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Isis as an Archetype for Women in the Old and Middle Kingdom

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Among the best-known Egyptian deities in both popular and academic accounts are Osiris, Isis, and their son Horus. Isis is known both as Osiris' support and as a figure who leads individuals into the afterlife. Deities were meant to be the models of Egyptian social roles. With Osiris being a representative for pharaohs and men, Isis may have been a role-model for Egyptian women, especially mothers. However, studies so far have not adequately investigated this facet of Isis, especially pertaining to early Egyptian history. Through the analysis of early sources, it is possible to discover that Isis could have served as an archetype for women in the Old and Middle Kingdom through her roles as a mother, a mourner, and a wife, and reflects how religious depictions impact a gender stratified society.

Previous Research

The research spans from the Old Kingdom (Dynasties 3-6, ca. 2686 BCE-2181 BCE); the First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 7-11, ca. 2181 BCE-2125 BCE); and the Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 11-13; ca. 2125 BCE- 1773 BCE) (Shaw 2003 p.83, 108, and 137). Much has been written about gender in the Old and Middle Kingdom, and Egyptian women are believed to have more freedom when compared to contemporary ancient societies, although their ties to the household remain prevalent (Tyldesley 1995, p.80). The archaeological and textual evidence suggests that women during these times had relatively equal legal grounds as men; however, this does not mean that they held the same jobs as men (Johnson 1996, p.175). Their work tended to

be domestic, usually sticking within the home to take care of tasks to maintain its upkeep. This is a sentiment also brought up by Joyce Tyldesley, although she is quick to inform that tasks dictated to women were often based on their social status (Tyldesley 1995, p.80-81). For example, those of a wealthier status would have help through housekeepers and servants; however, women of a lower status would have to take on the tasks themselves with no further help because it was not within their means to afford to do so (Tyldesley 1995, p.81). Yet, what remains a constant is that women had to take on *some* kind of task to maintain their home to the finest quality - this was not a position that men would typically take on (Tyldesley 1995, p.15). While women would have had more of a food processor/gatherer role in Egypt during pre-historic times, this was no longer evident by the time dynasties form as manual labor was considered a position that men would take on themselves (Stanley 1981, p.302). Among what is written, childbearing was a focal aspect of women's roles, no matter the status: children were meant to be born, and they were meant to keep the family's legacy flourishing. "Family was [...] central to maintaining the proper order of the world" (Goudsouzian 2012, p.15). From pictorial evidence found in tombs and figurines of women with their children, a woman's importance was often tied to the household (McCorquodale 2010). This includes birthing the children that would be part of the family, whether this would be to continue the legacy mentioned or even for help around the house, especially in the case of daughters (Tyldesley 1995, p.81).

While women's roles as caretakers, mothers, and providers are well documented within existing scholarship on ancient Egypt, the question regarding the role model of whom women themselves after has gone underexamined. One contender for this role is Isis, the goddess of motherhood and magic. Scholars often speak of Isis as someone that Graeco-Roman women would look to, her popularity large and fully developed in this period with the expansion of her

cults.¹ Her importance and representation for women of the older periods of Egyptian history, however, often go unnoticed.

David Kinsley goes into detail about her origin myth (one of many) in describing how Seth killed and dismembered Osiris out of jealous and anger (Kinsley 1988, p.165-166). Isis, during her mourning, searches out to find the pieces of Osiris' body and becomes impregnated by Osiris posthumously (Kinsley 1988, p.166). She then bears her son, Horus, the falcon-headed god of the pharaohs, and protects and helps him defeat Seth and to become the king of the Ennead (Kinsley 1988, p.166). While many versions of the myth that have existed since it was first attested in the Pyramid Texts of Unas in the 5th Dynasty, all versions of the story follow these main points in relation to Isis: she is sister-wife of Osiris, she mourns and wails greatly for his death, she searches for Osiris' body parts and puts him back together, and she is the mother and Osiris the father of Horus (Stuckey 2005, p.32-33). These are pivotal aspects to her story, especially during the Old and Middle Kingdom, as are her ties to birth and resurrection (Kinsley, 1988, p.166).

Isis has been linked to fertilization and the inundation of the Nile, but she is also “unquestionably a mother” whom fertility cults revered, although it is possible that the cults referred to are of Graeco-Roman origin (Kinsley 1988, p.166; p.170). It remains unclear, however, how exactly these scholars are approaching ‘fertility’ and ‘mother’ goddesses (Kinsley 1988, p.167; Stuckey 2005, p.32). A ‘Mother Goddess,’ in the context of this research, would mean a female deity that is not only a mother in the traditional sense (giving birth to a child) but takes on the nurturing and caring qualities with which a typical mother would be associated.²

¹ For more information on Isis during the Graeco-Roman Period, (see Kaper, 2008; Venit 2008)

² For more research on mother goddesses, see: Morris, 2006; Stuckey, 2005; and Leeming and Page, 1994.

According to the approach to mother goddess, scholars have not clearly defined Isis in such a manner, in which this material will do.

As of writing, the only published research that focused on Isis during the period of focus was a dissertation written in 1968 by John Wallace Gartland titled *The Concept of Isis During the Egyptian Old Kingdom Based Upon the Pyramid Texts*. Gartland's research, however, focuses almost exclusively on her role tied to the Osirian myth and her association with the king (Gartland 1968). While these were important aspects to her mythos, his argument is that she only served a purpose as mourning Osiris and guiding the king through death. When her association with women was mentioned, it was only in connection to the mourning women during royal funerals (Gartland 1968, p.37). Gartland argues that the editors of the Pyramid Texts sidelined Isis because of her gender yet also states that the Egyptians had vast knowledge of Isis already by the time the texts were written (Gartland 1968, p.5, 46). Gender archaeology arose during the 1960s and thus its theoretical approaches may not have been incorporated into such studies; however, with how integral Isis is to the Osirian myth, combined with the association of the king with both Horus and Osiris, the lack of research on Isis' connection with the royal mother and wife is peculiar. Once again, the gap in the research of Isis is pertinent, especially in association with women in early pharaonic history.

Methodology

The study examines textual and pictorial representations of Isis alongside other women of the Old and Middle Kingdom. The main texts on Isis are the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts. The Pyramid Texts were first historically attested to the 5th Dynasty in the Tomb of Unas but are likely much older (Hays 2015, p.201). The linguistic nature, such as the grammar of the spells reflecting grammar found in an earlier, disappeared language, and the allusions to older symbols

and traditions within the spells, are pointed as evidence of its advanced age (Zago 2022, p.30). Some scholars believe that the Pyramid Texts found in royal tombs were a fraction of a larger body of texts and were preserved due to being written in stone (Hays 2015, p.208). They were used exclusively for royal use during the Old Kingdom, (Hays 2015, p.201). As the Old Kingdom ended and the First Intermediate Period began, the Coffin Texts were said to emerge (Zago 2022, p.75). The Coffin Texts are seen as both an extension and advancement of the Pyramid Texts in both spells and the location within tombs (von Lieven 2016, p.103). The Coffin Texts could be seen as the Pyramid Texts but with added spells, but their placement within non-royal, elite tombs set them apart (Hays 2015, p.201). Both texts describe the Osirian myth in detail, and the portrayal of Isis and her role in the story. The translations for the Pyramid Texts come from James P. Allen, and the Coffin Texts will be based on the work of R.O. Faulkner. Pictorial and textual representations from tombs and on objects like stelae, coffins, and statues are examined. Other sources include epithets pertaining to both Isis and the use of her name by individuals.

Three main themes of Isis were chosen to be examined: her role as a mother, her role as a wife, and her role as a mourner. These specific themes were chosen as they are the most integral aspects of Isis in the examined texts. These roles were important to Egyptian women as well, and thus lines of association can be examined most effectively. While these three aspects were explored, the research does not ignore other aspects of Isis that may appear in the texts and depictions. For example, Isis emerges throughout the Pyramid and Coffin texts, and in certain artistic depictions, as a protector towards the deceased as they enter into the afterlife. This could be associated with her role as a mother, especially if the deceased individual is connected to her son Horus, but it is distinct enough to be warranted as a separate aspect. So even though the

research intends to focus primarily on the previously mentioned roles, any others that may appear will be highlighted.

Alongside Isis, the study will also compare her role with that of Old and Middle Kingdom women. The comparison will examine how the representations of these women relate to the texts on Isis. These depictions will examine the role of women as mothers, wives, and during the funerary processions as mourners. With connecting the material together, the research paints a more concise image of how religious figures acted as representatives of women of the Old and Middle Kingdom.

The research, however, contains constraints. First, both the textual and pictorial evidence comes from the royals and the elites. Unlike the later Book of the Dead, the Pyramid and Coffin Texts were only ascribed to those of a higher rank, with the Pyramid Texts exclusive to royals and the Coffin Texts exclusive to non-royal elites. The stelae, reliefs, and figurines that were examined in the research come from royal and non-royal elite tombs. While the royals and elites cannot represent the Egyptian population in its entirety, the evidence uncovered within this study only covers these two groups.

With limited data also comes the availability of sources, with only a specific number of burials examined for the study. This comes from the small number of materials that are preserved properly, especially in association with sarcophagi and coffins. Contexts for the materials can be disturbed which could valuable information about the object to be lost. Cultural materials that are housed in collections could face irreversible damage. For example, there were some materials through the Liverpool Museum that were going to be examined, but they were unfortunately destroyed during World War II and the image was deteriorated, such as Middle Kingdom coffin of Ankharitt (NML, 13.12.05.26; Stevenson, 2019, p.181) and a First Intermediate Period stela (NML, 11.10.98.120; Petrie, 1898, p.49-50).

Dating can be problematic as well. The Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum (REM), for example, houses statue of Isis surrounding a small figure of Horus with her wings (REM, RC-741). The REM dates the statue to somewhere between 1784 BCE-1570 BCE as the Second Intermediate Period. However, following Shaw's chronology, that could place the item potentially in the late Middle Kingdom. Because of this fine line, it can be hard to distinguish if an item can belong to a certain period. Ultimately, the decision was not to add the figurine as that time frame is too broad.

When it comes to the First Intermediate Period, the study was unable to find depictions of Isis at this time. Because of this, the First Intermediate Period will not have its own designated section. Instead, it will be placed in the Old Kingdom chapter. Depictions of women were found and thus it would not be wise to cut the period, but it would also not be wise to give it its own chapter due to the lack of overall evidence.

Chapter 2: The Old Kingdom

It is during the 5th Dynasty, around 2360 BCE, that the first historical record of Isis is attested. Her story, as well as the story of her brother-husband Osiris, was recorded in a set of religious literature known as the *Pyramid Texts*, which detailed specific funerary spells and rites for the pharaoh to enter the afterlife, otherwise known as *Duat*. The texts were written specifically for the pharaoh and consorts; some of the pharaohs included are Unas of Dynasty 5, Teti of Dynasty 6, Pepi I and his wife Ankhenes-Meryre Pepi II of Dynasty 6, Merenre of Dynasty 6, and Pepi II and his wife Neith of Dynasty 6 (Allen 2015, p.1).

As of now, the *Pyramid Texts* are the main source of textual evidence attesting Isis (Gartland 1968, p.1). She is depicted throughout the *Pyramid Texts* alongside her sister, Nephthys in passages on mourning and tending to the deceased royal into the afterlife. From

what is gathered through her mentioned passages, Isis' primary role is to be a mourner of the pharaoh, who is now connected to her brother-husband Osiris, with her sister Nephthys. It is through her status of a mourner that will be examined first.

2.1: *The Mourner*

Isis

The *Pyramid Texts* contain 56 spells altogether that depict Isis. Of the 56 spells, 30 spells attest to her role as a mourner alongside Nephthys. The first passage that details Isis' role specifically as a mourner is in the Spells for the Sarcophagus: Regeneration in the Womb of Nut: Invoking the Spirit as Osiris (see PT: 422 & 535). The spell calls out to Isis and Nephthys, but it is not until their own recitation that the details of their mourning are discussed. Alongside her sister, Nephthys, the spell calls for Isis to weep for her brother. Isis is then described as sitting down with her arms atop of her while Nephthys grabs ahold of her breasts so that their distress is palpable. They are associated with a screecher and kite respectively; this association comes from the wailing noises the bird emits.

Isis' screams are later attested where she is depicted screaming for the deceased king, as well where the Mourner- associated with Isis- is said to screaming and waving her arms over the deceased king (see PT: 468, 553, & 555). Most of the passages that describe screaming refer to Isis, although there are some that connect screaming with Nephthys (see PT: 694A & 767). In the former passage, however, Isis is depicted also screaming; in the latter passage, Isis is depicted as crying instead. Isis and Nephthys as a duo are consistently seen in distress for the deceased king, sobbing and screaming. This form of mourning is attested not just in the *Pyramid Texts* but as an integral role in funerary customs called the *djeret* (Kucharek 2022, p.87).

Women

The *djeret* are attested to the 5th Dynasty where they were shown in tomb reliefs and paintings (Kucharek 2022, p.92). Typically, they are depicted with one standing at the foot of the coffin and the other standing at the head, although they do not need to be directly next to them (see Figures 1 & 2). The exact distance between the *djeret* and the coffin varies in depictions; what matters, though, is that one is facing towards the head of the deceased and the other towards the foot. There is also always two of them, and they are always female. In fact, in the scenes depicting the funerary procession, the *djeret* are typically the only female presence aside from a spouse (Kucharek 2022, p.89). The actions of the *djeret* are of note. Some of the women are shown standing still and rigid. However, some are shown with their hands to their chests or looking as if they are weeping. These are the same actions depicted in the *Pyramid Texts* of Isis and Nephthys when they are mourning. The *djeret* is also associated with birds, notably in the determinative of word *drt* which is connected to the *djeret* (Kucharek 2022, p.91). While not drawn specifically as birds, the tie with mourning and birds, especially the kite, are prevalent. As the Old Kingdom continues, the attestations of the *djeret* increases.

In a list compiled by Andrea Kucharek, the number of *djeret* depicted in 6th Dynasty tombs versus 5th Dynasty tombs is noteworthy. According to the list, eight tombs depict the *djeret* in the 5th Dynasty; in the 6th Dynasty, however twenty tombs depict the *djeret* (Kucharek 2022, p.100-105). Based off this evidence, it seems that number of *djeret* in funerary scenes increased over the span of the Old Kingdom.

The rise of the use of *djeret* and, in turn, the increasing use of the *Pyramid Texts* during the 6th Dynasty could be a coincidence, but the role of two women mourning the deceased during funerary processions are present either way. This forms a connection between the *djeret* and the

role of Isis and Nephthys as mourners within the *Pyramid Texts*, and, in turn, highlights the increasing importance of mourners in a funerary procession.

2.2: *The Mother*

Isis

While her duty as mourner of the deceased pharaoh was prominent throughout the *Pyramid Texts*, it was not her sole role. Aside from her status as mourner, Isis was depicted as a mother. Of the 56 spells collated, 16 spells attest to her motherly role. This was a role that was not often shared with Nephthys, such as mourning, but select spells do depict Nephthys nursing (see PT: 268, 269, 553, and 554). This motherly role extends to both Horus, her son with her brother-husband Osiris, and the pharaoh himself.

The role of the pharaoh as the living embodiment of Horus has been a part of pharaonic Egypt longer than the first written recording of the *Pyramid Texts*. With that, however, the pharaoh's connection to Horus when alive is an outstanding aspect of the *Pyramid Texts*. Coinciding with this, Isis' role as a mother of the pharaoh/Horus is repeatedly drawn upon throughout the text. The first mention of Isis alludes to this role where in 'The Offering Ritual: The Mouth-Opening Ritual,' it is instructed that the pharaoh should take the breast of lactating Isis into his mouth and drink from her (see PT: 42).

A variety of spells instruct the pharaoh to drink from Isis' breast to receive nourishment. Other spells tell the pharaoh that he must sit upon her thighs which alludes to nursing, noting specifically that Isis is his mother, as well as that he must draw milk from Isis (see PT: 419, 413, 553, 555, 661, and 689). While it is important to note that other mothers are presented throughout the *Pyramid Texts*, such as Hathor and Nut, Isis is the only one that is tied closely to

the pharaoh when they are aligned with Horus. This connection is heightened as the texts recall the birth of Horus (see PT: 669). The spell depicts Isis as giving birth to Horus, who is connected explicitly to the pharaoh, and forming him together with various resources at her disposal.

Women

To be the mother of Horus, she is the mother of the living pharaoh and is seen as the one who raises and nurtures him. A statue of Ankhnesneferibre II provides a rare glimpse of her connection with Isis (see Figure 3). The sculpture depicts Ankhnesneferibre II holding Pepi II, her son, on her lap (Brooklyn Museum, 39.119; Hollis 2019, p.105). The position has a miniature version of Pepi II, who is acting as a child, come near to her breast. While Pepi II is not shown explicitly drinking from Ankhnesneferibre's II breast, it alludes to the various passages found in the *Pyramid Texts* of a pharaoh sitting on Isis' lap so that they may drink from her lactating breasts. If looking at Pepi II's *Pyramid Texts* passages specifically, several of the spells draw on nursing between Isis and the pharaoh or the pharaoh assuming the role of Horus. Combining the imagery of Pepi II's mother with what was written on his tomb wall, the connection between Ankhnesneferibre II in the statue and the motherly role of Isis looks prominent.

Aside from the statue of Ankhnesneferibre II, however, little evidence connecting the motherly roles with Isis was found in the research. Other statues do depict a mother nursing her child, but their connection to Isis is uncertain (see Figure 4).

2.3: The Wife

Isis

Throughout the *Pyramid Texts* Isis was related explicitly towards being the mother of the pharaoh/Horus, and Osiris as the father, there are few references that state outright that Isis and Osiris were married. Of the 56 spells, only 6 depict her role as a wife. The bulk of the text depicts Isis, alongside Nephthys, as being sisters of Osiris and putting him together, but the marriage aspect between Isis and Osiris is not as emphasized when compared to other roles she takes on. The most explicit passage of their union comes from Spells 364 and 366 in the antechamber of the tomb of Teti (Allen 2015, p.83-88). The spell details how Isis and Nephthys revived Osiris, and in her excitement of Osiris returning she sits on his phallus. After this, Osiris would release inside her, thus impregnating her with the pharaoh/Horus.

Women

If examining the rest of the *Pyramid Texts* after looking at this passage, it can be inferred potentially that the role of a wife should be one of support. A supporting wife role has been marked in the Old Kingdom numerous times, especially in artistic representations. Various statues, often called pair statues, depict a husband and a wife standing together, such as the Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture's statue of Nekheftka and his wife Neferseshems (ISAC, E2036A; Petrie 1898, p.14). These statues often have the husband on one side, usually to the left when facing forwards, and the wife beside him, usually to the right of him when facing forwards. The husband usually stands rigidly or with a leg extended out and hands clasped to the side; the wife's posture is slightly more relaxed, although she is standing with both feet together and an arm either resting on his arm or around his shoulders (see Figure 5). Pair statues were common in the Old Kingdom and are attested from at least Dynasty 4.

As the first documented attestation of Isis appeared in the 5th Dynasty, it is possible that Isis did not cause women to conform to a gender hierarchy. It is possible that, instead, the

depiction of Isis was inspired by already rampant gender roles. That is not to say that her depiction could not have inspired women in post-Dynasty 4 depictions, however. There are depictions of wives in supporting roles of their husbands from both Dynasty 5 and 6. For example, there is the image of an individual named Mehu with his wife standing beside him and holding his arm from Dynasty 5 (MFA, 37.2738-37.2739; Reisner 1942, p.125). There is also a wall relief of a couple named Abdu and Reputka, with Reputka standing behind Abdu and holding his arm in support from Dynasty 6 (AIC, 1920.266; Bakr and Moneim, 1953, p.69). A selection of spells coincides with this position, but it is unknown if these pieces were inspired specifically from spells in the *Pyramid Texts*.

2.4: *The Protector*

Isis

While the main themes of mourner, mother, and wife were presented in some fashion, another theme tended is attested. In the *Pyramid Texts*, Isis was often seen as protector. Of the 56 spells, 17 attest to her role as a protector. This could have a connection with her previous roles.

In an intriguing case, the earliest depiction of an emblem of protection tied with Isis appeared before her apparent textual origins; this emblem was found in Dynasty 3 at the tomb of Hesyre at Saqqara (Quibell 1913). Among the artifacts found in the mastaba, a table was discovered with the Tyet, or Isis knot (Quibell 1913, p.26-27).³ An argument can be made that the tyet knot found was not associated with Isis as it appears well before her first historical

³ Figure 14 depicts a headrest being supported by tyet knots from the Middle Kingdom. It is similar in nature to Quibell's findings.

attestation but given that the *Pyramid Texts* could have circulated before its modern discovery, this assumption may be false. Knots have been attested in Egyptian religious texts for their protective qualities and associations with resurrection while being a common fashion trend (Mahmoud p.58). The tyet knots were emblems of Isis that represent her girdle and blood due to their knotted shape and red coloring (see Figure 7; Mahmoud 2019, p.59). A spell has the deceased proclaim they are the red linen that came from Isis (see PT: 570). While the spell itself does not mention the tyet knot by name, the description connects to its depictions in tombs. As knots have been associated with resurrection and the spell depicts the deceased connecting themselves to red linen comes from Isis, then it can be inferred the spell is talking about tyet knots. A symbol of a similar nature was also found in tomb of Khafraankh at the eastern necropolis of Giza from around the 4th-5th Dynasties (Kormysheva 2010, p.62-63). This proves that her role as a protector through the symbol of the tyet knot expands farther back than her first attestation within the *Pyramid Texts*.

Women

Isis' role as a protector covers the living as much as the deceased through support. For example, it is said that Ptashepses I had the title of "servant of the throne/Isis," who would have been vizier to pharaoh Nieuserre Ini in the 5th Dynasty (Jones 2000, p.500). In Dynasty 6, there was the epithet "Isis and Hathor, Mistress of the Two Lands", which connected her to the fertility goddess, Hathor (Blackman 1914, p.26). Though there are few epithets of Isis, it seems like the two that are associated with her involve a role of support. As her name in Egyptian is *Aset*, or throne, her connection with the throne would be seen as supporting the pharaoh and lifting him up. The throne was an integral furniture of the pharaoh to lift the pharaoh up physically; symbolically, it presents the pharaoh with power. As for the epithet found at Meir, the Mistress

of the Two Lands epithet most likely is associated with Hathor. However, as Isis is connected in name with Hathor, it shows a level of importance as Hathor has historically been a part of the Egyptian religion since at least the Early Dynastic Period. In this aspect, Isis could be shown potentially supporting Hathor herself, a role that could be vital in growing potential popularity.

2.5: The First Intermediate Period

The First Intermediate Period followed the Old Kingdom, spanning from around 2181 BCE-2125 BCE, or Dynasties 7-11, during which Egypt was politically fragmented between Upper and Lower Egypt. As far as evidence goes, research for this study could not find direct examples of depictions of Isis during the First Intermediate Period. This could be in part due to the lack of overall archaeological evidence from the period in comparison to others. The closest depiction of Isis that could be argued are two amulets housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA, 10.130.751; Mace 1911, p.13 and MMA, 26.7.46; Hayes 1953, p.142-143). Both were found to be from between Dynasties 9-10 or 11, and they both depict a woman nursing her child. It is possible that these amulets are to represent Isis and Horus, but the evidence is unclear.

Gender stratification between husbands and wives, as seen from the Old Kingdom continued into the First Intermediate Period. A First Intermediate Period- Middle Kingdom stela depict a couple, a man named Bahetpy and his wife, standing together as they bare offerings to the god Anubis (ISAC, E4930). Bahetpy stands to the left while his wife stands to the right, but scale or shading of his wife is uncertain,⁴ At the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures Museum, five stelae from Giza scenes of a male and different females (ISAC, E16951, E16955-

⁴ Images or a publication of the stela could not be found during research, but a description was provided through the Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture Museum's object entry.

56, E16958-59).⁵ Most of the stelae depict a woman standing behind the tomb owner in an embrace, are smaller in scale, and have a lighter skin tone. Of the five stelae, however, only E16959 depicts a woman not standing behind the tomb owner. She is shown standing to the left smelling a lotus flower while standing across from an attendant. The woman retains a lighter complexion but is a larger scale than the attendant. It is uncertain if these depictions related to Osiris and Isis or a continuation of an earlier trend.

Chapter 3: The Middle Kingdom

The Middle Kingdom began at around 2125 BCE to around 1773 BCE with the reign of Mentuhotep II uniting Egypt. The period was known for its increase of art and literature which shifted from the theological and administrative to slightly more secular and entertaining (Morenz 2003, p.101). First appearing in the First Intermediate Period, the *Coffin Texts* contain a variety of spells and rituals for the deceased to enter the afterlife (Lichtheim 1975, p.29). Unlike the *Pyramid Texts*, however, the *Coffin Texts* were used by non-royal elites (Litchteim 1975, p.131). Although still highly selective with only the rich being able to afford them, the *Coffin Texts* were still more accessible to those that were not of the immediate royal line (Hays 2015, p.201). Debates have surrounded if the *Coffin Texts* are separate from the *Pyramid Texts*. The *Pyramid*

⁵ E16951, E16958, and E16959: Research could not find publications specifically referencing this stela, but ISAC records indicate that the stela was photographed during Malenie Pitkin's research visit. Pitkins would release publication on funerary stelae and false doors from the First Intermediate Period.

- Pitkin, Melanie. "The Distribution and Dating of Egyptian False Doors and Funerary Stelae of the First Intermediate Period: A Preliminary Analysis." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2014. Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium, Oxford*, pp. 261-277. 2015.

E16955: Woods, Christopher, Teeter, Emile, and Emberling, Geoff, eds. *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 32. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2010, p.152.

E16956: Capart, Jean. *Review of: Dunham, Dows. Naga-ed-Der Stelae of the First Intermediate Period*. Boston; Museum of Fine Arts; 1937. *Chronique d'Egypte* 12, no. 24 (n.d): 214-216.

Texts and the *Coffin Texts* appear as separate entities for the sake of research, but the *Coffin Texts* are a continuation of the *Pyramid Texts* with select changes and expansions as time moved forward (Hays 2015, p.201)

Isis continues to be the sister-wife of Osiris and mother of Horus in the *Coffin Texts*, but her character and vitality has increased since her attestation in the *Pyramid Texts*. The same themes that were present in the Old Kingdom are still present in the Middle Kingdom, but they are more developed. With this being the case, the order of the presented themes will shift from the previous chapter. Whereas the discussion of Isis as a mourner came first because it was her most prominent role in the Old Kingdom, her role as a protector will come first in this chapter. This shift comes from the increase of spells that suggests that Isis' main role became that of a protector rather than just a mourner. In the *Pyramid Texts*, 17 spells give credence to her as a protector; in the *Coffin Texts*, the spells increase to 44. Thus, the order of the themes will go as such: protector, mother, wife, and mourner, with any other themes present appearing at the end.

3.1: *The Protector*

Isis

Of the evidence gathered from within the *Coffin Texts* and in textual and pictorial sources, Isis' main role seems to be that of a protector. Elements of this role were seen during the Old Kingdom, namely in the *Pyramid Texts*, but it was in the context of keeping the pharaoh strong to enter into the afterlife. Isis, with her sister Nephthys, were often seen as supporters to other protector deities, such as Horus or Ra; their main roles were to mourn the deceased king. A lack of archaeological evidence during the Old Kingdom supported this. This would shift, however, come the Middle Kingdom, where an increase in representations would reflect Isis' growing prominence as a central, protective figure.

Of the evidence gathered for the Middle Kingdom, 15 of the 28 representations depict Isis and Nephthys on the foot and head of coffins and sarcophagi respectively. The placement of Isis and Nephthys could rearrange with Isis sometimes on the head and Nephthys on the foot, but the typical arrangement follows with Isis on the foot (see Figure 6; Camacho 2014, p.12).⁶ Most are coffins from the 12th Dynasty with a select from the 11th or 13th Dynasty (see Appendix C for full list), with those gathered agreeing with normal placement of Isis at the foot. There are two ways that Isis can be depicted: an inscription of her hieroglyph or an image.

An image of Isis is rare when compared to the inscribed hieroglyph but there is evidence that this appeared. In the research, three coffins were found to have the image of Isis: the coffin of Khnumakht of the 12th Dynasty (MMA, 15.2.2a; Hayes 1953, p.318); the coffin of Nefnefret of the 13th Dynasty (MMA, 32.3.429a; Dieter 1988, p.147); and the coffin of Nemtiemsaf of the 13th Dynasty (see Figure 9; MMA, 32.3.428; Hayes 1953, p.347), all of which are housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The coffin of Khnumakht only has an image of Isis on the foot of the coffin but does not have an image of Nephthys on the head (see Figure 8). All the images depict Isis standing protectively at the foot of the coffin with her arms raised. While it is possible that they are in the pose of mourners, they do not look like they are in anguish or weeping that is typical within mourning images. Their faces look hardened and defined, and their arms are not draped over themselves but lifted above. Textual evidence that supports this appears within the *Coffin Texts*.

A variety of passages highlight the protective nature of Isis (see Appendix B for full list). Of the 90 spells gathered, 44 highlight her role as a protector- an increase from the 17 found in

⁶ For further research on the placement of Isis and Nephthys on the foot and head of coffins, see **Camacho 2014**, which includes research from the New Kingdom until the end of pharaonic Egypt.

the *Pyramid Texts*. The first spell that attests to her outright, Spell 6, involves her protecting the deceased, stating “Isis squats (?) by you, she makes you bright, she makes for your fair ways of vindication against your foes, male and female, etc., and those who would have judgement against you in the realm of the dead on this happy day” (Faulkner 1973, p.3). In Spell 50, it is mentioned that “Isis has put her arms around you as she did for Lord of All” (Faulkner 1973, p.47-48). Spell 63 describes the deceased “sitting between” Isis and Nephthys (Faulkner 1973, P.59). Spell 73 later describes Isis coming from the west and Nephthys from the east where “they will prevent [them] from rotting” among other ailments of the dead (Faulkner 1973, p.68). Spell 366 then states “The soles of my feet are made firm on the earth by Isis, and she makes me firm, does Isis, on the earth as a living god. I am raised up by Isis, just as she established her son Horus in the bark of Re which he raised up” (Faulkner 1977, p.7). These spells describe not only the care provided by Isis and Nephthys for the deceased, but the active measures they take in protecting them from harm. With Isis and Nephthys both standing at the foot or head of the deceased, they could shield them from destructive forces, such as decay and bodily ailments.

Although Isis and Nephthys are often connected in these passages, Spell 366 takes care to specifically mention Isis alone. She is described as positioned below the deceased individual and raising them up. They are then described as being cared for and protected for just as Isis cared for and protected her son, Horus. Spell 50 also specifically singles Isis out by mentioning her shielding the deceased individual as she did for Horus. The protective imagery of this spell connects with the images of Isis on the foot of the coffin guarding the deceased.

Women

Aside from coffins, Isis has been invoked on canopic chests. Two chests from the 12th Dynasty appear to call out to Isis, among other deities, for protection, which belong to two

individuals, Lady Satipi (BM, EA35286; British Museum 1924, p.150) and Meseheti, a high official (BM, EA46638; Ryan 1988, p.25). Both canopic chests can be found at the British Museum. Isis may not be the main deity to be invoked on these chests, but her association with protection is evident. It is reminiscent of *Coffin Texts* spells that include Isis with deities for protection, such as Spell 1140 where she is called with Re, Atum, and Nu, or Spell 72 where she is summoned with Osiris, Anubis, and Nephthys (Faulkner 1978, p.177; Faulkner 1973, p.67). Even though Isis does not receive her own separate mention in these spells, it still displays her importance as a protective element to the deceased. Though a protector was a major element to Isis' character within the *Coffin Texts*, it is certainly not the only role she holds.

3.2: *The Mother*

Isis

An element of the *Pyramid Texts* that continued was the association of the deceased with Horus. Throughout the *Coffin Texts*, the deceased can still be seen associating with both Horus and Osiris; with Isis as the mother and sister-wife respectively, she is bound to appear. Her role as a mother is prevalent throughout the *Pyramid Texts*, and a variation of Horus' conception was described (Allen 2015, p.261-262). Whereas in the *Pyramid Texts* the conception of Horus comes from Isis and Nephthys reviving Osiris and Isis, sitting on his phallus, the *Coffin Texts* changes the event to Isis becoming impregnated with Osiris' seed through a lightning strike (Faulkner 1973, p.125-126). Although Osiris' seed is still placed within Isis, the narrative shifts to almost an independent conception. The depiction focuses more on Isis being pregnant with Horus and then finding a way to try to raise him and establish his authority as the head of the Ennead. It is with this attestation that we first begin to see a growing connection between mother and child- more specifically, mother and son.

Of the 90 spells gathered, 37 highlight Isis' role as a mother. One of the pervading instances found in the spells is Horus' attachment to Isis' name. Throughout the *Coffin Texts*, Horus being the son of Isis rather than the son of Osiris is repeatedly emphasized. Spell 62 clearly states the "dependents of the House of Isis" as well, alluding to both Horus and Osiris as being dependent on Isis (Faulkner 1973, p.59).

A similar inscription of Isis' motherhood comes from a stela from the Wadi Hammamat Inscriptions from the 11th Dynasty (Breasted 1927, p.213). Although brief, Isis is mentioned as involved with the birth of the pharaoh/Horus, specifically that "[...] the divine Isis, Min, and Mut, the great sorceress reared for the dominion of the two regions of Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt..." (Breasted 1927, p.213). Isis is mentioned first in the text, displaying her importance involved in the birth of the future. She is also mentioned as the 'divine Isis', which calls back to the divine birth of Horus through the lightning strike. Osiris is not mentioned in this, but Min instead. Osiris can be replaced with Min, the fertility god, but Isis cannot be replaced, even with Mut included in the text. This, in turn, emphasizes the connection between Isis and Horus, or mother and son.

Women

The close relationship between a mother and her son is evident pictorially. While many of the Old Kingdom images of mothers showed nursing, the Middle Kingdom has a variety of mothers interacting with their sons. Representations of women with their sons, such as a 12th Dynasty stela of the lady of the house of Iytenhab (MMA, SL.3.2015.13.8; Stevenson 2014, p.95), and a 12-13th Dynasty stela of Yatu and her son Amenemhat (AIC, 1892.35; Allen 1923, p.37-39), depicts the close relationship between them. Interestingly, the Amenemhat and Yatu stela depict the mother and son as the same size (see Figure 10). Given the rules on proportion

and size equating importance in Egyptian art, it shows that mother and son are equal in status to each other.⁷ At the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, a series of clay pottery figurines depict a woman holding a child while lying on a bed or alone nude ca. 2465 BCE-1640 BCE (MFA, 72.1616-72.1618; 13.3834; Freed 2003 p.18-19)^{8,9} Themes of motherhood or fertility are potentially presented with these series of figures, but it is not clear if these figures were meant for the owner to embody Isis and Horus.

When the son is depicted as an infant, the theme of a nursing mother persists, such as the statuette of Princess Sobeknakht nursing her son from the 13th Dynasty (Brooklyn Museum; Romano 1992, p.131). Much like the statuette of Ankhnesemeryre II with Pepi II, Princess Sobeknakht holds her son on her lap lovingly with his head aligned with her chest (see Figure 11). Unlike Ankhnesemeryre II, however, Princess Sobeknakht is actively nursing her son. While there is no information on her presently besides the statuette, she is known to be of an unknown royal line (Romano 1992, p.140). Yet, given her status, she would have at least encountered the *Coffin Texts* and could have been exposed to the story of Isis and Horus.

3.3: *The Wife*

Isis

The union between Isis and Osiris has been known since the *Pyramid Texts*. Their connection to each other as the parents of Horus, no matter how the conception was done, is a

⁷ For further studies on size and proportion in Egyptian art, see Robins 1994; Robins 1993; Davis 2015; and Peck 1999).

⁸ The objects are from the Robert Hay Collection that was given as gifts to Museum of Fine Arts Boston by C. Gravier Way. These objects were originally purchases Robert Hay made while in Egypt. (Freed, 2003, p.18-19).

⁹ Although the Museum of Fine Arts Boston identifies these as potentially the Old Kingdom, research on similar figurines date them to the Middle Kingdom (Waraksa, 2008, p.1).

main attribute that they share. Isis is the divine mother of Horus, and Osiris, usually, is the divine father of Horus. *The Coffin Texts* do not have their relationship as focal as Isis and Horus' dynamic, though it is still a part of the narrative. Of the 90 spells, 14 indicate their relationship to one another, whether it is Isis, Osiris, or others stating it.

One of the first spells that indicate their union is Spell 53 (Faulkner 1973, p.52). The spell is spoken through Isis' perspective where Isis laments about being away from Osiris. After she laments, Isis states that "I give orders to(?) (the women) who are at the Great Hall, who are sick at heart because of their husbands: Come, let us lament Osiris since he is far from us." (Faulkner 1973, p.52). This passage is intriguing as Isis is not only stating her connection to Osiris, but she relates to other women who have lost their husbands. The spell connects Isis with wives of the deceased and Osiris as the deceased husbands.

Another spell of note is Spell 62 where, just like Horus, Osiris is added as part of the "House of Isis" (Faulkner 1973, p.58). There were numerous triads within Egyptian religion, and most would constitute a father, mother, and child. However, it is usually the father of the triad that seems to hold the most power and prestige, such as the Theban triad with Amun and the Memphite Triad with Ptah. In this instance, Isis is the focal point of the triad with it being stated specifically as her house.

Osiris himself would connect to Isis in Spell 227 (Faulkner 1973, p.179-180). In the spell, Osiris states that "I am the Radiant One, the brother of the Radiant Lady; I am Osiris, the brother of Isis," before proceeding to mention Horus as their son. This harkens back to the association of Isis as the head of the household and their marriage, now with Osiris relating himself to Isis. He states that he is the 'brother' of Isis twice and relating his status as an attachment to Isis.

Women

This varies slightly from the gathered representations of married households in the Middle Kingdom, where some of the same rules from prior periods still persisted. For example, a 12th Dynasty stela of an official named Amennakht with his wife who stands behind him and has her arm wrapped around his shoulder in support (MMA, 65.269; Fischer 1966, p.76). A similar stela from the 12th-13th Dynasty of Senbefitsen and his wife Ankhuenes (see Figure 12; MFA, 72.768).¹⁰ Ankhuenes is depicted sitting behind Senbefitsen and embracing him. Ankhuenes's proportions are smaller than Senbefitsen with her head reaching to his neck.¹¹ A 12th Dynasty stela of an official named Seniankhu and his wife Iy depicts similar themes, with the exception of Iy's height being the same as Seniankhu (MFA, 13.3844; West 1913). This suggests that representations of wives are relatively consistent during the Middle Kingdom.

3.4: *The Mourner*

Isis

Much like how Isis has not stopped being represented as Horus' mother and Osiris' wife, she has not lost her mourner role. It pervades throughout the *Coffin Texts*, but the role as mourner is no longer the all-encompassing function of Isis as it was in the *Pyramid Texts*. The same symbolism still appears within the *Coffin Texts*, specifically with Isis and Nephthys acting as kites and reviving Osiris (see *CT*: Spell 24, 49, 53, 67, 72, 73, 74, and 728). The role of a mourner, with Nephthys, seemed to come first in the *Pyramid Texts* before her role as mother

¹⁰ When researching for further information on Senbefitsen and Ankhuenes, the only publications that appeared was Allin-Tomich's study of Theban administrations in the late Middle Kingdom. The publication itself does not mention Senbefitsen by name, and the provenance information provided by MFA only states that it came from the Robert Hay Collection. From the research gathered for the study, information on Senbefitsen is thus limited.

¹¹ A comment could be made about skin tone, but the stela is damaged and worn around Ankhuenes. She could have had paler skin, but the paint may have eroded away. The research could not find other depictions of Ankhuenes, so it is uncertain how she may have appeared in other stelae or on tomb scenes.

and wife. This was seen with the creation of the *djeret*, which would continue into the Middle Kingdom and beyond (Kucharek 2022, p.92). Spell 53 depicts Isis addressing the wives of the deceased should associate themselves with her, saying “I give orders to(?) (the women) who are at the Great Hall, who are sick at heart because of their husband...” (Faulkner 1973, p.52). The spell would not only tie Isis to mourning wives, but also to the *djeret*. The *djeret*, the role of women acting as Isis and Nephthys mourning, continue to be recorded throughout the Middle Kingdom.

Women

Various representations of the *djeret* continue to appear in funerary scenes. At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, there are two 12th Dynasty model boats of Djehuty (see Figure 13) and Ukhoteb (MMA, 32.1.124A; Hayes 1953, p.271; MMA, 12.183.3; Breasted 1948, p.69) where a funerary procession is displayed. The boats show the mummified individuals in the middle of the boat with attendants around them. Two women are portrayed sitting on the foot and head of the coffin where they are meant to represent the mourning Isis and Nephthys. Another artifact at the Metropolitan Museum of Art depicts a statuette of a mourning woman (MMA, SL.3.2015.5.6).¹² The woman is shown with her hands and arms over her face and close to weeping, analogous to the somber lamentations of Isis. Its entry lists the statuette as a possible representation of Isis or Nephthys mourning over Osiris.

¹² Research about this statuette was limited. The MET only gives the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin as the credit line, but the object cannot be found on their database. The provenance on the MET database lists it as unknown and only that it was acquired by the museum before 1899.

3.5: Connections

Isis

Other depictions of Isis come from her connection to other deities. One epithet found in Asyut is the title of *priest of Isis and Seshat* in the 12th Dynasty tomb of Djefaihapy (Doxey 1998, p.344). The epithet has her linked with the goddess of writing, Seshat. One interpretation connects her with Isis because her son was called Hornub, or gold Horus (Ladewig 2017, p.20). However, when examining both the *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts*, Hornub does not appear. As this is the case, the interpretation may come from later sources. Examining the *Coffin Texts* could provide a little more insight. A scene in the *Coffin Texts*, Spell 10, does have Seshat opening the portal to the afterlife, which would connect her to funerary rites (Faulkner 1973, p.7). Seshat is later depicted as a mother to the deceased and clothing them, in which an epithet of Isis, the Great Mooring-post, appears afterwards in Spell 68 (Faulkner 1973, p.65). This motherly role could allow her to be connected to Isis as her role as a mother grew within the *Coffin Texts*. The same motherly role is described later in Spell 84, in which she is now mentioned as being pregnant with the deceased and interacting with both Isis and Nephthys (Faulkner 1973, p.88). Spell 778 has Seshat helping Nephthys with molding the deceased back together, a role that is typically allocated to Isis (Faulkner 1977, p.304). When looking at these different spells then, the connection between Isis and Seshat does become clearer.

It is possible that Isis and Seshat would be associated together as mothers in the Middle Kingdom. This could possibly explain the priestly role of caring for Isis and Seshat as being divine mothers for the deceased. With their roles as mothers including birthing them into the afterlife and then caring and nurturing for the deceased, as at least shown in the *Coffin Texts*, it is possible that priests felt it was vital to worship and care for them together so that they may be able to receive that same care back in the afterlife. This is an uncertain assumption however, and

with very little evidence it is just speculation. The epithet also appears in only one tomb, so this role may have been either incredibly specialized or unique only to Djefaihapy.

Women

The stela of Mentuhotep provides a potential connection between a woman and Isis (Doxey 1998, p.36). The inscription states that “the son of Nepri, the husband of Tayet, the one whom Sekhat-Hor created cattle”. The inscription does not state Isis outright, but rather an interpretation of it states that Nepri was meant to associate with Osiris and Tayet with Isis. An association with the father as Osiris and Isis as the mother is not unusual especially as Isis’ role as a mother was highlighted more within the Middle Kingdom. However, this does not necessarily mean that Nepri and Tayet were supposed to represent Osiris and Isis. It is more probable that Mentuhotep was providing a biography of his life as was common in other tombs. A part of that biography would logically include his birth and the mention of his parents, so it should not automatically be assumed that he was religiously connecting himself or his kin to the Osirian story. It is also possible that, much like the case with Seshat and Isis, the interpretation came from evidence found in later periods.

Chapter 4: Conclusions

This research examined the textual and pictorial representations of Isis with the bulk of the evidence coming from a pair of funerary texts titled the *Pyramid Texts* from the Old Kingdom and the *Coffin Texts* from the Middle Kingdom. The representations focused on the roles of a mourner, mother, and wife. The representations of Isis seen in these texts and pictorials were then compared to representations of women during the Old and Middle Kingdom (see Appendix D for full list of representations of women). The main research goal was to ascertain if

Isis influenced these interpretations of women which would make her a social role model for them. From the gathered evidence, it was suggested that Isis influenced the role of mourning women, or *djeret*, in the Old and Middle Kingdom. Some evidence suggested that she may have influenced royal and elite mothers in both the Old and Middle Kingdom, with more evidence supporting the Middle Kingdom. The research found that the wife role, was likely not influenced by Isis, although the evidence suggests that women appeared separated from their husbands more in the Middle Kingdom than the Old Kingdom. Examination of the *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts* highlighted Isis' role as a protector, which was not a part of the three focused themes but was added due to its prominence within the texts.

4.1: *The Old Kingdom*

Three main roles were observed, those being her role as a mourner, mother, and a wife. Other roles were noted, such as a protector and a supporter. The evidence revealed that Isis' main role was that of a mourner to the deceased king/Osiris with a large portion of the text describing how she cried and lamented over the deceased pharaoh. She was almost always accompanied by her sister Nephthys and formed the *djeret* aspect of the funerary procession. The *djeret* were women who stood and mourned over the deceased individual, which were depicted in a variety of tomb scenes. Isis and Nephthys both were associated with kites, who were often illustrated as mourning birds due to the loud noises they emitted. The kites were connected to the *djeret* in the Old Kingdom, where both Isis and Nephthys would take on the avian form.

The next role was her role as a mother. The *Pyramid Texts* describe the conception of Horus as the union between a revived Osiris and an elated Isis. The excerpt tells that in her excitement, Isis sat atop Osiris' phallus and copulated until he released inside her. She was then impregnated and gave birth to Horus, the falcon-headed god associated with the pharaohs. The

bulk of texts that mention Isis as a mother usually related back to her nursing Horus/the pharaoh, often with texts stating that the pharaoh would sit on her lap and drink from her. There were a few artistic representations of women showing nursing, but the most noticeable representation came from the statuette of Ankhnesneferibre II with her son Pepi II. Other artistic representations depict women nursing their children, but there are no others of a queen, a mother to a pharaoh, being represented in the same among the collated attestations. The statuette is significant, but it is only one piece.

The next examined role was that as a wife to Osiris. Although there are many passages that discuss her role as a mother to Horus/the pharaoh and mourning over Osiris, very few outright state that she is the consort of Osiris. Those that do are mainly in the context of her bearing Horus and Osiris' role being the father. Being the wife of Osiris does not seem to be the main concern of Isis, only that she mourned and helped revive him. Through these texts, however, there is a level of support that Isis gives to Osiris. In the artistic representations of women, the wives are often shown giving support to their husbands. They are usually standing next to their husbands with either their arms wrapped around their shoulder or resting their hands on their arm. They are shown as much smaller than husbands, and their faces are often serene as if happy to support their consort. The depiction of these images goes back further than the first historical record of Isis in the 5th Dynasty, with most coming from the 4th Dynasty. However, as the *Pyramid Texts* are likely a small fragment of a larger, undiscovered corpus, it is possible that the idea of Isis was introduced. Simultaneously, it is possible that depictions of Isis as a dutiful, loving wife was influenced by long-standing traditions for women.

Lastly, attestations of Isis as a protector were examined. Instances of the tyet knot, or the Isis knot, were found in tombs before the 5th Dynasty in furniture. However, the tyet knot possibly could not have been related to Isis during that time, so it is uncertain if she were being

called upon or if the tyet knot was associated with something else. The epithets “servant of the throne/Isis” and “Isis and Hathor, Mistress of the Two Lands” were also found to connect Isis in a supporting role. The first epithet could relate to her hieroglyph as a throne that the pharaoh would sit on where she would literally be holding him up. Having a vizier, Ptashepses I who held the title, associated with the epithet could reflect her importance in supporting the pharaoh and legitimizing his rule. The latter epithet could relate to her importance through Hathor, possibly in a supporting manner.

With the evidence gathered, it is not certain if Isis was an archetype for women in the Old Kingdom. There are specific elements that Isis shared with other women, such as the *djeret* role in funeral processions, with her sister Nephthys. Connecting the instances of the *djeret* being formed with the historical evidence of Isis’ mention, the two can be seen connected with each other. However, her role as a mother and wife are inconclusive. The statuette of Ankhnesemeryre II and Pepi II is very likely meant to have the queen represent Isis, but one statuette does not represent a whole population.

The production of the *Pyramid Texts* has the deities fully fleshed out with names and abilities discussed as if it was common knowledge. It is possible that oral traditions first spoke of Isis long before the production of the *Pyramid Texts*. As oral traditions cannot be archaeologically examined, however, it cannot be known the extent and length that oral traditions discussed Isis. It is possible that Isis was heavily discussed and aspects of her did affect how women behaved in their roles. It is also possible that oral traditions just discussed Isis in select instances and is not important in Old Kingdom worship. There are later interpretations of Isis in certain aspects of the Old Kingdom, such as her connection to the pharaoh Khufu and the building of the Great Pyramid, but these were later interpretations brought about because of

her rise in popularity centuries afterwards.¹³ It is possible that Isis could have held some kind of importance and affect on women's roles before her first written attestation, but as of now it is entirely inconclusive.

4.2: *The Middle Kingdom*

The textual evidence of Isis in the Middle Kingdom comes from the *Coffin Texts* and inscriptions from stelae. Much like with the Old Kingdom, her roles as a mourner, mother, and wife were examined. Unlike the evidence found in the Old Kingdom, however, Isis' role as a protector became prominent. The *Coffin Texts* had an increased focus on her roles as a protector, mother, and wife with a decrease in her role as a mourner. Other roles found within her epithets were examined, although the interpretations of those roles were left unclear.

The first role examined was as a protector. A vast majority of the *Coffin Texts* highlight her as a protector of the deceased, both as the individual themselves and in their associations with Horus. Much like in the *Pyramid Texts*, Nephthys is included at times, but mostly Isis is associated with this role alone. This is cemented in the images of Isis on the foot of many Middle Kingdom coffins with Nephthys appearing on the head. Images of Isis and Nephthys can appear on the foot and head of coffins alongside their hieroglyphs with their arms raised in a protective stance. Isis can also be found invoked on canopic chests. Both male and female coffins were found to have these inscriptions and images. Other roles, however, aligned more with women.

The second role examined was her role as a mother. The conception of Horus appeared in both the *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts* but had different attestations. Where the conception of

¹³ (for research done on the debate of Isis and Khufu, see Boal, Robert G. & A.G. Gilbert 1994; Bonwick, James 2002; Callendar, Gae 1990; Hassan, Selim 1946; Hönig, Werner 1997; Jenkins, Nancy 1980; Lehner, Mark 1985 & 1992; Petrie, WMF 1880; and Reisner, George 1912)

Horus was done in a more typical, penetrative fashion, the conception of Horus in the *Coffin Texts* discussed it as a more divine intervention. The seed of Osiris still entered Isis, but it was done through a bolt of lightning. The change in the story shifted to the conception to mainly on Isis with the narrative almost exclusively focusing on her. The importance of her role as a mother continued as Horus and others continuously tied him and Osirian triad to Isis rather than Osiris. The house of Isis is not attested in the *Pyramid Texts* as frequently as the *Coffin Texts*. Isis is detoned to a supporting role even with the birth of Horus, and it was often stated that Horus had a connection to Osiris instead. An argument can be made that this was due to the *Pyramid Texts*'s focus on the pharaoh, who would have a connection as the living embodiment of Horus. The *Coffin Texts*, however, emphasize that it was *Isis* that bore Horus, and that his strength comes from her womb rather than the seed of his father. The increased importance of maternal lineage can be seen through artistic representations of the Middle Kingdom as well. Women were shown more with their children not just as nursing infants, but as caretakers and even equals to their sons. Women bore the title 'Lady of the House' where they managed the household (Lesko, 1989, p.43). Just as Isis became the head of her house, women were beginning to become heads of their own houses.

The next role examined was that of her role as a wife. Although not an integral aspect, it did appear in the *Coffin Texts* through spells spoken by Isis, Osiris, and others. Isis is shown lamenting her brother-husband and discusses supporting her husband through their journey into the afterlife. She would state too that wives who lost their husbands should do the same in which she associates herself explicitly to these mourning wives. Women are still shown as supporting their husbands in the artistic representations, but they are often shown now behind their husbands. Instances of this did appear during the Old Kingdom and into the First Intermediate Period; however, there seems to be an increase in this position during the Middle Kingdom, with

the wives standing behind their husbands and resting their hands on them in support or with wives sitting across their husbands (Hudáková 2019, p. 331-333).¹⁴ Concurrently, instances appear of women sitting across their husbands, such as the 12th Dynasty false door of Amemhat or Senbi and Mesi (Johnston 2018, p. 37-39).¹⁵ Wifely support is a theme that has been displayed for quite some time since the Old Kingdom, but there seems to be a shift in position and prominence of women with their husbands during the Middle Kingdom.

Just as Isis is connected with Osiris as a wife, she was also connected to him as a mourner, which was attested once again in the Middle Kingdom. With Nephthys, she continues to act as a *djeret* within funerary processions. Isis is shown in the *Coffin Texts* as mourning the deceased/Osiris while wailing and clutching herself. Artistic representations of the *djeret* are similar with two women standing in front of the head of the deceased and the foot of the deceased, while others are shown with a woman in anguish clutching herself as Isis does. With that in mind, however, there is still less of an emphasis on that mourning aspect of Isis, however, with the majority of her narrative focusing on protectiveness and motherhood. Protecting the dead could go with mourning them, but there seems to be a larger line drawn between them. Although there are few variances, if any, between Isis and Nephthys as mourners between the *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts*, it has now been delegated to a minor role within Isis' narrative.

Altogether, the evidence suggests that the role of Isis as an archetype for women in the Middle Kingdom is more likely than in the Old Kingdom when it came to the roles of mother,

¹⁴ Hudáková discusses three cases: the 12th Dynasty tomb of Senet (TT60), the 12th Dynasty tomb of Sarenput I, and the 12th Dynasty tomb of Djehutyhotep. Most tombs depict scenes of women either standing behind their husbands or female family members half the size of male family members. In Djehutyhotep's case, however, his wife stands in front of him. Her stature remains smaller.

¹⁵ The false door of Amemhat and the false doors of Senbi and Mesi both depict the husband and wife the same stature. While the false doors Johnston studied came from Beni Hassan, other tombs from both the Old and Middle Kingdom have depicted the husband and wife standing across from each other on false doors. However, the other examples found did depict the figures to be the same stature.

mourner, and wife. In the Middle Kingdom, the representations of women seem to follow Isis closely. The increased role of Isis as an independent player within the *Coffin Texts* and her role as protecting the deceased and matrilineal importance corresponds with similar themes presented in the representations of women. The relationship between mother and son highlights this the best as Horus and Isis were often represented as being equals, and the art of mothers and their sons shows a similar stance.

Collating the evidence, the spells highlight her growing popularity. As her attestations grew in prominence, her influence on the specific roles of women may have increased. The *Coffin Texts* may be a continuation of the *Pyramid Texts*, but the selection of spells depicting Isis increased. The *Pyramid Texts* contained 56 spells attesting to Isis when the *Coffin Texts* contained 90. Isis' role as a mother shifted from 16 spells in the *Pyramid Texts* to 37; her role as a wife from 6 to 14; and her role as a protector from 17 to 44. The only role that decreased in the *Coffin Texts* was her role as a mourner, which went from being attested in 30 spells in the *Pyramid Texts* to 26 in the *Coffin Texts*.

However, the evidence provides only the specific roles of mother, mourner, and wife and not a broader look into women of the Middle Kingdom. As shifts in power moved through the end of the Old Kingdom and into the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, women appeared to enjoy some societal freedom (Lesko 1989, p.31). While it appears that women may not have had governmental positions, they could find themselves in supervisory positions within religious and household spheres (Ward 1989, p.34). Instances of female scribes were attested which would indicate an exposure to training and education (Ward 1989, p.35-36). Jobs that would have typically been seen as female-exclusive, such as weaving, could now be shared with men, e.g. the tomb of Khety at Beni Hassan, which could indicate a decreasing gender-economic

gap (Johnston 2018, p.20). As the attestations of Isis are not connected with these positions, it is unlikely that she had influence in this sphere.

4.3: Overall Conclusions

Overall, the evidence for Isis as an archetype for women in the Old to Middle Kingdom is inconclusive. In the Old Kingdom, it is inconclusive because of the lack of evidence. There are elements that she inspired, such as the *djeret* role, but there is not enough evidence to say she impacted how a woman should behave as a mother and wife. In the Middle Kingdom, however, there is much more substantial evidence to say that she might have been an archetype for women within the specific roles as mother, wife, and mourner and not as a whole. With this research, perhaps further analysis of Isis within these older periods can begin to combat against the oversaturation of research on Isis within later periods, and a better understanding of religion and gender within pharaonic Egypt can be made.

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Appendix A: Pyramid Texts

Allen, James P. The ancient Egyptian pyramid texts. Society of Biblical Lit, 2015.

Location in Tomb	Spell #	Utterance/Spell Description
Tomb of Unis in the Burial Chamber and Passage, North Side	42	<p>Ho, Unis! I fix your jaws spread for you. <i>THE FLINT SPREADER.</i> Osiris Unis, I part your mouth for you. <i>AN INGOT OF NILE-VALLEY GOD'S-METAL: AN INGOT OF DELTA GOD'S-METAL.</i> Unis, accept Horus's eye, which went away: I have gotten it for you that I might put it in your mouth. <i>NILE-VALLEY ZRW-SALT: DELTA ZRW-SALT.</i> Ho Unis! Accept Osiris' <i>sjkw</i>-mineral. <i>SJKW-MINERAL.</i> Here is the tip of the breast of Horus's own body: accept (it) to your mouth. <i>A JUG OF MILK.</i> Here is the breast of your lactating sister Isis, which you should take to your mouth. <i>AN EMPTY JAR.</i> ... Here are Horus's two eyes, black and white: take them to your countenance, that they may brighten your face. <i>A WHITE JAR, A BLACK JAR; LIFTING UP.</i></p>
Tomb of Unis in the Burial Chamber and Passage, South Side	217	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> Sun Atum, this Unis has come to you- an imperishable akh, lord of the property of the place of the four papyrus-columns. Your son has come to you, this Unis has come to you. You shall both traverse the above, after gathering in the netherworld, and rise from the Akhet, from the place in</p>
Tomb of Unis in the Burial Chamber and Passage, South Side	218	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> Osiris, this Unis has come, the Ennead's fledgling, an imperishable akh. He will claim minds, take away kas, and bestow kas, as what he reckons, including whomever he associates to himself or petitions to him. There is none who will be excluded without his bread, without his ka's bread, deprived of his bread. Geb has spoken, and it has come from the mouth of the Ennead, "O next falcon who</p>

		<p>acquires (the throne)” they said, “you are ba and in control.”</p> <p>This Unis has come, the Ennead’s fledgling, an imperishable akh, who surpassed you and surpasses you, wearier than you and greater than you, sounder than you and more acclaimed than you, and your time therein is no more. It is what Seth and Thoth have done, your brothers who do not weep for you.</p> <p>Isis and Nephthys, assemble, gather, gather: this Unis has come, the Ennead’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.</p> <p>The westerners in the earth are for this Unis: this Unis has come, the Ennead’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.</p> <p>The easterners in the earth are for this Unis: this Unis has come, the Ennead’s fledgling, this imperishable akh.</p> <p>The southerners in the earth are for this Unis: this Unis has come, the Ennead’s fledgling, this imperishable akh.</p> <p>The northerners in the earth are for this Unis; this Unis has come, the Ennead’s fledgling, this imperishable akh.</p> <p>Those in the undersky are for this Unis; this Unis has come, the Ennead’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.</p>
Tomb of Unis in the Burial Chamber and Passage, South Side	219	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> Amun, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live: He lives and this Unis lives, He does not die and this Unis does not die, He does not perish, and this Unis does not perish</p> <p>He is not taken away and this Unis is not taken away;</p> <p>He will be taken away should Unis be taken away.</p> <p>Shu, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live: He lives and this Unis lives, He does not die and this Unis does not die, He does not perish and this Unis does not perish;</p>

		<p>He is not taken away and this Unis is not taken away; He will be taken away should this Unis be taken away. Tefnut, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live: He lives and this Unis lives, He does not die and this Unis does not die, He does not perish and this Unis does not perish; He is not taken away and this Unis is not taken away; He will be taken away should this Unis be taken away. Geb, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live: He lives and this Unis lives, He does not die and this Unis does not die, He does not perish and this Unis does not perish; He is not taken away and this Unis is not taken away; He will be taken away should this Unis be taken away. Nut, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live: He lives and this Unis lives, He does not die and this Unis does not die, He does not perish and this Unis does not perish; He is not taken away and this Unis is not taken away; He will be taken away should this Unis be taken away. Isis, this Osiris here is your brother, whom you have made revive and live: He lives and this Unis lives, He does not die and this Unis does not die, He does not perish, and this Unis does not perish; He is not taken away and this Unis is not taken away; He will be taken away should this Unis be taken away...</p>
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		[Other deities are discussed with the same repetition]
Tomb of Unis in the Burial Chamber and Passage, South Side	222	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> You stand up on it, this land that came from Atum, the spittle that came from the Beetle, and evolve on it and become high on it, and your father sees you, the Sun sees you.</p> <p>He has come to you, his father: he has come to you, O Sun;</p> <p>He has come to you, his father: he has come to you, O Downcast;</p> <p>He has come to you, his father: he has come to you, O Fertilizer;</p> <p>He has come to you, his father: he has come to you, O Rager;</p> <p>He has come to you, his father: he has come to you, O Great Wild Bull;</p> <p>He has come to you, his father: he has come to you, O One of the Great Reedfloat;</p> <p>He has come to you, his father: he has come to you, O Sopdu;</p> <p>He has come to you, his father: he has come to you, O Sharp-teeth, that you may make this Unis grasp the Cool Waters and receive the Akhet:</p> <p>That you may take this Unis rule the Nine and provide the Ennead: that you may give this Unis's arm the crook that lowers the head of the Delta and the Nile Valley.</p> <p>He descends on his opponent and stands up over the Great One as his greater- the one whom Nephthys has blessed, for he has taken away opposition, (saying): "You have provided yourself as (Seth), Great of Magic in Ombos, lord of the Nile-Valley land; nothing is lost to you, nothing is wanting to you: for see, you are more ba and more in control than the gods of the Nile Valley or its akhs, you whom the pregnant one spewed forth and you illuminated the night, provided as Seth, who raw (testicles) were pulled off":</p> <p>The one whom Isis has blessed, (saying), "You have provided yourself as Horus the Youthful; nothing else is lost to you,</p>

		<p>nothing else is wanting to you: for see, you are more ba and more in control than the gods of the North or its akhs.”</p> <p>(Unis), you release your cleansing to Atum in Heliopolis; you descend with him, that you may decide the needs of the undersky and stand up in the places of Nu.</p> <p>You evolve with your father Atum, you go high with you father Atum, you rise with you father Atum and release needs.</p> <p>Head to (Nut), the Heliopolitan in the sedan chair; go forth and part your path through Shu’s bones, that the inside of your mother Nut’s arms may encircle you.</p> <p>You become clean in the Akhet and release your cleaning in Shu’s lakes.</p> <p>You go up and go down: you go down with the Sun, one of the dusk with the One Who Was Cast Down.</p> <p>You go up and go down: you go down with the Sun and rise up with the One of the Great Reedfloat.</p> <p>You go up and go down: go down with Nephthys, one of the dusk and with the Nightboat.</p> <p>You go up and go down: you go up with Isis and rise up with the Day-boat.</p> <p>You gain control of your body, without impediment, having been born to (be) Horus and conceived to (be) Seth, having become clean in the Western nome, having received your cleaning in the Bubastite nome, with your father, with Atum.</p> <p>You have developed, you have gone high, you have become effective, it has become cool for you, inside your father’s arms, inside Atum’s arms.</p> <p>Atum, elevate him to you, encircle him in your arms: he is your son of your body, forever.</p>
Tomb of Unis, Antechamber, West-South Walls	258	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>I am Osiris in a dust-devil. The ground is my abomination: I do not enter Geb.</p>

		<p>I end my sleep with my bones broken in my compound on earth, and remove my obstructions.</p> <p>I have become clean through Horus's eye, my obstruction has been removed through Osiris's two kites, and I have released my outflow to earth in Qus...</p>
Tomb of Unis, Antechamber, West-South Walls	268 & 269	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>I wash myself as the Sun appears and the Elder Ennead shines.</p> <p>Should the Ombite become elevated to the fore of the shrine, I will take away the elite as a limb of his, I will seize the crown from the Dual Ennead.</p> <p>Isis nurtures me, Nephthys suckles me.</p> <p>Horus receives me at his two fingers, cleanses me in the Jackal Lake, and releases my ka from the Duat Lake. He purges the flesh of my ka and my body with that which is on the Sun's shoulders in the Akhet, which he receives when the Two Lands shine and he opens the god's faces. He conducts my ka to my body at the Big Compound.</p> <p>The portals act for me, the (Red Crown's) coil is tied on for me, and I lead the Imperishable Stars.</p> <p>I cross to the Fields of Reeds with those in Akhet rowing me and those in the Cool Waters sailing me. I become truly functional, and my ka reaches me.</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>The fire is set, the fire swells up. The incense is set on the fire, the incense swells up.</p> <p>Your scent comes to me, incense: my scent comes to you, incense.</p> <p>Your scent come to me, gods: my scent comes to you, gods.</p> <p>I exist with you, gods; you exist with me, gods.</p> <p>I live with you, gods; you live with me, gods.</p> <p>I desire you, gods; desire me, gods.</p> <p>The wafer comes, the cap that comes from Horus's knees comes: the emerger comes, the emerger comes;</p>

		<p>The climber comes, the climber comes; The ascender comes, the ascender comes. I go up on Isis's thighs, I climb on Nephthys's thighs. My father Atum takes my arm and allots me to those gods who are wise and experienced, the Imperishable Stars. My mother Ipy, give me that breast of yours, that I may transport it to my mouth and suck that white, dazzling, sweet milk of yours. Yonder land in which I go, I do not thirst in it, I do not hunger in it, forever.</p>
Tomb of Unis, Antechamber, East-North Walls	308	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> Greetings, Horus, in the Horus-Mounds! Greetings, Seth, in the Seth-Mounds! Greetings Reeds, in the Field of Reeds! Greetings, you two reconciled gods, twin children of the four foremost gods of the Big Compound, who invoked me naked! I have looked at you like Horus looks at Isis, I have looked at you like Ka-Allocator looks at Selket, I have looked at you like Sobek looks at Neith, I have looked at you like Seth looks at the two reconciled gods.</p>
Tomb of Teti, Burial Chamber, Sarcophagus, and West Gable	4	<p><i>RECITATION BY NUT, THE ELDER EFFECTIVE ONE:</i> Teti is my son, whom I caused to be born and who parted my belly; he is the one I have desired and with whom I have become content. <i>RECITATION BY GEB:</i> Teti is the son of my body, [...] <i>RECITATION BY NUT, THE ELDER BUD:</i> Teti, my son, is the one I have desired. I have given him the Akhet, that he may take control of it as Horus of the Akhet. All the gods are saying: "It is proper. Teti is the one you have desired from among your children: escort him forever". <i>RECITATION BY NUT, THE ELDER ONE IN THE MIDST OF IN THE COMPOUND OF SHENIT:</i> Teti is my son of my will. I have given him the Duat, that he might become foremost in it as Horus, foremost of the Duat.</p>

		<p>All the gods are saying: “His father Shu knows that you love Teti more than your mother Tefnut.”</p> <p>RECITATION BY NUT:</p> <p>Teti, I have given you your sister Isis, that she may take hold of you and give you your mind for your body.</p> <p><i>RECITATION BY NUT:</i></p> <p>Teti, I have given you your sister Nephthys, that she may take hold of you and give you your mind for your body.</p> <p><i>RECITATION BY NUT, THE GREAT ONE IN THE MIDST OF IN THE LOWER COMPOUND:</i></p> <p>Teti is my son whom I have desired, the firstborn on Geb’s throne: he has become content with him and has given him his inheritance before the Big Ennead.</p> <p>All the gods are in excitement, saying: “How happy is Teti that his father Geb is content with him.”</p>
Tomb of Teti, Burial Chamber, East Wall	356 & 357	<p><i>RECITATION. OPENING THE SKY’S DOOR.</i></p> <p>Ho, Teti! Your head has been tied to your bones for you, your bones have been tied to your head for you. The sky’s door is opened for you, the two great doorleaves’s doorbolts are drawn back for you, the brick is pulled for you from the great mastaba.</p> <p>Your face is that of a jackal, your tail that of a wild lion. You should sit on that chair of yours and govern the akhs.</p> <p>You should come to me, you should come to me, you should just come to me: Horus who tends his father. I am your Anubis-wrapper.</p> <p>You use your arm in the world and your fighting arm in the Great Mound, and move about by means of it among the akhs.</p> <p>Stand up! Raise yourself like Osiris!</p> <p>Ho, Osiris Teti! Horus has come seeking you. He has made Thoth drive back Seth’s followers for you, he has gotten them corralled for you, and has turned away the will of Seth. You are greater than he, for you have emerged in precedence to him and your character has precedence over him.</p>

		<p>Geb has seen your character and has put you in your (proper) place. Geb has gotten for you your two sisters to your side- they are Isis and Nephthys.</p> <p>Horus has made the gods join you: they are brotherly to you in your identity of him of the Flagpole Shrine and do not reject you in your identity of him of the Dual Shrines. He has made the gods tend you.</p> <p>Geb has put away his sandal on the head of your opponent so that he is turned away for you. Your son Horus has struck him and has taken his eye from him and given it to you, that you might become ba through it and take control through it at the fore of the akhs.</p> <p>Horus has had you seize your opponents, and there shall be none of them who will turn the back to you.</p> <p>So, Horus becomes ba, taking account of his father in you in your identity of him of the Sovereign's-Ba sedan chair. Nut has put you as a god to Seth in your identity of god; your mother Nut has spread herself over you in her identity of Shetpet.</p> <p>Horus has seized Seth and put him under you that he might bear you and tremble under you in the earth's trembling; you are more sacred than he in your identity of the Sacred Land.</p> <p>Horus has had you take account of him in his middle: don't let him go out from you. He has had you seize him with your hand: don't let him be taken from you.</p> <p>Ho, Osiris Teti! Horus has tended you. He has acted for his ka in you, that you might become content in your identity of Ka at Rest.</p> <p>Ho, Osiris Teti! Geb has given you your eyes: may you become content through the eyes of this great one in you. Geb has had Horus give them to you that you may become content with them.</p> <p>Isis and Nephthys have seen you and found you. Horus has gathered you, Horus has had Isis and Nephthys tend to you, and</p>
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		<p>they have given you to Horus, that he may be content with you.</p> <p>Horus has become akh with you in your identity of the Akhet from which the Sun emerges, and inside you arms in your identity of the one inside the palace. Enfold your arms all about him, so that his bones extend and his mind enlarges.</p> <p>Ho, Osiris Teti! Elevate yourself to Horus, betake yourself to him: don't be far from him. Horus has come to take account of you. He has struck Seth bound for you: you are his ka. Horus has turned him away for you: you are greater than he. You swim under him, as she bears the one in you who is greater than he. His followers have noticed you, and your strength is so much greater than his that he will not thwart you.</p> <p>Horus comes, taking account of his father in you rejuvenated in your identity of the rejuvenated waters (of the induntation). Horus has parted your mouth.</p> <p>Ho, Osiris Teti! Do not groan, do not moan. Geb has gotten Horus for you, that he may allot their minds to you. He has gotten you all the gods together, and there is none of them who is away from him.</p> <p>Horus has tended you, for he could not delay tending you. Horus has taken his eye from Seth and given it to you, This sweet eye of his, return it to yourself, allot it to yourself: oh, may it endure with you.</p> <p>Isis has gathered you. Horus's mind goes forward with you, in your identity of Foremost of Westerners. Horus is the one who tends what Seth has done to you.</p>
Tomb of Teti, Burial Chamber, East Gable	342	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>It is I, Isis! It is I, Asbet! It is I, Nephthys! Come and see your son, whom the Great Black Bull nome serves, whom the crown serves.</p> <p>My satchel is (made) of peppergrass and my basket of rush: I have come carrying what is desired and given.</p>

		Come, weak goddess! Burn, brazier! Stand up, assistants! Let a meal be given to me.
Tomb of Teti, Passage	362	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> My father! My father in the darkness! My father, Atum in the darkness! Fetch me your side, and I will light a lamp for you and guard you like Nu's guarding of those four serpent-goddesses on the day they guarded the chair- Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and She who Aspirates Throats.</p>
Tomb of Teti, Antechamber, West-South Walls	364 & 366	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> Ho, Osiris Teti, stand up! Horus comes, that he might take account of you from the gods. Horus has desired you and provided you; Horus has painted his eye on you. Horus has parted your eye, that you might see with it. The gods have tied on your face, for they have desired you; Isis and Nephthys have made you sound...</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i> Ho, Osiris Teti! Stand up, raise yourself! Your mother Nut has given you birth, Geb has wiped your mouth for you. The Big-Ennead tend you, having given you your opponents under you. "Carry the one greater than you," they say against him, in your identity of the Great-Saw Shrine. "The one greater than you is distinguished," they say, in your identity of Great Land. Your sisters Isis and Nephthys come to you, making you sound- very black in your identity of the Great Black Wall, very green in your identity of the Great Green. Look, you have become great and round, as the Great Round. Look, you have become encircled and round, as the circuit that surrounds the External Isles. Look, you have become round and big, as him who surrounds the Big Waters That Perish. Isis and Nephthys have waited for you in Asyut- for their lord in you, in your identity of the Lord of Asyut; for their god in you, in your identity of the god. They worship you:</p>

		<p>you should not go far from them, in your identity of the God's Beard. They gather you: you should not become angry, in your identity of the Djenderu-Bark.</p> <p>Your sister Isis has come to you, excited for love of you. You put her on your phallus so that your seed might emerge into her, sharp as Sothis, and sharp Horus emerged from you as Horus in Sothis. You have become akh in him in his identity of the Akh in Djenderu-Bark, and he tends you in the identity of Horus, the son who tends his father.</p>
Tomb of Teti, Serdab Passage	417	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>As the Great One lies on his mother Nut, your mother Ta'it will clothe you and carry you to the sky in her identity of a kite. Foundling, she has found her Horus.</p> <p>This is your Horus, Isis: may you send his arm to the Sun and toward the Akhet.</p>
Tomb of Teti, Serdab Passage	419 & 413	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Greetings, father, on this your day when you stand opposite the Sun as he comes forth in the east, arrayed in this insignia of yours as one of the akhs. Arms are linked for you, feet drum for you, hands wave for you.</p> <p>Isis has taken your arm that she might induct you inside the pavilion that arrays the earth, as your watchers mourn you. The offering that Anubis, foremost of the westerners, gives: your thousands of bread, your thousands of beer, your thousands of ointment, your thousands of linen, your thousands of clothing, your thousands of cattle, a Nile goose decapitated for you, a white goose butchered for you...</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Raise yourself, father! You have your water, you have your induntation, you have your milk from your mother Isis's breasts.</p>

		<p>Raise yourself, you who gave birth to Horus, you who gave birth to him who is in Pe's Seal-ring as Seth in Takhbet.</p> <p>The great one who has spent the night abed: awake, Teti! Raise yourself! Receive your head, collect your bones, and clear away your dust.</p> <p>Sit, then, on that metal chair of yours and eat a foreleg, serve yourself a shank, and feed on your ribs at the sky amongst the gods.</p>
Tomb of Teti, Antechamber, East Wall	406	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Greetings, Sun, in your perfection, in your finality, in your places, in you (ultimate) experience! May you fetch for me Isis's milk, Nephthys's flood, the lake's perimeter, the surge of the Great Green, life, soundness, health, ease of mind, bread, beer, clothing, a meal, that I may live on them.</p> <p>The brewers listen to me all day long and become content for me in the nights; I partake of the meal, for they have become content with their offerings. I see you when you emerge as Thoth, when a beaching-place is made for the Sun's boat at its fields in the bald sky, when you close up as the one in the fore of his Infinities.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Sarcophagus and Burial Chamber, West End	422 & 535	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Ho, Pepi! You have gone that you may become akh and take control as a god, as Osiris's replacement. You have your ba within you, your control about you, your crown atop you, your Pale Crown atop your shoulders.</p> <p>Face forwards, for praise of you is before you. The god's followers are after you, the god's privileged ones before you, making (the paeon), "The god comes, the god comes! This Pepi comes on Osiris's throne! The akh from Nedit comes, the controlling power from Great-Land!"</p> <p>Isis speaks to you, Nephthys calls to you. The akhs come to you bowing, kissing the</p>

		<p>earth at your feet, because of your ferocity, oh Pepi, in Perception's towns.</p> <p>...</p> <p><i>RECITATION BY ISIS AND NEPHTHYS:</i></p> <p>The screecher comes, the kite comes: it is Isis and Nephthys. They have come in search for their brother Osiris, in search of their brother, this Pepi.</p> <p>Make haste, make haste! Weep for your brother, Isis! Weep for your brother, Nephthys! Weep for your brother!</p> <p>Isis sits down with her arms atop her, and Nephthys has seized the tip of her breasts, for their brother Pepi, babylike on his belly, Osiris with what is his, Anubis with grasp forward.</p> <p>You have no rot, Pepi; you have no sweat, Pepi; you have no outflow, Pepi; you have no dust, Pepi- you of the Screecher, the Screecher's son; you of the mooring, who came from the Mooring Post; you of the separation into three- in these your four days and your eight nights.</p> <p>Follow She of a Thousand Bas, your one of the Cool Waters, whom you should desire, and your orphan comes to the fore as you come to the fore of the foremost, the orphans you have orphaned into orphans. Horus is united from his breast-band for you, that he might catch those in Seth's following. Seize them, remove their heads, sever their forelegs, and gut them, take their hearts and slurp their blood. Allot their minds in this your identity of Anubis who allots minds.</p> <p>You have been given your eyes as your two uraei; for you are Paths-Parter on his standard, Anubis at the fore of the god's booth.</p> <p>Ho, Pepi! You are at the fore of the houses of the great ones in Helipolis. The akhs fear you, as well as the Imperishable Stars, and</p>
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		<p>the dead fall on their face to you, for you have grabbed (control of) humanity. “(The status of) honored firstborn pertains to Pepi,” says the bas of Helipolis, as they provide you with life and authority. “He lives in the living as Sokar lives in the living: as he lives in the living, this Pepi lives in the living.”</p> <p>Ho, Pepi! Come! Come alive and live here from one of your seasons to the other in these years, content, with the love of you warm...</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Burial Chamber, South Wall, East End	728	<p><i>[RECITATION]:</i> [Ho], Pepi! You do not become weary. You spend the evening at [...] Geb’s children. Proceed, you in charge of water. Raise yourself to [...] raise yourself to this your unmouldering bread [...] Horus, emmer is reaped [...], the years [take account of] you, rejuvenated from it. Your [...] is placed for you, your cut stalks are placed [...].</p> <p>Receive your baton and receive your staff [...] Horus’s children, you direct the Imperishable Stars. Remove yourself [from] the shores.</p> <p>How permanent is [that which has been done] for you! The king appears and Paths-Parter becomes exalted with the king on the day of the new moon. [The Mooring Post calls to you as Nephthys], the Moorer summons you as Isis, and you go forward to the gateway of the Standard-Support. [...] says [about you, “...” his house.”</p> <p>...</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Burial Chamber, South Wall, East End	732	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> [...] condition [...]. It is Pepi. He has come to you, gods, having his bones, his outflow great of immersion.</p> <p>So, go forward, [Pepi...] you [...] in your identity of Igai. Stand up at the lake at the fore of the gods, as Anubis atop the shrine.</p> <p>Your sister Isis is the one who finds you on your mother’s thighs, and she sucks you and does not wean [you].</p>

		<p>[Cleanse yourself with] your natron-salt [and sit on you] metal [chair, and the... come to you] bowing and bear you to every place in which [you want to be].</p> <p><i>[RECITATION:</i> Ho, Pepi! Have you not become great], have you not become [important]? You go to the great causeway and travel to the great town, and the horizons do not seize you, for Shu is [complete in] his limit. Horus, the town's ruler, has banded you (with breastbands), and the Firstborn's Thing that comes from Heliopolis is fetched to you. Isis is the one [who suckles] you, Nephthys the one who [gives] you [her] breast. [The two] ladies [of Dep] let down [their hair] for you. [Your two mother in Nekheb come to you and transport their breast to] you [mouth]; they lift you up and bring you to the fore.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Passage	674	<p><i>[RECITATION]:</i> I have come unto you: I am your son. I have come unto you, Pepi: I am Horus. I give you your staff at the fore of the akhs and your lotus-bud scepter at the fore of the Imperishable Stars. I found and tied on your face that of a jackal and your rear as that of Qebhut. She cools and assigns for you your mind in your body, in your father Anubis's house. Become clean; sit at the fore of those older than you. So, sit on your metal chair, on Foremost of Westerner's throne. Your millers, they are the ones who pluck (grain for you). The Moorer calls out to you as Isis, the Ululater ululates for you as Nephthys...</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Antechamber, West Wall	468	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> ...</p> <p>Ho, Pepi, whose form is concealed as Anubis! You have received your face of a jackal and the shrine at the fore of the Dual</p>

		<p>Shrines awaits you as Anubis at the fore of the god's booth, that you may content Horus's followers. Horus tends you, Pepi. Horus contents you, Pepi, (with the offering he has, and your mind becomes content through it, Pepi, at the first of the month and the middle of the month. The Ululater ululates for you as Anubis at the fore of the god's shrine. Isis screams for you, Nephthys calls out to you, as Horus who tends his father, Osiris (saying): "The son has tended his father; Horus has tended this Pepi). Osiris lives, the akh in Nedit lives, and this Pepi lives."</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Antechamber, West Wall	474	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>"How beautiful to look," says Isis; "how satisfying to gaze," says Nephthys, "at father, at this Osiris Pepi, as he goes forth to the sky among the stars, among the Imperishable Stars, Pepi's wrath stop him, his ferocity at his sides, his magic at his feet." I go thereby onto my mother Nut and ascend on her in her identity of the ladder. "I get for you the gods who belong to the sky," (says Isis), "and they join for you the gods who belong to the earth, that you might be with them and go on their arms."</p> <p>"I get for you the bas of Pe," (says Nephthys), "and join together for you the bas of Nekhen."</p> <p>"Everything is for this Pepi," says Geb, who argued for it with Atum, for it is what was done for him- "the Fields of Reeds, the Horus Mounds, and the Seth Mounds. Everything is for this Pepi," says Geb, who argued for it with Atum, for it is what was done for him. He has come against me and said that he would kill me. He will not kill me. I am the one who will kill my opponent and establish myself against him as the most established of wild bulls.</p> <p><i>RECITATION WITHOUT PASE, 4 TIMES:</i> Pepi, be set in life and authority; Pepi, you become set and are set in life and authority.</p>

Tomb of Pepi I, Antechamber, West Wall	477	<p><i>RECITAION:</i></p> <p>...</p> <p>“Raise yourself, Osiris, for Seth has raised himself, having heard the threat of the gods who spoke on behalf of the god’s father. (Give) your arm to Isis, Osiris, and your hand to Nephthys, and you go between them. You are given the sky, you are given the earth, the Field of Reeds, the Horus Mounds, and the Seth Mounds; you are given the towns and cultivations are joined together for you,” says Atum. Geb is the one argued for it. ...</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Antechamber, West Wall	482	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>You, father Osiris Pepi! Raise yourself from off your left side, put yourself on your right side, toward this fresh water I have given you. You, father Osiris Pepi! Raise yourself from off your left side, put yourself on your right side, toward this warm bread I have made for you.</p> <p>You, father [Osiris] Pepi! The sky’s door is opened to you, the door of the (sky’s) arcs is pulled open to you.</p> <p>The gods of Pe are distraught, coming to Osiris at the sound of Isis’s and Nephthys’s screaming. The bas of Pe drum for you, hitting their flesh for you, striking their arms for you, shaking for you with their brads, and saying to Osiris: “Though you have gone away, you have turned; you have awoken, though you have gone to sleep, established in life.” ...</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Antechamber, North Wall	757	<p>...</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>The foretellers of the great heat have come forth inside the Akhet of the sky, [foretelling] festivals of braziers at the gods’ birth on your arms, oh god with two [great] breasts in front of his group. May you find me [there] at the beginning of your document in [the Field of Ascenders].</p> <p>She gave birth to me and conceived me as] the one of the gods who is trembled at,</p>

		<p>when my mother. [Isis], said: “Break (the egg) that I have given birth to, so that the thing (inside it) may spew forth.”</p> <p>“There shall be fetched for you, (Isis), [that] metal [in] the prow of the Sokar-boat, in which you were flown, and you make [...] fly [to the sky [...]] him [...].”</p> <p>“[...]?”</p> <p>“[...], having carved his prongs, and struck the two ferrules of his two shafts, and he will break the metal and split the egg, and [this] god will proceed to his activity.”</p> <p>“And how will [his] arms be filled?”</p> <p>“[I shall] allot [...] who are in [...].”</p> <p>[I am...] the two [Maat]-boats, who acquires [for Atum] that which Sweeping-[Shoulder] has. My lips are [...]; my (fingernail) points are [...].</p> <p>[...] like one who stands as [an experienced one in the sky on the day of closing out the year].</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Corridor	760	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>My father Pepi, elder sleeping, great one becomes slack! Stand up, remove yourself from your left side and sit on that metal of yours [...] to the boat.</p> <p>My father has inherited from Horus as Horus in Seal-ring, Seth in the Ennead, Sobel in [Shedit]. Let arms beat, let drumming go down!</p> <p>The great Mooring-Post calls out to [you]; your sister Nephthys comes [to] you, your sister Isis becomes clean for you, your mother, the sky, goes down for you. The women of Buto comes to you and put termini at [...] for you [...] with the Imperishable Stars.</p> <p>[...] has arranged the portal of your father [...] as when Horus arranged the portal of his father Osiris. I have reaped grain for your <i>hbnnt</i>-breads and emmer is reaped for your fresh grain. Whatever is found for it I give you for it, so that [you] do not die because of [...]. So, you are always prepared from it. Live, live!</p>

		... (11 columns lost)
Tomb of Pepi I, Corridor, Middle	510 & 511	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>...</p> <p>The earth is hacked up for me, and a presented offering laid down for me, for I have appeared as a king and I have my insignia and my throne. I cross the Looking Canal, I traverse the Winding Canal, and She of Buto takes my arm up to her sanctuary, up to her remote place that the god has made for her. For I am a clean one, son of a clean one, becoming clean with those four jars of mine that were filled to overflowing from the god's canal in Iseum with the breadth of Isis when great Isis was elevating Horus.</p> <p>...</p> <p>Basin-strider makes my perfect paths and leads me to the great seat that made the gods, that made Horus and begat Thoth, so that Isis may receive me and Nephthys beget me. So I sit on the great seat that made the gods, and the Mooring God comes to me in excitement, and the gods in brother; those of the Akhet come to me on their face, and the Imperishable Stars bowing.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Corridor, Middle	505	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>I have come from Pe and from the bas of Pe, banded with the breastband of Horus, clothed in the clothing of Thoth, Isis before me, Nephthys behind me, Paths-Parter parting a path for me, Shu lifting me, the bas of Heliopolis laying down a stairway for me to join with the above, and Nut giving her arms toward me like that which she did for Osiris on the day he moored. ...</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Corridor, North End	519	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>... So stand up, Osiris, and commend me to those over the causeway "Informed", north of the Field of Rest, like you commended Horus to Isis on the day you impregnated her, that they may let me east from the marshes and drink from the springs inside the Field of Rest.</p>

		<p>...</p> <p>I have descended onto the Great Green!</p> <p>These are Nut's children who go down on you, with their wreaths at their head and their wreaths of halfagrass at their neck, who make verdant the Red Crowns and the Field of Rest's canals for great Isis- she who tied the headband on her son Horus as a young boy in Akhbit, using her dress and censuring before him so that he might cross the land in his white sandals and go to see his father Osiris. ...</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Corridor, North End	532	<p>RECITATION:</p> <p>The Nightboat's djed-pillar is released for its Lord, the Nightboat's pillar is released for the one who steers it.</p> <p>Isis comes, Nephthys comes- one of them from the west, one of them from the east, one of them as a screecher, one of them as a kite. They found Osiris after his brother Seth threw him down in Nedit, when Osiris said, "You should go away from me," and his identity of Sokar came into being.</p> <p>They prevent you from decomposing, with respect to your identity of parter; they prevent your decay from oozing to the ground, with respect to your identity of the Nile-Valley jackal; they prevent the scent of your corpse from being bad, with respect to your identity of Horus of Shat.</p> <p>They prevent eastern Horus from decaying; they prevent Horus, lord of the elite, from decaying; they prevent Horus of the Duat from decaying; they prevent Horus, lord of the Two Lands, from decaying. Nor is Seth free of bearing you forever, Osiris Pepi.</p> <p>Awake for Horus! Stand up against Seth!</p> <p>So, raise yourself, Osiris Pepi, Geb's first son, at whom the Dual Ennead shake! The shrine awaits you, the new-moon festival is made for you, and you appear at the first-of-the-month festival. So, go forward to the lake and travel to the Great Green.</p>

		<p>For you are He Who Stands and Does Not Tire, in the midst of Abydos. You have become the akh in the Akhet and stable in Djedut. Your arm is received by the bas of Heliopolis, your arm is taken by the Sun. Your head is raised by the Dual Ennead, and they have put you, Osiris Pepi, at the fore of the Dual Shrines of the bas of Helipolis.</p> <p>Be alive! Be alive! Raise yourself!</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Corridor, North End	533	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>...</p> <p>The sky cannot be free of me forever, the earth cannot be free of me forever, by command of [...] Horus's eye over [...]. [O...], fetch that (ferryboat) for me, for I am to be your third in Heliopolis.</p> <p>[...] his [...] that comes from [...]. I am the gore that comes from the Sun, the sweat that comes from Isis.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Corridor, North End	534	<p><i>RECITATION BY HORUS: A GEB-GIVEN OFFERING:</i></p> <p>Go back, be far away! Let Horus respect me and Seth protect me.</p> <p>Go back, be far away! Let Osiris respect me and Kherti protect me.</p> <p>Go back, be far away! Let Isis respect me and Nephthys protect me.</p> <p>Be far overhead! Let Eyes-Forward respect me and Thoth protect me.</p> <p>Go back, be far away! Let those of the nighttime respect me and those in old age protect me.</p> <p>...</p> <p>Should Thoth try to come in that bad coming of his, don't open your arms to him, but let there be said to him his identity of You Have No Mother, (and say), "Go, you who have been barred from your testicles! Go to Pe, go to Thoth-town!"</p> <p>Should Isis try to come in that bad coming of hers, don't open your arms to her, but let there be said to her her identity of Putrid Crotch, (and say), "Barred! Go to the</p>

		<p>houses of Manu! Enough! Go to Hedjbet, to where you will be beaten!”</p> <p>Should Nephthys try to come in that bad coming of hers, then let there be said to her her identity of Substitute Who Has No Vulva, (and say), “Go off to Selket’s compounds, to where you will be beaten on your haunches!”</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Corridor, North End	536	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>You have your water, you have your induntation, you have your outflow that came from Osiris.</p> <p>The sky’s door is opened to you, Nut’s door is pulled open to you. The sky’s door is opened to you, the Cool Waters’ door is pulled open to you.</p> <p>“Endure!” says Isis, “In peace!” says Nephthys, when they have seen their brother.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Corridor, North End	538	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Back, groaning steer! Your head is in Horus’s arm, your tail is in Isis’s arm, and Atum’s fingers are on your horns.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Vestibule, South Wall	548	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>...</p> <p>I descend into the boat like the Sun, on the Winding Canal’s shores. I row in the lightening-boat and set course in it to the fields of the two underskies, to the fore of that land of the Fields of Reeds. My arm is ever received by the Sun, my head is lifted by Atum. My prowline’s arm is ever received by Isis; my stern-line, left by Nephthys.</p> <p>When Qebhut has put me on her temple, she drops me among those who are at the fore of the lake as herdsmen of calves.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Vestibule, West and East Walls	570	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>...</p> <p>I am the red linen that came from Isis and the redness that came from Nephthys. My leather cord is at my tailbone, and there is nothing the gods can do to me. I am the Sun’s replacement, and I do not die.</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p>

		<p>“How beautiful indeed is the sight, how satisfying indeed to see,” says Isis, “how this god goes up to the sky, with his ba on him, his ferocity at his sides, his magic at his feet!”</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Vestibule, West and East Walls	580	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> Father-striker! Killer of one greater than you! You have struck my father, you have killed one greater than you. Father Osiris Pepi, I have struck for you as an ox the one who struck you. I have killed for you as a wild bull the one who killed you, I have broken down for you as a steer the one who broke you down. The one on whose back you were is a bull on his back, the one who stretched you is a bull on the rack, the one who milked you is a milked bull, the one who defeated you is a herd-bull. I have cut off his head, I have cut off his tail, I have cut off his arms, I have cut off his legs. His upper foreleg is for the Beetle; his lower foreleg is for Atum, the gods’ father; his two (fore) flanks are for Shu and Tefnut; his two rear flanks are for Geb and Nut; his two (rear) thighs are for Isis and Nephthys; his two (rear) hocks are for Eyes-Forward and Kherti; his back is for Neith and Selket; his breast is for great Sekhmet; what is in his scrotum is for the four gods that Horus gave birth to and desired, Hapi, Imset, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuf; his head, his tail, his arms, and his legs are for the two of Anubis-town, Osiris and Thighs-Forward; and what the gods leave of his for bas of Nekhen and the bas of Pe.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Vestibule, West and East Walls	553 & 555	<p><i>RECITATION:</i> ... “The sky’s door is opened to you, the Cool Waters’ door is pulled open to you: the mastaba’s door is opened to you, and Nut’s door is drawn back for you. ‘To me! To me!’ says Isis; ‘proceed to peace!’ says Nephthys, when they have seen your father Osiris on the day of the</p>

		<p>reed-festival. High are the shrines of your ba's settlement.</p> <p>...</p> <p>"The sky weeps for you and the earth shakes for you, the Moorer screams for you and the great Mooring Post cries for you, feet stomp for you and arms wave for you, as you go forth to the sky as a star, as the morning god.</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>I have come from Pe banded (with breastbands) as Horus, arrayed as one of the Dual Ennead. I appear as king and go on high as Paths-Parter, for I have received the White Crown and the Raw Crown, my mace is in my arm, my 3ms-staff is in my hand.</p> <p>My mother, Isis! My nurse, Nephthys! You who suckled me, She Who Remembers Horus! Neith, behind me! Selket, before me! Tie the lashing, land my ferryboats, for a son of Atum who is hungry and thirsty, thirsty and hungry, on this southern side of the Winding Canal. Thoth in the limit of your bush's shade, put me on your wingtip in yonder northern side of the Winding Canal.</p> <p>I am sound, my flesh is sound; I am sound, my clothing is sound. I have gone up to the sky as Montu, I have gone down as the ba of my net.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Vestibule, West and East Walls	561C	<p>...</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Horus has come [...] those on earth for Pepi. Nut becomes excited when the god awakes, and gives birth to [...].</p> <p>Geb [has] begotten [you], Nut has given her arms toward you. Awake! Awake, [father] Osiris Pepi, [...] as [...] of those four [...].</p> <p>[...] as birds, rowing the great one to make landfall on its [western] side. So, he goes to yonder eastern side of the sky and acquires [...] contentment. The mind of [...] their fathers.</p>

		<p>Your sister Isis and your sister Nephthys take your arm to the Akhet, to the Sun's clean places, and he places you as the morning god in the midst of the Field of [...].</p> <p>...</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Vestibule, West and East Walls	694A & 767	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>"I found, I found," said Isis; "I have found," said Nephthys, when they saw Osiris on his side on the shore.</p> <p>"[Ho, Osiris! Raise] yourself for me!" says Isis. "Stand for me," says [Nephthys]. "[...] my brother, for [I have] searched for you."</p> <p>"Raise yourself, akh! Speak," says Geb, "for I have struck away obstruction and the Dual Ennead listen, the gods come to you in brotherhood. You are given the crown by your father Atum, that he might have you be assigned as one of the gods, as the Great One at the fore of [...] your [...] under [...]. Your season happens and [your] year is made. Those in Nu come to you, humanity move to you, and you shall be Horus at the fore of the akhs, as Bow-Spreader in the midst of the broadhall. [You...] with him at your season and your year is made with him at this time [...], by command of Atum, the god's father."</p> <p>Father Osiris Pepi, raise yourself! Go to [your] akh, and Osiris's followers [...] you.]</p> <p>...</p> <p>The two elder goddesses speak, the two great goddesses scream- they are Isis and Nephthys, who sought you and found you- and your mouth is washed with their metal fingers.</p>
Tomb of Pepi I, Ascending Corridor, West Wall	?	<p><i>(The spell is too fragmented and does not entirely make sense, especially when Isis is mentioned. The phrase [...] the place that Isis made for her son [...] is used, but again is too fragmented to fully tell if it is the sky that's being referred to or something else.</i></p>

Tomb of Pepi I, Ascending Corridor, East Wall	?	<p>[...] great [...] at the fore of [...] vulva [...] has built [...] Horus, son of Isis and Osiris [...]. It is the [... of my shores [...]. Greetings, [...]! [...] to the earth [...].</p> <p>(22 columns lost)</p> <p>[...] me two eyes, [that I might] see. [No]thing of [...] will be seen [...] he [...] Horus's eye [...].</p>
Tomb of Merenre, East Wall	593	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Stand up! Give your arm to Horus, that he may make you stand up.</p> <p>Geb has wiped your mouth. The Ennead has tended you: they have put Seth under you, so that he is endowed with you, and they have prevented him from expectorating his spit against you.</p> <p>Nut has fallen over her son in you, defending you, joining you, assembling you, and raising you. You are the eldest of her children.</p> <p>Your two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, return to you after having gone off from where you are. Your sister Isis has taken hold of you, having found you very black in your identity of the Great Black Wall. You have encircled everything inside your arms in your identity of the circuit that goes round the External Isles, having become big in your identity of the Big Waters That Perish.</p> <p>Horus has gotten Seth for you and given him to you bowed down under you: your strength is greater than his. Horus has made you encircle all the gods inside your arms. Horus has desired his father in you, and Horus cannot let you disappear. Horus cannot be away from you, for Horus has tended father in you.</p> <p>You are alive in the Beetle's lift, enduring in Djedut. Isis and Nephthys have made protection for you in Asyut- for their lord in you, in your identity of the Lord of Asyut; for their god in you, and in your identity of</p>

		<p>the God's Canal- worshipping you so that you don't become far from them.</p> <p>Your sister Isis came to you, excited for love of you, and your seed emerged into her, sharp as Sothis, and sharp Horus emerged from you in his identity of Horus in Sothis. You become akh in him in his identity of Akh in the Djenderu-Bark, for Horus has tended you in his identity of Horus, the son who tends his father. ...</p>
Tomb of Merenre, Vestibule	572	<p>...</p> <p>I am one of you, gods. I have come unto you, Sun; I have come unto you, Limitless, that I might row you and extend protection to you. I love you in my belly, I love you in my heart.</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>"How beautiful indeed is the sight, how satisfying indeed to see," says Isis, "how this god goes up to the sky, with his ba on him, his ferocity at his sides, his magic at his feet! He is acted for by Atum like he was acted for."</p>
Tomb of Merenre, Vestibule	619	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Raise yourself, Nemtiemzaf Merenre! Raise yourself, you of the great adze! Raise yourself from the left, put yourself on the right. Wash [your] arms [with] this fresh [water] that your father Osiris has given you.</p> <p>I have farmed barley, I have reaped emmer, and I have made with them (offerings) for your festivals that Foremost of Westerners has made for you.</p> <p>A stairway to the sky is laid down that you may go up. You judge between the two great gods at the Dual Ennead's shoulder. Isis cries out for you, Nephthys screams for you, and she of Buto sits at your seat's feet.</p> <p>You take your two oars- one of juniper, the second of pine- and cross the lake to your house, the Great Green, and save yourself from the one who did this to you.</p> <p>Aha! Beware the great lake!</p>
Tomb of Pepi II,	664A-664D	<i>RECITATION:</i>

Sarcophagus		<p>Hey, you Pepi! Turn about you, you Pepi Neferkare! I am Isis. I have come that I may take hold of you and give you your mind for your body.</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Osiris Pepi Neferkare, I am Isis. I have come, earth's favorite, having returned to the place where you are. I have come that I may take hold of you.</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Horus is here within your arms so that he may tend you. He comes akh again with you, in your identity of the Akhet from which the Sun emerges. Enfold your arms all about him, and he will not be away from you.</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Osiris Pepi Neferkare, [your bones] are tied together [for] you, your limbs are joined together for you, your mind is set in its place for you. Osiris Pepi Neferkare, do not groan, [do not moan. Osiris] Pepi Neferkare, I have gotten your mind into your body for you, I have put it in its place for you. Should it be demanded from you, don't give [it].</p> <p><i>[RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Osiris] Pepi Neferkare, I am Horus. I have come that I may defend you from [your opponent] because of what he has done to you.</p> <p>Osiris Pepi Neferkare, I have commended you to [your mother Nut], that she may raise you.</p> <p>Osiris Pepi Neferkare, I have come that I may defend you. Nut, collect [him] to [you]; Nut, raise [him to you].</p> <p>Horus's children...</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Osiris Pepi Neferkare, I am Nut, the Granary. I wipe the mouth of Osiris Pepi [Neferkare].</p>
Tomb of Pepi II,	63	<p><i>[RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Osiris Pepi Neferkare, betake yourself to your son] Horus: place him within you. A <i>HORUS-</i></p>

Burial Chamber, North Wall, East End		<p><i>MACE. ARRAY (WITH) 1 MACE AND 1 SCEPTER.</i></p> <p>[I am Isis: go behind me, father Osiris Pepi] Neferkare. A MHN-MACE AND A TAMARISK MACE: 1 HORUS-MACE.</p>
Tomb of Pepi II, Burial Chamber, South Wall, East End and East Wall, North End	669	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>I am a keening falcon in the midst of Duat, who goes around Horus's eye, [...]. Great [...], don't [...] me. I am a falcon censed with [...], and I have censed you with it.</p> <p>I am off to the eastern side of Nut: I am ever conceived there, I am ever born there.</p> <p>...</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>He whom the great heat foretold came forth from the interior Akhet and saw the arrangement of the festival calendar and the making of braziers on the birth of the gods on the give epagomenal days on your arms, Great-Breasted One in front of the inductees. [May you find me there at the beginning of your document among those who have made their names.] I [have been given birth] by my mother Begetter in a rebirth in the nest [of] Thoth inside the Tamarisk Field, the gods' source. For I am (your) Brother, who has come as a wise one who parts the two and splits up the two fights, (Horus and Seth)- and who split your head, gods.</p> <p>[The waters in Nu were cut at the sound of] the scream of [Nut], my [mother when she gave birth to me] and tied the headband on me as your greatest cause of trembling, gods; the one at whom you trembled, gods, when Isis spoke against Nu.</p> <p>"You have given birth, (Isis), you have taken him out of the mold and fully ejected him, but he has no legs and no arms. So with what can he been tied together?" (said the gods).</p> <p>"In that case, then the metal in the prow of the Sokar-boat shall be fetched to him, by means of which he can be tied together, by means of which he can develop, and [he]</p>

		<p>will be raised by means of it inside your arms,” said the gods.</p> <p>“Look, he is tied together; look, he has developed. So, with what can we break his egg?” said the gods.</p> <p>“In that case, then Sokar of Spread (Lake) will come for him, having smelted his harpoons, carved his prongs, [and struck the two ferrules of] his two [shafts]. He is the one who will break [his egg] and untie his metal (bands), and the god will proceed to his activity, with sharp teeth and long nails, the gods’ leaders,” (said the gods).</p> <p>Look, I have developed. Look, I am tied together. Look, my egg has been broken for me. So, with what can I be made to fly?</p> <p>“Then the Sokar-boat, the pure gold of Him of the Sokar-boat, will be fetched for you, and you will be made to fly in it, and you will be made to fly in it. For the south wind is to be your nurturer and I fly and land on the wings of my father Geb.</p>
Tomb of Pepi II, Burial Chamber, South Wall, East End and East Wall, North End	670	<p>RECITATION:</p> <p>The sky’s door is opened, the arcs’ door is pulled open. The gods in Pe are distraught, coming to Osiris Pepi Neferkare at the sound of Isis weeping, at Nephthys’s screaming, at the wailing of those two akhs [for this great one] who comes from Duat. The bas of Pe drum for you, hitting their flesh for you, striking their arms for you, shaking for you with their braids, grabbing their thighs for you, and saying about you, Osiris Pepi Neferkare: “You go away but return, you go to sleep but wake up, your moor but live.”</p> <p>Stand up and see what your son has done for you; wake up and hear [what] Horus has done [for] you. He has hit for you the one who hit you, as a bull; he has killed for you the one who killed you, as a wild bull; he has tied you up for the one who tied you up, and has put him under your eldest daughter in Qedem, so</p>

		<p>that mourning over the Dual Shrines may end.</p> <p>Gods, Osiris speaks for Horus, because he has forcibly removed the bad [that was against] Pepi Neferkare on his fourth day and has annihilated what was done against him on his eighth day.</p> <p>[When you have emerged] from the lake of life, become clean [in the lake of] cool water, and become Paths-Parter, your son Horus leads you, having given you the gods who are your opponents, Thoth having gotten them for you.</p> <p>How beautiful indeed is the sight, how satisfying indeed to see the sight of Horus giving life to his father [and extending] authority to Osiris as Foremost of Westerners!</p> <p>Your libation is libated by Isis [and Nephthys has cleaned you]- you [two] elder and great [sisters] who have collected your flesh, raised your limbs, and made your eyes appear in your head: the Nightboat and Dayboat.</p> <p>Atum has given to you, the Dual Ennead has acted for you. Your firstborn child's children have raised you: Hapi, Imseti, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuf, [whose] identities [as firstborn] were made for you, [who wash your face], dry your tears, and open your mouth with their metal fingers. When you go forth you go forth to Atum's broadhall, go to the Field of Reeds, and course the great god's places. You are given the sky, you are given the earth, you are given the Fields of Reeds [by] the two great gods who row you: Shu and Tefnut, the two great gods in Heliopolis.</p> <p>[The god] awakes, the god stands up: this akh that comes from the Duat, Osiris Pepi Neferkare who comes from Geb.</p>
Tomb of Pepi II,	661	<i>RECITATION:</i>

Burial Chamber, East Wall and Gable		Father Pepi Neferkare, accept this your lactate water from your mother Isis's breasts. Nephthys, give you him your hand.
Tomb of Pepi II, Passage	676	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>You have your water, you have your flood, you have your outflow that comes from Osiris. Your bones are collected for you, your limbs are prepared for you, your dust is cleared away for you, your bonds are loosened for you.</p> <p>The mastaba is opened for you, the sarcophagus's lid is pulled back for you, the sky's door is pulled open for you. "To me, to me!" says Isis; "in peace," says Nephthys- for they have seen their brother in Atum's festival, these cool waters of yours, Osiris, from Busiris and from His Ba's Settlement.</p> <p>Your ba is inside you and your control about you: remain at the fore of your controlling powers.</p>
Tomb of Pepi II, Antechamber, North Wall	689	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Geb has caused Horus's eye to be raised. You scheming(?) goddess on the arms of his elder kas and atop his many kas, turn your head and see Horus. He has made [his] seat [on his metal chair] and judgement will take place. Isis has come and taken her breasts to her justified son.</p> <p>Horus's eye has been found for me. This one that Horus made has been found, having been given its head, having made a frontal on the Sun's brow.</p> <p>You who rage as Sobek, follow Horus's eye to the sky, to (be) a star of the sky, and ignore him who would beach Horus because of his eye.</p> <p>Shu, who bears Nut, bear Horus's eye to the sky, to (be) a star of the sky, before Horus has sat down on that metal chair of his, and ignore him who would beach Horus because of his eye.</p>
Tomb of Pepi II, Vestibule	701A	<p>...</p> <p><i>RECITATION:</i></p>

		<p>When the Great One fell in Nedit, the place (where it happened) was disowned by its mountain-range.</p> <p>She in Iseum raise you, (Pepi Neferkare).</p> <p>[...] raises you [...].</p> <p>[...] the one in your belly. It is Horus, foremost of the Duat, [...] who has the Red Crown [...] release the god. Horus emerges from Akhbit. Pe awaits Horus, so that he can become clean there. Horus comes, clean, [that he might tend his father Osiris...</p> <p>“I have taken account of you, Pepi Neferkare,”] say your two sisters, who have desired you: says Isis, says Nephthys, bewailing you and awakening you.</p> <p>Ho, Pepi Neferkare! [Raise yourself...] your thousand of bread, your thousand of beer, your thousand of cattle, your thousand of fowl, the roast meat and ribs from the god’s butcher’s block, your great-bread and your dawn-bread from the broadhall. Provide yourself, Pepi [Neferkare,...]</p>
Tomb of Pepi II, Vestibule	797	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>O, old man [...]. You have your water, which comes from Osiris: wash your arms, unplug [your] ears [...]</p> <p>Isis... for you], Nephthys screams for you, the great Mooring-Post libates to you [...] your rear [...</p> <p>...] has bowed over his brother, Nephthys is opening [...], striking [...] and they give you to [...] your nurturer [...].</p>
Tomb of Neith, Corridor, East Wall	691C	<p>Awake, awake, father Osiris! I am your son, who loves you: I am your son Horus, who loves you. For look, I have come having gotten for you what he acquired from you.</p> <p>Has he exulted over you? Has he slurped (blood) from you? Has Seth slurped (blood) from you beside your two sisters who love you, Isis and Nephthys? They support you, so that you do not pass; they service you, so that you do not pass away.</p> <p>Separate your needy one, Horus in his house, and the disturber, Seth, as Geb, as him of the</p>

		<p>sedan chair who eats entrails. Your fore is that of a jackal, your rear is that of Qebhut, and your spine, the god's doorbolt.</p> <p>I have plowed barley and reaped emmer, which I have made for your yearly supplies.</p> <p>Awake, awake, father, to this your bread!</p>
<p>The Pyramid of Queen Ankhenes-Pepi II (wife of Pepi I)</p> <p>Chamber, East Wall</p>	774	<p><i>RECITATION:</i></p> <p>Raise yourself, hasten! Receive this your bread that your son and heir fetched to you.</p> <p>The canal's are opened to you, and you secrete as the Red Crowns, as Isis's [...], as Osiris's gifts.</p>

Appendix B: Coffin Texts

Faulkner, Raymond O. The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Spells 1-1185 & Indexes. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1973, 1977, and 1978.

Spell 6	<p>"How great is the monthly festival of the height of heaven, even the festival of the New Moon! The finger is removed from upon you, your trembling is taken away, since you have planted the plume at the horizon, at the place where are those who know you. You suck at your mother Sothis as your nurse who is in the horizon, Isis squats (?) by you, she makes you bright, she makes for your fair ways of vindication against your foes, male and female, etc., and those who would have judgement against you in the realm of the dead on this happy day."</p>
Spell 7	<p>"The vindication of a man against his foes is brought about in the realm of the dead. The earth was hacked up when the Rivals fought, their feet scooped out the sacred pool in On. Now comes Thoth adorned with his dignity, for Atum has ennobled him with strength, and the Two Great Ladies are pleased with him. So the fighting is ended, the tumult is stopped, the fire which went</p>

	<p>forth is quenched, the anger in the presence of the Tribunal of the God is calmed, and it sits to give judgement in the presence of Geb. Hail to you, magistrates of the gods! N is vindicated before you on this day, even as Horus was vindicated against his foes on that day of accession. May he be joyful before you even as Isis was joyful in that her happy day of playing music, when her son Horus had taken possession of his Two Lands in triumph."</p>
Spells 16 & 17	<p>"Be seated, O N, in the presence of Geb, chiefest of the gods, for you are Horus with his White Crown on his head. Isis bore him, Nekhbet brought him up, the nurse of Horus nursed him, the powers of Seth served him over and above his own powers, his father Osiris gave him these two staffs of his. N has come and he exults over it in vindication, there are given to him these two great and mighty Enneads, he rages against the gods with his power, he controls the life of the gods. In truth there is an invocation-offering for Re, and Horus who is at the head of the living protects his father Osiris, who shall commit any evil robbery against N, N will use an arm upward and downward against their great ones in On in the presence of the risen Osiris. This N has taken possession of his Two Lands in vindication; you are Horus, Lord of Justice."</p>
Spell 24	<p>Ho, N! The Falcon has screamed for you, the Goose has cackled for you. A hand is extended to you by Thoth, the arm of your foe is chopped off for you, the Two Kites, who are Isis and Nephthys, scream for you, striking for you on two gongs in the presence of the gods. Anubis is upon you as your protection, Wepwawet has opened up fair paths for you. Ho N! The doors of the sky are opened for you by Re, the doors are thrown open on your account by Geb, the doors are opened for you in Abydos, the</p>

	doors of the firmament are thrown open for you by the your mother Nut, because your power is so great; the portals on earth are thrown open for you by Geb, because the knowledge of your name is so effective.
Spell 27	O Isdes, give speech to N. <O N>, it is your righteousness which makes your power, it is your character (?) which makes you noble, and you live on the food of falcons. You are the seed of the Great One who protects his father at the head of the two Conclaves, vindication is yours on this day like him who took possession of the great <i>tnnt</i> -shrine in order to transfer (?) [...]. Re has made you lift up your limbs, so raise yourself up, O N, for you have not died. O N, to you belongs the fear which went forth from Isis to Horus when [he] was vindicated against his foes who would have had judgement against him on that day.
Spell 29	Recitation: Hail to the Spirit! Hail to you, my lord! Hail to you, O N! I have come to you on this day since (?) the night, I have given <i>Nwt k-nw</i> to you, I bring for you your heart into your body even as Horus the heart of his mother, even as Isis brought the heart of her son Horus.
Spell 33-35	O you gods who are in Chaos, O you Nine Gods who are in the Mysterious Places: see him, you gods, this god-like spirit whom Osiris has made into his son, whom Isis has made into her child, to whom is given the praise due to the gods. Come, see him who has come forth in peace, having been vindicated. Rejoice at meeting him, O you who shall travel to her (?); the Majesty of the West herself meets N, and she says to him: Welcome, my son, you soul with shining horn; travel in peace that I may enfold you. So has Osiris commanded. Hail to you, O beautiful West! See, N has come to you that he may greet you daily as your son; your child whom you have borne

	<p>to Osiris. He has come that he may greet you in the Island of Fire, he has got rid of the dust which was on him, he has filled his body with magic, he has quenched his thirst with it, those who watch for him tremble at it like a bird, he has mastered the land by means of what he knew like those to whom he had descended, saying to her: Hail to you, O beautiful West in the suite of Osiris- and <i>vice versa</i>. I have come here as I desired, I have got rid of the injury of Osiris, I make his foes to tremble. Travel in peace that I may enfold you- so says the beautiful West to N. She is joyful indeed at meeting him, and she says to him: Welcome! Your son who is on earth has seen you, you soul [...] I get rid of your complaint, with what he has said. Osiris has commanded [...] for(?) you. I will cause you to see Osiris in Djedu, and you shall travel with him to Abydos, for the young god is like you. I will cause you to see the Wine-pressing God with his knives in his shape of 'Slaughterer', for the young god is like you. I will cause you to see the Fields of Ducks, for the young god is like you. I will cause you to see the magician clad in his dignity of 'He controls offerings for the blessed ones', for the young god is like you. I will cause you to see Nut, that she may institute offerings, standing in charge of things, for the young god is like you. Welcome, O you whom Osiris has sent; see these gods at the word of the beautiful West to N. I will cause him to be pure in the Lake of the Jackal among the blessed ones. I will cause him to be cleansed in the Lake of the Dwellers in the Netherworld among the blessed ones. I will cause the Two mighty in magic to cense him among the blessed ones.</p>
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	<p>I will cause him to enter into the Great Shrine among the blessed ones.</p> <p>I will cause him to enter into the Place of Ferrying among the blessed ones.</p>
Spell 44	<p>The doors of the sky are opened because of your goodness; may you ascend and see Hathor, may your complaint be removed, may your sin be erased by those who weight in the balance of the day of reckoning characters, may it be granted that you join those who are in the Bark by those who are in the Suite, they having been made spirit-like with lustration like Re: appear as the Lone Star. Life is yours, there shall be [water for] you, that it may be well with your members. Be watchful over your corpse, for you shall not be held back by the ... who are in... may your soul have a heart, that it may remember your corpse, that it may make fortunate the egg which creates you. Betake yourself to me, draw near to me, be not far from your tomb, turn to me, for I am your son, O you who are greatly sleepy and mightily weary, who buried his father, Lord of the West. May Isis and Nephthys favor you when you appear in the crown</p> <p>Mighty-of-magic; rub(?), that you may redden(?) the cords, for your head belongs to the Mistress of Imet. Your impediment will be removed by Hathor, for you are the son of Geb. The earth is illuminated for you, the sky shines for you, there will come to you the Old Ones who are in the horizon and the Great Ones will bend down their arms to you, saying: Hekes! Hephep! May you sail southward in the Night-bark and northward in the Day-bark; may you recognize your soul in the upper sky, while your flesh, your corpse is in On. May Nephthys favor you, may she grant your call like her call, may she put the terror of you into <i>in-crown</i>! Oho Mighty-of-magic! Oho Fiery Serpent!, even you who fashioned N,</p>

	<p>and from whom he has gone forth- and <i>vice versa</i>.</p> <p>Ho N! The Serpent-goddess has borne you, the Great Goddess has fashioned you.</p> <p>Ho No! Rise up and sit down at your thousand of bread, your thousand of beer, your thousand of oxen and fowl, that you may be glad and that he who has injured you may be apprehensive. Stand up, that you may se Ma'et; behold she is before you like the daily rising of the sun.</p> <p>Ho N! You have departed living, you have not departed dead.</p> <p>Ho N! Go down and bathe with Re within the lotus tanks(?); don the clean garment upon the regue with him who lives in his shroud. May N be encircled by Orion, by Sothis, and by the Morning Star, may they set you within the arms of your mother Nut, may they save you from the rage of the not be among them, you shall not go down to the butchery of the first of the decade among those who suffer the lamentations of the West. I fight for you with this staff of mine, for I am your son, O you who are greatly sleepy and mightily weary, even your heir who is among the gods.</p> <p>You have appeared as Lord of the West, having ruled the Egyptians who are on earth. Rise up to life, for you have not died. Raise yourself upon your left side, put yourself upon your right side, receive these dignities of yours which your father Geb has given you. Hathor has provided clothing for you; betake yourself to me, draw near to me, be not far from me <in> your tomb; turn to me, for I am your son Horus, and I enclose you within the arms of your mother Nut- may you live for ever!</p>
Spell 47	<p>How good it is that my father should receive bread and beer from my hand, for he has no adversaries among the gods! Ho N! I have given you these offerings which Hathor, Lady of Punt, has given you; she gives you</p>

	<p>myrrh in the Great Mansion among those who go forth within the Bark of Flesh (?). You have appeared as Lord of the West at the head of all the gods, oblations are given to you as to Re. He who presides over the Sacred Booth cleanses you, and you ascend to the sky on the day of the Sixth-day festival. The horizon trembles at you as at Re, your character is praised within the Court in the presence of the Potentate. The gods acclaim you when you arrive at interment, the Westerners speak to you in giving praise, as when they see this god devising it. Isis rejoices when she sees you, she is happy when she sees your appearances, for you are beautiful and made anew like Re you have appeared as Horus of the distant ones(?). Arise, raise yourself to life, for you have not died. Ho N! You are my father and I am your son. As for any god, any spirit or any dead person who shall oppose themselves against these dignities of yours, they shall be... in the confederacy of Him who is dangerous. O Thoth, set your hand against them and your knife into them, turn them back upon the roads which are... among the possessors of gifts, may those who are in the Netherworld destroy them among the doers of evil. This god who is in the horizon awakes, acclamation is given to him in the Two Concloves, the Followers appear within the Bark, the Westerners pull on their ropes. Spacious is your seat within the Disk, you weigh in the balance like Thoth, your character is recognized by Him who is in his Disk as that of a god who is in his presence. You eat bread within the Court, meals are given to you as to Re by those who are in charge of the establishments of On; you have your heart, and it will not be stolen by those who are on the paths. Receive oblations in Djedu, may your evil be purged in Ninsu, may Thoth ennoble you</p>
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	with his beauty, may <i>Wnwt</i> make firm your head for you, may you receive a sceptre in the Bark of Night, may the roads of the Lord of All be shown to you. Ho N! Raise yourself to life for ever!
Spell 48	<p>Hail to you, N! Is what Isis, Lady of the Deserts says. Be pre-eminent in the Sacred Booth, for she speaks your good name within the Bark on the day of reckoning characters. May you cross the sky as one who is on his throne, and tread on the heart of him who would exclude you. You have your heart, and it will not be seized among those who are in strife. Go down and bathe in the lotus-tank; the Chaos-gods will raise you with their hands, the Imperishable Stars will fear you, those who are in their seats will come to you, Re will worship you when he rises, and acclamation will be given to you in the Double Gates by those who are in Rosatu. Ho N! Raise yourself up to life, for you have not died. As for him who shall oppose himself to the meal of Hathor or who shall oppose himself to this which I have set down for N on this day, namely a boon which Geb grants to his son N; take <...> for purity is from the king, and I am your son and heir.</p>
Spell 49	<p>Fall and tremble in the eastern horizon because of a sound of mourning in the Great Place, Isis moaning greatly and Nephthys weeping because of this god, Lord of the Gods, conspiracy being in seeing him in the Great Place by him who would harm him: he transformed himself into a louse and crept under his flank. Be vigilant, you who are in the Pure Place! Beware, you who are in the Great Place! See, the god himself is afraid of the Evil Ones... Light a torch, you Wardens of the Chambers, you gods who are in darkness, set your protection about your lord, divide up the hours for the Lord of the White</p>

	<p>Crown until Horus comes from On, (even he) to whom the great crowns have been given. The sceptre of Him who is in the place of embalming appears, the Wardens of the Chambers are glad, the Great Ones have received your leopard-skins, the staffs stand before the Great Place, for it is Anubis who comes in peace, having appeared as Vizier. He says: Guard yourselves, you whose faces are..., who see the Pure Place, who come in the following of the Evil One; who enter into the choice places (?), who create(?) their breaths(?) <for him>, who prepare the daily offerings for this great god, the Lord of the gods, who awaken the <i>n'w</i>-snakes because of their lords. Go, hold fast within the castle the great... within the... on account of this god who is in the Presence, that he may make fear within his castle- so says Anubis. There is no happiness in the hearts of those who are in the Presence. What is said in their hearts: Injury has been done to him in this castle by him who would harm him. Seize the Evil One who is in darkness, execute sentence upon his confederates, and the heart of Him who presides over the Sacred Booth will be glad when he sees the rejoicing in the Great Place by Isis, Lady of the Deserts. Thus said Anubis to Osiris: Awake to life, observe your accession, and execute sentence on him who harmed you.</p>
Spell 50	<p>The sky is cleared, the Horizon-dwellers rejoice, when Re arises from the Double Gates. The Followers have given hands to the Chaos-gods, Horus the Portector of his father is glad; the paths to the gates are cleared, Anubis is within his castle in his service of the Sacred Booth, he puts his hands on the Lord of the Gods, who is joyous of appearances on the thrones of Geb and <to whom> is given praise in Djedu. Horus, pre-eminent in Khem, rejoices at</p>

	<p>Osiris Onnophris who has come safely to the West with all the gods in his train. See, you are at the bow of the Bark, and a throne in the shrine is given to you; see, you are king of the sky. Those who are on their thrones shall come to you, for it is you who rule them, to you there belongs one of the two Chaos-gods, to your double belongs the riches in Ninsu, your soul is established Djedu, magic and protection are knit together about you within the Sacred Booth, your dignity is in the House of the Twin Souls. Again you appear; your evil is purged, and acclamation is given to you in the realm of the dead by those who are in the Field of Offerings; do not go on the roads of the Knife-wielders. The voices of those who would make opposition are raised, but he who is in the Disk greets you, even he who exercises governance among the gods. Shall I be alone here? Pray is my father here with me? Is there someone who would carry off his brother after the Great Mooring? See, Seth has come in his own shape and said: I will cause the god's body to fear, I will inflict injury of him, I will slaughter him.</p> <p>Thus has Atum said: Awake, O Anubis, Lord of Rokeret, because of this god, son of the Lord of the gods! Isis has put her arms around you as she did for the Lord of All. Awake, you paths! Arise early, you gates! The god appears that he may see the nobles who give praise in the Sacred Booth, who look on the god who drives out the rebel and who imprisons for himself those who spoke of frightening him. The followers within the ship of the Night-bark are in rejoicing, the Elder Horus is in joy, the crowns are shown in Pe and Dep when the gods who are in the horizon come; they expel the makers of tumult and the doers of evil to this god. I am son of your son, seed of your seed. O god who judged between</p>
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	<p>the contestants, whom I have placed upon the great height, says the Lord of the Ennead. He has taught me within the Disk in order that I may pay you honor and that I may fell your foes for you.</p> <p>Ho N! Arise, raise yourself, that I may let myself see you. I am Thoth, [son of your] son, the god who judged between the contestants; do not hold yourself back from me. I am Thoth, son of your son, seed of your seed, I have taught you within the Disk in order that I may make you spirit-like and that I may fell your foes for you, they being cast into the slaughter-house of Khemennu.</p>
Spell 53	<p>Awake to life; behold, the earth is bright! Nephthys has favored you, you being renewed daily in the night-time, being with the Unwearying Stars, the gods who are in the sky, who are placed as followers of your bark for ever and ever. Anubis is content(?), thereby(?), Khnun is content(?) thereby(?). The sky is in light(?), the earth is in rejoicing, and all the gods are joyful when N has appeared in peace in the beautiful West. Nephthys has favored you and you shall not lose your house of joy. Alas, my husband, even my brother! He rules in the realm of the dead and I am not with him. I give orders to(?) (the women) who are at the Great Hall, who are sick at heart because of their husbands: Come, let us lament Osiris since he is far from us. Rise, rise in morning now that you are a mummy, for you are far from your house. Nephthys has favored you, and you shall not lose your house of life, of life.</p>
Spell 62	<p>Hail to you, my father Osiris; see, I have come. I am Horus who, with Ptah, split open your mouth, I make you spirit-like in company with Thoth, I put your heart into your body for you, that you may remember what you have forgotten. I cause you to</p>

	<p>make a sending in company with the south-wind, and to run with the north-wind. You cross to look on the face of him who hastens you in the twinkling of an eye, and I cause you to take shape with the <i>dwyt</i>-bird. I cause you to cross the Waterway of the Sky-windows, to performing on the land; you rule the streams with the heron, and there is none who opposes you at the District of the Waters. I cause you to act as pilot with a sounding-pole of 40 cubits, of planted wood of cedar of Byblos, standing in the Bark of Re. You have crossed the <i>Sn-rhyt</i> water, you are vindicated on the Day of Judgement in the tribunal of the Lord of Suffering(?). There is removed for you him who hacked up the earth, is driven off for you the rebel who came in the night, the thief of the dawn, who made darkness in coming, the Great Despoiler(?) of the dependents of the House of Isis.</p> <p>May you traverse the deserts with Re, may he cause you to see the places of those who follow desire, may you find the valleys full of water for your washings in your cool water, may you pluck papyrus-plants, rushes, lotuses and lotus-buds. There shall come to you waterfowl in thousands, lying on your path; you cast your throwstick at them, and it means that a thousand are fallen at the sound of its wind, namely r-geese, green-fronts, <i>trp</i>-geese, short-horns and the bulls of white cattle; there shall be brought to you males(?) of ibex and fattened rams of Barbary sheep. A ladder to the sky shall be put together for you and Nut will extend her hands towards you, you shall navigate on the Winding Waterway and sail in the eight-boat. These two crews of the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars shall navigate you, they shall pilot and tow you over the District of the Waters with opes of iron.</p>
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Spell 63	<p>Here comes the Great Despoiler(?); guard yourself, guard yourself, go down to ..., wave the hands. Be put together, O you who should be put together(?). Your limbs are released, your bond are loosed like Seth who is in <i>Hnt</i>. Isis has summoned you, Nephthys has called to you, the sprits are given to you, they come to you bowing. Go to open the mansion of yon soul. If you find them playing, you shall sit between them. If you find the gods seated, you shall sit with them. Receive this sceptre of yours which is at the feet of Re and your rod which is at the feet of the Morning Star; you shall ascend to the sky among the stars which do not perish, you shall strike with the sceptre and govern with the rod.</p>
Spell 66	<p>Presenting glorifications. O N, be great, be mighty! Go to the Great Stairway, travel to the Great City, for the earth-gods cannot detain you. O walls of Shu, release(?) what he has enclosed(?). Horus the Ascender(?) has equipped you, the earth has been removed for you in the sight of <i>Iht-wtt</i> who has come forth from On- so says Isis. She shall suckle you, Nephthys shall give you her pendent breast, the Two Ladies of Dep shall give you their locks, your two mothers who are in Nekheb shall come to you, they shall take their breasts to your mouth, they shall lift you up and carry you. Recite four times.</p>
Spell 67	<p>Awake, awake O N! Awake, Osiris; awake Anubis, at his death! Your kite(s) are Isis and Nephthys; this cold water, O my father, is what came out of Elephantine; your white loaves are Anubis; your <i>hnfw</i>-loaves are Osiris; your <i>hnnt</i>-bread is <i>Nwt k-nw</i>.</p> <p>O N, awake for this is your warm bread which I have prepared for you, your thousand of bread, your thousand of beer, your thousand of oxen, your thousand of</p>

	<p>poultry, your thousand of figs, your thousand of earth-almonds, your thousand of grapes, your thousand of alabaster, your thousand of linen, your joints of meat on your slaughter-block, your bread which is in the Broad Hall.</p> <p>O N, I have filled your storehouses, I have brought in(?) your jar-stands, I have given to you your bread which does not grow moldy and your beer which does not grow sour.</p> <p>O N, beware of the Great Lake; as for death, you shall escape it, you shall avoid the road to it, they shall not carry you off to the house of yon Soul, they shall not make opposition to you in their name of 'Opponents'.</p> <p>O N, join the great ones, for arms go down for you, the dancers of Horus Protector of his father dance for you.</p> <p>O Elder, the fragrance of the Great One is on you; what delights the nostril is the fragrance of <i>lht-wtt</i>.</p> <p>O N, I have threshed barley for you, I have reaped emmer for you, I have celebrated your yearly festivals yonder, I have celebrated your monthly festivals yonder, I have celebrated your half-monthly festivals yonder.</p> <p>O N, these are your movements, you being spirit-like and mighty as the Foremost of the Westerners, as the successor of Min.</p> <p>O N, you have not died the death; you have spent the day wakeful. O great one who once spent the day here asleep. You beget in your name of 'Heron', and I cause you to beget in your name of 'Heron'. Raise yourself in your name of 'Raiser', stand up in your name of 'Stander', receive your head and be glad. You are purified with these four pleasant <i>nmst</i>-jars wherewith the two Horuses were purified; they weave(?) their... against the gods, so weave(?) you... against the living, weave(?) your... against the dead. Adjudge(?) your</p>
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	needs as Horus who is in his house; may your bonds wind round Seth of <i>Hnt</i> . Your shape is like to a jackal upon his shoulders, the spines of Thoth, his gazelles(?) which overleap the housetop.
Spell 68	<p>O N, stand at the doors which keep out the plebs. There comes out to you the warden of the two Mansions of Khentymetef, who is a lone star without a companion.</p> <p>O N, stand at the Two Conclaves! Your mother Seshat clothes you, the Great Mooring-post speaks to you, a stairway is set up for you from the sea, the Slaughterers fall on their faces at you and the Imperishable Stars bow to you.</p> <p>O N, stand against them, your sceptre on your shoulder, strike your hand against them, and they will fall for you into the Great Lake, while your bread has flooded in, your beer has flooded in, even the efflux which came out of Osiris.</p> <p>O N, raise yourself and stand up.</p>
Spell 72	<p>O N, your water is yours, your flood is yours, being abundant. Raise yourself, receive these four pleasant brim-full <i>nmst</i>-jars. Wipe off, wipe off for me, libate, libate for me, be silent, be silent for me, listen, listen for me, that I may hear it, that great word which Horus made for his father Osiris that he might become a spirit thereby and that he might become great thereby in the presence of the Ennead.</p> <p>O my father Osiris, raise yourself; O Anubis, raise yourself (and) your kites Isis and Nephthys. May you be satisfied by means of the hand of Re; may you cross over the Field of Offerings among your brethren who are in the midst of them, yonder people of whom it has been said: 'You have <not> died the death' and I will not let you die the death, (even) you who are heavily sleepy and greatly weary. Barley is cultivated for you, emmer is reaped for you, wherewith I have made your yearly</p>

	<p>sustenance; I have celebrated your half-monthly festivals and I have celebrated your monthly festivals; your thousands of figs, your thousand of bread, your thousand of alabaster, your thousand of <i>trp</i>-geese, your thousand of <i>r</i>-geese upon the offering table of the Foremost of the Westerners. The gods come to you bowing, the Morning Star rejoices at you, he brings to you what is in the Abyss; you strike with the sceptre and rule with the staff. You cross the lake, you traverse the Waterway of the Two Sheep. Do not say: It is I who say this. It is Geb and Osiris who say this to you.</p>
Spell 73	<p>The <i>dd</i>-pillar of the Day-bark is released for its lord, the <i>dd</i>-pillar of the Day-bark is released for its protector. Isis comes and Nephthys comes, one of them from the west and one of them from the east, one of them as a kite and one of them as a screecher, they prevent you from rotting in this your name of Anubis; they prevent your putrefaction from dripping to the ground in your name of Jackal of Upper Egypt; they prevent the smell of your corpse from being foul in this your name of Horus of Khati; they prevent Horus of the East from putrefying, they prevent Horus of the Netherworld from putrefying; they prevent Horus Lord of Patricians from putrefying; they prevent Horus Lord of the Two Lands from putrefying.</p> <p>Your speech is heard by Geb, the impediment is removed for you by Atum, you are vindicated by the Ennead; indeed they will not permit Seth to be free of bearing you aloft for ever, O Osiris.</p>
Spell 74	<p>Turn about, turn about, O sleeper, turn about in this place which you do not know, but I know it. See now, I have found you (lying) on your side, O Great Inert One. My sister, says Isis to Nephthys, this is our brother. Come that</p>

	<p>we may raise his head. Come, that we may make a dam in his side. Let not this one be limp in our hands; there drips the efflux which has issued from this spirit. The pools are filled for you, the names of the streams are made for you.</p> <p>O Osiris, live, O Osiris! The Great Inert One stands up from upon side. I am Isis, I am Nephthys; Horus has addressed you, Thoth has protected you, and your two sons are Lords of the <i>wrrt</i>-crown; what you have done shall be what you shall do. Geb has seen and the Nine Gods have heard that your power shall be against the sky and the dread of you among the gods. Your son Horus has taken possession of the <i>wrrt</i>-crown, which has been taken from that one who would harm you.</p> <p>Live, Osiris! The Great Inert One stands up from upon his side. I am Isis, I am Nephthys; raise yourself, O my brother, so that your heart may live and that Seth may not exult over you, even he who is subject to this hindrance of you when you are placed on his back for him and he has run beneath your feet, when he supported you on his shoulders, like what you father Geb did for you.</p> <p>Live, Osiris! The Great Inert One stands up from upon his side. I am Isis, I am Nephthys; ... I am Isis; rouse up at the voice(?). I am Nephthys; wake up! Awake, put yourself upon this your side. O Great Inert One; traverse water, cross the flood, protect your property from those gods who have fallen on their faces because of you... this. Stand up, O Osiris!</p> <p>Live, Osiris! The Great Inert One stands up from upon his side. I am Isis, I am Nephthys; Horus comes lamenting you, O Osiris. You are set for him upon his shoulders and you are firm there through your power. O Horus of the Netherworld,</p>
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	<p>you have swum to Pe, and the gods who were given to you by Atum have swum after you, the men who among them have followed you(?), the women who are among them have turned back faint through you and through your seed, O Osiris; <so says(?)> Sothis who is in Pe. Live Osiris! The Great Inert One stands up from upon his side. I am Isis, I am Nephthys; Horus comes lamenting you, Osiris. You are placed upon his back and he runs under your feet, which <your> father Geb did for you.</p> <p>Live, Osiris! The Great Inert One stands up from upon his side. I am Isis, I am Nephthys; you are happy now that you have arisen today as Horus of the Netherworld; now that you have arisen today and have ascended into the Celestial waters. The water of purification is yours by means of these four pleasant <i>nmst</i>-jars which the Ennead have purified you. I have spoken for you what Geb said: the obstance is removed; your mother Nut hears... what is upon you. Horus has purified you, Thoth has made you a spirit, your two sons are the two Lords of the <i>wrrt</i>-crown, and the evil hatred(?) against you is removed. Stand up on your intact feet, that you may open up the way to the gods, that you may belong to them as Wepwawet. There is created for you your power over your foes, and I have abandoned weeping.</p> <p>Live, Osiris! The Great Inert One stands up from upon his side. I am Isis, I am Nephthys.</p> <p><i>First Title in T2C: Giving bread and giving beer to a spirit in the realm of the dead, having power over water in the realm of the dead; the spells for going out into the day for N.</i></p>
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	<i>Second Title in T2C: Recitation of many spells and vindication in the realm of the dead for the double of N.</i>
Spell 80	<p>O you eight Chaos-gods, being veritable Chaos-gods, who encircle the sky with your arms, who gather together sky and earth for Geb, Shu fashioned you in chaos, and in the Abyss, in darkness and in gloom, and he allots you to Geb and Nut, while Shu is everlasting and Tefenet is eternity. I am the soul of Shu at the head of the celestial kine, who ascends to heaven at his desire, who descends to earth at his wish. Come joyfully at meeting the god in me, for I am Shu whom Atum fashioned, and this garment of mine is the air of life. A cry cor me went forth(?) from the mouth of Atum, the air opened up upon my ways. It is I who make the sky light after darkness, my pleasant color is (due to) the air which goes forth after me from the mouth of Atum, and the storm-cloud of the sky is my efflux; hail-storms and half-darkness are my sweat(?). The length of this sky belongs to my strides, the width of this earth belongs to my settlements(?). I am he whom Atum created, and I am bound for my place of eternity. I am Everlasting, who fashioned the Chaos-gods, reproduced(?) by the spittle of Atum which issued from his mouth when he used his hand; his saliva(?) will be made to fall to the earth.</p> <p>Thus said Atum: Tefenet is my living daughter, and she shall be with her brother Shu; 'Living One' is his name, 'Righteousness' is her name. I live with my two children, I live with my two fledglings, for I am in the midst of them, both of them follow after my body, and I lie down and live with my daughter Ma'et: one within me and one behind me, I stand up because of them both, their arms being about me. It is my son who will live, whom I begot in my name. He knows how to nourish him who is in the</p>

	<p>egg in the womb for me, namely the human beings who came forth from my eye which I sent out while I was along with Nu in lassitude, and I could find no place on which to stand or sit, when On had not yet founded that I might dwell in it, when my throne(?) had not yet been put together that I might sit on it; before I had made Nut that she might above me, before the first generation had been born, before the Primeval Ennead had come into being they might dwell with me.</p> <p>Thus said Atum to Nu: I am on the flood-waters, being very weary, and the patricians are inert; it is Geb who lives and lifts up my heart, he nourishes my heart, he has gathered together these very weary members of mine.</p> <p>Nu said to Atum: Kiss your daughter Ma'et, put her at your nose, that your heart may live, for she will not be far from you; Ma'et is your daughter and son is Shu who name lives. Eat of your daughter Ma'et; it is your son Shu who will raise you up.</p> <p>I indeed am one who lives, son of Atum; he has fashioned me with his nose, I have gone forth from his nostrils; I put myself on his neck and he kisses me with my sister Ma'et. He rises daily when he issues from his egg which the god who went up shining(?) fashioned. There is said to him 'Hail!' by those who begot him, who are in the horizon; I make his father to live, the crew of whose bark the Unwearying Ones, the life of the living flesh.</p> <p>I am the living one who knits on heads, who makes necks firm, and who nourishes throats. I knit Atum together, I make firm the head of Isis on her neck. I knit together the spine of Khopri for him, I am the far-travelling sunshine which daily brings the sky to Atum for the nose of Re. I will come and go, I will open the way for Re that he may voyage to the western horizon. I am...</p>
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	<p>at his nose, my arms are under him, I save him from Apep when he travels to the western horizon. I make to flourish the neck which is in the west and the east into the body of Nut. Him who I fashion daily, he sets me at his nose, does my father Atum; I knit on his head, I make firm his neck and I make firm the head of Isis on her neck, I reassemble the limbs of Osiris, I gather his bones together, I make his seed to flourish, I make his flesh hale, I give him food-offerings, and the Bull of the West makes him endure.</p> <p>I am a living one, possessor of years, and I live for ever and ever. Atum achieved eldership through his power when he fashioned Shu and Tefenet in On; when he was alone in his existence, without me; when he separated Geb from Nut, before the first generation had been born, before the primeval Enneads had come into being, and they shall be with me. He conceived me in his nose and I came out of his nostrils. He has set me on his neck and will not let me be far from him; I, my name and my son are alive, (even he) the Primeval God, I live on the... of my father Atum, I am the living one who is on his neck and my throat is made to flourish, (even I) whom Atum made into the Grain-god when he caused me to go down into this land, to the Island of Fire, when I became Osiris the son of Geb. I am the living one who made for himself the length of the sky and the breadth of Geb, that there might come into existence the food-offerings which were led into me(?) for the god. My father Atum kisses me when he goes forth from the eastern horizon, and his heart is at peace at seeing me; he proceeds in peace to the western horizon, and he finds me in his path; I knit on his head and make his uraeus to live; I make the head of Isis firm on her neck, I gather the bones of Osiris</p>
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	<p>together and I make his flesh to flourish daily, I make his limbs hale daily. There live falcons, ducks, jackals in movement, pigs in the desert, hippopotami in the marshes, people, corn and shoals of fish, fish in the waters which are in the Nile, in accordance with the command of Atum that I should govern them and nourish them with his mouth of mine which is on my lips, which my father Atum heads with this authority of mine which is on my lips, which my father Atum who came forth from the eastern horizon gave to me, and I nourish the <i>hddw</i>-fish and the snakes which are on the back of Geb; I indeed will live beneath Nut.</p>
Spell 84	<p><i>BECOMING NEHEBKAU IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD.</i> I have used(?) myrrh, I have burnt incense, I have hacked up the earth, I have presented offerings before Isis and Nephthys, that they may place holy things upon the arms of Seshat, who is pregnant with me and holds back from me. She is angry with me and she stabs(?) at me. I have made the front(?) which is between her thighs as Him whose head is raised; I have issued from between the thighs of Isis as Horus, I have measured out(?) my flesh in the sky as a great and young wild bull. My libation-jars are of fine gold, my <i>nmst</i>(?)-jars are of electrum(?). I have purified myself in the face of the Two Conclaves, I have surpassed the spirits, I have surpassed the sages, and I have said that they shall make for me a standing-place by reason of it(?).</p>
Spell 102	<p>O <i>Sk-wr</i>, hunter of On, who lives after his death; ascend, O great one who issues from the efflux which comes into being from the human body. He will bring me my life that I may see him and send him; he will go so that yonder god may see him wherever he is. If there be delayed, go wrong or be held up your bringing him to</p>

	<p>me, the Eye of Horus will be against you accordingly.</p> <p>O my soul, your bread and your food are for riches of the god's bark, which is splendid, new and long-enduring. You shall put the offering of the first of the decade in front of the Great One like Thoth and fear the rage of the Great one (fem.) who is upon Atum; she receives your front in the <i>p3ht</i>-bark, your rear in the god's bark. The great ones quake in their seats at you just as they quake at the Disturber; Isis gives you this knife of hers which she gave to Horus after the mourning of the gods. 'You are Authoritative Utterance who is on our mouths' says the gods. What you did for your own selves, you gods, do you the like for this living soul. Be strong in the sky, be mighty in the sky, be might on earth (and also) the uraeus which is on your head; to you belongs all.</p> <p>Go, go yonder soul of mine, that yonder god may see you wherever he is in my form, my shape and my wisdom; may he stand and sit while you are opposite him. It is the hundreds of the grain-god who rescue you in the portal of the sunshine; they go up, go down and return by means of it. It is the grain-god who takes possession of you, and you go by means of the efflux of my flesh and the sweat of my head. Have control over your foot like a living soul, for you are the unique one of these companions(?) of Osiris. Festival will never be made for those who rebel against you, because I am master of the rebels.</p>
Spell 119	<p>Twice he has placed (someone) behind me, so that he cannot reach me. He has placed Horus son of Isis behind me, so that the cannot reach me. He has placed Seth behind me, so that he cannot reach me. Twice he has placed (someone) behind me, so that he cannot reach me. He has placed Geb behind me, even he who went forth</p>

	<p>from his Eye, so that he cannot reach me on the great path which the Sole One inherited, the way to which is unknown to men and upon which the gods never no</p> <p><i>RECITATION FOR BUILDING A MANSION FOR A MAN IN THE NECROPOLIS, FOR DIGGING PONDS AND FOR PLANTING TREES.</i></p>
Spell 131	<p><i>THE SEALING OF A DECREE CONCERNING THE FAMILY; THE GIVING A MAN'S FAMILY [TO HIM] IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD.</i></p> <p>Horus Great and Mighty, Lord of the Field of Rushes.</p> <p>Geb, chiefest of the gods, has decreed that there be given to me my family, my children, my brethren, my father, my mother and all my servants and my dependents, they being saved from the acts of Seth and from the numbering by Isis the Great beside Osiris, Lord of the West. Geb, chiefest of the gods, has spoken of causing that there be released to me immediately my family, my children, my brethren, my father, my mother, all my servants and all my dependents, they being saved from any god or goddess, from any spirits male or female, or from any dead man or woman.</p>
Spell 148	<p><i>TAKING SHAPE AS A FALCON.</i></p> <p>The lightning strikes, the gods are afraid, Isis wakes pregnant with the seed of her brother Osiris. She is uplifted, (even she) the widow, and her heart is glad with the seed of her brother Osiris. She says: 'O you gods, I am Isis, the sister of Osiris, who wept for the father of the gods, (even) Osiris who judged the slaughtering of the Two Lands. His seed is within my womb, I have molded the shape of the god within the egg as my son who is at the head of the Ennead. What he shall rule is this land, the heritage of his (grand-) father Geb, what he shall say is concerning his father, what he shall kill is</p>

	<p>Seth the enemy of his father Osiris. Come, you gods, protect him within my womb, for he is known in your hearts. He is your lord, this god who is in his egg, blue-haired of form, lord of the gods, and great and beautiful are the vanes of the two blue plumes’.</p> <p>‘Oh!’ says Atum, ‘guard your heart, O woman!’</p> <p>‘How do you know? He is the god, lord and heir of the Ennead, who made you within the egg. I am Isis, one more spirit-like and august than the gods; the god within this womb of mine and he is the seed of Osiris’.</p> <p>Then says Atum: ‘You are pregnant and you are hidden, O girl! You will give birth, being pregnant for the gods, seeing that(?) he is the seed of Osiris. May that villain who slew his father not come, lest he break the egg in its early stages, for the Great-of-Magic will guard against him.’</p> <p>Thus says Isis: ‘Hear this, you gods, which Atum, Lord of the Mansion of the Sacred Images, has said. He has decreed for me protection for my son within my womb, he has knit together an entourage about him within this womb of mine, for he knows that he is the heir of Osiris, and a guard over the Falcon who is in this womb of mine has been set by Atum, Lord of the gods. Go up on earth, that I may give you praise. The retainers of your father Osiris will server you, I will make your name for you have reached the horizon, having passed by the battlements of the Mansion of Him whose name is hidden. Strength has gone up within my flesh, power has reached into my flesh, power has reached its strength...’</p> <p>‘... the Sunshine-god is conveyed, and he has prepared his own place, being seated</p>
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	<p>at the head of the gods in the entourage of the Releaser(?)’</p> <p>‘O Falcon, my son Horus, dwell in this land of your father Osiris in this your name of Falcon who is on the battlements of the Mansion of Him whose name is hidden. I ask that you shall be always in the suite of Re of the horizon in the prow of the primeval bark for ever and ever...’</p> <p>Isis goes down to the Releaser(?) who brings Horus, for Isis has asked that he may be the Releaser(?) as the leader of eternity.</p> <p>‘See Horus, you gods! I am Horus, the Falcon who is on the battlements of the Mansion of Him whose name is hidden. My flight aloft has reached the horizon, I have overpassed the gods of the sky, I have made my position more prominent than that of the Primeval Ones. The Contender has not attained my first flight, my place is far from Seth, the enemy of my father Osiris. I have used the roads of eternity to the dawn, I go up in my flight, and there is no god who can do what I have done. I am aggressive against the enemy of my father Osiris, he having been set under my sandals in this my name of... I am Horus, born of Isis, whose protection was made within the egg; the fiery blast of your mouths does not attack me, and what you may say against me does not reach me, I am Horus, more distant of place than men or gods; I am Horus, son of Isis.</p>
Spell 150	<p>The lightening-flash strikes, the gods are afraid, those who are in their shrines are frightened, the gods fall into great trembling, the falcons within the eggs are on his belly in the nest of him who is acute of vision. I indeed am Horus, within the egg, <one acute of> vision, who is on his belly in the nest. There has been brought to me this</p>

	<p><one who is acute of(?)> vision, all the heavens are united, bulls are given to me, the north-wind conducts me <to> her who is over the falcons(?) of Shu when I got out from my [house(?)]. I have displayed my power, I mount up to the horizon, I am supported on Geb, I travel on the sunshine, I have power over them but they have no power over me, I have expelled them from their mansions, I have disturbed them in their caverns, I have doomed them, (even) those who are senseless, the... who eat the soul. May their souls which are on earth be devoured and destroyed while I am in the bark of Re for ever. I hear what my mother Isis says to me, for I am the child of Re(?), the companion of Re, I am the marvelous one who is in the gate of eternity, my allotted term is everlastingness, and I come to you at will.</p>
Spell 157 and 158	Specifically mentions Horus being the son of Isis or that she is his mother
Spell 168	<p>Joining the river-banks. The hair of Isis is knotted to the hair of Nephthys- and vice versa- putrefaction is left boatless, the streams are dried up, Geb has swallowed up the waters, the hands of Shesmu are joined over the lungs of the Two Ladies.</p>
Spell 181	<p>O Hearer! O Unstopper!- and vice versa- hear me, unstop me, save me when I am heard, for I am the Bull of Kenzet, a possessor of bread in [On]; four portions are in the sky and three portions are on earth. These things have been made for me as gifts in On which have been given to me, for I am the Bull with curly hair, having five portions in the House of Horus and two portions in the House of Seth; three portions are in the sky and three portions are on earth. It is the Night-bark and the Day-bark which are daily taken for me to the House of the God. Feces is my detestation, and I will not eat it, nor will I</p>

	<p>drink urine; I will not walk upside down, for it is Isis who rows me every day.</p>
Spell 182	<p>I am Isis; I have gone forth from my house and my boat is at the mooring-rope; Horus ferries me over, Horus brings me to land just as he brought the boatless Eye of Horus to land; if the eye of Horus be not boatless, then will I not be boatless. O you who fare downstream or upstream while I am boatless, bring me this, bring me to land, for I have come with this chest of the gods, I have opened this chest of the gods. I have come down from Pe, I have ferried over from Dep, I have landed from my boat in On, I have tied the mooring-rope in Djedu. Bring me this that I may go up; if this is what you have brought me today, the steering-oar of the god's bark will not be broken, its tiller(?) will not be snapped, the stern-post will not be broken, the warp will not be severed by reason of the crew of Re. O you whot ravel in the sky, I will row him with you, I will travel as Isis, for I am he who ill <bring> this to him.</p> <p>[My] boat shall be brought to me, the mooring-post shall be driven in for me, sandals shall be laid down for me, because I am the heir of my father who brings me to this courtyard alone, alone. O you gods, bring me this.</p>
Spell 227	<p><i>BECOMING THE COUNTERPART OF OSIRIS.</i></p> <p>I indeed am Osiris, I indeed am the Lord of All, I am the Radiant One, the brother of the Radiant Lady; I am Osiris, the brother of Isis. My son Horus and his mother Isis have protected me from that foe who would harm me; they have put cords on his arms and fetters on his thighs because of what he has done to me.</p> <p>I indeed am Osiris, the greatest of the company of the Elders of the Five, heir of</p>

	<p>my father Geb. I am Osiris, lord of doubles, alive of front, strong of hinder parts, stiff of phallus, who is in the boundary of the plebs.</p> <p>I am Horus on the day of his accession. I am Orion who treads his Two Lands, who navigates in front of the stars of the sky on the belly of my mother Nut; she conceives me at her desire and she bears me at her will. I am the Centipede on the Day of the Centipede, I am the White Bull who presides over the field.</p> <p>I indeed am Osiris for whom his father and his mother made a contract(?) on the day of the great slaughter; Geb is my father and Nut is my mother, I am Horus the Elder on the day of accession, I am Anubis on the Day of the Centipede, I indeed am Lord of All, I indeed am Osiris your lord who made you and who takes away him who rebels against you.</p>
Spell 230	<p>A boon which the King gives <to> Osiris, an invocation-offering of a thousand of bread and beer, an altar of alabaster, oxen and fowl: so says Isis and Nephthys to N, the virtuous and vindicated. May your head be raised, may your heart live, may you possess your flesh... on your body, may you ever be in the Following, may you live.</p>
Spell 255	<p><i>PROMOTING A MAN'S DOUBLE IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD.</i></p> <p>Water is upon me, I appear as Re; water is on my hands, I appear as Horus, I am exalted as Him of Nubet. I have sucked at Isis, Nephthys has nursed me in the Jackal Lake, I am loosed in the Lake of Peace, I will wipe my face with these (clothes(?)) which are on the shoulders of Re, I will receive sandal-straps thence, I will appear as Horus who ascends in gold from upon the lips of the horizon. Praise is given to me by the lords of the East, acclamation is made to me by the lords of the West,</p>

	<p>homage is done before me by the sun-folk, I go abroad the ship, I cross to yonder side, I enter the Great Mansion, they establish me at the head of the Two Conclaves, they assign me at the head of the Two Conclaves, the Entourage is knit together about me by the Imperishable Stars, the gates are laid hold of for me by the Unwearying Stars, my double does not linger, for I belong to the House of Horus.</p>
Spell 269	<p><i>BECOMING BARLEY OF LOWER EGYPT.</i> N is the bush of life which went forth from Osiris to grow on the ribs of Osiris and to nourish the plebs, which makes the gods divine and spiritualizes the spirits, which provisions the owners of doubles and the owners of property, which makes cakes for the spirits, which causes the living to grow, and which makes firm the bodies of the living. N lives on smoked grain, N is the smoked grain of the living, N lives and grows fat on the ribs of Geb, the desire of N is in the sky and earth, in the waters and in the fields. Beneficial is Isis to Horus her god, she is friendly thereby to Horus her god. N lives as Osiris.</p>
Spell 286	<p><i>BECOMING [A FALCON].</i> The Two Enneads of Horus are afraid of me and tremble at me, (even they) the Primeval Ones who witnessed the separation of the sky from the earth, when he who is in the past brought my father into being was created. Regard me, one who has conceived and born as Horus the heir; I was created for you, (even I) the Lord of the Enneads. O you plebs, look at me, the son of Isis; I was conceived in Pe and born in Chemmis; I was nursed in my Field of Fire on that day when I was received(?) on the birth-stool, I was taken to my father Atum, and he gave me the ornaments of his father Geb; I entered into the horizon.</p>

Spell 312	Mentions Horus as the son of Isis in a spell for being transformed into a divine falcon; mentions his allyship to Isis too, calling her the Divine Isis
Spell 332	I am a <i>n't</i> -snake, a soul in the bark 'Ordainer of power'. I am mistress of the oar in the Bark of Governance. I am the mistress of life, the serpent-guide of the sunshine on fair paths. I am she who strengthens the lashings [on?] the steering-oars on the western ways. I am the third one, mistress of brightness, who guides the great ones who are languid on the paths of the wakeful. I am the mistress of splendor on the paths of the cloudy sky. I am mistress of the winds in the Island of Joy. I am the mistress of strength who guides those who are in their caverns, I am Hathor, mistress of the northern sky, who strengthened the bonds of the wakeful on that night when the earth quaked(?) and... was among the mourners. I am Isis whom Nut bore, who displays her beauty, who puts together her power and who lifts up Re to the Day-bark.
Spell 334	Spell goes into being a sistrum player, and mainly discusses Hathor, but does mention Isis being a mother and nursing from her as well
Spell 366	My brow is raised up by Shu with his left hand with which he supports the sky. If my brow should fall to the ground, then will Nut's brow fall to the ground. The soles of my feet are made firm on the earth by Isis, and she makes me firm, does Isis, on the earth as a living god. I am raised up by Isis, just as she established her son Horus in the bark of Re which he raised up. THE BEAUTIFUL WEST IS JOYFUL AT MEETING THIS MAN.
Spell 404	<i>SPELL FOR ARRIVING AT THE FIRST PORTAL OF THE FIELD OF RUSHES.</i>

	<p>TO BE SAID TO THE GATEKEEPER: ‘Open, O Gsgs, for your name is Gsgs. Hail to you, You of the Netherworld, my lord; make ready your place for me.’</p> <p>‘Come, be a spirit, my brother; proceed to the place of which you know’.</p> <p>He will arrive at another portal. He will find the Sisterly <Companions> standing there; they will say to him: ‘Come, that we may kiss you’, and they will cut off the nose and lips of whoever does not know their names. When he reaches [them], the man shall say: ‘Hail to you, Sisterly Companions who comfort the Well-Beloved! I have come between you with my magic, I am he who shines in the Night-bark, I am Horus son of Isis, I have come to see my father Osiris’.</p> <p>‘Come, be a spirit, my brother; proceed to the place of which you know.’</p> <p>He will arrive at another portal by which the air enters and is cut off. It shall be said to it: Hail to you, Runner, whose name is ‘Son of a Runner!’</p> <p>‘Come, be a spirit, my brother; proceed to the place of which you know.’</p> <p>He will arrive at another portal; he will find its gate-keeper standing with the satchel of a corn-measurer and with a corn-measure in his hand, wherewith to measure a man’s excrement. THE MAN SHALL SAY TO HIM: ‘Hail to you, <i>Twt</i>, whose name is <i>Twt</i>! “What is to be filled” is the name of your corn-measure.’</p> <p>‘Come, be a spirit, my brother; proceed to the place of which you know.’</p> <p>‘Hail to you, Striker of the pillar-amulet, whose name is “Striker of the pillar-amulet.”</p> <p>‘Come, be a spirit, my brother; proceed to the place of which you know.’</p> <p>‘Hail to you, you two throwsticks, whose name is (“Throwsticks”)’</p>
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	<p>‘Come, be a spirit, my brother; proceed to the place of which you know’.</p> <p>WHAT IS TO BE SAID TO THE FERRYMAN OF THE FIELD OF RUSHES so that his regard may be on those gods who are on yonder side of the river. He shall say to [them] when he calls: ‘O Cut Rush, Tongue of Re... leader of the Two Lands, do not go back to them; O Power in the sky who reveals the sundisk. O Re, Lord of the dawn-red, bring to me, do not leave me boatless’.</p> <p>‘Tell my name’ says the bow-warp, ‘O Braided tress of Isis which Anubis has affixed by means of the craft of the embalmer’.</p> <p>‘Tell my name’ says the mooring-post. ‘Your name is “Lady of the Two Lands in the Shrine”.’</p> <p>The name of the mallet is ‘Buttock of the Bull of the Wind’.</p> <p>The name of the steering-posts is ‘Reeds of the Field of God’.</p> <p>The name of the hull(?) is ‘Earth God’.</p> <p>The name of the mast is ‘He who fetched the Great Lady after she had been far away’.</p> <p>The name of the <i>mhnw</i> is ‘Standard of Wepwawet’.</p> <p>The name of the yards(?) is ‘The staffs of Re which are in Unu’.</p> <p>The name of the <i>dbhw</i> is ‘The staffs of Re which are in Unu’.</p> <p>The sail: ‘Your name is Nut’.</p> <p>The lacings(?), halliards(?) and <i>iwt</i>: ‘Someone has made you from the skin of the Mnevis bull and the sinews of the Ombite’.</p> <p>The name of the oars is ‘The fingers of Horus the Elder’.</p> <p>The bailer is ‘The hand of Isis when she swabbed up the blood from the Eye of Horus’.</p> <p>The bailer is the ‘The gullet of Imsety’.</p>
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	<p>The ribs(?) in her hull are Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, and Kebhsenuf, (that is to say) “He who plunders”, “He who acts as a robber”, “He who sees his father”, and “He who makes his own name”.</p> <p>The hogging-beam(?): ‘Your name is “She who presides over the gardens’.</p> <p>The butt(?) (of the steering oar): ‘Your name is <i>mrw</i>-wood’.</p> <p>The steering-oar: ‘Your name is “Accurate”, and the name of your blade “Sunshine which cuts through the water”.</p> <p>The name of its loom(?) is ‘Nose of Ptah’.</p> <p>The name of this boat is ‘Legs of Isis which Re cut off with a knife when she brought the Night-bark to him’.</p> <p>The name of the skipper: His name is...</p> <p>The name of the pilot(?): His name is...</p> <p>The name of the helmsman: His name is ‘Two Baboons’.</p> <p>The name of the wind is ‘North-wind which came forth from Atum to the nose of the Foremost of the Westerners, the Lord of Abydos.</p> <p>‘Tell my name’ says the river. ‘Your name is “Those who see their lord”.’</p> <p>‘Tell my name’ says the river-bank. ‘Give me your hand, O lips of Isis, on the day of the supper-festival; “He who eats putrefaction in darkness” and “She who puts an end to him who would extend his hand against the waters”.’</p> <p>WHAT BE SAID TO THOSE GODS WHO ARE IN THE WRITING; ‘Hail to you, you whose attributes are good, your lords of possessions, who will exist for ever and ever! I shine for you that you may please me and that you may put truth in this mouth of mine for me so that I may speak with it. My bread is in Pe, my beer in Dep, my cake is baked, and my seat is spacious in the presence of the great god; I know the name of that god for whom provision is placed before him, his name is <i>Tkm</i>. He opens up</p>
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	<p>the western horizon, he knows the eastern horizon, and his name is <i>Tkm</i>. If he depart, then will I depart when he is expelled from the <i>mskt</i>. Those who rebel will have no power over this flesh of mine, for my bread is in Pe and my beer in Dep, and this power of mine belongs to me. My power is bread and beer, my power is life, prosperity and health.</p> <p>Going out into the day in any shape that I may desire, and going out thence into the Field of Rushes. As for anyone who knows this spell, he will go down into the Field of Rushes, and there will be given to him a <i>sns</i>-loaf, a beer-jug, a <i>psn</i>-cake and an aurora of land, with barley of seven cubits and likewise of emmer, and it is the Followers of Horus who will reap it. He shall chew this barley and this emmer and he shall rub his flesh with it, and his body will be [hale] like that of these gods, and he shall go out into the Field of Rushes in any shape that he wishes to assume.</p>
Spell 411	<p>O Thoth, I am a great one, I have appeared in glory. Such am I; I am in my name, and my name is a god; I will not forget it, this name of mine.</p> <p>O B3t, my name is 'Isis in the sealed place'; I am [in my name], and my name is a god; I will not forget it, this name of mine.</p> <p>O Re-Atum, O Khopri, I am one who was born on the First of the Year, and I know my name; the name of mine is a god who is in this body of mine, and I have driven off him who would carry away for himself my name and my heart in his hand. I will not forget this name of mine in the presence of the Lord of Judgement.</p>
Spell 453	<p><i>TO REPEL HIM WHO WOULD PLACE (ILL) REMEMBRANCE IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD AND HIM WHO WOULD COME TO CLOSE A MAN'S MOUTH IN THE REAL OF THE DEAD.</i></p>

	<p>O you who cut off heads and sever necks, and who place (ill) remembrance in the mouths of the spirits, and who close the mouths because of the magic which is in their bodies, you shall not cut off my head nor sever my neck, nor place (ill) remembrance in this mouth of mine nor close my mouth because of the magic which is in my body, as you are wont to do to the spirits because of the magic which is in their bodies. Go away because of those two sentences which Isis spoke against you, do not come to place (ill) remembrance in the mouth of Osiris at the will of his foe Seth when she speaks against you.</p> <p>May your face be downcast, O Lion-face; the great fire has gone forth against you from within the Eye of Atum, the injured Eye, Mistress of the Night. She cast you forth when Osiris turned back, and the detestation of you is in him- and vice versa. I have turned back, and the detestation of you is in me- and vice versa. If you come against me, I will speak against you; if you do not come against me, I will not speak against you, and the executioners of Shu will go away.</p>
Spell 454	Essentially a repeat of Spell 453
Spell 464	Mentions Isis in passing, but saying that Hetep (offerings?) will protect Isis against those who harm her, among other gods
Spell 472	<p><i>SPELL FOR THE NET AND THE FISH-TRAP AND OF ESCAPING FROM IT.</i></p> <p>Isis is mentioned a few times, namely in association with a papyrus-wand in her hand after fishing, and how she will bring water to the deceased to drink</p>
Spell 474	<p>Spell associates different parts of fishing with various gods, including Isis. It is mentioned that “Because I know the name of my knife in it; it is the cutter of Isis with which she cut the navel-string of</p>

	Horus” and “Because I know the name of its roller(?); it is the hand of Isis” as well as “As for its roller(?) (meaning the fishing reel) it is the finger-nail of Isis”.
Spell 479	Spell describing escaping from fish traps, and placing Isis as certain parts of the fish-traps, such as her temples and her hands.
Spell 480	Mentions Isis knives, notably her fingers and how she cut the umbilical cord on Horus
Spell 522	O N, I am Duamutef, and my father Horus said to me: Come and worship my father N for me, just as you might worship my mother Isis in your name of Duamutef. Join up my father N and do not be far from him, for you are my son, a child of Horus. You have come beneath N in your name of Duamutef, for you are his beloved son. I am Duamutef, and my father Horus said to me: Come to N.
Spell 526	I am Nephthys, and I have come that I may lay hold of you and that I may place your heart in your body for you; I bring you Horus and his Great-of-Magic, I bring you Seth [and his] Great-of-Magic. I am Isis, and I have come that I may lay hold of you and that [I] may place your heart in your body [for] you; I bring you Horus and his Great-of-Magic, I bring <you> [Seth and his] Great-of-Magic.
Spell 531	Hail to you, You who are kindly of countenance, owner of eyes which see, whom Anubis knit together, whom Ptah-Sokar exalted, to whom Shu gave the Supports, kindly of countenance among the gods, whom Re gave to Osiris for the secret thing which was done against him in order to end the injury by Seth against him. Your White Crown is that of Thoth, your vertex is that of Wepwawet, your eyebrows are those of the two Enneads, your eyes are those of the Night-bark and Day-bark, your tresses(?) are those of Isis and Nephthys,

	<p>the back of your head is part of <i>Dwn-'nwy</i>, your braid is that of the scorpion, your linen is that of <i>Hd-htp</i>; you are in front of N, and he will see by means of you.</p> <p>May you make him to be a spirit, may you subdue his foes for him, may you guide him to the fair places of the realm of the dead, may you smile the confederacy of Seth for him. The king has commanded that N be made triumphant over his foes before Horus, Lord of Patricians.</p> <p>That I be one who is enduring, enduring, is what has been commanded, (even) enduring like Re for ever.</p>
Spell 562	<p>The hair of Isis is knotted to the hair of Nephthys, the myriads who fled(?) are united, and he who reaches the <i>hns</i>-water has taken possession of the union of the Two Lands. The Western bank is joined with the eastern, and they are closed together and (then) divided, while I have passed by so that I may take what belongs to the west to the east, and that I may bring what belongs to the east to the west. I have come so that I may be joined to the Two Sisters and be merged in the Two Sisters, for they will never die. I am he who joins the river-banks together.</p> <p><i>JOINING TOGETHER THE RIVER-BANKS BY A MAN AT WHICHEVER PLACE HE WISHES.</i></p>
Spell 607	<p>Take the Eye of Horus which he has sent into your mouth; I bring it to you, I put it in your mouth for you. O N, take the... of Osiris- ...</p> <p>This is the Great One who went forth from the earth, who was loosed from the Abyss, who went forth from Nut; the great Power, born of Geb, who repelled Seth in his rage and who was set over the foreign lands, when they departed. The Ennead cried aloud at knowing his name, which grew from the body of that noble Fen-goddess, who is flesh of the East-land, the assistant of Anti, the guardian of Sopd, Lord of the</p>

	<p>East, and she who is the protection of Osiris. The Two Lords of the East have knit their arms on him, (even) him who cut off the hand of the children of their fathers when he plucked (plants) in the field.</p> <p>‘See, I bring everything to you completely, assembled on the Mounds,’ says your mother Isis, ‘and I have desired that you protect your Eye from him who would harm you. Get to know this one for us, so that he may bring this Horus for this year; there are brought to him the sky in cloud and the earth in mist, with quiet foot and hidden sandal; may the Destroyer, the son of Nut, not find a way against him’.</p> <p>As for him who would harm your father when weak, he will be against you, O Horus-Eye, and you will be against him, O Horus-Eye. Your right Eye is the Night-bark, your left Eye is the Day-bark; your two Eyes, [O Horus], which issued from Atum, are Shu and Tefenet. What revolts them is that the hand of the god should misuse them, and the emission of the god’s shade should be behind them, and his semen shall not enter into them. I have removed the Day-bark because of your Eyes, O Horus, I have put them in the Night-bark and I have put them in the Day-Bark for Horus of Manu. The Blind Ones, rich in fluid(?), bleary-eyed, shortsighted, are at the feet of Horus of Manu, and they will neither be swollen(?) nor wobble (?) ybder the fingers of Manu.</p>
Spell 608	<p>Ho N! You are clad in the Eye of Horus which belongs to your body. Ho! I have given it to you, it having appeared and having been seen on your flesh and having been joined to your flesh in this its name of ‘Red Linen’.</p> <p>You are clad in it in this its name of ‘Cloth’.</p> <p>You are great in it in this its name of ‘Great. One’</p>

	<p>Your face is bright by means of it in this its name of 'Bright Ones'.</p> <p>It is joined to your flesh in this its name of 'Red Linen'.</p> <p>Here comes Tayt.</p> <p>Here comes Tayet.</p> <p>Here comes the Eye of Horus which issued from the earth.</p> <p>Here comes the netting of Isis.</p> <p>Here comes the cloth of Nephthys.</p> <p>Here comes the plaiting of Neith.</p> <p>Here comes the woven stuff of the two Sisterly Companions.</p> <p>Here comes what Ptah has worked in.</p> <p>Here comes what Horus gave to his father Osiris to clothe him in it.</p> <p>Ho N! Provide yourself with the Eye of Horus which belongs to your body.</p> <p>Provide yourself with the woven Eye of Horus.</p>
Spell 628	<p><i>TO CAUSE THE WEST TO GIVE HER HANDS TO A MAN. IT MEANS BEING HALE.</i></p> <p>Hail to you, Beautiful West! See, I have come safely to you, you Great Lady; the Mighty One has passed, and true is Isis who has acted on my behalf; I have uncovered those wings of yours. It means that Thoth(?) will not destroy me, while Atum(?) is in On with Yusas. O you Lady of the north and west, be hidden(?). Take me on your lap and give me that breast of yours which you gave to him; may you nurse me with it, for I will come on to the lap of Him who cares for(?) the young child. I have not placed you <...></p>
Spell 660	<p>The spell mentions Isis in the beginning, with a particular line mentioning being born at the birth of Isis.</p>
Spell 663	<p>A variety of goddesses are mentioned in a mother context, including Neither, Hathor, Nut, and Isis, which aligns Isis as a Mother Goddess.</p>

Spell 682

The foretellers of the great storm go forth from within the inner horizon of the sky; they foretell the festival of the braziers at the birth of the god before you, whose breast is great and who is in front of his offerings(?). You will find N here on the front of the record(?) among those who make their names, because N is a god who judges the Contestants and separates the two parties; his mother Nut bore him on the Field of Tamarisk which protected the god in the nest.

O Thoth, part the waters which are in the Abyss at the sound of the cry of [his] mother Nut when she bears him **and arrays him as the great heron which went forth from the gods when N's mother Isis and his sister Nephthys came for him, and she says:**

'Who pray is born to you <in> this thicket(?) as the great heron which went forth from the gods?' (Nephthys)

'There shall be brought the egg which belongs to him who was knit together within my arms; there shall be brought the wonderful one who is in the bow of the *hnw*-bark, and it is he who will do the knitting together within his arms.' (Isis)

'[To] what [purpose], pray?'

'So that N's arms and legs may be strong.'

'By what means will he fly up?'

'The two plumes will hurry to him from the *hnw*-bark.'

'Who pray will act for him?'

'My great guardian who is among the gods has made sharp points(?), and long is the session in front of the Conclave of the House of the Great Lady'.

The form of their waterways is that of the head of a *hn*-bird(?). N has placed the south-wind toward his *3twt*-nurse and the north-wind is toward his *mn't*-nurse, he has gone within his soul, and it is his power which takes him to and fro. If he be weary,

	<p>he will come to rest on the plumes of Geb, the hands of his mother being (extended) toward him, (even) she the greatly protective, disordered of breasts. He has flown and soared as that great falcon which is on the battlements of the mansion of Him whose name is hidden, who takes what belongs to those who are yonder to Him who separated the sky from the earth and the Abyss.</p> <p>N's eyes are the Bull of the crocodile-spirits; his lips are the Bull of the two Enneads; his horn is the Lady of Fire north of his shrine; his seed is the Bull of the Sunshine; his hoofs are the Lord of the Evening; his plumage is She who was in charge of his germination(?). He has gone forth, turning back to the boundary of those who are in the presence of those who are in the Abyss. He has placed Hu among the offerings, his aspect is great in the presence of the great ones, the lords of the sky; it is Nu who gives him vision on the field of the Sunshine-god, and he alights... as one stronger than their companions. It is the holy ones who embalm her(?), and (it is) the Oldest One who makes summons to the companions of those who are with the Red Crown. She (...) him whom fashioned at the decree of the Eternal in front of the Pillar of Nu.</p> <p>N is on high and has power over and above Him who is on high at his upper shrine among the lotus-flowers of Him who is wakeful. N has opened his arms over the circumference of the firmament in the north of Those who send out; he has flown up to the sky as Shu the great, when they testify concerning him(?), the Great One. N has inherited the sky by means of his uraeus and his zon, he flies up as a divine falcon. They have named N as a divine falcon, for they know that he is one of them, one older than the wakeful ones when</p>
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	<p>circumambulating the Mansion. N's eat is what is in Malachite-land, north of... the food of the two Fields of Offerings is the meal of Her of turquoise, and it is her female children who please(?) (...). N eats of... which are in the Red Crown; N is the Water who goes forth from food-offerings, Babi who goes forth from the Casle; N is firm in the sky and established in the sky as him who dispatches the Great One and as Him who causes Re to go up to his two Truth-goddesses, who sends the Eternal to Him who brings the year to an end.</p>
Spell 686	<p>Spell discusses driving away snakes and those that go against N, but also then changes topic and discusses knives and anger, noting its threshing-floors are the Cerastes-Mountain knife; Isis herself wiped over her thighs in it when she bore her son Horus.</p>
Spell 691	<p>N seems to be trying to make himself healthy. Isis is mentioned specifically in the spell as Horus, son of Isis.</p>
Spell 728	<p>O Cloth, the Great One stands up, for he has received his staff, he has subdued those who conspired against him in this his name of 'Loin-cloth', so that he may set his protection about N's bed.</p> <p>O Cloth, the Great One awakes and the serpent rouses, for they look on the mothers of those who proceed the Great Lady, <...> [she] ferries across in it in this her name of 'Two-weave cloth'. You are the protection of N's bed.</p> <p>O Cloth, arouse N on this throne, for he has recovered his senses, and has presented Osiris to himself. He has found the great ones who are in the secret places [because of(?)] their power, he has bound(?) his own body and is unconscious through it in this his name of 'Three-weave cloth' which those who are over the healing of backbones bring. He has collected [his] members together, and he sets his</p>

	<p>protection about N's bed. May he have power over [his foes(?)].</p> <p>O Cloth, the great one travels... multitudes; those who are among those who fly up(?) in front of Isis go to him [...] in wrath. She causes that her brother Osiris be made to travel about, she fights on behalf of her son Horus [...] Imsety. Hapy, Duamutef, Kebhsenuf, in this his name of 'Three-weave cloth' [...] which is on the back of Osiris; there is none who [...], there is none who will rob you, O N, for ever.</p> <p>O Cloth, a seat is allotted by the Bull [...] the secret shambles [...] their great ones(?) at the voice of the Five(?) who are allotted to the body of Nut in this your name of 'Four-weave cloth'. The need of Osiris is the allotting of a place so that they may spread their protection about N's bed for ever.</p> <p>O Cloth, go [...] the great ones who are in the sky that he may see [...] great, dread [...] in his place. He whose face is hidden who is in the horizon, for whom the sky is hidden, to whom the earth is allotted, whose place is prepared [...] gods, the god[s] know that he will give his testimony(?). Clothe [...] clothe [...] he will put himself in the mansion of the seven-weave cloth which encloses Osiris [...] which is collected [...] his powers as a protection about N's bed for ever.</p> <p>O Cloth, you Great One, a protection for N, clothe [...] who are hidden [...] Great One [...] five days. They mourned(?) Osiris n it in his robe of the <i>sndw</i>-garment which they have given to their(?) sister [...] in this its name of 'Five-weave cloth'. You are the protection of [N's] bed[...] N in [...] Lord of Assembly at his voice. The Enneads greet him, the Great One is [glad], his foe is overturned in their presence [...], he drags in his..., N [...] 'Seven-weave cloth'. Your cloth is the protection of N's <bed> for ever.</p>
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	<p>O Cloth [...] Great One, herdsman(?) of Sia, look at him [...] in the Conclaves of the Ennead [...] in his presence (even) Re-Atum; his face shines in [this] his name [of] 'Six-weave cloth'; you are the protection of N's [bed] for ever.</p> <p>O Cloth, the great ones stand up in their places, the Enneads are joyful, so that they are not afraid <in> their majesty when they see [...] offerings. His bones are reckoned, [...] his back is pressed [...] 'Nine-weave cloth', for you are the protection of N's bed for ever.</p>
Spell 754	<p><i>SPELL FOR THE BEING OF A MAN AND WHAT IS IN HIS HOUSE.</i></p> <p>Osiris speaks to his son Horus, for he has nullified what was done to him on his eighth day, he has removed the sweat which was on his flesh on his fourth day. Those who should come will come to you in the garden, for you are alive and cleansed in the pool of cold water, and your son Horus will guide you. How happy are those who see, how content are those who hear, when Horus is seen extending the w3s-staff to his father Osiris! Your libation is poured by Isis, Nephthys cleanses you, (even) your two sisters great of magic. Your bones are knit together for you, your members are collected for you, your eyes are set in your face for you <by> the Night-bark and Day-bark.</p>
Spell 760	<p>As for this Coiled One whom Isis brought to her son Horus, who is in the bow of the bark which her word brought into being on his account in the presence of the Sole Lord, because of her bringing him to Horus, she spoke of the Coiled One to Re, and it goes well with Horus son of Isis since he went in; he has become lord of the bark and he has inherited the sky. He has become the double of the Lord All since he entered into it, and it is this Horus son of Isis who rules all the skies</p>

	<p>and their gods who are in them. As for any spirit who knows the name of the Shining Sun, he knows his (own) name; the gate [...] in the twilight. Come <...>. As for him who knows the names of those paths of his, it is he who will go in to the Coiled One. As for him who knows this spell, he will never perish. He will live on what Re lives <on> in the seat of the Shining Sun which guards these gates in myriad after myriad (of years).</p>
Spell 761	<p><i>TO ASSEMBLE A SPIRIT'S MEMBERS FOR HIM IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD.</i></p> <p>Wake! Wake! O N, wake! See what your son Horus has done for you, hear what your father Geb has done for you; he has set your foes beneath you for you. Go up and bathe in the Lake of Life; what is evil on you will be purged in the Lake of the Firmament. You have come into being as a complete god; your head is Re, your face is Wepwawet, your nose is the Jackal, your lips are the Twins, your ears are Isis and Nephthys, your eyes are the twin children of Re-Atum, your tongue is Thoth, your throat is Nut, your beck is Geb, your shoulders are Horus, your chest is He who pleases the spirit of Re, the great god who is in you, your flanks are Hu and Khopri, your naval is the Jackal of the Double Lion, your back is Anubis, your belly is the Double Lion, your arms are the two sons of Horus, Hapy and Imsety, your fingers and your finger-nails are the Children of Horus, your back is the Extender of Sunshine, your legs are Anubis, your buttocks are Isis and Nephthys, your feet are Duamutef and Kebhsenuf, and there is no member in you which lacks a god; raise yourself, N!</p>
Spell 775	<p>The ferry-boat is ferried across... run, O you who are in the suite of Horus, run, O you who are in the suite of Seth. He cannot reach him, (though) he has run before Re to</p>

	<p>the great city, he has found a ferry boat in yonder <side>, having been boatless.</p> <p>Horus: He is angry with me and he attacks me- so says Horus the boatless. I wish that that mother of mine would speak to me, because I am very much afraid; I am stranded on yonder side because the Outcaset is angry with me.</p> <p>Isis: See [I am(?) a protection] from fear, for I am your mother, I am Isis; I summon the Day-bark(?) which is in the midst of the waters of...</p> <p>Horus: See, I knew your name before I was boatless; come and row me, come and ferry me over, come and bring me to land at the great city before Re. The tears of the cackler are in my eyes, my hunger is in my belly, my tears are in my eyes, my tears are in my throat(?).</p> <p>Isis: See, I bring you the best of the <i>hn</i>-bird, and the choice joints which are with he very great lady are standing on the standard.</p>
Spell 777	<p>O N, Isis has come so that she may cause air to go forth, for she wants it to enter into the holes which are in your head, so that you may live and speak to her. O N. There are brought to her these two <i>krm</i>-birds of your on the day when you have joined them together for meat(?).</p>
Spell 792	<p>Words spoken by Nut: O N, I am your mother, I am Nut, and I have come so that I may enfold and protect you from all things evil.</p> <p>Words spoken by Isis: O N, I am your sister Isis; I have come so that I may lay hold of you, I have come so that I may protect you.</p>
Spell 820	<p>The spell discusses about being favored among the gods with the deceased identifying with Horus. Isis is mentioned as being the mother of Horus, thus being the mother of the deceased.</p>

Spell 829	The deceased is identified with a variety of deities, including Re, Horus, Geb, the Double Lion, and Isis. Specifically, the line states: I am Isis [when she was in] Chemmis, and I will listen like him who was deaf(?) and who stared.
Spell 832	‘How lovely to see! How pleasant to hear!’- so says Isis the divine. Isis is only mentioned in this line, but it seems to represent her excitement at seeing the deceased individual.
Spell 837	Isis is mentioned once in the spell as supporting Osiris up alongside Nephthys. She is specifically mentioned holding up his arm.
Spell 838	The Great One falls on his side, He who is in Nedit quakes. ‘Riase your head’, so says Re; ‘you shall detest sleep and hate inertness’ [...] Nut; the nurse has suckled him, [...] will not wean him with you, you gods. This is Osiris who comes to you, you gods; Osiris indeed(?) is devoid of his flesh, and Isis has stopped for herself his flesh and his efflux (from falling) to the ground. You shall complete what is on them in this your name of ‘Northerner’; the gods are astonished at you, the gods are astonished at you in this your name of w3s-staff. May you stand up at the head of the Conclave of Upper Egypt as Horus, for the Nine Gods come to you bowing as (to) Min who is in his house and Seth of <i>Hnt</i> . Smite him in his name of ‘Bull of the sky’, kick him in your name of Orion, for Horus will capture Seth in order to raise up your [corpse(?)] bearing this staff(?).
Spell 858	O N, take the Eye of Horus, the water in which Thoth has seen. Go behind me, N, for I am Isis. Osiris, take your son, put him within yourself. You are secluded(?) because of him. See, you have brought him to naught. You

	<p>shall love him, for he is Horus. Make the Eye of Horus come back to you.</p> <p>O N, do not let your face be blind(?), for I place it in your hand... for you.</p> <p>Ho N! Take the water which is in the Eye of Horus, fill your hand with the sceptre, provide yourself with it, and it will equip you as a god.</p> <p>O N, take the finger of Seth which causes the white Eye of Horus to see.</p> <p>O N, take the white Eye of Horus, which illuminates the tip of the finger of Seth.</p> <p>O N, take hold of his hand</p> <p>O N, take the hand of Nephthys, prevent her from putting it on them.</p> <p>O N, I give it to you; put it in your possession, for you are a Great One.</p> <p>Bring the two Eyes of Horus into the place of which they spoke, Take them (namely) what I give you, and put them on the ground for him.</p> <p>I bring what expands the heart of Seth, I give what expands the heart of Seth, I give them to you, so seize them and join them to yourself.</p> <p>Ho N! I bring to you the two Eyes of Horus from the place <where> his body is. I bring them to you; join them to yourself and bring them together. Horus has put them on N's feet that they may guide her, N, to the firmament to Horus who is in the sky and to the great god, and they will protect N against all her foes.</p> <p>O N, I bring to you the two Eyes of Horus which expand his heart; lay hold of them and join them to yourself, for they are complete for Horus who is N.</p>
Spell 861	<p>Isis is briefly mentioned with her connection to both Horus and Osiris, although protection is mentioned. Whether it's protection to Osiris or the deceased seems unclear, and if Isis is also being protected or the protector is also unclear.</p>

Spell 876	The portion that mentions Isis and Nephthys is poorly translated. Pieces of the text are missing which makes for deciphering its intention difficult. The spell as a whole is seen as <i>TO MAKE OSIRIS'S NECK FIRM FOR HIM</i> , but it is unclear how they fit into this.
Spell 945	The spell describes how the gods make up each aspect of the deceased. Isis specifically is mentioned to represent the lungs, but with Nephthys she is also the buttocks.
Spell 982	[I am] the son of Isis who inflames(?) sky and earth, my wings are [...] I fly up(?) [...], I land as Re in the West. O you men, spirits, gods, or powers who would oppose yourselves to me [...] ascend as Shu. 'O my son, use your feet' so says my mother Isis to me [...] when he reaches [...] so says my mother [Isis to me...] use your feet, hurry, hurry, run, for you will not be named if he has not yet reached you- so says my mother Isis to me.
Spell 983	Isis is only mentioned in ties to Horus- Horus, son of Isis.
Spell 989	<i>TO BECOME A FALCON.</i> The announcers of the great storm-cloud go forth from the horizon, the inner apartment of Her who bore the gods on the five epagomenal days, (even) they who are before you [...] before your hand(?) among those who make [...] at the sound of the cry of my mother [...] who bore [me(?)...] as this her great and mighty <i>nwr</i> -fish(?) which is in the sky. [My] mother bore me [...] within the god's tamarisk[-clump(?)] which enfolds Thoth when Isis comes, and she says: 'Semen shall be destroyed for you and... before your days have come.' [The rest of the text covers the transformation to a falcon].
Spell 1095	This is Isis who is before him, as Ma'et, she shows him the paths when crossing

	the sky, that he may imitate what Re does.
Spell 1098	The spell mentions Isis once, stating that she brought “him” (could be Thoth, according to Faulkner) the Coiled One.
Spell 1128	Circle of fire. [Circle] of fire. Fires. The fire of the Night-bark. The company which is in the bow is Isis, Seth, and Horus. The company which is in the stern is Hu, Sia, and Re.
Spell 1140	He is in darkness. It is his horn which gives darkness, pain, and death. These are those things(?) which are on the heat of its great fiery doors, and this name of his is He whose mouth is open in darkness. O Re, Atum, Nu, Old One, Isis the divine, I have come here in fear of the Fiery Ones; I am the Power which issued from the Vultures on the day when I am was superior to <i>Hdn</i>; it means that his horns were cut off in darkness. It was your arm which slew when it cut off the head of him who came that he might oppose the god, I am he whom the goddess bore, and it was Imsety who cleansed me when the hand of him who would destroy my power raged.
Spell 1145	The spell discusses protection of the deceased by various deities. Isis’ line goes as follows: Isis the great whose house is hers will thrust at you, for it is you who speak against me...

Appendix C: Isis Representations from the Old-Middle Kingdom

Catalog	Type	Site	D	Theme	Reference	Museum
N/A	Tyet at the Tomb of Hesyre	Saqqara	3	Furniture depicting Isis knots	Quibell, James Edward. <i>Excavations at Saqqara</i> . Vol. 5. Institut français	N/A

					d'archéologie orientale, 1913.	
N/A	Isis Epithet: Servant of Throne/Isis	Meir	5-6	The title can either refer to Isis herself or the actual servant of the royal throne. However, Isis has been associated many times with the throne, including her head piece, and thus it is possible that the servant was to her instead.	Jones, Dilwyn. An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom Volumes I and II: A completely updated and revised edition of Murray's Index of 1908 including an analysis of all new material published to date. BAR Publishing, 2000.	N/A
N/A	Sarcophagus of Teti	Saqqara	6	Part of the rebirthing/birth process into Duat	Lekov, Teodor. "The Formula of the" Giving of the Heart" in Ancient Egyptian Texts." <i>The Journal of Egyptological Studies</i> 1 (2004).	N/A
N/A	Isis Epithet: "Isis and Hathor, Mistress of the Two Lands"	Meir	6	The title may refer just to Hathor, but Isis' tie with Hathor in this instance may suggest that she could be considered as important as Hathor.	Blackman, Aylward Manley. The rock tombs of Meir. Vol. 22. Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914.	N/A
39.119	Statue of Ankhnes-Meryre II with her son Pepi II	Upper Egypt	6	Statue depicting Ankhnes-Meryre II as an Isis figure while her son, Pepi II, as a Horus figure.	Grzymski, Krzysztof. "Royal Statuary." In <i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> . New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999, pp. 50-55.	Brooklyn Museum

UC 14333	Stela of Mentuhotep	Thebes	11	"the son of Nepri, the husband of Tayet, the one whom Sekhat-Hor created cattle"; Tayet is tied to Isis in this inscription	Stewart, Petrie Collection, no. 86, pl. 18; Griffith, "Mentuhotep," 195 ff., Goedicke, "Wisdom Text," 25-35.	University of College London
55.82.112	Coffin of Nakht-ankh	Beni Hasan	11	Coffin of Nakht-ankh that has inscription of Isis on the foot of the coffin, possibly for protection.	Beni Hasan Excavation Committee, Division of Finds, Owned until 1904. Donated to University of Liverpool.	National Museums Liverpool
N/A	Sarcophagus of Edi	Asyut	12	Placement of Isis on the foot of the sarcophagus, an interpretation of protection; daughter of Djefaihapi, highly important official of Asyut	Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 10/2/2024	N/A
21.927	Isis Knot (Tyet) Amulet	Deir el-Bersha	12	An amulet that is associated with Isis and her protective abilities. Although more common in the New Kingdom and later, they did show up prior in burials.	From Deir el-Bersha. 1915: excavated by the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA by the government of Egypt.	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
EA35286	Canopic Chest of Satipi	Deir el-Bersha	12	Wooden, canopic chest that calls upon Isis as one of the protective deities.	Purchased from a shop called RJ Moss & Co in 1901.	British Museum

EA46638	Canopic Chest of Mesehti	Asyut	12	Wooden, canopic chest that calls upon Isis as one of the protective deities.	Excavated by Dr. David George Hogarth and acquired in 1907.	British Museum
EA35285	Wooden Coffin of Nekhtankh	Deir el-Bersha	12	Wooden coffin of Nekhtankh with the mention of Isis on the foot of the coffin. Could be a form of protection.	Purchased from a shop called RJ Moss & Co in 1901.	British Museum
EA30840	Inner Coffin of Gua	Deir el-Bersha	12	Inner-coffin of Gua with mention of inscription of Isis on the foot of the coffin, possibly for protection.	Purchased from a shop called RJ Moss & Co in 1899.	British Museum
EA30841	Wooden Outer-Coffin of Sen	Deir el-Bersha	12	Wooden outer-coffin of Sen with Isis inscribed on the foot of the coffin.	Purchased from a shop called RJ Moss & Co in 1899.	British Museum
EA12270	Wooden coffin of Amenhotep	Thebes	12	Wooden coffin of Amenhotep with inscription of Isis on the foot of the coffin.	Acquired in 1839 from Giovanna Anastasi.	British Museum
1914.71 6	Coffin of Senbi	Meir	12	Coffin of Senbi with inscription of Isis on the foot of the coffin.	Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust	Cleveland Museum of Art
15.2.2.a	Coffin of Khnumakht	Meir	12	Coffin of Khnumakht with Isis inscribed on the foot of the coffin. A goddess is	Sold by Khashaba to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1915.	The Metropolitan Museum of Art

				depicted on the side with Isis inscribed, but not on the side of Nephthys.		
55.82.113	Coffin of Keki	Beni Hasan	12	Coffin of Keki with inscription invoking Isis on foot of coffin with Isis called for specifically for funerary purposes alongside Anubis and Geb.	Beni Hasan Excavation Committee, Division of Finds, Owned until 1904. Donated to University of Liverpool.	National Museums Liverpool
A.1979.203	Coffin Base of Khumhotep	Meir	12	Coffin of Knumhotep with inscription of Isis on foot of coffin.	Kamal A.,(1912) "Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout, au nord, et Déir-el-Ganadlah, au sud", Annales du Service des Antiquités égyptiennes 12 pp.106-107[28]	National Museums Scotland
EA202	Stela of Ikhernefert	Abydos	12	A woman is shown being named after Isis, the mother of Minhotpe.	Scott-Moncrieff, Philip David. Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum. British Museum, 1911.	British Museum
EA1645	Stela of Nakhthor	Egypt	13	Stela that depicts Isis and Horus toward the bottom of the stela.	Donated by Sir Alan Henderson Gardiner in 1914.	British Museum
32.3.429a	Coffin of Nefnefret	Thebes	13	Coffin of Nefnefret depicts goddesses on the foot and	Museum excavations, 1919-1920. Acquired by the Museum in the	The Metropolitan Museum of Art

				head of the coffin, most likely Isis and Nephthys.	division of finds. Accessioned, 1932.	
32.3.427 a	Coffin of Hekaib-Hapy	Thebes	13	Coffin of Hekaib-Hapy has an inscription of Isis on the foot. Could be protection or support.	Museum excavations, 1919-1920. Acquired by the Museum in the division of finds. Accessioned, 1932.	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
32.3.428	Coffin of Nemtiemsaf	Thebes	13	Coffin of Nemtiemsaf with depiction of Isis on the foot of the coffin.	Museum excavations, 1919-1920. Acquired by the Museum in the division of finds. Accessioned, 1932	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
EA30727	Head-rest	Deir el-Bersha	M K	Headrest with the support of tyet (Isis knots). Could be "support" or "protection" for the individual using it.	Purchased from a shop called RJ Moss & Co in 1899.	British Museum
E.0408	Sarcophagus of Nakht	Abydos	M K	Sarcophagus of Nakht that depicts Isis and Nephthys as mourners.	M.-P. Vanlathem, Oudegyptische lijkken en mummies - Cercueils et momies de l'Égypte ancienne, Bruxelles 1983, 12-13	Global Egyptian Museum
N/A	Isis Epithet: Priest of Isis and Seshat	Asyut	M K	Title refers to a priest that is associated in the worship of Isis and Seshat. This is a rare title that appears, and a seemingly rarer	Doxey, Denise M. Egyptian non-royal epithets in the Middle Kingdom: a social and historical analysis. Vol. 12. Brill, 1998.	N/A

				appearance of Isis and Seshat sharing the title together. The priest could have associated both as women of strong power and intelligence, but that is not known by the evidence.		
N/A	Tomb of Idy	Asyut	M K	Image of Isis as Sirius star and Osiris as Orion	A. VON LIEVEN, Der Himmel über Esna: Eine Fallstudie zur Religiösen Astronomie in Ägypten um Beispiel der kosmologischen Decken- und Architravinschriften im Tempel von Esna, ÄA 64, 2000, p. 25-26, 62.	N/A

Appendix D: Women Representations from the Old-Middle Kingdom

192 0.26 5	Stela of Tjenti and Nefret	Tomb G 3035, Giza, Egypt	4	Nefret (wife) sitting across her husband while her son is behind her	Maurice Nahman (1868-1948), Cairo; sold to the Art Institute of Chicago through James Henry Breasted as agent, 1919.	Art Institute Chicago
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48.1 11	Statue of the King's Acquaintances Memi and Sabu	Possibly Memphite Region, Giza, Western Cemetary	4	Sabu (wife) standing next to her husband with an arm around his waist	Purchased by the Museum from Louis Stern, 1948. Previously in the possession of Maguid Samedá.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
68.1 3.a. b	False door niche block of Merykhufu	Egypt	4	Nebuhotep, wife of Merykhufu, standing across him on the right side with her daughter next to her and her son next to Merykhufu	Purchased from Ernst E. Kofler, Lucerne, 1968. Previously purchased by him from Maguide Samedá, Cairo, 1966.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
11.1 738	Statue of King Menkaura (Mycerinus) and queen	Menkaura Valley Temple, Giza, Egypt	4	A woman stands next to Menkaura wrapping her hand around his waist while the other rests against his arm. This woman is possibly his wife or his mother.	From Giza, Menkaura Valley Temple. 1909: excavated by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; 1911: assigned to the MFA by the Egyptian government. (Accession Date: March 2, 1911)	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
12.1 51	Stela of Meretites	Tomb G 34140, Giza, Egypt	4	Stela depicts a woman named Meretites who was the king's daughter. Shows that women had authority/autonomy to have a potentially	From Giza, tomb G 4140. 1912: excavated by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; 1912:	Museum of Fine Arts Boston

				elaborate burial of their own.	assigned to the MFA by the Egyptian government. (Accession Date: December 5, 1912)	
31.78	Tomb relief of Nofer and his wife	Tomb G 2110 Giza, Egypt	4	Wife of Nofer stands behind him with an arm around his shoulder.	From Giza, G2110. Excavated by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA by the government of Egypt. (Accession Date: January 1, 1931)	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
E10 633	Female statue of a squatting woman	Memphite Region	5	A female is using a sieve and wearing garments. Represents a possible job a woman can do.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
E10 640	Female statue of a harpist kneeling	Memphite Region	5	Potential female harpist sitting with harp and playing. Represents a possible job a woman can do.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
E10 637	Female statue of a miller	Memphite Region	5	Female pouring grain.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
E10 642	Female statue of a harpist kneeling	Memphite Region	5	Female harpist sitting with harp and playing.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures

E10 638	Female statue of a miller	Memphite Region	5	Female miller grinding grain.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
E10 618	Statue of Nikauinpu and his wife	Memphite Region	5	Shows his wife standing beside him with an arm wrapped around his shoulder in support. Similar to position Isis has taken on with Osiris.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
26.7 .140 5	Nursing Woman	Possibly Memphite Region, Giza, Tomb of Nikauinpu, Egypt	5	A woman is shown suckling her child, possibly a girl. A child behind her is shown trying to get her attention, so most likely a mother.	Formerly Carnarvon Collection, purchased in Cairo from Nicolas Tano probably about 1920. Carnarvon Collection purchased by the Museum from Lady Carnarvon, 1926.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
51.3 7	Statue of Demedji and Hennutsen	Most likely Memphite Region, either in Giza or Saqqara	5	A statue of a husband and wife, with the wife disproportionately smaller than her husband.	Purchased for the Museum from Paul Mallon, of Paris, 1951.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
6.18 76	Pair statue of Ptahkhenuwuy and wife	Giza, Tomb G2004	5	Shows his wife standing beside him with an arm wrapped around his shoulder in support. Similar to position Isis	From Giza, tomb G 2004. 1906: excavated by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; 1906: assigned to	Museum of Fine Arts Boston

				has taken on with Osiris.	the MFA by the Egyptian government. (Accession Date: November 8, 1906)	
27.5 54	Tomb relief of Ti	Saqqara	5	Depiction of Ti with his wife kneeling behind him and holding his ankle. A sign of support?	Lent by Mrs. William Amory November 4, 1908. Returned December 27, 1909.	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
12.1 486	Serving statuette of a woman grinding grain	Giza, Tomb G2185	5	Female miller grinding grain.	From Giza, tomb G 2185. December 5, 1912: excavated by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; awarded to the MFA by the government of Egypt.	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
37.2 738	Doorjamb from the tomb of Mehu	Giza, Tomb G2423	5	Depiction of Mehu with his wife behind him, holding his arm in support.	From Giza, tomb G 2423 (tomb of Mehu), chapel. 1937: excavated by the Harvard University-Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA in the division of finds by the government of Egypt. (Accession	Museum of Fine Arts Boston

					Date: January 1, 1937)	
37.2 739	Doorjamb from the tomb of Mehu	Giza, Tomb G2423	5	Depiction of Mehu with his wife behind him, holding his arm in support; other side of the doorjamb.	From Giza, tomb G 2423 (tomb of Mehu), chapel. 1937: excavated by the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA in the division of finds by the government of Egypt. (Accession Date: January 1, 1937)	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
E10 632 A	Statue of Female	Memphite Region	5-6	Statue of a squatting female.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
27.1 117	Stele of Mestju	Giza, Tomb G7248	5-6	Stele displaying Mestju with his family. On the left depicts Mestju with his daughter Henut, and on the right depicts Mestju with his wife Nubhotep. Both women are sitting behind Mestju in supporting positions with	From Giza, tomb G 7248 A. 1926: excavated by the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; 1927: assigned to the MFA by the government of Egypt. [Accession	Museum of Fine Arts Boston

				their arms embracing Mestju.	date: April 1, 1926]	
192 0.26 6	Wall relief depicting Abdu and Reputka with Offering Bearers	Giza	6	Reputka stands behind Abdu in a supporting position with her hands resting on his arms.	Museum Purchase Fund, 1920.	Art Institute Chicago
E49 40	Relief	Dendara	6	Relief depicting headless woman.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
317 09.2 7.28	Part of Tomb Facade	Giza	OK	Tomb relief of Katepi with wife standing behind him in a supportive position with her hands resting on his arm.	1899 purchase from Edward E. Ayer	Field Museum
317 09.1	Part of Tomb Facade	Giza	OK	Tomb relief of Katepi with wife standing behind him in a supportive position with her hands resting on his arm	1899 purchase from Edward E. Ayer	Field Museum
72.1 617	Fragment of Female and Child on Bed	Unknown	OK	Clay pottery of a woman holding a child to her breast with an elaborate headdress. Most likely the mother of the child.	By 1836: Robert Hay Collection, Linplum, Scotland; 1863: to his son, Robert James Alexander Hay; 1868-1872: Way Collection,	Museum of Fine Arts Boston

					<p>Boston (purchased by Samuel A. Way through London dealers Rollin and Feuardent, 27 Haymarket); 1872: given to the MFA by Samuel's son, C. Granville Way. (Accession date: June 28, 1872)</p>	
72.1 618	Female figure on bed	Unknown	OK	<p>Depicts a woman lying on a bed with a child held to her. Most likely the mother of the child.</p>	<p>By 1836: Robert Hay Collection, Linplum, Scotland; 1863: to his son, Robert James Alexander Hay; 1868-1872: Way Collection, Boston (purchased by Samuel A. Way through London dealers Rollin and Feuardent, 27 Haymarket); 1872: given to the MFA by Samuel's son, C. Granville Way. (Accession date: June 28, 1872)</p>	Museum of Fine Arts Boston

72.1 616	Female figure on bed	Unknown	OK	Depicts a nude woman lying on a bed.	By 1836: Robert Hay Collection, Linplum, Scotland; 1863: to his son, Robert James Alexander Hay; 1868- 1872: Way Collection, Boston (purchased by Samuel A. Way through London dealers Rollin and Feuardent, 27 Haymarket); 1872: given to the MFA by Samuel's son, C. Granville Way. (Accession date: June 28, 1872)	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
13.3 834	Female figure on bed	Unknown	OK	Depicts a nude woman lying on a bed.	From Sheikh Farag, S.F. / 189. 1913: excavated by the Harvard University- Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA by the government of Egypt.	Museum of Fine Arts Boston

10.1 30.7 51	Design Amulet, Back in the Form of a Woman Suckling a Child	Unknown	9	A mother is shown suckling her child, and could be a representation of Isis with Horus	Formerly in the collection of the Reverend Chauncey Murch (died 1907). Collected between 1883 and 1906 while Murch was a missionary in Egypt. Collection purchased by the Museum from the Murch family with funds provided by Helen Miller Gould, 1910.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
26.7 .46	Design Amulet, Woman Sucking a Child on Back	Unknown	10- 11	A mother is shown suckling her child, and could be a representation of Isis with Horus	Timmins Collection. Acquired by for his collection by Lord Carnarvon before 1923. Carnarvon Collection purchased by the Museum from Lady Carnarvon, 1926.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
E16 951	Stela	Girga	FIP	Relief depicting a man with a woman standing behind him in a supportive position, most likely his wife.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures

E16 959	Stela	Girga	FIP	A woman standing in front of offerings. It looks as if she has substantial authority given her large stature compared to the offerer before her.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
E16 955	Stela	Girga	FIP	Relief depicting a man with a woman standing behind him in a supportive position, most likely his wife.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
E16 958	Stela	Girga	FIP	Relief depicting a man with a woman standing behind him in a supportive position, most likely his wife.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
E16 956	Stela	Girga	FIP	Relief depicting a man with a woman standing behind him in a supportive position, most likely his wife.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
RC- 257 4	Stela	Unknown	FIP	A husband and wife are standing in front of each other, the wife identified as Senet on the right. Inscription states "Senet, the wife whom he loves",		Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum

				which could show the importance of marriage.		
E49 30	Stela	Dendara	FIP-MK	Depicts Bahetpy and his wife offering to Anubis. His wife is standing to his right behind him.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
E50 26	Relief	Dendara	11	A woman is shown receiving gifts. She could have substantial authority based on her height compared to the offerers.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
SL.3 .201 5.18 .3	Relief of Wives of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II	Deir el-Bahri	11	Relief depicts the wives of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II showing their importance.	Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II; Egypt Exploration Fund excavations, 1903–7.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
SL.3 .201 5.32 .4	Stela of the Overseer of the Herds Abkau and His Wife Imemi	Abydos	11	Abkau and Imemi are shown to be given offerings. Imemi is shown sitting behind Abkhau with her hands on him in a supporting position.	Probably Abydos; ex coll. Bernardino Drovetti, acquired by the museum, 1827.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
SL.3 .201 5.36 .4	Stela of Khety and his Wife, Henet	Unknown	11-12	Depicts Khety with Henet standing behind him.	Provenance unknown; gift of Generalkonsul	Metropolitan Museum of Art

					Anton Ritter von Laurin, 1848.	
192 0.26 2	Stela of Amenemhat and Hemet	Thebes	12	Depicts Amenemhat and Hemet calling upon Osiris. Hemet stands behind Amenemhat with her hand placed on his shoulder in support.	Ralph Huntington Blanchard (1875-1936), Cairo; sold to the Art Institute of Chicago through James Henry Breasted as agent, 1920.	Art Institute Chicago
32.1 .124 A	Model Sailing Boat Transporting a Mummy	Lisht	12	A model boat transporting the body of Djehuty. The two women on the boat are meant to depict Isis and Nephthys as mourners.	Excavated by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acquired by the Museum in the division of finds.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
20.3 .7	Estate Figure	Asasif	12	A woman is shown holding a basket above her head and an animal in her other hand. It is stated that she could possibly be associated with Isis and Nephthys due to the clothing.	Excavated by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1920. Acquired by the Museum in the division of finds, 1920.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
12.1 83.3	Model Boat	Meir	12	Model boat depicting the mummified remains of Ukhoteb with passengers. The two women are most likely	Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan from Sayyid Pasha Khashaba and donated to the Museum,	Metropolitan Museum of Art

				mourners and representatives of Isis and Nephthys.	1912.	
24.1 .48	Figurine of a Woman with Her Baby	Lisht	12	Depicts a mother holding her child close to her chest, most likely getting ready to nurse.	Excavated by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1923-24. Acquired by the Museum in the division of finds.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
24.1 .47	Figurine of a Woman with Her Baby	Lisht	12	Depicts a mother holding her child close to her chest, most likely getting ready to nurse.	Excavated by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1923-24. Acquired by the Museum in the division of finds.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
65.2 69	Stela of Amennakht	Unknown	12	Depicts Amennakht's wife standing behind him with her arm around his shoulder in a supporting position.	Given to the Museum by William H. Irvine, Richmond, 1965.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
SL.3 .201 5.13 .8	Stela of Lady of the House Iytenhab	Haraga	12	Iytenhab is shown sitting across another woman who has her son in the woman's lap. Could represent the growing authority women were beginning to	El-Haraga, cemetery A, tomb 124; British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account excavations,	Metropolitan Museum of Art

				have within the family.	1913-14.	
SL.3 .201 5.5. 13	Stela of the Overseer of the Western Desert Kay	Kamala	12	Stela depicting a woman standing behind Kay with description stating the woman could either be his mother or wife. The woman is standing behind him with her arm around him in a supporting position.	Probably Qamula; acquired by the museum in Luxor, 1928.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
197 2.98 4	Relief of Lady Wadjkaues	Deir el-Bersha, Tomb 3	12	Lady Wadjkaues is shown sitting smelling a flower. Could depict her importance.	From Deir el-Bersha, tomb 3. By mid-19th century: Paris private collection (W.K. Simpson, "The Middle Kingdom in Egypt: Some Recent Acquisitions," Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts 72 [1974] 110); by 1972, with Jean-Louis Domercq, Paris; purchased by the MFA from Jean-Louis Domercq December 13,	Museum of Fine Arts Boston

					1972. (Accession Date: December 13, 1972)	
13.3 844	Stela of Seniankhu and His Wife, ly	Naga el-Deir, Tomb SF217	12	Stela depicts ly standing behind her husband Seniankhu with her arms holding him in support.	From Sheikh Farag, tomb SF 217. 1913: Excavated by the Harvard University- Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA by the government of Egypt. (Accession date: December 4, 1913)	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
72.7 68	Stela of Senbefitsen	Unknown	12- 13	Stela depicts Senbefitsen with his wife, Ankhuenes, behind him with her hands embracing him in support. She is also seen as being depicted as the "the Lady of the House", showing her importance.	By 1836: Robert Hay Collection, Linplum, Scotland; 1863: to his son, Robert James Alexander Hay; 1868- 1872: Way Collection, Boston (purchased by Samuel A. Way through London dealers Rollin and Feuardent, 27 Haymarket);	Museum of Fine Arts Boston

					1872: given to the MFA by Samuel's son, C. Granville Way. (Accession Date: June 28, 1872)	
189 2.35	Stela of Amenemhat and Yatu	Memphis	12-13	Stela depicts the mother Yatu with her son, Amenemhat. They are shown to be of the same size, representing her importance next to Amenemhat.	The Art Institute of Chicago, acquired in Egypt, 1892; purchased with funds provided by Henry H. Getty and Charles L. Hutchinson, 1892.	Art Institute Chicago
SL.3 .201 5.8. D	Statuette of Princess Sbeknakht Nursing her Son	Edfu	13	Depicts Princess Sbeknakht nursing her son, and most likely it was meant to represent the image of Isis and Horus.	Provenance unknown; ex coll. Octave Borelli Bey (?); Alphonse Kann, before 1927.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
E25 619	Statue of Female	Unknown	MK	Statue shows a seated female in a kneeling position.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
E10 744	Statue of a Female	Unknown	MK	Statue depicts a woman carrying a basket above her head and a bead in the other hand. Possibly depicts a job a woman carried out.		Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures

SL.3 .201 5.5. 6	Figurine of a Mourner	Unknown	MK	Figurine depicts a woman mourning with her hands in her hair and on her face. Could represent Isis and Nephthys in mourning.	Provenance unknown; acquired by the museum before 1899.	Metropolitan Museum of Art
A.19 65.6	Triad	Abydos	MK	The statuettes show a man standing between two women. This could possibly represent Isis and Nephthys and their support of Osiris.	Aldred, C. (1978), 'Statuaire' in Leclant, J. (ed.) Le Monde égyptien, Les Pharaons. Le Temps des pyramides. De la Préhistoire aux Hyksos (1560 av. J.-C.), 300, fig. 345	National Museum of Scotland

Figures

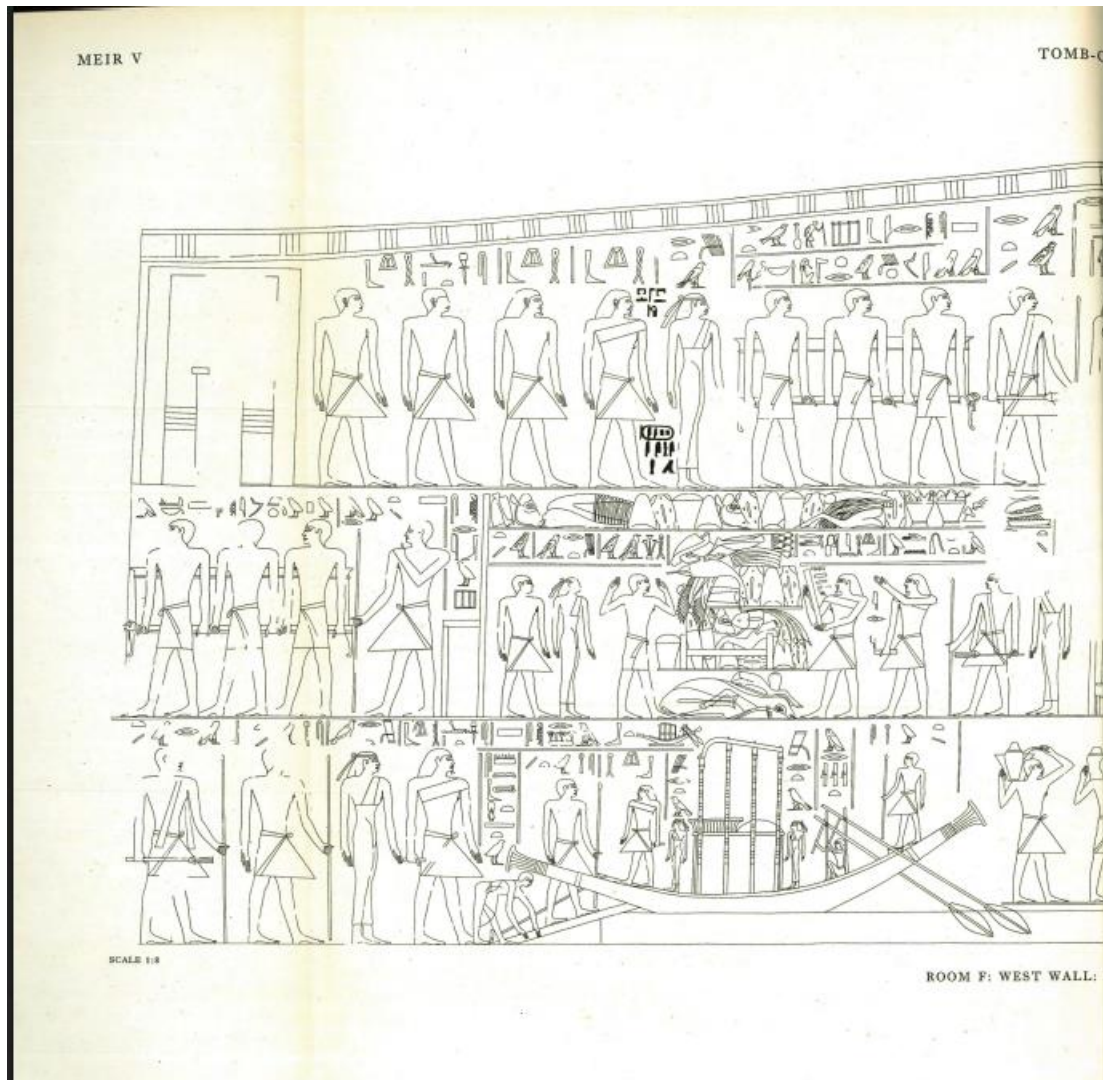


Figure 1: Image of the *djeret* attending a funeral procession in a tomb wall scene from the 6th Dynasty Tomb of Pepyankh at Meir. Detail from Blackman's *The Rock Cut Tombs of Meir* vol.22, 1914.

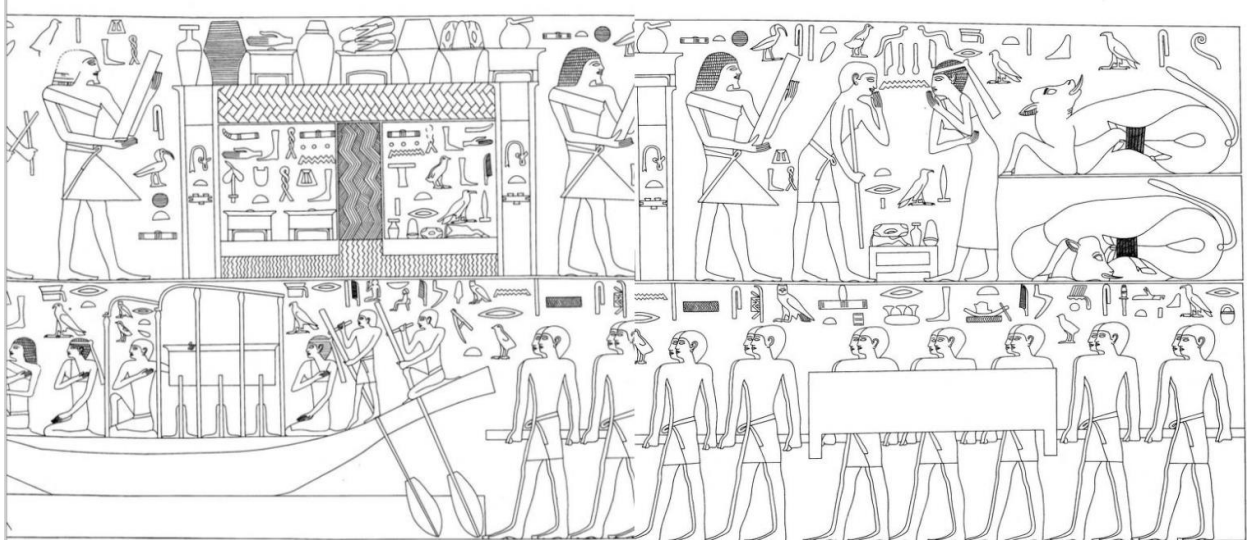


Figure 2: Image of the *djeret* attending a funeral procession in a tomb wall scene from the 6th Dynasty Tomb of Qar at Giza. Detail from Simpson's *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G 7101 and 7102*, 1976.



Figure 3: Image of a 6th Dynasty calcite sculpture of Ankhnes-Meryre II holding her son Pepi II. Photo: Brooklyn Museum, no. 39.119.



Figure 4: Image of a 5th Dynasty limestone statuette of a woman nursing her child. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 26.7.1405.



Figure 5: Image of a 5th Dynasty pair statue of Nekheftka and his wife Neferseshems with Neferseshems embracing her husband. Photo: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures Museum, no. E2036A.



Figure 6: Image of 11th Dynasty Coffin of Nakht-Ankh with inscription of Isis on the foot. Photo: National Museums Liverpool, no. 55.82.112.



Figure 7: Image of 12th Dynasty Tyet Knot (Isis Knot) from Deir el-Bersha. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, no. 21.927.



Figure 8: Image of the 12th Dynasty Coffin of Khnumnakht with image and inscription of Isis on the foot. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 15.2.2a.

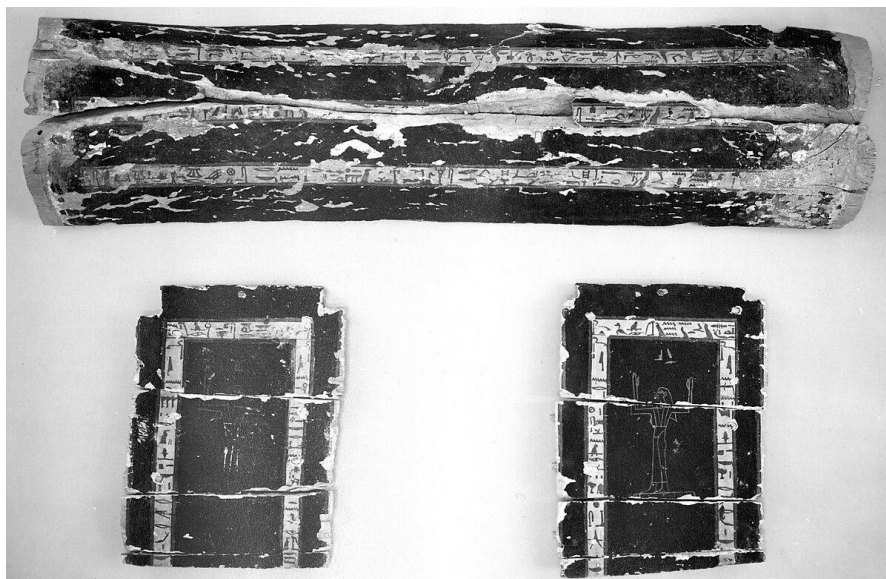


Figure 9: Image of the 13th Dynasty Coffin of Nemtiemsaf with image and inscription of Isis on the foot. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 32.3.428a.



Figure 10: Image of a 12th Dynasty stela depicting the mother Yatu to the left, and her son, Amenhemat, to the right.
Photo: Art Institute Chicago, no. 1892.35.



Figure 11: Image of a 13th Dynasty sculpture of Princess Sobeknakht sitting while nursing her son. Photo: Brooklyn Museum, no. 43.137.

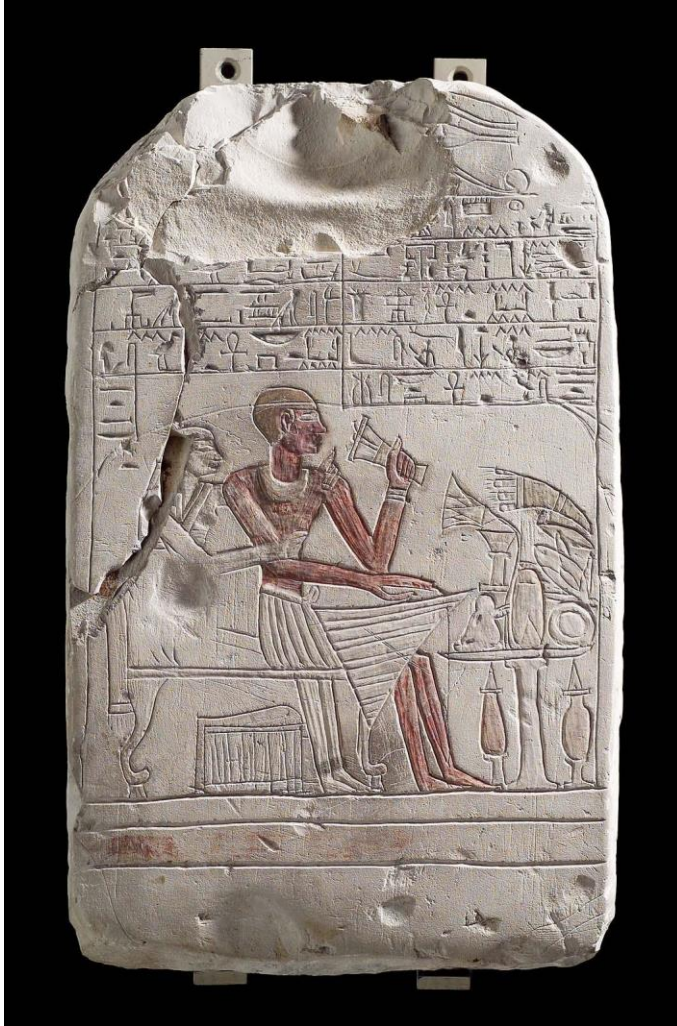


Figure 12: Image of a 12th-13th Dynasty stela of Senbefitsen and his wife Ankhuenes in an offering scene. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, no. 72.768.



Figure 13: Image of a 12th Dynasty model boat transporting a deceased individual named Djehuty. Two women acting as the *djeret* are seen on the head and foot of the individual. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 32.1.124a.



Figure 14: Image of a Middle Kingdom headrest depicting the tyet knots supporting plank. Photo: British Museum, no. EA30727.