the scribe Ani. To be said: Be opened my mouth by Ptah, untied the bandages, twice, which are upon my mouth by the god of my town. Come then, Thoth, filled with [and] provided with charms, untie the bandages, twice, of Set [which] fetter my mouth; repulsing Tmu shoots them he at those who would fetter [me with] them. Be opened my mouth, be unclosed my mouth by Shu with weapon his that of iron of heaven he opened the mouth of the gods with it.

1 Var. [Illustration of text]
2 "may he shoot them at that which guardeth my mouth" (No. 10,471, plate 8).
I am Sekhet, I sit upon side west great of heaven. I am Sah the great in the midst of the souls of Heliopolis. As concerning charms all and words all spoken against me these, may resist the gods them, and the cycle of the gods all.

Chapter of bringing charms to Osiris Ani: I am Tmu - Khepera [who] produced himself upon the leg of his mother. Are made wolves those who are in Nu, and hyænas those who are among the divine chiefs.

Behold I collect charm {this [from every] place where} it is, from the person with whom it is, quicker than greyhounds, fleeter than light. Hail bringer of the boat
ent Rā ruf ḏqi - k em mehit em ḫent - k
of Rā, strong [are] {thy sail and rudder ropes} in the wind as thou saillest

er Ṣe-nesert em neter-ḥert ḏsk ṣemt - nek ḫekau pen
over the Lake of Fire in the underworld. Behold thou collectest charm this

em bu neb enti f ām ḫer se enti f ḫer - f betenu
from place every in which it [is] there, from the person with whom it [is], quicker

er ḫesenu ḫaxt er šuit ārit ḫeperu em ērtu
than greyhounds, swifter than light, making forms of existence from the thigh(?)

1 The end of this chapter according to the Nebseni papyrus is as follows:

ki t'[et ḫax er Ṣu en ērtā em gemam neteru
otherwise said, swifter than Shu who maketh the creation of the gods

em sekhā en ērtātu bekhu en ērtā serefu šepu
from [or in] silence, who maketh them powerless, who giveth heat to the heads

em neteru ḏśb ērtā - nā en ḫekau pen em bu neb
of the gods. Behold is given to me charm this from place every

enti-f ām ḫer se enti-f ḫer - f beten er ḫesen
in which it is, from person with whom it is, quicker than a greyhound,

 Predicate er šuit
fleeter than light.
of the mother, creating the gods from silence, giving

the mother (?) heat to the gods. Behold is given to me charm this

from where it is quicker than greyhounds, fleeter than light;

otherwise said, fleeter than a shadow (?).

Appendix.¹

Chapter of { making [the deceased] } to remember his name in the netherworld. May be given to me

my name in the Great Double House, may I remember my name in the House

of Fire [in] night that of computing years [and] telling the number of

the months. I am with that Divine Being, and I sit at the side east of

¹ The text of this chapter is taken from the papyrus of Nebseni (Brit. Mus., No. 9900).
pet neter neb temu - f em sa - á têt - á ren - f em - xet

heaven. God any advanceth he behind me, I declare his name immediately.

1. Re en erfât áb en Ausâr Ani nef em Neter-xert
Chapter of giving the heart to Osiris Ani to him in the netherworld. [Ani saith:]

ab - á ná em pa ábu hâtî - á ná em pa hâtî
May my heart be to me in the House of hearts, my heart [be] to me in the House of hearts.

du - ná ab - á hetep - f ám - á án ámu - á setâ ent Ausâr
May be to me my heart, may it rest in me, [or] I shall not eat the cakes of Osiris

her kes abtâ en aki xeret em xet - k
on the side east of the Lake of Flowers. A boat in thy going down [the Nile],

xentî - k án ka - á er xulet ámi - k du - ná
and in thy sailing up, nor shall I advance to the boat with thee. May be to me

re - á têtu - á ám - f rêt - á er semt
my mouth [that] I may speak with it, my two legs to walk,

adui - á er xer xêt - á un - ná áa en
my two hands and arms to overthrow my enemy. Be opened to me the doors of

pet setu - ná seb erfât neteru áritî - f er - á
heaven, may unbolt for me Seb the chief of the gods his two jaws for me,
6. $un\, f\, maa\-d\, \text{sefentet}\, \text{tunu}\, f\, \text{ret}\, d$

may he open my two eyes [which are] blinded, may he make to stretch out my feet

$\text{gerfi}\, \text{seruf}\, \text{en}\, \text{Anpu}\, \text{masti}\, d$

which are fastened together, may make strong Anubis my legs

7. $\text{besu}\, \text{er}\, d\, \text{tunu}\, d\, \text{Seyet}\, \text{netert}\, \text{enem}$

to rise up for myself. Maketh me to rise Sekhet the goddess [that] I may be in

$\text{pet}\, \text{ari}\, \text{usu}\, n\, \text{em}\, \text{Het-Ptah-ka}\, \text{reo}\, d\, \text{em}$

heaven, being done what I command in the House of the Ka of Ptah. I know

8. $\text{ab}\, d\, \text{sexem}\, d\, \text{em}\, \text{hati}\, d\, \text{sexem}\, d\, \text{em}$

my heart, I have gained power over my heart, I have gained power over

$\text{aaui}\, d\, \text{sexem}\, d\, \text{em}\, \text{ret}\, d\, \text{sexem}\, d$

my two hands and arms, I have gained power over my feet, I have gained the power

9. $\text{em}\, \text{aris}\, \text{merert}\, \text{ka}\, d\, \text{an}\, \text{yen}\, tu\, \text{ba}\, d$ [er]

to do what pleaseth my Ka. Not shall be imprisoned my soul [with]

$\text{zat}\, d$ [ker] sebau nu Amenret em ag d em hetep

my body [at] the gates of Amenta, at my entrance in peace,

$\text{pert}\, \text{em}\, \text{hetep}$

and coming forth in peace!
Chapter of not allowing to be driven away the heart of Osiris, the scribe

of the divine offerings of gods all Ani, triumphant, from him in

the netherworld. He saith: My heart my mother; twice. My heart,

my coming into existence. Not be there resistance to me in the judgment, not

be there repulse to me by the divine chiefs, not make thy separation from me

in the presence of the keeper of the scales. Thou art my double within my body

forming and making strong my limbs. Mayest thou come forth to the place of happiness

[to which] we advance there. Not may make to stink my name the Shenit

who make men [to be] in stability.

1 For the additions see above, p. 12.
Chapter of not allowing to be taken away the soul of a man from him in the netherworld.

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani: I am he, I am the come forth from the water floods; it giveth my inundation, and it gaineth power there as the river [Nile].

Appendix.

Chapter of drinking water in the underworld. I am he, I am the come forth from Seb. Hath been given to him the inundation, he hath obtained power in it as Ḫāpi. I, I open the two doors of heaven; are opened to me by Thoth [and] by Ḫāpi who the two sons (?) are of the two doors of the water floods

1 This text is from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 72.
heaven, mighty of splendours. Grant ye that I may gain power over the water even as

conquered Set his enemies on day (?) that of terrifying the world.

I have passed by the great ones shoulder against shoulder as they have passed by god

that great, splendid, provided, unknown [is] his name. I have passed by

the mighty one of the shoulder, I have opened the flood of Osiris, I have passed through

the flood Thoth - Hāpi - Tmu, lord of the horizon, in his name that of "Thoth

cleaver of the earth." I have gained power in the water as conquered Set

his enemies. I have sailed over heaven. I am Rā, I am the Lion-God, I am

the young bull, I have eaten the thigh, I have seized the flesh,
I have gone round the canal of the Sekhet-aru. Hath been given to me eternity without its limits. Behold, I am the heir of eternity; hath been given to him everlastingness.

Chapter of drinking water [and of] not being burnt in the fire. Saith he:

Hail, bull of Amenta, I am brought to thee. I am oar that of Re,

transporteth he the aged ones with it. Let me not be burnt, let me not be consumed.

I am Bub son eldest of Osiris; he washeth god every within his eye in Heliopolis. I am the Heir exalted, the Mighty One,

Still-[Heart]. I make to grow my name, I have delivered [it] to make me to live in myself on day this.

1 The text is from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 73.
1. \( \text{Re en tem ub} \)\( \text{em mu ef-f nuk merušu} \)
Chapter of not being scalded with water. Saith he: I am oar.

 pu ãper ŋen \( \text{f} \) Rā \( \text{audait} \) \( \text{am-f} \).
that prepared for rowing. Ferried Rā the Aged with it.

3. \( \text{ubes-á etfau Ausār er ie em asēbiu atu} \)
I lift up the humours of Osiris to the Lake from flame [which] without

\( \text{ngen-f} \) \( \text{au-f} \) \( \text{atu ak-nef lef-nā} \)
passage it is. Turned out of the course he is, not burnt is he. I recline

5. \( \text{her hamemu nemu-á xent māu mā hēq lesefu} \)
with the hamemu, I come to the abode of the lions with killing and fettering (?),

\( \text{em šas em sa-á wat pert am-s} \)
following myself the way came forth [he] by it.

6. \( \text{Re en etfāt nīfu em Neter-ḫert ēt ān Ausār Anī nuk} \)
Chapter of giving breath in the netherworld. Saith Osiris Anī: I am

\( \text{suḥt ámt Nebk ur áu sau-nā ëiset tui ëtt} \)
the egg in the Great Cackler, and I watch and guard place that great [which]

1 Var. \( \text{I am Ruruš, the egg.} \)
proclaimed Seb upon earth. I live and it liveth; I grow strong, I live,

I smell the air. I am Utcha - aáb, and I go round behind

his egg, I have destroyed (?) the moment of the great of strength. Set a

{ thou who } the world with the food, [dweller] in the blue, watch ye

over [him that is] in his nest, the babe he cometh forth to you.

Appendix.

Another chapter of giving breath. I am Sab - sabu. I am Shu.

[1] draw in the air in the presence of the glorious god at the limits of heaven. at

1 Var. 2. “I guard that great thing [with which] Seb has made an opening in the earth.”

* The text is from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 67.
t' eru  ta  er  t' eru  Šu  en  bāu  āu  ērtāu  nifu
the limits of  earth,  at  the limits  Shu  of the sky (?).  I  give  breath

en  enen  unnu

to  those [who are] children.

1. Re  en  sesnet  nifu  emmā  ta  ērt - f  ā  Tmu  ūt - k - nā
Chapter of smelling the air in the earth. Saith he: O Tmu, grant thou to me

nifu  puī  net  ēm  ēmi  sert - k  nuk  šegen  ēuset  tui
breath that sweet in thy two nostrils. I embrace seat (?) that

urt  ber-āb  Unnu  sāa - nā  suht  tui  nēhek  ur
great within Hermopolis. I guard egg that of the Great Cackler.

rus-ā  rus-s  ūs  reh  ānx -ā  ānx-s  sēn -ā  nifu  sesen -s  nifu.
I grow, it groweth, and vise versa; I live, it liveth; I smell the air, it smelleth the air.

1. Re  en  temt  erfāt  nekentu  āb  en  se  mā - f  ēm
Chapter of not allowing to be taken away the heart of a person from him in

1 A variant adds:

un  re - ā  petrā - ā  ēm  maa - ā
“[I] open my mouth, I see with my eyes.”

* The text is from the Nebseni papyrus.
Neter-jert tef an Ausâr Ani maâyêru ha - k âptui
the netherworld. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: Turn thou back messenger

en neter neb an du i - nek er hâti - â pen en ânû
of god every. Is it that thou hast come for my heart this which liveth?

ân fâtu - nek hâti - â pen en ânû xeru setem
Not shall be given to thee my heart this which liveth. Advancing listen

neteru hetepet er â her xer - sek her hrâ - sen temt en
the gods to my oblations, they fall upon their faces all of them upon

ta tes - sen.
ground their own.

1. \[ Re en tent er-tât bet hâti en se mà - f. em \]
Chapter of not allowing to be taken away the heart of a man from him in

Neter-jert ân Ausâr Ani à beti abu
the netherworld. Saith Osiris Ani: Hail takers away of hearts,

PLATE XVI.

nefisut ãrit en ten ãnet - hrâ - ten nebû ëh
[hail] stealers [of hearts]. Ye have done. Homage to you, ye lords of eternity,
possessors of everlastingness, do not take away heart this of Osiris Ani with

your fingers, and his heart this thither. Not make ye to come into existence words

evil against it because belongeth heart this to Osiris Ani, heart

this of the great of names, the mighty one, his words are in his limbs,

goeth forth his heart to inhabit his body. Pleasant [is] his heart to the gods,

the heart of Osiris Ani, victorious is he, he hath gained power over it, not

hath he said [what] hath been done to it. He hath gained power over his limbs his own,

hath obeyed him his heart, he is thy lord, thou art in his body, not

mayest thou fall away. I have commanded that thou shouldst be obedient to me [in]
Appendix.

1. Re en tem bet ....... ab en em Neter xert.
   Chapter of not being carried off the heart of [the deceased] in the netherworld.

2. tet-f, ab-ā, mā-ā, ān, un, betet - f, nuk, neb
   Saith he: My heart [is] with me, not shall happen its being carried off. I am the lord

3. abu, sma, lajtu, ānḫ - ā, em, madāt, un - nā, ām - š
   of hearts, slaying the heart. I live in right and truth, I exist in it.

4. nuk, Heru, āmi - āb, her-āb, āmi, xat, ānḫ - ā, em, tet-ā
   I am Horus pure of heart within the pure of body. I live in [or by] my word,

5. unet, ab-ā, ān, nehem - tuf, hāṭi - ā, nā, at - nef
   existeth my heart. Not may be taken away my heart from me, let it [not] be wounded,

6. ān, ā, tār, šat, ām - ā, bet, su, un - ā, em, xat
   let there not be wounds and cuts upon me being carried away it. May I be in the body

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1 The text is from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. 1, Bl. 40.
ent ãtef – á | Seb | ent | mut – á | Nut | án | ári – á | bat | er
of my father Seb, of my mother Nut. I have not committed evil against

neteru án xeb ám em maâyâru.
the gods, I have not sinned there in triumph.

Re en tem ertâ xesef – tu áb en erof em Neterxer
Chapter of not allowing to be repulsed the heart of [a man] from him in the netherworld.

áb – á en mut – á sep sem hâti – á en un – á tep ta en
My heart, my mother, twice. My heart of my existence upon earth. Not

âhâ er – á em meteru erma neb xet em
be there obstruction to me in judgment in the presence of the lord of the trial; not

tet er – á âu ári – nef set er un maâ
may be said concerning me, "he hath worked against right and truth"

árit – ná em sekeru xet er – á erma neter ââ
of what I have done; not may happen things against me in the presence of the great god,

neb Ament ânet hrâ-k áb – á ânet hrâ-k hâti – á ânet
lord of Amenta. Homage to thee, my heart! Homage to thee, my heart! Homage

1 The text is from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 42.
hrá-k besek - á ánet hrá-θen neteru ḏpu χent henka
to you, my entrails! Homage to you, O gods those who preside over the divine clouds.

5. seriu her tám - sen tef - ten nefert en Rā sewat -
exalted by your sceptres, speak ye fair things to Rā, and make to prosper

ten - uā en Neheb - ka ás - k su sam-nef ta er ámt
ye me before Nehebka. Behold him, he is joined to the earth in the inner part

6. áat wāf tep ta tem mit em Áment
great, being laid on the earth, [he is] not dead in Amenta, [he is]

χu ám - s
a glorious being in it.

1.  

Tem erfāt bet - tu hāți en em Neter - χert
Not allowing to be carried away the heart of [the deceased] in the netherworld.

2.  

ā nuk Un betu - ā pu nemmat neter ān
Hail Lion-god, I am Un, what I hate is the block of the god. Not

3.  

bet - tu hāți - ā pen mā - ā ān ābāui em Ánnu ā
let be taken away my heart this from me by the fighter in Heliopolis. Hail

1 Var. ḏhentu, i.e., clouds like hair.

2 The text is from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 39.
bandager of Osiris, he hath seen Set! Hail returning one from after the smiting of
Him [and his] destruction. Sitteth heart this, weepeth it itself before
Osiris; its staff [is] with it, it prayeth [for it] from him, may be given to me for it,
may be decreed to me for it the hidden things of the heart in the temple of
the god Usekh-ḥrā, may be granted to it food from the mouth of the Eight (?).
Not let be taken my heart this. I make you to inhabit its place, linking
hearts to it (?) in Sekhet hetepu, years of vigour in places all mighty,
carrying away food [at] thy moment with thy fist according to thy strength. Is
heart this placed upon the altars of Tmn, he leadeth to the dens
Set ērtā-nef nā su ḥāt-ā ḏri en ēb-f sa'āt ēmt of Set, he hath given to me my heart, hath done its will the divine chiefs in

Neter-ḥert ḫent ḫebt qemt - en - sen ēmt
the nether-world. The leg and the bandages [when] they find [them]

qeres - en - sen
they bury [them].

1. — — — —
Re en seset nifu sexem em mu em Neter-ḥert
Chapter of breathing the air and having power over the water in the nether-world.

tēt ān Ausrār Anē un - nā [mīt] mā trā tu entēk
Saith Osiris Anē: Open to me! Who then art thou? Thou

sebi ḫeper - nek ten nuk nāā ēm ten nimā entēi
journey makest what? I am one of you. Who is that who is

henā - k Merti pu ruā - k ṭep ēmr mā ṭep em teken
with thee? It is Merti. Separate thou from him, head from head, in entering

Meqēn ṭā - f ḫa - ā ēr ḫet ent qem - ḫrāu
the Mesqēn. He granteth that I may travel to the temple of {the gods who have found [their] faces.

sag hēiu rem en māyentī - ē mētā ēm
“Assembler of souls” [is] the name of my boat; “Making to stand the hair” [is]
ren en usenu sert ren en mat abet
the name of the oars; "Goad" [is] the name of the hold;

semet ága ren en hemi mútet setut
"Making straight for the middle" [is] the name of the rudder; likewise

qeres - k - tu em sun er er lái - ten - ná máherá en
in the lake. Grant ye to me a vessel of

ártet šens pasi ţeni (sic) er en áuf en het
milk, cakes, loaves, cups of drink, and meat of flesh in the temple

ent Anpu ár rex re ţen āu - f áq - f eneyet
of Anubis. If be known chapter this he entereth after

coming forth from the netherworld.

1. Re en sevet nifu sexem em mu em Neter-yert
Chapter of smelling the air and obtaining power over the waters in the netherworld.

sēt án Ausār Ani á nehet tui ent Nut ḫat - ná em
Saith Osiris Ani: Hail sycamore that of Nut, grant to me of

2. mu (?) nifu ámt nuk sexem āuset tui šer-āht Unnu
the water and air [which are] in thee. I embrace seat that within Hermopolis.
I watch and guard egg that of the Cackler great; it growtheth,

I grow; it liveth, I live; it smelleth air, I smell air, [1] the Osiris

Ani in triumph.

Chapter of not dying a second time in the netherworld. Saith Osiris,

Ani: Is opened my hiding-place, twice. Hath fallen light

within the darkness. Hath arranged me the eye of Horus, hath nursed me

the god Ap-uat. I have hidden myself with you, O never setting stara.

[My] brow [is like that] of Rā, is my face open, is my heart upon its seat,

I utter words, [1] know. I am Rā verily he himself. Not am I made of no effect,
an au - tu Au - nek tef - k se Nut nuk se - k
not is violence done to me. Liveth for thee thy father, O son of Nut. I am thy son

ur maa - [ā] seta - k auâ χâ - kuâ em suten
elest, [I see] thy hidden things. I, I am diademmed as king

neteru an mit - â em - nem em Neter-χert
of the gods, not die I a second time in the netherworld.¹

Re en temt kua em Neter-χert tef an Ausār Ani
Chapter of not decaying in the netherworld. Saith Osiris Ani:

¹ Compare chapters 175 and 176; chapter 176 reads:

bet - â ēp ta en ēbmet an âq - â er χebt
[What] I hate is the land of the east. May I never enter into the cavern,

an áritu - nā χēt em ennu bet neteru herentet nuk
may never be done to me things of those [which] hate the gods, because I

ás des âb hare - dāb mesget erēā - n nef Neb - er - tēr χē - f
behold pass pure within the Mesqet. May give to him Neb-er-tcher his splendidors

kru pef en sam taui embah - â neb χēt âr rey
on day that of uniting the two earths before the lord of things. If be known

re pen un - nef em χēr aqer em Neter - χert
chapter this, he is in the condition of a spirit perfect in the netherworld. (See
Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 200, chap. 176.)
B.D. CHAPP. XLV., XLVI.] THE PAPYRUS OF ANI.

1. Re en temt sekt unen ánu  em Neter-âert

Chapter of not perishing [and of] becoming alive in the netherworld.

tât án Ausâr Ani á hunnu Su [sep sen] tua
Saith Osiris Ani: Hail children of Shu, [twice]. {of the place of the dawn}

1 The text of the only other known copy of the Theban recension of this chapter reads:—

Re en sek unen án  em Neter-âert kena na en hunnu en

Su sep sen tua tua seyem emmā selet - á en ubenet

ásu unun tepu unenunen - á hru jub (See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 61.)
who have possession of his diadem in the form of hamemet; may I rise up,

may I travel [like] Osiris.

Chapter of not entering to the block. Saith Osiris Ani:

{ 'Bindeth up for me' } of my neck and back in heaven the guardian of the earth, Rā.

It hath been granted on the day of establishing my rising up from weakness

upon [my] two legs, on day that of cutting off the hair. Hath

bound up the vertebrae of my neck and back Set and the cycle of the gods in

their strength pristine; not may happen their separation. Make strong ye [me]

against the slayer of my father. I obtain power over the two earths. Hath bound up
THE PAPYRUS OF ANI.

PLATE XVII.

1. Re en temt erfat t'a - tu se er abtet em Neter-Ã¢rt
Chapter of not allowing to pass a man to the east in the netherworld.

2. nui en Râ ennut het' - f xennu xeper xet
that of Râ, advancing he destroyeth opposition. Come into existence things

3. useru seyem-â åm er seyemu år ån
the strong, I have power by [it] more than the mighty. So then
I shall not be conveyed, I shall not be carried by force to the east to perform the festivals of the fiends there, nor gashings evil, nor shutting in on every side,}

nor goring by the horns. Not the eating of fish, not shall be done goring to me.

Another chapter.

So then not shall be done things any evil unto me by the fiends, nor goring by the horns, not shall be devoured therefore phallus that of Ra, the head of Osiris. Behold me, I come into my fields, I reap, my gods speak they with me. Not pierce thou then Ra-Khepera, not
The Papyrus of Ani.

shall come into being in very truth sickness in the eye of Tmu, not
shall it be destroyed. Not let be made an end of me, not let be conveyed me to
the east to perform the festivals of the fiends [hostile] to me; evil, not let be made
gashings in me evil; not am I conveyed to the east, Osiris
the scribe, accountant of the divine offerings of gods all Ani, triumphant
with victory happy, lord of reverence.

Chapter of not allowing to be cut off the head of a man from him in the underworld.
Saith Osiris Ani (sic): I am the Great One, son of
the Great One, Fire, son of the Fire! Was given to him his head after
The Book of the Dead

Chapter of causing to be united a soul to its body in the netherworld. Saith

Osiris God: Ani, god Annut! Hail runner

Dwelling in his hall! O great god, grant thou that may come to me my soul from place

Any which is it there. If there be delay bring thou to me my soul from place any which is it there. If thou findest me, O eye of Horus, support me thou
... after that, like those beings who are like Osiris, not lie down [they], not let lie down Osiris.

Ani, triumphant, triumphant, in Heliopolis, the land wherein [are] thousands of unions. Hath he carried away from me my soul, my intelligence [and] my triumph with him into place every which is it there. Seeth therefore the guardian of heaven my soul. If [there be] delay, grant thou to see my soul.

[If] thou find [me], O eye of Horus, support [me] then like.

{those beings who are like unto Osiris.} Hail gods who row in the boat of the lord of millions of years, who lead [it] above the underworld, who make it to pass over the ways of Nu, who make to enter the souls into the mummies, your hands [are] filled with...
CHAPTER XXVII

Re en temt erta χενα - τυ ba se em Neter-αερτ

Chapter of not causing to be shut up the soul of a person in the netherworld.
tēt ān Anāsir Anī qa tuau - f - tu ur
Saith Osiris Anī: Hail exalted One, the One who is adored, mighty

bau ba āā bēset hātā nwr - f en neteru xāā
of soul, ram, mighty of terror, causing fear of himself in the gods, diademed

hēr nēst - f urī āri - f uat en xū en ba en
upon his throne mighty. He maketh the way for the intelligence, for the soul of

Ausār Anī āu - ā āper - h[nā] nuk xū āper āri - nā
Osiris Anī. I am provided, I am an intelligence provided, I have made

uat er bu eiti Rā Hēt Hēru ām ār reχ re ūn
the way to the place in which Rā [and] Hathor are there. If be known chapter this

āu - f χeper-f em xū āper em Neter-xert ān xenā - tuf
he becometh as an intelligence provided in the netherworld, not is he shut out

hēr sebyet néb en Āmentet em āq per nu
at door any in Āmenta in entering in and coming out of the sky.

Re en un āsi en ba en χaibit χert em
Chapter of opening the tomb to the soul and to the shadow, of coming forth by

hru sēchem em reftu tēt ān Anūsir ān Anī
day, and of gaining power over the legs. Saith Osiris, the scribe Anī,
2. triumphant: The place of restraint is opened, that which is shut is shut, prostrate;

the place of restraint is opened to my soul dwelling in it. The eye of Horus

I have bound, establishing splendours on the forehead of Ra; are stretched out

the steps, are lifted up the thighs. I have made way that great, my members

are vigorous. I am Horus, the avenger of his father. [I] bring the ureret crown

upon its staff. Opened [is] the way of souls. My soul (sic) seeth it

PLATE XVIII.

the god great within the boat of Ra [on] the day of souls. Is

my soul in the front among those who reckon years. Come, hath delivered for me
my soul the eye of Horus, [which] establisheth my (sic) splendours on the forehead of
my soul, my shade, be there open a way for my soul, and for my shade, may it see the god great within
the shrine on the day of the judgment of souls, may it repeat the words of Osiris. The
beings hidden of dwellings, fetterers of the limbs of Osiris, fetterers of the souls, and
of the khu, who shut in the shade of the dead, who can do evil to me, not
may they do evil to me, turning away [their] path from me! Thy heart is
with thee. May my soul and my khu be provided against passage their.
13. \( \text{hems} - \text{kua} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{henti} \) \( \text{urt} \) \( \text{henti} \) \( \text{auset} \) \( \text{an} \)

May I sit among the great ones who dwell in their seats; not

\( \text{hen} \) \( \text{tuk} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{sau} \) \( \text{at} \) \( \text{Ausar} \) \( \text{sau} \) \( \text{bahu} \)

may restrain thee the fetters of the limbs of Osiris, the fetters of souls,

\( \text{hetem} \) \( \text{her} \) \( \text{saibit} \) \( \text{mitmitu} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{netert} - \text{k} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{pet} \)

who shut in the shade of the dead. Is not thy place of possession heaven?

\( \text{dry} \) \( \text{rey} \) \( \text{re} \) \( \text{pen} \) \( \text{aus} \) \( \text{per} - \text{f} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{hru} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{hen} \) \( \text{tu} \) \( \text{ba} - \text{f} \)

If be known chapter this he cometh forth by day, not is shut in his soul.

---

1.

\( \text{re} \) \( \text{en} \) \( \text{unt} \) \( \text{ret} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{ta} \) \( \text{ret} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{Ausar} \)

Chapter of walking with the two legs and of coming forth upon earth. Saith Osiris

\( \text{Ani} \) \( \text{ari} - \text{k} \) \( \text{ari} - \text{k} \) \( \text{en} \) \( \text{Sekh} \) \( \text{sep} \) \( \text{sen} \) \( \text{ami} \) \( \text{gerert} - \text{f} \)

Ani: Hath done for thee works all thy Sekh, twice, within his dwelling-place

\( \text{ami} \) \( \text{ret} - \text{a} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{Netzer-ert} \) \( \text{nuk} \) \( \text{pes} \) \( \text{heri} \) \( \text{uart} \) \( \text{pet} \)

within my legs in the netherworld. I shine above the Leg of heaven,

\( \text{per} - \text{a} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{pet} \) \( \text{hes} - \text{a} \) \( \text{her} \) \( \text{hri} \) \( \text{a} \)

I come forth from heaven, I sit down by the side of the divine Spirit. Alas

\( \text{enem} - \text{kua} \) \( \text{sep} \) \( \text{sen} \) \( \text{smert} - \text{a} \) \( \text{enem} - \text{kua} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{her} \)

I am weak and feeble, twice, I walk along, I am weak and motionless in the presence of
The teeth, gnasheth mouth their in the netherworld, Osiris, scribe Ani,

maâkeru em hetep
triumphant in peace.

1. re en åba Amentet pert em hru êt an Ausar
Chapter of passing through Amenta [and of coming forth] by day. Saith Osiris

Ani: Anu unnu xetem tep... Tekuti âger maât
Ani: Opened is Unnu, shut [is] the head of Thoth, perfect is the eye of

Heru sêetô - å maât Heru kx xakeru ... em åpt
Horus. I have delivered the eye of Horus shining with splendours ... on the forehead of

Râ atef neteru nuk Ausar pui enen [âm] Amentet rç
Râ, the father of the gods, [I am] Osiris that same dwelling in Amenta. Knoweth

en Ausar hru - f tem - f unen ám án unen - â ám nuk
Osiris his day, not did he exist there, not shall exist I there, I am

âbh ámi neteru án tem - â åhâ ârek Heru
the moon among the gods, not come to an end I. Stand up then, Horus,

âp - f - tu emmâ neteru
he hath counted thee among the gods.
1. Re en pert em hru âny emyet mit t'et ãn Ausâr
Chapter of coming forth by day [and] of living after death. Saith Osiris

2. Ani ã uâ uban em ãâh ã uâ pest em
Ani: Hail only One, shining from the moon, hail only One, shining from

ânh pert Ausâr Ani pen em âšt - k tui
the moon. Let come forth Osiris Ani this among thy multitudes those

3. âreruti uâu su âmu em âxu
outside; let be established him among the shining ones; let be opened to him

4. fuat âsk Ausâr Ausâr Ani pert em hru er
the underworld. Behold Osiris, Osiris Ani shall come forth by day to

âritis mert - f tep 'ta emmâ ânxiu
do his will upon earth among the living.

1. Re pert em hru emyet åba ámmnâet t'et ãn
Chapter of coming forth by day after having traversed the tomb. Saith [Osiris]

2. Ani ã ba åa ëf't mák - â i - kuâ
Ani: Hail Soul, mighty of valour! Verily I am here. I have come,

mâa - å - tu åba - å fuat mâa - å âtef-f
I see thee, I have traversed the netherworld, I have seen [my] father

Read ã. ã. ã. ã.
Ausar teheri - ä hekiu nuk meri - f i - ná maa - ä
Osiris, I have dispelled the night. I am his beloved. I have come that I may see

4. a tef .... - ä Ausar hesq - ä äb pen en Suti ari xet er
my father Osiris. I have stabbed this heart of Set, performing things for

a tef - ä Ausar un - ná uat neb äm pet äm ta nuk se
my father Osiris. I have opened to me way every in heaven, in earth. I am a son

meri a tef - f Ausar säh - kuä xu - kuä
loving his father Osiris. I have become a prince, I have become glorious,

äper - kuä a neter neb xu neb ari - ná
I am provided with what is necessary. Hail god every, shining being every, make for me

uat Ausar än Ani maâxeru
a way, the Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant.

1. Re en erfât rer su se er maa pa - f tep ta
Chapter of making to return a man himself to see his house upon earth.

et än Ausar Ani pen nuk .... per em pet âu
Saith Osiris Ani this: I am the Lion-god coming forth with strides. I have

saten - ná âu se'etefu - ná sep sen nuk maat Heru se - ná
shot arrows, I have wounded [the prey]; twice I am the eye of Horus, I have opened
3. maat Horu er trā pen peh - nā uteb måān em
the eye of Horus [at] season this. I have arrived at the furrows; let advance in

hetp Ausār Ani
peace Osiris Ani.

1. ki re en pert se em hru er ɛfəf - f em
Another chapter of the coming forth of a person by day against his enemies in

neter - ɛfəf āf - nā pet ba - nā χyut
the netherworld. I have divided heaven, I have passed through the horizon,

iš - nā ta er nemmat - f ṣet - nā χy
I have traversed the earth upon his footsteps. I am taken possession of by beings beatified

uru her-entet nuk ḏs ḏper ḫəh - f em ḫeka qeq - ḏ
and mighty because I am, behold, provided with his millions of enchantments. I eat

em re - f naḥ - ḏ em ārt - ḏ nuk ḏs neter neb
with [my] mouth, I chew with my jaw. I am, behold, the god, the lord of

tuat āu erfā - m[ā] enen er men em Ausār
the underworld, may there be given to me that which [is] everlasting, Osiris

Ani pen ḫent em χāāu - ḏ
Ani this, without his ...........
An adoration of Ra in his rising in the horizon, when become his setting in life. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani: Homage to thee, Ra in

PLATE XIX.

his rising, Tmu-Harmachis. Adored art thou [when] thy beauties are in my two eyes, and are [thy] shining rays upon [my] body. Thou goest forth in peace thy in the seketet boat, thy heart is gratified by the winds in the seketet boat; its heart is glad. Thou stridest over heaven in peace, are overthrown thy enemies;

sing hymns of praise to thee the stars which never rest, praise thee the stars that never set [as] settest [thou] in the horizon of Manu, beautiful one in
the two halves of the sky, the lord living and established as my lord. Homage to thee, Ra at thy rising, Tmu at thy setting beautiful. Thou risest, thou shinest over the back of thy mother, O crowned as king of the gods. Maketh Nut homage en hra-k hept-tu Maat er trau - nem - k to thy face, embraceth thee Maat at the double season. Thou stridest over heaven, thy heart is glad, the Lake of Testes becometh at peace. The Fiend hath fallen, his two arms and hands are cut off, hath severed the knife his sinews. Is Ra in winds fair, the seket boat draweth on it, he arriveth being towed along. [The gods of] the south, north, west [and] east are for praising thee, the double Paut of forms of existence; sending forth the word the earth
had come into existence. O only One, maker of things which exist, he hath formed the tongue of the cycle of the gods, drawing out that which is in the waters thou comest forth. in it upon the inundated land of the Lake of Horus. I smell the air coming forth from thy nose, and the wind coming forth from thy mother. Make thou glorious my beatified being, make strong thou Osiris my soul. Adored art thou [in] peace, O lord of the gods, thou art exalted by reason of thy wondrous things. Shine thou [with thy] beams upon my body daily.

Osiris, scribe and accountant of divine offerings of gods all, superintendent of the granary
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

[Plate XIX.]

em nebu Ahtu suten án maá meri-f Ani maåxeru
of the lords of Abydos, royal scribe veritable loving him, Ani, triumphant

em hetep
in peace!

1. tuau Æsār neb tetta Unnèfer Heru - χυτι åst
   Adoration of Osiris, the lord of eternity, Un-nefer, Horus of the double horizon, many

χερερu dā áru Ptah Sekri Tmu em Ṭmu in Heliopolis,
of forms of existence, mighty of shapes, Ptah - Socharis - Tmu in Heliopolis,

nèb èdèt χném - f Het-kà-Ptah nèteru pu sem
   lord of the hidden house, he hath created Memphis and the gods, guide of

   3. twat χu - sèn - tu hetep-k em Nut kepti - θ Auset
   the underworld, they glorify thee when thou settest in Nut. Embraceth thee Isis

   em hetep seheru - s t'ai em re twat - k ṣà - nek
   in peace, driveth away she the fiends from the mouth of thy paths. Thou givest

krà - k er Æmentet sehet - k t'ai em smu st'eriù
   thy face upon Amenta, thou makest bright the world [as] with smu metal; the dead

   5. ahà er maa - nek tepà - sen mezu maa-sen krà - k mà uben
   rise up to see thee; they breathe the airs, they see thy face as riseth up
eternity and everlastingness.

1. \(\text{ánet' hrâ - k} \quad \chi\beta\varepsilon\varepsilon\ \text{em} \ \text{Án} \quad \text{häm\-menet} \ \text{em} \ \chi\tau\-\text{ába}\)
   Homage to thee, [lord of] starry deities in Án, [and of] the celestial beings in Kher-ába,
   Unti \(\chi\u03b5\) \(\varepsilon\text{r} \ \text{neteru} \ \text{letta} \ \text{ámt} \ \text{Ánnu}\)
   [thou] god Unti, glorious more than the gods hidden in Heliopolis.

2. \(\text{ánet' hrâ - k} \quad \text{Án} \ \text{em} \ \text{Án-fes} \quad \text{Heru} \ \text{em} \ \chi\zeta\nu\text{i} \quad \text{pet} \ \text{nem\-naat}\)
   Homage to thee, Án in Ántes (?), Horus in the double horizon, long of step,
   \(\text{t'a - f} \quad \text{hert} \ \text{entef} \quad \text{Heru -} \ \chi\zeta\nu\text{i} \quad \text{ánet' hrâ - k} \ \text{ba}\)
   he passeth forth over heaven; he is Horus of the double horizon. Homage to thee, Soul

3. \(\text{pu} \ \text{em} \ \text{hek} \ \text{Bai} \quad \text{ámi} \quad \text{Tel\-ta\-tu} \quad \text{Un-nefer} \ \text{se}\)
   of everlastingness, Soul (or Ram-god) dwelling in Tattu, Un-nefer, son of

4. \(\text{Nüt} \ \text{entef} \ \text{nêb} \ \text{Aket} \quad \text{ánet' hrâ - k} \ \text{em} \ \text{heg - k} \ \text{Tet\-ta}\)
   Nüt; he is lord of Aket. Homage to thee in thy dominion over Tattu,
   \(\text{urert} \ \text{men} \ \text{em} \ \text{tep - k} \ \text{entek} \ \text{sā} \ \text{āri} \ \text{mâk\-et - f}\)
   the urert crown is established upon thy head; thou art the One, maker of his strength,
5. hetep - k em Tattu ānef hrā - k em neb Nārt urfāt
thou art at peace in Tattu. Homage to thee as lord of the acacia-tree, placing
Seker her temt - f ẖesef Sebītā ẖari ẖu
the Seker boat upon its sledge, turner back of the Fiend the maker of evil,
ūn hetep urāt er ānef - s ānef hrā - k user em atet - f
making to rest the uchat upon its place. Homage to thee, strong One in his moment,
ur ān ẖent Na - āre - f neb ẖeh āri
great One, mighty, at the head of Na - āret - f, lord of eternity, maker of
tetāt entek neb Sutenhenen ānef hrā - k hetep her
everlastingness, thou art lord of Heracleopolis. Homage to thee, resting upon
maat entek neb Aβtu ẖnem en ḫau - k Tasetet
Right and Truth, thou art the lord of Abydos, are joined thy limbs to the netherworld,
entek betu - f her ānef hrā - k her-ḏab uāt - f
thou art he [who] hateth fraud and craftiness. Homage to thee within his boat,
ān en Ḫāpi em teḥpet - f uben ṣu her ẖatiẖ f entef
bringing Ḫāpi from his source; shineth the light upon his body; he is
āmī Nēkhen ānef hrā - k āri neteru suntet net Ausār
the dweller in Nekhen. Homage to thee, maker of the gods, {King of North} and {South}, Osiris,
maâxeru  ker  taiu  em  sep - f  menx  entef  pu  neb  âteb
triumphant, master of worlds in his seasons gracious, he is the lord of the world.

10.  tā - k - nā  uat  sel - ā  en  ëtëp  nuk  âq  ân  tët - ā
Grant thou to me a way that I may pass in peace. I am just and true, I have not spoken

ker  em  rēx - ā  ân  âri - ā  sep  sen
lies to my knowledge, not have I acted with a motive second.

PLATE XX.

1. tua - tuau  Rā  xēf  uben - f  em  βut  âbtet  ent
An adoration of Rā when he riseth in the horizon eastern of

pet  hâ  en  âmu - ët - f  â  Ausâr  Ani  em  maâxeru
heaven. Rejoice those who are in his train. Hail Osiris Ani in triumph,

ët - f  â  âten  pui  neb  satettu  uben  em  ëut  hru
saith he: Hail Disk that, lord of rays, rising in the horizon day

neb  pes - k  em  hrâ  en  Ausâr  Ani  em  maâxeru  tua - f
every; do thou shine upon the face of Osiris Ani, in triumph. He adoreth

4. tu  em  tuait  se - ëtëp - f  tu  māxeru
thee at daybreak, he maketh to rest thee with praise at eventide.

1 For a similar text see Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. iv.
May come forth the soul of Osiris, Ani, victorious with thee into heaven,

may he go forth in the Maaet boat, may he come into port in the Sekhet boat,

may he go among the stars which set in heaven. Osiris, Ani,

being at peace and in triumph, saith he, adoreth he his lord, the lord of eternity, [saying]: Homage to thee, Horus of the two horizons, Khepera that is, [who]

created himself; doubly beautiful [is] thy rising in the horizon, thou shiniest upon

the two lands with thy beams. Gods all are in rejoicing [when]

they see thee in the condition of king of heaven. Nebt-Unnut is placed

upon thy head; her portion of the south [and] her portion of the north [are] on thy forehead;
10. du ári-nes áwet-s em hût-k Tefnut men em hût uad-k
  she maketh her place before thee. Thoth is fixed in the front of thy boat
11. her sesnef τέφετα-k nebú åmu tuat per
  to annihilate thy enemies all. Those who dwell in the netherworld come forth
12. em τέφεσι-k er maa u sem pu nefer
  to meet thee with homage, and to see [thy] Image that beautiful.
13. i-ná τέφρ-k áwá héná-k er maa aten-k hru neb
  I have come before thee, may I be with thee to see thy disk day every,
14. án τέφρ-k tu án šená-k tu maa hau-á
  may [1] not be shut in, may [1] not be turned back, may be renewed my members
15. em teka neferu-k má hēt-k nebú her entet muk uā
  by the sight of thy beauties, like thy favoured ones all, because I am one
16. en enu en šepes-nek šep in áu peh-ná er ta en
  of those who worshipped thee upon earth. May I arrive at the land of
eternity, may I be united to the land of everlastingness; thou, behold, hast ordered for me
17. set neb-á á Àsáir Ani maâ-yeru en htep maâ-yeru tɛt-f
  it, my lord. Hail Osiris, Ani, victorious in peace, victorious, he saith:
Homage to thee, thou risest in thy horizon as Re, established by Maat!

Thou passest over the sky, face every is for watching thee and thy progress,

having been hidden from face[s] their; thou givest thyself [at] dawn [and] at

eventide day [every]. Goeth forward in strength the Seket boat having

thy beams shine in [all] faces, not known are they [thy] rays, not

can be told thy beams. The lands of the gods must be looked upon, and

the colours of the eastern countries of Punt for to be computed what is hidden.

Thou makest alone by thyself [thy] form in its appearance, thou comest into existence

above Nu. He, may he progress even as thou progressest,
not may he make cessation even as {thy majesty [maketh] not cessation} for a period little, striding

travelling over distances of millions of years {and hundreds} of thousands in one moment

little; thou dost them and thou settest. Thou makest an end of the hours

of the night, likewise thou dost thyself count them; thou endest [them] according to

thy statutes, and the earth becometh light. Thou givest thyself thy work

under the form of Rā, thou risest in the horizon. Osiris, scribe Ani

triumphant, he saith, he adorest thee in thy shining, he saith to thee

in thy rising when thou makest dawn in exulting over thy coming into existence:

Thou art crowned in the majesty of thy beauties, advancing thy moudest thy limbs,
messu át men mestu-ś em Rā uben em

brining them forth painlessly; born is he in the form of Rā, rising in

hert tā - k peh-ā hert ent bāk

the upper regions. Grant thou that I may reach the heaven of everlastingness

set ent hesiu sama-ā em xu ṣepsi

and the mountain of [thy] favoured ones, may I be joined with the shining beings, holy

āqer nu Neterxert per-ā ḥenā-sen er maa neferu-k

and perfect of the netherworld, may I come forth with them to see thy beauties,

PLATE XXI.

uben - k māseru nemma - nek mut - k Nut

[as] thou shinest at eventide and thou goest to thy mother Nut.

Thou givest thy face to the west, and my two hands are in adoration when

hetep - k em ānḫ entek ās āri helk ṣau - tu

thou settest as a living being; thou, behold, art the maker of eternity, art adored thou

hetep - k em Nu tā - ā tu em āb-ā āt

[when] thou settest in Nu. I have placed thee in my heart without
beḥkai neteri er neteru Āusār Ani maḥṣeru tset - ṣf
wavering, O mightier than the gods! Osiris Ani triumphant, saith he:

32.  au - nek uben em nub sehet tawu em hru
Praises [be] to thee rising like gold, illumining the two lands on the day

en mestu - f mes-entu nut - k her šet sehet - nek sēn
of his birth. Giveth thee birth thy mother upon [her] hand; thou illuminest the orbit

33.  dhen sehet ur uben em Nu beṣu
of the Disk. Light great rising in Nu, strengthening

māḥaiu - f em ḫebet seḥeb t'at'at neb
his generations of men with the Nile-flood, making festival in the countries all,
towns all, temples all, glorious by reason of thy beauties, supporting

34.  nut neb perit neb ḫu em neferu-k ubesu
thy ḫa with meats and telefau food. Mighty of victories, Power of

35.  ƙeṣemu heru äuset - f er äṣfeta ƙa ƙa ƙa
Powers, fortifying his station against wicked devils, mighty of splendour

36.  em seket ur - ṣeṭ au em ṣet se - ḫu - k
in the Seket boat, mighty is he exceedingly in the Ṣet boat, make glorious thou
Ausir Ani em maagyru em. Neteryt tâ-k un-nef er
Osiris Ani with victory in the netherworld, grant thou that he may be in the

Amentet tâ em tut mâk ba-k ásfet
netherworld empty of sins, I pray thee put behind thee [his] faults.

tâ-khâ em ányâ yâr âm-nem-f
Grant that I may be among the venerated beings with the shining ones, may he join

bât em Ta-sertet sâ-set-f em Sêyet Aaru
the souls [which are] in the Ta-sertet, may he journey into the Sekhet Aaru

hôr enti sa utu em dtû àn Ausir àn Ani maagyru
through the decree with joy of heart. O Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant,

peri-k er pet tâi-k bêt senen-k
thou shalt come forth into heaven, thou shalt pass over the sky, thou shalt be associated

ëmnâ sêbu áritu-nêk hêkennu em uta nàs-tuk
with the stars, shall be made to thee praises in the boat, thou shalt be hymned

em âsit tekai-k Râ em ënnu en kerâ-f
in the Âsit boat; thou shalt see Râ within shrine his,

selectep-k äben-f hru neb maa-nêk ânt em
thou shalt set with his disk day every, thou shalt see the ânt fish in
\textit{χερερα - s her bəbət ent mаfskt maa - nkt abt\textit{}}

its coming into existence upon the water of turquoise, thou shalt see the abtu fish

\textit{sep - f χερερ futu \ldots her χεf\textit{ ser - nef}}

[in] his season. May it happen that the Evil One shall fall when he setteth in order

\textit{hesq - nā temu besu - nef unen Ra\textit{ em māāū}}

destruction for me, let be cut asunder his vertebrae. Is Ra in winds

\textit{nefer sek en sektet peh su get Ra\textit{ em}}

good, draweth onward the sektet boat and arriveth it, the sailors of Ra are in

\textit{hāāši Nekt - ānk hā - s netem sefer χεf\textit{ en}}

rejoicing. Nekt-ānk her heart is glad, [for] fallen hath the enemy of

\textit{neb - s maa - nkt Heru her neferu Tēhuti Māāt her}

her lord. Thou shalt see Horus in the place of look out and Thoth and Maāt at

\textit{aāši f neteru neb em hāāš maa\textit{ en sen}}

his two sides. Gods all are in rejoicing [when] they see

\textit{Ra\textit{ iu em hēt\textit{ er seīnāx ābu en χu ān A\textit{ūstār}}} \textit{Ra coming in peace to make to live the hearts of the shining ones; Osiris}

\textit{ān hēt\textit{ neter en neb u Uāst An\textit{ī maā\textit{xeru hcnī - sen}}}

the scribe of the divine offerings of the lords of Thebes Ani, triumphant, with them.
To be said on the day of the month.

Saith [these] words Osiris, the scribe

Ani, triumphant in peace, triumphant, saith he: Riseth Rā in his horizon, the cycle of his gods are following him [at] coming forth of the god from the place

secret, showing strength, bringing [himself] forth from the horizon eastern of

heaven at the words of Nut. They rejoice at the ways of Rā, [when] straightway

the Great One he goeth round. Fastened together art thou therefore, O Rā, within

thy shrine. Thou breathest the winds, thou swallowest the breezes

thou makest to devour the jaw-bones [in] thy dwelling on the day of thy smelling

right and truth. Thou turnest aside the divine followers [who] sail after the divine boat
er nennem eruru kher χeru-k ṛp-k qesu-k
to come back [to] the mighty beings at thy word. Thou numberest thy bones,

saaq-k ṛt-k ṛa-k hrā-k er Amenet nefert
thou gatherest together thy limbs; thou givest thy face towards Amenta the beautiful,

ūt-k .asm maui-thā hru neb tut ḍs pūt en nub
comest thou there being renewed day every. Image, behold, that of gold,

χer samau ḍetennu en pet χer setau
having the splendours of the disk of heaven, possessing terror;

rer-k maui-thā hru neb ā ḫāi em χut
thou goest round, being renewed thyself day every. Hail, rejoicing in the horizon

hai em ennuk-k neteru āmu pet
shouts of joy in thy towing ropes! May the gods who are in heaven [when]

maa en sen Ausār Ani em maŋyəru ṛau-nef daaiu
they see Osiris Ani in triumph give to him praises

mā RāAusār ḍān Ani sr tār
like Rā. May Osiris the scribe Ani be the prince distinguished by

urertu ṛp peseh-f Ausār
the urertu crown; and may be apportioned his meat and drink offerings of Osiris
Ani, triumphant. May he be strong many times in body that,

may he be the chief of those who are in the presence of Rā. Osiris write Ani,

triumpant, may he be strong upon earth and in the netherworld. Osiris write

Ani, triumphant, mayest rise thou strengthened like Rā day every.

Not shall tarry Osiris Ani, triumphant, not motionless shall he remain in

land this for ever beautiful; seeing with [his] eyes, [his] two ears in hearing

right and true, twice, Osiris, write Ani, triumphant. Cometh back, twice, from

Heliopolis Osiris Ani triumphant, as Rā, arranging
PLATE XXII.

16. heptu em šetu Nu án têt en Ausār Ani
the oars among the followers of Nu. Not hath said Osiris Ani,

maṣjeru maa - nef án nem setemet - nef Ausār em
triumphant, what he hath seen, not hath repeated [what he hath heard] Osiris in

pa šetau hai hennu en Ausār Ani
the house which is concealed. Hail, shouts of gladness to Osiris Ani,

17. māṣjeru māter há en Ra em ūda Nu emmā
triumphant. The divine body of Ra is in the divine boat of Nu together with

hetep ka en māter em mereret - f Ausār Ani
satisfaction of the double of the god according to his will, Osiris Ani,

māṣjeru em hetep māṣjeru em ḫeru āāa ḫeperu têt
triumphant in peace, triumphant as Horus, mighty of forms of existence. Say [these]

18. lejet her ūda en meh seqef em àu - f áru em sē
words over a boat of cubits seven in its length, made in colour

19. watu her t’afāt ārī pet ent scbu scāb - ṭā turā - ṭā
green, for the divine chiefs. Make a heaven of stars washed and purified

em heusmen em neter senber åst ari - nek tut en Rā
with natron [and] with incense. Behold, thou must make a figure of Rā

her mehket nematu em xenti ertā - ša em hät
upon a stone plaque new with yellow colour, and it shall be placed in front of

uāa pen åst åri - nek tut en xu pen
boat this. Behold, thou must make a figure of deceased this [whom]

meriu - ši sēager - ši em uāa pen sēgtet - ši
thou wishest to make perfect in strength in boat this; make it to travel

em uāa en Rā maa - su Rā ām - ši tēsef
in the divine boat of Rā, will look upon him Rā in it himself.

ām - ši maa atf - ši ša - ši her hār - šen apu her hāru - ši tēsef em
Do not thou show [it] to anyone except thyself thine own, or

tef - ši se - ši saa - šen her hār - šen maa - ēntuf
thy father [or] thy son, and let keep guard them over their faces, he will be seen

em Netergert em āpu en Rā
in the netherworld as a messenger of Rā.

1.* ūuā Rā hru ēbet nā uāa
Adoration of Rā [on] the day of the month [whereon he] saileth in the boat.
Homage to thee within his boat, rising, twice, shining with rays,

making to rejoice mankind for millions of years according to his will, giving [his]

face to the hamemel, Khepera within his boat. He hath overthrown

Apep. O ye children of Seb, overthrow ye the enemies of Osiris

Ani triumphant; the opponents of good they shall destroy [from] the divine boat

of Rā. Shall cut off Horus your heads in heaven in the form of ducks,

ye shall fall down upon the earth and become animals, upon the earth in the form of fishes.

Male enemies, female enemies all, destroyeth them [Osiris]

he passeth through heaven, he appeareth upon earth; come ye forth upon the water,
sás - ten em áb sebu heseq en sen Šehuti  

pass ye along in front of the starry deities, and slaughtereth them Thoth.

sêver per em Anreti ker âten en Ausár  

. . . . coming forth from Anreti. Is silent and becometh the substitute Osiris,

ân Ani nek erťā âs ten pu neter pen ur hâš  

the scribe Ani . . . . . . . . Behold ye then god this great of slaughter,

áāa sêlēf ąb - f em snef - ten benānān - f  

mighty of terror, he washeth in your blood, he bathe

em sêlē[f]u - ten xemî - ten sen en Ausár ân Ani  

in your gore. Destroyeth them Osiris the scribe Ani

em nūda neb - f . . . Rā Heru Ausár Ani maâxeru  

from the boat of his lord . . . Rā Horus. Osiris Ani, triumphant,

âńx āb mes en su mut - f Auset ren en su Nebh-het  

living of heart, giveth birth to him his mother Isis, nurseth him Nephthys,

mā ârit en sen en Heru xesef sumait Suti  

even as did they for Horus the repeller of the fiends of Sut;

maa en sen urertu men - ăb em ēp - f xer en sen  

they saw the urertu crown stablished upon his head, and they fell down
upon their faces. O shining beings, behold, ye men, gods, damned ones, [when]

they see Osiris Ani, triumphant as Horus, he being

adored [through] the urertu crown, fall ye down upon your faces. Victorious

is Osiris Ani, triumphant, over his enemies in the heaven above,

in the heaven beneath, with the divine chiefs of god every [and] of goddess every.

Say over a hawk great standing with the white crown upon his head, Tmu, Shu,

Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Auset, Nebet-het, ånu, em ūnti her
Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, write with yellow colour upon

a plaque of newness, and place in boat this with a figure of
dead person this anointed with unguents. Let them place incense upon
21. set aptu asert tua Rā pu nā
the fire, and ducks to be roasted. An act of praise of Rā is it [when] arriveth

uaa - f pu unen āri - f si henā Rā er bu neb
his boat this . . . . . . . . . . . with Rā to place every

señtēt - f ān behen xēfā nu Rā pu em unen maā
saileth he there; slaughtered the enemies of Rā are in very truth.

ārit hru sas ent heb re en señtēt
To be done on day sixth of the festival; the chapter of the señtēt boat.

PLATE XXIV.8

Re en hai er tātāt Ausār teṭ ān Ausār ān
Chapter of going to the divine chiefs of Osiris. Saith Osiris the scribe

Ani mādyrū āu get - nā ba - ā xen em Tattītēt
Ani, triumphant: Hath builded for me my soul a dwelling-place in Tattu,

watēt - [ā] em Pe sekā - nā aḥt em āru - ā
I have become vigorous in Pe. I have ploughed the fields in my forms of existence,

8 Var. erēt aīw-nif su pu henā Rā hru nēb,

"This being done it will make him be with Rā every day." See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. 1., p. 346.

8 The whole of Plate XXIII. and a part of Plate XXIV. contain a duplicate copy of Chapter XVIII.
du mama - á em Amsu her - s betu - á sep sen án
is my palm tree as the god Amsu over them. My abominations, twice, not
gq - á betu - á betu - á pu hes án gq - á su
do I eat; my abominations those which I abominate are filth, not do I eat it.

hêqepau kau en áu ëmu ám - f án
[There are] food offerings and meat [for those] who are not destroyed by it. Not

âri - á nef em âatu - á án xent - á her - f em tebt - á
do I raise myself to it with my two arms, not do I walk thereupon with my sandals,

her-enti tau - á em beti het'et hegt - á em âé feter ent
because my bread is of grains white, my beer is of the grains red of

Hêpi án seketet âtet án - n[â] set gq - á
Hêpi. Indeed the seketet boat and the âtet boat bring to [me] them, and I eat

set xeri semamu âu - á rex - kua ermennu
them under the trees [of which] I, I know the branches

neferru âx anrit - ná sey - á het'et. am setes - ná
beautiful. How I make myself glorious with the white crown there, I lift up

ârikut â âri âu en seketep tâtu án - ná
the urâê! Hail, guardian of the door, who giveth peace to the world, bring to me
those who make offerings. Grant thou that I may lift the earth,

that may open to me the beings of splendour [their] arms, that may speak the cycle

of the gods the words of the hamemet with Osiris Ani. May lead [him]

the hearts of the gods, may they make him powerful in heaven among

the gods who have visible forms. Now god every, and goddess every he passeth are for

making Osiris the scribe Ani, triumphant, at the beginning of the year, living upon

hearts, eating them at the coming forth from the east; judged is he by

the ancestors of Rā, judged is he by the ancestors of Light. [He is] a shining being

clothed [in] heaven among the mighty ones. The provisions of Osiris the scribe
Ani, triumphant, are among the cakes and beer [made] for your mouths. I go in through the Disk, I come out through the god Aḥui. I speak with the followers of the gods, I speak with the Disk, I speak with the hamemet; he granteth me to be victorious in the blackness of the night within Meḥ - urt, near his forehead. Behold I am with Osiris, [and] I proclaim what he announceth among the mighty ones. He speaketh to me the words of men, I listen and I repeat to him the words of the gods. I come Osiris triumphant in peace as one endowed [with all things].

Thou raisest up {right and truth} for those who love them. I am a shining being endowed more than shining beings all.
PLATE XXV.

1. The beginning of the chapters of making transformations. Making the transformation

into a swallow (or dove). Sayth Osiris Ani, triumphant: I am a swallow,

swallow that the scorpion, the daughter of Ra. Hail ye gods, sweet [is] your

smell, twice. Hail flame coming forth from the horizon. Hail thou who art in

the town. May lead me the guardian of his corner there. O grant to me thy two hands

that I may pass the time in the Island of flame. I have travelled with an order,

I have come having its report, may one open to me. How shall I tell what I have seen

there? I was like Horus, the prince of the divine boat, was given to him the throne
of his father, and Sut that son of Nut possessed the calamity [which] he had made for himself. Give judgment upon me being in Sekhem. I stretched out my two arms to Osiris, I passed on to judgment. I have come to say:

Grant that I may pass [that] I may report [my] message. I enter being judged,

coming out distinguished at door that [of] Neb-er-tcher. I am pure at place of passage that great, I have destroyed my defects, I have made an end of my wickednesses, I have annihilated the faults which belong to me,

I myself am pure, I am mighty. O doorkeepers, I have made the way. I am like unto you, I have come forth by day. I have walked upon my two legs,
I have obtained power over the step of the shining ones.

May I rise up there, may it be granted to me that I may come and that I may overthrow my enemies upon earth, [though] my body buried it is.

Appendix.

If be known book this he shall come forth by day in the underworld, he shall go in after he hath come forth. If be not known chapter this, not shall he enter in after he hath come forth, [he] shall not come forth by day.

Chapter of making transformation into a hawk of gold. Saith Osiris

1 The text is from Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 32.
Ani Ani  du - á   xáá - kuá   em  sejetet  em
Ani Ani (sic). May I rise, even I, in the sesheet chamber like

bak en nub per em suht - f  qa - ná xenen - ná
a hawk of gold coming forth from his egg. May I fly, may I alight

em bak en meh seyef her pest - f  ūnh - f  em
like a hawk of cubits seven at his back, his two wings being of

uāl'ū  gemat  per - ná  em  seket  āu
mother-of-emerald of the south. May I come forth from the seket boat,

ān - ná  āb - á  em  ḫu  ābet  xenen - ná  em
may be brought to me my heart from the mountain of the east; may I alight on

ābet  āu  ān - ná  āmu  paut - sen  em
the ābet boat [and] may be brought to me those who are in their cycles with

kesu - sen  du - á  xáá - kuá  ūnh - kuá  em
bowings their. May I rise, even I, may I gather myself together like

bak nefer en nub  ūnp  bennu  āq  Rā  er
a hawk beautiful of gold [with] the head of a phoenix, entering to Rā ...

āmi  ūf - á  hems - ā  er  āmisu  neiteru  āpu  uru  en
May I sit down among gods those the great ones of

1. Read "daily to bear his words."
Nut uah-ná seypt hetep em-bah-á qeg-á ám-f
Nut. Is placed for me a field, [and] offerings are before me; may I eat in it;

χu-á ám-f báh-á er se tep ab-á
may I be glorious in it; may I be filled according to what wisheth to receive my heart.

ertá-ná nprá heti-á seyem-á am-á
May be given to me divine wheat for my mouth; may I obtain power through myself

em árí tep-á
over the keeper of my head.

1. Re en árít xepet em bák neteri t'et án Ausár
Chapter of making the transformation into a hawk divine. Saith Osiris

2. Ani á ur máá árek er Šettel sé-r-ná
Ani: Hail, mighty one, come then to Tattu. Arrange for me

3. wat réret-k-ná nes-t-á ma-kuá ságer-kuá
the ways, { make thou me to go round } my thrones. May I renew myself, may I become strong.

4. ḫá k sent-á gemam-k šélšet-á sent-ná
O grant thou my fear, create thou my terror. May fear me

5. neteru šuat ába sen ártu sen hér-á ám
the gods of the underworld, they fight [in] their habitations for me. Let not
tekem (sic) - twā dāri nekem - ā asu - ā em pā
come near me [him] that would do harm to me, may I walk (?) through the house

kekāu kēf - ā bāka amēn . . . . . . . . . . . erēf
of darkness, may I clothe myself the feeble one, [and] hide; . . . . therefore

āri mā ān sen netenu seteniu ṣeru ṣēpiu entiu em
doing even as they. O ye gods who hear speech, ye chiefs who are among

ṣēsu en Ausār ḫer ār - ten netenu tētu neter ḥenā - ā
the followers of Osiris, be silent therefore ye. O gods, speaketh the god with me,

setenu - māṭ tēt - nā nef tētu - nā ārek Ausār tā - k
he heareth right and true, [what] I speak to him, speak for me then, Osiris. Grant thou

uteb perert em re - k er - ā maa - ā āru - k
the revolution coming forth from thy mouth in respect of me, may I see thy forms

ēsek seqt - ā baia - k tā - k perā
thy own, may I understand thy soul. Grant thou that I may come forth,

em re - ā uū - ā ām mā Neb - er - ēr ērī nēst - f sent - nā
over my legs. May I be there like Neb-er-tcher upon his throne. May fear me

netenu tāt āba - sen āru - sen ērā tā - k ēnuṭ er - ā
the gods of the tāt, may they fight at their gates for me. Grant thou that I may pass along
áµ µ hëná áµµu men-á µðr dat-á µá
thereby with the divine beings who rise. May I be established upon my stand like

Neb-áµµu  tet-á µhäná Auset neteret selami- sen-á
Neb-áµµh, may I be joined with Isis the divine lady, may they make me strong

her áµr neken-á áµ-á æí-á iu maa-á
against the doer of injury to me. May not one come to see

báka-á másem-á iu-á er hentí
my feebleness. May I pass along, may I come into the remotest parts of

pet net-á tette áub Seb tebu-á Hu
heaven. I entreat speech with Seb, I supplicate Hu

má Neb-er-tcher her sent-á neteru tuat ába-á sen
with Neb-er-tcher, that may fear me the gods of the tuat, and that they may fight

áµµu sen her-á maa-á sen xeb- - k - ná nuk
at their gates for me, [when] they see that thou hast given birds and fish to me. I am

úá em ennù en ëxu ámmu ëxu áu ari-ná
one of those shining beings who live in light. I have made

16. áµu á em áµu-á f em iu-á f ëper-á
my forms like his forms in his coming and in his appearance
er ūtššu sāh-ā em sāh-ā f ḫēt-ā nek
in Tattu, for I have become worthy through his worth. He hath spoken to thee

χēt-ā ḫē tā f sēnt-ā ġēmām-ā ḫēfrēf-ā
of my matters. How hath he given fear of me! He hath created terror of me;

sēnt-ā nā nētēru ṭuāt
fear me the gods of the tuat,

PLATE XXVI.

āba-ā sēn hēr-ā nūk ġū nūk ġū āmī
and they fight for me. I am, in very truth I am a shining being, and a dweller in

āmī ġēmām ḫēfrē ṭēsef ġēmām ġēfrē em nētēru ṭāw
light who hath been created and hath come into existence from the limbs of the god.

nūk nā em ennu en ġū āmū ġū
I am one of those shining beings who dwell in light [whom]

ḥēmām ġēmām ġēfrē ġēfrē em ġēfrē
hath created Tmu himself, and who have come into existence from

ūbū maat-f sēḏēpēr-nef sēḏu-nef
the eyelashes of his eye; he maketh to come into existence, he maketh glorious,
21. teni - f  hrâu-sen  em  uen-sen  henâ - f  ástu  su
he maketh to be distinguished  their faces  [when]  they exist  with him. Behold him

22. wâu  em  Nu  ser - sen  s . . .  per - f  em
the Only One  in  Nu!  They do homage to him  [as]  he cometh forth  from

23. xut  tâ - sen  senf - f  en  neteru  xâ
the horizon,  and they set  the fear of him  in  the gods  and the shining beings

24. xeperu  henâ - f  nûk  uâ  em  fentu
who have come into existence  with him. I am  the One  among  the worms

25. gemam  en  maat  nêb  uâ  ástu  ân
which created  the eye of  the lord,  the Only One. Behold  not

26. xeper  en  Auset  mst  Heru  âu - â  seruf - â
{having come into existence}  Isis,  [not] being born Horus,  I had become strong and flourished,

27. du-â  senexx - â  teni - kuâ  er  ânu
I had grown old.  I was greater  than  those who were among

28. xâ  xeperu  henâ - f  du - â  xâa - kuâ  em
the shining beings who came into existence with him,  and I,  even I arose  in  the form of

29. bâk  neteri  sâh - nuâ  Heru  em  ba - f
a hawk  divine,  and made me worthy of honour  Horus  as  his soul
er bet ḫet - f en Ausār er ṭuat āuf ēt ḫet en
to take possession of the things of Osiris in the tuat. He hath spoken the

26. Rereti (?) er - ā her tep āri ēt ḫet en
Double Lion-god to me, the chief of that which appertaineth to the house of

nemmes āmi tepet - f ḫem - k ār (sic) ērēu ēt
the nemmes crown which is in his hiding place: Get thee back to the heights of heaven,

mā emmā ās - tu - ē ṭā sāḥ - ṭā em ḫepērū - k en ērēu
insomuch as thou, behold, hast become worthy in thy forms through Horus,

27. an nemmes er - ēk tēšu ārēk ēr ērēu nu
not is the nemmes for thee, speech is to thee to the limits of

pet nuk āri bêtet ḫet ērēu en Ausār er ṭuat
heaven. I am the guardian, taketh possession of the things Horus of Osiris in the tuat.

28. du nem - nā en ērēu en tēš en nā ātef - f Ausār en
Crieth out to me, Horus what had said to me his father Osiris in

renput ēm ērēu qēres ātā k nēmmes
years on the day of the sepulture [of Osiris]. I give to thee by myself the nemmes

29. an Rereti er - ā māšem - k iıt - k
of the Double Lion-god [which is] to me, that thou mayest pass onward and thou mayest come
her uat pet maa-tu ãmmu ëru ëut
over the way of heaven; may see thee those who are in the limits of the horizon,
sen - nek neteru ãuat ãba - sen ãrtu - sen ãer - k
may fear thee the gods of the ãuat, they fight at their doors for the.

Auheêê ãru ãu ðe³e³ ãer ëet ûñu neteru nebu
Auheê belongeth to them. Have fallen before [my] words the gods the lords of

32. ëer ãriu ëerâ ãeb ûâ ãân
boundaries (?), the guardians of the shrine of the lord, the Only one. Hail, the

ga ãer ãeb - f er - ã seleu - ñef nemmes
exalted one upon his chest is for me, he hath bound on [for me] the nemmes crown,

33. ñëë Rereti Æheê ãri - ñâ uat ãu - ã
hath decreed the double Lion-god, Aaheê hath made for me a way. I,

ga - kuà seleu ën Rereti nemmes er - ã
I am exalted, hath bound on the Double Lion-god the nemmes crown for me,

34. ñëë ñái - ñâ ðemâmit - ã seleu - ñef - ñâ ãb - ã ãn
hath been given to me my hair; he hath established for me my heart through

dat - f ãn ðeset - f ërti ãn ðer - ã ãer
his back and through his might great (?), not shall I fall through
Su nuk Ḥetep nub ārti uāsti nuk rex χu ḏu
Shu. I am Ḥetep, lord of the uraei adored. I know Khu, is

nifu - f em χat-ā an ḫesef - nā ka nešen i - nā
his breath in my body. Not shall I be repulsed by the bull of terror, I shall come
daily into the house of the Double Lion-god, I shall come forth from it into the house

Anset maa - nā seru ṣetāu sem - kūā er
of Isis, I shall see the holy things hidden, I shall pass through

seru āmennu maa - nā enti ām āu ṣetā - ā ḫer
the holy rites hidden, I shall see what is there, shall my words complete

āāau Su ḫesef - sen at nuk pu Ḥeru āmi
the majesty of Shu, they shall repulse the moment. I am Horus, the dweller in

χu - f ṣexem - ā em ṣeset - f ṣexem - ā
his splendours. I have gained possession of his tiara, I have gained possession

em em (מ) ṣelıp - f mašem - ā er henti pet āu
of his rays of light, I have travelled over the uttermost parts of heaven. Is

Ḥeru her ānset - ē ḫu Ḥeru her nes - ē ḫu ḫrā-ā em bāk
Horus upon his throne. Is Horus upon his seat. Is my face like that of a hawk
neteri nub ḍper ṅeb - f ṃer - nā em Tefnut maa - nā
divine. I am one equipped of his lord. I have come from Tattu. I have seen

Ausir un - ḍ her ṃep ēāui - f Nut maa - su - ḍ
Osiris, I have risen up upon both sides of him. . . . Nut. They see me,

maa - nā neteru maat Heru nesnes - ḍ ḫenti - maa er
I see the gods, the eye of Horus hath consumed me, Khenti-[ān]-maa . . . .,

43. tēat - sen ēāui - sen er - ḍ ēāhā - ḍ ēserem - ḍ ḫēesef - ḍ
they stretch out their two arms to me. I rise up, I gain the power over and I repulse

madref - ḍ un - ūn uat seru maa - sen
the evil which is against me. They open [to me] the ways holy, they see

āru - ḍ setem - sen têet - ḍ khrā - sen neteru uat ḫēesefu
my form, they hear my words [spoken] to their faces. O gods of the tuat who repulse

45. khrā - ṃ tepennu uṣert setau - ḍ ḫēxemu uru
my face, who resist the mighty ones, have led me the stars which never rest.

46. ēāru - nā uat sert hematet her neb - ten ba ēā
I have made the ways holy of the hematet to your lord, the soul great

ēssēfr ēu utu - nā ḫēru fa khrāu - ten ēu
of terror. Hath commanded for me Horus to lift up your faces, [that]
47. Ḗḥkāt-ten-uā ḏū-ā ḫāḏā-kuā em bāk neteri
    ye may see me. I have risen like a hawk divine,

48. sāḥā tu īn Ḥeru em ba-f ér ṣet
    hath distinguished me Horus like his soul to take possession of

49. ḫet-f ūn Ḫnswr ēr tuat ārī-nā wāt šaš-ā pḥ-ā
    things his of Osiris in the tuat. I have made the way, I have travelled, I have arrived

xentia tepheu-śen āru ḫet Ḫnswr ḫet-ā ēn śen
at those who live in their caverns guarding the house of Osiris. I speak to them of

50. useru-f ūn ḫa-ā reḫ-śen neru-f sepḫ ūn ṣenti
    his power, I make them to know the fearful power of him provided with horns

51. er ūn ṣenti ḫet-śef nef ḫu ḫet-śef
    against Sut. They know who hath carried off the divine food which had brought

serekmiu Tem ēn śēu aḥer må-nā śēn em neteru tuat
    the power of Tnu. A coming happy they have proclaimed the gods of the tuat

er-ā ṣ-teni en śēn en ren-śēn xentia tepheu-śēn
    for me. They have magnified their names, those who live in their caverns

52. āru ḫet Ḫnswr ḫa-ā ten kuā ḫa-kuā ḫer ten
    guarding the house of Osiris. Grant ye to me that I may come to you.
selet - nā  ūm st nā sekem-ten ser - nā sekemu unā I bind up, I gather together your powers, I order the powers of the ways

sau  nāt hematet pet smen - ā ārtu - sen of those who guard the horizon of the hematet of heaven. I have prepared their doors

her Ausār ser - ā unā her-f ārī - nā uruśet pet - ā for Osiris, I have ordered the ways for him, I have done the commands. I have come forth

er ūsētū maa - nā Ausār šet - ā - nef er xet ba - f from Tattu. I have seen Osiris, I have spoken to him concerning the things of his soul

pen ser mer - nef dispū em āb en Sut maa - nā this, the prince [whom] he loveth. A wound is in the heart of Sut, I have seen

neb bābu ḫer ā - ā res - ān sexeru nēteru the lord of inanition. O, I have made them to know the plans of the gods

ārī en Heru em xent ātet - f Ausār ā neb ba wrought by Horus at the instance of his father Osiris. Hail lord, Soul

āā ēsēfet mā - kuā i - kuā sqa - kuā mighty of terror! Let me, even me, come, let me lift myself up.

āba-ā īuat un - nā unā āru pet I have passed through the tuat, I have opened the ways of the guardians of heaven,
of the guardians of earth, I have not been repulsed there. I have lifted up thy face,

O lord of eternity.

Appendix.

In the Paris papyrus, from which the text of the LXXVIIIth chapter is taken by Naville, the chapter ends with the following:

Thou art exalted upon thy throne, Osiris. Thou hearest joyful things, Osiris. Vigorous is

thy strength, Osiris. Bound to thee is thy head, Osiris. Established is for thee thy brow,

Osiris. Joyful is thy heart. Be thou pleased to establish gladness for thy ministers.

Thou art established as bull of Amenta, thy son Horus is crowned on thy throne,

all life [is] with him. Thy son to him are given millions of years, the fear of him is for

millions of years; fear him the cycle of the gods. Thy soul to it is given

1 Todtenbuch, Bd. 1., Bl. 89.
46.  

**seyem**  
**ur**  
**paut**  
**neteru**  
**at**  
**uteb - nef**  
**tëf - f**  
**hu**  

power (?)  
great  
of the cycle  
of the gods.  
Not  
changeth he  
his word.  
The food

and the altar  
is  
Horus.  
I go  
to unite myself  
unto [my]  
father.  
The deliverance

47.  

**pu**  
**em**  
**atêf**  
**pu**  
**em**  
**sen**  
**pu**  
**em**  
**xenêmus - à**  
**pu**  

from [my]  
father,  
is  
from [my]  
brother  
is,  
from  
my friend  
is,  
of

Horus [is].  
Cometh  
Horus  
upon the water of  
his father.  
He dwelleth in  
decay.

**heq - f**  
**Qant**  
**ba-k**  
**tä - nef**  
**neteru**  
**selet**  

He ruleth  
Egypt (sic).  
Thy soul  
have given to him  
the gods  
the crown of

**heh**  
**sêny - f**  
**heh**  
**em**  
**maat - f**  

millions of years;  
it maketh him to live for  
millions of years  
in  
his eye the only one

of its lord,  
Nebt - er - tcher,  
queen  
of the gods.

1.  

**Re**  
**en**  
**unen**  
**em**  
**paut**  
**neteru**  
**xeper**  
**em**  
**ur**  
**en**  

Chapter of being among the cycle  
of the gods, and of being transformed into  
the prince of

2.  

**tëf - at**  
**ân**  
**tëf - f**  
**ânêr - êrâ - k**  
**Temu**  
**neb**  
**pet**  

the divine chiefs.  
He saith:  
Homage to thee,  
Tmu,  
lord  
of heaven,
creator of things which exist coming forth from the earth, making to come into being

that which is sown, lord of things which shall be, begetter of the gods, god great, creator of himself, lord of life, making to flourish mankind. Homage to you, ye lords of things, pure [beings] who hide [your] dwellings! Homage to you, ye lords of eternity, who hide [your] forms, not is known the place in which are they there! Homage to you, ye gods dwellers in the abode of inundated lands, [and ye]
gods dwellers in the underworld and the cycle of the gods dwellers in heaven! Grant ye to me [that] I may come, [for] I know you. I am pure, I am divine, I am mighty, I have a soul, I have become powerful, I am glorious, I have brought to you
Destroy ye that which is [in] your hearts against me.

I have come, I have destroyed evil all which dwelleth in your hearts, I have put away

[my] sins against you. I have brought to you that which is good,

I have made to come to you what is right and true. I, I know you, I know

your names, I know forms your [which] are not known, coming into being among

you. I have come to you. I have risen like god that there among men,

living among the gods. I am strong before you as god that [who] is exalted upon

his standard. [When] he cometh the gods are in rejoicing, rejoice in him

goddesses [and] women [when] they see him. I have come to you, I have risen
em àdæte\textit{Râ} hems-á \textit{her} àdæte-á \textit{ám} \textit{ḫut} setep-á
on the throne of \textit{Râ}, I sit upon my seat in the horizon, I receive
hepet \textit{her} \textit{ḫaút-á} surá-á selbès tep mā\textit{šeru} em sāh
offerings upon my altar, I drink wine (?) each evening as mummy
pen \textit{en} neb tememu qa-kuā \textit{em neter pui Šepsi neb}
this of the lord of mortals. I am exalted like god that sacred, the lord
het \textit{āt} hāāiu neteru maa-\textit{sen} su em
of the House great. Rejoice the gods [when] they see him at
\textit{peru} \textit{-}\textit{f} nē\textit{fer} \textit{her} \textit{ḫat} \textit{en Nut} mes su \textit{Nut rā neb}
his manifestation beautiful on the body of Nut, giveth him birth Nut day every.

PLATE XXVII.

1. [Chapter of] making the transformation into Seta. Saith Osiris Ani,

2. triumphant: I am Seta extended of years. [I] lie down, [I am] born day every,
nuk Se-en-ta ammi teru ta set-ā mes-kud
I am Se-ta the dweller in the limits of the earth. I lie down, I am born,

ma-kud renp-kuā rā neb
I renew myself, I become young day every.

1. ērit ḥepēru em sebāk tēt ān Ausār Ani

[Chapter of] making the transformation into a crocodile. Saith Osiris Ani,

mašēru nuk emsuḫ ḫer-āb neru-f nuk emsuḫ ān-nā
triumphant: I am the crocodile within his terrors, I am the crocodile god, I bring

em āwāuyi nuk renu āā em Qemui nuk
destruction. I am the Fish great in Qemui, I am

neb kesenu em Seyem Ausār Ani neb kesenu
the lord of homage in Sekhem, [and] Osiris Ani is the lord of homage

em Seyem
in Sekhem.

2. dm tau surā-nā ḫqitu uru-kuā pa-nā
eat bread, I drink beer, I put on raiment. I fly

3. [Plate XXVII.

Variant ḫ, ses-kuā, "I am equipped."
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em bāk  negq - nā  em  smen  ḫenq - nā  em  pēfa
like a hawk,  I cackle like a goose,  I alight upon the way

erma  dat  ḫeb  Ur  but  sep  sen  ān
near the funereal mountain on the festival of the Great One. What is evil doubly not have

qēq - ā  pu  ḫesu  ān  qēq - ā  su  betu  ka - ā  ān
I eaten,  what is foul not have  I swallowed it. What abominateth  my ka  not hath

āq - f  er  ḫat - ā  āny - kwā  ēref  emmā  ṛēq - sen  neteru
entered it into my body.  I live then according to what know the gods

kā  āny - ā  sexem - ā  em  tau - sen  sexem - ā  qēq - ā
glorious.  I live and I obtain power from their bread,  I obtain power [as] I eat

su  ḫer  semam  ām  ḫet-hert  ēnt - ā  āri - ā  āabet  āri - ā
it beneath the foliage of the tree of Hathor my lady.  I make an offering,  I make

tau  em  ṭettu  uahit  em  ḫennu  āny - ā  ṭādu
[an offering of] bread in Tattu and oblations in Annu.  I array myself in the covering of

Maat.  āḥā - ā  hem - ā  er  bu  mērēr  āb - ā  ām
Maat.  I stand up and I sit down wherever desireth my heart there.

ṣep - ā  em  ṭān  temt - ā  em  ḫenu  ḫāstu
My head is like [that of] Ra,  I have gathered myself together like Tmu.  The four quarters
Rā ēn tā jēr-ē rēs-ē em Ptah ēntit-ē
of Rā [are] the extent of the earth. I come forth. My tongue is of Ptah, my throat is
em Hēt-herē sēyā-ē jētē Tēmu ēn ēntf-ē ēm re-ē
of Hathor. I make mention of the words of Tmu, my father, with my mouth.

sek-ē hēnt hēnt Sēb sēt šētu hēr-ē
He constraineth the servant (?) the wife of Seb. Are broken down heads to him,

sēnt ērēm ēm nēm-tū ānnu ēm nēxtu
terror is to him there. Are recited hymns of praise at [my] acts of strength,

āp-tuā ēdā nēb tā ēn Sēb nēhēp
I am accounted the heir of the lord of the earth, of Seb, the protector.

qēbē Sēb tā-f-nā ḫādū-f wān-nā ammu
Giveth water Seb, he giveth to me his risings. Bow down to me those who are in

Ānnu ṭep-šen nuk kā-sen usūr āt ēr āt
Annu their heads. I am their bull, becoming strong moment by moment,

nēk-ē sēyēm-ē ēm ēm-ē
I copulate, I have gained strength for millions of years.

ārīt ḫīperū ēm tē bā Tēm jēt ān Ausār ān
[Chapter of] making the transformation into the Soul of Tmu. Saith Osiris the scribe
Ani, triumphant: I have not gone into the house of destruction, I have not come to an end,

I have not known it. I am Ra coming forth from Nu, the soul that is divine,

the creator of his members. Abomination to me is sin, not do I look upon it,

not do I cry against right and truth, I live in it. I am Hu.

Never doth he fail in my name that of Soul. I have created myself

with Nu in my name of Khepera; I come into being in it

in the form of Ra. I am the lord of light.

Appendix.

What I hate is burial, not let me enter into the cavern of Tuaha. I

1 The text is from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 97.
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

Ascribe glory to Osiris, and pacify the heart of those who dwell among things.

The divine friends, give they terror of me in

those who are in their corners. Behold me, I am exalted upon my standard.

_Nu_ her äuset apt-ä nuk _Nu_ án ḟemti-ä

_Nu_, upon the place adjudged to me. I am _Nu_, not shall overthrow me.

_āru_ āset nuk uru paut ba-ā pu neteru

those who do evil. I am the eldest born of unformed matter, my soul is the gods,

_baiu_ en neheb nuk gemam keku _āru_ äuset-f

[who are] the souls of eternity. I am the creator of darkness making his place

_ṭeru_ heri i-ná ba-ā aā her uat dānu

in the confines of the sky. I come, my soul advanceth over the way of the aged ones.

_āri-ná_ keku em _ṭeru_ heri mer-ā pēk _ṭeru-āsen_

I make darkness in the confines of the sky, if I wish [I] arrive at their boundaries.

_mālem-ā_ her reť-ā xerp-ā ḫa bā āriu

I walk upon my legs, I am strong sailing over the sky, working.
I fetter with bands the darkness and the Worms hidden. I extend my steps to the lord of two-fold strength. My soul is, the soul of my body is the uræus, my form (?) is for ever, the lord of years, the prince of eternity. I am the exalted one and the lord of the earth. I am exalted (?). I become young in the towns, I grow young in my province, my name is “Not setteth my name.” I am the soul, the creator of Nu, making his seat in the underworld. Not is seen my nest, not is cracked my egg. I am lord of millions of years. I make my nest in the limits of the sky, I descend to the earth of Seb, I destroy my defects. I see my father the lord of Māš, breatheth his body
15. ám Annu hent-ná ḫemnu ḫui ḫr aatet
in Annu. I am provided by Khemu and Khu (?) at the burial-place

Amentet hab
of Amenta

1. árit ḫeperu em bennu ḫet ḫn Aṣūr ḫn
[Chapter] of making the transformation into a bennu (phoenix). Saith Osiris, the scribe

Ani maāḥeru em ḫetep ḫa-ná em ḫout
Ani, triumphant in peace: I came into being from unformed matter,

em ḫeperá ḫet-ná em ḫet ḫetem ḫa-ná em ḫetem
as Khepera, I grew in the form of plants, I am hidden in the Tortoise.

I am ḫul en ḫetem ḫetem ḫetem ḫetem ḫetem ḫetem
of the atoms of god every. I am yesterday this of the four,

darātu ḫeṣep ḫpt em ḫeper em ḫpt ur
and uræi seven these which came into existence in the East. I am the mighty one,

sehet hamemet em ḫet-f ḫetem ḫr pu em Sut Tehuti
illuminating the hammet by his body; god he is as Set. Thoth

[decided] concerning them by judgment that of the dweller in
Appendix.

[If be known] chapter this the purified one shall come forth by day after his burial,

and shall make the transformations according to the wish of his heart, [and] shall be among the servants of Un-nefer, and shall be satisfied with the food of Osiris and sepulchral meals, and shall see the Disk, and shall go forth over the earth with Rā.

See Naville, Totenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 185.
Plate XXVIII.

1. ērēt ērēt ēm ēm šent tef an Ausār ēn

[Chapter of] making the transformation into a shent bird. Saith Osiris, the scribe

2. ēn ēm šent tef an Ausār ēn

Ani: I have obtained the mastery over the animals with the knife in

3. ēm šent tef an Ausār ēn

Ani: I have obtained the mastery over the animals with the knife in

4. ēm šent tef an Ausār ēn

Ani: I have obtained the mastery over the animals with the knife in

He maketh slaughter upon earth, and conversely. I am strong. I have made

A passage exalted into heaven. I have purified myself. I have made long
en nemmat-ā er nut-ā ḫeru mašem-ā sepu ṭa-tu
my footsteps to my town, possessing my going to Sepu (?). I have placed

em Unnu ḫadā-nā neteru ḫer uat-sen
[the being who is] in Unnu, I have set the gods upon their ways,

ḫu-nuā peru-ā ḫam ḫerā-sen ḫeq-ā
I have made glorious the temples of those who live in their shrines. I know

ennu Nut ḫeq-ā ṭa-tu-ā men ḫeq-ā ṭeser sta-nā
Nut, I know Tatunen, I know Tesher, I have brought along

ḫe-bu-sen ḫeq-ā ḫeka setem-ā ṭetet-ā ṭeq nuk mas ṭeser
their horns. I know ḫeka, I hear his words. I am the calf red

enti em ḫam tḥt ḫan neteru ṭeq setem-sen seḫeq ḫrā-n
which is in the writings. The gods say when they hear: Let us abase our faces,

ḏt-ā ṭeq-ā ḫrē du ēhēpu em ḫēmt-ā mān sepu-ā ṭeq em ḫat-ā
let him come to me; there is light without you. My seasons are in my body.

ḏn tḥt-ā em ḫuseq māt mān ḫrēpet māt
I do not speak [evil] in the place of right and truth, every day advancing in right and truth,

ḫer ḫnhu-s (sic) ḫau ḫenī er ṭeqeb ṭeq
being shrouded in darkness, sailing to keep the festival of the dead one,
embracing the old man, the guardian of the earth, Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant. I have not entered into the cavern of the starry deities. I ascribe glory to Osiris, I have pacified the heart of those deities who follow him. Not am I afraid of those who create terror, [or] of those who live on their lands. Behold me, I am exalted upon [my] standard, upon my seat. I am Nu, not shall I be overthrown by the doer of evil. I am Shu of primal matter. My soul is the God, my soul is eternity. I am the creator of the darkness, making its place in the bounds of the sky, the prince of eternity. I am the exalted one [in] Nebu. I become young
nut datsu - ā em seyret-ā ren - ā ān sek,
the town, I become young in my province. My name is 'Not setting.'
ren - ā ba qemam en Nu āri āuset - f em Neterxert
My name is Soul, creator of Nu, making his seat in the underworld.
ān maa - entu sel ā ān set - tu - nā suht nuk neb
Not is seen my nest, not cracked have I [my] egg. I am the lord of
heh āri - nā selu - ā em t'uru hert
millions of years. I have made my nest on the borders of the sky.
ha - ā er ta en Seb ter - [ā] tūt - ā maa - nā
I come down to the earth of Seb. I destroy my defects. I see
atet - ā em neb Sautet ār Ausr āt - f
my father as the lord of Shautet. As concerning Osiris [Ani] his body
āmnu Annu, henti en ānu xwē her dat
is in Annu, ordered by those who are with Khui at the burial place of
Āmentet heb
Amenta, a messenger (?)

[Chapter of] making the transformation into a lotus Saith Osiris Ani:
**THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The transformation into the god who giveth light in the darkness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: I am the girdle of the garment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The enchantment mighty of my utterance, . . . . raising him that hath fallen, hath fallen he.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Who [was] with him in the valley of Abydos. I rest. I have remembered him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I have carried away the god Ḥu from my town, found him in it.

I have led away the darkness by my might. I have bound up the eye in its failing at the coming of the 15th day of the festival. I have weighed Sut

in the houses upper by the aged one with him. I have provided Thoth in the house of the Moon-god, at the coming of the 15th day of the festival. I have carried off the crown. Are right and truth in my body, and the emeralds and crystals of her months.

Is my estate there among the lapis-lazuli in its furrows. I am the woman who lighteneth the darkness, I have come to lighten the darkness, it is lightened doubly. I have lightened the darkness, I have overthrown the destroyers,
I have adored those who are in the darkness. I have made to stand those who weep,

who hid their faces, who had sunk down. They looked upon me then . . . .

I am a woman. Not have I caused that ye should hear concerning her.

---

PLATE XXIX.

1. re en tem met em nem lēf ān Aasār Ani

Chapter of not dying a second time. Saith Osiris Ani,

maisyeru ā Tahutī ḫiset pu ḫisiert set em mesu Nut

triumphant: Hail Thoth, what is that which hath happened to the children of Nut?

They have done battle, they have supported strife, they have done

3. ari - en - sen χερουι aā sešētu - en - sen χεννu ari - en - sen

evil, they have created the fiends, they have made slaughter,

4. aśfet gemam - en - sen saēbu ari - en - sen sāt

they have created troubles; but surely they have worked the mighty

5. gemam - en - sen saūtu aū kērī āru - en - sen dāā
er netes em árit-sen neb tā ārek dā Tehuti . . . . . . . . .
against the weak in deeds their all. Grant then might of Thoth what hath decreed

Tem är maa - nek áset án wēf - k sehu
Tmu. Not seest thou evil, not art thou enraged [when they] confuse

renput-sen setekenu abēt - sen terenti āru - en - sen hēl
their years, and go among their months, because they have done iniquity

āment em árit-nek neb nuk mesbā - k Tehuti
secret in what [they] have done against thee all. I am thy pallet, O Thoth,

se - āri - nā nek ṣes - k án nu - ā ennuā ennu en
I have brought to thee thy ink-jar. Not am I among those who [work]

hēl āment - sen án āritu hēl ām-ā
iniquity in their secret [places]; not may be done iniquity to me.

tet ān Ausir Ani Ani ā Tem āset pu
Saith Osiris Ani, Ani (sic): Ha! Tmu! What is [this to which]

sarā er set āu hert ān mu set ān nifu set met - ṭā
I have come into it? But surely without water it is, without air it is, deep

sep sen kektu - ṭā sep sen ārāt - ṭā sep sen ānu - ṭā ān - s em
doubly, darkened doubly, remote doubly. He who liveth in it [is] in
12. **hetep áb án áu kert án áritu nel emmit am - s**

peace of heart. Not but not are performed love joys in it.

**ertá-má** **χu em ásui mu nifu hená**

May there be given to me splendour in the place of water and air and

**nel emmit hetep áb em ásui tau ḥept ... su**

love joys, peace of heart in the place of bread and beer. Hath decreed it

**Tmu em maa hrá - k án kert ḫetf - á kau - k**

Tmu the seeing of thy face, surely not shall I suffer from the things which pain thee;

14. **āu neter neb heb - nef nest - f em χenti ḫeh áu god every shall transmit his thrones during millions of years. Is**

**nest - k en se - k ḫeru ...** **Tem uen kert hab - f**

thy throne to thy son Horus. Decreed hath Tmu that shall be surely his career among

**uru áuf kert ḫeq - f nest - k áuf er**

the princely ones. He, but he shall rule over thy throne. He shall

**āwā nest ámi Āat-nesert (?) utu kert**

be the heir of the throne of the dweller in the Lake of double Fire. It is decreed but

16. **maa - ná sent - f hrá - ā er maa hrá en neb**

that [he] may regard me [as] his second [and that] my face shall see the face of the lord
What then is [my] duration in life? It is decreed that thou art for millions of years a duration of millions of years. I have granted that he may pass on to the princely ones. I am but doing away with what I did all when earth this was coming from Nu out of the watery abyss like unto its former state. I am fate and Osiris. I have made transformations into other serpents. Not know they mankind, not can perceive they the gods the double beauty [which] I have made for Osiris; greater [is he] than gods all. I have granted to him [to rule] in the underworld. But his son Horus [is] as [his] heir upon his throne within the Lake of double Fire. I have made but his seat in the boat
Horus established upon his throne with [his] friends
and possessing his remains. But hath departed the soul of Sut,
greater than the gods all [to Amenta]. May it be granted to me to bind
his soul in the boat of the sun at his will . . . . . . . . . . . . fear divine members.
O my father Osiris, hast done thou for me what did for thee thy father Râ.

May I abide upon earth, may I possess my throne, may be strong my heir,
may make green my tomb my friends who are upon earth. May be given
my enemies over to the destruction of Selq for their fettering. I am thy son.

My father is Râ. Thow hast made for me this same life, strength, health. Is
Horus established upon his throne. Grant thou the course of my life may be that of advancing to a state of being venerated.

PLATE XXX.

1. Re en äq er useyt maātī tua Ausrā
Chapter of entering into the Hall of Double Maāti. A hymn of praise to Osiris

gentī Amentet tēt ān Ausrā ān Anī maāyēru ī - nā
the dweller in Amentet. Saith Osiris, the scribe Anī, triumphant: I have come

āa er maā neseru - k ḫwēt ā em ḫwēt ān
advancing to see thy beauties. My two hands are [held up] in acclamation of

ren - k maā ī - nā āa ān χēper āi ān
thy name righteous, I have come advancing. Not hath come into existence the asīr tree, not

3. mēst sēntet ān gēmau sētu asēr
hath been produced the asēr tree, not hath created the ground the asēr plants.

ār äq - ā er asēt ātēt āu ītēt - ā ḫēnā Sut
Now I have entered into the place of hidden things. I have spoken with Sut,
my friend (?) hath entered to me, clothing his face, falling down upon
the things which are hidden. He, he hath entered into the house of Osiris, he,
he hath seen the hidden things which [are] in it. Are the divine chiefs of the pylons
in the form of beatified spirits. Hath spoken Anubis on both sides of him
with the word of a man [at his] coming from Ta-mera. He knoweth our paths
(and) our towns. Offerings are made to me, I smell his smell as one of you.
Saith he to me: I am Osiris the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace, triumphant!
I have come advancing to see the gods great, and I live upon
the offerings which eat their doubles. I have been to the borders of the Ram, lord of
Tattu. He granted that I might come forth as a bennu bird, that I might speak-

I have been in the water of the river. I have made offerings with incense.

I have made my way by the shen tree of the children (?). I have been in Abydos in the Temple of Satet. I have submerged the boat of [my] enemies. I,

I have sailed forth upon the Lake in the neshem boat. I have seen the noble ones of

Qem-ur. I have been in Tattu, and I have brought myself to silence.

I have placed the image of the god upon his two feet. I have been with Per-tep-tu-f

and I have seen the dweller in the divine abode. I, I have entered into

Per-Ausar, and I have draped myself in the apparel of him who is there. I,
I have entered into Re-stau, and I have seen the hidden things which are there.

I was hidden [but] I found a passage; I, I have entered into

And, arru - s, and I have put on the clothes which are there over [my]

nakedness. Hath been given to me ahta unguent of women with the earth (?)

of mankind. Verily Sut hath spoken to me the things concerning himself.

I have said, Let thy weighing be within us.

Saith the majesty of Anubis: Art thou knowing the name of door this to

declare...to me? Saith Osiris the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace, triumphant:
RETURNING TO PLATE XXIX.

19. pen xer - sek Su ren en sebex pen tef an hen en
   this. "Driver away of Shu" is the name of this door. Saith the majesty of

Anpu dr duk rex - tu ren en setem heri
Anubis: Art thou knowing the name of the leaf upper

setem xeri neb maat heri tep ret - f an ren en
and the leaf lower? "Lord of right upon his two feet" is the name of

setemet heri neb pehti besu menemenet sek arch
the leaf upper; "Lord of might, disposer of {cattle [is the name of] the leaf lower}. Pass then,
tuk rextu Ausar an hesb hetep neter en neteru
thou knowest, O Osiris, the scribe accountant of the divine offerings of the gods

All of Thebes, Ani triumphant, lord of veneration.

Appendix. 1

1. lett xeft sper er uson en ent Maa ti pexxa
To be said when one cometh to hall this of double Maati, of separating [one]

1 For the text, see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 133.
2. 
em ḥu  neb  ārī-nef  maa  neter  neb  hrū  ānēf
from  sins  all  [which]  he  hath  done,  and  of  seeing  of  god  every  the  faces.  Hail,

neter āā  neb  Māṭī  i - nā  ħr - k  neb - ā  ānt - kuā
god  great,  lord  of  Māṭī,  I  have  come  to  thee,  my  lord.  I  have  brought  myself

maa - ā  neseru-k  āw-ā  rēk - k[u]; - tu  rēk - kuā  ren
that  I  may  see  thy  beauties.  I  know  thee,  I  know  the  name

3. 
en  neter  XLII  uneniu  henā - k  em  usey  ten  ent  Māṭī
of  the  gods  forty-two  who  exist  with  thee  in  hall  this  of  Māṭī,  [and]

ānḫiu  em  saut  ṭut  sāmiu  em  snēf - sen
who  live  as  the  punishers  of  sinners,  who  live  upon  their  blood

4. 
hru  pui  en  hesh  ḡetut  embah  Un - neseru  màk
on  day  that  of  computing  dispositions  before  Un - neseru;  verily

Rēkht - merti - f  ent  māṭ  ren - k  màkuā  i - kuā
"  Rēkht - merti - f -  ent  - Māṭ"  is  thy  name.  Verily  I  have  come

5. 
ārī - k  ān - nā - nef  māṭ  tēr - nā - nef  āsēf
to  thee,  I  have  brought  to  thee  Māṭ.  I  have  driven  away  for  thee  wickedness.

6. 
en  ārī - ā  āsēf  ēr  ret  en  snuār - ā  unīt
I  have  not  done  iniquity  to  mankind.  Not  have  I  done  harm  unto  animals.
7. en ēri-ā ēdu-it en ēuset maāt en reh-ā neb
Not have I done wickedness in the place of Maāt. Not have I known evil.

8. en ēri-ā bu-tu en ēri-ā tep lēru neb
Not have I acted wickedly. Not have I done each day and every

9. bak en heru ērit-nā en sper ren-ā er uda
works above what I should do. Not hath come forth my name to the boat of

10. nērp en saaat-ā nēter en nem-ā en
the Prince. Not have I despised God. Not have I caused misery. Not

11. nemh-ā en ēri-ā but nēter en sēfu-ā
have I caused affliction. Not have I done what is abominable to God. Not have I caused harm

12. hen en her-tp-ā en smur-ā en
to be done to the servant by his chief. Not have I caused pain. Not

13. sērm-ā en smam-ā en sētu-ā en smam-ā
have I made to weep. Not have I killed. Not have I made the order for killing for me.

14. en ēri-ā ment hrā-nēbu en xēb-ā sēbu em
Not have I done harm to mankind. Not have I taken aught of the oblations in

the temples. Not have I purloined the cakes of the gods. Not have I carried off
15. the offerings of the blessed dead. Not have I fornicated. Not have I defiled myself.

16. Not have I added to, not have I diminished the offerings. Not have I stolen from the orchard (?). Not have I trampled down the fields. I have not added to the weight of the balance. Not have I diminished from the weight of the balance. Not have I carried off the milk from the mouth of the babe. Not have I driven away the cattle which were upon their pastures. Not have I captured the birds of the preserves of the gods. Not have I taken fishes [with bait] of their own bodies. Not have I turned back water at its season. Not have I cut a cutting in water running. Not have I extinguished a flame.
20. at - s en teh - á sexu her setepet en
at its hour. Not have I violated the times for the chosen offerings. Not

sa - á menmenet neter yet en xesef - á neter en
have I driven back the cattle of divine things. I have not repulsed God in

pe - f áwá åb - kud sep ftsu åb - å åb
his manifestations. I, even I, am pure. Times four. I am pure [with] the purity of

hennu pu åd enti en Suten-henen her entet nuk ås fent pu
hennu that great which is in Suten-henen, because I am, behold, nose that

en nub niñu señq réxit nebt hru pur en
of the lord of winds making to live mortals all on day that of

meh utat en Annu em ábet sen pert
filling the utchat in Heliopolis, in month second of the season of coming forth

30. åqí enbal en nub ta pen nuk maa meh
to the end, before the lord of this earth. I see the filling of

utat en Annu enen xeper bṣu er - å em ta
the utchat in Heliopolis. Not let be done evil to me in land
Hail, Strider, coming forth from Annu, not have I done wrong.

Hail, Embraced with flame, coming forth from Kher-āba, not have I despoiled.

Hail, Fenˈtiu (i.e., Nose), coming forth from Khemennu, not have I robbed.

Hail, Eater of shades, coming forth from Qernet, not have I slain men: twice.

Hail, Nehaa-hra coming forth from Re-stau, not have I defrauded the offerings.

Hail, Double Lion-god, coming forth from heaven, not have I diminished [oblations].
7. \( \text{maa-f} \) \( \text{xet} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \) Saut \( \text{an} \) \( \text{et} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{a} \)
Hail, Whose two eyes are of fire, coming forth from Saut, not have I despoiled

8. \( \text{xet} \) \( \text{neter} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{nebat} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{xetxet} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{et} \) \( \text{a} \)
the things of the god. Hail, Flame, coming forth in going back, not have I spoken

9. \( \text{ker} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{set} \) \( \text{gesu} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \) Suten - henen \( \text{an} \) lies. Hail, Breaker of bones, coming forth from Suten - henen, not

10. \( \text{nehem-a} \) \( \text{ammet} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{utu} \) \( \text{neter} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \)
have I carried off food. Hail, Shooter forth of flame, coming forth from

\( \text{Het-ka-Ptah} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{keni} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{Qererti} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \) Amentet \( \text{an} \)
Memphis, not have I afflicted [any]. Hail, Qererti, coming forth from Amentet, not

11. \( \text{nek-a} \) \( \text{en} \) \( \text{nek-a} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{hr\-f} \) \( \text{ha-f} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \) tephef-\( \text{f} \)
have I committed fornication. Hail, whose face is behind him, coming forth from his cavern,

12. \( \text{an} \) \( \text{Beren - a} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{Basti} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{letat} \) \( \text{an} \)
not have I made to weep. Hail, Bast, coming forth from the secret place, not

13. \( \text{an} \) \( \text{ab-d\-a} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{ia} \) \( \text{ref} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{agn\-x} \) \( \text{an} \)
have I eaten my heart. Hail, Blazing legs, coming forth from the darkness, not

14. \( \text{teh-a} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{am} \) \( \text{snef} \) \( \text{per} \) \( \text{em} \) \( \text{nenmat} \) \( \text{an} \)
have I transgressed. Hail, Eater of blood, coming forth from the block, not
have I acted deceitfully. Hail, Eater of intestines, coming forth from Mēbet,

not have I desolated ploughed lands. Hail, Lord of Maāt, coming forth from Māat,

not have I been an eavesdropper. Hail, Strider backwards, coming forth from Bast, not

have I set my mouth in motion [against any man]. Hail, Sertiu, coming forth from

Annu, not have I raged except with a cause. Hail, Doubly wicked, coming forth from

Ati, not have I defiled the wife of a man. Hail, Double Serpent, coming forth

from the torture chamber, not have I defiled the wife of a man. Hail, Looker at

what is brought to him, coming forth from Per-Āmsu, not have I polluted myself. Hail,

Chief of the mighty, coming forth from Ament, not have I caused terror. Hail,
28. \(\text{xemiu} \) pert \(\text{em} \) \(\text{Kesi}u \) an \(\text{teh} - \text{d} \) \(\text{d} \)

Khemiu, coming forth from Kesiu, not have I committed offence. Hail,

\(\text{Sélet} - \text{xeru} \) pert \(\text{em} \) \(\text{Urit} \) an \(\text{ta} - \text{d} \)

Disposer of speech, coming forth from Urit, not have I inflamed myself with rage.

29. \(\text{d} \) \(\text{Nenna} \) pert \(\text{em} \) \(\text{Uab} \) an \(\text{seya} - \text{d} \) \(\text{krá} - \text{d} \) \(\text{her} - \text{t'ett} \)

Hail, Babe, coming forth from Uab, not have I made deaf myself to the words of

\(\text{maat} \) \(\text{d} \) \(\text{Kemmembeti} \) pert \(\text{em} \) \(\text{Kemmembet} \) an \(\text{sent} - \text{d} \)

right and truth. Hail, Kemmemeti, coming forth from Kemmemet, not have I caused grief.

30. \(\text{d} \) \(\text{An} \) \(\text{hastep} - \text{f} \) pert \(\text{em} \) \(\text{Sau} \) an \(\text{per} - \text{d} \)

Hail, Bringer of his offering, coming forth from Sais, not have I acted insolently.

31. \(\text{d} \) \(\text{Será} - \text{xeru} \) pert \(\text{em} \) \(\text{Unáset} \) an \(\text{xennu} - \text{d} \)

Hail, Disposer of speech, coming forth from Unáset, not have I stirred up strife.

32. \(\text{d} \) \(\text{Neb hrau} \) pert \(\text{em} \) \(\text{Net} \) \(\text{Net} \) \(\text{an} \) \(\text{asta} - \text{ab} - \text{d} \)

Hail, Lord of faces, coming forth from Netheret, not have I judged hastily.

33. \(\text{d} \) \(\text{Sécheriu} \) pert \(\text{em} \) \(\text{Uten} \) an \(\text{semetmet} - \text{d} \)

Hail, Sekheriu, coming forth from Uten, not have I been an eavesdropper.

34. \(\text{d} \) \(\text{Neb abui} \) pert \(\text{em} \) \(\text{Sauti} \) an \(\text{aa} \) \(\text{xeru} - \text{d} \)

Hail, Lord of two horns, coming forth from Sais, not have I multiplied my words
33. ēr ētēt á Nefer-Tmu per em Ḥet-Plah-ka ān āsītī - á
upon words. Hail, Nefer-Tmu, coming forth from Memphis, not have I harmed,

ān ārī-ā bān
not have I done evil.

PLATE XXXII.

34. ã Tem sepu per em Teēt ān ārī - á āntī
Hail, Tmu [in his] seasons, coming forth from Tattu, not have I made curses of

35. sutēn ā ārī em āb - f per em Teēb ān rehēn - ā ārē
the king. Hail, Working in his heart, coming forth from Tebu, not have I fouled

36. mu ā ābī per em Nu ān gā xēru - ā
water. Hail, Sistrum bearer, coming forth from Nu, not have I made haughty my voice.

37. ã uēt regīt per em Sau ān
Hail, Provider of mankind, coming forth from Sais, not

38. sēnēt ā nēter ā Neḥēb - ka per em tepēt-f ān ārī - ā
have I cursed God. Hail, Neḥēb - ka, coming forth from his cavern, not have I

39. sagīt ā Neḥēb - nefert per em tepēt - f ān
committed theft (?). Hail, Neḥēb - nefert, coming forth from his cavern, not
have I defrauded the offerings of the gods. Hail, Arranger of [his] head, coming forth from [his] shrine, not have I carried away offerings from the beatified ones.

Hail, Bringer of his arm, coming forth from the double town of Maki, not have I carried off the food of the infant, not have I sinned against the god of the town. Hail, White-teeth, coming forth from Ta-she, not have I slaughtered the cattle divine.

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Appendix:

Homage to you, O gods these! I, even I know you. I know your names. Do not cast me down to your slaughtering knives, do not bring forward ye my wickedness before god this whom ye follow him, let not come my moment

1 For the text see Naville, Todenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 137, 138.
ker - ten te - ten maât er - â em - bah â Neb-er-tër her entet before you. Declare ye right and truth for me before the hand of Neb-er-tcher, because

âri - ná maât em Ta-merá en ten - â neter en
I have done right and truth in Ta-mera. Not have I cursed God, not

iu sep - â ânet krâu-ten neteru âm usext - ëm ent hath come my moment. Homage to you, O gods, who live in your hall of

Maâti at ker em xat - sen ânxiu em maât right and truth, without evil in their bodies, who live in right and truth

em Annù sâmiu em haut - sen embah Hérù ëm in Annù, who consume their entrails in the presence of Horus in

âten - f nehem - ten - uâ mà Baâbi ânê em besêku his disk, deliver ye me from Baâbi, who liveth upon the intestines

seru hru pui en ëpt ëdt mà - ten i - kua xer - ten of princes, on day that of the judgment great by you; I have come to you.

enên âdêt - ë enên xebent - ë en ëtu - ë enên Not have I committed faults, not have I sinned, not have I done evil, not

neteru - ë enên âri - ná xet erâf ânê - ë em have I borne false witness, not let be done to me anything therefore. I live in
right and truth, I feed upon right and truth my heart. I have done

that which commanded men, are satisfied the gods thereat. I have appeased God

by [doing] his will. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty,

clothes to the naked, and a boat to the shipwrecked. I have made

offerings to the gods, and sacrificial meals to the shining ones. Deliver ye me

then ye, protect me then ye, not make accusation ye against me before

the god great. I am pure of mouth, pure of hands. Is said to him, come, twice,

by those who see him, because I have heard speech that spoken by

the Donkey with the Cat in the house of Hept-re. I have borne testimony
em her -f tā -f tentu āu maa - nā pesē ašēf before him, he hath given the decision. I have seen the division of the persea trees

em xennu Re-stau nuk semiu -ā embah neteru within Re-stau. I, I offer up prayers in the presence of the gods

reχ xert ḫat -sen i - nā āa er senetert knowing what concerneth their persons. I have come advancing to make a declaration of

maāt er ērtet āusu er āhān - f em xennu right and truth, to place the balance upon its supports within

kātu ā qa her āt - f neb atēf the amaranthine bushes. Hail exalted upon his standard, lord of the atēf crown,

ārī ren -f em neb nifū nēhem - kūā nā nāik making his name as the lord of winds, deliver me from thy

en aputat utsētu bēmesu rēyēperu ētērit messengers who make to happen dire deeds, who make to arise calamities,

17. ēt l'amēt ent hrāu-sen her entēt ārī - nā maāt without covering upon their faces, because I have done right and truth.

neb maāt āb - kūa bāti -ā em ābu pēhi -ā O lord of right and truth, I am pure, my breast is washed, my hinder parts
are cleansed, my interior [hath been] in the pool of right and truth, without a member
in me lacking. I have been purified in the pool southern, I have rested in
Hemet, to the north of the field of the grasshoppers; bathe the divine sailors
in it, at the season of night to gratify (?) the heart of the gods after
I have passed over it by night and by day. They grant his coming, they say
Who then art thou? say they to me. What then is thy name?
say they to me. I grow among the flowers dwelling in the olive tree is
my name. Pass on thou forthwith, say they unto me. I have passed by the town
north of the bushes. What then didst thou see there? The leg and the thigh.
peti trâ an-k en sen âu maa - nâ ãhehi em ennu taiu
What then didst thou say to them? I saw rejoicing in those lands

Fenû peti trâ eršt - sen nek besu pu en sejet
of the Fenkhu. What then did give they to thee? A flame it was of fire,

henâ uat en behent peti trâ âri - nek eres âu geres - nâ
together with a tablet crystal. What then didst thou do therewith? I buried

set her uteb en maâti em xet xani peti trâ
it by the place of Maâti with the things of the night. What then

gem - nek am her uteb en maâti uas pu en tes
didst thou find there by the place of Maâti? A sceptre of flint (?);

au sejet - nek su pe trâ dref su uas pu en tes ertâ
maketh to prevail thee it. What then is [the name of] the sceptre of flint? Giver of

nifu ren - f peti trâ âref âri - nek er pu besu en
winds, is its name. What then therefore didst thou do with the flame of

sejet henâ pu uat en behent en-xet geres - k set
fire and with the tablet of crystal after thou didst bury it?

au hutu - nâ her - s âu sejet - nâ set âu âxem - nâ sejet
I uttered words over it, I adjured it, and I extinguished the fire,
I made use of the tablet in creating a pool of water. Come
then pass in over door this of Hall this of Maâti, thou art
knowing us. Not will I let enter thee over me, saith the bolt of door
this, except thou sayest my name. Weight of the place of right and truth,
is thy name. Not will I let enter thee by me, saith the lintel right of
door this, except thou sayest my name. He weigheth the labours of
right and truth, is thy name. Not will I let enter thee by me, saith the lintel
left of door this, except thou sayest my name. Judge of wine, is
thy name. Not will I let pass thee over me, saith the threshold of door this,
except thou sayest my name. Ox of Seb, is thy name. Not

will I open to thee, saith the bolt-socket of door this, except thou sayest

my name. Flesh of his mother, is thy name. Not will I open to thee,

saith the lock of door this, except thou sayest my name. Liveth the utechat

of Sebek, the lord of Bakhau, is thy name. Not will I open to thee,

not will I let pass thee over me, saith the dweller at the leaf of door this,

except thou tellest my name. Arm of Shu that placeth itself for the protection of

Ausar ren - k an fa - n sek her - n an heptu en Osiris, is thy name. Not will we allow to pass thee by us, say the posts of

doctor this, except thou sayest our name. Serpent children of Rennut, are
ren - ten áu - k reñ - òâ - n set árek her - n án χent - k
your names. Thou knowest us, pass then by us. Not shalt tread thou

her - á án seti en uṣerty ten ãnás teñ - k ren - á
upon me, saith the floor of hall this, except thou sayest my name.

her má áref áu - á kert áb - kuâ her entet án reñ - n
. . . . . . . . . . . I am silent, I am pure, because not do we know

reñ - k χent - k her - n ám - sen teñ árek ná set besu
thy two legs thou treadest upon us with them; tell then to me them. Traveller

en bân Amsu ren en reñ - á unşemí un şet en ti Nêpt-het
before Amsu, is the name of my leg right. Grief of Nephthys,

ren en reñ - á ábi χent árek her - n áu - k
is the name of my leg left. Tread then upon us, thou

reñ - òâ - n án šemá - á tu án ári áâ en uṣerty then
knowest us. Not will I question thee, saith the guardian of the door of hall this,

án - ás teñ - nek ren - á sa ábu târ χat ren - k
except thou sayest my name. Discerner of hearts, searcher of reins, is thy name.

šemá - á tu áref nimá en neter ánmi unnut - f teñ - k set
I will question thee then. Who is the god dwelling in his hour? Speak thou it.
The recorder of the two lands. Who then is the recorder of the two lands?

Thoth it is. Come, saith Thoth, come thou hither (?). I come advancing to the examination. What then is thy condition? I am pure from evil all. I am protected from the baleful acts of those who live in their days, not am I among them. I have examined then thee. Who goeth down into the flame, its walls are [surmounted] with uraei, being his paths in that same lake? The traverser Osiris is. Come forward then, verily thou having been examined is thy bread in the utchat, and [thy] beer in the utchat,
are brought out to thee sepulchral offerings upon earth from the netchat.

Hath decreed it he for me.

1. au šen en Ausár Ani maḫeru em Nu (sq) au hrā
Is the hair of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of Nu. Is the face

2. en Ausár an Ani maḫeru em Rā (sq) au maa en Ausár
of Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, of Rā. Are the eyes of Osiris

3. Ani maḫeru em Het-Hert au mest'ér en Ausár Ani
Ani, triumphant, of Hathor. Are the ears of Osiris Ani,

4. maḫeru em Ap-uat au seput en Ausár Ani maḫeru
triumphant, of Ap-uat. Are the lips of Osiris Ani, triumphant,

5. em Anpu au abelu en Ausár Ani maḫeru em Serqet
of Anubis. Are the teeth of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of Serqet.

6. au nehešu (sic) en Ausár Ani maḫeru em Auset au
Is the neck of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of Isis. Are

7. dāui en Ausár Ani maḫeru em Ba neb Tētētu
the two hands of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of the Ram the lord of [Tattu].
9. au nehebt en Ausar Ani maaheru em Uatit au
Is the shoulder of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of Uatchit. Is

10. aalackt en Ausar Ani maaheru em Mert au
the throat (?) of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of Mert. Are

11. sena en Ausar Ani maaheru em Nebt Sau au
the fore-arms of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of the lady of Sats. Is

12. pest en Ausar Ani maaheru em Sut au Isnet
the backbone of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of Sut. Is the chest

13. en Ausar Ani maaheru em Nebu - xerabau au auf
of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of the lords of Kher-abau. Is the flesh

14. en Ausar Ani maaheru em aah - xefit au xat dat
of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of the Mighty of Terror. Are the body and back

15. en Ausar Ani maaheru em Seket au xoptu en Ausar
of Osiris Ani, triumphant, of Sekhet. Are the buttocks of Osiris

16. Ani maaheru em Maat-Hera au hen en Ausar
Ani, triumphant, of the Eye of Horus. Is the phallus of Osiris

17. Ani maaheru en Ausar au mentui en Ausar Ani
Ani, triumphant, of Osiris. Are the hips of Osiris Ani,
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maāxeru em Nut àu re'ui en Ûsâr Ani
triumphant, of Nut. Are the feet of Osiris Ani,

maāxeru em Ptah àu tebah en Ûsâr Ani maāxeru
triumphant, of Ptah. Are the fingers of Osiris Ani, triumphant,

em Sah àu sahu en Ûsâr Ani maāxeru
of Sah. Are the leg-bones of Osiris Ani, triumphant,

em àru ány
of the uraei living.

Appendix.

1. χεσετ lât em Suten-henen àn tā en χετ
[Chapter of] driving back slaughter in Suten-henen. Saith [Osiris]: Land of the sceptre!

2. hêt et en tut àt nuk xi sep stu à
White crown of the statue! Divine standard! I am the Child. Times four. Hail

3. Ab - urt àu fet - nek en mân âper hêt et em reχ - nek
goddess Aput! Thou sayest daily: Is provided the block as thou knowest.

Thou hast come to decay, [thou] great one. I establish those who praise me.

\footnote{For the text see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 56.}
nuk  best  em  χεννυ  αςθ  bag  neferui  án
I am the divine knot within the olive tree, doubly beautiful of splendour

er  sef  sep  fju  nuk  Rā  men  hesut
more than yesterday. Times four. I am Rā who stablish those who praise [me].

nuk  best  em  χεννυ  aser  nefer  án  er  sef
I am the knot within the tamarisk tree, beautiful of splendour more than yesterday.

t'α - tu  t'α - tu  u'α  hru  pen  ūn - ă  em
Hath gone forth [Rā, I] have gone forth, going forth [on] day this. My hair is of

Nu  hra-ă  em  Rā  ām - ū  em  Het-Heru  mester - ū  em  Ap-uat
Nu. My face is of Rā. My two eyes are of Hathor. My two ears are of Ap-uat.

fent - ă  em  χεντ - leps  sept - ū  em  Anpu  ḏelhu  em  χερερά
My nose is of Khent-sheps. My two lips are of Anpu. My teeth are of Khepera.

nchemet - ū  em  Auset  metert  ādui - ū  em  χεμnu  neb  Tētet
My neck is of Isis the divine. My two hands are of Khnemu, lord of Tattu.

sēnā - ū  em  Net  nebt  Sau  pesť - ū  em  Sut  'henen - ū
My fore-arms are of Neith, lady of Sats. My backbone is of Sut. My phallus is

em  Ausrā  ānusfa - ū  em  nebhu  χer - āba  šenbet - ū  em
of Osiris. My reins are of the lords of Kher-āba. My chest is of
Äa - šefšefet du χατ - ठ द त - ठ द एम Seket χεψ - ठ
def the Mighty of terror. Are my belly [and] my back of Sekhet. My buttocks are

em maat Heru ment - ठ ठ सेसेट - ठ एम Nut du reyi - ठ एम
of the eye of Horus. My hips and legs are of Nut. Are my feet of

Ptah du lēbā-ā du sah - ठ एम अरातु अर्क्सू अन अत
Ptah. Are my fingers, are my leg-bones of the uraei living. Not a member

âm - ठ शुट em neter du Tehuti em sau âuf - ठ एम nuk
in me is without a god. Thoth is protecting my flesh entirely. I am

Rā en hru neb ân χेर - ठ ठ ड ब neteru χu mitu pât nebt
Rā day every. Not shall I be seized by my arms, not shall I be carried away

by my hand, not shall do men, gods, shining ones, the dead, ancient ones any,

12. reyi nebt hamemet nebt dua neb âm - ठ एम nuk
mortal any, hamemet any, harm any unto me. I

per uṭa χेम ren - ठ एम nuk sef maa ḫeḥ en
come forth, advancing, unknown is his name. I am yesterday. Seer of millions of

13. repi nebt ren - ठ एम seb seb sen em uat Heru sip nuk
years, is my name, travelling, twice, along the way of Horus the Judge. I am
14. Neb t'etta hui-á aui-á nuk neb urert nuk ám
the lord of eternity, I feel, I perceive. I am the lord of the crown. I am in

Ut-at suhti-á sep sen ersā-nā ányx-sen nuk
the utchat [and in] my egg, twice. It is granted to me to live [with] them. I am

ám ut-at em áxant áu-á em māket-s per-nā
in the utchat in [its] closing. I exist by its strength. I come forth [and]

15. Ajen nā áq-nā ányx-á nuk ám ut-at áset-á
I shine; I go in [and] I come to life. I am in the utchat. My seat is

Em nest-á hems-á em t'erset ŝer-s nuk Heru ŝenf
on my throne. I sit in the pupil of the eye by it. I am Horus traversing

16. Heh utu-nā nest-á heq-á s em re-[á] t'etet šer
{millions} of years. I have commanded my seat, I rule it by [my] mouth; speaking and silent

17. Àqá-ná màk àru-á sëwet nuk Unen
I maintain an exact balance. Verily my forms are inverted. I am the god Unen,

Trá em trá ŝer-t-á sàm-f uá em uá ver-f
season from season, what is his is in him. [I am] One [coming] from One. He revolveth.

18. Nuk ámi ut-at án šer-á tu šennu án
I am in the utchat. Not are my things evil [or] hostile, not
are they against me. [I] open the door in heaven. I rule [upon] the throne, opening

births on day this. [I am] not the child walking upon the road of yesterday,

I am day this for peoples upon peoples. I it is who make strong you for

millions of years. If ye are in heaven, or in earth, in the south,

or in the north, or in the west, or in the east, my fear is in

your bodies. I am the pure one in his eye, not shall I die a second time.

My moment is in your bodies, my forms are in my habitation, I am he who is not known,

the rosy-faced beings are with me. I am the Unveiled. Not is found a season

wherein he made heaven, enlarging the bounds of the earth, and making great
mesu senená án sama sen su ren - á em yet nebt
[its] births. Removing not uniting, passeth away my name from things all

24. em metu metu - á en ten nuk uben pesf evil through the word [which] I speak unto you. I am he who riseth and shineth,

dnéb em ánebu wâ em wâ en Râ tu em ári - f Wall of Walls, only One from only One; not is Râ without that which belongeth to him,

25. em metu metu - á en ten nuk uben pesf evil through the word [which] I speak unto you. I am he who riseth and shineth,

26. em metu metu - á en ten nuk uben pesf evil through the word [which] I speak unto you. I am he who riseth and shineth,
suhe  sep  sen  nuk  Heru  xent  hek  hek  er 

Egg,  twice.  I  am  Horus  dwelling  for  millions  of  years,  [his]  name  is  upon

hrw-ten  asiu  ab-sen  ṣet  ḫeq - nā  nest-ā  sen - ā 
your  faces,  burning  [in]  their  hearts  . . . . . . .  I  command  my  throne.  I  advance

trā  ḫen  uat  ḫp - nā  ḫu  uā - kūā  em  ḫu  netb 
at  season  this.  The  ways  I  have  opened,  I  have  turned  myself  away  from  evil  all.

nuk  qesennu  en  nub  ṣep  xent  ḫbā  sen  ān  ṣep  re努 - f 
I  am  the  ape  of  gold  of  three  palms  and  two  fingers,  exist  not  his  legs,

ān  ḫāisi - f  xent  ḫt - Pīh  uā - ā  uā 
exist  not  his  arms,  dwelling  in  the  temple  of  Pīh.  I  go  forth  in  the  going  of

qesennu  en  nub  ṣep  xent  ḫbā  sen  ān  [re努] - f 
the  ape  of  gold  of  three  palms  and  two  fingers,  exist  not  his  legs,

ān  ḫāisi - f  xent  ḫt - Pīh  ṣet  metu  ḫen 
exist  not  his  arms,  dwelling  in  the  temple  of  Pīh.  Being  said  this  [chapter]

āba - k  ṣer - k 
thou  shalt  open  a  way,  and  shalt  go  in.
PLATE XXXIII.

1. án Ausar Ani maāsēru uny - ṣ f hebḥ ṭāb
   See Osiris Ani, triumphant, girt about is he with raiment, shod

   em tebū het eti urhu em ţupt ent ānta
   with sandals white, anointed with the finest oil of ānta unguent.

3. uṭenθ - nef ka wāf nēter sēntrā re hetepī ḫeq
   Have been offered to him a bull, vegetables, incense, ducks, offerings of flowers, beer,

1 A less corrupt text of lines 1-4 reads as follows (See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 335):—

1. ārit mā ṣepe ḫebet ent Maātī ṭet se re ţen
   To be done as one cometh to the Hall of Maātī. Shall say a man chapter this

   āb turā uny - ṣef hebḥ ţupt tebū em
   cleansed, purified. He shall be girt about with garments of the finest quality, shod with

   het eti meseimu em meseṃt urḥ em ţupt
   white sandals, [the eyes] smeared with eye-paint, anointed with the finest

   ent ānta uṭen - nef ka wāf ţpt nēter sēntrā
   of ānta unguent. Must be offered unto him a bull, vegetables, ducks, incense,

   tau heqt semu ās āri-nek sem ţen em ān
   cakes, beer, herbs. Behold thou must make picture this in writing, etc.
and vegetables. Behold thou must make the image of a table of offerings, in writing

upon a tile pure, with colour pure, [and] bury [it] in a field which

not hath trodden a pig upon it. If be made writing this

upon it he shall rise, and shall flourish the children of children his, [as] flourisheth

without intermission; he shall be in of heart of the king among

his chiefs; shall be given to him cakes, and vessels of water, and joints of

1 Var. 2 Var. 3 Var. 4 Var.
8. duf her neset ent metr dat an temau - tuf her seba
meat upon the tables of the god great. Not separated is he from door

9. neb en Amentet setau - tuf henâ sutenit - bat (?)
any of Amentet, shall go along he with kings,

10. un-nef em sesu en Ausar er-kês Un-nefer les mad
he shall be with the followers of Osiris near Un-nefer in unbroken regularity,

heh en sep
millions of times.

Appendix.¹

1. T'etu á pa ânuu jsu âpen hemsû em hât
To be said: Hail ye apes four these who sit in the bows of

2. sâku en Râ seîr maât en Neb-er-tcher
the boat of Râ, making to advance the right and truth of Neb-er-tcher,

3. apiu maâd â henâ user - â sehêtpiu neteru
who judge my weakness and my strength, who pacify the gods

4. em heh en re - sen tâfâi sehêtpu neter en neteru perxenu
by the flame of your mouth, who give offerings divine to the gods, and sepulchral meals

¹ See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 140.
to the shining ones, who live upon right and truth, without deceit,

they abominate wickedness, destroy my evil, blot ye out my offences,

may [be removed] my wounds upon earth, destroy evil all belonging to me.

Enter in then without obstruction thy any belonging to thee. Grant ye that I may pass through the hall of the tomb, may I go into Re-stau, may I pass through the doors hidden of Amentet, may be given to me offerings and cakes, things all like those shining ones who are entering and coming out from Re-stetet, and passing...

The chapter of a fet of gold. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant:

1 The variants (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 437) add the words, “to be placed on the neck of the shining one.”
Thou risest for thyself, O still heart, thou shinest for thyself, O still heart.

Place thou thyself upon thy side. I have come and I have brought to thee a ēf of gold,

rejoice thou in it.

\[\text{The text of the Nebseni papyrus reads (Naville, Todenhbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 180):}\]

"Thou hast thy backbone, O still heart! Thou hast thy sinews, O still heart! They are at thy side. I have given moisture unto thee. Verily I have brought to thee the ēf, rejoice thou in it." The rubric reads:

Shall be said chapter this over a ēf of gold laid upon a body of sycamore wood,

washed in water of ānkham flowers, and placed on the neck of shining one this.

He shall enter through the doors of the underworld . . . . after his speech

among the followers of Osiris.
1. re en bet em âxenem re ân Ausâr Ani maâxeru
   The chapter of a buckle of carnelian. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant:

senf en Auset hekau en Auset xut en Auset
   The blood of Isis, the enchantments of Isis, the power of Isis [are]

utât ser pen sa er bettau - f pu
   a protection of chief this, a destroying of what he abominateth it is.

Appendix.¹

tet - tu re pen her bet ent xenem mes - ãt em mu nu
   Shall be said chapter this over a buckle of red jasper, dipped in water of

ânxâmi menyu - ãt her xati ent nehet erfâ-ðâ er xex en
   ânkham flowers and inlaid in a heart of sycamore, placed on the neck of

xu pen är âri - tu nef lât ten un - nes xut en Auset
   shining one this. If be done for him chapter this it becometh the power of Isis

em sa - f hââ Heru se Auset maa - f su ân ferá
   to protect him, rejoiceth Horus, the son of Isis, when he seeth it. Not is blocked

en sat nebt xerf â - f er pet â - f er ta ës ëp
   way any against him, his hand is to heaven, his hand is to earth . . . . . . . .

¹ See Maspero, Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre, Paris, 1875, p. 9 f.
är re Alexa tu sat ten en nef em des en Ausár Un-nefer maáyãru

If he be known chapter this he shall be in the following of Osiris Un-nefer, triumphant.

du un - tu - nef shau em Neter-yertet du fálu-nef ŋa

Shall be opened to him doors in the underworld, shall be given to him an allotment

ta em át beti em Seryt - áanre unen ren - f mà

of ground with wheat and barley in the Field of Aanre, shall be his name like

tenet neteru enti ám ám Heru des aseq - sen

that of the gods who are there, say the Horus followers [when] they reap.

1.

re en áb en seher tef án Ausár Ani maáyãru nuk

The chapter of a heart of carnelian (?). Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: I am

bennu ba en Râ sem neteru er tuat pert - sen

the phoenix, the soul of Râ, the guide of the gods to the tuat; they come forth

bâti tep ta er árit néret kau - sen per ba en Ausár

the souls upon earth to do the will of their kâs, cometh the soul of Osiris

Ani mører ká - f

Ani [to do] the will of his kâ.

1.

re en ursu fâlu xer tep Ausár Ani maáyãru

The chapter of the pillow placed under the head of Osiris Ani, triumphant,
B.D. Chaps. XXIXb, CLXVI., CLI.] THE PAPYRUS OF ANI.

er sâres - š mennu sêr - ḫer Ausār sâres - ḫ tep - k er
to remove disasters from the dead body of Osiris. Lift thou up thy head into

χut θεσί - δ nek maḏeru seker en Ptah
the horizon. I have fastened together thee [in] triumph. Hath overthrown Ptah

χêtōt - ḫ - d àu χēsēt - ḫ χér àn un-sen Ausār
enemies his and thine. Are enemies his fallen, not shall they rise up, O Osiris.

I. 1. tet àn Auset i - d un - à em sa - k hun - ná - k
Saith Isis: I have come that I may be thy protector. I waft to thee

nēff er ūf (sic) - k mehit - u en lērāw - k pert em
winds to thy nose, [and] the north winds to thy nostrils coming forth from

Temu nēḥ - [nā] nek hētē - k erlā - nā un - nek em
Tem. I have collected for thee thy lungs. I have granted that thou mightest be as

nēter χēsēt - ḫ χēr χēr tsēt - ḫ semāḏeru - k em
a god. Thine enemies have fallen under thy feet, thou hast been made to triumph in

7. Nut uṣer-tu mà nēteru
Nut, being powerful with the gods.
Appendix.

Anubis dwelling in place of the funeral, chief of the divine house, he placeth
his two hands upon the lord of life, he supplieth him with what belongeth to him:
Hail to thee, fair one, O lord! Seen by the uitchat, bound up by Ptah-Seker,
gathered together by Anpu, Shu, lifted up
with the fair one, the prince of eternity. Thine eyes are to thee. Thy eye right is in
the sekiet boat; thy eye left is in the ajet boat. Are thine eyebrows in
sight fair before the cycle of the gods. Is thy brow (?) in the protection of
Anubis. Is the back of thy head in fair state with the hawk sacred. Are

1 See Naville, Totenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 174.
thy fingers established by writings before the lord of Khemenu. Thoth giveth

the speech of divine books. Is thy hair in a fair state before Ptah-Seker. Is

[Osiris] in reverence happy before the cycle of the gods great. He seeth the god

great; he is guided along ways fair, thou art fortified with

sepulchral meals; overthrown for him are his enemies beneath him before the cycle of

the gods great in the House of the Prince great in Annu.

Saith to Osiris Ani, triumphant, Nephthys: I have gone round behind my

brother Osiris. I have come to be in thy protection behind thee. The two lands
kes mā nās - k ḏx maḥyru ʿām - ʿen ṣēs - ā
axe in homage at thy cry. How triumphant in them [art thou]! I have bound up [thee].

semāḥyru her ārit er - ek sēyem en Ptah ḫēf - k
{making [thee] victorious} over what hath been done to thee. Overthrown hath Ptah thy enemy.

ll. 1 ṣēs em suo - k ṣekā pēn ṣēyem su em ʿānt
I am protecting thee [with] flame this driving away one from the valley of the tomb,

ṣēyem su šāṭi ṣētu nuk ṣū-ā ḫā Āusār ʿAni
driving away one by the sand at the feet(sic). I, I embrace Osiris Ani,

maḥyru em šētēp em maā t
triumphant in peace and in right and truth.

IV. 1 lēt ān Āusār ʿAni maḥyru i - nā er ṣēyem
Saith Osiris Ani triumphant: I have come to make division.

dn ṣēyem - ū ḫā ṣēyem - ḫā (sic) ē - ā uṣet dn
I am not divided, not will I let be divided thee. I have come to do violence, not

uṣet - ḫā (sic) ṣū-ā em saū - k
[will I let] be done violence to thee. I am protecting thee.
V. 1. * tua Rā ḫeššu uben-f em ẖuti ent ḫvet ḫet pet an
Adoration to Rā when he riseth in the horizon of the east of heaven by

Ausār Ani maāyēru
Osiris Ani, triumphant.

VI. 1. * tua Rā ḫeššu ḫetep-em ẖuti ẖament ḫet pet an Ausār
Adoration to Rā when he setteth in the horizon western of heaven. Saith Osiris

Ani maāyēru em ḫetep-em Neter ẖert nuk ba āger
Ani, triumphant in peace in the underworld: I am a soul perfect.

VII. 1. ḫet an Ausār Ani em maāyēru nuk ba āger āmu
Saith Osiris Ani in triumph: I am a soul perfect in

suḥt ḫet ent ḫet nuk maāt ḫet āmī ḫet āmī em āuset
divine egg this of the ḫetu fish. I am the Cat great dwelling in the seat of

maāt ent uben Su ām-f
right and truth where riseth Shu in it.

VIII. 1. seḥet Ausār Ani maāyēru ḫet šaḥti ḫet āmū
The overseer Osiris Ani, triumphant. Hail shabti figure this, if

āpt ām heššu er āmī kat neḥt āmū
be decreed [Osiris], if he be adjudged, to do labours any [which] are to be done.
em Neter yrț 3. șektu en sebet ãm em se er yrț - f
in the underworld, be smitten down obstructions there for a person beneath him;

er seru 4. ent (sic) seyet er semeht ušeb er xenni
to make to grow . . . . . the fields, to fill with water the canals, to carry

em (sic) šai en abtet er amenetet āri - ā mākuā
. . . . sand from the East to the West. I will work, verily I am here [when thou]

ka ãm
callest there.

IX. 1. lêf ân Mesthâ nuk Mesthâ se - k Ausâr Ani maḏjeru
Saith Mesthâ: I am Mesthâ thy son, O Osiris Ani, triumphant.

i - ā nū - â em sau - k serui - nā pēr - k menti
I have come that I may be protecting thee. I make to flourish thy house lastingly.

4. utu - nā Ptah ma utu en Rā Tesef
I have commanded Ptah as commanded Rā himself.

X. 1. lêf ân Hâpi nuk Hâpi se - k Ausâr Ani maḏjeru
Saith Hâpi: I am Hâpi, thy son, O Osiris Ani, triumphant.

i - nâ un - â em sau - k ðesu - k tep ât - k
I have come that I may be protecting thee. Are bound for thee the head [and] thy limbs.

The words in brackets are supplied from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 430.
[I] have smitten down for thee thine enemies beneath thee. I have given to thee the head for ever, twice, O Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace.

Xi. 1. tet an Tueamutef nuk se - k Re a meri - k i - na

Saith Tueamutef: I am thy son Horus thy beloved. I have come to avenge my father Osiris from the doer of evil to him. I have set him under thy feet for ever, twice, everlastingly, twice, O Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace.

Xii. 1. tet an Qebh-sennuf nuk se - k Ausar Ani ma'aqaru hetep

Saith Qebh-sennuf: I am thy son, O Osiris Ani, triumphant.

I have come that I may be protecting thee. I have collected thy bones.

I have gathered together for thee thy members. Osiris that great who is in the place of right and truth, who
XIII. 1. I have come driving back for thee Kep, living, illumining his sanctuary. I am standing behind the divine Tef on the day of driving back disaster. I am for thy protection, O Osiris.

PLATE XXXIV.

The beginning of the chapters of the Sekhet-ḥetepu, and the chapters of coming forth by day and of going in and of coming out from the underworld, and of arriving in the Sekhet-Āanru, and of being in peace in the town great, the lady of winds.

Let me have power there. Let me be strong there that I may plough there.
3. äx - ä am qeg - ä am sura - ä am em
Let me reap there. Let me eat there. Let me drink there as

arah arah neb sep ta
they are done all upon earth.

let an Ausar Ani maayeru entek bet Heru
Saith Osiris Ani, Ani (sic) triumphant: . . . . Hath carried away Horus

än Sut maa am get er Seyet - hetpet peselat
Set to look upon the building (?) in the Field of Hetpet, distributing

nisu her ba en hru - f am suet nehem - f
winds upon the divine soul in his day in the divine Egg. He hath delivered

neynu yak en Heru nuk seet - ä su em at
the interior of the body of Horus . . . . I, even I have crowned him in the house of

6. Shu an ät xabesu (?)f nuk as hetep em setu - f
Shu. The House of his stars . . . . I behold repose in his seasons (?) .

sem - f meht en paut neteru sensu - f
He hath passed through the Meht district of the cycle of the gods, his aged ones.

1 The Nebseni papyrus adds, nchep äm, "Let me make love there."
He pacifieth the divine Fighters who keep guard upon life. He hath made what is fair. Bringing an offering he pacifieth the divine Fighters over what belongeth to them. He hath cut off the locks from their adversaries.

He hath made an end of disasters from [their] children. He hath removed (?) the injury of the souls. May I gain the power over it, may I know it. I have sailed in its waters that I may come forth to its towns. I have power over my mouth, being provided [with] enchantments. Not let have power them over me the shining ones, not let have power them over me. May I be equipped there in Fields thy of Hetep. What thou wishest mayest thou do . . . .
PLATE XXXV.

1. l'-ef án Ausár Aní maðjeru ànsef-hrâ-k em enti neb

   Saith Osiris Aní, triumphant: Homage to thee . . . . who art the lord,

   neb maât uâu neb heh ârit l'etâ

   the lord of right and truth, the One, the lord of eternity, the maker of everlastingness,

   i-nâ xer-k neb Râ seuâl - kuâ en neb kawiš

   I have come to thee, O [my lord] Râ. I have made food offerings to the lord of the cows

   sexef henâ . . . (sic) ka ârî taâtâu tau heqit en

   seven together with the bull belonging thereto. O ye who give cakes and ale to

   xut tâ-ten en ba-â henâ-ten xeber-f xer

   the shining ones, grant ye to my soul [to be] with you. May he come into being upon

   pexf - ten um-nef mà uâ âm-ten er neheh henâ l'etâ

   your thighs. May he be like one of you for ever and for ever.

   xut - f em Amentat nefert án Ausár Aní maðjeru

   May he be glorious in Amental the beautiful, Osiris Aní, triumphant.
PLATE XXXVI.

Hail, power beautiful, rudder beautiful of heaven north. Hail, revolver of heaven, pilot of the two earths, rudder beautiful of heaven west. Hail, shining one, above the temple of the gods in visible forms, rudder beautiful of heaven east. Hail, ye gods, above the earth, pilots of the underworld. Hail, ye gods, mothers, who are above the earth, who are in the underworld, and in the house of Osiris, twice. Hail, ye gods, pilots of Tasert, who are above the earth, pilots of the underworld. Hail, followers of Ra, who are in the train of Osiris.
**B.D. Chap. CLXXXV. (2)**

**THE PAPYRUS OF ANI.**

1. *x*

 tua  Ausâr  χεντι  Amentet  Un-nefer  her-ab  Abîu  ân  Ausâr

A hymn of praise to Osiris, dweller in Amentet, Un-nefer, within Abydos. Osiris

Ani  maâgeru  t-et-f  â  neb-â  sehebi  heh  unt-f

Ani, triumphant, saith he: Hail, my lord, traversing eternity, his existence

er  têta  neb  nebu  suten  suteniu  âbi  neter  neteru  uneniu

being for ever, lord of lords, king of kings, prince, god of the gods who live

mâ  ten  sen  χer-k  em  neteru  pui  reb  âri - kudâ

with you they, [I have come] to thee.... gods .... men. Make thou for me

âuset  sen  χenti  Neter-âert  senemeh - sen  tut  en  ka-k  enti

a seat [with] them in the underworld, they adore the images of thy ka, who are

em  i  en  heh  en  heh  pehu  meni

among those who come for millions of millions of years. Arriving, coming into port ....

âr - kudâ  enti  em  χat  her  sen  nek  ân  χeper  âsq  em

. . . . . . . . . . . which is in the body . . . . . . . . Not may arise delay in

Ta-merâ  sen  em  âmâ-k  i - sen  nek  tem

Ta-Mera their .... Grant thou that they may come to thee all [of them]

2. 1
Plate XXXVII.

Het-bert nebt Amentet ämt Urêt nebt Ta-sert maat Rā ämt
Hathor, lady of Amentet, dweller in Urêt, lady of Ta-sert, the eye of Rā, dweller in

hät-f hrå nefert em uāa en ḫēh āuset ḫetep en āri
his brow, face beautiful in the boat of millions of years. The seat of peace for doing

maāt em ḫennut en ḫesiu ta set er āri
what is right and true among (?) the favoured ones . . . . . . . . . to make

nešet urt er ḫa ḫa maāti
the bark of the sun great to sail forth the right and truth.
TRANSLATION.
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

PLATE I.

Vignette: The scribe Ani, standing with hands raised in adoration before a table of offerings consisting of haunches of beef, loaves of bread and cakes, vases of wine and oil, fruits, lotus, and other flowers. He wears a fringed white and saffron-coloured linen garment; and has a wig, necklace, and bracelets. Behind him stands his wife "Osiris, the lady of the house, the lady of the choir of Amen, Thuthu," similarly robed and holding a sistrum and a vine branch in her right hand, and a menat in her left.

1. The menat, which is often called "the counterpoise of a collar," consists of a disk, with a handle attached, and a cord. It was an object which was usually offered to the gods, with the sistrum; it was presented to guests at a feast by their host; and it was held by priestesses at religious festivals. It was either worn on the neck or carried in the left hand; and it was an emblem which brought joy to the bearer. Interesting examples of the pendent menat in the British Museum are No. 17,166, inscribed, "Beautiful god, lord of the two lands, maker of things, King of the North and South, Khnem-Ab-Ra, son of the Sun, Amsis (Amasis), beloved of Hathor, lady of sycamore trees"; and No. 13,550 in faience; and Nos. 8172, 8173, and 20,607 in hard stone. No. 18,109 is the disk of a menat in faience, inscribed, "Hathor, lady of the town of Anitha." No. 20,760 is a disk and handle in bronze, the disk having, in hollow work, the figure of a cow, sacred to Hathor, and the handle, the upper part of which is in the form of the head of Hathor, having a sistrum. On the one side is the name of Amenophis III, and on the other is "Hathor, lady of the sycamore." The meaning and use of the menat is discussed by Lefebvre in Le Menat et le Nom de l'Éunuque (Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1891, pp. 333–349).

2. A duplicate is in the Louvre; see Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art, l'Égypte, p. 821, No. 550.
Text: [Chapter XV.] (1) A Hymn of Praise to Rā when He riseth in the Eastern part of Heaven. Behold Osiris Ani the scribe who recordeth the holy offerings of all the gods, (2) who saith: "Homage to thee, O thou who hast come as "Khepera, Khepera, the creator of the gods. Thou risest, thou shinest, (3) making "bright thy mother [Nut], crowned king of the gods. [Thy] mother Nut (4) "doeth homage unto thee with both her hands. (4) The land of Manu "receiveth thee with content, and the goddess Maāt (5) embraceth thee at the two "seasons. May he give splendour, and power, and triumph, and (5) a coming-forth "[i.e., resurrection] as a living soul to see Horus of the two horizons (6) to the

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1 The numbers in parentheses indicate the lines of the papyrus.
2 The god Khepera is usually represented with a beetle for a head; and the scarab, or beetle, was sacred to him. The name means "to become, to turn, to roll," and the abstract noun kheperu may be rendered by "becomings," or "evolutions." The god was self-created, and was the father of all the other gods; men and women sprang from the tears which fell from his eyes; and the animal and vegetable worlds owed their existence to him. Khepera is a phase of Tm, the night-sun, at the twelfth hour of the night, when he "becomes" the rising sun or Harmachis (i.e., Horus in the horizon). He is also described as "Khepera in the morning, Rā at mid-day, and Tm in the evening." See Lanzone, Dictionario, p. 97 f.; Grébaut, Hymne à Ammon-Rā, p. 164, note 2; Pierré, Panthion, pp. 74, 75; Lefèbure, Traduction Comparative des Hymnes au Soleil, p. 39; De Rougé, Inscription d'Akhmès, p. 110; Archéologie Egyptienne, vol. 52, p. 541 f.; Wiedemann, Die Religion der Alten Agypter, p. 17; Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie, p. 245, etc.
3 The goddess Nut represented the sky, and perhaps also the exact place where the sun rose. She was the wife of Seb, the Earth-god, and gave birth to Isis, Osiris, and other gods. One of her commonest titles is "mother of the gods." She is depicted as a woman bearing a vase upon her head, and sometimes wears the disk and horns usually characteristic of Isis and Hathor. She was the daughter and mother of Rā. See Lanzone, Dictionario, p. 392; Pierré, Panthion, pp. 34, 36; Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie, pp. 603-610.
4 Manu is the name given to the mountains on the western bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes, wherein was situated tu Manu, "the mountain of Manu," the chief site of rock-hewn tombs. See Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 259.
5 Maāt, "daughter of the Sun, and queen of the gods," is the personification of righteousness and truth and justice. In many papyri she is represented as leading the deceased into the Hall of Double Maāt, where his heart is to be weighed against her emblem. She usually wears the feather, emblematic of Truth, and is called the "lady of heaven": see Lanzone, Dictionario, p. 276 (and tav. 109, where the twin-goddesses Maāt are shown); Pierré, Panthion, p. 201. She is sometimes represented blindfold: see Wiedemann, Religion der alten Agypter, p. 78. For figures of the goddess in bronze and stone, see Nos. 380, 383, 386, 11,109, and 11,114 in the British Museum.
6 Hern-khuti, i.e., "Horus of the two horizons," the Harmachis of the Greeks, is the day-sun from his rising in the eastern horizon to his setting in the western horizon; for the various forms in which he is represented, see Lanzone, Dictionario, tav. 129. Strictly speaking, he is the rising sun, and is one of the most important forms of Horus. As god of mid-day and evening he is called Rā-Harmachis and Tm-Harmachis respectively. The sphinx at Gizeh was dedicated to him.
"ka" of Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant before Osiris, (6) who saith: Hail all ye gods of the Temple of the Soul, who weigh heaven and earth in the balance, and who provide food and abundance of meat. Hail Tatunen, One, (7) creator of mankind and of the substance of the gods of the south and of the north, of the west and of the east. Ascribe [ye] praise unto Ra, the lord of heaven, the (8) Prince, Life, Health, and Strength, the Creator of the gods, and adore ye him in his beautiful Presence as he riseth in the Akh boat. (9) They who dwell in the heights and they who dwell in the depths worship thee. "Thoth" and Maat both are thy recorders. Thine enemy is given to the (10) fire, the evil one hath fallen; his arms are bound, and his legs hath Ra taken from him. The children of (11) impotent revolt shall never rise up again.

1 According to the Egyptian belief man consisted of a body, a soul, and a ka. The word ka means "image," the Greek (compare Coptic), Peyron, Lexicon, p. 61. The ka seems to have been the "ghost," as we should say, of a man, and it has been defined as his abstract personality, to which, after death, the Egyptians gave a material form. It was a subordinate part of the human being during life, but after death it became active; and to it the offerings brought to the tomb by the relatives of the dead were dedicated. It was believed that it returned to the body and had a share in its re-vivification. See Birch, Mémories sur une paître Égyptienne (in Trans. Soc. Imp. des Antiquaires de France, 1858; Chabas, Papyrus Magique, pp. 28, 29; Maspero, Étude sur quelques peintures, p. 191 f.; Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. vi, p. 494 f.; Brugsch, Agyptologik, p. 181; Wiedemann, Religion der alten Aegypter, p. 126 f).

2 The deceased is always identified with Osiris, or the sun which has set, the judge and god of the dead. As the sun sets in the west and rises again in the east, so the dead man is laid in his tomb on the western bank of the Nile, and after being acquitted in the Hall of Judgment, proceeds to the east to begin a new existence.

3 maāqeru or maāqeru. On this word, see Naville, Litanie du Soleil, p. 74; Devéria, L'Expression Māk-āqeru (in Recueil de Travaux, tom. i., p. 10 ff.).

4 Compare, and , Brugsch, Dict. Glog, pp. 185, 186.

5 Tatunen, or Tenen, was, like Seb with whom he was identified, the god of the earth; his name is often joined to that of Ptah, and he is then described as the creator of gods and men, and the maker of the egg of the sun and of the moon. See Lanzon, Dizionario, p. 1259; Wiedemann, Religion, p. 74; Pierret, Pantheon, p. 6; and Naville, La Litanie du Soleil, pp. 118, 119, and plate xxiv, l. 3. This god was, in one aspect, a destroyer of created things; compare, Naville, op. cit., p. 89.

6 A name for the boat of the evening sun.

7 See infra, p. 257, note a.

8 The enemy of Ra was darkness and night, or any cloud which obscured the light of the sun. The darkness personified was Aepet, Nâk, etc., and his attendant fiends were the mutu bêtêh, or "children of unsuccessful revolt."
"The House of the Prince is in the (12) mighty dwelling. The gods are glad when they see Ra in his rising; his beams flood the world with light. (13) The majesty of the god, who is to be feared, setteth forth and cometh unto the land of Manu; he maketh bright the earth at his birth each day; he cometh unto the place where he was yesterday. (14) O mayest thou be at peace with me; may I behold thy beauties; may I advance upon the earth; may I smite the Ass; may I crush (15) the evil one; may I destroy Apep² in his hour³; may I see the ḫḥ₃ fish at the time of his creation, and the ḫḥ₄ fish in his creation, and the (16) ḫḥ₄ boat in its lake. May I see Horus in charge of the rudder, with Thoth

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¹ [Ra], more fully [Ra], "the great house of the old man," i.e., the great temple of Ra at Heliopolis: see Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 153.
² Apep, the serpent, personifying darkness, which Horus or the rising sun must conquer before he can re-appear in the East.
³ Compare the following scenes which represent Apep in the form of a serpent and crocodile and ass being pierced by the deceased.

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² The ḫḥ₃ and the ḫḥ₄ fishes are sometimes depicted on coffins swimming at the bows of the boat of the sun.
"and Maat beside him; may I grasp the bows of the (17) seketet\(^1\) boat, and the "stern of the aet boat. May he grant unto the ka of Osiris Ani to behold the "disk of the Sun and to see the Moon-god without ceasing, every day; and "may my soul (18) come forth and walk hither and thither and whithersoever it "pleaseth. May my name be proclaimed when it is found upon the board of the "table of (22) offerings; may offerings be made unto me in my (24) presence, even "as they are made unto the followers of Horus; may there be prepared for me a "seat in the boat of the Sun on the day of the going forth of the (26) god; and "may I be received into the presence of Osiris in the land (28) of triumph!"

Appendix: The following versions of this chapter are taken from: I. Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Pl. xiv.; II. Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Pl. xv.; III. British Museum Papyrus No. 9901; and IV. British Museum Papyrus No. 10,471.

I. (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Behold Osiris, Qenna the merchant, (2) who saith: "Homage to thee, "in thy rising thou Tmu in thy crowns of beauty. Thou risest, thou risest, thou Rā "shinest, (3) thou shinest, at dawn of day. Thou art crowned like unto the king of "the gods, and the goddess Shuti doeth homage unto thee. (4) The company "of the gods praise thee from the double-dwelling. Thou goest forth over the "upper air and thy heart is filled with gladness. (5) The seket boat draweth "onward as [Rā] cometh to the haven in the aet boat with fair winds. Rā "rejoiceth, Rā rejoiceth. (6) Thy father is Nu, thy mother is Nut, and thou art crowned "as Rā-Harmachis. Thy sacred boat advanceth in peace. Thy foe hath been cast "down and his (7) head hath been cut off; the heart of the Lady of life rejoiceth in that "the enemy of her lord hath been overthrown. The mariners of Rā have content of "heart and Annu rejoiceth."

(8) The merchant Qenna saith: "I have come to thee, O Lord of the gods, "Tmu-Harmachis, who passest over the earth . . . . . (9) I know that by which thou "dost live. Grant that I may be like unto one of those who are thy favoured (10) ones "among the followers] of the great god. May my name be proclaimed, may it be "found, may it be lastingly renewed with . . . . (11) The oars are lifted into the seket "boat, and the sacred boat cometh in peace. (12) May I see Rā when he appeareth in "the sky at dawn, and when his enemies have fallen at the block. (13) May I behold "[Horus] guiding the rudder and steering with [his] two hands. (14) May I "see the abtu fish at the moment of his creation; and may I see the ant fish when he "maketh himself manifest at creation, and the ant boat upon its lake. O thou Only "One, O thou Mighty One, thou Growing One, (15) who dost never wax faint, and

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\(^1\) A name of the boat of the rising sun.
"from whom power cannot be taken, . . . . . . . . . the devoted (17) servant of "the lord of Abītu."

The merchant Qenna saith: (18) "Hymn to thee Ḫeru-Khuti-Tmu, Ḫeru-Khepera, "mighty hawk, who dost cause the body [of man] to make merry, beautiful of face by "reason of thy two great plumes. Thou (19) waketh up in beauty at the dawn, when "the company of the gods and mortals sing songs of joy unto thee; hymns of "praise are offered unto thee at eventide. The (20) starry deities also adore thee. O thou "firstborn, who dost lie without movement, (21) arise; thy mother showeth loving-"kindness unto thee every day. Ṛā liveth and the fiend Nak is dead; thou dost endure "for ever, and the (22) fiend hath fallen.

"Thou sailest over the sky with life and strength. The goddess Nehebka is in "(23) the ăket boat; the sacred boat rejoiceth. Thy heart is glad and thy brow is "wreathed with the twin serpents."

II. (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO ṚĀ WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Behold Osiris, Qenna the merchant, triumphant, who saith: (2) "Hymn to thee, O thou who risest in Nu, and who at thy birth dost make the world "bright with light; all the company of the gods (3) sing hymns of praise unto thee. The "beings who minister unto Osiris cherish him as King of the North and of the South, the "beautiful and beloved man-child. When (4) he riseth, mortals live. The nations rejoice "in him, and the Spirits of Annu sing unto him songs of joy. The Spirits of the towns of "Pe and Nekhen (5) exalt him, the apes of dawn adore him, and all beasts and cattle "praise (6) him with one accord. The goddess Sebā overthroweth thine enemies, there-"fore rejoice (7) within thy boat; and thy mariners are content thereat. Thou hast arrived "in the ăket boat, and thy heart sweleth with joy. O Lord of the gods, when thou "(8) dost create them, they ascribe praises unto thee. The azure goddess Nut doth "compass thee on every side, and the god Nu floodeth thee with his rays of light. "(9) O cast thou thy light upon me and let me see thy beauties, me, the (10) Osiris "Qenna the merchant, triumphant! When thou goest forth over the earth I will sing "praises unto thy fair (11) face. Thou risest in the horizon of heaven, and [thy] disk is "adored [when] it resteth upon the mountain to give life unto the world."

Saith Qenna the merchant, triumphant: (12) "Thou risest, thou risest, coming forth "from the god Nu. Thou dost become young again and art the same as thou wert "yesterday, O mighty youth who hast created thyself. Not . . . . . my hand. (13) "Thou hast come with thy splendidors, and thou hast made heaven and earth bright with "thy rays of pure emerald light. The land of Punt is (14) established for the perfumes "which thou smellest with thy nostrils. (15) Thou risest, O thou marvellous Being, in "heaven, the twin serpents are placed upon thy brow, and thou art lord of the world and "the inhabitants (16) thereof; [the company] of the gods and Qenna the merchant, "triumphant, adore thee."

III. (1, 2) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO ṚĀ WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. (3) Behold Osiris Hunefer, triumphant, who saith: "Hymn to "thee, O thou who art Ṛā when thou (4) risest and Tmu when thou settest. Thou "risest, thou risest; thou shinest, (5) thou shinest, thou who art crowned king of the
"Gods. Thou art the lord of heaven, [thou art] the lord of earth, [thou art] the creator of those who dwell in the heights (6) and of those who dwell in the depths. [Thou art] the One god who came into (7) being in the beginning of time. Thou didst create the earth, (8) thou didst fashion man, thou didst make the watery abyss of the sky, thou didst form Hapi [the Nile], and thou art the maker of streams and of the (9) great deep, and thou givest life to all that is therein. Thou hast knit (10) together the mountains, thou hast made mankind and the beasts of the field, thou hast created the heavens and the earth. Worshipped be thou whom the goddess Maât embraceth at morn and at eve. Thou dost travel across the (11) sky with heart swelling with joy; the Lake of Testes is at peace. The fiend Nâk hath fallen and his two arms are cut off. The sekhet boat receiveth fair winds, and the heart of him that is in his shrine rejoiceth. Thou (12) art crowned with a heavenly form, the Only one, provided [with all things]. Râ cometh forth from Nu in triumph. O thou mighty youth, thou everlasting son, self-begotten, who didst give thyself birth, (13) O thou mighty One, of myriad forms and aspects, king of the world, Prince of Anu, lord of eternity and ruler of the everlasting, the company of the gods rejoice when thou risest and when thou sailest (14) across the sky, O thou who art exalted in the sekhet boat. Homage to thee, O Amen-Râ, thou who dost rest upon Maât, thou who passest over the heaven, and every face seeth thee. Thou dost wax great as thy (15) Majesty doth advance, and thy rays are upon all faces. Thou art unknown and canst not be searched out. . . . . . his fellow except thyself; thou art (16) the Only One . . . . . . . . [Men] praise thee in thy name [Râ], and they swear by thee, for thou art lord over them. Thou hast heard (17) with thine ears and thou hast seen with thine eyes. Millions of years have gone over the world; I cannot tell the number of them, through which thou hast passed. Thy heart hath decreed a day of happiness in thy name [of Râ]. Thou dost pass over (18) and traveller through untold spaces of millions and hundreds of thousands of years; thou settest out in peace, and thou steerest thy way across the watery abyss to the place which thou lovest; this thou dost in one (19) little moment of time, and thou dost sink down and makest an end of the hours.

Osisiris, the governor of the palace of the lord of the two lands (i.e., Seti I.), Hunefer, triumphant, saith: (20) "Hail my lord, thou that passest through eternity and whose being is everlasting. Hail thou Disk, lord of beams of light, thou risest and thou makest all mankind to live. Grant thou that I may behold thee at dawn each day."

IV. A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RÂ by Nebht, the royal scribe, captain of soldiers, who saith: "Homage to thee, O thou glorious Being, thou who art provided [with all things]. O Tmu-Þeru-khuti, when thou risest in the horizon of heaven, a cry of joy cometh out of the mouth of all peoples. O thou beautiful Being, thou dost renew thyself in thy season in the form of the Disk within thy mother Hathor; therefore in every place every heart swelleth with joy at thy rising, for ever. The eastern and the "western parts of heaven come to thee with homage, and give forth sounds of joy at thy "rising. O Râ, thou who art Þeru-khuti (Harmachis), the mighty man-child, the heir of "eternity, self-begotten and self-born, king of earth, prince of the netherworld, governor "of the mountains of Aukert (i.e., the netherworld), thou dost rise in the horizon of "heaven and sheddest upon the world beams of emerald light; thou art born from the
"water, thou art sprung from Nu, who fostereth thee and ordereth thy members. O thou
who art crowned king of the gods, god of life, lord of love, all the nations live when
thou dost shine. The goddess Nut doeth homage unto thee, and the goddess
Maāt embraceth thee at all times. They who are in thy following sing unto thee with
joy and bow down to the earth when they meet thee, the god of heaven, the lord of
earth, the king of right and truth, the god of eternity, the everlasting ruler, the prince
of all the gods, the god of life, the creator of eternity, the maker of heaven by whom
is established all that therein is. The company of the gods rejoice at thy rising, the
earth is glad when it beholdeth thy rays; the peoples that have been long dead come
forth with cries of joy to see thy beauties. Thou goest forth over heaven and earth,
made strong each day by thy mother Nut. Thou passest through the uppermost
heaven, thy heart swelleth with joy; and the Lake of Testes is content thereat.
The Enemy hath fallen, his arms are hewn off, the knife hath cut asunder his joints.
Rā liveth in Maāt the beautiful. The sekhet boat draweth on and cometh into port;
the south, the north, the west and the east turn to praise thee, O thou unformed substance
of the earth, who didst create thyself. Isis and Nephthys salute thee, they sing unto thee
in thy boat hymns of joy, they shield thee with their hands. The souls of the East
follow thee, the souls of the West praise thee. Thou art the ruler of all gods and thou
hast joy of heart within thy shrine; for the Serpent Nāk is condemned to the fire, and
thy heart shall be joyful for ever. Thy mother Nut is adjudged to thy father Nu."

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PLATE II.

Vignette I.: The disk of the Sun ☉, supported by a pair of arms ⚭, proceeding from the ãnkh ♂, the sign of life, which in turn is supported by a tet ♦, the emblem of the East and of the god Osiris. The tet stands upon the horizon ☼. On each side of the disk are three dog-headed apes, spirits of the Dawn, their arms raised in adoration of the disk. On the right hand side of the tet is the goddess Nephthys ♂, and on the left is Isis ♀; each goddess raising her hands in adoration of the tet, and kneeling upon the emblem aāl (陸), or hemisphere. Above is the sky —. This vignette belongs properly to the hymn to the rising sun.²

¹ Maāt, unvarying and unalterable Law.
² Compare the vignette from British Museum papyrus No. 9921. (Fig. 1.)
In some papyri the apes are four (Naville, Das Aeg. Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 26), or seven (Naville, op. cit., Bd. I., Bl. 21) in number.
In the vignette which usually accompanies the hymn to the setting sun (Fig. 2), but which does not occur in the present papyrus, a hawk wearing on his head a disk encircled by a serpent, i.e., Rā-Harmachis
Text: (1) [Hymn to Osiris.] "Glory be to Osiris Un-nefer, the great god "within Abydos, king of eternity, lord of the everlasting, who passeth through "millions of years in his existence. Eldest son of the womb (2) of Nut, "engendered by Seb the Erpât,1 lord of the crowns of the North and South, lord "of the lofty white crown. As Prince of gods and of men (3) he hath received the "crook and the flail and the dignity of his divine fathers.2 Let thy heart which is

1 The word $\text{er\-pât}$ is composed of $\text{er}$ "chief" and $\text{pât}$ a "clan," "tribe," or "family"; Seb, then, was the prince of the family of the gods. Erpât is a very ancient word, and was probably in use in Egypt before suten, the common word for "king." For a discussion on this point see Maspero, Un Manuel de Hiéroglyphe Égyptienne, p. 15 ff.; Brugsch, Ägyptologie, p. 210.

2 Osiris, the night sun, was the son of Râ, and the father and son of Horus. He is always represented as a mummy holding in his hands the sceptre $\text{𓊒}$, crook $\text{𓊞}$, and flail $\text{𓊇}$. See Lanzone, Dizionario, p. 690 ff.; Wiedemann, Religion, p. 123 ff.; Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie, p. 611 ff.
in the mountain of Amenta be content, for thy son Horus is established upon thy throne. (4) Thou art crowned lord of Tattu and ruler in Abtu. Through thee the world waxeth green in triumph before the might of Neb-er-tcher. He leadeth in his train that which is and that which is not yet, in his name Ta-her-seta-nef; he toweth along the earth in triumph in his name Seker. He is (7) exceeding mighty and most terrible in his name Osiris. He endureth for ever and for ever in his name Un-nefer. (8) Homage to thee, King of kings, Lord of lords, Prince of princes, who from the womb of Nut hast possessed the world and hast ruled all lands and Akert. Thy body is of gold, thy head is of azure, and emerald light encircleth thee. O An of millions of years, (10) all-pervading with thy body and

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1 The name Tetet or Tattu was borne by two towns in Lower Egypt: Busiris, the metropolis of the 9th nome, and Mendes, the metropolis of the 16th nome. See Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 978, and De Rouge, Géographie Ancienne de la Basse Égypte, p. 58.

2 Both Busiris and Abydos claimed to be the resting place of the body of Osiris.

3 A name of Osiris when his scattered limbs had been brought together and built up again into a body by Isis and Nephthys: see Lanzoni, Dizionario, p. 714. The name means "lord of entirety."

4 I.e., The one who draws the world.

5 Seker is, like Ptah, Osiris, and Tenen, a form of the night sun. At the festival of this god, the Hennu boat, a symbol of the god Seker of Memphis, was drawn round the sanctuary at dawn at the moment when the sun casts its golden rays upon the earth. For a list of Seker's shrines, see Lanzoni, Dizionario, pp. 1117-1119. See also Wiedemann, Religion, p. 75; Piret, Panthéon, p. 66.

6 A name of Osiris which, as an important name, is written at times in a cartouche, e.g., It is usually explained to mean "the Good Being," although it has been suggested (Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1886) that "beautiful hare" is its signification.

7 A general term for a necropolis. Akert is the country of which Osiris was the prince; and it is mentioned as connected with Stat and Neter-khert, each of which is a name of the great necropolis on the western bank of the Nile. See Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 75; Lepsius, Totenbuch, chap. 165, l. 6; Naville, La Litanie du Soleil, p. 98.

8 An or Ani, a name or form of Ra, the Sun-god (compare "Ani at the head of the cycle of the gods," Grébaut, Hymne, p. 22), and also of Osiris. Ani is also identified with the Moon-god; compare
"beautiful in countenance in Ta-sert. Grant thou to the kâ of Osiris, the scribe "Ani, splendour in heaven and might upon earth and triumph in Neter-khet; and "that I may sail down to (11) Tattu like a living soul and up to (13) Abtu like a "bennu (phœnix); and that I may go in and come out without repulse at (15) the "pylons of the Tuat. May there be given unto (16) me loaves of bread in the "house of coolness, and (17) offerings of food in Annu, (18) and a homestead for "ever in Sekhet-Aru with wheat and barley (20) therefor."

PLATE III.

Vignette: Scene of the weighing of the Heart of the Dead. Ani and his wife enter the Hall of Double Law or Truth, wherein the heart ☿, emblematical of the conscience, is to be weighed in the balance against the feather ⚫, emblematical of law. Above, twelve gods, each holding a sceptre ⚫, are seated upon thrones before a table of offerings of fruit, flowers, etc. Their names are:—

Tmu; ⚫ ◦  ◦ Shu; ◦  ◦  ◦  ◦ Tefnut, “lady of heaven”; □ □ Seb; ◾ Nut, “lady of Heaven”; ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ Isis; □ □ Nephthys; □ □ Horus, “the great god”; ◦  ◦  ◦ ◦ ◦ Hathor, “lady of Amenta”; ◦  ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ Hu; and ◦  ◦ Sa. Upon the beam of the scales sits the dog-headed ape □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  which was associated every day. May we never cease to behold thy rays! Thoth protecteth thee and maketh thy soul to stand up in the maât boat in thy name of Moon.” For the identification of Ani with Horus, see Naville, La Litanie du Soleil, p. 99, note 10. The god Ani is also addressed as “Eye of Horus” by the deceased in the 89th chapter of the Book of the Dead, which refers to the “uniting of a soul to its body in the underworld.”

1 A name of the underworld.
2 Or Scy youth, a division of the Scy youth (see Plate XXXV), the Elysian fields wherein the souls of the blessed were supposed to reap and sow.
3 In British Museum papyrus No 9001 the goddess Mâêt ☾ is seated on the centre of the beam of the balance. The double Mâêt goddesses are at times represented standing beside the balance to watch the result of the weighing, and at the same time Mâêt is also placed in the scale to be weighed against the heart of the deceased (Fig. 1) (see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 136, Fr.). In the

* For the hieratic text, see De Horack, Lamentations d’Isis et de Nephthys, p. 4, II, 1-3.
with Thoth, the scribe of the gods. The god Anubis, jackal-headed, tests the tongue of the balance, the suspending bracket of which is in the form of the feather onium. The inscription above the head of Anubis reads: "He who is in the tomb saith, 'I pray thee, O weigher of righteousness, to guide (?) the balance that it may be established.'" On the left of the balance, facing Anubis, stands Ani's "Luck" or "Destiny," Shai onium, and above is the object called meskhen onium, which has been described as "a cubit with human head," and which is supposed to be connected with the place of birth. Behind these stand the goddesses Meskhenet onium and Renenet onium: Meskhenet.

Papyrus of Qenna the head of Anubis is on the beam, and the ape, wearing disk and crescent, is seated upon a pylon-shaped pedestal beside the balance (Fig. 2). Another vignette shows Horus holding Ma'at in his hand, weighing the heart in the presence of the Ma'at goddesses, and Anubis, holding the deceased by the hand, presents the heart to Osiris while Isis and Nephthys in the form of apes sit near (Fig. 3).

1 In the papyrus of Sutimes (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 43) the ape is called onium, "Lord of Khemennu, just weigher"; and in British Museum papyrus No. 9900, "Thoth, lord of the scales."

2 Birch, in Bunsen's Egypt's Place, vol. v., p. 259. In the papyrus of Anhai (British Museum, No. 10,472) there is a meskhen on each side of the upright of the balance: one is called Shai and the other Renen.

3 Four goddesses bore the name of Meskhen, and they were supposed to assist the resurrection of Osiris; they were associated with Tefnut, Nut, Isis, and Nephthys (see Lepsius, Denkmäler, iv., Bl. 59 a; and Mariette, Denkmäler, iv., pl. 74 a). Each wore upon her head the object onium, which is said by some to represent the blossoms of palm trees (Lanzoni, Dizionario, p. 329). Examples of this as an amulet, in hard stone, in the British Museum, are Nos. 8158, 8159, 8161, 26,618, and, in porcelain, No. 15,963.
presiding over the birth-chamber, and Renenet\(^1\) probably superintending the rearing of children. Behind the meskhen is the soul of Ani in the form of a human-headed bird standing on a pylon. On the right of the balance, behind Anubis, stands Thoth,\(^2\) the scribe of the gods, with his reed-pen and palette\(^3\) containing black and red ink, with which to record the result of the trial. Behind Thoth stands the female monster Ammit\(^4\), the "Devourer," or Am-mit. "the eater of the Dead."

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1 The name of this goddess is probably connected with the word renen, "to suckle." M. Pierrct identifies her with the goddess of that name who presided over harvests, and is described as the "lady of the offerings of all the gods" (Pantheon, p. 61), having a snake's head, which in some instances is surmounted by the disk, horns and feathers of the goddess Hathor (see Lanzon, Dizionario, tav. 188, No. 2).

2 Thoth was the personification of intelligence. He was self-created and self-existent, and was the "heart of Ra." He invented writing, letters, the arts and sciences, and he was skilled in astronomy and mathematics. Among his many titles are "lord of Law," "maker of Law," and "begetter of Law." He justified Osiris against his enemies, and he wrote the story of the fight between Horus, the son of Osiris, and Set. As "lord of Law" he presides over the trial of the heart of the dead, and, as being the justifier of the god Osiris against his enemies, he is represented in funereal scenes as the justifier also of the dead before Osiris (see Lanzon, Dizionario, p. 1264 ff., and tav. cccxiv., No. 1; Pierrct, Pantheon, pp. 10-14; and Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie, p. 439 ff.). Brugsch connects the name Tfehuti (Thoth) with the old Egyptian word tehu, "ibis," and he believes that it means the "being who is like an ibis." The word tehu also means "to measure," "to compute," "to weigh"; and as this god is called "the counter of the heavens and the stars, and of all that therein is," the connexion of the name Thoth with tehu is evident. Bronze and faience figures of the god represent him with the head of an ibis, and holding an utchat in his hands (see Nos. 481, 490 a, and 11,385 in the British Museum). The utchat, or eye of the sun, has reference to the belief that Thoth brought back each morning the light of the sun which had been removed during the night.

3 The palettes of the Egyptian scribe were rectangular, and were made of wood, stone, basalt, ivory (see Nos. 55124, 5513, 55254, and 12,779, etc., in the British Museum). They measure from 10 to 17 inches in length, and from 2 to 3 inches in width. They usually contain two round cavities to hold red and black ink, and a groove to hold the reed-pens. The inscriptions on them, which usually have reference to Thoth, are cut, or written in ink, or inlaid in colour; the name of the owner of the palette is generally added. The colours with which the Egyptians wrote were made of vegetable substances, coloured earths, and preparations of copper.

4 She is also called "Devourer of Amenta" (i.e., the underworld), and Shai (see Lanzon, Dizionario, p. 129). In the British Museum papyrus No. 9901 she is described as—

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{hät} & \text{en} & \text{em-suh} & \text{pehu - s} \\
\text{em} & \text{teht}
\end{array}\]

"the fore-part of a crocodile; her hind quarters [are those] of a hippopotamus;

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{her-ás-set} & \text{em} & \text{mia}
\end{array}\]

her middle part [is that] of a lion."
Text: [Chapter XXXb. ] Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith: 1 "My heart my mother, "my heart my mother, my heart my coming into being! May there be nothing to "resist me at [my] judgment; may there be no opposition to me from the Tchatcha; 2 "may there be no parting of thee from me in the presence of him who keepeth the "scales! Thou art my ka within my body [which] knitteth 3 and strengtheneth my "limbs. Mayest thou come forth to the place of happiness to which 4 I am advancing. "May the Shenit 5 not cause my name to stink, and may no lies be spoken against "me in the presence of the god! 6 Good is it for thee to hear." 7

Thoth, the righteous judge of the great company of the gods who are in the presence of the god Osiris, saith: "Hear ye this judgment. The heart of Osiris "hath in very truth been weighed, and his soul hath stood as a witness for him; "it hath been found true by trial in the Great Balance. There hath not been "found any wickedness in him; he hath not wasted the offerings in the temples; "he hath not done harm by his deeds; and he uttered no evil reports while he "was upon earth.

The great company of the gods reply to Thoth dwelling in Khemennu: "That "which cometh forth from thy mouth hath been ordained. Osiris, the scribe

The Devourer usually stands near the balance instead of behind Thoth; but there is one papyrus quoted by Naville, (Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 136) in which she is shown crouching beside the lake of fire in the infernal regions.

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1 Ani's speech forms the text of Chapter XXXb. as numbered by M. Naville (Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 43).
2 The four gods of the cardinal points, Meštā, Ḥāpi, Tuamāutef, and Qebhünnuf (see Naville, Todtenbuch Einleitung, p. 164).
3 Some copies read, "Thou art my ka within my body, the god Khnenu (i.e., "Moulder"), who unitteth (or formeth) and strengtheneth my limbs." Khnenu was called "builder of men, maker of the gods, the father from the beginning; creator of things which are," etc.
4 British Museum papyrus No. 9901 has "place of happiness to which thou goest with me."
5 A class of divine beings.
6 I.e., "the great god, lord of Amenta."
7 This sentence appears to be unfinished; see the Egyptian text, p. 12.
"Ani, triumphant, is holy and righteous. He hath not sinned, neither hath he done evil against us. Let it not be given to the devourer Āmemet to prevail over him. "Meat-offerings and entrance into the presence of the god Osiris shall be granted unto him, together with a homestead for ever in Sekhet-hetepu, as unto the "followers of Horus."

PLATE IV.

Vignette: Ani, found just, is led into the presence of Osiris. On the left the hawk-headed god Horus, the son of Isis, wearing the double crown of the North and the South, takes Ani by the hand and leads him forward towards "Osiris, the lord of eternity" 𓊎𓊐 نقارة, who is enthroned on the right within a shrine in the form of a funereal chest. The god wears the atef crown with plumes; a menat (see p. 245, note 2) hangs from the back of his neck; and he holds in his hands the crook 𓊐, sceptre 𓊐, and flail 𓊑, emblems of sovereignty and dominion. He is wrapped in bandages ornamented with scale-work. The side of his throne is painted to resemble the doors of the tomb. Behind him stand Nephthys on his right hand and Isis on his left. Facing him, and standing on a lotus flower, are the four "children of Horus (or Osiris)," or gods of the cardinal points. The first, Mestha, has the head of a man; the second, Ḫāpi, the head of an ape; the third, Ģumāutef, the head of a jackal; and the fourth, Qebhsennu, the head of a hawk. Suspended near the lotus is an object which is usually called a panther's skin, but is more probably a bullock's hide.

The roof of the shrine is supported on pillars with lotus capitals, and is surmounted by a figure of Horus-Sept or Horus-Seker and rows of uræi.

In the centre Ani kneels before the god upon a reed mat, raising his right hand in adoration, and holding in his left hand the kherp sceptre 𓊐. He wears a whitened wig surmounted by a "cone," the signification of which is unknown. Round his neck is a deep collar of precious stones. Near him stands a table of offerings of meat, fruit, flowers, etc., and in the compartments above are a number of vessels for wine, beer, oil, wax, etc., together with bread, cakes, ducks, a wreath, and single flowers.

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1 On the bullock's hide, in which the deceased, or the person who represented him, was supposed to wrap himself, see Virey, Tombeau de Rekhmara, p. 50, and plate 26, lower register.
Appendix: The shrine is in some instances represented in the shape of a pylon, the cornice of which is ornamented either with uraei or with the disk of the sun and feathers, emblematic of Maāt. It usually rests upon a base made in the shape of a cubit. The throne upon which Osiris sits is placed upon reed mats (British Museum papyrus No. 10,471), or upon the cubit-shaped base, or in a pool of water, from which springs a lotus flower with buds and having the four gods of the cardinal points (see British Museum papyrus No. 9001) standing upon it. In some of the oldest papyri the body of Osiris is painted white, and he stands upright. Isis is described as “great lady, divine mother,” and Nephthys as “the mistress of the underworld.” In British Museum papyrus No. 10,471 the scene of the presentation of the deceased to Osiris is unusual and of interest. On the right the scribe Nekh and his wife Thuāu stand with both hands raised in adoration of Osiris. Behind them, upon a cubit-shaped base, is a house with four windows in its upper half, and upon the roof two triangular projections similar to those which admit air into modern houses in the East. Before the door are a sycamore(?), a pear tree and a palm tree, with clusters of fruit; on the left is the god Osiris on his throne, and behind him stands “Maāt, mistress of the two countries, daughter of Rā,” above whom are two outstretched female arms proceeding from a mountain and holding a disk between the hands. In the centre, between Osiris and the deceased, is a pool of water with three sycamore(?) trees on each side, and at each corner a palm tree bearing clusters of dates; and from it there springs a vine laden with bunches of grapes.

In British Museum papyrus No. 10,472 the god seated in the shrine wears the crown of the god Tanet, and is called “Ptah-Seker-Āusār, within the hidden place, great god, lord of Ta-sert, king of eternity, prince of the everlasting.”

Text: Saith Horus, the son of Isis: “I have come unto thee, O Unnefer, and “I have brought the Osiris Ani unto thee. His heart is [found] righteous coming “forth from the balance, and it hath not sinned against god or goddess. Thoth “hath weighed it according to the decree uttered unto him by the company
"of the gods; and it is very true and righteous. Grant him cakes and ale; "and let him enter into the presence of Osiris; and may he be like unto the "followers of Horus for ever."

Behold, Osiris Ani saith: "O Lord of Amentet (the underworld), I am in thy "presence. There is no sin in me, I have not lied wittingly, nor have I done "aught with a false heart. Grant that I may be like unto those favoured ones "who are round about thee, and that I may be an Osiris, greatly favoured of the "beautiful god and beloved of the lord of the world, [I] the royal scribe indeed, "who lovesth him, Ani, triumphant before the god Osiris."

**Appendix:** The usual title of this chapter [XXXb.] is, "Chapter of not allowing the heart of [the deceased] to be driven away from him in the underworld." It is an address by the deceased to his own heart, which he calls his *ka* or "double" within his body. It should be accompanied by a vignette of the trial of the heart in which the heart is weighed against the dead man himself, as in the ancient Nebseni papyrus.

In the Ani papyrus, however, it will be observed that the heart is being weighed against the feather of the Law, Maāt, a scene which often accompanies Chapter CXXV.

Interesting variants of the vignettes of Chapter XXXb. are given by Naville (*Todtenbuch*, Bd. I, Bl. 43), where we find the deceased addressing either his heart placed on a stand, a beetle, or a heart to which are attached the antennae of a beetle. In certain papyri this chapter is followed by a rubric: "[This chapter is] to be said over a "scarab" of green stone encircled with *snw* metal, and [having] a ring of silver, which "is to be placed upon the neck of the dead. This chapter was found in Khemenu,

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1. .....
2. Chapter XXXa. is never found inscribed upon scarabs.
3. *I.e.*, Hermopolis Magna, the metropolis of Un, the 15th nome of Upper Egypt, the city called *Σεβοθι* by the Copts, and Eshmünēn, by the Arabs. It was the abode of the "eight" (*šeptenu*) great primeval gods, and of Thoth, the scribe of the gods. (See Meyer and Dümichen, *Geschichte des alt. Ägypten*, p. 185.)
4. M
"written upon a slab of steel of the South, in the writing of the god himself, under "the feet of the majesty of the god, in the time of the majesty of Men-kau-Ra,¹ the "king of the North and of the South, triumphant, by the royal son Ḫeru-ḥaš-š,² who "found it while he was journeying to inspect the temples."³

The scarabs which are found in the mummies, or lying upon the breast just above the position of the heart, form an interesting section of every large Egyptian collection. In the British Museum series every important type of the funerary scarab is represented. They are made of green basalt, green granite (Nos. 7894 and 15,497), white limestone (Nos. 7917, 7927, 15,508), light green marble (No. 7905), black stone (Nos. 7907, 7909, 7913), blue paste (Nos. 7904, 14,549), blue glass (No. 22,872), and purple, blue, or green glazed faience (Nos. 7868, 7869). They vary in size from 5 inches to 2 inches in length. On the hard stone examples the text of the Chapter of the Heart, more or less complete, is usually cut on the base in outline; but it is sometimes traced in red ink (No. 7915), or in gold (No. 15,518). Incuse hieroglyphics are sometimes filled with gold (No. 7881). The name of the person with whom the scarab was buried usually precedes the text of the Chapter of the Heart; but in many instances blank spaces are found left without insertion of the name—a proof that these amulets were bought ready-made. The base however is often quite plain (Nos. 7965, 7966), or figures of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys occupy the place of the usual inscription (Nos. 15,500, 15,507). The backs of scarabs are generally quite plain, but we find examples inscribed with figures of the boat of the Sun [Plate IV]. Osiris, with flail and crook [Plate IV], the bennu bird [Plate IV], and the u'as [Plate IV] (No. 7883), Ṭa and Osiris (No. 15,507), and the bennu bird with the inscription [Plate IV] neteri ab en Rā, "the mighty heart of Rā" (No. 7878). A fine hard, green stone scarab of the Greek or Roman period has upon the back the figures of four Greek deities (No. 7966). In rare instances, the beetles have a human face (Nos. 7876, 15,516) or head (No. 7999). Carefully made scarabs have usually a band of gold across and down the back where the wings join: an example of the late period (No. 7977) has the whole of the back gilded. The scarab was set in a gold oval ring, at one end of which was a smaller ring for suspension from the neck or for attachment to the bandages of the mummy (No. 15,504). The green glazed faience scarab of Thothmes III. (No. 18,190) was suspended by a gold chain from a bronze torque. A thick gold wire to fit the neck is attached to No. 24,401. The base of the scarab is sometimes in the form of a heart (Nos. 7917, 7925). A remarkable example of this variety is No. 7925, in which are

¹ The fifth king of the IVth dynasty.
² This prince is said to have been a very learned man, whose speech was difficult to be understood (see Wiedemann, Aeg. Geschichte, p. 191).
³ For the hieroglyphic text, see pp. 13-15. This rubric was published by Birch, Aeg. Zeitschrift, p. 54; and by Rosellini, Breve Notizia interno un frammento di Töpiro funebre Egizio esistente nel ducale museo di Parma; Parma, 1839, 8vo.
the emblems of "life," "stability," and "protection," engraved on the upper part of the base. Across the back of this scarab is:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Emblem 1} \\
\text{Emblem 2}
\end{array} \]

On the right wing:
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Emblem 3} \\
\text{Emblem 4}
\end{array} \] and on the left:
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Emblem 5} \\
\text{Emblem 6}
\end{array} \]

A highly polished, fine green basalt scarab with a human face (No. 7876) is set in a gold base, upon the face and edges of which are cut part of the Chapter of the Heart. At a period subsequent to the XXIInd dynasty inscribed funerary scarabs in marble, paste, etc., were set in pylon-shaped pectorals made of Egyptian porcelain, glazed blue, green, or yellow, which were sewed to the mummy bandages over the heart. On such pectorals the boat of the Sun is either traced in colors or worked in relief, and the scarab is placed so as to appear to be carried in the boat; on the left stands Isis, and on the right Nephthys (Nos. 7857, 7864, 7865).

**PLATES V. AND VI.**

**Vignettes:** The funerary procession to the tomb; running the length of the two plates. In the centre of Plate V. the mummy of the dead man is seen lying in a chest or shrine mounted on a boat with runners, which is drawn by oxen. In the boat, at the head and foot of the mummy, are two small models of Nephthys and Isis. By the side kneels Ani's wife Thuthu, lamenting. In front of the boat is the *Sem* priest burning incense in a censer, and pouring out a libation from a vase; he wears his characteristic dress, a panther's skin. Eight mourners follow, one of whom has his hair whitened. In the rear a sepulchral ark or chest, surmounted by a figure of Anubis and ornamented with emblems of "protection" and "stability," is drawn on a sledge by four attendants, and is followed by two others. By their side walk other attendants carrying Ani's palette, boxes, chair, couch, staff, etc.

In Plate VI. the procession is continued up to the tomb. In the centre is a

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1. "Thou goest forth over heaven in three-fold peace [in] thy sekett boat; when thou showest thy face . . . . . . thee."
2. "He giveth to thee thine eyes to see therewith, and thine ears [to hear therewith]."
3. For a bronze censer similar in shape, see No. 5396 a, Fourth Egyptian Room.
4. It is similar in shape to the chests which held the four jars containing the mumified intestines of the deceased. For examples of them see Nos. 8543a, 8543b in the Third Egyptian Room.
group of wailing women, followed by attendants carrying on yokes boxes of flowers, vases of unguents, etc. In the right centre are a cow with her calf, chairs of painted wood with flowers upon them, and an attendant with shaven head, carrying a haunch, newly cut, for the funereal feast. The group on the right is performing the last rites. Before the door of the tomb stands the mummy of Ani to receive the final honours; behind him, embracing him, stands Anubis, the god of the tomb; and at his feet, in front, kneels Thothu to take a last farewell of her husband's body. Before a table of offerings stand two priests: the Sem priest, who wears a panther's skin, holding in his right hand a libation vase, and in his left a censer; and a priest holding in his right hand an instrument\(^1\) with which he is about to touch the mouth and eyes of the mummy, and in his left the instrument \(\rightarrow\) for "opening the mouth." Behind or beside them on the ground, in a row, lie the instruments employed in the ceremony of "opening the mouth,"\(^2\) etc., the mesket instrument \(\rightarrow\), the sepulchral box \(\square\), the boxes of purification \(\equiv\equiv\), the libation vases \(\bigcirc\bigcirc\), the ostrich feather \(\beta\), and the instruments called Seb-ur, Temânu or Tun-lit \(\rightarrow\), and the Pesh-en-kef \(\gamma\). The Kher-heb priest stands behind reading the service of the dead from a papyrus.

Appendix: In the papyrus of Hunefer a slab or stele with rounded top \(\square\) is placed by the door of the tomb (Fig. 1, p. 265). In the upper part of it the deceased is shown adoring Osiris, and below is the legend,\(^3\) "Hail, Osiris, the chief of Amenta, the lord of eternity,

\(^1\) This instrument is called \(\bigcirc\bigcirc \rightarrow \operatorname{ur} \text{heka}\), and is made of a sinuous piece of wood, one end of which is in the form of a ram's head surmounted by a uraeus (Fig. 1).

\(^2\) In the Neb-seni papyrus the "Guardian of the Scale" opens the mouth of the deceased (Fig. 2).
“spreading out in everlastingness, lord of adorations, chief of the company of his gods; and hail, Anubis [dweller] in the tomb, great god, chief of the holy dwelling. May they grant that I may go into and come out from the underworld, that I may follow Osiris in all his festivals at the beginning of the year, that I may receive cakes, and that I may go forth into the presence of [Osiris]; I, the double (ka) of Osiris, the greatly favoured of his god, Hu-nefer.” In the upper register of this section of the papyrus is the text of the “Chapter of opening the mouth of the statue of Osiris.” The complete scene, including this stele and vignette, appears in the tomb of Pe-ta-Amen-Apt. In the vignette of the first chapter of the Book of the Dead in the papyrus of Neb-qtet the soul of the deceased is represented descending the steps of the tomb to carry food to its mummy in the underground chamber (Fig. 2).

Fig. 1.

The ceremonies which took place at the door of the tomb in an Egyptian funeral are of considerable interest. The priest called Kher-hab, holding the Sem priest by the arm, gives directions for the slaughter of “a bull of the South.” The slaughterer, standing on the bull, cuts off a fore-leg (Fig. 3) and takes out the heart. A woman, called the Tcherduur, who personifies Isis, then whispers in the deceased’s ear, “Behold, thy lips are set in order for thee, so that thy mouth may be opened.” Next, an antelope and a duck

1 Devéria and Pierret, Papyrus Funéraire de Neb-qtet, plate 3.
2 The following description of them is based upon the chapters on this subject in Dümichen, Der Grabpalast des Patumenuat, Abth. 11, plates 2 ff., pp. 3 ff.
3 $\text{dri.}$
4 $\text{smennu.}$
are brought by order of the Kher-hab, and their heads are cut off. The Kher-hab then addresses the Sem priest: "I have seized them for thee, I have brought unto thee thine enemies. His hands bring his head [as] his gift. I have slain them for thee, O Tmu; let not his enemies rise up against this god." The slaughterer then presents the thigh to the Kher-hab, and the heart to an official whose title was Smer, and all three then "place the thigh and the heart upon the ground before this god" (i.e., Osiris). The Kher-hab then says to the deceased, represented by his mummy or statue: "I have brought unto thee the thigh (Fig. 4) as the Eye of Horus. I have brought unto thee the heart; let there be no rising up against this god. I have brought unto thee the antelope, his head is cut off; I have brought unto thee the duck, his head is cut off." Here the sacrifice ends.

The next part of the ceremony, i.e., "the opening of the mouth and eyes," is performed by the Sem priest, who addresses the deceased: "I have come to embrace thee, I am thy son Horus, I have pressed thy mouth; I am thy son, I love thee. His mother beats her breast and weeps for him, and those who are in chains with him (i.e., Isis and Nephthys) beat their breasts. Thy mouth was closed, but I have set in order for

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1 The slaughter of the antelope and duck typified the destruction of the enemies of the deceased; for, when Horus destroyed the enemies of his father Osiris, "he cut off their heads [which took] the "form of ducks in the sky, making them to fall headlong to the ground in the form of antelopes, and "into the water in the form of fishes." For the text, see Schiaparelli, Il Libro dei Funerari degli Antichi Egiziani (in Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei; Rome, 1883 and 1890), p. 94; Naville, Totenbuch, chap. 134.
"thee thy mouth and thy teeth." The Kher-heb next calls on the Sem priest four times:
"O Sem, take the Serow (Fig. 5) and open the mouth and the eyes"; and while the Sem priest is performing the ceremony the Kher-heb continues: "Thy mouth was closed, but I have set in order for thee thy mouth and thy teeth. I open for thee thy mouth, I open for thee thy two eyes. I have opened for thee thy mouth with the instrument of Anubis. I have opened thy mouth with the instrument of Anubis, with the iron tool with which the mouths of the gods were opened. Horus, open the mouth, Horus, open the mouth. Horus hath opened the mouth of the dead, as he whilom opened the mouth of Osiris, with the iron which came forth from Set, with the iron tool (Fig. 6) with which he opened the mouths of the gods. He hath opened thy mouth with it. The dead shall walk and shall speak, and his body shall [be] with the great company of the gods in the Great House of the Aged one in Annu, and he shall receive there the ureret crown from Horus, the lord of mankind." The Kher-heb next says: "Let the Ami-Khent priest (Fig. 7) stand behind him (i.e., the deceased), and say, 'My father, my father,' four times." The eldest son of the deceased then stands behind the deceased, and in his name the Kher-heb says: "His mother beateth her breast and weepeth for him, and "those who are in chains with him also beat their breasts." Another priest, called Ami-Khent-Horus, takes up the same position and says: "Isis goeth unto Horus, who "embraceth his father." A priestly official belonging to the mescenti class then goes behind the deceased, and the Sem, Smer and Kher-heb priests stand in front, and the Sem priest and the Kher-heb, personifying Horus and Sut, respectively cry: "I am Horus, "I am Sut; I will not let thee illumine the head of my father." The Sem priest then leaves the Ka-chapel and returns, leading in the Se-mer-f, i.e., "the son who loveth "him"; whereupon the Kher-heb says: "O Sem, let the Se-mer-f come into the tomb in "order that he may see the god." The Sem priest holding him by the arm then leads forward the Se-mer-f, who addresses the deceased: "I have come, I have brought


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* For a complete list of these instruments, see Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerari degli Antichi Egiziani*, p. 109.
unto thee thy son who loveth thee; he shall open for thee thy mouth and thine eyes." (Fig. 8). A tomb-official, Am-as, then takes up his position behind the deceased, and the Se-mer-f and the Kher-heb stand in front; the Kher-heb repeating four times: "The "Se-mer-f openeth the mouth and the two eyes of the deceased, first with a needle of "iron, then with a rod of smu metal"; the Am-as addressing the deceased: "Behold the "Se-mer-f"; and the Kher-heb saying, in the name of the Se-mer-f: "I have pressed for thee "thy mouth, even as thy father pressed it in the name of Seker. Hail, Horus hath "pressed thy mouth for thee, he hath opened thine eyes for thee; Horus hath opened "thy mouth for thee, he hath opened for thee thine eyes; they are firmly established. "Thy mouth was closed; I have ordered thy mouth and thy teeth for thee in their true "order. Thou hast [again] opened thy mouth; Horus hath opened thy mouth. I have "established thy mouth firmly. Horus hath opened for thee thy mouth, Horus hath "opened for thee thy two eyes." The Kher-heb then speaks on behalf of the Sem "priest: "Thy mouth was closed up. I have ordered aright for thee thy mouth and thy "teeth. Thy mouth is firmly established. Thy mouth was tightly closed. His mouth "is firmly stablished, and [his] two eyes are firmly stablished." The Sem priest next "presents to the deceased (Fig. 9) a cone-shaped offering $\Delta$ and at the same time the "Kher-heb says: "Open the mouth and the two eyes, open the mouth and the two eyes. "Thou hadst tightly closed thy mouth, thou hast [again] opened thy two eyes." Then the "Kher-heb says, on behalf of the Smer (Fig. 10) priest who stands behind the deceased:

"One cometh unto thee for thy purification." Next the Se-mer-f comes forward with "four boxes (Fig. 11) in his hands, and the Kher-heb says: "O Se-mer-f, take the four "boxes of purification, press the mouth and the two eyes, and open the mouth and "the two eyes with each of them four times, and say, 'Thy mouth and thy two "eyes are firmly stablished, and they are restored aright,' and say also, 'I have "firmly pressed thy mouth, I have opened thy mouth, I have opened thy two eyes "by means of the four boxes of purification.'" The Sem priest then approaches
the deceased (Fig. 12) with the instrument  and the Kher-heb at the same time says: "O Sem priest, lay the pesh-en-kef upon his mouth, and say, 'I have established "for thee thy two jaw-bones in thy face which was divided into two parts.'" The Sem priest next makes an offering of grapes (Fig. 13), the Kher-heb saying: "O Sem "priest, place the grapes upon his mouth and say, 'He bringeth to thee the eye "of Horus, he graspeth it; do thou also grasp it.'" After an ostrich feather has been offered (Fig. 14) by the Sem priest, and a number of the ceremonies described above have been repeated, and other animals slaughtered, the Kher-heb addresses the Sem priest, and says: "Take the instrument Žun-tet5 (thrice) and open the "mouth and the eyes" (four times). He then continues: "O Sem priest, take the iron "instrument of Anubis, Žun-tet (thrice). Open the mouth and the two eyes (four "times), and say, 'I open for thee thy mouth with the iron instrument of Anubis with "which he opened the mouths of the gods. Horus openeth the mouth, Horus openeth "the mouth, Horus openeth the mouth with the iron which cometh forth from Set, "wherewith he hath opened the mouth of Osiris. With the iron tool (meskhet) where-"with he opened the mouths of the gods doth he open the mouth. He [the deceased] "shall go in and he shall speak [again], and his body shall dwell with the company of the "great gods in Annu, wherein he hath received the ureret crown from Horus, lord of "men. Hail, Horus openeth thy mouth and thy two eyes with the instrument Seb-ur "or Temân,6 with the instrument Žun-tet of the Opener of the Roads (i.e., Anubis) "wherewith he opened the mouth of all the gods of the North. Horus the Great "cometh to embrace thee. I, thy son who loveth thee, have opened thy mouth and thy "two eyes. His mother beateth her breast in grief while she embraceth him, and the "two sisters (i.e., Isis and Nephthys), who are one, strike themselves in grief. All the "gods open thy mouth according to the book of the service." The Kher-heb next instructs the Sem priest to clothe the mummy or statue of the deceased with the nemes4

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1 It is called Pesen-kef . See Dürmichen, Der Grabpalast des Patumenneb, Abth. 1, pp. 18, 19.
2 Žun-tet
3 Žun-tet
4 Heru, the Herocris of the Greeks.

2 N
band or fillet (Fig. 15), and to say: "Lo! the nemes fillet, the nemes fillet, which cometh as "the light, which cometh as the light; it cometh as the eye of Horus, the brilliant; it "cometh forth from Neheb. The gods were bound therewith; bound round is thy "face with it in its name of ḫetch (i.e., light, or brilliance), coming forth from Neheb. "All that could do harm to thee upon earth is destroyed." The Sem priest, holding a vase of ointment in his left hand, and smearing the mouth with his fore-finger (Fig. 16), says: "I have anointed thy face with ointment, I have anointed thine eyes. I have painted "thine eye with ḫetch and with mēstchem. May no ill-luck happen through the "dethronement of his two eyes in his body, even as no evil fortune came to Horus "through the overthrow of his eye in his body. Thy two eyes are decked therewith "in its name of ḫetch, which maketh thee to give forth fragrance, in its name of "Sweet-smelling." A number of scented unguents and perfumes are brought forward, and at the presentation of each a short sentence is recited by the Kher-heb having reference to the final triumph of the deceased in the underworld and to the help which the great gods will render to him.

Text: [Chapter I.]8 (1) Here begin the chapters of coming forth by day,9 and of the songs of praise4 and (2) glorifying,4 and of coming forth from and going into the glorious Neter-khert in the beautiful

1 [Image of hieroglyphic symbol]

2 The text accompanying Plates 5 and 6 represents Chapter I., Chapter XXII., and the Rubric of Chapter LXXII., of Lepsius's numeration.

3 In Egyptian Per em hru. This title has been translated and explained in various ways, as e.g., "Coming forth from [or as] the Day" (Birch, in Bunsen's Egypt's Place, vol. v., p. 161); "The departure from the day" (Birch, Papyrus of Naskhem, p. 3); "Sortir du jour" (Devéria, Catalogue; 1874, p. 49); "Sortir du jour" (Naville, Einleitung, p. 23); "Sortie de la journée" (Pierret, Le Papyrus de Néb-Qed; 1872, p. 2); "Ausgang bei Tage" (Brugsch, Ägyptologie, p. 155). Another fairly common title for the Book of the Dead is "Chapter of making perfect the blessed dead" (see Naville, Einleitung, pp. 24, 25).

4 For other examples of the use of the words settes and isēw, see Brugsch, Wörterbuch, pp. 133, 1165.
Amenta; to be said on (3) the day of the burial: going in after coming forth. Osiris Ani, (4) Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith: "Homage to thee, O bull of Amenta, Thoth the (5) king of eternity is with me. I am the great god in the boat of the Sun; I have (6) fought for thee. I am one of the gods, those holy princes (7) who make Osiris to be victorious over his enemies on the day of weighing of words. (8) I am thy mediator, O Osiris. I am [one] of the gods (9) born of Nut, those who slay the foes of Osiris (10) and hold for him in bondage the fiend Sebau. I am thy mediator, O Horus. (11) I have fought for thee, I have put to flight the enemy for thy name's sake. I am Thoth, who have made (12) Osiris victorious over his enemies on the day of weighing of words in the (13) great House of the mighty Ancient One in Annu. (4) I am Tetteti, (5) the son of Tetteti; I was conceived in Tattu, I was born in (15) Tattu. (5) I am with those who weep and with the women who bewail (16) Osiris in the double land (?) of Rechket; (7) and I make Osiris to be victorious over his enemies. (17) Ra commanded (8) Thoth to make Osiris victorious over his enemies; and that which was (18) bidden for me Thoth did. I am with Horus on the day of the clothing of (19) Teshtesh (9) and of the opening of the storehouses of water for the purification of the god whose heart moveth not, and (20) of the unbolting of the door of concealed things in Re-stau. (10) I am with Horus who (21) guardeth the left shoulder of Osiris in...

1 The papyrus of Ani reads  as do Pf, Pj, Pk, and Pl. See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 2, p. 2.

2 I.e., Mestâ, Hâpi, Tumâutef, Qebhsennuf, the gods of the cardinal points.

3 Compare the use of  in 2 Samuel, iii. 13.

4 A name of the temple of Ra in Heliopolis. See Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 153.

5 I.e., the god of Tettetu, or Busiris, a town which was believed to contain the body of Osiris.

6 See Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 978.

7 The reading is given by British Museum papyrus No. 9964. See also Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 392.

8 The translation here follows the variant reading given by Pierret, utu en Ra er semauxaru Asuâr. See Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1869, p. 139; and Le Livre des Morts, p. 10.

9 A name of Osiris. See Lanzoni, Dizionario, p. 1262.

10 I.e., "the door of the passages of the tomb." A picture of Re-stau is given on Plate VIII.
"Sekhem,¹ and I (22) go into and come out from the divine flames² on the day of
the destruction (23) of the fiends in Sekhem. I am with Horus on the day of
the (24) festivals of Osiris, making the offerings on the sixth day of the festival,³
[and on] the Tenet⁴ festival in (25) Annu. I am a priest in Tattu,⁵ Rere (?) in
the temple of Osiris,⁶ [on the day of] casting up (26) the earth.⁷ I see the
things which are concealed in Re-stau. (27) I read from the book of the festival
of the Soul [which is] in Tattu.⁸ I am the Sem⁹ priest (28), and I perform his
course. I am the great chief of the work¹⁰ on the day of the placing of the hennu

¹ Sekhem is the metropolis of ḫn, or ḫn, the Greek Letopolis, the 2nd nome of Lower
Egypt; it is the oryxen, or hawg, of the Coptic writers, and was situated about twenty-
five miles north of Memphis. According to a text at Edfu, the neck of Osiris, Ṣ, was
preserved there. The god Horus, under the form of a lion, was worshipped at Sekhem. See Brugsch,
Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1879, pp. 33-36; Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 748; and De Rouge, Géographie Ancienne,
p. 8.

² The chief variants are Ṣ, Ṣ, Ṣ, (see Naville,
Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 8.) On this passage see Devéria, Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1870, p. 60.

³ I.e., the day of the festival of Osiris who is called "Lord of the Festival of the Sixth Day." A
list of the festivals of the month is given by Brugsch, Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du
Calendrier; Leipzig, 1864, plate iv.

⁴ I.e., the festival on the 7th day of the month. See Brugsch, op. cit., plate iv.

⁵ Var. Ṣ, Ṣ, Ṣ. Tätanu.

⁶ The reading of the text is not usual. British Museum papyrus No. 9901 has, after Tattu,

and according to this text we should read, "I am a priest in Tattu, exalting him that is upon the steps
(Pierret, "dégres de l'initiation"); I am a prophet in Abtu on the day of casting up the earth.

⁷ According to Devéria (Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1870, p. 61), "casting up the earth" means the day of
digging the grave.

⁸ Var. Ṣ, Ṣ, Ṣ, "The Ram, lord of Tattu," i.e., Osiris.

⁹ Or setem Ṣ, Ṣ, a priest of Ptah at Memphis.

¹⁰ Ṣ, Ṣ, the name of the chief priest of Ptah at Memphis (see Brugsch,
Wörterbuch, Supp., p. 392; and Brugsch, Aegyptologie, p. 218). The position of this official is
described by Maspero, Un Manuel de Hiérarchie Égyptienne, p. 53. The title was in use in the
earliest times (see De Rouge, Six Premières Dynasties, pp. 110, 111).
"boat of Seker (29) upon its sledge. ¹ I have grasped the spade² (30) on the day of "digging the ground in Suten-henen.³ O ye who make (31) perfected souls to "enter into the Hall of Osiris, may ye cause the perfected soul of Osiris, the scribe "(32) Ani, victorious [in the Hall of Double Truth], to enter with you into the "house of Osiris. May he hear as ye hear; may he (33) see as ye see; may "he stand as ye stand; may he sit as (34) ye sit!⁴

"O ye who give bread and ale to perfected souls in the Hall of (35) Osiris, give ye bread and ale at the two seasons to the soul of Osiris Ani, "who is (36) victorious before all the gods of Abû, and who is victorious with "you.

"(37) O ye who open the way and lay open the paths to perfected souls "in the Hall of (38) Osiris, open ye the way and lay open the paths (39) to the "soul of Osiris, the scribe and steward of all the divine offerings, Ani (40) "[who is triumphant] with you. May he enter in with a bold heart and "may he come forth in peace from the house of Osiris. May he not (41) "be rejected, may he not be turned back, may he enter in [as he] pleaseth, "may he come forth [as he] (42) desireth, and may he be victorious. May "his bidding be done in the house of Osiris; may he (43) walk, and may "he speak with you, and may he be a glorified soul along with you.⁵ He hath "not been found wanting (44) there,⁶ and the Balance is rid of [his] trial."⁷

Appendix: After the First Chapter M. Naville has printed in his Todtenbuch the text of a composition which also refers to the funeral, and which he has designated Chapter 19. It is entitled "Chapter of making the

¹ The day of the festival of Seker was celebrated in the various sanctuaries of Egypt at dawn, "at the moment when the sun casts its golden rays upon the earth." The hennu boat was drawn round the sanctuary (see Lanzone, Dictionaria, pp. 1117–1119). The Serapeum was called ² M. Pierrot renders, "Je reçois l'office de laboureur," but the variants given by M. Naville ³ I.e., ⁴ British Museum papyrus No. 9901 adds, "in the Temple of Osiris." ⁵ I.e., in the Hall of Double Truth. ⁶ For a translation of the remainder of the chapter according to the Saitic recension, see Pierret, Le Livre des Morts, pp. 7, 8.
mummy to go into the underworld on the day of the funeral." The text is, however, mutilated in places; and the following version has been made by the help of the two copies of the text published by Pleyte, *Chapitres Supplémentaires au Livre des Morts*, p. 182 ff.; and by Birch, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1885, p. 84 f.

[Chapter 18.] "Homage to thee, O thou who livest in Set-Sert of Amenta. Osiris the scribe Nekht-Amen, triumphant, knoweth thy name. Deliver thou him from the worms which are in Re-stau, and which feed upon the bodies of men and drink their blood. Osiris, the favoured one of his divine city, the royal scribe Nekht-Amen, triumphant, is known unto you [ye worms] and he knoweth your names. This is the first bidding of Osiris, the Lord of All, who hath completed all his hidden works: 'Give thou breath [unto them] who fear those who are in the Bight of the Stream of Amenta.' He hath ordered the plans of . . . . . . . . . His throne is placed within the darkness, and there is given unto him glory in Re-stau. O god of light, come thou down unto me and swallow up the worms which are in Amenta. The great god who dwelleth within Tattu, whom he seeth not, heareth his prayers. They who are in affliction fear him [the god] who cometh forth with the sentence at the sacred block. Osiris, the royal scribe Nekht-Amen, cometh with the decree of the Lord of All, and Horus hath taken possession of his throne for him. He cometh with tidings; [may he enter in] according to his word and may he see Annu. The nobles have stood up on the ground before him, and the scribes magnify him. The princes bind his swathing, and make festivals for him in Annu. For him hath heaven been led captive; he hath seized the inheritance of the earth in his grasp. Neither heaven nor earth can be taken away from him, for, behold, he is Rā, the first-born of the gods. His mother suckleth him, she giveth her breast from the sky."

[Rubric.] The words of this chapter are to be said after [the deceased] is laid to rest in Amenta, etc.

**Text:** [Chapter XXII]

(1) Chapter of giving a mouth (2) to Osiris Ani, the scribe and teller of the holy offerings of all the gods. May he be victorious in Neter-khet! (3) "I rise out of the egg in the hidden land. May my mouth be given (4) unto me that I may speak with it before the great god, the "lord of the underworld. (5) May my hand and my arm not be forced back by the "holy (6) ministers of any god. I am Osiris, the lord of the mouth of the tomb; "and Osiris, the victorious scribe Ani, hath a portion (7) with him (8) who is upon the

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1 The god addressed is Anubis, who in the vignette is shown standing by the bier.
2 The Nebseni papyrus here has a vignette in which the "Guardian of the Balance"

is shown touching the mouth of the deceased. In other instances the deceased touches his own mouth.
3 The Nebseni papyrus has: "Osiris, lord of Re-stau, is the being who is on the top of the steps,"

The Ani papyrus incorrectly reads "his top."
"top of the steps. According to the desire of my heart, I have come from the "Pool of Fire," and I have quenched it. (8) Homage to thee, O thou lord of "brightness, thou who art at the head of the Great House, and who dwellest in "night (9) and in thick darkness; I have come unto thee. I am glorious, I am "pure; my arms support thee. Thy portion shall be with those who have "gone before. O grant unto me my mouth that I may speak (11) therewith; and "that I may follow my heart when it passeth through the fire and darkness."*

[Rubric of Chapter LXXII. (1). If this writing be (2) known [by the deceased] upon earth, and this chapter be done into writing upon [his] coffin, he shall come forth by (3) day in all the forms of existence which he desireth, and he shall enter into [his] place and shall not be rejected. (4) Bread and ale and meat shall be given unto Osiris, the scribe Ani, upon the altar of Osiris. He shall (5) enter into the Fields of Aaru in peace, to learn the bidding of him who dwelleth in Tattu; (6) there shall wheat and barley be given unto him; there shall he flourish as he did upon (7) earth; and he shall do whatsoever pleaseth him, even as [do] the gods who are in the underworld, (8) for everlasting millions of ages, world without end.

Appendix: The text of Chapter LXXII. does not occur in the Papyrus of Ani. It is given by M. Naville (see Todtenbuch, I., Bl. 84) from a papyrus in the Louvre. In the vignettes which accompany it, the deceased is represented as adoring three gods, who are either standing in a shrine or are seated upon it. In other instances, the deceased stands by a sepulchral chest or outside a pylon with hands raised in adoration. The following is a translation of the Louvre text:

(1) Chapter of coming forth by day and of passing through the Amn Net. (2) "Homage to you, O ye lords of kas, ye lords of right and truth, "infallible, who shall endure for ever and shall exist through countless ages, grant "that (3) I may enter into your [presence]. I, even I, am pure and holy, and I have "gotten power over the spells which are mine. Judgment (4) hath been passed

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1 A variant gives the reading (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 84). For the situation of the pool, see Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 359.
2 The following lines of text form the XXIst chapter of the Saitic recension of the Book of the Dead. See Lepsius, Todtenbuch, plate xiv.; and Pierret, Le Livre des Morts, p. 91.
3 Compare.
4 The chapter which Lepsius has numbered XXIII., as being most closely connected with the XXIIInd chapter, and which refers to the opening of the mouth of the deceased, follows on Plate XV.
"" upon me in my glorified form. Deliver ye me from the crocodile which is in the place "" of the lords of right and truth. Grant ye unto me (5) my mouth that I may speak "" therewith. May offerings be made unto me in your presence, for I know you and "" I know your names, and I know (6) the name of the great god. Grant ye abundance "" of food for his nostrils. The god Rekem passeth through the western horizon of "" heaven. He (7) travelleth on, and I travel on; he goeth forth, and I go forth. "" Let me not be destroyed in the place Mesqet; let not the Fiend get the mastery "" over me; let me not be driven back from your gates; (8) let not your doors "" be shut against me; for I have [eaten] bread in Pe and I have drunken ale in Tepu. "" If my arms be fettered in the (9) holy habitation, may my father Tmu establish for "" me my mansion in the place above [this] earth where there are wheat and barley in "" abundance which cannot be told. May feasts be made for me there, for my soul and "" for my (10) body. Grant me even offerings of the dead, bread, and ale, and wine, oxen, "" and ducks, linen bandages and incense, wax, and all the good and fair and pure things "" whereby the gods do live. May I rise again in all the forms which (11) I desire "" without fail and for ever. May I sail up and down through the fields of Aaru; may "" I come thither in peace; for I am the double Lion-god."

PLATES VII.-X.

Vignette: The vignette of these plates, forming one composition, runs along the top of the text. The subjects are:—

Plate VII. 1. Ani and his wife in the sekh hall; he is moving a piece on a draught-board (to illustrate lines 3 and 4 of the text).
2. The souls of Ani and his wife standing upon a pylon-shaped building. The hieroglyphics by the side of Ani's soul read 𓊍𓊍 ba en Ausr, "the soul of Osiris."

1 In the papyrus of Hunefer the first scene in this vignette is composed of 𓊍 Amenta, and the signs 𓊍 and 𓊍, emblematic of food and drink. On each side is a figure of the deceased, but that on the left faces to the left and that on the right faces to the right. (1) Compare also the variant from the papyrus of Mut-em-uaa. (2)

2 See page 281, note 1.
3. A table of offerings, upon which are laid a libation vase, plants, and lotus flowers.\footnote{1}

4. Two lions seated back to back and supporting the horizon, over which extends the sky. The lion on the right is called \textit{Sef}, i.e., "Yesterday," and that on the left \textit{Tuau}, i.e., "Tomorrow" (to illustrate lines 13–16).

5. The \textit{bennu} bird and a table of offerings (to illustrate lines 26–30).

6. The mummy of Ani lying on a bier within a funereal shrine; at the head and foot are Nephthys and Isis in the form of hawks. Beneath the bier are vases painted to imitate variegated marble or glass, a funereal box, Ani's palette, etc.\footnote{4}

Plate VIII. 1.\footnote{5} The god \textit{Heb}, "Millions of years," wearing the emblem of "years" upon his head, and holding a similar object in his right hand; he is

\footnote{1} In many papyri a figure of the deceased, kneeling in adoration before the lions supporting the horizon, takes the place of the table of offerings. Here the artist probably intended to represent the souls of Ani and his wife making these offerings to the lion-gods.

\footnote{3} The name of the sanctuary in which the \textit{bennu} bird was worshipped was Het-bennu. Greek writers called this bird the phoenix, and the Egyptians considered it as a symbol of Osiris. In a text quoted by Brugsch (\textit{Wörterbuch}, p. 397), it is said to have created itself. The \textit{bennu} was also worshipped at Diospolis Parva in Upper Egypt; and it was asserted that the thigh of Osiris was preserved in one of its sanctuaries, and his phallus in another.

\footnote{4} For examples of such vases see Nos. 4875, 4879, 4887, 9529, in the Fourth Egyptian Room.

\footnote{5} In many papyri the soul of the deceased in the form of a human-headed bird is seen hovering over the dead body. (Fig. 1.)

\footnote{6} The papyrus of Ani omits the two urei which are referred to in lines 33–36. According to the papyrus of Hunefer (British Museum papyrus No. 9901) they represent the North and the South. (Fig. 2.)
kneeling and extends his left hand over a pool (?) in which is an eye ☀ (to illustrate line 46).

2. The god ⲟ Ⲟ ⲙ ⲕ ⲕ ⲛ Ⲟ ⲕ Ⲟ ⲛ ⲟ Ⲟ Ⲗ ⲛ Uatch-ura, “Great Green Water,” with each hand extended over a pool; that under his right hand is called ⲟ Ⲟ ⲙ ⲕ ⲕ ⲛ Ⲟ Ⲗ ⲛ She en hesmen, “Pool of Natron,” and that under his left hand ⲙ ⲕ Ⲟ Ⲟ Ⲗ ⲛ Ⲟ ⲙ ⲕ Ⲗ Ⲗ Ⲗ Ⲗ Ⲗ Ⲗ Ⲗ Ⲗ She en Maaat, “Pool of Nitre or Salt” (to illustrate lines 47-50).

3. A pylon with doors, called ⲟ Ⲟ ⲛ ⲛ ⲙ ⲕ Ⲗ Ⲗ Ⲗ ⲙ Ⲗ ⲛ Re-stau, “Gate of the funereal passages” (to illustrate lines 56-58).

4. The urchat facing to the left ⲟ Ⲟ above a pylon (to illustrate line 73).

5. The cow ⲟ Ⲟ ⲙ ⲕ ⲕ ⲛ Ⲟ Ⲗ ⲛ Ⲟ Ⲗ ⲛ (Fig. 1) Mehurt maat Ra, “Mehurt, the eye of Ra,” with a flail ⲟ Ⲡ, and having on her head a disk and horns Ⲟ Ⲟ and round her neck the collar ⲟ ⲛ and menat Ⲟ (to illustrate lines 75-79).\(^1\)

\[\text{Fig. 1.}\]

6. A funereal chest ⲟ Ⲟ, from which emerge the head of Ra, and his two arms and hands, each holding the emblem of life Ⲟ. The chest, which is called ⲟ Ⲟ ⲛ Ⲟ ⲕ ⲙ Ⲟ aat Abtu, “the district of Abydos,” or the “burial place of the East,” has upon its side figures of the four children of

\(^1\) In the papyrus of Hunefer (British Museum papyrus No. 9901) the god Thoth is represented offering the urchat to the Mehurt cow. (Fig. 2.)

\[\text{Fig. 2.}\]
Horus who protect the intestines of Osiris or the deceased. On the right stand Tuamäutef and Qebhsennuf, and on the left Mesthā and Hāpi (to illustrate lines 82, 83).

Plate IX. 1. Figures of three gods who, together with Mesthā, Hāpi, Tuamäutef, and Qebhsennuf, are the "seven shining ones" referred to in line 99. Their names are Maa-ātef-f, Kheri-beq-f, and Heru-khent-maati.

2. The god Anpu (Anubis), jackal-headed.

3. Figures of seven gods, whose names are Netchehnetcheh, Áaqetget, Khenti-heh-f, 1 Ámi-unnut-f, 2 Tesher-maa, 3 Bes-maa-em-kerh, 4 and An-em-hru 5 (to illustrate lines 99–106).

4. The soul of Rā, and the soul of Osiris in the form of a human-headed bird wearing the crown, conversing in Tattu: a scene of very rare occurrence, and illustrating lines 111, 112.

1 I.e., "He dwelleth in his flame." 2 I.e., "Red of both eyes." 3 I.e., "Flame seeing in the night." 4 I.e., "Bringing by day."
Plate X. 1. The Cat, *i.e.*, the Sun, which dwelleth by the persea tree in Heliopolis, cutting off the head of the serpent Apepi, emblematic of his enemies.1

2. Three seated deities holding knives. They are probably Sau, Horus of Sekhem, and Nefer-Tmu.

3. Ani and his wife Thuthu, who holds a sistrum $\text{ष}$, kneeling in adoration before the god Khepera, beetle-headed, who is seated in the boat of the rising sun (to illustrate lines 116 ff.).

4. Two apes, emblematic of Isis and Nephthys (to illustrate lines 124, 125).

5. The god Tmu, seated within the Sun-disk in the boat of the setting sun, facing a table of offerings.

6. The god Reju, in the form of a lion (to illustrate line 133).

7. The serpent Uatchit, the lady of flame, a symbol of the eye of Ra, coiled round a lotus flower. Above is the emblem of fire $\text{ॐ}$.

Text: [Chapter XVII.] (1.) Here begin the praises and glorifyings 2 of coming out from and going into (2) the Glorious Neter-Khert in the beautiful Amenta, of coming out by day 3 in all the forms of existence which

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1 Compare the following variant from a papyrus in Dublin. In the papyrus of Hunefer, before the scene of the Cat cutting off Apepi’s head, is one in which the deceased is represented kneeling in adoration before five ram-headed gods, whose names are Ra, Shu, Tefnut, Seb and Ba-[neb]-Tattu.


3 Some copies read, “to be with the followers of Osiris, and to feed upon the food of Un-nefer, to come forth by day”; and others, “may I drink water at the sources of the streams, and be among the followers of Un-nefer; may I see the disk every morning.” For the texts, see Naville, Totenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 29.
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BEHOLD Osiris, the scribe Ani, after (4) he hath come to his haven [of rest]. That which hath been done upon earth [by Ani] being blessed, all (5) the words of the god Tmu come to pass. "I am the god Tmu in [my] rising," I am the only One. I came "into existence in Nu. (6) I am Rā who rose in the beginning. [He hath "ruled that which he made.""

(7) Who then is this? It is Rā who rose for the first time in the city of (8) Suten-benen [crowned] as a king in [his] rising. The pillars of Shu were not as yet created, when he was upon the (9) high place of him who is in Khemenu.

"I am the great god who gave birth to himself, even Nu, (10) [who] created his name Pant Neteru as god."

Who then (11) is this? It is Rā, the creator of the name[s] of his limbs, which came into being (12) in the form of the gods in the train of Rā.

"I am he who is not driven back among the gods."

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1 For accounts of the way in which draughts were played by the Egyptians, see Birch, in Revue Archéologique, 1864, p. 56 ff.; Birch, in Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1866, p. 97; Birch, in Trans. Roy. Soc. Literature, New Series, vol. ix, p. 259; and Falkner, Oriental Games, London, 1892. The draught-board of the ancient Egyptians is often a rectangular wooden box, the top divided into squares, containing a drawer in which the men are kept (British Museum, No. 21,576). Draught-boards were also made of blue glazed faience, and bone or ivory (British Museum, No. 21,577). The draughtsmen are of wood, bone, ivory, glazed faience, or stone, and have at times the heads of lions (British Museum, Nos. 13,417, 21,580, 21,581); jackals (British Museum, Nos. 64146, 24,660-66); and of the god Bes (British Museum, Nos. 64135, 24,667-75). No. 64146 is inscribed with the prenomen of Necho II.

2 I.e., the Sun-god when he sets and rises.

3 Supplied from the Papyrus of Nebensi. See British Museum papyrus No. 9900; Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II, Pl. xxxi, for the reading given by Naville.

4 See supra, p. 273, note 3.

5 Adding from the variant readings given by Naville.

6 Some papyri read from this town, see Brugsch, Dict. Géogr., p. 146.

7 Shu was the son of Rā and Hathor and the twin-brother of Tefnut. He typified the sunlight, and separated the earth from the sky, which he established and supported. For a drawing of Shu and his four supports, see Lanzoni, Dizionario, tav. 385.

8 See Brugsch, Dict. Géogr., p. 749.

9 I.e., "substance of the gods."
Who then is this? It is Tmu in his disk, or (as others say), It is Rā in (14) his rising in the eastern horizon of heaven.

"I am Yesterday; I know (15) Tomorrow."

Who then is this? Yesterday is Osiris, and (16) Tomorrow is Rā, on the day when he shall destroy the (17) enemies of Neb-er-tcher, and when he shall establish as prince and ruler (18) his son Horus, or (as others say), on the day when we commemorate the festival (19) of the meeting of the dead Osiris with his father Rā, and when the battle of the (20) gods was fought in which Osiris, lord of Amentet, was the leader.

What then is this? (21) It is Amentet, [that is to say] the creation of the souls of the gods when Osiris was leader in Set-Amentet; or (22) (as others say), Amentet is that which Rā hath given unto me; when any god cometh, he doth arise and (23) doeth battle for it.

"I know the god who dwelleth therein."

(24) Who then is this? It is Osiris, or (as others say), Rā is his name, even Rā (25) the self-created.

"I am the hennu⁠¹ bird (26) which is in Annu, and I am the keeper of the volume of the book of things⁠² which are and of things which shall be."

Who (27) then is this? It is Osiris, or (as others say), It is his dead body, or (as others say), (28) It is his filth. The things which are and the things which shall be are his dead body; or (as others say), (29) They are eternity and everlastingness. Eternity is the day, and everlastingness (30) is the night.

"I am the god Amsu⁢³ in his coming-forth; may his (31) two plumes be set upon my head."

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¹ See above, p. 277, note 2.

² Or, "I am he that presideth over the arrangement (or ordering) of things," etc. Birch renders it, "The Creator of beings and existences," and Pierrret, "La loi de l'existence et des êtres." In a hymn Rā is called "nab enti, "lord of things which are," and "ari enti, "maker of things which are," and "ari unent," "maker of things which shall be." See Grébaut, Hymne à Ammon-Rā, pp. 5, 16, 27, who, however, believes to mean inanimate objects; see p. 130.

³ The name of this god was first read Khem, and then Min, but it has been proved (Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1877, p. 98, and Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol VIII, p. 204, note 2) that the correct
Who then is this? Amsu is Horus, the (32) avenger of his father, and his coming-forth is his birth. The (33) plumes upon his head are Isis and Nephtys when they go forth to set themselves (34) there, even as his protectors, and they provide that which (35) his head lacketh, or (as others say), They are the two exceeding great uræi which are upon the head of their (36) father Tmu, or (as others say), His two eyes are the two plumes.

(37) "Osiris Ani, the scribe of all the holy offerings, riseth up in his place in triumph; he cometh into (38) his city."

What then is this? It is the horizon of his father Tmu.

(39) "I have made an end of my shortcomings, and I have put away my faults."

What then (40) is this? It is the cutting off of the corruptible in the body of Osiris, the scribe Ani, (41) triumphant before all the gods; and all his faults are driven out.

(42) What then is this? It is the purification [of Osiris] on the day of his birth.

(43) "I am purified in my exceeding great double nest which is in Suten-"hemen, (44) on the day of the offerings of the followers of the great god who "is therein."

(45) What then is this? "Millions of years" is the name of the one

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reading is Amsu (compare the variants in Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II, Bl. 41). This god was associated with Amen-Ra, and represented the power of reproduction (see Pierret, Pantheon, p. 39; and Lanzone, Dizionario, p. 935). The seat of his worship was Apu, the Panropolis of the Greeks, and the Akhmim of Arabic writers. For the forms of the name of the town, see Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 19. Figures of Amsu, in bronze and faïence, are common, and good examples are Nos. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, and 13,540 in the Third Egyptian Room.

1 Or "grandmothers." Isis was the "greater tcherti," and Nephtys the "lesser tcherti." On the word, see Brugsch, Wörterbuch, Supp., p. 1355.

2 The chief variant readings are

3 British Museum papyrus No. 9900 has, "I rise up in my land, I come into (or from) mine eye." The papyrus of Kenna at Leyden has the same reading as that of Ani.

4 The papyrus of Kenna has, "the hind-parts."

5 The chief variants are and See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II, Pl. xvii.
"Green Lake" is the name of the other; a pool of natron, and a pool of nitre; or (as others say), "The Traverser of Millions of Years" is the name of the one, "Great Green Lake" is the name of the other; or (as others say), "The Begetter of Millions of Years" is the name of the one, "Green Lake" is the name of the other. Now as concerning the great god who is in it, it is Ra himself.

"I pass over the way, I know the head of the Pool of Ma'at." 3

(51) What then is this? It is Re-stau; that is to say, it is the underworld on the (52) south of Na'rut-f, and it is the northern door of the tomb.

Now as concerning (53) She-Maat, it is Abtu; or (as others say), it is the road by which his (54) father Tmu travelleth when he goeth to Sekhet-Áaru, (55) which bringeth forth the food and nourishment of the gods behind the shrine. (56) Now the Gate of Sert is the gate of the pillars of Shu, (57) the northern gate of the underworld; or (as others say), it is the two leaves of the door through which the god Tmu passeth when he goeth forth in the eastern horizon of heaven.

(59) "O ye gods who are in the presence of Osiris, grant me your arms, for I am the god (60) who shall come into being among you."

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1 According to Brugsch (Dict. Géog., p. 179), "Green Lake" is the name of one of the two sacred lakes of Heracleopolis Magna.
2 Literally "heads."
3 For the locality of this name in Egypt, see Brugsch, Dict. Géog., p. 248.
4 L.e., "the door of the passages of the tomb."
5 The chief variants in Naville are .
6 Variants , .
7 L.e., "Pool of Double Truth."
8 After the name Sekhet-Áaru, British Museum papyrus No. 9900 has , "I come forth to the land of the . . . . I come forth from the gate Ser." "What then is this?" The papyrus of Ani omits this passage.
9 According to Brugsch (Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth, p. 13) should be read T'ester. In 1867 Dr. Birch translated, "I go from the Gate of the Taser" (Bunsen, Egypt's Place, Vol. V., p. 174).
10 A variant has , "who are in his following." See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Pl. xlix.
What then is this? It is the drops of blood (61) which fell from Rā when he went forth (62) to cut himself. They sprang into being as the gods Hu and Sa, who are in the (63) following of Rā and who accompany Tmu (64) daily and every day.

"I, Osiris, Ani (65) the scribe, triumphant, have filled up for thee the "utchat" after it was darkened (66) on the day of the combat of the Two "Fighters." 3

What then (67) is this? It is the day on which Horus fought with (68) Set, who cast filth in the face of Horus, and when Horus destroyed the (69) powers of Set. Thoth did this with his own hand.

(70) "I lift the hair[-cloud] when there are storms in the sky."

What then is this? (71) It is the right eye of Rā, which raged against [Set] when (72) he sent it forth. Thoth raiseth up the hair[-cloud], and bringeth the eye (73) alive, and whole, and sound, and without defect to [its] lord; or (as others say), it is the eye of Rā when it is sick and when it (74) weepeth for its fellow eye; then Thoth standeth up to cleanse it.

(75) "I behold Rā who was born yesterday from the (76) buttocks of the "cow Meḫ-urt; his strength is my strength, and my strength is his strength."

What then (77) is this? It is the water of heaven, or (as others say), (78) It is the image of the eye of Rā in the morning at his daily birth. (79) Meḫ-urt is the eye of Rā. Therefore Osiris, the (80) scribe Ani, triumphant, [is] a great one among the gods (81) who are in the train of Horus. The words are] spoken for him that loveth his lord. 7

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1 I.e., the eye of the Sun. 2 Some variants give \[\text{pierced.}\]

3 Rehu was a name given in the first instance to Horus and Set, but subsequently it was applied to any two combatants (see the passages quoted by Brugsch, Wörterbuch, Suppl., p. 734). British Museum papyrus No. 10,184 (Sallier IV.), states that the battle between Horus and Set took place on the 26th day of the month of Thoth, i.e., October (see Chabas, Le Calendrier, p. 28).

4 The scribe has omitted the words \[\text{em utchat, "from the eye of the sun."} The word \[\text{shen} is a name for the clouds which cover the eye of the sun, and which are in appearance like hair. Brugsch in his Wörterbuch (Suppl.), p. 1193, gives the word \[\text{as meaning "tempest."}

5 The papyrus has \[\text{pierced.}

6 For figures of this goddess, see Lanzone, Dizionario, plate 131.

7 The meaning of this passage is doubtful. Birch renders, "one of the gods who belong to Horus, whose words exceed the wish of his Lord"; and Pierret, "un de ces dieux qui suivent Horus, et parlent selon la volonté de leur seigneur."
(82) What then is this? [i.e., who are these gods?] Mesthâ, Ḥāpi, Tuamāutef, and Qebhsennuf.

(83) "Homage to you, O ye lords of right and truth, and ye holy ones" who [stand] behind Osiris, who utterly do away with (84) sins and crime, and [ye] "who are in the following of the goddess Ḥetep-se(85)-khus, grant that I "may come unto you. Destroy ye all the faults which (86) are within me, "even as ye did for the seven Shining Ones (87) who are among the followers "of their lord Sepâ.1 (88) Anubis appointed their place on the day [when was "said], 'Come therefore thither.'"

What then (89) is this? These lords of right and truth are Thoth and (90) Astes, lord of Amenta. The holy ones who stand behind Osiris, even Mesthâ, (91) Ḥāpi, Tuamāutef, and Qebhsennuf, are they who are (92) behind the Thigh2 in the northern sky. They who do away with (93) sins and crime and who are in the following of the goddess Ḥetep-se-khus (94) are the god Sebek in the waters. The goddess Ḥetep-se-khus is the eye of (95) Râ, or (as others say), It is the flame which followeth after Osiris to burn up (96) the souls of his foes. As concerning all the faults which are (97) in Osiris, the scribe of the holy offerings of all the gods, Ani, triumphant, [they are all that he hath done against the lords of eternity]3 since he came forth (98) from his mother's womb. As concerning (99) the seven Shining Ones, even Mesthâ, Ḥāpi, Tuamāutef, Qebhsennuf, (100) Maa-atet-f, Kheri-beq-f, and Horus-Khenti-maa, Anubis appointed (101) them protectors of the body of Osiris, or (as others say), (102) [set them] behind the place of purification of Osiris; or (as others say), Those seven glorious ones are (103) Netcheh-netcheh, Aqet-qet, An-erta-nef-bes-f-khenti-heh-f,4 (104) Aq-ḥer-unnut-f,5 Tesher-maa-ammi (105) Ḥet-Ânes,6

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1 British Museum papyrus No. 10,477 reads, 𓊘𓊙𓊒𓊔𓊕𓊥𓊙, which agrees with many of the variants given in Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Pl. liii. The papyrus of Nelseni agrees with that of Ani; No. 19,471 has the curious reading, 𓊚𓊙𓊘𓊕𓊥𓊜. The Egyptian name for the constellation of the Great Bear. See Brugsch, Astronomische und Astrologische Inschriften, p. 123.
2 The Egyptian name for the constellation of the Great Bear. See Brugsch, Astronomische und Astrologische Inschriften, p. 123.
3 Some such words as 𓊚𓊙𓊘𓊕𓊥𓊜 have been omitted. See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Pl. lv.
4 I.e., "He doth not give his flame, he dwelleth in the fire."
5 I.e., "He goeth in at his hour."
6 I.e., "He that hath two red eyes, the dweller in Ḥet-Ânes." According to Brugsch (Dict. Glog., p. 64), Ḥet-Ânes, i.e., the "house of cloth," was a district belonging to the temple of Suten-henen or Heracleopolis in Upper Egypt.
Ubes-hra-per-em-khet-khet, and Maa (106) -em-querh-an-nef-em-hru. The chief of the holy ones (107) who minister in his chamber is Horus, the avenger of his father. As to the day (108) [upon which was said] "Come therefore thither," it concerneth the words, "Come (109) then thither," which Rā spake unto Osiris. Lo, may this be decreed for me in Amenet.

"I am the soul which dwelleth in the two (110) tchafī."

What then is this? It is Osiris [when he goeth into Tattu (111) and findeth there the soul of Rā; there the one god (112) embraceth the other, and souls spring into being within the two tchafī."

["I am the Cat which fought (?) by the Persea tree hard by, in Annu, on the "night when the foes of Neb-er-tcher were destroyed."

What then is this? The male cat is Rā himself, and he is called Maāu by reason of the speech of the god Sa [who said] concerning him: "He is like (maāu) unto that which he hath made, and his name became Maāu"; or (as others say), It is Shu who maketh over the possessions of Seb to Osiris. As to the fight (?) by the Persea tree hard by, in Annu, it concerneth the children of impotent revolt when justice is wrought on them for what they have done. As to [the words] "that night of the battle," they concern the inroad [of the children of impotent revolt] into the eastern part of heaven, whereupon there arose a battle in heaven and in all the earth.

"O thou who art in the egg (i.e., Rā), who shinest from thy disk and risest "in thy horizon, and dost shine like gold above the sky, like unto whom there is "none among the gods, who saileth over the pillars of Shu (i.e., the ether), who "givest blasts of fire from thy mouth, [who makest the two lands bright with thy "radiance, deliver] the faithful worshippers from the god whose forms are hidden, "whose eyebrows are like unto the two arms of the balance on the night of the "reckoning of destruction."

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1 *i.e.*, "Blazing-face coming forth, going back."
2 *i.e.*, "The one who seeth by night, and leadeth by day."
3 This reading differs from that of any other papyrus of this period. After the words, "spring into being within the two tchafī," the papyrus of Nebsemi has, "It is Horus, the avenger of his father, and Horus-khenti-en-maa," or (as others say), "the two souls within the tchafī" are the soul of Rā [and] the soul of Osiris, [or] the soul which is in Shu and the soul which is in Tefnut, that is, the two souls which are in Tattu." It appears that the scribe of the Ani papyrus has here accidentally omitted a long section; the text is therefore supplied within brackets from the Nebsemi papyrus, plate xiv., l. 16 ff.
4 Note the play upon the words maāu, "cat," and maāu, "like."
Who then is this? It is An-ā-f, the god who bringeth his arm. As concerning [the words] "that night of the reckoning of destruction," it is the night of the burning of the damned, and of the overthrow of the wicked at [the sacred] block, and of the slaughter of souls.

Who then is this? It is Nemu, the headsman of Osiris; or (as others say), It is Åpep when he riseth up with one head bearing maat (i.e., right and truth) [upon it]; or (as others say), It is Horus when he riseth up with two heads, whereof the one beareth maat and the other wickedness. He bestoweth wickedness on him that worketh wickedness, and maat on him that followeth after righteousness and truth; or (as others say), It is the great Horus who dwelleth in [Se]khem; or (as others say), It is Thoth; or (as others say), It is Nefer-Tmu, [or] Sept, who doth thwart the course of the foes of Neb-er-tcher.

"Deliver me from the Watchers who bear slaughtering knives, and who have "cruel fingers," and who slay those who are in the following of Osiris. May they "never overcome me, may I never fall under their knives."

What then is this? It is Anubis, and it is Horus in the form of Khent-en-maa; or (as others say), It is the Divine Rulers who thwart the works of their [weapons]; it is the chiefs of the sheniu chamber.

"May their knives never get the mastery over me, may I never fall under "their instruments of cruelty, for I know their names, and I know the being "Mâchet who is among them in the house of Osiris, shooting rays of light from "[his] eye, but he himself is unseen. He goeth round about heaven robed in the "flame of his mouth, commanding Ḫāpi, but remaining himself unseen. May I be "strong upon earth before Rā, may I come happily into haven in the presence of "Osiris. Let not your offerings be hurtful to me, O ye who preside over your "altars, for I am among those who follow after Neb-er-tcher according to the "writings of Kheperā. I fly as a hawk, I cackle as a goose; I ever slay, even as "the serpent goddess Nḫebka."

What then is this? They who preside at the altars are the similitude of the eye of Rā and the similitude of the eye of Horus.

"O Rā-Tmu, lord of the Great House, prince, life, strength and health of all "the gods, deliver thou [me] from the god whose face is like unto that of a dog, "whose brows are as those of a man, and who feedeth upon the dead, who watcheth

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1 Many papyri read, "Nefer-Tmu, son of Bast, and the tekhēka."
2 Or instruments of death.
3 I.e., the "Oppressor."
"at the Bight of the Fiery Lake, and who devoureth the bodies of the dead and
swalloweth hearts, and who shooteth forth filth, but he himself remaineth unseen."

Who then is this? "Devourer for millions of years" is his name, and he
dwelleth in the Lake of Unt. As concerning the Fiery Lake, it is that which is in
Anruf, hard by the Shenit chamber. The unclean man who would walk thereover
doth fall down among the knives; or (as others say), His name is "Mathes," 2 and he
is the watcher of the door of Amenta; or (as others say), His name is "Hери-sep-f."

"Hail, Lord of terror, chief of the lands of the North and South, lord of the red
glow, who preparest the slaughter-block, and who dost feed upon the inward parts!"

Who then is this? The guardian of the Bight of Amenta.

What then is this? It is the heart of Osiris, which is the devourer of all
slaughtered things. The urerit crown hath been given unto him with swellings of
the heart as lord of Suten-heten.

What then is this? He to whom hath been given the urerit crown with
swellings of the heart as lord of Suten-heten is Osiris. He was bidden to rule
among the gods on the day of the union of earth with earth in the presence of
Neb-er-tcher.

What then is this? He that was bidden to rule among the gods is
[Horus] the son of Isis, who was appointed to rule in the place of his father Osiris.
As to the day of the union of earth with earth, it is the mingling of earth with
earth in the coffin of Osiris, the Soul that liveth in Suten-heten, the giver of meat
and drink, the destroyer of wrong, and the guide of the everlasting paths.

Who then is this? It is Ra himself.

"Deliver thou [me] from the great god who carrieth away souls, and who
devoureth filth and eateth dirt, the guardian of the darkness [who himself
"liveth] in the light. They who are in misery fear him."

As concerning the souls within the (113) tchafi [they are those which are]
with the god who carrieth away the soul, who eateth hearts, and who feedeth
(114) upon offal, the guardian of the darkness who is within the sekher
boat; they who live in (115) crime fear him.

Who then is this? It is Suti, or (as others say), It is Smam-ur; 3 (116)
the soul of Seb.

"Hail, Khepera in thy boat, the twofold company of the gods is thy body.
"Deliver thou Osiris (117) Ani, triumphant, from the watchers who give judgment,
who have been appointed by Neb-er-tcher to protect him and to fasten the fetters on his foes, and who slaughter in the shambles; there is no escape from their grasp. May they never stab me with their knives, may I never fall helpless in their chambers of torture. (121) Never have the things which the gods hate been done by me, for I am pure within the Mesqet. (122) Cakes of saffron have been brought unto him in Tanenet."

Who then is this? (123) It is Khepera in his boat. It is Ra himself. The watchers who give judgment are the apes Isis and Nephthys. The things which the gods hate are wickedness and falsehood; and he who passeth through the place of purification within the Mesqet is Anubis, who is behind the chest which holdeth the inward parts of Osiris.

He to whom saffron cakes have been brought in Tanenet is Osiris; or (as others say), The saffron cakes in Tanenet are heaven and earth, or (as others say), They are Shu, strengthener of the two lands in Sutenhemen. The saffron cakes are the eye of Horus; and Tanenet is the grave of Osiris.

Tmu hath built thy house, and the two-fold Lion-god hath founded thy habitation; lo! drugs are brought, and Horus purifieth and Set strengtheneth, and Set purifieth and Horus strengtheneth.

"The Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant before Osiris, hath come into the land, and hath possessed it with his feet. He is Tmu, and he is in the city."

"Turn thou back, O Rehu, whose mouth shineth, whose head moveth, turn thou back from before his strength;" or (as others say), Turn thou back from him who keepeth watch and is unseen. "The Osiris Ani is safely guarded. He is Isis, and he is found with [her] hair spread over him. I shake it out over his brow. He was conceived in Isis and begotten in Nephthys; and they cut off from him the things which should be cut off."

Fear followeth after thee, terror is upon thine arms. Thou art embraced for millions of years in the arms of the nations; mortals go round about thee. Thou smitest down the mediators of thy foes, and thou seizest the arms of the powers of darkness. The two sisters (i.e., Isis and Nephthys) are given to thee for thy delight. Thou hast created that which is in Khara, and that which is in Annu. Every god feareth thee, for thou art exceeding great and terrible; thou [avengest] every god on the man that curseth him, and thou shootest out arrows. Thou livest according to thy will; thou art Uatchit, the Lady of Flame. Evil cometh among those who set themselves up against thee.
What then is this? The hidden in form, granted of Menbu, (142) is the name of the tomb. He seeth [what is] in [his] hand, is the name of the shrine, or (143) (as others say), the name of the block. Now he whose mouth shineth and whose head moveth is (144) a limb of Osiris, or (as others say), of Ra. Thou spreadest thy hair and I shake it out over his brow (145) is spoken concerning Isis, who hideth in her hair and draweth her hair over her. Uatchi, the Lady of Flames, is the eye of Ra.  

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**PLATES XI. AND XII.**

**Vignette I.:** Ani and his wife Thuthu approaching the first Arit, the cornice of which is ornamented with ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ i.e., emblems of power, life, and stability. At the entrance sit three gods, the first having the head of a hare, the second the head of a serpent, and the third the head of a crocodile. The first holds an ear of corn (?), and each of the others a knife.

**Text [Chapter CXLVII.]:** (1) **The First Arit.** The name of the doorkeeper is Sekhet-hrā-āhsht-ārū; the name of the (2) watcher is Meti-heh (?); the name of the herald is Ha-kheru.

[**Words to be spoken when Osiris cometh to the First Arit in Amenta.**] Saith (3) Ani, triumphant, when he cometh to the first Arit: "I am the mighty one " who createth his own light. (4) I have come unto thee, O Osiris, and, purified " from that which defileth thee, I adore thee. Lead on; (5) name not the name

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1 Lepsius (*Totenbuch*, Bl. XI.) adds, after this: "Now those who rise up against me and among whom is evil [see above, l. 141] are the powers of darkness of the god Sut, when there is strife among them, for strife is flame."

2 "May it be granted to [the dead] by the decree of [the gods] who are in Tattu to destroy the souls of his foes!"

3 House or mansion. In the upper line of Plates XI. and XII. there is a series of seven *Aritis*, or mansions, through which the deceased is supposed to pass. In the lower line are the ten *Sekhettet*, or pylon-shaped gateways.

4 "Reversed of face: of many forms." Var. ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ "The high-voiced."

5 "The voice that travelleth." Var. ♂ ♂ ♂ "The high-voiced."

6 Supplied from Naville, *Totenbuch*, l. 165.
"of Re-stau unto me. Homage to thee, O Osiris, in thy might and in thy
"strength (6) in Re-stau. Rise up and conquer, O Osiris, in Abtu. Thou
"goest round about heaven, thou sailest in the presence of Rä, (7) thou seest all
"the beings who have knowledge.¹ Hail Rä, who circlet in [the sky]. Verily I
"say [unto thee], O Osiris, I am a (8) godlike ruler. (9) Let me not be driven
"hence (10) nor from the wall of burning coals. [I have] opened the way in
"Re-stau; (11) I have eased the pain of Osiris; [I have] embraced that which
"the balance (9) hath weighed; [I have] made a path for him in the great valley,
"and [he] maketh a path. Osiris shineth (?)."

Vignette II.: The second Ḡerit, guarded by three gods; the first of whom
has the head of a lion, the second the head of a man, and the third the head of a
dog. Each one holds a knife.

Text: (1) The Second Ḡerit. The name of (2) the doorkeeper is
Un-hat⁴; (3) the name of the watcher is (4) Séqet-ḥrá; the name of the herald
is Usæt⁶.

(6) Saith Osiris Ani, when he cometh unto this Ḡerit; "He sitteth to do his
"heart's desire, and he weigheth (7) words as the second of Thoth. The strength
"of Thoth⁶ humbleth the (8) hidden Maāt gods⁷ who feed upon Maāt throughout
"the years [of their lives].⁸ I make offerings at the (9) moment when [he] passeth
"on his way; I pass on and enter on the way.⁹ Grant thou that I may pass through
"and that I may gain sight of Rä together with those who make offerings."

¹ Birch: "Pure Spirits." Pierret: "Intelligents."
² I.e., the Ḡerit.
³ Literally standard or perch. Var. [drawing].
⁴ Var. [drawing].
⁵ Var. [drawing].
⁶ Var. [drawing]. "the strength of Osiris is the strength of Thoth."
⁷ Var. [drawing]. Nēmās, and [drawing] Sab, "Orion." The reading in
Lepsius is [drawing] Ḡerit, "gods of the thigh."
⁸ Var. [drawing]. Their years are the years of Osiris."
⁹ The text here differs from all others and may be corrupt.
Vignette III.: The third Ārit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a jackal, the second the head of a dog, and the third the head of a serpent. The first holds an ear of corn (?), and each of the others a knife.

Text: (1) The Third Ārit. The name of the (2) doorkeeper is Qeq-hauau-ent-pehui;¹ the name of the (4) watcher is Se-res-ḫrā;² the name of the herald is Aaa.³

Saith Osiris Ani, [when he cometh to this Ārit]: (6) “I am hidden [in] the “great deep, [I am] the judge of the Reḥuī.⁴ I have come and I have done away “with the offences of Osiris. I am building up the standing place (7) which “cometh forth from his urerīt (?) crown. I have done his business in Abtu, I “have opened the way in Re-stau, I have (8) eased the pain which was in Osiris. “I have made straight his standing place, and I have made [his] path.⁵ He “shineth in Re-stau.”

Vignette IV.: The fourth Ārit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a man, the second the head of a hawk, and the third the head of a lion. The first holds an ear of corn (?), and each of the others a knife.

Text: (1) The Fourth Ārit. The name of the (2) doorkeeper is Khesef-ḥrā-āsht- (3) kheru;⁶ the name of the (4) watcher is Seres-tepu;⁷ (5) the name of the herald is (6) Khesef-Āt.⁸

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, [when he cometh to this Ārit]: “I am “the [mighty] bull, the (7) son of the ancestress of Osiris. O grant ye that his “father, the lord of his godlike (8) companions, may bear witness for him. Here “the guilty are weighed in judgment. I have brought unto (9) his nostrils eternal “life. I am the son of Osiris, I have made the way, I have passed thereover “into Neter-khert.”

Plate XII.—Vignette V.: The fifth Ārit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a hawk, the second the head of a man, and the third the head of a snake. Each holds a knife.

Text: (1) The Fifth Ārit. The (2) name of the doorkeeper is Ankh-f-em-fent;¹ the name of the (3) watcher is Shabu; the name of the herald is Tēb-brā-keh-a-kehr.²

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, [when he cometh to this Ārit]: “I have brought unto thee the bones of thy jaws in Re-stau, I have brought thee thy backbone in Annu, (7) gathering together all thy members there. (8) I have driven back Āpem for thee. I have poured water upon the wounds; I have made a path among you. I am the Ancient One among the gods. I have³ made the offering of Osiris, who hath triumphed with victory, gathering his bones and bringing together all his limbs.”

Vignette VI.: The sixth Ārit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a jackal, and the second and third the head of a dog. The first holds an ear of corn (?), and each of the others a knife.

Text: (1) The Sixth Ārit. (2) The name of the doorkeeper is Atek-au-keh-a-kheru;⁴ the name of the (4) watcher is Ān-brā; (5) the name of the herald is Ātēs-brā.

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, [when he cometh to this Ārit]: “I have come (7) daily, I have come daily. I have made the way; I have passed along that which was created by Anubis. I am the lord of the (8) uerit crown, ......... magical words. I, the avenger of right and truth, have avenged his eye. I have swathed the eye of Osiris, [I have] made the way; Osiris Ani hath passed along [it] with you .........”

Vignette VII.: The seventh Ārit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a hare, the second the head of a lion, and the third the head of a man. The first and second hold a knife, and the third an ear of corn (?).

Text: (1) The Seventh Ārit. The name of (2) the doorkeeper is Sekhem-Maṭenu-sen;⁵ the name of (4) the watcher is Āa-maa-kheru,⁶ (5) and the name of the herald is Khesef-khemi.

Saith Osiris, [the scribe] Ani, [when he cometh to this Ārit]: (6) “I have come

¹ *I.e.*, “He liveth upon worms.”
² Var. [Symbol image]
³ For what follows of this speech Naville gives no equivalent.
⁴ Var. [Symbol image] Seket-tau-keh-a-kheru.
⁵ Var. [Symbol image] Ātēs-sen.
⁶ Var. [Symbol image] Āa-kheru.
unto thee, O Osiris, who art cleansed of [thine] impurities. Thou goest round about heaven, thou seest Rā, thou seest the beings who have knowledge. Hail (7) Only One! behold, thou art in the sekhet boat; He goeth round the horizon of heaven. I speak what I will unto his body; (8) it waxeth strong and it cometh to life, as he spake. Thou turnest back his face. Prosper thou for me all the ways [which lead] unto thee!"

Vignette I. : Ani and his wife Thuthu, with hands raised in adoration, approaching the first Sekhet or Pylon, which is guarded by a bird-headed deity wearing a disk on his head, and sitting in a shrine the cornice of which is decorated with khakernu ornaments.

Text: [Chapter CXLVI.] The First Pylon. Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the First Pylon. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the lady of terrors, with lofty walls, the sovereign lady, the mistress of destruction, who uttereth the words which drive back the destroyers, who delivereth from destruction him that travelleth along the way. The name of the doorkeeper is Neruit."

Vignette II. : The second Pylon, which is guarded by a lion-headed deity seated in a shrine, upon the top of which is a serpent.

Text: Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the Second Pylon. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the lady of heaven, the mistress of the world, who devoureth with fire, the lady of mortals; how much greater is she than all men! The name of the doorkeeper is Mes-Ptah."

Vignette III. : The third Pylon, which is guarded by a man-headed deity seated in a shrine, the upper part of which is ornamented with the two urchats and the emblems of the orbit of the sun and of water.

Text: Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the Third Pylon of the House of Osiris. Saith the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the lady of the

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1 Var. "Thou invokest Rā in the sekhet boat of heaven."

2 Reading with Naville. "
altar, the mighty one to whom offerings are made, the beloved\(^1\) (?) of every god, who saileth up to Abtu. The name of the doorkeeper is Sebaq."

**Vignette IV.** The fourth Pylon, which is guarded by a cow-headed deity seated in a shrine, the cornice of which is ornamented with uræi wearing disks $\text{âœ}$. $\text{âœ}$

**Text:** Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the Fourth Pylon. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, [triumphant]: "Lo, she who prevaleth with knives, mistress of the world, destroyer of the foes of the Still-Heart, she who decreeth the escape of the needy from evil hap. The name of the doorkeeper is Nekau."

**Vignette V.** The fifth Pylon, which is guarded by the hippopotamus deity, with her fore-feet resting upon the buckle, the emblem of protection $\text{âœ}$, seated in a shrine, the cornice of which is ornamented with $\text{âœ} \text{âœ} \text{âœ}$, emblematic of flames of fire.

**Text:** Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the Fifth Pylon. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the flame, the lady of breath (?) for the nostrils; one may not advance to entreat her . . . . . shall not come into her presence. The name of the doorkeeper is Hentet-Ārqiū."

**Vignette VI.** The sixth Pylon, which is guarded by a deity in the form of a man holding a knife and a besom and seated in a shrine, above which is a serpent.

**Text:** Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the Sixth Pylon. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the lady of light, the mighty one, to whom men cry aloud; man knoweth neither her breadth nor her height; there was never found her like from the beginning (?). There is a serpent thereover whose size is not known; it was born in the presence of the Still-Heart. The name of the doorkeeper is Semati."

**Vignette VII.** The seventh Pylon, which is guarded by a ram-headed deity $\text{âœ}$ holding a besom and seated in a shrine, the cornice of which is decorated with $\text{âœ} \text{âœ} \text{âœ}$ ornaments.

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\(^1\) The principal variants are $\text{âœ} \text{âœ} \text{âœ}$, "every god uniteth with her"; $\text{âœ} \text{âœ} \text{âœ}$, "the heart of every god rejoiceth in her." See Naville, *Totenbuch, Bd. II*, Bl. 371.
Text: Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the Seventh Pylon. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the robe which doth clothe the "feeble one (i.e., the deceased), weeping for what it loveth and shroudeth. "The name of the doorkeeper is Sakti-f."

Vignette VIII.: The eighth Pylon, which is guarded by a hawk wearing the crowns of the North and South, seated on a sepulchral chest with closed doors: before him is a besom, and behind him is the uchat. Above the shrine are two human-headed hawks, emblems of the souls of Rā and Osiris, and two emblems of life.

Text: Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the Eighth Pylon. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the blazing fire, the flame whereof "cannot be quenched, with tongues of flame which reach afar, the slaughtering "one, the irresistible, through which one may not pass by reason of the hurt which "it doeth. The name of the doorkeeper is Khu-tchet-f."

Vignette IX.: The ninth Pylon, which is guarded by a lion-headed deity wearing a disk and holding a besom, seated in a shrine, the cornice of which is ornamented with uræi wearing disks.

Text: Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the Ninth Pylon. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "Lo, she who is chiefest, the lady of strength, who "giveth quiet of heart to her lord. Her girth is three hundred and fifty measures; "she is clothed with mother-of-emerald of the south; and she raiseth up the godlike "form and clootheth the feeble one . . . . . . The name of the doorkeeper is Āri- "su-tchesef."

Vignette X.: The tenth Pylon, which is guarded by a ram-headed deity wearing the aief crown and holding a besom, seated in a shrine, upon the top of which are two serpents.

Text: Words to be spoken when [Ani] cometh unto the Tenth Pylon. Saith Osiris Ani, [triumphant]: "Lo, she who is loud of voice, she who "causeth those to cry who entreat her, the fearful one who terrifieth, who feareth "none that are therein. The name of the doorkeeper is Sekhen-ur."

1 *i.e.*, "Protecting his body."  
2 *i.e.*, "He maketh himself."
Appendix: The several "texts" of the next eleven Pylons are wanting in this papyrus. Translations of them are here given as they are found in a papyrus published by Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 161, 162. It will be observed that the names of the doorkeepers are wanting, and also that each text, except in the case of the twenty-first Pylon, ends with words which refer to the examination of the dead at each gate.

The Eleventh Pylon. "Lo, she who repeateth slaughter, the burner up of fiends, "she who is terrible at every gateway, who rejoiceth on the day of darkness. She "judgeth the feeble swathed one."

The Twelfth Pylon. "Lo, the invoker of the two lands, who destroyeth with "flashings and with fire those who come, the lady of splendour, who obeyeth her lord "daily. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

The Thirteenth Pylon. "Lo, Isis, who hath stretched forth her hands and arms "over it, and hath made Häpi to shine in his hidden place. She judgeth the feeble "swathed one."

The Fourteenth Pylon. "Lo, the lady of the knife, who danceth in blood; she "maketh [the festival of] the god Hak on the day of judgment. She judgeth the feeble "swathed one."

The Fifteenth Pylon. "Lo, the Bloody Soul, who searcheth out and putteth to "the test, who maketh inquiry and scrutiny, who cometh forth by night, and doth "fetter the Fiend in his lair; may her hands be given to the Still-Heart in his hour, and "may she make him to advance and come forth unto her. She judgeth the feeble "swathed one."

The Sixteenth Pylon. Saith Osiris, when he cometh unto this pylon: "Lo, the "Terrible one, the lady of the rain storm, who planteth ruin in the souls of men, the "devourer of the dead bodies of mankind, the orderer and creator of slaughters, who "cometh forth. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

The Seventeenth Pylon. "Lo, the Hewer-in-pieces in blood, ....... the lady of "flame. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

The Eighteenth Pylon. "Lo, the Lover of fire, the purifier of sinners (?), the "lover of slaughter, the chief of those who adore, the lady of the temple, the slaughterer "of the fiends in the night. She judgeth the feeble bandaged one."

The Nineteenth Pylon. "Lo, the Dispenser of light while she liveth, the "mistress of flames, the lady of the strength and of the writings of Ptah himself. She "maketh trial of the swathings of Pa-an."

The Twentieth Pylon. "Lo, she who is within the cavern of her lord, Clother "is her name; she hideth what she hath made, she carrieth away hearts and greedily "drinketh water. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

The Twenty-first Pylon. "Lo, the knife which cuttest when [its name] is "uttered, and slayeth those who advance towards its flames. It hath secret plots and "counsels."
In the late recensions of the Book of the Dead, the text referring to the twenty-first Pylon reads:

(71) "Hail," saith Horus, "O twenty-first pylon of the Still-Heart. (72) I have made the way, I know thee, I know thy name, I know the name of the goddess who guardeth thee: "Sword that smiteth at the utterance of its [own] name, the unknown (?) goddess with back-turned face, the over thrower of those who draw nigh unto her flame" is her name. Thou keepest the secret things of the avenger of the god whom thou "guardest, and his name is Amem." (73) He maketh it to come to pass that the persea trees grow not, that the acacia trees bring not forth, and that copper is not begotten in the mountain. The godlike beings of this pylon are seven gods. (74) Tchen or Aţ is the name of the one at (?) the door; Hetep-mes* is the name of the second one; Mes-sep* is the name of the third one; Utch-re* is the name of the fourth one; Ap-uat* is the name of the fifth one; Beq* is the name of the sixth one; Anubis is the name of the seventh one."

(75) "I have made the way. I am Amsu-Horus, the avenger of his father, the heir of his father Un-nefer. I have come and I have overthrown all foes of my father Osiris. I have come day by day with victory, doing myself the worship of the god, (76) in the house of his father Tmu, lord of Annu, triumphant in the southern sky. I have done what is right and true to him that hath made right and truth; I have made the Haker festival for the lord thereof; I have led the way in the festival; (77) I have made offerings of cakes to the lords of the altars; and I have brought offerings and oblations, and cakes and ale, and oxen and ducks, to my father Osiris Un-nefer. I rise up in order that my soul may be made one wholly; I cause the bennu bird to come forth at [my] words. I have come daily into the holy house to make offerings of incense. (78) I have brought garments of byssus. I have set forth on the lake in the boat. I have made Osiris, the overlord of the netherworld, to be victorious over his enemies; and I have carried away all his foes to the place of slaughter in the East; they shall never come forth from the durance of the god Seb therein. (79) I have made those who stand up against Ra to be still, and [I have] made him to be victorious. I have come even as a scribe, and I have made all things plain. I have caused the god to have the power of his legs. I have come into the house of him that is upon his hill,* and I have seen him that is ruler in the sacred hall. (80) I have gone into Re-stau; I have hidden myself, and I have found out the way; I have travelled unto An-ruff. I have clothed those who are naked. (81) I have sailed "up to Abtu; I have praised the gods Hu and Sau. (82) I have entered into the house of Ates, I have made supplication to the gods Khati and Sekhet in the house of Neith, or, as others say, "the rulers. I have entered into Re-stau; I have hidden myself,

1 See Lepsius, Todtenbuch, pl. LXIV.
2 I.e., "Devourer."
3 I.e., "Born of peace."
4 I.e., "Who giveth birth to fire."
5 I.e., "Strong of mouth."
6 I.e., "Opener of ways."
7 I.e., "Olive tree."
8 I.e., Anubis, the god of the dead.
"and I have found out the way; I have travelled unto An-ruuf. (83) I have clothed him
"who was naked. I have sailed up to Abtu; I have glorified Hu and Sau. (84) I
"have received my crown at my rising, and I have power to sit upon my throne, upon
"the throne of my father and of the great company of the gods. I have adored the
"mesthen of Ta-sert. (85) My mouth uttereth words with right and with truth. I have
"drowned the serpent Åkhekh. I have come into the great hall which giveth strength
"unto the limbs; and it hath been granted to me to sail along in the boat of Hai. The
"fragrance of ânti unguent ariseth from the hair of him who hath knowledge. (86) I
"have entered into the house of Astes, and I have made supplication to the gods Khâti
"and Sekhet within the House of the Prince. (87) I have arrived as a favoured one in
"Tattu."

Vignette ¹ [Chapter XVIII.—Introduction] (Upper register): The priest

An-mâut-f, who has on the right side of his head the lock of Heru-pa-khârât, or Horus the Child, and who wears a leopard’s skin, introducing
Ani and his wife to the gods whose names are given in Plates XIII. and XIV.

Text: An-mâut-f saith: “I have come unto you, O mighty and godlike rulers
"who are in heaven and in earth and under the earth; (2) and I have brought
"unto you Osiris Ani. He hath not sinned against any of the gods. Grant
"ye that he may be with you for all time.”

(1) The adoration of Osiris, lord of Re-stau, and of the great company of the
gods who are in the netherworld beside Osiris, the scribe Ani, who saith: “(2)
"Homage to thee, O ruler of Amenta, Unnefer within Abtu! I have come unto
"thee, and my heart holdeth right and truth. (3) There is no sin in my body;
"nor have I lied wilfully, nor have I done aught with a false heart. Grant thou
"to me food in the tomb, (4) and that I may come into [thy] presence at the altar
"of the lords of right and truth, and that I may enter into and come forth from the
"netherworld (my soul not being turned back), and that I may behold the face of
"the Sun, and that I may behold the Moon (5) for ever and ever.”

Vignette (Lower register): The priest Se-mer-f, ³ who has on
the right side of his head the lock of Heru-pa-khârât and wears a leopard’s skin,
introducing Ani and his wife to the gods whose names are given in Plates XIII.
and XIV.

¹ This and its companion vignette and the vignettes of Plates XIII.—XIV. form one composition.
² Osiris is also called An-mâut-f; see Lepsius, Todtenbuch, chap. cxlii., l. 7.
³ For the functions of this priest see above, p. 268.
Text: Se-mer-f saith: "(1) I have come unto you, O godlike rulers who "are in Re-stau, and I have brought unto you Osiris Ani. Grant ye [to him], as "to the followers of Horus, cakes and water, and air, and a homestead in "Sekhet-Ḥetep."

(1) The adoration of Osiris, the lord of everlastingness, and of all the godlike rulers of Re-stau, by Osiris, [the scribe Ani], who (2) saith : "Homage to thee, "O king of Amenta, prince of Akert, I have come unto thee. I know thy ways, "(3) I am furnished with the forms which thou takest in the underworld. Grant "thou to me a place in the underworld near unto the lords (4) of right and truth. "May my homestead be abiding in Sekhet-Ḥetep, and may I receive cakes in thy "presence."

PLATE XIII.

Vignettes (Upper register) : A pylon, or gateway, surmounted by the feathers of Māat and uræi wearing disks. (Lower register) : A pylon, surmounted by Anubis $\exists$ and an urchat $\circ$. 

Text [Chapter XVIII.] : ["(1) Hail Thoth, who madest Osiris (2) victorious "over his enemies, make thou Osiris [the scribe Ani] to be victorious over "his enemies, as thou didst make Osiris victorious over his enemies, in the "presence of (3) the godlike rulers who are with Rā and Osiris in Annu, on the "night of 'the things for the night,'" and on the night of battle, and (4) on the "shackling of the fiends, and on the day of the destruction of Neb-er-tcher."]³

§A. Vignette : The gods Tmu, Shu, Tefnut, Osiris,⁴ and Thoth.

Text: (1) The great godlike rulers in Annu are Tmu, Shu, Tefnut [Osiris, and Thoth], (2) and the shackling of the Sebau signifieth the destruction of the fiends of Set when he worketh evil (3) a second time.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, make thou the "Osiris (4) Ani to be victorious over his enemies in the presence of the great "divine beings who are in Tattu, on the night of making the Tat to stand up in "Tattu."

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¹ I.e., the Fields of Peace.
² The words are explained to mean, "the daybreak on the sarcophagus of Osiris."
³ This section, omitted in the Ani papyrus, is supplied from the papyrus of Nebeseni.
⁴ This god is omitted from the copy of this chapter given on Plate XXIII.
§ B. **Vignette**: The gods Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus.

**Text**: (1) The great godlike rulers in Tattu are Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus, the avenger of his father. Now the "night of making the Tat to stand (2) up in Tattu" signifieth [the lifting up of] the arm and shoulder of Osiris, lord of Sekhem; and these gods stand behind Osiris [to protect him] even as the swathing which clothe⁠¹ him.

(3) "Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, make thou "the Osiris Ani triumphant over his enemies (4) in the presence of the great "godlike rulers who are in Sekhem, on the night of the things of the night "[festival] in Sekhem."

§ C. **Vignette**: The gods Osiris and Horus, two *utchats* upon pylons, and the god Thoth.

**Text**: (1) The great godlike rulers who are in Sekhem are Horus, who is without sight, and Thoth, who is with the godlike rulers in Naerereuf. (2) Now the "night of the things of the night festival in Sekhem" signifieth the light of the rising sun on the coffin of Osiris.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious (3) over his enemies, make thou the "Osiris Ani triumphant over his enemies in the presence of the great godlike "rulers in Pe and Tep,² on the (4) night of setting up the columns of Horus, and "of making him to be established the heir of the things which belonged to his "father."

§ D. **Vignette**: The gods Horus, Isis, Mesthā and Hāpi.

**Text**: (1) The great divine rulers who are in Pe and Tep are Horus, Isis, Mesthā, and Hāpi. Now "setting up the columns (2) of Horus" [signifieth] the command given by Set unto his followers: "Set up columns upon it."

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies (3), make thou "the Osiris Ani triumphant over his enemies in the presence of the great godlike

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¹ The papyrus of Nebseni reads: [image]. "Now the setting up of the double Tat signifieth the two shoulders and arms of Horus, lord of Sekhem; and they stand behind Osiris even as the swathing which clothe him."

“rulers in . . . Rekhit, on the (4) night when Isis lay down to keep watch in
“order to make lamentation for her brother Osiris.”

§ E. **Vignette**: (1) The gods Isis, Horus, Anubis,¹ Mesthâ, and Thoth.

**Text**: (1) The great godlike rulers who are in . . . Rekhit are Isis, Horus,
and Mesthâ.

“Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious (2) over his enemies, make thou the
“Osiris, the scribe Ani (triumphant in peace!), to be victorious over his enemies
“in the presence of the great godlike ones (3) who are in Abtu, on the night of
“the god Naker, at the separation of the wicked dead, at the judgment of spirits
“made just, (4) and at the arising of joy in Tenu.”²

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**PLATE XIV.**

§ F. **Vignette**: The gods Osiris, Isis, and Ap-uat, and the Tet.

**Text** [CHAPTER XVIII.]: (1) The great godlike rulers who are in Abtu
are Osiris, Isis, and Ap-uat.

“Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious (2) over his enemies, make thou the
“Osiris Ani, the scribe and teller of the sacred offerings of all the gods, to be
“victorious (3) over his enemies in the presence of the godlike rulers who judge the
“dead, on the night of (4) the condemnation of those who are to be blotted out.”

§ G. **Vignette**: The gods Thoth, Osiris, Anubis, and Astennu.²

**Text**: (1) The great godlike rulers in the judgment of the dead are Thoth,
Osiris, Anubis, and Astennu. Now (2) the “condemnation of those who are to be
blotted out” is the withholding of that which is so needful to the souls of the
children of impotent revolt.

“(3) Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, make thou
“the Osiris, the scribe Ani (triumphant!), to be victorious over his enemies in the

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¹ Omitted on Plate XXIV.

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² 𓊱ỉ or 𓊱𓊩𓊩, the capital of the eighth nome of Upper Egypt, situated near
Abydos, and probably represented by the modern village of Kûm es-Suľtân. It is the ÏIC of the

₂ R. ²
"presence of the great godlike rulers, (4) on the festival of the breaking and "turning up of the earth in Tattu, on the night of the breaking and turning up of "the earth in their blood and of making Osiris to be victorious over his enemies."

§ H. **Vignette**: The three gods of the festival of breaking up the earth in Tattu.

**Text**: (1) When the fiends of Set come and change themselves into beasts, the great godlike rulers, on the festival of the breaking and turning up of the earth in Tattu, (2) slay them in the presence of the gods therein, and their blood floweth among them as they are smitten down. (3) These things are allowed to be done by them by the judgment of those who are in Tattu.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, make thou the "Osiris Ani to be victorious over his enemies in the presence of the godlike rulers "(4) who are in Naaruuf, on the night of him who concealeth himself in divers "forms, even Osiris."¹

§ I. **Vignette**: The gods Rā, Osiris, Shu, and Bebi,² dog-headed.

**Text**: (1) The great godlike rulers who are in Naaruuf are Rā, Osiris. Shu, and Bebi.³ Now the "night of him who concealeth himself in divers forms, even Osiris," is when the thigh [and the head], and the heel, and the leg, are brought nigh unto the coffin of Osiris Un-nefer.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious (3) over his enemies, make thou "the Osiris Ani (triumphant before Osiris) victorious over his enemies in the "presence of the great godlike rulers who are in (4) Re-stau, on the night when "Anubis lay with his arms and his hands over the things behind Osiris, and "when Horus was made to triumph over his enemies."

§ J. **Vignette**: The gods Horus, Osiris, Isis, and . . . . (?)

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¹ Var. 𓊧𓊣𓊦𓊣𓊦𓊣 en seleta áá árn, "of making to be hidden the one mighty of forms" (i.e., Osiris). See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II, Bl. 81.

² Also written 𓊧𓊣𓊦𓊣𓊦𓊣 = 𓊣𓊣 = 𓊣𓊣𓊣; see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 387; Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 197.

³ Var. 𓊧𓊣𓊦𓊣𓊦 Ababi.
Text: (1) The great godlike rulers in Re-stau are Horus, Osiris, and Isis. The heart of Osiris rejoiceth, and the heart of Horus (2) is glad; and therefore are the east and the west at peace.

"Hail Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, (3) make thou the "Osiris Ani, the scribe and teller of the divine offerings of all the gods, to triumph "over his enemies in the presence of the ten (4) companies of great godlike rulers "who are with Rā and with Osiris and with every god and goddess in the "presence of Neb-er-tcher. He hath destroyed his (5) enemies, and he hath "destroyed every evil thing belonging unto him."

Rubric: This chapter being recited, the deceased shall come forth by day, purified after death, and [he shall make all] the forms (or transformations) which his heart shall dictate. Now if this chapter be recited over him, he shall come forth upon earth, he shall escape from every fire; and none of the foul things which appertain unto him shall encompass him for everlasting and for ever and for ever.

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PLATE XV.

Vignette: A seated statue of Ani, the scribe, upon which the ceremony of "opening the mouth" (5) un ra, is being performed by the sem priest, clad in a panther's skin and holding in his right hand the instrument Ur ħeka (6) i.e., "mighty one of enchantments." In front of the statue are: the

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1 Var. ărit xeperus.

2 The Papyrus of Nebseni has the better reading ăra pu tep la, "he shall be in a good state upon earth."

3 Brugsch renders em shes ma'at by "sicut æquum et justum est"; Wörterbuch (Supp.), p. 1203.

4 For a description of this ceremony, see above, pp. 264-270.

5 Compare Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 34. In British Museum papyrus No. 10,470, sheet 8, the god Horus performs this ceremony upon the deceased, who is seated upon a stool.

6 See above, p. 264.
sepulchral chest, the instruments Seb-ur, Tun-šet, and Temānu, and the object Pesh-en-keft.

**Text [Chapter XXIII]:** (1) The Chapter of opening the mouth of Osiris, the scribe Ani. To be said: "May Ptah open my mouth, and may the god of my town loose the swathing, even the swathing which are over my mouth. Moreover, may Thoth, being filled and furnished with charms, come and loose the bandages, the bandages of Set which fetter my mouth; and may the gods hurl them at those who would fetter [me] with them, and drive them back. May my mouth be opened, may my mouth be unclosed by Shu (4) with his iron knife, wherewith he opened the mouth of the gods. I am Sekhet, and I sit upon the great western side of heaven. (5) I am the great goddess Sah among the souls of Annu. Now as concerning every charm and all the words which may be spoken against me (6), may the gods resist them, and may each and every one of the company of the gods withstand them."

**Text [Chapter XXIV]:** (1) The Chapter of bringing charms unto Osiris Ani [in Neter-khert]. [He saith]: "I am Tmu, Kheperā, who gave birth unto himself upon the thigh of his divine mother. Those who are in Nu are made wolves, and those who are among the godlike rulers (3) are become

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1 See above, p. 264.  
2 Var., "he saith."  
3 Var., "By Amen, the god of my town"; Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Pl. xiv.  
4 Var., netiu.  
5 Var., "May Tmu give me my hand to shoot them at those who fetter [me]. May my mouth be given to me, my mouth be opened."  
6 Var., Ptah.  
7 Literally "iron of heaven" (baat en pet = Copt. BENT); for discussions on the word, see Dümichen, Arch. Zeit., 1874, p. 49, and the authorities quoted by Brugsch, Wörterbuch (Suppl.), p. 416.  
8 The papyrus of Nebnemi adds Uatchit.  
9 Var., Uatchit.  
10 Var., "Them may the gods resist, and all the company of my gods, and all the company of their gods."  
11 Many papyri omit Tmu.  
12 Birn, "on the lap of his mother"; Pierret, "en haut de la cuisse de sa mère."  
13 *i.e.*, the sky.
"hyenas.¹ Behold, I gather together the charm from every place where it is and "from every man with whom it is,² swifter than greyhounds and fleeter than light. "(4) Hail thou who towest along the makhet boat of Ra, the stays of thy sails "and of thy rudder are taut in the wind as thou sailst over the Lake of Fire in "Neter-khert. Behold, thou gatherest together the charm (5) from every place "where it is and from every man with whom it is, swifter than greyhounds and "fleeter than light, [the charm] which createth the forms of existence from the (6) "mother’s thigh (?) and createth the gods from (or in) silence, and which giveth "the heat of life unto the gods.³ Behold, the charm is given unto me from "wheresoever it is [and from him with whom it is], swifter than greyhounds and "fleeter than light," or, (as others say), “fleeter than a shadow.”

Appendix: The following chapter, which generally appears in other early copies of the Book of the Dead, is closely connected with the preceding chapter. It is here taken from the Papyrus of Nelseni.

(1) [Chapter XXV.] THE CHAPTER OF CAUSING THE DECEASED TO REMEMBER HIS (2) NAME IN NETER-KHERT. [He saith]: “May my name be given unto me in “the great Double House, and may I remember my name in the House of Fire on “the (3) night of counting the years and of telling the number of the months. I am “with the Holy One, and I sit on the eastern side of heaven. If any god advanceth unto “me, (4) forthwith I proclaim his name.”

Vignette: The scribe Ani, clothed in white, and with his heart in his right hand, addressing the god Anubis.⁴ Between them is a necklace of several rows of

¹ Var., beḥiu, an animal whic his identified with the hyaena croenta by Hartmann (see Äg. Zeit., 1864, p. 12, col. 2).
² Reading with the Nelseni papyrus.
³ Here the text is different from any given by Naville. The chief variants are: “which createth the gods from (or in) silence, and which maketh them powerless”; and “which maketh the gods to speak [from being] silent, and which maketh them speechless.”
⁴ In the vignettes of this chapter published by M. Naville (Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 38) the
coloured beads, the clasp of which is in the shape of a pylon or gateway, and to which is attached a pectoral bearing a representation of the boat of the sun, wherein is set a scarab, emblematic of the sun.\textsuperscript{1}

**Text [Chapter XXVI.]: (1) Chapter of giving a heart unto Osiris Ani (2) in the underworld.** [Ani saith]: "May my heart be with me in the "House of Hearts.\textsuperscript{2} May my heart be with me, and may it rest in [me], or I shall not eat of the cakes of Osiris on the eastern\textsuperscript{3} side of the Lake of "Flowers.\textsuperscript{4} (3) [neither shall I have] a boat wherein to go down the Nile, and "another wherein to go up, nor shall I go forward in the boat with thee. May "my mouth be given unto me that I may (4) speak with it, and my two feet to "walk withal, and my two hands and arms to overthwart my foe. May the doors "of heaven be opened unto me\textsuperscript{5} (5); may Seb, the Prince of the gods, open wide "his two jaws unto me: may he open my two eyes which are blinded; may he "cause me to stretch out my (6) feet which are bound together; and may Anubis "make my legs firm that I may stand upon them. May the goddess Sekhet "make me to rise (7) so that I may ascend unto heaven, and there may that be "done which I command in the House of the Ka of Ptah.\textsuperscript{6} I know my heart, I "have gotten the mastery over (8) my heart, I have gotten the mastery over "my two hands and arms, I have gotten the mastery over my feet, and I have "gained the power to do whatsoever my ka pleaseth. (9) My soul shall not be "shut off from my body at the gates of the underworld; but I shall enter in "peace, and I shall come forth in peace."

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\textsuperscript{1} A very fine set of examples of blue, green, and yellow glazed faience pectorals inlaid with scarabs is exhibited in the Fourth Egyptian Room.

\textsuperscript{2} I.e., the Judgment hall of Osiris, in which hearts were weighed.

\textsuperscript{3} Var. \textcopyright{West.}

\textsuperscript{4} On the word \textcopyright{see Brugsch, Wörterbuch (Suppl.), p. 1289, and Stern, Glossarium, p. 19, col. 2, where the various kinds of this sweet-smelling plant are enumerated.

\textsuperscript{5} Var. \textcopyright{"May my two hands open [my] mouth in the earth": Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 90.

\textsuperscript{6} I.e., the heavenly Memphis.
Text: [Chapter XXXb. 1 The Chapter of not letting (2) the heart of Osiris, the scribe of the sacred offerings of all the gods, Ani, triumphant, be driven from him in the underworld. Ani saith: "My heart, "my mother; my heart, my mother (3). My heart whereby I come into being. "May there be nothing to withstand me at [my] judgment; may there be no "resistance against me by the Tchatcha; may there be no parting of thee from me "in the presence of him who keepeth the Scales! Thou art my ka within (4) "my body, [which] knitteth and strengtheneth my limbs. Mayest thou come "forth in the place of happiness [to which] I advance. May the Shenit, 2 who "make men to stand fast, not cause my name to stink." 8

Vignette: Ani holding his soul in the form of a human-headed bird.

Text: [Chapter LXI. 1 Chapter of not letting the soul of a man be taken away from him in the underworld. Osiris the scribe Ani saith: "I, "even I, am he (2) who came forth from the water-flood which I make to "overflow and which becometh mighty as the River [Nile].

Appendix: In many early papyri the text of Chapter LXI. forms part of a longer composition which M. Naville calls Chapters LXI., 4 LX., 5 and LXII., 6 and which reads:—

(1) Chapter of drinking water in the underworld. [He saith]:

"I, even I, am he who cometh forth from (2) Seb. The flood hath been given unto him,

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1 This chapter is usually accompanied by a vignette. In that in the papyrus of Nebesi the deceased is being weighed against his own heart; an ape, "Thoth, lord of the Balance," seated on a pedestal, holds the tongue of the balance. In British Museum Papyrus No. 9964 the deceased is also weighed against his own heart, but at the same time a figure of himself is also watching the process. In the papyrus of Sutines a square weight lies in each pan of the scales. Other vignettes have simply a scarab, or the deceased addressing his heart, which rests on a standard. See Naville, Totenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 43.

2 A class of divine beings.

4 The chapter as here given is incomplete; the missing words are:

5 The vignette represents the deceased on his knees embracing his soul.

6 Vignette: a man kneeling and holding a lotus.

7 Vignettes: the deceased scooping water with his hands out of a tank.
"and he hath gotten power over it as ḫāpi. I, even I, open the (3) two doors of heaven: and the two doors of the watery abyss have been opened unto me by Thoth and by ḫāpi, the divine twin sons of heaven, (4) who are mighty in splendours.

"O grant ye that I may gain power over the water, even as Set overcame his foes on the day? (5) when he terrified the world. I have passed by the great ones shoulder against shoulder, even as they have passed by that great and splendid god who is (6) provided [with all things] and whose name is unknown. I have passed by the mighty one of the shoulder. (7) The flood of Osiris hath been passed through by me, and "Thoth-Ḥāpi-Tmu, the lord of the horizon, hath opened unto me the flood in his name, "Thoth, the cleaver of the earth." (8) I have gained power over the water, even as Set gained power over his foes. I have sailed over heaven. I am ṫa. I am the Lion-god.

"I am the young bull (9). I have devoured the Thigh, I have seized the flesh. I have gone round about the streams in Seket-Aru. Boundless eternity hath been granted unto me, and, behold, (10) I am the heir of eternity; to me hath been given ever-lastingness."

Closely connected with the above chapter are the two following short chapters:—1

**Vignette:** The deceased drinking water from a running stream.

**Text [CHAPTER LXIIIa.]:** (1) **THE CHAPTER OF DRINKING WATER AND OF NOT BEING BURNED IN THE FIRE.** [The deceased] saith: "Hail, Bull of Amenta. I am brought unto thee, I am the oar of ṫa (3) wherewith he ferried over the aged ones; let me not be buried nor consumed. I am Beb, (4) the first-born son of Osiris, who doth wash every god within his eye in Annu. I am the Heir, (5) the exalted (?), the mighty one, the Still [of Heart]. I have made my name to flourish, and I have delivered [it], that I may make myself to live [in remembrance] on this day."

**Vignette:** The deceased standing near flames of fire.

**Text [CHAPTER LXIIIb.]:** (1) **THE CHAPTER OF NOT BEING SCALDED WITH WATER.** [He saith]: "I am the oar (2) made ready for rowing, wherewith ṫa ferried over the Aged godlike ones. (3) I carry the moistures of Osiris to the lake away from the flame which cannot be passed (4); he is turned aside from the path thereof and he is not burned in the fire. I lie down with the hamemu; (5) I come unto the Lion's lair, killing and binding; and I follow the path by which he came forth."

**Vignette:** Ani carrying a sail, emblematic of breath and air.

**Text [CHAPTER LIV.]:** (1) **CHAPTER OF GIVING BREATH IN THE UNDERWORLD.**

Saith Osiris Ani: "I am the Egg of the Great Cackler, and I watch and guard that

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1 For the texts see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bil. 73, 74.

2 The variants are  and  and  }.

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"great place" (2) which the god Seb hath proclaimed upon earth. I live; and it "liveth; I grow strong. I live, I sniff the air. I am (3) Utcha-aab,§ and I go round "behind [to protect] his egg. I have thwarted the chance of Set, the mighty one "of strength. (4) Hail thou who makest pleasant the world with tchefa food, and "who dwellest in the blue [sky]; watch over the babe in his cot when he cometh "forth unto thee."

Appendix: The two following chapters, which are closely connected with the preceding chapter, are respectively supplied from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 67, and the Nebseni Papyrus.

Vignette: Anubis leading the deceased into the presence of Osiris.

Text: [CHAPTER LV]: (1) ANOTHER CHAPTER OF GIVING BREATHE. [He saith]: "I am Sabsabu. I am Shu. (2) I draw in the air in the presence of the god "of sunbeams as far as the uttermost ends of heaven, as far as the ends of the earth, as "far as the bounds of Shu (3); and I give breath unto those who become young [again]. "I open my mouth, and I see with mine eyes."§

Vignette: A man holding a sail in his left hand.

Text: [CHAPTER LVI]: CHAPTER OF SNIFING THE AIR UPON EARTH. [He saith]: "(2) Hail, Tmu, grant thou unto me the sweet breath which is in thy two "nostrils. I embrace the mighty throne which is in Unnu,¶ and I watch and guard the "Egg of the Great Cackler. I grow, and it groweth; it groweth, and I grow; I live, and "it liveth; I sniff the air, and it sniffeth the air."

Vignette: Ani standing, with a staff in his left hand.

Text [CHAPTER XXIX]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF A MAN BE TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani, "triumphant: "Turn thou back, O messenger of all the gods. (2) Is it that thou "art come to carry away§ this my heart which liveth? My heart which liveth

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1 The text of Lepsius gives $\text{\textcopyright}$

§ The variant text given by Naville indicates by $\text{\textcopyright}$ that these words are the name or title of a god. Birch translates them by "Discriminator of Purity," and Pierret by "le sauvé dont le nom est pur."

¶ For the texts see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 67, 68, 69.

§ Hermopolis.

In a variant vignette given by Naville the deceased holding his heart in both hands offers it to three gods; and in another a man is about to fasten a necklace with a pendent heart to the statue of the deceased.
"shall not be given unto thee. (3) [As I] advance, the gods give ear unto my "supplications, and they fall down upon their faces wheresoever they be."

PLATE XVI.

Vignette: Ani standing, with both hands raised in prayer, before four gods who are seated on a pedestal in the form of Maât; before him is his heart set upon a pedestal.

Text [Chapter XXVII.]: (1) The Chapter of Not Letting the Heart of a Man Be Taken Away from Him in the Underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, ye who carry away hearts, [hail] ye who steal hearts! . . . . (2) ye have "done. Homage to you, O ye lords of eternity, ye possessors of everlastingness, "take ye not away this heart of Osiris Ani (3) in your grasp, this heart of "Osiris. And cause ye not evil words to spring up against it; because this heart "of Osiris Ani is the heart of the one of many names, the mighty one whose "words are his limbs, and who sendeth forth his heart to dwell in (4) his body. "The heart of Osiris Ani is pleasant unto the gods; he is victorious, he hath "gotten power over it; he hath not revealed what hath been done unto it. He "hath gotten power (5) over his own limbs. His heart obeyeth him, he is the "lord thereof, it is in his body, and it shall never fall away therefrom. I, Osiris, "the scribe Ani, victorious in peace, and triumphant in the beautiful Amenta and "on the mountain of eternity, bid thee be obedient unto me in the underworld."

Appendix: The three following chapters, which do not occur in the Ani papyrus, form part of the group of the chapters relating to the heart. They are here supplied from Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Pl. xl., xlii., xxxix.

1 In Naville's edition there follow the words hab-nef  ámbf xentí xatf temam ámbf er neteru sexem ámbf, "his heart goeth to inhabit his body; his heart is perfect before the gods, he gaineth possession of it."

2 The reading of Naville's edition is better here.  ámbf  ámbf  ámbf  ámbf  ámbf  ámbf  ámbf  ámbf  ámbf "Ye who steal hearts, and who make the heart of a man to come into existence according to that which hath been done by him; may it (i.e., his heart) be made strong by you."
Text [Chapter XXIXA.]: (1) The Chapter of the Heart not being Carried Away in the Underworld. He saith: "My heart (2) is with me, and it shall "never come to pass that it shall be carried away. I am the lord of hearts, the slayer of "the heart. (3) I live in right and in truth, and I have my being therein. I am Horus; "a pure heart (4) within a pure body. I live by my word, and my heart doth live. Let "not my heart be taken away (5), let it not be wounded, and may no wounds or gashes "be dealt upon me because it hath been taken away from me. (6) May I exist in the "body of my father Seb, and in the body of my mother Nut. I have not done evil (7) "against the gods; I have not sinned with boasting."

Vignette: The deceased adoring a heart.

Text [Chapter XXXA.]: (1) The Chapter of not (2) Letting the Heart of a Man be Driven Away from Him in the Underworld. [He saith]: "My "heart, my mother; my heart, my mother. My heart of my life upon earth. May "naught rise up (3) against me in judgment in the presence of the lord of the trial; "let it not be said concerning me and of that which I have done, 'He hath done deeds "against that which is right and true'; may naught be against me in the presence of "the great god, (4) the lord of Amenta. Homage to thee, O my heart! Homage to "thee, O my heart! Homage to you, O my reins!" Homage to you, O ye gods who "rule over the divine clouds, and who (5) are exalted by reason of your sceptres; speak "ye comfortably unto Ra, and make me to prosper before Nehebka." And behold him, even though he be joined to the earth in the innermost parts thereof, and though he be laid upon it, he is not dead in Amenta, but is a glorified being therein.

Vignette: The deceased holding his heart to his breast with his left hand, and kneeling before a monster with a knife in its hand.

Text [Chapter XXVIII.]: (1) [The Chapter of] Not Letting the Heart of the Deceased be Carried Away in the Underworld. [Saith he]: (2) "Hail, "a Lion-god! I am Un. (4) That which I hate is the block of the god. Let not this my "heart be taken away from me by (3) the Fighter (5) in Annu. Hail thou who dost bind "Osiris, and who hast seen Set! Hail thou who returnest after smiting and destroying "him. (4) This heart sitteth and weepeth in the presence of Osiris; it hath with it the staff "for which it entreated him. May there be given unto me for it, may there be decreed "unto me for it the hidden things (6) of the heart in the (5) house of Ushek-hrā; may

1 See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 40.
Understanding some word like 𓊛 Palette; see the text in Lepsius.

3 Brugsch believes that the word 𓊛 Palette means the liver or kidneys, or some special organ; see Wörterbuch, p. 421.

4 Reading 𓊛 Palette; another variant has "I am Ra."

5 I.e., the being represented in the vignette.

6 Var. 𓊛 Palette, "warmth of heart."
"there be granted unto it food at the bidding of the Eight.¹ Let not this my heart be 
taken from me! I make thee to dwell in thy place, joining together hearts in (6) Sekhet-
hetepu, and years of strength in all places of strength, carrying away food (?) at thy 
moment with thy hand according to thy great strength. My heart is placed upon the 
altars of Tmu (?), who leadeth it to the den of Set; he hath given unto me my heart, 
whose will hath been done by the godlike rulers in Neter-khert. When they find the 
"leg" and the swathing-things they bury them."

Vignette: Ani and his wife Thuthu, each holding the emblem of air ♂ in the left hand, and drinking water with the right from a pool, ♂, on the borders of which are palm trees laden with fruit.

Text [Chapter LVIII.]: (1) The Chapter of breathing the air and of 
having power over the water in the underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: "Open to 
me! Who art thou then, and whither dost thou go? (2) I am one of you. Who is 
with thee? It is Merti. Separate thou from him, each from each, when thou 
enterest the Mesqen. He letteth me sail to the temple of the divine beings 
who have found their faces (?). (4) The name of the boat is 'Assembler of 
Soul'; the name of the oars is 'Making the hair to stand on end'; the name 
of the hold is 'Good'; (5) and the name of the rudder is 'Making straight for 
the middle' . . . . . . . . (6) Grant ye to me vessels of milk together 
with cakes, loaves of bread, cups of drink, and flesh in the temple of (7) 
Anubis."

Rubric: If this chapter be known [by Ani] he shall go in after having come forth from the underworld.

Vignette: Ani kneeling beside a pool of water ♂, where grows a sycamore 
tree; in the tree appears the goddess Nut pouring water into Ani's hands from a 
vessel ♂.

¹ Var. ♂ Re 𓊓𓊖𓊓, "Mouth of Hermopolis."
² This meaning is indicated by the determinative in the variant given by Naville, Totenbuch, 
Bd. II., Bd. 95. The whole sentence may be a rubrical direction.
³ The text here appears to be corrupt, or at least some words have been omitted, for the equivalent 
passage in Lepsius reads ♂ ♂ ♂. The variant reading indicated by ♂ ki let shows that this passage offered difficulties to the ancient Egyptian readers.
Text [Chapter LIX.]: (1) The Chapter of sniffing the air, and of getting power over the waters in the underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, sycamore tree of the goddess Nut! Grant thou to me of the water and the air which are in (2) thee. I embrace thy throne which is in Unnu, and I watch and guard (3) the egg of the Great Cackler. It groweth, I grow; it liveth, I live; (4) it sniffeth the air, I sniff the air, I the Osiris Ani, in triumph."

Vignette: Ani seated upon a chair before a table of offerings, in his right hand he holds the kherp sceptre and in his left a staff.

Text [Chapter XLIV.]: (1) The Chapter of not dying a second time in the underworld. 4 Saith Osiris Ani: "My place of hiding is opened, my place of hiding is revealed! Light hath shone (2) in the darkness. The eye of Horus hath ordered my coming into being, and the god Apuat hath nursed me. I have hidden (3) myself with you, O ye stars that never set. My brow is like unto that of Ra; my face is open; (4) my heart is upon its throne; I utter words, and I know; in very truth, I am Ra himself. I am not treated with scorn, (5) and violence is not done unto me. Thy father, the son of Nut, liveth for thee. I am thy first-born, (6) and I see thy mysteries. I am crowned like unto the king of the gods, and I shall not die a second time in the underworld."

Vignette: The mummy of Ani embraced by Anubis, the god of the dead.

Text [Chapter XLV.]: (1) The Chapter of not corrupting in the underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: "O thou who art without motion like unto Osiris! O thou who art without motion like unto Osiris! (2) O thou whose

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1 I.e., Hermopolis.
2 For an account of the manner in which altars and other objects were represented on Egyptian monuments, see Borchart, Die Darstellung innen versierter Schalen aus Agyptischen Denkmälern (in Aeg. Zeitschrift, Bd. XXXI, 1893, p. 1).
3 For a kherp sceptre in bronze, see No. 22,842 in the and Egyptian Room.
4 Chapters CLXXV. and CLXXVI. bear the same title. For Chapter CLXXV. see Plate XXIX. Chapter CLXXVI. (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Pl. cc.) reads:—
5 "What I hate is the land of Abydos. May I never enter into the den, and may there never be done unto me any of those things which the gods hate, for I am . . . pure within the Mesqet. May "Neb-er-tcher give unto me his splendours on the day of the funeral in the presence of the Lord "of Things."
6 "If this chapter be known [he] shall be in the condition of one who is acquitted in the under- 
"world."
"limbs are without motion like unto [those of] Osiris! Let not thy limbs be
"(3) without motion, let them not corrupt, let them not pass away, let them not
"decay; let it be (4) done unto me even as if I were the god Osiris."

Rubric: If this chapter be known by the Osiris Ani, he shall not corrupt in
the underworld.

Vignette: A doorway. By one post stands the soul of Ani in the form of
a human-headed hawk and by the other the bird.

Text: [Chapter XLVI.] (1) The Chapter of not perishing and of
becoming alive in the underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, (2) children of
"Shu! Hail, children of Shu, [children of] the place of the dawn, who as the
"children of light have gained possession of his crown. May I rise up and
"may I fare forth like Osiris."

Vignette: Ani the scribe standing with his back to a block and knife.

Text: [Chapter XL.] (1) The Chapter of not entering in unto the
block. Saith Osiris Ani: "The four bones of my neck and of my back are
"joined together for me in heaven by Ra, the guardian of the earth. (2) This
"was granted on the day when my rising up out of weakness upon my two
"feet was ordered, on the day (3) when the hair was cut off. The bones of my
"neck and of my back have been joined together by Set and by the company of
"the gods, even as they were (4) in the time that is past; may nothing happen
"to break them apart. Make ye [me] strong against my father's murderer. I
"have gotten power over the two earths. Nut hath joined together my bones,
"and [I] behold [them] as they were in the time that is past [and I] see [them]
"even in the same order as they were [when] the gods had not come into being
"(6) in visible forms.8 I am Penti, I, Osiris the scribe Ani, triumphant, am the
"heir of the great gods."

PLATE XVII.

Vignette: Ani standing in adoration before three gods, each of whom holds
a sceptre in his left hand, and the symbol of life in his right.

1 Adding $\text{m} \text{t}_\text{f}_\text{s}_\text{u}$, from the papyrus of Nebseni.

2 Var. $\text{r}_\text{t}_\text{s}_\text{m}_\text{u}$. On this word see Brugsch, Wörterbuch (Suppl.), p. 279.
[Text [Chapter XCIII.]: (1) The Chapter of not letting a man pass over to the east in the underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, manhood of (2) "Ra, which advanceth and beateth down opposition; things which have been "without movement for millions of years come into being through the god Baba. "Hereby am I made stronger than (3) the strong, and hereby have I more power "than they who are mighty. And therefore neither shall I be borne away nor "carried by force to the East, to take part in the festivals of the fiends; (4) nor "shall there [be given unto me] cruel gashes with knives, nor shall I be shut in "on every side, nor gored by the horns [of the god Khepera]."

[Text [Chapter XCIIIa.]: Another Chapter. [Saith Osiris Ani]: "So "then shall no evil things be done unto me by the fiends, neither shall I (5) be "gored by the horns [of Khepera]; and the manhood of Ra, which is the head of "Osiris, shall not be swallowed up. Behold me, (7) I enter into my homestead, "and I reap the harvest. The gods speak with me. (8) Gore thou not them, O "Ra-khepera. In very truth sickness shall not arise in the eye of Mne nor shall "it (9) be destroyed. Let me be brought to an end, may I not be carried into the "East to take part in the festivals of the fiends who are my enemies (10); may no "cruel gashes be made in me. I, Osiris, the scribe Ani, the teller of the divine "offerings of all the gods, triumphant with happy victory, the lord to be revered. "am not carried away into the East."

[Text [Chapter XLIII.]: (1) The Chapter of not letting the head of a man be cut off from him in the underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: (2) "I "am the great One, son of the great One; I am Fire, the son of Fire, to whom "was (3) given his head after it had been cut off. The head of Osiris was not "carried away from him; let not the head of Osiris Ani (4) be carried away from "him. I have knit together my bones, I have made myself whole and sound; "I have become young once more; I am Osiris, the Lord of eternity."

[Vignette: The mummy of Ani lying on a bier; above is his soul in the form of a human-headed bird, holding Ω shen, the emblem of eternity, in its claws. At the head and foot stands an incense burner with fire in it.

1 The text of the rest of this chapter is corrupt.
2 In other early papyri these two chapters form one; the division probably arose from a blunder on the part of the scribe.
Text [Chapter LXXXIX.]: (1) The Chapter of causing the soul to be united to its body in the underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: “Hail, thou god Annitu! Hail, O Runner, (2) dwelling in thy hall! O thou great god, grant thou that my soul may come unto me from wheresoever it may be. If it would tarry, then bring thou unto me (3) my soul from wheresoever it may be. [If] thou findest me, O Eye of Horus, make thou me to stand up like those beings who are like unto Osiris and who never lie down in death. Let not (4) Osiris Ani, triumphant, triumphant, lie down in death in Annu, the land wherein souls are joined unto their bodies, even in thousands. My soul doth bear away with it my victorious spirit (5) whithersoever it goeth. (6) If it would tarry, grant thou that my soul may look upon my body. [If] thou findest me, O Eye of Horus, make thou me to stand up like unto those. (7) Hail, ye gods, who row in the boat of the lord of millions of years, who tow it (8) above the underworld, who make it to pass over the ways of Nu, who make souls to enter into their glorified bodies, (9) whose hands are filled with righteousness, and whose fingers grasp your sceptres, destroy ye (10) the foe. The boat of the Sun rejoiceth, and the great god advanceth in peace. Behold [ye gods], grant that this soul of Osiris Ani (11) may come forth triumphant before the gods, and triumphant before you, from the eastern horizon of heaven, to follow unto the place where it was yesterday, in peace, in peace, in Amenta. (12) May he behold his body, may he rest in his glorified frame, may he never perish, and may his body never see corruption.”

Rubric: To be said over a golden [figure of a] soul inlaid with precious stones, which is to be placed on the neck of Osiris.

Vignette: Ani’s soul, in the form of a human-headed bird, standing in front of a pylon.

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1 Some words are omitted here.
2 The three following variants show: (1) the soul flying through the door of the tomb to the deceased; (2) the deceased, accompanied by his soul, standing at the open door of the tomb; and (3) the deceased, with his soul hovering over him, standing with his back to the door of the tomb, upon which is the disk of the rayed sun.
Text [Chapter XCI.]: (1) The Chapter of Not Letting the Soul of a Man Be Captive in the Underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: “Hail thou who art exalted, thou who art adored, (2) thou mighty one of souls, thou Ram (or Soul), possessor of terrible power, who dost put fear of thee into the hearts of the gods, thou who art crowned upon thy mighty throne! It is he who maketh the path for the khe and for (3) the soul of Osiris Ani. I am furnished [with that which I need], I am a khe furnished [with that which I need], I have made my way unto the place wherein are Ra and (4) Hathor.”

Rubric: If this chapter be known, Ani shall become like unto a shining being fully equipped in the underworld. He shall not be stopped at any door in the underworld from going in and coming out millions of times.

Vignette: Ani standing at the doorway of the tomb; and Ani’s shadow, accompanied by his soul.

Text [Chapter XCII.]: (1) The Chapter of Opening the Tomb to the Soul of the Shadow, of Coming Forth by Day, and of Getting Power over the Legs. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: “(2) The place of bondage is opened, that which was shut is opened, and . . . . . ; the place of bondage is opened unto my soul [according to the bidding of] the eye of Horus. I have bound and established (3) glories upon the brow of Ra. [My] steps are made long, [my] thighs are lifted up; I have passed along the great path, and my limbs are strong. (4) I am Horus, the avenger of his father, and I bring the ureret crown to rest upon its place. The path of souls is opened [to my soul].”

PLATE XVIII.

My soul (5) seeth the great god within the boat of Ra on the day of souls. My soul (6) in the front among those who tell the years. Come; the eye of Horus, which establisheth glories (7) upon the brow of Ra and rays of light upon the faces of those who are with the limbs of Osiris, hath delivered my soul. (8) O shut ye not in my soul, fetter ye not my shade; (9) may it behold the great god

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1 See Plate XVIII.
2 The reading of the Nebseni papyrus is
3 Adding from the Nebseni papyrus.
within the shrine on the day of the judgment of souls, may it repeat the words
of Osiris. (10) May those beings whose dwelling-places are hidden, who fetter
the limbs of Osiris, who fetter the souls of the khu, who shut in (11) the shades
of the dead and can do evil unto me—may they do no evil unto me, may they
turn away their path from me. Thy heart (12) is with thee; may my soul and
my khu be prepared against their attack. May I sit down among the great
rulers who (13) dwell in their abodes; may my soul not be set in bondage by
those who fetter the limbs of Osiris, and who fetter souls, and who shut in (14)
the shades of the dead. The place which thou possessest, is it not Heaven?

Rubric: If this chapter be known, he shall come forth by day and his soul
shall not be shut in.

Vignette: Ani kneeling, with both hands raised in adoration, by the side of
the Seker boat placed upon its sledge.

Text [Chapter LXXIV.]: (1) The Chapter of walking with the two
legs, and of coming forth upon earth. Saith Osiris Ani: "Thou hast done
all thy work, O Seker, thou hast done all thy work, O Seker, in thy dwelling-
place within my legs in the (2) underworld. I shine above the Leg of the Sky,
I come forth from heaven; I recline with the glorified spirits. Alas! I am
weak and feeble; alas! I am weak and feeble. I walk. I am weak and feeble
in the (4) presence of those who gnash with the teeth in the underworld, I
Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace."

Vignette: The emblem of Amenta; and Ani standing with a staff
in his left hand.

Text [Chapter VIII.]: (1) The Chapter of passing through Amenta,
and of coming forth by day. Saith Osiris Ani: "The hour (?) openeth; (2)
the head of Thoth is sealed up; perfect is the eye of Horus. I have delivered
the eye of Horus which shineth with splendours on the forehead of Rā, (3) the
father of the gods. I am the same Osiris, dwelling in Amenta. Osiris knoweth
his day and that he shall not live therein; nor shall I live therein. (4) I am the
Moon among the gods; I shall not come to an end. Stand up, therefore, O
Horus; Osiris hath counted thee among the gods."

1 The god Seker was a form of the night sun, like Ptah, Osiris and Tanen; see Lanzoni, Dictionnaire, p. 1113.
2 The name of a constellation.
Text [Chapter II.]: (1) The Chapter of coming forth by day, and of living after death. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, Only One, shining from the "Moon! (2) Hail, Only One, shining from the Moon! Grant that this Osiris "Ani may come forth among the multitudes which are round about thee; (3) let "him be established as a dweller among the shining ones; and let the under-"world be opened unto him. And behold Osiris, (4) Osiris Ani shall come forth "by day to do his will upon earth among the living."

Vignette: Ani, standing with both hands raised in adoration before a ram crowned with plumes and disk ; in front of the ram is a table, upon which are a libation vase and a lotus flower.

Text [Chapter IX.]: (1) The Chapter of coming forth by day, having passed through the tomb. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail Soul, thou mighty one "of strength! (2) Verily I am here, I have come, I behold thee. I have passed "through the underworld, I have seen [my] father (3) Osiris, I have scattered the "gloom of night. I am his beloved one. I have come; I behold my father (4) "Osiris. I have stabbed Set to the heart. I have done the things [needed] by "my father Osiris. (5) I have opened every way in heaven and upon earth. I am "the son beloved of his father Osiris (6). I have become a ruler, I have become "glorious, I am furnished [with what I need]. Hail, all ye gods, and all ye shining "ones, make ye a way for me, the Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant."

Vignette: Ani, with a staff in his left hand, standing before a door.

Text [Chapter CXXXII.]: The Chapter of making a man to return to see again his home upon earth. Saith Osiris Ani: "I am the Lion-god (2) "coming forth with strides. I have shot forth arrows, I have wounded [the prey], "I have wounded the prey. I am the Eye of Horus; I have opened the (3) eye of "Horus in his hour. I am come unto the furrows. Let Osiris Ani come in peace."

Vignette: Ani piercing a serpent.

Text [Chapter X. [XLVIII.]]: Another Chapter of one who cometh forth by day against his foes in the underworld. Saith Osiris Ani: "I "have divided the heavens, (2) I have passed through the horizon, I have traversed "the earth, [following] upon his footsteps. I am borne away by the mighty and "shining ones because, behold, (3) I am furnished with millions of years which
have magic virtues. I eat with my mouth, I chew with my jaws; and, behold,
"(4) I am the god who is the lord of the underworld. May there be given unto
me, Osiris Ani, that which abideth for ever without corruption."

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PLATE XIX.

Vignette: Ani standing, with both hands raised in adoration, before Ra,
hawk-headed and seated in a boat floating upon the sky. On the bows sits
Haro-pa-khat (Harpocrates) or, "Horus the child"; and the side is ornamented
with feathers of Maat, and the utchat. The handles of the oars and the
tops of the rowlocks are shaped as hawks' heads, and on the blades of the oars
are.

Text [Chapter XV.]: (1) A Hymn of Praise to Ra when he riseth upon
the horizon, and when he setteth in the [Land of] Life. Saith Osiris, the
scribe Ani: "Homage to thee, O Ra, (2) when thou risest as Tmu-Haro-khat
" (Harmachis). Thou art adored [by me] when thy beauties are before mine eyes,
" and when thy shining rays (3) fall] upon my body. Thou goest forth in peace
" in the Sektet boat with [fair] winds, and thy heart is glad; [thou goest forth] in
" the Alef boat, (4) and its heart is glad. Thou stridest over the heavens in peace,
" and thy foes are cast down; the never-resting stars (5) sing hymns of praise unto
" thee, and the stars which never set glorify thee as thou (6) sinkest in the horizon
" of Manu, O thou who art beautiful in the two parts of heaven, thou lord who livest
" and art established, O my lord! Homage to thee, O thou who art Ra when
" thou risest, and Tmu (7) when thou settest in beauty. Thou risest and shinest
" upon the back of thy mother [the sky], O thou who art crowned king (8) of the
" gods. Nut doth homage unto thee, and everlasting and never-changing order
" embracest thee at morn and at eve. Thou stridest over the heaven, being glad
" of heart, and the Lake (9) Testes is at peace. The Fiend hath fallen to the
" ground; his arms and his hands have been hewn off, and the knife hath severed
" the joints of his body. Ra hath a fair wind (10); the Sektet boat goeth forth
" and sailing along it cometh into port. The gods of the south and of the north,
" of the west and of the east praise thee, (11) from whom all forms of life came
" into being. Thou sendest forth the word, and the earth is flooded with silence,
" O thou only One, who livedst in heaven before ever the earth and the mountains
"were made. (12) O Runner, Lord, only One, thou maker of things which are, "thou hast moulded the tongue of the company of the gods, thou hast drawn forth "whateverycometh from the waters, and thou springest up from them over the "flooded land of the Lake of Horus (13). Make me to sniff the air which cometh "forth from thy nostrils, and the north wind which cometh forth from thy mother "[the Sky]. Make thou glorious my shining form, O Osiris, make thou (14) "strong my soul. Thou art worshipped in peace, O lord of the gods, thou art "exalted by reason of thy wondrous works. Shine with thy rays of light upon my "body day by day, upon me, (15) Osiris, the scribe, the teller of the divine offerings "of all the gods, the overseer of the granary of the lords of Abydos, the royal "scribe in truth, who loveth him (i.e., Rā); Ani, triumphant in peace."

**Vignette:** Ani, standing with both hands raised in adoration. Behind him is his wife:

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Ausar nebt  per  gemâtet en  Amen  Ëmmu
Osiris, the lady of the house, priestess of Amen, Thuthu.
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**Text** [Chapter XV.]: (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE. "O Osiris, lord of eternity, "Un-nefer, Horus of the two horizons, whose forms are manifold, whose creations "are without number, (2) Ptah-Seker-Tem in Annu, the lord of the tomb, and the "creator of Memphis and of the gods, the guide of the underworld, whom [the "gods] (3) glorify when thou settest in Nut. Isis embraceth thee in peace, and "she driveth away the fiends from the mouth of (4) thy paths. Thou turnest thy "face upon Amenta, thou makest the world to shine as with smu metal. The "dead rise up to behold thee, they breathe the (5) air and they look upon thy "face when the disk shineth on its horizon; their hearts are at peace for that they "behold thee, O thou who art eternity and everlastingness."

[Litany]: (1) "Homage to thee, [O lord of] starry deities in An, and of "heavenly beings in Kher-āba; thou god Unti, who art more glorious than the "gods who are hidden in Annu.

"(2) Homage to thee, O An in Antes (?), Horus, thou dweller in both "horizons, with long strides thou stridest over heaven, O thou who dwellest in "both horizons.

"(3) Homage to thee, O soul of everlastingness, thou Soul who dwellest in "Tattu, Un-nefer, son of Nut; thou art lord of Akert."
"(4) Homage to thee in thy dominion over Tattu; the ureriit crown is established upon thy head; thou art the One whose strength is in himself, and thou dwellest in peace in Tattu.

"(5) Homage to thee, O lord of the acacia tree, the Seker boat is set upon its sledge; thou turnest back the Fiend, the worker of evil, and thou causest the nitchat to rest upon its seat.

"(6) Homage to thee, O thou who art mighty in thine hour, thou great and mighty god, dweller in An-rut-f, lord of eternity and creator of everlastingness; thou art the lord of Suten-benen.

"(7) Homage to thee, O thou who retest upon Right and Truth, thou art the lord of Abtu, and thy limbs are joined unto Ta-sertet; thou art he to whom fraud and guile are hateful.

"(8) Homage to thee, O thou who art within thy boat, thou bringest Häpi (i.e., the Nile) forth from his source; the light shineth upon thy body, and thou art the dweller in Nekhen.

"(9) Homage to thee, O creator of the gods, thou King of the North and of the South; O Osiris, victorious, ruler of the world in thy gracious seasons; thou art the lord of the world.

"O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit."

PLATE XX.

Vignette: Osiris and Isis in a sepulchral shrine.

Text [Chapter XV.]: (1) A Hymn of Praise to Rā when he riseth in the eastern part of the heaven. They who are in (2) his train rejoice, and lo! Osiris Ani in triumph saith: "Hail, thou Disk, thou lord of rays, who risest (3) in the horizon day by day. Shine thou with thy beams of light upon the face of Osiris Ani, who is victorious: for he singeth hymns of praise unto thee at (4) dawn, and he maketh thee to set at eventide with words of adoration. May the soul of Osiris Ani, the triumphant one, come forth with (5) thee from heaven, "may he go forth in the mätet boat, may he come into port in the seklet boat, "may he cleave his path among the (6) never resting stars in the heavens."

Osiris Ani, being at peace and in triumph, adoreth his lord, the lord of (7) eternity, saying: "Homage to thee, O Horus of the two horizons, who art
“Kheperā, the self-created; when thou risest on the horizon and (8) sheddest thy beams of light upon the lands of the North and the South thou art beautiful, yea beautiful, and all the gods rejoice when they behold thee, (9) the King of heaven. The goddess Nebt-Unnet is established upon thy head; her portions of the south and of the north are upon thy brow (10); she taketh her place before thee. The god Thoth is established in the bows of thy boat to destroy utterly all thy foes. (11) Those who dwell in the underworld come forth to meet thee, bowing in homage as they come towards thee, and to behold [thy] beautiful (12) Image. And I have come before thee that I may be with thee to behold thy Disk every day. May I not be shut in the tomb, may I not be turned back (13), may the limbs of my body be made new again when I view thy beauties, even as do all thy favoured ones, (14) because I am one of those who worshipped thee whilst they lived upon earth. May I come in unto the land of eternity, may I come even (15) unto the everlasting land, for behold, O my lord, this hast thou ordained for me.”

And lo, Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace, the triumphant one, saith: “(16) Homage to thee, O thou who risest in thy horizon as Rā, thou art established by a law which changeth not nor can it be altered. Thou passest over the sky, and every face watcheth thee (17) and thy course, for thou hast been hidden from their gaze. Thou dost show thyself at dawn and at eventide day by day. (18) The Sekhet boat, wherein is thy majesty, goeth forth with might; thy beams shine upon [all] faces; [the number] of thy yellow rays cannot be known, nor can thy bright beams (19) be told. The lands of the gods, and the colours of the eastern lands of Punt, must be seen, ere that which is hidden (20) [in thee] may be measured [by man]. Alone and by thyself thou dost manifest thyself [when] thou comest into being above Nu. May Ani (21) advance, even as thou dost advance; may he never cease [to go forward], even as thy majesty ceaseth not [to go forward], even though it be for a moment; for with strides dost thou (22) in one little moment pass over the spaces which would need hundreds of thousands and millions of years [for man to pass over; this] thou dost, and then dost thou sink down. Thou (23) puttest an end to the hours of the night, and thou dost number them, even thou; thou endest them in thine own appointed season, and the earth becometh light. (24) Thou settest thyself before thy handiwork in the likeness of Rā; thou risest in the horizon.”

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3 There is a play on the words ☓ and ☔.
Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, declareth his (25) praise of thee when thou shinest, and when thou risest at dawn he crieth in his joy at thy birth: (26) “Thou art crowned with the majesty of thy beauties; thou mouldest thy limbs as thou dost advance, and thou bringest them forth without birth-pangs in the form of Rā (27), as thou dost climb up into the upper air. Grant thou that I may come unto the heaven which is everlasting, and unto the mountain [where dwell] thy favoured ones. (28) May I be joined unto those shining beings, holy and perfect, who are in the underworld; and may I come forth with them to behold thy beauties when thou shinest (29) at eventide and goest to thy mother Nut.

PLATE XXI.

“Thou dost place thy disk in the west, and my two hands are [raised] in adoration [of thee] when thou settest (30) as a living being. Behold, thou art the maker of eternity, and thou art adored [when] thou settest in the heavens. I have given my heart unto thee without wavering, (31) O thou who art mightier than the gods.”

Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith: “A hymn of praise to thee, O thou who risest (32) like unto gold, and who dost flood the world with light on the day of thy birth. Thy mother giveth thee birth upon [her] hand, and thou dost give light unto the course of the Disk. (33) O thou mighty Light, who shinest in the heavens, thou dost strengthen the generations of men with the Nile-flood, and dost cause gladness in all lands, and in all (34) cities, and in all the temples. Thou art glorious by reason of thy splendours, and thou makest strong thy ka with hu and tchefau foods. O thou who art the mighty one of victories, (35) thou who art the Power of [all] Powers, who dost make strong thy throne against the powers of wickedness, who art glorious in majesty in the seket boat, and who art exceeding (36) mighty in the åfet boat, make thou glorious Osiris Ani with victory in the netherworld; grant thou that in the underworld he may be void of (37) sin. I pray thee to put away [his] faults behind thee; grant that he may be one of thy venerable (38) servants who are with the shining ones; may he be joined unto the souls which are in Ta-sertet; and may he journey into the Sekhet-Aaru (39) by a prosperous and happy path, he the Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant.

“(40) Thou shalt come forth into heaven, thou shalt pass over the sky, thou shalt be joined unto the starry deities. (41) Praises shall be offered unto thee in thy boat, thou shalt be hymned in the åfet boat, (42) thou shalt behold Rā within
"his shrine, thou shalt set together with his disk day by day, thou shalt see (43) "the ant fish when it springeth into being in the waters of turquoise, and thou shalt "see (44) the ḫtīf fish in his hour. May it come to pass that the Evil One shall fall "when he layeth a snare to destroy me, (45) and may the joints of his neck and of "his back be cut in sunder."

"Rā [saileth] with a fair wind, and the sektet boat draweth on (46) and cometh "into port. The mariners of Rā rejoice, and the heart of Nebt-ānkh (47) is glad, "for the enemy of her lord hath fallen to the ground. Thou shalt behold Horus "on the watch [in the Boat], and Thoth and Maāt upon either side of him. (48) "All the gods rejoice when they behold Rā coming in peace (49) to make the "hearts of the shining ones to live. May Osiris Ani, triumphant, the scribe of the "divine offerings of the lords of Thebes, be with them."

Vignette: Rā, hawk-headed, with the disk upon his head and the emblem of life, ♂, upon his knees, seated in the solar bark;¹ before him stands Ani with both hands raised in adoration.

Text [Chapter CXXXIII.]: (1) To be said on the day of the Month.² (2) Osiris Ani, the scribe, triumphant in peace, triumphant, saith: "Rā riseth (2) "in his horizon, and the company of his gods follow after the god when he "appeareth from his secret place, when he showeth strength and bringeth himself "forth (3) from the eastern horizon of heaven at the word of the goddess Nut. "They rejoice at the journeyings of Rā, the Ancient One; the Great One (4) "rolleth along in his course. Thy joints are knitted together,³ O Rā, within thy "shrine. Thou breathest the winds, thou drawest in the breezes, (5) thou makest "thy jaw-bones to eat in thy dwelling on the day when thou dost scent right and "truth. Thou turnest aside the godlike followers (6) [who] sail after the sacred "boat, in order that they may return again unto the mighty ones according to thy "word. Thou numberest thy bones, thou gatherest together thy members; (7) "thou turnest thy face towards the beautiful Amenta; thou comest thither renewed

¹ In the Nebesi papyrus the god is seated on a throne, and he holds the sceptre ♂ in his right hand; in the Turin papyrus (Lepsius, Bl. 54) the god is seated within a shrine.
² This chapter is generally entitled "The Book of making perfect (or strong) the ḫwā in the netherworld, in the presence of the great company of the gods."
³ Or, "thou art exalted."
"day by day. Behold, thou Image of gold, who possessest the splendours (8) of "the Disk of heaven, thou lord of terror; thou rollest along and art renewed day by "day. Hail, there (9) is rejoicing in the heavenly horizon, and shouts of joy are "raised to the ropes which tow thee along. May the gods who dwell in (10) heaven "ascibe praises unto Osiris Ani, when they behold him in triumph, as unto Rā. "May Osiris, the scribe Ani, be a prince (11) who is known by the ueret crown; "and may the meat offerings and the drink offerings of Osiris Ani, triumphant, "be apportioned unto him; may he wax exceeding strong in his body; and may he "be the (12) chief of those who are in the presence of Rā. May Osiris, the "scribe Ani, triumphant, be strong upon earth and in the world under the earth; "and (13) O Osiris, scribe Ani, triumphant, mayest thou rise up strengthened "like unto Rā day by day. Osiris Ani, triumphant, shall not tarry, (14) nor shall "he rest without motion in the earth for ever. Clearly, clearly shall he see with "his two eyes, and with his two ears shall he hear what is right and true. "(15) Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, cometh back, cometh back from Annu; "Osiris Ani, triumphant, is as Rā when he rangeth the oars (16) among the "followers of Nu.

PLATE XXII.

"Osiris Ani, triumphant, hath not revealed what he hath seen, (17) he hath "not, he hath not told again what he hath heard in the house which is hidden. "Hail, there are shouts of joy to Osiris Ani, triumphant, (18) for he is a god and "the flesh of Rā, he is in the boat of Nu, and his ka is well pleased according to "the will of the god. (19) Osiris Ani, triumphant, is in peace, he is triumphant like "unto Horus, and he is mighty because he hath divers forms."

Vignette: Rā seated in a boat, sailing across the sky towards the star-studded heaven.

Rubric: These words shall be recited over a boat (20) seven cubits in length, and painted green for the godlike rulers. Then shalt thou make a heaven of stars (21) washed and purified with natron and incense. Behold, thou shalt make an image (22) of Rā upon a table of stone painted yellow (?), and it shall be placed in the fore-part of the boat. (23) Behold, thou shalt make an image of the dead man whom thou wilt make perfect in strength (24) in the boat; and thou shalt make it to travel in the divine boat of Rā, (25) and Rā himself will look upon it therein. Thou shalt show it to no man but thyself, (26) or to thy father or to
thy son; let them watch with their faces, and he shall be seen in the underworld as a messenger of Rā.

**Vignette:** Rā, hawk-headed, with a disk upon his head, seated in a boat; before him is a large disk.

**Text [Chapter CXXXIV.]:** (1) A Hymn of Praise to Rā on the Day of the Month Whereon He Sailing in the Boat. [Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith]: “Homage to thee, O thou who art in thy boat! Thou risest, thou risest, "(2) thou shinest with thy rays, and thou hast made mankind to rejoice for millions "of years according to thy will. Thou showest thy face unto the beings whom "thou hast created, O Kheperā, (3) in thy boat. Thou hast overthrown Apepi. "O ye children of Seb, overthrow ye the foes of Osiris (4) Ani, triumphant, destroy "ye the adversaries of righteousness from the boat of Rā. Horus shall cut off "your (5) heads in heaven in the likeness of ducks; ye shall fall down upon the "earth and become beasts, and into the water in the likeness of fishes. [Osiris, "the scribe Ani,] destroyeth every hostile fiend, male (6) and female, whether he "passeth through heaven, [or] appeareth (7) upon earth, or cometh forth upon "the water, or passeth along before the starry deities; and Thoth strengtheneth "them . . . . . . (8) coming forth from Anreti. Osiris, the scribe Ani, is silent, "and cometh the second of Rā. Behold thou the god, the great slaughterer, "(9) greatly to be feared, he wasteth in your blood, he bateth in your gore; "Osiris, (10) the scribe Ani, destroyeth them from the boat of his father Rā-Horus. "The mother Isis giveth birth unto Osiris, the scribe (11) Ani, triumphant, whose "heart liveth, and Nephthys nurtureth him (12); even as they did for Horus, who "drove back the fiends of Sut. They saw (13) the ureriu crown established upon "his head, and they fell down upon their faces. Behold, O ye shining ones, ye "men (14) and gods, ye damned ones, when ye behold Osiris Ani, triumphant "like unto Horus and adored (15) by reason of the ureret crown, fall ye down "upon your faces; for Osiris Ani is victorious (16) over his foes in the heavens "above and [on the earth] beneath, in the presence of the godlike rulers (17) of "all the gods and goddesses.”

**Rubric:** These words shall be recited over a great hawk which hath the white crown set upon his head. Then shall the names of Tmu, (18) Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, be written with green colour upon a (19) new table, anointed with unguents and placed in a boat together with a figure of the dead man (20). Then shall they put incense upon the fire, and set ducks to
be roasted (21). This is a rite of Rā when his boat cometh; and it shall cause the dead man to go with Rā into every place whithersoever he saileth, and the foes of Rā shall be (22) slaughtered in very truth. The Chapter of the sēkhet boat shall be recited on the sixth day of the festival.

Vignette: The ladder by which the soul passes from the underworld to the body.¹

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PLATE XXIII. AND PLATE XXIV. (1).

The whole of Plate XXIII. and part of Plate XXIV. contain a repetition of the XVIIIth Chapter of the “Book of the Dead,” which has also been given on Plates XIII. and XIV. The arrangement of the gods in the vignette is, however, slightly different.

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PLATE XXIV. (2).

Vignette: Ani and his wife adoring three gods, who are seated on a pylon or door-shaped pedestal.

Text [Chapter CXXXIV.]: (1) The Chapter of going unto the god-like rulers of Osiris. Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, saith: “My soul hath “built for me a (2) dwelling-place in Tattu. I have waxed strong in the town “Pe. I have ploughed [my] fields in all my forms, and my palm tree standeth “therein like unto the god Amsu. I eat not that which I abominate, (3) I eat not “that which I loathe; that which I abominate I abominate, and I feed not upon “filth. (4) There are food offerings and meat for those who shall not be destroyed “thereby. I raise not up myself on my two arms unto any abomination, I walk “not thereupon (5) with my shoes, because my bread is [made] from white grain, “and my ale from the red (6) barley of the Nile. The sēkhet boat and the āket “boat bring them unto me, and I feed upon them (7) under the trees, whose “beautiful branches I myself do know. (8) How glorious do I make the white “crown [when] I lift up the uræi! (9) Hail, guardian of the door, who givest peace “unto the two lands, bring thou unto me those who make offerings!

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¹ In the Appendix to Plates V. and VI. (see above, p. 265), is a reproduction from the papyrus of Neb-set at Paris, of a scene in which the soul of the deceased is represented as descending the ladder with food for the body in the tomb below.
"I may (10) lift up the earth; that the shining ones may open their arms unto me; that the company of the gods may (11) speak with the words of the shining ones unto Osiris Ani; that the hearts of the gods may direct [him](12); and that they may make him powerful in heaven among the gods who have taken unto themselves visible forms. (13) Yea, let every god and every goddess whom he passeth make Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant at the new year. He feedeth upon hearts (14) and consumeth them when he cometh forth from the east. He hath been judged by the forefather of Light. He is (15) a shining one arrayed in heaven among the mighty ones. The food of Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, is even (16) the cakes and ale which are made for their mouths. I go in through the Disk, I come out through the god Ahui. I speak with the followers (17) of the gods, I speak with the Disk, I speak with the shining ones, and the Disk granteth me to be victorious in the (18) blackness of night within Meh-urt near unto his forehead. Behold, I am with Osiris, and I (19) proclaim that which he telleth forth among the mighty ones. He speaketh unto me the words of men, and I listen and (20) I tell again unto him the words of the gods. I, Osiris Ani, triumphant, come even as one who is equipped for the journey. Thou raisest up [right and truth] (21) for those who love them. I am a shining, one clothed in power, mightier than any other shining one."

PLATE XXV.

Vignette: A swallow perched on a conical object painted red and green.

Text [Chapter LXXXVI]: (1) Here begin the Chapters of Making Transformations. The changing into a swallow. (2) Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "I am the swallow, [I am] the swallow, [I am] the scorpion, the daughter of Ra. (3) Hail, ye gods, whose scent is sweet; hail, ye gods, whose scent is sweet! Hail, thou Flame, which comest forth from (4) the horizon! Hail, thou who art in the city. May the Guardian of the Bight lead me on. O stretch out up unto me (5) thine hands that I may be able to pass my days in the Island of Flame. I have fared forth with my warrant. I have come with the power thereof. Let the doors be opened unto me (6). How shall I tell what I have seen therein? Horus was like unto the prince of the sacred bark, and the throne of his father was given unto him. Sut, the son of Nut, also hath gotten the fall which he (7) wrought for Horus. He who is in Sekhem passed judgment upon me. I stretched out my hands and my arms unto Osiris. I have passed on
"to judgment, (8) and I have come that I may speak; grant that I may pass on "and deliver my message. I enter in, having been judged; I come out (9) at "the door of Neb-er-tcher magnified and glorified. I am found pure at the Great "place of passage [of souls]. I have put away my faults. (10) I have done away "mine offences. I have cast out the sins which were a part of me. I, even I, am "pure, (11) I, even I, am mighty. O ye doorkeepers, I have made my way [unto "you]. I am like unto you. I have come forth by day. I have walked with my "legs, and I have gotten the power of the footstep wherewith do walk the shining "ones of light (12). I, even I, know the hidden ways to the doors of the Field "of Aaru; and (13), though my body be buried, yet let me rise up; and may I "come forth and overthrow all my foes upon earth."

Appendix1: Rubric. If this chapter be known [by the deceased], he shall come forth by day in Neter-khet, and he shall go in again after he hath come forth. If this chapter be not known, he shall not enter in after he hath come forth, nor shall he come forth by day.

Vignette: A golden hawk holding a flail \(\wedge\), emblem of rule.

Text [Chapter LXXVII.]: (1) Chapter of changing into a golden hawk. Saith Osiris Ani: "(2) May I, even I, arise in the seshet chamber, like "unto a hawk of gold (3) coming forth from his egg. May I fly and may I hover "as a hawk, with a back seven (4) cubits wide, and with wings made of emeralds "of the South. May I come forth from the sekhet boat (5), and may my heart be "brought unto me from the mountain of the east. May I alight on the åtet boat, "and may those who are in (6) their companies be brought unto me, bowing down "as they come. May I rise, may I gather myself together (7) as the beautiful "golden hawk [which hath] the head of a bennu bird. May I enter into the "presence of Ra daily to hear his words, and may I sit down among the (8) mighty "gods of Nut. May a homestead be made ready for me, and may offerings of "food and drink be put before me therein. May I eat therein; (9) may I become "a shining one therein; may I be filled therein to my heart's fullest desire; may "sacred wheat be given unto me to eat. May I, by myself, get power over the "guardian of my head."

Vignette: A green hawk, holding a flail, and standing upon a pylon-shaped pedestal.

1 See Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 32.
Text [Chapter LXXVIII.]: (1) The Chapter of Changing into a Sacred Hawk. Saith Osiris Ani: (2) "Hail, thou mighty one, come unto Tattu. Make thou my paths, and let me pass round [to visit] my (3) thrones. Make me "to renew myself and make me to wax strong. (4) Grant that I may be feared, "and make me to be a terror. May the gods of the underworld fear me, and "may they fight for me in their (5) habitations. Let not him that would do harm "unto me draw nigh unto me. Let me walk through the house of darkness. "May I (6), the feeble, clothe and cover myself; and may they (i.e., the gods) "not do the like unto me. Hail, ye gods who hear my speech! Hail, ye rulers "who are among the followers of Osiris. Be ye therefore silent, O ye gods, "[when] the god speaketh with me; he heareth what is right and (7) true. "What I speak unto him, do thou also speak, O Osiris. Grant thou that I may "go round my course according to the order which cometh forth from thy mouth "concerning me. May I see thy forms; (8) may I be able to understand thy will. "Grant that I may come forth, that I may get power over my legs, and that I "may be like unto Neb-er-tcher (9) upon his throne. May the gods of the "underworld fear me, and may they fight for me in their habitations. Grant "thou that I may pass on my way with the godlike ones who rise up (10). "May I be set up upon my resting-place like unto the Lord of Life; may I be "joined unto Isis, the divine Lady. May the gods (11) make me strong against "him that would do harm unto me, and may no one come to see me fall helpless. "May I pass over the paths (12), may I come into the furthermost parts of "heaven. I entreat for speech with Seb, I make supplication unto Hu (13) and "unto Neb-er-tcher that the gods of the underworld may fear me, and that they "may fight for me in their habitations, when they see that thou hast (14) provided "me with the fowl of the air and the fish of the sea.

"I am one of those shining ones who live in rays of light. (15) I have made "my form like unto the form [of the god] who cometh out and manifesteth himself "in Tattu; for I have become worthy of honour by reason of his honour, (16) and "he hath spoken unto thee of the things which concern me. Surely he hath made "the fear of me [to go forth], and hath created terror of me! The gods of the

PLATE XXVI.

"underworld fear me, and they (17) fight for me [in their habitations]. I, in very "truth I am a shining one and a dweller in light, who hath been created and who "hath come into being (18) from the body of the god. I am one of the shining
“ones who dwell in light, whom (19) Tnu himself hath created, and who have
“come into being from the eyelashes of his eye. He doth create and glorify
“and make noble the faces of those who live with him. (20) Behold, the only
“One in Nu! They do homage unto him as he cometh forth from the horizon,
“and they strike fear of him into the gods (21) and into the shining ones who
“have come into being with him.

“I am the One among the worms which the eye of the Lord, the only One,
“hath created. And lo! (22) before Isis was, and when Horus was not yet, I
“had waxed strong and flourished. I had grown old, and I had become greater
“(23) than they who were among the shining ones who had come into being with
“him, and I, even I, arose in the form of a sacred hawk (24), and Horus made
“me worthy in the form of his own soul, to take possession of all that belongeth
“unto Osiris in the underworld. The double Lion-god, (25) the warder of the
“things that belong to the house of the nemmes crown which is in his hiding
“place, saith unto me: ‘Get thee back to the heights of heaven, seeing that
“through Horus (26) thou hast become glorified in thy form; the nemmes crown
“is not for thee; thou hast speech even unto the ends (27) of heaven.’ I, the
“guardian, take possession of the things which belong to Horus and Osiris in the
“underworld. Horus telleth aloud unto me that which (28) his father had said
“concerning me in years [gone by], on the day of the burial [of Osiris]. I have
“given unto thee the nemmes of the double Lion-god which I possess, (29) that
“thou mayest pass onward and mayest travel over the path of heaven, and that
“they who dwell on the confines of the horizon may see thee, and that the gods
“of the underworld may fear thee (30) and may fight for thee in their habitations.
“The god Auhet is of them. The gods, the lords of the boundaries of heaven,
“they who are the warders (31) of the shrine of the lord, the only One, have
“fallen before my words, have fallen down before [my] words. Hail! He that
“is exalted upon his tomb is on my side, and he hath bound upon my head the
“nemmes crown. (32) The double Lion-god hath decreed it, the god Auhet
“hath made a way for me. I, even I, am exalted, and the double Lion-god hath
“bound the nemmes crown on me, and (33) my head covering hath been given unto
“me. He hath stablished my heart through his strength and through his great might,
“and I shall not (34) fall through Shu. I am Hetep, the lord of the two uraei, the
“being who is adored. I know the shining god, (35) and his breath is in my body. I
“shall not be driven back by the Bull which causeth men to tremble, but I shall come
“daily into the house of the double Lion-god, and I shall come forth therefrom into
“the house of Isis. I shall behold sacred things which are hidden, there shall be
"done unto me holy (37) hidden rites, I shall see what is there; my words shall make full the majesty of Shu, and they shall drive away evil hap. (38) I, even I, am Horus who dwell in splendours. I have gained power over his crown, I have gained power over his radiance (39), and I have travelled over the remotest parts of heaven. Horus is upon his throne, Horus is upon his seat. My (40) face is like unto that of a divine hawk. I am one who hath been armed by his lord. I have come forth from Tattu. I have seen Osiris, I have risen up on (41) either side of him. Nut [hath shrouded me]. The gods behold me, and I have beheld the gods. The eye of Horus hath consumed me, who dwell in darkness. The gods (42) stretch forth their arms unto me. I rise up, I get the mastery, and I drive back evil which opposeth me. The gods open unto me the holy way, they see my form, and they hear my words which I utter in their presence. O ye gods of the underworld, who set yourselves up against me, (44) and who resist the mighty ones, the stars which never set have led me on my way. I have passed along the holy paths of the hemet chamber unto your lord, (45) the exceedingly mighty and terrible Soul. Horus hath commanded that ye lift up your faces to (46) look upon me. I have risen up in the likeness of a divine hawk, and Horus hath set me apart in the likeness of his own soul, to take possession of that which belongeth unto Osiris in the underworld. (47) I have passed along the way, I have travelled on and I have come even among those who live in their hiding places and who guard the house of Osiris. (48) I speak unto them of his power and I make them to know the terrible power of him that is provided with two horns [to fight] against Sut; and they (49) know who hath carried off the sacred food which the power (?) of Tmu had brought for him. The gods of the underworld have proclaimed (50) a happy coming for me. O ye who live in your hiding places and who guard the house of Osiris, and who have magnified your names, (51) grant ye that I may come unto you. I bind together and I gather up your powers, and I order the strength of the paths of those who guard the (52) horizon of the hemet of heaven. I have established their habitations for Osiris, I have ordered his ways, I have done what hath been hidden. (53) I have come forth from Tattu, I have beheld Osiris, I have spoken unto him concerning the things of his son, the divine Prince whom he loveth. There is a wound in the heart of Set, (54) and I have seen him who is without life. O, I have made them to know the plans of the gods which Horus hath devised (55) at the bidding of his father Osiris. Hail, lord, thou most terrible

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and mighty soul! Let me come, even me, (56) let me lift myself up! I have "opened and passed through the underworld. I have opened the paths of the "warders (57) of heaven and of the warders of the earth. I have not been driven "back by them; and I have lifted up thy face, O lord of eternity."

Appendix: The following is the end of the LXXVIIIth chapter according to the Paris papyrus quoted by Naville (Todtenbuch, Bd. 1., Bl. 89, ll. 43-48):—

"Thou art exalted upon thy throne, O Osiris. Thou hearest joyful things, O "Osiris. Thy strength is vigorous, O Osiris. Thy head is bound to thy body, O "Osiris. Thy brow is made firm, O Osiris. Thy heart is joyful. O be thou pleased to "establish gladness for thy servants. Thou art established as a bull of Amenta. Thy "son Horus is crowned king upon thy throne; all life is with him. Unto thy son are "given millions of years, and the fear of him shall endure for untold ages. The company of "the gods shall fear him. Unto thy son is given ....... of the company of the gods; "the he changeth not his word. Horus is the food and the altar. I go to unite myself "unto [my] father; and deliverance cometh from [my] father, from [my] brother, and "from the friend of Horus. Horus is in the following of his father. He dwelleth amid "decay. He ruleth Khem. To thy son have the gods given the crown of millions of "years, and for millions of years it maketh him to live in the eye [of Horus], the single "eye of the god [which is called] Nebt-er-tcher, the queen of the gods."

Vignette: The deceased kneeling, with both hands raised in adoration, before three gods.

Text [Chapter LXXIX.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF BEING AMONG THE COMPANY OF THE GODS AND OF BEING CHANGED INTO THE (2) PRINCE OF THE GODLIKE RULERS. [The deceased] saith: "Homage to thee, O Tmu, (3) lord of heaven, thou "creator of things which are and which come forth from the earth; who maketh to "come into being that which is sown, the lord of things which shall be, the begetter "of the gods, the great god (4) who made himself, the lord of life who maketh mankind "to flourish. Homage to you, O ye lords of creation, ye pure beings whose abodes "(5) are hidden. Homage to you, O ye lords of eternity, whose forms are hidden, and "whose dwelling-places are unknown. (6) Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in "the abode (?) of the flooded lands. Homage to you, O ye gods who live in the "underworld. Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in heaven. (7) Grant ye that I "may come [unto you]. for I know you. I am pure, I am holy, I am mighty, I have a "soul, (8) I have become powerful, I am glorious; I have brought unto you perfume, "and incense, and naten. Blot out from your hearts (9) whatsoever ye have in them "against me. I have come, having done away all the evil which dwelleth in your hearts "against me, I have made an end of all the sin which I committed (10) against you; "I have brought unto you that which is good, I have made to come unto you that which "is right and true. I, even I, know (11) you, I know your names, I know your forms "which are not known, which come into being (12) with you. I have come unto you.
"I have risen among men like unto the god, living among the (13) gods. I am strong
before you like unto the god who is exalted upon his resting-place; when he cometh
the gods rejoice, and goddesses and mortal women (14) are glad when they behold him.
I have come unto you. I have risen (15) upon the throne of Rā, I sit upon my seat
in the horizon. I receive offerings upon my altar, (16) I drink drink-offerings at
eventide as one made noble by the lord of mortals. I am exalted (17) even as the holy
god, the lord of the great House. The gods rejoice when they see him in his (18)
beautiful manifestation on the body of Nut, who giveth birth unto him daily."

Vignette: The serpent Setā, with human legs.

Text [Chapter LXXXVII.]: (1) The Chapter of changing into Setā. Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith: "I am the serpent Setā, whose years are many.
I lie down and I am born day by day. I am (3) the serpent Setā, which
dwelleth in the limits of the earth. I lie down, I am born, (4) I renew myself,
I grow young day by day."

Vignette: A crocodile upon a pylon or doorway.

Text [Chapter LXXXVIII.]: (1) The Chapter of changing into a
crocodile. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: (2) "I am the crocodile which dwelleth
in terror, I am the sacred crocodile and I cause destruction. (3) I am the great
fish in Kamui. I am the lord to whom homage (4) is paid in Sekhem; and
"Osiris Ani is the lord to whom homage is paid in Sekhem."

Vignette: The god Ptah in a shrine, before which is a table of offerings.

Text [Chapter LXXXII.]: (1) The Chapter of changing into Ptah. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "I eat bread, (2) I drink ale, I put on apparel, (3)
I fly like a hawk, I cackle like a goose, and I alight upon the path (4) hard
by the hill of the dead on the festival of the great Being. That which is
abominable, that which is abominable, have I not eaten; and that which (5) is
foul have I not swallowed. That which my ēā doth abominate hath not entered
into my body. I have lived according to the (6) knowledge of the glorious gods.
I live and I get strength from their bread, I get strength when I eat it beneath
the (7) shade of the tree of Hathor, my lady. I make an offering, and I make
bread in Tattu, and oblations in (8) Annu. I array myself in the robe of the
goddess Mātaīt, and I rise up and I sit me down wheresoever my heart
desireth (9). My head is like unto the head of Rā; when my limbs are gathered
"together, I am like unto Tmu. The four regions of Rā are the limits of the
"earth. I come forth; my tongue (10) is like unto the tongue of Ptah, my throat
"is even as that of Hathor, and I tell forth the words of my father Tmu with
"my lips. He it is who constrained (11) the handmaid, the wife of Seb; and
"unto him are bowed [all] heads, and there is fear of him. Hymns of praise
"are sung in honour of my mighty deeds (12), and I am accounted the heir of
"Seb, the lord of the earth, the protector. The god Seb giveth cool water, he
"maketh his dawnings to be mine. They who dwell in (13) Annu bow down
"their heads before me, for I am their bull. I grow strong from moment to
"moment; my loins are made strong for millions of years."

**Vignette:** A Ram.

**Text** [Chapter LXXXV.]: (1) **The Chapter of changing into the
soul of Tmu.** Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: (2) "I have not entered into
"the house of destruction; I have not been brought to naught, I have not known
"decay. I am (3) Rā who come forth from Nu, the divine Soul, the creator of
"his own limbs. Sin is an abomination unto me, (4) and I look not thereon:
"I cry not out against right and truth, but I have my being (5) therein. I am
"the god Hu, and I never die (6) in my name of 'Soul.' I have brought myself
"into being together with Nu in my name of (7) 'Khepera.' In their forms
"have I come into being in the likeness of Rā. I am the lord of light."

**Appendix:** In other ancient papyri the LXXXVth Chapter of the Book of
the Dead ends as follows (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 97):—

"What I hate shall be buried (5). Let me not enter into the secret place
"of the god Tuau. I ascribe glory unto Osiris, and I pacify the heart of those
"who dwell in the god of creation, who love me, who spread (6) abroad fear of
"me, and who strike terror of me into those who dwell in their own places. Behold
"me, for I am exalted upon my resting-place, Nu, (7) upon the place which is
"adjudged unto me. I am Nu, and those who work evil shall not overthrow me.
"I am the eldest and the first-born son of matter; my (8) soul is the gods, who
"are the eternal souls. I am the creator of darkness who maketh his dwelling-place
"in the limits of the regions of heaven. I come, and my soul advanceth (9) over
"the way of the Ancient Ones. I cause darkness in the limits of the sky, and at
"my will I come unto the boundaries thereof. I walk upon my feet, I am strong
"(10) to pass over the sky, and I fetter with bonds the darkness and the worm
"that hideth therein. I make my steps to advance unto the lord of the two
"hands (?) My soul (11) and the soul of my body are the uraei, and I live for
"ever, the lord of years, and the prince of eternity. I am exalted as lord of the "earth, I am exalted (?). I grow young in (12) the cities, I grow youthful in my "homestead, my name is 'My name decayeth not.' I am the Soul, the creator of Nu, "who maketh his dwelling-place in (13) Neter-khert. My nest is not seen, my egg "is not broken. I am the lord of millions of years. I make my nest in the limits "of heaven. I descend unto the earth of Seb (14). I do away with my faults. "I behold my father, the lord of Mash; and his body breatheth in Annu. I am "provided with what I need (15) by Khnemu and Khui in the place of burial "in Amenta . . . . ."

Vignette: A bennu bird

Text [Chapter LXXXIII.]: (1) The Chapter of changing into a bennu. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace: "I came into being from "unformed matter, (2) I created myself in the image of the god Khepera, and I "grew in the form of plants. I am hidden in the likeness of the Tortoise. I "am formed out of the atoms of all the gods. (3) I am the yesterday of the four "quarters of the world, and I am the seven uraei which came into existence in "the East, the mighty one who illumineth the nations (4) by his body. He is god "in the likeness of Set; and Thoth dwelleth in the midst of them by (5) judgment "of the dweller in Sekhem and of the spirits of Annu. I sail (6) among them, "and I come; I am crowned, I am become a shining one, (7) I am mighty, I am "become holy among the gods. I am the god Khonsu who driveth back all that "opposeth him."

Appendix: The following rubric to this chapter is found in a papyrus at Paris; see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 185:—

If this chapter be known, the purified one shall come forth by day after his burial, and he shall change his forms at his heart's desire. He shall dwell among the servants of Un-nefer, and he shall be satisfied with the food of Osiris, and with the meals of the tomb. He shall behold the disk of the Sun, and shall travel over the earth with Ra. He shall be triumphant before Osiris, and there shall no evil thing get dominion over him for ever and for all eternity and for ever.

PLATE XXVIII.

Vignette: A heron.

Text [Chapter LXXXIV.]: (1) The Chapter of changing into a heron. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani: (2) "I have gotten dominion over the beasts which "are brought for sacrifice, with the knife held at their heads and their hair, (3) for
"those who dwell in their emerald [fields], the ancient and the shining ones who make ready (4) the hour of Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace. He maketh slaughter upon earth, and I make slaughter upon earth. I am strong, and I have passed along the (5) lofty path [which leadeth] unto heaven. I have made myself pure, with long strides I have gone unto my city, holding on my way to Sepu (?). (6) I have established [the one who is] in Unnu. I have set the gods upon their places, and I have made glorious the temples of those who live in their shrines. (7) I know the goddess Nut, I know the god Tatuen, I know Teshert, I have brought with me their horns. I know (8) Heka, I have heard his words, I am the red calf which is limned with the pen. When they hear [my words], the gods say: (9) 'Let us bow down our faces, and let him come unto us; the light shineth beyond you.' My hour is within my body. (10) I have not spoken [evil] in the place of right and truth, and each day I advance in right and truth. I am shrouded in darkness when I sail up to celebrate the festival of the (11) dead one, and to embalm the Aged one, the guardian of the earth—I the Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant! I have not entered into (12) the hiding places of the starry deities. I have ascribed glory unto Orisis. I have pacified the heart of the gods who follow after him. I have not felt fear (13) of those who cause terror, even those who dwell in their own lands. Behold, I am exalted (14) upon [my] resting place upon my throne. I am Nu, and I shall never be overthrown by the Evil-doer. I am the god Shu (15) who sprang from unformed matter. My soul is god; my soul is eternity. I am the creator of darkness, and I (16) appoint unto it a resting place in the uttermost parts of heaven. I am the prince of eternity, I am the exalted one [in] Nebu. I grow young in [my] city, (17) I grow young in my homestead. My name is 'Never-failing.' My name is 'Soul, Creator of Nu, who maketh (18) his abode in the underworld.' My nest is not seen, and I have not broken my egg. I am lord of millions of years. I have made my nest (19) in the uttermost parts of heaven. I have come down unto the earth of Seb. I have done away with my faults. I have seen my father (20) as the lord of Shâutat. As concerning Osiris Ani, may his body dwell in Annu; may it be manifested unto those who are with the Shining One in the place of burial in Amenta. . . . ."

Vignette: A human head springing from a lotus in a pool of water 𓊛𓊛.
"god of light, the guardian of the nostrils of Rā, the guardian (3) of the nose
of Hathor. I advance and I hasten (4) after him who is Horus. I am the
pure one who cometh forth from the field."

**Vignette**: A god with a disk upon his head.

**Text** [Chapter LXXX.]: (1) [The Chapter of] changing into the god
who giveth light in the darkness. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant:
"I am (2) the girdle of the robe of the god Nu, which shineth and sheddeth
light, which abideth in his presence and sendeth forth light into the darkness,
which knitteth together the two fighters (3) who live in my body through the
mighty spell of the words of my mouth, which raiseth up him that hath fallen—
for (4) he who was with him in the valley of Abtu hath fallen—and I rest. I
have remembered him. (5) I have carried away the god Hu from my city
wherein I found him, (6) and I have led away the darkness captive by my might.
I have upheld the Eye [of the Sun] when its power waned (7) at the coming of
the festival of the fifteenth day, and I have weighed Sut in the heavenly
mansions beside the Aged one who is with him. I have endowed (8) Thoth
in the House of the Moon-god with all that is needful for the coming of the
festival of the fifteenth day. I have carried off the urret crown; right and
truth are in my body. (9) The months are of emerald and crystal. My
homestead is among the sapphire furrows. (10) I am the lady who sheddeth
light in darkness. I have come to give forth light in darkness, and lo! it is
lightened and made bright. I have illumined the blackness (11) and I have
overthrown the destroyers. I have made obeisance unto those who are in
darkness, and I have raised up (12) those who wept and who had hidden their
faces and had sunk down. Then did they look upon me. I am the Lady, and
I will not let you hear concerning me."

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**PLATES XXIX. AND XXX.**

**Vignette** (Plate XXIX.): Ani and his wife standing with hands raised in
adoration before the god Thoth, who has ånkh, "life," upon his knees, and is
seated on a pylon-shaped throne.

**Text** [Chapter CLXXV.]: (1) The Chapter of not dying a second time.
Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "(2) Hail, Thoth! What is it that hath happened
unto the holy children of Nut? (3) They have done battle, they have upheld
"strife, they have done evil, (4) they have created the fiends, they have made
slaughter, they have caused (5) trouble; in truth, in all their doings the mighty
have worked against the weak. (6) Grant, O might of Thoth, that that which
the god Tmu hath decreed [may be done]! And thou regardest not evil, nor
art thou (7) provoked to anger when they bring their years to confusion and
throng in and push to disturb their months; for in all that they have done
(8) unto thee they have worked iniquity in secret. I am thy writing palette,
O Thoth, and I have brought unto thee thine ink jar. I am not (9) of those who
work iniquity in their secret places; let not evil happen unto me."

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani: (10) "Hail, Tmu! What manner [of land] is this
into which I have come? It hath not water, it hath not air; it is deep unfathom-
able, (11) it is black as the blackest night, and men wander helplessly therein.
In it a man may not live in quietness of heart; nor may the longings of love be
satisfied therein. (12) But let the state of the shining ones be given unto me for
water and for air and for the satisfying of the longings of love, and let quiet-
ness of heart be given unto me for bread (13) and for ale. The god Tmu hath
decreed that I shall see his face, and that I shall not suffer from the things which
pain him. May the gods hand on (14) their thrones for millions of years.
Thy throne hath descended unto thy son Horus. The god Tmu hath decreed
that his course shall be among the holy princes. (15) In truth, he shall rule
over thy throne, and he shall be heir of the throne of the dweller in the Lake of
Fire. It hath been decreed that in me he shall see his likeness, and that (16)
my face shall look upon the lord Tmu. How long then have I to live? It is
decreed that thou shalt live for millions of millions of years, a life of millions of
years. (17) May it be granted that I pass on unto the holy princes, for I am
doing away with all that I did when this earth came into being from Nu (18), and
when it sprang from the watery abyss even as it was in the days of old. I
am Fate (?) and Osiris, and I have changed my form into the likeness of divers
serpents (19). Man knoweth not, and the gods cannot see, the two-fold beauty
which I have made for Osiris, who is greater than all the gods. I have granted
that he [shall rule] in the mount of the dead (20). Verily his son Horus is seated
upon the throne of the dweller in the double Lake of Fire, as his heir. I have
set his throne in (21) the boat of millions of years. Horus is established upon
his throne, amid the friends [of Osiris] and all that belonged unto him. Verily
the soul of Sut, which (22) is greater than all the gods, hath departed to
[Amenta]. May it be granted that I bind his soul in the divine boat (23) at my
will. . . . . . . . O my Osiris, thou hast done for me that which thy father
"Ra did for thee. May I abide upon the earth lastingly; (24) may I keep
"possession of my throne; may my heir be strong; may my tomb and my friends
"who are upon earth flourish; (25) may my enemies be given over to destruc-
"tion and to the shackles of the goddess Serq! I am thy son, and Ra is my
"father (26). For me likewise hast thou made life, strength and health. Horus
"is established upon his throne. Grant that the days of my life may come unto
"worship and honour."

Appendix: From the fragmentary copy of this chapter which M. Naville has
published in his Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 198, 199, it is clear that the text given in the
papyrus of Ani forms only about one-half of it, and that its contents refer to the glorious
state of the deceased, who lives again in the form of Horus. He enters among the
revered dead; shouts of joy ascend in Suten-henen,
and gladness reigns in Naarufer; he hath inherited the throne of Osiris, and ruleth the whole earth,
and the company of the gods are content thereat
the god Sut feareth him; all sorts and conditions of men both dead and living
come before him, and bow down in homage when they behold him; the god hath
made all to fear him
Sut cometh unto him with head bent low to the earth; the deceased breaketh and turneth up the
earth in blood in Suten-henen (compare Chap. XVIII, § G); his name shall endure for millions of millions of years
his name shall abide in Suten-henen, and he shall wear the mighty atef crown upon his head for millions, and hundreds
of thousands, and tens of thousands, and thousands, and hundreds, and tens of years
bread, ale, oxen, wild fowl, all good and pure things and fresh water from the river shall in abundance be offered unto him, etc.
From the concluding lines we find that the chapter was to be recited over a figure
of the god Horus made of lapis-lazuli, which was to be placed near the neck of
the deceased, and which was supposed to give him power upon earth with men,
gods, and the shining spirits; the effect upon him would, moreover, be exceedingly
beneficial if it were recited in the underworld.
Vignette I. (Plate XXX.): The god Osiris, bearded and wearing the "white" crown, stands in a shrine the roof of which is surmounted by a hawk's head and uræi; at the back of his neck hangs the *menät* (see above p. 245), and in his hands he holds the crook †, sceptre ‡, and flail §, emblems of royalty, power, and dominion. Behind him stands the goddess Isis, who rests her right hand upon his right shoulder; in her left hand she holds the sign of life ¶. Before Osiris, upon a lotus flower, stand the four children of Horus, the gods of the cardinal points, Mesthâ, Hâpi, Ţuamäutef, and Qebhsennuft.

Vignette II. (Plate XXIX.): Ani and his wife Thuthu standing, with hands raised in adoration to Osiris, before a table of offerings.

Text [Chapter CXXV.]: (1) The Chapter of entering into the hall of Double Right and Truth: A hymn of praise to Osiris, the dweller in Amentet. Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, saith: (2) "I have come and I have drawn nigh to see thy beauties; my two hands are raised in adoration of thy name Right and Truth. I have drawn nigh unto the place where the acacia tree groweth not, (3) where the tree thick with leaves existeth not, and where the ground yieldeth neither herb nor grass. And I have entered in unto the place of secret and hidden things, (4) I have held converse with the god Sut . . . . . . Osiris, the scribe Ani, hath entered into the House of Osiris, and he hath seen the hidden (5) and secret things which are therein. The holy rulers of the pylons are in the form of shining ones. (6) Anubis spake unto him with the speech of man when he came from Ta-mera, saying, 'He knoweth our paths and our cities, I have been pacified, (7) and the smell of him is to me even as the smell of one of you.'"

Ani saith unto him: "I am Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace, triumphant! (8) I have drawn nigh to behold the great gods, and I feed upon the meals of sacrifice whereon their *kas* feed. I have been to the boundaries [of the
"lands] (9) of the Ram, the lord of Tattu, and he hath granted that I may come "forth as a bennu bird and that I may have the power of speech. I have passed "through the river-flood. I have made (10) offerings with incense. I have made "my way by the side of the thick-leaved tree of the children (?). I have been in "Abtu in the House of Satet. (11) I have flooded and I have sunk the boat of my "enemies. I have sailed forth upon the Lake in the neshem boat. I have seen "the noble (12) ones of Kam-ur. I have been in Tattu, and I have constrained "myself to silence. I have set the divine Form upon his two feet. (13) I have "been with the god Pa-tep-tu-f, and I have seen the dweller in the Holy Temple. "I have entered into the House (14) of Osiris, and I have arrayed myself in the "garb of him who is therein. I have entered into Re-stau, and I have beheld "the hidden things (15) which are therein. I have been swathèd, but I found for "myself a thoroughfare. I have entered into An-aarut-f, and I have clothed my "body with the apparel (16) which is therein. The äntu unguent of women hath "been given unto me. . . . . . . . Verily, Sut spake unto me (17) the things "which concern himself, and I said, 'Let the thought of the trial of the balance by "thee be even within our hearts.'"

The majesty of the god Anubis saith: (18) "Dost thou know the name of "this door to declare it unto me?" Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, (19) "triumphant in peace, saith: 'Driven away of Shu' is the name of this (20) door.' "Saith the majesty of the god Anubis: (21) "Dost thou know the name of the "upper (22) leaf and of the lower leaf thereof?" [Osiris, the scribe Ani, "triumphant in peace saith]: 'Lord of right and truth, [standing] (23) upon his "two feet’ is the name of the upper (24) leaf, and ‘Lord of might and power, "dispenser of (25) cattle’ [is the name of the lower leaf]." [The majesty of the "god Anubis saith]: 'Pass thou, for thou knowest [the names] (26), O Osiris, the "scribe, teller (27) of the divine offerings of all the gods of Thebes, Ani, "triumphant, lord to be revered."

Appendix: The usual introduction to the CXXVth Chapter reads (see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 133) as follows:—

I. (1) The following shall be said by a man when he cometh unto the "Hall of Double Right and Truth, whereon he is purged (2) of all the sins "which he hath done, and whereon he seeth the faces of all the gods: "Hail to thee, great god, the lord of Right and Truth! I have come unto thee, O my lord, "(3) and I have drawn nigh that I may look upon thy beauties. I know thee, and I know "the names of the forty-two gods who dwell with thee in this (4) Hall of Double Right "and Truth, and that they may set the sinners in the gives, who live and who feed upon "their blood on the day (5) when the natures of men are accounted before Un-neferu.
"In very truth 'Rekhty-merti-fent-Maat' is thy name. Verily (6) I have come unto thee, and I bring before thee Right and Truth. For thy sake I have rejected wickedness. I have done no hurt unto man, nor have I wrought harm unto beasts. I have committed no crime (7) in the place of Right and Truth. I have had no knowledge of evil; nor have I acted (8) wickedly. Each day have I laboured more than was required of me. (9) My name hath not come forth to the boat of the Prince. I have not despised God. (10) I have not caused misery; nor have I worked affliction. I have done not (11) that which God doth abominate. I have caused no wrong to be done to the servant by his master. I have (12) caused none to feel pain. I have made no man to weep. (13) I have not committed murder; nor have I ever bidden any man to slay on my behalf. I have not wronged the people. I have not filched that which hath been offered in (14) the temples; nor have I purloined the cakes of the gods. I have not carried away (15) the offerings made unto the blessed dead. I have not committed fornication, nor have I defiled my body. (16) I have not added unto nor have I minished the offerings which are due. I have not stolen from the orchards; nor have I trampled down the fields. I have not added to the weight of the balance; (17) nor have I made light the weight in the scales. I have not snatched the milk from the mouth of the babe. I have not (18) driven the cattle from their pastures. I have not snared the water-fowl of the gods. I have not caught fishes (19) with bait of their own bodies. I have not turned back water at its springtide. I have not broken the channel of running water. I have not quenched the flame (20) in its fulness. I have not disregarded the seasons for the offerings which are appointed; I have not turned away the cattle set apart for sacrifice. I have not thwarted the processions of the god. (21) I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure with the purity of the great Bennu bird which is in Suten-henen; for, lo! I am the nostrils of (22) the lord of the winds who maketh all men to live on the day when the eye of the sun becometh full in Annu, in the second month of the season of coming forth until the end thereof, (23) in the presence of the lord of this earth. I behold the eye of the sun wax full in Annu. May no evil happen unto me in this land in the (24) Hall of Double Right and Truth, because I know, even I, the names of the gods who live therein and who are the followers of the great god."

PLATES XXXI. AND XXXII.

Vignettes: The Hall of Double Right and Truth, wherein Ani has to address severally the forty-two gods, who are seated in a row in the middle of the hall. At each end is a door | |; that on the right is called "Neb-Maat-heri-tep-retui-f," and that on the left "Neb-pehti-øeu-menment." On the centre of the roof, which is crowned with
a series of uraei and feathers emblematic of Maăt, is a seated deity with hands extended, the right over the eye of Horus ♂ and the left over a pool ḫmr (see the Vignette of Plate VIII. above, p. 278).\(^1\) On the right, at the end of the hall (Plate XXXII.), are four small vignettes, in which are depicted: (1) Two seated figures of the goddess Maăt, with ♂, emblematic of Right and Truth, on the head, and sceptres ♂ and emblems of life ♂ in the right and left hands. (2) Osiris, seated, wearing the aṭef crown, and holding in his hands the crook ♂ and flail ♂. Before him, by the side of an altar of offerings, stands Ani, with both hands raised in adoration. (3) A balance with the heart, symbolizing the conscience of Ani, in one scale, and ♂, emblematic of Right and Truth, in the other. Beside the balance is the tri-formed monster Amemit. (4) Thoth, ibis-headed, seated on a pylon-shaped pedestal, painting a large feather of Maăt.

**Text: [The Negative Confession.]**

(1) Ani saith: "Hail, thou whose strides are long, who comest forth from Annu, I have not done iniquity."

(2) "Hail, thou who art embraced by flame, who comest forth from Kher-āba, I have not robbed with violence."

(3) "Hail, Fenjiu, who comest forth from Khemennu, I have not stolen."

(4) "Hail, Devourer of the Shade, who comest forth from Qeret, I have done no murder; I have done no harm."

(5) "Hail, Nehau, who comest forth from Re-stau, I have not defrauded offerings."

(6) "Hail, god in the form of two lions, who comest forth from heaven, I have not diminished oblations."

(7) "Hail, thou whose eyes are of fire, who comest forth from Saut, I have not plundered the god."

(8) "Hail, thou Flame, which comest and goest, I have spoken no lies."

(9) "Hail, Crusher of bones, who comest forth from Suten-ḥemen, I have not snatched away food."

(10) "Hail, thou who shootest forth the Flame, who comest forth from Het-Ptah-ka, I have not caused pain."

\(^1\) In the Nebesni Papyrus a dog-headed ape and a balance are represented on each side of the seated deity, and at each end of the roof; and each uraeus wears a disk and horns.
(11) "Hail, Qerer, who comest forth from Amentet, I have not committed fornication."
(12) "Hail, thou whose face is turned back, who comest forth from thy hiding place, I have not caused shedding of tears."
(13) "Hail, Bast, who comest forth from the secret place, I have not dealt deceitfully."
(14) "Hail, thou whose legs are of fire, who comest forth out of the darkness, I have not transgressed."
(15) "Hail, Devourer of Blood, who comest forth from the block of slaughter, I have not acted guilefully."
(16) "Hail, Devourer of the inward parts, who comest forth from Mâbet, I have not laid waste the ploughed land."
(17) "Hail, Lord of Right and Truth, who comest forth from the city of Right and Truth, I have not been an eavesdropper."
(18) "Hail, thou who dost stride backwards, who comest forth from the city of Bast, I have not set my lips in motion [against any man]."
(19) "Hail, Sertiu, who comest forth from Annu, I have not been angry and wrathful except for a just cause."
(20) "Hail, thou being of two-fold wickedness, who comest forth from Ati (?), I have not defiled the wife of any man."
(21) "Hail, thou two-headed serpent, who comest forth from the torture-chamber, I have not defiled the wife of any man."
(22) "Hail, thou who dost regard what is brought unto thee, who comest forth from Pa-Amsu, I have not polluted myself."
(23) "Hail, thou Chief of the mighty, who comest forth from Amentet, I have not caused terror."
(24) "Hail, thou Destroyer, who comest forth from Česiu, I have not transgressed."
(25) "Hail, thou who orderest speech, who comest forth from Urit, I have not burned with rage."
(26) "Hail, thou Babe, who comest forth from Uab, I have not stopped my ears against the words of Right and Truth."
(27) "Hail, Kenemti, who comest forth from Kenemet, I have not worked grief."
(28) "Hail, thou who bringest thy offering, I have not acted with insolence."
(29) "Hail, thou who orderest speech, who comest forth from Unaset, I have not stirred up strife."
(30) "Hail, Lord of faces, who comest forth from Netchfet, I have not judged hastily."

(31) "Hail, Sekheriu, who comest forth from Utten, I have not been an eavesdropper."

(32) "Hail, Lord of the two horns, who comest forth from Saïs, I have not multiplied words exceedingly."

(33) "Hail, Nefer-Tmu, who comest forth from Het-Ptah-ka, I have done neither harm nor ill."

PLATE XXXII.

(34) "Hail, Tmu in thine hour, who comest forth from Tattu, I have never cursed the king."

(35) "Hail, thou who workest with thy will, who comest forth from Tebu, I have never fouled the water."

(36) "Hail, thou bearer of the sistrum, who comest forth from Nu, I have not spoken scornfully."

(37) "Hail, thou who makest mankind to flourish, who comest forth from Saïs, I have never cursed God."

(38) "Hail, Neheb-ka, who comest forth from thy hiding place, I have not stolen."

(39) "Hail, Neheb-nefert, who comest forth from thy hiding place, I have not defrauded the offerings of the gods."

(40) "Hail, thou who dost set in order the head, who comest forth from thy shrine, I have not plundered the offerings to the blessed dead."

(41) "Hail, thou who bringest thy arm, who comest forth from the city of Maat, I have not filched the food of the infant, neither have I sinned against the god of my native town."

(42) "Hail, thou whose teeth are white, who comest forth from Ta-she, I have not slaughtered with evil intent the cattle of the god."

Appendix: The following version of the Negative Confession is given in the Nebseni Papyrus (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 134, 135), showing important variations in the text and in the order in which the gods are addressed.

"(1) Hail, thou whose strides are long, who comest forth from Annu, I have not "done iniquity. (2) Hail, thou who art embraced by flame, who comest forth from "Kher-aba, I have not robbed with violence. (3) Hail Fenti who comest forth from
"Khemennu, I have not made any to suffer pain. (4) Hail, Devourer of Shades, who comest forth from [thy] retreat, I have not robbed. (5) Hail, thou whose limbs are terrible to look upon, who comest forth from Restau, I have done no murder. (6) Hail, thou god who art in the form of two lions, who comest forth from heaven, I have not defrauded offerings. (7) Hail, thou god whose two eyes are of fire, who comest forth from Sekhem, I have not done harm. (8) Hail, Fiery god, who comest and goest, I have not robbed God. (9) Hail, Crusher of Bones, who comest forth from Suten-ḥenen, I have told no lies. (10) Hail, thou who shootest thyself forth from the flame, who comest forth from Het-Ptah-ka, I have not snatched away food. (11) Hail, Qerti, who comest forth from Amentet, I have not worked affliction. (12) Hail, thou whose teeth are white, who comest forth from Ta-shes, I have not transgressed. (13) Hail, Devourer of blood, who comest forth from the block, I have not slaughtered the cattle which are set apart for the gods. (14) Hail, Devourer of the inward parts, who comest forth from Mābit, I have done no evil. (15) Hail, lord of Right and Truth, who comest forth from Māāti, I have not laid waste the ploughed lands. (16) Hail, Strider, who comest forth from Bast, I have not been an eavesdropper. (17) Hail, Aaati, who comest forth from Anu, I have not set my lips in motion against any man. (18) Hail, thou god of two-fold evil, who comest forth from Ati, I have not been angry without a cause. (19) Hail, thou god who art in the likeness of a serpent, who comest forth from the torture-chamber, I have not committed adultery with the wife of any man. (20) Hail, thou who regardest that which is brought before thee, who comest forth from Pa-Amsu, I have not polluted myself. (21) Hail, thou mighty Chief, who comest forth from the city of acacia trees, I have not caused terror. (22) Hail, Khemi, who comest forth from Kesui, I have not done that which is abominable. (23) Hail, thou who orderest speech, who comest forth from Urib, I have never uttered fiery words. (24) Hail, thou Babe, who comest forth from the Heq-āt nome, I have not stopped my ears against the words of Right and Truth. (25) Hail, thou who orderest speech, who comest forth from Unes, I have not stirred up strife. (26) Hail, Bast, who comest forth from the secret city, I have not caused [any] to weep. (27) Hail, thou whose face is turned behind thee, I have not lusted, nor have I committed fornication, nor have I done any other abominable thing. (28) Hail, Blazing feet, who comest forth from the darkness, I have not avenged myself. (29) Hail, Kenemti, who comest forth from Kenemti, I have never worked grief. (30) Hail, thou who bringest thy offering, who comest forth from Sau, I have not acted insolently. (31) Hail, lord of faces, who comest forth from Tchefet, I have never judged hastily. (32) Hail, Sekheriu, who comest forth from Unth, I have not transgressed, nor have I vexed or angered God. (33) Hail, lord of the two horns, who comest forth from Sau, I have not multiplied my speech overmuch. (34) Hail, Nefer-Tm, who comest forth from Het-Ptah-ka, I have done no harm nor have I done

1 Var. (diagram) “I have not worked deceit in the place of Right and Truth.” See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., p. 292.
2 One variant has, “who comest forth from Seshef,” and another, “who comest forth from Annu”; see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 297; Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 47, l. 21.
"evil. (35) Hail, Tmu in thine hour, who comest forth from Tattu, I have not worked "treason. (36) Hail, thou who workest in thy heart, who comest forth from Teb tu, I "have never befouled the water. (37) Hail, thou bearer of the sistrum, who comest "forth from Nu, I have not spoken scornfully. (38) Hail, thou who dost make mankind "to flourish, who comest forth from thy hall, I have not cursed God. (39) Hail, Neheb- "nert, who comest forth from . . . . . , I have not behaved myself with arrogance (?). "(40) Hail, Neheb-kau, who comest forth from thy city, I have not been overweeningly "proud. (41) Hail, Tcheser-tep, who comest forth from thy hiding place, I have "never magnified my condition beyond what was fitting. (42) Hail, thou who bringest "thine arm, who comest forth from Aukert, I have never slighted the god in my town."

In the Nebseni papyrus (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 137, 138), the CXXVth Chapter ends as follows:—

(2) "Homage to you, O ye gods, I know you, (3) and I know your names. Cast "me not down to your (4) knives of slaughter, and bring not my wickedness into the "presence of the god whom ye follow, (5) and let not the time of my failings come "before you. I pray you, declare me right and true in the presence of the (6) universal "God, because I have done that which is right and true in Ta-mera; I have not cursed "the god. . . . . .

(7) "Homage to you, O ye gods who live in your hall of Right and Truth, and who "have no evil in your bodies, who feed on your own substance in the presence of "Horus who liveth in his disk, deliver ye me from Baabi, who feedeth on the inwards of "the mighty ones on the day of the great judgment which shall be holden by you. (9) "I have come unto you; I have committed no faults; I have not sinned; I have done "no evil; I have accused no man falsely; therefore let nothing be done against me. I "live in right and truth, (10) and I feed my heart upon right and truth. That which "men have bidden I have done, and the gods are satisfied therein. I have pacified "the god, for I have done his will. I have given bread unto the hungry and water "unto those who thirst, clothing unto the naked, and a boat unto the shipwrecked "mariner. (12) I have made holy offerings unto the gods; and I have given meals of "the tomb to the sainted dead. O, then, deliver ye me, and protect me; accuse me not "before the great god. (13) I am pure of mouth, and I am pure of hands. May those who "see me say, 'Come in peace, come in peace.' For I have heard the speech which the "Ass held with the Cat in the House of Hept-re. (14) I have borne witness before him "[the god] and he hath given judgment. I have beheld the dividing of the perse trees "(15) within Re-stau. I offer up prayers in the presence of the gods, knowing that "which concerneth them. I have come forward to make a declaration of right and "truth, and to place (16) the balance upon its supports within the groves of amaranth. "Hail, thou who art exalted upon thy resting place, thou lord of the aief crown, who "declarest thy name as the lord of the (17) winds, deliver thou me from thine angels of "destruction, who make dire deeds to happen and calamities to arise, and (18) who have "no covering upon their faces, because I have done right and truth, O thou Lord of right "and truth. I am pure, in my fore-parts have I been made clean, and in my hinder "parts have I (19) been purified; my reins have been bathed in the Pool of right and
"truth, and no member of my body was wanting. I have been purified in the pool of the south. I have rested in Hemet, on the north of the field of the grasshoppers, wherein the holy mariners do purify themselves in the night season, that they may pacify (?) the heart of the gods after I have passed over it (21) by night and by day. "May the gods say unto me, 'We let him come,' and they say unto me, 'Who art thou, and what is thy name?' My name is 'I grew among (22) the flowers, dwelling in the olive tree.' Then shall they say unto me, 'Pass on straightway.' I have passed by the city on the north of the groves, and the gods say, 'What didst thou see there?' "I saw the Leg and the Thigh. (23) 'What hadst thou to do with them?' I saw rejoicings in the lands of the Fenhku. 'What did they give thee?' They gave me a (24) flame of fire together with a crystal tablet. 'What didst thou therewith?' I burned it at the place of Maäti together with the things of the night. 'What didst thou (25) find there at the place of Maäti?' A sceptre of flint which maketh a man to prevail. 'What then is [the name] of this sceptre of flint?' 'Giver of winds' is its name. 'What then didst thou unto the flame of fire with the tablet of (26) crystal after thou didst bury it?' I uttered words over it, I made (27) adjuration thereby, I quenched the fire, and I used the tablet to create (28) a pool of water. 'Come, then, pass through the door of this Hall of two-fold Maäti, for thou (29) knowest us.' 'I will not let thee enter in over me, saith the bolt of the door, (30) 'unless thou tell my name.' 'Weight of the place of right and truth' is thy name. 'I will not let thee (31) pass in by me,' saith the right post of the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' ' (32) 'Weigher of the labours of right and truth' is thy name. 'I will not let thee enter in by me,' saith the left post (33) of the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' 'Judge of (34) wine' (7) is thy name. 'I will not let thee pass;' saith the threshold of the door, (35) 'unless thou tell my name.' 'Ox of Seb' is thy name. 'I will not open unto thee;' (36) saith the bolt-socket of the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' 'Flesh of his (37) mother' is thy name. 'I will not open unto thee,' saith the lock of the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' 'The uchet of Sebek, the Lord of Bakhan, liveth' is thy name. (38) 'I will not open unto thee, and I will not let thee pass over me,' saith the dweller at the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' 'Arm of Shu that placeth itself to protect Osiris' (39) is thy name. 'We will not let thee pass by us,' say the posts of the door, 'unless thou tell our names.' 'Serpent children of Rennut' are your names. 'Thou (40) knowest us, pass thou by us.' 'Thou shalt not tread upon me,' saith the floor of the hall, 'unless thou tell my name.' 'I am silent, I am pure.' 'I know not (41) [the names of] thy two feet with which thou wouldest walk upon me;' tell them unto me.' ' . . . . before Amsu' is the name of my right foot, 'Grief of Nephthys' is the name of (42) my left foot. 'Tread thou upon me, for thou knowest me.' 'I will not question thee,' saith the warden of the door of the hall, 'unless thou tell my name.' 'Discerner of hearts, (43) searcher of reins' is thy name. 'I will question thee now. Who is the god that liveth in his hour? Say thou.' The teller of the two lands. 'Who then is the teller (44) of the two lands?' It is Thoth. 'Come then,' saith Thoth, 'come hither (?)' And I come forward to the test. 'What, now, is thy condition?' I am pure from (45) all evil, I am shielded from the baleful acts of those who live in their days, and I am not among them. 'I have tried thee. (46) Who is he that goeth down into the fire, the walls whereof are [crowned]
“with uræi, and whose paths are in the lake [of fire]?’ He who passeth through it (47)
“is Osiris. ‘Advance thou, in very truth thou hast been tested. Thy bread is in the
“uitchat, thine ale is in the uitchat, and meals of the tomb are brought forth unto thee
“upon earth from the uitchat. This hath been decreed for thee’"

PLATE XXXII. (continued).

**Vignette:** The god Nu.

**Text:** (1) The hair of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the hair of Nu.

**Vignette:** Rā, hawk-headed, and wearing a disk.

**Text:** (2) The face of Osiris, the scribe Ani, is the face of Rā.

**Vignette:** The goddess Hathor, wearing disk and horns.

**Text:** (3) The eyes of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the eyes of Hathor.

**Vignette:** The god Ap-uat and standard 𓊩.

**Text:** (4) The ears of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the ears of Ap-uat.

**Vignette:** The god Anpu, jackal-headed 𓊰.

**Text:** (5) The lips of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the lips of Anpu.

**Vignette:** The scorpion Serqet 𓅎, holding the shen 𓊫, and ânhk 𓊠 𓊩.

**Text:** (6) The teeth of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the teeth of Serqet.

**Vignette:** The goddess Isis 𓊬.

**Text:** (7) The neck of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the neck of Isis.

**Vignette:** The ram-headed god, with uræus between the horns.

**Text:** (8) The hands of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the hands of the Ram, the lord of Tattu.

**Vignette:** The god Uatchit, serpent-headed.

**Text:** (9) The shoulder of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the shoulder of Uatchit.
Vignette: The goddess Mert, with outstretched hands, standing upon the emblem of gold (𓊦), and having on her head a cluster of plants 𓊗.

Text: (10) The throat of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the blood of Mert.

Vignette: The goddess Neith 𓊯.

Text: (11) The fore-arms of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the fore-arms of the lady of Sais.

Vignette: The god Sut.

Text: (12) The backbone of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the backbone of Sut.

Vignette: A god.

Text: (13) The chest of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the chest of the lords of Kher-āba.

Vignette: A god.

Text: (14) The flesh of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the flesh of the Mighty One of terror.

Vignette: The goddess Sekhet, lion-headed, wearing a disk.

Text: (15) The reins and back of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the reins and back of Sekhet.

Vignette: An utehat upon a pylon.

Text: (16) The buttocks of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the buttocks of the Eye of Horus.

Vignette: Osiris, wearing the atef crown and holding the flail and crook.

Text: (17) The privy member of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the privy member of Osiris.

Vignette: The goddess Nut.
Text: (18) The legs of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the legs of Nut.

Vignette: The god Ptah 𓊩.

Text: (19) The feet of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the feet of Ptah.

Vignette: The star Orion.

Text: (20) The fingers of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the fingers of Saâh (Orion).

Vignette: Three Uraë 𓊩𓊩𓊩.

Text: (21) The leg-bones of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the leg-bones of the living uræi.

Appendix: The complete version of the XLIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead, referring to the identification of the body of Osiris with those of the gods, reads as follows:

(1) [CHAPTER XLII.] THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING BACK SLAUGHTER IN SUTEN-HEHEN. Saith Osiris: "O land of the sceptre! (2) O white crown of the divine Form! " O holy resting place! I am the Child. I am the Child. I am the Child. " Hail, thou goddess Abûrt! Thou saiest daily, 'The slaughter block is (3) made ready " as thou knowest, and thou who wrought mighty hast been brought to decay.' I establish " those who praise me. I am the holy knot within the tamarisk tree, more beautiful (4) in " brightness than yesterday." To be said four times. "I am Râ who establish those " who praise him. I am the knot within the tamarisk (?) tree, more beautiful in brightness than the disk of yesterday . . . . . . . (5) going forth on this day. My hair is " the hair of Nu. My face is the face of Râ. Mine eyes are the eyes of Hathor. Mine " ears are the ears of Ap-iuat. (6) My nose is the nose of Khent-sheps. My lips are the " lips of Anpu. My teeth are the teeth of Kheperâ. My neck is the neck of Isis, the divine " lady. (7) My hands are the hands of Khnemu, the lord of Tattu. My fore-arms are " the fore-arms of Neith, the lady of Sats. My backbone is the backbone of Sut. My " privy member is the privy member of Osiris. My reins (8) are the reins of the lords " of Kher-âba. My breast is the breast of the awful and terrible One. My belly and my " backbone are the belly and backbone of Sekhet. My buttocks (9) are the buttocks of

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1 For the text, see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 56.

Varr. 𓊩𓊩𓊩𓊩 Khentet-khas, Khentet-khaset, and 𓊩𓊩 Khenti-sekhem.
"the eye of Horus. My hips and thighs are the hips and thighs of Nut. My feet are
"the feet of Ptah. My fingers and leg-bones are the fingers and leg-bones of the living
"(10) uæti. There is no member of my body which is not the member of some god.
"Thoth shieldeth my body altogether, and I am [like] unto Râ every day. (11) None
"shall seize me by mine arms; none shall drag me away by my hand. And there shall
"do me hurt neither men, nor gods, nor sainted dead, nor they who have perished, nor
"any one of those of olden times, (12) nor any mortal, nor human being. I come forth
"and advance, and my name is unknown. I am yesterday, and my (13) name is 'Seer
"of millions of years.' I travel, I travel along the path of Horus the Judge. I am
"the lord of eternity; I feel and I have power to perceive. I am the lord of the red
"crown. I am the Sun's eye, yea, (14) I am in my egg, in my egg. It is granted unto
"me to live therewith. I am in the Sun's eye, when it closeth, and I live by the strength
"thereof. I come forth and I shine; (15) I enter in and I come to life. I am in the
"Sun's eye, my seat is on my throne, and I sit thereon within the eye. I am Horus
"who pass through millions of years. (16) I have governed my throne and I rule it
"by the words of my mouth; and whether [I] speak or whether [I] keep silence, I keep
"the balance even. Verily my forms are changed. I am the (17) god Unen, from
"season unto season; what is mine is within me. I am the only One born of an only One,
"who goeth round about in his course; (18) I am within the eye of the Sun. Things are
"not evil nor hostile unto me, nor are they against me. I open the door of heaven. I
"govern my throne, and I give [new] birth to myself on this day. [I am] not the Child
"who trod (19) the path of yesterday, but I am 'To-day' for untold nations. It is I
"who make you strong for millions of years, whether ye be in the heaven, or (20) in the
"earth, or in the south, or in the north, or in the west, or in the east; fear of me is in
"your hearts. I am the pure one who dwell within the sacred eye. I shall not die
"(21) again. My hour resteth with you, but my forms are within my dwelling-place. I
"am he who is unknown, and the gods with rose-bright countenances are (22) with me.
"I am the unveiled one. The season wherein [the god] created heaven for me and
"enlarged the bounds of the earth and made great the progeny thereof cannot be found
"out. (23) My name setteth itself apart and remoteth from all evil things through the
"words which I speak unto you. I am he who riseth and shineth; the wall of walls;
"the only One, [son] of an only One. Râ (24) never lacketh his form, he never passeth
"away, he never passeth away. Verily, I say: I am the plant which cometh forth from
"Nu, and my mother is Nut. Hail, (25) O my Creator, I am he who hath no power to
"walk, the great knot within yesterday. My power is in my hand. I am not known,
"but] I am he who knoweth (26) thee. I cannot be held with the hand, but I am he
"who can hold thee in his hand. [Hail] O Egg! [Hail] O Egg! I am Horus who
"live for millions of years, whose flame lighteth upon your faces and (27) blazeth in
"your hearts. I have the command of my throne, and I advance in mine hour. I
"have opened the paths, I have turned myself away from all evil. I am (28) the ape of
"gold, three palms and two fingers [high], which is without legs and without arms, and
"which dwelleth in the House of Ptah. I go forth even as goeth forth the ape of (29)
"gold three palms and two fingers [high], which hath neither legs nor arms, and which
"dwelleth in the house of Ptah." When [thou] hast said this chapter thou shalt open a
way and enter thereon.
PLATE XXXIII.

Vignette: A lake of fire, at each corner of which is seated a dog-headed ape.¹

Rubric: (1) Osiris Ani, triumphant, is girt about with [fine] raiment, he is shod with (2) white sandals, and he is anointed with very precious ënta ointment; and a bull, (3) and herbs, and incense, and ducks, and flowers, and ale, and cakes have been offered unto him. And behold, thou shalt limn upon a clean tile (4) the image of a table of offerings in clean colours, and thou shalt bury it in a field whereon (5) swine have not trampled. If this word then be written upon it, he himself shall rise again, (6) and his children's children shall flourish even as Ra flourishibeth without ceasing. He shall dwell in favour (7) in the presence of the king among the chiefs, and cakes and cups of drink and portions of meat shall be given unto him upon the table (8) of the great god. He shall not be thrust from any door in Amentet; he shall travel on (9) together with the kings of the north and of the south, and he shall abide with the (10) followers of Osiris near unto Un-nefer, for ever, and for ever, and for ever.

Vignette: a šu, ᳏²

¹ A somewhat similar scene forms the vignette to Chapter CXXVI., but in addition to the apes there are two uraei at each corner. The text reads: "Hail, ye four apes who sit in the bows of the boat of Ra, who make the right and truth of Neb-er-cher to advance, who apportion unto me my weakness and my strength, who pacify the gods by the flame of your mouths, who give holy offerings unto the gods, and sepulchral meals of the tomb unto the shining ones, who feed upon right and truth, who are without falsehood, and who abominates wickedness. Destroy ye the evil which is in me, do away with mine iniquity, put away the wounds which I had upon earth, and destroy all wickedness which cleaveth unto me." [The apes say]: "Enter thou in and let nothing whatever oppose thee." "Grant ye that I may pass through the tomb, and that I may enter into Re-stau, and that I may go in through the hidden doors of the underworld, and that offerings and other things may be made unto me as unto those shining ones who pass into and out from the paths of the tomb, and who go through [the doors thereof].

² The šu represents four pillars, i.e., the four quarters of heaven, or the whole universe. As a religious emblem it symbolizes the god Osiris. A fine collection of šeṭ is exhibited in the Fourth Egyptian Room (Table-Case K, and Wall-Case, No. 114), and among them may be noted: No. 2097, blue glazed faience pendent šeṭ, with the horns, disk, and plumes ; No. 739, blue glazed faience pendent šeṭ, with five cross-bars, and ; No. 8260, lapis-lazuli pendent šeṭ, with horns, disk, and plumes ; No. 8270, carnelian šeṭ ; No. 8270, agate šeṭ ; No. 20,623, opaque blue glass šeṭ inscribed with the name of its owner ; No. 20,636, stone šeṭ inlaid with lapis-lazuli, carnelian, plasma, and mother of emerald.
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD. [PLATE XXXIII.

Text: [Chapter CLV.]. (1) The Chapter of a Teḥ of Gold: Osiris

"Ani, triumphant, saith: Thou risest, O still heart! (2) Thou shiniest, O still heart! Place thou thyself upon my side. I have come and I have brought unto thee a Teḥ of gold; rejoice thou in it."

Appendix: In the late recension of this chapter (Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 75) the rubric is divided into two parts, which read: "To be recited over a Teḥ of gold inlaid (?) in sycamore wood, and placed on the neck of the shining one; and he shall pass in through the doors of the underworld by the might of the words here spoken. It shall set him in his place on the day of the new year among the followers of Osiris.

"If this chapter be known by the deceased he shall become perfect in the underworld. He shall not be thrust back at the doors of Amentet; cakes and ale and meat offerings shall be offered unto him upon the altars of Rā, or (as some say) of Osiris Un-nefer; and he shall triumph over his foes in the underworld for ever and for ever."

Vignette: A buckle, or tie.

Text: [Chapter CLVI.]. (1) The Chapter of a Buckle of Carnelian.¹ Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "The blood of Isis, the charms of Isis, (2) the power of Isis, are a protection unto me, the chief, and they crush that which I abhor."

Appendix: Rubric:² This chapter shall be said over a buckle of red jasper¹ (or carnelian) which hath been dipped in water of ḥkham flowers and inlaid in sycamore wood, and hath been placed on the neck of the shining one. If this chapter be inscribed upon it, it shall become the power of Isis, and it shall protect him; and Horus, the son of Isis, shall rejoice when he seeth it. No way shall be impassable to him, and one hand shall extend unto heaven, and the other unto earth. If this chapter be known [by the

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¹ The Nebensi papyrus adds the words: "to be placed near the neck of this shining one."
² See Maspero, Mémories sur Quelques Papyrus du Louvre, p. 8.
³ The amulet of the buckle is usually made of carnelian, red jasper, red porphyry, red glass, or red faience, but examples in grey and black stone and wood are also known; at times it was made entirely of gold, but it was frequently set in gold only. Large wooden models of the buckle were placed in the wooden hands which were fastened on the breasts of coffins; they usually lay upon the left breast, and the ḫet on the right. In the fine collection of buckles in the British Museum the following are of interest: No. 20,641, pendent buckle of red glass inscribed with the Chapter of the Buckle; No. 20,621, black stone pendent buckle, with hollow loop, inscribed with the Chapter of the Buckle; No. 20,646, grey stone buckle inscribed; No. 20,619, red glass (?) buckle set in a gold frame, and inscribed with a few words of the Chapter of the Buckle, and the name of Aḥ meas the scribe; No. 8258, mottled glass buckle having the loop inlaid with blue composition; No. 8259, red faience double buckle, pierced lengthwise for threading in a necklace.
deceased] he shall be among those who follow Osiris Un-nefer, triumphant. The gates of the underworld shall be opened unto him, and a homestead shall be given unto him, together with wheat and barley, in the Sekhet-Aaru; and the followers of Horus who reap therein shall proclaim his name as one of the gods who are therein.

Vignette: A heart.

Text: [CHAPTER XXIXb.]. (1) THE CHAPTER OF A HEART OF CARNELIAN. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "I am the Bennu, the soul of Ra, and the guide of the gods into (2) the underworld. The souls come forth upon earth to do the will of their kā's, and the soul of Osiris Ani cometh forth to do the will of his kā."

Vignette: A head-rest.

Text: [CHAPTER CLXVI.]. (1) THE CHAPTER OF THE PILLOW WHICH IS PLACED UNDER THE HEAD OF OSIRIS ANI, TRIUMPHANT, TO WARD OFF WOES FROM THE DEAD BODY OF OSIRIS. (2) [Ani saith]: "Lift up thy head to the heavens, for I have knit thee together triumphantly. Ptah hath overthrown his foes and thine; all his enemies have fallen, and they shall never more rise up again, "O Osiris."

PLATES XXXIII AND XXXIV.

Vignette: The mummy-chamber, arranged as a plan, representing the floor and walls laid flat, in fifteen compartments. In the centre, under a canopy, is placed the bier bearing the mummy of Ani, beside which stands the god Anubis,¹

¹ In the Nebseni papyrus the text referring to Anubis reads: "Anubis, who dwelleth in the region of the embalmed, the chief of the holy house, layeth his hands upon the lord of life (i.e., the mummy), and provideth him with all that belongeth unto him, and saith: 'Hail to thee, thou beautiful one, the lord! Thou hast been gazed upon by the Sun's eye, thou hast been bound up by Ptah-Seker, thou hast been made whole by Anubis; breath hath been given unto thee by Shu, and thou hast been raised up by the fair one, the prince of eternity. Thou hast thine eyes. Thy right eye is in the sekhet boat, and thy left eye is in the ādet boat. Thine eye-brows appear fair before the company of the gods. Thy brow is in the charge of Anubis. The back of thy head is in good case in the presence of the sacred hawk. Thy fingers are established by written decree in the presence of the lord of Khemennu, and Thoth giveth unto thee the speech of the sacred books. Thy hair is in good case in the presence of Ptah-Seker. Osiris is in bliss, and reverence is done unto him before the company of the great gods. He looketh upon the great god, he is led on fair paths, he is made strong with meals of the tomb, and his enemies are cast down beneath him in presence of the company of the great gods who are in the great house of the aged one in Annu.'"
with hands outstretched over the body. At the foot of the bier kneels the
goddess Isis, and at the head the goddess Nephthys, each being accompanied
by a flame of fire, which is placed in the compartment immediately behind her.
The Ṭēt occupies the compartment immediately above the bier, and the jackal—
emblematic of Anubis or Ap-uat—couchant on the tomb, with a sceptre having
pendent menats—occupies the compartment below. The four children of Horus,
or gods of the cardinal points—Mesthā, Ḥāpi, Tūamautef, and Qēbhśennuf—stand
in the corners of the four adjoining compartments. In each of the two upper
and outer compartments is the human-headed bird emblematic of the soul,
standing on a pylon, the one on the right being turned to the west or setting
sun, the other on the left facing the east or rising sun. In the right lower
compartment stands the figure of the Perfected Soul; in the corresponding
compartment on the left is a Ushabti figure.

Text [Chapter CLI.]. [Isis saith:] "I have come to be a protector unto
thee. I waft (2) unto thee air for thy nostrils, and the north wind, which cometh
forth from the god Tmu, unto thy nose (3). I have made whole thy lungs. I
have made thee (4) to be like unto a god. Thine enemies have fallen beneath
thy feet. (5, 6) Thou hast been made victorious in (7) Nut, and thou art mighty
"to prevail with the gods."

[Nephthys saith:] "(2) I have gone round about to protect thee, brother
Osiris; (3) I have come to be a protector unto thee. [My strength shall be
behind thee, my strength shall be behind thee, for ever. Rā hath heard thy cry,
and the gods have granted that thou shouldst be victorious. Thou art raised
up, and thou art victorious over that which hath been done unto thee. Ptah
hath thrown down thy foes, and thou art Horus, the son of Hathor.]" 1

1 In Ani the text is corrupt, and the passage within brackets is translated from the following
version (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 428):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{māket} & - \hat{a} & \text{ḥa} - k & \text{sep} & \text{ṣen} & \text{ṭetta} & \text{ṣetem} & \text{nās} - k & \text{ān} & \text{Rā} \\
\text{ṣemašxeru} & \text{ān} & \text{neteru} & \text{ḥes} - \text{tu} & \text{ṣemašxeru} & - k & \text{ḥer} & \text{ārit} & \text{erek} & \text{xer} \\
\text{en} & \text{Ptah} & \text{xēf} - k & \text{entek} & \text{Ḥeru} & \text{sa} & \text{Hw-Heru}
\end{align*}
\]
[The flame of Isis saith:] "I protect thee with this flame, and I drive away him (the foe) from the valley of the tomb, and I drive away the sand from thy feet. I embrace Osiris Ani, who is triumphant in peace and in right and truth."¹

[The flame of Nephthys saith:] "I have come to hew in pieces. I am not hewn in pieces, nor will I suffer thee to be hewn in pieces. I have come to do violence, but I will not let violence be done unto thee, for I am protecting thee."

[The Teṯ saith:] "I have come quickly, and I have driven back the footsteps of the god whose face is hidden.² I have illumined his sanctuary. I stand behind the sacred Teṯ on the day of repulsing disaster.³ I protect thee, O Osiris."

[Mesthā saith:] "I am Mesthā, thy son, O Osiris Ani, triumphant. I have come to protect thee, and I will make thine abode to flourish everlastingly. I have commanded Ptah, even as Rā himself commanded him."

[Hāpi saith:] "I am Hāpi thy son, O Osiris Ani, triumphant. I have come to protect thee. Thy head and thy limbs are knit together; and I have smitten down thine enemies beneath thee. I have given unto thee thy head for ever and for ever, O Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace."

[Tuamātef saith:] "I am thy beloved son Horus. I have come to avenge thee, O my father Osiris, upon him that did evil unto thee; and I have put him under thy feet for ever, and for ever, and for ever, O Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace."

¹ The text here is corrupt. Brit. Mus. papyrus, No. 10,010 (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 429) reads:

² Reading: l ă ḫem ẖesef nemmat kep - ḫrā - f sehel kep - f

³ See Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 428.

³ Variant: hrw ẖesef šat, "day of driving back slaughter."
[Qebhsennuf saith :] "I am thy son, O Osiris Ani, triumphant. I have come " to protect thee. I have collected thy bones, and I have gathered together thy " members. [I have brought thy heart and I have placed it upon its throne " within thy body. I have made thy house to flourish after thee, O thou who " livest for ever.]"

[The bird which faceth the setting sun saith]: "Praise be to Rā when he " setteth in the western part of heaven. Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace in the " underworld, saith : ' I am a perfected soul. '"

[The bird which faceth the rising sun saith]: "Praise be to Rā when he " riseth in the eastern part of heaven from Osiris Ani, triumphant."

[The Perfected Soul saith]: "I am a perfected soul in the holy egg of the " ʻabtu fish. I am the great cat which dwelleth in the seat of right and truth " wherein riseth the god Shu."

[The text near the Ushabti Figure (Chapter VI.) reads]: Osiris Ani, the overseer, triumphant, saith : "Hail, shabti figure! If it be decreed that Osiris [Ani] " shall do any of the work which is to be done in the underworld, let all that standeth " in the way be removed from before him; whether it be to plough the fields, or " to fill the channels with water, or to carry sand from [the East to the West]."

The shabti figure replies : "I will do [it]; verily I am here [when] thou callest."

Vignette: Ani, with both hands raised in adoration, standing before a table of offerings; behind him is his wife holding lotus and other flowers in her left hand.

Text: [Chapter CX.] (1) Here begin the chapters of the Sekhet- \[\textit{ḥetepu}, and the chapters of coming forth by day, and of going into and of coming out from the Underworld, and of arriving in the Sekhet- \[\textit{ḥetepu}, and of being in peace in the great city wherein are fresh breezes. Let me have power there. Let me become strong to plough there. (3) Let me reap there. Let me eat there. Let me drink there. [Let me woo there.]² And let me do all these things there, even as they are done upon earth.

¹ In the papyrus of Ani the text of the end of the speech of Qebhsennuf appears to be corrupt; the words within brackets are translated from other papyri, and the Egyptian would run as follows:

² Reading, with the Nebseni papyrus,  nehep  ám.
Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: (4) "Set hath carried away Horus to see what "is being built in the Field of Peace, and he spreadeth the air over (5) the "divine soul within the egg in its day. He hath delivered the innermost part of "the body of Horus from the holy ones of Akert (?).1 Behold I have sailed in "the mighty boat on the Lake of Peace.2 I, even I, have crowned him in the "House of (6) Shu. His starry abode reneweth its youth, reneweth its youth. I "have sailed on its Lake that I may come unto its cities, and I have drawn nigh "unto the city Hetep.3 For behold, I repose at the seasons [of Horus]. I have "passed through the region of the company of the gods who are aged and "venerable. (7) I have pacified the two holy Fighters4 who keep ward upon life. "I have done that which is right and fair, and I have brought an offering and "have pacified the two holy Fighters. I have cut off the (9) hairy scalp of their "adversaries, and I have made an end of the (10) woes which befel [their] "children; (11) I have done away all the evil which came against their souls; I "have gotten dominion over it, (12) I have knowledge thereof. I have sailed "forth on the waters [of the lake] (13) that I may come unto the cities thereof. "I have power (14) over my mouth, being furnished [with] charms; let not [the] "fiends get the mastery over me, (16) let them not have dominion over me. "May I be equipped in thy Fields of Peace. What thou wishest that shalt thou "do, [saith the god]."

Vignette: The Sekhet-hetepet or "Fields of Peace," surrounded and intersected with streams. They contain the following:

(a) Thoth, the scribe of the gods, holding pen and palette, introduces Ani, who is making an offering, and his ka to three gods who have the heads of a hare, serpent, and bull respectively, and are entitled ♕ pauti, "the company of the gods." Ani and a table of offerings in a boat. Ani addressing a hawk standing

---

1 Reading, with the Nebseni papyrus, ♕ mā Abur.[

2 Adding from the Nebseni papyrus, ♕ as kau Ǧen-am aha pen aha em Se-Hetep.[

3 Adding from the Nebseni papyrus, ♕ renp-ḏ renp-ḏ Ǧen-nā em le-ṣ ṣer-ḏ ʿer nuṭs Ǧent-ḏ ʿer Hetep-sen entet.[

4 I.e., Horus and Set.
on a pylon-shaped pedestal, before which are an altar and a god. Three ovals.¹ The legend reads: ūn em ḫetep sexet nisu er fen, "Being at peace in the Field [of Peace], and having air for the nostrils."

(6.) Ani reaping wheat, with the words ase― Ausár, "Osiris reaps"; guiding the oxen treading out the corn; standing with hands raised in adoration behind the bennu bird bнная, and holding the kherp sceptre Ⰷ, and kneeling before two vessels of red barley and wheat. The hieroglyphics seem to mean, "the food of the shining ones." Three ovals.

(6.) Ani ploughing³ with oxen in a part of the Fields of Peace called "Sekhet-aanre"; with the word sekau, "to plough." The two lines of hieroglyphics read:—

Chapter of the River-horse. The river is one thousand [cubits] in its length.

Not can be told its width. Not exist fishes any in it, not [exist]

² In the Nebseni papyrus they are called ḫetepmu, ḫetepmu, and Urmu.
³ Instead of three, the Nebseni papyrus has four ovals, which are called Hetep, An (?), Uakhakha, and Neb-tau.

⁴ In the Turin papyrus, published by Lepsius, the ploughing, sowing, reaping and treading out the corn are all shown in one division, and the deceased stands in adoration before ḫent "Hāpi, the father of the gods."

In the papyrus of Nebseni the deceased adores the company of the gods who live in the Field of Hetep, saying: "Hail to you, O ye lords of kas, I have come in peace into your fields to receive tḥefau food. Grant ye that I may come to the great god daily, and that I may have sepulchral meals, and that my ka may be supplied with the meat and drink offered to the dead. May Osiris and the company of the gods, who dwell in the Field of Hetep, give a royal oblation, may they
(d.) A boat bearing a flight of steps \(\text{図}\) and floating on a stream,\(^1\) above is the legend ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ \(\text{図}\) echefau,\(^2\) (?). A boat of eight oars, each end shaped like a serpent’s head, bearing a flight of steps; at the stern is written ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ \(\text{図}\), and at the bows ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ \(\text{図}\) neter \(\text{図}\) Un-nefer, “the god therein is Un-nefer.” The stream which flows on the convex side of the small island is called ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ \(\text{図}\) ashet pet, “flood (?) of [heaven].” On the other island is placed a flight of steps, by the side of which is written ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ \(\text{図}\) ③. The space to the left represents the abode of the blessed dead, and is described as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ásset} & \quad \text{ṣu} \quad \text{āu - sēn} \quad \text{mēḥ} \quad \text{ṣeryf} \quad \text{ḏt} \quad \text{mēḥ} \quad \text{ṣemt} \quad \text{ān}
\end{align*}
\]

The seat of the shining ones. Their length is seven cubits the wheat cubits three;

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sāhu} & \quad \text{āqeru} \quad \text{āṣeyt - sēn}
\end{align*}
\]

The blessed dead who are perfected they reap [it].\(^4\)

---

“grant meat and drink and all good things, and bandages and incense every day. And may I sit down at the table [of the god] daily to receive bread of his bread, and cakes, and wine, and milk, and echefau food; and may I follow in the train of the god when he maketh his appearance in his “festivals in Res-tua.” (For the text see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 125.)

\(^1\) In the Turin papyrus this boat is called

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uda en Rā-ḥerm-wuti ēṣet} & \quad \text{ṯa - f er Seryt} \quad \text{Aanre}
\end{align*}
\]

the boat of Rā-Harmachis when he goeth forth into the Field of Aanre.

\(^2\) In the Turin papyrus the words ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ \(\text{図}\) ② lēfu uru are written between the boats, the ends of which are shaped like serpents’ heads.

\(^3\) In ancient papyri ﷃ ① qeṣe is written, and in the Turin papyrus ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ﷃ ②. In the Nebesni papyrus four gods dwell on this island, and the accompanying text says that they are “the great company of the gods in Sekhet-ḥetep” ﷃ ③; but in the Turin papyrus three gods only, whose names are Shu, Tefnut, and Seb respectively, are depicted.

\(^4\) A small division called the “birthplace of the gods” is not marked in the Ani papyrus, although it is found in that of Nebesni (see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 125).
PLATES XXXV. AND XXXVI.

Vignette: A hall, within which, on the left, Ani stands before two tables of offerings bearing libation water and lotus-flowers, with hands raised, adoring Ra, hawk-headed.\(^1\) Next are ranged seven cows, each one couchant before a table of offerings, and each having a menat attached to the neck;\(^2\) and a bull standing before a table of offerings. Behind them are four rudders; and on the extreme right, are four triads of gods, each triad having a table of offerings bearing a libation vase and a lotus-flower (?).

Text: [Chapter CXLVIII.]. (1) Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "Homage " to thee, (2) O thou lord, thou lord of right and truth, the One, the lord of eternity " and creator (3) of everlastingness, I have come unto thee, O my lord Ra. " I have made (4) meat offerings unto the seven kine and unto their bull. O ye " who give (5) cakes and ale to the shining ones, grant ye to my soul to be with

\(^1\) In the Turin papyrus, published by Lepsius, the god wears the triple or atef crown instead of a disk and serpent ka, and the text describes him as "Osiris the lord of eternity, the prince, the lord of everlastingness, the great god, the governor of Akhetet." Behind the god stands a female figure wearing a upon her head, emblematic of "the beautiful Amenta," with both her hands "extended to receive" the deceased. The address to Osiris and Amenta by the deceased reads: "Homage to thee, O thou Bull of Amentet, Prince, lord of everlastingness, the great god, the governor of Akhetet, receive thou the Osiris into the beautiful Amentet in peace, and may it stretch forth its hands to receive me."

\(^2\) In other papyri the names of these animals are given as follows:

(1) \(\text{het kau neht tcher, "the dwelling of the kau of the lord of the universe"};\) (2) \(\text{entar werset, "oribt, the raising of the god"};\) (3) \(\text{amentet nentet auset-s, "the hidden one dwelling in her place"};\) (4) \(\text{hatet sahet, "the divine noble one of the north"};\) (5) \(\text{urt meru telert, "the greatly beloved, red of hair"};\) (6) \(\text{ament nentet, "the consort of life"};\) (7) \(\text{sxem ren s-em ahet-s, "her name prevaleth in her dwelling"};\) (8) \(\text{ka tait kauhit, "Bull, making the kine to be fruitful."}\)
you. (6) May Osiris Ani, triumphant, be born upon your thighs; may he be
like unto one (7) of you for ever and for ever; and may he become a glorious
being (8) in the beautiful Amenta."

[Address to the Rudders]: "(1) Hail, thou beautiful Power,¹ thou beautiful
rudder of the northern heaven."

"(2) Hail, thou who goest round about heaven, thou pilot of the world, thou
beautiful rudder of the western heaven."

"(3) Hail, thou shining one, who livest² in the temple wherein are the gods
in visible forms, thou beautiful rudder of the eastern heaven."

"(4) Hail, thou who dwellest in the temple of the bright-faced ones,³ thou
beautiful rudder⁴ of the southern heaven."

[Address to the four Triads⁵]: "(5) Hail, ye gods who are above the earth,
ye pilots of the underworld."

"(6) Hail, ye mother-gods who are above the earth, who are in the under-
world, and who are in the House of Osiris."

"(7) Hail, ye gods, ye pilots of Tasert, ye who are above the earth, ye pilots
of the underworld."

"(8) Hail, ye followers of Rā, who are in the train of Osiris."

Vignette: Ani standing before a table of offerings, with both hands raised
in adoration. Behind him is his wife, wearing a lotus-flower and a cone upon her
head, and holding a sistrum and lotus-flower in her left hand.

Text: [Chapter CLXXXV. (?)] (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO OSIRIS THE
dweller in Amentet, Un-nefer within Abtu. Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith:
"Hail, O my lord, who dost traverse (2) eternity, and whose existence endureth
for ever. Hail, Lord of Lords, King of Kings, Prince, the God of gods who
live with Thee, I have come unto Thee ...... Make thou for me a seat
with those who are in the underworld, and who adore (4) the images of thy ka
(5) and who are among those who [endure] for (6) millions of millions of years

¹ Variant 𓊃𓊃𓊅 kaḥ nefer, "his beautiful ka."
² Reading 𓊃𓊅𓊂𓊃𓊃𓊃 𓊃𓊂 𓅅 𓊅 her 𓊂 ab.
³ Reading 𓊃𓊃𓊅 her 𓊂 ḫtu 𓊃.™
⁴ In the Turin and the older papyri each rudder is accompanied by an 𓊃𓊂 𓊃.™
⁵ In the Turin papyrus the four children of Horus take the place of these triads.
"...... 1 (10) May no delay arise for me in Ta-mera. Grant thou (11) that "they all may come unto me, great (12) as well as small. Mayest thou grant unto "the ka of Osiris Ani [the power] to go into and to come forth (13) from the "underworld; and suffer him not to be driven back at the gates of the Tuat." 2

PLATE XXXVII.

Vignette: A shrine wherein stands

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sekerd-Ausir} & \quad \text{neb} \quad \text{setait} \quad \text{neter \ aa} \quad \text{neb} \\
\text{Sekerd-Osis} & \quad \text{lord of} \quad \text{the hidden place} \quad \text{the great god} \quad \text{the lord of} \quad \text{the underworld.}
\end{align*}
\]

He wears the white crown with feathers, and holds in his hands the sceptre \( \wedge \), flail \( \wedge \), and crook.

The goddess Hathor, in the form of a hippopotamus, wearing upon her head a disk and horns; in her right hand she holds an unidentified object, and in her

---

1 The text of all this passage is corrupt, and the version here given is little more than a suggestion.
2 The version of the CLXXXVth Chapter given by Naville (Todtenbuch, Bd. I, Bl. 211) reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ānet-hrā-k} & \quad \text{neter} \quad \text{pen} \quad \text{ṣeps} \quad \text{āā} \quad \text{meny} \quad \text{ser} \quad \text{er} \quad \text{neheh} \quad \text{xenti} \\
\text{Homage to thee} & \quad \text{god} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{sacred} \quad \text{great, beneficent, prince of} \quad \text{eternity, dweller in}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ānetet-f} & \quad \text{em} \quad \text{seqetet} \quad \text{āā} \quad \text{χāau} \quad \text{em} \quad \text{āetet} \quad \text{fāf} \quad \text{hef} \quad \text{hennu} \\
\text{his seat} & \quad \text{in the Sekertet boat great, diademed in the āetet boat, are given to him praises}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{em} & \quad \text{pet} \quad \text{em} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{seqai} \quad \text{pāt} \quad \text{rōf} \quad \text{āā} \\
\text{in} & \quad \text{heaven and in} \quad \text{earth, exalted by the ancients and by mankind, the greatness}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥesāfrēt - f} & \quad \text{em} \quad \text{abu} \quad \text{en} \quad \text{red} \quad \text{χu} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{erfāt} \\
\text{of his might is} & \quad \text{in the hearts of men, shining spirits, and the dead, placing}
\end{align*}
\]
left the emblem of life. Before her are tables of meat and drink offerings and flowers. Behind the hippopotamus, the divine cow, Meḥ-urit, symbolizing the same goddess, looks out from the funeral mountain, wearing the menat on her neck. At the foot of the mountain is the tomb; and in the foreground grows a group of flowering plants.

Text: [CHAPTER CLXXXVI.] Hathor, lady of Amentet, dweller in the land of Urt, lady of Ta-sert, the Eye of Rā, the dweller in his brow, the beautiful Face in the Boat of Millions of Years.¹ . . . . . . . . .

the visible emblems of himself in Annu, and the might of his forms in the place of purification.

I have come to thee, my heart is right, my breast is without deceit, grant thou

that I may be among the living, that I may sail down and that I may sail up

among thy followers.

¹ The few remaining words are corrupt.
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