

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE

THE BOOK *of* THE DEAD

The Papyrus of Ani



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The Papyrus of Ani,¹ which was acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum in the year 1888, is the largest, the most perfect, the best preserved, and the best illuminated of all the papyri which date from the second half of the XVIIIth dynasty (about B.C. 1500 to 1400). Its rare vignettes, and hymns, and chapters, and its descriptive and introductory rubrics render it of unique importance for the study of the Book of the Dead, and it takes a high place among the authoritative texts of the Theban version of that remarkable work. Although it contains less than one-half of the chapters which are commonly assigned to that version, we may conclude that Ani's exalted official position as Chancellor of the ecclesiastical revenues and endowments of Abydos and Thebes would have ensured a selection of such chapters as would suffice for his spiritual welfare in the future life. We may therefore regard the Papyrus of Ani as typical of the funeral book in vogue among the Theban nobles of his time.



Papyrus of Ani

The first edition of the Facsimile of the Papyrus was issued in 1890, and was accompanied by a valuable Introduction by Mr. Le Page Renouf, then Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. But, in order to satisfy a widely expressed demand for a translation of the text, the present volume has been prepared to be issued with the second edition of the Facsimile. It contains the hieroglyphic text of the Papyrus with interlinear transliteration and word for word translation, a full description of the vignettes, and a running translation; and in the Introduction an attempt has been made to illustrate from native

1. The Papyrus of Ani is a papyrus manuscript with cursive hieroglyphs and color illustrations created c. 1250 BCE, in the 19th dynasty of the New Kingdom of ancient Egypt. Egyptians compiled an individualized book for certain people upon their death, called the Book of Going Forth by Day, more commonly known as the Book of the Dead, typically containing declarations and spells to help the deceased in their afterlife. The Papyrus of Ani is the manuscript compiled for the Theban scribe Ani.

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Egyptian sources the religious views of the wonderful people who more than five thousand years ago proclaimed the resurrection of a spiritual body and the immortality of the soul.

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

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

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE VERSIONS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

The four great Versions of the Book of the Dead.

THE history of the great body of religious compositions which form the Book of Dead of the ancient Egyptians may conveniently be divided into four² of the periods, which are represented by four versions:

1. The version which was edited by the priests of the college of Annu (the On of the Bible, and the Heliopolis of the Greeks), and which was based upon a series of texts now lost, but which there is evidence to prove had passed through a series of revisions or editions as early as the period of the Vth dynasty. This version was, so far as we know, always written in hieroglyphics, and may be called the Heliopolitan version. It is known from five copies which are inscribed upon the walls of the

2. See Naville, Todtenbuch (Einleitung), p. 39.

chambers and passages in the pyramids³ of kings of the Vth and VIth dynasties at Sakkâra,⁴ and sections of it are found inscribed upon tombs, sarcophagi, coffins, stelæ and papyri from the XIth dynasty to about A.D. 200.⁵

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II. The Theban version, which was commonly written on papyri in hieroglyphics and was divided into sections or chapters, each of which had its distinct title but no definite place in the series. The version was much used from the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasty.

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

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

3. Hence known as the "pyramid texts."

4. *I.e.*, Unâs, Tetâ, Pepi I., Mentu-em-sa-f, and Pepi II. Their pyramids were cleared out by MM. Mariette and Maspero during the years 1890-84, and the hieroglyphic texts were published, with a French translation, in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii-xiv., Paris, 1882-93.

5. In the XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth dynasties many monuments are inscribed with sections of the Unâs text. Thus lines 206-69 are found in hieroglyphics upon the coffin of Amamu (British Museum, No. 6654. See Birch, *Egyptian Texts of the Earliest Period from the Coffin of Amamu*, 1886. Plates XVII.-XX.); Il. 206-14 and 268-84 on the coffin of Apa-anekh, from Sakkâra (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., Bl. 99 b; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iii., pp. 200 and 214 ff.); Il. 206-10 {footnote page x.} and 268-89 on the coffin of Antef (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., Bl. 145; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iii., pp. 200, 214); line 206 on a coffin of Mentu-hetep at Berlin (see Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, Bl. 5); lines 269-94 on the sarcophagus of Heru-hetep (see Maspero, *Mémoires*, t. i., p. 144). A section is found on the walls of the tomb of Queen Neferu (see Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iii., p. 201 ff.; *Mémoires*, t. i., p. 134); other sections are found on the sarcophagus of Taka (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., Bll. 147, 148; Maspero, *Guide au Visiteur*, p. 224, No. 1053; *Mémoires*, t. i., p. 134); lines 5-8 occur on the stele of Apa (see Ledrain, *Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris, 1879, foll. 14, 15); lines 166 ff. are found on the stele of Nehi (see Mariette, *Notice des Mon. à Boulaq*, p. 190; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iii., p. 195); and lines 576-83 on the coffin of Sebek-Aa (see Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, Bl. 37; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iv., p. 68). In the XVIIIth dynasty line 169 was copied on a wall in the temple of Hatshepset at Dêr el-baharî (see Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, Bll. 25-37; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. i., p. 195 ff.); and copies of lines 379-99 occur in the papyri of Mut-hetep (British Museum, No. 10,010) and Nefer-uten-f (Paris, No. 3092, See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 197; *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXII., p. 3; and Naville, *Einleitung*, pp. 39, 97). In the XXVIth dynasty we find texts of the Vth dynasty repeated on the walls of the tomb of Peta-Amen-apt, the chief *kher-heb* at Thebes (see Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der Thebanischen Nekropolis*, Leipzig, 1884-85); and also upon the papyrus written for the lady Sais ###, about A.D. 200 (see Devéria, *Catalogue des MSS. Égyptiens*, Paris, 1874, p. 170 No. 3155). Signor Schiaparelli's words are:--"Esso è scritto in ieratico, di un tipo paleografico speciale: l' enorme abbondanza di segni espletivi, la frequenza di segni o quasi demotici o quasi geroglifici, la sottigliezza di tutti, e l'incertezza con cui sono tracciati, che rivela una mano più abituata a scrivere in greco che in egiziano, sono altrettanti caratteri del tipo ieratico del periodo esclusivamente romano, a cui il nostro papiro appartiene senza alcun dubbio." *Il Libro dei Funerali*, p. 19. On Devéria's work in connection with this MS., see Maspero, *Le Rituel du sacrifice Funéraire* (in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xv., p. 161).]

to the end of the Ptolemaic period.

Early forms of the Book of the Dead.

The Book of the Dead.

The earliest inscribed monuments and human remains found in Egypt prove that the ancient Egyptians took the utmost care to preserve the bodies of their

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

Uncertainty of the history of its source

The home, origin, and early history of the collection of ancient religious texts which have descended to us are, at present, unknown, and all working theories regarding them, however strongly supported by apparently well-ascertained facts, must be carefully distinguished as theories only, so long as a single ancient necropolis in Egypt remains unexplored and its inscriptions are untranslated. Whether they were composed by the inhabitants of Egypt, who recorded them in hieroglyphic characters, and who have left the monuments which are the only trustworthy sources of information on the subject, or whether they were brought into Egypt by the early immigrants from the Asiatic continent whence they came, or whether they represent the religious books of the Egyptians incorporated with the funeral texts of some prehistoric dwellers on the banks of the Nile, are all questions which the possible discovery of inscriptions belonging to the first dynasties of the Early Empire can alone decide. The evidence derived from the

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Its antiquity.

enormous mass of new material which we owe to the all-important discoveries of mastaba tombs and pyramids by M. Maspero, and to his publication of the early religious texts, proves beyond all doubt that the greater part of the texts comprised in the Book of the Dead are far older than the period of Mena (Menes), the first historical king of Egypt.⁶ Certain sections indeed appear to belong to an indefinitely remote and primeval time.

Internal evidence of its antiquity.

The earliest texts bear within themselves proofs, not only of having been composed, but also of having been revised, or edited, long before the days of king Meni, and

6. "Les textes des Pyramides... nous reportent si loin dans le passé que je n'ai aucun moyen de les dater que de dire qu'elles étaient déjà vieilles cinq mille ans avant notre ère. Si extraordinaire que paraisse ce chiffre, il faudra bien nous habituer à le considérer comme représentant une évaluation à *minima* toutes les fois qu'on voudra rechercher les origines de la religion Égyptienne. La religion et les textes qui nous la font connaître étaient déjà constitués avant la Ire dynastie: c'est à nous de nous mettre, pour les comprendre, dans l'état d'esprit où était, il y a plus de sept mille ans, le peuple qui les a constitués. Bien entendu, je ne parle ici que des systèmes théologiques: si nous voulions remonter jusqu'à l'origine des éléments qu'ils ont mis en œuvre, il nous faudrait reculer vers des âges encore plus lointains." Maspero, *La Mythologie Égyptienne* (in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xix., p. 12; and in *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, t. ii., p. 2 36). Compare also "dass die einzelnen Texte selbst damals schon einer alten heiligen Litteratur angehörten, unterliegt keinem Zweifel, sie sind in jeder Hinsicht alterthümlicher als die ältesten uns erhaltenen Denkmäler. Sie gehören in eine für uns 'vorhistorische' Zeit und man wird ihnen gewiss kein Unrecht anthun, wenn man sie bis in das vierte Jahrtausend hinein versetzt." Erman, *Das Verhältniss des aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. XLVI., p. 94.

judging from many passages in the copies inscribed in hieroglyphics upon the pyramids of Unas (the last king of the Vth dynasty, about B.C. 3333), and Teta, Pepi I., Mer-en-Ra, and Pepi II. (kings of the VIth dynasty, about B.C. 3300-166), it would seem that, even at that remote date, the scribes were perplexed and hardly understood



Unas Pyramid

the texts which they had before them.⁷ The most moderate estimate makes certain sections of the Book of the Dead as known from these tombs older than three thousand years before Christ. We are in any case justified in estimating the earliest form of the work to be contemporaneous with the foundation of the civilization⁸ which we call Egyptian in the valley of

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the Nile.⁹ To fix a chronological limit for the arts and civilization of Egypt is absolutely impossible.¹⁰

7. "Le nombre des prières et des formules dirigées contre les animaux venimeux montre quel effroi le serpent et le scorpion inspirait aux Égyptiens. Beaucoup d'entre elles sont écrites dans une langue et avec des combinaisons de signes qui ne paraissent plus avoir été complètement comprises des scribes qui les copiaient sous Ounas et sous Pepi. Je crois, quant à moi, qu'elles appartiennent au plus vieux rituel et remontent au delà du règne de Mîni." Maspero, *La Religion Égyptienne* (in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xii., p. 125). See also *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 62.

8. So sind wir gezwungen, wenigstens die ersten Grundlagen des Buches den Anfängen der Aegyptischen Civilisation beizumessen." See Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch (Einleitung)*, Berlin, 1886, p. 18.]

9. The date of Mena, the first king of Egypt, is variously given B.C. 5867 (Champollion), B.C. 5004 (Mariette), B.C. 5892 (Lepsius), B.C. 4455 (Brugsch).

10. See Chabas, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1865, p. 95. On the subject of the Antiquity of Egyptian Civilization generally, see Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique d'après les Sources Égyptiennes*, Paris, 1873--Introduction, p. 9.

Evidence of the antiquity of certain chapters.

The oldest form or edition of the Book of the Dead as we have received it supplies no information whatever as to the period when it was compiled; but a copy of the hieratic text inscribed upon a coffin of Menthu-hetep, a queen of the XIth dynasty,¹¹ about B.C. 2500, made by the late Sir J. G. Wilkinson,¹² informs us that the chapter which, according to the arrangement of Lepsius, bears the number LXIV,¹³ was discovered in the reign of Hesepti,¹⁴ the fifth king of the Ist dynasty, about B.C. 4266. On this coffin are two copies of the chapter, the one immediately following the other. In the rubric to the first the name of the king during whose reign the chapter is said to have been “found” is given as Menthu-hetep, which, as Goodwin first pointed out¹⁵ is a mistake for Men-kau-Ra,¹⁶ the fourth king of the IVth dynasty, about B.C. 3633:¹⁷ but in the rubric to the second the king’s name is given as Hesepti. Thus it appears that in the period of the XIth dynasty it was believed that the chapter might alternatively be as old as the time of the Ist dynasty. Further, it is given to Hesepti in papyri of the XXIst dynasty,¹⁸ a period when particular attention was paid to the history of the Book of the Dead; and it thus appears that the Egyptians of the Middle Empire believed the chapter to date from the more

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remote period. To quote the words of Chabas, the chapter was regarded as being “very ancient, very mysterious, and very difficult to understand” already fourteen centuries before our era.¹⁹

Antiquity of Chapter LXIV.

The rubric on the coffin of Queen Menthu-hetep, which ascribes the chapter to He-

11. The name of the queen and her titles are given on p. 7 (margin) thus: ###.

12. It was presented to the British Museum in 1834, and is now in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities.

13. *Todtenbuch*, Bl. 23-25.

14. the *Ou? safai's ui! o's* of Manetho.

15. *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 54.

16. See Guieyesse, *Rituel Funéraire Égyptien*, chapitre 64e, Paris, 1876, p. 10, note 2.

17. The late recension of the Book of the Dead published by Lepsius also gives the king’s name as Men-kau-Ra (*Todtenbuch*, Bl. 25, l. 30. In the same recension the CXXXth Chapter is ascribed to the reign of Hesepti (131. 53, l. 28).

18. Naville, *Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), pp. 33, 139]

19. Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 46. According to M. Naville (Einleitung, p. 138), who follows Chabas’s opinion, this chapter is an abridgement of the whole Book of the Dead; and it had, even though it contained not all the religious doctrine of the Egyptians, a value which was equivalent to the whole.

sep-ti, states that “this chapter was found in the foundations beneath the hennu boat by the foreman of the builders in the time of the king of the North and South, Hesepti, triumphant”;²⁰ the Nebseni papyrus says that this chapter was found in the city of Khemennu (Hermopolis) on a block of ironstone (?) written in letters of lapis-lazuli, under the feet of the god”;²¹ and the Turin papyrus (XXVIth dynasty or later) adds that the name of the finder was Heru-ta-ta-f, the son of Khufu or Cheops,²² the second king of the IVth dynasty, about B.C. 3733, who was at the time making a tour of inspection of the temples. Birch²³ and Naville²⁴ consider the chapter one of

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the oldest in the Book of the Dead; the former basing his opinion on the rubric’ and the latter upon the evidence derived from the contents and character of the text; but Maspero, while admitting the great age of the chapter, does not attach any very great importance to the rubric as fixing any exact date for its composition.²⁵ Of Herutataf the finder of the block of stone, we know from later texts that he was considered to be a learned man, and that his speech was only with difficulty to be understood,²⁶ and we also know the prominent part which he took as a recognized man of letters

20. See Goodwin, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 55, and compare the reading from the Cairo papyrus of Mes-em-neter given by Naville (*Todtenbuch*, ii-, p. 139)

21. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 76, L 52.

22. Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Bl. 25, l. 31.

23. “The most remarkable chapter is the 64th... It is one of the oldest of all, and is attributed, as already stated, to the epoch of king Gaga-Makheru or Menkheres... This chapter enjoyed a high reputation till a late period, for it is found on a stone presented to General Perofski by the late Emperor Nicholas, which must have come from the tomb of Petemenophis, in the El-Assasif and was made during the XXVIth dynasty Some more recent compiler of the Hermetic books has evidently paraphrased it for the Ritual of Turin.” Bunsen, *Egypt’s Place in Universal History*, London, 1867, p. 1142. The block of stone to which Dr. Birch refers is described by Golénischeff, *Inventaire de la Ermitage Impérial, Collection Égyptienne*, No. 1101, pp. 169, 170. M. Maspero thinks it was meant to be a “prétendu fac-similé” of the original slab, which, according to the rubric, was found in the temple of Thoth, *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions*, t. XV., p. 299, and *Études de Mythologie*, t. i., p. 368.

24. *Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), p. 139. Mr. Renouf also holds this opinion, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1803, p. 6

25. “On explique d’ordinaire cette indication comme une marque d’antiquité extrême; on part de ce principe que *le Livre des Morts* est de composition relativement moderne, et qu’un scribe égyptien, nommant un roi des premières dynasties memphites, ne pouvait entendre par là qu’un personnage d’époque très reculée. Cette explication ne me paraît pas être exacte. En premier lieu, le chapitre LXIV. se trouve déjà sur des monuments contemporains de la Xe et de la XIe dynastie, et n’était certainement pas nouveau au moment où on écrivait les copies les plus vieilles que nous en ayons aujourd’hui. Lorsqu’on le rédigea sous sa forme actuelle, le règne de Mykérinos, et même celui d’Housapaiti, ne devaient pas soulever dans l’esprit des indigènes la sensation de l’archaïsme et du primitif: on avait pour rendre ces idées des expressions plus fortes, qui renvoyaient le lecteur au siècles des Serviteurs d’Horus, à la domination de Ra, aux âges où les dieux régnaient sur l’Égypte.” *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions*, t. xv., p. 299.

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

in bringing to the court of his father Khufu the sage Tetteta.²⁷ It is then not improbable that Herutataf's character for learning may have suggested the connection of his name with the chapter, and possibly as its literary reviser; at all events as early as the period of the Middle Empire tradition associated him with it.

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The Book of the Dead in the IInd dynasty.

Passing from the region of native Egyptian tradition, we touch firm ground with the evidence derived from the monuments of the IInd dynasty. A bas-relief preserved at Aix in Provence mentions *Âasen* and *Ankef*,²⁸ two of the priests of *Sent* or *Senta*, the fifth king of the IInd dynasty, about B.C. 4000; and a stele at Oxford²⁹ and another in the Egyptian Museum at Gizeh³⁰ record the name of a third priest, *Shera* or *Sheri*, a "royal relative" On the stele at Oxford we have represented the deceased and his wife seated, one on each side of an altar,³¹ which is covered with funeral offerings of pious relatives; above, in perpendicular lines of hieroglyphics in relief, are the names of the objects offered,³² and below is an inscription which reads,³³ "thousands of loaves of bread, thousands of vases of ale, thousands of linen garments, thousands of changes of wearing apparel, and thousands of oxen." Now from this monument it is evident that already in the IInd dynasty a priesthood existed in Egypt which numbered among its members relatives of the royal family, and that a religious system which prescribed as a duty the providing of meat and drink offerings for the dead was also in active operation. The offering of specific objects goes far to prove the existence of a ritual or service wherein their signification would be indicated;

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

28. Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 170. In a mastaba at Sakkara we have a stele of Sheri, a superintendent of the priests of the ka, whereon the cartouches of *Sent* and *Per-ab-sen* both occur. See Mariette and Maspero, *Les Mastaba de l'ancien Empire*, Paris, 1882, p. 92.

29. See Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Bl. 9

30. See Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, 1883, pp. 31, 32, and 213 (No. 1027).

31. A discussion on the method of depicting this altar on Egyptian monuments by Borchardt may be found in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXI., p. i (Die Darstellung innen verzierter Schalen auf aeg. Denkmälern).

32. Among others, (1) ###, (2) ###, (3) ###, (4) ###; the word incense is written twice, ###. Some of these appear in the lists of offerings made for *Unas* (l. 147) and for *Teta* (ll. 125, 131, 133; see *Recueil de Travaux*, 1884, plate 2).

33. ###.

the coincidence of these words and the prayer for “thousands of loaves of bread, thousands of vases of ale,” etc., with the promise, “Anpu-khent-Amenta shall give thee thy thousands of loaves of bread, thy thousands of vases of ale, thy thousands of vessels

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of unguents, thy thousands of changes of apparel, thy thousands of oxen, and thy thousands of bullocks,” enables us to recognise that ritual in the text inscribed upon the pyramid of Teta in the Vth dynasty, from which the above promise is taken.³⁴ Thus the traditional evidence of the text on the coffin of Menthu-hetep and the scene on the monument of Shera support one another, and together they prove beyond a doubt that a form of the Book of the Dead was in use at least in the period of the earliest dynasties, and that sepulchral ceremonies connected therewith were duly performed.³⁵

The Book of the Dead in the IVth dynasty.

With the IVth dynasty we have an increased number of monuments, chiefly sepulchral, which give details as to the Egyptian sacerdotal system and the funeral ceremonies which the priests performed.³⁶ The inscriptions upon the earlier

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monuments prove that many of the priestly officials were still relatives of the royal family, and the tombs of feudal lords, scribes, and others, record a number of their official titles, together with the names of several of their religious festivals. The sub-

34. ###. Teta, II. 388, 389. (*Recueil*, ed. Maspero, t. v., p. 58.)

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

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

sequent increase in the number of the monuments during this period may be due to the natural development of the religion of the time, but it is very probable that the greater security of life and property which had been assured by the vigorous wars of Seneferu,³⁷ the first king of this dynasty, about B.C. 3766, encouraged men to incur greater expense, and to build larger and better abodes for the dead, and to celebrate the full ritual at the prescribed festivals. In this dynasty the royal dead were honoured with sepulchral monuments of a greater size and magnificence than had ever before been contemplated, and the chapels attached to the pyramids were served by courses of priests whose sole duties consisted in celebrating the services. The fashion of building a pyramid instead of the rectangular flat-roofed mastaba for a royal tomb was revived by Seneferu,³⁸ who called his pyramid Kha; and his example was followed by his immediate successors, Khufu (Cheops), Khaf-Ra (Chephren), Men-kau-Ra (Mycerinus), and others.



Khaf-Ra (Chephren)

Revision of certain chapters in the IVth dynasty.

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

38. The building of the pyramid of Médûm has usually been attributed to Seneferu, but the excavations made there in 1882 did nothing to clear up the uncertainty which exists on this point; for recent excavations see Petrie, *Medum*, London, 1892, 40.