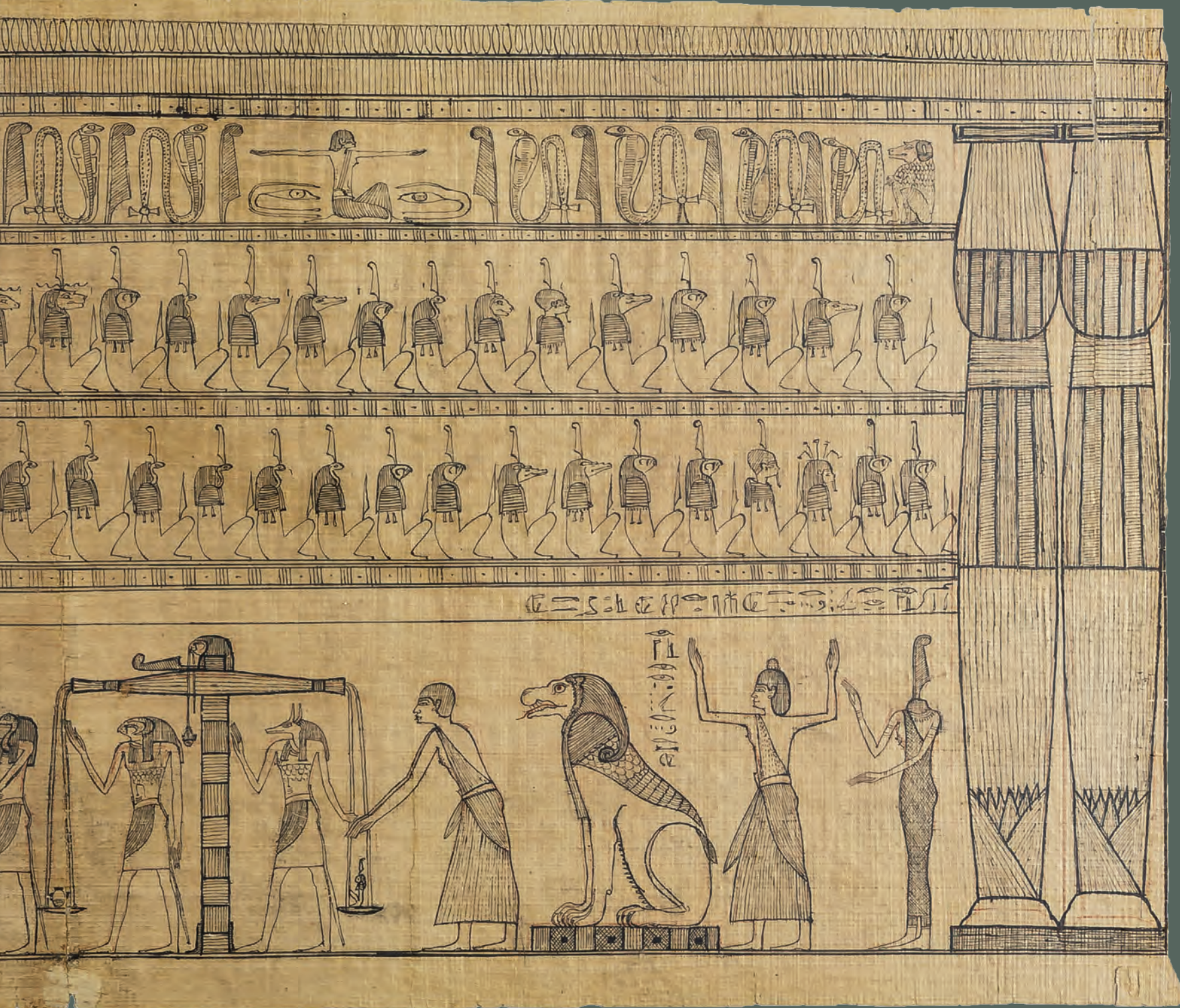


BOOK OF THE DEAD

BECOMING GOD IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Edited by Foy Scalf



BOOK OF THE DEAD



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

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edited by

FOY SCALF

with new object photography by

Kevin Bryce Lowry

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword. <i>Christopher Woods</i>	7
Preface. <i>Jean Evans</i>	9
Introduction: Preparing for the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt. <i>Foy Scalf</i>	11
List of Contributors	14
Egyptian Chronology	17
Map of Principal Areas and Sites Mentioned in the Text	18
I. BIRTH OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD	
1. What Is the Book of the Dead. <i>Foy Scalf</i>	21
2. The Origins and Early Development of the Book of the Dead. <i>Peter F. Dorman</i>	29
3. Language and Script in the Book of the Dead. <i>Emily Cole</i>	41
4. The Significance of the Book of the Dead Vignettes. <i>Irmtraut Munro</i>	49
II. PRODUCTION AND USE	
5. How a Book of the Dead Manuscript Was Produced. <i>Holger Kockelmann</i>	67
6. The Ritual Context of the Book of the Dead. <i>Yekaterina Barbash</i>	75
7. Transmission of Funerary Literature: Saite through Ptolemaic Periods. <i>Malcolm Mosher Jr.</i>	85
8. The Archaeology of the Book of the Dead. <i>Isabelle Régen</i>	97
III. MAGIC AND THEOLOGY	
9. Divinization and Empowerment of the Dead. <i>Robert K. Ritner</i>	109
10. The Mysteries of Osiris. <i>Andrea Kucharek</i>	117
11. Gods, Spirits, Demons of the Book of the Dead. <i>Rita Lucarelli</i>	127
IV. DEATH AND REDISCOVERY	
12. The Death of the Book of the Dead. <i>Foy Scalf</i>	139
13. The Rediscovery of the Book of the Dead. <i>Barbara Lüscher</i>	149
14. Necrobibliomania: (Mis)appropriations of the Book of the Dead. <i>Steve Vinson</i>	161
V. CATALOG	
Human Remains	173
Linen Bandages	176
Heart Scarabs	183
Sarcophagi and Coffins	191
Papyri Cases	198
Papyri	201
Magic Bricks	311
Funerary Figures	319
Stelae	324
Tomb Reliefs.....	330
Statues and Figures of Deities	335
Scribal Materials	351
Checklist of the Exhibit	357
Concordance of Museum Registration Numbers	359
Bibliography	361

1. WHAT IS THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

FOY SCALF

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

codex format became common in ancient Egypt only after the second century AD (Bagnall 2009). Up until then, and for a time afterward, the primary format for “books” in ancient Egypt was the papyrus scroll.

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



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

BOOK OF THE DEAD: BECOMING GOD IN ANCIENT EGYPT



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

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

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

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

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

1. WHAT IS THE BOOK OF THE DEAD



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

al-umwat “books of the dead” used by Egyptian villagers to describe papyri found in tombs (Quirke 2013, p. vii). Ancient Egyptians called the composition the “Book of Going Forth by Day” (*t3 md3:t n.t pri.t m hrw*) (fig. 1.2) or the “Spells for Going Forth by Day” (*r3.w n.w pri.t m hrw*). “Going forth by day” refers to the soul, called the *ba* (*b3*) in the Egyptian language, with its ability to leave the tomb, fly out into the daylight, and join the sun god in his journey across the heavens (figs. 1.4 and 4.1). Book of the Dead spell 15B, section 3, elaborates on the concept of going forth by day: “As for any spirit (*3h*) for whom this book is made, his soul (*b3*) goes forth with the living. It goes forth by day. It is mighty among the gods” (T. Allen 1936, p. 148). The title “Book of Going Forth by Day” was not a technical title and it actually did not designate a single, particular book (Schott 1990, pp. 101, 168–70). It was a generic designation that could be applied to nearly any funerary composition that served a similar purpose and in fact had already appeared in the

Coffin Texts (e.g., CT 94, 152, 335, 404) and continued to appear in the Ptolemaic Period in the Books of Breathing (cf. P. Louvre N 3166, 1–4, Herbin 1999, p. 216). Even individual spells within the Book of the Dead carried the title (e.g., BD 1–3, 64–66, 68).

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

BOOK OF THE DEAD: BECOMING GOD IN ANCIENT EGYPT



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

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

Since the Book of the Dead was a collection of individual compositions, by extension the Book of the Dead therefore appears on many other media beside papyrus as each spell could be inscribed alone or in groups of spell sequences. Spells were inscribed on every form of media available, including papyri, leather, linen bandages, cartonnage mummy cases, coffins, sarcophagi, funerary figures, stelae, magic bricks, and even on the walls of the tomb. In fact,

Book of the Dead spells were often inscribed in all these places for an individual with the means to afford it. This created an embedded redundancy by surrounding the dead within a magical cocoon and ensured that if the spells from one copy were damaged, a second or third copy was available to effect its magical intent.

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

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

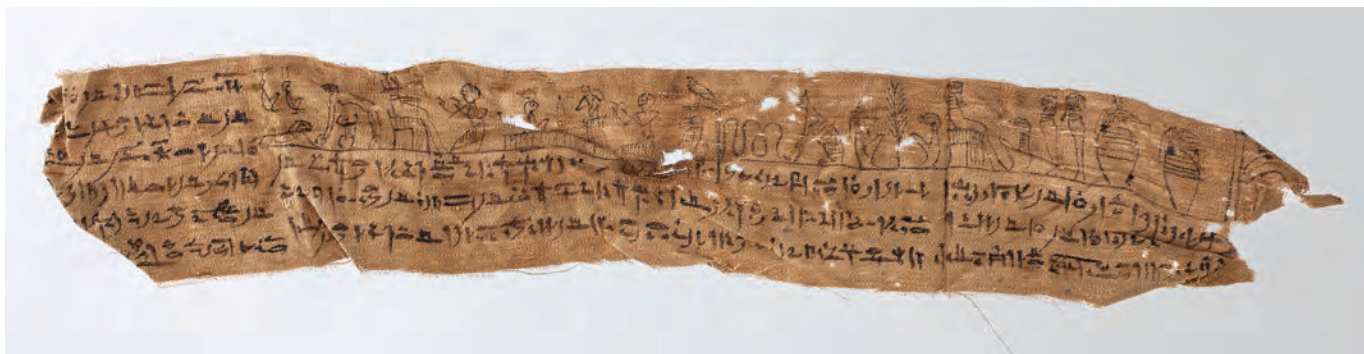


FIGURE 1.5. A linen bandage inscribed with the text and vignettes from BD 17 would have been wrapped around the mummified body of its owner, the “Osiris, royal scribe, Pankhered, whom Taremetenbastet bore,” prior to burial. Egypt. Linen and ink. H: 7 x W: 41 cm. Ptolemaic Period. Gift from the Estate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

1. WHAT IS THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

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

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

The appearance of Book of the Dead spells on individual objects within the funerary assemblage raises some interesting questions about the development (Chapter 2), use (Chapter 8), and transmission (Chapter 7) of the Book of the Dead. Many of the spells have obvious origins in the corpora of funerary compositions that had preceded them, namely the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts. Separating the spells into Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Book of

the Dead spells is an arbitrary convention of modern scholars as it is clear that the ancient Egyptians saw all of these compositions on a single continuum, even if they had popular presentation in particular contexts such as in pyramids, on coffins, or on papyri.



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

BOOK OF THE DEAD: BECOMING GOD IN ANCIENT EGYPT

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

Many spells contain instructions on their use that do not call for their incorporation into a larger papyrus compilation. These instructions were commonly written in red, like the titles of the spells, and are referred to as rubrics, a term derived from Latin *rubrica* ("red ochre") in reference to the use of red to highlight specific letters in Medieval manuscripts. In certain cases, the rubrics describe how the spell was intended to be used in conjunction with a particular amulet. For example, BD 30B is a spell for preventing the heart from condemning a man in the judgment hall (Cat. Nos. 6–9). The associated rubric instructs that the spell is to be written on and recited over a scarab made from green stone. It is likely, therefore, that the written version of this spell originated as an amuletic text employed with these particular

artifacts and it probably had a longer history of oral transmission for which we have no written evidence. The spell would have then only secondarily been incorporated into manuscripts with large collections of spells that we know as the Book of the Dead. Support for this reconstruction is found in particular for BD 30B. Some of the earliest attestations of spells from the corpus designated as the Book of the Dead consist of copies of BD 30B found on heart scarabs from the Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke 2013, p. 100), prior to any attestations of the spells on papyrus. Thus, the earliest attested Book of the Dead spell is not on a Book of the Dead at all, but on a heart scarab.

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



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

1. WHAT IS THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

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

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

When all of the above is taken into consideration, it is clear that answering the question “what is the Book of the Dead” is very different from answering the question “what was the Book of the Dead.” In many ways, the Book of the Dead is a modern construction of our imagination. Our conceptions are dictated by the way we categorize the texts, how we privilege particular formats (e.g., papyri), what we see as the ultimate purpose, and even what name we give to the ancient compositions. In most of these cases, our conceptual apparatus for discussing and

understanding this material is radically different than that of the ancient Egyptians themselves. In some ways this is inevitable, but it is important to keep in mind the different perspectives. Our modern concepts can help us articulate our advances in interpretation, but they can also mislead us into misinterpretations (Chapter 14), applying intentions, messages, or conclusions that never existed in the ancient mind.



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

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