

The “Breathing Permit of Hôr” Thirty-four Years Later

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IN 1967, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART in New York made a gift to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of eleven papyrus fragments once owned by Joseph Smith and employed as the basis for “The Book of Abraham.” In January and February of the following year, sepia photographs of the fragments were published in the magazine *The Improvement Era*, and on the basis of these photographs, the journal *Dialogue* commissioned translations and commentaries on the texts, now designated as “The Joseph Smith Papyri.” In the Summer issue of 1968, (vol. 8, no. 2) Egyptologists John A. Wilson and Richard A. Parker identified fragments within this collection as sections of a late mortuary text known as a “Book of Breathings,” copied for a Theban priest named Hor.¹

The first extensive translation of this document appeared in the subsequent autumn issue (vol. 8, no. 3), authored by my teacher and predecessor, Klaus Baer.² Though Baer was ultimately able to examine the papyri personally, his study was conducted primarily from *The Improvement Era* photos and was considered by himself to be nothing more than a “preliminary study.”³ Nevertheless, he was able to provide a complete translation of the surviving sections, including fragments pasted haphazardly as patches within the unrelated Papyrus IV and two vignettes that originally bracketed the main text: Papyrus I (originally redrawn as “A Facsimile From⁴ The Book of Abraham No. 1”) and the now lost fragment redrawn as Facsimile No. 3 from The Book of Abraham. Baer’s

1. Wilson 1968, 68-69 (document D) and Parker 1968a, 86 and 1968b, 98-99 (partial translation).

2. Baer 1968 (hereafter simply Baer).

3. Baer, 111.

4. The LDS authorized publication of these drawings as illustrations from The Book of Abraham clearly answers the polemicist Nibley’s unjust complaint against his former tutor (1975, 1) that “There would have been nothing wrong with Dr. Baer’s title if he had been

translation of "the Breathing Permit of Hôr" has served as the basis of all further studies of the text, the most extensive of which was the 1975 edition by Hugh Nibley. No full edition of this papyrus document has yet appeared. Baer provided only a translation annotated for a popular audience, with phrases restored from parallel texts indicated by italic script.⁵ Nibley attempted a transliteration and literal interlinear translation only of the un-restored portions of Papyri XI and X (with the "patches" in Papyrus IV).⁶ The corpus of parallel texts, on which any restorations must be based, has not been published as a group, though lists of such texts have been compiled and collective translations have appeared.⁷

In the absence of any formal edition of the Joseph Smith Book of Breathing combining full translation and transliteration, and with the recent publication by Charles M. Larson of vastly improved color photographs,⁸ it seems proper to revisit the papyrus. As each generation of Chicago Egyptologists has dealt with the Mormon papyri (Breasted, Wilson, Baer), it has now fallen to me to reassess Baer's translation in light of Egyptological advances of the past thirty-four years. In preparing the following annotated edition, I have had access to Baer's original notebook⁹ and files, which have proved valuable for determining his restorations and readings. To prepare his translation, Baer hand-copied parallels from

good enough to explain to his readers why it was apparent to him that his text is the source of the Book of Abraham." Baer did precisely that in footnote 111-12n11 and on 126-33. This derivation had been discussed fully in Heward and Tanner 1968, to which Baer refers throughout his article. The Book of Abraham is published as being "translated from the papyrus, by Joseph Smith," and as the facsimile is also "from" the Book, then the Book must have been derived (by whatever questionable means) from the papyrus. See also the explicit link between the text and facsimiles in Abraham, 1:6 (note c) and 1:12 and 14. Nibley's professed amazement (1) that anyone could derive an elaborate account from a few Egyptian signs is disingenuous, since just such "symbolic" translations had been done by the discredited Athanasius Kircher, whose work Nibley had previously described (1968a, 173-76). The work of Nibley and his acolytes is a professed attempt to counter the analysis of "people innocent of any bias in favor of Joseph Smith. . . . So now it is time to hear the other side of the story" (1968b, 105).

5. Baer, 119.

6. The word for word, incomplete translations in Nibley 1975 (hereafter simply Nibley) produce disjointed lines of the very sort criticized by Gee 1992, 105-06 regarding Larson 1992. Cf. Nibley, 19-20: "inside (of) the lake great (of) Chonsu born of Taykhebyt justified likewise after clasped" with Larson 1992 as cited by Gee: "this pool great Khonsu born of Taykhebyt justified likewise after grasped." Nibley noted that his literal translation was "nonsense" (47).

7. A list of Books of Breathings appears in Valloggia 1979, 293, with fuller references in Coenen 1995. Translations appear in de Horrack 1907 and 1875 and in Goyon 1972.

8. Larson 1992, 33 (folded color plate). Contra Gee 1992, 93-94, these photographs are the first true four-color separation images of the papyri to be published. The difference in legibility is pronounced and inspires further respect for Baer's abilities with inferior materials.

9. Oriental Institute Archives, Papers of Klaus Baer, file 2321. I thank John A. Larson,

a series of papyri: Hague 42/88 (P. Denon), Louvre 3284, Louvre 3291, British Museum 9995 and Berlin 3135, noting also minor variants in Louvre 3121, 3126, 3158 and 3166. Of these exemplars, Papyrus Louvre 3284 served as the representative "standard text," as it has for all translations since its publication by de Horrack in 1877. The following translation also adopts this basis for restorations, with annotations indicating other variant readings. It must be stressed, however, that Baer's translation, like my own, presents the text as copied by the scribe of the Joseph Smith Papyri (hereafter P JS). Other versions are employed only in restorations or annotations. As noted by Baer, the manuscripts show "relatively little variation, so that it is not too difficult to restore the missing passages."¹⁰

As the reader will see, changes from Baer's understanding of the document are few and do not challenge his basic understanding of the text. The most notable changes entail matters of column numbering, dating, and the interpretation of one title and a name. Column numbers in this edition have been increased by one, with the lines on P JS I now considered sections within column I. Since the Breathing Document actually began at the end of P JS I, it has been necessary to revise Baer's numbering to avoid beginning the text in column "0."¹¹ In regard to dating, Baer, like Wilson and Parker, followed contemporary assessments based on the paleography of Books of Breathing and so dated the papyrus of Hor to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period.¹² Recent studies by Quaegebeur and Coenen have suggested a date in the first half of the Ptolemaic Period (first half of the second century BC).¹³ This revision, based on the similarity of common family names and a rare title, remains controversial, though possible.¹⁴ The possibility of family connections between the owner of this Joseph Smith papyrus and individuals noted in comparable Louvre papyri was already a matter of discussion between Baer and Wilson in 1968.¹⁵ Among the titles of Hor listed in the first line of the surviving papyrus is an office of the fertility god, whose name Baer ren-

Oriental institute Museum Archivist (and no relation to Charles M. Larson), for authorization and assistance with the Baer materials.

10. Baer, 119.

11. Already recognized by Baer in his notebook, and corresponding to the final two signs mentioned in Baer, 129 (line 5).

12. Baer, 111.

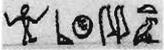
13. See Coenen 1998, and the references there cited.

14. No document securely establishes the genealogy proposed in Coenen 1998, 1110, and as noted by Quaegebeur 1994, 216, it is not clear if the relevant individuals are part of the same family. Coenen is perhaps overly confident, 1110, that the problem of differing titles for the Hor of P JS and the like-named man of certain Tübingen papyri "does not, however, preclude the proposed identification." See also the remarks of Quirke 1999, 84-85.

15. Oriental Institute Baer file 2374 (letter of John Wilson, 7/2/68) and Baer file 2373 (response of 7/5/68). For another Hor son of Osorwer, see Quaegebeur 1994, 216-17.

dered as “Min, Bull-of-his-Mother,” employing the god’s most common epithet.¹⁶ From Baer’s notes, it is apparent that he was suspicious of this reading, and improved photography shows clearly that the divine name is rather “Min who slaughters his enemies.”

More problematic is the question of the interpretation of the name of Hor’s mother, Taikhibit. Examples of the name had previously been gathered by de Meulenaere, whose transliteration **T3(y)-by-bl.t** and translation “The one who is joyous” (literally, “high of character”) have been universally adopted in reference works and articles.¹⁷ Writings of the name vary within the Breathing Document, from spellings consistent with de Meulenaere’s examples ( Col. 2/2 and

 Col. IV/13) to the hieroglyphic spelling in Col. I/3



with the “b” shifted before the human figure for spatial reasons.

While aware of de Meulenaere’s reading, Baer rejected it for the mother of Hor because of what he considered a logographic writing in Col. III/7 (his column II/7): . This he transcribed as 

T3y-bl.t, translating the human figure as “dancer”(bbl.t).¹⁸ While the human figure that terminates this spelling of the name is distinct from that employed to spell “high”(by),¹⁹ it does not really match the figure used for dancer either and seems a scribal peculiarity.²⁰ The figure with upraised arms (by) is used in Col. IV/13, so the standard interpretation is probably correct. The spelling in Col. III/7 is perhaps best understood as an abbreviated form of the name, **T3y-by**, otherwise common in hieratic and Demotic.²¹ In general, the hieratic handwriting of the Breathing Doc-

16. Baer, 116n21.

17. de Meulenaere 1955, 147-48; Devauchelle 1978; Quaegebeur 1982, 264; Quaegebeur 1994, 222n56 (disagreeing with Baer); Quack 1996, 65; and E. Lüddeckens, ed., 1980-2000, I/14 (1996), 1081; Gee 2000, 11 and 52. The name is rendered into Greek as Chibois; see Coenen 1998, 1104n7.

18. Baer, 111n10: “The dancer,” based on Erman and Grapow 1971, III, 250/15-16, and the assumption that T3y reflected a phonetic spelling of the definite article, as in Coptic T/Tε. Oriental Institute Baer file 2374 (letter of John Wilson, 7/2/68) and Baer file 2373 (response of 7/5/68).

19. Cf. Möller 1912, 1. no. 4.

20. The sign is inconsistent with Möller 1912, 1. no. 6. Few examples are listed, so the range may be greater. The sign most closely resembles Möller, 3. no. 30, a seated child.

21. Devéria, 1881, 70, no. III.23 (the same individual as T3y-by-bl.t in the Joseph Smith papyri), and E. Lüddeckens, ed., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I/16, 1999, 1237.

ument is fairly coarse by Egyptian standards,²² but this does not seriously hamper either the literal reading or the significance of the text.

The last major difference in the proposed translations derives from the ambiguity of Egyptian grammar as reflected in the script. However odd it may seem to modern readers, the Late Egyptian basic conjugation form (*sdm=f*) has various translational equivalents that can be distinguished only by context ("he did" vs. "may he do" vs. "so that he might do"). Where the context is not definitive, the translator is forced to adopt a personal choice. Previous French translations have attempted to avoid the problem by employing an inaccurate present tense²³ while Baer rather consistently chose the past tense. Baer's preference cannot be termed incorrect, but I have made other choices where context dictated.

The original width of the papyrus was correctly estimated by Baer as being about 150-155 cm., allowing for textual restorations and the now lost Facsimile 3.²⁴ The number of vignettes varies in Books of Breathings, but introductory and concluding vignettes are common.²⁵ At most, the papyrus might have been expanded by the inclusion of a further, middle vignette, as found in Papyrus Tübingen 2016,²⁶ but there is no reasonable expectation of any further text and certainly nothing even vaguely resembling the alien narrative of The Book of Abraham.

The true content of this papyrus concerns only the afterlife of the deceased Egyptian priest Hor. "Books of Breathings," such as this Joseph Smith example, are late funerary compositions derived from the traditional "Book of the Dead." Like the "Book of the Dead," the sole purpose of the later texts is to ensure the blessed afterlife of the deceased individual, who is elevated to divine status by judgment at the court of Osiris and is thereby guaranteed powers of rejuvenation. These powers, including mobility, sight, speech, hearing, and access to food offerings, are summarized in the term *snsn*, or "breathing," which refers to the Egyptian expression *ḫw n 'nh* "breath of life," the fundamental characteristic

22. Nibley insists (2) that P JS X and XI cannot be the source of the Book of Abraham because Joseph Smith wrote that "the Abraham document was beautifully written" whereas modern scholars like Wilson describe those papyri as relatively coarse. Modern scholars have examined many hundreds of hieratic documents and can, therefore, determine the standards of contemporary Egyptian handwriting. Joseph Smith had no such experience. With no frame of reference beyond his own limited collection, he had no reason or incentive to consider the writing poor.

23. de Horrack 1907 and Goyon 1972.

24. Baer, 127n113. There is no justification for Gee's attempt to more than double this figure to "320 cm (about 10 feet)" in Gee 2000, 10 and 12-13.

25. Baer, 127n111 (P. Berlin 3135) and Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, pls. 3-6 (P. Denon/Hague 42/88).

26. Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 296-97 and pls. 12-13, 150 (bottom) and 151 (left).

that distinguishes the living. The title $\text{ḫ}^{\text{t}} \text{n} \text{snsn}$, literally “Document of (or ‘for’) Breathing,” employs the term for an official document or letter (ḫ^{t}), so that these “books” serve as formal “permits”—or perhaps more accurately “passports”—to the world of the gods. To be effective, they had to accompany the corpse, and the directions for using the texts declare explicitly that the document must be placed below the mummy’s crossed arms and wrapped within the bandages. Most examples place the directions at the end, but the Joseph Smith papyrus has shifted these before the main text. Perhaps for the same reason, the papyrus inverts its versions of the two common illustrations (“vignettes”) that often accompany “Books of Breathings”: a scene of the deceased at the court of Osiris, and a scene of the corpse in the process of reanimation.²⁷ The latter scene may also include a depiction of the risen ba-spirit, the human-headed bird that represents the soul of the deceased individual. Since the fate of the ba-spirit is the focus of the document, this depiction is logical and is found on the Joseph Smith example.²⁸ The modern designation “Books of Breathings” includes a variety of late funerary compositions, but the text found in the Joseph Smith collection represents a specific type termed in antiquity “The Document of Breathings Made by Isis for Her Brother Osiris.”²⁹ These were used by (often interrelated) priestly families in Thebes and its vicinity from the middle Ptolemaic to early Roman eras, and the limited distribution probably accounts for their uniform pattern, displaying only minor modifications. Thus the reanimation scene of P JS I is adapted from contemporary temple depictions, but has precisely the same meaning and purpose as other examples with the mummy reinvigorated by the sun disk.³⁰

Here follows the transliteration and translation of Hor’s papyrus. Broken sections are indicated by []. For the sake of simplicity, optional diacritics have been dropped (Hor, not Hôr). Following proper Egyptological convention, Egyptian names are rendered in Egyptian format, not Greek approximations (marred by alphabetic deficiencies and irrelevant

27. For the court scene first and corpse scene last, see Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 25, 27, and 31-32; and Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, plates 12-13 and 151.

28. Wrongly restored with a bird’s head and identified in Facsimile 1, Fig. 1, of The Book of Abraham as “The Angel of the Lord.” This is true only if Joseph Smith’s “Lord” was Osiris.

29. Formerly known as the “First Book of Breathings”; for the current terminology, see Coenen 1995.

30. The supposed second (and dappled) “hand” of the prone corpse may be the remains of a winged sundisk such as that found above the mummy in P. Tübingen 2016, P. Denon and P. Louvre 3284, rather than Isis in bird form. Gee’s quibbling, 2000, 29-30, regarding temple vs. papyrus scenes is pointless since the priestly owners of these papyri will have devised and had access to both, and contemporary “cross-over” imagery is known. A “weighing of the heart” scene usually confined to papyri is carved at the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina.

terminations) as adopted by Coenen and now inconsistently by Gee (Taikhbit rather than Chibois).³¹ With regard to the articles by my former student John Gee, I am constrained to note that unlike the interaction between Baer and Nibley, and the practice of all my other Egyptology students, Gee never chose to share drafts of his publications with me to elicit scholarly criticism so that I have encountered these only recently. It must be understood that in these apologetic writings Gee's opinions do not necessarily reflect my own nor the standards of Egyptological proof that I required at Yale or Chicago.

The Breathing Document opens with a vignette depicting the resurrection of the Osiris Hor on the customary lion-headed funerary couch, attended by the jackal-headed Anubis and (probably) the winged Isis, while the human-headed ba-spirit of Hor hovers above his head. The image has been grotesquely misrepresented as a human sacrifice in the labels and text of *The Book of Abraham* (Abraham 1: 11-14).³²

Introductory Vignette with 5 Hieroglyphic Sub-columns (Col. I = P JS I)
Address to Hor:

(I/1) [Wsir it ntr³³] hm-ntr Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hm³⁴ Mnw sm³
hrwy.w³⁵ hf[m] Hnsw p³ [ir] sbr m W[3s.t] (I/2) [...]. Hr m^{3c}-hrw s³ mi-

31. Coenen 1998, 1104n7; Gee 2000, 11-12 and 53-59 (Amenophis, Chibois etc., but Hor rather than the Greek Horos). In this note, exceptions are made only for the names of deities now standard in the Greek or Latin form (Osiris, Anubis, Horus etc.).

32. The most reasonable explanations of the vignettes appear in Baer, 117-19; Ashment 1979 and Thompson 1995. Human sacrifice in Egypt was rare and more properly political execution, never depicted as on the altered Book of Abraham rendition of P JS I. For such sacrifice in Egypt, see the references gathered in Ritner 1993, index, 308. The early assessments of this material by Egyptologists Breasted, Petrie, Mercer, et al., solicited by Spalding in 1912 remain valid in 2001, despite *ad hominem* attacks by Nibley, cited in Gee 1992, 97. Gee's implication, 103, that these 1912 statements are invalid because, quoting Anthony Leahy, "in 1914 Egyptology was essentially an amateur subject" misrepresents Leahy's remarks, which indicated not youthful ignorance, but restricted information: "few university or museum posts. . . preserve of the few who had the private resources. . . therefore easy enough for the interested scholar to keep abreast of developments" (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 [1990], vii).

33. Restored from Hor's titles in P. Louvre N 3209; see Coenen 1999a, 258. For this typical title combination of god's father and prophet, cf. Devéria 1881, 71 (III.24), 104 (III.73), 106 (III.75), 110 (III.80), and among the owners of Books of Breathing, see 131-37, (IV.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 9).

34. For the use of hm for hm-ntr "prophet," see Coenen 1998, 1106.

35. Ultimately read by Baer as k³ mw.t³hf "Bull of His Mother" (116 and n21), but marked as uncertain in his own working notes. The correct reading was first published by J. Quaegebeur 1997, 74; and discussed by Coenen 1998, 1103-15. The published photos used by Baer were ambiguous, but improved photography published by Charles M. Larson establishes the writing of sm³ hrwy.w³hf with knife, oar, plural strokes, enemy determinative and flesh-sign (for hf). As the basic verb sm³ "to kill" is commonly used regarding human

nn³⁶ ḥry-sšt³ ‘b nṯr Wsir-wr m^{3c}-ḥrw ir.n n[b.t-pr ḥy.(t) n] (I/3) [‘Imn]-R³⁷ T^{3y}-ḥy-b(y).t m^{3c}.t-ḥrw

‘nḥ b³·k m-ḥnw·w q(r)ys.t(w)·k ḥr ‘Imnt.t [W^{3s}.t]³⁸

(I/4) [...]... m^{3c}(?) (I/5) [di·k n·f q(r)y]s.t³⁹ nfr.t mnḥ.t ḥr imnt.t n W^{3s}[.t] ml.[tt]⁴⁰ ḏw.w M³[nw(?)]⁴¹

(1/1) [“Osiris, the god’s father], prophet of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, prophet of Min who slaughters his enemies, prophet of Khonsu, the [one who exercises] authority in Thebes, (1/2) [...]... Hor, the justified, son of the similarly titled overseer of secrets and purifier of the god, Osorwer, the justified, born by the [housewife and sistrum-player of] (1/3) [Amon]-Re, Taikhibit, the justified!

May your ba-spirit live among them, and may you be buried on the west [of Thebes].”

(I/4) [“O Anubis(?),⁴² ...] justification(?). (I/5) [May you give to him] a good and splendid burial on the west of Thebes as on the mountains of Ma[nu](?).”

enemies and sacrificial animals, the negative term “massacre” is here rejected for the more commonplace “slaughter.” In addition to the precise parallels noted by Coenen, the martial nature of Min is well attested; see Rochmonteix and Chassinat 1897, 395 (Min who makes massacres of her (= Isis’) enemies lr ‘ḏ.w n ḥfty.w·s), 403, l. 17 (who smites his enemies ḥwī ḥfty.w·f), and 404 (who brings an end to his enemies ln pḥ.wy r ḥfty.w·f); Junker 1917, 36a (who tramples the execration figures pṯpt rsy.w); and Bonnet 1952, 465a (who overthrows his enemies sḥr ḥfty.w·f).

36. The suggestion by Quaegebeur 1994, 214 and 219, that this phrase means only “priest of the same rank” among the clergy at Karnak must be discarded. The expression was used throughout Egypt to indicate a repetition of specific titles, occasionally supplemented—as here—with additions. Examples recur throughout my forthcoming volume *The Libyan Anarchy: Documents from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period*. Osorwer will have held all of Hor’s offices in addition to “overseer of secrets” and “purifier of the god.”

37. The lost titles of Taikhibit are restored from P. Louvre 3207, a Book of the Dead belonging to “the Osiris Hor, the justified, son of Osorwer, the justified, and born by the housewife and sistrum-player of Amon-Re, Taikhibit, the justified.” This surely is the same Hor as the original owner of the Joseph Smith Book of Breathing. The extract in Devéria 1881, 70, no. III.23, misread the parents’ names as Osor-aàou and Tai-xi or Tai-x..., hindering previous identification. This identification has now been made independently and published by Coenen 1999a. Although Coenen is hesitant (258), the title ḥy.(t) (n) ‘Imn-R^c is certain from Devéria’s transcription of the Louvre papyrus.

38. Restored from l. 5.

39. Text restored from Joseph Smith copies (Smith 1966, F and V); see Baer, 117 and 129.

40. The words n W^{3s}.t ml.t are fully preserved in “Joseph Smith’s Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar,” F and V (ml.t garbled).

41. For Manu, cf. Devéria 1881, 68 and 105.

42. A divine name (Anubis?) must be lost here, since the following address shifts from Hor to a deity on his behalf. This passage rebuts Gee 1992, 100 and 104-05: “Where, we may

Directions for Use (Col. I/5 - Col. II/9 = P JS XI.1)⁴³

[iw⁴⁴](II/1)[*•w st* Wsir r] *hnw n p*(³)y š wr (n) Hnsw (II/2) [Wsir Hr m^{3c}-
hrw] ms.n T^{3y}-*hy-by.t m*^{3c}.(t)-hrw ml.ty (II/3) m-*h[t hf]*^c•w⁴⁵ *•wy*•f 2 r⁴⁶
h³.ty•f iw•w⁴⁷ qr(II/4)is t³ š'y.t (n) snsn ir n⁴⁸ nty (II/5) m sš.wy *hnw*
bnr n-lm•s m šs ny-sw.t rd.ltw (hr) *•f* (II/6) Bby n mtr h³.ty•f iw ir•w⁴⁹
p(³) mn n t^{3y}•f (II/7) qris.(t) r p(^{3y})•s⁵⁰ bnr
ir ir.tw n•f md³.t tn hr (II/8) snsn•f ml b³[.w] ntr.w r nhh hn^c (II/9) d.t

[(II/1) Osiris shall be towed in]to the great lake of Khonsu, (II/2) and likewise [the Osiris Hor, the justified,] born of Taikhibit, the justified, (II/3) after his two arms have been [placed] at his heart, while (II/4) the Breathing Document, being what (II/5) is written on its interior and exterior, shall be wrapped in royal linen and placed (under) his left arm in the midst of his heart. The remainder of his (II/7) wrapping shall be made over it.

As for the one for whom this book is made, (II/8) he thus breathes like the ba-spirit[s] of the gods, forever and (II/9) ever.

ask, in all of Papyrus Joseph Smith XI-X is there any prayer to any Egyptian God?" A further example occurs in the invocation (col. VIII/11) of Facsimile 3. Actually, since Hor is repeatedly and explicitly stated to be deified, a member of the company of the gods, and a form of Osiris, the entire Breathing Document is itself an extended "prayer to an Egyptian God."

43. Restored from the parallel text of P. Louvre 3284, col. 6, in de Horrack 1907, pl. XI and 135.

44. Hieratic text restored from Joseph Smith copies ("Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar," F, V, and 11 of "smaller book.")

45. Literally, "grasped."

46. The scribe has reinterpreted the standard text found in P. Louvre 3284, converting a visually similar hieratic shape into a later Demotic (and hieratic) form (hr > 2 r). The meaning is unaffected. Nibley, 20, misread hr and assumed the sign was "heavily re-touched."

47. Contra Nibley, 20, who read m.

48. Emended by Baer, 119-20, and Nibley, 21, the phrase ir n means simply "which amounts to/corresponds to/equals" in contemporary Demotic Egyptian; see Erichsen 1954, 36. The scribe has here deviated from the standard text, which has nothing between snsn and nty. Perhaps, as suggested by Baer, the scribe conflated this passage with the opening of Paragraph I.

49. The form iw ir•w here must mark a second tense stressing "over it," not a circumstantial past. Other versions have only ir•w "Let them make."

50. Contra Nibley, 21-22, who read gs ("side"), the spelling is an abbreviated alphabetic writing of the possessive adjective, common in Ptolemaic and Roman texts. This section of text, unread by de Horrack and Parker, is confirmed by the following variants: P. Louvre 3284, ll. 7-8: ir•w p(³) mn (n) t³ qris.(t) r p^{3y}•s bnr; P. Louvre 3121: ir•w p(³) mn n t^{3y}•f qris.(t) r p(^{3y})•s [bnr]; P. Louvre 3126: ir•w p³ mn (n) t³[y]•f qris.(t) r p(^{3y})•s bnr. For hand-copies, see de Horrack 1907, pl. XI. For the sign mn, see Möller 1912, 52, no. 540.

The Main Body of the Breathing Document

(Col. III/1-V/13 = P JS XI.2 + P SJ IVA-D [mismounted fragments] + P SJ VI [mismounted fragment] + P JS X)⁵¹

Paragraph I

(III/1) ḥꜣ.t-ꜥ m [šꜣ.y.t n sns]n ir.t[.n ꜣs.t n snꜣs Wsir r sꜣnhꜣ bꜣꜣf r sꜣnhꜣ ḥꜣ.tꜣf r srnp ḥꜣ.wꜣf nb] (III/2) m whm [r hnmꜣf] ꜣḥ.t hnꜣ itꜣf Rꜣ [r sbꜣ bꜣꜣf m p.t m ltn n iḥ r psd ḥꜣ.tꜣf m Sꜣḥ m ḥ.t n Nw.t r] (III/3) rdi.t ḥpr m[it.t n]n n Wsir Hr mꜣꜣ-ḥrw s[ꜣ ... Wsir-wr mꜣꜣ-ḥrw ms.n Tꜣy-ḥy-by.t mꜣꜣ.t-ḥrw] ḥꜣ[p⁵² sp-2] (III/4) imꜣk r[di] š s.(t) s nb ꜣḥ[ꜣs n s m hr.t-ntr ꜣnhꜣf m whm m sšrw] mꜣꜣ ḥḥ n sp⁵³

(III/1) Beginning of the [Breath]ing [Document] that [Isis] made [for her brother Osiris in order to revivify his ba-spirit, to revivify his corpse, and to rejuvenate all his limbs] (III/2) again, [so that he might unite with] the horizon together with his father Re, [so that his ba-spirit might be made to appear gloriously in heaven in the moon disk, so that his corpse might shine in Orion within the body of the sky-goddess Nut, and so that] (III/3) the same things might be made to happen to the Osiris Hor, the justified, son [of. . . Osorwer, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified.] Hide [it! Hide it!] (III/4) Do not let anyone read it!⁵⁴ [It] is effective [for a man in the necropolis, so that he might live again,] [being proved] truly [effective], millions of times.

Paragraph II

(III/5) ḥy⁵⁵ [Wsir H]r mꜣꜣ-ḥrw ms.n Tꜣy[-ḥy-by.t mꜣꜣ.t-ḥrw iwꜣk wꜣb ḥꜣ.tꜣk wꜣb ḥꜣ.tꜣk m] ꜣbw ph.tꜣk⁵⁶ (III/6) m dwr⁵⁷ hr(y)-ibꜣk m bd [ḥsmn nn ꜣ imꜣk m isf.t wꜣb] Ws[lr H]r mꜣꜣ-ḥrw ms.n⁵⁸ (III/7) Tꜣy-

51. Lacunae restored from P. Louvre 3284 and variants 3121, 3126 and 3291, in de Hor-rack 1907, pls. VII-XIII.

52. The final traces ḥꜣ[p] appear on a fragment pasted upside down in the upper left corner of P JS IV (= P JS IVA/1).

53. The final words mꜣꜣ ḥḥ n sp appear inverted on P JS IVA/2.

54. Commands for secrecy in religious texts were intended to maintain elite privilege not magical efficacy; see Ritner 1993, 202-04.

55. For this interjection in late (and often Theban) texts, see Quaegebeur 1990, 76 and 86.

56. The final words ꜣbw ph.tꜣk appear inverted on P JS IVA/3.

57. Written for *twr*. The loss of the *d* sound in later Egyptian led to a common conflation of the once distinct consonants *d* and *t*.

58. The final words Ws[lr H]r mꜣꜣ-ḥrw ms.n appear inverted on P JS IVA/4.

59. Misread Rmny-qꜣl by Nibley, 26. Nibley's error was further confused in J. Gee

ḥ(by.t)⁵⁹ m^{3c}.(t) ḥr[w] m šdy.(t) twy nt[y] Šḥ.wt-ḥtp ḥr mḥt.t n.(t) šḥ.wt snḥm.w] sw^cb tw[•]k W³dy.t⁶⁰ (III/8) Nḥb.t m wnw.t 3.t⁶¹ n.t grḥ (m) wnw.t 3.t [n.t hrw my r[•]k Wsir Ḥr m^{3c}-ḥrw ms.n T³y-ḥby].t m^{3c}.(t)-ḥrw ^cq[•]k r wsh.t⁶² (III/9) M^{3c}.ty iw[•]k⁶³ w^cb.tw r ḥww [nb bt³w nb inr n M^{3c}.t rn[•]k]

(III/5) "Hail, [Osiris Ho]r, the justified, born of Tai[khibit, the justified! You are pure! Your heart is pure! Your front is in] a state of purity, your rear is in a state of cleanliness, and your interior parts consist of soda and [natron. There is no limb of yours in an evil state.] The Os[iris Ho]r, the justified, born of (III/7) Taikhibit, the justified, [has been purified] in this pool of the Fields of Offerings on the north of the Fields of Locusts. Edjo and Nekhbet have purified you (III/8) in the third hour of night and in the third hour [of day. Come, then, Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibi]t, the justified! May you enter into the Hall of the (III/9) Two Truths, since you are pure from [all] impurity [and every abomination. "Rock of Truth" is your name.]

Paragraph III

[hy] Wsir Ḥr m^{3c}-ḥrw ^cq[•]k⁶⁴ (III/10) r dw³.t⁶⁵ [m] ^cbw wr sw^cb tw[•]k [M^{3c}.ty] m wsh.t⁶⁶ [^c3.t lr.tw n[•]k ^cbw m wsh.t Gb sw^cb ḥ^c].w[•][k] m wsh.t⁶⁷ (III/11) Šw iw[•]k⁶⁸ [ḥ]r m^{3c} R^c m ḥtp[•]f Ḥ[tm m mšrw Ḥmn (t)rm[•]k ḥr dī.t n[•]k t³w Pth ḥr nb]i [ḥ]^c.w[•]k⁶⁹ ^cq[•]k r 3ḥ.[t] ḥn[^c] R^c [šsp[•]w b³•k r nšm.t ḥn^c Wsir] (IV/1) [ntri[•]w b]3[•]k [m pr Gb iw[•]k n m^{3c}-ḥrw r nḥḥ d.t]

[Hail,] Osiris Hor, the justified! May you enter (III/10) into the Underworld [in] a state of great purity. [The Two Truths] have purified you in the [Great] Hall. [Purification is made for you in the Hall of Geb. Your

1992, 105 and 108, where it is said to be Hor's father's(!) name. The article and error were brought to my attention by Coenen 1997, 1104. For the abbreviated spelling, see the introductory discussion before the translation.

60. The final words sw^cb tw[•]k W³dy.t appear inverted on P JS IVA/5.

61. Other versions have the eighth (P. Louvre 3284, Louvre 3291 and British Museum 9995) or the ninth hour of day and night (P. Berlin 3135).

62. The final words [T³y-ḥby].t m^{3c}.(t)-ḥrw ^cq[•]k r wsh.t appear inverted on P JS IVA/6.

63. The lower portion of the words M^{3c}.ty iw[•]k appears on Fragment P JS IV D/1, wrongly pasted below the ba-bird vignette in column 2 of P. JS IV.

64. The final words Wsir Ḥr m^{3c}-ḥrw ^cq[•]k appear inverted on P JS IVA/7.

65. The words r dw³.t appear on Fragment P JS IV D/2.

66. The words m wsh.t are said to appear on a misplaced fragment pasted on P JS VI, upper left corner. See the hand-copy in Nibley, 28, top left.

67. The final words [ḥ^c].w[•][k] m wsh.t appear inverted on P JS IVA/8.

68. The words Šw iw[•]k appear on Fragment P JS IV D/3.

69. The words [nb]i [ḥ]^c.w[•]k appear on Fragment P JS IV D/4.

limb]s [have been purified] in the Hall of (III/11) Shu. You see Re at his setting, A[at twilight.⁷⁰ Amon is with you, giving you breath. Ptah fashion]s your limbs. May you enter into the horizon with Re. [May your ba-spirit be received into the sacred Neshmet bark with Osiris.] (IV/1) [May] your ba-spirit [be deified in the Estate of Geb, since you are justified forever and ever.]

Paragraph IV

[Wsr] Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T^{3y}-[hy-by.t⁷¹ m^{3c}.(t)-hrw m]n m^{3c} d[d] h³.t^{3c} k rwd s³h³•k⁷² [nn šn^c.tw•k] (IV/2) [m p.t t³ šhd hr•k hr R^c] ‘nh b³•k hr Imn rn[p⁷³ h³].t•k hr Wsr sns n•k r nh[h d].t

[Osiris] Hor, the justified, born of Tai[khibit, the justified! May your name [end]ure, may your corpse abide, and may your mummy thrive. [You shall not be turned away] (IV/2) [in heaven or on earth. May your face be illuminated⁷⁴ in the presence of Re.] May your ba-spirit live in the presence of Amon. May your [cor]pse be rejuvenated in the presence of Osiris. May you breathe forever [and ev]er.

Paragraph V

(IV/3) [ir n•k b³•k pr.t-hrw m t hnq.(t) k³.w 3pd.w m qbhw sn]r m hr.t hrw⁷⁵ [n.t r^c nb h^c.w•k hr] qs.w•k mī qī•k hr-tp t³ isw[r]•k⁷⁶ m š[n]b•k (IV/4) [wnm•k m r³•k šsp•k] snw hn^c77 [b³.w ntr.w h]w tw•k Inpw ir•f s³w•k nn šn[^c.t]w•k⁷⁸ m r³.w (IV/5) [n.w dw³.t iy n•k Dhwty⁷⁹] sp-2 wr nb Hmnw s[š]•t⁷⁹ n•k š^c.(t) (n) sns n m db^c.w•f ds•f [s]nsn (IV/6) [b³•k

70. Atum is part of the solar trinity, the form of Re at evening.

71. The words Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T^{3y}-[hy-by.t] appear on Fragment P JS IV C/1, mounted upside down in the middle of the plate, between the center vignettes.

72. Written with only the seal logogram; see Möller 1912, 40, no. 422. Nibley, 30, misread the detached elements as r^c nb or hr, though he read the sign correctly in col. V/12 (44).

73. The words ‘nh b³•k hr Imn rn[p] appear on Fragment P JS IV C/2.

74. Literal illumination by the sun-god is intended, with the added nuance of “gladden” (šhd-hr).

75. The words [sn]r m hr.t hrw appear on Fragment P JS IV C/3.

76. Metathesis for slw[r]•k.

77. The words snw hn^c appear in P JS IV C/4.

78. Misread as hsf [twk] by Nibley, 32.

79. The words sp-2 wr nb Hmnw s[š] appear on P JS IV C/5. For the evolution of the epithet of Thoth the Thrice Greatest (“Trismegistos”) in this and other texts, see Ritner 1981a and 1981b. My citation of the available image of PJS IV should not be construed as an endorsement of Nibley’s scholarship, contra the implications of Gee 1992, 98n6.

r nh̄h w̄hm•k q̄l̄i•k hr-tp t̄3 m-m⁸⁰ 'nh̄.w i[w]•k n̄tri hn̄' b̄3.w n̄tr.w ib•k
ib n R' iw̄f•k⁸¹ (IV/7) [iw̄f n n̄tr '3]

(IV/3) [May your ba-spirit make for you an invocation-offering consisting of bread, beer, beef and fowl, and of cool water and incense] in the course of [every] day. [Your flesh is on] your bones in accordance with the form that you had on earth. May you drink with your throat. (IV/4) [May you eat with your mouth. May you receive] offering bread together with [the ba-spirits of the gods.] Anubis [gua]rds you. He has made your protection. You shall not be turned [away] from the doors (IV/5) [of the Underworld. Thoth], the Thrice [Great]est, Lord of Hermopolis, [has come to you.] He has writ[ten] for you a Breathing Document with his own fingers, so that (IV/6) [your ba-spirit] may breathe [forever, and that you might regain the fo]rm that you had on earth among the living, since you are divine together with the ba-spirits of the gods. Your heat is the heart of Re; your flesh (IV/7) [is the flesh of the great god.]

Paragraph VI

[hy Ws]lr Hr m̄3'•hrw Imn (i)rm•k⁸² r' nb m pr R'⁸³ w̄hm•k 'nh̄ wp
n•k Wp-w̄3.wt w̄3.t (IV/8) nfr[.t⁸⁴ m̄33•k m ir.ty•k sdm•k m] 'nh̄.
wy•k mdw•k m r̄3•k šm•k m rd•k⁸⁵ iw b̄3•k n̄tri m dw̄3.t [r i]r (IV/9)
h̄pr.[w nb r mr'f ir•k n̄3 šr]šr.w⁸⁶ n p(3) (i)šd šps [...]⁸⁷ m Iwnw nhs•k

80. The top half of the words [q̄l̄i•k hr-tp t̄3 m-m appears in P JS IV C/6.

81. The scribe employs the variant found in P. Louvre 3291, l. 16. Nibley, 33, wrongly read h̄'t.k, following P. Louvre 3284, 2/11.

82. For the common late conjunction, misunderstood by Nibley as a confusion of r' and m-, see Erman and Grapow 1971, I, 115/17-20.

83. All other versions have r' nb hr w̄hm•k, omitting the phrase "in the estate of Re." Baer, 122n60, was unable to read the traces between r' "day" and m pr R' "in the estate/temple of Re." This is simply the expected modifier nb "every" placed to the right of r', not below it as restored by Nibley, 34, who ignores the following sign. The damaged suffix •k fills the space where Nibley restored nb.

84. A small misplaced fragment used to patch lines 9-10 of this column contains the words nfr and h̄pr, which properly begin lines 8 and 9. See Baer, 122n62, and Nibley, 35-36, who did not place the fragment and misread nfr.

85. Only one leg is written, contra Nibley, 34. The same writing is found in P. Berlin 3135.

86. Louvre 3284 indicates a vocalization šš̄.w, corresponding to Coptic ωⲟⲗωⲗ "shaking" (Crum 1939, 561b).

87. A gap at this spot was later filled with a fragment torn from the beginnings of ll. 8-9, probably covering a hole already present when the papyrus was written; see Baer, 122n62. Nothing is expected between šps and m Iwnw. Baer considered the trace of m following the hole to be the conclusion of second writing of šps (dittography), and his remarks were misinterpreted by Nibley, 35, who transcribed the final determinatives of (l)šd as another writing of šps. Had such dittography existed, it would have been in the hole.

tw⁸⁸ r^c nb m³³•k n³ sty(IV/10)[.wt n P³-R^c iy n•k lmn hr t³].w n^c n^h di•f
 ir•k sn[sn m]⁸⁹ db³.t•k pr•k r t³ r^c nb ir•w⁹⁰ n•k š^c(IV/11)[y.t n sns]n [n
 D^hwty m] s³w•k⁹¹ sns•k im•s mi R^c m³³ ir.t•k sty.(wt) itn dd•w m³•t
 r•k⁹² (IV/12) [m-b³h Wsir] ir•w m[k.t•k(?)]⁹³ Hr Bhd.t hw•f⁹⁴ d.t•k
 ntri•f⁹⁵ b³•k mi ir⁹⁶ ntr.w nb.w b³ n R^c hr s^cn^h [b³•]k (IV/13) [b³ n Šw hr
 hnm ms]ty•k

[Hail, Os]iris Hor, the justified! Amon is with you every day in the Estate of Re, so that you might live again. Wepwawet has opened for you the good way, (IV/8) [so that you might see with your eyes, that you might hear with] your ears, that you might speak with your mouth, and that you might walk with your feet, while your ba-spirit is deified in the Underworld [in order to] make [any] transformation[s according to its will. May you cause the [rust]lings of the noble persea tree [...] in Heliopolis.⁹⁷ May you awake every day so that you might see the ray[s (IV/10) of the sun. Amon has come to you bearing the brea]th of life. He has caused that you brea[the in] your sarcophagus so that you might go forth to the earth every day. (IV/11) The Breath]ing Docu[ment of Thoth] has been made for you [as] your protection, so that you might breathe by means of it like Re, so that your eyes might see the rays of the sun disk, and so that you might be called “justified” (IV/12) [in the presence of Osiris.] [Your] pro[tection(?)] has been made. Horus the Behdedit⁹⁸ has guarded your body and has deified your ba-spirit as do all the gods. The ba-spirit of Re revivifies your [ba-spirit]. (IV/3) [The ba-spirit of the air-god Shu unites with] your [nos]trils.

88. Misread by Nibley, 35, as *nhs twk*.

89. The hole the papyrus is here patched with *hpr* from line 9. The lost text of *sn[sn m]* is too small for the current gap, supporting Baer's suggestion of ancient damage. Slight traces of *m* or the determinative of *t³w* are preserved on tatters to the right of *db³.t*.

90. Not attested in other variants and misread by Nibley, 36, as *rdl.tw*. Other texts read: “The Document of Breathing of Thoth is your protection, so that you might breathe by means of it every day.”

91. Misread by Nibley, 36, as *(nd)w.k*.

92. Misread by Nibley, 37, as *rn•k*. Nibley's *n* is the lower stroke of the ovoid *r*.

93. P JS X has a broken, shorter variant than standard texts. The word *m[k.t]* “protection” is restored following col. V/5, where it also precedes mention of Horus of Behdet. This restoration was first suggested by Baer in unpublished notes. Nibley, 37, misread the traces as *lt.f*. Other texts have *s³.w m³•h^rw hr d.t•k* “They have written ‘justified’ on your body.”

94. Misread by Nibley, 37, as *hnm.n.f*.

95. Misread by Nibley, 37, as a *sdm.ty.fy*-form *ntr.ty.fy*.

96. Other versions read: “Horus, the protector of his father, . . . has deified your ba-spirit like all the gods.”

97. For the mythological associations, see Baer, 123n63.

98. Horus of Edfu.

Paragraph VII

h[3]y Wsir Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T3y-hy-(by.t)⁹⁹ m^{3c}.(t)-hrw sns n b³·k lw (= r)
 [bw] mr·k¹⁰⁰ (V/1) [i]w·k m [Wsir Wsir Hnty-Imnty.w rn·k H^cpy wr iw
 n·k m 3bw mh·f htp·k m d^f3](V/2).w

Hail, Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified! May your ba-spirit breathe wherever it likes, (V/1) since you exist as [Osiris. Osiris Foremost of the Westerners is your name. Hapy the great (the Nile Inundation) has come to you from Elephantine, so that he might fill your altar with (V/2) food offering[s].

Paragraph VIII

Wsir Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n¹⁰¹ [T3y-hy-by.t m^{3c}.(t)-hrw iw n·k ntr.w n.w Šm^cw
 sšm·w tw·k r 'rq-hh¹⁰² 'nh b³·k šm](V/3)s·k Wsir sns n·k (m)-hnt¹⁰³
 R3-Sšw [mk tw·k H3p-nb·s hn^c ntr 3 h3.t·k 'nh m] (V/4) Ddw T3w-wr
 b³·k 'nh m p.t [r^c] nb

Osiris Hor, the justified, born of [Taikhibit, the justified! The gods of Upper Egypt have come to you so that they might guide you to Alkhah. May your ba-spirit live, may you] (V/3) serve Osiris, may you breathe within Rostau. ["She-who-hides-her-Lord"¹⁰⁴ and the great god have protected you. Your corpse lives in] (V/4) Busiris and the Thinite nome. Your ba-spirit lives in heaven every [day].

Paragraph IX

[Wsir Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T3y-hy-by.t m^{3c}.(t)-hrw shm Shm.t m w3w.w im·k
 Hr] (V/5) 3 ib hr ir mk.t·(k) Hr Bhd.t [hr ir ib·k Hr-Mr.ty hr s3w d.t·k
 dd·k m] (V/6) 'nh wd3 snb iw·k mn.tw hr ns.t·k m t3 dsr [m]y [r·k

99. Nibley, 38, mistranscribed the final signs, substituting a "t" for the human figure after hb. Contra Nibley, this is not the "only occurrence of the complete name," nor is its meaning "unknown." Nibley himself noted the full writing in col. II/2 (20). Other unbroken writings of the mother's name appear in cols. I/3 and III/7. Nibley's treatment skipped col. I and misread III/7 (26).

100. Signs ignored by Nibley, and mr wrongly included in the photograph of the end of l. 12.

101. Lines 1-2 were dismissed as illegible by Nibley, 39.

102. Baer, 123, failed to recognize the name of this cult site of Osiris and adopted the copying error of P. Louvre 3284 for the following word (hn^c for 'nh). For 'rq-hh, see Erichsen 1954, 68.

103. Nibley, 39, read "m or khnti."

104. Alkhah is the specific burial site of Osiris at Abydos, Rostau is a generic term for burial ground (originally just for Saqqara), and "She-who-hides-her-Lord" is the name of the necropolis at Abydos.

Wsr Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T^{3y}-hy-by.t m^{3c}.(t)-hrw iw^{rk}] (V/7) h^c.tw m qd^{rk}¹⁰⁵ twt m hkr.w^{rk} sdr^{rk}¹⁰⁶ m ^cnh [wr^{rk} m snb šm^{rk} snsn^{rk} r] (V/8) bw nb wbn R^c hr tph.t^{rk}¹⁰⁷ mi Wsir snsn^{rk} [‘n]h[^{rk} m sty.w^{rk} f Imn-R^c s^cnh^{rk} f] (V/9) k^{3k} sw^{3d}^{rk} f tw^{rk}¹⁰⁸ m š^{3t}¹⁰⁹ snsn šms^{rk} Wsir [Hr nb hnw iw^{rk} m ntr³ hnty] (V/10) ntr.w ^cnh hr^{rk} nfr ms.w^{rk} rn^{rk} rwd r^c nb [m]y [‘]q^{rk} r [sh]-ntr¹¹⁰ [wr sp-2] (V/11) m Ddw m³³^{rk} Hnty-Imnty.w m hb Wg[³] ndm sty^{rk} m hwn¹¹¹ [‘3 rn^{rk} m] (V/12) s^{3h} šps

[Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified! Sakhmet has overpowered those who would conspire against you. Horus] (V/5) the steadfast makes (your) protection. Horus the Behdedite [performs your wishes. Hormerty guards your body, so that you are permanently in] (V/6) life, prosperity and health, enduring upon your throne in the sacred land. Come, [then, Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified, (V/7) appearing gloriously in your proper form, complete in your ornaments! May you spend the night in life; [may you spend the day in health. May you travel and may you breathe in] (V/8) any place. May Re shine upon your cavern like that of Osiris, so that you might breathe and [live by means of his rays. Amon-Re has revived] (V/9) your ka-spirit and has made you flourish by means of the Breathing Document. May you serve Osiris [and Horus, Lord of the sacred Henu bark, since you exist as the Great God, Foremost] (V/10) of the gods. May your face live; may your forms be perfect. Your name thrives every day. [Come,] may you enter into the very great embalming [booth] in Busiris. May you see the Foremost of the Westerners in the Wag-Festival. May your scent be sweet as a youth. [May your name be great as] (V/12) an august noble.¹¹²

105. Nibley, 41, misread tyt.k.

106. Nibley's insistence, 41, that "the sign. . . is *not* sdr but grg" shows ignorance of late hieratic and Demotic forms. See Möller 1912, 37, no. 384B, and Erichsen 1954, 480 (bottom).

107. Nibley, 41, mistranscribed the h as a stroke to read tp.t. "Cavern" signifies "tomb." Other versions have hw.t "mansion" with the same nuance.

108. Nibley, 42, garbled this passage, misreading sw^{3d}^{rk} f tw^{rk} as "nkh nd (wda?)-snb or m swda.tw.k." Nibley's "transliteration" does not follow standard conventions.

109. The scribe has written š^{3t} in error for š^c t.

110. The words [‘]q^{rk} r [sh]-ntr appear on Fragment P JS IV, B/1, inserted upside down at the upper left of the ba-bird vignette. All extant versions have sh-ntr, but Nibley, 43, restored [hr.t]-ntr. Baer translated "Great Divine Council," but the term refers specifically to the embalming booth of Anubis.

111. The words ^{rk} m hwn appear in Fragment P JS IV, B/2. The final sign is the child determinative, not plural strokes as transcribed by Nibley, 43. All other versions have ndm sty^{rk} m lm^{3h}.w "May your scent be sweet like the revered ones."

112. The term "noble" also indicates "mummy." P. JS V is paralleled by P. Louvre 3291, l. 29. Other versions have "be great among the nobles/mummies."

Paragraph X

h3y Wsir Hr m3f-hrw ʿnh b3k m šʿy.t snsn [hnmk m mit.t] (V/13) b3¹¹³
 ʿqk r dw3.t nn wn hftj.wk iw k m 3h¹¹⁴ ntri [m Ddw ibk nk nn hri f
 rk ir.ty k nk wn r^f nb]

Hail, Osiris Hor, the justified! May your ba-spirit live by means of the Breathing Document, [and may you be united by the same manner with] (V/13) the ba-spirit. May you enter into the Underworld. There are no enemies of yours, for you exist as a divine, effective spirit [in Busiris. Your heart belongs to you; it will not be far from you. Your eyes belong to you, being open every day.”]

This marks the end of the preserved text. Paragraphs XI-XIV are lost, approximately 2 columns [Col. VI-VII].

The papyrus concludes with a vignette preserved only in a poorly rendered engraving at the end of The Book of Abraham. Baer conservatively chose to translate only the most obvious of these passages,¹¹⁵ but additional readings are possible and have been attempted here, with uncertainties noted. The scene, as already recognized by Baer, is the well attested conclusion of the older judgment scene associated with Book of the Dead 125.¹¹⁶ Having attained justification, the deified Hor is brought by Maat and Anubis before the altar of the enthroned Osiris, behind whom stands Isis. Comparable scenes open Papyrus Hague 42/88 (Denon) and Tübingen 2016.¹¹⁷ The origin of these vignettes in the classic judgment scene is shown conclusively by the final vignette of the comparable Breathing Document Florence 3666 + Vienna 3850, in

113. Texts differ considerably here. P. Louvre 3284 has *hnmk m mit.t* “may you be joined likewise,” while Louvre 3291 has *hnmk m šʿt n snsn* “may you be joined by means of the Breathing Document.” Goyon, (1972), 222, notes examples of “you are united with Shu, son of Re.”

114. Other versions have *b3 ntri* “divine ba,” and Nibley, 45, wrongly followed that reading, ignoring the remarks of Baer, 124n85. For the hieratic sign, see Möller 1912, 19, no. 204 (with back tick), clearly distinct from no. 208 (*b3*) and the writing of *b3* found at the beginning of this line and throughout the text.

115. Baer, 127, and n110.

116. Baer, 126-27. Baer’s statement that it is “similar to but not identical with scenes showing judgment of the deceased before Osiris” (126) and “is not a judgment scene” (his quoted letter to Nibley in Gee 2000, 100) means only that the actual process of judgment is not shown. This image *does*, however, form part of standard judgment scenes, see the following notes.

117. Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, figs. 3-5, and Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, plate 12-13. These and other examples eliminate the doubt once expressed by Baer that “parallels may be hard to find” (quoted letter to Nibley in Gee 2000, 100). Gee fails to quote

which Maat and Anubis escort the deceased to the scales, enthroned Osiris and Isis.¹¹⁸ The iconography of Facsimile 3 has been discussed most reasonably by Stephen E. Thompson.¹¹⁹ This scene depicts events in the underworld court of Osiris, not a funeral re-inactment with human actors.¹²⁰

Concluding Vignette, Col. VIII (= Facsimile 3 of The Book of Abraham)
Label for Osiris (Fig. 1 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/1) **dd-mdw i(n) Wsir Hnty-Imnty.w** (VIII/2) **nb(?) 3bdw(?) p3 nfr 3**
(VIII/3) **r d.t nhh(?)**

Recitation by Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos(?), the great god forever and ever(?).

Label for Isis (Fig. 2 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/4) **3s.t wr.(t) mw.t nfr**

Isis the great, the god's mother.¹²¹

Label for Maat (Fig. 4 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/5) **M3^c.t hnw.t nfr.w**

Maat, mistress of the gods.

Label for Hor (Fig. 5 of Facsimile 3)

the remainder of Baer's assessment: "But one must not exaggerate in the other direction. I doubt that one could find many instances of exactly identical scenes in Egyptian art" (Baer files, quoted by permission, unlike the unauthorized use by Gee 2000, 98n15 and 100n22). The inclusion of Thoth recording the judgment and the Swallowing Monster Amyt further stress the derivation of this scene from Book of the Dead 125 vignettes, as in the Papyrus of Hunefer illustrated in Faulkner 1985, 34-35.

¹¹⁸ Coenen 1999b, plate XXI.

¹¹⁹ Thompson 1995, 145-48. Gee's brief rebuttal (2000, 40 and 67n17) is unacceptable. Reference to a costumed private individual in the Roman procession of Isis is *not evidence* that the figure of Isis here (no. 2) is "King Pharaoh, whose name is given in the characters above his head," as published by Joseph Smith. Smith misunderstood "Pharaoh" as a personal name (cf. Abraham 1:25), and the name above figure 2 is unquestionably that of the female Isis. Osiris (fig. 1) is certainly not "Abraham," nor is it possible that the altar of Osiris (fig. 3) "signifies Abraham." Maat (fig. 4) is not a male "prince," Hor (fig. 5) is not a "waiter," nor is Anubis (fig. 6) a "slave" (because of his dark skin). Such interpretations are uninspired fantasies and are defended only with the forfeiture of scholarly judgment and credibility.

¹²⁰ Gee 2000, 66, wrongly conflates this Anubis with masked Anubis-priests at funerals. Actors did not, however, impersonate Maat, Osiris, and Isis at funerals.

¹²¹ The same (common) label appears in P. Tübingen 2016 for the figure of Isis. She is not "Pharaoh" there either.

(VIII/6) **Wsr Hr** (VIII/7) **m³-hrw r d.t**
The Osiris Hor, justified forever.

Label for Anubis (Fig. 6 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/8) **dd-mdw i(n) Inpw ir s³(?)**¹²² (VIII/9) **hnty sh-ntr** (VIII/10) ...¹²³
Recitation by Anubis, who makes protection(?), foremost of the embalming booth,

Invocation

(VIII/11) **i n(3) ntr.w hr.t-ntr ntr.w qrr.wt ntr.w rsy mht imnt.t 3b.t swd³**
Wsr Hr m³-hrw ir.n T3y-hy-by.t¹²⁴

O gods of the necropolis, gods of the caverns, gods of the south, north, west and east, grant salvation to the Osiris Hor, the justified, born by Taikhibit.

Here the papyrus ended. As the reader can verify by comparison, the basic understanding of the papyrus remains unchanged from Baer's interpretation of thirty-four years ago. The text is a formal document or "permit" created by Isis and copied by Thoth to assure that the deified Hor regains the ability to breathe and function after death, with full mobility, access to offerings and all other privileges of the immortal gods. The implications, basic symbolism and intent of the text are certain.¹²⁵

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122. Or **nb dw3.t** "Lord of the Underworld." The epithet **ir s³** appears in a comparable scene in the unpublished Papyrus McClung Museum: 98.11.1.

123. Possibilities include **imy-wt** "who is in the mummy bandages," **p³ ntr 3** "the great god" or **s³ Wsr** "son of Osiris."

124. Unread by Baer, 127, the signs **ir.n T3y-hy-by.t** can be recognized, including the figure with upraised arms (**hy**), shifted to the end as in Col. I/2. See also P. Louvre 3207 for the use of **ir.n ... T3y-h(bl.t)** "born by. . .Taikhi(bit)."

125. Contra Nibley's nihilistic quibbling on translation, 47ff. Where precisely the great pool of Khonsu was located does not change the meaning, significance or use of the text, none of which is in doubt.

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