

A Manual of Instructions for a Better Afterlife, formerly known as the Book of the Dead Essam Elsaeed and Paula Veiga

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ملخص:

“You have not departed dead, you have departed alive”¹

Introduction

Researching Osiris and his association with some elements of the vegetal kingdom is very prolific in ideas concerning what ancient Egyptians used in life and what they used when preparing for the afterlife such as the Field of Reeds² or ancient Egyptian heaven, as they called it. Listening to specialists about the Book of The Dead³ spells, prayers or incantations is always enlightening, and, in particular getting to know more about spells that were later included⁴, now the object of detailed research, in order to filter their most profound meanings and also as to be classified as funerary or not.

Many considerations and theories are being developed, as some of the so-called chapters or spells in the canonical Book of the Dead⁵ (such an ambiguous name)⁶, may in fact describe no other than magical, medical⁷ and ritual practices, designed for living humans, and not preferably intentionally created for deceased ones.

In ancient Egypt, the title or name given to these texts (Book of the Dead⁸) was indeed different. Calling those texts by their practical function, applied to the deceased's path, a personal journey's road map⁹ was, in those times defined () *prt m hrw*, or 'How to come out/Coming forth by Daylight'.¹⁰

Allen believed that ancient Egyptians longed for a daily return, but also warns us of the misleading¹¹ possibility of a missed translation, which would give us a wrong understanding of their actual thoughts.¹²

Because the BD shares features with other ancient Egyptian texts, designed in the heavens by the divine, and offered to mankind on earth, and because these had been passed on through oral tradition, and many may have been lost, researchers are more recently tending to solve the riddle on whereas these spells were, in their original writing after all intended to

serve dead or living humans.

According to Pascal Vernus¹³, the gods engendered these spells and decided which ones, and when, would be presented to us. Presented, as in presentation, and given also as a present. The pun serves the purpose here. The texts may vary, and this is legitimate, as there was no master copy¹⁴ for each spell. Human interpretation¹⁵ is the key factor here, and this is why today's scholars are trying to decipher what has already been 'canonized' and why. We can use another pun here, as 'can' serves our purpose as a container holding its content, which varied much¹⁶; and the can is also the canon, the content to which the spells are concerned. As in any container, to what is lost, more cannot be further added, but what is missing can always be completed.

Scholars are studying later spells and more recent found versions of the already known spells, trying to find the adequate interpretation of the spells depicted on papyri¹⁷, sarcophagi, and textiles - such as those spells inserted not only in mummy bandages' folds¹⁸ tying up the body; but also in shrouds, leather fragments¹⁹, and Ostraca, Ushabtis,²⁰ and even in tomb and temple²¹ walls' depictions.

Some of these spells written in papyrus are attached to amulets²², so as to enhance their protection.²³

Amulets used in life

Amulets, essential to life, health and after death, also reveal medical-magical conceptions connected to fecundity; establishing the parallel between medicine and magic, funerary myths, practices and concepts of life after death.²⁴ As amulets were placed next to the body²⁵, those were intended, without any doubt, to shield the deceased from any disturbance while he or she was involved in the heavy duties of crossing worlds. The position they occupied next to the body had probably some special importance, as amulets were placed mainly in the upper part of the body

- under the arms, between the thighs or under the head²⁶; but this is not the point of this work.

Spells engraved²⁷ in amulets reinforce this notion of shield, therefore enhancing the protection and the power to overcome all, as a battle was fought between the deceased and the creatures standing as obstacles in his or her crossing.

There are examples of this, such as Papyrus Bonn L 1647.²⁸ These small rolled papyri were probably used in life too.²⁹ Other elements were present in magic and therefore depicted in these objects were the *djed* (𓄿) (Dd) pillar representing Osiris, green for revival, and a knot symbolizing Isis' protection; all of these referred in spells 155 to 160 of the BD.³⁰

These can be considered spells originally intended to empower objects,³¹ which will then be worn by humans³² to ensure their earthly protection.

In passing, We should mention the spells that incorporate magic especially for inanimate objects to turn into protective fetishes: 14, 24, 50, 33, 36, 37, 40, 50, 63a, 63b, 90, 94, 151, 152, 153a, 153b 166.

Spell 14 is intended to prevent anger or dissatisfaction from a god – (𓄿𓄿) *ntj*³³- (maybe Osiris?)³⁴, or the god's heart; this spell aims to work as a lucky charm or amulet, as it works in a way that averts anger that may clash into the person's life.³⁵

Spell 17³⁶, “*Yesterday is* (𓄿) *Osiris, ‘Tomorrow’ is* (𓄿) *Ra.*”, is a divine doctrine³⁷, consisting of statements made by the priests of Heliopolis³⁸ regarding the sun god³⁹, later becoming a funerary spell⁴⁰, identifying the deceased with the sun god Ra⁴¹; which was not a ‘rival’ of Osiris, but another face of the same god; a spell produced in many variant examples with various vignettes and symbolizing a prayer to Osiris, the ‘Foremost of the Westerners’; referring to Osiris's burial day, aiming to cast away evil on the day of the rebirth⁴², when the deceased comes back to life⁴³, such as Osiris did.⁴⁴

Spell 24 brings words of power (𓄿𓄿) *hk3w* or magic⁴⁵ in plural, to the deceased or the living person; the deceased appeals to a scarab – (𓄿) (𓄿) *hprj*⁴⁶, transforming him/ herself, and thus becoming a bearer of magical force.⁴⁷ Protection of the physical powers⁴⁸ denotes a probability of magic being used also as medicinal property, and again, a spell that might have been used in life.

Spell 33, for driving off any snake⁴⁹, is a pure defensive magical spell.

Spell 36, repelling a cockroach⁵⁰, maybe a necrophagus beetle working on the corpse, and feeding itself from him⁵¹; also defensive magic, the cockroach being ‘the lips of crookedness’.⁵²

Spell 37, repelling two (𓄿) (𓄿) *mrti*-snakes by defensive magic⁵³; it states that it works by magic of the commander, literally.⁵⁴

Spell 40, repelling who has swallowed (a snake?)⁵⁵; an underworld creature is therefore repelled by magic.⁵⁶

Spell 50, (denial expression (𓄿) *r n tm*⁵⁷; an expressed prohibition) for not entering into the god's (*Shesmu*) room of execution located in the necropolis⁵⁸; knots are tied by Seth and Nut, and the person is now a ‘heaven-born’⁵⁹. Knots⁶⁰ are known as one of the most powerful binding elements when performing magic.

Spell 63A, not to be burnt by fire⁶¹; seeking protection from fire through watery chaos⁶², another powerful binding element in magic (water). What is the role of holy water in catholic beliefs but a notion that, through water, as in the baptismal moment, every person becomes ‘protected’ from evil?

Spell 63B, for not being scalded with water, the water-inferno, a transition⁶³ or *rite de passage*⁶⁴; where the efflux of Osiris is mentioned.⁶⁵

Spell 90, preserves the deceased⁶⁶ from mutilation⁶⁷ removing incoherent speech from

the mouth, restoring his/her power of speech to pronounce magic spells to defend him/herself; magic is mentioned as to exist 'in the belly' by the action of spells, and the deceased asks the god to remove those spells from his belly, so he/she can then be able to speak properly.⁶⁸

Spell 94, requesting a water bowl and a palette; a scribe equipped with 'Thoth's kit' and an Osiris' corrector; the spell is directed to an elderly man, a secretary of Thoth, asking for the 'putrid effluent of Osiris' (his lymph?) or more controversially, his brain⁶⁹ in order that the querent will be converted into a scribe.⁷⁰ But not any scribe; the scribe of Osiris.⁷¹

Spell 151, for the funerary mask⁷², is purely magic; all the protection a mummified body can get.⁷³ It requires protection for the components of the head, in special, the two eyes, and as a curiosity of the paradox of the number two, some authors divide this spell in two.⁷⁴

And other spells are specific about professional activities, which might infer the use of those spells in life, such as:

Spell 152, for building a house on earth (a funerary chamber?),⁷⁵ with a foundation on the Heliopolis of the hereafter⁷⁶; or how to become a carpenter; a building commanded by Osiris, where some versions refer to the sycamore tree.⁷⁷ Was this tree used in construction? According to Nicholson and Shaw, 2003, the tree's wood was used in roof timbers, coffins⁷⁸, wagons and statues.⁷⁹ A list of applications for sycamore wood, fruits, and leaves is possible to draw, and I have done so in my present research, but it does not have relevance to the issue here; the important notion being that, sycamore wood was considered to have magical properties, or at least, divine attributes associated with Osiris.⁸⁰

Spell 153A, escaping a net from fishermen in barks, 'catchers in the water', the one who traps souls.⁸¹

Spell 153B, to escape the catcher of fish, the fisherman. Here a group of demons under Osiris's control command the action⁸², with references to youths and elders, swallowing and execrating⁸³- which portrays that a full cycle⁸⁴ has been completed by the deceased, and now he wants to be recognized as an Osiris N (by magic, of course).

The waters here depicted are those of the netherworld but they resemble the Nile waters, with the same activities of fishing and animal attack.

In later texts the two spells, 153 A and B couple and form one unit, differentiating the 'fishing' nets.⁸⁵

Spell 166 is specific in its empowering of a headrest⁸⁶, usually intended for the deceased but also an appropriate spell to be used as a 'dream catcher' because an alarm clock is provided with it, in the form of doves.

Some spells may be even considered merely magical spells, independently from having also a funerary aspect.

The probable use of prophylactic medicine in spells:

There are some entries of a quasi medical nature. These range from spells 33, 37 and 40 to repel poisonous and dangerous animals which are an obvious danger to health, to seeking a cure when a medical mishap (for example a stroke) has occurred as with Spell 25 to restore memory, and spell 90. Some renditions of spells were to thwart conditions of not recognising faces, called 'prosopagnosia', often associated with a right-sided head injury; and the great dread of not walking upside-down, arising from epilepsy or a perceptual neurological disorder⁸⁷. Spell 90 is subtitled to remove "foolish speech from the mouth" which could be attributed to dysphasia caused by a central brain lesion from a stroke or parasitic invasion. The ancient Egyptians believed the belly may also harbour parasites, or there is a remote

possibility that an attack of ‘abdominal migraine’ is being described.

Much can be made of Spell 36 to repel a cockroach regarded as an insect enemy which can attack the corpse. It is difficult to figure out if the ancient Egyptians considered the cockroach a hygiene issue or a despoiler of food... In many societies and in desperate times of famine and starvation, insect pests such as locusts and cockroaches will be eaten.

In our present research we are compiling a list of ‘green’ entities, most predominantly and literally from the vegetal kingdom, which are associated directly with Osiris and are also the representative majority of ingredients in medical and magical prescriptions from ancient Egypt. This gives us the notion that some ingredients used in magic and medicine, being it a sole performance, were closely associated with the god of rebirth, and the main character in the spells portrayed in the so-called Book of the Dead. Ingredients that were used also in the same amulets were frequently buried with their owner;⁸⁸ the same ones they might have used in life as their daily protective amulets.

In a papyrus-amulet the text or spell is written in a way that resembles a divine oracle. By listing body parts from the patient, it secures immunity to the querent.⁸⁹ The person was identified in it as being the main character in the myth, transferring his/her problem from humans’ to gods’ sphere, so that cosmic forces as *heka* could be called upon to solve the matter.

Egyptians had the custom in life of burying these magical objects,⁹⁰ this way perpetuating the power of the spell, they thought.

Materially speaking, the papyri-amulets were written in narrow bands of papyrus measuring six cm⁹¹ up to a meter, and were used as portable amulets; Turin has the largest specimen, with 104x83 cm and 120 lines.⁹² They therefore contained a ‘decree-

blessing’ of some gods, protecting the individual from diseases, evil eye, misfortunes of all types⁹³, and those were explicitly written in the roll. Rolled and kept in a box, they were used around the neck or the arm.⁹⁴

Spells; as in magic

Spells can be presented as different parts of chapters; and, according to some scholars, there are originally non-funerary spells, since the Coffin Texts⁹⁵ examples until the Book of the Dead spells. These might have been composed to serve other purposes, but they were later included in this broadcast canon of ‘funerary spells’. Some of these might be Osiris’ liturgies.⁹⁶ There are still some unpublished fragments of Osirian rituals that might give some insight into these probable non-funerary spells in their origin. This is maybe the case of spell 172, the formulae for glorifications in the underworld, or laments for Osiris, or not.

This spell talks about cleanliness and purification.⁹⁷ It reminds me of what my grandmother said when we used to talk dirty in childhood; as it was custom in our oral tradition she said: “I will wash your mouth with salt and soap.” Natron and incense were the cleaners of ancient Egypt, so I believe the basic concept of the idea to be the same.

Body parts are compared to gemstones and divine entities; even nature is used as perfection, so entitled to serve as divine comparison; but also a plant is referred to, one that bears life-in-it.⁹⁸

Spells which might have been originally conceived to give instructions to the deceased on how to overcome obstacles in the afterlife, have to be funerary to achieve completeness in their original concept.

But others, such as those concerning knowledge only accessible to priests, may not have been intended purely to accompany a deceased person in his or her journey.

What are these spells?

A bit of history; these funerary spells probably originate in the Old Kingdom, as the earliest were found at the Pyramid of King Unas, from 2345-2400 BCE⁹⁹, in Saqqara. This is why the earlier accounts of spells are firstly known and now referred to as the Pyramid Texts¹⁰⁰ (PT). These were compositions found in the walls of Old Kingdom (5th and 6th dynasties) pyramids, such as the ones from Unas, Teti, and Pepi I, and featured no illustrations.

These spells contained instructions that were carved by fine artisans to help the king ascend to the afterlife, passing through all the perils of the trip. By the end of the Old Kingdom, other high officials in ancient Egypt started to use them in their tombs too.

In the Middle Kingdom (11th and 12th dynasties), these developed into a new version of instructions, some showing coloured vignettes: the Coffin Texts (CT), when our role model-to-follow for any dying person appears: Osiris (N).¹⁰¹ Although they continued to be depicted on tomb walls and papyri, these are extremely well known, as coffins or sarcophagi show them extensively, and profusely decorated.

By the New Kingdom, the spells extended their magical influence to mummy bandages, thus invigorating the deceased with powerful instructions which were kept close by¹⁰², so not to miss every step of the necessary way. The spells started to be accompanied by exquisite vignettes¹⁰³; drawings of the scenes describing the text and showing all the intervenients; judges, gods, monsters, demons, the deceased himself, other humans, and other entities. Some vignettes constitute solely what they show, not being a mere illustration of a text.¹⁰⁴

In the Third Intermediate Period (21th to 25th dynasties), little is known about the use of the spells, but those started to be written also in Hieratic¹⁰⁵, and

after the anonymous Saite recension (name given to the 26th Dynasty's 'revision and numbering of the spells')¹⁰⁶, the spells started to be abbreviated and this tendency continued throughout the Late and Ptolemaic Periods.¹⁰⁷

In the Greco-Roman Period¹⁰⁸ some spells were produced using the Demotic script, used mainly in non-funerary documents. This might reveal an incursion from domestic life, from the living¹⁰⁹ into the realm of the dead.

Now Osiris takes the leading role as the chosen deity to be praised¹¹⁰, as a symbol of fertility over death, the personification of the triumph of (𓂏𓂐𓂑) *M3ʕt*¹¹¹ over chaos, justified.

Another singular characteristic of these spells is that the owner is in their majority a man¹¹². Should we interpret this as a connection to Osiris, the male counterpart for the creation? Maybe we do.

The main character

Among a myriad of creatures, Osiris is the omnipresent god in these spells. Whenever present and referred to, he is there, without reasonable doubt. When not directly mentioned, he is also there, as it is no surprise to us that the god who every deceased worked out to become into has to be present. He was the representation of the impossible: life after death. People can come back. The soul can recognize the body and live there again. You may have the opportunity to become an Osiris, or to BE Osiris!

The deceased is instructed to 'follow' Osiris¹¹³ and to be as vigorous¹¹⁴ – (𓂏) *wsr* – as he was an example of life and resurrection.

Rituals are in order. Many paths have to be crossed to achieve this important status as boundaries existed¹¹⁵ between the two worlds. Body parts and soul had all to be revived. The parts were not bigger than the whole body, but you have to be complete¹¹⁶ to reach the next level: the afterlife. Osiris was the ideal

chap to personify victory against the dark forces, as he was re-assembled by his sister-wife Isis, after being murdered and cut into 14 pieces by his evil brother Seth. He who can beat their own family into being brought back to life, must be a role model for anyone.

A later 'entry', Spell 182¹¹⁷ may reveal the awakening of Osiris, as it repels his enemy; is it her that the process gets complete? If so, what are the aims of the following spells 183-190? The enemies are already repelled by this spell, but Osiris is said to come in different forms. If the newborn Osiris is awake, why does the deceased need further instructions? Thoth is there to help.¹¹⁸

These are questions to be addressed in forthcoming research projects. Maybe the numbering of the spells is made in an order not concurrent with the ancient Egyptian process.

An ode to the resilience of the new Osiris N, warding off enemies, this spell flanks the deceased with Thoth (great of magic)¹¹⁹, giving him all the necessary tools for a rewarding rebirth.¹²⁰

Spell 183 is an Osiris hymn¹²¹, presenting the deceased as a justified one, and also referring to his/her body parts; both his parents are mentioned (Geb and Nut), and the deceased wants to be just as he was on earth. This is maybe another example *decalqué* of a status when alive. Thoth is referred to as 'the protector of losses', whether a physical one¹²², or one of material property; these losses may have occurred in life.

This is surely another example to be considered non-funerary in its origin.

Spell 183 reminds us of the beginning of prayer in Islam¹²³. It is, with any doubt, a hymn to Osiris rejoicing his royalty.

Mummification, justification and transformation

The body of the deceased had to be completed¹²⁴.

In the case where body parts were missing, new ones have to be added - prosthetics, linen bundles, fake eyes, and fake genitalia - so it could be re-assembled, just like his role model, Osiris. But the soul of the deceased had to be justified in the tribunal of the afterlife, as countermeasures were imposed with a monster nearby, just in case he or she did not do well in the previous life.

Here is where medical and magical approaches¹²⁵ and mummification procedures come into play. This is why many of the spells found in coffins, mummies and tombs may not have been intended solely for the dead.

But some of these spells seem to protect also the family of the deceased; they seem to be a type of continuation of communication between living and dead relatives. Some may have been written to help dying people in their last minutes of life, or sick people in order to overcome disease. Then they should be called a letter to a dying relative, a prayer for cure.

Also, visual identification was necessary. The deceased had to look like Osiris; he or she was painted, carved, tinted, and 'accessorized' into a copy of Osiris himself. Without any previous sighting of the god, priests and their assistants did their best when preparing a body for the passage. The spells also endowed the deceased on how to transform him or herself into an animal, associated with important gods of the pantheon, or magical entities. A falcon such as Horus, an ibis, a phoenix, a dog, or a serpent, were the main personas a deceased may be transformed into. The deceased is not the deity himself, he serves those instead.

Transformation is another state a deceased may achieve in the afterlife. As Mark Smith has observed, the deceased is allowed to transform him/herself into a non-human form (spells 76-88).¹²⁶

Also, Spell 73 entitles anyone to be transformed into any shape one may wish to take: The Book of Transformations. When we consider this sub-book to be inserted in a group of funerary spells, we must understand that magic, omnipresent here, will act as science, changing the anatomy of the newborn in the afterlife. According to the BD, the list of animals into which a deceased can be transformed starts with any form one wishes to become (the omnipresent god?) and ends with a crawling creature; creatures ranging from the Upper world to the Netherworld.

The same spell 73¹²⁷ is a spell dedicated to the ‘penetration in the underworld’; The Opener of Roads.

In some examples¹²⁸ the expression for justified ( (*m3^c-hrw*) appears only after the transformation episode. So, these spells show that transformation can only result in justification, the desired outcome for every new ‘Osiris’. A cycle of different stages is therefore needed so that the deceased may encounter his afterlife stage. But if some of the texts are not funerary, then these steps in the cycle might begin in life. Are living people then able to be identified as Osiris? No. As they have to pass through the same ‘calvary’ he did, in order to achieve the desired state of justified/transformed/reborn.

Conclusions

As obvious, from the examples mentioned and the reflexion upon them, it is not possible, for now, and maybe never, to continue to consider the BD spells as a book¹²⁹ or as one specific corpus of spells, engendered to act ONLY as funerary instructions. Their contents, spread over different material bases, and different in genre, cannot constitute a group as we see it. They might have to be seen, in the near future, when all scholars agree, and all researchers follow, as a manual of instructions, grouped for different purposes, some of them used both in life and buried with the deceased for the afterlife.

In ancient Egypt magic was called *hek^c* () *hk3* and the power of *hek^c* words accompanied people in their daily lives¹³⁰ and followed them after death. The object of this protection might differ, but the underlying intention persists. If we pay close attention to the hieroglyphic characters composing the word *heka*, () *hk3* we will find that it consists of two hieroglyphs, one is a pair of arms reaching out for the sky and another is a rope with knots. It can be interpreted as ‘a quest for help from above’, as it was addressed from humans to gods, in vertical ascendant direction. This is what magic is.

Another idea: an amulet was shown in ancient Egyptian writing as () *s3*¹³¹, and protection as () *s3w* which may mean a group of objects that are ‘tied together; a rope that ties them down; the bag (tied) with the contents of an amulet, and the words and gestures necessary to activate the spell.’¹³²

The *nehet*, the prayer () *nHt* also portrays knots, which had a special importance in tying the prayer, and they are still used today in magical practices of African influence, in afro-American (south USA and Caribbean) and Arabic (North Africa).¹³³

Linen bandages in mummies¹³⁴ were also binding elements, although knots are not frequently seen in those. We can imagine, as a possibility, that the whole mummy was an amulet in itself, bound with linen and those same linen profusely impregnated with magic (spells).

As more archaeological findings bring new specimens for study, the manual of instructions will never be complete and new ‘instructions’¹³⁵ will continue to be included. I believe it is just the matter of changing our perspective and bringing it closer to ancient Egyptians’, maybe then we will be able to fully interpret their intentions and the purpose of these spells.

The body was considered as a whole, and this had to be preserved after death. Thus, we have the mummification procedures to preserve the intact body, adding parts and preservatives which included spells. And we have also the identification of the deceased with Osiris, the perfect and only one, an identification that started in life, as some of these Osirian hymns and prayers converted to spells may have been put into practice by believers while they were still alive.

The role of medicine here is given through magical practices which involved natural ingredients used in the body, believed to have certain healing properties. Once again, medicine and magic are shown as a bundled concept¹³⁶, never too far apart from each other, in life, and in afterlife.

A suggested title for the spells united in the Book of the Dead is then of the order, and that might be: A Manual of Instructions for a Better Afterlife.

Notes

- 1 Taylor, 2010: 16 quoting Assmann.
- 2 The agricultural tasks performed in the other world happened in an identical environment to the one existing in life, Faulkner, 2008: 12; British Museum, 1922: 21.
- 3 The book of the dead started to be a simple name given by tomb robbers, knowing nothing about the content of every text found within a dead body, in Arabic: *kitab al-mayyit* (book of the dead man), British Museum, 1922: 2.
- 4 Faulkner, 2008: 7; spells after n.162, showing vignettes and dating from the Late Period.
- 5 Faulkner 2008: 7; based on Barguet 1967, de Buck 1949.
- 6 Müller-Roth, 2012: 32.
- 7 P. Bonn L1647: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 96993, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm96993*.
- 8 As given in German: Totenbuch by Lepsius in 1842.
- 9 Taylor, 2010: 13.
- 10 Allen, 1974: 1; British Museum, 1922: 4; Sales, 1999: 22.
- 11 British Museum, 1922: 1.
- 12 Allen, 1974: 1.
- 13 A personal communication given at Bonn, Third Colloquium, March 2012.
- 14 Here I have to commit 'heresy' and disagree with Faulkner, 2008: 11.
- 15 This can be illustrated by the fact that tomb depictions in Akhmim, Middle Egypt, are written on the 'wrong side' just because the geography of the place obliges the direction of the spells to be drawn on the opposite part of the tomb, comparing to other places in Egypt (research conducted by Dr. Tarek Tawfik).
- 16 Taylor, 2010: 13.
- 17 Papyri should be pristine for the text to be effective.
- 18 Our present knowledge of disease and health patterns has been growing with the scientific study of Egyptian mummified bodies, (...) as well as the inscriptions in the sarcophagi, linen bandages and amulets that cover the mummies, Veiga, 2009: 21: "(...) within the wrappings of the mummy", Taylor, 2010: 68.
- 19 One physical specimen is BM 10281. Müller-Roth, 2012: 32.
- 20 Workers for the deceased in the next world following Chapter or spell n.6 depicted on the majority of them, Allen, 1974: 2.
- 21 Taylor, 2010: 60.
- 22 "*The body was then completely wrapped, sometimes with amulets, and amulet-papyri, magical spells written in individual rolls of papyrus; some were used also in life by its owner, and carried to the final journey as well*", Veiga, 2009: 23; "*some spells occur not only within the Book of the Dead but were carved or written individually on certain types of amulets*," Allen, 1974: 2.
- 23 Amulet plaque from Late Period or Ptolemaic period at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 24.2.19; the plaque was stuck into the papyrus, and the text says it should be placed on the chest of the deceased without touching the body. The folded parts may reveal some kind of ritual. This piece was presented at the Bonn Colloquium by Dr. Isabel Stünkel, assistant curator of this museum.
- 24 Veiga, 2009: 11.
- 25 Papyri Paris Louvre N 3082 and London BM EA 10098 show how to place the amulets in the mummy, Müller-Roth, 2012: 75 (picture) and 82; Taylor, 2010: 33.
- 26 Taylor, 2010: 61.
- 27 British Museum, 1922: 41.
- 28 Munro, 2003; Müller-Roth, 2012: 84; Fischer-Elfert, 2010: 97.

- 29 *Papyrus Heidelberg* G1359, as it is folded, suggests it could have been used as such; also *Papyrus Michigan* 3023a is rolled and bended to serve as an amulet. Amulets are, both in literature and archaeology an element of protective function as they were also used in life with great significance, Meyer and Smith, 1994: 30, 250.
- 30 Spell 155 is for the pillar made of gold, strung on sycamore, and placed on the throat of the deceased; an association with the backbone, or the vertebrae of Osiris. In Lucarelli's *Papyrus of Gatseshen*, the Dd pillar is mentioned in both spell 155 and 156, Lucarelli, 2006: 138. Spell 156 is for the tie-amulet, or Isis knot, made of red jasper, also placed on the throat, bringing the magical power of Isis. Spell 157 is about another amulet, the vulture of gold (Mut?) also to be placed on the throat. Spell 158 is about the broad collar of gold and spell 159 and 160 are about a papyrus-amulet of feldspar also to be placed on the throat, Allen, 1974: 155-56; Trindade-Lopes, 1991, 232-234; mentioned in Spell 156 on Lucarelli, 2006: 56.
- 31 Müller-Roth, 2012:81.
- 32 Müller-Roth, 2012: 82.
- 33 Lucarelli, 2006: 49, 84.
- 34 British Museum, 1922: 37; Lucarelli, 2006: 147 note 1033.
- 35 Allen, 1974: 12.
- 36 The oldest form of this spell is attested to the Middle Kingdom, Lucarelli, 2006: 65.
- 37 With many variants, Lucarelli, 2006: 237.
- 38 British Museum, 1922: 37.
- 39 Prayers, litanies and hymns to the sun god were introduced by high priests of Amun after the 19th dynasty, British Museum, 1922: 8.
- 40 Faulkner, 2008: 44-50.
- 41 Osiris and Ra were counterparts; simultaneously opposite and complementary, Taylor, 2010: 20; Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 41, 43-53; the composition exists in the Middle Kingdom, numbered by de Buck as Coffin Text 335. In both Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead it is one of the most frequently found formulae; UCL, <http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/literature/religious/bd17.html>
- 42 "...renewed birth and resurrection which was typified by Osiris" British Museum, 1922: 10.
- 43 The word raising is employed literally as the body must be lifted up from the necropolis, Lucarelli, 2006: 44.
- 44 Allen, 1974: 26-32; Taylor, 2010: 17.
- 45 Lucarelli, 2006: 44.
- 46 The *kheperu* were the different aspects or existence modes of the individual, Taylor, 2010: 17.
- 47 Allen, 1974: 37; Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 61.
- 48 Lucarelli, 2006: 62.
- 49 Müller-Roth, 2012: 33.
- 50 Later versions mention a pig, Lucarelli, 2006: 53; representation of a deceased spearing a pig in *Papyrus Nakht*, BM 10471: 112.
- 51 Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 69.
- 52 Allen, 1974: 45.
- 53 For the deceased to remain underneath by the action of snakes, it would mean to die again, Lucarelli, 2006: 114.
- 54 Allen, 1974: 45; Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 70.
- 55 Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 73.
- 56 Allen, 1974: 46-7.
- 57 Things unwanted by the deceased, Lucarelli, 2006: 127.
- 58 Lucarelli, 2006: 55.
- 59 Faulkner, 2008: 65.
- 60 The 'amuletic' power of the knot, Lucarelli, 2006: 132.
- 61 Water was cool for the truths of voice and started to boil when the wicked came, British Museum, 1922: 39.
- 62 The primeval waters which originated the universe, Taylor, 2010: 16, and that may reside in the netherworld.
- 63 Taylor, 2010: 16.
- 64 Lucarelli, 2006: 83.
- 65 Allen, 1974: 56.
- 66 Is equipped with magic against his/her enemies, Lucarelli, 2006:153.
- 67 British Museum, 1922: 40.
- 68 Allen, 1974: 75.
- 69 Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 124; Park, 1994: 22.
- 70 Allen, 1974: 77.
- 71 British Museum, 1922: 40.
- 72 Embalming procedures in this variant of spell 151, Lucarelli, 2006: 64; example of spell 151 found on a magical brick: 109.
- 73 Müller-Roth, 2012: 66.
- 74 Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 222-225; British Museum, 1922: 41.

- 75 Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 225.
- 76 Lucarelli, 2006: 170.
- 77 Allen, 1974: 151.
- 78 Fig wood was used in coffins of the Ptolemaic Period, as proven by tests done on examples housed in the San Diego Museum of Man, SCOTT, (May 2010): 390-396.
- 79 Nicholson, Shaw, 2003: 340.
- 80 From the Greek *syké*, fig, and from the ancient Egyptian *neb*, protection, Cattabiani, 1996: 110, 117.
- 81 British Museum, 1922: 41.
- 82 Lucarelli, 2006:171.
- 83 Allen, 1974: 153.
- 84 Taylor, 2010: 16.
- 85 Lucarelli, 2006: 172.
- 86 Allen, 1974: 162; Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 27.
- 87 Park, 1994: 20.
- 88 Existing examples can be seen at the Turin, London, Paris, Berlin, Cairo, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago Museums.
- 89 Kakosy, Roccati, 1987: 118.
- 90 Ritner, 1993: 172-179.
- 91 Examples at the British Museum EA 10321, EA 10083 in Pinch, 1994: 36-37.
- 92 Kakosy, Roccati, 1987: 118-119.
- 93 Pinch, 1994: 142-143.
- 94 Pinch, 1994: 117.
- 95 Müller-Roth, 2012: 33; Allen, 1979: 2; Taylor, 2010: 29.
- 96 Dr. Alexandra von Lieven is working on these possibilities under the auspices of Projekt Heisenberg's Die nichtfuneräre Nutzenanwendung ausgewählter Sprüche der sogenannten Sargtexte: http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/aegyptologie/mitarbeiter/privatdozenten/von_lieven/index.html
- 97 Allen, 1974: 177-81.
- 98 Faulkner, 2008:171.
- 99 Faulkner, 2008: 11.
- 100 Allen, 1974: 2; British Museum, 1922: 6; Taylor, 2010: 34, 54.
- 101 (N) being the actual person, his/her name or title, Allen, 1974: 3.
- 102 Müller-Roth, 2012: 81.
- 103 These are drawings accompanying spells or replacing them, popular from the New Kingdom onwards.
- 104 Müller-Roth, 2012 34.
- 105 British Museum, 1922: 8, 12; Taylor, 2010:57.
- 106 Taylor, 2010:58.
- 107 Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 96993, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm96993.
- 108 "*In the first century BCE the BD as a corpus came to an end, but its motifs survived into Roman times in mummy shrouds*", Taylor, 2010: 59.
- 109 Taylor, 2010: 34.
- 110 The original cult location of Osiris being in the Delta, called Djedu by Egyptians, and Busiris by Greeks, was, after the 12th dynasty, located in Abydos, and continuing to spread all over Egyptian territory until the end of the dynastic period, British Museum, 1922: 19, 30.
- 111 "*Osiris was the Wheat-god and also the personification of Maat...*"British Museum, 1922: 31. On Osiris and wheat compare J.F. Quack, Saatprobe und Kornosiris, in: M. Fitzenreiter (ed.) *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie*, IBAES 7 (London 2007), 325-331.
- 112 Taylor, 2010:61.
- 113 Smith, 2008: 4. See further M. Smith, Osiris NN or Osiris of NN?, in: B. Backes, I. Munro and S. Stöhr (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen. Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005 SAT 11* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 325-37.
- 114 Yoyotte, 1977: 146.
- 115 Taylor, 2010: 16.
- 116 British Museum, 1922: 2.
- 117 Protection, preservation and safeguard, Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 277-79.
- 118 "*The Egyptians invoked the aid of Thoth on behalf of their dead to place them under the protection of his almighty spells*", British Museum, 1922: 3.
- 119 Allen, 1974: 196.
- 120 Different variants presented in Allen, 1974: 196-200.
- 121 *Osiris-Hymnen. Textgeschichtliche, inhaltliche, formale und funktionsbezogene Untersuchungen von vier ausgewählten diachron belegten und kontextvariablen Beispielen nebst allgemeiner Betrachtungen* soon to be published by Daniela Luft, Heidelberg; <http://www.materiale-textkulturen.de/person.php?n=120>
- 122 Physical integrity, Müller-Roth, 2012: 33.

- 123 Kissing the earth and touching forehead, Allen, 1974: 200. Touching the earth, Trindade-Lopes, 1991:279.
- 124 Taylor, 2010: 17, 20, 28.
- 125 Magical approaches opened channels of communication between living creatures and divine ones, Taylor, 2010: 17.
- 126 Spell 76 advocates one can assume any form, as long as God, in the sky allows passage, Allen, 1974: 66.
- 127 This spell is a repetition of spell 9 on Allen, 1974: 10 and also Trindade-Lopes, 1991: 104, as the majority of literature suggests.
- 128 P. Berlin 3162.
- 129 “*The term ‘book’ is perhaps misleading: this was not a consistent composition with a fixed sequence of canonical texts*”, Taylor, 2010: 13.
- 130 *Heka* was also used in life, Taylor, 2010: 28, 29.
- 131 It can represent a shepherd’s rope or the tied cord of the papyrus rolled for Nile boatmen. The hieroglyph appears in two forms; in the Old Kingdom, the low part was not divided, but it separates from the Middle Kingdom onwards.
- 132 Pinch, 1994: 108.
- 133 Remke Kruk personal communication in *Ritual Healing*, the Warburg Institute, London, February 2006. Remke Kruk is a lecturer at the Leiden University in literature, philosophy, and Arabic science and religion: <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/lias/organisation/arabic/krukr.html> in Veiga, 2009: 42.
- 134 Linen amulets as independent objects and placed in specific parts of the body, Müller-Roth, 2012: 82, 84.
- 135 Allen does not agree with the ‘chapter’ denomination either; Allen, 1974: 2.
- 136 Taylor, 2010: 29.

