

Manifestations of the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts

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by

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Manifestations of the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts

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Abstract

In the Coffin Texts, a person's identity can be expressed as the sum of several parts listed together. There are also a few examples of this method of listing being used for the most important aspects of the Afterlife. A close reading of these lists, and how the outcomes are connected with individual concepts belonging to the identity of a person, is the foundation for the following chapters which investigate a few of the concepts in depth. The *hprw* and the *b3* are the two concepts which occur most often, and in the most complex uses in this context. They are both parts of the identity of a person, while they can also be means by which someone manifests: as an aspect of a person manifesting in a particular form, or a manifestation which is representative for the whole person. In later texts, it is clear that it is the *b3* which is manifest (*hpr*) so there is a strong relationship between these concepts.

hprw is a category for forms which gods and dead people, at least, are able to assume, as well as a term for the process involved in the so called 'transformation spells'. The spells with *hprw*-rubrics are discussed in detail, to examine the relationship between their rubrics and the body of the spells, as well as the outcome expected in the spell. Though groups of spells may have been given the same type of title, it is sometimes difficult to see how they constitute a homogeneous group. There is often an identification sentence in the body of the spell which reflects the transformation object, but this is far from always the case. The relationships between the rubric and the body of the spell vary, as well as the identity of the speaker in the spell, as the speaker might take on several different identities. In the majority of spells the deceased assumes a synchronised identity with a specific being to acquire a certain quality belonging to that being. There are, however, a number of transformation objects with which the dead is not directly identified, but rather acquires something related to that object.

The *b3* is strongly connected to movement and activity in the Afterlife, and in spells where the individual is identified with the *b3* of a god, the *b3* is a manifestation of the god which is related to these two qualities. It is contrasted to the inert corpse, and sometimes accompanied with the shadow, which are both also explored here. The *b3* can be a manifestation of a person, representing the whole being, but his *b3* and *b3w* can also be separated from him, and be sent out, towards enemies, or for the purpose of seeing. It seems that in the Coffin Texts, the distinction between *b3* and *b3w*-power is not particularly sharp, having many similarities in their range of actions.

The terms for specific components are also used as broader concepts, and in this aspect they can also include other parts of a person's identity. The dead can be in the *irw* of a *b3* and can therefore describe the *b3*, or be a component of the *b3*. At the same time, the two terms might in particular contexts have closely related meanings, where the *b3* can be the manifestation of a being, and *irw* a form of the same being.

The wished-for results of the spells are related to passage into the Afterlife, integration, and having authority and power in the Afterlife. This passage into the Afterlife is prominent both in relationship to the main characteristics of the *b3*, and in many of the *hprw* spells, where the means of passage is acquired from the transformation object. Through identification with a god, or the *b3* of a god, there are elements of integration into their sphere, as well as giving the person authority and power in the Afterlife. The person lives on intact, integrated into the Afterlife: in the sky and in the Netherworld, and on earth through the *b3* and the continuation of the bloodline. The identification with an external identity 'syncretises' vital characteristics of their personalities, adding to the overall identity of the final persona.

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Abbreviations

Standard Egyptological abbreviations apply as outlined in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.¹ For Coffin Texts (CT), the reference system used by de Buck is adopted here, with the first letter indicating the place of origin, followed by the coffin number, and its location at the time of his publication. This is done for the simplicity of finding the text in the volumes to the expenses of new information containing, for example, a new location. If nothing else is stated, the first version in de Buck's publication is used. If there is damage to the first version, gaps have been filled in by help of other versions if it has seemed to fit. If another version has been followed, it is stated in footnotes. Since the hieroglyphs are available online,² only transliterations are given here.

¹ Helck and Westendorf (eds).

² <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/oip/> OIP 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81 and 87.

Chapter I Aims and Objectives

I 1 Identity

The descriptions of what a person consists of, and which concepts make up the identity of a person, varies greatly between different Ancient Egyptian texts.³ One variable concerns the difference between a living person and a dead person. A living person is, ideally, an integrated person, with the spiritual and physical parts functioning and making a complete whole. Even though many different components contribute to the identity of the person, in life these are intact. Death means disintegration from the former state of being, and through death, the previously complete person is scattered into separate parts.⁴ However, while the dead person is disintegrating, new concepts of identity are added to the already existing ones.⁵ In order to reintegrate⁶ into the new condition, some components also need to regain their functions.

The term 'identity of the dead' is understood to mean here what a person consists of in a religious, after-life context in the Coffin Texts, excluding the presentation of identity in biographical texts, or self-presentations,⁷ about the person as a physical social being while alive. The different 'components of a person' refers to parts of the identity such as the corpse (*h3t*), belly (*ht*), body (*dt*), mummy (*s^ch*), heart (*ib* and *h3t*), shadow (*šwyt*) and name (*rn*). For certain concepts the Egyptian words will be deployed where the aspects of identity do not adequately correspond to any appropriate modern translation, such as *3h*, *b3*, *k3* and *hprw*.

The components of a person's identity are often multifaceted concepts. They have a certain independence, and features that are significant to them, but also overlap with other components of different features. Specific components are also broader, as concepts, and can in this aspect consist of other parts of a person's identity. The *b3* can be a component of another form, such as the *3h*, and the *b3* can also consist of other parts: such as the *irw*. However, the reverse is not always possible

³ Among the large number of discussions about this, see for example Lloyd in Simpson (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 117-120, Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 34-35, 89, Meyer-Dietrich, *Seneni und Selbst*, 356f, Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 16, Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 2, Baines in Shafer (ed), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 145, Loprieno in Guksch, Hoffmann and Bommas (eds), *Grab und Totenkult*, 201-202, DuQuesne in Koenig (ed.), *La Magie en Égypte*, 240, Hollis in DuQuesne (ed), *Hermes Aegyptiacus*, 87-99.

⁴ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 26.

⁵ For example it has been argued that the *b3* and the *3h* only belong to the identity of the dead and not the living, Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 3. For the *b3* see for example Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 51-88, 116-118, de Jong, *SAK* 21, 149, Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 5.

⁶ Hays, *Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts I*, 173. Nyord prefers the term reconstitution, *Breathing Flesh*, 48.

⁷ Morenz, *Human Affairs* 13, 179-196.

due to the characteristics of the parts; the *irw* cannot partly consist of an *ʒh*. Additional themes explored in this thesis are how the different parts are connected and how concrete or abstract individual parts are.

A division is drawn between components of the identity, such as the *bʒ* and the corpse, and between transformations (*hprw*),⁸ and identification with transformation objects. Transformation spells, or *hprw*-spells, are spells with a rubric in the format of *hpr m ...*, *hprw m ...* or *irt hprw m ...*, and in a large number of these spells the dead person is identified (*ink ...* or *N pn ...*) with the same being who occurs in the rubric. An issue arising from this is what a person needed after death in relation to his or her own identity, in the sense of what would be permanent but in need of restoration, and what would be temporary for a specific purpose. This division is explored further in the following chapters in order to explore the difference, and how it was important.

Identity research in the social sciences has moved from being more focused on the individual perspective towards studies focused on collective identity,⁹ with a 'holy trinity' of gender/sexuality, race/ethnicity, and class,¹⁰ which now seems to make out the largest quantity of modern research.¹¹ Neither of these areas apply to the Coffin Texts very well, mainly because the identity concerned is that of a dead person, and not of the living, and the afterlife seems less dependent on those boundaries.

The Coffin Text spells are formulated so that a name can be inserted and the pronouns possibly changed, but otherwise seemingly usable for any person. The same spells are used for both genders, and both men and women are identified with gods and goddesses alike. With sexuality however, amendments to gender is not generally made, so that coffins belonging to a woman still have spells where the speaker takes a clear masculine role.¹² Ethnicity is partly expressed in terms of defining 'us' and 'them' in other texts,¹³ but this is somewhat displaced in the world of the dead. The distinction is rather drawn between the successful and unsuccessful dead, or other dangerous inhabitants of the Netherworld. Also, it is not in the nature of the texts when expressing an ideal identity to define a person as 'Egyptian' or 'non-foreigner'. Social class can be seen in titles, and here

⁸ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*.

⁹ Cerulo, *Annual Review Sociology*, 385-386, Bystydzienski, *Intercultural Couples*, 48-49.

¹⁰ Appiah and Gates in Appiah and Gates (eds), *Identities*, 1.

¹¹ In the field of ancient civilisations, for example Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, Derks and Roymans (eds), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity*. For a review of different studies of collective identities see Cerulo, *Annual Review Sociology*, 385-409.

¹² See for example CT I 364/365b-366/367b where the speaker ejaculates in goddesses, inscribed on coffins belonging both to males and females.

¹³ Parkinson in Felber (ed), *Feinde und Aufrührer*, 11-31, see also other articles in the same collection.

there seems to be similar ideals before and after death. Some *hprw*-spells include professions in their rubrics, but they are limited to scribes and kings.¹⁴

There are no room for a real comparison between Coffin Texts and self-presentations here, but a few things can be said in relation to identity. The opposite approach to collective identity, the 'highly individual ways in which a self could be fashioned and presented', though idealised, concerns tomb biographies or self-presentations. In general, they relate to individual events in a person's life before his death.¹⁵ Even so, general statements can be repeated to show moral values,¹⁶ without necessarily having any connection to real events.¹⁷ So, there are certain common elements between self-presentations and Coffin Texts.¹⁸ The different texts can of course not be strictly divided into categories, and both of them might accompany the same person. However, the nature of the Coffin Texts is not to express individuality, and the spells are reused in a manner in which only certain phrases from self-presentation could be reused. While the self-presentations promote personal events, the only expression of individuality in the Coffin Texts is the name and titles on the coffins. Studies concerning individual identity are therefore better applicable to self-presentations.

The identity in focus in the Coffin Texts is the ideal dead person: intact, powerful and alive. They are not telling the reader how he lived, but how the successful dead is in the afterlife. Moreover, the texts are written by living people, so the identity in the texts is an ascribed, idealised picture. Linton's studies of social status,¹⁹ and Merton's development of it where he argues that we do not only apply to one status or role at one time but rather consist of status-sets,²⁰ have through other researchers come to include identity-sets,²¹ and achieved identity versus ascribed identity.²² Though this area of study mostly apply to a modern society, and large parts of it duties and possibilities relating to a certain status or identity,²³ some of it is applicable even to the identity of the dead in the Coffin Texts. The identification between the dead person and an entity adds to the person's expandable identity, to his total identity set. Moreover, even though ascribed identity has been used to refer to aspects which a person is normally born with, such as gender, the

¹⁴ For this, see Chapter III.

¹⁵ Frood, *Biographical Texts*, 1-2, Baines, in Leahy and Tait (eds), *Studies in Honour of H. S. Smith*, 24, 34, n.69 contains further references for the tomb's construction and decoration which also relates to the life rather than afterlife.

¹⁶ For this subject in Coffin Texts see Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten*, 46-66.

¹⁷ Morenz, *Human Affairs* 13, 187.

¹⁸ as well as the Book of the Dead, see Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies*, 103-127, Morenz, *Human Affairs* 13, 188, Parkinson touches upon the subject in Loprieno (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 150, 154.

¹⁹ *The Study of Man*, 115-116.

²⁰ Merton, *Social Theory*, 369-370.

²¹ Goodenough in Banton (ed), *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, 21 n. 8.

²² See for example Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 172-173.

²³ Especially Goodenough in Banton (ed), *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, 1-23.

presumption, and purpose, with these spells is for the dead to have these particular identities in the afterlife in a similar sense.

The Coffin Texts presents the individual depersonalised (but for the name) to be included in a social group,²⁴ as a member of the category of the successful dead. Focus is not on the individuality, but an idealised picture of the successful dead.

I 2 Coffin Texts

The Coffin Text material constitutes a substantial corpus, since it has a well-defined chronology, although the material comes from a wide variety of sites. Chronologically the findings are limited to the period from the end of the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom. Geographically the coffins, as well as other material incorporating Coffin Texts, have been found throughout Egypt, even though the majority comes from Middle Egypt.²⁵ Many themes are also repeated in a number of spells and on many coffins, even though there are certain spells or features which only occur in one version. The term 'mortuary literature' is used since the Coffin Texts have been found in a funerary context. By this usage of the word, the wish is not to imply that they exclusively belonged to a mortuary context, or necessarily originally did, only that they defiantly also did.²⁶

De Buck's publications contain the hieroglyphic transcriptions of the texts based on what were considered to be the distinctive corpus of Coffin Texts.²⁷ An eighth volume was later published by Allen containing Middle Kingdom Pyramid Texts.²⁸ Additional material outside de Buck's collection, is in general not used in this study, since the purpose is to investigate a general view provided by the material in relationship to the limited corpus and time period (even though some might have been composed earlier), rather than to include every known occurrence within the time period as well as outside the given frames. In other types of literature from the same period, the components of a person's identity are seldom of the same concern in comparison with the rich information the mortuary literature gives, since the identity of the living is not generally in need of reintegration. The

²⁴ Turner *et al*, *Rediscovering the Social Group*, 50-51, where it is also noted that the depersonalisation is often seen as something positive, a change from the personal to the social and a gain to the identity.

²⁵ Lesko, *Index of the Spells*, 7-11, Hoffmeier in Willems (ed), *World of the Coffin Texts*, 46-48.

²⁶ For the uses of mortuary and funerary, see for example Baines in Bickel, Mathieu (ed) *Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages*, 15 n.2. For discussions about different uses of spells: Gee, *Totenbuch Forschungen* 73-86, DuQuesne in Assmann and Bommas (eds), *Ägyptischen Mysterien*, 37-46, Eaton, *JARCE* 42, 81-94, Willems, *Heqata*, 279-284, Wentz, *JNES* 41, 161-179, Federn *JNES* 19, 241-257, Grieshammer, *JAOS* 98, 502, Assmann, *Solar Religion*, 7 n.32.

²⁷ See de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, xi-xii for a discussion about what he defined as Coffin Texts.

²⁸ Allen, *Middle Kingdom Copies of Pyramid Texts*.

study is also addressing the identity of the dead, and not the living. Therefore, other material does not provide abundant material because of the lack of data concerning the specific topic.

I 3 A critical appraisal

There are a number of specific studies of Middle Egyptian coffins in regard to their typology,²⁹ and discussions on the coffins and studies of Coffin Text spells from particular areas and of individual coffins.³⁰ Sometimes these go outside the Coffin Text publication by de Buck.³¹ The Coffin Texts as a corpus have been particularly well studied, and in addition to translations,³² indexes,³³ a dictionary,³⁴ and a grammar are available.³⁵ There are also numerous studies of specific themes within the Coffin Texts,³⁶ of particular sequences,³⁷ groups of spells, or individual spells,³⁸ in addition to smaller studies of particular areas of interests.³⁹ The possibility of master copies of the spells has been another area of study,⁴⁰ as well as the transmission of them.⁴¹ However, only a few possible

²⁹ Willems, *Chests of life*, Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*.

³⁰ Willems, *Heqata*, Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil and Senebi und Selbst*.

³¹ Some example include Hieraconpolis: Roccati, *Oriens Antiquus* 13, 161-197, López, *Oriens Antiquus* 14, 57-78, Kom el-Hisn: Edgar in Maspero(ed), *Le Musée Égyptien*, 54-63, Silverman, *The Tomb Chamber of Hsw the Elder*. See also Silverman in Simpson (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 29-53, and Silverman in Israelit-Groll (ed), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim II*, 853-876, Naga ed-Dêr: Hussein, in Thompson and Der Manuelian (eds), *Egypt and Beyond*, 171-195.

³² In whole: Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I-III*, Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages*.

³³ Van der Plas and Borghouts, *Coffin Text Word Index*, Lesko, *Index of Spells*, (see also Lesko, *GM* 7, 19-23), Griehammer, *Die Altägyptischen Sargtexte*.

³⁴ Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*.

³⁵ Van der Molen, *An Analytical Concordance*.

³⁶ Among the larger studies published: Griehammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht*, Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, Lesco, *Book of Two Ways*, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege des Jenseits*, Backes, *Das Altägyptische "Zweiwegebuch"*, Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, Wallin, *Celestial Cycles*, Assmann, Bommas, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien Bd. 1*, Willems, *Les Textes des Sarcophages et la Démocratie*.

³⁷ Assmann and Bommas, *Totenliturgien I*, Jürgens, *GM* 105, 27-39, *Grundlinien*, and in Williams (ed), *World of the Coffin Texts*, 55-72, Lapp in Schoske (ed), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985*, 269-279, *SAK* 16, 171-202, *SAK* 17, 221-234, Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 55-64, Willems in Willems (ed), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, 253-372, Topman, *Abscheu-Sprüche*, 12-20.

³⁸ For example: Assmann in Willems (ed), *The World of the Coffin Texts*, 17-30, de Jong, *SAK* 21, 141-157, Faulkner, *JEA* 58, 91-94, Gee in Ciraola and Seidel (eds), *Magic and Divination*, 83-88, Gilula, *JEA* 57, 14-19, Griehammer, *OLP* 6/7, 231-235, Lesko, *JARCE* IX, 89-101.

³⁹ Griehammer's index contains the research from 1936 but was published 1974, and thereby largely outdated. Among more current work see foremost the conference proceedings: Bickel, Mathieu, (ed) *D'un Monde à l'Autre*, Willems in Willems (ed), *The world of the Coffin Texts*. Myriad other articles have been published, for example: Bickel, *SAK* 15, 17-25, de Buck, *JEA* 35, 87-97, Federn, *JNES* 19 no 4, 241-257, Gee, in Hawass, (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*, 230-237, Lesco in *L'Égyptologie en 1979* 1, 39-48, Zandee, *ZÄS* 97, 155-162, *ZÄS* 100 no 1, 60-72, *ZÄS* 100 no 2, 141-149, *ZÄS* 101 no 1, 62-81.

⁴⁰ Wente, *JNES* 41, 163, Berger-el Naggar in Bickel and Mathieu (eds), *Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages*, 85-90, Morenz, *GM* 143, 109-111.

⁴¹ For example Allen in Johnson and Wente (eds) *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, 1-29. See also the transmission between Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, Mathieu in Bickel and Mathieu (eds), *D'un monde à*

examples which might be master copies have been found.⁴² Despite this considerable number of studies, the large corpus of the Coffin Texts, in combination with the issues of understanding many of the cultural and religious concepts and their underlying meaning, still provides many problems and areas of study.

Within the Coffin Texts, the presentation of the identity of the dead person is thematically central, but this identity is often fragmented. Concerning the different concepts which make up the totality of the person's identity, most studies choose to focus on one specific component, often over a longer span of time of the Egyptian history,⁴³ though there are also a number of examples of one component in a defined time period.⁴⁴ The main problem with this approach is that it might create a picture of a concept as properly definable and individually independent. However, the component parts often overlap in both their nature and function. When they occur together, they can also interchange aspects of each other's conceptualisation, which then also becomes the nature of that particular part of the person's identity.

There seem to be very few larger studies on parts of the identity in combination. Publications which bring them together⁴⁵ generally do this as a part of a slightly different study.⁴⁶ Most often the concern is Egyptian concepts that to a large extent lack an equivalent in other cultures, such as the *b3*, *3h* and *k3*. In other publications, the focus might be a specific text where a concept of the identity of a person plays a large role, such as *The Debate Between a Man and his b3*.⁴⁷

The foremost studies which include a large number of concepts relating to a person's identity are Nyord, *Breathing Flesh, Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, and Englund *Människans Möjligheter*. Nyord includes every physical body part of a person, but also some concepts relating to them, for example powers which can be situated in the belly, such as magic and

l'autre, 247-262, and between Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead: Geisen, *Totentexten*, 15-17 and elsewhere, Lapp, *SAK* 13, 140-145, Grajetzki, *SAK* 34, 205-216, Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 11-24.

⁴² For example, the Gardiner papyri which some have suggested to be master copies, e.g. Müller, *BiOr* XX, 246-250, Bidoli, *ADAIK* 9, 18, 25, Lapp, *SAK* 16, 171-202, Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 82, see also Gestermann in Hawass (ed), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* vol. 1, 202-208.

⁴³ For example Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, Englund, *Akh: une Notion Religieuse dans l'Égypte Pharaonique*, George, *Schatten als Seele*, Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des Ka*. Though *hk3* is more complex, both being a part of a person's identity, a god and the concept of magic, see also Ritner, *Magical Practice*, and Etienne, *Heka*.

⁴⁴ Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, Greven, *Der Ka in Theologie und Königskult*, Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes "ba"*, Gee in Nyord and Kølby (eds), *Being in Ancient Egypt*, 1-14.

⁴⁵ Te Velde in Kippenberg, Kupier and Sanders (eds), *Concepts of Person*, 83-102, Otto, *ZÄS* 77, 78-91, Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 171-184.

⁴⁶ For example: Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 87-90, Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 4-7, Lloyd in Simpson (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 117-120, Baines in Schafer (ed), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 145, Eyre in Poo (ed), *Rethinking Ghosts*, 36-44, Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 1-3, Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*, 356-375, Eaton, *JARCE* 42, 81-94, Hasenfratz in Binder(ed), *Tod und Jenseits im Altertum*, 88-102, Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, entries for *b3*, *k3* etc.

⁴⁷ Allen, *Debate*, Siffert in Hawary (ed), *Wenn Götter und Propheten Reden*, 227-253, Ouellet, in Goyon, and Cardin (eds), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists* 2, 1437-1441, Barta, *Gespräch*, Williams, *JEA* 48, 49-56, Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 120-123, Mathieu, *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 19, 17-36.

fear. He uses methods derived from cognitive linguistics and philosophic phenomenology, with the way of viewing the body 'as locus of lived experience'.⁴⁸ Englund includes many concepts of identity to describe the interaction between body and soul, and by comparing it to a modern biomedical view of human beings, argues that it is not so different now from the time of the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁹

Larger studies concerning *hprw*-spells are primarily Buchberger's *Transformation und Transformat*, and Servajean *Les Formules des Transformations du Livre des Morts à la Lumière d'une Théorie de la Performativité*. Buchberger set out to make a thorough study of the meaning of the rubrics before applying theological interpretations,⁵⁰ and except for the instances of *hprw*-rubrics in the Coffin Texts, he included numerous examples of transformations in Egyptian literature. Intended to consist of three volumes, the second and third intended to contain examinations of the transformation goals as well as theology, translation, comments and interpretation, are not published. Servajean's study of the *hprw*-spells focuses on the performative and creative action of words, both spoken and written, while analysing the spells in Book of the Dead. A number of other studies concern *hprw*-spells in different text corpora, most of them relating to the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead,⁵¹ but also demotic transformation texts.⁵²

I 4 Concepts relating to the identity of a dead person

The Coffin Texts have extensive 'lists', where a large number of concepts of the identity of the dead are mentioned next to each other as a method of expressing its entirety.⁵³ Particular texts concern the assembly of all the important components, while other spells focus on a reintegration of the vital parts of a person's identity. Even though the purpose of these texts is often to ensure that every part of the person is intact in the Afterlife, they also provide different layouts of what a person ultimately consists of after death. These texts, and the result of the initial investigation of what a person consists of (Chapter II), provide a starting point for a further investigation into some of these

⁴⁸ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 2. See also Nyord, *LingAeg* 20, 165-184.

⁴⁹ Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 11. This book is only published in Swedish, and thereby has only a limited reach. It is not primarily directed towards Egyptologists, but to a larger audience, only including references to a very limited amount of secondary literature.

⁵⁰ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 7.

⁵¹ Willems, *Hegata*, 279-283 some of the Coffin Text spells with a *hprw*-rubric which occur on this coffin.

Federn provides an interpretation of the *hprw* spells in the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead in *JNES* 19 no 4, 241-257. Žabkar, relates the *hprw*-spells of Book of the Dead to Tutankamon's amulets in Thill and Geus (eds), *Melanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter*, 375-388, Brugsch, *ZÄS* 5, 21-26. Wilson mentions them briefly in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, 86.

⁵² Legrain, *Le Livre des Transformations*, Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 610-649, also in Backes, Munro and Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums*, 334-336.

⁵³ See Chapter II.

individual concepts, and are partly the foundation for the selection of specific components in the following chapters.

The different concepts of identity are in various degrees connected to specific outcomes for the dead in the Afterlife. The method of listing in the Coffin Texts is also used for these outcomes, though these most often occur in rubrics, apparently as a summary of the most important positive aspects of the Afterlife. Through comparing the connections between lists of concepts of the identity, and lists of outcomes, the two categories can reveal parallels between individual parts and their nature and actions, and the functions which they can symbolise.

Due to the word limit of a doctoral thesis, the full range of concepts relating to the identity of the dead cannot be explored in detail. For this reason, focus has been concentrated on a limited number of concepts in order to investigate their nature, as well as their relationships to other concepts. To be able to include as many different aspects as possible, while limiting the number of parts of the identity, the selection has been influenced by the function of individual parts, their connections to other parts, and how they relate to the identity as a whole. Two main concepts have been chosen: the *hprw* and the *b3*, and they will be explored together with other concepts most closely connected to them, in order to show the importance of the interrelationships between the parts of the identity, and to add to the range of concepts of identity. From the two categories of listing, concepts of identity and outcomes, and the connection between them, the *hprw* and the *b3* are the two concepts which occur most often, and exhibit the most complex use.

The *hpr* or *hprw*, and the *b3*, can both be means by which a dead person or god manifests, in the meaning of taking on a specific form, an aspect of the person manifesting in a particular way for a particular reason. In this context, the manifestation can be representative of the person or god.⁵⁴ The *b3* and *hprw* are also parts of the identity of a person or a god, being included among others in contexts of what a person consists of. The study involves their roles as manifestations, representations of the dead and gods, and how this works for the *b3* and *hprw* respectively. Each concept is studied in relationship with the context in which it occurs, which inevitably leads to other areas of interest. In the case of the *hprw*, this involves among other things, the relationship between the *hprw*-rubrics and the spells, the function of identification, and rites of passage.⁵⁵ Other concepts with the related meaning of 'form', is also included. The *b3* has a close relationship with other parts of the identity, such as the shadow and the corpse, and the relationship between them will be examined as well as the nature of the individual parts. The different functions of the *b3*, and the relationship between *b3* and *b3w* in the Coffin Texts is also a theme for Chapter IV.

⁵⁴ Which is also Žabkar's main argument about the nature of the *b3*, *Ba Concept, passim*.

⁵⁵ The god Khepri is largely left out due to the intended nature of this study, and the large size of the topic of the god alone, for example, Minas-Nerpel, *Chepri*.

I 5 Method

The methodology has been to examine every instance of occurrence for each individual concept,⁵⁶ within the given text corpus. The spells have been translated and analysed, consulting a background of published translations and secondary literature. The contexts of the spells where the concepts occur are examined, and to a certain extent the surrounding spells. Specific passages have then been put together to provide a set of examples to demonstrate the points of the analyses, in order to form a picture of the nature of the concept.

This study is a textual one, aimed at exploring specific concepts and how they are treated in the texts, in order to provide a wider understanding of them from a textual context. Attempts to relate the themes discussed here to the placement of spells on the coffin,⁵⁷ to the geographical origin,⁵⁸ or to the order of the spells, have seldom been helpful for the aim of this study.⁵⁹ Also, since full translations and analysis of the entire spells are not included here, the placement on the coffin and the geographical context play a lesser part in the interpretation.⁶⁰ Focus here will not be concentrated on the dating sequences of the different coffins unless the differences have a very significant meaning,⁶¹ and their particular provenance is not generally taken into consideration as a criterion for analysis.⁶²

Even though the Coffin Texts have been translated many times,⁶³ translations and interpretations vary, showing considerable gaps in understanding some of the cultural and religious issues.⁶⁴ Certain cultural-specific concerns and concepts demand a closer study to increase our understanding in order for us to provide a satisfactory translation and understanding.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ Based mainly on van der Plas and Borghouts, *Coffin Text Word Index* and van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*.

⁵⁷ As, for example, Willems, *Heqata*, Barguet, *RdÉ* 23, 15-22 reprinted in Barguet, *Aspects de la Pensée Religieuse de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 33-46, Münster, *Isis*, 24, Nyord, *CdÉ* 82, 5-34.

⁵⁸ Hoffmeier in Willems (ed), *The Words of the Coffin Texts*, 45-54.

⁵⁹ Compare Frandsen's position in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, 26.

⁶⁰ Compare Willems, *Heqata*, see also Lesco in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, 39-42 for the problems of reconstructing.

⁶¹ See Chapter IV under 'The Shadow' and Otto, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 151-160.

⁶² Hoffmeier in Willems (ed), *The Words of the Coffin Texts*, 45-54.

⁶³ Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I-III*, Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages*. Other studies that include a large number of translations are, for example, Willems, *Heqata*, with the spells occurring on that particular Coffin, and Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, for Coffin Text spells which concern body parts. Many other individual spells have been translated and published, for example for the Book of the Two Ways, or the Shu-spells.

⁶⁴ On this subject, Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 1-6.

⁶⁵ Though not everyone seems to agree about this, for example, Warburton, in his review of Nyord's *Breathing Flesh*, thinks that, since there are translations and dictionaries for the Coffin Texts, 'virtually all of the words

Finding a modern translation for the ancient Egyptian concept is not the primary concern here. Instead the focus is on understanding of the concept itself, and in the broader context of the Egyptian vision of the make-up of an individual's identity. The understanding and translation are of course closely related, but not entirely the same. In any language, words have several different meanings, and if we have a good understanding of the concept, we do not need to be as narrow or mechanical in our translations.

are clearly defined', and since the texts have been translated before 'the traditional activities of preparing a dissertation were already accomplished.' Warburton, *LingAeg* 19, 375-386.

Chapter II Listing

II 1 Listing parts of a person's identity

The literary technique of providing an extensive list as a way of expressing the whole, occurs in different genres of Egyptian literature. Epithets, titles, names, for example of a particular god, and different manifestations are listed in order to provide a detailed knowledge and understanding,⁶⁶ as in the genre of litanies. Textual sources provide examples such as different temple and monument inscriptions, for example lists from Abydos of different names of gods. These lists seem to have an Old Kingdom origin, showing that the literary technique is older.⁶⁷

In the Coffin Texts, a person's identity can be expressed as the sum of several parts listed together. This way of listing several concepts belonging to an individual does not exclude views that one particular concept can represent the totality of a person, as has for example been argued about the *b3*.⁶⁸ In some instances one part can clearly represent the whole person, to be listed beside components which make up a person in another instance. One view does not exclude the other. Different aspects of a person's personality have different functions, as they do after death, for example, where by means of the different parts of the identity of the dead, he could visit different places.⁶⁹ Even so, the occurrences of listing do not suggest that a person can actually be separated into parts which are clearly definable. They overlap, and function together as an organic entity.

The best known, and fullest example, is found in the 18th dynasty tomb of Amenemhet, which contains two lists. Offerings should in total be provided for the: *k3*, stele, destiny, lifespan, *mshnt*, *rmt*, Khnum, *b3*, *3h*, corpse, shadow and *hprw*.⁷⁰ Other texts list different sets of components to fit their own purposes. The Liturgy of Opening of the Mouth for Breathing lists in the beginning of the text: mouth, *b3*, body, bones, limbs, muscles, spine, eyes, feet, ears, tongue, throat, lips, and heart.⁷¹ In the Coffin Texts, the same method is used to describe the entire person to ensure their continuation in the Afterlife.

⁶⁶ Kousoulis in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, XIII. See also Hornung, *Conceptions of god*, 86-91 about the multiply of names and manifestations of gods, and on the theme of names also Assmann, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit*, 102-107.

⁶⁷ Baines in Baines, James, Leahy and Shore (eds), *Pyramid Studies*, 124-133.

⁶⁸ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*. On the subject of listing or not see also Gee in Nyord and Kjølby, *Being in Ancient Egypt*, 1-14.

⁶⁹ Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 2, Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 135 n.61.

⁷⁰ TT 82, Davis and Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, 99-100, pls. XIX, XX XXII, XXIII.

⁷¹ As in P. Berlin 8351, Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, plate I, transliteration 23, translation 30. Compare Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* I and II.

The main problem with listing is the nature of the listing itself. There is considerable variation from spell to spell in the Coffin Texts, dependent on different outcomes for the identity and the purpose or result of the spell. These different outcomes can be listed accordingly, in a clear way in rubrics, but also as composite elements in the body of specific spells (see below). Since many of the spells in these corpora relate to the performance of ritual, and the listing is probably means of ensuring the continuation of the person's life as a whole, names of different parts are interwoven in the ritual, and in the text defining its purpose. A large number of concepts can therefore be spread out in a single spell, so that they do not appear in the format of a simple list. Other spells only mention three or four components, but list them next to each other. The spells are not lists in themselves, but do list the components for the purpose of integrating them all after death.

A different problem is to define which components make up a person, and here in particular the components after death:⁷² after what Assmann calls the dissociation of the aspects, or elements.⁷³ These are often said to be assembled or put together for the reconstruction⁷⁴ of the entire person. Different texts approach this differently, choosing both to include different concepts, and different numbers of concepts.

The body (*dt*)⁷⁵ sometimes stands next to, for example, *ḥ*, *bḥ* and heart, as one collective concept. At other times the body is divided up into different parts, detailed down to fingers and finger nails.⁷⁶ Simply to include the collective parts, and to register all the detailed parts, would give a clear structure for the body parts, but it becomes more difficult with the less physical concepts of a person's identity. The *ḥ* can itself be considered to consist of other parts, such as the *irw*, *kmḥ* and *ššḥ*,⁷⁷ perhaps corresponding to the notion of the body consisting of different body parts. However, most of the time the *ḥ* stands on its own, and what it consists of is considerably harder to map, since it is culture specific, and does not precisely parallel either contemporary or later views of the immaterial concepts of a person.

Since the lists differ, one question is which, and how many, parts should be included. For example, Loprieno counts *kḥ*, *bḥ* and *ḥ* as the most important concepts of the dead, and the ones most represented in the literature.⁷⁸ Others choose to include other aspects of a person's identity.⁷⁹

⁷² Not all parts being present before, for example Baines in Shafer (ed), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 145.

⁷³ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 87-112.

⁷⁴ Hays, *Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts I*, 173. Nyord prefers the term reconstitution, *Breathing Flesh*, 48.

⁷⁵ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 344-351.

⁷⁶ See spell 761 below.

⁷⁷ See Chapter IV.

⁷⁸ Loprieno in Guksch, Hoffmann and Bommas (eds), *Grab und Totenkult*, 201-202.

⁷⁹ For example: Lloyd in Simpson (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 117-120, Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 89, Meyer-Dietrich, *Seneni und Selbst*, 356f, Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 16, Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 2.

Outside of the most important, or commonly defined parts, the dead are also accompanied by specific ‘powers’, such as *ḥk3w*, *3ḥw*, *shmw*, *wsrt* and *nḥt*. While *ḥk3w* and *3ḥw* are connected to *ḥk3* and *3ḥ*, which are clearly concepts making up parts of a person’s identity, these other ‘powers’ are concepts which are often said to be ‘with’ the person, just as the more physically substantial components, or they are located within other body parts. In this way they also make up parts of the concept of a dead person as a whole. Even if they might not be separable parts of his personal identity, they might still be part of his personality. In this way there is a distinction of possessing qualities, since these can also change. On the other hand, the texts are not describing a specific personality, but the ideal person to whom these qualities should belong.

Other concepts, some of them perhaps being closer to specific feelings, might be added to the long list. This is because of the way they are expressed: to be with a person, in his flesh, heart or following him. They are in this context more like qualities or accessible potentials of a person, parallel to the previously mentioned ‘powers’.⁸⁰ These concepts of, for example, fear (*snḏ*), respect (*šfšft*) and dread (*nrw*),⁸¹ can follow a person as a trait within himself, or as something which is projected onto others,⁸² being relational, rather than innate. In extension, qualities personified in gods, such as Hu and Sia, are paralleled with other characteristics belonging to a person. Nyord includes some of these concepts among the forms of a person that are contained inside the body,⁸³ while Englund defines *3ḥw* and *shmw* as energies needed for transformation, and respect (*šfšft*) as a quality characteristic for self-realisation.⁸⁴ The list can be extended with, for example, a tomb as an element of a person.⁸⁵

What counted as physical parts and what is non-corporeal or immaterial ‘spiritual’ parts is not absolutely definable in the Coffin Texts. Some non-corporeal parts have more or less material aspects, such as the *k3* having a physical need for food, while the heart has non-physical functions. Assmann makes the divisions between a physical and a social sphere, placing the concepts of the body, limbs, corpse, *b3* and shadow in the physical sphere, and the *k3*, name and mummy in the social sphere, with the heart in between these spheres.⁸⁶ Meyer-Dietrich makes the division between what she calls the ‘Kontinuitätsmodell’ and the ‘Entwicklung- und Entstehungsmodell’. In the first model she places the name, *k3* and corpse (*ḥ3t*), and in the second concepts of the body (*ḏt*,

⁸⁰ Bickel, *SAK* 15, 17-25 in particular 20-21.

⁸¹ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 404-417.

⁸² See Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 1-70 with some of these terms in the table on page 36-37.

⁸³ Nyord treats these categories as ‘prototype attributes’, ‘emanative powers’ and ‘oral powers’, *Breathing Flesh*, for some discussion of them in general, 488.

⁸⁴ Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, with a list on page 16.

⁸⁵ Te Velde in Kippenberg, Kuiper and Sanders (eds), *Concepts of Person*, 88.

⁸⁶ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 89. The same division is made by Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, 72-91 also mentioned in *Purity and Danger*, 173.

h^cw), the *irw*-form, *b3*, *3h* and shadow.⁸⁷ Englund divides the concepts into: ‘body and mind’⁸⁸ (*h^cw*, *wt*, *h3ty*, *ht*, *dt*, *h3t*), ‘immaterial sides of the mind’ (*rn*, *ib*, *k3*, *b3*, *šwyt*, *3h*), and she also adds ‘energies needed for transformation’ (or guides and driving forces: the Horus eye, *3h* *hk3w* and *sh^m*) and qualities needed for self-realisation (or goals for the journey: *s^ch*, *ššft*, *ntr*).⁸⁹ Harrington makes the division between parts being present in life (*k3*, *b3*, *rn*, *in*, *h3ty*, *ht*, *šwyt*) attributes gained after death (*h3t*, *s^ch*) while *3h* and *hk3* are placed in an category of ‘other’. She is also adding a category for objects created for the dead person’s continuation (including words for tomb, statues, offering tables, busts and shabtis).⁹⁰ Other divisions have been made.⁹¹

In the corpus of the Coffin Texts it is easy to see which particular concepts are mentioned more frequently than others.⁹² However, such statistics do not provide a complete view of what might have been the most important parts, since they might be mentioned in a completely different context,⁹³ that is not targeted in the definition of identity. For example, some guardians of the Netherworld can be described as the ones ‘who seize his *b3* and take away his shadow’,⁹⁴ thereby increasing the statistics for these two concepts. Ultimately, it is the context of where and how the concepts occur which can tell us most about them. Rather than focusing on the crude statistics, a selection of passages will be presented. These passages have at least three, but often more, components of a person’s identity, relatively close to each other in the spell to resemble a list. The examples are those which seem to show best different categories of parts of a person’s identity, different styles of expressing a person’s identity as a sum of his parts, and the extent of parts which might be included in the total sum.

II 1.1 The whole expressed by listing some parts

In the series of spells 488-500⁹⁵ *b3*, *3h*, *hk3* and shadow are constantly listed next to each other. *B3*, *3h* and shadow occur on all coffins⁹⁶ while the single coffin B3L also includes *hk3* in the list. Spell 491 has:

⁸⁷ Meyer-Dietrich, *Seneni und Selbst*, 356f.

⁸⁸ ‘Sinne’ in Swedish can refer both to mind and senses. Englund argues that it cannot be separated from the body, giving as an example, happiness having a positive physical effect on the body, *Människans Möjligheter*, 19.

⁸⁹ Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 16 and the table of content.

⁹⁰ Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, table on page 2.

⁹¹ Csordas mentions some different views in *Embodiment and Experience*, 5- 6.

⁹² Through, for example, van der Plaas and Borghouts, *Coffin Text Word Index*.

⁹³ Englund states that she includes the components that seems to be the most important based on that the ‘constantly occur’ but does not provide any statistics, *Människans Möjligheter*, 15.

⁹⁴ CT V 231n T1Cb, see Chapter IV.

⁹⁵ At least in spells 488, 491, 492, 497, 498, 499 and 500. For another spell possible belonging to this group see Hussein, in Thompson and Der Manuelian (eds), *Egypt and Beyond*, 171-195.

wn w3t n b3=i n 3h=i n hk3=i n šwyt=i

A path is open for my *b3*, for my *3h*, for my *hk3* and for my shadow.⁹⁷

‘k=f hr r^c m-hnw k3r=f

So it will⁹⁸ come into the sight of Re⁹⁹ within his shrine

m3=f ntr 3 m irw=f m3^c

It will see the great god in his true form.¹⁰⁰

These three, or four, parts of the person’s identity are not constantly addressed throughout the group of spells. Even if the *b3*, *3h*, *hk3* and shadow¹⁰¹ are addressed in the beginning of the spells, the grouping is not necessarily retained later in the same spell when concerning other matters. The *b3* is the only part constantly addressed throughout all the coffins in this group of spells, and many of the themes, such as movement, are commonly ascribed foremost to the *b3*. In this passage the thought that the *b3*, *3h*, *hk3* and shadow make out one unit is expressed through treating them as singular. This occurs frequently in this group of spells. Though the themes relating to the *b3* are in focus, in this group of spells it seems clear that the listing of three or four parts is a way of treating a person as a unity.

II 1.2 Body parts

While spells 488-500 mainly involve the parts of a person’s identity which are not conceived as corporeal, other spells focus on body parts. The assembling of body parts relates to Osiris and the work by Isis and Anubis, assembling and reconstructing him.¹⁰² A clear example of listing different body parts in spell 761 also makes each one divine by identifying it with a particular god.

hpr.n=k tm.ti m ntr nb

You have come into being, being complete as every god.

tp=k m r^c hr=k m wp-w3wt

Your head is Re, your face is Wepwawet,

fnq=k m sb spty=k m s3ty

your nose is the jackal, your lips are the twins,

msdrwy=k m ist hn^c nbt-hwt

your ears are Isis and Nephtys.

iw irty=k m s3ty r^c-tm

Your eyes are the twins of Re-Atum,

ns=k m dhwtj

your tongue is Thoth,

h3tt=k m nwt nhbt=k m gb

your throat is Nut, your neck is Geb,

rmnwy=k m hr šn^c=k m htp k3 n r^c ntr 3

your shoulders are Horus, your chest is ‘he who

⁹⁶ For these three concepts together see also *Urk.* IV, 446 line 6.

⁹⁷ In B3L. B9C omits *hk3*, T3Be only has shadow in this particular passage, and the other versions are damaged.

⁹⁸ Or ‘may’, depending on if the speech should be seen as commands or as entreaties.

⁹⁹ In B9C and B4C. B3L has *‘k=f hr=k hnw k3r=f*.

¹⁰⁰ *CT* VI 69a-c. C only B3L.

¹⁰¹ In coffin B3L, or the *b3*, *3h* and shadow on other coffins.

¹⁰² DuQuesne in Koenig (ed), *La Magie en Égypte*, 240, Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 34-35, Hollis in DuQuesne (ed), *Hermes Aegyptiacus*, 87-99.

<i>imy=k</i>	pleases the <i>k3</i> of Re', the great god who is in you,
<i>drw=k m hw hpr</i>	your flanks are Hu and Khepri,
<i>hp3=k m sb rwty</i>	your navel is the jackal of the Double Lions,
<i>psd=k m inp ht=k m rwty</i>	your back is Anubis, ¹⁰³ your belly is the Double Lions.
<i>iw wy=k m s3wy hr h3py imstiw</i>	Your arms are the two sons of Horus, Hapy and Imsety,
<i>db^c=k nt=k m msw hr</i>	your fingers and your nails are the children of Horus,
<i>psd=k m dwnw n i3hw</i>	your back is the Extender of Sunshine,
<i>w^crt=k m inpw</i>	your legs are Anubis,
<i>mnty=k m ist hn^c nbt-hwt</i>	your buttocks are Isis and Nephtys.
<i>iw rdwy=k m dw3-mwt=f kbhsnw=f</i>	Your feet are Duamutef and Kebhsenuf,
<i>nn t im=k šwt m ntr</i>	There is no member in you which lacks a god.
<i>ts tw wsir N pn</i>	Raise yourself, O this Osiris N! ¹⁰⁴

The spell starts at the top of a person and goes down, mentioning different parts in turn and identifying them with gods and goddesses so that none is without.¹⁰⁵ Some parts are identified with the same gods or goddesses so that, for example, both ears and buttock are Isis and Nephtys. There are other examples of Coffin spells Texts which also identify different parts with gods. This divinisation of the limbs, or *Gliedervergottung*, occurs in the mummification ritual and in various mortuary texts, but also in other genres.¹⁰⁶ The Metternich stele, which has a spell for healing a cat, has parts of the cat's body being identified with gods.¹⁰⁷ The identification with gods has the same function in the texts, to resurrect or reassure the health of the body.

An interesting parallel is found in spell 292, where also parts of a body are listed. However, it is the body of a heron which the dead is identified with.

<i>iw dnhy=i m km3 šwt=f hr-ib s3h=f</i>	My wings are his knife-throwers in the middle of his grant of land.
<i>iw b^cnt=i m nfr m33wt</i>	My neck is the one beautiful to see,
<i>db^cw=i m nrtiw</i>	my fingers are the terrible one.
<i>iw irty=i m sšmwty r^c</i>	My eyes are the (two) guides of Re.

¹⁰³ This seems to be out of place between the navel and the belly and then appears again in 392a, also Anubis occurs with the legs in 392b .

¹⁰⁴ Spell 761 CT VI 391h-392f.

¹⁰⁵ For this spell and the body parts, see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 512-516.

¹⁰⁶ Altenmüller, *LÄ*, 624-627, Quack, *JAC* 38, 97-122.

¹⁰⁷ Allen, *Art of Medicine*, 50-54. See also PT 213 and Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 335-36, Walker, *BACE* 4, 83-101, and DuQuesne in Koenig (ed), *La Magie en Égypte*, 239-271, which also contains a short review of earlier research.

sšm=i sšnty

I rule the marsh.¹⁰⁸

The focus in these passages is rather on the powerful and beautiful nature of the bird as it exercises its physical domination of the marsh with a description attached to the parts of the body mentioned.¹⁰⁹

II 1.3 Body parts and other aspects of a person's identity

One of the clearest examples including a large number of components of a person's identity is spell 304:

šh.n=i ip¹¹⁰.n=i

I have become an *šh* (/the *šh* -state belongs to me *šh n=i*) I have assembled

bš=i hn^c=i

my *bš* with me,

ib=i m ht=i

my heart is in my belly,

hšt=i m tš

my corpse is in the earth,

n rm=i s(y)

I have not mourned it.

iw bš=i hn^c=i

My *bš* is with me,

n wš=f r=i

it is not far from me,

hkšw m ht=i

hkšw is in my belly,

n wš.t(w)=f

it has not been robbed,

šhw=i n=i hprw=i n=i

my *šhw* belongs to me, my manifestations belong to me,

r wnm^t=i išt=i hn^c kš=i

so I will eat my meals with my *kš*

imy tš=i pn

which is in this my earth.

sdr=i mš.kwi rnp.kwi

I will sleep being seen, being rejuvenated.

dd mdw wšd šm^c rdī n šh r mš^c=f

Recite (over) green upper Egypt stone to be placed on the *šh* on his temple.¹¹¹

In this spell many different components of a person are assembled. The different parts are close with him, and have not been taken away. The result is that the speaker is asleep and physically rejuvenated rather than dead. The components here are: *šh*, *bš*, heart (*ib*), belly, corpse, *hkš*, manifestations (*hprw*) and *kš*.

A similar example, though much shorter, is found in spell 20:

¹⁰⁸ CT IV 43f-j following B2L.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter III under 'birds'.

¹¹⁰ Spelled *itp* in B3L.

¹¹¹ Following B1P, CT IV 57d-58g, 58g only B1P in red.

di.t(w) n=k ib=k n mwt=k h3ty=k n dt=k

You are given your heart (*ib*) of your mother and your heart (*h3ty*) of your body,¹¹²

b3=k hr t3 h3t=k hrt s3tw

your *b3* is on earth, your corpse which is on the ground.

t n ht=k mw n hh=k

Bread for your belly, water for your throat,

t3w ndm n šrt=k

sweet wind for your nose.¹¹³

II 1.3.1 Being intact

Spell 229 contains sentences which are building up different parts of a person, expressed by wishes directed to ‘you who are on the head of the Great One’,¹¹⁴ a goddess who is described as:

tst b3 skdt swyt

the one who knits up the *b3* and builds up shadows.¹¹⁵

In the same way different sentences express wishes for the goddess to restore the dead in different ways:

s3k=t ʿnh n htt s3h=t w(i)

you will assemble(?) life for the throat, you will cause me to be *3h*

hnm=t ʿwt=i

you will unite my limbs

ts=t hr=i

you will knit together my face

skd=t b3=i

you will construct my *b3*¹¹⁶

In this spell there are two elements: positive sentences of a person’s parts being put together, and negative sentences that deny that the demolition of a person will occur: ‘the head will not be cut off, the neck will not be severed’.¹¹⁷ Both physical body parts and other concepts belonging to a person’s identity are put together in the same way of building up a person or denying his destruction. The same verbs are also used for both body parts and the less physical parts of a person. For example *ts* is used both in knitting together the *b3*¹¹⁸ and the face.¹¹⁹ This creates a very concrete picture of the different parts of a person being put together by the goddess. In total, the parts of a person mentioned are the *b3*,¹²⁰ shadow,¹²¹ *3h*,¹²² name,¹²³ heart (*ib* and *h3t*),¹²⁴ *hk3w*,¹²⁵ head,¹²⁶ face,¹²⁷

¹¹² Compare *BoD* 30B with *ib* from the mother and *h3ty* belonging to a man’s *hprw*, Budge, *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day I*, 129 line 11.

¹¹³ *CT* I 56c-f, following T9C.

¹¹⁴ *CT* III 294a.

¹¹⁵ *CT* III 295a.

¹¹⁶ *CT* III 295d-g.

¹¹⁷ *CT* III 296c-e.

¹¹⁸ *CT* III 295a.

¹¹⁹ *CT* III 295f.

¹²⁰ *CT* III 295a, g.

¹²¹ *CT* III 295a.

¹²² *CT* III 295d, 296b, m.

¹²³ *CT* III 296e.

front,¹²⁸ neck,¹²⁹ throat,¹³⁰ limbs,¹³¹ corpse,¹³² nose,¹³³ and mouth.¹³⁴ In other spells, for example 441, the body is included in the listing as *dt*, but spell 229 does not talk about the body as a whole, but rather breaks it down into separate parts.

The Netherworld has different guardians, demons, creatures between human and gods,¹³⁵ who can hinder or threaten different aspects of a person's identity. One example are beings called *Mrwty* who in spell 441 come to take away a man's *b3* from him.¹³⁶ The components in this spell are *b3*,¹³⁷ *hk3*,¹³⁸ *k3*,¹³⁹ *3h*,¹⁴⁰ heart (*ib*),¹⁴¹ and body (*dt*).¹⁴² In contrast to spell 229 when the goddess is asked to put together a person's different parts,¹⁴³ the speaker in this spell already has the parts and refuses to let them be separated.

Spell 453 and 454 have some very similar lines and almost seem to be variants of the same text. As in spells 229 and 441 the theme is the risk of not being intact. In this spell there are specific beings who are addressed as 'those mutilating the body', but not of the speaker of the spell.¹⁴⁴

Spell 453 starts:

hsfy s<w>h3 m hrt-ntr

*iw r htm r n s m hrt-ntr*¹⁴⁶

Driving off false speech¹⁴⁵ in the realm of the dead

and the one who comes to seal up a man's mouth in

the realm of the dead.

¹²⁴ CT III 296h, k.

¹²⁵ CT III 296m, 298a.

¹²⁶ CT III 294a, 296a, c, 297h, j.

¹²⁷ CT III 295c, f, 296j.

¹²⁸ CT III 294b.

¹²⁹ CT III 294b, 295c, 296a, d, 297j.

¹³⁰ CT III 295d, 297k.

¹³¹ CT III 295e.

¹³² CT III 296i.

¹³³ CT III 298c.

¹³⁴ CT III 296g, m.

¹³⁵ Defined as such in, for example, Kousoulis in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, IX-XIV, Lucarelli, *BMSAES* 15, 85-102, and in Backes, Munro, Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 203-212.

¹³⁶ CT V 297a. See Chapter IV under 'Beings being bad to the *b3*'.

¹³⁷ CT V 297a, f, 299b.

¹³⁸ CT V 299b.

¹³⁹ CT V 297f.

¹⁴⁰ CT V 297f,g, 298a, 299d (*3hw*).

¹⁴¹ CT V 297g.

¹⁴² CT V 299g.

¹⁴³ See also spell 532 and 850. The rubric at the end of spell 850 –which is actually the final line on the side of the coffin– concerns not compelling an *3h* to labour in the Afterlife. The connection with the joining of members is not obvious and it is not certain that it really belongs to the passage.

¹⁴⁴ See also spell 384 and 491, Chapter IV under 'Shadow'.

¹⁴⁵ As in the *BoD* version, spell 90 which clearly has *swh3*, 'false speech' or 'speech impediment'. See also Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 211, Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur*, and Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 363 and n.3703 for a further discussion about the word. The other possibility is that *sh3* 'remembrance' should in this context have the meaning of 'bad remembrance', as in Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 85.

¹⁴⁶ B2L.

i ḥsk̄ tpw sn wsrt
dd s<w>ḥ3 m r n 3ḥw
ḥtm r n 3ḥw ḥr ḥk3w imy ḥwt=sn

n(n) ḥsk̄=k tp=i
n(n) sn=k wsrt=i
n(n) wd=k s<w>ḥ3 m r=i pn
n(n) ḥtm=k r=i ḥr ḥk3w imy ḥt=i

mi irr=k r 3ḥw ḥr ḥk3w imy ḥwt=sn

O you who cuts off heads and sever necks
and who places false speech in the mouth of the 3ḥw
and who closes the mouth of the 3ḥw because of the
ḥk3w which is in their bellies.
You will not cut off my head,
nor sever my neck,
and you will not place false speech in this my mouth.
You will not seal up my mouth because of the ḥk3w
which is in my belly
as you do to the 3ḥw because of the ḥk3w which is in
their bellies.¹⁴⁷

The physical and spiritual parts of a person's identity are not separated in a strict way in the different spells but intermixed. In spells 304 and 20, the physical body parts are numbered alongside the less physical concepts, and other spells ascribe physical means to some of the 'spiritual' parts, so for example spell 453 which talks about the mouth of an 3ḥ. The ḥk3w in the belly will be hindered to come out if the mouth is physically sealed. Our categories of 'physical' and 'spiritual' are not easily applicable on the Egyptian concepts.

II 1.4 Including 'powers'

The different 'powers', which can be expressed to be with the dead person in a similar way as aspects of his personality, are also prominent in spells which focus on consuming them. In spell 1017 the speaker feeds on different parts and beings, including 'the sitting ones', 3ḥw, k3, gods and elders. It also has passages about joining parts together, as in the spells above. In spell 1017 'powers' such as 3ḥw, ḥk3w, ḥmw and wsrt are also included and taken, swallowed or joined by the speaker.

r n ḥnh m ḥk3w m gswy-dpt m prwy

i s3ḥ sp 2 mk wi ii.ki m ḥk3 b3kt

wm.n=i k3w wšb.n=i m ḥmwst

ḥnh=i m 3ḥw ntrw smsw

Spell for living on ḥk3w and on protection¹⁴⁸ in the two houses.

O Orion, O Orion, see I have come as the ruler of the moringa-tree.

I have eaten the k3w, I have fed on ḥmwst,¹⁴⁹

I live on the 3ḥw, the gods and the elders.

¹⁴⁷ CT V 322a-j.

¹⁴⁸ Following Faulkner *Coffin Texts III*, 117 and n.1 119; but literally, 'the two sides of the boat'. See also spell 468 below.

¹⁴⁹ For the female equivalent of the k3, see for example Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 36-37, Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 79.

<i>iw in.n=i št3w rnw</i>	I have reached those secret of names.
<i>iw dmd.n=i m gsyw-dpt m prwy</i>	I have joined in the protection in the two houses.
<i>dmdw in.n=i m pt in.n=i m hms wsrt=i</i>	O you who joins, I have had reached ¹⁵⁰ the sky and I have reached the one who sits on my neck.
<i>šw šd.n=i m šbb b3w</i>	The one whom I have taken from the throat of the <i>b3w</i> is lifted up/is lacking.
<i>dmd.n=i m ht=i /// m šbb=i</i>	I have joined in my belly /// in my throat.
<i>iw dmd.n=i pth</i>	I have joined Ptah.
<i>dmdw sm3w.n=i dmd.n=i 3hw</i>	O you who joins, I have united and I have joined the <i>3hw</i> ,
<i>dmd.n=i shmw {shmw} smsw</i>	I have joined the powers and the Elders.
<i>ink wsr r itw</i>	I am stronger than the fathers.
<i>ink nht r šmsw r=f</i>	I am one mightier than those who are older than him.
<i>iw=i ʿpr.ki m rht.n=sn nbt ntrw imyw b3h</i>	I am equipped with all what they have learned (all they know), the gods who are ancestors.
<i>iw it.n=i wsrt=sn</i>	I have taken their might.
<i>iw ʿm.n=i 3hw=sn //sn iw wnm.n=i hk3w=sn</i>	I have swallowed their <i>3hw</i> and their//. I have eaten their <i>hk3w</i> .
<i>iw ir.n=i hrt m dšrt thnti</i>	I have made a slaughtering of gleaming blood.
<i>iw=i m 3h ʿpr in s3h r=i</i>	I come as an equipped <i>3h</i> . Orion says to me:
<i>iw ʿpr.n=k 3hw=sn nbw</i>	“You have equipped (yourself with) all their <i>3hw</i> .
<i>n smh=k im</i>	You have forgotten nothing from it.
<i>m tw ii.ti 3h.ti ʿpr.ti</i>	See, you have come, <i>3h-ed</i> and equipped ¹⁵¹
In spell 573 the dead is also consuming parts of a person for the sake of power. ¹⁵² In this spell the deceased eats and swallows, so that the <i>hk3</i> , <i>3hw</i> and <i>b3</i> of gods are in him.	
<i>wnm=i m hk3w=sn</i>	I eat from their <i>hk3w</i> .
<i>sʿm=i m 3hw=sn</i>	I swallow down from their <i>3hw</i> .
<i>iw wsr=i r=sn hr=i</i>	My strength, more than theirs, is in my possession.
<i>iw 3hw=sn m-hnw ʿwy=i</i>	Their <i>3hw</i> are in my hands.
<i>iw b3¹⁵³=sn hr=i</i>	Their <i>b3</i> are in my possession.
<i>iw šwywt=sn hr nb=sn</i>	Their shadows are in the possession of their lord.

¹⁵⁰ A parallel to *dmd.n=i m*, probably with the same meaning of joining in (*m*).

¹⁵¹ CT VII 236a-237b.

¹⁵² Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 134-135, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 381-392.

¹⁵³ Coffin G2T has *b3w* in plural, S1C and S2C in singular.

iw hk3w=sn m-hnw ht=i

Their *hk3w* are in my belly.¹⁵⁴

The components of a person mentioned in total in this spell are *b3*,¹⁵⁵ shadow,¹⁵⁶ *3h/ 3hw*,¹⁵⁷ *hk3/ hk3w*,¹⁵⁸ manifestations (*hprw*),¹⁵⁹ hearts (*h3wt* and *ib*),¹⁶⁰ and belly (*ht*).¹⁶¹ The parts consumed by the speaker do not belong to the dead himself, and the only ones already belonging to the dead are *3h*, *b3* and *hk3*. However, the list is still very similar to other spells which talk about the dead, and by consuming the parts is connected to gathering the own parts of a person.¹⁶²

II 1.5 Including ‘powers’, feelings and other

Spell 469 has a description of how the dead person has come in his *s'hw*. This spell also associates respect (*ššft*) and fear (*snḏ*) with the speaker, in the same way as *šhm*, *wsrt* and *nht* are with him and in his body. Also Hu and Sia are mentioned in the spell.¹⁶³

<i>ii.ki h^c.ki b3.ki k3.kwi ntr.kwi k3r.ki m s'hw=i</i>	I have come, appeared, b ³ -ed, exalted, become divine
<i>pw ntrw</i> ¹⁶⁴	and enshrined in this my divine <i>s'hw</i> .
<i>rdi n=i b3=i</i>	My <i>b3</i> gives me
<i>šhm=i m hw</i>	my power over Hu.
<i>m.n=i si3 n ntr nb</i>	I have swallowed the Sia of every god.
<i>nhm=i wsrt 3hw</i>	I take away the powers/necks(?) of the <i>3hw</i> .
<i>h^f.n=i 3hw=sn</i>	I have grasped their <i>3hw</i>
<i>ist wnm.n=i hk3w=sn</i>	once I have eaten their <i>hk3w</i> .
<i>ink w^c iwty snwy=f</i>	I am the unique one who has no equal.
<i>iw dsrt m ht=i</i>	The red crown is in my belly,
<i>i'b.n=i mswt=sn</i>	I have gathered their children together.
<i>iw in.n=i tm sp 2</i>	I have brought everything.
<i>n sp nwd m ht nt 3h si3</i>	Never did anything/anyone escape from the body of the <i>3h</i> of Sia.

¹⁵⁴ CT VI 181i-182c.

¹⁵⁵ CT VI 177l, 178e, 182a.

¹⁵⁶ CT VI 182b.

¹⁵⁷ CT VI 177m, n 178g, 180a, 181j, l.

¹⁵⁸ CT VI 178a, j, k, 179c, 181i, 182c, 183e.

¹⁵⁹ CT VI 178i.

¹⁶⁰ CT VI 178h,j, 179c, 181c.

¹⁶¹ CT VI 178k, 179f.

¹⁶² Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 167, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 392.

¹⁶³ For Hu and Sia connected with body parts Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 368-378, for a discussion about the spell's celestial allusions, 381-388, and fear and related feelings 404-417. See also spell 936.

¹⁶⁴ B2L is followed in this line because some destruction in S2C. In the rest of the passages S2C is followed.

iw in.n=i hwy ipwy

wnm=sn wnmw hk3w mm gswy-dpt dmdw

shmw=sn¹⁶⁵ /hk3w=sn¹⁶⁶ 3hw=sn

iw it.n b3=i h3-nbwt

iw in.n=i nrw m ht=i

šfšft=i m spty=i wsrw=i m šbb=i

wr=i m ib=i snd=i m iwf=i

nht=i m cwy=i shmw=i m rdwy=i

ink hk3 cwy=f wsr m ib=f

I have brought these two Hu.

They eat the food: *hk3w* from the entire protection, their powers/ their *hk3w* and their *3hw*.

My *b3* has taken *h3-nbwt*.¹⁶⁷

I have acquired dread in my belly, respect of me on my lips, my might in my gullet, my greatness in my heart, and the fear of me in my flesh,

my strength in my hands, my power in my legs.

I am he who rules (by) his hands and who is mighty in his heart.¹⁶⁸

The spell also has *k3* later in the text. The different parts, powers and qualities are located in different parts of the body.¹⁶⁹

The nature of many of the concepts of the dead, such as the *3h*, was obviously considered having many physical features. Here they are also eaten, swallowed and said not to escape. This, together with giving something a location, gives the concept a more physical nature. The emphasis on the physicality of the immaterial dissolves the boundary between what we might consider being physically touchable and not.

II 1.6 Negative counterparts

The listing of different parts to make up a total identity occurs in negative form in texts describing the destruction of enemies. Spell 769 has an example including the *b3* and other outcomes.

ir ntr nb w3.t(y)=f(y) sw m] N pn

As for any god who shall oppose [himself] against this N:

n wnt t=f n wnt t-hd=f

His bread does not exist, his white bread does not exist, his supplies does not exist, his *b3* does not exist.

n wnt spd=f n wnt b3=f

He does not go out to Hathor who is in the sky.

n wnt pr=f r hwt-hr irt pt

But any god who will not oppose himself against this N

ntr nb swt tm.t(y)=f(y) w3d sw m N pn

It is he whose bread exists, it is he whose white bread exists,

swt pw w[nn t]=f swt pw wnn t-hd=f

¹⁶⁵ S2C.

¹⁶⁶ B2L.

¹⁶⁷ The meaning is obscure. The word also occurs in spell 689 CT VI 320w but is written slightly different.

¹⁶⁸ Spell 469 CT V 391d-392i, following B2L.

¹⁶⁹ See also spell 689 which also include for example Hu, Sia, *3hw*, *hk3w*, *b3w*, *nht*, *shw* and others.

swt pw wnn spd=f swt wnn b3=f

it is he whose supplies exist, he whose *b3* exists.

swt pw pr=f r hwt-hr irt pt

It is he who will go to Hathor who is in the sky.¹⁷⁰

A clear example can be found in papyrus Bremner-Rhind where a number of parts of Apep are denied existence.

nn wn šwyt=k

your shadow does not exist¹⁷¹

...

nn wn b3=k m-^c b3w

your *b3* does not exist among the *b3w*,

nn wn h3t=k hnty h3wt

your corpse does not exist at the head of the
corpses¹⁷²

The outcome of the ritual is the annihilation of Apep, and instructions are also given here for recitation: how a wax body of Apep shall be made, how he shall be drawn on papyrus and be set on fire.¹⁷³ Here just a few examples are given. Many components belonging to a being's identity are here described as non-existent. Even if papyrus Bremner-Rhind is from a much later period than the Coffin Texts, the same way of listing different parts of a person to make sure of their complete annihilation remains.¹⁷⁴

The parts named as belonging to a person as consistent of his or her identity fluctuate, and it is not always clear what qualities belonging to a person should be considered as consistent parts of that identity. Qualities belong to someone's personality, but perhaps they are not a separable, or even inseparable, part of their identity. Sometimes qualities are treated in a very similar way to constituent parts. However, many of these parts are not really individually distinctive, since they overlap and elude a strict definition.¹⁷⁵

What the spells do show is that a person can be seen as the sum of many parts.¹⁷⁶ Since different spells include different parts of a person, a person could be described as differently made up, depending on what the spell chooses to focus on. The great variety of number of components included in these lists indicates both an undogmatic approach to what an identity consists of, as well as a stylistic flexibility expressed by the texts. Since the dead also had many spells with them, the exclusion of a certain part in one spell does not mean it was not included elsewhere on the coffin, or other funerary equipment, for that particular person. The importance seemed to be the result, in

¹⁷⁰ CT VI 403i-p.

¹⁷¹ Bremner-Rhind 26.17.

¹⁷² Bremner-Rhind 26.18.

¹⁷³ Bremner-Rhind 26.20.

¹⁷⁴ On the front of the Metternich stela there is a spell against Apep which expresses in a similar way that parts of the snake are not existing or have been severed. Allen, *Art of Medicine*, 50-53.

¹⁷⁵ See for example spells 488-500 in Chapter IV.

¹⁷⁶ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, especially his chapters on Death as Dismemberment, 23-38, and Death as Dissociation, 87-112.

expressing a person as a whole by the method of joining different parts, giving them a particular location, or similar. Even if some parts of a person are mentioned more often than others, it seems to be that the person as a whole, intact and complete after death, is the primary message.

II 2 Listing of Outcomes

II 2.1 Rubrics and knowledge

The content of the Coffin Texts often envisages what the actual Afterlife will be like for the person reaching it. A particular spell is often concerned with a limited number of themes regarding the Afterlife, for example eating and walking upright. Rarely, Coffin Text spells extensively list various outcomes for the dead in the Afterlife, when they do, the spells vary in length, form and number of different outcomes listed, making set criteria also for this kind of listing difficult. There are spells which clearly raise a variety of outcomes wished for, interwoven in dialogue but not listed next to each other.

The clearest examples of listing are found in rubrics, the majority written in red, at the beginning or, for this kind of rubrics more commonly, at the end of a spell. Since rubrics are characteristically shorter, the outcomes mentioned are also stylistically closer to lists. One particular category introduces the lists with the presumption that any man who has knowledge of this spell will enjoy the following in the Afterlife.¹⁷⁷

II 2.1.1 Spells with the ‘knowledge-formula’

Spell 83 is written entirely in red and appears as a rubric after the Shu-spells.¹⁷⁸ It first contains instructions for the spells to be performed, and then the outcome of the spells for anyone who knows it.

ir s nb rḥ r pn n mwt.n=f mwt whm

As for any man who knows this spell, he does not die a second death,

*n hpr.n ht nb dw*¹⁷⁹

nothing bad happens.

n shm.n hft=f im=f

His enemies do not have power over him.

n s33.n sw hk3w tp t3 dt

hk3w does not constrain him on earth ever.

¹⁷⁷ Some spells have been left out. Spell 576 also contains the same formula but does not list numerous different outcomes. It is only concerned with the dead enjoying sex in the Afterlife. Other spells have a similar formulation, but exclude the knowledge formula, so for example spell 1098 “As for any man who is in his following he will live in the following of Thoth” CT 384b, but it is not followed by an actual list.

¹⁷⁸ Spells 75-83. Willems, *World of Coffin Texts*, 205, *Heqata*, 275 n.1581.

¹⁷⁹ Only S1C and M23C and both are a bit destroyed but compliment each other fairly well.

prt pw in s r mrr=f m hrt-ntr

It means going forth by a man as he wishes in the realm of the dead.

hpr pw m 3h ikr hr wsir

It means becoming an equipped 3h with Osiris.¹⁸⁰

In spell 228 the speaker is close to Osiris, and he travels and cultivates the land, giving a picture of a pleasant continuous life. The rubric is in the beginning of the spell.

*r n ʿk hr h3t prt hr phyw m k3b wnmw t n
wsir*

Spell for entering in front and going out behind in the middle of the ones who eat bread of Osiris.

iw 3h irt st

Doing it is 3h.¹⁸¹

ir s nb rh r pn

As for any man who knows this spell

km=f rnpt 110 m [ʿn]h

He will complete 110 years in [life]

iw rnpt 10 im m dr sdb=f hmt-r

10 years thereof after his lifetime(?).¹⁸² The ritual [craft]

m irt s hm rh

consists of what a man does, being ignorant or being knowledgeable.

ir sdb=f r hrt-ntr

If he proceeds to the realm of the dead,

wnm=f t r-gs wsir

he will eat bread beside Osiris.¹⁸³

The content of the spell clearly connects the speaker with Osiris and thereby places him in the realms of the dead. However, the title states that the person knowing it will live 110 years and thereby ten years beyond the hoped for lifespan,¹⁸⁴ and then proceed to the Netherworld. These comments seem to imply that it is to be used in life rather than after death and the spell has been used in contexts of arguments about the spells being used by the living.¹⁸⁵

In spell 339 Thoth is asked to vindicate Osiris in tribunals in different locations.¹⁸⁶ The rubric appears last:

ir rh nn iw=f ir=f hprw m bik s3 rʿ

As for the one who knows this, he makes manifestation as a falcon, the son of Re.

¹⁸⁰ CT II 47b-48a. The end of the spell, CT II 48b-d, is mostly lost. Both b and d seem to contain something about not dying (again) so presumably the spell continues in the same manner or repeats what has been said before.

¹⁸¹ From here on only B2L continues.

¹⁸² *sdbw* though normally translated as 'impediment' WB 380-381 also lists *sdb* as a synonym to life, possibly that is what is meant here.

¹⁸³ Spell 228 CT III 266a-267i.

¹⁸⁴ As extraordinary people can live to be 110 years as Djedi in Westcar, Blackman, *Kheops and the Magicians*, 8 Westcar 7.1-7.2. See also Baines in Schafer (ed), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 137-146, Parkinson in Loprieno (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 139, and Kees, *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien*, 31-34 about BoD spell 70 and Assmann in DuQuense (ed), *Hermes Aegyptiacus*, 19-25 who interprets the ten years to be the first ten years of childhood, rather than ten extra ones.

¹⁸⁵ See Chapter III under 'Usage'.

¹⁸⁶ CT IV 338a-k.

[ir r]h nb nn tp//f n htm.n=f n (htm.n=f) b3=f [As for] anyone [who knows] this upon, /// he does
 r nhh not perish, his b3 does not perish for eternity.
 htm hft=f pw iw=f wnm t m pr wsir But his enemy perishes, and he eats bread in the
 house of Osiris
 iw=f k=f hwt-ntr nt////nb?mnh he enters the temple of every(?) potent ///
 iw ///3wt///
 n wnm.n=f hs///// He does not eats excrement/////187

The major part of spell 404 is about what should be said in different passages to the Netherworld, either to beings such as gate keepers, or for the dead being able to name specific objects, such as parts of the ferry boat. The very last part of the spell concerns the effect of knowing it.

ir <r>h r pn As for anyone who knows this spell,
 iw=f h3=f r sht i3rw he goes down to the field of rushes.
 iw di.tw n=f šns ds psn 3ht š(?) mh 7 m it He is given a šns-loaf, a beer-jug, a psn-cake and 7
 mitt iry m bdt land cubits with barley and likewise of emmer.
 in šmsw hr¹⁸⁸ 3sh st It is the followers of Horus who reap it.
 wš^c.hr=f nn n it nn n bdt So that then he shall chew this barley and this emmer.
 sin.hr=f iw=f im He shall rub his flesh therewith.
 wn.hr h^cw=f ///mi nn n ntrw His limbs will be /// like those of the gods.
 iw=f pr=f m sht i3rw He goes out in/from the field of rushes
 m hprw nbw mrr=f hpr/// in any manifestations he wishes, manifestations ///189

Spell 503 only has three short passages about ascension, before the B3L version continues on its own with a rubric:

dd mdw in rh md3t tn To be recited by the one who knows this book.
 iw=f pr=f r dd ib=f m hprw nb mrw prt im=f He goes forth, so his heart will endure in every form
 which one wishes to go forth in.
 nk=f mtwt=f [°]d(.w) tp t3 so he will ejaculate his seed well¹⁹⁰ on earth,
 iw^c=f wn(.w) r nhh his heir existing forever,
 n ndr.n=tw b3=f his b3 is not constrained,
 n grg.n=tw šwyt=f his shadow is not snared.

¹⁸⁷ CT IV 338I-339d.

¹⁸⁸ Lost in B10C but visible in B5C and B7C.

¹⁸⁹ CT V 199b-200d. The three versions which have these last lines B5C and B7C are mostly in red, but very destroyed. B10C is therefore followed, still treating it as a rubric.

¹⁹⁰ See CT VI 89 n.2 and Faulkner *Coffin Texts II*, 141 n.3.

sšr m3^c ḥḥ n sp

A matter a million times true.¹⁹¹

Spell 651 is only available in one version and starts with a greeting and praise addressed to Sekhmet. It then continues:

*ir rh mdw ntr pn wnn=f m pt ḥn^c r^c mm ntrw
ntyw m pt*

As for the one who knows words of this god, he will be in the sky together with Re among the gods who are in the sky.

*iw di.t(w) n=f m3^c ḥrw m d3d3t nbt h33t=f
im=s*

Justification is given to him in every tribunal which he goes into.

iw=f wnm=f t m st nbt rwwt=f r=s

He eats bread in every place which he goes out to.

iw=f ir=f ḥprw m mrrt=f nbt

He makes manifestations as everything which he wishes.

šs m3^c mtt pw

It is a matter exactly true.¹⁹²

Spell 712 is almost entirely in red but for a couple of passages.

dmd m ntr m pt

To reassemble¹⁹³ as a god in the sky

p3t p33t ir ḥwty

The *p3t*-cake is that which flies up to the two mansions

ḥb3 pw n[?]194 nt

They are destruction places(?) of the red crown

ir rh r iw r pn m šht ḥtp

As for one who knows the spell in the fields of offerings (or As for one who knows the spell. This spell is in the fields of offerings),

iw=f ir=f ḥt nb mrrt=f

he does everything that he wishes

mi wnt.n=f tp t3

just as he was on earth

išt sw sb(.w) k3=f

once he has gone to his k3.¹⁹⁵

Spell 760 is about Mehen. Isis has brought Mehen as a protection for Horus and everything has gone well because of that, for example, he has inherited the bark from Re. The spell is only available in one version and has no passages in red. The passages below are the end of the spell.

ir 3ḥ nb rh rn n psd pn rh rn=f

As for any 3ḥ who knows the name of this shining one and who knows his (the gods) name

sb3w/////////m sm3 m dḥr? mi

<of> the gate////////¹⁹⁶

ir [r]ḥ rn n w3t=f iptn

As for the one who knows the name of these its roads, it is he who enters to Mehen.

swt pw ‘k r mḥn

¹⁹¹ CT VI 89i-o.

¹⁹² CT VI 273d-h.

¹⁹³ In the meaning ‘to become whole’.

¹⁹⁴ CT VI n.2. Perhaps it should be a *n* anyhow?

¹⁹⁵ Spell 712 CT VI 343a-g.

¹⁹⁶ Thought the beginning is lost, it seems to be the name of the gate.

ir rh r pn n sk.n=f dt

nh=f m nht r^c

m st r^c psd s3zt sbw ipn m hh m s3 hh

As for the one who knows this spell, he never perishes
he lives on that which Re lives (on)
on the seat of the shining Re which guards these gates
in millions after millions (of years).¹⁹⁷

Where the spells normally have 'any man', this spell instead has *3h* to know the spell, name and roads. The spell associate his passage with that of the sun.

Spell 1035 is quite short and is therefore given here in full. Three out of six versions have most of the spell in red, starting from the 'knowledge formula'.

sw3.n=i w3wt nt r3-stw hrt mw t3

w3wt nw nt wsir

iw=sn m dr n pt

ir s nb rh r pn n h3t im=sn iw=f m ntr dsr m

šmsw dhwt¹⁹⁸

iw=f grt h3=f r pt nbt

mrrt=f h3t im=s

ir swt iwty rh.n=f sw3t hr w3wt ipwt it=f²⁰⁰ m

3bt mwt

š3t m iwty swt²⁰² n m3^ct=f dt

I have passed the roads of Rostau, which are on water
and on land

and these are the roads of Osiris.

They are on the edge of the sky.

As for any man who knows this spell for going down
by them, he is a sacred god in the following of
Thoth.¹⁹⁹

He moreover goes down to every sky
into which he wishes to go down.

But as for he who does not know how to pass on
these roads, he is taken by a stroke²⁰¹ of death
which is ordained, as one who is not, and who has no
maat forever.²⁰³

Spell 1087 is also short and given in full below. Only the very last passage is not written in red in the three versions where it occurs.²⁰⁴

mdwt nw ntt m-hnw kkw

ir 3h nb rh s(y) iw=f nh=f

mm nhw

iw sdt h3=s

hrt rdw pw n wsir

ir s nb rht(y)=f(y) s(y) n sk.n=f im dt

This is the speech which is in the middle of darkness.

As for any 3h who knows it, he lives
among the living.

Fire is around it (the speech).

It is what is under the efflux of Osiris.

As for any man who will know it,

¹⁹⁷ Spell 760 CT VI 390i-o.

¹⁹⁸ Following B1L, the versions are only slightly different with no real impact on the meaning.

¹⁹⁹ Red in 3 of 6 versions.

²⁰⁰ In B1C.

²⁰¹ Following Lesco, *Book of Two Ways*, 21 and note ab, 22.

²⁰² B1C has *sw*.

²⁰³ Spell 1035 CT VII 282a-283c following B2L unless stated otherwise.

²⁰⁴ B5C, B1Bea, B1Pb. B2L has 365g-366c in black.

ḏr rḥ=f wnt(y)=s(y) m r3-st3w

št3 r3-st3w ḏr ḥr=f im

iw h3(t)²⁰⁵ ḥr h3st

ḥrt ˆ pw wnnt ḥr=f m dḏw

iwtyw pw n wsir r3-st3w

ir s nb nty im

iw=f m33=f wsir rˆ nb

t3w m nḥ3=f

n mni.n=f dt

ḏr rḥ=f r n sw3 ḥr=s

he does not perish there, forever

since he knows what will be in Rostau,

Rostau is hidden, since he falls (dead) there.

The descent is from the desert.

This is writing material that were his (Osiris)²⁰⁶
possession in Djedu.

Rostau is the purification of Osiris.

As for any man who is there,

he sees Osiris every day

and breath is in his nose.

He does not die, forever,

since he knows the spell for passing it.²⁰⁷

Spell 1130 is the creation spell of the Coffin Texts and the end of The Book of Two Ways.²⁰⁸

B1L has added a few lines in black after the spell, and after the rubric following the spell.

ir s nb rḥ r pn wnn=f /// m pt [i3bt]²⁰⁹

As for any man who knows this spell, he will ////(Re?)

in the [eastern sky]

mī wsir m-ḥnw ḏw3t

like Osiris within the Netherworld.

iw=f h3=f r šnwt n//t

He goes down to the circle of fire

n wnt sḏt r=f dt r nhḥ

There cannot be a flame against him for ever.

iw=s pw m ḥtp sp 2

It has come to an end satisfactorily.²¹⁰

Being the end of The Book of Two Ways the one who knows this spell will both be like Re and like Osiris in their places respectively.²¹¹

In spell 1131 the speaker addresses his father and raises him up and just before the rubric he says that he has come to see Osiris.

sšm n 3wy 3ḥt ḥtm.n=sn ḥr ntrw

Guide to the double doors of the horizon, which they
have closed on the gods.

²⁰⁵ Possibly? Something seems to be missing.

²⁰⁶ Or 'which carried him'.

²⁰⁷ Spell 1087 CT VII 364b-366d, following B5C.

²⁰⁸ See for example Lesco, *Book of Two Ways*, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege des Jenseits*, Robinson in O'Connor and Quirke (eds), *Mysterious Lands*, 139-159, Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 11-12, Assmann, *Search for God*, 174-177, Lesco in Schafer (ed), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 101-102, Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 32-34.

²⁰⁹ CT VII 471 n.7.

²¹⁰ CT VII 471c-g following B1L as B1C is quite destroyed. This is also the section which de Buck has placed as spell 1031 B3L CT VII 262f-j. The last bit is simply the colophon that ends written texts, Lenzo Marchese, *BIFAO* 104 (1), 359-376, this particular Coffin Text passage is mentioned in n.10, 360.

²¹¹ Lesco thinks that these passages bring Re and Osiris together, both gods being equally good to follow, so the choice would not matter, *Book of Two Ways*, 129-133.

rn n irw=sn nw nt(y) m šs

These are the name of their keepers which are in writing.

kd=sn pw hm nw r dr

This is indeed their entire nature.

ir s nb iwty rh.n=f mdwt=sn hr=f m innwt²¹²

As for any man who does not know their words, he

nt intl/ im

falls in the nets of the valley there

hbwllrn sl/w s ll/n r-gs n lll ipw

////////////////////²¹³

ir s nb rht(y)=f(y) mdwt=sn

As for any man who will know their words

sw3=f im

he will pass there

hms=f r-gs ntr 3 m bw nb ntf im

and he will sit beside the great god in every place which he is in.

iw=f snd=f n=f

He pays respect to him,

pr 3h pw mi kd

and is entirely equipped and 3h.

ir s rht(y)=f(y) n sk=f dt

As for a man who will know, he will never perish

htm=sn hr=f

they will close (the gods) on him

mi ntr nb irw=sn n=f st m ntrw nbw

as (on) every god for which they do it among all the gods.²¹⁴

In the majority of these spells, the passages are written in red. In the others they still most often occur in the end of the spell as a concluding remark. However, the passage following the knowledge formula does not necessarily pick up the theme in the spell. Spell 651 is a praise to Sekhmet, but nothing of this is mentioned after the knowledge formula. In spell 339 Thoth is asked to vindicate Osiris in different tribunals, but the rubric at the end does not mention vindication. Even so, the placement of the passages indicates that they are a direct effect of knowing the spell, so that the outcomes could be an effect of being vindicated through the spell.

II 2.1.2 ‘Knowing the *b3*’-spells

Coffin Text spells 154-160 are for knowing the *b3w* of specific places such as Pe or Nekhen, or the *b3* of the New Moon or the Easterners.²¹⁵ In a few of these ‘knowing the *b3*’-spells, the rubrics also list outcomes for the dead.

w3h tp t3

Living long on earth.

tm wnm hs m hrt-ntr

Not eating excrement in the realm of the dead.

tm mwt n hf3

Not dying of a snake.

²¹² B1P ends here, B1Be continues.

²¹³ Lesco suggests ‘Their names have been written, they being beside those [evil ones]’ by restoring some signs, *Book of Two Ways*, 23.

²¹⁴ Spell 1131 CT VII 473j-474h.

²¹⁵ See Chapter IV, Sethe, *ZÄS* 58, 57-59 and Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 15-36.

wḏ3 tp t3

Being healthy on earth.

ḳ prt m sb3w i3b(w)t²¹⁶ nw pt

Going in and out of the eastern gates of the sky.

rḥ b3w imntt

Knowing the *b3w* of the West.²¹⁷

The spells lists outcomes in a similar way as the spells with the knowledge formula and also here, the rubric has been used for this purpose. As well as in the other rubrics, the knowledge has a central position.²¹⁸

II 2.1.3 Knowledge

In the first category of the ‘knowledge formula’, the passages mostly either occur at the end, or make up the whole spell.²¹⁹ of these which has the rubric in the beginning. Each passage then starts with a statement that the effect of the spell is dependent on the person having knowledge of the spell.²²⁰ This ‘knowledge formula’ occurs first in the Pyramid Texts,²²¹ to then continue in the Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead and Amduat.²²² The people who have the knowledge of the spells will enjoy various favourable outcomes in the Afterlife. There are also a few examples of the formula reversed, to what will happen if they do not know the spell: either falling into the nets,²²³ or taken by a stroke of death.²²⁴ Authorisation for the knowledge can further be strengthened by statements such as the spells being direct words of a god, a matter a million times true, or testified true.²²⁵ Both knowledge and the assertion that it is true, occurs in medical texts where the knowledge comes from experience so that the method is proven.²²⁶

²¹⁶ The parallel text, B3C, has *imntyw* and considering the *-w* in *sb3w* and *nw*, it should be plural even if it is not spelled out in this particular word.

²¹⁷ Spell 160 CT II 373a-375b following S2P.

²¹⁸ See Chapter IV, and for these spells see for example Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes ‘b3w’*, 64-79, Schibler in Brodbeck (ed), *Ein Ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 187-197, Sethe, *ZÄS*, 57-59 and Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 15-36.

²¹⁹ Spell 228.

²²⁰ For this kind of knowledge: Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 391-402, and in Simpson (ed) *Religion and Philosophy*, 143 f., Baines, *JARCE XXVII*, 1-23, Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 203, and about the knowledge being contained in the body in these kind of spells: Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 392-401. Also for this knowledge formula and an in-depth textual analysis of this use of *hprw* in them Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 151-158. See also Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 25-27 for a related use of *rḥt*.

²²¹ Spell 456, PT 852a-856e, Baines, *JARCE XXVII*, 11.

²²² *BoD* for example spell 180, the spells of knowing the *b3w* of different places 108, 109, 110-115, also spell 161 which claims that very few know the text. *Amduat*, for example the title, and the closing text, Hornung, *Amduat*, 11-13 and 423-424.

²²³ Spell 1131 CT VII 473m.

²²⁴ Spell 1035 CT VII 283b-c.

²²⁵ Spell 503 and 651, also spell 1087. See also DuQuesne in Assmann and Bomas (eds), *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, 37-46 about texts being ‘effective’, *3ḥ*.

²²⁶ For example, Allen, *Art of Medicine*, 9, 70-115.

II 2.2 Listing of outcomes in spells

When different outcomes are listed in the body of the spells they are less explicitly expressed as actual lists, compared to the rubrics. It is fairly common that the spell focuses more on one particular theme, but then adds one or two more outcomes. For example, spell 184 is a reversal spell, focusing on not eating detestable things in the Afterlife, but at the end of the spell also includes being able to enjoy sex. However, there are some examples where a number of outcomes are listed, for example spell 4:²²⁷

<i>wsir N tn wn n=t t3 r=f</i>	O this Osiris N, the earth opens its mouth to you
<i>sn n=t gb rty=f hr=t</i>	and Geb opens his jaws for you. ²²⁸
<i>wnm N tn n t=s šsp²²⁹ N tn b^ch=s</i>	This N will eat her bread and receive her plenty.
<i>sd3N tn r r[dw wr]²³⁰</i>	This N will travel to the great stairwell.
<i>iwt N t[n r] niwt wrt</i>	This N will come to the great city.
<i>st N tn srf=s r t3</i>	This N will set her warmth into the ground (for herself).
<i>hpr N [tn m] ntr rnpw nfr imy²³¹</i>	[This] N will become a young beautiful god who is there.
<i>or</i>	<i>or</i>
<i>hpr=t m wsir²³²</i>	You will become Osiris.
<i>šhm N tn m</i>	This N will have power over
<i>hftw=s</i>	her male enemies,
<i>šhm N tn m hftwt=s</i>	this N will have power over her female enemies,
<i>m irw r=s m irwt r=s m hrt-ntr²³³</i>	over males who act against her and females who act against her in the realm of the dead. ²³⁴
<i>h^c wr=sn n wsir N t[n]</i>	Their Great Ones stand up for this Osiris N
<i>sd3 ššw=sn hrw tm3=sn tp wy=t [wsir] N tn</i>	their scribes who are upon their mats tremble at you in your presence, O this Osiris N.
<i>ts n N tn d3d3w s3b3t [m iwnw]</i>	The heads of the mottled snakes [in lunu] are joined

²²⁷ Following M.C.105 but restoring parts from other versions. See also spells 44, 61, 149, 278 and 397 which also contains several outcomes of similar themes as spell 4, though not always as clearly.

²²⁸ Th.T.319 adds *m3^c hrw=t r h[ft]* *wsir N tn* You are vindicated against your enemies, O Osiris N. CT I 11c-d.

²²⁹ Clear in the other versions.

²³⁰ Damaged in M.C.105.

²³¹ M.C.105, also B4C, Y1C and S10C have similar sentences.

²³² In B3Bo, B2Bo, B4Bo, B1P, B15C, B6C.

²³³ M.C. 105, Y1C, S10C.

²³⁴ Y1C, S10C and Th.T319 add *m msd^cdw tn msd^cdt tn irt=sn wd^c hft=t m hrw pn* over males who hate you and females who hate you and those who make judgement against you on this day. CT I 13d-14a.

for this N.²³⁵

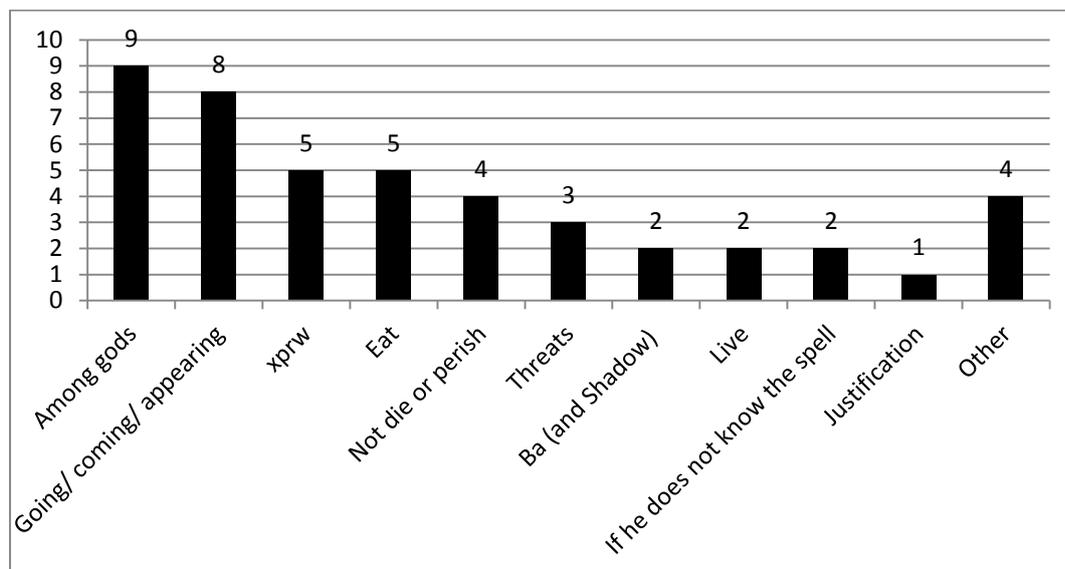
The themes of the outcomes are very similar to the ones found in the rubrics, foremost containing eating, going or coming, manifesting in different forms, justification and dealing with threats such as having power over enemies and others who might cause the person harm. The joining back of heads has a parallel in the Westcar story of the magician Djedi who could join them back on.²³⁶ The theme of not having the head removed appears in spells 229 and 453 above. The removal of the head from the body seems to be an expression for an ultimate action of mutilation and definite death. The action of joining it back on then stands for the resurrection, and, as shown in the Westcar story, is a task which demands great magical power.

The listing of beings which N should have power over occurs in other Coffin Text spells, and also have an extended parallel in, for examples, the 'Oracular Amuletic Decrees'.²³⁷ Some common themes in the spells, which are not so common in the lists of the rubrics, are doors being open for the dead to reach the sky and other beings showing respect or in different ways fear for the new person.²³⁸ Other themes occur and the already mentioned themes occur in different variants.²³⁹

II 2.3 Themes

The spells are characterised by a number of overlapping and interrelated themes, in both content and form, which characterise the process and result that comes from the spell. The tables show how often the most common themes occur in each category of spells.

II 2.3.1 The 'knowledge formula'-spells



²³⁵ Spell 4 CT I 11a-14d.

²³⁶ Westcar 8.14-9.1, Blackman, *King Kheops and the Magicians*, 10-11.

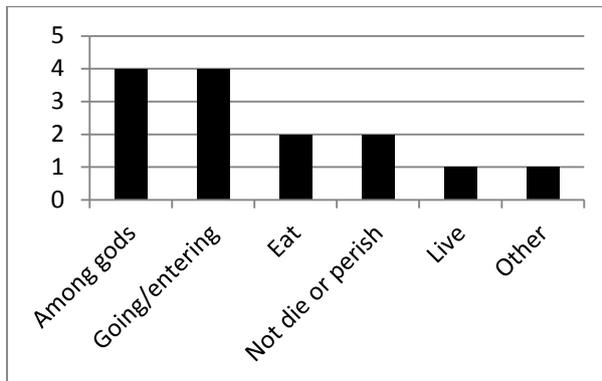
²³⁷ Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* v. 1 texts and v. 2 plates.

²³⁸ Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 76-77, Hornung, *Concepts of God*, 131-132.

²³⁹ See for example spell 61 CT I 263a-264b.

II 2.3.2 The ‘knowing the *bꜣ*’ spells

There are fewer spells in the category of ‘knowing the *bꜣ*’ and the rubrics are shorter. This reduces the range of themes, but even so, these are very similar to the group with the knowledge formula.



Several characteristic themes are repeated with variations between different spells. The most common themes are being among the gods,²⁴⁰ going forth, passing or entering,²⁴¹ manifestations²⁴² and eating.²⁴³ Some of the spells also bring up the outcome of the *bꜣ*,²⁴⁴ and mention threats, such as enemies,²⁴⁵ and not dying or perishing.²⁴⁶ Other examples occur in single spells. The person in the afterlife is pictured as a free person, eating, going and coming freely, no part of his person being constrained, and enemies have no power over him. These are all characteristic themes in the Coffin Texts in general. Many spells chose to focus on one or a few of these themes as a major purpose of the spell. So for example the reversal spells which focus on eating what is desirable, or the *bꜣ*-sending spells,²⁴⁷ which emphasise movement. The spells above have instead listed several outcomes in the Afterlife in an abbreviated form but they still represent common themes overall.

II 3 Listing parts and outcomes

The division made so far of outcomes and concepts of identity being listed is not a formal division in the spells, and has only been applied here to simplify the disposition. In the following examples of spells the two categories are listed together. Aspects of the identity of a person and favourable outcomes in the Afterlife are both interwoven and explicitly connected. Specific concepts can be

²⁴⁰ Spells 83, 228, 339, 404, 651, 1035, 1087, 1098, 1130, 1131.

²⁴¹ Spells 83, 228, 404, 503, 760, 1035, 1130, 1131.

²⁴² Spells 83, 339, 404, 503, 651.

²⁴³ Spells 228, 339, 404, 651, 760.

²⁴⁴ Spells 339, 503. Spell 503 mentions both the *bꜣ* and the shadow as not being constrained or snared, see Chapter IV.

²⁴⁵ Spell 83, 339, 1130.

²⁴⁶ Spell 83, 760, 1087, 1131.

²⁴⁷ See Chapter IV.

connected to a specific outcome, but the outcome can also be result of all parts of the person's identity being intact.

Spell 225 is very long, so only some examples are chosen which contain parts of a person's identity and outcomes. This spell has a number of passages about having power. It starts with different parts of a person's identity, but then, without changing focus from having power over, moves on to winds, water and different outcomes.

<i>h3 N pn</i>	Ho this N!
<i>wn n=k pt wn n=k t3</i>	The sky is open for you, the earth is open for you.
<i>wn n=k k33t gb wn n=k tp-hwt ptry</i>	the door-bolts of Geb and the roof of the sky-window are open for you ²⁴⁸
...	...
<i>h3 N pn</i>	Ho this N!
<i>sh̄m=k m ib[=k]</i>	You will have power in your heart (<i>ib</i>).
<i>sh̄m=k m h3t=k</i>	You will have power in your heart (<i>h3t</i>).
<i>sh̄m=k m ʿwy=k</i>	You will have power in/over your arm.
<i>sh̄m=k m rdwy=k</i>	You will have power in/over your legs.
<i>sh̄m=k m mw</i>	You will have power over water.
<i>sh̄m=k m t3w</i>	You will have power over the winds.
<i>sh̄m=k m nwt</i>	You will have power over the river-waters.
<i>sh̄m=k m hbḏw</i>	You will have power over the river-banks.
<i>sh̄m=k m itrw</i>	You will have power over the river.
<i>sh̄m=k m prt-hrw n=k imyt²⁴⁹</i>	You will have power over the invocation offerings which belong to you.
<i>sh̄m=k m hfwt=k hfwt=k²⁵⁰</i>	You will have power over your male and female enemies.
<i>sh̄m=k m irw r=k m hrt-ntr</i>	You will have power over the ones who act against you in the realm of the dead.
<i>sh̄m=k m wḏw irt r=k tp t3²⁵¹</i>	You will have power over those who command (something) which is to be done against you on earth.
<i>iw ms rf mi ḏḏ=k</i>	Surely it will be like you say,

²⁴⁸ CT III 214/215a-c following T1L. B1L constantly inserts 'Ho this Osiris N'.

²⁴⁹ Seems to be a mistake in T1L since all the other manuscripts write it *imyt*. See 224c.

²⁵⁰ T1L and M25C.

²⁵¹ Most other versions repeat *hrt-nTr* while T1L, B1L, B2L and B1C have earth. Seems like an over all insurance to include both the living and the dead in these manuscripts.

<i>ᶜnh is N pn m t n gb</i>	for this N shall live on the bread of Geb.
<i>bwt=f pw</i>	(If) it is his detestation,
<i>n wnm.n=f st</i>	(then) he does not eat it.
<i>wnm N pn m t n bdt ḏsrt</i>	This N will eat bread of red emmer.
<i>sᶜm N pn m ḥnkt nt bdt ḏsrt bw wᶜb</i>	This N will swallow beer of red emmer of a pure place.
<i>ḥms=k ḥr sm3 nhwt ᶜntyw</i>	You will sit under the foliage of the myrrh-tree,
<i>m s3ḥt²⁵² ḥwt-ḥr</i>	close to Hathor,
<i>ḥntt itnws</i>	who is foremost of <i>Itnws</i> ,
<i>is sḏ3=s r iwnw ḥr sš n mdwt-ntr nt ḏḥwty</i>	when she travels to <i>lunu</i> carrying the writing of the divine words of Thoth. ²⁵³

The expression in these passages about having power over parts of a person's identity, wind, waters and then outcomes ends here, but the theme of outcomes carries on, only expressed differently. Having power over enemies and eating were also some of the most common outcomes listed in the rubrics of the spells above. It is fairly common in the Coffin Texts that some parts of the person's identity are mentioned together with the wished for outcomes.

II 3.1 Parts and outcome specifically connected

Spell 62 is interpreted by Assmann as a text recited at the wake. It has reference to the repelling of the enemy, which was important during the wake, for the purpose of protecting the corpse.²⁵⁴ However, it also contains several other references to what takes place both before and after the funeral.

<i>ind-ḥr=k [it](=i) wsir mk wi ii.kw</i>	Hail my father Osiris! See, I have come.
<i>ink ḥr wpy r=k ḥnᶜ pth</i>	I am Horus who has opened your mouth together with Ptah.
<i>s3ḥ=i tw</i>	I s3ḥ you
<i>ḥnᶜ ḏḥwty</i>	together with Thoth.
<i>di=i n=k ib=k m-ḥnw ḥt=k</i>	I place your heart within your body for you,
<i>sh3=k smḥt.n=k</i>	so you will remember that which you have forgotten.
<i>di=i wnm=k t r mrr=k</i>	I cause you to eat bread as you wish,
<i>m ḥ3w irt.n=k tp t3</i>	more than you did on earth.

²⁵² T1L ends here and continue on another side, see de Bucks n.1 CT III 239. Therefore, for the last lines S2Cb is followed.

²⁵³ CT III 220/221b-240/241b. T1L is followed with some exceptions noted above.

²⁵⁴ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 270-278 and in Willems (ed) *World of the Coffin Texts*, 17-30.

di=i n=k rdwy=k ir=k šmt ss tbtty=k

I give you your feet so you will walk and your sandals
will hurry.²⁵⁵

Several passages omitted here list outcomes for the dead, but in the example above, parts of a person's identity are connected with a specific outcome: 'I place your heart within your body for you so you will remember that which you have forgotten.'²⁵⁶ and 'I give you your feet so you will walk and your sandals will hurry.'²⁵⁷ In these cases it is the function of body parts which enables the outcome. Another example is visible in spell 532:

iw rdiw n=i irty=i

My eyes are given to me

m3=i im=sn

so that I see with them.²⁵⁸

An additional example could be seen in spell 304 above 'I will eat my meals with my *k3*.'²⁵⁹ This parallels the Opening of the Mouth ritual, which contains both passages about restoration of physical parts and their functions, but also particular outcomes for the dead in the Afterlife.²⁶⁰ Physical parts of the body are restored for specific purposes relating to the person being fully functional in the Afterlife.

II 3.2 Outcomes and parts being in their places

Other spells combine the listing of parts of a person's identity and present action of the outcomes afterwards, perhaps as a result of all the aspects of a person being in their places. Spell 50:

mk tw grt r h3t wi3

See, you are indeed at the front of the bark

rdi n=k nst m k3r

and a throne in the shrine is given to you.

mk tw grt nsw n pt

See, you are indeed king of the sky.

iwt n=k imyw nsty=sn

Those who are on their thrones shall come to you,

ntk hk3 st

for it is you who rules it.

iw n=k grt hh m hhy

To you belong Heh in the two Heh,

n k3=k špsw m nn-nsw

to your *k3* belongs the riches in Ninsu,

smn.t(w) b3=k m ddw

your *b3* is established in Djedu,

*ts hkwb3 s3w h3=k m-hnw sh-ntr*²⁶¹

hkwb3 and protection knit together about you in the
sacred booth,

s^ch=k m pr b3wy

your *s^ch* is in the house of the two *b3*.

²⁵⁵ CT I 265a-266b.

²⁵⁶ CT I 265e-f.

²⁵⁷ CT I 266b.

²⁵⁸ Spell 532, CT VI 126f-g.

²⁵⁹ CT IV 58d.

²⁶⁰ For example Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening of the Mouth for Breathing*.

²⁶¹ B10Cc, the other versions vary slightly.

wḥm²⁶² ḥꜥy=k
 wḥ3 ḏwt=k²⁶³ di.t(w) n=k hny m ḥrt-nṯr in
 wnw m šḥt ḥtp

Again, you appear,
 your evil is purged, and praise is given to you in the
 realm of the dead by those who are in the fields of
 offerings.

imi=k šm ḥr w3t dsw
 kh3w ḥrw ḏdw sḏbw
 iꜥnw n=k imy itn
 ir šḥrw m nṯrw

You will not walk on the roads of the knife-wielders,
 the voices of those who give opposition are in uproar,
 the one who is in the sun-disk greets you,
 he who governs among the gods.²⁶⁴

Earlier in the spell Osiris has arrived safely in the West, and these passages seem to describe the situation from there. The different concepts of a person's identity are assigned to different places associated with Osiris, and with all the parts being well, he is greeted and praised.

II 3.3 Words of Horus

Spell 29 parallels the dead person with Osiris, and as Osiris was helped by the words of Horus in the spell, so will also she²⁶⁵ be helped. It contains a few passages about specific parts of a person's identity and more passages about outcomes.

igrw igrw rmt
 sḏm sḏm rmt
 sḏm ṯn sw mdw
 pn 3 ir.n ḥr n it=f wsir
 ꜥnh=f im b3=f im w3š=f im

Be quiet, be quiet O people!
 Listen, listen O people!
 Hear it, this great speech which Horus made for his
 father Osiris.
 He lives thereby, he is *b3* thereby, he is magnificent
 thereby.²⁶⁶

h3 N tn
 ꜥnh=ṯ im b3=ṯ im w3š=ṯ im

O this N,
 you live thereby, you are *b3* thereby, you are
 magnificent thereby,

šḥm=ṯ m ḏt=ṯ
 iꜥr=ṯ n rꜥ
 sḏm=ṯ mdw nw
 m3ꜥ ḥrw ḥr rꜥ ḥr nṯr 3

you have power in your body,
 you ascend to Re,
 and you hear the words of
 vindication in the presence of Re, in the presence of

²⁶² Not in B10Cb.

²⁶³ B10C leaves out *ḏwt* which makes poorer sense.

²⁶⁴ CT I 224g-227a.

²⁶⁵ Or he, but here M.C.105, having a female owner, is followed. The other version T9C, belonging to a man, leaves out large parts of the spell.

²⁶⁶ T9C has 'He is *3ḥ* thereby, he is *b3* thereby, he is magnificent'.

n itm=t n htmt ʿwt=t n snnw///=t

n sk.t(w)=t n dt dt ʿnh=t nhh=t

wʒs=t dd=t m-bʒh=t

ʿnh=t m-ht nhh m ir n=t hr ds=f nb pʿt

iʿr=t n rʿ m ʒht

The results directly depend on the words of Horus and among these there is a focus on continuous life.

When the spells directly associate the parts of a person's identity with the specific outcomes, the themes do not differ significantly from those in spells with a more single focus on outcomes. The relationship between the outcomes and the parts do, however, vary. Some outcomes are specifically connected with a specific concept of a person's identity, but the outcomes may also depend on something which has no specific connection with the individual parts, and they may simply be associated by being listed next to each other.

II 3.4 Other sources

Outside the Coffin Texts there are plenty of other examples where parts of a person's identity are listed, sometimes with outcomes and sometimes without. The tomb of Amenemhet has already been mentioned above. In the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab both parts and outcomes are listed.

hpr ʿnh=k m wʒm-ʿ

nn rwi bʒ=k r hʒt=k

ntry bʒ=k hnʿ ʒhw

mdw n=k bʒw mnhw

snty=k mm iry

hr šsp ddwt tp tʒ

sh̄m=k m mw

tpi=k tʒw

bʿbʿ=k m hrt ib=k

the Great God.

You have not suffocated, your members have not perished, your [members?]²⁶⁷ have not suffered, and you have not been wiped out forever and ever, you are alive, and you shall grow old, your dominion and your stability being in your presence and you shall live after old age through what Horus, lord of (elite) mankind, himself does for you, when you ascend to Re in the horizon.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Seems to be room for ʿwt.

²⁶⁸ CT I 81a-p.

dd.tw n=k irty=k r m33

nhwy=k r sdm ddt

r=k hr mdw

rdwy=k hr šmt

phr n=k wy=k rmnwy=k

rwd iwj=k

ndm mt=k

hntš=k m wt=k nbt

ip=k h^cw=k tm wd3w

nn dwt irt=k rssi

ib=k m^c=k n wn m3^c

h3ty=k n=k n imy h3t

pr=k r pt

wb3=k dw3t

m hprw nb mr.n=k

Your eyes are given to you to see,

your ears to hear what is said,

your mouth is speaking,

your feet are walking.

Your arms and your shoulders are around you,²⁶⁹

your flesh is strong,

your vessels are well.

You delight in all your limbs.

You count your members, complete and sound.

There is nothing at all wrong in your constituent parts.

Your heart (*ib*) is really in your possession,

and your heart (*h3ty*) belongs to you as previously.

You go up to heaven,

and you open the Netherworld

in any manifestation you have desired.²⁷⁰

A number of different body parts are mentioned together with other concepts of a person's identity and favourable outcomes for Paheri. It also contains passages which sum up what has been said about each part, such as all of the members being sound and 'there is nothing at all wrong in your constituent parts'.

II 4 Outcomes and parts connected

Some examples connect parts of a person's identity with particular physical functions. The *b3* is foremost associated with movement, and spells which have movement as their focus typically also concern the *b3*. In a similar way, eating is connected with the *k3*. The listing of components of identity is thereby partly paralleled with individual actions and functions which they can symbolise. One of the more complex examples is the word *hpr* or *hprw*.

II 4.1 The *hprw*

While *hprw* is a concept belonging to the identity of a person, the use in these spells of *irt hprw* as 'making manifestations', is placed among the favourable outcomes.²⁷¹ 'Making manifestations' does

²⁶⁹ Supposing that is the sense, but literary 'go around for you'.

²⁷⁰ *Urk IV* 114-115 to line 7.

²⁷¹ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 151-158.

irt hprw m ntr nb mrr=f

Making manifestations of any/every god that he wishes²⁸³

Spell 275 also has ‘all forms’. This rubric is in the end of the spell:

hprw m hprw nb m hrt-ntr

Becoming any/all forms in the realm of the dead.²⁸⁴

This spell also concerns specific features of the Afterlife, such as breathing and being given what he needs, but this is not expressed or listed in the same way as in the five spells above, and there is nothing else about *hprw* in the spell.²⁸⁵

II 4.1.2 Specific form

In spells 83 and 339 (see above), the goals are more specific: becoming ‘an equipped *ʒh*²⁸⁶ and ‘a falcon’.²⁸⁷ The beginning of the rubric in spell 83 gives more information about the process.

dd mdw hr h3t nt m3hs3 irt m hrst

Recite over the forepart of a lion made from carnelian

m ks n nrt r pw

(or) from the bone of a vulture,

rdit n s r hh=f

which is placed on a man at his neck

h3=f r hrt-ntr

when he goes to the realm of the dead:

mkwt m b3 šw

an amulet as the *b3* of Shu.

sh̄m s pw²⁸⁸ m t3w 4 nw pt

It means a man has power over the four winds of heaven.

[sh̄]m pw m mw m hrt-ntr²⁸⁹

It means having [power] over the waters in the realm of the dead.

hpr m ʒh pw ikr m nsw n t3w nb nw pt

It means becoming an equipped *ʒh*, as king over all the winds of heaven.²⁹⁰

Being a rubric for the Shu-spells this combines aspects of Shu, such as having power over the winds, as well as aspects specifically concerning a dead man who, as an effect, becomes an *ʒh*.²⁹¹ The loin amulets were used in a mortuary context, so there is archeological evidence to support the

²⁸³ CT IV 51a-d.

²⁸⁴ CT IV 16k, B1Bo.

²⁸⁵ For spell 290 see Chapter III under rubrics and *hprw* as an unspecified manifestation. See also spell 697 CT VI 331o which contains a sentence with the same sense of making all manifestations one wishes, but without the context of the other spells.

²⁸⁶ CT II 48a.

²⁸⁷ CT IV 338l. For this spell see Chapter III under ‘falcons’.

²⁸⁸ Not in B1L but in the other versions.

²⁸⁹ Only S1C and M23C.

²⁹⁰ CT II 46a-47a.

²⁹¹ Willems in Willems, *World of the Coffin Texts*, 205-208.

text.²⁹² Wind has the strongest connection to Shu, and earlier in this group of spells Shu is placed at Atums neck or nose to make him breathe. Only two versions include the line about having power over water and Shu is sometimes also connected with waters and libation offerings.²⁹³ Moreover, having power over water and winds occur together in other spells in the context of being able to control it in the afterlife connected to breathing and drinking water, as can also be seen from the next text.²⁹⁴

This formula of making a particular manifestation, or any manifestation occurs in a number of other instances. One example is from Pahari's 18th Dynasty tomb at El-Kab.

<i>hpr m b3 nhy</i>	Becoming a living <i>b3</i>
<i>hm shm=f m t mw t3w</i>	indeed. It (the <i>b3</i>) has power over bread, water and air.
<i>irt hprw m bnw mnt</i>	Making manifestations as a phoenix, a swallow
<i>m bik šnty (r-?)pw mr=k</i>	a falcon, heron, or as you wish. ²⁹⁵

Here examples are even given of different birds before including 'or as you wish' so as not to exclude any manifestation.

II 4.2 The *b3*

In the spells with the 'knowledge-formula' the *b3* occurs twice. In spell 339 '[As for] anyone [who knows] this, /// he does not perish, his *b3* does not perish for eternity.',²⁹⁶ and spell 503 which has 'his *b3* is not constrained, his shadow is not snared'.²⁹⁷ The outcome for the person is thereby connected to the outcome of specific parts of the person's identity. As the tables of themes (above) show, not to die or perish and unrestricted movement are two of the most common themes, both among spells with the 'knowledge formula' and 'knowing the *b3*' spells. These two themes are mainly expressed of the dead person in his entirety, not dying or moving, but they are also two major themes among the *b3* spells in general (see Chapter IV). The *b3* can represent the totality of a person, his alter ego,²⁹⁸ and this might be the reason why they share the themes. However, spell 339 state that he does not perish, and that his *b3* does not perish, thereby placing them next to each other as if they were independent, or parallels. In spell 503 the lines concern both the *b3* and the shadow, which are both unrestricted in their movements.

²⁹² Brunton, *Qau and Badari I*, 72-73, plates XXXVII, XLVIII, *Qau and Badari II*, 10, 16, plate XCV, Petrie, *Amulets*, 13 and 23 pl. II, see also Willems in Willems, *World of the Coffin Texts*, 206 which also contain some additional references, and Andrews, *Amulets*, 79, picture on page 11.

²⁹³ See PT spell 486, §1039, Willems, *Heqata*, 277-278.

²⁹⁴ See for example spell 225, CT III, 228/ 229a-b.

²⁹⁵ *Urk.* IV 113 lines 11-14.

²⁹⁶ CT IV 339a.

²⁹⁷ CT VI 89m-n.

²⁹⁸ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 3.

In 'knowing the *b3w*' spells, it is the knowledge of the names of the *b3w* which is the crucial knowledge to ensure the favourable outcomes in the Afterlife. The ability of the *b3* to manifest in different objects and beings can, for example, take the form of Osiris being the *b3* of Re. In these cases, the *b3w* of a specific place are a triad of gods. This seems to express a connection between the gods and the specific place, but also non-obvious information, which is provided to the owner of the funerary equipment by where it is inscribed.

II 4.3 Other forms of the dead

As can be seen from the examples of the spells, other parts of a person's identity are constantly mentioned together with the outcomes. Only looking at the 'knowledge formula' spells, since they list outcomes most clearly, there are some specific aspects of a person's identity, other than the *b3* and *hprw*, which are mentioned.

When *3h* is occurring in the spells listing outcomes with the 'knowledge formula', it seems to refer to the transfigured dead person, representing him. It is described with the common epithet of the *3h*, 'equipped' (*pr*),²⁹⁹ any *3h* who knows the spell,³⁰⁰ replacing 'man' which is the most common occurrence in the other spells. *hk3(w)* only occur as an effect of the spell that *hk3w* do not constrain the man who knows the spell.³⁰¹ The heart (*ib*) is only mentioned once in this group of spells, in a statement about the person who knows the spell 'He goes forth, so his heart will endure'.³⁰² The shadow is mentioned together with the *b3* in the passage already cited above where it should not be snared.³⁰³ The only time the *k3* is mentioned in these spells is in the expression 'once he has gone to his *k3*', as a metaphor for dying.³⁰⁴ Breathing being an important aspect of being alive is mentioned together with the obvious choice of body part, the nose.³⁰⁵

From these groups of spells the *hprw* and the *b3* are the two concepts which occur most often and in the most complex use.

²⁹⁹ Spell 83, CT II 48a, spell 1131 CT VII 474e.

³⁰⁰ Spell 760, CT VI 390i, spell 1087, CT VII 364c.

³⁰¹ Spell 83, CT II 47e.

³⁰² Spell 503 CT VI 89j.

³⁰³ Spell 503 CT VI 89n.

³⁰⁴ Spell 712, CT VI 343g.

³⁰⁵ Spell 1087 CT VII 366b.

II 5 Summary

In the spells in this chapter, several examples are provided where a person is expressed as the sum of his parts. However, the numerical end result varies between texts, and concepts that might not strictly be viewed as belonging to the identity of a person are included in the same kind of lists and sometimes treated in a similar way. Some concepts occur more often than others in the Coffin Texts, and some obviously have a more prominent role. The different spells vary from strictly focusing on physical body parts to including other aspects of a person's identity, to also including concepts such as *shm*, *nht*, *wsr*, fear, respect, Hu and Sia. A person in his entirety can thereby be described very differently in different spells, depending on the focus of the spell. Considering the amount of spells on one coffin, presumably the description in one spell does not exclude another. The similarities in style, and the overlap in the different concepts being mentioned, points in the direction of an *ad hoc* system where the overall message is that every aspect of a person, belonging to his body, identity, personality or possession, shall be preserved and intact.

Descriptions of the good Afterlife, and assurances that the dead would not have to end up in a reversed condition, are for obvious reasons very prominent in the Coffin Texts in general. Because of the abbreviated style of rubrics, the most obvious listing of outcomes occurs in this format. However, these lists do represent some of the most common views of a good Afterlife presented in the Coffin Texts. In these spells the wished for outcomes in the Afterlife are connected to the person having knowledge of the spell in particular. In the spells with this 'knowledge formula' in the rubrics, the bodies of the spells differ a lot from each other, and all of them are not obviously connected to the outcomes listed in the rubric. As the 'knowledge formula', as well as other assertions that strengthen the authority of the spell, have equivalences in medical texts to show that it is effective, these kinds of rubrics are possible used in the same way in the spells for the Afterlife. If this is true, the rubric and body of the spell do not need to have the same themes, since the rubric serves to strengthen the effectiveness of the spell, rather than to define what the spell is about.

Certain parts of a person are directly connected to a wished for outcome in the Afterlife. While eyes and seeing, as well as other similar examples above, are the most obvious in these spells, there are also connections between, for example, eating and the *k3*, as well as the *b3* and movement. Making manifestations (*irt hprw*) and the *hprw*-form will be further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter III *hprw*-spells

III 1 Transformation spells

The term ‘transformation spells’, refers to spells in the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead, with the rubric *hpr m ...*, *hprw m ...* and also *irt hprw m ...*³⁰⁶ The latter formulation occurs occasionally in the Coffin Texts, and then becomes the dominant formula in the Book of the Dead.³⁰⁷ The formula is followed by the object the dead is to be transformed into; for example *hprw m hwt-hr* ‘becoming Hathor’.³⁰⁸ The Book of the Dead contains 13 spells with this particular rubric,³⁰⁹ and the Coffin Text corpus over a hundred.³¹⁰ The Coffin Texts sometimes include the formula in a list of beneficial outcomes for a person who knows the spell, either as part of the rubric or outside the rubric. The *irt hprw m* –formula also occurs in some later texts,³¹¹ but in these cases, the formula is not normally in the headings.

There are only a few examples where variants of this formula are used in the Coffin Texts within the body of the spell, rather than solely in the rubric.

<i>di=i ir=k hprw hn^c dwit</i>	I will cause you to make manifestations with a <i>dwit</i> -bird,
<i>di=i wd3=k ptry wd3=k š</i>	I will cause you to cross the sky ³¹² and to cross the lake
<i>nmi=k w3d-wr tb.t(i) mi ir.n=k tp t3</i>	and to traverse the sea sandalled, as you did on land. ³¹³

These lines occur within a series of passages in the spell, all starting with *di=i*. Instead of *hprw* being followed by *m* and the transformation object as is the norm, here *hn^c* is used. The speaker causes the manifestation to be made among the birds. Either the manifestation is as a *dwit*-bird, or someone is caused to manifest among them, but not necessarily in the same form. Even so, the same person is caused to cross the sky and waters as he was able to do by foot on land, which suggests that the person took a bird form. There are also a few examples of the use of *irt hprw r ...* in the context of something taking shape in a threatening way towards someone (see below).

³⁰⁶ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 81-82, Hornung, *Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 9, 19.

³⁰⁷ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 227-231.

³⁰⁸ Spells 331, CT IV 172a, Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 81.

³⁰⁹ Spell 76-88.

³¹⁰ Listed in Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 84.

³¹¹ For example Grapow, *ZÄS* 77, 57-78. Grapow’s collection of 18th and 19th dynasty texts are all inscriptions from a funerary context, ex stele by a tomb entrance. There are also some late hieratic and demotic examples, see Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 610-649. Since it is only one of these which has a transformation titles, the others would by Buchbergers definition not be transformation spell, though because of them having this particular focus, they have been named Books of Transformations.

³¹² *ptry* –really a part of the sky.

³¹³ Spell 62 CT II 266h-267b.

In translations of the *hprw*-spells, two main different meanings of *hpr* and *hprw* seem to be distinguished. The first one relates to the actions of coming into being, manifesting, transforming, and the second one relates to the result; in the semantic field of form or manifestation. The prospect of a lexicographical difference is discussed by Buchberger,³¹⁴ but he does not present a strong conclusion regarding this, and it is not clear if there is a distinction in Egyptian. *hpr/hprw* has a broad semantic range in Egyptian, without an identical English equivalent. For this study, the aim is primarily an understanding of the meaning and function of the spells, rather than the lexicographical use.

hpr and *hprw* are used both in titles in the infinitive and as a category of the objects of becoming,³¹⁵ as in *hpr.n=i m hprw*.³¹⁶ The usage is then both for the process and for the goal, taking the particular *hprw*-form of another being or object. For the goal, it is written *hprw* and for the process it is variedly written *hpr* or *hprw*. In terms of grammatical number there does not seem to be a distinction, and the singular can be written *hprw*, even with plural determinative. Also, there do not seem to be any clear examples of an actual plural *hprww*,³¹⁷ but the plural is also written *hprw*. There are also some notable examples in the Coffin Texts where *hpr* or *hprw* is exchanged for *wnn*. With transformation spells defined as containing *hpr* or *hprw* in the rubric, the spells with *wnn* would in Buchberger's definition belong to a category of *Krypto-verwandlungssprüche*.³¹⁸ However, particular versions of the same spell have *wnn* in parallel to versions which have *hpr* or *hprw*. For example spell 252, where S2Ca and S1Cb have *hpr m r^c-tm* but T3C has *wnn m sš n r^c-tm*.³¹⁹ The variants seem exchangeable in terms of meaning,³²⁰ and Buchbergers distinction seems not to have any real force.³²¹

³¹⁴ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 211-287.

³¹⁵ As a bifocal term Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 192-195 and 174-175. Assmann notes the same about the *b3 Re und Amun*, 205, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 144.

³¹⁶ Spell 310, CT IV 66b.

³¹⁷ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 232-287, in particular 273-277. The difference might have been made by vocalisation.

³¹⁸ *Transformation und Transformat*, definition on page 81-82, tablet on page 87.

³¹⁹ Spell 252 CT III 351d.

³²⁰ For other similarities and differences see *Transformation und Transformat*, 140-144. For *wnn* see also Barta, *GM* 132, 13-18.

³²¹ Though, for the sake of consistency and reflecting on them being two different words, it will be shown in translations of *hpr* mainly being translated as 'becoming' and *wnn* as 'being'.

III 2 Problems of translation and categorisation

III 2.1 Identity

In the majority of the spells with a rubric containing *hprw m x*, *hpr m x* or *irt hprw m x*, x is an identity which reveals some –but only some– of the content of the spell. If, for example, if the x is Horus, there will most likely be themes in the spell explicitly connected to Horus. Several spells also strengthen the identity of the speaker within the spell, most commonly using nominal sentences which reflect the rubric: in this case ‘I am Horus’. However, there might be several identities visible in the spell. Spell 317 has as a rubric:

hpr m hp Becoming Hapy.³²²

and numerous times in the spell related sentences are repeated:

ink hp I am Hapy.³²³

iw=i hpr.ki m hp I have come into being as Hapy.³²⁴

iw=i h^c.ki m hp I have appeared as Hapy.³²⁵

However, there are other gods which the speaker identifies with:

n-ntt ink is hpry hpr ds=f I am Khepri who came into being by himself,³²⁶

ink 3h hr nb hnkt m dw3t hrt I am the 3h of Horus, lord of offerings in the lower Netherworld.³²⁷

ink nnw ir.n=f r mrrt=f I am Nun, he who has acted according to what he wishes.³²⁸

ink r^c hpr ds=f I am Re who came into being by himself.³²⁹

In other cases the x in the rubric is not repeated at all in the spell. Even in these cases, there might be certain elements relating to the rubric. For example:

³²² CT IV 110a.

³²³ CT IV 115d, S1C and B2L.

³²⁴ CT IV 112f.

³²⁵ CT IV 116g.

³²⁶ CT IV 127f S2C. S1C and B2L in the 124b have *hprw* and S1C with a god determinative. The ‘one who manifests’ would be possible but most translators seem to prefer Khepri, see Minas-Nerpel, *Chepri*, 79 n.222 who presents an argument in favour of this.

³²⁷ CT IV 114c.

³²⁸ CT IV 114i.

³²⁹ CT IV 114h.

<i>hpr m bik</i>	Becoming a falcon.
<i>i itn-ib imy 3ht=f swt=f</i>	O <i>Itn-ib</i> who is in his horizon, and his places. ³³⁰
...	
<i>iw wn=i 3wy tfrt</i>	I open the gates of the Blue One
<i>sdm hny sp 2</i>	and praise is heard twice
<i>m r k33t ntrw</i>	in the mouth of the door-bolts of the gods
<i>prrt m 3ht imntt nt pt</i>	which go up from the western horizon of the sky. ³³¹

The horizon and the sun-disk are connected to the falcon in the rubric so the spell places him in his realm, even though the word falcon is not mentioned outside the rubric.

The specific rubric might not correlate at all to the identity expressed in the spell, but seemingly pick up another identity altogether.

<i>wsir N pn twt hr ds=f nb hk3w</i>	O, this Osiris N, you are Horus himself, lord of Hekau.
<i>hprw m hk3w</i>	<u>Becoming Hekau.</u> ³³²

Sometimes the x does not involve a particular being, but refers more generally to the ability of doing *hprw*.

<i>irt hprw m ntr nb mrr=f</i>	Making manifestations as every god that he wishes. ³³³
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Manifestations then do not refer to a singular identity of the speaker, but concern being able to manifest in different forms.

Consequently, the relationship between the rubric and the body of the spell is not as simple as the x always equalling the identity of the speaker in the spell. Several different identities might be visible, and it is not always entirely clear how the rubric relates to the spell. In addition to a limited knowledge of the establishment of rubrics,³³⁴ the usage might also be extended to include a sequence of spells,³³⁵ which can further obscure the intention. The identity of the speaker in a particular spell is not a crucial choice made which excludes other identities. It is also not an irreversible statement, which can be seen from the speaker identifying with numerous beings both in different spells and within the same spell. What is crucial is the outcome of the spell which the identification is often connected to.

³³⁰ Spell 147, CT II 206a-b.

³³¹ Spell 147 CT II 208c-209b.

³³² Spell 281, CT IV 31e-f.

³³³ CT IV 51d, B1L.

³³⁴ Silverman in Simpson (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 33, de Buck, *Plaats en Betekenis van Sjoe*, 230, Willems, *Hegata*, 273. This will be discussed below under 'Relationship between *hprw*-rubrics and the content of the spells'.

³³⁵ For example the Shu-spells discussed by Willems in Willems (ed), *The World of the Coffin Texts*, 195-209. Again, see below.

III 2.2 Purpose and outcome

In the Coffin Texts, the dead person is most often either spoken about in the third person, with statements of what happens to him or her; or he or she is the speaker, and reveals what is taking place from a first person perspective.³³⁶ From this outset, the deceased is the person whom the spells affect, and so also whom the rubrics relate to. In addition, the outcome or purpose of the spell also varies. For example, spells concerning birds often focus on flying.

<i>hprw m bik</i> ³³⁷	<u>Becoming a falcon.</u>
<i>ink bik ʿ3</i>	I am a great falcon
<i>hpr m swht</i>	who came into being in the egg.
<i>sp3=i hnn=i m bik</i>	I fly up and I land as a falcon ³³⁸

In other spells the focus is the specific character of the god:

<i>ink itt nb nt</i>	I am the one who seizes, lord of water
<i>ink sbk nb š nh3</i>	I am Sobek, lord of Winding Waterways. ³³⁹

Elsewhere, the spells focus on a specific setting, for example a god is related to its mythological background:

<i>hpr m hk3</i>	Becoming Heka ³⁴⁰
...	
<i>ink ir.n nb wʿ</i>	I am the one who the sole lord made,
<i>n hprt išt snty m t3 pn</i>	before two things (duality) had come into being on this land,
<i>m h3b=f wʿt irt=f</i>	when he sent out the sole one of his eye,
<i>m wn=f wʿy</i>	when he existed alone. ³⁴¹

or family:

<i>hprw m ihy</i>	<u>Becoming Ihy.</u> ³⁴²
...	
<i>ink ihy s3 hwt-hr</i>	I am Ihy, son of Hathor. ³⁴³

Particular references are used to integrate the deity in its own history or kinship; in the Heka spell both becoming Heka and becoming the form of Heka. In these cases, the outcomes are in a not-

³³⁶ Though the first person can be other persons as well, for example people involved in the funeral, Willems, *Hegata*.

³³⁷ B3L.

³³⁸ Spell 302 CT IV 53f-54a.

³³⁹ Spell 285 CT IV 35o-36a.

³⁴⁰ CT III 382a.

³⁴¹ CT III 382e-383c.

³⁴² Spell 334, CT IV 179a.

³⁴³ CT IV 180o.

this-world context where the dead takes on abilities, or is placed in divine settings which have no exact parallels in the life of the living. Other spells focus on this-worldly roles in an afterlife context:

wnn m sš n r^c

Being a scribe of Re

ink kṛkṛw sš n wsir

I am *kṛkṛw*, the scribe of Osiris³⁴⁴

ip.n=i tnwt ḥrw w3t

I have counted the number of those who are on the path,

irw n=i sšmw=sn

their affairs are done for me.

ḥtp r^c-tm ḥtp wsir

As Re-Atum is pleased, then Osiris is pleased.³⁴⁵

The role of the scribe in the Afterlife is similar to the role of the scribe in life even though his ‘employers’ are gods. This role or manifestation is then not something which necessarily needs to change the deceased into something which is outside his abilities as a human being.

Furthermore, in a smaller number of spells, the rubric does not indicate that the dead actually ‘becomes’ or takes the identity of the object at all. The rubric of spell 706 is *hpr m ḥtm pt*³⁴⁶ but the speaker does not ‘become’ a seal of the sky. In the spell, when the seal is mentioned again it says:

šsp.n=i ḥtm ḥn^c=tn w^c(.w)

I have received a seal together with you, alone³⁴⁷

The dead is not identified with a seal in the spell, but instead receives a seal.

Additionally, *hprw* is used in listing favourable outcomes in the afterlife, as was seen in the previous chapter. Making manifestations was then included in the list most often referring to the act in general, the ability in itself, and not as in becoming a particular manifestation, a particular *hprw* for a particular purpose.

The spells with rubrics containing *hprw m x*, *hpr m x* or *irt hprw m x* have different outcomes not only depending on the *x* in the rubric. The outcome revealed in the spell can relate to different aspects of *x* and can vary between taking a role or identity, focusing on a specific aspect which is added to the abilities of the deceased, or even in receiving the *x* rather than identifying with it.

Theoretically, this would make it possible to divide the spells into different groups depending on the outcome of the spell. However, a single spell can have more than one theme. For example, spell 957

hpr m m3^ct

Becoming Maat³⁴⁸

has themes involve passage

pr.ki r ḥry

I have gone to the sky.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁴ Red in S2Cb and S1Cb.

³⁴⁵ Spell 254, CT III 357a-e.

³⁴⁶ CT VI 337h.

³⁴⁷ CT VI 337k.

³⁴⁸ CT VII 172k.

³⁴⁹ CT VII 172n.

the specific setting for Maat as a goddess

<i>ink m3^ct tw</i>	I am this Maat
<i>hr-ib nhbt</i>	in the middle of Nekhbet
<i>mrrt r^c</i>	whom Re loves
<i>nbt nhh</i>	mistress of eternity
<i>nbt drw pt t3</i>	mistress of the whole of sky and earth ³⁵⁰

and lines specifically for the dead's continuous life

<i>n skm=i n mwt=i n tm=i n htm=i</i>	I have not perished, I have not died, I have not ended, I have not been destroyed. ³⁵¹
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It is therefore not possible to categorise the spells according to their outcomes without also dividing the spells into different sections, thereby losing their framework, and so moving further away from the contextual background.

III 2.3 Process

Despite the large body of material about *hpr*, the Coffin Texts rarely contain explanations about the meaning of this process, or instructions about the performance of these spells, or the rituals which might accompany them. The exact method for 'becoming' another *hprw*, and what attributes this might include are thereby largely dependent on the wider funerary context³⁵² and the interpretation of the individual texts themselves. An action which is emphasised in the texts is that of recitation,³⁵³ and some exceptional examples also mention use of amulets or drawings.³⁵⁴

Buchberger uses as a working hypotheses that it is not a person in totality that is transformed but instead an element of that person. He assumes that the starting point for transformations is the *hprw*-form.³⁵⁵ There are many examples where a person appears in his *hprw*-form and *irt hprw*,³⁵⁶ but there are no such clear examples of the *hprw* being the actual starting point in the Coffin Texts. Even in the example Buchberger gives '*wn.in-B3t3 hr-hpr m-p3-hpr.e*' which he translates 'Da **transformierte** (sich) Bata in die **hpr.e-Gestalt**'³⁵⁷ it is not clear that it is Bata's *hprw*-form which is

³⁵⁰ CT VII 175b.

³⁵¹ CT VII 175a.

³⁵² See for example Žabkar, in Thill and Geus (eds), *Melanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter*, 375-383 where he discusses the amulets on Tutankhamun's body and its correlation to the spells, see also Willems reconstruction of the rituals based on the Coffin Text spells in *Hekata, passim*. For this type of reconstruction, also Smith, *Harkness*, with a summary on 21-41.

³⁵³ Servajean discusses the spoken word as an act of creating in *Les formules des transformations*, 13-15.

³⁵⁴ For example spell 81 and 83.

³⁵⁵ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 192-195.

³⁵⁶ For example CT IV 338l, CT VI 273g.

³⁵⁷ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 195, from pD'Orbiney 15,1.

making the *hpr* rather than Bata actually *hpr*-ing into the *hprw*. All the examples of the *hprw*-spells in the Coffin Texts express that it is a person, in first or third person, who *hpr*-s, not that his *hprw*-form *hpr*-s. However, he or she can *hpr* into a *hprw*-form.

hpr.n=i m hprw tm I have become the manifestation(s) of Atum.³⁵⁸

Smith presumes that the transformation took effect on the person in his *b3*-form, and that the transformation is more physical than metaphysical or mental, and refers specifically to depictions of the deceased, for instance in vignettes of the Book of the Dead.³⁵⁹ Griffiths writes about the need of the dead to move which is connected to the *b3* and also to ‘the power of making transformations (*irt hprw*)’. This power is a divine attribute, but also something the dead desires to use.³⁶⁰ The dead person can extend his or herself to involve movability and divine attributes. Also Assmann describes the *b3* as that which ‘materialises (*hpr*) in forms’ based on a small collection of lines which connects the *b3* and *hprw*, for example ‘Hail to the *b3*, sacred of *hprw*.’³⁶¹ Hornung writes: ‘Freedom of movement and the ability to transform itself into any shape it wishes are the two basic character traits of the ba.’³⁶² Equally, Roeder ascribes the ability to *hpr* to the ‘*Ba-u*’,³⁶³ as does Nordh.³⁶⁴

The close relationship between the *b3* and *hprw* is also shown in texts outside the mortuary sphere, for example in the Teaching of Ani:

sw dd b3w m hhw nw hprw He gives *b3w* in/as millions of *hprw*.³⁶⁵

In later transformation texts, it is specifically the *b3* which makes the transformations.

iw b3=i r šms hwt-hr then my *b3* will follow Hathor
irt hprw m mnt n t3 ntr and make manifestations as a swallow of the god’s land.³⁶⁶

Also in Smith’s examples of later transformation texts it is the *b3* which manifests in different forms, for example ‘The ba will appear in the form of a falcon. The ba will shine in the form of a falcon.’³⁶⁷ There are also indications that the *b3* changes form in the Coffin Texts. The following line is directed

³⁵⁸ CT VI 335c.

³⁵⁹ Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 611.

³⁶⁰ Griffiths in van Voss *et al* (eds), *Studies in Egyptian Religion*, 50. He thinks this is the motivation behind early syncretism, see also comments about this under ‘syncretism’ below.

³⁶¹ Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 204, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 142-143, example from Cramer, *ZÄS* 72, 106 plate IX no 24. Additional examples from P. Berlin 3049, *ÄHG* 127a 1-2, Sobek-Re p. Strasbourg IV 15, *ÄHG* 144c 62.

³⁶² Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 182.

³⁶³ Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual*, 196.

³⁶⁴ Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 54.

³⁶⁵ Volten, *Weisheitsbuch des Ani*, 111-112, Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani*, 108-109, 312-313.

³⁶⁶ Grapow, *ZÄS* 77, 57-78 Text 2 Berlin 7272. See also Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 387.

³⁶⁷ pLouvre E 3452, 3/1, translated by Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 639.

to the *b3*: 'Draw near to his face in the form of an *3h'*.³⁶⁸ The *b3* certainly has the ability to manifest in different forms such as the *b3* of gods manifesting in animals or celestial forms. Where the focus of one singular aspect of the *b3* in the Coffin Texts are more about its activity and movement, the aspect of the *b3* to manifest are more important in other texts and time periods.³⁶⁹ The Coffin Texts do not explicitly express this theme that the *b3* is the specific part of a person's identity which manifests as different *hprw*-forms. However, it does seem like a fair assumption based on other transformation texts as well as on the examples of the *b3* manifesting in different forms both within and outside the Coffin Texts.

In a number of spells the dead is identified with the *b3* of a god.³⁷⁰ *b3w* of gods could manifest in another god, beings, or objects,³⁷¹ such as the Apis bull or the sun disk. Gods could have several *b3w* as well. It therefore seems like the *b3* of both humans and gods has the particular ability to take another identity and manifest itself actively as something else. This may relate to the particularly active nature of the *b3* compared to other more passive manifestations.

The dead 'transforms into', or manifests in, different beings or inanimate things, expressed by the formula *hprw m* From the perspective of the dead, through the *b3*, he or she manifest as a god or as the *b3* of a god. The *b3* is a manifestation of the god, and the *b3* of the person which manifests, is essentially a manifestation (*b3* of a person) which manifests (*hprw*) in a manifestation (*b3* of a god). In some of these cases it concerns a focus on specific aspects of the *b3*.

III 2.4 Usage

Discussions about the use of mortuary texts by the living have partly been backed up by statements in spells that they are useful for the living.³⁷² For example:

ir s nb rh r pn As for any man who knows this spell

km=f rnpt 110 m [c]n[h] He completes 110 years in [life]³⁷³

Despite different viewpoints on the reason they were used outside the funerary sphere, the texts do seem to have features which would point in the direction of multiple uses.

hpr.n=i m drw t3 r ntrw I have come into being at the limit of the land more

³⁶⁸ CT II 110j.

³⁶⁹ Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes, 'b3'*, Janak, SAK 40, 141-153.

³⁷⁰ For example 75, 77, 78, 94, 96, 312, 333.

³⁷¹ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 6-15.

³⁷² For example, Gee, *Totenbuch Forschungen*, 73-86 who also gives a short review of earlier research, DuQuesne in Assmann and Bommas (eds), *Ägyptischen Mysterien*, 37-46, Willems, *Heqata*, 279-284, Wentz, *JNES* 41, 161-179, particularly 162 n.9, Federn *JNES* 19, 241-257, Griebhammer, *JAOS* 98, 502, on BoD spells used in late temples, von Lieven, *JEA* 98, 248-267 and for more references n.61.

³⁷³ Spell 228, CT III 267d-e, B2Lc, Federn *JNES* 19, 246 n.58.

ink ir phr

ii.n=i dbh=i h^ct m ntr mn

hprw in s dd ntr³⁷⁴ mrr=f irt hprw im=f

than the gods.

I am the one who does travelling around.

I have come so I may ask for the crown from such-and-such god.

Manifestations by a man, who says (any) god he wants: making manifestations as him.³⁷⁵

In this version of the spell no name of the god is inserted, but it is left open and the rubric refers to manifestations in general. The parallel version has 'Osiris' instead of *mn*, but the insertion open for any god's name might indicate that the spell may have a wider use beyond purely funeral.

Spells which were certainly used by the living sometimes show parallels to mortuary texts in their actual technique. So for example medical texts occasionally involve identification with a god. The following is a spell against plague and Sekhmet's minions:

ih^t h³tytw

nn ph wi nfyw r sw³w sw³w r nšny r hr=i

ink hr sw³ hr šm³mw shmt

hr sp 2 w³dw n shmt

ink w^cty s³ b³stt

n mwt=i n=t

Retreat diseases!

The winds will not reach me in order for those who pass by to pass by to rage against my face.

I am Horus who has passed by the diseased ones of Sekhmet.

Horus, Horus, healthy one of Sekhmet.

I am the unique one, son of Bastet.

I have not died for you.³⁷⁶

The instructions following the spell involve recitation by a man while walking around his house with a stick of wood.³⁷⁷ The wind carrying the diseases is presumably prevented from reaching the performer of the ritual while he is also safe from them in his role as Horus. The health of Horus is in focus, being contrasted to what Sekhmet brings,³⁷⁸ and he is able to pass by the disease without being affected by it. The similarities to many of the *hprw*-spells are both the identification and the feature of focusing on an aspect of the specific *hprw*, which relates to the purpose of the spell. Nordh also argues that these different *hprw* were available to gods and the dead as well as living people, and the identification and *hprw* are visible in the cursing and blessings formulas to 'confirm the validity of the formulae, and they proved the capacity of the sender',³⁷⁹ in the same way as the medical texts.

³⁷⁴ *nb* seems to be crossed out.

³⁷⁵ CT IV 51a-d, B3L.

³⁷⁶ Breasted, *Edwin Smith papyrus*, Second Incantation XVIII 13-15 (p. 477).

³⁷⁷ Breasted, *Edwin Smith papyrus*, Second Incantation XVIII 15-16 (p. 478).

³⁷⁸ Compare with the ritual of appeasing Sekhmet, for example Germond, *Sekhmet*, 224-258.

³⁷⁹ Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 50-61, quote on page 53.

III 3 Different uses and translations of *hpr* and *hprw*

III 3.4 Usage

In different contexts, *hpr* or *hprw* convey different meanings, thereby demanding a varied translation. As a verb, it is used in the meaning ‘coming into existence’³⁸⁰ related to the creator god carrying the epithet *hpr ds=f*.³⁸¹ In the same context, it is used to explain how different matters have come into existence and received their names.³⁸²

<i>r^c pw ds=f</i>	<u>It was Re himself.</u>
<i>dd.n.tw miw r=f</i>	<u>‘Cat’ was said to him,</u>
<i>m dd si3 r=f</i>	<u>when Sia spoke to him,</u>
<i>in miw sw m nn n ir=f</i>	<u>because he was cat-like in what he did.</u>
<i>hpr rn=f pw n miw</i>	<u>It is how his name ‘Cat’ came into existence.</u> ³⁸³

In the presentation of Ahmose, he says ‘I made my *hprw* in the town of El Kab’,³⁸⁴ in the context of him growing up. The connection is probably that of going through different stages, *hprw*.³⁸⁵ In the Book of the Dead spell 30b, *hprw* is used in the same sense: *h3ty=i n hprw=i*³⁸⁶ and some have chosen to reflect this in translations, for example Faulkner ‘Oh my heart of my different ages!’.³⁸⁷ Also the causative *shpr*,³⁸⁸ can carry a sense of changing from one state or status to another. The same usage can be applied to a passage in the Debate between a Man and his *b3: r hprt iw^cw* which Allen interprets to mean ‘until the heir has grown up’.³⁸⁹

As a noun, *hprw* is also used as the term for the result of the verbal process of *hpr*, meaning a specific ‘form’ or ‘manifestation’. Within this category of meaning, there are a few examples where it is used without specification about a god’s or person’s own manifestation.

mk sth ii.w m hprw=f See, Seth has come in his manifestation(s)³⁹⁰

Since *hprw* can be both singular and plural, it is in this example uncertain if Seth comes in his own particular form, or forms. In another example, the demonstrative pronoun shows that it is plural.

³⁸⁰ Or similar, for example Allen uses the translation ‘develop’ and ‘I have self-developed’, *Genesis in Egypt*, 10-11, see also Bergman in van Voss *et al* (eds), *Studies in Egyptian Religion*, 31-32.

³⁸¹ In the *CT*, for example spell 335 *CT* IV 188/189a.

³⁸² Spell 154 *CT* II 278/279c, 282/283b, 284/285b. For a few more examples of the meaning ‘come into existence’ see spell 334 *CT* IV 181p, spell 335 *CT* IV 188/189a, spell 475 *CT* VI 27e.

³⁸³ Spell 335 *CT* IV 286/287b-288/289b following Sq1C.

³⁸⁴ *Urk* IV 2.9.

³⁸⁵ Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 148.

³⁸⁶ Budge, *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* 1, 129 line11.

³⁸⁷ Faulkner, *JEA* 58, 27.

³⁸⁸ For example in the Two Brothers, Gardiner, *LES*, 4.2.

³⁸⁹ Allen, *Debate*, 60-61.

³⁹⁰ Spell 50, *CT* I 227f B12C, B16C. Instead of Seth, B10Cb, B10Cc use *w^dc*, the outcast.

d3wt(y)=f(y) sw m N pn m hpryw=f ipn

He who should ferry himself over as this N in these his manifestations.³⁹¹

In both examples the meaning seems to be an emphasis on the god or person appearing as himself, in his own shape(s). The use of plural here can refer to the variety of the god's iconography.

In plural, the term *hprw* can represent a summary of the components of a person's identity. So in the 18th dynasty tomb of Amenemhet, where *hprw* comes at the end of a long list of components of a person: *k3*, stele, *b3*, *3h*, corpse and shadow, it is possibly used as a summary term for all the components listed.³⁹²

In literary narratives, the *hprw* is used when a character changes his physical form into something else, a sort of magical performance for the sake of the plot.³⁹³ There are a limited number of examples in the Coffin Texts when a god changes shape into an animal. Spell 157 contains parts of the Horus and Seth story. Horus says:

mk irt=i mi skr pf tp ir.n sth r irt=i

"See, my eye is like that first wound which Seth did to my eye."

h^c.n hr m.n=f ib=f³⁹⁴ m-b3h=f

Then Horus became unconscious before him.

dd.in r^c

Then Re said:

dy r=tn sw hr hnkwt=f r snbt=f

"Put him on his bed until he gets better."

sth pw ir.n=f hprw r=f m š3 km

It is Seth, he having turned into a black pig against him³⁹⁵

Spell 49 also concern a god who threatens to do harm.

ir.n=f hprw m py

He has turned into a flea

nf3f3=f hr drw=f

so that he creeps³⁹⁶ under his flank.

rs hr=tn imyw w^cbt

Wake up, you who are in the pure place! Beware, you who are in the Great place!

s3 tn imyw wryt

See, the god himself is afraid of the evil ones

mtn ntr h^cw=f³⁹⁷ snd n bdw

when (they) had taken shapes³⁹⁸

ir.n(=sn) hprw

³⁹¹ Spell 672 CT VI 300j.

³⁹² Davis and Gardiner, *Amenemhet* 99-100, Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 33.

³⁹³ See for example Horus and Seth which has *ir hprw m*, Gardiner, *LES*, 5.7, 6.4, 7.3, 6.13, 9.9-9.10, 8.9, 13.9. Two Brothers which uses *hr hprw m*, or *hr hprw mi*, Gardiner *LES*, *m* 14.5, 14.8, 15.1, 17.8, *mi* 3.8, 4.7, 5.4-5.5, 14.3 seemingly dependant on the type of transformation which takes place. When it is a matter of them becoming angry, a metaphor is used and the Egyptian uses *mi*. When Bata transform himself physically into a bull, *m* is used. On this subject see also Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 324-328 for an extensive list of transformations made by living humans and the rest of the chapter for discussion.

³⁹⁴ S2P leaves out *ib=f*, but it is written out in all other versions.

³⁹⁵ CT II 341a-342b. For a discussion of this passage see te Velde, *Seth*, 47.

³⁹⁶ See Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, 45-46 n.5.

³⁹⁷ =f not in B10C but in the majority of versions.

Even in a context where someone does not turn into something specific, it seems that the action of manifesting can be used in a threatening way. Spell 52:

ir.n=f hprw r³⁹⁹ ntr pn He has manifested against this god
r ssnd ntrw m w^cbt to cause fright to the gods in the Pure Place.⁴⁰⁰

In these cases *iri hprw* is apparently used for a dangerous enemy becoming manifested in a way to attack and do harm, both in general and as a physical actor. This is different from the use of *hprw* in the meaning of a manifestation as a form of a god or person, a part of his identity. These can both take on a specific form, such as a pig, or be used as an equivalent to the person himself, his manifestation (see above).

A slightly different use is visible in spell 306. The first half of the spell concerns offerings and hails to different gods, about which it is then said:

iw N rh(.w) tn rh(.w) rnw=tn rh(.w) irw=tn N knows you, he knows your names and he knows
your *irw*-forms
iwty rh st hprw im=tn which the *hprw*-forms within you do not know.⁴⁰¹

These lines are in a context where the speaker is described in different positive ways, and this knowledge is part of the description. The unusual expression ‘the *hprw* within them’ seems to envisage inherent parts which make up the god, and so the line seems to claim that N knows the gods even better than they know themselves.

hprw is also used in epithets of gods, where in particular the usage seems to imply that a variety of it is a matter of particular forms for appearance, rather than simply multiple creations of existence.

tm nb hprw Atum, lord of manifestations.⁴⁰²

In a similar manner, ‘lord of manifestations’ or other variants are used in names.⁴⁰³

Since *hprw* can function as both the predicate and the object, it invites the use of puns.

hpr.n=i mm hprw I have come into being among the ones who have
come into being.⁴⁰⁴

Because of the lack of difference in orthography, it is sometimes difficult to determine the meaning of *hprw*, so in the example above, a translation such as ‘forms’ is also possible. The problem then is the extent to which such a ‘form’ is identifiable as a specific ‘manifestation’, or is a portmanteau

³⁹⁸ CT I 215f-216d. Though this is a serious emendation of the last sentence, ‘the evil ones whom *hprw* made’ would not make any sense.

³⁹⁹ In four out of five version, all but B10Cc.

⁴⁰⁰ CT I 239h-240a.

⁴⁰¹ CT IV 61b-c.

⁴⁰² Spell 406 CT V 211f.

⁴⁰³ Iversen, *Pyramid Studies*, 82.

⁴⁰⁴ Spell 154 CT II 268/269f-270/271a.

with a range of possible forms. In the following two examples the same problem occurs, but a meaning related to ‘coming into existence’ is more likely.

Spell 335

iw=i m šms n nb ht sš n hprw

I am in the following of the lord of things and the scribe of the ones who have come into existence.⁴⁰⁵

Spell 383

iw=i rh.kwi r n hprw

I know the spell for coming into existence.⁴⁰⁶

However, in both of these examples *hprw* could refer to manifestations. The problem then would be whose forms it refers to, or if it refers to manifestations of people or gods in general, in which case the meaning does not differ much from the above translations.

The two main usages of *hpr* or *hprw* within the Coffin Texts, but outside the rubrics, are of taking shape in the sense of ‘coming into existence’ and ‘becoming manifest’. Manifestation functions here as a category which can refer either to a person as himself or as a physical change of form into something else. However, the English translation ‘manifestation’ is particularly used in relation to two Egyptian features: either for the *b3* of a god or person becoming manifest in some way⁴⁰⁷ or to translate *hprw*.⁴⁰⁸ These aspects are related in Egyptian conception, which the choice of translation reflects. Their relationship in terms of transformations is also reflected in later texts where it is clearer that the *b3* is the part of a person’s identity which can change into different *hprw*-forms.⁴⁰⁹

III 3.5 Translation of the rubrics

One focus among Egyptologists in relation to texts with ‘transformation rubrics’, has been to find a fitting translation of these headings.⁴¹⁰ Buchberger, Servajean, Žabkar, Smith and Bargaet all use the

⁴⁰⁵ Spell 335 CT IV 310a.

⁴⁰⁶ Spell 383 CT V 47e A1C.

⁴⁰⁷ Foremost Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 11-14, also Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 611-612 when discussing the *b3* making the transformations.

⁴⁰⁸ As for *hprw* being translated as manifestation for example Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 114, translating CT V 211f *nb hprw* as ‘Herr von Erscheinungsformen’, in translation, *Conceptions of God*, 125 ‘lord of manifestations’, Eyre in Poo (ed), *Rethinking Ghosts*, 39, Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, for example, 192. Assmann translates it *Verkörperungen* when discussing the sun’s different *hprw* in the Great Hymn, *Ägypten-Theologie und Frömmigkeit*, 75-76, ‘form’ in Lorton’s translation, *The Search for God*, 60-61, Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, for example 192.

⁴⁰⁹ See below under ‘Meaning and function’.

⁴¹⁰ Among the more ‘recent’ work foremost: Buchberger, *Transformations und Transformat* and Servajean, *Les formules des transformations*. For shorter studies see Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, Federn, *JNES* 18, 241-257 and Žabkar, *JNES* 22, 59-60. For a brief summary of earlier discussions, from 1849 and forward, see Federn, *JNES*, 241-243. For a more in depth discussion about different translations of *hpr*, Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 211-227.

term ‘transformation’.⁴¹¹ Federn prefers ‘formations’ for the Coffin Texts, because they are more often written *hprw m*, and ‘transformations’ for *irt hprw m* of the Book of the Dead.⁴¹² Others use as translation ‘becoming’⁴¹³ or ‘verwandeln’.⁴¹⁴ The problem with a single translation is that the spells convey different meanings. In many of the spells, the speaker assumes different aspects from the object in the rubric. In spells which refer to professions (mainly scribes) as their transformation object, it seems to be a case of taking on that role. In a few spells the object in the rubric is a physical object which is given to the deceased. In this last sense the dead neither become, nor transform into the object.

III 3.6 Objects of transformation

The number of transformations, as well as the object of identification, varies between different texts and corpora.⁴¹⁵ The collections which have been used for comparison are the Book of the Dead, the 18th and 19th dynasty collection by Grapow, and the later texts collected by Smith.⁴¹⁶ The transformation rubrics in the Coffin Texts refer to a large number of gods and god-related services, such as Scribe of Re-Atum,⁴¹⁷ while those in the Book of the Dead only have Ptah and ‘god’ unspecified.⁴¹⁸ The transformation objects in the Book of the Dead might also be connected to the transformations of the sun during its 12 hours cycle.⁴¹⁹ The Coffin Texts have a lot of birds, but hardly any other animals.⁴²⁰ Later texts have a crocodile,⁴²¹ dog,⁴²² lion, scarab,⁴²³ and snakes.⁴²⁴ The Coffin Texts also have a few non-human objects such as air,⁴²⁵ fire,⁴²⁶ four winds of the sky,⁴²⁷ a

⁴¹¹ Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, mainly 434f. References to the others are the same as in the previous footnote.

⁴¹² Federn, *JNES* 18, 242.

⁴¹³ Willems, Heqata, 275, Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, see particularly spell 268 CT IV and forward, Servajean, *Les formules des transformations*.

⁴¹⁴ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 216, Umgestaltung and Umformung are also suggested Thausing, *Auferstehungsgedanke*, 7-8.

⁴¹⁵ For a summary of other texts partly related to the different forms of the sun god see Zeidler in Rothöhler and Manisali (ed), *Mythos & Ritual*, 311-316.

⁴¹⁶ Grapow, *ZÄS* 77, 57-78, Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 610-649 which contains P. Berlin 3162, P. Louvre E 3452, and P. Louvre N 3122.

⁴¹⁷ Spell 538.

⁴¹⁸ Spell 82 and 80.

⁴¹⁹ Zeidler, in Rothöhler and Manisali (ed), *Mythos & Ritual*, 311-316.

⁴²⁰ With two exceptions, bull in spell 210 and bull and *nꜥw*-snake in spell 374.

⁴²¹ *BoD* 88, P. Berlin 3162.

⁴²² P. Louvre E 3452.

⁴²³ P. Louvre N 3122.

⁴²⁴ *BoD* 87, P. Berlin 3162, P. Louvre E 3452, P. Louvre N 3122.

⁴²⁵ Spell 223, 288, 988.

⁴²⁶ Spell 284.

⁴²⁷ Spell 297.

seal⁴²⁸ and the morning star.⁴²⁹ The Book of the Dead only has one, a lotus,⁴³⁰ while the later texts do not have any.

The falcon is the single most common object of transformation.⁴³¹ All of the different text corpora include it, and it is the object of the largest number of spells within the Coffin Texts. The Swallow occurs in every different text corpus except Smith's. The Phoenix, on the other hand, occurs in all three of Smith's texts and in the Book of the Dead,⁴³² and the same is the case with the snake. The Heron occurs in the Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead and in Grapow's collection.⁴³³

III 4 Meaning and function

The function and meaning of the spells have been discussed by different Egyptologists. Buchberger intended to include this in the second and third volumes of his *Transformation und Transformat*, but they remain unpublished. In the first volume he only touches on the subject of function, mentioning the flight to heaven as an example of what the dead can gain by a spell for transforming into a bird.⁴³⁴ In relation to the emphasis on right knowledge in the Coffin Text spells, he describes the importance of transformations into gods as having two main purposes: to achieve a greater status and to be integrated into a divine social sphere.⁴³⁵

Willems interprets the *hprw* object of the Shu-spells as a cultic role of a god, played by an officiant. Thus the transformation object was not utilised by the deceased, but rather was used in the performance of their funeral.⁴³⁶ Wilson describes similar occurrences when discussing the use of masks and the related topic of taking on powers attributed to deities through masking. However, she connects the transformation spells and *hprw*-forms to multiple personas which she thinks really belong to the realm of the sun god, paralleling the sun's journey through his different transformations.⁴³⁷ The idea of parallel identities is anyhow related to the *hprw*-spells, even if it clearly belongs to more than one god's realm.

⁴²⁸ Spell 706.

⁴²⁹ Spell 722. Possibly also *b3ty* which meaning is unknown in spell 584 and 585.

⁴³⁰ *BoD* 81.

⁴³¹ Spell 147, 148, 273, 286, 302, 339, 989, human 149, divine 274, 312, 313, *BoD* of gold 77, divine 78, divine in P. Berlin 3162, P. Louvre N 3122, P. Louvre E 3452.

⁴³² Spell 83.

⁴³³ Spell 283, 293, 678, *BoD* 86, Grapow, *ZÄS* 77, 57-78.

⁴³⁴ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 239-242.

⁴³⁵ Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 157.

⁴³⁶ Willems, *Heqata*, 279-283.

⁴³⁷ Wilson, *Demonology*, 77-87, quote from page 86. See also Zeider in Rothöhler and Manisali (ed), *Mythos & Ritual*, 310.

In Smith's three texts, the transformation objects are only animals and a *b3*, and while he lists free movement as one of the purposes with transformations, he also interprets the animals as being linked to the gods connected to the specific animal. In his interpretation, identification with a god, or the animal linked to that god, does not mean that the dead takes the role of a god. Following Assmann in his use of *unio liturgica*,⁴³⁸ Smith understands the purpose of the transformations as to join the worshippers of the cult of a certain deity, and to serve that deity.⁴³⁹ In Smith's texts there is a clear connection between the transformations and serving the gods, for example: 'The ba will appear in the form of an ibis, serving Thoth'.⁴⁴⁰

Servajean adopts an approach where the identification in the texts, by nominal sentences, is not a direct identification but, in his interpretation, more of a classification. The dead does not become Osiris but *an* Osiris. While there is no confusion about the absolute identity, the dead takes on some qualities of the object of identification. As an example he references spell 30B in Book of the Dead when Osiris NN speaks to Osiris. In this spell it is not Osiris speaking to Osiris, but to the deceased who has some Osirian qualities. Through identification with Osiris the deceased follows the cycle of resurrection. The deceased identifies himself or herself with aspects of Osiris without being Osiris. In applying this to the transformation spells, he argues that the identification classify them. So if he is identified with a bird, he is in a category of flying beings.⁴⁴¹

Federn, believing that the transformation spells were used by the living, interprets the identification as a mental process where the speaker knows and proclaims himself to be one with the divinity. In dialogues between gods, as in spell 312, he imagines the speaker taking on the different ritual roles in turn.⁴⁴² Nordh express it, 'man has a natural urge to focus and activate other *hprw* (plur.) than his given *hprw*' and for her, *hprw* is a concept of not only existential form, but also identity and role, and in practice he 'attributed to himself the capacities of the *hprw*'. To take on another *hprw* is, in her view, available also for the living, and used in curse and blessing formulae.⁴⁴³ Žabkar takes the approach that the dead, through identification with gods, in effect became godlike, but states that the purpose was 'to render the dead capable of unlimited freedom of movement, of fullness of physical activities and enjoyment, contributing thereby to his supreme happiness -as an Egyptian conceived of it.'⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁸ For example described in *Death and Salvation*, 396-398.

⁴³⁹ Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 614. Also page 615 and Smith in Backes, Munro and Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums*, 334-336.

⁴⁴⁰ Smith's translation of text 57, *Traversing Eternity*, 640.

⁴⁴¹ Servajean, *Les formules des transformations*, 52-54.

⁴⁴² Federn, *JNES* 18, 248-250.

⁴⁴³ Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 61.

⁴⁴⁴ Žabkar, *JNES* 22, 60.

While Willems' interpretation focuses on the funerary drama, Smith's interpretation focuses more on integration into a cult, and Federn views it as an internal progress. Both Servajean and Žabkar focus on abilities which are gained through this formula, even though their interpretation differs in level of identification. Except for the interpretations of Federn and Willems, the different interpretations have in common a way of adapting to a new environment and taking the necessary measures in the Afterlife.

Whether the identification really meant a direct identification with the object, a semi-identification with the qualities of the objects, or with the cult of the object, it still comes down to an integration into the Afterlife, a way of adopting to a new environment and taking the necessary measures to ensure continuous life. The objects of transformations are always something desirable, or they have abilities desirable for the deceased. Enjoying free movement, eating, having power, are all abilities which belong to the living and were wished for to continue after death.⁴⁴⁵

III 4.1 Syncretism and personification

A considerable amount of the writing about syncretism in Egyptian religion has been influenced by Bonnet.⁴⁴⁶ Bonnet's definition of syncretism is, in simple terms, a form of inhabiting. It is most easily recognisable in the combination of names, so in the case of Amon-Re, Re is in Amon. However, they remain separate and distinct, and neither is absorbed or fused into the other. Moreover, no syncretism is permanent. Both gods retain their separate identities and can manifest independently or in new combinations, for example as Sobek-Re or Min-Amon. In this way, they can freely combine without losing their independence, and new forms can be created without abandoning the old.⁴⁴⁷

The effect of this inhabiting is that the deity's nature is extended to include features of the deity inhabiting. Hornung exemplifies it with Re who, from the sixth dynasty, was viewed as the creator god, so that every other god, synchronised with Re, also became creators as Re.⁴⁴⁸ Syncretism is particularly visible where local gods are inhabited by a greater deity. Through this syncretism, or coalescence, which Morenz prefers, the local gods could remain without having to

⁴⁴⁵ As is visible in the rubrics which lists outcomes in the Afterlife. See Chapter II.

⁴⁴⁶ Bonnet, *Reallexikon* 237-247, *ZÄS* 75, 40-52, translated into English by Baines in *Orientalia* 68, 181-198. For an article about Bonnet's contribution, also Baines in *Orientalia* 68, 199-214. In particular Hornung and Morenz show influence from Bonnet, Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 74-82 and 91-99, Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 139-142, likewise Leclant who describes it as an inhabitation, *Syncretismes*, 7. Leclant also gives a very short review of earlier research of syncretism, 1-3. See also Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, and Griffiths in van Voss *et al* (eds), *Studies in Egyptian Religion*, 43-55.

⁴⁴⁷ Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 239-240.

⁴⁴⁸ *Conceptions of God*, 92.

give way for others; this also served to enhance their own power.⁴⁴⁹ However, syncretism is not confined to this alone.⁴⁵⁰

In Bonnet's view, the presumption for syncretism is that deities have both material forms and are immaterial powers. Even if the deities could have specific forms ascribed to them –visible in their iconography- they still remained immaterial powers. Syncretism then shows that the deities were not restricted to the specific forms, and not limited to the narrow descriptions of a single standard iconography. Deities are only portrayed in their different images for the sake of human comprehension and contact, while syncretism kept the experience of a deity as a power alive.⁴⁵¹ Bonnet also ascribes this same 'bipolarity' of power to the concepts of *k3*, *3h*, *b3* and 'wherever something with a mysterious, higher reality is being interpreted'.⁴⁵²

Griffith sees the needs of the dead as one motivation behind syncretism in Egypt.⁴⁵³ Even if it might be hard to prove that this was actually the reason behind it, it still seems like the fundamental problem of the immovability of the corpse is contrasted and handled by the existence of the *b3* and the ability as that of the gods to manifest in different forms. Thus, by extension the dead can appear as the *b3* of a god.⁴⁵⁴

There are many different types of syncretism in Egyptian religion and the explanation of inhabiting is of course far too simplified to accommodate these varieties.⁴⁵⁵ Apart from syncretism, there are also other ways of linking deities. Hornung lists three: The first one is kinship where gods are linked through relations. The second is when gods, or a king appear as the image, manifestation or *b3* of another. This would mean that the deity or a king appear completely as something else, in contrast to syncretism where the deity only assumes features.⁴⁵⁶ Hornung also explains the occurrence of many different forms or manifestation of a deity as indicating different aspects of a deity's complex nature.⁴⁵⁷ The third of Hornung's ways of linking deities is union. It occurs for example with Re and Osiris every night. This union involves Osiris being absorbed into Re and they

⁴⁴⁹ *Egyptian Religion*, 140. Morenz explains his preference for using 'coalescence' by explaining the derivation of the word syncretism which originated from the name of the Cretan Federation (συγκρητισμός), the meaning is therefore a 'union' rather than to 'mix'.

⁴⁵⁰ See for example Leclant, *Syncretismes*, 9.

⁴⁵¹ ZÄS 75, 47-48.

⁴⁵² ZÄS 75, 47, Baines translation in *Orientalia* 68, 191.

⁴⁵³ Griffiths in van Voss *et al* (eds), *Studies in Egyptian Religion*, 47-48.

⁴⁵⁴ See Chapter IV.

⁴⁵⁵ Altenmüller lists different variations of syncretism in the Coffin Texts, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, 7-10. Leclant brings up different types of syncretism and other kinds of unions of gods in his article, *Syncretismes*, 1-18.

⁴⁵⁶ *Conceptions of God*, 95-97.

⁴⁵⁷ *Conceptions of God*, 56 and 113.

are temporarily one, where syncretism, as has been said, does not involve fusion and absorption,⁴⁵⁸ Amon-Re is a new form, where neither of the gods lose their individual identity.⁴⁵⁹

The natures of deities are too complex to describe in a simple way. Images ascribed to a certain deity are merely descriptions of a part of that god's nature, and by the god appearing in different manifestations, more information is added for the benefit of comprehending a very complex nature. In addition to this, they can gain additional features through syncretism, thereby extending their nature. These abilities of the gods are assumed by the deceased.

ink hprw n ntr nb

I am the manifestation of any god.

*irt hprw m ntr nb mrrw s irt hprw=f im=f*⁴⁶⁰

Making manifestations as any god whose
manifestations a man wishes to make by it.⁴⁶¹

In the context of this spell, the speaker shares the same ability as gods to appear in different manifestations and this is stated in the rubric as the aim of the spell. Here the concept of manifestation is approached from the perspective that the function and purpose of the texts are viewed as what would be beneficial for the dead, and not as ways of explaining the nature of gods. If different manifestations of one and the same god describe many different features of a complex nature, the ability to appear in many manifestations, gained after death, indicates a significant change from the character of the living. His nature, once dead, is significantly more complex and virtually unlimited as he can appear in every manifestation of every god. Taking into account the number of gods, and their ability to manifest, the possibilities of this statement are close to endless.

Spell 302:

ink bik 3

I am a great falcon

hpr m swht

who came into being in the egg.

sp3=i hnn=i m bik

I fly up and I land as a falcon⁴⁶²

This statement, that he is a falcon and thereby gains the abilities of a falcon, most importantly the ability to fly, is closer to syncretism, where additional abilities are assumed through combination of two identities while still retaining both. In the *hprw*-spells with birds, it is often flying and qualities associated with flight which are focused upon. The ability to fly is useful for the dead as a means of passage, particularly in reaching the sky. The cycle of migratory birds is also used as a parallel to the cycle of life and death where the deceased disappears from this world, to land in world of the

⁴⁵⁸ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 188.

⁴⁵⁹ Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 93-97.

⁴⁶⁰ For this reading see Faulkner *Coffin Texts I*, 217 n.3. The other version, B3L, has *im*. CT IV 42e.

⁴⁶¹ Spell 290, CT IV 42d-e, B1L.

⁴⁶² Spell 302, CT IV 53h-54a.

afterlife.⁴⁶³ In this manner, the bird as a personification of flying might be more important than the particular species of bird.⁴⁶⁴

These are two of the aspects of the *hpr*-spells. After the disintegration of death, the texts not only serve to restore what was before, but also extend the concept of a living person to involve new features. When the texts say, for example, 'I am Hathor',⁴⁶⁵ most research done on transformation texts agrees that the dead does not lose his or her own identity, but instead gains something, be it godlike qualities,⁴⁶⁶ knowledge,⁴⁶⁷ unlimited freedom of movement,⁴⁶⁸ or integration into the cultic sphere of a god.⁴⁶⁹ Thus there is not a permanent change into something else, but rather an addition to the initial identity, a consubstantiation,⁴⁷⁰ or an extension of the personality in Griffiths' terms. Griffith also differs between what he calls 'temporary aids' for the extensions of the personality, which is, as in the example above, flying gained through syncretism with a bird, and 'permanent states' which he exemplifies with the 'Horus-nature' of the king being a falcon in the Pyramid Texts.⁴⁷¹

III 4.2 *hprw* as the human being in non-this-world contexts

Deities' true forms cannot normally be seen by living humans.⁴⁷² This is for example indicated in epithets of different gods as 'invisible of form'.⁴⁷³ What the living can see are their manifestations. The ability to appear in different forms is also adopted by humans. Epithets having to do with this ability which Hornung describes as common of gods,⁴⁷⁴ are also used by the dead in Coffin Text spells:

⁴⁶³ For example spells 278, 283, 287, 293, 581 and 687.

⁴⁶⁴ As an 'analytic personification' Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 26. See for example spell 271 in which four different birds are named for the sake of the deceased ascending to the sky.

⁴⁶⁵ Spell 331 CT IV 172b.

⁴⁶⁶ Servajean, *Les formules des transformations*, 52-54.

⁴⁶⁷ Federn, *JNES* 18, 248-250.

⁴⁶⁸ Žabkar, *JNES* 22, 60.

⁴⁶⁹ Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 614- 615 and Smith in Backes, Munro and Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 334-336.

⁴⁷⁰ See Leclant, *Syncretismes*, 7.

⁴⁷¹ Griffiths in van Voss *et al* (eds), *Studies in Egyptian Religion*, 52.

⁴⁷² With some possible exceptions: for example, the description of the snake in the Shipwrecked Sailor, 'He was of thirty cubits; his beard was over two cubits long. His body was overlaid with gold; his eyebrows were of real lapis lazuli.' Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, 43, though there are different interpretations of the role of the snake, for example Godicke, *GM* 39, 27-31, Derchain-Urtel, *SAK* 1, 83-104, Fischer in Assmann, Feucht, and Grieshammer (eds), *Fragen an die Altägyptische Literatur*, 155-170, Bryan, *Serapis* 5, 3-13. Another example of a discription occur in The Tale of the Herdsman, where Hathor's appears in front of a cowheard, 'Look, I went down <to> the pool ... and I saw a woman in it: she was not of human form. My hair stood on end when I saw her tresses, and the smoothness of her skin.' Parkinson, *Tale of Sinuhe*, 287.

⁴⁷³ *sfg irw*, for example CT I 316/317b. Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 128-135, Teeter, *BASP*, 153-154.

⁴⁷⁴ Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 125.

ink nb hprw

I am the lord of manifestations.⁴⁷⁵

If different manifestations of a god describe many different features of a complex nature, the ability of the human to appear in many manifestations, gained after death, indicates a significant change from the character of the living. Manifestations are the human being in a context that transcends the visible physical world as ways of relating the human being to the divine or spiritual world. *hprw* indicates a change of context as well as a change of shape. If a god manifests himself he becomes, potentially, physically visible. If a person manifests himself he is not making himself visible, he is, potentially, changing his context to a spiritual or divine one. *hprw* can therefore be used as passage from an expected to a unexpected context or form. After the disintegration of death, the texts not only serve to restore what was before, but also to extend the concept of a living person to involve new features. This can be for the purpose of passage, for example to go up into the horizon by being a star,⁴⁷⁶ or flying as a bird.⁴⁷⁷

The *hprw m x* is not an absolute irreversible change to the identity, but an acquired one. It is also possible that '*hprw m x*' should, in an English translation, be closer to 'manifesting in x' than 'becoming x', though in Egyptian it is the same. To manifest in a particular *hprw* would then have a similar meaning as a god's *b3* manifesting in an object or animal. Concerning *b3w* Borghouts suggests that the expression 'to be in (*m*) the manifestation of a god' might have a similar meaning as *hr b3w*, in the meaning of being under the influence of the *b3w*, or even being 'possessed' by the god in question.⁴⁷⁸ In some of his examples, this intervention of a god is very physical, such as blindness, but in each case it clearly affects and influences the person.⁴⁷⁹ Since the outcome of the spell is to acquire something from the transformation object, through the process of *hprw*, and identification, the question is whether translating it 'in' or 'as' actually has a major impact on the meaning. Since *m* is both *in* and *as*, there might not be a distinction between them in Egyptian, at least not in this context.

⁴⁷⁵ Spell 703, CT VI 334n. This statement occur in different variants and in different corpuses of texts, for example Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 'The mysterious manifestations.', 192.

⁴⁷⁶ Spell 722.

⁴⁷⁷ Spells 278, 287, 581.

⁴⁷⁸ Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 28-31, other examples of one can be under the possession of is listed in n.157, 65. See also Morenz, *Religion*, 158 presenting examples of syncretism between gods, but his argument can be applied to these spells as well.

⁴⁷⁹ Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 1-70.

III 5 Passage

The concept of passage is of pivotal importance in mortuary literature,⁴⁸⁰ and in the corpus of the Coffin Texts there are several different themes in relation to passage. Death in itself is a natural passage, and a transformation into a different state. Within the three stages: separation, liminal phase and reintegration, the separation by death has already taken place, so for that reason the spells which accompany the dead in the tomb are not commonly of this character.⁴⁸¹ The *hprw*-spells aid the dead in the transition from this world to the next, and in their integration there. The dead person needs to regain the functions he had in life, through rites such as the opening of the mouth ceremony, freeing himself from the wrapping, raising himself from the bed, and leaving the tomb.⁴⁸² Each of these are treated as an episode of passage, and the mobility envisaged is represented as a geographical transition to the places of the Afterlife, at least for some of the composite parts of a person's compound identity. The *b3* can leave the tomb, go out into the day, and walk on earth among the living. The sky and the Netherworld are both spheres of gods, as well as the successful dead, while living humans could not reach them,⁴⁸³ or be integrated into them. The dead can reach the sky through a number of ways,⁴⁸⁴ for example by the assistance of gods, travelling on incense, or flying as a bird, which is a common transformation object among the *hprw*- spells.

The Netherworld has many obstacles of its own. There are beings who stand by gates, or roam in the Netherworld,⁴⁸⁵ guarding it, only letting through the successful dead and keeping the others away. For this, there are spells for not being trapped or hindered, and specific knowledge is provided by the spells for successful passage. Extensive knowledge is required for the ferryman spells,⁴⁸⁶ where the whole boat might need to be put together by the magic of the dead person, and substantial questioning is conducted in a way that gives the impression of an initiation. Other spells

⁴⁸⁰ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, especially 141-158, and in Simpson (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 135-159, Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 148-151, Eyre, in Mouton and Patrier (eds), *Life, Death, and Coming of Age in Antiquity*, forthcoming, Willems in Willems (ed), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, about passage in spell 30-37, page 253-372, in particular 367, Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, in particular 25-31.

⁴⁸¹ Van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, 146.

⁴⁸² For example spell 1, CT I 6b-c *wsir N pn ts tw hr i3by=k, di tw imnty=k* 'Raise yourself on your left side, place yourself on your right side.', spell 13 is a spell for opening the tomb and going out. Spells 98-104, 413 focus on the *b3* moving out and through the Netherworld.

⁴⁸³ Late exceptions exist, as in the Greco-Roman Setne II: Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, translation in Lichtheim, *Egyptian Literature III*, 138-142.

⁴⁸⁴ As in *The Book of Two Ways*, Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege des Jenseits*, Robinson in O'Connor and Quirke (eds), *Mysterious Lands*, 139-159, Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 11-12. Assmann, *Search for God*, 174-177, Lesko in Schafer (ed), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 101-102, Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 32-34.

⁴⁸⁵ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 192-216. See also *b3*-sending in Chapter IV.

⁴⁸⁶ See for example Willems, *Heqata*, 171 about the ferryman spells as a rite of passage, Hays, *Jaarbericht van het Voorazatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap*, 45-47.

also stress that the deceased must know the spells, or have knowledge about something particular in the spell.⁴⁸⁷ The knowledge seems to be the initiation that mobilises the passage.

Within the transitional spells, the *hprw*-spells have specific manifestations mainly gathered from the nature, such as animals, which naturally pass the horizon. Another large group is more focused on integration into the spheres of gods, and into the afterlife itself. The spells about the natural way of digestion, and avoidance of its reverse,⁴⁸⁸ would for example relate to this category of integration, to ensure certain behaviours in the Afterlife. Taking the role of transformation objects, such as a scribe, has a similar function of integration, and there are also several examples of identifications with gods which elaborately describe parts of a mythological background or emphasise a particular kinship. Reasons behind transformation spells seem to be both the transition to the Afterlife and the continuation of life there.

III 5.1 Passage to the Afterlife

There are several ways of reaching the sky and thereby the sun boat. Some of the specific objects of transformations serve in themselves as a means of passage.

n-ntt ink is nwr py hr w^{rt} 3ht nt pt because I am this heron on the plateau of the horizon of the sky.

p3=i hr gs i3bt(y) n pt I take off on the eastern side of the sky.

hnn=i hr gs imntt(y) n pt I descend on the western side of the sky.⁴⁸⁹

A bird as the object of transformation, is the second largest group of *hprw*-spells, following gods, in the Coffin Texts.⁴⁹⁰

There are transformation objects other than birds which have the natural quality of moving over the sky.⁴⁹¹ Spell 722:

hpr m ntr dw3y Becoming the Morning star.

wn w3wt dw3t n N [tn] The paths of the Netherworld open for [this] N

wn n=s sb3w imyw 3ht the gates of those who are in the horizon open for her.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁷ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 391-402, Baines, *JARCE XXVII*, 1-23, Gee in Backes, Munro and Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 73-86. See Chapter II.

⁴⁸⁸ Frandsen in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, 25-62.

⁴⁸⁹ Spell 184 CT III 83b-d.

⁴⁹⁰ See under 'Birds' and 'Birds and Gods' below. Later transformation texts do not focus on gods, but have birds as the largest group.

⁴⁹¹ See also Otto, *ZÄS* 77, 86 who argues that from the earliest times the birds and stars, and their respective movement, has been connected.

...

N tn pw ntr dw3y

...

This N is the Morning star.

N tn w3 nfr n nbw pr m 3ht w3 i3 i3rt

This N is the beautiful w3-star of gold who comes out from the horizon, unique of the multitudes of uraei.⁴⁹³

...

iw rdi.n n=s it=s r^c pt r dr=s

...

Her father Re has given to her the whole of the sky.⁴⁹⁴

This spell only occurs in one version and the coffin is a woman's. Except the identification with the morning star, she is also in other lines of the spell in the place of stars. It is well attested that gods can take the shape of stars.⁴⁹⁵ However, the identification with the star in this spell specifically seems to be a way for the deceased to reach the horizon. By identifying with the star the deceased is taking on the ability to move in the same way, emerging from the horizon.

The theme of paths and gates being open for the dead is common in the Coffin Texts. It relates to authority, where the status of the dead is such as all the doors are open for him. However, the skill of actually opening doors is often connected to knowledge and related to the guardians of the Netherworld as well as occurring in daily temple ritual.⁴⁹⁶

Spell 722 has a similar theme as spell 720.

hpr m hq-t3

Becoming Dawn

n^ch m hk3w

and living by means of hk3w⁴⁹⁷

The spell identifies the dead with the dawn and in this way she (the spell is only available in one version on a woman's coffin) moves out like the dawn. As the dawn she is also included among the gods.

hq-t3 mm ntr m irw=f pr(.w) wd3(.w) imy Dawn among the god, as his *irw*-form, equipped and healthy who is in the front of the bark of Re.⁴⁹⁸

It also puts her in the position to enjoy offerings at the end of the spell. The dead is identified with personifications of the dawn and a star, each being natural phenomena which naturally pass the horizon. Both spells also connect to Re, each occurring on the sky as a natural phenomenon, but here also personified and in each other's company.

In spell 958 the dead is identified with Sia.

hpr m si3 n r^c//

Becoming Sia of Re//

⁴⁹² CT VI 350f-h.

⁴⁹³ CT VI 350m-n.

⁴⁹⁴ CT VI 350r.

⁴⁹⁵ For example Orion-Osiris. Žabkar identifies Horus of Edfu with the Morning star, *Ba Concept*, 14-15.

⁴⁹⁶ Lucarelli, *BMSAES* 15, 88.

⁴⁹⁷ CT VI 347n-o. The second line is not in red but written horizontally above other lines.

⁴⁹⁸ CT VI 349g.

<i>ḥr nrw m ntrw 3ḥt</i>	Dread falls on the gods of the horizon.
<i>ḥꜥ rf ḥntw itrt=sn</i>	Stand up, you who are in front of their shrines!
<i>m3n=sn ḥknw=sn im=i</i>	They will see their joy by means of me
<i>ḥꜥ m si3</i>	who appears as Sia. ⁴⁹⁹

By being personified as a quality of Re, he can cross the horizon and be among the gods. The identification with Sia seems to have a similar function as the identification with a star and dawn but now being a personification of a quality of Re he is naturally in the boat of Re and thereby crossing the sky.

Another way of reaching the sky is by the assistance of gods. Spell 76 is part of the group of Shu spells⁵⁰⁰ where the rubric, though presented only in one of the versions, both contains passage to the sky,⁵⁰¹ and the *ḥpr*-formula.

<i>prt r pt ḥ3t r wi3 n rꜥ ḥpr m ntr ꜥnh</i>	<u>Going forth to heaven. Descending to the bark of Re.</u>
	<u>Becoming a living god.</u> ⁵⁰²

The spell is addressed to the eight Heh-gods who help Shu to hold up the sky, and a request is repeated several times:

<i>dy n=i ꜥwy=tn</i>	Give me your arms.
<i>ts n=i m3kt</i>	Raise up the ladder for me. ⁵⁰³

Appropriately for the position of the Heh-gods, they are asked for assistance in order to reach the sky, here by either raising up a ladder for him, or by forming a ladder from their arms.⁵⁰⁴

One type of *ḥprw*-spell expresses a number of locations which the deceased travels around, or passing different places.⁵⁰⁵

<i>N pn nt m ḥmw</i>	This N is Neith in the marshland(?),
<i>ḥwt-ḥr m idbw</i>	Hathor on the riverbank.
<i>i3</i>	Worship.
<i>iw š3s.n=f i3t</i>	He has travelled <i>I3t</i> .
<i>iw nmt.n=f šnwt</i>	He has stridden over the Circuit,
<i>ḥms.n=f ḥr dnit nt itnsw</i>	he has sat down on the dam of <i>Itnsw</i> .
<i>ḥprw m nt m ḥrt-ntr</i>	<u>Becoming Neith in the realm of the dead</u> ⁵⁰⁶

⁴⁹⁹ CT VII 176j-177a.

⁵⁰⁰ See Chapter IV. Willems, *World of the Coffin Texts*, 197-209, *Heqata*, 270-324.

⁵⁰¹ Alexanian in Guksch, Hoffmann and Bommas (eds), *Grab und Totenkult*, 27-40

⁵⁰² CT II 1c G1T.

⁵⁰³ CT II 1e-f.

⁵⁰⁴ As suggested by de Buck, *Plaats en Betekenis van Sjoë*, 233 and Zandee, *ZÄS* 100, 142.

⁵⁰⁵ See also for example 289, 298 and 301.

⁵⁰⁶ Spell 669 CT VI 297i-o.

The spell contains some references to Neith like her connection to Osiris (the realm of the dead) and water.⁵⁰⁷ However, this spell focuses on movement and the different places, rather than Neith reaching them in a way that would be very specific for the goddess, and N himself is the actor in the spell, and not the goddess(es) with whom he identifies with. In these spells where different places are passed through, the dead passes through different stages where the transformation object enacts the stage. These stages are clearer where the speaker is paralleled with the sun in spell 298, coming into being in the limit of the land and travelling around.⁵⁰⁸ Some of the places mentioned in similar spells were places of this world, and the spells relate to the dead moving about and partaking in activities of the living.⁵⁰⁹

There are a number of different ways of reaching the sky. In the *hprw*-spells, the most common is via identification with birds, as a personification of flying. The identifications as something which naturally moves to the sky are most closely related to this, while the assistance of gods is another means.

III 6 Integration

There are several examples of *hprw*-spells of integration.⁵¹⁰ The scribe spells⁵¹¹ are the most notable since the deceased in these spells does not change his own physical shape or synchronise with another being, but takes on the role of a scribe. By being a scribe of a specific god, he is integrated in the immediate association of that god. The role gives the dead a specific assignment and serves to integrate him into the sphere of the gods.

In a number of spells which have gods as their transformation objects, the dead is identified with a specific god and is thereby placed in a mythological setting, or the kinship of the particular god. An identification with Horus gives the person a particular place in an already existing setting. Spell 312 explicitly integrates the dead through Horus making him his *b3*.⁵¹² In this spell he is also given a specific task of going to the Netherworld as a messenger to Osiris so the dead as the *b3* of Horus is integrated in a specific setting, role, and assignment. Often the texts raise themes such as being in the presence of gods or being involved in specific activities, preferably eating.

⁵⁰⁷ Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 512-517.

⁵⁰⁸ Spell 298, CT IV 51.

⁵⁰⁹ As has been pointed out about the Book of Traversing Eternity, Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 395-396, Assmann in Herbin (ed), *Le Livre de Parcourir l'éternité*, vii and DuQuesne in Assmann and Bommas (eds), *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, 41.

⁵¹⁰ For a social integration into the Afterlife see Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 58-63.

⁵¹¹ See below.

⁵¹² See Chapter IV, '*b3* and *irw*'.

di=sn n=i h^cw dmd m bik nfr n nbw tp

bnwt=f

ḳ r^c r^c nb r sdm mdw=f

hms=i hn^c ntrw(y) ipyw nbw pt

They give me the crowns united as a beautiful golden falcon on his perch.⁵¹³

Re comes every day to hear his words

I sit down with these two gods, lords of the sky.⁵¹⁴

III 7 Relationships between *hprw* rubrics and the content of the spell

The use of rubrics in the Coffin Texts is general in contrast to the Pyramid Texts,⁵¹⁵ but not as consistent as in the Book of the Dead. Also within the Coffin Text corpus, a continuous expansion of the practice of using rubrics has been noticed, where rubrics are added to later versions of the same spell.⁵¹⁶ Rubrics vary in length and use, and different attempts have been made to classify them.⁵¹⁷ Some of the uses range from seemingly stating the purpose of the spell⁵¹⁸ to explaining the text,⁵¹⁹ or providing instructions for its use.⁵²⁰ Most of the titles and post scripts are written in red,⁵²¹ but there are also some examples of first lines of spells and post scripts which are formulated as rubrics, but are not written in red.⁵²²

Rubrics of individual spells also vary, so that the same spell might have different rubrics in different versions. Some are also changed in the transmission from the Coffin Texts to the Book of

⁵¹³ According to B1P. B3L has *bnt* and a grain of sand (N33) as determinative, probably connected to the *bnbn*-stone.

⁵¹⁴ Spell 302 CT IV 54j-l.

⁵¹⁵ For Pyramid Texts on Coffins see below.

⁵¹⁶ Silverman in Simpson (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 33, de Buck, *Plaats en Betekenis van Sjoe*, 230. De Buck writes that the earliest versions of the Shu-spells (75-83) do not have titles and that titles in general are almost always a latter addition to spells. De Buck was also of the opinion that the Shu spells were originally used for a different purpose, something which has not been proven, see Willems, *Heqata*, 273.

⁵¹⁷ For example, Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 96-144 with a classification in short on pages 98-99.

⁵¹⁸ Which would include the *hprw*-rubrics.

⁵¹⁹ The most notable is spell 335 with its many commentaries. This spell has been carefully studied by a number of Egyptologists. See for example Parkinson and Quirke in Lloyd (ed), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society*, 37-56, and the various chapters in Westendorf (ed), *Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*.

⁵²⁰ See for example spell 83 'Words to say over the forepart of a lion made from carnelian...' CT II 46a.

Silverman interpret most titles to explain the purpose of the spell and in general he thinks rubrics were an invention by editors as support when dealing with difficult texts after the transition from the originally more narrow use by royals to the relatively broader use by nobles: Silverman in Simpson (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 35.

⁵²¹ For this practice see Posener, *JEA* 35, 77-81 and *JEA* 37, 75-80, Lefèbvre, *JEA* 35, 72-76, Griffiths in Brandon, Bleeker, and Simon (eds), *Ex Orbe Religionum*, 81-90.

⁵²² See for example spell 1130 which has two different after scripts where the first one is written in red and the last one in black. The last one has parallels in other spells where they are mostly written in red. See Chapter II.

the Dead. Spell 311 of the Coffin Texts has the rubric *hprw m hnsw m hrt-ntr*.⁵²³ This spell, together with spell 310, have become spell 83 in Book of the Dead with the rubric: *r n irt hprw m bnw*,⁵²⁴ so Khons is changed to phoenix. The Book of the Dead has still kept the identification through the nominal sentence, *ink hnsw*,⁵²⁵ in the spell, as it also occurs in the Coffin Texts, and neither mention the phoenix in the body of the spells so the reason for the change is unclear. However, in the majority of cases there is a clear relationship between the spell and the title, even for a modern reader.

The content of the spell varies greatly in how it reflects the title, and a single translation of *hpr* or *hprw* cannot reflect this diversity of use. Still, there are some distinct features which are shown in a large number of the spells. The most prominent of these features is the identity of the speaker, or of N if the spell is written in the third person. In the majority of cases this is reflected in the rubric, even though it might be alongside other identities as well.

III 7.1 Nominal sentences agreeing with the rubric

The infinitive is used in rubrics of ‘transformation spells’ in *hprw m x*, *hpr m x*, but the grammatical construction in the heading is seldom repeated in the spell itself.⁵²⁶ However, in over half of these spells, nominal sentences are used to express the same identity in the body of the text. A large number⁵²⁷ are built up as in this example:

<i>hprw m bik</i>	<u>Becoming a falcon</u>
<i>ink bik</i>	I am a falcon. ⁵²⁸

The dead is not said to transform (*hprw m*) in the body of the spell, but is identified with (mostly *ink ...* or *N pn ...*). This use of nominal sentences for identification with something external is far wider in use than just in the spells with *hprw*-rubrics, and identifications with deities are also used in this manner in spells used by the living, but the use of them in the *hprw* spells also shows a strong connection between transformations and identifications.⁵²⁹ Since the nominal sentence is the first line of the spell, there is no other starting point for the dead, and no transfer between the identity of the dead and the identity of a falcon. There is no visible process described as concomitant with taking the identity of a falcon.

⁵²³ CT IV 67t.

⁵²⁴ Budge, *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day I*, 181 line 1.

⁵²⁵ CT IV 65j. Budge, *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day I*, 181 line 11.

⁵²⁶ With some exceptions, for example spells 253, 317.

⁵²⁷ For example 75, 208, 272, 273, 292, 302, 316, 322, 331, 703, 871.

⁵²⁸ Spell 273 CT IV 11a-b B2L.

⁵²⁹ Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 50-61.

In these spells, where the heading is directly followed by a nominal sentence with the same identity, the content often continues to describe the object of identification. For example, another spell for becoming a falcon:

<i>hprw m bik</i>	<u>Becoming a falcon.</u>
<i>ink bik ʕ</i>	I am a great falcon
<i>hpr m swht</i>	who came into being in the egg.
<i>spʔ=i hnn=i m bik</i>	I fly up and I land as a falcon ⁵³⁰

The model is the same when the identification sentence in the beginning⁵³¹ of the spell, at the end,⁵³² in the middle,⁵³³ or repeated throughout the spell.⁵³⁴ Several spells also occur in different variants where one version has the rubric at the beginning of the spell and another version has it at the end.

III 7.1.1 *n-ntt* +nominal sentence

A smaller number of spells⁵³⁵ chose to start with a description of the object of identification. In spell 668 the impact on the surroundings and actions are described before the nominal sentence.

<i>hprw m bʔbiw m [hrt-]ntr</i>	Becoming Babi in the realm of the dead. ⁵³⁶
...	...
<i>snḏ n=f nbw</i>	The lords are afraid of him
<i>sdʔ n=f rmt</i>	men tremble for him.
<i>n-ntt ir is N pn bʔbiw pi</i>	As for this N he this Babi ⁵³⁷

The nominal sentence is preceded with *n-ntt*, explaining the previous statement with the identity of the dead.

III 7.1.2 Nominal sentence with synonym for the object of the rubric

In a few cases, the nominal sentence does not express the precise identity found in the rubric, but conveys the same meaning. This particularly occurs in spells where Horus and falcon are interchangeable.⁵³⁸ In other cases there is a matter of a slight change:

⁵³⁰ Spell 302 CT IV 53f-54a.

⁵³¹ The same pattern is visible in spells 85, 280, 283, 669, 678, 854.

⁵³² For example spells 261, 270, 285, 289, 325, 329, 540, 959 ('will be' rather than 'are') and 1016. Also 537, however most of this spell is destroyed except for the beginning and end.

⁵³³ For example spells 257, 313 (the rubric has falcon and the nominal sentence Horus), 320 (the dead is both Neper and is living of Neper as grain) and 722.

⁵³⁴ For example spells 86, 148 (the rubric says falcon, and the nominal sentence Horus), 149, 268, 720 and 991.

⁵³⁵ Spell 612, 668 and 957.

⁵³⁶ CT VI 296n.

⁵³⁷ CT VI 297a-c.

hpr m sš n šht htp n wsir

Becoming scribe of the field of offerings of Osiris⁵³⁹

...

ink sš h3dt šht htp r-^c n dhwtj mm irw htp

I am scribe of the store-chest of the field of offerings
beside Thoth among the ones who make offerings.⁵⁴⁰

The addition of the store-chest does not significantly change the identity of the scribe, though it might specify his duties. In two other scribe spells, spells 252 and 254 similar matters occur (see below).

III 7.2 Identification without nominal sentence

In fewer cases, the identification is expressed clearly, but not by nominal sentences. For example,⁵⁴¹ in spell 581 the rubric, at the end of the spell, is:

hprw m smn

Becoming a goose⁵⁴²

while the passage relating to the rubric in the spell has:

ngg.n=i m smn

I have cackled as a goose.⁵⁴³

The same pattern occurs in spells 278 and 287.⁵⁴⁴ Other examples use different verbs to reflect the identity in the rubric, *h^c* is for example fairly common:⁵⁴⁵

m3n=sn hknw=sn im=i

They will see their celebration by means of me,
who appears as Sia⁵⁴⁶

h^c m si3

Another example is spell 274 'Becoming a divine falcon':⁵⁴⁷

tn N pn m bik ntr

This N is lifted up⁵⁴⁸ as a divine falcon⁵⁴⁹

Spell 286 is for becoming Horus or alternatively a falcon.⁵⁵⁰

m3 wsir N pn iwr ms m hr iw^cw

See this Osiris N, who was conceived and born as
Horus the heir.⁵⁵¹

⁵³⁸ In spells 227, 269, 1015 and possibly also 76 and 271. See also spell 312 where the transformation object in the rubric is 'divine falcon' and Horus *s^chs* the dead person as his *b3*. The divine falcon is a direct parallel to the *b3* of Horus. Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 13-14.

⁵³⁹ Spell 329, CT IV 165a.

⁵⁴⁰ CT IV 165d.

⁵⁴¹ See also spell 374 cross ref where the identification in the spell is with Nehebkau but the rubric applies a pun and associating the god with 'a *k3*-snake and a *n^cw*-snake' CT IV 36f, B2L.

⁵⁴² CT VI 196j.

⁵⁴³ CT VI 196c.

⁵⁴⁴ See also spell 505, which seem to have room for a restoration of *hpr* in the rubric, but where the speaker is acting as Re, rather than directly saying that he is Re.

⁵⁴⁵ See for example spell 281, 317, 331 and 668.

⁵⁴⁶ Spell 958, CT VII 176m-177a.

⁵⁴⁷ CT IV 13a T1L

⁵⁴⁸ Most versions have *tny*.

⁵⁴⁹ CT IV 13e.

⁵⁵⁰ CT IV 38e Sq6C Horus, B1C falcon.

Only very rarely is *hpr* used in these circumstances. Spell 291 is for becoming a child.⁵⁵²

ink irf hprw m hrdw I am indeed the one who has become a child,⁵⁵³

III 7.2.1 The identity is not repeated

In a few spells, the identity is not explicitly repeated outside the rubric. This particularly occurs in Horus or falcon spells.⁵⁵⁴ Here the rubric involves becoming Horus,⁵⁵⁵ or a falcon,⁵⁵⁶ but in the spell the lines most closely relating to the rubric are sentences concerning the sky and horizon, for example:

itt.n=i pt I have seized the sky⁵⁵⁷

So the spell clearly places the falcon, or falcon god, in his own realm, but it does not spell out in the body of the spell that he is a falcon. Similar examples have, for example, Hapy in the rubric and then references to flooding without Hapy's name mentioned again,⁵⁵⁸ so the connection in these cases is basically metonymic.

III 7.3 More than one identity

Some of the most obvious examples where the speaker identifies with several different gods are spell 317⁵⁵⁹ and 829; some examples from spell 829 follow:

ink rw I am a lion.
ink rwyty I am the double lions.
ink wr n wnwt=f I am the greatest of his (own) priests
ink hr sm3 dil I am Horus, uniter⁵⁶⁰

ink ist///sy m-hnw 3h-bit I am Isis⁵⁶¹ within Chemmis

ink gb k m t3 I am Geb who entered into the earth⁵⁶²

⁵⁵¹ CT IV 37c.

⁵⁵² CT IV 42f.

⁵⁵³ CT IV 42g-h.

⁵⁵⁴ See below.

⁵⁵⁵ For example spell 326.

⁵⁵⁶ For example spell 147, 989.

⁵⁵⁷ Spell 326 CT IV 160c.

⁵⁵⁸ Spell 547. See also 84, 105, 293, and 992 (in 992 there are at least no nominal sentence relating to the rubric preserved but some of the spell is destroyed).

⁵⁵⁹ Examples are presented below under gods.

⁵⁶⁰ CT VII 30d-g.

⁵⁶¹ CT VII 30j.

⁵⁶² CT VII 30l.

ink r^c nb t3wy=f

I am Re, lord of his two lands⁵⁶³

In other spells, the examples are not as multiple, but often move between two. In spell 284 Osiris N starts being identified with Horus:

wsir N pn twt hr

O this Osiris N, you are Horus⁵⁶⁴

The description of Horus soon moves to a description of a different identity:

n-sw wrt

he belongs to the Great One

nbt nsw

Lady of Flame,

wrt imyt wpt itn i3hw

the Great One who is between the horns, the disk of radiance

psht m r=s

who bites with her mouth

wht m sd=s

who lashes⁵⁶⁵ with her tail(?)⁵⁶⁶

*nh^t dd <m> tmyw m-hrt<-ib> hh n ns n
r=s⁵⁶⁷*

who lives <on> those who say non-existent (things),⁵⁶⁸
in the midst of the heat of the flame of her mouth

nhmt r^c m 3pp⁵⁶⁹

who rescues Re from Apep.

hprw m sdt m hrt-ntr m st nbt nt imnt

Becoming Fire in the realm of the dead of every place
in the West⁵⁷⁰

In this spell the rubric reflects the identity of the uraeus, or identifies with the fiery power of the uraeus. The uraeus and her fire are the main foci in the spell, and not who the dead is identified with in the beginning.

Spell 464:

hpr m htp nb sh^ty htp

Becoming Hetep, lord of the two fields of offerings⁵⁷¹

h^tp in this sentence has a god determinative. The speaker both says that he is Hetep directly:

n-ntt ink is h^tp m sh^t=f

because I am Hetep in his field.⁵⁷²

and following this, information about Hetep is provided in third person. For example:

sm=f psd^ty=f mrrw=f

He guides his two enneads whom he loves.

⁵⁶³ CT VII 30o.

⁵⁶⁴ CT IV 34b.

⁵⁶⁵ *wht* both has the meaning 'to release' and 'to catch' when used for catching birds and fish. The meaning should probably be 'to lash', perhaps related to *hwt*?

⁵⁶⁶ See Faulkner, *Coffin Text I*, 213 n.4.

⁵⁶⁷ See Faulkner's reconstruction *Coffin Text I*, 213 n.5.

⁵⁶⁸ The text writes *nh^t dd tmyw* which yields poor sense. Probably a corruption in the hieratic where original *nh^t m* has been corrupted to *nh^t dd*. (The *dd* group can look very similar to the *m*).

⁵⁶⁹ T1L only.

⁵⁷⁰ CT IV 34c-j.

⁵⁷¹ CT V 336a B1Bo.

⁵⁷² CT V 339d.

sh̄tp=f ḥ3wy n irw imntt

He makes the two warriors peaceful for the ones of the West.

*bḥn=f i3kbw*⁵⁷³

He cuts off the mourners.

ḥm3=f nfrt

He creates that which is good.

in=f ḥtpt

He brings that which is *ḥtpt*.⁵⁷⁴

Later in the spell, while all versions have the above lines in third person, the majority of versions then switch to first person.

ink rḥ ḥtp

I am the one who knows Hetep.

ḥny=i m šw=s

I row on its lakes

spr=i r niwt=s

I arrive at its town.⁵⁷⁵

The speaker is now in the realm of the afterlife, in Hetep, also enjoying its riches⁵⁷⁶ and respecting its rules.⁵⁷⁷ The identity of the speaker in this spell is floating between Hetep, and someone being in Hetep. While this is visible in the use of pronouns, it might not make any difference in meaning since the god personifies the concept. It might be that this identification is a way of forming an existence through the pun on *ḥtp*.

III 7.3.1 Other identity

In some cases the rubric does not seem to correlate with the identity in the body of the spell. At the beginning of spell 281 Osiris N appears as Horus.⁵⁷⁸ The same identity is ascribed to Osiris N in the end of the spell:

wsir N pn twt ḥr ds=f nb ḥk3w

O, this Osiris N, you are Horus himself, lord of *ḥk3w*.⁵⁷⁹

but the rubric directly following this line is:

ḥprw m ḥk3w

Becoming *ḥk3w*⁵⁸⁰

It seems that the rubric observes the last words of being lord of *ḥk3w* and relates this to the identity.⁵⁸¹ A similar construction is used in spell 282 ‘Becoming Tayt’,⁵⁸² where the power of Osiris N is in focus:

⁵⁷³ B1L only.

⁵⁷⁴ *ḥtpt* in all intact versions except B1Bo which has *ḥtp* and a god determinative. CT V 340a-e.

⁵⁷⁵ CT V 342d-f.

⁵⁷⁶ CT V 344a-345a.

⁵⁷⁷ CT V 345b-346a.

⁵⁷⁸ CT IV 30d.

⁵⁷⁹ CT IV 31e.

⁵⁸⁰ CT IV 31f.

⁵⁸¹ For more spells with more than one identity see for example also 276, 277 and 317 under ‘Other gods’ below.

⁵⁸² CT IV 32h.

itt wsir N pn wsrw nb w^c

This Osiris N takes all the power of the one

rdi i3 n wsir N pn in imyw=f

and praise is given to this Osiris N by those ones who are in him

m33=sn nw wsir N pn h^c.w hr nb=sn

when they see this, this Osiris N having appeared as their lord.⁵⁸³

Tayt does not appear until the end of the spell, just before the rubric, and she is then not identified with Osiris N:

ir.n n=f t3yt st nt wsir N pn

Tayt has made a seat of this Osiris N, for him.⁵⁸⁴

Otherwise it is Osiris N who is the actor in this spell. Since the rubrics seem to have been added later that the composition of the spells, the determining factor here seems to be proximity, either the last or first part of the spell is taken to tell us about its function.

III 7.4 No functional identification

In one group of spells, the rubric does not reveal an exact identity which the dead takes on but rather refers to something he or she is given or is in the sphere of. For example, in spell 993, *hpr m hrpwy*⁵⁸⁵ where the deceased do not take the form of a twin-sceptre, but the spell has to do with authority.⁵⁸⁶ This will be discussed further below.

Spell 853 is in a grey area between what we would describe as an identity and an abstract quality which can be given to a person. The rubric is:

hprw m s^ch

Becoming a s^ch⁵⁸⁷

which would qualify as a proper identity. However, in the spell Osiris N is not saying that he is s^ch, but:

di=sn s^ch/// wsir N pn

They grant s^ch ///⁵⁸⁸ this Osiris N.⁵⁸⁹

III 7.5 *hprw* as an unspecified manifestation

In some spells, the rubric concerns making transformations in general, without concerning a specific identity. Spell 290 is similar to the spells above where it might be a question about more than one identity.

⁵⁸³ CT IV 32d-f.

⁵⁸⁴ CT IV 32g.

⁵⁸⁵ Spell 993, CT VII 205a.

⁵⁸⁶ See also spell 223, 288, 297, 706, 988 in below.

⁵⁸⁷ CT VII 57e.

⁵⁸⁸ The lacuna possibly contains the determinative for s^ch or n=f.

⁵⁸⁹ CT VII 56q.

<i>hpr m wdḥ</i>	Becoming a weaned child.
<i>ink irf hpr m wdḥ</i>	I am indeed he who became a weaned child
<i>irw ʿ=f ḏdw mwt=f</i>	whose ʿ, ⁵⁹⁰ which his mother ⁵⁹¹ says, is made.
<i>ink hprw n ntr nb</i>	I am the manifestation of any god.
<i>irt hprw m ntr nb mrrw s irt hprw=f im=f</i>	<u>Making manifestations as any god whose manifestations a man wishes to make by it</u> ⁵⁹²

In this spell the rubric is at the end. However, the first line is also expressed as a rubric, even if none of the three versions actually have it in red. In spell 291, which is a version of this spell, ‘Becoming a child’ is in red in at least one of the versions.⁵⁹³ The following sentence then emphasises the process of the speaker becoming a weaned child rather than saying that he is one.

Spells 298 and 301 also include *irt hprw m*, and making manifestations in general, and in both cases the rubric is inserted after the spell.⁵⁹⁴ Spells 290, 298 and 301 all occur on the same two coffins.⁵⁹⁵ In the last two cases the spells do not contain any identification with a specific named identity. In the Book of the Dead all of the transformation spells use *iri*, whether they refer to transformations in general or transformation into something specific.⁵⁹⁶

There are also a number of later examples of this type. From Paheri’s tomb in El Kab:

<i>irt hprw m bnw mnt</i>	Making manifestations as a phoenix, swallow,
<i>m bik šnty (r-)pw mr=k</i>	falcon, or heron, as you wish. ⁵⁹⁷

Here four birds are mentioned before it is added that Paheri should be able to take any form he wishes. A number of other examples could be included and a further study on this expression not limited to the Coffin Text corpus would be interesting.

III 7.5.1 Making powerful manifestations

In spell 829 the rubric is destroyed at the end:

<i>r n ʿk m t3</i>	<u>Spell for entering the earth</u>
<i>irt hprw m ///</i>	<u>making manifestations as ///</u> ⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁰ Faulkner translates it ‘record’ Coffin Texts I, 217. Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 556 and Demarée and Valbelle, *Les registres de recensement du village de Deir el-Médineh*, 99, ‘certificat’. Both Faulkner and Demarée/Valbelle are under the impression that this refers to a registration of births in Egypt. Demarée/Valbelle even refer to the text as one of the earliest pieces of evidence for this, however it is imagined that this was carried out.

⁵⁹¹ Father in B1L but mother in the other two versions.

⁵⁹² CT IV 42a-e, B1L.

⁵⁹³ Spell 290 CT IV 42f-j. Sq1C has the rubric in red.

⁵⁹⁴ Also compare with spell 52 CT I 239h.

⁵⁹⁵ B3L and B1L.

⁵⁹⁶ See also the examples in Chapter II under ‘Outcomes’.

⁵⁹⁷ Urk IV 113 lines 13-14.

Through a nominal sentence, the speaker is then identified with various deities. He also says:

ink ir hprw shm m 3hw=f I am one who makes powerful manifestations as my⁵⁹⁹
*3hw.*⁶⁰⁰

Since the rubric is slightly destroyed and the spell contains different identities, the line above might refer to making manifestations in general, similar to the usage in spells 291, 298, 301 above.

III 7.6 Rubrics and content

Many more Coffin Texts involve identification without having transformation headings. For example spell 242 which has the rubric:

r n wn sb3 n b3 dd mdw Spell for opening a portal for the *b3*. Recite:⁶⁰¹

But the first line is:

ink dhwtj in m3ct wd3 wd3t m pr rwty I am Thoth who brings Maat, who heals⁶⁰² the *wedjat*-
eye in the house of the double lions.⁶⁰³

The dead is identified with Thoth and, as in many *hprw*-spells, some aspects of the object of identification are described, but the rubric is not a transformation rubric. This spell has not been classified as a transformation spell, either by Buchberger or by Barguet,⁶⁰⁴ which is also not surprising since the purpose seems to concern opening a portal for the *b3*. However, it does contain the same elements as a *hprw*-spell.

In expressing the identity of the speaker, constructions such as *hprw m ...* occur mainly in headings. The majority of cases with this kind of rubric have nominal sentences in the spells, which parallel the content of the rubric. There seems to be no difference in the use of language where the identity is expressed with a nominal sentence in the first or last line of the spell. However, the placement of an identity in the spell might have affected the choice of title. This would explain the examples when the rubric does not agree with the identity of the speaker but reflects one of the words in the beginning or end of the spell.

The transformation spells in the Book of the Dead have clear headings while the equivalent in the Pyramid Texts is not present due to the general absence of that kind of rubric in the Pyramid

⁵⁹⁸ CT VII 30a-b.

⁵⁹⁹ Lit. 'his', but referring to the speaker.

⁶⁰⁰ CT VII 30n. Other interpretations of the sentence are possible and *shm* might belong to *3hw* rather than the *hprw*.

⁶⁰¹ CT III 327a.

⁶⁰² Or 'set out', 3 versions have leg determinatives while only one has a papyrus.

⁶⁰³ CT III 327b.

⁶⁰⁴ Buchberger does not mention the spell in *Transformation und Transformat*. Barguet places it under 'La libération de l'âme-ba', 230 rather than under 'Les transformations et identifications', *Textes des Sarcophages Egyptiens*, 424f.

Texts. In the Middle Kingdom copies of the Pyramid Texts,⁶⁰⁵ only a few rubrics are added.⁶⁰⁶ They are typically short and introduced by *r n*. In the Coffin Texts there are also a number of spells of similar character as the transformation spells which do not have headings, or have other types of headings without including *hprw*.⁶⁰⁷ Further work of the content of the Pyramid Texts and their correspondence with Coffin Text transformation spells would surely show a different result;⁶⁰⁸ to mention a few examples, there is identification with Horus in Pyramid Text 537 and 668, and with a falcon in spell 627 and 655. Dividing spells into categories according to titles is a facile way of organising the vast material of the Coffin Texts, and since the addition of titles during this time seems to have been an ongoing process, it does not include all the spells of this particular character. The classification based on headings is thereby a simplification of the reality of the material.⁶⁰⁹ At least we can assume that the persons who later labelled the compositions had some thoughts behind it, even if it is difficult to know how systematic this labelling was at this time, how it differed from other texts with different rubrics, or how it related to the thought behind the original composition. It is therefore to prefer to a modern categorisation.

III 8 Birds

III 8.1 Goose

Three spells, 278, 287 and 581, have the rubric:

hprw m smn

Becoming a goose⁶¹⁰

These spells also share the same beginning:

p3.n=i m wr

I have flown up as the swallow.

ngg.n=i m smn

I have cackled as a goose.

ir n=i ḥw hr wʿrt ʿt mḥty iw ʿ3

A standing place is made for me on the great area

⁶⁰⁵ Allen, *Middle Kingdom Copies of Pyramid Texts*.

⁶⁰⁶ To *PT 77*, *BH3C*, *PT 81 BH4C*, *T1BE*, *PT 220 Sq2Be*, *PT 226 L-MH1A*, *L1Ny*, *Sq2C*, *T1Be*, *T3Be*, *PT 447 Sq12C*. *B9C* also has *ḏd mdw* in red but not a full rubric. In the supplemental texts, *B17C* has one to three words in red at the end of each utterance.

⁶⁰⁷ Buchberger makes a difference between spells which has *hpr* in the title (*verwandlungssprüche*) and spells which has the same form or theme but no heading (*krypto-Verwandlungssprüche*). Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 81-83, tablets on 84-87.

⁶⁰⁸ In Griffiths words: 'As far as the term *hprw* is concerned, one which is bound up with the ideas of plurality and changeability, it is not commonly used in the Pyramid Text to express this power, but occurs frequently in such contexts in the books concerned with the underworld. However, the Pyramid texts often express the idea in other ways.' Griffiths in van Voss *et al* (eds), *Studies in Egyptian Religion*, 49-50. See also examples of identifications in the Pyramid Texts Schott, *Mythe und Mythenbildung*, 48-49.

⁶⁰⁹ As in literature, where one label can be used for varied texts, Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 108-111, for example *sb3yt* which was used for teachings, onomasticons and calendars.

⁶¹⁰ Spell 278, *CT IV 25c Sq6C*, spell 287, *CT IV 38f*, spell 581 *CT VI 196j*.

north of the great island.⁶¹¹

Cackling like a goose also occurs in spell 205 which also has similar lines, but with a rubric belonging to the 'reversal-texts',⁶¹² the birds are also linked to different beings.

p3.n=i r=sn m wr mi dhwtj I have flown up to them as a swallow, like Thoth.

ng=i r=sn m smn mi šsmw I cackle to them as a goose, like Shesemu.

p3=i m gbg3 I fly up as Gebga.⁶¹³

Shesemu and Gebga might occur here for preventing the negative aspects associated with them by the speaker identifying with them.⁶¹⁴ Shesemu, Gebga and Thoth have manifestations as birds, but they are here not in their most common species of birds. Nevertheless, the focus is laid on the flying and cackling.

Spell 287 and 581 then goes on to say:

m33 si n mni.n=f See it, he is not dead,

hnn hr=t h^c=f mm ntr alighting on you (the area), he appears among the
god.⁶¹⁵

The spells then move on in different directions and at different lengths. In spell 581, BH3C ends soon hereafter, but P. Gardiner II has a very long version. After this, a dialogue begins concerning avoiding eating excrement. Spell 287 seems to end with the speaker having arrived in the sky: 'I have come, the fields are seen'.⁶¹⁶ In spell 278 it does not seem that the speaker has reached the sky since it ends:

ts wsir N pn m3kt mm ntrw This Osiris N raises a ladder among the gods.

wsir N pn twt w^c im=sn This Osiris N, you are a unique one among them.⁶¹⁷

Its focus is rather on the dead's position among the gods.

The Goose is only mentioned once outside the rubric, but the flight in this context probably refers to both that of a goose and that of a swallow, even though it is only the swallow that is mentioned by name. The passage of migratory birds is a very strong theme and here two different

⁶¹¹ Spell 581, CT VI 196b-d. This last sentence is expressed slightly different in the three spells, in spell 278 N alights and the specific area is spoken about in different terms. Spell 278 CT IV 23a-c spell 287, CT IV 38g-i. Spell 190 also brings up the same passage: CT III 98j-k, as does spell 203: CT III 130f-i. See also Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 130-131 translating *w^crt* 'shore' and discussing the place of the Afterlife as a shore on the other side of a body of water. In either case, the speaker takes off from this world and arrives at a place in the Afterlife. The spells have some variants of what follows after the plateau. Spell 287 has 'of the Great Foreland' CT IV 23d. Spell 287 has 'north of the horizon of the sky.' CT IV 38j.

⁶¹² About not eating excrements, drinking urine or walk upside down in the realm of the dead. Frandsen, in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, 23-62.

⁶¹³ CT III 144b-d.

⁶¹⁴ Frandsen in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, 57-58, Schott, *JEA* 54, 47-49.

⁶¹⁵ Spell 581 CT VI 196e-f mainly following BH3C. Spell 287 CT IV 38k-l, this version has 'appears as the great god'.

⁶¹⁶ CT IV 39e-f.

⁶¹⁷ CT IV 25a-b Sq6C.

birds are connected to the theme of passage.⁶¹⁸ The specific lines which are repeated in each spell concern alighting on an area where the gods are, in order to be alive among the gods. Since both swallows and geese migrate, they are both be suitable illustrations for making long journeys. The fact that they were present and absent for different parts of the year made them suitable images for travelling between worlds,⁶¹⁹ like the sun does. In the Book of Nut migratory birds are described to come from the north part of the sky, then having human head and bird body to be transformed into birds when reaching Egypt.⁶²⁰ The image therefore is that of a parallel between the passage from this world to the next and a bird taking off and landing.

II 8.2 Swallow

Three spells have the heading ‘Becoming a swallow’,⁶²¹ what follows in 283 is very short:

<i>wsir N pn twt mnt twt mnt</i>	O this Osiris N, you are a swallow, you are a swallow.
<i>wsir N pn twt it n ḥḏdyt s3t r^c</i>	O this Osiris, you are the father of the migratory-bird, daughter of Re.
<i>i ntrw ndm wst=tn</i>	O gods, whose scent is sweet.
<i>ns n wsir N pn pr=f m 3ht</i>	A flame belongs to this Osiris N when he comes up from the horizon. ⁶²²

Different versions of the spell have different rubrics. L1Li has ‘Words spoken by N. He says:’. Sq1C has ‘Words spoken: Not dying again.’ T1L has traces of a transformation rubric, and de Buck notes that there is room for ‘*ḏd mdw ḥprw m ...*’.⁶²³ Sq6C has:

<i>ḥprw m mnt</i> ⁶²⁴	<u>Becoming a swallow</u> ⁶²⁵
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Despite this, outside the rubric all spells start with the identification with a swallow. In the Book of the Dead spell 86 most of the lines in the Coffin Text spell provide the beginning of the much longer Book of the Dead spell. However, the Coffin Texts version consists only of these few lines. The theme in the short spell has to do with ascending, which is probably why the rubric ‘Becoming a swallow’ is chosen.

In spell 687 the rubric is:

<i>ḥpr m mnt m ḥrt-ntr</i>	<u>Becoming a swallow in the realm of the dead</u> ⁶²⁶
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⁶¹⁸ Te Velde, *Ex Orbe religionum*, 26-31.

⁶¹⁹ Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen*, 135-136.

⁶²⁰ Assmann, *Search for God*, 61-62.

⁶²¹ Spell 283, CT IV 33g, spell 293 CT IV 45b, spell 687 CT VI 305o.

⁶²² CT IV 33c-f.

⁶²³ CT IV 33 n2.

⁶²⁴ Faulkner notes that it is an eccentric spelling of *mnt*, *Coffin Texts I*, 213 n.1.

⁶²⁵ CT IV 33g.

The only other lines talking about a swallow in the spell are:

N pn mnt psšt sd sđrt ht t3

This N is a swallow with divided tail which sleeps throughout the land.

n sđr.n N pn ht t3

This N does not sleep throughout the land.⁶²⁷

The swallow is connected to the sun, and can be depicted standing in the prow of the sun boat.⁶²⁸ Furthermore, it is possible that the yearly migration cycle of the swallow is compared with the daily cycle of the sun.⁶²⁹ However, the deceased, who does not sleep, is contrasted with the swallow, who does sleep. The parallel between sleep and death is then also taken into account⁶³⁰ and the denial of sleep stands as a metaphor for the denial of death. The identification with a swallow is thereby directly opposed by N not behaving like the swallow. The rest of the spell mainly focuses on the might of this N, over whom no one can have power.

In spell 293 both versions have the rubric:

wb3 imntt

Opening the west

hprw m ʿrt

becoming a swallow⁶³¹

The theme in the spell is passing over. For example:

mi wd3 ir=k

Come, cross over,⁶³²

...

pr.n=i hr šw h3.n=i hr hr

I have gone up through Shu, I have descended through Horus.⁶³³

This is possibly why the rubric involves a swallow, since the swallow is not mentioned further in the body of text, but the text concerns unhindered passage, which could be associated with migratory birds. Spell 293 is closer in theme with the spells which have the rubric 'Becoming a goose' (above) which also contain the theme of passing freely.

⁶²⁶ CT VI 305o.

⁶²⁷ CT VI 305a-b.

⁶²⁸ Te Velde, *Ex Orbe Religionum*, 26-31.

⁶²⁹ Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung*, 122 n.210 comments about the sun as being viewed as a migratory bird for the Netherworld.

⁶³⁰ As is the case, for example, in the Great Hymn to the Aten, Sandman, *Akhenaten*, 93-94.

⁶³¹ CT IV 45a-b.

⁶³² CT IV 45g.

⁶³³ CT IV 45l.

III 8.3 Other birds

III 8.3.1 Birds in lotus-ponds(?)

In two spells the rubric involves becoming a heron.⁶³⁴ Spell 292 has:

hpr m nwr m sšnty

Becoming a heron in the lotus-pond(?)⁶³⁵

...

iw dnhy=i m km3 šwt=f hr-ib s3h=f

My wings are throwing his knives in the middle of his grant of land(?).

iw b^cnt=i m nfr m33wt

My neck is beautiful of sight,

iw db^w=i m nrtiw

and my fingers are the terrible ones.

iw irty=i m sšmwty r^c

My eyes are two guides of Re.

sšm=i sšnty

I rule the lotus-pond.⁶³⁶

The spell contains elements of the heron being powerful in the lotus-pool, with some similarities to the spells about Sobek,⁶³⁷ and a description of a bird.

Spell 703 has some similarities to spell 292, but is only available in one version.⁶³⁸ *sšnti* is possibly not a specific species of bird, but lotus-pond as a location, if the translation is right. The rubric before the spell is:

r n hpr m sšnti

Spell for becoming a lotus-pond(?) -bird⁶³⁹

and after the spell:

dd mdw hpr m sšnti m hrt-ntr

Recite: Becoming a lotus-pond(?) -bird in the realm of the dead

pr s m 3hw=f

so that a man is equipped with his 3hw⁶⁴⁰

In this spell the speaker is identified with a lotus-pond bird who walks freely and supplies himself with food:

ink sšnti pw h^cm w^crt

I am that lotus-pond(?) -bird who fishes the district.⁶⁴¹

...

ink ir hprw m 3h sbw n k3w=sn

I am one who has made manifestations as 3hw who have gone to their k3w.

⁶³⁴ Of these spell 272 has a variant of the rubric where it instead had falcon and is placed under falcons and falcon gods.

⁶³⁵ CT IV 43a.

⁶³⁶ CT IV 43f-j following B2L.

⁶³⁷ See below.

⁶³⁸ B2L.

⁶³⁹ CT VI 334i.

⁶⁴⁰ CT VI 335k-l.

⁶⁴¹ CT VI 334j.

hpr.n=i m hprw tm

I have become the manifestations of Atum.

wnm=i m k3w ipw ʿnhw=i pw 3hw

I eat from those *k3w*, *3hw* are what I live on⁶⁴²

...

ink ntr pw ʿnh m hprw=f nb ʿbw hr wʿrt

I am this god who lives on all his manifestations, the meals in the district⁶⁴³

This spell is quite different from the other spells concerning birds, in that its characteristic behaviour is transferred from the natural to the supernatural. Its characteristic of eating is kept while the food is different and related to what he needs to be an equipped *3hw*. *k3w*, *hprw* and *3hw*, are all acquired by eating. The most prominent feature of the lotus-pool-birds seems to be its power to find, catch and eat. It is by means of equipping himself through eating that the dead will be transformed into an *3h*.⁶⁴⁴ Both of these spells have descriptions of a raptor, hunting, eating, and ruling their location.

III 8.3.2 Unknown bird

Spell 271 is very short with the rubric:

hprw m ʿwʿ

Becoming a ʿwʿ-bird⁶⁴⁵

Or

hprw m iwʿw

Becoming a iwʿw-bird⁶⁴⁶

The spell then compares the deceased movements with two other birds:

p3.n N pn m hby

This N has flown up as an ibis.

hn.n N pn m k3d

This N has alighted as a *k3d*-bird.⁶⁴⁷

The spell is totally focused on flying as a bird, but the exact species of the bird seems to be of less importance since three different kinds are mentioned in the same version of the spell and another kind in a different version of the spell.

III 8.3.3 Vulture

Spell 955 is almost entirely destroyed.⁶⁴⁸ The speaker is identified with Wadjet (*ink w3dt*),⁶⁴⁹ but the rubric is:

[hprw] m nrt

[Becoming] a vulture⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴² CT VI 335b-d.

⁶⁴³ CT VI 335f.

⁶⁴⁴ Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn* for the consumption of these powers and parts, for example 146-147.

⁶⁴⁵ CT IV 9a in B2L. T1L has *dd mdw hprw m ʿwʿ*.

⁶⁴⁶ CT IV 9f, Sq6C.

⁶⁴⁷ CT IV 9c-d.

⁶⁴⁸ So is also spell 871 where 'Becoming an Ibis' (CT VI 75k) can be read but not much else in the text.

⁶⁴⁹ CT VII 170c.

Perhaps the spell concerns Wadjet and Nekhbet. However, too much is destroyed to say much about the spell.

III 9 Gods and Birds

III 9.1 Falcon and falcon gods

III 9.1.1 Falcon

Spell 302 is focused on the appearance and qualities of a falcon:

<i>sp3=i hnn=i m bik n mh</i>	I fly up and I land as a falcon of one cubit
<i>hṭp m psd=f</i>	laid on its back, ⁶⁵¹
<i>dhnwy=i m wd3 šm^cw</i>	and my wings are green stone of upper Egypt. ⁶⁵²

The speaker also has a position among the gods where they bow for him⁶⁵³ and he sits down with the gods⁶⁵⁴ where offerings are laid out for him.⁶⁵⁵ The falcon is described through its physical attributes and dimension, coupled with details that suggest a statue rather than a living bird. It also has an elevated position, included among the gods and importantly eats the offerings. The role of the falcon here is thus extended beyond that of a normal living bird.

Spell 147 'Becoming a falcon'⁶⁵⁶ has no nominal sentences identifying the speaker with a falcon or a particular name of a falcon god. However, there are still some references to a falcon which hint at its identity. The sun disk is addressed, and the speaker says he is the one who has swallowed his eye.⁶⁵⁷ Also the mentioning of the horizon and the sky can be references to a place suitable for a falcon.

III 9.1.2 Falcon or heron

In spell 273, B2L has the heading:

<i>hprw m bik</i>	<u>Becoming a falcon</u> ⁶⁵⁸
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and both B2L and B2P identify the speaker with a falcon (*ink bik / N pn bik*)⁶⁵⁹ while the rest of the four readable versions starts after these two sentences. The rest of the short spell is:

⁶⁵⁰ CT VII 170i.

⁶⁵¹ In the sense of the back measures one cubit. Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 222 n.2.

⁶⁵² CT IV 54a-c.

⁶⁵³ CT IV 54i.

⁶⁵⁴ CT IV 54l.

⁶⁵⁵ CT IV 55a.

⁶⁵⁶ CT II 206a.

⁶⁵⁷ CT II 206b-207b.

⁶⁵⁸ CT IV 11a B2L.

<i>grh pw n shwd rnpwt</i>	It is the night of enriching ⁶⁶⁰ the years.
<i>iw rdi.n=f nrw N pn n hrw hmw ššft N pn nbw hrwt</i>	He has placed fear of this N in those who are over destruction and respect of this N in the lords of butchery.
<i>n it.tw N pn r nmt ntr</i>	This N has not been taken to the slaughterhouse of the god.
<i>n ir htmw h^cwt=sn im N pn</i>	The destroyers have not used their whiplashes on this N.
<i>N pn smw 3ht nt pt</i>	This N is the guide of the horizon of the sky. ⁶⁶¹

The Sq6C then ends with a rubric, but instead of ‘Becoming a falcon’ it has ‘Becoming a heron’,⁶⁶² while three other versions are without a rubric. The only sentence which is clearly connected to a bird is the last line since a flying bird would make a guide of the horizon. However, this does not point to any particular bird therefore either a falcon or a heron could take this role.

III 9.1.3 Human falcon

The rubric in spell 149 is ‘Becoming a falcon’⁶⁶³ or ‘Becoming a human falcon’ *hpr m bik rmt*.⁶⁶⁴ The rubric also contains *s^cht-ing* a man, giving him power over enemies, and making him shod and dressed.⁶⁶⁵ A large part of the spell is devoted to having power over enemies but this is also connected very physically with the falcon in this spell.

<i>h^c.n=i m bik 3</i>	I have appeared as a great falcon.
<i>3m.n=i sw m ^cnwt=i</i>	I have grasped him with my claws.
<i>spty=i r=f m ds thn</i>	My lips are against him as a gleaming knife.
<i>^cnwt=i r=f m šsrw shmt</i>	My claws are against him as the arrows of Sekhmet.
<i>hnwt=i r=f m sm3 wr</i>	My horns are against him as the Great Bull.
<i>dnh=i r=f m h3w</i>	My wings are against him as a <i>h3w</i> -bird.
<i>sd=i r=f m b3 ^cnh</i>	My tail is against him as a living <i>b3</i> .
<i>p3=i</i>	I fly up,
<i>hnn=i hr bksw=f</i>	I alight on his spine. ⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁵⁹ CT IV 11b B2L, B2P.

⁶⁶⁰ B3L has *sgr*, silencing the years.

⁶⁶¹ CT IV 11c-12c.

⁶⁶² CT IV 12d.

⁶⁶³ CT II 226b S1P: S1Chass, S1Cb, S2Ca.

⁶⁶⁴ CT II 226b S2P, S2Ca, P. Berl, S2Cc.

⁶⁶⁵ CT II 226c-227b.

⁶⁶⁶ CT II 236b- 240a, following S2P, S1P, S1Chass, S1Cb, S2Cb, S2Ca.

Even though not all features (i.e. horns) belong to a bird, the rest gives a very clear picture of a bird, or birds, attacking his enemy. The spell has similarities to the spells of the bird in the lotus-ponds above. The actions are directed towards an enemy, whose spine the seeker will land on in the form of a bird.⁶⁶⁷ The human falcon and the depictions of the *b3*, though not present during the Middle Kingdom, have a similar appearance. However, there is no identification with the *b3* in this passage, but a comparison.

The other theme in the spell connected to the human falcon is walking.

<i>dbḥ.n=i ḥprw m bik rmt</i> ⁶⁶⁸	I have requested manifestation as a human falcon
<i>šm=i m rmt</i>	so I may walk as a human
<i>pr=i im</i>	and go forth thereby,
<i>n ḥnr wi ntr</i>	no god having hindered me.
<i>ink bik rmt</i> ⁶⁶⁹	I am a human falcon
<i>šm m rmt</i>	who walks as a human ⁶⁷⁰

Later in the spell it is said:

<i>ḥ^c rf ib n wsir</i>	The heart of Osiris is joyful
<i>m33=f wi i3k=i m bik</i>	when he sees me as I rise as a falcon.
<i>šm.n=i ḥr rdy=i</i> ⁶⁷¹	I walked on my feet
<i>sk wi m rmt</i>	when I was a human.
<i>ink wnnt bik rmt mdw m tpḥt nt wsir</i>	I am indeed a human falcon who speaks in the cavern of Osiris. ⁶⁷²

This spell raises the issue of the starting point for the deceased, either he has a human form and then takes on the form of a falcon, or the human falcon is a particular form which he assumes. In either way, the form of a human falcon in this spell gives him the ability to walk, to fight enemies and pass unhindered by the gods. Osiris is happy when he sees him fly like a falcon but he still retains the ability to walk like a human. Combining human and falcon forms then gives the deceased the advantages of both.

⁶⁶⁷ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 306.

⁶⁶⁸ Human falcon in every version readable except for S2P.

⁶⁶⁹ Only B9C does not insert *rmt*.

⁶⁷⁰ CT II 229b-230d.

⁶⁷¹ In S1P and S1Cb. S2P, S1Chass, S2Cc, S2Ca have: *šm=i ḥr rdy=i*. So in four out of six versions it is actually 'I walk' and not 'I walked'. However, the sentence probably stands in contrast to only being human while he is now a human falcon.

⁶⁷² CT II 246a-247b.

III 9.1.4 Divine falcon

In spell 312 ‘Becoming a divine falcon’⁶⁷³ Horus is asked to go to Osiris but Horus cannot, or does not wish to, go into the Netherworld.⁶⁷⁴ He therefore makes a messenger into his *b3* and sends him into the Netherworld. When the messenger speaks about himself he says:

iw=i h^c.ki m bik [ntr] I have appeared as a [divine] falcon
sh^c.n wi hr m b3=f Horus has *sh^c*-ed me as his *b3*⁶⁷⁵

The messenger also says he is the *irw*-form of Horus.⁶⁷⁶ In contrast to spell 286 where ‘Horus’ and ‘falcon’ seem to be interchangeable, in spell 312 Horus has a ‘split’ personality where his *b3/irw/falcon*-form is the messenger, the *b3* and *irw* of Horus, while he is continuing to act and speak independently. The messenger also says:

ink ir it hr n hr n wsir r dw3t I am the one who takes the affairs of Horus to Osiris,
to the Netherworld.⁶⁷⁷

In the text Horus, Osiris, the gods, the double lions and the messenger speak. The rubric then is meant for the messenger, who is also, most probably, the identity of the deceased. The falcon can be the *b3* of Horus⁶⁷⁸ so for the deceased to become a divine falcon is really another way of stating that he is made the *b3* of Horus.

Spell 274 starts:

dd mdw hprw m bik ntr(y) m hrt-ntr Recite: Becoming a divine falcon in the realm of the
dead
ind-hr=k hr i3bt ihm hwt(y) N pn Hail to you Horus of the east, whom the messenger of
this N does not know.⁶⁷⁹

This hails Horus as a separate identity to this N. This N is though clearly in the boat in the sky in the spell and:

tn N pn m bik ntr(y) This N is lifted up⁶⁸⁰ as a divine falcon.⁶⁸¹

This is the only mention of a falcon in the spell outside the rubric. Perhaps the speaker is behaving like a falcon rather than actually taking on the role of one.

Spell 313⁶⁸² is a dialogue between gods. Faulkner has interpreted the text as having to do with earthly kingship and accession, and not being purely mythological.⁶⁸³ It has the rubric:

⁶⁷³ CT IV 68a. For this spell see also Chapter IV under *b3* and *irw*.

⁶⁷⁴ As going in and out of the Netherworld is restricted. Compare the story in Papyrus Vandier, Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier*, 39-97.

⁶⁷⁵ CT IV 76h-i, D1C.

⁶⁷⁶ For example, CT IV 80b.

⁶⁷⁷ CT IV 78a, B2Bo.

⁶⁷⁸ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 13-14, 83-85.

⁶⁷⁹ CT IV 13a-b.

⁶⁸⁰ Most versions have *tny*.

⁶⁸¹ CT IV 13e.

irt hprw m bi[k]

Making manifestation as a falcon⁶⁸⁴

The spell is also a very clear example of *hprw* as manifestations of other gods. Osiris speaks first and asks Horus to come and see him.⁶⁸⁵ Atum then addresses Thoth and instead tells Thoth to go to Osiris.⁶⁸⁶ Thoth's role here is mainly to make Osiris triumphant and to ward off his enemies.⁶⁸⁷ When Horus then speaks, demanding of Thoth to do for him as he has done for Osiris, Horus is also describing himself:

hr=i ts m bik ntr(y)

My face is shaped like a divine falcon.⁶⁸⁸

...

hprw=i mi hprw=f m bik ntr

my manifestations are like his⁶⁸⁹ manifestations as a divine falcon⁶⁹⁰

He also identifies himself as Horus:

ink hr s3 wsir msw n ist ntrt

I am Horus, son of Osiris, born by the divine Isis.⁶⁹¹

...

pr.ki m hr m3c hrw m hprw nw hr

I went forth as Horus the justified, in/as the manifestations of Horus.

iw rn=i mi rn=f hprw=i mi hprw=f

My name is like his name, my manifestations like his manifestations.⁶⁹²

Even so, he also states:

hprw=i mi r^c

my manifestations are like Re⁶⁹³

and also like those of Re, Atum-Re, Horus, a divine falcon, kinship and possibly also Osiris.

One passage mentions Re and speaks about Horus as external to him:

hr=i ts m bik ntr(y) mi hprw nw r^c ///dw=f

my face is formed as a divine falcon, like the manifestations of Re his////

hk3.n=i idbyw

I have ruled the two banks

⁶⁸² Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 470-497, Faulkner, *JEA* 58, 91-94.

⁶⁸³ Faulkner, *JEA* 58, 91-94.

⁶⁸⁴ *CT* IV 87a.

⁶⁸⁵ *CT* IV 87b forward.

⁶⁸⁶ *CT* IV 88f-k.

⁶⁸⁷ *CT* IV 88l forward.

⁶⁸⁸ *CT* IV 91g, also in 91p.

⁶⁸⁹ Re-Atum is the last one mentioned, but the text is slightly damaged and it is not entirely clear who he means.

⁶⁹⁰ *CT* IV 92d.

⁶⁹¹ *CT* IV 91e.

⁶⁹² *CT* IV 93k-l, see also 92i-j. The last sentence could also be translated 'my manifestations are his manifestations' or 'my transformation is into his transformations', though, with the parallel sentence about the name, the option used seems appropriate.

⁶⁹³ *CT* IV 91q.

iw^c.n=i nswt hr

I have inherited the thrones of Horus.⁶⁹⁴

The rubric most probably corresponds to the one who speaks as Horus,⁶⁹⁵ but he then also compares his manifestations with other gods. The identification with two falcon gods fits very well with the heading. Faulkner interprets the text as having to do with earthly kingship and accession:⁶⁹⁶ his face,⁶⁹⁷ name, manifestations, as is seen above, and also a number of other things associated with kingship are listed. In the spell he repeats that his manifestations, *hprw*, are different gods. In the case of Osiris the sentence only involves manifestations, but Osiris is the last god mentioned, so it is therefore likely that it is the manifestations of Osiris. If it does refer to Osiris, it probably mirrors the genetic line between Horus as the heir of Osiris on earth, thereby not a physical appearance, but the heir of the crown.

The layout as a dialogue differs from most other spells with similar rubrics, where the focus is often more directed towards beneficial abilities of the being in the rubric, in this case a falcon. However, the same theme is there, since the speaker does gain extra abilities through being in the manifestation of something else:

[3]⁶⁹⁸ *phty=i r=sn m hprw=i nw hr 3 phty*

my strength [is greater] than theirs, in my manifestations of Horus, great of strength.⁶⁹⁹

III 9.1 5 Falcon and Horus as interchangeable

In the Coffin Texts Horus is only synchronised with a few other gods per name but more so through his form of a falcon.⁷⁰⁰ A few spells also use his falcon form and his name as synonyms. In spell 286 the deceased is identified as Horus.

m3 wsir N pn iwr ms m hr iw^cw

See this Osiris N, who was conceived and born Horus the heir.⁷⁰¹

There are three versions of the spell. In one of them⁷⁰² the rubric is half lost with only *hprw m* remaining. The other two have as their rubrics:

wsr m pt m t3

Having power in the sky and in earth. Becoming a

⁶⁹⁴ CT IV 93b-d.

⁶⁹⁵ Buchberger describes the title as secondary and a reinterpretation, *Transformation und Transformat*, 497.

⁶⁹⁶ Faulkner *JEA* 58, 91-94.

⁶⁹⁷ Nyord notes that the word *ts* is used in this manner in a few instances where the *hr* is reconstructed, knit onto the body, but also like this in the process of transforming into a god, *Breathing Flesh*, 156.

⁶⁹⁸ CT IV 92 de Buck's n.6.

⁶⁹⁹ CT IV 92i-j.

⁷⁰⁰ Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 138.

⁷⁰¹ CT IV 37c.

⁷⁰² Sq1C.

hprw m bik

falcon⁷⁰³

and

hprw m hr

Becoming Horus⁷⁰⁴

It is interesting that the two versions have different titles at the end where one has Horus and the other a falcon; the two embody the same concept and are thus interchangeable.

In spell 148 only one version has a rubric, even though it is not in red:

irt hprw m bik

Making manifestation(s) as a falcon.⁷⁰⁵

In the rest of the versions when the spell starts, Isis speaks and says she is pregnant. Atum later acknowledges the pregnancy.⁷⁰⁶ In the last section Horus is born and starts to speak.⁷⁰⁷ He states his identity with nominal sentences including his name (*ink hr*).⁷⁰⁸

When Isis and Atum speak about Horus before he is born they do not use his name, but he is referred to as 'Falcon'. Atum even says 'in this your name of Falcon' (*m rn=k pw n bik*).⁷⁰⁹ Even though Isis says he is in her womb (*ht* and *idt*)⁷¹⁰, he is referred to to be 'in the egg' (*swht*)⁷¹¹ which also evokes the world of birds. The name Horus is only used when he is born, when the gods are to look at him.⁷¹² The identity of the falcon and Horus is clearly the same even though he is referred to as a falcon whilst a foetus and Horus after he is born in this spell.

Spell 989 is very fragmentary. The rubric is:

hpr [m] bik

Becoming a falcon⁷¹³

There are some fragments about a mother giving birth,⁷¹⁴ an egg to be broken⁷¹⁵ and later how the speaker flies up.⁷¹⁶ It therefore seems that the spell, at least in part, concerns Isis giving birth to Horus, containing similar metaphors as in spell 148. The end of the spell might also be connected to a falcon as well.

iry=i prw r 3ht

I will make a going to the horizon.

ph.n=i 3ht m i^crt

I reached the horizon as the uraeus

⁷⁰³ B1L, CT IV 38d-e.

⁷⁰⁴ Sq6C, CT IV 38e.

⁷⁰⁵ CT II 209c, B4C. For this spell see Gilula, *JEA* 57, 14-19.

⁷⁰⁶ CT II 219c-f.

⁷⁰⁷ CT II 222d.

⁷⁰⁸ CT II 222e, 225b, f, 226a.

⁷⁰⁹ CT II 221e.

⁷¹⁰ *idt* in CT II 213c, *ht* in 217a, 218d, e, and 219b.

⁷¹¹ By Isis CT II 212b, 214b, by Atum 216b, 217g, by Horus 225b.

⁷¹² CT II 222d.

⁷¹³ CT VII 197a.

⁷¹⁴ CT VII 197f.

⁷¹⁵ CT VII 198c-f.

⁷¹⁶ CT VII 198j.

m msi=i

when I was born.⁷¹⁷

III 9.2 Horus

Spell 1016 has the heading:

hpr m hr nhn

Becoming Horus of Nekhen⁷¹⁸

Some beings addressed the 'Hateful ones' are threatened to make way for, otherwise the speaker he will make plans against them.⁷¹⁹ Much of the rest of the spell presses on the speaker's power and might. It possibly ends with the speaker stating that he is Horus, but the last bit is damaged: only *ink hr* remains without a determinative.⁷²⁰ A possible reference to Horus in a bird form is:

hny.n=i it.n=i 3ht

I was jubilant, after I have seized the horizon.⁷²¹

Spell 280 addresses Horus the elder:

wsir N pn twt hr smsw

O this Osiris N, you are the elder Horus.⁷²²

The spell first focuses on Horus mourning in Osiris's house. Body parts are then identified with different gods:

irt nt wsir N pn m r^c

The eye of this Osiris N is Re.

wy=f m tm

His arms are Atum,

rdwy m sp³

the legs are Sepa,

tp n N pn m iwnmwtf

the head of this N is lunmutef.⁷²³

Except for this section he is referred to, or addressed as, Osiris N or the elder Horus and the spell ends with the rubric:

hprw m hr smsw

Becoming the elder Horus⁷²⁴

Spell 326 has the title:

hpr m hr

Becoming Horus⁷²⁵

The spell does not mention Horus' name after the rubric. Re is talked about and when the spell is then altered into first person the speaker says:

it.n=i pt

I have seized the sky,

pšn.n=i bi3

I have divided the firmament.

⁷¹⁷ CT VII 199b-d.

⁷¹⁸ CT VII 235a.

⁷¹⁹ CT VII 235c-f.

⁷²⁰ CT VII 235q.

⁷²¹ CT VII 235n.

⁷²² CT IV 28a.

⁷²³ CT IV 28f-i.

⁷²⁴ CT IV 29g.

⁷²⁵ CT IV 157c.

<i>sm=i w3wt n hpr</i>	I guide the paths for Khepri,
<i>šms wi dw3tyw</i>	the ones in the Netherworld follow me.
<i>psd=i m3.ki m i3bt pt</i>	I shine and I am seen in the east of the sky.
<i>htp=i m nhh</i>	I am at rest in eternity.
<i>hny.n=i</i>	I was jubilant
<i>it.n=i 3ht</i>	after I have seized the horizon. ⁷²⁶

This might refer to Horus as indicated by the spell's heading and within the spell by his bird form crossing the sky. It could also refer to Re since the subject shines, and the sun also crosses the sky.

III 9.3 Summary

Identifying with different birds has different functions for the dead. In spell 271 four different birds are named,⁷²⁷ for the sake of the deceased ascending to the sky. The identification with a swallow and a goose has, in most of those spells, a connection to free passage and, in particular, the ability to fly between different places. The cycle of migratory birds stands as a parallel to the cycle of life and death where the deceased takes off from this world and lands in the world of the afterlife. When the swallow lands among the gods on the plateau, the deceased is in the sphere of the gods and included among them.

The identification with a falcon can have a similar function as the other birds above, and this seems to be the case where the spells reference 'flying to the horizon'.⁷²⁸ However, the falcon is more complex than an auxiliary means of passage, as it is strongly connected to different gods. Therefore, the falcon is included in spells as the *b3* of Horus⁷²⁹ and is used regarding an unborn Horus who is referred to as a falcon in the egg.⁷³⁰ When a spell is about Horus, the mythological settings can be significant, such as his birth and his role in protecting his father from enemies. The connection between the bird and a deity is also visible in spell 955 'Becoming a vulture'⁷³¹ and the dead is identified with Wadjet.

When the location of the spell is the lotus-pool, either as a heron in the lotus-pool,⁷³² or a lotus-pool-bird,⁷³³ the focus is on the actions of the hunter. These spells have more in common with

⁷²⁶ CT IV 160c-162d, S1Ca.

⁷²⁷ Ibis and *k3d*-bird, and then *sw*-bird and *iwsw*-bird in different versions.

⁷²⁸ For example spells 147, 273, 326.

⁷²⁹ Spell 312.

⁷³⁰ Spell 148.

⁷³¹ CT VII 170i.

⁷³² Spell 292.

⁷³³ Spell 703.

some spells about Sobek who also rules the marsh. Spell 703 is particularly interesting since it mostly keeps the image of the bird feeding on its prey in the water but the food is *ḥw*, *k3w* and *ḥprw*.

That features absorbed from the external being is even more visible in some of the more unusual forms that the deceased are said to take. When the dead becomes a human falcon,⁷³⁴ a description follows where he attacks with his claws and his wings, but still, since he is a human falcon, he can walk as a human.

III 10 Gods

III 10. 1 Hathor and the eye of Horus

Three spells have the rubric:

ḥpr m ḥwt-ḥr Becoming Hathor⁷³⁵

In spell 331 the goddess speaks herself, describing her nature.

iw=i ḥ^c.kwi m ḥwt-ḥr p3wtyt nbt r dr I have appeared as Hathor, the primeval one, lady of all.⁷³⁶

She also identifies herself as the uraeus,⁷³⁷ the eye of Horus.⁷³⁸ As the eye, she places herself in mythological settings of creation and the eye of the sun searching for Atum's lost children.

sk wi m ḥḥ i3=k ḥn^c tf=k I sought your salvia and your spittle.

šw pw ḥn^c tfnt They are Shu and Tefnut.⁷³⁹

The spell thus contains clear references to Hathor, the speaker identifies himself with Hathor in the spell so there is no doubt about his identity in any part of the spell. Also in spell 612 the identification as Hathor is repeated (*n-ntt ink is ḥwt-ḥr*)⁷⁴⁰ within the short spell even though it is a lot less comprehensible than the clear story presented in spell 331.

Spell 316, 'Becoming the fiery eye of Horus'⁷⁴¹ is a dialogue, but regardless of which of the gods speaks in the spell, the identity is equally perceptible as in spell 331. The goddess says:

ink irt ḥr ḥtt I am the fiery eye of Horus
pwt m nrw who went forth as the terrible one,
nbt š^ct 3t šfšft lady of slaughtering, great of respect

⁷³⁴ Spell 149.

⁷³⁵ Spell 276 CT IV 17m, spell 331 CT IV 172a and spell 612 CT VI 225e.

⁷³⁶ CT IV 172h.

⁷³⁷ CT IV 173b.

⁷³⁸ CT IV 173f.

⁷³⁹ CT IV 174f-g.

⁷⁴⁰ CT VI 225l.

⁷⁴¹ CT IV 98a.

ḥprt m ns i3ḥw

who came into being as the flame of the sunshine.⁷⁴²

Consequently, the identity expressed in the rubric in these two spells is readily apparent, and a person reciting the spell would be flooded with references to her mythology which he would identify with. As the uraeus, the speaker gains the power of the goddess in this role.⁷⁴³

Spell 276 'Becoming Hathor'⁷⁴⁴ is written in the third person. Despite this, the identity of Hathor and the identity of the dead person are sometimes separated by the use of masculine pronouns on two of the coffins but they are inseparable on the third coffin which belongs to a woman. For example:

iw wrt tn ḥ^c.ti m irw=f

this Great (female) One has appeared in/as his *irw*-form⁷⁴⁵

'this Great One' and 'appeared' are feminine while a masculine suffix pronoun is used after *irw*. Also in other lines of the spell a separate identity between Hathor and the deceased is visible:

k3t wpt=f

The (female) One who is high in his forehead

nbt 3ḥt

is the lady of the horizon.⁷⁴⁶

It seems that Hathor here is the eye and the speaker is identified with the sun god⁷⁴⁷ on whose forehead she is.

In spell 1016

ḥpr m ḥr nḥn

Becoming Horus of Nekhen⁷⁴⁸

the speaker also has the eye on his forehead, fighting for him.⁷⁴⁹ In this spell the identity is clearly Horus throughout. Subsequently, spell 276 has a rubric which does not completely agree with the identity in the spell. However, spell 276 is more focused on the eye while it is only mentioned once in spell 1016. The rubric in spell 276 thereby matches the focus of the spell rather than the identity of the speaker.

III 10.1.1 Ihy

ḥprw m ihy

Becoming Ihy⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴² CT IV 98b-e.

⁷⁴³ Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 111.

⁷⁴⁴ CT IV 17m.

⁷⁴⁵ CT IV 17h, B2Be, B1Bo. BH10x has '...her *irw*-form.'

⁷⁴⁶ CT IV 17c-d.

⁷⁴⁷ The first line of the spell identifies N with 'this forepart who lives and shines' CT IV 17a.

⁷⁴⁸ CT VII 235a.

⁷⁴⁹ CT VII 235f-g.

⁷⁵⁰ Spell 334, CT IV 179a. For this spell, see Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 133-136.

The speaker stresses his youth and his parents. His mother in this spell is Hathor,⁷⁵¹ Isis⁷⁵² or Nephthys⁷⁵³ and his father Re.⁷⁵⁴ He describes his birth which is a completely natural one⁷⁵⁵ and his life from there:

hpr.n=i hprt hnmnm.n=i hnmnmyt I manifested a manifesting, I crept a creping

dbn.n=i dbnt rd.n=i rdt I travelled, a travelling, I grew a growing.⁷⁵⁶

and he has also reached a status among the gods:

mṯn wi ii.kwi m nb šnwt Look, I have come as the lord of the Entourage

snḏ n=i imyw ht psḏt and those who are in the following of the Ennead are fearful towards me.

iw šfšft=i tp ʿwy=i m ihy The respect of me as Ihy is before me.⁷⁵⁷

Most of the spell repeats similar themes of his birth, him growing up, his position today and in particular who his mother is. The spell is only found on one coffin from Gebelein, so it might be a local innovation to focus on Ihy.⁷⁵⁸ When Ihy is mentioned in Book of the Dead spell 103, it is the closeness to Hathor which is the focus of the spell.⁷⁵⁹ The identification with Ihy here seems to relate to integration into the sphere and kinship of the gods.⁷⁶⁰

III 10.2 Sobek

Three spells have rubrics about becoming Sobek. Spell 991, only available from papyrus Gardiner II and III,⁷⁶¹ is slightly different of character, while spells 268 and 285 have similar themes. Their full rubrics are ‘Becoming Sobek, lord of the Winding Waterway’⁷⁶² and they contain descriptions of a crocodile lurking in the marshes. Spell 268:

N pn ʿhm ʿhm hr This N is the [crocodile] image, [crocodile] image faced.

⁷⁵¹ CT IV 179i, 180k, m, o, 181d, 182j, 183b, c, d, e, g, h, i, j.

⁷⁵² CT IV 179d, 181j, 182f.

⁷⁵³ CT IV 180b.

⁷⁵⁴ CT IV 179c, f, 180a, k.

⁷⁵⁵ CT IV 181e-j.

⁷⁵⁶ CT IV 181p-q.

⁷⁵⁷ CT IV 181a-c.

⁷⁵⁸ Morenz, *GM* 143, 109-111, *Die Zeit der Regionen*, 454-455.

⁷⁵⁹ *BoD* spell 103, Budge, *Book of the Dead, Egyptian Text II*, 85. Bonnet, *LÄ*, 321-322.

⁷⁶⁰ For another aspect of the spell, where body parts are associated with parts of Hathor, see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 508-510.

⁷⁶¹ These papyri contain Coffin Texts, and have for different reasons been interpreted as being ‘Master Copies’ of the spells written on coffins and other material, Müller, *BiOr* XX, 246-250, Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den Altägyptischen Sargtexten*, 18, 25, Lapp, *SAK* 16, 171-202, Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 82, see also Gesterman in Hawass, (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* 1, 202-208. However, they are both very damaged for spell 991 and thereby difficult to read.

⁷⁶² Spell 268 CT IV 1a T1L, spell 284 CT IV 36b Sq6C.

3^c.n N pn m 3^w sht

This N has ejaculated⁷⁶³ in the reeds of the countryside.

hns.n N pn hnsw idbw

This N has run over crossings of the river banks.

N pn msh nb hp

This N is a crocodile, lord of the Inundation.⁷⁶⁴

Spell 991 also has references to the water domain. However, it focuses less on this than the previous spells, and it also contains elements which are not strictly connected to the marshes. For example:

ink ntr pw wbn m i3bt hpp m imntt

I am this god who shines in the East and travels in the West.⁷⁶⁵

This rather implies a connection to the sun.⁷⁶⁶ Even so, most of the spell is connected to Sobek as a crocodile.

In his role of Sobek, more violent sides of the god appear in all three spells. Two examples:

ii.n N pn

This N has come

wnm.n=f sn=f m nšmw=f

he has eaten his brother with his scales.⁷⁶⁷

...

ink sbk pw š^{cc} ns=f hr ʿ3t wsir

I am this Sobek whose tongue was cut out because of the mutilation of Osiris.⁷⁶⁸

The violent nature both includes him eating a family member and the mutilation of Osiris.⁷⁶⁹ However, it is his might and power as a crocodile that are most stressed in all three spells, and by having power over his domain he is not opposed by anyone. By being in the role of a crocodile which in this life would be a threat to humans, personifying the enemy,⁷⁷⁰ the might of the crocodile guarantees safety in the Afterlife.⁷⁷¹

Towards the end of spell 268 this N is taken to the fields of offerings,⁷⁷² praise is given to him⁷⁷³ and he lives on offerings.⁷⁷⁴ There is thus a parallel between this life and the activities of the crocodile in the water, and the next life, the 'winding waterways' and the status of a divine being. The spell therefore embodies the status of the god not only to be lord of the landscape as a crocodile might rule the marshes, but also over the water filled landscape of the Afterlife.

⁷⁶³ Probably in this context, see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 473-474 for meanings close to 'pouring out'.

⁷⁶⁴ CT IV 4d-g T1L.

⁷⁶⁵ CT VII 202d.

⁷⁶⁶ Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, 188 and Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 22.

⁷⁶⁷ Spell 268 CT IV 3e-f B1Bo.

⁷⁶⁸ Spell 991, CT VII 201k. Both manuscripts are damaged but compliment each other fairly well.

⁷⁶⁹ For Osiris: Posener, in *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott*, 106-111. See also Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 388-390.

⁷⁷⁰ Parkinson in Felber (ed), *Feinde und Aufrührer*, 18-19.

⁷⁷¹ Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 22.

⁷⁷² CT IV 5b.

⁷⁷³ CT IV 5c

⁷⁷⁴ CT IV 5f.

III 10.3 Other gods⁷⁷⁵

The overall impression when looking at gods in the *hprw*-spells is that they either seem very specifically chosen for a personal feature of that god, or that the deity is chosen to put forward a general idea. In this manner, Hu would fall under the category of representing something specific, being speech. The very important feature of having power is represented in spells involving for example Babi, Khenti-Khem and Heka. This is, of course, not to say that the different gods in the spells do not possess qualities specific to them. The power of Heka is for example very different from that of Babi.

III 10.3.1 Explicitly connected

Spell 330:

hpr m npr Becoming Neper⁷⁷⁶

Neper is the grain god and grain personified,⁷⁷⁷ and here two of the texts write *npr* in the rubric with god determinatives⁷⁷⁸ and two do not.⁷⁷⁹ Later the spell gives a very clear picture of the grain personified:

<i>mwt=i</i> <i>ḥi=i</i>	I die and I live.
<i>ink wsir</i>	I am Osiris. ⁷⁸⁰
...	
<i>ink it</i>	I am emmer.
<i>n ḥtm=i</i>	I will not perish. ⁷⁸¹

In this context dying is not denied but a natural process in the seasons of the year and with this, the speaker identifies himself with Osiris. The text seems to have a parallel in the Osiris beds, corn mummies and the practice and festivals surrounding them⁷⁸² which became more common later.⁷⁸³

The role of Neper is revealed in the following passages:

⁷⁷⁵ Not all gods occurring in *hpr*-spells are included here. Some are discussed more at length elsewhere, for example spell 75 (under rubrics) and spell 252 (under scribes), and some are too destroyed to contribute significantly to the discussion, for example spells 536 and 854.

⁷⁷⁶ CT IV 166a. Spell 299 also has Neper in the title but no *hpr*. This very short spell is also connected to (re)birth.

⁷⁷⁷ Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 19 n.1 exemplifies how a nomarch is grain for his people.

⁷⁷⁸ S1Ca, S2C.

⁷⁷⁹ S1Cb and B1Bo.

⁷⁸⁰ CT IV 168b-c.

⁷⁸¹ CT IV 169g-h.

⁷⁸² Centrone, in Szpakowska (ed), *Through a Glass Darkly*, 33-45. See also Smith, *Harkness*, 25-26 for a short description about the tomb and the objects as an extended alter-ego of the deceased.

⁷⁸³ Especially from Amenophis III, for example Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 230, Hodel-Hoernes, *Live and Death*, 11.

hr.n=i hr gs=i I have fallen on my side
nh ntrw im=i the gods live on me.⁷⁸⁴

...

k.n=i m m3t I have entered as *maat*.
rmn=i m3t My shoulder is *maat*.
ink nb m3t I am lord of *maat*.⁷⁸⁵

So by being Neper, the gods live on him and *maat* is upheld through the image him being lord of *maat*. The personal impact for the dead is also the resurrection of the grain dying but living.

Spell 269 contains similar elements as spell 330 about Neper. It has the rubric:

hprw m it mh Becoming Lower Egyptian barley⁷⁸⁶

In this spell the speaker is not identified with a particular god as in the case with Neper. However, it is the same direct identification with grain and personification with grain. The connection to Osiris is clear also in this spell.

N pn b3t tw nt nh This N is this (barley) ear of life
prt m wsir which went forth from Osiris,
rdt hr sprw nw wsir which grew on the ribs of Osiris,
s^cnh^t rhyt which nourished the ordinary people,
sntrt ntrw which made divine the gods,
s3ht 3hw and which made 3h the 3hw,⁷⁸⁷

The spell continues about nourishing different beings. The spell also has the double nature of the speaker both living on grain and being the grain:

nh N pn m npr hty This Osiris N lives on fumigated grain.
N pn pw npr hty nhw This N is the fumigated grain of the living.⁷⁸⁸

Personification of grain and resurrection are, as in spell 330, intertwined with Osiris as grain, death and rebirth which is showed in the lines above where new life springs up from Osiris. This also had a physical counterpart in grain mummies and their rituals both occurring in graves and in festivals.⁷⁸⁹

Spells 84, 85, 86, 374 are about becoming Nehebkau. Spell 84 is slightly different and focuses more on the god's origin and birth. The other spells have the same theme and also repeat same sentences. Spell 85 will serve as an example.

⁷⁸⁴ CT IV 169a/b.

⁷⁸⁵ CT IV 170a-c.

⁷⁸⁶ CT IV 71 Sq6C. T1L has the rubric before the spell CT IV 6b.

⁷⁸⁷ CT IV 6c-h.

⁷⁸⁸ CT IV 7e-f. Morenz suggests that *hti* might refer to burned offerings of grain, *Die Zeit der Regionen*, 400.

⁷⁸⁹ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 96, 284 and 363. For this spell see also Friedman, *JARCE*, 14, 147.

N pn n^cw pw k3 nwt

This N is a *n^cw*-snake and a bull of Nut.

N pn 3 pw n tm 6 m i^crt 7

This N is the Great one of Atum, who swallows the seven *uraei*.

k3 twt N pn⁷⁹⁰

This N is exalted and exemplary

m nhbk3w

as Nehebkau.

ii.n N pn hr=tn ntrw

This N has come to you, O gods,

nhbk3w nhmw 3hw

Nehebkaw who appoints *3hw*.

hprw m nhbk3w⁷⁹¹

Becoming Nehebkau.⁷⁹²

The themes about the snake and bull, and about the *uraei*, are also in spell 86 and 374. Nehebkau is a snake god and has a role in the afterlife of helping the deceased. He is also associated with the sun and eternity (*nhh*).⁷⁹³ There are constant puns on the name of Nehebkau in these spells.⁷⁹⁴ Nehebkau appoints *3hw* above and in spell 86 the dead, in the identity of Nehebkau, appoints both *3hw* and *k3w*.

nhb wsir N pn k3w=tn

This Osiris N appoints your *k3w*.

nhm wsir N pn 3h=tn

This Osiris N appoints your *3hw*.⁷⁹⁵

In spell 647 Nehebkau also provides *b3w* and crowns *k3w*. It seems that the dead Osiris N gains the same power to appoint spiritual entities as the god. The ability is inserted in the spell through the pun on the name of the god.

Two spells are for becoming Hapy. In spell 547 a lot is damaged, but some clear references to Hapy can be read having to do with water and flooding.⁷⁹⁶ Spell 317 starts with the sky trembling and the reaction of the other gods before this new god. They worship him, even before they ask:⁷⁹⁷

sy pn ntr hpr min

‘Who is the god who has come into being today?’

hpry ii(.w) m iw nsrsr

Khepri has come from the island of fire

iww ntrw m i3w=f

the gods come into his bark

did=f 3w n nb dt

and he gives length to the lord of eternity.

m33=sn wi

They see me.

h^c.ki m hp shm w^c mm ntrw

I have appeared as Hapy, the unique power among the gods.⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁰ In T1L. Sq6C has *k3 wsir N pn wtt wsir N pn*.

⁷⁹¹ The rubric here is only in Sq6C. T1L has a Nehebkau-rubric to spell 84 and then continues with spell 85 and 86 without inserting a new rubric.

⁷⁹² CT II 51d-j.

⁷⁹³ LÄ IV 388-399.

⁷⁹⁴ The meaning of the name has been discussed by Shorter *JEA* 21, 41, Bonnet, *RÄRG* 510-511, LÄ IV, 388, Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 97.

⁷⁹⁵ Spell 86, CT II 53b-c.

⁷⁹⁶ CT VI 143j, l.

⁷⁹⁷ CT IV 110a-e.

⁷⁹⁸ CT IV 110g-111d.

There is an identification between Hapy and Khepri here. Hapy's coming and going is cyclic and he is also identified with the self-created. There might also be a parallel between the person passing over from life to the world of the gods, and Hapy who comes and goes with the seasons as both the sun and the dead pass the island of fire. From the beginning of the spell the gods clearly greet him as a newcomer and a change seems to have occurred with Hapy coming into being:

iw=i hpr.ki m hp I have come into being as Hapy⁷⁹⁹

After this introduction a description follows which is specific to Hapy, mentioning how he goes at the time and comes with the seasons, bringing food and provisions, all clearly connected to the inundation.⁸⁰⁰ However, in the first half of the spell other identities are visible:

ink 3h hr nb hnkt m dw3t hrt I am the 3h of Horus, lord of offerings in the lower Netherworld.⁸⁰¹

...

ink sm s^ch I am a sm-priest and a s^ch.⁸⁰²

...

ink r^c hpr ds=f I am Re who created himself.

ink nw ir.n=f r mrrt=f I am Nun, one who has acted according to what he wants.⁸⁰³

After this, the speaker again identifies himself with Hapy and he mainly keeps this identity to the end. The main themes in the rest of the spell are his primevalness and his special position among the gods as well as the one who makes the land flourish.⁸⁰⁴ Some interesting passages about Hapy describe his creation:

nfr.wy^{DH5} ntr pn rnpw "Happy is this young god,
ir.n r^c m 3h=f⁸⁰⁶ whom Re made as his 3h."
i.n=sn 3htyw r=i said by the ones of the horizon to me.⁸⁰⁷

...

in r^c ir wi m b3=f It was Re who made me as his b3.⁸⁰⁸

...

⁷⁹⁹ CT IV 112f.

⁸⁰⁰ CT IV 112h-113b.

⁸⁰¹ CT IV 114c.

⁸⁰² CT IV 114e.

⁸⁰³ CT IV 114h-i.

⁸⁰⁴ CT IV 115d forward.

⁸⁰⁵ sw in S1P seems to be a mistake due to the line break.

⁸⁰⁶ S1C, B2L.

⁸⁰⁷ CT IV 117e-g in S1P, S2C. S1C and B2L have for the last line said by the ennead.

⁸⁰⁸ CT IV 119f. S1C has instead: *in r^c ir wi m irw=f* It was Re who made me as his irw-form.

sb.t(w) n=i m3^ct mi r^c

Maat was conducted to me like Re.⁸⁰⁹

This would suggest Hapy's relationship to Re as being *3h* and *b3* of Re. Since there is an identification with Khepri in the beginning of the spell and the passing through the island of fire this is probably the connection of the speaker as the *b3* of Re.

In spell 957:

hpr m m3^ct

Becoming Maat⁸¹⁰

several gods are mentioned in their relationship to the speaker, mostly in a context where the speaker has provided for them or fashioned (*ms*) them. The speaker relates himself to the gods where the same conditions will be true for the gods as for the speaker.

nh r fnd=f nh r fnd=i

Life is at his nose, (therefore) life is at my nose.

s^ch=f s^ch=i

He is a *s^ch*, (therefore) I am a *s^ch*.⁸¹¹

Other sentences like these in the spell involve, love, be a child, being pleased, and being seen.⁸¹² All these positive outcomes stand in contrast to the negative ones, which are denied:

n skm=i n mwt=i n tm=i n htm=i

I have not perished, I have not died, I have not ended,
I have not been destroyed.⁸¹³

Maat is mentioned a number of times in the spell⁸¹⁴ and the speaker identifies with her twice.⁸¹⁵ It seems as if this identification has the effect that the speaker both enjoys the positive outcomes of being a successful dead person, living a continuous life, and also of being in relation to other gods in the same manner as the goddess.

Spell 277 has the rubric 'Becoming Thoth'.⁸¹⁶ The text here is concerned with the cycle of monthly festivals, and focus on the cycles of the moon and sun in the form of the eye of Horus. The speaker is identified with Thoth and woven into the responsibilities of the god of making judgment in the tribunal and resolving the conflict between Horus and Seth.

n sp wp{t}⁸¹⁷ N pn nm^c mm rhwy

This N has never judged partially among the two combatants.⁸¹⁸

⁸⁰⁹ CT IV 122c.

⁸¹⁰ CT VII 172k.

⁸¹¹ CT VII 173j-k. Or 'His *s^ch*-status is my *s^ch*-status.' though it is probably a parallel to the sentence above.

⁸¹² CT VII 173l, 174b, o, 174k, and 175g.

⁸¹³ CT VII 175a.

⁸¹⁴ CT VII 172g, 174i,k and 175b.

⁸¹⁵ CT VII 172g, 175b.

⁸¹⁶ CT IV 22d.

⁸¹⁷ The *-t* does not seem to work. If it is a passive, N would have been the one judged which does not fit, given the context.

⁸¹⁸ CT IV 20d.

The spell has this specific focus on judgment in connection to Thoth, but before the spell incorporates N as Thoth and the judge, he himself cannot be opposed by words, shifting him between the positions of being judged and judging.

Despite the many instances in the Coffin Texts where the dead is referred to as 'Osiris N', only one spell has *hprw*-rubric which involves Osiris. In spell 227 there are two versions for the rubric. Sq3C has:

hprw m wsir Becoming Osiris⁸¹⁹

and papyrus Gardiner II has:

hpr m sti n wsir Becoming the successor of Osiris⁸²⁰

Most of the spell claims the identity of Osiris in both versions.

ink wsir sn n ist I am Osiris, brother of Isis.⁸²¹

iw nd.n wi s3=i hr hn^c mwt=f ist m-^c hft pf ir My son Horus and his mother Isis have protected me
nw r=i from that enemy who would harm me.⁸²²

The Osiris mythology is clear with his son and sister-wife as his protectors. However, there is also an identification with Horus:

ink hr smsw r^c h^cw I am Horus the elder on the day of accession.⁸²³

The speaker in this spell mostly identifies with Osiris and there is actually not much information given which appears unrelated to this identification. Osiris kinship is laid out,⁸²⁴ the threat of his brother Seth,⁸²⁵ and identification with Orion.⁸²⁶ Horus is also his successor on earth, which is referred to above in the passage about his accession, while Osiris is in the Netherworld. Osiris and Horus are both means through which the dead can live on, in the Netherworld and in his lineage on earth.⁸²⁷

Identification also occurs with two other gods in the same spell:

ink sp3 hrw sp3 I am the Sepa on the day of the centipede.⁸²⁸

and

ink inpw r^c sp3 I am Anubis on the day of the centipede.⁸²⁹

⁸¹⁹ CT III 265e.

⁸²⁰ CT III 260a.

⁸²¹ L1Li has 'I am Osiris, the great god of the god of Nephthys, the goddess.' Other versions have other variants but in general of the same meaning.

⁸²² CT III 260e-f following P.Gardiner.

⁸²³ CT III 264g. Not in P.Gardiner II, but the papyrus includes a similar sentence in 262k.

⁸²⁴ For example CT III 260e-f, 262a-b, 263e-f.

⁸²⁵ CT III 261a-c.

⁸²⁶ CT III 263a.

⁸²⁷ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 41-52.

⁸²⁸ CT III 263f.

⁸²⁹ CT III 265a and in B2L also 263f.

In the first example, where papyrus Gardiner and Sq3C have Sepa, B2L has Anubis. The connection to burial and the function of protection of both gods seems to have been brought together here, as well as the festival of Sepa.⁸³⁰

Spell 261, 'Becoming Heka'⁸³¹ focuses on mythological aspects where Heka is the son of the creator god. For example:

<i>ink ir.n nb w^c</i>	I am the one who the Sole Lord made,
<i>n ḥprt išt snty m t3 pn</i>	before two things (duality) had come into being on this land,
<i>m ḥ3b=f w^ct irt=f</i>	when he sent out the sole one of his eye,
<i>m wn=f w^cy</i>	when he existed alone. ⁸³²

Stress is put on his primevalness and the continuation of creation. Heka came into being before anything else, even duality, existed. However, he is created by the Sole Lord, and did not create himself. The end of the spell adds to the same image.

<i>ii.n=i itt=i nst=i</i>	I have come so that I may take possession of my throne
<i>šsp=i s^cḥ=i</i>	so that I may assume my s ^c ḥ.
<i>nnk tm</i>	To me belonged everything
<i>n ḥprt=tn ntrw</i>	before you had come into beings, gods.
<i>ḥ3 n=tn iiw ḥr pḥy</i>	Go down you who have come afterwards.
<i>ink ḥk3</i>	I am Heka. ⁸³³

The position of being made in the very beginning here expresses that everything belonged to Heka when no one else yet existed.⁸³⁴

Spell 325 has the rubric:

<i>ḥpr m ḥw</i>	<u>Becoming Hu</u> ⁸³⁵
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G1T has '[Becoming] Heka'. Both G1T and A1C have their own slightly longer version. However, both also end with an identification with Hu rather than Heka. The two concepts are closely connected and both have their role in creation.⁸³⁶ Wilems calls this spell 'Another Shu Spell' pointing out similarities with the Shu-spells and the creation aspects of their content, also stating that Heka and

⁸³⁰ LÄ V, 859-862.

⁸³¹ CT III 382a.

⁸³² CT III 382e-383c.

⁸³³ CT III 388d-389e

⁸³⁴ Ritner translates the sentence 'for to me belonged the universe before you gods had yet come into being' *Magical practice*, 17. For this spell see also Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, 37-38 and Gardiner, *PSBA*, 38, 253-262.

⁸³⁵ CT IV 153e in S1Cb, S1Ca.

⁸³⁶ Hornung, *Conceptions of god*, 76.

Shu are hard to distinguish and the role of Hu in creation is also relevant in this context.⁸³⁷ The beginning of the spell is mostly focused on power while the last part of the spell is more directly related to the rubric:

<i>nnk ḥw</i>	Hu belongs to me.
<i>ḏdt.n=i nfr</i>	That which I have said is good,
<i>pr(t) m r=i nfr</i>	what comes out of my mouth is good,
<i>ḏdt=i ir my</i>	and that which I say is done accordingly.
<i>ink ḥw</i>	I am Hu,
<i>nb ḥw</i>	lord of Hu. ⁸³⁸

All three occurrences of Hu in the passages above are followed by a god determinative. It plays on Hu being the personification of utterance, and that this is what the reciter of the spell attains.

In spell 546 the speaker identifies with Anubis.

<i>[ḥpr] m inp</i>	<u>Becoming Anubis</u> ⁸³⁹
...	
<i>ink inp nb šḥm m ʒbdw</i>	I am Anubis lord of the Wand in Abydos. ⁸⁴⁰

The last two lines of the short spells are possibly an outcome for the dead as well as a reference to Anubis and mummification:

<i>šsp=i sḥ=i</i>	I assume my sḥ,
<i>šsp=i smsw sḥ=f</i>	I assume the seniority of his sḥ. ⁸⁴¹

III 10.3.2 Power

Another strong focus of the *ḥpr*-spells for different gods is gaining different kinds of power (*šḥm*, *ʒḥw*, *ḥkʒw*, *wsr*). Different aspects of the gods come into play such as knowledge and strength, but also fear of the deity for one reason or the other.

Spell 281 is very different from spell 261, 'Becoming Heka'.⁸⁴² It has the rubric:

<i>ḥprw m ḥkʒw</i>	<u>Becoming ḥkʒw</u> ⁸⁴³
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It then starts by addressing someone in the second person:

<i>ind-ḥr=k siʒ šḥmw ntr</i>	Hail to you who have knowledge of the power of the
------------------------------	--

⁸³⁷ Willems, *Heqata*, 342.

⁸³⁸ CT IV 156d-157d.

⁸³⁹ CT VI 142g.

⁸⁴⁰ CT VI 142k.

⁸⁴¹ CT VI 142n-o.

⁸⁴² CT III 382a. This spell is not discussed by Ritner, *Magical practice*.

⁸⁴³ Spell 281 CT IV 31f. Spell 261 has *ḥkʒ* CT III 382a.

god.⁸⁴⁴

While the dead is talked about in third person:

ḥꜥ wsir N pn m bik ʿ3 bbt gnḥsw nṯrw This Osiris N appears as the great falcon, ram-headed,
hawk of the gods.⁸⁴⁵

The ‘ram-headed’ is probably connected to Osiris and Re, who are temporarily united every night.⁸⁴⁶

In the spell, the dead is gaining things from the person who is addressed as ‘you’:

iw itt.n wsir N pn ʒḥw=tn This Osiris N has taken your ʒḥw,
nḥm.n wsir N pn ḥk3w=tn this Osiris N has taken away your ḥk3w.
ʒḥw=tn nbw rḥw r=sn irt[y]=sn ḥk3w=sn All your ʒḥw who know their spells are they who will
ḏs=sn make their ḥk3w themselves.⁸⁴⁷

This acquiring of Osiris N seems to end in:

wsir N pn twt ḥr ḏs=f nb ḥk3w O, this Osiris N, you are Horus himself, lord of ḥk3w.⁸⁴⁸

The other version, Sq3C has *N tn ntt ḥk3w ḏs=f* so the result is either to be lord of ḥk3w or be ḥk3w. Possibly, this should be understood as the result of the spell. Osiris N, as Horus, has taken the powers of the being who has knowledge of the powers, and Osiris N is then given the epithet ‘lord of ḥk3w’.

A few spells have a few gods who occur less often. Spell 311 has the rubric at the end of the spell:

ḥprw m ḥnsw m ḥrt-nṯr Becoming Khonsu in the realm of the dead⁸⁴⁹

As with spell 317 about Hapy, spell 311 also contains an element of coming into being, as opposed to the idea of eternal existence.

ḥpr.n=f ḥprt m ḥpr He manifested a manifestation as Khepri.⁸⁵⁰

However, the main parts of spell focus on power. For example:

in nḥt N pn ir wsr=f It is the strength of this N which makes his power,⁸⁵¹

in wsr=f ir nḥt=f it is his power which makes his strength.⁸⁵²

This theme continues in the following lines⁸⁵³ and the spell ends with the gods adoring Khonsu and the rubric.

Two short spells are about two fierce gods where the focus is again power. In spell 668:

⁸⁴⁴ CT IV 30a.

⁸⁴⁵ CT IV 30d.

⁸⁴⁶ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 188.

⁸⁴⁷ CT IV 30e-g.

⁸⁴⁸ CT IV 31e. Sq3C has *N tn ntt ḥk3w ḏs=f*.

⁸⁴⁹ CT IV 67t.

⁸⁵⁰ CT IV 67b.

⁸⁵¹ CT IV 67f.

⁸⁵² CT IV 67f-g.

⁸⁵³ CT IV 67h-k.

hprw m b3biw m [hrt-]ntr Becoming Babi in the realm of the dead.⁸⁵⁴

The identification with Babi focuses on Babi's might and the fear of him:

snđ n=f nbw The lords are afraid of him

sd3 n=f rmt men tremble at him

n-ntt ir is N pn b3biw pi because this N is this Babi

k3 i^cn^c bull of baboons.⁸⁵⁵

This Coffin Text spell resembles Pyramid Text 320, with some differences in phrasing and exchanged sentences. The identification with this 'demonic' baboon serves as a protection against other beings who might threaten the dead.⁸⁵⁶

Spell 322 is about Khenti-Khem. The spell uses a pun on the name:

ink hnt-hm m hnt hm I am Khenti-Khem, in front of Khem⁸⁵⁷

and the god in his falcon form:

ink bik nby hnp ht m šw nw pt I am the golden falcon, who snatches things in the voids in the sky.⁸⁵⁸

The main focus in the spell is the power of Khenti-Khem. Partly, this is expressed in him having strength⁸⁵⁹ and partly this is visible in his peculiar eating habits.⁸⁶⁰

In spell 282 'Becoming Tayt',⁸⁶¹ the power of Osiris N is in focus, for example:

itt wsir N pn wsrw nb w^c This Osiris N takes all the power of the One⁸⁶²

rdi b3 n wsir N pn in imyw=f and praise is given to this Osiris N by those ones who are in him

m33=sn nw wsir N pn h^c.w hr nb=sn when they see this, as this Osiris N has appeared as their lord.⁸⁶³

Tayt does not appear until the end of the spell, just before the rubric, and she is then not identified with Osiris N:

ir.n n=f t3yt st nt wsir N pn Tayt has made the seat of this Osiris N, for him.⁸⁶⁴

Otherwise it is Osiris N who is the actor in the spell.

In spell 270 there are some different versions. While T1L has:

⁸⁵⁴ CT VI 296n.

⁸⁵⁵ CT VI 297a-d.

⁸⁵⁶ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 209-210. For this spell see also Derchain, ZÄS 90, 23.

⁸⁵⁷ CT IV 148b.

⁸⁵⁸ CT IV 148d.

⁸⁵⁹ For example him being a bull and fighter CT IV 150b.

⁸⁶⁰ For this spell see Chapter IV.

⁸⁶¹ CT IV 32h.

⁸⁶² Or 'the power of the sole lord'?

⁸⁶³ CT IV 32d-f.

⁸⁶⁴ CT IV 32g.

ḏd mdw ḥprw m spd

Recite: Becoming Soped⁸⁶⁵

Sq3C instead has Isis.⁸⁶⁶ In the third version, Sq6C, the rubric is lost where the name would appear, but in the spell this version has:

N pn spd w smsw ntrw

This N is Sopedu, eldest of the gods.⁸⁶⁷

a line which is lacking in the other variations. In the spell the speaker also says

irty N pn m k33

The eyes of this N are powerful⁸⁶⁸ ones(?).⁸⁶⁹

and is the lord of the desert.⁸⁷⁰ Again, there is a theme of being old and powerful in the spell.

III 10.4 Summary

While some spells where gods are the transformation object focus on features explicitly connected to that particular deity, other spells focus more on the power and might of the gods in general. The gods can be put in their mythological setting, or in their kinship setting. For the Osiris N to be identified with a god in this manner also places him in the same setting as the gods and he is integrated into the Afterlife. These seem to be the main objectives of the spells with Hathor, Ihy, Heka and Osiris above. Other spells focus on something else particular to a deity. Different things that are important for the Afterlife, such as true speech-Hu, judgement-Thoth, and *maat* are gained through the connection to the specific and relevant deity.

In the spells which seem primarily connected to power and might, this is still individually connected to the specific deity in the spell. In the Sobek spells, which also have power as a focus, the spells provide a picture of a powerful crocodile in the marshes. Here, parallels are set up between different worlds, between the waters and marshes in this world and the winding waterways in the afterlife. The *ḥk3w* spell is different, but the spell still has elements of taking *3ḥw* and *ḥk3w* for the sake of the speaker to gain it himself. A few gods of violent nature have also been included in this category, such as Babi, who puts fear in his surroundings, as well as gods who argue for their authority based on their primevalness, which also relates to Hathor and Heka.

⁸⁶⁵ CT IV 8a.

⁸⁶⁶ CT IV 8j.

⁸⁶⁷ CT IV 8i.

⁸⁶⁸ Faulkner's suggestions, *Coffin Texts* I, 205 n.1 in the meaning of them being 'potent'.

⁸⁶⁹ CT IV 8e.

⁸⁷⁰ CT IV 8h.

III 11 Human-related

III 11.1 Scribes

A small number of the Coffin Text spells concern the deceased becoming a scribe of a god.⁸⁷¹ Being a Scribe of Hathor and Re-Atum, or Atum, are the most common ones, both in number of spells and number of versions of the same spells. The spells have in general three themes, with the largest number having to do with offerings.

III 11.1.1 Offerings

In two spells where the deceased is the scribe of Hathor, the same theme is in focus. Spell 295 has the rubric:

hprw m sš wdhw n hwt-hr Becoming a scribe of the offering table of Hathor⁸⁷²

Of relevance for the meaning of being a scribe in this spell are mainly two sentences:

iw sšw=i m shyt htp n hwt-hr My writings are in the two fields of offerings of Hathor.⁸⁷³

...

nfr.w(y) 3 hw.w(y) 3 wi im Doubly happy indeed, doubly provided(?) indeed, am I in it.⁸⁷⁴

By being the scribe of the offering table of Hathor, and making important records, the dead is able to have access to it himself.

Spell 208 starts:

wnn m sš n hwt-hr Being the scribe of Hathor

hpr m k3 iwnw becoming the bull of Heliopolis⁸⁷⁵

The short spell mainly has to do with offerings and not eating excrement and drinking urine. The first line after the rubric identifies the dead with a bull:

ink k3 htp nb išt 5 m iwnw I am the bull of offerings, lord of five portions in Heliopolis.⁸⁷⁶

One version⁸⁷⁷ inserts a rubric at the end, instead of the beginning, which reads:

⁸⁷¹ Spells 208, 252, 253, 295, 329, 538, 540, 959 using *sš*. Spell 992 *hpr m iry-md3t* is also included in this section.

⁸⁷² CT IV 47e for B1L and h for B2L. B2L has misplaced the title while B1L has corrupted it, see CT IV 47 n.3. and inserts a *m* before *wdhw*.

⁸⁷³ CT IV 47g.

⁸⁷⁴ CT IV 48d B2L. B1C differs slightly but carry the same meaning.

⁸⁷⁵ CT III 161a-b. S2C and B2Bo. The beginning is lost in S1C and after the lacuna has *n hwt-hr m k3 iwnw*.

⁸⁷⁶ CT III 161c, B2Bo.

⁸⁷⁷ B1Bo.

sš wdḥw n r^c-tm

Recording the offering tables of Re-Atum⁸⁷⁸

The connection between Hathor and Re as a pair is common,⁸⁷⁹ as is the connection between Hathor and offerings.⁸⁸⁰ The last line and the focus on offerings suggest that the role of the scribe is that of recording, and that the bull is the more prominent identity in the spell. The purpose therefore seems to take part in eating offerings. Spell 211 is very similar to spell 208 with the dead being identified with the bull, wanting to eat nice food, and avoid excrements and urine.⁸⁸¹ One version adds a rubric in the end, *wnn m sš n ḥwt-ḥr*,⁸⁸² identical to the first line in spell 208.

Yet another spell connects the scribe and offerings, spell 329:

ḥpr m sš n šht ḥtp n wsir

Becoming a scribe of the field of offerings of Osiris⁸⁸³

The short spell does not give that much information about the scribe except for the last sentence:

ink sš ḥ3dt šht ḥtp r^c n ḏḥwtj mm irw ḥtp

I am the scribe of the store-chest of the field of offerings beside Thoth among the ones who make offerings.⁸⁸⁴

The dead as a scribe takes his place beside Thoth to administrate and control the offerings. He is thereby able to benefit from them.

III 11.1.2 Judgement

Re-Atum, or Atum in variants, occurs in two scribe spells. Spell 538 is almost completely lost except for the title,⁸⁸⁵ which is identical to that in spell 253:

*ḥpr m sš n r^c-tm*⁸⁸⁶

Becoming scribe of Re-Atum⁸⁸⁷

In the spell Osiris, here spoken about as Orion,⁸⁸⁸ leaves a will (*imyt-pr*).⁸⁸⁹ An enemy called *Rḥt-hw* wants to interfere, but the son kills *Rḥt*⁸⁹⁰ and makes use of the will. In this parallel story to the battle of Horus and Seth,⁸⁹¹ Atum-Re probably has the same role as the senior god who runs the

⁸⁷⁸ CT III 162g B1Bo.

⁸⁷⁹ See also spell 334, where they are the parents of Ihy, and Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 113-116.

⁸⁸⁰ Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 44.

⁸⁸¹ CT III 167a-168b.

⁸⁸² CT III 167g.

⁸⁸³ CT IV 165a.

⁸⁸⁴ CT IV 165d.

⁸⁸⁵ CT VI 134a.

⁸⁸⁶ S2Ca. Versions vary in using *wnn* instead of *ḥpr*, Atum instead of Atum-Re and insert *nb* before the name.

T1L: *ḏḏ mdw llw m sš n itm*, M22C: *ḥpr m sš n nb r^c-tm*, B2Bo: *ḥpr m sš n tm*, S1Ca, S3C: *wnn m sš n nb r^c-tm*,

S1Cb: *wnn m sš n nb tm*.

⁸⁸⁷ CT III 353a.

⁸⁸⁸ CT III 353b.

⁸⁸⁹ CT III 353b.

⁸⁹⁰ CT III 354a-355b.

⁸⁹¹ Gardiner, *LES*, 37-60.

court and passes divine judgement. The role of the scribe of Atum would be to write down the divine judgement, thereby he takes part in the events and has a position among the gods.

In spell 959 the rubric is 'Being the scribe of the Great God'.⁸⁹² However, the speaker is then identified with Re (*ink r^c*).⁸⁹³ The short spell does not give that much information about the doings of the speaker except for what is included in the end:

<i>šhms=i hr d3p wḏ^c=i mdw</i>	I sit down on the bench(?) and make my judgements,
<i>šms=i hnmmt</i>	I follow the sun people.
<i>ink wnn m sš n ntr 3 wr n d3d3t ntr</i>	I am the one who is the scribe of the Great God, the Great One of the tribunal of the god. ⁸⁹⁴

The last line parallels the first line rubric, except that the first line has *hprw m šs...*⁸⁹⁵ which is then replaced with *ink wnn m...* The role of the scribe here includes him in making judgement and the tribunal is also referred to.

III 11.1.3 The scribe

Only a few spells give more information about the position of the scribe himself in the Afterlife. In spell 254:

<i>wnn m sš n r^c</i>	<u>Being a scribe of Re</u> ⁸⁹⁶
---------------------------------	--

there are a few more examples of what a scribe does. The first sentence also identifies the speaker as the scribe of Osiris. Then follows:

<i>ip.n=i tnwt hrw w3t</i>	I have counted the number of those who are on the path,
<i>irw n=i smw=sn</i>	their affairs are done for me.
<i>hṭp r^c-tm hṭp wsir</i>	As Re-Atum is pleased, then Osiris is pleased. ⁸⁹⁷

The administrative work of the scribe involves counting, but then work is also done for him and he keeps the two gods which he serves pleased. Spell 540 has the rubric:

<i>hpr m sš n hwt-hr</i>	<u>Becoming the scribe of Hathor</u> ⁸⁹⁸
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and the speaker says:

<i>tn=i pw r sš=s nb</i>	I am raised ⁸⁹⁹ to be her scribe, lord
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⁸⁹² CT VII 177j.

⁸⁹³ CT VII 177k.

⁸⁹⁴ CT VII 178e-g.

⁸⁹⁵ CT VII 177j.

⁸⁹⁶ CT III 357a.

⁸⁹⁷ CT III 257c-e.

⁸⁹⁸ CT VI 135a.

⁸⁹⁹ de Buck notes 'sic'. It should be a passive, compare 136d.

hmst m hnt wrt=sn m hnt ʕt=sn hmwt=sn ist of sitting, in front of their Great Ones, in front of their
Mighty ones and their women also.⁹⁰⁰

...

wn sšw=i hr mnt=s

My writings are on her thighs,

gsti=i m httt=s

my palette in her armpit.

iw=i wr.ki r wr=sn

I am greater than their Great ones.

iw=i nr.ki//// ʕt n d3d(3)t=s

I am dreaded [more than] /////great of her tribunal.

iw šsp.n=i fd[w]⁹⁰¹pw šhmw ʕrw m3ʕt

I have received these four reed wands, (and?) the
reed pens of Maat.

wr.w(y) sp 2 wrw r pt t3

How much greater, how much greater, are the Great
Ones than the sky and earth.

šsp=i s(y) m dbʕ=s ʕwh=i s/////

I receive it from her fingers, I moisten⁹⁰² ////⁹⁰³

...

[m3ʕt tn].t(w)=i pw r [sš]=s nb

Maat, I am being lifted up to be her scribe, lord
of excellence.⁹⁰⁴

mnḥ

The dead is clearly raised up to be a scribe and thereby receives a greater status being integrated into the hierarchy of the divine world. He is very close to Hathor and has been given scribal equipment from the goddess herself. This is also confirmed in the end of the spell:

ink sš n hwt-hr

I am the scribe of Hathor.

wn n=i hrt ʕ nt dhwtj

The writing material of Thoth is open for me.⁹⁰⁵

As the scribe of Hathor he is also mighty, great and dreaded. The position as the scribe of the goddess thereby provides him with features close to them of herself. The scribe is given a role in the Afterlife, which integrates him, and gives him a function in that life.

In spell 252 one version has *wnn m sš n rʕ-tm* while two other versions use *hpr*.⁹⁰⁶ In the spell the speaker relates to Re-Atum as being external to himself.

ii.n=i dʕr=i hbswt tw nt rʕ-tm

I have come, so I may seek out this beard of Re-Atum
which was taken on this day of rebellion.⁹⁰⁷

ityt hrw pw n sbit

⁹⁰⁰ CT VI 135m-n.

⁹⁰¹ See CT VI 136c.

⁹⁰² Faulkner suggestion, from *iwḥ Coffin Texts* II 158 n.9.

⁹⁰³ CT VI 135q-136a.

⁹⁰⁴ CT VI 136d-e.

⁹⁰⁵ CT VI 136t-u.

⁹⁰⁶ T3L. S2Ca and S1Cb: *hpr m rʕ-tm*, S3C only has *rʕ-tm*. S2Ca-b are lost. CT III 351d.

⁹⁰⁷ CT III 352c-d.

The assisting aspect visible in these lines, as well as Re-Atum seemingly being someone else than the speaker, would support the rubric which has ‘scribe of Re-Atum’ rather than ‘Re-Atum’. The spell is very short so not much clue is given to the identity.

Spell 992 should probably also be included in the category of scribes and associates.

<i>hpr m iry md3t n dhwtj</i>	Becoming the scribe’s assistant ⁹⁰⁸ of Thoth
<i>wn hrt ʿ=f</i>	and opener of his writing material box. ⁹⁰⁹
...	
<i>isd=i sin</i>	I break the seal. ⁹¹⁰
...	
<i>wn=i hrt ʿw ntr</i>	I open the writing material box of the god,
<i>siʿ=i md3wt</i>	I take out the documents. ⁹¹¹

As is seen above the speaker has access to the box of Thoth and the documents within. By having control of Thoth’s documents he has control of matters in the afterlife. This has a result in the speaker’s ability to breathe.

<i>ink nb nf3=f</i>	I am the lord who breathes/I am lord of his (own) breath. ⁹¹²
---------------------	--

The last line might also related to recitation of the text.⁹¹³

The small number of spells in which the dead is to become a scribe mainly concern offerings or judgement. The theme of offering or judgement reflects the features of the god that the scribe serves, where Hathor is mainly associated with offerings, Re-Atum and the Great God are mainly associated with judgement. Only a few spells focus more on the role of the profession of scribe and the inclusion in the Afterlife that it grants as the spell’s cynosure. The close association with the gods grants a favourable position. The role associates them with a particular god, gives them a specific task in the afterlife and can also place them in a mythological context where they are included in divine interaction and record its outcome.⁹¹⁴ Probably, the position of a scribe in the afterlife was prized just as it was in life.⁹¹⁵

⁹⁰⁸ *iry md3t* ‘scribe’s assistant, letter-carrier, keeper of documents, archivist’ Jones, *Index of Titles, Epithets and Phrases I*, 317 §1167.

⁹⁰⁹ *hrt-ʿ* has a box determinative. CT VII 203j-k.

⁹¹⁰ CT VII 204h.

⁹¹¹ CT VII 204j-k.

⁹¹² CT VII 204l. Or ‘I am lord over his breath’

⁹¹³ Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur*, 49.

⁹¹⁴ See Schott, *JEA* 54, 45-50 who also includes earlier and later examples of scribe-spells.

⁹¹⁵ As in Papyrus Lansing, for example Gardiner, *LEM*, 99-116, Lichtheim, *Egyptian Literature II*, 168-175.

III 11.2 Other human related spells

A few *hprw*-spells relate to outcomes which are not that of a god or bird but associated with human beings or a role or position which a human being could hold. As in the scribe-spells, it is not a different physical form than a human being. The objects of the spells are directly related to this life, but totally from a perspective of the Afterlife. In the scribe-spells they were not scribes of earthly people but of gods. Similar arrangements of lifting a role into an Afterlife context are done in some of these spells.

III 11.2.1 Human being

Spell 105 has a relatively long rubric with two important themes.

pṛt m hrw irt hprw m rmt

Going out by day, making manifestations as a human being⁹¹⁶

The first part of the spell⁹¹⁷ deals with the first part of the rubric. The dead going out into the day is paralleled with the sun rising and the day coming into being. Some lines are also connected to unrestrained movement.

i k3 ṭn=i ntt=k

O Bull, I lift up your bonds

i k3 rdi[=i] n=k intt=sn flḥflḥ

O bull, I give you their loosened fetters.

i k3

O bull,

n ḥf^α=i in šw n 3mm=i in 3krw

I was not grasped by Shu, I was not seized by the earth-gods.⁹¹⁸

Bulls are normally connected to slaughtering but the dead is not slaughtered, nor is he grasped or driven off. This is almost a denial of death and denial that he is restrained. He is not dead and buried (earth-gods), and he can move freely to the sky (Shu).

The second part⁹¹⁹ of the spell deals with the resurrection of the body as a human being and thereby also concerns the second part of the rubric, to become a physically functional human being. The bones and limbs are made to function again.

iw rfrd n=i ks=i in n=i ḥ^αw=i s3k n=i ^αwt=i

Indeed, my bones are given to me, my limbs are brought to me, my members are gathered for me⁹²⁰

...

iw r=i m bik

My mouth is that of a falcon.

⁹¹⁶ CT II 112a.

⁹¹⁷ CT II 112b-113j.

⁹¹⁸ CT II 112b-e.

⁹¹⁹ CT II 114a forward.

⁹²⁰ CT II 114b.

iw ḥtt=i w3d.ti

My throat is fresh.

iw dr ḥtrw imyw r=i

The lashings which were on my mouth are removed.

iw wn ḥnnw imy ḥt=i

The coils which were on my body have been opened.

iw wnm=i m r=i

I eat with my mouth.

iw fgn=i m ḥrt=i

I defecate with my hinder parts,

*ḏw pn pr(.w) m r=i*⁹²¹

this evil has gone out from my mouth.⁹²²

The perspective of the Afterlife is present in this spell, with the speaker in a full functional form with his body parts given and brought to him. As in the opening of the mouth ceremony the functions are restored for the rebirth of the dead.⁹²³

III 11.2.2 Child

The resurrection connected to birth is also a theme in spell 291:

ḏd mdw ḥpr m ḥrd

Recite: Becoming a child⁹²⁴

ink irf ḥprw

I am indeed the one who has become

m ḥrd

a child,

*irw it=f ḏdw mwt=s*⁹²⁵

whom his father begot, of whom his mother spoke.

ink pw

It is I.⁹²⁶

Spell 291 is a variant of spell 290. This spell has as a rubric 'Making manifestations as any god'⁹²⁷ and then continues with 'Becoming a child', but it is not in red in any of the versions in spell 290. Rebirth and the new life are linked to the beginning of life in this world.

III 11.2.3 Related to the king

Spell 256:

ḥpr m nsw n pt

Becoming the king of the sky⁹²⁸

The spell also has a very clear message in the body of the spell connected to the rubric.

*id.n=i itt.n=i 3ḥt m ḥ=i*⁹²⁹

I have assaulted(?) and taken the horizon by my hand,

ḏw3t m ḥ rḥ

the Netherworld by the hand of Re

⁹²¹ S1C. G2T has a different version.

⁹²² CT II 114h-115f.

⁹²³ Roth, JEA, 78, mainly 121-122, 147.

⁹²⁴ Sq1C, T1L also in red but destroyed.

⁹²⁵ The pronoun must be wrong. Should probably be =f or =i for both father and mother.

⁹²⁶ CT IV 42f-j.

⁹²⁷ CT IV 42e. See above under 'Rubrics' and 'ḥprw as an unspecified manifestation'.

⁹²⁸ CT III 365a.

⁹²⁹ All but S1Ca. S1Cb has by my utterance.

wrrt m^c psdt
rdy n=i nsw hr st hr

the white crown by the hand of the enead
the kingship⁹³⁰ on the throne of Horus has been given
to me.⁹³¹

The king is not king over this world, but king over the sky. The role of the king is thereby moved from an earthly context into that of the Afterlife. All but one version⁹³² of 256 continues into spell 257. Other versions omit 256 and begin with 257,⁹³³ and these are the only versions with a rubric for this spell:

hpr m im3hy hr nsw

Becoming a revered one with the king⁹³⁴

The focus is moved from kingship over different places in spell 256, to being honoured with the king and passage in spell 257.

ntrw ir n=i w3t

O Gods, make a path for me,

sw3=i im=s

so I may pass on it.

ink im3hy n nsw⁹³⁵ n pt

I am the one who is honoured with the king of the sky.

iw pr(=i) m r=f r-gs r^c h^c(=i) m hr(y) nw pt

I⁹³⁶ go forth from his mouth beside Re, I stand in the
upper parts of the sky.⁹³⁷

Being honoured with the king here is related to the speaker being associated and located with Re and having free passage in the sky.

For the two spells related to the king it is not the physical traits but the authority of the role of the king which acquires for the speaker kingship over different places of the Afterlife, or passage when the speaker is honoured with the king. As with the scribe-spells, earthly practices and roles are applied to a non-earthly context and given importance in its new settings.

III 12 The elements and objects

In a number of spells in the Coffin Texts an inanimate object or one of the elements follows *hprw m* rather than a living being. The outcome is similar to the spells above; the person gains something related to the transformation object, and it adds something to his or her identity. However, in contrast to many other *hprw*-spells, nominal sentences identifying the deceased with the object are

⁹³⁰ One version even spells out *nsw*, but from the context should mean kingship.

⁹³¹ CT III 365b-e.

⁹³² S1Ca.

⁹³³ B2L, B1C, B3C.

⁹³⁴ CT III 367a, B2L, B1C, B3C.

⁹³⁵ Variants: S1Ca *hns*, B2L and B1C *hr snt*.

⁹³⁶ The el-Bersha versions have *iw pr.n* so presumably a *i* should be inserted in all instances since no other grammatical form would fit in.

⁹³⁷ CT III 368b-369b S1Cb.

not used; instead the speaker can have a completely different identity.⁹³⁸ It is therefore particularly visible that the performer of the spell does not entirely ‘become’ the object.

III.12.1 *t3w*

In four spells the rubrics involve *hprw m t3w*.⁹³⁹ *t3w* seems to have different meanings in these spells so the translation will vary depending on the meaning. Of these four spells, spell 988 is very fragmentary so the analysis needs to rely upon the other spells. Spell 223 has two versions of the title. One starts as a *hprw*-title,⁹⁴⁰ but then continues almost like the other version:

r n ssnt t3w m hrt-ntr Spell for breathing air in the realm of the dead.⁹⁴¹

Though having a similar title to the later Books of Breathing, the short spell does not tend to have obvious relations to these.⁹⁴² The spell continues:

*i tm*⁹⁴³ O Atum
imi t3w ndm n N imy šrt=k give the sweet air which is in your nostrils to N⁹⁴⁴

The title makes the purpose of the spell clearer. There seems to be a case of resuscitation since Atum is asked to give his own breath to N. As with the spells below, the *hprw*-title seems to relate to N receiving the transformation object, not becoming it.

While spell 223 is focused on the actual breathing, spells 288 and 297 focus more on free passage. For example:

š3s.n=i šw nmt.n=i 3kr I traveled the air, I traversed the earth,⁹⁴⁵

This particular passage also shows the connection to the air, with the gods’ names used for their regions.⁹⁴⁶ In this spell the speaker is in the sky, or in between the sky and the earth, where the air is. One sentence even gives him the role of Shu:

ink wp pt r t3 I am the one who separates the sky from the earth.⁹⁴⁷

However, the speaker does not identify himself with Shu in any other way in the spell, instead he says that he is the son of Shu.⁹⁴⁸ He is clearly in Shu’s realm, the empty space between the sky and the earth,⁹⁴⁹ so the connection to the air is a strong one.

⁹³⁸ Though there are other examples of identifications with inanimate objects, see for example Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 58.

⁹³⁹ Spell 288 CT IV 39a, spell 223, CT III 208a T1L, spell 988 CT VII 196a.

⁹⁴⁰ T1C.

⁹⁴¹ CT III 208b B2Bo.

⁹⁴² Smith, *Opening the Mouth for Breathing*.

⁹⁴³ *r^c-tm* in B1Bo.

⁹⁴⁴ CT III 208c-d.

⁹⁴⁵ Spell 288 CT IV 40d.

⁹⁴⁶ Willems, *Heqata*, 271.

⁹⁴⁷ Spell 288 CT IV 40g.

⁹⁴⁸ CT IV 39j.

In spell 297 the rubric again involves *hprw m t3w*, but it has a different focus. The full rubric is:

hprw m t3w 4 nw pt

Manifesting⁹⁵⁰ the four winds of the sky⁹⁵¹

rh rn n ntr ir m3kt nt pt

knowing the name of the god who guards the ladder
of the sky⁹⁵²

As in spell 288 the location seems to be in the air, between the earth and the sky, where both winds and the god in charge of the ladder presumably are. The only lines in the spell directly referring to the winds are:

iw pt m rsyw hms=i m mhwt ts phr

If the sky comes in the south-wind, I sit in the north-wind, and vice versa,

iw pt m imntt hms=i m i3bt ts phr

if the sky comes in the west-wind, I sit in the east-wind, and vice versa⁹⁵³

The speaker sits in the wind; he does not identify with the wind. In the end of the spell one version adds:

ir rh r pn wnn=f m sb3 m pt ist sw sb n k3=f

As for the one who knows this spell, he will be in the
portal in the sky, when having gone to his k3⁹⁵⁴

So the result of knowing the spell, and presumably the name of the guardian of the ladder, gives a person access to the sky and the portal in the sky when they are dead, and he can pass through the air, the winds, to the sky. Possibly, the first rubric could carry the meaning of the person manifesting in the winds, or the winds themselves are manifested.

Since spells 288, 297 and 988 concern free passage, they might, per association, also concern breathing. Breathing in itself is one of the attributes of continuing life, and for someone who passes successfully between this life and the next breathing would be needed.⁹⁵⁵ However, this is not entirely clear from the text the way it is expressed in spell 223. Manifesting breath or air in spells 223 and 288 then seems to have two different implications for the dead. In spell 223 the speaker

⁹⁴⁹ Hornung, *Conceptions of god*, 77.

⁹⁵⁰ Since the rubrics do not express an identity, and there is no identification sentence in the spell relating to the transformation object, a different translation is chosen since N (or the 'I' in the spell) does not seem to 'become' the object in the rubric. 'Manifesting' is probably a translation possible for most of the *hprw*-rubrics, but since the identity is often stronger in spells which have specific beings, with both identification sentences and descriptions of the transformation object, a division has been made. The division could possibly have been made somewhere else, such as between spells which show a strong identity and those that do not; any division should not be seen as absolute.

⁹⁵¹ CT IV 50a. B1C has *hprw*, B2L has *hpr*.

⁹⁵² CT IV 50b, B1C. 50k B2L.

⁹⁵³ CT IV 50f-g.

⁹⁵⁴ CT IV 50l, B2L.

⁹⁵⁵ This has some similarities with the later Books of Breathing which also include several beneficial things for the dead and not only breathing. However, in these Coffin Text spells there is no mention of a book of breathing, *šct n snsn*, (for example, Herbin, *Books of Breathing*, pl. 6, line 1), but we come as close as spell 223, *r n ssnt*. The rest of the content is quite different.

acquires breath, breathing air, and in spell 288 he is in the realm of the air. In neither spell does he embody air, instead he acquires air through breathing or being in the presence of air.

III.12.2 Seal

In spell 706 the rubric says:

ḥpr m ḥtm pt

Manifesting the seal of the sky⁹⁵⁶

Faulkner translates *ḥtm* 'seal-bearer(?)',⁹⁵⁷ Barguet 'en dignitaire dans le ciel'.⁹⁵⁸ However, there is no determinative indicating that this would be a person. In the spell, the speaker receives a seal:

dšrt ḥwt(y)t

O Red one! O you of the houses!

mtrw

O witness!

šsp.n=i ḥtm ḥn^c=ṯn w^c.w

I have received a seal together with you, alone

m mswt snṯ

in the forming of the plan.

škr n=i s3-t3 in srw 3ḥt

The snake is stuck down for me by the officials of the horizon.⁹⁵⁹

The speaker together with three deities is given the seal, forming a unique group. Acquiring a seal, the speaker is of the same status as the officials who are looking after their own kind, thereby striking down the snake so the speaker can pass. The purpose of the spell therefore seems to be to give the speaker authorisation.

III 12.3 The twin-sceptred one

Spell 993

ḥpr m ḥrpw

Manifesting as(?) the twin-sceptred one⁹⁶⁰

In the first half of the spell a goddess, possibly Isis, is spoken about with a number of epithets.

ḥndt stš tp r=s

She who bent Seth on account of her utterance.

wnt ḥr ḥr n=f

She who opened the sight of Horus for him.⁹⁶¹

Possibly also the rubric refers to the duality of the companions, while the *ḥrp*-wand also has to do with power and authority. The speaker seems to make identifications a number of times in the spell,

⁹⁵⁶ CT VI 337h.

⁹⁵⁷ Faulkner, *Coffin Texts II*, 266.

⁹⁵⁸ Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 547.

⁹⁵⁹ CT VI 337i-m.

⁹⁶⁰ Spell 993, CT VII 205a.

⁹⁶¹ CT VII 205p-q.

but in most cases only 'ink' can be read, and the rest of the sentence is lost.⁹⁶² Only two instances remain somewhat intact

ink ḡhwty//////////

I am Thoth//////////⁹⁶³

...

st=i m itn sp 2

My seat is in/as(?) the sun-disk.

mnw(y) 3 st=i m itn

Firm is indeed my seat in/as(?) the sun-disk.

//////////

//////////

ink ḥnt(y) swt ntrw sb3 ḥkn m ////

I am the one who is in charge of the seats of the gods,
a joyful star in/////

n ḥh=i ḥh r^c ts p_hr

For as I live, Re lives, and vice versa.⁹⁶⁴

The speaker has a seat and is in charge so the theme of authority is visible at the end of the spell again.

III 12.4 Fire

Perhaps also spell 284 can belong to this category of titles which do not refer to living beings. It has the rubric:

ḥprw m sḏt m ḥrt-ntr m st nbt nt imnt

Manifesting fire in the realm of the dead in every
place in the West⁹⁶⁵

As Hornung points out there are no personifications of fire in Egypt, but there are a number of fiery dieties.⁹⁶⁶ In the spell, the dead is identified with Horus:

wsir N pn twt ḥr

O this Osiris N, you are Horus

n sw wrt ḥ3st

he belongs to the Great Lady of the desert

nbt nsw

Lady of Flame.⁹⁶⁷

However, the focus of the spell is the 'Lady of Flame' and what she can do towards enemies. The identity of the dead is then different from the focus of the spell. The title is also slightly different from the actual uraeus since it does not refer to the goddess herself, but to her action. She is called Lady of Flame and she spits fire, but in the title the fire does not seem to be a being, it does not have a god or person determinative, but is merely fire itself. The title should therefore probably not be

⁹⁶² I. e. 206e, j, 207i.

⁹⁶³ CT VII 206h.

⁹⁶⁴ CT VII 207g-k.

⁹⁶⁵ CT IV 34j, Sq6C. The title of T1L occurs before the spell but is lost after *ḏḏ mdw ḥprw* so we cannot know what was meant to come after it.

⁹⁶⁶ Hornung, *Conceptions of god*, 80.

⁹⁶⁷ CT IV 34b-c.

understood as an identity at all. It matches the most important aspect of the uraeus put forward in the spell, and assumingly it is the fire itself that is in the focus of being manifested.

III 12.5 Summary

That the rubrics of the *hprw*-spells do not necessarily refer to a concrete transformation of identity is visible in these spells where the transformation object is not really an identity at all. As in other *hprw*-spells when the speaker identifies with a particular being, he does not necessarily become that being in a physical sense. Therefore it is the acquisition of an ability rather than an embodiment which should be read in the *hprw*-spells. When the dead becomes a swallow the physical shape of the dead is not described as changing, but it does provide the speaker with the ability to fly. In the same sense the dead is not turned into a seal but is acquiring a seal.

III 13 Miscellaneous

III 13.1 *b3st*

Two spells concerns *b3st*.⁹⁶⁸ Spell 584 has

*r n hpr m b3st t3y*⁹⁶⁹

Spell for becoming a male *b3st*.

or

*hpr m b3sti t3y*⁹⁷⁰

Becoming a male *b3sti*⁹⁷¹

Spell 585 does not have a rubric involving *b3st* or *b3sti* but instead:

////m ʕpr 3h m hrt-ntr

/// equipping(?) an *3h* in the realm of the dead⁹⁷²

or

hpr///m tti tʕy

Becoming a male *tti*⁹⁷³

In spell 585 the speaker goes to him or it:

h33=i n=f n b3st t3y

I go to him, to male *b3st*.⁹⁷⁴

So *b3st* is presumably a male being in a place which the dead is able to reach. Faulkner notes that the term is not recorded and seems to have nothing to do with Bastet, *b3s* 'devour' or *b3s* 'ointment

⁹⁶⁸ Spells 584 and 585.

⁹⁶⁹ S2C.

⁹⁷⁰ B2Bo.

⁹⁷¹ CT VI 200a.

⁹⁷² CT VI 205f S2C.

⁹⁷³ CT VI 205g Sq6C.

⁹⁷⁴ CT VI 205e.

jar'.⁹⁷⁵ Few clues are given about *b3st* in these two spells and the *tti* does not seem to be mentioned in spell 585 other than in the title of Sq6C.

III 13.2 Attendant of Heliopolis

Spell 289

hprw m imy-s3 n iwnw

Becoming an attendant of Heliopolis⁹⁷⁶

pr.n N pn m sw

This N has gone from Su.

sdr.n=f m ww

He has slept in Uu.

inm=f pn^cy

His skin is turned inside out

hft šs3t m imnt

at (the time of) nightfall in the West.

N pn imy-s3 n iwnw

This N is an attendant of Heliopolis.⁹⁷⁷

As in spell 210 and 221, N goes to a place and spends the night in another. The last line of the spell reflects the title of 'attendant of Heliopolis.'⁹⁷⁸

III 13.3 Fowler

Spell 1015 has

hpr m wh^c n ntr 3 dd mw is33 mw

To become a fowler of the Great God who gives water and who guards water⁹⁷⁹

The identification in the spell is with a heron (*ink nwr*⁹⁸⁰). Various items connected to trapping birds are mentioned, like nets⁹⁸¹ and possibly a bird trap.⁹⁸² The end of the spell say:

*di=i m wy=i n ntr 3 r fnd=f⁹⁸³ m-hnw wi3=f
pf*

I give from my arms for the great god to his nose within that boat of his.

hms.n=i im s3=i r wsh^t 3

I have sat down there, my back to the great hall.

prr hp///

Hapy comes forth///

ink ir 3wt⁹⁸⁴ ntr

I am the one who provides a gift of the god.⁹⁸⁵

⁹⁷⁵ Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 186 n.1.

⁹⁷⁶ Red in B2L, black in B1Bo. B1C has the same rubric in the end CT IV 41g.

⁹⁷⁷ CT IV 41a-f.

⁹⁷⁸ For this title see Jones, *Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles* I, 298-299.

⁹⁷⁹ CT VII 233j.

⁹⁸⁰ CT VII 233m

⁹⁸¹ CT VII 234d,n.

⁹⁸² CT VII 234e. Faulkner's guess for the word *wptt* Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 116 n.9.

⁹⁸³ Or perhaps *r hnt=f*.

⁹⁸⁴ Following Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 116 n.16.

⁹⁸⁵ CT VII 234o-r.

So the speaker has come to the boat of the Great god and sat down. The role of the bird hunter is probably for providing for the god.

III 13.4 *s3h*

Spell 853 starts

i[i] ntrw m htp i.n=sn

“The gods come in peace” they said

imyw i^ch/// wr

who are in the full moon.

irdy=sn h^cw

They grant appearances,

hn^c dš[rw] hr[yw] [3h}tyw⁹⁸⁶

with the red ones who are over the horizon-dwellers.

m///r//w

////////

dī=sn s^ch/// wsir N pn

They grant *s^ch* [to] this Osiris N.

šsp.n wsir N pn wrwt=f

This Osiris N has taken his *wrrt*-crown⁹⁸⁷

Apparently, the ones who grant *s^ch* to Osiris N are the ones who are in the full moon and over the horizon-dwellers. After another sentence the rubric is placed at the end of the spell.

hprw m s^ch

Becoming a *s^ch*⁹⁸⁸

s^ch is a particular state of nobility granted to the dead, who is here able to take the crown.

III 13.5 Splendid of manifestations

Of spell 794 only a few sentences remain readable without too much damage. The rubric is:

sbk///hprw m hrt ntr

To be splendid of manifestations in the realm of the
dead⁹⁸⁹

and a sentence down from this

itt[.n]=i [w]rrt ntr nb

I have taken the *wrrt*-crown of every god.⁹⁹⁰

Presumably being splendid of manifestations gives the dead a position among the god, being expressed by taking their crowns. What else it might mean is unfortunately lost.

⁹⁸⁶ Faulkner’s restoration, *Coffin Texts* III, 35.

⁹⁸⁷ CT VII 56I-57a.

⁹⁸⁸ CT VII 57e.

⁹⁸⁹ CT VII 4a.

⁹⁹⁰ CT VII 4c.

III 13.6 Bull of Heliopolis

hprw m k3 iwnw

Becoming the bull of Heliopolis⁹⁹¹

This is a composite rubric to spell 207, 209 and 210 on coffins B1Boa and B1Bob,⁹⁹² although various coffins do show relatively large variation of titles for the individual spells. For instance, for spell 207 other versions have:

šsp 3wt m inw

Receiving gifts in Heliopolis⁹⁹³

and

đd mdw wnn m šs n hns

Recitation for being a scribe of Khonsu⁹⁹⁴

and

tm wnm ḥs

Not to eat excrements

tm wrllwllm hrt ntr

not to drink [urine] in the realm of the dead⁹⁹⁵

Spell 207 is about nourishment and good meals so both gifts and not eating anything distasteful is directly relevant. One sentence also picks up the main rubric of B1Boa and B1Bob.

*mrt.n=i di.tw ddt n=i*⁹⁹⁶

What I am given is what I have wanted to be given

n-ntt ink k3 iwnw

because I am the bull of Heliopolis.⁹⁹⁷

So being the bull here seems to be for the purpose of being in charge.⁹⁹⁸ The authority aspect might also be what is picked up in the title of being the scribe since this can also concern the aspect of administrative control. The other titles highlight other themes in the spell and probably relate to being a scribe more than the other rubrics of the different versions. The spell also has an aspect of the appearance and disappearance of a celestial body, which might be related to the title including the scribe of Khonsu.⁹⁹⁹

Spell 209 has no other version of rubric. It only has two curious sentences about driving someone away and two mentions of two different plants, *sm^ct* and a leek.¹⁰⁰⁰ Onions and leeks can be used to ward off snakes, so possibly that is the purpose here.¹⁰⁰¹ Spell 210 has its own rubric on some coffins

tm ir k3t m hrt-ntr

Not to do work in the realms of the dead¹⁰⁰²

⁹⁹¹ CT III 167c B1Boa, B1Bob.

⁹⁹² CT III 167 n.5.

⁹⁹³ CT III 155a B2L, M22C, B2Boa, P. Gard II.

⁹⁹⁴ CT III 155b G1T.

⁹⁹⁵ CT III 160c-d S1C.

⁹⁹⁶ A mix of different versions since neither of the versions makes totally sense grammatically on its own.

⁹⁹⁷ CT III 160a-b.

⁹⁹⁸ See spell 208 above under 'Scribes'.

⁹⁹⁹ Willems, *Heqata*, 253-255.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Or *k3dt*.

¹⁰⁰¹ Willems, *Heqata*, 255-256

¹⁰⁰² CT III 164/165a B1C, B5C, B2L, T3C, S1Ca, S2Ca,

The rest of this short spell runs:

<i>pr.n=i m p</i>	I have come up from Pe.
<i>sdr.n=i m knmt</i>	I have slept in Kenemyt (darkness-town).
<i>i ik ir nn hn^c=i¹⁰⁰³</i>	O <i>Ik</i> , do this with me. ¹⁰⁰⁴

The passages have a parallel in spell 221, a spell for a man to do what he wishes in the realm of the dead.¹⁰⁰⁵ The *Ik* addressed is probably the one who shall do the work, in a shabti function, so that the speaker will not have to.¹⁰⁰⁶ Spells 207-210 include different themes of offerings, authority as a bull, warding off a snake and finally not having to work, all of them common wishes for the Afterlife.

III 14 Summary of *hprw*-spells

In the majority of the *hprw*-spells there is also an identification sentence in the body of the spell. *hprw* is a category for forms or manifestations in these spells, where often the identification sentences reflect the transformation object, giving the dead person a different *hprw*. Identity is relative and changeable, and no person is bound to a single description of his or her identity. To identify with something external is also to take on a different role for a particular purpose. People play many different roles at the same time, for example as a father, a son and a scribe, which are all part of their collective identity. Nordh calls the gods in this context ‘mythic prototypes’ and a ‘frame of reference intellectually, emotionally, behaviourally and socially’.¹⁰⁰⁷ The identifications with gods, birds, and other beings in the *hprw*-spells often seem to have the purpose of gaining something from the transformation object, serving as a means of passage to, or integration into, the Afterlife, or for other purposes such as authority. In these cases it is close to that of syncretisation between gods, where the original identity is not abandoned, but by identification, something else is added to it as well.

hpr or *hprw* can have a variety of meanings, and in these rubrics and spells, the usage is both for the process and for the goal of transformations, as can be seen in the sentence *hpr.n=i m hprw*. Where the transformation object has an animate identity, identification sentences in the spells are more common, and a process of identification, of becoming, is present. When the transformation object is such as a seal, wind or fire, the outcome of the person gaining something through the spell is there. In such cases the subject acquires an ability from the transformation object rather than becoming the object, and identification sentences are not used in these spells.

¹⁰⁰³ Most versions. S1Cb, S1Ca and S2Ca vary slightly.

¹⁰⁰⁴ CT III 164/165c-166/167a.

¹⁰⁰⁵ CT III 204a.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Willems, *Heqata*, 257, Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 251.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 50.

Within the two largest groups of transformation objects, gods and birds, gods seem either specifically chosen for a personal feature of that god, such as their particular kinship, their primevalness, or their high status, or they are chosen for their specific role, such as Anubis as an embalmer. Other god-spells focus on a general idea, which the god can personify in different way, such as physical or magical power, which is connected to the role of the god. Birds are mainly either connected to passage, and/or they have a strong connection to a particular god. Scribe spells are connected to the features of the god they serve. For Hathor the spells are connected to offerings, and for Re-Atum and the Great God, the spells are connected to judgement. A few spells also relates to being a scribe in general, with his high position and authority. All of these are also close to gods they serve, which probably also adds to integration into the divine side of the Afterlife. The few spells where the transformation object is a king also seem to be linked primarily to authority.

Chapter IV The *b3* and parts of the identity relating to the *b3*

IV 1 The *b3*¹⁰⁰⁸

IV 1.1 The nature of the *b3* in the Coffin Texts

As a core motif of the Egyptian funerary world, there is an extensive literature touching on the subject of the *b3*. The research literature addresses the most prominent aspects of the *b3*, globally in one or more periods, or specifically for individual aspects of the *b3* in a particular type of text.¹⁰⁰⁹ In practice, however, it is difficult to constrain the *b3* to a narrow universal definition. Its role is both complex and contextual sensitive to each text corpus, and each religious environment.

The nature of the *b3* and *b3w* is a large subject, the words occur in over 400 instances in the Coffin Texts alone.¹⁰¹⁰ Among the occurrences, it can be used as a part of the identity of a person or a god, as a manifestation representing someone in full, often in spells which the focus is free

¹⁰⁰⁸ For the spells not mentioned initially in this chapter which contain the *b3*, foremost see under ‘the Shadow and the *b3*’, thereof spells 2, 20, 97, 229, 409, 488-503, 535, 563, 573, 663, also ‘*b3* and the corpse’ for spells 44, 45, 242, and ‘*b3* and *irw*’ spells 95, 96, 312, 317. In two spells, 655 and 852, the manuscripts are too destroyed to be able to convey any more information about the *b3*. Likewise, spell 885, though it is more intact, as Faulkner has commented ‘This spell consists of disconnected sentences taken from a collection of spells against snakes, many from the Pyr., and mostly garble, so that there is no connected sense to be obtained.’ *Coffin Texts* III, 49 n.1. The passage containing the *b3*: *b3 b3kt ////sp 2 nn sp CT VII 95k*, might refer to a snake, since several of them are put into this spell. However, the context is garbled and the spell is partly destroyed, so it is hard to get any sense out of it. In a few instances different versions have *b3* and then another bird. Possibly the wrong bird is drawn in some instances or they look too alike in hieratic. See spell 67 *CT II 287e* which versions have either *b3* or *bn*, and spell 484 *CT VI 54g* which has *b3* or *mwt*, in spell 33 *CT I 115a*, some versions have *b3*, some leave it out and one has *mwt*. Spell 75 *CT I 385d* has *rw*, lion in all versions but B1Bo which has *b3*. In spell 398, *CT V 145a M6C* has *b3w* seemingly where the other versions have *hw* or *3h*. However, in M6C the surrounding context is destroyed. Spell 576 has a sign which has been variously interpreted as *b3* (Müller, *Orientalia* 35, 266, Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 230, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 425) and as *idr* (Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, II, 181 and n.4, Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 1354).

¹⁰⁰⁹ For example: Žabkar, *Ba Concept*. Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes ‘b3’*, which focus on the Old Kingdom. Meyer-Dietrich focuses mostly on the sexual aspect of the *b3* in spell 75 and other Coffin Texts, even though she has different categories: ‘Triumph über de Feinde’ ‘Bewegungsfreiheit’, ‘Essen und Trinken’, and ‘Sexuelle Aktivität’, procreation is the main focus of the aspects of the *b3*, *Senebi und Selbst*, 202-216, Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Ba*. There are also a large number of short articles, sections or chapters about the *b3*.

¹⁰¹⁰ Van der Plas and Borghouts, *Coffin Text Word Index*, 83-84.

movement to different locations,¹⁰¹¹ procreation, and existing in the Afterlife. A primary feature of the *b3* is its activity and movement, which is reflected in the New Kingdom depiction of it as a bird,¹⁰¹² and visible earlier in the hieroglyph for *b3* and depictions of the same bird.¹⁰¹³ In plural, it occurs as *b3w* of places, in singular, plural, and as a collective noun for the *b3w* power, and it is also used as a verb. More uses occur within the Coffin Texts and elsewhere, for example the literary work *The Debate Between a Man and his b3* shows.¹⁰¹⁴

Gods and the dead king are certainly attested with a *b3* before the 6th dynasty, when the *b3* of a non-royal individual first appears.¹⁰¹⁵ While the gods have at least one *b3*, there is a common understanding that the *b3* of non-royal humans only comes into being after death,¹⁰¹⁶ since the *b3* occurs mostly in mortuary literature. However, the *b3* also occurs in instruction texts: Instructions of Ptahhotep¹⁰¹⁷ and the Instructions for King Merikare,¹⁰¹⁸ as well as in *The Debate Between a Man and his b3*.¹⁰¹⁹ Even so, there has been disagreements about the meaning of the *b3* in these instructions texts, and whether they really imply a *b3* before death. Žabkar translates the passage in Ptahhotep ‘the wise man helps his Ba by establishing its goodness in him upon earth’ and interprets it to mean that the good deeds of a person on earth will benefit his *b3* after death, and not necessary in this life.¹⁰²⁰ There are difficulties about dating the concepts presented in these texts. For instance, Otto dated the literary works quite early, and argues that the time of the Coffin Texts, *The Debate Between a Man and his b3*, and the Instructions of Merikare, was a time of speculation of the concept of the *b3*,¹⁰²¹ which might not be absolutely definable by then, but his dating of the literary

¹⁰¹¹ Te Velde in Kippenberg, Kupier and Sanders (eds), *Concepts of Person*, 92.

¹⁰¹² Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 75. For a different interpretation of the iconography of the *b3*, see Padgham, *A New Interpretation of the Cone*, who argues that also the cone on the head is a representation of the *b3*.

¹⁰¹³ The saddle-billed stork, though it seems that it was not primarily the movement, but the power, which was the purpose of these early depictions, Janak, *SAK* 40, 141-153.

¹⁰¹⁴ The most recent work is Allen, *Debate*. The *b3* in later mortuary texts such as Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Ba* will, in general, not be included as it falls outside the scope of this study.

¹⁰¹⁵ Then occurring in the biographies of Hormeru in Saqqara, Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938 III*, pl. LVI, Altenmüller, *SAK* 20, 1-15. See also Loprieno in Guksch, Hoffmann and Bommas (eds), *Grab und Totenkult*, 216-217, Eyre in Poo (ed), *Rethinking Ghosts*, 37, Green, *GM* 39, 35-36.

¹⁰¹⁶ See for example Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 51-88, 116-118, de Jong, *SAK* 21, 149, Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 3, Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 5. For the *b3w* as the kings and gods agency, see Roeder in Dücker and Roeder, *Text und Ritual*, 198-242, where he also discuss wisdom literature among other sources.

¹⁰¹⁷ Dévaud, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*, 46, line 524-525.

¹⁰¹⁸ Volten, *Politische Schriften*, 23, line 52, 67, line 127, Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 52-54.

¹⁰¹⁹ Allen, *Debate*, Siffert in Hawary (ed), *Wenn Götter und Propheten Reden*, 227-253, Ouellet, in Goyon, and Cardin (eds), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists 2004* 2, 1437-1441, Barta, *Gespräch*, Williams, *JEA* 48, 49-56. Though arguments have been made that the dialogue takes place in the Afterlife, see Mathieu, *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 19, 17-36.

¹⁰²⁰ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 117-118, n.16. See also Loprieno in Guksch, Hoffmann and Bommas (eds), *Grab und Totenkult*, 208-209, Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 129-131. Compare Lichtheim’s translation ‘The wise feeds his *ba* with what endures, So that it is happy with him on earth.’, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I, 73.

¹⁰²¹ Otto, *ZÄS* 77, 84.

texts are implausibly early.¹⁰²² The *b3* is not usually distinguishable from a person during his lifetime, not yet being separated, except in exceptional cases, such as warnings that the *b3* might wander as a result of heavily drinking,¹⁰²³ and in The Debate Between a Man and his *b3*.

Even though The Debate Between a Man and his *b3* is a literary work, the motif of the *b3* is still interesting as a reference to contemporary thinking. Žabkar interprets the dialog as taking place within the man himself: ‘That the Ba represents one of the opposing states of mind is very appropriate since the question of whether or not he would continue to live after death as a Ba would weigh heavily on the mind of a man facing death.’¹⁰²⁴ The heart can be seen as an *alter-ego* of a person,¹⁰²⁵ as can the *b3*. Since it is normally the heart speaking with a man as internal discourse, Allen assumes that ‘the choice must reflect a characteristic of the one that is absent in the other.’ The *b3* has independence, and can leave a man, which the heart cannot.¹⁰²⁶ The answer to the question whether the *b3* existed as a distinctive part of a living person, cannot be expected to be found in the Coffin Texts.

A large number of translations interpret the *b3* to be the ‘soul’ of a person,¹⁰²⁷ as a spiritual part of his personal identity,¹⁰²⁸ though many prefer to keep the Egyptian word untranslated.¹⁰²⁹ That the *b3* is not a soul in the modern, immaterial and spiritual sense of the word is indicated in some spells showing its physical attributes. Whereas it can be trapped and hindered, it can also be physically hurt. Spell 660 in the following passages is addressing a knife.

<i>ds tp n nwt</i>	O knife which is on Nut,
<i>i[d]3 ḥs pw</i>	O smotherer of excrement,
<i>m in ʿ=k r N pn</i>	do not bring your hand against this N!
<i>im sn ṯswy bksw b3w ḥnt pt</i>	Do not kiss the two vertebrae of the spine of the <i>b3w</i> at the front of the sky,
<i>n-ntt p3.n=sn is r pt m bik</i>	because they have ascended to the sky as falcons.
<i>iw N pn ḥr dnḥ=sn</i>	This N is on their wings
<i>n-ntt ḥ3=sn is r t3 m s3-t3</i>	because they descend to the earth as snakes

¹⁰²² Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 50, 248-257, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 52-54.

¹⁰²³ P. Anastasi IV 11.10 in Gardiner, *LEM*, 47, see also Te Velde in Kippenberg, Kupier and Sanders (eds), *Concepts of Person*, 92.

¹⁰²⁴ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 122.

¹⁰²⁵ See for example Hollis in DuQuesne (ed) *Hermes Aegyptiacus*, 97, Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 3.

¹⁰²⁶ Allen, *Debate*, 6.

¹⁰²⁷ Going back to Greek translation of it as *psyche*, Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 112-113, Janak, *SAK* 40, 141.

¹⁰²⁸ Among them Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 89-90 and in Allen (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 147, Baines, in Shafer (ed), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 145, Bargaet translates it ‘âme-ba’, *Les Textes des Sarcophages*, Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I-III*, Lloyd in Allen (ed), *Religion and Philosophy*, 120 and Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe*, 151.

¹⁰²⁹ About this see for example Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual*, 189-19.

iw N pn hr k3b=sn

This N is on their coils.¹⁰³⁰

The knife is told not to hurt the *b3w*, and especially its vertebrae,¹⁰³¹ implying that the *b3* has a more physical nature which can be affected by a knife. As te Velde also points out, since there are animals and objects which are the *b3* of a particular god, 'soul' is a too narrow translation. He prefers 'manifestation' or 'revelation'.¹⁰³²

Wolf-Brinkman, focusing on the *b3* in the Old Kingdom, lists the following possible translations:

b3 (noun) 'die Gestaltfähigkeit; der Gestaltfähige; die Verkörperung, das Erscheinungsbild usw'

b3w (noun) 'die Gestaltfähigkeit; der Gestaltfähigen; die Verkörperungen, das Erscheinungsbilder usw'

b3w (verb) 'gestaltfähig sein, sich verkörpern'

She also says that: 'Die Gestaltfähigkeit scheint eine typische göttliche Eigenschaft zu sein, die auch der König, mindestens nach seinem Tode, besitzt.'¹⁰³³ Though Žabkar differentiates between the role of the *b3* in the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts, there are some distinctive overlaps in function. Žabkar argues against the interpretation of the *b3* as a soul, and interprets the *b3* in the Coffin Texts as representing the man himself, *ipso facto* his alter ego.¹⁰³⁴ Also Smith, in this instance concerning later demotic texts, translates *b3* as 'what is immanent i.e. visible manifestation' and describes it as representing the whole person 'manifested in the physical world'.¹⁰³⁵ However, as Žabkar admits, the *b3* is 'one of the forms in which he fully lives after death', but not the only form, since a person lives in multiple forms after death, giving the *3h*, *k3* and shadow as other forms in which the continuation of life takes place.¹⁰³⁶

The varied and complex nature can be seen for example in spell 824, with the heading:

r n rdit shm b3 n N m 3wt=fm hrt ntr

Spell for causing the *b3* of N to be powerful as his gift in the Realm of the Dead¹⁰³⁷

It has a number of passages relating to the rubric, for example:

¹⁰³⁰ CT VI 283b-i.

¹⁰³¹ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 306 n.3203.

¹⁰³² Te Velde in Kippenberg, Kupier and Sanders (eds), *Concepts of Person*, 92.

¹⁰³³ Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'b3'*, 8.

¹⁰³⁴ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 3. See also Bell in Beinlich, Hallof, Hussy and Pfeil (eds), 5. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 39.

¹⁰³⁵ Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 4. See also Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 1-70.

¹⁰³⁶ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 113.

¹⁰³⁷ CT VII 24g.

*iw b3=i m{i}*¹⁰³⁸ *dbcyt*

My *b3* is a seal-ring (or my *b3* is in a seal-ring?)

hṭp gb hṭp b3=i pn

Geb is pleased, then this my *b3* is pleased

hṭp inpw hṭp k3=i pn

Anubis is pleased, then this my *k3* is pleased¹⁰³⁹

The spell is for giving power to the *b3* and the seal, being a sign of authority and power, is part of this empowerment. The spell then talks about offerings, so the seal can further on be a sign of control and authority over such matters. The spell goes on:

ii m hṭp r pr=i pn

O you who come in peace to this my house,

wnn b3=i pn wnn imyw=f

this my *b3* exists and what is in it exists,

ii tm imy itn/////////c n=f 3h///=f

Atum who is in his disk(?) comes //////////(?) his horizon

wbn iḥ r šrt š3yt dhwtj k3 wr

The moon rises to the nostrils of the Mysterious One.

Thoth is the Great Bull¹⁰⁴⁰

...

...

sbiw b3 ip irw hrt dmd wd3t

who sends out the *b3*, who counts the deeds of what belongs to the totality of what is whole¹⁰⁴¹

This spell has several passages which contain normal treatment of the *b3*, the statement that it exists, the sending of the *b3*, and the *b3* as representing the person, which is shown above when it is placed in relationship to Geb being pleased.

That the *b3* can be present in extreme situations before death has been mentioned, and this feature also shows the connection of the *b3* to the liminal. After death, its freedom of movement can take it to both the sky and the Netherworld, it can be with the corpse in the tomb, but also go out on the earth among the living. Even though it is mainly the *3h* which shows itself for living people,¹⁰⁴² the *b3* and shadow can also manifest before the living.¹⁰⁴³ The *b3*'s areas of activity move between that of the living and the dead and of the gods and people.¹⁰⁴⁴ Some of the most common descriptions of the *b3* is it being divine¹⁰⁴⁵ and living, and its appearance is characteristically in liminal contexts.

The *b3w* of gods have several different active ways of manifesting that are not attested for the living. Žabkar lists three different ways of how the *b3w* of gods manifest: in another god, as a sacred

¹⁰³⁸ The reed seems to be used as determinative in some instances on this coffin, for example in CT VII 24 *inpw* is followed by a reed rather than a god or man determinative. However, what it is doing in this instance is uncertain.

¹⁰³⁹ CT VII 24n-p.

¹⁰⁴⁰ CT VII 25e-h.

¹⁰⁴¹ CT VII 25l.

¹⁰⁴² Eyre in Poo (ed), *Rethinking Ghosts*, 41.

¹⁰⁴³ Adams in Cannata (ed), *CRE 2006*, 2.

¹⁰⁴⁴ See Loprieno in in Guksch, Hoffmann and Bommas (eds), *Grab und Totenkult*, 207-211 and Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 112-132.

¹⁰⁴⁵ For this see Morenz, *Religion*, 157, Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 54.

animal and in inanimate objects.¹⁰⁴⁶ For inanimate entities, he gives as examples stars and other celestial objects, but also crowns, the wind, and other examples from nature.¹⁰⁴⁷ In addition to this, there are statues and reliefs.¹⁰⁴⁸

When a deity manifests in this way, it means an inhabitation by the active and divine. By this inhabitation, the other entity, or object is also raised above its original function and aspect.¹⁰⁴⁹ A falcon is then not necessary only a falcon, but also a manifestation of Horus. It could thereby help to overlap the bridge between different entities. Through their *b3*, they can both move into each other's spheres, and manifest in each other. Žabkar argues that it was used to strengthen the relationship between Re and Osiris in this way, the *b3* of Re entering the Netherworld and the *b3* of Osiris the heaven.¹⁰⁵⁰ Gods can also make someone as their *b3*, for example in spell 317:

in r^c ir wi m b3=f

It was Re who made me as his *b3*¹⁰⁵¹

In this spell the speaker identifies himself with different gods, such as Re, Nun, Horus and Hapy, and some of these identification are made with a specific named part of the god, rather than of the more common identification using the name. So, for example, he says that he is the *3h* of Horus,¹⁰⁵² and that he has been made the *b3* of Re. The other parts mentioned are *s^ch* and *irw*. All of them seem to be a particular mode of identification with different gods through different means.¹⁰⁵³

IV 1.2 *B3*, *b3w* and *b3w*

While the singular form *b3*, has many different aspects, they are mainly within the same sphere of related concepts. On the other hand, *b3w* can be used both as the plural of *b3* when one god has many *b3w*, and as a distinct collective noun.¹⁰⁵⁴ Even though there are means to tell the difference between multiple *b3w* and the collective noun, and more so in Late Egyptian,¹⁰⁵⁵ in the Coffin Texts the modern reader is often left only with the context to differentiate. *B3w* as a collective noun often

¹⁰⁴⁶ See also Leclant, *Syncretismes*, 15-18, Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'b3'*, 8, Morenz, *Religion*, 157, Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual*, 189-198, Janak, *SAK* 40, 144-145, Assmann in Assmann and Assmann (eds), *Schleier und Schwelle* II, 29-32, Otto, *Saeculum* 14, 259-260.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 12-15.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See for example Kessler, *SAK* 28, 161-206 and *SAK* 29, 139-186.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Morenz, *Religion*, 157-158, Eyre, in Poo (ed), *Rethinking Ghosts*, 37-38.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 39 giving examples from Amduat and Book of Caverns, Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 119 line 10 and II, 127, for *Book of Caverns* Piankoff, *BIFA* XLII pl. XXV col. 9.

¹⁰⁵¹ *CT* IV 119f.

¹⁰⁵² *CT* IV, 114c.

¹⁰⁵³ See Chapter III.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 55, 67, Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'b3'*, 85-88, Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 1, Janak, *SAK* 40, 146.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 1 and n.2 and 3, 39-40.

refers to the *b3w*-power of a king or god.¹⁰⁵⁶ When *b3w* is used for the meaning ‘manifestation’, the word often belongs to the category of the collective noun. While Borghouts thinks that this can seem to have ‘little functional relationship to *b3*’, and other parts of a person’s identity such as *3h* and *k3*, he also states that it is in no way absolute.¹⁰⁵⁷ There are also strong evidence that it is the *b3* of a person which manifest in different forms.¹⁰⁵⁸

The connection between *b3* and *b3w*, and how close this connection is, can be debated. Concerning some passages in the Pyramid Texts regarding the *b3w* of the king, Žabkar argues that the plural *b3w* ‘is an intensive plural, giving special force or emphasis to the Ba in its meaning of manifestation of power.’¹⁰⁵⁹ In the Old Kingdom, gods and the king could have *b3w*, which also occur in names of people, ships, pyramids and objects. However, in these names both *b3* and *b3w* occur.¹⁰⁶⁰

Assmann has stated that the *b3* does not occur as a concept during the Amarna period.¹⁰⁶¹ However, Žabkar cites an example which mentions the *b3w* of the king which goes against those ignorant of his teachings.¹⁰⁶² So if *b3* did not occur, *b3w* did, the question is if they really were that separable that one could occur without the thoughts being directed towards the other?

There are relatively few examples of *b3w* in the Coffin Texts in relationship to the occurrences of *b3*. Within these, there are cases where it not obvious if it refers to the *b3w*-power or several *b3w*. Often it is the context that leads the interpretation in the right direction. Spell 650:

<i>ind-ḥr=k itrw n ḥt nb b3w 3 3ḥw wr r nb=f</i>	Hail to you, River of fire, Lord of <i>b3w</i> , Great of <i>3ḥw</i> ,
	mightier than his lord,
<i>3 ḥmty nb itrw wr r nw</i>	Great of wells(?) ¹⁰⁶³ Lord of river, greater than
	Nun. ¹⁰⁶⁴

Here *b3w* occur together with *3ḥw*, and it is probably two distinctive categories of power which are spoken about, rather than groups of *b3w* and *3ḥw*.

Also in spell 839 it is most likely the *b3w*-power.

<i>mdw=k ḥr ntrw wrw 3w imyw ḥms ḥntw</i>	You will speak to the great and mighty gods who are in
<i>iwnw</i>	session in front of Heliopolis.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual*, 187-242.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 1-2.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See Chapter III.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 55.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 58-63, Green, *GM* 39, 39 n.6, Assmann in Assmann and Assmann, *Schleier und Schwelle* II, 29.

¹⁰⁶¹ Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 145.

¹⁰⁶² Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 86, Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaton*, 86 lines 15-16.

¹⁰⁶³ Faulkner’s suggestion, emending it to *ḥnmwt*, *Coffin Texts* II, 225 n.1. Alternatively emend it to *pḥty*, Morenz, *Die Zeit der Regionen*, 469. Since both different kinds of water and powers occur in these lines, both options seem possible.

¹⁰⁶⁴ CT VI 272d-e.

wr b3w=k r ntrw imntyw 3 sng=k r ntrw=k Your *b3w* is greater than the western gods, and fear of
imntyw you mightier than your western gods¹⁰⁶⁵

In both these examples the texts seem to speak about a specific manifestation of power among mighty and great powers, something measurable which can be compared to the same power of the gods.

b3 and *b3w*-power also occur within the same spell. For example spell 74.¹⁰⁶⁶

<i>s3h tn¹⁰⁶⁷ dhwtw</i>	Thoth has <i>s3h</i> -ed you
<i>b3wy=k nbwy wrwt</i>	Your two <i>b3</i> are the lords of the <i>wrrt</i> -crown. ¹⁰⁶⁸
...	...
<i>ir n=k b3w=k r hftyw=k htm.n(=i) rmt</i>	Your <i>b3w</i> acts for you against your enemies, and I have abandoned weeping. ¹⁰⁶⁹

b3w here seems to be the *b3w*-power, which also can be sent out towards enemies and punish them.¹⁰⁷⁰ *b3w=k r=f* and similar expressions occur in legal texts where the witness takes an oath. The idea behind it seems to be that the *b3w* of a god, or king, will punish someone through his *b3w* if giving false statement.¹⁰⁷¹ Though most Late Egyptian examples seem to concern *b3w*,¹⁰⁷² there are also examples with the *b3* in singular.¹⁰⁷³ So the singular *b3* and the *b3w*-power, seem to have this kind of function in common.

IV 1.3 The origin of the *b3*

Spell 94 and 96 have a description of the *b3*:

<i>ir.n wsir m rdw imy iwf=f</i>	which Osiris has made from the efflux which is in his flesh
<i>mtwt prt m hnn=f</i>	the semen which went forth from his phallus ¹⁰⁷⁴

A similar sentence occurs in spell 99 and 101, directed to the *b3*:

¹⁰⁶⁵ CT VII 43h-i.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See also spell 37 CT I 156a-c.

¹⁰⁶⁷ In T9C.

¹⁰⁶⁸ CT I 312e-f. T9C is the only version with *b3wy*, the other two have *s3wy*. T9C also has *tn* in 312e but =*k* in 312f.

¹⁰⁶⁹ CT I 313a.

¹⁰⁷⁰ See Žabkar's examples, *Ba Concept*, 85-89 and Green in Ruffle, Gaballa and Kitchen (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 107-115 for Late Egyptian examples.

¹⁰⁷¹ Green, *GM* 39, 33-39 shows example from the 6th dynasty to Late Egyptian examples, where similar phrases occur with *b3w*.

¹⁰⁷² Green in Ruffle, Gaballa and Kitchen (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 107-115.

¹⁰⁷³ See for example Gee in Hawass, *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century*, 230-237, vol. 2, Gee in Ciraola and Seidel (eds), *Magic and Divination*, 83-88, 191, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 453-458.

¹⁰⁷⁴ For example CT II 68b-c.

šm=k r rđw n iwf=i r fđt nt tp=i

You will go forth from the efflux of my flesh and the sweat of my head,

pr̄r=k m dw̄t īh̄w

you will go from the Netherworld (to the) sunshine¹⁰⁷⁵

These fluids in spell 99 and 101 are the ones the body loses through mummification. The image seems to be that the fluids are in the flesh,¹⁰⁷⁶ and the *b̄* comes into being in the body and moves out, away from the corpse, together with the fluids to the sunshine. The image is a clear physical and concrete one, paralleling the departure of life as the *b̄* with the outflow of vital liquid from the corpse after death. Also in spell 94 and 96, the lines about the creation of the *b̄* are followed by a line stating that the purpose of the *b̄* is that it should go out in the day.

Spell 75 has different versions concerning the origin of the *b̄*:

km̄.̄n=i b̄=i h̄=i¹⁰⁷⁷

I have created my *b̄* behind me

r rđit rh̄=f rht.n=i¹⁰⁷⁸

to let it know that which I know.¹⁰⁷⁹

In most versions of this passage the speaker has created his own *b̄*. Willems argues that this cannot be the correct reading since the speaker in the text is the *b̄* of Shu, or Shu himself, also pointing to the parallel where Atum is the creator. Willems wants to read it as ‘My ba has been created around me for me’.¹⁰⁸⁰ However, the passage has been interpreted as the speaker creating his *b̄* by others. Egyptologists,¹⁰⁸¹ and B1Bo, B3C and B6C replace =i with *N pn*. Since Shu in this spell is both the son and the creator, both interpretations seem possible. It is only the Bersha-coffins which add that the purpose is to let the *b̄* know what the speaker knows. These lines are repeated later in the spell, where it is Atum who has created the *b̄* for the speaker,¹⁰⁸² and then all versions include *r rđit rh̄=f* and the different versions agree about the *b̄* having been created for the speaker rather than the speaker creating it himself.

There are a few other examples in the Coffin Text which mention the construction of the *b̄*. In spell 312 Horus tells Osiris:

sk̄d b̄=k

shape your *b̄*.¹⁰⁸³

Spell 937:

//////tyw ibw tpt(y)w 3tw irw b̄=i

////// hearts, who are upon the powerful ones who

¹⁰⁷⁵ CT II 95a-b.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 335-336, 462-463.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Most versions. T3C has *km̄.̄n=f n=i b̄=i h̄=i* but the *f* might be a textual error paralleling the later CT I 394b. G1T has *km̄.̄n n=i b̄=i* which seems to be an error.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Only the Bersha-coffins.

¹⁰⁷⁹ CT I 362/363a-b. See also CT I 394b-c in the same spell.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Willems, *Heqata*, 482. 483bf and n.658.

¹⁰⁸¹ Otto, *ZÄS* 77, 83-84, Williams, *JEA* 48, 53 n.4, Barta, *Gespräch* 71, 86-78.

¹⁰⁸² CT I 394b.

¹⁰⁸³ CT IV 71f.

make my *b3*¹⁰⁸⁴

In spell 75 it is clear from the context that the *b3* is created so that there might have been a time before the creation of the *b3*. Spell 312 might have a different meaning, since Osiris has asked Horus earlier in the spell to exalt (*sk3y*) his *b3*. The meaning is therefore possibly closer to changing the *b3*, than its coming into being. Part of the passages about the *b3* in spell 937 is destroyed, but also here it seems that the *b3* is made (*ir*), which is also the expression in spell 94 and 96.

Spell 575 is addressed to Geb by the speaker Horus, son of Osiris.

dmd=f nswt gb n=f

He has collected the thrones of Geb for him,

sm3 b3w=f imyw nw

and his *b3w*, which were in Nun, are united.¹⁰⁸⁵

Here the *b3w* of Geb¹⁰⁸⁶ are included as an aspect of him. The *b3w* were in Nun in a pre-state of creation, being latent. The unification of his parts is taking place in the original creation, and is here expressed as Geb being a collection of his parts already in existence. The first gods seem to have a certain pre-existence latent in Nun which in different ways can be activated, a *hpr ds=f* or, as here *sm3 b3w=f*. Nowhere else in the spell are the *b3w* of Geb mentioned.

The ways of the *b3* coming into being are either emanating with the fluids after death, self creation, or creation by a divinity.¹⁰⁸⁷ The exception is the pre-existence of the *b3w* of Geb in Nun. In the majority of these examples, the *b3* is externally created, separate from the being to who the *b3* belongs, and not something which comes into being at the same time.

IV 1.4 *B3* of gods

Even though a significant number of passages concern the *b3* of a particular god, the actual numbers of gods are limited.¹⁰⁸⁸ Osiris, Re, Re-Atum, Shu, Geb, Horus, Wepset and only possibly three others occur.¹⁰⁸⁹ It is well attested that the *b3* of gods could manifest in different animals or celestial objects. However, in the following examples, the starting point in most cases is the dead person who is identified with the *b3* of a god, and not the *b3* of the god manifesting. The goal seems to be for the deceased to take on the role of the *b3* of a god, or to be associated with the god. Thereby, it primarily has a purpose for the dead person, and not for the god, which might instead be the case

¹⁰⁸⁴ CT VII 146b.

¹⁰⁸⁵ CT VI 186e-f.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Unless 'his' refers to the 'uniter' of thrones.

¹⁰⁸⁷ See also Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 92-97.

¹⁰⁸⁸ For the *b3* of gods in the Old Kingdom, see Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'b3'*, 8 and n.7. For the the equivalent in New Kingdom cult, see Kessler, *SAK* 28, 161-206, and *SAK* 29, 139-186.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See below, spell 61 'the Great One' CT I 260d, spell 818 possible Heka, CT VII 18g-h.

when a god manifests in a statue where he has a direct means of involvement with humans, such as receiving offerings.

IV 1.4.1 Osiris

Some spells identify the speaker, the dead person, with the *b3* of Osiris, rather than with Osiris. Spell 875:

*n-ntt ink b3 pw 3 wsir*¹⁰⁹⁰ because I am the great *b3* of Osiris.¹⁰⁹¹

The parallel between the immovable corpse, Osiris, and the *b3* is picked up a few lines down in this same spell where he is said to go out by day,¹⁰⁹² and to be the *b3* of Osiris by day.¹⁰⁹³ While Osiris is connected to the immovable corpse, his *b3* is able to move freely so the focus is on the *b3* of Osiris.¹⁰⁹⁴ In spell 96, which has a very similar passage, the *b3* is also connected to the cycle of the sun passing over the sky during the day and through the Netherworld during the night, with the ability of the *b3* to travel to the sky, to be on earth, and to reach Osiris in the Netherworld. Through taking part in the cycle of the sun, the dead are able to live on and continue the cycle of life.¹⁰⁹⁵ The connection between either Osiris or Thoth by night and Re by day¹⁰⁹⁶ is also visible in other spells below.

In some spells it is unclear if there is an actual identification with Osiris or not. Spell 1120 is very short:

<i>h^c=i</i> ¹⁰⁹⁷ <i>hn^c wsir h^c=f</i>	I stand up with Osiris when he stands up
<i>wsir ii n=t b3=t</i>	O Osiris, your <i>b3</i> comes to you
<i>wn htt=t</i>	and your throat is open.
<i>mi wsir sp 4</i> ¹⁰⁹⁸	Come Osiris, 4 times.
<i>ii n=k t3w ndm</i>	Sweet wind comes for you
<i>w3h n=f 3t=f r t3</i>	for his power is laid low for him into earth.
<i>bt.n=sn nšn hr=f n nhh</i>	They have abandoned raging on account of him

¹⁰⁹⁰ Both manuscripts are partly destroyed, but they complement each other fairly well.

¹⁰⁹¹ Spell 874 CT VII 82a. See also spell 96, CT II 67c and 77a.

¹⁰⁹² CT VII 82f.

¹⁰⁹³ CT VII 84c-d.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 94.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Assmann discusses the mysteries of Re and Osiris at length particularly in *Death and Salvation*, 186-191. See also Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 36-39, Kessler, *SAK* 28, 174, Willems, Heqata, 313 n.1890, DuQuesne in Backes, Munro and Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 23-33, Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 107-110 and for later compositions, Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books* which texts focus on a Solar-Osirian unity.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 11, 36-39, Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 92-93, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 61-62, Barbash, *Papyrus of Padikem*, 81-83.

¹⁰⁹⁷ B3C and B4L has *N tn*.

¹⁰⁹⁸ B9C, B1L. B3C and B4C have *mi wsir n wsir sp 4*.

forever.¹⁰⁹⁹

In the first line, the 'I' or, in another versions, this N, is separated from Osiris. In the second and third lines, cited here from coffin B4C, feminine pronouns are used, treating Osiris as the female dead. B3C, which also has a female owner, uses a masculine pronoun. B4C, which first uses female pronouns, switches to masculine pronouns after Osiris is called upon four times. There seems to be confusion between identification with Osiris and the dead, and Osiris as a separate being.

In some spells the *b3* is sent to the Netherworld to Osiris. For example in spell 489:

i wsir sp 2 mk b3=i iiy hr=k O Osiris, Osiris, see my *b3* has come to you.¹¹⁰⁰

In spells 488-500 the major theme is also for the *b3* to move to the Netherworld to see 'that man' or 'that god' which some Egyptologists have interpreted to be Osiris.¹¹⁰¹ There are other examples of the *b3* being sent to the Netherworld which are discussed below, for example, Osiris and his son speak and the son comes to Osiris,¹¹⁰² or Horus sends a messenger to him.¹¹⁰³

IV 1.4.2 Osiris and Re

In spell 94, and also spell 96,¹¹⁰⁴ the deceased is identified with the *b3* of Osiris. Both spells have the following lines:

<i>ink b3 pw 3 n wsir</i>	I am this great <i>b3</i> of Osiris
<i>wd.n ntrw nk=f im=f</i>	through which the gods have ordered that he will have sex,
<i>nh hr k3 m hrw</i>	the one who lives on high by day,
<i>ir.n wsir m rdw imy iw=f</i>	which Osiris has made from the efflux which is in his flesh,
<i>mtwt prt m hnn=f</i>	the semen which went forth from his phallus,
<i>r prt m hrw nk=f im=f</i>	to go out in the day so that he will have sex through it. ¹¹⁰⁵
<i>ink s3 wsir iw=f m-hnw s'hw=f</i>	I am the son of Osiris, his heir within his <i>s'hw</i> . ¹¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁹⁹ Spell 1120, CT VII 453a-g, B4C is followed complemented with other versions because of some destruction. See Lesco, *Book of Two Ways*, 124.

¹¹⁰⁰ CT VI 68a.

¹¹⁰¹ See 4.2 under 'The *b3*-sending spells'.

¹¹⁰² See spell 303.

¹¹⁰³ See spell 312.

¹¹⁰⁴ For a discussion about these series of spells: Meyer-Dietrich, *Senebi und Selbst*, 190-195 and Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 94.

¹¹⁰⁵ Spell 96, CT II 77a-78c.

¹¹⁰⁶ Spell 94 CT II 67c-69a.

The dead is identified with the *b3* of Osiris and the creation of the *b3* is described. During the day the *b3* leaves the corpse, Osiris, and moves out. Willems interprets spell 94 and 96 as Osiris ‘procreates in his ba, which is none other than his living son Horus’, and that a merge of Osirian and solar theology is visible in that the ejaculation of Osiris is taking place at sunrise.¹¹⁰⁷ Assmann argues that the *b3* is not the partner of Osiris, but the medium through which he procreates.¹¹⁰⁸ The *b3*, the son is the means through which Osiris is able to continue some of his former life on earth, and the focus here is the procreative role of the *b3*/son.¹¹⁰⁹ At the same time, the ‘I’ identifies both with the *b3* of Osiris and his son, his heir, the theme apparently being one of physical continuity of the family. While Osiris is restricted to the Netherworld, his son lives on earth, continuing his father’s genetic line. There is also a clear analogy between the description of the creation of the *b3* in this spell, and normal conception. In spell 35, which is a continuation from spell 33 and 34,¹¹¹⁰ Osiris N is spoken about as the son of Osiris and several times the following line is repeated:

<i>wsir N pn b3=k ʿnh tp t3</i>	This Osiris N is your <i>b3</i> which lives on earth (or living <i>b3</i> on earth)
<i>ir n=k pr hrw tp t3 m pr=k nty m iw nsr</i>	who makes invocation-offerings for you on earth in your house which is in the island of fire. ¹¹¹¹

This strongly connects the son with the *b3* in his tasks of the living heir, even though it is here actually Osiris N who is in this role in relationship to Osiris.

Spell 96 has different references to travelling the sky,¹¹¹² as the sun does, such as ‘the one who lives on high by day’.¹¹¹³ The connection with Re is expressed differently on different coffins in spell 96:

<i>in rʿ ir n=i ink ir b3 n rʿ¹¹¹⁴</i>	it is Re who acts for me, I am the one who acts as the
<i>or</i>	<i>b3</i> for/of Re
<i>in rʿ ir b3=i ink b3 n rʿ¹¹¹⁵</i>	it is Re who acts as my <i>b3</i> , I am the <i>b3</i> of Re
<i>or</i>	
<i>n rʿ b3=i n=i ts plr¹¹¹⁶</i>	my <i>b3</i> belongs to Re and vice versa belongs to me ¹¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰⁷ Willems, *Heqata*, 313 text and n.1890. See also van Dijk, *JEOL* 26, 11-13.

¹¹⁰⁸ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 430 n.24, For the same theme of the sexual aspect of the *b3* and Osiris and Re, see also Barbash, *Papyrus of Padikem*, 81-83 which also provides a few additional references.

¹¹⁰⁹ Žabkar discusses this spell and other spells in the Coffin Texts on the theme of sexual activity in connection to the *b3*, *Ba Concept*, 101-105.

¹¹¹⁰ See Ogdon in *L’Égyptologie en 1979* II, 31-43.

¹¹¹¹ CT I 129f-g. See also 130f-g, 131f-g 132g-h, 133g-h, 134g-h but then only B1P.

¹¹¹² CT II 82d, 83b.

¹¹¹³ CT II 77c.

¹¹¹⁴ B3L.

¹¹¹⁵ B1L and B1Ca even though it has *N pn* instead of *ink*.

¹¹¹⁶ M3C. M28C has *n rʿ b3=i n=i n rn*. On the other coffins the text is mainly lost.

In two of the versions above, either the 'I' is identified with the *b3* of Re or he is acting as the *b3* of Re. So in this spell the dead is both connected to the *b3* of Osiris and the *b3* of Re. Consequently, the cycle of the sun passing over the sky during the day and through the Netherworld during the night is visible together with the ability of the *b3* to travel to the sky, to be on earth, and to reach Osiris in the Netherworld; all of which are expressed through the identity of the *b3* with these gods. Again there is a theme of taking part in the daily cycle.

Spell 335 explains it in a commentary to the actual text in the spell:

<i>ink b3wy=f hr-ib t3wy=f</i>	I am his two <i>b3</i> which are in the middle of his two fledglings
<i>isy pw</i> ¹¹¹⁸	<i>What does it mean?</i>
<i>ir b3wy=f hr-ib t3ty=f</i>	<i>As for his two <i>b3</i> which are in the middle of his two fledglings</i>
<i>wsir pw</i>	<i>It is Osiris</i>
<i>m k=f r ddt</i>	<i>when he entered Djedw</i>
<i>gm.n=f b3 im n r^c im</i>	<i>and found the <i>b3</i> there of Re</i>
<i>h^c.n hpt.n ky ky</i>	<i>then one embraced the other</i>
<i>h^c.n hpr m b3wy</i>	<i>then <they> become the two <i>b3</i></i> ¹¹¹⁹

Only one version,¹¹²⁰ which are quite different altogether, name the two *b3* as Horus and Seth.¹¹²¹ They have in common the union between the gods, and though they are a union, they have two *b3*.¹¹²²

Spell 1006 identifies the speaker as Sia, the eye of Re, and she says to Re:

<i>ink tit=k hr-ib hm=k</i>	I am your image in the middle of your shrine.
<i>rdi.n=i srf m gpt</i>	I have given respite in the storm.
<i>w hm.n=i b3=k n wsrt=k</i>	I have replicated your <i>b3</i> because of your might.
<i>ink ir htp</i>	I am the one who makes content.
<i>sh m=k pw w hm</i>	It is your power which has done the replicating. ¹¹²³

The replication of the *b3* probably carries the meaning of the speaker having become another *b3* of Re. Sia has been able to do this because of the power of Re.

¹¹¹⁷ CT II 83c. It would of course also be possible to translate the passages as Re makes me and Re makes my *b3*, however, it seems less likely that Re and his *b3* should have been made by the speaker in the same manner.

¹¹¹⁸ Only some versions.

¹¹¹⁹ CT IV 276/277a-280/281a, following Sq1C except in 276b where this manuscript has *s pw*.

¹¹²⁰ Sq7Sq.

¹¹²¹ Presented separately by de Buck, CT IV 412 with referece to the same numbering as the parallel texts.

¹¹²² te Velde, *Seth*, 70.

¹¹²³ CT VII 222k-o.

Other spells mention the *b3* of a god without the dead identifying with it. Žabkar has identified the *b3* in the following lines as the *b3* of Re (see below). Spell 26:

<i>h3 wsir N pn</i>	Descend this Osiris N!
<i>skd=k m šw nw dw3t</i>	You shall sail on the lakes of the Netherworld.
<i>hn=k m nwynt nt ntr pw</i>	You shall row on the waters of this
<i>3 imy iwnw</i>	Great God within Iwnw,
<i>nty b3=f m ddw</i>	whose <i>b3</i> is in Djedu;
<i>s^ch=f m nsw-nn</i>	his <i>s^ch</i> in Ninsw,
<i>šfšft=f m 3bdw</i>	and his respect in Abydos. ¹¹²⁴

According to Žabkar, the Great God is Re, his *b3* the united Re and Osiris, his *s^ch* Harsaphes, the *b3* of Re, and his *šfšft* Osiris.¹¹²⁵ In this passage Osiris N is not identified with the Great God, or his *b3*, but is spoken of as separate to him. The different places seem to indicate that the influence he has over a wide range of locations.¹¹²⁶

In spell 335 the Great God appears and it has commentaries explaining this.

<i>iw=i rh.kw rn n ntr 3 pw nty im=s</i>	I know the name of the Great God who is in it. ¹¹²⁷
--	--

The comments have different versions:

<i>hknw r^c rn=f¹¹²⁸</i>	"Praise of Re" is his name
or	or
<i>sy ty pw hknw pw b3 n r^c1129</i>	Who is he? He is "Praise of the <i>b3</i> of Re" ¹¹³⁰

Only one version has the *b3* of Re.

IV 1.4.3 Re

The *b3* or *b3w*,¹¹³¹ of Re can occur as the sun disk,¹¹³² or in other contexts where the day is contrasted to the night. For example spell 345:

<i>nis=k 3 ntr pw r=k</i>	You shall summon to yourself this god
<i>h^cw b3=f m hrw</i>	whose <i>b3</i> appears by day

¹¹²⁴ CT I 78g-m.

¹¹²⁵ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 37.

¹¹²⁶ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 413.

¹¹²⁷ CT IV 196/197b, B9Cb.

¹¹²⁸ All but BH1Br.

¹¹²⁹ BH1Br.

¹¹³⁰ CT IV 196/197c.

¹¹³¹ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 48-50.

¹¹³² Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 41, Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 92-93, Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, 9-11. See also Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, for example 146-152, where the vignette has the *b3* of Kheper and Atum representing the rising and setting sun.

ḏḥwty m grḥ

and Thoth by night.¹¹³³

The spell is about different gods assisting the dead person in different ways which is connected to the particular god, for example Anubis performing the mummification.¹¹³⁴ While Re appears in his *b3* by day, Thoth represents the moon by night. Another similar passage occurs in spell 347:

ḥꜣw rꜥ m b3=f šḥp.k3=f rn=i ir.k3=f wi m rꜥ The appearing of Re as his *b3*, he will display(?)¹¹³⁵ my
pw hrw ḏḥwty pw grḥ ḥtpy ḥr=s name, he will make me as this Re of day and this Thoth
of night, when they were pleased with it.¹¹³⁶

The association of Re with the sun and Thoth with the moon is familiar. Though the *b3* of Re occurs as the sun disk, the *b3* of Thoth is never mentioned in the Coffin Texts. Even the examples Žabkar mentions only address Thoth as the *b3* of Re, or mentions him as one of the *b3w* of Hermopolis.¹¹³⁷ Sometimes greater focus is upon the *b3* or *b3w* of Re outside of Coffin Texts. Re has several named *b3w*,¹¹³⁸ but also *k3*¹¹³⁹ and magic¹¹⁴⁰ and ritual books can be referred to as the *b3* of Re.¹¹⁴¹

Spell 586 addresses and then describes Re. In the middle of this description the following passage occurs:

ḥsbḏ iry sw3ḏ iry O you blue of eyes, o you green of eyes¹¹⁴²
mr r(?) 3t iwty ḥsf n b3=f who (there) is not punishing for his *b3*¹¹⁴³

Possibly, this is a further description of Re who would then be the god whose *b3* is not punished. However, the text addresses different beings in turns so it might be that it is about a separate being. In the parallel Pyramid Text the passage is instead about Horus.¹¹⁴⁴ Wolf-Brinkmann says about this passage that the blue colour has no symbolic meaning.¹¹⁴⁵ In the Pyramid text the eye colours are

¹¹³³ CT IV 376d-f, B2L.

¹¹³⁴ A similar passage occurs in spell 343 CT IV 359c-d T1L.

¹¹³⁵ B1Y seems to have traces of *šsp* and a hand determinative. Faulkner wants to emend *šḥp* into *šḥpr*, 'He will bring my name into being', *Coffin Texts I*, 282.

¹¹³⁶ CT IV 379f.

¹¹³⁷ *b3* of Re, *Ba Concept*, 12, one of the *b3w* of Hermopolis, 29.

¹¹³⁸ Koenig, *BIFAO* 111, 248-249, Quaegebeur, in Verhoeven and Graefe (eds), *Religionen und Philosophie*, 260-261. Other hymns ascribe several *b3w* to other gods, for example Amun, Parker, Leclant and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, 70-86, pl. 27-29, Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, 53-65.

¹¹³⁹ For example, Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des Ka*, 73-78, Rothöhler in Rothöhler and Manisali (eds), *Mythos & Ritual*, 183-206.

¹¹⁴⁰ Hornung, *Himmelskuh*, 26 (II 277-278).

¹¹⁴¹ *WB* 1 414, Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 203, Gardiner, *JEA* 24, 168.

¹¹⁴² Or 'the one who makes eyes common(?) and the one who freshens eyes' but in the light of the parallel phrases of PT 253a-b: *ii r=tn ḥr sbḏḏ iry s3=tn ḥr dšr iry mr (r?) 3t n šḥf b3=f* eye colour seems more likely.

¹¹⁴³ CT VI 206m-n.

¹¹⁴⁴ Spell 246, *PT* 253a-b.

¹¹⁴⁵ *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'ba'*, 42, also Kees, *Farbensymbolik*, 464 f.

red and blue, and Sethe comments about the passage that it should not be viewed as a friendly blue eyed Horus and an angry red eyed Horus, both are hostile.¹¹⁴⁶

In spell 820, the speaker identifies with the son, also named as Horus, and the different parents mentioned are Isis, Nut and Re. It is mainly as the son of Re, addressing his father, that these first lines are concerned. It is a woman's coffin, so despite of the identification with the son, feminine endings and pronouns occur.

ink is w^ct hknt m b3=s

I am the unique one, joyous in her *b3*.

ink tswy ipw imyw(?) r n r^c-tm

I am (or to me belongs?) these two knots(?) which are in the mouth of Re-Atum.

b3=k n=k shm=k n=k

Your *b3* belongs to you, your power belongs to you,

šmt=k n=k r^c phty=k n=k r^c

your walk belongs to you, Re, your strength belongs to you, Re.¹¹⁴⁷

This way of expressing that different aspects belonging to a person occurs in other spells,¹¹⁴⁸ and is a way of reaffirming the intactness of a person.

IV 1.4.4 Horus

In spell 312, the dead takes the role of Horus' *b3* and *irw*-form in order to reach Osiris in the Netherworld.

s^ch.n sw hr m b3=f

Horus has *s^ch*-ed him as his *b3*.¹¹⁴⁹

This spell is discussed further below,¹¹⁵⁰ so only a few extra comments are given here. Horus has actively made the dead his *b3* in order to send him to Osiris. In this spell, as well as in the Shu-spells below, and spell 820 above, the dead takes the identity of the son. This connection with the son being the *b3* of the father is also apparent in spell 38, or at least in some interpretations of it. Spell 38 is part of a series of spells with the theme of the son and his deceased father, either being a dialogue between them, or a monologue performed by the son directed to the father.¹¹⁵¹ The son addresses the father:

¹¹⁴⁶ Because of the use of *ii* with *r* is to be understood as hostile, *Pyramidentexten I, translations and comments*, 244.

¹¹⁴⁷ CT VII 20q-t.

¹¹⁴⁸ For example spell 304. For *šmt* being treated in this way see spell 312 CT IV 74a-b D1C.

¹¹⁴⁹ CT IV 82k. This occurs in several places in this spell. Horus says about the messenger in 74b *s^ch.w m b3=i*, the messenger says in 76i *s^ch.n wi hr b3=f*. When the more reliable versions have ended, coffin B6C continues (for a discussion about this see de Buck *JEA* 35, 87-97). On this coffin the scribe seems to have changed first person pronouns to *N pn* without any adjustments. Consequently it has in 85i *s^ch.n N pn hr m b3=f*, where *N pn* has probably been *wi*.

¹¹⁵⁰ 4.4.

¹¹⁵¹ Spells 38-41, de Jong, *SAK* 21, 141, Bruinsma in Pestman (ed), *AcOr Neerlandica*, 13-19.

ʒḥw nṯr ir=k m imntt m tʒ pw dsr ntk im=f *ʒḥw* and the god are to(?) you in the West and in that sacred land which you are in.

bʒ=k n=k ʒḥ=k ḥn^c=k Your *bʒ* belongs to you, your *ʒḥ* is with you

mr.n=k bʒ=k im=i tp tʒ You have loved your *bʒ* as me on earth.¹¹⁵²

These spells have been discussed by various Egyptologists,¹¹⁵³ with varying translations of this particular passage,¹¹⁵⁴ surprisingly, Žabkar does not discuss this passage at all.¹¹⁵⁵ The last part could be translated ‘you have desired your *bʒ* from me on earth’¹¹⁵⁶ though it would make the meaning of the passage quite obscure. It is by means of the *bʒ* that a person continues his lineage,¹¹⁵⁷ and the connection between the *bʒw*-manifestation of a person and his son does seem close. Translating the passage ‘you have loved your own *bʒ* on earth’ does not significantly change the meaning of the *bʒ* being the continuation of the father in the son.

The connection between the son and the *bʒ* is also visible in spells concerning procreation and the continuation of the line on earth where the *bʒ* of the dead goes out. The son cannot reach the Netherworld as a living person, but in spell 312 Horus can make the dead person his *bʒ* for him to reach the Netherworld. Englund is of the opinion that the *bʒ* was the foremost means of communication between the world of the dead and the world of the living and the *bʒ* could cross the border between the worlds.¹¹⁵⁸

In spell 857 Horus is paired up together with Seth.

bʒ ḥr n=k¹¹⁵⁹ pḥty stš n=k ḥr is the *bʒ* of Horus belongs to you, the strength of Seth belongs to you. It is Horus.

itḥ=k tʒ pn You will control this land,

N pn O this N¹¹⁶⁰

Here the *bʒ* of Horus belonging to N draws a comparison between N and Horus. The parallel between the *bʒ* of Horus and the strength of Seth gives the impression that it is treated rather as a

¹¹⁵² Spell 38, CT I 162d-f. This particular passage has been discussed by de Jong, SAK 21, 141-157.

¹¹⁵³ See for example Faulkner, JEA 48, 36-44, de Buck in Kooiman (ed) *Pro Regno Pro Sanctuario*, 79-85, Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 116-131 and OLP 6/7, 231-235, Speeleers, *Textes des Cercueils du Moyen Empire Égyptien*, 17-18, Bruinsma in Pestman (ed), *AcOr Neerlandica*, 13-18. For a summary of interpretations: de Jong, SAK 21, 142-146.

¹¹⁵⁴ Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 30 and JEA 48, 37, Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages*, 179, Speleers, *Textes des Cercueils*, 17-18, Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 120, Assmann, in Tellenbach (ed), *Das Vaterbild im Mythos und Geschichte*, 12-49, De Jong, SAK 21, 155, Bruinsma in Pestman (ed) *AcOr Neerlandica*, 13-15.

¹¹⁵⁵ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*.

¹¹⁵⁶ Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 30.

¹¹⁵⁷ See under ‘Procreation’ below.

¹¹⁵⁸ Englund in Teeter and Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 101.

¹¹⁵⁹ Male pronouns even on Sq3C which then has female from 60b.

¹¹⁶⁰ CT VII 59i-60b. Following Sq10c.

quality, or something which gives authorisation without the dead being identified with the *b3* of Horus.

IV 1.4.5 Shu

IV 1.4.5.1 The Shu-spells

Spell 75

Spell 75 introduces a group of nine spells where Shu is in focus, as a creator who supersedes the role of his father Atum.¹¹⁶¹ De Buck was of the opinion that this group of spells dates to much older literature, and derived from a theological school which had Shu as their main interest. Mortuary use would, in such a case, not be their original purpose, but a later development. Similarly, he thought that the title in Spell 75: 'Spell for the *b3* of Shu becoming Shu' (*r n b3 šw hprw m šw*)¹¹⁶² was added later to an already existing document.¹¹⁶³ Williams argues against this point of view since no such earlier document has been found, and he thinks that the spells 'conform well to the rules of Middle Egyptian or the First Intermediate Period'. He instead interprets the spells as a ritual which was performed over the dead during mummification.¹¹⁶⁴

In the spells 75-83 the deceased, in the form of either the *b3* of Shu, or Shu, calls upon the Heh-gods, and asks them to assist him by building a ladder to make it possible for him to ascend to the sky. The group of spells has instructions in spell 81 and 83, for its use as an amuletic text.

The first lines of the first spell of the group are:

N pn b3 šw hpr ds=f

This N is the *b3* of Shu, the god who came into being by himself.

hpr.n=f m hšw n ntr hpr ds=f

He has come into being from the flesh of the god who came into being by himself.¹¹⁶⁵

N pn b3 šw hpr ds=f

This N is the *b3* of Shu, the god invisible of form.

hpr.n=f m hšw n ntr

He has come into being from the flesh of the god invisible of form.¹¹⁶⁶

sfg irw

¹¹⁶¹ The spells have been translated and discussed by a number of Egyptologists, among them Zandee ZĀS 97: 155-162, ZĀS 100/1: 60-72, ZĀS 100/2: 141-149, ZĀS 101/1 62-81, Willems, *The worlds of the coffin texts*, 198-209, *Heqata*, 270-292, Englund, *Med Världen som Spegel*, de Buck, *Plaats en Betekenis van Sjoe*, and te Velde, *JEOL* 27: 23-28, Faulkner, *JEOL* 18, 266-270, and Derchain, *RdE* 27, 110-116.

¹¹⁶² CT I 314a.

¹¹⁶³ De Buck, *Plaats en Betekenis van Sjoe*, 17.

¹¹⁶⁴ Willems, *The words of the coffin texts*, 198, *Heqata*, 270-324.

¹¹⁶⁵ Not in S1C. The B-group has *hpr ts.n=i*.

¹¹⁶⁶ CT I 314/315b-318/319a, B1B0.

A question rising from these lines is whether the identification with the *b3* of Shu is different from identification with Shu. One possibility is that Shu says that he has come into being from the flesh of his father. His father is not mentioned by name until later in the spell, but then Shu says he went forth from Atum's mouth.¹¹⁶⁷ The epithets 'the god who came into being by himself' and 'the god invisible of form' would in that case both apply to Shu and Atum. A parallel can be found in spell 333:

<i>ink b3 šw hpr m r^c</i>	I am the <i>b3</i> of Shu who came into being as Re ¹¹⁶⁸
<i>hpr.n=i m r^c ts phr</i>	I came into being as Re and vice versa ¹¹⁶⁹

In the role of the son, the *b3* of Shu states that he came into being in the same way as Re. If they came into being in the same way, both of them might then have the epithet of being self-created. Allen explains this by arguing that both the sun, who is often given this epithet, and the void, Shu, are developments of Atum.¹¹⁷⁰

The other possible interpretation is that it is the *b3* which came into being in Shu, who then alone has the epithets. The *b3* would then have a separate identity from Shu and the *b3* originated in the flesh of Shu. In spells 94 and 96 (above) it is said that Osiris created his *b3* in a similar way. The heading for spell 75 'Spell for the *b3* of Shu and becoming Shu',¹¹⁷¹ has both Shu and the *b3* of Shu included but the tile only appear in one version of the spell.

The majority of interpretations published seem to be of the opinion that there are no real differences between Shu and the *b3* of Shu in this spell. This would mean that Shu came into being in the self-created one, which is then Atum. Willems interprets the title as a statement which 'enabled the deceased to be identified with Shu in all his mythological roles'. He thinks that the difference between Shu and his *b3* is unclear, and therefore Willems decides to talk about Shu in general.¹¹⁷² Allen notes that the deceased is identified with the *b3* of Shu 'a manifestation of the god' but thinks that 'in most cases it is clear that the god himself is the speaker'.¹¹⁷³ Englund does not differentiate between the *b3* and Shu, and interprets the active one in spell 75 as Shu himself, and not his separate *b3*. She thinks the one who came into being by himself is the first *ntr*-power, the unique one who later becomes many, and he is the one who created Shu.¹¹⁷⁴ Bickel does not find any visible difference between Shu and the *b3* of Shu either,¹¹⁷⁵ and neither does Federn who considers the title

¹¹⁶⁷ CT I 374/375b-c.

¹¹⁶⁸ Englund interpret this as 'who has become Re' ('som blivit till Re'), with the meaning that Shu is developed and transformed into Re, *Människans Möjligheter*, 129.

¹¹⁶⁹ CT IV 178f-g.

¹¹⁷⁰ Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, 17. Englund thinks that Shu and Atum are identical at first, then Shu differentiates himself from their unity in the moment of creation, *Människans Möjligheter*, 118-119.

¹¹⁷¹ CT I 314a S1C, see above.

¹¹⁷² *World of the Coffin Texts*, 197-199.

¹¹⁷³ Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, 17.

¹¹⁷⁴ 'Enheten Kheper-djes-ef drivs till att skapa Shu', *Med Världen som Spegel*, 288-289.

¹¹⁷⁵ *La Cosmogonie Égyptienne*, 129-136.

to be a tautology.¹¹⁷⁶ Morenz says they are equivalent to Shu in large¹¹⁷⁷ while Meyer-Dietrich considers the *b3* to be a ‘Personenaspekt’, and treats the *b3* of Shu as separate.¹¹⁷⁸

Spell 75 carries on in the first person talking about Shu’s coming into being as an original act, and not of normal birth, before anyone else existed. At one point in the text the speaker changes the way of referring to the *b3*:

<i>ink ntr</i>	I am the god ¹¹⁷⁹
<i>nf3 irw hnt sht wdt</i>	exhaled of <i>irw</i> -forms in front the green countryside, ¹¹⁸⁰
<i>wd3 mdw m ht imnt imyt hwt 6</i>	who judges in the hidden matter which is in the Mansion of the Six.
<i>iw km3.n=i b3=i h3=i</i>	I have created my <i>b3</i> behind me ¹¹⁸¹
<i>r rdit rh=f rht.n=i</i>	to let it know that which I know. ¹¹⁸²

The speaker no longer identifies with the *b3*, but now talks about it as something external, being behind him, though belonging to him. In these lines the *b3* has clearly been created (*km3*) either by Shu, or in other versions, for Shu.

Spells 76, 77, 78

In the rest of the Shu-spells, 76-83, the speaker is sometimes identified with the *b3* of Shu and sometimes directly with Shu. Both when the identification is with the *b3* of Shu or with Shu, Shu might still be talked about in the third person, perhaps from the perspective of the dead person being altered with the identification object. In spell 76 the *b3* is not mentioned, the speaker is identified with Shu, but still Shu is talked about as separate from the speaker:

<i>ts=k n=i m3kt sw wrd</i>	Put together the ladder for me, weary Shu. ¹¹⁸³
-----------------------------	--

In spell 77, where the identification is with the *b3* of Shu, it really seems that the front figure is Shu, and not the *b3* of Shu, despite the first line:

<i>ink b3 pw n šw tp(y) nis hh</i>	I am this <i>b3</i> of Shu, which is in ¹¹⁸⁴ the flame of the blast ¹¹⁸⁵
------------------------------------	---

¹¹⁷⁶ JNES 19, 245.

¹¹⁷⁷ Morenz, *Die Zeit der Regionen*, 395.

¹¹⁷⁸ *Senebi und Selbst*, 202-216.

¹¹⁷⁹ S1C inly *ink*, some versions add *3* or *imy*.

¹¹⁸⁰ M20C, M28C and M-Ann add ‘in Duat’.

¹¹⁸¹ In most versions first person or ‘this N’ are used. Variants have ‘he has created for me my *b3* which is behind me’ T3C, or ‘my *b3* is created for me’ G1T, see above under ‘The origin of the *b3*’.

¹¹⁸² CT I 358/359d-362/363b, following T3L but the last line is only in the B-coffins.

¹¹⁸³ CT II 17h.

¹¹⁸⁴ *Lit.* ‘on top of’.

¹¹⁸⁵ CT II 18a, G1T.

A few lines down:

išš.n=f wi m šw ḥn^c tfnt prt ḥr-s3=i He spit me out as Shu together with Tefnut who went
forth after me.¹¹⁸⁶

There seems to be no difference between Shu and the *b3* of Shu in this spell. In spell 78 the identification is again with the *b3* of Shu, but here Shu is talked about in third person, the same manner as in spell 76:

pd ʿwy šw r prrt=i ḥr m3kt šw Extend the arms of Shu in order for me to go up on
the ladder of Shu.¹¹⁸⁷

Either the *b3* of Shu is considered as a separate identity here, or the identity of the dead is separated from Shu, since it seems like the speaker's identity is separated from Shu.

This group of spells is inconsistent when it comes to the identity of the speaker. Either there is no real difference being identified with the *b3* of Shu and with Shu, or there is a constant jump between them, and also between the identity of the deceased himself. In either way, the identification with the son of Atum, or the *b3* of the son, involves an assertion of a continuity of the creation. The process started by the father is taken up by the son, who then also assures a further existence on earth.

When the dead is identified with the *b3* of Osiris, he is identified with the movable manifestation of the god, which is able to live on earth while Osiris is in the Netherworld. In this there is a connection between the role of the *b3* and the son. When the dead is identified with the son himself, and especially Shu, it is part of the first creation in the role of the one who continues the process. In this group of spells, Shu is active while Atum is not. This also fits with the role of the *b3* and therefore, perhaps, the identification is also with the *b3* of Shu in order to stress the active side of the god. In a way the identification with the *b3* of Osiris and Re and the *b3* of Shu then has a similar meaning, as a way of expressing the continuation of creation on earth. These spells may therefore imply that the very nature of Shu was envisaged as a sort of *b3*-ness, or characterised by his role as *b3*.

IV 1.4.5.2 Other spells containing the *b3* of Shu

Spell 114 starts:

N b3 šw N is the *b3* of Shu.¹¹⁸⁸

¹¹⁸⁶ CT II 18e G1T.

¹¹⁸⁷ CT II 22d, B2L.

¹¹⁸⁸ CT II 131e, B4C, the only version from el-Bersha of this spell.

The first line of the spell introduces the speaker as Shu in the majority of the versions. Only one version has the *b3* of Shu. The others have ‘I am Shu, equipped (*ᶜpr*)’. If this was considered interchangeable, it would strengthen the view that the *b3* of Shu and Shu might be exchangeable, and here both seem to be able to represent the same thing.

Spell 395 is a dialogue between the dead and the *b3* of Shu.

<i>r n h3t r s3n</i> ¹¹⁸⁹	<u>Spell for going aboard the lotus-bark</u>
<i>or</i>	<i>or</i>
<i>r n int m-hnwt</i> ¹¹⁹⁰	<u>Spell for fetching a ferry-boat</u>
<i>b3 šw wn n=i</i>	“O <i>b3</i> of Shu, open for me!”
<i>iw=k tr r ʔn</i>	“Where are you going?”
<i>iw=i r wrs</i>	“I will go to <i>Wrs</i> .”
<i>wn r=k n=i</i>	Open to me!” ¹¹⁹¹

It continues with the *b3* of Shu asking him about the name of the ferryman and other things, similar to the role of the ferrymen in other spells. The *b3* is not mentioned in other lines of the spell, and it seems the *b3* here has the role of an interrogator.

IV 1.4.6 Atum and Re-Atum

In spell 321 the *b3* of Atum is referred to, and compared to, the *b3* of the dead person. The speaker is first N, both speaking of his own *b3* and the *b3* of Atum.

<i>rdi.n=i iwt b3w h3ht t3w</i>	I have caused the <i>b3w</i> to come throughout the lands,
<i>iww=sn rd smw</i>	when they come, herbage grows
<i>nʔrw 3h n m3ht wrt</i>	the gods are flourishing(?) ¹¹⁹² for Mehet-weret
<i>ist sk b3=i iw=f hr s3 nw(t)?¹¹⁹³ n hr h33 inw</i>	for my <i>b3</i> comes over the back of the sky for Horus, ruler of Iunu. ¹¹⁹⁴
<i>in rᶜ hᶜᶜ im=i hnᶜ imy i3w=f</i>	Re is the one who rejoices over me together with him who is in his bark ¹¹⁹⁵

The *b3w* move like a flood over the land and nourish it, but the *b3* also moves over the sky, showing the diversity of locations. The spell later continues:

¹¹⁸⁹ B2Lb, B2Lc.

¹¹⁹⁰ B1C, B5C. For the rest of the spell B2Lb, B2Lc are followed.

¹¹⁹¹ CT V 68a-h.

¹¹⁹² Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 249-250 n.10.

¹¹⁹³ Or masculine version of the sky?

¹¹⁹⁴ The sun god sends out his *b3w*-power and, because of that, things grow and flourish and things work.

¹¹⁹⁵ CT IV 146m-q.

rḥ.n=i w^c is špsi im

b3=f mnḥ r nṯrw

ir.n=f r ḏr

...

ḏḏ tm n nṯrw ḏḏw=i m-ḥnw nw(t)

ir=n rnw n¹¹⁹⁷=ṯn ḥm wḥm=n b3w=f ḥn^c

b3w=i ḏs=f

The dead person's *b3w* is associated with the *b3w* of Atum. Making names validates them and makes them function.¹¹⁹⁹

In spell 665 Re-Atum is addressed continuously throughout the following passages.

mn.ti ḥr b3=k wr.ti m s^cḥ=k

you are enduring in regards to your *b3*, and are being great in your *s^cḥ*.¹²⁰⁰

...

ḥtp m ^cnḥ wn ^c=k

O you at rest in life, open your hand

ḏi sw3/// nṯr m b3=f

let the god pass /// with/in his *b3*.¹²⁰¹

In the first line it seems as if two different aspects of the identity of a dead person are brought up with appropriate descriptions. Though not being an extensive list, it seems to serve the same purpose as bringing up a few aspects in a way to express the person's identity. In the second line quoted, the *b3* seems to either follow the god, accompany him, or he is passing in the form of his *b3*.

In spell 815 the Great One is possibly Re-Atum.

ḏi(=i) ḥ3tt m m^cndt m ḥr wr r mšrwt r^c-tm

I place the bow-warp in the day-bark as Horus the Great at the evening meals of Re-Atum,

n-ntt ink is ^ct m wr=ṯn pw ḥm.n b3=f rn=f

because I am indeed a limb of this Great One of yours, whose *b3* is ignorant of his name

š^c tpw nṯrw ḥr rḥ rn=f

and one who cuts off heads of the gods, because of knowing his name

nḏḏ rn=f m ^cnḥw ḥrw wrt(?)

and who guards his name from the bands which are on

¹¹⁹⁶ CT IV 147b-d.

¹¹⁹⁷ *w* is probably a mistake from the parallel in CT IV 147l, though Bardinet suggests an emending of *=ṯn* to *k3bw* to solve the problem, *Dents et Mâchoires*, 141.

¹¹⁹⁸ CT IV 147n-o. Possibly *=f* is a mistake and it should be *=i*. The other option is 'itself' if *b3w* is treated as singular. However, *b3w* is treated as plural in the same spell in CT IV 146 m-n. Or perhaps 'we shall repeat his own *b3w* together with my *b3w*.' See also Nyord's comments about 147o, *Breathing Flesh*, 371 n.3777 and n.3778.

¹¹⁹⁹ Willems, *Heqata*, 306.

¹²⁰⁰ CT VI 292h.

¹²⁰¹ CT VI 292o-p.

the *wrt*-crowns(?)¹²⁰²

In this spell the speaker identifies himself with the limb of the Great One, who here is pictured as disintegrated. That the *b3* of the Great One is ignorant of his name is placed in contrast to the speaker, who indeed does know his name. This knowledge and the fact that he is protecting his name then seems to give him the power, and he can cut off the heads of the gods. The association with him and the limb of the Great One implies that he originates from that god, but has now become more powerful than him. The remembrance and knowledge of the name is a normal occurrence in the Coffin Texts, but it is seldom associated with the *b3*, this being an exception.

IV 1.4.7 Single examples¹²⁰³

A few spells have the *b3* of a god which has no parallel in other Coffin Text spells. In the majority of cases it seems to focus on the active part of a god, the invention or action of him or her.

In spell 75 the *b3* of Wepset is mentioned in two sentences.

ink I am
*skdd b3*¹²⁰⁴ *wpst* the one who cause the *b3* of Wepset to travel.¹²⁰⁵

In the second occurrence only one version¹²⁰⁶ mentions the *b3* of Wepset, while the others simply have Wepset:

skbb.n=i b3 wpst after I have cooled down the *b3* of Wepset.¹²⁰⁷

In neither of these is the speaker identified with the *b3* of the goddess, but instead affects it in different ways. Since not all versions have the *b3* of Wepset there might not have been considered to be any difference in meaning. This is the same problem as with Shu, and it is also the same spell which introduces the Shu-spells.

In a few spells, the *b3* seems to belong to a god but it is not certain, or, it is not certain which god it belongs to.

hr m irw=f Horus is as/in his *irw*-form
w3h h^cw m nhbt=f crowns are set down for his titulary
s3h tw šw tfnt ntrw irw p3tyw Shu and Tefnut, the gods who made the primeval ones, *s3h* you
h^c b3 wr m hsfw=k the *b3* of the Great One rejoices in meeting¹²⁰⁸ you.¹²⁰⁹

¹²⁰² CT VII 140-r.

¹²⁰³ See also the *b3w* of Geb under 'The origin of the *b3*' above.

¹²⁰⁴ *B3* is not included in B1C, B2L or B1P but in the other versions.

¹²⁰⁵ CT I 380/381d-382/383a, M3C.

¹²⁰⁶ S1C.

¹²⁰⁷ CT I 378/379b.

In these passages, different gods are mentioned with different aspects of the identity, Horus and *irw*, Shu and Tefnut with *ʒh*, and the Great One with the *bʒ*. Shu is here together with Tefnut creator gods.¹²¹⁰ Who the Great One is, is not clearly stated in this spell and probably refer to someone undefined rather than a specific god.¹²¹¹ *Bʒ* is again the active force of the god.

Spell 818 contains different speakers, the first one being Re who states his authority. However, as in several other Coffin Texts, it is not entirely clear who is speaking all the time.

<i>hkʒ=i pw ʿnh hkʒw=i {i}</i> ¹²¹² <i>i in r^c hrw twr</i>	“It is my living <i>hkʒ</i> and my <i>hkʒw</i> ” said by Re on the day
<i>n=f</i>	of showing respect to him.
<i>ntk hw</i>	“You are Hu”
<i>i in hkʒw</i>	said by Heka(?)
<i>wsr bʒ=i r sʒʒw sw</i>	“My <i>bʒ</i> is stronger than the one who guards it” ¹²¹³

It seems as if it is Heka who continues to speak the sentence containing the *bʒ*, since no other name is introduced. The title of the spell is ‘To cause a woman to be an *ʒh///* in the sky with great protection’,¹²¹⁴ and earlier on the identification is with Re. Heka’s statement mostly seems to serve to strengthen his own authority, that no one can guard his *bʒ*, here again probably the *bʒ* is mentioned as the part of the god which is ascribed action. This theme of no one guarding the *bʒ* is prominent in the group of spells 488-500 below.¹²¹⁵

Spell 914:

<i>wnn hn^c wrw</i>	<u>Being with the Great One[s]</u>
<i>ind-hr=tn bʒw pw nbw ʒ^ct m mw</i>	Hail to you <i>bʒw</i> , lords of terror in the waters. ¹²¹⁶

The spell is only available in two versions, and both of them are quite damaged. Later in the spells ‘gods’ are addressed,¹²¹⁷ so perhaps the ‘lords of terror’ are a group of gods? The *bʒw* are identified as an active and dangerous power, the *bʒw* of the god being the divine intervention. *bʒw* and *ʒ^ct* are also paralleled in other spells.¹²¹⁸

In spell 307, the speaker is focused on his primevalness. Within this he says:

¹²⁰⁸ The determinative indicates ‘driving you away’ rather than ‘meeting’, but it makes less sense.

¹²⁰⁹ CT I 260a-d.

¹²¹⁰ Willems, *Hegata*, 298.

¹²¹¹ See for example Hornung, *Conceptions of god*, 186-189, Kees, *Götterglaube*, 270-278, Morenz, *Religion*, 156-157 (in the English translation 149-150).

¹²¹² Really being two *i*, but probably should be read as one.

¹²¹³ CT VII 18e-h.

¹²¹⁴ CT VII 17a-b.

¹²¹⁵ Under ‘the *bʒ* and the shadow’.

¹²¹⁶ CT VII 118a-b.

¹²¹⁷ CT VII 118k.

¹²¹⁸ Spells 74 and 259, see under ‘Location’.

<i>ink smsw p3wttyw b3 hwt[y]-ntr nhhw</i> ¹²¹⁹	I am the oldest of the primeval one, the <i>b3</i> of the ones of temple of eternity
<i>ink km3 kkw ir st=f m drw hrt</i>	I am the one who creates darkness, who makes his throne in the limits of the sky.
<i>iw.n b3 3 hr//////////rw hrt</i>	The great <i>b3</i> has come upon//////// of [limits of?] the sky.
<i>mr=i ph dr=sn</i>	I desire to reach their limits
<i>sm=i hr rdyw=i</i>	I walk on my feet
<i>hrp//w wd3 hbš</i>	I(?) control /// cross (?) ¹²²⁰
<i>irw mhnd kkw//mn//r nb 6wy</i>	the ones who makes (?) darkness////////// lord of arms
<i>b3=i pw b3 dt=i pw i6rt</i>	my <i>b3</i> is a <i>b3</i> , my body is the uraeus
<i>twt=i pw nhh nb rnpt</i>	my image is eternity, lord of years,
<i>6nh=i pw dt</i>	my life is eternity/It means I will live forever (?).
<i>ink k3 nb t3tbw</i>	I am one who hight up, lord of Tatjebu
<i>hwn m niwt idw////////</i>	young in the city of////////
<i>n sw3h=k rn=i</i>	You will not make my name endure(?)
<i>ink b3 km3w nw ir st m hrt-ntr</i>	I am the <i>b3</i> who created Nun, who made the place in the realm of the dead. ¹²²¹

The situation is similar to that of Shu and Geb in earlier spells. The *b3* is the active element, as an element or part that is active even pre-creation. As in spell 575, the *b3* is latent in or connected with Nun.

Spell 1142 talks about a particular god to whom the *b3* mentioned probably belongs.

<i>N pn kd r6</i>	This N is the one who formed Re,
<i>kdw šw m36t n ntr pw hr ib sdt</i>	whom formed Shu. <i>Maat</i> belongs to this god who is in the middle of the fire ¹²²²
...	...
<i>hw.n wi b3=f</i>	His <i>b3</i> has protected me. ¹²²³

The *b3* again appears to be the intervening part of the primeval creator god.

¹²¹⁹ Faulkner's restoration, *Coffin Texts* I, 226. Compare *BoD* 185, I. *BoD* has *b3 pw b3w* but there is no room for that here.

¹²²⁰ *BoD* has *by3*.

¹²²¹ *CT* IV 63d-p. The spelling  looks very much like a play on Osiris, who is presumably suggested here?

¹²²² *CT* VII 489b-c. See Lesco, *Book of Two Ways*, 34.

¹²²³ *CT* VII 489f. Lesco translates the passages e-g: 'With another command which went forth from his mouth on the day of protecting, his soul which you have commanded has protected me.' *Book of Two Ways*, 34.

sacred booth,

s^ch=k m pr b3wy

your *s^ch* is in the house of the two *b3*¹²²⁸

What exactly the 'house of the two *b3*' is, is unclear in this particular spell.¹²²⁹ The house of the *b3*, or *b3w*, occurs in a few other spells. In spell 1136 it is the *b3w-shm*-house.

*ink rd pw n šw mhy nw im=f m-hnw b3w
shmw*

I am the leg of Shu, with which Nun was filled within
the *b3w-shmw* house.¹²³⁰

In two spells there is mention of a house (*pr*) or mansion (*hwt*), but it is not clear if *b3* is really the *b3* in question here, or if it is a ram. Spell 63:

rdi n=k irf 3hw

The *3hw* are given to you

iw=sn n=k ks

they come to you bowing.

is r=k r sn hwt b3 pf

Go to open the mansion of that ram/*b3*¹²³¹

Two versions write the word with , while the other two uses .

Spell 67:

i3 N pn

O this N.

s3 tw š wr

Beware of the great lake,

ir mwt nh=k sw

as for death, you will escape it,

3b=k w3t r=f

you will avoid the road to it.

imy=sn itt tw r pr b3 pf

They shall not take you to the house of that ram/*b3* .

imy=sn ir

They shall not make

wd3yt r=k m rn=sn n w3ytiw

opposition against you in their name of
'Opponents'.¹²³²

As in spell 63, the different versions either have the ram or bowl, and no version has the *b3*-bird.

For spell 67, Assmann translates it as 'that *ba*' and interpret it as a god of the dead, and identifies the god's location as a depressive and dark area of the realm of the dead which was to be avoided.¹²³³ Wolf-Brinkman provides parallels to the expression in the Pyramid Texts, and thinks that *b3* is sometimes used as a parallel to *ntr*.¹²³⁴ In Pyramid Text spell 666b, the 'house of that *b3*' is described as a very unpleasant place. However, spell 67 seems to be the only spell out of the ones

¹²²⁸ CT I 225g-226a.

¹²²⁹ If it does not refer to Re and Osiris?

¹²³⁰ CT VII 481f.

¹²³¹ CT I 273a-c, T1C.

¹²³² CT I 284e-285a.

¹²³³ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 143-144 and n.8, 440.

¹²³⁴ Wolf-Brinkman, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'b3'*, 47. Gee presents the same thought about *b3w* and *ntr* being categories in Hawass (ed), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first century*, 230-237.

above where the house clearly has a negative meaning. In other Coffin Texts, it is the house of the sun-god and *b3 pf* is elsewhere determined as a god.¹²³⁵

A slightly different example is spell 314, which talks about *b3w* in the house of Osiris.

<i>i stknw b3w mnhw n pr wsir</i>	O you who cause the excellent <i>b3w</i> to approach the house of Osiris
<i>imi n=i ir=tn t hnkt r trwy htp ///n b3w nw pr wsir</i>	give me bread and beer at two seasons, what pleases the <i>b3w</i> of the house of Osiris.
<i>i wnw w3wt wppw mtnw n b3w mnhw m pr wsir</i>	O you who open the roads and open the paths for the excellent <i>b3w</i> in the house of Osiris,
<i>wn ir=tn w3wt wp ir=tn mtnw n b3=i n dt=i</i>	open the roads and open up the paths for my <i>b3</i> (and) for my body(?). ¹²³⁶
<i>k=f im m dndn m htp m pr wsir</i>	It shall enter there freely and peacefully in the house of Osiris.
<i>nn hsf sw im=f</i>	There is no one who will turn it (the <i>b3</i>) away from it (the house).
<i>k=f hs mryw</i>	It shall enter favoured and loved,
<i>m3c-hrw=f</i>	it shall be vindicated,
<i>irw wdt=f m pr wsir</i>	its command will be done in the house of Osiris.
<i>smn iwct nst wdbwy n s3 nb ir</i>	The heritage of the throne of the two banks is confirmed for the son of the lord thereof. ¹²³⁷

The *b3w* here seem to be the successful dead people who are in the realm of Osiris and enjoying the fruits of the Afterlife. It appears to represent the whole person here, and several people who are all in the house of Osiris.

A seemingly similar use occurs in spells 238 and 752.¹²³⁸ These spells talk about the ‘*b3w* of the Westerners’. In these two spells the dead people are addressed, at least this appears clear in spell 238.

<i>ind-hr=t imyt-tp nb=s</i>	Hail to you stern-post ¹²³⁹ of her lord,
<i>h3// wsir wrt///3t nbt pr</i>	Mourner of Osiris, the Great One (fem), /// mistress of the house,
<i>nw/// b3w imntyw</i>	collect (?)//// the <i>b3w</i> of the Westerners ¹²⁴⁰

¹²³⁵ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 209.

¹²³⁶ Or ‘for my *b3* to my body’? Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 345.

¹²³⁷ CT IV 96a-j.

¹²³⁸ CT VI 381n.

¹²³⁹ Lit. ‘who is in the head’, the feminine stern post of the coffin, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 153.

¹²⁴⁰ CT III 317d-f.

The mourners in the spell are Isis and Nephtys. The 'b3w of the Westerners' is the rubric of spell 160 of the 'Knowing the b3w'-spells and there the Westerners are identified as Re, Sobek and Seth.¹²⁴¹ However, there is nothing very obvious in spell 238 or 752 which has a connection to these three gods, but they seem to refer to the dead in general as the b3w in the house of Osiris in spell 314.

Spell 863 describes Nekhbet:

<i>nrt.n n=s ntrw</i>	whom the gods have feared
<i>nr(t?) b3w m pr N pn</i>	whom the b3w in the house of this N fear
<i>mi nrt=sn n irt hr</i>	as their fear of the Eye of Horus. ¹²⁴²

Possibly this house of N is his tomb?

IV 1.5.3 b3 of gods, places and objects mixed

A few spells mention b3w of gods in the same context as b3w of places, so that it is difficult to separate the passages without losing the meaning.

In spell 332, the identification is with Hathor, the uraeus, Isis, and the goddesses being mistresses of many different things. The spell starts:

<i>ink nct b3 m wi3 s3 b3w</i>	I am the nct-snake, the b3 in the bark 'Ordainer of b3w'. ¹²⁴³
--------------------------------	---

The female speaker embodies a different aspect of, in particular the sun in the bark, which has the name of 'Ordainer of b3w', so perhaps this is an identification with the b3 of the sun? Nowhere else in the spell is the b3 mentioned.

Spell 267:

<i>ms.n tw nwt hsf mswt r^c</i>	Nut has given birth to you according to the birth of Re,
<i>pr shmw m iwnw</i>	the powers goes forth from lunu,
<i>wr n^{cw} hntyw 3ht</i>	the greatest of the n ^{cw} -snakes who are in front of the horizon.
<i>mn=i n^h=i m b3=f¹²⁴⁴</i>	I endure and I live as his b3 (or Thoth, or Horus in other versions).
<i>rdi n=i p</i>	Pe is given to me
<i>nnk dpw</i>	Dep is mine,
<i>ir n=i dnit m iwnw</i>	an offering is made for me in lunu,

¹²⁴¹ CT II 387a.

¹²⁴² CT VII 66r-t.

¹²⁴³ CT IV 177a. For the n^ct-snake and apparent masculine counterpart n^{cw}-snake, see Willems, *Heqata*, 353 n.2176.

¹²⁴⁴ S1C. Other versions have *dhwtw* or *hr*.

b3w p dpw sdm nn m3c

the *b3w* of Pe and Dep truly hear this.¹²⁴⁵

The first passage about the *b3* is available in three different versions. While S1C has ‘his *b3*’, the others have Horus and Thoth. It is not clear from the spell how, or if, they should be considered exchangeable. Possibly, trying to make a meaning out of the exchange, the speaker should live on, having his place in the afterlife as a *b3*, or Horus, or Thoth? The *b3w* of Pe are familiar from ‘Knowing the *b3w*’-spell, there in spell 157 the *b3w* of Pe are specifically Horus, Imsety and Hapy.

Spell 832:

nfrw(y) n m33 htpw(y) n sdm

“How lovely to see, how pleasant to hear!”

*it.n ist ntrt*¹²⁴⁶

said Isis the divine.

pr ntr pn r pt

This god ascends to the sky,

b3=f r tp=f

his *b3* at his head,

*šct=f ir r=f*¹²⁴⁷

his terror at his mouth,

hk3w=f tp wy=f

his *hk3w* on his arms.

irw n=f in tm mi kd ir.n=f n=f im

He has been helped by Atum (*lit* it is done for him by Atum) just as he had done for him there.

in.n=f n=f ntrw b3w p in.n=f n=f ntrw b3w nhn

He has brought the gods and *b3w* of Pe to him, he (Atum) has brought to him (N) the gods and *b3w* of Nekhen.

*in.n=f ntrw b3w iwnw*¹²⁴⁸

He has brought the gods and *b3w* of lunu.¹²⁴⁹

The first passage about the *b3* seems to serve as a statement that he has his *b3* with him as in other examples below.¹²⁵⁰ The *b3* is also said to leave the corpse through the head,¹²⁵¹ which might explain the location.¹²⁵² Terror and *hk3w* are also mentioned in this context, so it has different concepts located with him. In the framework of *b3w* of specific places, Wolf-Brinkman sees *b3w* as being interchangeable with *ntrw*, in the meaning of a half-god, between gods and the king.¹²⁵³ Since the triads in most cases also in the Coffin Texts of ‘Knowing the *b3w*’-spells are gods, this would be a reasonable explanation. In this last spell the *b3w* are also mentioned together with the gods, so if they are similar in this context, they are not exact synonyms.

¹²⁴⁵ CT III 398a-399d.

¹²⁴⁶ T9C and B10C, *ntrt* only in T9C.

¹²⁴⁷ Only T9C, B1Bo is destroyed and T1C leaves out the passage.

¹²⁴⁸ Not in T1C.

¹²⁴⁹ CT VII 32a-l, T9C.

¹²⁵⁰ See under ‘*b3* and the dead person’.

¹²⁵¹ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 94.

¹²⁵² A passage which might be related is CT VII 170h, spell 955.

¹²⁵³ *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes ‘b3’*, 64-65.

The different animals seem to refer to the locations of them, the sky and earth, where the *b3* will pass freely.¹²⁶¹

IV 1.6.1 Different themes of movement

IV 1.6.1.1 Passage

In spell 470 the *b3* of the speaker is identified with Sothis,¹²⁶² and it is by means of this that the passage to the sky is conducted. The rubric is ‘Spell for reaching Orion’,¹²⁶³ and the following lines involve the *b3*:

<i>b3=i spdt ir w3t=i</i>	O my <i>b3</i> Sothis, make my way,
<i>skr rwq r wʕrt tw wrt</i>	carve out a stairway to that great plain, ¹²⁶⁴

There are other spells in the Coffin Texts where the identification with a star is the way by which means the speaker of the spell is able to reach the sky.¹²⁶⁵

IV 1.6.1.2 Guide

The multiple locations which the *b3* travels to can cause certain problems. The *b3* must, for example, remember the location of the corpse to be able to return to it.¹²⁶⁶ There are also places where the *b3* could potentially get lost. Spell 237 directs the following lines to the ‘Mourner of Osiris’ and ‘helper of the embalmer of Anubis’:¹²⁶⁷

<i>s3h wi</i>	<i>s3h</i> me,
<i>wpt n=i r=i</i>	you who open my mouth for me,
<i>sšmt b3=i r w3wt dw3t</i>	and who guide my <i>b3</i> to the roads of the Netherworld ¹²⁶⁸

IV 1.6.1.3 Sending¹²⁶⁹

Spell 89 has the title:

¹²⁶¹ Zandee, ZÄS 99, 58-59.

¹²⁶² For the *b3* manifesting as a star or animals see for example Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 48-50.

¹²⁶³ CT V 398h.

¹²⁶⁴ CT V 399e-f.

¹²⁶⁵ More of these are presented in Chapter III under ‘Passage’.

¹²⁶⁶ See 4.4 below.

¹²⁶⁷ See also spell 1013, CT VII 230p.

¹²⁶⁸ CT III 312f-313a.

¹²⁶⁹ Since the *b3*-sending spells also deal with the shadow, see this section, in particular for spells 89, 98-104 and 413. It will only be mentioned shortly here where the *b3* is on its own.

r n h3b s b3=f////c s? r hfty=f

Spell for a man sending his *b3* //// against his enemy.¹²⁷⁰

Spell 89, 98-104 and 413 concern the movement of the *b3*, sometimes together with other parts of a person.¹²⁷¹ The stated purpose of spell 89 is for a man to send his *b3*. However, a break in part of the spell leaves it unclear if it is the *b3* or something else which would be sent towards the enemies.¹²⁷² Coffin B4C has a shorter title with *shm m hft=i*, but this does not fit into the lacuna in Papyrus Berlin. De Buck suggests *sm3^c* or *n* to fit in the lacuna.¹²⁷³ In this spell it is also stated that the speaker, in first person, has power over enemies.¹²⁷⁴

Spell 316 also contains a line about sending the *b3*:

h3b hm b3=k

Send indeed your *b3*

m3=f m hr=f

so it will see with its sight (face).¹²⁷⁵

The sending in this spell, as well as spell 89 above, indicates that the *b3* moves away from the person to whom the *b3* belongs, and is thereby separated from him or her. Since the *b3* is the active part of a person, it can be sent out and act on behalf of the person. In both these contexts the purpose is for the *b3* to see something.¹²⁷⁶

One other spell contains lines about sending the *b3* into the Netherworld. Spell 204:

*dd mdw tm wnm hs*¹²⁷⁷

Recite: Not to eat excrements

*tm sm shd*¹²⁷⁸

not to walk upside down¹²⁷⁹

Only S10C adds in black:

h3b b3 m hrt-ntr

Sending a *b3* into the realm of the dead.¹²⁸⁰

The spell is mostly focused on the theme in the rubric, and there is nothing else in the spell about sending the *b3*. Another parallel is spell 312,¹²⁸¹ where Horus makes the dead person his *b3* in order

¹²⁷⁰ CT II 55a S2C, B4C have parts of the title, P. Berl has the whole even though it is destroyed.

¹²⁷¹ Nyord also want to add 492-500 to the group because of the similarities in phraseology, *Breathing Flesh*, 453.

¹²⁷² Gee suggests that the *b3* is sent against enemies pointing out the parallel with Letters to the Dead when the dead is sent to appear to the living in a negative way. Gee in Hawass, *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*, 230, vol. 2. Since there is a word in between there is a possibility that there might be something else which is actually sent towards the enemy.

¹²⁷³ CT II 55 n.4.

¹²⁷⁴ CT II 56b.

¹²⁷⁵ CT IV 102h-i. For *hr* being used as a metonym for vision, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 159.

¹²⁷⁶ The purpose in the *b3*-sending spells is stated to see 'that man' or 'that god', see section 4.2. The connection between the *b3* and seeing is already attested in the Pyramid Texts, see PT 396c, discussed by Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 79-80 and Luft in Rothöhler and Manisali (eds) *Mythos & Ritual*, 104.

¹²⁷⁷ S1C.

¹²⁷⁸ All but B1Bo. S1C adds *m hrt-ntr*.

¹²⁷⁹ CT III 139h-i.

¹²⁸⁰ CT III 140a S10C. Also CT IV 392e, which despite being in spell 353 there has been noted by de Buck to belong to spell 204 'and a new spell (BD 188) which are one in this MS.' n.1.

¹²⁸¹ See above under 'Horus' and section 4.4.

<i>ink wr//</i>	I am the Great One
<i>iw=i ḥ^c.ki¹²⁸⁸</i>	I have appeared
<i>or</i>	<i>or</i>
<i>iw ḥ^c b3 n N pn ḥ^c=f¹²⁸⁹</i>	The <i>b3</i> of this N appears, so he appears ¹²⁹⁰

The beginning of spell 553 is expressed as is normal for titles, but it is not red in any of the versions:

<i>tm it b3 s r nmt šw¹²⁹¹</i>	To not take a man's <i>b3</i> to the slaughter house of Shu.
<i>or</i>	<i>or</i>
<i>or</i>	To not fall into the slaughter house of Shu ¹²⁹³

tm ḥr m nmt šw¹²⁹²

Other examples of spells having *b3* as a parallel to the person in general occur.¹²⁹⁴

IV 1.8 The *b3* and the dead person

IV 1.8.1 I am the/a *b3*

In a few spells, the speaker in the first person, or the dead talked about in the third person, are identified with a *b3*, without the *b3* being a *b3* of a specific being or stated as belonging to him or her.

A few examples, spell 216:¹²⁹⁵

<i>r n tm wnm ḥs¹²⁹⁶</i>	Spell for not eating excrement.
<i>ink b3 ḥr tp t3wy wp-w3wt m s3wt</i>	I am the (or a?) <i>b3</i> in charge of the two lands, Wepwawet in Asyut. ¹²⁹⁷

Spell 449:

<i>N tn b3 imy dšr=f dhwti imy ḥtp</i>	This N is the (or a?) <i>b3</i> which is in its blood, and Thoth who is in the offerings.
--	---

<i>šm.n N tn imyt=sny</i>	This N has gone between the two of them;
---------------------------	--

<i>ḥms.n=s imyt=sny</i>	she has sat between them two. ¹²⁹⁸
-------------------------	---

¹²⁸⁸ S14C.

¹²⁸⁹ B1Bo.

¹²⁹⁰ CT V 236a-c.

¹²⁹¹ B2Bo.

¹²⁹² B4C.

¹²⁹³ CT VI 152a.

¹²⁹⁴ Spell 507 CT VI 93b, spell 335 CT IV 228/229b, 262/263a.

¹²⁹⁵ See also spell 826, CT VII 27m and possible spell 913, CT VII 117s.

¹²⁹⁶ B2Bo.

¹²⁹⁷ CT III 190a-b.

¹²⁹⁸ CT V 318a-c.

In this last spell, N is identified with the *b3* and Thoth, but at the same time they are treated as separate in the statement that she has sat between them.

IV 1.8.1.1 Epithets

Variants of the theme of identifying with the *b3* have descriptions added to it, the most common being 'living *b3*'. Two examples, spell 488:

šhm=k m rdwy=k m b3 ʿnh You will have power in your legs as a living *b3*.¹²⁹⁹

Spell 604:

int=tn n=i wnm̄t šhnt=tn n=i df3w You will bring edibles and convey food offerings for me
ink b3 ʿnh šmsw n wsir (for) I am a living *b3*, a follower of Osiris¹³⁰⁰

That the *b3* is living and existing is expressed in other spells.¹³⁰¹ Spell 769 describes the possibility of both negative and positive outcomes.

ir ntr nb d3t(y)=f(y) sw m] N pn As for any god who shall oppose [himself] to(?) this N:
n wnt t=f n wnt t-hd=f His bread does not exist, his white bread does not exist,
n wnt spd=f n wnt b3=f his supplies does not exist, his *b3* does not exist,
n wnt pr=f r hwt-hr irt pt his travelling to Hathor, who is in the sky, does not exist.

ntr nb swt tmt(y)=f(y) d3 sw m N pn But any god who will not oppose himself to(?) this N:
swt pw w[nn t]=f swt pw wnn t-hd=f It is he whose bread exists, it is he whose white bread exists,

swt pw wnn spd=f swt <pw> wnn b3=f it is he whose supplies exists, <it is> he whose *b3* exists,
swt pw pr=f r hwt-hr irt pt it is he whose travelling to Hathor, who is in the sky, exists.¹³⁰²

In spell 934 the outcome for Osiris N and his *b3* is directly related to the provision of offerings. The spell is about different offerings of perfume, cosmetics and dress, all the time paralleled with the offering of eye of Horus.

wsir N pn di(=i) n=k irt hr nfr̄t imyt-wrt ʿnh O Osiris N, I give to you the beautiful right eye of
b3=k im=s Horus, so your *b3* will live through it.¹³⁰³

¹²⁹⁹ CT VI 67c, both manuscripts are destroyed but complement each other.

¹³⁰⁰ CT VI 218e-f.

¹³⁰¹ Lives or living: for example spell 772, CT VI 406t, spell 874, CT VII 79g, 80a and spell 149 CT II 239c. Existing: for example spell 693, CT VI 326u. Not being destroyed: CT IV 338l, CT IV 62k. For other examples see spell 102, CT II 109a, spell 60 CT I 249a, spell 307 CT IV 62e, spell 320 CT IV 144f, spell 474, CT VI 25d. In spell 1033 CT VII 267c *3h m b3=f*, both Lesco and Backes take *3h* in the sense of 'effective', Lesco, *Book of Two Ways*, 17, Backes, *Zweiwegenbuch*, 59. See also spell 1017, CT VII 237q.

¹³⁰² Spell 769, CT VI 403i-p.

The fear of destruction¹³⁰⁴ is expressed both through the dangerous beings who threaten the dead, but the spell assures that the person will live on and exist.

A few more examples of different descriptions of the *b3* can be added to the list. In spell 312 three sentences name the *b3* as respectful, potent and great.

nb b3 3 šfšft lord of the great and respected *b3*¹³⁰⁵

In spell 336 the *b3* is called:

b3 mnḥ imy nn-nsw the potent *b3* which is in Ninsu¹³⁰⁶

Spell 932:

ink 3 b3 ḥnty ḏw I am one great of *b3*, in front of the mountain¹³⁰⁷

Other examples occur.¹³⁰⁸

When the dead person says that he is a *b3*, or the *b3*, it is often in the context of continuous life and existence.¹³⁰⁹ Žabkar describes the *b3* as one of the forms which a person lives on through and The Debate Between a Man and his *b3* is in some ways also connected to this. The outcome of the man's actions in this story, however obscure in detail, has a direct affect on the *b3*, since it is (partly) as a *b3* the person lives on. This also makes the choice of the *b3* in the dialog appropriate.¹³¹⁰

From the spells which describe the *b3* as living and existing, the connection with offerings is also clear. In spell 769, what will happen to the one opposing N is that neither his food, nor *b3* will exist, additionally, he will not be able to go to the sky. Some of the basic conditions of continuous life are thereby connected with the *b3*. Other descriptions of the *b3* still describe it in positive terms such as 'great', 'potent' and 'respected'. However, *b3 ʿnḥ* seems to be the *b3*-equivalence of *3ḥ ʿpr*.

IV 1.8.1.2 *sḥ* the *b3*

In spell 312 Horus makes this N his *b3*, in order for him to act as a messenger to Osiris.¹³¹¹ In the spell Horus says that he *sḥ* N as his *b3*. *sḥ* is in this context translated by both Faulkner and de Buck as

¹³⁰³ CT VII 136i. See also 136d.

¹³⁰⁴ See Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, especially 23-38 and 87-112. Zandee, *Death as Enemy*, 14-20, 176-179. See also below 'Beings being bad to the *b3*'.

¹³⁰⁵ CT IV 86c. See also 83k and 85n.

¹³⁰⁶ CT IV 328m.

¹³⁰⁷ Spell 932, CT VII 133i.

¹³⁰⁸ For example, spell 37 CT 156a w3š.

¹³⁰⁹ See Otto, ZÄS 77, 79.

¹³¹⁰ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 113, 122. See also, for example, Allen, *Debate*, Siffert in Hawary (ed), *Wenn Götter und Propheten Reden*, 227-253, Ouellet, in Goyon and Cardin (eds), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists 2004* 2, 1437-1441, Mathieu, *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 19, 17-36.

¹³¹¹ See above under 'Horus' and section 4.4. This CT corresponds to *BoD* spell 78.

‘invested’,¹³¹² while Barguet translates the passage as ‘m'a doté de sa personnalité’¹³¹³ This *s^h*-ing of the *b3* only has one possible parallel, in spell 1017. This spell first has:

<i>iw s3h.n=i b3=f</i>	I have <i>s3h</i> -ed his <i>b3</i> .
<i>iw srd.n=i htyw=f</i>	I have made his posterity flourish. ¹³¹⁴

Later in the spell both the *s3h*-ing and possibly the *s^h*-ing occur again:

<i>iw ir.n=i b3 twwt m^ht n it</i>	I have acted as the <i>b3</i> of the images in the standing place of the father.
<i>n^h.n=i tp-^wf</i>	I have lived in his presence,
<i>n ir.n(=i) is n it=i mwt špt=f r=i</i>	for I do not act to my dead father so that he is indignant of me.
<i>s[^h.n]=f wi hr=s hr ntr</i>	He has <i>s[^h-ed](?)</i> ¹³¹⁵ me on account of it in front of the god
<i>n s3h.n=i b3=f m hmt.n=f ht[yw=f]</i> ¹³¹⁶	I do not <i>s3h</i> his <i>b3</i> as one who ignores [his] posterity. ¹³¹⁷

It seems here that the father has *s^h*-ed the son, while the son *s3h* the father. In the last line the son states that he will not *s3h* him in a way that he will become one who does not know his posterity, which implies that that kind of *s3h*-ing would also be possible.

IV 1.8.2 The *b3* with the dead person

Even though there are a number of examples where the dead person is being identified as the *b3*, there are even more instances in the Coffin Texts where the *b3* is said to be with him, behind him or within him, or the *b3* is given or brought to him. A few examples will be provided.

Spell 240:

<i>b3=i hn^c</i>	My <i>b3</i> is with <me>
<i>shm.kwi m dt=i</i>	being powerful in my body
<i>n^h=i m bdt</i>	I live on emmer. ¹³¹⁸

Spell 840:

<i>wsir N pn¹³¹⁹ nfr=k n=k</i>	O this Osiris N, you will be well
<i>k3=k m s3=k b3=k m-hnw=k</i>	your <i>k3</i> is your protection, your <i>b3</i> is within you,

¹³¹² Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 229-233 De Buck, *JEA* 35, 90.

¹³¹³ Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 440.

¹³¹⁴ CT VII 237n-o.

¹³¹⁵ Though de Buck's suggests *s^h*, CT VII 223 n.3, an alternative reading might be *s3h*.

¹³¹⁶ See CT VII 237o.

¹³¹⁷ CT VII 238f-j.

¹³¹⁸ CT III 324a-c.

¹³¹⁹ Actually *pf* but makes no sense and de Buck notes 'sic' next to it, CT VII 45h, should probably be *pn*.

rdwy=k m st=k your legs are in your place.

iw=k m3w.ti You being renewed.¹³²⁰

In spell 682, N is described as a new child.

rdi.n N p<n> rsw r 3twt=f This N has placed the south wind towards his 3twt – nurse.

iw mhyt r mn^ct=f The north wind towards the mn^ct –nurse.

šm.n=f m-hnw b3=f He has gone within his b3

in 3h=f it sw inn sw and it is his 3h which takes him and brings him.¹³²¹

In the examples with *m-hnw*,¹³²² the first seems to express that the person has the b3 with him as he has the other parts. The Debate between a Man and his b3 has a passage where the man says that his b3 is in his belly in a rope mesh, *dr-ntt m ht=i m šnw nwh*.¹³²³ Normally, it is the hk3 and heart that are in the ht but obviously, the b3 can also be said to be within a person.¹³²⁴ The second passage with *m-hnw*, spell 682, is more obscure and only available in one version. Even though the writing is very clear, there is also a line break between *m-hnw* and b3, so an omission or mistake is quite possible. These expressions are normally formulated as the b3 going out, not that the he has gone within his b3.

Spell 94:

ink b3 m-hnw dšrw=f I am the b3 within his blood (red).

ink kf bit tw 3 I am the one who uncovers this great Lower Egyptian crown

nt wsir of Osiris¹³²⁵

dšrw might be specifically chosen for the relationship to the next line concerning the red crown of Lower Egypt. This spell is about the b3 of Osiris,¹³²⁶ and what precedes it is 'I am the son of Osiris, his heir within his s^ch¹³²⁷ so in this context the blood also refers to the continuation of the bloodline, and again it is connected to s^ch.

In spell 75 the speaker says 'I have created my b3 behind me, to let it know that which I know', alternatively, in other versions, that the b3 is created for him.¹³²⁸ So there is in this spell a specific

¹³²⁰ CT VII 45h-k.

¹³²¹ CT VI 310e-h.

¹³²² See also spell 841, CT VII 46r.

¹³²³ Allen, *Debate*, 29, 140.

¹³²⁴ Compare Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 166-167 where the b3 of Re is in its disk.

¹³²⁵ CT II 69b-70a.

¹³²⁶ See above under 'Osiris'.

¹³²⁷ CT II 69a.

¹³²⁸ See above, 'The origin of the b3'. CT I 362/363a-b. See also CT I 394b-c in the same spell.

purpose for the placing, for the *b3* to be with the speaker and receive the same information.¹³²⁹ There are also a few other spells which place the *b3* behind.¹³³⁰ Other spells place the *b3* as a parallel to something which is placed in front of the person. Spell 467:

*wnn m ḥtp*¹³³¹ Being in Hetep.
*šḥt ii.n=i im b3=i m-ḥt=i ḥw=i*¹³³² *tp-ᶜwy=i* O Countryside, I have come from there, with my *b3*
 behind me and my Hu before me.¹³³³

Spell 65 has a different version:

b3=k m-ḥt=k w3š=k tp ᶜwy=k Your *b3* is behind you, your strength¹³³⁴ is on your arms,
di.w ḥr tp=k being placed on your head.¹³³⁵

In the first example one version has *šḥm* instead of Hu,¹³³⁶ so it seems like what should go before a person is either a type of power or strength, or the authority of speech. It is only spell 75 which gives a reason for the *b3* to be behind a person.

IV 1.8.3 Brought, placed and given

That the *b3* can be taken away and be separated from the person, or the corpse, is visible in passages concerning different beings who are described as ones who take away, or destroy the *b3*.¹³³⁷ This is also expressed by the speaker that he has his *b3* with him, and that it cannot be taken. Spell 666:

in.n N pn b3=f in.n N pn ḥk3w=f This N has brought his *b3*, this N has brought his *ḥk3w*.
nḥm.n N b3=f nḥm.n N pn ḥk3=f N has taken possession of his *b3*, this N has taken
 possession of his *ḥk3*.

n rdi.n N pn 3ḥw=f n wptyw stš ᶜnh m ᶜw3=f This N does not give his *3ḥw* to the messengers of Seth
 who lives on his plunderings.

šḥmw ḥ3w ḥ3tyw O Powerful one, who are behind those of the corpse,
in.n N pn ḥk3=f rdi(.w) m ḥt=f this N has brought his *ḥk3*, it being placed in his

¹³²⁹ Willems, *Heqata*, 483, Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 118-119, *Med Världen som Spegel*, 248.

¹³³⁰ See also spell 468 CT V 383d and spell 96 CT II 90e.

¹³³¹ Not in B9C.

¹³³² All but B6C which has *šḥm*, power.

¹³³³ CT V 368a-b see also spell 468, CT V 383d. See Lesko, *JARCE* 9, 95, who reads 'my food before me' presumably because the spell is very much concerned about food. However, there is no determinative pointing towards the meaning food. B9C and B5C do not have any determinative, B1C and B3L have god determinatives (if it should not be interpreted as =i, but it is written differently on both manuscripts), and B6C has *šḥm* instead of *ḥw*.

¹³³⁴ Following Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, 61 n.14, who refers to *Urk.* IV 430, 12, ZÄS 57,7.

¹³³⁵ CT I 279f-g. Willems wants to add this spell to *Stundenwachen* liturgies, *Heqata*, 342 n.2083. However, it adds little to the short passage quoted here.

¹³³⁶ B6C.

¹³³⁷ See below under 'Beings being bad to the *b3*'.

body.¹³³⁸

In some spells, the *b3* is given to a person by someone else. In spell 317 the *b3*, and the *b3w* have been given to the dead, who is identified with Hapy. Two versions of the spell have an interesting variation:

*iw rdi.n=f n=i s3=f*¹³³⁹ he has given his son to me

or

*iw rdi n=i b3=f*¹³⁴⁰ his *b3* is given to me¹³⁴¹

However, de Buck notes that it is difficult to differ between the *b3*-bird and the *s3*-bird on this particular coffin, so it might be *b3* in both versions.¹³⁴² In the same spell it is written:

di=f b3w=i he gives my *b3w*¹³⁴³

Other variants also exist.¹³⁴⁴

That the words used are *in*, *rdi* and *n3m*, give a fairly concrete image of the nature of the *b3*, which can be handled physically in different ways. Also someone's own *b3* can be given away or taken, as well as being sent out (see above). These sentences occur about *b3* as well as *b3w*, indicating a similarity in expressions about them.

IV 1.9 Procreation

The importance of regeneration in the Afterlife is described in many different ways in the Coffin Texts, sometimes connected to procreation and the continuation of the blood line on earth through the son being the *b3* of the father. The idea that the deceased's wife could give birth to a 'renewed form of the deceased himself',¹³⁴⁵ is also partly connected to the *b3* and the continuation of the line, and sexual activity after death.¹³⁴⁶ Spell 75 partly deals with this theme.¹³⁴⁷

iw=i st=i iw b3=i st=f I ejaculate, my *b3* ejaculates

¹³³⁸ CT VI 294j-n. See also CT VI 294s-t and spell 667, CT VI 296l-m.

¹³³⁹ S1P.

¹³⁴⁰ S1C.

¹³⁴¹ CT IV 113d. See also CT IV 119f, a similar sentence, where both S1P and S1C seems to have *b3* while S1C has *irw*-form.

¹³⁴² CT IV 113 n.5.

¹³⁴³ CT IV 132c.

¹³⁴⁴ For example spell 990 CT VII 200g '*b3* belongs to me', or spell 647 where Nehabkau grants *b3w*, a pun on the gods name which is extended to include *b3w*, CT VI 268j, see Chapter III under 'Nehabkau', spell 321 CT IV 146b, m, spell 37 CT I 156a, spell 143 CT II 176m.

¹³⁴⁵ O'Connor in Manuelian (ed), *Studies in Honor of Willem Kelly Simpson* II, 630. See also Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 20-32.

¹³⁴⁶ For procreation and the Afterlife, Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 101-105, Kees, *Totenglauben*, 202, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 4420-478, Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 5-6, Müller, *Orientalia* 35, 265, 269.

¹³⁴⁷ See also spell 94, see under 'Re and Osiris' and spell 493 CT VI 74c. For spell 94, procreation and the *b3*, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 432-442.

stt b3=i m

my *b3* ejaculates in

rmṯ imyw iw nsrsr

people who are in the Island of Fire.

*stt=i ds=i m ntrwt*¹³⁴⁸

I myself ejaculate in goddesses¹³⁴⁹

The last line has a variant which says ‘my own *b3* procreates in the goddesses’.¹³⁵⁰ The same coffin has *im* instead of *iw* in the first line, thereby saying that the ‘I’ procreates in his *b3*.¹³⁵¹ This odd version is the coffin of Heqata, and Williams points out that it does not seem to have been copied very accurately for this spell, preferring the other, Middle Egyptian, versions,¹³⁵² cited above. There the *b3* has sex with the people of the Island of Fire while the person himself, or herself, has sex with goddesses. In interpretations of these passages, the difference between the sexual encounters of the *b3* and of the person has been pointed out, connecting the *b3* with the son on earth and the continuation of the bloodline, and the dead person in the Afterlife, in the sphere of gods.¹³⁵³ Willems interprets the actors to be the father Atum, here being the one referred to as ‘himself’, and the Shu as the *b3*. Willems partly bases this on a different passage in the same group of spells, where Shu procreates in Atum’s name, resulting in human offspring.¹³⁵⁴

A similar function for the *b3* can be found in spell 874:

ḥww ḥm b3=i ḥḥ

“My living *b3* is indeed announced,

pr.t(y)=f(y) tp t3 wnn.t(y)=f(y) im nk=f i3=f

one who will go out on earth and who will be there, so that it may have sex and stride forth among people”

mm rmṯ

[so says] Osiris and likewise they say, the gods.

ill/wsir//mi in=sn ntrw

di wdb=i r b3 ḥḥ

“It is permitted that I return to the living *b3*,

pr.t(y)=f(y) tp t3 wnnt=f mm rmṯ

one who will go out on earth and who will be among people

nk=f i3=f i.n=s[n ntrw]

so that it may have sex and stride forth.” So they say, the gods.¹³⁵⁵

The ability of the *b3* to move between different locations, the sky, the Netherworld, and here foremost the earth, also abels some activities which are associated with these particular spheres. Though aspects of the person are dead, the *b3* is living, it can go out among the living, and it can in some respects act as the living. That the *b3* of the deceased is connected to the living son and heir, is also shown in the mythological reference to it being the *b3* of Osiris going out on earth, while Osiris

¹³⁴⁸ G1T and A1C have *snt b3=i ds=i m ntrt*.

¹³⁴⁹ CT I 364/365b-366/367b.

¹³⁵⁰ A1C CT I 367b.

¹³⁵¹ CT I 365b.

¹³⁵² Willems, *Heqata*, 311.

¹³⁵³ Willems, *Heqata*, 312-313, Müller, *Orientalia* 35, 265, 269.

¹³⁵⁴ Willems, *Heqata*, 311-314, CT II 33b-d.

¹³⁵⁵ CT VII 79g-80e.

himself stays in the Netherworld. These actions are also connected to the Osiris-Re mysteries and their union.¹³⁵⁶ In spell 94 the speaker identifying himself as the *b3* of Osiris,¹³⁵⁷ and:

ink s3 wsir iw^c=f m-hnw s^chw=f I am the son of Osiris, his heir within his s^ch¹³⁵⁸

making the connection between the *b3* and the son clear in this context.¹³⁵⁹

IV 1.10 Location¹³⁶⁰

Even though the *b3* can move to different locations, the most common formula places the *b3* in the sky, often in association to the corpse being in the earth.¹³⁶¹ Also outside of this formula, the *b3* is often located in the sky and is associated with the sun. So for example 320:

b3=i hf³¹³⁶²=f hr s3 nwt ht t3wy My *b3*, it crawls on the back of Nut and throughout the two lands.

rhyt m3 wi O people, see me!

ink h^cp hnty mswt ir ntt shpr iwtt I am Hapy, foremost of births, who makes that which is and brings into being that which is not.

dy snd=i Implant fear of me,

ink iw n=tn m b3 pn shd I am the one who comes to you as this *b3* of the shining one.¹³⁶³

There are a few examples where *b3w* is used in the same way as *b3* in terms of location. Spell

259:

hp=i I travel.

sw3 b3w=i r pt nrw=i r t3 My *b3w* passes to the sky, the dread of me to the earth,

š^ct=i m p3k and terror of me in ?.¹³⁶⁴

Spell 74:

wn m3.n gb wn sdm.n psdt Geb has seen, and the ennead has heard

b3w=k r pt š^ct=k mm ntrw your *b3w* to the sky and your terror among the gods.¹³⁶⁵

¹³⁵⁶ See above under 'Osiris' for references.

¹³⁵⁷ CT II 67c.

¹³⁵⁸ CT II 69a.

¹³⁵⁹ For spell 94 see also 'The Origin of the *b3* above'. This spell and the same theme is discussed by Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 432-442.

¹³⁶⁰ Since the *b3* and the shadow shares this theme in a number of spells, see this section below.

¹³⁶¹ See for example *Urak IV* 484, 14, for a Coffin Texts versions, spell 20 CT I 56d. For some more example, see section 4.3.

¹³⁶² Really *h3f*, Faulkner suggests *hf3* instead, Coffin Texts I, 249 n.11.

¹³⁶³ CT IV 145i-m.

¹³⁶⁴ CT III 375a-c.

These *b3w*-variants of the formula of 'b3 to the sky, corpse to the earth'¹³⁶⁶ use, as a parallel to *b3w*, dread or terror, instead of the corpse. Thereby, it seems that the *b3w* is the *b3w*-power, and not several *b3*.¹³⁶⁷ The *b3w*-power has the same location which the *b3* normally has in the formula. The parallels, dread and terror, seem to be focused on being among a certain group of gods or people, more than in a specific location in these spells. Nyord interprets the location of the *b3w* 'to express the cosmic totality of his divine influence'.¹³⁶⁸

Also the *b3* occurs in this context with dread, spell 936:

<i>di=t b3=f wsrw=f š wt=f m irty 3hw nb</i>	You will put his <i>b3</i> , his power, and the dread of him in
<i>m33.t(y)=sn sw sdm.t(y)=sn rn=f</i>	the eyes of all the <i>3hw</i> , who will see him and who will
	hear his name ¹³⁶⁹

...

...

<i>wp=f st=f r 3hw inpw ist hnt imntyw hnt</i>	He opens his place to the <i>3hw</i> and Anubis, foremost of
<i>sp3wt</i>	the Westerners and foremost of the nomes.

<i>di=t b3=f 3hw ip</i>	You will place his <i>b3</i> <at the head of> ¹³⁷⁰ those <i>3hw</i> . ¹³⁷¹
-------------------------	--

Even though *b3* stands in the singular, it is probably the influence of his *b3* which is referred to in the first sentence, where the *3hw* react to hearing his name.¹³⁷²

In the Book of the Heavenly Cow, Re says that he made heaven to place the *b3w* of the gods within it.¹³⁷³ It seems natural that the *b3w* of the gods, as well as of dead humans, should be located in this realm, but as can be seen from the examples above, heaven can also locate the *b3w*-power. Although the *b3* or *b3w* are unrestricted in relation to movement, heaven seems to be the most regular realm.

¹³⁶⁵ CT I 308d-e.

¹³⁶⁶ See section 4.3.

¹³⁶⁷ See Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual*, 218-220 with parallels in *Urk IV* and a discussion about them.

¹³⁶⁸ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 413.

¹³⁶⁹ CT VII 138h.

¹³⁷⁰ Faulkner, *Coffin Texts III*, 71 and n.14 76 comparing with the PT.

¹³⁷¹ CT VII 138r-s.

¹³⁷² See also Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 399, 409.

¹³⁷³ Hornung, *Himmelskuh*, 26 (II 275-276), see also Ritner concerning this passage and *hik3*'s role, *Magical Practice*, 23 and Raven, *Phoenix* 57, 5-6.

IV 1.11 Beings being bad to the *b3*

In the Netherworld there are guardians, demons, which seem to be neither human, nor gods,¹³⁷⁴ and who do everything from preventing the *b3w* from moving forward, to destroying the *b3w*.¹³⁷⁵ Spell 441 describes two such beings called *Mrwty*.¹³⁷⁶

hsf mrwty iwt r nhm b3 n s m-c=f

To drive away the two *Mrwty* who come to take away the *b3* of a man from him.

ink hh ink r^c nb c^h

I am Heh, I am Re, lord of life.

ink s3w n dt

I am the beam of eternity,

nb mrwty iptyw

lord of these two *Mrwty*

inyt k3w i^cbyt 3hw

who bring the *k3w* and assemble the *3hw*,

rdyt mrwt=sny m ib n 3hw

who put their love in the hearts of the *3hw*,

ithty hndw hpr r-gs nb dt

who drag the throne of Kheper to the side of the lord of eternity,

ithty 3h pw snt

who drags/controls this formed *3h*

hpr=f m hns htm

when he comes into being in the *hns* –waters and *htm* –waters.¹³⁷⁷

is r=tn r=tn mrwty iptyw

Go you two *Mrwty*!

špst r^c

Noble ones of Re,

smrt(y) nty wsir

companions of Osiris.

is r=tn r=tn

Go you!

n mr.n=i

I do not want (something)¹³⁷⁸

nfrt=tn n=tn bint=tn n=tn

Your good belongs to you, your bad belongs to you,

w3/s3=tn n=tn šwty=tn n=tn

your road/back(?)¹³⁷⁹ belongs to you, your plumes belongs to you.

in.n=i b3=i nhm.n=i hk3w=i

I have brought my *b3*, I have rescued my *hk3w*¹³⁸⁰

¹³⁷⁴ Defined as such in, for example, Kousoulis in Kousoulis(ed), *Demonology*, IX-XIV, Lucarelli, *BMSAES* 15, 85-102, and in Backes, Munro, Stöhr (eds), *Totembuch-Forschungen*, 203-212.

¹³⁷⁵ Zandee, *Death as Enemy*, 14-20, 176-179. These beings occur frequently in spell 488-500, often threatening the *b3* and shadow in combination, see that section below.

¹³⁷⁶ Which are either the same, or closely connected to Meret. Guglielmi places them in an excursus in *Die Göttin Mr.t*, 153-173, for a discussion about similarities and differences, 156-160.

¹³⁷⁷ Despite the writing, Guglielmi think it should be read *hr* instead of *hpr*, so that he falls into the water, 284-286 n.j. However, all four manuscripts have clearly written out *hpr*.

¹³⁷⁸ Or the object, possible *tn*, is missing, as in both Faulkner's and Guglielmi's interpretation, *Coffin Texts* II, 78, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, 285 and 287 n.n.

¹³⁷⁹ S14C has *w3* and B3Bo *s3*. Back may be a better parallel to plumes?

¹³⁸⁰ CT V 297a-299b.

This spell belongs to a series of spells 439-450, about the ‘friends’ of Re,¹³⁸¹ to which these *Mrwty* belong. Though being connected to both Re and Osiris in positive ways, these beings are also demonic and dangerous for the dead.¹³⁸² It is clear from this spell that the *Mrwty* take control of different parts of the identity of the dead, but the speaker in this spell says that they do not have any power over him, and he has the different aspects of him intact and with him. The *Mrwty* also seem to be beings which in particular take away the *b3*,¹³⁸³ as is stated in the rubric of spell 441.

Spell 1139 mentions snakes guarding with their mouths, probably by spitting fire. The following passages also seem to relate to the guardians:

ink s3h imy ʿ hbḏ r m kkw ʿnt=i I am the knife which is in the hand of the one whose mouth is open in Darkness. My fingernail.

iwty b3=f hbḏ r The one without his *b3* is of the one whose mouth is open.

wsr=i m ʿb=i ʿnt=k I shall be strong by my horn and your fingernail.¹³⁸⁴

‘My fingernail’ seems a bit random, but must be connected to the last comment about a fingernail. There are three versions of the last line, which describe the creature as being without a mother,¹³⁸⁵ without a father,¹³⁸⁶ or, as in the passage cited above, without a *b3*. Each version is probably pointing out that there is something quite wrong with a being which has no mother, father or *b3*.

In spell 335 a gloss is given to the lines about *b3w* being taken, and the taker is named:

ir ntr pw t33 b3w nsb iwtyw As for this god who takes *b3w*, laps up corruption,
ʿnh m hw33t and lives on putrefaction,
stš ipw it is Seth.¹³⁸⁷

Though there are other references for excretions to serve as nourishments, this description implies the threatening nature of Seth towards the dead person.¹³⁸⁸

Often these kinds of creatures are not named, but described by their looks or by their actions, and sometimes also named by their actions.¹³⁸⁹ Spell 150:

ḥ3tyw wnmw b3 wnm=sn šhtm=sn b3w=sn The Slaughters, who eat the *b3*, they will eat and destroy
tpw t3 their (own) *b3w* which are on earth.¹³⁹⁰

¹³⁸¹ Drioton, *BiOr* 12, 62-66.

¹³⁸² Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 124-125, DuQuesne, *Hermes Aegyptiacus*, 58-59, Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, 153-173.

¹³⁸³ See also spell 442 CT V 301a-302a.

¹³⁸⁴ CT VII 485l-n, B1P.

¹³⁸⁵ B5C.

¹³⁸⁶ B1Be.

¹³⁸⁷ CT IV 320e-321b.

¹³⁸⁸ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 322-323.

¹³⁸⁹ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 200-206.

¹³⁹⁰ CT II 254p.

These Slaughters occur in the Pyramid Texts as well as in the Book of the Dead, and other New Kingdom literature.¹³⁹¹

Spell 384

<i>iw dd.n=i rn=k</i>	I have said your name.
<i>p3wt(y)=k (?) ny {i}¹³⁹² hprt=k</i>	You are primeval, before you come into being.
<i>rn=k pw ʿm</i>	‘Swallower’ is your name.
<i>i it b3w smsw</i>	O seizer of the <i>b3w</i> of the elders.
<i>m it 3hw=i</i>	Do not take my <i>3hw</i> !
<i>twr b3=i</i>	Respect my <i>b3</i> !
<i>mk hk3w=i</i>	Behold, my <i>hk3w</i> ! ¹³⁹³

The swallows as demons are particularly after the shadow, corpse and *b3*,¹³⁹⁴ but also the *3hw* seem at risk here. The knowledge of the name gives the speaker power over the ‘Swallower’ so that his *b3* is not affected.

Spell 406 is very short:

<i>r [n] tsw7 nw mh[t wrt]¹³⁹⁵</i>	<u>Spell [for] the seven knots of Mehe[t-weret]</u>
<i>h3=k nhs-hr ir hprw</i>	Stay away you Watchman, who makes manifestations,
<i>s4d b3 ith ibw</i>	who ships away the <i>b3</i> , and who drags away hearts.
<i>hr.ti r=i</i>	Keep away from me!
<i>ink gb rpʿ ntrw</i>	I am Geb, chief of the gods,
<i>tm nb hprw</i>	Atum, lord of manifestations. ¹³⁹⁶

Spells 407 have the same titles as spell 406.¹³⁹⁷ In the spells mentioning these seven *tsw*,¹³⁹⁸ they seem to be vertebrae of the goddess, so that her anatomy serves as locations which the dead person needs to pass, and at the same time containing references to the magical protection through seven knots.¹³⁹⁹ Nyord is also connecting the seven *tsw* to the creative utterances in the creation process, connecting it with the knowledge the spell will bring, referred to in the titles.¹⁴⁰⁰

¹³⁹¹ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 204-205, Lucarelli in Backes, Munro and Stöhr (ed), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 204, also 207-210 about eating and swallowing.

¹³⁹² Faulkner takes the *i* as a suffix pronoun but notes that he knows of no other place where *ny* is followed by a suffix pronoun, *Coffin Texts* II 16 n.9.

¹³⁹³ CT V 51c-52b, B2Bo.

¹³⁹⁴ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 158-159.

¹³⁹⁵ M22C. For the restoration, see the titles of spells 407 and 408.

¹³⁹⁶ CT V 211a-f.

¹³⁹⁷ CT V 224c. For these spells see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 307-320.

¹³⁹⁸ See also spell 691.

¹³⁹⁹ See Rochholz, *Schöpfung*, 210-215 for the seven knots, and more about knots: Wenderich in Szpakowska (ed), *Through a Glass Darkly*, 243-269.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 319-320.

These locations of the goddess's vertebrae have guardians, and while the nature of the actions of the Watchman¹⁴⁰¹ is described in spell 406, the spell is careful to point out that these actions will not affect the performer of the spell.¹⁴⁰² This statement appears frequently in spells concerning guardians. There are clearly guardians in the Netherworld whose tasks are to keep away the dangerous dead from the Netherworld, and others are affected by them, as in spell 1099.

<i>n hr=i m h3kt</i>	I have not fallen as She-who-is-plundered.
<i>b3=s mm it n hr=f h3 nmt nt nmt spdt</i> ¹⁴⁰³	Her <i>b3</i> is among those who are taken to He-whose-face-is-behind, the chopping-block of the slaughter-house She-who-is-sharp. ¹⁴⁰⁴

One group of coffins instead have *'k=s*.¹⁴⁰⁵ Either group could have used the wrong bird,¹⁴⁰⁶ but since both versions make sense they might be variants where the *b3* in this version represents the person.

The spells make sure that the different aspects of the coffin owner are not placed in the same category, so that they will not be hindered in the passage to the afterlife. In spell 406 above, the speaker is also identified with two gods, to further stress that he belongs to this place so the Watchmen should not come near him.¹⁴⁰⁷

The same actions which the guardians of the Netherworld can perform, eating and taking different parts of a person's identity, can be performed by the deceased for the sake of gaining power.¹⁴⁰⁸ Spell 689:

<i>iw rdi n=f rhwy m</i> ¹⁴⁰⁹ <i>pw</i>	These two companions are given to him,
<i>wmmw hk3 m gs dpty dmdy</i>	the eaters of <i>hk3w</i> as the complete protection. ¹⁴¹⁰
<i>iw wnm.n=f sny</i>	He has eaten both of them.
<i>it.n=f b3w=sn</i>	He has taken their <i>b3w</i> .
<i>nhm.n=f 3hw=sn</i>	He has seized their <i>3hw</i> .

¹⁴⁰¹ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 204. Also compare CT I 196d.

¹⁴⁰² See also spell 491 CT VI 70a-b, in section 4.2, and spell 384 with the rubric 'Not to take the *b3* of a man from him' CT V 49-52.

¹⁴⁰³ B12C, B1L, B2L, B3L, B2P.

¹⁴⁰⁴ CT VII 390c-391a, following B2L.

¹⁴⁰⁵ B3C, B4C, B1Bo, B2Bo.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Both Lesco and Backes read *'k*, *Book of Two Ways*, 103, *Zweiwegbuch*, 95.

¹⁴⁰⁷ See also for example spell 335 CT IV 301a, 319e.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Eyre, *Cannibal hymn*, 134-135, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 381-392. See also Chapter II. Lucarelli thinks that the act of swallowing defines the swallower as demonic of nature, 'it is their main function of devouring which characterises them as demons rather than who their victims are', also so when it is performed by a god, but does not raise the issue of the dead person himself swallowing and eating in the same kind of way as the demons, in Backes, Munro and Stöhr (ed), *Totembuch-Forschungen*, 207 and 209.

¹⁴⁰⁹ de Buck notes 'sic.' next to it CT VI 321. The *m* might be intended to be *i* for *ipw*.

¹⁴¹⁰ See above spell 1017 CT VII 181i, n, and spell 469 CT V 392c. The word seems to be a variant of *gswy-dpt* 'protection', Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 119 n.1.

ᶜpr.n=f ʒh nb m ¹⁴¹¹ hʒw ʒhw=f r=sn

He has provided every ʒh with a superiority of ʒh-ness over theirs.

iw in.n=f tm

He has brought everything.

n rdi=f nwd m ht nt ʒhw nb

He has not allowed (anything/anyone) to stray from the body of all the ʒhw.¹⁴¹²

The theme of eating the two companions also occurs in in spell 469 where they are gods,¹⁴¹³ and sᶜhy.¹⁴¹⁴ These two have themselves consumed different parts of the identity or powers. Ingesting them thereby seems to transfer this into the consumer.¹⁴¹⁵

In some of these spells, there is also an identification between the dead person and beings of a similar nature, or at least beings performing similar activities. This occurs for example in spell 431. Even though the speaker sounds like a very vile being, the title reveals that the spell is for having power over water and to receive gifts. Through this identification, the speaker of the spell gains the same type of power and ability as the being he identifies with.

ink ʒᶜ nny

I am the devourer of the Weary one,

pr m nw

who went forth from Nun,

pr m wn

who went forth from Unu,

nnk bʒ nb

to me belongs every bʒ,

ᶜnh(=i) m bskw ᶜn

I live on the viscera of the baboon.¹⁴¹⁶

According to Nyord, in the Coffin Texts *bsk* only occurs in this kind of context of someone living on it, and seems to refer to entrails which are explicitly cut out for eating. This use of the word is further strengthened by the absence of the word in medical texts.¹⁴¹⁷

Spell 219 has the rubric ‘Lifting up on the left side, placing on the right side.’¹⁴¹⁸ The speaker says:

iw it.n=i bʒw=sn

I have taken their bʒw¹⁴¹⁹

Unfortunately, it is not clear who the bʒw belongs to. Even so, it seems to be the action of the dead person, and the taking of the bʒw is placed among other necessary actions in the afterlife, also present in this spell, for sustaining life.

¹⁴¹¹ Small blank space CT VI 321 n.1.

¹⁴¹² Spell 689 CT VI 321a-h.

¹⁴¹³ CT V 387b, 394c.

¹⁴¹⁴ CT V 394n.

¹⁴¹⁵ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 383-385. See also Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 15 who further connects *bskw* with the heart.

¹⁴¹⁶ CT V 278e-279d, following S1C.

¹⁴¹⁷ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 128-130. For this use of meat, see Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 202-207.

¹⁴¹⁸ CT III 199a B2L and 200g B3L and B1L.

¹⁴¹⁹ CT III 200c.

IV 1.11.1 The *b3* causing harm

In the majority of the examples, it is other beings who threaten the *b3* of people. However, the *b3* can also cause harm in its own right, and the Coffin Texts contain a few examples of this.¹⁴²⁰ Spell 146:

ir b3 nb ir ntr nb rdi.t(y)=f(y) nhm.t(w) 3bt As for any *b3* or as for any god who shall cause the
nt N pn m-c=f family of this N to be taken away from him:
rdi N pn sw3.t(w) tp=f hr m^cd pw n hnm¹⁴²¹ This N shall cause his head to be cut off on this
slaughter house¹⁴²² of Khnum.¹⁴²³

B3 seems to be used here as representing a person in general, paralleled with ‘any god’, who would be able to take away the family of the dead.

Spell 405 is a Ferryman Spell, and the speaker is interrogated about his knowledge. Among this he says:

ir wnn h3y=f r h3t m-hnwt “If he shall go aboard on the bow of the ferry-boat
in b3=f htm=f sw his *b3* is what will destroy him,
ir wnn h[3y]=f r phwy m-hnwt but if he shall [go aboard] at the stern of the ferry-
boat,
w^c im pw 3h the *3h* is the one there.”¹⁴²⁴

In these two examples it is the *b3* who takes action against others. This is possible a parallel to the Pyramid Texts references, where the king sends out his *b3* as a manifestation of power, which occurs in both singular and plural.¹⁴²⁵ However, it can also be that the *b3* here is representative for a whole person. Even so, the person in his *b3*-manifestation can cause destruction.

IV 1.12 Other uses of the word *b3*

IV 12.1 Verb

In some spells *b3* appear to be used as a verb in Egyptian. For example in spell 469:

¹⁴²⁰ See also spell 469, Chapter II, spell 475 CT VI 28h for this spell compare *BoD* spell 397, 11-12.

¹⁴²¹ B2L. Other versions have other names: B17C *r^c*, B2P *st-ib*, B2La, B3L *nbt-hwt*.

¹⁴²² Assumingly, from *c^d* slaughter with *m* indicating it is a place.

¹⁴²³ CT II 204c-205a.

¹⁴²⁴ CT V 203g-j.

¹⁴²⁵ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 54-56, and for *b3*-sending Otto, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 151-160, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 453-459, Gee in Hawass (ed), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* vol. 2, 230-231, Gee in Ciraola and Seidel (eds), *Magic and Divination*, 83-88, Quack in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, 147-149.

ii.ki ḥ^c.ki b3.ki k3.kwi ntr.kwi k3r.ki m s^cḥ=i I have come, appeared, *b3-ed*, exalted, divine and
pw ntrw enshrined in this my divine *s^cḥ*.¹⁴²⁶

However, it is seldom convenient to translate as a verb even if the words around it are kept as verbs in English. Spell 29:

*ḥ^cf im b3=f im w3š=f im*¹⁴²⁷ He lives thereby, he is *b3* thereby, he is magnificent
 thereby.¹⁴²⁸

Also in other contexts, it is difficult to contain the consistency of the Egyptian in a translation.

Spell 316 has an identification with the fiery eye of Horus, and contains a description of the might of the eye:

ḥ^ct b3t k3t šhmt who appears with *b3*, high and mighty¹⁴²⁹

As in other places in this spell, this is an expression of underlining the power of the Eye.

IV 1.13 Miscellaneous

Some spells contain comments about the *b3* which do not have any other parallel in the Coffin Texts, although this does not exclude the existence of such parallels outside this corpus.¹⁴³⁰

Spell 322 is about Khenti-Khem,¹⁴³¹ and his power and individuality. The passage containing the *b3* concerns eating.

ink b3 wn np3=f I am the *b3* who eats his umbilical cord¹⁴³²
ḥ^cnḥ¹⁴³³ m ḥnms=f t3m=f who lives on his friends (of?) his foreskin,
wnm sm3y=f and who eats his companions.¹⁴³⁴

Possible the 'friends' in this context is the friends in the same age-group which were circumcised at the same time?¹⁴³⁵ However, the text might imply that he eats his friends *and* his foreskin, rather than the friends *of* his foreskin. Both the umbilical cord and the foreskin are cut off during rites of

¹⁴²⁶ CT V 391d, following B2L. See also Spell 937 CT VII 144d for a similar sentence.

¹⁴²⁷ M.C.105. T9C has *3ḥ=f im b3=f im w3=f* 'He is *3ḥ* thereby, he is *b3* thereby, he is magnificent.'

¹⁴²⁸ CT I 81e. For this spell see also Chapter II.

¹⁴²⁹ CT IV 106g.

¹⁴³⁰ See also spell 504, CT VI 90a-d which is quite obscure. The context around the *b3* is also not clear. Spell 149 contains the *b3* and has been discussed in Chapter III under 'Gods and Birds'.

¹⁴³¹ See Chapter III under 'Gods'.

¹⁴³² See Faulkner's explanation *Coffin Texts* I, 251 n.4 and Quack, *SAK* 34, 377-379. For further references on the umbilical cord, see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 388 n.3886.

¹⁴³³ *3nḥ* only in M24C, all other versions omit the word. However, the meaning is the same.

¹⁴³⁴ CT IV 149a-c.

¹⁴³⁵ See Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr stelae*, 102-104 and pl. XXXII which possibly refer to that, Teeter, *BASP* 37, 160-161, and *Ancient Egypt: treasures from the collection of the Oriental Institute*, 33-34, Cherpion, in Stadelmann and Sourouzian (eds), *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, 35.

passage, which is possibly why they are set up as parallels here.¹⁴³⁶ The speaker is here not only put in a social context, but rather dominating it, eating his friends and companions. Again, the *b3* seems to be a manifestation, representing him or the side of him performing the actions.

Spell 1131.

ind-ḥr=k it r ḥwy m sḥt=k nfrt

Hail to you father, for the two Hu on your beautiful countryside,

nb n rdiw n btn ḥw33t=k im=s

lord of those who give to him who disregards your putrefaction in it.

iw sšp=s r pt m b3=k

Its (the putrefactions) light is to the sky as your *b3*.¹⁴³⁷

The passages describe the physical disintegration on earth, the putrefaction of the body, in opposition to the *b3*, which shines in the sky. Though it is normally the *3ḥ* which is mostly associated with shining, the *b3* is also in the role as stars of different gods and the shining here might be connected to that. The *b3* is also said to move out with the fluids lost by mummification in spells 99 and 101.¹⁴³⁸

Spell 1130 has the following line containing *b3*:

mk irk ḥ3=s-b3=s m iwnw ḥnmmt m ḥrḥ

See, now starry sky is in lunu, the sun-people are in Kheraha¹⁴³⁹

Spell 1030 is the ending spell of Book of the Two Ways,¹⁴⁴⁰ and has the rubric after the spells:

r n skdwt m wi3 n rḥ

Spell for sailing in the bark of Re¹⁴⁴¹

ḥ3=s-b3=s, Iliterary 'its thousands are her *b3*' is a metaphor for the starry sky.¹⁴⁴² Also the rubric fits with the metaphor.

¹⁴³⁶ Consumption of the foreskin has been confirmed to take place in other cultures. Eating the foreskin was mostly noted after Bloch's study, *From Blessing to Violence*. For more symbolic meaning ascribed to foreskin see Gollaher, *Circumcision*, 63-66.

¹⁴³⁷ CT VII 472a-c.

¹⁴³⁸ See above under 'The origin of the *b3*'.

¹⁴³⁹ CT VII 258a.

¹⁴⁴⁰ See Chapter II and for example Lesco, *Book of Two Ways*, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege des Jenseits*, Robinson in O'Connor and Quirke (eds), *Mysterious Lands*, 139-159, Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 11-12. Assmann, *Search for God*, 174-177, Lesco in Schafer (ed), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 101-102, Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 32-34.

¹⁴⁴¹ CT VII 261b in B1L, B2L, B3L and B1C. Following B3L.

¹⁴⁴² WB III, 220, Backes, *Zweiwegebuch*, 250. See also Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 80-81.

IV 1.14 Summary

The *b3* is a part of the identity of a person, but it can also represent the whole, as a manifestation of a person or a god. *b3w* can both refer to plural *b3*, and as a collective noun refer to a sort of power. There are also a few examples in the Coffin Texts where the word *b3* is used as a verb or as a descriptive metaphor. The most common description, or epithet, for the *b3* of a dead person is that it is living or existing. Also when the person is identified with a *b3*, it is often in the context of continuous life and existence.¹⁴⁴³ Other descriptions of the *b3* still describe it in very positive terms such as ‘great’, ‘potent’ and ‘respected’. Within the Coffin Texts there is a large focus on the free movement of the *b3*, and often this occurs when the *b3* is in company with other parts of the identity of a person.¹⁴⁴⁴

The Coffin Text spells which refer to the creation of *b3* use terms such as *km3*, *sꜥd* or *ir*, and it is either created by a god, or is derived from bodily fluids.¹⁴⁴⁵ In spell 75 Atum created the *b3* of Shu separate from him, and in this spell there is a time when Shu himself exists before the creation of his *b3*. In contrast, in spell 575 the *b3w* of Geb existed before him in Nun, and were then united (*sm3*). In all of these cases there is a certain separation between the creation (or existence) of the *b3*, and the creation of the person, or in most cases the god, of whom it belongs.

There are some clear cases where the *b3* is representative for the whole person or god. The *b3* and the first person sometimes replace each other in different versions of the same spell, one version having *b3* and the other ‘I’. The *b3* can represent an *alter ego* of the dead person. That the *b3* is both a part of the identity as well as a manifestation, is sometimes problematic when the speaker is identified with the *b3* of a god. Sometimes it seems clear that it is in particular the god’s active aspect that is intended with the choice of *b3*, in other cases, it is unclear if there would be any difference in identification with the *b3* of Shu and identification with Shu.

The identification with the *b3* of a god is restricted to a limited number of gods. It is much less common than direct identification with the god by name, and the range of gods identified in this way is much larger. While some of these identifications as *b3* seem to focus on the active side of a god, others seem to use the *b3* to emphasise the role of the son, so specifically with Horus and Shu, and the continuation of the bloodline. The other gods concerned are Osiris, Re, Re-Atum, Geb, Wepset, the Great God and possibly Heka. In all these cases identification as their *b3* fall into the category of either representing the active side or possibly a manifestation of the god.

¹⁴⁴³ See Otto, ZÄS 77, 79.

¹⁴⁴⁴ See section 4.2 below.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Spells 94, 96, 99 and 101.

The separation between the dead person and his *b3* can be seen in examples when the *b3* is behind, or with the person, and not identical to the person. It can also be brought (*in*) and placed or given (*rdi*), and it has the freedom to move to different locations independent of other parts of the identity. The *b3* can have a specific task as other concepts of the identity do not, such as the aspect of procreation after death, connected to the son on earth, and the continuation of the bloodline. It is also very visible in spells where the *b3* occurs together with the corpse,¹⁴⁴⁶ as two polar opposites of the Afterlife identity.

Even though the *b3* has its daily cycle of visiting the corpse in the tomb during the night and going out through the day, it has a vast freedom in terms of locations. Although the 'location-formulae' ascribe the *b3* to the sky, it can also move to the Netherworld, and go out on Earth among the living.

A god or a person can also send out his *b3*, separated from him. In these cases there seem to be two different purposes visible in the Coffin Texts: either for the *b3* to exert influence, or for the purpose of seeing. There are also a few examples where the harmful influence of the *b3* is specified, where it can take N from his family¹⁴⁴⁷ or cause destruction.¹⁴⁴⁸ In spell 312, Horus is *s^{ch}*-ing the dead person into his *b3* in order to send it to Osiris in the Netherworld. However, Horus' actions are quite unparalleled in the Coffin Texts, even though the sending and the *b3* going to the Netherworld occur in other spells. The use of the unrestrained movement of the *b3* is used in all of these cases, as well as its own ability to represent its sender and affect its target.

The movement of the *b3* is also what the guardians of the Netherworld are foremost in imposing their threat against. Another common threat is to seize the *b3* (*it*), sometimes in combination with other parts of the identity, and perhaps this is connected for the necessity of nightly revival of the body, in which the *b3* plays the prominent part. The *b3* does not seem to be threatened that it will be consumed as often as other parts of the identity.

The uses of plural *b3w* are sometimes obvious, for example in the spells about knowing the *b3w* of a place, where the different *b3w* are named, but there are also cases where it is not that obvious. It seems that in the Coffin Texts, the distinction between *b3* and *b3w*-power is not that sharp,¹⁴⁴⁹ or at least they have many similarities. Both the *b3* and *b3w* can be sent out, directed towards enemies, and both can be located in the sky.

¹⁴⁴⁶ See below.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Spell 146.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Spell 405.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Though see Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 1 and n.2 and 3, 39-40.

IV 2 The Shadow

IV 2.1 The Shadow on its own

In comparison to many other Egyptian concepts of a person's identity, the translation is not so much a problem with the shadow. The concept has noticeable overlaps in meaning with the English word, but it also has some cultural specific meanings in Egyptian, which it also has in other cultures. In many cultures shadows are connected to the soul, both in concept and language where the word for shadow is also used for the soul and sometimes also for image.¹⁴⁵⁰ As an image of the dead, ghostly shadows can be found for example in ancient Greek culture, where the dead are envisioned as shades both in Hades and when haunting the living¹⁴⁵¹ or as *eidōla* around a dying person.¹⁴⁵² However, the concept of an insubstantial, ethereal spirit is hard to apply to the Egyptian vision of ghosts in general.¹⁴⁵³ It does not seem to have the overlapping meaning of spiritual insubstantiality.

There are only a small number of spells containing information about the shadow in the Coffin Texts, and no spell exclusively about the shadow or even having the shadow as the main focus. In the Coffin Texts, only 33 spells mention the shadow,¹⁴⁵⁴ and in some of these cases the translation or even the writing of the word is doubtful.¹⁴⁵⁵ There is an even smaller number of spells where the shadow appears on its own, without being in the company of the *b3*. When the shadow appears on its own there is a certain lack of agency. It does not act directly but is rather a subordinate part, a shadow, of trees or of a god.

¹⁴⁵⁰ For example, Greek *skia* and Latin *umbra*. Also compare the Jungian concept of the shadow and the unconscious, for example *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, 20ff, 123, 262-270.

¹⁴⁵¹ Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 11.

¹⁴⁵² See for example Fairbanks, *Athenian Lekythoi*, 226

¹⁴⁵³ For some examples of the more concrete metaphors and interactions described, Eyre in Poo, *Rethinking Ghosts*, 43-45.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Including some very doubtful writings or translations. The selection here is based on listings of the reading of *šwyt* in van der Plas and Borghouts, *Coffin Text Word Index*, van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts* as well as a survey of translations using 'shadow'.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Some spells with a possible reading of *šwyt* have not been included below since it is more likely that it does not concern the shadow. In spell 427 CT V 272b, coffin B2Bo uses the the fan of ostrich feathers, but with a god determinative, while the other versions uses the normal writing of the god Shu. Also the context speaks for the reading as Shu. Spell 184 CT III 82c has *n swr.n=i mw šwt hrt mw* and the meaning is clearly that the deceased do not want to drink something undesirable. Different translations have been suggested. Faulkner translates *šwt* 'plume' and Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 385 'bord (?)', while Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 426 choose to follow Derchain, *RdÉ* 30, 63 n.33 translating it 'in the shadow on the lake'. If it should be translated shadow at all, it possibly refers to shade from the sun and not part of the identity of the dead. Spell 167 CT III 22a B3C has *šwyt* with a god determinative in the apparent context of making its hair for N. This coffin is the only version out of the ten using *šwyt*, other versions have *h3wt*, *wḏt* and *km3w*, and in none of the versions the sense is clear. There are no other parallel of the shadow in the same context in the Coffin Texts so perhaps the word refers to a different meaning. George provides a development over time in the writing of the shadow *Schatten als Seele*, 6-11.

iw t3 pn r dr=f hr šwyt=i the entire earth is under my shadow
ink h^cp I am Hapy.¹⁴⁵⁶

When the shadow appears together with the *b3* in spells it has a more defined agency, moving and avoiding being seized or constrained.

is b3=i šwyt=i Go my *b3* and my shadow
m3=k r^c m-hnw hm=f so you will see Re within his shrine.¹⁴⁵⁷

Nevertheless, the shadow then lacks a certain independence from the *b3* and is in a large extent adopting features which is typical for the *b3*, such as unconstrained movement. One of the difficulties is therefore the distinction between what might be specific for the shadow and what is affected by the context and purpose of the spell particular for the *b3*. The extent of agency of the shadow itself is related to this problem.

IV 2.1.1 The relationship of the shadows to the light

Two spells clearly talk about the dependence of shadow on the sun. Spell 316, with the heading ‘Becoming the fiery eye of Horus’,¹⁴⁵⁸ is about the solar eye, stressing her primeval nature, her strength and her might. The part concerning shadows reads:

sy pn nw n iw ntr pn What is this, at the time this god came
n wpyt šwyt n iryt šhrw ntrw before shadows were distinguished, before the plans
of the gods had been made?¹⁴⁵⁹

The time of distinguishing shadows are contrasted with the time before sunrise. This parallels the time before the emergence of the sungod and the rise of the sun every morning. In the early time of creation there was only darkness and it is only through the emergence of the creator god or his eye that the sun creates the day. It is in this context the shadows first appear, when they are able to be separated from the darkness through the existence of light.

The same theme is visible in spell 161. Here, the Field of Rushes and the gate which the sun passes through at the east of the sky are described.

iw N rh(.w) nht iptw N knows these two sycamores
nty mfk3t of turquoise,
pr^r r^c imy=sny between which Re goes forth
šm{t}.ty hr stt šwyt r sb3 r i3bt pt the two having moved¹⁴⁶⁰ throwing a shadow onto the

¹⁴⁵⁶ CT IV 142i-j.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Spell 488 CT VI 67e-f.

¹⁴⁵⁸ CT IV 98a.

¹⁴⁵⁹ CT IV 101g-h.

r bw wbn r^c im gate at the east of the sky
 onto the place where Re rises.¹⁴⁶¹

In the Fields of Rushes there is a middle gate which is in the eastern part of the sky. By this gate two sycamores of turquoise stand. The sun rises in the east and when Re passes through the gate and passes the trees, the sycamores throw shadows on the gate, creating shadows as the sun rises.

From spell 316 it is apparent that shadows are not distinguished before the sunrise and also in iconography shadows occur in the light of the sun.¹⁴⁶² So it seems that even though the shadow is a separate part of the identity of the dead, it is still under the same physical constraints as a shadow of this world. This also separates it from other components of the dead, which the shadow otherwise is closely associated with.

IV 2.1.2 Under the shadow

Two spells in the Coffin Texts talk about the shadow of a god being cast with possible effect for the subject on which it was cast.

In spell 318 the deceased is identified with Hapy. It describes inundation and its effects on the land and the coming of the seasons.

<i>hr-ntt rd n=i is t3 pn r drw mrr=i</i>	because this land prospers for me to the extent of my desire.
<i>pt tn r st ib=i</i>	This sky will be the place of my heart ¹⁴⁶³
<i>3t ts wi</i>	which nursed and raised me
<i>iw t3 pn r dr=f hr šwyt=i</i>	the entire earth is under my shadow
<i>ink h^cp</i>	I am Hapy. ¹⁴⁶⁴

The shadow in this context might be intended as a means of protection as a shadow does against the burning sun, or, perhaps more likely considering the first line in this example, the influence of Hapy as fertilizing the land. A possible interpretation is also a parallel between the flooding of the

¹⁴⁶⁰ Apparently feminine dual stative. It is curiously that it is the trees which move and not Re.

¹⁴⁶¹ CT II 388o-r.

¹⁴⁶² See for example the vignette of *BoD* spell 92. These are collected by Lekov, *JES* III, 59-60 who, however, comes to a different conclusion regarding the identity of the black figure, thinking it is the *k3* rather than the shadow. There are also other theories that it might represent the corpse as well as the shadow. For a summary see George, *Schatten als Seele*, 101-106. See also Englund who clearly interpret the black figure as the shadow, *Människans Möjligheter*, 137.

¹⁴⁶³ Nyord interprets the lines 'because the whole earth grows exactly <as> I wish, and this sky (grows) corresponding to the place of my *ib*', the *ib* being the place for wishes and desires, *Breathing Flesh*, 84. No explanation follows of what is meant with the sky growing.

¹⁴⁶⁴ CT IV 142f-j, B2L contains some mistakes in the first line so B7C is followed, however, B7C is destroyed in the last lines so B2L is followed there.

water covering the Nile valley. Unfortunately, it is the only line in the spell mentioning the shadow so it does not give that much information about the meaning.

Spell 607 is about healing with the eye of Horus. It makes reference to the creation and the Horus-Seth myth. This particular part is about Shu and Tefnut, and Amun is the actor referred to as 'the god'.

irty=k [hr] prt m tm šw pw hn^c tfnwt your two eyes Horus, which went forth from Atum,
are Shu and Tefnut

bwt=sn hr^c ntr hr-ht=sn mns³ šwyt ntr ht=sn their detestation is when the hand of the god falls
behind them, and the shadow of the god is
ithyphallic¹⁴⁶⁵ behind them

n^c k mtwt=f im=sn but his semen has not entered in them.¹⁴⁶⁶

In this context the action of the hand and shadow seem to have a negative impact since Shu and Tefnut detest the actions. Kees translates the part 'der Gottesschatten sie geschlechtlich missbraucht' though noting that *šwyt ntr* is later associated with Amun-Min and that it might have a connection.¹⁴⁶⁷ Faulkner is probably basing his translation 'emission' on the phallus determinative and the semen mentioned in the next line. He follows Kees' idea and thinks that the meaning of the sentence is to convey sexual misuse as an insult.¹⁴⁶⁸ There are other examples of the shadow having a negative influence, for example in Wenamun¹⁴⁶⁹ where the butler makes a joke about the shadow of the king falling on Wenamun with an indication that it is considered negative.¹⁴⁷⁰ Though he passage is obscure, it still has to do with the influence of the identity through the shadow.

There is also a Coffin Text example of the Shadow having power outside the publication of de Buck, in Hussein's translation: 'O my Wilful One(?), unite with me so that I might thrust Those-who-cause-trembling-in-the-horizon. O my Wilful One(?), may my shades have power therein. It is because of me that Those-who-are-in-the-mysteries (*imyw-št3w*) trembled.' This text is

¹⁴⁶⁵ Possible. *WB* gives 'erection' but only has one parallel, *WB* II, 88. Faulkner translates it 'emission', *Coffin Texts*, II 195, Bargout leaves it blank, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 67.

¹⁴⁶⁶ *CT* VI 220r-t see also Kees, *ZÄS*, 57, 92-120 which has been used for filling in the destroyed parts in the *CT* version.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Kees, *ZÄS*, 57, 110.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Faulkner *Coffin Texts*, 196 n.16.

¹⁴⁶⁹ And also in medical texts. George also gives examples of the positive effect of a god's shadow falling upon a person transferring the power of the god to the subject, *Schatten als Seele*, 90.

¹⁴⁷⁰ For example, Schipper, *Die Erzählung des Wenamun*, 83. Meltzer, *JSSEA* 17, 86-88. Meltzer draws a parallel to the passage also occurring in the *CT* cited above with the shadow having a sexual role. The reading of this passage in Wenamun has however been debated. For a summary see Jackson who himself argues that the butler draws a parallel between the shadow of the sunshade and the shadow of the Egyptian pharaoh. The later would normally have a protective role but in this time is not able to give the normal role of protection and that the butler therefore is mocking Wenamun without the shadow itself having a negative influence, *JNES* 54, 273-286.

unparalleled in de Buck's publication and so is the specific example concerning the shadow, *mr=i šhm šwt=i im.*¹⁴⁷¹ The shadows are not cast in this spell, but it is still wished that they have power.

In the Coffin Texts there are very few examples of the shadow being cast overall. In the examples above with the shadow of Hapy and Amun it certainly seems like the shadow has an influence on where it is cast, in contrast to spell 161 where the shadow is merely mentioned as a natural consequence of the sunrise. In spell 607 it seems like the shadow is acting in a specific way with a negative outcome and its action is paralleled to that of the hand. This indicates that the god can act through the shadow as well as the hand. The shadow can be a metaphor for the presence of what casts it, or it is like the *b3w* of a god, something sent out to act. The influence of the shadow and its action is so a clear feature of the shadow but it does not move away from the god casting the shadow and there are no other signs of independence in that way.

IV 2.2 The *b3* and the shadow

There are two main groups of spells containing information about the *b3* and the shadow, namely spells 488-500, where it occurs together with the *b3*, *3h* and *hk3*, and in spells 98-104 and 413, a group which has been named as spells of 'b3-sending'.¹⁴⁷² Both these groups primarily focus on the *b3* rather than the shadow, but the shadow and the *b3* frequently occur together. For example in spell 663 when the deceased is supported in different ways by divinities:

<i>h^c b3 šwyt nt N pn</i>	the <i>b3</i> and the shadow of this N appear
<i>in hwt-hr</i>	by the agency of Hathor ¹⁴⁷³

They are repeatedly coupled when concerning free movement, in the context of not being restrained and threatened by guardians. The *b3* and shadow sometimes also occur in the same location.¹⁴⁷⁴

¹⁴⁷¹ Hussein, in Thompson and Der Manuelian (eds), *Egypt and Beyond*, 178-179.

¹⁴⁷² For 'b3-sending' see for example Otto, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 151-160, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 453-459, Eschweiler, *Bildzauber im Alten Ägypten*, 214-217, and for interpretation of some elements in the texts without treating them as a group also Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 93-101. Gee has a somewhat different and sometimes doubtful interpretation of the spells in Hawass (ed), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*, 230-233.

¹⁴⁷³ CT VI 289r-s.

¹⁴⁷⁴ See under the headings of movement, threats and location. For other examples of the *b3* and shadow occurring together outside the Coffin Texts, see for example Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 160-161, 165, 193, 382-383, 412, 417, 445, Stela of Sobekhotep, Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie*, plate 11, Steindorff ZÄS 39, 117ff. The connection between them was also observed by Birch, *TSBA* 8, 386-397.

IV 2.2.1 Treated as singular

In these occurrences the *b3* and shadow can be treated collectively as singular. For example in spell 488:

is b3=i šwyt=i Go my *b3* and my shadow
m3=k r^c m-hnw hm=f so *you* (sing) will see Re within his shrine.¹⁴⁷⁵

'you' (sing) refers to the *b3* and shadow as a unity of a person. In contrast, spell 413 has a passage when it includes the *irw*-form:

sk rdi.n=k šm b3=i šm šwyt=i therefore, you have made my *b3* walk, my shadow walk
šm i[r]w=i my form walk
m rdy=sn r bw nty s pf im on *their* feet to the place which that man is.¹⁴⁷⁶

When together with the *irw*-form they are no longer referred to as a unity but use plural agreement. This implies a closer connection and a form of unity between the *b3* and shadow, as well as the two together with the *3h* and *hk3*,¹⁴⁷⁷ than with other forms a person might appear in.¹⁴⁷⁸ In spells 488-500 this group of components of a person is also treated as singular.¹⁴⁷⁹ The other option is that the *b3* and shadow and also *3h* and *hk3*, in these particular instances are viewed as a unity, but that this might not be the case in other instances.

IV 2.2.2 Location

Several texts dated later than the Coffin Texts contain similar formulas such as 'my *b3* in the sky, my corpse in the netherworld (*imht*)'.¹⁴⁸⁰ A Coffin Text version of the formula places both the *b3* and the corpse (*h3t*) on the earth (*hr t3*) and in the ground (*hrt s3tw*)¹⁴⁸¹, and in several other places it is stated that the *b3* belongs to the sky¹⁴⁸² and the corpse is in the earth.¹⁴⁸³ The *b3* and shadow are here separated in their locations since the shadow does not move up to heaven when it occurs alone. Its exact location is nevertheless obscure.

Spell 2 contains a version of the formula including the shadow.

¹⁴⁷⁵ CT VI 67e-f

¹⁴⁷⁶ CT V 242d-243a.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Specifically in spells 488-500 as well as for example 573 and 229.

¹⁴⁷⁸ See also Lekov, *JES III*, 44-45.

¹⁴⁷⁹ For example CT VI 71k-m, VI 69a-b.

¹⁴⁸⁰ *Urk IV* 484, 14. Many other examples occur, both within the mortuary sphere and beyond, see for example Kurth, *GM 237*, 41-47, where the *b3* is in the sky, the troath (which does not seem to be the most common part to occur in this context) in earth and the corpse in the Netherworld, and Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 90f.

¹⁴⁸¹ Spell 20 CT I 56d.

¹⁴⁸² For example spell 98 CT II 92f.

¹⁴⁸³ For the *b3* in the sky see for example spell 98 and 102; for the corpse in the earth see for example spell 304 and 500, also see above.

iw wḏ.n gb wḥm.n rwtj
rdi.t(w) n=ṯ b3=ṯ imy t3 šwyt=ṯ imyt št3w

Geb has commanded, the double Lion has repeated
that you be given your *b3* which is in the earth and
your shadow which is in the mysterious place.¹⁴⁸⁴

In this spell the *b3* is located in the earth, and both the *b3* and the shadow shall be given to 'you'; presumably spoken to the dead person. The location of the shadow that is mentioned, the mysterious, hidden or secret place occurs in several other spells in the Coffin Texts. Several different beings or objects are in the mysterious place, such as the gods,¹⁴⁸⁵ the inert ones,¹⁴⁸⁶ the Great One,¹⁴⁸⁷ the speaker identified with Re,¹⁴⁸⁸ and also the private matters of the god and Thoth are in the secret place.¹⁴⁸⁹ Judging from the context of these spells, the secret place seems to refer to a place belonging to the gods.¹⁴⁹⁰ Furthermore it can also refer to the Netherworld in itself,¹⁴⁹¹ secret places in palaces, temples or heaven, the later typically in the context of astronomy.¹⁴⁹² *št3t* has also been connected to the *i3t*-mound, suggesting a burial place,¹⁴⁹³ and in embalming *hry sšt3* is a word for the overseer of the mysteries, the priest who takes the role of Anubis.¹⁴⁹⁴ So the place seems connected to gods, burial and the Netherworld, and in the case of spell 2, it most likely refers to a place in the Netherworld.

The most specific lines about the connection between the shadow and the body (*dt*) also give a location for the shadow.

In spell 493:

ink ḥ3t tw rmt.n n=s tm
ḳrst.n inpw
iw b3[=i n] dt=i iw šwyt=i n ʿ=s

I am this corpse for which Atum wept
which Anubis buried
[my] *b3* [belongs to] my body, my shadow belongs to
its side¹⁴⁹⁵

Spell 495:

iw b3=i n dt=f iw šwyt=i n ʿ=s

My *b3* belongs to its body my shadow belongs to its
side.¹⁴⁹⁶

¹⁴⁸⁴ CT I 8a-b.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Spell 33, CT I 112a.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Spell 229 CT III 294g.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Spell 584 CT VI 200c.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Spell 818 CT VII 17c-e.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Spell 1099 CT VII 391c-392a, 393a.

¹⁴⁹⁰ George connects it with the Netherworld and that the dead goes through a resurrection like Osiris, *Schatten als Seele*, 75.

¹⁴⁹¹ WB IV, 553 for example occurring in Sethos temple.

¹⁴⁹² WB IV, 553-554.

¹⁴⁹³ Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, 291.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Voos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, 37.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Spell 495 CT VI 74j-i.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Spell 495 CT VI 77d.

‘Its’ side is feminine and therefore most probably refers to the body (*dt*). The only other option is if it in spell 493 would refer to the corpse (*h3t*) which the dead is identified with. However, spell 495 does not have this passage, and it seems unlikely that the exact same sentence would refer to two different things. Consequently, this passage would then locate the *b3* and the shadow together by the *dt*.¹⁴⁹⁷

Another curious place where the shadow(?) is said to reside occurs in spell 97:

<i>irt hr šd wi hn^c=t</i>	Eye of Horus, take me with you,
<i>ptr=i b3=i šwyt=i m wpt r^c</i> ¹⁴⁹⁸	[so] I will see my <i>b3</i> and my shadow on the forehead of
	Re ¹⁴⁹⁹

Only the coffins from Meir have *b3* and shadow, the other versions of the spell have insignia, *hkr=t* or *hkr=t* instead. However, all but B1Bo do use a shadow determinative. Given that most of the versions imply that the ornament belongs to the eye, the forehead of Re seems like an obvious place for it to reside, but it is not clear from the texts how this actually relates to the shadow. The coffins from Meir has the ownership being that of the first person and thereby makes it unclear why ‘my *b3* and my shadow’ would be on the forehead of Re.¹⁵⁰⁰

In the formulas above which specify different locations, the *b3* is often said to be in the sky, a place where the shadow is not when it is on its own. The shadow can be connected to the sky in the Coffin Texts, but only when grouped together with other parts as in spells 488-500 where the *b3*, shadow, *3h* and *hk3* occur in a context of being near the gates of the sky.¹⁵⁰¹ When the shadow occurs together with other parts, the location seems to be affected either by some of the other parts, or by the totality of the person striving to reach a particular place. In contrast to the formula above, when the *b3* and shadow are in different places, they are below treated as a unity.

In spell 492 the *b3*, *3h*, *hk3* and shadow are connected to the sky, which is often the location of the *b3*.

<i>i b3 =i 3h=i hk3=i šwyt=i</i>	O my <i>b3</i> , my <i>3h</i> , my <i>hk3</i> and my shadow.
<i>wn n=k 3wy pt</i>	The doors of the sky open for you,
<i>snš n=k sbw hrt</i>	the gates of heaven open for you. ¹⁵⁰²

¹⁴⁹⁷ For a discussion of these passages see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 346 who prefers reading the end as ‘...its arm’ and concludes that the shadow has an arm.

¹⁴⁹⁸ M3C, M28C reads *di=i ptr=i b3=i šwyt=i m wpt r^c*.

¹⁴⁹⁹ CT II 91d-92a.

¹⁵⁰⁰ A different interpretation is presented by Englund who thinks that a ‘shadow ornament’ on Re’s forehead is a metaphor for him becoming aware of his unconscious side, the side dwelling in darkness, *Människans Möjligheter*, 139. However, this seems to take a view on the shadow in a more Jungian than Egyptian way.

¹⁵⁰¹ For example CT VI 71k-m.

¹⁵⁰² CT VI 71k-m.

Spell 497 calls out to the gods ‘who are in the sky, in the earth, in the water and in the horizon’ and asks them to make a path for the *b3*, *3h* and shadow.¹⁵⁰³ That the doors are open, in contrast to being close, could also be a way of expressing free movement and that the group is able to pass through to the desired place, in this case heaven.

The shadow is with the *b3*, *3h* and *hk3* in the sky and with the *b3* by the *dt* or, possibly, on the forehead of Re. Only in one spell in the Coffin Texts is the shadow in a different place from other components of a person’s identity, and then in the ‘mysterious place’. Other parts of the identity appear to be in different places more independently, but again considering the small number of spells in the Coffin Texts which mention the shadow, this might either be related to the examples presented or a lack of an independence of the shadow.

IV 2.2.3 Movement

One important aspect of the *b3* is free movement, and this seems to be something the shadow shares with the *b3* when they occur together. The *b3* and shadow often appear together when they are threatened with restriction of movement and in the opposite way, when the wished for outcome is free movement.

IV 2.2.3.1 Movement in spells 488-500

In spells 488-503 free movement is a major theme and it is expressed in different ways. Spell 491 brings up many of its different aspects:

<i>is sp 2 b3=i 3h=i hk3w=i swyt=i</i>	Go, go my <i>b3</i> , my <i>3h</i> , my <i>hk3w</i> and my shadow.
<i>wn n=k 3 ptrty</i>	The doors of <i>ptrty</i> ¹⁵⁰⁴ are opens for you.
<i>sn n=k hwt 3t</i>	The great house is open for you.
<i>pr h3</i>	Come and go.
<i>shm=k m rdy=k</i>	You will have power in/over your leg
<i>n hnr=k in irw 6wt wsir</i>	unrestrained by those who are in charge of the limbs of Osiris,
<i>s33w b3w nb hnrw šwywt nt mwt mwtt nb</i>	(or by) those who watch over all the <i>b3w</i> or those who restrain the shadows of all the male and female dead.
<i>is sp 2 b3=i 3h=i hk3=i šwywt=i</i>	Go, go, my <i>b3</i> , my <i>3h</i> , my <i>hk3w</i> and my shadow.
<i>shm=k m rdy=k</i>	You will have power over your leg.

¹⁵⁰³ CT VI 78f-79b.

¹⁵⁰⁴ or *ptr*, a part of heaven according to WB I, 565.

int=k m3^ct n r^c

You will bring maat to Re.¹⁵⁰⁵

These are some of the essential themes in this group of spells: doors being open, having power in the legs, not being restrained and being able to pass in and out. The *b3* is the part of a person mostly connected with movement but here it is together with the other three. The four parts mentioned above are possibly the parts of a person being able to travel to the Netherworld why the stress on their movement would be plausible.

Yet another way of expressing the freedom of the *b3*, *3h*, *hk3* and shadow is to state that they should be wherever they wish to be:

wnn b3[=i nb] 3h[=i nb] šwyt=i nbt m bw [My every] *b3*, [my every] *3h*, my every shadow shall
*nb*¹⁵⁰⁶ be in any place
mry=f wnn im which it may desire to be in.¹⁵⁰⁷

The group of different parts of a person is referred to as singular, here translated with 'it'.¹⁵⁰⁸

The movement of the shadow in the Coffin Texts is not specified in other ways than being free. Elsewhere, the movement of the shadow is more specifically described, for example from the Book of the Dead chapter 24, where the ability of the dead, identified with Atum-Khepri, to collect magic is described as be done 'more swiftly than a shadow'.¹⁵⁰⁹

IV 2.2.3.2 The *b3* -sending spells

To be seen by that man

In the *b3* -sending spells, the purpose¹⁵¹⁰ of the *b3*'s and shadow's movement to 'that man' or 'that god', is for the *b3* to be seen in every place it occurs. The *b3* and shadow often occur together, without any significant difference between instances where the *b3* occurs alone in the same groups of spells.

Spell 104

itt=k b3=i šwyt=i m33 sw s pf You shall take my *b3* and my shadow, so that that man
will see it
h^c[.w] hft hr=f m bw nb ntf im standing in front of him(/his face)) in every place he is
in¹⁵¹¹

¹⁵⁰⁵ CT VI 71a-j, B3Lb.

¹⁵⁰⁶ There are two possible options filling the lacuna, *hk3* might be included instead of *=i nb*.

¹⁵⁰⁷ CT VI 85f-g.

¹⁵⁰⁸ See above.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Papyrus of Ani plate 15, Budge, *Coming Forth by Day*, 121. For a discussion also see George, *Schatten als Seele*, 74.

¹⁵¹⁰ Stated in every spell where 'that man' or 'that god' occurs.

¹⁵¹¹ CT II 111c-d.

later in the same spell:

iw=i m ḥḥ wsir

I am seeking Osiris

itt b3=i pn šwyt=i tn m3 sw s pf

who has taken this my *b3* and this my shadow so that
that man will see him

ḥft ḥr=f m bw nb ntf im

in front of him (/his face) in every place he is in.¹⁵¹²

The one addressed to take the *b3* and shadow might be Horus, since he has been mentioned earlier. Later in the spell the speaker in first person is seeking Osiris who has taken the *b3* and shadow so 'that man' will see the *b3* in every place.

Seeing and being in front of someone's face indicates that the *b3* and the shadow are in the same place as 'that man', although this place seems to differ, since the seeing should be done in every place he is in. Perhaps 'that man' moves as well as the *b3* and the shadow. This fits with the theme of the dead continuing to live, expressed here as standing and sitting, with their senses intact and retaining the ability to move.

The identity of 'that man'

'That man' occurs in a number of places in these spells in the context of him seeing the *b3*. The coffins from Assiut (S) and the one from Gebelin (G) have 'that man' while the group from el Barsha (B) has, instead, 'that god' in every instance where it is readable.¹⁵¹³ Otto dates the Assiut and Gebelin coffins as older and therefore more 'original' than the el Barsha versions.¹⁵¹⁴ The B-group also has two lines stating 'cause me to see you in every place which it is in'¹⁵¹⁵ and 'may he bring the living one to me so that I may see him and I may send him'¹⁵¹⁶ where it is the 'I', the speaker, making the seeing.

Otto argues that this was a time of religious doubt where people were deprived of old traditions, and the official religion was uncertain. Even so, he thinks this text presents 'eine klare, stark durchdachte Anschauung von der Seele' and that while this concept of the *b3* continues to live on, only a vague expression in the form of 'that man' is applied for an anonymous divine power.¹⁵¹⁷ Žabkar suggests that 'that man' refers to Osiris and Atum, since they are 'man' and 'god' par excellence.¹⁵¹⁸ Quack suggests that it is a 'powerful divine entity',¹⁵¹⁹ and Hussein thinks it is Re.¹⁵²⁰

¹⁵¹² CT II 111 i-k.

¹⁵¹³ Spell 101, CT II 101b and 102, CT II 106a.

¹⁵¹⁴ Otto, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 151.

¹⁵¹⁵ Spell 101 CT II 98c.

¹⁵¹⁶ Spell 102, CT II 105g.

¹⁵¹⁷ Otto, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 159.

¹⁵¹⁸ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 100 n.70.

¹⁵¹⁹ Quack in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, 149.

¹⁵²⁰ Hussein, in Thompson and Der Manuelian (eds), *Egypt and Beyond*, 190.

Nyord takes a more general approach, arguing that it is a general reference to any man, in the same way as the lines ‘in every place he is’ as a general statement.¹⁵²¹ Englund interprets ‘that man’ as an alter ego, as an Osiris N,¹⁵²² but does not discuss the matter further. Gee believes that the *b3* is sent to another person and that the texts have parallels in earthly practice, pointing out the equivalent with execration texts where the *b3w* of the king was sent to enemies and later dream sending.¹⁵²³ He mainly bases this on instructions given in spell 103 of using an image of clay and inscribing it with the name of a man,¹⁵²⁴ even though images of clay can have other usages as well.¹⁵²⁵ This group of spells also have other instructions, for example in spell 98 which should be said over a louse,¹⁵²⁶ but Gee chooses not to discuss this.

In specific places the different coffins have different versions of the text. In spell 101 the coffins from el Barsha have:

<i>ii sp 2 b3=i šwyt=i hr ntr pf</i>	My <i>b3</i> and my shadow, come, come to that god
<i>di m3=i tw m bw nb ntwf im</i>	[to] cause me to see you in every place which he is
	in ¹⁵²⁷

While the coffins from Assiut and Gebelin instead have:

<i>ii sp 2 b3=i pf</i>	That my <i>b3</i> comes, comes
<i>m3 tw s pf m hr=k n nḥw m bw nb ntk im</i>	so that that man will see you in your living face in
	every place he is in ¹⁵²⁸

So the different coffins have either that man or ‘me’ to do the seeing. Žabkar uses this as an argument for the original meaning no longer being understood since it seems here ‘that man’ and the dead, the first person, are the same if both versions are to make sense together.¹⁵²⁹ Either ‘that man’ is the dead, or the *b3* moves to be seen both by ‘that man’ in the Netherworld and by the ‘me’. Another alternative interpretation of the B-coffins is that the deceased is identified with Osiris, if ‘that god’ is Osiris, and the seeing made by ‘I or ‘that god’/Osiris would then carry exactly the same meaning.

¹⁵²¹ Nyord, *Breathing flesh*, 455.

¹⁵²² Englund, *Människans möjligheter*, 247.

¹⁵²³ Gee in Hawass (ed), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century* vol. 2, 230-231, Gee in Ciriaola and Seidel (eds), *Magic and Divination*, 83-88.

¹⁵²⁴ CT II 110l.

¹⁵²⁵ See Quack’s criticism of Gee’s interpretation, in Kousoulis (ed), *Demonology*, 147-149.

¹⁵²⁶ CT II 94a, not in red. Also in spell 100 ‘image of the foremost of the Westerners’ CT II 97i. In spell 101 the text is destroyed in the particular place where it specifies what the words should be said over CT II 105b.

¹⁵²⁷ CT II 98b-c.

¹⁵²⁸ CT II 98b-c.

¹⁵²⁹ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 100 n.70.

IV 2.2.3.3 The *b3* and shadow passing by

In spell 98 and 101 the *b3* and the shadow pass by together, which seems to have an influence over a god. Spell 98:

in smhy hnt pr dhwtj smhy=f ib n mwt mwt Is Semhy¹⁵³⁰ in front of the house of Thoth? Then he
r sw3t b3=i pn šwyt=i tn hr=f will neglect the male and female dead until this my *b3*
and my shadow have passed by it.¹⁵³¹

Spell 101:

in smhrw rdi-nmi(?) shm=f ib n s pf Does Semhru-redi-nemi¹⁵³² forget that man
r sw3t b3=i šwyt=i pn hr=f until this my *b3* and my shadow pass by him?¹⁵³³

The B-group in spell 101 omits the forgetting, and continues with the man being in every place and stating that he lives, while the *b3* is in front of him until both the *b3* and shadow pass by. The statement seems to be a rhetorical question, with the meaning that the *b3* and shadow will pass by and things will not be forgotten. The context gives no obvious explanation in neither of the three texts where similar sentences occur.¹⁵³⁴ Žabkar interpretation is that Semhy ‘will make forgetful the heart of the dead’ or ‘that man’ in the other version. The meaning would then be that the Semhy-god would keep away a threat from the *b3* and shadow in the form of the dead or ‘that man’, which Žabkar argues is here different from the man which the *b3* will go to, but instead a ‘sinister being whom the deceased passes’.¹⁵³⁵ Since no difference is made in the writing of ‘that man’, and everywhere else in this group of spells it seems to refer to the same man, it is doubtful if it is different here.

IV 2.2.4 Threats

In the Coffin Texts the foremost threat towards the shadow and the *b3* concerns restraints on its free movement. For example, spell 503 has a short text followed by a long after script in red with instructions that if a man recites this text his heart will endure in every shape, he will have the ability to procreate and:

n ndr.n.tw b3=f his *b3* is not grabbed

¹⁵³⁰ Some god whose name means ‘forgetter’?

¹⁵³¹ CT II 93f.

¹⁵³² Sehemu is probably a corruption of Semhy, followed by a participial epithet. See also Bargaet, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 237.

¹⁵³³ CT II 103b-104b only S1C, G2T.

¹⁵³⁴ The third one in spell 99 CT II 95g-96a has ‘until I pass by’ thereby not mentioning the shadow in specific even if it of course is included in the concept of ‘I’.

¹⁵³⁵ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 100, n.74. Nyord discusses the passages in relation to the *ib* being the container of knowledge, *Breathing Flesh*, 97-98.

Even though the task of the guardians is to guard the dead they will not be able to restrain the movement of the speakers of these spells¹⁵⁵² so that the *b3* and shadow of the coffin owner will not be subject to this outcome. A descriptive picture of the underworld seems to be presented where guardians make sure the *b3* and shadows which present a threat, are restrained, but let through the shadows of those with the right knowledge.

IV 2.2.4.2 The guardians outside spells 488-500

In three other spells, threatening beings are also mentioned in connection with the *b3* and the shadow. Spell 336 contains vital information for the dead about portals, and when talking about the first portal a god who swallows shadows is mentioned. The very same passage occurs in spell 335, although the context it is slightly different. In both spells, Atum is addressed and asked to save the speaker from a god who is said to live on slaughter, who is dog faced but has human skin, who is in charge of the windings of the Lake of Fire, and who casts the lasso but is not seen.¹⁵⁵³ He is also one:

ʿm šwywt who swallows shadows and steal hearts¹⁵⁵⁴
ḥnp ḥ3tw

This seems to be a guardian of the portal, and the dead want to pass unharmed. In spell 335 two versions¹⁵⁵⁵ comment upon them saying that the name of the god is ‘the one who swallows millions’.¹⁵⁵⁶

In the first line of spell 535 the deceased is identified with Shu and the point most stressed is that the dead will not be put to the slaughter:

n[n] s3.tw=i in s3w¹⁵⁵⁷ b3w I will not be guarded by those who guard *b3w*
prr b3=i šwyt=i ḥr=s m hrw/// ʿnh my *b3* and my shadow go out because of it¹⁵⁵⁸ on the
 day of /// life¹⁵⁵⁹

The guardians are described here as those who watch *b3w*, yet both the *b3* and the shadow of the dead will be able to move as a result.

Spell 409 addresses different parts of the *nšmt* –bark, and contains a repetitive formula.

Hail to you, *staff* of the *nšmt*-bark of Osiris. This N knows you in your name and your forms, in which you came into being. *It is these beings /// which seize his b3*

¹⁵⁵¹ CT VI 70a-b.

¹⁵⁵² CT VI 491 70b, 70c, 492 72g, 498 81b-d, 499 83c, 500 84c, e, l.

¹⁵⁵³ CT IV 311c-314c, CT IV 327k-q.

¹⁵⁵⁴ CT IV 314b-c, 327p.

¹⁵⁵⁵ T1Cb and M4C.

¹⁵⁵⁶ CT IV 315d. Also compare spell 656 and 841 where the same name is used in addressing.

¹⁵⁵⁷ The double 3 are probably there because of the line break.

¹⁵⁵⁸ ‘It’ referring to a *kny*-cloth mentioned earlier.

¹⁵⁵⁹ CT VI 132i-j.

and take away his shadow. You will bring the *b3* of this N to him, to his body. He will go abroad on the *nšmt*-bark of Osiris. He will go abroad on the starboard side. He will go up on the larboard side.¹⁵⁶⁰

This particular passage is addressed to the staff (*md*), of the *nšmt*-bark. Some passages such as this one, add extra information in an explanatory fashion about the divine identification of the parts. Here:

hprw pw pw /// itt b3=f nhm šwyt=f It is these beings /// which seize¹⁵⁶¹ his *b3* and take away his shadow¹⁵⁶²

Earlier in the spell the steering-oar has been explained as the support to Thoth, and the blades of the steering-oar as the tongue of Re. Perhaps this particular passage above would refer to a specific part of the beings, if one small part was not missing.¹⁵⁶³

Threats against the shadow and *b3*, either general threats or coming from specific entities, mostly concern restriction of movement. This is expressed through constraintment (*hnr*),¹⁵⁶⁴ ensnarement (*grg*)¹⁵⁶⁵ and when the shadow occurring with the *b3*, *3h* and *hk3*, guard (*s3w*).¹⁵⁶⁶ In two cases, gods are also being described as swallows of shadows. These beings in the Netherworld, or a particular gate or a part of a boat, act as guardians letting through the shadow of the coffin owner but keep away the unwanted dead.

Both the theme of moving and the theme of threats to this free movement involve both the *b3* and the shadow. Many more instances on the same themes involve only the *b3* and what is foremost connected to the *b3*. On the other hand spells 488-500 also includes other components of a person's identity and rather seems to express that the deceased as a whole should enjoy unrestricted movement, indicating that it is not only the shadow following the *b3*, but that the themes concerns more than just the *b3*.

IV 2.2.5 Divine

To be divine, and to be identified with different gods are fairly common themes for the *b3* in spells, though it is not that often that the shadow is specifically identified. In spell 563 different gods are

¹⁵⁶⁰ CTV 231k-232b.

¹⁵⁶¹ Though one part is missing, the interpretation that it is the beings acting is supported by similar passages in the same spell with the same grammatical structure.

¹⁵⁶² CTV 231n T1Cb.

¹⁵⁶³ For the *b3* and the *dt*-body in this spell, see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 344-345, for the parts of the boat corresponding to the tribunals of Osiris, Willems, *Heqata*, 168.

¹⁵⁶⁴ See Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 127-128.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 234.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 128-130.

mentioned, and the speaker identifies with them in different ways. For example, he walks on his feet like Nefertum. In this context the *b3* and shadow are subjects of identification:

b3=i pw b3w

the rams are my *b3w*

šwywt=i pw hnmww

the Khnum-gods are my shadows¹⁵⁶⁷

The shadow is identified with Khnums and the *b3* with rams. In the rest of this short spell the purpose of identification seems to be of being among those benefitted ones who walk upright, breathe, and are able to see. The identification between the *b3* and a ram is a pun on the word *b3*, and the connection between the shadow and Khnum is probably similar.¹⁵⁶⁸ Khnum is also a ram headed deity and his sacred animal, thereby his *b3* is a ram. Khnum gods can also have a genie function and are connected to the *b3* and shadow also in other instances.¹⁵⁶⁹ The *b3* and the shadow are separately identified with rams and Khnums, so the strong connection between them remains, both by occurring in the same line and by the connection between rams and Khnum. Khnum is part of the list of parts of the dead in the Tomb of Amenemhet,¹⁵⁷⁰ but listed individually and not in direct connection to the shadow.¹⁵⁷¹ Perhaps it is here just a play on the connection between the *b3* and the shadow and Khnum being a ram headed deity. However, it was common to identify with different gods in the Coffin Texts,¹⁵⁷² and perhaps the purpose is more that of identification with the divine rather than for any specific connections. Through death the deceased gains access to the world of the gods, and by identification with the gods, rather than with the unsuccessful dead, the deceased is associated with an enjoyable continuous life as the gods are. The exact identity might therefore not always be of clear importance.¹⁵⁷³

IV 2.2.5.1 *3h*

It is common that the deceased in the first person states that he or she is an *3h*, or identifies with the divine sphere. Even though the shadow is an individual part of a person after death it is also part of the same being and in the example above, together with the *b3*, taking on the same role. The form the dead want to take is that of an *3h* and this is often expressed through identification. Spell 413 talks about the true form as being that of an *3h*:

mi irw=i m3c n 3h cpr ntr

as my true form of an equipped and divine *3h*

¹⁵⁶⁷ CT VI 162o-p. The double plural strokes in Khnum should probably be read as the –w in the ending of the gods name and as plural, rather than 6 gods. Morenz, *Die Zeit der Regionen*, 404.

¹⁵⁶⁸ *šwywt* and *hnmww*, *š* and *h* are similar in pronunciation.

¹⁵⁶⁹ See also Badawi, *Der Gott Chnum*, 50.

¹⁵⁷⁰ See Chapter II.

¹⁵⁷¹ de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, plate XIX.

¹⁵⁷² For example spell 290, 298 and 301 to become any god, 276, 331, 612 Hathor, 280, 326, 1016 Horus.

¹⁵⁷³ See also Chapter III and identification with different gods.

psd=f m r^c

it shines as Re¹⁵⁷⁴

Earlier in the same spell the *b3* and shadow are caused to be *3h*.

s3h=k¹⁵⁷⁵ b3=i šwti=i

You will cause my *b3* and my shadow to be *3h*

m3=sn r^c m inw=f

so they will see Re in his returning.¹⁵⁷⁶

To cause the shadow to be *3h* does not have any known parallel elsewhere, but to make the *b3* an *3h* occurs in the Coffin Texts¹⁵⁷⁷ as well as in the New Kingdom and Ptolemaic period.¹⁵⁷⁸ Examples of the *3h* as made up by other parts of a person's identity also occur in the Coffin Texts where the *irw*, *km3* and *šs3* make up parts of the *3h* or *s'3h*.¹⁵⁷⁹ The possible intention of expressing it through three different terms could be to underline the significance of being an *3h* or *s'3h* in every possible way. In this respect, the shadow can also be one of the components of the *3h*, another way of expressing the shadow as part of the identity of the dead.

IV 2.3 Summary

The shadow is a part of a person's identity, as well as being under the physical laws of requiring light to exist. After death, it is seen as in danger of being snared and restrained, implying a more physical nature than we might ascribe to a shadow of this world, and a distinct existence of its own. In the Coffin Texts, the shadow occurs most often together with other parts of the identity, as in spell 488-500 where it occurs with the *b3*, *3h* and *hk3*. In spell 491 and 493, it is said to belong to the side of the *dt*, but most often the shadow occurs together with the *b3*. This is often reflected in the majority of spells where it is associated with the theme of free movement and the danger of being constrained. However, in some spells the *b3* and shadow are separated in regards to their location, indicating an independent nature. Lines more specifically about the shadow, and thereby differentiating it from other parts, place it in the mysterious place,¹⁵⁸⁰ and identify it with the personal genie or god Khnum.¹⁵⁸¹ They also speak about a time when shadows were not yet distinguished, defining shadows as part of the created physical world,¹⁵⁸² both belonging to the motif of the disintegrated identity, but also which require the presence of the sun for their own existence.

¹⁵⁷⁴ CT V 242a. See also under '*irw*, *km3* and *šs3*' below.

¹⁵⁷⁵ S2C and S10C have *3h*, the others *s3h*.

¹⁵⁷⁶ CT V 240d-e. If *inw* can be used in this way, in this particular context, as in Gardiner, *JEA* 24, 124.

¹⁵⁷⁷ CT II 110i-j.

¹⁵⁷⁸ George, *Schatten als Seele*, 108.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Spell 99 CT II 94e-f and 95f, spell 101 CT II 102c- 103a, spell 102 CT II 108b, spell 103 CT II 110 k and spell 413 CT V 241e- 242a.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Spell 2.

¹⁵⁸¹ Spell 563.

¹⁵⁸² Spell 316.

In the spells where the shadow occurs on its own in the Coffin Texts, it is typically cast by a god or trees and perceived as the dark image, and in these cases to different extents of influencing what it is cast upon. In these cases, the shadow is not separated from the god or tree casting it, but still exercises some degree of autonomous influence over what it is cast on.¹⁵⁸³ However, because of the small number of spells in the Coffin Texts containing the shadow, it is difficult to distinguish a clear nature regarding this from this corpus alone.

In the company of the *bꜣ* they are both coming and going, the shadow being presented more directly as being an independent part of a person's identity. This presents two different perceptions of the shadow, related in concept but slightly differently presented. The shadow of the living or of gods, even as an image, could affect people on its own behalf, thereby having an extended agency comparing to a simple image. There is therefore not a clear separation between the two perceptions but rather different degrees of the shadow's momentary influence and actions. The independent movement to different places is closer connected to the independence of different parts of a person's identity after death, than specifically connected to the shadow.

The Egyptian shadow is in some ways very different to the shadow in other cultures. It is not a cold and threatening ghost concept, and it does not seem to be the same representation of the dead person as is found, for example, in Greek culture. Though there are some example of the cast shadow having a negative influence, it might as well be positive, and it is not restricted to the dead.

Considering the large amount of Coffin Texts and the relatively small amount of instances the shadow is mentioned in relationship to other parts, it seems that it was not of great concern at this date. This might reflect the shadow as not being well defined or playing a less important part in the mortuary literature. It might also be the case that themes connected to the shadow were expressed by other means. If there are no obstructions in the way of the dead or of the dead's *bꜣ* travelling through the Netherworld, then the shadow should also be able to make it through, since it would be in the nature of a shadow to follow, being a reflection of its owner.

¹⁵⁸³ Spell 318.

IV 3 The corpse

For the corpse, *h3t*,¹⁵⁸⁴ there are two major themes. One concerns the daily cycle of the corpse being in the tomb and being visited by the *b3* during the night. The other theme is the treatment of the corpse, for example to be wept for and buried, and to avoid putrefaction.

IV 3.1 The writing of *h3t*

In the majority of cases where *h3t* occurs in the Coffin Texts,¹⁵⁸⁵ it is followed by plural strokes. When the speaker talks about his own corpse, it should refer to one corpse and not that the speaker has more than one corpse. This can also be seen where other parts of a person's identity is written in singular:



ib and *ht* are in singular so also *h3t* must refer to a single unity since the speaker talks about his own corpse. Therefore, the corpse seems to be treated as singular, though written in plural in Egyptian.

IV 3.2 The corpse being in a healthy state

The destiny of the corpse is decay if it is not prevented. In the Coffin Texts the opposite, positive outcome is described in a number of ways. Spell 155 describes the speaker as a great embalmer who knows exactly what to do to during *Stundenwachen*.

<i>ink mh s(y)</i>	I am the one who completes it
<i>wr r rht n</i>	greater than the knowledge of
<i>wt m hnt r pr pn</i>	the embalmer in front of this house.

¹⁵⁸⁴ See Nyord, *Breathing flesh*, 342-344, Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 106-112, Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 54-61, Assmann in Assmann and Assmann, *Schleier und Schwelle II*, 15-41.

¹⁵⁸⁵ About 5%, counting all spells where *h3t* occurs and also different versions of the same spells.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Spell 304, CT IV 57f-g.

iw rh.ki hdt hnt h3t m c inp

I know what is missing from the corpse in the hand of Anubis,¹⁵⁸⁷

In this way the speaker takes care of the embalming, and is able to do what is necessary to preserve the corpse.

IV 3.2.1 Weeping and burial

Mourning is a natural part of the process of burial. Weeping for the corpse is shown clearly in two spells. Spell 819:

iw cwt=i m r^c

My limbs are Re

h3=f r iwnw r rmt h3t=f

he goes to Heliopolis to weep for his corpse.¹⁵⁸⁸

Spell 493:

n hp.t(w) hnr.t(w) h3t=i

My corpse will not be wrested away or restrained.

ink h3t tw rmt.n n=s tm

I am this corpse for which Atum wept,

krst.n inp

which Anubis buried.¹⁵⁸⁹

Since the corpse is motionless, it is unusual that the threats against it are *hp* and *hnr*. The group of spells to which this belong are focused on the *b3* and other parts of the identity having unrestrained movement. Nyord therefore interprets the passage as the restraining refers to the access of the *b3* to the corpse, and not regarding the corpse itself.¹⁵⁹⁰

In spell 296, N enjoys free movement and is also said to be pure and without evil. While the spell so far has been written with *sdm=f* it changes in the two last sentences to stative and *sdm.n=f*, indicating that what has been going on in the major part of the spell has now come to a result:

mk N iw.w shr.n N hftyw=f tp t3

See, N has come, N has felled his enemies upon earth.

h3t N skrs.ti

N's corpse is buried.¹⁵⁹¹

IV 3.2.2 Breathing

The corpse is given back its functions again through the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.¹⁵⁹² There are also a few Coffin Text lines which have a similar theme.

Spell 770 has as its first line:

ssn hrd

To cause a child to breathe.¹⁵⁹³

¹⁵⁸⁷ CT II 298/299c-300/301b.

¹⁵⁸⁸ CT VII 19h-i.

¹⁵⁸⁹ CT VI 74f-h B3L. In the other version on B3Bo it only says the corpse will not be restrained CT VI 74k.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 343-344.

¹⁵⁹¹ CT IV 49r-s.

¹⁵⁹² Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*.

The short spell deals with walking upright and breathing. A parallel is probably set up between the newborn and the reborn to make it breathe.¹⁵⁹⁴ The second line of the spell concerns the corpse:

ink b3 imntt smti h3t bš.n hr ts phr I am the ram of the West, the *smti* of the corpse,
Horus has exhaled and vice versa.¹⁵⁹⁵

In this sentence there are a number of uncertainties. For *smti* Faulkner and Barguet both suggest the meaning to be helping, or care for the corpse.¹⁵⁹⁶ *bš*, normally means spit, pour or vomit.¹⁵⁹⁷

However, in spell 76 it is followed by the word *t3w* and must also be of the meaning of ‘breath’ or ‘exhale’: *bš=k t3w tp r šw*.¹⁵⁹⁸ The first line of spell 770 ‘To cause a child to breathe’, could imply that *bš* could have the same meaning here. In the continuation of the spell there is a certain interchange between the speaker and Horus. The speaker is able to go upright as Horus goes upright and even if Horus goes upside down the speaker can go upright. Perhaps Horus exhaling and ‘vice versa’ could have to do with resuscitation as an active method of making a child to breathe. In either case, the spell has to do with the function of the corpse and the continuous function, as parallel to the function of the newborn where breathing is a presumption for life.

IV 3.2.4 Watched over

Beyond process of mourning and burial and resurrection, the corpse still needs to be taken care of. The wellbeing of the coffin owner is described in spell 44.

nh n=k wnn [mw n]=k wd3 n wt=k Life belongs to you, there shall be [water for] you, and
wellbeing for your limbs.
rs.ti hr h3t=k You have guarded your corpse.¹⁵⁹⁹

IV 3.2.5 Not being destroyed

At this point the condition of the corpse is also partly in the hands of the gods. In spell 73 Isis and Nephthys takes care of the corpse:

hw=sn sb3 hw33t=k r t3 m rn=k pw n sb3 They prevent your putrefaction dripping to the ground
smw in this your name of Jackal of Upper Egypt.

¹⁵⁹³ CT VI 405a.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Eyre, in Mouton and Patrier (eds), *Life, Death, and Coming of Age in Antiquity*, forthcoming.

¹⁵⁹⁵ CT VI 405b.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Faulkner suggests ‘helper’ from *sm* to help, *Coffin Texts* II 301 n.2. Barguet translates it ‘qui prend soin (?) du corpse’ *Textes des Sarcophages*, 252.

¹⁵⁹⁷ *WB I*, 477-478.

¹⁵⁹⁸ CT II 12h.

¹⁵⁹⁹ CT I 182b-c.

ḥw=sn ḏw st(y) ḥ3t=k r t3 m rn=k pw n ḥr They prevent the smell of your corpse rotting¹⁶⁰⁰ into
ḥ3ty the ground in this your name of Horus and Khaty.¹⁶⁰¹

This is also visible in spell 822 which has the heading:

[r r tm rdiw]¹⁶⁰² sby ḥ3t m t3 [Spell for not letting] the corpse perish in earth¹⁶⁰³

The spell itself is unfortunately destroyed in many places, but what can be extracted from it is that different parts of the body, such as tooth, throat, hair, and phallus are identified with different deities in a divinisation of the limbs.¹⁶⁰⁴ Concerning the corpse itself it is just said:

nn ḥw3 ḥ3t im t3 the corpse will not rot in the earth¹⁶⁰⁵

The identification of different parts with deities makes them divine and functional, and most important for the corpse is the preservation.

IV 3.2.6 Daily cycle

In spell 703 the speaker identifies himself with a bird.¹⁶⁰⁶ He also says he is:

sdr ḥr ḥ3t=f mrr=f one who sleeps on his corpse as he wishes.¹⁶⁰⁷

Without mentioning of the *b3*, the picture seems to be the same, with the bird accompanying the corpse during the night.

The same theme cyclical theme is seen in spell 746 where the speaker says:

wnwn=i ḥr tp ḥ3t=i m inw I walk to and fro upon my corpse in Heliopolis
ḥr-ntt N r^c ḥr(y)-tp rhyw because N is Re at the head of mankind¹⁶⁰⁸

This is an early example of the dead envisaged as Re who visits his corpse in Heliopolis and leaves again.¹⁶⁰⁹

¹⁶⁰⁰ Literary 'being bad'.

¹⁶⁰¹ CT I 304b-d.

¹⁶⁰² CT VII 22, n.6.

¹⁶⁰³ CT VII 22p.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Altenmüller, *LÄ*, 624-627.

¹⁶⁰⁵ CT VII 23a.

¹⁶⁰⁶ CT VI 334i.

¹⁶⁰⁷ CT VI 335j *=f* is probably a mistake for *=i* since the rest of the spell is in first person and also this sentence should refer to the speaker.

¹⁶⁰⁸ CT VI 376e-f. See also spell 819 above.

¹⁶⁰⁹ See Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 92-93, for the Osiris-Re mysteries 186-191 and Assmann in Assmann and Assmann (eds), *Schleier und Schwelle* II, 21.

IV 3.3 *b3-h3t*

The *b3* and the corpse have a relationship of interdependence in the Coffin Texts.¹⁶¹⁰ The static condition of the corpse contrasts the moveable *b3*. A cycle separates them during the day and unites them during the night.

IV 3.3.1 Separated

A number of passages assert that the *b3* shall be far away from the corpse. Spell 94 has the heading:

shr b3 r h3t

Causing the *b3* to be away from the corpse,

kt md3t nt prt m hrw

another book of going forth in the day¹⁶¹¹

The *b3* shall be able to move freely during the day and not be with the corpse in the grave.¹⁶¹² This is expressed in a number of spells. For example:

n s3.n.t[w] b3=i hr h3t=i

My *b3* will not be restrained (guarded) on my corpse¹⁶¹³

A sentence with similar content occurs in spell 500¹⁶¹⁴ and 493 has a strange, possibly corrupt version. In this spell the two coffins have different versions:

*b3=i hr.ti r h3t sm3 it=i*¹⁶¹⁵

O my *b3*, be far from the corpse¹⁶¹⁶ which my father slew.

or

or

*hr.ti b3=i r hftyw sm3 it=i*¹⁶¹⁷

My *b3*, be far from the enemies who my father slew.¹⁶¹⁸

Normally the *b3* shall be far away from the corpse belonging to the same person. However, the corpses here are not defined as belonging to the speaker. Since the other coffin has 'enemies' and

¹⁶¹⁰ See Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 106-112, Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 6, Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 91, 95-96, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 342-344, Barbotin, *RdE* 63, 6, Janak, *SAK* 40, 145, Englund in Teeter and Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 101, Barbash, *Papyrus of Padikakem*, 48. Also compare the way it is expressed in Books of the Earth: 'Atum and Shu, they unite with him, their *b3w* having flown after Re, their corpses having remained in their place.' *Books of the Earth*, 348-349, see also similar passages 335-337, 353, 354, 362, 372, 388 also passages such as 'their corpses being established in their places, eternally.', 340, provides an image of the corpses static condition after death. At the same time their relationship is remained, for example '...and cause your ba to rest upon your corpse!', 329. For the *b3* and corpse related to Re and Osiris, Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 57-62, 137, *Death and Salvation*, especially 186-191, Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 93-96.

¹⁶¹¹ CT II 67a B1C, b B1C and B1L.

¹⁶¹² Te Velde in Kippenberg, Kupier and Sanders (eds), *Concepts of Person*, 92.

¹⁶¹³ Spell 333, CT IV 178m.

¹⁶¹⁴ CT VI 84e-f.

¹⁶¹⁵ B3L.

¹⁶¹⁶ Or corpses. *h3t* seems to be a collective concept. It is therefore hard to tell here if it should refer to a singular corpse or corpses in plural.

¹⁶¹⁷ B3Bo.

¹⁶¹⁸ CT VI 73c. Though the passage could equally be translated 'the enemies who slew my father'. However, then it does not parallel B3L.

ib n b3=k sh3=f h3t=k
sm^r=f swht km3t tw

The heart of your *b3*, it will remember your corpse
that it make fortunate the egg which created you.¹⁶²⁷

The *ib*-heart being the place for thoughts and memory, the sentence states that the heart of the *b3* shall remember the corpse. In the daily cycle of the *b3* moving away from the corpse, it must still return to it and thereby remember it and its location. The *b3* shall make the egg, a metaphor for the corpse, fortunate. The image is that of the immovable corpse as a shell for the constant renewal of the cycle. Since the *b3* leaves the corpse renewed every morning it also contains a reference of the *b3* as a bird leaving the egg.

In spell 242 the title is ‘Spell for opening a portal for the *b3*.’¹⁶²⁸ The speaker is then identified with Thoth:

ink dhwti in m3^t swd3 wd3t m pr rwty

I am Thoth who brings *maat*, who heals¹⁶²⁹ the
wedjat-eye in the house of the double lions.

wn n=i m3=i h3t=i

Open for me, so that I may see my corpse.

ink b3 nh

I am a living *b3*.¹⁶³⁰

The location of the portal is related to the location of the corpse since the *b3* will be able to see the corpse as a result of the portal being open. Possibly, the identification with Thoth in his aspect of healing and doing *maat*, also has to do with the regeneration as a result of the unification of the *b3* and the corpse. Willems presents two, in his own opinion equally inelegant, interpretations of whom the corpse belongs to in these lines. The first would be an unknown person who’s corpse is in the care of Thoth, and thereby ‘Thoth’s corpse’. In the second option he suggests a ‘split personality’ of the deceased where he is both Thoth and the corpse which he cares for.¹⁶³¹ In either case, it does show the relationship between the *b3* and the corpse, and the necessity for the *b3* to reach the corpse.

This interdependence is also expressed in spell 75, in a passage which has been translated quite differently by different Egyptologists: *n ns.n b3=i hr h3wt=i*¹⁶³² This statement comes in between sentences about how the *b3* was created and how the *b3* should not be restrained. Žabkar translates the passage ‘For the sake of my corpse, my ba shall not burn’.¹⁶³³ Willems, following A1C, translates the passage ‘it will <not> burn over my corpse’, and the potential burning to be the guardians which

¹⁶²⁶ CT I 182c.

¹⁶²⁷ CT I 182f-g.

¹⁶²⁸ CT III 327a.

¹⁶²⁹ Three versions actually have leg determinatives while only one has a papyrus.

¹⁶³⁰ CT III 327b-d.

¹⁶³¹ Willems, *Heqata*, 267.

¹⁶³² CT I 362c, see also 395c. Some versions has *n ns=f hr h3t=i* or *n ns.n=f hr h3t=i* in 362c.

¹⁶³³ Žabkars, *Ba Concept*, 106 and n.105.

protects the corpse with torches.¹⁶³⁴ Nyord interprets *ns* as ‘flame’, and preferring a different variant of the passage, he provides the translation ‘but its flame is not on my corpse’. The flame would have to do with the sexual aspect of the *b3*.¹⁶³⁵ It is in either case clear that the burning, or flame, should not cause any damage so that the *b3* can freely access the corpse.

In spell 45 they shall both rejoice:

<i>h^c b3=k m 3bdw</i>	May your <i>b3</i> rejoice in Abydos. ¹⁶³⁶
<i>rš h3t=k imyt w^crt</i>	May your corpse which is in the district be happy.
<i>h^c wt m st=f nbt</i>	May the embalmed one rejoice in every place of his. ¹⁶³⁷

The *b3* and corpse of the dead are here identified with those of Osiris, so that he rejoices in every sacred place that Osiris is in.¹⁶³⁸

There are several later texts which rubrics and content concerns bringing the *b3* to the body. Book of the Dead spells 89, 91 and 92 all concern the *b3* to rest on the corpse, to join it, or to open the tomb for the *b3*. Also some of the Books of Glorifications focus on the same subject.¹⁶³⁹

There are mainly two types of expression about the *b3* and corpse in the Coffin Texts. Either that the *b3* should be far from the corpse, or that the *b3* should watch over the corpse. This reflects the daily cycle of the *b3*. It travels freely during the day and in the sky like Re. During the night it is with the corpse in the grave, which is then paralleled with Osiris.¹⁶⁴⁰ The corpse and the *b3* are polar opposites, the corpse being in the closest dead, immovable, and human, while the *b3* is mobile, living and divine.¹⁶⁴¹

¹⁶³⁴ Willems, Heqata, 474 and 309.

¹⁶³⁵ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 443. See also CT II 18a-d.

¹⁶³⁶ B10Cc and B1Y have ‘May your heart rejoice in Abydos.’

¹⁶³⁷ CT I 198b-d.

¹⁶³⁸ See earlier footnotes for the Osiris-Re unification.

¹⁶³⁹ Schneider in Berger, Clerc and Grimal (eds), *Hommanes à Jean Leclant* 4, 356-362.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, for example 105-106, *Solar Religion*, 137, Hornung, *Conceptions of Gods*, 93-96.

¹⁶⁴¹ Loprieno, in Guksch, Hoffmann and Bommas (eds), *Grab und Totenkult*, 219.

IV 4 The *b3* and *irw* –form

In a few examples in the Coffin Texts the *b3* and the *irw* occur together, or are exchanged in different versions of the same spell. While an argument has been put forward that the *b3* can function as a parallel to *irw* and also have the meaning ‘form’ in two spells,¹⁶⁴² the two concepts are clearly also very different.

IV 4.1 The *b3* and *irw* occurring together

Spell 95 starts with a description of the guardians who watch the gate. The speaker says:

<i>pr=i m hrw</i>	I will go out in the day
<i>m b3=i m irw=i m hrw</i>	as my <i>b3</i> , as my <i>irw</i> -form by day. ¹⁶⁴³

The name is lost but the spell presents a short description of a person going out as his *b3* and also his *irw*-form. Spell 96 contains a similar sentence.¹⁶⁴⁴ In this spell the dead is identified with the *b3* of Osiris who says:

<i>pr(=i) m hrw nk=i im=f</i>	I will go out into the day so I may have sex by means of it.
<i>pr=i b3=i m irw=i</i>	I will go out, my <i>b3</i> as my <i>irw</i> -form ¹⁶⁴⁵

In the rest of the spell only the *b3* occurs when Osiris is told to have sex by means of it.¹⁶⁴⁶

In spell 312 ‘To become a divine falcon’¹⁶⁴⁷ the dead is identified with the *b3* of Horus. In the beginning Osiris speaks and calls for Horus to come to him. Among other things he says to Horus:

<i>m3n=k irw=i</i>	You will see my <i>irw</i> -form.
<i>sk3y=k b3=i</i>	You will exalt my <i>b3</i> . ¹⁶⁴⁸

Instead of agreeing to come to Osiris, Horus says to Osiris:

<i>m3w irw=k ds=k</i>	See your <i>irw</i> -form yourself,
<i>skd b3=k</i>	shape your <i>b3</i> . ¹⁶⁴⁹

¹⁶⁴² By Faulkner about the *b3* in spells 312 and 1033, Faulkner explains his translation in *Coffin Texts* I, 232 n.2.

¹⁶⁴³ CT II 73b-74a.

¹⁶⁴⁴ For this spell, see also under *b3* and procreation.

¹⁶⁴⁵ CT II 80b-c, B3L. The versions differ. B1Ca *pry=i b3=i m irw=i*, B1L *pr=i b3=i irw=i*, M3C *pr.n=i m b3=f m irw=f*, M28C *pr///b3=f m irw///*. Except from M3C it seems like the *b3* is as the *irw* or equal to the *irw*. B1C also adds ‘in the day and I will have sex by means of it’ CT II 80d.

¹⁶⁴⁶ CT II 77a-b, 78d, 79c-80b.

¹⁶⁴⁷ CT IV 68a.

¹⁶⁴⁸ CT IV 68f-69a, T1C.

¹⁶⁴⁹ CT IV 71e-f.

Perhaps Horus refuses to go to Osiris, or perhaps he cannot reach the place where Osiris is, because Horus instead sends a messenger and describes him:

*ir.n=i irw=f m irw=i <šmt=f m>*¹⁶⁵⁰ *šmt=i* I have made his *irw*-form as my *irw*-form, <his journey as> my journey
šm=f iwt=f r ddw s^h.w m b3=i so that he goes and he comes to Djedu being *s^h-ed* as my *b3*.¹⁶⁵¹

In three different sentences in spell 312 *irw*-form and *b3* occurs together.

IV 4.2 The *b3* and *irw* used as parallels?

Spell 312 was translated by de Buck¹⁶⁵² and he did not attempt to translate *b3* but kept the Egyptian word. In contrast, Faulkner is of the opinion about the *b3* that ‘it is clear from the context, has rather the meaning of ‘form’ or ‘shape’’.¹⁶⁵³ In this way he seems to think that the *irw* and the *b3* occur as parallels, and that the interchange here is a way of expressing how the messenger takes the form of Horus, so that *b3* and *irw* are synonyms. However, later on in the spell, the messenger also explains the purpose of taking the role of Horus’ *b3*:

s^h.n wi hr m b3=f Horus has *s^h-ed* me as his *b3*
ir it=i hrt=f n wsir r dw3t so that I may take his affairs to Osiris, to the Netherworld¹⁶⁵⁴

Horus is asked to go to Osiris but Horus cannot, or does not wish to, go into the Netherworld. This probably reflects the two different Afterlives, the sky and the Netherworld. While the sun travels the sky by day and goes into the Netherworld during the night, Osiris does not move up to the sky. In a similar way, Horus can fly to the sky as a falcon but he does not travel into the Netherworld.¹⁶⁵⁵ The *b3* on the other hand, has the cycle of moving between the corpse, Osiris in the Netherworld, and the living during the day. A *b3* is therefore a form that naturally moves between this world and the other. The *irw*-form in this context might be another way of describing what the dead has been changed into in order to reach Osiris. When the messenger speaks the first time, he says that he is

¹⁶⁵⁰ Compare with B6C. Even if D1C in general is more reliable it seems like this part has been left out while it exists in B6C.

¹⁶⁵¹ CT IV 74a-b D1C.

¹⁶⁵² De Buck, *JEA* 35, 87-97.

¹⁶⁵³ Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 232 n.2. Faulkner also makes the same choice of translation in spell 1033 CT VII 267c then referring to spell 312 for the same reason. The sentence then is *3h m b3=f* which he then translate ‘power is in his shape’ *Coffin Texts* III, 129.

¹⁶⁵⁴ CT IV 76i-77a D1C.

¹⁶⁵⁵ See for example Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier*, 39-97.

the *b3* of Horus, as above. When the Double lions come into the conversation and ask him how he will be able to reach Osiris they say:

ist tw ʿprw.ti m irw hr when you are equipped in the *irw*-form of Horus.¹⁶⁵⁶

In spell 312 there is a difference in the way of expression about the *b3* and the *irw*-form. While the messenger is *sʿh-ed* with the *b3* of Horus¹⁶⁵⁷ Horus has made his *irw*-form¹⁶⁵⁸ and the Double lions says that the messenger is equipped in the *irw*-form.¹⁶⁵⁹ When the most reliable version of this spell has ended,¹⁶⁶⁰ B6C also states that this N is in his own *irw*-form.¹⁶⁶¹ Nowhere in this spell is the messenger *sʿh-ed* with the *irw*-form, which might indicate that there is some kind of difference between *irw* and *b3*, in which the *b3* is more prestigious, or more functional.

IV 4.3 *irw*, *sʿh* and *b3*

Spell 317 is a *hprw*-spell where the dead is identified with Hapy in his seasonal role of flooding. It puts a stress on his primeval nature and also relationship to other gods who pay him their respect. Repeatedly in spell 317 the dead identifies himself with Hapy, often with the words:

*m33=sn*¹⁶⁶² *wi m sʿh=i n hp* They (the gods) see to me in my *sʿh* of Hapy.¹⁶⁶³

One alternative occurs once:

n hsf=i m irw=i n hp I have not been opposed in my *irw*-form of Hapy.¹⁶⁶⁴

where *sʿh* is exchanged with *irw*-form. The same exchange between *sʿh* and *irw* can be seen in two different versions:

S1P(, S2C): *n hnr=i m sʿh=i*¹⁶⁶⁵ *n 3h ʿpr* I have not been restrained in my *sʿh* of an equipped *3h*

(S1C,) B2L: *n hnr=i m irw=i*¹⁶⁶⁶ *n 3h ʿpr* I have not been restrained in my *irw*-form of an equipped *3h*¹⁶⁶⁷

S1P, and probably S2C, have *sʿh* while S1C and B2L have *irw*-form. The same is done with the *b3* and *irw* where different coffins choose different words:

¹⁶⁵⁶ CT IV 77d, D1C is slightly destroyed but B2Bo fills the gap.

¹⁶⁵⁷ CT IV 74b, 76i, 81k, 85i.

¹⁶⁵⁸ CT IV 74a.

¹⁶⁵⁹ CT IV 77d.

¹⁶⁶⁰ For a discussion about this see de Buck *JEA* 35, 87-97.

¹⁶⁶¹ CT IV 82h B6C.

¹⁶⁶² The second *n* here is most probably an error for plural strokes.

¹⁶⁶³ CT IV 121h, B2L.

¹⁶⁶⁴ CT IV 119d.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Though the *=i* is not there in S1P, it also has a line break at that particular place, S2C seems to have it though the last part of the *sʿh* is destroyed.

¹⁶⁶⁶ The *=i* in S1C but not B2L.

¹⁶⁶⁷ CT IV 119e.

S1P, B2L:¹⁶⁶⁸ *in r^c ir wi m b3=f*

It was Re who made me as his *b3*.

S1C: *in r^c ir wi m irw=f*

It was Re who made me as his *irw*-form.¹⁶⁶⁹

Again, the same coffin which had *irw* instead of *s^ch* now has *irw* instead of *b3*. However, coffin B2L which in 119e also had *irw* instead of *s^ch* now has *b3* in the last sentence.

In spell 317 the *irw* -form is also in a location where the *b3* normally is:

irw=i m pt

My *irw*-form is in the sky.¹⁶⁷⁰

This might simply indicate that the *irw*-form can be in the sky as well as the *b3* and might not indicate a relationship between them.

Comparing the terms, *irw* is a more broad term. The dead can be in the *irw* of a *b3* but not in the *b3* of an *irw*. *irw* can therefore describe the *b3*, or be a component of the *b3*. In the same sense *b3* can belong to a particular individual so that in spell 312, the messenger being the *b3* of Horus is a description of the messenger. At the same time, in particular contexts they might have closely related meanings, where the *b3* can be interpreted as the manifestation of a being which is possible why Faulkner choose to interpret *b3* in this spell to mean 'form'. However, it is likely to have a more particular meaning because of the nature of the *b3*.

¹⁶⁶⁸ S2C is destroyed in this particular place but de Buck notes that it is a bird. About coffin S1P de Buck also notes that it is difficult to tell *s3* from *b3* which would in that case also be a possible version of the sentence.

¹⁶⁶⁹ CT IV 119f.

¹⁶⁷⁰ CT IV 111h.

IV 5 *irw*, *km3*, *šs3w*

In five spells similar sentences occur. The preceding context is the same in all examples. The speaker (in first person), addresses the *b3* (as second person) and tells the *b3* to move so ‘that man’¹⁶⁷¹ may see the *b3* in every place ‘that man’ is:

<i>m irw=i m km3=i m3c <n>3h 3nh</i>	in my form and my true shape of a living <i>3h</i> . ¹⁶⁷²
<i>m irw=i m km3=i m šs3w=i m3cw nw 3h 3nh</i>	in my form and in my shape in my true essences of a living <i>3h</i> . ¹⁶⁷³
<i>m irw=i m km3=i m šs3w=i m irw=i m3c n s3h ntr</i> ¹⁶⁷⁴	in my form, in my shape and my essence in my true form of a divine <i>s3h</i> . ¹⁶⁷⁵
<i>m km3=i m irw=i m šs3w=i</i>	in my shape, in my form, in my essence. ¹⁶⁷⁶
<i>m km3w=i m šs3w=i m irw=i m3c n 3h 3pr ntr</i>	in my shape, in my essence in my true form of an equipped and divine <i>3h</i> . ¹⁶⁷⁷
<i>i3r n hr=f m irw n 3h</i>	Draw near to his face in the form of an <i>3h</i> . ¹⁶⁷⁸

Though in a different context, a similar sentence occurs in spell 93. The spell is for going out into the day.

<i>ist wi pr.kw m hrw pn</i>	for I have gone out in this day
<i>m irw=i m3c n 3h 3nh</i>	in my true form of a living <i>3h</i> . ¹⁶⁷⁹

IV 5.1 Meaning of the words

The three words listed together in this group of spells: *km3*, *irw* and *šs3* seem to have overlapping meanings. *irw* is a fairly common term for form, shape of a person or an object, often used in combination with attributes (*irw m ...*)¹⁶⁸⁰ and is frequently used in this sense in the Coffin Texts. *km3* has a root meaning of ‘create’ and is also commonly translated as ‘form’, ‘shape’, but exclusively

¹⁶⁷¹ See above, 4.2.

¹⁶⁷² Spell 99 CT II 94f.

¹⁶⁷³ Spell 99 CT II 95f.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Only S1C and G2T. De Buck notes that there is not enough room for the passage on the other coffins, CT II 102 n.2.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Spell 101 CT II 102c- 103a.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Spell 102 CT II 108b.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Spell 413 CT V 241e- 242a.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Spell 103 CT II 110 k.

¹⁶⁷⁹ CT II 66a-b, B2Bob.

¹⁶⁸⁰ WB I, 113.

of beings and not objects¹⁶⁸¹ and it occurs in a more limited number of spells in the Coffin Texts¹⁶⁸² than *irw*. It is used in the following spells:

Spell 320 when Hapy describes himself:

<i>ink ʒ bʒ hnty m hrw</i>	I am the Great one, a <i>bʒ</i> foremost on affairs
<i>hr-tp ntr imy-ib n nb ntrw ʒ kmʒ</i>	on behalf of the god, favoured of the lord of the gods, great of shape, ¹⁶⁸³

Spell 335. In this particular part of the spell Atum is addressed:

<i>nm=k wi m-^c ntr pw</i>	May you save me from this god
<i>nh m hryt</i>	who lives by slaughter,
<i>nty hr=f m tsm</i>	whose face is (like that of) a dog,

The next sentence occurs in different versions:

<i>inm=f m rmt¹⁶⁸⁴</i>	whose skin is (like that of) people.
<i>kmʒ=f m rmt¹⁶⁸⁵</i>	whose shape is (like that of) people. ¹⁶⁸⁶

Only one version uses *kmʒ* instead of skin in the description of the dangerous god. If it is an overlapping meaning between the versions, it might indicate that in this case it is a shape in the sense of physical appearance.

Spell 513.

<i>pry=i ity=i kmʒ n inp</i>	I will go up and I will take possession of the shape of Anubis ¹⁶⁸⁷
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None of the above examples gives much information about the nature of the word. Outside this corpus, *kmʒ* also occurs most commonly in combination with other similar words such as *kd*, *irw* and *hprw*.¹⁶⁸⁸

ssʒ, *šsʒ* or *sšsʒ*¹⁶⁸⁹ differs more in meaning from the first two and occurs in a very limited number of spells in the Coffin Texts.¹⁶⁹⁰ The root sense is something like ‘experience’, ‘competence’, ‘wisdom’, ‘skill’¹⁶⁹¹ or ‘character’, ‘essence’.¹⁶⁹² Faulkner translates the word with ‘wisdom’ while

¹⁶⁸¹ *WB V*, 36.

¹⁶⁸² Spells 99, 101, 102, 320, 335, 413, 513.

¹⁶⁸³ *CT IV* 144 f-g.

¹⁶⁸⁴ All other versions.

¹⁶⁸⁵ M4C.

¹⁶⁸⁶ *CT IV* 312b-313b.

¹⁶⁸⁷ *CT VI* 98c.

¹⁶⁸⁸ *WB V*, 36.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Perhaps also *šsr*, see *WB IV*, 543.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Spells 99, 101, 102, 132, 312 and 413. In spell 383 it occurs but as *šsʒw ipn* ‘diese Anweisungen’ *WB IV*, 554, 14. It is also followed by ‘of the house’ so has nothing to do with the identity of the dead.

¹⁶⁹¹ *WB IV*, 543.

¹⁶⁹² van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 630.

Barguet tends to translate it with ‘essence’¹⁶⁹³ in the same spells. There are only two other examples where *šs3w* occurs in the Coffin Texts. Even though the same word might be used for translation, the meaning in the four spells above seems quite particular compared with other contexts.

In spell 312 the context is that of the deceased being able to move into the Netherworld, the gates are open and he himself has the abilities needed, among them:

dy šs3w N pn the skill of this N has been established.¹⁶⁹⁴

This particular passage is thus only part of a long list and does not say much about the particular word in itself.

In spell 132 the *šs3w* is also given to the deceased but here it is power.

*iw rdi n=i wsr m šs3ty*¹⁶⁹⁵ Power is given to me as skill.¹⁶⁹⁶

None of the contexts, in spell 312 or 132, indicates that *šs3w* would be a component of the dead but rather something external which the deceased is able to benefit from. It is also notable that the *šs3w* in these two examples are *given* to the dead rather than being something which the dead already possess, which seems to be the case when *šs3w* is put together with *irw* and *km3* above.

In relationship to other possible translations of *šs3w*, perhaps it carries the meaning of something achieved, or given, rather than a constant form, as *irw* and *km3*. However, judging from this particular context, *km3*, *irw* and *šs3* are probably meant to have a very similar meaning, perhaps used as synonyms to express different forms.

IV 5.2 Forms of *šh/sʰ*

In these group of spells, the different forms always occur with the suffix *=i* defining them as belonging to the speaker. *irw*, *km3* and *šs3* are followed by ‘of a living/divine *šh/sʰ*’ while spell 102 excludes what the forms are forms of. These three words, with similar meaning, seem to be different forms which make out parts of the *šh* or *sʰ*. The possible intention of expressing it through three different terms could be to really underline the significance of coming as an *šh* or *sʰ* in every possible respect.

¹⁶⁹³ In spell 99, 102 and 413.

¹⁶⁹⁴ CT IV 85j.

¹⁶⁹⁵ G2T.

¹⁶⁹⁶ CT II 154b.

IV 5.3 Transformation from a *b3* to *3h*/*s'h*

The speaker defines the forms as well as his *b3* as belonging to him. Still, the *b3* is directly addressed and commanded:

is sp 2 b3=i m3 tw s pf

Go, go my *b3* so that that man will see you.

h^c.t(i) hft hr=f m bw nb ntf im

Stand in front of him in every place he is in.

i^cr n hr=f m irw n 3h

Draw near to his face in the form of an *3h*.¹⁶⁹⁷

As in the other examples, it would seem that the *b3* is told not to be in front of 'that man' in the form of a *b3* but in the forms of an *3h* or *s'h*. This would indicate that the *b3* would undergo a change, or the nature of the appearance of the *b3* would be different from being in the form of a *b3*, since it should here come as the forms of an *3h* or *s'h* in a complete integration of change.

The *b3* is a component able to change. *Irw*, *km3* and *šs3* in these contexts probably carry similar meanings, and are something of which the *3h* or *s'h* consists. They are broader and less specific categories than the *3h*, *s'h* and *b3*. This is also reflected in the most common translations of the concepts which are normally in the semantic field of 'form', so that many things can be described as having a form, while fewer things have a bird form. A person can appear in the *irw*, *km3* or *šs3* of an *3h*, but not for example, in an *3h* of an *irw*.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Spell 103 CT II 110i-j.

Chapter V Final Discussion

V 1 Ritual Texts

The Coffin Texts belong to a wider framework of rituals associated with the mortuary sphere.¹⁶⁹⁸ The tomb equipment, and some short rubrics with instructions, are also elements which assist the reconstruction of the context of their use.¹⁶⁹⁹ However, the kinds of rubrics found in the Coffin Texts are often short and limited to, for example, specifying a particular object for the ritual, often over which the words shall be said. Several people took part in the rituals, but since we are reading mainly what was spoken in the scripts, the wider contexts of movement, gestures and other actions are largely lost for us.

The texts are primarily arts of a ritual performance and will, in different ways, have served this purpose. Even though we use them in order to increase our understanding of religious ideas, these texts were not created to communicate that. The address to the parts of the identity are therefore not a dogmatic statement of a descriptive nature, but belong more to their modes of participation in a ritual that mixes religious ideas, symbolic metaphor and active participation, not describing the form but invoking form as participation.

Some spells occur on a number of coffins, and some have only been found in a single example. The corpus of the Coffin Texts is a construction of a non-homogenous group, with spells which seem to belong variously to a mortuary context, and spells which appear to have a wider usage as well. Other texts which clearly were used in a mortuary context, such as the opening of the mouth ceremony, were used in other contexts, such as on statues in the workshop.¹⁷⁰⁰ The texts are used and reused for different areas,¹⁷⁰¹ and change or develop over time,¹⁷⁰² not being a static canon immune to change. The corpus of the Coffin Texts is also not dogmatic or exclusive. There is no chosen dogma or selected representative ideas, and the text does not become fully canonical.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Assmann, *Altägyptischen Totenliturgien*, 13-20.

¹⁶⁹⁹ See for example Willems on the topic of headrests and headrest spells, *Heqata*, 78, 402 n.aw.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, Fischer-Elfert, *Vision von der Statue*, Lorton in Dick (ed), *Born in Heaven*, 147-175.

¹⁷⁰¹ And also seem to involve similar processes, see Chapter III under 'usage'. For Coffin Text spell 770 and relationship to birth as well as rebirth, Eyre, in Mouton and Patrier (eds), *Life, Death, and Coming of Age in Antiquity*, forthcoming.

¹⁷⁰² For example CT spell 335 and BoD spell 17, for example: van Voss, *De Oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a*, Schenkel, in Westendorf (ed), *Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, 37-79, Sledzianowski, in Westendorf (ed), *Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, 115-128 (and the rest of the articles in the same book on chapter 17 of BoD), or the Cannibal Hymn in PT and CT: Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 11-24, Barta, *ZÄS* 118, 10-20, Altenmüller, in Assmann, Feucht, and Grieshammer (eds), *Fragen an die Altägyptische Literatur*, 19-39, and in general, Thompson, *JEA* 76, 17-25, Assmann, in Israelit-Groll (ed), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim II*, 8-13.

The New Testament, put together during the first centuries AD, was put together by actively choosing texts which would become representative for the religion. The Apocrypha, being excluded from the final work, might still play a role depending on the group, but the texts are, in general, not cited in the same dogmatic way, and most often not referred to at all in general discussions defining the religion. The exclusiveness and limitation of canonical texts creates a dogmatic approach where aspects of morality and mythology can be argued to be right or wrong and the texts become authoritative, rather than performative.

The use of Ritual Texts within different areas, the seemingly non-exclusive approach, and the variety of combination of spells on different coffins, all points to a rather free and more performative spirit in the use of Ritual Texts in general. The variety, the *ad hoc* approach, and the non-exclusiveness of the spells, also gives an impression of non-dogmatic religious ideas where another spell adds to the idea of the former rather than contradicts it, even if it might seem to do so if approached through the prism of binary logic, in a literal-minded way.

V 2 Categories

The method of using modern ethnocentric categories to approach the Ancient Egyptian material does not work very well, but other problems arise with the definition of contemporary categories. In order to describe something, the modern tendency is to use both descriptive and defining language, in order to define what is in the category, and what is not.¹⁷⁰³ Egyptian texts are not as exclusive and other approaches must be made, such as approaching categories based on determinative,¹⁷⁰⁴ or by other means set the starting point in ancient times. For instance the *hprw*-spells exemplify a class of spells which are given rubrics of a single type, thereby forming a category for them. However, the spells are very different, and it is hard to keep to one single translation and meaning for the rubrics, as reflected in the spell. Again, the category is, as a category, not very exclusive or well defined. Considering the inconsistency of adding rubrics to the spells during this time, theoretically a lot more spells could be included into fuzzy category. However, these (over one hundred) spells have, at the time, been included into this category, even if some of them might be fuzzy, and any addition will be a modern interpretation of the original idea(s).

¹⁷⁰³ Though the problem with this has been recognised, for example Rosch, in Rosch and Lloyd (eds), *Cognition and Categorization*, 27-48, Lakoff, and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Nyord, in Grossman, Polis, and Winand (eds), *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 143-144.

¹⁷⁰⁴ See for example Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, Goldwasser and Grinevald in Grossman, Polis, and Winand (eds), *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 17-53, Lincke and Kammerzell in the same volume, 55-112. See also Lincke, *Die Prinzipien der Klassifizierung*.

The complexity of describing the other world is reflected in the multiplicity of imagery. As with gods having multiple iconography, reflecting the complexity of their beings, the Afterlife and the deceased persons passage to, and integration into it, are described through applying images from this world, transferring them as metaphors for exploring the other world. Metaphors are a common technique to handle the spiritual and to be able to communicate it, to make concrete something whose materiality is not accessible but whose essence can be given iconography. The *hprw*-spells as a category is a subcategory to ritual performance, and the rubrics describe a process which takes place. In this way, the category is performative rather than defining.

Egyptian terminology includes a large vocabulary that superficially seems to divide different parts of a person's identity into categories and the attempt to narrow the definition of these individual categories underlies a substantial Egyptological literature.¹⁷⁰⁵ Parts of these discussions surround how abstract or concrete such terms are, applying a modern categorisation to Egyptian concepts. Even though some concepts can be very concrete, such as the corpse, spiritual concepts, such as the *b3*, are not abstract, at least not in the Netherworld. A spiritual, and seemingly abstract concept, can still be concrete in its iconography. However, this concreteness in iconography does not necessarily reflect the nature of the concept from the point of view of the world of the living, and the modes of its interaction with the living.

Also other parts of a person's identity, which by modern terms might be labelled as spiritual, such as the *3h*-ghost of a person, his shadow and his *hk3*-power, do have physical sides to them. The Egyptian metaphors look to produce a concrete iconography rather than a high level abstraction. These spiritual concepts have a material side in the Netherworld, shown by statements such as 'You are not to have power to restrain me and guard my *b3*, my shadow, my *3h* or my *hk3*.'¹⁷⁰⁶ So for example the *b3*, having a concrete representation in iconography, and running the risk of being trapped and hurt by guardians in the Netherworld, can nevertheless in this world act as a less concrete power exerting influence, without being physically visible.

¹⁷⁰⁵ For example into 'physical' and 'social', Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 89, 'Kontinuitätsmodell' and the 'Entwicklung- und Entstehungsmodell' Meyer-Dietrich, *Seneni und Selbst*, 356f, : 'body and mind', 'immaterial sides of the mind', 'energies needed for transformation' and qualities needed for self-realisation, Englund, *Människans Möjligheter*, 16 and the table of content. Parts present in life, after death and 'other', Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, table on page 2. See also Walker, *Egyptian Anatomical Terminology* and Weeks, *Anatomical Knowledge*. See Chapter II.

¹⁷⁰⁶ CT VI 70a-b.

V 3 Personification

In many instances, the *b3* is also closer to a personification of aspects which it represents, such as mobility and activity,¹⁷⁰⁷ rather than an abstraction of a concept. The same process seems to take place in many instances where the dead person is identified with another being. It is seldom the being in its entire identity which is invoked, but the most important aspect(s). The particular aspect of the being is emphasised to such an extent that the being becomes an analytic personification of the aspect.¹⁷⁰⁸ This is not to say that it might not be described as a physical metaphor, with Osiris N having wings and claws. Use of personifications as concrete metaphors seems to be preferred to abstractions, and personifications take visual forms.¹⁷⁰⁹ Even the seemingly most abstract and spiritual concepts are often pictured in concrete form, and the fear of the influence of the invisible is characteristically expressed in physical metaphors.¹⁷¹⁰ By extension there are also objects in the tomb which can relate to different texts, or even processes. For example, the corn mummies¹⁷¹¹ objectify the spells where the dead is identified with Neper,¹⁷¹² the grain god and grain personified¹⁷¹³ and scarabs are connected to the process of transformation spells.¹⁷¹⁴

V 4 Metaphors and physical transformation

The variety of a person's identity, overlapping between this world and the next, is characteristically represented by the motif of a transformation, which is presented as metaphorical or symbolic as often as real. The spells which explicitly deal with transformations have, in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead, a rubric containing *hprw m*, *hpr m*, or *irt hprw m*, followed by the transformation object.

In the Tale of the Two Brothers the important difference between a metaphor and transformation appears to be expressed by varying prepositions. When Bata or Anubis become angry, it is expressed as them becoming like a panther, *mi* is used: *wn.in p3 ʿdd hr hprw mi 3bw šmʿ*.¹⁷¹⁵ In contrast, when Bata transforms himself into a bull, *m* is used: *iw=i hr hprw m wʿ n k3*.¹⁷¹⁶ In this case the *m* of predication is used to present it as physical transformation to a bull. This is also

¹⁷⁰⁷ Barbotin, *RdE* 63, 5-6.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 26.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Gardiner in, Hastings (ed), *Religion and Ethics*, 788.

¹⁷¹⁰ Eyre in Poo (ed), *Rethinking Ghosts*, 44.

¹⁷¹¹ Centrone in Szpakowska (ed), *Through a Glass Darkly*, 33-45, Smith, *Harkness*, 25-26.

¹⁷¹² See spells 269, 299 and 330.

¹⁷¹³ Spells 269, 299 and 330, Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 19 n.1.

¹⁷¹⁴ Žabkar in Thill and Geus (eds), *Melanges offerts a Jean Vercoutter*, 375-388.

¹⁷¹⁵ Gardiner *LES*, 3.8. See also 5.4-5.5. For animals as metaphors for feelings: for example Goldwasser, *Metaphors and Symbols*, v.20/2, 104-106.

¹⁷¹⁶ Gardiner *LES*, 14.5. See also 17.8.

shown by the brother riding on the back of the bull, and the bull being presented to the king.¹⁷¹⁷ This distinction does not always seem to be made clearly or thoroughly in Egyptian, so the language does not directly reveal the difference between a metaphor and a symbolic transformation on one side and a real change in physical form on the other.

The locations of the Afterlife are not easily accessible,¹⁷¹⁸ but are still envisaged as within reach.¹⁷¹⁹ By taking on a form which is a personification of the action of flying, the ability is transferred to the dead for the particular purpose of passage. In relation to the two examples from the Two Brothers, this could be that the dead person is sharing the quality with the animal (temper with the panther and flying with the bird), or that he is temporary taking the physical form of the animal for a purpose (to be presented to the king, and flying).

The process invoked is often one of identification. The dead person in the ritual identifies with a particular being in order to acquire something. In many cases the outcome seems to overshadow the identity itself, focusing on the abilities which are to be acquired, rather than the identity of the being. If the purpose is to reach the sky, a transformation object is chosen for its ability to do so, something which can personify the action of movement required. This is probably not meant in a metaphorical way, that he is flying *like* a bird, but that he is, at least temporarily, really flying *as* a bird. The process of identification with a personification of a concept is more tangible than the abstraction of the same concept.

There are a few exceptions to the lack of clear distinction between metaphors and identifications in the Coffin Texts. In spell 205 the speaker says: 'I have flown up to them as (*m*) a swallow, like (*mi*) Thoth. I cackle to them as (*m*) a goose, like (*mi*) Shesemu.'¹⁷²⁰ The actions of the identification objects¹⁷²¹ are compared to two gods who have bird iconography, linking them metaphorically.

After death a person has other means of passage than through a transformation. The *b3* can reach the sky and other places, seemingly without changing its *hprw*. The bird as a transformation object could therefore be viewed as metaphorical, since the *b3*, which is the part of the identity which *hpr-s*, and a swallow share certain aspects. The *b3* could fly like a swallow. However, in this

¹⁷¹⁷ For the story of 'The Two Brothers' and transformations see Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 395-398, Zeidler in Rothöhler and Manisali (eds), *Mythos & Ritual*, 306-309 with further references.

¹⁷¹⁸ With some exceptions such as the Greco-Roman Setne II Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, translation in Lichtheim, *Egyptian Literature III*, 138-142. In either case, it is not easy to get back from the Netherworld, see p. Vandier, Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier*, 39-97, and the Harpers song express that no one comes back from the dead, Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, plates XLV-XLVI and 23-24.

¹⁷¹⁹ As is shown by maps and guides to the Netherworld, for example Book of the Two Ways: Lesco, *Book of Two Ways*, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege des Jenseits*, Robinson in O'Connor and Quirke (eds), *Mysterious Lands*, 139-159.

¹⁷²⁰ CT III 144b-c. See also CT IV 93k-l.

¹⁷²¹ Though not transformation object since the spell has a different kind of rubric.

case the aspects of the *b3* and the transformation object overlap. When the transformation object is a role, such as king or a scribe, there is no direct overlap between the *b3* and the transformation object. To take on the role of a scribe of Hathor in the Afterlife results in, for instance, authority, control over offerings, and also an established relationship to the goddess. This does, in a sense, make the ‘scribe of Hathor’ an embodiment of the mentioned advantages. However, the direct identification, ‘I am the scribe of Hathor’ seems to indicate a less metaphorical, and a more concrete transformation. This is further strengthened by the depictions of the transformation objects, for example in the Book of the Dead, where the new physical form is represented,¹⁷²² and spells which have very physical descriptions of the transformation object in the Coffin Texts. The process of *hprw* works as a means of acquiring aspects, which are made concrete through an imagery of different *hprw* which embodies the aspects. The embodiments work as personifications of, or metaphors for, the aspects, but the process of transformation and identification are not simply metaphorical.

V 5 Parts versus the whole

The many lists of different aspects of a person’s identity, which enumerate these concepts next to each other, mean that these parts come across as building blocks of the consistency of a person. Together with other parts they are interrelated, closely connected and add up to the whole. In a different context, some of these concepts are able to represent the whole of a person, such as the *b3*, *3h*, *hprw* and the name.¹⁷²³ By naming a person, also in modern times, he or she can be spoken about as a whole person and identity, not only discussing the person’s name in particular.¹⁷²⁴ In certain instances, the name in Egyptian is also a part of a person, rather than representing him, for example, being placed among other components in lists.

In the Afterlife, the *b3* can also represent a whole person.¹⁷²⁵ This is partly shown in the Coffin Texts where ‘I’ and ‘*b3*’ seem exchangeable.¹⁷²⁶ Also in other instances the *b3* does seem to represent the whole being, not least when an identification sentence, instead of identifying with a particular god’s name, identifies the dead person with the *b3* of the god. If any difference can be discerned between these two, which often occur in parallel,¹⁷²⁷ the *b3* represents the active side of the god.

¹⁷²² For a discussion about this see Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 611.

¹⁷²³ As Hornung puts it ‘every person has a *ba*, but is also a *ba*’, *Conceptions of God*, 242.

¹⁷²⁴ For the use of naming see Assmann, *ÄHG*, 26-45 and *Search for God*, 83-87.

¹⁷²⁵ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*.

¹⁷²⁶ See Chapter IV under ‘the *b3* and the dead person’.

¹⁷²⁷ See for example the beginning of spell 75, and the rubric which contains both, CT I 314a, in Chapter IV.

This can be seen in some examples where the god seems mainly to be represented in this particular aspect, and it is his *b3* which is constantly referred to.¹⁷²⁸

Different concepts can work as a category for other concepts. *hprw* is a form-category of different beings, including birds, gods and even professions. Other words for forms, such as *irw*, *km3* and *ss3*, are in a few spells instead what an *3h* consists of, or at least what can make up an *3h*. The *b3* can manifest in animals and celestial constellations, and it is also the *b3* which *hpr-s*. The ability of the *b3* to manifest in different forms has been ascribed to it as one of its most important qualities.¹⁷²⁹ The *b3* and the shadow can also become and *3h*.¹⁷³⁰ A *b3* can be a manifestation of a person, and represent the whole person, as the name can be used to represent a person. At the same time a description of a person can be broken down to the smallest parts to include everything there is.

V 6 Integration and disintegration

Death is partly pictured as a disintegration,¹⁷³¹ a motif visible in the Osiris myth, as well as in several mortuary texts where the different parts of a person's identity, after death, can be in different locations. Beside the Osiris myth, the motif of unification and separation can also be found in creation myths where the pre-unified potential exists in Nun before they come together in a unified creation-god, still containing the potential, to then result in the polygenic diversity of the world.

The disintegration, and the fear of it, is shown in the many dangers which are related to dismemberment, other kinds of harm and dysfunction of the different components of the dead person.¹⁷³² Several Coffin Text spells serve to restore the disintegration of death. While some tend to mention the different components, presumably in the purpose of including them,¹⁷³³ others give a very physical picture of the different parts being restored, for example placing the head on the neck.¹⁷³⁴ This restoration and assembling of components is in no means restricted to the physical body parts, but also include *b3*, *k3*, *3h*, *hk3w* and others.¹⁷³⁵

¹⁷²⁸ See spell 61, 75, 307, 818, 914 and 1142, Chapter IV.

¹⁷²⁹ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 12-15, Leclant, *Syncretismes*, 15-18, Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'b3'*, 8, Morenz, *Religion*, 157, Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual*, 189-198, Janak, *SAK* 40, 144-145.

¹⁷³⁰ CT V 240e.

¹⁷³¹ See Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, especially the chapters Death as Dismemberment, 23-38 and Death as Dissociation, 87-112.

¹⁷³² Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* is full of these dangers and demons inflicting them, for example 147-158, 173-184 and 200-208.

¹⁷³³ Or make them divine, see spell 761.

¹⁷³⁴ Spell 229, CT III 295c.

¹⁷³⁵ See for example spell 304.

Overall, the listing of concepts of a person's identity seems foremost to be concerned with the intactness of a person both physically and spiritually, so defining his identity. The variety of concepts included, and variety of the number of them, strengthens the impression of an undogmatic approach to the entirety of a person, where the purpose is that of inclusiveness. Therefore, one coffin can have seemingly similar spells which might have been included to duplicate the favourable outcome further.

At the same time, different parts of the identity can be separated after death and should be. A number of spells about the *b3* and the corpse focus on them being away from each other during the day, though being unified during the night. This separation of them in different locations is an intentional one, reflecting the different locations of the Afterlife, as opposed to life on earth. It is not disintegration into nothing, but a separation into different parts with a certain independency, as well as an assurance of unification.

V 7 Relationship between parts

Some parts of a person's identity have a stronger connection to other parts. To take the *b3* as an example, it has several other components closely connected to it. The shadow is strongly connected to the *b3*, and in the Coffin Texts the shadow occurs more often together with the *b3* than without. The shadow can also assume some of the aspects normally ascribed to the *b3*.¹⁷³⁶ Also the *b3* and the corpse have a strong relationship, as polar opposites in the repeated motif of the *b3* to the sky and the corpse to the earth. The corpse is the closest presentation of physical death, immovable, and human, while the *b3* is mobile, living and divine.¹⁷³⁷ These two contrasting concepts have a relationship of interdependence in the daily cycle of the *b3* leaving the corpse during the day but returning to it during the night.¹⁷³⁸

A different relationship is found between the *b3* and the legs of a person. In this case, it is the aspect of movement which unites the two components, which is sometimes expressed in statements that someone has power in his legs as a living *b3*.¹⁷³⁹ Expressions like this can also be found in relationship to other parts, for example:

is sp 2 b3=i 3h=i hk3=i šwyt=i

Go, go, my *b3*, my *3h*, my *hk3w* and my shadow.

¹⁷³⁶ See Chapter IV under 'The *b3* and the shadow'.

¹⁷³⁷ Loprieno, in Guksch, Hoffmann and Bommas (eds), *Grab und Totenkult*, 219.

¹⁷³⁸ See for example Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 106-112, Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 6, Te Velde in Kippenberg, Kupier and Sanders (eds), *Concepts of Person*, 92, Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 91, Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 343-344. See Chapter IV under 'The *b3* and the *3h*'.

¹⁷³⁹ Spell 488, CT VI 67c.

shm=k m rdy=k

You have power in your leg.¹⁷⁴⁰

However, in this group of spells (488-500) it seems that the *b3*, *hk3w* and shadow, as a unity, are foremost in taking on the aspects of the *b3*, and are treated thereafter.

In the way that the *b3* is connected to legs through movement, a specific part of its identity is connected to a desired outcome in the Afterlife, where the *b3*, is connected to bodily functions which have to do with movement. Further obvious connections of this sort are between eyes and seeing, mouth and eating, nose and breathing. However, these are very physical body functions, easily observable in life and equally important in the Afterlife, which are also evident in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual which serves to restore these after death.¹⁷⁴¹

hprw, being included in lists of components of a person, is also used in rubrics as representing a process, thereby also being connected to specific outcomes. While it does not seem that the *hprw*-part of the person which does the *hpr*, *hprw* can be used as a category of different forms which the person, or god, does *hpr* into. Both signifying the process, and being a category for the result, *hprw* is connected to outcomes of, for example, passage and integration into the Afterlife.

V 8 Relationships between the *b3* and *hprw*

The *hpr* or *hprw*, and the *b3*, can both be means by which a dead person manifests, in the meaning of taking on a specific form, an aspect of the person manifesting in a particular way for a particular reason.¹⁷⁴² The *b3* is an important aspect of a person's identity, and it is able to represent the whole person,¹⁷⁴³ but it is also the active aspect of a person, representing movement, power, and the living and vital person after death. *hpr* and *hprw* are used in a wide range of ways, for example in the epithet *hpr ds=f* and related phrases for 'coming into being'. Also, *hprw* is used as a category for forms, in the broadest sense of the word 'form', which can be taken on by the dead person. This is shown by the use of rubrics of spells where the performer of the spell assumes qualities from the transformation objects by means of identification. It is not so clear in the Coffin Texts that it is the *b3* which actually performs the change into a different *hprw*, the manifestation that takes place, but it is obvious from later texts that this is the relationship.¹⁷⁴⁴

Some collections have been made of sentences where the *b3* and *hprw* occur together, outside the Coffin Texts, which can say something about their relationship. Borghouts has one collection

¹⁷⁴⁰ Spell 491, CT VI 71h-i.

¹⁷⁴¹ Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*.

¹⁷⁴² *b3w* is defined by Roeder not as a manifestation but as a power which can manifest, but also have other potentials, Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual*, 191-192, 211-212.

¹⁷⁴³ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*.

¹⁷⁴⁴ See Chapter III for examples.

from different genres in Deir el-Medina of *b3w (ntr) hprw*- sentences which he argues supports the relationship between *b3w* and *hprw*.¹⁷⁴⁵ Another collection has been put together by Assmann, with sentences such as: ‘Hail to the *b3*, sacred of *hprw*.’ His interpretation is that it is the *b3* which *hpr-s*, that the *b3* is ‘the power that “happens”, materialises (*hpr*) in forms.’¹⁷⁴⁶

In the spells with *hprw* in the rubric, the process is most commonly expressed by identification, and the most common transformation objects are gods and birds. At the same time, a large number of spells which contain passages about the *b3*, contain identifications with the *b3* of a god. Even though the *b3*-bird is not visible in art before the New Kingdom, it is clearly a bird in the writing, and occasionally this is also acknowledged in the spells, where bird features of the *b3* is described.¹⁷⁴⁷ The two main categories of *hprw*-spells by transformation object, gods and birds, thereby coincide with a major category of *b3*-passages (*b3* of gods), and with the appearance of the *b3* (bird).

A person’s *b3* did not have to stay in the form of a bird, and certainly not in the form of the deceased. The *b3w* of gods can manifest in animals and objects, such as the Apis-bull and Orion,¹⁷⁴⁸ raising the status of the subject of manifestation above the original one. Gods could also have several *b3w*, especially gods like Re. Gods and, at least dead, people could manifest, *b3w*, before others.¹⁷⁴⁹ Since also a god can be the *b3* of another god, this links different aspects of the divine sphere, letting the gods have a closer relationship than if they were ‘simply’ linked.

If a person’s *b3* shares with the *b3* of gods the ability to manifest in a number of ways, perhaps then becoming, for example, Shu, would mean that the *b3* of the deceased manifests itself as Shu and then at the same time becomes that god’s *b3*. Since it is the *b3* making the *hprw*, if the *b3* of the dead person is identified with the *b3* of a god, it is essentially a manifestation (*b3* of a person) which manifests (*hprw*) in a manifestation (*b3* of a god). In this sense Shu would have several *b3w* as manifestations of himself, but at the same time this manifestations of himself are the deceased’s *b3*, manifesting itself as Shu. The dead being identified with a god would not mean there are thousands

¹⁷⁴⁵ *b3w* as in the collective influential *b3w*-power though the distinction is in no way absolute, Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 3-10. For more about *b3w* and oaths, Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (ed), *Text und Ritual*, 198-203.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 142-143, the example is from Cramer, *ZÄS* 72, 106 plate IX no 24. Additional examples which Assmann has collected are from from P. Berlin 3049 *ÄHG* 127a 1-2, Sobek-Re P. Strasbourg IV 15, *ÄHG* 144c 62.

¹⁷⁴⁷ See for example spell 149.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Žabkar, *Ba concept*, 12, Leclant, *Synchrétismes*, 15-18, Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes ‘b3’*, 8, Morenz, *Religion*, 157, Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual*, 189-198, Janak, *SAK* 40, 144-145.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Letters to the Dead papyrus Leiden 1 371. Borghouts in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 1-70.

of actual Shu-gods in the Netherworld, but thousands of manifestations of him at different times. This would mean an integration into the sphere of gods, and into the Afterlife, while the dead still keeps other parts of himself outside this sphere, and thereby he is not completely absorbed through this identification, but a part of him is granted integration.¹⁷⁵⁰

V 9 Parallels between *s3hw* and *hprw*

s3hw-texts are a category which includes both texts which were so named in ancient times, but also texts which, although not specially labelled as such, seem to have as their function to cause a person to become an *3h*.¹⁷⁵¹ The dead are at the centre, and such texts do not, according to Assmann, refer to any cultic act or anything else outside the divine sphere.¹⁷⁵² The *s3hw* is an oral rite, and the recitation in itself is complete. As accompaniment to symbolic action in this world, something happens in the world of the gods. The recitation of *s3hw* as a rite of passage accompanies the dead into the sphere of the gods.¹⁷⁵³ To reach the new status of *3h* through the *s3hw*-texts, the dead person is, among other things, placed in social context to integrate him into it.¹⁷⁵⁴ This is partly done by placing the dead in a ‘family’, naming gods in kinship relations to him, and him being received as a beloved one, welcomed and worshiped.¹⁷⁵⁵ To become an *3h* is similar to an initiation into the world of the gods, but it can only be done for the dead and not the living.¹⁷⁵⁶

The themes of passage and integration of the dead into the divine sphere, are the same in *s3hw*-spells¹⁷⁵⁷ as in some of the *hprw*-spells. Assmann separates the *s3hw* from other funerary liturgies by the form of personal pronoun used. The first person, or third person, are often used in the *hprw*-spells while the *s3hw*-texts have an anonymous speaker addressing the dead or, as in the

¹⁷⁵⁰ On this topic and different views of it: Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 614-615 and Smith in Backes, Munro and Stöhr (eds) *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 334-336, Servajean, *Les formules des transformations*, 52-54, Federn, *JNES* 18, 248-250, Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat*, 157, Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 61, Žabkar, *JNES* 22, 60, Willems, *Heqata*, 279-283, Wilson, *Demonology*, 77-87, Zeider in Rothöhler and Manisali (ed), *Mythos & Ritual*, 310.

¹⁷⁵¹ For the definition, see for example Assmann in a number of instances, among them: *Search for God*, 87-92, 156, *Death and Salvation*, 237-259 *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* I, 23, in Israelit-Groll (ed), *Studies in Egyptology*, 16 and ‘verklärung’ in LÄ, Barbash, *Papyrus of Padikakem*, 36, 39-56.

¹⁷⁵² Assmann, *Search for God*, 90.

¹⁷⁵³ Altenmüller, *Texte zum Begräbnisritual*, 62, Barbash, *Papyrus of Padikakem*, 42, Assmann, LÄ, 1002.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 28.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Assmann, *Search for God*, 90-91.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* I, 33-36, *Death and Salvation*, 200-208. Though if the living can become an *3h* or not seems disputed, Barbash, *Papyrus of Padikakem*, 39, DuQuesne in Assmann and Bommas (eds), *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, 40, both mainly talk about mortuary literature but which refers to the living or could have been used by the living. Englund also speaks about an *3h*-state which is reached by means of knowledge and insight, for the dead as well as for the living, *Människans Möjligheter*, 144-186.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Smith, *Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, 7.

pyramid texts, talking about him in the third person.¹⁷⁵⁸ It has been suggested both with *s3hw* and *hprw* that it is the *b3* which *s3h-s* and *hpr-s*.¹⁷⁵⁹ The social integration in the *s3hw* also seems to be in a sense of the dead keeping his identity, or changing it to an *3h*, though giving him new ties, while the *hprw*-spells use identification to take on an aspect of a distinctive transformation object.

The causative form of *3h* clearly states the function of the ritual, with the special text corpus belonging to the genre. *s3hw* is a category of texts where *s3hw*, as with *hprw*, refers to a process. Where becoming an *3h* is the goal with the *s3hw*-texts, a *hprw*-form is a broad category for different forms into which the dead person can *hpr*, again both defining the process and the goal. However, *hprw* appears as a very broad category, in which many different aspects might be included, while *3h* is narrower. The *hprw*-spells of the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead are not included in Assmann's lists of *s3hw*-texts.¹⁷⁶⁰ Even though *3h* are mentioned in the *hprw*-spells, the texts do not seem directly related to the *s3hw* process. Having many similarities in their processes, and their goals, *s3hw*- and *hprw*-texts then appear as two similar categories, rather than that either one process added part of the other. However, neither category being excluding in their definition, they constantly overlap.

V 10 Influence

The different concepts of a person's identity can influence other beings or objects in various degrees. The shadow, as a part of the identity of a person or god, is also like the shadow of living people and objects, and can be cast upon something or someone. This is expressed on the stela of Sebekhotep where he says:

šsp pn ir.n=i r šwyt n b3=i šhn n šwyt=i ...this chapel which I have made to be shadow for my *b3*
and a resting place for my shadow.¹⁷⁶¹

This pun is also a nice description of the shadow, as being a part of a person's identity, is also exactly a shadow which provides shade. The relationship between the *b3* and the shadow is also expressed by the *b3* enjoying shade, and the resting place for the shadow parallels the *b3* as a bird alighting.¹⁷⁶²

¹⁷⁵⁸ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 359-363 and 'verklärung' in *LÄ*, 1001, Barbash, *Papyrus of Padikakem*, 49.

¹⁷⁵⁹ For *s3hw*: Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte*, 63, For *hprw*: Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 611, Griffiths in van Voss *et al* (eds), *Studies in Egyptian Religion*, 50, Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 142-143, Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 182, Roeder in Dücker and Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual*, 196, Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 54.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Assmann, in *LÄ*, 999.

¹⁷⁶¹ Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie*, plate 11, line 7-8, Steindorff, *ZÄS* 39, 117-121

¹⁷⁶² Compare the passage from the sixth hour of Amduat, *sbt b3 šhnt šwyt*, Hornung, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 205.

When the shadow is cast, it has the ability to influence, and the Coffin Texts provide some examples of this. In positive terms, it is expressed in spell 318, that the entire earth is under the shadow of Hapy, which seems to be in the meaning of protection and making the land flourish. Amun is also potentially imposing influence over Shu and Tefnut through his shadow in spell 607. Even though the passage is quite obscure,¹⁷⁶³ it is clear that it is negative.¹⁷⁶⁴ Also the *b3* and the *b3w* can exert influence, and the *b3w* can be sent out in this purpose, often in a hostile way against enemies.¹⁷⁶⁵ The *b3* can also cause harm,¹⁷⁶⁶ possibly being paralleled to the harmful dead and guardian gods in spell 146. However, in spell 405 it is the person's own *b3* which will destroy him if he enters the wrong side of the boat.

When different parts of the identity occur together in one spell, they are sometimes treated as one; being referred to in singular, and having the same goals and aspects ascribed to them. The *b3* is primarily the part which is associated with free movement and going to the sky. When the *3h*, *hk3* and shadow occur together with the *b3* in spells 488-500, the other parts of the identity accompany the *b3* also in this aspect and location. In these spells, it seems that the *b3* is the main character, which influences the setting for the other components. This also illustrates the problem of separating the different concepts of the identity, and trying to define them in isolation.

The transformation and identification with another being in the *hprw*-spells, involves taking on one or more aspects, or abilities, from the transformation object. Even though the *hprw*, as a concept in its own right, does not actively impose its influence in the same manner as the *b3/b3w* and the shadow, the process in the *hprw*-spells has an impact on the outcomes in the Afterlife, adding to the ways of passage and integration. This synchronisation of the identity of the dead and a different identity which embodies or personifies certain aspects, relates to beings inhabiting each other, synchronising vital characteristics of their personality, thereby influencing the aspects and the altogether identity of the final persona.

¹⁷⁶³ See Chapter IV under 'the shadow on its own' for both of these spells.

¹⁷⁶⁴ See also the same chapter on the shadow and the passage in Wenamun which seem to have a potentially equal influence. For example, Schipper, *Die Erzählung des Wenamun*, 83. Meltzer, *JSSEA 17*, 86-88, Jackson, *JNES 54*, 273-286.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Only one instance of *hprw* in the Coffin Text can possibly be paralleled to this, in spell 52 when *ir.n=f hpr r ntr pn CT 1240a*. However, in other examples someone takes a particular *hprw* to act against someone, changing form to something suitable for the purpose. This particular passage should probably be understood as him manifesting against this god in a way of approaching him, though in a threatening way (*r*) and not that the unspecified *hprw* itself is comparable to the *b3w* being sent out against enemies.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Spell 146 and 405, see Chapter IV under 'The *b3* causing harm'.

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