

“THE BREATHING PERMIT OF HÔR” AMONG  
THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPYRI\*

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I. INTRODUCTION

A minor, if protracted, chapter in the history of American Egyptology concerns a Mormon scripture known as “The Book of Abraham,” which purports to be an authentic narrative history translated by Joseph Smith, Jr. from an Egyptian papyrus acquired by the Mormon prophet in 1835.<sup>1</sup> Now a canonical element of *The Pearl of Great Price*, Smith’s “translation” had been published in serialized excerpts during 1842, well before Jean-François Champollion’s correct decipherment was generally known in America. In what is often a pastiche of Genesis, “The Book of Abraham” details Abraham’s miraculous rescue from Chaldean priests in Ur who commit human sacrifice “unto the god of Pharaoh . . . after the manner of the Egyptians”(!) on a hill named after the Egyptian Potiphar (1:6–15 and 20). The anglicized Latin term “Egyptus” is said to be Chaldean for “that which is forbidden” in reference to the cursed race of Ham who are denied the “right of Priesthood” (1:23–27), a statement that served as the basis for Mormon racial discrimination until a “revelation” during the modern era of civil rights legislation reversed the policy (but not the “scripture”) in 1978. A famine takes Abraham to Egypt, where he is ultimately shown “sitting upon Pharaoh’s throne, by the politeness of the king,” “reasoning upon the principles of Astronomy.”<sup>2</sup> Such “reasoning” included references to the outlandish “Jah-oh-eh,” said to be Egyptian for earth, “Oliblish,” mock Egyptian for a “star Kolob,” and “Enish-go-on-doosh,” supposedly the Egyptian name for the sun.<sup>3</sup> All of this nonsense is illustrated by three facsimile woodcuts, depicting: (1) the “sacrifice” (falsely restored from a scene of Anubis tending Osiris on the funerary bier), (2) an astronomical scene of planets

\* An unillustrated, earlier version of this paper entitled “The ‘Breathing Permit of Hôr’ Thirty-four Years Later” was published in the journal *Dialogue* 33/4 (Winter 2000; appeared 2002): 97–119. A customary scholarly request to examine the original Joseph Smith Papyri for this publication was refused by Steven R. Sorenson, Director of LDS Church Archives. While such a visit might have led to the identification of further, minor sections of the “Breathing Permit” misplaced among the other papyrus fragments, the currently available published photographs are quite sufficient for a complete edition of all identified sections.

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<sup>1</sup> For the early history of the papyri, see John A. Larson, “Joseph Smith and Egyptology,” in D. Silverman, ed., *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, SAOC 55 (Chicago, 1994), pp. 159–78.

<sup>2</sup> Facsimile No. 3, Explanation.

<sup>3</sup> Facsimile No. 2, Explanation. Attempts to salvage these pseudo-Egyptian transcriptions reach desperate levels in suggestions by current apologists Michael Rhodes and John Gee to explain “Jah-oh-eh” as “O the earth” (ĭ ʒh.t), although this is impossible by both phonetics (with three *hs*) and sense (ʒh.t “arable field” is not used to indicate the whole earth), contra Gee, “A Tragedy of Errors,” *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 4 (1992): 113, n. 58. Similarly, Gee’s interpretation (ibid.) of Sue-e-eh-ni as s nīm (“who is the man?”) is untenable phonetically (Sue-e-eh cannot represent s/CΔ, and the final m of nīm is preserved in all dialects) and grammatically (the proper sequence should be nīm pw s > nīm p̄y p̄s).

(actually a hypocephalus), and (3) enthroned Abraham lecturing the male Pharaoh (actually enthroned Osiris with the female Isis).<sup>4</sup>

By 1861, T. Devéria had noted a series of anachronisms and absurdities in the supposed translation and woodcut vignettes, and in 1912 a solicitation for professional opinions on the matter drew uniformly derisive assessments from A. H. Sayce, W. M. F. Petrie, J. H. Breasted, A. C. Mace, J. Peters, S. A. B. Mercer, E. Meyer, and F. W. von Bissing.<sup>5</sup> Apologetic response was muted, as the papyri no longer belonged to the church when it migrated west to Utah, and they were thought to have been lost, perhaps in the great Chicago fire of 1871. Aside from *ad hominem* attacks on the Egyptologists themselves,<sup>6</sup> the matter generated little further discussion. “Faced by a solid phalanx of PhD’s, the Mormons were properly overawed.”<sup>7</sup>

This state of affairs changed dramatically on 27 November 1967, when the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York made a gift to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of eleven papyrus fragments that had passed from Smith’s mother to an employee’s family before acquisition by the museum. Comparison of the papyrus illustrations with the woodcuts in the *Pearl of Great Price* confirmed that these fragments were those once owned by Joseph Smith and employed as the basis for “The Book of Abraham.” In January and February of the following year, sepia photographs of the fragments were published in the Mormon magazine *The Improvement Era*, and on the basis of these photographs, the journal *Dialogue* commissioned translations and commentaries on the texts, now designated as “The Joseph Smith Papyri.” In the summer issue of 1968, Egyptologists John A. Wilson and Richard A. Parker identified fragments within this collection as sections of a late mortuary text known as a “Book of Breathings,” copied for a Theban priest named Hor.<sup>8</sup> The rediscovery of the primary documents that inspired, but in no way corroborate, a canonical book of Mormon theology has resulted in a thirty-five year, occasionally vituperative,

<sup>4</sup> Smith’s hopeless translation also turns the goddess Maat into a male prince, the papyrus owner into a waiter, and the black jackal Anubis into a Negro slave.

<sup>5</sup> Rt. Rev. F. S. Spalding, *Joseph Smith, Jr., as a Translator* (Salt Lake City, 1912).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. N. L. Nelson, *The Improvement Era* 16 (1913): 606 ff.: “. . . a jury of Gentiles, prejudiced, ill-tempered and mad with the pride of human learning.”

<sup>7</sup> Hugh Nibley, “A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price,” *The Improvement Era* 71 (January 1968): 18–24, quote on p. 23. Within this and continuing installments, Nibley undercuts this “appeal to authority” by a series of personal attacks: Mercer, “a hustling young clergyman” (*ibid.*, p. 21), is extensively attacked in *The Improvement Era* 71 (May 1968): 55–57, and vol. 71 (June 1968): 18–22, not “primarily to discredit the authority” of the scholar, but to illustrate “the limitations and pitfalls of Egyptology in general” (June 1968, p. 22). Presumably for the same reason, Nibley notes that Sayce was a “spoiled dilettante” (vol. 71, July 1968, p. 50), that Petrie “never went to a theatre” (*ibid.*), that Meyer “lacked aesthetic sense” (*ibid.*, p. 51) but had a rationalistic bent that “ineffectively [*sic!*] disqualifies himself from the jury” (p. 52), that Breasted was “pro-German” (p. 54), and that von Bissing had “an uncompromising loyalty to a feudal society and

*feudal religion*—hardly the man to look with a kindly eye on the *supernaturalism* . . . of a Joseph Smith” (p. 54, emphasis added). European “feudal religion,” of course, presupposed the reality of supernatural intervention, but Nibley’s logic is peculiar in these tracts circulated only among the faithful. The Egyptologists are stigmatized as being idiosyncratic and aloof, which should make their unified assessment even more compelling. In any case, Nibley wants a sympathetic audience, not Egyptological fact. The August 1968 continuation derides the careers of T. Devéria, J. Peters, A. C. Mace, A. M. Lythgoe, G. Barton, E. Banks, and E. A. W. Budge. Nibley’s tactic has been adopted by his followers. The earlier version of this article produced internet discussions devoted not to the translation, but to scurrilous remarks concerning my own religious and personal habits. Let the scholar be warned.

<sup>8</sup> John A. Wilson, “The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri, Translations and Interpretations: A Summary Report,” *Dialogue* 8/2 (1968): 67–85, esp. 68–69 (document D); and Richard A. Parker, “The Joseph Smith Papyri: A Preliminary Report,” *Dialogue* 8/2 (1968): 86–88, esp. 86, and “The Book of Breathings (Fragment 1, the ‘sensen’ Text, with Restorations from Louvre Papyrus 3284),” *Dialogue* 8/2 (1968): 98–99 (partial translation).

confrontation between Egyptological scholars and Mormon traditionalists.<sup>9</sup> Whereas earlier apologists had condemned Egyptologists for not translating the defectively copied hieroglyphs of the woodcuts,<sup>10</sup> new translations of the actual documents were even more disturbing.

## II. THE BAER TRANSLATION

The first extensive translation of this controversial document appeared in the subsequent autumn issue of *Dialogue*, authored by my teacher and predecessor, Klaus Baer.<sup>11</sup> Though Baer was ultimately able to examine the papyri personally, his study was conducted primarily from *The Improvement Era* photos and was considered by himself to be nothing more than a “preliminary study.”<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, he was able to provide a complete translation of the surviving sections, including fragments pasted haphazardly as patches within the unrelated Papyrus IV and two vignettes that originally bracketed the main text: Papyrus I (originally redrawn as “A Facsimile from<sup>13</sup> The Book of Abraham No. 1”) and the now lost fragment redrawn as Facsimile No. 3 from The Book of Abraham. Baer’s translation of “The Breathing Permit of Hôr” has served as the basis of all further studies of the text, the most extensive of which was the 1975 publication by Hugh Nibley. No full edition of this papyrus document has yet appeared. Baer provided only a translation annotated for a popular audience, with phrases restored from parallel texts indicated by italic script.<sup>14</sup> Nibley attempted a transliteration and literal interlinear translation only of the unrestored portions of Papyri XI and X (with the “patches” in Papyrus IV).<sup>15</sup> The corpus of parallel

<sup>9</sup> Chief among the latter is Hugh Nibley, lionized patriarch of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), an organization of fundamentalist ideology attached to Brigham Young University that has promoted all recent attempts to rehabilitate The Book of Abraham.

<sup>10</sup> Nibley, “A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price,” *The Improvement Era* 71 (March 1968): 20.

<sup>11</sup> Klaus Baer, “The Breathing Permit of Hôr: A Translation of the Apparent Source of the Book of Abraham,” *Dialogue* 8/3 (1968): 109–34 (hereafter simply Baer).

<sup>12</sup> Baer, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> The LDS authorized publication of these drawings as illustrations from The Book of Abraham clearly answers the polemicist Nibley’s unjust complaint against his former tutor that “There would have been nothing wrong with Dr. Baer’s title if he had been good enough to explain to his readers why it was apparent to him that his text is the source of the Book of Abraham” (Hugh Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* [Salt Lake City, 1975], p. 1; hereafter simply Nibley 1975). Baer did precisely that in his n. 1, pp. 111–12 and on pp. 126–33. This derivation had been discussed fully by Heward and Tanner, to which Baer refers throughout his article; see Grant S. Heward and Jerald Tanner, “The Source of the Book of Abraham Identified,” *Dialogue* 8/2 (1968): 92–98. The Book of Abraham is published as being “translated from the papyrus, by Joseph Smith,” and as the facsimile is also “from” the Book, then the Book

must have been derived (by whatever questionable means) from the papyrus. See also the explicit link between the text and facsimiles in Abraham, 1:6 (note c) and 1:12 and 14. Nibley’s professed amazement (1975, p. 1) that anyone could derive an elaborate account from a few Egyptian signs is disingenuous, since just such “symbolic” translations had been done by the discredited Athanasius Kircher, whose work Nibley had previously described (“Prolegomena to Any Study of the Book of Abraham,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 8/2 [1968]: 171–203, esp. 173–76). The work of Nibley and his acolytes is a professed attempt to counter the analysis of “people innocent of any bias in favor of Joseph Smith . . . So now it is time to hear the other side of the story” (“Phase One,” *Dialogue* 8/2 [1968]: 105).

<sup>14</sup> Baer, p. 119.

<sup>15</sup> The word-for-word, incomplete translations in Nibley 1975 produce disjointed lines of the very sort criticized by John Gee (“A Tragedy of Errors,” *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 4 (1992): 93–119, esp. 105–6) regarding Charles M. Larson, *By His Own Hand Upon Papyrus: A New Look at the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1992 [revised edition of 1985]) (hereafter C. Larson 1992). Cf. Nibley 1975, pp. 19–20: “inside (of) the lake great (of) Chonsu born of Taykhebyt justified likewise after clasped” with C. Larson as cited by Gee: “this pool great Khonsu born of Taykhebyt justified likewise after grasped.” Nibley noted that his literal translation was “nonsense” (1975, p. 47).

texts, on which any restorations must be based, has not been published as a group, though lists of such texts have been compiled and collective translations have appeared.<sup>16</sup>

In the absence of any formal edition of the Joseph Smith Book of Breathing combining full translation and transliteration, and with the recent publication by Charles M. Larson of vastly improved color photographs,<sup>17</sup> it seems proper to revisit the papyrus. As each generation of Chicago Egyptologists has dealt with the Mormon papyri (Breasted, Wilson, Baer), requests have now come to me to provide an impartial reassessment of Baer's translation in light of Egyptological advances of the past thirty-four years. In preparing the following annotated edition, I have had access to Baer's original notebook<sup>18</sup> and files, which have proved valuable for determining his restorations and readings. To prepare his translation, Baer hand-copied parallels from a series of papyri: Hague 42/88 (P. Denon), Louvre 3284, Louvre 3291, British Museum 9995, and Berlin 3135, noting also minor variants in Louvre 3121, 3126, 3158, and 3166. Of these exemplars, Papyrus Louvre 3284 served as the representative "standard text," as it has for all translations since its publication by P.-J. de Horrack in 1877. The following translation also adopts this basis for restorations, with annotations indicating other variant readings. It must be stressed, however, that Baer's translation, like my own, presents the text as copied by the ancient scribe of the Joseph Smith Papyri (hereafter P JS). Other versions are employed only in restorations or annotations. As noted by Baer, the manuscripts show "relatively little variation, so that it is not too difficult to restore the missing passages."<sup>19</sup>

As the reader will see, changes from Baer's understanding of the document are few and do not challenge his basic understanding of the text. The most notable changes entail matters of column numbering, dating, and the interpretation of one title and a name. Column numbers in this edition have been increased by one, with the lines on P JS I now considered sections within column I. Since the Breathing Document actually began at the end of P JS I, it has been necessary to revise Baer's numbering to avoid beginning the text in column "0."<sup>20</sup> In regard to dating, Baer, like Wilson and Parker, followed contemporary assessments based on the paleography of Books of Breathing and so dated the papyrus of Hor to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period.<sup>21</sup> Recent studies by J. Quaegebeur and M. Coenen have suggested a date in the first half of the Ptolemaic Period (first half of the second century B.C.).<sup>22</sup> This revision, based on the similarity of common family names and

<sup>16</sup> A list of Books of Breathings appears in Michel Vallogia, "Le Papyrus Lausanne No. 3391," in Jean Vergotte, ed., *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, vol. 1, Bibliothèque d'Étude 81 (Cairo, 1979), p. 293, with fuller references in Marc Coenen, "Books of Breathings: More Than a Terminological Question?," *Orientalia Lovanien-sia Periodica* 26 (1995): 29–38. Translations appear in Philippe-Jacques de Horrack, "Le Livre des Respirations d'après les manuscrits du Musée du Louvre," *Œuvres diverses*, Bibliothèque égyptologique 17 (Paris, 1907), pp. 109–37 (reprinted from Paris, 1877); and de Horrack, "The Book of Respirations," in S. Birch, ed., *Records of the Past*, vol. 4 (London, 1875), pp. 121–28, reprinted in *Œuvres diverses*, pp. 99–107; and in Jean-Claude Goyon, "Les livres des respirations," in his *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*, Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 4 (Paris, 1972), pp. 183–317.

<sup>17</sup> C. Larson 1992, p. 33 (folded color plate). Contra Gee, "A Tragedy of Errors," pp. 93–94, these pho-

tographs are the first true four-color separation images of the papyri to be published. The difference in legibility is pronounced and inspires further respect for Baer's abilities with inferior materials.

<sup>18</sup> Oriental Institute Archives, Papers of Klaus Baer, file 2321. I thank John A. Larson, Oriental Institute Museum Archivist (and no relation to Charles M. Larson), for authorization and assistance with the Baer materials.

<sup>19</sup> Baer, p. 119.

<sup>20</sup> Already recognized by Baer in his notebook and corresponding to the final two signs mentioned in Baer, p. 129 (line 5).

<sup>21</sup> Baer, p. 111.

<sup>22</sup> See Marc Coenen, "The Dating of the Papyri Joseph Smith I, X and XI, and Min Who Massacres His Enemies," in W. Clarysse et al., eds., *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years*, vol. 2 (Leuven, 1998), pp. 1103–15 (hereafter Coenen 1998) and the references there cited.

a rare title, remains controversial, though possible.<sup>23</sup> The possibility of family connections between the owner of this Joseph Smith papyrus and individuals noted in comparable Louvre papyri was already a matter of discussion between Baer and Wilson in 1968.<sup>24</sup> Among the titles of Hor listed in the first line of the surviving papyrus is an office of the fertility god, whose name Baer rendered as “Min, Bull-of-his-Mother,” employing the god’s most common epithet.<sup>25</sup> From Baer’s notes, it is apparent that he was suspicious of this reading, and improved photography shows clearly that the divine name is rather “Min who slaughters his enemies.”

More problematic is the question of the interpretation of the name of Hor’s mother, Taikhibit. Examples of the name had previously been gathered by H. de Meulenaere, whose transliteration **T3(y)-hy-b̄b̄.t** and translation “The one who is joyous” (literally, “high of character”) have been universally adopted in reference works and articles.<sup>26</sup> Writings of the name vary within the Breathing Document, from spellings consistent with de Meulenaere’s examples (𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑 Col. II/2 and 𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑 Col. IV/13) to the hieroglyphic spelling in Col. I/3 𓆎𓆏𓆐 with the “b” shifted before the human figure for spatial reasons. While aware of de Meulenaere’s reading, Baer rejected it for the mother of Hor because of what he considered a logographic writing in Col. III/7 (his column II/7): 𓆎𓆏𓆐. This he transcribed as 𓆎𓆏𓆐 **T3y-hbi.t**, translating the human figure as “dancer” (**hbi.t**).<sup>27</sup> While the human figure that terminates this spelling of the name is distinct from that employed to spell “high” (**hy**),<sup>28</sup> it does not really match the figure used for dancer either and seems a scribal peculiarity.<sup>29</sup> The figure with upraised arms (**hy**) is used in Col. IV/13, so the standard interpretation is probably correct. The spelling in Col. III/7 is perhaps best understood as an abbreviated form of the name, **T3y-hy**, otherwise common in hieratic and Demotic.<sup>30</sup> In general, the hieratic handwriting of the Breathing Document is fairly coarse

<sup>23</sup> No document securely establishes the genealogy proposed in *ibid.*, p. 1110, and as noted by Jan Quaegebeur (“Le papyrus Denon à La Haye et une famille de prophètes de Min-Amon,” in M. Minas and J. Zeidler, eds., *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur: Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag* [Mainz, 1994], pp. 213–25, esp. p. 216), it is not clear if the relevant individuals are part of the same family. Coenen is perhaps overly confident (1998, p. 1110) that the problem of differing titles for the Hor of P JS and the like-named man of certain Tübingen papyri “does not, however, preclude the proposed identification.” See also the remarks of Stephen Quirke, “The Last Books of the Dead?,” *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities: A Tribute to T. G. H. James*, British Museum Occasional Paper 123 (London, 1999), pp. 83–98, esp. pp. 84–85.

<sup>24</sup> Oriental Institute Baer file 2374 (letter of John Wilson, 2 July 1968) and Baer file 2373 (response of 5 July 1968). For another Hor son of Osorwer, see Quaegebeur, “Le papyrus Denon à La Haye,” pp. 216–17.

<sup>25</sup> Baer, p. 116, n. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Hermann de Meulenaere, “Quatre noms propres de Basse Époque,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Cairo* 55 (1955): 147–48; Didier Devauchelle, “À propos du papyrus de Genève D 229,” *Enchoria* 8/2 (1978): 73–75; Jan Quaegebeur, “Demotic Inscriptions on Wood from the Tomb of ‘Anch-Hor,” in Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Hauslauer, *Das Grab des ‘Anch-Hor*, vol. 2 (Vienna,

1984), p. 264; Quaegebeur, “Le papyrus Denon à La Haye,” p. 222, n. 56 (disagreeing with Baer); Joachim F. Quack, “Zwei demotische Ausdrücke zur Bezeichnung des Charakters,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 123 (1996): 65; and Erich Lüddeckens et al., eds., *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1996), vol. 1/14, p. 1081; John Gee, *A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Provo, Utah: The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000), pp. 11 and 52. The name is rendered into Greek as Chibois; see Coenen 1998, p. 1104, n. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Baer, p. 111, n. 10: “The dancer,” based on *Wb.* III, 250/15–16, and the assumption that **T3y** reflected a phonetic spelling of the definite article, as in Coptic T/TE; Oriental Institute Baer file 2374 (letter of John Wilson, 2 July 1968) and Baer file 2373 (response of 5 July 1968).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1912), p. 1, no. 4.

<sup>29</sup> The sign is inconsistent with *ibid.*, p. 1, no. 6. Few examples are listed, so the range may be greater. The sign most closely resembles *ibid.*, p. 3, no. 30, a seated child.

<sup>30</sup> Théodule Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens . . . au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1881), p. 70, no. III.23 (the same individual as **T3y-hy-bi.t** in the Joseph Smith papyri), and Lüddeckens et al., eds., *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1999), vol. 1/16, p. 1237.

by Egyptian standards,<sup>31</sup> but this does not seriously hamper either the literal reading or the significance of the text.

The last major difference in the proposed translations derives from the ambiguity of Egyptian grammar as reflected in the script. However odd it may seem to modern readers, the Late Egyptian basic conjugation form (**sdm=f**) has various translational equivalents that can be distinguished only by context (“he did” vs. “may he do” vs. “so that he might do”). Where the context is not definitive, the translator is forced to adopt a personal choice. Previous French translations have attempted to avoid the problem by employing an inaccurate present tense,<sup>32</sup> while Baer rather consistently chose the past tense. Baer’s preference cannot be termed incorrect, but I have made other choices where context dictated.

The original width of the papyrus was correctly estimated by Baer as being about 150–55 cm, allowing for textual restorations and the now lost Facsimile 3.<sup>33</sup> The number of vignettes varies in Books of Breathings, but introductory and concluding vignettes are common.<sup>34</sup> At most, the papyrus might have been expanded by the inclusion of a further, middle vignette, as found in Papyrus Tübingen 2016,<sup>35</sup> but there is no reasonable expectation of any further text, and certainly nothing even vaguely resembling the alien narrative of The Book of Abraham.

### III. THE “BOOKS OF BREATHING”

The true content of this papyrus concerns only the afterlife of the deceased Egyptian priest Hor. “Books of Breathings,” such as this Joseph Smith example, are late funerary compositions derived from the traditional “Book of the Dead.” Like the “Book of the Dead,” the sole purpose of the later texts is to ensure the blessed afterlife of the deceased individual, who is elevated to divine status by judgment at the court of Osiris and is thereby guaranteed powers of rejuvenation. These powers, including mobility, sight, speech, hearing, and access to food offerings, are summarized in the term **snsn**, or “breathing,” which refers to the Egyptian expression **ḥw n ‘nh** “breath of life,” the fundamental characteristic that distinguishes the living. The title **šꜥ.t n snsn**, literally, “Document of (or ‘for’) Breathing” employs the term for an official document or letter (**šꜥ.t**), so that these “books” serve as formal “permits”—or perhaps more accurately “passports”—to the world of the gods. To be effective, they had to accompany the corpse, and the directions for using the texts declare explicitly that the document must be placed below the mummy’s crossed

<sup>31</sup> Nibley insists (1975, p. 2) that P JS X and XI cannot be the source of the book of Abraham because Joseph Smith wrote that “the Abraham document was beautifully written,” whereas modern scholars such as Wilson describe those papyri as relatively coarse. Modern scholars have examined many hundreds of hieratic documents and can therefore determine the standards of contemporary Egyptian handwriting. Joseph Smith had no such experience. With no frame of reference beyond his own limited collection, he had no reason or incentive to consider the writing poor.

<sup>32</sup> de Horrack, “Le Livre des Respirations d’après les manuscrits du Musée du Louvre,” and Goyon, “Les livres des respirations.”

<sup>33</sup> Baer, p. 127, n. 113. There is no justification for Gee’s unsubstantiated attempt to more than double this figure to “320 cm (about 10 feet)” in Gee, *A Guide to*

*the Joseph Smith Papyri*, pp. 10 and 12–13. Gee presumably wishes to allow space for a supposedly “lost hieratic text” of The Book of Abraham; his figure derives from the average length of a manufactured (blank) Ptolemaic papyrus roll—not comparable, individual documents cut from such a roll.

<sup>34</sup> Baer, p. 127, n. 111 (P. Berlin 3135), and Marc Coenen and Jan Quaegebeur, *De papyrus Denon in het Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Den Haag, of het Boek van het Ademen van Isis*, Monografieën van het Museum van het Boek 5 (Leuven, 1995), pls. 3–6 (P. Denon/Hague 42/88).

<sup>35</sup> Emma Brunner-Traut and Hellmut Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* (Mainz, 1981), pp. 296–97 and pls. 12–13, 150 (bottom), and 151 (left).

arms and wrapped within the bandages. Most examples place the directions at the end, but the Joseph Smith papyrus has shifted these before the main text. Perhaps for the same reason, the papyrus inverts its versions of the two common illustrations (“vignettes”) that often accompany “Books of Breathings”: a scene of the deceased at the court of Osiris, and a scene of the corpse in the process of reanimation.<sup>36</sup> The latter scene may also include a depiction of the risen ba-spirit, the human-headed bird that represents the soul of the deceased individual. Since the fate of the ba-spirit is the focus of the document, this depiction is logical and is found on the Joseph Smith example.<sup>37</sup> The modern designation “Books of Breathings” includes a variety of late funerary compositions, but the text found in the Joseph Smith collection represents a specific type termed in antiquity “The Document of Breathings Made by Isis for Her Brother Osiris.”<sup>38</sup> These were used by (often interrelated) priestly families in Thebes and its vicinity from the middle Ptolemaic to early Roman eras, and the limited distribution probably accounts for their uniform pattern, displaying only minor modifications. Thus the reanimation scene of P JS I is adapted from contemporary temple depictions but has precisely the same meaning and purpose as other examples with the mummy reinvigorated by the sun disk.<sup>39</sup>

#### IV. “THE BREATHING PERMIT OF HOR”

Here follows the transliteration and translation of Hor’s papyrus. Broken sections are indicated by [ ]. For the sake of simplicity, optional diacritics have been dropped (Hor, not Hôr). Following proper Egyptological convention, Egyptian names are rendered in Egyptian format, not Greek approximations (marred by alphabetic deficiencies and irrelevant terminations) as adopted by Coenen and now inconsistently by Gee (Taikhibit rather than Chibois).<sup>40</sup> With regard to the articles by my former student John Gee, I am constrained to note that unlike the interaction between Baer and Nibley, and the practice of all my other Egyptology students, Gee never chose to share drafts of his publications with me to elicit scholarly criticism, so that I have encountered these only recently. It must be understood that in these apologetic writings, Gee’s opinions do not necessarily reflect my own, nor the standards of Egyptological proof that I required at Yale or Chicago.

The Breathing Document opens with a vignette depicting the resurrection of the Osiris Hor on the customary lion-headed funerary couch, attended by the jackal-headed Anubis and (probably) the winged Isis, while the human-headed ba-spirit of Hor hovers above his

<sup>36</sup> For the court scene first and corpse scene last, see Coenen and Quaegebeur, *De papyrus Denon in het Museum Meermano-Westreenianum*, pp. 25, 27, and 31–32; and Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, pls. 12–13 and 151.

<sup>37</sup> Wrongly restored with a bird’s head and identified in Facsimile 1, fig. 1, of *The Book of Abraham* as “The Angel of the Lord.” This is true only if Joseph Smith’s “Lord” was Osiris.

<sup>38</sup> Formerly known as the “First Book of Breathings”; for the current terminology, see Coenen, “Books of Breathings: More Than a Terminological Question?,” pp. 29–38.

<sup>39</sup> The supposed second (and dappled) “hand” of the prone corpse may be the remains of a winged sundisk

such as that found above the mummy in P. Tübingen 2016, P. Denon, and P. Louvre 3284, rather than Isis in bird form. Gee’s quibbling (*A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri*, pp. 29–30) regarding temple vs. papyrus scenes is pointless, since the priestly owners of these papyri will have devised and had access to both, and contemporary “cross-over” imagery is known. A “weighing of the heart” scene usually confined to papyrus is carved at the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina.

<sup>40</sup> Coenen 1998, p. 1104, n. 7; Gee, *A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri*, pp. 11–12 and 53–59 (Amenophis, Chibois, etc., but Hor rather than the Greek Horos). In the present article, exceptions are made only for the names of deities now standard in the Greek or Latin form (Osiris, Anubis, Horus, etc.).

head. The image has been grotesquely misrepresented as a human sacrifice in the labels and text of The Book of Abraham (Abraham 1:11–14).<sup>41</sup>

*Introductory Vignette with Five Hieroglyphic Subcolumns (Col. I = P JS I)*

*Address to Hor*

(I/1) [Wsr̄ it ntr̄<sup>42</sup>] hm-ntr̄ ʾlmn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr̄.w hm<sup>43</sup> Mnw sm̄3 hrwy.w=f<sup>44</sup> h[m] Hns̄w p̄3 [ir̄] šhr̄ m W[3s.t] (I/2) [. . .] . . . Hr̄ m̄3<sup>c</sup>-hr̄w s̄3 m̄i-nn<sup>45</sup> hry-sšt̄3 ʿb ntr̄ Wsr̄i-wr̄ m̄3<sup>c</sup>-hr̄w ir̄.n n[b.t-pr̄ ih̄y.(t) n] (I/3) [ʾlmn]-R<sup>c46</sup> T̄3y-h̄y-b(y).t m̄3<sup>c</sup>.t-h̄rw ʿnh̄ b̄3=k m-h̄nw=w q(r)ys.t(w)=k hr̄ imnt.t [W3s.t]<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The most reasonable explanations of the vignettes appear in Baer, pp. 117–19; Edward H. Ashment, “The Book of Abraham Facsimiles: A Reappraisal,” *Sunstone* 4–6 (1979): 33–48, and Stephen E. Thompson, “Egyptology and the Book of Abraham,” *Dialogue* 28/1 (1995): 143–60. Human sacrifice in Egypt was rare and more properly political execution, never depicted as on the altered Book of Abraham rendition of P JS I. For such sacrifice in Egypt, see the references gathered in my *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago, 1993), index, p. 308. The early assessments of this material by Egyptologists Breasted, Petrie, Mercer et al. solicited by Spalding in 1912 remain valid in 2003, despite *ad hominem* attacks by Nibley, cited in Gee, “A Tragedy of Errors,” p. 97. Gee’s implication, *ibid.*, p. 103, that these 1912 statements are invalid because, quoting Anthony Leahy, “in 1914 Egyptology was essentially an amateur subject” misrepresents Leahy’s remarks, which indicated not youthful ignorance, but restricted information: “few university or museum posts . . . preserve of the few who had the private resources . . . therefore easy enough for the interested scholar to keep abreast of developments” (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 [1990]: vii).

<sup>42</sup> Restored from Hor’s titles in P. Louvre N 3209; see Marc Coenen, “Horus, Prophet of Min Who Massacres His Enemies,” *Chronique d’Égypte* LXXIV, no. 148 (1999): 258. For this typical title combination of god’s father and prophet, cf. Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens . . . au Musée du Louvre*, pp. 71 (III. 24), 104 (III. 73), 106 (III. 75), 110 (III. 80); and among the owners of Books of Breathing, see pp. 131–37 (IV. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 9).

<sup>43</sup> For the use of hm for hm-ntr̄ “prophet,” see Coenen 1998, p. 1106.

<sup>44</sup> Ultimately read by Baer as k̄3 mw.t=f̄ “Bull of His Mother” (p. 116 and n. 21) but marked as uncertain in his own working notes. The correct reading was first published by Jan Quaegebeur, “Books of Thoth Belonging to Owners of Portraits? On Dating Late Hieratic Funerary Papyri,” in M. L. Bierbrier, ed., *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), p. 74, and discussed by Coenen 1998, pp. 1103–15. The published photos used by Baer were ambiguous, but improved photography published by Charles M. Larson establishes the writing of sm̄3 hrwy.w=f̄ with knife, oar, plural strokes, enemy deter-

minative, and flesh-sign (for =f̄). As the basic verb sm̄3 “to kill” is commonly used regarding human enemies and sacrificial animals, the negative term “massacre” (employed by Coenen) is here rejected for the more commonplace “slaughter.” In addition to the precise parallels noted by Coenen, the martial nature of Min is well attested; see Marquis de Rochmonteix and É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d’Edfou*, vol. 1, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 10 (Paris, 1897), pp. 395 (Min who makes massacres of her (= Isis’s) enemies ir̄ ʿd.w n h̄fty.w=s), 403, l. 17 (who smites his enemies h̄wī h̄fty.w=f̄), and 404 (who brings an end to his enemies in ph̄.wy r̄ h̄fty.w=f̄); Hermann Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Vienna, 1917), p. 36a (who tramples the execration figures ptpt r̄sy.w); and Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 465a (who overthrows his enemies šhr̄ h̄fty.w=f̄).

<sup>45</sup> The suggestion that this phrase means only “priest of the same rank” among the clergy at Karnak must be discarded, contra J. Quaegebeur, “Le papyrus Denon à La Haye,” pp. 214 and 219. The expression was used throughout Egypt to indicate a repetition of specific titles, occasionally supplemented—as here—with additions. Examples recur throughout my forthcoming volume, *The Libyan Anarchy: Documents from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period*. Osorwer will have held all of Hor’s offices in addition to “overseer of secrets” and “purifier of the god.”

<sup>46</sup> The lost titles of Taikhibit are restored from P. Louvre 3207, a Book of the Dead belonging to “the Osiris Hor, the justified, son of Osorwer, the justified, and born by the housewife and sistrum-player of Amon-Re, Taikhibit, the justified.” This surely is the same Hor as the original owner of the Joseph Smith Book of Breathing. The extract in Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens . . . au Musée du Louvre*, p. 70, no. III. 23, misread the parents’ names as Osoraou and Taï-xi or Taï-x . . . , hindering previous identification. This identification has now been made independently and published by Coenen, in “Horus, Prophet of Min Who Massacres His Enemies,” pp. 257–60. Although Coenen is hesitant (p. 258), the title ih̄y.(t) n ʾlmn-R<sup>c</sup> is certain from Devéria’s transcription of the Louvre papyrus.

<sup>47</sup> Restored from l. 5.



(I/4) [. . .] . . . m<sup>3</sup>(?) (I/5) [dī=k n=f q(r)y]s.t<sup>48</sup> nfr.t mnḥ.t ḥr imnt.t n W3s[.t] mī.[tt]<sup>49</sup> ḏw.w M3[nw(?)]<sup>50</sup>

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

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

(I/4) [“O Anubis(?),<sup>51</sup> . . .] justification(?). (I/5) [May you give to him] a good and splendid burial on the west of Thebes as on the mountains of Ma[nu](?).”

*Directions for Use (Col. I/5–Col. II/9 = P JS XI.1)*<sup>52</sup>

[iw<sup>53</sup>](II/1)[=w st3 Wsir r] ḥnw n p(3)y š wr (n) Ḥnsw (II/2) [Wsir Ḥr m<sup>3</sup>-ḥrw] ms.n T3y-ḥy-by.t m<sup>3</sup>.(t)-ḥrw mī.ty (II/3) m-ḥ[t ḥf]‘=w<sup>54</sup> ‘w.y=f 2 r<sup>55</sup> ḥ3.ty=f iw=w<sup>56</sup> qr(II/4)is t š‘y.t (n) snsn ḥr n<sup>57</sup> nty (II/5) m sš.wy ḥnw bnr n-īm=s m šs ny-sw.t rdī.tw (ḥr) ‘=f (II/6) Ḕby n mtr ḥ3.ty=f iw ḥr=w<sup>58</sup> p(3) mn n t3y=f (II/7) qris.(t) r p(3y)=s<sup>59</sup> bnr ḥr ḥr.tw n=f md3.t tn ḥr (II/8) snsn=f mī b3[.w] ntr.w r nḥḥ ḥn<sup>c</sup> (II/9) ḏ.t

[(II/1) Osiris shall be towed in]to the great lake of Khonsu, (II/2) and likewise [the Osiris Hor, the justified,] born of Taikhibit, the justified, (II/3) after his two arms have been

<sup>48</sup> Text restored from Joseph Smith copies; see Joseph Smith, *Joseph Smith’s Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar* [Microform], Utah Lighthouse Ministry (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1966), pp. F and V, and Baer, pp. 117 and 129. For Joseph Smith’s authorship of this work, see Edward H. Ashment, “Joseph Smith’s Identification of ‘Abraham’ in Papyrus JS 1, the ‘Breathing Permit of Hôr,” *Dialogue* 33/4 (2000): 121–26.

<sup>49</sup> The words n W3s.t mī.t are fully preserved in “Joseph Smith’s Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar,” pp. F and V (mī.t garbled).

<sup>50</sup> For Manu, cf. Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens . . . au Musée du Louvre*, pp. 68 and 105.

<sup>51</sup> A divine name (Anubis?) must be lost here, since the following address shifts from Hor to a deity on his behalf. This passage rebuts Gee, “A Tragedy of Errors,” pp. 100 and 104–5: “Where, we must ask, in all of Papyrus Joseph Smith XI–X is there any prayer to any Egyptian God?” A further example occurs in the invocation (col. VIII/11) of Facsimile 3. Actually, since Hor is repeatedly and explicitly stated to be deified, a member of the company of the gods, and a form of Osiris, the entire Breathing Document is itself an extended “prayer to an Egyptian God.”

<sup>52</sup> Restored from the parallel text of P. Louvre 3284, col. 6, in de Horrack, “Le Livre des Respirations d’après les manuscrits du Musée du Louvre,” 1907, pl. 11 and p. 135.

<sup>53</sup> Hieratic text restored from Joseph Smith copies (“Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar,” pp. F, V, and 11 of “smaller book”).

<sup>54</sup> Literally, “grasped.”

<sup>55</sup> The scribe has reinterpreted the standard text found in P. Louvre 3284, converting a visually similar hieratic shape into a later Demotic (and hieratic) form (ḥr > 2 r). The meaning is unaffected. Nibley 1975, p. 20, misread ḥr and assumed the sign was “heavily retouched.”

<sup>56</sup> Contra Nibley 1975, p. 20, who read m.

<sup>57</sup> Emended by Baer, pp. 119–20, and Nibley 1975, p. 21, the phrase ḥr n means simply “which amounts to/corresponds to/equals” in contemporary Demotic Egyptian; see Wolja Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 36. The scribe has here deviated from the standard text, which has nothing between snsn and nty. Perhaps, as suggested by Baer, the scribe conflated this passage with the opening of Paragraph I.

<sup>58</sup> The form iw ḥr=w here must mark a second tense stressing “over it,” not a circumstantial past. Other versions have only ḥr=w “Let them make.”

<sup>59</sup> Contra Nibley 1975, pp. 21–22, who read gs (“side”); the spelling is an abbreviated alphabetic writing of the possessive adjective, common in Ptolemaic and Roman texts. This section of text, unread by de Horrack and Parker, is confirmed by the following variants: P. Louvre 3284, ll. 7–8: ḥr=w p(3) mn (n) t3 qris.(t) r p3y=s bnr; P. Louvre 3121: ḥr=w p(3) mn n t3y=f qris.(t) r p(3y)=s [bnr]; P. Louvre 3126: ḥr=w p3 mn (n) t3[y] =f qris.(t) r p(3y)=s bnr. For hand-copies, see de Horrack, “Le Livre des Respirations d’après les manuscrits du Musée du Louvre,” pl. 11. For the sign mn, see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1912), p. 52, no. 540.

[placed] at his heart, while (II/4) the Breathing Document, being what (II/5) is written on its interior and exterior, shall be wrapped in royal linen and placed (under) his left arm in the midst of his heart. The remainder of his (II/7) wrapping shall be made over it.

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

*The Main Body of the Breathing Document (Col. III/1–V/13 = P JS XI.2 + P JS IVA–D [mismounted fragments] + P JS VI [mismounted fragment] + P JS X)*<sup>60</sup>

#### Paragraph I

(III/1) **h3.t-<sup>c</sup> m** [š<sup>c</sup>y.t n sns]n ir.t.[n 3s.t n sn<sup>as</sup> Ws<sup>ir</sup> r s<sup>nh</sup> b3=f r s<sup>nh</sup> h3.t=f r srnp h<sup>c</sup>.w=f nb] (III/2) **m whm** [r hn<sup>m</sup>=f] 3h.t hn<sup>c</sup> it=f R<sup>c</sup> [r sh<sup>c</sup> b3=f m p.t m itn n i<sup>h</sup> r psd h3.t=f m S3h m h.t n Nw.t r] (III/3) **rdi.t hpr m**[i.tt n]n n Ws<sup>ir</sup> Hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw s3 . . . Ws<sup>ir</sup>-wr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms.n T3y-hy-by.t m3<sup>c</sup>.t-hrw] h3[p<sup>61</sup> sp-2] (III/4) imy=k r[d<sup>i</sup>] š s.(t) s nb 3h[=s n s m hr.t-ntr <sup>c</sup>nh=f m whm m sšrw] m3<sup>c</sup> h<sup>h</sup> n sp<sup>62</sup>

(III/1) Beginning of the [Breath]ing [Document] that [Isis] made [for her brother Osiris in order to revivify his ba-spirit, to revivify his corpse, and to rejuvenate all his limbs] (III/2) again, [so that he might unite with] the horizon together with his father Re, [so that his ba-spirit might be made to appear gloriously in heaven in the moon disk, so that his corpse might shine in Orion within the body of the sky-goddess Nut, and so that] (III/3) the same things might be made to happen to the Osiris Hor, the justified, son [of . . . Osorwer, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified.] Hide [it! Hide it!] (III/4) Do not let anyone read it!<sup>63</sup> [It] is effective [for a man in the necropolis, so that he might live again,] [being proved] truly [effective], millions of times.

#### Paragraph II

(III/5) **hy<sup>64</sup>** [Ws<sup>ir</sup> H]r m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms.n T3y[-hy-by.t m3<sup>c</sup>.t-hrw iw=k w<sup>b</sup> h3.ty=k w<sup>b</sup> h3.t=k m] <sup>c</sup>bw ph.ty=k<sup>65</sup> (III/6) **m dwr<sup>66</sup> hr(y)-ib=k m bd** [hsmn nn <sup>c</sup>im=k m isf.t w<sup>b</sup>] Ws[ir H]r m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms.n<sup>67</sup> (III/7) T3y-h(by.t)<sup>68</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>.(t)-hr[w] m šdy.(t) twy nt[y Sh.wt-htp hr mh.t n.(t) sh.wt snhm.w] sw<sup>b</sup> tw=k W3dy.t<sup>69</sup> (III/8) Nhb.t m nww.t 3.t<sup>70</sup> n.t grh (m)

<sup>60</sup> Lacunae restored from P. Louvre 3284 and variants 3121, 3126, and 3291, in de Horrack, "Le Livre des Respirations d'après les manuscrits du Musée du Louvre," pls. 7–13.

<sup>61</sup> The final traces **h3[p]** appear on a fragment pasted upside down in the upper left corner of P JS IV (= P JS IV A/1).

<sup>62</sup> The final words **m3<sup>c</sup> h<sup>h</sup> n sp** appear inverted on P JS IV A/2.

<sup>63</sup> Commands for secrecy in religious texts were intended to maintain elite privilege, not magical efficacy; see my *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 202–4.

<sup>64</sup> For this interjection in late (and often Theban) texts, see Jan Quaegebeur, "La stèle Brooklyn 71.37.2 révisée," *Göttinger Miszellen* 119 (1990): 76 and 86.

<sup>65</sup> The final words **<sup>c</sup>bw ph.ty=k** appear inverted on P JS IV A/3.

<sup>66</sup> Written for **twr**. The loss of the **d** sound in later Egyptian led to a common conflation of the once distinct consonants **d** and **t**.

<sup>67</sup> The final words **Ws[ir H]r m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms.n** appear inverted on P JS IV A/4.

<sup>68</sup> Misread **Rmny-q3i** by Nibley 1975, p. 26. Nibley's error was further confused in Gee, "A Tragedy of Errors," pp. 105 and 108, where it is said to be Hor's father's(!) name. Gee's article and error are signaled in Coenen 1998, p. 1104. For the abbreviated spelling, see the introductory discussion before the translation.

<sup>69</sup> The final words **sw<sup>b</sup> tw=k W3dy.t** appear inverted in P JS IV A/5.

<sup>70</sup> Other versions have the eighth (P. Louvre 3284, Louvre 3291, and British Museum 9995) or the ninth hour of day and night (P. Berlin 3135).

**nww.t 3.t [n.t hrw my r=k Wsir Hr m3-hrw ms.n T3y-hby].t m3c.(t)-hrw ‘q=k r wsh.t<sup>71</sup>**  
(III/9) **M3c.ty iw=k<sup>72</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b.tw r hww [nb bt3w nb inr n M3c.t rn=k]**

(III/5) “Hail, [Osiris Ho]r, the justified, born of Tai[khibit, the justified! You are pure! Your heart is pure! Your front is in] a state of purity, your rear is in a state of cleanliness, and your interior parts consist of soda and [natron. There is no limb of yours in an evil state.] The Os[iris Ho]r, the justified, born of (III/7) Taikhibit, the justified, [has been purified] in this pool of the Fields of Offerings on the north of the Fields of Locusts. Edjo and Nekhbet have purified you (III/8) in the third hour of night and in the third hour [of day. Come, then, Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibi]t, the justified! May you enter into the Hall of the (III/9) Two Truths, since you are pure from [all] impurity [and every abomination. ‘Rock of Truth’ is your name.]

Paragraph III

**[hy] Wsir Hr m3c-hrw ‘q=k<sup>73</sup> (III/10) r dw3.t<sup>74</sup> [m] ‘bw wr sw<sup>c</sup>b tw=k [M3c.ty] m wsh.t<sup>75</sup>**  
**[3.t ir.tw n=k ‘bw m wsh.t Gb sw<sup>c</sup>b h<sup>c</sup>.w=k] m wsh.t<sup>76</sup> (III/11) Šw iw=k<sup>77</sup> [h]r m3 R<sup>c</sup>**  
**m htp=f ʔ[tm m mšrw ʔlmn (i)rm=k hr di.t n=k ʔw Pth hr nb]i [h]<sup>c</sup>.w=k<sup>78</sup> ‘q=k r ʔh.[t]**  
**hn[<sup>c</sup>] R<sup>c</sup> [šsp=w b3=k r nšm.t hn<sup>c</sup> Wsir] (IV/1) [ntri=w b]3=k [m pr Gb iw=k n m3c-hrw**  
**r nh<sup>h</sup> d.t]**

[Hail,] Osiris Hor, the justified! May you enter (III/10) into the Underworld [in] a state of great purity. [The Two Truths] have purified you in the [Great] Hall. [Purification is made for you in the Hall of Geb. Your limb]s [have been purified] in the Hall of (III/11) Shu. You see Re at his setting, A[tum at twilight.<sup>79</sup> Amon is with you, giving you breath. Ptah fashion]s your limbs. May you enter into the horizon with Re. [May your ba-spirit be received into the sacred Neshmet bark with Osiris.] (IV/1) [May] your ba-spirit [be deified in the Estate of Geb, since you are justified forever and ever.]

Paragraph IV

**[Wsir] Hr m3c-hrw ms.n T3y-[hy-by.t<sup>80</sup> m3c.(t)-hrw m]n rn=k d[d] h3.t=k rwd s3h=k<sup>81</sup>**  
**[nn šn<sup>c</sup>.tw=k] (IV/2) [m p.t ʔ shd hr=k hr R<sup>c</sup>] ‘nh b3=k hr ʔlmn rn[p<sup>82</sup> h3].t=k hr Wsir**  
**snsn=k r nh[h] d].t**

[Osiris] Hor, the justified, born of Tai[khibit, the justified! May your name end]ure, may your corpse abide, and may your mummy thrive. [You shall not be turned away] (IV/2) [in

<sup>71</sup> The final words [T3y-hby].t m3c.(t)-hrw ‘q=k r wsh.t appear inverted on P JS IV A/6.

<sup>72</sup> The lower portion of the words M3c.ty iw=k appears on Fragment P JS IV D/1, wrongly pasted below the ba-bird vignette in column 2 of P JS IV.

<sup>73</sup> The final words Wsir Hr m3c-hrw ‘q=k appear inverted on P JS IV A/7.

<sup>74</sup> The words r dw3.t appear on Fragment P JS IV D/2.

<sup>75</sup> The words m wsh.t are said to appear on a misplaced fragment pasted on P JS VI, upper left corner. See the hand-copy in Nibley 1975, p. 28, top left.

<sup>76</sup> The final words [h<sup>c</sup>].w=k] m wsh.t appear inverted in P JS IV A/8.

<sup>77</sup> The words Šw iw=k appear on Fragment P JS IV D/3.

<sup>78</sup> The words [nb]i [h]<sup>c</sup>.w=k appear on Fragment P JS IV D/4.

<sup>79</sup> Atum is part of the solar trinity, the form of Re at evening.

<sup>80</sup> The words Hr m3c-hrw ms.n T3y-[hy-by.t] appear on Fragment P JS IV C/1, mounted upside down in the middle of the plate, between the center vignettes.

<sup>81</sup> Written with only the seal logogram; see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 3, p. 40, no. 422. Nibley 1975, p. 30, misread the detached elements as r<sup>c</sup> nb or hr, though he read the sign correctly in col. V/12 (p. 44).

heaven or on earth. May your face be illuminated<sup>83</sup> in the presence of Re.] May your ba-spirit live in the presence of Amon. May your [cor]pse be rejuvenated in the presence of Osiris. May you breathe forever [and ev]er.

#### Paragraph V

(IV/3) [īr n=k b=k pr.t-ḥrw m t ḥnq.(t) k3.w 3pd.w m qbḥw snt]r m ḥr.t hrw<sup>84</sup> [n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w=k ḥr] qs.w=k m q̄i=k ḥr-tp t̄ isw[r]=k<sup>85</sup> m š[n]b=k (IV/4) [wnm=k m r=k šsp=k] snw ḥn<sup>86</sup> [b3.w ntr.w ḥ]w tw=k 3Inpw īr=f s3w=k nn šn[<sup>c</sup>.t]w=k<sup>87</sup> m r3.w (IV/5) [n.w dw3.t īy n=k Dḥwty 3] sp-2 wr nb Ḥmnw s[š] =f<sup>88</sup> n=k š<sup>c</sup>.(t) (n) snsn m db<sup>c</sup>.w=f ds=f [s]nsn (IV/6) [b3=k r nḥḥ wḥm=k q]i=k ḥr-tp t̄ m-m<sup>89</sup> 3nh.w ī[w]=k ntrī ḥn<sup>c</sup> b3.w ntr.w īb=k īb n R<sup>c</sup> īwf=k<sup>90</sup> (IV/7) [īwf n ntr 3]

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

#### Paragraph VI

[hy Ws]īr Ḥr m3-ḥrw 3lmm (ī)rm=k<sup>91</sup> r<sup>c</sup> nb m pr R<sup>c92</sup> wḥm=k 3nh wp n=k Wp-w3.wt w3.t (IV/8) nfr[.t<sup>93</sup> m3=k m īr.ty=k sḏm=k m] 3nh.wy=k mdw=k m r3=k šm=k m rd=k<sup>94</sup> iw b3=k ntrī m dw3.t [r ī]r (IV/9) ḥpr.[w nb r mr=f īr=k n3 šr]šr.w<sup>95</sup> n p(3) (ī)šd šps [. . .]<sup>96</sup>

<sup>82</sup> The words 3nh b3=k ḥr 3lmm rn[p] appear on Fragment P JS IV C/2.

<sup>83</sup> Literal illumination by the sun-god is intended, with the added nuance of “gladden” (shd-ḥr).

<sup>84</sup> The words [snt]r m ḥr.t hrw appear on Fragment P JS IV C/3.

<sup>85</sup> Metathesis for siw[r]=k.

<sup>86</sup> The words snw ḥn<sup>c</sup> appear in P JS IV C/4.

<sup>87</sup> Misread as ḥsf [twk] by Nibley 1975, p. 32.

<sup>88</sup> The words sp-2 wr nb Ḥmnw s[š] appear on P JS IV C/5. For the evolution of the epithet of Thoth the Thrice Greatest (“Trismegistos”) in this and other texts, see my articles “Hermes Pentamegistos,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 49 (1981): 73–75, and “Additional Notes to Hermes Pentamegistos,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 50 (1981): 67–68. My citation of the available image of P JS IV should not be construed as an endorsement of Nibley’s scholarship, contra the implications of Gee, “A Tragedy of Errors,” p. 98, n. 6.

<sup>89</sup> The top half of the words [q]i=k ḥr-tp t̄ m-m appears in P JS IV C/6.

<sup>90</sup> The scribe employs the variant found in P Louvre 3291, l. 16. Nibley 1975, p. 33, wrongly read ḥ<sup>c</sup>.t.k, following P Louvre 3284, 2/11.

<sup>91</sup> For the common late conjunction, misunderstood by Nibley as a confusion of r<sup>c</sup> and m<sup>c</sup>, see *Wb.* I, 115/17–20.

<sup>92</sup> All other versions have r<sup>c</sup> nb ḥr wḥm=k, omitting the phrase “in the estate of Re.” Baer, p. 122, n. 60, was unable to read the traces between r<sup>c</sup> “day” and m pr R<sup>c</sup> “in the estate/temple of Re.” This is simply the expected modifier nb “every” placed to the right of r<sup>c</sup>, not below it as restored by Nibley 1975, p. 34, who ignores the following sign. The damaged suffix =k fills the space where Nibley restored nb.

<sup>93</sup> A small misplaced fragment used to patch lines 9–10 of this column contains the words nfr and ḥpr, which properly begin lines 8 and 9. See Baer, p. 122, n. 62, and Nibley 1975, pp. 35–36, who did not place the fragment and misread nfr.

<sup>94</sup> Only one leg is written, contra Nibley 1975, p. 34. The same writing is found in P. Berlin 3135.

<sup>95</sup> Louvre 3284 indicates a vocalization ššl.w, corresponding to Coptic 𐩪𐩺𐩬𐩺 “shaking” (W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford, 1939], p. 561b).

<sup>96</sup> A gap at this spot was later filled with a fragment torn from the beginnings of ll. 8–9, probably covering a hole already present when the papyrus was

**m** ʔlwnw nhs=k tw<sup>97</sup> r<sup>c</sup> nb mʔ=k nʔ sty(IV/10)[.wt n P3-R<sup>c</sup> iy n=k ʔlmn hr tʔ].w n ʕnh dī=f  
 ir=k sn[sn m]<sup>98</sup> db̄.t=k pr=k r tʔ r<sup>c</sup> nb ir=w<sup>99</sup> n=k š<sup>c</sup>(IV/11)[y.t n sns]n [n Dḥwty m] sʔw=k<sup>100</sup>  
 sns=k im=s mi R<sup>c</sup> mʔ ir.t=k sty.(wt) itn dd=w mʔ.t r=k<sup>101</sup> (IV/12) [m-bʔh Wsir] ir=w  
 m[k.t=k(?)]<sup>102</sup> Hr Bhd.t ḥw=f<sup>103</sup> d.t=k ntrī=f<sup>104</sup> bʔ=k mi ir<sup>105</sup> ntr.w nb.w bʔ n R<sup>c</sup> hr s<sup>c</sup>nh  
 [bʔ=k] (IV/13) [bʔ n Šw hr ḥnm ms]ty=k

[Hail, Os]iris Hor, the justified! Amon is with you every day in the Estate of Re, so that you might live again. Wepwawet has opened for you the good way, (IV/8) [so that you might see with your eyes, that you might hear with] your ears, that you might speak with your mouth, and that you might walk with your feet, while your ba-spirit is deified in the Underworld [in order to] make [any] transformation[s according to its will. May you cause the rust]lings of the noble perseia tree [. . .] in Heliopolis.<sup>106</sup> May you awake every day so that you might see the ray[s (IV/10) of the sun. Amon has come to you bearing the brea]th of life. He has caused that you brea[the in] your sarcophagus so that you might go forth to the earth every day. (IV/11) The Breath]ing Docu[ment of Thoth] has been made for you [as] your protection, so that you might breathe by means of it like Re, so that your eyes might see the rays of the sun disk, and so that you might be called ‘justified’ (IV/12) [in the presence of Osiris.] [Your] pro]tection(?) has been made. Horus the Behdedite<sup>107</sup> has guarded your body and has deified your ba-spirit as do all the gods. The ba-spirit of Re revivifies your [ba-spirit]. (IV/3) [The ba-spirit of the air-god Shu unites with] your [nos]trils.

Paragraph VII

**h**[ʔ]y Wsir Hr mʔ<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms.n Tʔy-ḥy-(by.t)<sup>108</sup> mʔ<sup>c</sup>.(t)-hrw sns n bʔ=k iw (= r) [bw] mr=k<sup>109</sup>  
 (V/1) [i]w=k m [Wsir Wsir Ḥnty-ʔlmnty.w rn=k Ḥ<sup>c</sup>py wr iw n=k m ʔbw mh=f ḥtp=k m  
 dfʔ](V/2).w

written; see Baer, p. 122, n. 62. Nothing is expected between šps and **m** ʔlwnw. Baer considered the trace of **m** following the hole to be the conclusion of a second writing of šps (dittography), and his remarks were misinterpreted by Nibley 1975, p. 35, who transcribed the final determinatives of (i)šd as another writing of šps. Had such dittography existed, it would have been in the hole.

<sup>97</sup> Misread by Nibley 1975, p. 35, as **nhs twk**.

<sup>98</sup> The hole in the papyrus is here patched with **ḥpr** from line 9. The lost text of **sn[sn m]** is too small for the current gap, supporting Baer’s suggestion of ancient damage. Slight traces of **m** or the determinative of ʔw are preserved on tatters to the right of **db̄.t**.

<sup>99</sup> Not attested in other variants and misread by Nibley 1975, p. 36, as **rdi.tw**. Other texts read: “The Document of Breathing of Thoth is your protection, so that you might breathe by means of it every day.”

<sup>100</sup> Misread by Nibley 1975, p. 36, as **(nd)w.k**.

<sup>101</sup> Misread by Nibley 1975, p. 37, as **rn=k**. Nibley’s **n** is the lower stroke of the ovoid **r**.

<sup>102</sup> P JS X has a broken, shorter variant than standard texts. The word **m[k.t]** “protection” is restored following col. V/5, where it also precedes mention of

Horus of Behdet. This restoration was first suggested by Baer in unpublished notes. Nibley 1975, p. 37, misread the traces as **it.f**. Other texts have **sš=w mʔ<sup>c</sup>-hrw hr d.t=k** “They have written ‘justified’ on your body.”

<sup>103</sup> Misread by Nibley 1975, p. 37, as **ḥnm.n.f**.

<sup>104</sup> Misread by Nibley 1975, p. 37, as a **sdm.ty.fy**-form **ntr.ty.fy**.

<sup>105</sup> Other versions read: “Horus, the protector of his father, . . . has deified your ba-spirit like all the gods.”

<sup>106</sup> For the mythological associations, see Baer, p. 123, n. 63.

<sup>107</sup> Horus of Edfu.

<sup>108</sup> Nibley 1975, p. 38, mistranscribed the final signs, substituting a “t” for the human figure after **ḥb**. Contra Nibley, this is not the “only occurrence of the complete name,” nor is its meaning “unknown.” Nibley himself noted the full writing in col. II/2 (p. 20). Other unbroken writings of the mother’s name appear in cols. I/3 and III/7. Nibley’s treatment skipped col. I and misread III/7 (p. 26).

<sup>109</sup> Signs ignored by Nibley 1975 and **mr** wrongly included in the photograph of the end of l. 12.

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

Paragraph VIII

Ws̄ir Ḥr m̄<sup>ꜥ</sup>-ḥrw ms.n<sup>110</sup> [T̄3y-ḥy-by.t m̄<sup>ꜥ</sup>.(t)-ḥrw iw n̄=k n̄tr.w n.w Šm<sup>ꜥ</sup>w s̄m̄=w tw̄=k r ʿrq-ḥḥ<sup>111</sup> ʿnh̄ b̄=k šm̄](V/3)s̄=k Ws̄ir sns̄n=k (m)-ḥnt<sup>112</sup> R3-Sṭw [mk tw̄=k Ḥ3p-nb=s ḥn<sup>ꜥ</sup> n̄tr ʿ3 ḥ3.t=k ʿnh̄ m̄] (V/4) Ddw T̄3w-wr b̄=k ʿnh̄ m̄ p.t [r<sup>ꜥ</sup>] nb

Osiris Hor, the justified, born of [Taikhibit, the justified! The gods of Upper Egypt have come to you so that they might guide you to Alkhaḥ. May your ba-spirit live, may you] (V/3) serve Osiris, may you breathe within Rostau. [‘She-who-hides-her-Lord’<sup>113</sup> and the great god have protected you. Your corpse lives in] (V/4) Busiris and the Thinite nome. Your ba-spirit lives in heaven every [day].

Paragraph IX

[Ws̄ir Ḥr m̄<sup>ꜥ</sup>-ḥrw ms.n T̄3y-ḥy-by.t m̄<sup>ꜥ</sup>.(t)-ḥrw šḥm Šḥm.t m̄ w3w.w im̄=k Ḥr] (V/5) ʿ3 ib ḥr ir mk.t=k(k) Ḥr Bḥd.t [ḥr ir ib̄=k Ḥr-Mr.ty ḥr s3w d̄.t=k d̄d=k m̄] (V/6) ʿnh̄ wd̄3 snb iw̄=k mn.tw ḥr ns̄.t=k m̄ t̄ d̄sr [m̄]y [r̄=k Ws̄ir Ḥr m̄<sup>ꜥ</sup>-ḥrw ms.n T̄3y-ḥy-by.t m̄<sup>ꜥ</sup>.(t)-ḥrw iw̄=k] (V/7) ḥ<sup>ꜥ</sup>.tw m̄ qd̄=k<sup>114</sup> twt m̄ ḥkr.w=k sdr̄=k<sup>115</sup> m̄ ʿnh̄ [wr̄=k m̄ snb šm̄=k sns̄n=k r̄] (V/8) bw nb wbn R<sup>ꜥ</sup> ḥr t̄ph̄.t=k<sup>116</sup> mi Ws̄ir sns̄n=k [ʿn̄]ḥ[=k m̄ sty.w=f ʿlmn-R<sup>ꜥ</sup> sʿnh̄=f] (V/9) k3=k sw3d̄=f tw̄=k<sup>117</sup> m̄ š3.t<sup>118</sup> sns̄n šms̄=k Ws̄ir [Ḥr nb ḥnw iw̄=k m̄ n̄tr ʿ3 ḥnty] (V/10) n̄tr.w ʿnh̄ ḥr̄=k n̄r ms̄.w=k rn̄=k rwd r<sup>ꜥ</sup> nb [m̄]y [ʿ]q̄=k r̄ [šḥ]-n̄tr<sup>119</sup> [wr sp-2] (V/11) m̄ Ddw m̄3=k Ḥnty-ʿlmnty.w m̄ ḥb Wg[3] ndm stȳ=k m̄ ḥwn<sup>120</sup> [ʿ3 rn̄=k m̄] (V/12) s3ḥ šps

[Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified! Sakhmet has overpowered those who would conspire against you. Horus] (V/5) the steadfast makes (your) protection. Horus the Behdedite [performs your wishes. Hormerty guards your body, so that you are permanently in] (V/6) life, prosperity, and health, enduring upon your throne in the sacred land. Come, [then, Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified, (V/7) appearing gloriously in your proper form, complete in your ornaments! May you spend the night in life;

<sup>110</sup> Lines 1–2 were dismissed as illegible by Nibley 1975, p. 39.

<sup>111</sup> Baer, p. 123, failed to recognize the name of this cult site of Osiris and adopted the copying error of P. Louvre 3284 for the following word (ḥn<sup>ꜥ</sup> for ʿnh̄). For ʿrq-ḥḥ, see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 68. Nibley 1975, p. 39, read “m or khnti.”

<sup>113</sup> Alkhaḥ is the specific burial site of Osiris at Abydos, Rostau is a generic term for burial ground (originally just for Saqqara), and “She-who-hides-her-Lord” is the name of the necropolis at Abydos.

<sup>114</sup> Nibley 1975, p. 41, misread tyt.k.

<sup>115</sup> Nibley’s insistence, 1975, p. 41, that “the sign . . . is not sdr̄ but gr̄g” shows ignorance of late hieratic and Demotic forms. See Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 3, p. 37, no. 384B, and Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 480 (bottom).

<sup>116</sup> Nibley 1975, p. 41, mistranscribed the ḥ as a

stroke to read tp.t. “Cavern” signifies “tomb.” Other versions have ḥw.t “mansion” with the same nuance.

<sup>117</sup> Nibley 1975, p. 42, garbled this passage, misreading sw3d̄=f tw̄=k as “ʿnkh nd (wda?)-snb or m swda.tw.k.” Nibley’s “transliteration” does not follow standard conventions.

<sup>118</sup> The scribe has written š3.t in error for š̄.t.

<sup>119</sup> The words [ʿ]q̄=k r̄ [šḥ]-n̄tr appear on Fragment P JS IV B/1, inserted upside down at the upper left of the ba-bird vignette. All extant versions have šḥ-n̄tr, but Nibley 1975, p. 43, restored [ḥr.t]-n̄tr. Baer translated “Great Divine Council,” but the term refers specifically to the embalming booth of Anubis.

<sup>120</sup> The words =k m̄ ḥwn appear in Fragment P JS IV B/2. The final sign is the child determinative, not plural strokes as transcribed by Nibley 1975, p. 43. All other versions have ndm stȳ=k mi im̄3ḥ.w “May your scent be sweet like the revered ones.”

[may you spend the day in health. May you travel and may you breathe in] (V/8) any place. May Re shine upon your cavern like that of Osiris, so that you might breathe and [live by means of his rays. Amon-Re has revived] (V/9) your ka-spirit and has made you flourish by means of the Breathing Document. May you serve Osiris [and Horus, Lord of the sacred Henu bark, since you exist as the Great God, Foremost] (V/10) of the gods. May your face live; may your forms be perfect. Your name thrives every day. [Come,] may you enter into the very great embalming [booth] in Busiris. May you see the Foremost of the Westerners in the Wag-Festival. May your scent be sweet as a youth. [May your name be great as] (V/12) an august noble.<sup>121</sup>

Paragraph X

**h3y Wsir Hr m3c-hrw 3nh b3k m 3cy.t sns n [hnm=k m ml.tt] (V/13) b3<sup>122</sup> 3q=k r dw3.t nn wn hfty.w=k iw=k m 3h<sup>123</sup> ntri [m Ddw ib=k n=k nn hri=f r=k ir.ty=k n=k wn r<sup>c</sup> nb]**

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

This marks the end of the preserved text. Paragraphs XI–XIV are lost, approximately two columns [Cols. VI–VII].

The papyrus concludes with a vignette preserved only in a poorly rendered engraving at the end of The Book of Abraham. Baer conservatively chose to translate only the most obvious of these passages,<sup>124</sup> but additional readings are possible and have been attempted here, with uncertainties noted. The scene, as already recognized by Baer, is the well-attested conclusion of the older judgment scene associated with Book of the Dead 125.<sup>125</sup> Having attained justification, the deified Hor is brought by Maat and Anubis before the altar of the enthroned Osiris, behind whom stands Isis. Comparable scenes open Papyrus Hague 42/88 (Denon) and Tübingen 2016.<sup>126</sup> The origin of these vignettes in the classic

<sup>121</sup> The term “noble” also indicates “mummy.” P JS V is paralleled by P. Louvre 3291, l. 29. Other versions have “be great among the nobles/mummies.”

<sup>122</sup> Texts differ considerably here. P. Louvre 3284 has **hnm=k m ml.tt** “may you be joined likewise,” while Louvre 3291 has **hnm=k m 3c.t n sns n** “may you be joined by means of the Breathing Document.” Goyon, “Les livres des respirations,” p. 222, notes examples of “you are united with Shu, son of Re.”

<sup>123</sup> Other versions have **b3 ntri** “divine ba,” and Nibley 1975, p. 45, wrongly followed that reading, ignoring the remarks of Baer, p. 124, n. 85. For the hieratic sign, see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 3, p. 19, no. 204 (with back tick), clearly distinct from no. 208 (**b3**) and the writing of **b3** found at the beginning of this line and throughout the text.

<sup>124</sup> Baer, p. 127, and n. 110.

<sup>125</sup> Baer, pp. 126–27. Baer’s statement that it is “similar to but not identical with scenes showing judgment of the deceased before Osiris” (p. 126) and “is

not a judgment scene” (his quoted letter to Nibley in Gee, *A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri*, p. 100) means only that the actual process of judgment is not shown. This image *does*, however, form part of standard judgment scenes; see the following notes.

<sup>126</sup> Coenen and Quaegebeur, *De papyrus Denon in het Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum*, figs. 3–5, and Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, pls. 12–13. These and other examples eliminate the doubt once expressed by Baer that “parallels may be hard to find” (quoted letter to Nibley in Gee, *A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri*, p. 100). Gee fails to quote the remainder of Baer’s assessment: “But one must not exaggerate in the other direction. I doubt that one could find many instances of exactly identical scenes in Egyptian art” (Baer files, quoted by permission, unlike the unauthorized use by Gee, *ibid.*, pp. 98, n. 15 and 100, n. 22). The inclusions of Thoth recording the judgment and the Swallowing Monster Amyt further stress the derivation of this

judgment scene is shown conclusively by the final vignette of the comparable Breathing Document Florence 3666 + Vienna 3850, in which Maat and Anubis escort the deceased to the scales, enthroned Osiris and Isis.<sup>127</sup> The iconography of Facsimile 3 has been discussed most reasonably by Stephen E. Thompson.<sup>128</sup> This scene depicts events in the underworld court of Osiris, not a funeral reenactment with human actors.<sup>129</sup>

*Concluding Vignette, Col. VIII (= Facsimile 3 of The Book of Abraham)*

Label for Osiris (Fig. 1 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/1) **dd-mdw i(n) Ws̄r Hnty-ʿlmnty.w** (VIII/2) **nb(?) ʒbdw(?) p̄ n̄tr ʒ** (VIII/3) **r d.t n̄h̄(?)**

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

Label for Isis (Fig. 2 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/4) **ʒs.t wr.(t) mw.t n̄tr**

Isis the great, the god's mother.<sup>130</sup>

Label for Maat (Fig. 4 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/5) **M̄ʒ.t h̄nw.t n̄tr.w**

Maat, mistress of the gods.

Label for Hor (Fig. 5 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/6) **Ws̄r Hr** (VIII/7) **m̄ʒ-h̄rw r d.t**

The Osiris Hor, justified forever.

scene from Book of the Dead 125 vignettes, as in the Papyrus of Hunefer illustrated in R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, rev. ed. (New York, 1985), pp. 34–35.

<sup>127</sup> Marc Coenen, "A Remarkable Judgement Scene in a Document of Breathing made by Isis: Papyrus Florence 3665 + 3666 and Papyrus Vienna 3850," *Orientalia*, n.s., 68 (1999): 98–103, esp. pl. 21.

<sup>128</sup> Stephen E. Thompson, "Egyptology and the Book of Abraham," *Dialogue* 28/1 (1995): 145–48. Gee's brief rebuttal (*A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri*, pp. 40 and 67, n. 17) is unacceptable. Reference to a costumed private individual in the Roman procession of Isis is not evidence that the figure of Isis here (no. 2) is "King Pharaoh, whose name is given in the characters above his head," as published by Joseph Smith. Smith misunderstood "Pharaoh" as a personal name (cf. Abraham 1:25), and the name above fig. 2 is unquestionably that of the female Isis. Osiris (fig. 1) is

certainly not "Abraham," nor is it possible that the altar of Osiris (fig. 3) "signifies Abraham." Maat (fig. 4) is not a male "prince," Hor (fig. 5) is not a "waiter," nor is Anubis (fig. 6) a "slave" (because of his dark skin). Such interpretations are uninspired fantasies and are defended only with the forfeiture of scholarly judgement and credibility.

<sup>129</sup> Gee, *A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri*, p. 66, wrongly conflates this Anubis with masked Anubis-priests at funerals. Actors did not, however, impersonate Maat, Osiris, and Isis at funerals.

<sup>130</sup> The same (common) label appears in P. Tübingen 2016 for the figure of Isis. She is not "Pharaoh" there either.

<sup>131</sup> Or **nb dw̄ʒ.t** "Lord of the Underworld." The epithet **ir s̄ʒ** appears in a comparable scene in the unpublished Papyrus McClung Museum: 98.11.1 (University of Tennessee, Knoxville).



Label for Anubis (Fig. 6 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/8) **dd-mdw i(n) 'lnpw ir s3(?)**<sup>131</sup> (VIII/9) **hnty sh-ntr** (VIII/10) . . . <sup>132</sup>

Recitation by Anubis, who makes protection(?), foremost of the embalming booth, . . .

Invocation

(VIII/11) **i n(3) ntr.w hr.t-ntr ntr.w qrr.wt ntr.w rsy mht imnt.t ðb.t swð Wsir Hr m3c-hrw ir.n T3y-hy-by.t**<sup>133</sup>

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

Here the papyrus ended. As the reader can verify by comparison, the basic understanding of the papyrus remains unchanged from Baer’s interpretation of thirty-five years ago. The text is a formal document or “permit” created by Isis and copied by Thoth to assure that the deified Hor regains the ability to breathe and function after death, with full mobility, access to offerings, and all other privileges of the immortal gods. The implications, basic symbolism, and intent of the text are certain.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Possibilities include **imy-wt** “who is in the mummy bandages,” **p3 ntr** “the great god,” or **s3 Wsir** “son of Osiris.”

<sup>133</sup> Unread by Baer, p. 127, the signs **ir.n T3y-hy-by.t** can be recognized, including the figure with up-raised arms (**hy**), shifted to the end as in Col. I/2. See also P. Louvre 3207 for the use of **ir.n . . . T3y-h(bi.t)** “born by . . . Taikhi(bit).”

<sup>134</sup> Contra Nibley’s nihilistic quibbling on the impossibility of true translation, 1975, pp. 47 ff. Where precisely the great pool of Khonsu was located does not change the meaning, significance, or use of the text, none of which is in doubt.



FIG. 1.—Papyrus Joseph Smith (= Col. D). Photo courtesy of Luke P. Wilson, Institute for Religious Research, Grand Rapids, Michigan

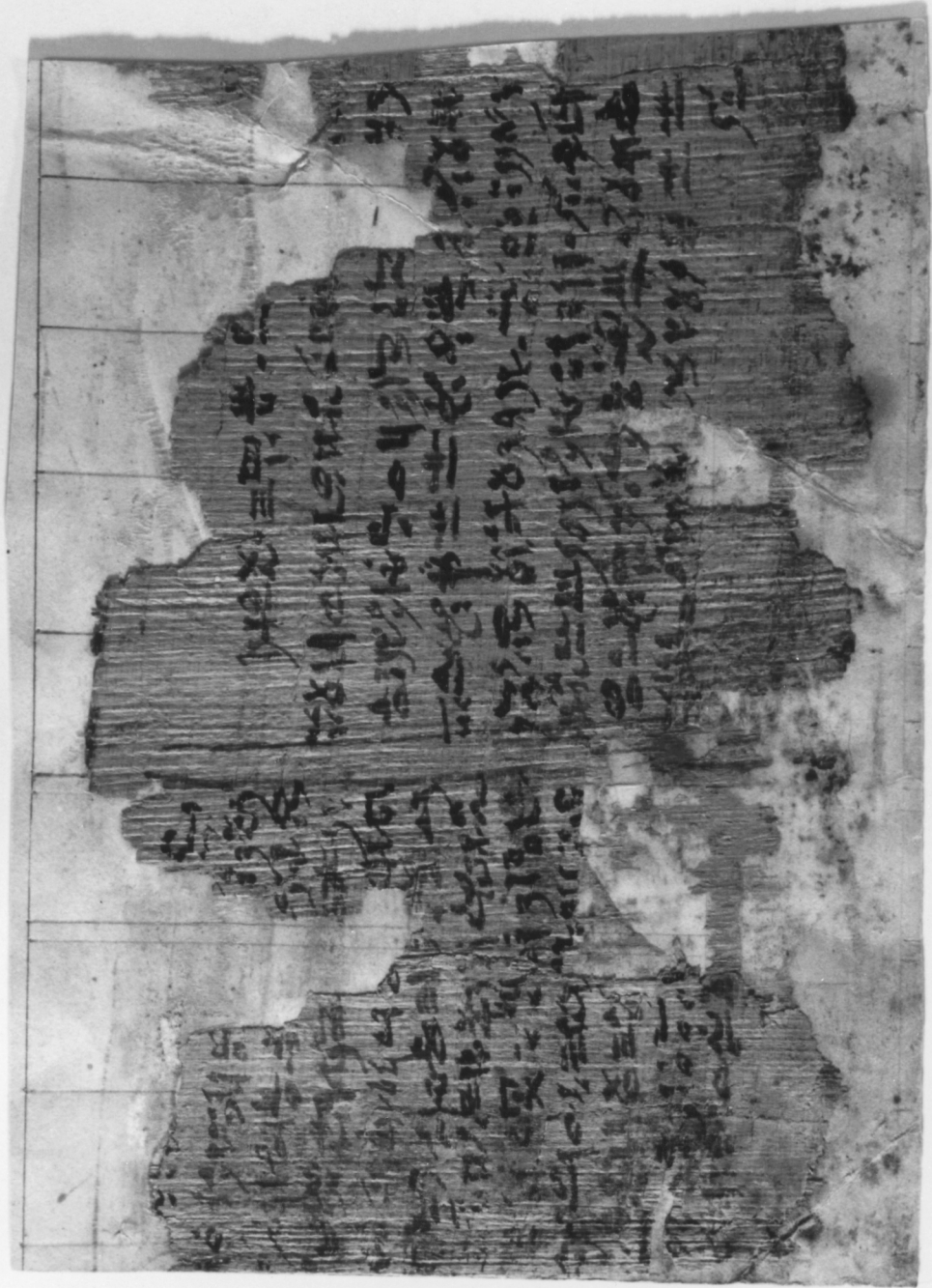


FIG. 2.—Papyrus Joseph Smith (= Cols. II-III). Photo courtesy of Luke P. Wilson, Institute for Religious Research, Grand Rapids, Michigan



FIG. 3.—Papyrus Joseph Smith (= Col. IV-V). Photo courtesy of Luke P. Wilson, Institute for Religious Research, Grand Rapids, Michigan