



Iside

SHAÏ-EN-SINSIN

LIBRO EGIZIO DELLE RESPIRAZIONI

Secondo i manoscritti del Museo del Louvre
testo, traduzione e analisi di P.J. de Horrack
Parigi 1877

C. Klincksieck, Libreria dell'Istituto di Francia - 11, rue de Lille

tradotto dal francese da Vittorio Fincati
(sono state omesse alcune note specialistiche)

segue il testo inglese "Che cos'è il *Libro delle Respirazioni?*" di H. Nibley e la più recente traduzione inglese del *Libro delle Respirazioni*, a cura di Michael D. Rhodes



il dio egizio Amen

La dottrina del destino degli eletti, come è annunciata dallo *Shaï-en-sinsin*, si può riassumere in poche parole. Purificato nel fisico e nell'animo, messo alla prova di fronte ad Osiride, grazie alle sue qualità e alle sue buone azioni, il defunto si ricongiunge al Sole e discende con lui, attraverso le porte dell'orizzonte orientale, nel cielo inferiore, l'Ade egizio. Ptah gli forma un nuovo involucro di carne e ossa, simile a quello che possedeva sulla terra; Amon lo vivifica col soffio vitale; il suo cuore, principio della vita materiale, gli viene restituito. Così ricomposto, il defunto riprende tutte le funzioni dei suoi organi corporei: vede, capisce, parla, cammina, beve, dorme, e si sveglia ogni giorno; gode di salute perpetua; nulla più teme dai suoi nemici. Conserva la sua individualità, possiede il privilegio di assumere tutte le forme che vuole, di trasportarsi istantaneamente da un luogo in un altro, di visitare la terra ogni giorno ed anche di trascorrervi una nuova esistenza corporea.

L'anima vive eternamente, ma separata dai Mani^[1]. Questi insegnamenti sulla seconda vita sono completati da altri testi. Il mondo postumo è rappresentato ad immagine di quello terreno; la vita spirituale è, per così dire, un calco della vita umana, le occupazioni degli eletti essendo le stesse di quelle dell'uomo sulla terra. Non è un'esistenza contemplativa per tutta l'eternità, una felicità passiva, ma una vita attiva e laboriosa e, volendo usare l'espressione di M. Chabas, dotata di uno slancio infinitamente più lungo.

Questo è il concetto egizio della vita divina dei giusti, di cui mi sono limitato ad esporre la teoria senza cercare di spiegarla.

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^[1] Tuttavia, grazie al capitolo 100 del *Libro dei Morti*, il defunto poteva rientrare in possesso della sua anima.

E' noto che la maggior parte dei rotoli che gli antichi Egizi avevano l'abitudine di seppellire con le mummie, contengono copie più o meno complete di alcuni testi sacri, considerati come dei talismani con proprietà di operare o facilitare l'ingresso del defunto in una nuova esistenza, e di proteggerlo nelle peregrinazioni d'oltretomba. L'argomento di questi testi verte pressochè invariabilmente sul destino dell'uomo dopo la morte. Tra le composizioni di tal genere fin qui pervenute, il *Libro dei Morti* e *Il Libro delle Respirazioni* sono noti da tempo. Recentissimamente se ne sono segnalati ancora altri, e cioè: il *Libro degli Imbalsamatori*, il *Libro del gran sacerdote Amen-hotep* e il *Libro Reale*.

Lo *Shai-en-sinsin* o *Libro delle Respirazioni* di cui ci occupiamo qui, data dal Basso-Impero, ma si ritiene generalmente che sia stato redatto con l'aiuto di documenti ben più antichi. I numerosi esemplari che sono stati trovati sono tutti in scrittura ieratica. Se si può giudicare secondo i titoli dei defunti ai quali vennero dedicati, lo *Shai-en-sinsin* fu riservato specificatamente ai sacerdoti e agli assistenti di Amon-Ra.

M. Brugsch per primo ha attirato l'attenzione degli egittologi su questo libro interessante e ne ha pubblicato, basandosi su un manoscritto del Museo di Berlino, una trascrizione geroglifica accompagnata da una traduzione latina. Un fac-simile in scrittura molto corsiva che si trova nell'opera di Vivant-Denon, è riprodotta alla fine dell'opera di M. Brugsch. E' il solo testo dello *Shai-en-sinsin* che sia stato pubblicato; ma incompleto, mancandogli una parte del nono paragrafo, tutti quanti i paragrafi 10, 11a, 11b e 12, una parte del 14, ed infine la prescrizione finale. Una valida analisi del *Libro* è dovuta a M. Birch, il dotto conservatore del Museo Britannico.

Nell'attesa che un fac-simile completo sia messo a disposizione degli egittologi, riproduco sulle tavole qui accluse copia (la cui scrittura si approssima pr quanto possibile a quella degli originali) dei due manoscritti che possiede il Museo del Louvre:

1° il n° 3284, cioè la parte del testo ieratico che contiene il *Libro delle Respirazioni*.

2° il n° 3291, recante al recto 48 linee di scrittura ieratica e al verso 3 linee di scrittura demotica.

Il primo dei due esemplari su cui è stata condotta la traduzione che segue, comprende sei pagine di bella scrittura ieratica e contiene al completo i quattordici paragrafi di cui si compone il libro sacro, con la prescrizione finale. Le varianti aggiunte al fondo delle tavole da I a V sono estratte da passaggi corrispondenti dei seguenti manoscritti del Louvre:

n° 3291 al nome di Hor-si-esi, figlio di Hor e di Kai-kai

n° 3166 al nome di Osir-aau, figlio di Tayi-ba-t

n° 3126 al nome di P-ser-asu-χet-u, figlio di Osir-aau

n° 3158 al nome di Ta-ser-paut-ta, assistente di Amon-Ra

n° 3121 al nome di Ta-sa-χem, assistente di Amon-Ra

Queste varianti sono sufficienti per rettificare alcuni errori del nostro testo. Molti manoscritti omettono alcune sezioni della versione ordinaria e le sostituiscono con altre, ma la maggior parte segue il testo del n° 3284 che sembra essere la redazione ufficiale. Esiste anche un testo che vuole imitare il *Libro delle Respirazioni*, detto *Secondo Libro delle Respirazioni*, del quale qui non ci occupiamo.

Lo *Shai-en-sinsin* non pone serie difficoltà di traduzione, salvo che per alcuni passaggi a riguardo dei quali mi sono state molto utili le osservazioni che mi ha fornito il mio dotto amico, M. Chabas, con la sua abituale sollecitudine. Diverso il discorso per le dottrine teologiche e mitologiche che il testo contiene. Non le ho affrontate che superficialmente e lascio agli specialisti cui esse sono familiari il compito di sottoporle ad un'indagine specifica. Questa branca speciale dell'egittologia è stata in Francia l'oggetto di investigazioni serie da parte di F. Chabas, E. e J. De Rougé, Paul Pierret, E. Lefébure e E. Grébaut. Qui mi limito ad una traduzione il più letterale possibile, seguita da una breve analisi, nella quale non mi occuperò di quei termini il cui significato è comunemente accettato dagli egittologi.

Prima di concludere, mi resta il piacevole dovere di ringraziare il dotto conservatore del Museo egizio del Louvre, M. Pierret, per aver liberamente messi a mia disposizione tutti i testi che si riferiscono al *Libro delle Respirazioni*.

TRADUZIONE E ANALISI DEL TESTO

Paragrafo primo linea 1

Inizio del *Libro delle Respirazioni* redatto da Iside
per suo fratello Osiride,
per far rivivere la sua anima,
per far rivivere il suo corpo,
per riunire nuovamente tutte le sue membra,

Perché sorga all'orizzonte con suo padre, il Sole,
Perché la sua anima si innalzi in cielo nel disco della Luna,
Perché il suo corpo brilli nella costellazione di Sahu,
In seno a Nu-t,
Perché ciò giunga anche
All'Osiride, padre divino, profeta di Amon-Ra, re degli dei,
Profeta di Khem-Amon-Ra, toro di sua madre, signore della
Sua grande dimora
Osir-aau, giustificato,
Figlio del sacerdote dello stesso ordine, Nes-paut-ta-ti, giustificato.
Nascondilo, nascondilo;
Non farlo leggere a nessuno.
E' utile a chi è nel Kher-neter,
Egli vivrà di nuovo, veramente, milioni di volte.

Questo paragrafo è una specie di preambolo, che indica, in modo preciso, lo scopo del libro, e ci informa che è stato redatto da Iside per suo fratello Osiride ucciso da Set. La recitazione delle formule sacre ivi contenute, determina la resurrezione di Osiride, diventato da allora per ogni Egiziano il prototipo della rinascita dopo la morte. Seppellito, come prescritto dal paragrafo 14b, assieme al defunto, il libro sarà comunque efficace per quest'ultimo facilitandone la resurrezione quale vero Osiride. E' a questo fine che la morte si identifica con il dio e che assume il nome di *Osiride***^{2[2]}*, giustificato.

Secondo il nostro testo, Osiride si riunisce a suo padre, il Sole, e discende con lui nelle regioni infernali, per resuscitare sotto forma di Luna, mentre il suo corpo è assunto nella costellazione di Sahu (Orione), che brilla nel firmamento personificata dalla dea Nu-t.

E' il caso di ricordare qui a coloro che sono digiuni di mitologia egizia, che l'idea del rinnovamento dell'esistenza dopo la morte, è simbolizzata sia dal percorso del sole, sia dal mito di Osiride, che sembra riconnettersi, a sua volta, a quello della generazione del Sole. Anche l'individualità dell'*Osiride terrestre* si mescola costantemente con quella di Osiride-Sole. Ad imitazione del dio, l'Egiziano morto era ritenuto congiungersi al Sole tramontante e discendere con lui nell'emisfero inferiore del cielo che avrebbe percorso dietro al Sole notturno (Osiride), per poi tornare alla luce del giorno con l'astro nascente. E' dalla sua identificazione con il Sole, che percorre di notte le regioni infernali, che è derivato, senza dubbio, il ruolo di Osiride quale giudice degli inferi. Il manoscritto n° 3291 alla riga 2, al posto di *rivivere* dà la variante *ringiovanire, conferire la massima giovinezza*. Il *Kher-neter* ovvero la divina regione inferiore, designa la necropoli o l'ipogeo; ma è pure uno dei nomi del soggiorno dei Mani all'estremo occidente. Anziché con *veramente* (linea 19) Déveria e Pierret traducono con *e nel vestimento di verità*. Il senso di questo passo necessita di prove ulteriori.

paragrafo secondo linea 8. Dire:

O Osiride ***! Tu sei puro;
Il tuo cuore è puro;
La tua parte anteriore è stata purificata;
La tua parte posteriore è stata pulita;
Il tuo interno è stato riempito di *bat* e di nitro.
Non c'è un membro in te che sia macchiato dal peccato.
Osiride*** è stato purificato con gli unguenti
Delle terre di Hotep, a settentrione delle terre di Sanehemu.
Le dee Uat'i e Nexeb ti hanno purificato,
Nell'ottava ora della notte,
E nell'ottava ora del giorno.
Vieni Osiride***;
Entra nell'aula delle due dee *Giustizia*;
Tu sei purificato da ogni peccato, da ogni delitto.
Pietra di verità è il tuo nome.

Questa sezione riproduce le colonne 44, 45 e 46 del capitolo 125 del *Libro dei Morti*. Si riferisce all'imbalsamazione del defunto senza però fornire a riguardo altri particolari oltre l'elenco delle purificazioni cui si sottoponeva il corpo e

^{2[2]} Sostituisco sempre il nome del defunto a cui è destinato il papiro che traduco, con tre asterischi.

^{2[3]} In luogo di Ptah, il n° 3291 dà il nome di Thoth; è probabilmente un errore dello scriba.

delle sostanze con cui lo si riempiva per preservarlo dalla putrefazione. Secondo il nostro testo, il corpo fu pulito e l'interno (letteralmente: il mezzo, il centro), venne riempito di nitro e di una sostanza aromatica, detta *bat*. Questo tipo di imbalsamazione fu già notato da Passalacqua, il quale aveva osservato che anche le mummie più curate nei loro addobbi e ornamenti, avevano il ventre pieno di nitro e di sostanze aromatiche. La preparazione del cadavere si effettuava nelle Terre di Hotep (letteralmente: Terre di riposo); si trattava probabilmente del nome di una zona del quartiere funerario. Il testo accenna qui ad un unguento di cui il *Libro dei Morti* fornisce una variante aggiungendo l'aggettivo *autentico*. I gruppi ideografici che significano *purificare* e *pulire* sono tra loro interscambiabili. Mi sembra pertanto che fra questi due termini ci sia solo un'aleggera sfumatura che non ho saputo cogliere. Le dee Uat'i e Neḫeb erano quelle che presiedevano a questa operazione. Di norma esse simboleggiano il Nord e il Sud, ma avevano anche una funzione funebre molto importante, messa in luce dal *Libro delle Imbalsamazioni*.

Privato delle sue lordure, il defunto era introdotto nella grande sala del giudizio che il nostro testo chiama la grande aula delle dee *Ma*. Queste due divinità, che rappresentano la doppia giustizia, quella che punisce e quella che premia, erano incaricate di completare la purificazione del defunto.

Paragrafo terzo linea 16

O Osiride***!

Tu entri nel cielo inferiore per mezzo di una grande purificazione.
Le due dee Giustizia ti hanno purificato nella grande aula.
Una purificazione è stata fatta su di te nell'Aula di Seb;
Le tue membra sono state purificate nell'Aula di Shu.
Tu scorgi Ra al suo tramonto,
In Atum, la sera.
Amon è con te,
per renderti il soffio;
Ptah per formare le tue membra.
Tu sorgi all'orizzonte col sole.
La tua anima è ammessa sulla barca Neshem con Osiride;
La tua anima è divinizzata nella casa di Seb.
Tu sei stato messo alla prova in perpetuo, per l'eternità.

Uscendo dall'Aula delle due dee Giustizia, e dopo esser stato purificato nell'Aula di Seb (la terra) e nell'Aula di Shu (il cielo), il defunto entra nel Tiau o cielo inferiore, soggiorno dei morti. Qui vede Ra sotto forma di Atum, sole notturno. Ptah gli conferisce un nuovo corpo, a cui Amon dà il soffio vitale. Questo nuovo involucro non ha alcun rapporto con quello che il defunto si è lasciato dietro. La dottrina della riunione dell'anima col vecchio corpo, proclamata dal *Libro dei Morti*, sembra dunque che sia stata profondamente modificata dalla scuola a cui appartiene lo *Shai-en-sinsin*. Il ruolo di Amon come autore della seconda vita è già stato notato da J. De Rougé; quello di Ptah^[3] come creatore è invece ben noto.

Mentre il defunto (vale a dire i suoi Mani), discende sotto l'orizzonte con il sole, l'anima si unisce a Osiride nella barca solare detta Neshem^[4]. E' difficile determinare le vere caratteristiche di questa doppia esistenza, dei Mani e dell'anima. Queste due entità sono viste viventi separatamente e indipendentemente l'una dall'altra. Le si distinguono, infatti, nelle raffigurazioni dei manoscritti funebri, dove i Mani vengono dipinti con l'immagine del defunto, mentre l'anima con la forma consueta dello sparviero a testa umana. Atum è il nome del sole che, durante la notte, rischiarava l'emisfero inferiore del cielo.

Paragrafo quarto linea 1

O Osiride***!

La tua individualità è permanente;
il tuo corpo è permanente;
la tua mummia è il germe;
Tu non sei respinto né dal cielo, né dalla terra;
il tuo volto è illuminato a fianco al Sole;
La tua anima vive a fianco di Amon;
Il tuo corpo è riunito ad Osiride.
Tu respiri sempre in eterno

^[4] Neshem è anche il nome della barca che serve a trasportare le mummie ad Abydo.

La germinazione del corpo mummificato è simboleggiata da una raffigurazione che rappresenta la mummia di Osiride su cui crescono delle piante. Questa curiosa immagine è stata pubblicata da Paul Pierret nel suo resoconto intitolato *Il Dogma della Resurrezione*. Il *Libro dei Morti* dice: "Egli fa crescere piante sul suo cadavere". Questa singolare idea ricorda la dottrina posta da San Paolo (Corinti: XV, 35 e seg.) che il corpo che resusciterà non è il corpo abbandonato alla putrefazione, ma un nuovo corpo spirituale che si svilupperà dal germe del vecchio cadavere.

Paragrafo quinto linea 5

La tua anima ti reca ogni giorno delle offerte
Di pani, bevande, carne, oche, acqua fresca e aromi.
Tu vieni per metterla alla prova.
Le tue carni rivestono le tue ossa
Secondo la forma che avevi sulla terra,
Tu assorbi col tuo corpo,
mangi con la tua bocca,
tu ricevi, come le anime degli dei, i pani.
Anubis ti protegge;
Egli è la tua salvezza.
Tu non vieni respinto alle porte del cielo inferiore.
Thoth, il due volte grande, viene a te,
Il signore di Sesennu (Hermopolis).
Egli scrive per te con le sue proprie dita il *Libro delle Respirazioni*.
La tua anima respira in perpetuo;
Tu rinnovi la tua forma sulla terra fra i viventi;
Sei divinizzato con le anime degli dei.
Il tuo cuore è il cuore di Ra,
Le tue membra sono le membra del grande dio.
Tu vivrai in perpetuo, eternamente.

Le diverse fasi della resurrezione e della vita futura che dominano tutto il Libro, vengono sviluppate in special modo in questo paragrafo e nel seguente. E' al dio Thoth stesso, che avrebbe scritto il libro sacro con le sue proprie mani, che viene riferita la prima versione dello *Shai-en-sinsin*. Si sa che i sacerdoti egiziani si compiacevano di tributare un'origine divina a certe loro composizioni per conferirgli maggiore autorità.

L'assicurazione che il defunto rinnoverà la sua forma tra i viventi, prova che gli antichi Egizi credevano in un ritorno alla vita corporea. E' la dottrina della reincarnazione, che consiste nell'ammettere per l'essere umano molteplici esistenze successive sulla terra.

Paragrafo sesto linea 12

O Osiride***!
Amon è con te,
Per ridarti la vita.
Ap-heru ti apre la retta via.
Tu vedi con i tuoi occhi;
Tu ascolti con le tue orecchie,
Tu parli con la tua bocca,
Tu cammini con le tue gambe;
La tua anima è divinizzata nel cielo inferiore,
per compiere tutte le trasformazioni che vuole.
Tu celebri i festeggiamenti della persea sacra in An (Heliopolis);
tu ti risvegli ogni giorno;
Tu vedi i raggi del sole.
Amon ti viene incontro con i soffi di vita;
Ti fa respirare nel tuo sarcofago.
Tu sorgi sulla terra ogni giorno,
Il *Libro delle Respirazioni* di Thoth è la tua salvezza;
Tu respiri grazie a lui tutti i giorni.
I tuoi occhi contemplano i raggi del disco solare.
La verità ti verrà annunciata da Osiride.
Le formule di giustificazione sono scritte sul tuo corpo.

Horo, difensore di suo padre, protegge il tuo corpo;
Divinizza la tua anima, come quelle degli dei.
L'anima di Ra fa vivere la tua anima;
L'anima di Shu pervade i tuoi polmoni.

Questo paragrafo è il completamento del precedente. E' fatta promessa al defunto che rientrerà in possesso di tutte le funzioni della vita terrestre, che avrà la facoltà di assumere a suo piacere tutte le forme, di trasportarsi istantaneamente da un posto all'altro e di visitare ogni giorno la terra mischiandosi ai viventi. Si vede che la credenza negli spiriti che ritornano dall'altro mondo data dalla più alta antichità. Un testo assai curioso^{5[5]}, segnalato da M. Chabas, parla dell'apparizione di uno spirito ritornante: un uomo vivo si lamenta di venire tormentato dallo spirito della defunta moglie. Questo testo non è stato ancora tradotto, vi si scoprirà forse in che modo lo spirito ritornante ha dato segni della sua presenza e del suo cattivo umore!

Ap-heru è una forma di Anubis; apre al defunto le porte dell'orizzonte. Nel Basso-Impero Shu era il dio dell'aria. Sul sarcofago n° 11 del Museo del Louvre, egli porta un velo rigonfio, simbolo dei soffi vitali. In un papiro dello stesso Museo si legge: "Shu dice: Io apporto i soffi alla gola inaridita e gli restituisco la vita".

Paragrafo settimo linea 1

O Osiride***!
La tua anima respira nel luogo che ami.
Tu sei nella casa di Osiride;
Khent-Ament è il tuo nome.
Hapi, il primo degli dei, ti giunge incontro da Elefantina;
Egli imbandisce la tua tavola di offerte alimentari.

Khent-Ament, letteralmente *colui che risiede nell'occidente*, è uno dei titoli dell'Osiride infero. Il dio Hapi, cioè il Nilo, la cui sorgente era posta tra due baratri o rupi nei pressi dell'isola Elefantina, apporta al defunto provviste alimentari e acqua. Lo stesso concetto è espresso nel paio di Boulaq: "Hapi viene a te, il primo degli dei, per imbandire la tua tavola con libagioni; egli ti dona l'acqua di Elefantina".

Paragrafo ottavo linea 5

O Osiride***!
Gli dei dell'Alto e del Basso Egitto ti vengono incontro.
Tu sei accompagnato alla tomba.
La tua anima vive.
Tu sei Osiride.
Tu respiri in Ru-sta.
Attenzioni nascoste ti sono prodigate dal Signore di Sati e dal grande dio.
Il tuo corpo vive in Tattu e in Nif-ur.
La tua anima vive in cielo ogni giorno.

Il Ru-sta è il passaggio che dà accesso alla regione infernale, ma è anche l'ingresso della tomba. Sati, designa la regione infera, il cui signore è il sole notturno. Il grande dio è Osiride. La città di Tattu è stata identificata da M. Brugsch con Mendes, residenza supposta di Osiride, mentre Nif-ur, sembra designare qui la necropoli. E' anche il nome di una città del nomo thinita.

Paragrafo nono linea 9

O Osiride***!
Sejet ha la meglio su ciò che c'è in te di malvagio;
Hor-aa-hetu si prende cura di te;
Hor-shet forma il tuo cuore;
Hor-mer custodisce il tuo corpo.
Tu ti conservi in vita, salute e forza.
Tu sei saldo nella tua dimora in Ta-ser.
Vieni Osiride***!
Tu appari nella tua forma.

^{5[5]} C. Leemans: Papiri Egizi Sacri del Museo del Louvre

Consolidato dai tuoi ornamenti,
Sei pronto per la vita;
Tu sei in salute,
Tu cammini, tu respiri ovunque.
Il sole sorge sulla tua dimora.
Simile ad Osiride,
Tu respiri, tu vivi ai suoi raggi.
Amon-Ra ti fa vivere.
Tu sei illuminato dal *Libro delle Respirazioni*.
Tu sei Osiride e Horo, signore delle adorazioni.
Tu sei come il più grande degli dei.
Il tuo bel volto vive nei tuoi figli.
Il tuo nome prospera ogni giorno.
Vieni nel grande tempio, vieni nel grande tempio di Tattu.
Tu vedrai Khent-Ament nella festa di Uka.
Il tuo odore è piacevole come quello degli uomini pii;
il tuo nome è grande tra gli eletti.

Seḫet è una dea solare. Essa rivestiva anche una funzione funebre, quella di presiedere all'imbalsamazione, difendere il morto dai suoi nemici e proteggere l'anima contro ogni attacco. Hor-aa-hetu, Hor-shet e Hor-mer sono forme di Horo. Hor-shet è citato nel Papiro Magico Harris. Hor-mer sbaraglia gli avversari del defunto. Ta-ser è la necropoli di Abydo. Uno scriba esprime la speranza di venire seppellito ad Abydo, "nella montagna di Ta-ser". Anche la topografia celeste possedeva una sua Ta-ser. Gli ornamenti di cui è questione sono quelli della mummia. E' la constatazione dell'avvenuta resurrezione dovuta ai numerosi amuleti deposti assieme al morto. M. Pierret ha dato un elenco completo di questi talismani. La denominazione *Signore delle adorazioni* non è abituale di Horo, ma questi non assume mai il titolo di *Signore della barca Hen-nu*, come dato in altre varianti del manoscritto, questa barca essendo adoperata specificatamente per le rappresentazioni dell'immagine di Sokar. La festa di Uka viene spesso citata nei testi funerari. Era la festa degli antenati, la festa di Ptah-Sokari.

Paragrafo decimo linea 19

O Osiride***!
La tua anima vive grazie al *Libro delle Respirazioni*;
Tu ti ricongiungi a Lui.
Tu entri nel cielo inferiore;
I tuoi nemici sono assenti.
Tu sei quale un'anima divina in Tattu.
Il tuo cuore è con te,
Non sarà più separato.
I tuoi occhi sono con te;
Essi si aprono ogni giorno.

Gli Egizi consideravano il cuore come la scaturigine della vita terrestre, indispensabile per la ricostituzione materiale del corpo. M. Pierret ha constatato che quest'organo veniva imbalsamato a parte in uno dei vasi funerari detti *canopi*, e posto sotto la protezione del genio Tuamutef. Lo si separava così al fine di rimetterlo nel corpo dopo essere stato messo sul piatto della bilancia del giudizio osiridiaco.

Paragrafo undicesimo/a linea 1

Gli dei che accompagnano Osiride, dicono a Osiride***:
Tu sei Ra,
Tu sei Osiride,
La tua anima vive sempre, in eterno.

Paragrafo undicesimo/b linea 6

Gli dei che abitano il cielo inferiore di Osiride-Khent-Ament dicono a Osiride***:
Che gli si aprano le porte del cielo inferiore!
Che sia accolto nel Kher-neter;
Che la sua anima viva per sempre.

Egli si è costruito una dimora nel Kher-neter.
Il suo dio l'ha ricompensato;
Egli ha ricevuto il *Libro delle Respirazioni*,
Grazie al quale respira.

La seconda divisione di questo paragrafo cita l'ammissione definitiva del defunto nella regione infernale. Una variante dice: "Che gli sia aperto alle porte di Tuau". Si dovrebbe forse tradurre al posto di "ricompensato" con "lodato". Il nome dell'anima è maschile in egiziano ma il papiro 2131, consacrato a un'assistente di Amon-Ra, sembra togliere ogni incertezza al riguardo, poiché vi è inserito un pronome femminile, ciò che prova che è una defunta che si è costruita una dimora, che è lei che è stata ricompensata, e che è ancora lei che ha ricevuto il *Libro delle Respirazioni*.

Paragrafo dodicesimo linea 9

Che Osiride-Khent-Ament,
dio sommo, Signore di Abydo,
regalmente, doni dei pani, birra, carne, oche, vino, liquore *aket*, pani *hotep* e ogni sorta di provviste alimentari di qualità a Osiride***.

La tua anima vive,
Il tuo corpo germina
Per ordine di Ra stesso,
senza danno, senza dolore,
Simile a Ra, sempre e in eterno.

Paragrafo tredicesimo linea 14

O tu che cammini, uscito da An,
Osiride*** non ha peccato.
O potenza del giorno, uscita da Kerau,
Osiride*** non ha fatto alcun male.
O narici, uscite da Sesunnu,
Osiride*** non è stato avido.
O mangiatore di occhi, uscito da Kerti,
Osiride*** non si è arricchito col furto.
O impurezza del volto, uscita da Ru-sta,
Osiride*** non si è incollerito.
O due leoni, usciti dal cielo,
Osiride*** non è stato d'animo ingiusto.
O occhio di fiamma, uscito da Sejem,
Osiride*** non ha corrotto alcuno.

Per essere ammessi definitivamente nel Tuau, il defunto doveva dichiarare di non essersi reso colpevole dei sette peccati citati in questo paragrafo. L'elenco di questi è estratto dalla confessione negativa del capitolo 125 del *Libro dei Morti*. Ma è importante soprattutto che il defunto venga giustificato dalle sue buone azioni di cui il paragrafo 14/a fornisce l'elenco. Kerti sono i due baratri vicino Elefantina dove si credeva che sgorgasse il Nilo. Il nome del genio *mangiatore di occhi* significa anche *mangiatore dell'ombra*. La città di Sejem è stata identificata da M.G. de Rougé con *Letopolis*.

Paragrafo quattordicesimo/a linea 4

O dei che abitate il cielo inferiore;
Ascoltate la voce di Osiride***.
Egli è giunto presso di voi;
Egli non ha più alcuna macchia di peccato;
Nessun male è più in lui;
Nessun accusatore si è alzato contro di lui;
Egli vive nella verità;
Egli si nutre di verità.
Gli dei sono contenti di tutte le sue azioni;
Egli ha dato pane a chi aveva fame,
Acqua a chi aveva sete,
Vestiti a chi era nudo.
Ha fatto offerte agli dei,
Oblazioni funebri ai Mani.

Non si è parlato male di lui al cospetto di alcun dio.
Che entri dunque nel cielo inferiore,
Senza essere respinto;
Che possa servire Osiride e gli dei di Kerti;
Egli è il favorito tra i fedeli
E divinizzato tra i perfetti.
Che egli viva!
Che la sua anima viva!
Che la sua anima venga ammessa ovunque gli piaccia.
Ha ricevuto il *Libro delle Respirazioni*,
E può respirare con la sua anima, con quella del cielo inferiore,
Può compiere tutte le metamorfosi che vuole,
Con gli abitanti dell'Amenti.
Che la sua anima voli ove più gli piace,
E che possa vivere sulla terra per sempre, in eterno, in perpetuo.

Questa notevole preghiera, che si rivolge alle divinità della regione infernale, viene recitata dal sacerdote officiante con lo scopo di rendere bene accetto il defunto agli dei. E' improntata ad un sentimento essenzialmente religioso, contiene massime morali in sorprendente accordo con i precetti mosaici e con quelli di Cristo, le quali sono già state messe in luce dagli egittologi, in particolare M. Chabas. E' facile riconoscere in questa composizione la fonte cui ha attinto Diodoro (I.I, 92) per la sua narrazione:

“Quando la barca giunge sul lago, prima di imbarcarvi la cassa che contiene il defunto, ognuno ha il diritto di rivolgergli delle accuse...; se nessun accusatore si presenta o se l'accusa sembra calunniosa, i parenti abbandonano i lamenti, tessono l'elogio del morto ma senza parlare dei suoi natali, come fanno i Greci, perché gli Egiziani si credono tutti quanti di nobile origine; ma ne celebrano l'educazione e le conoscenze, la pietà e la giustizia, la continenza e le altre virtù, dalla giovinezza all'età adulta; infine invocano gli dei infernali e li supplicano di ammetterlo nella dimora riservata agli uomini pii. L'assemblea aggiunge le sue acclamazioni accompagnandole con i voti che il defunto goda agli inferi della vita eterna, in compagnia dei giusti”.

La prima metà di questo paragrafo riproduce le righe 37 e 38 del *Libro dei Morti*. Gli *Abitanti dell'Amenti*, letteralmente, sono gli *Occidentali*.

Paragrafo quattordicesimo/b linea 1

Si rimorchia l'Osiride nel grande bacino di Khons.
Dopo che ha ripreso il suo cuore,
Si seppellisce nella cassa il *Libro delle Respirazioni*,
Che è scritto su entrambi i lati della tela di *suten*.
Messo sotto il suo braccio sinistro,
vicino al cuore,

Se questo libro è fatto per lui,
Egli respirerà con le anime degli dei,
Sempre, in eterno.

Si tratta evidentemente del defunto che passa quale Osiride nel grande bacino di Khons. La prescrizione, relativa al trasporto della mummia attraverso uno dei laghi sacri, è citata anche nel papiro Rhind. Essa richiama il seguente passaggio di Diodoro (I.I, cap.92): “Quando il corpo è pronto per essere sepolto, i parenti ne informano i giudici, gli intimi e gli amici del defunto; gli comunicano il giorno dei funerali con questa formula: *Un tale deve attraversare il lago della provincia in cui è morto*. Subito i giudici, in numero di quaranta e più, arrivano e si dispongono in un emiciclo posto dall'altra parte del lago. Una barca, detta *Baris*, è portata da coloro che l'hanno costruita; è condotta da un pilota che gli Egiziani chiamano nella loro lingua *Charon (Conduttore)*”.

Malgrado la brevità del testo egizio, si può notare come lo storico greco ha confuso assieme una cerimonia funebre e la scena del giudizio dell'anima, descritta nel capitolo 125 del *Libro dei Morti*. Nella riga 2 è scritto che il defunto ha ripreso il suo cuore. Si sa che il cuore veniva imbalsamato a parte, in uno dei quattro vasi canopi che si mettevano nella tomba vicino la mummia. Non ho potuto decifrare la linea 8 del testo ieratico. La prescrizione finale si trova solo in tre manoscritti del Louvre dov'è in vario modo mutila o cancellata o alterata.

What is "The Book of Breathings"? Hugh Nibley, *BYU Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (Winter, 1971) pp.153-187

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Upon their publication in 1967, the Joseph Smith Papyri Nos. X and XI were quickly and easily identified as pages from the Egyptian "Book of Breathings." The frequent occurrence of the word *snsn* provided a conspicuous clue, and, though the last page of the book (the one that usually contains the title) was missing, its contents closely matched that of other Egyptian writings bearing the title *sh'* (*sh'i*, *sh'.t*) *n snsn*, commonly translated "Book of Breathing(s)." A most welcome guide to the student was ready at hand in J. de Horrack's text, translation, and commentary on a longer and fuller version of the same work (Pap. Louvre 3284) which he published in 1878 along with another version of the text (Louvre No. 3291) and variant readings from a half dozen other Paris manuscripts. [J. de Horrack, "Le livre des respirations," *Bibliothèque Égyptologique* 17 (1878), pp. 110-137, Plates vii-xiii.] Thanks to de Horrack, the experts found their work already done for them, and they showed their gratitude by consistently following the readings of the de Horrack's text and translation instead of the Joseph Smith text whenever the latter proved recalcitrant.

A Berlin manuscript of the Book of Breathings was published with a Latin translation, by H. Brugsch as early as 1851, [A recent summary of the literature may be found in G. Botti, "Il Libro del Respirare, etc," in *Jnl. of Egypt. Archæology* (JEA), 54 (1968), pp. 223-230; cf. Budge and Chassinat, below, notes 3 & 6.] and within a decade of de Horrack's work E.A.W. Budge came out with a magnificent facsimile in color of the "Kerasher" Book of Breathings of the British Museum (No. 9995), accompanied by a transliteration into hieroglyphics and a translation. [In E. A.W. Budge, *Facsimile of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Net-Chemet*, (Br. Mus., 1899), pp. 33-43, and plates.]

In 1935 and 1936 Georg Moeller published facsimiles of a Berlin "Buch von Atem" (Pap. 3135) as reading exercises for students, [G. Moeller, *Hieratische Lesestücke* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935), p. 32, and *Hieratische Paläographie*, 3 (Leipzig, 1936), Taf. XI.] and recently J.C. Goyon has brought together more exemplars. [J.-C. Goyon, *Le Papyrus du Louvre No. 3279* (Cairo, 1966, in *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, No. 42).]

Along with our "Book of Breathings," another writing bearing the same name but sometimes designated by the Egyptians themselves as "The Second Book of Breathings," once gave rise to some confusion. It was published in 1895 by J. Lieblein under the mistaken title of *Que mon nom fleurisse*; [Discussed by E. Chassinat, "Le Livre second des Respirations," in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1895, pp. 312-314, who provides a translation of one of the texts, pp. 317ff; G. Botti, "Il Libro del Respirare," pp. 226-8, has given a transliteration and translation of another.]

at the time over one hundred copies of the work were available, and the most striking thing about it was the liberty displayed by the scribes. "The things reported," wrote Chassinat, "the conceptions presented are identical in all of them [the Mss], but the form in which they are expressed varies almost to infinity according to the caprice or personal beliefs of the scribe and the resources of the buyer. . . ." The writers of the first Book of Breathings do not take such liberties, and yet the two writings are so closely associated that the ancient scribes "often made no distinction between the two books," giving both the same title, and G. Botti treats them as subdivisions of the same work. [Botti, p. 224. After the Amarna Period appeared a spate of freely composed funerary texts, all using familiar materials, but in new forms and combinations. These are designated by A. Piankoff as "The Mythological Papyri," S. Schott, "Zum Weltbild der Jenseitsführer des neuen Reiches," *Goettinger Nachrichten*, 1965, No. 11, p. 168. In the 26th Dynasty the Egyptians "recherchaient avec passion" and reproduced accurately texts going back to the earliest times, P. Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens Égyptiens* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1967), p. 13. Hence though the texts conform to the "Zeitgeist" through the centuries, "der Grundtenor bleibt stets der gleiche," G. Thausing, *Das grosse ägyptische Totenbuch* (Papyrus Reinisch), etc. (Cairo, 1969, in *Schriften des osterreichischen Kulturinstituts Kairo*, Arch.-hist. Abt., Bd. 1), p. 3.]

Just as these writings seem to blend into each other, so they fuse with still other works; like other Egyptian funerary writings, they everywhere betray their dependence on earlier texts as well as their contributions to later ones--Botti suggests that the two Rhind Papyri "are substantially derived from" the Breathing texts. The effect is that of a spectral band of writings that blend imperceptibly into each other and so form an unbroken continuum that in the end embraces the entire funerary literature. Of course, some texts are more closely related than others, but if we attempt to run down everything in the Book of Breathings to its source, or to establish a priority or order of derivation we soon find ourselves going through all the funerary texts and finding them all quite relevant to our subject.

For the Book of Breathings is before all else, as Bonnet observes, a composite, made up of "compilations and excerpts from older funerary sources and mortuary formulas." [H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 59.] From the Second Book of Breathings, hardly distinguishable from it, it blends off into such earlier writings as "The Book of Passing through the Eternities," the "Amduat," and the "Book of Gates," in which we

recognize most of the ideas and even phrases of the "Sensen" Papyrus. [W. Wreszinski, "Das Buch von Durchwandern der Ewigkeit," *Aegyptische Zeitschrift (AZ)* 45 (1908), pp. 111ff; Chassinat, "Le Livre second des Respirations," p. 315.]

Maspero's observation that "The Book of Breathing was a composition of the later period analogous to . . . the Book of Passing through Eternity, the Book of Transformations, and other writings which one finds on Greco-Roman mummies following the example or taking the place of the Book of the Dead," [G. Maspero, "Le Livre des Respirations," in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique* 2 (1893), p. 477; E. Hornung, *Einführung in die Aegyptologie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), p. 71.] now finds support in E. Hornung's declaration that "The Book of the Dead was in Roman times supplanted by the shorter Books of Breathing." [Hornung, p. 71. The neglected Demotic family of "Breathing" texts is also "very close to the other texts of the Book of the Dead," Botti, p. 223.]

Since it would seem to be "just more of the same," one is surprised to hear Botti's ringing declaration that "the Book of Breathing is without doubt the most important exponent of the funerary literature which flourished especially at Thebes about the first and second centuries after Christ, or, according to Moeller, at the beginning of the first century before Christ." [Botti, p. 223.]

What makes it so important? Two things, principally, its timing and its packaging. The Book of Breathing is the great time-binder; it comes towards the end of Egyptian civilization and so wraps everything up, right back to the beginning. The same continuum that passes from one type of text to another without a break also passes from one age to another from the earliest to the latest times. . . . the ideas and beliefs expressed in it are not new," Budge pointed out, "indeed, every one of them may be found repeated in several places in the religious works of the ancient Egyptians. All the gods mentioned. . . are found in the oldest texts." [Budge, *Facsimiles of the Papyri* . . ., p. 33; Chassinat, "Le Livre des Respirations," p. 315: ". . . this book existed, at least in one of its fundamental parts [i.e., that found in the Pyramid Texts], for long centuries before its complete diffusion." These texts are essentially static, betraying no sense of chronology and no interest in the past, H. Brunner, "Zum Verständnis der archaisierenden Tendenzen in der ägyptischen Spätzeit," *Saeculum*, 21 (1970), pp. 151-5. In the 26. Dyn. princes even made plaster casts of ancient inscriptions to use in their own tombs, *ibid.*, p. 154.]

From Thebes, where most of the manuscripts (including the Joseph Smith Papyri) were found, it can be traced back through Memphis (Botti's Turin Pap. Demot. N. 766 is Memphite) to Heliopolis and the beginnings of Egyptian civilization--and indeed the Joseph Smith Papyri, though Theban, refers constantly to Heliopolis. It contains material from every period: ". . . elements taken from the Pyramid Texts, the Book of the Dead, along with phrases and concepts already met with on the steles and sarcophagi of the Middle and New Kingdoms." [Botti, p. 223.]

The lateness of the "Breathing" documents, instead of detracting from their value actually enhances it. For it not only gives them a chance to embrace the entire funerary literature of the past, but places them in that crucial moment of transition in which they are able to transmit much ancient Egyptian lore to early Jewish and Christian circles. The first scholars to study it were impressed by its high moral tone and strong resemblance to the Bible, noting that it "bears the imprint of an essentially religious feeling, and contains moral maxims whose striking agreement with the precepts of the Jewish Lawgiver as with those of the Christ has already been pointed out by Egyptologists." [De Horrack, p. 134.]

And while its picture of the here-after differs fundamentally from that of present day Christianity and Judaism, it is strikingly like that of the ancient Jewish and Christian sectaries as newly-discovered documents are revealing them: "The next world is represented after the pattern of this one," wrote de Horrack, "the life of the spirit is so to speak just another step in human existence, the activities of the elect being analogous to those of men on earth. It is not an existence dedicated to eternal contemplation, a passive state of bliss, but an active and work-filled life, yet one, to make use of M. Chabas's expression, endowed with infinitely vaster scope than this one."¹⁶ Many recent studies confirm this judgment, showing not only that much authentic Egyptian matter was carried over into Judaism and Christianity, but that such Egyptian stuff instead of being the spoiled and rancid product of a late and degenerate age, represented the best and oldest the Egyptians had to offer. [L. Kakosy, "Probleme der ägyptischen Jenseitsvorstellungen in der Ptolemäerund Kaiserzeit," in *Religions en Egypte Hellenistique et Romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1969), pp. 59-68. Many others are referred to in our Commentary.]

L. Kakosy, for example, bids us compare the classic Egyptian descriptions of heaven and hell with those found in an Egyptian Christian grave of the 8th or 9th century A.D., specifically in the Apocalypses of Enoch and Peter, to see for ourselves how little they have changed. [*Ibid.*, p. 68; also in *Oriens Antiquus*, 3 (1964), p. 19, where he notes how the 18th-dynasty Book of Amduat carries over into the Coptic Christian Pistis Sophia. M. Philonenko, in *Religions en Eg. Hellenist. et Romans*, pp. 109-110, finds an Egyptian and Iranian background for the Jewish Secrets of Enoch.] Egyptologists can no longer brush such resemblances aside as coincidences, and nowhere are they more striking and

more frequent than in the "Breathing" texts and their closest relatives. [E. A.W. Budge, *Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1913), pp. lxiff, lists twenty Coptic Christian borrowings from ancient Egyptian imagery; cf. O.H.E. Burmester, "Egyptian Mythology in the Coptic Apocrypha," *Orientalia*, 7 (1938), pp. 355-367; E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Hollenvorstellungen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968), p. 8, notes resemblances between the Coptic Christian texts and a number of Egyptian writings (Coffin Texts, Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Quererts), which are all strongly reflected in the Book of Breathing. P. Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, p. 19, observes that Chap. 85 of the Book of the Dead (one of the sections included in the Joseph Smith Papyrus) finds earlier expression in Coffin Text No. 307, which contains "letter for letter almost the first sentence of the Gospel according to St. John"; and J. G. Griffith, in *Religion en Egypte*, etc. (above n. 17), p. 51, does not hesitate to compare allegorical expressions in the very ancient Ramesseum Papyrus with the Christian equating of bread with flesh and baptism with resurrection. S. Schott, *Die Deutung der Geheimnisse des Rituals für die Abwehr des Bösen* (Wiesbaden: Ff. Steiner, 1954), p. 6, notes parallels in this Egyptian text (which is closely related to the Book of Breathing) and the Christian sacraments.]

Of particular interest to us is the close association of the Book of Breathing with the Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham.

It can be easily shown by matching up the fibres of the papyri that the text of Joseph Smith Pap. No. XI was written on the same strip of material as Facsimile Number 1, the writing beginning immediately to the left of the "lion-couch" scene. The British Museum Book of Breathing, "the Kerasher Papyrus," has both the "lion-couch" scene (Budge, Vignette No. 2b), and a scene resembling our Facsimile Number 3, though representing a patently different situation albeit with the same props and characters (Vignette No. 1). This last stands at the head of the "Kerasher" text, and suggests that our Fac. No. 3 was originally attached at the other end of the Joseph Smith Papyrus, coming after the last column, which is missing.

But what about Facsimile Number 2, the well-known round hypocephalus? From special instructions written on other Books of Breathing it would appear that the written texts themselves, properly folded, could and did serve as hypocephali. Some copies are to be placed "on the left hand near the heart" (the Joseph Smith Papyrus is one of these), or else if one chooses "under the head" of the deceased. [So Pap. Florence 3662, H. Bonnet, *Realexikon*, p. 59. Sometimes the instructions recommend having the Book of Breathing "under the feet," e.g. Louvre No. 3157, in Chassinat, "Livre des Respirations," p. 317.]

A Book of Breathing studied by Champollion, made for the child Soter, bore the inscription in Greek: hypo ten kephalen, "under the head," from which Champollion derived the word "hypocaphalus" by which such round head-cushions as our Facsimile No. 2 are now designated. [Chassinat, p. 317, n. 1.] As the concluding act of the Egyptian burial ceremony, a priest would read the Book of Breathing standing by the coffin, and then, just as the lid came down, he would deposit the book under the head of the dead person, exactly as if it were a hypocephalus. [S. Schott, "Nut spricht als Mutter und Sarg," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 17 (1965), p. 86. The text states that it is meant "to produce a flame under the head of the Ba" of the deceased, *ibid.*, p. 83, that being the well-known purpose of the hypocephali.] Thus our "Sensen" Papyrus is closely bound to all three facsimiles by physical contact, putting us under moral obligation to search out possible relationships between the content of the four documents.

As a "packaging job" the Book of Breathing is a most remarkable performance, "an attempt to include all essential elements of belief in a future life in a work shorter and more simple than the Book of the Dead." [Budge, *Papyrus of Hunefer*, etc., p. 33.] It is, as Chassinat put it, "a sort of synthesis, bringing together in a limited space the current ideas relating to the human situation after death. There one finds just what is strictly necessary to know and say in order to be joined to the company of the gods. . . "2 [Chassinat, "Livre des Respirations," pp. 316-17.] In short, "the ancient writer has brought together everything that his imagination could find most fitting to procure the means of achieving life after death." Why this passion for brevity and compactness? Budge suggests that the Egyptians were fed up with the Book of the Dead "with its lengthy chapters and conflicting statements" that few people understood. But since when were Egyptians repelled by long religious texts or contradictory statements, or since when does the process of high-pressure condensation render texts more understandable? Chassinat explains the condensing as an economy measure, to provide funeral texts for poor people who could not afford expensive rolls. Why then is the Book of Breathing found on the mummies of important people, princes and priests, who could and did afford much better rolls? Why is it always the poor little breathing text, a few scribbled notes on a roll "about the size of a Tuscan cigar" (Botti), that they clutch to their breasts as their most treasured possession? Plainly it is a document of peculiar significance.

The Book of Breathing is the end-product of a long process of abbreviating and epitomizing which was characteristically Egyptian. From the beginning the Egyptians displayed a genius for attesting great accomplishments by little figures, and after the Amarna period they evinced a growing passion for synthesizing and condensing, of which the Book of the Dead is an excellent example. [G. Thausing, *Das grosse ägyptische Totenbuch*, p. 19.] The Book of the

Dead itself is only "a supplementary aid," according to Barguet, confined, for all its impressive bulk to stating the absolute minimum and getting by with statements only long enough to be recognizable. [P. Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, pp. 11-12.] The progressive compression within the Book of the Dead is illustrated by the 64th chapter, entitled "a formula (chapter) for knowing the other formulas for going out by day in a single formula." The classic illustration of the process is provided by a writing which very closely resembles the Book of Breathings in content, the Amduat. A shortened version of this text, not an automatic condensation but an abbreviated restatement, is designated by the ancient scribes as *shwj*, that being the technical term for a list drawn up to present "summary of essentials." [E. Hornung, *Das Amduat*, Teil 3 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1967, in *Aegyptische Abhandlungen*, Bd. 13), p. 55; S. Schott, *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer* in *Gottinger Nachr.* 1958, No. 4), pp. 341, 369. The cosmological inscriptions of Edfu "may be regarded as mere summaries or epitomes of the more important parts of the complete myths," which "preserved only a restricted number of extracts which from the Egyptian point of view were considered as vital," E.A.E. Reymond, *The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple* (N.Y.: Barnes & Noble, 1969), p. 10.]

But that is only the beginning; S. Schott has shown how the entire book was recapitulated in a summary flanking the exit walls of the tombs in which the Amduat was inscribed, and how this summary in turn was followed by a Table of Contents which in time was accepted as a permanent substitute for the whole book, the mere table of contents becoming thereafter the official text of the Amduat. [Schott, "Nut spricht sis Mutter," pp. 344, 346f, 354, 365-370.] Such compound distillation reaches its culmination in the "Book of Journeying through Eternity," a writing which has actually been identified with the Book of Breathings, and which ends with a desperate attempt to jam together in a few closing lines every conceivable good wish and every indispensable requirement for the dead in the next world. [W. Wreszinski, in *AZ*, 45:122.]

The result is near chaos, but the Book of Breathings itself goes almost as far. In three or four pages it contains the essential elements of the Egyptian funerary rites from the earliest times; nothing essential is missing, so that the book assures us that a knowledge of its contents alone, no more and no less, is exactly what is needed by anyone who wishes to continue to live and progress in the hereafter. We begin at last to see why this brief and unimpressive little scroll is of such great importance to the ancient Egyptian and the modern scholar alike--indeed "a valuable discovery."

The Meaning of "SNSN"

Almost any Egyptian funerary text could safely be called a "Book of Breathing," since all deal with renewal of life and resurrection of the flesh, which for the Egyptian mean breathing first of all. [E. Hornung, *Altägypt. Höllenfahrt*, p. 11.] Some of the most important chapters of the Book of the Dead are entitled "For giving a Breeze to N. in the Realm of the Dead." [So chapters 54 to 59 inclusive.] The Egyptian associated life, light, air, breath, and everything good in a single symbol, the *nfr*-sign, showing the heart and respiratory passages, [E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1964), p. 54.] including the aërophagus, for the breathing pipes were also the way of nourishment: in a single intake one absorbs life, breath, nourishment, health, vigor--everything good. [J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* (Upsala, 1968, *Acta Univ. Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum* 3), pp. 186f. p. 2.] The aim of the mysteries is "to give life and joy through the nose, and joy to the heart with the aroma of incense, supplying the King with the fragrance of the mighty ones." [H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien* (Vienna, 1910), p. 2.] The commonest epithets of divinity depict the deity either as the provider of air, "who causes the heart (windpipe) to breathe," *sqr hty.t*, or as himself wind, air, breath of life. [Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 149ff, 159ff.]

The giving of breath is endowment with life in the widest sense. Thus the King is petitioned "to give the breath of life to him who suffocates" and spare the life of a servant, for he is "the creator of the air," whose own mouth "bears breath to humans." [These and other pertinent quotations in G. Posener, *De la Divinité du Pharaon* (Paris, 1960, *Cahiers de la Société Asiatique*, XV), p. 66.] Yet, Posener notes, there is no known representation of Pharaoh bestowing breath-or life-symbols on anyone, while there are thousands depicting gods doing the same. Why is that? Because in his breath-giving capacity the King is wholly divine, absorbed in the person of the life-giving god; he is the creator, "Chnum. . . who puts the breath of life in every man's nose," [T. Hopfner, *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris, II Teil* (Prague: Orientalisches Institut, 1941), p. 111.]

Chnum, who "created the animals by the breath of his mouth, and breathed forth the flowers of the field. . ." As the Apis Bull he is also "the living breath" of Ptah the Creator; [E. Chassinat, in *Receuil de Travaux*, 38 (1938), pp. 44f.] he is Horus of Edfu "who puts breath into the nose of the dead"; [W. Wreszinski, in *AZ* 45: 111, cf. 112, 115-7, 122.] he is Re who announces to them in the Underworld, "I bring light to the darkness. . . who sees me shall breathe, let him breathe who exalts my appearance!" [A. Piankoff, "Le Livre de Quererts," *Bull. Inst. Français d'Archéol. Or. (BIFAO)*, 43 (1945), pp. 10, 19.] To which they reply, "We breathe when we see him, the King N breathes when he sees him. . . we breathe, rejoicing in Sheol (Quererts)." [Ibid., 42 (1944), pp. 33-34.] Because as Osiris he was brought back to life

"as he smells the air of Isis," who as she fans him with her wings says, "I put wind into his nose, [Hopfner, Plutarch über Isis und Osiris, I Teil, pp. 81-85.] he is able to restore others to life: ". . . your throats breathe when you hear the words of Osiris." [Piankoff, "Le Livre de Quererts," pp. 7ff, Tab. i.] For he himself is the great breather: "Osiris breathes, Osiris breathes, in truth Osiris breathes, his members have truly been rejuvenated"; then he "breathes out the air that is in his throat into the noses of men. How divine is that from which mankind live! It is all united in thy nostrils, the tree and its foliage, the rushes. . . the grain, barley, fruit trees, etc. Thou art the father and mother of humanity, who live by thy breath." [Hopfner, Plutarch über Isis und Osiris, I, 151.] The Book of Breathings is not to be dismissed, as it has been, as a mere talisman against stinking corpses; it is a sermon on breathing in every Egyptian sense of the word.

The Berlin Dictionary (usually called simply the Wörterbuch--Wb) IV, 171ff, gives a wealth of meanings for the word *snsn*, all of which fall under two related categories. First there is the idea of air and breath, No. 2 (in the WB list) being to smell, breathe; (3) to exude an odor; (4) to inhale air or the breath of life; (5) "der Odem," the breath of life itself; (16) the stench of a corpse. In charge of this department is the god-des Mert, identified with Maat, who enjoys considerable prominence in our Book of Breathings. Supervising the functions of oesophagus and windpipe, she supplies both nourishment and breath of life (one actually eats and breathes her), and in that capacity enjoys a relationship of peculiar intimacy with every individual, even as she hangs on the kingly and priestly breast as a pectoral that both embraces and is embraced by the royal person. [J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 186, 190, treats this familiar theme.] In this sense "The son of Atum-Re says, He hath begotten me by his nose: I came forth from his nostrils. Place me upon his breast, that he might embrace me with his sister Maat." [A. De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Univ. of Chicago, 1938), II, 34-35, Spell 80.] *Snsn* is the air that infuses and pervades: "Thy nostrils inhale (*snsn*) the air, thy nose breathes (*snsn*) the north wind, thy throat gulps in air, thou incorporatest life into thy body." [From the Book of Passing through Eternity, W. Wreszinski, *AZ* 45: 115.] Isis and Nephthys prevent decay and evil odor by fanning with their wings, but that is also the favorable wind which enables the dead to progress on his journey in the hereafter. [Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 198-205.]

But breathing is only half the story. It is significant that the clear statement of the purpose of the "Sensen" Papyrus as given in its introductory lines makes no mention whatever of breathing! This bids us consider the broader and more venerable ritual background of the word. The rites set forth in the Shabako document, the earliest coronation drama and perhaps the oldest of all Egyptian ritual texts, culminate when the new king "unites himself with the royal court and mingles (*snsn*) with the gods of Ta-tenen." [K. Sethe, *Das Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie der Schabakosteine des Br. Mus.*, (Leipzig, 1929), p. 73, line 64.] The expression for "mingle with," *snsn r*, Sethe finds also in the Pyramid Texts, and means, according to him, "sich zu jemand gesellen." He duly notes that "the writing is commonly used in later times for *snsn*, 'inhale,' being mistakenly regarded as a reduplication of *sn*, 'to kiss.'" Another document going back to the earliest times uses the same word in the same way, telling how "Maat came down from heaven in their times and united herself to those who dwell upon the earth"; (another version): "Maat came down to earth in their time and mingled with (*snsn hn'*) the gods," (and another): "Maat came from heaven to earth and mingled (*snsn.n.s*) with all the gods." [E. Otto, "Das 'Goldene Zeitalter,' "in *Religions en Egypte*, etc. (above, n. 17), p. 103.] The word "mingled" (both as *snsn.s* and *snsn.n.s*) Otto renders as "sie verbrüdete sich mit. . ." and indeed in the last sentence the word is written simply with the picture of two men shaking hands.

This picture of Maat mingling freely with mankind in the "Golden Age" before the fall forcibly brings to mind Psalms 85:11: "Truth (*emeth*, possibly cognate with the Eg. *Maat*) shall spring out of the earth; and righteousness (*Maat* is the Egyptian word for Righteousness) shall look down from heaven." But even more relevant is the less familiar verse that precedes it: "Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed." For *snsn*, as we have seen, means "kiss." There is nothing more intimate than breath, and one and the same Egyptian word can mean odor, nose, nostril, smell, sniff, breathe, perfume, caress, and love. [The word *khm*, examined by V. Loret, in *Rec. Trav.*, 14 (1892), pp. 106-120.] The queen of Egypt became pregnant "when the aroma of Amon penetrated all her members." [Discussed by Hopfner, *Plutarch über Isis*, Pt. I, p. 46.] *Snsn*, then, is indicative of the closest and most intimate association. In the 13th Dynasty King Neferhotep prays "that I may associate (*snsn*) with all the gods. . .," [M. Pieper, *Die Grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929), p. 10.] which is quite in order when one remembers that *sn* is the Egyptian word for "brother," and is written with the two-pronged harpoon or spear (Gardiner T 22), being also the common root for "two" in the Semitic languages (cf. our *twain*, *twain*, etc.; the one-pronged harpoon was always the sign for "one"). The reduplicate *snsn* makes a verb of it and also Acts as an intensive, like the second form in Arabic. This idea of twinship or brotherhood is apparent when a god comes down to his temple and his Ba fuses(*snsn*) with his "form," i.e., his image in the temple. [C. de Wit, "Inscriptions dedicatoires du temple d'Edfou," in *Chroniques d'Egypte*, 36 (1961), pp. 96-97.]

According to the Wörterbuch, *snsn*, written either with the "bolt-s" or the two-pronged harpoon, can mean (6) to join a company, unite with a group (formed by reduplicating the word *sn*, "brother"; (15) to unite, fraternize, become a friend of; hence, (7) to join the company of the gods (said of the dead), (12) to reach heaven and mingle with the stars; (13) to enter a bond of brotherhood, to marry with; (8) to unite oneself with the King, or (1) to praise or honor a king or god--

hence praise, honor; (9) to unite oneself with one's image (said of a god coming to his temple); (10) to unite oneself with the light. The two main ideas of *snsn*, breathing and joining, meet and fuse in such meanings as (10) "fragrance, light, air, as joining themselves to something"; hence (11) adornment, things adorning the body; (15) to invest another object or fuse with it, as of a person with the stars, a god with his image, crowns or vestments; incense suffusing the body, or crowns joining together to make one. The Pyramid

Text designation of *snsn* as a consuming fire calls forth the vivid image of the Pharaoh or the blessed spirit invested and suffused with flames which carry him up to heaven.⁶ [W. Barta, "Zum Goldnamen der ägyptischen Könige," in *AZ*, 95 (1969), p. 88.] *Snsn* is thus seen to be a very flexible word which remains none the less remarkably true to its basic meaning. This can be seen in a passage from the Book of Wandering through Eternity (the companion-piece to the Book of Breathings, as we have noted): "Thy nose breathes (*snsn*) the Northwind. . . . thou kissest (*snsn*) Osiris in the great Golden House,. . . thou passest the gates of the gods of the *Qrtj.w* (chambers of the Underworld) and unitest thyself to (*snsn m*) the company of the saved. . ." [W. Wreszinski, in *AZ* 45: 115, 119.] Here breathing, embracing, and fraternizing are all expressed by the same word.

How these concepts persisted down into Jewish and Christian times can be seen in the remarkable parallel between an episode from the Coffin Texts (cir. 2000 B.C.) and a Coptic Christian liturgy. In the former we read: "My *snsn* was with me in his nose, I came forth from his nostrils; he clasped (*dwd. n.f*) me to his bosom, he would not let me be separated from him. My name lives: Son of the Lord of the Preexistence. I live in the members (*bsn.w*, "purifying substances"?) of my father *Atum*. Created by *Atum*. . . when he sent me down to this earth. . . when my name was changed to Osiris son of *Geb*. My father *Atum* then embraced (*snsn*) me as he came forth from the eastern horizon; his heart was pleased (satisfied) when he saw me. . . He established me in the flesh and gave me dominion over it. . . "There follows (II, 42) a catalogue of birds, animals, and fishes including also the grain-eating human race, all of whom live "according to the command of *Atum*. I lead them, I cause them to thrive (live); the breath (*sn*) in my mouth is the life in their nostrils; I lead them while the breath of life is in their throats. I sustain them (lit. "tie on their heads") by the *Hw* (authoritative utterance) which is in my mouth; my father *Atum* has caused me to give life to the fishes and the worms upon the back of *Geb* (the earth)." [De Buck, Coffin Texts (C.T.), II, 40ff (Spell 80).] The short spell that follows this one reads as if it came right out of the Book of Breathings (though 2000 years older/), but we wish to call attention here to Spell 80 because of its remarkable resemblance to the Coptic Christian text, which reads: "I adjure thee by the first seal placed upon the body of Adam. . . by the second seal placed upon the members of Adam; I adjure thee by the third seal, sealing the heart and loins of Adam, who lieth in the dust until Jesus Christ shall stand proxy for him between the arms of the Father. The Father hath raised him (Adam) up, he hath breathed upon his face, he hath filled him with a breath of life. Send to me thy breath of life, even to this believer (*pithos*)." [S.-P. Girard, in *An. Serv.*, 27 (1927), pp. 62-68.] In this Christian Book of Breathings the initiate instead of being designated by the usual code-name of Osiris, is called Adam.

The whole funerary literature of the Egyptians has a strangely familiar ring to those Latter-day Saints who ever get around to looking at it, and it should be cause for much searching of monuments and documents. The whole picture is undergoing drastic alterations at the present moment, and this fact should not be overlooked, as it has been, by the critics of the Book of Abraham. Let us take a quick look at the situation.

Escape from the Catacombs

Professor Zandee begins his very useful book on the Egyptian view of death with the observation, "that the Egyptians have answered the question of the relation between life and death in two ways." The one concept is the natural human recoil before the fact of death as "the enemy of life"; the other looks upon death as the great moment of transition to greater things beyond, as nothing less than "the foundation of eternal life, life in its potential form." [J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden: Brill, 1960), p. 1, citing especially Kirstensen as the champion of the optimistic view.] But if the Egyptians themselves had two ways of looking at the hereafter, the Egyptologists until recently have had only one, and have tolerated no discussion that might challenge the views of natural science. [It is interesting that Zandee mentions only one meaning of *snsn*--to stink! *ibid.*, p. 59. After all is said, what the Egyptian felt towards death was only pessimism and terror, according to H. Kees, *Totenglauben u. Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Aegypter* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926), pp. 450ff; as early as the Heracleopolitan period the funerary literature takes on a "gloomy and eery character" which remains permanent, E. Luddeckens, in *Mitteilungen der deutschen Inst. Kairo*, II (1943), p. 171; hence an Egyptian museum "gives the ordinary visitor an impression de tristesse et d'ennui," G. Maspero, in *Bibliothèque Egyptol.*, I, 35f. But who arranged the exhibits? According to S. Morenz, *Aegyptische Religion* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960), pp. 198-200, because the Egyptian desperately wanted life, he found death nothing but repellant: he loathed the "awesome and grizzly symbol of the mummy, the living corpse," and viewed the mortuary rites as "a very dubious Ersatz" for life; the euphemisms he used "only show his terror at the very name of death." He clung to the rituals as a drowning man to a straw with little enough confidence in them, A.H. Gardiner, *The Attitude of the Egyptians to Death and the Dead* (Cambridge Univ. 1935), pp. 7ff. On the other hand, Luddeckens notes that this was not always so (*deutschen Inst. Kairo*), and Gardiner that the Egyptian still continued to hope that "if all the precautions

taken should prove successful, then physical death might be a mere transition from one life to another," *ibid.*, p. 13. S. Schott, "Das schöne Fest vom Wustentale," (Wiesbaden: Fr. Steiner, 1952), p. 91, finds that feast of the dead to be a truly gay affair, as witnessed by its modern survival. The consensus, however, has been that "the whole funerary literature of Egypt is a literature of fear of death. . . . a limited, worried point of view," as "each newly formed security disintegrates by the apprehension of a new danger." H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (N.Y.: Columbia Univ., 1948), pp. 116-120.]

The easiest way to forestall any such speculation has been simply to refer everything to the necropolis. In Egyptian almost any word or expression designating a place or state not of this world can be equated with "necropolis," and so the disciples of Erman (who frankly confessed that he found the Egyptian religion as repellent as an Egyptian would find his) [A. Erman, *Mein Werden und mein Wirken* (Leipzig: Quelle u. Meyer, 1929), pp. 279f, 76.] have always had an easy time conducting their readers to the necropolis and leaving them there that is the end of the trail, there is no more, and to look for more is to be guilty of the two things which Erman monotonously and automatically charges against all who disagree with him, "Romantik" and "Fantasie."

And so the general public has always thought of the Egyptians as people with a graveyard fixation. Nothing could be more misleading according to the newer studies that are now appearing faster than ever. Professor Brunner now assures us that "Erman is much too taken with his own times and their viewpoint" to serve us as a guide today. [H. Brunner, in *Saeculum*, 21 (1970), p. 156.] Wherever the Egyptian character finds expression, according to Miss Thausing, one theme is always dominant: "Life! Life at any price, here and beyond! There is no death, no end, for death is only the birth into a new life." [G. Thausing, *Der Auferstehungsgedanke in ägyptischen religiösen Texten* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1943), p. 1.] As Barguet's recent work on the Book of the Dead shows, the funeral march to the graveyard was only a preliminary to an immediate exit from it, "the coming out into the day; the rebirth as a triumphant Sun." [P. Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, pp. 55ff, and in *Rev. Hist. Religions*, 177 (1970), p. 67: "En fait, il semble bien que ce qui est un point d'arrivee est en meme temps un point de depart."] One finds the very same situation way back in the Old Kingdom, as a number of recent studies makes clear. Not only are the cults of Egypt simply saturated with the idea of "a continuation of life elsewhere as it was lived on earth," as Dr. Speleers noted with strong disapproval, [L. Speleers, "La resurrection et la toilette du mort," *Revelation d'Egyptol.*, 3 (1938), p. 37; *Textes des Cercueils* (Brussels, 1946), pp. xlvi, lxxviii-lxxi.] but "separation between life and death," as W. Czermak puts it, "is altogether un-Egyptian." [W. Czermak, "Zur Gliederung des 1. Kapitels des ägypt. Totenbuches," in *AZ* 74 (1940), p. 11. "There is a doubt whether the Egyptian funerary stelae mean to speak of their possessors as still living or dead," A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1957), p. 284, # 367.] "The ancient Egyptian," wrote Prof. Wilson, "saw the phenomena of his existence as being of a single substance, banded in one continuous spectrum of blending hues." [J. A. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 81.] And he saw no reason why the band should not be extended beyond the limits of death and birth, his own existence being part of "a well-arranged and well-planned whole," in which nothing had been overlooked. Hence the surprising fact, now being pointed out by Egyptologists, that the Egyptians really cared very little about the past, and in their writings concerning man's place in the universe are not concerned at all "with burial and life after death." [E. Otto, *Gott u. Mensch*, p. 59; H. Brunner, in *Saeculum*, pp. 159, 161.] Passing from one state of existence to another is never without its terrifying aspects, and in the Egyptian initiation rites the candidate underwent a ritual death-experience which was altogether too realistic to be comfortable. [M. Eliade has shown that the idea behind all initiation is "a new birth of the individual initiate, preceded by a decomposition of his personality, its reimmersion into a state of chaos (disorganization), followed by its integration at a higher level of existence," according to A. Brelich, in C. J. Bleeker (Ed.), *Initiation* (Leiden: Brill, 1965, *Numen*, Suppl. No. X), p. 224. Cf. H. Nibley in *Improvement Era*, 72 (July, 1969), pp. 97ff.]

Terrified by the unknown, he was nonetheless sustained by the conviction that there was something there, a sense of possibilities which, as Whitehead put it, is the whole appeal and power of the Bible itself.

In all of Egyptian literature it would be hard if not impossible to find another document more thoroughly imbued with the positive, optimistic Egyptian view of death than our Book of Breathings. Even de Horrack noted with wonder that there seemed to be nothing "funerary" about it, but that on the contrary it spoke only of resurrection and exaltation. [De Horrack, *Bibliothèque Egyptol.*, 17, 116.] And yet it has been the fate of this remarkable book to be studied and criticized solely by the most dedicated disciples of Erman, the last people in the world to concede anything which the école de Berlin would not accept. Their most magnanimous concession to the Egyptians is an indulgent shrug of the shoulders as if to forgive those simple children of nature who know not what they do.

The standard procedure of investigation which has proven most fruitful in Egyptology has been the routine gathering together of all known examples of the object under study, and placing them side by side for comparison, to determine what is essential and what is merely incidental. Thus when scholars were puzzled by a growing category of texts which Champollion had designated as "The Ritual" and which Lepsius labeled the "Todtenbuch," they decided at the Congress of Orientalists meeting in London in 1874, to commission Eduard Naville to bring together and publish side by side all

the main exemplars of that document, and as a result the nature of the Book of the Dead first became clear. [Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, p. 13.] Later Sethe and others by the same method of collecting and comparing documents showed the true nature of the Pyramid Texts, and in the same way all the funerary books, from the Coffin Texts on, have been "discovered."

One would assume that so obvious and rational a procedure would by now have accounted for and neatly packaged every category of Egyptian document, but such is far from being the case. Only very recently did S. Schott for the first time examine and compare all versions of the important "Festival of the Valley" (1952); and those documents which make up the book of "The Repelling of Evil" (1954); did E. Otto bring together all the known examples of the controversial Opening of the Mouth ritual (1960); did P. Derchain gather up accounts of the early royal sacrifices (1962); did E. Hornung publish all the "Writings of the Hidden Chambers" which make up the book of Amduat (1963); did C. J. Bleeker run down all the accounts of the Sokar festival (1967); did W. Helck photograph and publish all the ritual scenes from Ramses II's outer wall of the temple at Karnak (1968); did E. Winter do the same at the Philae (1970); did Mrs. Reymond bring together all the founding legends of the Egyptian temples (1969). All these sources and many more are now being studied thoroughly for the first time, though they have been well known to Egyptologists for over a hundred years. What interests us particularly is that all have direct bearing on the understanding of our Book of Breathings. Why have the experts neglected to give them the only treatment that pays off? Helck answers that question in the preface to his important study. The reliefs he examines have all been sketched, photographed and described countless times; yet "systematic publications even for the great Temple of Karnak are almost completely lacking." [W. Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Rameses' II. in Karnak* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1968, in *Aegyptologiasche Abhandlungen*, Bd. 8), p. 1.] Why?

In the first place, according to Helck, the ritual scenes in the reliefs didn't look particularly significant. Taken alone, each one looks perfectly ordinary and familiar--the student or tourist has seen that sort of thing a thousand times, so he yawns and moves on. Yet when the same scenes were brought together and the detailed photographs placed side by side "a recognizable order and meaning at once appeared," an order and meaning that had completely escaped generations of Egyptologists. Then again, Helck observes, they were ignored because they were religious compositions, and the experts were convinced that they had taken the measure of Egyptian religion and found it sorely wanting in the solid historic and scientific content they were looking for. But the greatest block of all was that "the numerous sacrificial scenes in the temples were regarded as stereotyped compositions. . . from which it was believed no really significant data were to be had." The fact is that they are stereotyped, and look enough alike to convince any casual observer that "when you've seen one you've seen 'em all." E. Winter has found the same situation at Philae, perhaps the most photographed and studied temple in Egypt, where the inscriptions "give the impression of being monotonous, tedious, and empty," in fact "almost as unattractive" as the reliefs, which the scholars find positively "repellent. . . having nothing to say." [Reviewed by H. Brunner, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 23 (1970), pp. 118-9; Otto, *Gott u. Mensch*, p. 84, notes that highly stereotyped scenes and texts can be given a variety of interpretations and have rich "Anwendungsmöglichkeit."] But upon closer examination at the present time "elements heretofore viewed as stereotypes of Ptolemaic temple decoration turn out. . . to be exceedingly important elements in understanding the 'Grammar of the Temple.'" There it is again--important documents overlooked because they gave the impression of being mere stereotypes. It is the same thing with the texts: "Curiously enough," Bleeker notes, "many Egyptologists do not seem to realize that well-known words must have had a sacral shade of meaning," and so, disdaining further investigation, simply "deny the existence of certain religious notions or elements of religious truth,"--especially those of which they happen to disapprove. [C. J. Bleeker, *Initiation*, p. 55.] Indeed Brunner notes that the late lamented Sigfried Morenz was one of very few Egyptologists "who took religious phenomena seriously"--and how many religious phenomena can be understood unless one does take them seriously? [Brunner, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 23:223.] Erman confessed at the end of his life that after studying Egyptian religion for fifty years he knew nothing whatever about it and had only a strong antipathy for it. [E. Erman, *Werden u. Wirken*, pp. 279f, cf. 292f.] Today Egyptologists are beginning to see that there is no more serious obstacle to the progress of their science than the illusion that "well-known" objects are also well understood, simply because they are boringly familiar; they would not be boring or "repellent" if they were understood.

This digression has been necessary as a reminder to students of the Book of Breathings that the very same experts who contemptuously thrust aside the Joseph Smith Papyri and dismissed the Facsimiles after a glance, are the same men who overlook all the documents mentioned above, considering them mere shoddy, repetitious stereotypes "from which nothing significant is to be learned." Only the last ten years have begun to show how wrong they were and are, and how much might be learned from an honest and thorough study of documents which they disdain to notice. But their delinquency does not excuse us, and we must not be intimidated by a haughty and authoritarian manner.

Two of the most important new directions in Egyptology, according to Brunner, are (1) the study of the temple inscriptions, and (2) the examination of the nature and function of the Egyptian temple itself. [Brunner, *Arch. J. Orf.*, 23:118.] Surprisingly enough, to this day there has appeared no complete publication of the inscriptions of any Egyptian

temple. From the inscriptions, the reliefs, the structure of the temple itself and the written records in general, the meaning and function of the temple can be determined. The primary purpose of a temple, according to Bleeker, was to "serve for the celebration of a cultic mystery." [Bleeker, *Initiation*, p. 52.] Or, says Brunner, to provide "a 'cultic stage' for daily and special services," while the architecture of the building conveyed "a mythical realisation of the Cosmos." [Brunner, *Arch. f. Orf.*, 23:118.] Built according to the cosmic pattern prescribed in a divine book sent down from heaven in the beginning, [A. Moret, *Du caractere religieux de la Royante Pharonique* (Paris, 1902), pp.130ff; A. Blackman & A. H. Fairman, in *JEA*, 28 (1942), p. 36.] it was at all times the center of every civilized and civilizing activity, the delightful resting-place of majesty and divinity, the throne of universal dominion, place of the heavenly Marriage and of the Great Council, monument of victory over the powers of chaos and darkness, the holy city, etc. [A good summary is given in the dedicatory inscription of the Temple of Edfu, C. de Wit, in *Chron. d'Egypte*, 36 (1961), pp. 96-97.] The dedication of the temple, periodically repeated forever afterward, was itself the repetition of the creation of the earth, and as such was celebrated simultaneously in the temple and in heaven. For "the basic theme of cult activity in Egypt," as Bergman puts it, was "the participation of the gods and the King in renewing and preserving the creation." [Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, p. 165.] Every Egyptian temple claimed to be "the first sacred place in which the Creator dwelt with his fellows before he had created the world," and thus to provide the proper setting for the creation drama that regularly took place there. [E. A. E. Reymond, *Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple*, p. 104.] All time, like all space met at the temple, where the hourly rites were no mere fleeting reminders of the great events of human existence, but "contain in themselves," according to Jubker, "the performance of all to which they refer." [H. Junker, *Stundenwache*, p. 6. 179] "The vital element in the constitution of the Temple," according to Mrs. Reymond, "was the preservation of the close link with the Ancestors and their cults." [Reymond, *Mythical Origin*, p. 277.] In short, everything in the temple goes back to the beginning and everything is kept in the family.

The plurality of temples in Egypt bothered no one, since the ancient doctrine was that after the rounding of the first temple, coinciding with the creation of the earth, its founders, special messengers commissioned by the great Creator to carry out certain phases of his work, "sailed away" to found other temples and create other worlds in the immensity of space. [Ibid., pp. 180, 187-8; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, p. 89.] Strictly speaking, what was dramatized and celebrated in the Temple was not the creation, but another creation, this world being organized, to use Mrs. Reymond's striking expression, "after the manner of what had been done in other worlds." [Reymond, p. 275. In all of this there is no allusion to the Underworld, p. 183.] Our "Sensen" Papyrus often refers to four holy places, Heliopolis, Busiris, Abydos, and Hermopolis, the four great prehistoric centers of the Egyptian temple rites; and de Horrack already noted that in the Book of Breathings everything takes place in two spheres, one above and one below. [De Horrack, *Bibliothèque Egyptol.*, p. 114; cf. Facsimile No. 2.] Which bids us ask before we go any farther, What has the Book of Breathings to do with the Temple?

Tomb and Temple

The answer is, Everything. Long ago, A. Moret noted that from all of Egypt's glorious past only two types of monument remain--tombs and temples, [Moret, *Royaute Pharaonique*, p. 116.] and went on to demonstrate that in Egypt, tomb and temple in form and function are virtually identical. Recently a number of independent studies have re-examined the well-documented rites performed in the chambers and passageways beneath the pyramid of Unas, the last king of the 5th Dynasty. The ceremonies were not exclusively mortuary, for the inscriptions that describe them on the walls of the rooms and corridors are often the same as those found in the temples, whose own rooms and corridors, moreover, correspond to those in the tombs. [J. Spiegel, "Das Auferstehungsritual der Unaspyramide," *Annales du Service*, 53 (1956), p. 341: It is evident "dass die Themen, die in den einzelnen Abschnitten des Tempelkultes berührt wurden, in der Tat die gleichen waren wie in den entsprechenden Räumen des Pyramideninneren, und dass die im Tempelritual. . . verwendeten Sprüche. . . inhaltlich ähnlich und streckenweise gleichlautend waren." After Pepi I, the inscriptions of the entrance and so-called "Waiting-room" (the Annex) of royal tombs are definitely those of the temple-ritual, *ibid.*, p. 346.]

Moreover, the King in his underground world was thought to be "participating in the rites of Heliopolis, which are transferred to heaven," the Temple at Heliopolis being the best-known link and common meeting-ground between the worlds above and below. [H. Kees, *Totenglauben*, pp. 289f. The tomb of Osiris was originally in the Temple, according to Helck, *Ritualszenen . . . Ramses II.*, p. 108. The King was crowned and enthroned in the coffin-chamber before leaving the place to assume his throne in heaven, Spiegel, pp. 367-371.] In his remarkable studies on the royal washing and anointing, A. Blackman has shown how the funerary version corresponds exactly to the daily temple ordinances. In discussing a papyrus which scholars relate very closely to the Book of Breathings, he writes: "That representations of the lustration undergone by the dead should be approximated by those of the ceremonial sprinkling of Pharaoh in the temple-vestry is only to be expected; for both ceremonies were supposed to imitate the same performance, i.e., the sungod's daily matutinal ablutions." [A. Blackman, "The Skrine Funerary Papyrus," *JEA* 4 (1917), p. 124.] The rites of awakening, washing, dressing, etc., of the king, carried out during the ceremonies of mummification by way of preparing the dead to arise refreshed in the next world, "closely resemble the daily service performed in all Egyptian temples in

historic times." [A. Blackman, "The House of the Morning," JEA 5 (1918), p. 162, italics added. Helck, Ritualszenen, p. 20, notes that the services in the Totentempel could also be performed in non-funerary temples.] A. Moret had already noted that there is "a perfect resemblance between the funeral rites, the temple rites, and the daily toilet of the Pharaoh," [A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalies . . .* (Paris, 1902), p. 78.] which Blackman proceeded to illustrate in detail, pointing out how "all five rites, viz. the daily temple liturgy, the ceremonial toilet in the House of the Morning, the preparation of the king's body for burial, the daily funeral liturgy, and the Opening of the Mouth resemble one another in their main features," all having in common a ritual washing, anointing, robing, bestowing of insignia, and sometimes a sacral meal. [A. Blackman, "Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt," *Rec. Trav.*, 39 (1921), p. 48.]

Thus the information conveyed in funerary texts is by no means confined to the funeral situation; these particular documents happen to be preserved for us because they were carefully buried away in tombs, but they faithfully report what went on in the temples as well. Even the Coffin Texts were not all funerary; many contain formulas reserved for the living or of value to both the living and the dead, as their titles proclaim. The ordinances in tomb and temple were not only the same, but had the very same objective--eternal exaltation. The instant King Unas and his cortege reach the coffin chamber, the lowest point on their journey and the end of the road in the necropolis, a surprising thing happens: the sad and impressive funeral operation suddenly shifts into reverse, all at once everything is moving in the opposite direction and the thrust of the whole undertaking is to get the King out of the tomb and Pyramid and into the sky as quickly as possible. [Spiegel, *Annales du Service*, pp. 361ff.] This dramatic reversal of direction is demonstrated by the Sun at the solstice, whose miraculously abrupt turnabout can be most clearly witnessed and predicted from the shadows of those great standing stones (Benben, obelisk, pyramid, pylon) which, as Breasted discerned, attested the common prehistoric origin of tomb-and temple-cult in solar rites. [Breasted's interpretation was assailed by L. Speleers, "La signification des Pyramides," in *Melanges Maspero* (Vol. 66 of *Mem. Inst.*), pp. 603-621, and defended by A. Moret in the same volume, pp. 623-636.] For the Pharaoh, from the earliest to the latest times, always goes through the same solar routine: ". . . at the beginning the king is born: he rises from the Watery Abyss of the Nun; he travels in the barge of Re (the Sun) in the sky, he is identified with the gods and leads a cosmic life in heaven." [A. Piankoff, cited by H. Altenmuller, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. 26 (1970), p. 61; so also M. de Rochemonteix, in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, 3: 233ff; P. Barget, in *RHR* 177 (1970), p. 67.] The purpose of the tomb is not to lock him in cold obstruction, but to help him on his way; the temple architecture, which requires that the ordinances be performed progressively from room to room until one reaches the roof, shows "a profound and essential association between the rites prescribed by the cult and the rhythm of the universe," its structure being "inserted into the very order of the cosmos." [F. Dumas, "Sur trois représentations de Nout a Dendera," *An. Serv.*, 51 (1951), pp. 399-400.] The stairways, ramps, passages, courts, and gates common to tomb and temple are reminders that the Egyptians in their endless rites are always on the move--the one thing that must never happen is the stopping of the royal progress. [Thausing, *Das grosse Totenbuch*, pp. 19-22; see below, note 121.]

The Crowning Event

In Egypt all eyes focused on the King, "the only point of contact between man and God." [Wilson, *Culture of Anc. Egypt*, pp. 45-49, 69ff.] The mortal chosen for this awesome position had to be set apart from and recognized and acclaimed by his fellows on a special occasion and by a special procedure the coronation, a drama presented at a very special time (the New Year, the day of Creation, the universal birthday) and place (the center of the universe, the Navel of the World, etc.). [For a recent study, J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 92-120. We have treated this theme in a number of studies.] The regular Egyptian temple-rites were nothing but "a small concentrate of the Coronation ceremonies," which were celebrated every year, every month, and every day in the temples, like the king's birthday, marking "a complete new beginning for the universe." [P. Munro, "Bemerkungen zu einem Sedfest-Relief . . ." *AZ* 86 (1961), p. 73.] What the temple reliefs of Karnak amount to, according to Helck, is "a symbolic repetition of the coronation," [Helck, *Ritualszenen . . . Rameses' II*, p. 74.] for it is in the Temple that the coronation takes place, the royal party moving from chamber to chamber during the rites, thus inaugurating the "royal progress"--since prehistoric times "the central act of the assumption of rule, as P. Munro observes, was a ritual circumambulation performed by the King, having "the symbolism of taking possession of 'the world'. . ." [Munro, *AZ* 86, p. 71.] In his beneficent and victorious progress through the world the King was following the example of his father the Sun, [C. de Wit, *Chron. d'Eg.*, 36: 78f, 81; on the victory motif, Munro, pp. 71-73.] his appearance being everywhere hailed by his subjects as a joyful sunrise, a blessed parousia. [Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 101-2.] Foucart has pointed out that Egyptian kings and gods alike, far from maintaining a majestic repose, constantly "pass through their domains as if they wanted to inspect them or relax at some of their seats." It is the familiar royal progress, which we have discussed elsewhere, [H. Nibley, "Tenting, Tool, and Taxing," in *Western Polit. Quarterly*, 19, (1966), pp. 609-612.] it is also the theme of the royal funeral rite, which carries on the drama of the royal progress into the next world. The classic presentation of the descensus of the Sungod to the underworld to bring light and relief to those who sit in darkness as he passes from chamber to chamber in his nocturnal journey, is found in the "Writings of the Secret Chambers" of the kings of the 18th and following dynasties,

known as the Book of Amduat. And the Book of Breathings might well be described as a thumbnail version of the Amduat. Any serious study of our "Sensen" Papyrus must take this aspect of its teachings into account.

Also since the coronation, timed like the temple festivals to coincide with the beginnings and endings of cosmic cycles, solar, lunar, and astral, as well as the seasonal cycles of life and vegetation, also dramatized the creation, [P. Barguet, in RHR, 177:67; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 88f.] we must recognize that the important rites and ordinances of the Egyptians can never be divorced from each other. If the creation story is, as Brunner has stated, the "perpetual source of vitality for Pharaonic Egypt," [H. Brenner, in *Saeculum*, 21 (1970), p. 159.] and if the purpose of the temple cult was "to preserve and renew the Creation and thereby secure and transmit the established order of the universe" through the cooperation of divinity and royalty, as Bergman sums it up, [Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, p. 165; Otto, *Gott u. Mensch*, p. 84.] it is not surprising that the study of one ritual text if conscientiously pursued leads us inexorably to the study of all the rest, for all tell the same story.

Moreover, everybody gets into the act. Though everybody knows that in Egypt the King was all-in-all, and that the temple and funeral rites alike were originally meant only for him, [S. Schott, in *Nachr. Ak. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1958, No. 4, pp. 350, 370.] yet even in the Old Kingdom Speleers finds "the door already half open" to let others in. [L. Speleers, "La reurrection et la toilette du mort," *Revue d'Egyptologie*, 3 (1938), p. 37.] For one thing, the King had to have assistants, and could not always be present on the scene, and so we always find deputies and proxies taking his place. During various rites for the living and the dead "persons or properties of the cult during the changing phases of the ritual could take different roles." As in nature, where a creature can completely change its form, from tadpole to frog or from caterpillar to butterfly, while remaining the same individual, so a human being could assume various forms or, modes of being (hprw) in the next life, even as he does in passing through the "seven ages of man" in this one. [L. V. Zabkar, ". . . on T. G. Allen's, *Book of the Dead*," *Jnl. of Near Eastern Studies*, 24 (1965), p. 83; G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alien Aegypten* (Jena, 1915), pp. 220, 225: ". . . when he was thirsty he became the Nile; when he was cold he became fire. . ."] One might think that an Egyptian would draw the line at taking upon himself the very form and identity of Pharaoh, but if he could be Osiris there was no reason why he could not be the King as well: Thus we find a special honor bestowed by Amon upon Osiris being handed down from Osiris to the Pharaoh at his coronation, and then, wonder of wonders, resting upon the head of an ordinary citizen: ". . . this decree, laid away with the commoner Nesi-chonsu in his coffin was believed very literally now to apply to him." [G. Daressy, "Un Décret d'Aman en faveur d'Osiris," *An. Serv.*, 18 (1919), pp. 218-224.] Another commoner identifies himself entering his tomb with Pharaoh entering the Temple of Heliopolis in majestic-showing how the rites of temple and tomb were identified in the priestly mind. Human presumption could go no farther, yet the Egyptians seem to take it for granted. [H. Kees, *Totenglauben*, p. 322. By the Middle Kingdom a noble could speak of himself as coming forth from his residence and going down to his cemetery, exactly as if he were the King, H. Goedicke, in *Orientalia*, N.S. 24 (1955), p. 239.] One important document, "The Purification of Pharaoh," very closely related to the Book of Breathings, was originally a text instructing the Pharaoh in the manner of presiding over certain temple ceremonies, in which the King was to wash himself as the Creator washed himself after finishing the Creation; and the same ritual of purification was to be performed in the temple, at the coronation, and at the funeral of the king. [S. Schott, *Die Reinigung Pharaohs in einem memphitischen Tempel* (Berlin P 13242), *Nachr. Ak. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1957, No. 3, p. 67.] As a funeral text it was adapted to general use, and we find one important exemplar after being used as a model for copyists in a shop, in the possession of an ordinary businessman, and finally thrown together into a mummy case with a lot of Greek documents. Though the content of the text clearly shows that it was meant for the King alone, instead of bearing the name of a particular king it refers only to "Pharaoh," indicating that it was a stereotyped text that any old king could use, or for that matter anybody else, since private owners of such texts sometimes put their own names right inside the cartouche reserved at all times for the king's name alone! [Schott, *Reinigung Pharaohs*, p. 8.]

The gods of Egypt are now being studied in the light of this strangely fluid nature of individual identity. We find that divine epithets were freely passed around among the gods, who fused with each other just as easily as they fused with their earthly representatives. [Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 166, 70, n. 2.] With syncretism "a basic part of his (the Egyptian's) spiritual makeup" from the earliest times, [H. Bonnet, "Zum Verständnis des Synkretismus," in *AZ* 75, (1939), p. 41.] it would now appear that the gods of Egypt "were not unique personalities" at all, "but variously interpreted (vieldeutige) representatives of powers which stood in the closest relationship to each other and could be widely substituted for each other;" [E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 87.] they fuse and break up like colonies of cells, with "complete indifference" to maintaining their individual peculiarities. In fact, E. Winter maintains that the "Grundtypen" of the gods are so few and so colorless that without inscriptions to guide us we would be at a loss to identify various gods and kings in the temple reliefs, or to discover what they were supposed to be doing. [E. Winter, ". . . aegypt. Tempelreliefs in der gr.-röm. Zeit," in *Religions en Egypte* (above n. 17), p. 121. All of this was noted by de Rochemonteix long ago, in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, 3: 211, 206, 208, etc.]

The best hold on such slippery stuff lies in the study of rites and ordinances, which are visible and tangible. It is remarkable, for example, how much Egyptian ritual can be treated under the heading of initiation. Miss Thausing has

gone all out for the Book of the Dead as a guide (Wegweiser) to the Initiate, both in this world and the next, both in the temple and the grave, where everything is "but the symbol of the way of initiation." [Thausing, *Das grosse Totenbuch*, pp. 7f, 19, 21.] As she puts it, "The way of the soul in the other world corresponds to the steps in an earthly initiation through which the hierophant had to pass in the temple during the years of his training." "How can a mortuary ritual be an initiatory ritual?" asks Prof. Brandon, and assures us in reply that "the paradox disappears on analysis," since "a mortuary ritual may serve to initiate. . . into a new form of life." [S. G. F. Brandon, in C. J. Bleeker (Ed.), *Initiation*, p. 41.] Whatever the reason, the Egyptian in his funeral rites was certainly treated as a candidate for initiation: He was tested for purity, had to stand judgment in a court, had to demonstrate special knowledge by answering specific questions, identifying objects and giving certain code words at a succession of gates or doors, etc. In fact, the Egyptian word for burial means "to initiate one into the mysteries." [Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, p. 231; cf. C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), p. 45.] As his ultimate objective, the dead requests "permission to enter into the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Heliopolis," on the grounds that as an "Elder" he has been "initiated into the deepest secrets of the Temple," and knows the stories that explain the various institutional aspects of the cult. [K. Sethe, "Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte," *AZ* 57 (1922), p. 11; B.D. Ch. 114-6.]

Barguet, defending the traditional view against the rising tide of "initiationism," insists that there is nothing in the Book of the Dead to indicate an initiation for the living. [P. Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, p. 24; on the general opposition, Thausing, *Gr. Totenb.*, p. 6.] Well, that is hardly where one would expect to find such, and yet Barguet himself is quick to add in a footnote, ". . . That is not to say that there was no initiation in Egypt; on the contrary, the formulas of Chapters 112-115 prove" that there was. He calls attention to chapters in the Book of the Dead plainly describing rites performed by the living and for the living, [Barguet, p. 25, n. 47, citing B.D. Chapters 18, 19, 135, 163.] but explains that the living initiates, since they were required to possess special knowledge (as all initiates are), must have been priests. But the question is not about the rank of the hierophants, but only whether the living were initiated into the ordinances. From the Egyptian and Mormon point of view of the question is an academic one, since all ordinances are meant to be of eternal validity and to apply both in this world and the next. After all, the fundamental purpose of ordinances is to bridge the gap between the worlds; all are in a sense rites de passage with a foot in either camp. That the Egyptian rites were for the living as well as for the dead becomes clearer every day.

The purpose of this preliminary chapter is to prepare the reader to view the Book of Breathings with an uncommitted eye, feeling under no obligation to stake his eternal salvation on the Egyptology of another day, or of any day. These things are always changing. If our own Book of Breathing turns out to be something very different from Professor Baer's "Breathing Permit," it is not because we presume to question his work as far as it went, but because it is high time to point out, with all due respect, that students of the Joseph Smith papyri have necessarily overlooked a great deal of very important evidence, much if not most of which has come to light only since they did their work. [Among others insisting that intensive study and reevaluation of these subjects is long overdue are P. Munro, in *AZ* 86:74; G. Thausing, *Gr. Totenb.*, p. 3; H. Brunner, in *Archiv f. Orientforschung*, 23: 118; W. Helck, *Ritualszenen*, etc., p. 1.]

Today scholars are becoming aware of an elaborately interlacing mesh of ancient writings from various far-flung centers of culture and religion, which were formerly thought to be completely independent and disconnected productions. These support and explain each other in strange and surprising ways, and right in the center of the great complex is the Book of Breathings. The reality and significance of this phenomenon, the importance of which can not be over-estimated, we hope to make apparent in the commentary which follows.

Translation of The Book of Breathings
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Hieroglyphic Text Accompanying the Vignette.

(1) . . . god's servant of Amon-Re, [king] of the gods, god's servant of Min, . . . beautiful . . . , priest of Khonsu, the controller of . . . (2) . . . Hôr, justified, the son of one of like titles, master of the secrets, god's priest, Wosir-wer, justified, [born of] (3) . . . Taikhebyt.

May your soul live in their midst. May you be buried <in> the West. . . (4) (5) [May you give to] him beautiful and useful things on the west [of Thebes] like . . .

Text of the Book of Breathings

I. [They drag Osiris in]to the Pool of Khonsu, (2) and likewise [the Osiris, Hôr, justified] born of Taikhebyt, justified, (3) after he has grasped his heart. They bury (4) the Book of Breathings which <Isis> made, which (5) is written on both its inside and outside, (wrapped) in royal linen, and it is placed <under> the (6) left arm near his heart. The bearer makes (7) his coffin on the outside of it. This document is made for him so that (8) he might breathe like the souls of the gods forever and (9) ever.

II. Beginning [of the Book of Breathings] which [Isis] made [for her brother, Osiris to cause his soul to live, to cause his body to live, to rejuvenate all his limbs] (2) again, [so that he might join] the horizon with his father, Re, [and to cause his soul to appear in heave as the disk of the moon, so that his body might shine like Orion in the womb of Nut, to] (3) cause [the same] thing to happen to the Osiris, Hôr, justified, [born of Taikhebyt, justified. Keep it secret!] (4) Do not let anyone read it. It is useful [for one in the necropolis. He will live again successfu]lly millions of times.

(5) O [Osiris,] Hôr, justified, born of Ta[i]khebyt, justified. You have been purified. Your heart has been purified. Your front is in] a state of purity, your back (6) is in a state of cleanliness. Your midsection is <cleansed> with soda [and natron. No part of you is involved in wrong-doing.

The Osiris, Hôr,] justified, born of [Taikhebyt, justified, begotten of] Remny-qa, is purified in that pool of [the Field of Offerings to the north of the Field of the Grasshopper.] Wadjet (8) and Nekhbet have purified you in the fourth hour of the night and the [fourth] hour [of the day.]

[Come, Osiris, Hôr, justified, born of Taikhebyt], justified. May you enter the Hall (9) of the Two Goddesses of Truth. You have been purified from every sin [and misdeed. Stone of Truth is your name.]

[O] Osiris, Hôr, justified, may you enter (10) into the afterlife [in] a state of great purity. [The Two Goddesses of Truth] have cleansed you [in the Great Hall. A purification has been performed for you in the Hall of Geb. Your body has been purified in the Hall] (11) of Shu. You see Re when [he] sets [and Atum in the evening. Amon is with you, giving breath to you. Ptah (12) is fashioning] your limbs. May you enter into the horizon together with Re. [Your soul has been received into the Neshmet ship with Osiris. Your soul is made divine in the House of Geb. You are justified forever and ever.]

III. [Osiris,] Hôr, justified, born of Tai[k]hebyt, justified. May your name endure. May your body last. Then your mummy will endure. [1] You shall not be turned back from heaven or earth. May you be made happy in the presence of Re.] (2) May your soul live in the presence of Amon. May your body be renewed in the presence of Osiris. May you breathe forever [and ever.]

[May your soul make invocation offerings for you of bread, beer, beef and fowl, libations and] (3) incense during the course [of every day. Your flesh is on] <your> bones, made like your form on earth. May you drink with [your throat. [2] May you eat with your mouth. May your receive] (4) offerings with [the souls of the gods. May] Anubis [protect] you and may he guard you. You shall not be turned back from the gates [of the afterlife.] May the twice [great] and mighty [Thoth,] Lord of Hermopolis, come to you and write for you the Book of Breathings with his own fingers. May your soul breathe (6) forever. May you assume again your form on earth among the living. You are divine with the souls of the gods. Your heart is the heart of Re. Your limbs (7) [are the limbs of the Great God.]

[O Osiris,] Hôr, justified. Amon is with you every day . . . in the House of Re. May you live again. May Wepwawet open for you the [beautiful] path. (8) [May you see with your eyes and hear with your] ears, speak with your mouth, and walk with your legs. Your souls is divine in the afterlife so that it can assume any form it desires. May you cause the rustlings(?) [3] of the noble *Ished*-tree in Heliopolis. May you awake every day and see the rays (10) [of the sun. May Amon come to you bearing the breath of life. May he cause you to breathe [in] your coffin. May you go forth to the earth every day. May you be given the Book (11) [of Breathings of Thoth for] your protection. May you breathe by means of it like Re. May your eye see the rays of the (sun's) disk. May truth be spoken to you (12) [in the presence of Osiris. May "justified" be written upon your body. Horus, the Avenger of His Father, Horus of Edfu, may he enfold your body in protection,[4] and may he cause your soul to be divine like all the gods do. The soul of Re is animating [your soul]. (13) [The soul of Shu unites with your [nos]trils.

O Osiris, Hôr, justified, born of Taikebyt, justified. May your soul breathe [anyplace you want.] **IV.** [You are in the seat of Osiris. Foremost of the Westerners is your name. May the Great Inundation come to you from Elephantine, and may he fill your offering table with provisions.]

(2) Osiris, Hôr, [justified, born of Taikhebyt, justified. May the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt come to you and guide you to the *Alcha'a* [5] together with your soul. May] you [accompany] (3) Osiris and may you breathe within the necropolis [together with the Great God. May your body live] (4) in Busiris and the Thinite Nome. May your soul live in heaven every day.

[Osiris, Hôr, justified, born of Taikhebyt, justified. May Sekhmet have power over those who conspire against you. Horus,] (5) Great of Heart, is protecting you. Horus of Edfu [does what you want. Horus the Beloved guards your body. May you endure in] (6) life, prosperity, and health. You have been established upon your seat in the Sacred Land.

[Come now Osiris, Hôr, justified, born of Taikhebyt, justified. You] have arisen in your likeness, the likeness of your royal regalia. May you be established in life. [May you spend your time in health. May you walk and breathe] (8) anywhere. May Re shine upon in cave [6] like (he did upon) Osiris. May [you] breathe [and live on his rays. May Amon animate] (9) your *ka*, may it live, prosper, and be healthy. [7] May he cause you to flourish by the Book of Breathings. May you accompany Osiris [and Horus, Lord of the Henu-boat. You are the Great God,] (10) foremost among the gods. May your face live and your form be beautiful. Your name is established every day. May you enter into the god's [great hall (or council)] (11) in Busiris, and may you see the Foremost of the Westerners at the Wag-festival. [8] May your odor be as pleasant as a young man. [May your name be as great as] (12) an august [noble].

O Osiris, Hôr, justified. May your soul live by means of the Book of Breathings. [May you join with] (13) <your> soul. May you enter into the afterlife without your enemy. You are a divine soul [in Busiris.]

(The remainder of the papyrus is missing. Louvre Papyrus 3284, III, 21 to V, 11 can be used for the missing text.)

III. (21) You have your heart. It is not far from you.[9] (22) You have your eyes, which are open every day.

IV. Words spoken by the gods who are in attendance on Re. Osiris NN (3) May you accompany (4) Osiris. May your soul live forever and ever.

Words spoken by the gods who are in the afterlife (5) to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, and to Osiris NN (6) in order to open for him the doors of the afterlife.

May you be received (7) in the necropolis. Come, let your soul live forever. May it build a portal in the necropolis. (8) May your *ka* praise its god, for it has received the Book of Breathings. Come, let it cause breathing.

(9) A boon which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the Great God, Lord of Abydos. May he give a invocation offering (10) of bread, beer, beef, fowl, wine, milk, offerings, provisions, and every (11) good thing to the *ka* of Osiris NN (12) May you be healthy. May your corpse live, enduring at the command of Re himself, and like Re neither perishing (13) nor being sick forever and ever.

(14) O Far Strider [10] who has come forth from Heliopolis. Osiris NN has not done (15) any wrong. [11]

(16) O Great of Strength, who comes forth from Hery-aha. [12] Osiris NN has not committed (17) any robbery.

(18) O One with the Nose, [13] who comes forth from Hermopolis. Osiris NN has not (19) shown favoritism (?). [14]

(20) O Eye Swallower, who comes forth from the Double Caverns. [15] Osiris NN has not made (21) any seizure of property by theft.

V. O Terrible of Visage, [16] who comes forth from the necropolis, Osiris NN has not engaged in any disputes.

(2) O Ruty, who comes forth from heaven. Osiris NN has not cause a false reading of the balance. [17]

(3) O He Whose Eye is on Fire, [18] who comes forth from Letopolis. Osiris NN has not committed any deception.

(4) O Gods who are in the hereafter, hear the voice of Osiris NN. He has come before you (5) without any evil committed by him, without any wrong-doing held against him, and without any witness who rises up against him. He lives by righteousness. He consumes righteousness. The hearts of the gods are content with all that he has done. (6) He has given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked. He has given offerings to the gods and

invocation offerings to the blessed dead. There is no accusation against him before any of the gods. Let him enter into the afterlife without being turned away. Let him accompany Osiris together with the gods (8) of the cavern, for he has life, prosperity, and health among the living, and he is divine among the justified dead. Let him live, and let his soul live. Let (9) his soul be admitted into any place he desires. Accept his Book of Breathings. Let him breathe together with that soul of his in (10) the afterlife with any form his heart desires together with the Westerners. Let his soul go wherever it wants. Let him live upon the earth forever and ever.

Text Accompanying the Vignette at the End of the Book of Breathings Text

Presumably the original of Facsimile 3 came at the end of the Book of Breathings text (not necessarily the end of the papyrus). A tentative translation of the text follows.

Bottom line: [19]

The gods of the West, the gods of the cavern, [20] the gods of the south, north, west, and east say: [21] May Osiris, Hôr, justified, prosper. [22] Make (?) . . . summon.

Line to the Right of Figure 2:

The great Isis, [23] mother of the god. [24]

The Three Lines to the Right of Figure 1:

(1) Words spoken by Osiris, the Foremost of the Westerners: (2) May Osiris, Hôr, abide at (3) the side of the throne of his greatness.

Line in Front of Figure 4:

(1) Ma'at . . . [25]

The Two Lines in Front of Figure 5: [26]

(1) Osiris, Hôr, [27] the [28] (2) justified forever.

The Three Lines in Front of Figure 6: [29] Words spoken by Anubis [30] . . . (2) Lord of heaven, preeminent in (3) the Hall of the God. [31]

Footnotes:[1] Other copies of the Book of Breathings have a simple *sjm=f* form rather than the *sjm.ur=f* form found here. [2] In the Late Period, *vnb.t* can also mean "throat" (*WB*. IV, 513, 11). [3] *vrvr* is a hapax legomenon (cf. *Wb*. IV, 529, 7). [4] *xnm*, other copies have *uwi* - to protect. [5] *orq-ee* - holy place in Abydos (Old Coptic *alakhaa*, Greek *alakhai*) *Wb*. I, 213, 5-6. [6] *tpe.t* > *tp(e).t* (*Wb*. V, 364, 11) [7] The abbreviated form of the standard formula, *onu, wja, snb* has been written after *ka=k* (your ka). It is not found in parallel texts. [8] A festival of Osiris celebrated on the 18th day of the first month of the Egyptian year. [9] Emending to *nn erw,=f. r=k*. [10] Epithet of Re. [11] *isf.t* > *isty* (*Wb*. I, 129, 2). [12] A city south of Heliopolis, present-day Old Cairo, Greek *Babylon* (*Wb*. III, 394, 7). [13] I.e. Thoth, the Ibis-headed god. [14] *cn-ov* (literally "distinguishing the call"). [15] From which the inundation of the Nile was thought to arise. [16] An epithet of an evil being, especially Apophis. (*Wb*. II, 15-16) [17] *ir isfy mu(a).t*. [18] An epithet of Horus of Letopolis (Goyon, J., *Rituel Funéraires de L'Ancienne Égypte*, 224, n. 8. [19] This line reads from left to right rather than the normal right to left. [20] *qrt.y(w)*, a common epithet for gods of the kingdom of the dead (*Wb*. V, 62, 10). [21] *i in* > *in* (cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §§ 436-37). [22] *swaj* intransitive in Late and Hellenistic periods (*Wb*. IV, 65, 8). [23] Isis is regularly portrayed wearing cow's horns with a moon disk. See for example wee the illustration in Faulkner, R.O., *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 182-83. [24] Isis is the mother of Horus. [25] The gure here has the *ma'at* feather headdress [26] These signs also read from left to right rather than the normal left to right [27] The figure is that of Hôr, the owner of the papyrus, being introduced into the presence of Osiris. [28] The use of the definite article *pa* before *mao-urw* is most unusual, but it is clearly there. [29] These signs also read from left to right rather than the normal left to right. [30] Anubis is ofte found conducting the dead in the Hall of Judgment. (A good example is found in the vignette to Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead shown in Faulkner, R. O., *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 34.) [31] The reading is far from certain, but this is a common title for Anubis (*Wb*. III, 305, 18).

