

The Formula of the “Giving of the Heart” in Ancient Egyptian Texts

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The heart was not only anatomical organ, but also was considered by the ancient Egyptians as seat of human consciousness, intelligence and emotion. The concept of the heart in Ancient Egyptian culture is an object on several studies¹, but many problems remain unsolved. The meaning and employment of the formula of “the giving of the heart” is one of them.

The formula of the “giving of the heart” is well known as early as the Pyramid Texts (PT). It has been interpreted as evidence for the practice, in which, during the mummification of the body, the heart was taken out of it together with the other internal organs and was replaced by an amulet. So in the process of embalming the new stone heart was given to the corpse. This point of view is widely accepted in the earlier studies. In fact, only after the appearance of Smith's fundamental work on the Egyptian mummies² in the early 20^{-ies} of the last century, it became clear that the heart was never taken out of the body, mummified separately and put in the canopies. This observation raised the question of the sense of widely employed into religious literature formula “to give somebody’s heart” back to the deceased person.

Additional complication for understanding the role of the heart in this and other similar contexts is the fact that there are two different words for heart in Egyptian language³. First, and older *ib* roots in Semitic stratum of the language and has parallels in the languages as Akkadian and Arabian. Its usage implies nuances of “internal”, “hidden”, “invisible”, “inner self”, etc. On the contrary, the second word for “heart” – *HAṭj* is descriptive and means literally something like “(that) which is in front”, in sense of “outer”, “visible” etc., for example as a designation for the pulse – a “movement of the heart-*HAṭj*”. This word survived in Coptic and replaced the older *ib*. The two words are conceived as different terms, first as “mind”, intellectual and emotional center of human spirituality, the second as technical term for heart, as an anatomic organ, although in many cases the two words are used as synonyms, and one can replace the other in variants of given text. It is noteworthy for our problem that the principal word used in the formula of the “giving the heart” is *ib*.

One of the few Egyptologists who paid special attention to the problem of the “giving the heart” in the context of the mummification was Kurt Sethe⁴. Sethe made a compromise between the two points of view – that the heart was taken out of the

¹ For the Egyptian notion of the heart in general, see Piankoff 1930, Brunner 1965, 1977; also- J.Assmann 1994.

² Smith/Dawson, 1924.

³ The basic usage of different terms is postulated in the work of Piankoff 1930; For the meaning of the two words in the case of medical texts – Grapow 1954, 63-72; Westendorf 1999, 108-109; For the connection of heart-*ib* with the stomach (*ṛA-ib* – which means lit. “entrance (mouth) of the heart”) see also Hintze 1955 and R.Bianchi in JARCE.36.(1999), 165 who indicates that *ṛA-ib* is the frame of the torso, the cavity in which heart is found, i.e. *ib* is something more than physical heart, the inner core of body and person. For examples of interchangeability of the two words see also Žabkar 1965, 85. Important consideration for the use of two different words for the same parts of the human body is given by Helck 1955. Because the problem of the “two hearts” in Ancient Egypt is not the main object of the present article, it will be discussed in a separate study.

⁴ Sethe 1934.

body, and that it was not, suggesting that initially the heart was taken out (VIth dynasty) and replaced by an artificial heart of stone, than in the Middle Kingdom it was left in the body but was still isolated from it by being bandaged separately. At this time, from the XIth dynasty on, the scarab appeared together with the formula which had to make the heart not to testify against the deceased, and finally, during the New Kingdom the heart was left in the body, while the scarab was placed on the mummy's breast⁵. An evidence for the practice, in which the heart was taken out, Sethe found in the formula of the “giving the heart”, as well as in a line from Spell 512 of the PT where the making of a new heart is mentioned:

irj.n n.f it.j ib.f
 kj Sdj(.w) n.f
 HAq.f ir prj.f ir pt
 rhn.f m nw.wt mr nhA⁶
 “My father made for him his heart,
 and the other was removed from him,
 because it prevented his appearing in heaven,
 when he waded the waters of Mer-neha.”⁷

It is not necessary, however, to explain this evidence only as a reflection of the ritual practice, or a fact from the reality we can discern. Sometimes our modern interpretations perceive the difficulty to understand ancient texts literally or to re-interpret them in a rather loose manner as a manifestation of a momentous and unconscious decision. Here, for example, we can refer to another text that is probably connected in meaning with the above stated one. It is from Spell 112 of CT called “Spell for not letting a man's heart sit down against him (not witness/oppose against him) (r3 n tm rdj Hms ib n s r.f⁸):

ink wa wAj ink nwn ir.n ib.f miwnsr⁹
 “I am the Sole One, I am the one who belongs to him
 who made his heart in the Island of Fire.”

The Island of Fire is a place in the Otherworld where the dead purifies himself and according to the spells in which it is mentioned, he (the dead) wants to come out of there provided with all his power and magic. The making of the “new” heart is a fact from the invisible reality. The ritual practice can, and do follow this reality, but that does not mean that under “making of a heart” we should compulsorily understand the making of an artificial counterpart which to replace the physical heart. In this case the image of “making of the heart” is more linked with the idea of achieving a new, pure and powerful form of existence in the Afterlife, loosing the burden of human and earthly sinfulness, than with the facts of visible reality.

For the reasons just stated, the formula of the “giving the heart” should be considered more closely. The oldest evidence of this formula occurs in the inscriptions

⁵ Ibid., 238-239.

⁶ Pyr. § 1162 a-c.

⁷ Sethe 1935-1962, vol.V, 60. About the discussion after Sethe (without any significant additions) see Griffiths 1980, 52-56.

⁸ CT.II.126d.

⁹ CT.II.129f-g.

on Teti's sarcophagus (at the beginning of the VIth dynasty), but it was reproduced in the later versions of PT too. In view of the participants, their supposed location during the ritual and the significance of the very actions, this earliest example is the most important one.

On the sarcophagus lid:

1. “Words spoken by Nut, the Great Akhyt: This is my eldest son, Teti, the firstborn (who opened the womb), he is my beloved, I am satisfied with him.”¹⁰
2. “Words spoken by Geb: This is my son Teti, from the (my) body...”¹¹

On the bottom of the sarcophagus:

“Words spoken by Nut, the Great, who is in the middle of the Lower House: This is my beloved son Teti, the firstborn on the throne of Geb. He is satisfied with him. He gave him his heritage in front of the Great Ennead and all the gods are in joy. They say: How beautiful (nfr) is Teti, his father Geb is satisfied with him.”¹²

On the northern side of the sarcophagus:

Dd mdw in Nwt & t j rdj.n(.j) n.k snt.k Ast
nDr.s im.k dj.s n.k ib.k n Dt.k¹³

“Words spoken by Nut: Teti, I gave you your sister Isis, so that she could grasp you and give you the heart to (or of) your body.”

On the southern side of the sarcophagus:

Dd mdw in Nwt & t j rdj.n(.j) n.k snt.k Nbt-Hwt
nDr.s im.k dj.s n.k ib.k n Dt.k¹⁴

“Words spoken by Nut: Teti, I gave you your sister Nephthys, so that she could grasp you and give you the heart to (or of) your body.”¹⁵

The “giving of the heart” is connected with the characters of Isis and Nephthys. In later times the goddesses are usually depicted on the two sides of the coffin as Isis is situated at the feet and Nephthys - at the head¹⁶. We could find the same position in the description of the kings' birth in Pap. Westcar, where Isis, who gives help to the lying mother of future kings, stands opposite her, while Nephthys is behind her¹⁷. Another variant of the same idea is the goddess who is positioned at the feet of dead

¹⁰ Pyr. § 1a-b.

¹¹ Pyr. § 1c-d.

¹² Pyr. § 2a-c-3a.

¹³ Pyr. § 3b-c. n Dt could be interpreted as figurative expression for “own”, (lit. “related to the body”) – “and give you your own heart”- see Sander-Hansen 1956, 9.

¹⁴ Pyr. § 3d-e.

¹⁵ The phrase nDr . k im . k describes the characteristic gesture of laying the goddesses' hands over the body. The verb nDr has the meanings of “grasp, hold last, catch, arrest...” - Faulkner 1962, 145. Here a play of words can be found between the action nDr and the designation of the goddesses as mourners - Drt / Drtj. Roth suggests that Drtj can be derived from the dual of Drt - “hand”. These are the “two hands” which give help in the rebirth - Roth 1993, 66.

¹⁶ See for example Wilkinson 1996, 70-71.

¹⁷ rdj.in sj Ast Hr.s Nbt-Hwt H3 tp.s, Pap. Westcar. X, 7-8; 14-15; 22; Note the Old Kingdom conception that the sarcophagus is “the mother” of the deceased – see in more detail – Schott 1965 and example in Urk.I.204-205

in the coffin, or the sarcophagus, opposite his face and “looking” at him¹⁸. In the PT there are also statements that Isis stands in front of and Nephthys behind the king¹⁹. This evidence shows us that the procedure, in which the goddesses take part, re-enacts the birth or is perceived as a rebirth. In the orientation of the formulas on Teti's sarcophagus, Isis is on the northern, and Nephthys - on the southern side (i.e. the body was oriented with its head on the south). In the same way Isis and Nephthys assist the sunrise too, taking their stand on the two sides of the sun.

In the PT, Isis and Nephthys are connected with the HAt and Drt birds²⁰. From the images in the ancient Egyptian tombs, one or two female mourners are known, called Drt/Drtj²¹. There they are not designated with the goddesses' names, are often depicted around the sarcophagus and their preserved wooden models show the gesture of laying the hands (nDr) described in the texts²². The images of the mourners do not show the placement of the physical heart or an amulet over the body or any other similar actions.

In the kings' tombs after that of Teti, the “giving of the heart” still occurred in the texts but already not on the sarcophagus. In the studies where this formula is mentioned, one or another paragraph from the edition of PT are usually quoted, without any interdependence in the disposition of the formulas, which mention the giving of the heart to the deceased king, to be wanted. Teti's sarcophagus, however, shows such interdependence - Isis and Nephthys, the northern and southern direction, the idea of the sarcophagus as a model of the Nut-Geb universe²³.

Later, the formula of the “giving the heart” is a part of various spells in the PT. Few peculiarities make impression. Firstly, the word used for heart in it is ib²⁴. This is not by chance and as Piankoff's study dedicated to the heart²⁵ showed, in most of the cases the heart ib is identified with the consciousness, with the organ of thoughts and senses, while the heart-HAtj more often designates the physical heart, the anatomical organ. Secondly, the formula initially occurs only in the sarcophagus chamber and just in the last pyramid it appears outside it²⁶. There can be traced interdependence in the disposition of the formulas and their position inside the burial

¹⁸ See Roth 1992, 127.

¹⁹ Pyr. §§ 1089, 2099.

²⁰ Pyr. § 1255c-d; 1280b. About the different interpretations see also Griffiths 1980, 49-50.

²¹ Sethe suggests that since Nephthys is the Drt bird, the use of the dual Dr . t j to designate the two goddesses is probably *dualis a potiori*, Sethe 1935-62, I. 380.

²² The mourners are examined in the Wilson's work from 1944; all the images in relief and sculpture from the Old Kingdom are gathered and studied later by Fischer 1976. Altenmuller 1999 is the last who have studied the mourners, as he reckons that the origin of Isis and Nephthys comes from the epithets of the mourners, deriving from the functions the goddesses fulfil in the embalming process. According to him Isis is “Die von der Kopfstuetze” and Nephthys is “Herrin des Hauses” and they are related to their orientation to the head and feet of the funerary couch. Altenmuller also presumes that “Isis” and “Nephthys” are names of the goddesses' priestesses of Hathor and Neith.

²³ Isis and Nephthys are often associated with the four cardinal points, but in the Egyptological literature different opinions without any strong argumentation are often mentioned in regard to their correlation. In Teti's sarcophagus Isis is on the north and Nephthys is on the south. There can be found opinions, however, which associate Isis with the south and Nephthys with the north - Wilkinson 1994, 70-71 (in case the body is with head on the north and face on the east). The question of these associations of the goddesses has not been completely studied yet.

²⁴ With one exception in Pyr. § 2178 where HAtj is used.

²⁵ Piankoff 1930.

²⁶ Pyr. § 2097 (N) over the door in the northern part of the antechamber and Pyr. § 2178 (N) on the eastern wall of the so-called “Hall of waiting” along the corridor of the pyramid. While the texts in the first pyramids were disposed in the burial chamber and the antechamber, later they spread out along the corridor leading towards them as well.

chamber. In the tombs of Pepi, Merenre and Pepi II-Neferkare, the formula occurs in the central part of the west wall of the burial chamber²⁷ and respectively in the centre of the eastern wall of the same²⁸. And if these two uses differ from each other by form (in the first case the heart is given by Nut, while in the second Isis and Horus are mentioned), in the pyramid of Neferkare we can observe the same interdependence as on Teti's sarcophagus. On the southern wall (in the half-destroyed part) is Spell 638 (Pyr. § 1786), in which Nephthys is giving the heart, while on the northern wall, opposite the sarcophagus, is Spell 684 and its variants (Pyr. § 1892a, 1884-6), where Isis is giving the heart to the deceased. The formula has “removed” from the sarcophagus but it shows the same signs: Isis (north) and Nephthys (south) are giving the heart to the dead. Just like the sarcophagus, the burial chamber is a model of the universe too, (compare the images of stars on the ceiling) as its walls replace the two sides of the sarcophagus.

After the PT the formula of the “giving the heart” became a part of the liturgy in Spells 1-26 from the Coffin texts (CT). Finally, during the New Kingdom, the formula established itself as a separate chapter from the Book of the Dead - Chapter 26 for “giving of the heart”. Here except Nut, Isis and Nephthys, in the process take part also Anubis, Kebekhsenuf and Geb. Usually, on the sarcophagi sides, Kebekhsenuf “is giving” the heart to the dead. In some cases, however, the Old Kingdom practice is repeated. For example, on the stone sarcophagus of Siptah, which is *in situ* in the Valley of the Kings, Nephthys is depicted at the head of the body accompanied with the following inscription: *rdjt ib.k r st.f m Xrt-nTr Hr nHH* - “Giving your heart to its place in the necropolis for eternity”. From the time of New Kingdom on, this idea was connected with the placement of a heart amulet on the mummy. In the rubrics to Chapter 30b we come upon an interesting indication for the placement of the heart-scarab on the breast, which must be:

*rdj m Xnw HAtj n c irw n.f wpj-rA*²⁹
 “given in the interior of the heart-HAtj (or the breast) of man, for whom an
 “opening of the mouth” was done.”³⁰

The texts of the ritual of the opening of the mouth included the “giving of the heart”. In the 72nd scene of the ritual, the opening of the mouth is envisaged as receiving of the heart:

in Gb wnj rA.k
ib.k n.k HAtj.k

²⁷ Pyr. §§ 828; 835.

²⁸ Pyr. § 1640 for Merenre and Neferkare.

²⁹ Budge 1893, 343.

³⁰ The translation of Budge here is not completely precise: “within the heart of a person, where it would “open the mouth”; Allen 1974, 40 - translates the passage in imperative as “and perform for him...”. Here *irw n.f* should be taken rather as a participle or relative form *sDmw.n.f* (more probably a participle) and must be translated literally “...man, had been done for him “opening of the mouth”. For the “opening of the mouth” ritual - Baly 1930; Blackman 1924. The ritual was published by Otto 1960. During the ritual the heart of the slaughtered sacrificial bull is delivered. The bull here is an embodiment of the god Seth. Still from the time of Moret 1902, 82 (see also Matě 1947, 42), the offering, connected with the symbolism of the Eye of Horus, has been interpreted as bringing back of the soul=the Eye of Horus. Here Seth is the death, which had taken away the soul - “had swallowed the Eye”. In killing the bull and delivering its heart (the Eye of Horus), the priest brings back the soul in the body. Without being unreasonable, this interpretation should be examined in the light of a more detailed analysis of the Egyptian terms, except the indefinite one “soul”.

(var. in Gb wp.f rA.t
 ib.t n.t pr ib.w
 HAtj.t n.t pr HAtj.w)³¹
 It is Geb, who has opened your mouth,
 (That) your heart ib is for you, your heart-HAt j
 (var.: It is Geb who will open your mouth,
 that your heart-ib would belong to the house of the heart-ib
 that your heart- HAt j would belong to the house of the heart-HAt j)

In the tomb of Rekhmire (18th dynasty) the “opening of the mouth” ritual and the “giving of the heart” formula are also recorded as successive actions: “Spell for bringing heart-ib of an Akh for him, opening of the mouth, giving his Power (Sekhem) through the divine offerings.”³². The connection between them, however, can be found much earlier, still in the CT:

ink @r wpj rA.k hna PtH sAx tw hna +Hwtj
 dj(.j) n.k ib.k m-Xnw Xt.k sx3.k sxm.t n.k³³
 “I am Horus who opened your mouth together with Ptah,
 who made you Akh together with Thoth.
 I gave you your heart in your body,
 so that you can remember what you have already forgotten.”

In the same way, the heart must remember the transformations (xprw) of the sun in order to follow it: the King in the bark (in the cenotaph of Seti I) is saying to the Sun God: “My heart wants to remember your transformations (xprw) in order to be with you.”³⁴

From the example in Spell 62 of the CT we can see that the “opening of the mouth” precedes the “giving of the heart”. In other texts these ritual actions are also presented in the same way:

wn rA.k in PtH
 wp rA.k in %qr
 dj +Hwtj ib.k m Xt.k³⁵
 “Your mouth is opened by Ptah,
 your mouth is opened up by Sokar,
 Thoth is giving (or “in order to give”) your heart in your body.”

One of the few monuments describing the stages of the funerary ceremony, is the left-wing stela in the tomb of Djehwtj (Hatshepsut - Tuthmosis III):

“The beautiful funeral, it will come in peace.

³¹ Otto 1960, I. 189; II.163; here is mentioned the same expression as in Chapter 26 of the BD – “The Spell for giving the heart to man in the necropolis.” – the houses of the hearts. Compare with the texts in the tomb of Petosiris, where this formula is a part of invocation of the son, priest-wab, who opens the mouth of the deceased. The text in front of this formula is for the giving of the heart, Ka, Ba, and Sah by the four sons of Horus - Petosiris II, 61-62.

³² Moret 1902, 64; Champdor 1977, 136.

³³ CT.I.265.

³⁴ LdN.II.33=Roulin 1998, 1009, n. 17.

³⁵ Sandman 1946, 24*, No. 112.

Your 70 days will complete in your “wabet”,
 while you are being given to the stretcher in the house of relief.
 You are drawn by the white bulls; the way with milk is open,
 so that you can reach the entrance of your tomb.
 The children of your children, all together will cry with loving hearts.
 Your mouth is opened by the priest kherj-kheb,
 you are purified by the priest se(t)em.
 Horus measured your mouth for you,
 he opened for you your eyes and ears.
 The flesh (your), all your bones, are related to you.
 The spells “sahu” are said for you,
 “hetep di niswt” (the formula) is made for you.

ib.k m a.k wn-mAa
 HAtj.k n wnn.k tp tA
 ij.tj m qmA.k imj-HAt
 mj xrw ms.n.tw.k im.f³⁶
 Your heart-ib, real, belongs to you,
 your heart-HAti belongs to your existence on earth.
 You come in your previous shape (form),
 as in the day, in which you was born...”

The processes described here are several - opening of the mouth/eyes/ears, reviving of the body - the flesh belongs to man, the heart belongs to him (literally “is in his hand”). In result of these processes, the man is reborn. The picture from this stela intertwines with the text of the “*Grossestelentext*”, mostly known from its variant in the tomb of Paheri and from Chapter 26 of BD.

Key moments in the Egyptian notion of the heart represent Chapters 26 and 30b from the Book of the Dead. Chapter 26 corresponds to the ritual actions during the preparation of the mummy and the placement of the so-called “heart scarab” in the body or on the breasts of the deceased. This Chapter is entitled: rA n rdj.t ib n Wsir - “Spell for giving the heart-ib to Wsir”:

ib.j n.j m pr ib.w
 HAtj.j n.j m pr HAtj.w
 iw n.j ib.j Htp.f im³⁷
 “Let my heart-ib be with me in the house of the hearts-ib.
 Let my heart-HAti be with me in the house of the hearts-HAti.
 Let my heart-ib be with me and be satisfied there.”

On the vignette to the Chapter 26 in Papyrus of Ani are depicted the scribe Ani, holding with his left hand a necklace with a pectoral on which the bark of Re with the heart are pictured in the presence of the god Anubis. The heart, that Ani has received, is depicted in his right hand, representing the idea that he possesses his heart³⁸ (fig.

³⁶ Hermann 1940, 32*.

³⁷ Budge 1960, 437.

³⁸ Pap. Ani, pl.15.

1). In other variants of the same vignette the god Anubis gives the heart to the deceased, who is stretched his hands to receive it (fig.2).

The main purpose of Chapter 26 is to ensure the reviving of the dead and it connotes the idea that the heart is connected with the other organs of man's perceptions, an idea, which is well known from the Memphite Theology:

iw n.j rA.j mdw.j im.f rd.wj.j r sm.t a.wj.j r sxr
xftjw³⁹

“Let my mouth be with me, so that I can speak,
my feet - to walk, my hands - to overthrow the enemies.”

Finally, the dead receives the capacity to control his vital functions by getting back the heart:

rx.j m ib.j sxm.j m HAtj.j sxm.j m a.wj.j
sxm.j m rd.wj.j sxm.j m irj.t mrr.t kA.j⁴⁰

“I know my heart-ib, I have power in my heart-HAtj,
I have power in my hands, I have power in my feet,
I have power to do what my Ka desires.”

The same idea is presented in Chapter 30b:

ntk kA imj Xt.j \$nmw swDA at.j⁴¹

“You (the heart) are Ka in my body,
Khnum who unites my organs (limbs).”

As well as in Chapter 27 of BD:

hAb.f ib.f xntj Xt.f...sxm.f im.f ntf... sxm m at.f
Ds.f⁴²

“He (Thoth) sends his heart to control his body...
there is power in him...
he has power in his organs (limbs).”

This notion appears also in a number of other texts contemporary to BD and related to its ideas. One text from the tomb of Paheri in El-Kab from XVIIIth dynasty time says:

Dd.tw n.k ir.tj.kj r mAA
anh.wj.kj r sDm
Dd.t rA.k Hr md.t
rd.wj.k Hr smt
ib.k m-a.k n wn-mAa
hAtj.k n.k n imj-HAt
pr.k r pt wbA.k dwAt m xprw nb mr n.k⁴³

³⁹ Budge 1960, 438.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Budge 1960, 371.

⁴² Ibid., 452.

⁴³ Urk.IV.114-115.

“You are given to see your eyes,
 your ears to listen what is said,
 your mouth to speak, your feet to walk...
 Your real heart-*ib* is with you,
 your previous heart-*HAṯ j* is with you.
 You ascent to heaven,
 you open Duat in every manifestation that you want.”

The essence of the purpose of this passage is at its the beginning, preserved in the other variants too:

wHm.k anx m-xṯ mt⁴⁴
 “You repeat the life after death.”

Therefore, the “giving of the heart” is connected with the reviving of the dead and the capacity to regain his vital functions. In this connection the “giving of the heart” is related also with the giving of the eyes and mouth, especially in the later texts. In the BD, these processes are described in Chapters 21-23: Spells for giving NN’s mouth to him in the necropolis and the Spell for opening NN’s mouth for him in the necropolis.

In the Litany of Re this relationship also occurs:

hj Ra dj.k n.j ir.tj.j
 dj.k n.j nTr.tj.j
 sSm.sn wj
 hj Ra dj.k ib n njswt NN n.f⁴⁵
 “Hail Re, give my two eyes to me,
 give my two divine eyes to me,
 (so that) they lead me.
 Hail Re, give the heart of king NN to him.”⁴⁶

The “giving of the heart” occurs in the Book of the Caverns⁴⁷ too, as in the XXIst dynasty, depictions of the giving the eyes and heart⁴⁸ also appeared. These images show the identification of the process of getting back the heart, the eyes and the mouth with the restoring of their corresponding functions of seeing, hearing and speaking, i.e. what is described in Paheri's text and the stela of Djehuti.

The “giving of the heart” is a part of the temple ritual as well, where the heart is being “given” to the god (his statue). The formula appears in the ritual of Amun⁴⁹, deified king Amenhotep I⁵⁰ and shares its common origin with the funeral service. Interesting evidence for satisfying the heart occurs in the temple inscriptions. In relation to the temple at Luxor the following is said:

⁴⁴ Urk.IV. 496.

⁴⁵ Hornung 1975, 134-135.

⁴⁶ The text here is a combination from the earlier version, which is in the 1st person singular, and the later ones, since part of the text from the tomb of Tuthmosis III is damaged. It should be reconstructed as *ib.j n.j* “(give you) my heart to me.”

⁴⁷ Piankoff 1942-1947, 53, 2.

⁴⁸ Seeber 1970, 93 ff.

⁴⁹ Moret 1902, 63.

⁵⁰ Jacobson 1955, 42, 48; Nelson 1949, 211 (Episode VII).

st-ib pw n nb nTrw Htp ib.f im.s⁵¹
 “This is the place of the heart of the Lord of the gods,
 (where) his heart rests (unites) in it (the place).”

In the description of the sunrise or sunset in the temple at Dendera, it is said about Re that: “He traverses the sky with a joyful heart. His heart satisfies in the flesh of his body (Htp ib.f m Dt Xt.f)”⁵². The determinatives of the words Dt “flesh” and Xt “body” here are written with the sign of the sun disk. This means that in the sunrise his heart ib unites with his flesh in his body, which is his sun disk, or the divine consciousness fulfils the shape (form), in which he exists.

We have at our disposal one interesting vignette to Chapter 26 of BD from the tomb of Inkherkhau (TT 359)⁵³, where Anubis (or a priest with the mask of Anubis) presents with his two hands the heart to the mouth and nose of the standing mummy⁵⁴ (fig.3). This illustrates that the procedure is performed over the already prepared mummy. The numerous examples of analogy between the “giving of the heart” and the “opening of the mouth” show that the word here is about the reviving of the body, retrieving of the vital functions, of the perceptions and the control (through the heart) over them.

On the other hand, the giving back of the heart is a restoration of the memory or it is a matter of returning the human consciousness in the mummified body or in the statue. That is why it is not by chance that the word used for giving back of the heart is ib and very rarely HAtj. While HAtj tends to designate the physical heart, the anatomical organ, ib defines the consciousness, the memory, the conscience, the perceptions. For that reason the physical heart was not taken out and respectively “given” back. But, as we shall see later when the heart-ib is not present, the heart-HAtj is lacking too, i.e. the physical appearance of the heart. Naturally, in the New Kingdom the procedure of giving back of the heart-consciousness was performed with the help of the heart amulet and its placement on the body. Then the amulet will be the temporary receptacle of the “consciousness”-heart, while the mouth of the mummy/image must be “opened” in order to enable it to return without hindrance. This returning is the rebirth of the deceased.

The “giving of the heart” is connected also with the returning of Ba in the corpse/statue. Still in one of the variants of the formula in the PT, the “giving of the heart” is related to the fact that Ba sojourns “inside” the deceased⁵⁵:

rdj(w) n.k ib.k m Xt.k
 Hr.k m c3b iw.f.k m Itm
 bA.k m-Xnw.k sxm.k HA.k
 Ist tp-awj.k Nb.t-Hwt m-xt.k⁵⁶
 “Your heart-ib is given to you in your body.
 Your face is that of a jackal, your flesh is that of Atum.
 Your Ba is inside you, your power Sekhem is around you.
 Isis is in front of you, Nephthys is behind you.”⁵⁷

⁵¹ Urk.IV. 1691.

⁵² Brugsch 1883-1896, I, 55.

⁵³ Saleh 1984, 25.

⁵⁴ This image can be compared with the similar one for the opening of the mouth from the same tomb.

⁵⁵ See also Piankoff 1930, 54-56.

⁵⁶ Pyr.§ 2098 a-b.

On the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre we find a variant of the above stated text:

Ts qs.wt m Itm
sbj m-xt Ax.t(w).f
ij Wsir NN mjn m Iwnw
rdjt n.s ib.s
m Xt.s Hr.s m sbA
iwf.s m bja
bA.s m-Xnw.s
sxm.s HA.s⁵⁸

“The bones of Atum are united,
who went away after he was made Akh.
She is coming, Wsir NN, from Heliopolis now.
Her heart is given to her in her body.
Her face is like a jackal, her flesh is from copper.
Her Ba is inside her.
Her Sekhem is behind her.”

In Funeral Papyrus Rhind the “giving of the heart” and the reviving of the body are the necessary conditions for Ba to go out and return back:

smn.Tn n.f ib.f m Xt.f
wn.Tn n.f irt.f
wp.Tn n.f rA.f ss.tn n.f Srtj.f
rwD.tn n.f iw a.f m wn mAat
dj.Tn prj bA.f r pt r bw mr.f nn Sna iwt.f r tA mr.f
imj ir.f xprw nb r Dr ib.f
m bw nb mr kA.f im⁵⁹

“You (gods), make firm for him his heart in his body,
open his eye for him,
open his mouth for him,
open up his nostrils for him,
make firm his flesh for him like you did before.
Give his Ba to come out towards heaven in a place, which it desires,
without being detained his coming to the earth, which it desires,
Cause him/it to make every transformation of his
in accordance with his heart, in every place,
which his Ka desires (to be) there.”

An interesting example from Basaenmut's sarcophagus allows mwt and Dt to be considered not as a genitive, as they have been usually translated, but as a dative. This can be inferred from the parallel formula with bA and XAt:

⁵⁷ The possessing of a heart is connected with the presence of Ba/Akh: “Your Ba is for you (belongs to you) around you, your Akh is for you inside you, your heart-ib is for you in your body (Dt).” - Pyr.§ 2228a-b, and the variant “Your Akh for you is in you, your Ba for you is around you, your heart for you is for your body (belongs to) - Pyr. § 1921d-e.

⁵⁸ Anchnesneferibre 20-23 = Sander-Hansen 1937, 15.

⁵⁹ Pap. Rhind I. X.3-5 = Möller 1913, 44-46.

dj(.j) n.k ib.k n mwt.k
 HAtj.k n Dt.k
 bA r pt XAt r d3t⁶⁰
 “I (Geb) give to you,
 the heart-ib of your mother,
 the heart-HAtj of your body,
 Ba is (belongs) to heaven,
 The corpse is (belongs) to Duat.”

The structure consists of two symmetric pairs whose elements are opposed to each other - ib-HAtj, bA-XAt. Geb do not give “the heart-ib, which belongs to your mother”, but gives the heart-ib of the dead to his mother - the sky goddess. Just like he “gives” Ba to heaven, in the same way he gives the heart-HAtj and the corpse to Duat. Here we can compare the giving of the heart-HAtj with the corpse with the placement of the heart amulet in the mummy.

In other words, we observe here a process expressed in two parallel realities - 1. ib is given to Nut = Ba goes to heaven, which are actions in the realm of the supernatural and 2. the heart amulet is given = the body is buried in Duat/the Tomb, which is a ritual action in the realm of the natural perception. Naturally, this explanation is only one possibility. The later text can modify the initial meanings of these formulas, combining them in a single one, only because of their external symmetry. This formula is a part of Chapter 169 from BD⁶¹.

This fragment has its prototype still in the CT, Spell 20, which is a part of the liturgy for reviving of the body:

rdj.n.j n.k ib.k n mwt.k HAtj.k n Dt.k
 bA.k Hr(j) t3 X3t.k Hr.t sATw⁶²
 “I gave to you your heart-ib of your mother,
 your heart-HAtj of your body,
 your Ba is on the earth (tA), your Corpse is on the earth (sATw).”⁶³

Here both Ba and the Corpse are connected with the earth and we can look for a parallel between the returning of Ba and the “giving of the heart”⁶⁴.

Ba is presented as an agent who returns the heart to a man. Two examples from the Coffin texts describe that the Ba must have a heart, or the memory to recognise his body and its existence depends on the heart:

ib n bA.k sxA.f XAt.k⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Coffin BM.22940 = Budge 1910, 276.

⁶¹ Allen 1974, 176. About its ritual context see Assmann 1984, 288. The spell is a part of the night watch and wailing of the dead and is just a shortened variant of the liturgy from CT; CT.I. Spells 1-26. The tomb of Nefertotep (TT 50), which Assmann analyses, contains a festival calendar of the ceremonies performed in the tombs. For 8 days twice a year, the burial chamber was being opened for the performance of the rituals related to the funerary couch (Hnkjt) - Chapter 169 from BD and the figure of Osiris with the growing grain (*Kornosiris*), compare with Plato, Phaedrus. 276b.

⁶² CT.I.56c-d.

⁶³ Compare with Faulkner's translation 1973-1978, I, 11-12.

⁶⁴ In one of the variants, BH5C, instead of “mother”, Xt “body, womb” occurs thus emphasizing the symmetry ib-HAtj, Xt-Dt and bA-XAt, tA-sATw.

⁶⁵ CT.I.182.

“Your heart-*ib* belongs to your Ba,
that it (Ba) could remember your corpse.”

wnn wnnt bA.k wn ib.k Hna.k ⁶⁶

“Your Ba will exist only if your heart-*ib* is with you.”

In the vignette of Chapter 26 from the Turin papyrus - containing Iuefankh's BD, the man, who is holding his heart in one hand, is depicted opposite Ba⁶⁷. The same is the vignette in papyrus BM 10086 of the priestess Ta-Imen-iw, which is from the Ptolemaic period⁶⁸ (fig.4). In the vignette to papyrus Rhind I, the goddess Nut is pictured in the sarcophagus embracing the deceased, while over the sarcophagus Ba is descending. The inscription that accompanies the image of Nut says:

*nA sSw n tA Nwt, ntj Xnw n tA DbAjt ij.tj m Htm
iw DbAjt.k st ib.k pw n Dt*⁶⁹

“Inscriptions for this Nut who is in the sarcophagus:

Hail to you, who are in your sarcophagus,
it is the place of your heart for eternity.”

The goddess continues: “My arms are open to embrace your flesh,
I protect your body, shelter your mummy, revive your Ba forever.”⁷⁰

The terminology, which is used to describe the condition of the heart at his giving, is also of interest. In Chapter 26 from BD, it is said that the heart is *Htp* - “satisfied”. This verb is usually translated as “calm”, “satisfy”, “be pleased”, “rest”, and when it is used in a combination with *ib*, it is interpreted as “enjoy”, as an emotional condition of the heart in general⁷¹. However, in the same way it is also used in expressions like “rest in life” = to set, concerning the Sun God⁷². Good example of the meaning of the verb is in well known scene from the tomb of Nefertari, depicting the union of Re with Osiris in one figure with ram's head, crowned with sun-disc, usual form of nocturnal sun. The inscription from the one side reads: “It is Re, who is united with Osiris”, and on the opposite: “It is Osiris, who is united with Re”⁷³. So the expression that heart-*ib* is *Htp* in cases where the “giving of the heart” is meant must be thought not as description of state of joy and satisfaction, but as statement that heart-mind is returned back, and is united with the image, or earthly form of the person.

From all that has been stated, it becomes clear that the “giving of the heart” represents the returning of the consciousness in the body and its reviving. This process is performed in the bosom of the sky goddess Nut who is also the mother of the dead. Initially, the formula was connected with Isis and Nephthys as mourners of

⁶⁶ CT.I.197.

⁶⁷ Lepsius 1842, Taf. XV.

⁶⁸ Faulkner 1990, 52.

⁶⁹ Pap. Rhind.I.XI.4 = Möller 1913,48 and Taf.11.

⁷⁰ Pap. Rhind.I.XI.5 = Möller 1913,48-50.

⁷¹ Wb.III. 188-192; Faulkner 1962, 179-180.

⁷² In detail about the sun movement across the sky see Sethe 1928. Some authors translate the expression as “to rest from life”, i.e. from the daily activity, but it could be interpret also as “to be united with life (source)”, since the gods in their realm are the true holders of life, and source of life is Akhet, where the sun sets. The same trend of thought could be seen in designations as *nb-anx* – “master of life” for sarcophagus (entirely different from the Greek etymology of the word – “flesh eater” with which we are accustomed).

⁷³ See inter al. Hornung 1982, 94-95.

the deceased, who “were giving” the heart. This process was similar to their function during the childbirth, where the goddesses gave help to the lying-in woman⁷⁴. Afterwards the circle of deities who “give the heart” grew bigger (Anubis, Kebekhsenuf etc.). In the New Kingdom this idea is the basis of both the practice of a placement of a heart-scarab on the mummy and the ritual actions of opening of the mouth performed in relation to this procedure, but it is never linked with the supposed practice that anatomical heart has been removed from the corpse and replaced by stone one.

We could find approbation of this statement in the opposite expression – not “giving of the heart”, but “separation of the heart.” In some Egyptian texts, the heart is represented as a separate entity from the person, another self, independent from the human being⁷⁵. Gods and humans can speak with their own hearts⁷⁶. The process of “externalisation”, as it is called by Žabkar, has received his full form in the Chapter 30b of BD, the scene of Judgement, where the heart is independent from the man, even dangerous as a witness to his ex-owner. As a separate entity, the heart could leave the person’s body. This could happen in moments of great fear and confusion. Such is the case described in the Story of Sinuhe. The state of fear is so overwhelming that it can be compared with death:

bA.j sb.w Haw.j Ad.w
 HAt.j.j n ntf m Xt.j
 rx.j anx r mt⁷⁷

“My Ba was disappeared, my flesh was fallen apart.
 My heart-HAt.j, it is not in my body,
 and I can’t distinguish (lit. don’t know) the life from death.”

This is very important example for understanding of the process of the “disappearance of the heart”. Absence of the heart in human body leads to looseness of the integrity of the human person itself. The “flesh”, i.e. different parts of the body, would remain without control, Ba could leave the bodily form. This is the process of death. So, the man loses his heart in death, why it was so important in searching for immortality that his heart has to be returned to him back. This passage shows us, that the living person has Ba (on the contrary of the opinion of Žabkar⁷⁸), and the disappearance of the Ba is linked with the absence of the heart. Ba, as the heart, also could leave the body under certain psycho-physic states of mind. In a text of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, dedicated to the defeat of the sea-people, the tribes

⁷⁴ The heart is connected with the process of begetting and bearing, although these functions have not been completely clarified yet. Some time ago D. Mueller showed that according to the Egyptians, “the begetting” was accomplished through uniting the hearts of both the man and the woman - Mueller 1966. Additional, and very important example to his collection is a passage in the Second Stela of Kamose, where the situation before battle is described by the words of the king: “The women of Avaris will not conceive, for their hearts will not open in their bodies when the battle-cry of my army is heard” – Habachi 1972, 32-33. (The word for women – Hm.wt is printed in transliteration erroneously as Hmt.w, if it is masculine.)

⁷⁵ Spiegelberg 1931; Žabkar 1965, 84.

⁷⁶ Edfou VI.66,11 and the famous Shipwrecked Sailor who speak with his heart as his only companion – Sh.S.42.

⁷⁷ Sin.B 255.

⁷⁸ Žabkar 1968 and later in LÄ.I. (1975), 588-590; The living person has a Ba, but it can’t be seen, or perceived as something separate from the bodily form of a man. Only after death, the Ba becomes a new, transformed form of existence in Afterlife. On the link between heart and Ba see also explanation by P.Wilson 1995

that attacked Egypt are described in this manner: “their hearts (ib) are taken, their Ba is flown”⁷⁹

The same image is used in another inscription of the same king for a battle with Libyans: “As for the Western countries, their Ba is flown”⁸⁰.

One more example for the presence of the Ba in a human, prior to the death is from the scribal texts of the New Kingdom. There, the future scribe is advised that the drinking is something bad:

Hnq.t rwj.f m rmT dj.f pAj.k bA Hr nxtjw tw.k mj wsrw
gAwAs m wjA iw bw sDm.f Hr rw iAt nb.t tw.k mj kAr Sw
m nTr.f mj pr Sw m t⁸¹

“Beer make him cease being a man. It cause your Ba to wander, and you are crooked steering-oar in a boat that obeys on neither side (the steering-oars are from the both sides of the boat), you are like a shrine void of its god, like a house void of bread.”

One could reach the conclusion that the Ba is the agent of movement of the mind and could carry with him the heart, or the consciousness of the man.

In a text of Longing for Memphis is depicted a situation comparable with the Story of Sinuhe. The heart (ib) is gone forth, and it has gone downstream that it may see Memphis. The man is longing for his favorite place and he is saying: “No task can I accomplish as my heart (HAtj) is sundered from its place (HAtj.j tfj Hr st.f)”. Finally, almost the same expression that we already met in Sinuhe B 255 occur (H3tj.j nn sw m Xt.j):

wrS.j iw ib.j nma(.w)
HAtj.j nn sw m Xt.j
awt.j nb Taj.w Dww
irt.j bdS m nw
tAj.j msDr.t? bw mH (st)
xrw xnr(.w) mdt(.j) (nb.t) pna⁸²
“I spend the day, while my heart-ib is asleep,
my heart-HAtj, it is not in my body.
All my limbs, they have taken evil,
my eye is faint through looking,
my ear hears not,
my voice is hoarse,

⁷⁹ KRI.V.32. 9-10 = Medinet Habu I, (OIP.VIII.1930), Pl.37, l.15-16.

⁸⁰ KRI.V.57 = Medinet Habu II, Pl.79, l.10; In the Otherworld, Ba could be taken away from the person, and a special spell protects from this danger - BD.61.

⁸¹ pap.Anastasi IV, 11, 9-11 = LEM. 47 = Caminos 1954, 182.

⁸² pap.Anastasi IV, 5, 3-5 = LEM.39, 13-15 = Caminos 1954, 150-152; The text is corrupt and some words are written differently in unusual way. The verb nma, as is transcribed by Gardiner - Wb.II.266, is written: n pr mt, and one could translate this as: “my heart is (in) the house of death”. The verb nma also gives the sense of the death, not only “to sleep”, as is seen by the expression ntj nma – “dead (lit. who is asleep)”; Dww is written Dww-iAw-wAw – cf. Wb.V.549,22; Caminos translates the first sentence: “I crave for sleep all the time”, inserting r after iw ib.j. I prefer to translate this passage literally: “I spend the day, while my heart-ib is asleep.”

all my words are turned.”

After the disappearance of the heart, the whole complex of human perception is interrupted – the eyes can't see properly, the ears can't hear, and every limb is pervaded by evil, because the heart is the center who commands the process of perception, and controls every limb in the body. Such a description is also comparable with that of the document of Memphis Theology, where the heart enables the organs of perception to do their functions⁸³. The described situation in the Longing for Memphis is very close to the state of actual death. In a magical text the death is perceived as the abandonment of the heart-HAt j from the body of a demon⁸⁴. The state of sleep, the dream, could also be compared with the death, and death is often described as sleeping⁸⁵. One of the examples shows that the heart moves in a process of sleep. In the Instruction of king Amenemhet I to his son, the king says:

sDr.kwj Hr Hnkjt.j bAgA.n.j
SAa n.j HAtj.j Sms qd.j⁸⁶

“(I was taking an hour of rest), lying on my bed, for I was weary.
And my heart-HAt j began to follow for me my sleep.”

Notable is the constant use of the word for heart – HAt j in both cases, Sinuhe and the New Kingdom example of the Longing. Here, we could catch the one of the differences between two words for heart – heart-HAt j in these examples is more like some sort of designation for the functions of the physical heart, than the word for physical heart itself. In medical texts the heart-HAt j could be in “his right place”, but also could depart (rwj . t) in certain state of illness⁸⁷. These examples do not observe *in visu* the real position of the physical heart in the chest, as the modern medicine is capable to do, they reflect the presence of the heart, expressed by his function, pulse or other symptoms.

Interesting is the example of absence of the heart in the texts of the game *senet*, the so-called “*Grosse Brettspieltext*”. Here is described the mental state of the player and his divine counterpart:

HAtj.j wHa(.w) nn mhj.n.f ib.j wn-Hr sSm (var.mtj)
Hba.f r.j msj.j ib.w.f
Dbaw.fj txtx(.w) HAtj.f rwj.f sw Hr st.f xm.f r
wSb.t.f⁸⁸

“My heart-HAt j is capable (is returned back?)
it will not forget my heart-ib, skilled and guiding (var. precisely),
he plays (other player) against me, and I move his figures,
his fingers move disorderly, his heart-HAt j, let it leave him from his place,
let it doesn't know more than what it has been asked.”

⁸³ Better understanding of the process could be obtained if we examine the texts, which describe the old age. See for example the Teaching of Ptahhotep – Pt.8-27, where the sage says: “the strength is vanished, my heart-ib is tired”, and eyes, ears, mouth, etc. can't do their function anymore.

⁸⁴ pap.Leiden 343, vs. 5,11.

⁸⁵ Sander-Hansen 1942, 12-14.

⁸⁶ Helck 1969, 40-41 (Vic-d).

⁸⁷ Eb.101,15; 101,12.18; Grapow 1954, 68.

⁸⁸ Pusch 1979, 395-396.

Although the relation between the two hearts is not very clear, this passage gives us an impression that the heart-HAtj acts according to the deeper principle – the heart-ib. The two words are in a mutual relation, the heart-HAtj is a *result*, the heart-ib – the *reason*, or *vice-versa*. The same interdependence is expressed in medical texts. In most of the cases the conditions of illness is presented by an abundance of expressions with the heart-ib – “as for the so-and-so state of the heart-ib, it means that the heart-HAtj....”. For example: “As for the *amed* of heart-ib. It means that the heart-HAtj can’t speak to the veins.”⁸⁹ Our modern terms of anatomy and understanding of the physiological processes in human body do not fit to the ancient notion of human nature. The attempts to explain ancient terms with modern ones are destined to fail. The separation of the heart, his absence in the human body is a image in a way of thinking, who reflects multi-leveled nature of man, not only visible, but also different invisible aspects of this nature too, and the relation of this levels in the hole composite of person. So, in this life, the man can lose his heart, the core of his person, which controls all of the limbs in the body, the center of perception and cognition, and fall in a state of disorder, frustration, very close to the death. After the physical death, the heart must be given to man, otherwise he will meet the “second” death, or the separation of the heart is a real danger for the existence of the man in the Afterlife. For this reason, he wants to bring it back again and controls it, as the Egyptian prays:

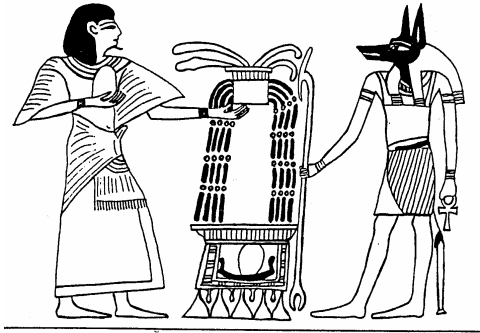
i ib.j ink nb.k n wA.k r.j ra nb [...] n.j ib.j Ds.j
iw.k (m) XAt.j nn rqj.k r.j r.j ⁹⁰

“O, my heart-ib, I am your master, do not be far from me every day ...for me, my own heart-ib. You are in my body (corpse), don’t be turned aside from me, from me.”

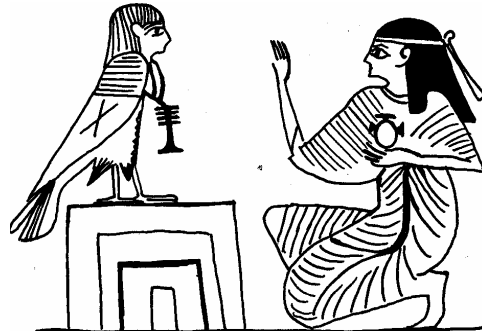
⁸⁹ Eb. 100, 14-16 (855e).

⁹⁰ Louvre 3148, V.1.

List of Figures



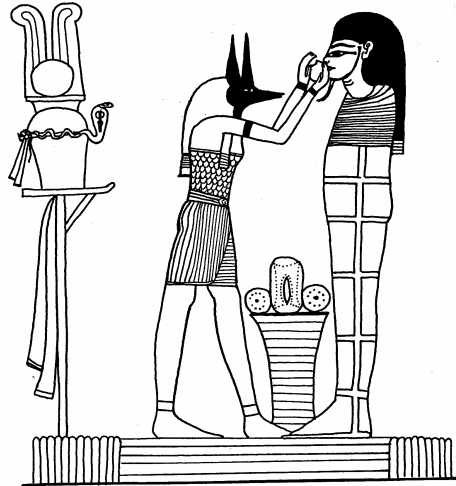
**Fig.1. Vignette to the Chapter 26 of BD –
pap.Ani, Pl. XV**



**Fig.3. Vignette to the Chapter 26 of BD –
pap.BM EA 10086**



**Fig.2. Vignette to the Chapter 26 of BD –
pap.BM EA 9900 (Nebseni)**



**Fig.4. Scene from the tomb of Inkherkhau
(TT.359) with the Chapter 26 of BD**

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