

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION • NO. 34

A STUDY OF THE BA
CONCEPT IN ANCIENT
EGYPTIAN TEXTS



BY LOUIS V. ŽABKAR

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Louis V. Žabkar

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise noted, references to classical authors are to the "Loeb Classical Library" editions.

- Allen, Book of the Dead The Egyptian Book of the Dead documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago, Edited by Thomas George Allen (OIP LXXXII [1960]).
- Allen, Occurrences Thomas George Allen. Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with cross indexes of these and other Egyptian mortuary texts (SAOC No. 27 [1950]).
- ANET Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament. Edited by James B. Pritchard (2d ed.; Princeton, 1955).
- AR James Henry Breasted. Ancient records of Egypt (5 vols.; Chicago, 1906-7).
- ASAE Egypt. Service des antiquités. Annales (Le Caire, 1900-).
- BD Book of the Dead.
- BIFAO Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bulletin (Le Caire, 1901-).
- BM British Museum.
- BM Cat. A. W. Shorter. Catalogue of Egyptian religious papyri in the British Museum. Copies of the book pr(t)-m-hrw from the XVIIIth to the XXnd dynasty (London, 1938).
- Budge, Text The chapters of coming forth by day or the Theban recension of the Book of the Dead. The Egyptian hieroglyphic text edited from numerous papyri by E. A. Wallis Budge (3 vols.; London, 1910).
- CT Adriaan de Buck. The Egyptian Coffin Texts. Texts of Spells 1-1185 (OIP XXXIV, XLIX, LXIV, LXVII, LXXIII, LXXXI, LXXXVII [1935-61]).

- Gardiner, Grammar Sir Alan Gardiner. *Egyptian grammar* (3d ed.; London, 1957).
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian archaeology* (London, 1914-).
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern studies* (Chicago, 1942-).
- Junker, Gîza Hermann Junker. *Gîza. Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza* (12 vols.; Wien und Leipzig, 1929-55).
- Junker, Götterdekret Hermann Junker. *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien. Philos.-hist. Klasse. Denkschriften LVI, Nr. 4 [Wien, 1913]).
- Kees, Totenglauben Hermann Kees. *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1956).
- Kees, Götterglaube Hermann Kees. *Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1956).
- Komm. Kurt Sethe. *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (6 vols.; Glückstadt etc., 1935-62).
- MDAIK Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo. *Mitteilungen* (Augsburg etc., 1930-).
- MEES London. Egypt Exploration Society. *Memoirs* (London, 1885-).
- MIFAO Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. *Mémoires* (Le Caire, 1902-).
- MMAFC Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire* (Paris, 1884-1903; Le Caire, 1928-).
- Naville, Todtenbuch *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie. Aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben von Edouard Naville* (Einleitung and Vols. I-II; Berlin, 1886).
- OIP Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. *Oriental Institute publications* (Chicago, 1924-).

- Pap. Turin Richard Lepsius. Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin (Leipzig, 1842).
- Pyr. Kurt Sethe. Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte (4 vols.; Leipzig, 1908-22).
- RT Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris, 1870-1923).
- SAOC Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Studies in ancient oriental civilization (Chicago, 1931-).
- Sethe, Amun Kurt Sethe. Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrgang 1929. Philos.-hist. Klasse. Nr. 4 [Berlin, 1929]).
- Sethe, Beiträge Kurt Sethe. Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens (UGAA III, Nr. 1 [1905]).
- Sethe, Sprüche Kurt Sethe. Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Ort (Kapitel 107-109, 111-116 des aegyptischen Totenbuch). Göttinger Totenbuchstudien von 1919 (Leipzig, 1925).
- Sethe, Urgeschichte Kurt Sethe. Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XVIII, Nr. 4 [Leipzig, 1930]).
- Le temple d'Edfou Marquis de Rochemonteix and Émile Chassinat. Le temple d'Edfou (MMAFC X, XI, XX-XXXI [1897-]).
- UGAA Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Leipzig, 1896-).
- Urk. Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums. Herausgegeben von Georg Steindorff (Leipzig, 1903-).
- Urk. I Urkunden des alten Reichs. Bearbeitet von Kurt Sethe (1903-33).
- Urk. II Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit. Bearbeitet von Kurt Sethe (1904-16).
- Urk. III Urkunden der aelteren Aethiopenkönige. Bearbeitet von Heinrich Schäfer und Georg Steindorff (1905-8).

- Urk. IV Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Bearbeitet von Kurt Sethe und Wolfgang Helck (1906-58).
- Urk. V Religiöse Urkunden nebst deutscher Uebersetzung. Ausgewählte Texte des Totenbuchs. Bearbeitet von Hermann Grapow (1915-17).
- Urk. VII Historisch-biographische Urkunden des mittleren Reichs. Unter Mitwirkung von W. Erichsen bearbeitet von Kurt Sethe (1935-).
- Wb. Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache. Im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien herausgegeben von Adolf Erman und Hermann Grapow (7 vols.; Leipzig, 1926-63). Die Belegstellen. Bearbeitet von H. Grapow und W. Erichsen (5 vols.; Leipzig, 1940-55).
- ZAS Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig, 1863-1943; Berlin, 1954-).

INTRODUCTION

The study of the Ba concept as it is reflected in the main categories of Egyptian texts is of considerable relevance to the understanding of ancient Egyptian religion and to an appreciation of the concept of man held by the ancient Egyptians. There has been no detailed study of the Ba, though references and brief discussions of it have appeared. Of these we would like to mention a few of the more important ones.

In his study of the inscriptions in the tomb of Amenemhet, Sir Alan Gardiner observed that "the Egyptians believed that the human individuality could present itself under a variety of forms, which are less 'parts' of its nature, as vulgarly stated, than shifting modes of its being. The often visualized bird-like soul (bai) is one of these forms, the ka or double another, the shadow a third, the corpse a fourth, and so on."¹ Although referring to the Ba as "soul," probably for lack of a better word,² Gardiner correctly perceived its nature as one of the various "modes of existence" in which the deceased continued to live.

Unfortunately, Gardiner's trend of thought has not been followed in subsequent discussions of the meaning of the Ba. Kurt Sethe's treatment of the subject in his commentary on the Pyramid Texts³ was probably responsible for strengthening the old view of the Ba as a part of man's nature which had introduced a dichotomy in the Egyptian concept of man, that is, the dualistic opposition between the "body" and the "soul."

It was Hermann Kees who pointed to the diversified use of the term Ba at different periods and as applied to the gods, to the king, and to the common people. He stated that originally the Ba was considered not an immanent part of man, immortal in itself, but rather a state of existence attained by the deceased in his afterlife. He also observed that the concept of the Ba as a complement to the body was a later development and that

¹Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhēt (The Theban Tomb Series, "Memoir" I [London, 1915]) p. 99.

²Later he suggested "external manifestation" as a better translation of bꜣ (see Gardiner, Grammar, p. 173).

³Komm. I 15 and 158, III 150-51 and 398, IV 123, and passim.

the main characteristic of the Ba in this concept is its freedom of movement through which the deceased continues his physical life.⁴

In two articles, published in 1941 and 1942, Eberhard Otto studied some newly published Coffin Texts as well as other texts pertaining to the problem of the Ba.⁵ In Otto's opinion, the Ba has basically the same meaning in relation to the gods, to the king, and to ordinary men, that is, it is the embodiment of their powers. In relation to the gods, it indicates an embodiment of divine powers, in relation to the king, an embodiment of kingly powers, and in relation to ordinary men, the embodiment of the vital forces which an individual possessed during his lifetime. Otto thinks that the word *b3* used in relation to the gods and the king can appropriately be translated by a word of abstract meaning, that is, by the word "power," while in relation to man it comes closer to the meaning of "soul." The Ba of the ordinary person is an immanent part of him which at death frees itself from the body to avoid decay and the vicissitudes of a lifeless corpse. The Ba, however, cannot subsist as a "divine" or "demonic" power independent of the body but must maintain direct contact with it; the Ba visits the body in the tomb and re-animates it. Because the functions which the Ba performs are predominantly of an earthly nature, Otto considers the Ba an "earthly" rather than an "other-worldly" concept.

Most of these opinions about the Ba have been summarized by Jacques Vandier in his study of ancient Egyptian religion.⁶

Encouraged by the work of these scholars and stimulated by the disagreement among them concerning the meaning of the Ba, we thought it useful to submit the subject to a new examination which would utilize texts not often referred to in this connection. Our own agreement or disagreement with the opinions of our predecessors will be noted in discussions of specific aspects of the problem, and our general conclusion will be found

⁴Hermann Kees, Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter (Leipzig, 1926) pp. 58-66. In the second edition of this book (Berlin, 1956) Kees, following Otto's studies (see references in n. 5), rewrote the first part of his description of the Ba. In it he speaks of the Ba of a man as a "Teilbegriff," although in both editions of his Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten (Leipzig, 1941, and Berlin, 1956) p. 46, he continued to refer to the Ba in the same context as a "Ganzheitsbegriff."

⁵"Die Anschauung vom *B3* nach Coffin Texts Sp. 99-104," Miscellanea Gregoriana (Roma, 1941) pp. 151-60, and "Die beiden vogelgestaltigen Seelenvorstellungen der Ägypter," ZAS LXXVII (1942) 78-91.

⁶ La religion égyptienne (Paris, 1949) pp. 131-32; see also Étienne Drioton and Jacques Vandier, L'Égypte (Les peuples de l'Orient méditerranéen II [4th ed.; Paris, 1962]) pp. 121-22.

at the end of the inquiry. Suffice it here to say that on the basis of our study of the major categories of Egyptian texts, we have concluded that the Ba was never considered to be one of the constituent parts of a human composite, the "spiritual" element in man or the "soul" of man, but was considered to represent the man himself, the totality of his physical and psychic capacities. In the Pyramid Texts, the Ba of the deceased king denotes the manifestation of his power. This meaning was retained throughout Egyptian history but in the later texts is found primarily in connection with the gods and the living king. In the Coffin Texts, the Ba of the deceased has been personified and is his alter ego, an agent that performs physical functions for him and is thus one of the modes through which and as which he continues to live.

At this point we wish to inform the reader that the texts adduced to substantiate our statements in Chapter I are derived from later as well as earlier sources. It seemed that in dealing with the Ba and the gods we should present a rather comprehensive view. Since the texts pertaining to this problem are scarce and the date of their origin often uncertain, the early source material could not always be considered apart from the late. The fact that the meaning of the Ba in relation to the gods remained more or less static seemed further to justify our approach. In the subsequent chapters, which describe the development of the meaning of the Ba, a chronological order has been observed.

I

THE BA AND THE GODS

The ancient Egyptians believed that "in the beginning" their land was governed by a divine dynasty. The first to reign was the sun-god Re, who ruled as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" and "King of gods and men all together."¹ His reign was known to the Egyptians as the "time of Re."²

In spite of texts which state that an ideal economic and social order prevailed in the days of the primeval gods,³ this was not the golden age of ancient Egypt by any means, and it was not a peaceful time for the gods themselves. There was jealousy among gods and plotting against gods among men. Re himself was not spared from bitter experiences. A story frequently reproduced in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom and known as the "Destruction of Mankind" tells of the first rebellion of mankind, which took place when Re had become old. The reason for the rebellion is not stated, but in response to it Re sent his Eye, the goddess Hathor, against the conspirators, who had taken refuge in the desert. After Hathor had massacred some of the rebels, Re spared the others. Yet, afflicted with the miseries of old age and disappointed in his human subjects, he decided to abdicate his earthly throne and ascended to heaven—which now came into existence—on the shoulders of the goddess Nut, who had assumed the form of a celestial cow.⁴ However, Re never lost his royal

¹See Charles Maystre, "Le livre de la Vache du Ciel dans les tombeaux de la Vallée des Rois," BIFAO XL (1941) 58; Jacques Vandier, La religion égyptienne (Paris, 1949) pp. 38-39. Re is described as king in Pyr. §886 a: "O Re, regarding what thou hast said, O Re, 'O that I had a son,' when thou wast king, O Re" (cf. Pyr. §2120 a-b and CT III 334 c-d). In BD 17 (BM Cat. pp. 83-84, Sec. I) we read: "Re, when he began to rule that which he had made, means when Re began to appear as a king, as one who was before the liftings of Shu had taken place" (cf. Urk. V 6).

²See Alan H. Gardiner, "The Coronation Inscription of King Haremhab," JEA XXXIX (1953) 15; F. Ll. Griffith, Tell el-Yahûdiyeh (MEES VII [1890]) Pl. XXIV, lines 18, 20, 29, and Pl. XXV, lines 30-31; Georges Goyon, "Les travaux de Chou et tribulations de Geb," Kêmi VI (1936) 11 and 28. See also Günther Roeder, Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten (Jena, 1915) pp. 150-56.

³Cf. Sethe, Amun, Taf. IV (Theb. T. 95 k) and p. 63, §125.

⁴For various versions of this myth see Serge Sauneron, Esna V (Le Caire, 1962) 323-24 and additions et corrections p. D.

character. As Amun-Re he was "Sovereign and chief of the gods,"⁵ "Sovereign and lord of all gods,"⁶ "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Re, the triumphant."⁷

The annals on the naos from Saft el-Henneh describe the vicissitudes of the first two successors of Re, namely Shu and Geb.⁸ Shu's reign was a turbulent one. His advanced years and a revolution which spread throughout the land and reached his palace compelled him to retire. He ascended to heaven, leaving the throne to his son Geb, who, after a dissolute adventure in his youth, tried, with the co-operation of his council, the great Ennead of gods, to pacify and restore the land. Although the text of the naos ends here, other texts refer to Osiris as Geb's successor, depicting him as a sage and mighty ruler who inherited the throne of Re,⁹ "the heir of Geb in the kingship of the Two Lands."¹⁰

According to the Turin annals Ptah, Re, Shu, Geb, Osiris, Seth, Horus, Thoth, Maat, and another Horus,¹¹ all of whose names are preceded by the phrase "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," ruled in succession for several thousand years before they ceded the throne to the "Akhs" and the "Akhs, Followers of Horus," who, it seems, can be equated with Manetho's

⁵ Auguste Mariette, Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq II (Paris, 1872) Pl. 12, col. iii 7.

⁶ Ibid. col. i 2-3.

⁷ Ibid. Pl. 11, col. ii 2, where the name is written in a cartouche and is followed by m3^c-hrw, alluding to Re's former office as earthly king. Another example of m3^c-hrw following the name of the god occurs in the inscriptions of the naos from Saft el-Henneh; see Griffith, Tell el-Yahûdiyeh, Pl. XXIV, line 2: R^c-Hr-3hty m m3^c-hrw, "Re-Harakhti, in triumph." For a study of this epithet see Rudolf Anthes in JNES XIII (1954) 21-51. For the name of Re written in a cartouche and preceded by n-sw-bît, see BIFAO XL 70 and 72.

⁸ See Griffith, Tell el-Yahûdiyeh, Pls. XXIV-XXV and pp. 70-73; Goyon in Kêmi VI 1-42.

⁹ BD 175, third part (see Hermann Kees in ZAS LXV [1930] 65-66 and Vandier, La religion égyptienne, p. 47).

¹⁰ Louvre stela C 286, line 10 (see Alexandre Moret in BIFAO XXX [1930-31] 737); cf. CT I 189 f-g and 197 f. According to the so-called Shabaka stone, Geb, by judicial ruling, "made Seth the King of Upper Egypt" and "Horus the King of Lower Egypt" and then, revising his decision, gave the whole land to Horus (see Hermann Junker, Die politische Lehre von Memphis [Berlin, 1941] pp. 23 and 31).

¹¹ Giulio Farina, Il Papiro dei Re restaurato (Roma, 1938) Pl. I and pp. 17-18, and Alan H. Gardiner, The Royal Canon of Turin (Oxford, 1959) Pl. I. Gardiner (ibid. p. 15) considers Farina's reconstruction of the first three gods of this series doubtful and begins the series with Geb.

"dead demigods."¹² These Akhs or demigods were succeeded in turn by the dynastic kings.

After their earthly reign, the gods passed from a temporal existence to an eternal one. The Egyptians expressed this idea by saying that the gods left the earth and ascended to heaven. Re, as mentioned above, ascended to heaven on the shoulders of Nut; Shu removed himself to heaven with his attendants,¹³ the gods "flew up,"¹⁴ "went to (or 'with') their Ka (or 'Kas'),"¹⁵ to their Akh¹⁶ and presumably to their Ba. Though the texts do not speak of the gods going to their Bas,¹⁷ they do speak of the deceased king as doing so (see p. 51). Since the divine and kingly destinies in the hereafter were closely similar, the assumption that the gods were

¹²See Alan H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I (London, 1947) 13. For an analogous discussion of the Greek heroic age, according to which the reign of gods preceded the age of heroes, see J. Bérard in Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément, Fasc. XXIX (Paris, 1957) 1477. See also pp. 21 f. below.

¹³Hr hm n Šw r pt r-ḥn^c sšmw.f; see Griffith, Tell el-Yahûdîyeh, Pl. XXV, line 4 (repeated in Pl. XXV, line 7). The same verb hrī is used for Re's ascension to heaven in Leiden Papyrus I 350, col. iii 25 (see Gardiner in ZAS XLII [1905] 30): hr.k tw m imy-pt mn.tl im R^c, "thou hast removed thyself as the dweller in heaven being established as Re." Another expression, prī r pt, used for the ascension of the deceased to heaven in the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, and the Book of the Dead, is used for the ascension of the gods in Pyr. §1208 c: m wpt pt ir t3 m prt rf ntrw ir pt, "when the heaven was divided from the earth and when the gods ascended to heaven."

¹⁴Pyr. §459 a-b.

¹⁵This expression occurs in six variants:

- a) sbī n k3 + suffix (Pyr. §§948 b, 975 c, 1165 b); for further references to this variant see Gustave Lefebvre, Le tombeau de Petosiris I (Le Caire, 1924) 111.
- b) sbī ḥn^c k3 + suffix (Pyr. §17 a-c).
- c) sbī hr k3 + suffix (Pyr. §§826 a-b, 832 a-b, 1431 a); cf. sbī N. hr k3.f ir pt, said of the king in Pyr. §1431 b.
- d) šm hr k3 + suffix (Pyr. §§598 c, 829 d-e, 836 d-e).
- e) hpi n k3 + suffix, not used of gods (see Wb. III 258, 9).
- f) ib3 hr k3 + suffix (Pyr. §§894 a-b and 735 a; cf. Komm. III 366 and IV 168, "entschlummern").

¹⁶Pyr. §472 c: "(when) he went to his Akh," i.e., when Osiris went to his Akh (m šm.f n 3ḥ.f). For the ritual interpretation of this spell in connection with the installation of the Ba statue in its shrine, see Joachim Spiegel, "Das Auferstehungsritual der Unaspyramide," ASAE LIII (1955) 397-98.

¹⁷The expression sbī n b3, "go to the Ba," does not occur in connection with the ascension of the gods in any of the texts. It does occur in the Book of Amduat in a different context; the gods of the underworld greet the sun-god on his nocturnal journey with the words "praised, praised be he who goes to his Ba, who travels well equipped, who comes to his corpse" (see Erik Hornung, Das Amduat [Wiesbaden, 1963] I 39 and II 56 and 58; cf. Lefebvre, Le tombeau de Petosiris I 111). The expression ii n b3 + suffix occurs in Pyr. §215 b, where we read "thou art come to thy Ba, Osiris," but the subject here is the king (see p. 56, n. 28, below).

considered to go to their Bas is a likely one. The fact that the majority of such expressions concerning the Ka state that the gods go "to" their Kas and the fact that there is no mention of the Ka in connection with the earthly rule of the gods might be taken to indicate that the gods acquired their Kas only after leaving the earth. However, since some expressions do state that the gods went "with" their Kas and in view of the fact that kings and individuals were thought to have Kas while living, it is likely that the gods were thought to have Kas while living. The Akh, on the other hand, would seem to have been acquired only after death. The question of when the Ba was acquired is again somewhat ambiguous and will be discussed in connection with the king and his Ba.¹⁸

The expressions "go to the Ka," "go to the Akh," and "go to the Ba" have been explained as euphemisms for "to die."¹⁹ It should be kept in mind that the death of the gods was a transition from an earthly existence to an eternal one and that these phrases may be no more than the way which the ancient Egyptian mind found to describe this transition. These same phrases were also used to describe the death of the king, for whom also death was a transition to eternal life, as the Pyramid Texts clearly state: "Thou sleepest, thou awakest; thou diest, thou livest" (Pyr. §1975 b). It could even be said that the king did not die but "departed alive" (Pyr. §134 a). All the more could this be said of the gods, with whom first the kings and later the commoners were apt to identify themselves.

The Egyptians conceived of the Ka, the Akh, and the Ba not only as qualities which a being possesses but also as entities which a being is or becomes. Thus we often find the term Ba, sometimes qualified by an appositive or an epithet, used as an equivalent for a god, indicating that the god is in a state in which his power is manifest. Horus "who has power over the horizon, who has power over the gods"²⁰ is the "Ba which is in its red blood."²¹ The eastern Horus is the "eastern Ba."²² When the king ascends to heaven, "gods, the Bas of Buto come to him, gods, the Bas of

¹⁸ See pp. 56-67.

¹⁹ See e.g. Komm. I 157-58 and II 282; cf. Ronald J. Williams in JEA XLVIII (1962) 52.

²⁰ Pyr. §853 c.

²¹ B3 imy dšr.f (Pyr. §854 a), perhaps a metaphoric expression for the rising sun; cf. Komm. IV 116 and Sethe's translation (p. 112): "Seele, die in ihrem roten Blute lebt."

²² Pyr. §1478 b-c.

Hieraconpolis, gods who dwell in heaven, gods who dwell on earth."²³ In the Book of the Day and the Night, the Eastern, Western, and Northern Bas are referred to as the gods who protect the eastern, western, and northern horizons respectively.²⁴ Isis and Nephthys are "two Bas at the head of the Bas of Heliopolis."²⁵ Re is the Ba which "came forth from Nun,"²⁶ the Ba "which Nun created."²⁷ Re is the "living Ba,"²⁸ the "great Ba,"²⁹ the "Ba which is in heaven,"³⁰ the "beneficent Ba which is in Heracleopolis,"³¹ the "august Ba,"³² and the "Ba of Bas," that is, the supreme Ba.³³ Amun

²³ Pyr. §478; cf. Henri Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (Chicago, 1948) p. 98.

²⁴ Alexandre Piankoff, Le livre du jour et de la nuit (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Bibliothèque d'études" XIII [Le Caire, 1942]) pp. 3 and 84, 77 and 89, 23 and 93.

²⁵ Pyr. §460 a; cf. Komm. II 259.

²⁶ CT IV 62 b-c: ḥnk bḥ ḥnk R^c pr m Nww; cf. BD 85, line 2 in papyrus of Nu (Budge, Text II 45 f.): ḥnk bḥ n R^c pr m Nww. As to the reading of the word Nww (Nīw in the Old Kingdom) see Étienne Drioton in Revue d'égyptologie I (1955) 5 and Elmar Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik I ("Analecta Orientalia" XXXIV [Roma, 1955]) §50.

²⁷ CT IV 63 p: ḥnk bḥ kmḥ Nww.

²⁸ BD 17 (BM Cat. p. 120, Sec. XXX): bḥ ḥnh ḥmy Nnī-nsw . . . pty rf sw R^c pw ds.f. Pap. BM 10064 reads bḥ mnḥ instead of bḥ ḥnh (see BM Cat. p. 120, Sec. XXX), as do Pap. Ryerson and Pap. Milbank of the Oriental Institute (Allen, Book of the Dead, pp. 91 and 96, Sec. 19: "blameless Soul in Heracleopolis"). For further references see Belegstellen to Wb. I 412, 5.

²⁹ Hornung, Das Amduat I 4, line 4, I 37, line 4, I 88, line 2, and II 10.

³⁰ Ibid. I 196, line 3, and II 187.

³¹ Bḥ mnḥ ḥmy Nnī-nsw (CT IV 319 a); see n. 28 above and Belegstellen to Wb. II 85, 11. In the expression bḥ mnḥ m Nnī-nsw in line 15 of the Naples stela from the temple of Isis at Pompeii (see Urk. II 5, line 7, and Paul Tresson in BIFAO XXX 381) bḥ is written with the bḥ-ram and refers to the god Harsaphes, who is called "beneficent ram in Heracleopolis." See, further, n. 33 below.

³² Bḥ šps; see Gaston Maspero, "Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî," MMAFC I (1884) 594; Lefebvre, Le tombeau de Petosiris I 95 and II (1923) 33 (Inscr. 60); see also Belegstellen to Wb. I 418, 8.

³³ BD 15, line 20 in papyrus of Muthotep (Budge, Text I 48). This text could also be translated the "ram of rams," the two words being written with the bḥ-ram; the words are addressed to the sun-god, and, as the Book of Amduat shows, the sun-god entering the nether world is represented as a ram-headed deity. However, later versions of this BD text (see e.g. Pap. Turin, Pl. V, line 30, and Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. CIII b and p. 82) use the bḥ-bird and not the bḥ-ram and thus indicate that Re was referred to not as the "ram of rams" but as the "Ba of Bas," i.e., the supreme Ba; the meaning of this last expression is that Re is in a state in which his power is supremely or eminently manifest. It is true that the sun-god entering the nether world is represented as a ram-headed deity, but he is also called a Ba in the meaning just mentioned; see e.g. p. 38 below and Allen, Book of

is the "hidden Ba," the "great Ba," the "august Ba," the "Ba which sits on its throne," the "Ba which traverses heaven," the "august Ba which first came into existence," "which created heaven, earth, mountains," the "Ba mysterious of birth."³⁴ An ostrakon in the Turin Museum shows the ram Amun with the legend "divine Ba, chief of the gods."³⁵ Osiris is the "living Ba,"³⁶ the "living, golden Ba,"³⁷ "that Ba which is in Nedit,"³⁸ that power which is in the great city,³⁹ the "Ba which is before the Duat,"⁴⁰ the "divine Ba which is in heaven,"⁴¹ or simply the "Ba." It was as the "Ba," whose mysteries were not to be neglected and whose sleep was not to be disturbed, that Osiris was the object of a special cult established at Abaton on the island of Biggeh.⁴² Knum, the ram-god of the First Cataract, who fashions human beings on a potter's wheel, is a "living Ba."⁴³ Hathor, mistress of Denderah, is the "divine Ba of turquoise color."⁴⁴

the Dead, p. 83, BD 15 i M, and p. 87, BD 15 B 4 (where $b\bar{z}$ is translated "soul"). Furthermore, the translation "the Ba of Bas," i.e., the supreme Ba, seems to fit well into the context of the hymn in which it occurs: "Hail to thee who art come as Atum and art become creator of the gods, the Ba of Bas, the sacred one who is in the nether world, more efficient ($3h$) than the gods, illumining the nether world with his eye, traveling in his state-of-an-Akh, and sailing, he who is in his disk." A combination of or, perhaps better, play upon these two signs, $b\bar{z}$ -bird and $b\bar{z}$ -ram, in which $b\bar{z}$ is written as a ram-headed bird, can be observed first in the Coffin Texts (e.g. CT IV 319 a and e T 2 Be) and then in the Book of the Dead (see e.g. BM Cat. p. 108, Sec. XXI, and p. 121, Sec. XXXI).

³⁴ Sethe, Amun, §§232, 186, 202, 203.

³⁵ Emma Brunner-Traut, Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der deutschen Museen und Sammlungen (Wiesbaden, 1956) p. 78, n. 3; cf. A. Mekhitarian in Chronique d'Égypte XXXII (1957) 61, Fig. 7.

³⁶ Auguste Mariette, Dendérah IV (Paris, 1873) Pl. 44 b and III (1871) Pl. 62 b; cf. Wb. I 412, 6.

³⁷ C. Leemans, Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide III (Leide, 1867) Pl. XVII d; cf. Junker, Götterdekret, p. 5.

³⁸ The place where, according to tradition, Osiris was assassinated and thrown into the water (see Vandier, La religion égyptienne, pp. 45 and 88).

³⁹ Pyr. §2108 a-b; in Pyr. §754 c Osiris is $3h$ $\bar{f}my$ Nd \bar{f} .

⁴⁰ Alexandre Piankoff, "Le livre des Quererts," BIFAO XLII (1944) Pl. XXV, col. 9.

⁴¹ Leemans, Monuments égyptiens III, Pl. XVII b.

⁴² F. Ll. Griffith, "The Dodgson Papyrus," Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology XXXI (1909) 100; Junker, Götterdekret, pp. 82-83.

⁴³ François Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens (Paris, 1958) p. 411.

⁴⁴ Mariette, Dendérah III, Pl. 77 c-d; cf. Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, p. 363, n. 4.

When she pays an annual visit to Horus of Edfu, she is called the "excellent Ba, mistress of Denderah."⁴⁵ Mandulis, the principal god of the Nubian temple of Kalabsha, is the "great Ba which came forth from the horizon."⁴⁶ In the Edfu texts, the expression b3 dmd, "united Ba," is a collective noun for all of the locally worshiped gods to be propitiated by the recitation of the formula p(3) dw3 b3 dmd, "the adoration of the united Ba," probably meaning adoration of all the Bas (see p. 43).⁴⁷ The gods of the Amduat are referred to as the "Bas which are in the Duat," the "mysterious Bas," and the "Bas which are in the earth."⁴⁸ A 26th-dynasty stela refers to "gods, the living Bas in Sheden."⁴⁹

The Ba which a god possesses is the manifestation of his power. Thus the greater the god, the greater his Ba. The Egyptian expressed this thought by saying "the greater the god, the more Bas he has." Thus Shu and Tefnut are said to be united with the Bas (dmd m b3w) of Amun.⁵⁰ One of Amun's epithets is "Horus, five living Bas which dwelt in Nun."⁵¹ The idea culminated in the New Kingdom with the statement that Re had seven Bas in addition to his fourteen Kas.⁵²

The Ba as Manifestation of the Gods

The concept according to which a god is or has a Ba or Bas⁵³ is of

⁴⁵ Le temple d'Edfou II 9, lines 4-6; cf. Maurice Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Bibliothèque d'études" XX [Le Caire, 1954]) p. 507.

⁴⁶ Henri Gauthier, Le temple de Kalabchah II (Le Caire, 1911) Pl. LXXIV; cf. Junker, Götterdekret, pp. 65 and 67.

⁴⁷ Le temple d'Edfou V 125, line 5; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 461.

⁴⁸ Hornung, Das Amduat I 76, line 6, I 45, lines 4 and 7, I 169, line 5, and II 93, 63, 163 (cf. ibid. II 161).

⁴⁹ See Karl Piehl in ZAS XXXI (1893) 84 and Eberhard Otto in ZAS LXXVII (1942) 86, n. 3.

⁵⁰ See Gardiner in ZAS XLII 31-32.

⁵¹ See Sethe, Amun, §76.

⁵² See BM Cat. pp. 68-70; for seven Bas and fourteen Kas of Re in the Edfu texts see E. A. E. Reymond in Chronique d'Égypte XXXVIII (1963) 52 and passim. Fourteen Bas are also mentioned in an Edfu text in which it is said that the Eye of Re, the Eye of Horus, and the Eye of Osiris constitute a total of fourteen Bas attributed to Horus of Edfu (Le temple d'Edfou VI 305, line 13; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 657-59). See also Vandier, La religion égyptienne, pp. 133 and 142, and Helmuth Jacobsohn, Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter ("Ägyptologische Forschungen" VIII [Glückstadt, 1939]) p. 55. As son of Re, the king too could have fourteen Kas (ibid.).

⁵³ BD 15 (BM Cat. pp. 68 and 70, JB): "adoration of Re when he shines in the

far-reaching importance. By means of the Ba, a god communicates himself to other beings and is manifested in them. Through the Ba, a god is manifested in various entities.

1. A god is manifested in another god. Re is the "Ba of the Lord of Heaven."⁵⁴ Osiris is the "mysterious Ba of the Lord of the Cavern (i.e., Anubis)" and the "Ba of Re, his own body."⁵⁵ Amun is the Ba of Shu;⁵⁶ Shu is the Ba of Amun.⁵⁷ The winged disk is the Ba of Atum, and Horus of dappled plumage is the Ba of Re.⁵⁸ Osiris is the "majestic Ba of those who are in Ninsu (i.e., the gods of Heracleopolis)" and the "living Ba of the Ennead."⁵⁹ Amun-Re is the "august Ba of Osiris"⁶⁰ hovering over the body of Osiris.⁶¹ Thoth, the great, is the "Ba of Re and the representative (stī) of Atum."⁶² Re is the Ba of Nun.⁶³ Khnum is the Ba of Shu, the Ba of Re, the Ba of Osiris, and the Ba of Geb.⁶⁴ When the Ba of Re and the Ba of Osiris met at Mendes, they embraced and became the One-who-has-two-Bas (b3wyfy). The One-who-has-two-Bas dwells in his twin progeny, who may be the Ba of Re and the Ba of Osiris, or the Ba of Shu and the Ba of Tefnut, or "Horus-who-saved-his-father" and "Horus-with-no-eyes-in-his-forehead."⁶⁵

two horizons and extolls his Ba" and "mayest thou hear her voice, O Re, as thou hearest the voice of this thy Ba." Pyr. §2101 a-b: "O N., Horus comes to thee, provided with his Bas: Hapi, Duamutef, Imseti, Kebehsenuf."

⁵⁴Hornung, Das Amduat I 195, line 11, and II 187.

⁵⁵Louvre stela C 286, line 2 (see Moret in BIFAO XXX 729). See also Adolf Erman, Die Literatur der Ägypter (Leipzig, 1923) p. 188.

⁵⁶Sethe, Amun, §§205 and 232.

⁵⁷Gardiner in ZAS XLII 38-39.

⁵⁸Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, pp. 363-64.

⁵⁹Ricardo A. Caminos in MDAIK XVI (1958) 21-23.

⁶⁰Sethe, Amun §232.

⁶¹C. R. Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (Berlin, 1849-56) Abteilung IV, Pl. 29 b with the legend Imn-R^c b3 šps n Wsīr ḥtp ḥr ḥ3t.f m ḥwt-msḥnt.f.

⁶²W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, Papyrus de Turin (Leide, 1869-76) Pl. XXIII, line 3.

⁶³See Maystre in BIFAO XL 102-3.

⁶⁴G. Daressy, "Hymne à Khnoum du temple d'Esnéh," RT XXVII (1905) 87; see also Hermann Kees, Aegypten ("Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch" X [Tuebingen, 1928]) p. 19; A. Badawi, Der Gott Chnum (Glückstadt, 1937) p. 34; Kees, Götterglaube, p. 437; Sauneron, Esnā V 226 and 228 h.

⁶⁵CT IV 276-80; BD 17 (see BM Cat. pp. 108-9, Sec. XXI, and Allen, Book of

2. A god is manifested in sacred animals. The ram of Mendes is the Ba of Osiris; the crocodiles are the Bas of the Suchos gods; the Ba of all gods is in the serpents.⁶⁶ The ram-god Harsaphes is the Ba of Re.⁶⁷ Apis is the Ba of Ptah.⁶⁸ Amun is the "august Ba of the Kematef-serpent."⁶⁹ Osiris is the "great Ba of the Kematef-serpent."⁷⁰ The text on a 12th-dynasty coffin says: "I am the great one whose name is not known; three(?) rams are my Ba, six Khnums are my Shadow."⁷¹ Sokar, Harsaphes, the ram of Mendes, and the sacred bull Apis, all of them, under different aspects, represent the Ba of Osiris.⁷² The sacred bull of Bukhis is called the "efficient living Ba of Re," and when he dies his Ba is said to go "to heaven as Re."⁷³ A falcon represented as resting on a serpent in the tenth hour of the Book of Amduat is called the "Ba of Sokar-before-the-Duat," and a falcon-headed serpent is called the "sacred Ba of the Foremost of the Westerners."⁷⁴

The famous benu-bird, the Phoenix,⁷⁵ is the "Ba of Re,"⁷⁶ also the "Ba of Osiris"⁷⁷ represented at the tomb of Osiris in Hu (Diospolis

the Dead, p. 90, Sec. 14). For two similar examples see Kees, Götterglaube, p. 165, n. 3, and p. 291, n. 3.

⁶⁶ See Maystre in BIFAO XL 103; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, p. 160.

⁶⁷ See Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 318-19.

⁶⁸ See Adolf Erman in Sitzungsberichte der K. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1916, p. 1148; Vandier, La religion égyptienne, p. 235.

⁶⁹ Sethe, Amun, §232; cf. Vandier, La religion égyptienne, p. 64.

⁷⁰ Sethe, Amun, §§107, 38-40, 106; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, p. 347.

⁷¹ CT VI 162 n-p; cf. Kees, Totenglauben, p. 53.

⁷² Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 325 and 449; cf. Vandier, La religion égyptienne, pp. 235-36.

⁷³ See Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, The Bucheum (MEES XLI [1934]) III, Pl. XL, line 7, and II 4 and parallel passages; cf. Eberhard Otto, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten (UGAA XIII [1938]) p. 61; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, p. 343. For the expression b3 3h ("efficient Ba") see Hornung, Das Amduat II 75 and 78; see also Hermann Grapow in ZAS LXXVII 72 and Otto in ZAS LXXVII 82, n. 3 (3h n.k b3.k), and n. 184 on pp. 153-54 below.

⁷⁴ Hornung, Das Amduat I 173-74 and II 166-67.

⁷⁵ For the derivation of "phoenix" from boine-benu see Sethe in ZAS XLV (1908) 84-85.

⁷⁶ BD 29 B (Budge, Text I 127): ink bnw b3 n Rc, "I am the Phoenix, Ba of Re."

⁷⁷ The Ba of Osiris, as the legend reads, is the Phoenix resting on the branches of a willow(?) tree; see Ridolfo V. Lanzone, Dizionario di mitologia egizia (Torino, 1881-86) Pl. 70, Ludwig Keimer in BIFAO XXXI (1931) 191, and Kees, Götterglaube, p. 88, Fig. 7.

Parva).⁷⁸ In a late text⁷⁹ Osiris himself is said "to fly up as the Phoenix and take a seat in heaven as one who repeats his time." In the hymn to the Ba of Osiris in Abaton⁸⁰ the Ba is called the "divine Phoenix which came into existence by itself"; it is the "divine Phoenix, the lord of the house of the Phoenix, the august Ba which came forth from Osiris."⁸¹ The benu comes "as the Ba, as the Phoenix" upon Osiris' form;⁸² it is the "united Ba," the "living Phoenix."⁸³ The birds engaged at the Edfu festival represent the Bas of human and divine enemies who are to be destroyed.⁸⁴ The living falcon at Edfu, the sacred animal of Harakhti, is the "Ba of Re" or the "living Ba of Re."⁸⁵

3. A god is manifested in stars and other inanimate entities. Orion, the most remarkable constellation of the southern sky, is the Ba of Osiris;⁸⁶ the moon is the Ba of Osiris.⁸⁷ Sothis is the Ba of Isis. The morning and evening stars are the Ba of Horus of Edfu; "the light which shines in heaven" is also his Ba.⁸⁸ The decan stars are the "living Bas of gods."⁸⁹ The goddess Nut, as mother of innumerable children (stars), is called the "one-with-a-thousand-Bas" (ḥ3 b3w.s).⁹⁰ The Memphite god-

⁷⁸Cf. a passage in BD 17 (BM *Cat.*, pp. 89-90, Sec. VIII) where *bnw* can be interpreted as either Osiris or Re: "I am that great Phoenix which is in Heliopolis, the examiner of what exists." "Who is he?" The New Kingdom gloss answers that "it is Osiris," while a Middle Kingdom gloss answers that "it is Re" (CT IV 201 c L'1 NY).

⁷⁹Mariette, *Dendérah* IV, Pl. 77 a; cf. Kees, *Götterglaube*, pp. 407-8.

⁸⁰Junker, *Götterdekret*, p. 1.

⁸¹*Le temple d'Edfou* I 307, line 11.

⁸²Mariette, *Dendérah* IV, Pl. 75, lines 18-19.

⁸³Junker, *Götterdekret*, p. 2.

⁸⁴*Le temple d'Edfou* V 134, line 7; cf. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou*, pp. 521 and 525.

⁸⁵*Le temple d'Edfou* VIII 109, line 15, to p. 110, line 1; cf. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou*, pp. 577, 672-73, and *passim*.

⁸⁶Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, pp. 311-12; Junker, *Götterdekret*, pp. 67-68; Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* I (Leipzig, 1883) 9.

⁸⁷Junker, *Götterdekret*, p. 67; cf. Vandier, *La religion égyptienne*, p. 62.

⁸⁸Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 147; Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride*, ch. 21; *Le temple d'Edfou* III 87, line 12; Adolphe Gutbub in *BIFAO* LII (1953) 70.

⁸⁹Brugsch, *Thesaurus* I 14; cf. Siegfried Schott in *Dekane und Dekansternbilder* ("Studien der Bibliothek Warburg" XIX [Glückstadt und Hamburg, 1936]) pp. 14-15.

⁹⁰*Pyr.* §785 b; CT VII 1 u. Cf. A. M. Blackman in *JEA* XXI (1935) 5, n. 3; Gut-

dess Bastet-Sakhmet became in the Old Kingdom the goddess of heaven and was called the "one-who-makes-her-Bas-shine" (sh^ct b3w.s).⁹¹ According to the myth of the Destruction of Mankind, the night is the Ba of the darkness, the Ba of Apopis⁹² is in the Eastland (b3h), and the Ba of Re is in the whole land.⁹³ The light (šw) is the Ba of Harsaphes,⁹⁴ and the wind is the Ba of Shu.⁹⁵ The royal crowns and uraei set upon the scepters represented in the sixth hour of the Book of Amduat are called the Bas of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.⁹⁶ In the Book of Hours, Osiris is referred to as the Ba of the lagoon, of the bird-marsh, of greenness and freshness.⁹⁷

This categorization of the entities in which the gods were manifested through the Ba is for the purpose of showing the diversity and extent of the application of the Ba concept; such a classification did not, of course, exist in the mind of the ancient Egyptian. For him, heaven and earth, beings and things, gods and their creations were all parts of an animated universe permeated with manifestations of divine power.

The Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto

Egyptian texts frequently refer to groups of Bas connected with religiously and politically famous ancient cities. These Bas, for example the Bas of Buto (Pe), the Bas of Hieraconpolis (Nekhen), the Bas of Heliopolis,

bub in BIFAO LII 67-68; Ricardo A. Caminos, The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon ("Analecta Orientalia" XXXVII [Roma, 1958]) p. 82.

⁹¹ Ludwig Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re (Leipzig, 1907) Fig. 72.

⁹² For the reading "Apopis" see Alan H. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series (London, 1935) I 30, n. 4. Note that the determinative of b3 in b3 n^c 3pp is the man with blood streaming from his head, as also in "Lebensmüde" and the inscriptions of the cenotaph of Sety I.

⁹³ Ramesses VI version (see Maystre in BIFAO XL 103): šw b3 n R^c m hk3w, "the Ba of Re is in magic"; cf. the expression hk3w pw b3.1, "magic is my Ba" (*ibid.* p. 102).

⁹⁴ Lines 4-5 of the Naples stela from the temple of Isis at Pompeii (see Urk. II 3, line 2, and Tresson in BIFAO XXX 380; see also Kees, Götterglaube, p. 317).

⁹⁵ Book of Traversing Eternity (Budge, Text III 157); cf. Walter Wreszinski in ZAS XLV 115 and Wb. I 411, 14.

⁹⁶ Hornung, Das Amduat I 102, line 4, I 109, lines 4-5 variant reading, and II 112 and 118.

⁹⁷ Raymond O. Faulkner, An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10569) (Oxford, 1958) p. 12.

as well as other groups of Bas played an important role in Egyptian religion, particularly in the royal ritual.

There has been and still is much debate over the identification of these groups of Bas.⁹⁸ Observing that some texts refer to the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto as Followers of Horus (šmsw Hr), Sethe equated these Bas with Manetho's "dead demigods" (*νεκρὸς οἱ ἡμίθεοι*) and with the "Akhs, Followers of Horus" (3ḥw šmsw Hr) of the Turin annals and considered them to be the divinized dead kings of their respective cities, the immediate predecessors of Menes.⁹⁹ In Sethe's opinion, the kingdoms of Hieraconpolis and Buto came into existence after the collapse of a prehistoric unified kingdom of Heliopolis.

Kees, rejecting the idea of a prehistoric unification of Egypt and a separate kingdom of Buto, contended that the Followers of Horus were the standards of the king of Hieraconpolis which represented his divine and human followers, members of the Upper Egyptian confederation of nomes which achieved the historical unification of Egypt.¹⁰⁰ For Kees, the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto originally represented the totality of local divinities,¹⁰¹ or they represented the assembled gods of Egypt,¹⁰² and not the divinized dead kings of those cities; he further stated that the process of the formation of these groups of Bas originated not in Heliopolis but in the more ancient cities of Nekhen and Pe.¹⁰³

Henri Frankfort maintained that the Followers of Horus, referred to also as the "Souls of Nekhen" and the "Souls of Pe," were royal ancestors;¹⁰⁴ but according to him the "Souls of Pe" represent an artificial counterpart of the "Souls of Nekhen" and "are part of that great stylization of political forms which made Menes a king of Upper and of Lower Egypt,"¹⁰⁵ an opinion recently vigorously criticized by Gardiner.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸For a summary of this controversy see Vandier, La religion égyptienne, pp. 24-31.

⁹⁹Sethe, Urgeschichte, §191; Sethe, Beiträge, pp. 8 and 16; Komm. IV 201.

¹⁰⁰Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 188 ff.; cf. Werner Kaiser in ZAS LXXXIV (1959) 120.

¹⁰¹Götterglaube, p. 156.

¹⁰²Ibid. p. 280.

¹⁰³Ibid. pp. 279 and 281.

¹⁰⁴Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 93.

¹⁰⁵Ibid. p. 94.

¹⁰⁶Egypt of the Pharaohs (Oxford, 1961) pp. 422-23.

Similar to Frankfort's view is that of Werner Kaiser, who made a detailed study of the expression šmsw Hr and who is inclined to think that the Bas of Nekhen represent "the dead transfigured kings" ("die toten verklärten Könige") of that city while the Bas of Heliopolis and the Bas of Buto are artificial creations conceived to parallel the Bas of Nekhen.¹⁰⁷

John A. Wilson contends that the "Souls of Buto" and the "Souls of Hierakonpolis" were not, "in their earliest formulation," the ancestral predynastic kings of the two capitals; Buto and Hierakonpolis were not political capitals but "holy cities and perhaps places of pilgrimage as hyper-typically representing Lower and Upper Egypt."¹⁰⁸

In his study of Egyptian mammisis (birth-houses) François Daumas recognized in the statuettes and relief representations of the "Souls of Pe and Nekhen" royal ancestors who played an important role at the birth of a royal child.¹⁰⁹

This whole argument about the Bas of Buto, Hierakonpolis, and Heliopolis is part of the wider and more complex problem concerning Egyptian religious and political prehistory, a problem to which the first attempted solution was Sethe's reconstruction of a Heliopolitan supremacy followed by independent kingdoms of Hierakonpolis and Buto. The Heliopolitan supremacy certainly remains a hypothesis, but the existence of separate kingdoms of Hierakonpolis and Buto prior to the historic unification of Egypt by Menes appears very probable. Breasted observed that on the largest of the Cairo fragments of the royal annals seven kings prior to Menes wear the double crown.¹¹⁰ This observation, when stripped of undue criticism,¹¹¹ together with the representation of a sequence of at least ten Lower Egyptian kings in the top row of the Palermo stone, bears significantly upon the problem of the prehistoric existence of two separate kingdoms as well as upon the problem of the possibility of some sort

¹⁰⁷ ZAS LXXXV (1960) 135.

¹⁰⁸ JNES XIV (1955) 236.

¹⁰⁹ Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, pp. 448 and 458.

¹¹⁰ BIFAO XXX 709 ff.

¹¹¹ The results of Breasted's study were somewhat lightly treated by both Kees and Frankfort. Kees merely mentioned them (Götterglaube, p. 274, n. 4) without evaluating them. Frankfort's statement (see Kingship and the Gods, pp. 20 and 351) that "all this material may well represent traditions apprehended in the forms of historical times, and it does not prove the hypothesis that a unified realm, or a unified Lower and a unified Upper Egypt, preceded the unification of the country under Menes" and his assertion that "the dual monarchy had no historical foundation" are certainly hypercritical.

of predynastic fusion of the Two Lands.¹¹² It is true that the Palermo stone and the fragments of the annals do not antedate the 5th dynasty, but it may well be that here we are in possession of a tradition which existed long before it was recorded by the annalist. If we add to this the facts that the "kings of Lower Egypt (bītiw) who are in Buto" are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts,¹¹³ that the Pyramid Texts reveal the remnants of what seems to have originally been a Butic coronation ritual,¹¹⁴ and that a reasonable archeological argument for the possibility of the existence of a Lower Egyptian kingdom of Buto can be presented,¹¹⁵ the simultaneous existence of separate kingdoms of Buto and Hieraconpolis appears very probable indeed.

A further argument for the existence of a separate kingdom of Buto has been presented by Hermann Junker in his study of the "dance of the Muu,"¹¹⁶ where he has demonstrated that the funerary rite in which the Muu dancers appear was originally celebrated at the burials of the Butic kings and only later appropriated by non-royal persons in whose tombs they are represented in a strongly Osirianized form and without any royal connotations. The Muu dancers themselves Junker considers to be the dead kings of Buto, the ancestors of the king whose funerary procession they meet at the entrance to the necropolis. Since the Pyramid Texts¹¹⁷ describe the Bas of Buto as welcoming the dead king at his appearance in the next world by dancing and clapping their hands, that is, in a way typical of the Muu dancers, Junker equates the Muu dancers with the Bas of Buto.¹¹⁸ Following Sethe, Junker assumes that the kingdom of Buto, as well as that of Hieraconpolis, came into existence after the collapse of the first unified kingdom of Heliopolis and that the kings of Buto, by virtue of their special religious connections with Heliopolis, claimed political con-

¹¹² Cf. Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 425.

¹¹³ Pyr. §1488.

¹¹⁴ See Komm. I 100, 108-9, 112 and III 275.

¹¹⁵ See Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 423.

¹¹⁶ MDAIK IX (1940) 1-39.

¹¹⁷ Pyr. §§1004 and 1975. Cf. Kees, Totenglauben, p. 114; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 116.

¹¹⁸ See Kush VI (1958) 119-20, where J. Gwyn Griffiths includes the so-called Tekenu ceremony in the Butic burial. For the Tekenu, see also Kees, Totenglauben, pp. 250-51, and Jürgen Settgast, Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen ("Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo," Ägyptologische Reihe III [Glückstadt etc., 1963]) pp. 27-29, 38-47, 114.

trol over both lands of Egypt, as symbolized by the Muu dancers' headdresses, which represent the crowns of both Upper and Lower Egypt.

Self-styled "kings of Upper and Lower Egypt" who claimed dominion over both halves of the land even when their claims did not correspond to historical reality are known from Egyptian history, but, even so, in this particular case Junker's argument runs into a difficulty. The basis of the claim of the Butic kings to dominion over both halves of the divided kingdom, that is, the Heliopolitan-Butic connection, can be understood only if a unified Heliopolitan kingdom existed prior to the separation of the two kingdoms. Now, although some sort of predynastic fusion seems at least possible, Sethe's ingenious reconstruction of the Heliopolitan supremacy remains a hypothesis and therefore a tenuous basis on which to build any theories. The royal character of the Muu dancers and the role they performed at the burial of the kings of Buto as described by Junker seems indeed probable,¹¹⁹ but the significance of their plant headdresses or "crowns" can perhaps better be explained as a purely ceremonial feature rather than an expression of the political claims of the kings of Buto. In settings characterized by features symbolic of the Delta region, as are the scenes in which the Muu dancers appear, southern symbolic counterparts are certainly to be expected. The well-known Egyptian predilection for balanced antithetical expressions in language and art can certainly be adduced in a milieu of ceremonial and symbolic representation. What seems to have been established by Junker is the identification of the Muu dancers with the Bas of Buto. Funerary ceremonies performed by the Muu dancers closely correspond to the description of the Bas of Buto welcoming the dead king into their midst as stated in the Pyramid Texts (see above). The role which the city of Buto played in predynastic Egyptian religion is therefore evident. At the same time it seems difficult to avoid the impression that behind the religious importance of the city of Buto lie some ancient political traditions which point to a separate kingdom of Buto as a political reality. To be sure there are references to the royal character of certain other Delta localities; one of the most important of these localities seems to have been the city of the goddess Neith, Sais,

¹¹⁹ Raymond Weill, in BIFAO XLVII (1948) 149-50, thinks that the Muu dancers already had Osirian characteristics at the time of their first appearance (as surely they have in Middle and New Kingdom representations) and that their dance reflects an ancient vegetation rite; cf. also Emma Brunner-Traut, Der Tanz im alten Ägypten nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen ("Ägyptologische Forschungen" VI [Glückstadt etc., 1938]) pp. 58-59.

which was known as the "house of the King of Lower Egypt"¹²⁰ and the "house of the red crown."¹²¹ However, the paucity of references to Sais as compared with those to Buto would suggest that, whatever role Sais played in predynastic and early dynastic times,¹²² it was eclipsed by that of Buto.

As mentioned at the beginning of this discussion, the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto are sometimes referred to as the "Followers of Horus." An example is found in a tomb inscription of the famous nomarch Hapdjefay of Assyut, in the 13th nome of Upper Egypt. Hapdjefay, who lived under Sesostri I and who may have been governor of Kerma, was also the chief prophet of the jackal-god Wepwawet, one "who adorned the Bas of Hieraconpolis, who clothed the bodies of the jackals, the gods, Followers of Horus."¹²³ Since the Bas of Hieraconpolis are traditionally represented in the form of jackals, it seems logical to conclude that the Bas of Hieraconpolis and "the gods, Followers of Horus," refer to the same group.

In the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, the Bas of Pe and Dep (two mounds constituting the Delta city of Buto) are shown drawing the royal bark and are referred to as the "Followers of Horus."¹²⁴

Contrary to Kaiser's statement,¹²⁵ no such identification of the Bas and the Followers of Horus is necessarily to be inferred from a scene in a temple of Ramesses III at Karnak. The scene¹²⁶ shows Ramesses III being carried in procession by the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis; the inscription under the king's carrying chair mentions "gods, Followers of Horus, as his protection" but can very well refer to the royal standards shown following immediately after the king. The royal standards are identified as Followers of Horus as early as the 5th dynasty and thus repre-

¹²⁰ Cf. Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 178, 211, 394; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 20; I. E. S. Edwards, "The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt," Cambridge Ancient History, Fasc. No. 25 (Vol. I, chap. xi) of Revised Edition of Volumes I & II (Cambridge, 1964) p. 46.

¹²¹ Cf. Wb. II 198, 7.

¹²² Cf. Sethe, Urgeschichte, §81.

¹²³ F. Ll. Griffith, Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh (London, 1889) pp. 173 and 238; Urk. VII 56, lines 18-20; cf. Sethe, Beiträge, pp. 8, 16, 20.

¹²⁴ See Belegstellen to Wb. IV 486, 16.

¹²⁵ ZAS LXXXV 133, n. 2.

¹²⁶ The Epigraphic Survey, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak II (OIP XXXV [1936]) Pls. 101-2.

sent the earliest attestable meaning of "Followers of Horus."¹²⁷

The fact remains, however, that both the Followers of Horus, from the Old Kingdom onward, and the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis, from at least the time of the New Kingdom, were considered to be closely connected with the king. That this connection persisted to the end of Egyptian history is clear from a relief and an inscription in the temple of Esna.¹²⁸

The relief shows the Roman emperor Hadrian being carried in procession by the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis in the traditional Egyptian manner; the accompanying legend reads the "Bas of Buto, Followers of Horus in Lower Egypt, carrying the King of Lower Egypt like their father" and the "Bas of Hieraconpolis, Followers of Horus in Upper Egypt, carrying the King of Upper Egypt like Horus of Behdet in the hnw-bark of Sokar."

As J. von Beckerath¹²⁹ and, especially, Kaiser¹³⁰ have demonstrated, šmsw Hr can have various meanings in various contexts. When the Followers of Horus are identified as the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis, they aptly designate the divinized dead kings and figure prominently in scenes of the king's coronation and other ancestral functions.

Gardiner recently drew attention¹³¹ to a late text which fully identifies the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis. In this papyrus, the "Bas of Pe (i.e., Buto), Followers of Horus as kings of Lower Egypt," are mentioned side by side with the "Bas of Nekhen (i.e., Hieraconpolis), Followers of Horus as kings of Upper Egypt."¹³² Thus it would seem that a tradition which equated the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis with the divinized dead kings of the two cities was probably formulated at least as early as the Middle Kingdom (Hapdjefay inscription) and persisted to the very end of Egyptian history.

In the course of a long myth-making process the predecessors of Menes or the predynastic kings became divinized. The Greek writer Manetho very appropriately called them *νεκρες οι ημιθεοι*, "the dead demi-gods," and some Latin versions of Manetho describe their times as

¹²⁷ See Kaiser in ZAS LXXXIV 119 ff. and LXXXV 134 f.

¹²⁸ Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abtheilung IV, Pl. 87 a; Sauneron, Esna II (Le Caire, 1963) 252-54 (Ins. 141).

¹²⁹ MDAIK XIV (1956) 1-10.

¹³⁰ ZAS LXXXIV 119-32 and LXXXV 118-37.

¹³¹ Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 421.

¹³² F. Ll. Griffith, Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis (MEES IX [1889]) Pl. IX, frag. 10.

"manium heroumque dominatio."¹³³ The transposition from history into myth as found in Manetho and his Egyptian sources is reflected by other Greek writers. Thus, an expression analogous to Manetho's is used by Hesiod in his description of the five ages of mankind.¹³⁴ After the golden race of mortal men, who lived in paradisiac happiness, and the silver and bronze races, who witnessed a progressive deterioration of good life on earth, there followed a "godlike race of hero-men who are called demi-gods,"¹³⁵ probably a vague remembrance of the Mycenaean "heroes" still lingering on in folk memories in Hesiod's day.

The Bas of Heliopolis

The role and position of the Bas of Heliopolis in early Egyptian religion and royal ritual present some problems. These Bas are referred to in the Pyramid Texts either independently¹³⁶ or in connection with the other groups of Bas. When the king at his death joins the Bas of Buto, the Bas of Heliopolis assist him in his ascent to heaven by constructing a stairway for him,¹³⁷ a function elsewhere reserved for the Bas of Hieraconpolis and the Bas of Buto, who are said to make supports of their arms as a ladder on which the pharaoh can ascend to heaven.¹³⁸ The Bas of Heliopolis with the Bas of Buto greet the pharaoh, the son of Re, when he appears in heaven¹³⁹ and are represented as a distinctive group in a text which addresses the pharaoh thus: "Thou art a Ba like the Bas of Heliopolis, thou art a Ba like the Bas of Hieraconpolis, thou art a Ba like the Bas of Buto."¹⁴⁰ On the Palermo stone are mentioned gifts of land and offerings made in the reigns of Userkaf and Neferirkare to the sun-god Re, to the goddess Hathor, to other gods, and to the Bas of Heliopolis,¹⁴¹ but there is no indication that these Bas represent a group of local gods, as

¹³³ See J. von Beckerath in MDAIK XIV 8-9.

¹³⁴ Hesiod Works and Days, lines 160-61.

¹³⁵ *Ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος οἱ καλέονται ἡμίθεοι.*

¹³⁶ Pyr. §§1305 a, 1262 b, 460 a; cf. Komm. II 259.

¹³⁷ Pyr. §§1089-90.

¹³⁸ Pyr. §§478-79, 941-42, 1253 a, 1473-74.

¹³⁹ Pyr. §1495 c.

¹⁴⁰ Pyr. §904 a-b.

¹⁴¹ Urk. I 240-41, 246-47, 249; cf. AR I, §§155-56, 165, 167.

Kees contended,¹⁴² rather than the dead kings, as Sethe proposed.

An argument used emphatically by Kees¹⁴³ to combat Sethe's identification of the Bas of Heliopolis with the dead kings of Heliopolis is a text¹⁴⁴ in which the Bas of Hieraconpolis and the Bas of Buto are said to receive remnants of a sacrificial victim, the best parts of which had been distributed among the greater gods, while the Bas of Heliopolis are not mentioned at all. If the Bas of Heliopolis were the dead kings of Heliopolis, Kees concluded, a Heliopolitan text certainly would not exclude them from the sacrificial ritual. Now, even if it is admitted that the text is of Heliopolitan origin, no valid argument can be derived from such negative evidence. In a Heliopolitan context one would expect the Bas of Heliopolis to be mentioned together with the other groups of Bas, but if no positive proof can be adduced from unequivocal texts, the absence of the Bas of Heliopolis from the ritual banquet cannot be construed as an argument against Sethe's identification of the Bas of Heliopolis with the divinized dead kings of that city. Furthermore, two of the passages quoted above¹⁴⁵ and referred to also by Kees¹⁴⁶ show that in other Heliopolitan texts the Bas of Heliopolis are mentioned in connection with the Bas of Buto, and they are elsewhere associated with the Bas of Hieraconpolis as well as with those of Buto.¹⁴⁷

Frankfort, who, as already stated, saw in the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis divine royal ancestors of these cities, did not consider the Bas of Heliopolis as a separate, independent group of royal ancestors. For him this term, that is, the Bas of Heliopolis, "may have been no more than a new collective name for the Souls of Nekhen and Pe."¹⁴⁸ It is interesting that both Frankfort and Kees¹⁴⁹ referred to a scene in the temple of Sety I at Abydos as showing the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto carrying the king on his portable throne while the accompanying inscription intro-

¹⁴²Kees, Götterglaube, p. 157.

¹⁴³Ibid. pp. 279-80.

¹⁴⁴Pyr. §§1543-49.

¹⁴⁵Pyr. §§1089-90 and 1495 c.

¹⁴⁶Götterglaube, pp. 281-82.

¹⁴⁷Pyr. §904 a-b; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, p. 282, n. 3, and correct "Pyr. §909" to "Pyr. §904."

¹⁴⁸Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 94.

¹⁴⁹Götterglaube, p. 282, and Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs (Leipzig, 1912) p. 68.

duces the gods Montu and Atum saying: "The Bas of Heliopolis make way for thee." Frankfort saw in this scene evidence for the identification of the Bas of Heliopolis with the two "older groups," while Kees pointed to it as an example of the Heliopolitan claim of primacy overshadowing the two more ancient groups of Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto.¹⁵⁰

Both Frankfort's and Kees's references to the Abydos relief are incorrect. As can be clearly seen in Mariette's as well as in Calverley and Gardiner's publication of the Abydos temple, the scene in which the king is carried by the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis (Pl. 1) does not contain the text to which Frankfort and Kees referred but has its own accompanying text, which introduces the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis addressing the king.¹⁵¹ The text reading the "Bas of Heliopolis make way for thee" accompanies a scene in which the gods Montu and Atum escort the king, who is represented walking and following the god Thoth as well as three jackal-headed and three falcon-headed Bas (Pl. 2).¹⁵² In view of this correction, Frankfort's and Kees's statements may appear to carry more weight. After all, the second Abydos scene shows the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto leading the way before the king while Montu and Atum state: "The Bas of Heliopolis make way for thee."¹⁵³ However, the fact that a third group of Bas, in human-headed form, appears as an independent group in company with falcon-headed and jackal-headed Bas in the temple of Deir el-Bahri¹⁵⁴ and the fact that in the Luxor temple a third group of Bas, although represented in falcon-headed form, is referred to as the "Bas of Heliopolis"¹⁵⁵ weaken Frankfort's argument. It is true that the legends accompanying the three groups of Bas at Deir el-Bahri are some-

¹⁵⁰"... die Seelen von Heliopolis den beiden anderen Gruppen als eine zusammenfassende Spitze auf die Nase gesetzt sind" (Kees, Götterglaube, p. 282).

¹⁵¹Auguste Mariette, Abydos I (Paris, 1869) Pl. 31 b; Amice M. Calverley and Alan H. Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II (London and Chicago, 1935) Pl. 36.

¹⁵²Mariette, Abydos I, Pl. 29; Calverley and Gardiner, op. cit. Pl. 30.

¹⁵³A representation at Philae (Hermann Junker, Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä [Wien, 1958] p. 241, Fig. 140) showing the three falcon-headed Bas of Buto and the three jackal-headed Bas of Hieraconpolis together with the king, Ptolemy VI, jubilating at the front of Hathor's procession is accompanied by the text: "The Bas of Buto, the standards, open the ways (?) for thee, the Bas of Hieraconpolis, the jackals, show (thy?) way to thee."

¹⁵⁴Edouard Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari III (MEES XVI [1898]) Pl. LX.

¹⁵⁵Al. Gayet, Le temple de Louxor (MMAFC XV [1894]) Pl. LXXV, Fig. 184; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, p. 283, n. 2.

what inconsistent with the orientation of the Bas as they are known from other sources. Thus, while the jackal-headed Bas are referred to as the "gods, the lords of the Upper Egyptian divine palace," and the human-headed Bas as the "gods of the Lower Egyptian sanctuary," the falcon-headed Bas are strangely enough called the "gods of the Upper Egyptian sanctuary."¹⁵⁶ And this is not the only example of such inconsistency in legends and representations of the Bas. In one of the above-mentioned Abydos scenes (Pl. 2), both the jackal-headed Bas and the falcon-headed Bas marching in front of Montu, the king, and Atum are called the "Bas of Hieraconpolis."¹⁵⁷ In an offering scene in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, the jackal-headed Bas are referred to as the "Bas of Buto" while the falcon-headed Bas are called the "Bas of Heliopolis."¹⁵⁸ In the Luxor temple, two groups of Bas are represented as jackal-headed and apparently¹⁵⁹ called the Bas of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively, while a third group is represented as falcon-headed and called the "Bas of Heliopolis."¹⁶⁰ It seems difficult to believe that such confusion and misunderstanding are reflected in scenes depicted on monumental architecture, but we are forced to conclude that the artists and designers were no longer familiar with the historical role of the various groups of Bas. Similar misapprehension probably lies behind the reference to Wepwawet, the jackal-god of Assyut and closely connected with Hieraconpolis, as "the foremost of the Bas of Heliopolis" on a New Kingdom stela.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari III, Pl. LX, and Urk, IV 253.

¹⁵⁷Mariette, Abydos I, Pl. 29; Calverley and Gardiner, op. cit. Pl. 30. For a discussion of the Bas of the ancient cities referred to as gods, see pp. 35-36 below.

¹⁵⁸The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu VII (OIP XCIII [1964]) Pl. 526; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, p. 283, n. 2. That the scribe and engraver were also liable to confusion concerning the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis can be seen from the stela of Amenhotep III (referred to below on p. 26), where the word hnw referring to the Bas of Buto shows the jackal sign as determinative: b3w P hr irt n.f hnw (Urk, IV 1653, line 11).

¹⁵⁹The first part of the legend above the three jackal-headed figures of the first group (top register) is erased except the determinative of the town or inhabited region; the legend above the second group of jackal-headed Bas (bottom register) is only partly damaged and shows Mnw ("Lower Egypt," "Delta") and a two-town determinative. It can be assumed that the first row is intended to represent the Bas of Upper Egypt (Šm'w) contrasting with the lower row of Bas of Lower Egypt represented in this case as jackal-headed. The "Bas of Heliopolis," falcon-headed, are in the middle register.

¹⁶⁰Gayet, Le temple de Louxor, Pl. LXXV, Fig. 184.

¹⁶¹BM 893 (see Kees, Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs, p. 253).

The fact remains that there is no representation of the "Bas of Heliopolis" with an accompanying legend which would identify them as such, whereas the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto are identified by legends. Where inscriptions mention the "Bas of Heliopolis," the Bas are either not represented at all, as in the temple of Abydos, or they are represented but not as human-headed figures, as in the temples of Luxor and Medinet Habu; when they are represented in human-headed form, as in the temple of Deir el-Bahri, there is no accompanying legend referring to them as the "Bas of Heliopolis." The third group of Bas at Deir el-Bahri may represent the Bas of Heliopolis; the legend accompanying this group refers to them as the "gods of the Lower Egyptian sanctuary," well applicable to the Bas of Heliopolis, but there is no direct evidence that the Bas of Heliopolis are really meant. On the other hand, although the third group of Bas is absent from the Abydos scene, its presence is nevertheless felt and expressed in the accompanying text which proclaims the king ruler over the land of Heliopolis and appropriately states that the Bas of Heliopolis make way for the king. The addition of the third group of Bas can perhaps be explained as a result of the Egyptian tendency to expand and elaborate upon existing traditions in general and in particular to use the protective magical force of the number three especially in scenes dealing with divine birth, coronation, and other state rituals where the presence of multiple protective forces was highly desirable. Thus it is possible that the occurrence of the third group of Bas on the monuments represents a later addition to the more frequently and more regularly occurring groups of jackal-headed Bas of Hieraconpolis and falcon-headed Bas of Buto; it is to be stressed, however, that the problem of the origin and antiquity of the Bas of Heliopolis remains unsolved.

It seems that this third group of Bas was considered also by the late tradition to be a rather unusual addition to the stereotyped scheme of the two groups of Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto, and their presentation in fully human form was probably the source of the uncertainty with which the latest Egyptian scribes and artists treated them. Thus on the stela of Amenhotep III from his funerary temple in western Thebes a different group, the "musical-goddesses (mrty) of Upper and Lower Egypt," together with the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis, praises the beauty of Amun's shrine on the sacred bark,¹⁶² while in the scenes of divine birth in the two mammisis of Denderah, that of Nectanebo and the Roman mam-

¹⁶² Urk. IV 1653, lines 11-13.

misi, only the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto are present,¹⁶³ just as only they are present in the scenes of divine birth in the temples of Luxor¹⁶⁴ and Deir el-Bahri.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, in the mammisi of Edfu a third group of three human-headed figures is represented together with the two triads of the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto;¹⁶⁶ this group of human-headed figures, however, is not called the "Bas of Heliopolis," but each of the three figures is referred to separately, as p^ct, r^hyt, and ḥnmmt, "noble people," "commoners," and "sun-folk."

Frankfort derived some negative evidence¹⁶⁷ in support of his contention that the Bas of Heliopolis were not an independent group from the observation that in the vignettes of the papyri and other New Kingdom representations the rising sun is adored by the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto while the Bas of Heliopolis are not present. This arrangement of the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto might well have been a stereotyped one which resulted from the Egyptian predilection for dualistic contrasts, active here in spite of the tendency, already remarked upon, to introduce and maladroitly co-ordinate a third group of Bas in the representations of the New Kingdom. Furthermore, in these scenes of the rising sun in the papyri it sometimes happens that neither the Bas of Hieraconpolis nor those of Buto appear while various groups of divinities, men, and baboons are shown¹⁶⁸ in differing numbers and positions.¹⁶⁹ In a hymn to the sun-god in the Book of the Dead, the Bas of Heliopolis, Buto, and Hieraconpolis together with ḥnmmt ("sun-folk"), r^hyt ("commoners"), ḥtt ("baboons"), and ꜥwt ("cattle") are mentioned as adoring the sun-god at his rising,¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³See François Daumas, Les mammisis de Dendara (Le Caire, 1959) pp. 8-9 and 108, Pls. II and LIX.

¹⁶⁴See Hellmut Brunner, Die Geburt des Gottkönigs (Wiesbaden, 1964) Pl. 9 and p. 102 (three jackal-headed and three falcon-headed Bas); Urk. IV 1718, lines 3-12; Gayet, Le temple de Louxor, Pl. LXV, Fig. 199.

¹⁶⁵Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari II (MEES XIV [1896]) Pl. LI (only two jackal-headed and two falcon-headed Bas); Urk. IV 226, line 11, to 227, line 14.

¹⁶⁶See Émile Chassinat, Le mammisi d'Edfou (MIFAO XVI [1939]) Pl. XIII and p. 22; cf. Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, p. 458.

¹⁶⁷See Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 94 and 159.

¹⁶⁸See e.g. ibid. Pl. 36, reprinted from E. A. Wallis Budge, Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerāsher and Netchemet (London, 1899) Pl. 1.

¹⁶⁹Cf. J. J. Clère in MDAIK XVI 44; Norman de Garis Davies, Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah (London, 1948) Pl. IX; J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV: Bas-reliefs et peintures: Scènes de la vie quotidienne (Paris, 1964) Pl. III.

¹⁷⁰BD 15 (see Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pl. XV).

while in another version of this hymn only the Bas of Hieraconpolis and the Bas of the East are mentioned,¹⁷¹ and in yet another version the Bas of the East follow the sun-god while the Bas of the West jubilate at his rising.¹⁷² It appears, therefore, that no argument can be derived from such variable groupings, which are better explained as expressions of local theological and artistic traditions or as the result of the arbitrary choice of the scribe or the artist inspired by a fondness for symmetrical and antithetical distribution.

The Bas as Divine Triads

In addition to the Bas of Buto, Hieraconpolis, and Heliopolis, there appear groups of Bas called the "Eastern Bas," the "Western Bas," the "Northern Bas," the "Bas of the New-moon Festival," and the "Bas of Hermopolis."¹⁷³

The Eastern Bas are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts either independently in the company of their Akhs¹⁷⁴ or in connection with the gods of Buto,¹⁷⁵ while in two parallel passages of the Coffin Texts the Western Bas are contrasted with the Bas of Heliopolis.¹⁷⁶ In contrast to the north-south orientation of the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis, that of the Eastern and Western Bas is an east-west one, the Eastern Bas probably representing the Bas of Heliopolis and the Western Bas those of Buto, as reflected in §1495 c of the Pyramid Texts, where the Bas of Heliopolis are paired off with the Bas of Buto as both welcome the "son of Re" when he appears in heaven. In the Book of the Day and the Night, the Eastern Bas are referred to as four gods who adore the sun and protect the eastern horizon and Heliopolis,¹⁷⁷ the Western Bas as gods who protect the western horizon, Heliopolis, and the bark of the sun,¹⁷⁸ and the Northern Bas

¹⁷¹ Papyrus of Herunefer (BM Cat. p. 68, EA 2:1).

¹⁷² Papyrus of Nekht (Budge, Text I 11).

¹⁷³ To these groups of Bas may be added a less well-known group, the "gods, the living Bas in Sheden," mentioned on a 26th-dynasty stela (see Piehl in ZAS XXXI 84 and Otto in ZAS LXXVII 86, n. 3).

¹⁷⁴ Pyr. §159 a.

¹⁷⁵ Pyr. §1209 b.

¹⁷⁶ CT VI 411 g and 414 a; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, p. 281, n. 1.

¹⁷⁷ Piankoff, Le livre du jour et de la nuit, pp. 3 and 84.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. pp. 77 and 89.

as four gods who protect the northern horizon as well as the cities of Sais and Busiris.¹⁷⁹

The Bas of Heliopolis, Hermopolis, Buto, and Hieraconpolis and the Bas of the East and the West as well as the Bas of the New-moon Festival are mentioned in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead, where each group is identified with specific gods. This identification follows the pattern of a triad. Thus the Bas of Heliopolis are named as "Re, Shu, and Tefnut,"¹⁸⁰ the Bas of the New-moon Festival as "Osiris, Anubis, and Isdes,"¹⁸¹ the Bas of Hermopolis as "Thoth" (according to Middle Kingdom versions) or "Thoth, Sia, and Atum" (according to later versions),¹⁸² the Bas of Buto as "Horus, Imsety, and Hapy,"¹⁸³ the Bas of Hieraconpolis as "Horus, Duamutef, and Kebehseuuef,"¹⁸⁴ the Eastern Bas as "Harakhti, Hurer-calf, and Morning Star,"¹⁸⁵ the Western Bas as "Re, Sobek, and Seth" (according to earlier versions) or "Atum (or Re), Sobek, and Hathor" (according to later versions).¹⁸⁶ The process of assimilation and juxtaposition eventually came to include triads composed exclusively of sacred animals; in a late papyrus¹⁸⁷ the Bas of Buto appear as a triad of falcon, kite, and vulture and the Bas of Hieraconpolis as Ibis, Apis, and Mnevis.

The identification of the various groups of Bas with divine triads in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead first occurred in the Heracleopolitan period and according to Sethe¹⁸⁸ originated in the triple repetition of the ideogram of the plural form b3w, each word-sign being identified with a different god. It may well be that the whole process of identification

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 23 and 93.

¹⁸⁰ CT II 286 and BD 115 (see Budge, Text II 111); cf. Sethe, Sprüche, pp. 36* and 13.

¹⁸¹ CT II 308; cf. Sethe, Sprüche, pp. 8* and 33-34.

¹⁸² CT II 324 and BD 114 and 116 (see Budge, Text II 109 and 112); cf. Sethe, Sprüche, pp. 11*, 13* and 35-36.

¹⁸³ CT II 348 and BD 112 (see Budge, Text II 106); cf. Sethe, Sprüche, pp. 22* and 53-54.

¹⁸⁴ CT II 362 and BD 113 (see Budge, Text II 108); cf. Sethe, Sprüche, pp. 30* and 76, 78.

¹⁸⁵ CT II 372 and BD 109 (see Budge, Text II 92); cf. Sethe, Sprüche, pp. 37* and 100.

¹⁸⁶ CT II 386 and BD 108 (see Budge, Text II 91); cf. Sethe, Sprüche, pp. 52* and 118-19.

¹⁸⁷ Pap. Berlin 7809 (unpublished); cf. discussions by Sethe in Komm. II 295-96 and Kees in Götterglaube, p. 286.

¹⁸⁸ Beiträge, pp. 18-19; Sprüche, p. 26, No. 34.

of the Bas with divine triads started with such a mechanical process. To be sure, the Egyptian tendency to search for new identifications and juxtapositions, nowhere better represented than in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead, was here hard at work. However, the context of the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead in which the Bas are identified with triads of various gods is quite different from that of texts in which the Bas figure as divinized dead kings. In the former texts no allusion is made to the divine ancestors or to any of the functions associated with them. The meaning of the Bas in these texts is not therefore to be explained as a senseless corruption of the original meaning, still less as a "mumbo-jumbo of the late funerary texts" as stated by Frankfort.¹⁸⁹ In all probability, in the interpretation exemplified in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead the concept of the Bas of the ancient cities signifying divinized dead kings was applied to various local gods, arranging them in triads without any reference to the dead royal ancestors.

We can conclude therefore that all of the groups of Bas are divine beings, either divinized dead kings or local gods; the nature of the texts indicates which of the two is meant.¹⁹⁰

The Functions of the Bas of the Ancient Cities

In temples of the New Kingdom and of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto are represented carrying the king on a portable throne at royal and religious festivals;¹⁹¹ they also carry the festival boat of Amun,¹⁹² are represented at the sides

¹⁸⁹ Kingship and the Gods, pp. 370-71, n. 14.

¹⁹⁰ Sethe came somewhat close to this interpretation when he said (Sprüche, p. 26, No. 34) that the plural form b3w in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead perhaps should be understood in the abstract meaning of "Mysterium, Geschichte (Mythologie)."

¹⁹¹ See e.g. Gayet, Lé temple de Louxor, Pl. LXXV, Fig. 185; Calverley and Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II, Pl. 36 (=Mariette, Abydos I, Pl. 31 b); Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing and Hermann Kees, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures) III: Die Grosse Festdarstellung (Leipzig, 1928) Beiblatt A, which shows Thutmosis III carried by the Bas of Buto; Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abtheilung IV, Pl. 87 a.

¹⁹² See G. Legrain, Les temples de Karnak (Bruxelles, 1929) p. 221, Fig. 131, where fifteen falcon-headed and thirteen jackal-headed figures, designated as the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis respectively, carry the festival boat of Amun (time of Ramesses II).

of the sacred bark,¹⁹³ and at Edfu carry the god Horus himself.¹⁹⁴

The function of carrying the king was in the Old Kingdom attributed to the "guardians" (wršyw) of Buto and Hieraconpolis as represented in the sun-temple of Niuserre at Abu Gurab.¹⁹⁵ The "guardians" of Buto and Hieraconpolis are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts,¹⁹⁶ which speak of Re bestowing the dignity of an Akh upon the dead king in these words: "He gives him his Akh, which belongs to the Butic guardians; he proclaims¹⁹⁷ him as a god who belongs to the Hieraconpolite guardians." It is interesting to note that in the Pyramid Texts the "guardians" are also dancers,¹⁹⁸ reminding us of the role played by the Muu dancers (see p. 18). From these texts one might well infer that the "guardians" of Buto and Hieraconpolis were precursors of the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis in their function of throne-bearers and that subsequently they became identified with them.¹⁹⁹

In some New Kingdom temples²⁰⁰ the king's sons are represented carrying him on the throne. In connection with such scenes reference should be made to a text²⁰¹ which addresses the dead king thus: "O Osiris N., Horus has given thee his children that they may carry thee." This text probably refers to the funeral of the king, who is here identified with

¹⁹³ E.g. The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IV (OIP LI [1940]) Pls. 229 and 231; Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak I (OIP XXV [1936]) Pls. 17 B, 21, 56-58, and II, Pl. 90.

¹⁹⁴ Le temple d'Edfou VI 93, line 9, VI 94, lines 8-11, and XIV, Pl. DLII; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 568-69, and Sethe in Ludwig Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Šašpu-re II: Die Wandbilder ("Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft" XXVI [Leipzig, 1913]) p. 103.

¹⁹⁵ Von Bissing and Kees, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures) II: Die Kleine Festdarstellung (Leipzig, 1923) No. 44 d (cf. No. 50 b); cf. Kees, Götterglaube, p. 284.

¹⁹⁶ Pyr. §§795 and 1013.

¹⁹⁷ For this meaning of s'h see Komm. II 384 (Pyr. §515 b) and III 401 (Pyr. §754 a).

¹⁹⁸ Pyr. §1947 a. In Pyr. §§656 e, 1919 b, and 1945 c the "guardians," without reference to any cities, are of service to the pharaoh; cf. Komm. IV 19 (Pyr. §795 d).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Komm. IV 19.

²⁰⁰ The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IV, Pls. 196-97; Ramesses III apparently copied these scenes from reliefs of Ramesses II at the Ramesseum (see ibid. p. vii and Kees, Götterglaube, p. 284, n. 6).

²⁰¹ Pyr. §619 b.

Osiris.²⁰² While alive, however, the king himself was a Horus, and his sons were Horus' sons, represented carrying their father at solemn ceremonies.²⁰³ Although there are no scenes from earlier periods which represent the king's sons carrying him, it is possible to imagine that this patriarchal custom already existed in the early days of the monarchy and that at a very early period such scenes of earthly realism representing the king's sons and "guardians" carrying the king on his throne were transferred into the mythical realm of ritual and funerary ceremonies. In this process of transposition to myth the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto, the royal divine ancestors, were substituted for the king's sons and "guardians" without, however, the more ancient custom which survived in the representations of the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu being completely eliminated.²⁰⁴

The functions performed by the Bas extend beyond those of carrying the king or the sacred bark of Amun. The Bas are present at some of the most important occasions of the pharaoh's earthly life, welcome him at his coming to the next world, and prepare for his ascent to heaven. Thus the Bas of Hieraconpolis and Buto are present at the birth of Amenhotep III as depicted in the temple of Luxor²⁰⁵ and at that of Hatshepsut as depicted at Deir el-Bahri;²⁰⁶ in the late period the theme of the presence of the Bas in the scenes of divine birth reappears in the birth-houses or mammisis of the Egyptian temples.²⁰⁷ The Bas carry the king at his coronation ceremony, acclaim the new ruler at his accession to the throne,²⁰⁸ and with the goddesses Wadjet and Nekhbet introduce him to the god Amun.²⁰⁹ The protection of the Bas is invoked at the rites of the Sed festival in the 5th-dynasty sun-temple of Niuserre: "May the Bas of Hiera-

²⁰² See Komm. III 148.

²⁰³ See Kees, Götterglaube, p. 284.

²⁰⁴ For an Esna relief which shows the Bas of Buto carrying the king "like their father," see p. 21.

²⁰⁵ Gayet, Le temple de Louxor, Pl. LXV, Fig. 199; cf. Brunner, Die Geburt des Gottkönigs, Pl. 9, pp. 102 and 218.

²⁰⁶ Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari II, Pl. LI; cf. Brunner, Die Geburt des Gottkönigs, p. 218.

²⁰⁷ Chassinat, Le mammisi d'Edfou, Pl. XIII and p. 22; Daumas, Les mammisis de Dendara, pp. 8-9 and 108, Pls. II and LIX.

²⁰⁸ Naville, The temple of Deir el Bahari III, Pl. LX; Gayet, Le temple de Louxor, Pl. LXXV, Fig. 184; Alan W. Shorter in JEA XX (1934) Pl. III 3 (Rameses II).

²⁰⁹ The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IV, Pl. 235.

conpolis give life and power."²¹⁰ In an inscription on the jambs of the false door in the temple of Sahure of the same dynasty, the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis welcome the king to the next world with the words: "We give thee all life and happiness, all nourishment, all offerings which come out of the Nile, all good things which are in Upper and Lower Egypt, thou having appeared as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living unto eternity."²¹¹ Finally, as stated in the Pyramid Texts,²¹² the Bas prepare for the king's ascent to heaven by making supports of their arms as a ladder upon which the king climbs to heaven.

The groups of Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis and the third, human-headed, group represented in birth and coronation scenes in New Kingdom temples and Greco-Roman mammisis appear also in vignettes of the Book of the Dead and on the walls of New Kingdom tombs. They are usually depicted in an attitude of "jubilation" indicated by the hieroglyphic sign hnw.²¹³ This sign shows a man beating his chest with one hand while the other is raised above his head. When shown on the right side of the spectator, the Bas are depicted beating their chests with their right hands, their left hands raised above their heads;²¹⁴ when seen on the left side of the spectator, their right hands are raised and their left hands beat their chests.²¹⁵ These attitudes were probably dictated by the desire for a symmetrical arrangement of figures, as can be seen in the paintings in which both groups are represented, one group on each side, adoring the sun-god.²¹⁶ The presence of the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis in New Kingdom paintings may represent an act of homage to the sun-god at his

²¹⁰ Von Bissing and Kees, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures) II, No. 44 d.

²¹¹ Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-re II 40, line 102. This inscription has been reconstructed by Sethe.

²¹² Pyr. §§476-78 and 1253 a.

²¹³ For a study of this sign and the attitudes it indicates see Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, L'hommage aux dieux (Paris, 1954) pp. 73 ff.; cf. Sauneron, Esna V 154 (e), and M. Werbrouck in Chronique d'Égypte XXVII (1952) 44 and 49, Figs. 5 and 6.

²¹⁴ See e.g. André Lhote, Les chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture égyptienne (Paris, 1954) Pl. 159 (tombe de Anhour-Khaou, Deir-el-Medineh); Gayet, Le temple de Louxor, Pl. LXXV, Fig. 184.

²¹⁵ See e.g. Norman de Garis Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes (New York, 1927) Pl. XIV.

²¹⁶ Norman de Garis Davies, Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah, Pl. IX; Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV, Pl. III.

rising on the part of the divinized royal ancestors of Buto and Hieraconpolis, who were worshiped by the tomb-owners of the New Kingdom.

This act of jubilation is mentioned also in the Pyramid Texts in connection with the posthumous purification of the king, who is addressed thus: "Thy purification is the purification of the four Akhs of the Houses; they jubilate in Buto."²¹⁷ The verb hn̄n̄n̄, hn̄n̄, hnw describes an action characteristic of the Bas of Buto which may indicate that the "four Akhs of the Houses"—who perform a role analogous to the funerary role of the four sons of Horus²¹⁸—are to be equated with the Bas of Buto, the divinized royal ancestors buried at Buto, as both Sethe²¹⁹ and Junker²²⁰ observed. It will be remembered that the "Bas of the East and their Akhs" are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. As already stated (p. 28), it is plausible to assume that the "Bas of the East" here stand for the Bas of Heliopolis. Thus the "four Akhs" that jubilate in Buto would refer to the Bas of Buto, while the Akhs of the Eastern Bas would mean the Akhs of the Bas of Heliopolis. The reference to the "Bas of the East and their Akhs" calls to mind parallel expressions such as the "Bas of Heliopolis and their Kas,"²²¹ the "Kas which are in Buto," the "Kas which will be in Buto," and the "Ka of the pharaoh which is in Buto."²²² Finally, not only do the Bas have their Akhs, that is, appear in the state of glorified or efficient dead, but the dead pharaoh as well can appear in this state; he receives his Akhs from Horus of Hieraconpolis.²²³ These Akhs are in the form of jackals, thus suggesting that they can be equated with the Bas of Hieraconpolis.²²⁴

Comparing all of these references, one is left with the impression

²¹⁷ Hn̄n̄n̄.sn m P, with a reduplicated verb form from hn̄n̄, hnw (Pyr. §842 c; cf. Komm. IV 98). In BD 15 (Navelle, Todtenbuch I, Pl. XV, line 4) the Bas of Heliopolis jubilate at the rising of the sun-god.

²¹⁸ Cf. Komm. IV 97-98. The sons of Horus are connected with Buto also in Pyr. §734 c; only later, as mentioned on p. 29 above, were two of the sons of Horus associated with Buto and two with Hieraconpolis (cf. Komm. III 364).

²¹⁹ Komm. IV 97-98.

²²⁰ MDAIK IX 27-28.

²²¹ Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I (Leipzig, 1901) Pap. 3055, Pl. 2, lines 4-5; cf. Ursula Schweitzer, Das Wesen des Ka ("Ägyptologische Forschungen" XIX [Glückstadt, 1956]) p. 58.

²²² Pyr. §561 a-b; cf. Komm. III 56.

²²³ Pyr. §§1294 a and 2011 d; see also Pyr. §573 a; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, p. 193, n. 2, and Komm. III 71 and 74.

²²⁴ Komm. V 218.

that the "Bas of the East and their Akhs," the "four Akhs of the Houses that jubilate in Buto," the "Bas of Heliopolis and their Kas," and the "Kas which are in Buto" all indicate the same thing, that is, the divinized dead kings of the ancient cities, the "Akhs, Followers of Horus," of the Turin annals and the "dead demigods" of Manetho. In their various aspects of Kas, Bas, and Akhs the divinized kings reside in those famous religious centers but are at the same time present at all important events in the pharaoh's life as guarantors of the divine kingly office and as protectors of their successor, the living Horus, who at death joins their company and becomes one of the divinized members of the ancestral corporations of dead kings. Thus the line of divine ancestors that began with a dynasty of gods ruling on earth, which was succeeded by Manetho's demigods and finally by the dynasties of divinized kings, runs uninterruptedly. It is therefore not surprising that the Bas of the ancient cities are referred to as gods. The words "Bas" and "gods" sometimes interchange. For instance, in one text the king is said to "come forth from Buto to the Bas of Buto," while in another the king "comes forth from Buto to the gods of Buto."²²⁵ The two texts describe in different terms the same situation: the king joins his divine ancestors, the "Bas of Buto" or the "gods of Buto," and then ascends to heaven. The Bas and the gods are equated in two pairs of parallel texts²²⁶ in which the "gods of Buto" are filled with compassion²²⁷ for the king and the "Bas of Buto" dance for him. If there is any doubt about the identification of the Bas with the gods in these texts, it is certainly dispelled by the texts in which the Bas are appositives for the gods: "To him (i.e., the pharaoh) come the gods, the Bas of Buto, the gods, the Bas of Hieraconpolis, the gods belonging to heaven, the gods belonging to earth; they make for thee supports on their arms; thou goest forth to heaven, thou ascendest to it in its name of 'ladder'" (see p. 22).²²⁸ The "gods belonging to heaven" and the "gods belonging to earth" are most likely the same Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis in their falcon-headed and

²²⁵ Pyr. §§1089 a and 1373 a.

²²⁶ Pyr. §§1004 c and 1005 a, 1973 a and 1974 a. Sethe (Komm. IV 362 and 289) was somewhat hesitant about the identification of the Bas of Buto with the gods of Buto, but the context seems clearly to suggest it.

²²⁷ For the verb mh3 here and in Urk. IV 260, line 4, see Komm. IV 288; cf. Wb. II 133, 4-5, and Raymond O. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford, 1962) p. 115.

²²⁸ Pyr. §§478 a to 479 a; see also §§941 c to 942 a and 1473 b to 1474 b and Komm. II 294 ff.

jackal-headed forms respectively.²²⁹ The structural parallelism of the text translated above has been disturbed in certain 11th- and 12th-dynasty versions of the Coffin Texts.²³⁰ After mentioning the "gods, Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis," the compiler inserted the "gods, Bas of Heliopolis," and produced a version in which the Bas of Buto, Hieraconpolis, and Heliopolis together with the gods of heaven and earth assist the deceased in his ascension to heaven.²³¹

The Ba and the Re-Osiris Identification

In the long religious history of ancient Egypt, few theological ideas were so widely drawn upon as the Ba concept. This concept played an especially significant role in attempts to co-ordinate diverse theological ideas and incorporate them into a coherent system. One such attempt was a Re-Osiris identification.

Osiris was and always remained primarily the god of the underworld, and originally he possessed no features of a cosmic divinity. A "rapprochement" between Osiris and Re, however, was made early in Egyptian history. This process began probably at the incentive of the Heliopolitan theology, which associated Osiris with the stars and the constellation Orion, and ended by making him a celestial divinity. The syncretistic trend to bring Osiris and Re closer to each other continued throughout the Middle and New Kingdoms, but, except in the latest period, the "rapprochement" did not reach the stage of an identification.²³²

The syncretistic trend is reflected, for example, in Spell 26 of the Coffin Texts: "O Osiris N., mayest thou fare upon the pools of the Duat,

²²⁹ Cf. Komm. II 295-96. A later parallel (Pyr. §§1473-74) omits the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis but mentions the "gods belonging to heaven" and the "gods belonging to earth" as performing the function of making supports of their arms as a ladder for the king to ascend to heaven. In another version (Pyr. §§941-42) the "gods belonging to heaven" and the "gods belonging to earth" are separated from the Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis by a sentence which attributes the function of assisting the king to heaven to the former. In yet another version (Pyr. §994 f) "the regions (i.e., mounds) of Horus and Seth" and the "Field of Rushes" prepare the ladder for the king's ascension.

²³⁰ CT VII 32-34, Spell 832. The entry for Spell 832 on p. xii of CT VII is to be expanded to read "Pyr. §§476-81 and 1472-74, cf. Pyr. §§992-98," to agree with Allen, Occurrences, pp. 15 (B 10 C) and 37 (T 2 C and T 9 C).

²³¹ Cf. Komm. II 296.

²³² See Kees, Totenglauben, p. 157, and Vandier, La religion égyptienne, pp. 61-62; see also Hermann Junker, Pyramidenzeit (Zürich-Köln, 1949) p. 134.

mayest thou row upon the waters of the great god who is in Heliopolis, whose Ba is in Busiris, whose nobility is in Heracleopolis, whose dignity is in Abydos.²³³ The great god in Heliopolis is Re; his Ba in Busiris is perhaps the united Ba of Re and Osiris;²³⁴ his nobility (*s^ch*) in Heracleopolis is Harsaphes, the ram-god, the Ba of Re;²³⁵ his dignity (*šfšfy*) in Abydos is Osiris, who in Abydos became a universal cosmic deity²³⁶ and was assimilated into Re.

An attempt at a Re-Aton-Osiris identification was made in the Amarna theology, as pointed out by Drioton.²³⁷ In an 18th-dynasty text, Osiris is referred to as the "Ba of Re, his own body,"²³⁸ and elsewhere it is said that the One-who-has-two-Bas embodies the Ba of Re and the Ba of Osiris.²³⁹ In the latest period, which was one of extreme syncretistic tendencies, the identification of Re and Osiris was expressed in such phrases as the "united-Ba-of-Re-Osiris-the-great-god"²⁴⁰ and "Osiris-in-his-form-of-Re."²⁴¹

In his recent study of the Book of Amduat, Erik Hornung has called attention to some texts and scenes which seem to identify the body of the

²³³CT I 78 g-m.

²³⁴See p. 12.

²³⁵Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 318-19.

²³⁶Ibid. p. 337.

²³⁷In ASAE XLIII (1943) 15-43, esp. pp. 37 and 42-43; cf. Louis V. Žabkar in JNES XIII 98.

²³⁸See p. 12.

²³⁹See p. 12.

²⁴⁰Alexandre Piankoff and N. Rambova, Mythological Papyri (Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations ["Bollingen Series" XL] III [New York, 1957]) No. 7, scenes 3 and 5 (see pp. 89-90); cf. Hornung, Das Amduat II 124.

²⁴¹Pap. BM 10569 xvi 13 (Faulkner, An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours, p. 25* [16, 13]); see also BD 175, third part (ZAS LXV 65-66): "Osiris has appeared as Re, after he had inherited his (i.e., Re's) throne, in order that he may rule the Two Banks (i.e., Egypt)"; cf. CT I 191-92 and III 26. A hymn to Osiris reads: "He has appeared on the throne of his father like Re when he rises on the horizon in order that he may give light to the darkness. He kindles the light with his double plumes and inundates the Two Lands like Aton in the morning" (see Moret in BIFAO XXX, Pl. III, lines 12-13, and pp. 737-38). For references to Osiris as the son of Re, see Jacques Vandier, Le Papyrus Jumilhac (Paris, 1961) Pl. XVI, lines 5-6, and p. 128, and Gardiner in JEA XXIV (1938) 168 (Pap. Salt 825). There is also a text in which Re says to Osiris: *ntk swt w^c pr im.i ds.i*, "thou, unique one, hast come forth from me myself"; see Alexandre Piankoff and N. Rambova, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations ["Bollingen Series" XL] I [New York, 1954]) Pl. 20, middle register.

sun-god Re in the underworld with that of Osiris.²⁴² Hornung rightly states that this syncretism antedates the Amarna period and reaches back to the beginning of the New Kingdom if not to earlier times.²⁴³

We can utilize the Amduat texts still further in studying the trend toward a Re-Osiris identification by noting references to both the Ba of Re and the Ba of Osiris. Thus, it is said that the sun-god's body is in or belongs to the underworld, his Ba to heaven.²⁴⁴ Osiris' body, in the words of the sun-god himself, belongs to the underworld, and his Ba belongs to heaven.²⁴⁵ The Ba of the sun-god is said to join his body during his nocturnal journey.²⁴⁶ It is said of Osiris that the twelve goddesses of the ninth hour "uplift" him and make his mysterious Ba alight (upon his body).²⁴⁷ The sun-god is sometimes referred to as the "great Ba" who enters and leaves the underworld,²⁴⁸ where the Bas and gods and goddesses accompany him.²⁴⁹ When Osiris enters the underworld, most likely in the form of a Ba,²⁵⁰ he is accompanied by the Bas, gods and goddesses, and the Akhs.²⁵¹ The sun-god invites the "mysterious Bas" which attend Osiris to join him (i.e., Re) in whose retinue Osiris himself is.²⁵²

As can be seen from this brief analysis of the Re-Osiris relationship in the Book of Amduat, the syncretistic tendency is far from the stage of

²⁴²Hornung, Das Amduat II 115-24; cf. pp. 135, 155, 162, 193.

²⁴³Ibid. p. 124.

²⁴⁴Ibid. I 57, line 1, I 195, line 11, to 196, line 1, and II 74 and 187: pt n b3.k t3 n h3t.k. In a hymn to Amun, the Ba of the sun-god is said to be in heaven and his body is said to be in the West; it is also said that the sun-god enters his mummy, which rests in a sarcophagus in the underworld (see Gardiner in ZAS XLII 34 and 14).

²⁴⁵Hornung, Das Amduat I 60, line 1, and II 74.

²⁴⁶Ibid. I 112, line 6, and II 120.

²⁴⁷Ibid. I 157, line 6, and II 155.

²⁴⁸Ibid. I 4, line 4, I 37, line 4, I 88, line 2, and II 10, 55, 101.

²⁴⁹Ibid. I 112, lines 5-6, I 173, lines 8-9, I 7, line 8, I 18, line 5, and II 120, 166, 14, 33, etc.

²⁵⁰Ibid. I 157, lines 6 and 8, and II 155. In these particular lines, Osiris is not referred to as a Ba. However, elsewhere in the Book of Amduat, Re says to Osiris: "A Ba belongs to thee and thou art a Ba" (ibid. I 119, line 10, and II 127). Osiris is referred to as the "Ba which is before the Duat" (b3 hnty d3t) in the Book of Caverns (BIFAO XLII [1944] Pl. XXV, col. 9).

²⁵¹Hornung, Das Amduat I 58, lines 3-4, I 60, lines 1-2, I 157, line 8, and II 74 and 155.

²⁵²Ibid. I 58, lines 5-6, and II 74. In the Book of Caverns also it is said that the Ba of Osiris follows Re (see ibid. II 166).

identification reflected by the texts of the latest period. In religious speculative thought, apparently, there remained a consciousness of the difficulty involved in the process of identifying the two gods.

The point to be emphasized at this juncture is that in the trend toward the Re-Osiris identification the concept of the Ba was utilized to strengthen the relationship between the two gods and to render them capable of moving within each other's spheres, the Ba of Osiris ascending to the heaven of Re and Re as "the great Ba" entering the underworld, the realm of Osiris. A further point to be mentioned concerning the Ba in the Amduat texts is that it is sometimes an equivalent for a god, denoting a god in a state in which his power is manifest (Re is "the great Ba," Osiris is "the Ba"²⁵³), which meaning of the Ba has already been noted.

The Function of the Ba in Egyptian Temples and Mammisis of the Greco-Roman Period

Another example of the application of the Ba concept to complex theological systems is provided by those texts and visual representations in the Egyptian temples and mammisis of the Greco-Roman period which deal with the incarnation of the gods in their statues.

In their temples the gods and goddesses resided in their cult statues. These statues were animated by the gods' Bas, which descended upon them and united themselves with them each time the proper ritual was performed. It is said to Horus of Edfu: "Gods and goddesses praise thy face, the sun-folk adore thy Ka. Thy Ba which is in the sky joins thine image; one embraces the other when thou appearest in the msnt-sanctuary."²⁵⁴ When Horus and his Ennead descend from the sky, they take their seats in the temple and "their Bas are united with their bes-statues."²⁵⁵ When the doors of the tabernacles are opened and the ritual of purification is performed, the Ba of the god joins his image and his Ba is adored together

²⁵³"A Ba belongs to thee and thou art a Ba," says Re to Osiris (see n. 250 above).

²⁵⁴Le temple d'Edfou V 30, line 7, to p. 31, line 6; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 553-54.

²⁵⁵Le temple d'Edfou I 368, lines 12-14; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 99 and 336. "Bes-statue" is one of the designations for the cult statue (see Belegstellen to Wb. I 474, 3, Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, p. 288, n. 8, and Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 99, n. 3, and p. 332).

with his Ka.²⁵⁶ An inscription in the mammisi at Edfu says that when the winged disk traverses the sky "his two eyes are fixed upon his cult statue; his living Ba comes from heaven and rests upon his statue every day."²⁵⁷ In the mammisi at Denderah, Hathor, mistress of Denderah, "alights upon her bes-statue in the sanctuary of her Ka, and her heart unites itself with her cult statue"; when her majesty sees the monument which has been made for her Ka, "she hovers as a female falcon of turquoise color, her court at both her sides; she alights upon her body in her sacred precinct; her Ba unites itself with her bes-statue; her heart rejoices when she sees her likeness, and her face is enchanted before her image."²⁵⁸ In this last example, the incarnation of the goddess Hathor in her statue is effected through her heart as well as her Ba, and her cult statue is also referred to as her "body."²⁵⁹

In addition to the daily ritual through which the Bas of the gods joined their cult statues, a special ceremony known as the "union with the sun disk" was performed on some feast days. This rite was performed usually on the roof of the sanctuary of the temple or in the shrine of a small open court within the temple,²⁶⁰ more rarely, as at Esna,²⁶¹ before the main entrance to the hypostyle hall. Liturgical rubrics describing the rite tell us that through the efficacy of the spoken word and ritual gestures the incarnation of the sun-god (or other divinities) in their cult statues was effected through the rays of the sun, which transmitted the Ba of the divinity to its statue and imbued it with a renewed divine substance. The cult statue became Ba-full.²⁶² A text at Edfu reads: "The sun shines, the storm has passed, the sky is bright and without clouds . . . Horus of Edfu has appeared to unite himself with his Ba (var.: 'with Re'); its rays penetrate his body."²⁶³ When the statue of Khnum-Re, lord of Esna, is carried

²⁵⁶ Le temple d'Edfou VII 16, lines 2-5; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 349-50.

²⁵⁷ Chassinat, Le mammisi d'Edfou, pp. 4-5; cf. Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, p. 288.

²⁵⁸ Daumas, Les mammisis de Dendara, p. 100, and Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, pp. 361 and 363.

²⁵⁹ See Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, pp. 366 and 374.

²⁶⁰ See Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 827.

²⁶¹ See Sauneron, Esna V 57 and 123.

²⁶² Ibid., pp. 65 and 126, n. 1.

²⁶³ See Le temple d'Edfou I 417, Inscription du bandau de la frise; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 353-54.

in procession outside the temple for the ceremony of the union with the sun disk and its naos is placed under the kiosk, "his Ba descends from heaven upon his statue; his majesty rests upon its statue . . . and remains in his place to fashion men at the wheel and to create all things."²⁶⁴

The Bas of the gods descended not only upon their own images or statues but also upon the image of the young god Ihy (or Harsomtus), Hathor's son and a member of a divine triad:

"The Ba of Re appears in heaven in his great image of the Behdetite, dappled of plumage. Two uraei are with him protecting him. . . . His heart is in joy when he has joined his living image on earth, Ihy the great, the son of Hathor."²⁶⁵

"The Ba of Atum shines in the sky in its august form of a winged disk, chief among the gods. The two eyes accompany him protecting his majesty and guarding his body against his enemies He enters the (sacred) dwelling²⁶⁶ under the protection of his wd3t-eye; he takes his place in the House of the Child and unites himself with his image which is seated on its throne, Harsomtus the child, son of Hathor."²⁶⁷

Thus, Ihy is the living image (sh̄m ʿnh̄) of Re and Atum, whose Bas descend upon him when he is born in the mammisi and unite themselves with him. The texts describing the incarnation of the Ba of Re or Atum in the child-god Ihy-Harsomtus go on to say that the same divine child represents also the king who rules the land of Egypt. The ruler is Ihy himself.²⁶⁸ In other words, the king identifies himself with the divine child and through this identification reasserts his divine origin and his claim to rule Egypt in a way reminiscent of the ancient Egyptian state dogma of divine kingship.

To be sure, centuries had passed since the royal artist of the New Kingdom illustrated the theogamous myth of divine birth in which the god-king is born from the union of an earthly mother and a divine father; and when, after more than six hundred years, the theme of the divine birth emerges again, on the walls of the mammisis, the myth has become a sacred drama in which the central point is no longer the birth of a god-king

²⁶⁴ Sauneron, Esna V 127-28; cf. the ritual of the first day of Khoiak ibid. p. 65.

²⁶⁵ Daumas, Les mammisis de Dendara, p. 143; cf. Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, p. 364.

²⁶⁶ ʿryt (cf. Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, pp. 359-60).

²⁶⁷ Daumas, Les mammisis de Dendara, pp. 143-44; cf. Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, pp. 365-66.

²⁶⁸ See Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, pp. 359 and 367-68.

from an earthly mother but the child-god as the son of a divine couple.²⁶⁹ Being of foreign origin and culture, Ptolemaic and Roman rulers attempted, for reasons of political expediency and perhaps personal beliefs, to legitimize their possession of the land of Egypt by assuming the ancient Egyptian symbols of royal power and by adopting the royal titulary which assimilated them to Horus and proclaimed them to be the sons of Re. Perhaps aware of the fact that their claim remained a political fiction, they went a step farther. In order to impress their claim more convincingly upon the politico-religious consciousness of their Egyptian subjects, they identified themselves with the young god born of divine parents who himself was proclaimed as the king upon whom his divine father had bestowed the kingship of the Two Lands as well as that of heaven and earth.²⁷⁰ Thus the fact of power and conquest was transformed into a theological statement of divine kingship, extended to cover foreign, Macedonian and Roman, conquerors.

We have seen that in the Egyptian temples of the Greco-Roman period the Ba served as a means of incarnating the gods into their cult statues. In the mammisis, incarnation through the Ba was effected in the statue of the divine child with whom the non-Egyptian monarchs were identified and thus made sons of gods and thereby legitimate rulers of Egypt. Thus the meaning of the Ba as the manifestation of a divine being emerges once more.

Thus far the Ba has been considered in its relation to "living" gods. Its relationship to "dead" gods remains to be discussed.

Reference has already been made to the special cult devoted to the Ba of Osiris at Abaton on the island of Biggeh.²⁷¹

Recent studies dealing with the inscriptions in the temples of the Greco-Roman period have considerably expanded our information about the cult dedicated to the Bas of the "dead" gods. This cult was connected with agricultural festivals, and its funerary aspect was an extension and a result of the Osirianization of fertility rites,²⁷² in which from earliest times the chthonic character of Osiris was associated with the earth, wa-

²⁶⁹ See Brunner, Die Geburt des Gottkönigs, pp. 1 and 214.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, pp. 343, 347, 350, 354, 373-75.

²⁷¹ See Junker, Götterdekret, pp. 64 ff.

²⁷² See H. W. Fairman in Myth, Ritual and Kingship, ed. S. H. Hooke (Oxford, 1958) p. 86; Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 463; Sauneron, Esna V 32-35 and 62-63.

ters, the river Nile, and vegetation. An analogous connection of funerary and harvest rites is reflected in the celebration of the ancient Greek "Anthesteria" or Flower Festival, devoted to the performance of fertility rites, the third day of which was dedicated to making offerings for the dead.²⁷³

Such a festival was celebrated in Ptolemaic times at Edfu in the third month of summer. A procession went to the sacred necropolis, where special rites were performed for the "children of Re" or the "children of Atum," also referred to as the "divine Bas," the "ancestors," and the "living gods," who were believed to have been buried there and who each year at the time of the festival received oblations offered to them by Re, Horus, and Hathor.²⁷⁴

Similar mortuary ceremonies were performed at the harvest festivals at Denderah and Kom Ombo²⁷⁵ and, as a recent study by Serge Sauneron has revealed, at Esna.²⁷⁶ The role played by the Ba in relation to this funerary cult, which is connected with fertility rites, is of some interest.

At the Edfu festival, before the river procession bringing the goddess Hathor from Denderah to the temple of Horus of Edfu had reached its destination, special propitiatory ceremonies were performed to insure the safe arrival of the procession. These ceremonies were accompanied by the recitation of a formula, "adoration of the united Ba,"²⁷⁷ which could refer to the united Ba of Horus-Re-of-Edfu and Hathor-as-his-uraeus²⁷⁸ but, from the context of the subsequent ceremonies, would rather seem to indicate the "divine powers," meaning gods and goddesses collectively.

The first day of the festival, known as the "Festival of Behdet" (Hb Bhd̄t), began with an offering made in the main temple of Edfu to the "di-

²⁷³ Cf. E. Mireaux, Daily Life in the Time of Homer (New York, 1959) p. 230.

²⁷⁴ See Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 441-560, "La Fête de la (bonne) Réunion," esp. pp. 503-19. For a summary see Fairman in Myth, Ritual and Kingship, pp. 86 ff.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Fairman in Myth, Ritual and Kingship, p. 88; Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 537.

²⁷⁶ Sauneron, Esna V 32, 62-63, 319-20, 329, 335, 351-52.

²⁷⁷ Le temple d'Edfou V 125, lines 3-5; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 461-62.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 99, n. 3, p. 499, end of text and n. 2, and p. 508, n. 3.

vine Bas which rest in this place,"²⁷⁹ again collectively designating the divinities worshiped in the temple.

When the ceremonies in the main temple were completed, the gods were taken in a procession to the sacred necropolis, where Re himself offered sacrifices to his children, whose bodies (i.e., mummies), "great, august, divine," rested there²⁸⁰ and whose "Bas had flown up to heaven to live among the stars."²⁸¹ Re, whose "heart was saddened" at their death, had ordered that their bodies be embalmed and their mummies adorned and buried at Edfu in a mysterious grove which hid their tomb.²⁸² When offerings are made to the dead gods, their bodies "live, their hearts rejoice,"²⁸³ "their Bas live, their throats breathe,"²⁸⁴ "the living Bas live, the glorified bodies (s^chw) are rejuvenated,"²⁸⁵ "the living Bas awaken upon their seats when they see the lord of the gods," and they are in joy.²⁸⁶

It is to be observed that the offerings are made²⁸⁷ to the "divine bodies" concealed in the mounds of the necropolis,²⁸⁸ to the "children of Re, great, august, divine bodies,"²⁸⁹ to the "divine Bas,"²⁹⁰ to the "living

²⁷⁹ Le temple d'Edfou V 130, line 9, to p. 131, line 1; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 503-4.

²⁸⁰ Le temple d'Edfou I 173, line 13, and II 51, line 14; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 514-16, and Émile Chassinat, Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak (Le Caire, 1966) p. 280.

²⁸¹ Le temple d'Edfou II 51, lines 10-11 (cf. ibid. IV 240, line 4); cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 515, and Chassinat, Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, pp. 281-84.

²⁸² Le temple d'Edfou II 51, lines 11-12; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 515-16, and Chassinat, Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, pp. 283-84.

²⁸³ Le temple d'Edfou II 51, line 14; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 515-16.

²⁸⁴ Le temple d'Edfou I 382, lines 13-14, and XII, Pl. CCCXXVIII; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 516-17.

²⁸⁵ Le temple d'Edfou V 29, line 13; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 509-10.

²⁸⁶ Le temple d'Edfou V 131, line 10, to p. 132, line 1; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 518-19.

²⁸⁷ The most frequently used term for making offerings or oblations is w3p ijt (see Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 503, 514, 516, 518, 529), but nd ijt is sometimes used with the same meaning (ibid. pp. 515-16).

²⁸⁸ Le temple d'Edfou I 382, line 13.

²⁸⁹ Ibid. I 173, line 13, and II 51, line 14.

²⁹⁰ Ibid. V 131, line 6.

Bas, hidden of forms,"²⁹¹ and to the "Kas" of the "children of Re."²⁹² It is said that the bodies of the dead gods are concealed in the mounds of the necropolis while "their Bas have flown up to heaven"²⁹³ or are above the bodies "journeying in heaven";²⁹⁴ but it is also said that the "living Bas awaken upon their seats" when they see the lord of the gods in the necropolis.²⁹⁵ From these statements it follows that the dead gods are referred to as either "divine bodies" or "divine Bas" or as both "bodies" and "Bas." The fact that they are referred to interchangeably as "bodies" and "Bas" is significant in that it indicates that the "body" as well as the "Ba" represents the full personality of a god (or a goddess) and not part of it. The dead gods, "divine Bas," "divine bodies (or 'mummies')," the gods whose bodies are in the necropolis and whose Bas are in heaven—all these refer to the "children of Re," who receive offerings and through them continue to live; they are living beings or, as the texts clearly call them, "living gods."²⁹⁶

As has been mentioned above in the description of the Edfu festival, before the procession went to the sacred necropolis, where the "children of Re" were buried, offerings were made to divinities in the main Edfu temple itself. These divinities are referred to as the "divine Bas which rest in this place."²⁹⁷ They are also called the "children of Re," who

²⁹¹ Ibid. V 134, line 10 (cf. ibid. IV 240, lines 3-4); cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 529-30, and Chassinat, Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, p. 289. Chassinat's distinction between the "divine Bas" (b3w ntryw) and the "living Bas" (b3w 'nhw), the former referring to the sacred falcons of Horus and the latter to the gods, sons of Atum, is unconvincing. The "divine Bas" of Le temple d'Edfou V 131, lines 1 and 6 (cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 504 and 518), certainly seem to signify the gods and to be identical with the "living Bas" of Le temple d'Edfou V 131, line 10, and 132, line 2 (cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 518).

²⁹² Le temple d'Edfou I 173, line 14; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 514, and Chassinat, Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, p. 280.

²⁹³ See references in n. 281 above.

²⁹⁴ Le temple d'Edfou I 382, lines 11-12; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 516-17. The text reads b3(w).sn m gs.sn-hry hnd hr pt, "their Bas are above them (i.e., the bodies) journeying in heaven (lit. 'treading on heaven')." For m gs-hry, "above," see Wb. V 200, 10. Chassinat (Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, pp. 280-81) seems to have misconstrued this text: ". . . leurs âmes auprès d'eux. Le ciel est élevé au-dessus de leurs corps."

²⁹⁵ See references in n. 286 above.

²⁹⁶ Le temple d'Edfou I 173, line 11, and II 51, line 9.

²⁹⁷ Ibid. V 131, line 1; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 503-4.

"awaken upon their seats"²⁹⁸ when Hathor of Denderah comes to Edfu to visit her divine spouse Harakhti,²⁹⁹ just as the "children of Re" buried in the necropolis are called "living Bas," who "awaken upon their seats" when they see Horus, the lord of the gods, in the necropolis.³⁰⁰ Thus the divinities worshiped in the main temple at Edfu were the divine "ancestors," "divine Bas," or "children of Re" who were worshiped in the necropolis.³⁰¹ The same term for making offerings (w3h iht) was used in both cases.³⁰²

These "Bas of Edfu"—referred to as the "great living gods," the "divine Ennead," the "children of Re and Atum," and buried in the necropolis of Edfu—seem to have been the personifications of creative powers in a cosmogonic myth of Edfu. Before heaven or earth had come into existence, they were born at Hermopolis, and from the "primeval hillock" of that city, having traversed the land of Egypt in the company of the sun-god Re, they came to Edfu, where they died and were buried.³⁰³ In the temple of Edfu they are represented as nine male divinities in nine identical Osirian forms.³⁰⁴

This vaguely discerned cosmogonic myth of the Ennead of Edfu, in which the "Bas of Edfu" seem to have played a role in the creation of the world by the sun-god, was an adaptation of the cosmogonic myth of the Ogdoad, the four pairs of primeval pre-creation gods, developed at Hermopolis and later adopted and further elaborated at Thebes. According to Theban cosmogonic teaching, the gods of the Ogdoad were born at Thebes and, having accomplished their creative work and "completed their time," were buried in the Theban necropolis near Medinet Habu, where their mummies rested and offerings were made to their Bas.³⁰⁵

²⁹⁸ Le temple d'Edfou VII 27, lines 3-4; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 499-500.

²⁹⁹ Le temple d'Edfou I 50, line 7; cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, p. 508.

³⁰⁰ See references in n. 286 above.

³⁰¹ This conclusion was reached also by Reymond (Chronique d'Égypte XXXVIII 55), on the basis of a study of the so-called Building Text of the pronaos of the Edfu temple.

³⁰² Cf. Alliot, Le culte d'Horus à Edfou, pp. 503-4.

³⁰³ Le temple d'Edfou IV 240, lines 3-8; cf. Chassinat, Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, pp. 283-86.

³⁰⁴ Le temple d'Edfou XII, Pl. CCCXXVIII.

³⁰⁵ Sethe, Amun, §§99, 102, 106, 112; Chassinat, Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, p. 291; Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 311 and 247; Vandier, La religion égypt-

These Bas of Edfu and Thebes call to mind the Bas of Hermopolis mentioned in inscriptions in the tomb of Petosiris at Tunah el-Gebel. Chassinat plausibly argued³⁰⁶ that these Bas of Hermopolis, also referred to as the "great Bas," are to be understood as the eight dead deities of the Hermopolitan cosmogonic myth who were buried at Hermopolis and to whom, not far from Petosiris' tomb, a temple (ḥwt nṯr nty b3w ʿ3w, "temple of the great Bas") was dedicated; it is to these deities that Petosiris in his inscriptions asks to be remembered.

The Esna texts speak of solemn processions conducted on the occasion of religious festivals from the main temple of Esna to the sanctuaries in the field. One of these sanctuaries was known as "Pineter," a necropolis where the dead gods rested, also called "House of the Bas"³⁰⁷ or "House of the Bas of Shu and Tefnut,"³⁰⁸ "House of Tanen," "City of Neith," "Palace of Re."³⁰⁹ The gods who rested there were referred to as the "ancestor gods," "great words of the first generation" which issued from the mouth of Neith and became "seven divine beings" represented in the form of falcons.³¹⁰ Other gods were also buried in the necropolis, for example Osiris, Atum, Kematef (or Kneph, the god "who has completed his time"), and the "children of Re, Shu, and Tefnut."³¹¹ When the procession reached the sanctuary of the necropolis, offerings and purifications, incense and libations were presented to the dead gods and milk libations to the Ka of the "children of Re."³¹² Invocations were made to the "excellent Bas, the Kas of the (dead) gods."³¹³ The dead gods received offerings, were rejuvenated, and continued to live.³¹⁴ Their peace was protected by severe measures intended to keep away all those who might disturb them or the ceremonies performed at the necropolis—interdicts

tienne, p. 64. See also Jaroslav Černý, Late Ramesside Letters ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" IX [Bruxelles, 1939]) p. 66, lines 4-6, and Edward F. Wente, Late Ramesside Letters (SAOC No. 33 [1967]) p. 78, with note b.

³⁰⁶ Chassinat, Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, pp. 291-96.

³⁰⁷ Sauneron, Esna V 33 and 351.

³⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 319.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid. pp. 319, 268, 351.

³¹¹ Ibid. pp. 351 and 319.

³¹² Ibid. pp. 33 and 62.

³¹³ Ibid. p. 62.

³¹⁴ Ibid. p. 63.

reminiscent of the divine decree at Abaton on the island of Biggeh against those who would awaken "Osiris the Ba from his sleep."³¹⁵

It is interesting to note that these "dead gods" were known to Plutarch. He states that the Egyptian priests say that the bodies of these mortal gods "after they have done with their labors, have been placed in the keeping of the priests and are cherished there, but that their souls shine as the stars in the firmament."³¹⁶ To Plutarch, as later to Horapollo (see p. 112), the Ba was the psyche. Apart from this unacceptable identification, however, Plutarch's account shows that, directly or indirectly, he often derived his information from authentic Egyptian sources.

The Ba and Inanimate Objects

The idea that even inanimate objects possessed a Ba or Bas is known from several texts. It has been noted above (p. 14) that such entities as the moon and the stars were considered to be the Bas of some gods. It was quite natural for the Egyptian to say that the great sphinx at Giza, representing the sun-god or Harakhti, was "great of Bas"³¹⁷ or that the great pylons of the temple of Isis at Philae were Ba-full³¹⁸ or that a town, as the center of worship of a particular god, had its Bas, as stated by Semtawytefnakhte addressing the god Harsaphes of Heracleopolis: "I did not make any town prosper except thine own, I did not desist from proclaiming its Bas to everyone."³¹⁹ But it is interesting to learn that the Egyptian thought that even the threshing floor possessed Bas, which could be greater than oaths sworn on the great throne,³²⁰ and that a door had Bas, as referred to in a love song: "O door, thou art my fate . . . exert not thy Bas."³²¹ It is obvious that the Bas possessed by the threshing floor and the door represent the power which resided in them.

³¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 319 and 351. See also Sauneron in MDAIK XVI 271-79 and cf. Junker, Götterdekret, pp. 21-22 and 82-83.

³¹⁶ De Iside et Osiride, ch. 21.

³¹⁷ Sphinx stela of Thutmosis IV (see Urk. IV 1542, line 6).

³¹⁸ Junker, Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä, p. 79, lines 1-2.

³¹⁹ Line 6 of the Naples stela from the temple of Isis at Pompeii (see Urk. II 3, lines 8-9, and Tresson in BIFAO XXX 380 and 382; see also Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 379).

³²⁰ H. O. Lange, Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope (København, 1925) pp. 92 and 96.

³²¹ Alan H. Gardiner, The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1 (London, 1931) Pl. XVII, line 9, and p. 38.

An important and frequently occurring expression concerning the Bas in reference to inanimate objects is b3w R^c, "Bas of Re," a phrase used to denote sacred writings or religious records. Thoth, the god of wisdom, learning, and writing, the "scribe of the sacred books,"³²² is also known as the "lord of the Bas of Re."³²³ The goddess Seshat, the "lady of writing in the house of life,"³²⁴ is referred to as "pre-eminent in the House of Book(s), mistress of the Bas of Re."³²⁵ The king, as "superintendent of the prophets of Thoth," is the "servant of the Bas of Re."³²⁶ Ceremonial acts performed by the king are considered to be "in accord with what is prescribed in the Bas of Re."³²⁷ The priests "who penetrate into the words of god and are skilled in writings . . . who have penetrated into the archives of the library" are said to "interpret the mysteries of the Bas of Re."³²⁸ The chief priests of Egypt are the "scholars learned in the Bas of Re."³²⁹ The girdle-wall of the temple of Edfu is described as being inscribed with the "Bas of Re of the earliest primordial age."³³⁰

These sacred books were composed and kept in workshops known as the "houses of life" and could be consulted for guidance in critical moments. Such was the occasion, described in a late text, when King Djoser asked the famous Imhotep how the misery that had befallen Egypt during the seven years of famine could be alleviated. In answer, Imhotep asked permission "to enter into the house of life, open the Bas of Re and seek guidance from them."³³¹

These books were doubly sacred because they were not only used for

³²² Gardiner in JEA XXIV 167-68 (Pap. Salt 825 vii 3).

³²³ Le temple d'Edfou VI 278, lines 1-2; see Blackman and Fairman in JEA XXIX (1943) 23; see also Le temple d'Edfou V 91, line 2.

³²⁴ Gardiner in JEA XXIV 174.

³²⁵ Le temple d'Edfou IV 299, line 12; see Blackman and Fairman in JEA XXIX 23.

³²⁶ Le temple d'Edfou III 351, line 6; see Blackman and Fairman in JEA XXIX 23.

³²⁷ Chassinat, Le temple de Dendara II (Le Caire, 1934) 3, line 1; see Blackman and Fairman in JEA XXIX 22.

³²⁸ Gardiner in JEA XXIV 172-73.

³²⁹ Le temple d'Edfou III 4, lines 5-6; see Blackman and Fairman in JEA XXIX 22.

³³⁰ Le temple d'Edfou VI 14, lines 12-13; see Blackman and Fairman in JEA XXIX 22.

³³¹ See Paul Barguet, La stèle de la famine (Le Caire, 1953) p. 17 and Pl. III, line 5; cf. Sethe in UGAA II (1902) 103 and Gardiner in JEA XXIV 166.

ritual purposes in the temples, but they embodied the divine power necessary to "keep alive this god (i.e., Osiris) and to overthrow his enemies."³³² They were also considered "beneficial to those who read them and observed them on earth and beneficial to them in the necropolis."³³³

Just when the sacred writings first came to be termed the "Bas of Re" is not known; all the texts in which the "Bas of Re" occur in this sense are from the late period. In their study of these texts, Blackman and Fairman³³⁴ have interpreted "b3w of Re" as "emanations of Re," as does Gardiner.³³⁵ In our opinion this expression was originally and appropriately used in the basic meaning of the manifestation of the power of Re to describe the sacred books. Thus, what was initially a descriptive phrase came to be the name of the books themselves.

³³² E. A. Wallis Budge, Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series (London, 1923) Pl. XXXIV, col. vii 6; cf. Gardiner in JEA XXIV 167-68 and Aksel Volten, Demotische Traumdeutung ("Analecta Aegyptiaca" III [Kopenhagen, 1942]) p. 21.

³³³ Vandier, Le Papyrus Jumilhac, p. 131.

³³⁴ JEA XXIX 22-23.

³³⁵ JEA XXIV 168 and 173.

II

THE KING AND THE BA

The Egyptian king, the earthly embodiment of the god Horus, the son, heir, and successor of Re, shares in the prerogatives of his divine ancestors.

In the Pyramid Texts the king is described as the true son of Re, endowed with the divine qualities of his father:

"O Re, regarding what thou hast said, O Re, 'O that I had a son,' when thou wast king, O Re, '(a son) who would be a Ba, who would be mighty and exalted, one of bringing arms and broad stride.' Behold N., O Re, N. is thy son; N. is a Ba, N. is mighty, N. is exalted. The arms of N. are bringing, the stride (of N.) is broad.¹ N. shines in the East like Re, he goes down in the West like Khepri. N. lives on that on which Horus, the lord of heaven, lives, according to the command of Horus, the lord of heaven" (Pyr. §§886-88).

When the king "dies" he goes to his Ka,² as the gods did, to or with his Ba, and he becomes an Akh. He ascends to heaven fully equipped with his divine attributes:

"How beautiful is the view, how exalting is the view, the ascension of this god to heaven, like the ascension of the father Atum to heaven. His Ba is upon him, his magic is at his sides, his terror is at his feet" (Pyr. §992 a-c).³

As indicated by the two passages quoted above, in the Pyramid Texts the king, like the gods, is said both to possess a Ba and to be or become a Ba. The following passages speak of the king as possessing a Ba:

¹ Or "one of bringing arms and broad stride is N.," a sentence with adjectival predicate followed by the subject (cf. Komm. IV 155-56). Battiscombe Gunn, Studies in Egyptian Syntax (Paris, 1924) p. 77, translates Pyr. §887 c as "the hands of N. have been brought," i.e., as the passive sdm.f in -y with dual subject, and explains it as an idiom meaning "N. uses his hands."

² Pyr. §§17 c, 136 b, 826 b, 832 b; §1431 b adds the explanatory apposition sbi N. pn hr k3.f ir pt. Old Kingdom inscriptions speak also of the man who "went to his Ka" (Urk. I 34, line 6, 50, line 15, 71, lines 4 and 6, 73, lines 2-3; cf. Lefebvre, Le tombeau de Petosiris I 111).

³ Cf. Pyr. §§476 a to 477 b (translated on p. 55 below) and 1472 a-c.

"O N., thy Ba (belongs) to thee, (it is) with thee" (Pyr. §2201 a).⁴

"(N. is come to thee, O Horus,) his power is within him, his Ba is about him, his cleverness is upon him, which Horus gave to Osiris that N. may be established in heaven as a mountain and as a pillar" (Pyr. §1559 a-c).

"O N., thou hast departed in order that thou mayest become an Akh, that thou mayest become powerful as a god, a successor of Osiris. Thy Ba belongs to thee, (it is) within thee; thy power belongs to thee, (it is) around thee" (Pyr. §§752 a to 753 a).⁵

"(O N.) thy Ba is by day, thy trembling is by night, as a god, lord of terror" (Pyr. §2110 c).⁶

"Thy Ba is within thee, thy power is around thee. Be thou established as the master of thy powers" (Pyr. §2010 b).

"Thy face is like that of a jackal, thy flesh like that of Atum. Thy Ba is within thee, thy power is around thee. Isis is before thee, Nephthys is behind thee" (Pyr. §2098 a-b).⁷

The following passages say of the king that he is or that he becomes a Ba:

"N. is a Ba which passes among you, O gods" (Pyr. §1205 a).

"Thou art a Ba and thou appearest in front of thy boat of 770 cubits, which the gods of Buto built for thee and the Eastern gods shaped for thee" (Pyr. §1209 a-b).

"Thou goest to heaven, thou goest out from the door of the Radiance. Geb

⁴ B3.k n.k hr.k.

⁵ B3.k n.k m hnw.k shm.k n.k h3.k. Sethe (Komm. III 394 and 398) translates this passage: "Als du deine Seele (noch) in deinem Innern hattest, als du deine Macht (noch) um dich hattest." His translation seems to be untenable for two reasons. The ethical dative n.k, which Sethe finds to be "auffällig" and "überflüssig," emphasizes very aptly that the king was to live in the next world as a god because he was so fully equipped with the divine attributes: "Thy Ba belongs to thee, (it is) within thee; thy power belongs to thee, (it is) around thee." But our main objection to Sethe's translation is that it views the Ba as a part of a human composite ("die Seele, die sich im Tode von dem Körper trennt"; see Komm. IV 398 and 405-6), a view which is not acceptable. Gertrud Thausing's translation, "als dein Ba noch im Leibe war, deine Macht hinter dir stand," Der Auferstehungsgedanke in ägyptischen religiösen Texten ("Sammlung orientalistischer Arbeiten" XVI [Leipzig, 1943]) p. 76, seems to us a deteriorated version of Sethe's interpretation.

⁶ Or "thy Ba is day, thy trembling is night," in a sentence with adverbial predicate without iw and with m of predication (see Gardiner, Grammar, §117, 1). The meaning of this text is uncertain.

⁷ Cf. similar expressions in Pyr. §1364 c-d: "Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth, commands that thy Akh be around thee, that thy power be within thee"; Pyr. §396 a-b: "The Kas of N. are around him, his hmwswt are under his feet, his gods are over him, his uraei are upon his brow"; Pyr. §18 a-b: "O N., the arm of thy Ka is before thee; O N., the arm of thy Ka is behind thee; O N., the foot of thy Ka is before thee; O N., the foot of thy Ka is behind thee."

has sent thee.⁸ Thou art a Ba, like a god, exalted like a god, powerful over thy body, as a god, as a Ba, the foremost of the living, as a power,⁹ the foremost of the Akhs" (Pyr. §§2095 b to 2096 d).¹⁰

"How beautiful is that which Horus has done for this N., this Akh born of a god, born of the two gods.¹¹ O this N., thou art a Ba like the Bas of Heliopolis, thou art a Ba like the Bas of Hieraconpolis, thou art a Ba like the Bas of Buto, thou art a Ba like the Star-of-Life, the foremost among his brothers" (Pyr. §§903 c to 904 c).

"Enter the place where thy father is, the place where Geb is, that he may give thee that which is on the forehead of Horus that thou mayest become a Ba thereby, that thou mayest become a power thereby, that thou mayest be the Foremost of the Westerners thereby" (Pyr. §139 b-d).

"(O Osiris N.,) thy son Horus has stricken him (i.e., thine enemy); he has rescued his Eye from him, and he has given it to thee that thou mayest become a Ba thereby, that thou mayest become a power thereby, the foremost among the Akhs" (Pyr. §§578 c to 579 a).¹²

"N. is Shu, who came forth from Atum. Nun, let this (gate) be opened to N. Behold, N. comes, he is a Ba, he is divine" (Pyr. §603 b-d).¹³

"O N., thou art gone that thou mayest live; thou art not gone that thou mayest die. Thou art gone to become an Akh, the foremost among the Akhs, to become powerful, the foremost among the living, to become a Ba, and thou art a Ba, to be exalted, and thou art exalted" (Pyr. §833 a-c).

"A gate opens for thee in heaven toward the Radiance. The heart of the gods rejoices at thy approach; they take thee to heaven in thy Ba (form), and thou art a Ba among them" (Pyr. §799 a-c).

"Thou art living, thou art in motion every day;¹⁴ thou art an Akh in thy name Radiance-whence-Re-comes-forth; thou art exalted and sharp, thou art a Ba and powerful forever" (Pyr. §621 a-c).

⁸See Wb. II 23, 1-3, and Belegstellen.

⁹See Gardiner, Grammar, §247, 5: is after a noun means "like."

¹⁰B3 hnty ʿnhw shm hnty 3hw occurs also in Pyr. §1724 b-c: "Thou hast appeared as Wpiw, the Ba at the head of the living, that power at the head of the Akhs"; cf. Pyr. §1913 c.

¹¹"Born of a god," i.e., Re; "born of the two gods," i.e., Geb and Nut (see Komm. IV 177).

¹²Cf. Pyr. §2075 b: "Thou art a Ba through it (i.e., the Eye of Horus), thou art a power through it, thou art exalted through it."

¹³Note unusual writing of b3 here and in Pyr. §§723 b and 833 c; Sethe (Komm. III 119) suggested that the idea of sharpness and the verb meaning "hew open" or "hoe up" may have been associated with such a writing. See also Komm. I 15; Pyr. §§723 b and 1943 b.

¹⁴Cf. Pyr. §1610 a-b and RT XIV (1893) 35; Komm. III 150.

"Thou hast equipped thyself¹⁵ as the Great of Magic (i.e., Seth),¹⁶ who is in Ombos, lord of Upper Egypt. There is no loss for thee, nothing ceases for thee(?).¹⁷ Behold, thou hast become more of a Ba and more of a power than the gods of the South and their Akhs" (Pyr. §204 a-c).¹⁸

"Thou shalt reach heaven like Orion, thy Ba shall be sharp like Sothis.¹⁹ Ba shalt thou be, Ba thou art; exalted shalt thou be, exalted thou art. Thy Ba stands among the gods like Horus who is at Irw" (Pyr. §723 a-c).²⁰

As will become increasingly apparent as further passages are reviewed, the Ba in the Pyramid Texts signifies either the manifestation of the power or the distinction of the king (or a god) or denotes the king (or a god) in a state in which his power is manifest. That the elements of power or distinction belong in this definition is strongly suggested by the fact that in many of the above-quoted passages b3 occurs in connection with expressions which are similar or even identical in meaning to power or distinction, for example sh̄m, "(have) power," spd, "be sharp" or "be clever," w3š, "be exalted." It is important to note that both the passages which speak of the king as possessing a Ba and those which say the king is or becomes a Ba contain several instances in which b3 occurs in connection with these similar expressions. Thus, in the Pyramid Texts, the Ba possessed by the king and the Ba which he is or becomes are very close in meaning. It may be that the idea of the king being or becoming a Ba was the basis for the process of the personification of the Ba in the direction of its meaning as the alter ego of the deceased, a process which is fully developed in the mortuary texts of the Middle and New Kingdoms. The meaning of the Ba as the manifestation of power persists throughout the texts of later periods, but it is applied primarily to living kings in non-mortuary context and, predominantly, in the plural form. This development of the meaning of b3 should be kept in mind in connection with the discussion as to when the king acquired his Ba (pp. 56-67).

¹⁵The t̄i in htm.t̄i.n.k is an error resulting from htm.t̄i in Pyr. §205 b (see Komm. I 132).

¹⁶Wr-ḥk3w with the ideogram of Seth (see Komm. I 132).

¹⁷N fh.t̄i n.k n i3b.t̄i n.k. The forms fh.t̄i and i3b.t̄i are sdm.tw passives (see Komm. I 133).

¹⁸The king equipped with divine attributes becomes more powerful than the gods themselves. See also Pyr. §206 c: "Behold, thou hast become more of a Ba and more powerful than the gods of the North and their Akhs."

¹⁹A play on the words s3ḥ ("reach" and "Orion") and spd ("be sharp"), Spdt ("Sothis").

²⁰See Komm. III 343: Irw is perhaps Elkab.

The Plural Form b3w in the Pyramid Texts

We have seen that the Bas of a god signify an intensified degree of divine power as manifested externally. Like the gods, the king can have more than one Ka²¹ and more than one Ba. Here we quote some examples in which the plural form b3w occurs in relation to the king:

"How beautiful is the sight, how pleasant the view,' say they, say the gods, 'when this god goes up to heaven, when N. goes up to heaven, his Bas upon him, his terror at his sides, his magic before him (at his feet)'" (Pyr. §§476 a to 477 b).

"O N., adorn thyself with the red eye of Horus, the red crown, which is great of Bas, which is abundant of existence, that it may protect thee, O N., as it protected Horus, that it may bestow (upon thee) thy Bas, O N., among the Two Enneads, through the two uraei which are on thy forehead" (Pyr. §§901 a to 902 b).

"Approach this N. in thy name of Re. Mayest thou dispel the cloudiness of the sky until Harakhti has revealed himself so that he can hear (about) his Bas and his praises from the mouth of the Two Enneads" (Pyr. §1449 a-c).²²

In these examples, as in instances referring to the gods, b3w is an intensive plural, giving special force or emphasis to the Ba in its meaning of manifestation of power. The best evidence that the meaning of the plural form is basically the same as that of the singular, with the above-mentioned qualification, is supplied by three essentially identical passages in the Pyramid Texts which describe the ascension of the king to heaven.²³ While two of these passages (§§992 and 1472) describe the king as being adorned with "his Ba upon him," the third text uses the plural form in all three versions, "his Bas upon him," adding a special emphasis to the expression, but the meaning remains fundamentally the same. We can extend the same argument to two other passages, which are quoted above (Pyr. §§901-2 and 1449), and, for the sake of illustration, substitute the singular for the plural without altering the meaning.

²¹ See p. 11, n. 52.

²² ꜥꜥr.tꜥ, "approach," is an exclamatory use of the old perfective in an exhortation. For the writing of ꜥꜥr without r see Pyr. §§452 b, 1455 b, 1695 b. R dꜥt sw Hr-3hty (lit. "until Harakhti has given himself") is a sdmt.f form with the preposition r and the dependent pronoun sw used reflexively. The meaning of sdm.f ("so that he can hear") in this context is "to learn about"; cf. Urk. IV 1098, line 16, and Komm. V 390.

²³ Pyr. §§476 a to 477 b (see above), 992 a-c (see p. 51 above), and 1472 a-c.

The text which says that the king's crown is "great of Bas"²⁴ and that it is the crown, through its two uraei, which bestows Bas upon the king expresses in a very concrete way the character of the Ba as the manifestation of power.

When Did the King Acquire His Ba?

From the texts discussed thus far it would seem that the king acquired, was united with, or became a Ba either at or after death, amidst the gods in heaven. This seems to follow even more clearly from the following statements in the Pyramid Texts:

"The gods come to him bowing, and the Akhs; they accompany N. to his Ba" (Pyr. §1144 a-b).²⁵

"O N., the Eye of Horus comes to thee and speaks to thee,²⁶ thy Ba which is among the gods comes to thee, thy power which is among the Akhs comes to thee" (Pyr. §758 a-b).²⁷

"Thou art come to thy Ba, Osiris,²⁸ a Ba among the Akhs, a power in its places" (Pyr. §215 b).

"O N., thou art pure, thy Ka is pure, thy power which is among the Akhs is pure, thy Ba which is among the gods is pure" (Pyr. §839 a-b).²⁹

"This N. comes to thee, O Nut, this N. comes to thee, O Nut. . . His Ba has brought him, his magic has equipped him" (Pyr. §250 a and d).

²⁴See Hornung, Das Amduat II 112; see also p. 74 below, with n. 131.

²⁵Another grammatically possible translation would be: "The gods come to him bowing, and the Akhs; they accompany (or 'serve') N. because of his Ba." In this case the n of n b3.f would be the n of cause (see Komm. V 29).

²⁶Mdw.s tw; this transitive use of the verb mdw with dependent pronoun seems to be the only such occurrence (see Wb. II 179, 22, and Komm. III 405).

²⁷Cf. BD 85 (Navelle, Todtenbuch I, Pl. XCVII, lines 8-9): ii n.i b3.i e3 hry i3ww, "my Ba comes here to me, a chief of the eldest"; CT IV 63 f: iw.n (or iw n.i) b3 e3 hr followed by a lacuna.

²⁸Sethe (Komm. I 153 and 157), followed by Otto (ZAS LXXVII 85), translated "du bist gekommen zu deiner Seele (dem) Osiris" and explained Wsir as in apposition to b3.k, so that b3.k Wsir would express the idea that Osiris is the Ba of the deceased. Although theoretically possible, this interpretation appears to be, as Sethe himself put it, "eine neue und . . . ganz singulare Form der Osirianisierung." It seems to us that there is no difficulty in taking Wsir as a vocative referring to the king, even though he is mentioned by his name throughout the spell. The context seems to demand such an understanding.

²⁹This is part of a purification text which begins: "O N., awake, raise thyself, stand up, that thou mayest be pure, that thy Ka may be pure, that thy Ba may be pure, that thy power may be pure."

"O N., thy Ba stands among the gods and the Akhs; the fear of thee is in their hearts" (Pyr. §763 a-b).³⁰

Furthermore, another passage speaks of an offering ritual which apparently renders the king a Ba after his death:

"The meadows are satisfied, the canals are inundated for this N. on this day on which his Akh has been given to him, on which his power has been given to him.³¹ Raise thyself, O N., take for thyself thy water, gather together thy bones, stand upon thy feet. Thou hast become an Akh, the foremost among the Akhs. Raise thyself for this thy bread which cannot grow moldy, thy beer which cannot become sour,³² in order that thou mayest become a Ba through it, that thou mayest become sharp through it, that thou mayest be powerful through it, in order that thou mayest give thereof to him who was before thee. O N., thou art an Akh, and thy survivor (i.e., successor) is an Akh" (Pyr. §§857-59).³³

Other texts state that the deceased king becomes a Ba by receiving royal insignia (uraeus, Eye of Horus) from the gods, and here again the use of symbols of royal power to render the king a Ba most appropriately reflects the meaning of the Ba as the manifestation of power:

"Enter the place where thy father is, the place where Geb is, that he may give thee that which is on the forehead of Horus that thou mayest become a Ba thereby, that thou mayest become a power thereby, that thou mayest be the Foremost of the Westerners thereby" (Pyr. §139 b-d).

"(O Osiris N.) thy son Horus has stricken him (i.e., thine enemy); he has

³⁰ Snd.k pw ir h3tyw.sn, with the preposition ir instead of m (see Komm. III 411). Sethe aptly observed that the Ba in this passage represents the deceased himself: "Hier steht die Seele des Toten aber eigentlich für diesen selbst (nicht als ein ihm gegenüberstehendes Wesen) . . ." (ibid. p. 410).

To the examples quoted above can be added Pyr. §723 c, which says "thy Ba stands among the gods like Horus who is at irw" (see p. 54 above); Pyr. §1449 b-c, in which Harakhti is said to hear about the king's Bas and praises from the mouth of the Two Enneads (see p. 55 above); Pyr. §1943, which mentions the Ba of the king "in the company of the gods: thou livest through (or 'with') thy Ba (ḥnh.t(î) m b3.k)." See also utterances which envision the king as becoming equipped with divine attributes at death, e.g. Pyr. §833: "Thou art gone to become an Akh, . . . to become powerful, . . . to become a Ba . . ." (see p. 53 above). If the expression "to be" or "to become an Akh" designates an after-death status, it seems likely that "to be" or "to become a Ba" denotes a similar condition.

³¹ For the expression "the day on which . . ." followed by a verbal form see Gardiner, Grammar, §388 (the supposed passive of the relative form).

³² Cf. Pyr. §§655 a and 1226 a-b.

³³ This passage seems to indicate that, because of his divine office, the king, while he was still living, anticipated becoming an Akh at death (see Komm. IV 124). Junker's statement that "nie aber wird es (Ach) von einem Lebenden gebraucht" (Pyramidenzeit, p. 110) would therefore be incorrect. However, this seems to be the only example in which a living person is said to be an Akh.

rescued his Eye from him, and he has given it to thee that thou mayest become a Ba thereby, that thou mayest become a power thereby, the foremost among the Akhs" (Pyr. §§578 c to 579 a).

According to these texts the king acquired, was united with, or became a Ba either at or after death.³⁴ It should be remembered, however, that the Pyramid Texts are concerned with the king's life in the hereafter and that from them we cannot expect to learn whether or not the king had or became a Ba while he was still living.

The Egyptian king, as the incarnated Horus and the son of Re, was, as far as his office was concerned, a divine being on earth, a god. As such he certainly should have possessed a Ba or Bas while he was living; except in the Pyramid Texts, however, references to the royal Ba or Bas are rare in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The last king of the 1st dynasty is listed as Bieneches (or Ubienthes) by Manetho and as Baunetjer³⁵ in the Turin and Saqqarah lists.³⁶ A king of the 2d dynasty is called Binothis by Manetho, Banetjeren in the king lists, and Ninetjer or Netjeren in other inscriptions.³⁷ A prince of the 4th dynasty, Khufu's son, was called Baufre (B3w.f-R^c),³⁸ which can be translated "Re is his Bas" or "his Bas are (those of) Re." The names of two other princes of the 4th dynasty contain the word b3 as well: B3.f-Hr (or Hr-b3.f) and B3.f-Hmw (or

³⁴Cf. pp. 52-54.

³⁵See Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 430. Baunetjer is read as Netjeribau ("divine of Bas") by Otto (ZAS LXXVII 85) and Wolfgang Helck (UGAA XVIII [1956] 11). Both Otto and Helck place him in the 2d dynasty, and Helck identifies him with Boethos, Manetho's first king of the 2d dynasty; see also Edwards, "The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt," Cambridge Ancient History, Fasc. No. 25 of Revised Edition of Volumes I & II, pp. 24-26.

³⁶See Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 430.

³⁷See ibid., pp. 415 and 431-32. Drioton and Vandier (L'Égypte [4th ed.] p. 163) equate Binothis and Bieneches on the ground that they died at the same age, which seems a tenuous basis for the equation.

³⁸See Adolf Erman, Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar I (Königliche Museen zu Berlin, "Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen" V [Berlin, 1890]) Pl. IV, lines 17-18, and p. 33. Gustave Lefebvre (Romans et contes égyptiens [Paris, 1949] p. 77, n. 22) translates this name "Re est sa gloire"; Hermann Ranke translated it "Re ist sein Ruhm" (Die ägyptischen Personennamen I [Glückstadt, 1935] 89) or "sein Ruhm (o. ä.) ist (der des) Re" (ibid., II [1952] 258 and 32, n. 1) or "his power is that of Re" (Journal of the American Oriental Society LXX [1950] 68). Ranke believed that the name Baufre (B3w.f-R^c) was derived from an older reading, R^c-b3.f, in which the verbal form b3 was replaced by the nominal form b3w. It is interesting to note that Gardiner (Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 434) adopted this hypothetical old reading for the name of the prince whom he called "Ra^cbaef."

Hnmw-b3.f).³⁹ There are also instances in which the names of non-royal persons of the Old Kingdom contain the word b3 or b3w. Upon examination of these names one observes that some of them contain the name of a god, for example Wr-b3w-Pth, "great of Bas is Ptah" or "great are the Bas of Ptah," and Hc-b3w-Skr, "resplendent of Bas is Sokar,"⁴⁰ that some contain the name of a pharaoh, for example B3.f-Hc-f-Rc, B3.f-3Issi, and B3.f-Snfrw,⁴¹ and that there are a few names of uncertain translation which do not refer to a specific god or to a pharaoh, for example 3Iw-m-b3w.s and Ntr-3my-b3w.⁴² The Bas in the theophoric names are clearly those of the gods referred to. Junker explains the names containing the name of a pharaoh as sentences with nominal predicate and translates B3.f-3Issi as "his Ba is (that of) Asosis,"⁴³ while Ranke, taking the b3.f as a sdm.f form preceded by the name of a god or a king, reads these names as Hc.f-Rc-b3.f and 3Issi-b3.f and translates them as "Chephren is possessed of a soul" and "Issi is possessed of a soul."⁴⁴ Following the same pattern, Ranke translates the names of two of the above-mentioned 4th-dynasty princes as "Horus is possessed of a soul" and "Chnum is possessed of a soul."⁴⁵ Junker's translation of these names would imply, according to him, that not only gods and kings but also non-royal persons had Bas while they were living. According to Ranke's reading, the Ba element in these names would indicate that gods and dead kings possessed Bas but not whether living kings and non-royal persons had Bas. Ranke's translation also is grammatically acceptable, as Junker himself admits,⁴⁶ but because of the paucity of occurrences of the word b3 in the names of

³⁹ See Junker, Gîza II 38; Ranke, Personennamen I 246, No. 25, and p. 275, No. 12, and II 258, n. 1; Journal of the American Oriental Society LXX 65.

⁴⁰ See Ranke, Personennamen I 80, No. 27, and p. 263, No. 14; see ibid. II 76 for Nfr-b3w-Pth.

⁴¹ See Ranke in Journal of the American Oriental Society LXX 65.

⁴² See Ranke, Personennamen I 13, No. 15 ("es ist in ihrer Macht"?); P. Lacau and J.-Ph. Lauer, Fouilles à Saqqarah: La pyramide à degrés V: Inscriptions à l'encre sur les vases (Le Caire, 1965) p. 36 and Pl. 22, No. 47.

⁴³ Junker, Gîza VII (1944) 245; cf. ibid. XII (1955) 61, where Junker reads the name as 3Issi-b3.f, and p. 154, where he reads it as B3.f-3Issi or 3Issi-b3.f.

⁴⁴ Ranke, Personennamen II 257, I 45, No. 22, and II 34 ("König N.N. ist beseelt"); see also Ranke in Journal of the American Oriental Society LXX 68 and ZAS LXXV (1939) 133, n. 2.

⁴⁵ Ranke, Personennamen II 33 ("Gott N.N. ist beseelt"); Ranke at first hesitated between Hr-b3.f and B3.f-Hr (ibid. I 246, No. 25) but finally accepted the reading Hr-b3.f (ibid. II 258, n. 1).

⁴⁶ Junker, Gîza XII 61.

royal and non-royal persons and the persisting doubt as to the proper translation of such names no positive argument can be derived from them as to whether the living kings of the Old Kingdom had Bas.

With respect to the name ꜥIw-m-b3w.s, it is possible that the feminine suffix has been substituted for the name of a female divinity.⁴⁷ There are cases in which the name of a male divinity has apparently been omitted; compare, for example, Hꜥ-b3w-Skr with Hꜥ-b3w and Wr-b3w-Rꜥ with Wr-b3w.⁴⁸ If a divine name has not been omitted in such cases, then the name ꜥIw-m-b3w.s might indicate that a tendency on the part of non-royal persons to appropriate the Ba had already set in during the Old Kingdom.

As to the name of the "royal servant Ntr-ꜥmy-b3w," if the reading is correct, it could be translated "god who is in the Bas" or "god in whom the Bas are." The name probably refers to the Bas of a certain unnamed god, certainly not to the divine status and the Bas of its bearer. To derive from it any information as to whether its bearer was thought to have possessed a Ba or Bas while he was living would be unwarranted.

Thus, the very rare occurrence of the Ba element in names of non-royal persons of the Old Kingdom and the uncertainty as to their meaning contrasted with the frequent occurrence of the Ka element in such names⁴⁹ makes it very likely that non-royal persons of the Old Kingdom were not considered to have Bas while they were living.⁵⁰ As to whether or not a deceased non-royal person of the Old Kingdom was considered to have a Ba, a text⁵¹ on the lintel of the mastaba of the 6th-dynasty noble Hermeru⁵² at Saqqarah reads: "May he reach the land, may he traverse the firmament, may he ascend to the great god, may his Ka be pre-eminent with the king, may his Ba endure with the god, may his certificate be ac-

⁴⁷The same type of substitution may have been made in the name of a non-royal person of the Middle Kingdom, K3-b3w.s, "high are her Bas" (see Ranke, Personennamen I 332, No. 10).

⁴⁸See ibid. p. 263, No. 11, and p. 80, Nos. 25-29.

⁴⁹See ibid. II 208-15 and ZAS LXXV 133; see also Lacau and Lauer, op. cit. p. 2.

⁵⁰Concerning the evidence for the possession of a Ka by living non-royal persons of the Old Kingdom see Ranke, Personennamen II 208, and Junker, Giza XII 59. Junker's contention that both the Ka and the Ba were originally human qualities and were transferred to the gods, who were in all other respects described as human, is suggestive, but it is not supported by the historical sequence of the occurrences of b3 in the texts.

⁵¹We are indebted to Dr. Edward F. Wente for bringing this unpublished text to our attention and for providing us with a copy of it.

⁵²See Klaus Baer, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom (Chicago, 1960) p. 106.

cepted by the god at the pure places."⁵³ Thus, even before the First Intermediate Period, the time of the "democratization" of the hereafter, non-royal persons tended to appropriate the Ba.

The names of the pyramids and of the mortuary endowments established for the kings provide no more information as to when the king acquired his Ba. The Old Kingdom pyramids were often given names containing the Ba element. For example, the name of the pyramid of Sahure is the "Ba of Sahure is resplendent,"⁵⁴ Neferirkare's pyramid is "Neferirkare is Ba-full,"⁵⁵ that of Neferefre is "Neferefre's Bas are divine" or "Neferefre is divine of Bas."⁵⁶ The same custom was followed by some of the rulers of the 12th dynasty, such as Amenemhet III, whose pyramid is named "Amenemhet is Ba-full."⁵⁷ Since the pyramids were intended for the benefit of the king's afterlife, as clearly indicated by such names as "Khufu is one belonging to the horizon" and "Senusret is at rest," no evidence as to whether or not the living king was considered to have a Ba can be derived from their names. The same can be said about the names of the mortuary endowments established for the cult of the dead king, such as "Sahure is pre-eminent of Bas" or "great of Bas is King N."⁵⁸ Thus it would seem that on the basis of the available sources it is impossible to determine whether or not the living kings of the Old Kingdom were thought to have Bas.

The Horus-names of two 8th-dynasty kings are Khabau ("resplendent of Bas") and Netjeribau ("divine of Bas").⁵⁹ The Middle Kingdom sources contain at least a few references to the Bas of the king which would indicate that the living kings of the Middle Kingdom were considered to have

⁵³ Sm3.f t3 d3.f b33 i'f n ntr '3 hnty k3.f hr nsw dd b3.f hr ntr šsp 'f in ntr r stwt w'bt.

⁵⁴ Pierre Montet, Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne I (Paris, 1957) 42; Komm. V 108; Henri Gauthier, Le livre des rois d'Égypte I (MIFAO XVII [1907]) 109; I. E. S. Edwards, The Pyramids of Egypt (London, 1961) p. 242.

⁵⁵ Montet, Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne I 42; Gauthier, Le livre des rois d'Égypte I 116; Sethe in ZAS L 5.

⁵⁶ Montet, Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne I 42; Gauthier, Le livre des rois d'Égypte I 120.

⁵⁷ Maurice Raphael in ASAE XXXVII (1937) 79-80. For a somewhat different interpretation of the names of the pyramids see John Bennett in JEA LII (1966) 174-76.

⁵⁸ Junker, Gîza III 209.

⁵⁹ Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 437; Drioton and Vandier, L'Égypte (4th ed.) p. 235; see also William C. Hayes in JEA XXXII (1946) 21-23.

Bas. In an account of the building of a temple at Heliopolis, Sesostris I says: "(My) Bas reach for me the height of the sky."⁶⁰ The newly excavated tomb of Hekaib on the island of Elephantine contains a reference to Amenemhet III as "great of Bas,"⁶¹ while a hymn preserved in a papyrus from Lahun says of Sesostris III that "he overthrows thousands of those who do not know his Bas"⁶² and continues "how joyful is mankind at thy plan, thy Bas have acquired (lit. 'taken') (their?) abundance."⁶³ In his titulary, Amenemhet III—the name of whose pyramid contains the Ba element (see above)—is called "Horus, great of Bas."⁶⁴ And in a Sinai inscription from the time of Amenemhet III, Harwerre, leader of an expedition, says: "I proceeded to this mining region, the Bas of the king directing me (lit. 'putting it in my heart')."⁶⁵ It seems that a king of the 13th dynasty also is called Khabau ("resplendent of Bas").⁶⁶ In a 19th-dynasty papyrus describing events which occurred in either the First or the Second Intermediate Period, the sage Ipuwer deplors the weakness of the pharaoh in these words: "Where is he today? Is he, then, sleeping? Behold, the Bas thereof cannot be seen."⁶⁷

Instances in which the living king is spoken of as possessing Bas are abundant in the non-mortuary texts of the New Kingdom and later periods.

⁶⁰ A. de Buck in Studia Aegyptiaca I ("Analecta Orientalia" XVII [Roma, 1938]) 49.

⁶¹ Personal communication from Dr. Labib Habachi. The text is unpublished.

⁶² F. Ll. Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (London, 1898) Pl. I, line 7; cf. Kurt Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke (Hildesheim, 1959) p. 66, lines 7-8.

⁶³ Following the text in Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, p. 66, lines 17-18; cf. Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, Pl. II, line 5.

⁶⁴ Gauthier, Le livre des rois d'Égypte I 319; Gaston Maspero in ASAE III (1902) 207; Ludwig Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten II (Berlin, 1925) 79, No. 520; George A. Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, Parts IV-V ("Harvard African Studies" VI [Cambridge, 1923]) p. 521 and Fig. 344, No. 38.

⁶⁵ Alan H. Gardiner, T. Eric Peet, and Jaroslav Černý, The Inscriptions of Sinai (MEES XLV [1952-55]) I, Pl. XXV A, and II 97; cf. Blackman in BIFAO XXX 97 and Hans Goedicke in MDAIK XVIII (1962) 15.

⁶⁶ Reisner in Kush III (1955) 36 and 53 and Excavations at Kerma, Parts IV-V, p. 517; cf. Drioton and Vandier, L'Égypte (4th ed.) pp. 323 and 648.

⁶⁷ For text and translations see Alan H. Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage (Leipzig, 1909) p. 78, John A. Wilson in ANET, p. 443, and Faulkner in JEA LI (1965) 60. The events referred to in the admonitions of Ipuwer have, according to a general consensus of Egyptologists, been attributed to the First Intermediate Period. Recently, John Van Seters (The Hyksos: A New Investigation [New Haven and London, 1966] pp. 103-20) has plausibly argued on archeological and literary grounds that the admonitions reflect the Second Intermediate Period.

A stela of Amosis is inscribed: "Hear ye, nobles, mankind, commoners, all who follow this king in his steps, make known (lit. 'give') his Bas to others . . . behold, he is a god on earth."⁶⁸ An inscription at Tombos in Nubia refers to Thutmosis I as "a young panther among the fleeing cattle," the Bas of whose majesty "blind" his enemies, and as one by whose name "the oath is taken in all lands because of the greatness of the Bas of his majesty."⁶⁹ On an elephant tusk from the reign of Thutmosis I is carved: "The Bas of King Thutmosis have brought these tusks from his victories in the southern and northern lands."⁷⁰ An inscription from the first regnal year of Thutmosis II says that "the Bas of his majesty guided"⁷¹ the army which the pharaoh had sent against the rebelling Kush⁷² and that the rebellion was crushed "because of the Bas of his majesty, inasmuch as his father Amun loved him more than any other king."⁷³

In the birth scene of Hatshepsut, her mother, Ahmes, addresses Amun: "Lord, how great are thy Bas. It is splendid to see thy front when thou hast united my majesty with thy Akhs (i.e., efficiency)." In the same scene, Amun speaks to Ahmes: "Khmet-Amun-Hatshepsut shall be the name of this daughter of mine . . . she shall exercise the excellent kingship in the whole land. My Ba belongs to her, my (power) belongs to her, my esteem belongs to her, the great crown belongs to her; she will rule the Two Lands that she may lead all the living."⁷⁴ In an inscription in the cliff temple of the goddess Pakht at Beni Hasan, Hatshepsut says: "The black and the red lands are under my terror; my Bas cause the countries to bow down, while the uraeus upon my forehead inflicts fear upon all lands."⁷⁵ The god Amun of Thebes says to Thutmosis III: "Thine enemies are fallen, all lands are in thy grasp, thy Bas reach the fortifications of heaven."⁷⁶ The same god says to the same king: "I set thy Bas and the

⁶⁸ Urk. IV 20, lines 9-11 and 14.

⁶⁹ Urk. IV 85, lines 5-6, and 86, lines 1-2.

⁷⁰ Urk. IV 103, line 16, to 104, line 1.

⁷¹ Urk. IV 140, line 7.

⁷² Here and in Urk. IV 103, line 16, the plural form b3w is used with the verb in the singular.

⁷³ Urk. IV 141, lines 6-7.

⁷⁴ Urk. IV 221, lines 1-3, 7, 9-15.

⁷⁵ Urk. IV 385, lines 10-12.

⁷⁶ Urk. IV 773, lines 10-12.

fear of thee in all lands, thy terror as far as the four pillars of heaven,"⁷⁷ and "I have come that I may cause thee to trample down the Tehenu, the Utentiu belong to the might of thy Bas."⁷⁸ The chieftains of the Keftiu and the islands who are represented in the tomb of Rekhmire are said to be "bowing down to the Bas of his majesty" Thutmosis III so that "his Bas may protect them," and it is Rekhmire "who receives all the tribute of all lands, which is brought to the Bas of his majesty."⁷⁹

On the great stela of Amenhotep II at Giza, it is said that "the northerners bow before his Bas, and all foreign lands are under the fear of him."⁸⁰ On his Amada stela, Amenhotep II is referred to as "the unique one, the brave, whose Bas are extolled until Re knows (them) in heaven."⁸¹ The Lateran obelisk of Thutmosis IV is inscribed with words similar to those quoted from the great stela of Amenhotep II: "The great ones of all foreign countries bow to the Bas of his majesty"⁸² and Amun "has placed the southerners under his supervision, while the northerners bow to his Bas."⁸³ On a stela at Semna, Mermose, viceroy of Kush, says to Amenhotep III: "Hail to thee, goodly god; thy Bas are greater than those of him who attacks thee."⁸⁴ An inscription at Karnak says that Amenhotep III is "one who scrutinizes the bodies and knows what is in the heart, whose Bas carry off the evil of character."⁸⁵ Of Akhenaton it is said that "when he rises he exercises (his) Bas against him who is ignorant of his teaching and (extends) his favors toward him who knows him"⁸⁶ and that his Bas "make weak" the foreign princes.⁸⁷

⁷⁷ Urk. IV 612, lines 8-9.

⁷⁸ Urk. IV 616, lines 17, to 617, line 1.

⁷⁹ Urk. IV 1098, line 15, and 1099, lines 3-5.

⁸⁰ Urk. IV 1227, line 4; Alexandre Varille in BIFAO XLI (1942) 32 and line 4 on accompanying plate. See also Urk. IV 2028, line 6, where it is said of Tutankhamun that "every land bows to his Bas."

⁸¹ Urk. IV 1292, line 5; Charles Kuentz, Deux stèles d'Aménophis II (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Bibliothèques d'études" X [Le Caire, 1925]) p. 10; J. Černý, Amada: Stela of Amenophis II (copied for the Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'histoire de l'art et de la civilisation de l'ancienne Égypte) p. 4, line 1.

⁸² Urk. IV 1551, line 18.

⁸³ Urk. IV 1550, lines 15-16.

⁸⁴ Urk. IV 1661, lines 2-3.

⁸⁵ Urk. IV 1724, lines 8-9.

⁸⁶ Maj Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" VIII [Bruxelles, 1938]) p. 86, lines 15-16.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 8, line 14.

On a stela of Sety I from Beth-Shan⁸⁸ it is said that in the space of one day Sety's enemies "were fallen through the Bas of his majesty." In a Karnak relief Sety I is represented carrying off Hittite prisoners and is referred to as "strong of valor without his peer, a skillful bowman, setting his Bas like a mountain of copper . . . great of Bas among them like fire (when) he destroys their towns."⁸⁹

In a poem about the city of Ramesses, the ruler of Khatti sends a message to the ruler of Kedi: "Get ready so that we may hurry to Egypt in order that we may say 'the Bas of the god came to pass' and that we may compliment Ramesses. He gives breath to whom he pleases; every land exists according to his pleasure, and the land of Khatti solely through his Bas. The god does not receive its offering, and it does not see the rain; it is in the Bas of Ramesses . . . His power is given him unto eternity, his Bas embrace the mountains."⁹⁰ On the Bentresh stela, the chiefs are said to "bow down in peace to the Bas of his majesty" Ramesses II.⁹¹ Of the same Ramesses it is said that his Bas were in his enemies "like a flaming torch"⁹² and that his defeated enemies spent a number of years "under the Bas"⁹³ of the great living god, the Lord of the Two Lands."

⁸⁸ Alan Rowe in The Museum Journal XX (Philadelphia, 1929) 88-93 and Topography and History of Beth-Shan (Philadelphia, 1930) pp. 24-29, Pl. 41; cf. Wilson in ANET, p. 253, and Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 254. The text of the stela is also reproduced in William Foxwell Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine ("Pelican Books" A 199 [Baltimore, 1960]) p. 105.

⁸⁹ C. E. Sander-Hansen, Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie I ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" IV [Bruxelles, 1933]) 11; cf. AR III, §147. The text is also reproduced in Kurt Lange, Ägyptische Kunst (Zürich/Berlin, 1939) Pl. 88, and in Charles F. Nims, Thebes of the Pharaohs (New York, 1965) Pl. 61. Cf. the expression "great of Bas in the land of the Meshwesh," said of Ramesses III (The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu II [OIP IX (1932)] Pl. 79, line 5).

⁹⁰ Pap. Anastasi II ii 1-4 and iii 4-5; cf. Pap. Anastasi IV vi 7-10 (Alan H. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Miscellanies ["Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" VII (Bruxelles, 1937)] pp. 12-13 and 41). It is probable, though by no means certain, that the god alluded to here is Seth, as both Caminos (Late-Egyptian Miscellanies ["Brown Egyptological Studies" I (London, 1954)] pp. 37-38) and Kuentz (ASAE XXV [1925] 237, n. 5) have pointed out, rather than Ramesses II, as interpreted by Erman (Die Literatur der Ägypter, p. 338, n. 3).

⁹¹ E. Prisse d'Avennes, Monuments égyptiens (Paris, 1847) Pl. 24, line 4; E. Ledrain, Les monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, 1881) Pl. XL, line 4; cf. AR III, §434, and Wilson in ANET, p. 29.

⁹² B3w.f ïm.sn mï tk3 hr nbyt (see Kuentz in ASAE XXV 209). For the text see also Stèle du mariage, as copied for the Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'histoire de l'art et de la civilisation de l'ancienne Égypte, p. 5, line 15.

⁹³ Lit. "in the Bas" (m b3w); Kuentz translates the phrase "sous l'empire" (ASAE XXV 209).

On the great granite stela from Gebel Barkal, Piankhy is referred to as "Horus, lord of the palace, whose Bas are great and whose triumph is mighty."⁹⁴ It is further said of Piankhy that Amun "made him in order to reveal his Bas, in order to cause his majesty to be seen."⁹⁵ Tefnakhte, one of Piankhy's opponents, said in his message of submission: "I was trembling at thy Ba."⁹⁶ The last two opponents that submitted to Piankhy "came to kiss the ground before the Bas of his majesty."⁹⁷ In the temple of Edfu it is inscribed that "the inhabitants of Lebanon bow down to his (i.e., the king's or the god's) Bas."⁹⁸ A Mendes stela says that the god gives the king dominion over all lands which "bow to his (i.e., the king's) Bas,"⁹⁹ and the inscription on the great pylon at Philae speaks of Isis as giving the king "power over the South, victory over the North, while the West and the East bow to his Bas."¹⁰⁰ Another inscription at Philae says of Ptolemy Philadelphus that "his Bas reach as far as the circuit of the Great Green (i.e., the Mediterranean),"¹⁰¹ and it is said of the god Thoth of Pnubs in Nubia that he puts the Bas of the Meroitic king Ergamenes "in the hearts (of men?)."¹⁰²

It is evident that b3 (or b3w) in all of these texts is used in a non-mortuary sense; as such, it is frequently translated "might," "power," "fame," "glory," etc. It is to be observed, however, that the same meaning which we attribute to the Ba of the gods and to the Ba of the kings in the Pyramid Texts, that is, the manifestation of power or distinction, can well be applied to the Bas in the inscriptions that refer to living kings. It is the

⁹⁴ Auguste Mariette, Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie (Paris, 1889) Pl. II, line 34; Urk. III 18, line 15.

⁹⁵ Mariette, Monuments divers, Pl. II, line 93; Urk. III 33, lines 2-3.

⁹⁶ Mariette, Monuments divers, Pl. II, line 130; Urk. III 49, line 13. Cf. Mariette, op. cit. line 128, in which Tefnakhte says: "I cannot stand before thy flame, I am overawed at thy majesty" (Urk. III 49, lines 5-7).

⁹⁷ Mariette, Monuments divers, Pl. II, line 148; Urk. III 54, line 4.

⁹⁸ See A. Gutbub in BIFAO L (1952) 35 and 39: "Les habitants du Liban tombent par sa force." The text is written with b3wy (dual) for b3w (cf. Hermann Junker, Grammatik der Denderatexte [Leipzig, 1906] p. 18).

⁹⁹ Urk. II 31, line 16.

¹⁰⁰ Junker, Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä, p. 278, lines 11-13.

¹⁰¹ Georges Bénédite, Le temple de Philae (MMAFC XIII [1893-95]) p. 11; Urk. II 112, line 11.

¹⁰² Günther Roeder, Der Tempel von Dakke I (Le Caire, 1930) 177. The text is somewhat uncertain; it also is written with b3wy for b3w (cf. n. 98 above).

manifestation of the power of the king that inspires fear in his enemies, that extends as far as heaven, that punishes the ignorant, and, as indicated by the inscription concerning the birth of Hatshepsut, equates the king with the gods. Thus, in all of the texts discussed so far, the Ba possessed by a god or a king has the single meaning of the manifestation of power or distinction. Just as it does in reference to a god and, in the Pyramid Texts, in reference to a dead king, the plural form b3w used in reference to a living king signifies an intensification of the manifestation of his power.¹⁰³

As things stand, the uncertainty of the Old Kingdom texts, the scarcity of the Middle Kingdom texts, and the abundance of New Kingdom and later texts with respect to the Ba of the living king might well give the impression that the idea that the living king possessed a Ba or Bas developed gradually. It is quite possible, however, that this idea already existed in the Old Kingdom and that the impression of its gradual development is due merely to lack of pertinent texts.

The Nature of the Ba of the King

We have seen that the meaning of the Ba possessed by the king can best be understood as the manifestation of power or distinction. What is the nature of this manifestation? Is it visible or invisible? A personified independent entity? A "spiritual" power?

We shall try to answer the first question by taking into consideration the so-called Ka representations and certain passages from the Pyramid Texts.

The Ka representations are a well-known statue and relief figures whose heads are surmounted by two raised arms, the symbol of the Ka.¹⁰⁴ Reading that "this god goes up to heaven . . . his Ba (or Bas) upon him" (Pyr. §§476-77, 992, 1472) one would feel inclined to visualize the scene

¹⁰³See p. 55.

¹⁰⁴For the Ka statue of King Horus from Dahshur see J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour I (Vienne, 1895) Pls. XXXIII-XXXV; see also Vandier, La religion égyptienne, p. 132, and Spiegel in ASAE LIII 408, n. 1. For Ka representations in reliefs see The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu VI (OIP LXXXIV [1963]) Pls. 418-20 (Ka of Re); note that the "Bas of Re" on Pls. 423-24 are represented as ram-headed deities. For a royal head on a standard surmounted by the Ka of Ramesses II see Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, Temples de Nubie: Des Trésors menacés ("Art et style" No. 58 [Paris, 1961]) Pl. 39: k3 nsw ʿnh nb t3wy hnty db3t hnty pr-dw3t.

of the king's ascension to heaven in a like manner, that is, with the Ba surmounting the head of the king. The logical conclusion to be derived from such a representation would be that the Ba was a visible and an actual manifestation of power or distinction, as concrete and tangible as a decoration or an ornament, expressed by the Ba-bird above the figure of the king.

There are passages in the Pyramid Texts (§1027 a-c and its parallels¹⁰⁵) which seem to confirm such an interpretation: "Each god who shall not take him (i.e., the king) up to heaven, he shall not be honored, he shall not wear a b3-garment, he shall not smell the p3k-cake, he shall not ascend to the house of Horus, which is in heaven, on that day of the hearing of the word."¹⁰⁶ From this text, which speaks about a judgment of the gods who are unfriendly to the king and therefore stripped of their insignia and punished, one might conclude that the b3-garment, of which the unruly gods are deprived, constitutes the Ba of the Pyramid Texts, with the inference that the Ba was, originally, as concrete an entity as the garment of which the text speaks.

Upon closer examination we find that neither the interpretation based on the Ka representations nor that inferred from the Pyramid Texts is valid.

As to the representation of the king and his Ba, no "carrier" of the Ba similar to that of the Ka is known to us. A scene pictured in the cenotaph of Sety I and in the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX¹⁰⁷ shows an ithyphallic figure with a bird on its head, but the similarity to the Ka representation is more apparent than real. According to the accompanying inscription in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the ithyphallic figure represents Osiris (see n. 108). The inscription in front of the figure in the cenotaph of Sety I reads: "This god is in this fashion within his mysterious cavern; this great god (i.e., Re) speaks (to him) and halts to inquire about (him); the Ba of this god follows Re;¹⁰⁸ darkness shall conceal the corpses¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵Pyr. §§219 b, 338 b, 907 d.

¹⁰⁶Sdm mdw is a technical term for judicial examination (see Komm. IV 309).

¹⁰⁷Henri Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (MEES XXXIX [1933]) II, Pl. XXXVIII; Piankoff and Rambova, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, Pl. 26; Félix Guillemant, Le tombeau de Ramses IX (MIFAO XV [1907]) Pl. LXXXIX.

¹⁰⁸The tomb of Ramesses VI has a somewhat different version; instead of "the Ba of this god follows Re," the inscription reads "this god Osiris follows Re" (see Piankoff and Rambova, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, Pl. 26).

¹⁰⁹H3p.hr kkw h3wt (see Gardiner, Grammar, §431, 1, Ex. 12).

when this great god has passed by (them)." All that can be learned from this representation and its legend is that the Ba of the ithyphallic god follows Re in his journey through the nether world. It is frequently stated in the Book of Amduat and the Book of Caverns that the Bas of gods and goddesses, including even the Ba of Re himself, follow Re on his nocturnal journey. This, in addition to the fact that the bird on the head of the ithyphallic god looks more like the Geb-goose than the Ba-bird and the fact that these reliefs are much later than the period with which we are presently concerned, eliminates any possibility of a meaningful resemblance to the representation of the king and his Ka. Even in the case of the king and his Ka the meaning of the complex figure is more symbolic than concrete. To be a "holder" or a "carrier" of the Ka (hr k3, hry k3) means to be in possession of the Ka, to be equipped with the Ka, that is, with the qualities it symbolizes, as clearly expressed in iw ir.n(i) c'hw r rnpt št m-m im3hw c'nhw hr k3.i,¹¹⁰ "I spent (my) lifetime up to one hundred years among the revered and the living, carrying my Ka."¹¹¹

The Pyramid Texts to be examined are the parallels to the above-quoted §1027 a-c:

"Thy clothing (,O N.) is a b3-garment, thy clothing is a hsdd-garment; thou goest in sandals, and an ox is slaughtered (for thee)" (Pyr. §219 b-c).

"It went well with N.¹¹² (to be) with his Ka. N. lives with his Ka. His b3-garment is on him, his 3ms-scepter is in his arm, his c'b3-scepter is in his hand" (Pyr. §338 a-b).

"This N. passes through (the doors of heaven); his b3-garment is on him, the 3ms-scepter of this N. is in his hand" (Pyr. §907 c-d).

The word that we translate "b3-garment" is written in four different ways, each derived from the word "b3-leopard."¹¹³ In one case the word b3 is determined by the leopard head (Pyr. §1027 b). In the other three passages it is followed by a determinative representing a garment made of a leopard

¹¹⁰ Urk. I 221, line 18. Cf. the expression r3.i hr m3't, "my mouth carries Maat"; see Rudolf Anthes, Die Maat des Echnaton von Amarna (Journal of the American Oriental Society LXXII, "Supplement" No. 14 [1952]) p. 9.

¹¹¹ Cf. the expression hr hk3 in Pyr. §924 b: "N. carries magic," i.e., he possesses magical power.

¹¹² Nfr.n n N. is the impersonal use of the sdm.n.f form with dative (see Komm. II 37) or a mistake resulting from dittography (cf. Pyr. §908 a-b: nfr n N. pn hn^c rn.f c'nh N. pn hn^c k3.f).

¹¹³ See Wb. I 7 and 414 and Komm. I 167; W. Stevenson Smith in JEA XIX (1933) 154; cf. Eberhard Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual (Wiesbaden, 1960) I 23 and 71-72.

ard pelt. One of these determinatives (§219 b) no doubt represents the ancient model from which the kilt of the king was developed.¹¹⁴ Another determinative (§338 b) represents the type of leopard pelt worn by the priests of the Old Kingdom and by the tt¹¹⁵ on King Narmer's palette and macehead. The determinative in the last passage (§907 d), while not closely resembling the other two, is probably a variant representation of the royal kilt. Thus, it seems clear that the Ba in §1027 b represents a real garment, determined by a sign or symbol indicating its meaning as a concrete object. We believe, therefore, that the Ba in all four passages is totally different in meaning from the Ba which we are studying.

Other passages in the Pyramid Texts cast additional light on our problem. The king is said to ascend to heaven possessed not only of his Ba but of other qualities as well:

"How beautiful it is to behold . . . when he ascends to heaven amidst the stars, amidst the Indestructible Stars. His striking power¹¹⁶ is upon him, his terror is at his sides, his magic is before him" (Pyr. §§939-40).

"His power is within him, his Ba is about him, his cleverness is upon him" (Pyr. §1559 a-b).

It is as difficult to imagine the Ba in this context as representing a concrete entity as it is to imagine the other royal and divine attributes as originally representing concrete things.

In spite of the orthographic and semantic diversity between the b3-garment and the Ba, some relationship may originally have existed between the two words since the b3-garment was apparently a physical symbol of the king's power and the Ba itself was a manifestation of that power. The Egyptian could also have been attracted by the similarity between the two roots and could have made puns on them, especially in view of the fact that the king wore his b3-garment when he ascended to heaven.¹¹⁷

In the Cannibal Hymn¹¹⁸ the deceased pharaoh is described as a fierce conqueror who devours men and gods, their magic, their Akhs,

¹¹⁴ Cf. Junker, Giza I 258.

¹¹⁵ Gardiner (Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I 19*) reads tt as t3ty, "vizier." Edwards ("The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt," Cambridge Ancient History, Fasc. No. 25 of Revised Edition of Volumes I & II, p. 32) thinks that it is to be connected either with wtt, "beget," and translated "son," "crown prince," or with 3tt, "tutor."

¹¹⁶ For discussion of 3t, "striking power," see Gardiner in JEA XXXIV (1948) 13-14.

¹¹⁷ See translations of Pyr. §§338 a-b and 907 c-d on p. 69 above.

¹¹⁸ Pyr. §§393-414.

their Ba, and unites them with his own being that he may become the undisputed ruler in heaven and on earth: "Lo, their Ba is in the body of N., their Akhs are with N. . . their Shadows (are) away from those they belong to."¹¹⁹ Lest this text might give the impression that the Ba was a concrete object, it should be noted that the Cannibal Hymn itself is no more than an effort to express in very concrete terms (swallowing, eating, etc.) the idea of the absorption of the power of others. Thus it cannot be concluded from this text that the Ba was a concrete object.

It is difficult to say what the Egyptian of the Old Kingdom actually meant by such expressions as "his Ba has brought him" and the gods "accompany the king to his Ba," how he envisioned the "coming of the king to his Ba" or the "coming of the Ba to the king," how he visualized the existence of the "Ba among the gods" or imagined the king's Ba as being "upon him," "about him," and "within him." This was a relatively undisturbed period of Egyptian political and religious history, when even an educated Egyptian probably did not ask himself such questions. Consequently, it is unlikely that any system or doctrine relating to the Ba, its origin and activity, was elaborated until the subsequent period, which is represented by the Coffin Texts. It may well be that the above-quoted expressions reveal an early tendency toward the personification of the Ba, a personification fully developed in the Middle and New Kingdoms. What they purport to say is that the Ba, which is with the king in his passage from earthly existence into the eternal, enables him to appear and act as a god among gods, for example: "This power (or 'powerful one') has become an Akh because of his Ba."¹²⁰

Sethe repeatedly expressed the idea that the Ba in the Pyramid Texts

¹¹⁹ Pyr. §413 a-c. Sethe (Komm. II 172) felt that the singular form of Ba occurring with the plural form of Akh means that the body of N. (the pharaoh) incorporates several Akhs but only one Ba and concluded that a man had one "soul" and more than one Akh. He found it difficult to account for the occurrence of the plural "Shadows." First of all, it should be kept in mind that in this text, which refers to the king, the possession of these qualities is peculiar to the king and not to be confused with their possession by man in general. Secondly, it is possible that the singular Ba followed by the plural suffix can be here understood as plural. If Ba is to be taken in the singular, then it is said that a single Ba is possessed by a group ("their" referring to a group of gods) rather than that each member of the group possesses his own Ba and the text would indicate, in Sethe's way of thinking, that not even each god possessed his own single Ba, let alone each man as Sethe contended. In our opinion Ba here occurs in its typical Pyramid Texts meaning of the manifestation of power, i.e., the manifestation of the power of a group of gods, and whether it occurs in the singular or the plural has no significance.

¹²⁰ Pyr. §789 a. The expression referred originally to Osiris and was then applied to the king (see Komm. IV 3).

denotes a spiritual power in opposition to qualities which are its physical or corporeal counterparts (e.g. spd, "sharpness," "cleverness," and shm, "power").¹²¹ This idea was undoubtedly the basis for his theory of the human composite with respect to the Egyptian concept of man (see p. 52, n. 5).

The fact that the "spiritual" element and the "corporeal" element are used indiscriminately and the fact that they interchange seem to disprove Sethe's theory. Thus, for example, we read that "his shm is within him, his Ba is about him, his spd is upon him" (Pyr. §1559 a-b), that his "Ba is within" him, his "shm is around" him (Pyr. §2010 b),¹²² and that "his Ba is upon him" (Pyr. §992 c). If these different qualities can be predicated indiscriminately then there evidently is no sharp distinction among them. To attribute this indiscriminate usage to "confusion" resulting from the sculptor's erroneous understanding of the original from which he copied the Pyramid Texts is unwarranted.

Sethe also argued that the Ba could denote an internal quality, that is, the faculty of perception: "Horus is indeed so much of a Ba (b3 ir.f Hr) that he recognizes in thee his father, in thy name of Ba-father-of-rpt (b3-it-rpt)" (Pyr. §580 a).¹²³ Sethe observed that this text probably contains a play on the words b3 ir.f Hr and b3 it rpt. This observation should be kept in mind when one interprets the meaning of b3 in this text, as should a similar text which contains a play on words but in which Horus' recognition of his father is not predicated on his being a Ba: "Horus comes, he recognizes in thee his father, thou being youthful (rnp.ti) in thy name of He-of-the-young-water (m rn.k n mw-rnpw)" (Pyr. §589 a). However, even if one agreed with Sethe that the Ba in Pyr. §580 a indicates a perceptive power on the part of Horus, no argument for the "spiritual" character of the Ba can be deduced from this text.

This study of the Ba in the Pyramid Texts has led us to conclude that in these texts the Ba which a king is or becomes signifies the king in a state in which his power is manifest while the Ba which a king possesses

¹²¹ E.g. Komm. I 15 and 158, III 150-51 and 398, IV 123, and passim.

¹²² In the second person in the text.

¹²³ B3 ir.f Hr ip.f it.f im.k m rn.k b3-it-rpt, "geistermächtig war fürwahr Horus, sodass er seinen Vater in dir erkannte, in deinem Namen 'b3-it' der Königs-kindersänfte (rp.t)" (Komm. III 78 and 85-86). Cf. Pyr. §1614 c: "O N., thy Ka has recognized (s3) thee in front of thine enemies." In Pyr. §396 c it is said that the uraeus (sšmwt) on the forehead of the king is the one who sees (ptrt, "perceives") the Ba ("of the enemy," according to Sethe).

is the manifestation of power. This Ba which the king possesses in some cases appears to be a quality, a kingly attribute, while in others it seems to be an entity (e.g. "thy Ba stands among the gods") approaching in meaning the personified Ba of the Middle and New Kingdom mortuary texts. The Ba "upon the king" or "above the king," "within the king," and "about the king" are expressions which may describe the fullness of royal and divine power or distinction hovering, as it were, above the king or encircling him, permeating him, and emanating from him when he appears among the gods, thus manifesting him as their equal and even as their ruler for all eternity. Continuing this same type of imagery, the Book of the Dead says of the divinized deceased "dread is behind him, awe is before him."¹²⁴

The Ba of the King in the Underworld

When the king died he "went forth to heaven and joined the sun."¹²⁵ This bodily ascension to heaven was considered in later times to occur in the form of the Ba-bird, thus continuing the tradition of the Pyramid Texts in which the king is described ascending to heaven as a bird, a falcon, a heron or even as a scarab or a grasshopper.¹²⁶

A Ptolemaic text describes the ascension of Queen Arsinoë II in authentic Egyptian terms: "Year 15, the first month of the summer season, this goddess ascended to heaven and was united with the body of the god who had created her beauty."¹²⁷ This wording is reminiscent of the description of the death of Thutmosis III, who also went up to heaven and

¹²⁴BD 17; see BM Cat. p. 125, Sec. XXXIII, and Allen, Book of the Dead, Pls. XV, col. iv 30, and LXI, lines 182-83.

¹²⁵Sinuhe R 7 (Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin V: Literarische Texte des mittleren Reiches II: Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirten-geschichte, ed. Alan H. Gardiner [Leipzig, 1909]); Urk. IV 896, lines 1-2; see also AR II, §46 (said of Amenhotep I), §108 (said of Thutmosis I), §592 (said of Thutmosis III), and AR IV, §988 E (said of Psammetichus II) and G (said of Nitocris); for further references see Lefebvre, Romans et contes, p. 5, n. 5, p. 9, n. 27, p. 157, n. 77, p. 158, n. 84. Similar language was sometimes used in reference to gods and sacred animals. Thus it is said of Isis-Heset-Sothis that "her Ba hurried up to heaven and united itself with Re," and when the sacred bull of Buchis dies his Ba is said to go to heaven (see Caminos, The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, p. 81, and Volten in MDAIK XVI 356).

¹²⁶Pyr. §§461-63, 913, 1048, 366, 890-91, 1772; cf. Vandier, La religion égyptienne, p. 77.

¹²⁷Urk. II 40, lines 8-10; Sauneron in BIFAO LX (1960) 96.

"joined the sun, the divine limbs mingling with him who begot him."¹²⁸ The text about Arsinoë continues by saying that after the ceremony of the "opening of the mouth" was performed "she came forth as a living Ba,"¹²⁹ clearly indicating that the Egyptian conceived of the Ba not as a "soul" which at death left the body but as a form of existence in which the deceased fully lived. As a Ba the king traversed the sky with the sun-god and with him descended into the underworld: "Higher is the Ba of the king, Amenemhet, than the heights of Orion, and it joins the Duat," says an inscription on the pyramidion of Amenemhet III.¹³⁰ While there can be some doubt as to the location of the Duat mentioned in this inscription, the kings of the New Kingdom certainly descended into a subterranean Duat. The walls of the rock-cut hypogea in which they were buried were adorned, for the most part, with the inscriptions and pictorial representations of the Book of Amduat, the oldest of the four New Kingdom "books" describing the subterranean realm of the dead.

The twelve regions of the Amduat correspond to the twelve hours of the night during which the sun-god traverses the underworld in his bark, traveling on a subterranean river. His visit brings joy to the inhabitants of this dark realm of the dead, among whom, standing near their caverns in the sixth region, are "the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt" together with other Akhs. The mighty kings of the Egyptian empire rule here in the underworld over only the sixth domain, where the sun-god each night confirms their royal power and where they receive the offerings decreed for them by the gods. Their Bas, embodied in or represented by their crowns,¹³¹ and their Akhs are with them, and the kings are made powerful through them. When the sun-god comes to their region, they hear his voice, praise him and with other gods and Akhs protect him from his enemy Apopis, who in the shape of a gigantic serpent tries to block his passage through the seventh region of the underworld.¹³² The dead kings in whose tombs these texts and pictures are represented are in the company of their ancestors "the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt," who are depict-

¹²⁸ AR II, §592.

¹²⁹ Urk. II 40, line 13.

¹³⁰ H. Schäfer in ZAS XLI (1904) 84; Maspero in ASAE III 207.

¹³¹ See Hornung, Das Amduat II 112 and 118; crowns are called Bas in both the upper and middle registers of the sixth hour.

¹³² See Hornung, Das Amduat I 108-9 and II 118-19, Sechste Stunde, mittleres Register.

ed in Osirianized form in the third register of the sixth hour. The sun-god is called "the great Ba" but in his nocturnal journey through the underworld obtains the special name of "Flesh" (īwf),¹³³ and during his visit with the kings he joins his own corpse (h3t), which rests in the underworld. He shares his divine prerogatives with Osiris, the ruler of the underworld, whose Ba "belongs to heaven and whose body belongs to the earth" (cf. p. 38, with n. 245). This sharing of domains by Re and Osiris entitles the Osirianized king of the Amduat, who is also the "son of Re," to a double divine destiny: a privileged status in the underworld with Osiris and the honor of accompanying the sun-god on his heavenly journey. "Thy Ba belongs to heaven in front of Re, thy body in the earth with Osiris, and daily does thy Ba rest upon thy body," says the goddess Nephthys to Tutankhamun.¹³⁴ Thus it is as a Ba, freely moving from one region to another, that the king can fulfill this dual destiny.¹³⁵

Physical Representations of the Ba

As noted above (pp. 67-71), the Pyramid Texts yield no evidence that the Ba of the king was considered to be a visible and tangible object, a concrete representation of the power of the king. Two additional points are to be made in this connection in reference to recent observations by Hermann Junker and Joachim Spiegel.

In his excavations at the Giza necropolis, Junker found in some of the mastabas groups of three statues ("Dreiergruppe")¹³⁶ which he tentatively proposed could represent the deceased, his Ba, and his Ka respectively. According to Junker, the Ba statue would then be the first and the

¹³³The "flesh" (īwf) of the sun-god and other gods in the Book of Amduat refers to their living bodies, which are endowed with the faculties of speech, movement, etc. (see Hornung, Das Amduat II 21, 55, 168).

¹³⁴See Alexandre Piankoff and N. Rambova, The Shrines of Tut-ankh-Amon (Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations [“Bollingen Series” XL] II [New York, 1955]) Pl. 21 and p. 65; cf. Hornung, Das Amduat II 124. In the tomb of Ramesses VI, Amun-Re speaks to the king: "Thy Ba belongs to heaven like (that of) Re, thy body belongs to earth like (that of) Osiris" (see Piankoff and Rambova, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, Pl. 65 and p. 21). A text in the tomb of Thutmosis III says of the king in relation to Re: "His Ba is thy Ba, his body is thy body" (see Paul Bucher, Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Amenophis II [MIFAO LX (1932)] p. 112).

¹³⁵See pp. 98-99.

¹³⁶See Junker, Giza XII 60-61 and VII 100.

only Egyptian representation of the Ba of the deceased in human form.¹³⁷

Representations of the Ba in the form of a bird with human head and, occasionally, human arms and hands first occur in the New Kingdom, and figures in the round representing the Ba of the deceased in human form are known only from Meroitic cemeteries in Nubia (see pp. 83-85). Junker's identification of one of the group of three statues as that of the Ba of the deceased would imply that deceased non-royal persons of the Old Kingdom were considered to have Bas, and there is a text which indicates that a tendency on the part of non-royal persons to appropriate the Ba existed in the 6th dynasty.¹³⁸ Junker himself, however, considered his identification of one statue as the Ba of the deceased to be conjectural. Whether the three statues represent the deceased, his Ba, and his Ka or whether they represent the individual and his Kas, as earlier maintained by Junker,¹³⁹ is, at the present stage of our knowledge, impossible to determine. Inscriptions in the private tombs of the Old Kingdom speak of the desire of the deceased to be grasped by the hand and accompanied by his Kas, and it was Junker himself who explained that the Kas mentioned in these inscriptions refer to the ancestors of the deceased who receive him upon his arrival in the next world.¹⁴⁰ Vandier's opinion,¹⁴¹ which Junker would consider an acceptable alternative to his own interpretation,¹⁴² is that these statues simply portray the individual whose happy afterlife depends on their preservation. Vandier also believes it possible that such double or triple representations were subsequently considered to be the individual's Ka statues.

Spiegel, in reconstructing the ritual which was performed in the pyramid of Unas, speaks of the use of Ba and Ka statues.¹⁴³ The interior of the pyramid consists of three parts: the burial chamber containing the sarcophagus, the middle chamber (or antechamber) connected with the en-

¹³⁷ Giza XII (1955) 60-61; cf. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III: Les grandes époques: La statuaire (1958) pp. 85-88.

¹³⁸ See pp. 60 f.

¹³⁹ Giza VII (1944) 100.

¹⁴⁰ See Junker in MDAIK IX (1940) 26-27 and Giza VII 100; cf. Vandier, La religion égyptienne, p. 133, and Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III 87.

¹⁴¹ Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III 88.

¹⁴² See Junker, Giza XII 59.

¹⁴³ Spiegel, "Der Auferstehungsritual der Unaspyramide," ASAE LIII 339-439; for a summary see Fairman, "The kingship rituals of Egypt," in Myth, Ritual and Kingship, pp. 95-97.

trance by a descending passage, and the serdab containing three niches for statues. According to Spiegel, the burial chamber represented the underworld, the middle chamber was the upper world and the horizon, its ceiling was the night sky ("Nachthimmel"), and the serdab represented the day sky (kbhw, "Tageshimmel").¹⁴⁴ During the ritual, a wooden coffin containing the body of the dead king was brought into the burial chamber and, after the performance of the offering ritual, placed in a stone sarcophagus which was then sealed. The officiating priests then passed through the doorway leading to the middle chamber and while passing lit a torch and performed the ceremony of the "breaking of the two red vases." The Ba statue and the Ka statue, which had been left in a corner of the middle chamber while the body was being buried, were then placed on bundles of reeds, dragged to the serdab, and with the appropriate ceremonies, the most important of which was the crowning of the Ba statue with the double crown, installed in their niches. The door of the serdab was closed, and a model boat was placed before it. The officiating priests retired to the middle chamber, and the successor to the throne threw a last piece of offering bread in the doorway of the burial chamber. The portcullises were lowered, and, just before dawn, while the last crescent of the waning moon shone in the sky, the officiants left the pyramid.

This is the scenario of the "mystery play," or the "ritual drama" as Spiegel calls it,¹⁴⁵ performed on the last night of the waning moon, when the royal burial took place, beginning at sunset and continuing until dawn.¹⁴⁶ According to Spiegel, the mythical significance of this ritual is as follows. During the ceremonies performed in the burial chamber, the Ba leaves the coffin and traverses the underworld (represented by the burial chamber). When the torch is lit the Ba acquires a phantom-like appearance, crosses the passage to the middle chamber and appears in the Ba statue while traversing the upper world (represented by the middle chamber), joins the Lord of the Universe, the God of Heaven, Re-Atum, invisibly residing in the middle niche of the serdab,¹⁴⁷ and unites himself with the god.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Spiegel in ASAE LIII 393, 408, and passim.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. pp. 405 and 408.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. pp. 404 and 411.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 374.

¹⁴⁸ Spiegel (ibid. p. 392) calls it "Wesensverschmelzung des verstorbenen Königs mit dem Himmelsgott" (see also ibid. p. 409).

There was apparently a second part of the ritual, called the "silent ritual" by Spiegel, performed simultaneously with the part of the spoken ritual which dealt with the "soul's coming-forth from the grave."¹⁴⁹ The first part of the ceremonies is briefly repeated, and then threats are uttered against all the gods who would attempt to prevent the "resurrection" of the Ba. The model boat deposited before the entrance to the serdab serves as a means of transportation for the Ba, which, through the efficacy of special spells, overcomes the obstacle of the portcullises, comes forth from the grave, and ferries across the sky on the crescent of the waning moon. Immediately thereafter the sun rises, and the "mystery of resurrection" is completed.¹⁵⁰

Spiegel's reconstruction of the burial ritual of Unas is an impressive piece of work, and along with the studies of Ricke and Schott,¹⁵¹ will have to be taken into serious consideration when further and more comprehensive studies of the pyramid rituals are made. In the light of Spiegel's study the texts which are recited during Unas' burial form a coherent unit and are arranged in a meaningful sequence, so that some of the more obscure passages in the Pyramid Texts become clearer and the significance of the entire ritual is better appreciated. The identification of the dead king with his Ba, upon which Spiegel bases his study,¹⁵² also appears to be correct. On this basis Spiegel explains the spells addressed to Unas as pertaining to his Ba, but here there is room for a differing opinion.

It is certainly true that in the Pyramid Texts the Ba which the king is or becomes represents the full personality of the king.¹⁵³ But the dead king is also referred to as a Ka,¹⁵⁴ and he is also an Akh, a "living"¹⁵⁵ and an "imperishable"¹⁵⁶ Akh (efficient dead), and as such has freedom of movement. The Pyramid Texts state that "Unas is gone forth on this day

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 409.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 410.

¹⁵¹ Siegfried Schott, Mythe und Mythenbildungen im alten Ägypten (UGAA XV [1945]); H. Ricke, Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des alten Reiches II, and S. Schott, Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Pyramidenkult ("Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde" V [Cairo, 1950]).

¹⁵² "Wesensidentität zwischen dem Toten und seinem Ba ist die Grundlage des ganzen Auferstehungsritual" (ASAE LIII 367).

¹⁵³ See pp. 54 and 72 f.

¹⁵⁴ Pyr. §§183 a, 582 d, 647 d; "satisfied Ka" (k3 htp), originally said of Osiris, is here applied to the king (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 365).

¹⁵⁵ Spell 260, Pyr. §318 c (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 378).

¹⁵⁶ Spells 217 and 218 (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 362-63).

in the real form of a living Akh"¹⁵⁷ just as the Coffin Texts say about the deceased: "I go forth by day in my Ba and in my forms (īrw)."¹⁵⁸ Thus there is a "Wesensidentität" not only between the dead king and his Ba but also between him and his Ka as well as between him and his Akh. As a matter of fact, the dead king can assume other forms of existence as well; he can be transformed into Osiris, Horus, and other divinities.¹⁵⁹ As the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead say, the deceased can assume any form he wishes.¹⁶⁰ It is therefore incorrect to say that the coming-forth of Unas as a "living Akh" means the coming-forth of his Ba¹⁶¹ or that it is the Ba which is being transformed into Osiris, Horus, and Haroeris.¹⁶² In all these instances the texts speak of Unas, not of his Ba, as the subject of these actions. Furthermore, the texts do not seem to support Spiegel's interpretation of this "ritual drama," namely the appearance of the Ba: its coming-forth from the burial chamber,¹⁶³ its acquiring of a phantom-like form,¹⁶⁴ and its appearance in the statue.¹⁶⁵ It is not until the ceremony reaches its point of culmination before the middle niche of the serdab that Unas is identified with his Ba: "Thou art become a Ba, thou art become sharp."¹⁶⁶ Prior to that point it is Unas who is the subject of the ritual actions or recitations, not his Ba. This is even more clear in view of the fact that the part of the ritual dealing with the Ka statue mentions the Ka explicitly. Therefore, it is more correct to say that it is Unas who undergoes various transformations which enable him to achieve the fullness of effective existence when he appears among the gods as their equal. It is important to keep this in mind and let the texts speak their own language. It is true that this language is sometimes ambiguous, as noted above (p. 71). Thus the utterance "this Unas comes to thee, O Nut, . . .

¹⁵⁷ Pyr. §318 c; this statement about the deceased is repeated in CT II 66 a-b; cf. CT II 94 f and BD 65, lines 8-9 in papyrus of Nu (Budge, Text II 2).

¹⁵⁸ CT II 73 b to 74 a.

¹⁵⁹ Spell 219, Pyr. §186 b-c (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 363, 365, 369-70, 390-91, 403).

¹⁶⁰ JNES XXII (1963) 60.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 378.

¹⁶² Cf. ibid. pp. 358, 363, 366, 372, 377.

¹⁶³ Spiegel in ASAE LIII 378 ff.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. pp. 366-67.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 373.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 392, Spell 301, Pyr. §457 c.

his Ba has brought him, his magic has equipped him,"¹⁶⁷ seems to refer to the Ba of Unas as an entity other than Unas himself, while the statement "thou art become a Ba, thou art become sharp,"¹⁶⁸ would indicate that Unas is in possession of this divine quality to such a degree that he can be identified with it; he is so Ba-full that he can be called a Ba. In one spell Unas comes forth in the form of a "living Akh,"¹⁶⁹ while another spell simply states that "Unas has come forth."¹⁷⁰ One thus becomes aware of the intricacy of the Egyptian conception of the hereafter and of the difficulty of presenting a coherent picture of the complex world in which their dead lived.

A ritual was certainly performed at the burial of Unas in his pyramid. It can be assumed that Spiegel's arrangement of the texts represents a sequence of ritual recitations and actions performed at the burial on the last night of the waning moon, perhaps in the last month of the season of the inundation.¹⁷¹ The true character of this "ritual drama," however, remains uncertain. How much of the "drama" was actually performed and how much was merely evoked by the recitation of spells, as in the case of the burial rituals of other religions, is difficult to determine. It can also be assumed that there was a correlation between the oral and the "dramatic" parts of the ritual on the one hand and their mythical significance on the other, but the details of this correlation as so confidently construed by Spiegel are difficult to accept. We find it particularly difficult to agree with Spiegel on the need for introducing the Ba statue into the "scenario" of the ritual. As a matter of fact, if anything at all emerges from the texts with respect to the "dramatic" enactment of the ritual, it is the strongly stressed role which the Ka of Unas plays: "(Horus) purifies this Unas in the sea of jackals and cleanses the Ka of this Unas in the sea of the Duat. He wipes off the flesh of the Ka of this Unas and that of his body He conducts the Ka of this Unas and of his body to the 'great house.'"¹⁷²

These words are recited when, according to Spiegel, the Ka statue is being introduced into the "great house," that is, the serdab. Unas is now in the presence of the god and "sits on the great throne at the side of the

¹⁶⁷ Spell 245, Pyr. §250 d (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 372).

¹⁶⁸ Spell 301, Pyr. §457 c.

¹⁶⁹ Spell 260, Pyr. §318 c (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 378).

¹⁷⁰ Spell 262, Pyr. §333 a (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 379).

¹⁷¹ See Spiegel in ASAE LIII 412.

¹⁷² Spell 268, Pyr. §§372 b-d and 373 b (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 384).

god."¹⁷³ It is to be noted that no such detailed references to the Ba of Unas are to be found in the spells which, according to Spiegel, accompany the introduction of the Ba statue into its niche in the serdab. Thus one would be inclined to say that one of the main points of the ritual was the meeting or merging of the dead king with his Ka. As to the three niches in the serdab, we would venture to say that the middle one was reserved for Re-Atum, while the Ka statue and the statue of Unas himself, or even two statues of Unas, resided in their niches at the sides of Re-Atum. This explanation is, of course, conjectural.

We would tend to conclude that the burial ritual was primarily a verbal re-enactment of mythical processes which were supposed to have taken place at the burial of the king, the culmination of which was the merging of the king with his Ka and the union with the sun-god. This ritual recitation was perhaps accompanied by "dramatic," that is, concrete, actions such as the "breaking of the two red vases," the placing of the statues in the niches of the serdab, and possibly others. Through these ritual performances the dead king was assured of an eternal afterlife. He became an "imperishable" and a "living" Akh, effectively and fully divinized. He became Ba-full and thus equal to the gods; as a Ba he could visit the underworld, traverse the earth, and join the sun-god in heaven. As a divinized dead king he continued the line of his divine ancestors who succeeded the dynasties of gods and demigods, while his successor on the throne of Egypt, as a new Horus, continued the kingly office of his Osirianized predecessor.

It appears that both Spiegel and Fairman consider Unas' burial ritual as a resurrection ritual.¹⁷⁴ Spiegel often speaks of the "resurrection of the soul," but on closer inspection it becomes evident that by that term he means the "coming-forth of the soul" from the grave.¹⁷⁵ It seems to us that he should have used the latter term throughout his description and avoided the expression "resurrection of the soul." First of all, the "soul" or, more correctly, the Ba never died, and without death there can be no resurrection. But there is another problem here. The Pyramid Texts state emphatically that the king never died: "(Unas) did not die, he departed alive."¹⁷⁶ Unas certainly died, but to the Egyptian mythopoeic mind his

¹⁷³Spell 271, Pyr. §391 c (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 387).

¹⁷⁴See Fairman in Myth, Ritual and Kingship, p. 97.

¹⁷⁵See ASAE LIII 355, 358, 407.

¹⁷⁶Spell 213, Pyr. §134 a.

death was but a transition to a new life: "Thou sleepest, thou awakest; thou diest, thou livest."¹⁷⁷ This is the idea that lies behind the statement: "Atum, that son of yours is this here, Osiris . . . he lives and this Unas lives; he did not die, and this Unas did not die."¹⁷⁸ Spiegel understands these words as being addressed to the Ba of the king, but the Ba is not mentioned at all. The comparison is between the dead king and Osiris. Just as Osiris was killed and rose to new life, so the dead king, identified with Osiris, through the recitation of the spell is made alive again. In other words, what we have here is the bodily resurrection of the dead king and not the resurrection of his Ba, which never died. To be sure, the body was in the grave, but it did not remain there inert or inanimate; special spells were recited to call it back to life: "His limbs which were in the secret place when he joined those who are in Nun are (now) united; he spoke his last words in Heliopolis. Unas comes forth on this day in the real form of a living Akh in order that he may break up the fight and punish the quarrel. Unas comes forth as a guardian of Maat; he brings her, as she is in his possession."¹⁷⁹ The same idea of bodily resurrection lies behind another statement: "Thy body is the body of this Unas, thy flesh is the flesh of this Unas, thy bones are the bones of this Unas; thou goest and this Unas goes, this Unas goes and thou goest."¹⁸⁰ This passage refers to Osiris, with whom the pharaoh is identified, as Sethe observed. Through the recitation of these spells and the effectiveness of the ritual, Unas becomes alive in his true physical corporeality. Only as such can he be transformed into a Ba or an Akh, traverse the earth and the heaven, find his place among the stars,¹⁸¹ and be in command of other glorified dead (Akh)s.¹⁸²

With this idea of bodily resurrection we reach perhaps the most ancient stratum of the Egyptian conception of the afterlife, that is, a continuation of life as a physical corporeality—a conception common to other

¹⁷⁷ Spell 670, Pyr. §1975 b.

¹⁷⁸ Spell 219, Pyr. §167 a-b (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 363).

¹⁷⁹ Spell 260, Pyr. §§318 a to 319 a (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 378).

¹⁸⁰ Spell 219, Pyr. §193. Spiegel, who bases his identification of Unas with his Ba principally on this text, interprets it as referring to the Ba of Unas: "Dein (des Ba) Leib ist der Leib dieses Unas" (ASAE LIII 367). But he is reading into the text an idea which cannot be derived from it.

¹⁸¹ Spell 245, Pyr. §251 a (cf. Spiegel in ASAE LIII 373); cf. Spell 461, Pyr. §871 b.

¹⁸² Spell 461, Pyr. §871 a-d.

religions at the earliest stage of their belief in survival. Certainly long before the period of the Pyramid Texts speculative theologians first attempted to elaborate this primitive belief in bodily survival by differentiating more precisely between the various forms of existence in the hereafter: an effective body, an Akh, a Ba as well as other transformations the deceased could undergo. "The Akh (belongs) to heaven, the corpse (belongs) to the earth"¹⁸³ is an emphatic statement indicating an advanced stage of this differentiation. It is to be remembered, however, that at all stages the body of the deceased was considered not as inert and lifeless matter but as a living entity which, with all its physical and psychic faculties, fully lived in all other forms of transformation and without the effective role of which no continuation of life could be conceived. Truly, then, the Egyptian concept of man in his afterlife knew nothing of his "spiritual" constituents as opposed to his physical ones.

It would appear, therefore, that neither Junker's nor Spiegel's studies have yielded any evidence that during the Old Kingdom the Ba was represented in the form of the deceased.

Representations of the Ba in the form of a bird with human head and, in some cases, human arms and hands¹⁸⁴ occur most frequently in Book of the Dead papyri and New Kingdom tomb paintings, where the head is sometimes made in the likeness of the owner of the papyrus or tomb (see Pl. 3). A Ba with human head and phallus is sculptured in relief on the naos of Nectanebo.¹⁸⁵ Relief representations of Bas occur most frequently, however, in shrines and temples of the Greco-Roman period, for example at Denderah, Philae, and Kalabsha.¹⁸⁶ The Bas represented in these reliefs are those of gods, for example Osiris and Mandulis.

Although figures in the round representing the Ba of the deceased in human or human-avian form have not been found in Egypt, they have been found in Meroitic cemeteries in Nubia, where their number has been considerably increased through the recent excavations conducted in con-

¹⁸³ Spell 305, *Pyr.* §474 a (cf. Spiegel in *ASAE* LNI 398 and Schott, *Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Pyramidenkult*, p. 189).

¹⁸⁴ See e.g. Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1930)* ("Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire" VIII, Troisième partie [Le Caire, 1933]) Pl. XIV.

¹⁸⁵ Günther Roeder, *Naos* ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire" LXXV [Leipzig, 1914]) Pl. 31.

¹⁸⁶ See Mariette, *Dendérah* IV, Pl. 72, Junker, *Götterdekret*, p. 58, Fig. 20, and Gauthier, *Le temple de Kalabchah* II, Pl. LXXIV; see also Junker, *Götterdekret*, pp. 51, 65, 67.

nection with the building of the new Assuan High Dam. These Meroitic Ba statues and statuettes occur in both human-headed and falcon-headed form. Some of the best-preserved show the full human form, the only trace of avarian origin being wings attached to the shoulders and obliquely descending to join the statue base. Others combine a human head and body with bird legs ending in human feet. Probably all of these statues stood in niches above the tombs, and some apparently were designed to slide back and forth in grooved stone bases. To what extent the human heads were supposed to be likenesses of the deceased is difficult to determine and would be worth investigating. A few of these statues are works of accomplished artists. For example, a statue found at Karanog has a serene expression on the face and a fully human form adorned with sumptuous jewelry (Pl. 6).¹⁸⁷ But most of the Meroitic Ba statues are products of rudimentary and even crude provincial art, made in stereotyped fashion to satisfy the simple needs of Egypt's southern neighbors who had accepted the idea of the Ba from Egypt, along with other mortuary concepts and burial customs. Whether they merely copied this mortuary motif, perhaps known to them from the vignettes of the Book of the Dead, or consciously borrowed it, giving it sculptural form and adapting it to their own concept of the afterlife, cannot be determined in our present state of ignorance of the Meroitic language. A better understanding of the texts on the Meroitic offering-tables often found in connection with the Ba statues would certainly contribute to the clarification of this problem. In this respect it is interesting to note that the falcon-like representation of the Ba had developed in Egypt long before it appeared in Nubia. Two Bas, one represented in the shape of a human-headed bird and the other in the shape of a falcon, stretching their protective wings over the torso of a mummiform wood-carved figure of Tutankhamun,¹⁸⁸ provide a good example of this variation on the same mortuary theme. The Book of Amduat speaks of the Ba of Sokar as represented in the shape of a falcon and of a falcon-headed serpent as "the sacred Ba of the Foremost of the Westerners."¹⁸⁹ The Ba of

¹⁸⁷See C. L. Woolley and D. Randall-Maciver, Karanog: The Roman-Nubian Cemetery (Philadelphia, 1910) pp. 46-50 and Pl. 2, No. C40232; for other Ba statues from Karanog see ibid. Pls. 2-10.

¹⁸⁸Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, Tutankhamen (New York, 1963) Pl. LIV. For New Kingdom texts dealing with the transformation of the deceased or his Ba into a falcon, see Grapow in ZAS LXXVII 63, Spruch 1, and 69-70; see also p. 156 below.

¹⁸⁹See Hornung, Das Amduat II 166-67 and I 173, line 8, and I 174, line 5; see also the folding plate of the Zehnte Stunde, middle register.

Osiris at Abaton is described as a "divine falcon with human face,"¹⁹⁰ and the ritual of embalmment¹⁹¹ as well as some Edfu texts¹⁹² speak of the Ba of Osiris (or the king) as a falcon. The recently translated texts from Esna refer to the "great words" or the "seven divine beings" as being represented in the form of falcons.¹⁹³ As a final example of this aspect of the iconography of the Ba we mention a late stela on which is shown, under the sun disk and two uraei and resting on the hand of a child, a Ba in the form of a falcon.¹⁹⁴

While other Egyptian mortuary practices and motifs which were adopted by the Meroitic civilization¹⁹⁵ seem to have been abandoned after the reign of Sherikarer in the first quarter of the first century of the Christian era, offering-tables and Ba statues and statuettes continued in use until the end of the Meroitic period in Nubia in the third or the beginning of the fourth century, although it is doubtful whether their significance was any longer understood.

The Punitive Aspect of the Bas

In some texts, the Bas, in their basic meaning of the manifestation of power, are spoken of as acting in a punitive or vindictive manner.

F. Ll. Griffith first commented upon the punitive aspect of the Bas (of a god) in connection with his translation of a passage from a demotic pa-

¹⁹⁰ Junker, *Götterdekret*, p. 26.

¹⁹¹ Mariette, *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq I* (Paris, 1871) Pl. 12, line 10; Sauneron, *Le rituel de l'embaumement*, p. 28, line 12, to p. 29, line 1; cf. Junker, *Götterdekret*, p. 27.

¹⁹² *Le temple d'Edfou I* 87, line 13; cf. Junker, *Götterdekret*, p. 27.

¹⁹³ Sauneron, *Esna V* 351 (cf. pp. 268 and 319).

¹⁹⁴ See Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Die Falkenbezeichnung des Verstorbenen in der Spätzeit," *ZAS* LXII (1927) 27-34, esp. Fig. 3.

¹⁹⁵ The Egyptian influence is best reflected in the funerary architecture and tomb decoration. The burial chambers in the pyramids of Tanwetamani and his mother, Qalhata, at Kurru are decorated with magical texts in Egyptian fashion (see A. J. Arkell, *A History of the Sudan* [London, 1961] p. 136). Although ushabtis are rare in Meroë and Nubia, it is known that they were made for Taharqa and Sankamaniskan (ibid., p. 118). The two massive sarcophagi and the walls of the burial chambers in the pyramids of Anlamani and Aspelta at Nuri are inscribed with spells from the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead (see Dows Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries at Kush II* [Boston, 1955] 56-58, 81, and 86-95, Pls. 76-78). During the reign of Ergamenes and later pyramid chapels at Meroë were decorated with Egyptian mortuary motifs (see Suzanne E. Chapman and Dows Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries at Kush III* [Boston, 1952] esp. Pls. 18 E-F and 19 B).

pyrus¹⁹⁶ which speaks of Amun's Bas being directed against those who do not recognize him as a god: "Thy Bas are upon them, because they do not say 'god' unto thee." Griffith somewhat hesitantly identified the Bas in this text as the wrath of the god.

The plural form b3w occurs in a similar context in other texts. Thus, in the story of Sinuhe we read that the enemies of the new pharaoh, Sesostris I, "flee before him as (before) the Bas of the Great Goddess."¹⁹⁷ A Karnak inscription says of Amenhotep III that "his Bas carry off him who is evil of character."¹⁹⁸ Similarly, it is said of the sun-god that his "Bas are ready against the evil of character"¹⁹⁹ and of King Akhenaton that "when he rises he exercises (his) Bas against him who is ignorant of his teaching and (extends) his favors toward him who knows him."²⁰⁰ An inscription from the reign of Ramesses II says that his Bas were in his enemies "like a flaming torch,"²⁰¹ and a text on a 19th-dynasty statue reads "show thy Bas against every one who will violate my image."²⁰² The stela of Tefnakhte in Athens states that the "Bas of Neith" will be against the violator "in all eternity."²⁰³

A text from the late New Kingdom²⁰⁴ speaks of a great god whose "Bas destroy millions" when he is enraged, and another late New Kingdom text says that Amun-Re will exercise his "great heavy Bas" against some disputants.²⁰⁵ On a statue of Hrihor appears the warning that all those

¹⁹⁶ Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Pap. No. IX verso xxiv 17-18 (Vol. I, Pl. XLVI, and Vol. III 111 and 252, n. 18).

¹⁹⁷ Alan H. Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe (Paris, 1916) pp. 36, 138, 170.

¹⁹⁸ Urk. IV 1724, line 9.

¹⁹⁹ Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series, I 34 and II, Pl. 16, recto 10, line 13 (Pap. Chester Beatty No. IV).

²⁰⁰ Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, p. 86, lines 15-16 (cf. p. 8, line 14); see also p. 64 above.

²⁰¹ Charles Kuentz in ASAE XXV 209 and 230; see also p. 65 above.

²⁰² E. von Bergmann in RT XII (1892) 3; cf. A. Volten, Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii (København, 1937) p. 115.

²⁰³ Wilhelm Spiegelberg in RT XXV (1903) 192; cf. Volten, Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii, p. 115, and Henri Sottas, La préservation de la propriété foncière dans l'ancienne Égypte (Paris, 1913) pp. 152-53.

²⁰⁴ Labib Habachi in ASAE XXXVIII (1938) 71.

²⁰⁵ Gardiner in JEA XLVIII 62; cf. Gardiner in ZAS XLII 25. For the expression wdn b3w, "heavy of Bas," see Caminos in JEA L (1964) 74 and 76 and The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, p. 122 (§192 i). The Ba is also qualified when Horus

who remove the statue from its place will be "in the Bas" of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu.²⁰⁶ On the stela of Bilgai, from the Ramesside period, it is stated that anyone who shall take away personnel for employment in business not connected with the chapel shall be "in the Bas of Amun."²⁰⁷

In the description of a lawsuit recorded on a papyrus from the Old Kingdom²⁰⁸ it is said that the witnesses for the defense are required to take an oath saying: "May thy Bas be against him (i.e., the accuser), O god." Another Old Kingdom papyrus, speaking of the god Khonsu, says: "Mayest (thou) send (lit. 'give') thy Bas against thine enemies."²⁰⁹

The Wisdom Book of Amenemope contains the admonishment "restrain thy tongue from bad speech . . . and thou wilt be spared from the god's Bas"²¹⁰ and states that he who appropriates even a furrow of another's land "will be caught in the Bas of the moon-god."²¹¹

The epithet "whose Bas are worse than death" occurs in a common oath formula,²¹² and the expressions "I will rescue him from their Bas" and "we shall keep her safe from the Bas of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu" are found in amuletic decrees.²¹³

The Bas in all of these texts can be well taken in their basic meaning of the manifestation of power. This power could, of course, be manifested

of Edfu is referred to as the "aggressive Ba in the Mansion of the Falcon" (Le temple d'Edfou IV 235, lines 2-3; cf. Reymond in JEA XLIX [1963] 142), the "aggressive Ba, greater than the (other) gods" (Le temple d'Edfou IV 112, line 18; cf. C. De Wit in Chronique d'Égypte XXIX [1954] 35), and the "aggressive Ba, great of strength" (A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "A group of texts inscribed on the façade of the sanctuary in the temple of Horus at Edfu," Miscellanea Gregoriana [Roma, 1941] p. 402, Fig. 4, line 14).

²⁰⁶Gustave Lefebvre in ASAE XXVI (1926) 66.

²⁰⁷Gardiner in ZAS L (1912) Pl. IV, line 6, and p. 51.

²⁰⁸Pap. Berlin 9010 (see Sethe, "Ein Prozessurteil aus dem alten Reich," ZAS LXI [1926] 72).

²⁰⁹Pap. Berlin 3056, lines 7 and 9 (see Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin II [Leipzig, 1905]); cf. Sethe in ZAS LXI 76.

²¹⁰The Wisdom Book of Amenemope X 21 and XI 5 (see Lange, Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope, p. 60).

²¹¹The Wisdom Book of Amenemope VII 16-17 and 19 (Lange, Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope, pp. 47-48).

²¹²Gardiner in JEA XLVIII 62, n. 3.

²¹³I. E. S. Edwards, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fourth Series (London, 1960) I 4, n. 24 (cf. pp. 108, 38, 53). In these same decrees occur the phrases tꜣꜣ bꜣw, "to assume" or "take on Bas" (ibid. p. 5, n. 33, and p. 65), and irꜣ bꜣw, "to make Bas" (ibid. p. 82). The deities' "making of Bas" or "taking-on of Bas" against individuals probably means that they manifest their power against the individuals.

in a beneficent or, as in these texts, an inimical way. Translation of b3w as the "god's wrath" or the "king's wrath" would stress the inimical aspect of the Bas, but these texts are just as well understood when the Bas are taken in their basic meaning.

It is interesting to note that in some rare instances the Ka is spoken of as acting in a punitive way, for example "his Ka prevails over him who speaks untruthfully," said of Horus of Edfu.²¹⁴ There are also well-known instances in the letters to the dead and in the wisdom literature in which the Akh (which survived in Coptic as the word for "demon") is mentioned as acting in an inimical manner toward the living.²¹⁵

An unusual example of the inimical manifestation of power denoted by the Bas occurs in an inscription in the temple at Esna.²¹⁶ According to this inscription, certain persons were denied access to one of the Esna sanctuaries on some of the days on which ceremonies were performed for the god Khnum. Among those denied access were those who were "under the Bas of sorcery," that is, under the manifestation of the power of sorcery.²¹⁷ Sauneron suggests that these people suffered from epilepsy, a disease often attributed in antiquity to the influence of evil or demonic powers.

The Esna text calls to mind an example of the use of the word "Akhs" to indicate evil spirits or demons. The inscription on the Bentresh stela states that Bentresh, sister of Nefrure who was married to Ramesses II, had fallen ill and was "in the condition of one under the Akhs."²¹⁸ This probably means that Bentresh was thought to be under the malefic influence of "spirits" or to be "possessed" by evil "spirits" from whose influ-

²¹⁴ Le temple d'Edfou VIII 14, line 13, to p. 15, line 1; cf. Fairman in MDAIK XVI 88.

²¹⁵ See Volten, Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii, p. 55.

²¹⁶ Sauneron in BIFAO LX 111-15.

²¹⁷ Hry b3w hmt-s3. We understand this text to indicate one category of people rather than two as indicated by Sauneron's reading: "Ne laisser penetrer au temple aucun homme qui soit dans l'état d'un homme qui est sous . . . et (sous) . . ." In our interpretation the word b3w is aptly qualified by the phrase hmt-s3, "sorcery," thus giving the reading "a man afflicted by the Bas of sorcery." For the meaning of hmt-s3 (lit. "craft of [magical] protection") see Wb. III 85, 3 ("Behexung"), and Hildegard von Deines, Hermann Grapow, and Wolfhart Westendorf, Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte ("Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter" IV [Berlin, 1958]) p. 266. Note also that in our text hmt-s3 is determined by the "evil" bird.

²¹⁸ Prisse d'Avannes, Monuments égyptiens, Pl. 24, line 11, and Ledrain, Les monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque nationale, Pl. XL, line 4; cf. AR III, §438, and Wilson in ANET, p. 30.

ence she could not recover until the Theban god Khnum himself came to Bakhtan and liberated her.

III

THE BA IN THE COFFIN TEXTS

We know of but one text antedating the First Intermediate Period which speaks of the Ba of a deceased noble and which indicates that in the Old Kingdom there was at least a tendency on the part of the noble to appropriate the Ba.¹ Ample evidence can be cited to show that the deceased noble of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom was considered to possess a Ba.² Here we aim to show the reasons for this development and the influence it exerted on the concept of the Ba.

The First Intermediate Period was a time of foreign invasions, civil wars, social revolutions, and collapse of formerly undisputed traditional values. Although Re was still the predominant figure in the Egyptian pantheon and the cult of Osiris continued to gain ground, the Egyptian attitude toward religion was deeply affected by political and social events, as can be seen from the literary masterpieces of this period. Skepticism and theological speculation, born of the uncertainties of these disturbed times, exerted a deep influence on the development of the mortuary religion.

The disintegration of centralized political power brought about not only the reign of the Heracleopolitan and Theban rulers but also that of several other independent rulers who exercised supreme power in their political as well as their religious domains. The pharaoh had lost his political prestige and with it the exclusive possession of personal privileges, including those related to life after death. These now became the common destiny of all who ruled in the land of Egypt. Nobles usurped the mortuary prerogatives of the pharaoh, along with the mortuary texts which had been composed exclusively for the benefit of his life beyond the grave. Many spells from the Pyramid Texts were now applied to the newly privileged for the welfare of his future life.

Thus, at the outset of his journey to the nether world the noble was addressed with the same words as was the king:

¹See pp. 60 f.

²See Kees, *Totenglauben*, p. 39; Ranke in *ZAS* LXXV (1939) 133; John A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951) p. 86.

"Osiris N., thou hast departed living, thou hast not departed dead" (CT I 187 d-e).³

He too was equipped with divine and royal attributes which assured him of a happy life in the celestial regions:

"Behold, thou hast become more of an Akh and more of a Ba than the gods of the South and the North" (CT I 194 e).⁴

"Thy Ba belongs to thee, thy power belongs to thee, thy Akh belongs to thee" (CT I 396 c).⁵

The noble even resorted to violence, as the pharaoh once had, to assure himself of divine attributes. This is described in passages which contain some unique expressions about the Ba:

"I am come, shining and Ba-full, exalted and divine, enshrined⁶ in this divine dignity of mine. My Ba has been given to me. I have power over Hu; I have swallowed the Sia of every god. I have taken possession of powers and Akhs; I have seized their efficiency. Behold, I am come, having eaten their magic. I am the sole one, without his peer" (CT V 391 d-k).

"My Ba has conquered distant foreign regions.⁷ Terror of me⁸ has been brought for me into⁹ my body; my dignity is in my lips, my might in my throat. I am great in my heart; fear of me⁸ is in my flesh. My strength is in my arms, my power in my legs. I am the god who is the master of his arms, who is powerful in his heart. Anubis has been brought to me, I have dragged his benu-bird;¹⁰ I have seized their Bas, I have smitten their Akhs" (CT V 392 d to 393 f).

Finally, in the next world the noble was guided and protected by his Ba and other attributes, as was the king himself:

³ Cf. *Pyr.* §§134 a and 833 a.

⁴ B 13 C reads b3 šm.ti spd.ti instead of šh.ti b3.ti. Cf. *Pyr.* §204 c.

⁵ One variant reads: "Thy Ba belongs to thee, thy power belongs to thee, thy corpse belongs to thee." Similar expressions occur in CT I 244 d: b3.ti spd.ti šm.t(i) r ntrw nbw.

⁶ K3r.kwī is the old perfective of an otherwise unknown verb. We derive its meaning from the noun k3r, "chapel," "shrine."

⁷ Iw it.n b3.i h3w nbwt.

⁸ Nrw.i, "terror of me," and snd.i, "fear of me," with suffix pronouns as objective genitives (see Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 90, n. 4).

⁹ mi m could mean "remove from," but such a translation would not fit the context; cf. the following snd.i m iw.f.i.

¹⁰ The relation of the benu-bird to Anubis is obscure.

"My Ba is after me, my Hu before me;¹¹ I have established my magic" (CT V 383 d-e).

It is obvious that the meaning of the Ba in these passages is the same as that in the Pyramid Texts. The scribe sometimes shows the same lack of discrimination in the use of the singular and plural forms (cf. p. 55), for example: "Thy Ba (var. 'Bas') has been made for thee against thine enemies."¹²

Thus, the noble came to possess a Ba along with other royal prerogatives. The ideals of the ancient Egyptian regarding his future life were patterned on those of the living. He had always been seriously concerned about his life in the next world, but now he became increasingly apprehensive and his worries became more specific. He wished to avoid becoming abominably polluted,¹³ to breathe pure air,¹⁴ to join his family,¹⁵ to retain the use of his sexual power,¹⁶ to enjoy full freedom of movement and to undergo as many transformations as he desired.¹⁷

This down-to-earth attitude regarding the expectations of a future life, together with skepticism and a tendency toward speculation, definitely influenced the development of the Ba concept. Anxiety about the ability of the deceased to perform specific actions may have stimulated the process of the personification of the Ba, which was completed during the Middle Kingdom. And for the first time the question regarding the origin of the Ba was asked and answered.

The Origin of the Ba

The Coffin Texts contain two different answers to the question regarding the origin of the Ba.

The Ba comes into existence by emanating from the body:

¹¹ Cf. CT II 90 e, where "his Ba is with him and after him" refers to the god who is sfg ṛrw, "hidden of form"; for sfg ṛrw see also CT II 90 b and 86 d.

¹² CT I 313 a. Alternative translation: "Thou hast made thy Ba (var. 'Bas') against thine enemies."

¹³ CT III 47, 60, 99, 123, 196; CT VI 406, Spell 772; cf. BD 51, 52, 53, 102 (see Budge, Text I 159 and 164, II 84); see also p. 140 below.

¹⁴ CT VII 246-47, Spell 1025.

¹⁵ CT II 180-82.

¹⁶ CT I 364-65 and VII 182, Spell 967.

¹⁷ CT II 206 and 209, III 351 and 353, IV 166 etc.

"Go,¹⁸ my Ba, that that man¹⁹ may see thee. May he stand or sit²⁰ whilst thou art in front of him²¹ in my form and in my true nature of a living Akh. It is the towers²² (of the boat) of Atum who will take thee away when thou departest from²³ the efflux of my flesh and the sweat of my head.²⁴ Mayest thou go forth through the door of the Radiance,²⁵ through which they shine forth, from which they go forth, through which they go down"²⁶ (CT II 94 d to 95 e).

"It is this Nepri,²⁷ who lives after he has died, who takes thee²⁸ through this door of the Radiance, from which thou comest forth, (as) from the ef-

¹⁸Is, "go," not "come" as Otto ("Die Anschauung vom B₃ nach Coffin Texts Sp. 99-104," *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, p. 152) translates it. Cf. h₃b s b₃.f, the rubricized title of Spells 101 and 413 (CT II 98 a and V 240 a); cf. also BD 188 title (Budge, *Text III* 111).

¹⁹See p. 100, with note 70.

²⁰"May he stand or sit" is a figure of speech, a so-called universalism (see Žabkar in JNES XIII 98 and p. 142 below). It means "wherever he is, whatever he is doing, thou (i.e., my Ba) shouldst be in front of him," i.e., incessantly. For another example of a universalism, see CT V 243 b.

²¹Read īw.k hft-hr.f, as in CT II 99 b and 97 g.

²²Ts.tyw or īth.tyw or šnw.tyw, but not st₃.tyw, which is written with a different determinative.

²³šm.k r, "depart from," with the r of separation. In CT II 108 g, šm.k m has the same meaning.

²⁴The emanation of the Ba from the head brings to mind the birth of Pallas Athena, who sprang from the head of Zeus, but the latter theme also occurs in Egyptian texts; see e.g. CT II 144 c and 146 e, where we read about "the gods who came forth from the vertex of Geb."

²⁵The text reads "from the Duat of the Radiance," but the masculine suffix of īm.f (CT II 95 c) shows clearly that the word sb₃, "door," was intended, as can be seen from the parallel text in CT II 100 a.

We like to translate īšhw as "Radiance," although the seated-god determinative suggests that we should think not only of the place but also of the "glorified" people who live there.

²⁶The w of the relative forms prrw.sn and h₃šw.sn is very seldom written before suffixes.

²⁷The grain-god Nepri plays an important role in the Coffin Texts. The texts dealing with him represent some of those rather rare instances in which a mortuary text is to be interpreted symbolically; see e.g. CT IV 166 a ("to make transformation into Nepri," indicating human regeneration by analogy with vegetative regeneration), CT IV 7 e-f, CT II 40 f-g. In our case, the emanation of the Ba from the body of the deceased is compared with its (the Ba's) appearance in heaven through the door of the Radiance and related to the grain-god Nepri, who personifies the vicissitudes of grain as it dies and thrives anew: "I live, I die" (CT IV 168 b and 169 f).

²⁸The Ba is addressed. "It is Nepri . . . who will take thee . . ." is also possible; see Gardiner, *Grammar*, §373, A, 2 c (imperfect active participle referring to a future event).

flux of my flesh and the fissure of my head,²⁹ in the presence of the One-distinguished-of-form, the Lord of the Universe, whose sun-people³⁰ are with him,³¹ in order that that man³² may see thee, in my form, in my nature, in my fitness,³³ in my true form of a divine noble (s^ch)" (CT II 100 a to 103 a).³⁴

The Ba comes into existence through creation by a god or man:

"He (i.e., Atum) has created for me my Hu and my Ba about me in order to make it (i.e., my Ba) know what I knew. Behold, I pervade all heavens, I fare through all lands, I have done what he commanded me" (CT I 394 b to 395 d).³⁵

"See thine own form, form thy Ba and cause it to go forth and to have power over its legs that it may stride and copulate among men, and thou shalt be there as Lord of the Universe" (CT IV 71 e to 72 c, Horus speaking to Osiris).³⁶

"I have created my Ba about me³⁷ in order to make it (i.e., my Ba) know what I knew. For the sake of my corpse, my Ba shall not burn, my Ba

²⁹ Var.: "from the efflux of my flesh and the fissure of my flesh." Kⁱs, which according to Wb. V 17 occurs only in medical texts, is here used as a noun and must have the meaning "breaking open" or, as a derivative, "fissure."

³⁰ For hnmmt, "sun-people," "sun-folk," see Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I 111*.

³¹ Var.: "with thee."

³² Var.: "that god."

³³ "Form," "nature," and "fitness" are irw, kmḏ, and šsḏw respectively. Otto (Miscellanea Gregoriana, pp. 156-57) suggested that the first two words refer to the external form of the Ba while the third (which occurs also in CT II 95-96) refers to an "inner, religious" quality of the Ba. We believe that there is no such distinction in meaning in this text. Although in some non-religious texts šsḏw has the meaning of wisdom, skill, or the like, in the text under discussion it occurs in a context identical with that of irw and kmḏ and most likely was understood in basically the same sense. Otto himself was conscious of the lack of a clear distinction with respect to these three words, but reviewers of his article gave his hesitantly expressed distinction undue emphasis (see Jean Capart in Chronique d'Égypte XVII [1942] 104 and Vandier, La religion égyptienne, p. 132).

³⁴ CT II 105 e to 106 a, a peculiar version, reads: "O Sek-wer, hunter (for nw see Komm. IV 109 f) of Heliopolis, who lives after he has died; the great one comes forth issuing from the efflux which has been formed in the human body. May he bring the living one to me, may he who sent him see him; may he go, may that god see him wherever he is."

³⁵ Hu, the personification of authoritative utterance, plays an important role in the Coffin Texts. He is supposed to render the mortuary formulas even more efficient. The deceased wishes therefore to be transformed into a Hu (hpr m Hw in CT IV 153 e) and to become identified with him (ink Hw in CT IV 157 a).

³⁶ See A. de Buck in JEA XXXV (1949) 93.

³⁷ Here and in CT I 394 b the word used to convey the idea of creating is kmḏ,

shall not be held up by the bodyguard of Osiris"³⁸ (CT I 360 c to 364 a).

"I am this great Ba of Osiris, by means of which the gods have commanded him to copulate, which lives by striding by day,³⁹ which Osiris has made of the efflux which is in his flesh, of the seed which came forth from his phallus, in order that it (or 'he') may come forth on the day on which he copulates. I am the son of Osiris, his heir among his noblemen. I am the living Ba within his blood. I am the one who uncovers this great red crown of Osiris, which gods fear when it is unveiled, because I am this great Ba of Osiris, by means of which the gods have commanded him to copulate, which lives by striding by day, which Osiris has made of the efflux which is in his flesh, of the seed which came forth from his phallus, in order that it may come forth on the day on which he copulates. I am the one who, distinguished in appearances, opens the gates"⁴⁰ (CT II 67 c to 72 c⁴¹).

Spell 75⁴² is instructive from the viewpoint of the history of the development of the Ba concept and illustrates very well the Egyptian approach to this development, which involved a juxtaposition of ideas rather than a systematic evolution of them. In this spell the meaning of the Ba as the manifestation of the power of a divinity ("I am the Ba of Shu") is combined with the explanation of its origin, first stated in the Coffin Texts:

"I am the Ba of Shu,⁴³ the god who came into existence by himself. I am the Ba of Shu, the god whose form is hidden. I came into existence from the limbs of the god who came into existence by himself. I am one who is within the sphere of the god who came into existence by himself, I came into being from him" (CT I 314 b to 320 a).

while in CT IV 71 the meaning of the verb *skdī* (*skd b3.k*, "form your Ba") is not certain; see De Buck in *JEA* XXXV 93, n. 3.

Otto (*ZAS* LXXVII 80) translates *h3.i* as "nach mir" ("Ich habe meinen Bai nach mir geschaffen") and (*ibid.* p. 83) uses this passage to prove that a man was created before his Ba ("nach mir, also später als den Menschen"). But a temporal meaning for the preposition *h3* seems to be unknown; see *Wb.* III 8 and Gardiner, *Grammar*, §172: "behind," "around," i.e., spatial, not temporal.

³⁸Var.: "by the house-officials of Osiris."

³⁹*nh hr i3 m hrw*. For other examples of *i3* see CT IV 72 a-b ("cause it to go forth and to have power over its legs that it may stride and copulate among men"), CT I 86 b, and De Buck in *JEA* XXXV 93. *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* I 26 does not mention these three occurrences of the verb *i3*. However, most of the variants of CT II 68 a and 77 c are less feasible: ". . . who lives on the height (*nh hr k3* [for *k3w*]) by day" (M 3 C) or ". . . who lives by being high by day." CT II 77 c B 3 L and CT IV 72 b D 1 C show a very interesting writing, which seems to have fused the verbs *k3i*, "be high," and *i3*, "stride," by combining the verb *i3* with the determinative of the verb *k3i*.

⁴⁰Var.: "place of execution" (*hbt*).

⁴¹CT II 67 c to 68 d = CT II 77 a to 78 c.

⁴²CT I 314-405.

⁴³See also CT II 28 e (*ink b3 pw n Šw*) and p. 109, n. 124, below.

"He created me with⁴⁴ his heart, he made me with his efficiency. He sneezed me out through his nostrils. I am one⁴⁵ whose form has been sneezed out, whom this august god has created⁴⁶ . . ." (CT I 336 c to 340 a).

"He created me with (or 'in') his heart, he made me with his efficiency. I was not born at all"⁴⁷ (CT I 344 a-c).

"He has not begotten me through his mouth,⁴⁸ he has not conceived me by means of his hand.⁴⁹ He has sneezed me out through his nostrils, he has made me in his goodness"⁵⁰ (CT I 354 c to 356 b).

"I have created my Ba about me⁵¹ in order to make it (i.e., my Ba) know what I knew. For the sake of my corpse, my Ba shall not burn, my Ba shall not be held up by the bodyguard of Osiris" (CT I 360 c to 364 a).

"He (i.e., Atum) has created for me my Hu and my Ba about me in order to make it know what I knew. Behold, I pervade all heavens, I fare through all lands, I have done what he commanded me" (CT I 394 b to 395 d).

Also related to the question of the origin of the Ba is the rubricized title of Spell 94,⁵² which reads "to remove the Ba from the corpse, another book of coming forth by day."⁵³ Otto translates the first part of this title "den Bai vom Leichnam trennen" and argues that the Ba separates from the body at death in order to avoid decay.⁵⁴ In other words, Otto supports the view that the Egyptian conceived of man as a composite of

⁴⁴Or "in."

⁴⁵Var.: "I am the god whose form . . ."

⁴⁶Var.: "stretched out," unless pd is a mistake for km3.

⁴⁷Lit. "I was not born a being-born," with complementary infinitive (see Gardiner, Grammar, §298, Obs.).

⁴⁸Var.: "by means of his hand."

⁴⁹An allusion to creation by masturbation and spitting on the part of the sun-god.

⁵⁰Nfrw means both "beauty" and "goodness." Cf. CT II 35 j to 36 a ("He has begotten me through his nostrils, I came forth from his nose"), CT II 39 i to 40 a ("He has conceived me through his nostrils . . ."), and CT II 44 b.

⁵¹The first person is used by all variants except T 3 C, which here and in CT I 394 b logically reads: "He has created for me my Ba." The other variants change to the third person in 394 b; T 3 C should therefore be considered the standard text for Spell 75.

⁵²CT II 67 a-b.

⁵³Shr b3 r h3t kt md3t nt prt m hrw.

⁵⁴" . . . der Bai sich im und durch Tod vom Körper (h3t) trennt und nicht das Schicksal der Verwesung erleiden soll . . . dass er ein immanenter Teil des Menschen ist, der im Tod frei wird und nun ein besseres Schicksal als der leblose Leichnam haben soll" (ZAS LXXVII 80).

body and Ba, a view presented earlier by Sethe and one which we consider untenable.⁵⁵ There is no statement whatsoever in Spell 94 that suggests Otto's interpretation. The text of this spell⁵⁶ represents one of the attempts by speculative theologians to answer the question regarding the origin of the Ba, which an individual assumes at death and in which, through which, and as which he continues to live. "To remove the Ba from the corpse" means to make it emanate from the corpse, to make it come into existence. The Egyptian scribe or theologian himself interpreted the first part of the title by saying that it was just another book or version of "coming forth by day," a technical term which in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead indicates the freedom of movement and action of the individual or his Ba. Finally, decomposition is mentioned in Egyptian mortuary texts only as a punishment visited upon those for whom the proper mortuary rituals were not performed.⁵⁷ Otherwise, the corpse (h3t) is just as alive and active as the Ba, the Shadow, the Ka, etc. The texts repeatedly promise that the deceased will have power over his entire body,⁵⁸ especially over his legs, in order that he may achieve fullness of movement and life. Not only the body but also the Ba and cognate entities (Ka, Akh, Shadow) are endowed with physical vitality: "Thou (i.e., Anubis) hast caused my Ba, my Shadow, and my form to go with their feet to the place wherein that man is" (CT V 242 d to 243 a). The fact that in each of these forms (body or corpse, Ba, Ka, Akh, Shadow) the deceased acts and lives as a full individual points to a monistic concept of man as opposed to the idea, traditionally attributed to the Egyptians, of a man as a composite of a material and a spiritual element. Even though the Ka and some of these other entities coexisted with the individual during his lifetime, they were, each one of them, considered to be full physical entities and not "spiritual" components of a human composite.

The Personification of the Ba

In the Pyramid Texts, the Ba which the king is or becomes represents the person of the king (see pp. 52-54, 72 f.). In the mortuary texts of the

⁵⁵"Die Seele, die sich im Tode von dem Körper trennt" (Komm. III 398). See pp. 52, n. 5, and 72 above and pp. 112-14 below.

⁵⁶CT II 67-72 (translated on p. 95 above).

⁵⁷See Jan Zandee, Death as an Enemy (Leiden, 1960) pp. 58-59 and 63; cf. Žabkar in JNES XXIV (1965) 86.

⁵⁸Best summarized in CT III 220 c to 232 a and BD 68 (Budge, Text II 5-7).

Middle and New Kingdoms, however, the Ba which the deceased possesses is considered to be a fully and independently functioning individual. Thus, we speak of the process of the personification of the Ba. This process, stimulated perhaps by increasing concern about the physical capacities of the deceased (see p. 92), was completed in the Middle Kingdom. The personified Ba remained a characteristic feature in the mortuary literature until the end of the late period.

The transition from the Old Kingdom meaning of the Ba as a manifestation of power to the personified Ba of the Middle Kingdom is reflected in Spell 312 of the Coffin Texts. The text speaks of a messenger whom Horus made in his exact image and sent to Osiris and who is said to be an Akh invested with the Ba of Horus: "The gods of the Duat shall fear me when they shall see that I send to you one of these Akhs who dwell in the Radiance. I have made his form as my form, his going as my going, in order that he may go forth and come to Busiris, invested with my Ba."⁵⁹ Undoubtedly the Ba here represents the manifestation of the power of a divine being, a meaning met with in the Pyramid Texts. However, Horus' subsequent speech to Osiris indicates that the Ba had already assumed features of a personified being: "See thine own form, form thy Ba and cause it to go forth and to have power over its legs that it may stride and copulate among men."⁶⁰

Thus, the Ba has come to signify a personified agent of the individual to whom it belongs and for whom it performs various functions.

The Destiny of the Ba

In the Coffin Texts, most of the passages which deal with the Ba concern its destiny. These texts tell us that the ultimate destiny of the Ba is to be received into the company of Atum, Horus, Re, or Osiris,⁶¹ to travel in the bark of the sun-god or in the evening bark of Osiris. Adorned with the uraeus on its head, the Ba becomes divinized and powerful in heaven and on earth. It enjoys limitless freedom of movement. It can "go in and out through the western and eastern doors of heaven" and "be pros-

⁵⁹CT IV 73 f to 74 b. For a study of Spell 312, often misinterpreted by the scribes themselves because of the confusion of the personal pronouns, see De Buck in *JEA* XXXV 87-97.

⁶⁰CT IV 71 e to 72 b.

⁶¹CT II 326 d, 362 e-f, 363 b, 310 b.

perous on earth."⁶² It "is enduring on earth, efficient in the necropolis, enters before the Lords of Heliopolis, goes up to heaven, penetrates the nether world."⁶³

Here we quote a few texts in which the destiny of the Ba is described in greater detail:

"O my Ba,⁶⁴ thy bread and thy meal will endure, profitable for (thy voyage in) the divine bark and the evening bark(?).⁶⁵ Thine offering at the beginning of the ten-day feast before the great one is like that of Thoth. The great enraged one who is upon Atum is in terror before thee; she receives thy front in the p3ht-bark and thy end in the divine bark.⁶⁶ The great ones move before thee from their seats as they move on before the One-who-is-loud-of-voice.⁶⁷ Isis gives thee this knife of hers, which she had given to Horus when the gods were mourning. 'Thou art Hu, beginning of names,'⁶⁸ they say, the gods. What ye have done for yourselves, O gods, may ye do likewise for this living Ba of mine. Thou (O Ba) art powerful in heaven, thou hast power over heaven, thou hast power over the earth, thy uraeus is upon thee, to thee belongs the universe"⁶⁹ (CT II 106 d to 107 h).

"Thou (O Ba), as a living Ba, hast power over thy feet. Thou art one of those who are in the evening bark of Osiris. The festival of rebels is not celebrated against thee, because N. is the lord of rebels" (CT II 109 a-d).

As described in these passages, the Ba enjoys limitless freedom of movement in heaven and on earth, is fully equipped with the necessities of life, is revered by the gods in the barks of the sun-god and Osiris, is adorned with the uraeus, and exercises its power in the whole universe.

Another text introduces a person speaking to his Ba and exhorting it to go to the sun-god (or Osiris) and live in his presence continually. The Ba is described as being an external and an internal exact likeness, a personified alter ego, of the person who speaks to it:

⁶² CT II 374 a-d; cf. CT II 363 b.

⁶³ CT II 288 a-e and 266-68.

⁶⁴ Instead of "O my Ba" one variant (B 2 L) reads "O this N.," indicating the close connection between a person and his Ba, which represents him so completely that the term "Ba" and the name of the individual can be used interchangeably. Note that in the last expression of the spell the name of the deceased is substituted for his Ba: "N. is the lord of rebels."

⁶⁵ An unusual writing of msktt?

⁶⁶ This passage must mean that the Ba has free access to either bark.

⁶⁷ Sd-hrw, said of Seth (see Wb. IV 566).

⁶⁸ Reference to Hu and Sia as divine ancestors. Cf. CT IV 228-29; BD 17 (BM Cat. p. 98, Sec. XV); Kees, Götterglaube, p. 228.

⁶⁹ N.k lm tm (see Gardiner, Grammar, §114, 4).

"Go, my Ba, that that man⁷⁰ may see thee. May he stand or sit whilst thou art in front of him in my form and in my true nature of a living Akh.⁷¹ It is the towers (of the boat) of Atum who will take thee away when thou departest from the efflux of my flesh and the sweat of my head. Mayest thou go forth through the door of the Radiance, through which they shine forth, from which they go forth, through which they go down. It is this Nepri-Hety,⁷² who lives after he has died, who will take thee to see that man wherever he is, in my form, in my nature, in my true fitness of a living Akh. It is Semhy,⁷³ in front of the house of Thoth, who will make forgetful the heart of this man until I have passed by him,⁷⁴ while he is unable to speak"⁷⁵ (CT II 94 d to 96 b).

The Ba is also described as being in the company of Atum:

"Atum takes this Ba of mine to Geb. He knows the direction in the land, he

⁷⁰The "man" who is supposed to see the Ba is also mentioned in CT II 96 i, 98 c, 102 b, 111 c and j, CT V 241 c. Other texts vary in that they substitute "that god" for "that man" (CT II 102 b, 106 a, 108 a). A third version is supplied by three variants. CT II 98 c (B 1 C and B 2 L) reads: "Go, my Ba, my Shadow, to that god who causes me to see thee wherever he is." CT V 241 b-c (B 4 Bo) says: "May it (i.e., the Ba) have power over its foot so that this N. may see it wherever it is." CT V 242 d to 243 a (B 4 Bo) reads: "The Ba and the Shadow of this N. go with their feet to the place wherein this N. is." "That man" and "that god" may refer to Osiris and Atum, who are "man" and "god" par excellence. The demonstrative *pf* probably expresses admiration and religious awe (see Gardiner, *Grammar*, §112). However, as often happens in the Coffin Texts, the original meaning was no longer understood, and in two variants of CT V 241 c "that man" came to be identified with the deceased himself.

⁷¹Var. (CT II 103 a): "in my true form of a divine noble (*s^ch*)." See also CT II 102 c, 74 a, 80 c, 110 k and CT V 241 e; CT V 242 a reads "in my true form of an equipped divine Akh."

⁷²Cf. CT IV 7 e and see p. 93, n. 27, above. In CT II 111 c it is Horus who takes the Ba and the Shadow to "that man," and in CT II 96 i "that man" himself takes it.

⁷³See CT II 93 f, which seems to give the full name.

⁷⁴CT II 93 f (B 2 L and B 2 P): "It is Semhy, in front of the house of Thoth, who will make forgetful the heart of the dead until my Ba and my Shadow have passed by him." This variant shows that "this (or 'that') man" in CT II 96 a is not the "man" of CT II 94 d etc., to whom the Ba shall go (see n. 70 above), but a rather sinister being whom the deceased passes on his way to the sun-god. This anonymous and ambiguous reference to the gods of the nether world may well be explained as a product of the skepticism of this period, as Otto (*Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 157 and 159) has pointed out. Thus it is interesting to note that in some variants a demonstrative *pf* is added to the vocative: *b3.i pf* (e.g. CT II 98 b and 108 a). Otto's statement that the later versions substitute "that god" for "that man" is only partly true, for CT V 241 c shows that some of their variants read "that man."

⁷⁵Var. (CT II 103 b to 105 a): "It is *Smhrw* and *Rd1-n-m1(?)* who will make forgetful the heart of that man until my Ba and my Shadow have passed by him. Nothing comes forth from his mouth, his lips do not create, his heart does not beat(?)."

has penetrated the land, he has opened the nostrils, he has power over the gods.⁷⁶ Atum opens for it (i.e., the Ba) his arm, raising it (i.e., the arm) as high as Atum. He seeks⁷⁷ it (i.e., the Ba) with his ꜥbꜣ-scepter, he leads it with his rod. His message is this tongue of Osiris,⁷⁸ he is one who judges the South and the North. Go, my Ba, that that man may see thee. Mayest thou stand before him wherever he is. Ascend before him in the form of an Akh" (CT II 110 a-k).

A particular role which the Ba assumed was as an agent of sexual activity. The ability of the Ba to perform this vital function was considered a guarantee of a full life after death and is strongly emphasized in the Coffin Texts.

The idea of the exercise of sexual power after death is known from the Pyramid Texts. Osiris, revived by Isis, begat his son Horus: "Thy sister Isis comes to thee, rejoicing because of love of thee. Thou hast placed her on thy phallus in order that thy seed may go forth in her, being sharp like Sothis. A sharp Horus has come forth from thee as Horus who was in Sothis."⁷⁹ This text, one of the "Auferstehung" texts, as Sethe described them,⁸⁰ is addressed to Osiris, with whom the deceased king is identified, and affirms the undying sexual power of the deceased.⁸¹

The Coffin Texts further developed this idea, gave it a wider application, and, most important of all, made the Ba the agent of sexual activity in the life after death.

On the coffin of the lector-priest Sesenebnef we read that he wishes to be able "to enter his house, to count his children, to take sexual pleasure, to receive favors along with those who are on earth, for ever and ever."⁸²

We have already cited a passage (p. 94) in which Horus exhorts

⁷⁶Less probable translation: "so that it (i.e., my Ba) may have power over the gods."

⁷⁷Note abbreviated writing of the verb hh; cf. CT II 111 i.

⁷⁸Ipt.f m ns pw n Wsir may be interpreted as referring to the judicial power of the commanding tongue of Osiris, analogous to the creative power of the commanding tongue in the Memphite theology. The following statement ("he is one who judges the South and the North") seems to bear out this interpretation.

⁷⁹Pyr. §§632 a-d and 1635 b to 1636 b. Sothis as mother, i.e., as Isis.

⁸⁰Komm. III 161.

⁸¹Cf. the poetic description of the birth of the divine child Horus in Spell 148 of the Coffin Texts, translated by Étienne Drioton, Le théâtre égyptien (Le Caire, 1942) pp. 54 ff. Cf. also the expression sꜥh ꜣw mtꜣ, "mummy with long phallus," in a hymn to Osiris (ZAS XXXVIII [1900] 30).

⁸²CT VI 331 l-n.

Osiris to form his Ba and "cause it to go forth . . . and copulate among men."⁸³ Other passages show how the sexual function of the Ba was extended to individuals who either identified themselves with the Ba of Osiris in performing that function or aspired to sexual activity for their own Bas:

"I have created my Ba about me in order to make it (i.e., my Ba) know what I knew. For the sake of my corpse, my Ba shall not burn, my Ba shall not be held up by the bodyguard of Osiris. I copulate and my Ba copulates; when⁸⁴ (or 'whenever') my Ba copulates with the men who dwell on the Island of Flame, I copulate with the goddesses"⁸⁵ (CT I 360 c to 366 b).

"I am this great Ba of Osiris, by means of which the gods have commanded him to copulate, which lives by striding by day, which Osiris has made of the efflux which is in his flesh, of the seed which came forth from his phallus, in order that it (or 'he') may come forth on the day on which he copulates" (CT II 67 c to 68 d).

"I am this great Ba of Osiris, by means of which the gods have commanded him to copulate, which lives by striding by day,⁸⁶ which Osiris has made of the efflux which is in his flesh, of the seed which came forth from his phallus, in order that it (or 'he') may come forth on the day on which he copulates. 'May thy seed go forth for thee into thy living Ba,'⁸⁷ they say, (namely) all the gods, (to) Osiris. 'In order that it may come forth on the day, on your own day, O gods,' Osiris says to the gods.⁸⁸ Osiris has made me as his living Ba, according as the gods have said,⁸⁹ that I may come forth on the day on which I copulate. I come forth, my Ba in my form, on the day on which I copulate"⁹⁰ (CT II 77 a to 80 d).

⁸³ CT IV 71 e to 72 b.

⁸⁴ Geminating *s*dm.f form in an adverbial clause; see Gardiner, *Grammar*, §444, Ex. 2 (CT III 61 f-g) and see also CT III 24 c to 25 b. H. J. Polotsky (*Études de syntaxe copte* [Le Caire, 1944] pp. 80-81) translates this passage thus: "Je fais (habituellement) le coït (et) mon baï fait (habituellement) le coït; c'est avec les humains qui sont dans l'Île de la Flamme que mon baï fait le coït, c'est avec des déesses que je fais moi-même le coït."

⁸⁵ ". . . my Ba copulates with the men . . . I copulate with the goddesses" need not imply a special nature for each of the two copulations. The expression is probably a universalism which, by including divine and human beings, stresses the fullness of the sexual life of the individual and his Ba. For the "Island of Flame" see Kees, "Götterglaube, pp. 244, 249, and 309-10.

⁸⁶ One var.: "that he may live in it (i.e., his Ba) by striding by day."

⁸⁷ Cf. CT IV 72 b: *šm n.k mtwt.k im.f m-m rmt*, "may thy seed go for thee into it among men" (see De Buck in *JEA* XXXV 93, n. 4).

⁸⁸ The second part of the short interpolated dialogue seems to be corrupt. Our tentative reconstruction would be *r prt m hrw m hrw.tn ds.tn ntrw in Wsîr r ntrw*. For the construction *in r*, "to say to," see CT III 49 b and d, CT III 50 c, CT IV 117 g, and Gardiner, *Grammar*, §436, Exx. 2-3.

⁸⁹ One var.: "according as Osiris has said."

⁹⁰ The deceased, though considered to be the Ba of Osiris, speaks of the sexual

The idea of the sexual activity of the Ba in relation to a god occurs also in the Book of the Dead. In chapter 17 we read: "I know this great god who is in it (i.e., the battlefield). Who is he? He is Osiris. Another reading: Hekenu-Re⁹¹ is his name. He is the Ba of Re, by means of which he himself copulates."⁹²

Surprisingly enough, none of the variants of Spell 335 of the Coffin Texts, which is the most ancient version of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, gives the above-quoted section in its entirety. As a matter of fact, only the text on a coffin from Beni Hasan (BH 1 Br) extends as far as "he is the Ba of Re." The shorter versions of Spell 335 may merely reflect an earlier text; certainly they cannot be explained as the result of prudery since, as we have just seen, the notion of sexual activity on the part of the Ba was well known to the compilers of the Coffin Texts.

The last part of the above-quoted section of the Book of the Dead, "he is the Ba of Re, by means of which he himself copulates" (b3 pw n R^c nk.f im.f ds.f), can also be translated "with which he himself copulates," following Roeder⁹³ and Grapow,⁹⁴ or simply "he copulates with himself," following Allen,⁹⁵ depending on whether the preposition m (im.f) is taken as one of instrument, as we have done, or one of concomitance, as these other translators have done.

Thus, in the Coffin Texts the Ba is a personified alter ego of the deceased which performs physical actions, particularly those of a sexual nature.

Although we are dealing with the Ba and not with cognate concepts, we

activity as performed by himself. However, two variants (M 3 C and M 28 C) would seem to contain the correct version: "I come forth in (or 'as') his Ba" and "in (or 'as') his forms"

⁹¹I.e., "Praiser of Re" (cf. Allen, Book of the Dead, pp. 88 and 93, Sec. 4).

⁹²BM Cat. p. 89, Section VII. Elsewhere in the Book of the Dead sexual activity is promised to the deceased. It is said in the rubric of chapter 136 that, if a prescribed ritual is performed, the deceased "shall be a holy god and an efficient Akh; he shall not die again but shall live" (Budge, Text II 184). To these promises some of the later versions of chapter 136 add "and he shall take sexual pleasure" (see Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XXXVIII, col. cvi 42-43, and Pap. Turin, chap. 136, line 14).

⁹³Günther Roeder, Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten (Jena, 1915) p. 240.

⁹⁴Urk. V 1, p. 6, Abschnitt 7, of translation.

⁹⁵See Allen, Book of the Dead, pp. 88 and 93, Section 4, where the translation "he copulates with himself" seems more feasible.

wish to mention some analogous examples in which the idea of sexual activity is brought into relation with the Ka and with the Shadow (šwt).

Ptah-hotep, the vizier of King Isesi of the 5th dynasty, instructing his son regarding his offspring, says: He is thy son, whom thy Ka has begotten to thee."⁹⁶ In the 175th chapter of the Book of the Dead, Harsaphes, the ram-god of Heracleopolis, is described as one "to whom the Ka of procreation conducts all the offerings."⁹⁷ The Shadow too, in some instances, came to be considered a seat of sexual power. There are a few texts in which the word šwt associated with a god describes the sexual power residing in that deity. On what basis this idea developed is not known. Was it, as François Daumas recently conjectured,⁹⁸ the black color of a shadow—color of earth which makes the seed grow, color of the night which in the darkness gives life to the new sun, color of Osiris in his second birth? Be that as it may, there is a Middle Kingdom text, with later parallels, in which Kees recognized the sexual role of the Shadow.⁹⁹ The text speaks of the "abomination" of Shu and Tefnut because of the intent of their father and his "god's Shadow" to abuse them sexually. The expression "god's Shadow" is also used metaphorically in connection with Amun-Min and as the name of a cult symbol of the ithyphallic god Min.¹⁰⁰ All this supports the view that the Ka and the Shadow also were personi-

⁹⁶ S3.k pw n stt n.k k3.k (Pap. BM 10509); n stt is an infinitive after the genitive adjective: "he is thy son of thy Ka's begetting for thee." The Pap. Prisse version (see Eugène Dévaud, Les maximes de Ptahhotep [Fribourg, 1916] line 204) reads s3.k pw n(y)-sw st (n) k3.k, "he is thy son, belonging to the procreation of thy Ka," which demands a noun st, "procreation," unless we explain st as a perfective relative form and translate "he is thy son belonging to that which thy Ka has begotten for thee," meaning perhaps "belonging to thy posterity" (cf. Zbyněk Žába, Les maximes de Ptahhotep [Prague, 1956] p. 129).

⁹⁷ See Kees in ZAS LXV 74. Another example in the same text, also referring to Harsaphes, wrt r mw k3.f, "more than the seed of his Ka," is uncertain.

These two examples, one referring to the vizier's progeny and the other to the god Harsaphes, show that Vandier's statement "c'est uniquement lorsqu'il s'agit du ka royal qu'on peut attribuer à ce concept la puissance creatrice" (La religion égyptienne, p. 133) is inaccurate.

For a sexual interpretation of the king's epithet k3 nht, "victorious bull," see Helmuth Jacobsohn, Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter ("Ägyptologische Forschungen" VIII [Glückstadt, 1939]) p. 58.

⁹⁸ François Daumas, La civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique ("Collection les Grandes Civilisations" IV [Paris, 1965]) p. 255.

⁹⁹ ZAS LVII (1922) 110; the text is quoted also in the Belegstellen to Wb. II 88, 16. Cf. Kees, Totenglauben, p. 53; for the meaning of mns3, see also James H. Breasted, The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus I (OIP III [1930]) 330.

¹⁰⁰ Kees, Totenglauben, p. 53; Kees, Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs, p.

fied entities that were considered to be distinct from the person to whom they belonged and at the same time to represent the full person of the deceased.

An additional feature of the destiny of the Ba, as described in the Coffin Texts, is found in those expressions which deal with its possible punishment or destruction. This aspect of the Ba concept was further developed and occupies a prominent place in the mortuary texts of the New Kingdom. References to the punishment of the Ba in the Coffin Texts may be considered the first allusions to the Egyptian "hell." It is particularly in those rubrics which assure the deceased of the benefits of the spells that the theologian has conjured up scenes of horror, against which the recitation or the mere presence of the written spells was to give protection to the individual whose name was inserted in them. Thus the opening rubric of Spell 155¹⁰¹ reads: "To know the Bas of the New-moon Festival, to enter into the house of Osiris of Busiris. Who is he who enters to this Ba? To be in the retinue of Osiris, to have power over the water, not to go upside down,¹⁰² not to eat excrements, not to die a second time in the necropolis, on the part of a living and dead Ba."¹⁰³ And the rubric introducing Spell 160¹⁰⁴ reads: "To endure on earth, not to perish in the necropolis, not to die from a snake (bite), to go in and out through the

128; Kees, Götterglaube, p. 349; Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min (Le Caire, 1931) pp. 154-55.

We wish to call attention to an erroneous reading of the first group of hieratic signs on Pl. XIII, col. xxvii 1, of E. A. W. Budge, Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (London, 1910). Raymond O. Faulkner, The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" III [Bruxelles, 1933]) p. 60, line 11 (end), has shown that the correct reading is m drt.ḏ, "with my hand," and not m šwt.ḏ, "with my shadow," as read by Roeder (Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten, p. 108) and Ranke (Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament, hrsg. von Hugo Gressmann [2d ed.; Berlin und Leipzig, 1926] p. 2).

¹⁰¹CT II 290 a to 291 m; cf. CT II 310 a to 312 d.

¹⁰²The verb shd occurs in Pyr. §323 b (= CT VI 189-90); for discussions of this verb see Schott in MDAIK XIV 187, Kees in Orientalistische Literaturzeitung LIII (1958) 131, and Zandee, Death as an Enemy, pp. 8-9, 75-78, and 178. According to a letter from B. Gunn to J. Vandier (see Vandier, La religion égyptienne, p. 105, n. 2), shd means to "go on all fours, on one's hands and knees," like an animal (see also Drioton in Bibliotheca Orientalis VI [1949] 141). However, in the Book of Amduat punished enemies are clearly shown in an upside-down position (see Horning, Das Amduat I, eleventh hour, No. 816, and II 182; see third hour [ibid. I 59, line 5, and II 74, No. 37] for another occurrence of shd).

¹⁰³See Žabkar in JNES XIII 98 and pp. 141-43 below.

¹⁰⁴CT II 373-74.

western and eastern doors of heaven, to be prosperous on earth, on the part of a living and dead Ba."

The first mention of burning with reference to the Ba occurs in Spell 75:

"I have created my Ba about me in order to make it (i.e., my Ba) know what I knew. For the sake of my corpse,¹⁰⁵ my Ba shall not burn, my Ba shall not be held up by the bodyguard of Osiris" (CT I 360 c to 364 a).

"He (i.e., Atum) has created for me my Hu and my Ba about me in order to make it know what I knew. Behold, I pervade all heavens, I fare through all lands, I have done what he commanded me. For the sake of my corpse, my Ba shall not burn, my Ba shall not be held up by the bodyguard of Osiris. 'Thy Ba belongs to thee, thy power belongs to thee, thy corpse belongs to thee,' says he who came into existence by himself. My Ba shall not be driven out by the falcons, my Ba shall not be grabbed by the pigs, my Ba shall not be seized by Akeru,¹⁰⁶ my Ba shall not be gripped by the magic (of the courtiers of Re, but) my Ba shall pass in silence by them¹⁰⁷ in order that it may go in and come out of the shrine" (CT I 394 b to 399 b).

The Interdependence of the Ba and the Corpse

Another feature of the Ba concept which originated in the Middle Kingdom and continued in the New Kingdom is the idea of the interdependence of the Ba and the corpse.

We have seen that the Ba is a personified alter ego of the deceased, representing him in his true nature and form and performing functions vi-

¹⁰⁵ As we shall see in the subsequent discussion, one of the fundamental notions of the afterlife is the interdependence of the Ba and the corpse. An ancient Egyptian could not be happy in the afterlife unless his Ba maintained constant contact with his corpse. Therefore we take the preposition hr to be the hr of cause, "on account of," "for the sake of."

¹⁰⁶ Aker is an earth-god; the plural form, Akeru, refers to serpents as earth-gods (see Wb. I 22, 7).

¹⁰⁷ Four vars.: "My Ba shall not be gripped by the magic of the courtiers of Re so that my Ba may not pass in silence by them," with tm in subordinate clause of purpose (see Gardiner, Grammar, §347, 4). Note unusual writing of tmy. For further references to the punishment of the Ba by burning or destruction see Zandee, Death as an Enemy, pp. 177-78. See also Faulkner, The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind: "thy Ba is turned back, thy flesh is taken away" (p. 49, line 1); "thy Ba is led astray from thy Shadow, thy name is destroyed" (p. 49, lines 2-3); "thy Ba is overtaken(?), thy Shadow is destroyed" (p. 49, line 8); "the fire comes forth against thee, painful is its flame against thy Ba, thy Akh, thy magic, thy body, and thy Shadow" (p. 49, lines 13-14); "children overthrow him and turn aside his Ba from his body and his Shadow" (p. 72, lines 10-11); for Faulkner's translations of these passages see JEA XXIII (1937) 169 and XXIV (1938) 42. See, further, pp. 142 f. below.

tal for his full life after death. From this idea developed the notion of the reciprocal dependence of the Ba and the corpse. The welfare of the individual in the afterlife depended upon the proper functioning of this relationship. To illustrate this idea we quote from Spell 45 of the Coffin Texts,¹⁰⁸ which originally referred to Osiris and then, following the usual procedure, was applied to the deceased.¹⁰⁹ The spell begins with an introduction of poetic coloring, describing the glorified dead: "Trembling overtakes the eastern Radiance, the ways announce in their splendor 'Osiris, this N., has appeared as Re, has been exalted as Atum. Hathor has anointed him, she gives him life in the West like (unto) Re, every day. O Osiris N., there is no god who vents his anger on thee, there is no goddess who vents her anger on thee on the day of taking account of character in the presence of the Great One, the lord of the West . . . on that day on which thy Ka and thy Ba have been (well) pleased.'"¹¹⁰ Then the text continues:

"Behold, thou hast become more of an Akh and more of a Ba than the gods of the South and the North. The great ones who dwell in the horizon appear, the retinue of the Lord of the Universe rejoices, the crew of the mrwt-bark is jubilant. Those who dwell in the Radiance are joyful when they see thee coming in this dignity of thine, which thy father Geb has made for thee. He has driven out for thee thine enemies and those who rebel against thee in the Beautiful House. Anubis makes pleasant thine odor in front of thy place in the divine booth, he gives thee incense at all seasons without subtracting any because of the New-moon Festival. He rescues thee from the Mastiu,¹¹¹ the messengers of the secret place of execution. Thou hast appeared in front of the bark, thou steerest at the right side. Thy Ba shall not be prevailed upon, thy heart (h3ty) shall not be taken away. Thou shalt not be constrained to go down into the great void(?) among those who outrage the god who destroys the robber in the presence of his maker. Thou shalt not be taken possession of by those who are in the place of slaughter,¹¹² who stretch out (their) knives(?). Thou art the king, the son of a prince. Truly, so long as thy Ba shall exist, thy heart (ib) shall be with thee.¹¹³ Anubis remembers thee in Busiris. Thy Ba re-

¹⁰⁸ CT I 191 d to 200 g.

¹⁰⁹ See CT I 191 g, 192 e, 194 c.

¹¹⁰ CT I 191 d to 193 f. For the first part of the introduction see BD 175, third part (see Kees in ZAS LXV 65-66). Instead of "in their splendor" the variants read "in privacy" or "in holy places."

¹¹¹ I.e., inimical gods.

¹¹² Var.: "by those who are at the gates."

¹¹³ Wnn wnnt b3.k wn ib.k hn.c.k is an existential sentence (see Gardiner, Grammar, §107) with the notion of duration emphatically stressed, and yet all the

joices in Abydos,¹¹⁴ and thy corpse, which is in the necropolis,¹¹⁵ is joyful" (CT I 194 e to 198 c).

We have quoted this spell at some length because it reveals the line of development of the Ba concept. In accordance with the pattern characteristic of the development of Egyptian religious thought, nothing was ever discarded, nothing systematized. Concepts, beliefs, and doctrines developed and grew by accretion rather than by evolution. Thus the passage quoted above begins with a statement about the Ba in a meaning peculiar to the Pyramid Texts and continues with the new notion of the interdependence of the Ba and the corpse.

The idea of the relation of the Ba and the corpse, or of the Ba and the mummy (i.e., the corpse glorified by Anubis¹¹⁶), is expressed in Spell 50 also:

"Millions upon millions shall belong to thee and noblemen in Heracleopolis to thy Ka.¹¹⁷ Thy Ba is established in Busiris. The great magic is tied about thee, and thy magical protection is given (to thee) in the divine booth. Thy mummy is in the House of the Two Bas" (CT I 225 d to 226 a).¹¹⁸

A text which more clearly than any quoted thus far emphasizes the interdependence of the Ba and the corpse, sometimes in rather bizarre terms (e.g. "the heart of thy Ba remembers thy corpse and makes happy the egg which created thee"), is Spell 44:

"The gates of heaven will open to thy beauty; thou wilt come forth and see

preserved variants show a perfective wn.f (wn ib.k) in the main clause instead of an imperfective (wnn ib.k). This could be a syntactical error, but we are inclined to think that it is a grammatical peculiarity of the Coffin Texts.

¹¹⁴Two of the seven variants read: "Thy heart rejoices in Abydos."

¹¹⁵W'rt (see Wb. I 288), used especially for the departments of the necropolis of Abydos.

¹¹⁶Although s'h with the mummy determinative does not occur before the New Kingdom, when the art of mummification reached its perfection, there seems to be little doubt that the meaning of s'h in these texts is "mummy." The frequent mention of Anubis, the embalmer par excellence, and of his work on the corpse indicates that s'h is the corpse on which the embalming rites have been performed. By these rites it became physically fit and capable of performing its role in the after-life. It is precisely Anubis who for the first time performed the rites of embalming on the body of Osiris, with whom the deceased is identified throughout these spells.

¹¹⁷Two vars.: "to thy Kas." The spell referred originally to Osiris, who, like Re and other gods, had more than one Ka and one Ba.

¹¹⁸Two vars.: "thou art made a s'h in the House of the Two Bas." "The House of the Two Bas" should, according to BD 17 (see BM Cat. p. 108, Sec. XXI), be sought in Mendes, where the Ba of Re and the Ba of Osiris met.

Hathor. Thy guilt will be removed, thy fault will be wiped out by the balance-holders¹¹⁹ on the day of the reckoning of character. (Then) it will be granted by those who are in the retinue (of Re) and who have been glorified¹²⁰ in the sun rays like Re that thou shalt join those who are in the bark. Thou shinest like a star, thou unique one. Life is thine¹²¹ . . . the soundness of thy limbs [is thine?] as thou awakest upon thy corpse. Thou shalt not be repelled by the destructive ones who dwell in Aftet.¹²² The heart of thy Ba remembers thy corpse and makes happy the egg which created thee" (CT I 181 a to 182 g).

"Thou sailest upstream in the evening bark, thou farest downstream in the morning bark. Thou visitest¹²³ thy Ba in the upper heaven, (whilst) thy flesh and thy corpse are in Heliopolis" (CT I 184 g to 185 b).

In Spell 333¹²⁴ we read:

"My Ba shall not be kept away from my corpse, and I shall not be repelled from drinking water from the stream" (CT IV 178 m-n).

And, finally, Spell 304 says:

"My Ba is with me, it shall not depart from me" (CT IV 57 i-j).

To complete the picture of the relationship of the Ba and the corpse, we quote three passages from the Coffin Texts which are also important for the study of the development of the idea of the nether world and its location. In reading the Coffin Texts we often find it difficult to visualize the region in which the deceased lived. Is heaven the place of the departed? Or is it the nether world as depicted in the Book of Amduat? The solar

¹¹⁹Or better, reading with B 12 C, "by those who weigh in the balance." Cf. CT V 321 c-d: "Behold, this N. is like that balance of Re, in which he weighs Right" (also in BD 12, line 2 of papyrus of Nu; see Budge, Text I 34). Cf. Wilson, The Burden of Egypt, p. 119.

¹²⁰Var.: "sated(?) with the sun rays."

¹²¹Reading ḥnh n.k with B 10 C^a (CT I 182 b); B 12 C has ḥw ḥnh.n.k , probably intended for ḥw n.k ḥnh ("life is to thee"). Because of the lacunas, what follows is uncertain.

¹²²Is ḥftt in this text part of the nether world? For other occurrences of this word see CT V 278 b and 282 g, CT IV 401 e, and BD 136, line 15 in long version B of papyrus of Nu (Budge, Text I 186).

¹²³The context seems to demand such a meaning of the causative verb ḥp , "inspect," "revise" (see Belegstellen to Wb. IV 35, 12).

¹²⁴This spell, like Spells 45 and 75, is instructive in relation to the development of the Ba concept. It begins with a statement about the Ba in its basic meaning, i.e., the manifestation of the power of a god, a means by which a god is manifested in other beings: "I am the Ba of Shu who came into existence from Re," i.e., "I am the manifestation of the power of the god Shu" (cf. CT I 314 b and CT II 28 e). The spell ends with the passage which we quote, an expression peculiar to the phase of development reflected by the Coffin Texts.

religion naturally occupies a very prominent place in the Coffin Texts. Nevertheless, there are spells which indicate how far the "Osirianization" of the mortuary religion had progressed; two of the results of this process were, firstly, a strong emphasis upon the preservation of the corpse in keeping with the tradition that it was Osiris' body upon which the practice of embalming was initiated and, secondly, an increasing confinement of the Ba to the underground.

"O Osiris N., Geb has opened for thee thine eyes¹²⁵ which were blind, he has stretched out thy thighs which were bent. Thy heart of thy mother¹²⁶ has been given to thee, thy heart of thy body. Thy Ba is in¹²⁷ the earth, thy corpse is in¹²⁸ the ground. Bread to thy body, water to thy throat, sweet air to thy nose" (CT I 55 f to 56 f).

"Geb has commanded and Ruty¹²⁹ has repeated that thy Ba, which is in the earth, be given to thee and thy Shadow, which is in the secret place"¹³⁰ (CT I 8 a-c).

"It is of advantage to me that my Ba be assigned to me and with me.¹³¹ My heart is in my body, my corpse is in the earth, and I do not weep over it.¹³² My Ba is with me, it shall not depart from me. My magic is in my body, it shall not be stolen (from me). My efficiency belongs to me, my forms belong to me, so that I may eat my offerings together with my Ka, which is in this earth of mine. I spend all night (feeling) refreshed¹³³ and young" (CT IV 57 d to 58 f).

These texts are of a strictly Osirian nature; they say nothing of the celestial region of the solar religion. The deceased is depicted as dwelling under ground, enjoying the fullness of life bestowed upon him by chthonian deities.¹³⁴ It is only natural that in such circumstances his Ba is said to

¹²⁵Erroneous var. (T 9 C): "his eyes."

¹²⁶Cf. beginning of BD 30B (Budge, Text I 129): "O my heart of my mother, O my heart of my forms."

¹²⁷Lit. "upon" (hr).

¹²⁸The feminine nisbe-adjective hrt for the preposition hr is very likely a homoeoteleutic error caused by the ending of the preceding word: b3.k hr t3 h3t.k hrt s3tw.

¹²⁹The two-lion-god, i.e., Shu and Tefnut; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 7 and 221.

¹³⁰Rd1.tw n.k b3.k imy t3 šwt.k imyt st3w (see Komm. I 401).

¹³¹Or "it is of advantage to me that I have counted (on) my Ba (to be) with me," striking out t in ipt.n.1.

¹³²N rm.1 s, rm with direct object and s for sy.

¹³³M33.kw1 is the old perfective of m3wy, m3w, "be new," "be fresh."

¹³⁴It is interesting to compare the first part of Spell 260 of the Pyramid Texts

be given to him "in this earth." This "earth" (t3) is undoubtedly his tomb, as the parallel phrases¹³⁵ "thy Shadow, which is in the secret place," and "my corpse is in the earth" show.¹³⁶ Thus, the mortuary texts of the Middle Kingdom, confining the Ba to the underground, prepared the way for the idea of the Ba going to the Duat, the "lower Duat,"¹³⁷ which in the New Kingdom texts is an equivalent for the nether world.

In an 18th-dynasty text we read "the corpse to the earth, the Ba in the Duat."¹³⁸ However, instances in which the Ba is said to go to the Duat are very rare. The mortuary texts of the New Kingdom, with the exception of the Book of Amduat, seem to emphasize different destinies for the Ba and the corpse. Numerous texts announce "Ba to heaven, corpse to the Duat."¹³⁹ But this opposition is more apparent than real, for the texts also speak of the desire that the Ba may "not depart" from the body,¹⁴⁰ that it "may rest upon the corpse."¹⁴¹ Though we read in various mortu-

with Spell 2 of the Coffin Texts, from which we quote above (CT I 8 a-c). As Sethe (Komm. I 393) pointed out, the Pyramid Texts do not mention heaven as the destination of the king but say that he goes to the realm of Nun, where he rules as a sovereign on the throne of Geb (Pyr. §317 c). A third parallel is provided by BD 169, which incorporates both Pyr. §317 c and two passages from the Coffin Texts (CT I 55 f and 8) in an elaboration of its own, thereby giving a good basis for documentary analysis.

¹³⁵In CT I 8 c and IV 57 g.

¹³⁶Kees (Totenglauben, p. 39) translated the above-quoted CT I 8 a-c as "Geb hat befohlen und das Löwenpaar hat es wiederholt, dass dir deine Seele gegeben werde auf der Erde und dein Schatten im Verborgenen (Jenseits)" and concluded, following Otto, that the Ba was considered to be an earthly rather than an other-worldly concept ("... durchaus irdisch aufgefasst, der Bai ist kein Wesen des Jenseits"). While it is true that the Ba was considered an earthly entity, since it certainly represented the deceased as a physical corporeality, no information about the earthly nature of the Ba as contrasted with the "other-worldly" nature of the Shadow can be derived from CT I 8 a-c. The "earth" (t3) does not stand in opposition to the "secret place" (st3w) as "this world" opposed to the "other world." As the context of the above-quoted parallel phrases indicates, both the "earth" and the "secret place" were thought of as being under ground and refer to the deceased's tomb (cf. also Komm. I 401). Furthermore, the Ba and the corpse are both said to be "in the earth" (b3 imy t3 in CT I 8 c, h3t m t3 in CT IV 57 g) and "upon the earth" or "ground" (b3 hr t3 and h3t hrt s3tw in CT I 56 d), i.e., "in the earth."

¹³⁷CT IV 114 c and II 119 i.

¹³⁸H3t n t3 b3 m d3t; see Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes (New York, 1925) Pl. XV.

¹³⁹E.g. Urk. IV 481, line 5; cf. Urk. IV 484, line 14 (with imht for d3t). See also Belegstellen to Wb. V 415, 8.

¹⁴⁰CT IV 57 j; Urk. IV 114, line 496.

¹⁴¹BD 89, line 1 in papyrus of Nu (Budge, Text II 50); Pap. Turin, chapter 163, line 3; Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, p. 4, line 2. For the verb hpt with direct object see Gardiner, Grammar, p. 423, Ex. 4.

ary texts composed in the New Kingdom seemingly conflicting statements about the Ba going to heaven, to the underworld, or visiting on earth the favorite places of the deceased, this diversity does not result from any confusion on the part of the Egyptian but is, to a large extent, the result of the combination of solar and Osirian elements in the mortuary religion.¹⁴²

It is understandable that many historians of Egyptian religion, confronted with the apparent dualism of "the Ba to heaven, the corpse to the Duat," have tried to identify the Ba as the spiritual element in opposition to the body as the material or physical element. The Egyptian concept of man knew no such distinction. First of all, as we have seen, there is nothing in the Pyramid Texts which would indicate that the Ba is a spiritual element. Secondly, the Coffin Texts confirm our thesis because they speak of the Ba as performing certain functions typical of physical and not of spiritual agents. Furthermore, through rites and ceremonies, even the so-called material element, that is, the body, or, better, the corpse, can be "spiritualized," that is, divinized, in which state it is sometimes referred to as a s^ch. Thus, in no case can we say that the Egyptian conceived of man as dichotomous, nor even as trichotomous or tetrachotomous (Ba-Ka-Akh-corpse). In any such case, some important entities would still be left out, such as the Shadow, the heart, and the s^ch, which were conceived of as necessary for man in his after-death destiny and were even personified. Sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish one of these entities from another in so far as their strict definition is concerned; often their meanings overlap, and, when personified, not seldom are they said to perform similar activities. Still, they are basically distinct from one another in two respects: as to their origin and as to their main functions.

We find it impossible to translate b3 as "soul," as has been customary with some Egyptologists. It was Horapollo who first identified the Ba with the soul (psyche), quoting the Egyptians as believing that the heart incased the soul.¹⁴³ Most recently Otto has identified the Ba with the soul, although with some restrictions.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴²See pp. 126-43.

¹⁴³See Francesco Sbordone, *Hori Appollinis hieroglyphica* (Naples, 1940) p. 15: *ἔστι γὰρ τὸ μὲν βαϊ ψυχῆ, τὸ δὲ ἦθ καρδία, ἢ δὲ καρδία κατ' Αἰγυπτίους ψυχῆς περίβολος.*

¹⁴⁴ZAS LXXVII 84: "Dieser bisher besprochene Bai-Begriff ist es, den wir meist und mit einem gewissen Recht als 'Seele' übersetzen."

The Ba is not a soul, neither an internal nor an "external" one. There is no internal dualism in man, opposing the spiritual element to the material, and consequently there is no internal soul. The Ba does not exist as a separate external entity during the life of an individual, nor is it a spiritual entity after his death, and therefore it is not an "external" soul.

The dualistic view that man is constituted of two distinct elements, in the sense of the Orphic, Platonic, Gnostic, and Scholastic philosophies, is alien to the Egyptian concept of man. Though the ancient Egyptian was thought to live after death in a multiplicity of forms, each of these forms was the full man himself. For this reason we consider the Egyptian concept of man to be monistic.

Thus the Ba is not a part nor an element of a man but is one of the forms in which he fully lives after death; the Ba is the man himself, his personified alter ego. One of the best proofs for this statement is that in some instances the Ba is introduced as the agent (in b3) of certain actions while in other instances the same actions are predicated of the deceased himself, his name appearing instead of the Ba as the agent. In rare instances, the word "man" is introduced as the agent by in s, "on the part of a man."¹⁴⁵ While in itself the interchange of b3 and the name of the deceased might be seen merely as similar to interchanging expressions used in connection with other religions (e.g. "he went to heaven" and "his soul went to heaven,"¹⁴⁶ the soul being meant in both cases), when taken in company with texts in which the Ba is clearly the personified alter ego of the deceased and ones in which the deceased is shown to live as a physical corporeality, this interchange reflects the idea that the Ba was considered to represent the deceased himself.

A man continues to live not only as a Ba but also as an Akh, a Ka, and a Shadow. The Ba is a personification of his vital forces, physical as well as psychic. This personification is effected by the action of a god or through emanation from the body. The Ba is the true nature and form of the deceased, his likeness itself, an idea which the vignettes of the New Kingdom texts express by depicting the Ba-bird with the head of the deceased whom it represents. Therefore the Ba signifies a "Ganzheitsbe-

¹⁴⁵ Cf. CT II 291 1-m with CT II 312 b and CT V 8 b, CT II 362 e-f with CT II 326 d, and CT I 1 with CT II 310 d.

¹⁴⁶ As in Christian martyrological and hagiographic accounts.

griff"¹⁴⁷ rather than a "Teilbegriff,"¹⁴⁸ is ubiquitous in its activities, and does not belong exclusively to the "Diesseitsbegriffen."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷See Kees, Götterglaube, p. 46; see also Siegfried Morenz, Ägyptische Religion (Stuttgart, 1960) p. 166.

¹⁴⁸See Otto in ZAS LXXVII 86. Hornung (Das Amduat II 7) also speaks of bꜥ ("Seele") and šwt ("Schatten") as the "Komponenten, aus denen sich die Persönlichkeit des Toten zusammensetzt," although it clearly transpires from the introduction to the Book of Amduat that bꜥw, ntrw, šwwt, and ꜥꜥw are to be understood as general designations of categories of beings in the nether world, not as components of personality. Hornung partly corrected his own interpretation by saying (ibid. p. 63, n. 10) that bꜥw-štꜥw in the title of the Book of Amduat "auch allgemeine Bezeichnung von Jenseitswesen sein kann." Besides these four groups of inhabitants of the nether world, the Book of the Day and the Night contains ten or eleven additional groups (see Piankoff, Le livre du jour et de la nuit, pp. 61 and 66; Piankoff and Rambova, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, Pls. 194-95 and pp. 422-23).

¹⁴⁹See Otto in ZAS LXXVII 86.

IV

THE BA IN DIDACTIC LITERATURE

The wisdom texts comprise one of the most instructive genres of Egyptian literature. They contain shorter or longer maxims, which follow one another without connection and which are sometimes repeated. Their language is concise and full of imagery, their psychology remarkably intuitive.

An outstanding feature of these texts is the recurrent use of the generic term "god," which has led some Egyptologists to conclude that a true philosophical monotheism is represented in them.¹

The principal purpose of the wisdom texts, which were addressed to the elite, was to teach them, by means of maxims and practical recommendations, how to lead successful family and social lives. It is in the light of this didacticism that the meaning of the Ba as referred to in these texts is to be evaluated. The Instruction for King Merikare contains a number of aphorisms which refer to the Ba:²

"The Ba goes to the place which it knows. Make thy house of the West excellent, adorn thy place of the necropolis, as a righteous man, as one who knows what is right (mꜣꜥt)."³

"The Ba comes to the place which it knows and does not deviate from its ways of yesterday. No magic can repel it; it approaches those who give it water."⁴

The tenor of these passages is entirely different from that of the Coffin Texts. The passage which precedes them says that the man who follows these precepts and instructions will enjoy a free and happy life. The instructor therefore exhorts him to build his tomb and adorn it properly in

¹See É. Drioton, "Le monothéisme de l'ancienne Égypte," Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne I (1949) 149-68. For further discussion see Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 270-78, Pierre Montet, Eternal Egypt (New York, 1964) pp. 163-65, François Daumas, Les dieux de l'Égypte ("Que sais-je?" No. 1194 [Paris, 1965]) pp. 115-26, and Erik Hornung, Einführung in die Ägyptologie (Darmstadt, 1967) pp. 59-62.

²Just as the maxims of Ptah-hotep contain many references to the Ka.

³W. Golénischeff, Les papyrus hiératiques N^oN^o 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage Impérial à St-Petersbourg (1913) Pl. XIII, lines 127-28.

⁴Ibid. Pl. X, lines 52-53.

order to make it possible for his Ba to visit its favorite places. The two quoted passages say that the Ba goes and comes to the place with which it is well acquainted and thus indicate, as we have stated, that the man himself lives in his Ba after death and returns to the places he knew while he was alive. Therefore, there is no justification for adducing these passages as evidence that a man was thought to possess a Ba while he was living.

An exhortative passage which is not contained in any of the wisdom books but which nevertheless must have sounded truly aphoristic to the ancient Egyptians is to be found in Papyrus Westcar. The old conjurer Djedi extends his greetings to the prince Dedefhor:

"In peace, in peace, Dedefhor, royal son beloved of his father. May thy father Khufu reward thee. May he promote thy rank among the elders. May thy Ka fight against⁵ thine enemy, may thy Ba know the ways which lead to the door of Hebes-bag."⁶

Djedi wishes the prince the best of everything, in this world and the next. If we understand the words "may thy Ka fight against thine enemy" as referring to the enemies in this world, the passage would supply good evidence for the theory that the Ka is created at the same time as the individual to whom it belongs (as the scenes of royal birth in the New Kingdom clearly illustrate) and whom it guides and protects during life. In clear opposition to this theory, the exhortation about the Ba refers definitely to the next world, Hebes-bag, "One-who-covers-the-weary," being the name of a doorkeeper in the underworld.

Particularly significant is the following passage from the Instruction for King Merikare:⁷

"Make monuments . . . for the god. That is what makes live the name of him who does it. A man should do what is profitable to his Bas:⁸ the monthly purification, putting on the white sandals, visiting the temple, revealing the mysteries, entering the sanctuary, eating the (offering-)bread in the temple. Renew the offering-table, enlarge provisions, increase the daily offering. That is profitable to him who does it."⁹

⁵Lit. "vent anger on" (šnt ht r).

⁶Erman, Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar I, Pl. VII, lines 23-26.

⁷Golénischeff, Les papyrus hiératiques N^oN^o 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage Impérial, Pl. XI, lines 63-66.

⁸Ir s 3hwt n b3w.f.

⁹3hwt pw n 3rr sy.

Erman,¹⁰ followed by other Egyptologists,¹¹ translated the plural form b3w as singular and explained the whole passage as dealing with temple services which will be meritorious for the soul of the deceased: "Ein Mann soll tun, was seiner Seele nützet."

As we have seen, the plural form b3w occurs in the Pyramid Texts and sometimes interchanges with the singular form with no significant change in meaning.¹² In such cases we interpret b3w as an intensive plural which gives a special force or emphasis to the meaning of the Ba as the manifestation of the power of the deceased king. There is an instance from the New Kingdom in which even a non-royal person is said, in a mortuary context, to have Bas. Thus, it is said of the Theban noble Amenemhet: "High are thy Bas, as great are thy monuments."¹³ The Bas in this case are clearly in the meaning of the manifestation of the power of the deceased. However, we know of no cases in which the plural form is used instead of the singular in reference to the Ba in its meaning of the alter ego of the deceased, as seems to be the case in the passage under discussion. We agree with Erman that here the translation of b3w in the singular conveys the intended meaning and, except for his translation of b3w as "soul," we agree with his general interpretation of the passage. The idea that the performance of certain rites and ceremonies and especially the recitation of mortuary spells by an individual during his lifetime could be useful and meritorious for him in this life and the next is known from the texts of the New Kingdom, as exemplified by the Book of the Dead.¹⁴ However, there is no indication in our text that a Ba is thought to be possessed by an individual while he is living, as Otto has surmised.¹⁵ The same can be said of a passage from the maxims of Ptah-hotep: "The wise man helps his Ba by making his goodness endure in him on earth."¹⁶ Again the idea

¹⁰ Die Literatur der Ägypter (Leipzig, 1923) p. 113.

¹¹ E.g. Junker (Pyramidenzeit, p. 177) and Wilson (ANET, p. 416).

¹² See p. 55.

¹³ See Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhēt, Pl. XI and p. 49.

¹⁴ E.g. in the rubrics of chapters 72 and 135 (see Budge, Text II 15-16 and 179). See also BD 17 title (e.g. ibid. I 52, 53, 84): īw 3h n ĩrr st tp t3, "it goes favorably with him who does it on earth" (see Gardiner, Grammar, §467, Ex. 8). The same idea is expressed in the last line of the Naples stela from the temple of Isis at Pompeii (see Tresson in BIFAO XXX 382).

¹⁵ In ZAS LXXVII 83. See also Jacques Pirenne in Chronique d'Égypte XXXIV (1959) 211. Pirenne's conclusions, in particular, appear to be undocumented.

¹⁶ Dévaud, Les maximes de Ptahhotep, p. 46, lines 524-25 of Pap. Prisse; see

seems to be that good actions performed during one's lifetime will be of advantage to the Ba of the one who performs them.

At this point we anticipate our discussion of the New Kingdom texts by referring to texts in which the Ba is mentioned in aphoristic statements in a meaning somewhat different from that represented in the mortuary literature. Thus a scribe, speaking of the ill effects of beer drinking, says: ". . . it causes thy Ba to wander, and thou art like a crooked steering oar in a boat that obeys on neither side; thou art like a shrine void of its god, like a house void of bread."¹⁷ The expression "it causes thy Ba to wander" or, as a parallel passage in Papyrus Sallier I puts it, "it causes thy Ba to be upset"¹⁸ might mean that excessive beer drinking causes the mind to wander or to be upset, the Ba in these passages signifying the mind or the normal functioning of man's faculties. The expression may be an idiom used to describe the irrationality produced by drinking, an idiom based perhaps on an analogy with a man's dependence on his Ba after death. The latter supposition might seem more likely in view of the fact that the expressions with which it occurs are all analogies.

In describing his reaction to the overwhelming presence of Pharaoh, Sinuhe says that his Ba "departed" from him, so that he could not distinguish "life from death."¹⁹ Papyrus Anastasi I describes a scribe's state of anxiety in these words: "Shuddering(?) seizes thee, (the hair) of thy head stands up(?), and thy Ba lies in thy hand."²⁰ These expressions, de-

Žába, Les maximes de Ptahhotep, p. 57. This passage can also be translated "the wise man helps his Ba by establishing its (i.e., his Ba's) goodness in him upon earth" or "the wise man helps his Ba by establishing his goodness through it (i.e., his Ba) on earth," meaning that in contemplating future benefits which he will enjoy as a Ba, the wise man, through good deeds, assures himself of these future benefits while he is still living. *Žába* translates this maxim as follows: "Celui qui est sage prend soin de son esprit tant que sa (sc. de l'esprit) beauté est (encore) affermie en lui sur la terre" (p. 100) or "en raffermissant sa bonté par elle sur la terre" (p. 163). He translates *b3* as "esprit" or "raison" (p. 162), a rendering which fits ill into the pragmatic context of Ptah-hotep's maxims. All that the writer of these maxims wants to say is that good deeds performed on earth will be of advantage to the Ba after death.

¹⁷ Pap. Anastasi IV xi 9-11 (= Pap. Sallier I ix 9-11); see Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 47, lines 5-7, translated by Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 182 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 328-29.

¹⁹ Sinuhe B 255 (see Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, pp. 97, 149, 175; see also Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens*, p. 22: "mon âme défailloit").

²⁰ Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts, Series I, Literary Texts of the*

scribing states of fear or panic, might be anticipatory of the coming into existence of the Ba at death and somewhat analogous to our expressions "he almost died of fear" or "he was scared to death."

Reference to the departure of the Ba is also made in an inscription of Ramesses III, which says concerning the defeat of the sea peoples that "their hearts are taken away, their Ba is flown away."²¹ Another inscription of Ramesses III, referring to the second Libyan war, says "as for the western countries, their Ba is flown away."²² It seems clear that in these texts the departure of the Ba was meant to indicate the physical destruction of Ramesses' enemies.

The departure of the Ba of an individual brings to mind the vignettes of the Book of the Dead which depict the deceased clasping his Ba to his bosom and the accompanying spell "for not letting a man's Ba be taken away from him."²³ With this in mind, one might conclude that our texts represent instances in which the idea of man's dependence on the nearness of his Ba after death have been applied to situations involving the living, that the departure of the Ba from the living is anticipatory of and analogous to its departure from the deceased. Just as the departure of the Ba from the deceased is a serious threat to the existence of the deceased, so its departure from the living indicates a state of anxiety and even physical destruction. It is also possible that these texts represent a tendency to attribute a Ba to a living person and to describe moments of anxiety and cases of physical destruction in terms of the departure of the Ba, just as in some texts references to the departure of the heart indicate similar situations.²⁴

It is to be stressed that such uses of b3 are very rare and not at all typical in either Middle or New Kingdom texts, where in most cases the

New Kingdom (Leipzig, 1911) p. 70, lines 10-11, and p. 26*; Caminos in JEA XLIV, Pl. V, lines 2-3; for a translation see Wilson in ANET, p. 478.

²¹The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu I (OIP VIII [1930]) Pl. 37, lines 15-16; cf. William F. Edgerton and John A. Wilson, Historical Records of Ramses III (SAOC No. 12 [1936]) p. 41. The fact that the singular form b3 appears here in reference to a group probably has no significance since it can be understood as an abbreviated writing of the plural.

²²The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu II, Pl. 79, line 10; cf. Edgerton and Wilson, Historical Records of Ramses III, p. 72.

²³Eg. BD 61, title and vignette of papyrus of Ani (see Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum [2d. ed.; London, 1894] Pl. 15); see also pp. 146-47 below.

²⁴See Žabkar in JNES XXIV 84-85.

Ba is a mortuary concept signifying the personification of the deceased, his other self, through which and as which he continues to live in the next world. As we have seen, when the Ba is mentioned in non-mortuary texts of these periods, it is usually in the meaning of manifestation of power. Thus, the texts just discussed provide no clear evidence as to whether a man was thought to possess a Ba while he was living and they certainly in no way indicate that the Ba was considered to be a "spiritual" element in man.

An unusual piece of Egyptian literature, called by its first publisher and translator, Adolf Erman, "Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele,"²⁵ has been the subject of much study and interpretation. These studies and interpretations have been surveyed recently by Ronald J. Williams,²⁶ who re-examined the text of the dialogue of a man weary of life with his Ba and reconstructed it in such a way that some of the contradictions of which its author has been accused have been eliminated.

We would like to make some observations about the main features of this text as they appear in the light of our study of the Ba. Though that part of the papyrus on which the beginning of the dialogue was recorded is lost, the rest of the text would seem to indicate that the dialogue began with the man's Ba urging him to commit suicide.²⁷ The man pleads with his Ba to let him first prepare for death by making the necessary funerary arrangements, which will be of benefit to the Ba itself. The Ba replies that there is no point in making such arrangements since even those who have built their funerary monuments in granite and adorned them with fine work have not seen them endure and are now no different from those unfortunate ones who met their death by drowning on the riverbank and left no monuments or survivors. "Nevermore wilt thou go up that thou mayest see the sun," the Ba states emphatically. The dejected man, disillusioned by his Ba's denial of the efficacy of practices intended for the attainment of immortality and by its doubt of immortality itself, answers by reciting four poems which express his grief at his Ba's skepticism. If he follows his Ba's suggestions and dies without provision for the after-life, his name will forever be detested among men. Helpless and alone in this wicked world ("To whom can I speak today?"), he begins to think of

²⁵ See Abhandlungen der K. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1896, No. 2.

²⁶ JEA XLVIII (1962) 49-56.

²⁷ See Faulkner in JEA XLII (1956) 31, n. 11.

death as a release from suffering: "Death is in my sight today like the longing of a man to see his home after long years spent in captivity" (lines 140-42).²⁸ Those who are yonder, he reflects, are the happy ones, like sages, like living gods in the company of Re himself. The Ba then, in what appears to be an unexpected denouement of the conflict, no longer urges the man to die but agrees to be with him when his appointed time comes: "Desire me here, reject the West, desire rather that thou mayest reach the West when thy body joins the earth, that I may alight after thou hast become weary; then we will make our dwelling together" (lines 150-54).

Scholars have differed widely in their interpretations of this work. To some it represents skepticism concerning the value of funerary preparations, to others a conflict between the traditional belief in the efficacy of mortuary arrangements to assure the afterlife and the heretical skepticism about their efficacy which emerged during the turbulent First Intermediate Period. Some see in it the presentation of two different concepts of death; others interpret it psychologically, or even psychoanalytically, as a description of tensions and conflicts brought about by the prevalent turbulent conditions. It has been viewed as illustrating the struggle between a materialistic and hedonistic worldview and an "idealistic," religious one. It has even been viewed as a description of the suicide of a revolutionary leader as recorded by one of his disciples.²⁹ The variety of interpretations is to some extent the result of differing opinions as to the meaning of the Ba and of varying explanations of the Ba's relation to man.

The phraseology and imagery of the dialogue are reminiscent of the language of the mortuary literature and are typically Egyptian in character. However, the Ba's attitude toward the man and toward the traditional views of the afterlife certainly seems most un-Egyptian, the more so when one recalls that it was through the proper mortuary ceremonies and ritual recitations that the very existence of the Ba was assured.

Instances which would indicate that the Ba is considered capable of speech are known from other texts. It is said in the Book of Amduat that the Bas of the gods of the eighth hour call from their caverns to Re in whispering, buzzing, moaning, crying, and howling voices and that the four goddesses who punish the enemies of Osiris in the eleventh hour "live on" the voice of the enemies and on the crying of the Bas and Shadows which

²⁸ Translation from Thorkild Jacobsen and John A. Wilson, Most Ancient Verse (Chicago, 1963) p. 35.

²⁹ For a survey of these interpretations, see Williams in JEA XLVIII 49-52.

they throw into their pits.³⁰ In the same book, the Bas are said to be speaking to their bodies, which are in the underworld.³¹ "Excellent Bas" which speak to the deceased are mentioned in New Kingdom tomb inscriptions.³² In a text engraved on a sarcophagus of the late period, the gods are implored that the Ba may join the body, converse with it, and lead it upon mysterious ways.³³ There is, of course, a marked difference between the role which the Ba plays in these mortuary texts and the role it plays in the dialogue, a work of predominantly literary character.

While it is true that the dialogue is concerned with two opposing concepts of death which in turn result in two contrasting outlooks on life, it is our impression that the entire conflict is centered in the mind of one man who, while still clinging to traditional values, is nevertheless tortured by skepticism about the future life. It appears to us that the entire dialogue is the deliberation of a single mind weighing the reasons for and against suicide and contemplating its consequences. That the Ba represents one of the opposing states of mind is very appropriate since the question of whether or not he would continue to live after death as a Ba would weigh heavily on the mind of a man facing death. Thus understood, the dialogue does not presuppose the existence of a Ba with a living person but, rather, presupposes its coming into existence at death, which the man of the dialogue is confronting.³⁴ That it is the Ba, in its normal role so much a part of man's afterlife, which represents the attitude of skepticism and

³⁰Hornung, Das Amduat II 143-51 and 183.

³¹Ibid., p. 64.

³²Urk. IV 114, line 4; cf. Urk. IV 1538, line 17.

³³Ernst Ritter von Bergmann, "Der Sarkophag des Panehemisis," Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, 1882, p. 23.

³⁴Faulkner's and Williams' translations of line 18 of the dialogue need not indicate that his Ba existed with the man in life. The statement that it is "too stupid to ease(?) misery in life" (Faulkner in JEA XLII 27) or "too foolish to subdue misery in life" (Williams in JEA XLVIII 53) can perhaps be understood as an ironical remark made to the Ba. Since it is unable ("foolish") to do anything for the man in life, it should not aggravate matters by urging him to die but should attend to its proper task of, as the following line says, "making the West pleasant" for him. Furthermore, the text at this point is uncertain, and another possible rendering would be: "O my Ba, who art foolish to depress the weary of life and who impellest me toward death before I come to it, make the West pleasant for me" (see Raymond Weill in BIFAO XLV [1947] 107). It should always be kept in mind that the dialogue is a literary composition and that its literary character determines the role of the Ba in it; consequently no precise information on the nature of the Ba can be derived from it.

disbelief, is a sign of the depth of the man's doubts and reflects the extent of the collapse of traditional values during his days.

The resolution of the conflict in the man's mind as described in the last verses of the dialogue is clearly a return to orthodoxy. The Ba's urging of death has subsided, and not only is immortality no longer denied but a full acquiescence to the traditional ways of securing it is affirmed. When the man dies, his Ba will be with him, will alight upon his body, and they will be together in the traditional manner as described in the texts and vignettes of the mortuary literature. Until the appointed time comes for the man to die, he will "desire" his Ba, that is, hope that it will be with him after death—the ardent desire of every tradition-conscious Egyptian.

V

THE BA IN THE NEW KINGDOM AND
LATER PERIODS

The Middle Kingdom was followed by a social and political crisis which culminated in the invasion and conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos. From this period of "great humiliation,"¹ the Second Intermediate Period, when Egypt was "ruled without Re,"² we have no documents to enlighten us concerning the development of mortuary beliefs. Thus we come to the beginning of the New Kingdom and the third collection of mortuary texts, the Book of the Dead.

A prominent feature of these mortuary texts is that the realm of the dead is the underworld. The Osirianization of the Egyptian religion had long been completed by the time of the New Kingdom. Osiris and the reassurance afforded by his worship had become so popular that they exerted a strong influence on the beliefs and practices described in the Book of the Dead.

The Heliopolitan solar doctrine, cosmic and aloof from mortals, suited well the divinized king's aspirations concerning the next life. The human features of the Osirian legend appealed to the sentiment of the general populace, and the legend became so widespread that it appeared desirable to integrate it with the solar religion. The attempt at syncretization of the two doctrines is discussed above (pp. 36-39). Here we wish to emphasize that in spite of the fact that identification of the two deities was never fully achieved, since heaven remained the domain of Re and the underworld remained the abode of Osiris, their relationship became one of peaceful and harmonious coexistence. According to a solar hymn, Re sets in "the region of life . . . illumining the nether world with the rays of his bright divine eye."³ The Book of the Dead also says: "Thy mother Nut

¹See Wilson, The Burden of Egypt, pp. 154 ff.

²According to Hatshepsut (see Gardiner in JEA XXXII 43 ff.). The Hyksos kings, on the contrary, believed that Re continued to rule the land of Egypt, since they resumed the title "Son of Re" in their royal titulary as shown by scarab seals (see Percy E. Newberry, Scarabs [London, 1908] Pl. XXII).

³See T. George Allen in JNES VIII (1949) 353. See ibid. p. 354 for another so-

embraces thee and thou, O beautiful one, joyfully settest in the horizon of the western mountain, in the midst of the nobles who are rejoicing. Thou shinest therein for the great god Osiris, the ruler of eternity. The lords of the caverns in their holes (stretch out) their hands in adoring thy Ka. They present to thee all their supplications after thou hast shone upon them. The lords of the nether world are glad when thou illuminest the splendor of the West. Their eyes open through looking at thee, and their hearts rejoice when they see thee. Thou hearkenest to the prayer of those who lie in their coffins, thou expellest their suffering and repellst their evils. Thou givest breath to their nostrils and they take hold of the prow rope of thy bark in the horizon of the western mountain. O how beautiful art thou, Re, each day."⁴

Another aspect of Egyptian religion which was characteristic of the New Kingdom was the widespread use of magical devices to secure the full efficacy of mortuary spells. We have already met with magical tendencies in the rubrics of the Coffin Texts (see p. 105), but in the Book of the Dead these tendencies reached their full extension and application, thus presenting a serious obstacle to the more sober development of Egyptian religious thought. We need not be surprised at this unattractive aspect of the Book of the Dead. The predominance of the Osirian doctrine was primarily an outcome of the popularization and "democratization" of Egyptian religion, and in the history of religion it has often been demonstrated that popular beliefs are susceptible to the development of magical practices.

The Book of the Dead contributes no significant new elements to the Ba concept. The results of the development of the concept as represented in the Coffin Texts passed into the mortuary beliefs of the New Kingdom and remained, for the most part, unaltered in all subsequent versions of the mortuary texts. During the Middle Kingdom the Ba concept was so fully developed and so well established that not even the Amarna revolution dared to change or abolish the expectations which it offered for life after death.

lar hymn, which says: "They who are in the nether world receive thee with joy; the Westerners (turn) their face(s) to thee." And in BD 15, line 14 of papyrus of Mut-hotep (Budge, Text I 47) we read: "Thou art beloved by those who are in the nether world, thou illuminest those who are in it."

⁴Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pl. XIX, lines 14-24.

The Ba in the Solar Texts of the Book of the Dead

Texts pertaining to the solar doctrine are found throughout the Book of the Dead, either as complete chapters or as short passages.⁵ Some of them are of very ancient origin, such as chapter 17, the earliest version of which was composed during the 9th or 10th, Heracleopolitan, dynasty;⁶ others are of more recent origin, for example the hymns to the sun-god which were incorporated in the Book of the Dead during the 19th dynasty.

Chapter 17 begins with a cosmogonic monologue of the creator god Amun or Re, with whom the deceased identifies himself:⁷ "To me belonged the totality when I was alone in Nun. I am Re in his appearing when he began to exert his dominion over that which he had created." The purpose of this identification is to enable the deceased to escape the darkness of the tomb, to travel in the bark of Re on his victorious journey through the underworld to the brightness of his daily rebirth in the eastern horizon of heaven, to be like Re. It is one of the fundamental features of the mortuary literature and can be seen in the Pyramid Texts⁸ and the Coffin Texts⁹ as well as in the Book of the Dead.¹⁰ Specific phrases were used to emphasize the identification of the deceased with the sun-god (ntf pw 3nk, "I am he," and vice versa),¹¹ to describe the deceased's ascension to heaven, the domain of Re (pṛt r pt, "go up to heaven"),¹² and to assure the

⁵E.g. BD 75, 85, 134, 136 (see Budge, Text II 17-18, 45-47, 176-78, 180-87); for short solar passages see e.g. papyrus of Nu, chapter 42, lines 4-5 and 11, chapter 131, lines 1 and 7, chapter 130, lines 16, 32, and 35, chapter 79, line 2 (ibid. I 146-47 and II 171-72, 166-67 and 169, 35).

⁶CT IV, Spell 335. See Kurt Sethe, Die Totenliteratur der alten Ägypter (Berlin, 1931) p. 12.

⁷As clearly indicated by the Coffin Texts version which prefaces the monologue with "he says" following the name of the deceased (see CT IV 185 a) and by the BD versions which identify the deceased with Atum and Re (see Édouard Naville, Papyrus funéraires de la XXI^e dynastie II [Paris, 1914] Pl. II, lines 3-4, and BM Cat. p. 83).

⁸See e.g. Pyr. §§135 a-b, 703 b, 1461 b, 1688 b.

⁹See e.g. CT II 119 j and IV 62 c.

¹⁰See e.g. papyrus of Nu, chapter 11, line 2, chapter 42, lines 4 and 11, chapter 79, lines 12-16, chapter 85, line 2, chapter 131, lines 1-9 (Budge, Text I 33-34, 146-47 and II 36, 45-46, 171-72).

¹¹BD 64, line 6 in papyrus of Nu and line 8 in papyrus of Nebseny (Budge, Text I 176 and 177).

¹²Pyr. §§940 a, 812 c, 922 a, 546 c, etc.; CT I 58 d; CT II 268 a and 288 c; CT III 61 a, f, h, and j, 62 i, 24 c; Urk. I 277-78; Urk. IV 113 ff. and 497; BD 136, line 3 in papyri of Nu, Nebseny, and Yuiu (Budge, Text II 180-82); BD 74, line 3, and BD

deceased of all the benefits of life under the rays of the sun (prt m hrw, "to come forth by day").¹³ This last phrase came to be used to designate the collection of mortuary texts known to us as the Book of the Dead.

Now, if heaven is the domain of Re, then, according to the solar doctrine, the destination of the deceased and of his Ba will be heaven. In chapter 169 of the Book of the Dead¹⁴ we read: "O Osiris N., Geb has opened for thee thine eyes which were blind, he has stretched out thy thighs which were bent. Thy heart of thy mother has been given to thee, thy heart of thy body. Thy Ba to heaven, thy corpse to the underground.¹⁵ Bread to thy body, water to thy throat, sweet air to thy nose."

115, line 1, in papyrus of Nu (*ibid.* pp. 17 and 110); Naville, *Todtenbuch I*, Pl. CXC, lines 4 and 25; BD 15, line 40 in papyrus of Ani (Budge, *Text I* 44). See also d3ꜣ pt in BD 62, line 5 in papyrus of Nebseny (*ibid.* p. 172; *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* V 512, 15).

¹³CT II 56 a, 60 a, 62 b, 64 a, 66 a, 67 b, 68 d, 72 a, 73 b, 78 c, 79 b, 80 b, 96 b, 86 b, 91 a, 112 a, 118 a, 260 a, 261 a; CT III 212 c, 218 d, 219 d, 221 a, 252 b, 253 b, 259 b; CT V 327 b, g, and k, 328 a and d, 329 d and g; BD 1, 2, 9, 10, 17, 64, 68, 188 (see Budge, *Text I* 18, 22, 25-27, 32, 33, 52, 53, 84, 176-77, and 189, II 5 and 7, III 111).

Passages relating to the old stellar doctrine of the future life are to be found in *Pyr.* §§821-22, 929-30, 2005, 882-83, 878, 940, 1080, 1171, 2173 and in CT V, Spell 470. This doctrine, however, seems to have been applied to kings exclusively and even in the Pyramid Texts was being replaced by the solar doctrine. With this qualification, Gardiner's statement that ". . . stars as the multitude of blessed dead—a conception simply asserted by Egyptologists, but nowhere actually proved" (*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I* 111*) appears to be correct.

¹⁴Naville, *Todtenbuch I*, Pl. CXC, lines 2-4.

¹⁵On p. 110 we quote a text (CT I 55 f to 56 f) in which this sentence occurs in an Osirian form: "Thy Ba is in the earth, thy corpse is in the ground." The compiler of BD 169 has transformed it into a solar text: "Thy Ba to heaven, thy corpse to the underground."

In BD 169 we have an instructive example of the literary process to which many ancient texts were subjected before they assumed a new form in the mortuary literature of the New Kingdom and an instance in which the method of documentary analysis could be successfully applied to the study of Egyptian religious texts. Such an approach to the study of the Book of the Dead might hold some promise for a better understanding of this collection of complicated mortuary writings. It has been said that the translations of many passages, even when the words or phrases are known, do not make sense; that the text has often been corrupted, the original meaning misunderstood, grammatical rules confused; that magical tendencies have assumed such proportions as to obscure religious doctrines and make them often unrecognizable; that the ancient Egyptians had no historical and philological knowledge of their language. In spite of all this we agree with Adriaan de Buck that "it may be also, that much more of the Book of the Dead is translatable and makes good sense than is now generally believed" (*JEA* XXXV 88). The method of documentary analysis or, as De Buck calls it, the "diachronic method" can, when the history of a corrupted text is traced, contribute considerably to its clarification. It is certainly true that we can study the religious beliefs and practices of the New Kingdom, as they are recorded in the Book of the Dead, regardless of their historical background and origin. But it is also important to study the development

References to heaven as the destination of the Ba are also found in the solar hymns of the Book of the Dead. Thus Ani adores the sun-god: "O thou (lit. "this") Aton, lord of the rays, rising on the horizon every day, mayest thou shine upon the face of Osiris Ani. He adores thee in the morning, he propitiates thee in the evening. May Ani's Ba come forth with thee to heaven, setting forth in the morning bark, landing in the evening bark, and may he join the Indefatigable Ones in heaven."¹⁶

The rubric of chapter 100 promises that if the proper design has been drawn upon a piece of new papyrus and this is placed on the breast of the deceased for recitation purposes, the deceased will "descend into the bark of Re in the course of every day, and Thoth will count him as he comes forth and goes in in the course of each day, truly so, a million times."¹⁷ The rubric of chapter 129 speaks of the Ba descending into the bark of Re: "Thoth says: 'His Ba will be counted (in its) coming forth and going into the bark of Re, while (his) corpse remains in its place.'¹⁸

Similar expressions about the Ba and its heavenly abode occur in inscriptions in the Theban tombs. For example, the deceased is introduced as saying: "Heaven opens to my Ba, the underworld to my corpse."¹⁹ And Osiris is said to address the deceased: "Thy Ba is placed in heaven, thy corpse in the underworld."²⁰ Or, again, it is said of the deceased: "Heaven to thy Ba, the underworld to thy corpse, good things to thy mummy,

of religious ideas so that we can distinguish them from the misunderstanding or even deliberate misinterpretation of scribal and priestly circles. Thus, to use chapter 169 as an example, it seems to us impossible to understand this compilation of six spells of the Coffin Texts (Spells 20-25) without a parallel study of the Coffin Texts themselves. The compiler sometimes not only misunderstood his original (cf. Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pl. CXC, line 5, with CT I 59 b-d) but deliberately changed the text and introduced his own interpretation (cf. Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pl. CXC, line 10, with CT I 66 d). It is obvious that in such cases we cannot speak of these texts as reflecting the religious thought of a particular period. The study of the older parallel documents can in many cases cast some light on such obscure texts.

¹⁶ BD 15, lines 2-6 in papyrus of Ani (Budge, Text I 40-41). The hymn is repeated in chapter 15 of Pap. Turin (lines 1-2), Pap. Milbank (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. LIII, lines 42-43), and a Vatican papyrus (Orazio Marucchi, Il grande papiro egizio della Biblioteca Vaticana [Roma, 1888] Pl. I, col. ii 1-6).

¹⁷ Papyrus of Nu, rubric of chapter 100 (Budge, Text II 77); Pap. Ryerson has a somewhat different version (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XXIX, col. lxxiii 26-28).

¹⁸ Naville, Todtenbuch II 236, Te. Slightly different versions are found in Pap. Turin (chap. 129, line 9) and Pap. Ryerson (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XXXVII, col. xcix 32-34).

¹⁹ Theban Tomb No. 68 (Belegstellen to Wb. III 359, 9).

²⁰ Theban Tomb No. 65 (ibid.). For rdi r, "place," see ibid. II 466, 13.

breath to thy nostrils, (because) thou art free from evil."²¹ The same idea is expressed in other passages by "Ba to heaven, corpse to the underworld (i.e., the Duat)"²² and "my Ba is in heaven, my corpse in the underworld."²³ Variants of the expression "Ba to heaven, corpse to the underworld" were used frequently in the mortuary literature of the New Kingdom and are found in later texts also. Here we quote a few examples from later texts. In Papyrus Rhind I it is said of the deceased: "May his Ba go forth to heaven . . . while his corpse remains in the underworld; may bread be given to him on the offering-table every day."²⁴ And in the Book of Traversing Eternity we read: "May thy Ba live in heaven near Re, may thy Ka be divine among the gods, may thy corpse endure in the underworld near Osiris, may thy mummy be efficient (3h) among the living, the Akhs."²⁵ A variation occurs in the Book of Perpetuating the Name, where the following words are addressed to the deceased: "May thy Ba live in heaven near Re, may thy Ka be provisioned among the gods, may thy mummy be efficient among the Akhs, may thy name be enduring on earth near Geb, may thy corpse endure in the necropolis."²⁶

Variants of the expression were also applied to the gods, whom the Egyptian often conceived of as having experiences similar to those of mortals. In a hymn to Amun from Leiden Papyrus I 350 we read: "He is the universal lord, beginning of existing things. It is his Ba, as they say, which is in heaven. He it is who is in the underworld, the foremost of the East. His Ba is in heaven, his body is in the West. His statue is in Her-

²¹Theban Tomb No. 23 (*ibid.* IV 52, 3). We know of no other occurrence of tm.k n d3 with the meaning "thou art free from evil" (lit. "complete, finished with evil"). An inscription in Theban Tomb No. 35 (*ibid.* IV 291, 13) says of Osiris that "his Ba (belongs) to heaven, his divine image to the underworld, (while) all lands hold his figure" (b3.f r pt 3sm r d3t t3w nbw hr s3m.f). For a similar expression about Osiris, see Roeder, Der Tempel von Dakke I 110 and 264.

²²Urk. IV 481, line 5; Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhēt, Pl. XXX and p. 43.

²³Urk. IV 484, line 14, where the underworld is referred to as imht instead of d3t.

²⁴See Georg Möller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg (Leipzig, 1913) pp. 40-43 (ix 2-3); cf. a similar passage in Papyrus Rhind II (*ibid.* pp. 68-69 [ix 2-3]).

²⁵See E. von Bergmann, "Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit," Sitzungsberichte der philos.-hist. Classe der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften LXXXVI (Wien, 1877) lines 5-7 on table following p. 412, and Budge, Text III 151; see also Walter Wreszinski in ZAS XLV 114.

²⁶Pap. BM 10112, lines 2-5 (see J. Lieblein, Le livre égyptien . . . Que mon nom fleurisse [Leipzig, 1895] No. 1, and Budge, Text III 160).

monthis, exalting his risings. One is Amun, concealing himself from them, hiding himself from the gods. His complexion is not known. He is far from heaven, he is distant from the underworld. No gods know his true form."²⁷

It is said of Osiris that "heaven holds his Ba, the earth his form,"²⁸ although it is said in the same text (line 3) that "his Ba rests within his corpse."

The expression "Ba to heaven, corpse to the underworld" calls to mind a similar expression in the Pyramid Texts: "The Akh (belongs) to heaven, the corpse (belongs) to the earth."²⁹ We have pointed out (pp. 112-14) that it would be erroneous to consider any such expressions as evidence that the ancient Egyptian conceived of man in dualistic terms. As demonstrated in our study of the Coffin Texts, the Ba was an embodiment of the deceased, one fully incorporating his physical as well as his psychic capabilities and, therefore, in no way could have been viewed as a "spiritual" element in man. Further evidence that the Ba was considered to be an embodiment of the deceased and not a separate "spiritual" component of man is provided by texts in which the deceased himself is said to go to heaven. Thus, in an inscription in the tomb of Paheri at Elkab we read: "Thou shalt go forth to heaven, thou shalt penetrate the underworld in any form thou pleasest."³⁰ In an inscription in the tomb of Amenemhet, Amenemhet's desires that he himself be placed among the stars³¹ and that he ascend unto his horizon³² occur along with the statement that his Ba belongs to heaven and his corpse to the underworld.³³ The notion of the deceased himself going to heaven appears in texts of the late period also. In the Book of Traversing Eternity, the deceased having been addressed with the words "thy majesty goes forth as a living Ba,"³⁴ the text

²⁷ See Gardiner in ZAS XLII 33-34. In the Book of the Gates, it is said of Re: "Earth to thy body, heaven to thy Ba"; see Alexandre Piankoff, Le livre des portes II (MIFAO LXXV [1962]) 207.

²⁸ BD 163, line 7 of Pap. Turin; cf. n. 21 above.

²⁹ Pyr. §474 a. It is possible that this expression in the Pyramid Texts is the prototype for subsequent expressions consigning the Ba to heaven and the corpse to the underworld.

³⁰ Urk. IV 115, lines 5-6; Paheri's text is incomplete, but the full text is to be found in parallels (Urk. IV 497, line 12, and 1219, line 16).

³¹ Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhêt, Pl. XXX A and p. 43.

³² Ibid. Pl. XI, third row, and p. 49.

³³ Ibid. Pl. XXX B and p. 43.

³⁴ See Bergmann in Sitzungsberichte der philos.-hist. Classe der K. Akademie

continues: "Thou alightest in storm-wind, thou hoverest as a Shadow, thou makest transformation to thy heart's desire; thou ascendest to heaven without thy arm being restrained, thou descendest to the underworld without being repelled, thou travellest upon the ways of the gods of the horizon and makest thy seat among the Westerners."³⁵ One should keep in mind when evaluating the significance of such expressions as "Ba to heaven, corpse to the underworld" that, while it was quite natural according to the solar doctrine for the Ba to be placed in heaven, in the company of Re, heaven was not the final or exclusive destination of the Ba. The Ba could leave the company of Re, dwell in the favorite places of the deceased on earth, journey to the underworld and join the corpse of the deceased. Finally, not only the Ba was thought to be capable of adapting to various situations. The deceased as an Akh could also have more than one destination in the afterlife. Thus, in an inscription in the tomb of Kenamun it is said that the deceased is "an Akh in the necropolis in eternity and the future,"³⁶ while in the same inscription the gods are asked to grant that Kenamun be "an Akh in heaven, powerful on earth, justified in the necropolis."³⁷

The Ba in the Osirian Texts of the Book of the Dead

We have seen that the Osirianization of the mortuary beliefs had long been completed by the time of the New Kingdom. No matter how important the influence of the solar religion on the Book of the Dead may have been, it clearly appears, from the study of almost every chapter, that the Osirian doctrine, with its assurances for the afterlife, became the predominant feature of the Book of the Dead.

The fact that the underworld, that is, the world of Osiris, became the domain of the dead opened up new possibilities for the life and activities of the Ba. The Ba was more and more confined to the underworld and to the functions of its reciprocal relation to the corpse. This terminal stage in the development of the Ba concept is amply illustrated by the texts and vignettes of the Book of the Dead. It found expression also in inscriptions

der Wissenschaften LXXXVI (Wien, 1877) lines 14-15 on plate following p. 412, and Budge, Text III 152 and 157; see also Wreszinski in ZAS XLV 115.

³⁵ See Bergmann, op. cit. lines 19-23, and Budge, Text III 152 and 158; see also Wreszinski in ZAS XLV 116-17.

³⁶ Urk. IV 1398, line 15.

³⁷ Urk. IV 1404, line 17.

and pictorial representations in the tombs and thus became a characteristic trait of the mortuary beliefs of the New Kingdom.

The Coffin Texts speak of the close relationship between the deceased and his Ba: "My Ba shall not be kept away from my corpse, and I shall not be repelled from drinking water from the stream," or "my Ba is with me, it shall not depart from me" (see p. 109). The Book of the Dead continues along the same lines. Thus, chapter 89³⁸ reads: "Utterance for causing the Ba to rest upon its corpse.³⁹ O bringer, O runner, dwelling in his arbor, great god, mayest thou grant that this Ba of mine come to me from wherever it may be. If there be any delay in bringing to me my Ba from wherever it may be, thou wilt find the Eye of Horus standing up against thee,⁴⁰ as well as that of Osiris.⁴¹ O ye gods, who draw the bark of the lord of millions, who bring the heaven to the underworld, who banish the obscurity of the lower heaven, who bring Bas to (their) mummies, whose hands are filled with the ropes,⁴² who hold firm (your) spears, drive away the enemy, so that the bark may rejoice and the great god proceed in peace. Lo, ye have granted this Ba of mine to come forth from under the thighs in the eastern horizon of heaven,⁴³ to follow unto the place

³⁸ Quoted from papyrus of Nu (see Budge, Text II 50-51).

³⁹ Htp with direct object: htp h3t (see Gardiner, Grammar, p. 423, Ex. 4). In the papyrus of Ani, which reads "utterance for causing the Ba to join its corpse in the underworld," dm3 is used with direct object. In the papyrus of Nebseny the same verb is used with the preposition r: dm1 r h3t.

⁴⁰ The papyrus of Nebseny, which with several other papyri gives this sentence twice, reads the second time in what seems to be the more complete version: "If thou failest to let me see my Ba and my Shadow, thou wilt find the Eye of Horus standing up against thee" (see Gardiner, Grammar, §352, Ex. 5). The papyrus of Ani and Pap. Boulaq 21 (Naville, Todtenbuch II 205, Cc) substitute h3t for 3wt. For a different construction with ir wdf see CT II 106 b and 184 c.

⁴¹ Nf3 Wsir; Wsir is supplied by the papyrus of Nebseny and other manuscripts.

⁴² wy.tn mh hr k3w; for mh hr see Wb. II 116, 14.

⁴³ A solar element in this otherwise Osirian text. The "thighs (or 'buttocks') in the eastern horizon of heaven" are the thighs of the celestial cow Mehetweret. The idea of being born upon the thighs of Mehetweret is known from the Coffin Texts. In CT IV 244-46 a (BD 17; see BM Cat. p. 101, Sec. XVIII) we read: "I have seen this Re who was born yesterday on the thighs of Mehetweret. If it goes well with him, it goes well with me, and vice versa." The deceased, identified with the sun-god, experiences daily cosmic birth. We find an elaboration on the same theme in BD 148, which deals with seven cows and a bull: "O ye who give bread and beer to the Akhs, may you grant the Ba (of Ani to be) with you. He has come into existence from your thighs, so that he may be like one of you for ever and ever. May he become an Akh in the beautiful West" (see Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum [2d ed.] Pl. 35 and cf. line 4 of chap. 148 in papyrus of Nu [Budge, Text II 262]).

where it was yesterday, verily in peace toward the West. May it (now) see for itself its corpse, may it rest upon its mummy, may it neither perish nor be destroyed for ever and ever."⁴⁴

The Ba is sometimes said to "alight" (ḥnī) upon the corpse, for example: "The Ba alights upon the corpse, going and coming in the underworld,"⁴⁵ and "O gods, grant my Ba to alight that it may rest upon my corpse."⁴⁶ It says in the Book of Breathings: "May it be granted that my Ba alight upon my corpse."⁴⁷ And the Book of Perpetuating the Name states: "Thy Ba flies to heaven in the company of the Ba of the gods, it alights upon thy corpse in the necropolis."⁴⁸

The idea of the dependence of the deceased on his Ba in the underworld is clearly expressed in chapter 61: "Utterance for not letting the Ba of a man be taken away from him in the domain of the dead. Words to be recited by N.: 'I am indeed one who came forth from Geb,⁴⁹ to whom plentifulness has been given, in order that he may gain power there over it as Hapy."⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Cf. two variants of the rubric of BD 70: īr rḥ md3t tn . . . n sk.n rn.f r nh and . . . n sk.n b3.f (see Naville, *Todtenbuch* II 150, Ca and Pb). In *Pap. Turin* and *Pap. Ryerson* (Allen, *Book of the Dead*, Pl. XXVII, col. lxiv 34-36) chapter 89 concludes with the promise: "As to him who knows this spell, his corpse shall not perish and his Ba shall not depart from his corpse."

⁴⁵ Belegstellen to Wb. III 287, 5, Louvre 173.

⁴⁶ Ibid. London 599.

⁴⁷ Astorre Pellegrini, Il libro secondo della respirazione: Papiro funerario jeratico del Museo egizio di Firenze (reprinted from Bessarione, Ser. II, Vols. V 310-21 and VI 49-57 and 147-58 [Roma, 1904]) p. 30, III 10, and Budge, Text III 147, III 10.

⁴⁸ Pap. BM 10112, lines 14-15 (see Lieblein, Le livre égyptien . . . Que mon nom fleurisse, No. 1, and Budge, Text III 161).

⁴⁹ Var.: "from the inundation" (3gbī).

⁵⁰ Var.: "in order that he may gain power there as (or 'over') the River."

There seems to be no connection between the title of this chapter and the text itself. There is no allusion to any attempt being made to take the Ba away from the deceased. This must have been felt also by the scribes who combined chapter 61 with chapters 60 and 62 under the title "utterance for drinking water in the domain of the dead" and who put with the combined chapters a vignette (different from that of chap. 61) showing the deceased scooping running water out of a stream (Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pl. LXXII P.b.). In some of the well-known papyri, however, this text is a separate chapter, with one of the most charming vignettes of the Book of the Dead: the deceased is shown clasping to his breast his Ba in the form of a human-headed bird which resembles its master. It is true that correlating the titles and the vignettes of the Book of the Dead with the text proper often presents difficulties, but it is possible that there is a nexus between the title and the text of chapter 61. On pp. 138 ff. we give quotations that tell of the reassurances given to the de-

Reassurance to the deceased that his Ba will not be taken or kept away⁵¹ from him (i.e., his corpse) occurs also in chapter 26, which is introduced by the title "spell for giving the heart of N. to him in the domain of the dead" and says: "I know through my heart.⁵² I have power over my heart,⁵³ my arms, and my feet. I do what my Ka desires,⁵⁴ and my Ba is not kept away from my corpse at the gates of the West,⁵⁵ when I enter in peace and come forth in peace."⁵⁶

Though it is necessary that the Ba not be kept away from the corpse, it is also important that the Ba not be confined in the underworld. Chapter 91 gives assurance that the Ba will not be detained in the domain of the dead and provides that a way be made for the deceased, his Ba, and other forms of his existence: "Utterance for not detaining the Ba of N. in the domain of the dead.⁵⁷ O exalted one, may he be adored,⁵⁸ great of Bas,⁵⁹ the Ba great of dignity, inspiring his terror into gods, and gloriously appearing on the great throne. May he then make way for N., justified, for

ceased that his Ba will be resting on the branches of trees, drinking water from a pool or stream, and flying down to the corpse through the shaft of the tomb. By gaining control over the waters, as stated in chapter 61, the deceased rested secure that he would be well provided for in the realm of the dead, so that his Ba, through which and in which he lived, would not be annihilated or "taken away" from him.

⁵¹Hnr hr; Pap. Ryerson reads hnr r at the end of chapter 26: nn hnr.tw b3.i r h3t.i hr sb3w nw 3lmntt (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XVII, col. xvi 32-35).

⁵²The papyrus of Nebseny, usually one of the best texts of the Book of the Dead, reads n hm.n.i m ib.i, which we explain as double negation of the sdm.n.f form, stating emphatically a positive fact. The sign of negation has been replaced by n, as often in manuscripts of the Book of the Dead, and the sdm.n.f form of the verb hm, "not know," is analogous to the sdm.n.f form of the verb rh, "know," which seems to mean "having learned." Some scribes misunderstood this grammatical form, and their copies of chapter 26 reflect erroneous readings, while some replaced this to them complicated form by the simple rh.i.

⁵³H3ty.

⁵⁴Papyrus of Ani reads "I have power over that which my Ka does and desires" in an incorrect grammatical form: shm.i m iryt (for irrt) mrrt k3.i.

⁵⁵Papyrus of Ani omits prepositions before h3t and sb3w (cf. n. 51 above).

⁵⁶"When I enter . . ." is from papyrus of Ani, which again is unusual: m 3k.i m htp prt m htp. Ani's addition, however, fits well into the context.

⁵⁷Papyrus of Nu (see Budge, Text II 54). Var.: "utterance for not letting the Ba of a man be detained in the domain of the dead" (ibid. p. 55).

⁵⁸I k3 dw3.tw.f. Var.: "I adore thee" (dw3.i tw).

⁵⁹An example of the use of the plural to intensify the meaning of the Ba as a manifestation of power (see pp. 55 f.).

his Ba, his Akh, and his Shadow, which are well equipped.⁶⁰ I am an excellent Akh; may a way be made for me to the place wherein are Re and Hathor."⁶¹

Assurance that the Ba will not be detained in the underworld is given in chapter 92 also. This chapter describes vividly the relationship between the Ba and the corpse of the deceased. The vignettes accompanying it represent very well its content.⁶² It reads: "Spell for opening the tomb to the Ba and to his Shadow, (namely of) Osiris Nebseny,⁶³ in order that he may come forth by day and have power over his legs. O thou that art shut, mayest thou be opened. O sleeper, thou that art shut, mayest thou be opened to my Ba,⁶⁴ by the command of the Eye of

⁶⁰ Var.: "May he make way for my Ba, my Akh, and my Shadow. I am well equipped."

⁶¹ Another solar element. The deceased, through his various manifestations (Ba, Akh, etc.), pervades the whole universe, from the underworld to the celestial spheres.

The rubric of BD 91 in a Leiden papyrus (Naville, Todtenbuch II 206, Lc) and in the papyrus of Ani (Budge, Text II 55) reads: "As for him who knows this utterance, he shall become a well-equipped Akh in the domain of the dead and shall not be detained at any door in the West, in coming forth or entering." Cf. the rubric of BD 86 (ibid. p. 49).

⁶² Thus, for example, the papyrus of Nebseny, which we use as the standard text in translating BD 92, represents the Ba of the deceased hovering in the air before his tomb (Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pl. CIV A.a.). Pap. BM 9949 represents the deceased standing before the door of the tomb with hands outstretched to embrace his Ba (ibid. vignette A.p.). The artist of a Louvre papyrus placed the disk of the sun with rays shooting forth from it above the tomb and next to it the Ba of the deceased hovering over his Shadow, which is painted black (ibid. vignette P.c.). The papyrus of Ani shows the Ba flying out from the tomb (see Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum [2d ed.] Pl. 18).

⁶³ Vars.: "spell for opening the tomb to the Ba and the Shadow of N." or "to the Ba and the corpse of N." or simply "to Osiris N." The variety of titles and the interchange of Ba, Shadow, corpse, and name of the deceased support our view that the deceased continued to live in several modes of existence and therefore that the Egyptians did not conceive of man as dichotomous. On a Middle Kingdom stela, the deceased says, in an apt play on words, that he has built his tomb to be "a shade (šwt) for his Ba and a resting-place for his Shadow (šwt)" (see Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, p. 88, line 20; see also Kees, Totenglauben, p. 54). It transpires from this text that the Shadow, as well as the Ba, was thought to be a mode of existence after death.

⁶⁴ A grammatically complicated and somewhat cryptic passage. We explain the twice repeated forms wnti htmti as the second person of the old perfective used for exclamatory emphasis. "The sleeper," who is none other than the corpse, or the deceased himself, is being exhorted to come out through the open tomb and join his Ba, as depicted in the vignettes of this scene. Also, htmti can be explained as a perfect passive participle and wnti as an archaic sdm.tw passive form with ti for tw (see Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik I, §§177 and 462) and translated "what was closed is opened." Some scribes seem to have introduced, intentionally or other-

Horus,⁶⁵ who has rescued me and who has established beauty on the forehead of Re. O thou whose strides are long and whose thighs are outstretched, make⁶⁶ way for me, my limbs are firm and sound.⁶⁷ I am Horus, avenger of his father. I am one who has brought along his father and his mother as his support.⁶⁸ May a way be opened to him who has gained mastery over his feet.⁶⁹ May he see the great god within the bark of Re, where Bas are counted,⁷⁰ at the beginning (of the list), where years are assigned.⁷¹ Come,⁷² rescue for me my Ba,⁷³ O Eye of Horus, who hast established the ornaments⁷⁴ on the forehead of Re. O ye, on whose faces the twilight rests, guardians of Osiris, do not detain my Ba; O

wise, a play on words into this text: wn(t) wnti htm htmti, "it is opened what is to be opened, it is closed what is to be closed"; here the verbs can be explained as the passive sdm.f form, wnti and htmti (perfect passive feminine participles with ti for t) with future meaning (see Gardiner, Grammar, §369, 5) being the subjects. The Coffin Texts also offer many variants. Four texts give what may have been the original version: "The strings are (ripped) open, closed is what is to be closed upon me" (CT II 91 b).

⁶⁵ Thus papyri of Nebseny, Ani, etc. Some manuscripts read: "Mayest thou be opened to my Ba, which is in it (imy.s referring to htmt, 'what is closed,' i.e., the tomb), O Eye of Horus."

⁶⁶ "Make" is imperative plural in papyrus of Nebseny; in most manuscripts both phrases are understood as referring to the same person.

⁶⁷ Lit. "great and sound."

⁶⁸ Lit. "as his staff."

⁶⁹ Var.: "May a way be opened to my Ba, which has gained mastery over its feet."

⁷⁰ Var.: ". . . within the bark of Re, who counts Bas. May my Ba be there, in the front, among the counters of years." Pap. Ryerson reads: "May I see the great god within the bark of Re on the day when Bas are counted (lit. 'on the day of counting Bas'), while my Ba is there, in front, among the counters of years" (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XXVII, col. lxvii 14-17). The expression "counting Bas" reminds us of "counting the character" (hsb kdw) in CT I 181 e (see Wilson, The Burden of Egypt, p. 119) and "judging the words" in Pap. Turin, chapter 130, line 29 (see Wb. I 405). The counting of Bas probably alludes to the judgment of the deceased, and it calls to mind Book of the Dead vignettes of the judgment scene in which the Ba is shown with the deceased while his heart is being weighed.

⁷¹ Lit. "in the counting of years" or "among the counter(s) of years."

⁷² An unusual writing of the imperative mi, "come."

⁷³ sd ni b3.i, eliminating r after n.

⁷⁴ Smn could also be translated as an imperative: "Come, rescue for me my Ba, O Eye of Horus, and set the ornaments on the forehead of Re." Vars.: ". . . O Eye of Horus, I have established my ornaments on the forehead of Re," or "I have been rescued and (my) Ba; it is the Eye of Horus which has established my ornaments upon the forehead of Re."

In some manuscripts, including Pap. Ryerson, the following sentence ("O ye,

guardians of my Shadow,⁷⁵ may a way be opened to my Ba and my Shadow,⁷⁶ may it (i.e., my Ba) see the great god within the shrine on the day of counting Bas⁷⁷ and may it repeat the words to Osiris.⁷⁸ O ye of the secret places, guardians of the limbs of Osiris, protect the Akhs and imprison the Shadows and the dead⁷⁹ who commit evil against me or who shall commit⁸⁰ evil against me. 'Go the way of thy Ka (which is) with thee, as a Ba,⁸¹ say the guardians of the limbs of Osiris, who guard the Shadows and the dead.⁸² 'Heaven will not hold thee back, the earth will not

on whose faces . . ." is interpreted as a subordinate clause of circumstance: "Come, rescue for me my Ba, O Eye of Horus, and set its ornaments upon the forehead of Re, while the twilight is upon (or 'before') them (iw ihw r-hr.sn)."
This is probably a corrupt version of the Nebseny text as we understand it. CT VI 83 b-c, which seems to support our interpretation, reads: "O ye who do not know your faces (ihmw hrw.tn), who are in charge of the limbs of Osiris, do not detain the Ba of N."

⁷⁵Var.: "O Akhs, bodyguards of Osiris, do not detain my Ba, do not restrain my Shadow (or 'my corpse')." Most manuscripts read n(n) hnr.tn b3.i n(n) s3w.tn šwt.i (or h3t instead of šwt), "may you not detain my Ba, may you not restrain my Shadow," or "you shall not detain my Ba, you shall not restrain my Shadow (or 'my corpse')." Cf. CT IV 178 m, where s3w is construed with hr: "My Ba shall not be kept away from my corpse."

⁷⁶Vars.: "may a way be opened to my Shadow and my Akh" and "may a way be opened to my Ba and my corpse." Pap. Turin, chapter 92, line 5, and Pap. Louvre 3079 (Emmanuel de Rougé, Rituel funéraire des anciens Égyptiens: Texte complet en écriture hiéroglyphique [Paris, 1861]) Pl. XIV, lines 24-25 in 4th col.) read: "May a way be opened to my Ba, my Shadow, and my Akh."

⁷⁷Pap. Louvre 3079 (ibid. line 26) and Pap. Turin, chapter 92, line 5, read "on this day of counting Bas." Another variant reads "on the day when he (i.e., the great god) counts Bas" (see Naville, Todtenbuch II 209, Pi).

⁷⁸Pap. Turin, chapter 92, line 5, and Pap. Louvre 3079 (De Rougé, op. cit. lines 26-27) read: "May the words of Osiris be repeated to me."

⁷⁹Var.: "O ye who protect the Bas and the Akhs and imprison the Shadows, male dead and female dead . . ." (see Naville, Todtenbuch II 209, Pb, Cc, Ca, and Pd).

⁸⁰ḳirt(y).sn is a sdmty.fy form in the plural.

⁸¹Reminiscent of expressions found in the Pyramid Texts: sbḳ n k3, sbḳ hnḳ k3, and sbḳ hr k3 (see p. 7, n. 15). In this case the text is very awkwardly construed, the variants are of little help, and the personal pronouns are confused. The problem of personal pronouns is one of the most serious obstacles to the proper understanding of many passages in the Book of the Dead. Variants read: "My Akh and my Ba are well equipped. 'May they lead thee, and mayest thou sit before the elders who are of high rank. Thou shalt not be detained by the guardians of the corpse of Osiris, who guard . . .'" (see Naville, Todtenbuch II 210, Cc and Ca).

⁸²Var.: ". . . who guard the Bas (or 'Akhs') and imprison the Shadows, male dead and female dead" (see Naville, Todtenbuch II 210, Cc and Pd); so also Pap. Ryerson (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XXVII, col. lxxvii 35-37).

detain thee. . . .'⁸³ As for him who knows this utterance, he shall go forth by day, and his Ba shall not be detained in the god's domain."⁸⁴

To these passages we add some of a more idyllic nature, taken from stelae found in the Theban tombs. On one stela we read:⁸⁵ "May they (i.e., the gods) grant (to me) to be an Akh in heaven, powerful on earth, justified in the god's domain, to enter my tomb and to come out of it, to refresh myself in its shadow and to drink water from my pool every day. May all my limbs be vigorous and may the Nile give me the sustenance and the offerings of every vegetable and fruit in their season. May I promenade on the edge of my lake every day without interruption. May my Ba alight upon the branches of the trees which I have planted,⁸⁶ may I refresh myself under my sycamore trees and eat the fruit⁸⁷ which they give. I am in possession of my mouth and I speak with it like the Followers of Horus.⁸⁸ I ascend to heaven and descend to earth without being turned back from (my) way. There are no barriers made for my Ka, my Ba is not detained. I am in the midst of the honored, among the revered. I plow my field in the Field of Rushes, I join the Field of Offerings. Offerings are made to

⁸³ From papyrus of Nebseny (see Budge, Text II 55-57). The last phrase, n dr.k in pt (n) hnr.k in t3, is written with n for the sign of negation, as often in the papyrus of Nebseny. Var.: nn dr.k in pt nn hnr.in.k in t3, with the sdm.in.f form enjoining a consequence to take place in the future (see Gardiner, Grammar, §429, 2). Note the interesting in in four variants (see Naville, Todtenbuch II 210), a rare writing of the negative n. The confusion can perhaps be explained on phonological grounds, for the pronunciation of the non-enclitic particle in was probably either similar to or identical with that of the negative n. in is sometimes used also instead of the preposition n at the beginning of a sentence (see Gardiner, Grammar, §164), and the sign n often replaces the sign of negation in the Book of the Dead (see Gunn, Studies in Egyptian Syntax, pp. 89-90). The expression "heaven will not hold you back, the earth will not detain you" again describes the freedom of action and movement which the deceased achieves as a Ba, as well stated in BD 64, lines 37-38 in long version of papyrus of Nu (Budge, Text I 186): "I fly to heaven, I alight upon the earth" (p3.i r pt hn.i r t3). An unusually mutilated version of this phrase occurs in Pap. Ryerson (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XXVII, col. lxvii 37-38): "'Dost thou hold me back?' says heaven" (in iw dr.k w i in pt); for the in iw sdm.f form see Gardiner, Grammar, §492, 5.

⁸⁴ The rubric is from Pap. Turin, Pap. Louvre 3079, and Pap. Ryerson.

⁸⁵ Alfred Hermann, Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie ("Ägyptologische Forschungen" XI [Glückstadt, 1940]) p. 52*, lines 6-16.

⁸⁶ Cf. skb.f hr nhwt.f m mnw.f in Theban Tomb No. 48 and r skbb hr nhwt.f r sd3 m mnw.f n dt.f in No. 76 (Belegstellen to Wb. II 71, 15).

⁸⁷ Lit. "bread."

⁸⁸ Meaning that the deceased has been rendered physically fit like the divinized dead kings?

me⁸⁹ consisting of beer jugs and bread together with all food offerings of eternity. I receive my food with a large quantity of meat from the altar of the great god."⁹⁰

Another stela speaks of a variety of experiences enjoyed by the deceased and his Ba:⁹¹ "May they grant a thousand of all things good, pure, and sweet, given by heaven, produced by earth, brought forth by the Nile from his cavern; to breathe the pleasant air of the north wind, to drink at the swirl of the stream, to proceed in many appearances;⁹² to traverse the Field of Rushes to its full extent, wearing clean clothes (made) of a square cloth of fine linen and a white cloth, (with) painted (eyebrows) and anointed with first-quality oil;⁹³ to see Aton rising on the horizon of heaven; to receive food offerings from the altar of the lord of offerings; to be among the followers (i.e., of Horus?) in the underworld; to ascend to heaven, to explore the underworld without separating oneself from the stars; to make transformation into a living Ba so that it may settle down upon its trees, receive the shadow of its sycamores, and make itself comfortable at the corner (i.e., on the top?) of the tomb" (cf. Pl. 3⁹⁴).

In the expression of expectations for the afterlife, there is sometimes a note of uncertainty, to which reassurances are promptly given: "Mayest thou see the lord of the gods Amun on his beautiful Festival of the Valley, mayest thou follow him in the sanctuaries of the temples. And when thy name is invoked at the table of offerings every time the rite is performed, may thy Ba cry aloud so that it may be heard. (Thus) it shall not be kept back from the great place, and thou wilt partake of the offerings brought forward and drink water at the edge of the pool."⁹⁵

The theme of the pleasant sojourn under the sycamore tree is known

⁸⁹Pr.tw nī.

⁹⁰An identical passage occurs on a stela in Theban Tomb No. 88 (Hermann, Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie, p. 22*, line 11, to p. 23*, line 4).

⁹¹Ibid., p. 31*, lines 8-17.

⁹²The meaning is somewhat uncertain (see Wb. IV 290, 9).

⁹³Wnh ("be clad in") and wrh ("be anointed with") with direct objects (see Gardiner, Grammar, §84 A and p. 423).

⁹⁴For other representations of the Ba on top of the tomb see e.g. André Parrot, Le "Refrigerium" dans l'au-delà (Paris, 1937) p. 115, and Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1930), Pl. XXIX 1.

⁹⁵Hermann, Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie, p. 48*, lines 14-17.

from chapter 189 of the Book of the Dead:⁹⁶ "My abomination, my abomination, I will not eat it. My abomination is filth; I will not eat it, (that is,) filth. I will not be harmed by it,⁹⁷ it will not fall on my body, it will not approach my fingers, it will not touch my toes. 'Wherewith dost thou live in this place to which thou hast been brought?' they, the gods and the Akhs, say to me. I live on the seven loaves of bread brought to me, four loaves (which are) near Horus and three (which are) near Thoth.⁹⁸ 'Where art thou allowed to eat?' they, the gods and the Akhs, say to me. I eat under this sycamore tree⁹⁹ of Hathor, and I have given the remains thereof to her danseuses.¹⁰⁰ A field has been apportioned to me in Busiris and verdure in Heliopolis. I live on the bread of white wheat and on the beer of red barley. My family has been given to me, my father and my mother. O doorkeeper of the One-who-speaks-to-his-land,¹⁰¹ open to me that I may have space, make way for me¹⁰² that I may sit wherever I wish as a living Ba without being held back by mine enemies. My abomination is filth; I will not eat it, I do not tread upon the dirt¹⁰³ in Heliopolis: away from me. I am the bull¹⁰⁴ who commands (in) his place. I have flown¹⁰⁵ like a great one, I have shrieked like the smn-goose, I have alighted upon the beautiful sycamore which is in the midst of the Ageb-pool.¹⁰⁶ He who

⁹⁶ Quoted from papyrus of Nu (see Budge, Text I 160-64, where chapter 189 is numbered LII B).

⁹⁷ Nn hmḥw.ḥ ḥm.f; cf. BD 124, line 4, and 102, line 4, in papyrus of Nu (Budge, Text II 116 and 84) and Wb. III 281, 5.

⁹⁸ Cf. line 20 (Budge, Text I 163): "four loaves in the house of Horus and three in the house of Thoth."

⁹⁹ Cf. line 22 (ibid.): "under the branches of the djebati-nefert tree at the side of those who praise it."

¹⁰⁰ Rdi.n.ḥ spw.ḥ ḥm n ḥnywt.s (see Wb. III 288, 10).

¹⁰¹ ḥry ʿ3 n mdw t3.f with the seated-god determinative; mdw is used with direct object. The meaning of the phrase is unknown. CT VI 406 p reads mdw m t3.f.

¹⁰² Or "O doorkeeper . . . open to me, (open) wide to me, make way for me."

¹⁰³ Nn ḥm.kwḥ bss, another example in which the verb ḥm, here in the old perfective form with a transitive meaning, is construed with direct object. Cf. ḥm.k pt in CT II 93 b.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. BD 82, line 13 in papyrus of Nu (Budge, Text II 41).

¹⁰⁵ For an identical expression see BD 82, line 3 in papyrus of Yuiu (Budge, Text II 42); the parallel passage in the papyrus of Nu (ibid. p. 40) reads "I have flown like a falcon" instead of "like a great one." For ngg, "shriek," in a nature myth, said of the sun-god, with whom the deceased identifies himself, see BD 54, line 2, and 56, line 4, in papyrus of Nu and BD 59, line 3 in papyrus of Ani (ibid. I 166, 167, 170); see also Kees, Götterglaube, p. 309.

¹⁰⁶ 3gb, "waters," "inundation," personified as a divinity.

comes forth and alights on it will not tarry.¹⁰⁷ As for him who dwells under it, he is a great god."

Clearly expressed in these texts is the idea that the deceased lives a full life and that he does so through his Ba. The Ba, enjoying the shade of sycamore trees and the amenities of a cool pool in a garden, is not a part of a man, one of the constituent parts of a human composite, a "soul" or the like, but it is the man himself, as stressed in the words "that I may sit wherever I wish as a living Ba."¹⁰⁸ These words also reflect the idea that the Ba was conceived of as having freedom to move extensively.¹⁰⁹ In these texts, as in many other instances, the agent of the actions described is interchangeably the Ba or the deceased,¹¹⁰ thereby providing further evidence that the Ba was considered to represent the deceased himself (see also p. 113).

The expression "living Ba" (b3 ꜥnh), which occurs in some of these texts, calls for further study. It is encountered for the first time in the Pyramid Texts, in a context which is not too clear,¹¹¹ and is subsequently found in the Coffin Texts¹¹² as well as in the Book of the Dead and later mortuary texts.¹¹³ When occurring by itself, the phrase does not appear to have a specific meaning;¹¹⁴ the qualification "living" is probably in-

¹⁰⁷The text of the papyrus of Nu seems to be corrupt. We translate with CT III 130 i to 131 a, which reads: pr̄r ḥnn ḥr.s n wsf n.f. The papyrus of "Katseshni" (see Naville, Papyrus funéraires de la XXI^e dynastie II, Pl. XXXIV, line 6) instead of n wf3.n.f of the papyrus of Nu reads nn df3.n.f (Wb. V 569, df3, "einsinken," "versinken"), "he will not perish."

¹⁰⁸Cf. Pap. Ryerson, which says ". . . make way for me that I may sit wherever I will" (Allen, Book of the Dead, p. 132, BD 52). CT VI 406 s-t reads: ". . . that my Ka may sit wherever it wishes; my Ba lives, it is not held back."

¹⁰⁹Cf. papyrus of Ani, lines 18-19 of introductory hymn to Re (Budge, Text I 3): "May my Ba come forth and journey to any place it wishes."

¹¹⁰See also a passage in BD 124: "My Ba has built a stronghold in Mendes . . . I plow my fields in my forms" (Budge, Text II 116); cf. Pap. Ryerson (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XXXIII, col. xci 3).

¹¹¹Pyr. §1098 c: "I am the living Ba with bearded(?) face"; Sethe in Komm. IV 373 was thinking of an allusion to the later representation of the Ba with the body of a bird and the bearded face of a man.

¹¹²CT II 69 b: "I am the living Ba within his blood." CT II 107 e: "What you have done for yourselves, O gods, may you do likewise for this living Ba of mine." CT II 78 d: "May thy seed go for thee into thy living Ba." Wb I 412 gives none of these references.

¹¹³For references to the New Kingdom and later texts, see Belegstellen to Wb. I 412.

¹¹⁴Just as in other texts "living Akh" (3ḥ ꜥnh) has no specific meaning. Con-

tended to emphasize the vitality of the Ba, its "liveliness" as the agent of so many afterlife activities. That "living" is the imperfective active participle stresses the repeated and continuous activity of the Ba.

In a few passages of the Coffin Texts,¹¹⁵ the expression "living Ba" occurs in combination with the expression "dead Ba." Whatever the meaning of "living Ba," the expression "dead Ba" contradicts the very concept of the Ba. Even more true is this when it occurs in titles and rubrics which are supposed to assure the deceased of freedom of movement and—to make the paradox even greater—to protect him from a "second death."¹¹⁶ Thus, it seems likely that the expression "living and dead Ba" is an example of the figure of speech known as a universalism, consisting of two antonyms and thereby including everyone or everything. Such a figure of speech would be well used in rubrics which introduce spells whose mortuary benefits are intended for anyone whose name is inserted in the space provided.

The phrase "dead Ba," used in the Coffin Texts in combination with the expression "living Ba," is used independently in some later mortuary texts. The expression b3w mtw ("dead Bas") occurs in the papyrus of Herunefer, from the early 19th dynasty, where, in a hymn to Osiris, it is said: "Exultations are addressed to thee in thy name; libations are made to thy Ka and invocation offerings to the Akhs who are in thy cortege; water is poured on the bread offering on both sides of the dead Bas in this land; all the plans for thee are efficient as he (i.e., Re) has established¹¹⁷ them in the beginning."¹¹⁸

The destiny of the "dead Bas in this land," that is, in the nether world, is described in more detail in the Book of the Day and the Night, the Book of the Caverns, and the Book of the Gates.¹¹⁹ According to these descrip-

trary to Otto's statement in ZAS LXXVII 79, we find that the expression 3h ʿnh does occur, as may be seen in Pyr. §318 c, CT II 66 b and 94 f, BD 65, lines 8-9 in papyrus of Nu (Budge, Text II 2).

¹¹⁵ E.g. CT II 289 e, 291 m, 373 c, 311 g.

¹¹⁶ See e.g. CT II 291 l-m, V 175 a, VI 415 h and p-q; for "second death" see also BD 44 and p. 155 below.

¹¹⁷ Nt as verb (cf. Wb. II 355, 14, and Gardiner in JEA XXXIX 20).

¹¹⁸ BD 183, lines 19-24 in papyrus of Herunefer (Budge, Text III 106-7). For date of papyrus see BM Cat. p. 1.

¹¹⁹ See Piankoff, Le livre du jour et de la nuit, pp. 66-67; "Le livre des quererts," BIFAO XLII 25-28 and 62, Pls. XXXIII-XXXVII and LXXIV-LXXV; Le livre des portes II 212-21. See also Piankoff and Rambova, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, pp. 73-76, 100, and 195, Pls. 17-21, 25-26, and 54-56.

tions, the "dead Bas" are the Bas of the enemies of Re and Osiris, the damned ones, whose tortured and mutilated corpses, Shadows, and Bas are turned upside down in the Place of Destruction. They are the punished ones, whose Bas are destroyed, "who have no Bas." They are confined to darkness; their Bas never come forth to see Re when he passes through the nether world and is greeted by the gods and the happy dead. These happy dead also live in the nether world but apart from the damned and under different conditions.

The Ba in Pictorial Representations

Our interpretation of the Egyptian concept of man as a monistic one is confirmed by the vignettes and other representations of the New Kingdom. Here, as in the texts (see p. 141), we see the interchange of the individual and his Ba as the agent of various actions.

The vignette of chapter 59 in the papyrus of Ani shows Ani kneeling beside a pool of water wherein grows a sycamore tree; in the tree is the goddess Nut, who with one hand pours water for Ani from a hst-vessel and with the other gives him food. The accompanying text reads: "O thou sycamore tree of Nut, mayest thou grant me water and the air which is in thee." Similar representations of the deceased refreshing himself with water poured by a hand (of the goddess) emerging from a sycamore tree can be seen in vignettes of chapters 57 and 59 and of chapters 63A and 91.¹²⁰ A slight variation on this theme occurs in the vignette of chapter 152 which represents a goddess(?) kneeling before the deceased and pouring water for him with one hand and giving him a table of offerings with the other. The closing lines of the accompanying text read: "O thou sycamore of Nut, refresh the Foremost of the Westerners."¹²¹ Place thy hands upon his limbs, protect him from the heat. Let Osiris N. cool off under the foliage which brings (lit. 'gives') the northern breeze to the Weary-of-Heart in his dwelling of eternity."¹²² In this same vein, the vignette of chapter 58 in the papyrus of Ani shows Ani and his wife standing in a pool and scooping up water to their mouths.

¹²⁰For chapters 57 and 59 see Pap. Turin, Pls. XXII and XXIII. For chapters 63 A and 91 see Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pls. LXXIII P.d. and CIII P.e.; part of the vignette of chapter 91 is destroyed, but there is little doubt that when complete it showed a libation scene.

¹²¹As usual, the text initially referred to Osiris, with whom the deceased is being identified.

¹²²See Pap. Turin, Pl. LXXIV

With these vignettes, which represent the individual deceased as the subject of the posthumous blessings, we compare scenes which introduce the Ba of the individual as the subject upon whom the amenities of the future life are being bestowed. There are, for example, representations of the goddess Hathor libating from a sycamore tree to the Ba of the deceased. One such scene appears on a chest for ushabtis,¹²³ and in a Theban tomb a similar scene is accompanied by the legend "may the Ba of N. sit, drink water, and refresh itself."¹²⁴

The most significant examples, however, are scenes in which both the deceased and his Ba are represented as the agents of the actions and the partakers of the benefits of the happy afterlife. Thus in a relief in the tomb of the "prophet of Amun Tjanefer" we see the Ba¹²⁵ of the deceased receiving into its hands water which is being poured from a sycamore tree while the deceased himself is drinking water from a pool above which, among palm trees, his Ba is fluttering. To the left of the scene a harpist sings a song which is engraved before him, and to the right Tjanefer, seated upon a platform, listens to the singer.¹²⁶

Situlae in the Louvre¹²⁷ provide excellent examples of the same theme. One shows the goddess Nut in a sycamore tree, pouring water from hst-vessels; at her right the deceased receives water in his hands; at the left, his Ba, perched on the top of the tomb, is depicted in the same position receiving refreshing water from Nut. This scene is represented with almost identical features on another situla.¹²⁸

Another example is a truly charming painting, rich in color and delicate in expression, in the tomb of the priest Userhet. It shows the priest, his wife, and his mother seated on magnificent thrones. The scene is

¹²³ See Musée nationale du Louvre, Département des antiquités égyptiennes, Guide-catalogue sommaire, par Charles Boreux (Paris, 1932) II 326.

¹²⁴ See Jean François Champollion, Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives conformés aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux I (Paris, 1844) 848.

¹²⁵ Represented in the form of a human-headed bird, as was usual beginning with the 18th dynasty.

¹²⁶ See Georg Steindorff and Walther Wolf, Thebanische Gräberwelt (Glückstadt und Hamburg, 1936) Pl. 13 a; A. Varille, "Trois nouveaux chants de harpistes," BIFAO XXXV (1935) 154-57 and Pls. I-II; Keith C. Seele, The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes (OIP LXXXVI [1959]) Pls. 11 and 15.

¹²⁷ See Boreux, Guide-catalogue sommaire II 392.

¹²⁸ For illustrations of the two scenes see Parrot, Le "Refrigerium" dans l'au-delà, pp. 115 and 119 respectively.

framed by a great sycamore fig tree. A goddess pours water from a hst-vessel into cups held by the three figures and offers the priest fruits and cakes surmounted by flowers. Two little human-headed Bas flutter above the two women, and two human-headed Bas exhibiting the facial features and headdresses of Userhet and his wife are perched at the edge of a pool and are drinking from it.¹²⁹ The same theme is represented on two limestone bas-reliefs. In one scene both the deceased and his wife and their Bas partake of food offerings and water poured by Nut emerging from a combined sycamore and palm tree, while in the other the deceased and his wife look on as their Bas drink from a pool at the foot of a sycamore tree.¹³⁰

From the late period we wish to mention the bilingual Stela of the Phoenician,¹³¹ representing on the left the deceased sitting in front of an offering-table and on the right the goddess Nut pouring water into the hands of his Ba and saying: "May thy Ba live in heaven before Re, may thy body be sound in the Duat before Osiris." Further examples are provided by offering-tables and stelae of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods showing the deceased persons and their Bas receiving water or other offerings from the goddess Nut.¹³²

A somewhat unusual representation of the Ba in a vignette of the papyrus of Nebked calls for comment. Here the Ba is shown flying down the shaft of the tomb carrying food and drink to the mummified body,¹³³ while above the mummy the deceased is depicted "coming forth by day" and contemplating the rising sun (Pl. 5).¹³⁴ We have seen that the Ba was closely associated with the corpse and that it received food offerings and

¹²⁹ See Norman de Garis Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes, Pl. I; K. Lange and M. Hirmer, Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting (London, 1956) Pl. 205, which shows the scene before the eyes of Userhet's mother and wife had been damaged.

¹³⁰ See Ludwig Keimer in ASAE XXIX (1929) 81-88 and Pls. I-II.

¹³¹ See Ludwig Stern in ZAS XXII (1884) 101-9; Heinrich Schäfer in ZAS XL (1902) 31-35 and Pl. I; H. Brunner, Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie (Wiesbaden, 1965) Pl. 26.

¹³² E.g. Ahmed Bey Kamal, Tables d'offrandes II ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire" XLVII [Le Caire, 1906]) Pl. XLII 23165. Other offering-tables show either the deceased persons or their Bas (see e.g. ibid. Pls. XLI and XLIII-XLIV and Jean Capart, Recueil de monuments égyptiens [Bruxelles, 1902] Pl. XLVIII).

¹³³ Cf. the inscription of Paheri in Urk. IV 113, line 12, and see p. 156 below.

¹³⁴ Théodule Devéria and Paul Pierret, Le papyrus de Neb-qed (Paris, 1872) Pl. III; incompletely reproduced in Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pl. IV P.e.

water either alone or in company with the deceased. In this vignette, however, the Ba brings food and drink to the mummified body of the deceased. The scene need not be interpreted as indicating that the Ba as a "spiritual" element revived the dead body, causing it to rise from the dead and "come forth by day."¹³⁵ The very fact that the Ba is carrying food and drink to the body indicates that the body is alive and capable of eating and drinking. The body has been prepared to perform these functions through the ceremony of the "opening of the mouth," which is represented as taking place in front of the tomb and above the shaft down which the Ba is flying. It is by virtue of this ritual that the deceased is able to "come forth by day" and, as the text of chapter 117 of the Book of the Dead written above the deceased, who is contemplating the rising sun, states, that he can walk, stand, sit, speak in the presence of the great god, the lord of the West. Therefore, the vignettes in the Book of the Dead and the reliefs in temples of the late period that show the Ba-bird hovering over the body, resting on it, flying down the shaft to join it, as well as the spell for causing a man's Ba to join his corpse,¹³⁶ are not to be explained in dualistic terms as indicating the return of the "spiritual" or "immaterial" element into the body to revivify the rigid, lifeless corpse but rather as providing the already ritually revived dead with one of the forms through which he can best attain fullness of freedom and movement in his after-death existence. In this connection it is instructive to note that in some papyri of the Book of the Dead a vignette showing the Ba hovering over the body is added to chapter 85,¹³⁷ "spell for assuming the form of a Ba." This scene ordinarily accompanies chapter 89, "spell for causing the Ba to join the corpse."

What transpires from these representations is not only that the Ba and the corpse are interdependent but also that the Ba is an entity separate, as it were, from the deceased, as best seen in the vignette accompanying chapter 125 in the papyrus of Ani. Here, both Ani and his Ba appear next to the scale in which Ani's heart is being weighed against the symbol of the goddess Maat. The Ba's role in this judgment scene is described in the words of the god Thoth: "I have examined the heart of Osi-

¹³⁵ Apparently so interpreted by Paul Ghalioungui, Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt (London, 1963) legend of Pl. XV.

¹³⁶ BD 89 title (see Budge, Text II 50); cf. BD 191 title (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. L, col. clviii 1).

¹³⁷ Thus Pap. Ryerson (see Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XXVI).

ris (Ani) while his Ba stood as a witness for him.¹³⁸ Ani's Ba therefore at the same time both represents him and is an entity separate from him. This idea is also expressed in a text sometimes appended to the end of chapter 1: "She (i.e., the deceased) has been confronted with her Ba, and it has been found that her conversation upon earth was sound."¹³⁹

The interdependence of the Ba and the deceased is also illustrated by vignettes and a few reliefs showing the Ba perched on the hand or arm of the deceased. Such are the vignette which in the papyrus of Ani accompanies chapter 61 ("spell for not letting a man's Ba be taken away from him in the underworld")¹⁴⁰ and the reliefs on a New Kingdom stela in Berlin (Pl. 4) and a Ptolemaic stela in Cairo.¹⁴¹

In all of these representations the Ba has the form of a human-headed bird,¹⁴² which brings to mind the description of hybrid creatures on the astronomical ceiling in the cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos¹⁴³ and in Papyrus Carlsberg I.¹⁴⁴ The text on the ceiling reads: "These birds, whose faces are like those of men and whose nature is like that of birds, one of them speaks to the other¹⁴⁵ with words of weeping. When they come to eat herbage and to feed on plants¹⁴⁶ in Egypt, they alight in the bright-

¹³⁸ Cf. Joachim Spiegel, Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion (Glückstadt und Hamburg, 1935) p. 66.

¹³⁹ See BM Cat. pp. 19 and 33.

¹⁴⁰ See Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum (2d ed.) Pl. 15; for a similar vignette in chapter 61 of another papyrus see Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pl. LXXII P.d.

¹⁴¹ Ahmed Bey Kamal, Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines II ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire" XXI [Le Caire, 1904]) Pl. XXXVIII 22136.

¹⁴² See n. 125 on p. 144.

¹⁴³ See Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I 73 and II, Pl. LXXXI.

¹⁴⁴ See H. O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, Papyrus Carlsberg No. I (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, "Historisk-filologiske Skrifter" I 2 [København, 1940]) pp. 40 and 16*, Pl. IV, lines 17-22.

¹⁴⁵ We understand wm . . . w^c im mdw.f as a wm.f sdm.f form expressing repeated or habitual action (see Gardiner, Grammar, §473, 2), with the descriptive phrase nn 3pdw hrw.sn m rmt kdw.sn m 3pdw parenthetically inserted.

¹⁴⁶ Our translation differs somewhat from that of Frankfort ("to eat vegetables and green stuff"); both versions, that of Sety's cenotaph and that of the papyrus, clearly describe two actions expressed by two verbs: r wnm smw r sdf3 33 (Papyrus Carlsberg I recto iv 20 being damaged). For the meaning of 33 (written without the determinative in Sety's version and damaged in the papyrus) see Wb. IV 400, 11-12; the intransitive meaning of sdf3 is not recorded in Wb., but the word is understood as intransitive by Lange and Neugebauer also ("um sich zu ernähren";

ness of the sky,¹⁴⁷ and then they change into the nature of birds."¹⁴⁸

These human-faced creatures have been considered "souls of the dead."¹⁴⁹ In the lower of two small oval inclosures sculptured beneath this text on the ceiling of Sety's cenotaph, were drawn three birds which were apparently intended to illustrate the text. One of these birds is still fully visible but does not have the face of a man. It is quite possible that in designing the birds the scribe was under the influence of the hieroglyphic script, as Frankfort observed, or that in describing the birds he was influenced by his reminiscence of the human-headed Ba-bird which so frequently appears in vignettes of the Book of the Dead and in tomb paintings. Perhaps it can also be said that the "words of weeping" with which the birds described in the text speak to one another echo expressions from the Book of Amduat.¹⁵⁰ It is also possible that in describing the birds the scribe thought of birds migrating in the autumn from the north to Egypt as coming from the "other world," an opinion ascribed to the Egyptians by Volten.¹⁵¹

Rather than considering the birds described in the text as "souls of the dead," we prefer to view them as glorified dead who have attained the status of celestial or cosmic deities and are thus aptly represented as witnesses of the daily rebirth of the sun from the goddess Nut. They apparently play the role of protective or guardian deities, as the demotic gloss of Papyrus Carlsberg I¹⁵² seems to indicate. In connection with this interpretation, it is instructive to compare a representation in the Greenfield papyrus which shows Princess Nestanebtashru of the 21st dynasty,

see their p. 40, line 20). For Bas being led to pastures and eating herbage, see the upper register of the eighth division of the Book of the Gates, where twelve gods lead nine Bas, whose arms are raised in a gesture of adoration, and the legend above the twelve gods reads: "They are those who lead the Bas to pastures in the Island of Flame." In the accompanying text Re exhorts the twelve gods to provide the Bas with bread and herbage (see Piankoff, Le livre des portes II 195-209; Piankoff and Rambova, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, pp. 192-93 and Pls. 54-56).

¹⁴⁷ Lit. "under the brightness of the sky."

¹⁴⁸ Hpr.ḥr.sn m ḳdw ʒpdw (cf. Gardiner, Grammar, §431, 2).

¹⁴⁹ H. Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion (New York, 1948) p. 97; Lange and Neugebauer, Papyrus Carlsberg No. I, p. 41; Aksel Volten in Le fonti indirette della storia egiziana, ed. Sergio Donadoni ("Studi Semitici" VII [Roma, 1963]) pp. 91-92.

¹⁵⁰ See p. 121.

¹⁵¹ In Le fonti indirette della storia egiziana, p. 92.

¹⁵² See Lange and Neugebauer, Papyrus Carlsberg No. I, pp. 40-41 and 17* (recto iv 32).

for whom the papyrus was made, not only in her true physical form but also in the form of a human-headed Ba-bird in the company of cosmic deities worshipping the invisible sun-god at his daily rebirth in the firmament, which is represented by the outstretched body of the celestial goddess Nut.¹⁵³

The Egyptian Concept of the Corpse in the Afterlife

We have seen (pp. 106-10) that a properly functioning relationship between the corpse and the Ba was an indispensable prerequisite for a happy afterlife. In order to effect the proper functioning of this relationship, the body itself had to be prepared and equipped for its role. A distinct phraseology was developed for the purpose of securing the soundness of the body for its independent existence and, one assumes, for participation in its relationship with the Ba. Invocations were made that the body might be "vigorous" or "flourishing" (rwd), "firm" or "established" (mn), "stable" or "enduring" (dd, w3h), "whole," "sound," or "prosperous" (wd3).¹⁵⁴ The same idea was expressed in a negative way in assurances given to the deceased that his body (as well as his Ba) would not perish or be destroyed (sbi, htm, ski).¹⁵⁵ The deceased lived in his Ba and through his Ba but was equally alive and efficient in his corpse or body, as described in detail in chapter 68 of the Book of the Dead:¹⁵⁶ "I come forth by day to any place where I may wish to be. I have gained power over my heart, I have gained power over my breast, I have gained power over my hands, I have gained power over my feet, I have gained power over my mouth, I have gained power over all limbs of mine, . . . I lift myself up on my left side, I place myself on my right side. I lift myself up on my right side, I place myself (on my left side).¹⁵⁷ I sit down, I stand up. I shake off my dust (from) my tongue and my mouth, (I am) in excellent condition."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³See E. A. Wallis Budge, The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum (London, 1912) Pls. CV-CVII.

¹⁵⁴For references see Belegstellen to Wb. and Hermann, Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie, pp. 47*, 17, 48*, 9-10. Florence stela No. 2576 (unpublished) reads: nh b3.k rwd mtw.k wb3 hr.k m w3t kkw, "thy Ba lives, thy vessels are vigorous, thou art enlightened on the way of darkness."

¹⁵⁵For references see Belegstellen to Wb.

¹⁵⁶Lines 4-6 and 14-16 in papyrus of Nu (Budge, Text II 5-7).

¹⁵⁷For this expression see CT III 247 d to 248 b and cf. Pyr. §1878 c.

¹⁵⁸Or "I shake off my dust; my tongue and my mouth (are) as (those) of an ex-

Special spells were provided to enable the deceased to achieve this physical fitness. Thus the title of chapter 178 reads: "Spell for raising up the corpse, for becoming powerful of eyes and ears, for making firm the head, for becoming sharp of face through its protection."¹⁵⁹ Chapter 74 is entitled "spell for opening¹⁶⁰ the feet and coming forth from the earth."

Chapters 21 and 22 of the Book of the Dead and Spell 351 of the Coffin Texts contain spells "for giving a mouth" to the deceased in order that he may "speak with it before the great god, the lord of the underworld."¹⁶¹ The vignette accompanying chapter 22 in the papyrus of Nebseny represents the "guardian of the balance" (ỉry mh3t) with his right hand stretched out touching the mouth of Nebseny, who stands before him.¹⁶² This vignette illustrates the ritual which was originally performed while the spell for giving a mouth was being recited. Chapter 26 expresses the effect of the recitation of the spell: "I have my mouth to speak with, my legs to walk with, my arms to overthrow mine enemies."¹⁶³ The ceremony of the "opening of the mouth" is referred to in the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts¹⁶⁴ and is very well known from the Theban tombs¹⁶⁵ and other mortuary texts.¹⁶⁶ In chapter 23 of the Book of the Dead it is often accompanied by vignettes which depict the ceremony being performed on the deceased. The text mentions various gods who open and loosen the mouth of the deceased, making him physically fit and endowing him with the faculties of a living being: "My mouth has been opened by Ptah, the bond of my mouth has been loosed by Amun. . . . I sit at the starboard side, great one of the sky. My mouth (is that of) Osiris presiding over the Westerners. I am Orion, the great one dwelling among the Bas of Heliopolis."¹⁶⁷

pert leader." For the expression "shake off dust" see CT III 248 e and cf. Pyr. §§654 d, 1067 a, 1878 b.

¹⁵⁹From papyrus of Nebseny (Budge, Text III 81); cf. chapter 177: "spell for raising up the Akh and making the Ba live in the necropolis (ibid. p. 80).

¹⁶⁰Thus Pap. Ryerson (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XXIV) and Pap. Turin, Pl. XXVII; "hastening" in earlier versions such as the papyri of Nu, Ani, etc.

¹⁶¹BD 22, line 4 in papyrus of Ani (Budge, Text I 119).

¹⁶²See Naville, Todtenbuch I, Pl. XXXIII A.a.

¹⁶³BD 26, lines 3-4 in papyrus of Ani (Budge, Text I 122).

¹⁶⁴See Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual II 4-8.

¹⁶⁵See Hermann, Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie, pp. 78 and 98-99, Pl. I d; Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē^c at Thebes (New York, 1943) II, Pl. CV.

¹⁶⁶See Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual II 8-33 and 173-83.

¹⁶⁷Pap. Ryerson (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. XVII, col. xiii 4-19).

Without these ceremonies and ritual recitations, the body would not be in condition to participate in a relationship with the Ba and thus neither the Ba nor the body would be able to perform its proper functions, functions which were essential for a happy afterlife. On the other hand, those who were made ritually effective were assured of the fullness of life in the next world. These fortunate ones were made as fit and real as they had been on earth: "O scribe Nebseny, thy form is (the form) in which thou wast upon earth. Thou art living and rejuvenating thyself every day. Thou art instructed and thou seest the lord of the horizon when he gives bread to the scribe Nebseny, in his hour and his time of the night."¹⁶⁸ And in another text we read: "Welcome¹⁶⁹ in thy nature of thy strength, in thy youthful vigor in which thou wast."¹⁷⁰

Thus in the Egyptian mortuary religion, the body was as vital and indispensable as the Ba and other agents of existence in the afterlife. Both it and the Ba could even be "made divine" or deified, thereby perhaps being given greater assurance that their functions necessary for a happy afterlife would be performed.

Examples of the deification of men of outstanding abilities and achievements are well known in Egyptian history. Such were, for example, Imhotep, Issi, and Amenhotep son of Hapu, who in inscriptions are sometimes referred to as "gods" and who came to be worshiped as patron saints, so to speak, as were the divinized heroes of ancient Greece.¹⁷¹

In the mortuary texts proper, references to the deification of non-royal persons do not occur before the New Kingdom. In the Coffin Texts a passage in which the goddess of the West exhorts the deceased "mayest thou make thyself a god¹⁷² in the following of the Bull of the West" is a rare instance and of doubtful meaning. As Otto observes,¹⁷³ the expres-

¹⁶⁸BD 178, lines 26-27 in papyrus of Nebseny (Budge, Text III 85); see also Hermann, Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie, p. 47*, line 17.

¹⁶⁹ḥ.ti, exclamatory use of old perfective second person.

¹⁷⁰Urk. IV 497, line 10. Var. in Urk. IV 1219, lines 13-14: "Welcome in the youthful vigor of thy strength, in thy nature in which thou wast."

¹⁷¹On similarities and dissimilarities between Egyptian and Greek deification see Sethe in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings, VI (New York, 1914) 647-52 and Otto in ZAS LXXVIII (1942) 28-40. For a summary discussion of deification in ancient Egypt, see Alexandre Badawy in Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne V (1953) 273-89.

¹⁷²CT I 110 c: ḥr.k tw m ntr.

¹⁷³MDAIK XV (1957) 195.

sion probably is no more than an invitation to join the gods in the company of Osiris. Nor is a true deification expressed in the words of the man weary of life with his Ba: "Verily, he who is yonder will be a living god."¹⁷⁴ He most likely is alluding to the happy state which he hopes to attain in death in contrast to the miseries which he has been experiencing in life. Another case in which a true deification is probably not intended¹⁷⁵ is found in chapter 189 of the Book of the Dead, which describes the deceased as alighting upon the sycamore tree of Hathor and dwelling under it like a "great god" (see p. 141). It seems that this last phrase simply expresses the wish that the deceased may enjoy himself "divinely," and it reminds us of a line of Aeschylus which states that being prosperous for mortal men means being "god."¹⁷⁶

There are, however, texts which appear to refer to a truly deified deceased. Such are inscriptions in the tombs of Amenemhet and Neferhotep. In Amenemhet's tomb we read: ". . .making a (goodly) burial for the scribe who reckons the grain, Amenemhet, justified; causing the god to ascend into this horizon, conducting him to the shaft of the necropolis in peace, in peace, beside the great god."¹⁷⁷ The reference to the deified deceased in this text is reminiscent of descriptions of the ascension of the king to heaven.¹⁷⁸ In a tomb inscription of the "divine father of Amun" Neferhotep, a harpist invites the nobles and the gods of the West to hear homage rendered to the "excellent Ba" of Neferhotep, for he is "a god living forever, exalted in the West."¹⁷⁹ In even more emphatic terms is the deceased Ankhnesneferibre of the 26th dynasty referred to as deified: "She is the sole god, without his equal."¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴See Faulkner in JEA XLII 30. The same can be said of a passage from the Instruction for King Merikare: "As for him who reaches it (i.e., eternity) without wrongdoing, he shall exist yonder like a god, stepping out freely like the lords of eternity (see Wilson in ANET, p. 415).

¹⁷⁵The same can be said of the rubric of chapter 136 of the Book of the Dead, which states that if a certain ritual is performed the deceased "shall be a holy god" or "be like a god" (see Budge, Text II 184).

¹⁷⁶Choephori, line 60. Cf. a passage from the Instruction for King Merikare: "They who follow the king are gods" (see Wilson in ANET, p. 418).

¹⁷⁷See Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhēt, p. 49 and Pl. XI.

¹⁷⁸See p. 73.

¹⁷⁹See Gardiner in Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology XXXV (1913) 166.

¹⁸⁰See C. E. Sander-Hansen, Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre (Kopenhagen, 1937) pp. 137-38.

There are passages referring to deification of a more particular nature, in which the deification of both the corpse and the Ba is explicitly mentioned. This deification is expressed by the use of the adjective-verb ntr, "be divine," and its causative sntr, "make divine." In an inscription in the tomb of Haemhet, the owner prays to Amun: "Mayest thou let me come out of the necropolis by day that I may take part daily at thy table of offerings. Mayest thou make efficient (s3h.k) my mummy, and may my Ba become divine. May I follow Onnophris the Thinite and may I be rejuvenated, may my Ka be vigorous in the West, may I join the Akhs, may my corpse become divine, may I be united with the Ennead of the West."¹⁸¹ One of the better-known references to the deification of the corpse and the Ba occurs in the 10th-century decree of Amun-Re which pertains to Princess Neskons: "Amon-Re, the king of the gods, the great god, the eldest who first came into existence, says: 'I will deify Neskons, this daughter of Tahenu-Djehuty, in the West; I will deify her in the necropolis. I will cause her to receive the water of the West; I will cause her to receive food offerings in the necropolis. I will deify her Ba and her corpse in the necropolis; I will not allow her Ba ever to be destroyed in the necropolis. I will deify her in the necropolis like any god and any goddess who is divine, like any being and any thing which is divine in the necropolis.'¹⁸²

Some texts mention only the Ba as the subject of deification. Thus, in the tomb of Paheri we read: "Thy Ba shall not depart from thy corpse, thy Ba shall become divine with the Akhs."¹⁸³ And other 18th-dynasty inscriptions say: "Thy Ba will become divine with the god."¹⁸⁴ The idea of

¹⁸¹ Urk. IV 1843, lines 7-13.

¹⁸² See Battiscombe Gunn and I. E. S. Edwards in JEA XLI (1955) 100, lines 14-19, and p. 84 for Gunn's translation; the word b3 is translated "soul" throughout the text (see p. 88, §II 3).

¹⁸³ Urk. IV 114, lines 2-3.

¹⁸⁴ Urk. IV 1538, line 16; Hermann, Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie, p. 43*, line 5. For further New Kingdom references to the deification of the Ba see Grapow in ZAS LXXVII 64-67. Grapow (ibid., p. 69) aptly points out that in some of these references the deceased himself, and in others his Ba, is the subject of the expected benefits of the afterlife. This interchange of the Ba and the deceased once more indicates that the Ba is not the "soul" of the deceased but fully represents the deceased himself. However, Grapow's statement (ibid., p. 72) that the Ba and the Akh are one and the same ("beide Seelenformen sind im neuen Reich eine und dieselbe") is incorrect, and the example which he quotes (3h n.k b3.k, "verklärt werde dir deine b3-Seele") does not prove it. Drioton and Vandier, L'Égypte (4th ed.) p. 121, repeat the same idea: ". . . et l'akh la même âme quand elle était glorifiée par les rites." The deceased is said to be or become a Ba and an Akh and to aspire to other states or modes of existence, but these modes of ex-

the deification of the Ba continued into the late period. We find it expressed, for example, in the Book of Breathings: "They (i.e., the gods) receive thy Ba in the nšmt-bark with Osiris, they deify thy Ba in the house of Geb."¹⁸⁵ And in the same book we read: "Wepwawet opens for thee a good way; thou seest with thine eyes, hearest with thine ears, speakest with thy mouth, walkest with thy legs. Thy Ba is divinized in the Duat to make all transformations according as thou desirest."¹⁸⁶

An interesting reference to revivification is contained in chapter 178 of the papyrus of Nebseny (lines 32-33): "O Nebseny, Nut has spread herself over thee in her name She-of-Shetet-Pet; she causes thee to be a follower of the great god and without thine enemies."¹⁸⁷ She delivers thee from all evil things in her name Henmet-Weret.¹⁸⁸ Thou

istence certainly differ from one another with respect to their origin and the main functions attributed to them. In BD 79 the deceased emphatically states: "I am become pure, divine, an Akh, powerful, and a Ba" (see Budge, Text II 35; see also CT IV 60 l). See also BD 191 in Pap. Ryerson, where it is said that the offerings are made to the "Ka, body, Ba, Shadow, and mummy" of the deceased (Allen, Book of the Dead, Pl. L, col. clviii 4). It is clear that the texts differentiate between these various modes of existence after death. The deceased may be or become a Ba and an Akh, but the Ba is not the Akh or vice versa; the multiple forms in which the dead manifests himself remain distinct at all times. The example which Grapow quotes (3h n.k b3.k) is to be translated "efficient is (or 'has been made') for thee thy Ba." And, although the deceased as an Akh can be said to be an efficient being, the example quoted by Grapow is not to be understood as equating the Akh and the Ba. An instructive passage is found in BD 127: "O doorkeepers who guard your gates, who swallow the Bas and devour the corpses . . . who make righteous the Ba of every beneficent Akh . . . may ye open for him the gates" (see Budge, Text II 157-58). The phrase b3 n 3h mn3, "the Ba of a beneficent Akh," occurs twice in BD 127. From this text, which aptly plays with the words Ba and Akh, it transpires that the deceased, who through funerary rites has been made a beneficent Akh, manifests himself as a Ba; the various forms of existence after death, although attributed to one person, remain distinct.

¹⁸⁵ A. Pellegrini, Il libro della respirazione: Papiro funerario jeratico del Museo egizio di Firenze (reprinted from Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, XIII [Roma, 1904] 87-104) pp. 7-8, I 14-15; Pap. Gr-Šr I 9-10 (Budge, Text III 134); see also S. Morenz in ZAS LXXXIV 135-36.

¹⁸⁶ Pellegrini, Il libro della respirazione, p. 9, II 3-5; for another example see Pellegrini, Il libro secondo della respirazione, p. 33, IV 1, and Budge, Text III 148, IV 1. For references to the deification of the Ba in the ritual of embalmment see Sauneron, Le rituel de l'embaumement, pp. 18, line 6, 21, line 1, 28, line 7, and Morenz in ZAS LXXXIV 136.

¹⁸⁷ This passage was adapted by the redactor of the Book of the Dead from Pyr. §638 a-b, which reads: "Thy mother Nut has spread herself over thee in her name of Shetet-Pet; she has caused thee to be a god, without an enemy, in thy name of god." For Št(t)-Pt meaning "Wadi Natrun" see Komm. III 87.

¹⁸⁸ "Great Sieve" is a figurative expression for the sky, thought to be equipped with holes through which the stars looked and the rain fell (see Komm. III 186).

art¹⁸⁹ the greatest among her children." The mythological revivification of Osiris by the goddess Nut, known from the Pyramid Texts,¹⁹⁰ is here applied to the deceased Nebseny, the gesture of "spreading over" the body of the deceased indicating the act of revivification. Other texts, especially those of the later period, speak of "making to live," "animating" (*s'nh*), the corpse,¹⁹¹ just as they speak of animating the Ba,¹⁹² the Akh,¹⁹³ the heart,¹⁹⁴ the Ka,¹⁹⁵ and the Shadow.¹⁹⁶

Thus it can be said that the Egyptian believed that the corpse could be revivified, a belief which was undoubtedly based upon a ritual identification with the revivification of Osiris. If in its transit from the temporal existence the body was ritually revivified, the Egyptian knew no final death. Should this restoration of the body fail to be achieved, the body would remain an inanimate corpse and would suffer the fatal "second death." A special spell, chapter 44 of the Book of the Dead, was provided to save the deceased from this final destruction.¹⁹⁷ A passage in the Coffin Texts reads: "I am risen as king of the gods and I shall not die again."¹⁹⁸

¹⁸⁹ *Twt wr*, the archaic form of the independent pronoun as subject in a sentence with adjectival predicate.

¹⁹⁰ *Pyr.* §§580 c, 638, 777, 825, 827-28, 1607-8; cf. §§834 b to 835 c. See Adolf Rusch, *Die Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut zu einer Totengottheit* ("Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft" XXVII 1 [Leipzig, 1922]) pp. 1-14; see also Rusch in *ZAS* LX (1925) 36-37.

¹⁹¹ See Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II*, Pl. XXIV, line 31, and I 38; Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris II* 24 and 32.

¹⁹² BD 130, line 1 in papyrus of Nu, and BD 177, line 1 in papyrus of Nebseny (Budge, *Text II* 164 and III 80); Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris II* 28 and 70; *The Book of Breathings: Pap. Gr-Šr II 1* (Budge, *Text III* 135) and Pellegrini, *Il libro della respirazione*, p. 11, II 11; Möller, *Die beiden Papyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg*, p. 51 (xi 5).

¹⁹³ Rubric of BD 144 in papyrus of Nu (Budge, *Text II* 223).

¹⁹⁴ BD 183, line 45 in papyrus of Herunefer (*s'nh ꜥb*), and BD 182, lines 6-7 in papyrus of Muthotep (*s'nh hꜥty*); see Budge, *Text III* 109 and 102.

¹⁹⁵ *The Book of Breathings: Pap. Gr-Šr II 12* (Budge, *Text III* 138); Pellegrini, *Il libro della respirazione*, p. 13, III 1.

¹⁹⁶ See Bergmann, "Der Sarkophag des Panehemisis," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 1882, p. 23.

¹⁹⁷ "Spell for not dying a second time in the necropolis"; cf. *CT II* 291 l-m, V 175 a, VI 415 h and p-q (= VII 1 h and p-q). Cf. also Alan H. Gardiner, *The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death & the Dead* (Cambridge, 1935) pp. 29-30.

¹⁹⁸ *CT VI* 415 p-q (= VII 1 p-q); cf. Pap. Ryerson (Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 129, BD 44b).

Primitive man never considered death a natural or normal event. The Egyptian of the mortuary literature denied the sting of death and continued to live not because he believed in the existence of an "immortal soul," a thought which could appeal to the Greek mind but could not satisfy the aspirations of the man on the Nile, but because all of his faculties, physical as well as psychic, continued to exist; he lived eternally as a man, in the fullest meaning of the word.

It would be difficult to find a text which would better indicate that the deceased enjoyed the afterlife both as a Ba and as a revived body, or, indeed, as any form he might assume, than does a well-known inscription in the tomb of Paheri: "(Thou shalt) transform into a living Ba and truly it will have power over bread, water, and air; (thou shalt) make transformation into a phoenix, a swallow, a falcon, a heron, as thou pleasest. Thou shalt cross in the ferry boat without being turned back. Thou shalt sail on the waters of the flood and thy life shall begin anew. Thy Ba shall not depart from thy corpse, thy Ba shall be divine with the Akhs. The excellent Bas shall speak to thee; thou shalt be equal amongst (them) in receiving what is given upon earth. Thou shalt have power over water, breathe air, and drink according to the wish of thy heart. Thine eyes shall be given to thee to see, thine ears to hear what is said, thy mouth speaking, thy feet walking. Thine arms and thy shoulders shall move for thee, thy flesh shall be firm and thy muscles shall be strong and thou shalt have enjoyment of all thy limbs. Thou shalt examine thy body (which will be) whole and sound, without any evil whatsoever being attached to thee. Thy heart will be truly with thee, thy former heart will belong to thee. Thou shalt go forth to heaven, thou shalt penetrate the underworld in any form that thou pleasest."¹⁹⁹

The Ba in the Amarna Texts

As noted above (p. 125), the idea of the Ba became so well established in the mortuary religion that not even the revolutionary reform of Amarna dared to challenge it. The concept of the Ba as the alter ego of the deceased, a form or mode of existence which an individual assumes at death and by means of which he continues to live, is reflected in the Amarna texts in contexts specific to the Amarna theology.

Under the beneficent influence of Aton's rays, which call to life the

¹⁹⁹ Urk. IV 113, line 11, to 115, line 7.

whole of creation, the deceased in the form of a Ba comes forth from the tomb²⁰⁰ to contemplate the sun-god, to follow him on his daily journey, and to participate in the offerings of his temple.

In the tomb of Eye we read: "Mayest thou see the sunbeams of Re when he rises and illumines the door of thy tomb. Mayest thou breathe the breath of the north wind. May he make thy limbs vigorous with life."²⁰¹ A praised one, who has reached old age with praises, a righteous one, who has done what his lord says: as thou art the first among the king's friends, so likewise thou art at the head of Akhs. Mayest thou change into a living Ba²⁰² in the noble mountain of Akhetaton. Mayest thou go in and out according as thy heart desires. May thy rank be called on earth and mayest thou feed on thy share beside thy god,²⁰³ following thy heart at the time of thy desires."²⁰⁴

In the tombs of Huya and Pentu we find the words: "Mayest thou (i.e., Aton) set me to eternity in a place of favors, in my house of a justified one. May my Ba go forth to see thy rays, to feed on its offerings. As one who comes (forth) at the voice when being invoked by name²⁰⁵ may I partake of the things which are offered."²⁰⁶

Again, in the tomb of Eye we read: "Thou shalt not cease seeing Re: open thine eyes to behold him. When thou prayest to him, may he hear what thou sayest. May the breath of life enter into thy nostrils. . . . May thy Ba take pleasure in²⁰⁷ what the children of thy house libate to thee. . . . Mayest thou move freely at the gates²⁰⁸ of the Duat. Mayest thou see Re in the morning when he rises on the eastern horizon; mayest thou see Aton when he sets on the western horizon of heaven. May there be given to

²⁰⁰ See Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, p. 58, line 8: "O living Aton . . . mayest thou grant to come forth in the morning from the Duat to behold Aton when he rises, every day, without ceasing."

²⁰¹ Or "may he make thy limbs vigorous as (the limbs) of a living one."

²⁰² Lit. "mayest thou make forms as a living Ba."

²⁰³ Meaning "mayest thou have thy share according to the rank thou hadst at the court of the king."

²⁰⁴ Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, p. 100, lines 7-12.

²⁰⁵ On the stela of Prince Amenemhet of Nubia it is said: ". . . that (his) Ba may come forth when the voice calls" (see Torgny Säve-Söderbergh in Kush XI [1963] 169, line 6).

²⁰⁶ Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, p. 34, lines 4-8.

²⁰⁷ Restore m or hr.

²⁰⁸ Or "through the gates" (see Gardiner, Grammar, §165, p. 127).

thee offerings and provisions on the altars(?) of the house of Aton. May there be given to thee incense and libations on the slabstone(?) of the living of Aton by the king, the son of Aton, who has decreed it for thee for ever. Mayest thou receive (it) and go forth in his presence every day without cessation. Mayest thou receive oblations in the necropolis. May thy Ba rest in thy tomb, may thy Ba not be repelled from what it desires, (may it be) pleased with the offerings."²⁰⁹

Pentu prays: "Mayest thou (O Re) let me rest in my place of eternity when I reach the burial shaft of eternity. May I come forth and enter into my tomb without (my) Ba being restrained from that which it desires."²¹⁰ Apy prays similarly:²¹¹ "May he (i.e., Harakhti) grant to smell incense, receive ointment, drink at the flowing stream without my Ba being restrained from that which it desires."²¹² And Meryre prays: "May he (i.e., Aton) grant to be powerful on earth, efficient in the nether world (i.e., the Duat), the Ba to come forth and refresh itself in the temple."²¹³

Thus we see that the Ba concept as reflected in the texts and pictorial representations of the New Kingdom was retained in the mortuary beliefs of the Amarna religion. If the deceased is to live a full life beyond the grave, his Ba must maintain a close relationship with his corpse in its after-death destiny. For this relationship to exist, his Ba must be unrestrained in its movement and his corpse must be in sound condition, it must be "living." Therefore the deceased of Amarna not only wishes to have unlimited freedom of movement and enjoyment as a living Ba but also implores that his corpse live and be vigorous, "may thy Ba come forth, may thy corpse live,"²¹⁴ "may thy corpse be vigorous,"²¹⁵ and that at the end of the day his Ba and his corpse may come together, "may the Ba rest upon the corpse in the place of eternity."²¹⁶

It is interesting and at the same time instructive to notice that even in the unorthodox texts of Amarna the Ba exhibits the same features it

²⁰⁹ Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, p. 101, line 13, to p. 102, line 2.

²¹⁰ Nn hni b3 m mrrt.f. Ibid. p. 49, lines 3-4.

²¹¹ Ibid. p. 55, lines 9-10.

²¹² Tm hni b3.i m mr(t).n.f.

²¹³ Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, p. 4, lines 12-13.

²¹⁴ Ibid. p. 175, line 19.

²¹⁵ Ibid. p. 60, line 15: rwd h3t.k.

²¹⁶ Ibid. p. 4, line 2.

does in the conventional expressions which were adopted by Amarna believers. For example, in a text in which Sokar-Osiris is being identified with Aton²¹⁷ we read "may he (i.e., Osiris) grant to come forth as a living Ba to behold Aton on earth" or "may he (i.e., Anubis) grant the corpse to be vigorous in the necropolis, the Ba to rest in the tomb and to come forth every day."²¹⁸

An important point in these texts is that Aton and his son Akhenaton bestow all these privileges of an after-death existence upon the Ba, and thus the idea of reward and punishment is connected with the central feature of the Amarna doctrine, namely the father-and-son relationship. All power is ultimately derived from Aton, directly or through his son.

Thus, even in the Amarna period, when some of the most ancient and cherished religious ideas were discarded, the doctrine of the Ba, adapted to the requirements of the revolutionary reform, retained its traditional strength and importance.

²¹⁷See Drioton in ASAE XLIII 36.

²¹⁸Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, p. 142, line 9 (PARENNEFER'S tomb).

CONCLUSIONS

The Ba concept, which at first might seem highly ambiguous and inconsistent, is found on further study to reveal a remarkable consistency of meaning in the long history of its development.

As exemplified in the Pyramid Texts, the Ba originally denoted the manifestation of the power of a deceased king or a god or the king or god himself in a state in which his power is manifest. In Middle and New Kingdom non-mortuary texts, we find the Ba in its meaning of the manifestation of power primarily applied to the living king and the gods, while in the mortuary texts of these periods the meaning of the Ba is predominantly that of the alter ego of the deceased.

Some aspects of this development of the Ba concept may be attributed to false impressions cast by the nature of the texts remaining to us. After the Old Kingdom the preponderance of royal inscriptions concern the living king, and therefore it is only natural that they speak of the Ba, or more frequently the Bas, of the living king. And the fact that in no Old Kingdom text is a Ba clearly attributed to the living king may perhaps be explained by the fact that no pertinent texts have come to us. The possibility does remain, however, that a quality originally ascribed to the deceased king was later appropriated by the living king.

The Egyptian conceived of the Ba both as an entity which a being is or becomes and as a quality or an entity which a being possesses. We cannot say whether one idea developed out of or subsequent to the other. When first met with, in the Pyramid Texts, the two ideas occur even in the same context, without evidence of a developmental link.

Throughout the texts, the gods are said to be Bas, to themselves possess Bas, or to be the Bas of other gods or beings. The Ba that a god is is the god as a being whose power is manifest or as a being in a state in which his power is manifest; the Ba that a god possesses is the manifestation of his power. When a god is the Ba of another god or being, the Ba signifies a being who is the manifestation of the power of another being.

In the Pyramid Texts, the Ba which the king is or becomes is the deceased king, who, as he enters or resides in the next world, is in a state in which his power is manifest, while the Ba which the deceased king possesses is the manifestation of the power of the deceased king, who is in a

special state in his passage to the next world. The Bas of the ancient cities are the divinized dead kings of those cities, who are in a state in which their power is manifest. Again, in the Amduat texts, deceased kings are said to be Bas, that is, to be beings whose power is manifest. It would seem that the idea of the deceased king being or becoming a Ba is closely connected with the idea that at death he enters the company of the gods. The gods are pre-eminently Bas, that is, beings whose power is manifest, and when the king joins them he is assured that he will be no less than a Ba among Bas.

In the Middle and New Kingdom texts, the living king is said to possess a Ba or, more frequently, Bas. We have concluded that the plural form b3w signifies an intensification of the meaning of the Ba as the manifestation of power. The Bas of the living king are very clearly the manifestations of his power; however, sometimes they appear to be somewhat personified while at other times they appear to be closer to our abstract idea of the power of a king. One expects this ambiguous intermingling of the abstract and the concrete of the "pre-philosophical" Egyptian mentality, in which such abstract thinking as occurs is usually expressed in a concrete way and in which the animistic perception of the world may lead to the personification of qualities. In respect to the living king, the word b3w is frequently translated as "might," "power," "fame," "glory," etc. While such translations may be, in our view, fairly close to the original meaning and while they no doubt enhance the literary merit of the texts concerned, they do not fully convey the meaning intended. The translation "manifestations of the power of the living king" is admittedly unwieldy, but it has the merit of being consistent with earlier meanings of the word b3 and, more important, of being closer to the meaning intended in that it permits the Bas to be viewed at one time as personified, concrete entities and at another time as the more abstract quality of power, which views appear to reflect the Egyptian concept of the Bas of the living kings.

In some texts it is said of an inanimate object that it is the Ba of a god or of another being or that it possesses a Ba or Bas. For the Egyptians, such inanimate objects were, of course, animate beings, and we should not be surprised to find that they were considered to be the manifestations of the power of other beings or themselves to possess manifestations of their own power.

Thus we conclude that with respect to the gods, the deceased king, the living king, and inanimate objects the meaning of the Ba is essentially the same, signifying either the manifestation of the power of a being or a be-

ing whose power is manifest. Since direct translation of the word b̄ in these terms would be awkward and since, in any case, the Ba is a uniquely Egyptian concept without any exact equivalent in other languages, we suggest that the word b̄ (or b̄w) used in this sense not be translated directly but that its meaning be given parenthetically or in a footnote as is done for several other Egyptian terms for which there are no equivalents.

We now turn to the concept of the Ba as reflected by the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead. This Ba is the personification of the vital forces, physical as well as psychic, of the deceased, his alter ego, one of the modes of being in which and as which he continues to live after death. This Ba comes into existence at or after death, is corporeal in nature, performs physical activities such as eating, drinking, and copulating, and has wide-ranging freedom of movement through the realms of the after-life. Moreover, this Ba is not a part of the deceased but is in effect (and as referred to in some texts) the deceased himself in the fullness of his being, physical as well as psychic. All these characteristics make it obvious that the Ba was not a "soul" in any of the connotations associated with this word in Greek, late Judaic, or Christian philosophical and religious traditions.

The Egyptian of Ptolemaic and Roman times said of the dead: "May his Ba live before Osiris."¹ And the early Christians recorded in their epitaphs: "Sweet soul, may you live in God."² Comparing these two bodies of funerary inscriptions, one might be led to conclude that at least in the latest period of Egyptian history—the period which saw the emergence of Christianity—the concept of the Ba and the concept of the soul were identical. And yet, even at this late stage, there never was such an identification. So foreign was the idea of immateriality or spirituality to the concept of the Ba that the christianized Egyptians found the word b̄ inadequate to express the Christian idea of soul and borrowed the Greek word "psyche," which had acquired a meaning different from that of b̄.

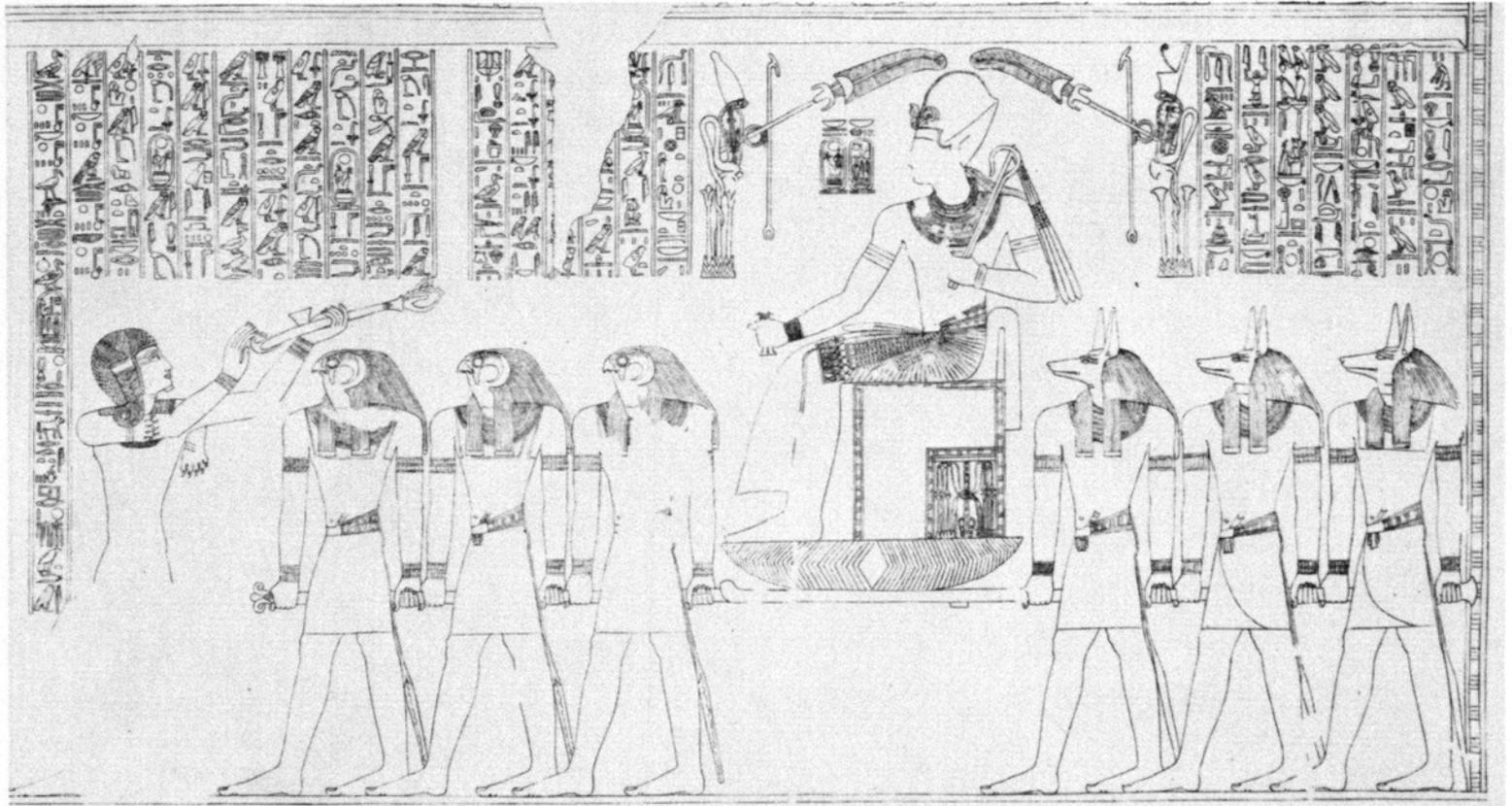
Thus we find that the Ba of the later mortuary texts also is a concept peculiar to the Egyptian mentality, and again we suggest that the word not be translated directly but that its meaning as one of the modes of being in

¹See Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Die demotischen Inschriften ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire" XVI [Leipzig, 1904]) pp. 27, 36, 39, 45-47, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 70, 71, 85, 88.

²See Orazio Marucchi, Manual of Christian Archeology, translated and adapted by Hubert Vecchierello from the 4th Italian edition (Paterson, N. J., 1935) p. 226 (cf. pp. 221 and 212-14).

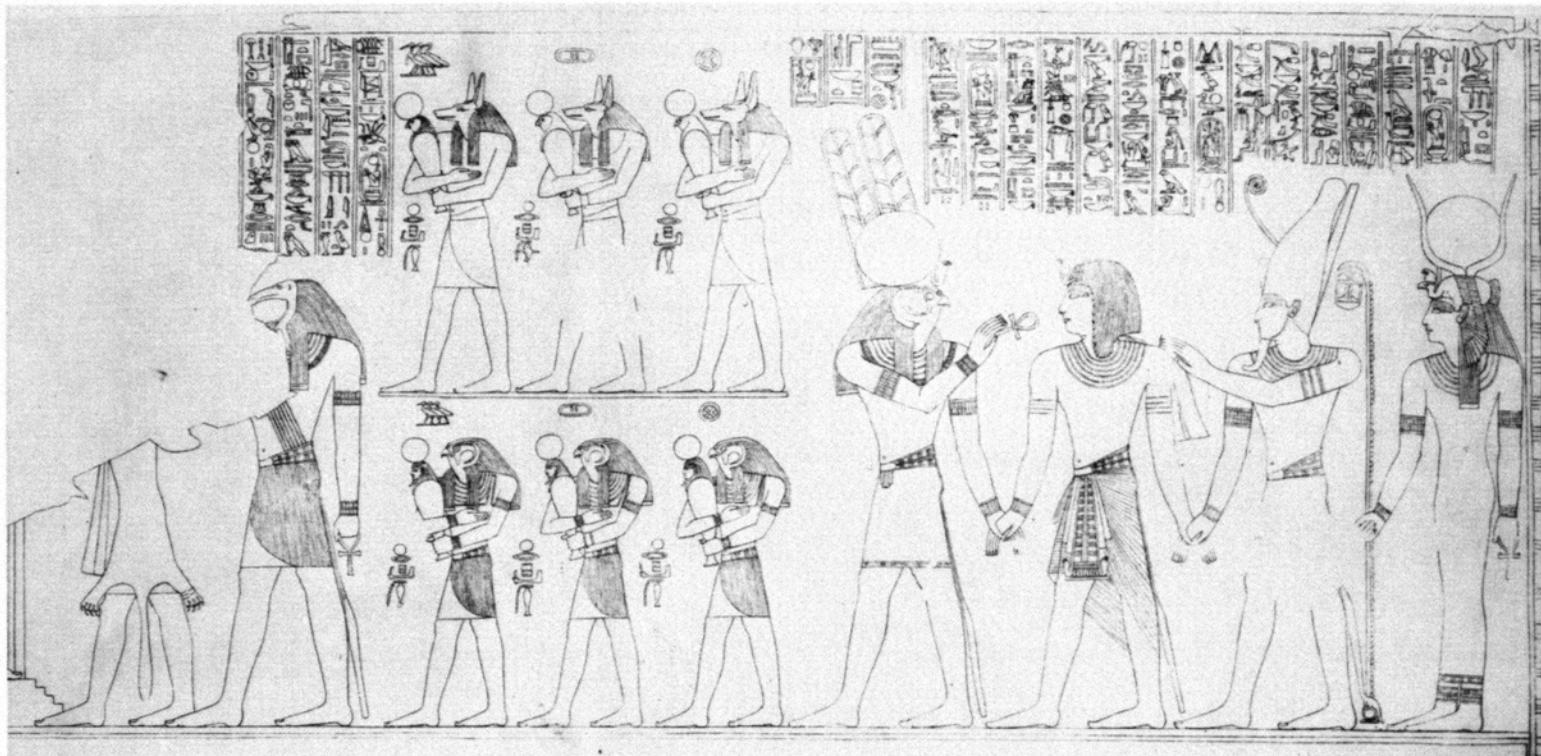
which and as which the Egyptian continued to live after death be explained parenthetically or in a footnote.

To say that the word to which we have devoted this entire book is untranslatable seems to terminate our inquiry on a disappointing note, but we would rather share this disappointment with the reader than lay ourselves open to the charge of having falsified the Egyptian way of thinking. No translation is better than a misleading one. In spite of this disappointing note we would hope that our study has cast some light on the vexing problem of Egyptian religious thought and on the Egyptian concept of man himself.



The Bas of Buto and Hieraconpolis Carrying King Sety I

Reproduced from Calverley and Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II, Pl. 36



King Sety I, Escorted by Montu and Atum, Following Thoth and Jackal-headed and Falcon-headed Bas

Reproduced from Calverley and Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II, Pl. 30

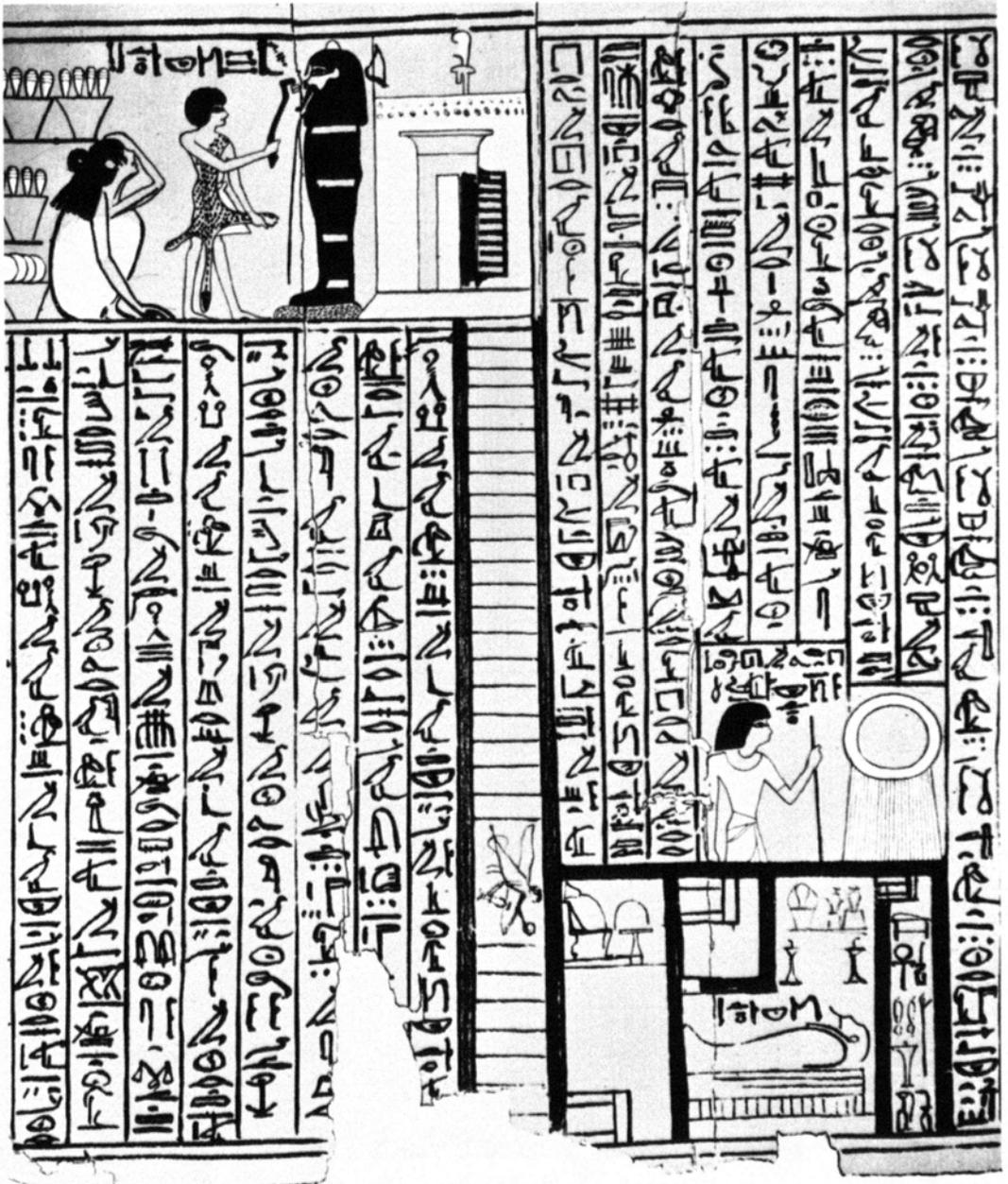


Scene on Outer Coffin of Senedjem, Showing the Bas of the Deceased and His Wife Perched on Top of the Tomb
Reproduced from Pl. 162 of Les chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture égyptienne by André Lhote, "Arts du Monde," Hachette, Paris



Scene on Stela of the Royal Scribe, Chief Treasurer, Overseer of the Royal
Harem in Memphis, Hor-Min, Showing the Deceased
Holding His Ba on His Arm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Inv. Nr. 7274



Vignette Showing the Ba of the Deceased Flying down the Shaft of the Tomb
with Food and Drink for the Mummy

Reproduced from Devéria and Pierret, *Le papyrus de Neb-qed*, Pl. III



Meroitic Ba Statue from Karanog in Nubia

Courtesy of the Cairo Museum