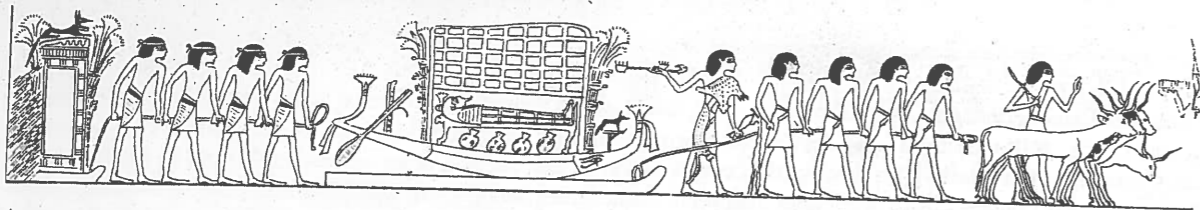


Chapter 1 (Lepsius number)



Above and right:
Funeral depiction accompanying Chapter 1 in the papyrus of Herunefer (Neville 1883, pl.1-2)

Relative frequency at different periods (provisional data from Munro 1988, 2001, Quirke 1993)

Mid-Eighteenth Dynasty linen shrouds: 3 (including king Thutmes III) in Munro 1988

Mid- to late Eighteenth Dynasty papyri: 18 in Munro 1988

Nineteenth Dynasty: 18 in Munro 1988

Third Intermediate Period: 40 examples in Munro 2001

Late Period and Ptolemaic Period (650-525, 404-30 BC): widespread

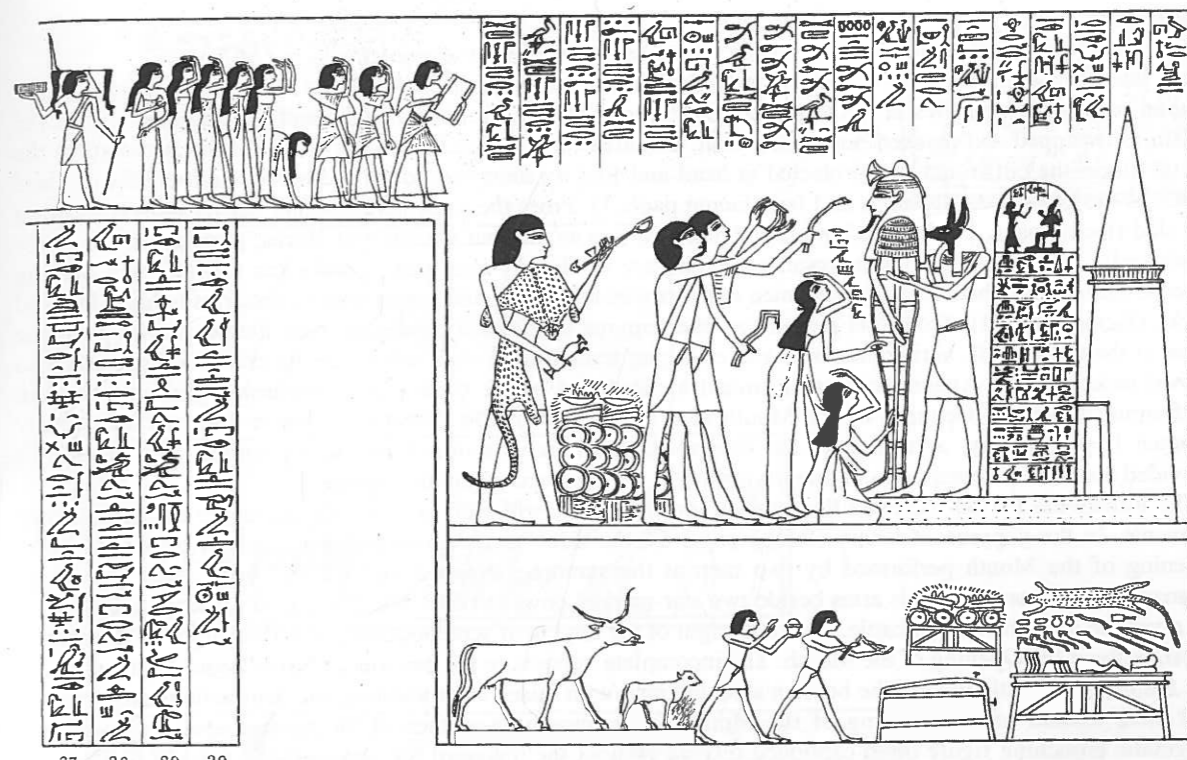
Written content

Chapter 1 is regularly first in Late Period and Ptolemaic Period papyri, and often occurs at or near the start of earlier papyri. Barbara Lüscher has established the synoptic hieroglyphic edition for New Kingdom manuscripts, allowing clearer comparison of contents (Lüscher 1986). The opening passage identifies the speaker as Thoth, god of knowledge and writing, specifically for his part in key rituals at sacred places during the embalming and burial of Osiris. In effect, the deceased is both embalmer and embalmed (Willems 1997); the deceased is being buried, and so receives the benefits of being preserved, but at the same time secures an afterlife by taking the role of those performing the rituals of preservation. The sacred places and times transfer the embalming and burial process to the divine level of the Osiris myth. The last rite mentioned (end of section 4) is the "hacking of the earth", a phrase used as the name of a Middle Kingdom ritual also known from one New Kingdom papyrus (chapter 169, and see the extract chapter 1B).

This chapter is one of the most widely attested religious compositions from ancient Egypt, ranking in frequency alongside assertions of identity with the sun (chapters 17, 64) and the Judgement of the Dead (chapters 30, 125). It is one of a small group considered individually effective enough to be written alone on smaller sections of papyrus, to be worn as charms in life or after death (Illés 2006). Assmann has explained its New Kingdom and later popularity from the focus on knowledge of sacred rites at select places, linking the eternal life of the deceased with the rites and festivals for the preservation of Osiris (Assmann et al. 2005, 454-456). As the figure of wisdom, Thoth brings the exact and ritual knowledge necessary for reviving the dead, a role performed for the living by the *hry-hbt* "lector", reader of hieroglyphic or hieratic manuals for the rites (Stadler 2009). The central importance of chapter 1, so of the role of wisdom in rituals for an afterlife, is demonstrated by its prominence in two monuments of kingship. From the tomb of Tutankhamun, it is inscribed in different locations on the gold shrines encasing the sarcophagus of the king, notably on the outer face of the doors to the innermost shrine, which has chapter 17 around its interior walls (Piankoff 1951, 68, 71). In the Osiris 'Lower Underworld' Temple at Abydos South behind the temple for Sety I, it precedes chapter 17, on the south wall of the last corridor leading to the central hall. The decoration of the south wall is oriented towards the outside; from this position in the temple, with its declarations of ritual knowledge and action as Thoth, chapter 1 enables the king to emerge from a 'Lower Underworld' after revivifying Osiris there, and to re-enter the world of the living (van Lieven 2007, esp. 177-178). From New Kingdom on, chapters 1 and 17 are regularly juxtaposed at the start of papyri.

Earlier sources

This is a Middle Kingdom composition, only recorded from that period once, at the end of the main phase of inscribing longer series of funerary literature on coffins (Coffin Texts), about 1875 BC. The single early source is the inner coffin of a secretary of documents of the king, Djehutyhotep, from Deir el-Bersheh, mid-Twelfth Dynasty (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37566, de Buck B5C), from which de Buck numbered that early version of the composition Coffin Text 314.



Illustration

A full study is in preparation by Tarek Tawfik; these notes accompany examples selected by Naville.

From late Eighteenth Dynasty to early Roman Period, the composition is illustrated by a long depiction of the funeral procession and rites at the tomb-chapel. Earlier versions, from mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, show just the coffin, or wrapped and masked body, on a boat, mounted on a sledge for towing overland the last steps to the burial place; the coffin may be protected at head and foot by mourners identified by the hieroglyphs on their heads as the goddesses Nephthys and Isis (facing page, 1). From the same period, other papyri add men towing the sled (facing page, 2, identified in hieroglyphic caption as the four Children of Horus; perhaps also 3, partly destroyed). Taking slightly more space, contemporary or slightly later papyri add oxen towing, man holding incense-burner and libation-vase, three men in fine robes following, and a man with raised arms holding bag and sticks (facing page, 4). From this period too, the papyrus of Nebqed combines these elements with a unique view of the tomb shaft, burial chambers and emerging transfigured man; within the funeral procession are also shown jackal-headed Anubis with arms around a chest, and, at the tomb-chapel, mourning woman with man performing the ritual Opening of the Mouth (see Introduction). The Nebqed depiction does not accompany chapter 1; presumably, at this date, the funeral illustrations in tomb-chapel wall-paintings and on coffins provided a source for composers of papyri, not yet in strict association with Chapter 1.

The Ramesside Period increases the trend to longer scenes, still with great variety in length and selection of elements. In the papyrus of Khary (facing page, 5), the three men accompany not the boat on sled, but the Opening of the Mouth performed by two men at the standing wrapped and masked body, with mourning-woman, while a man raises his arms beside two star-marked cows to right. The papyrus of Qenena (facing page, 6), gives the man and pair of cattle, but to the right of the towing of screened boat, and of separate shrine-shaped chest, without the Opening of the Mouth. The incomplete version on the papyrus of Nakhtamun (facing page, 7) has the men and cattle towing the boat on sled, the man with raised arms and bag, the man with incense-burner, and then, instead of the Opening of the Mouth scene, mourning-women at the tomb-chapel door with the enigmatic crouching figure often captioned *tekenu*, without the image of the wrapped and masked body of the deceased. The longer series of elements on an anonymous papyrus, now in Dublin (facing page, 8), includes pairs of men bringing boxes either for the rituals or for the burial equipment. The scene is composed as a series of registers on the papyrus of Paqerer (below); here an image of the deceased on a sledge is added at the left end. In the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period, the number of elements expands further, and the extended vignette is considerably longer than the space required beneath for the words of chapter 1, even with the passages added after the New Kingdom; the additional space below receives chapters 2-15 (see introductory page above with illustration from the papyrus of Iufankh, Ptolemaic Period).

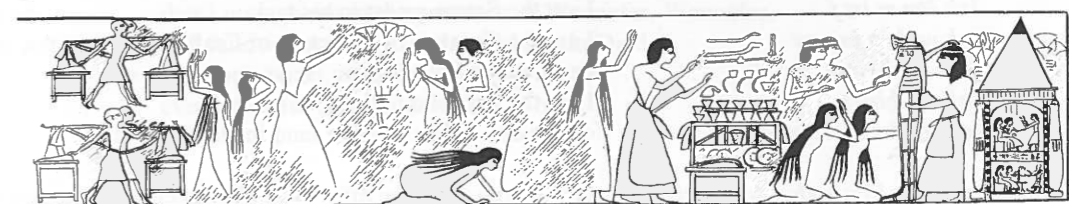
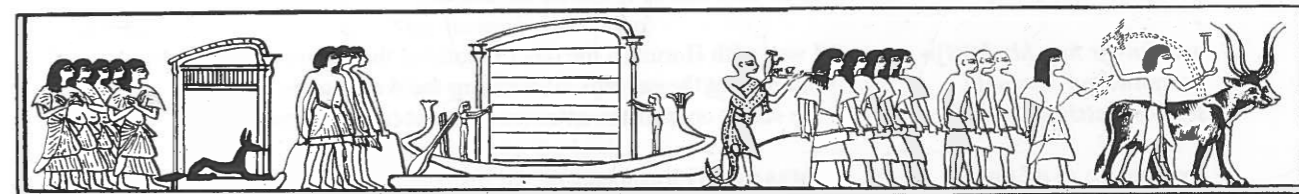
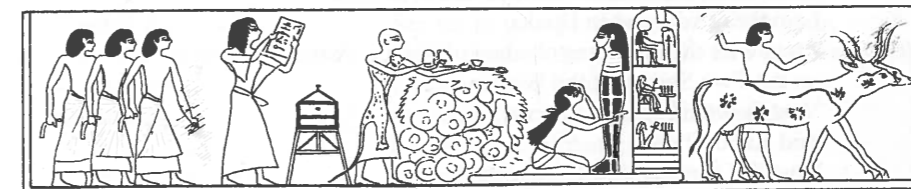
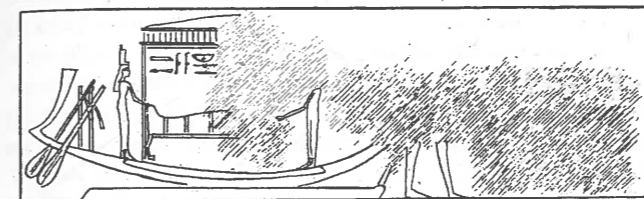
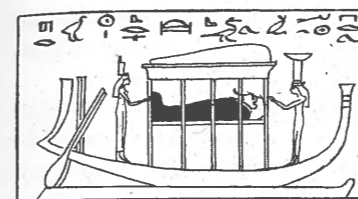
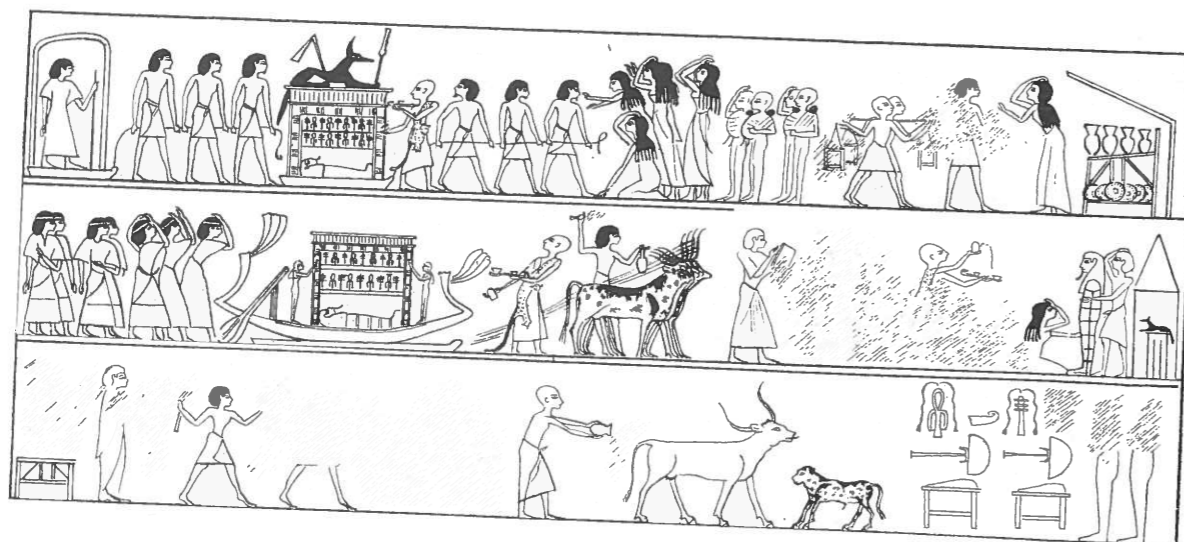
Facing page, upper: Eighteenth Dynasty (after Naville 1883, pl.3)

1. head of estate-labourers of Pharaoh, Amenhotep ; 2. Tjenena
3. copyist of the Ptah temple, Nebseny
4. overseer of works, Kha, and his wife Meryt

Facing page, lower: Nineteenth Dynasty (after Naville 1883, pl.3-4)

5. Khary; 6. Qenena; 7. Nakhtamun; 8. papyrus without name (Trinity College Dublin)

Below: funeral depiction on papyrus of Paqerer, Nineteenth Dynasty (after Naville 1883, pl.3-4)



hrw n krs wsir k m-ht pr
dd-mdw tn

imy-r pr n imy-r htmt Nw m3c hrw
ir n imy-r pr imn-htp m3c hrw

k3 imnt in dhwty n nswt n nhh
ink ntr n gs-dpt h3.n.i hr.k
ink w m nw n ntrw
d3d3t sm3c hrw wsir r hftyw.f
hrw wd m dw
nwi wndwt.k wsir
ink w m nw n ntrw msw nwt
sm3yw hftyw nw wsir
hnrtw sbiw hr.f
nwi wndwt.k hr h3.n.i hr.k
sb.n.i hr rn.k

ink dhwty sm3c hrw hr r hftyw.f
hrw pwy n wd m dw
m hwt sr wrt imt iwnw
ink ddy m ddw
wn.i hn h3yt wsir i3kbyt wsir
m idbwy rhty
sm3c hrw wsir r hftyw.f
hrwy.fy sw r n dhwty
sm3c hrw wsir r hftyw.f
hrwy.fy irw.n.i dhwty

wn.i hn hr hrw hbs [tst3]w
wn tphwt n i wrdw-ib
sst3w r n sst3yw m r-st3w

wn.i hn hr m nd.tw
k h pwy i3b n wsir imy hm
pr.i k i m wnmyt
hrw dr sbiw m hm

wn.i hn hr hrw irt hbw nw wsir
irt 3bt n r
hrw sint dnt m iwnw

ink w b m ddw
sk3y imy k33
ink hm-ntr n 3bdw
hrw n k3 t3
ink m33 sst3w m r-st3w
ink sdd hbt b3 m ddt
ink stm m irt.f
ink wr hrp hmww
hrw n rdit hnw hr mfh
ink ssp hbsyt
hrw n hbs t3 m hnn-nswt

i.stknwy b3w mnhw m pr wsir
stkn.tn b3.i hn.tn r pr wsir
sdm.f mi sdm.tn
m33.f mi m33.tn

**Day of the burial of Osiris: for going in after going out.
Words spoken by**

*the estate manager for the treasurer, Nu, true of voice,
born of the estate manager Amenhotep, true of voice:*

Bull of the West! says Thoth to the king of eternity.
I am the god for protection. I have fought for you.
I am one of those gods,
the tribunal that justifies Osiris against his enemies,
on the day of judgement.
I am one of your flock, Osiris.
I am one of those gods, the children of Nut,
who kill the enemies of Osiris,
and repel the rebels against him.
I am one of your flock, Horus. I have fought for you.
I have sent out in your name.

I am Thoth, who justifies Horus against his enemies,
on that day of judgement
in the Great Hall of the Official that is in Iunu.
I am the Djedu-god in Djedu.
I was with the mourning-women of Osiris, weepers of Osiris,
on the Two Shores of the Washermen.
'Justify Osiris against his enemies',
said Ra to Thoth.
'Justify Osiris against his enemies',
so he said and so I, Thoth, have done.

I was with Horus on the day of clothing the [dismembered] gods,
of opening the caverns, of washing the weary gods,
the secret ones of the entrance of the secrets in Resetjau.

I was with Horus in saving
this left shoulder of Osiris which is in Khem.
I go out, I go in from the Consuming Fire,
On the day of driving away the rebels from Khem.

I was with Horus on the day of performing the festivals of Osiris,
and of making the offerings to Ra
on the Sixth and Seventh day festivals, in Iunu.

I am the pure-priest in Djedu,
he who raises up the one who is in the hill.
I am the god's servant of Abydos,
on the day of the raising of the land.
I am the one who sees the secrets in Resetjau.
I am the one who reads the festival-book of the ba-soul in Djedet.
I am the Setem-priest in his task.
I am the Greatest of Directors of Craftsmen
on the day of placing the Henu-god on the sled.
I am the one who takes up the hoe,
on the day of hacking the land in Henennesut.

O you who draw the effective ba-souls close in the house of Osiris,
draw my ba-soul close with you to the house of Osiris,
to hear as you hear,
to see as you see,

[h f mi] h t
hms.f mi hms.tn

i.ddyw t hnkt
n b3w mnhw m pr [wsir]
di.tn t hnkt r trwy n b3.i hn.tn
i.wnnyw w3wt wppyw mtnw
[n b3w] mnhw m pr wsir
wnw irt.tn w3wt
wpw irt.tn mtnw n b3.i hn.tn
[k f m dndn] pr.f m htp m pr wsir
nn hsf sw nn sn sw
k.f hsw pr.f mrv hrw[f m3]
irw wd.f m pr wsir
sm.n.i 3 n gm wn.i
.. mh3t sw.ti m sp[i]

**Additional passages found in Twenty-first Dynasty and later papyri:
Version in the Papyrus of Paynedjem, high priest of Amun and general, late Twenty-first Dynasty, about
950 BC, British Museum EA 10793**

sip.kwi m rw s3w
s h b3 r hft ib(i)
gm.n.f wd3.i tp t3
mk wi m b3h.k nb ntrw
ph.n.i mr n m3ty
h.kwi m ntr nh
psd.kwi m psdt imy pt
wnn(i) mi w im.sn
sts.k(wi) nmt.i m hr-h3

m33.f s3hw spsy

swd3.k nwn
nn sn.tw.k
m33.k nbw
hnm.k d3w n psdt
hms.k hn.sn
nis.k hry-hbt hn
sdm.k dbh htpw
dg3.k nsm
nn sn.tw.k
b3.k hn nb.s

i.nd hr.k hnty imntyw
wsir hr-ib t3-wr
di.k wd3.i m htpw r imnt
ssp wi n3w nbw t3-dsr
dd.sn n.i i3wy i3wy m htp
iry.sn n.i st r-gs wrw m d3d3t
ssp wi hnmnty trwy
pr.i m-b3h wn-nfr wn-nfr
sms.i hr m r-st3w ist m ddt
iry.i hrw.i r dd ib.i
m bw nb mrr k3.i im

to stand as you stand,
to sit as you sit.

O you who give bread and beer
to the effective ba-souls in the house [of Osiris],
give bread and beer on every occasion to my ba-soul with you.
O you who open the ways and cleave the roads
for effective [ba-souls] in the house of Osiris,
open then the ways,
and cleave then the roads for my ba-soul with you,
[to enter raging], and go out at peace in the house of Osiris,
not being hindered, not being turned away,
to go in praised, and to go out loved, and jus[tified],
its command carried out in the house of Osiris.
I have travelled here, and no fault is found with me,
.. the balance is empty of any misdeed [of mine].

I am assessed by many formulae.
My ba-soul is set before my heart,
it has found that I was sound upon earth.
See me in your presence, lord of the gods,
I have reached the pool of the two Goddesses Right,
I am risen as a living god,
shining in the Nine Gods amid the sky.
I exist as one of them,
raised in my paces in Kheraha.

May he see noble Orion!

May you make the Primeval Waters well!
May you not be turned away!
May you see the lords,
and smell the provisions of the Nine Gods!
May you sit with them!
May you summon the lector of the chest,
to hear the requirement of offerings!
May you see the neshmet-boat,
without being turned back,
your ba-soul with its lord!

Hail foremost of the westerners!
Osiris amid the province Tawer!
Cause me to be well on the offerings at the west;
may the lords of the sacred land receive me,
saying to me praises in peace.
May they make a place for me beside the great ones in the tribunal.
May the Two Nurses receive me at every time,
that I may go out in the presence of Wennefer, Wennefer,
and follow Horus in Resetjau and Isis in Djedet.
May I make my forms as my heart urges
everywhere my ka-spirit wishes to be.

End words in the papyrus of Paynedjem

ir rh mḏ3t tn hr-tp t3
iw.f ir st m sšw hr krs r-pw
iw.f pr n.f m hrw nb n mr.n.f
hn^c k r hwt.f nn šn^c.tw.f
iw dd.tw n.f t hnkt wr n twf
hr h3wy nt r^c
s3h.f m šht i3rw
dd.tw n.f it bdt im
hr wnn.f w3ḏ mi wnn.f tp t3

Anyone knowing this book upon earth,
or making it in writing for a burial,
can go out on any day he has wished,
and go into his place without being turned back,
and is given bread and beer, and a haunch of meat,
on the offering-table of Ra,
with his farmland in the Marsh of Reeds,
and be given barley and emmer there,
that he may flourish as he would upon earth.

Chapter 1B (Naville number)

Relative frequency at different periods (provisional data from Munro 1988, 2001, Quirke 1993)

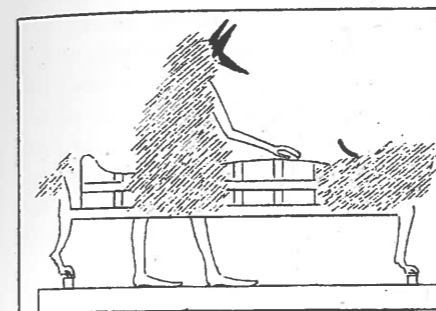
Mid- to late Eighteenth Dynasty papyri: 3 in Munro 1988 (Amenemipet, Neferwebennef, Yuya)

Nineteenth Dynasty: 2 in Munro 1988 (Nakht Cairo, Nakhtamun)

Third Intermediate Period: 9 examples in Munro 2001

Ptolemaic Period: rare, numbered 'Pleyte Chapter 172', see there below

Illustration



Nakhtamun (Nineteenth Dynasty): Anubis embalming the mummy

Version in the Papyrus of Yuya, god's father, the father-in-law of king Amenhotep III, late Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1375 BC, Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 51189

r n prt m hrw
in it-ntr ywi3 m3^c hrw
dd.f

Formula for going out by day
by the god's father Yuya true of voice
He says:

i.nd hr.k ntr pw 3 nty m mr tn
iw.i rh.kwi tw rh.kwi rn.k
nhm.k wi m-^c nf3 hf3w
nty m r-st3w
nhyw m hr rmt s^cmyw m snf.sn
hr ntt tw.i rh.kwi rnw.tn

Hail to this Great God who is in this waterway,
I know you, I know your name.
May you rescue me from those snakes
that are in Resetjau,
that live on people and gulp on their blood,
for I know your names.

rty nh m snnw.f rn n w^c
hr.f m k3b.f rn n ky
nh m fntw rn n ky
s^cm m ksw rn n ky
h3h3ty wnm 3pdw rn n ky
šsp timsu rn n ky
wnm s^chw rn n ky
s^cm m snf nh n bwt mwtw
rn n ky

Jaws living on his fellow, is the name of one.
Whose face is in his coil, is the name of another.
Living on worms, is the name of another.
Gulping on bones, is the name of another.
Slitherer, bird-eater, is the name of another.
Taker of red blood, is the name of another.
Consumer of the noble bodies, is the name of another.
Gulper on blood, living on abominations of the damned,
is the name of another.

wḏ tp wsir nb r ḏr
št3 n.f irt.n.f
di n.i t3w m snd pn
imy k3b n imnt
wddy n.f m nty wn
sšt3.f m hnw kkw
rdy n.f 3h m r-st3w
nb snkt h3
dd n.f fntw m imnt
sdm hrw.f n m3.n.tw.f
3 snd m hnw ddw
snd n.f imyw b3g

Decree upon Osiris Lord of All,
a secret for him, made by him,
that air be given me by this fearful one,
who is in the coil of the west,
to whom decree has been made as one who exists,
his secrecy within the darkness,
may he be given transfigured status in Resetjau,
lord of twilight, who has descended,
to whom worms are given in the west,
whose voice is heard though he cannot be seen,
great in fearsomeness within Djedu,
whom those in weakness fear,

pr hr smiw nmt ntr

who goes out bearing the reports of the slaughter-block of the god.

ii.n.i m.wpt n nb r dr
iw hr rdi n.f nst.f

I have come on a mission for the Lord of All:
Horus is given his throne.

Version on the papyrus of the king's secretary Nakhtamun, Nineteenth Dynasty, about 1275 BC, Egyptian Museum Berlin 3002

r n rdit h3y s^ch r dw3t
hrw n sm3 t3
dd r mdwt

Formula for causing the noble body to descend to the underworld, on the day of burial.

Saying the formula of words:

i.nq hr.k nty m smt dsrt nt imnt
iw wsir ss nswt nht-imn m3^c hrw
rh tw rh n.k
nhm.k sw m-^c nn n hf3w
nty m r-st3w
^cnhyw m h^cw n rmt
s^cmyw m snf.sn
hr ntt wsir hsy n ntr niwty.f
ss nswt nht-imn m3^c hrw
rh tw tn rh rnw.tn

Hail, he who is in the sacred desert of the west!
The Osiris, king's secretary Nakhtamun, true of voice,
knows you, knows your name.
May you rescue me from those snakes
that are in Resetjau,
that live on the bodies of people,
and gulp on their blood,
for *Osiris, praised of his city god,*
king's secretary Nakhtamun, true of voice,
knows you and all of you, knows your names.

wd tpy wsir nb r dr
ss3t n.firt.n.f
di.f t3w m snd pn
imy k3b imntt
wdd n.f shrw n nty m wnn
sn.n.f st.f m hnw kkw
rdi n.f 3h m r-st3w
nb snkt h3 m s^cm fntw m imntt
sdm hrw.f n m33.n.tw.f
ntr ^c3 m hnw ddtw
snd n.f imyw b3gyw
pr hr smiw r nmt ntr

Decree upon Osiris Lord of All
keeping secret for him what he did:
that he give breath as this fearing one,
who is in the coil of the west,
for whom is decreed the condition of one who is as alive,
when he has passed his place within the darkness,
to whom is given the status of transfigured in Resetjau,
lord of the dark, descending from consuming worms in the west.
whose voice is heard though he is not seen,
the great god within Djedu,
whom those in weakness fear,
who goes out bearing the reports for the slaughter-block of the god.

ii.n.i
wsir ss nswt nht-imn m3^c hrw
m wpwt n nb r dr
iw hr it.n.f nst.f
rdi.n n.f it.f t3wt nb
ntyw m hnw wi3
ntf hr ii.n.f hr smi
imi ^ck.f ddt.f m3t.n.f m iwnw

I,
the Osiris, king's secretary Nakhtamun, true of voice,
have come on a mission for the Lord of All:
Horus has taken his throne.
His father has given him all praises
of those who are within the sacred boat.
He is Horus, he has come bearing the report.
Let him enter and say what he saw in Iunu.

[from CT 4]

^ch^c n.f wr.sn hr t3.s
^c3 sw s3w hryw tm3w.sn
sd.n.f s3bt m iwnw

Their greatest stands for him on their land.
He is greater than the writers who are on their mats.
He has rejoined the coloured snakes in Iunu.

[from CT 5]

it pt iw^c.n.f t3 m ^crf
nn nhm.tw pt t3 pn m-^c.f
ntf is r^c smsw ntrw

Taking up the sky, he has inherited the earth together.
This earth and sky cannot be taken from him.
For he is Ra, eldest of the gods,

[from CT 6]

snk.n sw mwt.f
di.s n mn^ct imt 3ht

His mother has nursed him,
to give to the nurse who is in the horizon.

[End words]

dd r mdwt m-ht htp m imnt
rdyt t3-nmt htp.ti hr nb.s wsir
m prt h3yt m wi3 n r^c
hsb h3t.f mn.ti m dw3t
wsir ss nswt nht-imn m3^c hrw

Say the formula of words after resting in the west,
gift of Tanenet, at rest on its lord Osiris,
in going out and down in the boat of Ra,
reckoning his body firm in the underworld.
the Osiris, king's secretary Nakhtamun, true of voice,

Written content

Rare in the New Kingdom, the central aim of this composition is to overcome the dangers obstructing safe passage in the afterlife. Naville numbered it chapter 1B from its position in the Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus of Nakhtamun, between chapter 1 and hymns to the sun, which he numbered chapters 15AIV, 15BI. In three Eighteenth Dynasty sources, it appears in association with other compositions ensuring safe movement through the underworld. In the papyrus of Neferwebenef, the first half of the composition is inscribed, with a vignette, within the space for the formulae for passing safely the portals of the House of Osiris, chapter 146. Similarly, the short version on the papyrus of Yuya appears among compositions for safe passage, just before the formulae for passing the approaches and portals, chapters 144 and 146; here the vignette shows nine snakes, as named in other versions. In the papyrus of overseer of draughtsmen Amenemipet, it appears between chapter 65, for overcoming the enemy, and chapter 8, for penetrating the underworld.

Earlier sources

The composition is not found in this form on Middle Kingdom sources. Towards the end, fuller versions include three short sections, which are found on Middle Kingdom coffins, numbered from there by de Buck Coffin Texts 4 to 6, part of a Middle Kingdom funerary liturgy (Coffin Texts 1-29 in various groupings). The start and end of the same liturgy occurs on one New Kingdom manuscript (chapter 169, see there) and Late Period coffins, indicating that it continued in use into later periods. The chapter 169 version does not include the section found in chapter 1B; it is not certain whether the latter cites from the full earlier liturgy, or whether it draws on indirectly shared passages about "the coloured snakes in Iunu" (CT4).