

ENTERING THE HOUSE OF HEARTS: AN ADDITION TO CHAPTER 151 IN THE BOOK OF THE DEAD OF QENNA

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The Book of the Dead of the merchant Qenna in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (Cat. T 2; Inv. SR)¹ contains an interesting passage which, as far as I am aware, has so far escaped scholarly attention. It forms part of Chapter 151, a group of texts inscribed within a large vignette representing the burial chamber with the mummy of the deceased being attended to by Anubis, surrounded by kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys, two shabtis, the four Sons of Horus, the four sacred symbols belonging to the so-called 'magical bricks', and two *Ba*-birds adorning the rising and the setting sun (Pl. 1.1). The passage in question is attached to the end of the speech of Anubis, BD 151a in Naville's edition². Although Naville incorporated Qenna's version of Chapter 151 in his edition (ms. *La*)³, he omitted the last six columns of 151a, perhaps because they do not occur in any of the other manuscripts he utilized. Another reason may have been that these columns are partly damaged and appear as such in Leemans' facsimile, the galley proofs of which, rather than the original papyrus, were used by Naville for his edition. Whatever prompted him to exclude these lines, their omission is probably the main reason why they are also lacking from all known translations of the Book of the Dead.

Chapter 151a occupies the central area of the vignette, above the shrine with Anubis and the mummy. In the papyrus of Qenna this area contains 28 columns of text

(fig. 1). Cols. 1-19 contain the text of Ch. 151a found in Naville's edition; it is immediately followed by the 'new' text in cols. 19-24. Col. 25 begins with a cross in red ink indicating that the text which follows has been carried over from elsewhere, in this case from the speech of Isis (BD 151b) inscribed directly underneath it, to the left of Anubis and the mummy, where the scribe had run out of space⁴. The last sign of the latter passage appears at the top of col. 27; the remainder of this col. and col. 28 are blank. Several signs in cols. 19-24 have been affected by abrasion of the surface of the papyrus and some have disappeared almost completely. In addition to this, a dark blackish brown stain, probably caused by the resin or bitumen used during Qenna's mummification, hampers the reading of the signs at the beginning of cols. 22-24. The text presented here (fig. 2, Pl. 1.2) was established after repeated collation of an excellent photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden and of the original in Leiden⁵.

Before we enter into a discussion of this text it seems advisable to give a running translation, without commentary, of the whole of BD 151a⁶ as it appears in Qenna's Book of the Dead, including the additional text at the end:

'Words spoken by Anubis, Foremost of the God's Funerary Booth, whose hands are upon the mummy (of Qenna), providing him with what belongs to him:

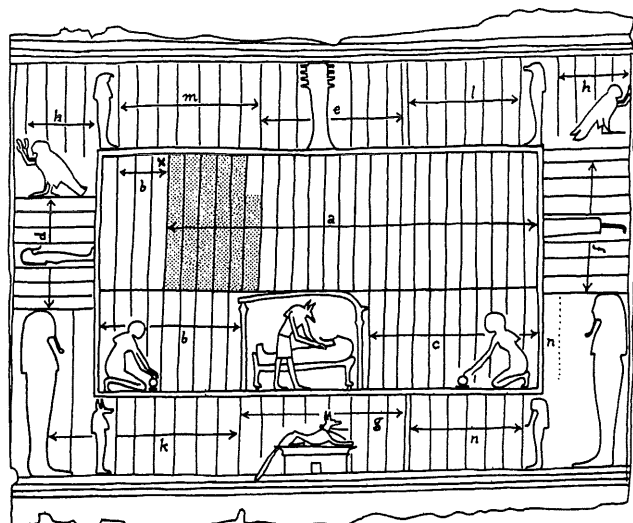


Fig. 1. Diagram of BD 151 [Qenna], showing the position of various sections, with the 'new' text marked in grey.

1. Leemans 1882.
2. Naville 1886, Bd. II, 426-427.
3. Naville 1886, Einleitung, 91-92.
4. One of the many indications that the texts in Qenna's Book of the Dead were added after the vignettes had been drawn, as was already noted by Leemans.
5. My thanks are due to both Prof. Dr H. D. Schneider and Dr M. J. Raven for their kind cooperation, and to Ms E. Temmingh, a student in the Dept. of Theology, Groningen University, who is preparing a paper on BD 151 and who lent me the photograph. Recently published small-scale photographs may be found in Schneider/Raven 1981, 116; Raven 1982, 30; Schneider 1987, 29 fig. 1-f; Raven 1992, 36; the latter two are in colour.
6. The numbering system employed in various editions of this chapter is somewhat confusing. Naville's 151a is sometimes omitted from the group of texts assembled in the vignette of Ch. 151; in some mss. the text of 151a is wholly or partially incorporated into that of a separate spell, Ch. 151B. The texts of the magical bricks (151d-g) are abbreviated versions of parts of Ch. 137A; the spell belonging to the two shabtis (151i; omitted from Qenna) is identical to Ch. 6.

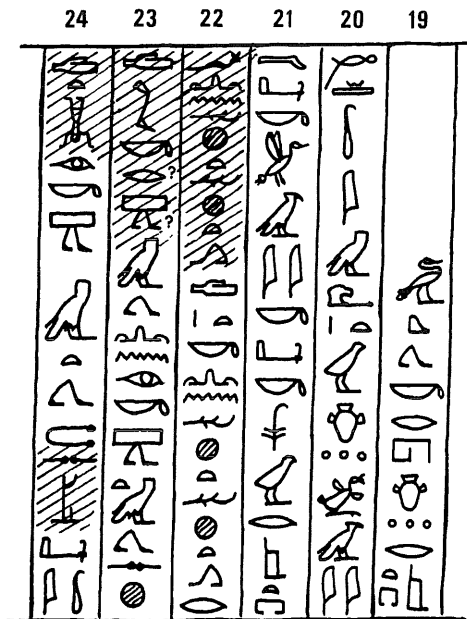


Fig. 2. BD 151a [Qenna], transcription of cols. 19-24.

"Hail to you, kindly of countenance, possessor of eye-sight, whom Ptah-Sokar has knitted together and Anubis has set upright, to whom Shu has given support, kindly of countenance among the gods! Your right eye is the night bark, your left eye is the day bark, your eyebrows are the Ennead, the top of your head is Anubis, the back of your head is the (divine) Falcon, your fingers are Thoth, your side-lock is Ptah-Sokar."

"You (i.e. Anubis) are in front of the merchant Qenna, justified; through you he is able to see. You lead him to the goodly roads, you smite for him the gang of Seth, you overthrow for him his enemies underneath him in the presence of the Ennead in the Great Chapel of the Prince in Heliopolis, where he will assume the Upper Egyptian crown of Horus, Lord of the *Pat*-people."



"You will enter the House of Hearts, the place which is full of hearts; you will take the one that is yours and put it in its place without your hand being hindered. Your foot will not be prevented 'from walking' (?), you will not walk upside down, you will walk upright!"



7. Černý 1973, 135.

8. Bruyère 1928, 92-93 with fig. 61; Kitchen 1975, 370: 16 - 371: 1; cf. Barta 1968, 169 (Bitte 168, b).






9. Hari 1985, 49, Pl. XXXIV, cols. 135-139, see also Pls. LXXII (Hoskins' copy, 1860/61) and LXXIII (photograph).

10. Cf. BD 172, col. 31 (Nebseny).

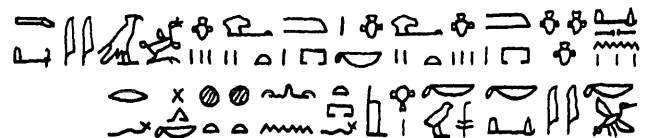
11. For  read .

12. Hari gives , but Hoskins' copy suggests the reading .

13. The last group is obscure and possibly corrupt: Hari's reading differs from Hoskins'. Cf. J.-C. Goyon's suggestion *apud* Hari 1985, 49 n. 67.

Some textual notes to the final section: col. 19:  stands for , cf. 151n, col. 5:  *pr.k*; col. 21:  = ; col. 23: the signs following *rd.k* are almost completely illegible and the reading *r šm(t)* remains uncertain; at any rate, the expected fem. ending *-t* after *šm* is lacking.

It is not my intention here to provide a detailed commentary on this interesting passage. Two parallels are known to me, both roughly contemporary with Qenna (see discussion below). One of these occurs in an offering formula in the Deir el-Medîna tomb of Baki (TT 298), who lived during the reigns of Horemheb and Seti I: 'An offering which the King gives (to) Hathor, who presides over the necropolis and Isis the Great, the god's mother, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands, that they may give



hearts in the House of Hearts and your heart in the house of hearts, that you may take the one that is yours and put it in its place without your being turned away from it, for the *Ka* of the Osiris ... Baki'⁸. As in Qenna's Book of the Dead, this text is associated with a representation of Anubis attending the mummy of the deceased on a bier flanked by Isis and Nephthys. The other parallel is found in the Theban tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50)⁹, which is dated by an inscription of Year 3 of Horemheb. Here the text forms the end of a 'spell for binding wreaths' to be read on the Feast of the 25th day of Khoiak: two further copies of this spell are known, but neither has the ending found in Neferhotep. The text appears to be corrupt and the modern publication is unreliable; the following translation is tentative: 'One cuts off the foreleg for your *Ka* and the heart for your mummy¹⁰, as is done for any god and any goddess. To your *Ka*, for they are pure! Then you will enter the House of Hearts¹¹, the house (?)¹² which is full of hearts, and you will take the one that is yours and put it in its place. You will not be turned away from it ...'¹³.

The 'House of Hearts' is also mentioned in BD 26, a 'spell for giving N's heart to him in the necropolis' in which the deceased proclaims: 'I have my heart (*ib*) in the House of Hearts (*pr ibw*). I have my heart (*h3ty*) in the house of hearts (*pr h3tyw*)'. De Buck once commented on this passage: 'The house of hearts in which his heart is located (or perhaps: from where it comes) is

unknown to us from elsewhere'¹⁴; even he was obviously unaware of the passage in the Book of the Dead of Qenna. When the deceased has been resurrected he goes to the House of Hearts where he selects his own heart from the many hearts kept there (*mḥ.ti m lbw*) and puts it back into its place. The idea of returning the heart to its place in the body is also found in a funerary text which was later (?) incorporated in the daily Temple Ritual, a spell entitled 'Bringing the heart of the Blessed Spirit to him, opening his mouth and giving him power over the divine offerings' which begins as follows: 'I bring to you your heart in your body and I put it in its place, even as the heart of Horus was brought by his mother Isis, even as the heart of Isis was brought by her son Horus'¹⁵. Here it is the funerary priest who puts the deceased's heart back into its place.

At first sight it may seem surprising to learn that the heart of the deceased needs to be put back into his body at all, seeing as the heart was the only organ which was not removed during mummification, but left in its place inside the mummy. Perhaps returning the heart to its owner should be interpreted as restoring its function, i.e. making it beat again after it had stopped doing so at death. On the other hand, the heart plays a vital role during the judgement of the deceased before the throne of Osiris, and in the well-known vignette of BD 125 which depicts this event the heart of the deceased is shown outside his body, i.e. in the scales in which it is weighed against *m3't*. In the Twenty-first Dynasty this vignette is often expanded by a scene showing the deceased carrying his heart (and his eyes) in his hand, and C. Seeber has convincingly argued that this is the deceased *after* he has been vindicated¹⁶. Texts ranging from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period stress that his heart is then given back to him and put back 'in its place' (*r st.f*)¹⁷ or 'in his body' (*m ht.f*). The restoration of the heart takes place after the deceased has successfully passed the judgement, when eternal life in the hereafter has been granted to him.

This interpretation agrees very well with the text in the Book of the Dead of Qenna. Chapter 151a is here divided into three sections which in fact amount to a dialogue between Anubis and the deceased. In the first section Anubis addresses the resurrected Qenna and proclaims his deification. The second section is in the third person, but may be interpreted as words addressed by Qenna himself to Anubis¹⁸; as in the judgement scene of BD 125, Anubis acts as *psychopompos*, leading the deceased on the 'goodly roads' into the presence of the Ennead in the Great Chapel of the Prince in Heliopolis, where he is vindicated against his enemies. The third section is addressed to Qenna, and

although the speaker is not identified, it is almost certainly Anubis again who is speaking; in this section Qenna's heart is given back to him after he has collected it from the House of Hearts. Here too, the restoration of the heart takes place after the deceased has passed the final judgement. He is now able to walk about freely and unhindered, not 'upside down'¹⁹, but as a person who has been put firmly on his feet (*tsw*) and fully restored to life.

Finally, by way of an appendix, a few words may be said about the date of Qenna's Book of the Dead. It is generally agreed that this lengthy papyrus does not predate the late Eighteenth Dynasty, but opinions are divided when it comes to dating it more precisely; the immediate post-Amarna period as well as the Nineteenth Dynasty or the Ramesside Period in general have been suggested. Heerma van Voss, one of the leading authorities on the Book of the Dead, has repeatedly argued for a 19th Dynasty date, mainly on the basis of handwriting, choice of chapters and illustrations²⁰. More in particular, he points out that Qenna's copy shares the sequence of chapters 110, 148, 185 and 186 with the Book of the Dead of Ani (BM 10470)²¹, which is generally believed to be of Ramesside date, and, following Sethe²², that the systematic illustration of chapter 17 found in Qenna does not occur before the 19th Dynasty²³. A Ramesside date is also given by several other scholars, notably C. Seeber, I. Munro, and H. Milde²⁴. Naville, on the other hand, assigned Qenna's Book of the Dead to the end of the 18th Dynasty on grounds of handwriting (!) and the hairstyles and clothing of the human figures in the vignettes²⁵. S. Ratié²⁶ also opted for a late 18th Dynasty date because

14. De Buck 1944, 19, n. a.

15. Davies 1943, II, Pl. LXXVI. The text also occurs in the newly discovered tomb of Pay at Saqqâra, see my remarks in Schneider *et al.* 1995, 20. For the temple ritual versions see Moret 1902, 63; Gardiner 1935, I, 86; II, Pl. 51.

16. Seeber 1976, 93-98.

17. Var. *r st tr.f* 'in the place of his/its lifetime', i.e. the place it occupied when its owner was still alive.

18. Cf. the reference to Anubis in the third person in the words spoken by Anubis himself in the first section.

19. The fear of having to walk upside down (*shd*) is often expressed in funerary texts, see Zandee 1960, 75-78.

20. Heerma van Voss 1966, 11; cf. especially Heerma van Voss 1977, 84-89.

21. Heerma van Voss 1977, 86.

22. Sethe 1931, 18.

23. Heerma van Voss 1977, 84.

24. Seeber 1976, 204; Munro 1988, 303 (p. 296: Dyn. 19/20); Milde 1991, 3-7.

25. Naville 1886, Einleitung, 91.

26. Ratié 1968, 12 with n. 1.

of the influence of the Amarna style detectable in its vignettes, and so did U. Luft²⁷ on account of the style of the vignettes and especially of the figure of Qenna. Schneider and Raven²⁸ date the ms. to the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, referring to the short, stocky figures of Qenna in the vignettes with his characteristic paunch, which is very reminiscent of the Amarna Period, and the simple dress of the human figures.

A date within the transition period from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty would indeed seem very likely. As far as the text discussed in this article can contribute to dating Qenna's Book of the Dead, we have already seen that two parallels can be dated with certainty to the reigns of Horemheb and Seti I. Of the three versions of the 'House of Hearts spell' the one in Qenna's Book of the Dead is the best, for it shows none of the corruptions of the other two versions; this might suggest that Qenna's is the oldest of the three texts. In fact, for Qenna's papyrus a date in the period immediately following the Amarna episode seems more likely to me than an early 19th Dynasty date, mainly on stylistic grounds. It is true that

the style of the dress and the wigs worn by the figures in the vignettes can sometimes be deliberately archaizing, but the same cannot be said of the proportions of the figures themselves, which in the papyrus of Qenna are wholly characteristic for the late 18th Dynasty²⁹. The large almond-shaped eyes, too, set at a distinct angle, are late 18th Dynasty, not Ramesside. The rounded belly with which Qenna himself is depicted³⁰ is unthinkable in the Ramesside period, even in the reign of Seti I. The style and proportions of the other figures are reminiscent of representations in Theban tombs such as those of May (TT 338, now in Turin)³¹ and Nay (TT 271)³², which date from the reigns of Tutankhamun and Ay. The same style may be found in the Memphite tombs of Iniua and Pay, as yet unpublished, which date from the same period. Qenna's vignette showing the dragging of the sarcophagus³³ in particular can be compared directly to a similar scene in the chapel of May³⁴ or indeed to that in the tomb of Tutankhamun³⁵.

As far as the choice of chapters and vignettes is concerned, the fact that Qenna's selection of a particular sequence of spells agrees with that of Ani probably indicates that these two mss. are not far apart in date. This is confirmed by the fact that both have an early version of the vignette called Ch. 16 which is really an illustration of the texts of Ch. 15³⁶. It also seems likely that Ani is later than Qenna, but I can see no compelling reason why Ani's papyrus cannot be dated to the end of the 18th Dynasty just as comfortably as to the (early) 19th. Ani's Book of the Dead used to be the earliest source for a number of texts which have now been found in late 18th Dynasty tombs at Saqqâra³⁷. The style of the figures in Ani and their hairstyles and costume certainly look more Ramesside than those in Qenna, but the beginning of this style can already be traced back to the reign of Horemheb, as can be seen in the Theban tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50), which was decorated some time after Year 3 of Horemheb, but which displays the tall, thin, elongated figures commonly associated with the Ramesside period³⁸.

It is clear from the evidence produced by Heerma van Voss and others that there is a marked distinction between Book of the Dead papyri belonging to the 18th Dynasty proper on the one hand, and those belonging to the Ramesside period on the other. But, rather than letting the dividing line between these two coincide neatly with the change of dynasty, it seems far more likely that the break in the tradition occurred with the Amarna Period, a traumatic episode which left many a trace in the following years, years which were as much concerned with restoration as with reinterpretation of the traditional religion³⁹.

27. Luft 1977, 52.

28. See the works cited in n. 5 above (Schneider/Raven 1981 still retain a 19th Dynasty date for Qenna).

29. A good selection of coloured illustrations may be found in Schneider 1987, 24-29 and Forman/Kischkewitz 1971, Pls. 34-42.

30. Figures with a similar pronounced paunch are depicted in the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqâra, see Martin 1989, Pls. 32-34, scenes [19] and [21].

31. Tosi 1972.

32. Habachi/Anus 1977.

33. Forman/Kischkewitz 1971, Pl. 34.

34. Tosi 1972, plate on pp. [18]-[19].

35. E.g., Hornung 1982, 199 fig. 156; KMT 1993, 42.

36. Cf. Milde 1991, 4.

37. See Van Dijk 1989, 62; Van Dijk in: Schneider *et al.* 1995, 20, n. 22. It may be noted in passing that the vignette of BD 151, which, apart from BD papyri, was so far known from one Theban tomb only (TT 96, Sennefer, temp. Amenhotep II), has now been found twice in the tomb of Maya, albeit with much abbreviated legends, see Van Dijk in: Martin *et al.* 1988, 13-14.

38. One wonders whether Qenna might not have been Neferhotep's father. In his Book of the Dead Qenna's only title is *šwty* 'merchant'. The father of Neferhotep is the *imy-r nbyw n 'Imn* 'overseer of goldsmiths of Amun' Qenna. These titles are not incompatible and are sometimes found together; cf. the case of Kha'y, the owner of a small Ramesside tomb-chapel at Saqqâra, who was both 'commander of merchants of the Treasury' and 'chief gold-washer of the Treasury', and who is shown superintending his staff in the goldsmith's atelier on a relief in his tomb, see for the time being Martin 1987, 2-5.

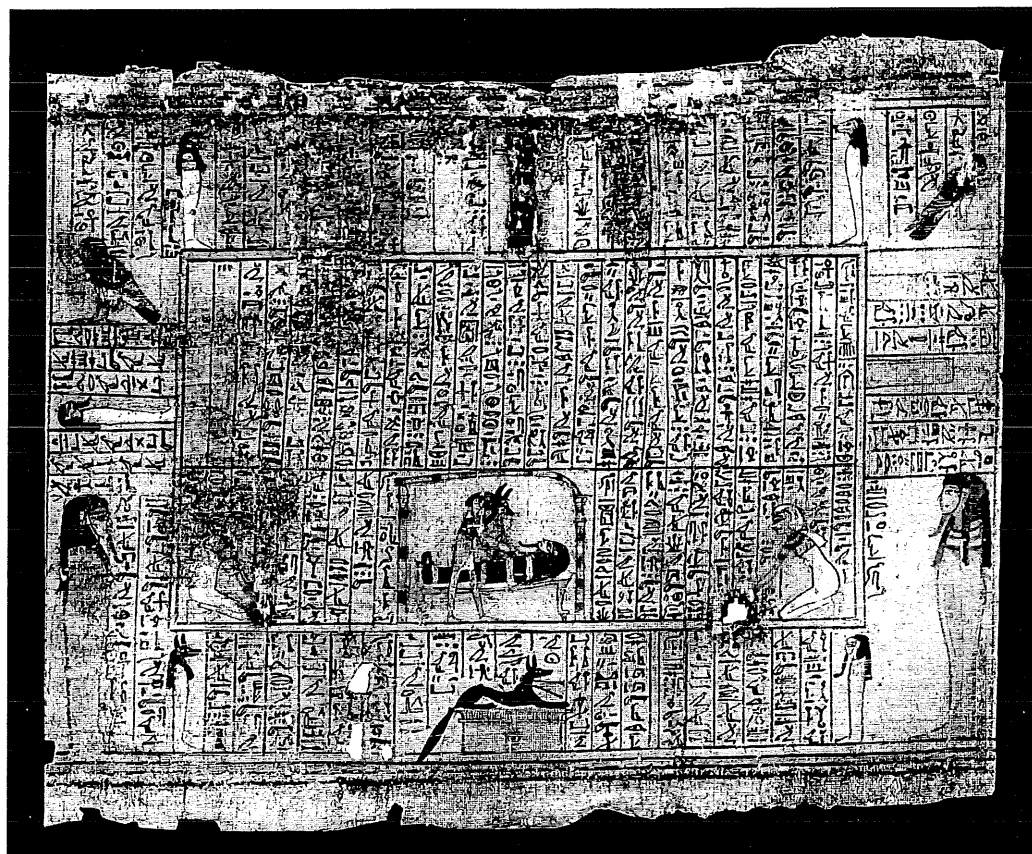
39. Assmann, 1984, 258ff.

The occurrence of the vignette of Ch. 15/16 in particular, with its emphasis on the nocturnal unification of Rē' and Osiris, is a sign of this new interpretation of an old tradition. Viewed in this way, Qenna's Book of the Dead stands at the beginning of a new period in the history of the Book of the Dead; as for its date, I would suggest the reigns of Tutankhamun or Ay.

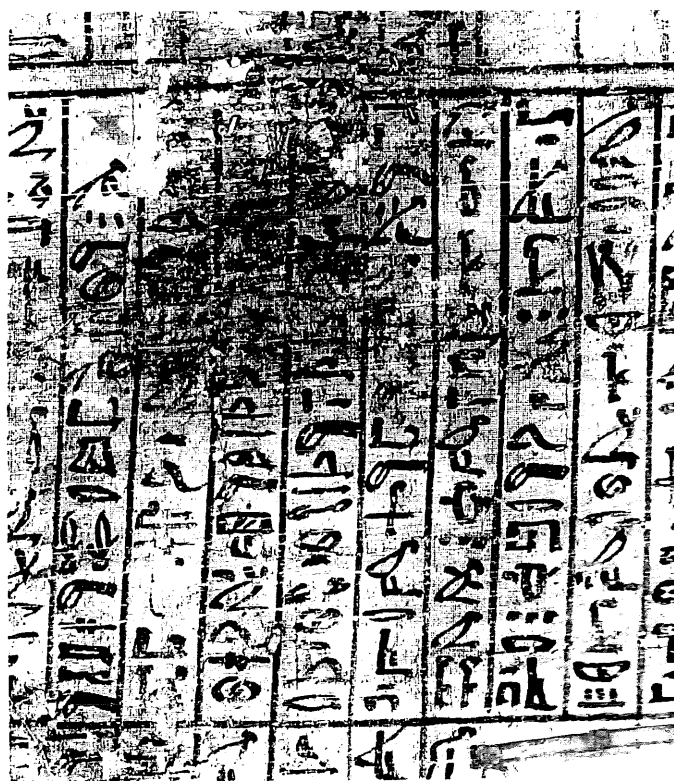
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Abbreviations follow those of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (ed. Helck, W. / Otto, E. / Westendorf, W.), Wiesbaden 1972-1992.

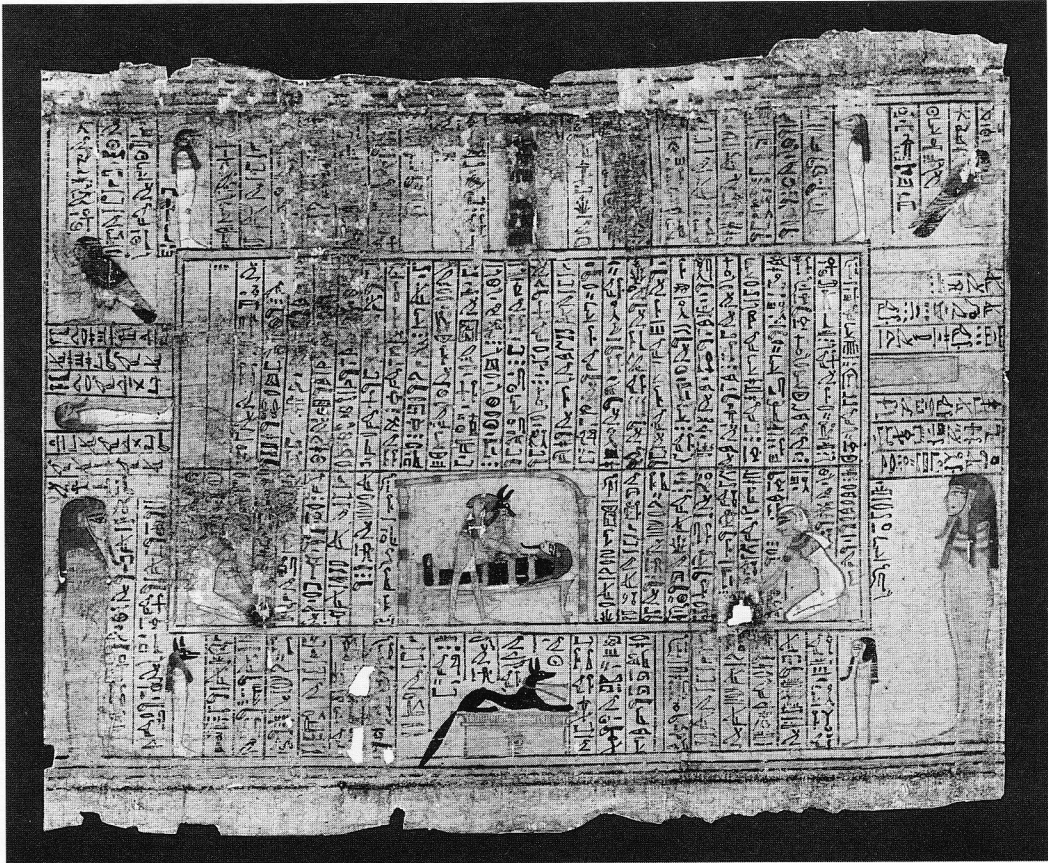
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1. Book of the Dead of Qenna, Chapter 151.



2. Detail of Cols. 17-26.



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