

# **The Significance of Anubis as seen in the Coffin Texts**

BY

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For Emery

Cover Image: Anubis Resting Jackal Third Intermediate Period, 1075 – 746.

Neues Museum ÄM 4674

Photograph by Charlotte Newell, 2014

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**Abstract:**

This study aims to seek a further understanding of the role of Anubis during the Middle Kingdom, as reflected in the Coffin Texts, through a close reading in the original language of the eighty-three spells in which Anubis features. This will be done through examining the roles and epithets attributed to Anubis in this corpus. The aim and methods used for this study are presented in Chapter 1 accompanied by an explanation of the primary sources and previous research surrounding both Anubis and the Coffin Texts. Chapter 2 identifies and examines the functional epithets of Anubis as the “Embalmer,” the “Lord of the Netherworld,” the “Guide” or “Gatekeeper” and the “Judge.” Anubis’ significance is rediscussed in Chapter 3 through the examination of the deity’s links to both determined and un-determined toponyms. In Chapter 4 the funerary epithets of Anubis are presented identifying how the deity’s connection with funerary formulae, festivals and sacred spaces can be used to assess Anubis’ significance in the Coffin Texts. A detailed study of Anubis in the Coffin Texts has not previously been attempted, therefore a study of the Coffin Texts dealing with Anubis in the original language will provide a deeper understanding of Anubis’ role in the texts and broaden the understanding of Anubis within the context of Middle Kingdom funerary beliefs.



## **Declaration**

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled “The Significance of Anubis as seen in the Coffin Texts” has not been previously submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as a part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signed:

Name: Charlotte Newell      41746473

Date: 10<sup>th</sup> October 2014



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## List of Abbreviations

- AJA* - American Journal of Archaeology  
*ASAE* - Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte  
*BASOR* - Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research  
*BEM* - Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum  
*BIFAO* - Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale  
*BiOr* - Bibliotheca Orientalis  
*BMMA* - Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art  
*BMQ* - British Museum Quarterly  
*BMSAES* - The British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan  
*BRL* - Bulletin of the John Rylands Library  
*BSAE* - British School of Archaeology in Egypt  
*CT* - A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I – VII. Texts of Spells 1 - 1185* (Chicago, 1935-1961).  
*DE* - Discussions in Egyptology  
*GM* - Göttinger Miszellen  
*HTR* – Harvard Theological Review  
*JARCE* - Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt  
*JEA* - Journal of Egyptian Archaeology  
*JNES* - Journal of Near Eastern Studies  
*JSAH* - Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians  
*JSSEA* - Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities  
*JWCI* - Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes  
*KMT* - KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt  
*MDAIK* - Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo  
*Numen* - Numen: International Review for the History of Religions  
*PSBA* - Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology  
*RdE* - Revue d'Égyptologie  
*SAK* - Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur  
*Studia Antiqua* - A Student Journal for the Study of the Ancient World  
*VT* - Vetus Testamentus  
*ZÄS* - Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde





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# 1. Introduction

The successful examination of the funerary culture and beliefs in ancient Egypt requires that evidence from literary corpuses of funerary texts be examined. The study of funerary beliefs through these corpuses enables conclusions to be drawn which are specific to the historical context of the text. The Coffin Texts form one such corpus of funerary literature which provides evidence for the funerary beliefs among non-royal Egyptians during the Middle Kingdom. An analysis of the deity Anubis within this corpus would provide an insight into the role and function of the deity during the Middle Kingdom. While such a comprehensive examination is yet to be attempted, previous scholarship by DuQuesne and Willems has discussed specific roles of Anubis identified in the Coffin Texts, which reveal that a complete examination of all of the roles and epithets identified with Anubis from the Coffin Texts could contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the jackal deity.

## 1. a. Methods and Aims

The examination of a corpus of funerary literature, like the Coffin Texts, requires a clear systematic method in order for the comprehensive understanding of the text. As the focus of this study is to further the understanding of Anubis' significance in the Coffin Texts, an awareness of the original composers' intended meaning and the original intended audience must be taken into consideration. For this reason, this study is reliant on the exegetical analysis of the Coffin Texts spells that refer to Anubis, as "only when there is exegesis is there communication and understanding of the text."<sup>1</sup> Exegesis is a process most commonly used by Biblical scholars, as they constantly strive to discover the "original intention of the writer, and the meaning the passage would have held for the readers whom it was intended."<sup>2</sup> This is achieved by answering the questions commonly surrounding ancient texts such as, what was the author's intended meaning? And why did the author choose to express himself in that way?<sup>3</sup> As G. D. Fee explains the primary concern of this process is to answer the question of intentionality: "What did

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<sup>1</sup> J. H. Hayes & C. R. Holaday, *Biblical Exegesis A Beginner's Handbook* (Atlanta, 1982), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> R. T. France, "Exegesis in Practice: Two Samples," in *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods* (ed.) I. H. Marshall (Carlisle, 1972), p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> S. E. Porter, (ed.) *Handbook of Exegesis of the New Testament* (Leiden, 1997), p. 7.

the author intend his original readers to understand?"<sup>4</sup> When this method is applied to the Coffin Texts questions such as, how are the roles of Anubis expressed in the corpus? What are the terms used to create the connection between Anubis and these roles? And how did the authors intend for Anubis to be perceived by the audience? can be answered. By using this theoretical framework these questions can be applied to the Coffin Texts and be answered to explain how Anubis' significance was demonstrated in the Coffin Texts.

The exegetical examination of the Coffin Texts has been performed on a defined corpus of spells accessed from de Buck's seven-volume edition of hieroglyphic texts.<sup>5</sup> The collection of all the hieroglyphic texts was aided by the *Coffin Text Word Index* by D. van der Plas and J. F. Borghourts, which provide the location, through classifications of the appropriate volume and spell number, of all the references to Anubis throughout the complete edition of the Coffin Texts.<sup>6</sup> In total there are one hundred and one references made to Anubis in eighty-three spells throughout the corpus. Each of the eighty-three spells in which Anubis features were transliterated and then translated from their original hieroglyphic text. The publication of a dictionary specifically tailored to the Coffin Texts by R. van der Molen was particularly helpful, as he provides the reader with the different usages of a word, the range of determinatives used to identify a word and the various occurrences of a word in the corpus that can be used for comparison.<sup>7</sup> Therefore this analysis of Anubis has been based on a new translation of the texts.

This study systematically analyses the references made to Anubis in the Coffin Texts in order to understand the ways in which Anubis appears in the corpus. This study does not question that Anubis was significant throughout Egyptian history as a funerary deity, but rather it is purposed to demonstrate how a textually based analysis of the

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<sup>4</sup> G. D. Fee, *New Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors* (Westminster, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn, 2002), p. 27. As quoted by Porter, see: Porter, (ed.) *Handbook of Exegesis of the New Testament*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I – VII. Texts of Spells 1 – 1185* (Chicago, 1938 – 1961).

<sup>6</sup> D. van der Plas & J. F. Borghourts, *The Coffin Text Word Index* (Utrecht & Paris, 1998), p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> For example term *Sp3* is used to refer to a topographical location on 5 occasions, three of which refer to Anubis while the other two refer to the deceased. These two usages of the same toponym are clearly distinguished by van der Molen, see: R. van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Leiden & Boston, 2000), p. 481.

deity can provide a more comprehensive understanding of his significance. The comprehensive understanding of Anubis' significance is achieved in this study through a new reading of all the hieroglyphic texts referring to Anubis in the Coffin Texts, by identifying the roles and epithets used to illustrate Anubis' significance in the corpus and finally to highlight any relationships Anubis shared with other deities as a result of the attributed epithets.

### **1. b. Source Body**

The textual corpus known as the Coffin Texts is the primary source used for this examination. This was the chosen textual corpus as it reflects funerary beliefs among non-royal Egyptians during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> All discussions of the Coffin Texts are reliant on the seven-volume edition of the hieroglyphic texts composed by Adriaan de Buck and Alan H. Gardiner.<sup>9</sup> The publication of a reliable hieroglyphic text edition of the Coffin Texts stimulated further studies into funerary beliefs. Translations of the entire corpus first into English by R. O. Faulkner and then into French by P. Barguet have encouraged discussion on how the Coffin Texts should be translated.<sup>10</sup> For example, J. Zandee's article on the interpretation of Spell 173 makes reference to these translations and suggests alternative interpretations.<sup>11</sup> In 2004 Claude Carrier completed the most recent translation of the Coffin Texts, in French, based on de Buck's edition.<sup>12</sup> Carrier provides an insight into the author's reading of the text through providing a transliteration to accompany the translation of each spell. At the top of every page, Carrier notes the variant of the spell which he has chosen as the base of his translation. When compared to the translations of Faulkner this method results in clear differences in the scholar's understanding of the text, illustrating that perhaps the selection and

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<sup>8</sup> While there are elements of the Coffin Texts which have been adapted from the Pyramid Texts the Middle Kingdom corpus still includes "crucial new material and fresh concepts," which are representative of non-royal beliefs during the Middle Kingdom, see: S. Seidlmayer, "The First Intermediate Period," in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (ed.) I. Shaw (Oxford, 2000), p. 115.

<sup>9</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I – VII. Texts of Spells 1 – 1185*.

<sup>10</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volumes I – III Spells 1 – 1185 & Indexes* (Warminster, 1973 - 1979); P. Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages Égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986).

<sup>11</sup> J. Zandee, "Egyptian Funerary Ritual: Coffin Texts, Spell 173," *BiOr* 46:1/2 (1984), p. 17 – 18.

<sup>12</sup> C. Carrier, *Textes Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tomes 1- 3 Spells [1] à [1185]* (Champollion, 2004).

reliance on particular variants has compromised some of Carrier's translations.<sup>13</sup> Such scholarship has led many to use the volumes of the Coffin Texts as points of discussion concerning Egyptian funerary beliefs.<sup>14</sup>

In 1996 Harco Willems completed an extensive examination of the Coffin of Heqata (Cairo Museum JdE36418).<sup>15</sup> The examination enabled him to note the correlation between the texts and friezes on the coffin as well as to demonstrate that the spells were not arranged in a sequence that formed a concurrent mythological story.<sup>16</sup> The purpose of this book was to achieve a greater understanding of the individual's funerary beliefs as represented on their coffin. The conclusions Willems draws from this examination only comment on the funerary beliefs of the individual to whom the coffin belongs. However, as a correctly decorated Middle Kingdom coffin will have all spells arranged so they read away from the eye panel, Willems suggests there may be other coffins that possess a similar selection and arrangement of the spells to those seen on the Coffin of Heqata.<sup>17</sup> Since the publication of the coffin of Heqata scholarship on the Coffin Texts has turned its attention back to the primary monument as opposed to de Buck's edition in order for the original context of the spells to be taken into consideration. Grajetzki's work is an example of this trend as he examines fragmentary coffins, like that of

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<sup>13</sup> The differences between Carrier's publication of the Coffin Texts and the earlier publications have become more evident through this examination of Anubis. Spell 115, for example, mentions Anubis in all of the variants with the exception of one and it is that one variant on which Carrier has based his translation and this has changed how the spell can be interpreted, see: C. Carrier, *Textes Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tomes 1 Spells [1] à [354]* (Champollion, 2004), p. 290 – 291.

<sup>14</sup> W. Federn, "The 'Transformations' in the Coffin Texts a New Approach," *JNES* 19:4 (1960), p. 252. Often individual spells are examined to highlight the changes that occurred throughout Egyptian history. This was achieved through the comparison of Coffin Texts spells to spells in the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead. For examples, see: M. Heerma van Voss, *De Oudste Versie Van Dodenboek 17a Coffin Texts Spreuk 335a* (Leiden, 1963), p. 5ff; R. Shalomi-Hen, *Classifying the Divine Determinatives and Categorisation in CT 335 and BD 17* (Wiesbaden, 2000), p. 13 - 24; Zandee, *BiOr* 46:1/2 (1984), p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418) A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven, 1996), p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)*, p. 14.

<sup>17</sup> The arrangement of spells on Middle Kingdom coffins revolved around the eye panel which appeared on the coffin. Hayes understands that all "the inscriptions on a correctly decorated coffin will be found to read away from the eye panel in both directions," which is why Willems notes there could be coffins with the same arrangement of spells as seen on the Coffin of Heqata, see: W. C. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* (Princeton, 1935), p. 65; Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)*, p. 363 – 364.

Zemathor, in order to note the placement and inclusion of the Coffin Texts on many different coffins.<sup>18</sup> Thus examinations of the Coffin Texts always relate back to the original corpus, however, methodologies for how such studies should be carried out are constantly developing.

New methods of analysis have been developed for the most recent examinations of the Coffin Texts. A new focus has been established where themes are identified and analyzed from the Coffin Texts in order to comment on funerary beliefs specific to the Middle Kingdom. The works of R. Grieshammer and L. Lesko aid examinations of identified themes in the corpus. Grieshammer's publication provides bibliographical references to relevant publications for each page of de Buck's edition, while Lesko provides corresponding references to spells from the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead to Middle Kingdom coffins preserving the Coffin Texts.<sup>19</sup> These resources are particularly useful for the thematic examinations of the Coffin Texts that have been undertaken. In 2002 P. Wallin published an examination discussing the theme of regeneration based on the Coffin Texts. A close textual comparison of terminology used to represent celestial cycles enabled Wallin to demonstrate a connection between the Egyptian understanding of regeneration and astronomical cycles.<sup>20</sup> His research built upon the trends identified by Willems, which noted the connection between frieze and text, to recognise the three cycles needed for the individual to be provided with "perpetual regeneration."<sup>21</sup> To justify his conclusions Wallin employs the Pyramid Texts as a comparative source of data; such references illustrate how the theme of regeneration and its connection to astronomical knowledge had been adapted and replicated within the Coffin Texts from the preceding period.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> W. Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor and other rectangular coffins in the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (London, 2010), p. 84, 86 – 87.

<sup>19</sup> R. Grieshammer, *Die altägyptischen Sargtexte in der Forschung seit 1936. Bibliographie zu de Bucks The Egyptian Coffin Texts I – VII* (Wiesbaden, 1974); L. H. Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents* (Berkeley, 1979), p. 3ff. The work by C. Crozier-Brelot produced a more concise publication of citations for the Coffin Text spells, see: C. Crozier-Brelot, *Textes des Sarcophages Index des Citations* (Paris, 1972).

<sup>20</sup> P. Wallin, *Celestial Cycles Astronomical Concepts of Regeneration in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Uppsala, 2002), p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Wallin, *Celestial Cycles Astronomical Concepts of Regeneration*, p. 12 - 15, 46, 90.

<sup>22</sup> Wallin, *Celestial Cycles Astronomical Concepts of Regeneration*, p. 97.

In 2008 K. Goebis continued thematic studies of the Coffin Texts in her publication on the significance of crowns.<sup>23</sup> Goebis, unlike Wallin, elucidates the significance of crowns in the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts through drawing on later New Kingdom evidence.<sup>24</sup> The later New Kingdom texts are used to interpret the Coffin Texts which were central to her argument.<sup>25</sup> Through the use of different literary corpuses Goebis produces a diachronic study on the significance of the crown in funerary literature. Her publication illustrates how the investigation of a theme present across each of the Pharonic Periods can be successfully achieved through textual analysis. The works of Wallin and Goebis successfully discuss their chosen themes. However, Goebis provides the more effective analysis of her chosen theme through the presentation of evidence from various periods of Egyptian history to make the reader aware the significance of the crown in funerary literature was not specific to one historical context.

R. Nyord completed the most exhaustive thematic study of the Coffin Texts examining the “body and bodily functions” in 2009.<sup>26</sup> The study has been divided into three sections; the first section establishes the metaphors and patterns noted in the Egyptian conception of the “body,” the second considers reoccurring themes as cultural models and finally a synthesis of these two factors is provided. Although the study itself is rather extensive the presentation of each body part and their associated metaphor is sometimes brief and could have used further explanation. Further explanation would have provided an understanding of why particular body parts were important and clarify the function of the body part in the funerary context.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless Nyord clearly illustrates, through the Coffin Texts, how particular functions of the body could appear as taboo and had to be dealt with through spells.<sup>28</sup> The works completed by Wallin, Goebis and Nyord use similar approaches and methods in order to discuss their chosen

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<sup>23</sup> K. Goebis, *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature Royalty, Rebirth, and Destruction* (Oxford, 2008), p. 62 – 65.

<sup>24</sup> Goebis, *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature*, p. 73.

<sup>25</sup> Goebis, *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature*, p. 279 – 287.

<sup>26</sup> R. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen, 2009), p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> For example, the discussion of the intestines in this publication comprises of only five lines although there are three references to this body part within the Coffin Texts. As body parts, like the intestines, are not regularly referred to in the funerary context further explanation is needed to communicate their exact function, see: Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 205.

<sup>28</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 321 – 325.



topics. Thus by performing a similar thematic examination of Anubis using an exegetical framework a more comprehensive understanding of those roles and epithets attributed to Anubis in the Coffin Texts will be revealed.

### 1. c. Previous Literature

Egyptologists have explored the significance of Anubis through a diverse range of topics. Iconographic studies into the composite image of Anubis on temple walls, stele and in tomb reliefs are among the most common.<sup>29</sup> Evans, in her 2008 article, discusses Anubis' prevailing representation as a jackal-animal in the recumbent position.<sup>30</sup> She argues the deity's iconographic representation was a composite image of many different African dogs, as unlike other deities, one animal did not influence all of the iconographic features of Anubis.<sup>31</sup> Discussions of Anubis' iconography have also linked the god with other Egyptian deities. For example, J. G. Griffiths and A. A. Barb debate whether the classification of an animal-headed god preserved on a haematite gem is Anubis or Seth.<sup>32</sup> The two scholars offer their perspectives on the mythological differences and the shared characteristics of the two gods in order to identify the image as either Anubis or Seth.<sup>33</sup> Variations in the iconographic representations of Anubis illustrate the developing beliefs of Egyptians in this deity, yet the work completed by these scholars cannot provide an insight into the function of the deity only the significance of his iconography. As Magie discusses in detail, Anubis is one of few gods whose worship can be attested

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<sup>29</sup> S. Smith, "A Glass Figure of Anubis," *BMQ* 10:3 (1936), p. 118 – 119; J. G. Griffiths, "Eight Funerary Papyri with Judgement Scenes in the Swansea Wellcome Museum," *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 228 – 252. Mahler's examination looks at the different ways the jackal gods, in particular Anubis and Wepwawet, were identified using hieroglyphs depending on the associated title or epithet, see: E. Mahler, "The Jackal-Gods on Ancient Egyptian Monuments," *PSBA* 36 (1914), p. 143 – 164.

<sup>30</sup> L. Evans, "The Anubis Animal: A Behavioural solution?" *GM* 216 (2008), p. 17 – 18. The same physical attributes have been identified by Ischlonsky in his examination of a large bronze figure of Anubis, see: N. D. Ischlonsky, "A Peculiar Representation of the Jackal-God Anubis," *JNES* 25:1 (1966), p. 18.

<sup>31</sup> Evans also examines the colours used for Anubis' iconography and illustrates how this may have been influenced by the deity's connection with funerary beliefs, see: Evans, *GM* 216 (2008), p. 20, 22.

<sup>32</sup> J. G. Griffiths & A. A. Barb, "Seth or Anubis?" *JWCI* 22:3/4 (1959), p. 367. For further discussion on the iconographic similarities between Anubis and Seth, see: T. DuQuesne, "Seth and the Jackals," in *Egyptian Religion The Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to Jan Quaegebeur Part 1* (eds) W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (Leuven, 1998), p. 613 – 628.

<sup>33</sup> Griffiths & Barb, *JWCI* 22:3/4 (1959), p. 370.

outside of Egypt after the country's fall to Alexander the Great.<sup>34</sup> Magie attests the significance of Anubis through the examination of epigraphic evidence found at Ephesus in a dedication.<sup>35</sup> This examination of Anubis is insightful as Magie relies on evidence found outside of Egypt in order to underpin his argument about the importance of the deity. Therefore where Anubis was worshipped and how the deity was represented are factors which have received a lot of attention in previous publications.

The roles performed by Anubis in the funerary context have been extensively researched and listed in numerous publications. The list of epithets compiled by Leitz, for example, consists of over thirty different titles used to identify Anubis. Titles attributed to Anubis in the Coffin Texts are provided by Leitz but are dated to later periods, as while there is evidence for the use of these titles in earlier periods there is "no proof."<sup>36</sup> Leitz explains the issue of proof as, "daß beispielsweise bei *R*<sup>c</sup>: "Re" kein Beleg aus dem Alten Reich verzeichnet ist. Dies bedeutet selbstverständlich nicht, daß es keine Belege für Re aus Alten Reich gibt."<sup>37</sup> This suggests the examination of the roles and functions Anubis performed in the Coffin Texts can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of Anubis during the Middle Kingdom. Other epithets, such as Anubis' role as the Embalmer, have been thoroughly investigated and are now perceived as accepted traits of the god.<sup>38</sup> Janot illustrates why Anubis is accepted as the Embalmer by exploring the different ways in which this epithet of the deity was portrayed throughout Egyptian history in his publication.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> D. Magie, "Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor in Inscriptions and on Coins," *AJA* 57:3 (1953), p. 170.

<sup>35</sup> Magie, *AJA* 57:3 (1953), p. 173.

<sup>36</sup> The titles attributed to Anubis that date to the Middle Kingdom in Leitz's publication are "Anubis von Gebelein," "Anubis in Sepa" and "Anubis an allen seinen Stätten." However other epithets, for example Anubis' association with the *ḥ-ḏsr* and Asyut, have only been attested from the later periods of the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic Period, see: C. Leitz, (ed.) *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen Band 1* (Leuven, 2002), p. 395 - 397.

<sup>37</sup> Leitz, (ed.) *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen Band 1*, p. xiii.

<sup>38</sup> Both the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* and the *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* collect and discuss epithets relating to Anubis' function as the Embalmer, see: H. Bonnet, (ed.) "Anubis," in *Reallexikon Der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 40 - 45; W. Helck & E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie Band I* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 328 - 330.

<sup>39</sup> F. Janot, *Les instruments d'embaumement de l'Égypte ancienne* (Cairo, 2000), p. 13 - 33.

The role Anubis performed at the necropolis has also been investigated using archaeological and epigraphic evidence. Goedicke, for example, published an article examining the relationship between Anubis and the seals of the Necropolis.<sup>40</sup> In this article Goedicke examines how the prototype of the Embalmer influenced the attribution of the title “Lord of the Necropolis” to Anubis early in the Old Kingdom.<sup>41</sup> The exploration of this concept is important because parallels can be drawn between the Old and Middle Kingdoms to examine how Anubis is connected with the necropolis through funerary titles. *Tp.y dw=f*, one of the most common epithets used to describe Anubis in the funerary context, is discussed at length by J. Spiegel. Through an examination of a variety of evidence, including the Pyramid Texts and Middle Kingdom stele, Spiegel discusses the meaning and the understood importance of this epithet in his publication *Die Götter von Abydos*.<sup>42</sup> In this discussion Spiegel acknowledges Anubis’ prominence at the site of Abydos and illustrates how this resulted in a relationship developing between Anubis and Osiris. This relationship, Spiegel suggests, influences the interpretation of the epithet *tp.y dw=f*, which was intertwined with the resurrection of Osiris at Abydos.<sup>43</sup> Overall, Spiegel presents a well-researched and thorough argument, yet scholars have not necessarily been willing to accept the conclusions that he has drawn.<sup>44</sup> Through an examination of Anubis in the Coffin Texts the significance of the deity in association with such epithets can be examined and in turn demonstrate how Anubis was viewed as a significant deity in his own right.

M. C. Bruwier in 1998 wrote an article discussing the roles and functions of Anubis as represented on a Late Period Coffin belonging to a Heracleopolitan Priest.<sup>45</sup> This article is informative yet concise in its communication of the links between this particular coffin and literary evidence. Bruwier accentuates the connections between the function

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<sup>40</sup> H. Goedicke, “The Seal of the Necropolis,” *SAK 20* (1993), p. 67.

<sup>41</sup> Goedicke, *SAK 20* (1993), p. 70, 73 – 75.

<sup>42</sup> J. Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos Studien zum ägyptischen Synkretismus* (Wiesbaden, 1973), p. 42.

<sup>43</sup> Spiegel explains, “So könnte man denken, daß Anubis im Kult von Assiut vor allem als Erscheinungsform des auferstandenen Osiris gegolten habe und daß dieser Charakterzug in Abydos mit seinem aus der Epitheton dadurch in der Bedeutung “der auf seinem Berge ist,” see: Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos*, p. 44 – 45.

<sup>44</sup> J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), p. 135 – 136.

<sup>45</sup> M. C. Bruwier, “Présence et Action D’Anubis sur le Coffret D’un Prêtre Héracléopolitain,” in *Egyptian Religion The Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to Jan Quaegebeur Part 1* (eds) W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (Leuven, 1998), p. 65.

Anubis fulfilled in the Coffin Texts and the role of the deity represented in the later Papyrus Jumilhac as well as on the coffin of the Heracleopolitan Priest.<sup>46</sup> The article successfully demonstrates how the funerary epithets of Anubis have characteristics which enabled the deity to retain relevance over a long period of time. Yet due to the scope of the discussion Bruwier does not discuss all of these funerary epithets as she confines her study to those represented on the coffin under examination. Thus Anubis' role as a funerary deity has also been investigated previously. Yet these publications focus on periods, such as the Old Kingdom and the Late Period, which indicates an investigation considering Anubis' role during the Middle Kingdom is yet to be conducted.

While archaeological evidence is discussed to identify roles associated with Anubis it is the examination of texts which allow for the comprehension of these roles. In 2005 DuQuesne published the first volume of his study of *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt*.<sup>47</sup> The aim of this publication was to illustrate the Egyptian understanding of the individual jackal deities as well as note their relationships to one another between the First and Tenth Dynasties. This publication draws upon all known textual sources for the period in order to demonstrate the Egyptian conception of these deities. DuQuesne's examination focuses on Anubis as the prominent jackal deity of Egypt and demonstrates the importance of this particular deity through the discussion of epithets. It is noted that Anubis is attested to have held the titles of "Lord of Sepa" and "Lord of Roqerert" in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.<sup>48</sup> To illustrate the significance of these early attested titles DuQuesne provides evidence from the Coffin Texts where Anubis is known to have held the same titles.<sup>49</sup> Much like Goebis, DuQuesne performs a diachronic study of Anubis' significance between the First and Tenth Dynasties. This diachronic study of Anubis' significance illustrates the possibilities for further studies of this nature as this deity possessed characteristics that enabled it to retain its importance. DuQuesne demonstrates how the study of Anubis in a specific time period can be approached

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<sup>46</sup> Bruwier, "Présence et Action D'Anubis sur le Coffret D'un Prête Héracléopolitain," p. 78.

<sup>47</sup> T. DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt I From the Archaic Period to Dynasty X* (Surrey, 2005), p. 37.

<sup>48</sup> DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, p. 371.

<sup>49</sup> DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, p. 371. DuQuesne uses a similar method in his examination of Anubis' title "Lord of Ro-Setawe." In this examination he illustrates how references made in the Coffin Texts preempt the later attribution of Anubis with the title "Lord of Ro-Setawe," see: T. DuQuesne, *The Jackal at the Sharman's Gate Anubis Lord of Ro-Setawe* (Oxen, 1991), p. 22, 26.

judiciously so evidence which is directly related from other periods can be presented as comparative data in order to elucidate the data specific to the selected time period.

Harco Willems uses data from the Coffin Texts to discuss the concept of Anubis as a “judge.”<sup>50</sup> Willems puts forth a compelling argument, which is purposed to go beyond simply labeling Anubis as a “judge,” and presents further evidence that supports this argument. “Scant and ambiguous” were the words used by Grieshammer and Seeber to describe previously presented evidence suggesting Anubis performed the role of a “judge.” Willems rejects past interpretations of this role, as he believes a new examination of funerary texts demonstrate this role of Anubis with clarity.<sup>51</sup> When Willems uses the Coffin Texts to examine this role of Anubis he provides a critical discussion of literary evidence. In his discussion of Spell 335 of the Coffin Texts Willems dedicates five pages in order to carefully consider how this spell represents Anubis as a “judge” and what the implications of such a representation have had in later periods.<sup>52</sup> The development of the role of Anubis as a “judge” is then investigated and Willems considers later evidence from the Papyrus Jumilhac, much like Bruwier. In doing so Willems illustrates the link between the Middle Kingdom and the later Graeco-Roman Period, which is achieved through the discussion of epithets of Anubis like *ip ib.w.*<sup>53</sup> Willems, through his critical analysis of Anubis’ role as a “judge,” concludes that the judicial significance of this deity is more pronounced than previous scholarship suggests. This examination of Anubis’ significance through one role presented in the Coffin Texts demonstrates how a greater comprehension of this deity can be gained through further investigations into the Coffin Texts.

The present study suggests a comprehensive understanding of Anubis can be gained through a new examination of the Coffin Texts. This study will contribute to current scholarship as the Coffin Texts are yet to be used as the primary source of evidence in the examination of an Egyptian deity. Rather than the examination of just one epithet of

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<sup>50</sup> H. Willems, “Anubis as a Judge,” in *Egyptian Religion The Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to Jan Quaegebeur Part 1* (eds) W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (Leuven, 1998), p. 719.

<sup>51</sup> Willems, “Anubis as a Judge,” p. 720. For the arguments of Grieshammer and Seeber, see: R. Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 88 – 89; C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (Munich & Berlin, 1976), p. 154 – 158.

<sup>52</sup> Willems, “Anubis as a Judge,” p. 722 - 726.

<sup>53</sup> Willems, “Anubis as a Judge,” p. 730.

Anubis this study will look at all of the roles and epithets attributed to Anubis in the textual corpus, which includes the deity's functional epithets, topographical epithets and funerary epithets. It is intended that an examination of all titles, roles and epithets from within the textual corpus of the Coffin Texts will provide a greater understanding of Anubis during the Middle Kingdom, a period where the deity is yet to be examined in detail.

## 2. Functional Epithets

There are four steps which the deceased takes on their passage from the realm of the living to the afterlife. The four steps can be identified as the embalming of the deceased, the burial of the deceased, the deceased's passage through the Netherworld and finally the post-mortem judgement of the deceased. Each of these steps correlates with the functional epithets that have attributed to Anubis in the Coffin Texts.<sup>1</sup> These epithets have been identified in the Coffin Texts as the "Embalmer," the "Lord of the Necropolis," the "Guide" or "Gatekeeper" and the "Judge." An analysis of Anubis' functional epithets in the Coffin Texts reveals they are representative of actions which the Egyptians perceived were physically performed by the deity in the afterlife or in some instances a priest acting in the place of the deity.<sup>2</sup> Through the examination of these four epithets in the contexts in which they appear in the Coffin Texts and contemporary literary evidence, a more comprehensive insight into why Anubis was significant in funerary culture during the Middle Kingdom may be gained.

### 2. a. Anubis the Embalmer

Jan Assmann explains how for the Egyptians, "life was connection, while death was disintegration and isolation." To remedy the condition of dismemberment embalming rituals were used, and it was these rituals that enabled the dead to assume an eternal life in the Netherworld.<sup>3</sup> The role of Anubis, as seen in the Coffin Texts, was to function as the Embalmer performing the ritual acts that provided the eternal life of the deceased. The Coffin Texts enable us to infer Anubis' prominence as the Embalmer as there are seventeen separate references made throughout the corpus describing Anubis acting in this role.<sup>4</sup> Anubis' functionality in this role is expressed in a number of ways. In the

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<sup>1</sup> The relationship between these epithets has been identified in later New Kingdom texts, however only briefly. For the connection between the three epithets of the "Embalmer," the "Guide" and the "Judge" in the New Kingdom, see: W. Farina, *Man Writes Dog: Canine Themes in Literature, Law and Folklore* (Jefferson, 1955), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> T. DuQuesne, "Concealing and Revealing: The Problem with Ritual Masking in Ancient Egypt," *DE* 51 (2001), p. 5; J. C. Goyon, *Rituels Funéraires de l'Ancienne Egypte* (Paris, 1972), p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* trans. D. Lorton (Munich, 2001), p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> For the references in the Coffin Texts, see: CTI 198d – f, CTI 217c, CTI 237f, CTI 256h – 257d, CTI 303h – 304b, CTII 125c – e, CTII 300b, CTIII 107a – c, CTIII 305d, CTIII 312a – e, CTIV 375a – g, CTIV 377c – d, CTV 188i, CTVI 74g – h, CTVI 94h – i, CTVI 264t – 265a. H. Bonnet discusses the prominence of this epithet of

Coffin Texts the Embalmer was understood to be the “giver of life” because through the completion of the embalming rituals the deceased could be given a new eternal life in the Netherworld. Spell 51 of the Coffin Texts provides the connection between Anubis the Embalmer and the “giver of life.” Spell 51 states, *iw=k sʿh.t(i) hḳꜣ 3h.t iw n=k ʿnh hr Inp.w*, “You are dignified as a ruler of the horizon. Yours is the life with Anubis.”<sup>5</sup> The ability to provide a new life for the deceased may be interpreted as a function Anubis fulfilled as the Embalmer because the Coffin Texts emphasise how the embalming of Osiris by Anubis enabled the deity’s resurrection in the Netherworld.<sup>6</sup> This perception of Anubis developed from the beliefs of the Old Kingdom where Anubis is often referred to as, ... *Inp.w nb ʿnh*, “... Anubis, Lord of Life.”<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Spell 51 may also be interpreted as communicating how the embalming rituals enabled the deceased to be transformed and initiated into an “elevated sphere of existence,” where the elevated existence of the deceased is identified with Re’s accession to the sky.<sup>8</sup> The final sentence of Spell 51 states, “Anubis is content, Khnum is content, thereby.” “Thereby” is an important inclusion at the end of the spell as it can explain when an “elevated existence” was reached by the deceased the deities would have successfully fulfilled their roles in the embalming rituals.<sup>9</sup> Spell 51 demonstrates how through the performance of the embalming rituals Anubis provided the tools the deceased needed to experience a new form of life.<sup>10</sup> The provision of a new life and the transformation of the deceased were

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Anubis, see: H. Bonnet, (ed.) “Anubis,” in *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 43. The prominence of the epithet is supported by Middle Kingdom funerary stele which provide Anubis with the title of “Embalmer,” see: T. G. H. James, “Egyptian Funerary Stele of the First Intermediate Period,” *BMQ* 20 (1946), p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> CTI 237e – f.

<sup>6</sup> CTIII 312a – e. Anubis is also seen giving “new life” in the later Ptolemaic Period. Bidoli explains how, “Zuletzt sei noch Papyrus Jumilhac hingewiesen, wo von einem Ritus berichtet wird, den Anubis vollzogen haben soll, um zu bewirken, “daß der Kopf seines Vaters sprech,” see: D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche Der Fangnetze in den Altägyptischen Sargtexten* (Glückstadt, 1976), p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscription in the Brooklyn Museum From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVII* (Brooklyn, 1974), p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> J. Assmann, “Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt,” in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (ed.) W. K. Simpson (New Haven, 1989), p. 139; H. Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat Sargtextstudien I* (Wiesbaden, 1993), p. 469.

<sup>9</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 - 354* (Warminster, 1973), p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> This may explain why Khnum is also referred to in this statement as his role was primarily concerned with the creation of life on the potter’s wheel, see: Bonnet, (ed.) “Chnum,” in *Reallexikon Der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 135 - 140. For an example of Khnum being represented in this role, see: G. Daressy,



the results of the embalming rituals and is how Anubis as the Embalmer is given such significance in the Coffin Texts.

The preservation of the body was the purpose of the embalming ritual and as the Embalmer Anubis was referred to as the one who could stop *ḥwꜣ.t*, “putrefaction.”<sup>11</sup> Isis and Nephthys aided Anubis in this process as demonstrated in Spell 73, which states, “Isis comes, Nephthys comes... They prevent you from rotting in this your name, Anubis.”<sup>12</sup> The assistance Anubis received from Isis and Nephthys provided the magic which enabled the deceased to have an eternal life. The magical powers of Isis and Nephthys are identified through their titles which Bergman translates as, “Les Deux Sœurs Grandes des Magie” and “Celles qui sont riches en magie.”<sup>13</sup> Anubis receiving help in his role as the Embalmer by the two sisters appears to be widely accepted as the five variants of Spell 73 originate from Thebes, el-Bersha and Saqqara, effectively Upper, Middle and Lower Egypt.<sup>14</sup> Spell 73 appears on the coffins of Middle Kingdom queens as well as non-royals, which may be used to suggest the belief that Anubis, Nephthys and Isis were involved in the embalming rituals of the deceased was not limited to one class of society.<sup>15</sup> Yet in the Coffin Texts the role of the Embalmer is most often represented as being performed by Anubis alone.<sup>16</sup> For example, in Spell 236 there is a direct reference illustrating Anubis performing embalming rituals to stop the putrefaction of the

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“Hymne a Khnoum du Temple D’Esnéh,” *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie à l’archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* 27:9 (1905), p. 91. The relationship between Anubis and Khnum is represented elsewhere in the Coffin Texts, see: CTI 238d; CTI 244c – f; CTI 246c –d.

<sup>11</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1962), p. 166. Gardiner suggests the meaning of the root of this term *ḥwꜣ* means “to rot” or “to decay,” see: A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (London, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn, 1957), p. 580.

<sup>12</sup> CTI 303d – 304a.

<sup>13</sup> J. Bergman, “Nephthys Decouverte dans un papyrus magique,” in *Tirage-à-par de Mélanges Adolphe Cutbals Montpellier 1984* (Montpellier, 1984), p. 5; Faulkner also notes that Isis and Nephthys were involved in the embalment of the deceased in the Coffin Texts because originally they had been involved in the embalment of Osiris, see: R. O. Faulkner, “Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys,” in *Des Mémoires de l’Institut Francois LXVI Melanges Maspero Volume I* (Cairo, 1934), p. 336.

<sup>14</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I. Texts of Spells 1 – 75* (Chicago, 1935), p. 303 – 305.

<sup>15</sup> H. Willems, *The Chests of Life A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden, 1988), p. 110 – 114, table. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Anubis is often represented as the Embalmer performing the embalming rituals without the help of other deities. For examples, see: CTI 198d – 199b; CTI 252a – d; CTIII 305d; CIV 375f – g; CTVII 26o – q.

deceased. It states, *šmw n.y w<sup>c</sup>b.t st(i) k3.t n Inp.w hrw srwh imy hw33.t=f*, “Mover of the Pure place, who sets flame for Anubis on the day of treating him who is in his putridity.”<sup>17</sup> Zandee suggests there is a connection between the objection to putrefaction and the need to be pure.<sup>18</sup> In other Coffin Texts spells Anubis is invoked to stop the deceased from having to eat excrement, which links back to the role of the Embalmer who stops the putrefaction process, as both acts were considered impure.<sup>19</sup> From the examination of the Coffin Texts it becomes apparent Anubis’ role as the Embalmer was of the upmost importance as it allowed for the body to be pure and to be preserved after death, thus fulfilling the purpose of the embalming ritual.

Anubis as the Embalmer is identified with roles that were physically performed by priests during the Middle Kingdom. In two separate instances the deity is described as *k3p n=k Inp.w sntr*, “Anubis burns incense for you”<sup>20</sup> and *Inp.w ntr hr w<sup>c</sup>b=i* “Anubis the god purifies me.”<sup>21</sup> These two actions portrayed as being performed by Anubis were physically carried out and this is supported by archaeological evidence found in the Middle Kingdom tombs.<sup>22</sup> Priests continue performing roles associated with Anubis in funerary texts through to the New Kingdom. The tomb to Dhutmose (TT 295), of the later 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, lists the deceased’s titles on the North wall of his tomb; these include, “... scribe of the Embalmer in the Place of Embalment, Chief of the Chest.”<sup>23</sup> The listing of the different roles that could be performed by priests in the Place of Embalment supports the idea that the physical roles attributed to Anubis in the Coffin Texts would have been carried out during the Middle Kingdom by priests who held similar titles to Dhutmose. For example, this is witnessed on a Middle Kingdom stele where the

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<sup>17</sup> CTIII 305c – d. The Pure Place (*w<sup>c</sup>b.t*) is an area associated with Anubis throughout the Coffin Texts. This area was a sacred space where purification rituals were carried out for the deceased. The connection Anubis had with the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t* has been discussed in Chapter 4 of this study, see: p. 72 - 73.

<sup>18</sup> J. Zandee, “Egyptian Funerary Ritual: Coffin Texts, Spell 173,” *BiOr* 41:1/2 (1984), p. 7 – 8.

<sup>19</sup> CTIII 84c – i; CTIII 87d – 91g.

<sup>20</sup> CTI 256h – 257a.

<sup>21</sup> CTIV 344b.

<sup>22</sup> Lucas explains that incense has been commonly found in Middle Kingdom tombs. Due to the position of the incense in the tombs it is understood it had been placed there prior to the sealing of the tomb, see: A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials & Industries* (London, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn, 1938), p. 110; E. Wise, “An ‘Odor of Sanctity’: The Iconography, Magic and Ritual of Egyptian Incense,” *Studia Antiqua* 7:1 (2009), p. 67.

<sup>23</sup> E. S. A. Hegazy & M. Tosi, *A Theban Private Tomb. Tomb no. 295* (Mainz, 1983), p. 24.

deceased describes himself as “The Embalmer, Sopedonemsaf.”<sup>24</sup> The language used in the Coffin Texts suggests there too would have been similar priests performing the roles of Anubis during the Middle Kingdom. The physical nature of the roles Anubis is understood to have performed in the Coffin Texts can be used to suggest Anubis retained greater significance than other funerary deities, as the non-royal populace of the Middle Kingdom would have interacted with priests carrying out these roles in Anubis’ name.

Embalming as the principle function of Anubis is often referred to in funerary texts through the use of the term *w.t*. As a noun *w.t* has a range of meanings including, “Embalmer,”<sup>25</sup> “bandages,”<sup>26</sup> “wrappings”<sup>27</sup> and “mummy-wrappings,”<sup>28</sup> while as a verb *w.t* has been translated as, “to embalm”<sup>29</sup> and “to bind.”<sup>30</sup> Each of the suggested translations are applicable to the translation of *w.t* in the Coffin Texts, with the exception of “to bind.” Breasted explains that the translation of *w.t* as “to bind” is restricted only to the verb’s use in medical texts making such a translation inapplicable in the examination of the Coffin Texts because it is not representative of the original intended meaning.<sup>31</sup> The frequency of the association between the term *w.t* and Anubis has caused Faulkner to question the use of other deities in association with this term in the Coffin Texts, particularly in Spell 345.<sup>32</sup> Unlike Barguet and Carrier, Faulkner does not rely on one

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<sup>24</sup> F. Janot, *Les instruments d'embaumement de l’Egypte ancienne* (Cairo, 2000), p. 22.

<sup>25</sup> R. van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Leiden & Boston, 2000), p. 105.

<sup>26</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 562.

<sup>27</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 71; R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinhue and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940 – 1640* (Oxford, 1997), p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn, 2014), p. 518.

<sup>29</sup> Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 71; J. A. Wilson “Funerary Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom,” *JNES* 3:4 (1944), p. 204 – 205; K. Sethe, *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidtexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien Des Berliner Museums II* (Leipzig, 1910), § 1202b.

<sup>30</sup> J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus Published in Facsimile and Hieroglyphic Transliteration with Translation and Commentary in Two Volumes, Volume I* (Chicago, 1930), p. 525 – 526.

<sup>31</sup> Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, p. 525 – 526. This is supported by Zandee’s argument that the “binding” of the body was a central fear of the Egyptians concerning death, see: J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), p. 132.

<sup>32</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 - 354*, p. 281.

variant of the text in order to translate Spell 345.<sup>33</sup> Faulkner has compared the different variants and then decided which variant was the most correct for each line in his translation. While this is effective, Faulkner's method causes his translation to digress from other publications. When Faulkner translates line 375a he ignores the variants referring to "Thoth" and instead translates "Anubis" based only on variant B1P, originating from el-Bersha.<sup>34</sup> Faulkner explains his translation is based on other occurrences where Anubis performs the wrapping of the deceased stating, "All the other texts have 'Thoth,' but since the sentence (375a) refers to the 'clothing' of the deceased, presumably with reference to the wrappings of the corpse 'Anubis' seems the better reading."<sup>35</sup> This results in the translation of line 375a as, *ḥbs(.w) ṯw Inp.w w.t*, "Anubis the Embalmer will clothe you."<sup>36</sup> In this reference the verb *ḥbs* has been translated as "to clothe."<sup>37</sup> However based on the determinative of the cloth with selvedge van der Molen suggests an alternative translation of this verb as, "to wrap."<sup>38</sup> Therefore Faulkner's adoption of the reading "Anubis" from variant B1P in line 375a can be justified due to the turn of phrase and content of the statement, as it makes more sense for the statement to refer to Anubis than Thoth. However, the understanding of *ḥbs* as "to wrap" may be a reflection of modern scholars using information already known about Anubis' functions to translate the text and as a result have lost sight of the original intended meaning.

The evidence for the translation of "Anubis" in line 375a is undeniable, yet why then do all the other variants of Spell 345 refer to "Thoth?" As Thoth appears in the majority of variants it may be assumed he was the original deity invoked in line 375a. Of the nine

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<sup>33</sup> Both Barguet and Carrier rely on variant B1C, see: P. Barguet, *Textes Des Sarcophages Egyptiens Du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), p. 100 – 101; C. Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]* (Champollion, 2004), p. 862 – 863; Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 280.

<sup>34</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 280 - 281.

<sup>35</sup> The other references Faulkner refers to occur in elsewhere in Spells 345 and 346, see: Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 - 354*, p. 280 – 281.

<sup>36</sup> CTIV 375a.

<sup>37</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 167; van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 327.

<sup>38</sup> van der Molen, *Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 327. For the description of the determinative used for the verb *ḥbs* see: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 507; B. G. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian* (Mainz, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, 2005), p. 110.

variants there are four coffins originating from Asyut and five from el-Bersha.<sup>39</sup> None of the coffins originating from Asyut refer to Anubis in this statement. Typically coffins originating from Asyut refer to Anubis more than other comparable sources. Lapp illustrates this trend noting Anubis is invoked on average two times more on coffins originating from Asyut than other localities during the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>40</sup> Therefore it may be speculated that the reference to Anubis in line 375a was not influenced by the geographical origin of the variants because the coffins originating from Asyut, the deity's cult centre, do not refer to Anubis.<sup>41</sup> The principle of *lectio difficilior potior* "the more difficult reading is the stronger" asserts such texts with multiple variants must rely on the variant most difficult to accept based on the grounds later scribes would simplify the text.<sup>42</sup> Thus while it appears difficult to accept Thoth performing the role of the Embalmer in Spell 345 it is more than likely correct. The appearance of Thoth in this situation may have been a means to refer to the deity's role in the embalming process. Thoth's prominent epithet "clean of hands" illustrates the deity's connection to purification.<sup>43</sup> In the Coffin Texts Thoth is seen performing the purification of the deceased in the embalming ritual, which is evident in Spell 346 as it states, *ḥbs(.w) ṯw Inp.w w.t=f tp Dḥwty sw<sup>c</sup>b(.w)=f n=k*, "Anubis will clothe you in his best bandage, Thoth will cause purification for you."<sup>44</sup> Therefore while the adoption of Faulkner's translation of "Anubis" opposed to "Thoth" in line 375a can be justified, perhaps in this circumstance the more difficult reading of "Thoth" is the most correct translation of the text. This reinforces the idea that although *w.t* is commonly used to describe Anubis' role as the Embalmer in the Coffin Texts it can be used to identify other deities performing embalming rituals.

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<sup>39</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts IV. Texts of Spells 268 – 354* (Chicago, 1951), p. 375.

<sup>40</sup> This trend is noted in Lapp's examination of Anubis in the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula which appeared on 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty coffins from Asyut, see: G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie* (Heidelberg, 1992), p. 122, § 276.

<sup>41</sup> The location of Anubis' cult centre being in Asyut during the Middle Kingdom has been indicated through the archaeological remains of a temple dedicated to Anubis in Asyut. This is supported by numerous tomb owners identifying themselves as the "Priest of Anubis, Lord of Roqerert," which is understood as the Necropolis connected to Asyut, see: J. Kahl, *Ancient Asyut The First Synthesis after 300 years of Research* (Wiesbaden, 2012), p. 49 – 50.

<sup>42</sup> D. R. Law, *The Historical-Critical Method: A Guide for the Perplexed* (New York, 2012), p. 105.

<sup>43</sup> P. Boylan, *Thoth The Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago, 1922), p. 183.

<sup>44</sup> CTIV 377c – d.

Dismemberment of the body was how the Egyptians perceived their post death experience, however in the Coffin Texts this progression is stopped through the association of each body part with a different deity in “*Gliedervergöttung* passages,”<sup>45</sup> such as Spell 761.<sup>46</sup> The function of these spells is to counteract the fragmentation of the body through sorting bodily parts “according to categories that ensure the correct position of the body parts by means of the physical layout of the coffin;” this process is concerned with the divinization of the limbs.<sup>47</sup> Due to Anubis’ role in the embalming rituals he is connected to more body parts than other deities in Spell 761. Spell 761 links Anubis with the deceased’s back and their upper legs stating, *psd=k m Inp.w... wꜥr.t=k m Inp.w...* “Your back is Anubis... Your (upper) legs are Anubis.”<sup>48</sup> The *wꜥr.t* are linked with two different deities in this *Gliedervergöttung* passage once with Anubis and once with “the two baboons,” which may be assumed to be a reference to Thoth.<sup>49</sup> The reoccurrence of the association between Anubis and Thoth demonstrates both deities performed critical roles in the embalming ritual, especially since in the Coffin Texts the *wꜥr.t* are identified with rebirth.<sup>50</sup> Rebirth in a sense is the purpose of the embalming ritual and therefore the reference made to Anubis and Thoth in Spell 761 identifies how the deities were involved in providing the deceased with an eternal life. Anubis’ identification with the *psd* or “back” of the deceased occurs only once in the *Gliedervergöttung* passage. When the “back” is referred to in the Coffin Texts it is often to communicate a sense of strength and stability.<sup>51</sup> Thus perhaps the composers of the

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<sup>45</sup> R. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen, 2009), p. 137.

<sup>46</sup> CTVI 391p – 392f.

<sup>47</sup> R. Nyord, “The Body in the Hymns to the Coffin Sides,” *Égypte Pharaonique* 82 (2007), p. 28 – 29.

<sup>48</sup> CTVI 391q; CTVI 392b.

<sup>49</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 276. For the association between Thoth and Baboons, see: T. A. Sherkova “Seven Baboons in One Boat: The Interpretation of Iconography in the Context of the Cult Belonging to the Temple at Tell Ibrahim Awad,” in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000 Volume 2 History and Religion* (ed.) Z. Hawass (Cairo, 2003), p. 505.

<sup>50</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 136.

<sup>51</sup> CTVI 391s – 392a. Nyord believes the “back” which appears in the *Gliedervergöttung* passage has the schema of “Surface,” which is a schema associated with strength. When Anubis is associated with the “back” in the Coffin Texts perhaps it was the authors’ intention to communicate the strength of Anubis when performing the role of the Embalmer, see: Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 136.

corpus intended for the Anubis' association with the "back" to comment on how through embalming rituals Anubis provided the stable foundation for the deceased's eternal life. Through the embalming process each of the deceased's body parts were divinized, which enabled their regeneration in the Netherworld.<sup>52</sup> Therefore even in the instances where Anubis is not given the title of the Embalmer, the expressions used by the authors allude to Anubis' significance in this functional role through his connection to the rebirth of the deceased in the afterlife.

The representation of Anubis as the Embalmer in the Coffin Texts is linked to the origins of the variants presented in de Buck's edition. The spells from the first volume of de Buck's edition, which illustrate Anubis performing the role of the Embalmer, all originate from el-Bersha.<sup>53</sup> In other volumes of the edition the majority of those references, which provide links between Anubis and embalming, originate from el-Bersha and Asyut.<sup>54</sup> An issue with the coffins originating from Asyut is that they "differ markedly from the other comparable material."<sup>55</sup> Yet Willems notes that there are elements of mutual influence between coffins originating from el-Bersha and Asyut, where coffin S10C resembles B1B0 and coffin S14C was inspired by coffins from el-Bersha Group A.<sup>56</sup> The extent of Anubis' significance as the Embalmer outside el-Bersha and Asyut only comes from variants originating from Thebes and Saqqara in de Buck's edition, which is a rather limited range of origins.<sup>57</sup> As Hussein notes, de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts does not include coffins from sites such as Heracleopolis, Kom-el-Hisn

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<sup>52</sup> The divinization of each of the deceased's limbs in order to achieve regeneration may have influenced the later Egyptian belief that the different body parts of the gods were made with divine materials, such as gold and lapis lazuli, which enabled their regeneration through wrapping ceremonies, see: K. Goebis, "King as God and God as King Colour, Light and Transformation in Egyptian Ritual," in *5<sup>th</sup> Symposium of Egyptian Royal Ideology Palace and Temples Architecture – Decoration – Ritual Cambridge, July 16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup>, 2007* (eds) R. Gundlach & K. Spence (Wiesbaden, 2011), p. 60.

<sup>53</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I. Texts of Spells 1 – 75*, p. 192 – 200, 215 – 221, 233 – 238, 256 – 264.

<sup>54</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts III. Texts of Spells 164 – 267* (Chicago, 1947), p. 102 – 109, 302 – 306, 307 – 315, 320 – 322.

<sup>55</sup> Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 102 – 104.

<sup>56</sup> Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 103.

<sup>57</sup> The coffins originating from Thebes and Saqqara were previously referred to when discussing the role Anubis performed in stopping the putrefaction of the deceased, see: de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I. Texts of Spells 1 – 75*, p. 303 – 305.

and Naga ed-Dêr.<sup>58</sup> When taking into consideration Middle Kingdom coffins from these areas, which have been discovered since the publication of de Buck's edition, the representation of Anubis as the Embalmer can be understood to be much more widespread than represented in the edition.<sup>59</sup> Nonetheless the examination of the Coffin Texts reveals Anubis' role as the Embalmer was the deity's most commonly represented epithet. The importance of Anubis as the Embalmer is demonstrated through the wide range of terms and descriptions used to identify the epithet. While the range of sources providing the epithet are limited to mostly Upper Egypt, the discovery of more coffins originating from the lower areas of Egypt suggest embalming was a widely accepted function of Anubis during the Middle Kingdom. Thus, Anubis fulfilled the first of the four steps on the deceased's journey to the afterlife as he acted as the Embalmer who preserved the deceased's body.

## 2. b. Anubis, Lord of the Necropolis

Anubis as the Lord of the Necropolis appears as an accepted trait of the deity in modern scholarship. During the Old Kingdom Anubis' dominion over the Necropolis can be inferred from titles, such as "Lord of the Necropolis"<sup>60</sup> or "Lord of the Dead Ones."<sup>61</sup> Yet the composers of the Coffin Texts use no such titles to denote the deity's authority over the Necropolis in this literary corpus. Rather the titles *nb Smy.t* "Lord of the Desert," *nb Krs.t* "Lord of Burial" and *nb Sm3-ḫ* "Lord of Interment" are used to demonstrate the role Anubis performed at the Necropolis.<sup>62</sup> The title "Lord of the Desert" has been attributed to Anubis only once and has been interpreted as referring to geographical landscape where the Necropolis was situated. Spell 629 witnesses Anubis functioning as the deity who provided protection for the deceased's body in the Necropolis while the ka of the

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<sup>58</sup> R. B. Hussein, "A New Coffin Text Spell from Naga ed-Dêr," in *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko Upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University June 2005* (ed.) S. E. Thompson (Providence, 2008), p. 171.

<sup>59</sup> The coffin of *Ppy-3ms* from Naga ed-Dêr was examined by Hussein and presents Anubis with funerary epithets that can be used to infer at this site Anubis was seen to be functioning as the Embalmer as well, see: Hussein, "A New Coffin Text Spell from Naga ed-Dêr," fig. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Anubis' authority being denoted by the title "Lord of the Necropolis" is seen on the northern pillar of the Tomb of Nyhetepptah, see: R. J. Leprohon, (ed.) "The Pillars in the Tomb of Nyhetepptah," in *Texts From the Pyramid Age* (Leiden, 2005), p. 230.

<sup>61</sup> H. Goedicke, "The Seal of the Necropolis," *SAK 20* (1993), p. 67.

<sup>62</sup> For the title Lord of the Desert, see: CTVI 249p. For the title Lord of Burial, see CTVI 296c & CTVI351e. For the title Lord of Interment, see: CTVII 137a.



deceased ascended to the horizon.<sup>63</sup> In the line preceding Anubis' title "Lord of the Desert" it states, "... who made the landmarks of the king for me."<sup>64</sup> The "landmarks of the king," referred to in this spell are thought to be references to the funerary complexes built by Middle Kingdom kings on the Desert Plateaus in Lower Egypt.<sup>65</sup> Although the preceding lines can be linked with the Necropolis, Spell 629 offers little else that allows the interpretation of the title *nb Smy.t* to demonstrate Anubis' dominion over the Necropolis. The lone use of this title to identify Anubis in the Coffin Texts suggests this title may be an anomaly in the corpus.

However, evidence from the Old Kingdom aids the interpretation of Anubis' title "Lord of the Desert." The tomb of Queen Meresankh III, G7530sub, preserves an interesting inscription on the tomb's North Door Jamb, which states, "An offering which the king gives, and Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, to a spirit who is noble in sight of the great god, Lord of the Desert".<sup>66</sup> The text of this inscription (Pl. 1) uses the same hieroglyphs as the composers of the Coffin Texts when they identified Anubis using the title "Lord of the Desert." The use of this title in Meresankh's tomb demonstrates Anubis' dominion over the Necropolis due to the positioning of the inscription in a tomb on the Giza Plateau and as the title appears following a known funerary epithet of Anubis, *hnty sh-ntr*. Moreover the Sixth Dynasty tomb chapel of *Idw* ties Anubis performing the roles of the Lord of the Necropolis to the Desert. The inscription states, "Anubis has made the interment and has buried thee, thou having been taken to the West. The Desert extends her two hands to thee."<sup>67</sup> This Sixth Dynasty inscription illustrates the connection between the Desert and the Necropolis that existed at the end of the Old Kingdom. Thus, while the title of *nb Smy.t* appears as an anomaly in the Coffin Texts the existence of the same title, using the same hieroglyphic arrangement in the Old Kingdom and the established relationship between the Necropolis and the desert in the Old Kingdom can

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<sup>63</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 786*, p. 249; T. G. Allen, "The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 786 by Adriaan de Buck," *JNES* 17:2 (1958), p. 150.

<sup>64</sup> CTVI 249n.

<sup>65</sup> For an overview of the Royal Funerary complexes of the Middle Kingdom, see: D. Arnold, "Royal Cult Complexes in the Old and Middle Kingdoms," in *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (ed.) B. E. Shafer (London, 2005), p. 74 – 84.

<sup>66</sup> D. Dunham & W. K. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas Volume I The Mastaba of Queen Meresankh III G 7530 – 7540* (ed.) W. K. Simpson (Boston, 1974), p. 4 & 8, fig. 3a.

<sup>67</sup> H. G. Fischer, "Notes on Two Tombs Chapels at Giza," *JEA* 67 (1981), p. 166.

be used to suggest the composers of the Coffin Texts intended for the title *nb Smy.t* to denote Anubis' significance in the area where burials occurred.

The epithet Lord of the Necropolis identifies the role Anubis performed in funerary procedures that concluded with the burial of the deceased. To demonstrate Anubis' dominion over the burial of the deceased the composers of the Coffin Texts have attributed Anubis with the title, "Lord of Burial." This title, according to Griffiths, provided Anubis with authority over the entire burial procedure that suggests Anubis in turn would exercise dominion over the place where this procedure concluded.<sup>68</sup> The title *nb Krs.t* has been attributed to Anubis on three occasions throughout the corpus.<sup>69</sup> The variants preserving Anubis' title *nb Krs.t* all originate from el-Bersha.<sup>70</sup> While there are several instances where Anubis is described using this title the fact that all of the variants originate from the same locality makes it difficult to determine whether or not this understanding of Anubis' role was expressed elsewhere in Egypt. Determining Anubis' significance from this title is made even harder as Spell 810 originating from Thebes provides Osiris with the same title stating, *Wsir nb Krs.t*, "Osiris, Lord of Burial."<sup>71</sup> The prominence of Anubis as the "Lord of Burial" is qualified in the Coffin Texts by references to the West that often follow Anubis' title *nb Krs.t*. Spell 508 exemplifies this as it states, "Anubis Lord of Burial, The West belongs to you."<sup>72</sup> Anubis is only associated with the West in Coffin Texts spells concerned with the burial of the deceased, like Spell 111, which refers to Anubis physically burying the deceased in the West. In this instance the composers use the term "West" to refer to the Necropolis.<sup>73</sup> Therefore the title of *nb Krs.t* identifies the role Anubis performs in the final stages of the funerary ritual. By identifying Anubis using this title in the Coffin Texts the composers of the corpus were able to communicate the primary role Anubis performed as the Lord of the Necropolis.

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<sup>68</sup> J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), p. 158.

<sup>69</sup> CTVI 296c; CTVI 351e.

<sup>70</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 786*, p. 249, 296, 351.

<sup>71</sup> CTVII 12p.

<sup>72</sup> CTVII 94h – i; A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII. Texts of Spells 787 – 1185* (Chicago, 1961), p. 12.

<sup>73</sup> CTII 125b – c.

The composers have expressed Anubis' role as Lord of the Necropolis through the title *nb Sm3-t3*, "Lord of Interment" as it links the deity with the burial of the deceased. *Sm3-t3* is a composite noun, literally meaning, "bury," "burial" or "union with the earth."<sup>74</sup> Goedicke notes the root of the compound noun *sm3* has a range of meanings however illustrates that each of these have "the notion of joining in common."<sup>75</sup> This use of the term *sm3-t3* is used throughout the Coffin Texts, like in Spell 508, which are primarily concerned with the correct burial of the deceased.<sup>76</sup> As a result when Anubis is presented using the title *nb Sm3-t3* in the Coffin Texts the best possible translation is "Lord of Interment," as the deity is joining the deceased with the earth. The later use of *sm3-t3* in the Book of the Dead Chapter 17 denotes the "Day of Interment" as the text states, *hrw n(.w) sm3.t-t3.wy*.<sup>77</sup> As the "Lord of Interment" the composers of the Coffin Texts were communicating Anubis' authority over the land where the deceased was buried, i.e. the Necropolis. Thus to communicate Anubis' significance as the Lord of the Necropolis the composers of the Coffin Texts have identified the deity using the titles "Lord of Burial" and "Lord of Interment" as each recognizes the primary function of Anubis. Therefore in the Coffin Texts the composers, through a range of different titles, demonstrate the significance of Anubis and the role the deity performed in the Necropolis. The interpretation of Anubis' dominion over the Necropolis links the deity with the second step in the deceased's journey to the afterlife, as Anubis was understood to protect the body when it was interred.

## 2. c. Anubis the Guide or Gatekeeper

Anubis fulfills the roles of the Guide and the Gatekeeper for the deceased on their passage through the Netherworld. Throughout the Coffin Texts various references have been made to Anubis in order to describe his functional roles as the Guide and the Gatekeeper. The role of Guide is clearly demonstrated in Spell 107 as it states,

*hw(i) wi Inp.w hn̄ Dhwtj hw(i) wi š3 hn̄ nb šm ʿwwn n=i sb3.w Dw3.t Dgny sn.n=i sb3.w 3h.t ink Nrw ink Rw pri m [iwf=i] mh.t=i m mh.t-wr.t šm.wt=i šm.wt Inp.w.*

<sup>74</sup> M. I. Hussein, "Notes of Some Hieroglyphic Signs III: *sm3* and *sm3 t3wy*," *DE 40* (1998), p. 108 – 109.

<sup>75</sup> H. Goedicke, "Zm3-T3wy," in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar Volume I* (ed.) P. Posener-Kriéger (Cairo, 1985), p. 307.

<sup>76</sup> CTVI 94f.

<sup>77</sup> Goedicke, "Zm3-T3wy," p. 316.

“Anubis and Thoth guard me, Shu guards me together with the Lord of Upper Egypt, the gates of the Netherworld of Degeny are open to me, because I have opened the gates of the horizon. To me (belong)<sup>78</sup> the vulture and the lion which come from [my flesh].<sup>79</sup> My floodwater is that of the “Celestial Cattle,” my movements are the movements of Anubis.”<sup>80</sup>

Spell 107 illustrates the deities non-royals perceived were involved in their safe guidance through the Netherworld.<sup>81</sup> As the Guide Anubis provided the deceased with protection. The term *hwi* has been used as a verb in this context, where it is understood to mean “to protect”<sup>82</sup> or “to guard.”<sup>83</sup> Anubis acting as the protective force of the deceased for this journey through the Netherworld is expressed elsewhere in the Coffin Texts, such as Spell 24 that refers to the, “two hands of Anubis upon you as your protection.”<sup>84</sup> The various instances where the composers’ identify Anubis acting in this role occur in spells where the deceased is journeying through the Netherworld and therefore it may be understood as the Guide Anubis provided the deceased’s protection. The statement *šm.wt=i šm.wt Inp.w*, “My movements are the movements of Anubis,”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> The translation of “belong” after the first person independent pronoun is an example of how the independent pronoun can be contracted in possessive forms, see: J. F. Borghouts, *Egyptian An Introduction to the Writing and Language of the Middle Kingdom I Grammar, Syntax and Indexes* (Leuven, 2010), p. 85; Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 32, § 58.

<sup>79</sup> Of the three variants for CTII 120f only G2T and S1C have fragmented hieroglyphs which preserve *iwf=i*. De Buck notes there are some indications that variant S2C originally had a similar statement however it is too fragmented for it to be included in the transcription of the text. For the text, see: A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts II. Texts Spells 76 – 163* (Chicago, 1938), p. 120. For translations of this spell, see: Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 - 354*, p. 104; Barguet, *Textes Des Sarcophages Egyptiens Du Moyen Empire*, p. 145; Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 278 – 279.

<sup>80</sup> CTII 120b – h.

<sup>81</sup> Janot notes that the grouping of Anubis, Thoth and Shu together was also done due to the roles they played in the embalment of Osiris, see: Janot, *Les instruments d'embaumement de l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 13.

<sup>82</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 186; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 584.

<sup>83</sup> van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 377.

<sup>84</sup> CTI 74h. Assmann identifies this statement is a summary of the liturgical worship for the dead and these were represented as divine actions. In this instance Anubis is invoked alongside Wepwawet, Nephthys and Isis, see: J. Assmann, *Images et Rites de la Mort Dans L'Égypte Ancienne* (Paris, 2000), p. 75 – 76.

<sup>85</sup> CTII 120h. B. Ockinga provides an alternative translation of the text as, “My ways are the ways of Anubis,” see: Ockinga, *Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 28, § 49.

provides further support for this role of the deity. This statement alludes to the idea that replicating and performing the same movements as Anubis would safely guide the deceased through the Netherworld. This statement is an example of a balanced sentence where the nominal construction is used to equate the deceased with the deity.<sup>86</sup> This is a common construction used in Middle Egyptian to provide the deceased with a divine quality. For example, Papyrus 3027 communicates a similar message to Spell 107 stating, *mkt=t mkt R<sup>c</sup>.w*, “Your protection is the protection of Re.”<sup>87</sup> Spell 107 is preserved in three variants, two from Asyut and one from Gebelein.<sup>88</sup> The fact that variants originating from Asyut preserve the same text as the variant originating from Gebelein demonstrates that while coffins from Asyut are unique, “the developments in other parts of Egypt did not pass completely unnoticed.”<sup>89</sup> Thus, Spell 107 uses language that communicates how Anubis performed the role of the Guide by providing the necessary movements that enabled the deceased’s travel through the Netherworld and by providing protection for the deceased on this journey.

The composers of the Coffin Texts use verbs, such as “initiate,” to communicate Anubis’ role as the deceased’s Guide in the Netherworld. The use of the term “initiate” in funerary literature often refers to the deceased’s entry into the Netherworld, as demonstrated on the funerary stele of Ikhnofret.<sup>90</sup> Spell 241 of the Coffin Texts demonstrates how Anubis acted as the Guide for Osiris in the Netherworld, stating,

*wn=t w3.t n wrd-ib r dmi w.t ʿ3.w wi3 wn(.y)=t n=i ink Wsir iw=i iyi.k(w)<sup>91</sup> r R3-S3.w r rh s3t3 n(.y) Dw3.t ibs.t Inp.w hr=s.*

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<sup>86</sup> Ockinga, *Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 28, § 49.

<sup>87</sup> A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche Für Mutter und Kind. Aus Dem Papyrus 3027 Des Berliner Museums* (Berlin, 1901), p. 45, verso line. 4, 7.

<sup>88</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts II. Texts Spells 76 – 163*, p. 120ff.

<sup>89</sup> Willems notes that not all Coffins from Asyut conform to the local style. A small amount of instances demonstrate that “developments in other parts of Egypt did not pass completely unnoticed,” see: Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 103; Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie*, p. 187.

<sup>90</sup> T. DuQuesne, “Anubis Master of Secrets (*hry-s3t3*) and the Egyptian Conception of Mysteries,” in *Schleier und Schwelle Geheimnis und Offenbarung Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation V. 2* (eds) A. & J. Assmann (Munich, 1998), p. 108.

<sup>91</sup> This expression is more frequently written as *m=k wi iyi.k(w)* in Middle Egyptian, see: H. J. Polotsky, “Egyptian Tenses,” *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 2:5* (1965), p. 21.

“Open a path for the Inert One to the abode of embalming, the pillared barque; may you open for me, for I am Osiris; I have come to Rosetau in order to know the secret of the Netherworld into which Anubis is initiated.”<sup>92</sup>

Coffin Texts spells, such as Spell 241, demonstrate how death was perceived as a journey. Zandee believes this journey can be simply explained as, “Death is going away, leaving the world of the living.”<sup>93</sup> For this reason it is understood the purpose of Spell 241 was to portray the journey of the deceased into the Netherworld after death. The statement, “the secrets of the Netherworld into which Anubis is initiated,” can be used to suggest it was the intention of the composers to have Anubis perceived as performing the role of the Guide in this instance. Moreover Spell 241 is situated beside an image of a falsedoor.<sup>94</sup> The text and frieze together provides further justification for Anubis’ role, as by Anubis performing this role the deceased would be privy to the secrets that allow their kas to travel between the two realms through the falsedoor. While the Coffin Texts preserve evidence which can be used to infer Anubis performed the role of the Guide, it was from the New Kingdom onward that this role of Anubis was expressed visually, depicting the deity holding the hand of the deceased and guiding them to their judgement (Pl. 2a – c).<sup>95</sup> Thus while the title of “Guide” is not attributed to the deity in this corpus the composers have made this function evident in several Coffin Texts spells through the description of Anubis’ actions that mirror those performed by Guides.

The term “Gatekeeper” is used to denote the role performed by Anubis where the deity guarded the “portals” or “gates” of the Netherworld. There are two terms used in the Coffin Texts to denote these passageways, *sb3* and *sbḥ.t*. Anubis is most commonly

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<sup>92</sup> CTIII 325g – l.

<sup>93</sup> Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 25.

<sup>94</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts III. Texts of Spells 164 – 267* (Chicago, 1947), p. 324.

<sup>95</sup> Anubis’ role as a Guide is clear in the New Kingdom, the Late Period and even the Roman Period as Anubis is often depicted holding the hand of the deceased in order to lead them through the Netherworld and to the judgement before Osiris, see: H. & S. Farid, “Unfolding Sennedjem’s Tomb,” *KMT* 12:1 (2001), p. 50; A. G. Shedid, *Das Grab des Sennedjem Ein Künstlergrab der 19 Dynastie in Deir el Medineh* (Mainz, 1999), pl. 79; J. G. Griffiths, “Eight Funerary Paintings with Judgement Scenes in the Swansea Museum,” *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 239; S. Walker & M. Bierbrier, “Inscribed Limestone Stela of Petemin,” in *Ancient Faces Mummy Portraits From Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), p. 154, pl. 171.

connected with the term *sbḥ.t*, which can be defined as, “gate,”<sup>96</sup> “portal,”<sup>97</sup> “gateway,”<sup>98</sup> and even “broad hall.”<sup>99</sup> A. Cooper has previously discussed the use of the term “gate” to describe the entryways into the Netherworld.<sup>100</sup> Cooper proposes there is an affinity between the Canaanite *im* (or Hebrew *ólam*) and the Egyptian *sbḥ.t* as each should be translated the same in English as “gate.”<sup>101</sup> The interpretation of *sbḥ.t* as “gate” is appropriate as in the Coffin Texts the *sbḥ.wt* of Netherworld demonstrate gate-like qualities where they would open and close for particular people and only remain open for a certain amount of time.<sup>102</sup> In Spell 825 it states, *iyi.n=i r ir.t ir.t=i r ʕk hr sbḥ.t n.t hr.t Inp.w*, “I have come in order to do my duty and in order to enter upon the gate which belongs to Anubis.”<sup>103</sup> *Hr.t*, meaning “which belongs to,”<sup>104</sup> is used by the authors to communicate Anubis’ ownership of the gate and in turn may be interpreted as demonstrating the deity’s function as a Gatekeeper. However, Spell 825 is only preserved on one coffin, T1Be, the outer Coffin of *Mnt.w-htp*,<sup>105</sup> making it difficult to know whether or not Egyptians outside of Thebes acknowledged Anubis’ function as the Gatekeeper during the Middle Kingdom. Later evidence from a Ptolemaic Papyrus known as PGM IV expresses Anubis’ function as a Gatekeeper as it states, “O thou Key-

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<sup>96</sup> Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 121.

<sup>97</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 220; A. M. Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar* (Berlin Papyrus 3033), § 7,26; D. Bagnato, *The Westcar Papyrus A Transliteration, Translation and Language Analysis* (Wien, 2006), p. 58.

<sup>98</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 589.

<sup>99</sup> van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 475.

<sup>100</sup> A. Cooper, “Ps 24:7: Mythology and Exegesis,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 102:1 (1983), p. 42.

<sup>101</sup> Cooper, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 102:1 (1983), p. 43 - 44.

<sup>102</sup> In the Book of Gates the opening and closing of the gates is indicated by the statement “the laments hear the gate slamming,” which can be used to suggest they were only open to particular people and for particular amounts of time, see: J. Zandee, “The Book of Gates,” in *Liber Amicorum Studies in Honour of Professor Dr. C. J. Bleeker Published on the Occasion of his Retirement from the Chair of the History of Religions and the Phenomenology of Religion at the University of Amsterdam* (Leiden, 1969), p. 289.

<sup>103</sup> CTVII 26m.

<sup>104</sup> van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 425. Faulkner suggests the translation of *hr.t* as, “which is under the care of,” see: R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume III Spells 788 - 1185 & Indexes* (Warminster, 1978), p. 15. Meyer suggests the most correct translation for *hr.t* in Spell 825 is “under the direction of,” see: R. Meyer, “Magical Ascesis and Moral Purity in Ancient Egypt,” in *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions* (eds) J. Assmann & G. G. Stroumsa (Leiden, 1999), p. 60.

<sup>105</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII: Spells 787 - 1185* (Chicago, 1961), p. xi.

Holder,<sup>106</sup> guardian Anubis.”<sup>107</sup> A sense of ownership and authority over the gate is attributed to Anubis in both Spell 825 and PGM IV. This encourages the proposal that elsewhere in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom Anubis was understood to have fulfilled the role of Gatekeeper, otherwise it would not have continued to be represented during the Ptolemaic Period.

It is possible the composers have expressed Anubis’ function as the Gatekeeper in other areas of the Coffin Texts under the guise of the “Dog-Faced” Gatekeeper. Spells 1064 and 1171 of the Book of Two Ways refer to the Dog-Faced Gatekeeper.<sup>108</sup> Spell 1171 is the best example for why the Dog-Faced Gatekeeper could be interpreted as Anubis, as it states, “This is a spell for passing it. It is the corpse. Its name is ‘Dog-Face,’ great of form.”<sup>109</sup> Bennett believes the purpose of the Dog-faced Gatekeeper was to be a protective force as it could bark and bite at those who were not allowed to enter particular gates.<sup>110</sup> Anubis has been attributed with characteristics in Spells 24 and 107 that demonstrate how the deity functioned as a form of protection for the deceased. Thus due to the similar functions and portrayals of Anubis and the Dog-Faced Gatekeeper it may be understood these two beings were one in the same. An insight into the significance of Anubis is gained from the examination of the roles the deity performed as the Guide and the Gatekeeper in the Coffin Texts. These functional epithets of Anubis allowed the deity to aid the transition of the deceased from the realm of the living to the Netherworld. More importantly Anubis’ roles as the Guide and the Gatekeeper associate the deity with the third step in the deceased’s journey through the Netherworld, as it was Anubis who guided and protected the deceased on their journey.

## **2. d. Anubis as the Judge**

Perhaps the most criticized functional role, which Anubis is understood to have performed, is that of a “judge” in the Netherworld. Whether or not the evidence for

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<sup>106</sup> For Anubis as the “Key-holder,” see: S. Morenz, “Anubis mit dem Schlusssel,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift Der Karl-Marx Leipzig* 3 (1953/54), p. 80 – 83.

<sup>107</sup> H. D. Betz, (ed.) *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells Volume 1: Texts* (Chicago, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, 1992), p. 66, §1465, 2 -3.

<sup>108</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume III Spells 788 – 1185 & Indexes*, p. 142, 186.

<sup>109</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume III Spells 788 – 1185 & Indexes*, p. 186.

<sup>110</sup> Z. Bennett, “What’s in a Number? Transforming our Perception of the Function of Demotic Entities in the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Two Ways,” *Rosetta* 15:5 (2014), p. 6.



Anubis' role as a "judge" is justified among literary sources has been a topic of discussion in previous publications.<sup>111</sup> Willems has most recently put forth an article in favour of accepting Anubis as a "judge." He argues despite what previous scholarship has suggested there are numerous sources available to Egyptologists supporting the argument that Anubis performed the role of a "judge."<sup>112</sup> The doubt surrounding the judicial role Anubis performed in funerary literature is the result of no one myth establishing the deities who were in the tribunal of the Netherworld. Brandon suggests the examination of the first occurrence where Osiris was revitalized demonstrates a combination of the efforts of Isis, Nephthys, Anubis and Horus.<sup>113</sup> These are the deities whom Brandon suggests were then attributed with the trial and punishment of Seth.<sup>114</sup> Anubis' role in the punishment of Seth may have established the deity's judicial portrayal. An association between Anubis and judicial roles is also witnessed in Egyptian language. The term *s3b* has a dual meaning as it can denote a position of authority through its translation as "judge"<sup>115</sup> or "dignitary,"<sup>116</sup> but it may also mean "jackal."<sup>117</sup> The connection between the terminology used to describe judicial roles in the Egyptian administration and the animal most commonly associated with Anubis in his iconography suggests the judicial function of Anubis witnessed in the Coffin Texts may have been initially influenced by Egyptian language.

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<sup>111</sup> C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (Munich & Berlin, 1976), p. 154 – 158.

<sup>112</sup> H. Willems, "Anubis as a Judge," in *Egyptian Religion The Last Thousand Years, Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur Part 1* (eds) W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (Leuven, 1998), p. 219 – 221.

<sup>113</sup> S. G. F. Brandon, "A Problem of the Osirian Judgement of the Dead," *Numen* 5:2 (1958), p. 115. In the Pyramid Texts Anubis is referred to as *sr d3d3.t* "magistrate of the tribunal," see: R. O. Faulkner, "Utterance 437," in *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), p. 170, §1015.

<sup>114</sup> Brandon, *Numen* 5:2 (1958), p. 115.

<sup>115</sup> O. Margalith, "Samson's Foxes," *VT* 35:2 (1985), p. 226.

<sup>116</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 209; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 588; Quirke suggests this was a title regularly attributed to officials throughout the Middle Kingdom, particularly in association with *r nhn*, see: S. Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850 – 1700 BC* (London, 2004), p. 89; W. Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom* (Oxford, 2001), p. 15.

<sup>117</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 209.

The Coffin Texts make numerous references to the post-mortem judgement of the dead taking place in front of a tribunal composed of different Egyptian deities.<sup>118</sup> Anubis' judicial role is referred to in Spell 335. Spell 335 is the best-preserved spell in the entire edition of the Coffin Texts as it has upwards of twenty variants originating from various localities in Lower and Upper Egypt. The preservation of the spell and its link to the Book of the Dead has led it to be widely discussed by scholars.<sup>119</sup> The variation in the origins of the variants allows the conclusions drawn from this spell to comment on beliefs among non-royals concerning their post-mortem judgement throughout Egypt during the Middle Kingdom. Spell 335 states,

...nb.w M3<sup>c</sup>.t d3d3.t h3.t Wsir dd.w š<sup>c</sup>.t m isft.w=i imy.w-h.t htp=s hw(i)=s mt<sup>n</sup> w(i) iyi.kw hr=tn dr(.w)=tn dw.t iry.t=i mi nw iri.n=tn n 7 3h ipw imy.w šms.w nb sp3.wt iri.n Inp.w s.wt=sn hrw pf n(.y) m(i) r=k im hrw pf n(.y) m r=k im ir htp=s hw(i)=s nsr.t pw rdi.n=t(w) s(y) m-h<sup>t</sup> Wsir r s3m.t hfty.w=f iw=i rh.kw rn(.w) n(.y) 7 3h ipw imy.w šms.w nb sp3.wt iri.n Inp.w s.wt=sn hrw pf n(.y) m r=k im ir...

"... Lords of Truth (Maat), the tribunal which is behind Osiris, which caused terror in my wrongdoing when those whom it protects are at rest. Behold! I have come myself to you so that you will remove the evil which is on me, just as you did for these 7 spirits who are in the following of the Lord of the Nomes when Anubis prepared their seats on that day of "Come Thence!" As for those whom it protected are at rest, it is the royal serpent.<sup>120</sup> It was placed behind Osiris in order to burn up his enemies. I know the

<sup>118</sup> S. G. F. Brandon, *The Judgement of the Dead: An Historical and Comparative Study of the Idea of a Post-Mortem Judgement in Major Religions* (London, 1967), p. 21. For the numerous uses of the term d3d3.t, "tribunal" in the Coffin Texts, see: van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 818 – 821.

<sup>119</sup> Heerma van Voss offers a translation of each line of this spell and the variations which have been identified, see: M. Heerma van Voss, *De Oudste Versie Van Dodenboek 17a Coffin Texts Spreuk 335a* (Leiden, 1963), p. 36 – 37. Shalomi-Hen provides an explanation for Spell 335 as well, see: R. Shalomi-Hen, *Classifying the Divine Determinatives and Categorisation in CT 335 and BD 17* (Wiesbaden, 2000), p. 13 – 24.

<sup>120</sup> Faulkner notes there are three possible translations for this spell. The one presented in this translation is one of those three however different to Faulkner's translation. Faulkner translates this line as a gloss, which states, "As for those whom it protected are at rest, it means the fiery serpent," see: Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 - 354*, p. 264. On the other hand Carrier has translated nsr.t

names of the 7 spirits who are following of the Lord of the Nomes, whose seats Anubis prepared on that day of “Come Thence!”<sup>121</sup>

Spell 335 does not explicitly designate Anubis with a judicial task, however the actions Anubis performs can be linked with the tribunal of the Netherworld. Willems argues the two instances where the text states, “Anubis prepared their seats” links the deity with the magistrates the deceased encountered at their judgement.<sup>122</sup> It is through an examination of the second instance where the text states, “I know the names of the 7 spirits... their seats which Anubis prepared on the day of ‘Come Thence,’”<sup>123</sup> from which Anubis’ judicial function can be inferred. The actions described allude to the idea Anubis was the one who appointed the second group of magistrates for the tribunal. A similar occurrence is noted by Heerma van Voss in the Book of Dead Papyrus Leiden T3 where Anubis is depicted as a magistrate accompanied by a group of seven demons.<sup>124</sup> Willems explains this task performed by Anubis sees the deity participating in a judicial task reminiscent of the duty performed by the first group of magistrates earlier in Spell 335.<sup>125</sup> Thus, the judicial role Anubis performs appears obscure in the Coffin Texts, but the nonetheless can be noted in Spell 335. Following this spell the composers express how Anubis may have exercised his judicial powers in Spell 347 as it states, “Thoth performing the role of Re according to the command which Anubis made.”<sup>126</sup> Thus statements from scholars, such as Grieshammer that argue, “Auch die Sargtexte geben keinen sicheren Anhaltspunkt für die Tätigkeit des Anubis beim Gericht,”<sup>127</sup> are

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as “c’est l’uraeus” opposed to “royal serpent” in his translation of this line, see: Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 186 – 817.

<sup>121</sup> CTIV 254a – 266a.

<sup>122</sup> Willems, “Anubis as a Judge,” p. 723.

<sup>123</sup> CTIV 262b – 264c.

<sup>124</sup> Heerma van Voss believes the only explanation for this title of Anubis is found in the Book of the Dead Papyrus Leiden T3, where plates 18 and 19 present the god as “magistrate” accompanied by a group of seven demons the “court,” see: M. Heerma van Voss, “Anubis in Pyr. 1713c,” in *L’Égyptologie en 1979: axes prioritaires de recherches tome 2* (Paris, 1982), p. 25.

<sup>125</sup> Willems, “Anubis as a Judge,” p. 724.

<sup>126</sup> CTIV 380a. It is clear Anubis holds authority over Thoth whom is regularly accepted as playing a significant role in the post-mortem judgement of the deceased, see: C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leiden, 1973), p. 147.

<sup>127</sup> Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten*, p. 89.

misguiding, as it is clear when the text is examined closely Anubis performs a judicial role in the Coffin Texts although it cannot be definitively recognised as a judge.

Part two of Spell 335 describes a being who was the “warden of windings of the Lake of Fire, who swallows shades, who snatches hearts... As for this god whose face is that of a hound.”<sup>128</sup> As previously discussed the “Dog-Faced” being described in the Coffin Texts can be identified with Anubis, particularly in this instance where the being “who snatches hearts” parallels with Anubis and his known epithet of *ip ib.w* “reckoner of hearts.”<sup>129</sup> The description of Anubis as the “reckoner of hearts” can be attested from Old Kingdom onward.<sup>130</sup> The recognition of Anubis as *ip ib.w* and its connection to the judicial role Anubis performed continues through to the Ptolemaic Period where it is demonstrated in the Papyrus Jumilhac, which states, “Anubis reckoner of Hearts, who reigns in the hall of Double Maat.”<sup>131</sup> Contemporary literary evidence from the Middle Kingdom supports the idea Anubis’ judicial function was becoming more prevalent in society during this period. In the Eloquent Peasant the protagonist threatens the magistrates to whom he is speaking as he states, “I have been pleading to you and you have not listened to it. I shall go and plead about you to Anubis.”<sup>132</sup> Such statements

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<sup>128</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 - 354*, p. 265.

<sup>129</sup> Willems, “Anubis as a Judge,” p. 729. Griffiths also demonstrates the being described in section two of Spell 335 shares many qualities with the Devourer of later judgement scenes, see: J. G. Griffiths, *The Divine Verdict A Study of Divine Judgement in the Ancient Religions* (Leiden, 1991), p. 206. The connection between Anubis and the Devourer is seen in the Papyrus of Ani where the Anubis weighs the heart of the deceased and the Devourer sits waiting for his judgement, see: R. O. Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead The Book of Going Forth by Day Being the Papyrus of Ani (Royal Scribe of the Divine Offerings)* (San Francisco, 1994), pl. 31.

<sup>130</sup> Faulkner identifies Anubis as the “Claimer of hearts” opposed to the “Reckoner of hearts,” see: Faulkner, “Utterance 535,” *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 203, § 1287.

<sup>131</sup> J. Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac*, (Paris, 1962), Pl. I, lines. 10 – 11; Willems, “Anubis as a Judge,” p. 729. For a summary of Anubis’ role as seen in Papyrus Jumilhac, see: J. Vandier, “Le papyrus Jumilhac,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 89:2 (1945), p. 215 – 217. Roman Egypt clearly embraced the belief Anubis performed a judicial role because many of the Roman mummy Cartonnages, for example the “Portrait of Amon son of Antinos,” depicts Anubis actually handling the scale used to weigh the heart of the deceased, see: M.-F. Aubert, R. Cortopassi, G. Nachtergaele, V. Asensi Amorós, P. Détienné, S. Pagès-Camagna, A.-L. Le Hô, *Portraits funéraires de L’Égypte romaine Cartonnages, Linéals et bois Tome II* (Paris 2008), p. 170, cat. 41b.

<sup>132</sup> J. Assmann, “A Dialogue Between Self and Soul: Papyrus Berlin 3024,” in *Self Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (eds) A. I. Baumgarten, J. Assmann, G. G. Stroumsa (Leiden, 1998), p. 388. Voegelin argues the

occurring outside the funerary context support the principle Anubis was known to have performed a judicial function during the Middle Kingdom. Therefore from the examination of the Coffin Texts in association with contemporary literary evidence it may be inferred Anubis' judicial significance grew during the Middle Kingdom and from the Middle Kingdom onward developed so it was commonly represented in the funerary context.<sup>133</sup> Thus Anubis is not a "judge" in Coffin Texts; nonetheless the deity is clearly represented performing a judicial function during the final step of the deceased's journey through the Netherworld at their post-mortem judgement.

In summary, the functional epithets attributed to Anubis in the Coffin Texts were representative of actions the Egyptians perceived were performed after death and in the afterlife by Anubis. From the examination of each of Anubis' functional epithets in the Coffin Texts parallels become evident which link each of Anubis' four functional epithets with the four steps the deceased took on their journey to achieve an eternal life. As a result of this strong correlation between Anubis' epithets and the passage of the deceased it may be inferred the deity retained importance during the Middle Kingdom among non-royals because he was the deity who was recognizable to them at each point on their journey through the Netherworld to achieve an eternal life.

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importance of the judicial roles in the Papyrus Berlin 3024 is that the sense of immortality is evoked, see: E. Voegelin, "Immortality: Experience and Symbol," *HTR* 60:3 (1967), p. 246 – 267.

<sup>133</sup> M. Lichtheim, "The Setne Khemwas an Si-Osiris," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature A Book of Readings Volume III: The Late Period* (Los Angeles, 1980), p. 140.



### 3. Topographical Epithets

The composers of the Coffin Texts provide an insight into Anubis' significance through the association of the deity with numerous topographical areas. In the Coffin Texts Anubis is identified with both determined areas, toponyms with an understood location, and un-determined areas, which cannot be definitively associated with specific areas in Egypt. Through the examination of these topographical areas, as they appear with Anubis in the Coffin Texts, it is evident the localities Anubis is affiliated with were representative of the deity's cult locations and were linked to the functional roles Anubis was understood to have performed during the Middle Kingdom.

#### 3. a. Determined Topographical Areas

##### (i) *Asyut and Roqerert*

Anubis is linked with different localities throughout the Coffin Texts from Lower to Upper Egypt. The Coffin Texts link Anubis with Asyut, which is a locality of Upper Egypt and an understood cult centre for the worship of Anubis during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Anubis is entitled *nb S3wty* "Lord of Asyut"<sup>2</sup> in Spell 481, a spell concerned with the prevention of the deceased being caught in a net when appearing as a fish or bird in the Netherworld.<sup>3</sup> There are two issues that impede the further understanding of Anubis from the examination of this title. The main issue is that all the variants providing Spell 481 are fragmentary, particularly line 47c. The hieroglyphic symbols that have been identified in line 47c are V30, S29 and possibly R10 from Gardiner's sign list.<sup>4</sup> From these symbols de Buck has reconstructed the text and suggested the reading of "*nb*

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<sup>1</sup> The importance of this site during the Middle Kingdom has been noted by both Grajetzki and Zitzman, see: W. Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egyptian History, Archaeology and Society* (London, 2006), p. 105; M. Zitzman, *The Necropolis of Assuit A Case Study of Local Egyptian Funerary Culture from the Old Kingdom to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (Leuven, 2010), p. 363. However, J. Kahl believes that the archaeological evidence from the Necropolis shows a slight decline in the importance of the people of Asyut preceding the First Intermediate Period, see: J. Kahl, *Ancient Asyut The First Synthesis after 300 years of Research* (Wiesbaden, 2012), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> CTVI 47c.

<sup>3</sup> J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (London, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn, 1957), p. 502, 507, 525.

*S3wty*.”<sup>5</sup> The previous translations of this spell have accepted the reconstruction, indicating a slight uncertainty through a “(?)” following the translation of the term as the toponym “Asyut.”<sup>6</sup> Only Barguet has not associated Anubis with this title in his translation of Spell 481, but rather notes the uncertainty of the text with a gap in his translation.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Barguet was aware the earliest attested use of this title dates to the First Intermediate Period, where Wepwawet is entitled *nb S3wty*, which does not correlate with the title attributed to Anubis in the Coffin Texts.<sup>8</sup> Moreover it is Wepwawet, rather than Anubis, who continues to be recognised by the title of *nb S3wty* during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>9</sup> Evidence dating to the Ptolemaic Period reestablishes links between Anubis and Asyut,<sup>10</sup> nonetheless, with evidence suggesting the attribution of title *nb S3wty* was predominately associated with Wepwawet throughout the Middle Kingdom and the fragmentary state of text in the Coffin Texts it is difficult to draw any solid conclusions about Anubis’ significance at Asyut from this title.

The second issue is the origin of the variants preserving this title as they all originate from Asyut.<sup>11</sup> It is not possible for a more comprehensive understanding of Anubis to be gained from the examination of these coffins alone because they all originate from the same locality, particularly as this locality is known for having versions of the Coffin

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<sup>5</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 786* (Chicago, 1956), p. 47. The reading of this particular group of symbols is often complicated when the text is fragmented. J. Černý encounters a similar issue in his translation of the Stele of Merer. In this examination he explains, “The bird is more likely 3 than *tyw*, consequently the word is *sm3y* rather than *sm3tyw*,” see: J. Černý, “The Stele of Merer in Cracow,” *JEA* 47 (1961), p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume II Spells 355 – 787* (Warminster, 1977), p. 126; C. Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome II: spells [355] à [787]* (Champollion, 2004), p. 1186 – 1187.

<sup>7</sup> P. Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages Égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), p. 316.

<sup>8</sup> J. A. Wilson, “The Oath in Ancient Egypt,” *JNES* 7:3 (1948), p. 134. This is the earliest attested use of the title *nb S3wty* in association with a deity, however the title “Lord of Siut” has been attested in the Pyramid Texts, see: H. Goedicke, “The Perimeter of Geographical Awareness in the Fourth Dynasty and the Significance of *ḥw- nbwt* in the Pyramid Texts,” *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 128.

<sup>9</sup> F. L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh* (London, 1889), pl. 1.

<sup>10</sup> C. Leitz, (ed.) *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen Band 1* (Leuven, 2002), p. 397; A. Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt Volume I – Siwa Oasis* (Cairo, 1973), p. 194.

<sup>11</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 786* (Chicago, 1956), p. 46 – 47.



Texts that were “markedly different from those found in other comparable sources.”<sup>12</sup> Literary evidence dating to the Middle Kingdom demonstrates how a deity’s pre-eminence in localities impacted the texts that originate from those areas. Hathor, for example, was the patron goddess of the Sinai and as a result numerous stele like that of Ameny, have originated from the Sinai dedicated to the goddess.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the description of Anubis using the title of *nb Sw3ty* was a way in which the composers could acknowledge the deity’s prominence in Asyut. However DuQuesne identifies a theory to explain this rare occurrence. He believes the exchange of titles to be associated with the concept of the “divine twins.” This theory suggests one of the twins operated in the land of the living, Asyut, and one in the spiritual plain, in this case the Necropolis of Asyut.<sup>14</sup> Therefore Anubis’ description using the title *nb Sw3ty* suggests that when the Coffin Texts were composed and copied Anubis retained prominence over Wepwawet in Asyut, however as the religious landscape shifted, so too did the title. Therefore the title *nb S3wty* which indicates Anubis’ dominion over Asyut must be approached carefully.

In contrast it is the title *nb R3-Ḳrr.t* that provides Anubis with a compelling link to the area of Asyut. Numerous scholars have identified Roqerert as the “Necropolis of Asyut,” however there is still some uncertainty about this connection.<sup>15</sup> *R3-Ḳrr.t* comprises of

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<sup>12</sup> H. Willems, *Chests of Life A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden, 1988), p. 102.

<sup>13</sup> H. M. Stewart, “Stelae of Ameny,” in *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection Part Two: Archaic Period to Second Intermediate Period* (Warminster, 1979), p. 29 – 30. At the site of Asyut the cults dedicated to Wepwawet and to some extent Anubis have had a clear influence on the majority of stele produced at the site from the New Kingdom onward, see: T. DuQuesne, *Anubis, Upwawet, and Other Deities Personal Worship and Official Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2007), p. 43ff.

<sup>14</sup> T. DuQuesne, “Divine Twins at Asyut: The Role of Upwawet and Anubis on the Salakhana Stelae,” in *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World. Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum Cairo Volume 1* (eds) M. Eldamaty & M. Trad (Cairo, 2004), p. 292. Maspero suggests an alternative relationship that dictates during the Middle Kingdom Anubis was understood as the dead form of Wepwawet which explains why after this one occurrence in the Coffin Texts there are no other mentions of Anubis as “Lord of Asyut,” see: G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilisation Egypt and Chaldaea* trans. M. L. McClure (ed.) A. H. Sayce (London, 1894), p. 116.

<sup>15</sup> S. T. Hollis, *The Ancient Egyptian ‘Tale of Two Brothers’ A Mythological, Religious, Literary and Historio-Political Study* (Oakville, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, 2008), p. 81. DuQuesne and Hannig also connect Roqerert with Asyut as the name for the settlement’s Necropolis however with more resignation than Hollis, see: T. DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt I From the Archaic Period to Dynasty X* (Surrey, 2005), p. 371; R. Hannig, *Die*

two terms *r3* meaning “opening” and *ḳrr.t*, meaning “hollow place”<sup>16</sup> or “hole.”<sup>17</sup> For the purpose of this discussion it will be understood *R3-ḳrr.t* refers to the Necropolis of Asyut as the two terms that create *R3-Ḳrr.t* reflect the tombs built in Asyut during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>18</sup> Anubis is provided with the title of *nb R3-ḳrr.t* “Lord of Roqerert” in Spell 50 of the Coffin Texts.<sup>19</sup> The interpretation of *nb R3-ḳrr.t* referring to Anubis’ dominion over the Necropolis is fitting in the Coffin Texts as the purpose of Spell 50 was to ensure the correct burial of the deceased.<sup>20</sup> Unlike the title of *nb S3wty*, the coffins preserving Spell 50 and Anubis’ title *nb R3-ḳrr.t* originate from el-Bersha.<sup>21</sup> The attribution of Anubis with this title on coffins originating from el-Bersha indicates the title was being used to demonstrate Anubis’ authority at the Necropolis Roqerert, an area tied to the deity’s cult centre, opposed to the Necropolis generally.<sup>22</sup> Other Middle Kingdom coffins support the representation of Anubis’ authority at *R3-ḳrr.t* in the Coffin Texts; these coffins more recently discovered at the necropolis of Asyut identify Anubis using the same title of *nb*

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*Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch (2800 – 950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz, 2006), p. 1162.

<sup>16</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 145, 280. The Edwin Smith Medical Papyrus offers the definitions of *r3* as “opening” and *ḳrr.t* as “depression,” see: J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus Published in Facsimile and Hieroglyphic Transliteration with Translation and Commentary in Two Volumes, Volume One* (Chicago, 1930), p. 567.

<sup>17</sup> Willems defines *ḳrr.t* when used in the Coffin Texts to mean “hole,” see: H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418) A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven, 1996), p. 536.

<sup>18</sup> These tombs were accessed through a single opening and were hollowed out of the cliffs surrounding the settlement, see: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, A. Kilian, *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian – German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork, The Asyut Project 2* (Wiesbaden, 2012), p. 6 -7.

<sup>19</sup> CTI 228b.

<sup>20</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 – 354* (Warminster, 1973), p. 47 – 50.

<sup>21</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I. Texts of Spells 1 – 75* (Chicago, 1935), p. 223 – 234.

<sup>22</sup> El-Bersha had an established Necropolis that dates back to the Old Kingdom. The date and importance of this necropolis suggests the title of Anubis *nb R3-Ḳrr.t* was used to denote the deity’s significance in a necropolis of greater importance to Anubis. For further information on the date and importance of the el-Bersha necropolis, see: M. de Meyer, “Two Cemeteries for One Provincial Capital? Deir e-Bersha and el-Sheikh Said in the Fifteenth Upper Egyptian Nome during the Old Kingdom,” in *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750 – 2150 BC* (eds) N. & H. Strudwick (Oxford, 2011), p. 46 – 47; W. Stevenson Smith, “Paintings of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom at Bersha,” *AJA* 55:4 (1951), p. 322 ff.

*R3-ḳrr.t*.<sup>23</sup> Tomb inscriptions, which have been dated to the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, support the identification of Anubis using the title of *nb R3-ḳrr.t* beyond the immediate context of the Coffin Texts.<sup>24</sup> Anubis functions in the Coffin Texts as Lord of the Necropolis and the title of *nb R3-Ḳrr.t* contributes to this role by identifying a specific necropolis in the deity's domain. It has become clear that the inferences which can be made from the title of *nb S3wty* are limited due to the fragmentary state of the text and evidence that contradicts the use of the title to recognise Anubis during the Middle Kingdom. However the title *nb R3-ḳrr.t* demonstrates the link between Anubis and the Necropolis of Asyut, which supports the deity's role as Lord of the Necropolis. The composers of the corpus have imparted their understanding of Anubis' significance in the Coffin Texts by associating the deity with his Middle Kingdom cult centre. The association created between the deity and this topographical area using the title *nb R3-Ḳrr.t* contributes to Anubis' significance as the Lord of the Necropolis by identifying a specific necropolis under his authority.

## (ii) *Sepa*

The toponym *Sp3* denotes a locality in Egypt associated with Anubis in the Coffin Texts. The references made to the locality *Sp3* within the Coffin Texts are limited, with only five references occurring throughout the entire corpus.<sup>25</sup> Of these references there are three which refer to an area under the dominion of Anubis while the other two refer to the geographical location of the deceased's origin.<sup>26</sup> Anubis' importance to *Sp3* has been expressed through the deity's identification as *nb Sp3* "Lord of Sepa."<sup>27</sup> There are two

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<sup>23</sup> G. Lapp refers to coffins originating from Asyut dating to the Middle Kingdom that identify Anubis as *nb R3-Ḳrr.t* that have not been included in de Buck's edition. The existence of these coffins illustrates the importance of this title in Asyut, see: G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie* (Heidelberg, 1992), p. 123.

<sup>24</sup> Priests of Anubis during the First Intermediate Period hold the title of "Priest of Anubis, Lord of Roqerert," which is often followed by the title "Priest of Wepwawet, Lord of Asyut," see: E. Edel, *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der Siut-Gräber in Mittelägypten aus der Herakleopolitenzeit* (Opladen, 1984), p. 158 – 159, fig. 18 & 19; M. El-Khadragy, "Some Significant Features in the Decoration of the Chapel of Iti-ibi-iqer at Asyut," *SAK* 36 (2007), p. 107.

<sup>25</sup> R. van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Leiden & Boston, 2000), p. 481.

<sup>26</sup> This is demonstrated in Spell 1136 which states, "I have come from Sepa... I have made Sepa accessible... I am the who carved the north-wind of Sepa." From R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume III Spells 788 - 1185 & Indexes* (Warminster, 1979), p. 173.

<sup>27</sup> CTVI 213l; CTVII 112j.

schools of thought concerning the location of *Sp3*. Some scholars understand *Sp3* to be associated with Lower Egypt, in particular Heliopolis, Tura and Memphis.<sup>28</sup> DuQuesne suggests *Sp3* was located near Memphis due to the work completed on the quarries of Tura by R. and D. D. Klemm.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, this is supported by the settlement patterns of the Middle Kingdom that note concentrations of the population settling in Lower Egypt with only smaller settlements occurring in Upper Egypt.<sup>30</sup> On the contrary there is evidence which suggests that the location of *Sp3* was in Upper Egypt.<sup>31</sup> Weill has documented two limestone statues, dating to the Middle Kingdom, which suggests this alternative. Weill's translation of the statue inscriptions state, "Le grand du Sud... prophète du siège de Khnoumou, fonctionnaire royal, haissier chef, prêtre du taureau blanc Sepa."<sup>32</sup> Similarly the variants preserving the references to *Sp3*, the locality, in the Coffin Texts all originate from the Upper Egyptian settlements of Asyut, Gebelein and el-Bersha.<sup>33</sup> If all the references made to a locality originate from a similar area it may be assumed this locality had to be physically known to them and therefore located in Upper Egypt. Hence while the exact location is debated, the references that link Anubis to *Sp3* suggest the physicality and importance of the geographical location during the Middle Kingdom, particularly to the non-royals of Upper Egypt.

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<sup>28</sup> Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, p. 1182; DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Ancient Egypt*, p. 171. Gardiner notes that the location of *Sp3* is uncertain, if it indeed exists, however based on Kees' argument there is a good authority that suggests the cult of Anubis Lord of Sepa was located near Tura, see: A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica Text Volume II* (Oxford, 1947), p. 127.

<sup>29</sup> DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, p. 171; R. Klemm & D. D. Klemm, *Stone Quarries in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2003), p. 51 – 55. Hollis also refers to the locality of Sepa as being geographically close to Memphis however does not refer to the work completed by R. & D. D. Klemm, see: Hollis, *The Ancient Egyptian 'Tale of Two Brothers'*, p. 81.

<sup>30</sup> J. Bourraïu, "Patterns of change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom," in *Middle Kingdom Studies* (ed.) S. Quirke (Surrey, 1991), p. 5; J. Wegner, "Excavations at the Town of Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos A Preliminary Report on the 1994 and 1997 Seasons," *JARCE* 35 (1998), p. 27 – 32.

<sup>31</sup> H. Kees, "Anubis 'Herr von Sepa' und der 18 oberägyptische Gau," *ZÄS* 58 (1923), p. 79; P. Kaplong, *Die Inschriften Der Ägyptischen Frühzeit Volume 1* (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 621.

<sup>32</sup> R. Weill, *Des Monuments et de l'histoire des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> Dynasties Égyptiennes* (Paris, 1908), p. 257, pl. V.

<sup>33</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts II. Texts of Spells 76 – 163* (Chicago, 1938), p. 155; de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 786*, p. 213; A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII. Texts of Spells 787 – 1185* (Chicago, 1961), p. 112, 481 – 482.

Hermann Kees believes that the term *Sp3* can be linked to the causative of the verb *p3*, meaning “to fly,” i.e. that it means, “to cause to fly.”<sup>34</sup> Due to the connection between the toponym *Sp3* and the causative *sp3* one could infer the toponym *Sp3* was used to refer to an area associated with flight. “Flight” is an abstract concept used to describe the means of travel of the deceased to the Netherworld in funerary literature and reliefs.<sup>35</sup> In the Coffin Texts this form of travel is represented when the deceased is likened to birds, for example, “I fly up as a swallow.”<sup>36</sup> Based on the parallels, which can be drawn between the terminology used to identify the locality and the concept of flying in the Coffin Texts, it may be hypothesized that the association between Anubis and *Sp3* had funerary connotations.<sup>37</sup> Spell 908 describes how Anubis was sent to earth in order to reconstruct the body of the murdered Osiris and it is this spell that supports the theory that the title *nb Sp3* had funerary connotations.<sup>38</sup> The spell identifies Anubis as *nb Sp3* alongside two known funerary epithets of the deity “foremost of the Divine Booth” and “to whom the Westerners give worship.”<sup>39</sup> The placement of the title amongst funerary epithets suggests the composers intended for the audience to understand the funerary significance of *Sp3* when associated with Anubis. Anubis’ dominion over *Sp3* is then expressed in Spell 595 as it states, *it=k nb=sn Inp.w nb Sp3 Hnn*, “Your father is their Lord, Anubis Lord of *Sp3* and *Hnn*.”<sup>40</sup> The dominion Anubis held over *Sp3* has been replicated in the Coffin Texts from Old and Middle Kingdom funerary monuments where the title *nb Sp3* is often used to recognise Anubis.<sup>41</sup> The funerary significance of this title

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<sup>34</sup> Kees, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), p. 80.

<sup>35</sup> L. Lutwack, *Birds in Literature* (Gainesville, 1994), p. 120.

<sup>36</sup> CTIII 130f.

<sup>37</sup> Kees suggests this title may have retained importance in the funerary context as it often appears prior to or following known funerary epithets such as *tp(.y) dw=f*, *nb t3-dsr* and *hnty sh-ntr* etc, see: Kees, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), p. 80.

<sup>38</sup> M. C. Centrone, “Choosing the Burial Place for Corn-mummies: A Random Selection,” in *Current Research in Egyptology 2004: Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium* (ed.) R. J. Dann (Oxford, 2006), p. 27.

<sup>39</sup> CTVII 112h – j.

<sup>40</sup> CTVI 213l.

<sup>41</sup> For examples of Old Kingdom uses of the title *nb Sp3* in association with Anubis, see: N. Kanawati, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa Volume II* (Sydney, 1993), p. 19; H. G. Fischer, “Offerings for an Old Kingdom Granary Official,” *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 31:2/3 (1972), fig. 1a & b. For examples of the Middle Kingdom uses of the title *nb Sp3* with Anubis, see: W. K. Simpson, “Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty

may suggest why following the Middle Kingdom the title *nb Sp3* continued to be used to identify Anubis in the Book of the Dead and on Ptolemaic Coffins.<sup>42</sup> Through the examination of Coffin Texts spells and other literary and archeological sources it may be understood Anubis retained authority over *Sp3* in the funerary context. Variants that describe Anubis using the title *nb Sp3* originate from Upper Egypt. As a result *Sp3* is understood to have been of importance to the non-royals of the Upper Egyptian nomes and Anubis' title of *nb Sp3* was used to identify why the deity was significant in this area.

### (iii) *Abydos and Busiris*

Topographical epithets of Anubis have also been used in the Coffin Texts to express the deity's relationships with other gods and illustrate how his role changed in the funerary context following the decline of the Old Kingdom. The sites of Abydos and Busiris were known centres for the cult of Osiris during the Middle Kingdom, yet in the Coffin Texts Anubis has been associated with both of these localities.<sup>43</sup> Anubis' association with Abydos and Busiris can be explained as communicating how the functional roles of Anubis were linked to Osiris and his cult centres during the Middle Kingdom. The purpose of communicating the role of Anubis in relation to Osiris was to provide justification for the different roles both deities performed after the Old Kingdom in the funerary context.<sup>44</sup> Spell 45 of the Coffin Texts demonstrates how Anubis was linked with both Abydos and Busiris as it states,

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IV: The Early Twelfth Dynasty Falsedoor/ Stele of Khenty-ankh/Heni from Matariya/Ain Shams (Heliopolis)," *JARCE* 36 (2001), p. 16, fig. 3a.

<sup>42</sup> For an example of a New Kingdom Coffin, see: P. Lacau, *Sarcophages Antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1904), p. 40; For an example of a Ptolemaic Coffin, see: G. Maspero, H. Gauthier, A. Bayoumi, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* (Cairo, 1939), p. 48; For the Book of the Dead, see: H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrepent* (Leiden, 1991), p. 36.

<sup>43</sup> For Abydos, see: CTVI 142k. For Busiris, see: CTI 197h – 198c. For the cult centres for Osiris, see: J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), p. 21; M. Verner, *Temple of the World Sanctuaries, Cults and Mysteries of Ancient Egypt* (Prague, 2013), p. 351; DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, p. 264.

<sup>44</sup> E. Otto, *Ancient Egyptian Art and the Cults of Osiris and Amon* trans. K. Bosse Griffiths (New York, 1968), p. 40 – 44; J. G. Griffiths, "Motivation in Early Egyptian Syncretism," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (eds) M. Heerma van Voss & D. J. Hoens (Leiden, 1982), p. 46.

*ntk s3 nsw.t rp<sup>c</sup>.t wnn wnn.t b3=k wnn ib=k hn<sup>c</sup>=k sh3 tw Inp.w m Ddw h<sup>c</sup>i b3=k m 3bdw rš  
h3.t=k imy.t w<sup>c</sup>r.t.*<sup>45</sup>

“You are the son of the king, the heir. Indeed your soul exists, your heart will be together with you, Anubis will remember you in Busiris, your soul will rejoice in Abydos and your corpse which is in the desert will be joyful.”<sup>46</sup>

A complete translation of Spell 45 can be found in the Appendices (see page. 85), however it is in this particular statement from Spell 45 the toponyms Busiris, Abydos and the Desert are referred to. Each of the toponyms referred in the Spell 45 were done so in association with Anubis to identify the deity’s role in Osiris’ regeneration. The composers’ method to illustrate Anubis’ relationship with these toponyms differs from previously discussed localities as they have chosen not to use titles of authority, such as *nb* or *hnty*. Rather the significance of Anubis is illustrated through the selection of the localities. Primarily Anubis is associated with Busiris the accepted burial site of Osiris during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>47</sup> The proceeding reference to Abydos has a similar significance, as during the Old Kingdom the Pyramid Texts refer to this site as being the location of Osiris’ burial.<sup>48</sup> The final toponym referred to in Spell 45 is the Desert, which as previously discussed, can be understood as a synonym used to refer to the Necropolis.<sup>49</sup> Each of these toponyms were connected with areas of burial during the Middle Kingdom. The roles Anubis performed as the Embalmer and the Lord of the Necropolis can be understood to have influenced the composers’ decision to invoke the deity with these particular localities. Elsewhere in Spell 45 Anubis is described as, “making whole your mummy”<sup>50</sup> and as one who will “make pleasant your odor in the

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<sup>45</sup> CTI 197h – 198c.

<sup>46</sup> This statement has been translated using the Future/Prospective *sdm=f* form to indicate the actions the deceased believed were to happen. This is different to Faulkner who has chosen to translate this statement using subjunctive *sdm=f* forms, however either translation is equally as likely, see: Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 - 354*, p. 38 – 41.

<sup>47</sup> T. Hopfner, *Plutarch Über Isis und Osiris Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Prague, 1940), p. 56.

<sup>48</sup> J. P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (ed.) P. Der Manuelian (Atlanta, 2005), p. 279, § 411.

<sup>49</sup> CTI 197h – 198c; de Buck & Gardiner, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 786*, p. 249; T. G. Allen, “The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 786 by Adriaan de Buck,” *JNES* 17:2 (1958), p. 150.

<sup>50</sup> CTI 198e – f.

Divine Booth.”<sup>51</sup> Each of the statements demonstrates how Anubis acted as the Embalmer throughout this spell. Thus when Anubis’ function as the Embalmer is described in association with these sites, the purpose can be understood as acknowledging Anubis’ significance, as the Embalmer and the Lord of the Necropolis, by linking his roles to Osiris’ regeneration at Osiris’ cult centres.

The composers of the Coffin Texts illustrated how Anubis was significant to Abydos through the deity’s connection with the *sh̄m* or Sekhem-Scepter of Abydos. Wegner has determined Anubis would have originally retained cults in Abydos resembling those attested cults at Lisht and Lahun.<sup>52</sup> Yet as Osiris’ prominence at the site of Abydos superseded that of Anubis it changed Anubis’ connection with the locality. Spell 49 describes the resurrection of Osiris from the perspective of Anubis. Goebis demonstrates how in Spell 49 Osiris was too weak to rule over Abydos because he had not been completely regenerated and so Anubis, as the vizier, controlled Abydos in Osiris’ stead.<sup>53</sup> Anubis’ control over Abydos during this period is represented by his possession of the Sekhem-Scepter demonstrated in Spell 49 when it states, “The *sh̄m*-scepter of he who is in the place of embalming (*imy-w.t*).”<sup>54</sup> The authority Anubis held over Abydos during this time is reasserted in Spell 546, of which a complete translation can be found in the Appendices (see page. 98). Spell 546 states, [*ink*] *Inp.w nb sh̄m m 3bdw*, “[I am] Anubis Lord of the Sekhem-Scepter of Abydos.”<sup>55</sup> Interestingly Spell 546 is only preserved in one variant in de Buck’s edition that being M22C originating from Meir, while the

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<sup>51</sup> CTI 195g – 196g

<sup>52</sup> J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* (New Haven & Philadelphia, 2007), p. 18. Cults of Anubis have been attested at Lisht and Lahun through epigraphic evidence found at the temple sites of Amenemhet I and Senwosret II at Lisht, see: F. Arnold, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht Volume 2, The Control Notes and Team Marks* (New York, 1990), p. 24, E4 & E6. Anubis’ prominence in Lahun is attested in literary evidence where a letter written to King Amenemhet IV, which describes Anubis as, “Anubis Lord of Mui,” see: M. Collier & S. Quirke, (eds) “UC 32196,” in *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical* (Oxford, 2004), p. 48, line. 10.

<sup>53</sup> K. Goebis, *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature Royalty, Rebirth, and Destruction* (Oxford, 2008), p. 116

<sup>54</sup> CTI 217c. The reference to “he who is in the place of embalming,” is understood in this context as a reference to Anubis. This is explained further in the discussion of Anubis’ epithet *imy-w.t* in Chapter 4, see: p. 73 - 75.

<sup>55</sup> CTVI 142k.



variants preserving Spell 49 all originate from el-Bersha.<sup>56</sup> Meir and el-Bersha are not located in the vicinity of Abydos however all of these localities are situated in Upper Egypt. These spells reveal the composers of the Coffin Texts, particularly from the Upper regions of Egypt, expressed Anubis' significance at the site of Abydos through his association with the *shm*-scepter. This trend continued through to the New Kingdom where Anubis began to be depicted with the *shm*-scepter. Often this is represented in images of the deity in the Book of Dead where Anubis is accompanied by the *shm*-scepter as he guards the body of deceased (Pl. 3a & b).<sup>57</sup> Due to the rising prominence of Osiris at localities throughout Egypt, Anubis' topographical epithets changed. The composers of the Coffin Texts had the intention of communicating the importance of the role Anubis performed at Abydos through associating him with the *shm*-scepter. This scepter allowed Anubis to retain his significance at Abydos although it was expressed in another way. Hence, the composers associated Anubis with the determined topographical areas of Abydos and Busiris in order to identify how the roles Anubis performed in the funerary context were linked with Osiris.

### 3. b. Un-Determined Topographical Areas

#### (i) *The "Sacred" or "Secluded" Land*

The "Sacred" or "Secluded" Land is an abstract area identified in Egyptian funerary texts. Commonly the *t3-dsr* is identified with the Netherworld or the Necropolis.<sup>58</sup> The roles Anubis performs in both the Necropolis and the Netherworld have caused the deity to become identified with the *t3-dsr* as a means to communicate Anubis' significance in both locations. The Coffin Texts demonstrate the authority of Anubis in this abstract area through the attribution of the title of *nb t3-dsr* "Lord of the Sacred Land."<sup>59</sup> Spell 546

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<sup>56</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 786*, p. 142; de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I. Texts of Spells 1 – 75*, p. 215 – 221.

<sup>57</sup> E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. Bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt Volume I* (Berlin, 1886), pl. 3.

<sup>58</sup> There is no determined area referred to as the *t3-dsr* during the Old and Middle Kingdoms however in the New Kingdom a dedicatory inscription from Abydos has been found, where *t3-dsr* literally refers to "Upper Land," see: P. Montet, *Géographie de L'Égypte Ancienne Deuxième Partie La Haute Égypte* (Paris, 1961), p. 106. R. Klemm and D. D. Klemm have investigated the quarries of Tura and have indicated that this area may have understood as the "Sacred Land" due to its rocky terrain and the sacred connotations which the rocks quarried in this area had during the Middle Kingdom, see: Klemm, *Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt*, p. 51 – 52.

<sup>59</sup> CTV 165a; CTVI 142m.

illustrates the possible translation of *t3-dsr* as the Netherworld. In this spell it states, [ink] *Inp.w nb t3-dsr Wr*, “[I am] Anubis. Lord of the Sacred Land, the Great One.”<sup>60</sup> The context of Spell 546 allows the *t3-dsr* to be interpreted as the Netherworld because the purpose of the spell, as suggested by its title “[To Become] Anubis,”<sup>61</sup> was for the deceased to become one with Anubis allowing them to move safely though the Netherworld.<sup>62</sup> The verb *dsr* meaning, “to isolate”<sup>63</sup> or “to forbid,”<sup>64</sup> supports the interpretation of the *t3-dsr* as the Netherworld because it was isolated from the realm of the living. Morenz and Hoffmeier are adamant when *dsr* appears in conjunction with the term *t3* the verb is being used to note the sanctity of a space or area.<sup>65</sup> However Morenz is in agreement with both Gardiner and DuQuesne that the literal meaning of the phrase *t3-dsr* is “segregated land.”<sup>66</sup> The “segregated land” may be interpreted as an area that existed in a separate realm. This was clearly the perception in the Old Kingdom as the Boundary Stele of King Djoser refers to the deceased king as being “Foremost of the ‘Sacred’ Land” at his pyramid complex in Saqqara.<sup>67</sup> Therefore the Netherworld serves as a possible interpretation of the *t3-dsr* when used in association with Anubis in the Coffin Texts.

The *t3-dsr* may also be interpreted as the Necropolis in the Coffin Texts. Like the Netherworld, the Necropolis in ancient Egypt was physically separated, sometimes by the Nile, from settlements.<sup>68</sup> The connection between Anubis, the *t3-dsr* and the

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<sup>60</sup> CTVI 142m.

<sup>61</sup> CTVI 142g.

<sup>62</sup> The phrase “To Become Deity X” occurs throughout the Coffin Texts as the deceased invokes different deities for different purposes. For example, in Spell 547 the deceased wishes to become the Nile-God, as indicated through the reading of the heading “To Become the Nile-God,” see: Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume II Spells 355 – 787*, p. 161.

<sup>63</sup> A. H. Gardiner, “Review: Aegyptisches Handwörterbuch,” *JEA* 8 (1922), p. 109 – 110.

<sup>64</sup> S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* trans. A. E. Keep (London, 1973), p. 88.

<sup>65</sup> Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 99; J. K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt The Term DSR, with special Reference to Dynasties I – XX* (Göttingen, 1985), p. 115 – 120.

<sup>66</sup> Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 100; Gardiner, *JEA* 8 (1922), p. 110; DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, p. 154.

<sup>67</sup> This use of the phrase *t3-dsr* is also the earliest attested use of the phrase, see: C. M. Firth & J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara The Step Pyramid Volume 2 – Plates* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 86 & 87.

<sup>68</sup> The separation of the settlement and Necropolis occurred throughout Egyptian history, this separation between the settlement and the necropolis was not always achieved using the Nile. For some examples of

Necropolis is witnessed in Spell 908 of the Coffin Texts. This spell states, “Foremost of the Sacred Land [Anubis] who dwells in the midst of the sky.”<sup>69</sup> Anubis’ known functions as the Embalmer and the Lord of the Necropolis contribute to the interpretation of the *t3-dsr* as a reference to the Necropolis in Spell 908, as Anubis’ purpose was to descend from the realm of the gods in order to perform the embalming rituals for Osiris.<sup>70</sup> The embalming ritual concludes with the burial of the deceased and so when Anubis is referred to as *hnty t3-dsr* in this context one may assume the *t3-dsr* was referring to the Necropolis where Osiris’ embalming ritual would conclude. Spell 908 denotes Anubis’ significance at the *t3-dsr* using the term *hnty*, meaning “foremost” or “he who is pre-eminent,”<sup>71</sup> which reaffirms the established authority Anubis held over the Necropolis. The use of *hnty* stems from the Old Kingdom where Anubis was commonly described as *Inp.w hnty t3-dsr*, “Anubis pre-eminent in the ‘Sacred’ Land.”<sup>72</sup> The coffins that provide the variants for this epithet of Anubis originate from Meir, el-Bersha, Gebelein and Aswan.<sup>73</sup> Anubis’ significance may be inferred from the broad range of origins as they demonstrate this funerary epithet was not intended for use in one area of Egypt. Cylinder seals from the Levant dating to the Middle Kingdom describe Anubis as “Lord of the Sacred Land, in the place of mummification.”<sup>74</sup> These seals reaffirm that the most

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areas where the settlement and the Necropolis were separate during the Middle Kingdom see: S. Hodel-Hoenes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt: Scenes from Private Tombs in New Kingdom Thebes* trans. D. Warburton (Ithaca, 2000), p. 4; E. Naville, P. E. Newberry & G. W. Fraser, *The Season’s Work at Ahnas and Beni Hasan* (London, 1891), p. 11; D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* (New York, 2007), p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> CTVII 112k.

<sup>70</sup> Centrone, “Choosing the Burial Place for Corn-mummies: A Random Selection,” p. 27.

<sup>71</sup> van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 399.

<sup>72</sup> For examples, see: N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara Volume II The Tombs of Inyefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)* (Oxford, 2003), p. 52, pl. 62; S. Hassan, “Mastabas of *K3i-swd3.w*,” in *Excavations at Giza The Mastabas of the Sixth Season and their Description Vol VI – Part III* (Cairo, 1950), p. 192.

<sup>73</sup> For Meir, see: A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 787* (Chicago, 1956), p. 142. For el-Bersha, see: de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 - 787*, p. 328 – 329. For Gebelein, see: A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII. Texts of Spells 787 – 1185*, p. 112. For Aswan, see: A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V. Texts of Spells 355 – 417* (Chicago, 1954), p. 165 – 167.

<sup>73</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 - 787*, p. 328 – 329.

<sup>74</sup> B. Teissier, *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age* (Fribourg, 1995), p. 29.

correct interpretation of the *t3-dsr* in literary evidence discussing embalming is the Necropolis because they place the ‘Sacred’ Land in the same vicinity as the place of mummification. Therefore Anubis is provided with the title of *nb t3-dsr* in the Coffin Texts because it demonstrates the dominion of the deity in either the Netherworld or the Necropolis. Due to the un-determined nature of the “Sacred” or “Secluded” Land this title would have been received by the audience as communicating Anubis’ authority in both the Necropolis and the Netherworld as both interpretations were made possible by the composers in the Coffin Texts.

## (ii) *The “Mountain”*

The “mountain” referred to in Anubis’ prominent epithet *tp(.y) dw=f* identifies a figurative mountain, which was used to link Anubis with to burials sites throughout Egypt. Modern scholars often attempt to provide a general location or origin for the “mountain” in Egypt. Oppenheim suggests “‘Anubis he who is on his mountain’ is a general epithet for the god that refers to his dwelling place in the desert mountains.”<sup>75</sup> On the other hand Spiegel suggests this area may be identified as the “Snake Mountain” of the 12<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian Nome, although it is only based on a formal similarity,<sup>76</sup> while Wegner has suggested the mountain may even refer to the configuration of the limestone cliffs behind Senwosret III’s tomb at Abydos.<sup>77</sup> Identifying the exact location of the mountain referred to in Anubis’ epithet *tp(.y) dw=f* is not necessary. This study understands that this epithet was not meant to identify an actual location, nonetheless it identifies a figurative area, which was associated with Anubis in order to demonstrate the role the deity performed as the Guardian or Lord of the Necropolis when used in the

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<sup>75</sup> A. Oppenheim, *Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dashur: The Pharaoh and the Deities* (New York, 2008), p. 190.

<sup>76</sup> J. Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos Studien zum ägyptischen Synkretismus* (Wiesbaden, 1973), p. 43. Although it cannot be discussed here T. DuQuesne suggests the epithet *tp(.y) dw=f* has “Serpentine Associations,” as a serpent in later funerary literature is named *tp(.y) dw=f*, see: T. DuQuesne, “Seth and the Jackals,” in *Egyptian Religion The Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to Jan Quaegebeur* (Leuven, 1998), p. 614; T. DuQuesne, “Raising the serpent power: some parallels between Egyptian religion and Indian Tantra,” in *Hermes Aegyptiacus: Egyptological Studies for B.H. Stricker on His 85th Birthday* (ed.) T. DuQuesne (Oxford, 1995), p. 63 – 64.

<sup>77</sup> J. Wegner & M. A. Abu el-Yazid, “The Mountain of Anubis: Necropolis Seal of Senwosret III Tomb Enclosure at Abydos,” in *Timelines Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak Volume 1* (eds) E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman, A. Schwab (Leuven, 2006), p. 419.

Coffin Texts.<sup>78</sup> This is supported by the fact that *Dw* serves a dual purpose in the epithet *tp(.y) dw=f* as it points to the location where the deceased is buried, i.e. the mountainous areas surrounding settlements, and *dw* may also mean “evil or “sad” so the term also identifies the fear the Egyptians were known to associate with death.<sup>79</sup> Therefore when this epithet is used to identify Anubis in the Coffin Texts it is understood the composers’ intention would have been for this title to demonstrate the deity’s connection with the Necropolis.

While the epithet *tp(.y) dw=f* is one of Anubis’ oldest epithets,<sup>80</sup> there are only two occurrences where the epithet is used to identify Anubis in the Coffin Texts. Much like the earliest attested use of the epithet, *tp(.y) dw=f* describes Anubis following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula in Spell 399. The text states, *Htp-di-nsw Inp.w tp(.y) dw=f*.<sup>81</sup> De Buck explains that Spell 399 is a “collection of inscriptions which surround the image of a boat.”<sup>82</sup> The illustration of the boat visually represents the deceased’s journey to their tomb following their mummification (Pl. 4).<sup>83</sup> The examination of the accompanying illustration of Spell 399 enables one to understand that Anubis’ epithet of *tp(.y) dw=f* denotes a topographical location related to the area where the embalmed individual was interred after their journey on the depicted vessel. Thus, when the context of Spell 399 is taken into consideration one may understand the epithet *tp(.y) dw=f* is associated with

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<sup>78</sup> R. Hözl, *Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reichs* (Wien, 1990), p. 85.

<sup>79</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 320. Zandee notes how the passage through the Netherworld was full of dangerous places so perhaps a link can be made between the fear the Egyptians felt toward the process of death and the epithet of *tp(y) dw=f* as it connects Anubis with Necropolis, see: Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 24 – 25. J. G. Griffiths also identifies the Egyptian representation of Anubis as the “jackal” was a result of their fear toward these animals found in the Necropolis, see: Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, p. 61.

<sup>80</sup> The earliest attested use of this title occurs on an Offering Table originating from Saqqara and it states, *Htp-di-nsw Inp.w tp(.y) dw=f*, see: A. E. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de L’Ancien Empire* (Hildesheim & New York, 1976), p. 438.

<sup>81</sup> CTV 165a.

<sup>82</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V. Texts of Spells 355 – 471* (Chicago, 1954), p. 165.

<sup>83</sup> It has been assumed this spell refers to a period of time after the mummification process as the deceased is represented in their mummy form in a shrine at the bow of the boat, see: de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V. Texts of Spells 355 - 471*, p. 161 – 162.

Anubis as it refers to an area connected with the place of interment or the Necropolis.<sup>84</sup> Spell 1019 also connects Anubis with the epithet of *tp(.y) ḏw=f* as it states, *sw3(i) [s] ḥr wʕr.t iw Inp.w tp(.y) ḏw=f*, “To pass over the desert plateau. Oh Anubis-he-who-is-at-the-top-of-his-mountain...”<sup>85</sup> These two lines from Spell 1019 demonstrate a connection between “the desert plateau” and the “mountain.” As previously noted there is an affinity between the “Desert” and the “Necropolis” in the Coffin Texts. Therefore the referral to the “desert plateau” in the title of Spell 1019 may have been intended to identify the geographical area associated with burial sites. Although Spell 1019 is only preserved on a papyri copy of the Coffin Texts,<sup>86</sup> what may be conclusively understood from this spell is that the area that *tp(.y) ḏw=f* associates Anubis with was an unidentified geographical location in the West. Therefore in the Coffin Texts the funerary significance of Anubis’ epithet *tp(.y) ḏw=f* is demonstrated through its association with areas of burial. Thus Spells 399 and 1019 illustrate how an undetermined topographical epithet of Anubis provides further justification for Anubis’ role as Lord of the Necropolis because the epithet can be judiciously linked with the deceased’s burial and the deity’s protection over the place of interment.

### (iii) *The Two Lands*

The title of *sḥm-t3.wy* was used to demonstrate Anubis’ role as the guide in the Coffin Texts. The phrase the “Two lands” is often used in titles and in building inscriptions to

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<sup>84</sup> The link between Anubis’ description as *tp(.y) ḏw=f* and the Necropolis is supported by a number of funerary stele which describe Anubis as *Inp.w tp(.y) ḏw=f* “Anubis who is upon his mountain.” For examples, see: D. Stefanović, “The Sole Royal Ornament, Priestess of Hathor, *iAm-Hqt*,” *JNES* 72:2 (2013), p. 210; D. Franke, “Stelae EA 238,” in *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasties Volume I, Fascicule 1: Descriptions* (ed.) M. Marée (London, 2013), p. 93. This epithet is also used to identify Anubis in some letters to the dead, for example on the Berlin Bowl 22573 it describes Anubis as, “Anubis on his mountain,” see: A. H. Gardiner & K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead Mainly From the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London, 1928), p. 7.

<sup>85</sup> CTVII 240t - u.

<sup>86</sup> The explanation of the origin of this papyrus is “papyrus, name of unknown owner,” “origin, unknown,” see: A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII. Texts of Spells 787 – 1185* (Chicago, 1961), p. x. Papyri copies of the Coffin Texts are rare because during the Middle Kingdom the system of the Coffin Texts witnessed the integration of the funerary literature and the coffin, see: N. Billings, “Re-assessing the Past. Context and Tradition of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 181,” in *Totenbuch-Forschungen Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005* (eds) B. Backes, I. Munro & S. Stöhr (Wiesbaden, 2006), p. 4.

refer to the Upper and Lower sections of Egypt.<sup>87</sup> There is one occasion in the Coffin Texts where Anubis is attributed the title *šhm-t3.wy* “Controller of the Two Lands.”<sup>88</sup> The “Two Lands” referred to in Anubis’ epithet differ from the “Two Lands” referred to in Middle Kingdom historical texts. It may be suggested the “Two lands” referred to in Anubis’ title represented two areas of the Netherworld. These areas in the Netherworld can be identified as the “Fields with Emmer and Barley” and the “Field of Reeds” which were separated by the Winding Waterway (Pl. 5).<sup>89</sup> The “Field of Reeds” draws parallels with the “Field of Hetep” as this was the destination the deceased hoped to reach on their passage through the Netherworld.<sup>90</sup> Anubis’ control over this area is demonstrated in Spell 397 as it states, *šm.k(w) iħr Mnw Gbtyw Inp.w šhm-t3.wy*, “I have gone to Min of Coptos and Anubis the Controller of the Two Lands.”<sup>91</sup> There are five variants for this spell originating from Saqqara, Meir and Thebes.<sup>92</sup> The origins of these five variants being from Lower, Middle and Upper Egypt demonstrate the connection between Anubis and the “Two Lands” was not intended to be specific to one area of Egypt, but rather the composers sort for this title to identify Anubis throughout Egypt. There is little deviation between the sources, the only notable difference between the variants being T1C phonetically spells out *ʿb3-t3.wy* while the remaining three variants use the *šhm* scepter followed by two *t3* signs.<sup>93</sup> While there is variation among the texts, the majority of translations of the spell agree the correct translation of *šhm-t3.wy* is “Controller of the Two Lands.”<sup>94</sup> Therefore the composers of the Coffin Texts have expressed the

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<sup>87</sup> The building inscription of Senwosret III refers to the King as *nb t3.wy* “Lord of the Two Lands,” while the Middle Kingdom official known as Ramose lists *nb t3.wy* in his titles at his tomb, see: M. Lichtheim, “The Building Inscription of Sesostri I,” in *Ancient Egyptian Literature A Book of Readings Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Los Angeles, 1975), p. 116; K. Daoud, “Ramose, an overseer of the Chamberlains at Memphis,” *JEA* 80 (1994), p. 203.

<sup>88</sup> CTV 99a.

<sup>89</sup> Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)* p. 169.

<sup>90</sup> The Field of Hetep develops out of these minor references throughout the Coffin Texts like the one discussed now, to represent an area of “Paradise.” “Paradise” was where the deceased would like to go, seen clearly in the New Kingdom Funerary literature, see: L. H. Lesko, “The Field of Hetep in Egyptian Coffin Texts,” *JARCE* 9 (1971 - 1972), p. 89.

<sup>91</sup> CTV 99a.

<sup>92</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V. Texts of Spells 355 – 417*, p.75 – 116.

<sup>93</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V. Texts of Spells 335 – 417*, p. 99.

<sup>94</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume II Spells 355 - 787*, p. 26; Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages Egyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), p. 348 – 349. Carrier suggests an alternative

significance of Anubis through the deity's description as the controller of an area in the Netherworld that was important to non-royal Egyptians.

While this spell does not occur on the Coffin of Heqata, Willems notes there are similarities between Spells 397 and 398. Willems suggests the "Seven Gods" referred to in Spell 398 have been replaced by "Min the Coptite and Anubis the Controller of the Two Lands" in Spell 397.<sup>95</sup> In Spell 398 the Seven Gods performed the roles of the Ferryman, the judges and the protectors of the body of Osiris.<sup>96</sup> Assuming Anubis replaced the majority of the Seven Gods, as Willems suggests, their roles must then have been performed by Anubis. Anubis' functional roles as the Embalmer, the Guide and to some extent the Judge parallel the tasks the Seven Gods performed.<sup>97</sup> It may have been based on these similarities that Anubis was the deity with whom the composers chose to replace the Seven Gods. Therefore Anubis as *sḥm-t3.wy* can be understood to express the deity's power over two areas in the Netherworld. This epithet does not provide a cult location for Anubis, nor does it link Anubis with the "Two Lands" of Upper and Lower Egypt. For the composers of the Coffin texts the intention for Anubis' the title "Controller of the Two Lands" was to demonstrate the deity's significance in an abstract location of the Netherworld.

To summarize, the composers of the Coffin Texts have associated Anubis with determined and un-determined toponyms throughout the Coffin Texts. The purpose of the composers' actions was to identify areas of Anubis' cult significance during the Middle Kingdom. The known localities of Asyut, Roqerert and Sepa are linked with Anubis as they reflected cult centres for the deity as well as demonstrated areas that were under the deity's control. On the other hand Abydos and Busiris were associated with Anubis so the composers could communicate the role Anubis performed after Osiris' prominence superseded his own in the funerary context. The un-determined

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translation of *sḥm-t3.wy* as "Âbataouy," see: Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome II Spells [355] à [787]*, p. 946 – 497.

<sup>95</sup> Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)*, p. 169.

<sup>96</sup> Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)*, p. 168.

<sup>97</sup> For examples of Anubis as the Embalmer see: CTI 198d – f, CTI 217c, CTI 237f, CTI 256h – 257d, CTI 303h – 304b, CTII 125c – e, CTII 300b, CTIII 107a – c, CTIII 305d, CTIII 312a – e, CTIV 375a – g, CTIV 377c – d, CTV 188i, CTVI 74g – h, CTVI 94h – i, CTVI 264t – 265a; For examples of Anubis acting as a Guide see: CTIII 325g – l; For examples of Anubis as a Judge, see: CTIV 258b.



areas associated with Anubis have been included to provide further support for the deity's known functional epithets, as each un-determined toponym appears to have funerary connotations that connect Anubis with the Necropolis and the Netherworld. Therefore Anubis' topographical epithets reveal areas, both determined and un-determined, the non-royals of the Middle Kingdom understood to be representative of Anubis' significance.



## 4. Funerary Epithets

Anubis' role as a funerary deity has been described by J. G. Griffiths as "functionally and conceptually the most significant," in the funerary context.<sup>1</sup> The importance of Anubis' role in the funerary context was demonstrated in the Coffin Texts through the replication of funerary formulae inscribed upon monuments, such as stele and cenotaphs, throughout the corpus. The intention for the replication of funerary formulae in the corpus was to ensure the ka of the deceased was sustained in the Netherworld and the ka was perpetually regenerated. Anubis' significance may be inferred from the examination of the links formed between the deity and particular formulae, festivals and spaces in the Coffin Texts. The established links reflect attested funerary beliefs during the Middle Kingdom and demonstrate how the composers intended to replicate the Middle Kingdom perception of Anubis' role throughout the Coffin Texts.

### 4. a. Anubis and Offering Formulae

#### (i) The *Htp-di-nsw* Formula

The *Htp-di-nsw* formula was used as a tool throughout Egyptian history to invoke a good burial and offerings for the deceased.<sup>2</sup> The question of intentionality must be answered in order to further the comprehension of the composers' purpose and understanding of the *Htp-di-nsw* formula in the Coffin Texts. Older publications have examined the usefulness of the *Htp-di-nsw* formula during the Middle Kingdom as criteria for dating, yet such examinations cannot provide an insight into the formula's meaning.<sup>3</sup> On the

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<sup>1</sup> J. G. Griffiths, "Motivation in Early Egyptian Syncretism," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (eds) M. Heerma van Voss & D. J. Hoens (Leiden, 1982), p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> The *Htp-di-nsw* formula is attested throughout history. For examples from the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period see: T. DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt I From the Archaic Period to Dynasty X* (London, 2005), p. 141 – 145. For examples from the later part of Graeco-Roman Period which use Greek and Latin inscriptions opposed to hieroglyphs to demonstrate the same principle, see: A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool, 1992), p. 84 - 85. P. Munro provides one of the latest attested offering formulas from the Ptolemaic Period which invokes Osiris, see: P. Munro, *Die Spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt, 1973), p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> P. C. Smither, "The Writings of the *Htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle and New Kingdoms," *JEA* 25 (1939), p. 34 – 35; C. J. C. Bennett, "Growth of the *Htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom," *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 77. R. J. Leprohon believes there is a more effective means of dating the offering formula, which is based on studying the changes in the representation of Anubis in the "God's Formula" between the Old Kingdom

other hand scholars have theorized alternative readings of the *Htp-di-nsw* formula in an attempt to gain a better insight into the formula's purpose.<sup>4</sup> D. Franke has most recently examined the *Htp-di-nsw* formula and formed the opinion that during the Middle Kingdom the *Htp-di-nsw* formula consisted of four parts. These being the "King's Formula" (*Htp-(r)di(.w)-nsw*), the "Gods Formula" (the name of the deity or deities), the requests of the deceased and the favours for the deceased.<sup>5</sup> This discussion understands the *Htp-di-nsw* formula used in the Coffin Texts to be a relative clause as it forms a dedicatory formula that was used to invoke offerings or a good burial for the deceased.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the offering formula was included with the intent of its recognition by the non-royal populace on their coffins.<sup>7</sup> Prior to the Middle Kingdom Anubis was the

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and the Middle Kingdom, see: R. J. Leprohon, "The Offering Formula in the First Intermediate Period," *JEA* 76 (1990), p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> Federn suggests the reading of *Htp (r)di(w) n Inp.w*, which sees the addition of a dative *n* between *(r)di(w)* and *Inp.w*, see: W. Federn, "*Htp (r)di(w) (n) Inpw*: Zum Verständnis der vor-osirianischen Opferformel," *MDAIK* 16 (1958), p. 120 – 121. This interpretation of the text results in Federn rejecting the traditional interpretations of Gardiner and Maspero. For Gardiner's explanation of the *Htp-di-nsw* formula, see: A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (London, 1957), p. 170 – 173; A. H. Gardiner & N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82)* (London, 1915), p. 87 – 90. For Maspero, see: G. Maspero, *La Table d'offrandes des tombeaux égyptiens* (Paris, 1897), p. 365 – 369. The argument for the use of the dative *n* during the Middle Kingdom may have influenced the later discussion of the Old Kingdom usage of the *Htp-di-nsw* formula which have included *n* or *in* proceeding *Htp-di-nsw*, however of this use is questioned by Fischer, see: H. G. Fischer, "Occurrences of *in*, agential and dative," *GM* 107 (1989), p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> D. Franke, "The Middle Kingdom Offering Formula: A Challenge," *JEA* 89 (2003), p. 39. Franke applied this theory in his earlier examination of British Museum Stele EA 226, see: D. Franke, "The Middle Kingdom Stelae Publication Project exemplified by stela BM EA 226," *BMSAES* 1 (2002), p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, 2010), p. 366. For the use of the relative clause in Middle Egyptian see: B. G. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian* (Mainz, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, 2005), p. 67 – 69, §105 – 111.

<sup>7</sup> Although Ancient Egypt was not a highly literate society one may assume due to vast number of funerary monuments, which preserve the *Htp-di-nsw* formula, the phrase would have been identifiable among the non-royal population as having funerary significance from the Old Kingdom onward. For example, see: S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza Volume III 1931 – 1932* (Cairo, 1941), p. 125. Outside the Memphite area the later Old Kingdom offering slabs have been found with inscribed formulae which do not mention Anubis at all, which suggests it was not unusual for different localities of Egypt to evoke different deities alongside the *htp-di-nsw* formula, see: H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (New York, 1968), p. 27, fig. 6.

predominate deity invoked with the *Htp-di-nsw* formula on funerary monuments.<sup>8</sup> However, a range of deities are invoked with *Htp-di-nsw* formulae in the Coffin Texts, which includes but is not limited to Anubis, Geb, Osiris and Thoth.<sup>9</sup> The reasons for the range of deities can be explained as either the deity invoked became a personal choice, commonly demonstrated in Middle Kingdom funerary stele, or more likely in the Coffin Texts the intended purpose of the *Htp-di-nsw* formula dictated which deity was invoked.<sup>10</sup> Those examples in the Coffin Texts where Anubis is invoked with the *Htp-di-nsw* formula are concerned with achieving the perpetual regeneration of the deceased through a “good burial” and sustaining the deceased’s ka in the Netherworld.

The correct burial of the deceased was an important factor in the deceased’s perpetual regeneration. The known functional epithets of Anubis, as the Embalmer and the Lord of the Necropolis, influenced the composers’ decision to invoke the deity with the *Htp-di-nsw* formula as a way to ensure a good burial for the deceased.<sup>11</sup> The spells connecting Anubis, the *Htp-di-nsw* formula and a good burial are only represented on coffins originating from Gebelein and Aswan. Anubis is known to have had an established cult in Gebelein dedicated to Anubis *nb T3-ḥd*, “Lord of the Dawning Land.”<sup>12</sup> The examination of stele, like that of Amenwashu suggests a similar cult also existed in

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<sup>8</sup> Anubis appears on a variety of monuments ranging from niches to the Pyramid Texts, examples of which follow. For an example of a funerary niche, see: M. El-Khadragy, “The Edfu Offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum,” *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 209, fig. 3. For an example of a coffin, see: W. Stevenson Smith, “The Coffin of Prince Min-Khaf,” *JEA* 19:3/4 (1933), pl. XXIII. For an example of a tomb, see: M. Saleh, “The Tomb of Ihy,” *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes* (Mainz, 1977), p. 25. For the Pyramid Texts, see: J. P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (ed.) P. Der Manuelian (Atlanta, 2005), p. 106, § 31.

<sup>9</sup> R. van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Leiden & Boston, 2000), p. 363.

<sup>10</sup> Invoking a range of deities alongside the *Htp-di-nsw* formula in the Coffin Texts reflects the Middle Kingdom religious landscape where the deity the deceased identified with may have been a personal choice. For example Ipepy, son of Keku puts Sobek in the God’s formula following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula, see: B. V. Bothmer, “Block Statues of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom I. Ipepy’s Funerary Monument,” *The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 20:4 (1959), p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> CTV 165a; CTVII 112h; CTVII 137a; A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V. Texts of Spells 355 – 471* (Chicago, 1954), p. 165 – 167; A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII. Texts of Spells 787 – 1185* (Chicago, 1961), p. 112, 137 – 143.

<sup>12</sup> The titles Lord of *Inrty* and lord of *T3-ḥd* were used to describe Anubis in Gebelein from the earliest of times, see: E. F. Marochetti, *The Reliefs of the Chapel of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep at Gebelein* (Leiden, 2010), p. 8; L. Morenz, *Die Zeit der Regionen im Spiegel der Gebelein-Region Kulturgesichtliche Re-Konstruktionen* (Leiden, 2010), p. 130; H. Kees, “Kulttopographische und mythologische Beiträge,” *ZÄS* 71 (1935), p. 151.

Aswan, as Amenwahsu's mother is described on his funerary stele as "...great of the Harem of Anubis, Lord of the Dawning Land."<sup>13</sup> Habachi and Kees are in agreement that the "Dawning Land" referred to in Anubis' title can be identified as the Necropolis because the land is "white and bright," which contrasts with the Amduat which is "dim and dark."<sup>14</sup> The preexisting cults dedicated to Anubis in Gebelein and Aswan illustrate how in these Upper Egyptian localities Anubis was already associated with the Necropolis. Thus when the variants from Gebelein and Aswan invoke Anubis with the *Htp-di-nsw* formula it was done with the preconceived notion that this action enabled Anubis to ensure a good burial for the deceased. This is supported by the epithets used to identify Anubis following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula. For example, in Spell 399 the *Htp-di-nsw* formula is followed by the epithets *tp(.y) dw=f* and *nb t3-dsr*, which as previously discussed, denote Anubis' role as Lord of the Necropolis.<sup>15</sup> While Anubis is identified using the titles of *nb Krs.t* and *nb Sm3-t3* in Spells 908 and 936. Again these titles allude to the deity's dominion over the place of burial.<sup>16</sup> It was logical for those coffins originating from Gebelein and Aswan to invoke Anubis following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula because an established relationship already existed between the deity and the area of burial. Thus the Coffin Texts spells that invoke Anubis with the *Htp-di-nsw* formula originate from a confined area of Upper Egypt.<sup>17</sup> Therefore the composers of the Coffin Texts have

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<sup>13</sup> L. Habachi, "Amenwahsu Attached to the Cult of Anubis, Lord of the Dawning Land," *MDAIK* 14 (1956), p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> Habachi, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), p. 58; Kees, *ZÄS* 71 (1935), p. 150ff.

<sup>15</sup> CTV 165a.

<sup>16</sup> CTV 165a; CTVII 137a; CTVII 112h. Spell 908 of the Coffin Texts also identifies Anubis as, *nb Dw3.t* "Lord of the Netherworld," however its use in the corpus may be assumed to be a reference to the Necropolis opposed to the Netherworld. This is based on the fact Anubis' authority in the Necropolis had already been established during the Old Kingdom and due to Osiris' rise to prominence during the Middle Kingdom one may assume Anubis' authority did not extend past the Necropolis although this title suggests otherwise, see: H. Goedicke, "The Seal of the Necropolis," *SAK* 20 (1993), p. 67 – 70.

<sup>17</sup> During the Middle Kingdom tombs from Upper Egypt, like that of Djari at Dra Abu el-Naga, also preserve tomb inscriptions calling upon Anubis for a "good burial" using the *Htp-di-nsw* formula, see: L. Limme, *Stèles Égyptiennes* (Bruxelles, 1979), p. 18 – 19; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly on the Middle Kingdom A Study and an Anthology* (Fribourg, 1988), p. 40. Funerary stele dating between the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom demonstrate a trend where Anubis is invoked with the *Htp-di-nsw* formula in Upper Egypt, see: S. Hassan, "Two Unpublished First Intermediate Period Stele from the Cairo Museum," *SAK* 35 (2006), p. 296; C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire* (Paris, 1990), p. 70 – 73, 78 – 81. This trend continues during the New Kingdom, see: R. Assem, "Two Stelae at the Cairo Museum," *BEM* 3 (2006), p. 25.

invoked Anubis following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula in two spells in order to demonstrate how the deity was significant due to his role in providing the deceased with a good burial as it was a factor that enabled the perpetual regeneration of the ka.

(ii) *Offerings and the Htp-di-nsw formula*

The *Htp-di-nsw* formula was used in the Coffin Texts to sustain the deceased's ka in the afterlife, as "Wherever one may be, earthly needs continue."<sup>18</sup> The composers' of the Coffin Texts had the intention to convey Anubis performing a role where he provided the deceased with offerings through the attribution of the title *nb pr.t-hrw* "Lord of Invocation Offerings" following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula.<sup>19</sup> The term *pr.t-hrw*, during the Middle Kingdom, is identified as a compound noun where the verb *pri* appears in the infinitive form.<sup>20</sup> Gardiner believes this phrase developed from the Old Kingdom *pr.t-hrw* expression where *pri* was grammatically treated as a transitive verb and *hrw* was its object.<sup>21</sup> The best translation of *pr.t-hrw* is "sending the voice forth," however is commonly paraphrased as "invocation offerings" by modern scholars.<sup>22</sup> *Pr.t-hrw* may also be paraphrased as "voice offerings" because the act of stating the name of the deceased and the names of the offerings would allow for those offerings to sustain the ka in the afterlife.<sup>23</sup> The appeal for offerings is typically situated at the head of the coffin, which may have also influenced how *pr.t-hrw* is paraphrased.<sup>24</sup> The concept of "sending the voice forth" is also supported by archaeological evidence found in Middle Kingdom tombs. The tombs of Antef and Nefery were found intact at Beni Hassan with wooden

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<sup>18</sup> T. G. Allen, "The Egyptian Coffin Texts. VII by Adriaan de Buck," *JNES* 22:2 (1963), p. 134.

<sup>19</sup> CTVII 137a.

<sup>20</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 172; S. Curto, "L'espressione 'prj-hrw' nell'Antico Regno," *MDAIK* 16 (1958), p. 56.

<sup>21</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 172.

<sup>22</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 172. Following Gardiner all later dictionaries refer back to Gardiner for the justification of the translations, see: van der Molen, *Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 136; R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 91.

<sup>23</sup> E. Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2011), p. 131; J. W. Watts, "Ritual Rhetoric in Ancient New Eastern Texts," in *Ancient Non-Greek Rhetorics* (eds) C. S. Lipson & R. A. Binkley (West Lafayette, 2009), p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> For an example of the placement of the request for offerings above the head of the deceased on the Coffin, see: M. A. B. Kamal, "Rapport sur les Exécutées à Deîr-el-Barshé en Janvier, Février, Mars 1901," *ASAE* 2 (1901), p. 207.

models of bakeries, granaries and brewing stations.<sup>25</sup> These models enabled the invocation offerings the deceased received to be made for them in the afterlife. Funerary stele, like that of Ameniseneb and his family, demonstrate how Anubis contributed to their perpetual regeneration through sustaining their *kas* with offerings.<sup>26</sup> The importance of this role is demonstrated through its continued representation in the Ptolemaic Period, where funerary papyri describe this action as, “Gifts of the dog-headed one,”<sup>27</sup> or as “for they all live by thee.”<sup>28</sup> Thus in the Coffin Texts the composers entitled Anubis *nb pr.t-ḥrw* to communicate the deity’s role in sustaining the deceased’s *ka* in the Netherworld following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula.

Anubis, “Lord of Invocation Offerings,” is preserved in Spell 936 in variant G1T from Gebelein in de Buck’s edition.<sup>29</sup> However, Willems has identified that Spell 936 is also preserved on the Coffin of Heqata (A1C) although it is not published in de Buck’s edition.<sup>30</sup> Lapp notes coffins originating from Gebelein during the Middle Kingdom demonstrate a trend of connecting Anubis and *pr.t-ḥrw* offerings on the eastern side of their coffins.<sup>31</sup> This trend too is identifiable on the Coffin of Heqata where the text of Spell 936 surrounds an image of an offering table on the coffin’s eastern side.<sup>32</sup> Spell 936 consists of three sections; the first section consists of an “offering formula” invoking Anubis accompanied by the deity’s titles and a list of festivals, the second section presents the “offering formula” with no accompanying deity and the final section

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<sup>25</sup> J. Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt As Illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom* (London, 1907), p. 64 – 77; H. E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt From the Tomb of Meket-Re’* (Cambridge, 1955), pl. 22, 23 & 31.

<sup>26</sup> J. Vandier, “Un Curieux Monument Funéraire du Moyen Empire,” *Revue Du Louvre et des Musées de France* 13:1 (1963), p. 4, pl. 3.

<sup>27</sup> F. Wormald, “A Fragment of Accounts Dealing with Religious Festivals,” *JEA* 15:3/4 (1929), p. 240.

<sup>28</sup> Griffiths suggests this reference was supposed to identify how Anubis was “responsible for the provision of food and the attendance of souls,” see: F. L. Griffith & H. Thompson, (ed.) *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (London, 1904), p. 29.

<sup>29</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII. Texts of Spells 787 – 1185*, p. x, 137 – 143.

<sup>30</sup> H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418) A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven, 1996), p. 249.

<sup>31</sup> G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie* (Heidelberg, 1992), p. 195.

<sup>32</sup> Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)*, p. 249.



consists of a series of headings accompanied by corresponding utterances.<sup>33</sup> The *Htp-di-nsw* formula preceded by Anubis appears above the offering table while the following two sections of Spell 936 appear below.<sup>34</sup> The position of Anubis with this title above the offerings can be used to infer the importance of the deity, as it visually stipulates the role Anubis performed as the “Lord” who presided over the offerings. However while both the text and frieze can be used to infer Anubis’ significance it must not be forgotten this spell is only represented on coffins originating from Gebelein and Aswan. Thus the Coffin Texts illustrate Anubis’ significance through the role the deity performed in the provision of “Invocation Offerings,” as it was this process that enabled the earthly needs of the ka to be fulfilled in the afterlife.

### (iii) *Festivals and the Htp-di-nsw formula*

The composers of the Coffin Texts have replicated many aspects of funerary culture expressed on stele and cenotaphs during the Middle Kingdom throughout the corpus. Funerary stele produced during the Middle Kingdom, like that of the Master sculptor Shen, often provide an extensive list of festivals that the deceased requests their funerary cults to be celebrated on.<sup>35</sup> The composers of the corpus reproduce the trends evident in funerary culture throughout the Coffin Texts, yet in de Buck’s edition only Spell 936 from variant G1T preserves the *Htp-di-nsw* formula with lunar festivals.<sup>36</sup> The deity variant G1T invokes with the lunar festivals following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula is Anubis. The use of Anubis in this situation was influenced by the deity’s known role in regeneration and the deity’s preexisting cults at Gebelein. Underpinning the association between Anubis and the lunar festivals following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula was the

<sup>33</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume III Spells 788 – 1185 & Indexes* (Warminster, 1978), p. 70.

<sup>34</sup> Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)*, p. 495.

<sup>35</sup> Lunar festivals are the most common festivals noted on funerary monuments following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula as a form they could be used to ensure the deceased was perpetually regenerated, see: P. Wallin, *Celestial Cycles Astronomical Concepts of Regeneration in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Uppsala, 2002), p. 56ff; C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals Enactments of Religious Renewal* (Leiden, 1968), p. 129. For Middle Kingdom example provided, see: R. O. Faulkner, “The Stela of the Master-Sculptor Shen,” *JEA* 38 (1952), p. 4. This practice has been attested in the late Old Kingdom as well where on the tomb wall of Mery-nesut, now in Detroit, the offering formula invokes Anubis followed by an extensive list of lunar festivals, see: H. G. Fischer, “Offering for an Old Kingdom Granary Official,” *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 51:2/3 (1972), p. 70, fig. 1.

<sup>36</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII. Texts of Spells 787 – 1185*, p. 137 – 143.

assurance of the regeneration of the ka on these festival days. This is expressed in Spell 936 as it states,

*Htp-di-nsw Inp.w nb Krs[.t]<sup>37</sup> nb Sm3-t3 nb pr.t-hrw m w3g(y) m Dhwtj m Skr m tp(.y)<sup>38</sup> rnp.t wp-rnp.t m hb.w nfr.w n.w Wsir n im3hy N pn ikr m3<sup>c</sup>.w-hrw*

“An offering which the King gives and Anubis, Lord of Burial, Lord of the Interment and Lord of the Invocation Offerings in the *W3g(y)*-festival, in the Thoth-festival, in the Sokar-festival, in the festival of the First of the Year, in the Festival of the Opening of the Year, in the beautiful Festivals of Osiris for the honoured one N, perfect and justified.”<sup>39</sup>

This example brings together evidence for Anubis’ known functional epithet as Lord of the Necropolis and his role in providing the deceased with their earthly needs in the afterlife.<sup>40</sup> The composers’ intention for Spell 936 was to ensure the deceased’s ka was regenerated. The titles Anubis is provided in this spell were selected as they represented the necessary functions the deity required to in aid the regeneration of the ka. Spell 936 mentions two important festivals of regeneration, the *W3g(y)* Festival and the *Tp(.y) Rnp.t* Festival. Each of these festivals occurred at the beginning of the New Year and subsequently became important days for the regeneration and revitalization of the gods.<sup>41</sup> Luft determined the date of the *W3g(y)* Festival through the examination of Berlin

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<sup>37</sup> An additional [.t] has been added to *kr̥s* because when this title has been attributed to Anubis elsewhere in the Coffin Texts it is spelt *kr̥s.t*, see: CTVI 296c; CTVI351e.

<sup>38</sup> Although there is no “y” written in the original hieroglyphic text, Spalinger argues the reference that occurs in Spell 936 is clearly to a festival opposed to just the first day of the year as it appears in a longer list of festivals. Spalinger used the exterior tomb inscription of *Hnm-htp* II’s tomb at Beni Hassan as an example, see: A. J. Spalinger, *The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt* (Wiesbaden, 1996), p. 34 – 35.

<sup>39</sup> CTVII 137a – b.

<sup>40</sup> As previously discussed the titles of *nb Krs.t* and *nb Sm3-t3* are used in the Coffin Texts to demonstrate Anubis’ role as the “Lord of the Necropolis.” For the title Lord of Burial, see: CTVI 296c & CTVI351e. For the title Lord of Interment, see: CTVII 137a. The title *nb pr.t-hrw* is used in the Coffin Texts to demonstrate the deity’s role in providing the deceased with offerings and other earthly needs in the afterlife, see: CTVII 137a.

<sup>41</sup> N. Ellis, *Feasts of Light: Celebrations for the Seasons of Life Based on the Egyptian Goddess Mysteries* (Wheaton, 1999), p. 3; H. W. Fairman, “Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple,” *BRL* 37:1 (1954), p. 170. For the position of the *Tp(.y) Rnp.t* Festival in regards to the *W3g(y)* festival, see: P. Posener-Kriéger, “Remarques préliminaires sur les nouveaux papyrus d’Abusir,” in *Ägypten, Dauer und Wandel: Symposium Anlässlich des 75jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, am 10. und 11. Oktober*

Papyrus 10282 and Berlin Papyrus 10007. These papyri, according to Luft, demonstrate “the moveable *W3g(y)* festival is identified as the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the lunar month,” which explains the fixed date of *W3g(y)* festival on the “1 *3ht* 18.”<sup>42</sup> Contemporary evidence suggests the *W3g(y)* Festival and the *Tp(.y) Rnp.t* Festival were viewed by non-royals as important for their own regeneration as well. For example, the participation of the deceased’s family in the *W3g(y)* Festival was considered important, which is demonstrated in the Papyrus of Enkherefkhons. This papyri explains how “a wreath [was] placed around your neck on the day of *W3g(.y)* festival.”<sup>43</sup> On the other hand the importance of the *Tp(.y) Rnp.t* Festival is made clear in the contracts of the Overseer of the Necropolis of Asyut, Hepzefi. Contract Nine states, “That they go to the House of Anubis on the fifth of the 5 intercalary days (being) New Year’s night, and on New Years Day, to receive 2 [wicks] which the great priest (*w<sup>c</sup>b*) of Anubis gives to the Count Hepzefi.”<sup>44</sup> The purpose of this contract was to ensure Anubis received offerings after Hepzefi’s death to allow his own perpetual regeneration. Literary evidence suggests the festivals accompanying the funerary formula in Spell 936 were times of regeneration. The composers’ intent for these festivals being listed after the *Htp-di-nsu* formula was to mirror the funerary culture of the Middle Kingdom and to provide the deceased with specific days that were ensured to enable the regeneration of their kas. As the variants preserving this spell originate from Upper Egypt where known Anubis cults had been established, the only plausible conclusion for the funerary formula used in the Spell 936 is that Anubis was invoked with these festivals as it reflected the local understanding of the role the deity performed in the regeneration of the deceased.

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1982 (Mainz, 1985), p. 40. For the purpose of the *W3g(y)* festival during the Middle Kingdom, see: J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* trans. D. Lorton (Munich, 2001), p. 308.

<sup>42</sup> U. Luft, “The Date of the *w3gy* feast: Considerations on the Chronology of the Old Kingdom,” in *Revolutions in Time: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendars* (ed.) A. J. Spalinger (San Antonio, 1994), p. 41.

<sup>43</sup> A. M. Blackman, “The Funerary Papyrus of Enkherefkhons,” *JEA* 4 (1918), pl. 26, lines. 3 – 4.

<sup>44</sup> M. Ezzamel, “Accounting and Redistribution: The Palace and Mortuary Cult in the Middle Kingdom Ancient Egypt,” *The Accounting Historical Journal* 29:1 (2002), p. 95. Funerary contracts are not uncommon during the Middle Kingdom. The contracts serve as another means through which the deceased could ensure they were celebrated on lunar festivals and in turn ensure their perpetual regeneration, see: B. Russo, “Some Notes on the Funerary Cult in the Early Middle Kingdom: Stela BM EA 1164,” *JEA* 93 (2007), p. 198.

## 4. b. Anubis and Festivals

### (i) *Anubis and Lunar Festivals*

The composers of the Coffin Texts invoked Anubis with numerous lunar festivals throughout the corpus in order to demonstrate the various roles the deity performed for the ka. As previously discussed, the non-royals of the Middle Kingdom understood lunar festivals to be times of regeneration for the gods and mortals alike. Thus to communicate how Anubis was significant in the regeneration of the deceased the composers have portrayed the deity providing offerings for the deceased on lunar festivals. An example of this is demonstrated in Spell 723, which states,

[fk3 pw n] R<sup>c</sup>.w ʕ3 ntr Inp.w hnty sh-ntr Wsir rdi.n n=f s3=f Wsir N tn hrw(.w) pw n(.y) 3bd  
psdntyw smdn.t.

“[It is a cake offering to] Re, to the Great God, to Anubis the foremost of the Divine Booth and to Osiris which his son N has given to him, on the day(s) of the monthly festival, the new moon and its festival and the half-monthly festival.”<sup>45</sup>

The purpose of Spell 723 is to demonstrate a reciprocal relationship between the gods and men where the deities listed, Anubis, Re and Osiris, received offerings in order for those offerings to be passed on the deceased in the Netherworld.<sup>46</sup> The cake offering referred to in Spell 723 is particularly important as the voluntary nature of the offering provided benefits for the giver.<sup>47</sup> In this situation the metaphorical offerings made by the deceased to these deities resulted in their ka being sustained in the Netherworld. Thus the composers of the Coffin Texts had the intention of demonstrating Anubis’ involvement in providing sustenance for the deceased’s ka by invoking the deity on lunar festivals with offerings. In contrast, Spell 45 illustrates how the composers created a link between the lunar festivals and Anubis’ function as the Embalmer to demonstrate

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<sup>45</sup> CTVI B3B0 347 - 355. This part of the spell is only preserved in variant B3B0 and as a result de Buck has not provided it with a line number, see: de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 - 787*, p. 351.

<sup>46</sup> G. Englund, “Gifts to the Gods – a necessity for the Preservation of the Cosmos and Life. Theory and Praxis,” in *Gifts to the Gods Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985* (eds) T. Linders & G. Nordquist (Stockholm, 1987), p. 61 – 63. .

<sup>47</sup> J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians Volume 2* (London, 1872), p. 361 – 362; S. Cauville, *Offerings to the Gods in Egyptian Temples* trans. B. Calcoen (Leuven, 2012), p. 63.

the deity's involvement in the regeneration of the ka on lunar festivals. Spell 45 states, "Anubis will make pleasant your odor before your seat in the Divine Booth... there being no deduction therein of the New Moon and its Festival."<sup>48</sup> Hence each of the occasions where lunar festivals are linked with Anubis in the Coffin Texts identifies the deity with the regeneration of the deceased.<sup>49</sup> While the majority of the variants for these spells originate from el-Bersha, there are also variants originating from Thebes and Asyut.<sup>50</sup> The wider range of variants in de Buck's edition may be used to infer that the composers sought to communicate Anubis' significance during the Middle Kingdom by expressing his role in the regeneration of the deceased and providing the earthly needs of the deceased on lunar festivals as to the audience these were known times of regeneration.

### (ii) *Anubis and the Day of the Centipede*

The regeneration of the deceased was likened to the regeneration of Osiris in the Coffin Texts. This resulted in festival days, such as the "Day of the Centipede," being referred to throughout the corpus to ensure the regeneration of the deceased was as successful as Osiris' regeneration. The "Day of the Centipede" is connected with Osiris' regeneration because, according to Corteggiani, the "Centipede" was the "divine body of Osiris."<sup>51</sup> In Spell 227 Anubis is identified with *hrw Sp3*, "The Day of the Centipede." The connection between this festival day and Osirian theology may be used to suggest Anubis was associated with this day as a means to ensure the regeneration of the deceased due to the deity's role as the Embalmer. In Spell 227 the deceased is likened to Anubis on this day twice as the text states, *ink 'Inp.w hrw Sp3*, "I am Anubis on the Day of the Centipede."<sup>52</sup> The range of variants preserving Spell 227 has caused debate among scholars about the correct translation of this spell, particularly line 263f, and for that reason a complete translation of Spell 227 is found in the Appendices (see, page. 94).<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> CTI 196a – c.

<sup>49</sup> CTII 298b; CTVI B3B0; Wallin, *Celestial Cycles: Astronomical Concepts of Regeneration*, p. 70.

<sup>50</sup> CTI 196a – b; CTII 298b; CTVI B3B0.

<sup>51</sup> J.-P. Corteggiani, "Une stèle Héliopolitaine d'époque Saïte," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976, vol. I* (Cairo, 1979), p. 136. For a general summary of the Centipede or Sepa, see: R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2003), p. 233.

<sup>52</sup> CTIII 263f; CTIII 265a.

<sup>53</sup> The four variants of this spell originate from el-Bersha, Lisht, Asyut and the final source is the Papyrus Gardiner II. P.Gard.II and B2L are the only variants which preserve line 263f however both present

The first occurrence of the phrase *ink Inp.w hrw Sp3* appears in line 263f, however Faulkner disagrees.<sup>54</sup> Faulkner offers the alternative translation of *ink sp3 hrw Sp3*, which is preserved only in the variant P.Gard.II.<sup>55</sup> Scholars have recognised Papyrus Gardiner II, III and IV included in de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts may have been master copies used in the transmission of the religious corpus.<sup>56</sup> If Faulkner is correct in basing his translation completely off the papyrus copy of Spell 227 why then do both Barguet and Carrier use variant B2L?<sup>57</sup> According to Willems, B2L can be classified as belonging to Group D of the Middle Kingdom coffins from el-Bersha.<sup>58</sup> With a date given to B2L between the reigns of Senwosret II – III by Willems,<sup>59</sup> the reference to Anubis in line 263f may have been a local adaption of the original text, i.e. B2L is representative of how the locality of el-Bersha had interpreted the religious corpus, thus invoking a deity on the day of the Centipede that reflected their beliefs. The regenerative qualities of Anubis' functional epithets contribute to the deity being invoked on the Day of the Centipede and this has been established across all variants provided by de Buck for Spell 227. The additional reference to Anubis on the *Hrw Sp3* in B2L suggests the deity's prominence in Upper Egypt and may be explained as a local adaption of the text. Therefore in the Coffin Texts Anubis is linked with the perpetual regeneration of the deceased's ka through days of celebration directly connected with the regeneration of Osiris to demonstrate how Anubis was significant.

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different versions of the text, see: A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts III. Texts of Spells 164 – 267* (Chicago, 1947), p. 260 – 265.

<sup>54</sup> P. Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages Egyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), p. 545; C. Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I Spells [1] à [354]*, (Champollion, 2004), p. 554 – 555.

<sup>55</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 - 354* (Warminster, 1973), p. 180; L5 of Gardiner's sign-list acts as the determinative for the first occurrence of the term *Sp3*, see: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 478.

<sup>56</sup> D. P. Silverman, "Textual Criticism of the Coffin Texts," in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (ed.) W. K. Simpson (New Haven, 1989), p. 31. Roccati suggests individual transcriptions of the Coffin Texts may have been in use during the Middle Kingdom in the transmission of the corpus, see: A. Roccati, "A Ghost Tomb and a Torn Papyrus with Coffin Texts at Turin," in *The World of the Coffin Texts Proceedings of the Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Adriaan de Buck Leiden, December 17 – 19, 1992* (ed.) H. Willems (Leiden, 1996), p. 110.

<sup>57</sup> P. Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages Egyptiens du Moyen Empire*, p. 545; C. Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 554 – 555.

<sup>58</sup> H. Willems, *Chests of Life A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of the Middle Kingdom, Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden, 1958), p. 75.

<sup>59</sup> Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 77.

#### 4. c. Anubis, the *sh-ntr* and other Sacred Spaces

##### (i) *The sh-ntr*

The composers of the Coffin Texts associate Anubis with known sacred spaces in order to communicate the role the physical preservation of the deceased's body served in the perpetual regeneration of the deceased's ka. While it appears in perhaps Anubis' oldest epithet,<sup>60</sup> the determination of the exact meaning of the *sh-ntr* and its significance is debated due to the terms numerous definitions and representations throughout the Middle Kingdom (Pl. 6). Scholars suggest the various definitions of *sh* including, "booth,"<sup>61</sup> "zelt"<sup>62</sup> and "hall."<sup>63</sup> W. R. Dawson suggested the term *sh-ntr* reflects the temporary nature of the so-called Embalmer's workshop, however never identifies the *sh-ntr* as the "Embalmer's workshop."<sup>64</sup> Misinterpretation of Dawson's argument has lead some to translate *sh-ntr* on funerary monuments as "Embalmer's workshop" or "Embalming Booth" which appear as modern interpretations of the ancient terms.<sup>65</sup> This paper understands the most correct interpretation of the authors' intended meaning for the phrase *sh-ntr* to be the "Divine Booth," based on the principle the term *ntr* acts as an adjective describing the nature of the "Booth."<sup>66</sup> The reference to the *sh-ntr* in Spell 51 encourages the interpretation that the *sh-ntr* was a physical space used in the preservation of the deceased's body.<sup>67</sup> The later New Kingdom tombs of Rekhmire, Amenemhet and Nebamun support this, as their tomb inscriptions allude to the existence of a physical *sh-ntr*.<sup>68</sup> Fischer and DuQuesne suggest the significance of the *sh-ntr* is based on its connection to Anubis' role as the *hry-sšt3* "Master of Secrets."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> A. E. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de L'Ancien Empire* (Hildesheim & New York, 1976), p. 74, 77, 88, 90, 118.

<sup>61</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 237.

<sup>62</sup> Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, p. 793.

<sup>63</sup> Ockinga, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 166.

<sup>64</sup> W. R. Dawson, "Making a Mummy," *JEA* 13:1/2 (1927), p. 41.

<sup>65</sup> R. A. Ritner, "'Breathing Permit of Hor' Among the Joseph Smith Papyri," *JNES* 62:3 (2003), p. 177.

<sup>66</sup> This is based on Hoffmeier's argument where *dsr* is used to describe an area or place in association with a deity becomes an adjective and is used to describe the nature of the noun, see: J. K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt the Term DSR, with Special Reference to Dynasties I –XX* (Göttingen, 1985), p. 115 – 117.

<sup>67</sup> CTI 237f – 238a.

<sup>68</sup> H. Altenmüller, "Die Bedeutung der "Gotteshalle des Anubis" im Begräbnisritual," *Annuaire de la Société Orientale* 22 (1972), p. 310.

<sup>69</sup> H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* (New York, 1996), p. 45; DuQuesne, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, p. 248.

DuQuesne illustrates the connection between Anubis, “Master of Secrets,” and the deceased’s entry into the Netherworld in his discussion of the Stele of Ikhnofret.<sup>70</sup> This resonates with the Coffin Texts Spell 644 where Anubis is referred to as the one “who embalmed the god, the god in the secret place.”<sup>71</sup> Understanding the *sh-ntr* as a physical space was the intention of the composers as it reiterated the importance of Anubis in the preservation of the physical body, which was a key component for the regeneration of the ka.

Anubis is identified with the *sh-ntr* on six occasions. The intention of each reference was to portray Anubis as the primary deity concerned with the physical preservation of body.<sup>72</sup> Within the Coffin Texts the way in which this epithet is presented varies. Spell 45, a spell for the entry into the Place of Embalming, is the best example of the diverse range of the uses for Anubis’ epithet. There are two references where Anubis is associated with the *sh-ntr* in this spell. Primarily Anubis and the *sh-ntr* are connected indirectly, as Spell 45 states; “Anubis will make pleasant your odor before your seat in the Divine Booth.”<sup>73</sup> This reference occurs in the midst of this spell and according to Faulkner is “an allusion to the embalming of the deceased.”<sup>74</sup> There are seven variants for this spell all originating from el-Bersha in Upper Egypt.<sup>75</sup> Willems has demonstrated through his table entitled “Seriation of the Coffins from Bersheh” (Pl. 7) that each of the variants for Spell 45 belong to either group C, the funerary equipment of the nomarch Amenemhet, or Group D, the coffins from the subsidiary burials in the forecourt of the tomb of the nomarch Djhuithotep.<sup>76</sup> Coffins belonging to Group C and following are more typologically developed than those of Groups A and B. Therefore it may be suggested the sources which provide the indirect connection between Anubis and the *sh-ntr* reflect a

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<sup>70</sup> T. DuQuesne, “Anubis Master of Secrets (*hry-sšt*) and the Egyptian Conception of Mysteries,” in *Schleier und Schwelle Geheimnis und Offenbarung Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation V, 2* (eds) A. & J. Assmann (Munich, 1998), p. 108.

<sup>71</sup> CTVI 265a.

<sup>72</sup> CTI 195g – 196g; CTI 198g – 199a; CTI 233f; CTI 252c – d; CTIII 395b; CTVI B3B0.

<sup>73</sup> CTI 195h – 196a.

<sup>74</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I Spells 1 - 354*, p. 40.

<sup>75</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts Volume I. Texts of Spells 1 – 75* (Chicago, 1935), p. 191 – 200.

<sup>76</sup> Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 74 – 77, table. 2.



developing belief that in el-Bersha Anubis did not have to be directly linked with spaces where the deity was known to have held authority.

The remaining references identifying Anubis with the *sh-ntr* demonstrate the deity's authority in the space. Predominately the composers of the corpus allow the audience to note the significance of Anubis through the use of term *hnty* meaning "pre-eminent."<sup>77</sup> The variants de Buck provides for this epithet originate predominately from el-Bersha however one use originates from Asyut.<sup>78</sup> This is a limited range of origins for one epithet and it does not allow conclusions to be drawn that are representative of the beliefs among the non-royal population about Anubis' significance in the *sh-ntr*. However the limited range of evidence in de Buck's edition can be supplemented with archaeological evidence from the Middle Kingdom. For example, the Tomb of Mersi at Meir describes Anubis as *Inp.w hnty sh-ntr* as does the funerary stele of Heteoi.<sup>79</sup> The authority of Anubis over the *sh-ntr* is even retained during the Late Period, as seen on the Papyrus Sallier IV.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand the Giessen Library Papyrus states, "...Osiris, pre-eminent in the God's Booth, Osiris..."<sup>81</sup> This unusual use of Anubis' epithet is explained by Faulkner as a reference that illustrates Osiris as only being associated with this area as, "the occupant rather than as the presiding deity."<sup>82</sup> Thus the evidence for Anubis' authority in the *sh-ntr* is expressed on numerous occasions in the Coffin Texts, yet the origins of the variants restrict the conclusions that can be drawn. The Coffin Texts demonstrate Anubis' significance through the deity's association with the *sh-ntr*. From the variants de Buck provides, the prominence of Anubis is most apparent in

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<sup>77</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 194; van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 397.

<sup>78</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts III. Texts of Spells 164 – 267* (Chicago, 1947), p. 395.

<sup>79</sup> A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir III, The Tomb Chapels of Ukh-hotep son of Ukh-hotep and Mersi* (London, 1915), pl. 23; R. Landgráfová, "Funerary Stele of Heteoi," in *It is my Good Name You Should Remember Egyptian Biographical Texts on Middle Kingdom Stelae* (Praha, 2011), p. 64 – 65. For an example from the Old Kingdom, see: A. M. Moussa & M. Nassar, "Two Old Kingdom Falseddoors from the Causeway of King Unas at Saqqara," *SAK* 7 (1979), p. 156, fig. 1. Also see: K. Daoud, "The False-Door of the Family Skr-htp," *SAK* 23 (1996), p. 87.

<sup>80</sup> R. A. Caminos, "Papyrus Sallier IV, verso," in *Late Egyptian Miscellaneous* (London, 1954), p. 333 – 334.

<sup>81</sup> R. O. Faulkner "Giessen University Library Papyrus No. 115," *JEA* 44 (1958), p. 71.

<sup>82</sup> Faulkner, *JEA* 44 (1958), p. 72. Faulkner points out a similar occurrence occurs in the Book of Horus, see: R. O. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Horus* (Oxford, 1958), line. 11,11.

Upper Egypt as through his association with the physical preservation of the deceased in the *sh-ntr* Anubis enabled the regeneration of the ka in the afterlife.

(ii) *The w<sup>c</sup>b.t “Pure Place”*

The preservation of the body was aided in the Coffin Texts through the use of the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t*. The term *w<sup>c</sup>b.t* comes from the verb *w<sup>c</sup>b* meaning “to purify”<sup>83</sup> or “to wash.”<sup>84</sup> As *w<sup>c</sup>b* serves as the foundation for the term *w<sup>c</sup>b.t* one may assume this sacred space was used to purify the body of the deceased.<sup>85</sup> As the Embalmer Anubis purified the deceased’s body prior to burial. The action of purification by water is one associated with Anubis until Graeco-Roman times where Anubis was understood to pour the “waters of life over the body [of the deceased].”<sup>86</sup> The Coffin Texts, describe Anubis as being *s.wt=f nb.wt w<sup>c</sup>b.(w)t*, “in all his pure places”<sup>87</sup> and *ink Inp.w m srwh w<sup>c</sup>b.t*, “I am Anubis who fosters the Pure Place.”<sup>88</sup> Blackman suggests the importance of the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t* in the regeneration of the deceased developed after the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t* was identified as the place where the ceremonial washing of Osiris occurred before his embalment, which enabled his regeneration.<sup>89</sup> Perhaps there was an affinity between the *sh-ntr* and the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t* as the Egyptians understood both of these sacred spaces to be involved with the preservation of their bodies. This connection between Anubis’ purpose as the Embalmer and the performance of embalming rituals in the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t* is expressed in Spell 399. The spell states, *ink ‘h(.w=f) pri=f šmw n.y w<sup>c</sup>b.t st(i) k3.t n Inp.w hrw srwh imy hw33.t=f*, “I am the one who enters and

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<sup>83</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 57.

<sup>84</sup> A. Wiedemann, “Bronze Circles and Purification Vessels in Egyptian Temples,” *PSBA* 23 (1901), p. 269.

<sup>85</sup> The Westcar Papyrus is the earliest attested use of the term *w<sup>c</sup>b* meaning “to purify” where it evokes a sense of ridding oneself of impurities. The text states, *iw(i).t=f r w<sup>c</sup>b m š=i*, “His coming in order to purify in my pool.” This initial use of the term *w<sup>c</sup>b* may have influenced its use in the purification of the deceased, see: A. M. Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians Transcribed from the Westcar Papyrus (Berlin Papyrus 3033)* (ed.) W. V. Davies (Kent, 1988), § 2,24 – 3,1.

<sup>86</sup> A. Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis* (Cairo, 1990), p. 177.

<sup>87</sup> CTV 165a.

<sup>88</sup> CTVI 264t. There are other references where Anubis is seen performing purification rituals as part of the embalming rituals in the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t*, see: CTI 217a – c; CTIII 305c - d; CTIII 310a; CTV 165a; CTVI 264t.

<sup>89</sup> A. M. Blackman, “Some Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead,” *JEA* 5:2 (1918), p. 118. For the references in the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead, see: Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 158, § 462; T. G. Allen, “Chapter 17” in *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their Own Terms* (ed.) E. Blaisdell Hauser (Chicago, 1974), p. 29, § S13.

goes out, mover of the Pure Place, who sets flame for Anubis on the day of treating him who is his putridity.”<sup>90</sup> Spell 399 demonstrates how the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t* served as a space where Anubis could perform embalming rituals. Therefore the relationship between the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t* and Anubis in the Coffin Texts was intended to communicate the deity’s role in purification and preservation of the body after death, which facilitated the regeneration of the deceased’s ka in the Netherworld.

### (iii) *The imy-w.t “Place of Embalming”*

Anubis is attributed with the epithet of *imy-w.t* “he who is in the embalming place,” in the Coffin Texts. The purpose of this epithet was to recognise Anubis’ role in the regeneration of the deceased’s ka in the Netherworld. This was achieved by linking the deity using this epithet with the performance of embalming rituals in sacred spaces, such as the *sh-ntr* and the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t*, to preserve the physical body of the deceased. The term *imy-w.t* is a composite phrase made of the two terms *imy* and *w.t* that have been associated with Anubis on two occasions in the Coffin Texts.<sup>91</sup> According to Faulkner *w.t* means, “embalm” however when used in association with *imy* as *imy-w.t* the translation of the phrase becomes, “He who is in the place of embalming.”<sup>92</sup> When the composite phrase is defined as a whole both Faulkner and Hannig understand it to refer to an “Anubis Fetish.”<sup>93</sup> The determinative used for the phrase *imy-w.t* in the Coffin Texts is sign Aa 2 from Gardiner’s sign list, more commonly known as the “pustule” or “gland.”<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> CTIII 305c – d.

<sup>91</sup> CTI 217a – c; CTV 165a.

<sup>92</sup> Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 71. It has been suggested by Lloyd, Spencer and El-Khouli that during the Old Kingdom the only way Anubis was known to have been associated with embalming was through the association with the *imy-w.t* because *w.t* as a title was not attributed to Anubis, see: A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer, A. El-Khouli, *Saqqâra Tombs II The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khaui and Others* (London, 1990), p. 7 – 8, 13, 17 – 18, 26. However evidence presented by Blackman casts doubt over this interpretation. Blackman argues there is an official known as Sekhmhere who held the titles of “King’s son, Vizier and Chief Justice and Anubis the Embalmer” during the Old Kingdom, see: A. M. Blackman, “The House of the Morning,” *JEA* 5:3 (1918), p. 150.

<sup>93</sup> Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 18; Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, p. 48. For the Anubis fetish, see: T. J. Logan, “The Origin of the *Imy-w.t* Fetish,” *JARCE* 27 (1990), p. 69.

<sup>94</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 539. For the further classification of *w.t* using this determinative, see: W. Schenkel, *Aus der Arbeit an Einer Konkordanz zu den Altägyptischen Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 79.

Gardiner notes sign Aa 2 is commonly used as a determinative for bodily growths or conditions, especially with morbid terms such as *wbnw* “wound,” *h3y.t* “disease” and *wḥd* “suffer.”<sup>95</sup> Prior to the Coffin Texts sign Aa 2 did not determine *w.t*. The change in the determinative used for *w.t* and more importantly *imy-w.t* suggests the understanding of the phrase changed. Gardiner suggests, and El-Khadragy agrees, the pustule or gland became the determinative of *w.t* meaning “embalm” between the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.<sup>96</sup> The use of the pustule as the determinative for the term *imy-w.t* then suggests the composers’ understood *imy-w.t* would have been recognized by the audience as referring to “he who is in the place of embalming.”

The two occurrences of Anubis’ epithet *imy-w.t* in the Coffin Texts are very different. The first, occurring in Spell 49, is an important example as it does not refer to Anubis by name. The text simply states, *h3i shm n(y) imy-w.t*, “the *shm*-scepter of he who is in the place of embalming.”<sup>97</sup> In this example Anubis is identified through the epithet *imy-w.t* without any reference to the deity’s name. The understanding of the assumed relationship between Anubis, the *imy-w.t* and embalming may be the result of the age of the variants for this spell. Willems demonstrates that the majority of the el-Bersha coffins which provide Spell 49 date to the later 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>98</sup> The later date of these variants means the texts that appear of the coffins were more typologically developed than other sources from el-Bersha. This may be used to infer the understanding of Anubis’ role had developed to a point where it was not necessary for the name of the deity to be used with the epithet *imy-w.t*.<sup>99</sup> Much like the contemporary uses of *imy-w.t* the epithet is used in the Coffin Texts to describe Anubis following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula in Spell 399.<sup>100</sup> As previously discussed, the variants preserving Spell 399

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<sup>95</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 539. For the further classification of date of the introduction of sign Aa 2 as the determinative for *w.t*, see: M. El-Khadragy, “The Adoration Gesture in Private Tombs up to the Early Middle Kingdom,” *SAK* 29 (2001), p. 190 - 192.

<sup>96</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 539.

<sup>97</sup> CTI 217c.

<sup>98</sup> Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 72 – 77.

<sup>99</sup> Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 72 – 77.

<sup>100</sup> CTV 165a. For a similar example from Thinis, see: Y. El-Masry, “An Unpublished Stela from the Ancient Cemetery of Thinis,” *SAK* 31 (2003), p. 271.

originate from Gebelein and Aswan in Upper Egypt.<sup>101</sup> As the variants preserving Spells 49 and 399 all originate from Upper Egypt, it may be suggested the regeneration of the ka in the Netherworld being linked with Anubis' performance of embalming rituals in sacred spaces was a characteristic specific to that region. However a funerary stele originating from Lower Egypt, dating to the First Intermediate Period preserves the inscription that states, *...Inp.w tp(.y) dw=f imy-w.t*, "... Anubis who is upon his mountain, he who is in the place of embalming."<sup>102</sup> The inscription suggests this function of Anubis was acknowledged throughout Egypt. Therefore the epithet *imy-w.t* was used to in the Coffin Texts to identify Anubis' performance of embalming rituals in sacred spaces. The actions perceived as being performed by the deity were the result of this epithet, as Anubis is identified as operating in a space where the physical preservation of the body took place. Although this epithet is only preserved in variants originating from Upper Egypt the use of the epithet *imy-w.t* with and without the deity's name indicates in the Coffin Texts Anubis' significance can be understood due to his role in the embalming rituals that enabled the regeneration of the deceased.

The funerary epithets ascribed to Anubis in the Coffin Texts reflect the deity's role in the perpetual regeneration of the ka and sustaining the ka in the Netherworld. In the Coffin Texts the references made to Anubis following *Htp-di-nsu* formulae offer an insight to the non-royal perception of how regeneration could be achieved through invoking Anubis with offerings and festivals. Beyond the constraints of the *Htp-di-nsu* formula lunar festivals and general festival days are linked with Anubis. The links established between Anubis and these festivals allowed the composers to reinforce the importance of Anubis' role in the perpetual regeneration of the deceased in the Netherworld. During the Middle Kingdom a key component of regeneration was the physical preservation of the body. Thus as the Embalmer Anubis was recognised with the known sacred spaces of the *sh-ntr* and the *w'b.t* to identify the deity's role in the preservation of the deceased's physical body. The epithet *imy-w.t* was then used to complement these spaces, illustrating how Anubis was the deity who operated in these spaces and in turn was responsible for aspects that enabled the eternal life of the deceased. Therefore Anubis' significance can be identified in the Coffin Texts due to the association of the deity with

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<sup>101</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V. Texts of Spells 355 – 471* (Chicago, 1954), p. 165.

<sup>102</sup> M. Abderlrahiem, "The Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt Meru," *SAK 31* (2003), p. 3.

funerary formulae, festivals and spaces. Through the association created between Anubis and these funerary epithets the composers were able to express the deity's role in the perpetual regeneration of the ka and illustrate how Anubis could provide the ka with its earthly needs in the Netherworld.

## 5. Conclusion

The roles and functions performed by Anubis were of great importance during the Middle Kingdom. The examination of one literary corpus of funerary texts has demonstrated how a comprehensive understanding of Anubis can be gained, specific to one period of time. Through the analysis of the Coffin Texts an insight into the perception of the deity's roles and functions among non-royal Egyptians during the Middle Kingdom has been enhanced. The importance of Anubis' role in the funerary context during the Middle Kingdom can be definitively attested in the Coffin Texts. Through the close examination of the hieroglyphic texts it has become apparent that there are three aspects contributing to Anubis' significance as demonstrated in the Coffin Texts. An awareness of Anubis' significance is made apparent through the deity's functional epithets preserved in the corpus. The roles Anubis performs as the Embalmer, the Lord of the Necropolis, the Guide, the Gatekeeper and the Judge each recognise tasks that were perceived as being performed by the deity in the afterlife. Moreover the significance of Anubis performing these roles is heightened in the Coffin Texts as each of the functional epithets attributed to the deity corresponds to the four steps the deceased took on their journey to achieve an eternal life in the Netherworld.

Similarly, epithets have been attributed to Anubis demonstrating the deity's significance by providing links to determined and un-determined topographical locations. The determined areas linked with Anubis of Asyut, Roqerert and Sepa each demonstrate cult locations of Anubis during the Middle Kingdom. In contrast, Abydos and Busiris were associated with Anubis so the composers could communicate the role Anubis performed after Osiris' prominence superseded his own in the funerary context. To complement the functional epithets of Anubis the composers have associated the deity with un-determined areas that all have funerary connotations. Funerary formulae, festivals and spaces commonly referred to on Middle Kingdom stele were replicated in the Coffin Texts. The purpose of this replication was to include formulae that were recognisable to an audience who were largely illiterate. Moreover these spells provided the deceased with another form of assurance for their *kas* to be sustained in the Netherworld and for the perpetual regeneration of their *kas*.

Relationships Anubis shared with other Egyptian deities have been identified through the examination of the Coffin Texts. From this examination it is clear Anubis shared relationships with Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Thoth and Khnum. Each of those relationships Anubis shared was due to the deity's role in the embalming rituals. It has been demonstrated that of these relationships, the composers emphasised the one Anubis shared with Osiris. The prominence of this relationship can be understood as both Anubis and Osiris were important funerary deities whose roles and functions had to be redefined following the Old Kingdom so each deity had their own functions in the funerary context. Therefore from this examination it may be concluded the relationships the composers illustrated between Anubis and other deities were the direct result of Anubis' role as the Embalmer.

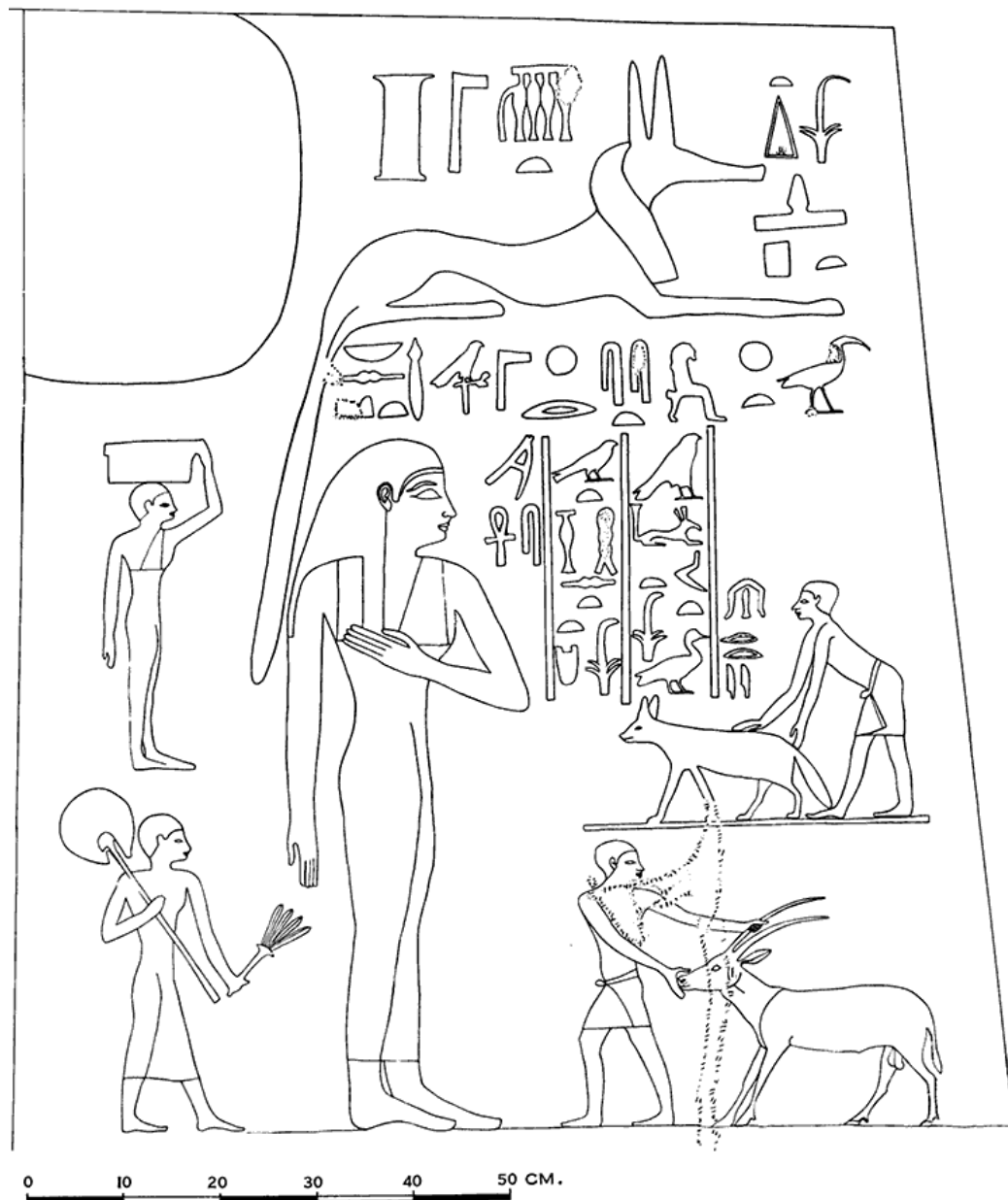
This examination enables further study, as a process of replication is possible for both funerary texts from the Old Kingdom, *The Pyramid Texts*, and the New Kingdom, *The Book of the Dead*. In completing examinations of this content in regards to the characteristics of Anubis what can be gained is the developing understanding of Anubis within the funerary context for the complete Pharaonic Period. While a greater understanding of Anubis during the Middle Kingdom has been gained from the examination of the Coffin Texts the conclusions that have been drawn are somewhat limited. De Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts only provides a limited number of variants and as a result the conclusions drawn about Anubis' significance in this paper have been largely restricted to commenting on the beliefs among non-royals from Upper Egypt. Since the publication of de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts many more Middle Kingdom coffins have been discovered and it is through the examination of those extra coffins that this study could have been furthered. Nonetheless, the examination of the roles and functions Anubis performed in the Coffin Texts has provided a greater insight into the deity's significance during the Middle Kingdom. The composers of the Coffin Texts demonstrated the importance of Anubis through the attribution of various titles and epithets that expressed the deity's functional, topographical and funerary significance during the Middle Kingdom.



## 6. Plates

**Plate 1:** Anubis identified as *nb Smy.t* "Lord of the Desert," on the North Door Jamb of Mersyankh III's tomb, G7530, at Giza.

**Source:** D. Dunham & W. K. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas Volume I The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III G 7530 – 7540* (ed.) W. K. Simpson (Boston, 1974), fig. 3a.



**Plate 2.a:** Anubis acting as the Guide for Sennedjem. Image from the North wall of Sennedjem's tomb at Deir el-Medina, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

**Source:** A. G. Shedid, *Das Grab des Sennedjem Ein Künstlergrab der 19. Dynastie in Deir el Medina* (Mainz, 1999), pl. 79.



**Plate 2.b:** Anubis acting as the Guide by presenting the deceased to Osiris-Sokar. Preserved on the part of a mummy-cloth belonging to a woman known as Tjehenet and has been dated to the Roman Period.

**Source:** J. G. Griffiths, "Eight Funerary Paintings with Judgement Scenes in the Swansea Wellcome Museum," *JEA* 68 (1982), pl. 26.1.



**Plate 2.c:** Anubis acting as the Guide for the deceased Petemin, Roman Period.

**Source:** S. Walker & M. Bierbrier, "Inscribed Limestone Stela of Petemin," in *Ancient Faces Mummy Portraits From Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), p. 154, pl. 171.



**Plate 3.a:** Anubis depicted as the recumbent jackal with the *shem*-scepter or Sekhem-Scepter positioned between his two front paws.

**Source:** E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. Bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt Volume I* (Berlin, 1886), pl. 3.



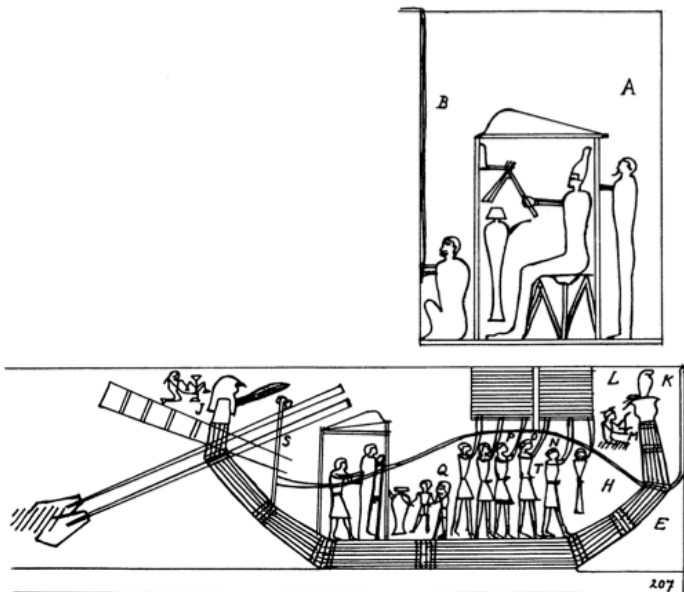
**Plate 3.b:** Anubis depicted as the recumbent jackal with the *shm*-scepter or Sekhem-Scepter positioned before the deity.

**Source:** R. O. Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead The Book of Going Forth by Day Being the Papyrus of Ani (Royal Scribe of the Divine Offerings)* (San Francisco, 1994), pl. 33.



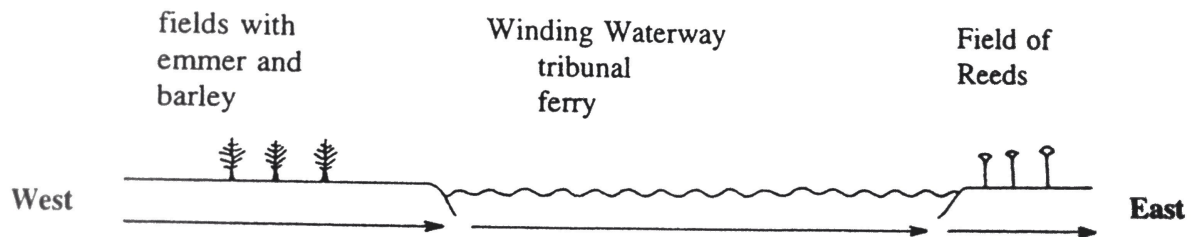
**Plate 4:** Drawing of the vessel used to transport the deceased, after embalming, to the Necropolis. Drawing copied from the back of coffin A1C. It is the image which accompanies Spell 399.

**Source:** A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V. Texts of Spells 355 – 471* (Chicago, 1954), p. 162.



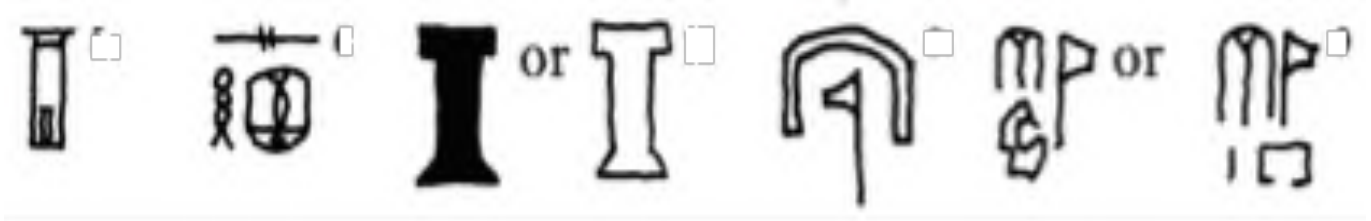
**Plate 5:** Representation of the assumed topography of the Egyptian Netherworld, as described in Spells 397 and 398 of the Coffin Texts.

**Source:** H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo Jde 36418) A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven, 1996), p. 169, fig. 41.



**Plate 6:** Four variations of the spelling for *sh-ntr* used during the Middle Kingdom.

**Source:** A. M. J. Tooley, "Coffin of a Dog at Beni Hasan," *JEA* 74 (1988), p. 209.





**Plate 7:** A table representing the seriation of the Middle Kingdom coffins originating from el-Bersha.

**Source:** H. Willems, *Chests of Life A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden, 1988), table. 2.

TABLE 2: SERIATION OF THE COFFINS FROM BERSHEH

[illegible]<sup>1</sup> on H and F only.

## 7. Appendices – Transliteration and Translations

### Coffin Text Spell 45 191d – 200g.

#### Transliteration

**191 d** *hr sd3 m 3h.t i3bty*  
**e** *sr w3.wt*  
**f** *m dsr.w*  
**g** *n Wsir N pn h<sup>c</sup>i(.y)*  
**192 a** *m R<sup>c</sup>.w*  
**b** *k3i(.w) m Tm*  
**c** *wrh.n sw Hw.t-hr*  
**d** *di=s n=f <sup>c</sup>nh m imn.t mi*  
*R<sup>c</sup>.w r<sup>c</sup> nb*  
**e** *h3 Wsir N pn*  
**f** *nn ntr nb [šn.t(y)=f(y) ht*  
*im=k]*  
**g** *nn ntr.t nb.t šn.t(y)=s(y)*  
*ht im=k*  
**h** *hrw hsb kdw(.w) m-b3h*  
*ntr <sup>3</sup> nb imn.t*  
**i** *wnn=k t hr*  
**193 a** *h3.wt R<sup>c</sup>.w hn<sup>c</sup> Wr.w*  
*imy.w hnw sbh.wt*  
**b** *ink gr.t wp(i) w3.t=k*  
*hr(.w) n=k hft=k*  
**c** *bhn=i n=k sm3.wt=f*  
**d** *iyi.w r=k r šbw=k (i)pn r*  
*s<sup>c</sup>h.w=k {r ntr htp.w (i)pn}*  
**e** *d3(i).n(=i) n=k <sup>c</sup>(=i) hr=s*  
**f** *m hrw pn htp.n k3=k im=f*  
*hn<sup>c</sup> b3=k*  
**194 a** *ink wp(i) w3.wt*  
**b** *iw<sup>c</sup> sn.wy s3 Wsir*  
**c** *N pn m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw=k m s3=k*  
**d** *3h.w 3s.t m nht=k*  
**e** *m=k tw ir=k 3h.ti b3.ti r*  
*ntr.w rsy.w mhty.w*  
**f** *h<sup>c</sup>(i) wr.w imy.w 3h.wt*  
**g** *h<sup>c</sup>(i) šms.w n(.y) nb tm*  
**h** *rš is.wt*

#### Translation

**191 d** Fall and tremble in the eastern horizon!  
**e** Show the paths  
**f** in the holy places  
**g** to Osiris N, he having appeared  
**192 a** as Re  
**b** having been exalted by Atum  
**c** that Hathor having appointed.  
**d** She having given to him life in the west  
like Re, each day.  
**e** Oh Osiris, N!  
**f** There is not any god [who will dispute  
with you ]  
**g** There is no goddess who will dispute with  
you  
**h** on the day of the reckoning of characters  
in the presence of the Great God, Lord of the  
West.  
**i** May you eat bread upon  
**193 a** the altars of Re together with the great  
ones who are inside the gates.  
**b** Now I am one who opened your path and  
fell your enemy for you,  
**c** I cut off for you his companions  
**d** who come against you, against this your  
meals, against these your dignities, [against  
these divine offerings].  
**e** For I have extended my hand to you  
because of it  
**f** on that day your ka and your ba were  
content.  
**194 a** I am the one who opened the paths  
**b** The heir of the Two, son of Osiris  
**c** Oh N! May you be vindicated through your  
protection,  
**d** for the power of Isis is your strength  
**e** Behold! As for you. You are spirit-like  
and more ba-like than the gods of the south and  
the north.  
**f** Those Great Ones who are in the horizon  
will appear,  
**g** the followers of the Lord of All will  
rejoice  
**h** the crew

**195 a** *mr.wt*

**b** *ndm-ib n imy.w 3h.wt*

**c** {*h<sup>c</sup>i šms.w n(.y) nb tm*}

**d** *m33=sn tw m s<sup>c</sup>h=k pn*

**e** *ir(i).n n=k it=k Gb*

**f** *rdi.n=f hfty.w=k sbi.w  
hr=k m-hnw pr-nfr*

**g** *sndm(.w) Inpw st=k hnt  
s.t=k*

**196 a** *m sh-ntr*

**b** *dī=f n=k sntr r tr nb*

**c** *n(n) hb im n(.y) psdntyw*

**d/e** *n<sup>h</sup>m=f tw m-<sup>c</sup> m3sty.w  
wpwty.w n.w nm.t št3w.t*

**f** *iw=k h<sup>c</sup>(i).t(i) m h3.ty wi3*

**g** *hrp(.w)=k hr imy-wr.t*

**h** *n(n) shm=t(w) m b3=k  
n(n) it.w h3.ty=k*

**i** *n rdi=t(w) h3(i)=k*

**197 a** *r hnw s3<sup>c</sup>.t wr.t*

**b** *m-m iri.w šnn.t ntr sd <sup>c</sup>w3  
n(.y) ir(i) sw*

**c** *n itī.t(w)=k n imy.w  
sbh.wt*

**f** *ntk s3 nsw.t rp<sup>c</sup>.t*

**g** *wnn wnn.t b3=k wnn ib=k  
hn<sup>c</sup>=k*

**h** *sh3 tw Inp.w*

**198 a** *m Ddw*

**b** *h<sup>c</sup>i b3=k m 3bdw*

**c** *rš h3.t=k imy.t w<sup>c</sup>r.t*

**d** *h<sup>c</sup>(i.w) w[t] m s.t=f nb*

**e** *hw3 tw ip.t(i) swd3.t(i) m  
s<sup>c</sup>h=k pn n.ty m-b3h=i*

**f** *3w-ib n(.y) Inp.w m hr.t  
<sup>c</sup>.wy=f*

**195** of the sacred barque, will be happy.

**b** those who are in the horizon are happy

**c** {The Followers of the Lord of all rejoice}

**d** when they see you in this dignity of yours

**e** your father Geb having given help to you,

**f** he having put your enemies who rebelled  
against you into the embalmers workshop

**g** Anubis will make pleasant your odor  
before your seat

**196 a** in the Divine Booth,

**b** he will give to you incense at all seasons,

**c** there being no deduction therein of New  
Moon and its festival.

**d/e** He will save you from the *m3styw*, the  
messengers of the mysterious slaughterhouse.

**f** You have appeared at the bow (lit. front)  
of the barque

**g** that you may command upon the  
starboard side;

**h** There is no one with power over your  
soul, none who will seize your heart

**i** one not causing you to go down

**197 a** into the Great Void

**b** among those who make a quarrel with  
God when is broken the misconduct (lit.  
robbery) of he who does it

**c** you will not be taken to those who are in  
the slaughterhouse.

**f** You are the son of the king, the heir.

**g** Indeed your soul exists, your heart will be  
together with you,

**h** Anubis will remember you

**198 a** in Busiris,

**b** your soul will rejoice in Abydos

**c** and your corpse which is in the desert  
will be joyful.

**d** The embalmed one will rejoice in all of  
his places.

**e** Would that you are examined and made  
whole in this your mummy, which is in my  
presence!

**f** May the heart of Anubis be glad (lit. wide)  
with what is under his two hands,



**199 a** *ndm-ib n.y hnt.y sh-ntr*  
**b** *m33=f ntr pn nfr nb n(.w)*  
*nty.w hk3 n iwt.y.w*  
**c** *ink s3=k Hr*  
**d** *iw rdi.n=i n=k*  
**e** *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw m d3d3.t*  
**f** *iw wd.n n=i R<sup>c</sup>.w rdi.t(w)*  
*n=k tp=k*  
**g** *smn.t(w) n=k ts=k*  
*shr.t(w) n=k htfy.w*  
**h** *ink s3=k*  
**200 a** *mstyw=k tp(.y)=k t3*  
**b** *shw(.w) gr.t ntr.w nb.w*  
*tp(.y){w} t3 nb.w (g)r.t iyi.w r*  
*šms=k*  
**c** *dw3(.y)=sn tw*  
**d** *ink s3-mr=k*  
**e** *sdm(.w) sdm*  
**f** *ink s3=k*  
**g** *hw tw m3.t(i) r<sup>c</sup> nb*

**199 a** may he who presides over the Divine Booth be joyful  
**b** when he sees this good god, the Lord of those existing and ruler of those who do not exist.  
**c** I am your son Horus,  
**d** I have given you  
**e** vindication among the magistrates.  
**f** Re has commanded to me that your head be given to you,  
**g** that your spine may be secured for you and that your enemies be felled for you.  
**h** I am your son,  
**200 a** your child upon earth,  
**b** now all the gods having assembled, and all those upon earth have come in order to follow you,  
**c** that they may worship you.  
**d** I am your *s3-mr* priest  
**e** the hearer who hears,  
**f** I am your son  
**g** and would that you were seen everyday.

### Coffin Text Spell 45 191d – 200g. Notes and Commentary.

191:

- d. Spell 45 is introduced by the two imperatives *hr* and *sd3*.<sup>1</sup> According to Faulkner the title of the spell is addressing, “the denizens of the beyond.”<sup>2</sup> There are definite deviations among the variants which de Buck provides for this spell. B1Y is missing all the text following the imperative *hr*, while B13C adds *n.t p.t* “of heaven” at the end of the statement. The addition of *n.t p.t* does not occur in any other variant, which is why it has been omitted from my translation. C. Carrier has placed the two imperatives which occur in the title of the spell in square brackets as B10C<sup>b</sup>, the base of his translation, is missing all the text prior to *m 3h.t i3bt*.<sup>3</sup>
- e. There are three different determinatives for the term *sr*, those being signs D54, E27 and Y2 from Gardiner’s sign list.<sup>4</sup> The range of determinatives used indicates there was confusion among the scribes of the texts concerning the exact meaning of *sr* in this context.<sup>5</sup>
- f. B10C<sup>b</sup> adds an additional feminine third person suffix pronoun (=s) following *dsr.w*. The additional (=s), which does not appear in any other the variants, has been included in Carrier’s transliteration as B10C<sup>b</sup> is his chosen source for this

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (Oxford, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn, 1957), p. 257 - 260, § 335 - 240; B. G. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian* (Mainz, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, 2000), p. 35, § 67.

<sup>2</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354* (Warminster, 1973), p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> C. Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]* (Champollion, 2004), p. 100 – 101.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 457, 461, 533.

<sup>5</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 - 354*, p. 40.

spell. In order to make sense of the suffix pronoun, Carrier amends =s to =sn and this results in his translation of the line becoming, “(car) les chemins sont indiqués.”<sup>6</sup> As the suffix remains undetermined it does not appear in my transliteration or translation.

- g. Only three of the five variants have preserved this line, however de Buck suggests in his notes while there is no text remaining, variant B1Y should read Osiris + Title + N.<sup>7</sup> B10C<sup>c</sup> and B12C each start with *Wsir*, disregarding the *n* which appears at the beginning of this line in variant B10C<sup>b</sup>. Translations of the phrase by Barguet, Carrier and Zabkar all include “Osiris.”<sup>8</sup> However Faulkner offers the translation of “to N...” for this line.<sup>9</sup> Osiris is included in all three of the preserved variants and so the deity needs to appear in the translation, especially when scholars, such as W. Barta, suggest the most correct translation of this line to be “Osiris appeared as Re” because Osiris and Re shared a close connection where in situations such as these they appear interlocked.<sup>10</sup> The Old Perfective, third person suffix (.y) has been attached to the verb *h*ʿ*i*.

192:

- a. In this circumstance *m* at the beginning of this line is an example of the *m* of predication introducing the deceased as Re. According to Allam a similar construction is used in sun hymns to make references to the deities of the West.<sup>11</sup>
- b. The translation of 192b recognises the verb *K*ʿ*i* should be translated using the Old Perfective verb form, which is why (.w) has been added to verb although not included in the text. This is supported by the use of the perfective *s*ḏ*m.n=f* in the subordinate clause in the following lines.
- c. In this instance the verb *wr*h** is conjugated using the (present) perfect *s*ḏ*m.n=f*. The *s*ḏ*m.n=f* form appears in the verbal subordinate clause, following the Old Perfective, which featured in the preceding line.
- d. There is variation among the coffins de Buck presents for this line. In variant B10C<sup>b</sup> the line continues to use the *s*ḏ*m.n=f* form in a subordinate clause, where the text reads *ḏi.n=f*. On the other hand variants B10C<sup>c</sup> and B1Y states *ḏi=s n=f*. My translation of the line follows B1Y.
- e. *h*3* Wsir N pn* is a statement used throughout the Coffin Texts commonly translated as “O Osiris, N,” however Faulkner offers a simplified version in his translation of “Ho N!”<sup>12</sup> The purpose of this statement is for there to be an “assimilation magique” between the deceased and Osiris.<sup>13</sup> B12C and B13C add *m*3*ʿ-hrw* to the end of the statement.
- f. 192f is largely fragmented and as a result it is only preserved in its entirety in variant B12C. Carrier includes only the first section of line 192f, *nn ntr nb*, in his transliteration and translation.<sup>14</sup> However in my transliteration of 192f *šn.t(y)=f(y) ht im=k* has been included as line 192f in combination with 192g

<sup>6</sup> Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I. Texts of Spells 1 – 75* (Chicago, 1938), p. 191.

<sup>8</sup> P. Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages Égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), p. 187; Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 100 – 101; L. V. Zabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (Chicago, 1968), p. 107.

<sup>9</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 38.

<sup>10</sup> W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit* (Berlin, 1973), p. 146 - 147.

<sup>11</sup> S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (Berlin, 1963), p. 115.

<sup>12</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> J. Yoyotte, *Le Jugement des Morts Dans l'Égypte Ancienne* (Paris, 1961), p. 39.

<sup>14</sup> Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 100 – 101.

creates a balanced sentence. The two statements in lines 192f and 192g complement one another as they first refer to the god disputing and then the goddess disputing with the deceased. Balanced sentences are a feature in literature of the Middle Kingdom, particularly in religious literature, where they are used to provide the deceased with the powers of the gods.<sup>15</sup> Faulkner argues the text preserved in B12C has been “tautologically expanded,”<sup>16</sup> which creates this balanced sentence. Faulkner’s translation agrees with Carrier’s translation. Zandee suggests an alternative translation for *šn.t h.t r* as “to be at law with.”<sup>17</sup>

- g. Both 192f and 192g demonstrate the use of Future Verbal Adjective *sdm.t(y)=f(y)*, where the Verbal Adjective has an active meaning.<sup>18</sup> 192g uses the feminine *sdm.t(y)=s(y)* as it is referring to the goddess.
- h. Variants B10C<sup>c</sup> and B1Y both have written the verb *ḳdd.w* which Hannig has defined as “nature” or “characters.”<sup>19</sup> R. van der Molen explains the variation of verb *ḳd* that is seen in variants B10C<sup>c</sup> and B1Y is most correctly transliterated as *ḳdww*, to mean “characters,” as illustrated in B10C<sup>b</sup>.<sup>20</sup> However the use of the double *d* in variants in B1Y and B10C<sup>c</sup> may well have been the genuine variants of the term as attested by both Faulkner and Hannig.<sup>21</sup> In Zandee’s publication, *Death as an Enemy*, it is suggested this line restricts the god from lodging a complaint against the deceased at their judgement before Osiris.<sup>22</sup> In his other publication, *An Egyptian Crossword Puzzle*, Zandee suggests the purpose of this line was to show the “function of Osiris, who encompasses righteousness and punishes evildoers.”<sup>23</sup> Clearly the intended function of this spell can be gained from the language used in this line, as it demonstrates how the deceased only received power in the Netherworld after they were acquitted or when there was no objection to them at their judgment.<sup>24</sup>
- i. This statement is the beginning of a new sentence and in this context it has been translated in the subjunctive *sdm=f* form to demonstrate a hypothetical situation the deceased wishes to be involved in.

193:

- a. This line states, *Wr.w imy.w ḥnw sbḥ.wt*, “The Great Ones who are in the gates.” Faulkner suggests the purpose of the line was to identify “the guardians of the gates of the Netherworld.”<sup>25</sup> My translation has relied on variant B12C as it provides the most complete version of the text in line 193a. It is clear previous scholars believe variant B12C to preserve the most correct version of the text. For example, Carrier includes [*R<sup>c</sup> hn<sup>c</sup> Wr.w imy.w ḥnw*] from variant B12C in his transliteration of the text although it is not found in the variant on which he bases his translation.

<sup>15</sup> CTII 120h.

<sup>16</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts Spells 1 – 354*, p. 40.

<sup>17</sup> J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), p. 263.

<sup>18</sup> Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 70 § 112; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 280, § 263 – 364.

<sup>19</sup> R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch (2800 – 950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz, 2009), p. 937.

<sup>20</sup> R. van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Leiden & Boston, 2000), p. 660 – 661; Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 100 – 101.

<sup>21</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 263.

<sup>23</sup> J. Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle An Inscription of Neb-wenenet from Thebes* (Leiden, 1966), p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (Berlin, 1969), p. 145.

<sup>25</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 40.

- b. Introduced by the independent pronoun *ink* this sentence is emphasised by the enclitic particle *gr.t* meaning “moreover” or “now.”<sup>26</sup> Faulkner has chosen to not include a literal translation of the enclitic particle in his translation. However because it forms the beginning of a new statement my translation has included “now” at the beginning. According to Zandee this spell is used by the deceased so they may be protected, like Osiris, from Seth and his gang.<sup>27</sup> Note, from 193b onward, variant B10C<sup>c</sup> has a long omission which de Buck has marked as “homoeoteleuton.”<sup>28</sup>
- c. All of the four remaining variants have a first person suffix pronoun following the verb *bhn* with the exception of B10C<sup>b</sup>. However the translations of this line do not appear in the first person in the publications of Carrier and Barguet as they rely on B10C<sup>b</sup> as the base for their translations.<sup>29</sup>
- d. Variants B12C and B13C both have *ipn* “these.” Faulkner suggests this may have been the result of the “meals” being referred to were intended for the “dignitaries.”<sup>30</sup> B10C<sup>b</sup> has added “against these divine offerings,” at the end of the text. Faulkner has not included this in his translation, however it is included in this translation in brackets because this may have been a corruption of the text.
- e. Barta suggests the most correct transliteration of lines 193e - f is *d3i.n=i ʿ=i hr=s m hrw pn htp n h3=k im=f hnʿ b3=k*.<sup>31</sup> The only issue with Barta’s transliteration of the text is he has omitted dative *n=k* between Perfective *d3i.n=i* and *ʿ=i*, which appears in all the texts. The feminine third person singular suffix pronoun in this statement refers back to “meals” previously mentioned.

194:

- a. B10C<sup>c</sup> begins again at this point. This line is a repetition of 193b only it makes reference to paths (plural) opposed to the singular path in the aforementioned line. Faulkner believes the scribes were trying to identify the deceased with Wepwawet based on determinatives used at the end of line in variants B13C, B12C, B1Y.<sup>32</sup>
- b. The text refers to, “The heir of the Two, son of Osiris.” Faulkner believes the “Two” to be referring to Seth and Osiris and suggests Horus to be the heir, while Münster believes the heir referred to in this line is Wepwawet.<sup>33</sup>
- c. The translation provided is based on variant B10C<sup>b</sup>, while B10C<sup>c</sup> and B12C each have: *h3 N m3ʿ-hrw iw rdi.n=i ʿ.wy(=i) m s3=k*, “Oh vindicated N, I have set my arms as your protection.”
- d. B12C changes the meaning of this statement through adding an addition *s* in front of *3h.w*, creating *s3hw* meaning “recitations.”<sup>34</sup> As this does not occur in either of the two remaining texts (B10C<sup>b</sup> and B10C<sup>c</sup>) nor does the space indicated by de Buck in the two fragmented texts (B13C and B1Y) have enough room for the additional *s*, I have omitted it from my translation.

<sup>26</sup> Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 21, § 38.

<sup>27</sup> Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 222.

<sup>28</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I. Texts of Spells 1 – 75*, p. 193.

<sup>29</sup> Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 101; Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages Égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, p. 187.

<sup>30</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 40.

<sup>31</sup> W. Barta, *Das Gespräch eines Mannes mit seinem BA (Papyrus Berlin 3024)* (Berlin, 1969), p. 70.

<sup>32</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 40.

<sup>33</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 40; M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin, 1968), p. 119.

<sup>34</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 211.

- e. *3h.ty b3.ti* demonstrates the use of the feminine third person Old Perfective in an adverbial subordinate clause. The use of the Old Perfective expresses a state of being and so based on the language used in this line Zabkar suggests the deceased was “equipped with divine and royal attributes which assured him of a happy life in the celestial regions.”<sup>35</sup> His translation of CTI 194e reads, “Behold, thou has become more of an Akh and more of a Ba than the gods of the South and the North.”<sup>36</sup> There is some variation in the texts as B13C and B10C<sup>c</sup> read *b3 shm.ti spd.ti* opposed to *3h.ti b3.ti* and B12C omits “spirit-like.”
- f. This text is missing from variants B13C and B1Y. Barta suggests the Great One, who is mentioned in all of these texts, appearing in the horizon may have been in the wake of the sun god.<sup>37</sup> Barta also notes there are similarities between this line and CTI 53a as well as Pyr. §1288a.<sup>38</sup>
- g. The text is only preserved in variants B10C<sup>b</sup> and B12C all the other variants provide fragmented texts. B1Y is missing the text between lines 194g – h.
- h. De Buck notes B13C uses the wrong determinative for *rš*, replacing the seated man determinative with the owl indicating *m*, however de Buck suggests this was an early mistake in the original writing of the spell.<sup>39</sup>

195:

- c. Line 195c is most likely a corruption of the original text as it is only preserved in one variant. This line is preserved completely in variant B1Y as it adds *h<sup>c</sup>i šms.w n(.y) nb tm* “the Followers of the Lord of all rejoice.” While this variation is not supported by other variants it appears in my translation in brackets because it refers back to the “Followers” who were mentioned in 194g.
- d. The translation follows B10C<sup>b</sup>, B12C and B13C (partial). B10C<sup>c</sup> and B1Y state *m33=sn tw iyi.t m s<sup>c</sup>h=k pn*, “When they see you having come in this dignity of yours.”
- e. 195e uses the Perfective *sdm.(w)n=f* Relative Form and this is followed by the dative *n=k*.
- f. The Circumstantial *sdm.n=f* is used in this statement, exemplifying the use of *sdm.n=f* in the subordinate clause with a transitive verb.
- g. *sndm(.w)* has had the suffix *(.w)* added to verb to indicate Future (Prospective) *sdm(.w/y)=f*, resulting in the translation, “Anubis will make pleasant.”

196:

- d. Translation as preserved in B10C<sup>b</sup> and B1Y. B10C<sup>c</sup>, B12C, B13C, B17C, B16C all have the singular third person masculine pronoun.
- e. The *nm.t š3w.t* “mysterious slaughterhouse” is often used in funerary texts. For example, this term appears twice in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, where it is referring again to a mysterious place where the enemies of the deceased go.<sup>40</sup>
- f. *iw=k h<sup>c</sup>(i).t(i)* is a Complex Verb Form. This particular Complex Verb Form uses the present perfect construction where *iw* + the Old Perfective is used with intransitive verbs, indicating a new action.
- g. The suffix *(.w)* has been added to the verb *hrp* because the verb needs to be translated using the subjunctive form of the verb indicating a wish.

<sup>35</sup> Zabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, p. 91.

<sup>36</sup> Zabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, p. 91.

<sup>37</sup> Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, p. 43.

<sup>38</sup> Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, p. 43.

<sup>39</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts. Texts of Spells 1 – 75*, p. 194.

<sup>40</sup> H. Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden: ausgewählte Text des Totenbuches* (Leipzig, 1915), lines. 56, 16 & 55, 13.

- h. 196h and 196i use the suffix pronoun *tw* meaning “one,” a (.w) has been added in brackets to indicate this as it does not appear in any of the variants provided by de Buck.

197:

- a. B10C<sup>b</sup> and B13C omit *r* at the beginning of the sentence.
- b. There are four variants B12C, B13C, B17C, B16C which insert *hr* between *n(.y)* and *ir*. This preposition has been omitted from my translation as it makes little sense.
- c. Each of the variants use the negative particle *n* in order to negate the following circumstantial (present) *sdm=f* form.<sup>41</sup>
- d. Both lines 197d and 197e are only presented in variant B10C<sup>c</sup>. In line 197d B10C<sup>c</sup> inserts *m-m ir.w* “Among those...” yet as this is omitted by all other variants it has been omitted from my translation.
- e. The seated god accompanied by the plural strokes has been preserved in only variant B10C<sup>c</sup>, however this can be explained as being the determinative for *ir.w* in 197d. Following the plural strokes, the term *3w.t*, meaning “long knife”<sup>42</sup> has been preserved, yet as this does not appear in another variant so I have omitted it from my translation.
- f. -
- g. *Wnn.t* is an enclitic particle, which places emphasis on the term being translated. This appears in all of variants, bar 2. As a result Carrier has put the second part of this statement in square brackets as this text, which certainly would have been there, has been destroyed in variant B10C<sup>b</sup>.<sup>43</sup> Between lines 197g and 198d Faulkner has translated the text using the subjunctive *sdm=f* verb form, the resulting translation then makes the requests of the deceased appear as wishes which the deceased hopes to be fulfilled.<sup>44</sup> His translation states, “You are the son of the king, the heir, you soul shall exist, so that your heart may be with you and that Anubis may remember you in Djedu. May your soul rejoice in Abydos and your corpse which is in the desert-plateau be glad...”<sup>45</sup> However while this is a possible translation, I have translated the text using the Future Prospective *sdm(.w/y)=f* as it expresses a level of certainty that these rituals will still take place as a result of this spell if they are not physically performed. Carrier has also deviated from the older translations suggesting the best reading of these lines is achieved using the Future Prospective *sdm(.w/y)=f*.<sup>46</sup> However, either of the translations using the Future Prospective or the Subjunctive is possible.

198:

- d. Faulkner suggests the translation of *m s.t=f nb* as “wherever he is.”<sup>47</sup>
- e. Carrier misspells *hw3* as *hw<sup>c</sup>* in this statement.<sup>48</sup> This statement is a Relative Clause, which is using the masculine singular adjective. The antecedent is identical to the subject of the Relative Clause so *n.ty* is referring back to the “mummy.”<sup>49</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 79, § 136.

<sup>42</sup> Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 102 – 103.

<sup>44</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 39.

<sup>45</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 39.

<sup>46</sup> Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 102 – 103.

<sup>47</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 39.

<sup>48</sup> Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 102 – 103.

<sup>49</sup> Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 88, § 151.

199:

- d. B12C, B13C, B17C and B16C all omit the dative *n=k* at the end of the statement.
- e. *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* literally “truth of voice.”
- f. The use of the Present Perfect Complex Verb Form *iw + sdm.n=f* indicates the beginning of new statement.

200:

- a. Faulkner notes there are two versions of this line in de Buck’s edition. The two possibilities Faulkner suggests are “I am your offspring who survived you” and “I am your son, your offspring upon earth.”<sup>50</sup>
- b. The enclitic particle *gr.t* is used in this statement and leans on *shwi.w* to emphasise that the gods have been assembled. *Shwi* has an addition (.w) added to the verb to indicate the interpretation of this verb using the Perfective Passive *sdm.w=f*.
- c. *dw3(.y)=sn tw* is a subjunctive *sdm=f* which has been interpreted in this situation as indicating a wish. The statement appears without an introductory particle.
- d. This is a nominal statement which is formed by the independent pronoun + noun.
- e. The first word is interpreted as an Imperfective Participle, which is being used in the nominal usage as a noun.
- f. -
- g. The statement *hw tw m3.t(i) r<sup>c</sup> nb* is using the second person Old Perfective ending in order to express a wish of the deceased. In this situation the second person Old Perfective ending being used can be either feminine or masculine as it refers to the deceased, who is identified with Osiris.

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<sup>50</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 39 & 41.

## Coffin Texts Spell 227 260a - 265b.

### Transliteration

- 260 a** *hpr m sti n(.y) Wsir*  
**c** *ink pw ink Wsir ink pw*  
*ink nb tm*  
**d** *ink 3sb sn n(.y) 3sb.t*  
**e** *ink Wsir sn n(.y) 3s.t*  
**g** *iw nd.n w(i) s3=i Hr hn<sup>c</sup>*  
*mw.t=f 3s.t m-<sup>c</sup> hft(y) pf ir(i) nn*  
*r=i*  
**261 c** *iw k3s.w=f r <sup>c</sup>.wy=fy n*  
*dr.wt=f r mn.ty=f hr*  
*irt.n=f r=i*  
**d** *ink pw Wsir*  
**262 a** *Wr n(.y) h.t sms.w n.y 5*  
**b** *iw<sup>c</sup> n(.y) it=f Gb*  
**c** *ink pw ink Wsir*  
**d** *nb k3.w*  
**e** *<sup>c</sup>nh h3.t nht ph.wy*  
**f** [*hr nn rd.wy*]  
**i** *nht hnn*  
**j** *imy dr rmt*  
**k** *ink Hr hrw.w h<sup>c</sup>i.w=f*  
**263 a** *ink S3h s3h(.w) t3.wy=f*  
**c** *skdd(.w) hft 3h3h n.y p.t*  
**d** *m h.t n.t mw.t=i Nw.t*  
**e** *irw.n=s wi r mrr=s ms=s*  
*wi r sšp ib=s*  
**f** *ink Inp.w hrw sp3*  
**g** *ink h<sup>d</sup> k3 m-hnt sh.t*  
*<i3rw>*  
**264 b** *ink pw*  
**c** *ink Wsir htm.n n=f it=f*  
*hn<sup>c</sup> mw.t=f*  
**d** *hrw pw n(.y) iri <sup>c</sup>d.t <sup>c</sup>3.t*  
**e** *it(=i) pw Gb*  
**f** *mw.t=i pw Nw.t*  
**g** *ink Hr sms.w hrw.w h<sup>c</sup>i.w*  
**265 a** *ink Inp.w hrw.w sp3*  
**b** *ink pw ink nb tm*  
**c** *ink pw ink Wsir nb=tn*  
*iry=tn nhm(.w) sbi=tn*

### Translation

- 260 a** Becoming the counterpart of Osiris.  
**c** It is indeed I, I am Osiris. It is indeed I, I am Lord of All.  
**d** I am radiant, the brother of the Radiant Lady;  
**e** I am Osiris, the brother of Isis.  
**g** My son Horus and his mother Isis have protected me from that enemy who would cause harm against me;  
**261 c** Who would harm me; his cords have been placed on his arms, his hands (and) his thighs because of what he has done to me.  
**d** Osiris am I,  
**262 a** greatest of the people, Elder of the Five,  
**b** Heir of his father Geb.  
**c** Osiris am I,  
**d** Lord of the Kas,  
**e** alive of front, strong of hinder parts,  
**f** [who is under the two feet]  
**i** strong of phallus,  
**j** who is at the border of the common people (plebs).  
**k** I am Horus, on the day of his accession.  
**263 a** I am Orion who travels his Two Lands,  
**c** who sails in front of the stars of the sky,  
**d** on the belly of my mother Nut.  
**e** She conceived me according to her desire (lit. love) and she gave birth to me to receive her heart.  
**f** I am Anubis on the day of the centipede  
**g** I am the White Bull of the Field <of the Rushes,>  
**264 b** It is I,  
**c** I am Osiris for whom, his father and his mother sealed for him  
**d** that day of great slaughter;  
**e** Geb is my father  
**f** Nut is my mother,  
**g** I am Horus the elder on the day of accession,  
**265 a** I am Anubis on the day of the Centipede  
**b** It is I, I am the Lord of All  
**c** It is I, I am Osiris your Lord who made you and who takes your rebels.



## Coffin Texts Spell 227 260a - 265b. Notes and Commentary.

260:

- a. This line is preserved only in P.Gard.II appearing in red ink and appears horizontally in de Buck's edition to represent how it text is actually preserved.<sup>1</sup> The title of the spell represented here uses the infinitive form of *hpr* in order to introduce a new spell. Faulkner notes due to the state of preservation he has based his translation of this spell on variant P.Gard.II, while on the other hand Carrier and Barguet have chosen to rely on variant B2L.<sup>2</sup> This translation has relied on variant B2L, much like Barguet and Carrier, because B2L is a later source preserved on a coffin that can provide a greater insight into the beliefs of the individual from el-Bersha during the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>
- b. Line 260b has only been preserved in variant L1Li and as it does not appear in any other variant it has not been included in my translation.
- c. The statement *ink pw* "It is (indeed) I" is a bi-partite *pw*-Sentence where the predicate is formed by the independent pronoun.<sup>4</sup>
- d. Variants B2L and Sq3C begin.
- e. L1Li uses the wrong symbol according to de Buck in its original publication, L1Li should use sign T22 opposed to sign O29 for the term *sn*. L1Li also replaces Isis with Nephthys in this statement.<sup>5</sup> This sentence is a first person *ink*-sentence with a stressed subject, used to identify Osiris.
- f. Omitted by all variants with the exception of Sq3C, which states, *N tn twt 3s.t*, "This N, you are Isis."
- g. The sentence *iw nd.n w(i) s3=i Hr hn<sup>c</sup> mw.t=f 3s.t m-<sup>c</sup> hft(y) pf ir(i) nn r=i* is a Complex Verb Form which has been introduced by the particle *iw* + Present Perfect *sdm.n=f*. Faulkner argues the second part of this statement should read *m-<sup>c</sup> hft(y) pf* in accordance with B2L. Carrier's transliteration reads: *iw nd~n wi s3=j Hr hn<sup>c</sup> mw.t=f 3s.t m <sup>c</sup> hft(y)=f*. He does include the *pf* adjectival demonstrative; he appears to ignore the "p" in B2L, which results in his translation reading, "de la main de cet adversaire-la qui a fait ceci contre-moi."<sup>6</sup>

261:

- a. Only variant Sq3C provides text for lines 261a - b of Spell 227 and so it appears in the notes. Lines 261a - 261b state, *[ir]y.t r=f in Stš m pri.t=f m h.t mw.t=f rdi.n=f mh=f m st3s(.t=f)*, "made against him by Seth when he came forth from the body of his mother; that he caused him to float was on his back."<sup>7</sup>
- b. -

<sup>1</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts III. Texts of Spells 164 - 267* (Chicago, 1947), p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 - 354* (Warminster, 1973), p. 179; C. Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]* (Champollion, 2004), p. 552 - 553; P. Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages Égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), p. 545.

<sup>3</sup> H. Willems, *Chests of Life A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of the Middle Kingdom, Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden, 1958), p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (Oxford, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn, 1957), p. 105, § 130; B. G. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian* (Mainz, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, 2005), p. 30, § 53.

<sup>5</sup> H. Kees, *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Totenbuch Kapitel 69 und 70* (Berlin, 1954), p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 553.

<sup>7</sup> CTIII 261a - b

- c. Translation following B2L, the text is difficult to follow however B2L provides the most complete and shortest version of the text. *Tw* + Perfective Passive *sdm.w=f*.
- d. *ink pw Wsir* is a tri-partite *pw*-Sentence where it is organised noun + *pw* + noun, this is simply an extension of the bi-partite *pw*-Sentence. Variant Sq3C again differs quite considerably from the other coffins stating in this line, *Wsir N tn pw Wsir*.
- e. De Buck includes 261e from variant M13C. This is the only line where variant M13C is provided by de Buck for Spell 227. De Buck explains this variant originally contained Spell 227 however as the texts were not published they became lost.<sup>8</sup>

262:

- e. Translation as per B2L.
- f. The text is only included by variant P.Gard.II and for this reason it has been left out of all the translations, including Faulkner's translation.
- g. All the other variants with the exception of Sq3C make considerable omissions and therefore do not include 262g – 262h.
- k. B. Gunn offers the translation of 262k as *hrw h<sup>c</sup>=f*, "the day he appears."<sup>9</sup> My translation of this text has chosen to translation *h<sup>c</sup>i* as a noun, allowing for the translation to read, "on the day of his ascension."

263:

- f. My translation deviates from Faulkner's translation in this line. Faulkner follows P.Gard.II, while B2L has been used as the base for my translation. Faulkner offers the translation of "I am the Centipede on the day of the Centipede."<sup>10</sup> On the other hand of Barguet and Carrier offer, "I am Anubis on the day of the Centipede,"<sup>11</sup> following B2L. Barguet acknowledges there is variation between the sources for this line and so the alternative of "je suis Sepa" is provided for the reader in his notes section.<sup>12</sup> It appears to make little sense for the deceased to want to be the Centipede on the day of the Centipede, perhaps a more fitting translation of the variation provided in P.Gard.II would be a reference to the deity "Sepa." Then the statement would read, "I am Sepa on the day of the Centipede." My translation relied on variant B2L as a result of H. Willems' examination of the variant. Willems' examination demonstrates how B2L was one of the coffins found in a series of subsidiary burials at Tomb no. 2 in the el-Bersha necropolis.<sup>13</sup> It is unlikely the papyri copy of the Coffin Texts de Buck provides for Spell 227 would have been representative of a particular individual's beliefs as funerary literature and the coffin were combined during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>14</sup> Thus by relying on variant B2L a further insight into an individual's beliefs about this day of celebration from el-Bersha can be gained.

<sup>8</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I. Texts of Spells 1 – 75* (Chicago, 1935), p. 261.

<sup>9</sup> B. Gunn, "A Special use of the *Sdm.f* and *Sdm.n.f* Forms," *JEA* 35 (1949), p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 180.

<sup>11</sup> Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome I [1] à [354]*, p. 552 – 553.

<sup>12</sup> Barguet, *Les Textes des Sarcophages Égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, p. 545.

<sup>13</sup> Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 75.

<sup>14</sup> D. P. Silverman, "Textual Criticism of the Coffin Texts," in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (ed.) W. K. Simpson (New Haven, 1989), p. 31; A. Roccati, "A Ghost Tomb and a Torn Papyrus with Coffin Texts at Turin," in *The World of the Coffin Texts Proceedings of the Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Adriaan de Buck Leiden, December 17 – 19, 1992* (ed.) H. Willems (Leiden, 1996), p. 110.

- g. Variants B2L, L1Li, P.Gard.II all refer to just the “Fields” generally, it is only variant Sq3C which adds to this statement “Rushes.” The addition from Sq3C has been included in this translation because the context is describing the Netherworld and therefore it appeared appropriate for such a translation.

264:

- a. B2L, L1Li and P.Gard.II all omit 264a and it is again Sq3C which includes a somewhat fragmented text. This text has not been included in my translation because de Buck notes this appears to be a similar account of lines 264c – 264d which all the variants record.<sup>15</sup>
- b. *Ink pw* “it is I,” has been included in variants B2L and P.Gard.II where it is used to create an emphasis on the information, which appears in the proceeding line.
- c. The translation follows B2L where the text is constructed using the Perfective Relative Form. Faulkner’s translation of this line differs slightly as he translates *htm* as “contract,” which results in his translation of this line reading, “I indeed am Osiris for whom his father and his mother made a contract (?).”<sup>16</sup> The translation which Faulkner offers makes sense however there is no more evidence which points to “contract” being a more correct translation than “seal” as the term *htm* has been used ambiguously in this context.
- d. Lines 264d – f all use the tri-partite *pw*-Sentence where it is organised noun + *pw* + noun.
- e. –
- f. –
- g. *ink Hr.w šms.w* is a nominal statement which is formed by the independent pronoun + noun.

265:

- a. This line is only preserved in variants B2L and Sq3C. P.Gard.II has omitted the text while L1Li is too fragmented for a transliteration to be possible. In this situation Faulkner translates from B2L so there is little variation between his translation and those translations provided by Barguet and Carrier.
- b. Translation following B2L. Sq3C varies stating, *N pn twt nb Tm* “Oh N! You are the Lord of All.” Carrier finishes his translation with this line as the text provided by variants B2L and L1Li both finish.
- c. Translation following P.Gard.II as it continues to follow the trend where the deceased is identified with different deities through the pronouncement of *ink pw* + Deity. Again Sq3C provides a slightly different version of the text, however communicates a similar meaning. Sq3C states, *Wsir N tn twt Wsir nb=tn nhm(.w) iri sb=tn*, “Oh Osiris N! You are Osiris your lord who takes away him who makes rebellion against you.”
- d. The text for this line is only provided in variant Sq3C however it appears here too fragmented for any translation.
- e. This is only included in Sq3C, where the text appears in red stating *hpr.w m Wsir*, “Becoming Osiris.” This is a variation of the spell’s title provided by P.Gard.II in line 260a.

<sup>15</sup> de Buck & Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts III. Texts of Spells 164 - 267*, p. 264.

<sup>16</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I Spells 1 – 354*, p. 180.

## Coffin Texts Spell 546 142g – o.

### Transliteration

142 g *hpr m Inp.w*

**h** *ink... Hs3.t*

**i** *ink hr w<sup>c</sup>r.t Wr.t*

**j** *ink nb swnw*

**k** *ink Inp.w nb shm shm m*

*3bdw*

**m** ... [*ink*] *Inp.w nb t3 dsr*

*Wr*

**n** ... *šsp=i s<sup>c</sup>h=i*

**o** *šsp=i sms.w s<sup>c</sup>h=f*

### Translation

142 g To become Anubis.

**h** I am... the Cow Goddess;

**i** I am one at the foot of the Great Lady;

**j** I am the Lord of the Tower;

**k** I am Anubis, Lord of the Sekhem-Scepter  
in Abydos,

**m** [I am] Anubis, Lord of the Sacred Land,  
the Great One;

**n** I accept my rank,

**o** I accept the eldership of his rank.

## Coffin Texts Spell 546 142g – o . Notes and Commentary.

142:

- g. M22C is the only variant preserving Spell 546 in de Buck's edition. As M22C is missing sections of text de Buck has provided a restored version of the title in the hieroglyphic text based on the exact space provided in 142g.<sup>1</sup> It may be assumed scholars have accepted the title de Buck reconstructed as it appears in all following publications of the spell. *Hpr* has been translated in the infinitive form of the verb which is often used in the titles of books.
- h. The Milk or Cow Goddess referred to in this line is connected with Anubis in other texts as well, which have been discussed in depth by DuQuesne.<sup>2</sup> However due to the fragmentary nature of the text in line 142h is difficult to determine the Cow Goddess' significance.
- i. This is a nominal statement with a stressed subject, using the first person independent pronoun.
- j. This is another example of a nominal statement with an unstressed subject, where the first person independent pronoun is used.
- k. As variant M22C is the only variant de Buck provides for this spell, the translation must be based on this text. The term *shm* has been written with two determinatives, as the *shm*-scepter (symbol S42), appears at the beginning of the word as well as at the end. As the second occurrence of the *shm* scepter is followed by a singular stroke. One may be tempted to translate the text as *shm shm* "powerful sekhem-scepter," however this is an example of tautology and is a fault in style. The text needs to be simply translated as "Sekhem-Scepter." Faulkner suggests the translation of *shm* in this context may also be "wand."
- l. The text is missing from variant M22C.
- m. The independent pronoun *ink* has been added in square brackets due to the use of the pronoun at the beginning of each of the preceding statements throughout the spell. The majority of this line has been lost however Faulkner has also includes the extra pronoun in his translation of this line.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. de Buck & A. H. Gardiner, (eds) *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI. Texts of Spells 472 – 878* (Chicago, 1956), p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> T. DuQuesne, "Milk of the jackal: some reflexions on Hezat, Anubis and the *imywt*," *Cahiers caribéens d'égyptologie* 1 (2000), p. 53 - 60.

<sup>3</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts II Spells 335 – 787* (Warminster, 1977), p. 161.

- n. This is a nominal sentence formed by a noun + noun.
- o. The translation of *sms.w* in this context is based on Faulkner's translation as "the eldership" and Carrier's provision of the French equivalent of "L'Ancien."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts II Spells 335 – 787*, p. 161; C. Carrier, *Texts Des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien Tome II [355] à [787]* (Champollion, 2004), p. 1297.



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