# THE APIS EMBALMING RITUAL

## P. VINDOB. 3873

R.L. VOS

UITGEVERIJ PEETERS en DEPARTEMENT ORIËNTALISTIEK
LEUVEN
1993

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BY

R. L. VOS

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# PREFACE

This book is the publication of a thesis which was defended in 1984 before a board of the University of Amsterdam. Originally it was intended to be inserted in the series *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* (ÉPRO), in which it was to form part of a larger project devoted to the Apis, the sacred bull of the ancient Egyptians.

The death of the editor of ÉPRO, Professor Vermaseren, not only bereft me of a friend and encouraging mentor, but it also caused serious delay in the publication of the present book. The problem with a manuscript which remains unpublished over a long period is that the author, when setting eyes on it again, by the time his work is to be printed, is tempted to reconsider everything anew. For obvious reasons it has not always been possible to meet this natural urge of reconsideration and rewriting and apart from some additions and minor revisions the text is the same as the one submitted for the degree of Doctor of Theology in 1984.

Working on the papyrus has been a constant challenge. I spent much time in deciphering the difficult and faulty demotic script of the verso, much more time even in unravelling the detailed technical accounts of the embalming and other operations carried out on the mummy of the Apis. From the beginning, however, it has been a source of constant anxiety to me, that the very size of the papyrus and its varied and demanding contents would make its publication a promise, which was never to be fulfilled, especially so since research had to be done under the pressure of heavy teaching commitments. So I decided not to overload this book with detail. I made it my first business to provide a reliable transcription and concise explanation of the text. In my opinion this text edition, being in a way an *editio princeps*, is not the proper place for a full discussion of problems like the topography of Memphis or the history of the Apis cult. However, in view of the lexicographical importance of the papyrus, which contains a large number of unknown words belonging especially to the anatomical vocabulary, I have not hesitated to compose an elaborate glossary and to give a representative number of examples in facsimile of almost every word occurring in it.

Demoticists are not unanimous in transcribing demotic texts. In this book I have adopted the historical system of Pestman, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*.

I feel privileged to ackowledge my obligations to those who have helped in the production of this book.

Dr Satzinger of the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum not only gave me permission to publish the papyrus but also hospitably received me and helped me in every possible way during my stay in the Museum to collate the papyrus.

I owe more than a formal expression of gratitude to Professor Quaegebeur, who kindly accepted this study for publication in the series *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*. His useful remarks and the untiring interest he has always taken in my work have been extremely valuable to me.

Dr Badoux of the Faculty of Zoology of the Utrecht University gave me freely of his time to initiate me in the secrets of a bull's anatomy with never failing enthusiasm.

The Firm "Domburg" at Bodegraven (Holland) put at my disposal the corpse of a bull to embalm it according to the instructions of the papyrus. This extraordinary experiment enabled me to solve some vexing problems which otherwise would have remained a riddle.

I am also indebted to Dr Jac. J. Janssen who carefully read the entire manuscript and from his profound knowledge of the Deir el-Medina ostraca made several helpful remarks which I have embodied, with reference to his name.

I am obliged to my friend Drs. Blokhuis (Leiden) who wrote out for me the hieroglyphs in an admirable way.

Mr. van Dessel has kindly gone through the whole of the manuscript improving and correcting my schoolboy English in many passages.

The Netherlands Organization STEGON (Stichting theologisch en godsdienstwetenschappelijk onderzoek in Nederland) granted me a scholarship, which enabled me to devote 5 sabbatical months to finish the manuscript.

Last but not least I am deeply indebted to my wife who in a most unselfish way shared the burden of writing this study. But for her it would never have appeared.

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8. Vs. II A
9. Vs. II B
10. Vs. III

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BD — Book of the Dead. See Budge.

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BGU — Ägyptische Urkunden aus dem Königlichen/ Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden. Berlin I 1895.

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cf. confer, compare.

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| p. | page. |
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| ZPE | Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphie. Bonn 1 (1967), sqq. |


## CRITICAL SIGNS USED IN THE TRANSCRIPTION

| | |
|---|---|
| ⌜ ⌝ | signs of which the reading is doubtful |
| ... | signs which cannot be deciphered or which have disappeared |
| { } | superfluous signs |
| ` ´ | signs which the scribe added later |
| < > | signs which the scribe omitted |
| ∽ | sign completing the end of a line ("Füllstrich"). |

# INTRODUCTION

## § 1. PROVENANCE AND ACQUISITION OF THE PAPYRUS

At present the papyrus is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna. The findspot of the document is unknown, but its contents suggest Memphis (Saqqara) as its origin.

The papyrus arrived in Vienna in December 1821 as part of a large lot of Egyptian antiquities consisting of 3 mummies, 27 papyri, about 60 stelae, and numerous other items[1]. The collection was purchased by Dr Ernst August Burghart who was charged by the Emperor Franz I to buy Egyptian antiquities for what was then the *Münz- und Antikencabinet*. Burghart had purchased the greater part of the collection in Alexandria from a certain Lebolo, an adventurer and unscrupulous dealer in antiquities, and the rest from various other dealers[2]. The price for the entire lot amounted to 3375 Guilders *Konventionsmünze*[3]. The papyrus was purchased at a price of 200 Guilders *Konventionsmünze*[4]. Investigation of the Museum archives revealed that Burghart could not have bought the papyrus from Lebolo but presumably from some other dealer in Cairo[5].

The papyrus bears two different inventory numbers: the number 27, which was assigned shortly after its arrival in Vienna and which designates the document as part of the papyrus collection, and the current number 3873, which was assigned during a re-inventory carried out between the years 1870-1875. This latter number indicates that the papayrus is part of the collection of Egyptian antiquities of the Museum.

[1] Dedekind, *Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Sammlung altägyptischer Objekte in Wien*, Wien 1907, 101.

[2] Dedekind, *op. cit.*, 9, n. 1. For the interesting swindler Lebolo, see Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, [2]London 1972, 166.

[3] The initial joy over the low purchase price was soon to be tempered, as the real costs amounted to 12,165 Guilders *Konventionsmünze* as a result of rather large expense account which Burghart presented to the thrifty Emperor shortly after his return to Vienna; see *Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien*, 1891-1941, II, 498. The Guilder in question is a silver guilder which by a convention concluded in 1753 between Austria and Bavaria was standardised in dimensions as well as alloy (23,386 grammes of silver).

[4] The amount is mentioned under number 482 in the hand-written *Arbeitsheft* or workbook of the *K.K. Münz- und Antikencabinet* (1824).

[5] *Akten* no. 1090 (1822).

## § 2. PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

The first to occupy himself with the papyrus was Heinrich Brugsch, the great pioneer of Demotic studies. In the first four volumes of his monumental Hieroglyphic-Demotic *Wörterbuch*, which is now outdated, he employs some examples from the text with vague descriptions like "Papyrus zu Wien", and "Wiener Papyrus"[6]. Without any further understanding of the text, his subsequent attempts to translate the list of book titles, which are clearly of Osirian nature[7], must have suggested to him that the papyrus was concerned with the mysteries of Osiris[8]. This view, which touches the essence of the papyrus, is reflected in the supplementary volumes to his dictionary in terms like "demotischer Papyrus des Osiris-Rituals" (p. 7, 343, 654).

It was only after the appearance of the photolithographic edition by von Bergman in 1886 that the papyrus became generally accessible[9]. The fact that von Bergmann was not especially conversant with Demotic has not unfavourably affected the quality of his facsimile of the recto, the original text of which is written in a clear hand. In the facsimile of the verso, however, which is very difficult to decipher, quite a few words and groups of words are deceptive or even incorrectly reproduced.

After the publication by von Bergmann the papyrus was neglected for a considerable time, until Spiegelberg, to whom Egyptology, and in particular Demotic studies, owe a great debt for making available many texts, published in 1920 the first translation with an introduction and brief, explanatory notes[10]. Spiegelberg apparently did not have sufficient time to study the original in Vienna, but blindly trusted the fine-looking facsimile of von Bergmann ("das nahezu das Original ersetzt"), which explains a number of mistakes[11]. Apart from the intrinsic difficulty of the papyrus, it was also lack of time that caused Spiegelberg to leave some passages untranslated and to offer only a brief general draft of some other passages. However, this does not in any way alter the fact that Spiegelberg did a magnificent pioneering job. During my own attempts to understand something of the papyrus' contents I profited from the great advantage, as it were, of standing on his shoulders.

[6] Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I-IV (p. 1-1728), Leipzig 1867 sqq. *Supplement* = Vol. I-VII (p. 1-1480), Leipzig 1880 sqq.

[7] See rt. IV, 18-19.

[8] Brugsch, *Drei Festkalender des Tempels von Apollinopolis magna*, p. X, pl. IX, Leipzig 1877.

[9] von Bergmann, *Hieratisch und hieratisch-demotische Texte der Sammlung aegyptischer Alterthümer des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Wien 1886.

[10] Spiegelberg, *Ein Bruchstück des Bestattungsrituals der Apisstiere*, in: *ZÄS* 56 (1920), 1-33.

[11] See for example vs. I 12, with n. a.

After Spiegelberg's publication the papyrus was never systematically studied again. Large parts of Spiegelberg's translation were translated into English by Mustafa el-Amir in his article on the supposed stall of the Apis at Memphis[12] and by Mond in the excavation report of the Bucheum, the cemetery of the sacred bull Buchis[13]. Spiegelberg's translation was also utilised by Vercoutter in his important article on the Apis, in which he offers, on the basis of our papyrus and of other, mainly epigraphical, sources, an admirable reconstruction of the course of the burial of an Apis bull[14]. Remarks and quotations which occur here and there in various Egyptological publications, and which are nearly always dependent on Spiegelberg's work, need not to be enumerated here, as they will be noted in the commentary. An exception is the independent work by Stricker, who always intended to provide a full publication of the papyrus but because of other scientific work never got beyond some useful remarks on the odd word or passage, especially in his so-called "graphical system"[15].

Due to problems and uncertainties in translation and interpretation, our papyrus has hardly been utilised by the editors of the large Berlin Dictionary or by Erichsen in his *Demotisches Glossar*.

## § 3. PRESENT OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF P. VINDOB. 3873

1. The papyrus was inscribed on both sides by two different scribes. The recto, *i.e.* the side with the horizontal fibres on top, consists of 7 columns of alternating Hieratic and Demotic passages. The verso bears 4 columns which, with the exception of a few Hieratic words, are written entirely in Demotic.

The papyrus has been mounted in a large wooden frame with a glass cover. Before mounting, the papyrus was cut into two pieces of about equal length, the cut running through the margins between columns III and IV of the recto and behind the last column of the verso. The right piece (rt. I-III) was then mounted between glass so as not to cover the text of the verso. Only a strip of about 14.5 cm at the edge of the papyrus, where the corresponding side of the verso had not been inscribed, was placed on a piece of wood. After the edges around had been cut down, the left piece (rt. IV-VI b) was mounted on cardboard, strengthened with muslin, and placed on a plank.

[12] *JEA* 34 (1948), 51 sqq.

[13] Mond, apud *Mond-Myers, The Bucheum*, I, 57-64, 83-90.

[14] *LÄ* I (1975), 338-350.

[15] Stricker, *Het graphisch systeem van de magische papyrus Londen & Leiden*, in: *OMRO* XXXI (1950), 64-71; *OMRO* XXXVI (1955), 92-132; *OMRO* XXXIX (1958), 80-103; *OMRO* XLV (1964), 25-55.

At present the papyrus measures 192 cm in length and consists of 6 sheets (κολλήματα), the middle four of which are 43 cm in width, while the first and last are lost except for 10 cm. The height of the papyrus is 27/ 28 cm for the cut-down part (rt. IV-VI b), with a maximum height of 34 cm for the intact part (rt. I-III + vs. I-III).

The papyrus is of very fine quality, of medium thickness and of a rather course texture. The piece mounted on cardboard still shows the bright yellow colour of the large new roll from which the papyrus was originally cut; the rest of the recto and the visible part of the verso show a light-brown to darkish-brown hue due to discoloration over the course of time. The piece of papyrus mounted on cardboard is very well preserved; however, lacunae and cracks occur in the piece mounted between glass, especially in the first and third columns of the recto and in the corresponding columns one and four of the verso, where a few vertical cracks and a horizontal one in the middle of the columns have done serious damage to the text.

## THE RECTO

2. The recto presents the neat appearance of an important, official document. The text is written with a rush pen of good quality and the ink is equally black throughout. The text of the columns forms a rectangle with neat edges and evenly spaced lines[16]. The Demotic scribe achieved this ideal appearance by mapping the columns with red ink and also by ruling them whenever they contained inventory lists with requirements for the embalming (rt. V-VI, a-b). The left-hand edge of the columns is kept straight by the use of space-fillers[17] and by dividing words between lines[18]. Rubrics are frequently used to mark important details and to render certain parts of the text conspicuous, such as the title of a book (rt. I 8), the words *m-ḫt nn* "after that" as the beginning of a chapter (rt. I 2, II 2; but in black rt. IV 8), the term *wp st* "specification" as an introduction to lists of items (rt. I 3, II 1; but in black rt. I 5, IV 13, VI b, 23). Rubrics are also employed to stress numbers and fractions which denote the numbers of specified items (*passim* rt. I and rt. VI a-b)[19]. Another visual expedient to make certain details of the text conspicuous is the blank space, which is used to show numbers to their full advantage, to mark the beginning of a chapter (rt. II 2, III 5, 8, IV 2, 8, 12), or to denote a phrase or passage as a digression or important addition (rt. II 24, III 18).

[16] See Tait, *British Museum Occasional Papers*, no. 60 (1986), 71-72.

[17] See rt. II 6, n. c.; see also *CdÉ* LXV (1990), 23 sqq.

[18] See, for instance, rt. I, 2-3; Tait, *op. cit.*, 66, with n. 25, who considers this device a phenomenon occurring only in the Roman period.

[19] See Tait, *op. cit.*, 67, with n. 36. The red of the ruling and the rubrics which is difficult to distinguish on the published photographs is as a rule well visible on the original.

The individual columns of the text can be described as follows: rt. I is ruled entirely in red ink and the vertical margins are marked by a red line. The text consists of 9 lines primarily in Hieratic. The inscribed part measures 32.5 cm in width by 8.5 cm in height. The bottom part of the page was left blank to depict and describe here later on items which had been mentioned in the text above[20].

Rt. II comprises 25 lines which are written in Demotic with the exception of the first line which is mostly in Hieratic and of the last line which, with the exception of a few words, was also written in Hieratic. This last line was written at the bottom of the page, and clearly separated from the rest of the text by a blank space. The measurements of the inscribed part are 30.5 cm in width and 26 cm in height.

Rt. III consists of 26 lines covering a space of 28.5 cm by 25 cm height. The text has been written primarily in Hieratic up to the blank space half-way line 18, after which the text changes to Demotic with the exception of the final line.

Rt. IV comprises 25 lines. The text is written in Hieratic with occasionally a few words, or even considerable parts of lines, in Demotic (see, e.g., l. 2, 3 and 8). The measurements of the inscribed part are 29 cm in width by 25 in height.

Rt. V contains an inventory list, written in Demotic, in which mainly vessels with their measurements and uses are summed up. The first four lines of the column exhibit the normal length of 28/ 29 cm that includes the spaces made to make the numbers conspicuous and to depict vessels. The scribe then opted for another layout and divided the text into two narrow columns. The right column consists of 19 lines, the last two of which are written at the bottom of the page separated from the rest of the text by a blank space of about 3 cm. The length of the lines is 6/ 10.5 cm. An exception is l. 7 with its width of 22 cm. The left column comprises 13 lines, of which the first four are separated from the rest of the column by a blank space of 4.5 cm. The length of the lines is 4/ 12.5 cm. The right margin is marked by a red line. To the left of each of the two columns ample space has been left for the intended depiction of vessels, described in detail in the adjacent text. Without exception, the names of the vessels are mentioned at the beginning of a line. The advantage of such a layout is that one had only to glance down the beginning of the rather narrow columns in order to find a certain vessel which would otherwise have been difficult to recover from the mass of long lines with which the scribe usually fills a page[21]. The inscribed part of the page, which covers a space of 29 cm by 25 cm height, is ruled with red ink and the vertical margins are marked by a red line.

[20] In view of the scribe's careful handling of the text in other respects it is surprising that he failed to depict the items. The same phenomenon is frequently found in rt. V-VI, a-b. On the other hand, we have to reckon with the possibility that another scribe was to be entrusted with the task of filling in the drawings. Such a division of work between two different scribes is known for the Book of the Dead. See Tait, *op. cit.*, 72 (top of page).

[21] See also Tait, *op. cit.*, 66 (with n. 30, where examples are adduced): "word lists and similar texts in Demotic generally place each item upon a fresh line, and thus tend to consist of very narrow columns".

Rt. VI a follows the same principles as the inventory list of vessels started in rt. V. The narrow column, which covers a space of 10 cm by 25 cm, consists of 14 Demotic lines of which the first 8 are made up by four pairs separated by uninscribed spaces of 2.5/ 4.5 cm intended for depicting vessels. The column is ruled with red ink and the vertical margins are marked by a red line.

Rt. VI b contains an inventory list of various items. The text consists of 23 Demotic lines and covers a space of 18/ 19 cm in width by 22 cm in height. In the top right corner just below the first line, a space of 9 cm by 6.5 cm has been left uninscribed in order to depict the items mentioned in the text. The entire column is ruled with red ink and the vertical right margin is marked by a red line.

## THE VERSO

3. The verso is less neat than the recto. The scribe used a rush pen of evidently inferior quality, and the ink is thick after the pen was dipped but quickly fades, sometimes even to the extent that it is illegible because the scribe waited too long before dipping the pen again (see, for instance, vs. I, 23-24). The text is stained in places where the scribe made a correction by washing out characters and replacing them with new ones (see, for instance, at the end of vs. I 5 and 6). Rubrics and ruling are lacking. A space occurs in vs. II b, 14 in order to make the beginning of a chapter conspicuous, and in vs. III 12 to mark a sentence as a special addition. As for the columns, we may note that they have been carelessly mapped and that towards the end of a column the lines irregularly run out further and further to the left with the result that they touch the beginning of the lines of the adjacent column in many places (vs. II, a-b). The number of lines also differs for each column (24, 28, 26, 22).

The individual columns may be described as follows:

Vs. I comprises 24 lines. The text is written in Demotic with an occasional Hieratic or hieratising word (see, for instance, *wrḥ*, *ṯs* and *ḥ3* in l. 4). The column measures 24 cm in height and little by little runs out in width from 18/ 19 cm at the beginning to 22.5 cm towards the end.

Vs. II a consists of 28 lines written in Demotic. The column is 28.5 cm in height and the lines run out in width further and further to the left from 19/ 19.5 cm at the beginnning up to 23.5 cm towards the end.

Vs. II b numbers 26 lines in Demotic. The column is 28.5 cm in height and the lines, which at first are 16 cm. in length, run out, as the column continues, further and further to the left until they attain a length of 19.5 cm towards the end of the column.

Vs. III consists of 22 lines in Demotic. The height of the column is 27 cm. Until

line 14 the lines are 13/ 15 cm in width; thereafter they lengthen to 17.5 cm. From the fact that the rest of the verso has been left uninscribed, it is apparent that the scribe had only little text left to copy. By lengthening the lines he obviously wanted to avoid having to start yet another column.

## § 4. DATING

Spiegelberg and Möller both dated the papyrus to the Ptolemaic period, the former to the long period between 250-100 B.C., the latter somewhat more precisely to the 2nd century B.C.[22]. They do not adduce any arguments for their dating. A short glance at the papyrus, however, is sufficient to assure oneself of the fact that the Demotic of both recto and verso must date from the Ptolemaic period. The *ductus* and the forms of the Hieratic writing are characteristic of that same period: ligatures are lacking and it is often not difficult to recognize the original hieroglyphic sign in the finely outlined characters.

In an attempt to date the papyrus as accurately as possible I have compared a representative number of words written in Demotic with their possible writings in Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*. I have chosen an equally representative number of 43 signs from the Hieratic which in the course of time have gone through a clear palaeographic development, and compared them with the corresponding forms in Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III (see the survey on p. 19-24).

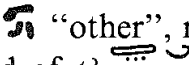
As for the Demotic the words investigated correspond, with few exceptions, to words which in Erichsen's *Glossar* appear under the heading "Ptolemaic Period". The majority of the forms selected from the Hieratic passages falls between forms that occur in the papyrus of *Isis and Nephthys*, which dates from the 2nd century B.C., and the *Berlin Ritual*, which was written in 20 B.C. (nos. 15, 35, 82, 188 B, 192, 204, 205, etc.). Similarities also occur with forms from the bilingual papyrus *Rhind* of 9 B.C. and papyrus *Leiden T 32* which dates from about the middle of the 1st century A.D. (nos. 79, 122, 224, 279, 462, 496).

In conclusion, it seems to me that, as far as the recto is concerned, the Ptolemaic writing of the Demotic on the one hand, and the late Ptolemaic to early Roman writings of the Hieratic on the other, suggest that the text was written in the late Ptolemaic period, presumably in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. How much time lapsed between the recto and the verso is difficult to establish with certainty. In any case, the verso belongs to late Ptolemaic times, perhaps the period between 125-75 B.C.

[22] Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, 53* n. 3.

## § 5. THE SCRIBES

1. The scribe of the recto has a refined, clearly legible handwriting. As pointed out above in the description of the papyrus, he paid much attention to the layout of the text: he used a rush pen of good quality, mapped the columns carefully with red ink and in the text frequently used rubrics and blank spaces to make important details and passages stand out.

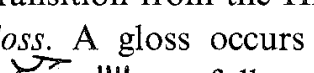
In view of the length and complicated content of the text, which is written in two different kinds of script, the scribe made rather few mistakes. One notes *k.t* (fem.)  instead of *kj* (masc.)  "other", rt. VI b, 16; *sr* , rt. III 19, , rt. IV 5 "coffin" instead of *t3*  "board". Errors in the use of pronouns, a kind of corruption which is often found in Egyptian texts, are *mtw=f*  instead of *mtw=s* , rt. II 5; *=f*  instead of *=w* , rt. II 25; *im.f*  instead of *im.w* , rt. II 25; *st3.t{=w}* , rt. III 21; *sntj{.w}* , rt. IV 9.

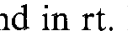
*Wrong determinative.* Many words occur with a wrong determinative, e.g. *m-ktj*  "like", with the determinative of the walking legs, rt. II 6; *m'rj.wt*  "clamps", with the determinative of the wood, rt. III 13; *kt*  "course", with the determinative of the sitting man, rt. III 21; *hn*  "coffer", with the determinative of the flesh-sign through analogy with *hn* "thoracic and abdominal cavity", rt. VI a, 12; *b*  "opening" (scil. of a vessel), with the determinative of the flesh-sign through analogy with *b* "mouth", rt. VI b, 3, 9; *tp*  "boat", with the determinative of the tongue through analogy with *tp* "taste", rt. IV 18. Written with a wrong determinative and also otherwise completely corrupt is the word , a mummy bandage, rt. III 4.

*Omissions.* Omissions of one or more words are not rare: *iw=f thb* , to the end of the line, rt. II 16; the preposition *hr* , rt. II 20; *iw=f* , the article *n3*  and the causative verb *dj.t=* , rt. II 23; *w' iwt w'* , in changing lines, rt. II 23; *ir* in *ir-rḫ*  "to be able", rt. III 6; the suffix *.w*  in the prefix of the conjunctive *mtw.w* , rt. III 1, 5; *iw.w* , in changing from Hieratic to Demotic, rt. III 26; *mḥ-ntr*  "divine cubit", in changing lines, rt. VI b, 15. Omissions of parts of words also occur:  instead of *wtj*  "tail", rt. III 12;  instead of *t3*  "board", rt. III 16. Words appear without determinative, e.g. *wḫ3*  "to need", rt. I 3; *mtr* , to the end of the line written without the determinative of the piece of cloth, rt. III 16; *r3*  "door", rt. IV 9. The plural ending is often neglected (rt. I 2, n. c.). Haplography is a special kind of corruption in which only one sign is written in place of two identical signs, thus  for  *grb' (n) ḥt* "wooden *grb*", rt. VI b, 3.

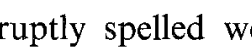
*Dittography.* A case of dittography is found in rt. II 18, where the scribe wrote

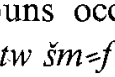
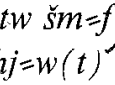
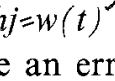
the preposition *iw/ r* "to" twice, once in Hieratic (*iw*) and again in Demotic (*r*), in his transition from the Hieratic to the Demotic.

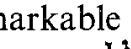
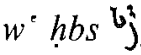
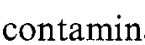
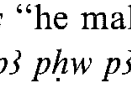
*Gloss.* A gloss occurs in rt. VI b, 18, where the Hieratic words  are followed by the translation in Demotic as *ḫt 3sj* 4 *n3.w* "they are 4 beams of wood of the tamarisk".

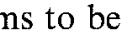
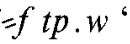
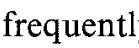
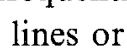
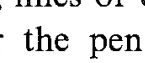
*Corrections.* A few times the scribe corrected his text. In rt. III 13 the suffix *=f* is added at the end of the line, and in rt. II 23 the word *pjr*  "*pjr*-bandage" looks like a later addition at the end of the line. In rt. V 35 the correction *šsp* 8 "8 palms" is written right across *šsp* 3 "3 palms": . The correction in rt. VI b 19 is written across the original text and cannot be deciphered.

2. The verso was written by another scribe. As noted in the description of the papyrus, the layout of the verso leaves much to be desired. The scribe made use of a rush pen of inferior quality, and the ink alternates between thick and faint, seriously hampering the decipherment of the handwriting, cursory as it already is at times.

The scribe made a large number of mistakes. As for the orthography, note the corruptly spelled words  *ḫn* <*n3*> *nḫ.w* "within the ears", which in a misleading way looks like a spelling of the word *inḥ.w* "eyebrows", vs. II b, 18.

Errors with pronouns occur frequently: *k3=f*  instead of *k3=w*  "their length", vs. I 18, 19; *tw šm=f*  instead of *tw šm=w*  "cause them to go", vs. I 18; *t3j=f*  *nḏḥj=w(t)* instead of *n3j=f*  *nḏḥj.w(t)* "his teeth", vs. II a, 11. Once the scribe made an error with a preposition: *š‘ m* "from" instead of *š‘* "up to", vs. III 20.

Some mistakes are quite remarkable due to the fact that the scribe confused two different notions: *iw=f ṯḫb=w w‘ ḥbs* , in which *ṯḫb* governs two different objects, the plural suffix *=w* and the singular *w‘ ḥbs*, vs. I 18; *iw=f dj.t p3 šm p3 ḥbs* , which could be a contamination of *iw=f dj.t p3 ḥbs* "he places the *ḥbs*-cloth", and *iw=f dj.t šm p3 ḥbs* "he makes the *ḥbs*-cloth go", vs. I 22; *p3 ph.ṯ=w p3 ḥbs* , where he confuses *p3 phw p3 ḥbs* "the end of the *ḥbs*-cloth", and *ph.ṯ=w* "their (sic) end", vs. I 19; *p3 phw=w* , which could be a contamination of *p3 phw* "the end" (scil. of the cloth), and *phw=w* "their (sic) end", vs. II a, 16; *n3j=f tp.w p3 ḥbs* , in which there seems to be some confusion between *n3 tp.w p3 ḥbs* "the ends of the *ḥbs*-cloth", and *n3j=f tp.w* "their ends", vs. II a, 19.

*Omissions.* Omissions occur frequently, especially when the scribe's attention was distracted because of changing lines or dipping his pen again; this, for instance, is the case in article *t3* , after the pen had been dipped in again, vs. I 3; the preposition *i.ir-ḥr* , when the lines were changed, vs. II a, 14. Other instances of omissions are: *štj*  instead of *štj=w*, vs. I 20; *wrḥ*  instead of *wrḥ=f*, vs. II b, 25; *ṯs*  instead of *ṯs=f*, vs. III 2; *t3 sj(.t) 2.t sf shrj*  instead of *t3 sj(.t) 2.t ntj ḥr p3 sf shrj*, vs. II b, 3, 10. In cases where the grammar and content

are disconnected, we have to assume that the extent of the omission is rather large: vs. II b, 4, 6. Haplography, a special kind of omission, is found in *ntm*  instead of *ntj ntm* , vs. II b, 26.

Worthy of special mention is a corruption in which an entire line seems to have gone astray and has been put into the wrong context: vs. II a, 23.

*Corrections.* The scribe made a great deal of corrections in the text. The corrections consist of the addition of one or more words originally forgotten. The addition is made above the line: *ir.t=f*  "his eye", vs. II b, 2, or within the line: the suffix *=w* in *wrḥ=w sf* , vs. II a, 6; the suffix *=f* in *m-sȝ=f ʿn* , vs. III 13. The correction can also consist of an emendation of the text. In vs. II b, 5 the scribe changed the original *iw=f ṯḫb* into *iw=w ṯḫb*  by simply lengthening the suffix *=f* with a downward stroke of his pen to suffix *=w*. Sometimes the scribe was less subtle and wrote his correction right across the original text: the article *nȝ* over original *pȝ* (?) , vs. I 1 (a wrong correction); *wnm* "right" over the number 2.*t* , vs. II b, 12; *shrj* (a product) over the original *ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb*  "pure *ʿnḏ*-oil", vs. II b, 3; the fraction 2/3 over original 1/3 , vs. III 8. The most rigorous way of emending was to wash out the mistake and replace it by newly written text in thick ink. As the washing out was carelessly done, indistinct traces of the original text are frequently visible unter the correction: vs. I 5, 6, II a, 24, II b, 7, 8.

## § 6. THE MIXED HIERATIC-DEMOTIC SCRIPT

1. In his introduction to the papyrus, Spiegelberg devotes a brief discussion to the unconventional mixed Hieratic-Demotic script of the recto. In his view the Hieratic passages contain a fairly large number of mistakes unlike the Demotic passages, which are nearly free from errors. According to Spiegelberg this shows that the scribe was basically trained in Demotic, but had also had a traditional education in Hieratic which, as the old sacred book-script was still used alongside the profane Demotic. In copying his Demotic original, the scribe transcribed certain passages in Hieratic at will, because this old script was better suited to the obviously sacred nature of the text. However, because the scribe's Hieratic was poorer than his Demotic, he made a lot of mistakes in the transcription.

2. Important remarks about the mixed script have also been made by Stricker in his Dutch thesis on the history of the Egyptian language[23]. With Spiegelberg he holds the view that the Hieratic is in fact a secondary transcription, but thinks

[23] Stricker, *OMRO* 25 (1944), 43 sqq.

further investigation is necessary, especially as regards the question whether the Hieratic parts of the text, apart from having been transcribed, had also been translated in the Late-Egyptian vernacular. On the basis of its idiom he believes that the Hieratic is in fact Demotic, and that the few Neo-Egyptianisms can be attributed to the fact that the text belongs to the religious literature.

3. At first glance, the views expressed by Spiegelberg and Stricker indeed seem to be attractive. The texts on stelae from Lower Egypt which date from the period of Dynasties XXII-XXV, and which give the impression of being hieroglyphic transcriptions of Demotic originals are analogous[24].

4. But are there any undeniable indications in the text itself that the Hieratic is a secondary transcription of a text originally written in Demotic? In this connection Spiegelberg and Stricker point to the many mistakes the scribe made in his Hieratic. This argument, however, is not valid and highly exaggerated. It is clear from our discussion of the scribe that these mistakes are not excessively numerous despite the length and the complicated, unusual nature of the text. Although some mistakes occur, they certainly do not allow one to draw inferences as far-reaching as those of Spiegelberg and Stricker[25].

It is remarkable that, after subjecting the idiom and the vocabulary of the Hieratic and the Demotic to a comparative examination, the Hieratic appears to contain some Neo-Egyptianisms, whereas in the vocabulary one or more archaic words in a Hieratic passage have been replaced by a younger synonym in the Demotic parallel passage. As regards phonetics and orthography, there are basic differences between the Demotic, which reflects the stage of the classical Demotic of the Ptolemaic period, and the Hieratic, which presents many characteristics of its own from the older Late-Egyptian phase[26]. One could, of course, defend the theory of Spiegelberg and Stricker by remarking that the Neo-Egyptianisms, the archaic synonyms, and the Late-Egyptian orthography of the Hieratic point to the fact that the scribe tried to transpose an originally Demotic text as much as possible into Late-Egyptian. In this case, however, it is difficult to explain why in the passage rt. VI b 18 the scribe should have added the Demotic gloss *ḫt 3sj* 4 *n3.w* "they are 4 beams of wood of the tamarisk" to the Hieratic words *sj isr* 4 "4 beams of wood of the tamarisk". In contradistinction to the theory of the scholars mentioned above is

[24] Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques*, XIV, n. 5.

[25] Examples of certain mistakes, such as errors with pronouns and mistakes resulting from the scribe's changing lines, can be readily found in almost every Egyptian manuscript. In some cases, moreover, Spiegelberg assumed perhaps wrongly that the error was made by the scribe:  instead of  "to know", and *ḫr*  as a rendering of Demotic *m3ʿ* "place" (rt. III 9).

[26] See the surveys of the idiom, vocabulary, orthography and phonetics of the Demotic and the Hieratic (p. 17, sqq.).

the verso, which they did not take into consideration at all, even though the text sometimes contains literally the same passages as the recto, and seems for a large part to go back to the same sources (see p. 14, sqq.). The verso is written in Demotic. Occasionally, however, we find words written in Hieratic and archaisms in the idiom, but they are so few in number that it is impossible to speak of attempts by the scribe to impart to the text an archaic character. The reverse is rather the case, since in vs. II a 19 the scribe transcribed a word in Demotic which elsewhere was written in Hieratic. In view of all this the few Hieratic words and archaisms in the idiom look like relics of an older Hieratic stage. Finally, an objection of a more general nature is the fact that our papyrus fits in a long religious tradition of embalming texts[27], in which, as a result of the religious conservatism of the Egyptians and the reverence they felt for the written word, any changes were gradual, not sudden, and not the work of a single scribe, as Spiegelberg and Stricker proposed.

5. By rejecting the theories of the above-mentioned scholars we still have to explain the mixed writing. The answer is closely linked to the textual history of the papyrus, for which I suggest the following, admittedly speculative, theory.

The texts of the papyrus go back to much older versions among which are manuscripts from the Saitic period (XXVI Dynasty [664-525 B.C.]), during which the cult of the Apis bull increased rapidly in popularity due to the patronage of the Saitic kings. At all events, the passage rt. IV, 8-12 suggests this, since rituals are described here which took place at the death of an Apis bull and upon the discovery of a new bull during the rules of kings of Dynasty XXVI who are mentioned by name.

The very same Dynasty undoubtedly also meant a turning-point in the writing and in the idiom of the Ritual because of the rise of Demotic which soon became the current written language at the expense of Hieratic, which remained in use mainly for texts of a religious and scientific nature, such as, for instance, the Hieratic-Demotic *P. Carlsberg I*[28].

## THE INFILTRATION OF DEMOTIC

6. What could have caused the infiltration of Demotic into a religious text such as ours? In my view, the text offers sufficient starting-points for a plausible

[27] The Apis cult can be traced back to prehistoric times and the Necropolis of the Apis bull is perhaps already mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. See Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis*, XXII.

[28] Lange-Neugebauer, *P. Carlsberg no. I*, Copenhagen 1940.

reconstruction of the infiltration process. It is namely remarkable that the venerable Hieratic is better represented in those passages of the recto where rituals are described than is Demotic (cf. rt. IV). However, in passages of a technical nature Demotic is predominant and has sometimes even completely superseded the Hieratic (cf. rt. II-III). On the verso, which is devoted entirely to technical descriptions of the embalming procedure, Hieratic has been phased out to such a degree that only a few Hieratic words and some archaic words and constructions still remind us of the Hieratic in which the text, like the recto, was originally written. It was not only a matter of conservatism for the written language that one kept to the tradition of the Hieratic in the ritual parts of the text. It was also the fact that the rituals of embalming were closely connected with the realization of the drama of the death and resurrection of Osiris[29]. Since the contents and the course of these rituals could not be fundamentally altered, there was no need to adapt or modernize those sections of the text in which they were described. Matters differ with the technical parts of the text. The embalming technique was, as we shall see later, subject to change with the result that in the course of time the passages in question were thoroughly revised in order to update them to any renewals that took place in this field. At the same time, the Demotic penetrated into the text, a process facilitated by the fact that the archaic idiom and vocabulary of the Hieratic was less suited than the Demotic to a technical description of the embalming process which was focused on practice.

7. That the Hieratic is still well represented in the technical sections of the recto would seem to contradict our theory, even though both recto and verso were written about the same time and should therefore be in about the same stage of development in both writing and language. Could the explanation be that the recto is more closely linked to the tradition of the old manuscripts from the XXVIth Dynasty, discussed above, whereas younger versions lie at the root of the verso? It is a problem which can only be solved by carefully comparing the texts of recto and verso.

## THE TEXTS OF RECTO AND VERSO

8. The text of the verso is an obvious compilation. The careless presentation of the text, the many mistakes and corrections, and the confused and disrupted contents are clear signs of compilation. The careful layout of the recto shows no signs of a compiler's work, although the scribe must have had access to other

[29] See Introduction p. 30, sqq.

versions, as is apparent from the expression *kj ḏd* "variant" which occurs a few times in the text. It is not improbable that the recto is a copy of a particular original which had already been written in the mixed handwriting, since the scribe wrote the entire text in a steady, well-kept script and without corrections worth mentioning.

9. To which sources can the texts of the recto and the verso be traced? In answering this question we enter dangerous and deceptive ground, but it seems preferable to take the plunge and run the risk of making mistakes rather than make no attempt at all.

Comparing the embalming passages of the recto and the verso, we arrive at the following classification:

1) passages which correspond almost literally with one another, and therefore go back to the same source[30]:

| | |
|---|---|
| a) the mysterious face *pȝ ḥr sšṯȝ* | 1) rt. II 19: vs. II a, 28<br>2) rt. II, 20-21: vs. II a, 28- II b, 1<br>3) rt. II, 3-4 + II, 21 — III 5: vs. III, 6-27 |
| b) the horns *nȝ ʿb.w* | rt. II, 17-20: vs. II b, 19-23 |
| c) the ears *nȝ ʿnḫ.w* | rt. II 19: vs. II b, 14-18 |

The verso seems to be a later version of the source to which the passages mentioned above return. This is apparent from the fact that the recto only mentions the use of *sgn*-oil for the embalming of the Apis, whereas the verso cites a wide range of products, which suggests a more sophisticated and developed embalming technique. Indeed, the same is true of all other passages on embalming mentioned below;

2) passages which correspond to a certain extent with one another in phrasing:

| | |
|---|---|
| a) the eye-sockets *nȝ ir.wt* | rt. II, 3, 14-15, 20-21: vs. II a, 5-6, 12-13, II b, 2-14 |
| b) the oral cavity *pȝ bȝ rȝ* | rt. II, 13-14: vs. I, 15-20, II a, 2-5, 8-11, 14-17, 21-25 |
| c) the limbs *nȝ tp.w ʿ.wt* | rt. III, 5-8: vs. I, 9-11 |

Regarding the embalming of the eye-sockets and the oral cavity, the verso offers much more elaborate accounts which clearly point to a more evolved and more

[30] See also the Appendixes, p. 227-228, 235-237.

perfected embalming technique than in the corresponding accounts of the recto, which seem to be the nucleus of the accounts of the verso. It is noteworthy that in the case of the embalming of the limbs, the reverse is the case as the verso offers the nucleus of the detailed account of the recto. In all these cases we are probably dealing with different versions of the same source;

3) passages which are entirely different from each other and therefore relate to different sources:

a) the tongue — rt. II 13: vs. I, 21-24, II a, 17-21
*pȝ ls/ ns*

b) the nose — rt. II, 15-17: vs. II a, 26-28
*pȝ šj*

c) the anus — rt. III, 8-10: vs. I, 4-7
*tȝ mj.t pȝ ḥȝ*

4) passages which do not permit any collating of sources, since the embalming of that part of the body occurs only on the recto or the verso:

recto

a) the tail — rt. III, 10-13; cf. vs. I, 10
*pȝ wtj/ wṯȝ*

verso

b) the abdominal cavity — vs. I, 1-3, 8-9
*pȝ ḥn*

c) the sexual organs? — vs. I 4

d) the breast — vs. I, 11-13, II b, 23 - III 6.
*tȝ šnb.t/ šnbj.t*

The verso passages are concerned with the embalming of the sexual organs, which fell within the sphere of taboo, and with the embalming of the internal mummy, which occurred before the wrapping took place. It cannot be ruled out that the recto might have contained a description of the embalming of these parts of the body if completely preserved. The recto deals with the embalming of the tail in connection with the treatment of the limbs. The verso does not contain an account of the embalming of this part of the body, but the word "tail" (*wṯȝ*) is inserted in the account of the embalming of the limbs.

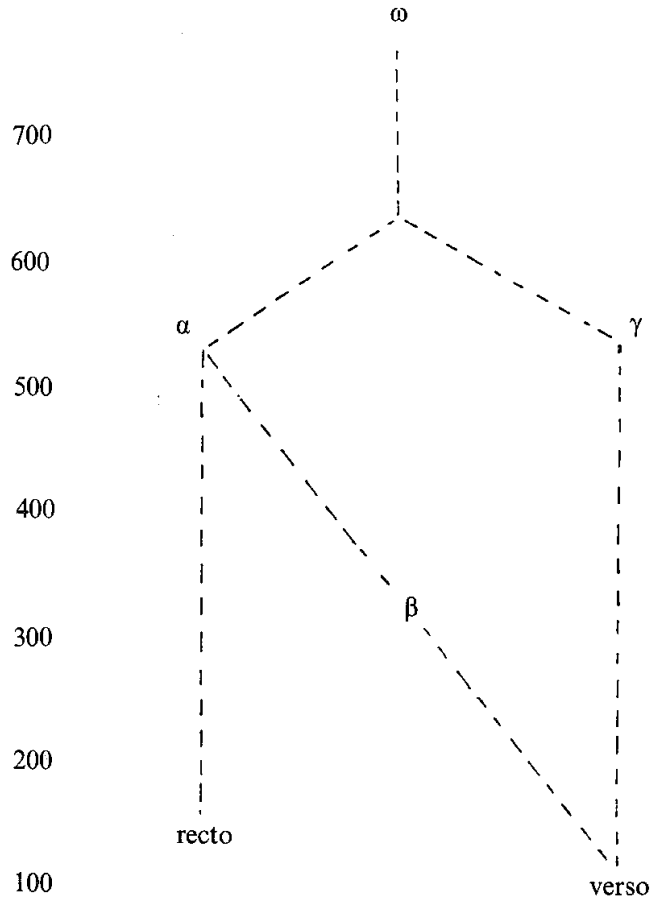
To sum up: the papyrus belongs to a long tradition of embalming texts of which, to judge by the expression *kj ḏd* "variant", found many times on the recto as well as on the verso, several versions must have been current. The Saitic period (XXVIth Dynasty: 664-525 B.C.) marks an important turning-point in the tradition because of the appearance of the Demotic which gradually permeated the text. The

technical passages which deal with the embalming process itself were the first to be translated into Demotic. Because of its religious nature the Hieratic was largely maintained in the ritual parts.

The Demotic is the Demotic of the classical Ptolemaic period, whereas the Hieratic has its own orthography, idiom and vocabulary, reflecting the stage of Late Egyptian.

The recto with its many Hieratic passages relates to sources close to the old Saitic tradition, when Demotic influences began to manifest themselves. The verso is an obvious compilation and traces back to several sources, among them the sources also worked into the recto.

STEMMA




ω Pre-Saitic manuscripts
664-525 B.C.: Saitic period; gradual penetration of the Demotic

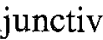
α manuscript still strongly rooted in the Saitic tradition, and forming the basis of the text of the recto

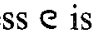
β later versions still keeping more or less to the tradition of α

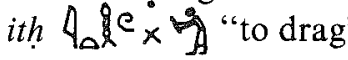
γ tradition only worked into the text of the verso

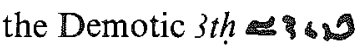
## § 7. WRITING AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE HIERATIC[31]

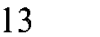
1. *tw* is written  instead of  (Erman, § 22, Korostovtsev, p. 31):
*tw*  "one" rt. IV 12
*mtw* , conjunctive prefix, *passim*

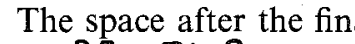
2. A meaningless  is sometimes written at the end of a word:
*ith*  "to drag" rt. IV 21; cf. the Demotic *3th*  (without ) rt. IV 3

3.  are written without distinction instead of the Demotic *t* (Erman, § 20; Korostovtsev, p. 13, 20):

*tštš/ dšdš*
 rt. III 5
 rt. III 13

*tštš*
 rt. II 20

4. The space after the final consonant is often filled with  (Erman, § 21):
*smt*  "manner" rt. II 25, III 3, 25
An oblique stroke is also found after  (Erman, § 24; Korostovtsev, p. 128):
*ḥr*  "face" rt. I 5, III 1, etc.
*iw-ḥr* (= *r.ḥr*)  "on" rt. III 2, 7, etc.
One may compare the meaningless oblique stroke in:
*i3bj*  "left" rt. III 3
*wnm*  "right" rt. III 12
One may also compare in this connection the meaningless flat stroke in, for instance:
*.w*  (plural ending as well as suffix *.w*) rt. II 18, III 9, etc.
*r3*  "mouth" rt. I 8, etc.

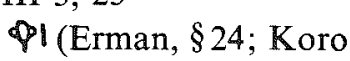
5. The space above a determinative is readily filled (Erman, § 28; Korostovtsev, p. 32): 

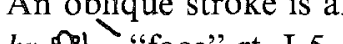
6. Syllabic writing is used to a large extent (Erman, § 29-31; Korostovtsev, p. 36-37), for instance:

*w3rsw*
 rt. I 4, 5

*wrs* "support"
 rt. II 2, etc.

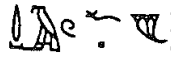
*sḳ3*
 rt. IV 24

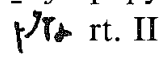
*sḳ* "mat"
 rt. II 2, etc.

*š3ʿ*
 rt. III 3, 4

*šʿ* "until", "up to"
 rt. II 10

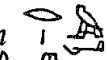
[31] References are to the following grammars: Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, [2]; Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du Néo-Égyptien*; Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*. Černý-Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, did not suggest any new aspects to me.

*ḏ3wf*  rt. I 3

*ḏwf* "papyrus"  rt. II 2, etc.

7. *Some remarkable groups*

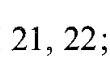
*ir*  "to do" (  is rare)

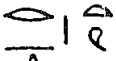
*(i)rm*  "with" rt. I 2, III 1, etc.

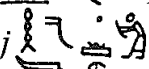
*wjꜣ*  "bark" rt. IV 19

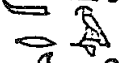
*wr*  "big" (  does not occur)

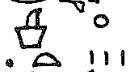
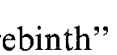
*p.t*  "heaven" rt. I 2

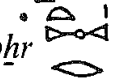
*ns*  "tongue" rt. II 13, vs. I 21, 22; cf. Demotic  rt. II 12, vs. II a, 15, etc.

*rꜣ*  "mouth" rt. I 8, II 25, etc.

*ḥwj*  "to throw" rt. IV 20

*Ḥr*  "Horus" rt. IV 17

*sntr*  "resin of the terebinth" rt. II 12; cf. Demotic  vs. I 9

*ṯs-pḥr*  "vice-versa" rt. III 13, 17.

| MÖLLER | HIËR. | P. BREMN. | ISIS-N. | APISRIT.. | RIT. BERL. | P. RHIND | LEIDEN T 32 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 |  | 20,20 | 1. | rt.I 2<br>rt.IV15 | 3,2 | I,10,1<br>I,10,5 | 2,13<br>1,21 |
| 4 |  | 8,9<br>17,Kol 16 | 26. | rt.I 1 | | I,7,7.<br>I,3,1. | 6,31 |
| 10 |  | 4,2<br>24,11 | 6,2 | rt.II 25<br>rt.III 25 | 4,1. | I,7,2<br>I,2,9 | 1,11<br>4,23 |
| 15 |  | 4,5 | 33 | rt.IV 21<br>rt.IV 20 | 2,10<br>4,5 5,9 | II,8,3 ib 4,8<br>I,7,2 I,7,11<br>I,3,10. | 2,4<br>5,3 |
| 33 |  | 4,3.<br>17 Kph 21 | 16<br>18<br>65 | rt.I 2<br>rt.III 10 | 5,2. | II 1,3<br>I,1,5<br>I,1,2. | 3,17<br>1,4.<br>4,30 |
| 35 |  | 4,9<br>21 Kph 13 | 15<br>21. | rt.I 3<br>rt.I 6 | 2,5 | I, 4,8<br>I,11,13<br>I, 1,2 | 1,8<br>1,1.<br>3,16. |
| 79 |  | 9,17<br>21 Kph 13 | 27 | rt.I 5<br>rt.I 8<br>rt.IV 1 | 2,7. | I,4,2<br>II,2,6. | 1,5<br>2,29 |

| MOLLER | HIER. | P. BREMN. | ISIS-N. | APISRIT. | RIT. BERL. | P. RHIND | Leiden T 32 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 82 |  | 3,2. 21Kph14 21 Kph 4 | 1. 65 | rt. I 7 rt. IV 12 | 2,1 | I,8,4 II,4,4. | 1,11 4.23 2,20. |
| 115 |  | 4,7 5,4 9,2 9,11 | 53. 59 | rt. III 9 rt. III 26 | 4,11 5,9 2,10 | I,4,5 I,4,8 I,10,3 | 1,7. |
| 122 |  | 23,18 4,17. | | rt. I 5 rt. III 12 | 4,5 | I,3,4. | 5,4 |
| 132 |  | 3,18. | 39 | rt. III 15 rt. IV 10 | 2,19. | I,10,3. I,3,1. | 5,13. 1,5 |
| 143 |  | 5,4 23,20 27,12 | | rt. III 12 | | I,10,4. | 1,4. 5,17. |
| 162 |  | 4,22 | | rt. III 17 rt. IV 22 | | I.4,12. I,3,3 | 2,14 |
| 188 B |  | 4,2 21Kph 1. | 1. 53 | rt. IV 10 rt. IV 11 | 2,2 2,8 | I,9 5 I,10,6 | 1,4 6,28 |

| MOLLER | HIER. | P. BREMN. | ISIS-N. | APISRIT. | RIT. BERL. | P. RHIND | LEIDEN T 32 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 192 B |  | 4,3<br>21 kpf. 4 | 33<br>20. | rt. I 3<br>rt. I 3 stot | 2,8<br>2,12 | II, 7, 3<br>I, 4, 5 | 4,6<br>6,16<br>1,1. |
| 204 |  | 26, 23<br>4, 20 | 5 | rt. IV 18 | 3,12. | | 1,3 |
| 205 |  | 26,13 | | rt. III 9 | 2,11. | II, 3, 1. | |
| 206 |  | | | rt. IV 17 | 4b7 | | 3,5 |
| 221 |  | 7,26 | 67 | rt. I 2<br>rt. I 5 | 2,13 | I, 3, 3. | 2,3. |
| 224 |  | 3,10 | | rt. IV 13 | 5,13 | I, 4, 6.<br>II, 9, 5 | 5,22<br>1,15 |
| 278 |  | 19, 3<br>6,6 | | rt. IV 16 | 2,1<br>4,8 | | 2,6 |
| 279 |  | 4,6 | | rt. III 10<br>rt. III 12 | 6,14<br>3,10 | II, 3.7<br>I, 3, 2 | 1,5 |

| MOLLER | HIER. | P. BREMN. | ISIS-N. | APISRIT. | RIT. BERL. | P. RHIND | LEIDEN T 32 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 288 |  |  23,15  22,21 |  19 |  rt. IV 8 | |  I, 7, 10 |  7,28 |
| 307 |  |  10,13.  27,3. | |  rt. III 5 |  1,5 |  II, 8 2. |  6,27. |
| 326 |  |  7,3  4,8 |  52 |  rt. III 10  rt. IV 16 |  5,10  2,1 |  II, 8 5  II 8,5 |  1,12.  6,6  6,1 |
| 333 |  |  9,26. |  53. |  rt. I 2  rt. IV 2 |  2,5 |  I, 4, 8 |  2,31  4,27 |
| 391 |  |  8,3 |  50 |  rt. III 10 |  3,4 |  I, 2, 4. |  2,28 |
| 395 |  |  3,18 |  ? |  rt. I 7 |  3,13 |  I, 1, 11  II, 1, 4. |  1,18  3,5 |
| 397 |  |  9,13 |  54. |  rt. IV 1 | |  I, 1, 9 | |
| 398 |  |  28,14. |  54 64 |  rt. IV 11 | |  I, 4, 2 I, 5, 2 |  2,29 |

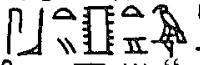
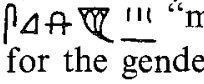
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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 408 |  | 4,2 | 63 | rt. IV 11 | 2,6 | I, 11, 2<br>II, 1, 4 | 2,6<br>1,10 |
| 432 |  | 4,6<br>21 Kpl 4. | 25 53 | rt. III 7 | 4,5 | I, 3, 5 II, 1, 1 | 1,7 1,21 |
| 461 |  | 3,25<br>28,22 | 25 | rt. I 3<br>rt. III 18 | 3,5 | I, 6, 1 | 5,7 |
| 462 |  | 29,4<br>21 Kpl 15 | | rt. II 18 | | I, 5, 4<br>II, 4, 6 | 2,9 |
| 496 |  | 1,2 | | rt. I 2 | | | |
| 500 |  | 19, 14 | | rt. I 2 | | II, 2, 8 | 7,16<br>4,25 |
| 503 |  | 21 Kpl 6 | 64 | rt. V 11 | 2,7 | I, 2, 12 | 7,14<br>8,2 |
| 534 |  | 3,18 | 53 | rt. IV 11 | 2,8 | I, 7, 2. II, 7, 8 | 1,3<br>1,4 |

| MOLLER | HIER. | P. BREMN. | ISIS-N. | APISRIT. | RIT. BERL. | P. RHIND | LEIDEN T 32 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 540 |  |  2,12. |  66 |  rt. III 26 |  2,4 |  I,6,11  I,4,3 |  1,31 |
| 548 |  |  4,2 |  24 |  rt. IV 9 |  2,13  5,5 |  I,10,6 |  4,25 |
| XXIII |  |  Schmitt 18,3 |  19 |  rt. I 3 | | | |
| |  |  21 Kph 15 | |  rt. IV 8 |  4,3. |  II,3,2 |  3,8 |
| |  |  21 Kph 7. | |  rt. IV 9 |  2,12 |  I,5,13  II,2,8 | |

## § 8. IDIOM

### A. Hieratic idiom

*Noun*

A singular noun is sometimes written with plural strokes (Erman, § 145; Korostovtsev, p. 56), for instance:
*sbt*  "wall" rt. IV 11
*sḳ*  "mat" rt. I 1; cf.  in rt. I 3
As for the gender, we may remark that *ḥ.t*  "palace" is feminine in rt. IV 9. Notable is the fact that the word *ḫ'm-r3*  "throat" is feminine in rt. III 3, whereas it is masculine in its Demotic synonym *ḫm-b*  in rt. II 23 and III 24.

*Genitive*

The genitive *-n* is often written: rt. I 7, II 1, IV 4, etc.
As *nota genitivi ntj*  occurs in rt. II 25 (Erman, § 214; Korostovtsev, p. 63).

*Pronouns*

The indefinite pronoun *tw*  "one" appears in rt. IV 12: *ir-ḫr.tw ibw* "one builds a Tent of Purification" (Erman, § 270; Korostovtsev, p. 89, bottom).
The absolute pronoun 3rd person sing. masc. *sw*  is found as subject of the 1st Present in rt. III 7, IV 1.
Demonstrative: *pf*  "that" occurs in the construction of noun + *pf* + relative form (Erman, § 126): *p(3) r3 ... pf iw.'ḳ.w r bnr n.im=f* "the door ... through which they went out", rt. IV 11. The demonstrative *pn*  "this" and *nn*  "those" occur respectively in the expression *ntr pn* "this god" (rt. IV 7, 20) and *m-ḫt nn* "after that" (rt. I 1, II 2, IV 8).

*Verbal forms*

The verb *'ḳ* is used in a transitive sense "to cause to enter", rt. I 6, III 15, IV 2, 19, 20 (Korostovtsev, p. 171).
Relative forms: *iw.ir.f*  in rt. III 17 (?); *iw.ir.w* , variant  in rt. III 13, IV 13.
Qualitative form 3rd pers. plural: *ḏb3.w*  in: *w'b s 2 n ntr pn ḏb3.w* ... "two *w'b*-priests of this god are clothed ...", rt. IV 7.
2nd Present: the usual verbal form in the papyrus. It is used for narrative irrespective of tense to sketch the proceedings.

The *sḏm.f*-form is constructed with the particle *ir* in a conditional sense in rt. IV 20: *ir pḥ ntr pn* ... "if this god reaches ..." (Erman, § 813; Korostovtsev, p. 254-255).

The *sḏm.ḥr.f*-form is found in rt. IV 12: *ir.ḥr.tw ibw* "one builds a Purification Tent". We have to do with a construction which is known from Middle Egyptian: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, ³ § 430-431; Junge, in: *JEA* 58 (1972), 133-139.

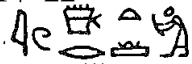
The form *ḥr sḏm.f* occurs in rt. IV 18: *ḥr ʿš.w ḏmʿ* 9 "they read aloud 9 sacred books". The construction is Demotic: Spiegelberg, § 128-133.

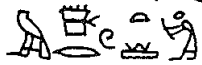
*Prepositions*

*m*  "in", "on", "with" rt. I 8, IV 12, 22

*mj*  "like" rt. IV 20

*r*  "to" rt. IV 22

*iw-ḏr* (= *r-ḏr*)  "next to" rt. III 12

*m-ḏr*  "in" rt. IV 10

*m-ḏr*  "by" (preposition borrowed from Demotic as introductory of the semantic subject) rt. IV 2

*Particles*

*ir*  "if" rt. IV 20

*nn*  negation; in the adjectival expression *p3 ḥn nn rḫ.f* "the mysterious coffer" rt. VI b 20, 21.

**B. Demotic idiom**

In the demotic idiom, a few relics from the older Egyptian phase can be found:

the demonstrative *pn*  in *ntr pn* "this god", rt. II 9 (bis), IV 17, vs. II a, 8, 10.

The preposition *m*  "in" in rt. VI b, 9, the preposition *mj* "like" in vs. II a, 1 (?), and the compound preposition *šʿ m* "from" in vs. III 20 (mistake for *šʿ* "up to").

The status pronominalis *ḥr=f* occurs instead of *ḥr 3t.ṯ=f* in rt. II 13 and *ḥr=w* instead of *ḥr 3t.ṯ=w* in vs. II b, 18.

It is uncertain whether in vs. I 22 a construction with the ancient *sḏm.t.f*-form is used: *šʿ pḥṯ ns.f* "until his tongue has reached".

Generally speaking, the Demotic shows the idiom of the classical Demotic of the Ptolemaic period. The following survey lists some of the most important particularities of this idiom in our papyrus.

*Nouns*

As a rule, the feminine ending *.t* is written in the text of the recto, whereas it is

usually neglected on the verso; see, for instance, *ʿr.ṯj.t* "lower jaw" in rt. II 14 but *ʿr.ṯj(.t)* in vs. II a, 11; *mj.t* "way" in rt. III 8, V 20 but *mj(.t)* in vs. I 4, 6 (bis), etc.

The plural ending is sometimes neglected in the text of the recto (rt. I 2, n. c) as well as in that of the verso (vs. II b, 15, 16).

Remarkable is the plural *nꜣ mw.w* "the waters" in rt. V 15, V 18.

Worth noting is the status pronominalis of *ph̩w* "end": *ph̩.ṯ*, vs. I 19, 20.

*Genitive*

The genitive *-n* is often written in the text of the recto. A notable example is *pꜣ ḏnḥ n iꜣbj* "the left shoulder" in rt. II 5. In the text of the verso the genitive *-n* is seldom written: vs. I 14 (?), II a, 8, II b, 8, III, 6.

As *nota genitivi ntj* 𓐍 occurs in rt. II 21 (Spiegelberg, § 65).

*Verbal forms*

The verb *ʿḳ* is used in a transitive sense "to cause to enter" in vs. I 22, II a, 18. *Wʿb* "to purify" in vs. I 1 is also used transitively.

The construction with infinitive used as a noun occurs in vs. II a, 19: *pꜣ ph̩ <r.ir> ls=f* "the reaching which his tongue did" (Spiegelberg, § 234).

2nd Present is used for narrative as in the Hieratic (see above).

Participle of *wn* "to be": *r.wn-nꜣ.w* in rt. IV 8.

Relative forms: *r.r=w* (=*r.ir=w*) vs. I 10; *r.štj* in rt. II 11; *r.tw=k* in vs. II b, 6 and *r.tw=f* in vs. II a, 3.

Qualitative form 3rd person masc. sing.: *dj.t* in vs. II a, 13 and *tw* in vs. II b, 5.

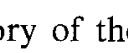
Emphatic form: *i.ir* + infinitive is used in the text of the recto and the verso to emphasize an adverbial complement: rt. III 5, IV 2, VI a, 13, etc. Worth mentioning are the cases in which the emphatic form is connected with the particle *ḫr*: (1) as habitual Present in *ḫr i.ir=f sḏm* in vs. III 19; (2) as a conditional in *i.ir ḫr sḏm=f* (rt. III 25, IV 3) and *i.ir ḫr i.ir=f sḏm* (vs. II b, 23). See vs. II b, 23, n. 1.

Causative infinitive: *dj.t i.ir* (ⲧⲣⲉ) + nominal subject, vs. II b, 10.

The prefix *bw-ir* "lest" occurs in rt. V 2 and vs. II a, 12.

The prefix *bw-ir-tw* "not yet" is found in rt. IV 2.

*Prepositions*

*m-ḏr*  "by" (introductory of the semantic subject) rt. III 5, vs. II b, 26 (Spiegelberg, § 380).

*n* denoting the object: rt. III 6, 26, V 27, 34, vs. II a, 9 (Spiegelberg, § 251).

*šʿ pꜣ mtr* "up to...": rt. III 2, vs. III 16 (Spiegelberg, § 329, Anm.).

*ḏbꜣ pꜣ gj* + infinitive "because of ...": rt. II 10, vs. I 19, vs. II b, 4, 10, III 6.

*Adverbs*

*m-sȝ tȝ ḥȝ.t* "first" rt. II 10.
*n.im.w*  "there" (used as resumptive adverb) rt. III 9, IV 9.
*ḫft-ḥr* "in front" vs. II b, 14.

*Conjunctions*

*ḫpr/ ḫpr ḏd* "because (?)" vs. II a, 12, 21, II b, 5, 8.

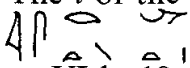
## § 9. PHONETICS

1. *ȝ*

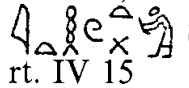
Remarkable is the spelling *ḳȝt*  "to build" (rt. IV 11), in which *ȝ* seems to represent the sound value o, as in the Coptic ϰωτ (Korostovtsev, p. 24). Vergote, *De Oplossing van een gewichtig probleem*, p. 10, remarks that the shift a > o must have taken place after the 7th century B.C.

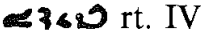
2. *i*

The *i* of the Hieratic is rendered *ȝ* in the Demotic (Korostovtsev, p. 21):

 *isr*
rt. VI b, 18

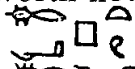
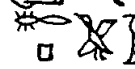
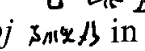
*ȝsj* "tamarisk"
 rt. VI b, 18-19

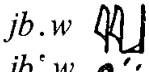
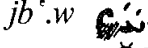
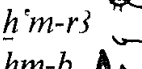
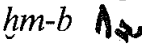
 *iṯḥ*
rt. IV 15

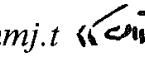
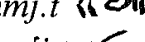
3ṯḥ "to draw"
 rt. IV 3

3. ʿ

a) the ʿ  is retained in *ḳʿḥ*  "corner", rt. IV 14; cf. *ḳḥ*  "corner" in Er., *Dem Glossar*, p. 547, 6.

b) worth noting is the ʿ in *ḫʿp* "navel". One can compare:
*ḫʿp*  rt. IV 1
*ḫpȝ*  in *WB.* III, 365, 14-15
*ḫlpj*  in *Inaros*, XII, 27
Coptic ϩ(ϵ)λπϵ in Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, p. 280, 6.

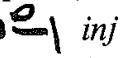
c) noteworthy are words which are once written with, then without, ʿ:
1) *jb.w*  rt. I 6, III 7 (bis), etc.
*jbʿ.w*  rt. III 6
2) *ḫʿm-rȝ*  rt. III 3
*ḫm-b*  rt. II 23, III 24

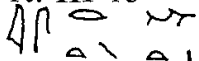
3) *nmj.t*  rt. VI a, 11
*nm'j.t*  rt. IV 23

4. *r*

a) *r* is written in the Hieratic at the end of a word but in the Demotic it is replaced by *j* (Erman, § 49; Korostovtsev, p. 34):

 *inr*
rt. III 15

 *inj* "stone"
rt. VI b, 16; cf. *inj.w* in vs. II a, 22, 25

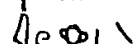
 *isr*
rt. VI b, 18

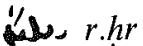
 *3sj* "tamarisk"
rt. VI b, 18-19

b) the preposition *r* of the Demotic has lost its consonantal value in the Hieratic (Erman, § 48; Korostovtsev, p. 34):

 *iw*

 *r* "to" (passim)

 *iw.ḥr*

 *r.ḥr* "upon"

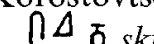
rt. III 2, 7, 9

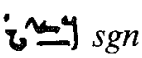
rt. II 1, 11

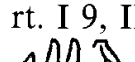
c) *r* has been retained in the middle of a word in the Hieratic *hrw* "day" (Erman, § 50; Korostovtsev, p. 33):  rt. I 8, III 13, etc.

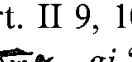
5. *ḳ/ g* and *k/ g*

a) *ḳ*  of the Hieratic has become *g*  in the Demotic (Erman, § 53; Korostovtsev, p. 13):

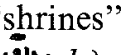
 *sḳn*
rt. I 9, III 10

 *sgn* kind of oil
rt. II 9, 10 (bis)

 *ḳj3*
rt. II 25, III 25

 *gj* "manner"
rt. II 10, III 18

b) worth mentioning is the interchangeability of *k/g* in the Demotic in *k3.w/ g3.w* "shrines"

 *k3.w*
rt. II 1, IV 17 (bis)

 *g3.w*
rt. IV 9

6. *ṯ*

*ṯ*  has been retained in *ṯj* , a vessel, rt. IV 5, 6. In all other cases the shift *ṯ* > *ḏ* has taken place, see e.g., *ṯ3m* > *ḏm* "to clothe", rt. III 10, vs. I 8.

## § 10. VOCABULARY

The papyrus is of extraordinary importance because of the many new words it

contains, notably in the field of anatomy, and for the new light it throws on a number of known words.

It is remarkable that comparison of parallel passages has revealed that archaic words and expressions in the Hieratic have been replaced by a more modern synonym in the Demotic. The following list may serve to illustrate this:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ȝḥtj(.t)/ ḥtj(.t)* | *tp* "throat" |
| rt. II 13, vs. II a, 15 | vs. I 14, 17, etc. |
| *iw-ḏr (=r-ḏr)* | *r twn* "next to" |
| rt. III 12 | rt. II 8 |
| *wjȝ* | *wtn* "(divine) bark" |
| rt. IV 17 | rt. IV 18 |
| *wp-st* | *wpt* "specification" |
| rt. I 5, II 1, etc. | rt. IV 23, 25, etc. |
| *m-ḫt* | *m-sȝ* "after" |
| rt. I 1, II 2, etc. | rt. II 4, vs. I 1, 3, etc. |
| *mʿj* | *mn* "woe (?)" |
| rt. I 3 | rt. IV 15 |
| *nwt* | *ḳn* a fabric |
| rt. I 6 | rt. III 6 |
| *nn* | *nȝj* "these" |
| rt. I 1, II 2, IV 8 | vs. II b, 25 |
| *nḳr/ sḥm* | *sḳ* "to pound" |
| rt. IV 23, VI b, 1 | rt. II 12 |
| *rȝ* | *b* "mouth" |
| rt. I 8, II 25, etc. | rt. II 10 (bis), etc. |
| *ḥr* | *mȝʿ* "place" |
| rt. III 9 | rt. II 5 |
| *sj* | *ḫt* "beam" |
| rt. VI b, 18 | rt. VI b, 18 |
| *sbt* | *ḏȝj.t* "wall" |
| rt. IV 10 | rt. IV 10 |
| *šs sp*-2 | *m-šs* "very" |
| rt. II 11, III 9 | rt. III 20, 22 |

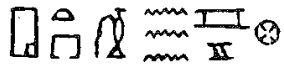
## § 11. DEATH, EMBALMING AND BURIAL OF AN APIS BULL

1. An Apis bull dies at Memphis in his stall situated a little to the south of the great Ptah temple[32]. The news of his death plunges the worshippers of the god into

[32] For the topography of the stall, see map on p. 163

profound mourning which would last until the day of the funeral at the end of a period of 70 days[33]. During this entire period they display their grief outwardly by wearing mourning-garments, by letting their hair grow, by not washing, and by indulging in loud wails of mourning. They observe a severe fast for the first 4 days and for the rest of the period of mourning they abstain from animal food and eat only bread, vegetables and water[34].

In the meantime, priests carry the deceased bull via the western doorway of the stall (the direction of the sunset) to the House of Purification. After the corpse is carried out, the stall is tidied up and in the corridor by the western door an inscription commemorating the deceased Apis is added to an already existing list and records in the form of an epitaph the days of birth, enthronement and death of the Apis (§ 17 = rt. IV, 8-12).

## RITUAL WASHING OF THE CORPSE IN THE HOUSE OF PURIFICATION 

2. The House of Purification is situated close to the south of the stall. There is nothing in the papyrus which gives us any details about what happened in this building, but it seems reasonable to suppose that in the critical phase right after its death the corpse of the Apis was washed with water and preserved with natron, as was the human corpse in the Tent of Purification in this very stage of the embalming process (rt. IV 10, n. 3). This washing of the corpse with water[35] is an ancient solar rite, the object being the removal of impurity and the bringing about of resurrection, just as the sun rises from the primeval waters or, which amounts to the same thing, from the horizon. The stay of the corpse in the House of Purification was presumably as brief as that of the human corpse in the Tent of Purification (up to the fourth day from death?)[36].

[33] The period of 70 days is mentioned in autobiographical stelae from the Serapeum. See Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis*, 41, n. O.

[34] See Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, 125. Vercoutter (*op. cit.*, 42-43) rightly points out that the autobiographical stelae, which mention the severe fasting, leave the question undecided whether it was linked to the death of the Apis or whether it occurred towards the end of the mourning period. To me, however, it seems most probable that the severe fasting coincided with the critical phase immediately after death. This would fit well into the supposed duration of the stay in the House of Purification which shall be discussed below. See, however, Smith, in: *RdÉ* 24 (1972), 178, with n. G. For fasting (= to purify oneself) see *Zeitschrift für Religion und Geistesgeschichte* 20 (1968) 212-222.

[35] For interesting remarks on ancient views on water, see Verdenius' article "De Adem Gods", in: Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks. 1973 (vol. 36, no. 8). See also Ali Radwan, in: *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, II, 216, n. 30; Wild, *Water in the cultic worship of Isis and Sarapis* (ÉPRO, 87); Graefe, in: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14 (1983), 66 sqq.; *Homo Religiosus* 11 (1983), 126 sqq.

[36] We know from late sources that a human corpse had to be carried to the embalmers on the fourth day; cf. Sauneron, *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, XV, with n. 4.

## THE HOUSE OF EMBALMING 

3. From the House of Purification the Apis is removed to the House of Embalming in which it was to stay until the 68th day after its death, and to be transformed by a complicated process into a mummy.

A. *Architecture and furniture.* — It is almost certain that we are dealing with the Embalming House which was situated in the south-western corner of the large complex of the Ptah Temple at Memphis, the remains of which were excavated in 1941 by the Egyptian Department of Antiquities under the leadership of Badawi[37]. Unfortunately a proper excavation report has not yet appeared. From the ground plan by Dimick (pl. 41) it may be gathered that the largest outer dimensions were ca. 60 × 45 m., and that the interior consisted of transverse rooms lying behind each other and connected by a passage. One recognizes[38] a central room (A) of ca. 24 × 8 m. with two rooms of ca. 36 × 6 m. to the South and three others of ca. 24 × 5 m. to the North. Among the items brought to light were eight alabaster embalming tables which as a rule, were adorned with a lion's motif on the sides[39]. Some of these tables measure 4 × 2 m., whereas others have somewhat smaller dimensions of 3.50 × 1.60 m. They are all provided with a drain to carry off liquids and were therefore obviously used during the removal of the entrails and other surgical operations indispensable to the preservation of the mummy.

Besides these archaeological data we have evidence at our disposal which is by no means negligible and which is furnished by the recto of our papyrus. From this it is apparent that the Embalming House was entered through a screen-walled portico (*sbḫ.t*) erected in front of the entrance proper and providing both physical and spiritual protection to the sacred area behind it (rt. IV 20)[40]. Through this portico one entered a great hall (*wsḫ.t ʾ3.t*), which probably had only a ceremonial function (rt. IV 20)[41]. The text finally mentions two other rooms:

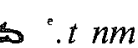
[37] Mustafa el-Amir, *The* ΣΗΚΟΣ *of the Apis at Memphis*, in: *JEA* 34 (1948), 51-56; Dimick, in: Anthes, *Mit-Rahineh*, 1955, University of Pennsylvania Museum Monographs, Philadelphia 1959, 75-79; Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, 55-58. These studies mention inscriptions bearing the names of kings of the XXVIth Dynasty (Necho, Amasis), the period to which our papyrus relates (see rt. IV 11). It is to be expected that the American excavations in and around the Embalming House will bring important new evidence to light. See American Research Center in Egypt, *Newsletter*, number 125, Spring 1984, 14-22. See also Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis*, I, [1985] 15, 22, 38, 65, 74 [Occasional Publications, 3].

[38] See ground plan, p. 33.

[39] Analogous to the king sitting on his throne flanked by two lions, the Apis lies between the two lions on the embalming table, *i.e.* they constitute symbols of the two horizontal hills between which the sun is born. The lion's couch is often depicted in scenes of birth and is a well-known solar symbol of resurrection. See, for instance, Westendorff, *Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, 55.

[40] For *sbḫ.t*, see Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple. A lexicographical Study*, 161, sqq.

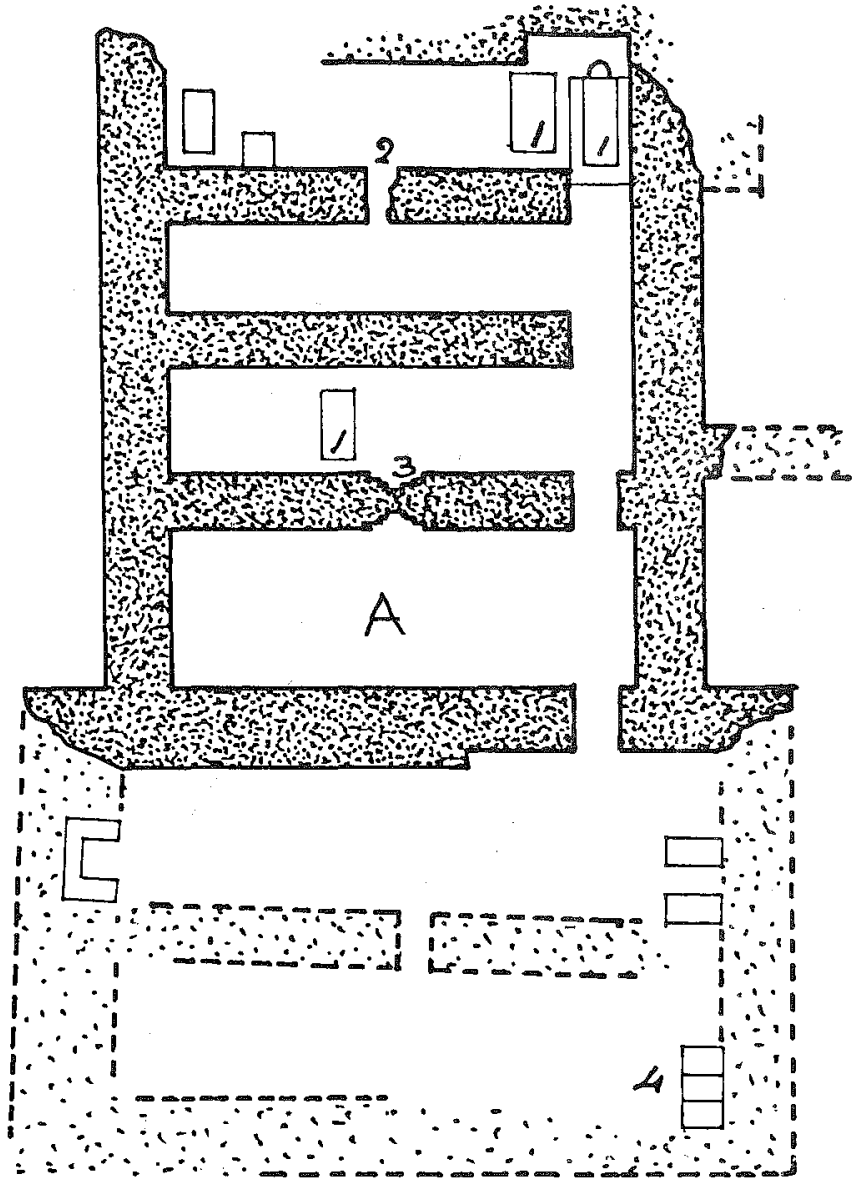
[41] For *wsḫ.t*, see Spencer, *op. cit.*, 71 sqq.; Reymond, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum.* Part II. *From Ancient Hermeneutic Writings*, 94. As far as can be ascertained,

a)  *ḫ.t nmḥ.t* "Slaughter-Room", in which the embalming tables stood for the removal of the entrails etc. (rt. IV 23 VI a, 11);

b)  "Wrapping-Room", in which a bank of sand measuring 3 × 2 m. was for the Apis during the wrapping (rt. I 1).

An unsolved problem is the identification of these rooms with rooms of Dimick's ground-plan.

THE APIS' MUMMIFICATION BUILDING AT MEMPHIS




1) Embalming bed
2) Later constructed passage
3) false door
4) Remains of an older building

B. *Religious meaning.* — The House of Embalming was not only a building in which the Apis was embalmed, but above all the house in which the mystery of resurrection was performed, as Osiris had risen from the dead (*Wsir-Ḥp* = Osiris-Apis). Purity is a precondition for resurrection, since it reflects the primeval condition when the world, and therefore the deceased, was still to be created[42]. Thus the Embalming House is called *w'b.t* "pure place"[43]. This means not only that the House of Embalming is itself pure, but all the things in it as well. Thus the Apis is carried into the House of Embalming after he has been subjected to a ritual washing in the House of Purification. The embalmers enter the House of Embalming after they have met the requirements of purity (shaving, washing, changing clothes: rt. I 2, n. 4). The items used in the embalming are placed on mats covering the floor in order to prevent the holy objects from touching the impure ground (rt. I 3, n. 3). For this very reason the Apis lies in the Wrapping-Room on a bank of sand, which in the cult is symbolic of purity (rt. I 1, n. 1).

## PRESERVATION OF THE CORPSE

4. The Apis presumably remained in the Slaughter-Room until the 52nd day after his death resting on an alabaster dissection table and subjected to surgical treatment ("slaughtering"). By combining the dispersed data of our papyrus with what is known of the treatment of the human corpse[44] we can form an idea of the technical operations which were carried out in the earliest stage of the embalming process in order to ensure the preservation of the body as much as possible. There is an uncertain indication that the embalmers started their work by cutting the

Embalming Houses for holy animals and for people were always provided with a *sbḥ.t* and a *wsḥ.t*, see Grdseloff, *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt*, 12 (with fig. 5) and 14 (with fig. 8); Jelinková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Her-le-Sauveur*, 97-100 (with survey-maps).

[42] Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 635; cf. *nȝ w'b.w* "the pure ones" = the dead ones (οἱ νεκροί): Er., *Dem Glossar*, 83, 3 = *P. Berlin* 3119 A, 3.

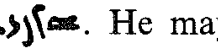
[43] Goyon, *Rituels funéraires*, 24, n. 3.

[44] Basically there is no difference in treatment between the corpse of human beings and of holy animals (cf. p. 103, footn. 24). The similarity in treatment is caused not only by religious motifs in that animal and human beings are both transformed into an Osiris, but can also be explained by what happened in practice. An Apis bull reached an average of about 18 years (see p. 96, with footn. 18) and for those few times a bull had to be embalmed one certainly did not keep a large permanent body of embalmers and other staff but undoubtedly called in embalmers whose daily duty it was to embalm people. A stela from Vienna (quoted p. 186, footn. 100) points to this probability, as we are told that a woman was embalmed by the Overseer of the Mystery of the Apis Osiris. We can also draw a parallel with the Overseer of the Mystery of the holy bull Buchis of whom we know with certainty from texts on mummy labels that he was charged with the embalming and burial of people. See Vos, Demotic mummy labels containing permission to bury, in: *P.L. Bat.* 19 (1978), 262-265.

throat to empty the bull of blood. Modern embalming techniques render the bleeding unnecessary, but the question arises what means, apart from natron and pitch, were available to the Egyptian embalmers (rt. II 21, n. 4). The embalmers then proceeded with some surgical operations which were inevitable if they were to preserve the corpse properly:

a) crushing of the eyeballs, which were strongly subject to decay. In a later phase of embalming the eyeballs were restored by the introduction of artificial eyes which were made of linen (§ 38 = vs. II b, 2-14);

b) the papyrus contains no indication whatsoever as to whether the brains were removed. It cannot, however, be ruled out that such an operation was carried out, since the brains are subject to putrefaction to the same degree as the eyeballs[45]. If the embalmers used the method which according to the Greek historian Herodotus (II 86) was practised on human corpses, they will have introduced a (copper?) tool, which had to be circular-ended or coiled, through the nostrils into the distal part of the skull, and removed the brains which because of their viscid and glutinous consistency adhered to the tool in question. The brain tissue could be removed by repeated insertions and withdrawals of the instrument[46].

c) The most drastic operation was the removal of the intestines from the thoracic and abdominal cavity, an operation which was as drastic as it was necessary for the preservation of the mummy. From the papyrus it is apparent that an incision was made in the left side of the abdomen much the same as was done with carefully embalmed human bodies[47]. Via this incision all the entrails were removed, except for the heart (with which we shall deal below), and carefully washed with water (see introduction to § 12 = rt. III, 8-10). The embalmer connected with the treatment of the intestines is called *wr-irj* . He may have carried out the operations himself or have played a leading part in them (rt. V 31, n. 1). After their purification, the intestines were stored permanently in two *hbn.t*-vessels (not the so-called Canopic jars!) which were carried, each in a separate shrine (*k3*), in the procession to the Serapeum, the cemetery of the Apis (§ 16 = rt. IV, 5-8).

Through the removal of the intestines from the thoracic and abdominal cavity there arose the imminent danger that, as a result of the desiccation of these large body cavities, the huge corpse of the bull would dent, shrink[48], and eventually

[45] With human corpses this operation was often omitted; cf. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir-el-Medineh* (1934-1935), in: *IFAO* 15 (1937), 139. Under normal conditions one will have proceeded much more carefully in the case of a god like the Apis.

[46] See the account of the successful experiments executed with this instrument on sheep by Filce Leek: *JEA* 55 (1969), 112-116.

[47] According to the Greek author Diodorus Siculus I 91, the operation was carried out on human mummies with a flint knife by the so-called *paraschistes*.

[48] In modern books on preparing animals these phenomena, which occur after the removal of entrails, are pointed out. See Georg Stehli, *Verzamelen en prepareren van dieren*, Zutphen 1970.

collapse by its own weight and the manipulations later on during wrapping and transport. In a unique passage (§ 23 = vs. I, 1-9) we find a detailed account of the measures which were taken to meet this danger. An embalmer, who is especially charged with the treatment of body cavities (*p3 ḫrj-ḥb ntj i.ir-ḥr p3 ḥn* "the embalmer who is in charge of the cavity"), first purifies, through the mouth and the incision, the internal body with resinous oil. The heart, which as the seat of physical and emotional life has been left in place, is taken out through the incision and after treatment put back by the same way (vs. I 2, n. 2). Finally the corpse is filled out by putting into it, through the mouth and the incision, large quantities of small and large bags (*ʿrf*) containing a mixture of sawdust and natron[49]. The similarity in treatment between the mummies of humans and of holy animals would be complete if we assume that the corpse of the Apis, after having been stuffed with preservative embalming materials, was conveyed to the so-called taricheutes "picklers", who kept the corpse during a period of 40 (?) days covered by huge quantities of solid natron[50]. Unfortunately the text is silent about this stage of the embalming (cf. rt. IV 9, n. 1).

## THE WRAPPING

5. After the treatment in the Slaughter-Room little more was left of the bull than a skeleton and a skin tanned by the prolonged influence of natron. By this time the embalmers commenced the wrapping, a process which was to last 16 days, up to the 68th day of the embalming process. It is the stage in which the prepared corpse is transformed into a new body (mummy) and roused to new life after the example of what had happened in primeval times to the corpse of Osiris, the god of resurrection. In its present state the recto of the papyrus starts at the very moment that the Wrapping-Room is being readied and the embalmers, who are going to carry out the wrapping, arrive at the House of Embalming, amidst the wails of the worshippers of the Apis who are waiting at the entrance[51].

[49] Cf. Goyon, *op. cit.*, 32-33 (with n. 1).

[50] The period of 40 days during which the corpse of the patriarch Jacob was embalmed (*Genesis* 50, 1-3); cf. Goyon, *op. cit.*, 33, n. 4.

[51] The period of mummification or wrapping is clearly different from the period of preparation ("slaughtering") of the body in that the operations are carried out in another room of the Embalming House and by other embalmers.

A. *The embalmers.* — Who are the embalmers that were charged in this final stage of the embalming with the operations? In order to get a general idea let us review them all, touching on their most important tasks. First of all, there is the Overseer of the Mystery (*ḥrj sšt3*). He plays the role of Anubis[52], the god of embalmment, who remedied the corpse of Osiris and made it into a mummy. Being the personification of Anubis and as such initiated in the mystery of resurrection (= mummification) of Osiris[53], he is the leader of the Ritual and in that capacity embalms the head which with such vitals organs as mouth and eyes represents the most important part of the body. In doing so he fulfills duties which in the *Rituel de l'Embaumement* are specifically assigned to the department of the *ḫtmw* (?) *ntr* "divine Chancellor" (rt. II 18, n. 1).

Four lector-priests or embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*)[54] work from fixed positions which each has taken up at one of the legs of the bull[55]. Co-operating harmoniously from their stations the embalmers could easily cover the entire mummy. Thus the embalmers of the forelegs embalm the breast as well, and the embalmers of the hind-legs also operate on the anus and the tail. The embalmers are not entitled to operate on the head.

Two *smr*-priests assist the Overseer of the Mystery in his operations, among other things by opening the mouth of the bull for him (vs. II a, 2, with n. 3)[56]. It is not improbable that on certain occasions the two *ḫrj-ḥb.w*, who were stationed in front of the bull, played the part of *smr*-priest (rt. II 18, n. 1). Finally, it is worth mentioning in this connection that the embalmers were assisted by *w'b*-priests who, as a kind of household service, attended to the embalmers and were in control of boat-shrines (*ḏj.w*) containing embalming materials for certain parts of the body (rt. II 11, n. 4).

B. *Preparations for the wrapping.* — After the embalmers had undergone a ritual washing they entered the House of Embalming where in the meantime a bank of sand had been prepared in the Wrapping-Room for the Apis to rest upon during the wrapping (§ 1-2 = rt. I, 1 - II, 2). The Overseer of the Mystery calls for the items he wants brought into the Wrapping-Room for wrapping the Apis and which

[52] Goyon, *op. cit.*, 26, with n. 1.

[53] In texts from the Ptolemaic period, the *ḥrj sšt3* is also called *m33 sšt3*, *i.e.* priest who is entitled to "see" the statue or body (*sšt3*) of the god; see Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, vol. II, 60, sqq. See also Derchain, in: *RdÉ* 30 (1978), 59-61.

[54] For the *ḫrj-ḥb* in his double role of lector-priest and embalmer, see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 57* and II, 269*.

[55] Hence such technical jargon as *ḥms i.ir-ḥr* + part of the body "to sit before a part of the body" = to embalm a part of the body (rt. II 14, n. 3).

[56] In rt. II 10 one particular embalmer is charged with this task. His title, however, is damaged beyond recognition.

are arranged on a mat by the embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*). Mummy cloths and bandages are manufactured in advance to the required size so that the actual wrapping can proceed efficiently (§ 4 = rt. II, 2-4). The bull is then transported to the Wrapping-Room. The embalmers had at their disposal an ingenious means of transport to enable the corpse, which was as heavy as lead, to be carried from one place to another, and which consisted of three loose poles which were slipped under the corpse of the bull in front, in the middle and rear. Once the bull was strapped with mummy bandages to the poles he was carried into the Wrapping-Room and lifted onto the bank of sand on which he was to rest in the posture of a resting jackal. The poles were removed and the wrapping could begin (§ 5 = rt. II, 4-10).

C. *The wrapping.* — Recto and verso both contain separate chapters with detailed accounts of the wrapping of various parts of the body of the Apis. The commentary gives to each of these accounts an introduction, in which the details of the content are amply dwelt upon. Referring to these introductions I shall confine myself here to a description of the wrapping of some of the parts of the body which are remarkable for the technical or ritual proceedings which attended their treatment.

a) Oral cavity (§ 6 = rt. II, 10-14): the walls of the oral cavity are clothed with small cloths and the oral cavity is filled with all kinds of embalming materials, among them wax, myrrh and ground resin of the terebinth (*sntr sḳ*). There is a remarkable operation by which two teeth (*ndḥj.wt*) are removed from the lower jaw and replaced by artificial teeth. We are dealing with two specific teeth which were the first to come out during the shedding, and whose replacement, therefore, symbolises the whole shedding process, *i.e.* the rejuvenation of the Apis (rt. II 12, n. 1).

b) Eyes (§ 38 = vs. II b, 2-14): as we have seen above, the eyeballs were already removed at a very early stage of the embalming process by crushing. The material restoration was achieved by filling up the eye-sockets with little cloths, after which a linen pad of about 2.8 cm thick and 11 cm in diameter was placed in each of the eye-sockets. Each pad was wrapped in 16 layers of linen. This resulted in bulges appearing under the cloth in which the head was wrapped in a later phase. By saving round openings in the cloths at the level of the eye-sockets, an excellent imitation of the characteristic bulbous eyes of a bull was achieved. The papyrus does not inform us about any further work to make the eyes appear lifelike, but on the analogy of existing mummies of bulls we may suppose that the contours of the eye, and in particular the canthi, were ingeniously imitated with ink and strips of linen.

The material restoration of the eye did not mean that the Apis had the disposal of his eyesight again. This faculty could only be conveyed by magical means. In this respect the papyrus mentions some magical instrument with which the eyes were

"revealed" (*wn-ḥr*) and strips of papyrus which were rolled up and introduced into the eye-sockets of the Apis in order to restore sight in a magical way.

c) Limbs (§ 11 = rt. III, 5-8): the embalmers have taken up position around the mummy, each at one of the legs. They stretch the hind legs alongside the hind quarters by which the hind feet were prevented from being bent during the wrapping. The original hoofs had been removed and replaced by artificial (golden?) hoofs which were wrapped in linen from Sais. The golden artificial hoofs of the Apis correspond to the golden sheathes which were slipped over the nails (= hoofs) of the fingers and toes of mummies of kings and distinguished persons and which, as was the case with the Apis, were covered with linen from Sais. The removal of the original hoofs was necessary, because (1) they threatened to fall off the limbs which shrunk through the action of the embalming materials and as a result of desiccation; (2) they were considered to be impure parts of the body. The gold symbolises purity and life (rt. III 6, n. 4).

d) Anus (§ 12 = rt. III, 8-10 + § 23 = vs. I, 3-7): recto and verso each give their own version of the treatment of this part of the body. According to the recto version an embalmer empties the anal channel, washes it and stuffs it with cloths. He carries out this obvious impure operation hidden from view by a cloth which covers both him and the hind quarters of the bull. According to the verso an embalmer tampons the anal channel by pushing a big bag into it which in turn is filled with small bags containing a mixture of natron and myrrh. The result is (1) that liquids are absorbed and the decomposition of the body is retarded and (2) that the anal channel retains its original shape as much as possible and is prevented from collapsing.

## THE APIS IS LOWERED INTO THE COFFIN

6. The end of the wrapping is marked by a rite whereby a cloth is torn (*š't ḥbs*). The rite is carried out outside the House of Embalming by a priest and is a signal for the gathered crowd of worshippers to burst out in loud lamentations (rt. IV 3, n. 1).

Meanwhile the coffin has been made ready in the House of Embalming and, being a symbol of the god Osiris, has been equipped with emblems expressing this symbolism, such as an *ish*  "sheaf of corn", and Djed-pillars (rt. IV 4, n. 1 and n. 3).

For the problem of lowering the heavy mummy of the god into the coffin without damage, the embalmers had found a solution, as simple as it was engenious, in the form of a board which was fitted with clamps. The embalmers fastened the Apis to the board with mummy bandages which by a very complicated process they pulled

through the clamps and passed zig-zag across the mummy. Having fastened the Apis, the embalmers first hoisted him with ropes which were drawn through the outer clamps of the board and then lowered the mummy into the coffin by carefully letting the ropes run out (rt. IV, 3-4).

### PROCESSION TO AND JOURNEY ON THE LAKE OF KINGS

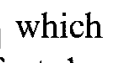
7. On the 69th day of the Embalming Ritual the coffin with the Apis, amid loud lamentations of the gathered crowd of worshippers, is dragged out of the Embalming House and placed in a shrine which in turn is placed in a boat resting on a wheeled carriage. The rites which follow are rites of resurrection after the example of Osiris, the god of vegetation and Rē‘, the sun-god (§ 19 = rt. IV, 14-20). In a procession which symbolises nothing else than the ritual realisation of the emission of divine life, the Apis is carried on to the Lake of Kings (= Lake Abusir). In the boat next to the Apis are Isis and Nephthys, the two wailing women of Osiris, and priests walk in front carrying standards on which the images are placed of the gods Wepwawet of the North and Wepwawet of the South, the Openers of the Ways, while images of the gods Horus and Thoth are carried on standards behind them.

Upon arrival at the Lake, the Apis is placed on a bank of sand, his face turned south, and priests mount upon a papyrus boat (= the boat of Osiris and of the sun-god Rē‘), on which they travel on the Lake. The journey across the Lake is a ritual dramatization of the primeval struggle between Osiris and Seth and between Rē‘ and the snake of the chaos waters, Apopis. The nine sacred books, which are read aloud during the journey, and which reflect struggle and victory (= resurrection), clearly bear witness to that primeval fight (rt. IV, 18-19).

### SOJOURN IN THE TENT OF PURIFICATION AND RETURN TO THE HOUSE OF EMBALMING

8. After the journey across the Lake the Apis is carried into a Tent of Purification (), which had already been built on the shore of the Lake on the first day of the embalming process (§ 18 = rt. IV, 12-14). The Tent is constructed of poles spanned with linen, and has an entrance on the western and an exit on the eastern side. Those two openings or doors are used in a solar rite of resurrection in which the Apis is brought in via the western entrance and leaves it re-born via the eastern exit. During his stay in the Tent the Osirian ritual of the Opening of the Mouth is performed on the Apis (rt. IV, 19-20).

After his stay in the Tent of Purification the Apis returns to the House of

Embalming, the entrance of which is identified with the Portico of the Horizon (*sbḫ.t 3ḫ.t*). As this portico is situated in the place where the sun rises, it symbolises cosmic resurrection. As proof of Apis' resurrection priests throw a brick which represents the birth tile or *mshn.t* in front of the coffin (rt. IV 20, n. 2). The Apis, now aroused to new life by all the ceremonies he has been submitted to, no longer belongs in the Embalming House (= the realm of the dead), and the god is then taken into a tent  which already had been built in close vicinity to the Embalming House on the first day of the embalming ritual. Here he awaits the day of his funeral (rt. IV 21, n. 1).

## FUNERAL

9. Unfortunately the papyrus does not contain an account of the 70th and final day on which the Apis is carried in a procession with great pomp from the tent to his tomb in the Serapeum. But we do have at our disposal the evidence furnished by autobiographical stelae from the Serapeum[57]. From these it is apparent that the heavy coffin is hauled by the army to the desert table-land of Saqqara[57a], where a subterrenean tomb has been prepared in the Serapeum. Before the Apis is taken into the crypt, the rite of the Opening of the Mouth is performed on him. After that, the Serapeum is closed until the next funeral.

## § 12. FINAL REMARKS

If completely preserved the papyrus would presumably have offered a complete manual for the embalming and funeral of an Apis bull. As such, it is connected with the tradition of similar manuals from the late Period, like the *Rituel de l'Embaumement* published by Sauneron, and the bilingual papyrus *Rhind*, which has been published by Möller.

It is to be regretted that nothing is known about the circumstances accompanying the discovery of the papyrus. As we have seen, the verso of the papyrus is a compilation of passages which form complementary notes to the text of the recto. That could point to the possibility that we are dealing with a document that once belonged to the professional equipment of an embalmer in a executive role (an Overseer of the Mystery?), for whom the complementary notes were essential; if so, the papyrus could have been sent along with its owner in the tomb, as was, for instance, sometimes done with the reference libraries of physicians and magicians.

[57] Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, 125-126.

[57a] For the route of the burial procession see Smith, in: *BIFAO* 81 [supplément] (1981), 338-339.

It is equally possible, however, that the papyrus was one of the copies of embalming texts of the House of Life (*pr-ʿnḫ*), where this kind of text was drawn up and copied out[58], and that the complementary notes were written by a scribe who was working there and who had been charged with inspecting and, if necessary, bringing the embalming texts up to date. If we are indeed dealing with a copy of an embalming text from the House of Life, this would explain why the drawings had yet to be filled in (see p. 5, with n. 20)[58a].

[58] For the House of Life, see *LÄ* III (1980), 954-957.

[58a] In the light of this, Dorothy J. Thompson's suggestion (*Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 198-199) that our papyrus was perhaps a copy belonging to the archentaphiast Petesis, who probably presided over the funeral of the bull of Gerg(et) II, which died in September 119 B.C., should be considered with caution.

# TRANSLATION

## Recto I

### § 1. A bank of sand is prepared in the Wrapping-Room

[probably 1 column lost]

1. A bank of sand[1] is in it[2], measuring 6 divine cubits in length and 4 divine cubits in width. They[3] spread one thin[4] mat of papyrus on it. They lay a *ḳbj.t*-cloth[5] on them.

### § 2. The Overseer of the Mystery and four embalmers are fetched and accompanied to the Wrapping-Room

2. After that they go for[6] the Overseer ? of the Mystery and the embalmers, — 4 persons. They bring them being shaved[1]. They give to them a garment[2] and a pair of sandals[3]. They make them pure[4]. They go to the Wrapping-Room. They raise a great lamentation to heaven[5]. They put a *pjr*-bandage
3. about their neck[1]. They cry woe upon the god in the big house[2].

### § 3. The Overseer of the Mystery calls for the things he wants to be brought into the Wrapping-Room

They lay out one mat of papyrus[3] before the embalmers. The Overseer of the Mystery calls for the things he needs in the Wrapping-Room, viz.[4]:

4. one board[1] of western *mrj*-wood[2], measuring 4 and 2/3 divine cubits (other reading: 2 1/3) in length, 1 2/3 divine cubits in width and 1 palm in thickness and having 22 (copper) clamps; 4 square blocks of stone are under the board[3]. One great support[4] of tamarisk (?)-wood[5] (to be placed) under the breast; its height is
5. 1 divine cubit. The *pḫt*-vessel which is (to be placed) on his skull; the diameter of its opening is 10 digits, the diameter of its base is 5 palms. The *pḫt*-vessel[1] which is (to be placed) under his foot; the diameter of its opening is ..., the diameter of its base is 1 palm. One little support (to be placed) under the mysterious face; its height is 4 palms. 4 poles[2] of *ṯrs*-wood[3]; viz., 1 little one of 5 divine cubits in length. *Nbtj(.t)*-
6. bandage of 100 divine cubits in length and 4 digits in width to make (the Apis) enter[1]. They manufacture a *nbtj(.t)*-bandage[2] of 200 (divine) cubits in length

and 2 digits in width to fasten (the Apis)[3]. They manufacture a *nbtj(.t)*-bandage of 200 (divine) cubits in length and 1 2/3 digits in width. Linen from Sais[4]. They are wound on a roller[5] of *ḳd*-wood to wrap the hoofs. They prepare[6] 2 *hin* of

7. fine styrax[1]. 2 chests of *ḳd*-wood to put the *nms*-cloths and the things of the Wrapping-Room in them; their length is 1 divine cubit, width 4 palms, and 2 digits and 2 *hbn.t*-jars are in them[2]; their nature is described below. 2 *3w*-vessels[3] to ... the ... *nbtj(.t)*-

8. bandage. They ...; their length (?) is 6 digits. A *ḳll* of ebony[1] for the mouth. The *stj.t*[2] of the tail[3]; (its) length is 4 palms and 3 digits, its width 6 digits. The coffin of the first day[4]; its nature is described below. See to ... in purity

9. with the *sḳn*-ointment.

## Recto II

1. every *ḥbs*-cloth[1] 20 *rḫt*-cloths[2], viz.: 10 byssus cloths, viz.: among them 3 *ḫrt*-cloths[3] and among them 2 cloths of blue (?) linen and one comes upon the god and they cover the coffin with the other[4]. *Ḳb3(.t)*-cloth of blue (?) and of red linen is for the shrines[5], the boat-shrines[6] and the board of the

2. first day. 10 *3trf*-cloths[1]. 300 *hnbj.t*-vessels[2]. 10 mats of papyrus; their length is 6 divine cubits, (their) width likewise[3]. 2 supports[4] of tamarisk-wood[5]; their height is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ divine cubits each and a pillar[6] is in the midst of them.

### § 4. The Overseer of the Mystery and the embalmers manufacture the bandages and cloths for the wrapping of head and limbs of the Apis

After that the Overseer of the Mystery and the embalmers manufacture the *ḥbs*-cloths, the

3. *swḥ*-cloths and the *sbn*-bandages which they need for the mysterious face and the limbs[1]. The two pads[2] measure 6 digits in their diameter and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ digits in thickness. The *swḥ*-cloth of the mysterious face makes 9 *pjr*-bandages, 4 *pjr*-bandages above and 5 *pjr*-bandages below;

4. its length is 6 divine cubits, width 2/3 (divine cubits)[1].

### The Overseer of the Mystery and the embalmers manufacture the mummy cloths of the back

They manufacture the *bnt*-cloth[2] and the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth. The length of the *bnt*-cloth is 9 divine cubits (other reading: 12), width 3 divine cubits. The length of the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth is 6 divine cubits, width 2 divine cubits (other reading: 3)[3].

## § 5. The Overseer of the Mystery and the embalmers attach the Apis to a bier and carry him into the Wrapping-Room

After that the Overseer of the Mystery and the embalmers who are with him go to

5. the place where the god is. They fix[1] the *nbtj.t*-bandage[2] in front between the shoulders of the god, within the right shoulder and it goes to the left shoulder. They cut it off. They make it go within the left shoulder

6. and it goes to the right shoulder. They cut if off. They pass them upwards[1]. They bind them together as a *sḫm*-knotting. They do the same with the thighs also. They cut it off[2]. They pass it to the upper part of the body[3]. They bring it also upwards[4]. They

7. [1] bind them[2] together as a *sḫm*-knotting. They make 3 poles appear from the *skr*-bandages[3]. They bind the front of the shoulders with *sbn*-bandage[4]. They pass them upwards. They pass them to the pole in front. They bind the front of the thighs with *sbn*-bandage[5]. They

8. pass them upwards. They pass them to the pole in the midst. They make the tail go next to the right thigh[1]. They fasten it to it. They bind the breast with *sbn*-bandages also[2] to the pole in front. They make the god enter[3]. They make him rest on the bank

9. which is described[1]. They take away the poles[2]. They lay the *skr*-bandages, which are under the god, left and right of him[3]. They cover this god entirely with *ḥbs*-cloth. They bring the fine styrax[4] before the Overseer of the Mystery and the embalmers. First they anoint this god

10. entirely with *sgn*-ointment at the *šnj*[1], to make the *sgn*-ointment soak in it, whereas the ...-priest sits before the Overseer of the Mystery.

## § 6. Mouth and Tongue are embalmed

He opens[2] the mouth[3] of the god. He puts his hand in his mouth as far as

11. his hand can reach[1]. He takes away the *ḥbs*-cloths and everything[2] he may find in his mouth. He covers well inside his mouth with *ḥbs*-cloth. He ...[3] the *nms*-cloths which the priest, who is in the boat-shrine which is described above[4], has taken away. He removes the two teeth

12. which are in it (scil. the mouth)[1]. He puts two other teeth, wax[2], myrrh[3], ground resin of the terebinth[4] and other ... in the mouth of the god, to prevent his mouth from shutting. He puts a big bag filled with myrrh under his tongue. He covers

13. his tongue with *ḥbs*-cloth soaked[1] in *sgn*-ointment and he swathes[2] at its front

with three *pjr*-bandages; and one (*pjr*-bandage) goes up and another one is directed upwards on it[3]. He lays two *ḥbs*-cloths on his two throat openings[4]. He lays another two *ḥbs*-cloths on his upper jaw[5]. He lays another two *ḥbs*-cloths

14. on his lower jaw[1]. He covers[2] inside his mouth with *ḥbs*-cloth to ... the *ḥbs*-cloths which go into his mouth ... with *sgn*-ointment.

## § 7. The Eye-sockets are embalmed

He begins the embalming of the eye-sockets[3]. He covers inside the eye-sockets with byssus.

15. He anoints them with *sgn*-ointment. He lays the *ḥbs*-cloths on the eye-sockets, two *sj.t*-cloths on each eye-socket[1] ... ... the god. He lays the *ḥbs*-cloths on the eyelids.

## § 8. The Nose is embalmed

He begins the embalming of his nose.

16. He takes away the *ḥbs*-cloths which are in his nose[1]. He covers inside his nose with *ḥbs*-cloth. He ... the boat-shrine in which the *nms*-cloths of the mouth are. He anoints inside his nose with *sgn*-ointment[2]. He covers inside his nose with *ḥbs*-cloth soaked in *sgn*-ointment.
17. He covers the mouth and the nose with a single *ḥbs*-cloth. He wraps it in *pjr*-bandage[1].

## § 9. The Horns and the Ears are embalmed

He begins the embalming of the horns. He covers them with *ḥbs*-cloth. He anoints them with *sgn*-ointment. He wraps them in a *swḥ*-cloth. He makes five *pjr*-bandages, three above and two below[2].

18. They anoint[1] between the horns with *sgn*-ointment. He clothes them[2] with *ḥbs*-cloth from one horn to the other. He wraps them in a thin *nbt*-cloth from one horn to the other, in three *štȝ*-bandages[3]. They wrap them in *swḥ*-cloth
19. from their tops as far as their lower parts. They wrap them in *sṯr*-bandage[1] at their tops and they wrap them in *mtr*-bandage as far as their lower parts also. In the same way the ears are treated[2]. The *sj.t*-cloth which comes between the horns under the *nbt*-cloth makes
20. two *pjr*-bandages right and two *pjr*-bandages left[1].

§ 10. a. The mysterious face is wrapped in a *swḥ*-cloth

The Overseer of the Mystery[2] wraps the mysterious face entirely in a *swḥ*-cloth soaked in *sgn*-ointment (and he lays it) under it and upon it[3]. He fastens it with *pjr*-bandage[4]. He fixes the two pads[5] on the eye-sockets[6].

21. He makes sixteen wrappings on them[1].

§ 10. b. The mysterious face is wrapped again in a *swḥ*-cloth

He lays the *swḥ*-cloth on the mysterious face[2]. See, here is the way in which it is done. He makes 2/3 for it and 1/3 comes on the breast and 2/3 comes under the mysterious face[3] in it[4]. And the 1/3 which is on the

22. breast makes three *pjr*-bandages[1] and the *pjr*-bandage in the midst is cut off under the breast and the other two *pjr*-bandages make six *sbn*-bandages and two of them are cut off and four (scil. *sbn*-bandages) come on the breast, two left and two right of it

23. (the two cut off bandages being cut off) one in between and the other one ... the other 2/3 which are under (scil. the mysterious face). He wraps it in nine *sbn*-bandages and a great *sbn*-bandage comes in the midst among them and it goes upwards on the throat[1] up to the horns and it makes two *pjr*-bandages on the breast, one left and one right of it[2]. He makes the four *pjr*-bandages go

24. which are left of the great *sbn*-bandage[1]. He cuts off the one which is behind the great *sbn*-bandage. He turns to cut off a fourth (scil. mummy bandage) behind it (scil. the great *sbn*-bandage) also[2]. He does likewise also with the right side.

25. It makes nine *pjr*-bandages[1], four on the breast[2], five under the mouth[3]. They cover it therewith according to its shape and two *gbꜣ*-bandages come under it and two other ones come above it. The way in which they

Recto III

1. go is *Wp*[1]. The Overseer of the Mystery and his two little *smr*-priests lay the *swḥ*-cloth under the mysterious face. And one of the three *gbꜣ*-bandages which have been mentioned above goes to the breast[2] and they make two *pjr*-bandages out of the four

2. which have been mentioned above go to the breast and they bring before the mouth the *ḥbs*-cloth which has been named[1]. They bring another (scil. *ḥbs*-cloth) from under the mouth over the nose up to the horns[2] and he swathes (it) between the horns[3].

3. They send them to the breast[1]. And the right one passes down under the throat[2] and it goes over the mysterious face up to the horns. The left side (is treated) in the same way. He makes two other
4. ...-bandages also go downwards just like those ones[1]. They make two other (scil. bandages) go up to the breast[2]. He fastens the beginning of the great wrapping of the mysterious face until he finally shall have entirely wrapped it (scil. the mysterious face) up to the horns[3].
5. He wraps it firmly in *str*-bandage from the ... up to his neck. He wraps the mysterious face from one horn to the other in the *ḫ*ˁ-cloth.

## § 11. The Limbs are embalmed

These operations have been carried out by the Overseer of the Mystery[1], whereas[2] the embalmers

6. sit before the limbs[1]. They stretch them as far as they can to ensure that the feet shall not be bent[2]. They wrap the feet, that is his forefoot and his hind foot, in byssus[3]. They wrap the hoofs[4] in *ḳn*-cloth from Sais[5]
7. upon the *swḥ*-cloth[1]. It is as a tissue (?) from one hoof to the other[2] (wrapped in?) *nbtj.t*-bandage[3]. It is bound on rollers of *ḳd*-wood[4]. They lay the *swḥ*-cloths on the hoofs. They make three *pjr*-bandages. They clothe
8. them therewith. They firmly wrap them in *sbn*-bandage. They lay the *swḥ*-cloths on the limbs. They wrap them in *rmrm*-bandage.

## § 12. The Anus is embalmed

One embalmer[1] begins the embalming of the anus. He lays a *ḥbs*-cloth

9. over himself and the god[1]. He takes away the *ḥbs*-cloths and all things and everything[2] that he shall find there[3] as far as his hand may go[4]. He washes it with water[5]. He covers it well with *ḥbs*-cloth. He ... the *ḥbs*-cloths and
10. the *nms*-cloths which the priest, who is in the boat-shrine containing the things of the anus, has taken away[1]. He anoints it with *sḳn*-ointment. He clothes it with *ḥbs*-cloth.

## § 13. The Tail is embalmed

The other embalmer[2] begins the embalming of the tail[3].

11. He anoints it with *sḳn*-ointment. He covers it with a *swḥ*-cloth soaked in *sḳn*-ointment[1]. He wraps it in *nbtj.t*-bandage. He covers it with another *ḥbs*-cloth[2]. He makes 5 *pjr*-bandages above it and 3 below it[3]. He clothes it therewith. He wraps

12. it[1]. He makes it go next to the right thigh[2]. They[3] attach[4] it to it. They lay the *ḥbs*-cloths over the front and the hindquarters (scil. of the Apis)[5]. They swathe[6] the *ḥbs*-cloth of the hindquarters. They make the tail appear from it. They
13. wrap (it) with *sṯr*-bandage[1] in front and vice-versa.

## § 14. The board is brought into the Wrapping-Room and the Apis is bandaged to it

They[2] bring the board[3] of the first day[4] inside after having it covered with cloth first[5]. They make the clamps[6] appear from the *ḥbs*-cloths[7]. They fasten it firmly

14. with *sbn*-bandage. They lay the *bnt*-cloth and the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth[1] ... ... ... board ... ... left and right of the god ... ... ... They ... ... ... ... ... them
15. *sbn*-bandage upon, while the poles[1] are according to what has been written. They make the god enter. They anoint the god with *sḳn*-ointment. They make him rest on the board, while 4 square blocks of stone are under the board[2]. They ... the *skr*-bandages
16. outside under the god[1]. They place the great support under the breast and the little support under the mysterious face[2]. They make the board steady in front and behind[3]. They wrap the upper side (scil. of the Apis) in the *bnt*-cloth and the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth[4].
17. They fasten it with *sbn*-bandage from front to behind and vice-versa. They knot again the *skr*-bandages outside under the god as he does outside (?)[1]. They lay them left and right of him until they need them. They lay
18. a *ḫrt*-cloth of byssus upon the god over the front and the hind quarters. They fasten the god to the board with the *nbtj(.t)*-bandages which have been described[1]. The way in which they fasten him: they bring the *nbtj.t*-bandage which
19. measures 120 (divine) cubits[1]. They make it go from the clamps which are under the coffin (*sic*)[1a] over his two knees in front. They divide it into 2 parts. They lay 60 divine cubits to the left and 60 divine cubits to the right. They pull[2] them
20. tight. They send them over the upper side of his shoulders. They send the *nbtj.t*-bandage from right to left. They send the *nbtj.t*-bandage from left to right[1]. They send it to the other two clamps behind[2].
21. They make them return on the upper side. They make the *nbtj.t*-bandage return to the front on these (scil. mummy bandages) again[1]. Two other

traverses (?)[2]. They pass the 2 *nbtj.t*-bandages into the 2 clamps which are in the midst of the board in front[3]. They send them

22. upwards on the back. They make them go to the 2 clamps behind. They send the *nbtj.t*-bandage from right to left. They send the *nbtj.t*-bandage from left to right also. They pull them tight[1]. They make them return

23. to the 2 clamps in front again[2]. They pull them tight. They send them upwards between the horns[2]. They send the *nbtj.t*-bandage from right to left. They send the *nbtj.t*-bandage from left to right. They make them go to

24. the 2 clamps of the support which is under the face of the god. They make them return upon the throat. They send the *nbtj.t*-bandage from right to left and also from left to right. They pull them tight until they shall have given

25. the head its fixed form according to its shape[1]. The rest of the *nbtj(.t)*-bandage ... support and the *nbtj(.t)*-bandage for fastening which has been described[2]. If they shall have sent them to the 2 clamps, they shall have

26. finally fastened the god altogether for the second time[1]. They bring another *nbtj.t*-bandage in order to cut it up as they need. They fasten the feet and the thighs to their clamps to the board[2]. They

## Recto IV

1. lay a *ḫrt*-cloth of byssus on the god[1]. They make the *skr*-bandages go from underneath the board. They measure 2 palms in width. They bind them three times on the god: in front, on the navel and on the hind quarters[2]. They

2. make the three poles appear from them. The embalmers and the *w'b*-priests make the god enter. They make him rest on the supports[1].

### § 15. The Apis is lowered into the coffin. Lamentations over the Apis

All these things they do[2], while the god's fathers and the prophets[3] are waiting and while they have not yet cut up

3. a *ḥbs*-cloth. When they shall have cut up a *ḥbs*-cloth, they raise a lamentation[1]. They bring the coffin[2] inside. They bring the sledge[3] before the god. They make him rest thereon. They draw (him) up to behind the coffin. They make the god rest in the

4. coffin. They make fast the djed-pillars[1] in front and behind the coffin. They equip it with a blue (?) *ḫrt*-cloth of byssus. They take for it a *kfȝ*-cloth of red linen[2]. They bind a sheaf of corn on it[3]. They make *mtr*-ointment

5. and *skn*-ointment for it[1]. They make the cords go out of the clamps of the coffin (*sic*)[2].

## § 16. Embalming materials and parts of the body are stowed in vessels. Ritual proceedings with shrines

They bring the two shrines which have been described[3]. They stow away the *nms*-cloths of the mysterious face, which are in the *tj*-vessel[4], in a *hbn.t*-vessel. They ... one

6. shrine. They equip it with blue (?) linen. They place the purified parts of the entrails[1], the great hoofs and the little hoofs[2], the *nms*-cloths and the things of the anus[3], wich are in the other *tj*-vessel, in another

7. *hbn.t*-vessel[1]. They ... the other shrine. They equip it with red linen. The two *w'b*-priests of this god are clothed with blue (?) and red linen. The *w'b*-priest who is clothed with blue (?) linen enters the shrine which

8. is equipped with red linen and the *w'b*-priest who is clothed with red linen enters the shrine which is equipped with blue (?) linen[1].

## § 17. Erection of a Tent. Ceremonies in connection with the death and enthronement of the Apis

After that they bear the bed[2] which was under the god. They cut ... [3]. They ... the *hnbj.t*-

9. vessels[1]. They found a *g3d*. They bring them to the place[2], where they have set the shrines of the gods[3]. They build a tent[4] outside the canopy of fir-tree[5] which is on the side of [6] the door of the Palace of the Kings[7], which

10. opens to the stall[1], to the south wall of the Place of the Apis[2] and to the east wall of the House of Purification[3]. They open the door on the east wall of the stall. From it

11. they did come out after they had found him (scil. the Apis) in the 24th year of Pharaoh Amasis, whereas it is from the door which is built in the west wall of the stall that they came out in the 12th year of Pharaoh Apries[1].

12. They make the god enter from the door of the stall[1], while the two *w'b*-priests[2] are behind him. They put up an inscription[3] on the (scil. west) wall of the stall which is in the corridor (?)[4].

## § 18. A Tent of Purification is built on the bank of a sacred lake

A Tent of Purification is made on

13. the first day[1], on the bank of the Lake of western Kings[2], after having

equipped his grave (?)[3] first with *ḥbs*-cloths and his amulets according to the Ritual of Amulets[4]. They clothe it with *ḥbs*-cloth, which measures 80 divine cubits, viz.

14. 20 divine cubits in each place ... four of (?) the four corners of the Tent of Purification. It is on the west side that he first[1] enters and from the east side that he goes out ...

§ 19. The Apis is carried in procession to the sacred lake.
Journey on the sacred lake, while nine holy books are read aloud

They bring the ...-priests to the

15. Wrapping-Room. They lay the beginning of the cord of the coffin in their hands. They draw (the coffin) out. The *w'b*-priests draw (the coffin) in[1], while all people raise a great lamentation. They cry woe upon the god in the big house[2]. The *w'b*-priests

16. take the beginning of the cord out of the hand of the Great Ones of the House of the Inundation of the Nile (?)[1]. They enter the Lake with Isis and Nephthys before him (scil. the Apis), with 2 *bs*-vessels filled with natron in their hands, 10 *mnḫ.t*-cloths and a white cloth and a blue (?) cloth[2]. Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, Wepwawet of Lower

17. Egypt[1], Horus, Thoth, the Bed of Ptah[2], are before this god. They make the god rest on a bank of sand, his face turned south[3]. The *w'b*-priests, who enter the shrines, go to the lake. They mount upon the Bark of Papyrus with the shrines[4]. They provide themselves with

18. rowers. They read aloud nine books on the Bark[1]. Their titles[2]:

I. Ritual[3] of the Journey of the First Day
II. The Protection of the Sacred Bark[4]
III. The Protection of the Bark
IV. The Plan of thy Face

19. V. Glorification of Osiris, [19] the Floating One[1]
VI. The Protection of the Holy Bark[2]
VII. Warding off[3]
VIII. Good Fortune[4]
IX. The Opening of the Mouth

§ 20. The Apis is carried into the Tent of Purification.
Performing of the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth

They make the god go up to enter the Tent of Purification. They perform on

him the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth in each of the four corners of the Tent of Purification[5]. They perform for him[6]

20. all the ceremonies which are in the ritual book.

## § 21. The Apis returns to the Place of Embalming

They make the god enter the door of the Place of Embalming. If this god reaches the Portal of the Horizon ... to the great hall of the Place of Embalming, the Great Ones of the House of the Inundation of the Nile (?)[1] throw a brick[2] before the coffin that

21. it (scil. the coffin) may not go into the Place of Embalming. The embalmers and the *w'b*-priests draw (the coffin) in[1]. The embalmers take the shrines out of the hand of the *w'b*-priests. They make them rest in the tent. The embalmers

22. loose the *ḥbs*-cloths of the coffin. The Overseer of the Mystery comes out. He covers it (scil. the coffin) with *ḥbs*-cloths again[1]. They perform the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth for it (scil. the coffin)[2], equipped with all its things.

## § 22. a. The Overseer of the Mystery and the Priest of the Lake call for the things which they need in the Slaughter-Room

23. After that the *w'b*-priest of the Lake and of the ...[3] and the [2]3 Overseer of the Mystery call for the things which they need in the Slaughter-Room[1]. Their list in details: 1 sack ground ... of Rostau. 2 sacks ... of the Field of Rushes.

24. 1 sack of straw from corn. 1 thin mat of rush; its length is 6 divine cubits, its width likewise[1]. 1 thin mat of papyrus[2] like the 5 mats of papyrus for the tent[3]. ... ... ... with them. 1 brick of clay;

25. its length is 16 digits, width 12 digits and height 10 digits[1]. The burial cloths of byssus. Specification:

## Recto V

1. 2 *ḫrt*-cloths of byssus quality[1]. 2 *st*-cloths. 10 *3trf*-cloths[2]. 5 *ḫrt*-cloths for burial. 50 *ḳb3(.t)*-cloths for burial[3]. *Nbtj.t*-bandage for wrapping[4] according to what they need.

## § 22. b. Enumeration of pottery which is brought into the Slaughter-Room

The pottery[5]; their number, their ..., viz.

2. 15 *ḏnjṯ.t*-vessels[1]: these they lay under the *trf*[2] of the god that nothing may

fall therefrom. See their shape [space]: diameter of the opening 6 palms, height 7 digits, diameter of the base likewise (7 digits).

3. 4 great wash vessels[1]: in them they spread what is in the large and the small entrails, while a *rhnj.t*[2]
4. is in them; the diameter of their opening is 1 divine cubit, height 6 digits. See their shape [space]. 4 *mšj*-vessels[1]: in them they receive the Horus copper after they have come out of
5. the abdominal cavity[1] as well as the things[2] which are in them (scil. the Horus copper) in 4 other *mšj*-vessels; the diameter of their opening
6. is 1 divine cubit, diameter of the base 2 palms; see their shape [space]
7. 10 *ḥn*-pots[1]: these are in what they lay the things[2] and the *ḥbs*-cloths, which were in the abdominal cavity[3]; the diameter of their opening is 1 divine cubit, diameter of the base 1 palm, height 1 palm; see their shape [space].
8. 4 little wash vessels[1]: in them they ...[2] what is in the large
9. and the small entrails; the diameter of their opening is 5 palms, diameter of the base 3 palms, height 4 palms; see their shape [space].
10. 4 great *tjtj.t*-vessels[1]: in them they ...[2] what is in the
11. entrails with water and oil, one (*tjtj.t*-vessel) for each purification;
12. the diameter of their opening is 1 divine cubit, diameter of the base 5 palms, height 5 palms; their shape [space].
13. 4 *lḥmj.t*-vessels[1],
14. which have 4 sieves[1]: with these they sieve[2]
15. in them (scil. the *lḥmj.t*-vessels) the water[1] with which they purified the entrails; their height
16. is 1 1/3 divine cubits, the diameter of the base 5 palms; their shape.
17. 2 little *lḥmj.t*-vessels[1] which
18. have their sieves[1] to sieve the water[2] of the large entrails
19. in them (scil. the *lḥmj.t*-vessels); their height is 1 divine cubit, the diameter of the base 5 palms; their shape [space].
20. 20 *bs*-vessels[1] in which to lay the *nms*-cloths of the anus[2];
21. their height is 4 palms, the diameter of the base 2 palms and 2 digits; their shape [space].
22. 10 *ḥn*-vessels[1]: in which to lay the *nms*-cloths of the abdominal cavity until they have gone

23. to the tent of the first day again[1]; the diameter of their opening is 1 divine cubit, the diameter of the base 1 palm and 2 digits, depth likewise (1 palm and 2 digits); their shape [space].
24. 20 *ḏnjṯ.t*-vessels[1]: to lay under the *trf*[2] of the god; the diameter of their opening is 1 divine cubit, the diameter of the base 3 palms,
25. height likewise (3 palms); see their shape.
26. 16 *rks*-vessels[1]: these are they in which they ... the Horus copper
27. when they have cleansed them each time of cleansing. They wrap them in *ḥbs*-cloths. Their height is 8 palms, the diameter of the base 3 palms; their shape [space].
28. 16 *ḏlḥ*-vessels[1]: in them they cleanse the Horus copper each time of cleansing, each time 4 (scil. instruments)
29. for a single god; the diameter of their opening is 5 palms, the diameter of the base 4 palms; see their shape [space].
30. 4 other *mšj*-vessels[1]: these they are in which they cleanse the Horus copper
31. after the purification of the *wr-irj*-priest[1]; the diameter of the opening is 1 divine cubit, the diameter of the base 5 palms,
32. height 5 palms; their shape [space].
33. 2 *psṯ'j.t*-vessels[1]: these are they in which they lay the Horus copper
34. when they are finished purifying them (?) ... ... the *wr-irj*-priest, while 4 *mštj.t*
35. are in them; the diameter of their opening is 1 divine cubit, the diameter of the base 8 palms,
36. height 8 palms; their shape [space].

## Recto VI a

1. 2 *ṯ'j*-vessels[1] wherein to lay the Horus copper when they have come to enter
2. the ...; the diameter of their opening is 1 divine cubit, the diameter of the base 8 palms, height 8 palms.
3. 4 *ḳtj* wash vessels[1] in the form of a lake: to purify the
4. *wr-irj*-priest therein; the diameter of the opening is 1 divine cubit, the diameter of the base 4 palms, height 4 palms; their shape [space].
5. 4 great *ḥj3.t*-vessels[1] to lay the Horus copper in when they have come out of
6. the *ṯ'j*-vessels (which are made) of *tnr3*[1]; the diameter of their opening is 1 divine cubit, the diameter of the base 3 palms, height 5 palms; their shape [space].

7. 4 little *ḫj3.t*-vessels[1] wherein to purify the great entrails ...;
8. the diameter of their opening is 1 divine cubit, the diameter of the base 3 palms, height 4 palms; their shape [space].
9. 4 great *lḥmj.t*-vessels[1] wherein to lay the Horus copper while they are filled
10. with oil; each one of them measures 1 divine cubit in height, the diameter of the base is 1 divine cubit.
11. Total 157 vessels in the Slaughter-Room

§ 22. c. Description of a coffer. Enumeration of various things

12. not to reckon the coffer of ... which is made of wood of the sycamore and has 4 compartments
13. in it. He makes it of wood of the sycamore. They call it ..., the
14. one who gives birth to ... a figure of birth (?), which is repeated, is in them (scil. the compartments of the coffer).

Recto VI b

1. It is the matter of a divine man (?)[1]; its shape. 10 *ḥnbj.t*-vessels with natron; he pounds 30 *ḥin* (scil. of natron) for each of them (scil. the *ḥnbj.t*-vessels)[2]. 2 faience *bs*-vessels[3] (containing)
2. 10 *ḥin* of sesame-oil each. 5 *ḳll*-vessels[1], filled
3. with water (from?) their *grbʿ* of wood up to their opening. 2 *ikn*-vessels[1]
4. 2 *ʿnj.t*-vessels (?). 1 *bkf*-vessel (?) which has
5. a *knṯ*[1], measuring 1 divine cubit, whereas its handle is of wood. 2 great *3w*-vessels[2],
6. measuring 2 palms each. 5 alabaster *ʿ*-vessels[1], viz.
7. 1 great one.

§ 22. d. Enumeration of things belonging to the Overseer of Craftsmen (*ḫrj ḥm*)

1 ... ...[1] whereon the place the tools of the Overseer of Craftsmen[2],
8. viz. 1 palette with black ink; 10 *ʿt* ...; 5 *ʿt* of *tpš*[1]; 20 *bs.t.*
9. a ...-vessel (?) of ebony, the rim being of gold and measuring 1 divine cubit.

§ 22. e. Enumeration of things belonging to the Scribe of the God's Book (*sḫ mḏ3.t-ntr*)

1 ... ... whereon to place the tools which

10. the scribe of the God's Book[1] needs. Their list: 2 palettes of *ḏr3*-wood, one with blanck ink, the other one with green ink[2].

11. 10 *ʿt* of ...[1] 2 dowels for operating on the mouth[2]. 1 *mḥj*[3]. 1 *whj*[4]. 1 *3w*-vessel of gold.

12. 1 *3w*-vessel of silver[1]. 10 faience *bs*-vessels filled with water. 1 cloth of byssus of first quality whereon they write a *wḏ3j.t*-eye with

13. black ink; no disgrace is ... ... ... it is not ... with black ink; it measures 6 digits.

14. 1 faience *wḏ3j.t*-eye. 1*wḏ3j.t*-eye of wood of the tamarisk[1]. All these things they place on the ...[2] which is covered with *ḥbs*-cloth and measures 8 (?) 2/3 divine cubits in length, in height

15. 1 divine cubit (?) and 8 palms in width; its lid (?) is of papyrus and it has a *knḏ* measuring 1 palm; its 4 compartments (?), viz.

§ 22. f. Enumeration of various things contained in a boat-shrine

Another boat-shrine ...

16. The things which are in it. 2 *ḏlḥ*-vessels of alabaster[1], containing 2 *hin* each, one of sweet fat[2] and the other one of

17. fine styrax[1]. Sesame oil of the Oasis[2], according to what they need in order to illuminate with it. *Rrj.t* of ... *Ḥnj* according to what they need.

§ 22. g. Enumeration of various things contained in the boat-shrine of the *wr-irj*-priest

18. 1 shrine ... in which are the things of the *wr-irj*-priest[1]: 4 beams of the wood of the tamarisk (they are 4 beams

19. of wood of the tamarisk). 4 reeds with their leaves still on them. Gypsum[1] according to what they need. A *gml* of copper[2] according to what ... the *wr-irj*-priest. A black *ḳn*-cloth[3]

20. to bind on the opening of a precious *ʿ3.t*-vessel.

§ 22. h. Description of a mysterious coffer contained in a boat-shrine

1 boat-shrine ... in which is the mysterious coffer.

21. 1 ... ... whereon to place the tools of the *wr-irj*-priest. The shape of the mysterious coffer: they make it
22. from *ḳtj*-wood, whereas it ... ... ... and 2 ladders (?) are in it. It is ... the Necropolis
23. of the Temple (?). Its length is 4 palms, its height 3 palms and its width is 2 palms. Specification of the things which are in it.

## Verso I

### § 23. Embalming of body cavities

#### a. The thoracic cavity is embalmed

1. After that[1] the embalmer, who is in charge of the (thoracic) cavity[2], clothes it well with *ḥbs*-cloth[3]. He pours pure oil in the (thoracic) cavity[4]. He purifies it well[5] ...
2. He takes away the pure oil[1]. He clothes it well with *ḥbs*-cloth ... it pure ... also. He anoints the heart with pure *ʿnḏ*-oil[2].
3. He wraps (scil. the heart) in a *sj.t*-cloth, which is soaked in pure *ʿnḏ*-oil ...

#### b. Tail, back, anus and sexual organs are embalmed

After that he anoints at the top of the tail[1] and the back with pure *ʿnḏ*-oil.

4. He lifts the scrotum (?). He anoints the two testicles (?) with pure *ʿnḏ*-oil[1]. He knots the bag of the anus[2].
5. See here is the way in which he does the knotting of it (?). He places some bags with natron and myrrh in a *ḥbs*-cloth. He ties them (scil. the bags) up with a *pjr*-bandage so as to make a single bag.
6. He makes the ends of the *ḥbs*-cloth appear from the anus until he has made it firm in the anus. The embalmer,
7. who is in charge of the tail, pulls the ends of the *ḥbs*-cloth out of the anus, until he has made the anus firm[1].

#### c. Thoracic and abdominal cavities are embalmed

After that

8. the embalmer, who is in charge of the cavity[1], makes 6 bags ...[2] filled with natron and saw-dust go up into the ... of the god. He clothes the
9. trunk (?)[1] with little bags filled with natron and saw-dust. He places the Mecca balsam (?)[2] and fresh resin of the terebinth[3] on the opening of the place (?)[4].

## § 24. The limbs are embalmed

These operations they carry out

10. whereas[1] the embalmers, who are in charge of the limbs, wrap the feet[2], that is his forefoot and his hind foot, and the tail[3], after having first given to them *sj.t*-cloth and *ḳn*-cloth[4]
11. soaked in (?)[1] pure *ʿnḏ*-oil (variant: in oil and natron).

## § 25. The breast is embalmed

The two embalmers, who are in charge of the breast[2], anoint it with the medicament ... They place a *sj.t*-cloth

12. on it, which is soaked in pure *ʿnḏ*-oil[1]. They wrap it in *sbn*-bandage. They wrap it in a *nbtj.t*-bandage, which is soaked in oil and natron[2]. They wrap it in a *swḥ*-cloth,
13. which is soaked in oil and natron. They wrap it in *pjr*-bandage on the upper part (scil. of the breast).

## § 26. All kinds of oils are brought before the Overseer of the Mystery

After that they bring the medicaments ... the warm medicament

14. and the cold medicament (?), the medicament of the first day[1] ... and the medicament of the throat of the 12th day and the pure *ʿnḏ*-oil, the oil (which contains a solution of) natron, the oil
15. prepared from *shr*[1] and the dry *shr*[2], according to the delivery that shall come before the Overseer of the Mystery[3].

## § 27. The oral cavity is embalmed (I)

After that the Overseer of the Mystery places a *ḥbs*-cloth in the mouth of the god. His

16. two *smr*-priests grasp the ends of the *ḥbs*-cloth. They open the mouth of the god before the Overseer of the Mystery[1]. The Overseer of the Mystery takes away the *ḥbs*-cloths ... which are in the mouth of the god[2].
17. He clothes it (scil. the oral cavity) well with *ḥbs*-cloth. He soaks a *ḥbs*-cloth with the warm medicament of the throat of the 12th day. He anoints[1] inside the mouth of the god, above and below, as well as the passage of the throat[2],
18. up to the place which his hand shall be able to reach. He places the *ḥbs*-cloth named on a *ḥnbj*[1]. After that he soaks them (scil. the two *ḥbs*-cloths) — their

length is 1 divine cubit, width 4 palms — in the warm medicament. He makes them go

19. up into his two .... He places their ends in his mouth, because of taking them out (on a later occasion). After that he places 2 other *ḥbs*-cloths — their length is 4 palms,

20. width 3 palms — which are soaked in the warm medicament. He makes them go up into the two channels of the throat. They place their ends in his mouth, because of taking them out again (on a later occasion).

§ 28. The tongue is embalmed (I)

21. He begins the embalming of his tongue[1]. They[2] anoint it with the warm medicament[3]. He cuts up a *sj.t*-cloth, which measures 3 palms in length and 6 digits in width. He swathes it at its front with 3 wrappings[4],

22. while it (scil. the *sj.t*-cloth) is soaked in the warm medicament. He pulls up his tongue[1]. He places the *ḥbs*-cloth under it[2]. He pulls the edges of the *ḥbs*-cloth up until his tongue reaches in front of it upwards[3].

23. He makes go ... the left one to the right (?) ... the right one to the left (?); the (bandage) in the midst goes upon them[1]. The great *bnt*-cloth up (?), the little *bnt*-cloth and the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth[2]

24. like ... ... for it upwards.

Verso II a

1. See here is the way in which they (?) make the medicament of the first day go ... Ritual of the Amulets (*t3j-wjt*) and a Ritual of the Amulets (*tmmj*) ... in the midst of them[1].

§ 29. The oral cavity is embalmed (II)

2. After that the Overseer of the Mystery takes up his position before[1] the mysterious face. His two *smr*-priests stand on the right and on the left of it. They erect[2] the mysterious face under his leadership[3].

3. He makes his hand go in the mouth of the god up to the place which his hand shall be able to reach. He takes away the *ḥbs*-cloths ... which he has placed

4. in his mouth ... Wrapping-Room. He anoints with pure oil[1] inside his mouth as well as the openings in the throat. He places the *ḥbs*-cloths on the openings in the throat,

5. while they (scil. the *ḥbs*-cloths) are soaked in pure oil. He fills out his mouth with *ḥbs*-cloth, which is also soaked in pure oil[1]. He has the dry *nm*-cloth received[2].

§ 30. The eye-sockets are embalmed (II)

He begins the embalming of the eye-sockets.

6. He anoints them with pure oil. They[1] place the *ḥbs*-cloths, which are soaked in pure oil, on the eye-sockets. They make receive dry *nm*-cloth.

§ 31. All kinds of oils are brought before the Overseer of the Mystery

After that they bring the cold medicament

7. and the warm medicament, contained in 2 golden *bs*-vessels[1], and the pure *ʿnḏ*-oil[2], the oil (prepared from) *shrj*[3] and a *ht* (wrapped in?) *sj.t*-cloth, a

8. *sbn* and a wooden ... covered with gold (?)[1] and wrapped in *ḥbs*-cloth, before[2] the Overseer of the Mystery.

§ 32. The oral cavity is embalmed (III)

After that the Overseer of the Mystery places a *ḥbs*-cloth in the mouth of this god[3],

9. which measures 2 divine cubits in length and 6 digits in width. He places (it) ... in the hand of the 2 *smr*-priests, who are on the left and on the right. They grasp it. They open

10. the mouth of this god: "Great is that which ... is able to do"[1]. The Overseer of the Mystery ... his hand the cold medicament first. He soaks a *ḥbs*-cloth with it[2]. He anoints[3]

11. his palate (?) and his teeth, his upper jaw[1] and his lower jaw with the cold medicament.

§ 33. The eye-sockets are embalmed (II)

12. He begins the embalming of the eye-sockets. He anoints[1] inside the eye-sockets and also outside of them[2] with the cold medicament, in order to prevent the third eyelid from hanging down, because (?)[3]

13. he speaks on a Ritual of the Amulets (*ṯ3j-wjṯ*) and on a Ritual of the Amulets (*tmmj*), because (?)[1] a Ritual of the Amulets (*ṯ3j-wjṯ*) is placed on a strip of fine linen[2] ... ...

## § 34. The oral cavity is embalmed (IV)

He returns

14. to the mouth of the god again. He soaks a *ḥbs*-cloth with the warm medicament[1]. He anoints[2] below inside his mouth up to the place which his hand shall be able to reach

15. and (anoints) his two throat openings[1], his upper lip and his lower lip, with the warm medicament. He places 2 *ḥbs*-cloths, which are also soaked with it

16. — their length is 1 divine cubit, width 4 palms —, in his two ... in the breast. He places their ends in his mouth because of

17. taking them out (on a later occasion)[1].

## § 35. The tongue is embalmed (II)

[2]. He places another *ḥbs*-cloth[3], which is soaked in the warm medicament, on the end of his tongue — its length is 1 divine cubit, width 8 palms. He places the

18. great *bnt*-cloth, which is soaked in the warm medicament and measures 3 palms in length and 6 digits in width, on his tongue[1]. He makes 3 *pjr*-bandages at its front. He pulls his tongue

19. up[1]. He places the *ḥbs*-cloth named under it[2]. He pulls its edges up until his tongue reaches in front of it upwards. He makes a *pjr*-bandage go on the left and another

20. (scil. *pjr*-bandage) goes on the right of it and the one in the midst passes ... them also[1]. The great *bnt*-cloth ... also ... And the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth goes outside of them. He applies medicament

21. which is warm for his tongue, because (?)[1] the warm medicament is (destined) for his tongue (?)[2].

## § 36. The oral cavity is embalmed (V)

He clothes his hand[3]. He places two *ḥbs*-cloths, which are soaked in the cold medicament on his

22. upper jaw[1]; they are (*ḥbs*-cloths) which reach his teeth — length 4 palms, width 3 palms[2]. He places two other *ḥbs*-cloths, which are soaked in the cold medicament, on his lymphatic glands[3]

23. which ... his teeth; (the *ḥbs*-cloths measure) 10 digits in length and 4 digits in width. He places two other *ḥbs*-cloths[1] which are also soaked with it, on his lower

24. jaw as well as on the two channels which are down in the throat. He places another (scil. *ḥbs*-cloth), which is also soaked in the cold medicament under his tongue ... his
25. lymphatic glands — its length is 8 digits, width 6 digits. (They are) 7 *ḥbs*-cloths in all[1], which are soaked in the cold medicament in his mouth. He fills out his mouth with *ḥbs*-cloth, which is soaked
26. in the warm medicament from his tongue upwards. He places two *ḥbs*-cloths which are soaked in the warm medicament, on the upper lip and on the lower lip.

### § 37. The nose is embalmed

He anoints
27. inside his nose with the warm medicament. He places the two *nš*-cloths which are also soaked with it, on the nose[1].

### The nose and the mysterious face are embalmed

He anoints the entire mysterious face with
28. pure *ʿnḏ*-oil. He wraps the mouth and his nose in a *ḥbs*-cloth soaked in pure *ʿnḏ*-oil. He wraps it in *pjr*-bandage[1]. He wraps the entire mysterious face

## Verso II b

1. in a *swḥ*-cloth soaked in pure *ʿnḏ*-oil (and he places it) under it and above it[1] ... ... his eye-sockets.

### § 38. The eye-sockets are embalmed (III)

2. He returns to the eye-sockets again[1]. He anoints his eye-brows and his eye-sockets with pure oil. He anoints at the outside
3. of his eye-sockets with pure *ʿnḏ*-oil because of the two *sj.t*-cloths which are soaked in the oil prepared from *shrj*, which come on the eye-sockets,
4. because of the way of fastening them (scil. on the eye-sockets)[1]. They bring the oil prepared from *shrj*, which is contained in the golden *bs*-vessel[2], before the Overseer of the Mystery ... . He divides it (some cloth) in 2 parts[3] upon the two
5. eye-sockets (the cloth being made of) byssus and soaked in the cold medica-

ment, because (?)[1] the Ritual of the Amulets (*tmmj*)[2] is placed upon a strip of red linen on ...

6. his eye-socket. They are the places of seeing (?) ... the medicaments which thou hast placed in his eye-socket. He takes the wooden (tool) covered with gold (?) ... your ...
7. It is wrapped up in byssus. He reveals the inside of his eye: «Great are his Appearances on earth». He ... the medicament
8. on the left and on the right of his eye-lids in order to prevent the third eye-lid[1] from hanging down, because (?) a Ritual of the Amulets (*t3j-wjt*) ... it
9. outside. He places 4 *sj(.t)*-cloths, which are also soaked in the cold medicament on his eye-lids, 2 *sj(.t)*-cloths on
10. each eye, one on the upper lid and the other one on the lower lid, because of the way of making the *sj(.t)*-cloth, which is soaked in the oil prepared from *shrj*, receive
11. the third eye-lid according to the way of placing ... ... and that which is on it. It is a hidden matter.

Pads are attached on the eye-sockets

After that he places the

12. two *sj(.t)*-cloths which are soaked in the oil prepared from *shrj* on the eye-sockets[1]. He fastens the right pad first[2]. He wraps on (?)
13. ... He places the left pad. After that he wraps on (?) ... ... also. He soaks a *ḥbs*-cloth with pure
14. *ʿnḏ*-oil. He makes it go to the front also. He makes the rest of the 16 wrappings on the two pads[1]. [space].

## § 39. The ears are embalmed

He begins the embalming

15. of the ears[1]. He anoints inside the ears with the cold medicament. He places their *ḥbs*-cloths, which are soaked with it also, in (the ears).
16. He anoints the outside of them with pure *ʿnḏ*-oil. He places their *swḥ*-cloths, which are soaked in the pure *ʿnḏ*-oil, on (them); they (scil. the *swḥ*-cloths) make 5 *pjr*-bandages,
17. 3 above and 2 below. They wrap them therewith. They wrap (them) firmly in *pjr*-bandages[1]. They place their *swḥ*-cloths of dry *ḥbs*-cloth (?) upon (them). They wrap

18. inside the ears and upon them, in 2 wrappings up to the midst of them; they wrap (them) in *mtr*-bandage as far as their lower parts also[1].

§ 40. The horns are embalmed

19. They anoint between the horns with boiled *ʿnḏ*-oil[1]. He soaks a *sj(.t)*-cloth in pure *ʿnḏ*-oil. He
20. makes it go between the horns, while it makes wrappings[1], two on the left and two on the right — length (scil. of the *sj.t*-cloth) 4 palms, width 2 palms[2]. They wrap them (scil. the horns)
21. in a thin *nbt*-cloth from one horn to the other, in 3 *šṯ3*-bandages[1]. They soak the *nbt*-cloth in oil (containing a solution of) natron[2].
22. They anoint the horns with pure *ʿnḏ*-oil. They clothe (them) with a *swḥ*-cloth. They make 5 *pjr*-bandages, 3 above and 2 below,
23. being soaked in pure *ʿnḏ*-oil. They wrap (them) in *pjr*-bandage.

§ 41. The breast is embalmed

When the Overseer of the Mystery begins the embalming of the mysterious face[1], after having

24. anointed the breast with pure oil first, a bundle (?)[1] of *mnḫ.t*-cloth and *ḥbs*-cloth is behind him and the boiled *ʿnḏ*-oil is behind him (variant: he
25. anoints it (scil. the breast) with Syrian oil).

The exterior breast is anointed

After that they wrap[1] it (scil. the exterior breast) in a *sj.t*-cloth of 2 divine cubits in length and 1 (divine cubit) in width soaked in

26. boiled *ʿnḏ*-oil. The two embalmers wrap it in the *nbtj.t*-bandage which is wrapped upon 2 rollers of ebony[1],

Verso III

1. one (embalmer being) on the left and the other (embalmer) on the right. They soak the *nbt*-cloth in oil (containing a solution of) natron (variant: book[1]).

The interior breast is embalmed

2. It happens to (?) the holy animal ... he knots the *sšt*-cloth on the breast on the first day[1]. It happens (?)

3. ... he makes a *ḥbs*-cloth go at its outside, measuring 1 divine cubit in length and 2 palms in width, soaked in
4. the warm medicament ... goes at its outside and it rests in the breast (variant: the ...[1])
5. and he places the end of the *ḥbs*-cloth, which is soaked in the warm medicament, in his mouth ... *sšt*-cloth[1] ...
6. the breast also, because of taking it away.

## § 42. The mysterious face is embalmed

He places the *swḥ*-cloth on the mysterious face,

7. which makes 9 *pjr*-bandages — its length is 6 divine cubits, width 2/3 (divine cubits). And he makes 2/3 (part) for it and 1/3 (part) comes on the upper part of
8. the breast and the (other) 2/3 (part) comes under the mysterious face in it[1]. And the 1/3 (part) which is on the upper part of
9. the breast makes 3 *pjr*-bandages[1] and the *pjr*-bandage in the midst is cut off under the breast
10. and the (other) 2 *pjr*-bandages make 6 *sbn*-bandages and 2 of them are cut off, one in between, the other one ... the 2/3 (part)
11. which is under (scil. the mysterious face). He makes it into 9 *sbn*-bandages[1] and a great *sbn*-bandage comes in the midst among them.
12. He makes the 4 *pjr*-bandages go, which are on the left of [space] the great *sbn*-bandage. He cuts off the one which is
13. behind the great *sbn*-bandage. He turns to cut off a fourth (scil. bandage)[1] behind it (scil. the great *sbn*-bandage) also. He does likewise
14. also with the right side. After that the Overseer of the Mystery places the *swḥ*-cloth under the mysterious face and they[1] send the 2 *pjr*-bandages
15. which are among the 4 which are on the upper part of the breast[1], one left and the other one right of it (scil. the breast) and they bring the *ḥbs*-cloth which has been named
16. before his mouth. The great *pjr*-bandage, which is in the midst, he pulls upwards on his nose up to the horns.
17. And he makes 2 *pjr*-bandages on the breast and they take them left and right of it (scil. the breast) and they pass down under the
18. mysterious face until they shall have completely wrapped it[1] up with *pjr*-

bandage above and below. He wraps (the mysterious face) firmly in *pjr*-bandage up to the horns. He fastens

19. the beginning of the great wrapping of the mysterious face until finally he shall have entirely wrapped it up. The wrapping makes
20. 9[1)] wrappings from the ... up to his neck. He wraps the mysterious face from one horn to the other.

## § 43. Obscure, concluding chapter, mentioning fixed days in the period of embalming

21. The nature of the *ḥbs*-cloths ... and the *ḥbs*-cloths which ... in the mouth of the god ... placing ... day
22. up to the 16th day and ... the ... ... ... the 16th day ... ...

# COMMENTARY ON THE TRANSLATION

τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν αἰνιγματά ἐστιν, καὶ οὐ πάνυ χρὴ καταγελᾶν ἀμύητον ὄντα

§ 1 (rt. I 1) — Lucianus, *Deorum concilium*, 11

CONTENTS

The beginning of the text is missing. Probably the lost part is not more than one column, for if the present first sheet had been completely preserved, 33 cm would have remained, which would be sufficient for one column, the general width of the columns varying between 28.5/ 32.5 cm (see introduction, p. 4 sqq.). It seems reasonable to suppose that the scribe, as was usual with Egyptian scribes, began his text at the beginning of a roll, *i.e.* at the beginning of the present right most sheet. It is in any case not easy to see how the columns would fit on the papyrus if more sheets are supposed to have been lost: one sheet would be too much for one column and too little for two columns.

In its present state the text commences at the point where final touches are being made, in the Wrapping-Room, to a bank of sand upon which the Apis shall rest during the wrapping process.

COMMENTARY

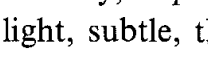
## Rt. I 1

1. The measurements of the bank of sand are given: about 3 × 2 m. The wrapping of the Apis, as described in rt. II 10 sqq., is performed on this bank of sand. There may have been purely practical reasons for the fact that the Apis lay on sand. On the other hand one is reminded here of the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, during which a statue of the deceased stood on a hill of sand. The use of sand, therefore, may have had magical-religious implications as well, sand being a pure element to keep the Apis free from contact with the earth and also symbolising

the primeval hill on which the creation (= resurrection of the Apis) was performed. See Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari, I*, 82, n. 362, where the bank of sand is explained as the primeval hill of Osiris. See also the remarks on this subject by Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, II, 35, n. 6; Chassinat, *Mystère d'Osiris*, II, 631-632; *LÄ* V, 378. For purity as a necessary condition for resurrection, see the Introduction, p. 34. Aufrère, l'*Univers minéral*, II, 666, sqq.

2. *ḥn.f* "in it": the suffix refers to something mentioned in the part of the sentence which has been lost, probably the Wrapping-Room (*ššt*) in which the bank of sand appears to have been raised (cf. 1. 2, below).

3. Here, as well as in the following lines, regular mention is made of persons, indicated by the suffix *=w*, who are actively concerned with the preparations for the wrapping of the Apis. It is not made clear who they are, but one could possibly think of priests with the low rank of *w'b*-priests. These priests appear to fulfill the role of a kind of domestic attendants, by assisting the embalmers (rt. II 11, n. 4) and by performing all kinds of odd jobs (rt. IV 2, 15-16, 21).

4. The word *šm'* is used as an adjective with mats (rt. I 1, IV 24 bis) and cloths (rt. II 18 = vs. II b, 21). It denotes the quality of the material from which the mat or cloth is made as "thin", "fine", and is not to be taken in a geographical sense, as it was by Spiegelberg, if we are to go by his translation as "oberägyptisch". For the word *šm'* see Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 244: ϣⲙⲁ (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 565 a) "be light, subtle, thin" =  (*WB.* IV, 478, 5); Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 154-155, 256, n. 35; Edel, in: *SAK* 1 (1974), 121-122.

5. In our papyrus the word *ḳbj.t*, dem.  *ḳbȝ(.t)*, refers to some piece of cloth which, as far as can be determined, was characterized by its large size. This is the case here and also in rt. II 1 (= rt. IV, 6-7), where *ḳbȝ.t*-cloths of red and blue linen are used as coverings for shrines. In rt. V 1 we come across the word in the compound expression *ḳbȝ.t n tms* "*ḳbȝ.t*-cloth for burial", which in itself only tells us something about the use of the cloth and nothing about its dimensions[1].

The word occurs in pap. Berlin 13640, 1, in a more specific sense, where it is referred to as a man's garment[2]. In the Magical Papyrus of Londen & Leiden the garment is equated with the well-known *šnḏw.t* "apron" (*WB.* IV 522); cf. *Magical Papyrus of London & Leiden*, XXIX, 3: (the boy is clothed in) *w'.t ḳbȝ.t n ʿjw mȝj.t* "a *ḳbȝ.t*-cloth of new linen": *ibidem*, XXIX, 23: (the boy is clothed in) *w'.t šnt.t n*

[1] It appears from a remark by Spiegelberg (*Studies Griffith*, 176, n. 2) that the word would be mentioned among mummy cloths in the wooden tablet Turin 24 (unpublished). I could not identify the word on the photo of this text which was sent to me by Professor Curto.

[2] Spiegelberg, Aus der Geschichte vom Zauberer Ne-nefer-Ke-Sokar (Pap. Berlin 13640), in: *Studies Griffith*, 171-180.

*ỉw n mȝj.t* "an apron of new linen"[3]. This probably yields the explanation of *ḳbȝ.t*, a word which frequently occurs in lists of paraphernalia, and whose meaning is disputed. Griffith (*Rylands*, III, 271, n. 1), for instance, hesitated to identify the word with the Coptic ⲕⲁⲃⲁⲓ "vessel", ⲕⲟⲃⲓ "rug", or ⲕⲟⲃϩ "sinew". In his publication of the *Adler Papyri* (p. 100), he seems to have chosen in favour of the second possibility. Lüddeckens, *Eheverträge*, 218, n. 598, rejects Griffith's translation because the so-called Coptic word ⲕⲟⲃⲓ "rug" is not authenticated. Although that is indeed the case, it would appear, in the light of the above evidence, that Griffith, as is often the case, is correct, and that we are dealing with a piece of clothing that the woman took with her to her wedding, and that, as such, was included in the list of paraphernalia.

§ 2. (rt. I, 2-3)

CONTENTS

The Wrapping-Room (*ššt*) has been made ready, and some persons, about whom we have no further information, go and fetch the embalmers who will wrap the Apis in mummy cloths, *i.e.* regenerate the prepared corpse into a new body (*i.e.* mummy). They comprise the Overseer of the Mystery (*ḥrj sštȝ*), who is in charge of this final stage of the embalming, and four embalmers (*ḥrj-ḥb.w*). After having undergone a ritual bath and having received new (*i.e.* pure) clothes (rt. I 2, n. 4), they go to the Place of Embalming, at the entrance of which the worshippers of the Apis, as a token of their devotion, are staying. On the arrival of the embalmers they burst into loud wails of mourning (rt. I 2, n. 5).

COMMENTARY

**Rt. I 1**

6. The expression *šm m-sȝ* "go after" is idiomatic for "go to", "fetch". A common alternative for this expression is *iw m-sȝ* "come after", which is rendered in Middle Egyptian as *iw r* "come for". See Stricker, in: *Acta Orientalia* 16 (1937), 90.

[3] Griffith-Thompson, *Magical Papyrus London & Leiden*, I, 164, n. on line 3, connect both passages for their interpretation of the word in question, but still translate it as "mat", on the grounds of the present passage in our papyrus. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 534, 3 accepts this translation with some reservation ("Mat" o.ä.), pointing to Coptic ⲕⲁⲃⲁⲓ (Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 52).

## Rt. I 2

1. *ḥ'ḳ* "shave" (of body and beard). For magical-religious reasons hair is considered impure, and for this reason the priests are shaved before entering the Place of Embalming. For Egyptian sources in this connection one may consult Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, 345, n. c; for Greek sources, see § 76 of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (*BGU* V) and Merkelbach, Ein ägyptischer Priestereid, in *ZPE* II (1968), 19, l. 11-12 with p. 23; idem, in: *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris 1969), 69 sqq.

2. The garment was made of linen; it was forbidden to enter a holy place wearing woolen clothing; see Sauneron, *op. cit.*, 341, n. b and 342, n. f; Stricker, *OMRO* XLIX (1968), 28, n. 349. Hani, *La Religion Égyptienne*, II, 443, sqq. See also Herodotus (II, 81) who states that wool was considered unclean (cf. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II Commentary 1-98*, 342-343). Woolen garments seem to have been in use among the workmen at Deir el-Medina (Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 443-444).

3. The embalmers were given sandals which were made of white linen or possibly papyrus; see Stricker, *OMRO* XLIX (1968), 28, n. 348; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary* 1-98, 166; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, 136. Sandals obviously play a prominent part in magical-religious actions, since they are often specially mentioned in descriptions of the clothing of priests; see Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an*, 120, n. 314 (with extensive bibliography).

4. "They make them pure". The embalmers are subjected to a ritual bath. The attention paid here and in the foregoing passage to the outward purity of the embalmers could be simply explained as a description of the particular regard given by the priests to their purity before carrying out their liturgical duties[4]. However, the fullness of detail with which the text dwells on this purity suggests to me that there is more to it than that alone. Upon the death of the god the embalmers, like all worshippers of the Apis, would have neglected their outward appearance as a sign of mourning[5]: they let their hair grow[6], did not wash[7] and wore mourning-garments[8]. This state of impurity was permitted as long as they were not involved with the embalmment, *i.e.* in the period before the wrapping. Now that they were

[4] See in this connection the fully detailed article by Meeks about purity, in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supplément 9 (1979), 430-452. Van der Horst, *The sentences of Pseudophocylides*, Leiden 1978, 258, sqq.

[5] Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis*, 125.

[6] Desroches-Noblecourt, in: *BIFAO* 45 (1947), 218-221.

[7] Erichsen, Eine neue demotische Erzählung, in: *AAWLM* (1956), 60, col. III l. 4.

[8] Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, 29, n. E; Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, 28 (l. 22).

actually going to embalm the Apis, they were obliged to remove their outward signs of mourning, since they were only allowed to enter the Place of Embalming (*w'b.t*, lit. "pure place") in a state of purity[9].

5. We know from autobiographical stelae of the Serapeum, that the worshippers of the Apis remained at the door of the Place of Embalming for the full 70-day embalming period, showing their grief in every possible way, by fasting, by wearing mourning garments and uttering loud cries of lamentation. It seems from our papyrus that at crucial moments during the embalming process they broke out *en masse* in loud cries of mourning over the god. This is the case here at the moment that the embalmers, who shall wrap the Apis, arrive, in rt. IV 3 at the end of the wrapping, and in rt. IV 15 when the Apis leaves the House of Embalming.

## Rt. I 3

1. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 25 (with n. 21) already pointed out the difficulty to explain the cultic use of fabrics and the need of a profound study of the subject. In the present case of the bandage, which the priests lay around their necks, one is reminded of the so-called *sa*-stola, the interpretation of which may be derived from the shape it often takes, viz. the *s3*-sign "protect(ion)". See van Walsem, *The coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, vol. I, 129 sqq.; vol. II (illustrations), 31 sqq.

2. The lamentation is meant for the Apis in the Place of Embalming (*pr-wr*); see the demotic rendering of this phrase rt. IV 15, with n. 2.

## § 3. (rt. I, 3 - II, 2)

### CONTENTS

In his capacity as leader of the Ritual, the Overseer of the Mystery orders items needed for the embalming of the Apis to be brought into the Wrapping-Room. These items vary in nature, comprising smaller objects such as mummy bandages, cloths and vessels, as well as objects whose size matches their importance, such as the coffin and a board upon which the Apis will be permanently attached. The

[9] See Introduction, p. 34. As a rule no-one was allowed to enter a holy place while in mourning. See Esna 197, 16-20 in the translation by Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, 340-349 = idem, *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 111-112. For comparable Biblical passages see the book *Esther* IV, 2, where we read that Mordechai is refused admission to the Persian king because he is wearing mourning garments. Washing and changing of clothes (= sanctifying oneself): *Genesis*, 35:2.

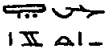
sequence in which the items are called out (*ʿn-smj*) by the Overseer of the Mystery seems to be arbitrary and does not give the impression that he is working, as might be expected, from a list in which the items are written down according to a certain system, e.g. in categories.

COMMENTARY

3. Presumably the items which are now brought into the Wrapping-Room will be placed on this mat in order to prevent the sacred attributes from coming into contact with the impure ground. As subordinate embalmers the *ḫrj-ḥb.w* are entrusted with the supervision of the items, while the leading role of the Overseer of the Mystery appears to full advantage because it is he who orders the objects to be brought in.

4. See the demotic rendering of this phrase rt. IV 23.

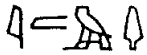
**Rt. I 4**

1.  "board". After the actual embalming was finished, the mummy of the Apis was placed on this board and permanently attached to it with bandages. These bandages were crossed over the mummy in zigzag fashion via 22 clamps (*mʿrj.wt*) which were systematically anchored to the wood of the board. For a detailed, technical description of the board and its use, see the passage rt. III, 13 - IV, 1.

2.  is a frequently occurring, albeit unidentified type of wood; cf. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 205: "... possibly red wood of a foreign tree — either the cedar or cypress — ..."; Müller, *Holz und Holzbearbeitung*, in: *LÄ* II, 1264-1269: conifer (col. 1265; resin also used for embalming), probably the cedar. In our passage the adjective "western" seems to point to the fact that there was more than one kind of *mrj*-wood.

3. See the demotic rendering of this phrase rt. III 15, with n. 2.

4. Two supports guaranteed the stable position of the Apis on the board: a large one under the breast, and a small one, which is mentioned presently, under the chin. See rt. III 16, with n. 2.

5. . Much has been written about the nature of this tree. See the extensive bibliography in Charpentier, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte antique*, 119, no. 120, and Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an*, 112, n. 262. Sauneron, *Kêmi* XVIII (1968), 70 (with detailed bibliographical note) presumed it to be a jujubus tree, the nature of which is,

however, not at all suited to make a support. Chassinat, *Mystère d'Osiris*, II, 533-539 says we are dealing with a tamarisk, whereas Germer, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, 235-237 states that a tree is concerned the pharmaceutical properties of which are much like those of the *ḏr.t*-willow. The most recent, thoroughly documented study by Nathalie Baum, *Varia Aegyptiaca* 4 (Number 1, april 1988), 17-31 reached the conclusion that the tree is the Maerua crassifolia Forsk: "un petit arbre de 6 à 10 m de haut, très rameux, à couronne arrondie ou aplatie (p. 25)"; "le bois blanchâtre à jeune, très dur, sert à fabriquer des ustensils domestiques et agricoles, des charrettes, des pièces d'armement (p. 26)". See also Nathalie Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne* [*OLA* no. 31, Leuven, 1988], p. 183-196, where she states that "le tronc est extrêmement court et épais". If Baum's observations are correct, the heavy trunk of the *im3*-tree would be very suited indeed to make a support.

For Egyptian remarks on the *im3*-tree, with regard to its funerary uses, particularly to make a coffin, see also Heerma van Voss, *De spreuk om de kisten te kennen*, 70; idem, in: *ZÄS* 100 (1974), 103-104.

**Rt. I 5**

1. In close succession two *pḫt*-vessels are mentioned which, in spite of their identical names, must have had different shapes, as appears from their determinatives,  and  respectively. Perhaps the most difficult problem when dealing with ametric objects such as vessels concerns the dimensions. On the basis of the results obtained from my study of the dimenions of vessels mentioned in great numbers in our papyrus, the diameter of the opening (*ḳ3*) of the first *pḫt*-vessel would be 10 digits (ca. 18.5 cm) and the main or base diameter (*wsḫ*) 5 palms (ca. 37.5 cm). This presents us with a belly-shaped bowl, a result seemingly in conflict with the determinative which points rather to a cup.

The second *pḫt*-vessel has a base diameter of 1 palm (7.5 cm); the diameter of the opening is unknown but in order to give the vessel the shape of a dish, as indicated by the determinative, it must be greater than the 1 palm or 7.5 cm of the base diameter.

The vessels in question are not mentioned elsewhere in the text and *pḫt*-vessels are otherwise unknown to me. Perhaps they contained oil for anointing the parts of the body in question.

For the calculations of the dimensions of the vessels, see the Introduction to the chapter on the pottery of the Apis (§ 22 b = rt. V 1 sqq.).

2. The four *nm.w*  are poles used as a framework for the transportation of the Apis. The scribe specifies only the measurements of the small pole, and has apparently omitted the other three. By definition these are the large poles upon

which the Apis will be fastened in order to be carried into the Wrapping-Room (see Introduction to § 5 = rt. II, 4-10).

3. The *ḫrs*-wood is otherwise unknown to me. As it was the material from which the poles for the transportation of the Apis were made, it must have been a hard, inflexible type of wood, calculated to hold the enormous weight of a bull.

**Rt. I 6**

1. With this *nbtj.t*-bandage of 100 divine cubits × 4 digits (ca. 50 m. × 7.5 cm.) the Apis was, I presume, attached to the framework on which he was carried into (*ḫ*) the Wrapping-Room; cf. rt. II 5, with n. 2.

2. The basic meaning of the word *nbt* seems to be "to wind around", "to twist"; see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 136-138. In our papyrus, and also elsewhere, it is used in connection with wrapping parts of the body in mummy bandages and cloths; see Sauneron, *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, 3, 15, and Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, 21. Only here and a little further on in this phrase does the word seem to be used in the sense of "to manufacture a *nbtj.t*-bandage". The nouns *p3 nbt* "the *nbt*-cloth" (rt. II 18, 19, vs. II b, 21, III 1) and *t3 nbtj.t* "the *nbtj.t*-bandage" (rt. III 18, 25, 26, etc.) are derived from the verb *nbt*.

3. The *nbtj.t*-bandage of 200 divine cubits in length and 2 digits in width (ca. 100 m. × 3.70 cm.) is used to attach (*sm'ḥ*) the Apis permanently to a board, see rt. III 18, n. 1.

4. With the *nbtj.t*-bandage and the linen from Sais, which are wrapped upon rollers of *ḳd*-wood, the hoofs (*jb.w*) of the Apis shall be wrapped. This wrapping process is described in the passage rt. III, 5-8 as a part of the embalming of the extremities.

5. See rt. III 7, n. 4.

6. The word *sḳn* (dem. *sgn*) occurs only in the text of the recto, and is always used as a noun. In the present passage, however, it seems to be used as a verb in the sense of "to prepare *sḳn*-ointment" (cf. *sgnn* "to make soft" [*WB.* IV, 321], *i.e.* to make the resin soft in order to turn it into ointment), unless we assume that the scribe mistakenly omitted *ir* "to prepare" before *sḳn*; cf. *ir sḳn* "to prepare *sḳn*-ointment" (rt. IV, 4-5).

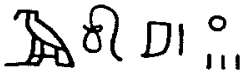
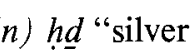
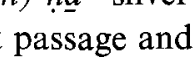
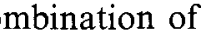
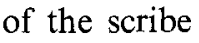
**Rt. I 7**

1. From a recent study by Goyon (*Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, 77-86) it would

appear that *m33* is a kind of tree (*liquidambar orientalis* Mill) from which, by incision, a resin was extracted to be used as the basic substance in the preparation of ointment. Goyon describes (*op. cit.*, p. 83) *gw-m33* as a very fine soft kind of styrax ("onguent mou surfin de styrax") which was used especially for anointing the god's body. The ointment prepared here is mentioned again in rt. II 9.

Finally, it is worth noting that the ointment in question is mentioned on a stele of Nectanebo among products which were ordered by this king to be brought into the Embalming Place of the Apis. See Spiegelberg, in: Quibell, *Excav. Saqqara*, 1907-1908, 90, l. 8 = Daressy, *ASAE* 9 (1908), 155, l. 8.

2. Both chests measure 1 divine cubit in length and 4 palms + 2 digits in width (ca. 42 × 34 cm). The *ḳd*-wood, from which the chests are made, belongs to a species of coniferous tree from Syria, presumably the *Pinus halepensis* which was used for manufacturing furniture, especially chests. See Chassinat, *Mystère d'Osiris*, II, 385-387. Each of the chests contains a *hbn.t*-vessel, in which *nms*-cloths and other things (*iḫj.w*, *i.e.* embalming materials) belonging to the Wrapping-Room were stored. This would appear to be a specific function of this type of vessel, for in rt. IV, 5-7 mention is again made of two *hbn.t*-vessels used for the same purpose. For the *hbn.t*-vessel, see *WB.* II, 487, 13-19: "Art grosser Krug". From the measurements of the chests the vessels can in fact hardly be called large, at least according to our standards.

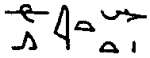
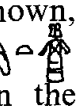
3. The  is a metal item which is mentioned several times in the text of the recto. It seems otherwise unknown. In the list of items which the scribe of the god's book needs for the embalming, mention is made of: (a)  *3w n* nb "golden *3w*" (rt. VI b, 11); (b)  *3w (n) ḥḏ* "silver *3w*" (rt. VI b, 12). The determinative  with this word in the present passage and in rt. VI b, 5 indicates that the *3w* could be made of copper as well. The measurements of the item could not have been impressive considering the fact that the two great *3w* which are enumerated in rt. VI b, 5 each measure two palms (ca. 15 cm). Unfortunately we are not told whether this measurement concerns its height or its width. Thus we cannot be absolutely certain about the nature of the object. Stricker's identification with the word *3w* "altar" (*WB.* I, 5, 13)[10] is in any case impossible. The most likely supposition is that we are dealing with a small vessel. In fact it is mentioned in rt. VI b, 5, 11 among a list of vessels, and the combination of determinatives  with which the word is written in the present passage is also found with the *ḳll*-pot in rt. VI b, 2. The vessel could have been used, among other things, for the storage of pulverized materials (det. ). In the case of the scribe of the god's book one could think of pigments used for the preparation of ink (rt. VI b, 11-12). If we are

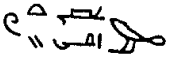
[10] Stricker, in: *OMRO* XXXIX (1958), 97.

dealing with a vessel one might consider a connection with the word *3wjw* (a vessel?) in a word-list from Tebtunis. See Tait, *JEA* 68 (1982), 218-219 (n. with l. 11).

**Rt. I 8**

1. The *ḳll*  is an object which is made of ebony and used for the embalming of the mouth. It is uncertain whether it can be identified with the word *ḳll* "pot" (*WB.* V, 135, 8; Coptic κελωλ, see Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 56, 3). According to other examples known to me this pot is always made of metal (rt. VI b, 2) or stone (cf. the determinative of the stone with the word in *'Ochsheshonqy*, 23, 23) but never of wood. One might also think of a roller, such as the *ḳrr* 2 *hbnj* "two rollers of ebony" upon which a *nbtj.t*-bandage was wrapped (vs. II b, 26). It may be argued, however, that the word *ḳrr* "roller", which occurs several times in our papyrus (rt. I 6, III 7, vs. II b, 26), is always spelt *ḳrr* (with double *r*) and never *ḳll* (with double *l*) as here. For *ḳrr* "roller", see vs. II b, 26, n. 1.

2. The  (fem.) is an object of wood (determinative) which is only mentioned here in the papyrus in a passage which reveals little with regard to its nature. If we assume that the measurements given refer to a vessel, then this vessel would have an opening (*ḳ3*) of 4 palms + 3 digits (ca. 35.5 cm) with a main or base diameter (*wsḫ*) of 6 digits (ca. 11 cm). Depending on the height, which is unknown, this would point to a dish or a cup. This is incompatible with the  "ziehbare Behälter" (*WB.* IV, 354, 7), which, having a base bigger than the opening, tapers. Identification with  (a kind of pot: *WB.* IV, 351, 1) would be possible, although the spelling of the word opposes it. The measurements given, however, can refer to any type of object and by no means prove that we are dealing with a vessel of any particular shape. For the calculations of the dimensions of vessels, see Introduction to § 22 b = rt. V 1 sqq.

3. for  "tail", see rt. III 10, n. 3.

4. The coffin is described in detail in rt. IV, 3-4.

**Rt. II 1**

1. The words *ḥbs nb* seem to begin in the middle of a sentence which deals with mummy cloths, and do not follow naturally upon the preceding page. Obviously the scribe omitted an unknown number of words, for which I would give the following, admittedly speculative explanation. When the scribe, copying his model had come to approximately one-third of the way down to what is presently the first column of the text, he made a guess about how much space he thought he needed

for the description of two chests and the coffin of the Apis (cf. rt. I 7 and 8). He then postponed the copying of the rest of the column until the moment when he should make the description of these articles, and proceeded with the copying of the next column of his example, the first words of which read *ḥbs nb*.

Given the fact that we are in the middle of a sentence on mummy cloths we may infer that the lost words are probably concerned with cloths. Indeed *sj.t*-cloths and *nbtj.t*-bandages, which have not been enumerated earlier in the text, are later repeatedly used during the embalming of the Apis.

2. On the grounds of the determinative  the word  has been translated as *rḫt*-cloth, a kind of cloth which is otherwise unknown to me and which is not mentioned later in the text either. In the light of these uncertainties one could also think of the word  "number" (with variant spellings: *WB*. II, 448-449), and translate: every *ḥbs*-cloth; number (*rḫt*): 20, viz. 10 cloths of byssus, etc.

3. For *ḫrt*, a kind of cloth, one may compare Coptic ϣⲟⲣⲧ and Černý, *BIFAO* 57 (1958), 208-209. According to Černý the cloth is, as far as can be ascertained, always made of byssus. It is true that the word *šs-nsw* "byssus" is added in all cases in which the cloth is mentioned in our papyrus. This seems to confirm Černý's observation brilliantly, but on the other hand such an addition only makes sense if there were *ḫrt*-cloths not made of byssus.

4. The hieratically written passage rt. IV 4 describes how the coffin of the Apis is covered with *ḫrt šs-nsw n sšd* "blue" (?) linen cloth of byssus quality". Undoubtedly we are dealing with the same cloths.

5. In rt. IV, 5-8 two shrines (*kꜣ.w*) are mentioned which are referred to here. They are then indeed covered with blue (?) and red linen respectively, and used during ritual actions where these colors have a symbolic meaning. Stored in the shrines were jars containing embalming refuse and others with parts of the body (intestines and hoofs) removed during the embalming process.

6. Boat-shrines (*dj.w*) are frequently mentioned (rt. II 11, 16, III 10). They were under the control of special *wꜥb*-priests and contained mummy cloths and embalming materials intended for the embalmment of certain parts of the body, such as the mouth and the anus. See in this respect rt. II 11, n. 4.

## Rt. II 2

1. *ꜣtrf*-cloths are mentioned only here and in rt. V 1. The cloth in question is otherwise unknown to me.

2. The word *hnbj.t* denotes a vessel which, in view of the determinative, was

made of stone. The vessel is otherwise unknown to me. Its possible dimensions and use are apparent from rt. VI b 1, where 10 *hnbj.t*-vessels are enumerated which contain a quantity of 30 *hin* (ca. 15 litres) of pulverized (*sḫm*) natron.

3. It is not mentioned what purpose the mats served. The measurements (3 × 3 m.) are also found in rt. IV 24. Perhaps we are dealing, then, with a standard model which could be used for all kinds of purposes.

4. It is obscure what kind of function these supports (*wrs*) could have had. It would appear from their dimensions that they served a different purpose from the supports mentioned earlier which were placed under the breast and chin of the Apis to support the mummy (rt. I 4, n. 4). Nor can they be identified with the *wrs.w n ḥ'* "supports of standing" (rt. IV 2), a kind of blocks on which the board with the mummy of the Apis was placed, since four and not two blocks were necessary to support the board. Finally, one could possibly think of a purely ceremonial function for the supports, but the objection to this theory is that they are mentioned in a list which enumerates only utensils for the embalming of the Apis.

5. The supports are made of *nm*  "(wood of the) tamarisk". As far as I know, the papyrus offers here, and in rt. VI b 14, the most ancient record of this word which was hitherto only attested in Coptic. See in this respect Chassinat, *Mystère d'Osiris*, II, 539; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 226 a, *s.v.* NOM.

6. The word *prj.t* denotes an essential component in the middle of the support. Perhaps the pillar is meant which is in the middle under the support. A word *prj.t* "pillar" is to my knowledge otherwise unknown (not in *WB.* and Er., *Dem Glossar*).

§ 4. (rt. II, 2-4)

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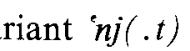
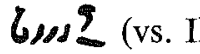
A new phase in the embalming process has commenced in that all the items necessary for embalming the Apis have been brought into the Wrapping-Room. The embalmers set to work immediately, making in advance a number of mummy cloths and bandages to the required size. Some very large and important cloths which are to be used for wrapping the head and the back are mentioned separately, together with two pads (*'n.t*) to be placed in the eye-sockets (rt. II 3, with n. 2). In order not to lose time unnecessarily during the wrapping process the embalmers probably sorted the various cloths and bandages meticulously, giving them a mark to prevent confusion with cloths which looked very much alike in appearance and

format[11]. In their capacity as "lectors" the *ḫrj-ḥb.w* were naturally those designated to apply the marks and to later "read" them.

## COMMENTARY

### Rt. II 3

1. The embalming of (1) the mysterious face is described in detail in rt. II, 20 - III, 5, that of (2) the limbs in rt. III, 5-8.

2. *ʿn.t* , variant *ʿnj(.t)*  (vs. II b, 12, 14): the word is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*, and is also unknown to the Berlin *Wörterbuch*. It denotes a stuffing or pad of linen (determinative ). The pad is inserted into the eye-socket of the bull, after the eyes have been removed in an early stage of the embalmment. In rt. II, 20-21 (= vs. II b, 12-14) the actual attaching of the pads onto the eye-sockets is described. The measurements are $1\frac{1}{2}$ digits in thickness and 6 digits in diameter (ca. 2.8 × 11 cm). This alone is enough to prove that the *ʿn.t* is no simple wrapping, as Spiegelberg translates ("Wickel"), or piece of cloth ("lap"), as Stricker thinks (*OMRO* XLIII [1962], 49).

### Rt. II 4

1. The *swḥ*-cloth is oblong in shape and covers the front of the head ("mysterious face") as well as a part of the breast of the bull. See rt. II, 21 — III, 5 = vs. III, 6-20, where the placing of the cloth in question is described in detail.

2. The back of the Apis is wrapped in these large cloths. See the description rt. III 16 (with n. 4).

3. For the *bnt*-cloth, compare *bnd* "einwickeln", "bekleiden" (*WB.* I, 465, 2-3) and, by metathesis, *bdn* (*WB.* I, 487, 14 with the remarks by Gardiner, *Literary Texts*, 13*, n. 15). See also Stricker, *OMRO* XXIV (1943), 30, n. 1 (quoting equivalents of the word in Greek and Hebrew). Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 288-289 translates *bnt* "garment", remarking that the prices given on ostraca point to a rather small size for the garment. From our papyrus it would seem that a *bnt*-cloth could also have large dimensions.

[11] See Bruyère, *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 106; Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, 213; Wagner, *Livre du Centenaire*, 329-338. (with plates) [IFAO, t. CIV, 1980].

§ 5. (rt. II, 4-10)

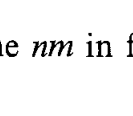
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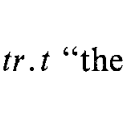
Although all the necessary preparations have been made, the wrapping of the Apis cannot take place immediately; the god first had to be brought into the Wrapping-Room (*ššt*), and placed on the bank of sand, which has been prepared for him (rt. I 1). The transportation of the mummy confronted the embalmers with serious problems, certainly if one considers that a fully-grown bull can weigh anything from 800 to 900 kilos. That weight will certainly not have diminished after the removal, in an early stage of the embalmment, of the intestines and the filling of the resultant cavity with embalming materials (see Introduction, p. 35-36). Moreover the transportation, which was attended by the required ritual, such as the recitation of magical-religious texts[12], had to be carried out cautiously in order to prevent the god from in any way touching the impure ground. The other extreme would have been that one simply dragged the corpse over the ground, a rather drastic procedure which would have irreparably damaged the mummy of the god and which is therefore inconceivable.

The problem that we now have to solve is how the embalmers managed to lift the corpse of the bull from the dissection table (or whatever else it was temporarily resting on) onto the bank of sand successfully and without damaging it (rt. II 8, end). The key to the solution of this problem lies in the present chapter, which describes the transportation of the Apis.

A. The *nm.w*  "poles"

For the transport of the mummy *nm.w*  were used, wooden objects (determinative ) to which the god was attached with mummy bandages. In all, three *nm.w* were used for this purpose, two of which were important enough to be mentioned by name:

(a)  *pȝ nm tȝ ḥȝ.t* "the *nm* in front" (rt. II 7, 8). To this *nm* the front of the Apis was attached;

(b)  *pȝ nm tȝ mtr.t* "the *nm* in the midst" (rt. II 8). To this *nm* the hindquarters of the bull were attached. The third *nm* is not separately mentioned, but if it were it would certainly have been described as *pȝ nm pȝ pḥw* "the *nm* behind".

[12] Apart from its intrinsic probability, this theory is based on the *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, where operations on the mummy are accompanied by the reciting of spells. See Sauneron, *op. cit.*, XIV, XVIII.

*Nm.w* have already been mentioned at the beginning of the text. In rt. I 5 four *nm.w* are enumerated among the items which by order of the Overseer of the Mystery were brought into the Wrapping-Room. One of these *nm.w* is specified as "little" (*ḫm*) and measures five divine cubits in length (ca. $2\frac{1}{2}$ m.). The other three *nm.w*, of which no further details are given, are probably the three *nm.w* used here to secure the mummy of the Apis.

What exactly was the nature, then, of the *nm.w*? It is difficult to provide an answer that will not produce some rather serious objections. Spiegelberg (p. 10, n. 5) does not embark on any speculation by saying that the *nm.w* were wooden objects ("Rolle") wrapped in mummy bandages. Sauneron (*op. cit.*, 56 b) ventures further by interpreting the word *nm* as *nmj.t* "litter"; he probably comes very close to the truth. In any case, the embalmers needed items (*nm.w*) which, like the poles of a litter, could be slipped under the corpse of the bull in order to lift and transport it, and which could be removed without too much effort once the bull had been placed on the bank of sand. In my opinion the *nm.w* would only have met these requirements if they were poles made of a kind of wood capable of carrying the enormous weight of the bull (rt. I 5, n. 3). One could imagine that these poles were pushed under the corpse of the bull each time it was necessary to transport it: one pole in front (*p3 nm t3 ḥ3.t*), a second pole in the middle (*p3 nm t3 mtr.t*), and finally one pole behind (see fig. 1-2, p. 89-90). The poles are employed not only as carrying poles, but also as a litter[13]. Their length, as we have seen above, is at least 5 divine cubits ($2\frac{1}{2}$ m.), enough, depending on the weight of the bull, to allow the mummy to be borne by six or even twelve carriers, the ends of each pole being lifted, thus, by one or two bearers respectively.

Once the bull had been lifted onto the bank of sand, the poles were removed. This operation would not have met with any insurmountable difficulties. A much bigger problem would have been encountered in sliding the poles under the heavy body, in that one in so doing ran the risk of damaging the mummy. A rounded form of the poles, however, would have reduced this risk to acceptable proportions. Be that as it may, the poles were used often enough (rt. II 8, III 15, IV 2) to be regarded as the standard form of transport for the mummy of the Apis.

## B. The securing of the Apis onto the *nm.w*  "poles"

The securing of the Apis onto the poles was carried out in two phases, the first of which is described in the passage rt. II, 5-6, the second in rt. II, 7-8. For details the reader is referred to the text and the notes. In my view, the operation was approached in broad terms in the following way. See Fig. 1. After the poles had

[13] Is here any connection between *nm* "pole" (of a litter) and *nmj.t* "litter" (*WB.* II, 266, 2-5)?

been placed under the body the embalmers began their work by securing the shoulders. They fastened 2 *nbtj.t*-bandages to the front pole and placed them crosswise between the shoulders. Each of the two mummy bandages were then pulled through the arm-pits, drawn along the body and then upwards to be tied together at the back of the neck (Fig. 1 a). The same technique was used to secure the tights. Two *nbtj.t*-bandages were tied to the hindmost pole and drawn up crosswise between the thighs along each side of the groin to the back, where they were tied together (Fig. 1 b). Securing the front and the back in this manner prevented the mummy from shifting forwards or backwards during transportation (Fig. 1 c).

See Fig. 2. During the second phase the Apis was secured by *sbn*-bandages. The method applied differed from that of the first phase on a few essential points. Nevertheless it again started with the shoulders. Two *sbn*-bandages were tied to the front pole and drawn crosswise over the chest over the shoulders. Both bandages were next drawn round the back of the neck and then back to the front pole (Fig. 2 a). A similar method was used to secure the tights. Two *sbn*-bandages were tied to the back pole and drawn crosswise over the thighs to the back; the bandages then ran via the back to the middle pole (Fig. 2 b).

This twofold method of securing the Apis appeared sufficient to guarantee the stability of the mummy during transportation. Even so, the embalmers judged it necessary to take extra safety measures to guard, as much as possible, against the risk of the heavy corpse slipping anyhow. With an eye to this three sets of *skr*-bandages, probably 15 cm in width, were tied across the body: one set across the hindquarters, one across the middle, and finally one set across the front quarters of the bull (Fig. 2 c). The bandages were attached to both ends of the poles which were positioned exactly in the places mentioned under the bull (rt. II 7, n. 3). Slipping sideways was made virtually impossible by this securing process. In order to leave nothing to chance, the chest was also separately secured to the front pole. The securing of the tail to the right thigh had no other purpose than to prevent it from dragging on the ground during transportation (rt. II 8).

Thanks to all these measures the body of the Apis was tied securely enough to give reasonable surety that no calamities would occur during transportation. However, the text makes no mention of the bull's head, although it is hard to imagine that the embalmers did not fasten or support this part of the body in one way or another, part to which they later, during the embalming, paid the closest attention. Did they perhaps use for this purpose the small pole (*nm ḫm*), specified in rt. I 5 but not yet introduced into our examination? This pole could have been held under the head as a support by 2 priests during transportation. This pole would have absorbed the downward pressure caused by the bandages which ran from the neck to the front pole (Fig. 2 a), so that the head remained in its natural position during transportation.

C. The embalmers

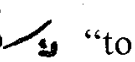
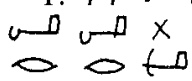
The Overseer of the Mystery and four embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*) proceed to the place where the Apis is in order to secure the god to the poles (rt. II, 4-5). As we have seen, the securing was a complicated process that could only have been carried out efficiently by the well-regulated co-operation of the embalmers involved whereby each embalmer performed a specially appointed task. Apart from practical use, a strict organisation of the operations is in keeping with a Ritual, which naturally demands that all the actions are carried out according to fixed instructions.

From scattered details in the text we get a quite clear picture of the general manner in which the duties regarding the mummy were divided among the embalmers. The area of operations seems for the most part to have been determined by the fixed place taken up by an embalmer beside the mummy. As leader of the Ritual, the Overseer of the Mystery took up a dominant position before the head of the bull, and was responsible for embalming this part of the body. The four embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*) sat around the mummy of the Apis, each beside a leg, and were given the responsibility of embalming the trunk and the limbs. All operations carried out on the mummy by an embalmer naturally proceeded from his fixed position. Thus, for example, the embalming of the anus (rt. III, 8-10) and of the tail (rt. III, 10-13) was entrusted to the embalmers of the hind legs.

How was the division of work then regulated during the securing of the Apis to the poles? From the present chapter we learn nothing about this. Nevertheless, in the light of what has been said above, we can arrive at an acceptable version of how things were carried out. The securing of the mummy must have been done by the embalmers of the fore and hind legs. We have seen that, in order to secure the bull, two mummy bandages at a time were drawn over the front and hindquarters of the mummy. This could be performed efficiently because each of the two embalmers involved took responsibility for the placing of one of the two mummy bandages. The work was so divided that the two embalmers of the front legs secured the shoulders and the chest, while the embalmers of the hind legs attended to the securing of the thighs and the tail. The Overseer of the Mystery did not take an active part in the securing of the Apis. His dominant position in front of the bull stamped him as the leader of the Ritual, and meant that he was charged only with the embalming of the head as the most important part of the body of the Apis.

COMMENTARY

**Rt. II 5**

1. *ḫ'r*  "to fix" (of a mummy bandage); see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 65, 7 and  "to carry out" (*WB.* I, 209, 15-18). Identity of this verb with Coptic

ⲗⲁⲗⲉ "to smear", "to paint", as once suggested by Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 23 (1901), 204 is considered uncertain; see in this respect Caminos, *LEM*, 452 and Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 72.

2. Presumably this is the *nbtj.t*-bandage of 100 divine cubits in length and 4 digits in width (ca. 50 m. × 7.5 cm.), wich in rt. I 6 is said to be used to carry the Apis inside (*iw ʾḳ*); cf. l. 8 below: (after they secured the Apis to the poles) *iw=w ʾḳ pȝ ntr* "they make the god enter".

By each time cutting off the required portion, the bandage is finally divided into two sets: one set for securing the shoulders to the poles, the other for securing the thighs.

**Rt. II 6**

1. *iw=w ṯȝj=w r ḥrj* "they pass them upwards". The suffix *=w* in *ṯȝj=w* refers, as Spiegelberg rightly noted, to the two newly cut pieces of the *nbtj.t*-bandage. In order to secure the shoulders of the Apis, each of the two embalmers of the front legs tied one of the two pieces to the front pole and then took it crosswise over the breast ("within the right shoulder and it goes to the left shoulder ... within the left shoulder and it goes to the right shoulder"). They pulled each of the mummy bandages through an arm-pit (*pȝ ḫn pȝ ḏnḥ*) and next drew them upwards to the upper side (Fig. 1 a).

2. *iw=w šʿt=s* "they cut it off". There is nothing to which the suffix *=s* can logically refer back. From comparison with the description of the securing of the shoulders (rt. II 5) it is apparent that the scribe omitted some phrases. Did he do so by mistake or did he intend to confine himself to a less detailed account with regard to the thighs? Whatever the case, he has neglected to mention that the embalmers of the hind legs, in order to secure the thighs of the Apis, each tied a *nbtj.t*-bandage to the back pole and drew these bandages crosswise between the thighs (cf. rt. II 6, n. 1).

3. One of the two newly cut *nbtj.t*-bandages is drawn upwards to the back. The bandage will, by analogy with the description of the securing of the shoulders, have been drawn upwards via the groin.

4. *iw=w in=s r ḥrj ʿn* "they bring it upwards also". The second *nbtj.t*-bandage of the two that were cut off is now drawn upwards to the back (Fig. 1 b). Spiegelberg translated the sentence: "Sie sollen es wieder (*ʿn*) hinaufbringen". In this interpretation the sentence is a meaningless duplication of the preceding one.

## Rt. II 7

1. The entire following sentence is not translated by Spiegelberg.

2. See rt. II 7, n. a.

3. *iw=w dj.t šm nm 3 r bnr ḫn n3 ḥbs.w skr.w* "they make 3 poles appear from the *skr*-bandages". After the Apis has been laid upon the bank of sand, and the poles have been removed from under the mummy, these *skr*-bandages are laid temporarily beside the mummy, three to the left and three to the right, on a level with the places where the poles were placed. The bandages would then later be employed during the transportation of the Apis (rt. II 9, with n. 3). The *skr*-bandages played a more important role than one would assume on the basis of the scanty details of the present section. The passage rt. IV, 1-2, clarifies this role, in which the sentence in question is repeated almost literally. In this passage the Apis, with the aid of mummy bandages, is meanwhile permanently tied to a board, and is at the point of being transported to a place where he will await the moment of his coffining. In order to transport the mummy the poles are again placed under the board. The Apis is attached to the poles with the *skr*-bandages that appear to be 2 palms (ca. 15 cm) in width. The bandages are tied at both sides of the mummy to the poles, and then knotted together on the back (Fig. 2 c). After the *skr*-bandages have been strapped to the mummy, the text continues with the words: *iw=w dj.t šm nm 3 iw bnr ḫn=w* "they make 3 poles appear from them" (*i.e.* the *skr*-bandages), after which the Apis is transported.

It is certainly not daring to assume that the proceedings just described are behind the sentence we are dealing with, and that the Apis had been attached to the poles with the *skr*-bandages in the manner outlined. During the securing of the bandages to the poles it was conscientiously seen to that the ends of the poles protruded amply from the bandages (*dj.t šm r bnr ḫn n3 ḥbs.w skr.w*), *i.e.* stayed free of the bandages, so as not to hamper the bearers during the transportation of the mummy.

4. The two embalmers of the forelegs fasten the shoulders to the poles with *sbn*-bandages. They tie two *sbn*-bandages to the front pole and draw these bandages crosswise over the breast and around the shoulders (*t3 ḥ3.t n3 ḏnḥ.w*) to the neck; via the neck both bandages are returned to the front pole (Fig. 2 a). One is reminded that when the shoulders were secured with *nbtj.t*-bandages (rt. II, 5-6) the mummy bandages were drawn via the arm-pits (*p3 ḫn p3 ḏnḥ*) to the back and there knotted together.

5. The two embalmers of the hind legs bind the thighs to the poles with *sbn*-bandages. They attach two *sbn*-bandages to the back pole and draw the bandages crosswise over the thighs (*t3 ḥ3.t n3 mnj.wt*) and upwards to the back, from where they are returned to the middle pole, crossing each other on the back (Fig. 2 b). When securing the thighs with *nbtj.t*-bandages (rt. II, 6-7) the mummy bandages were drawn upwards via the groin (*p3 ḫn t3 mnj.t*) and knotted together on the back.

**Rt. II 8**

1. The tail is secured, according to ritual regulations, to the right thigh. See rt. III 12 (with n. 2).

2. That is to say, just like the shoulders (rt. II 7).

3. The verb *ʿḳ* is not to be taken as intransitive here, as Spiegelberg translates ("Sie sollen zu dem Gott eintreten"), but in the transitive sense of "to make enter" as in rt. I 6, III 15, IV 2, 20 etc. For this transitive sense see *WB.* I, 231, 20-21 and Stricker, *OMRO* XXV (1954), 52.

The number of embalmers was insufficient to transport the heavy mummy without risk. The necessary assistance for transportation was probably supplied by *wʿb*-priests. See rt. IV 2, where the embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*), together with *wʿb*-priests, attend to the transportation of the mummy. In rt. IV 21 we read that the embalmers and the *wʿb*-priests are jointly pulling the coffin of the Apis.

**Rt. II 9**

1. This is the case in rt. I 1.

2. *šp r bnr* "to take away" (literally "to receive outside"). The poles are removed to prevent them hindering the activities of the embalmers.

3. See rt. II 7, n. 3. The *skr*-bandages are provisionally laid to the right and left of the mummy until they are to be used again during the securing of the mummy. We may assume that an equal number of *skr*-bandages was laid on either side of the mummy, *i.e.* a total of three sets of *skr*-bandages, one set for each pole.

The *nbtj.t*- and *sbn*-bandages by which the mummy was secured to the poles were naturally also loosened. The procedures involved are not mentioned, presumably because they are self-evident, and also because these bandages shall not be used again.

4. This will be the 2 *hin* (ca. one litre) of fine styrax (*gw-m33*), the preparation of

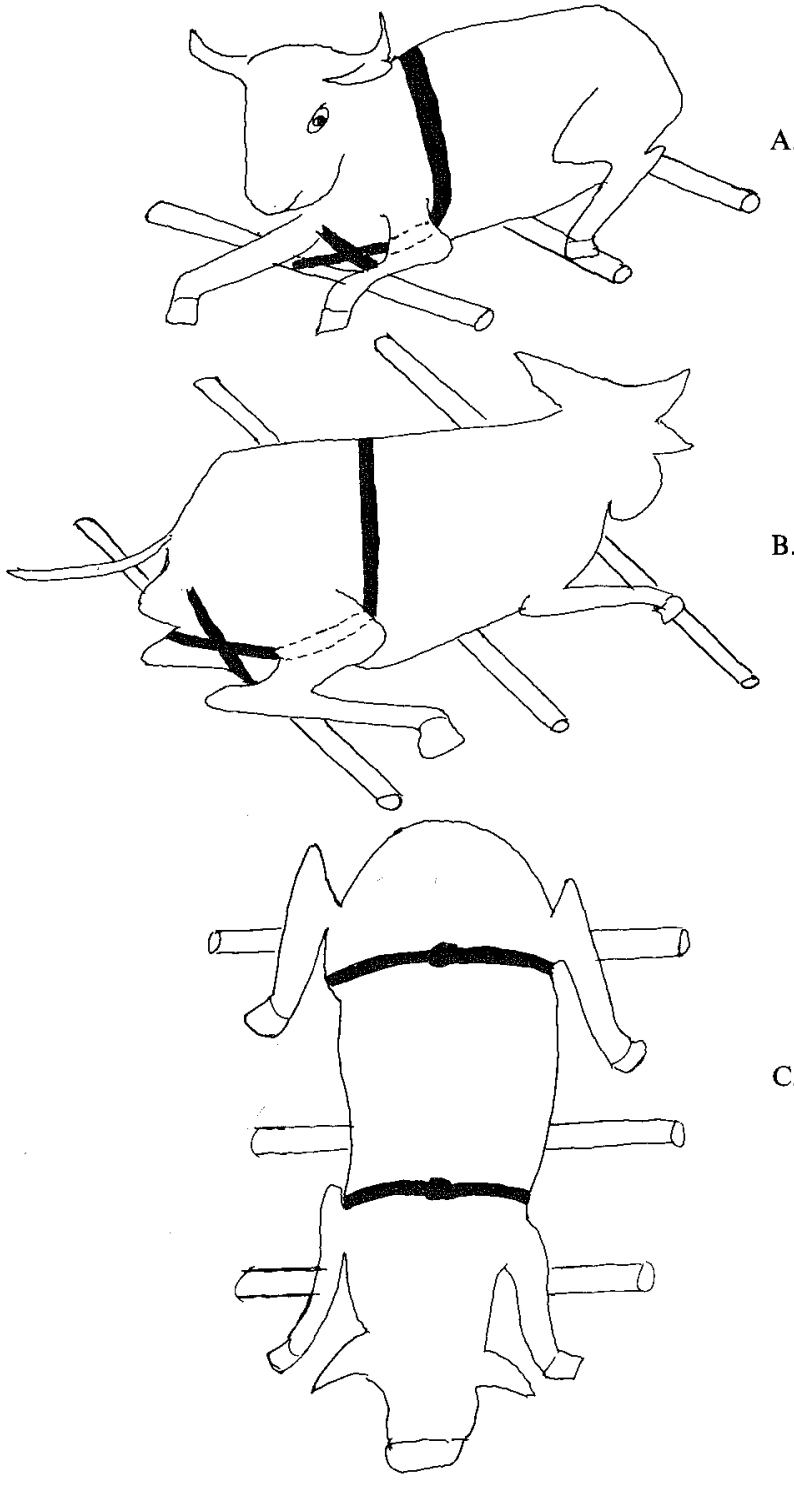



Fig. 1. First phase of securing the Apis onto the poles (rt. II, 5-6)

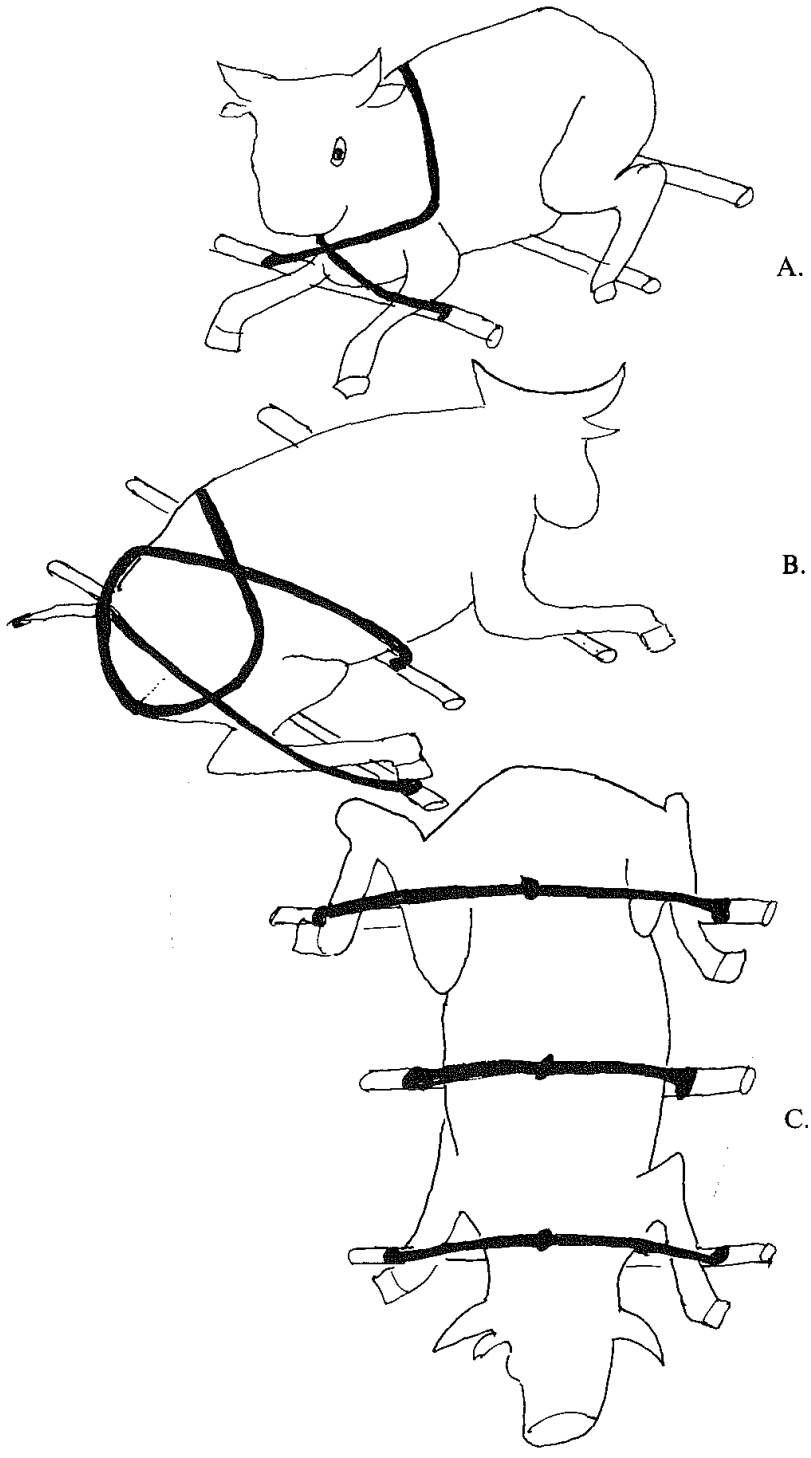
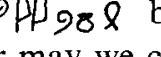



Fig. 2. Second phase of securing the Apis onto the poles (rt. II, 7-8)

which is described at the beginning of the text (rt. I 7, n. 1). It is odd that this ointment does not appear to be used after this. In any case there is no further mention in the text of *gw-m33* which is applied during the embalming of the Apis.

## Rt. II 10

1. *iw=w wrḥ ntr pn ḏr=f*, etc. "they anoint this god entirely ...". Spiegelberg translates this difficult sentence as follows: "Sie sollen später (? *m-s3 t3 ḥ3.t* = NCAΘH?) diesen Gott ganz mit Salbe an dem *šnj* salben, um (? *ḏb3 p3 gj*) die Salbe in ihr eindringen zu lassen". With regard to the interpretation of the sentence the first difficulty arises with the expression *m-s3 t3 ḥ3.t*. Spiegelberg's assumption that this expression is the equivalent of Coptic NCAΘH would appear to be right. According to Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 641 a, the expression can mean: (1) before, formerly; (2) afterward, henceforth. Unlike Spiegelberg, I prefer here the first meaning, because the sentence concerning the soaking in of the oil into the *šnj* only appears to make sense if the oil is applied beforehand and thus given ample opportunity to soak in.

The second difficulty concerns the word *šnj*  transcribed, as far as I can see correctly,  by Spiegelberg. The meaning of the word appears to be unknown, or may we connect it with , a word that is used in relation to the chest or upper part of a person's body (*WB.* IV, 506, 14)? The meaning "upper part of the body", "trunk" would fit well in the context.

## § 6. (rt. II, 10-14)

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After all the careful preparations a start can be made on the wrapping of the Apis. In contradistinction to the *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, where the text is divided into paragraphs with technical and liturgical sections, our papyrus deals exclusively with the technical side of the wrapping of the mummy. Within that process one can distinguish two stages, according to whether the Overseer of the Mystery or the embalmers carry out operations on the mummy. The first stage, which is by far the most extensive, is covered by the section rt. II 10 - III 5, and is dominated by the Overseer of the Mystery (*ḥrj sšt3*). As leader of the Ritual he takes up a dominant position before the head of the bull, and the first phase therefore centres round the embalming of the head and its various parts, such as the eyes, the nose and the horns. The Overseer of the Mystery allows one or more embalmers to assist him in some of the operations. After the head is embalmed, the second and final stage

begins, in which the embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*) play the leading role and the Overseer of the Mystery steps completely into the background. The embalmers are charged with the embalming of the rest of the body, such as the legs, the anus and the tail (rt. III, 5-13).

The Overseer of the Mystery, assisted by an embalmer, begins operations with the treatment of the mouth and the tongue. In broad terms the treatment of the oral cavity consists of removing old mummy cloths and embalming materials, after which the mouth is relined with cloths and filled with embalming materials, including wax, myrrh, and ground resin from the terebinth. A bag of myrrh is laid under the tongue and the tongue itself is wrapped in a cloth which is then fastened by mummy bandages. The most remarkable of all the actions performed is the operation by which two teeth are removed and replaced by artificial ones. The purpose of this operation is to symbolise the rebirth and rejuvenation of the Apis (rt. II 12, n. 1).

On the verso of the papyrus much more detailed descriptions are devoted to the embalming of the oral cavity and the tongue, showing interesting points of agreement with the recto accounts regarding embalming technique. For this the reader is referred to the notes accompanying the text.

## COMMENTARY

### Rt. II 10

2. The opening of the mouth and the operations which follow in the oral cavity are carried out by the Overseer of the Mystery and an unknown embalmer, of whom it is said at the beginning of the text that he sits (*ḥms*) in front of the Overseer of the Mystery. The problem now is that time and again, here and in the following lines, the text indicates the acting person with the suffix *=f* "he", and thus creates uncertainty as to which of the two embalmers carried out a particular action. It would seem plausible, however, that the unknown embalmer, as assistant of the Overseer of the Mystery, was only given the task of opening the mouth of the bull, and of keeping it opened as wide as possible, so that the Overseer of the Mystery had his hands free to embalm the oral cavity. This presumption is supported by chapters from the verso in which two *smr*-priests have been appointed to open the mouth of the Apis for the Overseer of the Mystery and to otherwise assist him in order to make the unhampered execution of his work possible (cf. vs. I, 15-16 and vs. II a, 2-3, 8-10).

3. *b*  "oral cavity". Spiegelberg's view (p. 11, n. 2) that the word would

indicate the skeleton ("Knochengerüst") of the skull, in contradistinction to *ḥr sšt3* that the head should be with its skin and bones, is incorrect. We obtain sufficient evidence for the correct meaning from comparison with parallel passages, in which demotic *b* "oral cavity" and Hieratic *r3* "mouth" appear as equivalents (cf., for example, rt. III, 2 and vs. III, 15-16; also *ḫm-b* and *ḫ'm-r3*: rt. II 23, n. 1).

*B* in the sense of "oral cavity" is, as far as I know, not attested elsewhere, unless Prof. Quaegebeur is right in his suggestion (verbal communication) that the word is present as a kind of popular etymology in the place name *Ḏdbnntr* (Sebennytos) "the mouth of the god has spoken" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 624, 692 = *Inaros* XII, 10). From the fact that the word occurs remarkably often in our papyrus we may well conclude that it is a technical term derived from the professional language of the embalmers. The term can undoubtedly be connected with the root *b*, which basically means "hole", "cavity"; see Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3*, 46-66. From this basic meaning it can easily be stated that the word can be used in our papyrus with regard to the oral cavity of the Apis, but also in relation to the opening or mouth of a pot (rt. VI b, 9, 20), and to the opening of the throat in the expression *n3 b.w p3 tp* "the openings of the throat" (vs. II a, 4).

## Rt. II 11

1. "He puts his hand in his mouth ...". Compare the more or less identical passages rt. III 9, vs. I, 17-18 and vs. II a, 3, 14. The Overseer of the Mystery explores the oral cavity by thrusting his hand in as far as possible. He can then remove cloths and embalming materials remaining from an earlier stage of the embalming, and treat the oral cavity again. The same method is applied in the embalming of other orifices, such as the nose (rt. II 16) and the anus (rt. III 9).

2. Concerning *ntj nb* "everything", which is used as an independent expression next to mummy cloths (*ḥbs.w*), one can concretely think of embalming materials such as wax, myrrh, and ground resin from the terebinth, materials which the mouth will later be filled with. See also rt. III 9, n. 2.

3. The meaning of the undeciphered verb  must be conjectured from the context. Linked with *iw* (rt. IV 7) or with *r* (rt. II 16, IV 5, 8) the meaning would appear in all cases to be "to seek", "to look for", "to fetch", except in rt. V 26, where the meaning almost certainly would appear to be "to place". In the passage in question, and in rt. III 9, the verb is connected with *r.ḥr*, and *iw.ḥr* respectively. I cannot deduce a plausible meaning from the context in either of these cases.

4. The scribe alludes here to one of the boat shrines (*dj.w*) which were enumerated earlier in rt. II 1. These boat shrines were under the supervision of

special *w'b*-priests (*p3 w'b ntj ḥn p3 dj*) and contained mummy cloths and embalming materials from certain parts of the body. The boat shrine mentioned here, and presumably also in rt. II 16, contained the *nms*-cloths from the mouth, and perhaps also embalming materials like wax, myrrh and resin of the terebinth (see l. 12, below). A boat shrine with cloths and embalming materials from the anus is mentioned in rt. III 10. Naturally all the cloths and materials were carefully stored in the boat shrines. Jars were used for this purpose. Similar jars (especially *ḥn*-jars, but also *bs*-jars) containing remnants of mummy cloths and embalming materials are mentioned in rt. V 7, 20, 22.

## Rt. II 12

1. The verb *dj.t lg* to denote the removal of teeth, seems somewhat prolix, but the meaning is certain from the context; cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 264, 6: *tj lg* (ταλο) "aufhören lassen", "vertreiben". Less complicated is the expression *in r bnr* used in a dentist's handbook for the extraction of a tooth (*ndḥj*). See *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, 194-195.

Mention is made in the text of a unique operation by which two teeth are removed and then replaced by artificial teeth. One cannot conclude which teeth are involved from the word *ndḥj.t*, Coptic ⲛⲁϫϩⲉ, which indicates the tooth in general terms and also the molar or grinder[14]. Spiegelberg (p. 11, n. 5) states that they are the two canine teeth in the lower jaw of the bull. The fundamental objection to this theory is that a bull, being a ruminant, do not have canines or cuspids.

The problem of the identification of the two teeth cannot be considered apart from the question of why the teeth were replaced to begin with. Arguments based on the technical side of embalming cannot be adduced as an explanation for this radical operation, since the replacement of two teeth, of whatever nature they may be, does not contribute to a more efficient progress in the embalming of the oral cavity or in the preservation of the mummy. Are we dealing then with a ritual action, with an imitation on a smaller scale of the shedding or renewal of teeth such as which took place during the life of the Apis? It is not unthinkable that the two teeth played a representative role during the shedding of teeth, e.g. in that they were the first to come out, and that the replacement of those two particular teeth came to symbolise the whole shedding process. Let us test the validity of this hypothesis in practice, and submit the teeth of a bull to closer inspection. Perhaps we will come to know more about the identity of the two teeth. In the lower jaw of a bull there are eight incisors. In the upper jaw these are missing and in their place is a gristly rim. In both the upper and the lower jaw six molars are to be found on either side.

[14] See *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, 195; Lefebvre, *Tableau des parties du corps humain*, 20.

Cuspids or canine teeth are absent. At birth the calves of bulls are born with four or six, sometimes even eight, milk teeth. The teeth directly beside the centre are called the "inner teeth", the two directly outside these the "inner-middle teeth", the two next to these the "outer-middle", the outermost the "outer teeth" (see Fig. 3, p. 96). Within three or four weeks the milk-molars of the calf have also come through three on each side, the front three in each row of molars. One calls these three foremost the false molars, in contradistinction to the three hindmost that are not shed, and which are termed permanent or true molars.

With the shedding of all the milk incisors and the twelve milk molars the first stage of teething is ended. The milk teeth are only present for a certain period before they are pushed aside, ejected and replaced by the permanent teeth. The age of a bull is determined by the extent to which this process has advanced. The inner milk teeth are pushed aside at the age of $1\frac{3}{4}$. The inner middle teeth are as a rule shed at the age of around two years. The outer-middle teeth are shed at $2\frac{1}{2}$-3 years, the outermost teeth at $3\frac{1}{2}$-$3\frac{3}{4}$ years, sometimes a little earlier (Fig. 3, table A), sometimes a little later (Fig. 3, table B).

The cutting of the large inner teeth is a notable phenomenon. As it would appear from Fig. 3, their appearance marks the first of a number of phases which the teeth of a bull go through before he reaches adulthood. It is not improbable that these two specific teeth that fit next to each other are those which are removed and replaced in the case of the Apis[15]. The ritual meaning of the operation is clear: The Apis is reborn, rejuvenated, and is at the beginning of his development towards adulthood[16]. This rite is in complete harmony with the essence of the embalming which involves re-birth and rejuvenation of the deceased, and also with the rites of rebirth and rejuvenation to which the Apis will be subjected later on (rt. IV, 2-22, with introduction). One also thinks here of the image in which, during the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, objects are held in front of the mouth of the human mummy, in the form of chips  (*ʿb.t*), white in colour and presumably made of chalk. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhat*, 59-60, remarks about this image that the

[15] In this respect one's attention can be drawn to the old Roman sacrificial rite according to which sheep (ruminants, therefore, like a bull) and also cattle were deemed fit for sacrifice when the two inner teeth reached maturity; cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VIII, 206: Coruncanius ruminales hostias, donec bidentes fierent, puras negavit. The technical term for such animals is *bidens* "two-teethed". See the article by Krugener, Hostia Bidens, in: *Mélanges Thomas* (1930), 493-497; Norden, *Vergilius Aeneis Buch* VI, 132. [reprint Darmstadt, 1970].

[16] For rejuvenation and rebirth by returning to childhood, see Feucht, in: *SAK* 11 (1984), 401-417. Perhaps we are concerned with a solar- Osirian rite. Obviously the Apis has become a calf again, which reminds us of the picture of the sun-calf standing between the two trees of the horizon and with the rising sun above its head, as beautifully depicted in the tomb of Iry-nefer at Deir el-Medina. The text accompanying this scene runs: *Rʿ pw ḥtp m Wsir, Wsir ḥtp m Rʿ* "it is Rĕʿ who rests in Osiris, it is Osiris who rests in Rĕʿ". See the Photo, in: Rosalie David, *Egypte, Kunstschatten van de farao's* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1982), 154; Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, 217-218. See in this respect also *ZÄS* 96 (1970) 114 (the dead animal becomes a sun-god).

white objects are perhaps teeth and symbolise the renewal of the teeth. According to Otto, *Mundöffnung*, II, 21, however, we are dealing here in the first place with "Poliersteine", and the symbolism of the renewal of the teeth should be a secondary development.

How, in conclusion, were the two teeth removed? For this the technique of "stamping" could have been applied, a technique whereby the roots of the teeth are pushed from the outside, for which a trepan is required. On the other hand, it seems that the teeth in old bulls often sit so loosely in their sockets, that they can sometimes be removed by the bare hand[17]. The latter was probably the case, for Apis bulls reach a high average age of 18 years[18]. That would explain then how the embalmer apparently removed the teeth rather easily from the jaw in spite of the very limited space inside the mouth for this kind of manipulation.

Fig. 3. Schematic outline of the tooth-shedding of a bull (rt. II 12, n. 1)

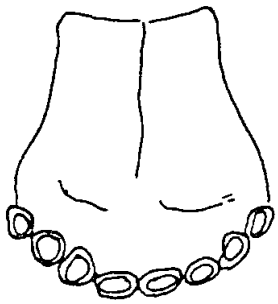


Table A: 10 months
Table B: 1 year 6 months

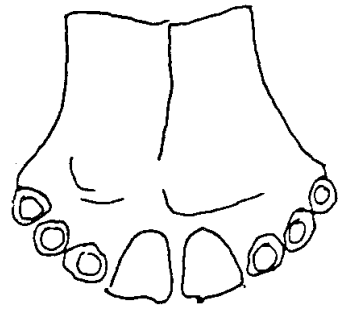


Table A: 1 year 2 months
Table B: 1 year 9 months

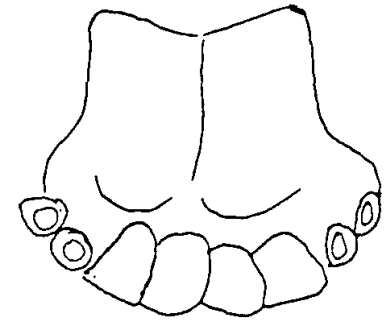


Table A: 2 years and 1 month
Table B: 2 years and 9 months

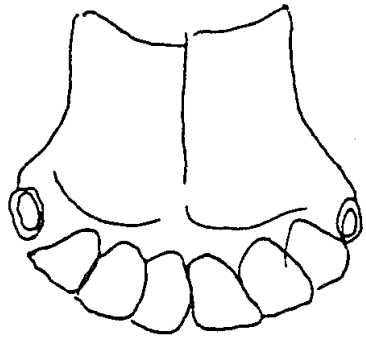


Table A: 2 years and 9 months
Table B: 3 years and 3 months

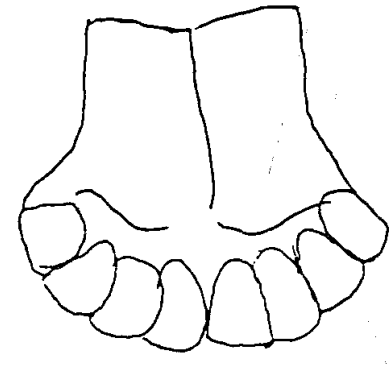


Table A: 3 years and 3 months
Table B: 3 years and 10 months

[17] For this information I owe my thanks to Dr. D.M. Badoux, Faculty of Animal Medicine, University of Utrecht.

[18] The same applies in the case of the sacred bull Buchis; see Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques*, 22. Comparison with the life span of present-day bulls is difficult to make, because the animals are slaughtered for economical reasons before they become unfit for use through old age.

2. *mnḥ*  "beeswax" is mentioned only here in the papyrus. The wax serves as a binding agent for the granular embalming materials (myrrh, etc.) so that a compact mass is obtained which is easily to apply. For wax as a binding agent see Lucas-Harris, *Materials*, [4]2-3. It is of importance to note that wax was also considered to have the power of bringing about resurrection. See Raven, *Symbols of Resurrection*, in: *OMRO* 64 (1983), 7-47.

3. *ḥl*  = Coptic ϣⲁⲗ "myrrh"; cf. Loret, *Kêmi* 13 (1954), 16-17. The word is attested approximately since Ptolemaic times, and is often found in late texts and inscriptions from the temples of Edfu, Dendera and Kôm-Ombo[19]. Myrrh is a gum resin originating from different kinds of Commiphora from the regions of Southern Arabia and Somaliland. The resin is made up of light or dark-brown to red grains (determinative ) or lumps with an aromatic scent and sharp, bitter taste. Because of its strong antisceptic properties myrrh was uncommonly suitable for embalming purposes (cf. Herodotus II, 86; Diodorus Siculus I, 91). We possess authentic evidence regarding the large amounts of myrrh used at the embalming of the Apis. On a stele of Nectanebo a hardly trifling quantity of 30.000 deben  "myrrh" is mentioned among the products which this king had ordered to be brought to the Place of Embalming of the Apis[20]. In our papyrus myrrh is only seldom mentioned. On account of its properties it was naturally used in the initial stages of the embalming, and to a much lesser extent during the stage of the wrapping which is described in our text.

4. *sntr sḳ* "ground resin of the terebinth": *sntr*, Coptic ⲥⲟⲛⲧⲉ (ῥητίνη), is perhaps the resin which is exctracted by incision from the terebinth, rather than incense, as the word is often translated; cf. Deines-Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 452, sqq.; Germer, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, 69 sqq. ("ägyptische Name des Weihrauches, das Harz einiger Boswellia-Arten"). If we are to believe Herodotus (II, 86), incense (λιβανωτός) was not used in embalming.

The resin in question was applied in a finely ground form (*sḳ*); cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 65*, Nr. 147: *s3ḳ* probably means "compress by means of heat so as to mould the incense into conical or other form". Finely ground resin of the terebinth was obviously also used on a large scale in the embalming of the sacred bull Buchis, as the expression *sntr sḳ* is frequently found on ostraca from the Bucheum; see Mattha, in: Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, II, 53 and 55. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 466, 1, committed a mistake by regarding the word *sḳ* "ground" in Mattha's translation of the expression *sntr sḳ* "ground incense" as a noun "Erde" instead of a participle of the verb "to grind". For *sntr sḳ* in a list of materials used

[19] Chassinat, *Un papyrus médical copte*, 53-54.

[20] Spiegelberg, in: Quibell, *Excav. Saqqara*, 1907-1908, 90, l. 8 = Daressy, *ASAE* 9 (1908), 155, l. 8.

in the embalming of human beings (?), see *ASAE* 53 (1956), 178, where Lauer and Zaky Iskander translate the expression in question as "térébinthe concentré". Germer, *op. cit.*, 75-76 states that we are dealing with incense which "durch einen Schmelzprozess gewonnen wurde", and she refers to its medicinal use on p. 82.

**Rt. II 13**

1. For the verb *ṯḥb* "to soak" (of a cloth with ointment), see *WB.* V, 326, 7; Er., *Dem Glossar*, 653-654.

Comparison with the parallel passages vs. I, 21-24 and vs. II a, 17-21, shows that the Overseer of the Mystery first placed the cloth which was soaked with ointment under the tongue and then wrapped the tongue in it.

2. The word *ḳlḥ*, which is spelt as *ḳrḥ* on the verso, occurs several times in the papyrus, both as a verb and as a noun:

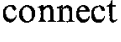
(1) verb *ḳlḥ* , variant *ḳrḥ*  "to wrap" in mummy cloths or bandages, with regard to parts of the body (rt. II 13, III 2, 12, vs. I 21). For the meaning of the verb it is important to notice that the expression *ḳlḥ pjr* "to wrap in *pjr*-bandage" is used as the equivalent of the expression *ir pjr* "to make *pjr*-bandage", *i.e.* "to wrap up in *pjr*-bandage" (rt. II 13 = vs. II a, 18);

(2) noun *ḳrḥ*  "wrapping" (vs. I 21, II b, 20). Again it is important that the expression *ir ḳrḥ* "to make a wrapping" corresponds with the phrase *ir pjr* "to make a *pjr*-bandage" (vs. II b, 20 = rt. II 20).

The word *ḳlḥ (ḳrḥ)* does not appear in the great Berlin *Wörterbuch* nor is it recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*. Presumably Spiegelberg (p. 11, with n. 6) is right when he suggests that *ḳlḥ* may be identified with the Coptic ϫωλϩ "to wrap" (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 769; not in Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*).

3. The Overseer of the Mystery attached the cloth to the tongue with three *pjr*-bandages. The text's specification of the way in which two mummy bandages are applied seems to indicate that one mummy bandage is drawn upwards lengthwise over the tongue (*ij r ḥrj*) and that the other two mummy bandages were drawn over it, diagonally upwards (*wtb r ḥrj ḥr=f*), crossing each other on the tongue. The parallel passages, which are quoted above in n. 1, seem to indicate this method of fastening when mention is made of one *pjr*-bandage which is in the middle of the tongue, and of two other *pjr*-bandages which run to the right and to the left respectively. Presumably the latter two bandages were eventually drawn underneath the tongue and fastened to it.

4. The word is employed in the dual (*ḥtj.t* 2.*t*) referring to the trachea ("the wrong gullet") and the alimentary canal. A *ḥbs*-cloth is placed on both of them.

5. The word *ḥr-ggj.t*  "upper jaw" is otherwise unknown (not recorded in the Berlin *Wörterbuch* or in Er., *Dem Glossar*). Spiegelberg, p. 12, n. 1 and Sauneron, *op. cit.*, 52, both connect our word wrongly with  "gullet" (with variant spellings: *WB.* III, 121, 10). The meaning "upper jaw" is apparent from the text, where it occurs in obvious contrast to *ʿr.ṯj.t* "lower jaw" (rt. II 14). Could the word be a compound made up of an element *ḥr*, deriving from *ḥrj* "upper", and a word *ggj.t* from *wgj* "to chew" (*WB.* I, 376, 1-2)? Cf. in this respect *wgj.t* "lower jaw": *WB.* I, 376, 3-5 and Er., *Dem Glossar*, 103, 1.

The Overseer of the Mystery now embalms the jaws by placing a *ḥbs*-cloth within the mouth on each side. For this operation we may compare the parallel passage vs. II a, 21-22 where inside the mouth on each side of the upper jaw a *ḥbs*-cloth measuring 4 × 3 palms (7.5 × 5.5 cm) is placed.

**Rt. II 14**

1. A *ḥbs*-cloth is placed within the mouth on each side of the lower jaw; cf. the parallel passage vs. II a, 23.

2. The verb *ḏm* "to clothe" (not in Er., *Dem Glossar*) can be identified with the ancient *ṯ3m* "to veil" (*WB.* V, 354, 12-13). According to Jonckheere, *CdÉ* 55 (1953), 64 the verb is probably a term from the professional embalmers' language.

§ 7. (rt. II, 14-15)

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After the death of the Apis the eyes soon begin to decompose. In order to preserve the mummy it was therefore of importance to remove the eyes in an early stage of the embalmment. Naturally it was of prime concern to the embalmers to restore the eyes as closely as possible to their original state as they were indispensable in the life hereafter. The Overseer of the Mystery now sets about this restoration by placing byssus in the eye-sockets (*ḫn n3 ir.wt*), and anointing with *sgn*-ointment. He then lays a *sj.t*-cloth and a *ḥbs*-cloth on each eyelid. The treatment is continued and completed in the section rt. II, 20-21, where a description is given of how pads (*ʿnj.t*) of about 3 cm in thickness are made secure on the eye-sockets and fastened with 16 layers (*wṯj*) of linen.

The verso devotes three separate chapters[21] to the embalming of the eyes, in

[21] Vs. II a, 5-8, II a, 12-13 and II b, 2-14.

which once again mention is made — but this time as part of a very intricate complex of operations — of the process of tamponing the eye-sockets with a pad and placing *sj.t*-cloths on the eyelids (rt. II 15, n. 1). The eye-sockets are also anointed with all kinds of ointment and covered with cloths which, as a rule, are soaked in ointment. It is particularly worth mentioning that on the verso magical operations play an important role. Indeed, mention is made of an implement and amulets which serve to restore and to preserve the sight of the Apis (see Introduction to § 38 = vs. II b, 2-14).

COMMENTARY

3. *iw=f šm i.ir-ḥr* ... "he begins the embalming ...". The fixed position of the embalmers around the mummy was not only decisive in determining their field of operations, but also had its effect on the professional language, as will become apparent from the following technical expressions:

(1) *i.ir-ḥr* + part of the body "be before a part of the body" = to carry out or bear responsibility for the embalming of that part of the body (vs. I 1, 7, 8, 10, 11);

(2) *ḥms i.ir-ḥr* + part of the body "sit (kneel) before a part of the body" = to carry out the embalming of that part of the body (rt. III 6, vs. II a, 2)[22];

(3) *šm i.ir-ḥr* + part of the body "go before a part of the body" = proceed to embalm the part of the body (cf. German *herantreten*): rt. II 14, 15, 17, III 8, 10, vs. I 21, II a, 5 etc.;

(4) *st3.t= i.ir-ḥr* + part of the body "return before a part of the body" = to resume the embalming of that part of the body (vs. II a, 13-14, II b, 2).

## Rt. II 15

1. A *sj.t*-cloth is placed on each eyelid, from which it is apparent that the eyelids, after the tamponing of the eye-sockets, were again drawn over the eyes. For a similar operation by which *sj.t*-cloths were placed on the eyelids, see vs. II b, 9-10. Notice finally that in this passage the word *ḥbs* seems to be used as a synonym of *sj.t*.

[22] Cf. *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, 4, 7: the Overseer of the Mystery kneels (*ḥms*) before the head of the human mummy and proceeds with the embalming.

§ 8. (rt. II, 15-17)

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The Overseer of the Mystery embalms the nose. First he removes old cloths from the nose, then anoints the inside, and inserts new cloths soaked in *sgn*-ointment into it. Finally he wraps the nose and the mouth in a single cloth which he attaches with *pjr*-bandages to the head of the Apis.

The verso (vs. II a, 26-28) devotes a short section to the embalming of the nose, in which a description is given of how the inside of the nose is treated with warm medicament (*t3 pḫr.t ntj ḥmm*) and with cloths which are soaked with this medicament. The operation by which the nose and the mouth are wrapped in a single cloth is also described on the verso (rt. II 17, n. 1).

COMMENTARY

**Rt. II 16**

1. Old cloths are removed from the nose, after which it can be treated again. This is a normal procedure. See rt. II 11, n. 1.

2. Cf. vs. II a, 26-27: "he anoints the inside of his nose with the warm medicament (*t3 pḫr.t ntj ḥmm*)".

**Rt. II 17**

1. The operation in question is also described in vs. II a, 28. The *swḥ*-cloth which was used then is soaked in pure *ʿnḏ*-ointment. Shortly before the same ointment was used to anoint the bull's face. The soaking of cloths is hardly mentioned on the recto, and then always with *sgn*-ointment (rt. II 13, 16, 20, III 11); on the verso soaking of cloths is the rule rather than the exception and all kinds of oils and ointments were used for this purpose. This soaking process made it easier to mould a cloth to the shape of a part of the body and, as Goyon rightly remarks[23], also meant that when the ointment dried, the cloth would remain attached to the mummy. From a ritual point of view the object of anointing is to bring about resurrection; see rt. IV 5, n. 1; *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, 8, 22 sqq.

[23] Goyon, *Rituels funéraires*, 56, n. 6.

## §9. (rt. II, 17-20)

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The Overseer of the Mystery embalms the horns and is assisted by two embalmers who are responsible for a considerable amount of the work involved (rt. II 18, n. 1). The Overseer of the Mystery begins with the embalming. He anoints the horns with *sgn*-ointment and wraps them both in a *swḥ*-cloth which he fastens to the horns with *pjr*-bandages. After the embalmers have anointed the part between the horns with *sgn*-ointment, the Overseer of the Mystery lays a *ḥbs*-cloth in its entirety over the horns. He then places a *sj.t*-cloth between the horns, which he fastens with four *pjr*-bandages (rt. II 20, n. 1). He then again places a mummy cloth, made this time of very fine linen (*šm*ʿ), in its entirety over the horns (rt. II 18, n. 2). Finally the embalmers wrap up both horns separately in *swḥ*-cloths and secure these cloths by wrapping the horns from top to bottom in mummy bandages.

The verso (vs. II b, 19-23) devotes a section to the treatment of the horns which corresponds almost word for word with the description on the recto. In order to show the similarities but also the differences to full advantage, I have placed translations of both versions together in the Appendix on p. 227-228. For further details the reader is referred to the notes accompanying the text.

### COMMENTARY

**Rt. II 17**

2. "He anoints them ... he makes five *pjr*-bandages, three above and two below"; cf. vs. II b, 22-23 where similar operations are carried out by embalmers.

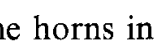
**Rt. II 18**

1. *iw=w wrḥ* ... "they anoint ...". The change-over to a plural subject is unexpected but this is not sufficient reason to dispute its correctness and to emend into a singular subject (*iw=f wrḥ*), as Spiegelberg would seem to suggest by his addition *sic*. Obviously the operation is carried out by embalmers, as is the case with other operations on the horns which are mentioned later on. If we consult for comparison the parallel passage on the verso, we find that the embalming of the horns is for the most part carried out by embalmers, and this applies in particular to the present operation (cf. vs. II b, 19).

The correctness of the suffix *=w*, therefore, need not be doubted. The problem is rather who is implied by that suffix. The most obvious solution is to think of the embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb-w*), up to now the only assistants of the Overseer of the Mystery mentioned in the text, except for an unidentified embalmer (rt. II 10). The two embalmers who are positioned in front of the Apis, and who are each in charge of the embalming of a foreleg, should be considered in particular. The objection to this is that the division of tasks was arranged in such a way that the Overseer of the Mystery alone embalmed the head, and the embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*) only the body, never the head or parts of it (cf., for example, rt. III, 5-6, III 8 sqq., III 13 sqq.). This division of tasks was so firmly fixed in the canon of embalmment that we also come across it in another embalming ritual, the *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, in which we read: "After that Anubis, the Overseer of the Mystery, positions himself under the head of this god (*i.e.* mummy); no other embalmer (*ḫrj-ḥb*) may approach him as long as the Overseer of the Mystery has not completed his operations on it (*i.e.* the head), with the exception of the divine chancellor (*ḫtmw nṯr*) who, under the guidance of the Overseer of the Mystery, is occupied with the embalming of the head"[24].

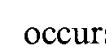
The question arises as to which embalmers are likely to have assisted the Overseer of the Mystery at his operations, if the *ḫrj-ḥb.w* cannot be considered. The most probable answer is that the Overseer of the Mystery will have called upon the help of the two *smr*-priests who asisted him in rt. III 1 with the placing of a cloth on the head of the bull. In the text of the verso too the Overseer of the Mystery is regularly assisted by two *smr*-priests during the operations on the head (vs. I 16, II a, 2, 9). On the other hand there is the possibility that the two *ḫrj-ḥb.w*, who are positioned in front of the bull, exchanged, whenever necessary, their role of *ḫrj-ḥb* for that of *smr*-priest. If so, this would explain why in rt. I 2 the *smr*-priests are not separately mentioned among the embalmers who are conducted to the Wrapping-Room. In connection with this we may point to an analogous case in the *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, in which the *smr*-priest sometimes takes over the obligations of the *sm*-priest. See Goyon, *Rituels funéraires*, 98, 120-129, 136. For priests exchanging their cultic duties, see also J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 83, with n. 2: "dass eine Person oder ein Kultgegenstand während der wechselenden Phasen des Rituals verschiedene Rollen innehaben kann, stellt für das "unlogische" religiöse Denken der Ägypter keine Schwierigkeit dar" (with references). Schneider, *Shabtis*, I, 69.

[24] *Rituel de l'Embaumement* IV, 4, 7-8. For the translation, see Sauneron, *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 153; and further, Goyon, *Rituels funéraires*, 54. Comparison with the *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, which describes the embalming of a person, is possible, because the embalming of a person and that of a sacred animal progress according to the same principles; cf. Bresciani, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros* (P. Krall), VIII, 8-16: Inaros is embalmed in the same way as one embalms the Apis, the Mnevis, and the Pharaoh; *Urkunden II*, 145 (Decree of Canopus): Princess Berenike is buried according to the rites of the Apis and the Mnevis.

2. "He clothes them ...". The Overseer of the Mystery clothes the horns (*ḏb3=w*) with a *ḥbs*-cloth and performs a similar action again later when he covers the horns (*nbtj=w*) with a *nbt*-cloth made of fine linen (*šm'*). The text defines these operations stating that the clothing of the horns in both cases ought to occur *n*  *r p3j=f irj n.im=w* "from the one horn to the other" (literally: from (*n*) the horns (?) to its companion of them), that is to say, that the Overseer of the Mystery places two cloths, a *ḥbs*-cloth and a *nbt*-cloth respectively, in their entirety over the horns. Incorrect to me seems Spiegelberg's interpretation, who translates the sentence in question as "er soll sie mit Stoff überziehen jedes einzelne (?) der Hörner", with the remark (p. 12, n. 3): "das scheint die Bedeutung von *'bwj r p3j=f irj n.im=w* 'beide Hörner in bezug auf seinen Genossen von ihnen' zu sein". In the case of the *nbt*-cloth in particular, this interpretation is in conflict with the ending of l. 19 below, where it seems that the *nbt*-cloth (*p3 nbt*) is to be found between (*iwṯ*) the horns.

3. The cloth is placed in its entirety over the horns and fastened with 3 *št3*-bandages. How this fastening with three bandages could have come about, I do not understand. For the placing of the cloth one may compare the parallel passage vs. II b, 20-21, where a *nbt*-cloth made of fine linen (*šm'*), and which has been soaked in a combined solution of natron (*ḥsmn*) and resinous oil (*sf*), is placed, in the manner described here, over the horns. According to the description on the verso, a *sj.t*-cloth measuring 4 × 2 palms (30 × 15 cm) was first laid between the horns and only after that was a *nbt*-cloth placed over the horns. The scribe of the recto has neglected to describe the placing of a similar *sj.t*-cloth, and later righted this omission by adding, at the end of the description of the embalming of the horns, that a *sj.t*-cloth was to be found between the horns under the *nbt*-cloth (rt. II, 19-20).

**Rt. II 19**

1. The word *ṯr*  occurs a few times in the papyrus (not in Er., *Dem Glossar*): (1) as a noun in the expression *wṯj (n) ṯr* "to wrap in *ṯr*-bandage" (rt. II 19, III 13), and (2) as a verb in the expression *sbn (n) ṯr* "*sbn*-bandage for wrapping" (rt. III 5). For the word in question, see *WB.* IV, 344, 7: "die Mumie mit (*m*) Binden umhüllen", and further: Sauneron, *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, 10, 13.

2. In contradistinction to the recto, the verso gives a description of the embalming of the ears, which immediately precedes the description of the embalming of the horns (vs. II b, 14-18). With regard to our passage the section vs. II b, 17-18 is important, because the proposed similarity in treatment to our passage is apparent there: "they wrap inside the ears and upon them, in two wrappings up to the midst of them (*š' t3 mtr n.im=w*); they also wrap in *mtr*-bandage down as far as their lower parts (*iw=w wṯj mtr š' ph̠w=w 'n*)".

**Rt. II 20**

1. The sentence about the *sj.t*-cloth is added as an afterthought at the end of the account of the embalming of the horns, see rt. II 18, n. 3. The cloth, which on the basis of the parallel passage vs. II b, 19-20 could have measured 4 × 2 palms (30 × 15 cm), is fastened between the horns with the help of 4 *pjr*-bandages. Two of these four bandages presumably run from the left horn diagonally across the head to the right; they next go under the mouth over the throat, and finally via the neck come out again at the left horn. The same applies to both other *pjr*-bandages, with the presumption that they run from the right horn diagonally over the head to the left.

§ 10 a. (rt. II, 20-21)

CONTENTS

The various parts of the head of the Apis having been subjected to a thorough treatment, the Overseer of the Mystery now proceeds to wrap the head itself in the last cloths and bandages. The first of these final cloths to be applied is a *swḥ*-cloth, in which the whole head is wrapped. After the cloth has been fixed to the head with mummy bandages, the Overseer of the Mystery places a tampon on each eye-socket, and fastens these tampons with 16 wrappings of linen (rt. II 21, n. 1).

On the verso one finds similar operations described in much greater detail. There the head is also completely wrapped in a *swḥ*-cloth, after which two tampons are placed on the eye-sockets and fastened with 16 layers of bandage. See vs. II b, 1 and vs. II b, 12-14, and further the notes accompanying the text.

**Rt. II 20**

2. Whereas in the foregoing section the suffix *=f* is nearly always used to indicate the Overseer of the Mystery, here he is mentioned by his full title. We are at the beginning of an important new stage in the embalming process (the wrapping of the head in the final cloths and bandages), and presumably the intention was to emphasize that the Overseer of the Mystery alone bore full responsibility for this (cf. rt. II 18, n. 1, and in particular vs. II a, 2 with n. 3).

3. Cf. the parallel passage vs. II b, 1, where the *swḥ*-cloth in which the head is wrapped is soaked with pure *ʿnḏ*-oil.

According to Spiegelberg (p. 12, with n. 7) the meaning of the words *ḫr.r=f r.ḥr=f* "under it and upon it" is that the *swḥ*-cloth is thoroughly ("durch und durch")

soaked with *sgn*-ointment. But why should such explicit instructions have to be given for quite a routine operation like the soaking of a cloth? It seems to me more probable that the instructions refer to the method by which the cloth must be positioned, and that the *swḥ*-cloth is supposed to be applied first under the head (*ḫr.r=f*) and then wrapped systematically around the head (*r.ḫr=f*). In this connection the reader should compare the description of the application of another *swḥ*-cloth, which is placed first under the head and then wrapped around it (rt. II 21 sqq. = vs. III 6 sqq.).

4. The cloth is carefully fastened to the head. This can be conceived of as a fastening process with a single *pjr*-bandage which, starting at the nose, is wrapped a number of times around the head up to the horns, as is the case with the *swḥ*-cloth in rt. III 4 = vs. III, 19-20 or as a few bandages which are systematically wrapped a number of times around the head.

5. The operations described here with relation to the embalming of the Apis' eyes form a continuation of rt. II, 14-15. The tampons which are placed on the eye-sockets were prepared in advance, and are $1\frac{1}{2}$ digits thick and 6 digits in diameter (approx. 3 × 11 cm). See in this respect rt. II 3, with n. 2.

6. Notice that this time the words *n3 ir.wt* "the eyes" are not used to indicate the eye-sockets" (cf., for example, rt. II 14), but instead the expression *n3 ˁ.wj.w ntj ir.t=f* "the places of his eye". Clearly the eyes were so heavily covered with linen as a result of the earlier operations that one could only speak rightly of "the places of his eye".

**Rt. II 21**

1. According to the detailed parallel passage vs. II b, 12-14, the right-hand tampon is placed first and provisionally fastened with a few bandages, then the left-hand tampon in the same manner. After that each tampon is further wrapped until a total of 16 layers is reached. For the number of 16 layers the reader is referred to the 16 layers of linen in which the mummy of Tut-Ankh-Amun was wrapped (Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98*, 354), to the 16 parts which constitute the body of Osiris (Griffiths, *de Iside et Osiride*, 338), and the period of 16 days which the wrapping of the mummy lasted (Sauneron, *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, XV). The bandages in which the mummy was wrapped were not only applied as packing but were considered a substitute for the decayed flesh. Thinking in terms of the four elements of which the human body is formed, the number 16 ($4^2$) symbolises the regeneration of the decayed flesh. See Stricker, *Camephis*, 59, with n. 514; idem, *Het Oude Verbond*, 53-54.

§ 10 b. (rt. II, 21 - III, 5)

CONTENTS

Assisted by two *smr*-priests, the Overseer of the Mystery places a *swḥ*-cloth on the head of the bull. The cloth measures approx. 313 × 35 cms., and stretches lengthwise from the neck down to the chest, while the width is sufficient to cover the front of the head (*p3 ḥr sšt3* "the mysterious face": rt. II 21, n. 3). It is uncertain whether the cloth is introduced into an opening which could have been made, at the start of the embalming, under the mouth in the throat to bring about the haemorrhage of the bull (rt. II 21, n. 4). Once the *swḥ*-cloth has been secured by an intricate process of bandaging, the head is wrapped with the so-called "large wrapping" (*p3 wṯj '3*) in nine wrappings up to the horns, and then firmly tied (*tštš*) with a *sbn*-bandage from the nose (?) to the neck. When the Overseer of the Mystery finally has wrapped the head in a *ḫ'*-cloth, the embalmment of the head is finished.

The largest part of this chapter by far is dedicated to a detailed description of the securing of the *swḥ*-cloth with mummy bandages. The striking thing about the presentation of this description is that the directions for the placing of the cloth are at first addressed exclusively to the Overseer of the Mystery who, by virtue of his elevated position, is responsible for the embalming of the head. After a line (rt. II 25) which, as far as content and position in the text go, creates the impression of containing a recapitulation of the fact that the cloth needs to be secured with a certain number of mummy bandages, the text seems to take a turn, and to commence a description of the actual securing process (rt. III, 1-5). The operations are for the most part carried out in co-operation between the Overseer of the Mystery and the two *smr*-priests. A number of the mummy bandages are placed, about which directions intended for the Overseer of the Mystery were given at the beginning of the chapter, as well as some previously unmentioned mummy bandages (see rt. III 2, n. 1 and n. 2; rt. III 3, n. 1).

The mummy bandages which the embalmers place are *pjr*- and *sbn*-bandages in particular, which for the wrapping of the head have been manufactured to the required size well in advance (rt. II, 2-3). It is only in the case of a few of these bandages that we are absolutely certain how they were placed over the mummy. These are (1) a *pjr*-bandage which runs longitudinally from under the chest to the mouth (rt. II 22), and (2) a large *sbn*-bandage which is drawn from the throat up to the horns (rt. II 23). These two bandages form the central point for other mummy bandages, which are drawn from the neck diagonally over the chest, or passed around the throat, being sometimes cut off in between other mummy bandages,

without one being able to understand what the intention of this cutting off could have been (cf. rt. II 24). The course which all these bandages follow is, it is true, often described, but sometimes so briefly or, just the reverse, indeed so minutely and intricately, that one easily loses track in the labyrinth of mummy bandages which are drawn over the head, throat and chest. The only chance of entering that labyrinth with success, and of getting at least some insight into the seemingly inextricable maze of interlacing bandages, would seem to lie in the making of a number of drawings which would reproduce the bull both full face and in profile, and in which the course of the various mummy bandages could be mapped out as well as possible. An important support for this attempt at reconstruction has appeared to be the verso, where a parallel section (vs. III, 6-20) sometimes clarifies difficult passages or offers additions where the recto perceptibly fell short (cf. e.g. rt. II 23, n. 2). To make comparison less difficult I have relegated the translation of both versions to an appendix (p. 235-237). In spite of this, it requires no further argument that the course of many bandages could not be established with any certainty or has remained a matter of conjecture.

We will now attempt to sketch, with the aid of Fig. 4-6 (p. 238-240) a rough picture of the fastening process of the cloth. For a justification of the course of the various bandages as reconstructed in the diagrams, the reader is referred to the notes accompanying the text.

Fig. 4 (rt. II 22 + rt. III, 1-2). The cloth is fastened to the chest with three *pjr*-bandages and six *sbn*-bandages. Of the three *pjr*-bandages, one ran longitudinally from under the chest, where it was cut off, up to the mouth; the other two from the neck diagonally over the chest, via the arm-pits back to the neck. These last two *pjr*-bandages are accompanied (*ir*, lit. "make") by three *sbn*-bandages, on the understanding that one of the three is cut off at the middle of the throat, and does not go over the chest like the *pjr*-bandages.

Fig. 5 (rt. II 23 + rt. III, 2-3). The cloth is fastened to the throat and head with *pjr*-bandages and *sbn*-bandages. Nine *sbn*-bandages are used to immobilise the cloth on the throat. The central bandage here is the large *sbn*-bandage (*p3 sbn ʾ3*) which runs from under the mouth up to the horns, and is fastened between them. The large *sbn*-bandage is to be found in the middle among the remaining eight (*ḫpr t3 mtr.t ḫn=w*) which run from the neck around the throat. In order to fasten the cloth onto the head itself, the large *sbn*-bandage "makes" (*ir*) 2 *pjr*-bandages which each run from a horn crosswise over the head, via the throat diagonally over the chest, and then via the arm-pit back to the horn from which it started (rt. II 23, n. 2).

Fig. 6 (rt. II, 23-24 + rt. III, 3-4). The cloth is fastened to the throat with eight *pjr*-bandages. Of the four *pjr*-bandages which come from the left-hand side of the neck, two are cut off behind the large *sbn*-bandage, and the other two run over the throat to the neck. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same is true of the four *pjr*-bandages

which are drawn from the right-hand side of the neck over the throat (rt. II 24, n. 1). Further a few more mummy bandages are sketched in this Fig. which have been mentioned, but not specified in the section rt. III, 3-4. Their course is therefore completely uncertain.

## COMMENTARY

### Rt. II 21

2. The making of the cloth to measure is described in rt. II 3. It would appear there to measure 6 divine cubits in length by 2/3 divine cubits in width (approx. 313 × 35 cms.), and to be fastened with 9 *pjr*-bandages, four of which come on to the chest and five under the head; cf. rt. II 25, with n. 2 and n. 3. In the parallel passage vs. III, 6-7 the same measurements are given for the *swḥ*-cloth mentioned there and the same number of *pjr*-bandages.

3. *p3 ḥr sšt3* "the mysterious face" (cf. rt. I 5, II 3, III 1, etc.), *i.e.* the face of the Apis is transformed into that of Osiris. The Mystery of this transformation is realised by the Overseer of the Mystery (*p3 ḥrj sšt3*) who, as the personification of Anubis and being initiated in the mystery (*sšt3*) of Osiris, is the designated person (see Introduction, p. 37). For *sšt3* as a word which is especially used in connection with the mysteries of, and transformation into, Osiris, see J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 230, n. 2 b.

With mummies of people, and indeed of sacred animals too, the head is usually covered by a mask. It cannot be ruled out that there is a connection between the mummy mask and the *ḥr sšt3* "mysterious face". Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I, 348*, 41-43, has plausibly shown through number of examples, that the word *ḥr* "face" can mean "mask". He quotes, among others, the passages *CT* III [226] 255 sqq., and *CT* VI [531] 123 sqq. — two spells that are sometimes written on the inside of funerary masks. In these spells mention is made of the face, damaged by the wicked Seth, of the deceased Osiris, which is replaced by a *ḥr* "face". Also of interest to us is the passage quoted by Borghouts *BD* [151] Budge 387, 5, in which we read how Anubis treats the head of the deceased, which is addressed with the words *ḥr nfr* "beautiful (*i.e.* restored, as with Osiris) face"[25]. In the heading of the spell in question mention is made of the *tp n sšt3* "head (*i.e.* mask?) that makes mysterious (*i.e.* that transforms the head of the mummy into the head of Osiris?)".

[25] For the passages quoted see also Heerma van Voss, *Ägypten, die 21. Dynastie*, 18. For *ḥr nfr* indicating the face of Osiris, see Bleeker, *De betekenis van de Egyptische godin Ma-a-t*, 41.

In the light of the passages quoted above, it looks as though we may consider the words *ḥr sšt3* "mysterious face" to allude to the mummy mask that transforms the face of the mummy into that of Osiris. In this respect it is not without interest to note that in Greek the mummy mask is called πρόσωπον "face", or diminutive προσωπίδιον "little face". See Grimm, *Die Römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten*, 21-22.

4. The largest part of the cloth (the 2/3 part measuring 209 cms.) is laid on the mysterious face and throat (*wb3=f*), the remainder (the 1/3 part measuring 104 cms.) on the chest. The problem is, what is meant by the words "in it" (*ḫn=f*). The suffix *=f* seems to refer to the mysterious face, but so far as any cavity, such as the eyes, nostrils and mouth, have not already been tamponed during previous operations, certainly the wrapping cloth, which according to the passage rt. II 20 has been placed, sees to it that no openings can be found in the head. The text indeed seems to point out that the cloth is introduced, not into the head itself, but underneath it (*ḫr p3 ḥr sšt3 ḫn=f*). Would there be an opening in the throat then? The only explanation I can give for this is that the embalmers, at the beginning of the embalming, had cut the bull's throat for bleeding purposes. Modern embalming techniques, which make it possible to fill the vascular system with preservative materials[26], render bleeding unnecessary, but the question is, which means — apart from natron and pitch — were at the disposal of the Egyptian embalmers? Was perhaps the superfluous piece of the cloth, which with its 3 m. indeed seems to have been on the spacious side, worked into that opening?

**Rt. II 22**

1. And the 1/3 (part) which is on the breast makes 3 *pjr*-bandages, sqq. A difficult passage, mentioning the 3 *pjr*-bandages and the 6 *sbn*-bandages by which the *swḥ*-cloth will be fastened to the breast. We shall treat the problems raised by the text in the order in which we meet them.

(See Fig. 4). Three *pjr*-bandages are used to immobilise the cloth on the breast. If we combine the details from this passage, in which the 3 *pjr*-bandages are mentioned, with rt. III, 1-2 (= vs. III, 14-16), where the bandages are actually placed, then it would seem that there is one central *pjr*-bandage that stretches from under the breast to the mouth. The two other *pjr*-bandages are not cut off, and are probably drawn from the neck to the breast, in accordance with a principle applied in the wrapping of human mummies[27]. In order to achieve an effective fastening of

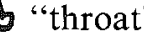
[26] Alcohol, carbolic acid solution in glycerine etc., or certain materials consisting of blends, which aim at keeping the colour as much as possible.

[27] See Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el-Médineh*, (1934-1935), deuxième partie: la nécropole, 137: one wraps from head to foot "dans le sens sinistrogyre en partant de la tête pour finir

the mummy cloth, the embalmers have undoubtedly made both *pjr*-bandages run diagonally over the breast, one from the left-hand side of the neck over the breast via the right arm-pit upwards along the body and back to the neck, the other from the right-hand side of the neck via the left arm-pit back to the neck (Fig. 4, no. 2).

How, then, are the 6 *sbn*-bandages placed? On this, the text says nothing more than that the two *pjr*-bandages "make" (*ir*) the six *sbn*-bandages. This probably means that the six *sbn*-bandages follow the course of the two *pjr*-bandages. The four uncut *sbn*-bandages, two from the right and two from the left-hand side of the neck, should run diagonally over the breast ("two left and two right") and via the arm-pits back to the neck. The two cut-off *sbn*-bandages do not continue over the breast, but are cut off at certain points under the mysterious face, probably at the level of the large *sbn*-bandage which runs in the middle over the throat (cf. rt. II 24).

**Rt. II 23**

1. *ḫm-b*  "throat". This word denotes the anatomic counterpart of *nḥb.t* "neck". The compound is only known to me from our text (not included in Er., *Dem Glossar*). It is formed from a combination of a known word *ḫm* "throat"[28] and *b* "mouth" (rt. II 10, n. 3). In Hieratic the word reads , and is not masculine, as in demotic, but feminine (rt. III 3). The second element in the compound seems to define the meaning of the ancient and rare word *ḫm* in that it refers to the part of the neck (*ḫm*) which is to be found at the mouth (*b*), *i.e.* the throat.

2. "He wraps it in 9 *sbn*-bandages ... and it makes two *pjr*-bandages on the breast, one to the left and one to the right of it". The text mentions 9 *sbn*-bandages and 2 *pjr*-bandages which the Overseer of the Mystery and his two helpers (cf. rt. III 1) place in order to fasten the cloth to the throat and the head. The actual execution of these operations with regard to the 2 *pjr*-bandages is not described until later. A few things are apparent from the now following discussion about the way in which the embalmers could have placed the various bandages.

(See Fig. 5). The most central of the 9 *sbn*-bandages with which the cloth is fastened is a large *sbn*-bandage (*p3 sbn ʿ3*) which, according to the passage in question, runs via the throat to the horns. The operations by which this bandage is actually placed are undoubtedly described in rt. III 2 (= vs. III 16): there the recto

sous les pieds". It is a well-known fact that in medical texts, in the so-called "Gliedervergottung" texts and in love poetry, when enumerating the physical qualities of the beloved, the parts of the body are enumerated from the head down.

[28] *WB.* III, 243, 19-20: der Hals (vorn an der Speiseröhre). Lefebvre, *Tableau des parties du corps humain*, 21-22.

mentions a mummy bandage (*ḥbs*) which the embalmers draw from under the mouth via the nose to the horns, and the verso mentions in the corresponding passage the large *pjr*-bandage which is drawn in the same way to the horns.

Although neither recto nor verso supply details about the remaining 8 *sbn*-bandages, we can still perhaps arrive at an acceptable reconstruction of the manner in which they were placed. The large *sbn*-bandage should come, just as the text requires, in the middle of the 8 *sbn*-bandages, if four of these *sbn*-bandages come from the right-hand side of the neck, and the other four from the left-hand side. It is not likely that the *sbn*-bandages then run diagonally over the breast, via the arm-pits back to the neck. The large *sbn*-bandage in fact runs to the horns not from the breast but from the throat. Since the large *sbn*-bandage is to be found in the centre between the remaining 8 *sbn*-bandages, these should, therefore, not go over the breast, but over the throat in order to immobilise the cloth on it.

According to the recto, the large *sbn*-bandage "makes" (*ir*) two *pjr*-bandages on the breast, one to the left and one to the right. Undoubtedly the two *pjr*-bandages are meant which are placed in the passage rt. III 3 (= vs. III, 17-18). If we combine the details of both versions, the bandages should run as follows: one bandage from the right horn crosswise over the head to the left, and via the throat diagonally over the breast through the right arm-pit back to the right horn; the other bandage from the left horn crosswise over the head to the right, and via the throat over the breast through the left arm-pit to the left horn.

## Rt. II 24

1. "He makes the 4 *pjr*-bandages go, sqq.". Four *pjr*-bandages run to the left of the large *sbn*-bandage, the other four to the right. Because mention is made of *the* four *pjr*-bandages (*p3 pjr* 4) the impression is given that it concerns 4 already mentioned *pjr*-bandages. As far as I can see, however, this is not the case, even though mention is indeed made of 8 *sbn*-bandages, four of which run to the left and four to the right of the large *sbn*-bandage, but these bandages certainly can not be identified with those in question.

How could the *pjr*-bandages have been placed? (See Fig. 6). I assume that they would all have run from the neck. The context, in which they are placed with the large *sbn*-bandage which runs over the throat, indicates that the bandages are drawn from the neck over the throat, and not over the breast. As far as the uncut *pjr*-bandages are concerned, two of them must have been drawn from the left-side of the neck over the throat, and the other two from the right-hand side of the neck over the throat. As for the four cut-off *pjr*-bandages, these run from the neck, not over the throat, but have, for obscure reasons, been cut off at the middle of the throat behind the large *sbn*-bandage.

2. Cf. vs. III, 12-13. Strangely enough, the text speaks of a *pjr*-bandage which is cut off as the fourth one (*mḥ*-4), although in the sequence of the passage in question it is actually cut off as the second. If, however, we include the 2 cut-off *sbn*-bandages from rt. II 22 (= vs. III 10), as well, the *pjr*-bandage is indeed cut off as the fourth mummy bandage.

**Rt. II 25**

1. *iw=f ir pjr* 9 "it makes 9 *pjr*-bandages". What is the subject of this sentence? The Overseer of the Mystery, for whom Spiegelberg seems to opt in his translation — or the *swḥ*-cloth which makes 9 *pjr*-bandages? The latter seems to me to remain the most likely solution, because in rt. II 3 the sentence is repeated with a slightly different wording, and then has the *swḥ*-cloth as its subject.

2. The four *pjr*-bandages on the breast consist of the 2 *pjr*-bandages which, as it would appear from rt. II 22 + rt. III, 1-2, are drawn diagonally over the breast, and of two other *pjr*-bandages which, according to rt. II 23 + rt. III, 2-3, are placed together with the large *sbn*-bandage on the breast. See Fig. 4, no. 2 + Fig. 5, no. 3.

3. Which 5 *pjr*-bandages that run under the mouth are meant? Let us follow the course of the suitable *pjr*-bandages with the help of the Fig. on p. 238 sqq. In Fig. 4 the *pjr*-bandage which stretches from the breast to the mouth (no. 1) could be considered. In Fig. 6 we see a total of 8 *pjr*-bandages which come under the mouth, a number that is much larger than the required five. However, if we do not include the four cut-off *pjr*-bandages, which do not run completely under the mouth (no. 2), the remaining four *pjr*-bandages, together with the already mentioned bandage from Fig. 4, no. 1, would produce the required total of 5 *pjr*-bandages. One bandage, however, could still present problems: the large *sbn*-bandage which is defined on the verso (vs. III 16) as the large *pjr*-bandage (*p3 pjr '3*). Since this bandage also goes under the mouth it would bring the total number of *pjr*-bandages to six, therefore one too many. However, the fact that this bandage is defined on the recto as the large *sbn*-bandage, its description as "large" (*'3*), and finally the fact that it runs longitudinally, not diagonally or horizontally, render it so different from the other bandages that we may safely leave it out of consideration.

Although all the bandages must have been indispensable for the fastening of the cloth, the text in fact places great emphasis on the mummy bandages just mentioned, ascertaining by repetition that the cloth is fastened with 9 *pjr*-bandages, four of which are placed on the breast and five under the mouth (cf. rt. II 21, n. 2). If these *pjr*-bandages have indeed played a more important role than the other bandages, in

particular the *sbn*-bandages, then one wonders in what respect that could have been expressed. Were perhaps the *sbn*-bandages placed first for the provisional fastening of the cloth? The greater importance of the *pjr*-bandages is in any case apparent from the fact that in the last part of the chapter *pjr*-bandages which were mentioned already at the beginning are harked back to, while the *sbn*-bandages, with the exception of the large *sbn*-bandage, are only mentioned at the start of the chapter (cf. rt. III 2, n. 1 and n. 2; rt. III 3, n. 1). For possible magical-religious motives for wrapping in 9 bandages, see rt. III 4, n. 3.

## Rt. III 1

1. The sentence indicates in the first instance that it concerns a wrapping method which is mentioned , a n. div. that strongly resembles *Wpjw*, a jackal god who figures next to Anubis, as for instance in the Pyramid texts. See *WB.* I, 302, 12 and also Sethe, *Übersetzung und Komm.*, III, 349 (with *PT* 727 c). Now if  could be connected with the verb  "to open", then we would be dealing here with a god who, in his capacity of "the Opener", had a special bearing on the mummy bandages wrapped around the mouth. Would it perhaps have been part of that relationship that the magical power of the god in his capacity of "the Opener" neutralised the bandages the mouth was wrapped in, so that the Apis would in the Hereafter have the power of speech at his disposal? Perhaps one can go as far as to suppose that an image of the divinity concerned was drawn with ink on the mummy bandages; cf. for such drawings of gods on mummy linen, *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, 7,7-8,16. For analogy with human mummies one may compare *BD* chapter 23, in which Thot's help was enlisted by the deceased (*i.e.* Osiris) to loosen the mummy bandages which Seth tied over his mouth and which prevented him from speaking. It was, of course, necessary for the deceased to have unhindered power of speech, for otherwise he could never be justified (*m3ʿ ḫrw* "true of voice") in the judgement before Osiris in the hall of judgement and as a result could not enter into the realm of Osiris. See also Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 108.

2. "And one of the three *gb3*-bandages which have been mentioned above goes to the breast". This passage presents us with problems. Three *gb3*-bandages have already been mentioned earlier, according to the text, and one of them should now be drawn to the breast. Now mention was indeed made of *gb3*-bandages in rt. II 25, but then it concerned four bandages which belong together and were wrapped around the mouth. These bandages undoubtedly differ from those in question, and therefore three *gb3*-bandages not mentioned before must be meant. The only explanation for this seems to be that the scribe, just as he was changing over to a new column — or even already before that — forgot to record the three *gb3*-

bandages which were mentioned in the original that he was copying. How the *gb3*-bandages ran cannot be determined. Nor does the verso offer any guidance here since they are not mentioned there.

**Rt. III 2**

1. "And they make 2 *pjr*-bandages out of the four which have been mentioned above go to the breast ...". The *swḥ*-cloth is fastened with 9 *pjr*-bandages in total, four of which are placed on the breast (cf. rt. II 3 = rt. II 25). Two of the four *pjr*-bandages which are placed on the breast are mentioned in rt. II 22 (= Fig. 4, no. 2), and the other two *pjr*-bandages are now drawn to the breast (= Fig. 5, no. 3). The mummy bandage (*ḥbs*) which is taken to the mouth can be identified with the *pjr*-bandage of which it is said that it is cut off under the breast and stretches to the mouth (rt. II 2 = Fig. 4, no. 1).

2. "They bring another one from under the mouth ... up to the horns". The parallel passage vs. III 16 mentions here the large *pjr*-bandage which is "drawn" (*sḳ*) to the horns in the described manner. We can identify the bandage with the large *sbn*-bandage from rt. II 23 (in Fig. 5, no. 1). See rt. II 23, n. 2.

3. "And he swathes it between the horns". For the verb *ḳlḥ* "to swathe", see rt. II 13, n. 2. The question arises how the Overseer of the Mystery has wrapped the bandage between the horns in order to fasten it. To ensure that the bandage does not slide either to the right or to the left of the head, he would have had to fasten it exactly in the middle between the horns. Could a mummy bandage running between the horns have been used? One of the *pjr*-bandages in which the head had been wrapped in rt. II 20? The verb *ḳlḥ* indicates that the embalmer must have wrapped the large *sbn*-bandage a few times around the mummy bandage concerned.

**Rt. III 3**

1. They send them to the breast, sqq. Cf. vs. III, 17-18. The bandages can be identified with the two *pjr*-bandages which are mentioned in rt. II, 23, and are drawn to the breast together with the large *sbn*-bandage. See Fig. 5, no. 3.

2. For *ḫ'm-r3* "throat" (a new compound), see rt. II 23, n. 1.

**Rt. III 4**

1. Presumably it concerns 2 mummy bandages () which run in the same way as the two preceding mummy bandages (*ḫ n3j 'n*). See Fig. 6, no. 3. Notice that the operation is attributed to the Overseer of the Mystery.

2. The text states that the embalmers once again allow 2 mummy bandages (*kj* 2) to run up to the breast (*iw ḥrj iw t3 šnb.t*), a remark that is too vague to draw conclusions regarding the course that these two bandages could have followed. If, however, they are drawn over the mummy in the same manner as the preceding two, then they would, as required, come on the breast. See Fig. 6, no. 4.

3. Cf. vs. III, 18-20. The fastening of the large wrapping (*p3 wṯj '3*) in which the head is completely wrapped up to the horns is an important operation carried out by the Overseer of the Mystery himself. According to the verso the wrapping consists of 9 wrappings (*wṯj*) in total which run from the nose (?) to the neck. A number of nine bandages is only mentioned in the papyrus with regard to the wrapping of the mysterious face. Thus the *swḥ*-cloth is fastened with 9 *pjr*-bandages (rt. II 21, n. 2), and 9 *pjr*-bandages are used to fasten the cloth under the head (rt. II 23, with n. 2). I do not see any practical reason for giving preference to a particular number of 9 mummy bandages above all the other mummy bandages with which the cloth was secured to the head (rt. II 25, n. 3, to the end). So we are perhaps dealing here with magical-religious motives. Sethe, *Zahlwort*, 38-39, mentions a number of examples in which a certain preference (sanctity) is apparent in texts for the number 9, but these examples do not help us any further on our way to explaining the relationship between the number and the wrapping of the head in nine mummy bandages. In late texts the number nine is indeed symbolically written with the sign of the shining sun, which is also used as a determinative with verbs like *wbn* "to rise (of the sun)"[29]. Does the relationship we are looking for lie here, and does the number nine then symbolise the resurrection of the Apis, just as the sun rises every day? Or do we have to look for the explanation in the sphere of the so-called "Gliedervergottung" texts? We know, for instance, that the teeth, entrails, lips etc. of a god can be defined as his Ennead. Here this is perhaps the case with the head, the most important part of the body. Equating parts of the body of a god with the Ennead often points to his primeval nature. In our case it would point to the primeval nature of Osiris and to the eventual resurrection of the Apis after the example of Osiris (Apis = *Wsir-Ḥp*)[30].

[29] See *CdÉ* 37 (1962), 279.

[30] Cf. Beinlich, *Die "Osirisreliquien"* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, vol. 42), 300-301 [with references]. See also *LÄ* VI (1986), 128 and rt. I 1 (with n. 1), where the Apis rests on a bank of sand, *i.e.* the primeval hill on which the resurrection of the Apis was performed.

§ 11 (rt. III, 5-8)

CONTENTS

After the Overseer of the Mystery has embalmed the head of the Apis, he stands aside for four embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*) who shall carry out the embalming of the rest of the body. We have already encountered these embalmers a few times earlier in the text: (1) in rt. I 2, where, together with the Overseer of the Mystery, they are led in solemn procession to the Embalming House; (2) in rt. I 3, where they are involved with the carrying in of objects and embalming materials to the Wrapping-Room; (3) in section rt. II, 2-4, where, together with the Overseer of the Mystery, they make the mummy cloths and bandages to measure; (4) finally, in the section rt. II, 4-8, where they secure the Apis to the poles of a kind of litter. They now take up position around the mummy, each beside one of the legs, and commence the embalmment of the limbs (*nȝ tp.w ʿ.wt*). First they stretch out the hind legs alongside the hindquarters, by which they prevent the hind feet from being bent during the wrapping process (rt. III 6, n. 2). After this drastic operation the embalmers wrap the feet (*dr.wt*, lit. "hands") in byssus. They subsequently embalm the hoofs. The original hoofs had been removed and replaced by artificial hoofs. The embalmers wrap these artificial hoofs in *swḥ*-cloths and in Saitic linen, and then secure these cloths with mummy bandages. It is notable that this embalming method bears a strong resemblance to the treatment of certain human mummies. Indeed, the artificial hoofs which are slipped onto the toes of the Apis correspond with the golden sheathes which were placed on the fingers and toes of the mummies of kings and distinguished persons, and which, like the hoofs of the Apis, were covered with Saitic linen (rt. III 6, n. 4). After the embalmers have treated the feet and the hoofs individually, they finally completely cover the limbs with *swḥ*-cloths which they firmly secure with mummy bandages.

The verso (vs. I, 9-11) offers only a brief description of the embalming of the limbs, which contains strong reminiscences of the present chapter. The most notable difference is that no mention is made of the stretching of the limbs in the verso's version.

COMMENTARY

**Rt. III 5**

1. *i.ir=w ir nȝj m-ḏr pȝ ḫrj sšt*ȝ ... "the Overseer of the Mystery carries out these operations ...". Cf. the parallel passage vs. I, 9-10. For the preposition *m-ḏr*, which

here and in rt. IV 2, vs. II b, 26 introduces the semantic subject, see Stricker, in: *OMRO* XXXV (1954), 65-73.

2. The little word *r (iw)* "whereas" underlines a sharp contrast, as is already the case with *iw* in the Middle Egyptian idiom[31]: the head of the Apis is embalmed by the Overseer of the Mystery, but the embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*) carry out the operations on the limbs. Spiegelberg (p. 14) apparently overlooked the word in question and consequently wrongly translated the whole sentence: "dieses (d. h. das folgende?) soll durch (*m-ḏr*) den Ritualleiter und Vorlesepriester gemacht werden, < welche > vor den Extremitäten (?) sitzen".

**Rt. III 6**

1. For *tp.w ʿ.wt* "limbs" (rt. II 3, III 6, 8, vs. I 10) the Wörterbuch (*WB.* V, 285, 3) offers only a few references from the Late Period, particularly from the temples of Edfu and Dendera. The word is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar.* For *tp.w ʿ.wt* "intestines", see rt. IV 6, with n. 1.

2. "They stretch them ... to ensure that the feet shall not be bent". Stretching the limbs in order to prevent the feet from being bent (*ʾlḳ*) is anatomically explicable. The hind feet are by nature bent in a recumbent bull, a phenomenon which would hamper the wrapping process. When the embalmers stretch the hind legs, an ingenious muscle mechanism ensures that whenever the hip and the knee are stretched, the hind feet are stretched as well. Because this applies exclusively to the hind feet, the word *dr.wt* "feet" can only be taken in the restricted sense of "hind feet".

The embalming technique described here is applied not only to the Apis but also to another sacred bull, the Buchis. Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, I, 58, point out that with some mummies of the Buchis the hind legs were forced into the same unnatural position as that of the Apis and that consequently the bull assumed the position of a resting dog or jackal, the animal dedicated to the god of embalmment, Anubis. On other mummies of the Buchis, however, the hind legs were normally bent. Apparently, therefore, the operation was not always carried out on the Buchis, and perhaps the same is true of the Apis; in any case, the operation is not explicitly recorded in the parallel section on the verso (vs. I, 9-11).

As for the forelegs, there were apparently two different techniques as well. Either the forelegs were extended (*swtn*), as is the case in the present passage, or they were bent, as is natural with a resting ox and for which archaeological evidence can be

[31] See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, [3] § 117, 1.

adduced (see e.g. the photos of a dummy mummy of the Apis: *JEA* 55 [1969], pl. VIII, 1-4).

3. *iw=w swḥ nꜣ dr.wt dr.t=f rd=f šs-nsw* "they wrap the feet, that is his forefoot and his hind foot, in byssus". A difficult sentence which is repeated in the parallel section vs. I 10. The embalmers wrap the feet, anatomically the lowest part of the limbs from the ankle, in byssus. In my view the scribe has added the words *dr.t=f rd=f* by way of explanation, in order to assure that the word *dr.wt* would be taken in the broader sense of "fore and hind feet", and not in the limited sense of "hind feet" in which it was used shortly before (see preceding note).

The interpretation of the sentence takes a completely different turn with Stricker's translation (*OMRO* XXXV [1954] 67, n. 5): "one has to cover the bones of his hands and feet with byssus". For confirmation of his translation he points to the Coptic expression which presumably suggested the idea to him: ⲧⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲭⲓⲭ "the phalanx of the hand" (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 425 a)[32]. Stricker's translation could be possible because the original hoofs of the Apis were removed. In that case the embalmers would be occupied with wrapping the bones, which were once enclosed by the hoofs, in byssus. Presumably, however, the artificial hoofs were already affixed in an earlier stage of the embalming (see following note), in which case Stricker's translation is incorrect.

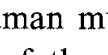
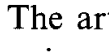
4. It is certain that the original hoofs were removed and replaced by artificial hoofs, and that it is these artificial hoofs which are wrapped in cloths. We find the evidence for this in the passage rt. IV 6, where it is said that the original large and small hoofs are stowed away in a *ḥbn.t*-vessel. As for these large and small hoofs, a bull has four functional toes on each foot: the second, third, fourth and fifth. The third and fourth toes reach the ground and have big claws or hoofs (*jb.w ꜥꜣ.w*), the second and fifth toes are rudimentary and provided with side claws or small hoofs (*jb.w ḫm.w*); for this see Fig. 7 (p. 121).

The question which arises here, of course, is why the embalmers decided to replace the hoofs by artificial hoofs. For the preservation of the mummy this operation was not really necessary, because the horny material of a hoof is never or rarely subject to decay. Nevertheless, as a result of the shrinking of the limbs following death, the hoofs probably threatened to enclose the feet less firmly and, through the action of embalming materials, to become looser and eventually fall off; the embalmers wanted to avoid this danger by fitting artificial hoofs[33].

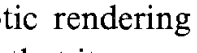
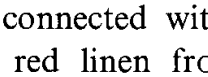
[32] Cf. *tr* (ⲧⲱⲣⲉ) "Fussknöchel" o.ä.: Er., *Dem Glossar*, 642; Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 193.

[33] On human mummies one guarded against the loosening of corresponding parts of the body, the nails, by securing them to the fingers and toes with thread. Cf. Sandison, *JNES* 22 (1963), 263. He points out (*op. cit.*, 267), apart from that, that his experiments with human tissue in liquid natron did not lead to the loosening of the nails. But why, then, would the embalmers have wrapped the nails in thread if that danger did not really exist?

Perhaps, as it is not described here, this operation had already been carried out in an earlier stage of the embalming process, at the same time as the removal of the eyes and intestines.

The text enables us to draw an interesting parallel between the embalming of the Apis and of the human mummy. The artificial hoofs () which were slipped over the toes of the Apis are in reality none other than  "golden finger sheathes" which were placed over the individual fingers and toes of the mummies of kings and prominent persons. Just as these finger sheathes were wrapped (*nbt*) with linen from Sais[34], so according to our passage the artificial hoofs of the Apis were wrapped (*nbt*) with Saitic linen. The analogy would be complete if we assume that the artificial hoofs of the Apis were made of gold.

Ritually speaking the replacement of nails (hoofs), *i.e.* parts of the body that die off and grow back again, could symbolise a process of rejuvenation, just as the replacing of two teeth by artificial teeth symbolised rejuvenation (rt. II 12, n. 1). The eventual choice of gold as the material for the hoofs would be quite fitting because, as a symbol of the sun god, that imperishable material can symbolise rejuvenation and durability, and in this symbolism it is traditionally used for covering the face, hands and feet of the mummy. For this, see Aufrère, l'*Univers minéral, II*, 377, sqq. and Reuterswärd, *Polychromie der Plastik*, I, 20-24. Reuterswärd (*op. cit.*, 22, n. 2) produces examples from which it appears that the gilding of the nails was regarded at the same time as a magical purification. That can, of course, also play a role with the Apis. That nails were considered to be impure parts of the body would appear from an Esna text, in which it is said that one had to shorten the nails before entering the temple in order to take part in a ritual; see Sauneron, *Les Fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, 347, n. 1.

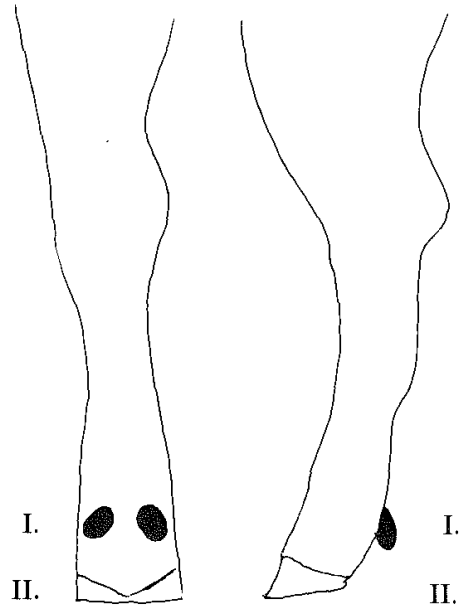
5. The words *ḳn Sj* probably form the Demotic rendering of  "cloth from Sais"[35], of which it was said in rt. I 6 that it was used for the wrapping (*nbt*) of the hoofs. This cloth can in turn be connected with the . "large cloth of red linen from Sais", which is placed (*nbt*) over the golden finger sheathes (= artificial hoofs in the case of the Apis) of the human mummy, and was under the special protection of the goddess Neith of Sais[36].

[34] See *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, 3, 15.

[35] For *nwt* "tissue", see Caminos, *LEM*, 286-287; Janssen, *Commodity Prices* 436-438 (translation "yarn").

[36] See *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, 3, 15-16. In Sais there were two shrines, Resnet and Mehnet, which were patronised by Neith and Sobek. The shrines were famous for supplying fabrics for religious purposes; see Schott, in: *RdÉ* 19 (1967), 99-110. For their supplying of linen (especially for the Apis), see also Ramadan el-Sayed, *La Déesse Neith de Sais* (IFAO, vol. LXXXVI, 1, 1982), I, 76 sqq., 79 sqq.; *ibidem*, II, Doc. 387 a-c.

Fig. 7 (rt. III 6, n. 4)

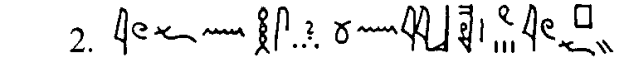
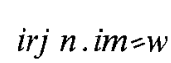
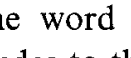
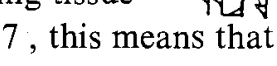


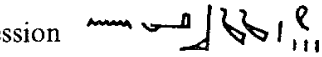

I. The little hoofs or side claws (*n3 jb.w ḫm.w*)

II. The large hoofs or claws (*n3 jb.w '3.w*)

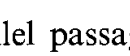
## Rt. III 7

1. Which *swḥ*-cloths? In the preceding passage no mention has been made of *swḥ*-cloths in which the hoofs were wrapped; that is only done at the end of this line. Has the sequence of operations been reversed, in the sense that the hoofs were first wrapped in the *swḥ*-cloths mentioned at the end of l. 7, and afterwards in the cloths from Sais mentioned in l. 6?

2.  *irj n.im=w*  "it is as (*n*) a tissue (?) from (*n*) one hoof (?) to (*iw*) the other (wrapped in) *nbtj.t*-bandage". I cannot do much more than give what is presumably the general drift of this very difficult sentence. The word  *ḥs* ..., of which the meaning "tissue" is a guess, probably alludes to the cloth of Saitic linen mentioned a moment ago. This cloth is placed as an enveloping tissue  *irj n.im=w* "from one hoof to the other"[37]. In the Fig. 7 , this means that a cloth is placed from the large to the small left hoof, and from the large to the small right hoof.

[37] Cf. the comparable expression  *r p3j=f irj n.im=w* "from one horn to the other" (rt. II 18, with n. 2).

3. It is probable that this is the *nbtj.t*-bandage which was mentioned along with the cloth from Sais at the beginning of the text (rt. I 6). The measurements of the *nbtj.t*-bandage given there were 200 divine cubits in length by 2/3 of a digit in width (approx. 100 m × 1 cm), a long narrow bandage with which one could firmly wrap up each hoof.

4. Cf. the parallel passage rt. I 6. The word , variant  (rt. I 6), demotic *ḳrr*  (vs. II b, 26), indicates an object made of wood that here and in rt. I 6 is wrapped in Saitic linen, or, as in vs. II b, 26, in mummy bandages. The meaning "roller" is obvious. The determinative  in rt. I 6 looks indeed like a flat dish but could just as easily indicate a roller if one wants to see the sign  as a solid wooden object of that shape. One wonders whether the word *ḳrr* "roller" is ultimately related to such words as *ḳrḳr, skr* and СКОРКР "to roll" (see rt. IV 1, with n. 2 and the references given there).

§ 12. (rt. III, 8-10)

CONTENTS

One of the two embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*), charged with the embalming of the hind legs of the Apis, now embalms the anus. The technical term which is used in the text to indicate the anus reads *t3 mj.t p3 ḥ3* "the way of the back" by which, more precisely, the anal channel is meant. The embalmer begins his operations with the thorough cleaning of the anal channel, in which embalming materials and mummy cloths used in an earlier stage for the embalming of the anus, are removed. This impure operation is carried out while the embalmer and the backside of the bull are hidden from view (rt. III 9, n. 1). Afterwards the anal channel, presumably with the help of an instrument, is washed with water and again treated with cloths and *sgn*-ointment (rt. III 9, n. 5).

The verso (vs. I, 3-7) dedicates a passage to the embalming of the anus which considerably increases our knowledge of the treatment of this part of the body. There the anus is treated in direct connection with such parts of the body as the tail, the back and the genitals. The operations are carried out by an embalmer (*ḫrj-ḥb*). The anus is carefully tamponed with a large bag which in turn is filled with small bags full of myrrh and natron. The object of this operation is twofold: on the one hand one wants to guard against the collapse of the anus and to maintain as much as possible its natural shape by substantial tamponing, on the other hand one is clearly aiming at withdrawing fluid with the help of natron and so combatting

decay. The embalmer (*ḫrj-ḥb*) responsible is assisted in his work by another embalmer (*ḫrj-ḥb*) whose primary task was to embalm the tail.

The two descriptions of the embalmment of the anus are completely different from one another, and the question, which is difficult to answer with any certainty, is whether they are two descriptions that supplement each other, each representing a different stage of the embalming process[38], or that we are dealing with two alternative embalming methods. In favour of the latter hypothesis is the fact that both probably give the final treatment of the anus. This is certainly true for the description on the recto, for after this chapter the Apis is secured to a board with which it is lowered into the coffin (rt. III 13 - IV 4). As far as the verso is concerned, one gets the impression, in view of the careful tamponing, that the anus is being submitted to a final treatment. All this would mean that the embalming technique had gone through a process of development, which in the treatment of the anus has resulted in two different techniques[39].

Another problem indirectly connected with the treatment of the anus is whether the intestines were left in the abdominal cavity during embalmment, or whether they were removed, either via the anus or by means of an incision in the left side according to a method frequently applied to human mummies. Because the details concerning the abdominal cavity and the parts of the body found within it occur scattered in the papyrus, this is perhaps the obvious place to assemble all the data and to discuss them as a coherent whole.

*Bibliography.*

Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, I, 62-64, 100-102 [discussion of a few passages relevant to our subject from the papyrus, for which Spiegelberg's translation is used]; idem, *ibidem*, III, pl. LXXXVI, Fig. 1-2 [photographs of two embalming enemas].

## I. *The intestines*

There can be no doubt that the intestines of the bull were already removed from the abdominal cavity in a very early stage of the embalming process. The view held by Mond and Myers, that these parts of the body were left in the abdominal cavity and submitted to a preservative treatment via the anus[40] is, among other things, in conflict with the passage rt. IV, 6-7, where we read that purified parts of the

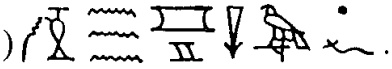
[38] It would appear from the removal of old embalming materials and mummy cloths that the anus is treated more than once in the course of the embalmment.

[39] In the embalming of the limbs we have already established the existence of two different embalming techniques (rt. III 6, n. 2).

[40] Lucas-Harris, *Materials*, [4] 302, subscribe to this view where they write: "the method of embalming the sacred bulls, as practised during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, and given in the Apis papyrus, was apparently similar to the second method of Herodotus, namely, injection *per anum*".

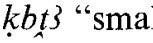
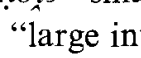
intestines were stored in a *hbn.t*-vessel. The removal of the intestines was as drastic as it was necessary for the preservation of the mummy. The stomach complex ("intestines") to be removed consisted of four stomachs in all: the paunch, the reticulum, the third stomach or omasum, and the rennet-stomach or abomasum, with a total content of approx. 200 litres. The intestines consist of two main sections: the small intestine which in an adult animal could come to between 36 and 45 metres, and the large intestine which vary in length from 9 to 11 metres. There are two techniques which the embalmers could have employed to remove these parts of the body. One is to empty the abdominal cavity via the anus. If they had first removed the stomach complex by that way, then the intestines would have remained in the abdominal cavity as a coherent disc consisting of a few loose coils, and could, with slight exertion, have been pulled out by hand. The difficulty with this method, however, is that one could not reach far enough via the anus with the hand to remove the parts of the body found in the chest cavity, an operation which was also necessary for the preservation of the mummy, and which was carried out with human mummies too. The difficulty would not have existed if another embalming technique was used and an incision made in the left side according to the first and most expensive method of Herodotus, through which chest and abdominal cavities were easy attainable[41]. The passage vs. I, 1-9 seems to point to the fact that this technique was applied.

The papyrus provides us a fairly detailed picture of what happened to the intestines after they were taken out. The foremost problem with which we are confronted is that in a few cases we have not been able to establish precisely which part of the intestines was subjected to a certain treatment because the Egyptian anatomical term used is not known. Some things are apparent from the following summary, in which not only the anatomical terms, but also the treatment of the various parts of the body in the abdominal cavity are discussed.

1) . "intestines" (rt. IV 11, 15)

The term can be connected with the Canopic jar of the same name in which the intestines were stored and whose cover was shaped like the falcon's head of Kebehsenuef, one of the four "sons of Horus" (*WB.* V, 31, 3-5). After the intestines in question are taken out, they are washed (*w'b*) with water and the water is then sieved (*'th*) (rt. V, 13-15). Moreover, mention is made in the passage rt. V, 10-11, of vessels in which a certain treatment (*mštj*) is carried out with the aid of water and oil (*sf*) on parts of the intestines in question (*n3 ntj ḫn p3 ḳbḥ-snw.f* "those which are to be found in the intestines").

[41] Herodotus, II, 86. For the embalming of the Apis according to the most expensive method, see p. 103, footnote 24.

2)  *kbṯ3* "small intestine (?)" (rt. V 3, 9)
 *krs* "large intestine (?)" (rt. V 3, 8, 18, VI a, 7)

The word *krs* is sometimes used separately, while the word *kbṯ3* only occurs in the expression *p3 krs p3 kbṯ3*. Because the *krs* can be treated as a separate part of the body, we should not see any genitive connection in this expression, as Spiegelberg does, who translates it as one word for "intestines", but rather two separate words which, given their close connection, indicate two related parts of the body. As far as the treatment of the parts of the body in question is concerned, we are fairly minutely informed. The *krs* are washed (*w'b*) in vessels (rt. VI a, 7), and the water that was used for this purpose is sieved (*'ḥ*) (rt. V, 17-18). Twice mention is made of a combined treatment when elements of the *krs* and of the *kbṯ3 (n3 ntj ḫn p3 krs p3 kbṯ3)* are spread out (*prḥ*) in large wash-bowls (*j'j '3*) and small wash-bowls (*j'j ḫm*) and subjected to a treatment of unknown nature (*mštj*: rt. V 3, 8-9).

The treatment which the parts of the body undergo is remarkably similar to that of the *kbḥ-snw.f* "entrails". On these grounds we are probably dealing with parts of the body found in the abdominal cavity. If we may indeed connect the word *kbṯ3* with *k3b* "coil", "intestine" (*WB.* V 9, 13-17; Lefebvre, *Tableau des parties du corps humain*, 36), then this word could indicate the small intestine with its many coils, and the allied word *krs* a definition of the "large intestine".

3) . "the purified parts of the intestines (?)" (rt. IV 6).

These parts of the body are permanently stowed away, along with other parts of the body, in a *hbn.t*-vessel after completion of the embalmment. Their treatment is not described. The word *tp.w '.wt* is probably a definition of the "entrails". The only reference I know for this word used in this sense is Edfu VI, 85, 10, where it is related how Horus goes for the hippopotamus (= Seth) with his harpoon and strikes him in *n3 tp.w '.t.f n imj.w ḫt.k* "the weak parts of thy stomach"[42].

Perhaps the word *sw'b.w* is not a separate and otherwise unknown word for "entrails", as Spiegelberg (p. 17, n. 4) supposes, but a derivation of *sw'b* "to purify". The word *sw'b.w* then would refer to the treatment which the *tp.w '.wt* have undoubtedly undergone before they were stowed away. Is *tp.w '.wt* perhaps the collective term of the various parts of the entrails mentioned above, of which we have seen that they were constantly purified (*w'b*)?

To sum up. The anatomical terms used in Egyptian for the various parts of the entrails of the Apis may not always have been satisfactorily clarified. What is clear in any case is that the intestines were taken out and washed with water, the purpose

[42] For *tp.w '.wt* "entrails" (not in the *Wörterbuch* or Er., *Dem Glossar*) see Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 782, with n. 6.

being to purify as well as to engender new life (see Introduction, p. 31, with n. 35). Afterwards the water was sieved. Following their treatment the entrails were then stowed away in a *hbn.t*-vessel. The so-called Canopic jars which were used for the storage of the entrails of human mummies are not mentioned[43].

II. *Treatment of the thoracic and abdominal cavities*

To which treatment were the empty thoracic and abdominal cavities submitted? Fortunately the papyrus offers us precious information concerning this. In the section Vs. I, 1-9, the embalming is described, in connection with the treatment of the anus, tail and genital organs, of a part of the body that is referred to as *hn*  Except in the literal sense of "chest", "box", this word is also used with regard to cavities in the body which the Egyptians visualised as chest-shaped: the cranial, the thoracic, and the stomach cavities. The word can even refer to entrails found in the abdominal cavity[44]. Thus the word is open to more than one interpretation, but in the passage in question it will have meant the abdominal cavity with the adjoining thoracic cavity, from which the lungs and liver had been removed. This voluminous cavity (*hn* "chest") is embalmed by an embalmer specially appointed for this task (*pȝ ḫrj-ḥb ntj i.ir-ḥr pȝ hn*). He first cleans the cavity thoroughly (*w'b m-šs*) with the aid of pure *'nḏ*-oil and then packs it, via the mouth and an incision in the left side, with small bags filled with a combination of sawdust and natron, products with strong dehydrating qualities. The embalmer thus follows an embalming method also used for the filling of cavities in human mummies (vs. I 8, n. 1). Further information concerning the treatment of thoracic and abdominal cavities is scarce. In a few passages of the recto mention is made of vessels in which embalming materials (*iḫj.w*) and various mummy cloths are stored which are used during the embalming of the *hn* (rt. V 7, 22). Since these vessels are mentioned among other vessels in which entrails are treated, it is plausible that *hn* means the thoracic and abdominal cavities. Unfortunately the embalming materials are not specified, but on the grounds of the verso natron was among them and also perhaps myrrh (a strong antiseptic) and cassia, products which, according to Herodotus (II, 86), were used for the embalming of the abdominal cavity in human mummies.

III. *The Horus copper*

So far we have not yet raised the question of how the embalmers managed to introduce all these embalming materials, solid as well as liquid, inside the mummy.

[43] An Apis bull could well have had Canopic jars at his disposal. In the Louvre in Paris four of these jars belonging to the second Apis of the XVIIIth Dynasty have been preserved. They are 82 cms. high and fitted with a human bust. See Boreux, *Antiquités Égyptiennes*, Guide-Catalogue sommaire, Paris 1932, 170. See also *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 113, with n. 18.

There were various possibilities which eventually could have been combined according to the nature of the materials to be introduced and also to the place in the mummy for which they were intended (the thoracic or the stomach cavity). Thus it appears from the passage vs. I, 8-9, that the bags of natron and sawdust were introduced into the mummy via the mouth and the incision in the side. The important thing is that mention is made on the recto of instruments with which embalming materials were introduced. These instruments are called *nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr*  "the copper (instruments) of Horus". They often occur in the section rt. V 1 sqq., which is devoted to a very detailed enumeration of all sorts of vessels which, among other things, were used for the washing of intestines and the sieving of the water used for this purpose. The instruments are always mentioned in the plural. Apparently there were four pieces, because in the passage rt. V, 28-29, it is said that time and again 4 instruments are used for the embalming of the Apis bull (*tn* 4 *r w' ntr*). A description of the instruments is not given.

Mond and Myers, during their excavations in the Bucheum, the burial ground of the sacred bull Buchis, uncovered a couple of bronze objects consisting of a hemispherical tank with a long connecting pipe (Fig. 8, p. 128). A similar object was found together with all kinds of embalming instruments during excavations by the Austrians at Thebes in a shaft which contained the embalming refuse of a certain Ankh-Hor (XXVIth Dynasty)[45]. We are concerned therefore with an embalming instrument that could be used for humans as well as animals. Mond and Myers presume that the instruments could have been a sort of clyster syringe, and suggested that the Horus copper could have been such an instrument. Now one cannot prove with absolute certainty that the Horus copper was a clyster syringe, but the details from our papyrus certainly make the proposition very attractive. In support of this we cite a number of facts which were also already partly recorded by Mond and Myers: (1) the Horus copper is mentioned among the vessels in which intestines are treated; (2) in conformity with its presumed nature the instrument is constantly cleansed (cf. rt. V 26, 28, 30, 33); (3) the jars in which the instrument is stored are all large enough to contain a clyster syringe as such (cf. rt. V 26, 28, 30, 33); (4) in the passage rt. V, 4-5, it is said that the instruments and the embalming materials which they contain (*nȝ iḫj.w ntj ḫn=w*) are placed in vessels *iw=w ʿḳ* (?) *n=w r bnr ḫn pȝ ḥn* "after they have come out of the abdominal cavity"; (5) finally, one reads in the passage rt. VI a, 9-10, that the instruments are filled with oil (*sf*).

[44] See Meeks, *Donations*, 14, n. 10; Caminos, *A Tale of Woe*, 19, with n. 6.

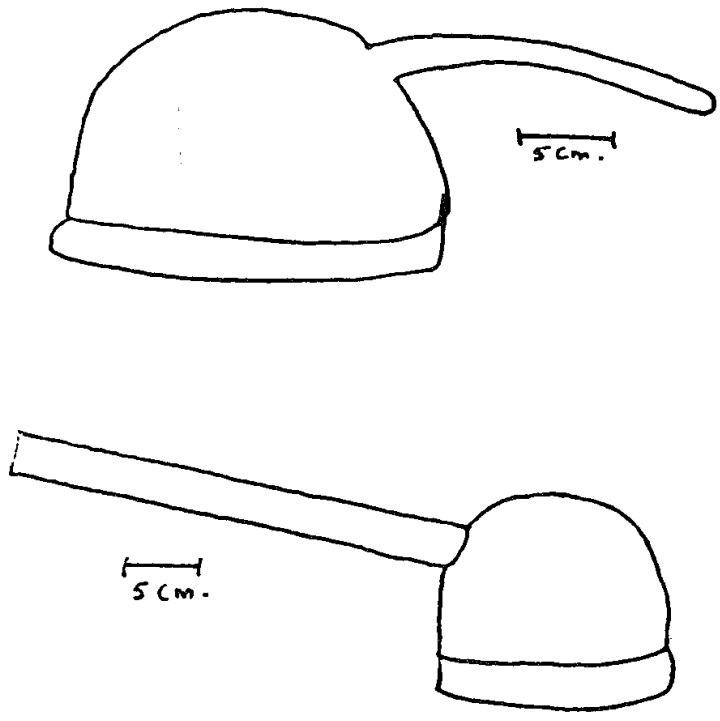
[45] See Ghalioungui, *The House of Life*, pl. 24; further: *Funde aus Ägypten*. Österreichische Ausgrabungen seit 1961. Katalog einer Sonderausstellung der Ägyptisch-Orientalischen Sammlung des Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (Wien 1979), p. 103, pl. 88; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des ʿAnch-Hor*, II, pl. 125 [Verlag der Öster. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Wien 1982].

In conclusion, we may suppose that with *nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr* "the (copper) instruments of Horus" four instruments were meant which were used to cleanse the interior mummy and to preserve it by introducing, with the aid of the instruments, oil and embalming materials[46]. According to Mond and Myers, the instruments were used for the embalming of the intestines *per anum* according to the second method of Herodotus. It is certainly not out of the question that the instrument could have been used for that purpose, but as far as our text is concerned that cannot be true as the intestines of the Apis were removed. Undoubtedly the instrument could also have rendered excellent service during the washing of the anal channel with water (see rt. III 9, n. 5).

## COMMENTARY

1. Undoubtedly one of the embalmers who embalmed the hind legs of the Apis. See rt. III 10, n. 2.

Fig. 8. Copper embalming tools (see Introduction, § 12, p. 126-128)




1. Horus copper (*ḥmt Ḥr*)

[46] Are the four instruments named after Horus to be connected with the four Canopic jars, the four covers of which represent the "four sons of Horus", and which were used to store the intestines?




2. Retractors (rt. III 9, n. 5)

## Rt. III 9

1. The embalmer is at the point of emptying the anus. This operation, because of its unmistakably impure nature, is carried out in secrecy in that the embalmer and the hindquarters of the bull are hidden from view by a cloth which covers them[47]. While emptying the anus the embalmer thrusts into the anus his arm as far as possible and explores the anal channel. He can then remove cloths and embalming materials left behind in the anus from an earlier stage, and treat the anus anew. For comparable operations with other body cavities (mouth, nose), see rt. II 11, n. 1.

2. The expression *ihj nb ntj nb* poses problems for us. One can take the word *ihj* in the concrete sense of embalming materials (det. ) which were used on an earlier occasion to embalm the anus. The words *ntj nb* "everything" can hereby be taken as a reinforcing expression, therefore: all the things (*ihj nb*) and everything (*ntj nb*), that is to say, all embalming materials which are present in the anus along with the previously mentioned *ḥbs*-cloths. In the comparable passage rt. II 11 *ntj nb* occurs as an independent expression alongside mummy cloths (*ḥbs.w*) and indicates embalming materials (cf. rt. II 11, n. 2). After the embalming materials had been removed they were stored away in vessels especially used for the purpose of storing remnants of the embalming materials (cf. rt. III 10, n. 1).

3. The text employs the adverb *n.im.w* "there", and not *n.im=s* "in it (*i.e.* in the anus)". For a comparable case, see rt. IV 9. The replacement of *n.im* + suffix by the adverb *n.im.w* (resumptive adverb) occurs in classical Egyptian (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3 §377, 1); I have no demotic examples at hand.

4. The embalmer thrusts his hand into the anus *š' pȝ* . "as far as the place that this hand may reach" = as far as possible; cf. the demotic parallel passages rt. II 10, vs. I 18, II a, 3, 14, in which the Hieratic "place" is rendered in Demotic as *mȝ'* "place". For the word ,

[47] The taboo is obvious and recalls the words of Herodotus II, 35, that the Egyptians relieved themselves indoors because they thought that distasteful (αἰσχρά) but necessary things had to be done in secrecy (ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ). See also Stricker, *Het Oude Verbond*, 26-27. Dirt and filth bring disorder, see M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 2, sqq. Cf. also *CT* spells 184-207 (the deceased refuses to eat faeces).

see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 318 ("Seite"). Pestman, *Textes démotiques et bilingues*, I, 76, n. 19; Coptic ϩο "place": Meeks, *Donations*, 73, n. 69.

5. If, as is probably the case, the interior of the anus, and not the entrance, is thoroughly washed with water, then it is not excluded that use is made of the Horus copper for this purpose; cf. Mond-Myers, *op. cit.*, I, 101. According to Mond and Myers use would have been made of a kind of retractors by which the anal channel could be internally widened. Similar instruments were excavated by them in the Bucheum. See Fig. 8, p. 129 and Mond-Myers, *op. cit.*, I, 102, 112; idem, *ibidem*, III, pl. LXXXVIII.

The anus, just like the intestines, is washed with water whose purpose is not only to cleanse but also the arouse the new life (see p. 31, with n. 35, 125-126). The water will have been caught in special vessels, exactly as was done with the water with which the intestines were washed; cf. rt. V, 14-15, 17-19. As vessels in which water was stored which may have been used for similar washings, *ḳll*-vessels are mentioned (rt. VI b, 2-3) and faience (*ṯḥn*) *bs*-vessels (rt. VI b, 12).

**Rt. III 10**

1. *Nms*-cloths and things (= embalming materials) from the anus are also mentioned in rt. IV 6, where they are stowed away, as embalming refuse, in a *hbn.t*-vessel. *Nms*-cloths from the anus are recorded separately in rt. V 20, where they are stored in *bs*-vessels. For shrines (*ḏj.w*) in which similar vessels with embalming materials are stored and which are under the supervision of *w'b*-priests, see rt. II 11, n. 4.

§ 13. (rt. III, 10-13)

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One of the embalmers who have embalmed the hind legs of the Apis now treats the tail. He anoints the tail with *sḳn*-ointment, wraps it in a cloth which is soaked in this ointment, and fastens the cloth with *nbtj.t*-bandage. He then wraps the tail in a second mummy cloth which is secured by 8 *pjr*-bandages. Finally, he bends the tail in accordance with ritual regulations against the right thigh (rt. III 12, n. 2).

The following operations on the tail are carried out jointly by the two embalmers of the hind legs. They fasten the tail to the right thigh and place a cloth over the front and hindquarters of the bull. While placing the cloths they carefully see to it

that the tail, as an important ritual part of the body, is not covered by a cloth (rt. III 12, n. 5).

By way of exception, there is no parallel chapter on the verso.

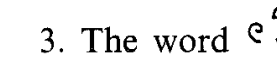
*Bibliography.*

Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, I, 63 [Spiegelberg's translation translated into English; Mond wrongly assumes that the chapter in question is a continuation of the treatment of the anus, a misconception which results from the fact that Spiegelberg did not understand the crucial word for tail].

## COMMENTARY

2. The words *kj ḫrj-ḥb* "the other embalmer" correspond with *w' ḫrj-ḥb* "one embalmer" in rt. III 8. For the expression *w' ... kj* = "one ... the other (of two)", see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, §241.

Undoubtedly the two embalmers of the hind legs are meant, one of whom is also charged with the task of embalming the anus, the other with the embalming of the tail. Presumably these two embalmers work together later during the securing of the tail to the right thigh and the placing of cloths on the body of the Apis. Mention is certainly made of a similar collaboration between these two embalmers in the passage vs. I, 6-7, where the embalmer of the tail assists the embalmer of the anus in his operations.

3. The word , demotic *wṯ3*  "tail" was not understood by Spiegelberg nor by Stricker, *OMRO* XXXIX (1958), 89. The meaning is established with certainty from the context of this chapter. Is the ancient word  (fem.) contained in *wṯ3* (masc.) "tail", in spite of the difference in grammatical gender (cf. *WB.* I, 279, 10: Name des Tierschwanzes am Königschurtz)? The word is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar.*

## Rt. III 11

1. The tail is anointed with *sḳn*-ointment and afterwards wrapped with a cloth which is soaked (*tḫb*) in this ointment. For the purpose of soaking mummy cloths, see rt. II 17, n. 1.

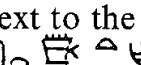
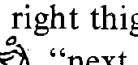
2. There is a previous mention of a *swḥ*-cloth in which the tail is wrapped, not of a *ḥbs*-cloth. Obviously the word *ḥbs* is such a general term to denote "linen", that it

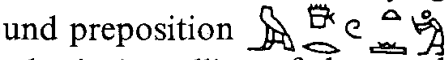
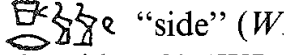
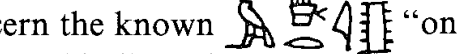
can be used in our papyrus to indicate any kind of cloth, such as a *sj.t*-cloth in rt. II 15 (with n. 1) and a *swḥ*-cloth here.

3. That is to say that the tail is wrapped in 5 *pjr*-bandages from the top to the middle and in 3 *pjr*-bandages from the middle to the base; cf. the wrapping of the horns and ears according to a similar method (rt. II 19, with n. 2).

## Rt. III 12

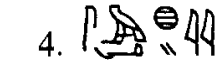
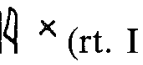
1. *iw=f ḏb3=f n.im=f iw=f wṯj=f* "he clothes it therewith. He wraps it". The embalmer covers the tail (*ḏb3=f*) with the said *ḥbs*-cloth (*n.im=f*) and wraps the tail (*wṯj=f*) afterwards in 8 *pjr*-bandages.

2. Cf. the demotic rendering of this sentence (rt. II 8): *iw=f dj.t iw p3 wṯ3 r twn t3 mnj.t wnm* "he makes the tail go next to the right thigh" in which the demotic *r twn* "next to" = the Hieratic  "next to" in the passage in question. According to Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 200, 2, the element *tw* in *r twn* must not be taken as "bosom" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 612, 1), but as  "support", "leg". The meaning "leg" fits our passage excellently, but we must bear in mind that this meaning is only secondary to "support".

As far as the Hieratic  is concerned, I have not succeeded in identifying this with a known word. It also occurs in the compound preposition  "next to" (rt. IV 10). Does it perhaps contain a (barbarian) spelling of the word  "side" (*WB.* V, 602, 1 sqq.), or does it concern the known  "on the side of" (*WB.* V, 598, 13-14). Dr Jac. J. Janssen kindly points out to me a possible connection with *ḏrw* "side (of a coffin)" (see his *Commodity Prices*, 233, n. 135).

In conclusion, it is important to notice that Mond and Myers, *op. cit.*, I, 58, have established that on mummies of the sacred bull Buchis the tail, as with the Apis here, was secured to the right thigh. We come across a similar case in vs. II b, 12, where during the embalming of the eyes the right eye is embalmed first. The explanation for the preference given to the right side over the left side is that the Egyptians considered the right to be the positive side, where life originates, whereas the left is the negative side, which represents death. Cf., for instance, *PT* § 730: raise from your left side, lay down on your right side. See also *PT* § 1747; Stricker, in: *OMRO* XXXI (1950), 101-102; Germer, in: *LÄ* V (1984), 191-192. The same preference can be observed with statues, like Shabtis and Osiris-statues, in which the arms are crossed, right over left. See Schneider, *Shabtis, I*, 167, with n. 21.

3. The securing of the tail and further operations in this chapter are carried out by several embalmers, presumably by the two embalmers of the hind legs (cf. rt. III 10, n. 2).

4.  (rt. I 6, III 12, 18, 25, 26 bis), demotic *sm'ḥj*  (rt. II 8, III 18) "to fasten": the word is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*. The *Wörterbuch* IV, 141, 12 wrongly identifies our word with a verb *smḫ3*: vom Berichtigen einer Handschrift (for this verb see Kaplony, in: *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 168, with n. 194). The meaning "to fasten" fits all the passages in which the word occurs in our papyrus. May one connect *sm'ḥj* "to fasten" with the noun *mḫ3* "band" and with the verb *mḫ3* "to bind", from which it could be derived as a causative (*WB.* II, 130, 1-4; Meeks, *Alex. I* (1977), 169 [77.1837/8])?

5. The embalmers place the cloths *t3 ḥ3.t p3 ḥ3* "on the front and the hindquarters", *i.e.* they place a cloth on the front of the mummy and another on the back. For the placing of this last cloth there is the instruction that it may not be allowed to cover the tail.

In the eyes of the ancients the tail was an important part of the body. Thus the Egyptian king attached a tail to himself whenever he took part in a cult and the Greeks observed the behaviour of the tail in the sacrificial fire and based prophecies on it. See Stricker, in: *OMRO* LV (1974), 142. Herodotus (II 38, III 28) points out that the tail of the Apis was examined for special marks. For this examination, see Pestman, *Recueil*, II, 117-121.

For the expression *t3 ḥ3.t p3 ḥ3* "on the front and on the hindquarters", see rt. III 16, 18. In the light of these parallel instances Spiegelberg's translation certainly seems incorrect: "Sie sollen die Stoffe der Vorderseite nach hinten legen".

6. For the verb *ḳlḥ* "to swathe", see rt. II 13, n. 2.

7. For *sṯr* (a kind of mummy bandage), see rt. II 19, n. 1.

## § 14. (rt. III 13 - IV 2)

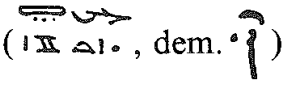
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The embalming is completed and the embalmers can now put the mummy of the Apis into the coffin. The difficulty here was how to lower the heavy mummy of the god into the coffin without damaging it. For this problem a solution was found as simple as it was ingenious, in the form of a board fitted with copper clamps. The embalmers bound the Apis onto this board with the aid of mummy bandages which they drew across the mummy and pulled through the clamps. After this they rigged the Apis with ropes which were drawn through the outer clamps of the board and lowered the mummy into the coffin by carefully letting the ropes run out (rt. IV 5).

The detailed technical description which the present chapter offers of the securing of the Apis to the board confronts us with serious problems. These problems would

perhaps have remained for the greater part insoluble had it not been that, through a fortunate coincidence during excavations in the Bucheum, boards belonging to the sacred bull Buchis were brought to light, allowing us to make an acceptable reconstruction of the board of the Apis and of the position of the clamps on it. See Fig. 9, p. 137.

*Bibliography*. Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, I, 58-61 [description of a few boards belonging to the Buchis and an English translation of the relevant sections from our papyrus with commentary based on Spiegelberg's translation; idem, *ibidem*, III, pl. XXXIII-XXXV, CXV-CXVII, CLXII-CLXV].

## The Board (, dem. )

### I. *The Buchis Boards*

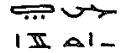
The Buchis boards which came to light during the excavations in the Bucheum were transformed by damp and the activities of white ants into such a deplorable state that they could not be properly studied. It is certain, however, that the boards were made from loose planks attached to each other by iron nails. As far as the type of wood is concerned, there is an indirect indication that cedar was used for the boards.

Mond and Myers could determine the measurements of only two boards: one is referred to as Baqaria no. 32 after the site (Baqaria) where it was excavated and which dates from Roman times. This board, of which only the width is given, presumably consists of four planks each 35 cms. wide, the total width of the board being 140 cms. The other board, Baqaria no. 14, measures 228 × 87 × 2.5 cms., and consists of 8 planks in total.

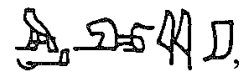
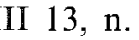
The boards, according to Mond and Myers, were fitted with 21 to 23 bronze clamps which were more or less shaped like the letter U (*op. cit.*, III, pl. CLXII-CLXV). The clamps were placed in such a way that they were to be found for the most part next to the trunk and on each side of the limbs, so that they were firmly held down to the board by the mummy bandages which were pulled through them. The clamps, with a few exceptions, were attached to the wood longitudinally in places which over a long period of time showed a striking uniformity.

As far as the position of the Buchis on the board is concerned, it is important to notice that the bull was supported in many cases by a large wooden block under the chest and by a small wooden block under the head. The tail was bent against the right thigh and the limbs, in the case of some mummies, were stretched as far as possible forward, in others left in their natural position.

II. *The Apis Board*

The term which is used in the text to indicate the Apis board reads , dem. *t3* , a word which perhaps can be connected with  "plank", and with  "table" or with *3tit*  (with variants) "(funerary) bed" (rt. III 13, n. 3). Just like the Buchis, the Apis lies on a board with both the head and chest supported by a support *wrs*  which ensured a stable position for the bull (rt. III 16, n. 2). The limbs were stretched as far as possible forward (rt. III 6, n. 2), and the tail was attached to the right thigh (rt. III 12, n. 2). The board rested on four stone blocks which facilitated the work on the mummy for the embalmers and at the same time offered the possibility of drawing mummy bandages under the board (rt. III 15, n. 2).

The board was made from western *mrj*-wood, an unidentified kind of wood red in colour (cedar?) in which, as appears from the qualification "western", more than one sort was distinguished (rt. I 4, n. 2). The measurements of the board are 245 (variant: 122.5) × 87.5 × 5 cms. (rt. I 4) and therefore differ, certainly as far as the width is concerned, not appreciably from those of board Baqaria no. 14 of the Buchis, which was constructed from 8 planks each 11 cms. wide. It is not ruled out that the two varying measurements represent two extremes, and that one length (245 cms.) indicates a board intended for an adult, medium-sized bull, the other (122.5 cms.) a board for a calf.

The board was fitted with 22 copper clamps, indicated as , dem. *m'rj.t*  (rt. III 13, n. 6). Only in a few cases, on the grounds of precise indications in the text, could the position of certain clamps be established with a reasonable degree of certainty; for the position of most of the clamps, however, we can attempt a reconstruction on the analogy of the Buchis boards. The result can be seen in the Fig. 9, A-D on p. 137. I have started from the rather safe presumption that the boards of the Apis and the Buchis would not have differed fundamentally from each other. There are two boards belonging to the Buchis which have served as a basis for our reconstruction: (1) Baqaria no. 14 (*op. cit.*, III, pl. XXXIV, 1-4; CXVI, 14); (2) Baqaria no. 23 (*op. cit.*, III, pl. CXVI, 23). I have given each of the clamps the same letter as Mond and Myers gave to the clamps in that position.

III. *Securing of the Apis to the board*

The mummy is tied to the board in two stages, each subdivided into 3 phases.

A. First stage of the fastening (rt. III, 21-25)

1) See Fig. 9 B. The body is secured with 2 *nbtj.t*-bandages on to the board.

Starting from clamps K and L the two bandages are each drawn around a shoulder, crossing zig-zag fashion over the back, via clamps O, Q, W and P, R, X respectively; they are then taken via the same clamps back to their starting point (rt. III, 20-21).

2) See Fig. 9 C. The body is secured again by two *nbtj.t*-bandages. This time the bandages start off at clamps $I_2$ and $H_2$ and run via the neck zig-zag over the back, through clamps M, O, Q, W and N, P, R, X respectively; they then return to their starting point via the same clamps (rt. III, 21-23).

3) See Fig. 9 D. The head is fixed with 2 *nbtj.t*-bandages on to the support. Starting from clamps $I_2$ and $H_2$ the two bandages run between the horns via the throat, along the head and again between the horns back to clamps D and C respectively (rt. III, 23-25).

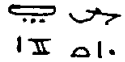
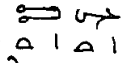
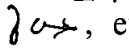
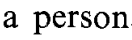
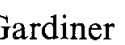
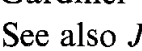
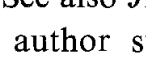
B. Second stage of the fastening (rt. III, 25-26)

Although the second stage is not described in detail, I assume that the Apis is secured to the board according to the same method (see rt. III 26, n. 1). Further, the feet and the limbs are fastened separately to the appropriate clamps (rt. III 26, n. 2).

After the fastening is completed the Apis is totally covered by a byssus cloth, and then, with the aid of the previously mentioned poles (*nm.w*), carried by the embalmers and *w'b*-priests from the Wrapping-Room to a place not closely defined, where the board with the Apis was temporarily allowed to rest on four stone blocks awaiting the moment when it will be lowered into the coffin (rt. IV, 1-2).

COMMENTARY

2. Perhaps they are the *w'b*-priests who carry the board inside and make it ready for the fastening of the Apis (cf. rt. I 1, n. 3).

3. The word  seems to be unknown from elsewhere (not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*), unless we assume that it derives from  "plank" (*WB.* V, 339, 13) and the connected , variants , , etc. (*WB.* V, 338-339) "table". Cf. Gardiner, in: *JEA* 24 (1938), 171. In a personal communication Dr. Jac. J. Janssen kindly refers me to a word *3tit* from which in his opinion our word *t3* most likely ultimately derives. The word seems to occur only in ostraca from Deir el-Medina in various spellings, of which the most common is  (feminine). Of interest to us is also the spelling of this word in O. Gardiner 151, vs. 1  and in the unpublished O. Varille 19, III, 10 . See also *JEA* 68 (1982), 255 and Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 239-240, where the author suggests that *3tit* is a variant for the Old Kingdom *3tt* "bed" (with curved tails) (*WB.* I, 23, 11-12) which during the New Kingdom denoted a funerary bed without curved tails.

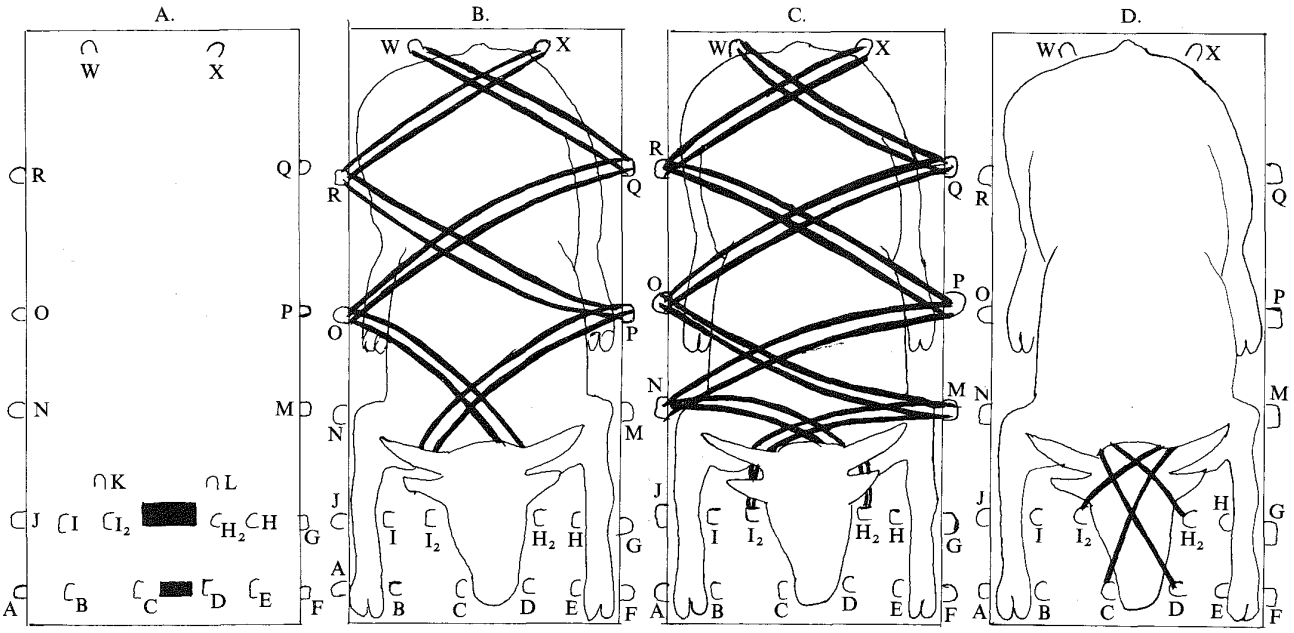



Fig. 9

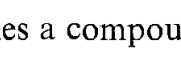
B. Stage I (rt. III, 20-21)
C. Stage II (rt. III, 21-23)
D. Stage III (rt. III, 23-25)

Measurements: 245 × 87.5 × 5 cms. (variant: 122.5 × 87.5 × 5 cms.)
Material: western *mrj*-wood (cedar?)

Supports: I. *p3 wrs ḥm* "the little support"
II. *p3 wrs '3* "the great support"

Clamps: C and D: *t3 m'rj.t 2.t n p3 wrs ntj ḥr ḥr n p3 ntr* "the two clamps of the support which are under the head of the god" (rt. III 24);
W and X: *t3 m'rj.t 2.t n p3 phw* "the two clamps behind" (rt. III 20 = rt. III 22);
$I_2$ and $H_2$: *t3 m'rj.t 2.t ntj t3 mtr.t p3 t3 ḥr t3 ḥ3.t* "the two clamps which are in the midst of the board in front" (rt. III 21).

4. The mention of the first day (*p3 hrw tpj*) is also found with certain tents (rt. IV 13, V 23), the board of the Apis (rt. II 2, III 13), the coffin of the Apis (rt. I 8), and with medicines (*phr.t*: vs. I 14, II a, 1). Along with medicines one also comes across the mentions of the 12th day (vs. I 14, 17). In all these cases the reference is undoubtedly to the day of the 70-day long embalming process on which the medicine or object was to be manufactured. Thus one can easily imagine that the manufacturing of an article such as the coffin of the Apis was started on the first day, so that it would be ready for the day that it had to be used (68th day).

5. . "after they had first covered it with a cloth", lit. "after having made (*ir* = infinitive) for it (scil. the board) covering, which they do (*iw.ir=w* = relative form) first (*t3 ḥ3.t* = adverb)". For the construction of the sentence one can compare the passage rt. IV 13 and vs. I 10. Spiegelberg translates "nachdem sie es an der Vorderseite mit Stoff versehen haben", and wrongly presumes a compound preposition in the form . Naturally the board is not covered only on the front with a cloth, but completely, as is presently apparent, when it is said that the clamps had to be allowed to emerge (*dj.t pr*) from the cloths in which the board was wrapped.

6. For *m'rj.t* "clamp" (not in *Wörterbuch* or Er., *Dem Glossar*), cf. Coptic ⲙⲣⲣⲉ "bond", "join" (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 182 a).

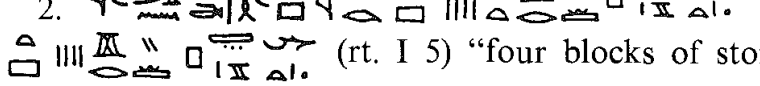
7. Mond and Myers, *op. cit.*, I, 60, remark that the clamps were frequently embedded in decayed linen, or appeared as bulges under it. It appears from our text that the cause of this was that the board had been wrapped with cloths and mummy bandages and also that cloths had been spread out on the board before the Apis was lifted onto it (following note).

## Rt. III 14

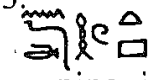
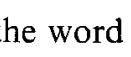
1. The embalmers completely wrap the body of the Apis with these cloths. In order to do so the cloths were spread out on the board before the mummy was lifted onto it. The actual wrapping in the cloths is described rt. III 16 (with n. 4).

## Rt. III 15

1. The poles (*nm.w*) specified in rt. I 5 are alluded to here. With these poles the Apis was carried into the Wrapping-Room to be placed on the raised bank of sand (rt. II, 4-9).

2.  (rt. III 15) =  (rt. I 5) "four blocks of stone are to be found under the

board". The four blocks made it possible to allow mummy bandages to be drawn under the board (rt. IV 1) and generally facilitated work on the mummy. In this connection one may recall the fact that embalming tables for human mummies were supported by blocks in a similar way; see *M.M.A. Bulletin* XVII (1922), Dec., part II, 34, Fig. 33.

The word  "block" is otherwise unknown to me (not in the *Wörterbuch*). The meaning is certain on the grounds of the context and the parallel passage rt. I 5, where the word is equated with  "block"; cf. *WB.* I, 71, 10, and Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 25: "*ifd* is the form in which the stone was quarried, namely a cuboid block".

**Rt. III 16**

1. It concerns 3 sets of *skr*-bandages which were fastened on each side close to the mummy ("under the god") to the poles, and finally tied at the back to ensure extra security for the Apis during the transport on the poles (rt. II 7, n. 3). What happens now with the *skr*-bandages is uncertain, because the lacuna in the text cannot be filled. One would expect the embalmers to secure the bandages again after the Apis is lifted onto the board in order to give the heavy mummy temporary support until it is completely attached to the rather narrow board. From rt. III 17, however, it would rather seem that the embalmers have loosened the *skr*-bandages. There it is namely said that one must fasten the *skr*-bandages again (*'n*) at the outside. Since one then allows the bandages to lie to the right and the left of the mummy there also seems to be no necessity to secure the mummy temporarily with *skr*-bandages.

2. On the board the Apis is supported by two supports (*wrs.w*) which assure the bull a stable position. These supports are mentioned in rt. I, 4-5; they are: (1) the large support (*wrs 3*) which is made of sacred *im3*-wood and which is placed under the chest. The support measures one divine cubit (52.5 cms.) in height (*k3*); (2) the small support (*wrs ḥm*) which is also presumably made of *im3*-wood and which is placed under the head. This support is 4 palms (30 cms.) high.

It is not clear from the text whether the supports were anchored in the wood of the board by nails or some other means. Perhaps it must be assumed that, through a combination of their own weight and that of the mummy, and also by the pressure of the mummy bandages which were later drawn over the head of the mummy, they stayed in place of their own accord.

From excavations in the Bucheum we know that the mummy of the sacred bull Buchis was supported in a similar way to that of the Apis, with a wooden block under the chest and a smaller wooden block under the chin. See Mond-Myers, *op. cit.*, I, 58.

For the word *wrs* "support", see rt. II 2, n. 4 and *WB.* I, 335, 9: die Kopfstütze (aus Holz oder Alabaster) zum schlafen.

3. "They make the board steady in front and behind". In their commentary accompanying this passage, Mond and Myers assume that either the separate planks of the board are attached to each other, or even more likely, that the supports are anchored in the board. Insurmountable objections, however, can be raised against both suggestions: (1) it is out of the question that the planks would have been attached to each other after the Apis had been lifted up unto the board. Moreover, the fact that the board was already wrapped in cloths clearly indicates that it was ready for use; (2) the supports cannot be meant, because these were only to be found on the front of the board under the chest and the chin of the Apis. As I see it, the embalmers had to ensure that the board was well-balanced on the blocks on the front and back, an interpretation which fits in well with the meaning of the verb *smn* "to remain standing", "not to move" (*WB.* IV, 134, 9 sqq.). The embalmers had to reckon in particular with the danger that the relatively narrow board would overturn under the heavy weight of the mummy if the blocks were not level.

4. The *bnt*-cloth and the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth were both made to measure beforehand; see rt. II 4. The measurements were 4.75 (variant: 6.30) × 1.75 for the *bnt*-cloth, and 3 × 1 (variant 1.75) metres for the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth. The cloths were spread out on the board before the Apis was placed on it (rt. III 14).

**Rt. III 17**

1. The *skr*-bandages were mentioned just a moment ago (rt. III, 15- 16). They are now apparently fastened to the poles again (*ʿn*), tightly against the mummy ("outside under the god"), and then temporarily laid to the left and right of the mummy until they are tied together on the back, which happens in rt. IV 1.

**Rt. III 18**

1. In the preserved text only the *nbtj.t iw smʿḫj* "*nbtj.t*-bandage for the fastening (scil. of the Apis to the board)" could come into consideration for the purpose mentioned here. This bandage, whose measurements are 100 m. × 3.70 cms, was referred to in rt. I 6. The other *nbtj.t*-bandages needed for the fastening of the Apis perhaps should have been recorded in the section of the present first column which has remained incomplete (rt. II 1, n. 1).

**Rt. III 19**

1. The *nbtj.t*-bandage is not recorded in the enumeration of embalming materials at the beginning of the text. The mummy bandage in question measures 120 divine cubits in length (approximately 62 m.) and will be divided into two equal pieces each measuring 60 divine cubits (31 m.). One *nbtj.t*-bandage of 60 divine cubits will be placed on the left side, and the other on the right side of the Apis, and both bandages will then be drawn zig-zag fashion via the clamps over the mummy.

1[a]. See rt. III 19, n. b.

2. For *sḳ* "to pull", see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 466, 2; Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 149, 2. From time to time the mummy bandages are firmly pulled before they are drawn over the mummy (rt. III 22, 23, 24).

**Rt. III 20**

1. Both *nbtj.t*-bandages are drawn over the mummy of the Apis. See Fig. 9 B. The right mummy bandage may have run via clamp L over the chest, around the left shoulder ("from right to left") to P, R and then on to X; the left bandage runs via K over the chest, around the right shoulder ("from left to right") to O, Q and then on to W. In favour of the assumption that clamps K and L served as starting points for the mummy bandages, see the following note.

2. Without doubt these are clamps W and X at the back of the board. The text refers to these clamps as *t3 k.t m'rj.t 2.t* "the two *other* clamps", where the word *k.t* "other" supposes the presence of two corresponding clamps. These corresponding clamps are probably K and L which are anchored in an analogous way on the opposite side of the board transversely in the wood, just like clamps W and X.

**Rt. III 21**

1. A problematic sentence which seems to specify the preceding one. See Fig. 9 B. Both *nbtj.t*-bandages return via clamps W and X over the back of the bull to their starting points on the front of the board (*r t3 ḥ3.t*). If I understand correctly, the mummy bandages run in reverse order from W and X via the same clamps as the first time, therefore ending up on top of the first layer of *nbtj.t*-bandages, and not underneath them as Mond and Myers state. This is alluded to with the words *ḥr n3j 'n* "on these (scil. first layer of *nbtj.t*-bandages) once again".

2. The two traverses meant are: (1) the traverse over the back which is described in the section rt. III, 21-23 (= Fig. 9 C); (2) the traverse whereby mummy bandages

are drawn between the horns and which is described in the passage rt. III, 23-25 (= Fig. 9 D).

3. This is one of the few places where the text defines the position of clamps on the board. Presumably we are dealing with clamps $I_2$ and $H_2$, and not with clamps C and D, as Mond and Myers think. These last two clamps are, for that matter, described in l. 24 below as the "two clamps of the support to be found under the head of the Apis".

**Rt. III 22**

1. See Fig. 9 C. Both *nbtj.t*-bandages run via the neck zig-zag across the back to the two clamps at the back of the board (W and X). With clamps $I_2$ and $H_2$ as starting points the bandages may have run as follows: the left mummy bandage from $I_2$ over the neck to M, O, Q, W, and the right mummy bandage from $H_2$ across the neck to N, P, R, X.

In contrast with the mummy bandages mentioned in rt. III 20 sqq., which run across the shoulders, these mummy bandages go via the neck of the bull. It is to be noted that the method followed here corresponds with the technique applied to the fastening of the Apis to the poles. There too the mummy bandages were first drawn over the shoulders and afterwards across the neck (rt. II, 7-8).

**Rt. III 23**

1. After having been tightly pulled (*sḳ m-šs*), the mummy bandages are returned in reverse order via the same clamps to their starting points, clamps $I_2$ and $H_2$.

2. See Fig. 9 D. If I judge correctly, here begins the last of the two traverses (*ḳt* 2) which were mentioned in rt. III 21. This traverse runs between the horns with the aim of pressing the head firmly down onto the support. The question is: which clamps form the starting point for the 2 *nbtj.t*-bandages: clamps C and D at the head support, or once again clamps $I_2$ and $H_2$? Assuming the latter, then the left *nbtj.t*-bandage may have run from $I_2$ between the horns via the throat (*ḫm-b*) along the head and back between the horns to D; the right bandage may have run from $H_2$ between the horns via the throat along the head and back again between the horns to C.

Of course there are other conceivable constructions for the course of the bandages. Mond and Myers assume e.g. that "bandages were probably taken up via $H_2$ and $I_2$, to avoid covering the face and to get greater tension. Probably they were taken over the head between the horns and back down to K and L, but probably a double traverse taking in M and N".

**Rt. III 25**

1. The aim of the process of securing with *nbtj.t*-bandages just described was to fix the head of the Apis firmly to the support (rt. III 23, n. 2).

2. The *nbtj.t*-bandage has not been previously mentioned. See rt. III 18, n. 1.

**Rt. III 26**

1. The first time that the Apis was fastened is described in great detail in rt. III, 19-25. In order not to revert to an equally lengthy repetition of this description, the scribe, by stating that the god is completely (*ḏr=f*) bound for the second time, briefly points out that the Apis is again fastened to the board according to the same technique. For this purpose use was made of the *nbtj.t*-bandages mentioned in rt. III 25. The two clamps are C and D, which were also the end points for the bandages with which the Apis was fastened for the first time (rt. III 24).

2. The feet and thighs were fastened separately to the clamps, the forefeet to clamps AB and EF, and the hind feet to clamps O and P; the thighs were bound to clamps R and Q.

**Rt. IV 1**

1. Mond and Myers are of the opinion that the cloth covered the entire mummy, and so passed under the board. This theory would seem to be out of the question because it is obvious from rt. IV 5 that the Apis was lowered into the coffin with the aid of ropes which were carefully eased out through the clamps. The outer clamps A, J, N etc. and F, G, M etc., which were used for this purpose, were on no account to be covered by a cloth.

2. For the transportation of the Apis use is again made of the poles (*nm.w*) which were placed under the board at the front, middle and back. To ensure safe transportation, the bull was secured to the poles with three sets of *skr*-bandages. The bandages were fastened to both sides of the poles and tied together at the back, in the course of which one ensured that the ends of the poles protruded amply from the bandages (*dj.t šm nm* 3 *iw bnr ḫn=w*), *i.e.* remained free of the bandages in order not to hamper the bearers during the transportation of the mummy (cf. rt. II 7, n. 3). For the rotary motion with which the *skr*-bandages were wrapped around the mummy, cf. *sḳrḳr*, Coptic ⲥⲕⲟⲣⲕⲣ "to roll": Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 150; Smith, in: *JEA* 61 (1975), 197-198. The word *skr* is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*, nor in the Berlin *Wörterbuch*.

**Rt. IV 2**

1. These supports (*wrs.w n ḥ*) are probably four blocks on which the board with the Apis was rested (*ḥ* "to stand", "to wait") to await the moment when the mummy would be lowered into the coffin (rt. IV, 3-4). The *wrs.w* "supports" which were placed under the head and chest could also have the shape of a block (cf. rt. III 16, n. 2). One may also compare the stone blocks on which the board rested in the Embalming-Room (rt. III 15).

§ 15. (rt. IV, 2-5)

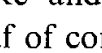
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The wrapping of the Apis is completed and we now come to the 68th day of the 70-day embalming ritual, traditionally the day on which the mummy is lowered into the coffin. The end of the wrapping process is marked by a ritual, whereby a cloth is torn as a sign of mourning. This ritual is enacted outside the Embalming House, and is for those who had remained at the entrance as a mark of devotion during the embalming, the signal to burst into loud lamentations (rt. IV 3, n. 1). Following this manifestation of mourning the Apis is lowered into the coffin (rt. IV, 3-4).

The coffin itself (*sḫ3.t* ) is a symbol of the god Osiris and as such the instrument *par excellence* to guarantee the rejuvenation and continued existence of the deceased[48]. This symbolism is also brought out in the rituals which are carried out in relation to the coffin:

1) Djed-pillars are placed at the front and rear of the coffin, emblems of the god Osiris, which bring about the resurrection of the Apis in a magical way (rt. IV 4, n. 1);

2) the coffin is covered with two cloths: (a) a *ḫrt*-cloth of blue linen (? *sšd*) whose symbolism is still unsolved; (b) a *kf3*-cloth of red linen (*ins*) which associates the Apis with the sun god Rē' and symbolises cosmic resurrection (rt. IV 4, n. 2);

3) an *isḫ*  "sheaf of corn" is tied to (*ts*) the coffin as a symbol of renewing life (rt. IV 4, n. 3);

4) finally two different types of oil are thrown over the coffin with the aim of bringing about the resurrection of the Apis (rt. IV 5, n. 1).

[48] A coffin is indicated by the Egyptians as *p3 nb 'nḫ* "the Lord of Life". See *WB.* I, 199, 14 and Heerma van Voss, *De spreuk om de kisten te kennen*, 67.

COMMENTARY

2. *i.ir=w ir nȝj ḏr=w* ... "all these things they do ...": for the construction of the sentence in which *nȝj* refers to operations carried out in the preceding section, see rt. III 5, n. 1.

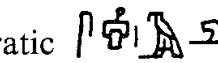
3. It seems, according to stelae from the Serapeum, that priests of Ptah carried out the embalming and burial of the Apis, and that the sacred bull's own priests played hardly any role during the ceremonies. Presumably, therefore, priests of Ptah are meant by the god's fathers (*it-ntr.w*) and prophets (*ḥm-ntr.w*) mentioned here; cf. Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques*, 127-128; J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 253 and 254 (with n. 1). This activity by priests of Ptah is not surprising when one remembers that the stable of the Apis lay a little to the south of the large Ptah temple, and that the Embalming House of the bull was situated in the south-western corner of the extensive temple complex (see map, p. 163). On a theological level, close ties existed between Ptah and the Apis, as appears from the fact that the Apis is frequently referred to as the "Ba of Ptah" and as "the son of Ptah"; cf. Otto, *Stierkulte*, 15 sqq.; Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 196 sqq.; Dorothy J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 114-115, 195, 197.

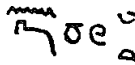
**Rt. IV 3**

1. The tearing of a cloth (*šʿt ḥbs*) is a ritual act which sets the mourning in motion. Plutarque (395 C) mentions the Osirian rite σχίσις λίνου "tearing of linen" in connection with the wrapping of Osiris but he does not elaborate on it. See Hani, *Religion égyptienne*, II, 539. The rending of clothing as a sign of mourning was in vogue with many peoples of the Ancient Near East, e.g. the Persians and Jews[49], and this custom undoubtedly also existed in Egypt, although concrete examples are more difficult to cite than they are for the peoples mentioned[50]. The ritual in question was probably enacted outside the Embalming House (by the Overseer of the Mystery as the leader of the Ritual?). This would explain the reaction of the priests (l. 2) who stood waiting in mourning outside the Embalming House. In support of this theory is the fact that temple regulations forbade mourning in a sacred place (the Embalming House) and therefore also the performance of actions connected with mourning (see rt. I 2, n. 4).

[49] See Herodotus, III 66, VI 58, VIII, 99; Genesis, 37:34; II Sam., 3:31, 13:19.

[50] An example is *ʿOnchsheshonqy*, X, 13: *ḥmj iw bn iw=f mwt pȝ ntj iw=j pgȝ n=f pȝj=j ḥbs* "ah may he not die for whom I tear my clothing" (Stricker; thus also Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, 167). Glanville translates: "ah may he not die to whom I have opened my heart (*pgȝ pȝj=j ib*)". See also Diodorus Siculus I, 72 ("For when any king died all the inhabitants of Egypt united in mourning, rending their garments..."). See also Griffith, *Rylands*, III, 233, n. 15.

2. *sḫ3.t* , variant *sḫ3(.t)* , Hieratic  "coffin". The word is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar* nor in the Berlin *Wörterbuch*; cf. Coptic ⲥⲁϩ "coffin": Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 151, 3.

3.  "sledge". Spiegelberg's translation "bier" does not fit in with the verb *3ṯḥ* "to drag". The word is otherwise unknown to me (not in the *Wörterbuch*).

**Rt. IV 4**

1. The djed-pillar is an Osirian emblem which is attached to the coffin as a symbol of resurrection and durability. See Kees, *Götterglaube*, 97-98; Hornung-Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, 169 (with references). One may compare in this respect the shrine in which the Apis is carried and which shows in open-worked rows above one another the alternating symbols  and  (for the shrine in question, see rt. IV 15, n. 1). For the alternating djed and sa-signs which adorn the sides of naoi, see *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2 (1980), 84, n. 2.

2. The two cloths with which the coffin is covered will not only have served a practical purpose (*i.e.* the covering of the coffin), but will also have had a certain symbolic significance, for in the Ritual every action and object had a magical-religious meaning associated with it. The most obvious demonstrable is still that for the *kf3*-cloth. This cloth, otherwise unknown and mentioned only here in the papyrus, is made of *ins*-linen which is known to be red in colour[51]. Now, as the specific colour of the god Seth, red can signify mischief[52], but the same colour can also possess positive properties[53] and symbolise life[54], have apotropaic powers[55], or express joy and victory[56]. As far as the *ins*-linen itself is concerned, which was specially provided for the embalming by the House of Life (*pr ʿnḫ*)[57], this was sometimes associated with the sun god Rēʿ, as is apparent from Pap. Salt 825 (Derchain, *loc. cit.*) and from the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth[58]. Com-

[51] *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 126-127 (with bibliography).

[52] Kees, *Farbensymbolik*, 456 sqq.

[53] Morenz, *Palette*, 11 (1962), 6 a.

[54] Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 239. Greeks and Romans also associate the colour red with, on the one hand, death and the underworld, and on the other, they consider it a symbol of life. Cf. Wunderlich, *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer*, 1925 (*RGVV* XX, 1). In this respect it is perhaps worth mentioning that from the XXIth Dynasty onwards it was not unusual for mummies to be painted red; see Smith-Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*, 120.

[55] Borghouts, *Magical Texts*, 43-44 (n. 21).

[56] Cf. Edfu VI, 137: Horus is represented as a ruler attired in red.

[57] Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, 149.

[58] Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, II, 117 (scene 52).

bining all these details it seems probable to me that the cloth of red *ins*-linen was meant to bring out that the Apis had triumphed over death in the solar sense, and had risen, just as Rē‘ triumphs daily over death and rises again.

Matters are far more difficult with regard to the *ḫrt šs-nsw n sšd* already mentioned among mummy cloths in rt. II 1 which were brought into the Wrapping-Room. Perhaps this cloth is blue in colour; cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 465, 4: *sšd* "blauer Leinenstoff" (meaning uncertain and apparently based on the context in Pap. Berlin 8351, 4, 13 and the Magical Papyrus of London & Leiden, 3, 34). I do not know what special symbolic value is to be attributed to this cloth. According to Kees, *Farbensymbolik*, 464-465, blue, the colour of lapis lazuli, is used to represent the bodies of the gods Amun, Rē‘-Harachte and Osiris, but does not play a role as a symbolic colour. According to Baines, however, the colour blue has more symbolic value than any other colour[59]. Perhaps — but in view of all the uncertainties this is no more than a hypothesis — the blue (?) *sšd*-cloth, as the counterpart of the red *kfȝ*-cloth[60] which has solar associations, is to be connected with Osiris, the god of resurrection[61].

3. *išḫ* : this concerns an object which is attached to the coffin and which is of vegetative nature (determinative of the plant). If the word, as is probable, may be derived from *ȝsḫ* "to reap", "to harvest" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 11, 8), then we are probably dealing with a corn sheaf which, as vegetation emblem of the god Osiris, symbolises the resurrection of the Apis and fits in well with the earth-nature of the bull (see Kristensen, *Symbool en Werkelijkheid*, 148). This corn sheaf recalls the moon-shaped sheaf of corn which one sees illustrated in Theban Graves above pictures of the winnowing of corn and which is identified with the so-called "corn bride" which nowadays the fellahin make out of ears of corn and hang on their doors either to protect the hearvest before they begin to reap, or as first-fruits offering; see the Velde, in: *LÄ* II (1977), 2.

## Rt. IV 5

1. The treatment of the coffin with ointment serves no other purpose than to bring about the resurrection of the Apis. For regeneration of the dead with the aid of ointment, see *PT*, utterance 637 (= §1800 sqq.); Hornung - Staehelin, *Skarabäen*

[59] *SAK* 3 (1975), 18-19 (with bibliographic references).

[60] It is worth noticing that the shrine, which has been published by Sami Farag and in which the mummy of the Apis is carried, shows traces of red and blue painting; see Sami Farag, in: *JEA* 61 (1975), 165 and rt. IV 15, n. 1.

[61] According to Kristensen the woven garment, and in particular the *sšd*-cloth, is the emblem of resurrection. See Kristensen, *Het Leven uit de Dood*, 55 = idem, *Symbool en Werkelijkheid*, 115 sqq.; see also Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 59; Zeinab el-Kirdy, in: *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, 125-133.

*und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, 141; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 647-648.

2. The sentence concerning the removal of the ropes does not seem to be in place here; one expects it earlier at the beginning of l. 4, because the ropes would have been removed directly after the Apis had been lowered into the coffin and would not have remained until all the rituals described in this chapter had been completed. The ropes in question passed through the outer clamps of the board to which the Apis had been fastened in order to lower him safely into the coffin.

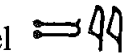
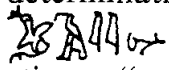
§ 16. (rt. IV, 5-8)

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After the Apis has been lowered into the coffin the Embalming House is tidied up. Remnants of embalming materials and parts of the body removed in the embalming process (intestines and hoofs) are permanently stowed away in two *hbn.t*-vessels. These vessels are each stored separately in a shrine (*kȝ*), which is in control of a *w'b*-priest. One of these shrines is covered with blue linen (? *sšd*) and is under the supervision of a *w'b*-priest who is swathed in red linen (*itmj*). The other shrine is covered with red linen (*itmj*) and is under the supervision of a *w'b*-priest clad in blue linen (? *sšd*). The symbolic significance of these intriguing proceedings is highly uncertain (rt. IV 8, n. 1). The shrines are carried in a large procession in which the Apis is transported to the Serapeum to be buried in one of the underground sepulchral chambers. To await this procession the shrines are temporarily placed in a tent (*ḏt*) specially erected for this purpose in the vicinity of the stable (rt. IV 9, n. 4).

COMMENTARY

3. Both shrines are mentioned in rt. II 1.

4. The vessel , , as appears from the determinative, is made of wood, and may probably be identified with the known  "Behälter aus Holz (für Speisen, Früchten)": *WB.* V, 349, 5-8; cf. Coptic ⲭⲓ "a (wooden) receptacle" (Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 308). See also Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 204-205: the word *ṯȝj* seems to vary in meaning between basket, box and container. It is made either of fibres or of wood, the latter sometimes rather expensive (*mrj*-wood or ebony). The *ṯȝj* can sometimes be a shrine-shaped chest (so here?).

## Rt. IV 6

1. For *nȝ sw'b(.w) nȝ tp.w ˁ.wt* "the purified parts of the intestines", see the introduction to the chapter dealing with the embalming of the anus (§ 12, p. 125).

2. For the large and small claws or hoofs (*jb.w*), removed in an early stage of the embalming process and replaced by (golden?) artificial hoofs, see rt. III 6, n. 4.

3. Compare rt. III 10: embalming materials (*iḫj.w*) and *nms*-cloths used in the embalming of the anus are stowed away in a boat-shrine (*dj*), which is under the supervision of a special *w'b*-priest. In rt. V 20, mention is made of 20 *bs*-vessels with *nms*-cloths left over from the embalming of the anus.

## Rt. IV 7

1. For the *hbn.t*-jar, see *WB.* II, 487, 13-19: Art grosser Krug. Both *hbn.t*-jars are used for the permanent storage of the remnants of *nms*-cloths and embalming materials (*iḫj.w*), and also for the storage of parts of the body removed during embalming (entrails and hoofs). It is notable that for the storage of parts of the body no so-called Canopic jars are mentioned, the more so as we know that the Apis bull could have had similar jars at his disposal[62]; cf. *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 113, n. 18 and Commentary, p. 126 (with footnote 43). For the *hbn.t*-jar in connection with the storage of entrails see *GM* 52 (1981), 57.

The question arises whether the *hbn.t*-jars can be identified with the two jars of the same name from the beginning of the text which were separately stored in a chest of *ḳd*-wood (rt. I 7). These *hbn.t*-jars are indeed, just like those in question, destined for the storage of embalming materials (*iḫj.w*) and *nms*-cloths. The objection to an identification is perhaps that, in the case of the *hbn.t*-jars from the beginning of the text, no explicit mention is made of parts of the body of the Apis, and that the measurements of the jars suggested in that passage seem rather small for the present purpose (rt. I 7, n. 2).

## Rt. IV 8

1. The linen with which the shrines are covered is mentioned at the beginning of the text among the materials which were brought into the Wrapping-Room; cf. rt. II 1: *ḳbȝ.t n sšd itmj wbȝ nȝ kȝ.w* "a *ḳbȝ.t*-cloth of blue (?) linen and (a *ḳbȝ.t*-cloth)

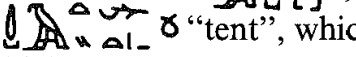
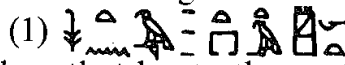
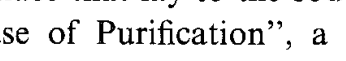
[62] For Canopic jars of the sacred Mnevis bull, see the picture in: Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, III, pl. CX, fig. 2. Hitherto no Canopic jars of the sacred bull Buchis have come to light; see idem, *ibidem*, I, 79.

of red linen is for the shrines". For *ḳbȝ.t*, a linen cloth of large dimensions, see rt. I 1, n. 5.

The priest who is swathed in red linen (*itmj*), and who enters the shrine covered with blue linen (*sšd*) (and the reverse), undoubtedly has symbolic significance. The coffin of the Apis was also covered with a red and a blue cloth. If our hypothesis concerning the symbolic meaning of the colours of these cloths is correct (rt. IV 4, n. 2 *in fine*), the rite could point to the religious conception of the solar- Osirian union and to the cyclic resurrection of the Apis symbolised by it. For solar- Osirian rites, see p. 160-162.

§ 17. (rt. IV, 8-12)

CONTENTS

This chapter first continues the description of the tidying-up of the embalming materials and of objects used in the embalming. It concerns a bed (rt. IV 8, n. 2) and a number of *hnbj.t*-vessels, vessels of large dimensions, which perhaps contained natron (rt. IV 9, n. 1). In relation to the clearing away of the embalming materials mention is made in passing of the erection of a  , a building whose nature and destiny is unknown, and of a  "tent", which was built already on the first day of the embalming and which was destined, among other things, for the shrines with embalming refuse mentioned in the section rt. IV, 5-8. The tent was built exclusively for the embalming of an Apis bull, on average about once every 18 years, and dismantled again after it had served its purpose. It is therefore not surprising that the text gives minute instructions concerning the place where the tent should be set up (rt. IV, 9-10). Through these instructions we become acquainted with two buildings whose location with regard to the tent and the stable is described (see map, p. 163). They are: (1)  "The palace of the Kings", an otherwise unknown palace that lay to the south of the stable (rt. IV 9); and (2)  "House of Purification", a building otherwise known, in which the Apis undergoes a solar purification ritual before he is transferred to the Embalming House (rt. IV 10, n. 3).

The text then describes how one entered the stable via a door in the eastern wall, either to tidy it up, in the same way as was done a little earlier with the Embalming House, or to inspect it, if we assume that the stable was tidied up almost immediately after the Apis had been taken to the Embalming House. The mention of the eastern door of the stable provides an occasion to describe a solar ritual which symbolises the re-birth of the Apis. The text namely recounts that the newly (= re-born) Apis who was discovered (*gm* "found") in Amasis' 24th regnal year

(546 B.C.) came out via this door (epiphany of the god), while the bull that died in year 12 of Apries (577 B.C.), led by two *w'b*-priests via the western door, was transferred to the Embalming House (rt. IV 11, n. 1). An inscription for the deceased Apis was placed on this occasion on the western wall of the stable, probably recording, in the form of an epitaph, the bull's most important data (rt. IV 12, n. 3).

In conclusion, it is important to note that both Apis bulls linked with the rituals described above date from the XXVIth Dynasty, which may point to the fact that the ceremonies go back to that period in which animal worship rapidly achieved popularity.

## COMMENTARY

2. *str.t*  "bed". The meaning of the word seems reasonably certain; cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 481[63]. I do not know on which occasion the bed was used. The word only occurs here in the text.

3. *iw=w š't=w* "they cut ... (?)": Spiegelberg translates "Sie sollen sich (?) schneiden", with reference to Diodorus I 83, where it is described how one beat one's chest as a sign of mourning during the lamentation of sacred animals (τὰ στήθη καταπληξάμενοι). I do not actually believe that the link which Spiegelberg makes between our passage and that of Diodorus indeed exists; for this purpose the verb *š't* "to cut" differs too much in meaning with the καταπληξάμενοι of the Greek author. I consider it equally unlikely that gashes (*š't*) were applied to the body as a sign of mourning, a ritual which is repeatedly warned against in the Old Testament and by which the stream of blood serves as life's blood for the deceased (e.g. *Leviticus* 19: 28, 21: 5; cf. *Odyssey* XI, 36, 96); see *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 9 (1973), 482-485. To my knowledge such self-mutilation does not occur among the Egyptians, on whose mourning customs we are rather well informed. Indeed, Herodotus (II, 61) speaks of self-mutilation at the mourning for Osiris in the city of Busiris, but he explicitly records that it was done by Carians and that it was thus evident that they were strangers and not Egyptians. Besides, mourning ritual of whatever nature hardly seems in place in a section of text which describes the tidying-up of embalming materials. Has a sentence perhaps been omitted in which things were recorded to which the suffix *=w* in *š't=w* could have referred?

[63] The reference *WB.* IV, 392, 11 cannot be adduced, since the translation "bed" is problematic. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 158, proposes to take this example in the sense of "sleeping-mat".

**Rt. IV 9**

1. Does this refer to the 300 *hnbj.t*-vessels enumerated in rt. II 2 among goods which were brought into the Wrapping-Room? The *hnbj.t*-vessel was used for the storage of natron in solid form (rt. II 2, n. 2). Are we concerned here with surplus natron, of which vast quantities were used in the embalming of the Apis, as would appear from a stele of Nectanebo? See Spiegelberg, in: Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1907-1908, 92, l. 9 (= Daressy, in: *ASAE* 9 [1908], 156, l. 9).

2. For  (demotic *m3ʿ*) "place", see rt. III 9, n. 4.

3. No previous mention is made of shrines belonging to certain gods. Is this an allusion to shrines in which the images of the gods are to be found and which will later be transported in the procession to the Sacred Lake (rt. IV, 16-17)?

4.  "tent", var.  (rt. IV 21), demotic *ḏt*  (rt. IV 24, V 23). From the writing it would appear that we are dealing with a tent made of a wooden framework () and covered with linen (). For the fitting-up of the tent 5 papyrus mats (*sḳ ḏwf*), measuring 6 × 6 divine cubits (approx. 3 × 3 m.), were used (rt. IV 24). The tent was already built on the first day of the embalming process (*p3 ḏt p3 hrw tpj*: rt. IV 23) in the vicinity of the Apis temple (rt. IV, 9-10). Shrines containing Canopic material were placed in the tent (rt. IV, 5-8) and presumably also the coffin with the Apis on the god's return from his procession to the Sacred Lake (rt. IV 21, with n. 1). The large procession in which the Apis is transported to the Serapeum starts from the tent.

Stricker, *OMRO* XLV (1964) 47 connects the word *ḏt* "tent" with *ḏ3dw* "Hal" (*WB.* V, 527). One would be more inclined, however, to connect the word, by which the tent is defined, with *ḏ3ḏ3* "Gebäude vor dem Tempel (als Haltepunkt der Prozession oder als Ziel derselben)": *WB.* V, 532, 6-7. The *WB.* definition suits the purpose of the tent admirably, but the structure of the tent opposes the identification if we accept what is said by Christiane Wallet-Lebrun in her study of the *ḏ3ḏ3* (*Varia Aegyptiaca* 3, Number 1, April, 1987, 67-83). She reached the conclusion that the *ḏ3ḏ3* is a "terrasse", "plateforme surélevée", appelée "tribune du quai" (p. 75), definitely stating (p. 74) that there is "absence d'indication de la possibilité, même pour le dieu, d'y pénétrer (il se tient devant lui, ou dessus)".

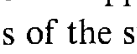
5. *p3 kp šʿ* "the canopy of fir-wood": for *kp* "vaulted place", "canopy", see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 536, 2 and Sauneron, in: *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 9-10; Coptic ⲕⲏⲡⲉ, Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 61, 1. Germer, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, 12, sqq. hesitates between identifying *šʿ* with a fir-tree (Abies ciliata) or with a cypress (Cupressus sempervirens). According to her the wood was imported from the Lebanon and Syria in the shape of long trunks and

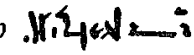
therefore very well suited to building purposes. For ʿš "fir-tree" see also Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal* (*British Museum Publications Limited*, 1989), 64-65. However, A. Nibbi (*Discussions in Egyptology*, 7 [1987], 13-27), states that *ʿš* probably denotes a pine, a favourite wood for building boats, and she emphatically rejects the general view that it was imported from Lebanon. Instead she suggests the wood originated in El Gibali, south-west of Lake Timsa.

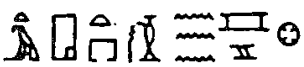
6. For  "on the side of", "next to", see rt. III 12, n. 2.

7. For the location of this palace to the South of the Apis stable, see map p. 163. In the area concerned, which belongs to the farmland of the Mit-Rahineh population, no excavations have been carried out, nor is anything known about a palace, which according to written sources, should have been situated here.

**Rt. IV 10**

1. See map p. 163. Relatively little is known about the sanctuary of the Apis. We know from Herodotus (II, 153) and Strabo (XVII, 1, 31) that the stable was to be found a little to the South of the large Ptah temple (Hephaesteum). Herodotus relates that Psammetichus I (664-610) extended the stable on the northern side by adding a court (αὐλή) which was entirely surrounded by columns, and the roof of which was supported by columns 12 Greek yards high (approx. $5\frac{1}{2}$ m.). Strabo records that another stable was built in the court (σηκός), housing the mother of the Apis, and that at set times the Apis was allowed to walk around the court to be shown to the public, which otherwise could see him through a window (θυρίς) in the stable. Our text supplies this information by mentioning doors in the western and eastern walls of the stable and a  "corridor" (?). For the Apis stable see also De Meulenaere, *Herodotus over de 26ste Dynastie*, 44-46; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 99-182*, 135-136. [*ÉPRO* 43]; *JEA* 76 (1990), 141-147. According to Hermann (*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 3 [1960], 39) the temple complex of the Apis, as described by Herodotus, is depicted on a marble relief in Rome showing a portico with the Apis next to it. See also *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (*LIMC*) II, 1 (1984), 181 (Q); Dorothy J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 9, 10, 14, 18, 190, 192, 197, 199, 206.

2. *t3 s.t Ḥp*  'the place of the Apis", *i.e.* the temple complex including the stable of the Apis = τὸ Ἀπιεῖον (*Rosettana* 33). See Reich, in: *Mizraim* I (1933), 12, n. 2.

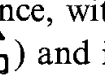
3.  "the House of Purification": in his thoroughly documented article on the Apis, Vercoutter relates every detail to determine the nature of this building[64]. According to Vercoutter the Apis would not have been trans-

[64] Vercoutter, in: *LÄ* I (1975), 346-347.

ferred to the Embalming House immediately after his death, but would have first been subjected to a process of purification which took place in the so-called "tent of purification" (*ibw*). As proof of this he quotes a passage from two stelae of an Apis who died in the year 30 of Ramses II: *wḏȝ ḥm n Ḥp r ḳbḥ.t r ḥtp w'b.t* "the Majesty of the Apis went to the *ḳbḥ.t* to rest (afterwards) in the Embalming House". Vercoutter points out that one should not take *ḳbḥ.t* for a synonym of *p.t* "heaven", as Otto (*Stierkulte*, 19) does, and even less as a definition of a sacred lake, as Chassinat does; the latter, in doing so, thought he had found proof for the correctness of the view of some classical writers that the Apis would have been ritually drowned after a period of 25 years (the so-called Apis-period)[65]. In this context the word *ḳbḥ.t* is more likely to mean "place of purification" (derived from a stem *ḳbḥ* "to purify") and synonymous with *ḥ.t ḳbḥ* in Pap. Vienna 482.

If the facts are not misleading and if Vercoutter is right, then the Apis, just like a human mummy, would have been subjected to a process of purification immediately after death, consisting of a ritual washing identifiable with the solar bath, a process which removes physical and moral impurity and rejuvenates[66]. In opposition to Vercoutter, I propose that this purification process was enacted in the *ḥ.t ḳbḥ* (cf. the writing of this word), and not in the Purification Tent (*ibw*) which was built on the first day of the embalming process on the shores of the Lake of Kings (see § 18 = rt. IV, 12-14). The *ḥ.t ḳbḥ* was situated close to the stable and is undoubtedly identical to the building of the same name mentioned in the said Pap. Vienna 482 and which appears to be located close to the stable[67].

## Rt. IV 11

1. The construction of the sentence, with a demonstrative () which stands in apposition to a substantive () and is followed by a relative form (), is know from Late-Egyptian, see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, ²§ 126.

The stable has doors in the western and the eastern walls. These doors are used in the same way as the doors of the Purification Tent for a solar ritual of resurrection (cf. rt. IV 14). After death the Apis is namely carried out of the stable via the western door, in order to be transferred, after a short visit to the House of Purification (*ḥ.t ḳbḥ*), to the Embalming House, while the newly discovered (= reborn) Apis appears, following his enthronement, to the people via the eastern door; cf. Hani, *Religion égyptienne, II*, 399-400 (with references); Chassinat, *Mystère, II*, 625. Of this epiphany of the god, which will have been attended by great joy

[65] Chassinat, La mise à mort rituelle d'Apis, in: *Rec. Trav.* 38 (1917, 33-60); see also *RdÉ* 41 (1990), 210.

[66] Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17 a*, 64-67. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an der Sonnengott*, 192, n. 6, 292, 317.

[67] Brugsch, *Dict. géographique*, 826. Gauthier, *Dict. géographique*, IV, 135.

(Herodotus, III, 27), we presumably find an authentic representation in the ritual feast in the temple of Ne-User-Re[68].

The rituals just described can be associated with two distinct Apis bulls: one which died in the 12th year of the Pharaoh Apriës (577 B.C.) and another which was discovered in the 24th year of Amasis (546 B.C.), *i.e.* two Apis bulls that lived during the XXVIth Dynasty[69], as becomes apparent from the list below which is based on epitaphs preserved from that time[70].

## XXVIth Dynasty (664-525 B.C.)

1. Grave stele of the 1st Apis of the XXVIth Dynasty (*Rec. Trav.* 22 [1900], 19, LXI; Breasted, *AR* IV, 492, §959-962).
Born in the 26th year of Taharka;
Enthroned on the 9th day, 8th month, 26th year of Taharka;
Died on the 20th day, 12th month, 20th year of Psammetichus I;
Buried in Psammetichus' I 21th year, 2nd month, 25th day.

2. Grave stele of the 2nd Apis of the XXVIth Dynasty (*Rec. Trav.* 22 [1900], 166, LXXXIX; Breasted, *AR* IV, 493-494, §963-966).

3. Grave stele of the 3rd Apis of the XXVIth Dynasty (*Rec. Trav.* 22 [1900], 20-21, LXIV; Breasted, *AR* IV, 497-498, §974-979; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 155).
Born in Psammetichus' I 53rd year, 6th month, 19th day;
Enthroned in Psammetichus' I 54th year, 3rd month, 12th day;
Died in Necho's II 16th year, 4th month, 16th day;
Life span 16 years, 7 months, 17 days.

4. Grave stele of the 4th Apis of the XXVIth Dynasty (*Rec. Trav.* 22 [1900], 167, XC; Breasted, *AR* IV, 501-503, §984-988; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 155).
Born in Necho's II 16th year, 2nd month, 7th day;
Enthroned in Psammetichus' II 1st year, 11th month, 9th day;
*Died in Apriës' 12th year, 8th month, 12th day* (= rt. IV 10);
Buried in Apriës' 12th year, 10th month, 21st day;
Life span 17 years, 6 months and 5 days.

[68] von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re*: Beiblatt A. Besuch der Apiskapelle (68 sqq.).

[69] For the dates which I use for the XXVIth Dynasty, see Parker, The length of Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, in: *MDAIK* XV (1957), 208-212.

[70] See Erica Schlott, Eine datierte Apisbronze, in: *RdÉ* 19 (1967), 92-93.

5. Grave stele of the 5th Apis of the XXVIth Dynasty (*Rec. Trav.* 22 [1900], 20, LXIII; Breasted, *AR* IV, 513-514, § 1008-1012).

Born in Amasis' 5th year, 1st month, 7th day;
Enthroned in Amasis' 5th year, 10th month, 18th day;
Died in Amasis' 23rd year, 9th month, 15th day;
Life span 18 years and 6 months.

XXVIIth Dynasty

1. Grave stele of the 1st Apis of the XXVIIth Dynasty (Posener, *Première Domination Perse*, 30-35; text 3).

Born in Amasis' 27th year;
Buried in Cambyses' 6th year.

The Apis bull which according to our text died in Apriës' 12th year (rt. IV 10) was therefore the fourth bull of the XXVIth Dynasty according to the list above. The bull which according to our text was enthroned in Amasis' 24th year (rt. IV 11), is, as far as I know, an Apis bull not certified by epitaphs, which can only have lived for 3 years in the period between the death of the 5th Apis bull of the XXVIth Dynasty (Amasis' 24th year = 546 B.C.) and the birth of the first bull of the XXVIIth Dynasty (Amasis' 27th year = 543 B.C.).

**Rt. IV 12**

1. *I.e.* the door in the western wall of the stable; see the introduction to this chapter.

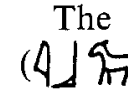
2. Does this allude to the two *w'b*-priests whose ritual dressing and special function as supervisors of the two shrines containing Canopic material and parts of the body are separately pointed out in rt. IV, 5-7?

3. By analogy with the Apis stelae enumerated in rt. IV 11, n. 1, the inscription will have recorded the most important data of the bull: birth, enthronement and death. The inscription will have been added to an already existing list in the corridor by the western door.

4. , cf.  (with var.: *WB.* IV, 472, 5), Coptic ϣⲟⲉⲓⲙ (Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 242) "corridor", "passage (round the sanctuary)".

§ 18. (rt. IV, 12-14)

CONTENTS

The chapter in question describes the construction of a Purification Tent () on the shores of the Lake of Kings. The tent is built from poles spanned with linen and has an entrance on the western side and an exit on the eastern side. These two openings or doors are associated with a solar ritual of resurrection by which the Apis is brought in via the western entrance and leaves it re-born via the eastern exit (rt. IV 14). During his stay in the Tent the Osirian ritual of the Opening of the Mouth is performed on the Apis (rt. IV 19).

*Bibliography*: Grdseloff, *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt* [the author on pages 47-48 gives a transcription with translation and evaluation of the content of our chapter]; Drioton, in: *ASAE* XL (1940), 1007-1014 [adds to Grdseloff's conclusions]; Selim Hassan, in: *Excavations at Gîza*, IV, 1932-1933, 100 [transcription and translation borrowed from Grdseloff]; Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques*, 53 sqq.; Brovarski, The Doors of Heaven, in: *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 107-115; Hoffmeier, Origins of the tent of purification, in: *SAK* 9 (1981), 167-177.

See map p. 160. The basic study of the purification tent is the monograph by Grdseloff which appeared in 1941 and in which he studies six of these tents on the basis of pictures in burial scenes from the time of the 6th Dynasty. Summarised, the results of his investigations are as follows (*op. cit.*, 22): the tent is oblong-shaped, with an opening or door in both longitudinal sides, and is always built in the immediate vicinity of water. Two parallel-running paths connect the water with the said doors. The tent itself, which has no roof, consists of poles on which mats are hung by way of partition. In the middle of the tent there is a separate space which is partitioned off by mats or curtains and in which the ceremonies are carried out on the two occasions that the body remained in the tent. On the first occasion the body, before being taken to the Embalming House, is submitted to a ritual washing process. During the second stay, immediately after the completion of embalming, the Osirian rituals of the Opening of the Eyes and the Opening of the Mouth are performed.

In a kind of appendix at the end of his study, Grdseloff discusses our chapter and remarks that the priests, while still familiar with the ancient rituals connected with the purification tent, no longer understood them well; in particular the sequence of the rituals would not have been clear to them. Is Grdseloff correct in his remarks or has he given in too rashly to the tendency to explain departures from the canon in a late text like ours as a misunderstanding of ancient rituals? In order to answer this

question, let us compare the results of his study, as summarised above, with the course of events in our text. In the first place, we establish that the tent of purification, in accordance with regulations, is built in the vicinity of water (the Lake of Kings), and has the necessary two side doors. Grdseloff devotes not a single word in his study to the ritual significance of these doors. It is, however, apparent from our text that they are considered cosmic doors by means of which the transition from death (represented by the left or western door) to life (the right or eastern door) was effected[71]. Hoffmeier and Brovarski have both argued that the idea of the doors in the tent of purification as cosmic doors (*ꜣ.wj p.t* "the two doors of heaven") is very ancient and goes back to conceptions in the Pyramid Texts, according to which the deceased king enters the Field of Rushes (*sḫ.t iꜣrw*) by a door in the western heaven, *i.e.*, in the symbolism of our text, the tent of purification which in ancient times was made of mats of rushes. After purification in the Field of Rushes the king enters heaven by a door in the eastern sky, where he is welcomed by Rēʿ, the sun-god.

As far as Grdseloff's main objection is concerned, *i.e.* the incorrect sequence of the rituals, he made the mistake that Vercoutter was to make after him, namely to conclude, on the grounds of the passage rt. IV, 12-13, that the rituals had already taken place on the 1st day of the embalming in the tent (rt. IV 13, n. 1). It would appear, however, from rt. IV 19, that this is not the case, and that the Apis was subjected to the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth only *after* embalming was completed. It is certainly true (and here the text differs from the canon) that the solar purification which the Apis undergoes immediately after death does not take place in the tent of purification (*ibw*), as in earlier times, but in the House of Purification (*ḥ.t ḳbḥ*: rt. IV 10, n. 3). However, one can clarify this deviation as an innovation which does not otherwise affect the nature of the rituals with regards to sequence and significance.

## COMMENTARY

### Rt. IV 13

1. The sentence does not mean that the ceremonies already take place in this tent on the first day of embalming, as Grdseloff and Vercoutter assume, but that the tent was built on the first day of the embalming process so that it would be ready for use in time. Thus reference is made to the coffin of the first day (*tꜣ sr.t pꜣ hrw tpj*) and to the board of the first day (*pꜣ tꜣ pꜣ hrw tpj*). See rt. III 13, n. 4.

[71] One may compare in this respect the symbolic meaning of the door in the western and eastern wall of the stable of the Apis (rt. IV 11, n. 1) and of the door of the Embalming House (rt. IV 20, n. 2).

2. Lake Abusir, which is not too far removed from the sanctuary of the Apis, is undoubtedly meant by the Lake mentioned here, on which the Apis sails in a papyrus boat while nine sacred books are read out (rt. IV, 18-19). Spiegelberg (p. 19, n. 7), in my opinion rightly, associates the Lake with the Ἀχερουσία λίμνη in Diodorus I, 96, over which the mummy sails before being transferred to the necropolis. See also Anne Burton, *Diodorus Siculus Book I*, 276-277. The Lake is also mentioned in texts from the Serapeum. See Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques*, 53 R; Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an*, 106, n. 216. See also Dorothy J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 12, 22-23, 142, 199, 201, 203.

3. *t3j=f nw.t* "his grave" (lit. "his town"): with hesitation, and for want of anything better, I follow Spiegelberg's translation (p. 19, with n. 5). Grdseloff and Selim Hassan translate "his chapel".

4. For *t3j-wt̲j* "Ritual of the Amulets", see vs. II b, 5, n. 2.

5. *m-s3 sbt t3j=f nw.t ... iw.ir=w t3 ḥ3.t* "after having equipped his grave first" (lit. "after having equipped his grave ... which they do first"). For the construction, in which *iw.ir=w* is to be taken as the relative form and not as the emphatic present (2nd Present) by way of an introduction to a new sentence, as Spiegelberg, Grdseloff and also Selim Hassan translate, see rt. III 13, n. 5.

**Rt. IV 14**

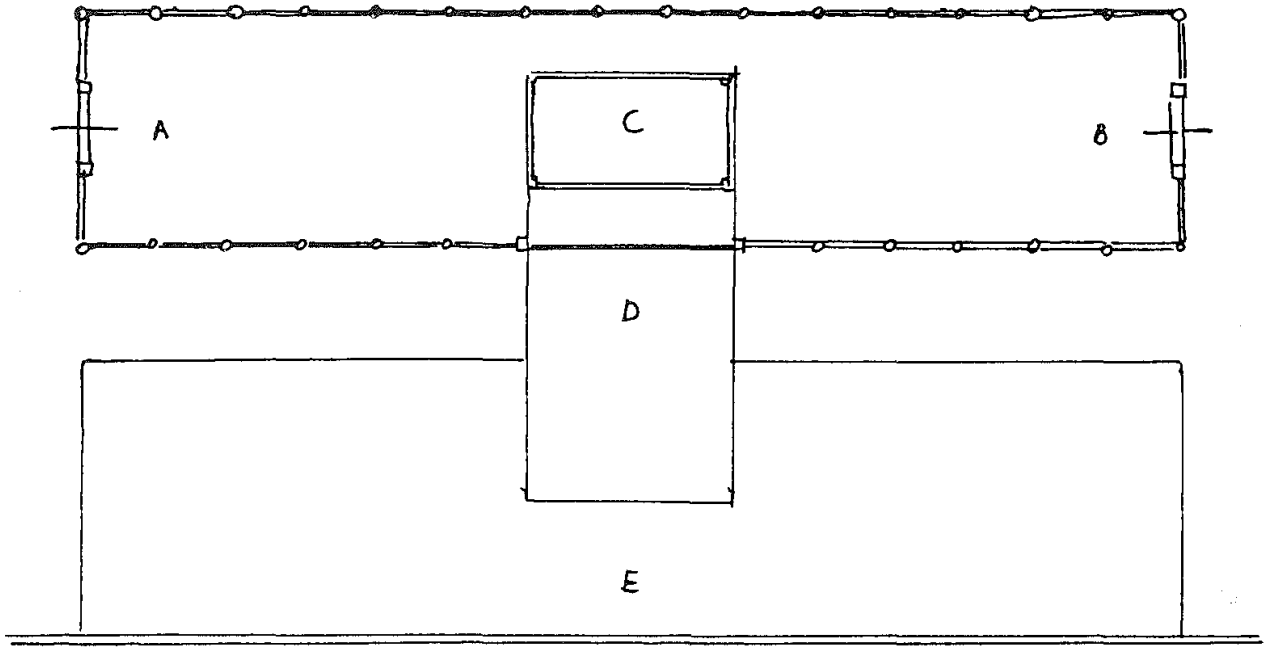
1. For *ir ḥ3.t̲* "be first", see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 289 (= Pap. Berlin 8345, A, 2).

## §19. (rt. IV, 14-20)

### CONTENTS

After the long digression of the section rt. IV, 5-14, the scribe returns to the interrupted story of the Apis itself. Two priests, whose title I have been unable to decipher (rt. IV, 14, n. d), are brought to the Embalming House and, with the help of a rope, pull the coffin containing the mummy of the Apis outside. Outside the Embalming House their task is taken over by *w'b*-priests who accept the rope from the hands of the "Great Ones of the House of the Inundation of the Nile" (rt. IV 16, n. 1) and, amid loud lamentations, place the coffin in all probability in a boat which is put on a wagon (rt. IV 15, n. 1). The Apis is then transported to the Lake of Kings in a procession attended by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys and headed by the god Wepwawet of Upper Egypt and the god Wepwawet of Lower Egypt, Horus and Thoth. On arrival at the Lake the Apis is lifted up onto a raised platform of sand with his face pointing southwards (rt. IV 17, n. 3). Priests climb

Ground-plan of a Tent of Purification ()[72]




A. Western entrance (place of death)
B. Eastern exit (place of life)
C. Shut off central room, destined for ceremonies
D. Quay
E. Water

into a papyrus boat in which they sail across the Lake while reading from nine sacred books. The Apis is then transported to the tent of purification (*ibw*) where he undergoes the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth (rt. IV 19). After this ritual the Apis returns to the Embalming House[73].

This would seem to be an appropriate place to penetrate the meaning of the rituals just described. A good starting point for this is the procession in which the Apis is transported to the lake. Bleeker once strikingly described the procession as "eine Dramatisierung der mythischen Wahrheit, nämlich des Aufgangs und des Triumphes des göttlichen Lebens"[74]. Kristensen too supplies examples to prove that the procession or pomp is a depiction and ritual realisation of the emission of divine life[75]. Seen in this light, we are in the first place dealing, in the case of the

[72] After Grdseloff, *op. cit.*, 11.

[73] The stele SIM. 4119 also mentions the ritual. See the publication by Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques*, 48-58. It would seem from our text that the Apis, after his stay in the tent of purification, was not immediately transferred to the Serapeum, as Vercoutter seems to think, but returned to the Embalming House.

[74] Bleeker, *Die Geburt eines Gottes*, 70.

[75] Kristensen, *Symbool en Werkelijkheid*, 304 sqq.

Apis, who has become an Osiris (*Wsir-Ḥp*), with an imitation of the ritual pomp which depicted the resurrection of Osiris and which took place during the drama of the Osiris mysteries. This thesis becomes a strong probability if we compare the authentic report of the Osirian procession which has come down to us, with that of the Apis, and in so doing look out for the unmistakable points of resemblance.

The report in question is recorded on the stele of a certain Ikhernofret, a high-ranking official from the 12th Dynasty, who was sent to Abydos, the city of the god Osiris, by order of Sesostris III (1879-1841?) to organise the mystery festivals of the god[76]. The deity, during the pomp or great procession (*pr.t ʿ3.t*), is transported in a portable shrine presented as the cabin of the *nšm.t*-bark (rt. IV 15, n. 1) which is under Thoth's leadership (rt. IV 17) and preceded by Wepwawet, the "Opener of the Ways" (rt. IV 16). When Seth and his henchmen attack the bark a heavy battle ensues in which, although he is not mentioned by name, Horus too undoubtedly takes part, defeating the enemy and avenging his father Osiris (rt. IV 17). After his victory, Osiris, aroused to new life, returns in triumph to his temple, accompanied by a jubilant throng.

We have, then, good grounds to interpret the procession of the Apis as an episode from the drama of the vegetation god Osiris, in which the resurrection of the god is made manifest. A new light is thrown on this by a passage from Clement of Alexandria (2nd century A.D.), *Strom.*, V, 7, 43, 1-3. According to Clement, four golden statues are carried along in Egyptian processions — two dogs (which, according to some, symbolise the two hemispheres, and to others the two tropics), a falcon and an Ibis. If we connect this passage of Clement with our text then it is not difficult for us to identify Wepwawet of Upper Egypt and Wepwawet of Lower Egypt with the two dogs, which, according to Clement are symbols of the tropics or hemispheres[77]. The falcon is undoubtedly Horus as a symbol of the sun, and the Ibis Thoth who represents the moon. Seen in this light, our procession could be a depiction of the journey of Rēʿ in the sun-boat, the route followed by the procession representing the path of the sun-god. The procession then would symbolise cosmic resurrection. To modern eyes this is in conflict with what we said at the beginning, namely that the procession is an Osirian ritual of resurrection. But is it not typically Egyptian to see a solar as well as an Osirian ritual in the procession of the Apis[78]? In any case it fits in excellently with the ritual sailing of

[76] See Anthes, Die Berichte des Ichernofret über das Osirisfest in Abydos, in: *Festschrift des Berliner ägyptischen Museums*, 15-49. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, 35-36. For two stelae from the Middle Kingdom in which references to a similar mystery festival appear, see Cairo nos. 20538 and 20539 (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 68, no. 13; Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, part II, Catalogue Général, 145-158).

[77] See Deiber, *Clément d'Alexandrie et l'Égypte*, 61; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, 216-217 has a different interpretation.

[78] The union of the gods Rēʿ and Osiris in a syncretistic way is a well-known theme in the theological

the Apis over the Lake, in which that dualism is also represented. Indeed the bull (= Osiris) sails over the mystery pond like the sun-god Rē‘ sails over the Nun or primeval waters. The papyrus boat (*wjȝ*) of the Apis is identical to the sun-boat in which Rē‘ becomes entangled in a struggle with the snake of the primeval waters, Apopis (rt. IV 18). This battle and the ultimate victory (= resurrection) is reflected in the books which are read out during the sailing across the Lake. These books have a predominantly Osirian character (rt. IV 18, n. 2). In this connection the second title "The Protection of the divine Bark (*nšm.t*)" is of interest to us. The text of this book has been handed down to us in full, and from it we know that Osirian and Rē‘ notions run together (rt. IV 18, n. 4).

Summing up, I think I may conclude that the rituals described in this chapter are a dramatic representation of those which took place in prehistoric times between (1) Osiris and Seth and (2) Rē‘ and Apopis, and that they symbolise the resurrection of the Apis in both a cosmic (Rē‘) and a vegetative sense (Osiris).

## Rt. IV 15

1. The coffin is hauled out of the Embalming House and then dragged into (*iṯḥ iw ḫn*) another place, the nature of which is not specified in the text. The most acceptable supposition still seems to me to be that the Apis is placed in a mobile shrine in which he could be safely transported to the Lake. Here one thinks of illustrations which show the recumbent Apis in a shrine which is placed in a boat resting on a undercarriage with weels[79]. Presumably this shrine is the σχέδια on which, according to Plutarchus, *de Iside et Osiride* (cap. 35), priests transported the mummy of the Apis (θαπτόντες τὸν Ἆπιν ... ὅταν παρακομίζωσιν ἐπὶ σχεδίας τὸ σῶμα)[80].

The transportation of mummies in similar shrines is quite common. Then indeed the boat is identified with the *nšm.t*-bark of Osiris, in which the god is victorious over his enemies and rises again; cf. Kristensen, *Symbool en Werkelijkheid*, 190 sqq.

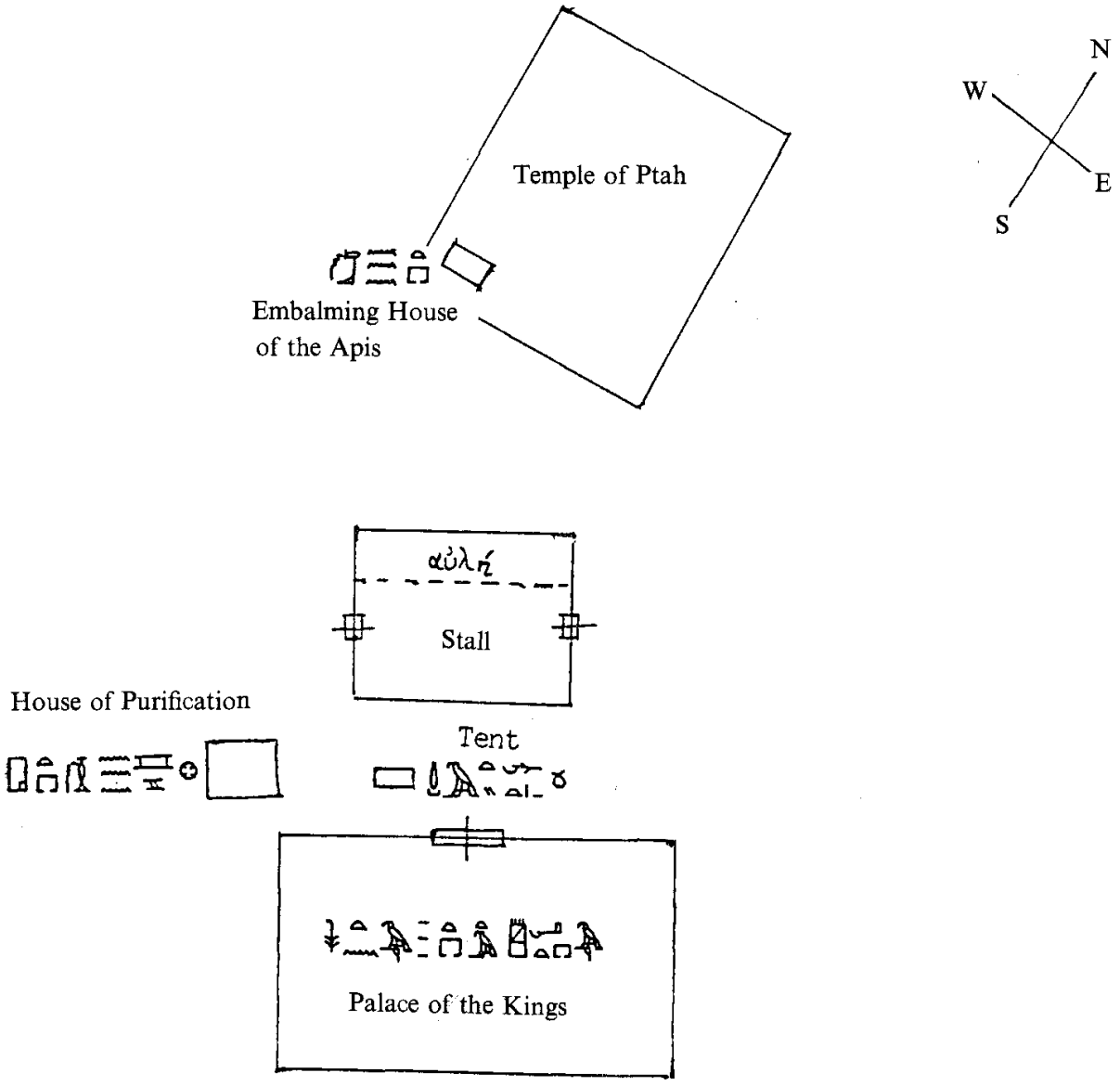
2. The question arises what is meant by *pr-wr* "big house". Initially I thought it

speculations of the Egyptians and in iconography; see, for instance, the exposition on the subject by Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 85 sqq., and by Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 42-46.

[79] See Sami Farag, Two Serapeum Stelae, in: *JEA* 61 (1975), 165-167 (with pl. XXIII, 1); Erman, *Religion*, [2] 191; Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, III, pl. CIX, 1 = idem, *ibidem*, I, 80; Petrie, *Memphis*, IV, pl. 31; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 35[a]; Raven, *Papyrus, van bies tot boekrol*, 65, pl. 53; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren, *Apis I*, pl. 47-51 [ÉPRO 48]; Quaegebeur, in: *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, 175, n. 92; *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC), II, 1 (1984), 178 (illustration 19), 179 (illustration 20); Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98*, p. 287 [ÉPRO 43]; Crawford, in: *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, p. 5, with n. 4. [*Studia Hellenistica* 24, 1980]. *JEA* 34 (1948), pl. XVII, 4.

[80] For σχέδια as a means of transport on wheels (ὑποτρόχος), see Liddell & Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v.

Fig. 11. Topography of the stall of the Apis (rt. IV, 9-10)




For this map, see Petrie, *Memphis*, pl. I.

could be taken as the boat-shrine in which the Apis was transported to the Lake. For the boat cabin of similar shrines, in which the mummy is to be found, is often referred to as *pr-wr*, the ancient shrine of the goddess Nekhbet of Elkab[81], and Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 111-112, describes the *pr-wr* as a shrine. Indeed we may point to the fact that the coffin of Tutankhamun is surrounded by five shrines, the second and the third shrines of which imitate the shape of the *pr-wr*. This seemingly attractive solution for the nature of the *pr-wr*, however, is not tenable in the light of the parallel passage rt. I 3, in which the Apis is definitely to be found in the Embalming House. On these grounds we should take *pr-wr* as a definition of the

[81] Kristensen, *Symbool en Werkelijkheid*, 190 sqq. (with plates).

Place of Embalmment. The determinative 𓉐 suits this point of view (rt. IV 15) and kristensen, *loc. cit.*, has made it clear that *pr-wr* can be an expression for "realm of the dead" (= Place of Embalmment).

It is worth noticing that the Place of Embalmment is referred to as *pr-wr*. Another important room in the Place of Embalmment is the *wsḫ.t* (rt. IV 20). We know that both *pr-wr* and *wsḫ.t* represent essential parts of the funerary temples of pyramids, in which the king is victorious over his enemies (see Arnold, in: *MDAIK* 33 [1977], 6 sqq.) Do the terms *pr-wr* and *wsḫ.t* convey the same ritual meaning in the case of the Apis? This supposition would well fit in with the fact that the entrance of the Place of Embalmment is identified with the *sbḫ.t ȝḫ.t*, *i.e.* the place where the sun-god rises after defeating his enemies (rt. IV 20, n. 2).

## Rt. IV 16

1. On the premise that our reading is correct (rt. IV 16, n. b) then in the passage concerned certain priests of the Inundation of the Nile should be involved here in the removal of the coffin from the Embalming House, *i.e.* that they haul the coffin out of the realm of the dead. After the Apis has returned from sailing over the Lake and arrived back at the door of the Embalming House, the same priests throw a brick in front of the coffin as a symbol of resurrection. It is notable that priests of the Inundation of the Nile are involved in these rituals. This involvement is perhaps accounted for by the fact that the Egyptians indeed associated the Apis, as a god of fertility, with the flooding of the Nile[82]. In particular, it should be remembered that a newly discovered (= re-born) Apis bull first paid a visit to *Pr-Ḥ'pj* before being transferred to Memphis for his enthronement[83]. See also Bonneau, *La crue du Nil*, 221-222; Dorothy J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 196.

2. According to mythical tradition the goddesses Isis and Nephthys assisted in the embalming of their brother Osiris (the Apis = Osiris) and as wailing women wept over the god. They now accompany the Apis on his journey to the Lake, fulfilling their role of wailing women. Wilcken, *UPZ*, I, 20, has identified the so-called δίδυμαι in Greek Serapeum texts with the two goddesses[84]. So too has Hopfner, *Tierkult*, 21 b. Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, 331, n. 2, calls this identification into question, because in his opinion the δίδυμαι would have had too low a

[82] Otto, *Stierkulte*, 25.

[83] The position of *Pr-Ḥ'pj* (the island of Rôda?) is disputed. For recent discussions, see Anne Burton, *Diodorus Siculus*, 246 (localisation in the area of Ater-en-Naby); Schlott, *Ausmasse Ägyptens*, 93-96 (identification with Heluan opposite Memphis); Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, Bibliothèque d'Étude, vol. LXX (1976), 221 ("situé sans doute au sud de *Ḥr-'ḥȝ* ... proche de Giza").

[84] See Crawford, in: *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, p. 9 (with references). [*Studia Hellenistica*, 1980, vol. 24]; Dorothy J. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 341, *s.v.* twins.

social status to play the role of wailing women. From a theological point of view the lamentations over the dead are meant to restore to life: lamentation and resuscitation go hand in hand. See van der Leeuw, *Godsvoorstellingen in de oud-aegyptische pyramidetexten*, 68-70; Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, 61; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98*, 152-153 (with references).

As a symbol of their actual assistance in embalming Osiris (= the Apis) the goddesses carry *bs*-jars containing natron which was an essential product at the embalming as a purifying agent, and linen pointing to their role as spinners of the linen for the mummy of Osiris; see Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 36 D (showing Anubis standing over the mummy on the couch, while Isis and Nephthys are standing at the top and at the feet with linen in their hands), and Münster, *op. cit.*, 150; cf. also *Magical Papyrus of London & Leiden*, 6, 12: art thou the cloth of byssus of Osiris, the divine floating One, woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of Nephthys?

**Rt. IV 17**

1. The two Wepwawets can be compared with the two dogs in the passage from Clement of Alexandria mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. Furthermore, the two wolves (λύκοι) can be referred to which, in Herodotus' account (II, 122) of the feast in memory of the descent of Rampsinitus into the underworld, show the priest the way to the temple of Demeter (= Isis). Either the two Wepwawets were priests with masks, as Hopfner, *op. cit.*, 54 (footnote) believes[85], or they were represented by standards on which their images and those of the other gods were carried in the procession; cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, and Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, 215. Compare also the depiction of an authentic procession in Werbrouck, *Pleureuses*, 104: the mummy is transported in the cabin of a boat-shrine which is placed on a wagon. The two wailing women Isis and Nephthys are in the boat-shrine while the priests walk in front carrying standards to which the images of the gods taking part in the procession are affixed.

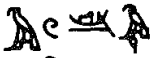
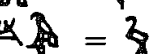
2. *I.e.* a bier on which the image of Ptah was carried? For the special relationship between Ptah and the Apis, see rt. IV 2, n. 3.

3. In their cosmographic orientation the Egyptians considered the South to be the principal direction and the front of the world. The South also plays an important role in ritual, namely that of the Opening of the Mouth; see Meeks, *Donations*, 82, n. 94; Chassinat, *Mystère, II*, 631, 776. For the ritual significance of the raised platform of sand, see rt. I 1, n. 1.

[85] Compare also the priests wearing the mask of Anubis (*Anubiaci*): see Smelik and Hemelrijk, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, II, Principat*, 17, 4 (*Religion*), p. 1949 (with references). Hani, *Religion Égyptienne*, II, 683, sqq; Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 393-395.

4. Before the priests go on board they perhaps first address the boat with texts which resemble chapters XCVIII-CII and CXXXVI from the Book of the Dead. By reciting these texts the deceased was assured of having at his disposal a boat in the netherworld and especially a place in the boat of the sun-god Rē‘.

**Rt. IV 18**

1.  = Dem. *pȝ wtn ḏwf* (rt. IV 17) "the Bark of Papyrus"; for  =  as a definition of the sun-boat, see *WB.* I, 271, 8 sqq.; Maspéro, *Études*, I, 374, sqq. and *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2 (1980), 92 (with n. 21); Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques*, 49, Texte, l. 8, p. 54. n. S.

2. Goyon explains that two categories of ritual books were known in Egypt: (1) the Royal or Osirian books which can be typified as apotropaic books for protection against the enemies *par excellence*, Seth and Apopis; (2) the *Sȝḫ.w* "Glorifications", books which were used at the mystery of the resurrection of Osiris and which helped the deceased to be transformed into a *ȝḫ* "spirit", who would remain in eternal bliss in the Hereafter[86]. Inspecting the list of book titles which are read on behalf of the Apis, both categories appear to be represented. For obvious reasons there is a clear predominance of books which offer protection against enemies (first category)[87].

3. For the term  "Ritual", "Ceremonies", see Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques*, 18, n. A.

4. The text of the book in question has come down to us. The enemy of the boat is Seth, whose attacks are presented as crimes committed against Osiris as well as Rē‘. For the text of the book, see: Goyon, Textes mythologiques I. "Le livre de protéger la barque du dieu", in: *Kêmi* 19 (1970), 23-65.

**Rt. IV 19**

1. Cf. the book  "Ceremony of the Glorification of Osiris", whose text has survived. See the publication by Goyon, Le Cérémonial de Glorification d'Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I 3079 (colonne 110 à 112), in: *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 89-156.

2. The title of the book seems to occur in the catalogue on the walls of the library

[86] Goyon, La littérature funéraire tardive, in: *Hommage à Jean-François Champollion; textes et langages de l'Égypte Pharaonique*, 73-81. [*IFAO*, bibliothèque d'étude, t. LXIV, 3].

[87] For a translation of the book titles in our papyrus, see also Weber, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift- und Buchwesen der alten Ägypter*, Inaugural-Dissertation (Köln, 1969), 128.

(*pr-mḏ3.t*) of the temple of Edfu. See *Edfu* III, 347-348; Brugsch, in: *ZÄS* 9 (1871), 44-45.

3. Cf. *WB.* IV, 220, 15. The verb *śḥr* is used in the sense of "warding off evil", in this case of course the evil that the enemies (Seth and Apopis) intend to commit. Thus the verb *śḥr* is used in connection with Thoth who drives away (*śḥr*) the wicked ones from him who is in the *nšm.t*-boat and protects (*mk*) the *wj3*-boat (cf. book title VI of the list); see Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes*, 1933, pl. 22, p. 39 sqq.

4. Cf. *WB.* II, 49, 4.

5. The number four, corresponding with the four heavenly zones, is the sacred number which indicates perfection. In the ritual the number plays an important role, as is apparent from the fact that ritual acts are preferably repeated four times (as is the case here); cf. Kees, *Götterglaube*, 168. See also Stricker, in: *De Maat der Dingen*, 229, 244. [Mededelingen der Kon. Ned. Akad. van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, vol. 39, no. 7].

6. For the expression *ir irw nb mj ntj iw ḥbj*, see Smith, The Mothers of the Apis, in: *RdÉ* 24 (1972), 182 (= Table 3, no. 4).

§21. (rt. IV, 20-22)

CONTENTS

After the journey across the Lake and his stay in the tent of purification the Apis returns to the Embalming House. However, as a result of the rites to which he has been submitted, the god has been aroused to new life and no longer belongs in the Embalming House (= realm of the dead). As proof of this certain priests of the Inundation of the Nile throw a brick in front of the coffin as symbol of regeneration (rt. IV 20, n. 2). The coffin is then hauled into the tent which was built close to the Embalming House (rt. IV 21, n. 1). The Overseer of the Mystery subsequently comes out of the Embalming House and again bedecks the coffin with cloths (rt. IV 22, n. 1). After the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth has been performed, the Apis is ready for the great procession in which he will be transported to the Serapeum.

COMMENTARY

**Rt. IV 20**

1. See rt. IV 16, n. 1.

2. Mustafa el-Amir, *JEA* 34 (1948), 55 C, links in a rather arbitrary way a tile he had dug up in the Embalming House of the Apis with this brick. Of more interest to us is the question of the ritual significance of the brick. One possibility is that it symbolised a wall which prevented the Apis from being taken back to the Embalming House. Perhaps the brick may then be associated with the so-called "magical bricks" which one comes across in graves and which serve to keep enemies at bay[88]. However, it is more probable that we are dealing with a birth tile (*mshn.t*)[89] by which the magical re-birth of the Apis was symbolised. That would fit in well with the fact that the door of the Embalming House, where the Apis arrived just when the brick was thrown, is identified with the Portal of the Horizon (*sbḫ.t ꜣḫ.t*). This portal, mentioned more than once in religious texts, links, by its position in the place where the sun rises, death and life[90].

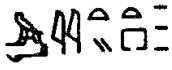
**Rt. IV 21**

1. *I.e.* presumably in the tent (*ḏt*) which was built close to the Embalming House (rt. IV 9, n. 4).

**Rt. IV 22**

1. The cloths in question are again probably a cloth of red linen (*ins*) and of blue (?) linen (*sšd*), symbolising, respectively, the cosmic and vegetative resurrection of the Apis; see rt. IV 4, n. 2. By again bedecking the coffin with these cloths after the Apis' return to the Embalming House, the priest confirms, exactly as had been done a little earlier by the throwing of a brick, that the god, as a result of the rites to which he has been submitted, is aroused to new life[91].

2. *I.e.* that, while standing in front of the coffin, one recited the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth; cf. for this Otto, *Mundöffnung*, II, 27 sqq.; Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*, 63, n. 42: "scenes representing burials and funeral rites (for example, the Opening of the Mouth) which appear on the coffins of the 21st Dynasty, show that the ceremonies were performed on the coffins, not on the mummies".

3.  : the determinative points to the fact that we are dealing with some kind of buildings. Spiegelberg hesitatingly translates "Wege" (Er., *Dem Glossar*,

[88] See Heerma van Voss, in: *JEOL* 18 (1964), 314-316; idem, *Handelingen 29ste Ned. Fil. Congres*, Groningen (1966), 198; Thomas, in: *JARCE* 3 (1964), 71-78; Monnet, in: *RdÉ* 8 (1951), 151-162.

[89] *WB.* II, 148, 9; cf. *tbj ms* "birth tile": Er., *Dem Glossar*, 617 = P. Rhind I 1 d 7.

[90] See Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie*, 67-68; Kristensen, *op. cit.*, 215 sqq.

[91] The coffin is not, therefore, again bedecked with the cloths, because a mistake would have been made the first time, making a repetition of the ritual necessary, as with the Roman *instauratio*; cf. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 250, with n. 4.

153). One might then think of a priest who had a responsible task at the ceremonies in relation to the Lake, particularly in connection with the course which the procession followed to the Lake. However, this function is difficult to reconcile with the fact that our priest calls out (*ʿn-smj*) objects which belong to the Slaughter Room.

**Rt. IV 23**

1. *ʿ.t nmʿj.t*  "Slaughter Room": it concerns the room in which the intestines of the Apis were taken out (*WB.* II, 264, 8).

**Rt. IV 24**

1. The measurements of the mat (6 × 6 divine cubits = approx. 3 × 3 m.) are perhaps standard; see rt. II 2, n. 3.

2. Cf. *sḳ ḏ3wf (ḏwf) šmʿ* in rt. I 1 (with n. 4).

3. For this tent, in which the coffin with the mummy of the Apis remained while awaiting burial, see rt. IV 9, n. 4.

**Rt. IV 25**

1. Does this concern the ritual tile (*tb.t*) mentioned in rt. IV 20 (with n. 2)?

**Rt. V 1**

1. For *ḫrt*, a linen cloth of byssus quality, see rt. II 1, n. 3.

2. The word *3trf* also occurs in rt. II 2, where 10 of these cloths are specified. The word is otherwise unknown to me.

3. For *ḳb3.t*, a linen cloth of large dimensions, see rt. I 1, n. 5.

4. For *skr* "to wrap", see rt. IV 1, n. 2 (*in fine*).

§ 22 b. (rt. V, 1 - VI a, 11)

CONTENTS

This paragraph contains a catalogue of 157 vessels in total which are divided into 13 categories. The scribe presents these vessels in a careful way by accurately

recording all the essential details of each type: (1) the purpose for which a certain kind of vessel is used and the number required for that purpose; the number in question is often written in red as in more ancient, carefully drafted texts, in which red is likewise used for the marking of numbers; (2) the measurements of the type of vessel, the figures of which are also often written in red; (3) at the end of such a detailed description the scribe, after the words *tw=s p3j=w smt* "see, their shape", has left a blank space in the text with the intention of inserting at a later date a drawing of the vessel, an intention which unfortunately has nowhere been realised[92].

In practice the very abundance of detail could easily have made this extensive list unmanageable, in that one would have found it impossible to find quickly a given vessel in the mass of long lines with which the scribe usually filled his pages. That this has not happened is due on the one hand to the fact that the scribe divided the text into three comparatively narrow columns, in which one becomes easily oriented, and on the other hand to the fact that he wrote the names of the separate vessels at the beginning of a line, so that one only needs to run down the beginning of the lines of a column to trace a particular vessel. As a result of this presentation the catalogue has become considerably easier to survey and, contrary to similar lists at the beginning and end of the recto which were not drawn up according to this principle[93], has taken on the character of an inventory list separately incorporated into the text of the type known for e.g. inventory lists of temples and account-books[94]. The introduction of a system of some kind with regard to this inventory list was apparently no longer necessary, as the vessels were not classified according to use, size, model or otherwise, in what we would consider a logical system, but were enumerated in a seemingly arbitrary sequence as is the case with the objects from the lists mentioned earlier at the beginning and end of the recto.

In order to render this extensive collection of pottery with its wealth of detail more accessible, particularly to the archeologist, I have put all 13 types of vessel in an appendix which includes not only a hypothetical reconstruction, but also all the particulars of each vessel, such as its dimensions and the purpose for which it was used. Furthermore, the vessels are separately numbered in order to facilitate references to the notes accompanying the text. See Appendix III (p. 174-178 sqq.).

*Bibliography*: Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, I, 86-87 [the chapter is by Myers]; Comte du Mesnil Du Buisson, *Les noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases et objets similaires*; Ali Radwan, *Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefässe Ägyptens* [Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung II, 2. Band].

[92] The same is true for certain objects from the articles listed at the beginning of the text; see rt. I 9, n. b.

[93] Rt. I 4 - II 2; VI a, 12 - VI b, 23.

[94] Gardiner, *LEM*, 68 a, n. 2 b.

I. *Use*

All vessels specified are from the Slaughter Room (*ʿ.t nmʾj.t*), the room in which the embalmers remove the entrails of the Apis. As one would expect from this, most vessels are associated in one way or another with the treatment of the intestines or abdominal cavity. A group of 56 vessels, or well over a third of the total, was used for the storage of the Horus copper, an instrument that could have been employed in the treatment of the abdominal cavity (nos. 1, 5 a, 10 a, 11, 13), and another group of 22 vessels was used in the washing of entrails with water and the sieving of that water for any remnants (nos. 3, 5 b, 9, 10 b and c). The notable thing about both these categories is that, per sort, the vessels are specified preferably in numbers of four or multiples thereof, a practice that could perhaps be explained by the fact that the number 4 is associated with the intestines and everything connected with them (rt. V 11, n. 1). Furthermore, an extensive group of 40 vessels is enumerated serving for the storage of remnants of mummy cloths and embalming materials used in the embalming of the abdominal cavity and the anus (nos. 8 and 12). Finally, there are also some vessels which, as far as use is concerned, seem to fall outside the categories mentioned above, or which at least cannot be demonstrably linked with the embalming of intestines and abdominal cavity. Among these is a group of 35 vessels (no. 7) which was perhaps placed under the trunk to catch embalming materials when the intestines were removed in a very early stage of the embalming (rt. V 2, n. 2) and also a group of four vessels (no. 6) in which the *wr-irj*-priest was cleansed, a priest presumably responsible for the embalming of the abdominal cavity and intestines (rt. V 31, n. 1).

II. *Dimensions*

A fleeting glance at the list is sufficient to convince us that we are dealing with vessels of considerable size: dimensions of one divine cubit (approx. 53 cms.), or sometimes even more, are by no means exceptional (cf. nos. 1-2, 10 b). The scribe gives the dimensions of each type of vessel and these are expressed by the following terms: (1) *mtj* "depth"; (2) *wsḫ* "width"; (3) *ḳ3*: a problematic factor which can indicate the height or length of any object. All three factors are not given at the same time. The factor *ḳ3* is omitted often enough for one to wonder whether in such cases it is an omission on the part of the scribe or rather a peculiarity of the vessel concerned, allowing this factor to be neglected without any difficulty. As far as the other two factors are concerned, the reverse is true: these are so seldom omitted that one is inclined, on the few occasions that it does happen, to put it down to negligence (cf. nos. 4 b, 9 a and 13, where I have tentatively added, between brackets, the missing factors).

At least two dimensions are given for each type of vessel. These determine the

shape of a vessel and it is therefore of the greatest importance to know exactly to which dimensions terms like *ḳ3* and *wsḫ* correspond. At this very point, however, we get into difficulties, for vessels are pre-eminently ametric, and the consequence of this is that one simply cannot figure out what is actually being measured when the scribe uses terms like *ḳ3* and *wsḫ*. Was the term *wsḫ*, for example, used to measure the width of the bottom, of the opening, or perhaps of the vessel at its broadest point? And was *ḳ3* used to indicate the height or the length, and, if the latter, is the length or diameter of the opening or of the base meant? In order to solve these certainly not simple problems, let us investigate a few possibilities beginning with the solution proposed by Myers.

According to Myers one should take *ḳ3* as the height of a vessel, *mtj* as the broadest part, and *wsḫ* as the diameter of the opening. To save space we will not repeat one by one the arguments which Myers puts forward in support of his theory, but will test their validity with the aid of examples. We can already directly pick out a few cases where this theory results in improbable or even impossible shapes. For instance, it is quite improbable that the large washing vessel (no. 9 a) with a height of one divine cubit (approx. 53 cms.) and a width of 6 digits (approx. 11 cms.) could have been suitable for the treatment (*prḫ* "spreading out") of certain parts of the intestines; and the shape of the *ḥn*-vessel (no. 8) which, with its height of one divine cubit and width at its broadest point of 1 palm (7.5 cms.), no longer even outwardly resembles what one would call a vessel, let alone that it should be suitable for the storage of mummy cloths, becomes an outright impossibility. These examples, to which more can easily be added, in my opinion suffice to show the untenability of Myers' theory. We shall have to look, therefore, for another solution to which these objections do not apply.

For this other solution let us begin with the literal meaning of the terms used for the dimensions. It then seems in any event sure that *mtj* "depth" cannot mean the width at the broadest point, as Myers thinks, but exclusively the height ("depth") of a vessel. It is a more difficult matter with the terms *ḳ3* and *wsḫ*. As far as the term *ḳ3* is concerned, it can indicate the height or the length of any given object. Now, since the height has in our case already been reserved for the term *mtj*, only the width of a vessel at a certain point can be measured with *ḳ3* as linear, and here the complications start because that is also the case with *wsḫ* "width". Looking at Appendix III, the factor *ḳ3*, as far as can be ascertained, and with exception of nos. 1 and 2, seems to be the largest measurement available. That could indicate that *ḳ3* measures the diameter of the opening, and *wsḫ* (the smallest measurement) the diameter of the base, because in the reverse case we arrive at very unlikely shapes. In two cases (nos. 1 and 2) in which *wsḫ* exceeds the factor *ḳ3* one can imagine that *wsḫ* measures the width of the vessel at its broadest point.

The consequence of this theory is that most of the vessels enumerated have the

shape of a bowl or dish, shapes which in every case seem to fit in excellently with the purpose for which they are used. Thus the wide opening of the *mšj* (no. 4) is perfectly suited to receive an instrument such as the Horus copper, and the scale model of the *ḏnjṯ.t* (no. 7) lends itself very well to the holding of embalming materials.

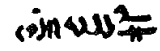
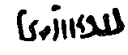
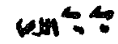
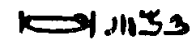
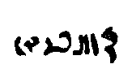
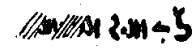
But what evidence, other than probability, do we have to back up the correctness of this theory? In the first place there is the determinative, which so often provides a useful indication regarding the nature of an object. However, if we run down the list looking for determinatives, this resource seems to have let us down very badly this time, for in many cases the vessels are determined by the sign , which can be a generic determinative and cannot be taken as incontestable proof that the vessel concerned indeed had such a shape, or they are written with the determinative of the stone, which does tell us that these vessels (all vessels?)[95] are made of some kind of stone but nothing further about the shape. There is, however, one useful case. It concerns the *mšj* (no. 4), the determinative  of which confirms our reconstruction of this vessel in the shape of a dish. Of course the best evidence of all would be if one or more of the vessels listed were attested by archeological discoveries or other sources and could therefore be compared[96]. Unfortunately I have managed only in a few cases to re-trace a vessel by other means or, with the necessary reservations, to connect it with a Coptic word. This limited success will not perhaps be due completely to chance, however, because in this case we are not dealing with everyday pottery, but with ritual vessels which were only manufactured on average about every 18 years for a very special occasion and purpose on the death of an Apis bull[97]. However, the few vessels which I have been able to trace or connect with a Coptic word seem to confirm this theory. I mention as examples the *ḏnjṯ.t* (rt. V 2, n. 1), the *j'j* (rt. V 3, n. 1), the *ḥjȝ.t*-vessel (rt. VI a, 5, n. 1) and the *lḥmj.t*-vessel (rt. V 13, n. 1), and refer for further particulars about the various vessels and their reconstructions to the notes accompanying the text.

[95] See rt. V 1, n. 5.

[96] Pictures of Apis pottery are not available in publications. They are, however, in the case of the Buchis pottery (Mond-Myers, *op. cit.*, III, pl. CXXXIV-CLIV). It is notable that bowls and dishes are as pre-eminent among the pottery of the Buchis as they are among that of the Apis.

[97] The manufacture of these large vessels, presumably made from a hard stone type, fell outside of the crafstman's normal routine and must have confronted them with quite a few problems, certainly when one considers that separate provisions had to be made in the case of some vessels (nos. 1 and 9 a). All these 157 voluminous vessels had to be manufactured in the brief space of time that elapsed between the death of the Apis or the moment that one could expect him to die, and the beginning of the embalming process.

# APPENDIX I.
## A. INVENTORY OF VESSELS OF THE APIS IN THE SLAUGHTER ROOM*

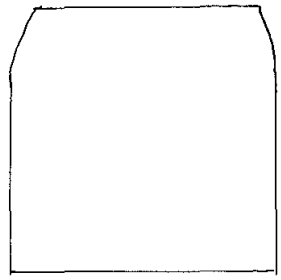
| | Name and use of vessel | Measurements: opening (*ḳ3*); height (*mtj*); base (*wsḫ*) | | | recto | writing |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 2 *psṯ'j.t*-vessels: these are they in which they lay the Horus copper when they are finished purifying them (?) ... the *wr-irj*-priest while 4 *mštj.t* are in them | 1 d.c. | 8 p. | 8 p. | V 33 |  |
| 2. | 2 *ṯ'j*-vessels wherein to lay the Horus copper when they have come to enter the ... (?) | 1 d.c. | 8 p. | 8 p. | VI a, 1 |  |
| 3. | 4 great *tjtj.t*-vessels: in them they ... (?) what is in the entrails with water and oil, one (*tjtj.t*-vessel) for each purification | 1 d.c. | 5 p. | 5 p. | V 10 |  |
| 4.[a] | 4 *mšj*-vessels: these are they in which they cleanse the Horus copper after the purification of the *wr-irj*-priest | 1 d.c. | 5 p. | 5 p. | V 30 |  |
| 4.[b] | 4 *mšj*-vessels: in them they receive the Horus copper after they have come out of the abdominal cavity as well as the things which are in them (the Horus copper) in 4 other *mšj*-vessels | 1 d.c. | (2 p.?) | 2 p. | V 4 |  |
| 5.[a] | 4 great *ḫj3.t*-vessels to lay the Horus copper in when they have come out of the *ṯ'j*-vessels | 1 d.c. | 5 p. | 3 p. | VI a, 5 |  |
| 5.[b] | 4 little *ḫj3.t*-vessels wherein to purify the great entrails | 1 d.c. | 4 p. | 3 p. | VI a, 7 |  |
| 6. | 4 *ḳtj* wash vessels in the form of a lake: to purify the *wr-irj*-priest therein | 1 d.c. | 4 p. | 4 p. | VI a, 3 |  |
| 7.[a] | 20 *ḏnjṯ.t*-vessels: to lay under the *trf* of the god | 1 d.c. | 3 p. | 3 p. | V 24 |  |

*Abbreviations refer to: d(ivine) c(ubit) (ca. 53 cms.) p(alm) (7.5 cms.) d(igit) (1.85 cm.)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7.[b] | 15 *ḏnjṯ.t*-vessels: these they lay under the *trf* of the god that nothing may fall therefrom | 6 p. | 7 d. | 7 d. | V 2 |  |
| 8.[a] | 10 *ḥn*-vessels: in which to lay the *nms*-cloths of the abdominal cavity | 1 d.c. | 1 p. + 2 d. | 1 p. + 2 d. | V 22 |  |
| 8.[b] | 10 *ḥn*-vessels: these are they in which they lay the things and the *ḥbs*-cloths, which are in the abdominal cavity | 1 d.c. | 1 p. | 1 p. | V 7 |  |
| 9.[a] | 4 great wash vessels: in them they spread what is in the large and the small entrails, while a *rhnj.t* is in them | 1 d.c. | 6 d. | (6 d.?) | V 3 |  |
| 9.[b] | 4 little wash vessels: in them they ... (?) what is in the large and the small entrails | 5 p. | 4 p. | 3 p. | V 8 |  |
| 10.[a] | 4 great *lḥmj.t*-vessels wherein to lay the Horus copper while they are filled with oil | (1 d.c.?) | 1 d.c. | 1 d.c. | VI a, 9 |  |
| 10.[b] | 4 *lḥmj.t*-vessels which have sieves: with these they sieve in them (the *lḥmj.t*-vessels) the water with which they purified the entrails | (1 d.c.?) | 1 1/3 d.c. | 5 p. | V 13 |  |
| 10.[c] | 2 little *lḥmj.t*-vessels which have their sieves to sieve the water of the large entrails | (1 d.c.?) | 1 d.c. | 5 p. | V 17 |  |
| 11. | 16 *rks*-vessels: these are they in which they ... the Horus copper when they have cleansed them each time of cleansing | (1 d.c.?) | 8 p. | 3 p. | V 26 |  |
| 12. | 20 *bs*-vessels in which to lay the nms-cloths of the anus | ? | 4 p. | 2 p. + 2 d. | V 20 |  |
| 13. | 16 *ḏlḥ*-vessels: in them they cleanse the Horus copper each time of cleansing | 5 p. | (4 p.?) | 4 p. | V 28 |  |

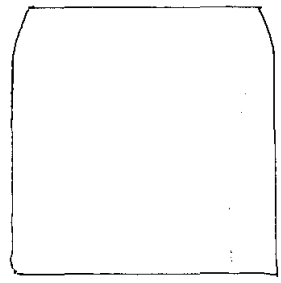
# APPENDIX I.
# B. RECONSTRUCTING DRAWINGS OF VESSELS OF THE APIS IN THE SLAUGHTER ROOM

1.



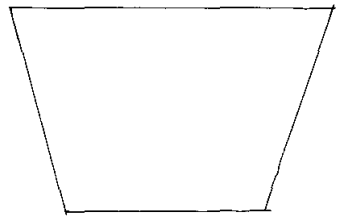
2 *psṯ'j.t* (rt. V 33)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 8 palms (60 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 8 palms (60 cm.)

2.



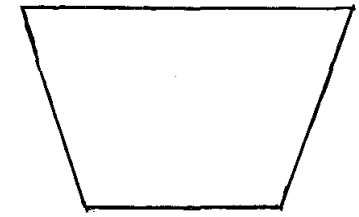
2 *ṯ'j* (rt. VI a, 1)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 8 palms (60 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 8 palms (60 cm.)

3.



4 *tjtj.t '3.t* (rt. V 10)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 5 palms (37.5 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 5 palms (37.5 cm.)

4.[a]



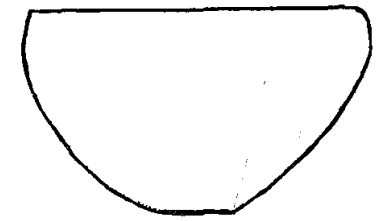
4 *mšj* (rt. V 30)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 5 palms (37.5 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 5 palms (37.5 cm.)

4.[b]



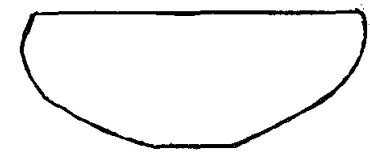
4 *mšj* (rt. V 4)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 2 palms (?) (15 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 2 palms (15 cm.)

5.[a]



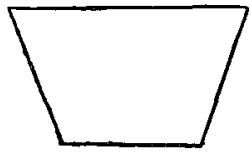
4 *ḫj3.t '3.t* (rt. VI a, 5)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 5 palms (37.5 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 3 palms (22.5 cm.)

5.[b]



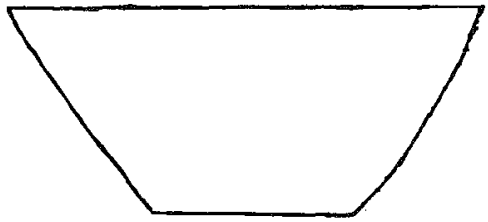
4 *ḫj3.t ḫm.t* (rt. VI a, 7)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 4 palms (30 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 3 palms (22.5 cm.)

6.



4 *ḳtj j'j* (rt. VI a, 3)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 4 palms (30 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 4 palms (30 cm.)

7.a



20 *ḏnjṯ.t* (rt. V 24)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 3 palms (22.5 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 3 palms (22.5 cm.)

7.b



15 *ḏnjṯ.t* (rt. V 2)
opening (*ḳ3*): 6 palms (45 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 7 digits (13 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 7 digits (13 cm.)

8.a



10 *ḥn* (rt. V 22)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 1 palm + 2 digits (11 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 1 palm + 2 digits (11 cm.)

8.b



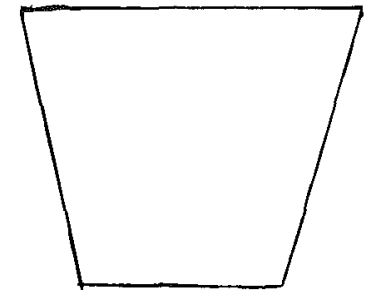
10 *ḥn* (rt. V 7)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 1 palm (7.5 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 1 palm (7.5 cm.)

9.a



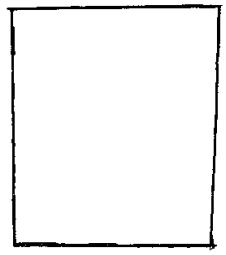
4 *j'j '3* (rt. V 3)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 6 digits (11 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 6 digits (?) (11 cm.)

9.b



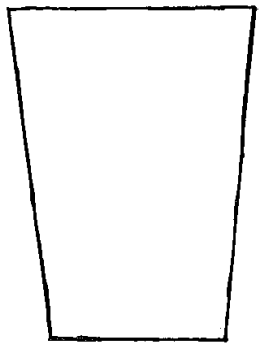
4 *j'j ḫm* (rt. V 8)
opening (*ḳ3*): 5 palms (37.5 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 4 palms (30 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 3 palms (22.5 cm.)

10.[a]



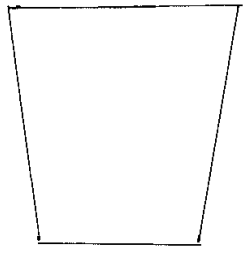
4 *lḥmj.t ʾ3.t* (rt. VI a, 9)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (?) (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)

10.[b]



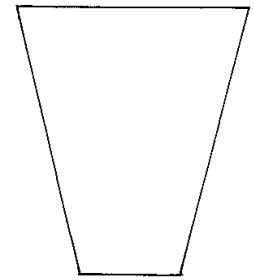
4 *lḥmj.t* (rt. V 13)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (?) (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 1 1/3 divine cubit (70 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 5 palms (37.5 cm.)

10.[c]



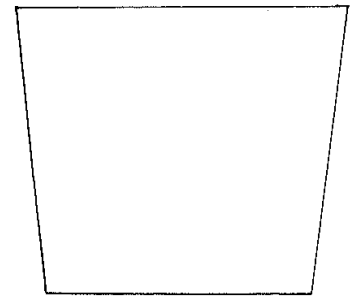
2 *lḥmj.t ḥm.t* (rt. V 17)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (?) (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 1 divine cubit (53 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 5 palms (37.5 cm.)

11.



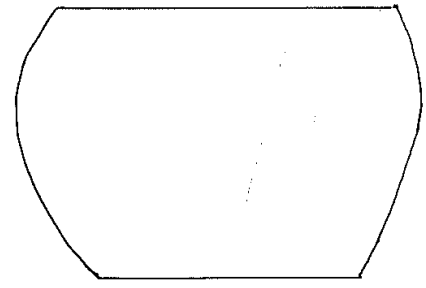
16 *rks* (rt. V 26)
opening (*ḳ3*): 1 divine cubit (?) (53 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 8 palms (60 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 3 palms (22.5 cm.)

12.



20 *bs* (rt. V 20)
opening (*ḳ3*):?
height (*mtj*): 4 palms (30 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 2 palms + 2 digits (19 cm.)

13.



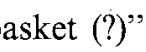
16 *ḏlḥ* (rt. V 28)
opening (*ḳ3*): 5 palms (37.5 cm.)
height (*mtj*): 4 palms (?) (30 cm.)
base (*wsḫ*): 4 palms (30 cm.)

COMMENTARY

**Rt. V 1**

5. The context in which the word *wnḫ.w*  occurs, here at the beginning of the summation, and in rt. VI a, 11 at the end of the total count of the vessels, indicates with a rather large degree of probability that we are dealing with a collective term for pottery. Is it, perhaps, more precisely a collective term for *stone* pottery? The word is determined in any case by the determinative of the stone, and likewise very many of the enumerated vessels are written with that determinative. *Wnḫ.w* "pottery" is a word which is otherwise unknown to me (not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*, nor in the Berlin *Wörterbuch*).

**Rt. V 2**

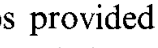
1. See no. 7. Here, and in rt. V 24, *ḏnjṯ.t*-vessels are specified, which, according to our reconstruction, have the shape of a bowl or dish, lending them excellently to the reception of embalming materials, the purpose for which they are required. Perhaps we may associate the word with Coptic ϫⲁⲛⲟ "basket (?)" =  (*WB.* V, 575, 10): Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 315, 4; cf. also Macadam, *Kawa I, Inscriptions, Text*, 10, n. 14, and *Discussions in Egyptology* 6 (1986), 21 sqq., where the suggestion *ḏnj.t* "jar of embalming (?)" seems to be right in view of our text. See also *RdÉ* 30 (1978), 21 (*ḏnjt* "corbeille", "vase"); Schneider, *Shabtis*, I, 73.

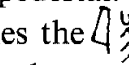
2. Here, and in rt. V 24, *ḏnjṯ.t*-dishes are placed under the *trf* to catch falling embalming materials. The word *trf* , otherwise unknown to me, is written with the determinative of the flesh and is therefore related to the body of the Apis. According to Mond and Myers, *op. cit.*, II, 75, *trf* should mean the neck of the Apis. But why only the neck? Does the great number of dishes not point more readily to a bulkier part of the body: the trunk? If so, then perhaps it concerns the treatment of the trunk in an early stage of the embalming process, for the dishes are mentioned in a list of vessels which, among other things, are intended for the treatment of intestines which were removed in a very early stage of the embalming.

**Rt. V 3**

1. See no. 9 a. The combination of a very wide opening of one divine cubit (approx. 53 cms.) and a relatively height of 6 digits (approx. 11 cms.) proves that the large washing vessel (*j'j 'ȝ*) is a dish. Our certainty stops here, however, the problem being that the large washing dish is the only vessel from the catalogue for which no

base diameter (*wsḫ*) is given. Perhaps we have to put this omission down to the negligence of the scribe, and make up for the oversight by assuming a base diameter measuring approximately the same as the height (6 digits). The argument to postulate this base diameter is that for all the vessels in the catalogue height and base diameter do not differ, or at least in no great degree, from each other.

On the other hand, it may not be ruled out in advance that the scribe did not give the diameter of the base because the dish was more or less round there and consequently did not have a measurable flat bottom (*wsḫ*)[98]. The objection to this supposition is that it is hard to imagine how intestines could be treated in such an unsteady dish. A solution to this is perhaps provided by the *rhnj.t* , with which only this dish is fitted. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 252, 2, mentions a word *rhn.t* "Halt", "Stütze", o.ä., which may derive from the verb *rhn* "to support" (*WB.* II, 440, 4-8). The *rhnj.t* could then, in the form of a support, have provided the necessary balance. However, the objection again to this is that the *rhnj.t* seems to be fitted to the interior of (*ḥn*) the dish, and not, as would be necessary for such a support, placed underneath it, e.g. in the form of a pedestal.

Du Mesnil, *op. cit.*, 56-57, classifies the  (var. ) among vessels of the shape  and , and says that the vessel is of limited size and comparable with the , a small vessel which is used for the storage of liquids, incense, natron, etc. Our reconstruction of the whashing vessels produces a shape which does not come into conflict with du Mesnil's classification. The vessel, however, cannot actually be termed small and the same is true of the small washing vessel mentioned elsewhere (no. 9 b). Cf. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 419 according to whom the *j'j* are not to be regarded as really small. For the *j'j* see also Ali Radwan, *op. cit.*, 22, n. 29, 41, n. 16.

2. *rhnj.t* : an unidentified part in the interior of the large washing vessel. If there is any connection with the verb *rhn* "to support", then the question remains what one has to make of a support *inside* the washing vessel (see previous note). Or is the *rhnj.t* perhaps a kind of vessel which goes with the great washing vessel? Ali Radwan, *op. cit.*, 41-43 (with references to depictions) points out that washing pottery exists consisting of two parts belonging together: a bowl with in it a separate jar. Is this perhaps also the case here and is the *rhnj.t* a separate jar which forms a unit with the great washing vessel?

**Rt. V 4**

1. See no. 4 b. In the reconstruction of the vessel I have added the missing factor of the depth (*mtj*), equating this with the measurement of the base (2 palms = 15 cms.).

[98] It is by no means unusual for Egyptian pottery to have little or no base. See Kaiser, in: *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 102, n. 7 (with references).

This equalisation is based on comparison with the *mšj*-vessels mentioned in rt. V 30 where these dimensions are equal, and prompted by the consideration that these dimensions in all the specified vessels usually differ little or not at all.

The vessel is unknown to me from elsewhere. If the hypothetical height approximately reflects reality, then it would have had the shape of a bowl or a dish.

**Rt. V 5**

1. For *ḥn* "abdominal cavity" (literally: box, chest), see the introduction at § 12 (p. 126).

2. For *iḫj.w* "things" = embalming materials, see rt. III 9, n. 2.

**Rt. V 7**

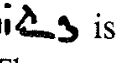
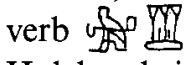
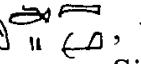
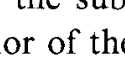
1. See no. 8 b. The *ḥn*-vessel has a very wide opening of one divine cubit (approx. 53 cms.) and a height and base both measuring one palm (7.5 cms.). That indicates that the vessel has the shape of a dish. The danger of the dish overturning at the slightest provocation as a result of the extreme proportions of opening and base (7: 1) is removed because the vessel is very low, and consequently the sides rise very gradually from the base. For the *ḥn*-vessel, see du Mesnil, *op. cit.*, 65-67, according to whom the vessel has the shape of a bowl.

2. See rt. V 5, n. 2.

3. See rt. V 5, n. 1.

**Rt. V 8**

1. See no. 9 b. The shape fits Du Mesnil's classification of the whashing vessel; see rt. V 3, n. 1.

2. The verb *mštj*  is used here and in rt. V 10 in connection with the treatment of entrails. The meaning of the verb, which is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*, is unknown to me. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, I, 247 records a verb , var.  "to hollow" (= *WB.* II, 158, 12: "Art Holzbearbeitung von Särgen"), which with regard to the spelling could be related to our *mštj* but not as far as the meaning ("to hollow") is concerned; cf. also *JESHO* 11 (1968), 154, n. K. Spiegelberg translates *mštj* as "to pour", for which he presumably relies on the determinative of the walking legs. Although it does not help us any further, I still would like to draw attention to a possible connection between our *mštj* and the substantive *mštj.t* , which indicates an unidentified part in the interior of the *pšṯ'j.t*-vessel (rt. V, 33-34).

**Rt. V 10**

1. See no. 3. The *tjtj.t*-vessels, as would appear from our reconstruction, are substantial bowls with an opening of one divine cubit (approx. 53 cms.) and a base diameter and height of 5 palms (37.5 cms.). These dimensions are equal to those of the *mšj*-vessel in rt. V, 30-32 (no. 4 a). One would readily identify the *tjtj.t*-vessel with the known *dd.t* (*djdj*), were it not that our reconstruction does not unconditionally agree with what is known about that vessel, for according to Caminos, *LEM*, 119, the *dd.t* is a dish or shallow bowl, while du Mesnil, *op. cit.*, 54, describes the *dd.t* as a dish resting on a pedestal and imported from Syria. Ali Radwan, *op. cit.*, 104, n. 31, refers to Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 423-425, who describes the vessel as "a flat dish or bowl". Our vessel could never have been a flat dish, regardless of the dimensions the terms used are equated with.

2. See rt. V 8, n. 2.

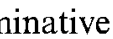
**Rt. V 11**

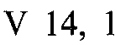
1. For the partiality for (sacredness of) the number 4 in connection with the intestines, see p. 128, n. 46.

**Rt. V 13**

1. See no. 10 b. The *lḥmj.t*-vessels mentioned here are, as far as size goes, inbetween the large and small *lḥmj.t*-vessels mentioned elsewhere in the text. The reconstruction of the vessels is a precarious undertaking, because the diameter of the opening (*ḳ3*) is not given. The measurements given for the other two dimensions at any rate indicate that we are dealing with very large vessels for which one would therefore expect a large rather than a small opening. Besides, the vessels would only be able to fulfil their purpose, *i.e.* the sieving of the water with which intestines were washed, if the opening was big enough to place a sieve on. How large can the opening have been? If we run down all the vessels in the catalogue for an indication, then the biggest and at the same time most constantly recurring measurement for the opening of a vessel seems to be one divine cubit (approx. 53 cms.). If we retain this measurement for the opening of our *lḥmj.t*-vessels, then we end up with a vessel that takes on the shape of a deep trough or bucket, which would lend itself admirably to the purpose. This shape would also not rule out identification with the Coptic ⲗⲁϩⲙⲉ (fem.) "kneeding-trough (?)" (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 150 a).

**Rt. V 14**

1. *ʾnj.t*  "sieve (?)" (determinative of the stone): the word indicates an object with whose help water is strained or sieved (*ʾtḥ*) into *lḥmj.t*-vessels. Presumably we have to think of a kind of sieve made of stone which was placed on the opening of the *lḥmj.t*-vessels. The word *ʾnj.t* "sieve" is otherwise unknown to me (not in the Berlin *Wörterbuch* or Er., *Dem Glossar*). For various terms to denote a sieve (*nḳr, mrḫ*, etc.), see Ali Radwan, *op. cit.*, 163.

2. *ʾtḥ*  "to sieve" (rt. V 14, 18): the word is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*; cf. *ʾtḥ* "etw. durchseihen", "pressen": *WB.* I, 236-237; De Cenival, *Cautionnements Démotiques*, 121.

**Rt. V 15**

1. The plural *nꜣ mw.w* "the waters" is striking, and also occurs in the comparable passage rt. V 18. In a more ancient stage of the language nouns denoting materials and liquids were often put in the plural[99]; in demotic this peculiarity with regard to nouns denoting materials remained in vogue, but in relation to liquids I know only of the two cases mentioned here.

**Rt. V 17**

1. See no. 10 c and rt. V 13, n. 1.

**Rt. V 18**

1. See rt. V 14, n. 1.

2. See rt. V 15, n. 1.

**Rt. V 20**

1. See no. 12. The reconstruction of the vessel is hampered by the omission of the dimension of the opening (*ḳꜣ*). However, maybe we can still arrive at an acceptable reconstruction, for in the case of *bs* one thinks immediately of the known *bꜣś*-vessel, an elegant ointment vase which widens out a little at the top; cf. *WB.* I, 423, 4-5, and du Mesnil, *op. cit.*, 97-98; Ali Radwan, *op. cit.*, 56, n. 31. To acquire a similar shape

[99] See *BIFAO* LVI (1957), 161-172.

in the case of our *bs*-vessel it is sufficient to postulate an opening bigger than the base diameter and which amounts, for example, to 5 palms. A similar opening also fits in with the determinative 𓎛 with which the vessel is determined.

*Bs*-vessels are mentioned rather often in our papyrus. They can be made of faience or gold and are used for the storage of natron (rt. IV 16), water (rt. VI b, 12), oils and medicaments (rt. VI b, 1; vs. II a, 7, II b, 4).

2. See rt. III 10, n. 1.

**Rt. V 22**

1. See no. 8 a. The vessel has a very wide opening (1 divine cubit = approx. 53 cms.). The height and the base both come to almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ palms (1 palm + 2 fingers = approx. 11 cms.). The vessel then, as far as appearance (dish) and dimensions are concerned, is more or less identical to the *ḥn*-vessels which are enumerated in rt. V 7.

**Rt. V 23**

1. For the tent (*ḏt*) in question, see rt. IV 9, n. 4.

**Rt. V 24**

1. See no. 7 a and rt. V 2, n. 1.

2. For *trf* "trunk", see rt. V 2, n. 2.

**Rt. V 26**

1. See no. 11. The *rks*-vessel is mentioned only here in the papyrus and is otherwise unknown to me. The vessel is exceptionally high, 8 palms (60 cms.), a height which is only equalled or surpassed by a few other vessels (nos. 1, 2 and 10 b). The base diameter is 3 palms (22.5 cms.), while the diameter of the opening is not given. Although this missing factor makes it impossible for us to determine the shape of the vessel with any certainty, we can perhaps arrive at an acceptable reconstruction. The only thing we have to go on, namely, is that the vessel was used to store away the Horus copper. If we run down the list of all vessels in which that instrument is stored or treated, then they all appear to have an opening of one divine cubit (53 cms.) with the exception of no. 13 which has an opening of 5 palms (37.5 cms.). If we take these measurements as a guideline for the *rks*-vessel, then that vessel could have had an opening of one divine cubit, which seems to be the standard dimension for the opening of vessels (and therefore left out by the scribe?).

**Rt. V 28**

1. See no. 13. The *ḏlḥ*-vessel has an opening of 5 palms (37.5 cms.) and a base diameter of 4 palms (30 cms.); the height (*mtj*) is not given. What could it have been? An acceptable supposition would seem to be that it was the same as the base diameter (*wsḫ*), because in most cases these dimensions are the same or differ very slightly. The reconstruction of the shape of the vessel would also depend on the question whether the sides were straight or curved. If we assume the latter to be the case (determinative 𓎛), then we are dealing with a type of vessel that, according to du Mesnil, *op. cit.*, 5, was preferably used for storing oils and fats. The two alabaster *ḏlḥ*-vessels from rt. VI b, 16 were indeed used for that purpose and contained 2 *hin* of fat (approx. 1 litre), and 2 *hin* of fine styrax (*gw-m33*), respectively.

The *ḏlḥ*-vessel seems elsewhere unknown, unless it may be connected with the Coptic ϫⲗⲁϩⲧⲥ which is derived from *ḏlḥ* "to draw (water)", and indicates a kind of jar (Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 314, 1: deep pit, vessel).

**Rt. V 30**

1. See no. 4 and rt. V 4, n. 1.

**Rt. V 31**

1. Our papyrus is the principal source for what little we know about the *wr-irj* 𓁹𓂋𓄿𓏏𓊪 Spiegelberg (p. 24, n. 2) surmised, on the basis of the determinatives of the falling enemy and the bad bird, that we are dealing with the παρασχίστης, an embalmer whose exclusive duty was to make an incision in the left side of the mummy so that the intestines could be removed (Diodorus Siculus, I, 91). However, if we study the available details it would seem that Spiegelberg drew his conclusions too rashly. First and foremost it is conspicuous that the priest appears in this very chapter in which vessels destined mainly for the treatment of intestines are specified. It is then particularly notable that the priest is mentioned in connection with the Horus copper, an instrument which could have been used in the treatment of the abdominal cavity, and which is time and again cleansed (cf. rt. V 30-31, 33-34). Would that, then, not indicate that the *wr-irj* performed a task connected with the treatment of the intestines, a task which is admirably in harmony with the determinatives with which the title is written? The only other source about the priest known to me, and which Spiegelberg (*loc. cit.*) also mentions, would appear to throw some light on the importance of that task. In the Vienna Stele 172 which is presumably of Memphitic origin, the title is coupled with that of the Overseer of

the Mystery, from which we may conclude that the *wr-irj* played a prominent role[100]. Was this role perhaps that of the man in charge during the first stage of the embalming when the intestines were removed, and was he as such the counterpart of the Overseer of the Mystery who supervised the last stage of the embalming, when the mummy was wrapped? The only thing that does not seem to be in harmony with this theory, as far as I can see, is a list of objects which are meant for the *wr-irj*, and in which among other things beams and gypsum are mentioned. The question is, what use would such articles have been to an embalmer who was charged with the embalming of the abdominal cavity and the intestines.

**Rt. V 33**

1. See no. 1. The *psṯ'j.t*-vessel is unknown to me from elsewhere. The vessel is used to store the Horus copper, and is fitted on the inside with 4 *mštj.t* (unidentified parts: rt. V 8, n. 2). The *psṯ'j.t*-vessel seems to have the same dimensions as the *ṯ'j*-vessel mentioned in rt. VI a, 1, dimensions which are clearly out of the ordinary in the sense that, as far as can be determined, they are the only vessels where the height and base diameter are proportionally greater than that of the opening. In the reconstruction illustration I have allowed the sides to slope somewhat outwards in order to make the factor *wsḫ* valid for the base diameter and for the width at its broadest point.

**Rt. VI a, 1**

1. See no. 2. The dimensions of the *ṯ'j*-vessel are the same as those of the *psṯ'j.t*-vessel. For the material which the *ṯ'j*-vessels are made of, see rt. VI a, 6.

**Rt. VI a, 3**

See no. 6. The *ḳtj*-vessels have the shape of a "lake" (*šj*). In these vessels the *wr-irj* priest is washed. The word *ḳtj* is perhaps a general term for "vessel"[101] defined by the statement that the vessel has the shape of a "lake". Now the word *šj* "lake" is indeed used in the sense of a basin, and, given that, the vessel would be specified as a washbasin[102]. The dimensions permit the reconstruction of the vessel as a

[100] Vienna stele 172, l. 6: ... *stwḫ r nfr in ḥrj sšt3 wr-irj imj-wr.t n Ḥp-Wsir smr.w* "... embalmed in a beautiful way by the Overseer of the Mystery, the *wr-irj* of the necropolis of Apis-Osiris, and the *smr.w*". See the discussion of the stele by Quaegebeur, Inventaire des stèles funéraires memphites d'époque ptolémaïque, in: *CdÉ* XLIX, no. 97 (1974), 75.

[101] *WB.* V, 72, 7 sqq.: *ḳd* "to make pots"; du Mesnil, *op. cit.*, 20, with n. 8.

[102] See *WB.* IV, 398, 10; *GM* 131 (1992), 111. This meaning of the word *šj* is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar.*

washbasin or bowl. We have to imagine then that the priest stood in (*ḥn*) the basin, for which purpose it offered cramped space.

**Rt. VI a, 5**

1. See no. 5 a. Apart from the large *ḥj3.t*-vessels mentioned here, used to store the Horus copper, small *ḥj3.t*-vessels are also cited which are used for the cleansing of intestines (rt. VI a, 7). The *ḥj3.t*-vessel is otherwise unknown to me, unless we may identify it with the Coptic ϣⲓⲱ (= χύτρα "jar"), in which case we would be dealing with a vessel with bulbous sides; cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 549 b: pot (? ϣⲓ-ⲱ). In the reconstruction illustration I worked from this supposition.

**Rt. VI a, 6**

1. The sentence concerning the *ṯ'j*-vessels is not translated by Spiegelberg. The vessels in question are mentioned earlier in rt. VI a, 1. The word *tnr3* (?) indicates a material from which the vessel is made and which is otherwise unknown to me.

**Rt. VI a, 7**

1. See no. 5 b and rt. VI a, 5, n. 1.

**Rt. VI a, 9**

1. See no. 10 a. The reconstruction of the large *lḥmj.t*-vessel is made difficult by the absence of the measurement of the opening. We were confronted with the same problem in the case of the small and medium-sized *lḥmj.t*-vessels. For both these types we then assumed for certain reasons an opening of one divine cubit which was larger than the base (rt. V 13, n. 1). Are we now also permitted to assume an opening larger than the base in the case of the large *lḥmj.t*-vessel? The objection to this is that, as far as can be ascertained, there is not a single vessel in the catalogue with an opening larger than one divine cubit, and it is hardly likely that the scribe would have forgotten to record this detail if it had been the sole instance. Perhaps we should assume therefore that the diameter of the opening of the large *lḥmj.t*-vessel was also the standard of one divine cubit. The vessel, with its opening, height and base of one divine cubit, would then have had the shape of a trough — not an impossible shape, especially not if the *lḥmj.t* could be identified with the Coptic ⲗⲁϩⲙⲉ "kneading-trough (?)" (cf. rt. V 13, n. 1).

**Rt. VI b, 1**

1. May *šm*  in the expression *rmt šm* be identified with the word  in Er., *Dem Glossar*, 508, 2? Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 242, 5, connects this word with the Coptic ϣнм "sign", "omen (?)", and hesitatingly translates *šm* "to inspire". If our identification is correct and Černý is right, one could then translate *rmt šm* as "divine (?) man", *i.e.* that the manufacture of the chest in question was the department of such a man?

2. Each *hnbj.t*-vessel contained 30 *hin* (approx. 15 litres) of natron in ground (*sḫm* "to grind") form. For the vessel in question, see rt. IV 9, n. 1.

3. I have chosen the current translation *ṯḥn* "faience", although Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an*, 86, n. 25, 113, n. 265 surmises that *ṯḥn* denotes a kind of unidentified mineral rather than faience. See also Aufrère, l'*Univers minéral, II*, 521, sqq.

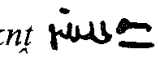
**Rt. VI b, 2**

1. For the *ḳll*-vessel, see rt. I 8, n. 1.

**Rt. VI b, 3**

1. *ikn*  : the vessel is Semitic in origin and is mentioned in tribute lists together with goods from Syria since the New Kingdom. The vessel has large dimensions and is usually made of silver (but in this case of copper, as appears from the determinative ). For the vessel see *WB.* I, 140, 2:  ein Gefass (aus Syrien); see also *BIFAO* 19 (1922), 251-252 and Osing, *Nominalbildung*, II (1976), 734.

**Rt. VI b, 5**

1. In rt. VI b, 15 a *knṯ*  is part of a chest (?), and in this case of a vessel (?). What the *knṯ* really could have been I do not know. Spiegelberg (p. 26, n. 7) is of course correct when he says that *knṯ* meaning "fig" does not fit the context.

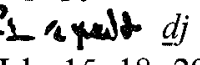
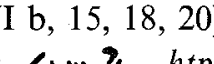
2. For the *3w*-vessel, a small-sized vessel, see rt. I 7, n. 3.

**Rt. VI b, 6**

1. The vessel  is made of alabaster (*šś*) and is perhaps identifiable with the known  "Napf" (*WB.* I, 158, 13-17). This little vessel is of the same type as the

*j'j* "washing vessel" (rt. V 3, n. 1), though smaller in size (see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 420).

**Rt. VI b, 7**

1. In the papyrus two similar expressions are used:
(1)  *dj r ḥtpj* "boat-shrine ...". All kinds of objects are placed in this (rt. VI b, 15, 18, 20);
(2)  *ḥtpj r ḥtpj* "... ...". Objects of various nature are placed on top of this (*ḫ3ʿ ḥr*) (rt. VI b, 7, 9, 21).
In both cases the expression *r ḥtpj*, which I cannot explain, is added to the first component which determines the nature of the article in question. Spiegelberg translates *r ḥtpj* "zum Opfer".
As far as the first example is concerned, it would seem from the word *dj* "boat" that we are dealing with a boat-shrine in which all kinds of objects were stored (cf. the *dj.w* "boat-shrines" used for the storage of embalming materials: rt. II 11, n. 4). In the second example *dj* is replaced by *ḥtpj*. Details concerning the *ḥtpj* are recorded in the passage rt. VI b, 14-15. The *ḥtpj* seems to have been fitted with a *knṯ* (rt. VI b, 5, n. 1) and with a lid (? *ḥrḥr*) made of papyrus. The measurements are given as 8 (?) 2/3 divine cubits long, one divine cubit high and 8 palms wide (approx. 460 × 53 × 60 cms.). In view of the fact that three dimensions are given one would be inclinded to identify the *ḥtpj* with a chest or something similar[103], were it not that the extreme proportions between the length on the one hand and the width and depth on the other produce a strange oblong object which does not give the appearence of a normal chest.

2. For the title *ḥrj ḥm* "Overseer of craftsmen" = *wr ḥm* (τέκτων) see Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis (*Studia Hellenistica* 24, Leuven 1980), 51, n. 2 (with bibliographic references).

**Rt. VI b, 8**

1. For *ʿt* ... (a product), see rt. VI b, 8, n. a.

**Rt. VI b, 10**

1. The *sḫ mḏ3.t-ntr* "scribe of the god's book" is a priest of apparently high rank who, as a mark of his office, wears a feather on his head. In Greek the title is

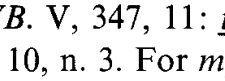
[103] Cf. *WB.* III, 196, 5: *ḥtpj* (in einer Aufzählung von Möbeln), and Černý, The Will of Naunakhte (*JEA* 31 [1945], 39): *ḥtpj* a receptacle?

therefore rendered by the term πτεροφόρος "bearer of a feather". See Gardiner, *AEO*, I, 56*-57*; Pestman, *Papiri della Università degli Studi di Milano*, III (1965), 183-184, 187 (no. 20); *LÄ* IV (1982), 1182-1183.

2. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 147-148 points out that *r3.t w3ḏ.t* always means "fresh ink". However, in our passage, because of the contrast with *r3.t km.t* "black ink", *r3.t w3ḏ.t* would by way of exception have to be taken as "green ink".

**Rt. VI b, 11**

1. For *ˁ.t* ... (a product), see rt. VI b, 8, n. a.

2. *mḏj ṯ3j b*  "dowel for operating on the mouth". Er., *Dem Glossar*, 194, 4, takes *ṯ3j b* as one word and records: *mḏj ṯb* "Art Instrument (bei der Balsamierung des Apisstieres gebraucht)". I prefer two separate words: (1) *ṯ3j* "to operate"; cf. *WB.* V, 347, 11: *ṯ3j m mḏ3.t* "mit dem Meisel gravieren"; (2) *b*  "mouth": rt. II 10, n. 3. For *mḏj* "dowel", see Chassinat, *Mystère*, II, 472; see also *Serapis* 7 (1981/82), 81: "in a medical context, *mḏ3.t* was probably a wooden dowel which was worked into the mouth (presumably by force) as a means to pry the mouth open and keep it open". This definition fits our case well except that our *mḏj* was made of copper (determinative ), not of wood. Notice, finally, that the word also occurs in a demotic word-list from Tebtunis. See Tait, *JEA* 68 (1982), 221 (n. with l. 13).

3. Malaise[104] and Morardet[105] have both devoted detailed studies to the *mḥj*. From these it appears that the word in olden times was written *nmḥf*  (*WB.* II, 268, 17); in the late period the spelling without *f* at the end and *n* at the beginning came into vogue:  The studies also prove that the *mḥj* is a stone of more or less green colour. The nature of the stone is disputed. According to Malaise we are dealing with green jasper, according to Morardet with dolerite; cf. also, Aufrère, l'*Univers minéral, II*, 545, sqq.; Chassinat, *op. cit.*, II, 491-492. The stone was readily used to manufacture heart-scarabs on the back of which the rubric of chapter XXX B of the *Book of the Dead* was inscribed. The green colour, which as the colour of Osiris symbolises rejuvenation and resurrection, makes the stone highly appropriate for the manufacture of an amulet such as the heart-scarab. For green as colour of vegetation symbolising rejuvenation, see, for instance, Kees, *Farbensymbolik*, 430.

4. Cf. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 166: *w3ḥ* (unidentified kind of stone).

[104] Malaise, La pierre *nmḥf* et son identification avec le défunt dans le Livre des morts, in: *CdÉ* XLVIII (1973), 26-35; idem, *Les scarabées de cœur dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 45 sqq.

[105] Morardet, Étude sur la pierre *mḥ* des anciens Égyptiens, in: *Oriens Antiquus* XXI (1982), 159-162.

**Rt. VI b, 12**

1. For the *3w*-vessel, a small vessel perhaps used for the storage of pigments from which the scribe of the god's book made ink, see rt. I 7, n. 3.

**Rt. VI b, 14**

1. For *nm* "wood from the tamarisk", see rt. II 2, n. 5.

2. For *ḥtpj*, an unidentified object (a chest?), see rt. VI b, 7, n. 1.

**Rt. VI b, 16**

1. For the *ḏlḥ*-vessel, see rt. V 28, n. 1.

2. For *ʿt ntm* "sweet fat", see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 337, sqq.

**Rt. VI b, 17**

1. For *gw-m33* "fine styrax", a sweet-smelling resin extracted by incision from a "black" tree and used as basic material in the preparation of ointment, see rt. I 7, n. 1.

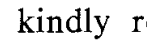
2. For *nḥḥ* "sesame oil", see Janssen, *op. cit.*, 330-333, and for sesame oil as product of the oasis (*wḥj*), see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 98, 4. Germer, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanze*, 283-286, is of the opinion that "die Deutung von *nḥḥ* als Sesamöl möglich ist, aber zur Zeit nicht belegbar". Perhaps the oil is used to illuminate (*sḥt*) during ceremonies. Lighting of torches is often mentioned in connection with embalming rituals held at night. See Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, 36 sqq. [*MÄS* 11, 1968].

**Rt. VI b, 18**

1. For the *wr-irj*, presumbaly an embalmer who played a leading role in the initial stage of the embalming process, *i.e.* at the removal of the intestines, see rt. V 31, n. 1.

**Rt. VI b, 19**

1. For *gḏ*  "gypsum" (not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*), see *WB.* V, 82, 7: *ḳḏ* "Gyps", "Stucco", and the discussion of the word by Černý, *The Valley of the Kings* [le Caire 1973: Bibliothèque d'Étude, tome 61], 35-41.

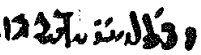
2. The word can probably be identified with the word *gml* which indicates an unknown part of Inaros' armour; cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 581, 1 (= *Inaros*, XIII 2). Dr. Jac. J. Janssen kindly refers me to , an unidentified bone object (*JARCE* 6 [1967], 146, l. 11 and *RAD*, 76, l. 10). If this equation is correct, Lesko's translation "tusk" (*A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, IV, 41) should be considered with caution in the light of the copper determinative in our text.

3. For the *ḳn*-cloth, see rt. III 6, n. 5.

§ 23. (vs. I, 1-9)

CONTENTS

The verso opens with a chapter which is devoted almost entirely to the embalming of bodily cavities. The execution of these operations is entrusted to a special embalmer who has the title of *p3 ḫrj-ḥb ntj i.ir-ḥr p3 ḥn* "the embalmer who is charged with the cavity" (vs. I 1, 8). This embalmer sets out to work systematically and begins at the front of the bull with the embalming of the chest cavity (vs. I, 1-3). He then shifts his working area to the rear quarters and treats the anal passage and those parts of the body to be found in this region: the hind part of the back, the tail, and in all probability the sexual organs (vs. I, 3-4). Finally the chest and abdominal cavities are submitted to a preservative treatment (vs. I, 7-9).

1. *t3 mj(.t) p3 ḥ3*  "the way at the backside" = the anus.

The embalmer embalms the anal passage according to a method which differs completely from that described in the recto version. As far as the recto version goes, the anus is cleansed out in that old mummy cloths and embalming materials are removed, then thoroughly washed with water and treated once again with *sgn*-ointment and mummy cloths (rt. III, 8-10). In the verso account there is nothing to indicate that the anus has already been embalmed, and the embalmer begins immediately with the task of pushing a large bag, filled with an unknown number of smaller bags containing natron and myrrh, into the anal passage. The result of this treatment is that the anus retains as much as possible its natural shape and is protected against decay by the bactericidal and absorptive qualities of the myrrh and natron. The embalmer is assisted by the embalmer of the tail who sees to it that the bag is not pushed too deeply into the anus (vs. I 7, n. 1).

2. *p3 ḥn*  "the cavity" = the chest and abdominal cavity.

The chest and abdominal cavity form an organic whole, which is summarized in Egyptian by the term *ḥn* "cavity" (literally: box, chest: vs. I 1, n. 2). Just as in carefully-embalmed human mummies, the respiratory and digestive organs to be

found in this cavity were, with an eye to the preservation of the mummy, removed in an early stage of the embalming via an incision in the left side of the bull[106]. Now the embalmer submits the dissected cavity to a preservative follow-up treatment beginning with the part which we would call the chest cavity. He first introduces cloths into this area via the mouth and the incision (vs. I 1, n. 3) and pours in pure oil (*sf w'b*) prepared from resin via the mouth and with the aid of an instrument (vs. I 1, n. 4). He carefully cleanses (*w'b m-šs*) the chest cavity by wiping the walls clean with cloths impregnated with the resinous oil poured into the cavity and therefore suited to mopping up the impurities (vs. I 1, n. 5). After he has removed the cloths with their impurities and replaced them with new ones, he anoints the heart (*ḥ3.t*) with pure *'nḏ*-oil and wraps (*swḥ*) it in a *sj.t*-cloth which has been impregnated with this oil. To execute this treatment properly the heart was taken out and later put back in its correct place via the incision made in the left side of the bull to facilitate the removal of the intestines (vs. I 2, n. 2). The embalmer finally fills up the mummy internally via the mouth and the incision with little bags (*'rf*) containing a combination of natron and sawdust (vs. I, 8-9).

If we combine this chapter with the scattered details from the recto, we arrive at a fairly complete picture of the total treatment which the mummy internally was submitted to. The treatment seems to have been carried out in the same manner as it was with carefully-embalmed human mummies[107]. First an incision was made in the left side of the bull and via this incision all the entrails were removed, except for the heart, which as the centre of physical and emotional life was left in its place. Upon removal the entrails were washed with life-giving water and then stowed away in *hbn.t*-vessels (rt. IV, 5-7). Finally, the mummy was stuffed with a large number of little bags containing a combination of natron and sawdust. This delayed the decaying process and eliminated the danger of the huge mummy collapsing because of its own weight and as a result of later manipulations during the wrapping process and transportation.

## COMMENTARY

### Vs. I 1

1. Like the recto, the verso begins in the middle of an account of the embalming of the Apis. The incompleteness of the recto is due to the infortunate loss of a piece of the papyrus at the beginning. With the verso it is a different story in that the

[106] See p. 123 sqq.
[107] See p. 103, n. 24.

scribe, at the beginning and end of the four columns which make up the text, has left a lot of space unused. We can hardly wish for better evidence to prove that he could not have had the intention of being more complete than he has been here, but in fact deliberately chose certain sections of the embalming process for copying. The sections have obviously been selected in view of the corresponding accounts on the recto, of which they mostly give an enlarged and modified version[108].

2. The word *hn*  literally means "chest", but can also be used in relation to parts of the body which the Egyptians considered chest-like, such as the cranial, chest or abdominal cavities[109]. The exact meaning has to be determined from the context. In this case we are dealing with *hn* in the sense of chest cavity, because in l. 2 mention is made of the embalming of the heart (*ḥ3.t*) which is situated in the lower part of the chest cavity.

3. The embalmer places cloths in the chest cavity. He will have carried out this process (*nms*) mostly via the mouth (the neck cavity had been dissected) but presumably also in part via the incision in the side through which the lower chest could be reached.

4. The embalmer undoubtedly pours the oil inside via the mouth. Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum*, I, 64 (middle) mention the mummy of a cow which shows clear signs of having had a similar operation. An instrument of some kind was indispensable for the problem-free execution of this process. I think the Horus copper would have been of excellent service in this case (see p. 126-128).

5. For *w'b* "to cleanse", see *WB.* I, 280, 12-18. The embalmer will have carried out the cleansing process with the cloths which he had especially introduced in order to wipe the walls of the chest cavity clean. The cloths were, because of the resinous (sticky) oil with which they were impregnated, excellently suited to the mopping up of all kinds of impurities. The operation must have been carried out via the mouth and the incision.

## Vs. I 2

1. The embalmer removes the oil (*štj bnr*) which he had poured into the chest cavity (l. 1), *i.e.* he removes the cloths which were impregnated with this oil. Presently the embalmer will introduce new cloths in the chest cavity.

2. As with the human mummy the heart of the Apis is left in its place and not removed along with the entrails (liver, lungs, intestines, etc.). From a religious point

[108] See p. 13 sqq.

[109] See Meeks, *Donations*, 14, n. 10; Caminos, *A Tale of Woe*, 19, with n. 6; Chassinat, *Le manuscript magique Copte*, 70, n. 1.

of view the heart is indispensable for the deceased, since it had to be weighed before Osiris in the Hall of Judgement. See *Book of the Dead*, chapters XXVI-XXX B, which aim especially at guaranteeing the deceased the possession of his heart in the Nether-world; see also *CT* VI, spell 715 (Zandee, *Death as an enemy*, 174-175; Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten* = *Äg. Abh.* 20, 1970, 51-52); Borghouts, *The magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 173, n. 421.

The text briefly describes only the technical side of the treatment of the heart which consists of anointing it with resinous oil and wrapping it up in a mummy cloth impregnated with the same oil. From the *Rituel de l'Embaumement* we know that anointing with oil effectuates the arousing of the heart to new life (see Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*, 44-45, 49).

The question is how the embalmer could reach the heart in order to carry out his operations properly. To answer this question some anatomical knowledge is required. The heart of an adult bull weighs approximately 2 kgs. and measures 15 to 20 cms. It is situated in the chest cavity between the foremost long lobes, extends to the third rib at the front and the sixth at the back, and its sides are nearer to the left than the right chest wall. In view of this position it seems excluded that the embalmer reached the heart via the mouth as the distance between it and the heart (approx. 80 cms.) is too great for the average human arm. The only other possibility is the incision made for the removal of the entrails. It seems fairly certain that this was made in the left side below the sternal ribs, e.g. at the level of the eighth or ninth asternal rib, in order that one could reach deeply into the abdominal cavity by hand and could remove all of the entrails without the ribs being in the way. Via this incision the embalmer could easily reach behind the ribs to the heart[110] which he will have removed and after treatment returned to its place.

## Vs. I 3

1. The tail is only mentioned here and in vs. I 10, both times in connection with a cursory treatment. The recto devotes a separate chapter to this important ritual part of the body (rt. III, 10-13).

[110] With carefully embalmed human beings the incision for removing the entrails was also made in the left side below the sternal ribs, because left is considered to be the negative side (death) as opposed to the right side. See rt. III 12, n. 2 and *RdÉ* 36 (1985), 31, n. 87 (with references). The operation was carried out by the so-called *paraschistes* with a knife made of Ethiopian stone (obsidian or rather flint, since ritual knives are usually made of flint) (Diodorus Siculus, I, 91; Herodotus, II, 86).

## Vs. I 4

1. He lifts the scrotum, sqq. The interpretation of this passage depends on two words which I have not been able to decipher:

(1)  ... "the scrotum (?)" (vs. I 4)

(2)  ... 2.*t* "the two testicles (?)" (vs. I 4).

Given the context of the section vs. I, 3-7, both words concern parts of the body (determinative) which are to be found in the region of the tail and the anus. It is obvious to think of the sexual organs. In the first case perhaps the scrotum is meant, in the second (a dual substantive) the two testicles. If this theory is correct, then it is remarkable that these parts of the body were submitted to such a brief treatment, a treatment that bears no relation to the important role they played in connection with a fertility god, which the Apis by nature was, a role which is emphasised in writing by the fact that the word for bull (*k3*) is written with the sign of the phallus. On the recto not one word is said about the sexual organs, even though the description of the treatment of the anus (rt. III, 8-10) would have offered a good occasion to do so.

The relative silence on the treatment of the sexual organs may originate in the fact that according to Plutarch's version of the myth of Osiris, the phallus of the god was eaten by a fish (the oxyrhynchus fish: *LÄ* II [1977], 230) and was thus irretrievably lost. On the other hand Egyptian texts emphasize the great phallic power of Osiris, which symbolizes the god's restored vitality; see Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, 343-344; Hani, *Religion Égyptienne*, II, 559, sqq.

2. The embalmer makes a bag by taking up the corners of a more or less square cloth on which he had already placed small bags containing embalming materials, and by tying them together with a *pjr*-bandage. The same technique is described by Winlock for small bags containing natron which he had found among the embalming refuse of king Tut-ʿakh-Amun. See Winlock, *Materials used at the embalming of King Tut-ʿankh-Amun*, 11 a.

## Vs. I 7

1. The embalmer of the cavity (*hn*) tampons (*dj.t ḏr3* "makes firm") the anus by pushing the bag containing embalming materials up the full length of the anal passage. The danger that during this process the bag would be eventually pushed too far and would end up in a section of the abdominal cavity, an error that would not be simple to remedy, is removed by the embalmer of the tail who holds the end of the bag outside the anus during the operation (*sḳ n3 tp.w p3 šs r bnr*).

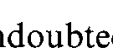
## Vs. I 8

1. Since the embalmer of the cavity was mentioned by his full title as means of identification only at the beginning of the text, and subsequently always indicated by the suffix *=f* "he", it is now once more necessary to use his full title in order not to confuse him with the embalmer of the tail. Our embalmer is now about to put the finishing touches to the embalming of the chest and abdominal cavities. First he introduces, via the mouth, six large bags (vs. I 8, n. 2) filled with a combination of sawdust and natron into the chest cavity and, following that, he stuffs the mummy further via the incision in the left side by introducing a large number of small bags filled with a mixture of natron and sawdust. This embalming technique for the stuffing of empty spaces is also applied to human mummies (also in modern times, following dissection). Winlock, *op. cit.*, 11 a, came across numerous little bags among the embalming refuse of Tutankhamun which were filled with sawdust mixed with natron, as apparent from its strong taste of salt. The bags varied in size "from 20 cms. square and 7 cms. thick, the largest, down to an occasional one 6 cms. square and 3 cms. thick" (see the illustrations in Winlock, *op. cit.*, pl. III). Winlock could not think of any possible purpose for these bags, but there is no doubt that they must have been used, as in the case of the Apis, to tampon and preserve the mummy of the monarch. For the use of sawdust in mummification, see Lucas, *Materials*, [4]324-325.

2. *ʿrf sḫ ...*  : this is an allusion to bags of large dimensions as opposed to the *small* bags (*ʿrf ḥm*) in l. 9. The word *sḫ ...* will communicate something further about the manner in which the bags were manufactured.

## Vs. I 9

1. Are we dealing here perhaps with the word  "body" (*WB.* IV, 555, 2-3) which would fit in well with this context as a definition of the inner body of the Apis?

2. *snn*  can undoubtedly be identified with  (*WB.* IV, 166, 9-13), whose precise nature is disputed. Germer, *Arzneimittelpflanzen*, 184-185, thinks of some resinous product which was especially used to treat eye-diseases. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 181-182, says that in some cases it would appear to be a sort of resin, but there are also indications that seem to point to it being a mineral product originating from Nubia and probably green in colour. Von Deines-Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 448, also record the possibility that *snn* could be a mineral, but at the same time think, along the lines of Ebbell and Lefebvre, in the first place of Mecca balsam.

As far as our passage is concerned *snn* cannot have been a mineral but must have been a resin, applied in combination with the resin of the terebinth (*sntr*). There is no proof that it could have been Mecca balsam, but the identification is certainly attractive when we study this product with regard to its properties and use[111].

Mecca balsam has been assigned miraculous properties in the Orient since ancient times, especially in the treatment of wounds (the incision) and of eye diseases (see also Germer, *loc. cit.*). The resin is derived from the Balsamodendron opobalsamum, a shrub 5 or 6 metres high, which grows in Southern Arabia and in Somalia. The resin is extracted by incision of the stem or by boiling the younger branches. One so obtains a syrupy matter, bitter in taste but with a strong pleasant odour, which hardens rapidly in the air. One can imagine that such a resin would lend itself well to the treatment of a wound like the incision: once applied (l. 9: *dj.t* "to place", not *wrḥ* "to anoint", as with oil), the matter would quickly harden (determinative of the stone) and seal the incision firmly like a thick plaster. In this connection one recalls that since the New Kingdom the incision was often sealed with a plate made of wax or gold. See Bonnet, *Reallexicon*, 485; Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period*, 114, 147.

3. *Sntr w3ḏ* "fresh resin of the terebinth". For *sntr* "resin of the terebinth", see rt. II 12, n. 4. Germer, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen*, 75 states that *sntr w3ḏ* is incense (*sntr*) which is still rich in (*w3ḏ*) ethereal oils and delivered in large lumps since otherwise it would immediately flow out.

4. "The opening of the place" probably means the incision, through which small bags filled with embalming materials were introduced into the mummy. The evasive description can be explained by the taboo which surrounds the incision and which is clearly reflected in a famous passage of Diodorus Siculus (I, 91) in which it is said that the *paraschistes*, after he had made an incision in the left side of the mummy, was driven off by curses and a shower of stones[112]. Without realising it, the Greek author is presumably recalling the general purport of a ritual to which the paraschistes (= Seth, who mutilated the body of Osiris) was subjected. See Anne Burton, *Diodorus Siculus Book I*, 264.

[111] See Wagler, in: *Pauly-Wissowa Real - Encyclopädie der class. Altert. Wiss.*, II, 2836-2839, *s.v.* "Balsambaum".

[112] For this account see Kees, in: *ZÄS* 60 (1925), 10 sqq.

§ 24. (vs. I, 9-11)

CONTENTS

A short chapter in which the scribe mentions, in words strongly reminiscent of a passage (rt. III, 5-8) from the recto concerning the embalming of the limbs, that the embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*) gather themselves around the mummy and wrap the feet (*dr.wt*) in cloths which are not specified (vs. I 10, n. 2). After an interpolation about the embalming of the tail (vs. I 10, n. 3), the scribe closes his account with the communication that *sj.t* and *ḳn*-cloths, which are soaked in pure *ʿnḏ*-oil, are placed in position. Unfortunately he forgets to mention the most important detail, namely whether the limbs were entirely wrapped up in these cloths or only certain parts of them. From comparison with the recto it would appear that the *ḳn*-cloths must have been intended for the wrapping of the hoofs (vs. I 10, n. 4).

COMMENTARY

**Vs. I 10**

1. The word *r* serves to underline a sharp contrast: the previously mentioned embalmers embalm bodily cavities, but now specially selected embalmers will treat the limbs. See the parallel passage rt. III 5, n. 2.

2. No further mention is made of the cloths in which the feet are now wrapped. The parallel passage rt. III, 5-6 speaks of byssus (*šs-nsw*) in this connection.

3. The word for tail (*wṯ3*) occurs in the middle of the account of the embalming of the limbs and is therefore clearly interpolated. It appears from the recto that the tail is embalmed in connection with the limbs (cf. rt. III, 5-13).

4. *ḳn*  : it appears from rt. III, 5-6 that the *ḳn* linen is a cloth of Saitic workmanship which was specially manufactured for the wrapping (*nbt*) of the hoofs. See rt. III 6, n. 5.

**Vs. I 11**

1. I do not understand how the preposition *ḥr*, of which the reading seems certain despite the omission of the usual determinative of the flesh, can fit into the construction of the sentence. The meaning is conjectured from the context.

§ 25. (vs. I, 11-13)

CONTENTS

While the recto says nothing of the embalming of the breast, the verso devotes much attention to this, both in the present chapter and in the section vs. II b, 23 - vs. III 1. The embalming seems to have been entrusted to two embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*) who have presumably also embalmed the forelegs of the bull (vs. I 11, n. 2). They anoint the chest with oil (*pḫr.t*) and place various cloths in position which they fasten to the chest with mummy bandages (vs. I 12, n. 1). The notable thing is that the cloths and mummy bandages are preferably soaked in a combined solution of oil and natron (vs. I 12, n. 2).

COMMENTARY

**Vs. I 11**

2. From the recto it appears that four embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*), each of whom takes up a fixed position at one of the bull's legs, embalm the Apis. As far as the verso is concerned it will not have been otherwise (cf. vs. I, 9-11), and in that case it is likely that the two embalmers of the forelegs now treat the chest of the Apis. For the position of the embalmers around the bull and the consequent division of their duties, see Introduction, p. 37.

**Vs. I 12**

1. The possible dimensions of the *sj.t*-cloth are apparent from vs. II b, 25-26, where the chest is wrapped in a *sj.t*-cloth measuring 2 × 1 divine cubits (approx. 104 × 52 cms.). During the wrapping process the bull lies on its belly on a bank of sand (rt. I 1). Taking into account the pronounced skin fold of the chest (cossum), a cloth of the aforementioned dimensions is sufficient to cover the visible section of the chest (the upper chest) completely from shoulder to shoulder. The *sbn*-bandage with which the cloth is fastened probably runs from the neck along the body downwards through the arm-pit over the upper chest, and through the other arm-pit along the body back upwards to the neck (cf. Fig. 4, p. 238).

2. It is not exceptional for mummy bandages and cloths used for the wrapping of the chest to be impregnated with a combined solution of oil and natron (*ḥsmn*). Lucas, *Materials*, [4] 120, writes about similar cloths: "... but apparently natron was

also used in the form of a solution, for Pettigrew, Lortet and Gaillard state that body-wrapping clothes were impregnated with natron".

§ 26. (vs. I, 13-17)

CONTENTS

Various oils are brought into the Place of Embalmment and made available to the Overseer of the Mystery as leader of the Ritual for the embalming of the Apis (vs. I 15). Two categories of oil are involved which are prepared from the resin ($\overset{\circ}{\underset{|||}{}}$) of conifer woods:

(1) *phr.t* "medicaments" = $\overset{\circ}{\underset{|||}{}}$ Coptic ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ (φάρμακα). Medicaments are mentioned in connection with the first and twelfth days of the embalming process as well as medicaments in warm and cold condition (*t3 phr.t ntj ḥmm* and *t3 phr.t ntj ḳbḥ*);

(2) *sf* "resin", , Coptic ⲥⲓϥⲉ. The oil is mentioned together with natron (*ḥsmn*) as a combined solution which is readily used for the impregnation (*tḫb*) of cloths (vs. I 12, n. 2). Further mention is made of special kinds: (a) *p3 sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb* "the pure *ʿnḏ*-oil"; (b) *p3 sf shrj*, in which *shrj* is some kind of resin which is either added to the oil (*sf*) or which served as a basic product from which the latter was prepared (vs. I 15, n. 1). The oils are used for the embalming of the oral cavity, the tongue and the eyes, as described in the section vs. I 15 — vs. II a, 6. After that new supplies are brought in.

For *sf* (*sft*) "resin", see Germer, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten* Ägypten, 15 sqq., according to whom *sf*/ *sft* is a product of the fir-tree (*ʿš*).

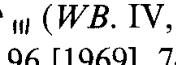
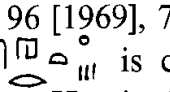
COMMENTARY

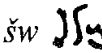
**Vs. I 14**

1. The oil of the first day is also recorded in the obscure passage vs. II a, 1. The day is that of the 70-day long embalming process on which the oil in question was prepared. See rt. III 13, n. 4.

**Vs. I 15**

1. *shr* , var. *shrj* (vs. II a, 7, II b, 3, 10). This is a granular ($\overset{\circ}{\underset{|||}{}}$) material which is sometimes used in dry condition (following note), but mostly in

the form of oil (*p3 sf shrj*), e.g. for the impregnation of *sj.t*-cloths which are placed on the eyes (vs. II b, 3, 10). It is probable that the word can be identified with  (*WB.* IV, 208, 16-18; von Deines-Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 458-459; Edel, in: *ZÄS* 96 [1969], 7-8). Dawson (apud Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, 19, n. 24) says that  is chalcedony, a crypto crystalline quartz which occurs in various colours. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 130-131, refrains from making a pronouncement about the identity of the product, and says only that it was used for embalming, for medical purposes, and for the making of amulets. In a study published in *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 1-31 the product is said to be "ambre jaune". According to Malaise, *Les scarabées de cœur*, 47 *shr* is presumably a kind of resin. This view fits excellently with the use of *shr* as a product for the manufacture of oil (*p3 sf shr*). Apparently the resin was attributed with magical properties to cure eye diseases (see vs. II b, 3, 9-12 and Barns, *loc. cit.*). See also: *RdÉ* 36 (1985), 29, n. 72; Aufrère, l'*Univers minéral, II*, 591, sqq.

2. *šw*  "dry" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 494, 2): dry, *i.e. shr* in granular form (), in contrast to the liquid *shr* just mentioned (*p3 sf shr*). Thus one speaks of dry (*šw*) mummy cloths as distinct from mummy cloths impregnated with oil (vs. II a, 5, 6, II b, 17). Spiegelberg translates *šw* as "expensive" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 493).

3. The Overseer of the Mystery, as leader of the Ritual, will have given formal instructions for the materials to be brought in and now, also officially, receives them; cf. the procedure in rt. I 3 and rt. IV 23.

§ 27. (vs. I, 15-20)

CONTENTS

While various kinds of oil are brought into the embalming room, the embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*), who have embalmed the abdominal cavity, anus, tail and limbs, now stand aside for the Overseer of the Mystery who, as leader of the Ritual, will now busy himself further with the operations on the most prominent part of the Apis' body — the head, with its various parts[113]. The necessary assistance is provided by two *smr*-priests (vs. I 16, n. a).

It begins with the embalming of the oral cavity  On the initiative of the Overseer of the Mystery two *smr*-priests carry out the magical action of the opening of the mouth with the aid of a mummy cloth (vs. I 16, n. 1). While the two *smr*-priests hold the mouth wide open, the Overseer of the Mystery removes old cloths

[113] In the text of the recto things are presented the other way round in that the Overseer of the Mystery starts with the embalming of the head after which the embalmers (*ḫrj-ḥb.w*) appear on the stage to embalm the rest of the body.

and lines (*nms*) the oral cavity anew. Subsequently he anoints the oral cavity, and in particular the gullet (vs. I 17, n. 2), as far as he can reach by hand, and finally places, after an inexplicable action with a cloth (vs. I 18, n. 1), two times two cloths in position which are impregnated with warm medicaments: (1) two cloths of 1 divine cubit × 4 palms (approx. 52 × 30 cms.) which pass via the gullet deeply into the body, each of them ending in a compartment of an unknown dual part of the body (vs. I 19, n. a); (2) two cloths which because of their more limited size (4 × 3 palms = 30 × 22.5 cms.) end up less deeply inside the body. In due course all of the cloths are again removed, so their only purpose was probably to give the oil with which they were impregnated a chance to act on places in the mummy's interior which are difficult to reach by hand. In order to remove the cloths without problems and also in order to prevent them from completely slipping away via the gullet, it was carefully seen to that each of the ends remained in the mouth (vs. I 19, 20).

The embalming of the oral cavity does not end with this operation; four chapters which closely follow each other are still to come, in which further treatment is described: two chapters (vs. II a, 2-5 and vs. II a, 14-17) give roughly the same portrayal as that sketched above, and another two focus on the embalming of certain parts of the oral cavity, such as the palate and the teeth which are anointed with oil (vs. II a, 21-25).

This short summary of the treatment of the oral cavity should not be concluded without first referring to the chapter on the recto (rt. II, 10-12 + 13-14) which describes an alternative method of treatment that seems in parts to go back to a source which is also incorporated in the verso's account. This is apparent from a comparison between the passages rt. II, 13-14 and vs. II a, 21-25, both of which, concluding the treatment of the oral cavity, deal with the positioning in pairs of cloths on the upper and lower jaws.

## COMMENTARY

### Vs. I 16

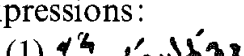
1. See vs. II a, 8-10, where this operation is described in detail.

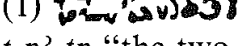
2. It is not unusual for the embalming of a cavity to be preceded by the removal of mummy cloths and all kinds of embalming materials which had been put into that cavity in an earlier stage of embalming; cf. vs. II a, 3-4 and rt. II 11, n. 1.

## Vs. I 17

1. No mention is made of the kind of oil with which the oral cavity is anointed (*wrḥ*), but the warm medicament used in the rest of this chapter is a possibility. The oil with which a little earlier the cloth has been soaked only seems to be used for anointing the throat (*tp*) and, therefore, cannot be considered.

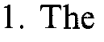
2. The word *tp* only occurs in the text of the verso, especially in the following two expressions:

(1)  *t3 mj(.t) p3 tp* "the passage of the throat" (vs. I 17; cf. *t3 mj.t 2.t p3 tp* "the two passages of the throat" vs. I 20 and *t3 mj.t 2.t ntj ḫr p3 tp n3.w* "the two passages which are at the bottom of the throat" vs. II a, 24);

(2)  *n3 b.w p3 tp* "the openings of the throat" (vs. II a, 4).

Spiegelberg (p. 29, n. 6) translates the last example as "die Höhlen der Nase" and takes *tp* to be a substantive derived from *tpj* "to breathe" (*WB.* V, 296,3-4). However, the expressions are invariably used in passages where they occur in relation to parts of the body to be found inside the mouth. It seems more likely, then, that we are dealing with expressions for the two openings (*b.w*) of the throat (*tp*) or for the two passages (*mj.t*) of the wind-pipe and the esophagus which are to be found at the bottom of the throat (*tp*). *Tp*, as a word meaning throat, is otherwise unknown to me (not in *WB.* or Er., *Dem Glossar*).

## Vs. I 18

1. The word *hnbj* , which, in view of the determinative of the piece of cloth, indicates a cloth or something similar, is otherwise unknown to me. A previously mentioned cloth (*p3 ḥbs rn=f*) is placed on the *hnbj, i.e.* the cloth from vs. I 17 which was impregnated with medicaments of the 12th day. Further, however, we are not informed whether this cloth was placed in or on some part of the body (the throat?).

§ 28. (vs. I, 21-24)

CONTENTS

The Overseer of the Mystery embalms the tongue and is assisted in this by embalmers who are further unmentioned (the two *smr*-priests? cf. vs. I 21, n. 2). While the embalmers are busy anointing the tongue with warm medicaments, the only type of oil with which this part of the body may be treated (vs. I 21, n. 3), the Overseer of the Mystery is making two cloths to measure: (1) a *sj.t*-cloth of 3 palms

× 6 digits (approx. 22.5 × 11 cms.) which is impregnated with warm medicaments; (2) a *ḥbs*-cloth whose dimensions are probably 1 divine cubit x 8 palms (approx. 52 × 60 cms.: vs. I 22, n. 2). Following these preparations the Overseer of the Mystery wraps the tongue in the two cloths. As this is carried out in the same methodical manner, the scribe, in order not to repeat himself unnecessarily, only gives a detailed report of the wrapping in the *ḥbs*-cloth (vs. I 22, n. 3). The scribe ends his account by mentioning three cloths in which the tongue will be wrapped at a later stage. This description follows in the section vs. II a, 17-21.

The recto account (rt. II 13) of the embalming of the tongue differs as well as resembles that of the verso. The differences are in the type of oil which is worked with (*sgn*-oil in the recto, warm medicaments in the verso) and in the number of cloths that are positioned (one cloth according to the recto as opposed to six in the verso, including the cloths mentioned in vs. II a, 17-21). There are no differences with regard to the fastening technique used for the cloths.

## COMMENTARY

### Vs. I 21

1. For the expression *šm i.ir-ḥr* + part of the body "to go for a part of the body" = to begin the embalming of a part of the body, an expression which originates from the embalmers' professional language, see rt. II 14, n. 3.

2. Only here is an operation on the tongue not carried out by the Overseer of the Mystery, but by embalmers. These are in all probability the two *smr*-priests who regularly assist in the embalming of the mouth (vs. I 16, II a, 2, 9) and of the head (vs. III 14, with n. 1).

3. It would appear from a notation later in the text that the use of warm medicaments is prescribed for the embalming of the tongue. See vs. II a, 21 with n. 2.

4. Cf. the parallel passage rt. II 13: *iw=f ḳlḥ ḥr ḥ3.t n.im=f pjr* 3"he swathes at its front with 3 *pjr*-bandages".

### Vs. I 22

1. *iw=f ʾḳ ns.f r ḥrj* "he pulls up his tongue", lit. he lets his tongue go in upwards. For the transitive use of the verb *ʾḳ*, see rt. II 8, n. 3.

2. The counterpart of this cloth (*kj ḥbs*) seems to be mentioned in vs. II a, 17,

where the measurements are given as 1 divine cubit × 8 palms (approx. 52 × 60 cms.). The fact that the scribe does not first record the dimensions of the cloth and then possible further particulars, as in the case of the *sj.t*-cloth, is confusing.

3. The question that arises here is what is meant by the words that the Overseer of the Mystery must pull the edges (*tp.w*) of the cloth upwards "until his tongue has reached in front of it upwards". I have attempted to answer this question by carrying out the operations, with the aid of a linen cloth of 52 × 60 cms. (n. 2 above), on the tongue of a slaughtered, but otherwise intact, bull which was put at my disposal by a slaughterhouse (see the Introduction at § 36 = vs. II a, 21-26). The tongue of this bull was the normal length of 50 cms., which corresponded with the width of the cloth. Even though the measurements tallied, it turned out to be not so simple to wrap the tongue up without having a piece of the cloth sticking out at the front. The only way to prevent this was to pull the tongue forwards and up, so that the cloth could be placed under the back part of the tongue (cf. vs. II a, 17 where it is stated that the cloth must be placed on the end of the tongue).

This practical experience provides, in my opinion, an acceptable explanation for our passage: in order to prevent a piece of the cloth from sticking out at the front, the Overseer of the Mystery pulls the tongue a good bit forwards and up ("until his tongue has reached in front of it upwards") and only then does he wrap the edges of the cloth around the tongue.

**Vs. I 23**

1. The cloth is fastened to the tongue with three *pjr*-bandages according to a technique which is also described in rt. II 13 and vs. II a, 17-20. There is one central mummy bandage which runs over the middle of the tongue and there are two mummy bandages which are taken to the right and left, respectively, of the tongue and then tied together. How the central bandage is fastened I do not know.

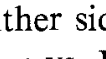
2. The wrapping in the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth and in the large *bnt*-cloth will be described in the chapter vs. II a, 17-21; the small *bnt*-cloth makes no further appearance in the text.

**Vs. II a, 1**

1. The sentence looks like the heading of a chapter. The scribe, for inexplicable reasons, has not copied the text of this chapter; had he done so, it would have contained, among other things, details on the *ṯ3j-wjṯ* and the *tmmj*, both kinds of amulets which will be used in connection with the embalming of the Apis' eyes.

§ 29. (vs. II a, 2-5)

CONTENTS

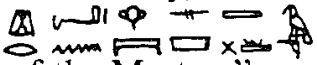
The Overseer of the Mystery takes up position in front of (*ḥms i.ir-ḥr*) the head of the bull and resumes work on the oral cavity. He is assisted by his two helpers, the *smr*-priests, who stand in position at either side of the head. These priests pull the head back as far as possible ( *swsw*: vs. II a, 2, n. 2) and hold the mouth wide open for the Overseer of the Mystery, who thrusts his hand in and removes the mummy cloths which he had placed in position in an earlier phase (vs. I, 15-18). Subsequently he anoints the oral cavity, in particular the throat openings (*nȝ b.w pȝ tp*), with pure oil (*sf w'b*), which is specially intended for this stage of the treatment (vs. II a, 4, n. 1), and then introduces a cloth impregnated with pure oil into each of the throat openings. Finally he fills the mouth completely with dry *nm*-cloths and cloths impregnated with pure oil (vs. II a, 5, n. 1).

COMMENTARY

**Vs. II a, 2**

1. For *ḥms i.ir-ḥr* "to sit in front of", a technical expression originating from the embalmers' jargon, see rt. II 14, n. 3.

2. The word *swsw*  can be identified with the demotic *s's'* "to lift upt" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 411, 8 = *Petubastis*, IX, 14) and with the Coptic ⲥⲁϩⲉ "to pull", "to lift up" (Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 163, 4), which fits well in this context with regard to the lifting up and pulling back of the Apis' head.

3. The words *ḫr dr.t=f* only present a sensible meaning if one takes them in the metaphorical sense of "under his hand" = under his guidance (*WB.* V, 583, 21). The text then emphasises that the two *smr*-priests may only treat the head while under the supervision of the Overseer of the Mystery, who has exclusive rights to the embalming of this most important part of the body (cf. p. 103). Compare *Rituel de l'Embaumement* 4, 8: no other embalmer may approach while the Overseer of the Mystery is embalming the head of the mummy, with the exception of the Divine Chancellor (*ḥtmw nṯr*) who works  "under the hand of (= under the guidance of) the Overseer of the Mystery".

**Vs. II a, 4**

1. Notice that in this stage the Overseer of the Mystery treats the mouth exclusively with pure oil (*sf w'b*). Later on he will work with cold medicaments (vs. II a, 8-11), then with warm medicaments (vs. II a, 13-17), and in the final stages with both cold and warm medicaments (vs. II a, 21-26).

**Vs. II a, 5**

1. Cf. vs. II a, 25-26, where the mouth is filled up *(mḥ) ṯ3j ls=f r ḥrj* "from his tongue upwards" with cloths impregnated with warm medicaments.

2. A combination of cloths impregnated with pure oil and dry (*šw*) *nm*-cloths is also used for the treatment of the eye-sockets (vs. II a, 6). The *nm*-cloth is otherwise unknown to me (not in *WB.* or Er., *Dem Glossar*). For *šw* "dry", see vs. I 15, n. 2.

§ 30. (vs. II a, 5-6)

CONTENTS

This chapter describes the first phase of a complicated process in which, with magical aids, the eye-sight of the Apis is restored after the eyes themselves have been taken out shortly after the beginning of the embalming process. In this stage of the treatment the Overseer of the Mystery anoints the eye-sockets (*ir.wt*, lit. eyes) with pure oil (*sf w'b*), and his assistants, the two *smr*-priests (vs. II a, 6, n. 1) place dry *nm*-cloths and cloths impregnated with pure oil in position. For a complete summary of the treatment of the eye-sockets and the restoration of the eyeball, see the Introduction to § 38 = vs. II b, 2-14.

COMMENTARY

**Vs. II a, 6**

1. The plural subject refers in all likelihood to the two *smr*-priests who more than once assist the Overseer of the Mystery in his operations on the head. See vs. I 21, n. 2.

§ 31. (vs. II a, 6-8)

CONTENTS

A short chapter, in which all kinds of things are brought into the Embalming Room and formally put at the disposal of the Overseer of the Mystery as leader of the Ritual for the further embalmment of the Apis (vs. II a, 8). Among these are enumerated: (1) an instrument which will be used by the Overseer of the Mystery to restore the eye-sight of the Apis in a magical way (vs. II a, 8, n. 1); (2) a few unidentified objects which will not reappear in the text; (3) various kinds of oils all of which are manufactured from a basis of certain types of resin, namely warm and cold medicaments (*phr.t*) which are stored in golden *bs*-vessels, pure *ʿnḏ*-oil and oil which is manufactured from *shrj*-resin (*pȝ sf shrj*: vs. II a, 7, n. 3). As all these various oils have been brought into the Embalming Room on an earlier occasion (vs. I, 14-15), we are dealing with a necessary replenishment of the supply. As far as the *shrj* and the pure *ʿnḏ* oils are concerned, which have not been mentioned again since they were first brought in, these must have been used during operations which the scribe for some reason or other has not described.

COMMENTARY

**Vs. II a, 7**

1. The two *bs*-vessels contain, respectively, cold medicaments for the embalming of the eye-sockets and the oral cavity, and warm medicaments intended for the treatment of the oral cavity, tongue and nose. *Bs*-vessels, made of gold or faience, are frequently mentioned in the text, in particular as vessels in which liquids (oil and water) are stored. See rt. V 20, n. 1.

2. The oil will be used for the embalming of the mysterious face (vs. II a, 27), the eye-sockets (vs. II b, 2-3), the ears (vs. II b, 16), and the horns (vs. II b, 22).

3. The *shrj*-oil, as would appear from vs. II b, 3-4, is stored in a golden *bs*-vessel and used for the impregnation of two *sj.t*-cloths which are placed on the eye-sockets. For *shrj*, some kind of resin, see vs. I 15, n. 1.

**Vs. II a, 8**

1. For this instrument, which is used by the Overseer of the Mystery for the restoration of the Apis' eye-sight, see vs. II b, 6, n. c.

2. The preposition *i.ir-ḥr* should be constructed with the verb *in* "to bring" in vs. II a, 6.

§ 32. (vs. II a, 8-11)

CONTENTS

After the Overseer of the Mystery in an earlier phase (vs. II a, 1-5) has embalmed the oral cavity of the bull with pure oil, he now continues the treatment with cold medicaments (*t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ*). First the mouth of the bull is opened, the Overseer of the Mystery as the leader of the Ritual taking the initiative (cf. vs. II a, 2, n. 3) by placing a mummy bandage (*ḥbs*) of 2 divine cubits × 6 digits (approx. 104 × 11 cms.) diagonally in the mouth of the bull. His assistants, the two *smr*-priests, who are positioned at either side of the head, each take an end of the mummy bandage and pull the mouth open, while the Overseer of the Mystery holds back the upper jaw (vs. II a, 8, n. 3). The magical nature of this operation is emphasised by a formula which has not been completely deciphered (vs. II a, 10, n. 1).

After the mouth has been opened, the Overseer of the Mystery impregnates a cloth (*ḥbs*). What happens to the cloth after this we are not told. Finally he anoints the palate (*3p3* : vs. II a, 11, n. a), the teeth (*nḏḥj.wt*), and the upper and lower jaws with cold medicaments.

COMMENTARY

**Vs. II a, 8**

3. The text seems to indicate that the Overseer of the Mystery places a rather wide and thus strong mummy bandage of approximately 104 × 11 cms. in the mouth of the bull, and that the two *smr*-priests each take an end of the bandage and pull the mouth open. This could only have been successful if the Overseer of the Mystery took care of the resultant counter-pressure by holding back the upper jaw with one hand at the nose. He could then carry out the embalmment with his free hand (cf. vs. II a, 21, n. 3).

I cannot explain why the opening of the mouth is described here in such detail and is drawn into a magical-religious sphere by a formula of obvious magical-religious tenor. The method used to open the mouth also clearly differs from vs. II a, 2, where two *smr*-priests simply pull the head backwards and open the mouth. If we compare the recto we see that there too the Overseer of the Mystery simply

opens the mouth of the bull assisted by a priest (rt. II 10). The recto, however, also mentions a kind of dowel (*mḏj ṯ3j b*) which is used to pry the mouth open and keep it open (rt. VI b, 11, n. 2). In any case the mummy bandage used here was a simple as well as excellent instrument to generate the strength required to open the mouth of a dead bull (see Introduction at § 36 = vs. II a, 21-26).

**Vs. II a, 10**

1. The formula, which clearly expresses the magic of the moment when the mouth of the Apis is opened, can be compared with the formula which attends the revealing (*wn-ḥr*) of the eye in vs. II b, 7. In order to possess power of speech in the Hereafter the Apis must of course have his mouth freely at his disposal. After embalmment, the restoration of this vital function was brought about by the well-known Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, but during the embalming process too all kinds of magical-religious spells would have been recited, and magical means invoked, in order to guarantee the functioning of the mouth. Some of this is evident in rt. III, 25 — III, 1 (with n. 1).

2. After the Overseer of the Mystery has prepared the cloth with cold medicaments he suddenly proceeds to anoint parts of the body in the oral cavity. What happens to the cloth after this is not said. We come across a parallel case in vs. II a, 14 sqq.

3. The scribe neglects to record that before anointing the parts of the body in the oral cavity, the Overseer of the Mystery first removes the cloths with which he had completely filled the mouth (vs. II a, 2-5). The same carelessness is apparent in vs. II a, 4 sqq. He is, however, accurate again in vs. I 16 sqq. and vs. II a, 2 sqq.

**Vs. II a, 11**

1. For *ḥr-ggj.t* 2.*t* "the two (halves of the) upper jaw" (a new word), see rt. II 13, n. 5. The dual, in which a little later the counterpart *ʾr.ṯj.t* 2.*t* "the two (halves of the) lower jaw" is constructed, is attributable in the first place to the fact that a cloth is placed on two halves of a jaw, but also presumably to the anatomically correct observation that the jaw of a bull consists of two halves or branches which are joined together in the middle by gristle to form a whole. The word *ʾr.t* "lower jaw" is also often written as a dual outside of our text (*WB.* I, 209, 2).

§ 33. (vs. II a, 12-13)

CONTENTS

After the interruption of vs. II a, 6-11, in which the bringing-in of embalming materials is described, the Overseer of the Mystery resumes his activities on the eye-sockets (*ir.wt*, lit. eyes). He anoints these with the cold medicaments and applies the resin separately to the corners of the eye or the canthi. The purpose of this is to firmly fix the eyelids and so prevent the *ḥf* "third eyelid", *i.e.* a layer of skin situated at the inner corner of the eye, from sagging into the lower part of the eye-socket (vs. II a, 12, n. 2). The text emphatically warns of the problem that this would create for the placing of the *ṯ3j-wjṯ* and the *tmmj*, two amulets which will later be placed in the eye-sockets and which will play an important role in such a pre-eminently magical business as the restoration of the eyeballs and the eye-sight of the Apis. See § 38 = vs. II b, 2-14.

COMMENTARY

**Vs. II a, 12**

1. The scribe neglects to record that the cloths which were placed in the eye-sockets in an earlier stage (vs. II a, 5) have been removed. For a similar oversight in the account of the embalming of the oral cavity, see vs. II a, 10, n. 3.

2. *bnr n.im=w* "outside of them", *i.e.* in the corners of the eye. The embalmer applies the resin of cold (= congealed and sticky) medicaments to the corners of the eye in order to fix the eyelids and to prevent the third eyelid (*ḥf*) from sagging. For this, see vs. II b, 8, n. 1.

3. For *ḫpr*, which occurs in a place where one would more readily expect a conjunction ("because"?) than a verb, see vs. II b, 5, n. 1.

**Vs. II a, 13**

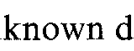
1. *ḏd* "because": cf. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, § 514. The parallel passage vs. II b, 5 uses the expression *ḫpr ḏd* "because (?)".

2. The *ṯ3j-wjṯ*-amulet is placed (*dj.t*) on a strip of linen (*stp pg3*) which, according to *WB.* IV, 341, 15, is specially used for magical operations. See Meeks, *Alex.*, 78.

1533: l'étoffe pourrait évoquer l'ouverture en suggérant l'horizon. For *pg3* (ancient *p3ḳ.t*), see *WB.* I, 499, 11-15; Er., *Dem Glossar*, 141, 5; *Rylands*, III, 351, *s.v. pky*; *BIFAO* XLIX (1950), 100, n. ao.

§ 34. (vs. II a, 13-17)

CONTENTS

After an intermission, in which the eye-sockets are submitted to a perfunctory treatment (vs. II a, 12-13), the Overseer of the Mystery resumes the embalming of the oral cavity and for this uses warm medicaments. The treatment proceeds more or less in the same way as it did in the first phase (vs. I, 18-20), in which mainly warm medicaments were used. The Overseer of the Mystery begins by impregnating a cloth (*ḥbs*) with warm medicaments. What happens to the cloth after that is unrecorded (vs. II a, 14, n. 1). He then anoints the oral cavity, in particular the openings of the throat, the tongue and the lips. Finally he applies two mummy cloths (*ḥbs*) of one divine cubit × 4 palms (approx. 52 × 30 cms.) which have been impregnated with warm medicaments and the points of which end up in the chest, each in an unknown dual part of the body  (the two lung cavities?; cf. vs. II a, 16, n. a), and the other ends of which remain in the mouth so that they can later be easily removed. The purpose of the cloths was presumably to allow the warm medicaments to work in for a longer period on parts of the mummy which were difficult to reach by hand.

COMMENTARY

**Vs. II a, 14**

1. The Overseer of the Mystery prepares a mummy cloth with warm medicaments. What is done with the cloth after that is not recorded; cf. the parallel case vs. II a, 10 (with n. 2).

2. The scribe neglects to mention that the cloths placed in an earlier stage are first removed; cf. vs. II a, 10, n. 3.

**Vs. II a, 15**

1. *3ḥtj(.t)* 2.*t* "the two throat openings": what is meant here is the entrance to the wind-pipe (the so-called "wrong throat opening") and the entrance to the neck and breast part of the esophagus.

**Vs. II a, 17**

1. Cf. the parallel passage vs. I 20. The repeated (vs. I, 17-20, II a, 14-17, III, 4-6), careful embalming of the throat with life-giving oil (rt. IV 5, n. 1) may be considered in the light of the importance the Egyptians attached to the wind-pipe and esophagus as organs indispensable for sustaining life and especially connected with the principle of *M3ʿ.t*. See Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 182 sqq.

§ 35. (vs. II a, 17-21)

CONTENTS

The Overseer of the Mystery continues with the wrapping of the tongue which he had started in vs. I, 21-24, and places three new cloths in total: a *ḥbs*-cloth, which, with its dimensions of 1 divine cubit × 8 digits (approx. 52 × 15 cms.), is big enough to completely wrap up the tongue, and two cloths already alluded to in vs. I 23, namely the large *bnt*-cloth of 3 palms × 6 digits (approx. 22.5 × 11 cms.) and the *swḥ-mtr*-cloth whose measurements are not given (vs. II a, 20). The method of placing and fastening is, as far as can be ascertained, in principle the same for all the cloths: the Overseer of the Mystery lifts up the tongue, lays the cloth under it and throws the borders on it. The cloth is then fastened according to a fixed technique with three mummy bandages.

COMMENTARY

**Vs. II a, 17**

2. Notice that the scribe does not begin the chapter with one of the formulas normally used for that purpose (see rt. II 14, n. 3). Later chapters will also have to do without formal introduction, with the exception of vs. II b, 2 and vs. II b, 14-15.

3. That is to say, when the account of the embalming of the tongue is complete, another cloth than the cloth (*ḥbs*) in which the tongue was wrapped in vs. I 22.

**Vs. II a, 18**

1. The dimensions of the large *bnt*-cloth are the same as those of the *sj.t*-cloth in vs. I 21 (3 palms × 6 digits = approx. 22.5 × 11 cms.).

**Vs. II a, 19**

1. Cf. vs. I 22, n. 1.

2. There now follows a description of the actual positioning of the two cloths, the essential details of which were given just a moment ago. As the two cloths are methodically placed in position according to the same method, the scribe, in order not to repeat himself unnecessarily, gives only a detailed account of the positioning of the *ḥbs*-cloth.

**Vs. II a, 20**

1. For the fastening of the cloth with three *pjr*-bandages, see vs. I 23, n. 1.

**Vs. II a, 21**

1. For *ḫpr* "because (?)", see vs. II b, 5, n. 1.

2. At the end of the chapter the scribe, as a sort of warning against alternative methods of treatment (cf. e.g. rt. II 13), adds the note that only warm medicaments must be used to treat the tongue. The point at issue here is not so much the medicaments themselves, which are mentioned often enough in our text and are nothing special, but rather the fact that they must be applied in a *warm* condition. I cannot say for certain why this would be important. Perhaps it has something to do with the fact that the tongue is an extremely sensitive part of the body, rich in bacteria and therefore perishable. Had experience perhaps shown that warm (bactericidal) medicaments had the best preservative effect?

§ 36. (vs. II a, 21-26)

CONTENTS

The Overseer of the Mystery submits the oral cavity to a final extensive treatment. Before beginning the embalming process, he wraps (*nms*) the hand with which he will carry out the operations. The text gives no explanation for this curious wrapping procedure, whose purpose perhaps was to protect the hand (vs. II a, 21, n. 3). Following this precautionary measure the Overseer of the Mystery lines the oral cavity with seven cloths which he impregnates one by one with cold medicaments, products which, in addition to being preservative, are, because of their resinous nature, particularly useful as adhesive for the fixing of the cloths in the

mouth. The text specifies the dimensions and the positions which the impregnated cloths take up in the mouth as follows:

2 cloths of 4 × 3 palms (30 × 22.5 cms.) on either side *on the upper jaw* (vs. II a, 22);
2 cloths of 10 × 4 digits (18.5 × 7.5 cms.) beneath the tongue on either side *on the lymphatic glands* (*inj.w*, lit. stones: vs. II a, 22, n. 3);
2 cloths, presumably of 4 × 3 palms (30 × 22.5 cms.), on either side *on the lower jaw* (vs. II a, 23);
1 small cloth of 8 × 6 digits (15 × 11 cms.) *under the tongue* (vs. II a, 25).

After the walls of the oral cavity have been lined in this manner, according more or less to the system described in rt. II, 10-14, the Overseer of the Mystery then completely fills up the mouth with a cloth impregnated with warm medicaments (in rt. II 12, wax, myrrh and pounded resin from the terebinth are used for the filling-up of the oral cavity), and finally covers both the upper and lower lip with a separate cloth impregnated with warm medicaments.

Already in the preliminary reading of this chapter I became convinced that, with the aid of the rather precise indications given by the text with regard to the dimensions of the cloths and the positions they occupy in the mouth, it must be possible to re-enact these operations. The opportunity presented itself when I found a slaughterhouse prepared to put a slaughtered, but otherwise intact, bull at my disposal for the experiment[114]. So it came to pass that on a certain day, not without a feeling of excitement, I set out for the "Embalming Place", as a modern Overseer of the Mystery, to embalm with linen cloth, according to the instructions in the text, the oral cavity of a bull. The cloths I had already made to measure and numbered in order to proceed efficiently and not become confused in the choice of a particular cloth (cf. the Introduction to § 4 = rt. II, 2-4). The first thing that had to be done was the opening of the mouth. Even though the bull had only been dead for just a few moments and *rigor mortis* had not yet set in, it proved to be much less simple to proceed than I had assumed, and only after a considerable effort, which made it clear why the Overseer of the Mystery needed two assistants for this job[115], was it possible to open the mouth approximately 15 cms. Thereafter the experiment passed off successfully. Working space in the mouth, which stayed open by itself, was, to be sure, on the small side for the execution of complicated manipulations,

[114] My thanks are due to the management of the "Domburg" firm in Bodegraven, and in particular to veterinary surgeon Drs. Stams.

[115] In the course of the 70-day long embalming process the muscular system would have been affected to such an extent by the duration of the process as well as by the action of embalming materials that the operation must have taken less effort. If so, the *smr*-priests were assistants who held the mouth of the bull wide open merely in order to allow the Overseer of the Mystery to work unhampered.

but in fact these also proved unnecessary to position the cloths suitably in the places they should have occupied according to the indications in the text.

## COMMENTARY

### Vs. II a, 21

3. One wonders why the Overseer of the Mystery wrapped his hand before carrying out his operations in the oral cavity. Did he do so to be protected against the resinous and sometimes warm medicaments or did some religious scruple (*religio*) deter him from entering the mouth with his bare hand, thus desecrating this pre-eminently sacred part of the body? Compare in this respect the religious taboo among Jews, Persians, Greeks and Romans to touch a holy object, such as holy books and cult implements, with the bare hand. See Leipoldt-Morenz, *Heilige Schriften*, 173 sqq.; *Homo Religiosus* II (1985), 145, with n. 142 (references); K. Gross, *Menschenhand und Gotteshand in Antike und Christentum*, 168 sqq. cf. also *Livy*, I, 21, 4, where we read that priests, when sacrifying, wrap up their hand up to the fingers (manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere); cf. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 237.

### Vs. II a, 22

1. For *ḥr-ggj.t* 2.*t* "the two (halves of the) upper jaw", see vs. II a, 11, n. 1.

2. The dimensions of the cloths (4 × 3 palms = 30 × 22.5 cms.) are large enough in each case to cover half the head on either side.

3. The word *inj.w*  "stones" is, in this context of course, not to be taken literally, but indicates, in view of the two cloths which are placed in position, two parts of the body on either side of the mouth of the bull, which, as far as shape is concerned, must have been comparable with stones. To determine with certainty these parts of the body one must first localize them as closely as possible. The text contains sufficient details to allow us to do so. The "stones" are apparently to be found under the tongue (vs. II a, 24-25) in the neighbourhood of the teeth (vs. II a, 22-23). This location leaves not the slightest doubt as to which parts of the body are meant here. On either side of the tongue, in approximately the middle of the lower jaw, there is an organ which is barely perceptible to the naked eye, but which feels, to the touch, like a globular hardening under the skin. We call these organs the lymphatic glands (glandulae) and the Egyptians, who do not have such a refined anatomical vocabulary that they had a separate technical term for such an uncommon part of the body as the lymphatic glands, compared them for their shape and size very fittingly with stones.

**Vs. II a, 23**

1. The cloths will have had the same dimensions as their counterparts which were placed on the upper jaw (4 × 3 palms = 30 × 22.5 cms.). These dimensions would have been enough in each case to cover either side of the lower half of the head.

**Vs. II a, 25**

1. Is there any symbolic value to be attributed to the fact that we are told *expressis verbis* that the mouth is lined with 7 cloths? According to Kristensen the number seven and its multiplications is the characteristic number of the god Osiris and of the mystery of resurrection[116]. The number also seems to have strong apotropaic power[117]. As for its connection with embalmment we may point to the seven cloths in which he mummy is wrapped, the seven coffins in which the mummy rests (*BD* 193) and the 70 days of the embalming process[118].

§ 37. (vs. II a, 26-28)

CONTENTS

The Overseer of the Mystery anoints the nose internally with warm medicaments and places a cloth impregnated with these medicaments on each nostril. After he has completely anointed the mysterious face (*ḥr sšt3*) with pure *ʿnḏ*-oil he covers the nose with a cloth which he fastens with *pjr*-bandages and then wraps the mysterious face in its entirety in a *swḥ*-cloth which is impregnated with pure *ʿnḏ*-oil.

The striking thing in this account is the brief treatment which the inner nose is submitted to. The presumption that the text does not give us a complete picture is confirmed when we compare the chapter on the recto (rt. II, 15-17), where the nose, in the course of embalmment, more than once appears to be systematically anointed and stuffed with cloths. As far as the conclusion of the recto and verso go, they both end with a more or less identical account of a cloth (*ḥbs*) with which the nose is covered (vs. II a, 28, n. 1). The complete wrapping-up of the mysterious face in a *swḥ*-cloth is also recorded on the recto (vs. II b, 1, n. 1).

[116] W. Brede Kristensen, *Symbool en Werkelijkheid*, 194; idem, *Godsdiensten in de oude wereld*, [2nd print, Het Spectrum, Utrecht, 1966], 269-270.

[117] *CdÉ* 77 (1964) 53 sqq.

[118] Goyon, in: *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (FS Heerma van Voss), 43, n. 43 (with references).

COMMENTARY

**Vs. II a, 27**

1. What is meant here is that each nostril is sealed off with a separate *nš*-cloth. The nose itself is covered with the *ḥbs*-cloth mentioned later.

**Vs. II a, 28**

1. Cf. the parallel passage rt. II 17: *iw=f swḥ pȝ b pȝ šj wʿ ḥbs iw=f wṯj=f pjr* "he covers the mouth and nose with a *ḥbs*-cloth; he wraps it in *pjr*-bandage".

**Vs. II b, 1**

1. This sentence recurs almost *verbatim* in a passage on the recto (rt. II 20), in which the wrapping of the mysterious face in the *swḥ*-cloth is coupled with the placing of a tampon on the eye-sockets. In the verso version these two operations are described separately (for the tamponing process, see vs. II b, 11-14).

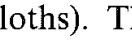
§ 38. (vs. II b, 2-14)

CONTENTS

The Overseer of the Mystery resumes the embalming of the eye-sockets on which he had made a provisional start in two previous chapters (vs. II a, 6, 12-13), and replaces the eyeballs of the Apis with the aid of two linen tampons. The text describes this restoration as a complicated technical process, in which magical means also plays an important role.

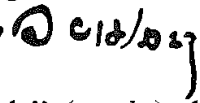
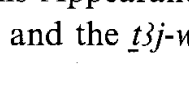
1. *Technical restoration of the eye*

The Overseer of the Mystery, in preparation for the positioning of the eyeballs, submits the eyebrows and eye-sockets to a preliminary treatment with pure oil (*sf wʿb*). He then covers the walls of the eye-sockets with a cloth — first in all probability with a cloth made of extremely fine byssus linen (*šs-nsw*) which he had impregnated with cold medicaments (vs. II b, 4, n. 3) — and then with a *sj.t*-cloth that he had treated with oil manufactured from some kind of resin with magical properties (*sf shrj*: vs. I 15, n. 1). In order to position these two *sj.t*-cloths he fixes the eyelids in the corner of the eyes with resin (vs. II b, 4, n. 1). He seals the eyelids by placing an impregnated *sj.t*-cloth separately on each eyelid (vs. II b, 9-10).

The description of the replacing of the eyeballs, being the most important operation, is saved for the end of the passage (vs. II b, 12-14), although in practice one would have kept to another sequence (firstly treatment of the eye-sockets, then the placing of the eyeballs, after which the eyelids could be drawn over the eyeballs and sealed with the said *sj.t*-cloths). The eyeball appears to have been a linen tampon (*ʾnj* ) presumably almost 3 cms. thick and 11 cms. in diameter (vs. II b, 12, n. 2). The Overseer of the Mystery first places the right tampon in position and then the left. After having temporarily fastened these with a few wrappings (*wṯj*), he places a cloth impregnated with *ʾnḏ*-oil in position and secures it by wrapping each tampon again until a total number of 16 wrappings per tampon is reached (vs. II b, 14).

Exactly as in the corresponding account of the recto (rt. II, 14-15 + rt. II, 20-21), the material restoration of the eyes is attained by tamponing the eye-sockets and covering them with 16 wrappings. The result of this treatment was that the eyes appeared as bulges beneath the cloths with which the head was covered in a later stage of the embalming process (cf. vs. III 6, sqq. = rt. II 20, sqq.). Although the text tells us nothing further about the finish which was necessary to give the bulges the natural appearance of an eye, we can still form an acceptable idea of this with the help of e.g. the head of the mummy of an Apis bull (?) preserved in the Louvre in Paris[119]. The eye-sockets of this mummy were tamponed with linen causing a bulge under the cloths in which the head was wrapped. One had retained round openings in the cloths at the level of the eye-sockets, thus excellently imitating the characteristic bulbous eye of a bull, which appeared lifelike because the contours and in particular the specific canthi had been ingeniously copied with strokes of linen (with ink the same result would have been obtained).

## 2. *Magical restoration of the eye*

The eyes, it is true, were restored in the material sense by the linen tampons, but still they remained a dead thing because the eyesight was missing. This faculty could only be conveyed by magical means. In this connection the text mentions some instrument or other,  (? vs. II b, 6, n. c), with which the Overseer of the Mystery "reveals" (*wn-ḥr*) the eye, *i.e.* restores the eyesight (*nȝ-ʿȝ nȝj=f ḥ*ʿ*.w ḥr pȝ tȝ* "Great are his Appearances upon earth": vs. II b, 7). The text also mentions the *tmmj*  and the *tȝj-wjṯ* , kinds of amulets which

[119] See the photo in: Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, III, pl. CXI, 4. The same illustration also shows other bull mummies which have undergone the same treatment. A good photograph of an Apis calf with artificial linen eyes can be found in: Hamilton-Peterson and Carol Andrews, *Mummies, Death and Life in Ancient Egypt*, 14. Eyes made of linen instead of glass or another material probably give a good indication for dating a mummy, but I have no archeological material at my disposal to substantiate this hypothesis.

the Overseer of the Mystery places in the eye-sockets. By fixing the eyelids with resin he saw to it that the amulets were not covered by the so-called third eyelid (*ḥf* 𓂝𓅱𓃀: vs. II b, 8, n. 1).

## COMMENTARY

### Vs. II b, 2

1. Cf. the similar sentence vs. II a, 13-14.

### Vs. II b, 4

1. The Overseer of the Mystery puts resin in the corners of the eye (*p3 bnr n3 ʿ.wj.w ir.t=f*) in order to make sure that the eyelids are firmly fixed when the *sj.t*-cloths are placed in the eye-sockets (*ḏb3 p3 g3 smn=w*). The placing of the two cloths is actually carried out in vs. II b, 11-12.

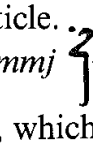
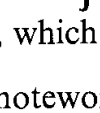
2. *shrj* is a resin of an unknown kind which is mentioned a few times on the verso (vs. I 15, n. 1). The fact that the resin is here stored in a golden *bs*-vessel says nothing about its potential value; frequently mentioned resin types such as cold and warm medicaments and even water are also stored in golden *bs*-vessels (rt. V 20, n. 1).

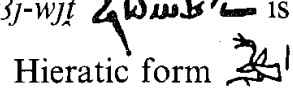
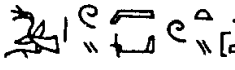
3. *iw=f ir=f dnj.t* 2.*t* "he divides it into 2 parts". It seems that some words have been omitted in the text to which the suffix *=f* in *ir=f* should have referred. If I am not mistaken it is an allusion to a cloth of byssus which is divided into two pieces, to be placed finally in the eye-sockets. Compare rt. II 14, where the Overseer of the Mystery places byssus impregnated with *sgn*-oil in the eye-sockets.

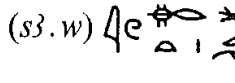
### Vs. II b, 5

1. I cannot explain the expression *ḫpr ḏd*. In comparable passages *ḏd* on its own (vs. II a, 13) or *ḫpr* on its own (vs. II a, 12, 21, II b, 8) are used. The translation as conjunction ("because") seems to fit in all the cases mentioned. One thinks here of the use of *ḫpr* as a conjunction in the sense of "because" in the hieratic-demotic papyrus Carlsberg I (see Lange-Neugebauer, *Pap. Carlsberg I*, I 10, etc.; de Cenival, in: *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens (FS Westendorf), Band I*: Sprache, 218: "dans tous les exemples où *ḫpr* introduit la glose, ce mot fonctionne comme une conjonction avec le sens 'parce que/ car'" (the same is true of *ḏd*). Cf. also Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, § 385 (*in fine*); see also *RdÉ* 41 (1990), 168.

2. The *tmmj* cannot be considered separately from the *ṯ3j-wjṯ* (vs. II b, 8), with which it is sometimes mentioned in direct context (vs. II a, 1, 13). Both terms are not known to the *WB.*. As far as the *tmmj* is concerned, this is compensated by details which Meeks collected and studied a number of years ago in an article which was devoted to the term [120]. When he wrote this article Meeks was not aware of the fact that the word in question occurs a few times in our papyrus in the form *tmmj* , although the idea crossed his mind (*op. cit.*, 96, n. 74). It therefore seems to me that the best thing to do is to first analyse the relevant passages from our text and then to compare this analysis with the results of Meeks's article.

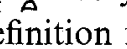
(1) The *tmmj*  is only mentioned in the text of the verso. The determinative  = , which is invariably written with words indicating book rolls and related objects, is noteworthy. As far as the application of the *tmmj* is concerned, we are enlighted by two passages: (a) in vs. II b, 5-6 we learn that it is placed (*tw*) on a strip of red linen (*stp itmj*) and applied to an unidentified part of the eye; (b) in vs. II a, 12-13, it would appear that one fixed the eyelids with resin in order to prevent the third eyelid (*ḥf*) from sagging and thus covering the *tmmj* which was apparently placed on the eye.

(2) The *ṯ3j-wjṯ*  is mentioned in the text of the verso and presumably once in the Hieratic form  in the text of the recto. From the evidence of the verso it is apparent that the *ṯ3j-wjṯ* is in all respects the counterpart of the *tmmj*. In writing this finds expression in the determinative . But in use too we can point to similarities. The *ṯ3j-wjṯ* is placed (*dj.t*) on a strip of linen (*stp pg3*) such as is employed for magical purposes (vs. II a, 13, n. 2). The text does not state in so many words that the *ṯ3j-wjṯ* is applied to the eye but this was probably done, for we read on two occasions that, as in the case of the *tmmj*, the eyelids of the bull are fixed in order to prevent the third eyelid (*ḥf*) from sagging and thus covering the eye to which apparently the *ṯ3j-wjṯ* was applied (vs. II a, 12-13, II b, 7-8).

Finally, as far as the recto is concerned, the word seems to occur in the hieratically written passage rt. IV, 12-13, where the Apis' grave (? *nw.t*, lit. "town") is fitted (*sbt*) with amulets (*s3.w*) . "in accordance with the *ṯ3j-wtj*".

So much for the details of our text. Now what were the *ṯ3j-wjṯ* and the *tmmj*? The most important result of Meeks's article has been that it has determined with absolute certainty that the *tmmj* (*tmmt*) is a document (determinative ), which

[120] Meeks,  *tmmt*: "Le Rituel des amulettes", in: *RdÉ* 28 (1976), 95-96.

among other things must have contained indications concerning amulets and the positions that they had to take up on a mummy. Meeks accordingly defines  very correctly as "Rituel des amulettes" at the beginning of his article. The definition fits excellently with the *t3j-wtj* in rt. IV, 12-13. As far as the verso is concerned the *tmmj*, and the *t3j-wjt* so closely linked with it, must have been amulets which were placed on a strip of linen in the eye-socket during a stage of the embalming in which, with the application of other magical means (cf. vs. II b, 6-7), the eyeball and the attendant eyesight of the Apis were restored. That does not necessarily have to be in conflict with the view that the terms relate to a "Rituel des amulettes". One can indeed imagine that we are dealing with amulet papyri, which, rolled up like a cylinder, served at the same time as amulets. Many examples of similar amulet papyri are known. See Luft, Ein Amulet gegen Ausschlag, in: *Festschrift des Berliner Museums*, 175, n. a. For further detailed bibliographic references see Vittmann, in: *Enchoria* 11 (1982), 119-120.

**Vs. II b, 8**

1. The word *ḥf*,  which indicates a part of the body, is unknown from elsewhere. The word occurs three times in our papyrus, twice in passages which are detailed enough to allow us to guess the nature of the part of the body: (1) in vs. II a, 12, the Overseer of the Mystery applies resin of cold (= congealed and sticky) medicaments to the outside of the eye-sockets (*bnr n.im=w*) "in order to prevent the *ḥf* from drawing near (*ḫn*)"; (2) in the present passage we read that the embalmer applies (cold?) medicaments to the left and right (*i3bj wnm*) of the eyelids for the same reason. In view of these passages, therefore, the *ḥf* is a certain, simple part of the eye, which in circumstances can "draw near" but is prevented from doing so when medicaments are applied to the corners of the eye.

Let us now briefly inspect more closely the eye of a bull to see if that yields something which corresponds with the description of the passages. The eye is divided into the actual eyeball with the protective organs of the eye which include the eye-sockets, the eyelids, and a fold of skin situated in the inner corner of the eye, the so-called third eyelid which in bulls is well-developed, but in humans rudimentary. It seems more or less certain that it is this part of the body that is meant by the *ḥf*. The point is that after death, owing to the fact that the muscles are no longer being controlled, the third eyelid will sag ("draw near") and because of its size cover the whole eye-socket. The embalmer counters this by fixing the eyelids through the application of cold medicaments (congealed, sticky resin) to the corners of the eye ("to the left and the right of the eyelids"). In so doing he prevents the third eyelid from hanging obstructively in the way during the restoration of the eyeball.

**Vs. II b, 12**

1. This concerns the two *sj.t*-cloths which were already mentioned in vs. II b, 3 and in vs. II b, 10. These cloths were impregnated with oil (*sf*) manufactured from *shrj*, a resin which could serve as material for amulets, especially heart-scarabs (vs. I 15, n. 1). We may also point to the use of *shrj* in medical texts as a means to cure eye diseases. See Dawson *apud* Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, 19 (n. 24); Aufrère, l'*Univers minéral*, II, 591, sqq.; *RdÉ* 36 (1985), 29, n. 72. From this it may perhaps be concluded that magical properties were ascribed to the resin. The *shrj* could then have had the purpose of transferring its magical properties to the cloths which were placed in the eye-sockets. As far as can be determined, the resin *shrj* is used exclusively in the embalming of the eyes, the treatment of which involved, as we have seen, a lot of magic.

2. In rt. II 3 the manufacture of the two tampons (*'nj.t*) for the eye-sockets is described. The dimensions of the tampons are $1\frac{1}{2}$ digits thick by 6 digits in diameter (approx. 2.8 × 11 cms.). See rt. II 3, n. 2. In placing, the tampon of the right eye, which represents the positive side, takes priority to the tampon of the left eye, which represents the negative side. Compare the treatment of the tail which is tied to the right thigh of the Apis. See rt. III 12, with n. 2.

**Vs. II b, 14**

1. Both tampons were apparently secured with a few wrappings at the time of application. This provisional fastening was necessary because another cloth had to be fitted which is now secured with the remainder of the 16 wrappings. The most effective fastening of the cloth was achieved by making sure that the wrappings of the tampons crossed over each other. One therefore had to let the remainder of the wrappings of the left tampon run over the left eye-socket, diagonally over the head, behind the right ear or around the right horn and under the mouth back to the starting point. The wrappings of the right tampon had to run over the right eye-socket diagonally over the head behind the left ear or around the left horn and under the mouth back to the starting point.

§ 39. (vs. II b, 14-18)

CONTENTS

The Overseer of the Mystery and his two *smr*-priests embalm the ears of the Apis. The Overseer of the Mystery takes the first operations upon himself. He

anoints the ears internally with cold medicaments and applies *ḥbs*-cloths which are impregnated with these medicaments. He then anoints the outside of the ears with pure *ʾnḏ*-oil and applies *swḥ*-cloths which have been treated with this oil. The *smr*-priests finish the job and fasten the *swḥ*-cloths separately, first according to a certain wrapping technique with 5 *pjr*-bandages, and after that with another *pjr*-bandage with which they wrap up the ears from top to bottom. Finally, they line the ears internally and externally with dry *swḥ*-cloths and fasten these cloths separately with two mummy bandages according to a special wrapping technique.

## COMMENTARY

### Vs. II b, 15

1. The word *ʾnḫ.w*, which occurs in ancient texts as an indication of the ears of a human, and sometimes also, but then poetically, of an animal (*WB.* I, 205, 4), has disappeared in demotic and been replaced by *msḏr.w* (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 180-181). In our text its existence as an archaism is due to the fact that the text goes back to much older copies.

### Vs. II b, 17

1. The *swḥ*-cloths are each attached with five *pjr*-bandages to the ears and then again with another *pjr*-bandage with which the ear is completely bound up. The same method is applied in the fastening of the *swḥ*-cloths to the horns (vs. II b, 22-23 = rt. II 17).

### Vs. II b, 18

1. Compare the passage rt. II 19 concerning the wrapping of the horns: *iw=w wṯj=w n sṯr ḥr ḥ3.t n.im=w mtw=w wṯj=w mtr š‘ pḥw=w ʾn* "they wrap them in *sṯr*-bandage at their tops and they wrap them in *mtr*-bandage as far as their lower parts also".

§ 40. (vs. II b, 19-23)

## CONTENTS

The Overseer of the Mystery, together with his assistants, the two *smr*-priests, embalms the horns. After these two embalmers have anointed the section between

the horns with boiled *ʾnḏ*-oil (vs. II b, 19, n. 1), the Overseer of the Mystery places a *sj.t*-cloth of 4 × 2 palms (30 × 15 cms.) on this place and secures it with two sets of mummy bandages (vs. II b, 20, n. 2). The two embalmers then impregnate a *nbt*-cloth made of fine linen (*šmʿ*) with a combined solution of oil and natron (*sf ḥsmn*), place it in its entirety over the horns, and secure it with three mummy bandages (vs. II b, 21, n. 1). Finally, they anoint the horns with pure *ʾnḏ*-oil and wrap each horn separately in a *swḥ*-cloth which they then fasten with mummy bandages.

The recto contains an account of the embalming of the horns which is in many points identical with that of the verso (rt. II, 17-20). For the sake of comparison both versions are juxtaposed in Appendix I (p. 227-228).

## COMMENTARY

### Vs. II b, 19

1. Oil in warm condition (warm medicaments) is used on a very large scale, whereas oil in a boiled condition (*ps*) is used only very rarely (besides here, only in vs. II b, 24 and vs. II b, 25-26).

### Vs. II b, 20

1. For *ḳrḥ* "wrapping", see rt. II 13, n. 2.

2. The *sj.t*-cloth, which measures 4 × 2 palms (30 × 15 cms.), is placed between the horns and secured with two sets of mummy bandages (*ḳrḥ* "wrapping") which cross each other. See Fig. 4 (p. 238). One set runs from the left horn (2 *ḥr i3bj*) diagonally over the head to the right, returning to its starting point by passing under the mouth and behind the head; the other set runs from the right horn (2 *ḥr wnm*) diagonally over the head in a similar manner back to its starting point (rt. II 20, n. 1).

### Vs. II b, 21

1. The embalmers place a *nbt*-cloth of fine linen in its entirety over the horns (*n ʾb.w r p3j=f irj n.im=w*, lit. from the horns (?) to its companion of them) and secure it (how?) with three *št3*-bandages (rt. II 18, n. 2 and n. 3).

2. For the use of a combined solution of oil and natron with regard to the impregnation of cloths, see vs. I 12, n. 2.

# APPENDIX II.
# THE EMBALMING OF THE HORNS (A = rt. II, 17-20; B = vs. II b, 19-23)

| A | B |
|---|---|
| Rt. II 17 | Vs. II b, 19 |
| 1. He begins the embalmment of the horns. | 1. They anoint between the horns with boiled *ʾnḏ*-oil. |
| 2. he covers (*nms*) them with *ḥbs*-cloth. | 2. He soaks a *sj(.t)*-cloth in pure *ʾnḏ*-oil. |
| | Vs. II b, 20 |
| 3. He anoints them with *sgn*-ointment. | 3. He makes it go between the horns, while it makes wrappings, two on the left and two on the right — length (of the *sj.t*-cloth) 4 palms, width 2 palms. |
| 4. He wraps (*swḥ*) them in a *swḥ*-cloth. | 4. They wrap (*nbt*) them |
| | Vs. II b, 21 |
| | in a thin *nbt*-cloth from one horn to the other, in 3 *štȝ*-bandages. |
| 5. He makes five *pjr*-bandages, three above and two below. | 5. They soak the *nbt*-cloth in oil (containing a solution of) natron. |
| Rt. II 18 | Vs. II b, 22 |
| 6. They anoint between the horns with *sgn*-ointment. | 6. They anoint the horns with pure *ʾnḏ*-oil. |
| 7. He clothes (*ḏbȝ*) them with *ḥbs*-cloth from one horn to the other. | 7. They clothe (*swḥ*) (them) with a *swḥ*-cloth. |
| 8. He wraps (*nbt*) them in a thin *nbt*-cloth from one horn to the other, in 3 *štȝ*-bandages. | 8. They make five *pjr*-bandages, three above and two below, |
| 9. They wrap (*swḥ*) them in *swḥ*-cloth | |
| Rt. II 19 | Vs. II b, 23 |
| from their tops as far as their lower parts. | being soaked in pure *ʾnḏ*-oil. |
| 10. They wrap (*wṯj*) them in *sṯr*-bandage at their tops and they wrap (*wṯj*) them in *mtr*-bandages as far as their lower parts also. | 9. They wrap (them) firmly (*tštš*) in *pjr*-bandage. |
| 11. In the same way the ears are treated. | |
| 12. The *sj.t*-cloth which comes between the horns under the *nbt*-cloth makes | |
| Rt. II 20 | |
| two *pjr*-bandages right and two *pjr*-bandages left. | |

The similarities between both versions may be tabulated as follows:

| A | B | A | B |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | – | 7 | – |
| 2 | – | 8 | 4 + 5 |
| 3 | 6 | 9 | – |
| 4 | 7 | 10 | – |
| 5 | 8 | 11 | – |
| 6 (+ 12) | 1 (+ 2-3) | 12 | (2 + 3) |

§ 41. (vs. II b, 23 - III 6)

CONTENTS

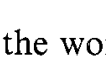
After a sentence which preludes the embalming of the mysterious face by the Overseer of the Mystery, the chapter breaks up into two parts in which the embalming of the forepart of the chest (*šnbj*) and that of the chest cavity are described. It begins with the treatment of the forepart of the chest (vs. II b, 25 - III 1). The two embalmers (*ḥrj-ḥb.w*) who had already wrapped the chest in a *sj.t*-cloth and in a *swḥ*-cloth in vs. I, 11-13, also carry out the operations now. They place a *sj.t*-cloth of 2 × 1 divine cubits (104 × 52 cms.) in position, which has been impregnated with boiled *ʿnḏ*-oil. When securing the *sj.t*-cloth the two embalmers take up position at either side of the mummy and from a reel of ebony (*ḳrr hbjn*) each wrap *nbtj.t*-bandage around the chest of the bull (vs. II b, 26, n. 1). It is uncertain whether, as an alternative to the *sj.t*-cloth, they could also have wrapped the chest in *nbt*-cloth which was impregnated with a combined solution of oil and natron (vs. III 1, n. 1).

The Overseer of the Mystery, finally, treats the chest internally (vs. III, 2-6). The report concerning the operations contains unexplained points particularly where mention is made of a *sšt*-bandage (vs. III 5, n. 1). It seems certain, however, that the Overseer of the Mystery places two *ḥbs*-cloths, measuring 1 divine cubit × 2 palms (approx. 52 × 15 cms.) and impregnated with warm medicaments, each into an unidentified dual part of the body in the chest cavity via the mouth, leaving the ends of these cloths in the mouth so that they can later be removed. The purpose of the operation, which the Overseer of the Mystery has already carried out twice, seems to be to give the oil with which the cloths were impregnated the chance to act on places in the mummy which are difficult to reach by hand (vs. III 4, n. 1).

**Vs. II b, 23**

1. The element *i.ir* ("second tense converter") is used in the papyrus a few times to convert the form *ḥr sḏm=f* into a so-called second tense (Coptic Praesens Consuetudinis II), by which emphasis is placed on an adverbial complement in the sentence[121]. In the present passage we come across the form in question with nominal subject (*i.ir ḥr i.ir* ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ N.N. *sḏm*), and in rt. III 25 and IV 3 with pronominal subject (*i.ir ḥr sḏm=f* ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ). Spiegelberg identifies the form in all these passages with the conditional (Coptic ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ), a form which is only certified in the late Roman period; see Wilson, in: *JNES* 32 (1973), 167-169. On the form *ḥr sḏm=f* + second tense converter *i.ir*, see Janet H. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, 132 sqq. and de Cenival, in: *CdÉ* LV (1980), 95.

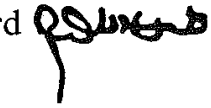
**Vs. II b, 24**

1. *tmtm*  : the word only occurs here in the papyrus and is unknown to me from elsewhere. The translation "bundle" (Spiegelberg "Paket"?) is a guess. Is the word perhaps a reduplicated form derived from the verb *tm* "to clothe" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 631, 2; *WB.* V, 453, 6 sqq.)?

**Vs. II b, 25**

1. *ntm* , variant  (vs. II b, 17, 26). The verb is only known to me from our papyrus. The meaning "to wrap" fits in all cases where the word occurs.

**Vs. II b, 26**

1. The two embalmers each have a reel of ebony (*ḳrr hbjn*) at their disposal on which the *nbtj.t*-bandage is wound with which they will wrap the chest; cf. rt. I 6 (= rt. III 7) where mention is made of *nbtj.t*-bandage wound onto (*swḥ iw/ mr iw*) reels (*ḳrr*) of *ḳd*-wood. Spiegelberg and Stricker (*OMRO* 35 [1954], 72) both misunderstood this passage in that they read the word  *hbjn* "ebony" as *bjn* "harp".

[121] In the hieratic-demotic papyrus Carlsberg I one finds numerous examples in which the hieratic *ḥr sḏm=f* is translated in the demotic parallel text as *i.ir ḥr sḏm=f*, in which the emphasis is always on an adverbial complement in the sentence; see Parker, in: *RdÉ* 10 (1955), 49-55. On the *ḥr sḏm=f* form, see the remarks by Borghouts (*Gleanings from Deir El-Medîna*, 50, n. 58).

The word *ḳrr* "roller", "reel" could be connected with *ḳrḳr* "to roll" (see Černý, *Coptic Etym Dictionary*, 150, 5: *sḳrḳr* and rt. IV 1, n. 2). Perhaps it may ultimately belong to the same root as the Akkadian garāru / ḳarāru "to roll over", "to turn"; see *CAD* 5 (1956), 47.

## Vs. III 1

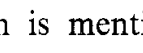
1. After *kj ḏd* one expects the mention of an alternative, but instead of this we have the word *ḏm'* "papyrus roll". Does the scribe mean that he had a papyrus roll at his disposal in which it was recorded that one placed a *nbt*-cloth impregnated with a combined solution of oil and natron (*sf ḥsmn*) on the chest, instead of the *sj.t*-cloth prepared with boiled *'nḏ*-oil? For *kj ḏm'* "another papyrus roll" = variant, see Spiegelberg, *Mythus vom Sonnenauge*, Glossar no. 976.

## Vs. III 2

1. We know from a recent study of the papyrus of a certain Neferrenpet that *BD* 101 is to be written on a *sšt* which is to be attached on the throat of the deceased. The spell guarantees that the deceased will not be deprived of the light of the sun when lying in his coffin. The *sšt* is called an amulet (*wḏ3w*). See Milde, *The vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, 172.

For *wḏ3w* "amulet", see Graefe, in: *Aspekte der Spätägyptischen Religion* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten, Band 9, 1979), 73 sqq.

## Vs. III 4

1. What we are dealing with here is the same unidentified dual part of the body  which is mentioned in vs. I 19 and in vs. II a, 16. If I understand it correctly, the Overseer of the Mystery lowers the *ḥbs*-cloth via the mouth into one of the two sections of this dual part of the body, seeing to it that the other end of the cloth remains in the mouth so that he can easily remove the cloth later (vs. III, 5-6). The other section of the part of the body in question would not receive a *ḥbs*-cloth, and therefore would not undergo an equivalent treatment, unless we assume that a second *ḥbs*-cloth was indeed placed in position, but that the scribe has neglected to mention this. This theory gains in probability if we look at the parallel passage vs. I, 18-19 (= vs. II a, 15-16), where the Overseer of the Mystery simultaneously places two *ḥbs*-cloths impregnated with warm medicaments, each with one end in a section of the dual part of the body in question, and leaving the other end in the mouth in order to be able to remove the cloths later.

**Vs. III 5**

1. The function of the *sšt*-bandage is obscure. The question is if we can identify it with the *sšt*-bandage which is knotted in vs. III 2.

§ 42. (vs. III, 6-20)

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Together with his helpers, the two *smr*-priests, the Overseer of the Mystery places a *swḥ*-cloth on the head of the bull. The cloth measures approximately 313 × 35 cms. and stretches lengthwise from the neck to below the chest, while the width is sufficient to cover the front of the head (*p3 ḥr sšt3* "the mysterious face"). It is uncertain whether the cloth is also inserted into an opening which could have been made in the throat at the beginning of the embalmment for the purpose of bleeding the bull (vs. III 8, n. 1). After the *swḥ*-cloth has been secured with mummy bandages according to an extremely complicated system, the head was then wrapped in nine layers with the so-called "great wrapping" (*p3 wṯj '3*) as far as the horns, and the embalming of the head was completed.

The account of the fastening of the *swḥ*-cloth, to which the greater part of the chapter is devoted, bears a strong resemblance to the corresponding chapter on the recto. With reference to the rather detailed introduction to this chapter (§ 10 b = rt. II 21 - III 5), and to Appendix II (p. 235-237) in which both versions are placed in translation side by side for comparison, I will confine myself here to a global outline of the fastening process with the help of Fig. 4-6 (p. 238-240), in which the course of the bandages is drawn as a means of visualizing the complicated method involved.

Fig. 4 (vs. III, 8-11 + vs. III, 14-16)

The cloth is fastened to the chest with three *pjr*-bandages. Of the three *pjr*-bandages, one, as a central bandage, runs longitudinally from below the chest, where it is cut off, to the mouth, and the other two run from the neck diagonally over the chest via the arm-pits back to the neck. These last two *pjr*-bandages are each accompanied by (*ir* "to make") three *sbn*-bandages, of which in each case one is cut off at the middle of the throat; the other two run across the chest in exactly the same way as the *pjr*-bandages.

Fig. 5 (vs. III, 11 + vs. III, 16-18)

The cloth is fastened with *sbn*-bandages and *pjr*-bandages on the throat and on

the head itself. Nine *sbn*-bandages are required to immobilise the cloth on the throat. The central bandage of these is the large *sbn*-bandage, also referred to as the large *pjr*-bandage, which runs from below the mouth up to the horns. The large *sbn*-bandage is to be found mid-way between the remaining eight *sbn*-bandages (*ḫpr t3 mtr.t ḥn=w*) which are drawn from the neck across the throat, four from the left and four from the right side of the neck. In order to fasten the cloth to the head itself the large *sbn*-bandage (= large *pjr*-bandage) "makes" (*ir*) two *pjr*-bandages each of which runs from a horn right across the head via the throat diagonally over the chest and via the arm-pits back to their starting point.

Fig. 6 (vs. III, 12-14)

The cloth is fastened with eight *pjr*-bandages on the throat. Of the four *pjr*-bandages which come from the left side of the neck, two are cut off behind the large *sbn*-bandage, and the other two run across the throat to the neck. The same applies to the four *pjr*-bandages which are drawn across the throat from the right side of the neck.

## COMMENTARY

### Vs. III 8

1. The greater part of the cloth (2/3 portion = approx. 209 cms.) comes to rest on the mysterious face itself and on the throat (*wb3=f*), the rest (1/3 portion = approx. 104 cms.) on the chest. It cannot be ruled out that the surplus part of the cloth, which with its more than three metres length would seem to be on the large side, was worked into an opening which was made in the throat ("under the mysterious face in it") for the purposes of bleeding the bull (rt. II 21, n. 4).

### Vs. III 9

1. And the 1/3 which is on the breast makes three *pjr*-bandages, sqq. The text mentions the three *pjr*-bandages and the *sbn*-bandages with which the *swḫ*-cloth is fastened to the chest. The actual fastening with the *pjr*-bandages is described in vs. III, 14-16. There it appears that the central *pjr*-bandage, which is cut off below the chest, continues as far as the mouth. The two other *pjr*-bandages are drawn diagonally across the chest, from the left shoulder over the chest back through the right arm-pit and from the right shoulder across the chest back through the left arm-pit, respectively (Fig. 4, no. 2).

Things are more complicated in the case of the six *sbn*-bandages. The text only records that the two *pjr*-bandages "make" (*ir*) the six *sbn*-bandages. If it is meant by that that the *sbn*-bandages follow the same course as these *pjr*-bandages, then of the four uncut *sbn*-bandages two are drawn to the right from the neck and the other two to the left from the neck diagonally across the chest. The two cut *sbn*-bandages do not run across the chest but are cut off in places ("one in between, the other one ...?") at the throat at the level of the large *sbn*-bandage (rt. II 22, n. 1).

**Vs. III 11**

1. The text mentions the nine *sbn*-bandages, including a large *sbn*-bandage which runs in the middle of them, with which the *swḥ*-cloth will be fastened on the throat. For this purpose another two *pjr*-bandages were also required (cf. rt. II 23) which will be mentioned later (vs. III 17). See Fig. 5. The actual fastening of the cloth on the throat is described in vs. III, 16-18. It is then recounted that the Overseer of the Mystery lets the large *pjr*-bandage (= the large *sbn*-bandage) run across the throat and the nose as far up as the horns, and places two *pjr*-bandages on the chest. In the light also of the details from rt. III 3, one of these two *pjr*-bandages must have run from the right horn right across the head to the left and then further via the throat diagonally across the chest through the right arm-pit back to the starting-point. The other bandage runs from the left horn right across the head to the right and via the throat across the chest back through the left arm-pit.

So much for the fastening of the cloth with the aid of the large *sbn*-bandage and the two *pjr*-bandages. But what happens now to the remaining eight *sbn*-bandages, among which is the large *sbn*-bandage as the central mummy bandage? The text does not express any opinion on this point. It is not unlikely, however, that four of these bandages were drawn from the right side and the other four from the left side of the neck across the throat. In that case, then, the large *sbn*-bandage would have run in between them as required according to the text (rt. II 23, n. 2).

**Vs. III 13**

1. Two mummy bandages have already been cut off according to the passage vs. III 10, and in the present passage the third and fourth (*mḥ*-4) are cut off (cf. rt. II 24, n. 2).

**Vs. III 14**

1. The plural subject, which we also encounter regularly later on, is comprehensible in comparison with the parallel passage rt. III 1, where it is recorded that the

Overseer of the Mystery, in co-operation with his two assistants (*smr ḥm* 2), fastens the cloth under the mysterious face.

**Vs. III 15**

1. They send the two *pjr*-bandages which are among the 4 which are on the upper part of the breast, sqq. The *swḥ*-cloth is fastened with 9 *pjr*-bandages in total (vs. III 7), four of which are placed on the chest. Two of these four *pjr*-bandages are mentioned in vs. III 10 (Fig. 4, no. 2), the other two are now drawn across the chest (Fig. 5, no. 3). The mummy cloth (*ḥbs*) which comes up as far as the mouth is the *pjr*-bandage, of which it is said in vs. III 9 that it is cut off below the chest (Fig. 4, no. 1). Cf. rt. III 2, n. 1.

**Vs. III 17**

1. And he makes 2 *pjr*-bandages on the breast, sqq. Just as, in connection with the central *sbn*-bandage which was cut off below the chest, two *pjr*-bandages are placed on the chest (vs. III 15, with n. 1), so now, in connection with the large *sbn*-bandage (*pjr*-bandage) which stretched as far as the horns, are two *pjr*-bandages placed in position. For this, compare rt. II 23 + rt. III 3 (with n. 1). The two *pjr*-bandages concerned are drawn in Fig. 5, no. 3.

**Vs. III 18**

1. The feminine suffix *=s* in *mnḳ=s* can only refer to the chest, the wrapping of which is now completed, and not to the mysterious face (*p3 ḥr sšt3*). The completion of the wrapping of the mysterious face is described in vs. III, 19-20.

**Vs. III 20**

1. It cannot be ruled out that the number nine expresses the resurrection of the Apis; see rt. III 4, n. 3.

# APPENDIX III.
# WRAPPING OF THE HEAD OF THE APIS IN A *swḥ*-CLOTH

| A. (rt. II 21 - III 5) | B. (vs. III, 6-20) |
|---|---|
| Rt. II 21 | Vs. III 6 |
| 1. he lays the *swḥ*-cloth on the mysterious face. | 1. He lays the *swḥ*-cloth on the mysterious face. |
| | Vs. III 7 |
| [The *swḥ*-cloth of the mysterious face makes 9 *pjr*-bandages, 4 *pjr*-bandages above and 5 *pjr*-bandages below; its length is 6 divine cubits, width 2/3 (divine cubits)][122]Vs. III 7 | (the *swḥ*-cloth) which makes 9 *pjr*-bandages — its length is 6 divine cubits, width 2/3 (divine cubits). |
| 2. he makes 2/3 for it and 1/3 comes on | 2. He makes 2/3 for it and 1/3 comes on |
| | Vs. III 8 |
| the breast and 2/3 comes under the mysterious face in it. | the breast and the 2/3 (part) comes under the mysterious face in it. |
| 3. And the 1/3 which is on the | 3. And the 1/3 which is on |
| Rt. II 22 | Vs. III 9 |
| breast makes 3 *pjr*-bandages and the *pjr*-bandage in the midst is cut off under the breast | the breast makes 3 *pjr*-bandages and the *pjr*-bandage in the midst is cut off under the breast |
| | Vs. III 10 |
| and the other 2 *pjr*-bandages make 6 *sbn*-bandages and 2 of them are cut off and 4 (*sbn*-bandages) come on the breast 2 left and 2 right of it | and the (other) 2 *pjr*-bandages make 6 *sbn*-bandages and 2 of them are cut off |
| Rt. II 23 | |
| (the 2 cut off bandages being cut off) one in between and the other one ... (?) the other 2/3 | one in between and the other one ...(?) the 2/3 |
| | Vs. III 11 |
| which is under (the mysterious face) | which is under (the mysterious face). |

[122] The sentence between brackets is borrowed from rt. II, 3-4 and inserted here in the text for the sake of comparison with the verso.

4. He wraps it in 9 *sbn*-bandages and a great *sbn*-bandage comes in the midst among them and it goes upwards on the throat up to the horns and it makes 2 *pjr*-bandages on the breast, 1 left and 1 right of it.

5. He makes the 4 *pjr*-bandages go,

Rt. II 24

which are left of the great *sbn*-bandage. He cuts off the one which is

behind the great *sbn*-bandage. He turns to cut off a fourth (bandage) behind it (the great *sbn*-bandage).
He does likewise

also with the right side

Rt. II 25

[It makes 9 *pjr*-bandages, 4 on the breast and 5 under the mouth. They cover it therewith according to its shape and 2 *gb3*-bandages come under it and 2 other ones come above it. The way in which they

Rt. III 1

go is *Wp*].

6. The Overseer of the Mystery and his two little *smr*-priests lay the *swḥ*-cloth under the mysterious face. And one of the 3 *gb3*-bandages which are mentioned above go to the breast
and they make 2 *pjr*-bandages out of the 4

Rt. III 2

which are mentioned above go to the breast and they bring before the mouth the *ḥbs*-cloth which has been named

4. He makes it into 9 *sbn*-bandages and a great *sbn*-bandage comes in the midst among them.

Vs. III 12

5. He makes the 4 *pjr*-bandages go,

which are left of [space] the great *sbn*-bandage. He cuts off the one which is

Vs. III 13

behind the great *sbn*-bandage. He turns to cut off a fourth (bandage) behind it (the great *sbn*-bandage).
He does likewise

Vs. III 14

also with the right side

6. After that the Overseer of the Mystery places the *swḥ*-cloth under the mysterious face

and they make 2 *pjr*-bandages

Vs. III 15

which are among the 4 which are on the breast, 1 left and the other one right of it and they bring before the mouth the *ḥbs*-cloth which has been named
Vs. III 16

7. They bring another (*ḥbs*-cloth) from under the mouth over the nose up to the horns and he swathes (it) between the horns.

Rt. III 3

They send them to the breast. And the right one passes down under the throat and it goes over the mysterious face up to the horns. The left side (is treated) in the same way.
He makes 2 other

Rt. III 4

...-bandages also go downwards just like these ones. They make 2 other (bandages) go up to the breast.

8. He fastens the beginning of the great wrapping of the mysterious face until finally he shall have entirely wrapped it up to the horns.

Rt. III 5

He wraps it firmly in *sṯr*-bandage from the ... (?) up to his neck. He wraps the mysterious face from one horn to the other in the *ḫ*ʿ-cloth.

7. The great *pjr*-bandage, which is in the midst, he pulls upwards on his nose up to the horns.

Vs. III 17

And he makes 2 *pjr*-bandages on the breast and they take them left and right of it and they pass down under the

Vs. III 18

mysterious face until they shall have completely wrapped it up with *pjr*-bandages above and below. He wraps (the mysterious face) firmly in *pjr*-bandages up to the horns.

Vs. III 19

8. He fastens the beginning of the great wrapping of the mysterious face until finally he shall have entirely wrapped it up. The wrapping makes

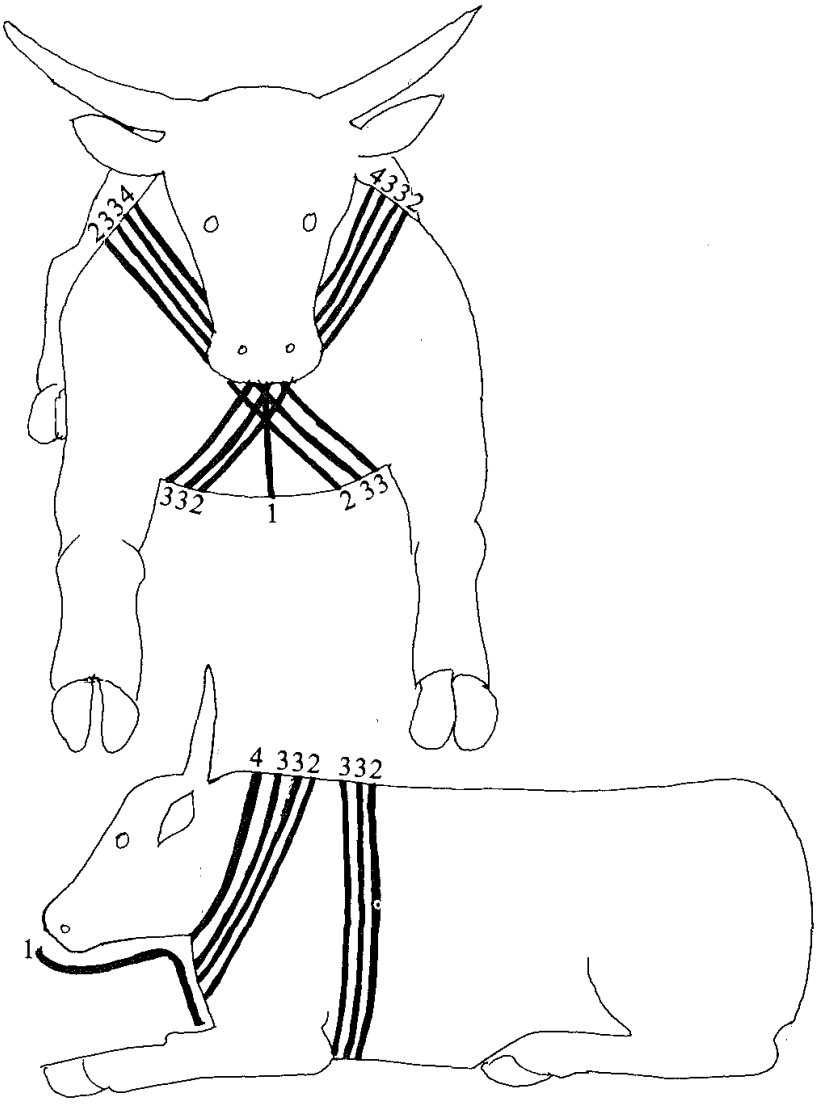
Vs. III 20

9 wrappings from the ... (?) up to his neck. He wraps the mysterious face from one horn to the other.

The similarities between both versions may be tabulated as follows:

| A | B |
|---|---|
| 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 5 |
| 6 | 6 |
| 7 | 7 |
| 8 | 8 |

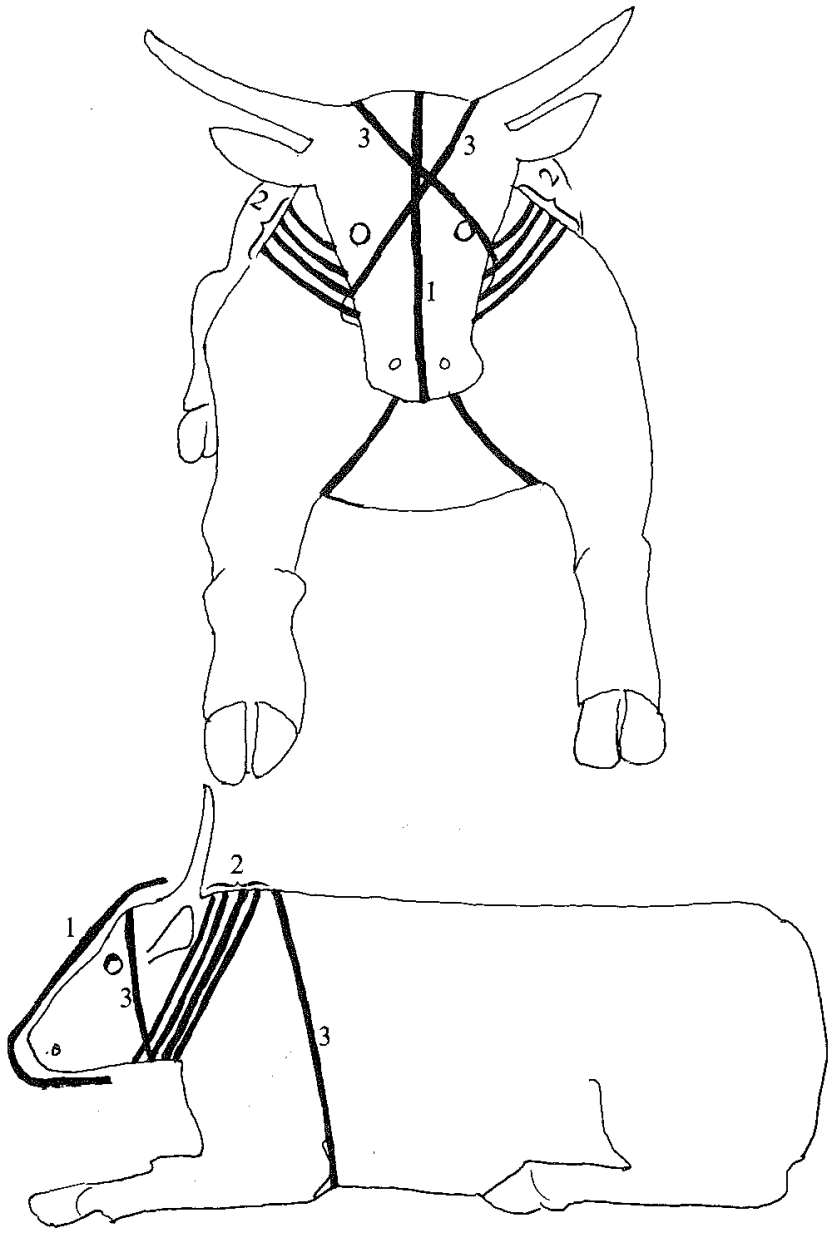
Fig. 4. Placing of the *swḥ*-cloth on the breast (rt. II 22 + rt. III, 1-2 = vs. III, 8-11, 14-16)




See rt. II 22, n. 1; vs. III 9, n. 1

1. *Pjr*-bandage which is cut off under the breast and reaches up to the mouth.
2. *Pjr*-bandage which runs from the neck down diagonally over the breast and returns via the arm-pit to the neck.
3. *Sbn*-bandage which runs parallel to the *pjr*-bandage (no. 2).
4. *Sbn*-bandage which runs from the neck down and is cut off on the throat.

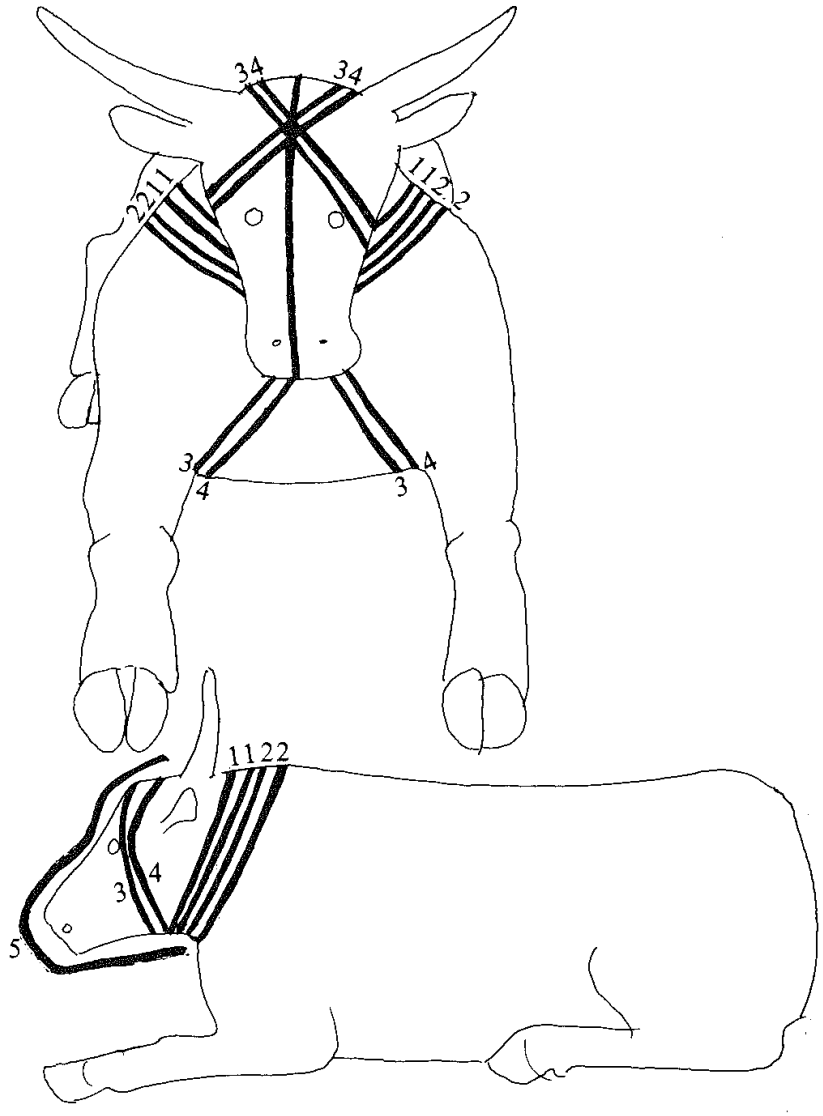
Fig. 5. Placing of the *swḥ*-cloth on the throat and the head (rt. II 23 + rt. III, 2-3 = vs. III 11, 16-18)




See rt. II 23, n. 2; vs. III 11, n. 1

1. Great *sbn*-bandage (also defined as great *pjr*-bandage) which from under the mouth runs up to the horns.
2. *Sbn*-bandages which from the neck are taken around the throat.
3. *Pjr*-bandage which runs from the horn diagonally over the head and via the throat runs diagonally over the breast returning via the arm-pit to its starting-point.

Fig. 6. Placing of the *swḫ*-cloth on throat and breast (?) (rt. II, 23-24 + rt. III, 3-4 = vs. III, 12-14)

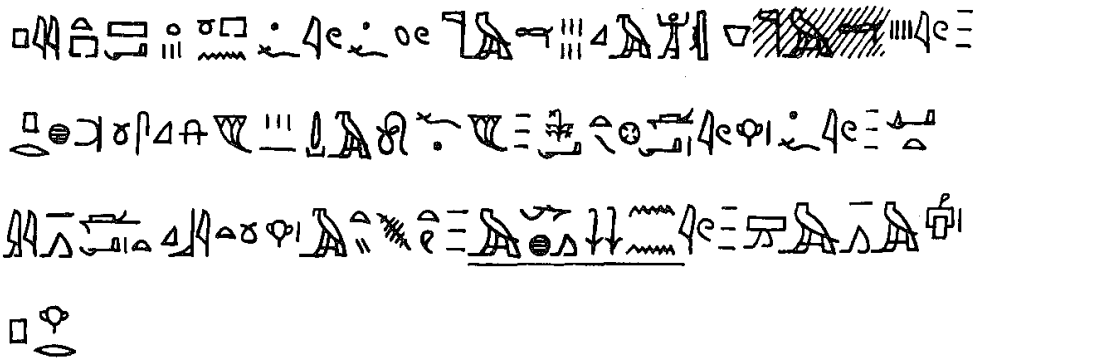


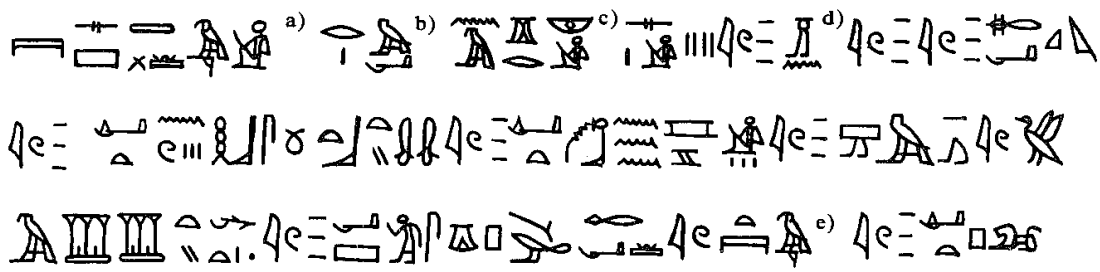

See rt. II 24, n. 1; vs. III 4, n. 1 and 2.

1. *Pjr*-bandage which from the neck is taken around the throat.
2. *Pjr*-bandage which runs from the neck and is cut off on the throat behind the great *sbn*-bandage.
3. Mummy bandage which is not mentioned in the text (rt. III 4, n. 1).
4. Mummy bandage which is not mentioned in the text (rt. III 4, n. 2).
5. Great *sbn*-bandage.

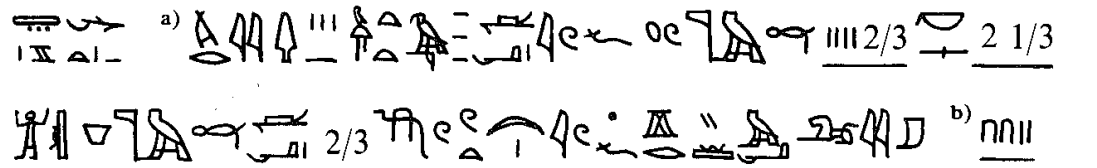
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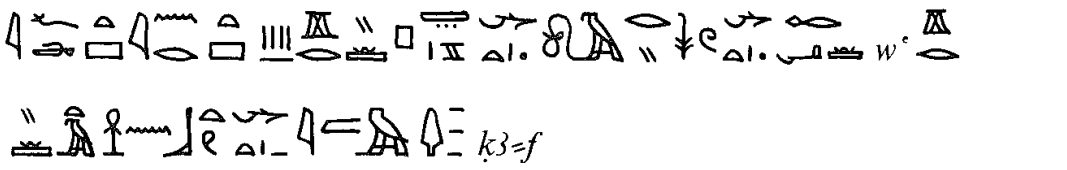
Recto I

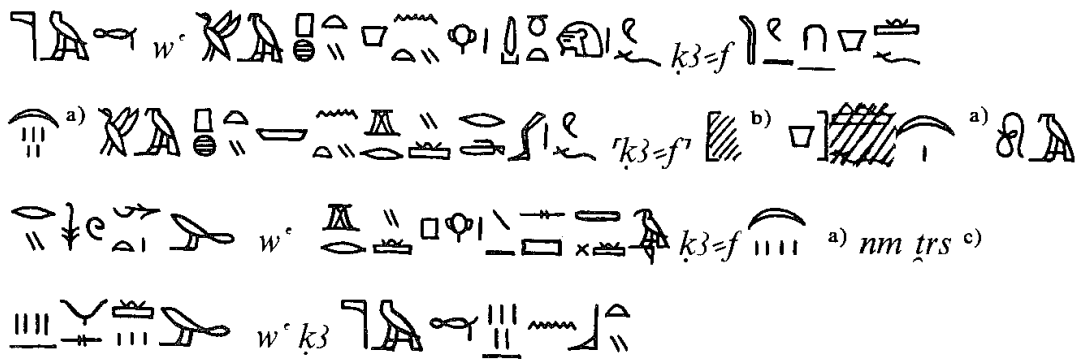
1. 

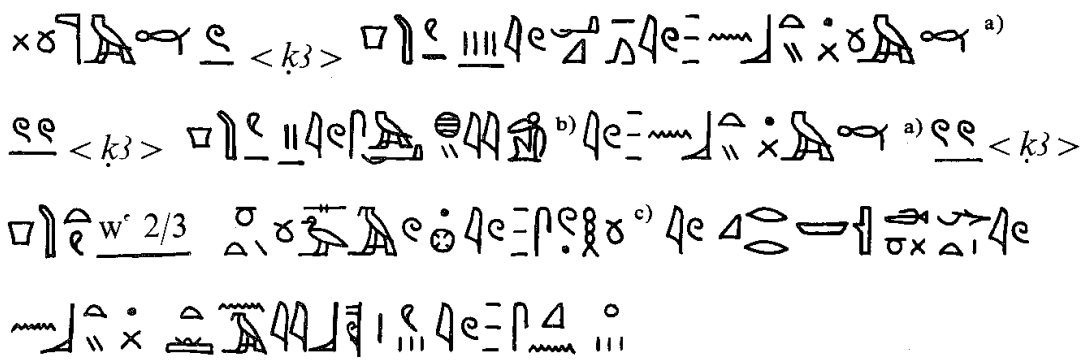
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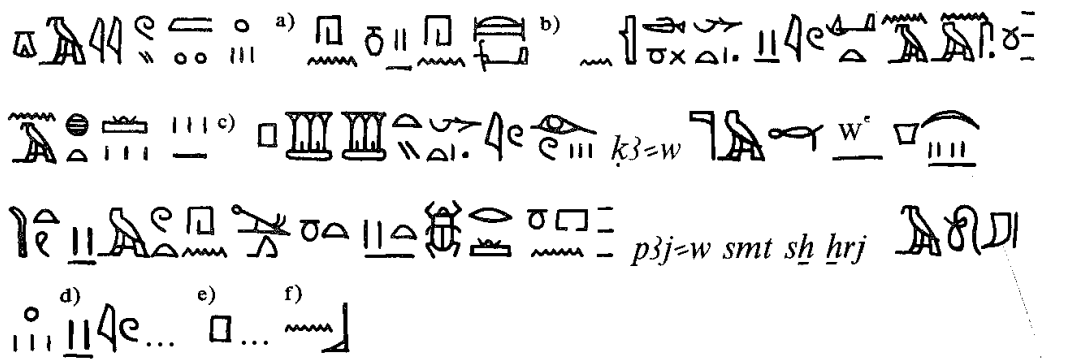
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4. 

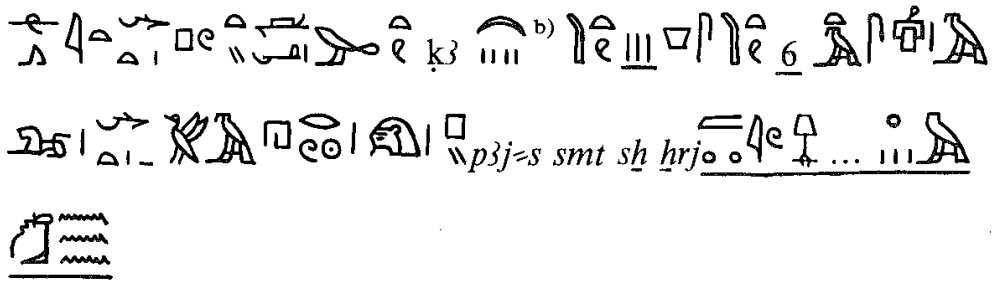

w‘
k3=f

5. 
w‘
k3=f
a)
‘k3=f’
b)
a)
w‘
k3=f
a) nm ṯrs c)
w‘ k3

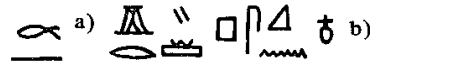
6. 
< k3 >
a)
< k3 >
b)
a)
< k3 >
w‘ 2/3
c)

7. 
a)
b)
c)
k3=w
w‘
p3j=w smt sḫ ḫrj
d)
e)
f)

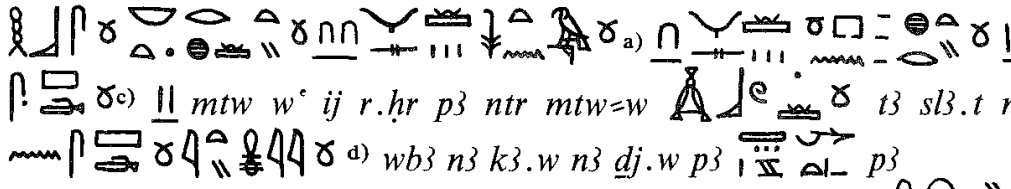
8. 
< ... > k3.w a)
6 kll
wb3 p3



*p3j=s smt sḫ ḥrj* ...

9. 

Recto II

1. 

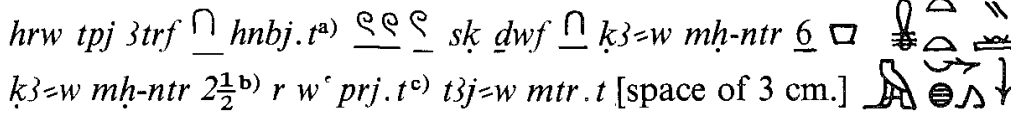
*ḥn=w* 

*mtw w˓ ij r.ḥr p3 ntr mtw=w* 

*t3 sl3.t n kj ḳb3(.t)* 

*wb3 n3 k3.w n3 ḏj.w p3* 

*p3*

2. *hrw tpj 3trf* 

*hnbj.t* 

*sḳ ḏwf* 

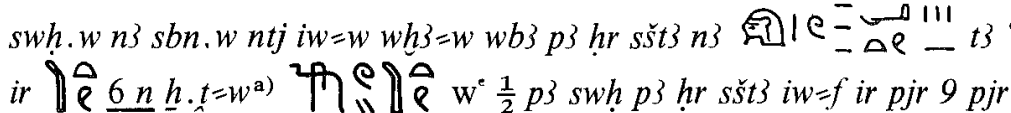
*ḳ3=w mḥ-ntr 6* 

*wrs nm* 

*ḳ3=w mḥ-ntr* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *r w˓ prj.t* 

*t3j=w mtr.t* [space of 3 cm.] 

*p3 ḥrj sšt3 irm n3 ḥrj-ḥb.w ir n3 ḥbs.w n3*

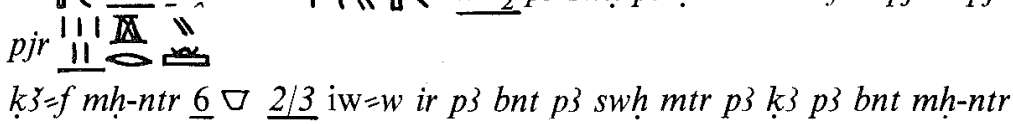
3. *swḥ.w n3 sbn.w ntj iw=w wḫ3=w wb3 p3 ḥr sšt3 n3* 

*t3 ˓n.t 2.t iw=w ir* 

*6 n ḥ.t=w* 

*w˓* $\frac{1}{2}$ *p3 swḥ p3 ḥr sšt3 iw=f ir pjr 9 pjr* 

*pjr* 

4. *ḳ3=f mḥ-ntr 6* 

*2/3* iw=*w ir p3 bnt p3 swḥ mtr p3 ḳ3 p3 bnt mḥ-ntr 9* 

12 

*mḥ-ntr* 

*p3 ḳ3 p3 swḥ mtr mḥ-ntr 6* 

*mḥ-ntr* 

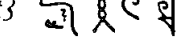
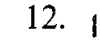
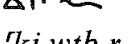
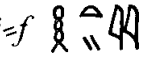
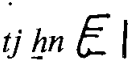
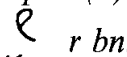
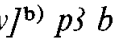
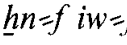
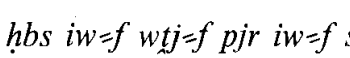
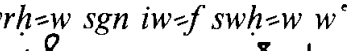
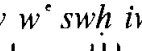
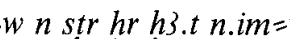
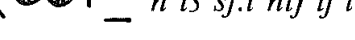


*m-s3=s p3 ḥrj sšt3 irm n3 ḥrj-ḥb.w ntj irm=f šm r*

5. *p3 m3˓ ntj iw p3 ntr n.im=f iw=w ˓r˓r t3 nbtj.t ḥr t3 ḥ3.t iwṯ n3 ḏnḥw* [a] *p3* [b] *ntr p3 ḥn p3 ḏnḥ wnm mtw=f* [c] *ij r bnr r p3 ḏnḥ i3bj iw=w š˓t=s iw=w dj.t iw=s p3 ḥn p3 ḏnḥ n i3bj* [d]

6. *mtw=s ij r bnr r p3 ḏnḥ wnm iw=w š˓t=s iw=w t3j=w r ḥrj iw=w mr=w mr sḫm iw=w ir n3 ntj m-ḳtj* [a] *n3j n3 mnj.w(t) ˓n iw=w š˓t=s iw=w t3j=s r t3 ḥr-ib.t* [b] iw=*w in=s r ḥrj ˓n iw=w ∽* [c]

7. *mr=s* [a] *mr sḫm* [b] iw=*w dj.t šm* [c] *nm* 3 *r bnr ḥn n3 ḥbs.w skr.w iw=w mr t3 ḥ3.t n3 ḏ˹nḥ˺.w sbn iw=w t3j=w r ḥrj iw=w t3j=w* [d] *r p3 nm t3 ḥ3.t iw=w mr t3 ḥ3.t n3 mnj.w(t) sbn iw=w ∽*

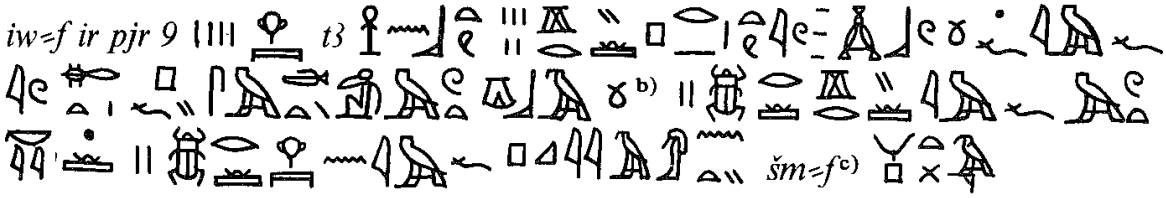
8. *ṯ3j=w r ḥrj iw=w ṯ3j=w r p3 nm*[a] *t3 mtr.t iw=w dj.t*[b] *iw p3 wṯ3 r twn t3 mnj.t wnm iw=w sm⸢ḫ⸣j⸢3⸣=f*[c] *r.r=s iw=w mr t3 šnb.t sbn r p3 nm t3 ḥ3.t ⸢n iw=w ⸢ḳ p3 ntr iw=w dj.t ḥtp=f ḥr p3 pj*[d]
9. *ntj sḫ iw=w šp*[a] *n3 nm.w r bnr iw=w dj.t iw n3 ḥbs.w skr(.w)*[b] *ntj ḫr p3 ntr r i3bj wnm n.im=f iw=w nms ⸢ntr pn ḏr⸣=f*[c] *ḥbs iw=w in p3 sgn gw-m33 i.ir-ḥr p3 ḥrj sšt3 irm n3 ḫrj-ḥb.w iw=w wrḥ ntr pn*
10. *ḏr=f n sgn r p3 šnj m-s3 t3 ḥ3.t ḏb3 p3 gj dj.t šm p3 sgn ḫn=f r p3 ⸢...*[a] *ḥms⸣ i.ir-ḥr p3 ḥrj sšt3 iw=f wn ḫn b p3 ⸢ntr iw⸣=f dj.t šm dr.t=f*[b] *ḫn b=f š⸢ p3 m3⸢*
11. *ntj iw ir-rḫ dr.t=f pḥ=f iw=f štj n3 ḥbs.w ḥn⸢ ntj nb ntj iw=f gm=w ḫn b=f iw=f nms ⸢ḫn b=f*[a] *ḥbs⸣ šs sp-2 iw=f ...*[b] *r.ḥr n3 nms.w r.štj p3 w⸢b ntj ḫn p3 ḏj ntj sḫ iw=f dj.t rk t3* 
12.  [a] *2.t ntj ḫn=f iw=f dj.t k.t nḏḥj.t 2.t mnḥ ḫl*  *sḳ g3 tm ⸢...*[b] *ḫn⸣ b p3*[c] *ntr r tm dj.t ḥtm b=f iw=f dj.t ⸢rf ⸢3 w⸢ n ḫl ḫr ls=f iw=f swḥ* ∽
13.  *n w⸢ ḥbs iw=f tḫb sgn mtw=f ḳlḥ ḥr ḥ3.t n.im=f pjr 3 mtw w⸢ ij r ḥrj mtw ⸢kj wtb r ḥrj⸣ ḥr=f*[a] *iw=f ⸢dj.t⸣ ḥbs ⸢2⸣ r t3j=f*  2.t *iw=f dj.t kj ḥbs 2 r t3j=f ḥr-ggj.t 2.t iw=f dj.t kj ḥbs*
14. *2 r t3j=f ⸢r.ṯj.t 2.t iw=f ḏm p3 ḫn*[a] *b=f n ḥbs r ...*[b] *n3 ḥbs.w ntj ⸢šm ḫn b=f ...⸣ n sgn iw=f šm i.ir-ḥr n3 ir.wt iw=f nms ḫn n3 ir.wt n šs-nsw* ∽
15. *iw=f wrḥ=w*[a] *n sgn iw=f dj.t n3*[b] *⸢ḥbs.w n3 ir.wt⸣ r ḥrj ⸢tn sj.t⸣ 2.t r w⸢.t ⸢ir.t ... ... p3 ntr iw=f dj.t n3 ḥbs.w n3⸣ spt.w(t) r ḥrj iw=f ⸢šm i.ir-ḥr* [c]
16. *iw=f štj n3 ḥbs.w ntj ḫn*  *r bnr iw=f nms ḫn*  *n ḥbs iw=f ...*[a] *r p3 ḏj ntj ⸢iw⸣ [n3] nms[.w]*[b] *p3 b ḫn=f iw=f wrḥ ḫn*  *sgn iw=f ḏm ḫn*  *ḥbs < iw=f tḫb > sgn*[c]
17. *iw=f swḥ p3 b p3*  *w⸢ ḥbs iw=f wṯj=f pjr iw=f šm i.ir-ḥr n3* [a] *iw⸢=f⸣ nms=w n ḥbs iw=f wrḥ=w sgn iw=f swḥ=w w⸢ swḥ iw=f ir pjr 5 3 ḥrj 2 ḫrj*
18. *iw=w wrḥ iwṯ n3* [a]  *r p3j=f irj n.im=w iw=f ⸢nbtj⸣=w*[b] *nbt*[c] [d] *p3j=f irj n* [e] *3 iw=w swḥ=w swḥ* ∽
19. *ṯ3j ḥ3.ṯ=w*[a] *š⸢ pḥw=w iw=w wṯj=w n sṯr ḥr ḥ3.t n.im=w mtw=w wṯj=w mtr š⸢ ⸢pḥw=w ⸢n*[b] *p3j=s smt n3*  *⸢n t3 sj.t ntj ij iwṯ*[c] *n3*  *ḫr p3 nbt i(w)=s ir*
20. *pjr 2 < ḥr > wnm 2 ḥr i3bj p3 ḥrj sšt3 swḥ p3 ḥr sšt3 ḏr=f w⸢ ⸢swḥ⸣ iw=f tḫb sgn ḫr.r=f r.ḥr=f iw=f tštš=f pjr iw=f smn t3 ⸢n.t 2.t ḥr n3 ⸢.wj.w*[a]

21. *ntj ir.t=f*[a] *iw=f ir wṯj 16 ḥr 3t.ṯ=w iw=f dj.t p3 swḥ p3 ḥr sšt3 r ḥrj tw=s p3j=f smt [space of 1 cm.]*[b] *mtw=f ir 2/3 wb3=f mtw 1/3 ḫpr ḥrj t3 šnbj.t mtw 2/3*[c] *ḫpr ḫrj p3 ḥr sšt3 ḫn=f mtw p3 1/3 ntj ḥrj t3*

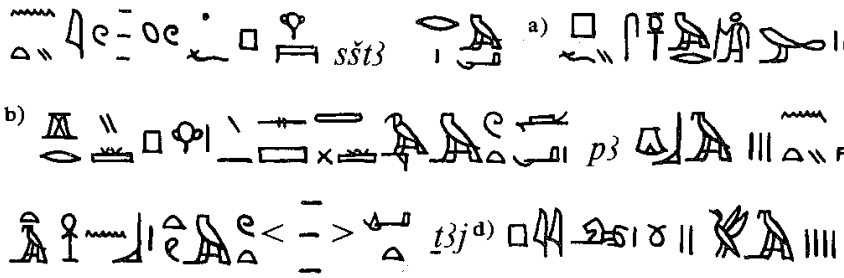
22. *šnbj.t ir pjr 3 mtw p3 pjr t3 mtr.t š'.ṯ n bnr ḫr t3 šnbj.t mtw p3 kj pjr 2 ir sbn 6 mtw 2 n.im=w š'.ṯ bnr mtw 4 ḫpr ḥrj t3 šnbj.t 2 ḥr i3bj 2 ḥr wnm n.im=s*

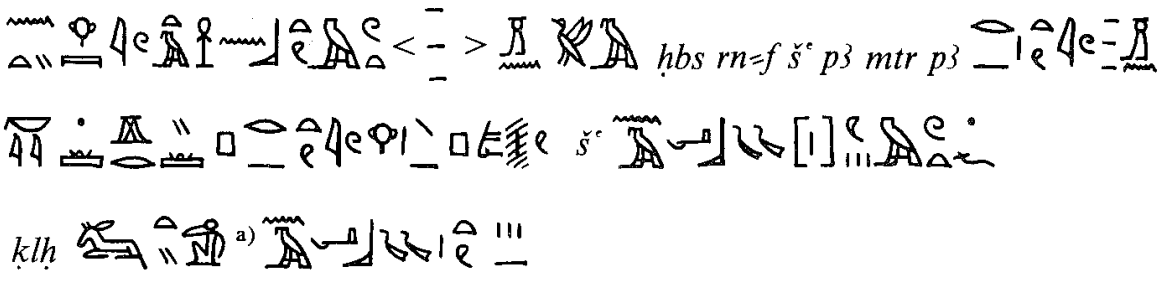
23. *< w' iwṯ w' >*[a] *'s ...*[b] *p3 kj 2/3 ntj ḫrj < iw=f > ir=f*[c] *sbn 9 mtw w' sbn '3 ḫpr t3 mtr.t ḫn=w mtw=f ij r ḥrj ḥr*[d] *p3 ḫm-b š' < n3 > 'b.w*[e] *mtw=f ir pjr 2 ḥr t3 šnbj.t w' i3bj w' wnm n.im=s iw=f < dj.t >*[f] *ij p3 pjr*[g]

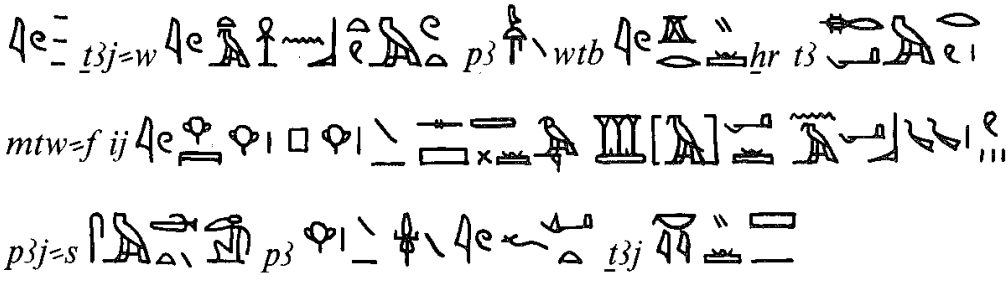
24. *4 ntj ḥr i3bj p3 sbn '3 iw=f š'.ṯ p3 ntj m-s3 p3 sbn '3 bnr iw=f st3.ṯ=f š'.ṯ mḥ-4 bnr m-s3=f 'n iw=f ir p3j*[a] *smt p3 ḥr wnm 'n [space of 10 cm. + full line]*[b]

25. *iw=f ir pjr 9*  *šm=f*[c]

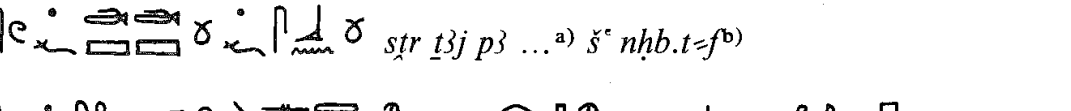
Recto III

1.  *sšt3* *p3*

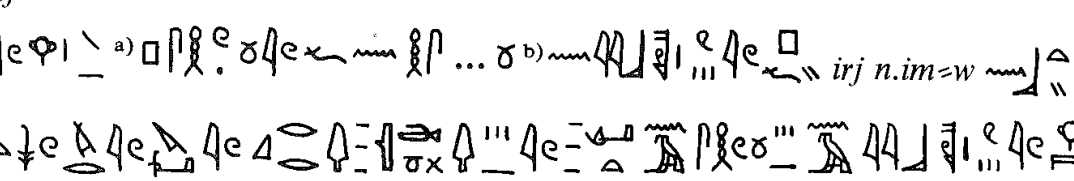
2.  *ḥbs rn=f š' p3 mtr p3* *š'* *ḳlḥ*

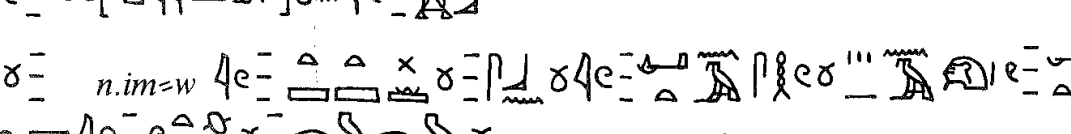
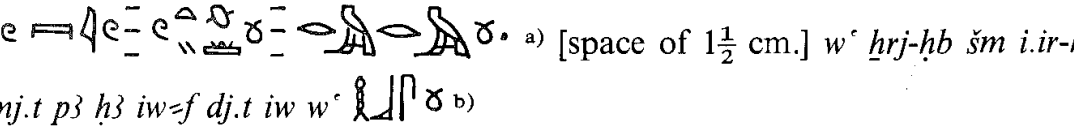
3.  *t3j=w* *p3* *wtb* *ḥr t3* *mtw=f ij* *p3j=s* *p3* *t3j*

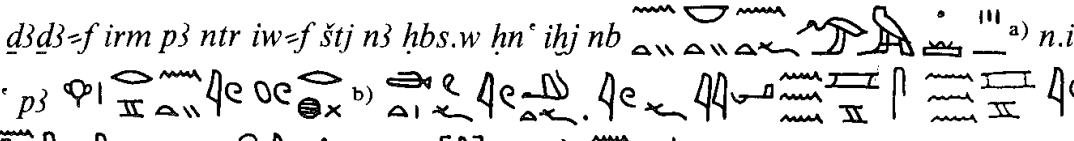
4. 
*ḥ nȝj*  *ṯȝj* 
*pȝ* 
*š˓-tw=f* 

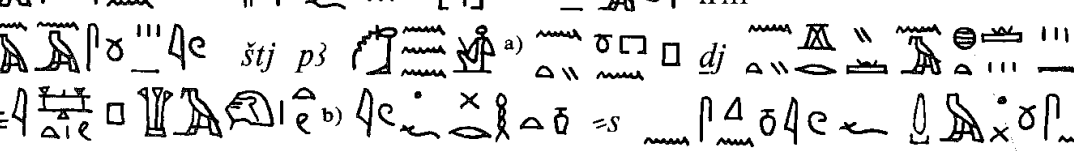
5. 
*sṯr ṯȝj pȝ …*[a] *š˓ nḥb.t=f*[b] 
*pȝ* [c] 
*irj* [space of 2 cm.] *i.ir=w ir nȝj m-ḏr pȝ ˓ḥrj sšṭȝ˒ r nȝ ḫrj-ḥb.w*

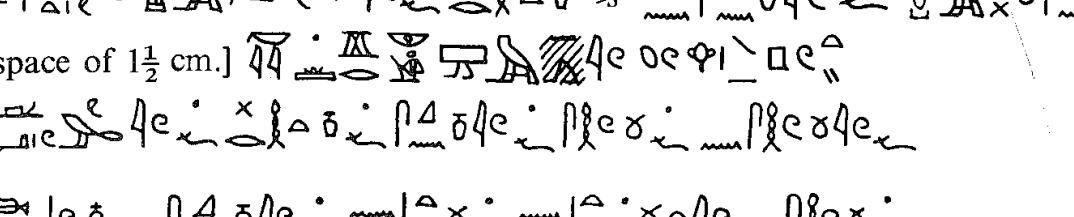
6. *ḥms i.ir-ḥr-n*[a] *nȝ tp.w ˓.wt iw=w swtn n.im=w š˓ pȝ ntj iw=w < ir- > rḫ*[b] *ir=f*[c] *r tm dj.t ˓lḳ nȝ dr.wt iw=w swḥ nȝ dr.wt dr.t=f rd=f šs-nsw iw=w nbt nȝ jb˓.w*[d] *ḳn*[e] *Sj*

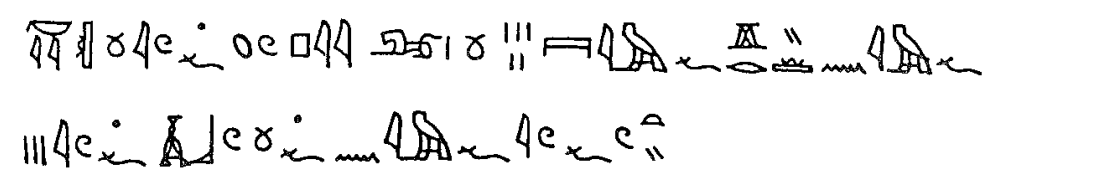
7. 
*irj n.im=w* 

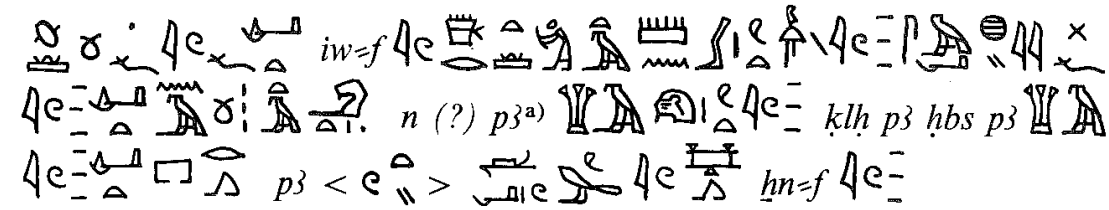
8. 
*n.im=w* 
[space of 1½ cm.] *w˓ ḫrj-ḥb šm i.ir-ḥr tȝ mj.t pȝ ḥȝ iw=f dj.t iw w˓* [b]

9. *r ḏȝḏȝ=f irm pȝ ntr iw=f štj nȝ ḥbs.w ḥn˓ iḫj nb* [a] *n.im.w š˓ pȝ* [b] [c] 
irm

10. 
*štj pȝ* [a] 
*ḏj* [b] 
*=s* 
[space of 1½ cm.] 

11. 



12.  *iw=f* [illegible] *n (?) p3*[a] [illegible] *ḳlḥ p3 ḥbs p3* [illegible] *p3* < [illegible] > [illegible] *ḥn=f* [illegible]

13. [illegible] *str* [illegible][a] [space of 1½ cm.] [illegible][b] [illegible] [illegible][c] [illegible][d]

14. [illegible][a] ... ... ... [illegible] ... ... ... [illegible] ... ... ... ... ...

15. [illegible] *nm.w r ḫ p3 ntj sḫ* [illegible] *p3* [illegible] ... [illegible][a] [illegible] *skr.w*

16. [illegible] *wrs ỉ3* [illegible] *wrs* [illegible] < [illegible] > [illegible] *p3* [illegible] *p3* [illegible][a]

17. [illegible] *ṯ3j t3 ḥ3.t r p3* [illegible][a] [illegible] *skr.w* [illegible] *r ḫ p3j* [illegible] *p3* [illegible][b] [illegible] *ḫ3ʿ=w r i3bj wnm n.im=f šʿ-tw=w wḫ3=w* [illegible][c] [illegible] *iw*

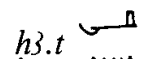
18. [illegible] *p3* [illegible] *p3* [illegible] [illegible] *ntj sḫ* [space of 3 cm.] *p3 gj ʿsmʿḥj=f*[a] *ntj iw=w ir=f*[b] *iw=w in t3 nbtj.t i(w)=s*

19. *ir mḥ*[a] *120 iw=w dj.t šm=s r bnr ḫn n3 mʿrj.w(t) ntj ḫr t3 sr* (sic)[b] *t3j=f ptj.t 2.t n t3 ḥ3.t iw=w ir=s n dnj.t 2.t iw=w ḫ3ʿ*[c] *mḥ-ntr 60 ḥr p3 i3bj mḥ-ntr 60 ḥr p3*[d] *wnm iw=w sḳ=w*

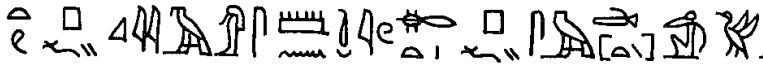
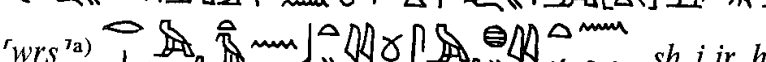
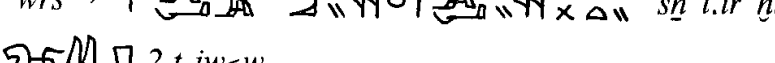
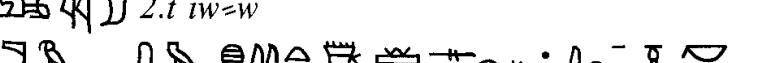
20. *m-šs iw=w ṯ3j=w t3 rj.t*[a] *ḥrj.t n3j=f ḏnḥ.w iw=w ṯ3j t3 nbtj.t p3 wnm r p3 i3bj iw=w ṯ3j t3 nbtj.t p3 i3bj r p3 wnm iw=w dj.t ṯ3j=s*[b] *r t3 k.t mʿrj.t 2.t n p3 pḥw*

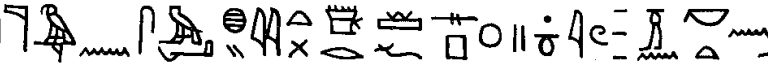
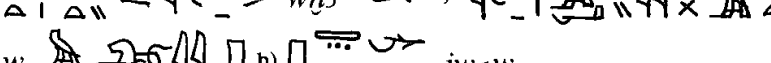
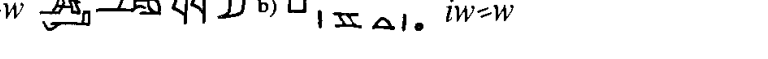
21. *iw=w dj.t st3.ṯ=w st*[a] *r ḥrj ḥr*[b] *t3 ḥr-ib.t iw=w dj.t st3.ṯ* {=w} *s t3 nbtj.t*[c] *r t3 ḥ3.t ḥr n3j ʿn kj ḳt*[d] *2 iw=w dj.t šm t3 nbtj.t 2.t ḫn t3 mʿrj(.t) 2.t ntj t3 mtr.t p3 t3*[e] *ḥr t3 ḥ3.t iw=w ṯ3j=w*

22. *r ḥrj ḥr t3 3t iw=w dj.t t3j=w r t3 mˁrj(.t) 2.t p3*  *iw=w dj.t t3 nbtj.t n p3 wnm r p3 i3bj iw=w t3j t3 nbtj.t p3 i3bj r p3 wnm ˁn iw=w sḳ=w m-šs iw=w dj.t st3.t=w st*

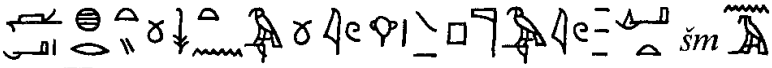
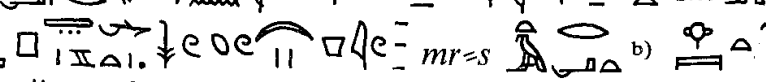
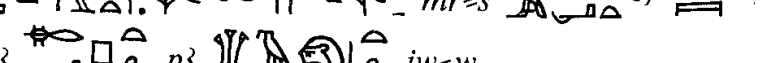
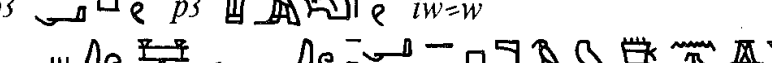
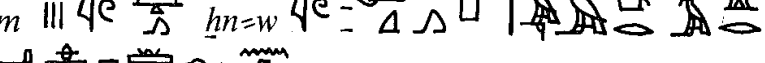
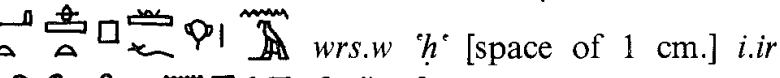
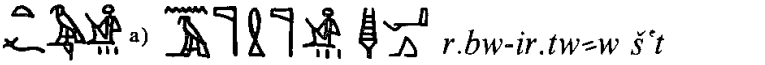
23. *r t3 mˁrj(.t) 2.t n t3 ḥ3.t*  [a] *iw=w sḳ=w m-šs iw=w t3j=w r ḥrj iwṯ n3*  *iw=w t3j t3 nbtˁj.tˀ p3 wnm r p3 i3bj iw=w t3j t3 nbtj.t p3 i3bj r p3 wnm iw=w dj.t t3j=w r* [b]

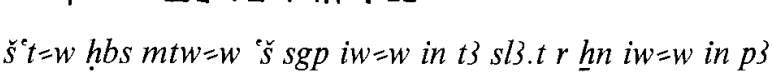
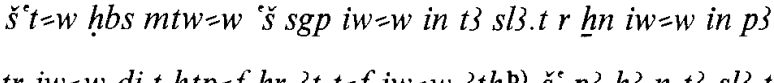
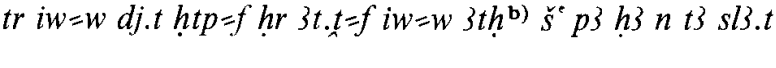
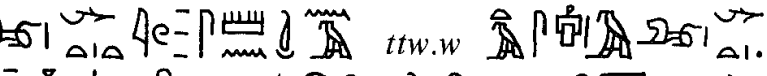
24. *t3 mˁrj(.t) 2.t n p3 wrs ntj ḫr ḥr n* [a] *p3 ntr iw=w dj.t st3.t=w st ḥr p3 ḫm-b* [b] *iw=w t3j t3 nbtj.t p3 wnm r p3 i3bj p3 i3bj r p3* [c] *wnm ˁn iw=w sḳ=w m-šs šˁ-tw=w dj.t*

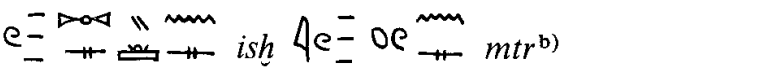
25. *ir p3*  *sp* [illegible]  *… ˁwrsˀ* [a]  *sḫ i.ir ḫr tw=w t3j=ˁwˀ* [b]  *2.t iw=w*

26.  *šˁt n.im=s*  *wḫ3* [illegible] [a]  *n3j=w*  [b]  *iw=w*

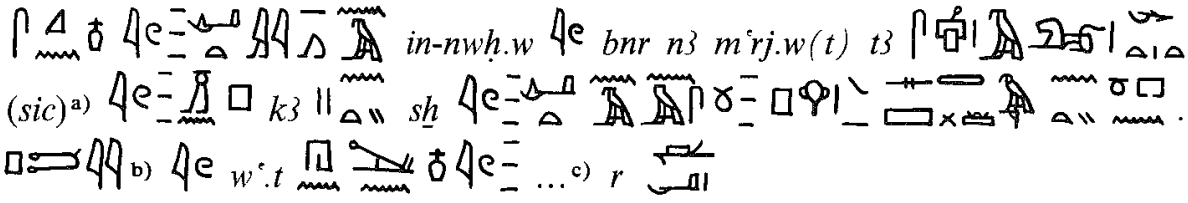
Recto IV

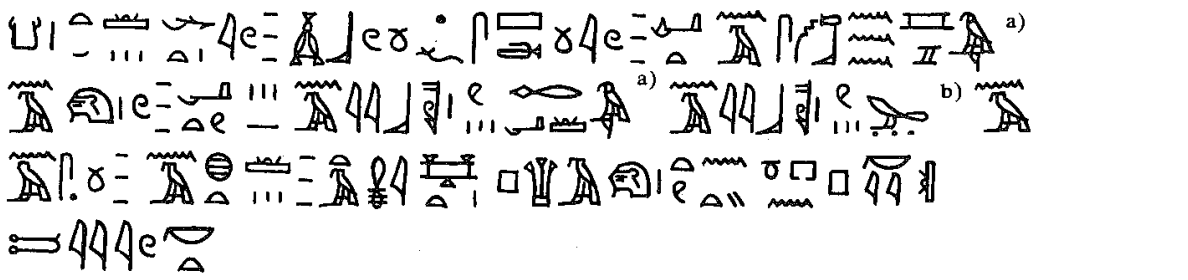
1.  *šm*  *skr(.w)* [a]  *mr=s*  [b]  *ḥ3.t p3*  *p3*  *iw=w*

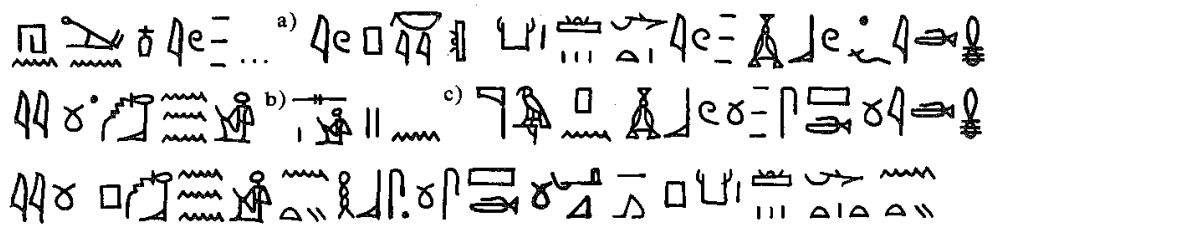
2.  *šm nm*  *ḫn=w*  *wrs.w ˁḥˁ* [space of 1 cm.] *i.ir=w ir n3j ḏr=w*  [a]  *r.bw-ir.tw=w šˁt*

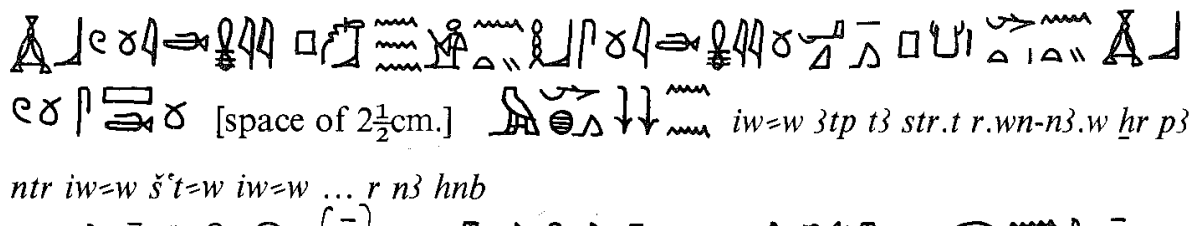
3. *ḥbs i.ir ḫr šˁt=w ḥbs mtw=w ˁš sgp iw=w in t3 sl3.t r ḫn iw=w in p3*  *r t3 ḥ3.t* [a] *p3 ntr iw=w dj.t ḥtp=f ḥr 3t.t=f iw=w 3tḥ* [b] *šˁ p3 ḥ3 n t3 sl3.t iw=w dj.t ḥtp p3 ntr ḫn t3*

4.  *ttw.w*  *ḥ3.t*  [a] *t3j kf3*  *isḫ*  *mtr* [b]

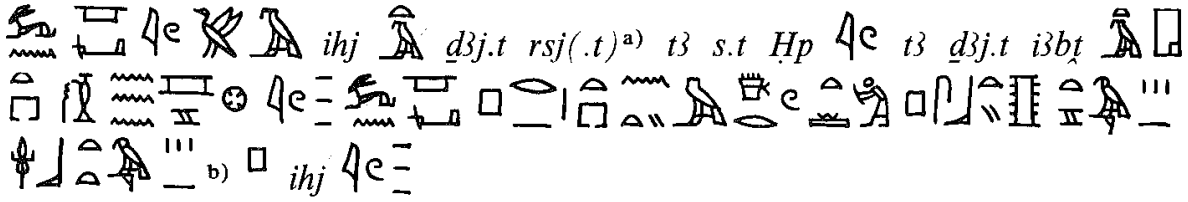
5. 
*in-nwḥ.w*  *bnr n3 m˓rj.w(t) t3*  *(sic)*[a]  *k3*  *sḫ*  [b]  *w˓.t*  … [c] *r* 

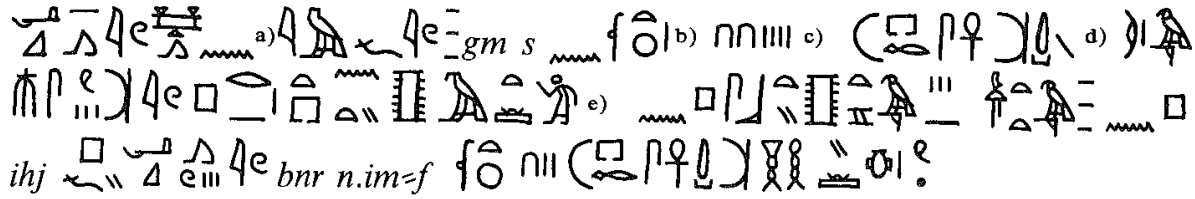
6. 

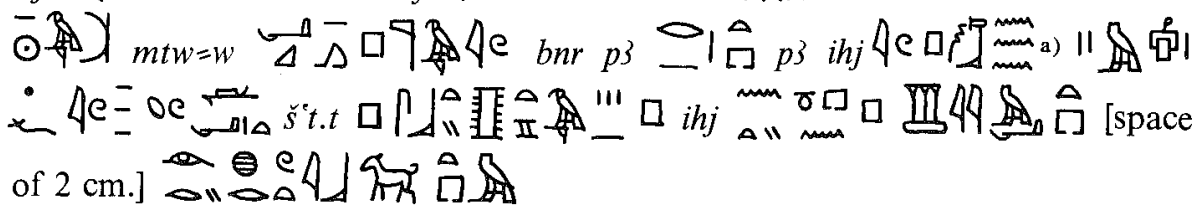
7. 

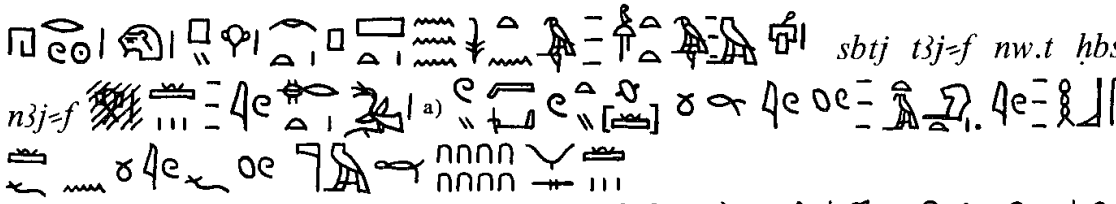
8. 
[space of 2½cm.]  *iw=w 3tp t3 str.t r.wn-n3.w ḫr p3 ntr iw=w š˓t=w iw=w … r n3 ḥnb*

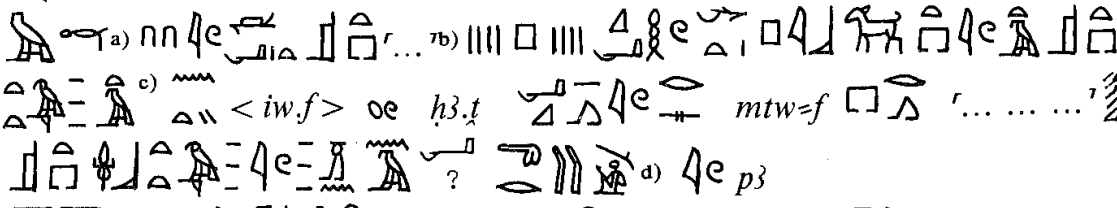
9. *j.wt*   [a]  *t3j=w*  *ḫ3˓*  *g3.w*[b]  *n.im.w*  [c] *p3 bnr p3 kp š*  [d] 

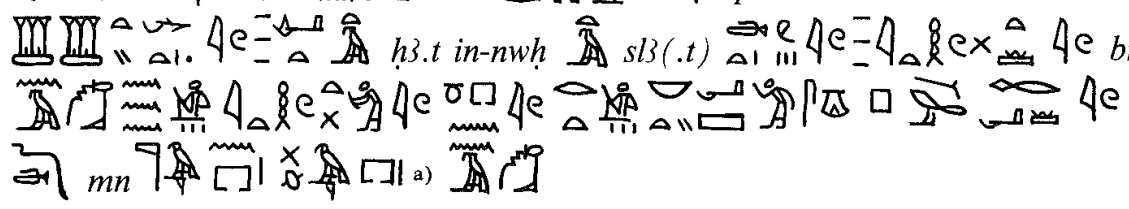
10. 
*ihj*  *ḏ3j.t rsj(.t)*[a] *t3 s.t Ḥp*  *t3 ḏ3j.t i3bṯ*  [b]  *ihj* 

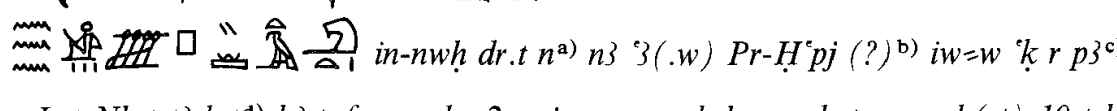
11. 
*gm s*  [b]  [c]  [d]  [e] 
*ihj*  *bnr n.im=f* 

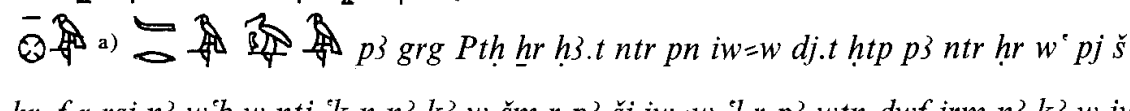
12. 
*mtw=w*  *bnr p3*  *p3 ihj*  [a]  *š˓t.t*  *ihj*  [space of 2 cm.] 

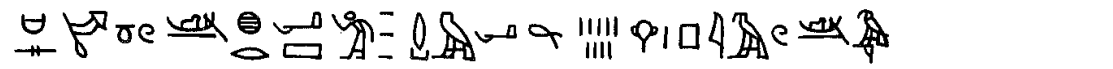
13.  *sbtj t3j=f nw.t ḥbs.w n3j=f* 

14. 

15.  *ḥ3.t in-nwḥ*  *sl3(.t)*  *bnr*  *mn* 

16.  *in-nwḥ dr.t n*[a] *n3 ʿ3(.w) Pr-Ḥʿpj (?)*[b] *iw=w ʿḳ r p3*[c] *šj r Is.t Nb.t-t3-ḥ.t*[d] *ḥ3.t=f r wn bs 2 <iw=w> mḥ ḥsmn dr.t=w mnḫ(.t) 10.t ḥḏ.t sšt* 

17.  *p3 grg Pth ḫr ḥ3.t ntr pn iw=w dj.t ḥtp p3 ntr ḥr wʿ pj šʿ r ḥr=f r rsj n3 wʿb.w ntj ʿḳ n n3 k3.w šm r p3 šj iw=w ʿl r p3 wtn ḏwf irm n3 k3.w iw=w ir n=w irj.w*[b]

18. 

*ʿp3j=w*[7a] *rn*

I. 

II. 

III. 

IV. [b]

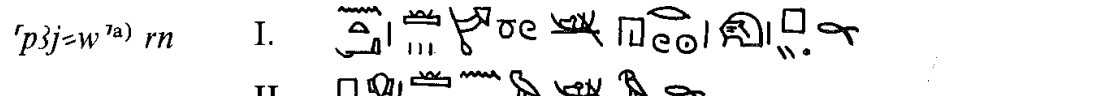
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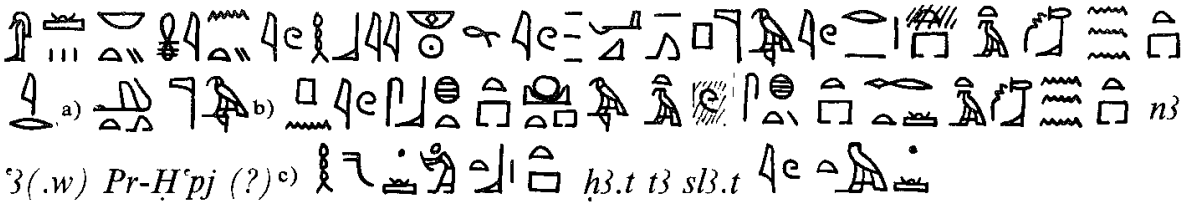
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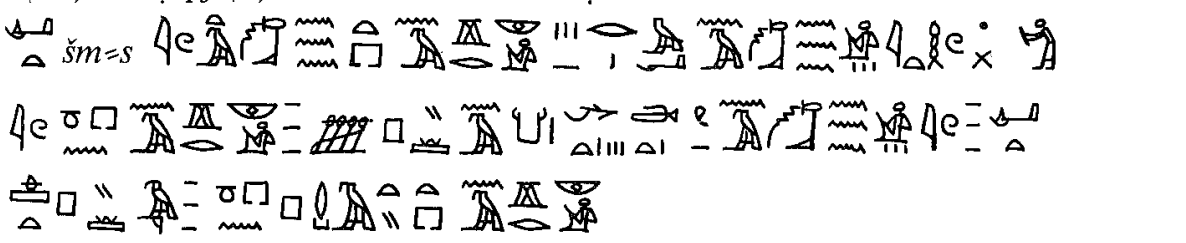
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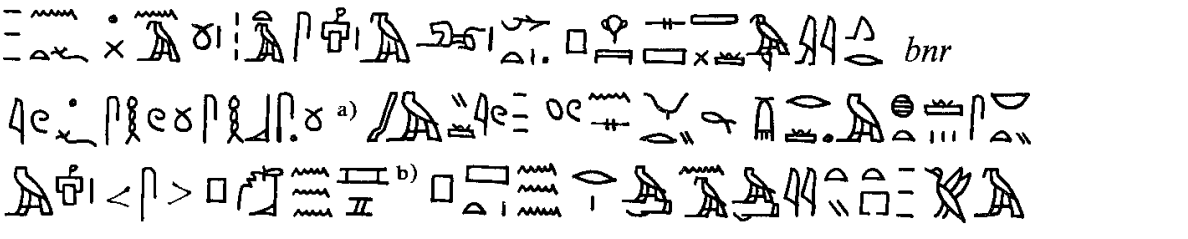
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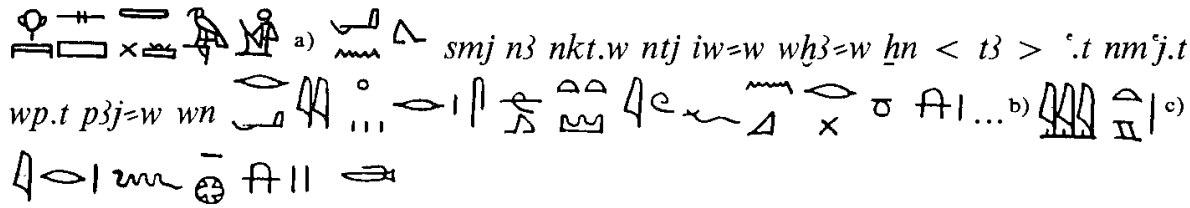
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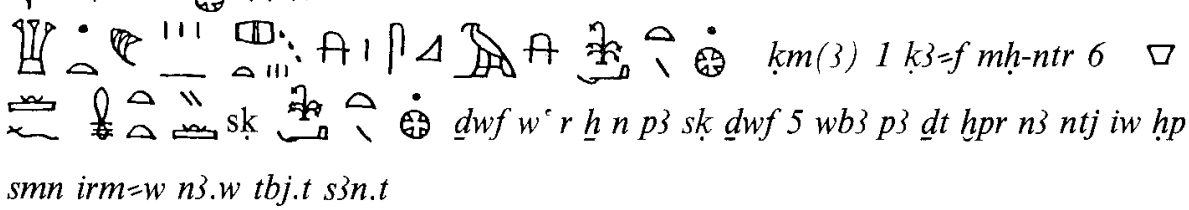


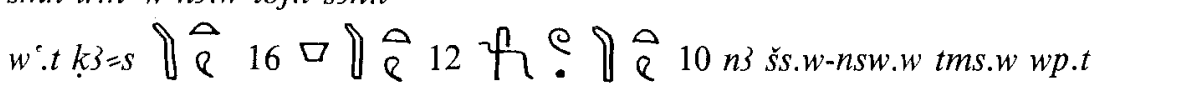
20.  *n3 ˁ3(.w) Pr-Ḥˁpj (?)*[c]  *ḥ3.t t3 sl3.t* 

21.  *šm=s* 

22.  *bnr* 

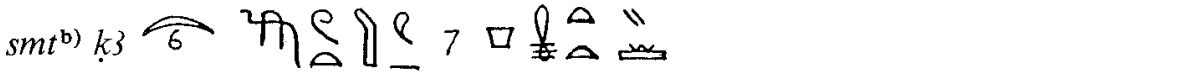
23.  *smj n3 nkt.w ntj iw=w wḫ3=w ḫn < t3 > ˁ.t nmˁj.t wp.t p3j=w wn* 

24.  *ḳm(3) 1 ḳ3=f mḥ-ntr 6*  *ḏwf wˁ r ḫ n p3 sḳ ḏwf 5 wb3 p3 ḏt ḫpr n3 ntj iw ḥp smn irm=w n3.w tbj.t s3n.t*

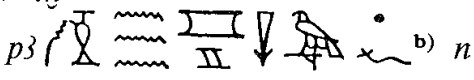
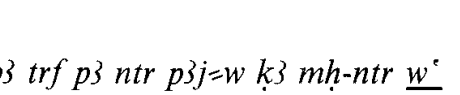
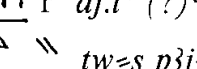
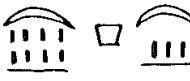
25. *wˁ.t ḳ3=s*  16  12  10 *n3 šs.w-nsw.w tms.w wp.t*

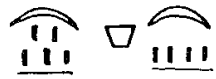
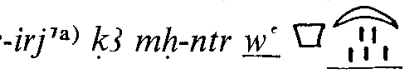
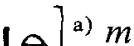
Recto V

1. *ḫrt šs-nsw*[a] *2 st*[b] *3trf 10 ḫrt*[c] *tms 5 ḳb3(.t) tms 50 nbtj.t skr r ḫ p3 ntj iw=w wḫ3=f n3 wnḫ.w t3j=w ip.t p3j=w (t3j=w?) ḏn …*[d] *wp.t*

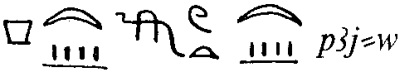
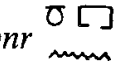
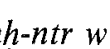
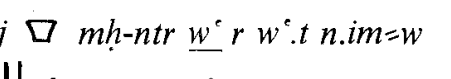
2. *ḏnjṯ.t 15 mtw=w n3 ntj ⸢iw⸣=w …*[a] *ḫr p3 trf p3 ntr bw-ir iḫj h3j r ḫrj tw=s p3j=w smt*[b] *ḳ3*  7 

3. *jˁj ˁ3* IIII *mtw=w n3 ntj iw=w prḫ*[a] *n3 ntj ḫn p3*[b] *krs p3 ḳbṯ3 ḫn=w r wn rhnj.t*

4. *ḫn=w pȝj=w ḳȝ mḥ-ntr wˁ mtj*  6 *tw=s pȝj=w smt mšj* IIII *mtw=w nȝ ntj iw=w šp nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr r.r=w* ⌜*iw=w ʿḳ*⌝[a] *n=w r bnr ḫn*
5. *pȝ hn irm nȝ iḫj.w ntj ḫn=w r kj*[a] *mšj 4 pȝj=w ḳȝ*
6. *mḥ-ntr wˁ wsḫ*[a]  *tw=s pȝj=w smt*
7. *ḫn*[a] *10 mtw=w nȝ ntj iw=w dj.t nȝ iḫj.w irm nȝ ḥbs.w [ntj ḫn pȝ]*[b] *hn r.r=w ḳȝ=w mḥ-ntr wˁ*  *mtj*  *tw=s* ⌜*pȝj=w smt*⌝
8. *jˁj ḫm* IIII *mtw=w nȝ ntj iw=w mštj nȝ ntj ḫn pȝ krs*
9. *pȝ ḳbḏȝ r.r=w pȝj=w ḳȝ*   *mtj*  ⌜*pȝj=w*⌝ *smt*
10. *tjtj.t ʿȝ.t* IIII  *mtw=w nȝ ntj iw=w mštj nȝ ntj ḫn*
11. *pȝ*  [a] *mw sfj r.r=w tn wˁ sp n wˁb r wˁ.t*
12. *n.im=w pȝj=w ḳȝ mḥ-ntr wˁ*  *mtj*  *pȝj=w smt*
13. *lḫmj.t*[a] IIII 
14. *r wn mtw=w* ʿ*nj.*⌜*t*⌝ *4.t mtw=w* ʿ*tḫ*[a]
15. *nȝ mw(.w)*[a] *ntj iw=w wˁb pȝ*  [b] *n.im=w r.r=w tȝj=w* 
16. *mḥ-ntr wˁ 1/3*  *pȝj=w smt*
17. *lḫmj.t*[a] *ḫm.t 2.t mtw* ⌜*nȝj=w*⌝[b]
18. ʿ*nj.wt ḫpr n=w r* ʿ*tḫ*[a] *nȝ mw.w pȝ krs*
19. *r.r=w tȝj=w mtj mḥ-ntr wˁ*  *pȝj=w smt*
20. *bs*  [a] *r dj.t nȝ nms.w tȝ mj.t n pȝ*
21.  r.r=*w tȝj=w mtj*    [a] *pȝj=w smt*
22. *ḫn*[a]  *r dj.t nȝ nmṣ.w pȝ* ⌜*hn*⌝[b] *r.r=w šˁ-tw=w ʿḳ n=w*
23. *r pȝ ḏt*[a] *pȝ hrw tpj* ʿ*n ḳȝ=w mḥ-ntr wˁ*  [b]  *pȝj=w smt*
24. *ḏnjṯ.t*  r ⌜*dj.t*⌝ *(?)*[a] *ḫr pȝ trf pȝ ntr pȝj=w ḳȝ mḥ-ntr w*<u>ˁ</u>  
25. *mtj*  *tw=s pȝj=w smt*
26. *rks*  *mtw=w nȝ ntj iw=w … nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr*
27. *r.r=w iw=w wˁb n.im=w tn*  *n wˁb iw=w swḥ=w n ḥbs tȝj=w*  *pȝj=w smt*
28. *ḏlḥ*[a]  *mtw=w nȝ ntj iw=w wˁb nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr ḫn=w tn*  *wˁb tn 4*

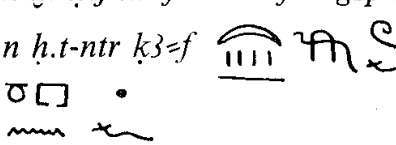
29. *r wʿ ntr pȝj=w kȝ*  *tw=s pȝj=w smt*
30. *kj mšj*  *mtw=w nȝ ntj iw=w wʿb nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr*
31. *ḫn=w m-sȝ pȝ wʿb ⸢pȝ wr-irj⸣*[a] *kȝ mḥ-ntr wʿ* 
32. *mtj*  *⸢pȝj=w⸣ smt*
33. *psṯʿj.t* [  ][a] *mtw=w nȝ ntj iw=w dj.t nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr r.r=w*
34. *iw=w wȝḥ (?)*[a] *iw=w wʿb n.im⸢=w⸣ […. …]*[b] *pȝ wr-irj r wn mštj.t*
35.  *n.im=w [pȝj=w] ⸢kȝ⸣*[a] *mḥ-ntr wʿ wsḫ*[b] [c]
36. *mtj*  *pȝj=w smt*

Recto VI a

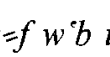
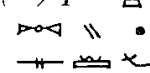
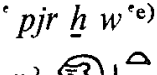
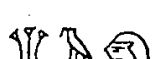
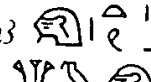
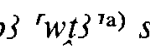
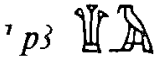
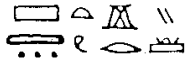
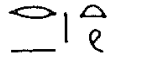
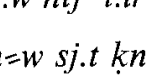
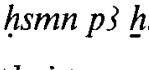
1. *ṯʿj*  *r dj.t nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr r.r=w iw=w ij r ʿḳ n=w*
2. *r …*[a] *pȝj=w kȝ mḥ-⸢ntr⸣ wʿ wsḫ*  *mtj* 
3. *ḳtj-j⸢ʿj⸣*  *smt šjᵃ*[a] *r dj.t wʿb pȝ wr-*[b]
4. *irj ḫn=w kȝ*[a] *mḥ-ntr wʿ*  *pȝj=w smt*
5. *ḫjȝ.t ʿȝ.t*  *r dj.t nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr r.r=w iw=w ʿḳ n=w r bnr* 
6. *nȝ ṯʿj.wt tnrȝ pȝj=w kȝ mḥ-ntr wʿ*  *pȝj=w smt*
7. *ḫjȝ.t ḫm.t*  *r wʿb pȝ krs ḫn=w n …*[a]
8. *pȝj=w kȝ mḥ-ntr wʿ*  *mtj*  *pȝj=w smt*
9. *lḥmj.t*[a] *ʿȝ.t*  *r dj.t nȝ ḥmt.w Ḥr r.r=w iw=w mḥ*
10. *sfj iw=w ir mḥ-ntr wʿ mtj*  *mḥ-ntr wʿ r wʿ.t n.im=w*
11. *dmḏ*[a] *wnḫ*  *ḫn* < *tȝ* > *ʿ.t nmj.t*
12. *pȝ bnr pȝ hn …*[a] *n ḫt nhj iw=f ir ḏt*[b] *4*
13. *ḫn=f i.ir=f*[a]  *n ḫt nhj iw=w md irm=f r ḫ … tȝ*
14. *ms tȝ (nȝ?) …*[a] *ḫpr smt*[b] *ms n.im=w pȝ ntj iw=w ir=f*[c] *wḥm*

Recto VI b

1. *md(.t) rmt šm*[a] *tȝj pȝj=f smt ḥnbj.t ḥsmn*  *iw=f*  *tn hn*  *r wʿ.t n.im=w bs ṯḥn*[b] [c]

2. *pȝ nḥḥ tn ḥn*  *r wˁ ḳll*[a] *5 iw=w mḥ*
3. *mw pȝj=w grbˁ*[a] *ḫt r b=w*[b] *ikn*  [c]
4. *ʿnj.ʳtʾ 2.ʳtʾ bkf*[a] *wˁ r wn mtw=f*
5. *ʳknṯʾ*[a] *iw=f ir mḥ-ntr wˁ r dr.t=f*[b] *n ḫt ȝw ʿȝ* 
6. *iw=w ir*  *r wˁ n.im=w*  *šš*  *wp.t*
7. *ʿȝ wˁ ḥtpj r ḥtpj wˁ r ḫȝˁ nȝ nkt.w pȝ ḥrj ḥm*
8. *ḥr ȝt.ṯ=f wp.t gst n rȝ(.t) km(.t) wˁ ʿt …*[a]  *ʿt n tpš*  *bs.t*  [b]
9. *ȝḏȝ-šlˁ*[a] *hbjnj r b=s*[b] *m*[c] *nb i(w)=s ir mḥ-ntr wˁ ḥtpj r ḥtpj wˁ r ḫȝˁ nȝ nkt.w ntj iw*
10. *pȝ sḫ mḏȝ.t-ntr wḫȝ=w ḥr ȝt.ṯ=f pȝj=w wn gst ḏrȝ*  *wˁ n rȝ(.t) km.t kj n rȝ(.t) wȝḏ(.t)*
11. *ʿt …*[a]  *mḏj ṯȝj b 2.t mḥj wˁ wḥj*[b] *wˁ ȝw n nb n wˁ*
12. *ȝw (n) ḥḏ*[a] *wˁ bs ṯḥnj ʳ*  *ʾ ḫr mw šs-nsw tpj wˁ mtwʳ=wʾ sḫ wˁ.t wḏȝj.t n*
13. *rȝ(.t) km.t ḥr ȝt.ṯ=f mn šlf in pȝ ntj iw i(w)=s n.im=f i(w)=s tm … =s*[a] *n rȝ(.t) km.t i(w)=s ir* 
14. *wḏȝj.t n ṯḥnj wˁ.t wḏȝj.t nm wˁ.t nȝj ḏr=w iw=w ʳḫȝˁʾ =w ḥr pȝ ʳḥtpjʾ iw=f swḥ n ḥbs iwʳ=fʾ ir mḥ-ntr 8 (?) 2/3*[a] *ḳȝ* 
15. *<mḥ-ntr>*[a] *wˁ*  *ḥrḥr=f ḏwf r wn mtw=f knṯ i(w)=s ir*  *pȝj=f 4 ʿ.wj.w wp.t kj ḏj ḥtpj*[b]
16. *nȝ nkt.w ntj ḫn=f ḏlḥ*[a] *inj šš* ʳ  ʾ *iw=w šp ḥn*  *r wˁ wˁ ḫr ʿt ntm k.t (sic)*[b]
17. *ḫr sgn gw-mȝȝ nḥḥ whj r ḫ pȝ ntj iw=w wḫȝ=f r sḫt*[a] *n.im=f rrj.t*[b] …[c] *ḥnj r ḫ pȝ ntj iw=w wḫȝ=f*
18. *ḏj r ḥtpj*  *ntj iw nȝ nkt.w pȝ wr-irj ḫpr ḫn=f*   *ḫt ȝs*
19. *jˁ*[a] *4 nȝ.w*[b] *ḳš*  *ḫr nȝj=w gbj.w gḏ r ḫ pȝ ntj iw=w wḫȝ=f gml ḥmt*[c] *r ḫ … pȝ*[d] *wr-irj ḳn km*
20. *r snḥ=f*[a] *ḥr b*[b] *ʿȝ.t šbsj.t*[c] *ḏj r ḥtpj ʳwˁʾ ntj iw pȝ hn nn rḫ=f*[d] *ḫpr ḫn=f*[e]
21. *ḥtpj r ḥtpj*  *r ḫȝˁ nȝ tbḥ.w pȝ wr-irj ḥr ȝt.ṯ=f pȝ smt pȝ hn nn rḫ=f i.ir=w* 
22. *n ḫt ḳtj iw=f išt iw=f ir gsp nbtj mtw mkj 2 ḫpr ḫn=f iw=f … tȝ ḫsj.t*
23. *n ḥ.t-ntr ḳȝ=f* 

Verso I

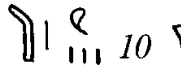
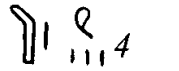
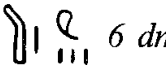
1. *m-sȝ=s nȝ* (sic)[a] *ḫrj-ḥb*[b] *ntj i.ir-ḥr pȝ ḥn nms=f ḥbs ⸢mṯ⸣-šs iw=f tw šm ⸢sf⸣ wʿb pȝ*[c] *ḥn iw=f wʿb=f m-šs …*[d]
2. *⸢iw⸣=f štj ⸢pȝ⸣*[a] *sf wʿb (?)*[b] *bnr iw=f nms=f ḥbs m-šs … =f wʿb (?) ḫ … ʿn*[c] *iw=f wrḥ pȝ ḥȝ.ṱ*[d] *sf ʿnḏ*[e] *iw=f wʿb*
3. *iw=f swḥ ⸢wʿ.t⸣*[a] *sj.t i(w)=s tḥb sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb …* [b] *m-sȝ=s iw=f wrḥ ḥrj pȝ wjṱ <tȝ> ȝt*[c] *sf ʿnḏ ⸢iw=f wʿb⸣*
4. *iw=f fȝj tȝ …* [a] *r ḥrj*[b] *iw=f*  *tȝ …*[a] *2.t ⸢sf⸣ ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb iw=f*  *pȝ …* [c] *tȝ mj(.t) pȝ* 
5. *tw=s pȝ gȝ*  *ntj iw … ir=f*[a] *iw=f tw hjnj*[b] *ʿrf ḥsmn ḫl ḫn wʿ ḥbs*[c] *iw=f mrȝ=w*[d] *wʿ pjr ḫ wʿ*[e] *ʿrf*
6. *iw=f tw šm nȝ*  *pȝ ḥbs r bnr tȝ mj(.t) pȝ*  *šʿ-tw=f tw ḏrȝ=f tȝ mj(.t) pȝ*  *pȝ ḫrj-ḥb*[a]
7. *ntj i.ir-ḥr pȝ ⸢wṱȝ⸣*[a] *sḳ nȝ*  *pȝ ḥbs r bnr tȝ ⸢mj(.t)⸣ pȝ*  *šʿ-tw=f*[b] *dj.t ḏrȝ tȝ mj(.t) <pȝ>*  *m-sȝ=s*
8. *pȝ ḫrj-ḥb ntj i.ir-ḥr pȝ ḥn tw n šm*[a] *ʿrf sḫ …* [b]  *⸢r ḥrj⸣*[c] *ḫn nȝ …* [d] *pȝ ntr iw=w mḥ ḥsmn wsj iw=f ḏm pȝ*[e]
9.  *…*[a] *ʿrf ḫm iw=w mḥ ḥsmn wsj iw=f tw tȝ snn sntr wȝḏ pȝ*  *pȝ ʿ.wj r ḥrj i.ir=w ir nȝj*
10. *r nȝ ḫrj-ḥb.w ntj ⸢i.ir⸣-ḥr nȝ*  *ʿ.(w)t*[a] *nbt nȝ dr.wt dr.t=f rd=f pȝ wṱȝ m-sȝ dj.t n=w sj.t ḳn r.r=w*[b] *tȝ ḥȝ.t*
11. *ḥr sf ⸢ʿnḏ iw⸣=f wʿb*  *sf ḥsmn pȝ ḫrj-ḥb 2 ntj i.ir-ḥr tȝ šnbj(.t)*[a] *iw=w wrḥ=s tȝ pḫr.t wṱj (sic)*[b] *iw=w*[c] *⸢dj.t⸣ sj.t*
12. *(r) ḥrj i(w)=s tḥb ⸢sf⸣ ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb iw=w wṱj=s sbn*[a] *iw=w nbt wʿ.t nbtj(.t) i(w)=s tḥb sf ḥsmn ⸢iw=w⸣ swḥ*[b] *wʿ swḥ*
13. *iw=f tḥb ⸢sf ḥsmn⸣*[a] *iw=w wṱj=s*[b] *pjr tȝ rj.t … ḥrj.t m-sȝ=s iw=w in nȝ pḫr.w(t)*[c] *… tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḫmm*
14. *irm tȝ pḫr.t ntj ⸢ḳbḥ⸣ (?) tȝ ⸢pḫr.t⸣ pȝ hrw tpj …*[a] *ḥnʿ tȝ pḫr.t pȝ tp pȝ hrw mḥ-12*[b] *ḥnʿ pȝ*[c] *sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb pȝ sf ḥsmn pȝ sf n*[d]

15. *shr pȝ shr šw ḫ pȝ fȝj ntj iw=f ij i.ir-ḥr pȝ ḥrj sšṯȝ m-sȝ=s pȝ ḥrj sšṯȝ tw n šm*[a] *wʿ ḥbs ḫn < pȝ >*[b]  *pȝ ntr pȝj=f*
16. *smr*[a] *2 mḥ nȝ*  *pȝ ḥbs iw=w wn < pȝ >*  *pȝ ntr i.ir-ḥr pȝ ḥrj sšṯȝ pȝ ḥrj sšṯȝ štj nȝ ḥbs.w wršb ntj ḫn <pȝ >*  *pȝ ntr (r) bnr*
17. *iw=f nms=f ḥbs m-šs iw=f tḫb wʿ ḥbs tȝ pḫr.t pȝ tp pȝ hrw mḥ-12 iw=f wrḥ ḫn <pȝ >*  *pȝ ntr ḥrj ḫrj ḥnʿ tȝ mj(.t) pȝ tp*
18. *<šʿ pȝ> mȝʿ ntj iw {=f} <ir-> rḫ dr.t=f pḥ=f*[a] *iw=f dj.t pȝ ḥbs rn=f*[b] *r ḥnbj m-sȝ=s iw=f tḫb=w {wʿ ḥbs}*[c] *tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḫmm ḳȝ=f*[d] *mḥ—ntr wʿ*  *iw=f tw šm=f*[e]
19. *r ḥrj ḫn tȝj=f ...*[a] *2.t iw=f ḫȝʿ {pȝ} ph.ṯ=w {pȝ ḥbs}*[b] *ḫn*  *ḏbȝ pȝ gȝ štj=f bnr m-sȝ=s iw=f tw kj ḥbs 2 ḳȝ=f*[c] 
20.  *iw=w tḫb tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḫmm iw=f tw šm=w r ḥrj ḫn tȝ mj(.t) 2.t pȝ tp iw=w ḫȝʿ pḥ.ṯ=w ḫn*  *ḫ pȝ gȝ štj < =w >*[a] *r bnr ʿn*
21. *iw=f šm i.ir-ḥr*  *iw=w wrḥ < =f >*[a] *tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḫmm iw=f šʿt.ṯ wʿ.t sj.t i(w)=s ir*  *ḳȝ*  *iw=f ḳrḥ=s ḥr ḥȝ.t=s*[b] *ḳrḥ 3*
22. *i(w)=s tḫb tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḫmm iw=f ʿḳ*  *r ḥrj iw=f dj.t {pȝ} šm pȝ ḥbs*[a] *ḫr.r=f iw=f sḳ nȝ*  *pȝ ḥbs r ḥrj šʿ pḥṯ*  *ḥr tȝ ḥȝ.t n.im=f ḥrj*[b]
23. *iw=f < dj.t > iw ... pȝ iȝbj wnm ... wnm iȝbj pȝ ntj (?) tȝ mtr(.t) ij ḥr =w pȝ bnt ʿȝ ḥrj pȝ bnt ḫm pȝ swḥ mtr*[a]
24. *ḫ ... ... n=f r ḥrj*[a]

## Verso II a

1. tw=s *pȝ gȝ dj.t šm tȝ pḫr.t pȝ hrw tpj ...*[a] *ntj iw ... ir=f*[b] *...*[c] *ṯȝj-wjṯ tmmj(.t) r ... mtr pȝj=f irj n.im=w*
2. *m-sȝ=s pȝ ḥrj sšṯȝ ḥms i.ir-ḥr pȝ ḥr sšṯȝ pȝj=f smr 2 ʿḥʿ ḥr wnm iȝbj n.im=f iw=w swsw*[a] *pȝ ḥr sšṯȝ ḫr dr.t=f*
3. *iw=f dj.t šm dr.t=f ḫn b pȝ ntr šʿ mȝʿ ⸢ntj iw ir-rḫ⸣*[a] *dr.t=f pḥ.ṯ=f iw=f štj*[b] *nȝ ḥbs.w ...*[c] *r.tw=f*[d]
4. *ḫn b=f < ... >*[a] *ššt iw=f wrḥ*[b] *ḫn b=f sf wʿb ḥnʿ nȝ b.w pȝ tp iw=f dj.t nȝ ḥbs.w nȝ b.w pȝ tp r ḥrj*

5. *iw=w tḫb sf w'b iw=f mḥ b=f ḥbs iw=f tḫb sf w'b 'n iw=f dj.t šp nm šw iw=f šm i.ir-ḥr n3 ir.wt*
6. *iw=f wrḥ=w*[a] *sf w'b iw=w dj.t n3 ḥbs.w n3 ir.wt ḥrj iw=w tḫb sf w'b iw=w dj.t šp nm šw m-s3=s iw=w in t3 pḫ'r.t ntj'* *ḳbḥ*
7. *irm t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm iw=w ḫn bs 2 nb ḥn' p3 sf 'nḏ iw=f w'b p3 sf shrj irm w' ht sj.t w'*[a]
8. *sbn*[a] *irm ḫt hr ...*[b] *iw=w swḥ ḥbs*[c] *i.ir-ḥr p3 ḥrj sšt3 m-s3=s p3 ḥrj sšt3 dj.t šm w' ḥbs ḫn b n*[d] *ntr pn*[e]
9. *iw=f ir mḥ-ntr 2 ḳ3 wsḫ*  *6 iw=f tw ...*[a] *dr.t p3*[b] *smr 2 ntj ḥr i3bj wnm iw=w mḥ n.im=f iw=w wn ḫn*
10. *b ntr pn n3-'3 p3 ntj iw ir-rḫ < ... > ir=f*[a] *p3 ḥrj sšt3 ...*[b] *dr.t=f t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ n ḥ3.t iw=f tḫb w' ḥbs n.im=s iw=f wrḥ*
11. *t3j=f 3p3(.t)*[a] *ḥn' t3j=f (sic)*[b] *nḏḥj.w(t)*[c] *t3j=f ḥr-ggj(.t) 2.t t3j=f 'r.ṯj(.t) 2.t t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ*
12. *iw=f šm i.ir-ḥr n3 ir.wt iw=f wrḥ ḫn < n3 > ir.wt t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ ḥn' bnr n.im=w 'n bw-ir=f dj.t ḫn p3 ḫf ḫpr*
13. *ḏd=f ḥr*[a] *ṯ3j-wjṯ ḥn' tmmj(.t) ḏd ṯ3j-wjṯ dj.t ḥr stp*[b] *pg3(.t) iw=w ... ... iw=f st3.ṯ=f*
14. *< i.ir-ḥr >*[a] *p3 b p3 ntr 'whm'*[b] *iw=f tḫb w' ḥbs t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm iw=f 'wrḥ ḫn b=f ḫrj š' p3 m3'' ntj iw ir-rḫ dr.t=f pḥ=f*
15. *ḥn' t3j=f 3ḥtj(.t)*[a] *2.t ls=f spt(.t)=f ḥrj(.t) spt(.t)=f ḫrj(.t) t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm iw=f dj.t ḥbs '2' iw=w tḫb n.im=s*[b] *'n*
16. *p3j=w ḳ3 mḥ-ntr w' wsḫ*  *ḫn t3j=f ...*[a] *2.t t3 šnbj(.t) iw=f ḫ3' {p3} pḥw=w*[b] *'ḫn' b=f r ḫ p3 g3*[c]
17. *štj=w bnr iw=f dj.t kj ḥbs w' iw=f tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm ḥr p3 pḥw ls=f ḳ3=f mḥ-ntr w' 'wsḫ*  *8*[a] *iw=f dj.t p3*
18. *bnt '3 ls=f ḥrj iw=f tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm ḳ3=f*  *6 iw=f ir pjr '3 ḥr ḥ3.t n.im=f*[a] *iw=f 'ḳ ls=f*
19. *r ḥrj iw=f dj.t šm p3 ḥbs rn=f ḫr.r=f iw=f sḳ n3j=f tp.w*[a] {p3 *ḥbs*}[b] *r ḥrj š'*[c] *p3 pḥ < r.ir > ls=f r t3 ḥ3.t n.im=f r ḥrj*[d] *iw=f dj.t 'iw w' pjr' i3bj mtw kj*

20. *ij wnm n.im=f mtw pa (?) t3 mtr.t wtb ... =w*[a] *ʿn p3 bnt ʿ3 ḫ ... ʿn*[b] *mtw p3 swḥ ⸢mtr.t ij⸣ p3j=w bnr i.ir=f*[c] *dj.t pḫr.t*
21. *i(w)=s ḫmm ls=f ḥpr t3 pḫr.t < ntj > ḫmm ls=f t3j iw=f nms dr.t=f iw=f dj.t ḥbs 2 iw=w tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ ḥr t3j=f*
22. *ḥr-ggj(.t) 2.t ntj pḥ n3j=f nḏḥj.w(t) n3.w*[a] *ḳ3*  *iw=f dj.t kj ḥbs 2 iw=w tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ ḥr n3j=f inj.w*
23. *ntj ...*[a] *n3j=f nḏḥj.w(t) {iw=w tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm}*[b] *ḳ3*  *10*  *4 iw=f dj.t kj ḥbs 2 iw=w tḫb n.im=s ʿn ḥr t3j=f ʿr.ṯ*
24. *j(.t) 2.t ḥnʿ t3 mj(.t) 2.t ntj ḫr p3 tp n3.w*[a] *iw=f dj.t kj wʿ iw=f tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ ʿn ḫr ls=f ... n3j=f*
25. *inj.w ḳ3=f*  *8*  *6 dmḏ ḥbs 7 iw=w tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ ḫn b=f iw=f mḥ b=f ḥbs iw=f tḫb*
26. *t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm ṯ3j ls=f r ḥrj iw=f dj.t ḥbs 2 iw=w tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm ḥr spt(.t) ḥrj(.t) spt(.t) ḫrj(.t) iw=f wrḥ*
27. *ḫn šj=f t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm iw=f dj.t p3 nš (?)*[a] *2 šj r ḥrj iw=w tḫb n.im=s*[b] *ʿn iw=f wrḥ p3 ḥr sšt3 ḏr=f sf ʿnḏ*
28. *iw=f wʿb iw=f swḥ*[a] *p3 b šj=f wʿ ḥbs iw=f tḫb sf*[b] *ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb*[c] *iw=f wṯj=f pjr iw=f swḥ p3 ḥr sšt3 ḏr=f*

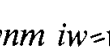
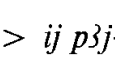
## Verso II b

1. *wʿ swḥ iw=f tḫb sf ʿn⸢ḏ iw⸣=f wʿb ḫr.r=f ⸢r.ḥr.r=f ... ... ʿ.wj.w ir.t=f⸣ (?)*[a]
2. *iw=f st3.ṯ=f i.ir-ḥr n3 ir.wt whm iw=f wrḥ n3j=f 3nḥ.w ʿir.t=f⸣*[a] *sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb iw=f wrḥ p3 bnr*[b]
3. *n3 ʿ.wj.w ir.t=f sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb ḏb3 t3 sj.t 2.t < ntj ḫr p3 > sf shrj*[a] *ntj ij ḥr <n3> ir.wt*
4. *ḏb3 p3 g3 smn=w iw=w in p3 sf shrj iw=f ḫn p3 bs nb i.ir-ḥr p3 ḥrj sšt3 < ... >*[a] *iw=f ir=f dnj.t 2.t ḥr ⸢ir.t⸣*
5. *2.t šs-nsw iw=w tḫb*[a] *t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ ḫpr ḏd t3 tmmj(.t) tw*[b] *ḥr stp itmj ḥr ⸢...⸣*
6. *ir.t=f rj.w(.t) m33 n3.w < ... >*[a] *n3 pḫr.wt*[b] *r.tw=k ḫn ir.t=f iw=f ṯ3j p3 ḫt hr ...*[c] *...=k*[d]

7. *iw=f swḥ šs-nsw iw=f wn-ḥr ḫn ir.t=f nȝ-ʾȝ nȝj=f*[a] *ḥ ʿ.w ḥr pȝ tȝ iw=f …*[b] *tȝ pḫr.t*
8. *iȝbj*[a] *wnm nȝ spj(.wt) n ir.wt=f*[b] *(r) tm dj.t ḫn pȝ ḫf*[c] *ḫpr ṯȝj-wjṯ*[d] *ḥn*[e] *n.im=s*
9. *bnr iw=f dj.t sj(.t) 4.t ḥr nȝ spj.w(t) ir.t=f iw=w tḫb tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ ʿn tn sj(.t) 2.t r*[a]
10. *wʿ.t ir.t wʿ.t tȝ spj(.t) ḥrj(.t) k.t tȝ spj(.t) ḫrj(.t) ḏbȝ pȝ gȝ dj.t i.ir tȝ sj(.t) < ntj ḫr pȝ >*[a] *sf shrj šp*
11. *pȝ ḫf ḫ pȝ smt tw …*[a] *ḫ … irm pȝ ntj ḥr ȝt.ṯ=s md(.t) i(w)=s ḥp tȝj m-sȝ=s iw=f dj.t iw tȝ*
12. *sj(.t) 2.t ntj ḫr pȝ sf shrj ḥr nȝ ir.wt iw=f smn tȝ ʿnj(.t) wnm*[a] *n ḥȝ.t iw=f wṯj r*
13. *ʳ … iw=f dj.t*[a] *tȝ ʿnj(.t) iȝbjʾ m-sȝ=s iw=f ʳwṯj r (?) … … ʿn iw=f tḫb wʿ ḥbs sf ʿnḏʾ*
14. *iw=f wʿb iw=f dj.t iw=f r ḫfṯ-ḥr ʿn iw=f ir sp wṯj 16 ḥr tȝ ʿnj(.t) 2.t [space of 2 cm.] iw=f šm*
15. *i.ir-ḥr nȝ ʿnḫ.w iw=f wrḥ*[a] *ḫn < nȝ > ʿnḫ(.w) tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ iw=f dj.t nȝj=w ḥbs.w (r) ḫn iw=w tḫb n.im=s ʿn*
16. *iw=f wrʳḥ bʾnr n.im=w sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb iw=f < dj.t >*[a] *nȝj=w swḥ(.w) (r) ḥrj iw=w tḫb sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb iw=w ir pjr 5*
17. *3 ḥrj 2 ḫrj iw=w ntm=w n.im=w iw=w tštš pjr iw=w dj.t nȝj=w swḥ.w ḥbs šw ḥrj iw=w wṯj*
18. *ḫn <nȝ> ʿnḫ.w*[a] *irm ḥr=w wṯj 2 šʿ tȝ mtr(.t) n.im=w iw=w wṯj mtr*[b] *ʳšʿʾ pḥw=w ʿn*
19. *iw=w wrḥ iwṯ nȝ ʿb.w sf ʿnḏ iw=f ps iw=f tḫb wʿ.t sj(.t) sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb iw=f*
20. *dj.t iw=s iwṯ < nȝ > ʿb.w*[a] *i(w)=s ir ḳrḥ 2 ḥr iȝbj 2 ḥr wnm ḳȝ*  *iw=w nbt=w*
21. *nbt šmʿ n ʿb.w r pȝj=f irj štȝ 3 iw=w tḫb pȝ nbt sf ḥsmn*
22. *iw=w wrḥ nȝ ʿb.w sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb iw=w swḥ n swḥ iw=w ir pjr 5 3 ḥrj 2 ḫrj*
23. *iw=w tḫb sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb iw=w tštš pjr i.ir ḫr i.ir pȝ ḥrj sštȝ šm i.ir-ḥr pȝ ḥr sštȝ m-sȝ*
24. *wrḥ tȝ šnbj(.t)*[a] *sf wʿb n ḥȝ.t tmtm mnḫ.w(t) ḥbs m-sȝ=f pȝ sf ʿnḏ iw=f ps m-sȝ=f*  *ḫr*

25. *wrḥ < =f > s*[a] *sf išr*[b] *m-sȝ nȝj iw=w ntm=s wˁ.t sj(.t) ḳȝ mḥ-ntr 2 wsḫ*[c] *wˁ i(w)= s tḫb sf*
26. *ˁnḏ iw=f ps iw=w nbt=s tȝ nbtj.t <ntj>* [a] *ntm ḳrr 2 hbjn m-ḏr ḫrj-ḥb 2*

Verso III

1. *wˁ < ḥr > iȝbj kj ḥr wnm iw=w tḫb pȝ nbt sf ḥsmn*  *ḏmˁ*
2. *iw=f ḫpr ˁˁ …*[a] *ḫr ṯs < =f >* [b] *pȝ sšt tȝ šnbʿjˀ(.t) pȝ hrw tpj iw=f ḫpr*
3. *ʿ…ˀ mtw < =f dj.t > ʿiwˀ wˁ ḥbs pȝj=f bnr*[a] *iw=f ir mḥ-ntr wˁ ʿḳȝˀ*   *iw=f tḫb*
4. *tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḫmm < … > ij pȝj=f bnr mtw=f ḥtp tȝ ʿšnˀbj(.t)*  [a] *tȝ …*
5. *mtw=f ḫȝˁ pȝ pḥw pȝ ḥbs ntj tḫb tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḫmm ʿḫn b=fˀ < … > sšt*
6. *tȝ šnbj(.t) ˁn ḏbȝ pȝ gȝ n štj=f bnr iw=f dj.t ʿpȝˀ swḥ pȝ ḥr sštȝ r ḥrj*
7. *iw=f ir pjr 9 ḳȝ=f mḥ-ntr 6*  *2/3 mtw=f ir 2/3 wbȝ=f ʿmtw 1/3 ḫpr ḥrjˀ*[a]
8. *tȝ šnbj(.t) mtw pȝ 2/3*[a] *ḫpr ḫrj pȝ ḥr sštȝ ḫn=f mtw pȝ 1/3 ntj ḥrj*
9. *tȝ šnbj(.t) ir pjr 3 mtw < pȝ > pjr tȝ mtr(.t) šˁt.ṯ bnr ḫr tȝ šbnj(.t)*
10. *mtw pȝ pjr 2 ir sbn 6 mtw 2 n.im=w šˁt.ṯ bnr wˁ iwṯ wˁ …*[a] *pȝ 2/3*
11. *ntj ḫrj iw=f ir=f sbn 9 mtw wˁ sbn ʿ3ˀ ḫpr tȝ mtr.t ḫn=w*
12. *iw=f < dj.t > ʿijˀ pȝ pjr ʿ4 ntj ḥr iȝbjˀ [space of 1 1/2 cm.]*[a] *pȝ sbn ˁ3 iw=f šˁt.ṯ ʿpȝ ntjˀ*
13. *m-sȝ pȝ sbn ˁ3 bnr iw=f stȝ.ṯ=f šˁt.ṯ mḥ-4 m-sȝ=ˋfˊ*[a] *ˁn iw=f ir pȝj smt*
14. *pȝ ḥr wnm ˁn m-sȝ=s pȝ ḥrj sštȝ dj.t pȝ swḥ ḫr pȝ ḥr sštȝ mtw=w ṯȝjw*[a] *pȝ pjr 2*
15. *ntj ḫn pȝ 4 ntj ḥrj tȝ šnbj.t wˁ iȝbj kj wnm n.im=s mtw=w in pȝ ʿḥbsˀ rn=f šˁ*
16. *pȝ mtr b=f iw=f sḳ pȝ pjr ˁ3 ntj ḫn tȝ mtr(.t) r ḥrj ḥr šj=f šˁ <nȝ> ˁb.w*
17. *mtw=f ir pjr 2 ḥr tȝ šnbj(.t) mtw=w ṯȝj=w ḥr iȝbj wnm n.im=s mtw < =w > wtb ḫrj ḫr ʿpȝˀ*
18. *ḥr sštȝ šˁ-tw=w mnḳ=s pjr ḥrj ḫrj iw=f tštš pjr šˁ nȝ ˁb.w iw=f ʿsmnˀ*[a]
19. *tȝ ḫȝ.t pȝ wṯj ˁ3 pȝ ḥr sštȝ šˁ-tw < =f > mnḳ=f wṯj ḏr=f ḫr i.ir pȝ wṯj < ir >* [a]
20. *wṯj 9 ṯȝj pȝ …*[a] *šˁ m*[b] *nḥb.t=f iw=f swḥ pȝ ḥr ʿsštȝˀ ˁb.w pȝj=f irj*[c]
21. *pȝ smt nȝ ḥbs.w …*[a] *irm nȝ ḥbs.w ntj wrḥ*[b] *ḫn ʿb pȝ ntrˀ … ḫr tw … hrw*
22. *šˁ pȝ hrw mḥ-16 irm sn pȝ … mtw …*[a] *pȝ hrw mḥ-16 ḫr sfḫ … …*

# NOTES ON THE TRANSCRIPTION

## Rt. I 2

a) The Hieratic form of the title *ḥrj sšt3* is accompanied here, as well as in rt. IV 23, by the double determinative of the falcon on the standard and the sitting man ; in rt. I 3 and rt. III 1 only the determinative of the falcon on the standard is written.

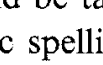
b) The spelling  (without initial aleph), which occurs here and in rt. III 1, IV 21 and 22, is common in late Hieratic and in the so-called abnormal Hieratic. See Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 13.

c) Notice that the plural ending is not written; similar examples of neglecting the plural ending are not uncommon; cf. e.g. *m'rj(.wt)* in rt. I 4 and *n3 ḥbs.w skr(.w)* in rt. II 9, IV 1.

d) There is an accidental smudge of red ink at the bottom of  The sign  = , which occurs here and in rt. III 2 (bis), 13, 26 etc., has been ignored by Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, nr. 496, although it is not uncommon in late Hieratic, notably in *P. Leiden T 32* (middle of the 1st century A.D.); see the remarks by Spiegelberg (p. 7, n. 3) and Stricker, *OMRO* XXXVI (1955), 120 (H 496); Idem, *ibidem*, XXXVII (1956), 61, n. v.

e)  should not be taken in the sense of *ḥrj* "upwards" (Spiegelberg, p. 8, n. 1) but represents a late spelling of the word *p.t* "heaven"; see for this late spelling *P. Bremner-Rhind* (320 B.C.), 2, 5 (with the remarks by Faulkner); Er., *Dem Glossar*, 127, 1.

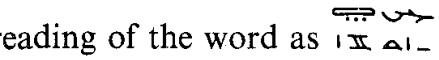
## Rt. I 3

a) Transcribe  or, as Spiegelberg does, : the flat bottom stroke at the end could be taken as a space-filler or as the genitive-*n*; for the latter possibility the demotic spelling *i.ir-ḥr-n*  in rt. III 6 (with n. a) is instructive, although it must be borne in mind that in this case it is an exception.

b) *nkt.w*  is written as in the late demotic (hieratising) spelling of the word; cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 230 (Roman writing).

c)  is written without determinative.

**Rt. I 4**

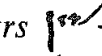
a) For the reading of the word as  "board", see rt. III 13, n. b.

b) For the absence of the plural ending, see above rt. I 2, n. c.

**Rt. I 5**

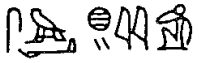
a) Only the number is written in red.

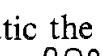
b) The papyrus has flaked off here causing the number which should follow *ḳ3=f* to be irreparably damaged.

c) Read *ṯrs* , not *tls*: the little dot which appears in the published photograph to the left of the middle of the sign for *r* is actually an accidental spot of red ink.

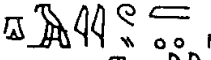
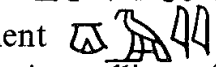
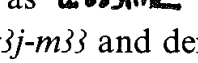
**Rt. I 6**

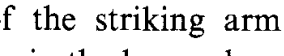
a)  "cubit" stands for  "divine cubit"; for other examples, see rt. III 19, IV 14.

b)  "to fasten": the determinative  cannot be adapted to the meaning of the verb, which is written elsewhere in Hieratic with the determinative of the crossed sticks × (rt. III 12, 18, 26).

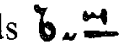
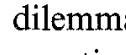
c) In Hieratic the word is always written as  (rt. III 5, 11, 16 etc.) and the exception here  may be due to the influence of the demotic spelling of this word as *swḥ*.

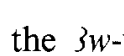
**Rt. I 7**

a) : the expected determinative , which should follow the element  (*WB.* V, 157-158), is absent. This may be analogous to the demotic spelling of this word as  (rt. II 9, VI b, 17). For the phonetic relationship between Hieratic *g3j-m33* and demotic *gw-m33*, see Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique*, 54.

b) The determinative of the striking arm in  "chest" can perhaps be paralleled by its occurrence in the homophonous word *hn*/ *hnn* "to nod", "to bow" (*WB.* II, 494-495).

c) The transcription of the group  raises difficulties. Although scribes are generally careless in dealing with the genitive-*n*, which they often neglect in writing,

the scribe of our text, in spite of Spiegelberg's remark (p. 7, n. 2) to the contrary, frequently employs it. Hence we cannot be certain, in cases like the present where a genitive construction is used, whether we should transcribe (1)  as  (plural strokes + genitive-*n*) or (2)  as  (plural strokes + space-filler). The fact that the group in question may represent the plural ending *.w* (rt. I 3, III 7, 10 etc.) as well as the suffix *.w* (rt. II 18, III 9) perhaps favours the latter possibility. It is important in this respect to note that the scribe of the verso transliterated the partially hieratically written words  "seams of the cloth", which would place us in the already mentioned dilemma, into demotic as  "seams of the cloth", thereby taking the group in question as a plural ending  =  (vs. II a, 19, with n. a).

d) : (1) Notice that the *3w*-vessel is written with the same double determinative  as that used to determine the *kll*-vessel in rt. VI b, 2. (2) As for the sign  = , Stricker (*OMRO* XLII [1961], 48) remarks that the second element *3* in the group *w3*, which in late Hieratic was indicated only by a stroke or a dot, had already disappeared entirely in the oldest demotic. In Hieratic, where the demotic influence is apparent, we find the consonant *w* simply indicated by the sign  as here, and in rt. I 1 (*d3wf*); cf. however *w3rsw* in rt. I 4 and 5.

e) The damaged group  must represent a verb which depends on the preposition *iw*.

f)  *ḥw3* or *iw3* (with the determinative of the walking legs)? Or *ḥw* "Übermass" (scil. of bandages) Er., *Dem Glossar*, 294, 3)?

**Rt. I 8**

a) *k3.w* : the suffix *.w* is written in Hieratic, the rest of the group is demotic.

b) Only the number is written in red.

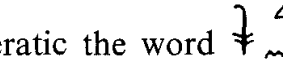
**Rt. I 9**

a)  (l. 8-9): these words are rubricated. On the strength of the determinative , we can assume we are dealing with the title of a book. For the sign  = ? , see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 487.

b) The rest of the page is uninscribed and only the red lines of the ruling are visible. Unfortunately the scribe did not realise his original plan to devote this part of the page to the description of a pair of chests (rt. I 7) and the coffin of the Apis (rt. I 8). He probably intended to make drawings of these items, presumably accompanied by a short explanatory description, as he did when describing the vessels used in the embalming of the Apis (cf. §22 b = rt. V 2 sqq.). See also p. 5,

n. 20, where the suggestion is made that the making of the drawings could have been entrusted to another scribe.

**Rt. II 1**

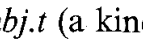
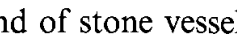
a) In Hieratic the word  is written with the sign  (*šs*) occurring only once at the end. In demotic the same word is rendered  with the sign  written twice — once at the beginning with the sound value *šs*, and again at the end as a determinative (for similar examples, see rt. II 14, III 6, etc.).

b) There is an accidental smudge of red ink under the number 3.

c) The dot used to fill the space at the foot of the *s* in *sšd* is hardly recognisable in the published photograph.

d) *ḳbȝ(.t) n sšd itimj (itmj)*: the little flat stroke occurring before *sšd* is neither accidental nor a scribal error, as Spiegelberg (p. 9, n. 1) suspects, but represents the *n* of the genitive; a similar example is found in rt. IV 4: *w' ḫrt šs-nsw n sšd.*

**Rt. II 2**

a) : read *hnbj.t* (a kind of stone vessel) not  "styrax", as Spiegelberg (p. 9, n. 2) suggests; cf. the writing of the word in rt. IV, 8-9 and rt. VI b, 1.

b) The higher, slightly displaced stroke  is part of the writing of the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ ; cf. the writing of this fraction in l. 3 below and Er., *Dem Glossar*, 704. The group , following the fraction in question, represents the preposition *r* in the distributive sense.

c) : the reading *prj.t* seems preferable to *ḳrj.t*, since the beginning of the first sign  is round (*p*), not angular (*ḳ*). Stricker, *OMRO* XLIII (1961), 50 reads *prs.t*, and Spiegelberg (p. 9, n. 3) hesitated between *prs.t* and *ḳrs.t*. But *s* is ruled out by the fact that the final stroke in the group  curves to the left (*j*), not to the right (*s*).

**Rt. II 3**

a) Read *ḥ.t=w*  (determinative of the flesh)? Spiegelberg (p. 9) and Stricker (*OMRO* XLV [1964], 26) did not venture to read the group. Perhaps we may think of a word *ḥ* in the sense of "diameter" (scil. of the two pads); cf. *ḥ* "Masse" o.ä.: Er., *Dem Glossar*, 375; *WB.* III, 358. Furthermore Parker, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri*, 52, l. 9.

**Rt. II 5**

a) *ḏnḥ.w* : the damaged group between the first sign *ḏ* and the sign *ḥ* probably represents *n*; if so, the scribe failed to accompany the first sign with the side stroke as he correctly does in other examples of this word. Notice also that elsewhere the *ḥ* in *ḏnḥ.w* is always written , not as here (cf. *ḏnḥ*, rt. II 5 passim).

b) The dot at the bottom left of the article *p3* is part of the writing of the word; cf. other examples rt. II 8 (*p3 nm*), rt. II 10 (*p3 sgn*), rt. II 16 (*p3 ḏj*), etc. Does this dot represent the old in the article (rt. I 2, 3, 5, etc.)? Er., *Dem Glossar*, 127, 2 offers no examples of the writing of the article *p3* with the dot in question.

c) Emend *mtw=f* (masc.) to *mtw=s* (fem.) since it refers to *t3 nbtj.t*.

d) *p3 ḏnḥ n i3bj* "the left shoulder": the *n* of the genitive, which links *i3bj* to preceding *p3 ḏnḥ*, is notable in the light of its absence in comparable instances (cf. *p3 ḏnḥ i3bj/ wnm*, rt. II, 5-6 passim).

**Rt. II 6**

a) *m-ḳtj* "like" is wrongly determined with = instead of = (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 554, 1), perhaps by mistaken analogy with *ḳtj* "to go round" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 552-553).

b) *ḥr-ib.t* is written as *ḥr.t-ib.t*. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 321 only gives examples of the spelling *ḥr-ib.t* as in the Hieratic rendering of the word in rt. III 16.

c) The scribe completed the line with a dot ("Füllstrick"). See also lines 7, 12, 14 and 18.

**Rt. II 7**

a) The singular suffix *=s* in *mr=s*, which grammatically refers to *t3 nbtj.t*, should be emended to the plural suffix *=w* (*mr=w*) which refers to both cut-off pieces of the *nbtj.t*-bandage which are now tied together; cf. rt. II 6: *iw=w mr=w mr sḫm*.

b) *(mr) sḫm* "*sḫm*-knotting" (rt. II 6)
*(mr) sḫm* "*sḫm*-knotting" (rt. II 7).

Note that the word *sḫm* is determined with = and = respectively. The curious sign at the end of the second example may perhaps be considered an attempt to illustrate the knotting in question.

c) There is a thick spot at the bottom of *šm*: a space-filler or an accidental smudge?

[d] A dash occurs between *iw=w* and *t3j=w* which probably belongs to the bottom stroke of *t3j*.

**Rt. II 8**

[a] *r p3.* : the preposition *r* is written close to the article *p3*.

[b] *iw=w dj.t* : *dj.t* is connected to the suffix *=w* by a meaningless stroke at the top. Notice also the meaningless, vertical stroke above *dj.t* which is vaguely visible in the published photograph.

[c] *sm'ḥj* "to fasten" (facsimile of the original). The determinative is either a badly executed piece of cloth or, perhaps less probably, walking legs. In the Hieratic parallel passage the word is written

[d] *pj* "bank" is written with the determinative of the stone, although the bank in question was built of sand (rt. I 1).

**Rt. II 9**

[a] There is a thick, apparently meaningless spot top right *šp*.

[b] The scribe omitted the plural ending in *skr*; cf. *n3 ḥbs.w skr.w* in rt. II 7.

[c] For the restoration *ntr pn dr=f* (the *p* of *pn* is still partly visible), see the end of the present and the beginning of the next line.

**Rt. II 10**

[a] A priest whose title is damaged beyond repair.

[b] *dr.t=f* is written without the flesh-determinative; cf. *dr.t=f* (with flesh-determinative) in rt. III 6.

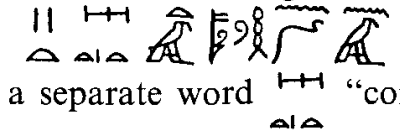
**Rt. II 11**

[a] The words *ḫn b=f* are still recognizable on the original.

[b] All efforts to read the verb which occurs several times on the recto, have failed. See Commentary, rt. II 11, n. 3.

**Rt. II 12**

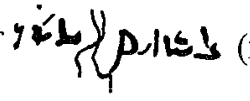
[a] "the two teeth": the reading of the lower sign in , through which the tail of the suffix *=f* from the preceding line runs, and

of some signs towards the end, has failed. Do these final signs constitute a determinative or rather a separate word defining the nature of the two teeth? Spiegelberg (p. 11) transcribes  "die beide Eckzähne", taking the signs in question as a separate word  "corner" which is otherwise unknown to me.

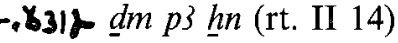
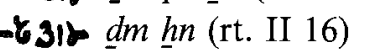
b) *tm* ... |  : there are some traces after *tm* which I cannot decipher.

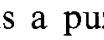
c) The dot at the bottom left of *pȝ* is not part of the article but is actually an accidental red spot (cf. rt. II 5, n. b).

**Rt. II 13**

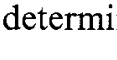
a) *wtb r ḥrj ḥr=f*  (facsimile of the original).

**Rt. II 14**

a)  *ḏm pȝ ḫn* (rt. II 14).
 *ḏm ḫn* (rt. II 16)
The dot after the determinative of *ḏm* in the first example represents the article *pȝ*.

b)  is a puzzling group somewhat reminiscent of the writing of *nfr* "good" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 216-217) which, of course, makes no sense in this context. Spiegelberg (p. 12) and Stricker (*OMRO* XLV (1964), 50) could not decipher the word either. According to Stricker the word must be a noun, but it may be more fruitful to search for a verb on which the following *nȝ ḥbs.w* could depend.

**Rt. II 15**

a) The determinative of *wrḥ*  is written in a strange way.

b) The reading of the rest of this line, which coincides with a crack in the papyrus, is in fact supported by the parallel passage vs. II b, 9-10.

c) The formula *šm i.ir-ḥr šj.f*, which is used as the heading of the chapter on the embalming of the nose, fills the available space exactly, and also fits the preserved traces.

**Rt. II 16**

a) For the verb  see rt. II 11, n. b.

b) The papyrus has flaked off here. However, it would appear from comparison with the parallel passage rt. II 11 that the restoration is reliable.

c) *iw=f ḏm ḥn šj.f ḥbs sgn*: the verb *ḏm* "to clothe" can be easily construed with *ḥbs*, but not with *sgn*, unless we take the construction as a zeugma, as Spiegelberg does, judging by his translation "er soll das Innere seiner Nase mit Stoff und Salbe auspolstern". To avoid this zeugma I prefer to emend the text as follows: *iw=f ḏm ḥn šj.f ḥbs <iw=f tḥb> sgn* "he covers the inside of his nose with a *ḥbs*-cloth soaked in *sgn*-ointment".

**Rt. II 17**

a) The papyrus has flaked off here. The restoration seems reliable.

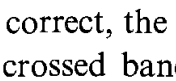
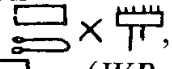
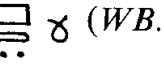
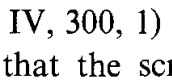
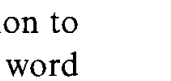
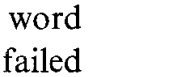
**Rt. II 18**

a) The group  =  is employed here as the suffix *.w*, referring to the horns of the Apis. For the group in question, see rt. I 7, n. c.

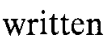
b) It would appear from comparison with the parallel passage vs. II b, 20-21 that the reading *nbtj=w* is reliable.

c) I cannot explain the oblique stroke at the end of *nbt* 

d) In changing from Hieratic to demotic the scribe wrote the preposition twice, once in Hieratic (*iw*) and again in demotic (*r*).

e) *št3*  (rt. II 18)
*št3*  (vs. II b, 21)
The word occurs twice in the papyrus, both times in parallel passages, and seems to denote a kind of mummy bandage. If the transcription of the first example as  is correct, the word could be connected with , a kind of cloth (actually two crossed bandages) which is often spelt  (*WB.* IV, 558, 5-14). Sauneron, *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, 56 b, suggests that our word is either identical to  (*WB.* IV, 300, 1) or a corrupt spelling of . The objection to this latter theory is that the scribe always spells the frequently occurring word  correctly, and it would be a remarkable coincidence indeed if he had failed to do so in this case, particularly when one considers that the parallel passage also opposes Sauneron's suggestion.

**Rt. II 19**

a) *ḥ3.ṯ*  : the word is written as *ḥ3.ṯ* "heart" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 289). The context clearly shows, however, that we must take the word to mean *ḥ3.ṯ* "top" (scil. of a horn), as Spiegelberg does (p. 12, n. 4); cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 287 and Coptic ϩнт "tip", "edge" (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 718a).

b) The papyrus has flaked off here but the words *phw* and *ʿn* are still visible on the original, though not on the published photograph. For the restored reading, see the parallel passage vs. II b, 18. Spiegelberg's suggested restoration (p. 12, n. 5) *šʿ phw n.im=w* extends over the available space and does not suit the preserved traces.

c) The tail of the suffix *=f* from the preceding line runs right across *iwṯ*.

**Rt. II 20**

a) *ʿ.wj.w* "places": the spelling with the plural ending written twice at the end of the word is noteworthy; for another example, see rt. IV 17: *irj.w* "companions".

**Rt. II 21**

a) *nȝ ʿ.wj.w ntj ir.t=f* "the places of his eye": for *ntj* as the particle of the genitive, see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §65; Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du Néo-Égyptien*, 63, §46. The verso (vs. II b, 3) has *nȝ ʿ.wj.w ir.t=f*, without the particle in question.

b) The rather lengthy digression about the placing of the cloth occurs after a blank space which serves in a similar way to our colon.

c) 2/3 : the writing of the fraction with accompanying dot (space-filler) occurs here and in rt. II 23, vs. III 7 (bis) alongside more frequent examples without dot (cf. e.g. the beginning of the present line). Er., *Dem Glossar*, 705 offers only examples of the writing without dot.

**Rt. II 23**

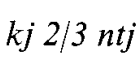
a) And the other two *pjr*-bandages make 6 *sbn*-bandages, sqq. As it stands the text is corrupt. Comparison with the parallel passage vs. III, 10-11 shows where things went wrong. Let us now review both versions by placing them next to each other in transcription and translation. For easy reference I have given both versions a separate letter, A to the recto and B to the verso, and also a number to each of the lines.

A. rt. II, 22-23

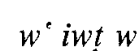
1. *mtw pȝ kj pjr 2 ir sbn 6*
2. *mtw 2 n.im=w šʿt.ṯ bnr*
3. *mtw 4 ḫpr ḥrj tȝ šnbj.t 2 ḥr iȝbj 2 ḥr wnm*

B. vs. III, 10-11

1. *mtw pȝ pjr 2 ir sbn 6*
2. *mtw 2 n.im=w šʿt.ṯ bnr*

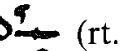
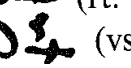
4. *< w' iwṯ w' >*  *pȝ kj 2/3 ntj ḫrj*

1. "and the other two *pjr*-bandages make 6 *sbn*-bandages;
2. and two of them are cut off;
3. and four come on the breast, two left and two right;
4. one in between and the other one ... (?) the other 2/3 which are under (the mysterious face)".

3. *w' iwṯ w'*  *pȝ kj 2/3 ntj ḫrj*

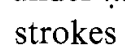
1. "and the two *pjr*-bandages make 6 *sbn*-bandages;
2. and two of them are cut off;
3. one in between and the other one ... (?) the other 2/3 which are under (the mysterious face)".

It is at once clear that phrases A 3 and A 4 bear no relation to each other. If one considers the verso it would appear that the scribe introduced A 3 into the text on his own initiative in order to explain what happens to the four *sbn*-bandages which were not cut off. As a result the phrase sequencce was disrupted and A 4 became dislocated as the scribe continued copying his original. This dislocation and the change to the next line apparently played a part in the scribe's failure to copy the words which I have added in my survey (A 4) on the basis of comparison with the verso.

[b]  (rt. II 23)
 (vs. III 10)
The word begins with a *', the sign below it being perhaps the bolt (*s*). The rest I am unable to decipher. Does the group at the end  represent the house-determinative? The word is in any case a preposition which is on a level with *iwṯ* "between" in the parallel passage (vs. III 10).

[c] Insert *< iw=f >* *ir=f* "he makes it"; cf. the parallel passage vs. III 11. The ligature *ir=f*  "make it" frequently occurs on the recto as well as the verso (see, for instance, rt. III 6, 18).We also find it in *P. Brooklyn* 37, 1802, l. 22 and *P. Brooklyn*, 37, 1803, l. 17, which are contracts originating from Memphis and written in 109/108 B.C. (see Pestman, *Textes démotiques et bilingues*, I, 42, n. 53), *i.e.* in about the period when our papyrus could have been written. The ligature is not so much a peculiarity, therefore, of a particular scribe, but rather a Memphitic spelling employed not only by scribes of everyday contracts, but also by scribes of religious texts such as ours.

[d] There is a red smudge under *ḫr*.

[e] Notice that the plural strokes in *'b.w*  are written immediately after the *b* and not, as expected, at the end of the entire word. The same occurs with this word in vs. II b, 20, 21.

[f] *iw=f ij pȝ pjr* 4 (= vs. III 12): these words, as they now stand, do not make

sense, since *ij* "to go" is by nature intransitive. The best solution, both here and in the parallel passage vs. III 12, would be to emend as follows: *iw=f* < *dj.t* > *ij p3 pjr* 4 "he lets the four *pjr*-bandages go".

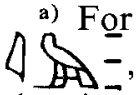
g) The word *pjr* is written in the margin: a later addition?

**Rt. II 24**

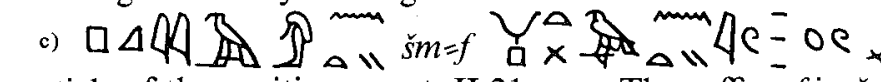
a) *p3j* (?)  "this": the reading of the group as demonstrative *p3j* "this" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 128 does not offer examples) is based entirely on the parallel passage vs. III 13, where *p3j*  "this" is written.

b) The following line is written in its entirety at the bottom of the page, separated from the rest of the text by a blank space. One's impression is that the line is not an integral part of the description of the fastening of the *swḥ*-cloth on the head of the Apis, but rather a recapitulation of the fact that the cloth is wrapped up in 9 *pjr*-bandages (cf. Commentary, rt. II 21, n. 2). This impression is corroborated by the verso, where this sentence is absent in the equivalent section, and where the text continues with words that correspond with rt. III 1 (cf. vs. III, 13-14).

**Rt. II 25**

a) For grammatical reasons we should emend the singular  to plural , which refers to the 5 *pjr*-bandages in which the mouth was wrapped so that it retained its natural shape (*smt*). Perhaps the scribe saw this as a single coherent wrapping process, and therefore used the singular.

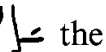
b) Although the word is damaged, its reading as *gb3*, instead of Spiegelberg's *md3*, would appear correct; compare *gb3* in rt. III 1 (in the middle). A word *gb3* denoting a mummy bandage is otherwise unknown to me.

c)  *šm=f*  For the first  as particle of the genitive, see rt. II 21, n. a. The suffix *=f* in *šm=f* is probably incorrect, having been written instead of the plural suffix *=w* (*šm=w*), which would have referred to the bandages with which the mouth was wrapped, and would have fitted in with the suffix *.w* in *iw.w ir.f* at the end of the sentence.

**Rt. III 1**

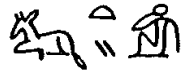
a) For the late Hieratic spelling , see rt. I 2, n. b.

b) The spelling *swḥ*, instead of the more usual Hieratic form *sḥw*, can be attributed to the influence of the demotic spelling of this common word (cf. rt. I 6, n. c).

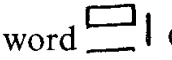
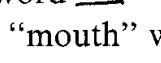
c)  the preserved traces at the beginning and the legs-determinative justify the transcription  (cf. rt. I 1, IV 1, 22). Spiegelberg (p. 13) hesitatingly suggests the transcription *in* "to bring". That verb, however, is never written with the legs-determinative (cf. rt. I 2, n. d) and furthermore does not make sense in this context.

d) The form *dj.t ṯ3j* is a phonetic rendering of the Coptic ⲁⲟ "to send" which in our papyrus is also spelt *ṯ3j*  (rt. II 6, 7, etc.). Instead of *dj.t ṯ3j* the parallel passage vs. III 14 writes *ṯ3jw*  which is a phonetic rendering of the Coptic ⲁⲟⲟⲩ "to send". Our *dj.t ṯ3j* is therefore not a compound verb nor is it necessary to emend it to *dj.t ṯ3j* < *=w* >, as Spiegelberg (p. 13, n. 7) suggests.

**Rt. III 2**

a)  "between": in demotic the word is always written with the legs-determinative (rt. II 5, 18, 19, etc.).

**Rt. III 4**

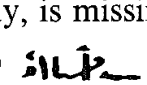
a) The word  has been split over two lines and looks like a corrupt spelling of  "mouth" which, of course, makes no sense in this context (see Commentary, rt. III 4, n. 1). Does the corruption go back to  which in the Late Period occurs as a word to denote a kind of mummy bandage (*WB.* II, 393)? The corruption has occurred in changing over to the next line.

**Rt. III 5**

a)  (rt. III 5)

 (vs. III 20)

The context points to a word indicating the part of the head opposite the neck (*nḥb.t*): the snout? The flesh-determinative, which is expected with a part of the body, is missing.

b)  the first sign  =  is demotic, whereas the rest of the word is written in Hieratic.

c) The determinative  in , which does not appear with any of the mummy cloths or bandages elsewhere in the papyrus, points to the special holiness of this cloth, which is the last to be placed over the head and horns of the Apis. Cf. *WB.* III, 242, 18: *ḫ˒* "Knäuel (?)".

**Rt. III 6**

a) I take the dot at the end of *i.ir-ḥr-n* as the genitive-*n*; for this reading we may compare *ḥr ḥr n* "under the head of" (rt. III 24). The spelling of the preposition with the genitive-*n* occurs only here in the papyrus, unless we take the flat bottom stroke at the end of the Hieratic rendering of the word as the genitive-*n* (rt. I 3, n. a). The spelling, *i.ir-ḥr-n* is known from Late-Egyptian (see Posener, *Le papyrus Vandier*, 43-44; *RdÉ* 41 [1990], 202) and from the early demotic text Rylands IX (late VIth century B.C.), where it is common. See Griffith, *Rylands*, III, 325.

b) In view of the parallel passages rt. III 9, vs. II a, 3, 14 *rḫ* is presumably mistaken for *ir-rḫ* "to be able".

c) The ligature *ir=f* "make it" is perhaps Memphitic; see rt. II 23, n. c.

d) *jb'.w* : this spelling with the ' is striking when compared to other examples of the word written without the ' (rt. I 6, III 7, IV 6 bis). Er., *Dem Glossar*, 49 offers only examples of the latter spelling.

e) *ḳn* "*ḳn*-cloth": the word *ḳn* is complete and no sign has been lost in the preceding gap, as Spiegelberg (p. 14) indicates in his translation; cf. *ḳn* in rt. VI b, 9 and in the parallel passage vs. I 10. The word is not recorded in Er., *Dem Glossar*. Could it be related to the older word "to weave (?)" (*WB.* V, 50, 4) or with *ḳn* "fine tissue" (*WB.* V, 49, 15)? See also Bresciani, *Inaros*, 120, n. 5 and Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the tomb of Tutankhamun*, 8 ("an obscure indication of a kind of tissue of very good quality").

**Rt. III 7**

a) The preposition *iw-ḥr* (demotic *r.ḥr*) is not a mistake of the scribe instead of *iw ḥrj* (ϵϩραι), as Spiegelberg (p. 14, n. 5) supposes.

b) *ḥs* ... (?): Commentary, rt. III 7, n. 2.

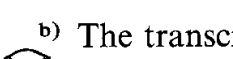
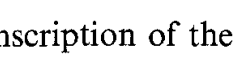
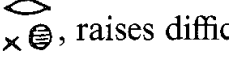
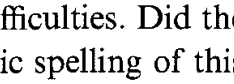
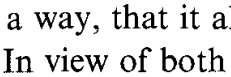
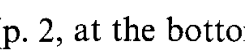
**Rt. III 8**

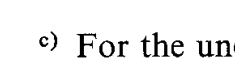
a) I cannot explain the dot at the end of *rmrm*. Could it be a punctuation mark signaling the end of the chapter?

b) The determinative of *ḥbs* is a little cramped in order to keep the margin intact.

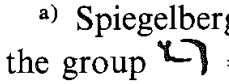
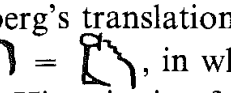
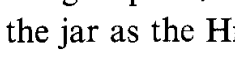
**Rt. III 9**

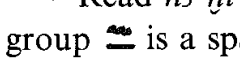
a) For the group = (plural strokes + space-filler) representing the suffix *.w*, see rt. I 7, n. c.

b) The transcription of the group  which looks like  instead of the correct , raises difficulties. Did the scribe write the flat stroke on top under the influence of the demotic spelling of this word as  (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 252), or did he flatten the *r* in such a way, that it almost looks like a *n*, as he e.g. did in the case of *wp-r3* in rt. IV 22? In view of both these possibilities I have transcribed the group as  Spiegelberg (p. 2, at the bottom) transcribes , remarking that the scribe showed himself unable to give the correct Hieratic rendering of the group *rḫ*. However, it seems to me inconceivable that a scribe, who was entrusted with the copying of an important religious document, and who throughout proved himself equal to this task, would now suddenly have been unable to render correctly a group which is the ABC of every scribe.

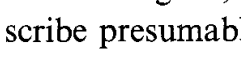
c) For the undeciphered verb , see Commentary, rt. II 11, n. 3.

**Rt. III 10**

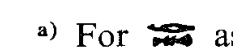
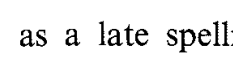
a) Spiegelberg's translation "die 5 Priester" is based on a faulty interpretation of the group  = , in which he interprets the sign of the water pouring out of the jar as the Hieratic sign for the number 5  The latter is otherwise written in a similar manner in demotic.

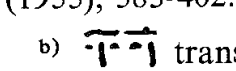
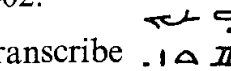
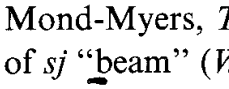
b) Read *n3 ḫt.w t3 mj.t p3 ḥ3*, not *n3 ḫt.w n t3 mj.t p3 ḥ3*: the flat stroke in the group  is a space-filler, not the genitive-*n*; see rt. I 7, n. c.

**Rt. III 12**

a) There is a curious flat stroke below the sign for the article *p3*  which seems to be meaningless, unless we assume that it represents the genitive-*n*. In that case the scribe presumably added the article as a correction afterwards.

**Rt. III 13**

a) For  as a late spelling for , see *WB.* V, 404, 1-4; Westendorf, Der Rezitationsvermerk *ṯs-phr*, in: *Ägyptol. Stud. D. Ak. Wiss. Inst. für Or. Forsch.* 29 (1955), 383-402.

b)  transcribe  "board": cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 318. Spiegelberg (p. 8), Stricker, (*OMRO* XLII [1961], 51) and Griffith (apud Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, I, 58, bottom) interpreted the group as a late spelling of *sj* "beam" (*WB.* III, 419, 14). Our reading is supported by the demotic rendering as *t3*  (rt. III 21, to the end).

c)  "clamps": the word is wrongly determined with the

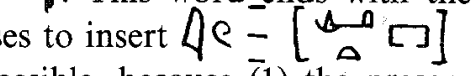
determinative of the wood  instead of the copper-determinative  with which the word is correctly written elsewhere (rt. III 20, 22, 23, etc.). The scribe possibly had something like "the clamps of the board" in mind and consequently wrote the determinative  of the word for "board" (*t3*).

[d] The suffix *=f*, which is scarcely recognisable on the published photograph, is clearly identifiable in the margin of the original. A later addition perhaps?

**Rt. III 14**

[a] For the restoration we may compare *p3 bnt p3 swḥ mtr* in rt. III 16 (to the end).

**Rt. III 15**

[a] . This word ends with the legs-determinative. Spiegelberg (p. 15, n. 7) proposes to insert  in the lacuna. This restoration, however, is impossible, because (1) the preserved long vertical sign immediately before the lacuna is incompatible with the reading *dj.t*, and (2) the restoration exceeds the available space. With reference to the equivalent passage rt. IV 1, I have thought of the further possibility of inserting the restoration *dj.t šm*, but this can be objected to on the same grounds as Spiegelberg's proposal.

**Rt. III 16**

[a] One would expect the cloth-determinative  to occur at the end of , but the sign has been omitted by the scribe. Was this negligence on his part, or did he deliberately omit the sign in order to keep the margin free? As for the latter possibility it would seem that, in changing to the next line, he simply forgot to fill in the determinative in question on the next line.

**Rt. III 17**

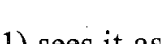
[a] For , see rt. III 13, n. a.

[b] The dash at the bottom right of *bnr*  I would interpret as the article *p3*.

[c] The group  is irretrievable due to flaking of the papyrus here.

**Rt. III 18**

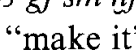
[a] *sm'ḥj=f*  "to fasten him": Stricker (*OMRO* XLV (1964), 36) interprets

the verb as  "to arrange", "to order" (*WB.* IV, 124-125), while Spiegelberg (p. 16, n. 1) sees it as  "to arrange" (*WB.* IV, 130-131). Our interpretation, however, is subtantiated; see Commentary, rt. III 12, n. 4.

b) *p3 gj sm'ḥj=f ntj iw=w ir=f* "the way in which they fasten him": for the ligature *ir=f*  "make it", see rt. II 23, n. c.

**Rt. III 19**

a) As more often, the word *mḥ* "cubit" is written for *mḥ-ntr* "divine cubit"; see rt. I 6, n. a.

b)  *ḫr t3 sr*. These words confront us with serious difficulties.

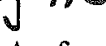
(1) As far as the word *sr* is concerned, Spiegelberg (p. 16, n. 2) remarks that he has corrected the inexplicable plural (*n3 sr.w*) to the singular *t3 sr*. The singular is, of course, necessary, and one wonders whether the scribe indeed made the mistake which Spiegelberg had in mind. In fact one could transcribe, as we have done, *t3 sr*, taking the sign  which Spiegelberg read as the plural ending, as the determinative of the falcon on the standard . In that case the word would be written with two determinatives: (a)  = , describing the material from which the coffin is made; (b)  = , denoting the extraordinary holiness of the coffin. It may be argued that the proposed double determination occurs nowhere else with this common word (cf. rt. I 8, II 1, IV 3, 4, 5, 22), but on the other hand it may be pointed out that words which have a double determinative are by no means exceptional, cf. e.g. *3w* (rt. I 7), *ḳll* (rt. VI b, 2) and *p3 ḥn nn rḫ.f* (rt. VI b, 20).

(2) The words *ḫr t3 sr* "under the coffin" have been written mistakenly instead of *ḫr p3 t3* "under the board". The scribe made the same curious error in rt. IV 5, where mention is made of the cords going through the clamps of the coffin (*n3 m'rj.wt t3 sr.t*), even though the context clearly indicates that the board was intended.

c) *ḥ3'*  "to lay". Spiegelberg obviously overlooked the first sign when interpreting the word as *š't*  "zerschnitten".

d) The article *p3*  is written by two strokes of the brush.

**Rt. III 20**

a) *rj.t*  : I cannot explain the sign  at the end of the group. We would expect this sign to represent the house determinative which is, however, written in quite a different way elsewhere.

b) The group *dj.t t3j*  in *iw=w dj.t t3j=s* is a phonetic spelling of the Coptic

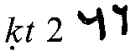
 "to send" (see rt. III 1, n. d). To emend to *iw=w dj.t t3j* < *=w* >, as suggested by Spiegelberg (p. 16, n. 4) is therefore unnecessary.

**Rt. III 21**

a)  *st* "they" (rt. III 21, 22 to the end)
 *s* "it" (rt. III, 19-21 passim)
Notice the difference in writing between the plural pronoun *st* "they" and the fem. singular pronoun *s* "it".

b) There is an accidental stroke above *ḥr*.

c) *iw=w dj.t st3.ṯ=w s t3 nbtj.t*: as the phrase stands it is not correct; the difficulty is how to fit the words *t3 nbtj.t* into the construction. This problem would be completely solved if we cancel the suffix *=w* and emend the phrase as follows: *iw=w dj.t st3.ṯ* {*=w*} *s t3 nbtj.t* "they make the *nbtj.t*-bandage return". This emendation is indeed rather drastic, but I prefer it to the solution of Spiegelberg (p. 16) who apparently inserted the preposition *n* before *t3 nbtj.t* and translated: "sie sollen sie mit (?) der *nbtj*-Binde ziehen lassen (?)". The objection to this translation is that it makes no obvious sense, and moreover the suffix *=s* is interpreted as a plural, instead of a singular, pronoun (see rt. III 21, n. a).

d) *kj ḳt* 2  "two other traverses" (scil. of the *nbtj.t*-bandages). For the interpretation of *ḳt* as "traverse" we may compare the verb *ḳtj* "to go round" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 552-553, where two Roman instances are quoted showing the determinative  = , instead of the expected  = ). See also the Commentary, rt. III 21, n. 2.

e) Spiegelberg (p. 16) translates: "die beiden Krampen, welche sich in der Mitte des Bodens (*t3*?) vorn befinden". There are, of course, no clamps in the ground (*t3*), and we must take *t3*  here not in its usual sense of "ground", but as the demotic rendering of the Hieratic *t3* "board" (rt. III 13, n. b).

**Rt. III 23**

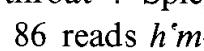
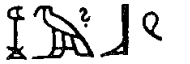
a) The form *'n*  occurs in old demotic (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 61-62). Our transcription as a Hieratic form is based on the fact that in the demotic of our text the word in question is always written as  (passim).

b) The preposition *r* is vaguely visible at the end of the line.

**Rt. III 24**

a) *ḫr ḥr n*  "under the head of": the dot at the end represents the genitive-*n*

(see rt. III 6, n. a). Spiegelberg's translation "before" suggests the incorrect reading *i.ir-ḥr*.

b) *ḫm-b*  "throat": Spiegelberg's  is incorrect. Stricker, *OMRO* XXXIX (1958), 86 reads *ḫ'm-r3*, as in the Hieratic rendering of the word (rt. III 3). Notice also that the word is written with the double determinative of the flesh and the falcon on the standard.

c) Notice the writing of the article *p3* by two strokes of the brush  (cf. a similar example, rt. III 19, n. d).

**Rt. III 25**

a) The *w, r* and the wood-determinative are still visible, enough at least to justify the reading *wrs* "rest".

b) The suffix *=w* in *ṯ3j=w* coincides with a crack in the papyrus.

**Rt. III 26**

a) For the insertion  *wḫ3*  we may compare the demotic *nbtj.t skr r ḫ p3 ntj iw=w wḫ3=f* in rt. V 1.

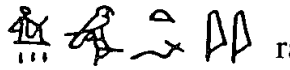
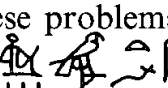
b) The plural ending is absent; cf. rt. I 2, n. c.

**Rt. IV 1**

a) The plural ending is absent; cf. *n3 ḥbs.w skr.w* in rt. II 7.

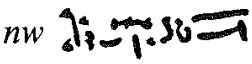
b) For  "upper side", see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 241, s.v. *rj.t*.

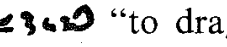
**Rt. IV 2**

a) The title  raises difficulties, the problem being (1) that the word *it* "father" is written with two  instead of the usual one  (*WB.* I, 141), and (2) that the title *it.w* "fathers" as an equivalent of *it.w-nṯr* "god's fathers" is, as far as I know, not attested (*WB.* I, 142). These problems would be solved if we were allowed to read the first sign as  ( "god's fathers"). But the oblique stroke at the bottom of the sign in question  =  is against this reading.

**Rt. IV 3**

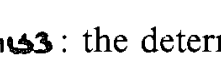
a) Not simply *t3 ḥ3.t* but *r t3 ḥ3.t*, taking the bottom stroke at the left of the

wood-determinative in the preceding *nw*  as the preposition *r* and not as part of the determinative in question.

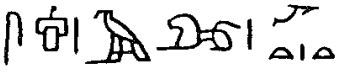
b) *3ṯḥ*  "to drag": Spiegelberg did not translate the verb; cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 14, 2: *3ṯḥ* "ziehen". The determinative  =  (? Spiegelberg ) is the same as in *sḳ*  "to pull" (rt. III 19, 22, 23, 24).

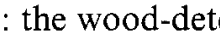
**Rt. IV 4**

a) *w' ḫrt šs-nsw n sšd* "a blue (?) *ḫrt*-cloth of byssus". Spiegelberg (p. 9, n. 1) read *w' ḫrt šs-nsw sšd* ("mit einem Byssus-Tuch *und* einer Binde"), thus ignoring the little stroke (genitive-*n*) at the top left of the middle of the determinative of *šs-nsw* (cf. rt. II 1, n. d).

b) *mtr* : the determinative  =  points to a kind of oitnment, and not, as Spiegelberg translates, to the *mtr*-cloth which is frequently mentioned in our papyrus.

**Rt. IV 5**

a) For  "coffin" instead of the correct word *t3* "board", see rt. III 19, n. b (to the end).

b) .: the wood-determinative is written in demotic and the rest of the word in Hieratic.

c) For the undeciphered verb , see Commentary, rt. II 11, n. 3.

**Rt. IV 6**

a) The plural ending is omitted. For other examples, see rt. I 2, n. c.

b) Only here is the plural denoted by three dots .

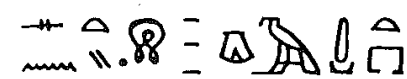
**Rt. IV 7**

a) For the undeciphered verb , see Commentary, rt. II 11, n. 3.

b) There is an accidental red dash above *w'b*.

c) The little dot at the bottom left of the number represents the genitive-*n*.

**Rt. IV 9**

a)  "they found ... (?) a *gd*". The sentence in

which the unrecorded word *gḏ* occurs, denoting a type of building, presents difficulties: (1) the fact that the suffix *.w* instead of *gḏ* is the object of the verb *snt*, which is normally used in connection with the founding of buildings (*WB.* IV, 177). Spiegelberg ignores the suffix in his translation. Indeed the construction of the sentence would be saved if we were to cancel the suffix as a mistake of the scribe; for a similar case, see rt. III 21, n. c. (2) This sentence is placed out of the context between two sentences which are apparently concerned with *ḥnbj.t*-vessels.

b) *g3.w*  "shrines": Er., *Dem Glossar*, 570, 4 only offers examples of the spelling with *g*, but in our papyrus this spelling is exceptional, and we find as a rule *k3.w*  (rt. II 1, IV 5, 17), which may be due either to Hieratic influence (where the word is always spelt with : rt. IV 6, 7, 8) or we may be dealing with a Memphitic spelling. For the latter possibility, see Pestman, in: *OMRO* XLIV (1963), 11, n. 6.

c) Is  written with a double determinative, or does the little flat stroke under the wood-determinative indicate the genitive-*n*?

d) Insert  ; cf. the spelling of the word in l. 10 below.

## Rt. IV 10

a) The little dot at the end of *rsj*  is part of the determinative in question and does not represent the genitive-*n*, as Spiegelberg transcribes; cf. the writing of *rsj* in l. 17 below (middle of the line).

b) For the group  =  (plural strokes + space-filler), see rt. I 7, n. c.

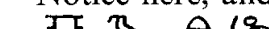
## Rt. IV 11

a) The  in  is indicated by the little dot at the bottom right of the foot of the sign for  :  .

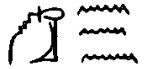
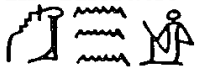
b) For the stroke at the end of the group  we may compare the demotic writing of *ḥ3.t-sp*  (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 288) and of *rnp.t*  (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 251, last but one of the Roman examples).

c) Spiegelberg transcribes the year 23, whereas in his translation he rightly gives the year 24.

d) Notice here, and a little further on, the barbarian spelling of *Pr-ʿ3* *c.w.s.*

e)  : the  and the breaking-up of the sign  into two distinct signs are notable. I know of no other examples.

**Rt. IV 12**

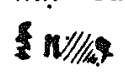
a) Only here and in rt. IV 22 is the title of the *w'b*-priest written without the determinative of the sitting man  , as in the demotic rendering of the word. In Hieratic the title is commonly written with the determinative in question  (rt. III 10, IV 2, 7, etc.).

**Rt. IV 13**

a) According to Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 224 (with foot-note 4) the meaningless stroke at the end of  =  is in vogue from the Roman period onward.

**Rt. IV 14**

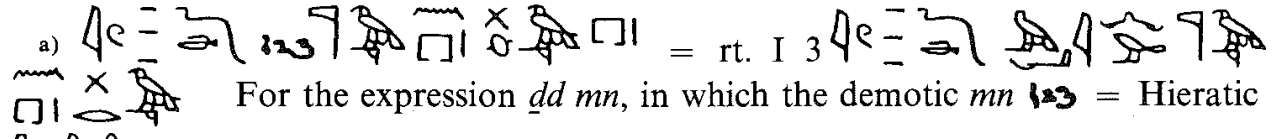
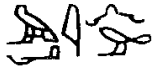
a) *mḥ* "cubit" is short for *mḥ-ntr* "divine cubit" (see rt. I 6, n. a).

b)  : I do not understand these signs. The traces between the first and the last sign could indicate a numeral.

c) One should interpret  as the fem. demonstrative , of course, and not as the article.

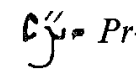
d)  : the first upper sign seems to represent , the one beneath it I do not understand.

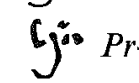
**Rt. IV 15**

a)  = rt. I 3  For the expression *ḏd mn*, in which the demotic *mn*  = Hieratic , a word probably denoting grief or something similar, see the remarks by Spiegelberg (p. 20, n. 4).

**Rt. IV 16**

a) *(n) dr.t n*  "out of the hand of": the dot at the end represents the genitive-*n*.

b)  *Pr-Ḥ'pj* (rt. IV 16)

 *Pr-Ḥ'pj* (rt. IV 20)

The group  (rather indistinct in the second example) represents . For the reading of the group *Ḥ'pj*, see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 293 and Spiegelberg, p. 20, n. 5,

who expresses his doubts as to the reading *Pr-Ḥ'pj*. In this I entirely agree with him but at the same time I cannot offer a better alternative.

c) The preposition *r* is written as a vertical stroke close to the article *p3*.

d) *Nb.t-t3-ḥ.t* "Nephthys": the spelling of the nomen divinum with *t3* is otherwise unknown to me. See the articles on the writing of the name in question by Vittmann, in: *GM* 11 (1974), 49-52; idem, *ibidem* 17 (1975), 45.

**Rt. IV 17**

a) I take the group = as the determinative of *Mḥw* which occurs in the preceding line; cf. the similar determinative in *Šm'* (l. 16). Spiegelberg reads the group as the nomen divinum *R'* which would leave *Mḥw* without a determinative.

b) For the double plural in *irj.w* "companions"; see rt. II 20, n. a.

**Rt. IV 18**

a) The preserved traces, obviously overlooked by Spiegelberg, justify the reading *p3j=w* "their".

b) According to Spiegelberg (p. 21, n. 1) there can be little doubt that the group, which is written *dp.t* "taste", is to be interpreted as the name of the famous Lower Egyptian city Buto. Cf. also Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, 144 (§178): "*DP*, ein Name der von den Ägyptern später mit dem Worte *dp* "kosten" zusammengebracht worden ist". In the context, however, it is much more natural to think of a spelling of *dp.w*/ *dp.t* "ship"; cf. *WB*. V, 446-447: "ship" (example s.v. *dp.w*).

**Rt. IV 20**

a) The reading *ir* is clear in the original:

b) There is an accidental thick spot at the top left of the sign *ntr*.

c) For the reading *Pr-Ḥ'pj*, see rt. IV 16, n. b.

**Rt. IV 22**

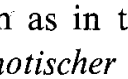
a) *ḥbs* *ḥ* and *b* are connected at the top.

b) For the spelling of the title *w'b* without the determinative of the sitting man, see rt. IV 12, n. a.

**Rt. IV 23**

a) For the double determinative of the falcon on the standard and the sitting man, see rt. I 2, n. a.

b) 

c) The word *sḫ.t* "field" is written as in the old demotic ; see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 450; idem, *Auswahl Frühdemotischer Texte*, 3. Heft, 76 b (no. 12).

**Rt. V 1**

a) The determinative  after *ḫrt* performs the dual function of the determinative of *ḫrt* and the sound-value *šs* in the following *šs-nsw* (cf. rt. II 1, n. a).

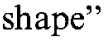
b) *st* : the bandage or cloth in question is only mentioned here in the papyrus. It is unknown to me from elsewhere. Spiegelberg (p. 22, n. 5) proposes, with some hesitation, to emend it to *sšt*. However, it seems highly unlikely that the scribe would have confused *st* with *sšt*, a common word that he always spells correctly. It is more probable that Spiegelberg gave in to the temptation to manipulate the spelling (by inserting the sign *š*), thus substituting a known word (*sšt*) for an unknown one (*st*).

c)  *ḫrt* (rt. V 1, beginning)
 *ḫrt* (rt. V 1, a little further on)
It is notable that in these two words, which closely follow each other in the text, the *ḫ* is written in two different ways.

d) *ḏn* ... 

**Rt. V 2**

a) For the undeciphered verb , see Commentary, rt. II 11, n. 3.

b) *smt*  "shape": the dot at the end is usual with this word; cf. *smt* in rt. V 4, 6, 9, etc.

**Rt. V 3**

a) *prḫ*  is written with the house-determinative.

b) *ḫn pȝ* : *pȝ* is written close to the preceding determinative of *ḫn*. The dot at the bottom left of *pȝ* is part of the spelling of the article (cf. rt. II 5, n. b).

**Rt. V 4**

a) The restoration *iw=w ḳ* seems reliable if compared with the parallel passage rt. VI a, 5.

**Rt. V 5**

a) *r kj* : the preposition *r* is written close to *kj*.

**Rt. V 6**

a) *wsḫ* (rt. V 35, VI a, 2, etc.)
*wsḫ* (rt. V 6)
Apart from the usual, abbreviated writing of *wsḫ* with the single determinative , there are a few instances in our papyrus, such as the first example here, which show the alphabetic spelling. The second example is a unique case of the alphabetic spelling plus the house-determinative.

**Rt. V 7**

a) *ḥn* (rt. V 7; determinative: )
*ḥn* (rt. V 22; determinative: )
The reading of the words presents difficulties concerning the transcription of the first sign. Does it represent *ḥ*, as Spiegelberg's interpretation or should we opt for the upright *s*, and with Stricker (*OMRO* XLII [1961], 33) read the word as *sn*? From a palaeographical point of view both interpretations are defensible as it is often difficult to distinguish between the upright *s* and the *ḥ* in this position. One is tempted, however, to read *sn*, because the *sn*-vessel is well-known as storage for intestines (see Pantalacci, in: *GM* 52, 1981, 59-60). Our reconstruction of the vessel in the shape of a remarkably low dish does not fit in with what is known about the shape of the *sn*-vessel. For this reason *ḥn* seems preferable to *sn* (see Commentary, rt. V 7, n. 1).

b) The papyrus has flaked off here. The restoration fills the available space exactly.

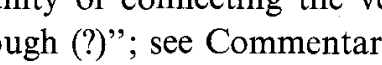
**Rt. V 11**

a) Notice that *ḳbḥ-snw.f* is not written with the determinative of the canal, unlike the spelling of the word in rt. V 15.

**Rt. V 13**

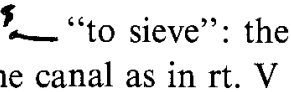
a) Stricker, *OMRO* XLV (1964), 40 reads *lḥmj.t*, whereas Spiegelberg transcribes *ỉ3mj.t*. Palaeographically both readings are possible. The reading *lḥmj.t* offers the opportunity of connecting the vessel in question with the Coptic ⲗⲁϩⲙⲉ "kneading-trough (?)"; see Commentary, rt. V 13, n. 1.

**Rt. V 14**

a) *ʿtḫ*  "to sieve": the word is written with the double determinative of the pot and the canal as in rt. V 18.

**Rt. V 15**

a) Cf. *n3 mw.w* in rt. V 18 (with the plural ending written out).

b) *ḳbḥ-snw.f* : the determinative of *ḳbḥ* (the water + the canal) is written in demotic, the rest of the word in Hieratic.

**Rt. V 17**

a) For the reading of the word as *lḥmj.t* (not *ỉ3mj.t*, which is also palaeographically possible), see rt. V 13, n. a.

b) The reading *n3j=w*, which is hampered by a loose fibre in the papyrus, seems reliable.

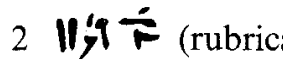
**Rt. V 18**

a) For *ʿtḫ* with the double determinative of the pot and the canal, see rt. V 14, n. a.

**Rt. V 20**

a) From this point on the scribe has written the numbers quite consistently in red ink.

**Rt. V 21**

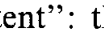
a) *šsp* 2 *tbʿ* 2  (rubricated; a facsimile of the original). The signs are difficult to recognize in the published photograph.

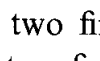
**Rt. V 22**

a) For the reading *ḥn* (not *sn*), see rt. V 7, n. a.

b) The surface of the papyrus has flaked off here. The reading of the word *hn*, the last part of which is still preserved , would appear reliable.

**Rt. V 23**

a) *ḏt*  "tent": the word is most likely determined with a curiously formed house-determinative, and certainly not with the wood-determinative, as Spiegelberg transcribes.

b)  (the two final upright strokes are rubricated): Spiegelberg, obviously overlooking the two final signs, translates "1 Spanne" (*šsp* 1). Do these rubricated signs represent the number 2 and was something omitted by the scribe: *šsp* 1 $< tb^{\epsilon} >$ 2 "1 palm and 2 digits"?

**Rt. V 24**

a) There are few traces left of the verb which depends on the preposition *r*. These traces and the available space do not indicate the undeciphered verb , which one would expect to occur here on the basis of the parallel passage rt. V 2. Should one perhaps consider the verb *dj.t* "to place"?

**Rt. V 28**

a) Stricker, *OMRO* XLV (1964), 49 reads *ḏl3*, whereas Spiegelberg transcribes *ḏlḥ*. Palaeographically both readings are defensible. The reading *ḏlḥ* would offer the possibility of connecting the vessel in question with *ḏlḥ* "to draw", "to scoop"; see Commentary, rt. V 28, n. 1.

**Rt. V 31**

a) The traces still visible on the original preceding the word *wr-irj* probably represent the article *p3*.

**Rt. V 33**

a) Because the surface of the papyrus has flaked off here, the only remaining evidence we have of the figure indicating the number of the *psṯ'j.t*-vessels are some

confused traces of red ink. Fortunately, however, this number can be easily retrieved on the basis of rt. VI a, 11, where the total number of vessels is given as 157, and calculating from all available numbers our present total to be 155, it can be concluded that there must have been 2 *pst̒j.t*-vessels.

**Rt. V 34**

a) *w3ḥ*  "to complete": unable to come up with something better I accept with reservation Spiegelberg's reading; cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 76 (at the bottom).

b) The papyrus has flaked off here, causing a lacuna which, judging from his translation, Spiegelberg has filled in with the preposition *m-ḏr* "by". This insertion, even though it makes sense in this context, takes up too much space, and does not match the traces visible after the lacuna.

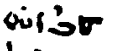
**Rt. V 35**

a) The papyrus has flaked off here. I propose to fill the lacuna with the words *p3j=w ḳ3*, which fit the available space exactly. The legs-determinative of *ḳ3* is still discernible, and just in front of the lacuna there are still traces of writing which could be connected with the word *p3j=w*.

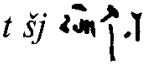
b) For the alphabetic spelling of *wsḫ*, see rt. V 6, n. a.

c)  is a correction in which *šsp* 8 has been heavily written over the original *šsp* 3.

**Rt. VI a, 2**

a)  (rt. VI a, 2)
 (rt. VI a, 7).

**Rt. VI a, 3**

a) *smt šj*  It is uncertain here whether the dot after the determinative of *smt* should be taken as the genitive-*n*, or as part of the spelling of the word (cf. rt. V 2, n. b).

b) A meaningless dot occurs after the falcon on the standard after *wr* in *wr-irj*. A similar dot appears after the determinative of the falcon on the standard at the end of the title *ḫrj ḥm* in rt. VI b, 7.

**Rt. VI a, 4**

a) Spiegelberg wrongly translates "their height", and in doing so assumes the reading *ḳ3=w* or *p3j=w ḳ3*, instead of *ḳ3*, which is clearly written.

**Rt. VI a, 7**

a) For the undeciphered word, see rt. VI a, 2, n. a.

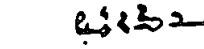
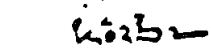
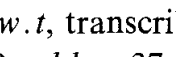
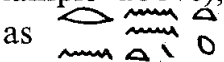
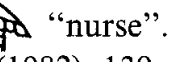
**Rt. VI a, 9**

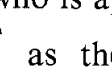
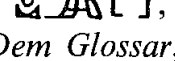
a) For the reading *lḥmj.t* (not *l3mj.t*), see rt. V 13, n. a.

**Rt. VI a, 11**

a) Read *dmḏ* « "total" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 634, 2). Spiegelberg's *p3j=w* "their", although palaeographically defensible, makes no sense in the context.

**Rt. VI a, 12**

a) The reading presents difficulties:
 (rt. VI a, 12)
 (rt. VI a, 13)
 (*P. Brooklyn* 37. 1802, l. 7; from Memphis, 108 B.C.).
Stricker, *OMRO* XLII (1961), 50 reads *Nw.t*. Spiegelberg (p. 25, n. 1), having his doubts about the reading *Nw.t*, transcribes . It strongly resembles a word occurring in *P. Brooklyn* 37. 1802 (third example above), which was transcribed by Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 31-33 as . *Rnn.t* (Ἐρμοῦθις). Pestman, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, I, 37, n. 18 does not entirely reject Pierce's transcription but prefers the interpretation *mnʿ.t*  "nurse". Rejecting the readings of Pierce and Pestman, Brunsch, *Enchoria* 11 (1982), 139 proposes to read *in-nkt.w*, referring to Greek epithets such as ἡ καρπὸν ἀνθρωποις εὑροῦσα and δότειρα. While discussing Brunsch's theory, Thissen (*Studi in Onore di Edda Bresciani*, 516-519) returns to Pestman's suggestion to read the word as *mnʿt*. Thus the reading of the word is disputed. As for our papyrus, the context of the passage would suggest the name or surname ("nurse"?) of some goddess who is apparently connected with (re-)birth.

b) For *ḏt*  as the spelling of . "Vorratshaus", "Magazin", see *WB.* I, 402,·10; Er., *Dem Glossar*, 109 (= *P. Insinger*, 4, 6; add *ʿOnkhsheshonqy*, 16, 3); Chassinat, *Mystère d'Osiris*, II, 361. I do not understand

how Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, 431, n. 7 can be of the opinion that this word refers to a thyrsus-wand, such as the one carried by Bacchantes.

**Rt. VI a, 13**

a) *i.ir=f* : the emphatic form *i.ir=f* with the ligature *ir=f* , as in *ir=f* "make it" (see rt. II 23, n. c) is also found in vs. II a, 20 (end).

**Rt. VI a, 14**

a) *ms t3 (n3?) ...*: the group occurring after *t3* is determined with the determinative of the sail. Spiegelberg (p. 25, n. 2) transcribes .

b) *smt ms* or *smt n ms*: it is uncertain whether the flat stroke which occurs after the determinative of *smt* is part of the spelling of this word or whether it is to be taken as a separate sign for the genitive-*n*; cf. rt. VI a, 3, n. a.

c) For the Memphitic ligature *ir=f* "make it", see rt. II 23, n. c.

**Rt. VI b, 1**

a) read *md(.t) (n) rmt* or *md(.t) n rmt* (with the genitive-*n*): see rt. VI a, 3, n. a.

b) The semi-hieratic writing *ṯḥn* is also found in the *Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, VI, 31 (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 652). Compare the demotic spelling *ṯḥnj* in rt. VI b, 12, 14. For spellings of the word see also *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* [*FS* Westendorf], I, 387-388.

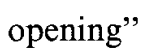
c) The little stroke at the end of the line is in reality a red stroke which was made in mapping the lines of the column.

**Rt. VI b, 2**

a) The combination of determinatives in *ḳll* (a kind of vessel) is also found with the *3w*-vessel which is mentioned in rt. I 7 (with n. d).

**Rt. VI b, 3**

a) *grbʿ (n) ḥt* : a case of haplography, in which the wood-sign as the determinative of *grbʿ* is omitted. The word *grbʿ* denotes some unidentified part of the vessel in question.

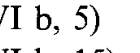
b) *b=w*  "their opening" (scil. of the *ḳll*-vessels): the wrong determinative of the flesh-sign is due to the influence of the frequently-occurring *b* "mouth".

c) For the little stroke at the end of the line, see rt. VI b, 1, n. c.

**Rt. VI b, 4**

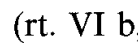
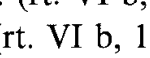
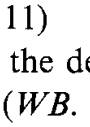
a) *bkf*  seems to be preferable to *3kf*.

**Rt. VI b, 5**

a)  *knṯ* (rt. VI b, 5)
 *knṯ* (rt. VI b, 15)

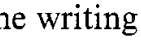
b) *r dr.t=f*, not *dr.t=f*, as I first thought: the *r* is written close to *dr.t=f*.

**Rt. VI b, 8**

a)  *ʿt* ... (rt. VI b, 8)
 *ʿt* ... (rt. VI b, 11)
For *ʿt*, which is determined by the determinative of the plant, compare (?) ,  "Name einer Pflanze" (*WB.* I, 237, 5). Our word should not be identified with *ʿt*, meaning "fat", which is of animal origin, and therefore determined with the flesh-sign (cf. *ʿt* in rt. VI b, 16). The undeciphered word is a geographical name which denotes the source of the product.

b) The little flat stroke at the end is actually a red stroke; see rt. VI b, 1, n. c.

**Rt. VI b, 9**

a)  : the writing suggests two separate words: (1)  *3ḏḥ* or *3ḏ3* + the silver-determinative; (2)  *šl* + the dish-determinative. Spiegelberg's translation as one word for "dish" suits the context.

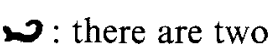
b) The word *b* "mouth" (scil. of a vessel) is wrongly determined by the flesh-sign; see rt. VI b, 3, n. b.

c) The preposition *m* is not uncommon in archaistic religious documents; see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, § 269.

**Rt. VI b, 11**

a) For *ʿt* (a product) + geographical name, see rt. VI b, 8, n. a.

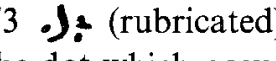
**Rt. VI b, 12**

a)  : there are two possible readings: (1) *3w*, with the double determinative of copper () and silver () or (2) *3w (n) ḥḏ*. Considering the occurrence of *3w n nb* in the preceding line, I prefer the latter possibility.

**Rt. VI b, 13**

a)  ... *=s*.

**Rt. VI b, 14**

a) 8 2/3  (rubricated): the reading of the number 8 seems probable, even though the dot which occurs here under the sign is not part of the normal spelling (cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 698). Perhaps this dot is a space-filler, as in the fraction 2/3.

**Rt. VI b, 15**

a) To judge from his translation "eine < Spanne >", Spiegelberg considered *w'*  a mistake for *šsp* 1 . It seems highly unlikely, however, that the scribe would have confused two totally dissimilar groups. It would be much simpler to assume that the scribe, in passing to the next line, omitted something: *< mḥ-ntr > w'* "one divine cubit".

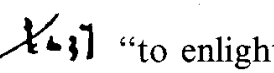
b) Is *ḏj ḥtpj* a variant of the more usual *ḏj r ḥtpj* (rt. VI b, 18, 20), or should one insert *ḏj < r > ḥtpj*?

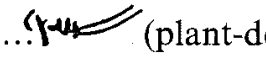
**Rt. VI b, 16**

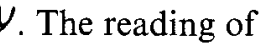
a) For the reading *ḏlḥ* (not *ḏl3*), see rt. V 28, n. a.

b) The fem. *k.t* must be an error for the correct masc. *kj*. Notice, furthermore, that in order to complete the line a substantial blank space has been left before the word in question is written.

**Rt. VI b, 17**

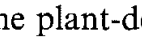
a) *sḥt*  "to enlight": in my view the determinative .  is correct. Spiegelberg (p. 26, n. 10) hesitantly transcribes 

b) *rrj.t* ...  (plant-determinative).

c) . The reading of this divine name has not been successful. Notice that the

first sign is , not , as the published photograph suggests: the stroke on top is in fact due to the tail of *w'* from the preceding line.

**Rt. VI b, 19**

a) *3sj*  (with the plant-determinative).

b) *ḫt 3sj* 4 *n3.w* is a gloss.

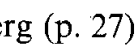
c) *gml (n) ḥmt* .

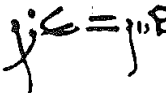
d) The scribe has written some signs which I cannot decipher right across the article *p3* and the beginning of *wr* in *wr-irj*.

**Rt. VI b, 20**

a) The reading *snḥ=f*  "bind it" is correct, although the legs-determinative is not expected with this verb (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 439, 1).

b) For the wrong flesh-determinative in *b* "opening" (scil. of the vessel), see rt. VI b, 3, n. b.

c) Perhaps Spiegelberg (p. 27) is correct in suggesting that *šbsj.t*  should be taken as *šps.t* "valuable" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 503-504).

d) The wood-determinative is written twice, once after *ḥn* and again at the end of the entire compound , as in the similar expression *p3 ḥn* ... (rt. VI a, 12).

e) For the little stroke at the end of the line, see rt. VI b, 1, n. c.

**Vs. I 1**

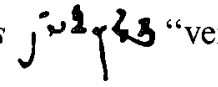
a) The plural article *n3* is heavily written right across some other sign. Presumably this original sign is the article *p3*, part of which is still visible to the right of the correction  Be that as it may, only the article *p3* can be correct, as the text continues with the acting person in the singular.

The scribe made his mistake at a point in the text where it could easily occur, namely at the beginning, when he did not yet exactly know the details of the piece he was about to copy. Did it perhaps occur to him that, during the process of embalmment, the internal mummy was treated by more than one embalmer, and did this then lead him to his premature correction of the text?

b) Notice that the horizontal stroke, which the scribe of the verso usually writes over the title *ḫrj-ḥb*, has been omitted (cf. lines 6 and 8 below). The determinative

is, as usual, the feast-sign  =  and not the cloth-sign, as Spiegelberg (p. 27, n. 6) transcribes.

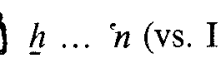
c) There is a thick spot at the top left of *p3* which seems to have no obvious meaning.

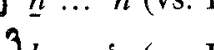
d) *m-šs*  "very": the word is determined by  This sign is followed by a stroke which descends far below the line, and then curls upwards to the left. I cannot explain this stroke which is absent elsewhere in the spelling of this common word (cf. lines 2 and 17).

## Vs. I 2

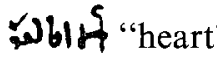
a) Due to a gradually broadening and descending crack in the papyrus here only a dot remains of the article *p3* which occurs after the determinative of *štj*.

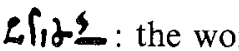
b)  *w'b* ... "pure": I cannot explain the upright stroke at the end; a plural ending is impossible in view of the preceding singular *p3 sf*. A similar case is found a little further in this line.

c)  *ḥ* ... *'n* (vs. I 2)

 *ḥ* ... *'n* (vs. II a, 20)

The word *ḥ* "like" is written with a little flat stroke or dot (second example) which I cannot explain; the group just before *'n*  I find equally incomprehensible.

d) *ḥ3.ṯ*  "heart": the fact that I do not understand the signs  towards the end does not interfere, as such, with the reading of the word. Spiegelberg's *ir.t* "eye" can, in any case, be excluded, as the masculine article *p3* is incompatible with this reading.

e) *'nḏ*  : the word, which is exclusive to the text of the verso, is written, in this particular instance, with the determinative  which indicates the resinous nature of the product. See also *WB*. I, 208, 1: *'nḏw* Art Salbe oder Wohlgeruch.

## Vs. I 3

a) Traces of *w'.t* (more clearly recognizable on the original) are preserved on either side of the crack in the papyrus.

b) After *w'b* there is an inexplicable sign , for which the scribe dipped his pen again. The sign is followed by a lacuna.

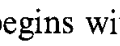
c)  *p3 wjṯ* <*t3*> *3t* "the tail (and) the back": by simply inserting the article <*t3*> these words are made intelligible. This omission was

probably caused by a momentary lapse of the scribe's attention when he dipped his pen (*wjṯ* is vague, whereas *ỉt* is written rather heavily).

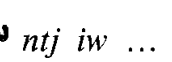
**Vs. I 4**

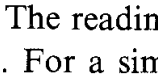
a) See Commentary, vs. I 4, n. 1.

b) *r ḥr j*  : for the way in which this group is written we may compare a similar example at the end of vs. I 22.

c)  : the word begins with the upright *s* and ends in *š*. I cannot decipher the intermediate sign. Spiegelberg translates "*sšt*-Binde", remarking in a footnote (p. 28, n. 1) that actually  seems to be written.

**Vs. I 5**

a) *tw=s pỉ gỉ ṯs=f*  *ntj iw ... ir=f* "see here is the way in which the knotting of it is done (?)". The reading of the words in facsimile (*ntj iw ...*) has not been completely successful. For a similar example in a passage of the same tenor, see vs. II a, 1.

b) *hjnj*  "some": the papyrus has flaked off here causing the determinative (the cloth?) to be indistinct. As for the translation of the word I follow Spiegelberg's suggestion.

c) Notice the writing of *ḥbs*: 

d) The spelling of the verb *mr* "to bind" as *mrỉ* is notable and comparable to the spelling of *ḏr* "to be strong" as *ḏrỉ* in vs. I 6 and 7. For both spellings, see Er., *Dem Glossar*, 166, 2 and 682-683.

e) There is a blot of ink immediately below the upper part of *w*, which looks like the remains of an erased sign.

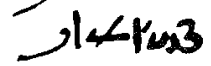
**Vs. I 6**

a) The beginning of the title *ḫrj-ḥb* has a smudged appearance which can be attributed to the scribe's careless erasure of one or more of the original signs. Dipping his pen again, he then proceeded to write new signs over the imperfectly erased one(s). Spiegelberg, obviously misled by von Bergmann's facsimile, read the title as *ḥrj sšt*ỉ.

**Vs. I 7**

a) *wṯỉ*  "tail" (for this word, see Commentary, rt. III 10, n. 3).

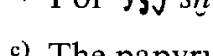
b)  *š'-tw=f* (vs. I 6 and passim on the verso)

 *š'-tw=f* (vs. I 7)

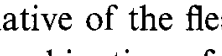
It is remarkable that the prefix *š'-tw=*, which occurs in vs. I 6, and then shortly afterwards in vs. I 7, is written in different ways. In the second example the element *tw* is written like the form *tw* of the verb *dj.t* in *iw=f tw* "he gives" (vs. I 1, 5, 6, 9, etc.).

## Vs. I 8

a)  : here and in vs. I 15 the causative of the verb *šm* is written as *tw n šm*. According to Stricker, *OMRO* XLV (1964), 28 it is an attempt to render the consonant *d* as in Coptic ⲭⲟ: ⲃⲟ "to send".

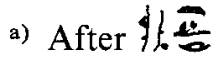
b) For  *sḫ* ..., see Commentary, vs. I 8, n. 2.

c) The papyrus is badly damaged here. The tail of *ḥrj* is still visible and the dot to the left of the figure 6 is all that has remained of the preposition *r*.

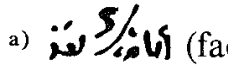
d) : the undeciphered word denotes certain parts of the body (determinative of the flesh-sign) within the thoracic cavity into which six bags containing a combination of sawdust and natron are introduced.

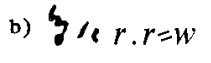
e) At the end of the line the scribe washed out sign(s).

## Vs. I 9

a) After  follow some indistinct signs.

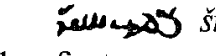
## Vs. I 10

a)  (facsimile of the original).

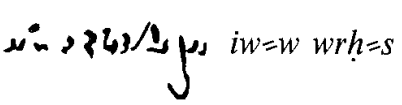
b)  *r.r=w* = *r.ir=w* (the relative form). For similar instances of this writing of the relative form, see Pestman, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, I, 30, n. 26. To his examples may be added *P. Loeb* 6, 46 and *P. Cairo*, 30704, x + 3 (both *r.r=w* instead of *r.ir=w*).

## Vs. I 11

a)  *šnbj(.t)* "breast" (vs. II a, 16, etc.)

 *šnbj(.t)* "breast" (vs. I 11)

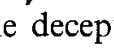
The first example shows the usual spelling of the word, whereas the second example, with the sign , occurs only here.

b)  *iw=w wrḥ=s t3 pḫr.t wṯj* (sic): facsimile of the original.

The phrase is badly corrupted owing to the scribe's omission of words. Any attempt to supply these words is of course precarious. At best it would lead to a recovery of the drift of the phrase, *e.g.* as follows: *iw=w wrḥ=s t3 pḫr.t <ntj ḫmm (ps? ḳbḥ?) iw=w> wṯj <=s>* (+ some cloth) "they anoint it with the warm (boiled? cold?) medicament and they wrap it (in some cloth)". We are usually told whether *pḫr.t* is applied in a warm (*ḫmm*), boiled (*ps*), or cold (*ḳbḥ*) condition. In our passage there is nothing to support any one of these possibilities. However, if we consider the section vs. II b, 23 — vs. III 6, where the breast, as a rule, is treated with oil which is warm or boiled, then we would be more inclined to think of warm or boiled medicaments. In conclusion, note that Spiegelberg's translation "warme Medikamente" is based on the erroneous reading *wṯj* "to wrap" as *ḫmm* "warm".

c) The tail of the suffix *=w* in *iw=w* is slightly displaced.

## Vs. I 12

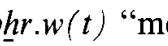
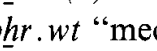
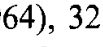
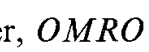
a) *sbn* : Spiegelberg's reading *sj.t 2.t* ("2 *sj*-Stoffe") is probably due entirely to the deceptive appearance of the group in question in von Bergmann's facsimile.

b) The tail of the suffix *=w* from the preceding line is visible as a curved stroke above the *s* in *swḥ*.

## Vs. I 13

a) The reading of *sf ḥsmn* is certain: *sf* is faintly written but complete, and of *ḥsmn* sufficient traces are preserved to make the reading beyond doubt.

b) The curved sign over *j* in *wṯj* is a displaced part of the tail of the suffix *=w* from the preceding line.

c)  *pḫr.w(t)* "medicaments" (vs. I 13)
 *pḫr.wt* "medicaments" (vs. II b, 6)
In both examples the word is provided with a separate sign at the end to denote the plural. In the first example  = , as in *Demotische Chronik* 6, 1; Stricker, *OMRO* XLV (1964), 32 compares this with similar combinations such as  =  and  =  As for the second example we are probably dealing with  =  (Stricker, *OMRO* XXXIX [1958], 83).

## Vs. I 14

a) I do not understand the enigmatic group .

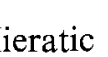
b) The tail of the suffix *=w* from the preceding line runs right across the number 2 of *mḥ*-12; cf. *t3 pḫr.t p3 tp p3 ḥrw mḥ*-12 in line 17 below.

c) *ḥn' p3*  : the curious sign over the ligature *n'* in *ḥn'* represents the article *p3*.

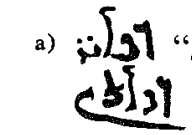
d) The question arises whether the stroke at the end of the line should be taken as the genitive-*n*, or as a "Füllstrich" designed to complete the line. The same difficulty occurs at the end of vs. II b, 5. Dealing, as we are, with a careless scribe, who usually is not concerned whether or not his columns present a well-kept margin (cf. column II a), we should perhaps opt for the genitive-*n*.

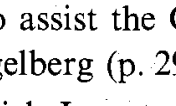
## Vs. I 15

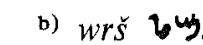
a) For *tw n šm*, see vs. I 8, n. a.

b) In switching to the Hieratic form  "mouth", the scribe systematically omits the article *p3*; cf. lines 16 and 17 below. In the case of the exception in line 9 above we are dealing with *p3 r3* in the sense of "the opening" = the incision.

## Vs. I 16

a)  "*smr*-priest" (vs. II a, 2, 9)
"*smr*-priest" (vs. I 16)

Stricker, *OMRO* XXXIX (1958), 90 perhaps rightly connects the title with the Hieratic . In rt. III 1, this title is borne by two priests (*smr ḫm* 2 "two little *smr*-priests") who assist the Overseer of the Mystery in his operations on the head of the bull. Spiegelberg (p. 29) transcribes the first example as . The second example in which I cannot explain the penultimate sign , he takes as a spelling of *sm3'* "to justify", from which he infers that the Apis receives the "wreath of justification".

b) *wrš*  : Stricker, *OMRO* XXXIX (1958), 88 takes the word as some substantive or other.

## Vs. I 18

a) In changing lines the scribe omitted words and made mistakes in the construction of the sentence; emend: *< š' p3 > m3' ntj iw {=f} < ir- > rḫ dr.t=f ph=f* "up to the place which his hand may reach". Compare similar phrases rt. II, 10-11, III 9, vs. II a, 3, 14.

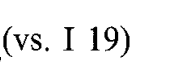
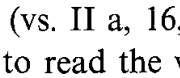
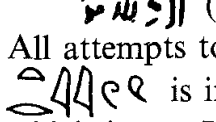
b) There is a meaningless dash high above *=f* in *rn=f*.

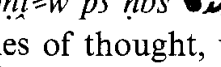
c) *m-sȝ=s iw=f tḫb=w w' ḥbs*, etc. The text is obviously corrupt because *tḫb* governs two different objects: the plural suffix *=w* and *w' ḥbs*. We are in fact faced here with two *ḥbs*-cloths (*tḫb=w*), whose measurements are given and which are introduced into the mouth of the mummy; cf. l. 19 (*iw=f tw kj ḥbs* 2) and the parallel passage vs. II a, 15-17. With the suffix *=w* the scribe had already anticipated these two cloths.

d) *ḳȝ=f*, read: *ḳȝ=w*.

e) *šm=f*, read: *šm=w*.

**Vs. I 19**

a)  (vs. I 19)
 (vs. II a, 16, III 4)
All attempts to read the word have failed. Spiegelberg's (p. 30) transcription  is in my opinion not convincing. It concerns a double part of the body which in vs. II a, 16 and vs. III 4 is obviously connected with the inside of the breast (*šnbj.t*). Perhaps we are dealing with a word denoting the gullet with the windpipe and esophagus attached to it or else the lungs with the pulmonary cavities, in which the ends of both cloths must eventually have come to rest.

b) The combination *pȝ pḥṯ=w pȝ ḥbs*  is a mistake by the scribe who has connected two different lines of thought, viz. *pȝ pḥw pȝ ḥbs* "the end of the cloth" and *pḥ.ṯ=w* "their ends" (scil. of both cloths). Emend *pḥ.ṯ=w* "their ends", as the parallel passage vs. I 20 correctly writes and see also vs. II a, 16 (with n. b) where the scribe, in using the words *pȝ pḥw=w*, has made a similar mistake.

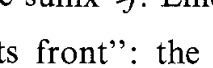
c) *ḳȝ=f*, read: *ḳȝ=w*.

**Vs. I 20**

a) For the insertion *štj* < *=w* >, see the parallel passage vs. II a, 16-17.

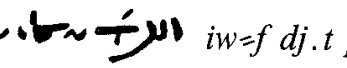
**Vs. I 21**

a) Following the *ḥ* in *wrḥ* there is a crack in the papyrus. There is still a trace of ink visible to the left of this crack. As the normally conspicuous tail of the suffix *=f*, which always curls to the left far below the line, is missing, the trace of ink must be all that has remained of the determinative of *wrḥ* (a bowl). If this is true, then the scribe has failed to write the suffix *=f*. Emend: *iw=w wrḥ* < *=f* > "they anoint it".

b) *ḥr ḥȝ.t=s*  "at its front": the suffix *=s*, which refers to *tȝ sj.t*, has a

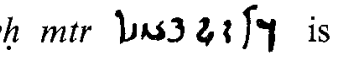
curious appearance because the scribe has formed the lower part with a forceful stroke of his brush:  *=s*; cf.  *=s*, in the preceding *iw=f ḳrḥ=s*. The stroke seems to have been made after the scribe had dipped his brush again, and therefore may perhaps be considered an adjustment of the suffix, which initially had been faintly written due to lack of ink on the brush.

**Vs. I 22**

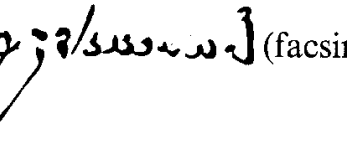
a)  *iw=f dj.t p3 šm p3 ḥbs*, etc. Here the scribe confronts us again with a difficult textual problem, in that he has connected the article *p3* with the verb *šm*. Given the fact that one can never, with any degree of certainty, account for such mistakes, I hereby submit, with all due reserve, the following proposal. From the parallel passage vs. II a, 18-19, it is apparent that the original text the scribe was copying should read *iw=f dj.t šm p3 ḥbs ḫr.r=f* "he makes the cloth go under it". In his mind the scribe summarized these words as *iw=f dj.t p3 ḥbs ḫr.r=f* "he lays the cloth under it", and proceeded to write these words down. Pausing to dip his brush after writing the article *p3* (which is plain from the fact that *p3* is indistinct, while *šm* is clearly written), he took a glance at his original after which he continued with *šm*, etc. Emend: *iw=f dj.t {p3} šm p3 ḥbs ḫr.r=f* "he makes the cloth go under it".

b) *š‘ pḥṯ ns.f ḥr t3 ḥ3.t n.im=f ḥrj* "until his tongue has reached in front of it upwards". I take the words *š‘ pḥṯ ns.f* to be the construction of preposition + *sḏm.f*-form. It may be argued that this construction was no longer in use during the period in which our text was written (2nd century B.C.). On the other hand, it would account for the element *ṯ* in *pḥṯ*. Moreover, an archaism occurring in a ritual text, which goes back to much older examples (the Hieratic form of *ns.f* points to the ancient source), is certainly not an impossibility. Note, in this connection, that the emended parallel passage vs. II a, 19, gives us the construction of a substantivated infinitive which is usual in demotic: *š‘ p3 pḥ r.ir ls=f r t3 ḥ3.t*, etc.

**Vs. I 23**

a) *swḥ mtr*  is very faintly written. Obviously the scribe, having reached the end of the chapter and the page, did not want to take the trouble of dipping his brush again.

**Vs. I 24**

a)  (facsimile of the original). For the group , see vs. I 2, n. c.

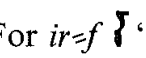
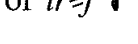
**Vs. II a, 1**

a)  *mn* ... or perhaps a writing of the word *wp.t* "work" (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 86, 1)?

b) For *ir=f*  "make it", see rt. II 23, n. c. and for the construction see vs. I 15, n. a.

c) Transcribe  ?

**Vs. II a, 2**

a) *swsw*  "to lift": the determinative is perhaps , certainly not , as Spiegelberg gives.

**Vs. II a, 3**

a) The reading of this badly damaged passage is supported by the parallel passages (quoted vs. I 18, n. a).

b) The determinative  of *štj*  "to take away" instead of the usual  (Er., *Dem Glossar*, 528, 2) can be explained by the fact that cloths () are taken away.

c)  *n3 ḥbs.w* ... "the cloths ..." (vs. II a, 3)

 *n3 ḥbs.w* ... "the cloths ..." (vs. III 21)

I cannot decipher the second word (an adjective perhaps?) of the expression. In our passage this expression denotes cloths which the Overseer of the Mystery introduced into the mouth of the bull in an earlier stage (vs. I, 15-18) of the embalming process. In vs. III 21, the cloths are mentioned once again in connection with the embalming of the mouth, in a passage which associates mummy cloths and particular days of the embalmment.

d) At the end of the line the scribe first erased some signs, making them unrecognizable, and then wrote the suffix *=f* by way of correction very heavily over the erased signs.

**Vs. II a, 4**

a) Before *ššt* "Wrapping-Room" (cf. rt. I 2) words must have been omitted.

b) *wrḥ* is cramped and a little above the line.

**vs. II a, 6**

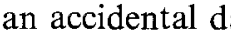
a) The suffix *=w*, in *wrḥ=w*, looks as if it has been cramped, as a later insertion, into the space between *wrḥ* and the word *sf* which follows: .

**Vs. II a, 7**

a) There is an accidental dash after *w'*.

**Vs. II a, 8**

a) *sbn* : thus written the word occurs only here in the papyrus. The determinative can represent the bowl ᴐ as well as the cloth ᴓ, and therefore offers no definite solution as to the general nature of the object.

b) For this instrument, which is used by the Overseer of the Mystery to restore the sight of the Apis, see vs. II b, 6, n. c. Spiegelberg's transcription  "goldene Räucherpfanne (?)" (cf. for this reading Er., *Dem Glossar*, 444, bottom) is in any case impossible.

c) *ḥbs*  "*ḥbs*-cloth", not *ir.wt* "eyes" (Spiegelberg).

d) *b n ntr pn*: the thick dot at the foot of the sign for *ntr* represents the genitive-*n*, certainly not the article (*pȝ ntr pn*), as Spiegelberg (p. 29, n. 8) transcribes and which would involve an exceptional case of double determination (see Borghouts, *Magical texts*, 124, n. 281).

e) The tail of *w'* from the preceding line runs right across *pn*.

**Vs. II a, 9**

a)  *iw=f tw* ...: referring to the mummy bandage which is introduced into the mouth of the Apis, one would expect as object the suffix *=f*, but the sign looks more like *s*.

b) The article *pȝ* is reduced to an indefinite spot of ink.

**Vs. IIa, 10**

a) *nȝ-ʾȝ pȝ ntj iw ir-rḫ* < ... > *ir=f*  "Great is that which ... is able to do". The subject of the relative sentence which should occur after *ir-rḫ* is missing. For the group *ir=f* "make it", see rt. II 23, n. c.

b) The same undeciphered verb occurs in vs. II b, 7 (with n. b).

**Vs. II a, 11**

a) *ʒpʒ* Spiegelberg reads , Stricker, *OMRO* XXXVI (1959), 99 transcribes *ʒpʒj*. A word *ʒpʒ*, denoting a part of the body within the cavity of the mouth, is otherwise unknown to me. The translation "palate" is a guess.

b) *tʒj=f*, read: *nʒj=f*, in view of the following *nḏḥj.w(t)*. Considering the context, in which parts of the body are more than once construed with *tʒj=f*, the error is understandable.

c) *nḏḥj.w(t)* "teeth" (determinative: stone or perhaps an attempt to imitate a tooth?): cf. *nḏḥj.w(t)* in vs. II a, 22, 23.

It is important to notice that Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 244*, connected the completely misleading reproduction of the word by von Bergmann as with "ein tierischer Körperteil" (*WB.* I, 518, 10), remarking that the initial sign = only differs by a stroke from = . Erichsen must have been influenced by the immense authority of Gardiner (who in fact was not a demotic scholar) to have accepted his manipulation and to have incorporated it as a ghost-word in his *Demotisches Glossar*, 134, 6: *pr-ḏj.w* "Teil vom Kopf des Apisstieres". In his facsimile of the word Erichsen consciously omitted the stroke which Gardiner had introduced to make his identification possible.

**Vs. II a, 13**

a) The reading *ḥr* "on" is probable, although the required flesh-determinative is missing.

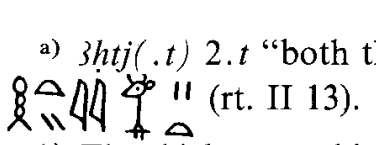
b) The thick blot of ink at the end of *stp* I take as the determinative of the word in question.

**Vs. II a, 14**

a) *iw=f stʒ.ṯ=f* < *i.ir-ḥr* > *pʒ b* "he returns before the mouth" (= he resumes the embalmment of that part of the body): the insertion is beyond doubt; cf. the parallel passage vs. II b, 2. The scribe omitted the preposition *i.ir-ḥr* in changing to a new line.

b) *whm* ; cf. *wḥm* in the parallel passage vs. II b, 2. The transcription of the word (*wḥm* or *whm*) is disputed; see Pestman, *Textes démotiques et bilingues*, I, 99, n. 19.

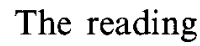
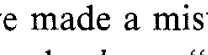
**Vs. II a, 15**

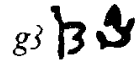
a) *ȝḥtj(.t)* 2.*t* "both throat openings"; cf.  "throat" (*WB.* I, 123) and  (rt. II 13).

b) The thick spot which is visible at the bottom of *s* in *n.im=s* is in reality red ink which has penetrated through the papyrus from a rubrum on the recto.

**Vs. II a, 16**

a) For this undeciphered word, which denotes a double part of the body in the thoracic cavity, see the parallel passage vs. I 19 (with n. a).

b) The reading  *pȝ pḥw=w*, with the suffix *=w* at the end, seems certain; cf.  *pȝ pḥw* in *ḥr pȝ pḥw ls=f* (vs. II a, 17). If our reading is correct, the scribe would have made a mistake comparable to the one he made in vs. I 19:  *pȝ pḥ.ṯ=w*. Emend: *pḥw=w* "their ends" (scil. of both cloths which were introduced).

c) *gȝ*  : there is a connecting stroke at the top between the sign for *ȝ* and the determinative.

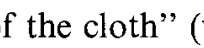
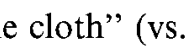
**Vs. II a, 17**

a) 8  ; cf. 8  (vs. II a, 25).

**Vs. II a, 18**

a) The reading of the damaged passage is certain from comparison with the parallel vs. I 21.

**Vs. II a, 19**

a) *tp.w pȝ ḥbs*  "edges of the cloth" (vs. I 22)
*tp.w pȝ ḥbs*  "edges of the cloth" (vs. II a, 19)
Spiegelberg (p. 30) wrongly takes *tp.w* as a part of the body (see Commentary, vs. I 17, n. 2). The parallel passage vs. I 22 proves, if proof is needed here, that the scribe did nothing more than transcribe his Hieratic original into demotic.

b) *nȝj=f tp.w pȝ ḥbs*: the original text, from which this corrupted version is derived, probably read *nȝ tp.w pȝ ḥbs* (cf. vs. I 6, 22). Emend as follows: *nȝj=f tp.w* "its edges" (scil. of the cloth), according to what seems to have been the scribe's original intention.

c) The spelling of *š' p3* is usual in the recto, but only occurs here in the text of the verso, instead of the customary *š' p3wt3* (vs. I 22, II a, 3, II b, 18, etc.).

d) *š' p3 ph ls=f r t3 h3.t n.im=f r hrj*: as it stands the phrase is incorrect, since in the construction of a substantivated infinitive (*p3 ph*) having a substantive as its logical subject (*ls=f*) the infinitive should be defined by *ir* (Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, § 551). Emend *š' p3 ph* <*r.ir*> *ls=f r t3 h3.t*, etc. "until his tongue has reached in front ...".

**Vs. II a, 20**

a) *wtb ... =w*: the undeciphered group ends with the flesh-sign. Stricker, *OMRO* XLII (1961), 34 thinks we are dealing here with some substantive or other . But in the context only a preposition, on which the suffix can depend, offers a possible construction.

b) For the undeciphered group, see vs. I 2, n. c.

c) For the emphatic form *i.ir=f* , see rt. VI a, 13, n. a.

**Vs. II a, 22**

a) To spell the determinative pronoun, the 3rd person plural, as *n3.w* , is usual when the pronoun serves as a subject in sentences without copula; cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 203, bottom; Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, § 455 (Anm.). Translate: (cloths) *ntj ph n3j=f ndḥj.w(t) n3.w* "they are (cloths) which reach his teeth".

**Vs. II a, 23**

a) The only reading I can suggest for the group , is *t3j* — a word which makes no sense in this context. Spiegelberg (p. 30, n. 7) hesitatingly reads *ḫr* "under", which suits admirably as a description of the position of the lymphatic glands. However, from a palaeographical point of view, it cannot be defended. Or does *t3j* represent a spelling of the word *ḏr* "next to" which would make excellent sense? For *t3j* = *ḏr*, see *Enchoria* 16 (1988), 2 and for *ḏr* "next to" see rt. III 12, n. 2.

b) The words *iw=w tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm* are entirely out of context in this passage which is concerned with cloths which are impregnated with cold medicaments and laid on the lymphatic glands. I suggest cancelling them completely {*iw=w tḫb t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm*} in order to restore coherency. It is impossible to retain the phrase by translating as Spiegelberg does (p. 30, bottom): "(unter seinen Zähnen) die mit den warmen Ingredienzen getränkt sind". Such a translation offends the normal grammatical rule by which a determined antecedent (*n3j=f ndḥj.wt*) is followed by a

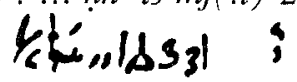
relative phrase with *ntj*. A further objection is that the frequently occurring verb *thb* is always used in relation to soaking cloths, never parts of the body (*ndḥj.wt*), in which case the verb *wrḥ* "to anoint" is employed (cf. for instance vs. II a, 10).

**Vs. II a, 24**

a) (1) *ntj pȝ phw* [...] *nȝ.w*



(2) ? ... *ḥnʿ tȝ mj(.t)* 2.*t*



At the beginning of the line more or less clear traces of a carelessly erased text (facsimile 1)[1] have run into the signs of a new text which is, itself, heavily corrected over the old one (facsimile 2).

**Vs. II a, 27**

a) *nš* , but *nn* is not impossible considering the writing of *n* in *snn* (vs. I 9). Stricker, *OMRO* XLV (1964), 28 transcribes *nš*, Spiegelberg does not give a reading.

b) The suffix *=s* in *n.im=s* , although strangely formed, is certain, and cannot be taken as the plural suffix *=w* — an interpretation favoured by Spiegelberg, judging from his translation. Grammatically *=s* refers to *tȝ phr.t*.

**Vs. II a, 28**

a) The strange form of the determinative of *swḥ*  is caused by an irregularity of the surface of the papyrus.

b) *sf* 

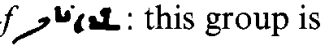
c) *wʿb* 

**Vs. II b, 1**

a) At the end of the line there are confused traces of writing which seem to point to the expression *nȝ ʿ.wj.w ir.t=f* "the places of his eye" which occurs at the beginning of vs. II b, 3: *ʿ.wj.w* is, with some effort, still recognizable, and the beginning of *ir.t=f* coincides with the beginning of the lacuna, at the end of which one sees the tail of suffix *=f*.

[1] Between *ntj* and *pȝ* there is some space in which originally text could have been written.

**Vs. II b, 2**

a) *ir.t=f* : this group is cramped together and written a little above the line.

b) The trace of ink after *bnr* is lighter in colour than *bnr* and also lighter in colour than *nȝ ˁ.wj.w* in the next line. Perhaps the trace of ink therefore belongs to the tail of the suffix *=f* from the preceding line.

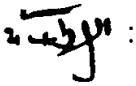
**Vs. II b, 3**

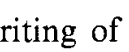
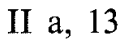
a) *tȝ sj.t 2.t sf shrj*: emend *tȝ sj.t 2.t < ntj ḫr pȝ > sf shrj*, as is correctly written in vs. II b, 11-12. Notice furthermore, that *shrj* is a correction written over the original *ˁnḏ iw=f wˁb* (the beginning of *ˁnḏ*, the tail of the suffix *=f*, and the downstroke of *wˁb*, are still clearly visible).

**Vs. II b, 4**

a) After *ḥrj sšt3* words must have been omitted. See Commentary, vs. II b, 4, n. 3.

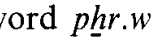
**Vs. II b, 5**

a)  : the scribe corrected the original *iw=f tḫb* into *iw=w tḫb* by lengthening the suffix *=f* with a stroke of his brush to form the suffix *=w*.

b) The writing of the qualitative *tw*  deserves our attention. In the parallel passage vs. II a, 13 it is written as *dj.t*  and as such is not different from the infinitive.

**Vs. II b, 6**

a) In my view the phrases are disconnected; presumably the scribe has omitted words.

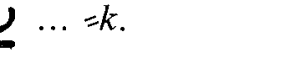
b) For the writing of the word *pḫr.wt*  "medicaments", with a separate sign at the end to indicate the plural ( = ), see vs. I 13, n. c.

c)  *ḫt ḥr* ... (vs. II a, 8)

 *ḫt ḥr* ... (vs. II b, 6)

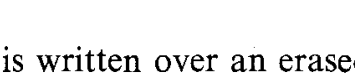
Here we are concerned with a wooden implement, one or more essential parts of which were made of, or expensively decorated with, gold (). The Overseer of the

Mystery uses the implement during a certain operation to restore the sight of the Apis (*wn-ḥr*, lit. "to reveal").

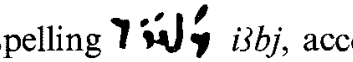
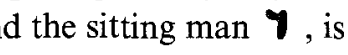
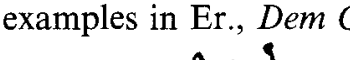
d)  ... *=k*.

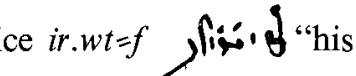
**Vs. II b, 7**

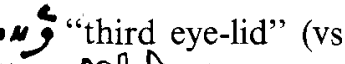
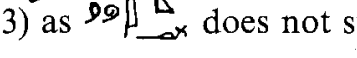
a) *n3j=f* is written over an erased word.

b)  (vs. II a, 10)
 (vs. II b, 7)
In both cases we are concerned with the same unidentified verb. The meaning "to apply" (scil. of medicaments) which seems appropriate here does not fit in vs. II a, 10.

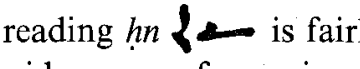
**Vs. II b, 8**

a) The spelling  *i3bj*, accompanied by the two determinatives of the flesh-sign  and the sitting man  , is peculiar to this example of the frequently occurring word (no examples in Er., *Dem Glossar*).

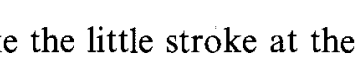
b) Notice *ir.wt=f*  "his eyes" instead of the expected *n3j=f ir.wt* (cf., for instance, *n3j=f inj.w* "his lymphatic glands" in vs. II a, 22, 24 and *n3j=f ndḥj.wt* "his teeth" in vs. II a, 23).

c) *ḥf*  "third eye-lid" (vs. II a, 12, II b, 8, 11). Spiegelberg's transcription (p. 30, n. 3) as  does not strike me as very probable.

d) Under *t3j* there are traces of one or more erased signs.

e) The reading *ḥn*  is fairly certain (cf. Er., *Dem Glossar*, 310, 2). The verb *ḥn* has a wide range of meanings (cf. *WB*. III, 101 sqq.). I find that none of these meanings fit into the context.

**Vs. II b, 9**

a) I take the little stroke at the top left of the number 2.*t*  as the preposition *r* (in the distributive sense); cf. the parallel passage rt. II 15: (he lays *sj.t*-cloths on the eyes) *tn sj.t* 2.*t r w'.t ir.t* "two *sj.t*-cloths on each eye".

**Vs. II b, 10**

a) Insert *t3 sj.t* < *ntj ḫr p3* > *sf shrj* "the *sj.t*-cloth which is soaked in the *shrj*-resin". For this insertion, see the parallel passage vs. II b, 12.

**Vs. II b, 11**

a) Spiegelberg and Stricker (*OMRO* XLV [1964], 55) interpret the group as *tw=s* "see". But this interjection does not suit the context and is moreover written in quite a different way elsewhere:  (vs. I 5, II a, 1).

**Vs. II b, 12**

a) *ʾnj(.t) wnm*  "right pad": the scribe heavily corrected the original *ʾnj(.t)* 2.*t*, writing *wnm* over the number 2.*t*.

**Vs. II b, 13**

a) The preserved traces do not permit the reading *iw=f smn*, as in the case of the pad which had been attached (*smn*) a little earlier.

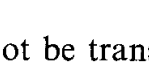
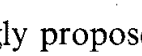
**Vs. II b, 15**

a) The determinative of *wrḥ*  is missing.

**Vs. II b, 16**

a) For the insertion *iw=f* < *dj.t* > *nȝj=w swḥ(.w) (r) ḫrj*, we may compare l. 17, below: *iw=w dj.t nȝj=w swḥ.w*, etc.

**Vs. II b, 18**

a)  cannot be transcribed as  "eye brows", as Spiegelberg (p. 32, n. 1) hesitatingly proposes, but is obviously a mistake for  *ḫn nȝ ʾnḫ.w* "within the ears" (cf. vs. II b, 15).

b) *mtr*  "*mtr*-bandage": the determinative  instead of  (cf.  in the parallel passage rt. II 19) is written analogous to *mtr* "midst".

**Vs. II b, 20**

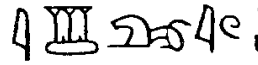
a) Notice that the plural ending in *ʾb.w*  "horns" seems to be written after the *b* instead of at the end of the entire word. This also occurs with the same word in vs. II b, 21.

**Vs. II b, 24**

a) *šnbj(.t)*  "breast" is written with a curious vertical stroke at the end.

**Vs. II b, 25**

a) *ḫr wrḥ s*: the missing subject here must be supplied from the preceding sentence — the sentence in question being a variant (*kj ḏd*) of this one. Emend: *ḫr wrḥ* < *=f* > *s* "he anoints it". Spiegelberg translates "Sie sollen sie salben", thus presuming as subject the embalmers, who in fact only appear later (*m-sȝ nȝj*) on the stage (vs. II b, 25).

b) It would seem to me that the word *išr*  "Syrian" is determinated with two determinatives: (1)  (); (2)  (). Spiegelberg transcribes . For *Išr* "Syrian", see *JNES* 10 (1951), 259 sqq.

c) The full form of *wsḫ* , which is not uncommon in the text of the recto (rt. V 6, n. a), only occurs here in the verso.

**Vs. II b, 26**

a) *tȝ nbtj.t ntm ḳrr* 2: the construction of the phrase is incorrect; emend: *tȝ nbtj.t* < *ntj* > *ntm ḳrr* 2 "the *nbtj.t*-bandage which is wrapped upon two reels". The first sign in *ntm*  is already identical with *ntj*  and so the mistake can be explained as a case of haplography.

**Vs. III 2**

a) I cannot read the group .

b) The subject is missing; emend: *ḫr ṯs* < *=f* > *pȝ sšt* "he knots the *sšt*-bandage". Spiegelberg translates "< sie > knüpfen den *sšt*-Stoff", obviously assuming that both embalmers are at work here. But the sequence of the text contradicts this view (cf. l. 5-6).

**Vs. III 3**

a) *mtw iw w' ḥbs pȝj=f bnr*: as these words now stand, they do not make sense; emend: *mtw* < *=f dj.t* > *iw w' ḥbs pȝj=f bnr* "he makes a *ḥbs*-cloth go on its outside". We are concerned here with the cloth, one end of which is presently to be

found in the chest cavity, while the other end remains in the mouth, outside the chest cavity (*p3j=f bnr*).

**Vs. III 4**

a) *kj dd*  (facsimile of the original).

**Vs. III 7**

a) The reading of these badly damaged words is certain if the preserved traces are compared with the parallel passage rt. II 21.

**Vs. III 8**

a) The fraction 2/3  is a heavily written correction of the original 1/3 (compare the writing of the fraction 1/3  towards the end of this line).

**Vs. III 10**

a) For the undeciphered word (a prepositon?), see rt. II 23, n. b.

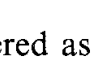
**Vs. III 12**

a) The blank space in the text marks out as a special addition the words concerning the great *sbn*-bandage, behind which 2 *pjr*-bandages were cut off. The scribe then passes on to describe a new stage (attaching the cloth under the mysterious face: vs. III 14 sqq.). In the parallel passage rt. II 24 the same words are not separated by a space from the rest of the sentence.

**Vs. III 13**

a) The scribe inserted the suffix *=f* afterwards in the cramped space between *m-s3* and *'n*: .

**Vs. III 14**

a) *t3jw*  may be considered as an attempt to render phonetically the Coptic ⲭⲟⲟⲩ "to send". The parallel passage rt. III 1 writes *dj.t t3j*  = Coptic ⲭⲟ "to send".

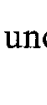
**Vs. III 18**

a) The papyrus has flaked off here with the result that only the consonantal skeleton of *smn*  has been preserved.

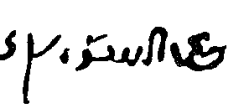
**Vs. III 19**

a) At the end of the line there is an inexplicable flat stroke instead of the expected verb *ir* "to make"; emend: *ḫr i.ir pȝ wṯj* < *ir* > *wṯj* 9 "and the wrapping makes 9 wrappings".

**Vs. III 20**

a) For the undeciphered word  (the stroke at the bottom left of the sign in the published photograph belongs to the word in the line beneath it), see rt. III 5, n. a.

b) *šʿ m* "from" (*WB.* IV, 407) must be a mistake for *šʿ* "up to"; cf. the parallel passage rt. III 5.

c)  *ʾb.w pȝj=f irj*; read: *(n) ʾb.w (r) pȝj=f irj* "from the one horn to the other"; cf. vs. II b, 21.

**Vs. III 21**

a) For the undeciphered word, see vs. II a, 3, n. c.

b) The reading *wrḥ* is certain but the usual meaning of this verb ("to anoint") does not fit the context.

**Vs. III 22**

a) Stricker, *OMRO* XLII (1961), 37, gives, without further explanation, the reading *sḏr* , which I cannot apply in this context.

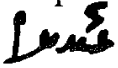
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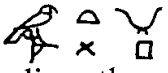
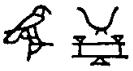
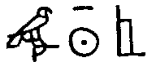
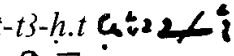
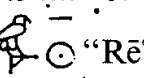

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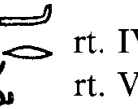

## A. KINGS

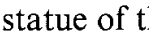
1. *Iʿḥ-ms*  "Amasis", a new Apis is discovered in the 24th year of his reign (546 B.C.), rt. IV 11.
2. *W3ḥ-ib-Rʿ*  "Apries", an Apis dies in the 12th year of his reign (577 B.C.), rt. IV, 11-12.

## B. GODS AND GODDESSES

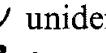
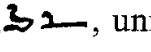
3. *Is.t*  "Isis": *Is.t Nb.t-t3-ḥ.t* "Isis and Nephthys", as wailing-women they take part in a procession with the mummy of the Apis, rt. IV 16.
4. "  "holy animal", vs. III 2.

5. *Wp*  (lit. "Opener"), a god who in his capacity of "Opener" neutralizes the mummy bandages which are wrapped upon the mouth of the mummy, rt. II 25.
6. *Wp-w3wt*  "Wepwawet" (lit. "Opener of the ways"): *Wp-w3wt Šmʿ Wp-w3wt Mḥw* "Wepwawet of Upper Egypt and Wepwawet of Lower Egypt", statues of these gods are carried in a procession in front of the mummy of the Apis, rt. IV 16 (bis).
7. *Wsir*  "Osiris", in the title of a book: *s3ḫ Wsir Mḥw* "glorification of Osiris, the Floating One", rt. IV 18.
8. *Pth*  "Ptah" *p3 grg Pth* "the Bed of Ptah", carried along in a procession with the mummy of the Apis, rt. IV 17.
9. *Nb.t-t3-ḥ.t*  "Nephthys" (no. 3).
10. *Rʿ*  "Rē", in the royal name *W3ḥ-ib-Rʿ* "Apries" (no. 2).
11. *Ḥʿpj* (?)  "Inundation of the Nile", in the place name *Pr-Ḥʿpj* (no. 37).
12. *Ḥp*  "the Apis", in the expression *t3 s.t Ḥp* "the Place of the Apis" = the sanctuary with the stall of the Apis at Memphis, rt. IV 10.
13. *Ḥr* "Horus"

 rt. IV 17

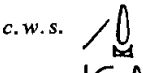
 rt. V 4, 26, 28, 30, 33, VI a, 1, 5, 9

1) a statue of the god Horus is carried along in a procession with the mummy of the Apis: rt. IV 17;
2) in the designation of a kind of syringe: *n3 ḥmt.w Ḥr* "the Horus copper" (no. 382).

14. *Ḏḥwṯ* . "Thoth", a statue of the god Thoth is carried along in a procession with the mummy of the Apis, rt. IV 17.
15.  unidentified name of a god, rt. VI b, 17.
16. , unidentified name of a goddess, rt. VI a, 12-13 (bis).

## C. TITLES AND CRAFTS

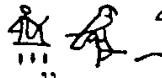
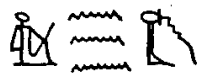
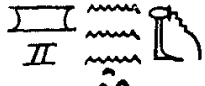
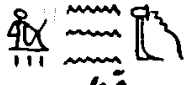
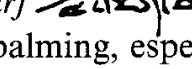
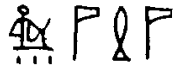
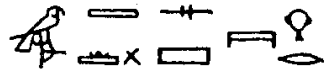
### a) *Kings*

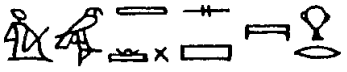
17. *Pr-ʿ3*$^{c.w.s.}$  *rt. IV 11*

 *rt. IV 11*

*Pr-ʿ3* N.N. *ʿnḫ wḏ3 snb* "Pharaoh N.N., may he live, be prosperous and healthy".

b) *Priests*

18. *it(-ntr).w*  "(god's) fathers", rt. IV 2.
19. *ʿ3* "great one"
plural
*ʿ3(.w)*
 rt. IV 16
 rt. IV 20
in the title *n3 ʿ3(.w) Pr-Ḥʿpj* "the Great Ones of the House of the Inundation of the Nile": they drag the coffin with the Apis out of the Embalming House, rt. IV 16; they throw a brick before the coffin as a symbol of resurrection, rt. IV 20.
20. *wʿb* "priest" (lit. pure one)
singular
*wʿb*
 rt. III 10, IV 7 (bis), 8, 12
 rt. IV 22
 rt. II 11
plural
*wʿb.w*
 rt. IV 2, 15-16 (bis), 21 (bis)
 rt. IV 17
1) in priestly title
*p(3) wʿb p(3) šj (i)rm n3 mjt.w* "the *wʿb*-priest of the Lake and of the *mjt.w*", rt. IV 22.
2) priest with attending and supporting duties during the embalming and funeral ceremonies
a) as keeper of a shrine (*k3*), rt. IV 7 (bis), 8, 17, 21;
b) as keeper of a boat-shrine (*dj*), rt. II 11, III 10;
c) as helper at the transport of the mummy, rt. IV 2, 12, 15-16, 21.
21. *wr-irj*  priest who plays a leading role during the first phase of the embalming, especially during the removal of the intestines, rt. V 31, 34, VI a, 3-4, VI b, 18, 19, 21.
22. *ḥm-ntr.w*  "prophets", rt. IV 2.
23. *ḥrj sšt3* "Overseer of the mystery", the general director of the embalmment, especially charged with the embalming of the head, the most important part of the body of the mummy
 rt. I 3; with : rt. III 1, IV 22.

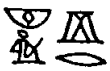
 rt. I, 1-2; with : rt. IV 23.

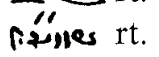
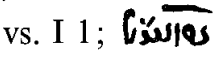
 rt. II 2, 4, 9, 10, 20, III 5, vs. I 15 (bis), 16 (bis), II a, 2, 8 (bis), 10, II b, 4, 23, III 14.

24. *ḫrj-ḥb(.t)* "embalmer" (lit. carrier of the ritual book)

singular

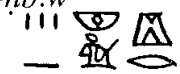
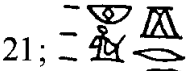
*ḫrj-ḥb*

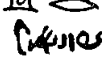
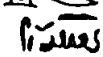
 rt. III 10.

 rt. III 8, vs. I 1; : vs. I 6, 8, 11, II b, 26.

plural

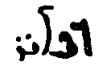
*ḫrj-ḥb.w*

 rt. I 3, IV 2, 21; : rt. IV, 21-22 (ter); *ḫrj-ḥb(.w)*: rt. I 2.

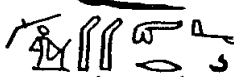
 rt. II 2, 4, 9, III 5; : vs. I 10.

25. *smr*: priest who assists the Overseer of the Mystery (no. 23) in his operations on the mouth of the mummy

 rt. III 1.

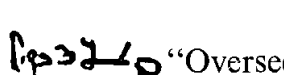
 vs. II a, 2, 9.

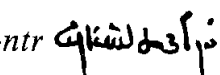
 vs. I 16.

26.  ...: rt. IV 14.

27. ...: priest who opens the mouth of the mummy, rt. II 10.

### c) *Sundries*

28. *ḫrj ḥm*  "Overseer of Craftsmen", his tools (*nkt.w*) are enumerated, rt. VI b, 7.

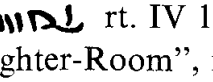
29. *sḫ* "scribe" *sḫ mḏ3.t-ntr*  "scribe of the god's book", his tools (*nkt.w*) are enumerated, rt. VI b, 10.

## D. BUILDINGS, SANCTUARIES AND PARTS OF SANCTUARIES

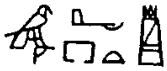
30. *ibw* "tent of purification"

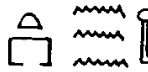
 rt. IV 12, 14, 19 (bis).

31. *ihj* "stall" (of the Apis) [cf. *t3 s.t Ḥp*: no. 42]

 rt. IV 10 (bis), 11, 12 (bis).

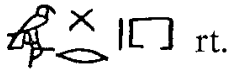
32. *ꜥ.t nmj.t/ nmꜥj.t* "Slaughter-Room", room in the Embalming House where the intestines of the mummy are removed, rt. IV 23, VI a, 11.

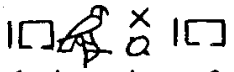
33. *ḥ.t*  "palace" *t3 ḥ.t nsw.w* "the Palace of the Kings", palace situated to the South of the stable of the Apis at Memphis, rt. IV 9.

34. *w'b.t*  "Embalming House", rt. IV 20 (bis), 21.

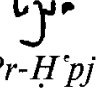
35. *wsḫ.t*  "hall" *t3 wsḫ.t '3.t t3 w'b.t* "the great hall of the House of Embalmment", rt. IV 20.

36. *pr-wr* "big house"

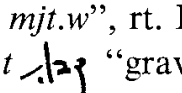
 rt. I 3.

 rt. IV 15.

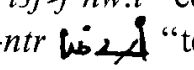
designation of the Embalming House of the Apis: *iw.w ḏd m'j/ mn ntr n pr-wr* "they cry woe upon the god in the big house".

37. *Pr-Ḥ'pj*  "House of the Inundation of the Nile", in the priestly title *n3 '3(.w) Pr-Ḥ'pj* "the Great Ones of the House of the Inundation of the Nile", rt. IV 16, 20.

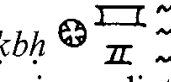
38. *mjt.w*  buildings of unknown nature and destination; in the priestly title *p(3) w'b p(3) šj (i)rm n3 mjt.w* "the *w'b*-priest of the Lake and the *mjt.w*", rt. IV 22.

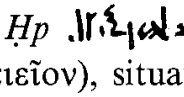
39. *nw.t*  "grave (?)" (lit. town)

*sbt t3j=f nw.t* "equip his grave", rt. IV 13.

40. *ḥ.t-ntr*  "temple"

*t3 ḫsj.t n ḥ.t-ntr* "the Necropolis of the Temple (?)", rt. VI b, 23.

41. *ḥ.t-ḳbḥ*  "House of Purification", building in which the Apis, immediately upon his death, was subjected to a ritual purification, rt. IV 10.

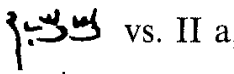
42. *s.t Ḥp*  "Place of the Apis", temple with the stall of the Apis (τὸ Ἀπιεῖον), situated to the South of the great temple of Ptah at Memphis, rt. IV 10.

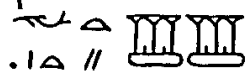
42[a]. *sbḫ.t*  "portal" *sbḫ.t 3ḫ.t* "Portal of the Horizon" (no. 69), rt. IV 20.

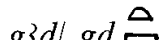
43. *šjm*  "corridor (?)"

*ir w'.t š't.ṯ p(3) sbt p(3) ihj ntj ḫn p(3) šjm* "put up an inscription (sacred to the memory of the late Apis) on the (west) wall of the stall which is in the corridor", rt. IV 12.

44. *ššt* "Wrapping-Room", room in the Embalming House with a bank of sand on which the Apis rests during the wrapping

 vs. II a, 4.

 rt. I 2, 3, 7, IV 15.

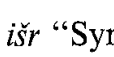
45. *g3ḏ/ gḏ*  building of unknown destination which was built in the neighbourhood of the stall on the occasion of the embalmment of the Apis, rt. IV 9.

46. *ḏt* "tent", tent in the neighbourhood of the Embalming House in which the coffin with the mummy of the Apis was temporarily housed awaiting the day of burial

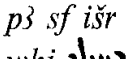
 rt. IV 21;  rt. IV 9

 rt. IV 24;  rt. V 23.

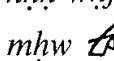
## E. GEOGRAPHY: TOWNS, COUNTRIES, REGIONS, ETC.

47. *išr* "Syrian" 

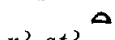
*p3 sf išr* "the Syrian oil" (no. 466), vs. II b, 25.

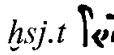
48. *wḥj*  "oasis"

*nḥḥ wḥj* "sesame oil of the Oasis" (no. 311), rt. VI b, 17.

49. *mḥw*  "Lower Egypt"

*Wp-w3wt mḥw* "Wepwawet of Lower Egypt" (no. 6), rt. IV, 16-17.

50. *r3-st3*  "Rostau", rt. IV 23.

51. *ḥsj.t*  "necropolis" (no. 40), rt. VI b, 22.

52. *Sj* "Sais"

 rt. I 6.

 rt. III 6.

53. *sḫ.t-i3rw*  "Field of Rushes", rt. IV 23.

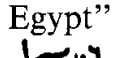
54. *šj* "lake"

 rt. IV 13, 22.

 rt. IV 16, 17.

*p(3) šj nsw.w imnt.w* "the Lake of the western Kings" (= Lake Abusir), lake on which the Apis makes a voyage in a papyrus boat, while 9 holy books are read aloud, rt. IV 13; cf. *p(3) šj* "the Lake", rt. IV 16, 17, 22.

55. *šm'*  "Upper Egypt" *Wp-w3wt šm'* "Wepwawet of Upper Egypt" (no. 6), rt. IV 16.

56.  a region or town (cf. no. 154), rt. VI b, 8, 11.

## F. CARDINALS, ORDINALS, FRACTIONS

### a) *Cardinals*

57. 1  rt. IV 23, 24 (bis) [cf. *w'*, no. 167].

1.*t*  see *w'.t* (no. 167).

2  rt. II 25 (bis), III 1 (bis), 4 (bis), IV 5, 7, 12, 23; rubricated: rt. I 6, 7 (quater), II 1, 2, 4, V 21, 23, VI a, 1, VI b, 1, 3, 5, 10, 16 (bis) [cf. *sp*-2, no. 464, 2 c].

 rt. II 2, 13 (bis), 14, 17, 20 (bis), 22 (quater), 23, III 21, IV 16, V 1, VI b, 22; vs. I 11, II a, 2, 7, 9 (bis), 15, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, II b, 17, 20, 22, 25, 26 (bis), III 10 (bis), 17; rubricated: rt. I 4.

 vs. I 16, 19, II b, 18, 20.

 vs. III 14 (at the end of a line).

2.*nw*  rt. III 26; *sn.nw*, no. 464, 1.

2.*t*  rt. V 33; rubricated: rt. I 7.

 rt. V 17.

 rt. II 3, 12 (bis), 13 (bis), 14, 15, 20, III 19 (bis), 20, 21 (bis), 22, 23, 24, 25; vs. I 4, 19, 20, II a, 11 (bis), 15, 16, 22, 24 (bis), II b, 3, 4, 5, 9, 12, 14; rubricated: rt. VI b, 11.

3  rt. II 4, III 1, 7, 11, IV 1, 2; rubricated: rt. I 8, II 1, 4.

 rt. II 7.

 rt. II 13, 17, 18.

 rt. II 22; vs. I 21, II a, 18, II b, 17, 22, III 9.

 vs. II b, 21.

4  rt. I 1, 2, III 1, IV 14 (bis), V 4, 8; rubricated: rt. I 4 (bis), 5, 6, II 3, 25, V 3, 30, VI a, 3, VI b, 18, 19.

 rt. II 22, 24, V 5, 28; vs. II a, 23, III 12, 15; rubricated: rt. VI a, 12, VI b, 19.

4*t*  rt. III 15, IV 19, V 10; rubricated: rt. V 35, VI a, 5, 7, 9.

 rt. V 14; vs. II b, 9.

5  in a Hieratic context: rt. II 25, III 11; rubricated: rt. I 5, II 3
in a demotic context: rt. II 17, IV 24, V 1; vs. II b, 16, 22; rubricated: rt. VI b, 2, 6, 8.

6  rt. I 1.

 vs. I 8, 21.

 rt. II 22, IV 24, V 4; vs. II a, 9, 18, 25, III 7, 10; rubricated: rt. I 8 (bis), II 2, 3, 4 (bis), VI b, 13.

7  rt. V 2; vs. II a, 25.

8  rt. VI b, 14 (?); vs. II a, 17, 25.

(57). 9  rt. II 3, 23, 25, IV 18; vs. III 7, 11, 20; rubricated: rt. II 4.

10  rubricated: rt. I 5, II 1, 2 (bis), V 22, VI b, 2, 8, 11, 12.
 rt. IV 25, V 1, 7; vs. II a, 23.
10.*t*  rubricated: rt. VI b, 1.
 rt. IV 16.
12  rt. IV 11.
 rt. II 4, IV 25.
15  rt. V 2.
16  rubricated: rt. V 26, 28.
 rt. II 21, IV 25; vs. II b, 14.
20  rt. IV 14; rubricated: rt. II 1, V 20, 24.
20. *t*  rubricated: rt. VI b, 8.
22  rubricated: rt. I 4.
24  rt. IV 11.
30  rubricated: rt. VI b, 1.
50  rt. V 1.
60  rt. III 19 (bis).
80  rt. IV 13.
100  rubricated: rt. I 6.
120  rt. III 19.
157  rubricated: rt. VI a, 11.
200  rubricated: rt. I 6 (bis).
300  rubricated: rt. II 2.

b) *Ordinals*

58. *mḥ*-4  rt. II 24; vs. III 13.

*mḥ*-12  vs. I 14, 17.

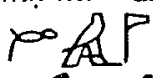
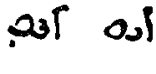
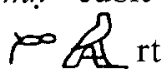
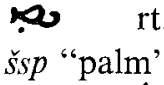
*mḥ*-16  vs. III 22 (bis).

c) *Fractions*

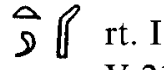
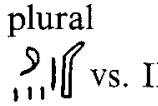
59. 1/2  rt. II 2; rubricated: rt. II 3.
1/3  rt. II 21 (bis), V 16; vs. III 7, 8; rubricated: rt. I 4.
2/3  rt. II 21; vs. III 8 (corrected from 1/3); rubricated: rt. I 4 (bis), 6, II 4.
 rt. II 21, 23; vs. III 7 (bis), 10; rubricated: rt. VI b, 14.

## G. MEASURES

### *Measures of length*

60. *mḥ* "cubit"
*mḥ-ntr* "divine cubit" (52.5 cm.)
 rt. I 1 (bis), 4 (bis), 5 (bis), 6, 7, IV 13.
 rt. II 2 (bis), 4 (5 x), III 19 (bis), IV 24, V 4, 6, 7, 12, 16, 19, 23, 24, 31, 35, VI a, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 (bis), VI b, 5, 9, 14, <15>; vs. I 18, II a, 9, 16, 17, II b, 25, III 3, 7.
*mḥ* "cubit" = *mḥ-ntr* "divine cubit"
 rt. I 6 (bis), IV 14.
 rt. III 19.

61. *šsp* "palm" (7.5 cm.)
*šsp* 1  rt. V 7 (bis); rubricated: rt. I 4, 5, V 23, VI b, 15.
*šsp* 2  rt. IV 1, V 6; vs. II b, 20, III, 3; rubricated: rt. V 21, VI b, 6, 23.
*šsp* 3  rt. V 9; vs. I 20, 21, II a, 18, 22; rubricated: rt. V 24, 27, VI a, 6, 8, VI b, 23.
*šsp* 4  rt. V 9; vs. I 18, 19, II a, 16, 22, II b, 20; rubricated: rt. I 5, 7, 8, V 21, 29, VI a, 4 (bis), 8, VI b, 23.
*šsp* 5  rt. V 9, 12 (bis), 16, 19, 32; rubricated: rt. I 5, V 29, 31, VI a, 6.
*šsp* 6  rt. V 2.
*šsp* 8  rubricated: rt. V 27, 35 (corrected from *šsp* 3), 36, VI a, 2 (bis), VI b, 15.

62. *tbʿ* "digit" (1.85 cm.)
singular
 rt. I 6, 7, 8 (ter), II 3 (bis), IV 25 (ter), V 4, 23, VI b, 13; rubricated: rt. V 21;  rt. I 5, 6 (bis), V 2.
 vs. I 21.
plural
 vs. II a, 9, 17, 18, 23 (bis), 25 (bis).

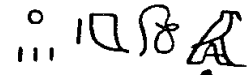
### *Measures of volume*

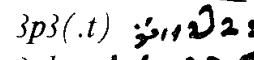
63. *hn* "hin" (ca. 1/2 litre)
 rt. I 7;  rt. VI b, 1, 2 16.
64. *ḫ3r* "sack"  rt. IV 23 (bis), 24.

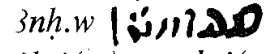
## H. GENERAL GLOSSARY

### *3*

65. *3w* small metal vessel

rt. VI b, 5, 11, 12.

rt. I 7.

66. *3p3(.t)*  "palate (?)", vs. II a, 11.

67. *3nḥ.w*  "eye-brows", vs. II b, 2.

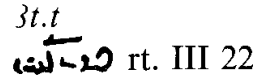
68. *3ḥtj(.t)*, see *ḥtj(.t)* "throat" (no. 399).

69. *3ḫ.t*  "horizon" *sbḫ.t 3ḫ.t* "Portal of the Horizon", symbolic designation of the door of the Embalming House as a cosmic door through which the transition from death to life takes place, rt. IV 20.

70. *3sj*, see *isr* "tamarisk" (no. 111).

71. *3t.ṯ/ 3t(.t)*

1) in proper sense

*3t.t*

rt. III 22.

*3t*

vs. I 3.

2) as preposition in the expression *ḥr 3t.ṯ* "on the back of, on"

*3t.ṯ=f*

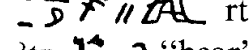
rt. IV 3, VI b, 8, 10, 13, 21.

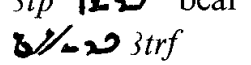
*3t.ṯ=s*

vs. II b, 11.

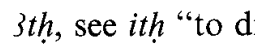
*3t.ṯ=w*

rt. I 1; 
rt. II 21.

72. *3tp*  "bear" *3tp t3 str.t* "bear the bed" (of the Apis), rt. IV 8.

73.  *3trf*
a mummy cloth or mummy bandage, in an enumeration of items, rt. II 2, V 1.

74. *3tḥ*, see *itḥ* "to draw" (no. 117).

75. *3ḏ3/ 3ḏḥ(?)* in the compound *3ḏ3-šl*  a kind of vessel: *3ḏ3-šl hbjnj r b=s m nb* "a ...-vessel (?) of ebony, its rim being of gold", rt. VI b, 9.

*i*

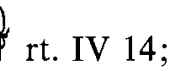
76. *i.ir/ i.ir=*, emphatic form of *ir* "to do" (no. 103).
77. *i.ir-ḥr*, see *iw.ir-ḥr* "before" (no. 87).
78. *i3bj* "left" (adjective)

 rt. III 3.
 rt. II 5 (bis).

79. *i3bj* "left" (substantive)

 vs. II b, 8.
 rt. II 9, 20, 22, 23, 24, III 17, 19, 20 (bis), 22 (bis), 23 (bis), 24 (bis); vs. II a, 2, 9, 19, II b, 20, III 1, 12, 15, 17.

80. *i3bṯ* "east"

 rt. IV 10.
 rt. IV 14;  rt. IV 10.

- *t3 ḏ3j.t i3bṯ* "the east wall (of the House of Purification)", rt. IV 10
- as a ritual direction (cf. *imnṯ* "west": no. 96): the dead Apis enters the Tent of Purification by the west door *mtw=f pr ... t3 s.t i3bṯ* "and he goes out (regenerated) ... from the east side", rt. IV 14; a newly discovered (= re-born) Apis appears to the people from the door *m-ḏr p(3) sbt i3bṯ p(3) ihj* "in the east wall of the stall", rt. IV 10.

81. *ij*

 rt. I 1, III 1, 14, IV 1, 5, 22.
 rt. II 1, 5, 6, 13, 19, 23 (bis), III 3, VI a, 1; vs. I 15, II a, 20 (bis), II b, 3, III 4, 12.

1) *ij* "come" passim
2) *dj.t ij* "make come", "to lay", rt. I 1, II 23, III 14, IV 1, 5; vs. III 12.

82. *iʿḥ* "moon", in the royal name *Iʿḥ-ms* "Amasis" (no. 1).
83. *iw* "to be"
1) *iw* + infinitive: *iw=f* < *ḥr* > *stm* (Present II)
e.g.: *iw.w šm m-s3 p(3) ḥrj sšt3* "they go for the Overseer of the Mystery", rt. I 1.
2) *iw* + qualitative
e.g.: they bring the embalmers *iw.w ḫʿḳ* "being shaved", rt. I 2.
3) *iw* + prepositional complement in relative phrase (*ntj*)
e.g.: *p3 m3ʿ ntj iw p3 ntr n.im=f* "the place in which the god is", rt. II 5.

84. *iw/ r* "whereas", "while"

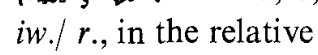
*iw*  rt. III 15 (bis), IV 2, 12, 15.
*r*  rt. III 5, IV 2, 16, 17, V 3, 14, 34, VI b, 4, 5, 9, 15, vs. I 10.

1) *iw/ r* "whereas"

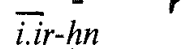
- *i.ir=w ir n3j ... r n3 ḫrj-ḥb.w ḥms* "these operations have been carried out ... whereas the embalmers sit", rt. III 5; similar examples: rt. III 15, IV 12, 15, 17, VI b, 5, 9, vs. I 10.
- the priests are waiting *r.bw-ir-tw=w š't ḥbs* "while they have not yet cut up a *ḥbs*-cloth", rt. IV 2.

2) *iw/ r wn* "while there is ..."
the Apis lies on a board *iw wn nḏḏḥ.t inr* 4 *ḫr p(3) t3* "while 4 square blocks of stone are under the board", rt. III 15; similar examples: rt. IV 16, V 3, 14, 34, VI b, 4, 15.

84.[a] *iw* (= *r*) "to", see no. 327.

85. *iw* "to come"
in the expression *dj.t iw* "to make come", "lay"
 rt. II 5, 8, 9, III 8, 12, 17, vs. I 23, II a, 19, II b, 11, 14, 20, III 3.

86. *iw./ r.*, in the relative form *iw.sḏm.f/ r.sḏm=f* (no. 330); in *r.bw-ir.tw* (no. 205); in the participle *r.wn.n3.w* (no. 176).

87. *iw.ir-ḥr/ i.ir-ḥr/ i.ir-ḥr-n* "before"
*iw.ir-ḥr*
 rt. I 3, III 10.
*i.ir-ḥn*
 rt. II 9, 10, 14, 15, 17, III 8; vs. I 1, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 21, II a, 2, 5, 8, 12, <14>, II b, 2, 4, 15, 23.
*i.ir-ḥr-n*
 rt. III 6.

1) in technical expressions relating to the embalmment
a) *i.ir-ḥr* + a part of the body "to be before a part of the body" = to be charged with the embalmment of a part of the body, vs. I 1, 7, 8, 10, 11;
b) *ḥms i.ir-ḥr* + a part of the body "to sit before a part of the body" = to carry out the embalmment of a part of the body, rt. III 6; vs. II a, 2;
c) *šm i.ir-ḥr* + a part of the body "to go before a part of the body" = to begin the embalmment of a part of the body, rt. II 14, 15, 17, III 8, 10; vs. I 21, II a, 5, 12, II b, 15, 23;
d) *st3.ṯ= i.ir-ḥr* + a part of the body "to return before a part of the body" = to resume the embalmment of a part of the body, vs. II a, 14, II b, 2.

2) in non-technical expressions connected with various verbs:
*ij* "to come", vs. I 15; *in* "to bring", rt. II 9, vs. II a, 8, II b, 4; *wn* "to open", vs. I 16; *prḫ* "to lay out", rt. I 3; *ḥms* "to sit", rt. II 10.

88. *iw.ḥr/ r.ḥr* "upon"
status nominalis
*iw.ḥr*

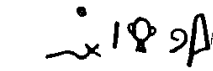
 rt. III 2, 7, 9, 18, IV 1.

*r.ḥr*

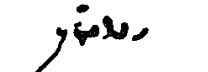
 rt. II 1, 11.

status pronominalis

*iw.ḥr.f*

 rt. I 1.

*r.ḥr=f*

 rt. II 20; cf. vs. II b, *1'*.

89. *iwṯ* "between"

 rt. III 2

 rt. II 5, 18, 19, <23>, III 23; vs. II b, 19, 20, III 10.

1) adverb

6 mummy bandages *mtw* 2 *n.im=w šʿt.ṯ bnr wʿ iwṯ wʿ* ... "and 2 of them are cut off, one in between, the other one ...", vs. III 10; cf. rt. II <23>

2) preposition

*iwṯ nȝ ḏnḥ.w* "between the shoulders", rt. II 5; *iwṯ nȝ ʾb.w* "between the horns", rt. II 18, 19, III 2; vs. II b, 19, 20

3) in prepositional expressions

mummy bandages go *r ḥrj iwṯ nȝ ʾb.w* "upwards between the horns", rt. III 23.

90. *ib* "heart" [cf. *ḥȝ.ṯ* "heart": no. 369]

1) in the royal name *Wȝḥ-ib-Rʿ* (no. 2)

2) in the compound *ḥr-ib.t* "trunk", "upper side" (no. 391).

91. *ibw* "tent of purification" (no. 30).

92. *ip.t*  "number", rt. V 1.

93. *ifd*  "square", in the expression *ifd inr* "square block of stone": the Apis is resting on a board *ifd inr* 4 *ḫr p(ȝ) tȝ* "4 square blocks of stone are under the board (to support it)", rt. I 4; cf. *iw wn nḏḏḥ.t inr* 4.*t ḫr p(ȝ) tȝ* "while 4 square blocks of stone are under the board", rt. III 15.

94. *im.*, see *n* (no. 282).

95. *imȝ*  "tamarisk" (?), as material from which a support (*wrs*) is made, rt. I 4.

96. *imnṯ* "west", "western"

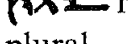
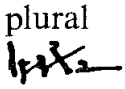
 rt. I 4, IV 11, 13, 14

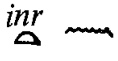
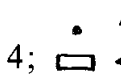
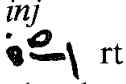
- *tȝ mrj imnṯ* "board of western *mrj*-wood" (no. 256), rt. I 4; *p(ȝ) šj nsw.w imnṯ.w* "the Lake of western Kings" (no. 54), rt. IV 13

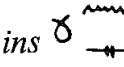
- as a ritual direction (cf. *i3bṯ* "east": no. 80): they enter the Apis into the tent of purification *iw t3 s.t imnṯ* "on the west side" (and he goes out regenerated on the east side), rt. IV 14; the dead Apis leaves the stall through the door *n p(3) sbt imnṯ n p(3) ihj* "in the west wall of the stall", rt. IV 11.

97. *in*  postpositive negative particle
*mn šlf in* "it is no disgrace", rt. VI b, 13.

98. *in* "to bring"
writings (all infinitive)
a) hieratic
 rt. I 2, III 2 (bis), 13, 26, IV 5, 14
b) demotic
 rt. II 6, 9, III 18, IV 3 (bis)
 vs. II b, 4, III 15
 vs. I 13, II a, 6.

99. *in-nwḥ* "rope"
singular
 rt. IV 15, 16
plural
 rt. IV 5
They lower the mummy of the Apis into the coffin with ropes, rt. IV 5; they drag the coffin with the Apis with ropes, rt. IV, 15-16.

100. *inr/ inj* "stone"
singular
*inr*
 rt. I 4;  rt. III 15
*inj*
 rt. VI b, 16
plural
*inj.w*
 vs. II a, 22, 25
1) as material
*ifd/ nḏḏḥ.t inr* "square block of stone" (no. 93), rt. I 4, III 15
2) as kind of stone
*inj šš* "alabaster", rt. VI b, 16
3) as anatomical term
*inj.w* "lymphatic glands", vs. II a, 22, 25.

101. *ins*  "red linen": *kf3 ins* "*kf3*-cloth of red linen", cloth to cover the coffin of the Apis as a symbol of resurrection, rt. IV 4.

102. *ir*  particle, "if", rt. IV 20.

103. *ir* "to do"

I. Forms and writings

1) *sḏm.ḥr.f*

 rt. IV 12

2) causative

*i.ir*  in *dj.t i.ir* (ТРЄ) + nominal subject, vs. II b, 10

3) relative form

- with nominal subject

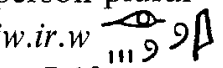
*r.ir*, vs. II a, <19>

- with pronominal subject

3rd person sing. masc.

*iw.ir.f*  rt. III 17 (?)

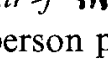
3rd person plural

*iw.ir.w*  rt. III 13;  rt. IV 13; *r.ir=w*, written as *r.r=w*  vs. I 10

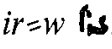
4) emphatic form

- emphatic form + infinitive: *i.ir=f sḏm* (infra III, 3a)

3rd person sing. masc.

*i.ir=f*  rt. VI a, 13, vs. II a, 20

3rd person plural

*i.ir=w*  rt. III 5, IV 2, VI b, 21, vs. I 9

- emphatic form + particle *ḥr* (infra III, 3 b)

*i.ir ḥr sḏm=f*, rt. III 25, IV 3; *ḥr i.ir=f sḏm*, vs. III 19; *i.ir ḥr i.ir=f sḏm*, vs. II b, 23

5) infinitive

- *ir*

 rt. I 1, 4, III 7, 11, 13, IV 1, 4, 9, 12, 13, 19 (bis), 22

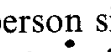
 rt. II 2, 3 (bis), 4, 6, 17, 19, 21 (bis), 22 (bis), 23, 24, 25, III 5, 19, 25, IV 2, 17, VI a, 10, 12, VI b, 5, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 22; vs. I 9, 21, II a, 9, 18, II b, 14, 16, 20, 22, III 3, 7 (bis), 9, 10, 13, 17, <19>

- *ir* + suffix (object)

3rd person sing. fem.

*ir=s*  rt. III 19

3rd person sing. masc.

*ir.f*  rt. III 1, VI a, 13, VI b, 21;

*ir=f*  vs. I 5;  rt. II 23, III 6, 18, VI a, 14, vs. II a, 1, 10, II b, 4, III 11.

II. Meanings

1) "make ointment", rt. IV 4; cf. < *ir* > *sḳn* (?), rt. I 6
2) "make chests", rt. VI a, 13, VI b, 21
3) "make tents/ buildings", rt. IV 9, 12
4) "put up an inscription", rt. IV 12
5) "carry out an operation", rt. II 6, 24, III 5, 6, 17, IV 2; vs. I 9, II a, 10, III 13
6) "execute a ceremony" *ir wp-rȝ* "carry out the rite of Opening the Mouth", rt. IV 19, 22; *ir irw nb* "perform all the ceremonies", rt. IV 19
7) "measure", in measurements of various items, rt. I 1, 4, II 3, III 19, IV 1, 13, VI a, 10, VI b, 5, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15; vs. I 21, II a, 9, III 3
8) in the professional language of the embalmers: *ir* + mummy bandage or cloth

- *ir nȝ ḥbs.w* "to manufacture the *ḥbs*-cloths", rt. II 2; similar rt. II 4; *ir* 2/3 "to make 2/3 (of the cloth)", rt. II 21; vs. III 7; *ir wṯj* "to make a wrapping"; rt. II 21; vs. II b, 14; *ir pjr* "to wrap in *pjr*-bandage", rt. II 17, III 7, 11; vs. II a, 18, II b, 16, 22, III 17; *ir sbn* "to wrap in *sbn*-bandage", rt. II 23; vs. III 11
- a mummy bandage "makes" (*ir*) mummy bandages, *i.e.* mummy bandages follow the course of the mummy bandage which "makes" them: *pjr* 2 *ir sbn* 6 "2 *pjr*-bandages make 6 *sbn*-bandages", rt. II 22; vs. III 10; similar: rt. II 23
- a mummy cloth "makes" (*ir*) mummy bandages, *i.e.* the mummy cloth is secured with the mummy bandages: as for the *swḥ*-cloth *iw=f ir pjr* 9 "it makes (= it is secured with) 9 *pjr*-bandages", rt. II 3, 25; vs. III 7; similar: rt. II 19, 22; vs. II b, 20, III 9

9) sundries
*ir whm* "to repeat an action", rt. VI a, 14; *ir irj.w ḥms ḫnw* "to provide with rowers", rt. IV 17; *ir mnḫ.t* "to cover with cloth", rt. III 13; *ir ḥȝ.ṯ* "to do something first", rt. IV 14; *ir ḳjȝ* "to have a shape", rt. III 25; *ir gsp* meaning?, rt. VI b, 22; *ir n dnj.t* "to divide", rt. III 19, vs. II b, 4; a chest *iw=f ir ḏt* 4 "it makes 4 compartments", rt. VI a, 12

III. As auxiliary

1) conjunctive in the construction of the causative infinitive
to place *sj.t*-cloths on the eye-lids *ḏbȝ pȝ gj dj.t i.ir tȝ sj.t* < *ntj ḫr pȝ* > *sf shrj šp pȝ ḥf* "because of the way of making the *sj.t*-cloth, which is soaked in the oil prepared from *shrj*, receive the third eye-lid", vs. II b, 10
2) relative form
a) the antecedent is a determinated infinitive

the embalmer pulls up the edges of the cloth *š' pȝ pḥ < r.ir > ls=f r tȝ ḥȝ.t* "until his tongue has reached in front", vs. II a, 19

b) the antecedent is an undeterminated infinitive
they bring the board inside *m-sȝ ir n.f mnḫ.t iw.ir.w tȝ ḥȝ.t* "after having it covered with cloth first", rt. III 13; similar: rt. IV 13, vs. I 10

3) emphatic form

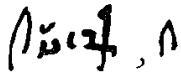
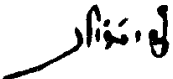
a) emphatic form + infinitive
*i.ir=w ir nȝj* "these operations they carry out", rt. III 5; similar: rt. IV 2, VI a, 13, VI b, 21, vs. I 9, II a, 20

b) emphatic form + particle *ḫr*

- *i.ir ḫr sḏm=f*
*i.ir ḫr š't=w ḥbs mtw=w 'š sgp* "when they shall have cut up a *ḥbs*-cloth, they raise a lamentation", rt. IV 3; *i.ir ḫr tw=w ṯȝj=w iw tȝ m'rj(.t) 2.t iw=w mnḳ p(3) ntr n sm'ḥj ḏr=f* "if they shall have sent them to the two clamps, they shall have finally fastened the god altogether for the second time", rt. III 25
- *ḫr i.ir=f sḏm*
*ḫr i.ir pȝ wṯj < ir > wṯj* 9 "the wrapping makes 9 wrappings", vs. III 19
- *i.ir ḫr i.ir=f sḏm*
*i.ir ḫr i.ir pȝ ḥrj sštȝ šm i.ir-ḥr pȝ ḥr sštȝ* "when the Overseer of the Mystery begins the embalmment of the mysterious face", vs. II b, 23

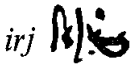
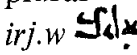
4) infinitive
mummy bandages cross the mouth of the Apis *p(3) kjȝ šm=f* (read: *šm=w*) *Wp ntj iw.w ir.f* "the way in which they go is Wep", rt. III 1; similar: rt. III 18;
cf. the damaged passages vs. I 5, II a, 1.

104. *ir-rḫ* "to be able to", see *rḫ* (no. 344).

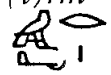
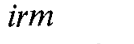
105. *ir.t* "eye(-socket)
singular
*ir.t*
 rt. II 15, vs. II b, 4, 10; in *ir.t=f* "his eye-socket": rt. II 21, vs. II b, 1, 2, 3, 6 (bis), 7, 9
plural
*ir.wt*
 rt. II 14 (bis), 15, vs. II a, 5, 6, 12 (bis), II b, 2, 3, 12; *ir.wt=f*  "his eye-sockets", vs. II b, 8
Note the following expressions:

1) *nȝ 'wj.w ntj ir.t=f* "the places of his eye" = his eye-sockets, rt. II 21 = vs. II b, 1 (?), 3 (without *ntj*)

2) *nȝ spj.w(t) ir.t=f* "the lips of his eye" = his eyelids, vs. II b, 9; *nȝ spj(.wt) n ir.wt=f*, vs. II b, 8.

106. *irj* "companion"
singular
*irj*  rt. II 18 (bis), III 5, 7, vs. II a, 1, II b, 21, III 20; in the title: *wr-irj*: rt. V 34, VI a, 4, VI b, 18, 19, 21
plural
*irj.w*  rt. IV 17
1) in the title *wr-irj* (no. 21)
2) in the expression *irj.w ḥms ḫnw* "rowers", rt. IV, 17-18
3) in the expression *n ... r pȝj=f irj* "from one ... to the other", rt. II 18 (bis), III 5, 7, vs. II a, 1, II b, 21, III 20.

107. *irw*  "ceremonies" *iw.w ir n.f irw nb ntj iw ḥbj* "they perform for him all the ceremonies which are in the ritual book", rt. IV, 19-20.

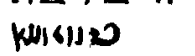
108. *irm, (i)rm* "with", "and"
*(i)rm*
 rt. I 2, III 1, 25, IV 21, 22
*irm*
 rt. II 2, 4 (bis), 9, III 9 (bis), IV 17, V 5, 7, VI a, 13, vs. I 14, II a, 7 (bis), 8, II b, 18, III 21, 22
1) *irm* "with"
- *ỉ pȝ wtn irm nȝ kȝ.w* "mount upon the Bark with the shrines", rt. IV 17; the Overseer of the Mystery and the embalmers *ntj irm=f* "who are with him", rt. II 4
- *md irm* "speak with", "call": the mysterious coffer *iw=w md irm=f r ḫ* ... "they call it as ...", rt. VI a, 13

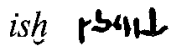
2) *irm* "and"
e.g.: *p(ȝ) ḥrj sšt*ȝ *irm nȝ ḫrj-ḥb.w* "the Overseer of the Mystery and the embalmers", rt. I 2.

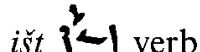
109. *ihj* "stall" (no. 31).

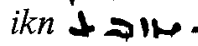
110. *iḫj* "thing" [cf. Hieratic *ḫt*: no. 405]
singular
*iḫj*
 rt. III 9
 rt. V 2
plural
*iḫj.w*
 rt. V 5, 7
1) "thing"
vessels are placed under the mummy *bw-ir iḫj hȝj r ḫrj* "that nothing may fall (on the ground)", rt. V 2

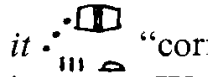
2) "embalming materials"
   a) *nȝ iḫj.w* "the things" = the embalming materials, rt. V 5, 7
   b) *iḫj nb ntj nb* "all things and everything" = all embalming materials, rt. III 9.

111. *isr/ ȝsj* "tamarisk" [cf. *imȝ* (no. 95) and *nm* (no. 302)]
 rt. VI b, 18
 rt. VI b, 18-19.

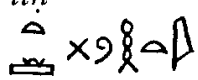
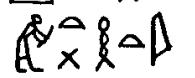
112. *isḫ*  "sheaf of corn", vegetation emblem which as a symbol of resurrection was bound on the coffin of the Apis, rt. IV 4.

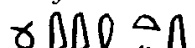
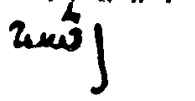
113. *išt*  verb used in connection with the manufacture of a coffer, rt. VI b, 22.

114. *ikn*  a vessel, mentioned in enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 3.

115. *it*  "corn" *dḥ(ȝ) it ḫȝr* 1 "1 sack of straw from corn", in enumeration of items, rt. IV, 23-24.

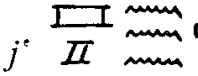
116. *itmj* see *idmj* "red linen" (no. 118).

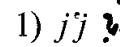
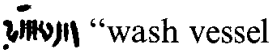
117. *itḥ/ ȝtḥ* "to draw"
*ȝtḥ*
 rt. IV 3
*itḥ*
 rt. IV 15
 rt. IV 15;  rt. IV 21
*itḥ iw bnr* "to draw (the coffin) out", rt. IV 15; *itḥ iw ḫn* "to draw (the coffin) in", rt. IV 15, 21; *ȝtḥ šʿ pȝ ḥȝ n tȝ slȝ.t* "to draw (the sledge with the mummy) up to behind the coffin", rt. IV 3.

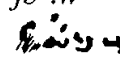
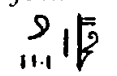
118. *idmj/ itmj* "red linen"
*idmj*
 rt. IV 7 (bis), 8 (bis)
*itmj*
 rt. II 1
 vs. II b, 5

1) *stp itmj* "strip of red linen", vs. II b, 5
2) *sšd itmj* "blue (?) and red linen", symbolically used as clothing of priests and as covering of items (coffin, shrines, etc.), rt. II 1, IV 7 (bis), 8 (bis).

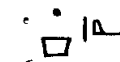
*j*

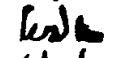
119. *jʿ*  "to wash" *iw.f jʿ.s mw* "he washes it (the anus) with water", rt. III 9.

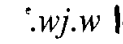
120. *jʿj*
1) *jʿj*  "wash vessel" used for the treatment of the intestines of the Apis: *jʿj ḫm* "little wash vessel", rt. V 8; *jʿj ʿ3* "big wash vessel", rt. V 3
2) in the compound *ḳtj-jʿj*  a vessel in which the *wr-irj*-priest is purified, rt. VI a, 3.

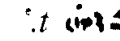
121. *jb.w/ jbʿ.w* "claws", "hoofs"
*jbʿ.w*
 rt. III 6
*jb.w*
 rt. I 6, III 7 (bis), IV 6 (bis)
1) anatomy of the hoofs
*n3 jb.w ʿ3(.w)* "the great hoofs", rt. IV 6; *n3 jb.w ḫm.w* "the little hoofs", "the side claws", rt. IV 6
2) embalming of the hoofs
the original great and little hoofs were removed and replaced by (golden?) artificial hoofs which were wrapped in mummy cloths and bandages, rt. I 6, III, 6-7.

122. *ʿ* see *nt-ʿ* "ceremony" (no. 318).

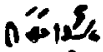
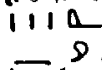
123. *ʿ*  a vessel: *ʿšš* "alabaster *ʿ*-vessel", in enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 6.

124. *ʿ.wj* "place"
singular
*ʿ.wj*
 vs. I 9
plural
*ʿ.wj.w*
 vs. II b, 13
 rt. II 20
1) *p3 ʿ.wj* "the place", euphemistic expression to indicate the incision which was made in the left side of the Apis in order to remove the intestines, vs. I 9
2) in the expression *n3 ʿ.wj.w ntj ir.t=f* "the places of his eye" = his eye-sockets (no. 105).

125. *ʿ.wj.w*  "compartments"? in connection with a coffer *p3j=f* 4 *ʿ.wj.w* "his 4 compartments", rt. VI b, 15.

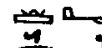
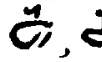
126. *ʿ.t*  "room", in the expression *ʿ.t nmj.t/ nmʿj.t* "Slaughter-Room" (no. 32).

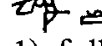
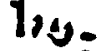
127. *ʿ.t* "part of the body" *ʿ.wt* "parts of the body"

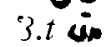
 rt. III 6; cf. vs. I 10
 rt. II 3, III 8, IV 6
in the expression *n3 tp.w ʿ.wt*:
1) "the limbs", rt. II 3, III 6, 8, vs. I 10
2) "the intestines", rt. IV 6.

128. *ʿ3* "great" (noun)
in the title *n3 ʿ3(.w) Pr-Ḥʿpj* "the Great Ones of the House of the Inundation of the Nile" (no. 37).

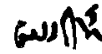
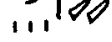
129. *ʿ3* "great" (adjective)
singular
masc. *ʿ3*

 rt. I 2, 4, III 4, IV 15
 rt. II 12, 23, 24 (bis), III 16, V 3, VI b, 5, 7, vs. I 23, II a, 18, 20, III 11, 12, 13, 16, 19
fem. *ʿ3.t*
 rt. IV 20
 rt. V 10, VI a, 5, 9
plural
*ʿ3(.w)*

 rt. IV 6
1) following a noun (passim)
2) in the verbal adjective *n3-ʿ3* "to be great"
 vs. II a, 10;  vs. II b, 7.

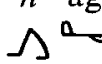
130. *ʿ3.t*  a vessel: *ʿ3.t šbsj.t* "precious *ʿ3.t*-vessel", in enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 20.

131. " "holy animal" (no. 4).

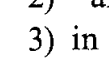
132. *ʿb.w* "horns"
 rt. II 23, vs. II b, 19, 20, 21, 22, III 16, 18, 20
 rt. II 17, 18 (bis), 19, III 2, 3, 4, 5, 23
 rt. II 18
 rt. III 2.

133. *ʿpr*  "to equip" *ir n.s wp-r3 ʿpr m ḫt.s nb* "to perform the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth for it (the coffin), equipped with all its things", rt. IV 22.

134. *ʿn* in *ʿn-smj* (no. 468).

135. *ʿn* "again", "also"
 rt. III 4, 23

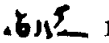
 rt. II 6 (bis), 8, 19 (bis), III 21, 22, 24, V 23, vs. I 2, 20, II a, 5, 12, 15, 20 (bis), 23, 24, 27, II b, 9, 13, 14, 15, 18, III 6, 13, 14

1) "again": rt. III 21, 23, V 23, vs. I 20
2) "also": rt. II 6 (bis), 8, 19, 24, etc.
3) in the expression *ḥ* ... *ʾn*  "also (?)", vs. I 2, II a, 20.

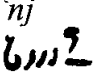
136. *ʾn-smj* see *smj* (no. 468).

137. *ʾn.t/ ʾnj(.t)* "pad"

*ʾn.t*

 rt. II 3, 20

*ʾnj*

 vs. II b, 12, 13, 14

1) measurements

*t3 ʾn.t 2.t iw=w ir tbʿ 6 n ḥ.t=w mtw(.t) tbʿ wʿ* ½ "the two pads measure 6 digits in their diameter and 1½ digits in thickness (ca. 11 × 2.75 cm.)", rt. II 3

2) use

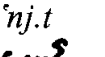
as stuffing of the eye-sockets of the mummy, rt. II 20, vs. II b, 12, 13, 14.

138. *ʾnj.t*  a vessel (?), in enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 4.

139. *ʾnj.t* "sieve"

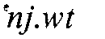
singular

*ʾnj.t*

 rt. V 14

plural

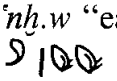
*ʾnj.wt*

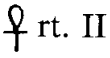
 rt. V 18

*ʾnj.t 4.t mtw=w ʾtḥ n3 mw(.w) ntj iw=w wʿb p3 ḳbḥ-sn.w.f n.im=w* "4 sieves: with these they sieve in them (the vessels) the water with which they purify the entrails", rt. V 14; sim. rt. V 18.

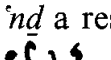
140. *ʾnḫ* "to live", in the expression *ʾnḫ wḏ3 snb* after the title "Pharaoh" *Pr-ʿ3* c.w.s. (no. 17).

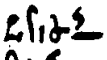
141. *ʾnḫ.w* "ears"

 rt. II 19

 vs. II b, 15;  vs. II b, 18 (wrong spelling); *ʾnḫ(.w)*:  vs. II b, 15.

142. *ʾnḏ* a resinous substance

 vs. I 2

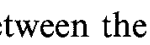
 vs. I 3 (bis), 4, 11, 12, 14, II a, 7, 27, 28, II b, 1, 2, 3, 13, 16 (bis), 19 (bis), 22, 23, 24, 26

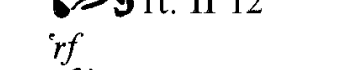
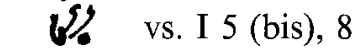
1) *sf ʾnḏ iw=f ps* "boiled *ʾnḏ*-oil"

used for anointing (*wrḥ*) a part of the body or for soaking (*tḫb*) a mummy cloth, vs. II b, 19, 24, 26

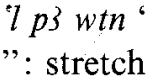
2) *sf ʿnḏ iw=f wʿb* "pure *ʿnḏ*-oil"
used for anointing a part of the body: vs. I 2, 3, 4, II a, 27, II b, 2, 3, 16, 22; for soaking (*tḫb*) a mummy cloth: vs. I 3, 11, 12, II a, 28, II b, 1, 13, 16, 19; mentioned among oils: vs. I 14, II a, 7.

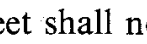
143. *ʿr.ṯ.t/ ʿr.ṯj(.t)*
*ʿr.ṯj.t*
 rt. II 14
*ʿr.ṯ*
 vs. II a, 11, 23-24
*t3j=f ʿr.ṯj.t* 2.*t* "his lower jaw".

144. *ʿrʿr*  "to fix" *ʿrʿr t3 nbtj.t ḥr t3 ḥ3.t iwṯ n3 ḏnḥ.w* "to fix the *nbtj.t*-bandage in front between the shoulders", rt. II 5.

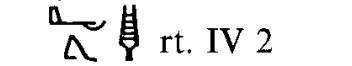
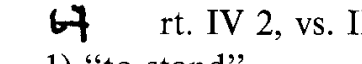
145. *ʿrf* "bag"
*ʿrf*
 rt. II 12
*ʿrf*
 vs. I 5 (bis), 8, 9

1) *ʿrf ʿ3 wʿ n ḫl* "a big bag filled with myrrh (is placed under the tongue of the Apis)", rt. II 12
2) *ʿrf ḥsmn ḫl* "bag with natron and myrrh (is placed in the anus of the Apis)", vs. I 5
3) *ʿrf* 6 *iw=w mḥ ḥsmn wsj* "6 bags filled with natron and sawdust (are introduced into the mummy of the Apis)", vs. I 8, 9.

146. *ʿl*  "to mount" *ʿl p3 wtn* "to mount the Bark", rt. IV 17.

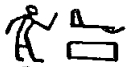
147. *ʿlḳ*  "to bend": stretch the limbs of the Apis *r tm dj.t ʿlḳ n3 dr.wt* "to ensure that the feet shall not be bent", rt. III 6.

148. *ʿḥ.t* "palace" (no. 33).

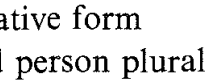
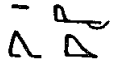
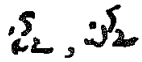
149. *ʿḥʿ*
 rt. IV 2
 rt. IV 2, vs. II a, 2

1) "to stand"
- two priests *ʿḥʿ ḥr wnm i3bj n.im=f* "stand on the right and the left of it", vs. II a, 2
- in the expression *wrs ʿḥʿ* "support" (no. 187)

2) "to wait"
they embalm the Apis in the place of embalmment *iw n3 it(-ntr).w ḥm-ntr.w ʿḥʿ* "while the god's fathers and the prophets are waiting" (scil. at the entrance of the place of embalmment), rt. IV 2.

150. *ꜥs* ...  a preposition, rt. II 23, vs. III 10.
151. *ꜥš*  "fir-tree" *p3 kp ꜥš* "the canopy of fir-tree", rt. IV 9.
152. *ꜥš* "to call"
 rt. I 2, IV 15, 18
 rt. IV 3
1) *ꜥš sgp* "to raise a lamentation", rt. I 2, IV 3, 15
2) *ꜥš ḏm ꜥ* "to read aloud a book", rt. IV 18.
153. *ꜥḳ*

I. Forms and writings

1) relative form
3rd person plural: *iw.ꜥḳ.w*  rt. IV 11
2) infinitive
 rt. I 6, III 15, IV 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20
 rt. II 8, IV 16, 17, V 4, 22, VI a, 1, 5, vs. I 22, II a, 18

II. *ꜥḳ* without object: "to enter"

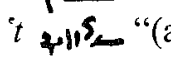
1) with preposition
a) *ꜥḳ n n3 k3.w* "to enter the shrines", rt. IV 17; *ꜥḳ (n) p(3) k3*, rt. IV 7, 8
b) *ꜥḳ r p3 šj* "to enter the Lake", rt. IV 16; *ꜥḳ iw-r.s* "to enter it (the tent)", rt. IV 14
with ethical dative: *ꜥḳ n=w r p3 ḏt* "go to enter the tent", rt. V 22; sim. rt. VI a, 1
2) with prepositional expression
a) the door of the stall *iw.w ꜥḳ iw bnr n.im.f* "from which they came out", rt. IV 11; sim. with relative form: rt. IV 11
b) they place the Horus copper in vessels *iw=w ꜥḳ n=w* (ethical dative) *r bnr ḫn p3 hn* "after they (the Horus copper) have came out of the abdominal cavity", rt. V 4; sim. rt. VI a, 5

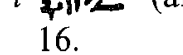
III. *ꜥḳ* with object: "to make enter"

1) with prepositional complement
*ꜥḳ p(3) ntr iw r3 t3 wꜥb.t* "to make the god enter the door of the Place of Embalmment", rt. IV 20; *ꜥḳ p(3) ntr iw ḫrj iw p(3) ibw* "to make the god go up to enter the Tent of Purification", rt. IV 19; *ꜥḳ p(3) ntr iw bnr (n) p3 r3 p3 ihj* "to make the god enter from the door of the stall", rt. IV 12
2) with adverbial complement
*ꜥḳ ns.f/ ls=f r ḫrj* "to pull up his tongue", vs. I 22, II a, 18

3) without complement
*ʿḳ p(3) ntr* "to make the god enter", rt. II 8, III 15, IV 2; *nbtj.t*-bandage *iw ʿḳ* "to make (the Apis) enter", rt. I 6.

154. *ʿt*  unidentified substance, in enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 8 (bis), 11.

155. *ʿt*  "(animal) fat" *ʿt nḏm* "sweet fat", in enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 16.

156. *ʿtḥ*  "to sieve" *ʿtḥ n3 mw.w p3 krs* "to sieve the water of the large entrails (?)", rt. V 18; sim. rt. V 14.

157. *.w* ending of the qualitative form 3rd person plural: *ḏb3.w* (no. 643), rt. IV 7.

158. *.w* ending of the plural, fem. *w(t)* (passim).

159. *.w/ =w* suffix pronoun 3rd person plural (passim).

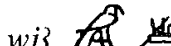
160. *w3.t* "way" [cf. *mj.t* "way": no. 242]: in the div. name *Wp-w3wt* (no. 6).

161. *w3rsw* see *wrs* "support" (no. 187).

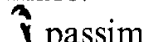
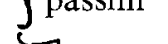
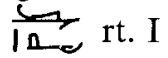
162. *w3ḥ* "be kindly", in the royal name *W3ḥ-ib-Rʿ* (no. 2).

163. *w3ḥ* (?)  "to finish": vessels in which they place the Horus copper *iw=w w3ḥ iw=w wʿb n.im=w* "when they are finished purifying them (?)", rt. V 34.

164. *w3ḏ* "fresh", "green"
 rt. VI b, 10 (rubricated), vs. I 9
1) *sntr w3ḏ* "fresh resin of the terebinth" (no. 480)
2) *r3(.t) w3ḏ(.t)* "green ink" (no. 336).

165. *wj3*  "(sacred) Bark"
1) in the title of a book *t3 mk.t wj3* "the Protection of the Sacred Bark", rt. IV 19
2) as equivalent of demotic *wtn* "bark": *iw=w ʾl r p3 wtn ḏwf ... ḥr ʿš.w ḏmʿ* 9 *ḥr p(3) wj3* "they mount upon the Bark of Papyrus ... they read alound nine books on the bark", rt. IV, 17-18.

166. *wjṯ* see *wṯj* "tail" (no. 196).

167. *wʿ* (masc.), *wʿ.t/ 1.t* (fem.) "one"
masc.
 passim
 rt. I 1, 3, 4 (bis), III 1, 18, IV 1, 4, 5, 9, VI b, 18, 21
fem.
 (passim)
 rt. I 1, IV 12, 14, 19
1) "one"
- *sḳ ḏwf šmʿ wʿ* "one thin mat of papyrus", rt. I 1 (and passim)
- *ḫm wʿ* "one little one", rt. I 5 (bis); *ʿ3 wʿ* "one great one", rt. VI b, 7; *kj wʿ* "one other one", vs. II a, 24

- "one" out of a number: *w' pȝ gbȝ* 3 "one of the three *gbȝ*-bandages", rt. III 1; *w'.t n.im=w* "one of them", rt. V 11, VI a, 10, VI b, 1, 6

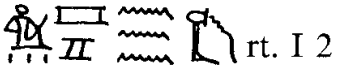
2) "a"
*swḥ ns.f w' ḥbs* "to cover his tongue with a *ḥbs*-cloth", rt. II 13 (and passim)

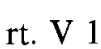
3) in the expression *w' ... kj* "one ... other"
two cloths *mtw w' ij r.ḥr pȝ ntr mtw=w ḏbȝ tȝ slȝ.t n kj* "and one comes upon the god and they cover the coffin with the other", rt. II 1; sim. examples: rt. II 13, IV, 5-6, VI b, 10, 16, vs. II a, 19, II b, 10, III 1, 15

4) distributive
*w' sp*-2 (= *w' w'*) "each": *ir n.f wp-rȝ tȝ* 4.*t s.t pȝ ibw w'.t sp*-2 "to perform on him (the Apis) the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth in each of the four corners of the Tent of Purification", rt. IV 19.

168. *w'b* "to purify", "to be pure"

I. Forms and writings

1) prospective form
*dj.t w'b*  rt. VI a, 3; *dj.t w'b.w*  rt. I 2

2) infinitive
- *w'b*
 rt. V 11, 15, 27 (bis), 28 (bis), 30, 31, 34, VI a, 7
- *w'b* + suffix (object)
*w'b=f* vs. I 1

3) qualitative form
 in *iw=f w'b* "pure (oil)", vs. I 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 14
 in *iw=f w'b* "pure (oil)", vs. II a, 7, 28, II b, 1, 2, 3

4) unidentified
*w'b ...*  vs. I 2

II. Use

1) *w'b* "to be pure"
- *sf ʿnḏ iw=f w'b* "pure *ʿnḏ*-oil" (no. 142)
- cf. *...=f w'b ...* "it pure ...", vs. I 2

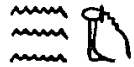
2) *w'b* "to purify"
a) without object
*tn w' sp n w'b* "each time of purifying", rt. V 11; *tn sp nb n w'b*, rt. V 27, 28
b) with direct object
e.g.: *nȝ mw(.w) ntj iw=w w'b pȝ ḳbḥ-snw.f n.im=w* "the water with which

they purified the entrails", rt. V 15, sim. examples: rt. V 28, 30, VI a, 7, vs. I 1; vessels in which they purify the Horus copper *m-sȝ pȝ wʿb pȝ wr-irj* "after the purification of the *wr-irj*-priest", rt. V 31

c) with *n* + object
they place the Horus copper in vessels: *iw=w wʿb n.im=w* "when they have purified them", rt. V 27; *iw=w wȝḥ* (?) *iw=w wʿb n.im=w* "when they are finished purifying them", rt. V 34

3) dj.t wʿb "to make pure"
*iw.w dj.t wʿb.w* "they make them pure", rt. I 2; vessels *r dj.t wʿb pȝ wr-irj ḥn=w* "to purify the *wr-irj*-priest therein", rt. VI a, 3.

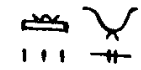
169. *wʿb* "pure" (adjective)
 vs. I 1, II a, 4, 5 (bis), 6 (bis), II b, 24
 vs. I 2
in the expression *sf wʿb* "pure oil" (no. 466).

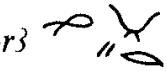
170. *wʿb*  "purity", in the title of a book *mȝȝ iw ... m wʿb* "see to ... in purity", rt. I 8 (rubricated).

171. *wʿb.t* "Embalming House" (no. 34).

172. *wbȝ* "for"
status nominalis
*wbȝ*
 rt. I 8, II 1, 3, IV 24
status pronominalis
*wbȝ=f*
 rt. II 21, vs. III 7.

173. *wp* "to open", "to specify" [cf. *wn*: no. 177/178].
1) "to open"
- as div. name *Wp* "Opener" (no. 5) and in the div. name *Wp-wȝwt* "Opener of the ways" (no. 6)
- in the expression *wp-rȝ* "Opening of the Mouth" (no. 174)

2) "to specify", in the expression  "specify it" as introduction of a list of items [ cf. demotic *wp.t*: no. 175], rt. I 3, 5, II 1, IV 13, VI b, 23.

174. *wp-rȝ*  "opening of the mouth"
1) as ceremony: *ir wp-rȝ* "to perform the Opening of the Mouth", rt. IV 19, 22
2) as title of a book: *tȝ wp-rȝ* "the Opening of the Mouth", rt. IV 19.

175. *wp.t*  "specification", as introduction to a list of items [cf. Hieratic *wp st*: no. 173], rt. IV 23, 25, V 1, VI b, 6, 8, 15.

176. *wn* "there is"

*wn*

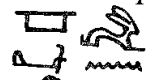
 rt. III 15

 rt. IV 16, V 3, 14, 34, VI b, 4, 15

*r.wn-nꜣ.w* (participle)

 rt. IV 8.

177. *wn* "to open" [cf. *wp*: no. 173]

 rt. IV 10 (bis)

 rt. II 10, vs. I 16, II a, 9

1) with preposition

a) *wn iw* "to open to" = to face: *tꜣ ʿḥ.t ntj wn iw pꜣ ihj iw tꜣ ḏꜣj.t iꜣbṯ tꜣ ḥ.t ḳbḥ* "the palace which opens to the stall, to the east wall of the House of Purification", rt. IV 10

b) *wn ḫn* + part of the body "to open a part of the body": *wn ḫn b pꜣ ntr* "to open the mouth of the god", rt. II 10, vs. II a, 9

2) without preposition

- *wn pꜣ(ꜣ) rꜣ* "to open the door", rt. IV 10; *wn pꜣ rꜣ pꜣ ntr* "to open the mouth of the god", vs. I 16
- cf. *wn-ḥr* "to open the sight of" (no. 180).

178. *wn*  "list" (of items), rt. IV 23, VI b, 10.

179. *wn-nꜣ.w* in the participle *r.wn-nꜣ.w* (no. 176).

180. *wn-ḥr*  "to reveal" (lit. "to open the sight of"): an embalmer restores the sight of the Apis with a kind of instrument: *iw=f wn-ḥr ḫn ir.t=f* "he reveals the inside of his eye", vs. II b, 7.

181. *wnm* "right" (adjective)

 rt. III 12

 rt. II 5, 6, 8, 24, vs. II b, 12, III 14

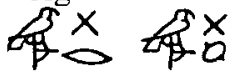
- *pꜣ ḏnḥ wnm* "the right shoulder", rt. II 5, 6; *pꜣ ḥr wnm* "the right side", rt. II 24, vs. III 14
- as a ritual direction (cf. *imnṯ* "west": no. 96 and *iꜣbṯ* "east", no. 80): they fasten the tail of the Apis *r twn tꜣ mnj.t wnm* "next to the right thigh", rt. II 8; cf. rt. III 12; the embalmer fastens two pads on the eye-sockets *iw=f smn tꜣ ʿnj(.t) wnm n ḥꜣ.t* "he fastens the right pad first", vs. II b, 12.

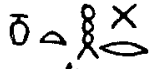
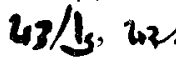
182. *wnm* "right" (noun)

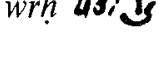
 rt. III 3

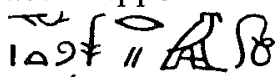
 rt. II 9, 20, 22, 23, III 17, 19, 20 (bis), 22 (bis), 23 (bis), 24 (bis), vs. II a, 2, 9, 20, II b, 8, 20, III 1, 15, 17.

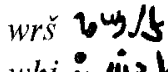
183. *wnḫ*  "stone pottery", rt. V 1, VI a, 11 (rubricated).

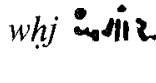
184. *wr* "big"
1)  in the expression *pr-wr* "big House" = Embalming House (no. 36)
2)  in the title *wr-irj* (a priest) (no. 21).

185. *wrḥ* "to anoint"
 rt. III 10, 11, 15, vs. I 4
 rt. II 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, vs. I 2, 3, 11, 17, 21, II a, 4, 6, 10, 12, 14, 26, 27, II b, 2 (bis), 15, 16, 19, 22, 24, 25.

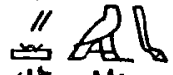
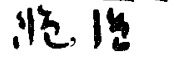
186. *wrḥ*  meaning unknown: *nȝ ḥbs.w ntj wrḥ ḫn b pȝ ntr* "the *ḥbs*-cloths which ... in the mouth of the god", vs. III 21.

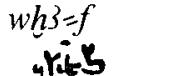
187. *wrs* "support"
 rt. I 4, 5
 rt. II 2, III 16 (bis), 24, 25, IV 2
1) as support of the mummy
*wrs ḥm* "little support", placed under the chin of the mummy, rt. I 5, III 16, 24; cf. rt. III 25; *wrs ꜥȝ* "big support", placed under the breast of the mummy, rt. I 4, III 16
2) as support of a board on which the mummy rests *iw.w dj.t ḥtp.f ḥr nȝ wrs.w ḥꜥ* "they make it (the board) rest on the supports", rt. IV 2
3) *wrs nm* 2 *kȝ=w mḥ-ntr* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *r wꜥ prj.t (n) tȝj=w mtr.t* "two supports of tamarisk-wood; their height is $2\frac{1}{2}$ divine cubits each and a pillar is in the midst of them", rt. II 2.

188. *wrš*  meaning unknown: *nȝ ḥbs.w wrš* "the *ḥbs*-cloths ...", vs. I 16.

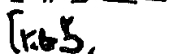
189. *wḥj*  a mineral (?), in enumeration of items (*nkt.w*) of the scribe of the god's book, rt. VI b, 11.

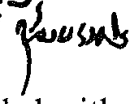
190. *wḥj* "oasis" (no. 48).

191. *wḥm* "again"
 rt. III 17, IV 22
 rt. VI a, 14, vs. II a, 14, II b, 2
*ir wḥm* "do something again", "to repeat", rt. VI a, 14; *ṯs wḥm* "to knot (bandages) again", rt. III 17; *swḥ wḥm* "to cover (the coffin) again", rt. IV 22; *stȝ.ṯ= wḥm* "to return (before a part of the body) again" = to resume the embalmment of the part of the body (no. 87), vs. II a, 14, II b, 2.

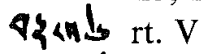
192. *wḫȝ* "to need"
infinitive + suffix (object)
*wḫȝ=f*
 rt. III 26, V 1, VI b, 17 (bis), 19
*wḫȝ.w/ =w*

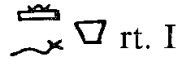
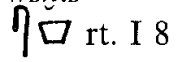
 rt. I 3

 rt. II 3, III 17, IV 23, VI b, 10.

193. *wsj*  "sawdust": the mummy is stuffed with bags *iw=w mḥ ḥsmn wsj* "filled with natron and sawdust", vs. I 8, 9.

194. *wsḫ* "width"
status nominalis
*wsḫ*
 rt. I 1, 4, 6 (ter), 7, II, 2, 4 (ter), IV 1, 25, V 2, 7, 9, 12, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24, 27, 29, 31, VI a, 4, 6, 8, 10, VI b, 15, vs. I 18, 20, 21, II a, 18, 22, 23, 25, II b, 20, III 3, 7

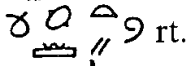
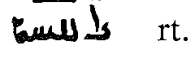
 rt. V 35, VI a, 2, vs. II a, 9, 16, 17, II b, 25

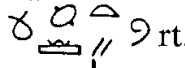
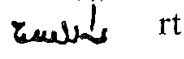
 rt. V 6
status pronominalis
*wsḫ.f*
 rt. I 5 (bis), IV 24, VI b, 23
*wsḫ.s*
 rt. I 8

1) width of any given object (chest, mat, etc.)
e.g.: *pj šʿ iw.f ir mḥ-ntr* 6 *ḳ3 wsḫ mḥ-ntr* 4 "a bank of sand measuring 6 divine cubits in length and 4 divine cubits in width", rt. I 1
2) width of a vessel = diameter of the base
e.g.: *ḏnjṯ.t* 15 *ḳ3 šsp* 6 *mtw.t tbʿ* 7 *wsḫ mj.t.t* "15 *ḏnjṯ.t*-vessels: diameter of the opening 6 palms, height 7 digits, diameter of the base likewise", rt. V 2.

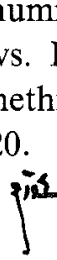
195. *wsḫ.t* "hall" (no. 35).

196. *wṯj/ wṯ3/ wjṯ* "tail"
*wṯj*
 rt. I 8, III, 10-11, <12>
*wṯ3*
 rt. II 8, vs. I 7, 10
*wjṯ*
 vs. I 3.

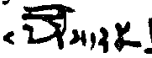
197. *wṯj* "to wrap"
 rt. III 4, 8, 11-12, 13
 rt. II 17, 19 (bis), vs. I 11, 12, 13, II a, 28, II b, 12, 13, 17, 18, III 19.

198. *wṯj* "wrapping"
 rt. III 4
 rt. II 21, vs. II b, 14, 18, III 19 (bis), 20.

199. *wtb* "to pass"
 rt. II 13, III 3
 vs. II a, 20, III 17
a mummy bandage *wtb iw/ r ḫrj ḫr* "passes down under (the throat)", rt. III 3, vs. III 17; a mummy bandage *wtb r ḥrj ḥr* "is directed upwards upon something", rt. II 13; a mummy bandage *wtb ... =w* "passes ... them", vs. II a, 20.

200. *wtn*  "bark", see the Hieratic equivalent *wj3* "(divine) Bark" (no. 165).

201. *wḏ3* "to be prosperous", in the expression *ʿnḫ wḏ3 snb* after the title "Pharaoh" *Pr-ʿ3* c.w.s. (no. 17).

202. *wḏ3j.t* the undamaged eye of Horus
 rt. VI b, 14 (bis);  rt. VI b, 12
1) as picture
*sḫ wʿ.t wḏ3j.t n r3(.t) km.t* "write a *wḏ3j.t*-eye with black ink" (scil. on the cloth), rt. VI b, 12
2) as item
*wḏ3j.t ṯḥnj* "faience *wḏ3j.t*-eye" and *wḏ3j.t nm* "*wḏ3j.t*-eye of wood of the tamarisk", in enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 14.

*b*

203. *b* "cavity", "opening"
singular
 rt. II 10 (bis), 11 (bis), 12 (bis), 14 (bis), 16, 17, VI b, 3, 9, 11, 20, vs. II a, 3, 4 (bis), 5, 8, 10, 14 (bis), 16, 25 (bis), 28, III 5, 16, 21
plural
 vs. II a, 4 (bis)
1) of a vessel
rt. VI b, 3, 9, 20
2) of a part of the body
a) in the expression *n3 b.w p3 tp* "the openings in the throat" (no. 603), vs. II a, 4
b) as equivalent of Hieratic *r3* "mouth"
- rt. II 10 (bis), 11 (bis), 12 (bis), 14 (bis), 16, 17, VI b, 11, vs. II a, 3, 4 (bis), 5, 8, 10, 14 (bis), 16, 25 (bis), 28, III 5, 16, 21
- cf. the compound *ḫm-b/ ḫʿm-r3* "throat" (*i.e.* the part of the neck (*ḫm*) which is to be found at the mouth (*b/ r3*): no. 427 a).

204. *bw-ir*  negation "that ... not"
place vessels under the mummy *bw-ir iḫj h3j r ḫrj* "that nothing may fall

therefrom", rt. V 2; fasten the eyelids *bw-ir=f dj.t ḫn pȝ ḥf* "in order to prevent the third eyelid from hanging down", vs. II a, 12.

205. *bw-ir.tw*  negation "not yet"
people are waiting outside the House of Embalming *r bw-ir.tw=w šʿt ḥbs* "while they have not yet cut up a *ḥbs*-cloth", rt. IV 2.

206. *bnr* "outside"

*bnr*

 rt. III 12, 13, 16, 17 (bis), IV 1, 2, 11

 rt. II 5, 6, 7, 9, 16, 22, 24 (bis), III 19, IV 5, 9, 11, 12, 15, 22, V 4, VI a, 5, 12, vs. I 2, 6, 7, 16, 19, 20, II a, 12, 17, 20, II b, 2, 9, 16, III 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 13

*n bnr*

 rt. II 22

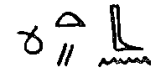
1) *pȝj=f/ =w bnr* "at its/ their outside"
a mummy bandage *ij pȝj=w bnr* "goes outside of them", vs. II a, 20; *mtw=f* <*dj.t*> *iw wʿ ḥbs pȝj=f bnr* "he makes a *ḥbs*-cloth go at its outside", vs. III 3; cf. obscure passage vs. III 4
2) *pȝ bnr* "at the outside"
they knot mummy bandages *r ḫ pȝj* <*iw.*> *ir.f pȝ bnr* "as he does outside (?)", rt. III 17
3) *pȝ bnr n* "at the outside of", "except"
a) build a tent *pȝ bnr pȝ kp ʿš* "outside the canopy of fir-wood", rt. IV 9; anoint *pȝ bnr nȝ ʿ.wj.w ir.t=f* "at the outside of his eye-sockets", vs. II b, 2
b) there are 157 vessels in the Slaughter-Room *pȝ bnr pȝ ḥn* ... "not to reckon the coffer of ...", rt. VI a, 12
4) *bnr* in the adverbial expression *iw/ r bnr* "out", "outward"
*ij r bnr* "to come out", rt. IV 22; *itḥ iw bnr* "to draw outside", rt. IV 15; *ḥn (r?) bnr* meaning?, vs. II b, 9; *šp r bnr* "to take away", rt. II 9; *štj r bnr* "to take away", rt. II 16, vs. I 2, 16, 19, 20, II a, 17, III 6; *šʿt.ṯ r bnr* "to cut off", rt. II 22, 24 (bis), vs. III 10, 13
5) *bnr* in prepositional expressions
a) *bnr n* "at the outside of": *wrḥ bnr n.im=w* "anoint outside of them", vs. II a, 12, II b, 16
b) *n bnr ḫr* "on the outside down under": *šʿt.ṯ n bnr ḫr tȝ šnbj.t* "(mummy bandages) are cut off under the breast", rt. II 22 = vs. III 9 (without *n*)
c) *iw/ r bnr n* "from", "out of": *ij iw bnr nȝ mʿrj.w(t)* "(cords) go out of the clamps", rt. IV 5; *dj.t šm r bnr tȝ mj.t pȝ ḥȝ* "make (the ends of the cloth) appear from the anus", vs. I 6, 7; *ḳ p(3) ntr iw bnr pȝ rȝ* "make the god enter from the door", rt. IV 12; sim. *iw bnr n.im.f* "from it (the door)", rt. IV 11

d) *r bnr r* "to": *ij r bnr r p3 ḏnḥ* "(a mummy bandage) goes to the shoulder", rt. II 5, 6

e) *iw/ r bnr ḫn* "from", "out of": *dj.t šm r bnr ḫn n3 ḥbs.w skr.w* "make (the poles) appear from the *skr*-bandages", rt. II 7; sim. rt. III 12, 13, 19, IV 2, V 4, VI a, 5

f) *iw bnr ḫr* "outside under": make mummy bandages go *iw bnr ḫr p(3) ntr* "outside under the god", rt. III 16; sim. rt. III 17, IV 1.

207. *bnt* a mummy bandage

 rt. III 14, 16

 rt. II 4 (bis), vs. I 23 (bis), II a, 18, 20

1) *bnt*-cloth for the wrapping of the back of the Apis (measurements: ca. 6.30/ 4.75 × 1.75 m.), rt. II 4 (bis), III 14, 16

2) *bnt*-cloth for the wrapping of the tongue of the Apis (measurements ca. 22.5 × 11 cm.), vs. I 23 (bis), II a, 18, 20.

208. *bs* a vessel

 rt. V 20, VI b, 1, 12

 rt. IV 16, vs. II a, 7, II b, 4

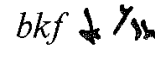
1) material

*bs ṯḥn/ ṯḥnj* "faience *bs*-vessel", rt. VI b, 1, 12; *bs nb* "golden *bs*-vessel", vs. II a, 7, II b, 4

2) use

*bs*-vessels are used for the storage of: natron (*ḥsmn*), rt. IV 16; water (*mw*), rt. VI b, 12; oil (*nḥḥ*), rt. VI b, 1; medicaments (*pḫr.t*), vs. II a, 7; oil (*sf*), vs. II b, 4; mummy cloths (*nms.w*), rt. V 20.

209. *bs.t*  unidentified item or substance mentioned in an enumeration of items (*nkt.w*) belonging to the Overseer of Craftsmen (no. 28), rt. VI b, 8.

210. *bkf*  a vessel (?), in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 4.

*p*

211. *p.t*  "heaven" *ʿš sgp iw p.t* "raise a lamentation to heaven", rt. I 2.

212. *p3/ p(3)* definite article masc. sing. (passim)

*p3*

 rt. I 2, 3, 5 (bis), 8, III 1, etc.

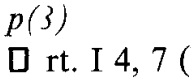
 rt. II 1 (*p3 t3*), etc.

 rt. I 8, II 1, 2, 3 (bis), etc.

 rt. II 24 (*p3 ḥr wnm*), etc.

 rt. III 19 (*ḥr p3 wnm*), 24 (*r p3 wnm*)

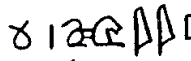
 rt. II 14 (*p3 ḫn*), III 17 (*p3 bnr*), vs. II a, 9 (*p3 smr*); notice *ḥnʿ p3* in vs. I 14 

*p(3)*
 rt. I 4, 7 (bis), 8, etc.; *p(3) ntj*  rt. III 26.

213. *pȝj* demonstrative pronoun masc. sing.
 rt. III 17
 rt. II 24
 vs. III 13
1) *pȝj* + noun
*pȝj smt* "this way", rt. II 24, vs. III 13
2) *pȝj* used as antecedent
knot mummy bandage *r ḫ pȝj* < *iw.* > *ir.f pȝ bnr* "as he does outside (?)", rt. III 17.

214. *pȝj=* possessive adjective
*pȝj=f*
 rt. II 25, III 1, 5, 7, 25 (bis)
 rt. II 18, vs. I 15, II a, 2, etc.
 rt. II 21, VI b, 1
*pȝj=s*
 rt. I 8, II 19, III 3
*pȝj=w*
 rt. I 7, IV 18, V 2, 4, etc.

215. *pj* "bank"
 rt. I 1
 rt. II 8;  rt. IV 17
*pj šʿ* "bank of sand", as pure element on which the mummy of the Apis rests: during the wrapping, rt. I 1, II 8; during the ritual journey on the Lake of Kings, rt IV 17.

216. *pjr* a bandage
 rt. III 1, [7], 11;  rt. I, 2-3
 rt. II 3 (ter);  rt. II 13, 17 (bis), 20 (bis), 22 (bis), 23 (bis), 25; vs. I 5, 13, II a, 18, 19, 28, II b, 16, 17, 22, 23, III 7, 9 (bis), 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18 (bis)
1) as emblem
the embalmers enter the House of Embalming *iw.w dj.t pjr iw ḫḫ.w* "they put a *pjr*-bandage about their neck", rt. I, 2-3
2) as mummy bandage
passim.

217. *pf*  demonstrative pronoun masc. sing. used in apposition to a noun and followed by a relative form: *p(3) rȝ ... pf* < *iw.* > *ʾḳ.w iw bnr n.im.f* "the door ... that they came out", rt. IV 11.

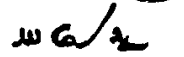
218. *pn* demonstrative pronoun masc. sing. [cf. *pȝj*: no. 213]
 =  in Hieratic context: rt. IV 7, 20; in demotic context: rt. II 9 (bis), IV 17, vs. II a, 8, 10
*ntr pn* "this god" = the dead Apis (loc. cit.).

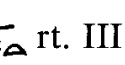
219. *pr* 
1) *pr* "to go out"
the Apis enters the Tent of Purification on the west side *mtw=f pr … tȝ s.t iȝbṯ* "and he goes out from the east side", rt. IV 14
2) *dj.t pr* "to make appear"
*dj.t pr pȝ wṯȝ iw bnr ḫn=f* "make the tail appear from it (the cloth)", rt. III 12; sim. rt. III 13.

220. *pr*
1) "palace", in the title *Pr-ʿȝ* c.w.s. (no. 17)
2) "sanctuary", in the expression *pr-wr* "big House" = House of Embalming (no. 36) and *Pr-Ḥʿpj* "House of the Inundation of the Nile" (no. 37).

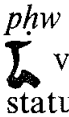
221. *prj* see *pjr* (no. 216).

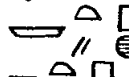
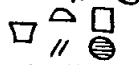
222. *prj.t*  "pillar" *wrs* 2 … *prj.t (n) tȝj=w mtr.t* "2 supports … and a pillar is in the midst of them", rt. II 2.

223. *prḫ* "to spread"
 rt. I 1, 3
 rt. V 3
*prḫ sḳ* "to lay out a mat", rt. I 1, 3; *prḫ nȝ ntj ḫn pȝ krs pȝ ḳbṯȝ* "to spread what is in the large and the small entrails", rt. V 3.

224. *pḥ* "to reach"
Forms and writings
1) *sḏm=f*-form
 rt. IV 20
2) *sḏmt=f*-form
 vs. I 22 (?)
3) infinitive
- *pḥ*
 vs. II a, 22; with definite article: *pȝ pḥ*, vs. II a, 19
- *pḥ* + suffix (object)
*pḥ.f*/ *=f*
 rt. III 9;  rt. II 11, vs. I 18, II a, 14
*pḥ.ṯ=f*
 vs. II a, 3.

225. *ph.t=* status pronominalis of *phw* "backside", "end" (no. 226).

226. *phw/ ph.t=* "backside", "end"
status nominalis
*phw*
 vs. II a, 17, III 5;  rt. III 20
status pronominalis
*phw=w*
 rt. II 19 (bis), vs. II a, 16, II b, 18
*ph.t=w*
 vs. I 19, 20
1) "end"
*p3 phw p3 hbs* "the end of the *hbs*-cloth", vs. III 5; cf. vs. I 19, 20, II a, 16
2) "backside"
*p3 phw ls=f* "the back of his tongue", vs. II a, 17; the clamps *n p3 phw* "at the backside (of the board)", rt. III 20
3) "lower parts"
to wrap the horns *t3j h3.t=w š' phw=w* "from their tops as far as their lower parts", rt. II 19; sim. rt. II 19 (bis), vs. II b, 18.

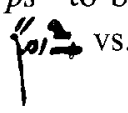
227. *pht* a vessel
 rt. I 5
 rt. I 5.

228. *phr* "to turn about", in the expression *ts-phr*  "vice-versa"
*wtj n str t3 h3 ts-phr* "to wrap (the mummy) with *str*-bandage in front and vice-versa", rt. III 13; *štš.f sbn t3j t3 h3.t r p3 h3 ts-phr* "fasten it (the board) with *sbn*-bandage from front to behind and vice-versa", rt. III 17.

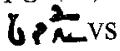
229. *phr.t* "medicament" (a resinous substance)
singular
*phr.t*
 vs. I 11, 13, 14 (ter), 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, II a, 1, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21 (bis), 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 (bis), 27, II b, 5, 7, 9, 15, III 4, 5
plural
*phr.wt*
 vs. II b, 6
*phr.w(t)*
 vs. I 13
1) *t3 phr.t* "the medicament", vs. I 11, II b, 7; *n3 phr.wt/ phr.w(t)* "the medicaments", vs. I 13, II b, 6
2) *t3 phr.t* + the day of the embalming process in which the medicament was prepared

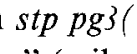
*t3 pḫr.t p3 hrw tpj* "the medicament of the first day", vs. I 14, II a, 1; *t3 pḫr.t p3 hrw mḥ*-12 "the medicament of the 12th day", vs. I 14, 17

3) *t3 pḫr.t* + temperature of the medicament
   a) *t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ* "the cold medicament", vs. I 14, II a, 6, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, 24, 25, II b, 5, 9, 15
   b) *t3 pḫr.t ntj ḫmm* "the warm medicament", vs. I 13, 18, 20, 21, 22, II a, 7, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 26 (bis), 27, III 4, 5.

230. *ps* "to boil"

vs. II b, 19, 24, 26
in the expression *p3 sf ʿnḏ iw=f ps* "the boiled *ʿnḏ*-oil" (no. 142).

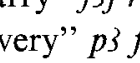
231. *psṯ.t*  a stone vessel in which enema's were stored; mentioned in enumeration of items, rt. V 33.

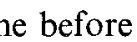
232. *pg3(.t)* "fine linen"

vs. II a, 13
in the expression *stp pg3(.t)* "strip of fine linen".

233. *ptj.t*  "knee" (scil. of the Apis) *t3j=f ptj.t* 2.*t* "his two knees"; rt. III 19.

## *f*

234. *.f/ =f* suffix pronoun 3rd person masc. (passim).

235. *f3j*  "to carry" *f3j r ḥrj* "to lift up something", vs. I 4.

236. *f3j*  "delivery" *p3 f3j ntj iw=f ij i.ir-ḥr p3 ḥrj sšt3* "the delivery (of oils) that shall come before the Overseer of the Mystery", vs. I 15.

## *m*

237. *m*
- instead of the younger preposition *n* (no. 282)
- in the compound preposition *m-ḫt* (no. 420); *m-s3* (no. 446); *m-ḳtj* (no. 558); *m-ḏr* (nos. 652 and 653); *š ʿ m* (no. 519)
- in the adverb *m-šs* (no. 533).

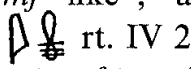
238. *m33* scented plant used in preparing styrax (no. 573).

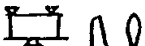
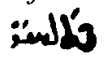
239. *m33*  "to see"
1) in the title of a book *m33 iw ... m wʿb* "see to ... in purity", rt. I 8 (rubricated)
2) in connection with cloths which are placed on the eye-sockets: *rj.w(t) m33 n3.w* "they are the places of seeing (?)", vs. II b, 6.

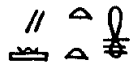
240. *m3ʿ* "place" [cf. *ḥr* "place": no. 388]

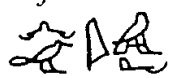
rt. II 5, 10, vs. I 18, II a, 3, 14

1) place in the House of Embalming
the embalmers go *r pȝ mȝ˓ ntj iw pȝ ntr n.im=f* "to the place where the god is", rt. II 5
2) place in the body
the embalmer thrusts his hand in the mouth of the Apis *šˁ pȝ mȝ˓ ntj iw ir-rḫ dr.t=f pḥ=f/ pḥ.ṯ=f* "as far as his hand can reach", rt. II 10, vs. I 18, II a, 3, 14.

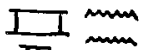
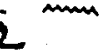
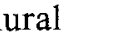
241. *mj* "like", "according as"
 rt. IV 20;  vs. II a, 1 (?)
- *ir n.f irw nb mj ntj iw ḥbj* "perform for him all the ceremonies according to what is in the ritual book", rt. IV 20
- in the damaged, obscure passage vs. II a, 1.

242. *mj.t/ mj(.t)* "way" [cf. *wȝ.t* "way": no. 160]
*mj.t*
 rt. III 10;  rt. IV 6
 rt. III 8, V 20
*mj*
 vs. I 4, 6 (bis), 7 (bis), 17, 20, II a, 24
1) of the throat
in the expressions *tȝ mj(.t) pȝ tp* "the channel of the throat", *tȝ mj(.t) 2.t pȝ tp* "the two channels in the throat" and *tȝ mj(.t) 2.t ntj ḫr pȝ tp nȝ.w* "the two channels which are down in the throat" (no. 603)
2) of the anus
in the expression *tȝ mj.t (n) pȝ ḥȝ* "the way behind" = the anus, rt. III 8, 10, IV 6, V, 20, vs. I 4, 6 (bis), 7 (bis).

243. *mj.t.t* "likewise"
 rt. II 2, IV 24, V 2, rubricated: V 23, 25
e.g.: *sḳ ḏwf* 10 *ḳȝ=w mḥ-ntr* 6 *wsḫ mj.t.t* "10 mats of papyrus; their length is 6 divine cubits, (their) width likewise", rt. II 2.

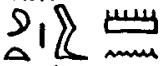
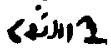
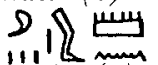
244. *mˁj/ mn* "woe (?)"
*mˁj*
 rt. I 3
*mn*
 rt. IV 15
*iw.w ḏd mˁj/ mn ntr n pr-wr* "they cry woe upon the god in the big house".

245. *mˁr*  "Good Fortune", title of a book, rt. IV 19.
246. *mˁrj.t/ mˁrj(.t)* "clamp", rt. I 4, III 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, IV 5.
247. *mw* "water"
singular

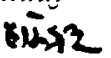
*mw*
 rt. III 9
 rt. V 11, VI b, 3, 12
plural
*mw.w*
 rt. V 18; *mw(.w)*, rt. V 15
1) vessels *ḫr mw* "with water", rt. VI b, 12; vessels *iw=w mḥ mw* "filled with water", rt. VI b, 3
2) water for the washing of parts of the body
as for the anus of the Apis *iw.f j'.s mw* "he washes it with water", rt. III 9; vessels *r 'tḫ n3 mw.w p3 krs* "to sieve the water of the large entrails (?)", rt. V 18; cf. rt. V 11, 15.

248. *mn* see *m'j* "woe (?)" (no. 244).

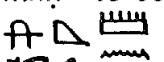
249. *mn*  "there is not" (contrast with *wn* "there is": no. 176)
*mn šlf in* "there is no disgrace", rt. VI b, 13.

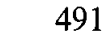
250. *mn.t/ mnj.t* "thigh" (anatomical counterpart of *ḏnḥ* "shoulder": no. 650)
singular
*mn.t*
 rt. III 12
*mnj.t*
 rt. II 8
plural
*mn.w(t)*
 rt. III 26
*mnj.w(t)*
 rt. II 6, 7.

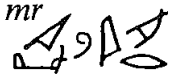
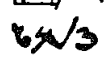
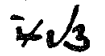
251. *mnḥ*  "wax", as binding agent for granular embalming materials (myrrh, ground resin of the terebinth) which are introduced in the mouth of the Apis, rt. II 12.

252. *mnḫ.t/ mnḫ(.t)*
singular
*mnḥ.t*
 rt. III 13
*mnḫ*
 rt. IV 16
plural
*mnḫ.w(t)*
 vs. II b, 24
1) *mnḫ(.t)* "cloth", rt. IV 16; *tmtm mnḫ.w(t)* "bundle (?) of cloths", vs. II b, 24

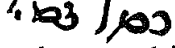
2) *ir mnḫ.t* "to cover with cloth": *ir n.f mnḫ.t* "to cover (the board) with cloth", rt. III 13.

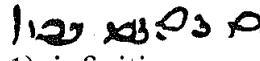
253. *mnḳ* "to complete"
 rt. III 4, 26
 vs. III 18, 19
1) *mnḳ n* + noun "to complete something by means of something"
embalmers make mummy bandages run to the breast of the mummy *š'-tw=w mnḳ=s pjr ḥrj ḫrj* "until they shall have completely wrapped it up with *pjr*-bandages above and below", vs. III 18
2) *mnḳ n* + infinitive "to have finally done something"
*mnḳ p(3) ntr n sm'ḫj ḏr=f* "to have the god finally altogether fastened", rt. III 26; the embalmer fastens the great wrapping of the head *š'tw=f mnḳ.f wṯj ḏr.f* "until he finally shall have entirely wrapped it", rt. III 4, vs. III 19.

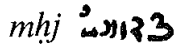
254. *mr*  "knotting", in the expression *mr (n) sḫm* "*sḫm*-knotting" (no. 491), rt. II 6, 7.

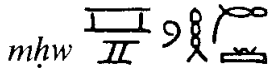
255. *mr/ mr3* "to bind"
*mr*
 rt. III 7 (qualitative form)
 rt. II 6, 7 (ter), 8, IV 1
*mr3*
 vs. I 5.

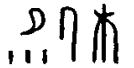
256. *mrj*  unidentified kind of wood (cedar?), rt. I 4.

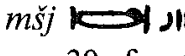
257. *mḥ* "to grasp"
 vs. I 16, II a, 9
*mḥ n* + object "to grasp something": *mḥ n3 tp.w p3 ḥbs* "to grasp the ends of the *ḥbs*-cloth", vs. I 16; cf. *mḥ n.im=f* "to grasp it (the cloth)", vs. II a, 9.

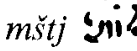
258. *mḥ* "to fill"
 rt. IV 16, VI a, 9, VI b, 2, vs. I 8, 9, II a, 5, 25
1) infinitive
*iw=f mḥ b=f ḥbs* "he fills his mouth with *ḥbs*-cloth", vs. II a, 5, 25
2) qualitative form
bags *iw=w mḥ ḥsmn wsj* "filled with natron and sawdust", vs. I 8, 9; sim. examples: rt. IV 16, VI a, 9, VI b, 2
3) participle, prefix to ordinal numbers
*mḥ* + number "completing a number": *mḥ-* 4 "4th", *mḥ* 12 "12th", *mḥ*-16 "16th" (no. 58).

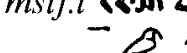
259. *mḥj*  green stone; in an enumeration of items (*nkt.w*) of the scribe of the god's book, rt. VI b, 11.

260. *mḥw*  "to float", in the book title *s3ḫ Wsir mḥw* "Glorification of Osiris, the Floating One", rt. IV 19.

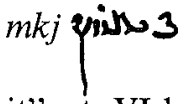
261. *ms* "to give birth"
 rt. IV 11
 rt. VI a, 14
- in the royal name *I'ḥ-ms* "Amasis" (no. 1)
- in the obscure passage about a mysterious coffer, rt. VI a, 14 (bis).

262. *mšj*  a vessel for the purification and storage of enema's, rt. V 4, 30; for storing embalming materials contained in enema's, rt. V 5.

263. *mštj*  a verb with unknown meaning, rt. V 8, 10.

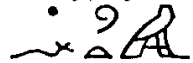
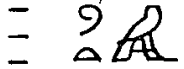
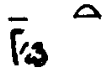
264. *mštj.t*  vessel or unidentified part of a vessel, rt. V 34.

265. *mk.t*  "protection", in the title of a book *t3 mk.t wj3* "the Protection of the Bark", rt. IV 19.

266. *mkj*  "ladder (?)": a coffer *mtw mkj* 2 *ḫpr n.im=f* "and 2 ladders are in it", rt. VI b, 22.

267. *mtj.t* see *mtw.t* "thickness", "depth" (no. 271).

268. *mtw* "with"
*mtw=f*
 rt. VI b, 4, 15
*mtw=w*
 rt. V 14
in the expression *wn mtw* "there is with X", "X has".

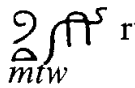
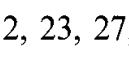
269. *mtw* conjunctive
*mtw.f/ =f*
 rt. III 2
 rt. II 5 (wrongly instead of *mtw=s*), 13, 21, 23 (bis), III 3, IV 14, vs. III 3, 4, 5, 7, 17
*mtw=s*
 rt. II 6
*mtw.w/ =w*
 rt. III 1, 2
 rt. II 1, 19, IV 3, 12, VI b, 12, vs. III 14, 15, 17 (bis)
*mtw* + noun
 rt. I 7, II 25 (bis), III 1, 3
 rt. II 1, 13 (bis), 21 (ter), 22 (quater), 23, V 17, VI b, 22, vs. II a, 19, 20 (bis), III 7, 8 (bis), 9, 10 (bis), 11.

270. *mtw=* element of the absolute pronoun
*mtw=w* (3rd person plural)  rt. V 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 26, 28, 30, 33

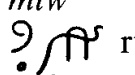
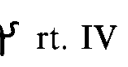
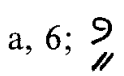
as subject defined by a relative phrase with *ntj*; e.g.: *mtw=w n3 ntj iw=w šp n3 ḥmt.w Ḥr r.r=w* "in them (the vessels) they receive the Horus copper".

271. *mtw.t/ mtw(.t)/ mtj(.t)* "thickness", "depth"

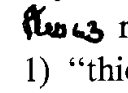
*mtw.t*

 rt. V 2, 23, 27, VI a, 4, VI b, 14;  rt. I 4;  rt. V 15

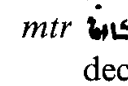
*mtw*

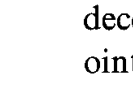
 rt. IV 25, VI a, 6;  rt. II 3; *mtw.f*  rt. VI b, 23

*mtj*

 rt. V 4, 7, 9, 12, 19, 21, 25, 32, 36, VI a, 2, 8, 10

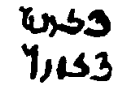
1) "thickness"
   of a board (*t3*), rt. I 4; a pad (*ʿnj.t*), rt. II 3; a brick (*tbj.t*), rt. IV 25
2) "depth"
   of a vessel: rt. V 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 15, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 32, 36, VI a, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10; of a coffer (*hn*), rt. VI b, 23; of an unidentified item (a coffer?), rt. VI b, 14.

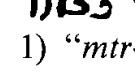
272. *mtr*  kind of oil; as a means to bring about the resurrection of the deceased: *ir n.s mtr sḳn* "make for it (the coffin) *mtr*-ointment and *sḳn*-ointment", rt. IV 4.

273. *mtr*  "presence", in the expression *šʿ p3 mtr* (ϣⲁⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ) "in front of", "before": *in p3 ḥbs rn=f šʿ p3 mtr p3 r3/ b=f* "bring before the/ his mouth the *ḥbs*-cloth which has been named", rt. III 2, vs. III 16.

274. *mtr* a mummy cloth

 rt. III 16, [14]

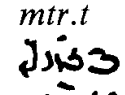
 rt. II 4 (bis), 19, vs. I 23 (?), II a, 20

 vs. II b, 18

1) "*mtr*-cloth"
   *wṯj=w mtr šʿ pḥw=w* "to wrap them (the horns) in *mtr*-bandage as far as their lower parts", rt. II 19, vs. II b, 18
2) in the expression *swḥ-mtr* "*swḥ-mtr*-cloth"
   a) as cloth for the wrapping of the tongue of the Apis, vs. I 23, II a, 20
   b) as cloth for the wrapping of the back of the Apis (measurements ca. 3 × 1/ 1.75 m.), rt. II 4 (bis), III 14.

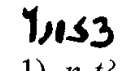
275. *mtr.t/ mtr(.t)* "middle", "midst"

*mtr.t*

 rt. II 2, 22, 23, III 21, vs. II a, 20, III 11

 rt. II 8

*mtr*

 vs. II b, 18;  vs. I 23, III 9, 16

1) *n t3 mtr.t* "in the midst"
   2 supports *prj.t (n) t3j=w mtr.t* "a pillar is in the midst of them", rt. II 2; sim. examples: rt. II 8, 22, vs. I 23, II a, 20, III 9

*n t3 mtr.t n* "in the midst of something"
the two clamps *(n) t3 mtr.t (n) p3 t3* "in the midst of the board", rt. III 21
*n t3 mtr.t ḫn*
a great *sbn*-bandage *ḫpr (n) t3 mtr.t ḫn=w* "comes in the midst among them (the other bandages)", rt. II 23, vs. III 11
2) *ḫn t3 mtr.t* "in the midst"
the great *pjr*-bandage *ntj ḫn t3 mtr.t* "which is in the midst", vs. III 16
3) *š' t3 mtr.t n* "up to the midst of something"
to wrap the ears in mummy bandages *š' t3 mtr(.t) n.im=w* "up to the midst of them", vs. II b, 18.

276. *md*  "to speak" *md irm* "to speak with", "consider", rt. VI a, 13.

277. *md(.t)*  "word", "thing"
as for the manufacturing of the mysterious coffer *md(.t) rmt šm t3j* "it is the matter of a divine (?) man", rt. VI b, 1;
as for a certain treatment of the eye-sockets *md(.t) iw=s ḥp t3j* "it is a hidden matter", vs. II b, 11.

278. *md3(.t)* "book" [cf. *dm'* "book": no. 646]
in the title *sḫ md3(.t)-ntr* "scribe of the god's book" (no. 29).

279. *mdj(.t)*  "brace" *mdj(.t) t3bj b* "brace to operate on the mouth (of the Apis)", rt. VI b, 11.

*n*

280. *n/ ntj* particle of the genitive
Forms and writings
*n*
- flat stroke or dot written before the following word
in Hieratic context: rt. I 7, II 1, IV 4, 7, 11
in demotic context: rt. II 5, 12, III 6 (*i.ir-ḥr-n*), 24 (bis), IV 3, 16, 24, V 11, 27, VI a, 12, VI b, 8, 11, 14, 23, vs. I 14 (?), II a, 8, II b, 8, III 6
- flat stroke below a sign or group (each time in a Hieratic context: genitive-*n* or filling stroke?): rt. I 3, 4, 7, 8, II 1, III 10, 13, IV 21
- stroke before the first sign of the following group (each time in a Hieratic context): rt. I 3, IV 1, 15

*ntj*
 rt. II 21;  rt. II 25.

281. *n* particle of the dative
1) connected with a suffix
*n.f*  rt. III 13, IV 19 (bis)
*n.s.*  rt. IV 4 (ter), 22

*n.w/ =w*

 rt. I 2.

 rt. IV 17, V 4, 18, 22, VI a, 1, 5, vs. I 10

2) meanings

a) dative commodi

e.g.: *dj.t n.w ḥbs* "to give to them (the embalmers) a garment", rt. I 2

b) dative ethicus

vessels in which enema's are placed *iw=w ʾḳ n=w r bnr ḫn pȝ hn* "after they have come out of the abdominal cavity", rt. V 4; sim. examples: rt. V 22, VI a, 1, 5

c) possessive dative

vessels *mtw nȝj=w ʾnj.wt ḫpr n=w* "which have their sieves", rt. V 18.

282. *n/ m* "in" (often not expressed in writing)

- *m* before nouns: rt. I 8, IV 12, 22, VI b, 9

in compound prepositions *šʿ m* (no. 519); *m-ḫt* (no. 420); *m-sȝ* (no. 446); *m-ḳtj* (no. 558); *m-ḏr* (nos. 652 and 653); in the adverb *m-šs* (no. 533)

- *n* before nouns

in Hieratic context: rt. II 18, III 7 (bis), 9, 10 (bis), 11 (bis), 13, 15, 26, IV 4, 11 (bis), 13

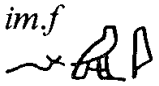
in demotic context: rt. II 1, 3, 10, 13, 14 (ter), 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, III 19, 22, 23, IV 17, V 27, VI a, 7, 13, VI b, 12, 13, 14, 22, vs. II b, 21

in prepositional and adverbial expressions

*n bnr*, rt. II 22; *n pȝ pḥw*, rt. III 20; *n pȝ ḫȝ*, rt. V 20; *n tȝ ḫȝ.t*, rt. III 19, 23; *n ḫȝ.t*, vs. II a, 10, II b, 12, 24

- *im./ n.im./ n.im=* in the status pronominalis

*im.f*

 rt. II 25 (bis), III 11

*n.im.f/ =f*

 rt. II 25, III 11 (bis), IV 11

 rt. II 5, 9, 13, III 17, IV 11, VI b, 13, 17, vs. I 22, II a, 2, 9, 18, 19, 20

*n.im=s*

 rt. II 22, 23, III 26, vs. II a, 10, 15, 23, 27, II b, 8, 15, III 15, 17

*n.im=w*

 rt. II 18, 19, 22, III 6, 7, V 12, 15, 27, 34, 35, VI a, 10, VI b, 1, 6, vs. II a, 1, 12, II b, 16, 17, 18, III 10

1) of time

*n ḫȝ.t-sp* 24 "in year 24", rt. IV 11; *m ḥrw tpj* "on the first day", rt. IV 12

2) of place

a) the place where somthing is

after a verb

- *iw* "to be": *pȝ mȝ' ntj iw pȝ ntr n.im=f* "the place where the god is", rt. II 5; cf. rt. VI b, 13; sim. after other verbs: *wn* "to be", rt. V 35; *ḫpr* "to be", rt. VI a, 14; *ḳȝt* "to build", rt. IV 11

in compound prepositions

- *n bnr ḫr* "at the outside under something" (no. 206, 5 b), rt. II 22

in adverbial expressions

- *n pȝ phw* "at the backside", "behind", rt. III 20; *n pȝ ḥȝ* "behind", rt. III 19, 23; *n tȝ ḥȝt* "in front", rt. III 19, 23

b) the direction from where

*n pȝ wnm r pȝ iȝbj* "from right to left", rt. III 22; *n 'b.w r pȝj=f irj n.im=w* "from one horn to the other", rt. II 18; sim. rt. III 7, vs. II b, 21

c) the direction where to

*nȝ w'b.w ntj 'ḳ n nȝ kȝ.w* "the *w'b*-priests who enter the shrines", rt. IV 17

3) in measurements indicating the direction of the measurement

pads *iw=w ir tb'* 6 *n ḫ.ṯ=w* "measuring 6 digits in their diameter", rt. II 3

4) of the parts into which something is divided

*ir n dnj.t* 2.*t* "to divide (a cloth) in 2 parts", rt. III 19

5) of condition

*m w'b* "in purity", rt. I 8

6) of equivalence

as for the cloth *iw.f n ḥs* ... "it is as a fabric ...", rt. III 7

7) of instrument

*'pr m* "to equip with", rt. IV 22; *w'b n* "to purify by means of", rt. IV 15; *wrḥ n* "to anoint with", rt. II 10, 15, III 10, 15; *wṯj n* "to wrap with", rt. II 19, III 13; *mnḳ n* "to complete by doing something", rt. III 26; *nms n* "to wrap with", rt. II 14, 16, 17, III 9; *ntm n* "to wrap with", vs. II b, 17; *ḥbs n* "to cover with", rt. IV 13; *swḥ n* "to wrap with", rt. II 13, III 10, V 27, VI b, 14, 22; *sḫt n* "to enlight by means of something", rt. VI b, 17; *sḫ n* "to write with something", rt. VI b, 12; *tḫb n* "to soak with", rt. III 10, vs. II a, 10, 15, 23, 27, II b, 15; *ḏbȝ n* "to clothe with", rt. II 1, 25, III 8, 11, IV 4; *ḏm n* "to clothe with", rt. II 14, III 10; after unidentified verbs: rt. II 14, VI a, 7, VI b, 13

8) partitive

- in the expression *n ... r pȝj=f irj n.im=* "from one ... to the other" (no. 106), rt. II 18, III 7; cf. vs. II a, 1
- after a numeral

*w'/ w'.t n.im=w* "one of them", rt. V 12, VI a, 10, VI b, 1, 6; 2 *n.im=w* "2 of them", rt. II 22, vs. III 10

9) to indicate the genitive of a personal pronoun

*wnm n.im=f/ =s* "right of him/ it", rt. II 9, 22, 23, III 17, vs. II a, 20, III 15;

cf. vs. II a, 2, III 17; *bnr n.im=w* "at the outside of them", vs. II a, 12, II b, 16; *šʿ t3 mtr.t n.im=w* "up to the midst of them", vs. II b, 18; *ḥr ḥ3.t n.im=f/ n.im=w* "at its/ their front", rt. II 13, 19, vs. II a, 18; *ḥr t3 ḥ3.t n.im=f* "at its front", vs. I 22; *r t3 ḥ3.t n.im=f* "in front of it", vs. II a, 19

10) to indicate the object
*swtn n.im=w* "to stretch them (the limbs)", rt. III 6; *šʿt n.im=s* "to cut it (the bandage)", rt. III 26; *mḥ n.im=f* "to grasp it (the cloth)", vs. II a, 9; *wʿb n.im=w* "to purify them (the enema's)", rt. V 27, 34.

11) to form an adverb
*n ḥ3.t* "first", vs. II a, 10, II b, 12, 24

283. *n.im./ n.im=* see *n* (no. 282).

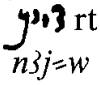
284. *n.im.w*  "there", used as resumptive adverb: the embalmer takes away *ntj nb nt(j iw).f gm.w n.im.w* "all things and everything that he shall find there", rt. III 9; *p3 ḥr ntj iw.w ḥ3ʿ n3 g3.w n3 ntr.w n.im.w* "the place where they have set the shrines of the gods", rt. IV 9.

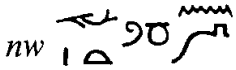
285. *n3* definite article plural (passim)
 rt. I 2, 2 (bis), etc.
 rt. II 1 (ter), etc.
 rt. II 2, 3 (bis), etc.

286. *n3* prefix placed before an adjective to form verbal adjective:
*n3-ʿ3* "to be great" (no. 129).

287. *n3.w*  used as subject in phrase without copula
*ḫt 3sj* 4 *n3.w* "they are 4 beams of wood of the tamarisk", rt. VI b, 19; (cloths) *ntj pḥ n3j=f nḏḥj.w(t) n3.w* "which reach his teeth", vs. II a, 22; *t3 mj(.t)* 2.*t ntj ḫr p3 tp n3.w* "the two channels which are down in the throat", vs. II a, 24; *rj.wt m33 n3.w* "they are the places of seeing (?)", vs. II b, 6; in obscure passage rt. IV 24.

288. *n3j* demonstrative pronoun plural [cf. Hieratic *nn*: no. 308]
 rt. II 6, III 4, 5, 21, IV 2, VI b, 14, vs. I 9, II b, 25.

289. *n3j* = possessive adjective plural
*n3j=f*
 rt. IV 13, vs. II a, 19, 22 (bis), 23, 24, II b, 2, 7
 rt. III 20
*n3j=w*
 rt. III 26, V 17, VI b, 19, vs. II b, 15, 16, 17.

290. *nw*  "sledge" *in p3 nw r t3 ḥ3.t p3 ntr* "to bring the sledge before the god", rt. IV 3.

291. *nw.t* "grave (?)" (no. 39).

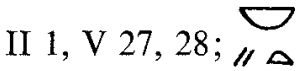
292. *nwḥ* see *in-nwḥ* "cord" (no. 99).

293. *nwt*  "linen" *nwt Sj iw nbt n3 jb.w* "linen from Sais to wrap up the

hoofs", rt. I 6; cf. demotic *iw=w nbt n3 jb'.w ḳn Sj* "they wrap the hoofs in *ḳn*-cloth from Sais", rt. III 6.

294. *nb*  "gold", as material from which vessels are made: *3w*-vessel (no. 65), rt. VI b, 11; *bs*-vessel (no. 208), vs. II a, 7; *3ḏ3-šl*-vessel (no. 75), rt. VI b, 9.

295. *nb* "every", "all"

 rt. II 1, V 27, 28;  rt. III 9, IV 15, 20, 22

 rt. II 11, III 9

1) defining a noun
   e.g.: *ḥbs nb* "every *ḥbs*-cloth", rt. II 1; sim. rt. III 9, IV 15, 20, 22, 27, 28
2) in the expression *ntj nb* "everything there is", "all"
   a) the embalmer takes away the cloths *ḥn' ntj nb ntj iw=f gm=w ḫn b=f* "and everything he may find in his mouth", rt. II 11
   b) as reinforcing expression
      *iḫj nb ntj nb* "everything and all things" = whatever things there may be, rt. III 9.

296. *nb.t* "lady", in the div. name *Nb.t-t3-ḥ.t* "Nephthys" (no. 9).

297. *nbt* a mummy cloth

 rt. II 18, 19

 vs. II b, 21 (bis), III 1.

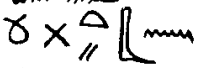
298. *nbt/ nbtj*

*nbt*

 rt. III 6;  vs. I 10, 12, II b, 20, 26

*nbtj*

 rt. II 18

 rt. I, 5-6; var.: rt. I 6 (ter), III 11

1) "to wrap up a part of the body", rt. I 6, II 18, III 6, 11, vs. I 10, 12, II b, 20, 26
2) "to manufacture a *nbtj.t*-bandage", rt. I, 5-6 (bis).

299. *nbtj*  meaning?: rt. VI b, 22.

300. *nbtj.t/ nbtj(.t)* a mummy bandage

singular

*nbtj.t*

 rt. III 7, 11

 rt. II 5, III 18, 20 (bis), 21 (bis), 22 (bis), 23 (bis), 24, V 1;

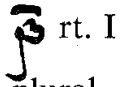
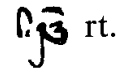
 vs. II b, 26

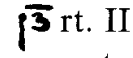
*nbtj*

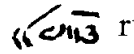
 rt. I, 7-8, III 25;  rt. III 26

 vs. I 12

plural
*nbtj.w(t)*
 rt. III 18
1) measurements
120 divine cubits in length (ca. 62 m.): rt. III 18-19
100 divine cubits in length and 4 digits in width (ca. 50 m. × 7.5 cm.): rt. I, 5-6
200 divine cubits in length and 1 2/3 digits in width (ca. 100 m. × 3.5 cm.): rt. I 6
200 divine cubits in length and 2 digits in width (ca. 100 m. x 3.70 cm.): rt. I 6
2) use
a) for the wrapping of parts of the body
hoofs, rt. III 7; cf. rt. I 6; tail, rt. III 11; breast, vs. I 12, II b, 26
b) for strapping the mummy on a stretcher or board; the bandage is taken crosswise (determinative X) over the mummy: rt. II, 5-9, III, 18-26; cf. rt. I, 5-6
3) in various expressions
*nbtj(.t) iw sm'ḥj* "*nbtj.t*-bandage for fastening" (sc. the Apis to the board), rt. III 25; *nbtj.t (n) skr* "*nbtj.t*-bandage for wrapping", in enumeration of items, rt. V 1.

301. *nm* "pole", used for constructing a framework for the transportation of the Apis
singular
*nm*
 rt. I 5, II 7 (bis), 8 (bis), IV 2
plural
*nm.w*
 rt. II 9, III 15, 19.

302. *nm* "tamarisk"
 rt. II 2, VI b, 14
as material for the manufacturing of: a support (*wrs*: no. 187); an amulet (*wḏ3j.t*: no. 202).

303. *nmj.t/ nm'j-t* "slaughter"
*nmj.t*
 rt. VI a, 11
*nm'j.t*
 rt. IV 23
in the expression *'.t nmj.t/ nm'j.t* "Slaughter-Room" (no. 32).

305. *nms* "to cover"

 rt. III 9

 rt. II 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, vs. I 1, 2

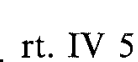
 vs. I 17, II a, 21

1) *nms* + direct object of a part of the body
*iw=f nms=w n ḥbs* "he covers them (the horns) with *ḥbs*-cloth", rt. II 17; sim. rt. II 9, III 9, vs. I 1, 2, 17, II a, 21

2) *nms ḫn* + a part of the body
*iw=f nms ḫn b=f ḥbs* "he covers inside his mouth *ḥbs*-cloth", rt. II 11; sim. rt. II 14, 16.

306. *nms.w* kind of mummy cloths

 rt. II 11, 16, V 20, 22

 rt. IV 5;  rt. III 10;  rt. I 7, IV 6

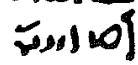
- *n3 nms.w n3 ḫt.w p(3) ššt* "the *nms*-cloths and the things (= the embalming materials) of the Wrapping-Room", rt. I 7
- as mummy cloths of a certain part of the body
*n3 nms.w p(3) ḥr ššt3* "the *nms*-cloths of the mysterious face", rt. IV 5; sim. of the abdominal cavity (*ḥn*), rt. V 22; the mouth (*b*), rt. II 16; cf. rt. II 11; the anus (*t3 mj.t p3 ḥ3*), rt. III 10, IV 6, V 20.

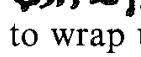
307. *nn*  negative particle, in the adjectival expression *nn rḫ.f* "mysterious": *p3 ḥn nn rḫ.f* "the mysterious coffer", rt. VI b, 20, 21.

308. *nn*  "these", in the expression *m-ḫt nn* "after that", introducing a new chapter, rt. I 1, II 2, IV 8 (cf. demotic *m-s3.s/ m-s3 n3j*: no. 446).

309. *nhj*  "sycamore" *ḫt nhj* "wood of the sycamore", as material from which a coffer (*ḥn*) is made, rt. VI a, 12-13.

310. *nḥb.t* "neck" [opposed to *ḫm-b/ ḫ'm-r3* "throat": no. 427 a]

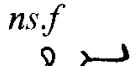
 rt. III 5

 vs. III 20

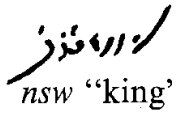
to wrap up the head of the Apis *ṯ3j p3 ... š' nḥb.t.f/ =f* "from the ... up to his neck".

311. *nḥḥ*  "sesame oil"
*p3 nḥḥ* "the sesame oil", in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 2; *nḥḥ whj r sḥt n.im=f* "sesame oil of the Oasis to illuminate with it", rt. VI b, 17.

312. *ns/ ls* "tongue" *ns.f/ ls=f* "his tongue"
*ns.f*

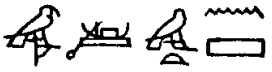
 rt. II 13, vs. I 21, 22 (bis)

*ls=f*

 rt. II 12, vs. II a, 15, 17, 18 (bis), 19, 21 (bis), 24.

313. *nsw* "king"
*t3 ḥ.t nsw.w* "the Palace of the Kings" (no. 33), rt. IV 9; *p(3) šj nsw.w* "the Lake of Kings" (no. 54), rt. IV 13; in the expression *šs-nsw* "royal linen", "byssus" (no. 534).

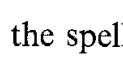
314. *nš* (?)  a kind of cloth for covering the nostrils of the Apis, vs. II a, 27.

315. *nšm.t*  "*nšm.t*-bark", in the book title *p(3) s3 nšm.t* "the Protection of the Bark", rt. IV 18.

316. *nḳr*  "to grind" [cf. *sḫm*: no. 486]
*r'j r3-st3 iw.f nḳr* "ground *r'j* of Rostau", in an enumeration of items, rt. IV 23.

317. *nkt.w* "things", "movables" [cf. *iḫj*: no. 110; *ḫt*: no. 405]
 rt. I 3, VI b, 23
 rt. IV 23, VI b, 7, 9, 16, 18
- things (vessels, palettes, etc.) belonging to the outfit of a functionary: the Overseer of Craftsmen (*p3 ḥrj ḥm*), rt. VI b, 7; the scribe of the god's book (*p3 sḫ md3.t-ntr*), rt. VI b, 9; the *wr-irj*-priest, rt. VI b, 18
- things (mummy bandages, vessels, etc.) which are in: the Wrapping-Room (*ššt*), rt. I 3; the Slaughter-Room (*'.t nm'j.t*), rt. IV 23; a shrine (*dj r ḥtpj*), rt. VI b, 16; a coffer (*hn*), rt. VI b, 23.

318. *nt-'*  "ritual", in the book title *nt-' ḫnw hrw tpj* "Ritual of the Journey of the First Day", rt. IV 18.

319. *ntj* relative adjective (passim)
notice the spelling  *nt(j iw) .f*: rt. I 3, III 9.

320. *ntj* particle of the genitive (no. 280).

321. *ntf*  "to loose"
*ntf n3 ḥbs.w t3 s(3)r.t* "to loose the *ḥbs*-cloths of the coffin", rt. IV 22.

322. *ntm*  "sweet" *'t ntm* "sweet fat" (no. 155), rt. VI b, 16.

323. *ntm* "to wrap"
 vs. II b, 17, 26
 vs. II b, 25.

324. *ntr* "god"
singular

*ntr*

 rt. I 3, III 15 (bis), 16, 17, 18 (bis), 26, IV 1 (bis), 2, 7, 12, 15, 19, 20 (bis)

 rt. II 1, 5 (bis), 8, 9 (ter), 10, 12, 15, III 9, 24, IV 3 (bis), 8, 17 (bis), V 2, 24, 29, vs. I 8, 15, 16 (bis), 17, II a, 3, 8, 10, 14, III 21

plural

*ntr.w*

 rt. IV 9

1) singular
   a) in titles: *it (-ntr)* "god's father" (no. 18), *ḥm-ntr* "prophet" (no. 22), *sḫ mḏ3.t-ntr* "scribe of the god's book" (no. 29)
      in the expressions *mḥ-ntr* "divine cubit" (no. 60) and *ḥ.t-ntr* "temple" (no. 40)
   b) denoting the Apis
      *ntr* "god", rt. I 3, IV 15; *ntr pn* "this god", rt. II 9 (bis), IV 7, 17, 20, vs. II a, 8, 10; *p3 ntr* "the god" (passim)
2) plural
   *n3 g3.w n3 ntr.w* "the shrines of the gods", rt. IV 9.

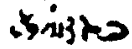
325. *nḏḥ(.t)/ nḏḥ.t* "tooth"

singular

*nḏḥ*

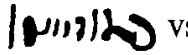
 rt. II, 11-12

*nḏḥj.t*

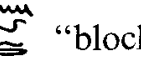
 rt. II 12

plural

*nḏḥj.w(t)*

 vs. II a, 11, 22, 23 (determinative of the stone or determinative imitating tooth?)

1) embalming of teeth
   anointing of teeth: vs. II a, 11; covering teeth with cloths: vs. II a, 22-23
2) teeth in connection with ritual procedure
   *dj.t rk t3 nḏḥ(.t) 2.t ... dj.t k.t nḏḥj.t 2.t* "to remove the two teeth ... and put two other teeth (replacing them)", [ritual action imitating the shedding or renewal of teeth to symbolise the rejuvenation of the Apis], rt. II, 11-12.

326. *nḏḏḥ.t*  "block" *nḏḏḥ.t inr* "block of stone"; see *ifd inr* "square block of stone": no. 93.

*r*

327. *r/ iw* preposition denoting direction towards something

I. Forms and writings

before noun or verb: *iw* or *r*
*iw*
 passim
*r*
 passim
 vs. I 18, II b, 12, 14, 21
in *r bnr*: rt. VI a, 5, vs. I 6, 7
in *r ḥrj*: vs. I 9, 20, 22 (bis), II a, 19, III 16
 in *r bnr*: rt. IV 22
before a suffix: *iw-r., iw-ir., r.r=*
3rd person sing. fem.
*r.r=s*
 rt. II 8
*iw-r.s*
 rt. III 12, IV 14
3rd person plural
*r.r=w*
 rt. V 4, 7, 9, 11, 15, 19, 21, 22, 27, 33, VI a, 1, 5, 9
*iw-ir.w*
 rt. I 7

II. Meanings of the preposition before noun or suffix

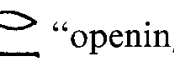
1) "to"
   - e.g.: *iw p.t* "to heaven", rt. I 2; *iw pȝ ššt* "to the Wrapping-Room", rt. I 2
     in prepositional or adverbial expressions
     *r bnr, r bnr r* (no. 206, 5); *r ḥrj, r ḥrj r* (no. 395, 4); *r ḫn* (no. 432, II, 2); *r ḫrj* (no. 438); *r twn/ iw ḏr* (no. 652); *r ḏȝḏȝ=* (no. 640)
   - metaphorical
     *wn iw* "to open towards something" = to face something, rt. IV 10 (bis)
2) "in"
   perform the ceremonies *mj ntj iw ḥbj* "according to what is in the ritual book", rt. IV 20
3) "according"
   in the expression *iw/ r ḫ* "according" (no. 425)

4) "per", "by" (distributive)
2 supports *ḳ3=w mḥ-ntr* 2 ½ *r w'* "their height is 2 ½ divine cubits each", rt. II 2; sim. examples: rt. II 15, IV 14, V 11, 29, VI a, 10, VI b, 1, 2, 6, 16, vs. II b, 9

III. The preposition *r/ iw* used before the infinitive

1) *r sḏm*
to manufacture a mummy bandage *iw 'ḳ* "to make (the Apis) enter", rt. I 6; *iw sm'ḥj* "to fasten (the Apis)", rt. I 6; *iw nbt n3 jb.w* "to wrap the hoofs", rt. I 6; sim. examples: rt. I 7, II 14 (?), III 26, V 18, 20, 22, 24, VI a, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, VI b, 7, 17, 20, 21
2) *r tm dj.t sḏm=f*
to introduce embalming materials into the mouth *r tm dj.t ḫtm b=f* "to prevent his mouth from shutting", rt. II 12; sim. rt. III 6, IV 20
3) *iw=f r sḏm*
the embalmer takes away everything from the anus of the Apis *š' p3 ḥr ntj iw ir-rḫ dr.t.f iw ph.f* "as far as his hand may go", rt. III 9 (construction correct?).

328. *r* ≤ in the expression *ḏj r ḥtpj* (no. 641) and *ḥtpj r ḥtpj* (no. 402).
329. *r* see *iw* "whereas" (no. 84).
330. *r./ iw.* in the relative form *r.sḏm=f/ iw.sḏm.f*
1) relative forms of the following verbs are certified: *ir* "to do" (no. 103); *štj* "to take away" (no. 539); *dj.t* "to place" (no. 630)
2) the antecedent is a noun representing the logical object
*n3 nms.w r.štj/ iw.štj p3 w'b* "the *nms*-cloths which the *w'b*-priest has taken away", rt. II 11, III 10; the cloths *r.tw=f ḫn b=f* "which he has placed in his mouth", vs. II a, 3; the medicament *r.tw=k ḫn ir.t=f* "which thou hast placed in his eye-socket"; vs. II b, 6
3) the antecedent is an infinitive representing the logical object
*m-s3 ir n.f mnḫ.t iw.ir.w t3 ḥ3.t* "after having it (the board) covered with cloth first", rt. III 13; sim. rt. IV 13, vs. I 10.

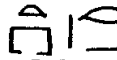
331. *r.* in the participle *r.wn-n3.w* (no. 176).
332. *r.r=* see *ir* "to do" (no. 103, I, 3).
333. *r.r=/ iw-r.* see *r* (no. 327): *r.r=s/ iw-r.s/ iw-ir.w.*
334. *r-ḥr* see *iw-ḥr* (no. 88).
335. *r3*
1)  "opening"
*p3 r3 p3 '.wj* "the opening of the place" (= the incision made in the left side of the mummy in order to remove the entrails), vs. I 9

2)  "mouth"

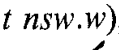
a) of the Apis: *pȝ rȝ* "the mouth", rt. I 8, II 25, III 2 (bis); *pȝ rȝ pȝ ntr* "the mouth of the god", vs. I 15, 16 (bis), 17; *rȝ=f* "his mouth", vs. I 19, 20

b) in the compound expression *ḫ'm-rȝ* "throat" (no. 427 a)

c) in the expression *wp-rȝ* "opening of the mouth" (no. 174)

3)  "door"

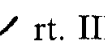
of the stall (*ihȝ*) of the Apis, rt. IV 10, 11, 12; of the palace of the kings (*tȝ ḥ'.t nsw.w*), rt. IV 9; of the Embalming House (*w'b.t*), rt. IV 20.

336. *rȝ(.t)*  "ink" *rȝ(.t) km.t* "black ink", rt. VI b, 8, 10, 13 (bis); *rȝ(.t) wȝḏ(.t)* "green ink", rt. VI b, 10.

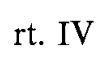
337. *rj.t/ r'.t* "side"

singular

*rj.t*

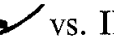
 rt. III 20; cf. vs. I 13

*r'.t*

 rt. IV 1

plural

*rj.w(t)*

 vs. II b, 6

1) in connection with the eyes of the Apis

amulets are placed in the eye-sockets *rj.w(t) mȝȝ nȝ.w* "they are the places of seeing (?)", vs. II b, 6

2) in the prepositional expression *tȝ rj.t/ r'.t ḥrj.t*

mummy bandages run *tȝ rj.t ḥrj.t nȝj=f ḏnḥ.w* "over the upper side of his shoulders", rt. III 20; sim. examples: rt. IV 1, vs. I 13.

338. *r'j*  unidentified product: *r'j rȝ-stȝ iw.f nḳr* "ground *r'j* of Rostau", in an enumeration of items, rt. IV 23.

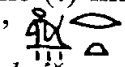
339. *rmrm*  a mummy bandage

*wṯj=w rmrm* "to wrap them (the limbs) with *rmrm*-bandage", rt. III 8.

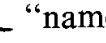
340. *rmt* "man", "people"

1) singular: "man" 

as for the manufacturing of a mysterious coffer *md(.t) rmt šm tȝj* "it is the matter of a divine (?) man", rt. VI b, 1

2) plural: "people" 

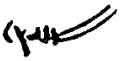
collective: *rmt nb 'š sgp 'ȝ* "all people raises a great lamentation", rt. IV 15.

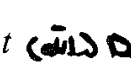
341. *rn*  "name"

1) they read sacred books: *pȝj=w rn* "their titles", there follows a list of titles of the books in question, rt. IV 18

2) in the adjectival expression *(n) rn=* "mentioned"

*pȝ ḥbs rn=f* "the *ḥbs*-cloth which has been named", rt. III 2, vs. I 18, II a, 19, III 15.

342. *rrj.t*  unidentified; *rrj.t* + div. name which has not been deciphered: "*rrj.t* of (deity)", in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 17.

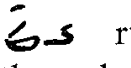
343. *rhnj.t*  vessel or unidentified part of a vessel: rt. V 3.

344. *rḫ*

1) *rḫ*  "to know"; in the adjectival expression *nn rḫ.f* "mysterious": *p3 ḥn nn rḫ.f* "the mysterious coffer", rt. VI b, 20, 21

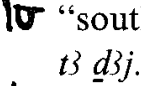
2) *ir-rh* "to be able"

 rt. III 9

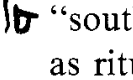
 rt. II 11, vs. II a, 3, 10, 14; < *ir-* > *rḫ*: rt. III 6, vs. I 18

the embalmer puts his hand in the mouth or the anus of the Apis *š' p3 m3'/ ḥr ntj iw ir-rḫ dr.t=f ph=f* "as far as his hand can reach", rt. II 11, III 9, vs. I 18 (corrupt), II a, 3, 10, 14; the embalmers stretch the limbs of the Apis *š' p3 ntj iw=w < ir- > rḫ ir=f* "as far as they can", rt. III 6.

345. *rḫt*  meaning uncertain ("number"?; "*rḫt*-cloth"?), rt. II 1.

346. *rsj*  "south" (adjective)

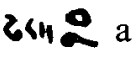
*t3 ḏ3j.t rsj(.t)* "the south wall" (sc. of the Place of the Apis), rt. IV 10.

347. *rsj*  "south" (noun)

as ritual direction: the Apis rests on a bank of sand *r ḥr=f r rsj* "his face turned south", rt. IV 17.

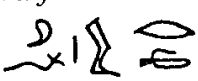
348. *rk*  "to cease"

*dj.t rk* "to make cease", "to remove": *dj.t rk t3 nḏḥ.t* 2.*t* "to remove the two teeth", rt. II 11.

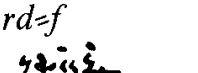
349. *rks*  a vessel in the shape of a vase (?) in which enema's are stored; in an enumeration of items: rt. V 26.

350. *rd* "hind foot" [cf. *dr.t* "foot": no. 633]

*rd.f*

 rt. I 5

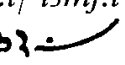
*rd=f*

 rt. III 6, vs. I 10

the vessel which is *ḫr rd.f* "under his hind foot", rt. I 5; *swḥ n3 dr.wt dr.t=f rd=f* "to wrap the feet, that is his forefoot and his hind foot", rt. III 6, vs. I 10.

## *l*

351. *lḥmj.t/ l3mj.t* (?) stone vessel in the shape of a trough or bucket

 rt. V 13, 17, VI a, 9

- vessel in which the water is sieved which was used for washing the intestines of the Apis: *lḥmj.t '3.t* "great *lḥmj.t*-vessel" and *lḥmj.t ḫm.t* "little *lḥmj.t*-vessel", rt. V 17, VI a, 9

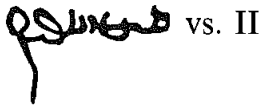
- vessels in which enema's are stored: *lḥmj.t* "(medium size) *lḥmj.t*-vessel", rt. V 13.

352. *ls* see *ns* "tongue" (no. 312).

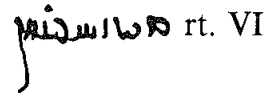
## *h*

353. *h3j*  "to fall" *h3j r ḫrj* "to fall down", rt. V 2.
354. *hjnj*  "some" *hjnj ʿrf* "some bags", vs. I 5.
355. *hbjn/ hbjnj/ hbn* "ebony"

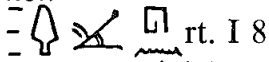
*hbjn*

 vs. II b, 26

*hbjnj*

 rt. VI b, 9

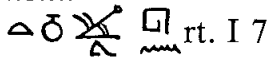
*hbn*

 rt. I 8

- as material from which a roller is made
  *ḳrr hbjn* "roller of ebony" (no. 551)
- as material from which a vessel is made
  *3ḏ3-šl*-vessel (no. 75); *ḳll*-vessel (? no. 554).

356. *hbn.t/ hbn(.t)* large vessel used to contain embalming materials

*hbn.t*

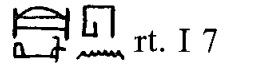
 rt. I 7

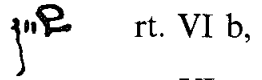
*hbn*

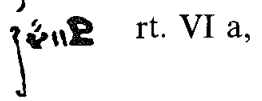
 rt. IV 5, 7.

357. *hn*

1) in the proper sense: "coffer"

 rt. I 7

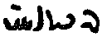
 rt. VI b, 20, 21

 rt. VI a, 12

- coffer containing embalming materials
  *hn ḳd* 2 "2 coffers of *ḳd*-wood", containing mummy cloths and embalming materials, rt. I 7
- ritual coffer
  *p3 hn nn rḫ.f* "the mysterious coffer", rt. VI b, 20-21; *p3 hn* ... "the coffer (of the goddess NN)", rt. VI a, 12

2) in the metaphorical sense: "cavity" (of breast and abdomen)
 rt. V 5, 7, 22, vs. I 1 (bis), 8.

358. *hnbj*  cloth or item made of cloth, vs. I 18.

359. *hnbj.t*  stone vessel used for the storage of natron, rt. II 2, IV, 8-9, VI b, 1.

360. *hrw* "day"
 rt. I 8, III 13, IV 13, 18
 rt. II 2, V 23, vs. I 14 (bis), 17, II a, 1, III 2, 21, 22 (bis)
1) in the book title *nt-ʿ ḥnw hrw tpj* "Ritual of the Journey of the First Day", rt. IV 18
2) day of the embalming process
*hrw tpj* "first day", rt. I 8, II 2, III 13, IV 13, V 23, vs. I 14, II a, 1, III 2; *hrw mḥ*-12 "12th day", vs. I 14, 17; ... *hrw šʿ pȝ hrw mḥ*-16 ... *pȝ hrw mḥ*-16 "... day up to the 16th day ... the 16th day", vs. III, 21-22.

361. *ht*  unidentified wooden item; mentioned in an enumeration of items: vs. II a, 7.

## *ḥ*

362. *ḥ.t*
1) *ḥ.t ḳbḥ* "House of Purification" (no. 41)
2) *ḥ.t-ntr* "temple" (no. 40)
3) in the divine name *Nb.t-tȝ-ḥ.t* "Nephthys" (no. 9).

364. *ḥȝ* "back side" [cf. *ṯḥw* "back side" (no. 226) and the contrast *ḥȝ.t* "front" (no. 365)]
 rt. III 8, IV 3
 III 10, 12 (bis), 16, 17, 18, 22, IV 1, 4, 6, V 21, vs. I 4, 6 (bis), 7 (bis)
1) in adverbial expressions denoting place
a) *n pȝ ḥȝ* "at the back side", "behind"
rt. III 12, 22; *(n) tȝ ḥȝ.t (n) pȝ ḥȝ* "in front and behind", rt. III 12, 16, 18, IV 4; *tȝ mj.t (n) pȝ ḥȝ* "the way behind" = the anus (no. 242)
b) *r pȝ ḥȝ* "to the back side"
to send mummy bandages over the mummy *ṯȝj tȝ ḥȝ.t r pȝ ḥȝ* "from front to behind", rt. III 17
c) *ḥr pȝ ḥȝ* "on the back side"
to send mummy bandages over the mummy *ḥr tȝ ḥȝ.t pȝ ḫʿp pȝ ḥȝ* "in front, on the navel and on the hindquarters", rt. IV 1

2) as preposition in the expression *š' p3 ḥ3 n* "up to the back side of ...", "up to ..."
to draw the sledge *š' p3 ḥ3 n t3 sl3.t* "up to behind the coffin", rt. IV 3.

365. *ḥ3.t* "front", "beginning" [as opposed to *ḥ3* "back side": no. 364]
 rt. III 4, IV 16
 rt. II 7 (bis), IV 15, vs. III 19
1) "front" of a part of the body
*t3 ḥ3.t n3 ḏnḥ.w* "the front of the shoulders", rt. II 7; *t3 ḥ3.t n3 mnj.w(t)* "the front of the tighs", rt. II 7
2) "beginning" of something
- *t3 ḥ3.t p3 wṯj* "the beginning of the wrapping", rt. III 4, vs. III 19; *t3 ḥ3.t in-nwḥ* "the beginning of the cord", rt. IV 15, 16
- cf. *ḥ3.t-sp* "regnal year" (no. 368).

366. *ḥ3.t* as preposition
status nominalis
*ḥ3.t*
 rt. II 13, 19, IV 17, 20, vs. I 21, II a, 18
status pronominalis
*ḥ3.t=f*
 rt. IV 16
1) *ḥ3.t, ḥ3.t=* "before ..."
to throw a brick *ḥ3.t t3 sl3.t* "before the coffin", rt. IV 20; to enter the lake *r Is.t Nb.t-t3-ḥ.t ḥ3.t=f* "with Isis and Nephthys before him (the Apis)", rt. IV 16
2) *ḥr ḥ3.t* "at the front of ..."
*ḳlḥ ḥr ḥ3.t n.im=f* "to swathe at its front", rt. II 13; sim. rt. II 19, vs. I 21, II a, 18
3) *ḫr ḥ3.t* "before ..."
the bed (*grg*) of Ptah is *ḫr ḥ3.t ntr pn* "before this god", rt. IV 17.

367. *ḥ3.t* in adverbial expressions
 rt. III 12, 13 (bis), 16, 18, IV 13
 rt. II 5, 7, 8, 10, III 17, 19, 21 (bis), 23, IV 1, 4, vs. I 10, II a, 10, II b, 12, 24
1) in adverbial expressions of place
a) *n t3 ḥ3.t* "in front"
*n t3 ḥ3.t* rt. III 19, 23
*(n) t3 ḥ3.t* rt. II 7, 8, III 12, 13, 16, 18, IV 4, rt. II 7, 8, III 13, 19, 23;
*(n) t3 ḥ3.t (n) p3 ḥ3* "in front and behind", rt. III 12, 16, 18, IV 4
b) *r t3 ḥ3.t* "to the front"
to make mummy bandages run *r t3 ḥ3.t* "to the front", rt. III 21

c) *ḥr t3 ḥ3.t*
to fix a mummy bandage *ḥr t3 ḥ3.t* "in front", rt. II 5; the two clamps *ḥr t3 ḥ3.t* "in front (of the board)", rt. III 21; to make mummy bandages run over the mummy *ḥr t3 ḥ3.t* "in front", rt. IV 1

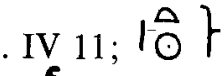
d) *ṯ3j t3 ḥ3.t* "from the front"
to make mummy bandages run *ṯ3j t3 ḥ3.t r p3 ḥ3* "from the front to behind", rt. III 17

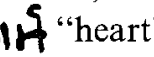
2) in adverbial expressions of time

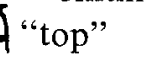
a) *n ḥ3.t* "first"
*p3 ḥrj sšt3 ... dr.t=f t3 pḫr.t ntj ḳbḥ n ḥ3.t* "the Overseer of the Mystery ... his hand the cold medicament first", vs. II a, 10; *smn t3 ʾnj(.t) wnm n ḥ3.t* "to fasten the right pad first", vs. II b, 12; *wrḥ t3 šnbj.t n ḥ3.t* "to anoint the breast first", vs. II b, 24

b) *t3 ḥ3.t* "first"
*ir n.f mnḫ.t iw.ir.w t3 ḥ3.t* "to cover (the board) with cloth first", rt. III 13; sim. rt. IV 13, vs. I 10

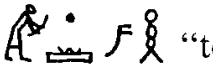
c) *m-s3 t3 ḥ3.t* "first (?)"
*wrḥ ntr pn r p3 šnj m-s3 t3 ḥ3.t* "to anoint this god first at the *šnj*", rt. II 10.

368. *ḥ3.t-sp* "regnal year"
 rt. IV 11;  rt. IV 11.

369. *ḥ3.ṯ*  "heart"
*wrḥ p3 ḥ3.ṯ sf ʾnḏ iw=f w'b* "to anoint the heart with pure *ʾnḏ*-ointment", vs. I 2.

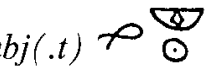
370. *ḥ3.ṯ*  "top"
to wrap the horns *ṯ3j ḥ3.ṯ=w š' pḥw=w* "from their tops as far as their lower parts", rt. II 19.

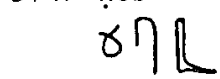
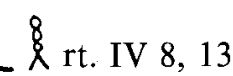
371. *ḥ3.ṯ*  "first" *ir ḥ3.ṯ* "to do something first", rt. IV 14.

372. *ḥwj*  "to throw", rt. IV 20.

373. *ḥb(.t)/ ḥbj(.t)* "ritual book"

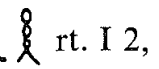
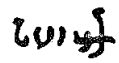
1) *ḥb(.t)*  (Hieratic),  (demotic) = 
in the title *ḫrj-ḥb* "bearer of the ritual book", "embalmer" (no. 24)

2) *ḥbj(.t)* 
*ir n.f irw nb mj ntj iw ḥbj* "to perform for him (the Apis) all the ceremonies which are in the ritual book", rt. IV 20.

374. *ḥbs*
 rt. IV 8, 13;  rt. IV 7

1) "to clothe"
*iw.w ḥbs.f n ḥbs* "they clothe it (the tent) with *ḥbs*-cloth", rt. IV 13

2) "to be clothed"
*p(3) w'b ntj ḥbs sšd/ idmj* "the *w'b*-priest who is clothed with blue (?)/ red linen", rt. IV, 7-8.

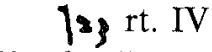
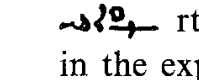
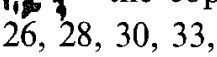
375. *ḥbs* "cloth"
full form
singular
 rt. I 2, II 1;  rt. IV 22
 vs. I 1;  vs. II a, 8
shortened form
singular
 = 
in Hieratic context: rt. II 18, III 5, 9, 10, 11, IV 13
in demotic context: rt. II 9, 11, 13 (quater), 14, 16 (bis), 17 (bis), III 2, etc.
plural
 =  ; variant  = 
in Hieratic context: rt. III 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, IV 1, 13, 22
in demotic context: rt. II 2, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15 (bis), 16, III 9, etc.
1) "cloth"
- in ritual actions
*š't ḥbs* "to cut up a *ḥbs*-cloth" (sc. to indicate that the embalmment of the Apis is finished), rt. IV 3; an embalmer is about to empty the anus of the Apis *iw.f dj.t iw w' ḥbs r ḏ3ḏ3=f irm p3 ntr* "he lays a *ḥbs*-cloth over himself and the god" (sc. in order to hide the impure operation from view), rt. III 8; *ntf n3 ḥbs.w t3 sr.t ... swḥ.s ḥbs wḥm* "to loose the *ḥbs*-cloths of the coffin ... and cover it (the coffin) with *ḥbs*-cloths again" (sc. to indicate that the Apis is reborne), rt. IV 22
- for the covering of an item
the Horus copper (*ḥmt Ḥr*), rt. V 27; a coffer (? *ḥtpj*), rt. VI b, 14; unidentified tools (no. 673), vs. II a, 8
- for fitting up a tent (no. 30) and the grave (no. 39) of the Apis, rt. IV 13 (bis)
2) "mummy cloth"
a) measurements
2 divine cubits × 6 digits (105 × 11 cm.), vs. II a, 8-9
1 divine cubit × 4 palms (52 × 30 cm.), vs. I 18, II a, 15-16
1 divine cubit × 2 palms (52 × 15 cm.), vs. III 3
1 divine cubit × 8 digits (52 × 15 cm.), vs. II a, 17
4 × 3 palms (30 × 22.5 cm.), vs. I, 19-20
4 × 3 palms (30 × 22.5 cm.), vs. II a, 21-22

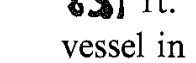
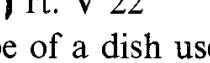
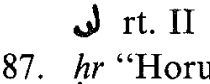
10 × 4 digits (18.5 × 7.5 cm.), vs. II a, 22-23
8 × 6 digits (15 × 11 cm.), vs. II a, 25

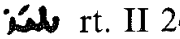
b) use
- for the manufacturing of a bag which is introduced in the anus of the Apis, vs. I 5
- as tool for the opening of the mouth of the Apis, vs. I, 15-16, II a, 8-9
- for the wrapping or stuffing of a part of the body; the cloth is placed in dry condition or soaked (*ṯḥb*) in oil: passim

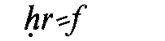
c) in various expressions
*nꜣ tp.w pꜣ ḥbs* "the ends of the *ḥbs*-cloth" (no. 604); *pꜣ pḥw pꜣ ḥbs* "the end of the *ḥbs*-cloth" (no. 226); *pꜣ ḥbs ḫꜥ* "the *ḫꜥ*-cloth" (no. 408); *nꜣ ḥbs.w skr.w* "the *skr*-bandages" (no. 502)

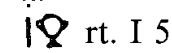
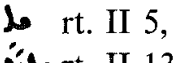
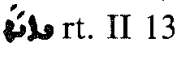
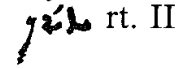
3) "garment"
*dj.t n.w ḥbs tb.tj* "to give them (the embalmers) a garment and a pair of sandals", rt. I 2.

376. *ḥp* "the Apis" (no. 12).
377. *ḥp* "to hide"
 rt. IV 24;  vs. II b, 11.
378. *ḥm* "servant", in the title *ḥm-ntr* "prophet" (no. 22).
379. *ḥm* "craftsman", in the title *ḥrj ḥm* "Overseer of craftsmen" (no. 28).
380. *ḥms* in the expression *irj.w ḥms ḫnw* "rowers" (nos. 106 and 434).
381. *ḥms* "to sit"
 rt. II 10, III 6, vs. II a, 2
in the expression *ḥms i.ir-ḥr* + part of the body "to sit before a part of the body" = to embalm a part of the body (no. 87).
382. *ḥmt* "copper"
- *gml (n) ḥmt* "*gml* of copper" (no. 578)
- *nꜣ ḥmt.w Ḥr*  "the copper (tools) of Horus", a kind of embalming enema, rt. V 4, 26, 28, 30, 33, VI a, 1, 5,9.

383. *ḥn*  a verb of unknown meaning, vs. II b, 8.
384. *ḥn/ sn* (?)
 rt. V 7;  rt. V 22
vessel in the shape of a dish used for storing embalming materials and cloths which were used for the embalming of the abdominal cavity.
385.  *ḥnj* unidentified wooden tool; in an enumeration of items: rt. VI b, 17.
386. *ḥnꜥ* "and (further)" [cf. *irm*: no. 108]
 rt. II 11, III 9, vs. I 14 (bis), 17, II a, 4, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 24.
387. *ḥr* "Horus" (no. 13).

388. *ḥr* "place" [cf. *mꜣʿ* "place": no. 240]
 rt. III 3;  rt. III 9, IV 9
 rt. II 24, vs. III 14
1) geographical
to bring shrines *iw pꜣ ḥr ntj iw.w ḫꜣʿ nꜣ gꜣ.w nꜣ ntr.w n.im.w* "to the place where they have set the shrines of the gods", rt. IV 9
2) anatomical
*pꜣ ḥr wnm/ iꜣbj* "the right/ left side (of the breast)", rt. II 24, III 3, vs. III 14; in connection with the anus: rt. III 9.

389. *ḥr* "face"
status nominalis
*ḥr*
 rt. I 5, III 1, 3, 4, 5, 16, IV 5
  rt. II 3 (bis), 20, 21 (bis), III 24, vs. II a, 2 (bis), 27, 28, II b, 23, III 6, 8, 14, 18, 19, 20
status pronominalis
*ḥr.k*
 rt. IV 18
*ḥr=f*
 rt. IV 17
1) in the book title *pꜣ sḫr ḥr.k* "the Plan of the Face", rt. IV 18
2) indicating the face of the Apis
- the Apis rests on a bank of sand *r ḥr=f r rsj* "his face turned south", rt. IV 17; the support *ntj ḫr ḥr n pꜣ ntr* "which is under the face of the god", rt. III 24
- in the expression *pꜣ ḥr sšṯꜣ* "the mysterious face", rt. I 5, II 3(bis), III 1, etc.
3) in compound prepositions
*iw.ḥr/ r.ḥr* (no. 88); *iw.ir-ḥr/ i.ir-ḥr* (no. 87).

390. *ḥr* "on", "at"
status nominalis
*ḥr*
 rt. I 5, III 3, 15, IV 1, 2, 13, 18
 rt. II 5, 8, 19, 20 (bis), 22 (bis), 24, etc.
 rt. II 13, 23, vs. II a, 2, 13, 21, 22, 23, 26, II b, 3, 4, 5 (bis), 9, 12, III 16
status pronominalis [cf. *ḥr ꜣṯ.ṯ=* : no. 71, 2]
*ḥr=f*
 rt. II 13

*ḥr=w*

 vs. II b, 18

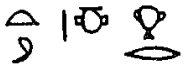
1) preposition

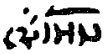
- *ḥr ḏn.t.f* "on his skull", rt. I 5; sim. examples: rt. IV 18, vs. II b, 7
- *ḥr spt p(3) šj* "on the bank of the lake", rt. IV 13

2) in various prepositional and adverbial expression

*ḥr 3t.ṯ=* "on" (no. 71, 2); *iw/ r ḥrj ḥr* "upwards on something" (no. 395, 4); *ḥr p3 ḥ3* "on the back side" (no. 364); *ḥr ḥ3.t/ t3 ḥ3.t* "at the front of", "in front" (nos. 366 and 367); *ḥr i3bj/ wnm* "to the left/ right side of something", rt. II 20, 22, 24, vs. II a, 2, 9, II b, 20, III 1, 12, 17; *ḥr p3 i3bj/ wnm* "to the left/ right", rt. III 19.

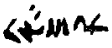
391. *ḥr-ib.t* "upper side"

 rt. III 16

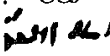
 rt. II 6, III 21.

392. *ḥr-ggj.t/ ḥr-ggj(.t)* "upper jaw" (as opposed to *ʾr.ṯj.t* "lower jaw": no. 143)

*ḥr-ggj.t*

 rt. II 13

*ḥr-ggj*

 vs. II a, 11, 22.

393. *ḥrj* "Overseer", in the titles *ḥrj ḥm* "Overseer of craftsmen" (no. 28) and *ḥrj sšt3* "Overseer of the Mystery" (no. 23).

394. *ḥrj* "above" (as opposed to *ḫrj* "below": no. 437)

only fem. forms

*ḥrj.t*

 rt. IV 1

 rt. III 20, vs. I 13

*ḥrj(.t)*

 vs. II a, 15, 26, II b, 10

*rj.t/ rʾ.t ḥrj.t* "upper side" (no. 337), rt. III 20, IV 1, vs. I 13; *spt/ spj(.t) ḥrj(.t)* "upper lip" (no. 465), vs. II a, 15, 26, II b, 10.

395. *ḥrj* "upper part" (as opposed to *ḫrj* "lower side": no. 438)

 rt. III 4, 8, 11, 15;  rt. II 3;  rt. II 25 (bis), III 1, 2, 3, 7, IV 19

 rt. II 6 (bis), 7, 8, 13 (bis), 15 (bis), 17, 21 (ter), 22, 23, etc.

1) *ntj ḥrj* "which is mentioned above"

the mummy bandages *ntj ḥrj* "which are mentioned above", rt. III 1, 2

2) *ḥrj ḫrj* "above (and) below"

to anoint in the mouth *ḥrj ḫrj* "above and below", vs. I 17; sim. vs. III 18; the mummy cloth *ir pjr* 9 *pjr* 4 *ḥrj pjr* 5 *ḫrj* "makes 9 *pjr*-bandages, 4 *pjr*-bandages above and 5 *pjr*-bandages below", rt. II 3; sim. rt. II 17, vs. II b, 17, 22

3) *ḥrj (n), ḥrj n.im=* "upon something"
- the 1/3 of the cloth *ntj ḥrj t3 šnbj.t* "which is on the breast", rt. II 21, vs. III 8; mummy bandages *ntj ḥrj t3 šnbj.t* "which are on the upper part of the breast", vs. III 15; to anoint *ḥrj p3 wjṯ* "at the top of the tail", vs. I 3; sim. examples: rt. II 21, 22, 25, vs. III 7
- *mtw kj* 2 *ḫpr ḥrj n.im.f* "and 2 other ones come above it (the mouth)", rt. II 25; *ir pjr* 5 *ḥrj n.im=f* "to make 5 *pjr*-bandages above it (the tail)", rt. III 11

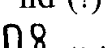
4) *r ḥrj* "upwards"
*r ḥrj*, rt. II 6 (bis), 7, 8, 13, etc.
*(r) ḥrj*, vs. I 4, 12, 22, II a, 6, 18, II b, 16, 17
- to fill the mouth of the Apis *ṯ3j ls=f r ḥrj* "from his tongue upwards", vs. II a, 26
- as for the mummy bandage *iw=w in=s r ḥrj* "they pass it upwards", rt. II 6; sim. examples with other verbs: rt. II 6 (bis), 7, 8, 13, vs. I 4, 12, 22 (ter), II a, 19 (ter), II b, 16, 17
- *iw=f dj.t n3 ḥbs.w n3 ir.wt r ḥrj* "he lays the *ḥbs*-cloths on the eye-sockets", rt. II 15; sim. rt. II 15 (bis), 21, III 7, 8, vs. I 9, II a, 4, 6, 18, 27, III 6

*r ḥrj iwṯ*
- make mummy bandages run *r ḥrj iwṯ n3 ʾb.w* "upwards between the horns", rt. III 23

*r/ iw ḥrj r/ iw*
- make mummy bandages run *iw ḥrj iw t3 šnb.t* "upwards to the breast", rt. III 4; *ʾḳ iw ḥrj iw p(3) ibw* "make (the Apis) go up to enter the Tent of Purification", rt. IV 19

*r/ iw ḥrj ḥr*
- a mummy bandage passes *iw ḥrj ḥr p(3) ḥr sšt3* "upwards on the mysterious face", rt. III 3; sim. examples: rt. II 13, 23, III 21, 22

*r ḥrj ḫn* "upwards into"
- make go 6 bags *r ḥrj ḫn* ... "up into the ...", vs. I 8; sim. vs. I 19, 20.

396. *ḥrḥr*  "lid (?)" a coffer *ḥrḥr=f ḏwf* "its lid is of papyrus", rt. VI b, 15.

397. *ḥs* ...  "tissue (?)" a cloth *iw.f n ḥs ... n jb.w iw p3j=f irj n.im=w* "it is as a tissue from one hoof to the other", rt. III 7.

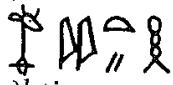
398. *ḥsmn* "natron"
 rt. IV 16, VI b, 1, vs. I 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, II b, 21, III 1

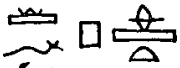
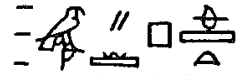
1) in fluid state
*sf ḥsmn* "oil (which contains a solution of) natron": mentioned in a list of oils, vs. I 14; used to soak (*tḫb*) mummy bandages, vs. I 11, 12, 13, II b, 21, III 1

2) in solid state
- *ḥsmn* "natron"

in pounded (*sḥm*) state stored in vessels: rt. VI b, 1; cf. rt. IV 16: Isis and Nephthys go in front of a procession *bs* 2 *iw=w mḥ ḥsmn dr.t=w* "with 2 *bs*-vessels filled with natron in their hand"

- *ḥsmn ḫl* "natron and myrrh"
  bags *ḥsmn ḫl* "filled with natron and myrrh", used for filling the anus of the mummy, vs. I 5
- *ḥsmn wsj* "natron and sawdust"
  bags *ḥsmn wsj* "filled with natron and sawdust", used for filling body cavities, vs. I 8, 9.

399. *ḥtj(.t)/ 3ḥtj(.t)* "throat"
*ḥtj*
 rt. II 13
*3ḥtj*
 vs. II a, 15
*t3j=f ḥtj(.t)/ 3ḥtj(.t) 2.t* "the two openings in his throat" = the trachea and the alimentary channel; cf. *t3 mj.t 2.t p3 tp* "the two channels in the throat" (no. 603).

400. *ḥtp* "to rest" *dj.t ḥtp* "to make rest"
*ḥtp*
 rt. IV 3 (bis), 17, vs. III 4
*ḥtp.f/ =f*
 rt. III 15, IV 2
 rt. II 8
*ḥtp.w*
 rt. IV 21

- of the Apis
  *dj.t ḥtp ḥr* "to make (the Apis) rest on something", rt. II 8, III 15, IV 17; *ḥr 3t.t=f* "on it (the sledge)", rt. IV 3
  *dj.t ḥtp ḫn* "to make (the Apis) rest in something", rt. IV 3
- of things
  *dj.t ḥtp ḥr* "to make (the board) rest on something", rt. IV 2
  *dj.t ḥtp ḫn* "to make something rest in something", rt. IV 21, vs. III 4 (?).

401. *ḥtpj*  unidentified; in the expression *r ḥtpj* (nos. 402, 2 and 641, 2).

402. *ḥtpj*  "shrine (?)"
1) *p3 ḥtpj* "the shrine", rt. VI b, 14
2) *ḥtpj r ḥtpj* "shrine ...", rt. VI b, 7, 9, 21 (cf. *ḏj r ḥtpj* "boat shrine ...": no. 641, 2).

403. *ḫḏ* "silver" *3w (n) ḫḏ* "silver *3w*-vessel" (no. 65), rt. VI b, 12.

404. *ḥḏ.t*  "white linen": the goddesses Isis and Nephthys lead a procession with the mummy of the Apis with white linen in their hand, rt. IV 16.

## *ḫ*

405. *ḫt* "thing" (cf. demotic *iḫj* "thing": no. 110)
singular
 rt. IV 22
plural
 rt. IV 6
 rt. I 7, III 10
1) "things", "attributes"
the coffin of the Apis *ʿpr m ḫt.s nb* "equipped with all its things", rt. IV 22
2) "embalming materials"
the boat shrine *ntj ḫr nꜣ ḫt.w tꜣ mj.t pꜣ ḥꜣ* "containing the things (= embalming materials) of the anus", rt. III 10; cf. rt. IV 6; 2 coffers in which they store *nꜣ nms.w nꜣ ḫt.w pꜣ ššt* "the *nms*-cloths and the things of the Wrapping-Room", rt. I 7.

406. *ḫꜣʿ* "to place"
,  rt. III 17, 19, IV 9, VI b, 7, 9, 14, 21, vs. I 19, 20, II a, 16, III 5.

407. *ḫjꜣ.t*  stone vessel
- *ḫjꜣ.t ʿꜣ.t* "great *ḫjꜣ.t*-vessel", used for storing enema's, rt. VI a, 5
- *ḫjꜣ.t ḫm.t* "little *ḫjꜣ.t*-vessel", used for purifying entrails, rt. VI a, 7.

408. *ḫʿ*  as final cloth placed on the head of the Apis and for this reason considered as especially holy (determinative ), rt. III 5.

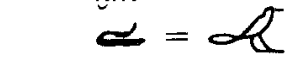
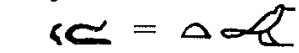
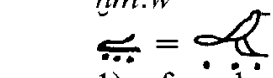
409. *ḫʿ.w*  "appearances" *nꜣ-ʿꜣ nꜣj=f ḫʿ.w ḫr pꜣ tꜣ* "Great are his Appearances upon earth", phrase which underlines the restoration of Apis' sight, vs. II b, 7.

410. *ḫpr* "to be", "to happen"
 rt. I 7, II 25 (bis)
   rt. II 21 (bis), 22, 23, IV 24, V 18, VI a, 14, VI b, 18, 20, 22, vs. II a, 12, 21, II b, 5, 8, III 2 (bis), 7, 8 11
1) with preposition
*n* (dative) "to have", rt. V 18; *ḫn* "to be in something", rt. I 7, VI b, 18, 20, 22

2) with prepositional expression
*n tȝ mtr.t ḫn* "to be in the midst among", rt. II 23, vs. III 11; *ḥrj* "to be up on something", rt. II 21, 22, 25, vs. III 7; *ḫrj* "to be down on something", rt. II 21, 25, vs. III 8
3) impersonal use
*iw=f ḫpr* "it happens (?)", vs. III 2 (bis)
4) as conjunction
*ḫpr/ ḫpr ḏd* "because (?)", vs. II a, 12, 21, II b, 5, 8.

411. *ḥf* "third eyelid"
 vs. II a, 12, II b, 8, 11.

412. *ḥft-ḥr* 
*iw=f dj.t iw=f r ḥf.t-ḥr* "he makes it (the cloth) go to the front", vs. II b, 14.

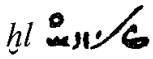
413. *ḫm* (masc.), *ḫm.t* (fem.) "little", "small"
singular
*ḫm*

in Hieratic context: rt. I 5 (bis), III 1, 16
in demotic context: rt. V 8, vs. I 9, 23
*ḫm.t*
 in demotic context: rt. V 17, VI a, 7
plural
*ḫm.w*
 in Hieratic context: rt. IV 6
1) of rank
*smr ḫm* 2 "the two little *smr*-priests" (no. 25), rt. III 1
2) of measurement
*wrs ḫm* "little support", rt. I 5, III 16 (and passim).

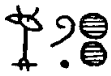
414. *ḫm-b* see *ḫ'm-rȝ* "throat" (no. 427 a).

415. *ḫr* particle

 rt. IV 12, 18
 rt. III 25, IV 3, vs. II b, 24, III 2, 19, 21
1) *sḏm.ḫr.f*
*ir.ḫr.tw ibw m ḥrw tpj* "a Tent of Purification is made on the first day", rt. IV 12
2) *ḫr sḏm.f/ =f*
*ḫr ˁš.w ḏmˁ* 9 "they read aloud nine books", rt. IV 18; sim. vs. II b, 24, III 2; cf. vs. III 21 (damaged passage)
3) *ḫr* + emphatic form
*i.ir ḫr sḏm=f, ḫr i.ir=f sḏm* and *i.ir ḫr i.ir=f sḏm* (no. 103, III, 3 b).

416. *ḫrt* a cloth, ϣοpτ, usually made of byssus (*šs-nsw*)
 rt. V 1;  rt. V 1
 rt. II 1, III 18, IV 1, 4.

417. *ḫl*  "myrrh", strong antiseptic which combined with other embalming materials is used to fill the mouth and the anus of the mummy, rt. II 12 (bis), vs. I 5.

418. *ḫḫ*  "neck" *iw.w dj.t pjr iw ḫḫ.w* "they put a *pjr*-bandage about their neck", rt. I 3.

419. *ḫsj.t* "necropolis" (no. 51). 

420. *ḫt*, in the preposition *m-ḫt*  "after": *m-ḫt nn* "after that", expression used as introduction to a new chapter, rt. I 1, II 2, IV 8; cf. demotic *m-s3=s* (no. 446).

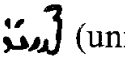
421. *ḫt* "wood"

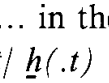
 rt. I 4
 rt. VI a, 12, 13, VI b, 3, 5, 18, 22, vs. II a, 8, II b, 6

1) with mentioning of the kind of wood
*ḫt 3sj* "wood of the tamarisk" (no. 111); sim. with other kinds of wood: *im3* "tamarisk (?)" (no. 95); *nhj* "sycamore" (no. 309); *ḳtj* Pinus halepensis (?) (no. 559)
2) without mentioning of the kind of wood
rt. VI b, 3, 5, vs. II a, 8, II b, 6.

422. *ḫtm*  "to shut"
to place embalming materials in the mouth *r tm dj.t ḫtm b=f* "to prevent his mouth from shutting", rt. II 12.

## *ẖ*

423. *ẖ*  (unidentified), vs. II b, 11.

424. *ẖ* ... in the expression  *ẖ* ... *'n* "also", vs. I 2, II a, 20.

425. *ẖ.t/ ẖ(.t)* "manner", in the prepositional expression *iw/ r ẖ.t n* "according to the manner of", "according to"

 rt. II 25, III 25, 26, IV 13

 rt. III 4, 15, 17, IV 24, V 1, VI a, 13, VI b, 17 (bis), 19 (bis), vs. I 5, 15, 20, 24, II a, 16, II b, 11

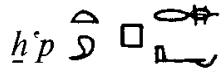
1) with following noun
to wrap the mouth of the Apis *iw ẖ.t p3j.f smt* "according to its shape", rt. II 25 (and passim)

2) with following substantivated relative phrase
*nȝ nm.w r ḫ pȝ ntj sḫ* "the poles are according to what has been written", rt. III 15 (and passim).

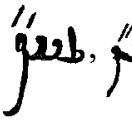
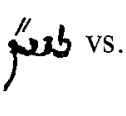
426. *ḫ.t*  "diameter"
the two pads *iw=w ir tbʿ* 6 *n ḫ.t=w* "measure 6 digits in their diameter", rt. II 3.

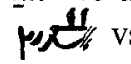
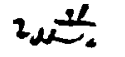
427. *ḫȝr* "sack" (no. 64).

427a. *ḫʿm-rȝ/ ḫm-b* "throat" (as opposed to *nḫb.t* "neck": no. 310)
*ḫʿm-rȝ* (fem.)
 rt. III 3
*ḫm-b* (masc.)
 rt. II 23, III 24
part of the neck (*ḫʿm/ ḫm*) which is to be found at the mouth (*rȝ/ b*).

428. *ḫʿp*  "navel", rt. IV 1.

429. *ḫʿḳ*  "to shave (of body and beard)"
the embalmers enter the Embalming House *iw.w ḫʿḳ* "being shaved" rt. I 2.

430. *ḫmm* "to be warm" (as opposed to *ḳbḥ* "to be cold": no. 546)
,  vs. I 13, 18, 20, 21, 22, II a, 7, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21 (bis), 23, 26 (bis), 27, III 4, 5
in the expression *tȝ pḫr.t ntj ḫmm* "the warm medicament".

431. *ḫn* "to approach"
 vs. II a, 12
 vs. II b, 8
the embalmer fixes the eyelids *bw-ir=f dj.t ḫn pȝ ḫf* "in order to prevent the third eyelid from hanging down"; *(r) tm dj.t ḫn pȝ ḫf* "in order to prevent the third eyelid from hanging down" (loc. cit.).

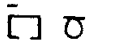
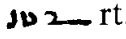
432. *ḫn* "inside"

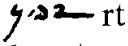
I. with article

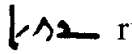
 rt. II 5 (bis), 14
mummy bandages run *pȝ ḫn pȝ ḏnḥ* "within the shoulder", rt. II 5 (bis); *ḏm pȝ ḫn b=f* "to cover inside his mouth (with *ḥbs*-cloth)", rt. II 14

II. without article

1) as preposition
status nominalis

*ḥn*

rt. I 3, III 10, 13, IV 5, 6, 12, 15, 21, VI a, 5

rt. II 7, 10, 11 (ter), etc.
status pronominalis
*ḥn.f/ =f*

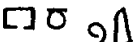
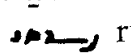
rt. I 1, VI b, 23

rt. II 10, 12, 16, 21, III 12, etc.
*ḥn.w/ =w*

rt. I 7, II 1

rt. II 1, 23, IV 2, V 3, 4, 5, etc.

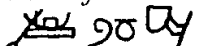
a) of place: "in"
*pj š' ḥn.f* "a bank of sand is in it", rt. I 1 (and passim)

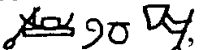
b) partitive: "among"
mummy cloths *ḥn.w ḫrt* 3 "among them 3 *ḫrt*-cloths", rt. II 1; *ḥn=w sšd* 2 "among them 2 blue (?) cloths", rt. II 1; 9 *sbn*-bandages *mtw w' sbn '3 ḫpr t3 mtr.t ḥn=w* "and a great *sbn*-bandage comes in the midst among them", rt. II 23, vs. III 11; 2 mummy bandages *ntj ḥn p3* 4 "which are among the 4 (mummy bandages)", vs. III 15

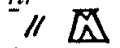
c) in prepositional expressions
*r ḥrj ḥn* "upwards into" (no. 395); *iw/ r bnr ḥn* "out from" (no. 206, 5)

2) as adverb; in the expression *iw/ r ḥn* "inward"
*iw ḥn*

rt. III 13, IV 15, 21
*r ḥn*

rt. IV 3; *(r) ḥn*: vs. II b, 15
e.g.: *iw.w in p(3) t3 iw ḥn* "they bring the board inside", rt. III 13

3) in various idiomatical expressions
*wn ḥn b p3 ntr* "to open the mouth of the god", rt. II 10, vs. II a, 9; *wn-ḫr ḥn ir.t=f* "to reveal the inside of his eye", vs. II b, 7.

433. *ḥnw*  'journey"
in the book title *nt-' ḥnw hrw tpj* "Ritual of the Journey of the First Day", rt. IV 18.

434. *ḥnw* , in the expression *irj.w ḥms ḥnw* "rowers", rt. IV 18.

435. *ḫr* "under", "carrying", "possessing"
status nominalis
*ḫr*

rt. I 4 (ter), 5 (bis), 9, III 1, 2, 10, 15, 16 (ter), 17, IV 1, vs. I 9

 rt. II 9, 12, 19, III 3, 19, 24, IV 8, 17, V 2, 24, VI b, 12, 16, 17, 19, vs. II a, 2, 24 (bis), II b, <3>, <10>, 12, III 9, 14, 17, 22

status pronominalis

*ḫr.r=f*

 rt. II 20, vs. I 22, II a, 19, II b, 1

1) of place

- *ifd inr* 4 *ḫr p(3) t3* "4 square blocks of stone are under the board", rt. I 4 (and passim)
- in prepositional expressions
  *n bnr ḫr* "at the outside under something" (no. 206, 5); *iw/ r bnr ḫr* "to the outside from under something" (no. 206, 5); *iw* (= *r*) *ḫrj ḫr* "downwards under something" (no. 438, 1); *ḫr ḥ3.t* "in front of" (no. 366, 3); *ḫr dr.t* "under the hand of someone", "under someone's authority" (no. 634, 2)

2) of possession

- "having"
  a board *ḫr m'rj.w(t)* 22 "having 22 clamps", rt. I 4; sim. rt. VI b, 19
- "filled with", "containing"
  the shrine *ḫr n3 ḫt.w* "containing the things (of the anus)", rt. III 10; a vessel *ḫr mw* "containing water", rt. VI b, 12; sim. rt. VI b, 16, 17; cf. *ḏm ḫr 'rf* "to clothe (the trunk) with bags", vs. I 9
- "soaked with"
  cloths *ntj ḫr p3 sf shrj* "soaked with the *shrj*-oil", vs. II b, 12; cf. vs. II b, 3, 10

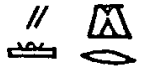
3) sundries

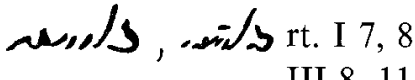
*m33 iw ... m w'b ḫr p(3) skn* "see to ... in purity with the *skn*-ointment", rt. I 9 (book title); *ḫr sfḫ* (?), vs. III 22.

436. *ḫrj*, in the title *ḫrj-ḥb* "carrier of the ritual book", "embalmer" (no. 24).

437. *ḫrj*  "lower" *spt(.t) ḫrj(.t)* "lower lip", vs. II a, 15, 26, II b, 10.

438. *ḫrj* "lower part" (as opposed to *ḥrj* "upper part": no. 395)

 rt. II 3, 25 (bis), III 3, 4, 11

 rt. I 7, 8, II 17, 21, 23, V 2, vs. I 17, II a, 14, II b, 17, 22, III 8, 11, 17, 18

1) as preposition

a) *ḫrj (n), ḫrj n.im=* "below on something"

- a cloth is placed *ḫrj p3 ḫr sšt3* "under the mysterious face", rt. II 21, vs. III 8; mummy bandages are *ḫrj p(3) r3* "under the mouth", rt. II 25
- mummy bandages run *ḫrj im.f* "under it", rt. II 25, III 11

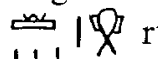
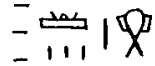
b) *iw/ r ḫrj ḫr* "downwards under something"

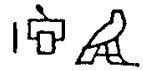
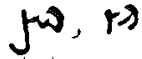
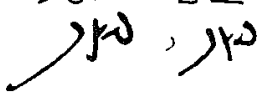
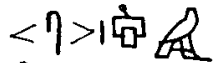
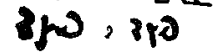
- mummy bandages run *iw ḫrj ḫr t3 ḫ'm-r3* "down under the throat", rt. III 3; sim. vs. III 17

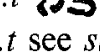
2) as adverb
a) *ḫrj* "below
2 coffers *pȝj=w smt sḫ ḫrj* "their nature is described below", rt. I 7; sim. rt. I 8; *wrḥ ḫn b=f ḫrj* "to anoint below inside his mouth", vs. II a, 14
b) *ntj ḫrj* "(something) which is below"
the 2/3 part of the cloth *ntj ḫrj* "which is below", rt. II 23, vs. III 11
c) *ḥrj ḫrj* "above and below"
to anoint in the mouth *ḥrj ḫrj* "above and below", vs. I 17; sim. vs. III 18; a mummy cloth makes mummy bandages 4 *ḥrj* 5 *ḫrj* "4 above and 5 below", rt. II 3; sim. rt. II 17, vs. II b, 17, 22
d) *iw/ r ḫrj* "downwards"
*hȝj r ḫrj* "to fall down", rt. V 2; make mummy bandages run (*iw*) *ḫrj* "downwards", rt. III 4.

*s*

439. *.s/ =s* suffix pronoun 3rd person fem. sing. (passim)
*.s*
 rt. I 8, III 9 (bis), IV 4, 22 (bis)
 in: *iw-r.s* (no. 327), rt. III 12, IV 14
in: *n.s* (no. 281), rt. IV 4 (ter), 22
*=s*
 passim.
440. *=s* [old *śn*] suffix pronoun 3rd person plural
 passim;  rt. IV <22>
*m-sȝ=s* "after that", expression introducing a new chapter, rt. II 4, IV <22>, vs. I 3, 7, 13, 15, 18, 19, II a, 2, 6, 8, II b, 11, 13, III 14; cf. *m-sȝ nȝj* "after that", vs. II b, 25; *m-ḫt nn* "after that" (no. 308), rt. I 1, II 2, IV 8.
441. *=s* in the interjection *tw=s* "see" (no. 596).
442. *s*  "person"
with indication of the number of persons: *nȝ ḫrj-ḥb(.w) s* 4 "the embalmers, — 4 persons", rt. I 2; *w'b s* 2 "priests, — 2 persons", rt. IV 7.
443. *s ... š*  "bag"
*ṯs pȝ s ... š tȝ mj(.t) pȝ ḥȝ* "to knot the bag of the anus", vs. I 4.
444. *s.t*
 rt. IV 10
 rt. IV 14 (ter), 19
1) "place" *tȝ s.t Ḥp* "the Place of the Apis" (no. 42)
2) "corner" of the Tent of Purification (*ibw*: no. 30), rt. IV 14 (ter), 19.

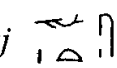
445. *s3*
singular
 rt. IV 18 (bis)
plural
 rt. IV 13
1) "amulet"
to equip the grave of the Apis *n3j=f s3.w* "with his amulets", rt. IV 13
2) "protection"
in book titles: *p(3) s3 nšm.t* "the Protection of the Sacred Bark", rt. IV 18; *p(3) s3 tp* "the Protection of the Bark", rt. IV 18.

446. *s3* "back", in the compound preposition *m-s3* "behind", "after"
status nominalis
 rt. I 1, III 13, IV 13
 rt. II 10, 24, V 31, vs. I 10, II b, 23, 25, III 13
status pronominalis
*m-s3.f/ =f*
 rt. IV 12
 rt. II 24, vs. II b, 24 (bis), III 13
*m-s3.s/ =s*
 rt. IV 22
 rt. II 4, vs. I 1, 3, 7, 13, 15, 18, 19, II a, 2, 6, 8, II b, 11, 13, III 14
1) of place: "behind"
- to cut the mummy bandage *ntj m-s3 p3 sbn ʾ3* "which is behind the great *sbn*-bandage", rt. II 24, vs. III 13 (and passim)
- metaphorical: *šm m-s3* "to go after someone", "to fetch someone", rt. I 1
2) of time: "after"
- *m-s3* + infinitive
to bring the board *m-s3 ir n.f mnḫ.t iw.ir.w t3 ḥ3.t* "after having it covered with cloth first", rt. III 13; sim. rt. IV 13, vs. I 10, II b, 23; cf. rt. V 31
- *m-s3* in adverbial expressions of time
*m-s3 t3 ḥ3.t* "first" (no. 367, 2 c), rt. II 10; *m-s3.s/ =s* "after that" (no. 440); *m-s3 n3j* "after that" (no. 440), vs. II b, 25.

447. *s3n.t*  "clay" *tbj.t s3n.t* "brick of clay", rt. IV 24.

448. *s3r.t* see *sl3.t* "coffin" (no. 482).

449. *s3ḫ*  "glorification", in the book title *s3ḫ Wsir mḥw* "Glorification of Osiris, the Floating One", rt. IV 18.

450. *sj*  "beam" *sj isr* 4 "4 beams of wood of the tamarisk", in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 18.

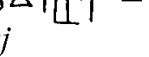
451. *Sj* "Sais" (no. 52).

452. *sj.t/ sj(.t)* a mummy cloth

*sj.t*

 =  rt. II 15, 19, vs. I 3, 10, 11, 21, II a, 7, II b, 3.

*sj*

 =  vs. II b, 9 (bis), 10, 12, 19, 25

1) measurements

3 palms × 6 digits (22.5 × 11 cm.), vs. I 21

4 × 2 palms (30 × 15 cm.), vs. II b, 19-20

2 × 1 divine cubit (104 × 52 cm.), vs. II b, 25

2) use

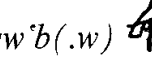
- for the wrapping of a part of the body

heart, vs. I 3; limbs, vs. I 10; tongue, vs. I 21; breast, vs. I 11, II b, 25; part between the horns, rt. II 19, vs. II b, 19; eyelids, vs. II b, 9 (bis); cf. rt. II 15; eye-sockets, vs. II b, 3, 10, 12

- in enumeration of items

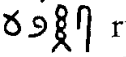
vs. II a, 7.

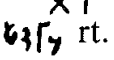
453. *sw*  1 pronoun 3rd person masc. sing.: rt. III 7, IV 1.

454. *sw'b(.w)*  "purified parts"

*n3 sw'b(w) n3 tp.w '.wt* "the purified parts of the entrails", rt. IV 6.

455. *swḥ* "to wrap"

 rt. III 5, 11 (bis), 16, IV 22; demotic influenced spelling:  rt. I 6

 rt. II 17 (bis), 18, 20, III 6, V 27, VI b, 14, vs. I 3, 12, II a, 8, 28 (bis), II b, 7, 22, III 20

 rt. II 12

1) "to wrap in (*n*) a cloth"

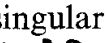
*swḥ ns.f n w' ḥbs* "to wrap his tongue in a *ḥbs*-cloth", rt. II 12 (and passim)

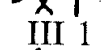
2) "to be wrapped in (*iw* = *r*) something", "to be wound on something"

*swḥ iw ḳrr ḳd* "(the cloths are) wound on a roller of *ḳd*-wood", rt. I 6.

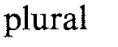
455.[a] *swḥ* a mummy cloth

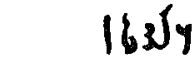
singular

 rt. III 11, 16;  rt. III 7; demotic influenced spelling:  rt. III 1

 rt. II 3, 4 (bis), 17, 18, 20, 21, vs. I 12, II a, 20, II b, 1, 22, III 6, 14

plural

 rt. III 7, 8

 rt. II 3, vs. II b, 17; *swḥ(w)*: vs. II b, 16

1) measurements
6 divine cubits × 2/3 divine cubit (ca. 313 × 35 cm.), rt. II, 3-4, vs. III, 6-7

2) use
- the embalmers manufacture *nȝ swḥ.w ntj iw=w wḫȝ=w wbȝ pȝ ḥr sštȝ nȝ tp.w ʿ.wt* "the *swḥ*-cloths which they need for the mysterious face and the limbs", rt. II 3
- the cloth is placed in dry condition or soaked (*tḫb*) on a part of the body: tail, rt. III 11; hoofs, rt. III 7; breast, vs. I 12; limbs, rt. III 8; ears, vs. II b, 16, 17; horns, rt. II 17, 18, vs. II b, 22; head, rt. II 3, 20, 21, III 1, vs. II b, 1, III 14

3) in the expression *swḥ-mtr* (no. 274, 2).

456. *swsw*  "to lift" *swsw pȝ ḥr sštȝ* "to lift the mysterious face (= the head of the Apis)", vs. II a, 2.

457. *swtn*  "to stretch" *swtn n.im=w* "to stretch them (the limbs)", rt. III 6.

458. *sbn*  unidentified; in an enumeration of items, vs. II a, 8.

459. *sbn* a mummy bandage

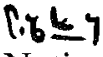
singular

 rt. III 5, 8, 14, 15, 17

  rt. II 7 (bis), 8, 22, 23 (bis), 24 (bis), vs. III 10, 11 (bis), 12, 13

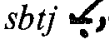
 vs. I 12

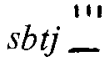
plural

 rt. II 3

Notice the expression *sbn sṯr* "*sbn*-bandage for wrapping", rt. III 5 (no. 508).

460. *sbḫ.t*  "portal" *sbḫ.t ȝḫ.t* "portal of the horizon" (no. 69).

461. *sbtj*  "to equip" *sbtj tȝj=f nw.t ḥbs.w nȝj=f sȝ.w* "to equip his grave (?) with *ḥbs*-cloths and his amulets", rt. IV 13.

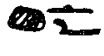
462. *sbtj*  "wall" (cf. demotic *ḏȝj.t*: no. 637)
wall of the stall of the Apis: *sbtj iȝbṯ* "east wall", rt. IV 10; *sbtj imnṯ* "west wall", rt. IV 11; cf. rt. IV 12.

463. *sp*  "rest"
- *pȝ sp tȝ nbtj(.t)* "the rest of the *nbtj(.t)*-bandage", rt. III 25
- *ir sp wṯj* "to make the rest of the wrappings", vs. II b, 14.

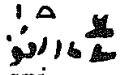
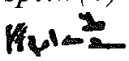
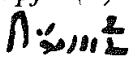
464. *sp* "time"

full spelling

 rt. III 26

 rt. V 11

shortened spelling
 rt. IV 1, V 27, 28
in *ḥ3.t-sp*: rt. IV 11 (bis)
in *sp*-2  rt. II 11, III 9, IV 19
1) with ordinal
*sp sn.nw* "second time", rt. III 26
2) with cardinal
a) *sp* 3 "3 times", rt. IV 1
b) *ḥ3.t-sp* "regnal year ..." (lit. beginning of the umpteenth counting), rt. IV 11 (bis)
c) *sp*-2 "two times" (indicating the repetition of the preceding)
- reinforcing: *šs sp*-2 (sc. *šs šs*) "very" (no. 533)
- distributive: *w' sp*-2 (sc. *w' w'*) "every" (no. 167, 4)
3) without number
*sp nb* "each time", rt. V 27, 28; *tn w' sp* "each time", rt. V 11.

465. *spt(.t)/ spj(.t)* "lip"
singular
*spt*
 rt. IV 13
 vs. II a, 26 (bis); *spt=f*: vs. II a, 15 (bis)
*spj*
 vs. II b, 10 (bis)
plural
*spt.w(t)*
 rt. II 15
*spj.w(t)*
 vs. II b, 9; *spj(.wt)*: vs. II b, 8
1) "lip"
a) of the mouth
*spt ḥrj* "upper lip", vs. II a, 15, 26; *spt ḫrj* "lower lip", vs. II a, 15, 26
b) of the eye
rt. II 15, vs. II b, 8, 9; *spj ḥrj* "upper eye-lid", vs. II b, 10; *spj ḫrj* "lower eye-lid", vs. II b, 10
2) "bank"
*ḥr spt p(3) šj* "on the bank of the Lake", rt. IV 13.

466. *sf/ sfj* "(resinous) oil"
recto
*sfj* (determinative of jar)
 rt. V 11, VI a, 10

verso

*sf* (determinative of pellet)

 vs. I 1, 2 (bis), 3 (bis), 4, 11, 12 (bis), 13, 14 (ter), II a, 4, 5 (bis), 6 (bis), 7 (bis), 27, 28, II b, 1, 2, 3 (bis), 4, 10, 12, 13, 16 (bis), 19 (bis), 21, 22, 23, 24 (bis), 25 (bis), III 1

1) use
the oil is used by itself or combined with another product (infra, 2, c-e) in order to (a) treat parts of the body (passim); (b) to soak (*ṯḫb*) mummy cloths (passim); (c) to wash intestines: rt. V 11

2) special kinds and combinations

a) *sf išr* "Syrian oil", used for anointing the breast of the mummy, vs. II b, 25

b) *sf w'b* "pure oil"
used for soaking cloths: vs. II a, 5 (bis), 6; for treating a part of the body: vs. I 1, 2, II a, 4, 6, II b, 24

c) *sf 'nḏ* "*'nḏ*-oil"
*sf 'nḏ iw=f ps* "boiled *'nḏ*-oil" and *sf 'nḏ iw=f w'b* "pure *'nḏ*-oil" (no. 142)

d) *sf shr/ shrj*
oil (*sf*) to which is added *shr/ shrj*, a resin with magical qualities (no. 483)

e) *sf ḥsmn*
oil with a solution of natron (*ḥsmn*) (no. 398)

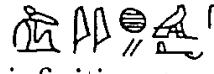
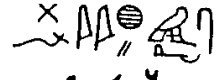
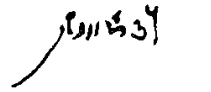
3) sundries
*sfj* "(unpurified?) resinous oil" (as opposed to *sf w'b*: supra 2 b), stored in a vessel: rt. VI a, 10; *mw sfj* "water and oil", used for purifying the intestines, rt. V 11.

467. *sfḫ*  (unidentified), vs. III 22.

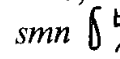
468. *smj* in the expression *'n-smj*

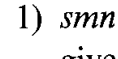
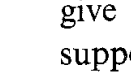
1) verb: "to call for"
*'n-smj n3 nkt.w* "to call for the items", rt. IV 23

2) noun: "calling"
*dj.t 'n-smj n3 nkt.w* "to call for the items", rt. I 3.

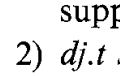
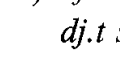
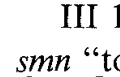
469. *sm'ḥj* "to fasten"
infinitive
 rt. III 18, 25, 26
 rt. I 6
infinitive + suffix *.f/ =f* (object)
 rt. III 12
 rt. II 8, III 18

1) *sm'ḥj* "to fasten"
*nbtj.t*-bandage *iw sm'ḥj* "in order to fasten (the Apis)", rt. I 6 (and passim)
2) *sm'ḥj iw* (= *r*) "to fasten on something"
*sm'ḥj iw pȝ tȝ* "to fasten (the mummy) on the board", rt. III 18; sim. rt. II 8, III 12.

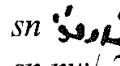
470. *smn* 
1) *smn* "fixed", "steady"
give the head of the Apis *pȝj.f ḳjȝ smn* "its fixed position" (sc. on the support), rt. III 25
2) *dj.t smn* "to make steady"
*dj.t smn pȝ tȝ tȝ ḥȝ.t pȝ ḥȝ* "make the board steady in front and behind", rt. III 16.

471. *smn* "to fasten"
 rt. III 4, IV 4
 rt. II 20, IV 24, vs. II b, 4, 12, III 18.

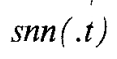
472. *smr* a priest (no. 25).

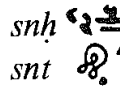
473. *smt*
 rt. II 25, III 3, 25
 rt. I 7, 8, II 19, 21, 24, V 19, 32, VI a, 14, VI b, 1, 21, vs. II b, 11, III 13, 21
 rt. V 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 16, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 36, VI a, 3 (?), 4, 6, 8
1) "nature", "appearance", "shape"
of the head of the Apis: rt. II 25, III 25; of a vessel: rt. V 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, etc.; of a coffer: rt. I 7, VI b, 1; of the coffin of the Apis: rt. I 8; of an unidentified item: rt. VI b, 21; *pȝ smt nȝ ḥbs.w* "the nature of the *ḥbs*-cloths", vs. III 21; *smt ms* "figure of birth (?)", rt. VI a, 14
2) "the way in which something is done"
they wrap the horns *pȝj=s smt nȝ ʿnḫ.w* "the ears are treated in the same way", rt. II 19; sim. examples: rt. II 21, 24, III 3, etc.

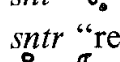
474. *sn* "brother", in the expression *ḳbḥ-sn.w.f* "intestines" (no. 547).

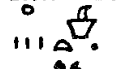
475. *sn*  (unidentified), vs. III 22.

476. *sn.nw*/ 2.*w* "second" *sp sn.nw* "second time" (no. 464).

477. *snn(.t)*  "Mecca balsam (?)", used for covering the incision which was made in the left side of the mummy to remove the entrails, vs. I 9.

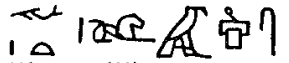
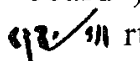
478. *snḥ*  "to bind", rt. VI b, 20.

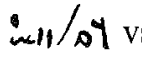
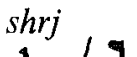
479. *snt*  "to found" of a building, rt. IV 9.

480. *sntr* "resin of the terebinth"
 rt. II 12
 vs. I 9

1) *sntr sḳ* "ground resin of the terebinth"
placed in the mouth of the mummy, rt. II 12
2) *sntr w3ḏ* "fresh resin of the terebinth"
placed on the incision which was made in the left side of the mummy to remove the entrails, vs. I 9.

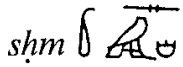
481. *sr*  "coffin", mistake by the scribe instead of *t3* "board", rt. III 19.

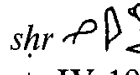
482. *sl3.t* "coffin"
 with variants: rt. I 8, IV 4 (bis), 5 (mistake instead of *t3* "board"), 22
 rt. II 1, IV 3 (bis), 20
 rt. IV 15.

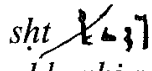
483. *shr/ shrj* resinous substance with magical qualities
*shr*
 vs. I 15 (bis)
*shrj*
 vs. II a, 7, II b, 3, 4, 10, 12
1) in dry condition
*shr šw* "dry *shr*", mentioned in enumeration of products, vs. I 15
2) in fluid condition
*sf shr/ shrj* "oil containing a solution of *shr/ shrj*"
- mentioned in lists with oils: vs. I 15, II a, 7; cf. vs. II b, 4
- for its magical qualities used for soaking cloths which were placed on the eye-sockets of the mummy in order to restore the sight of the Apis: vs. II b, 3; cf. vs. II b, 10, 12.

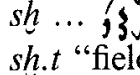
484. *sḥw* "to wrap" see *swḥ* (no. 455).

485. *sḥw* a mummy cloth; see *swḥ* (no. 455 a).

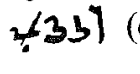
486. *sḥm*  "to pound" [cf. demotic: *sḳ*: no. 498]
*sḥm ḥsmn* "to pound natron", rt. VI b, 1.

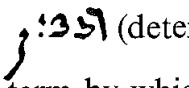
487. *sḥr*  "to ward off" (sc. enemies), in the book title *sḥr* "Warding off", rt. IV 19.

488. *sḥt*  "to illuminate"
*nḥḥ whj r sḥt n.im=f* "sesame oil of the Oasis in order to illuminate with it", rt. VI b, 17.

489. *sḫ* ...  (unidentified) *'rf sḫ* ... "bags ...", vs. I 8.

490. *sḫ.t* "field" in the expression *sḫ.t-ir3w* "Field of Rushes" (no. 53).

491. *sḫm*
 (determinative: striking arm), rt. II 6

 (determinative: walking legs + knot), rt. II 7

term by which some technique of tying is indicated: *mr sḫm* "*sḫm*-knotting".

492. *sḫr*  "plan", in the book title *p3 sḫr ḥr.k* "the Plan of thy Face", rt. IV 18.

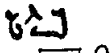
493. *sḫ* "to write", "to draw"

 rt. I 7, 8, III 15, VI b, 12

 rt. II 9, 11, III 18, 25, IV 5.

494. *sḫ* "scribe", in the title *sḫ mḏ3.t-ntr* "scribe of the god's book" (no. 29).

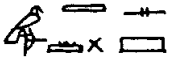
495. *sšt* "blue (?) linen"

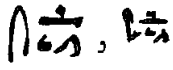
 rt. IV 16, vs. III 2, 5

 rt. II 1 (bis), IV 4, 6, 7 (bis)

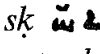
496. *sšt3* "mystery", in the title *p3 hrj sšt3* "the Overseer of the Mystery" (no. 23).

497. *sšt3* "mysterious"

 rt. I 5, III 1,3, 4, 5, IV 5

 rt. II 3 (bis), 20, 21 (bis), vs. II a, 2 (bis), 27, 28; II b, 23, III 6, 8, 14, 18, 19, 20

in the expression *p3 ḥr sšt3* "the mysterious face" (sc. of the Apis).

498. *sḳ*  "to grind" [cf. Hieratic *sḥm*: no. 486]

*sntr sḳ* "ground resin of the terebinth" (no. 480), rt. II 12.

499. *sḳ* "to pull"

recto

 rt. III 19, 22, 23, 24

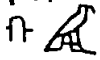
verso

 vs. I 7, 22, II a, 19, III 16.

500. *sḳ* "mat"

 rt. I 3;  rt. I 1

 rt. II 2, IV 24

 rt. IV 24

1) measurements

6 × 6 divine cubits (ca. 3 × 3 m.): rt. II 2, IV 24

2) material

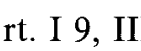
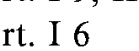
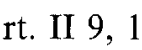
a) rush

*sḳ šmʿ ḳm* "thin mat of rush", rt. IV 24

b) papyrus

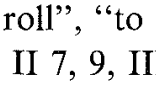
*sḳ ḏwf* "mat of papyrus", rt. I 3, II 2, IV 24; *sḳ šmʿ ḏwf* "thin mat of papyrus", rt. I 1, IV 24

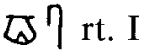
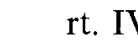
3) use
mat on which the Apis rests during the wrapping: rt. I 1; mat on which materials for the embalming are placed: rt. I 3; mat with which a tent is fitted up: rt. IV 24.

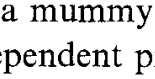
501. *sḳn/ sgn* kind of ointment
*sḳn*
 rt. I 9, III 10, 11 (bis), 15, IV 5
 rt. I 6
*sgn*
 rt. II 9, 10 (bis), 13, 14, 15, 16 (bis), 17, 18, 20, VI b, 17
1) use
- as oil for the soaking (*tḫb*) of mummy cloths:
rt. II 13, 16, 20, III 11; cf. rt. II 14
- as oil for the anointing (*wrḥ*) of parts of the body:
eye-sockets, rt. II 15; nose, rt. II 16; anus, rt. III 10; tail, rt. III 11; horns, rt. II 17; cf. rt. II 18; the Apis, rt. II 10 (bis), III 15

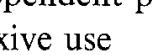
2) kinds
*sgn gw-m33* "fine styrax" (no. 573)

3) in book title
*m33 iw ... m w'b ḫr p(3) sḳn* "see to ... in purity with (?) the *sḳn*-ointment", rt. I 9.

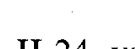
502. *skr* "to roll", "to wrap"
 rt. II 7, 9, III 15, 17, IV 1, V 1
- *t3 nbtj.t skr* "the *nbtj.t*-bandage for wrapping", in enumeration of items, rt. V 1
- *n3 ḥbs.w skr.w* "the *skr*-bandages", bandages of about 15 cm. width which were used for strapping the Apis on a stretcher, rt. II 7, 9, III 15, 17, IV 1.

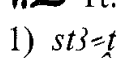
503. *sgp* "woe"
 rt. I 2, IV 15
 rt. IV 3
in the expression *ʿš sgp* "to cry woe" (sc. upon the dead Apis).

504. *st*  a mummy bandage; mentioned in an enumeration of items, rt. V 1.

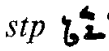
505. *st*  dependent pronoun 3rd person plural
1) reflexive use
*dj.t st3.ṯ=w st* "to make that they (the mummy bandages) return", rt. III 21, 22, 24

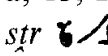
2) in the expression *wp st* "specification" (no. 173).

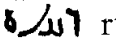
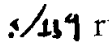
506. *st3.ṯ=* "to return"
*st3.ṯ=f*
 rt. II 24, vs. II a, 13, II b, 2, III 13

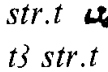
*st3.ṯ=w*
 rt. III 21 (bis), 22, 24
1) *st3=ṯ*
- *iw=f st3.ṯ=f š't.ṯ mḥ*-4 *bnr* "he turns to cut off a fourth (bandage)", rt. II 24, vs. III 13
- *iw=f st3.ṯ=f i.ir-ḥr* + part of the body "he returns before a part of the body" (no. 87)

2) *dj.t st3.ṯ*
*dj.t st3.ṯ=w st* "to make that they (the bandages) return", rt. III 21, 22, 24; sim. rt. III 21.

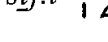
507. *stp*  "strip of linen"
*stp pg3* "strip of fine linen" and *stp itmj* "strip of red linen", strips of linen which were placed in the eye-sockets of the Apis together with amulets: vs. II a, 13, II b, 5.

508. *str*  "to wrap"
in the expression *sbn str* "*sbn*-bandage for wrapping", bandage in which the head of the Apis was wrapped: rt. III 5.

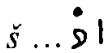
509. *str* a mummy bandage
 rt. II 19
 rt. III 13.

510. *str.t*  "bed"
*t3 str.t r-wn-n3.w ḫr p3 ntr* "the bed which was under the god", rt. IV 8.

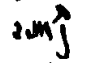
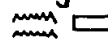
511. *st3* see *r3-st3* "Rostau" (no. 50).

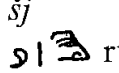
512. *stj.t*  a vessel (?), rt. I 8.

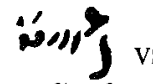
*š*

513. *š* ...  a mummy bandage: rt. III, 3-4 (corrupt spelling).

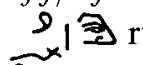
514. *š3'* see *š'* "up to" (no. 519).

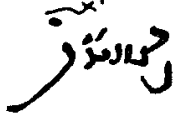
515. *šj*
 rt. IV 16, 17, VI a, 3
 rt. IV 13, 22
1) "lake"
*p(3) šj nsw.w* "the Lake of Kings" (no. 54)
2) "basin"
*ḳtj-j'j smt n šj* "*ḳtj* wash vessel in the form of a lake", in an enumeration of items, rt. VI a, 3.

516. *šj* "nose" *šj.f*/ *=f* "his nose"
*šj*
 rt. III 2;  rt. II 7

 vs. II a, 27

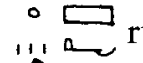
*šj.f/ =f*

 rt. II 15, 16 (quater)

 vs. II a, 27, 28, III 16.

517. *šjm* "corridor (?)" (no. 43).

518. *š‘* "sand"

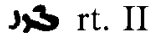
 rt. I 1

 rt. IV 17

*pj š‘* "bank of sand", as pure element on which the Apis rests: during the wrapping, rt. I 1; during the ritual journey on the lake, rt. IV 17.

519. *š‘*

 rt. III 3, 4

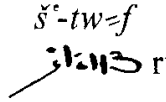
 rt. II 10, 19 (bis), III 2 (bis), 5, 6, 9, IV 3

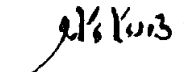
 rt. II 23, vs. I 22, II a, 3, 14, 19, II b, 18 (bis), III 15, 16, 18, 20, 22

1) conjunction
   a) with *sḏmt.f*-form
      to pull up the edges of the cloth *š‘ pḥṭ ns.f ḥr t3 ḥ3.t n.im=f* "until his tongue has reached in front of it", vs. I 22
   b) with infinitive
      to pull up the edges of the cloth *š‘ p3 pḥ r.ir ls=f r t3 ḥ3.t* "until his tongue has reached in front", vs. II a, 19
2) preposition
   a) of time
      *š‘ p3 hrw mḥ*-16 "up to the 16th day", vs. III 22
   b) of place
   - with noun
     *š‘ p3 m3‘* "up to the place", rt. II 10; sim. rt. II 19 (bis), 23, III 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, etc.
   - with relative phrase
     they stretch the limbs of the Apis *š‘ p3 ntj iw=w ir-rḫ ir=f* "as far as they can", rt. III 6
3) in prepositional expressions
   *š‘ p3 mtr* "before" (no. 273); *š‘ t3 mtr.t* "up to the midst of something" (no. 275); *š‘ p3 ḥ3* "up to behind" (no. 364, 2); *š‘ m* "from", vs. III 20.

520. *š‘-tw=* "until"

*š‘-tw=f*

 rt. III 4

 vs. I 6, III 19

 vs. I 7

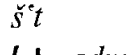
*š'-tw=w*

 rt. III 17, 24, V 22, vs. III 18

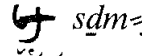
e.g.: to lay mummy bandages left and right of the mummy *š'-tw=w wḫ3=w* "until they need them (again)".

521. *š't/ š't.t* "to cut"

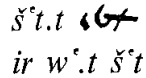
*š't*

 *sḏm=f*-form: rt. IV 3; infinitive: rt. II 5, 6 (bis), III 26, IV 2, 8

*š't.t*

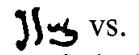
 qualitative-form: rt. II 22 (bis), vs. III 9, 10; infinitive: rt. II 24 (bis), vs. I 21, III 12, 13

1) *š't/ š't.t* + direct object
   e.g.: *iw=w š't=s* "they cut it (the mummy bandage) off", rt. II 5, 6 (bis)
2) *š't n* + object
   to bring a mummy bandage *iw š't n.im=s* "in order to cut it off", rt. III 26
3) *š't.t bnr ḫr*
   a mummy bandage *š't.t n bnr ḫr t3 šnbj.t* "is cut off under the breast", rt. II 22, vs. III 9
4) *š't/ š't.t r bnr*
   with regard to a mummy bandage: "to cut off", rt. II 22, 24 (bis), vs. III 10, 12, 13.

522. *š't.t*  "inscription"

*ir w'.t š't.t* "to put up an inscription" (sc. in the corridor of the stall of the Apis), rt. IV 12.

523. *šw* "dry"

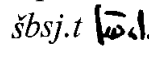
 vs. I 15, II a, 5, 6, II b, 17

- of cloths

  *nm šw* "dry *nm*-cloth", vs. II a, 5, 6; *ḥbs šw* "dry *ḥbs*-cloth", vs. II b, 17

- of a resin

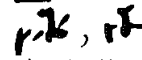
  *p3 shr šw* "the dry *shr*(-resin)" (no. 483), vs. I 15.

524. *šbsj.t*  "precious (?)"

*'3.t šbsj.t* "precious *'3.t*-vessel", rt. VI b, 20.

525. *šp* "to receive", "to contain"

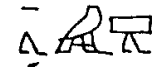
 rt. IV 16, 21

 rt. II 9, V 4, VI b, 16, vs. II a, 5, 6, II b, 10

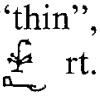
1) *šp* "to contain"
   vessels *iw=w šp hn* 2 "which contain 2 *hin*", rt. VI b, 16

2) *šp* "to receive"
   a) *n dr.t* "to receive out of the hand of someone", rt. IV 16, 21
   b) *r* "to receive something in something", rt. V 4
   c) *r bnr* "to receive to outside" = to take away, rt. II 9
3) *dj.t šp* "to make receive"
   *dj.t šp nm šw* "to make (the eye-socket) receive dry *nm*-cloth", vs. II a, 5, 6; cf. the construction with the causative infinitive: *dj.t i.ir t3 sj(.t) šp p3 ḫf* "to make the *sj.t*-cloth receive the third eye-lid" (no. 103, 2), vs. II b, 10.

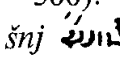
526. *šm*  "divine (?)"
as for the making of the mysterious coffer *md(.t) rmt šm t3j* "it is the matter of a divine man", rt. VI b, 1.

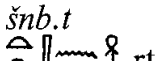
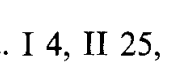
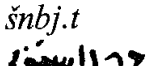
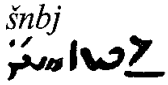
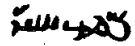
527. *šm*
 rt. I 1, 2, III 10
 rt. II 4, 7, 10 (bis), 14 (bis), 15, 17, 25, III 8, 19, 21, IV 1, 2, 17, 21, vs. I 1, 6, 8, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, II a, 1, 3, 5, 8, 12, 19, II b, 14, 23

1) *šm* "to go"
a) with preposition
   *iw/ r* (no. 327) "to go to a place", rt. I 2, II 4, IV 17; *ḫn* (no. 432) "to go into something", rt. II 14; *iw.ir-ḥr/ i-ir-ḥr* "to go before (a part of the body)" (no. 87); *m-s3* "to go after someone" = to fetch someone (no. 446)
b) without preposition
   with regard to a mummy bandage: *šm* "to run", rt. II 25
2) *dj.t/ tw šm* "to let go"
   notice *tw n šm* : vs. I 8, 15
a) without preposition
   *dj.t šm t3 pḫr.t* "to make the medicament go", vs. II a, 1
b) with preposition
   *n* (no. 282) "to make go into something", vs. I 1; *iw* (= *r*) (no. 327) "to make go to a place", rt. IV 21; *ḫn* (no. 432) "to make go into something", rt. II 10 (bis), III 21, vs. I 15, II a, 3, 8; *ḫr* (no. 435) "to make go under something", vs. I 22, II a, 19
c) with prepositional expression
   *r bnr n* (no. 206) "to make go out of something", vs. I 6, 7; *r bnr ḫn* (no. 206) "to make go out of something", rt. II 7, III 19, IV 2; *iw* (= *r*) *bnr ḫr* (no. 206) (no. 395, 4) "to make go from under something", rt. IV 1; *r ḥrj ḫn* (no. 395, 4) "to make go upwards into something", vs. I 8, 18, 20.

528. *šm'* "thin", "fine"
 rt. I 1, II 18;  rt. IV 24 (bis)
 vs. II b, 21

- of a cloth
  *nbt šmʿ* "thin *nbt*-cloth" (no. 297)
- of a mat
  *sḳ šmʿ ḏwf* "thin mat of papyrus" and *sḳ šmʿ ḳm* "thin mat of rush" (no. 500).

529. *šnj*  "trunk (?)"
*wrḥ ntr pn ḏr=f r pȝ šnj* "to anoint this god entirely at the trunk", rt. II 10.

530. *šnb.t/ šnbj.t/ šnbj(.t)* "breast"
*šnb.t*
 rt. I 4, II 25, III 2, 3, 4, 16;  rt. III 1
*šnbj.t*
 rt. II 21, 22 (ter), 23, vs. II b, 24, III 15
*šnbj*
 vs. II a, 16, III 2, 4, 6, 8, 9 (bis), 17
 vs. I 11.

531. *šl* in the compound *ȝḏȝ-šl* (a vessel): no. 75.

532. *šlf*  "disgrace"
they draw a *wḏȝj.t*-eye on a cloth with black ink: *mn šlf pȝ ntj iw i(w)=s n.im=f* "there is no disgrace ...", rt. VI b, 13.

533. *šs*
1) *šs sp*-2 (= *šs šs*) "very"
 rt. II 11, III 9
*nms ḥbs šs sp*-2 "to cover well with *ḥbs*-cloth" (loc. cit.)
2) *m-šs* "very"
 rt. III 20, 22, 23, 24

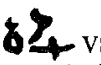
 vs. I 1 (bis), 2, 17
*sḳ m-šs* "to pull (the mummy bandages) tight", rt. III 20, 22, 23, 24; *wʿb=f m-šs* "to purify (the thoracic cavity) well", vs. I 1; *nms=f ḥbs m-šs* "to clothe it (the abdominal cavity) well with *ḥbs*-cloth", vs. I 1, 2, 17.

534. *šs-nsw* "king's linen", "byssus"
singular
 rt. II 1, III 18, IV 1, 4
 rt. II 14, III 6, V 1, VI b, 12, vs. II b, 5, 7
plural
 rt. IV 25
1) as cloth
rt. II 14, III 6, vs. II b, 7; *šs-nsw tpj wʿ* "1 cloth of byssus of first quality", rt. VI b, 12; *nȝ šs.w-nsw.w tms.w* "the burial cloths of byssus", rt. IV 25

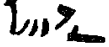
2) as material from which a cloth is made
vs. II b, 5; *ḫrt šs-nsw* "*ḫrt*-cloth of byssus" (no. 416), rt. II 1, III 18, IV 1, 4, V 1.

535. *šš*  "alabaster", as material from which a vessel is made: *ꜥ*-vessel (no. 123), rt. VI b, 6; *ḏlḥ*-vessel (no. 656), rt. VI b, 16.

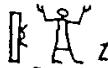
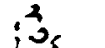
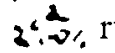
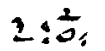
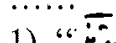
536. *ššt* "Wrapping-Room" (no. 44).

537. *št3* a mummy bandage
 rt. II 18
 vs. II b, 21.

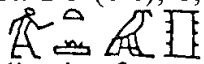
538. *št3*  "trunk (?)"
*ḏm pȝ št3 ḫr ꜥrf* "to clothe the trunk with bags", vs. I 9.

539. *štj* "to take away"
recto
 rt. II 11 (bis), 16, III 9, 10
verso
 vs. I 2, 16, 19, 20, II a, 17
 vs. II a, 3, III 6
1) *štj*
e.g.: *štj nȝ ḥbs.w* "to take away the *ḥbs*-cloths", rt. II 11
2) *štj r bnr*
e.g.: *štj nȝ ḥbs.w r bnr* "to take away the *ḥbs*-cloths", rt. II 16.

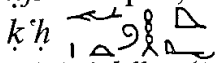
## *ḳ*

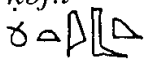
540. *ḳȝ*
status nominalis
 rt. I 1;  rt. I 4
 rt. I 5, 8, II 4 (bis), V 2, etc.
status pronominalis
*ḳȝ=f*
 rt. I 4, 5 (ter), II 4, IV 24, etc.
*ḳȝ=s*
 rt. IV 25
*ḳȝ.w/ =w*
 rt. I 7, 8
.....  . II 2 (bis), V 7, 23
1) "ght"
or a support (*wrs*): rt. I 4, 5, II 2

2) "length"
of a bank of sand (*pj š'*), rt. I 1 (and passim)
3) "diameter of the opening of a vessel"
rt. I 5 (bis), 8, V 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 23, 24, 29, 31, VI a, 2, 4, 6, 8.

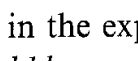
541. *ḳ3t*  "to build"
qualitative form: *p(3) r3 ntj ḳ3t n p(3) sbt imnṯ* "the door which is built in the west wall", rt. IV 11.

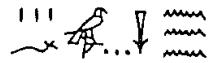
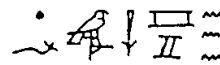
542. *ḳj3* "shape", "manner" see *gj* (no. 574).

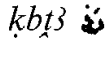
543. *ḳ'ḥ*  "corner"
*p(3) 4 ḳ'ḥ p(3) ibw* "the four corners of the Tent of Purification", rt. IV 14.

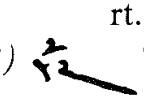
544. *ḳbj.t/ ḳb3(.t)* a cloth of big dimensions
*ḳbj.t*
 rt. I 1
*ḳb3*
 rt. II 1, V 1.

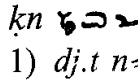
545. *ḳbḥ* "purification" *ḥ.t ḳbḥ* "House of Purification" (no. 41).

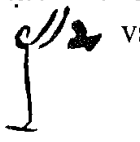
546. *ḳbḥ* "to be cold" (as opposed to *ḥmm* "to be warm", no. 430)
 vs. II a, 6, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, 24, 25, II b, 5, 9, 15
in the expression *t3 pḥr.t ntj ḳbḥ* "the cold medicament" (no. 229).

547. *ḳbḥ-snw.f* unidentified part of the intestines
 rt. V 11
 rt. V 15.

548. *ḳbṯ3*  "small entrails (?)"
rt. V 3, 9; cf. *krs* "large entrails (?)" (no. 569).

549. *ḳm(3)*  "rush"
*sḳ šm' ḳm(3)* "thin mat of rush", rt. IV 24.

550. *ḳn*  a mummy cloth
1) *dj.t n=w sj.t ḳn* "to give to them (the limbs) *sj.t*-cloth and *ḳn*-cloth", vs. I 10
2) *ḳn km* "black *ḳn*-cloth"
bound on the opening of a vessel: rt. VI b, 19
3) *ḳn Sj* "*ḳn*-cloth from Sais"
for the wrapping of the hoofs: rt. III 6; cf. the Hieratic equivalent *nwt Sj* (no. 293).

551. *ḳrr* "roller"
 vs. II b, 26

 rt. III 7;  rt. I 6

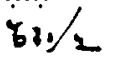
roller on which mummy bandages are wrapped: *ḳrr ḳd* "roller of *ḳd*-wood" (no. 559); *ḳrr hbjnj* "roller of ebony" (no. 355).

552. *ḳrḥ/ ḳlḥ*

1) verb: "to wrap"

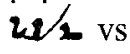
recto

*ḳlḥ*

 rt. II 13, III 2, 12

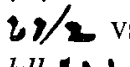
verso

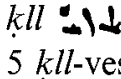
*ḳrḥ*

 vs. I 21

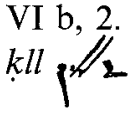
2) noun: "wrapping"

*ḳrḥ*

 vs. I 21, II b, 20.

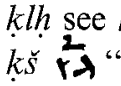
553. *ḳll*  a vessel

5 *ḳll*-vessels *iw=w mḥ mw* "filled with water", in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 2.

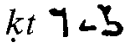
554. *ḳll*  unidentified wooden item (vessel?)

*ḳll hbn wbꜣ p(ꜣ) rꜣ* "a *ḳll* of ebony for the mouth", in an enumeration of items, rt. I 8.

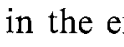
555. *ḳlḥ* see *ḳrḥ* (no. 552).

556. *ḳš*  "reed"

*ḳš* 4 *ḫr nꜣj=w gbj.w* "4 reeds with their leaves still on them", in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 19.

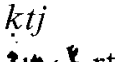
557. *ḳt*  "traverse (?)" of a mummy bandage, rt. III 21.

558. *ḳtj* "form"

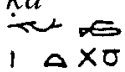
in the expression *m-ḳtj*  "like", "as": *ir nꜣ ntj m-ḳtj nꜣ mnj.w(t) ꜥn* "to do the same with the thighs also", rt. II 6.

559. *ḳtj/ ḳd* Pinus halepensis (?)

*ḳtj*

 rt. VI b, 22

*ḳd*

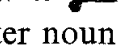
 rt. I 6, 7;  rt. III 7

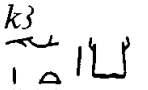
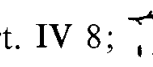
*ḳrr ḳd* "roller of *ḳd*-wood" (no. 551), rt. I 6, III 7; *ḥn ḳd* "coffer of *ḳd*-wood" (no. 357), rt. I 7; cf. rt. VI b, 22.

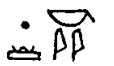
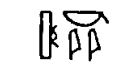
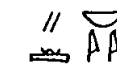
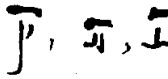
560. *ḳtj-jꜥj* a vessel (no. 120).

561. *ḳd* see *ḳtj* (no. 559).

*k*

562. *.k/ =k* suffix pronoun 2nd person masc.
1) after relative form
*r.tw=k*  (no. 630), vs. II b, 6
2) after noun
*pȝ sḫr ḥr.k* "the Plan of thy Face" (book title), rt. IV 18; ... *=k* "your ...", vs. II b, 6.

563. *kȝ/ gȝ* "shrine" [cf. *ḏj* "boat shrine": no. 641]
singular
*kȝ*
 rt. IV 8;  rt. IV 6; cf. the variant spellings: rt. IV 7 (bis)
 rt. IV 5
plural
*kȝ.w*
 rt. II 1, IV 17 (bis)
*gȝ.w*
 rt. IV 9
- in priestly title
*nȝ wʿb.w ntj ʿḳ n nȝ kȝ.w* "the *wʿb*-priests who enter the shrines", rt. IV 17
- shrine of a god
*nȝ gȝ.w nȝ ntr.w* "the shrines of the gods", rt. IV 9
- shrine for the storing of embalming materials
rt. IV, 5-8; cf. rt. II 1, IV 17.

564. *kj/ gȝ* (masc.), *k.t* (fem.) "other"
masc.
*kj*    rt. II 25, III 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, IV 6, 7
 rt. II 1, 13 (ter), 22, 23, III 21, V 5, 30, VI b, 15, vs. I 19, II a, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, III 1, 15
*gȝ*
 rt. II 12
fem.
*k.t*
 rt. III 26, IV 6
 rt. II 12, III 20, VI b, 16 (mistake instead of correct masc. *kj*), vs. II b, 10
1) *kj* "another ..."

*kj* "another (mummy cloth)", rt. II 1, III 2; *kj w*ʿ "one other (mummy cloth)", vs. II a, 24; *kj* 2 "two other (mummy cloths)", rt. II 25, III 4

2) *kj* + noun

a) with article

- *pȝ kj* 2/3 "the other 2/3 (of the cloth)", rt. II 23
- *pȝ kj pjr* 2 "the other 2 *pjr*-bandages", rt. II 22; sim. rt. III 20

b) without article

- *kj ḫrj-ḥb* "another embalmer", rt. III 10; sim. rt. II 12, III 11, 26, VI b, 15
- *kj ḥbs w*ʿ "one other cloth", vs. II a, 17; *kj ḥbs* 2 "2 other cloths", rt. II 13 (bis), vs. I 19, II a, 22, 23; sim. rt. II 12, III 3, 21, V 5, 30

3) *w*ʿ ... *kj* "one ... the other" (no. 167, 3)

4) *kj ḏd* "variant"

rt. I 4, II 4 (bis), vs. I 11, II b, 24, III 1, 4.

565. *kp* "canopy"

*pȝ kp* ʿš "the canopy of fir wood", rt. IV 9.

566. *kfȝ* a cloth

*kfȝ ins* "*kfȝ*-cloth of red linen", used for covering the coffin of the Apis, rt. IV 4.

567. *km* "black"

*km* (masc.)

rt. VI b, 19

*km.t* (fem.)

rt. VI b, 8, 10, 13 (bis)

*ḳn km* "black *ḳn*-cloth", rt. VI b, 19; *rȝ(.t) km.t* "black ink", rt. VI b, 8, 10, 13 (bis).

568. *knṯ* unidentified

rt. VI b, 15

rt. VI b, 5.

569. *krs* "large entrails (?)"

rt. V 3, 8, 18, VI a, 7; cf. *ḳbṯȝ* "small entrails (?)": no. 548.

## *g*

570. *gȝ* "other" (no. 564).

571. *gȝ* "shrine" (no. 563).

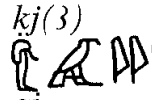
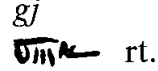
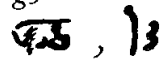
572. *gȝ* "manner" (no. 574).

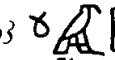
573. *gȝj-mȝȝ*/ *gw-mȝȝ* "fine styrax"

*gȝj-mȝȝ*

rt. I 7

*gw-mȝȝ*
 rt. II 9, VI b, 17.

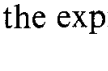
574. *gj/ ḳjȝ/ gȝ* "form", "manner" [cf. *smt*: no. 473]
recto
*ḳj(ȝ)*
 rt. II 25, III 25
*gj*
 rt. II 10, III 18
verso
*gȝ*
 vs. I 5, 19, 20, II a, 1, 16, II b, 4, 10, III 6
1) "form"
on the head of the Apis: *pȝj.f ḳj(ȝ) smn* "its fixed form" (sc. on the support), rt. III 25
2) "manner", "way"
*pȝ gj* + *n/ ntj* (genitive) + infinitive "the way of ..."
- of mummy bandages: *p(ȝ) ḳj(ȝ) ntj šm=f* (read: *šm=w*) ... *ntj iw.w ir.f* "the way in which they go", rt. II 25; sim. examples: rt. III 18, vs. I 5, II a, 1
- in the expression *r ḥ pȝ gj* "according to the way of ...": vs. I 20, II a, 16
- in the expression *ḏbȝ pȝ gj* "because of the way of ...": rt. II 10, vs. I 19, II b, 4, 10, III 6.

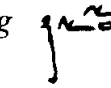
575. *gbȝ*  a mummy bandage, rt. II 25, III 1.

576. *gbj*  "leaf"
*ḳš* 4 *ḥr nȝj=w gbj.w* "4 reeds with their leaves still on them", in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 19.

577. *gm*
 rt. III 9
 rt. II 11, IV 11
1) of things: "to find", rt. II 11, III 9
2) of a new Apis: "to discover", rt. IV 11.

578. *gml*  unidentified copper item
*gml (n) ḥmt* "copper *gml*", in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 19.

579. *grbˁ* unidentified
in the expression *grbˁ (n) ḫt*  "wooden *grbˁ*": vessels are filled with water *(n) pȝj=w grbˁ (n) ḫt r b=w* "from (?) their wooden *grbˁ* up to their opening", rt. VI b, 3.

580. *grg*  "bed"

*p3 grg Pt̩h* "the bed of Ptah", carried in a procession with the mummy of the Apis, rt. IV 17.

581. *gsp*  (unidentified), rt. VI b, 22.

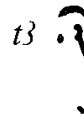
582. *gst*  "palette"
- *gst n r3(.t) km.t* "palet with black ink", rt. VI b, 8
- *gst ḏr3 2 wʿ n r3(.t) km.t kj n r3(.t) w3ḏ(.t)* "2 palettes of *ḏr3*-wood, one with black ink, the other one with green ink", rt. VI b, 10.

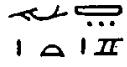
583. *ggj.t* see *ḥr-ggj.t* "upper jaw" (no. 392).

584. *gḏ*  "gypsum", mentioned in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 19.

585. *gḏ* a building (no. 45).

*t*

586. *t3*  "earth", vs. II b, 7.

587. *t3* "board"
 rt. III 21
 rt. I 4 (bis), II 1, III 13, [14], 15 (bis), <16>, 18, 26, IV 1.

588. *t3* definite article fem. sing. (passim)
 rt. I 8 (bis), etc.
 rt. II 1, etc.
 rt. II 3, 6, etc.

589. *t3j*  demonstrative pronoun fem. sing.
used as subject in a sentence without copula: *md(.t) rmt šm t3j* "it is the matter of a divine (?) man", rt. VI b, 1; sim. vs. II a, 21, II b, 11.

590. *t3j=* possessive adjective fem. sing.
*t3j=f*
 rt. III 19, IV 13
 rt. II 13 (bis), 14, vs. I 19, II a, 11 (ter), 15, 16, 21, 23
*t3j=w*
 rt. II 2, V 1 (bis?), 15, 19, 21, 27.

591. *tjtj.t*  stone vessel in which entrails were treated: rt. V 10.

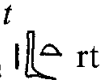
592. *ṯ'j* stone vessel
singular
*ṯ'j*
 rt. VI a, 1
plural
*ṯ'j.wt*
 rt. VI a, 6.

593. *tw* in *r.bw-ir-tw* (no. 205) and *š˓-tw=* (no. 520).

594. *tw*  indefinite pronoun
*ir.ḫr.tw ibw* "a Tent of Purification is made", rt. IV 12.

595. *tw* "bosom (?)"
in the compound preposition *r.twn*  "next to"; see the Hieratic equivalent *iw-ḏr* "next to" (no. 652).

596. *tw=s* "see" (interjection)
 rt. II 21, V 2, 4, 6, 7, 25, 29, vs. I 5, II a, 1.

597. *tb.t*/ *tbj.t* "brick"
*tb.t*
 rt. IV 20
*tbj.t*
 rt. IV 24
- in a ritual proceeding: *ḫwj tb.t ḥ3.t t3 sl3.t* "to throw a brick before the coffin" (sc. in order to prevent the coffin from being dragged into the House of Embalming), rt. IV 20
- *tbj.t s3n.t* "brick of clay", in an enumeration of items, rt. IV 24.

598. *tb.tj*  "pair of sandals", as clothing of priests, rt. I 2.

599. *tbj.t* see *tb.t* "brick" (no. 597).

600. *tbḥ.w*  "tools"

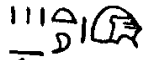
*n3 tbḥ.w p3 wr-irj* "the tools of the *wr-irj*-priest", rt. VI b, 21; cf. *n3 nkt.w p3 wr-irj* (no. 317).

601. *tp*  "bark"
in the book title *p(3) s3 tp* "the Protection of the Bark", rt. IV 18.

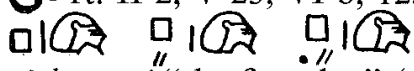
602. *tp*  "head" of the Apis, rt. III 25.

603. *tp* "throat" [cf. Hieratic *ḥtj.t* "throat": no. 399]
 vs. I 14, 17 (bis), 20, II a, 4 (bis), 24
1) used independently
*t3 pḫr.t p3 tp* "the medicament of the throat", vs. I 14, 17
2) in compounds
a) in connection with *b* "cavity" (no. 203)
*n3 b.w p3 tp* "the openings in the throat", vs. II a, 4 (bis)
b) in connection with *mj.t* "way", "channel"
- *t3 mj(.t) p3 tp* "the channel of the throat", vs. I 17
- *t3 mj(.t)* 2.*t p3 tp* "the two channels of the throat", vs. I 20; *t3 mj(.t)* 2.*t ntj ḫr p3 tp n3.w* "the two channels which are down in the throat", vs. II a, 24; cf. Hieratic *t3 ḥtj.t* 2.*t* "the two (channels of) the throat" (no. 399).

604. *tp.w* "edges", "ends"
 vs. I 7, 16, 22

 vs. I 6
 vs. II a, 19
in the expression *nȝ tp.w pȝ ḥbs* "the edges/ ends of the *ḥbs*-cloth".

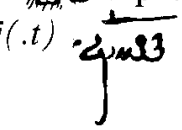
605. *tp.w* in the expression *tp.w ʿ.wt* "limbs", "entrails" (no. 127).

606. *tpj* "first"
 rt. II 2, V 23, VI b, 12, vs. I 14, II a, 1, III 2
 rt. I 8, III 13, IV 13, 18
*pȝ hrw tpj* "the first day" (sc. of the embalmment) (no. 360);
*šs-nsw tpj* "byssus of first quality" (no. 534).

607. *tpš*  unidentified product: *ʿt n tpš* "fat of ...", rt. VI b, 8.

608. *tm* negative verb
 rt. IV 20
 rt. II 12, III 6, VI b, 13, vs. II b, 8
1) connected with Present II
*iw=s tm* ... "if it is not ...", rt. VI b, 13
2) connected with infinitive
to fill the mouth of the Apis *r tm dj.t ḫtm b=f* "to prevent his mout from shutting", rt. II 12 (and passim).

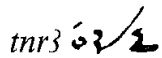
609. *tm* ...  a product which is placed in the mouth of the Apis, rt. II 12.

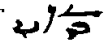
610. *tmmj(.t)*  "amulet (papyrus)"
placed in the eye-socket of the mummy: vs. II a, 1, 13, II b, 5; cf. the counterpart *ṯȝj-wjṯ* (no. 625).

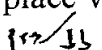
611. *tms* "to bury"
 rt. IV 25, V 1 (bis)
*ḫrt tms* "*ḫrt*-cloth for burial" (no. 416); sim. with other cloths: *šs-nsw* (no. 534); *ḳbȝ.t* (no. 544).

612. *tmtm*  "bundle (?)"
*tmtm mnḫ.w(t)* "bundle of *mnḫ.t*-cloth", vs. II b, 24.

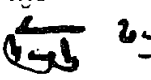
613. *tn* "each (time)"
 rt. II 15, V 11, 28, VI b, 1, 2
 vs. II b, 9
 rt. V 27, 28
1) *tn* "each (time)"
*tn sp nb n wʿb* "each time of cleansing", rt. V 27, 28
2) *tn* ... *r* "each (time) ... per (distributive)"
to place *sj.t*-cloths on the eyelids *tn sj.t* 2.*t r wʿ.t ir.t* "two *sj.t*-cloths on each eye-socket", rt. II 15, vs. II b, 9; sim. rt. V 11, 28, VI b, 1, 2.

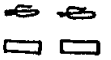
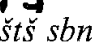
614. *tnrʒ*  unidentified kind of stone: rt. VI a, 6.

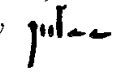
615. *trf*  "trunk (?)"
to place vessels *ḫr pʒ trf* "under the trunk (of the Apis)", rt. V 2, 24.

616. *ṯrs*  unidentified kind of wood from which the poles of a stretcher were made to carry the mummy of the Apis: rt. I 5.

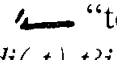
617. *ṯḥn/ ṯḥnj* "faience"
*ṯḥn*
 rt. VI b, 1
*ṯḥnj*
 rt. VI b, 12, 14
*wḏʒj.t ṯḥn* "faience *wḏʒj.t*-eye" (no. 202); *bs ṯḥn/ ṯḥnj* "faience *bs*-vessel" (no. 208).

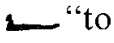
618. *ṯḥb/ dḥb* "to soak" (of a mummy cloth with oil)
*dḥb*
 rt. III 11
*ṯḥb*
 rt. II 13, <16>, 20, vs. I 3, 12 (bis), 13, 17, etc.

619. *tštš/ dšdš* "to wrap firmly"
*dšdš*
 rt. III 5
*tštš*
 rt. III 13; variants: rt. III 8, 17
 rt. II 20, vs. II b, 17, 23, III 18
- *tštš sbn* "to wrap firmly in *sbn*-bandage"
  of a part of the body: head, rt. III 5; hoofs: rt. III 8; the mummy: rt. III 17; the board of the Apis: rt. III 13
- *tštš pjr* "to wrap firmly in *pjr*-bandage"
  of a part of the body: head: rt. II 20, vs. III 18; ears: vs. II b, 17; horns: vs. II b, 23.

620. *ttw*  "djed-pillar", attached to the coffin of the Apis in front and behind as a symbol of resurrection, rt. IV 4.

## *ṯ*

621. *ṯʒj*  "to operate"
*mḏj(.t) ṯʒj b* "brace to operate on the mouth (of the mummy)", mentioned in an enumeration of items, rt. VI b, 11.

622. *ṯʒj*  "to take", rt. IV 9, vs. II b, 6.

623. *ṯʒj/ dj.t ṯʒj* "to make go", "to send"
Writings (all forms are infinitive)

1) *ṯ3j*
- with noun (object)
 rt. III 20 (bis), 22, 23 (bis), 24
- with suffix (object)
*ṯ3j=s*
 rt. II 6
*ṯ3j=w*
 rt. II 6, 7 (bis), 8 (bis);  rt. III 3, 20, 21, 23
2) *dj.t ṯ3j* (phonetic rendering of ϫo)
- with noun (object)
 rt. III 1, 3, 4
- with suffix (object)
*dj.t ṯ3j=s*
 rt. III 20
*dj.t ṯ3j=w*
 rt. III 22, 23; cf. rt. III 25.

624. *ṯ3j* in the prepositional expression *n ṯ3j n* "from"
 *(n) ṯ3j (n)*: rt. II 19, III 5, 17, vs. II a, 26, III 20
1) *ṯ3j ... r* "from ... to"
rt. III 17, vs. II a, 26
2) *ṯ3j ... š‘* "from ... up to"
rt. II 19, III 5, vs. III 20.

625. *ṯ3j-wjṯ/ wṯj*
*ṯ3j-wjṯ*
 vs. II a, 1, 13 (bis), II b, 8

*ṯ3j-wṯj*
 rt. IV 13
1) "amulet papyrus", rt. IV 13
2) "amulet", vs. II a, 1, 13 (bis), II b, 8 (cf. the counterpart *tmmj.t*: no. 610).

626. *ṯ3jw*  "to send"
phonetic rendering of ϫooy: *ṯ3jw p3 pjr* 2 "to send the two *pjr*-bandages", vs. III 14; cf. the parallel passage rt. III 1: *dj.t ṯ3j pjr* 2 "to send (the) two *pjr*-bandages".

627. *ṯj*  a vessel in which mummy cloths and embalming materials are stored: rt. IV 5, 6.

628. *ṯs*
 rt. III 17, IV 4, vs. I 4, 5
 vs. III 2

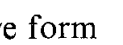
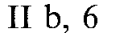
1) "to fasten", rt. III 17, IV 4, vs. III 2
2) "to manufacture a bag by knotting", vs. I, 4-5.

629. *ṯs*: in the expression *ṯs-pḫr*  "vice-versa", rt. III 13, 17.

*d*

630. *dj.t/ tw* "to give", "to place"

I. Forms and writings

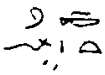
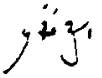
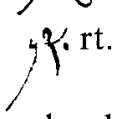
1) *sḏm=f*-form
*tw=w*
 rt. III 25
2) relative form
*r.tw=k*
 vs. II b, 6
*r.tw=f*
 vs. II a, 3
3) qualitative form
3rd person masc. sing.
*dj.t*
 vs. II a, 13
*tw*
 vs. II b, 5
4) infinitive
*dj.t*
 rt. I 1, 2 (ter), 3, III 1, 7, 8, 12 (ter), 13, 14, 15, 16 (bis), 17, IV 1 (bis), 2 (bis), 5 (bis), 6, 15, 21 (bis)
 rt. II 5, 7, 8 (bis), 9, 10 (bis), 11, 12 (ter), 13 (ter), 15 (bis), 21, etc.
*tw*
 vs. I 1, 5, 6 (bis), 8, 9, 15, 18, 19, 20, II a, 9, II b, 11

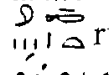
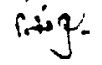
II. Use

1) *dj.t* + noun or suffix as object (passim)
2) *dj.t* + verb
   a) *dj.t sḏm=f* "to make that he hears" (passim)
   b) *tm dj.t sḏm=f* "to prevent him from hearing"
      to stretch the limbs of the Apis *r tm dj.t ʾlḳ nȝ dr.wt* "to ensure that the feet shall not be bent", rt. III 6; sim. rt. II 12, IV 21, vs. II b, 8
   c) in the construction of the causative infinitive
      *dj.t i.ir* + subject + infinitive (no. 103, 2)
   d) *dj.t ṯȝj* as phonetic rendering of ⲁⲟ (no. 623, 2).

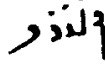
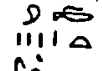
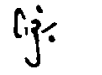
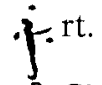
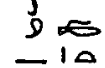
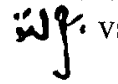
631. *dmḏ*  "total"
at the end of an enumeration: *dmḏ wnḫ* 157 "total 157 vessels", rt. VI a, 11; *dmḏ ḥbs* 7 "total 7 *ḥbs*-cloths", vs. II a, 25.

632. *dnj.t*  "part"
*ir n dnj.t* 2.*t* "to divide in two parts", rt. III 19, vs. II b, 4.

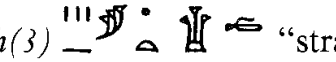
633. *dr.t* "hand"
singular
*dr.t.f*/ =*f*
 rt. III 9
 rt. III 6, vs. I 10, 18, II a, 3 (bis), 10, 14, 21
 rt. II 10, 11, VI b, 5

plural
*dr.wt*
 rt. III 26
 rt. III 6 (bis), vs. I 10

1) of a human being: "hand"
rt. II 10, 11, III 9, vs. I 18, II a, 3 (bis), 10, 14, 21
2) of an animal: "foot"
rt. III 6 (ter), 26, vs. I 10 (bis)
3) of an item: "handle"
rt. VI b, 5.

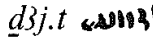
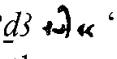
634. *dr.t* in prepositional expressions
with suffix
*dr.t*=*f*
 vs. II a, 2
*dr.t.w*/ =*w*
 rt. IV 15
 rt. IV 16
followed by genitive-*n* + noun
*dr.t n*
 rt. IV 16
 rt. IV 21
*dr.t (n)*
 vs. II a, 9

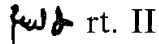
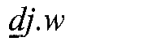
1) *n dr.t*
   a) "out of the hand of": to receive *n dr.t* "out of the hand of someone", rt. IV 16, 21
   b) "in the hand of": vessels are *n dr.t=w* "in their hands", rt. IV 16; to lay *n dr.t* "in someone's hand", rt. IV 15, vs. II a, 9
2) *ḫr dr.t*
   *iw=w swsw pȝ ḥr sšt3 ḫr dr.t=f* "they (the embalmers) erect the mysterious face (= the head of the Apis) under his leadership" (lit. under his hand), vs. II a, 2.

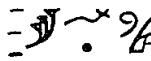
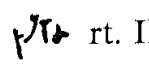
635. *dḥ(3)*  "straw"
*dḥ(3) it ḫ3r* 1 "1 sack of straw from corn", in an enumeration of items, rt. IV, 23-24.

636. *dšdš* see *tštš* "to wrap firmly" (no. 619).

## *ḏ*

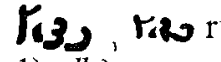
637. *ḏ3j.t*  "wall", rt. IV 10 (bis); cf. Hieratic *sbt*: no. 462.
638. *ḏ3wf* see *ḏwf* "papyrus" (no. 642).
639. *ḏ3t/ ḏt* "tent" (no. 46).
640. *ḏ3ḏ3*  "head" [cf. *tp*: no. 602]
in the prepositional expression *r ḏ3ḏ3* "on the head of", "on": to place a cloth *r ḏ3ḏ3=f irm pȝ ntr* "over himself and the god", rt. III 9.

641. *ḏj* "boat"
singular
*ḏj*
 rt. II 11, 16, III 10, VI b, 15, 18, 20
plural
*ḏj.w*
 rt. II 1
1) *ḏj* "boat shrine"
   used for storing embalming materials of the mouth and the anus: rt. II 11, 16, III 10; cf. rt. II 1
2) *ḏj r ḥtpj* "boat shrine ..."
   used for storing a coffer and various items: rt. VI b, 15, 18, 20.

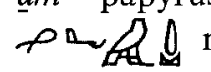
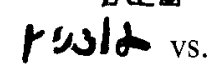
642. *ḏwf* "papyrus"
 rt. I 3
 rt. I 1
 rt. II 2, IV 17, 24 (bis), VI b, 15

as material for the manufacturing of: a mat (*sḳ*), rt. I 1, 3, II 2, IV 24 (bis); a boat (*wtn*), rt. IV 17; the lid (? *ḥrḥr*) of a shrine, rt. VI b, 15.

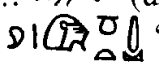
643. *ḏbȝ* "to clothe", "to cover"
infinitive
 rt. II 18, 25, III, 7-8, 11, IV 6, 7
 rt. II 1
qualitative form
3rd person sing. masc.
 rt. IV 8 (bis)
3rd pers. plur.
 rt. IV 7
*ḏbȝ n* "to clothe/ to cover with (*n*) (a garment or cloth)"
- of parts of the body: rt. II 18, 25, II, 7-8
- of items: rt. II 1, IV 4, 6, 7, 8 (bis)
- of persons: rt. IV 7.

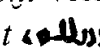
644. *ḏbȝ(.t)* "compensation", in the prepositional expression *(r) ḏbȝ* "because of"
 vs. I 19
 rt. II 10, vs. II b, 3, 4, 10, III 6
1) *ḏbȝ* + noun "because of something"
to anoint the eye-sockets of the Apis with oil *ḏbȝ tȝ sj(.t)* 2.*t* "because of the two *sj.t*-cloths" (sc. which are to be placed on the eye-sockets), vs. II b, 3
2) *ḏbȝ pȝ gȝ/ gj* + infinitive "because of the way of ...", "in order to ..."
to anoint the mummy beforehand *ḏbȝ pȝ gj dj.t šm pȝ sgn ḥn=f* "to make the *sgn*-ointment soak in it", rt. II 10; sim. vs. I 19, II b, 4, 10, III 6.

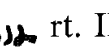
645. *ḏm* "to clothe"
 rt. III 10
 rt. II 14, 16;  vs. I 8
1) *ḏm n*
*ḏm pȝ ḥn b=f n ḥbs* "to cover the inside of his mouth with *ḥbs*-cloth", rt. II 14; sim. rt. II 16, III 10
2) *ḏm ḫr*
*ḏm pȝ štȝ ḫr ʿrf ḫm* "to clothe the trunk (?) with little bags", vs. I 8.

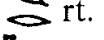
646. *ḏmʿ* "papyrus roll", "book"
 rt. IV 18
 vs. III 1
1) *ʿš ḏmʿ* "to read a book aloud", rt. IV 18
2) *tḥb pȝ nbt sf ḥsmn kj ḏd ḏmʿ* "to soak the *nbt*-cloth in oil (containing a solution of) natron (variant: book)", vs. III 1.

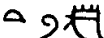
647. *ḏn* ...  (unidentified), rt. V 1.

648. *ḏn.t*  "skull"
the *pḫt*-vessel *ntj ḥr ḏn.t.f* "which is on his skull", rt. I 5.

649. *ḏnjṯ.t*  a stone vessel which is placed under the mummy in order to catch embalming materials which might fall down: rt. V 2, 24.

650. *ḏnḥ* "shoulder" [the anatomical counterpart is *mnj.t* "thigh": no. 250]
singular
*ḏnḥ*
 rt. II 5 (ter), 6
plural
*ḏnḥ.w*
 rt. II 5, 7, III 20.

651. *ḏr* "boundary", in the adjectival expression < *r* > *ḏr=f* "entire"
*ḏr.f*/ *=f*
 rt. III 26;  rt. III 4
 rt. II 9, 10, 20, vs. II a, 27, 28, III 19
*ḏr=w*
 rt. IV 2, VI b, 14
- after a noun
  *ntr pn ḏr=f* "this entire god", rt. II 9, 10; *p3 ḥr sšt3 ḏr=f* "the entire mysterious face", rt. II 20, vs. II a, 27, 28
- after a demonstrative
  *n3j ḏr=w* "all these things", rt. IV 2, VI b, 14
- after a verb
  *wṯj ḏr=f* "to wrap (the head) entirely", rt. III 4, vs. III 18; *sm'ḥj ḏr=f* "to fasten (the mummy) entirely", rt. III 26.

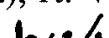
652. *ḏr*
 rt. III 12
 rt. IV 10
1) *iw-ḏr*
   to make the tail go *iw-ḏr t3 mn.t* "next to the thigh", rt. III 12; cf. the demotic parallel version *r.twn t3 mnj.t*: rt. II 8
2) *m-ḏr*
   the door which is *m-ḏr p(3) sbt* "in the wall", rt. IV 10.

653. *ḏr* in the compound preposition *m-ḏr* "by"
 rt. IV 2
 rt. III 5, vs. II b, 26

introducing the semantic subject: *i.ir=w ir nȝj ḏr=w m-ḏr* N.N. "all these things are done by N.N.", rt. III 5.

654. *ḏrȝ*  unidentified kind of wood

as material from which a palette is made: *gst ḏrȝ* "palette of *ḏrȝ*-wood" (no. 582), rt. VI b, 10.

655. *ḏrȝ*  "to be firm"
*dj.t ḏrȝ* "to make firm": *dj.t ḏrȝ tȝ mj.t pȝ ḥȝ* "to make the anus firm" (sc. by stuffing it), vs. I, 6-7.

656. *ḏlḥ/ ḏlȝ* (?) a stone vessel
 rt. VI b, 16
 rt. V 28.

657. *ḏt* "tent" (no. 46).

658. *ḏt*  "compartment" of a coffer: rt. VI a, 12.

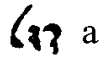
659. *ḏd* "to say"
 rt. I 3, IV 15
 vs. II a, 13 (bis), II b, 5
1) *ḏd mˁj/ mn* "to cry woe" (sc. upon the dead Apis) (no. 244)
2) *kj ḏd* "variant" (no. 564, 4)
3) in the conjunction *ḫpr ḏd* "because (?)" (no. 410, 4).

660.  rt. I 7

661.  a verb: rt. II 11, 16, III 9, IV 5, 7, 8, V 26

662.  part of the head of the Apis opposite the neck (*nḥb.t*): the snout (?),

rt. III 5, vs. III 20

663.  rt. IV 23

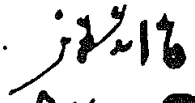
664.  rt. VI a, 2
 rt. VI a, 7

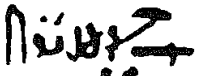
665.  rt. VI a, 14

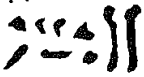
666.  a verb: rt. VI b, 13

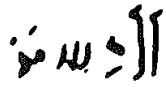
667.  rt. VI b, 22

668.  "the two testicles (?)", vs. I 4

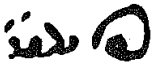
669.  'the scrotum (?)", vs. I 4

670.  parts of the body inside the thoracic cavity: vs. I 8

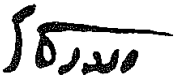
671.  double part of the body inside the breast: vs. I 19, II a, 16

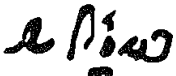
 vs. III 4

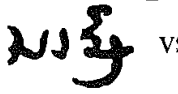
672.  adjective mentioned in connection with cloths: vs. II a, 3, III 21

673.  instrument used by the Overseer of the Mystery to restore the sight of the Apis: vs. II a, 8, II b, 6

674.  a verb: vs. II a, 10

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676.  vs. III 22

## I. WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS DISCUSSED IN THE COMMENTARY*

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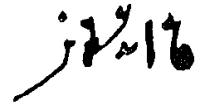
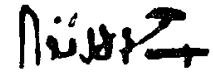
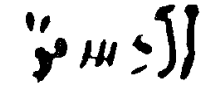
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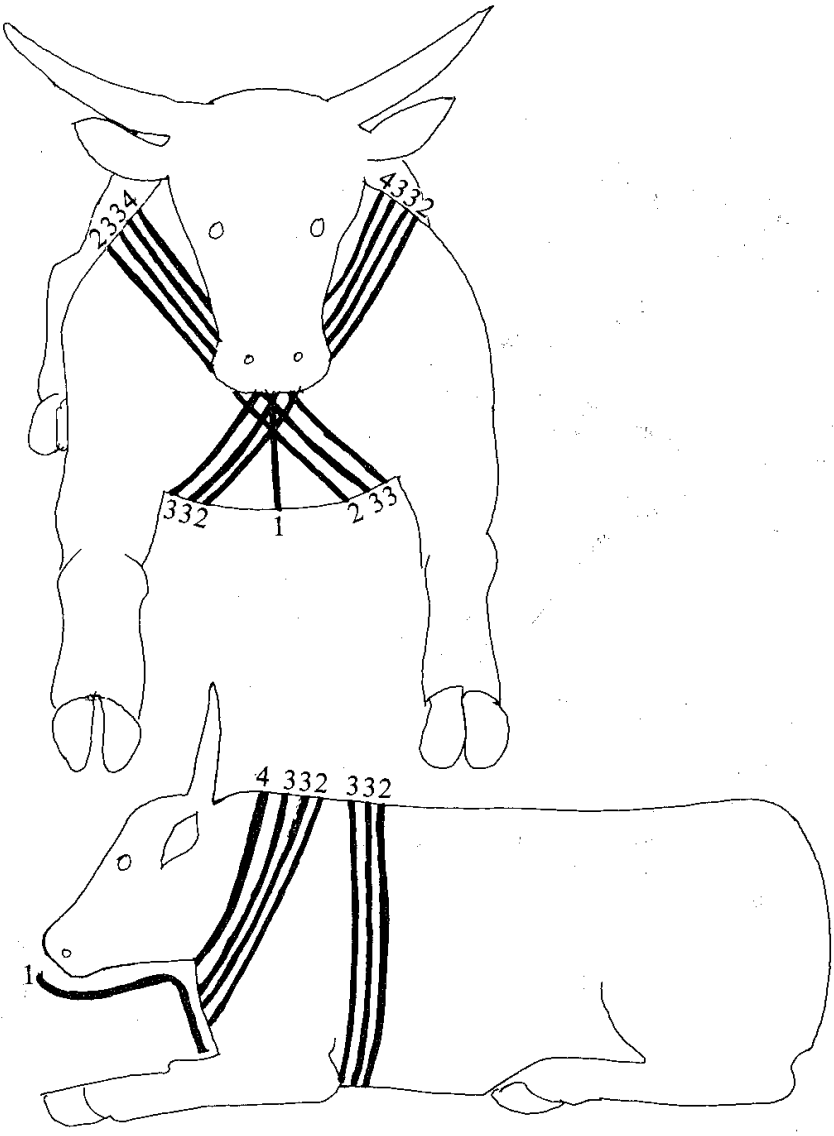
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*šnj* "trunk (?)" 529
*šnb.t/ šnbj.t* "breast" 530
*št3* "trunk (?)" 538
*ḳbḥ-snw.f* "entrails" 547
*ḳbṯ3* "small entrails (?)" 548
*krs* "large entrails (?)" 569
*tp* "head" 602
*tp* "throat" 603
*tp.w ḫ.wt* "limbs", "intestines" 605
*trf* "trunk (?)" 615
*dr.t* "hand", "foot" 633
*ḏn.t* "skull" 648
*ḏnḥ* "shoulder" 650
 "snout (?)" 662
 "testicles (?)" 668
 "scrotum (?)" 669
 parts of the body inside the thoracic cavity 670
 double part of the body connected with the inside of the breast 671

# THE APIS EMBALMING RITUAL
# P. VINDOB. 3873

R.L. VOS

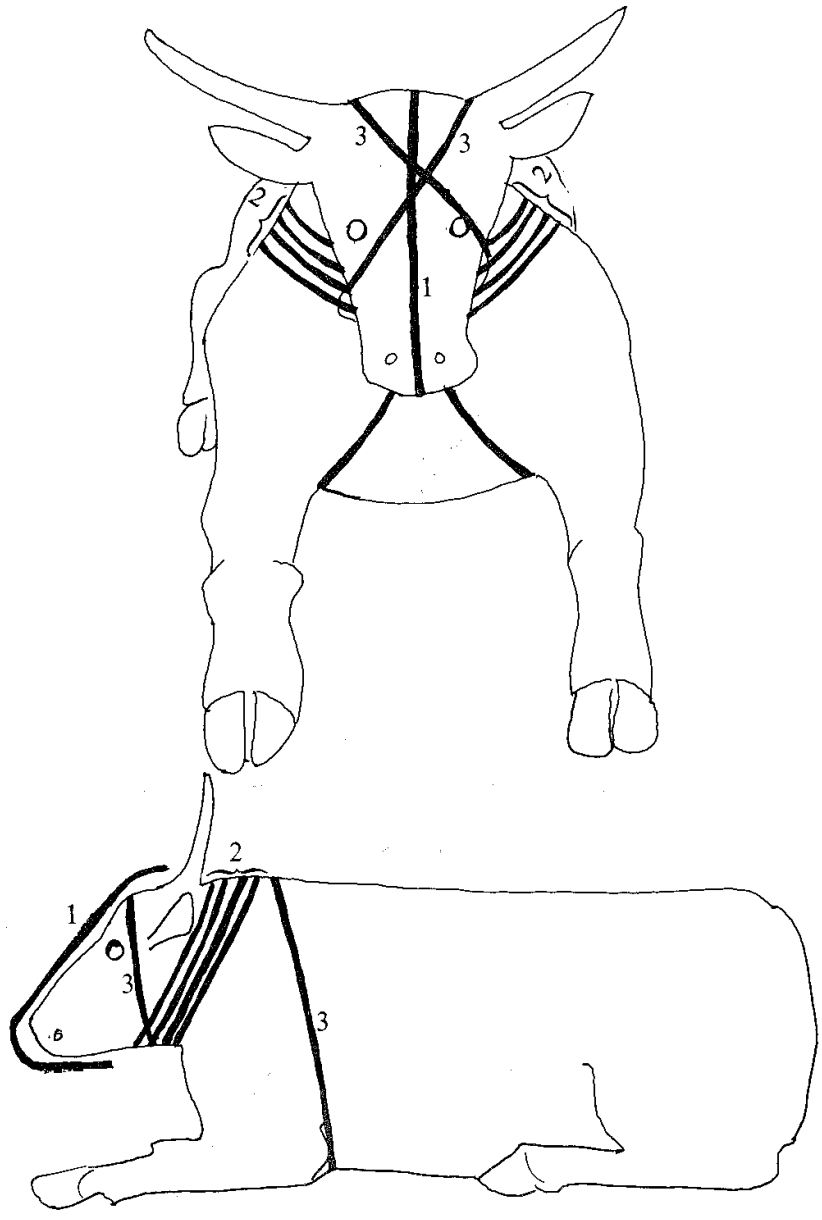
Fig. 4. Placing of the *swḫ*-cloth on the breast (rt. II 22 + rt. III, 1-2 = vs. III, 8-11, 14-16)




See rt. II 22, n. 1; vs. III 9, n. 1

1. *Pjr*-bandage which is cut off under the breast and reaches up to the mouth.
2. *Pjr*-bandage which runs from the neck down diagonally over the breast and returns via the arm-pit to the neck.
3. *Sbn*-bandage which runs parallel to the *pjr*-bandage (no. 2).
4. *Sbn*-bandage which runs from the neck down and is cut off on the throat.

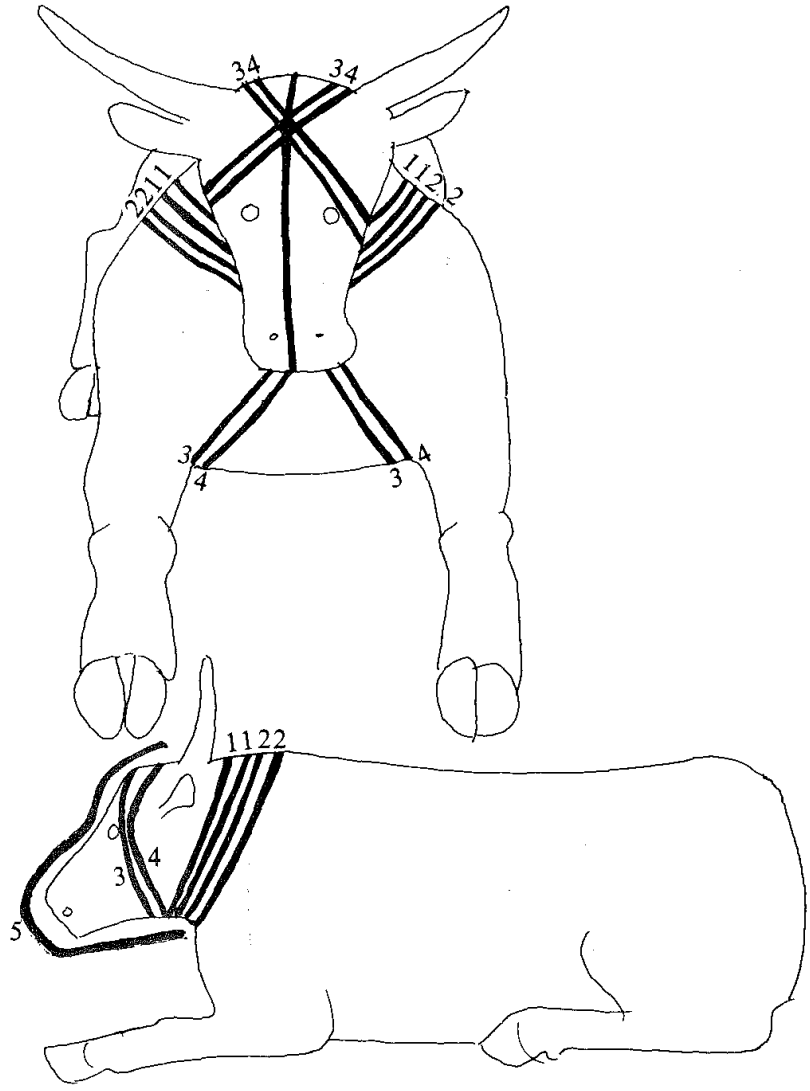
Fig. 5. Placing of the *swḥ*-cloth on the throat and the head (rt. II 23 + rt. III, 2-3 = vs. III 11, 16-18)




See rt. II 23, n. 2; vs. III 11, n. 1

1. Great *sbn*-bandage (also defined as great *pjr*-bandage) which from under the mouth runs up to the horns.
2. *Sbn*-bandages which from the neck are taken around the throat.
3. *Pjr*-bandage which runs from the horn diagonally over the head and via the throat runs diagonally over the breast returning via the arm-pit to its starting-point.

Fig. 6. Placing of the *swḥ*-cloth on throat and breast (?) (rt. II, 23-24 + rt. III, 3-4 = vs. III, 12-14)




See rt. II 24, n. 1; vs. III 4, n. 1 and 2.

1. *Pjr*-bandage which from the neck is taken around the throat.
2. *Pjr*-bandage which runs from the neck and is cut off on the throat behind the great *sbn*-bandage.
3. Mummy bandage which is not mentioned in the text (rt. III 4, n. 1).
4. Mummy bandage which is not mentioned in the text (rt. III 4, n. 2).
5. Great *sbn*-bandage.

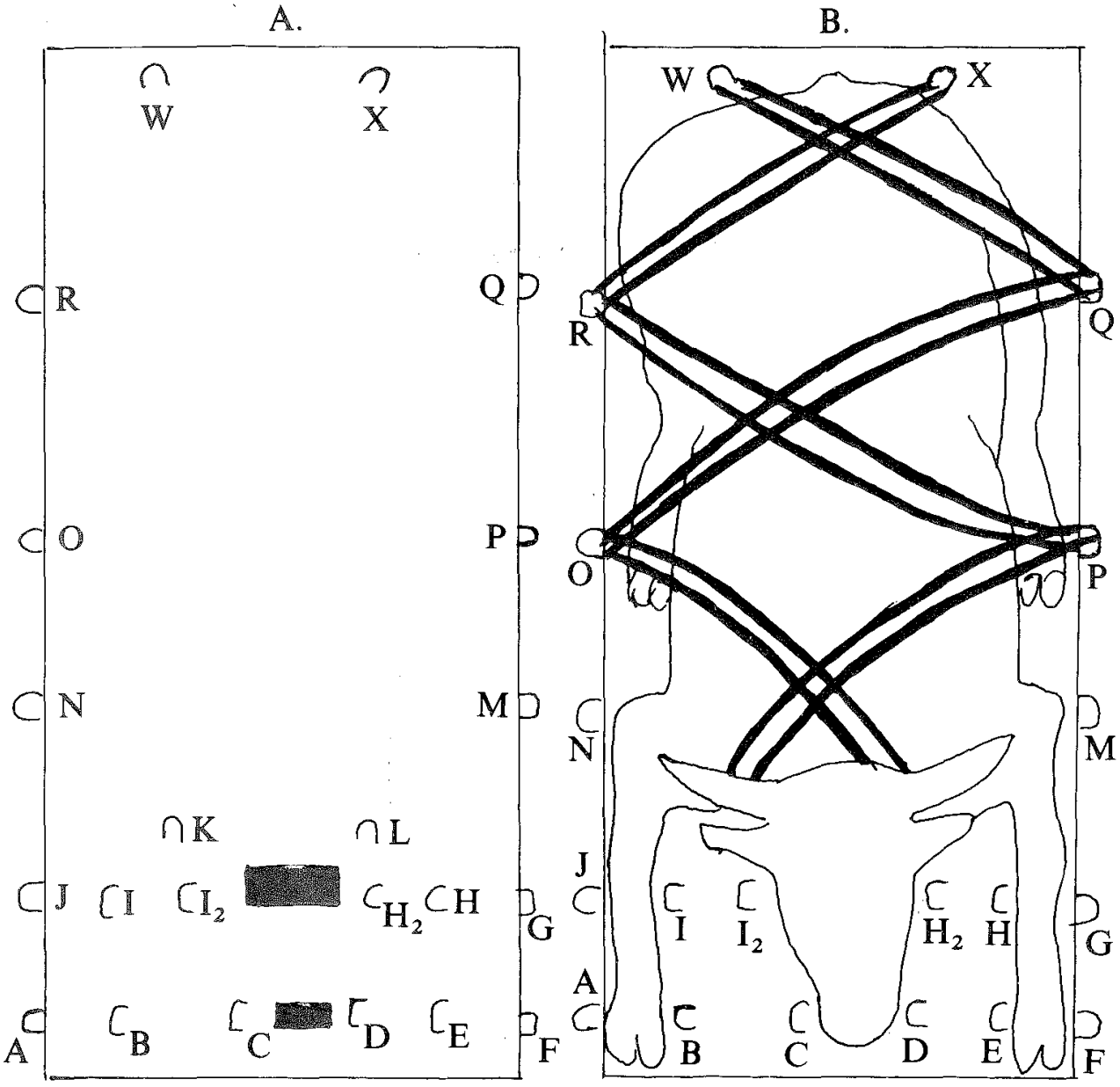



Fig. 9

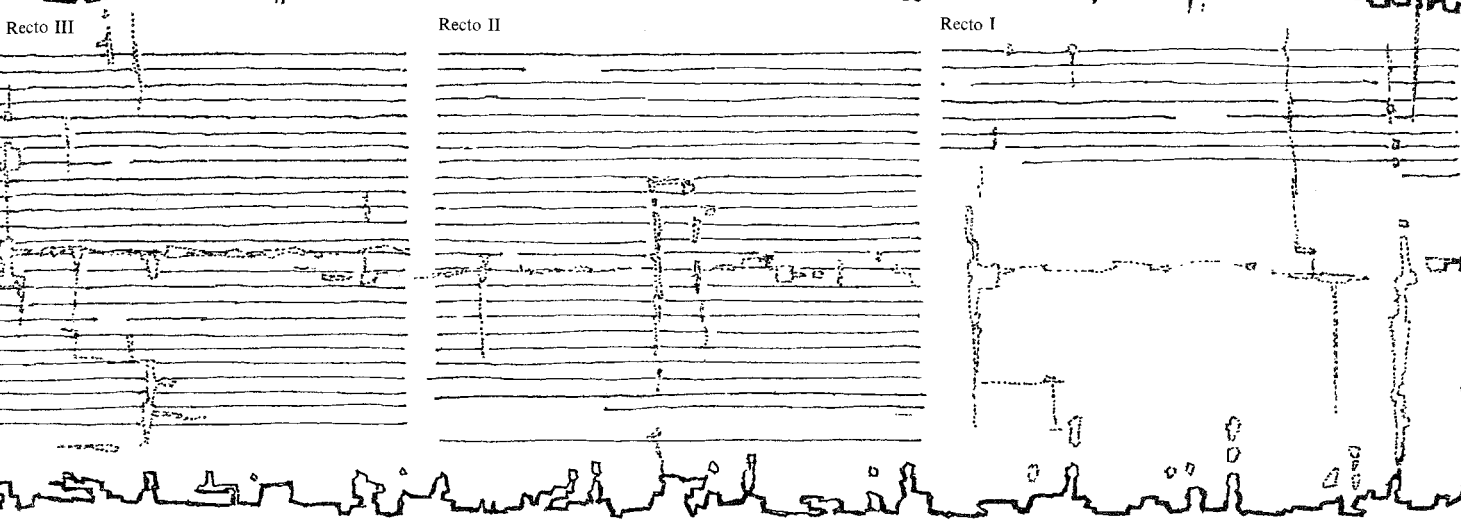
B. Stage I (rt. III, 20-21)
C. Stage II (rt. III, 21-23)
D. Stage III (rt. III, 23-25)

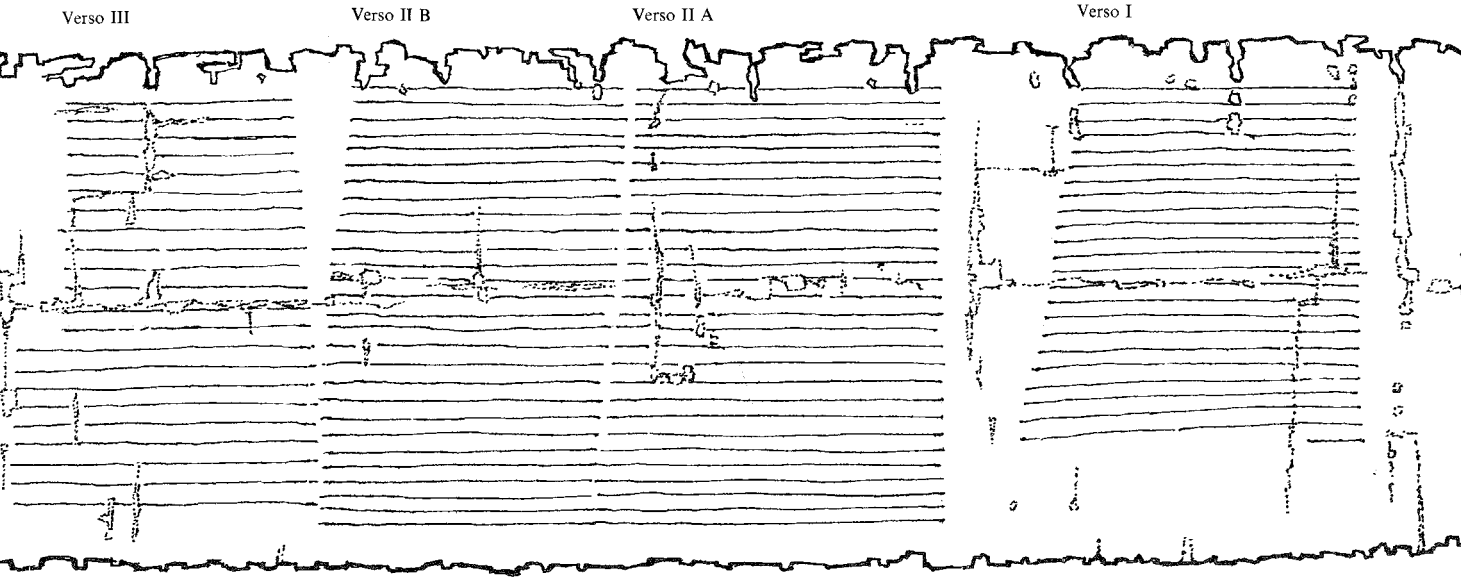
Measurements: 245 × 87.5 × 5 cms. (variant: 122.5 × 87.5 × 5 cms.)
Material: western *mrj*-wood (cedar?)

Supports: I. *p3 wrs ḥm* "the little support"
II. *p3 wrs '3* "the great support"

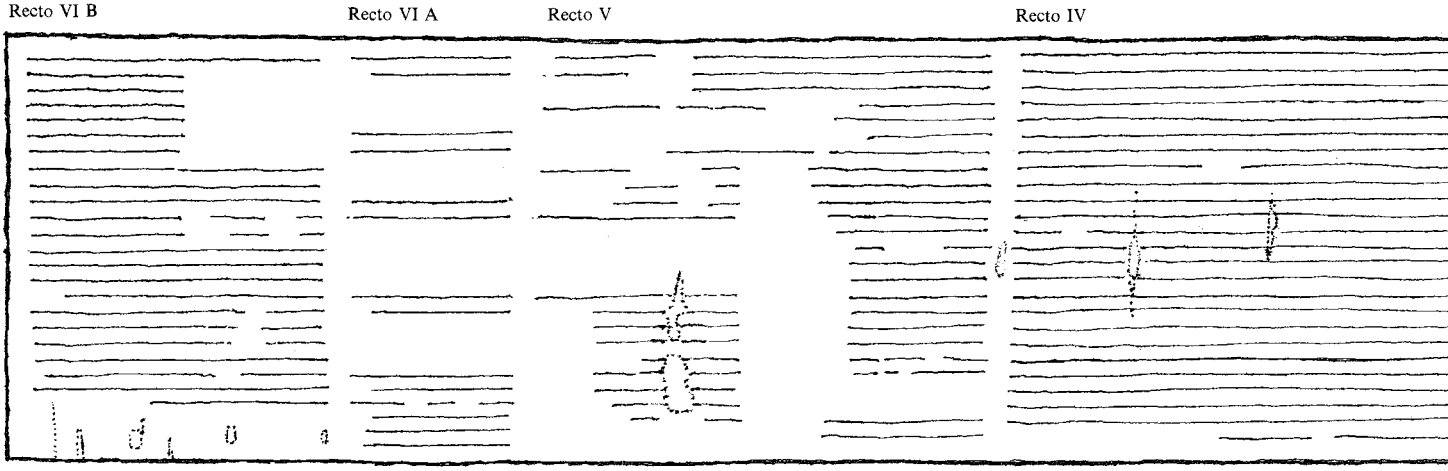
Clamps: C and D: *t3 m'rj.t* 2.*t n p3 wrs ntj ḫr ḥr n p3 ntr* "the two clamps of the support which are under the head of the god" (rt. III 24);
W and X: *t3 m'rj.t* 2.*t n p3 phw* "the two clamps behind" (rt. III 20 = rt. III 22);
$I_2$ and $H_2$: *t3 m'rj.t* 2.*t ntj t3 mtr.t p3 t3 ḥr t3 ḫ3.t* "the two clamps which are in the midst of the board in front" (rt. III 21).

Ground-plan P. Vindob. 3873



Ground-plan P. Vindob. 3873



# PLATES





# FACSIMILES

I. Vs. I, 1-24
II. Vs. II a, 1-28
III. Vs. II b, 1-26
IV. Vs. III, 1-22

FACSIMILE III : vs. II b, 1-26



l. 2: *p.t.sf* ... added later
l. 7: (*sf*) *hry* ... corrected into (*sf*) *hry ḥwrt*
l. 12: *nfr.(f)* ... corrected into *nfr.f m wnn*

FACSIMILE IV : vs. III, 1-22



l. 8: *ḥ* corrected into *ḫ*