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*The so-called Chapter 190
of the Book of the Dead
and the Linen Canopy
from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*

One of the unsolved issues in the research on ancient Egyptian religion is the relation between the composition designated as the “Book of the Dead” and the sphere of royal mortuary beliefs. No papyrus version of the Book of the Dead is known to have originated from a royal tomb but a whole series of the Book of the Dead spells may be cited as appearing in association with royal burials.¹ While papyri of this kind were expected, in vain, in Tutankhamun’s tomb,² the list of chapters of the Book of the Dead inscribed on various objects from the tomb is extensive indeed, to the point that it is possible to speak of a specific version of the Book of the Dead represented in this tomb and having no parallel neither earlier nor later.³ Interestingly enough, most of the Book of the Dead spells represented in this tomb are inscribed on the four shrines enclosing the stone sarcophagus.⁴ On the first (outer) shrine there are three texts of the Book of the Dead (chapters 134, 1, and 141/42),⁵ accompanied by the Book of the Celestial Cow;⁶ on the third shrine there are excerpts from chapter 147,⁷ and on shrine four two chapters (1 and 17).⁸ All the other chapters occur on the walls of the second shrine.

The second shrine, which took the form of a “shrine of Upper Egypt”, is decorated inside on the ceiling with the texts of Chapter 1 and fragments drawn from the Pyramid Texts.⁹ Chapter 144 occurs on the door (how fitting for a chapter connected with the gates of the Netherworld to be found in this position!),¹⁰ followed by chapters 148–134–133 (wall on the right side),¹¹ chapters 141/42–130 (wall on the left side)¹² and chapter 17 (on the rear wall).¹³ The scenes on the outer shrine walls come from a composition known

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¹ Indeed, in the earliest period, the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties, a surprising tendency is observable. Most of the copies of the Book of the Dead from this period are connected with the members of the royal family or persons belonging to the ruler’s intimate circle.

² See however C.N. REEVES, *Tutankhamun and his Papyri*, GM 88, 1985, pp. 39 ff.

³ Cf. H. BEINLICH, *Das Totenbuch bei Tutanchamun*, GM 102, 1988, pp. 7–18; H. BEINLICH, M. SALEH, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun*, Oxford 1989 [= *Corpus*], p. 231; see also L.V. ŽABKAR, *Correlation of the Transformation Spells of the Book of the Dead and the Amulets of Tutankhamun’s Mummy*, in: *Mélanges offerts à J. Vercoutter*, Paris 1985, pp. 375–388. The number of chapters used in this tomb amounts to 21 (and some were inscribed twice or even several times), roughly corresponding to the content of a papyrus roll! What is surprising is that in this tomb the Book of the Dead texts are superior, not only in number, but also in volume, to the traditional royal texts, like the Amduat and the Book of the Celestial Cow.

⁴ Apart from this, texts of this kind are to be found on the golden anthropoid coffin, the golden mummy bands, the mask, the small coffins for the internal organs and the amulets.

⁵ Cf. A. PIANKOFF, *Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, MIFAO LXXII, Le Caire 1951–52 [= *Chapelles*], pp. 14 f., 19–21; ID., *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, Princeton 1977 (2nd ed.) [= *Shrines*], pp. 133 ff.

⁶ PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, p. 18, Pls. I, XXI; ID., *Shrines*, pp. 142 ff., Pl. 65.

⁷ PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, Pls. V, VII; ID., *Shrines*, pp. 78, 84 f., Figs. 29, 31.

⁸ PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, pp. 71 ff., Pl. XV; ID., *Shrines*, pp. 48 ff., 60.

⁹ PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, pp. 42 f.; ID., *Shrines*, pp. 96 f.

¹⁰ PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, pp. 45 ff.; ID., *Shrines*, pp. 99 ff., Pls. 38, 39.

¹¹ PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, pp. 57 ff., Fig. 16; ID., *Shrines*, pp. 103 ff., Pls. 40–42.

¹² PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, pp. 50 ff., Fig. 15; ID., *Shrines*, pp. 107 ff., Pls. 43–45.

¹³ PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, pp. 53 f.; ID., *Shrines*, pp. 105 ff.

from no other sources and are accompanied with texts in cryptographic writing,¹⁴ including also Book of the Dead chapters 17, 1, 26, 27 and 29 (these recorded in the standard writing system). The chapters of the last mentioned group will not be the subject of this paper. It is worthwhile to emphasize, however, that under the Eighteenth Dynasty they were usually placed in the initial section of papyrus rolls with the Book of the Dead (and to judge by their numbering they kept their place also in the Saite recension).

Instead, I would like to focus attention on a group of chapters inscribed on the interior walls of the second shrine, especially chapters 130, 133, 134, 141/42, and 148. These chapters form a group that can be placed outside the mainstream body of texts making up the Book of the Dead. In any case, there is no doubt that these chapters constitute a clearly separate group: some of them are referred to in their titles as a “book” and not “spell”, and their rubrics allow them to be linked to the feasts of the liturgical calendar possibly related to the mortuary cult. It is interesting that each of these chapters has its own history, which is independent of the Book of the Dead and considerably earlier in date (only chapters 134 and 141/42 are not known from sources earlier than the Book of the Dead, although in this case also their use outside the Book of the Dead is well documented). There is much to indicate that these chapters could have been incorporated into the Book of the Dead as secondary additions.¹⁵

On some papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty, a few chapters of this group occur together. An excellent illustration of this is provided by papyrus of Nu, which presents these chapters recorded in the following order: 141/42–190–133–136A–134–130.¹⁶ A similar sequence or grouping of chapters may be observed also in pap. Amenhotep, pap. Neferubenef Pb, pap. Kha, pap. Saimen and in the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 82), and later also pap. Neferrenpet and pap. Nedjmet.¹⁷ As far as chapters 130, 131 and 133–136 are concerned, their evident thematic relationship is noteworthy. They all refer to the celestial wanderings of the solar deity. The eschatological importance of this motif is, I presume, the reason of their appearance in association with pharaoh’s burial. For example, chapter 130 is inscribed together with chapter 144 on the wall of the burial chamber of Ay;¹⁸ in Tutankhamun’s tomb, these chapters appear not only on the second shrine, but also inside the small anthropoid coffins intended for the internal organs of the king (chapters 130, 134, 136A and chapter 1).¹⁹ In turn, chapter 148, inscribed, as we shall recall, on the right wall of the

¹⁴ PIANKOFF, Chapelles, pp. 29–33, 35–39, Pls. II, IV; Id., Shrines, pp. 120 ff., Pls. 47–49, 51–53. Cf. E. HORNUNG, Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch, *JSSEA* XIII–1, 1983, pp. 29–34; A. PIANKOFF, Une représentation rare sur l’une des chapelles de Toutânkhamon, *JEA* 35, 1949, pp. 113–116; É. DRIOTON, La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamon, *JEA* 35, 1949, pp. 117–122.

¹⁵ I can only refer those interested in this question to my unpublished study on the early versions of the Book of the Dead, where this idea has been discussed in more detail.

¹⁶ Cf. G. LAPP, The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477), Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum, London 1997 [= Nu], p. 40; I. MUNRO, Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie, London – New York 1987 [= Untersuchungen], pp. 142 f.

¹⁷ Cf. LAPP, Papyrus of Nu, *loc. cit.*; MUNRO, Untersuchungen, pp. 142 f., 282 (No. 31), 284 (Nos. 37, 38), 291 (No. 67), 296 (No. 88), 299 (No. 18), 301 (No. 24).

¹⁸ A. PIANKOFF, Les Peintures dans la Tombe du roi Aï, *MDAIK* 16, 1958, pp. 249 f., Pl. XXIII, 1–2.

¹⁹ Cf. BEINLICH, SALEH, Corpus, pp. 106–116; Treasures of Tutankhamun, New York 1976, Pl. 26 (cat. No. 45).

second shrine, next to chapters 134 and 133, may be tied just as much with solar hereafter as with, more interestingly, the mortuary cult of the dead ruler, a fact evidenced by its appearance also in chapels devoted to the mortuary cult of Hatshepsut, as well as that of her father, Tuthmosis I (and also in one of the auxiliary rooms or niches of the royal complex) in the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari.²⁰ Further demonstrating the importance of this chapter for the beliefs concerning the afterlife existence of the ruler is its presence in the tombs of Queen Nefertari (QV 66) and Ramesses III (KV 11), as well as in the Osireion and the temple of Seti I in Abydos.²¹ At the temple of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu this chapter is represented in the so-called Osiris complex (in room No. 27), which was connected with the mortuary cult of the dead pharaoh.²² In keeping with the context here discussed are numerous instances of the chapter appearing in the chapels of private tombs from the New Kingdom and Late Period.²³ The earliest example of chapter 148 appearing in this context is provided by the stela of Nehy from Abydos, which is dated to the late Middle Kingdom.²⁴

Chapter 141/142 may be interpreted in similar terms. We shall recall that it is inscribed inside the first and also the second shrine. The two parts of this chapter, consisting of a litany addressed to various deities of the Egyptian pantheon (chapter 141) and to local hypostases of Osiris (chapter 142), were separated into two chapters only in the Saite recension of the Book of the Dead. Under the Eighteenth Dynasty, they still constituted a single chapter that was entitled: "... Roll which a man uses for his father or (his) son (while celebrating) the feasts of the West. It will ensure the (deceased) favour in the heart of Re and in the hearts of gods and those who exist with them. To be said on the day of the new moon. To be said by NN when bringing an offering of bread and beer, cattle and poultry as roast meat, and burnt incense to ..." (here comes a list of the divine recipients of the offering). The content of this chapter as well as its title clearly point to the relationship between the chapter and the ancestral mortuary cult. What's more, recent research has shown that the famous list of kings from the tomb of Tjunroy in Saqqara was in fact only an addition to chapter 141/42.²⁶ Hence, we are dealing with a list of gods receiving offer-

The text of chapter 130 is inscribed also inside the innermost anthropoid coffin of Tutankhamun, cf. BEINLICH, SALEH, *Corpus*, pp. 78, 80.

²⁰ PM II2, pp. 359–361.

²¹ For references see R. EL SAYED, *Les sept vaches célestes, leur taureau et les quatre gouvernails, d'après les données de documents divers*, *MDAIK* 36, 1980 [= *Sept Vaches*], pp. 387 ff.

²² Cf. W.J. MURNANE, *United with Eternity. A Concise Guide to the Monuments of Medinet Habu*, Chicago–Cairo 1980 [= *Medinet Habu Guide*], pp. 57 f., Fig. 44; *Medinet Habu VI*, OIP 84, Chicago 1963, Pl. 474.

²³ Cf. SAYED, *Sept Vaches*, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ H.O. LANGE, H. SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, vol. II, Berlin 1908, pp. 117 f. (CG 20520). Cf. also T.G. ALLEN, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, SAOC 37, Chicago 1974 [= *BD*], p. 243.

²⁵ Cf. E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead. Facsimiles of the papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet with supplementary text from the papyrus of Nu*, London 1899 [= *BD Facs.*], Pl. 30; LAPP, Nu, Pl. 43. As for the variants see E. NAVILLE, *Das aegyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie II*, Berlin 1886 [= *Tb. II*], p. 364; ALLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²⁶ D. MEEKS, *Une fondation memphite de Taharqa (Stèle du Caire JE 36861)*, in: *Hommages à la mémoire*

ings, extended in this case to include the names of the dead rulers of Egypt. This observation evidently permits this chapter to be considered in the context of the mortuary cult of royal ancestors.

What is the reason, however, to include chapter 190, which is not inscribed on any of the objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun, into this specific group of spells. The chapter, which Budge classified as a separate chapter of the Book of the Dead,²⁷ turns out to be nothing more than a rubric supplementing the text it is associated with. T. G. Allen and E. Hornung had connected it with either chapter 148 or chapter 133.²⁸ Meanwhile, if we look at the papyri dating to the New Kingdom, where chapter 190 is evidenced 13 times, it becomes apparent that in seven of the cases it is preceded by chapter 141/42.²⁹ Whatever the case, there is no doubt that at this time chapter 190 was functioning as a rubric to chapter 141/42. In keeping with this is the fact that in the pap. Nu, pap. Juja, pap. Neferubenef and pap. Neferrenpet this “chapter” has been written in red ink. At the same time New Kingdom papyri document Hornung’s suggested connection between chapters 190 and 133, but only to the extent that in 4 manuscripts they are written in this particular sequence (pap. Amenhotep Cc, pap. Nu, pap. Neferubenef Pb, pap. Neferrenpet).

Starting with the Nineteenth Dynasty, chapter 190 is sometimes given a vignette depicting the deceased worshipping deities seated in two rows inside a shrine.³⁰ However, this type of the vignette can be explained as a combination of two vignettes associated with chapter 141/42.³¹ What is more important, however, is that under the Eighteenth

de S. Sauneron, vol. I: *Égypte pharaonique*, BdE 81, Le Caire 1979, pp. 245–46; J. van DIJK, *The Development of the Memphite Necropolis*, in: *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire* (ed. A.-P. ZIVIE), Paris 1988, pp. 44 f.

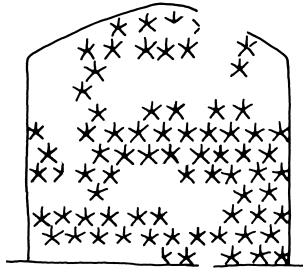
²⁷ At the same time he admitted the possibility that chap. 190 may be merely the rubric of the preceding chapter in the papyrus of Nu (so chap. 141/42), cf. E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead. An English translation ... I–III*, London 1960 (2nd ed.) [= BD Transl.], p. 643 (note 1).

²⁸ ALLEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 f.; E. HORNUNG, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*, Zürich–München 1979, p. 524. Cf. also J. ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, MÄS 19, Berlin 1969, pp. 19–21. In some older publications the text of chapter 190 is wrongly labelled as chapter 148 (or its rubric), cf. BUDGE, *BD Transl.*, p. CCII; ID., *BD Facs.*, Pl. 31; E. NAVILLE, *Papyrus funéraires de la XXI^e Dynastie II: Le papyrus hiératique de Katsheshni au Musée du Caire*, Paris 1914, p. 9, Pl. XL; ID., *The Funeral Papyrus of Iouiya*, London 1908, p. 12, Pl. X–XI; E. SCHIAPARELLI, *Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto (1903–20) II: La Tomba intatta dell’architetto Cha nella necropoli di Tebe*, Torino 1927, p. 53. See also P. BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens Égyptiens*, Paris 1967, p. 207; S. RATIÉ, *Le papyrus de Neferoubenef (Louvre III 93)*, BdE 43, Le Caire 1968, p. 26.

²⁹ Cf. pap. Nu, pap. BM 9950, pap. Userhat (BM 10009), pap. Kha, pap. Juja, pap. Neferubenef Pb, pap. Neferrenpet. In four cases the condition of the papyrus excludes any determination of which chapter had actually preceded it: pap. Amenhotep, pap. Saimen, pap. Ptahmose, pap. Nefersekheru; cf. MUNRO, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 284 (No. 38), 291 (No. 67), 298 f. (No. 13), 300 (No. 19).

³⁰ TT1: ABDEL GHAFAR SHEDID, *Das Grab des Sennedjem. Ein Künstlergrab der 19. Dynastie in Deir el-Medineh*, Mainz 1994 [= Sennedjem], Fig.14; pap. Neferrenpet: L. SPEELERS, *Le papyrus de Nefer Renpet. Un Livre des Morts de la XVIII^{me} dynastie aux Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, Bruxelles 1917, Pl. XVI; H. MILDE, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, Leiden 1991 [= *Vignettes*], Pl. 30. To be more precise, in pap. Neferrenpet the vignette accompanies the texts of chapters 141/42 and 190 written in this particular sequence. In such a case it is much more convenient to label the vignette as belonging to chapter 141/42.

³¹ In one of them we can see the deceased and his wife before Osiris, another consists merely of the rows of



1. Canopy from the vignette of the Papyrus of Userhat (British Museum 10009).

Dynasty, from which time originates most of the papyri containing it, chapter 190 is as a rule devoid of any vignette whatsoever,³² but with one, albeit very important exception. Namely, in the papyrus of Userhat (Ad) in the British Museum (BM 10009) this chapter is accompanied by an extremely interesting vignette (fig. 1) representing a yellow-starred white canopy.³³ It is noteworthy that also in this case chapter 190 follows chapter 141/42. Thus, the placement of the vignette with chapter 190 does not deter in any way from treating it as a vignette of chapter 141/42, in keeping with the ideas here presented about the relationship between these two chapters.

A search for parallels for the canopy structure depicted in the vignette brings us at once to the linen canopy with golden rosettes sewn on it, covering the second shrine of Tutankhamun.³⁴ As indicated by the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV preserved on a papyrus in Turin³⁵, a canopy of this type was surely not an accidental element of the tomb equipment.³⁶ The plan shows the outlines of four (or five?) shrines around a sarcophagus and a mysterious contour between the first and second shrines, which can be nothing else but a canopy frame, similar to that found in the tomb of Tutankhamun.³⁷ It should be noted that in both cases the frame is positioned in the same spot, that is, between the first and second shrines counting from the outside. No other examples of canopies of this kind are known from the royal tombs; it cannot be excluded, however, that the canopy of

the determinatives of the divine names, cf. MUNRO, *Untersuchungen*, p. 119. The latter variant can be compared with the rows of deities sitting in a shrine.

³² Which is hardly surprising once we start considering it as a rubric of the preceding chapter.

³³ A similar vignette has also been noted in the fragmentarily preserved pap. Saimen from Tübingen, cf. MUNRO, *Untersuchungen*, p. 132.

³⁴ It had been hanging from a special wooden frame mounted between the first and second shrines. Just like the canopy represented in the vignette in the Userhat papyrus, it has a gabled roof. Cf. H. CARTER, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen II*, London 1927, pp. 43 f., Pls. LV, B and LVI.

³⁵ H. CARTER, A.H. GARDINER, *The Tomb of Ramesses IV and the Turin Plan of a Royal Tomb*, *JEA* IV, 1917 [= *JEA* IV, 1917], pp. 130–158, Pl. XXIX; E. SCAMUZZI, *Museo Egizio di Torino*, Torino 1964, Tav. 87.

³⁶ N. REEVES, R.H. WILKINSON, *The Complete Valley of the Kings* [= *Valley of the Kings*], London 1997, pp. 40–42.

³⁷ CARTER, GARDINER, *JEA* IV, 1917, p. 133, Pl. XXIX.

Asetemakhbit found in the royal cache (TT 320)³⁸ should be considered as of a similar nature, with the sole reservation that in this case the canopy is of leather and the ornament painted on its exterior is quite unlike the stars or rosettes from the two earlier examples.³⁹ Finds of gilded bronze rosettes in the royal tombs, for instance in the tomb of Akhenaton at el-Amarna, could be indicative of a more widespread use of canopies.⁴⁰

What is the significance of a canopy of this kind inside a royal tomb? While there are indications that a similar kind of structure was used in the rituals connected with the feast of Min,⁴¹ there is nothing to support such an interpretation of the context in which the canopy appears inside the royal tomb. The temple of Neith from Sais, mentioned in a text on the lid of the sarcophagus of Merenptah⁴² and symbolised by a portable (?) structure over the body of the deceased carried on the litter,⁴³ is perhaps a nearer analogy owing to the context. Even so, neither should it be taken into consideration, as this structure should rather be associated with a kind of shrine covering the sarcophagus (which in itself would correspond very well with the symbolism of the shrines from the tomb of Tutankhamun, particularly Shrine IV interpreted as the “shrine of Lower Egypt” – *pr nw*).⁴⁴ The connection between the canopy and some more or less unspecified stages of the funerary ceremony, possibly the ritual of embalming, is suggested by representations of mummies resting on a funerary bed under a canopy. That type of depiction, in which we also see Anubis leaning over a mummiform figure, is associated with Book of the Dead chapter 151, and rather exceptionally with chapter 1.⁴⁵ However, another possible explanation of this struc-

³⁸ PM I/22, p. 664.

³⁹ In this case, the exterior decoration is based on the motifs of a lotus blossom, antelope and royal cartouches. However, white, yellow and red rosettes were painted on the blue background of the ceiling, cf. E. BRUGSCH BEY, *La tente funéraire de la Princesse Isimkheb provenant de la trouvaille de Déir el-Baharî*, Le Caire 1889, Pl. III.

⁴⁰ Cf. G.T. MARTIN, *The Royal Tomb at el-Amarna I: The Objects*, London 1974, p. 78 (No. 281); other examples found in KV 55 and in the tomb of Horemheb are cited *ibid.*, p. 78, note 1. Similar rosettes have been found on the site of the funerary temple of Amenhotep II. Little holes bored in the margins leave no doubt that they had been sown onto fabric of some kind. As the dimensions were not given, it is difficult to say what their original function was, although Petrie believed them to be a garment ornament, cf. W.M.F. PETRIE, *Six Temples at Thebes*, 1896, London 1897, p. 5, Pl. III, 17.

⁴¹ As regards the canopy adorned with stars or rosettes and royal cartouches, cf. H.H. NELSON, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I, Part 1: The Wall Reliefs* (ed. W.J. MURNANE), OIP 106, Chicago 1981, Pls. 158–159; Ch. KUENTZ, *La face sud du massif est du pylone de Ramses II à Louxor*, Le Caire 1971, Pl. 17; S. SCHOTT, *The Feasts of Thebes*, in: *Work in Western Thebes 1931–33*, OIC 18, Chicago 1934, p. 75, Fig. 32; MURNANE, *Medinet Habu Guide*, p. 34, Fig. 23.

⁴² J. ASSMANN, *Die Inschrift auf dem äußeren Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah*, MDAIK 28/1, 1972, p. 57 (l. 128).

⁴³ Cf. H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, Leiden 1988, pp. 158 f.

⁴⁴ Cf. PIANKOFF, *Shrines*, pp. 42, 45; *Id.*, *Chapelles*, p. 67.

⁴⁵ Cf. B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, *Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch* 2, Wiesbaden 1998, pp. 304 ff.; A.-P. ZIVIE, *La Tombe de Pached à Deir el-Médineh* [No. 3], MIFAO 99, Le Caire 1979, p. 104, Fig. 3, Pl. 31. See also the vignette accompanying chapter 1 in the tomb of Sennedjem (TT1): A.G. SHEDID, *Sennedjem*, Abb. 74. In the vignette of chapter 17 we can see a mummy lying on the bier beneath a canopy, cf. e.g. NAVILLE, *Tb. I, Taf. XXVIII*; A.G. SHEDID, *Sennedjem*, Abb. 68. This type of representation

ture is its association with the vignette of chapter 190 mentioned earlier. This relationship seems all the more justified considering that chapter 190 operates, as we recall, as a rubric of chapter 141/42, which is inscribed on the interior walls of both the first and second shrine of Tutankhamun. The content of chapter 190, in keeping with its character described above, merely determines the conditions and manner of using the text, which it is associated with (presumably chapter 141/42). Among the instructions found in it, there is the following: “You should use (it) inside (*m-hnw*) a linen canopy (*sh n hbs.w*) sown all over with stars”.⁴⁶ Thus, it seems highly probable that the canopy from the tomb of Tutankhamun constitutes a physical embodiment of the structure represented in the vignette from pap. Userhat and mentioned in the text of “chapter” 190. It is not to be excluded that a canopy of this kind could have actually been used in reciting the ritual texts, although it is difficult to judge whether it indeed had anything to do with the text of chapter 141/42 or that of other chapters of the discussed group.⁴⁷

As I have shown here, it is possible to distinguish in the body of the Book of the Dead a certain specific “royal group” of texts, which may be connected with the dead ruler’s mortuary cult. Although it cannot be excluded that these texts operated only in the symbolic and mythological sphere, there is no doubt as to their connection with the beliefs concerning the person of the ruler, specifically in a mortuary context. The context, in which chapters 141/42 and 148 appear outside the Book of the Dead allow them to be associated with offering rituals functioning within the framework of an ancestor cult, especially that of a royal antecedents. In the New Kingdom these rituals were celebrated in the chapels of the funerary temples (the best example of this is the royal cult complex in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari) and presumably also in the other sanctuaries (?). During the Old Kingdom (and similarly in the Middle Kingdom) their celebration took place in the mortuary temples, most specifically in the offering chapels. P. Jánosi in his research on the significance and evolution of the architectural form of the offering chapels (Totenopferäume) in the royal complexes of the Old Kingdom has arrived at the conclusion that wooden mat-covered structures were their possible prototypes.⁴⁸ In keeping with this interpretation, the royal false doors were supposed to symbolize the facade of buildings of the kind that could be described with the term *sh-ntr*.⁴⁹ In sources of the New Kingdom,

fits very well with *sh-ntr* as the place, where rituals connected with purification and embalming took place, cf. H. ALTENMÜLLER, Die Bedeutung der “Gotteshalle des Anubis” im Begräbnisritual, *JEOL* 22, 1971–72, pp. 307 ff. It cannot be excluded that ceremonies of some kind connected with anointing of the king’s body were performed in a temporary tent (*pr-nfr*) erected at the time of the funeral, cf. REEVES, WILKINSON, Valley of the Kings, p. 148 (in connection with the cache of materials used in Merenptah’s burial).

⁴⁶ Pap. Nu – cf. Lapp, Nu, Pl. 45.

⁴⁷ As for the supposedly ritual character of chapter 141/42 compare the opinion expressed by J.-Cl. GOYON, *Rituels funéraires de l’Ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1972, p. 284, note 1; J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab des Basa* (Nr 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole, *AV* 6, Mainz 1973, pp. 90 f.

⁴⁸ Cf. P. JÁNOSI, Die Entwicklung und Deutung des Totenopferraumes in den Pyramidentempeln des Alten Reiches, in: *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm. Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992* (ed. R. GUNDLACH, M. ROCHHOLZ), *HÄB* 37, Hildesheim 1994, pp. 143 ff. (in particular p. 161).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 160 ff.

this term refers to different types of shrines made of wood, but in some cases these could have been erected of solid stone.⁵⁰

This characteristic of the original offering rooms connected with the royal mortuary cult obviously better corresponds with the wooden shrines from Tutankhamun's tomb, rather than the linen canopy associated with them. It leads to the assumption that at least in terms of function the canopy was only a part, and not necessarily an essential part, of the entire complex of shrines surrounding a royal sarcophagus. Their ties with the sphere of royal mortuary cult seems highly probable in view of the texts inscribed on them. Doubts are raised, however, by the fact that this structure of a supposedly cultic character has been placed inside the burial chamber, unless we interpret it in terms of a symbolic transfer to the beyond of certain elements connected with cultic reality.⁵¹ On the other hand, it is hardly excluded that the shrines with their evident references to the offering ritual should be linked with certain stages in the funerary ceremonies. Although we have no data concerning the royal burial ceremonies, an interesting suggestion is provided by a representation in the tomb of the vizier Ptahhotep (Fifth Dynasty). In the final scene depicting the arrival of the funerary *cortège* at the necropolis we can see the men erecting a wooden frame, which was presumably intended to be covered with mats. According to Wilson, the structures depicted all around represent the tombs in the necropolis, while the seated dignitaries shown in the upper register are "the former dead who lie in the necropolis" or according to the formulation found in ancient texts: "the deceased's 'ka's and fathers', who welcome him (i.e. the deceased) by grasping his hand".⁵² It should be noted that the presence of images of dead ancestors in this scene is entirely in accordance, particularly in terms of the iconography, but also in view of the importance of the scene as a whole, with chapter 141/42 and its vignette with a row of sitting divinities (extended, as in the tomb of Tjunroy, to include the representations of dead rulers). Food offerings piled on the ground have been shown in the lower registers, presumably in connection with the offerings brought to the tomb entrance. In scenes of this kind from the Old Kingdom we can also observe dancers and singers.⁵³ Their presence may be connected with the funerary repast, in which presumably the souls (*k3w*) of the ancestors buried in the necropolis had their share. In the funeral scenes depicted in private tombs of the New Kingdom and in the Book of the Dead papyri we can see kiosks or pavilions made of light materials adorned with palm-branches and sometimes with flowers.⁵⁴ These are the places where offerings for the deceased were piled on the tables.

⁵⁰ Cf. P. SPENCER, *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study*, London 1984, pp. 114 ff. As for temporary structures made of wooden frames covered with wooden panels or with sheets of woven matting or bound reeds, cf. B.J. KEMP, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of Civilization*, London–New York 1989 [= *Anatomy*], p. 92.

⁵¹ As in the case, for example, of the references to the symbolism of the *sed* festival in the context of the royal mortuary complexes from the Old Kingdom.

⁵² Cf. J.A. WILSON, *Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom*, *JNES* III (No. 4), 1944 [= *Funeral Services*], p. 211, Pl. XIII.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Pls. XIII, XV.

⁵⁴ Cf. P. BARTHELMESS, *Der Übergang ins Jenseits ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit*, *SAGA* 2, Heidelberg 1992, pp. 79 ff. In the late variant of the vignette the kiosk or pavilion

Above the entrance to the inner room or shrine of the tomb chapel of Amenemhet (TT 82) there is an interesting scene, for which no close parallel is available among the representations from other tombs.⁵⁵ On the left there are offering tables set up before the deceased, his wife and the feasting persons, who may be members of the funeral *cortège* partaking of a funerary repast. On the other side, there is an enormous offering table depicted in front of the same couple and the mourners approaching the deceased's coffin, resting on a lion-headed bed under a red-and-yellow canopy supported by papyrus columns. The mummy is being approached by a man (priest?) burning incense and pouring a libation (the same figure can be seen also in the first of the two scenes here mentioned). Gardiner was disposed to include this episode at some point between completing the embalming process and the final burial ceremonies.⁵⁶ It seems more appropriate, however, to consider the last scene (but it also appears to concern the previously described one) as the final ceremonies of the funerary ritual, just before the mummy is deposited in the burial chamber, despite there not being any representation of a tomb in this scene. In favour of such an interpretation is the fact that scenes connected with the funerary ritual appear in the passage preceding the shrine, while those which follow it and which decorate the walls of the shrine should rather be connected with the daily cult of the dead, as well as other episodes of the mortuary cult performed on certain feast-days.⁵⁷

Scenes from the tomb of Amenemhet suggest that the linen canopy from the tomb of Tutankhamun should be considered in conjunction with offering ceremonies or rather a funerary repast of the kind, of which remains were discovered in a cache by Th. Davies.⁵⁸ The context for this canopy in the set of shrines surrounding the sarcophagus permits the assumption that the ceremonies taking place in front of the tomb included offerings made to the gods and the dead ancestors lying in the necropolis. The gilded shrines, especially Shrines I and II with chapter 141/42 inscribed on their interior walls, should also presumably be linked to this latter aspect. It is tempting to link Shrine II with the college of the gods to whom chapter 141/42 is devoted. Not only do we encounter representations of various local hypostases of Osiris (chapter 142) inside, but also images of Osiris and Re-Harakhte depicted on the exterior surfaces of the door leading to the shrine,⁵⁹ these are the

changes into a kind of shelter made of palm-branches, cf. T.G. ALLEN, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, OIP 82, Chicago 1960, Pl. LIV; O. MARUCCHI, *Il Grande Papiro Egizio della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Roma 1888, Tav. I.

⁵⁵ N. DE GARIS DAVIES, A.H. GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (No 82), London 1915 [= Amenemhet], Pl. XXIV. In an unusual scene, sculpted on two blocks originating from TT 163, the deceased and his wife are shown sitting beneath a canopy of a type similar to that depicted in pap. Userhat (but without stars). They are receiving offerings, listening to the song of the harper ("Verklärung"), and the deceased is playing a *senet*-game, cf. J. ASSMANN, *Harfnerlied und Horussöhne*, *JEA* 65, 1979, pp. 54 ff., Pls. IX–X. This type of depiction is typical of one of the episodes represented in a standard vignette of BD chapter 17, with a deceased playing a *senet*-game, cf. NAVILLE, *Tb. I*, Taf. XXVII.

⁵⁶ DAVIES, GARDINER, *Amenemhet*, p. 69.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 73 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. H.E. WINLOCK, *Materials used at the embalming of King Tut-ankh-Amun*, New York 1941.

⁵⁹ PIANKOFF, *Chapelles*, p. 26 ff., Figs. 9–10.

gods who in the version of chapter 141/42 (or 190) from the tomb of Sennedjem (TT 1) sit at the head of two groups of deities listed in the chapter. This apparently refers to the text of chapter 141 where the offerings are presented first to “Osiris Presiding over the West-erners, (and) to Re-Harakhte”.⁶⁰

In the light of the interpretation of the second shrine of Tutankhamun presented here, the linen canopy should also be considered in connection with the offering rituals celebrated in front of the tomb in the final stages of the funeral. After the pharaoh had been laid to rest inside the tomb, the mortuary cult of the deceased, which also included an elaborate offering ritual, was celebrated in the mortuary temple (strictly speaking, in its offering chapel). At the same time, corresponding representations inside the burial chamber ensured the eternal symbolic functioning of this ritual. In the tomb of Tutankhamun this was to be ensured by the images found on the shrines, and presumably also by the canopy itself. The sources for this concept are to be observed already in the representations decorating the inner chambers in pyramids of the Old Kingdom. In the vestibule of the pyramid of Wenis, the predominating spells are those connected with the ascension to the sky.⁶¹ In the tomb of Tutankhamun, chapters 130, 133, 134, which are present on the second shrine, but also on the first one (chapter 134), and first of all the Book of the Celestial Cow decorating the two walls inside the first shrine, seem to correspond to this particular group of spells. There is no doubt that the oars resting upon the ground between the first shrine and the north wall of the chamber⁶² should also be linked with this sphere of ideas. On the other hand, lists of offerings are depicted on the walls of the burial chambers in the royal pyramids,⁶³ while in the part close to the sarcophagus the walls are decorated with a conventional pattern of mats. Is this possibly a reminiscence of the light, portable structures erected above the sarcophagus or mummy during the burial ceremonies?⁶⁴ It is interesting that a similar decoration scheme of the burial chamber may be found in mastabas of the Old Kingdom dignitaries,⁶⁵ as well as in Middle Kingdom times.⁶⁶ The burial chambers in private tombs of the New Kingdom are usually devoid of decoration, although there exists

⁶⁰ NAVILLE, *Tb. II*, p. 364; LAPP, *Nu*, Pl. 43. In the text of chapter 190 it is said: “making him (i.e. the deceased) mighty before Atum, magnifying him before Osiris” (*ibid.*, Pl. 45). A deceased standing in front of two deities under a canopy (of the type known from pap. Userhat, but without stars) is represented in a vignette of the Book of the Dead dating to the Ptolemaic period: one of the figures is represented as a falcon-headed deity with a solar disc on its head; another human-headed deity has the double crown of Lower and Upper Egypt, cf. *Il Cammino di Harwa* (ed. F.TIRADRITTI), Milano 1999, p. 147 (Cat. No. 163).

⁶¹ Cf. J. OSING, *Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas*, *MDAIK* 42, 1986 [= *Zur Disposition*], p. 141.

⁶² Cf. H. CARTER, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen II*, London 1927, p. 32, Pl. V.

⁶³ OSING, *Zur Disposition*, pp. 136–8.

⁶⁴ Cf. P. DUELL et al., *The Mastaba of Mereruka I*, Chicago 1938 [= *Mereruka*], p. 18; WILSON, *Funeral Services*, note 49; KEMP, *Anatomy*, loc.cit. It cannot be excluded, however, that this manner of decoration should rather be associated with the mats used to cover the brick walls of the underground chambers under the Early Dynastic mastabas, cf. W.B. EMERY, *Archaic Egypt*, Harmondsworth 1961, pp. 190, 223 f.

⁶⁵ DUELL, *Mereruka II*, Pls. 201A, 204. Cf. also C.M. FIRTH, B. GUNN, *Excavations at Saqqara. Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I*, Le Caire 1926, p. 24.

⁶⁶ Cf. e.g. W.C. HAYES, *The Texts in the Mastabeh of Se'n-wosret-cankh at Lisht*, New York 1937, Pl. I.

a number of exceptions. In this context the decoration of the sarcophagus chamber of Sennedjem (TT 1) should be noted, as it provides several interesting parallels for the decoration of Tutankhamun's shrines.⁶⁷ Of importance also is the burial chamber of Amenemhet (TT 82), which is decorated with texts drawn from the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead.⁶⁸ In a niche cut in the northern wall of the chamber a scene of making offerings to the deceased and his wife by their son has been shown, while on the rear wall of the niche there is the text of chapter 141/42 with the vignette of chapter 148 accompanying it.⁶⁹ It would be difficult to find a more direct reference to the decoration of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, but also to the decoration of the offering chapels in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari,⁷⁰ especially the two niches in the eastern part of the vestibule preceding the chapel of Hatshepsut.⁷¹

Last but not least, the possible connection of the shrines from the burial chamber of Tutankhamun with the celebrations of the Khoiak feast should be mentioned here. Alix Wilkinson interpreted some of the objects found in the tomb as the equipment required for the festival of Osiris.⁷² According to her interpretation, the innermost (fourth) shrine in the shape of the shrine of Lower Egypt is "the place of conception, birth, rebirth and resurrection".⁷³ The outermost (first) shrine, interpreted as "the Judgement Hall of Osiris", reveals strong ties with the *sed*-festival, as indeed it represents the double *heb-sed* canopy.⁷⁴ The second and third shrines, each one representing the Upper Egyptian shrine, are interpreted as the place of final transformations and the place of the coronation. But – as she mentions – at Edfu a shrine of this shape "is shown as the penultimate stage in the mysteries of Osiris". And what is more symptomatic: "Here incense and a libation were presented by the king to Osiris".⁷⁵

⁶⁷ The texts and representations from this tomb are nothing less but a specific version of the Book of the Dead (cf. SHEDID, Sennedjem, Abb. 14, 16, 17, 20), including also a fragment of chapter 190 inscribed in a vignette, which should rather be associated with chapter 141/42, cf. MILDE, Vignettes, pp. 157–159.

⁶⁸ DAVIES, GARDINER, Amenemhet, pp. 102–109.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Pls. XXXV–XXXVI.

⁷⁰ Cf. E. NAVILLE, *The Temple at Deir el-Bahari IV*, London 1901, pp. 6–11, Pls. CVII–CXVI; V, pp. 5–6, Pls. CXXVII–CXXIX.

⁷¹ PM II 2, p. 359.

⁷² A. WILKINSON, Evidence for Osirian Rituals in the Tomb of Tutankhamun, in: *Pharaonic Egypt. The Bible and Christianity*, (ed. S. ISRAELIT-GROLL), Jerusalem 1985, pp. 328–340. According to her interpretation a set of four shrines in the tomb of Tutankhamun (or only one of them – most probably the innermost one) can be equated with the bed-chamber functioning in the context of the Khoiak feast. One of the Osiris rooms located on the roof of the temple of Hathor at Dendera was called *hnk.t nmmy.t* "bed-chamber". The same name was given to a temporary structure placed inside the room on the roof during the festival. The "pavilion of the cover" (*t₃ hby.t n hbs*), enclosing the bed-chamber, forms another part of the set. The analogy with the set of shrines from the tomb of Tutankhamun is astonishing, cf. *Id.*, Jewellery for a procession in the bed-chamber in the tomb of Tutankhamun, *BIFAO* 84, 1984, pp. 335–345; E. CHASSINAT, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, Vol. I–II, Le Caire 1966–68, pp. 62–64, 606–8.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁷⁵ *Loc. cit.*

I have not tried to present here a coherent interpretation of the entire complex of shrines from the burial chamber of Tutankhamun. This is only a comment on one of the aspects of the religious symbolism connected mostly with the linen pall and the second shrine of Tutankhamun. At the same time I am fully aware, that the ancient Egyptian way of thinking admits different approaches to some symbols, which in consequence function on several levels of meaning.