

THE CARDIAC VIGNETS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (LATE PERIOD)

ROGÉRIO FERREIRA DE SOUSA

Lead Researcher of CITCEM, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto

SUMMARY:

Late copies of the Book of the Dead show a high level of standardization both in the texts and in the images used to strengthen the magical power of the spells. Since the study of iconography of the Book of the Dead is still currently in progress, with this article we intend to provide an iconographical description of the vignettes that traditionally illustrate the cardiac chapters of the Book of the Dead (chapters 26-30) in order to clarify their magical function. This research was mostly developed through the study of manuscripts of the Book of the Dead conserved in the Louvre Museum, in Paris¹.

INTRODUCTION

After falling out of use during the Libyan Period, the Book of the Dead was revived in the Late Period, where a significant revision of the texts took place. Besides that, a high level of standardization is also patent at the images used to illustrate the texts. Late copies of the Book of the Dead also show a greater number of illustrations than their earlier editions, which certainly aimed to grant, as much as possible, a specific image to each chapter. In fact, the images used in these documents are more closely related to the texts than the illustrations of earlier documents. Although they are an excellent source of material which helps us understanding the

¹ The research here presented was only possible thanks to the collaboration of the staff from the Egyptian Antiquities Department of the Louvre Museum, who assisted me with my investigation of the manuscripts conserved at the Museum. For that reason I would like to address my special thanks to Madame Cristiane Ziegler and Madame Sylvie Guichard.

magical conceptions related to the reanimation of the heart in the hereafter, the vignettes that illustrate the cardiac chapters have not been the object of many studies², and for that reason much of their meaning was not plainly understood.

Malcom Mosher defined various styles in the production of the Late Period versions of the Book of the Dead³. The Style 1, with its origin in Thebes, showcases columns of hieratic text informally divided simply by an empty space. The vignettes occur wherever the texts of their corresponding spells begin, typically beside their titles⁴. Style 2, with its origin in Memphis, shows a much more carefully thought layout: the text, also written in hieratic, is delimited by vertical double lines. The vignettes are always disposed at the top of the text, creating a continuous set of images throughout the entire book.

Style 3, which started being used after the Macedonian conquest, became a kind of national style and consists in mixed versions of the two previous major local styles. Although the Memphitic layout can be prevalent, many iconographic aspects of the Theban style were also included⁵.



Fig. 1. Book of the Dead of Chachanuk . Ptolemaic Period? Vignette of chapter 26. The deceased is kneeled before the *ba* bird. With the left hand he holds his heart, a gesture that means that he has possession of his cardiac organ. Through this image, the *ba*, the divine power, is connected to the possession of the heart. Louvre Museum (N 3089), Paris.

In our study we will focus our attention in the papyri produced by the inspiration of local styles, 1 and 2. In order to better understand the iconography of the cardiac vignettes, we will also use the written information provided by the cardiac chapters. However, we must keep in mind that on Theban copies of the Book of the Dead, the

² «Examination and analysis of Late Period vignettes has been almost completely ignored», in M. MOSHER, «Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period», *JARCE* XXIX, p. 144.

³ See *Idem*, pp. 143-172.

⁴ See *Idem*, p. 146.

⁵ See *Ibidem*.

THE CARDIAC VIGNETS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (LATE PERIOD)

illustrations are mixed with the text in such a way that it can be difficult to identify a single or specific order of appearance.



Fig. 2. Book of the Dead of Horsaiset. Ptolemaic Period?
Louvre Museum (N 3082), Paris.

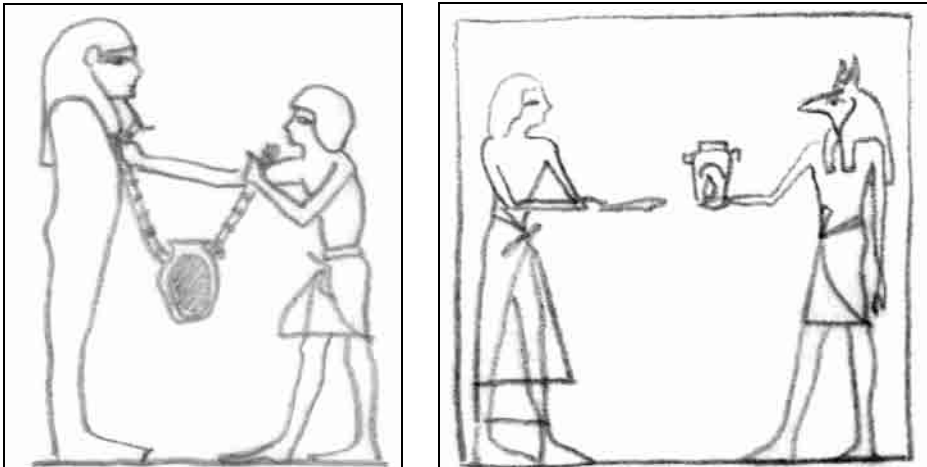


Fig. 3. Vignettes from the New Kingdom. Left: Book of the Dead of Nebked, Louvre Museum (N 3082), Paris. Right: Book of the Dead n° 9900, British Museum, London.

1. THE VIGNETTES OF CHAPTER 26 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

The vignette most frequently related to chapter 26 consists in the representation of the deceased kneeling before his own *ba* bird. The deceased has his heart in his left hand, a codified gesture that shows that he is in the possession of his heart. With the right hand he makes a gesture of adoration dedicated to his *ba* bird. The divine bird

usually wears the *djed* sign around the neck and is usually portrayed on the top of a socle or, more rarely, over a temple. Between the bird and the deceased sometimes we see an offering table with a lotus blossom and an offering vase⁶.

The reason for the representation of the *ba* bird in the context of a cardiac spell is related to the magical function of chapter 26, which is a spell that aims to give back to the deceased his vital powers and, among them, the freedom of movements required to the *ba*⁷.

Nevertheless, on former editions of the Book of the Dead, especially those from the New Kingdom, the vignette of chapter 26 depicted the deceased before Anubis. This was a more literal interpretation of the meaning of the text itself, since the god is represented in a gesture of giving back the heart to the deceased, a gesture that was certainly allusive to his role in the mummification process. In the later versions of the Book of the Dead, the role performed by Anubis in former vignettes seems to have vanished, since it gave place to the representation of the deceased holding his heart before his *ba*. However, it is important to keep in mind this parallel in order to stress the bodily meaning of that gesture. In fact, it is the physical organ that the image intends to guarantee, and not so much the heart as conscience. This distinction is important and it is actually documented as well in chapter 26 itself:

«Mon coeur-*ib* m'appartient dans la maison des coeurs-*ibu*, mon coeur-*hati* m'appartient dans la maison des coeurs-*hatiu*»⁸.

We will not discuss here the formal distinction between the heart *ib* and *hati*, since the complete clarification of this topic would be very long⁹. In short, we will take the commonly adopted distinction between the two terms which considers that the heart *ib* reports to the conscience, while the heart *hati* seems to be identified with the cardiac organ¹⁰. The text itself seems to recognize that both hearts are important in the hereafter and that they will have distinct functions in the life after death:

«J'ai de nouveau connaissance (*rĥ*) grâce à mon coeur (*ib*), j'ai l'usage (*šĥm*) du vis-à-vis de mon coeur (*hati*), j'ai l'usage de mes bras, j'ai l'usage de mes jambes, et j'ai la possibilité de faire ce que désire mon *ka*; on ne retiendra pas prisonniers mon âme (*ba*) et mon corps aux portes de l'Occident»¹¹.

⁶ These vignettes became common from the Later Period on, especially associated with chapter 26. Despite not being usual, it also can be associated with chapters 28 and 30.

⁷ See Chapter 26 of the Book of the Dead : «j'ai de nouveau connaissance grâce à mon coeur (...) on ne retiendra pas prisonniers mon âme (*ba*) et mon corps aux portes de l'Occident», in BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 72.

⁸ Chapter 26 of the Book of the Dead, in BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 71. Hieroglyphic version in LEPSIUS, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*, pl. XV.

⁹ About this distinction see SOUSA, *A Simbólica do Coração no Antigo Egipto*, pp. 267-271.

¹⁰ See ASSMANN, *Mort et au-delà dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, pp. 56-57.

¹¹ Chapter 26 of the Book of the Dead, in BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 71. Hieroglyphic version in LEPSIUS, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*, pl. XV.

The text clearly puts the function of the hearts *ib* and *hati* on different levels: while the heart *ib* will provide to the deceased his knowledge, the control (*sekhem*) of his heart *hati* will give him back the control of his body. Thanks to that control of the cardiac organ, the *ka* and the *ba* can be manifested. We begin now to understand that the gesture of the deceased portrayed in the vignette actually represents the control (*sekhem*) of the heart *hati* through which the deceased is expected to manifest the powers of his *ba*. We may think that the control of the heart was connected to the osirification of the deceased and symbolized the victory of the deceased over the powers of death. The ability to manifest the powers of the *ka* and the *ba* was itself a sign of this victory over death.

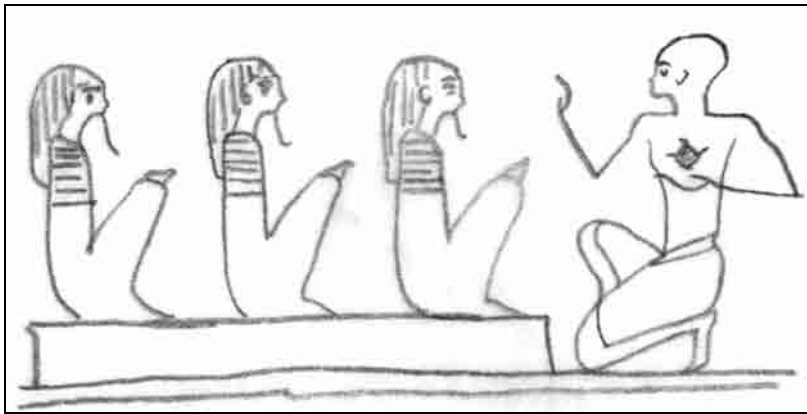


Fig. 4. Book of the Dead of Horsaiset. Ptolemaic Period? Vignette of chapter 27. The deceased is kneeling before three gods. He has his heart on his left hand. Louvre Museum (N 3082), Paris.

As it is suggested by former vignettes that depict Anubis giving back the heart to the deceased, this gesture could be in fact symbolized by the offering of a heart amulet to the mummy, since in these depictions the organ is frequently replaced by an amulet. Mentions to the «house of hearts» in chapter 26 also seem to be related to an acquisition of hearts *ib* and *hati* that could be given to the mummy. Funerary practices changed a lot throughout time and the amulet represented in these vignettes can be a heart amulet or a heart scarab. The interesting thing is that these amulets of the heart can in fact be considered as representations of both hearts of man: the amulet related to the heart *ib* is certainly the heart amulet (shaped exactly as a three-dimensional *ib* hieroglyph), while the heart scarab could be the amulet that allowed the deceased the control over the heart *hati*¹². This distinction provides an important contribute to un-

¹² About the symbolism of the heart scarab see SOUSA, *A Simbólica do Coração no Antigo Egipto*, p. 291-294. See also MALAISE, *Les Scarabées du Coeur*, p. 79

derstand the magical function of the cardiac amulets, as both hearts are frequently mistaken for one another. If our assumption is correct, the amulet of the heart *ib* was believed to give back to the deceased his knowledge (*rekh*) and perhaps his identity, while the amulet of the heart *hati*, the heart scarab, allowed the deceased to have control (*sekhem*) over his bodily heart *hati*. These aspects were precisely the main concern of chapter 26 which intended to «give back the heart to N. in the hereafter»

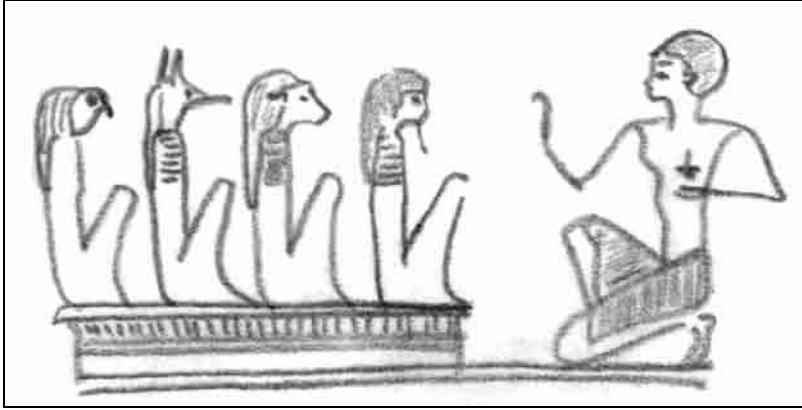


Fig. 5. Book of the Dead of Ahmés. Ptolemaic Period? Vignette of chapter 27. The deceased is kneeling before the four sons of Horus. He has his heart on his left hand. Louvre Museum (N 3086), Paris.

2. THE VIGNETTES OF CHAPTER 27 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

The vignette most frequently connected with chapter 27 represents the deceased kneeling before one or more deities, seated over a temple or a maetic socle¹³. While with his right hand the deceased makes a gesture of praying towards the gods, with his left hand he holds his heart, a gesture that, as we have seen before, means that he owns his heart or that he has power over his heart. This kind of vignettes are more often found among Theban versions of the Book of the Dead and are rarely found on earlier versions¹⁴.

Curiously enough, the text of chapter 27 also mentions that the deceased stands before an assembly of gods and tries to persuade them not to speak against him in the court of Osiris:

¹³ This vignette tends to be associated with chapter 27 but it can be sporadically found among other cardiac chapters.

¹⁴ About the main features of the late compositions of the Book of the Dead see BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, pp. 6-23. See also M. MOSHER, «Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period», *JARCE* XXIX, pp. 143-172.

Paroles dites par N.: «O vous qui enlevez les cœurs (...) salut à vous maîtres de l'éternité, organisateurs de la perennité! Ne m'ôtez pas ce cœur qui est le mien, ne critiquez pas ce viscère de mon cœur!»¹⁵

In certain vignettes the deceased stands before a single deity. In this case it is possible that this god may figure as his personal god or as the «great god», as it is mentioned in the text. Nevertheless, three is usually the number of gods depicted which, in fact, may be read as the plural form of the word «god». That was the simplest way to depict the deceased before an assembly of gods. More rarely, those deities may be four and, in that case, usually depict the four sons of Horus¹⁶.

The role of these gods is clearly expressed in the text:

Paroles dites par N.: «O vous qui enlevez les cœurs, vous qui dérobez les viscères du cœur, vous qui faites se manifester (*hpr*) le cœur de l'homme dans ce qu'il a fait, alors qu'il ne se reconnaît pas par suite de ce que vous avez fait(...)»¹⁷.

The gods watch over the heart of the deceased and transform it according to his own deeds. This sentence has interesting implications since it can only be understood in the light of the weighing of the heart beliefs. Without being aware of it, man could see his heart transformed due to his own deeds, exposing himself to the attack of the gods that punish and rob the heart of the sinners.

The last sentence of the text is a command addressed to the heart, by which both the power over his heart and its good testimony before the court of Osiris are guaranteed:

Obéis-moi, mon cœur! Je suis ton maître! Tant que tu seras dans mon corps, tu ne me seras pas hostile! Je suis celui qui ordonne que tu m'obéisses dans l'empire des morts¹⁸.

Chapter 27 seems to have several «layers» that reflect different stages of the notions related to the judgement of the dead. In fact, we know that the early concerns about the judgement of the dead were connected to the possibility of an accusation that could be addressed in the court of the dead against the deceased. The first part of the text seems to reflect this concern about how to avoid that threat, while the second part seems to be an update of the text in order to fit the needs imposed by the beliefs of the weighing of the heart.

However, the most interesting part of the text is the identification made by the deceased between his heart and the heart of the «great god»:

¹⁵ Chapter 27 of the Book of the Dead, in BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 72.

¹⁶ See M. MOSHER, «Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period», *JARCE* XXIX, p. 145, note 19.

¹⁶ Chapter 27 of the Book of the Dead, in BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 72.

¹⁷ Chapter 27 of the Book of the Dead, in *idem*, p. 72.

¹⁸ Chapter 27 of the Book of the Dead, in *idem*, p. 72.

Que mon coeur ne donne pás lieu à dès réprimandes, car ce mien coeur, c'est le coeur de Celui qui est riche en noms, le grand dieu qui parle par ses membres; il a envoyé (comme messenger) son coeur dans son corps, son coeur étant plus ingénieux que les dieux¹⁹.

Through that identification the deceased tried to intimidate the gods, preventing the danger of being accused of any bad deed in the court of Osiris. Also, he could easily undergo through the dangers of the weighing of the heart, since the heart of the creator is totally pure.

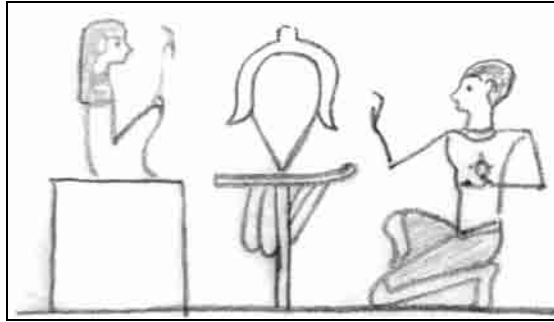


Fig. 6. Book of the Dead of Chachanuk. Ptolemaic Period? Vignette of chapter 28. Depicted in the traditional position that symbolizes the possession of the heart, the deceased kneels before the god of his heart. The strange shape of the heart may be an iconographical expression meaning the identification between the heart and the flower *uneb*. Louvre Museum (N 3089), Paris.

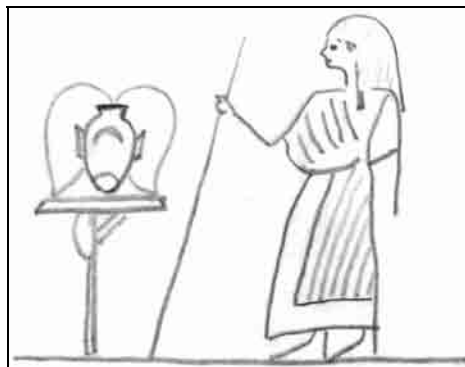


Fig. 7. Book of the Dead. Ptolemaic Period? Louvre Museum (E 7716), Paris.

¹⁹ Chapter 27 of the Book of the Dead, in *ibidem*.

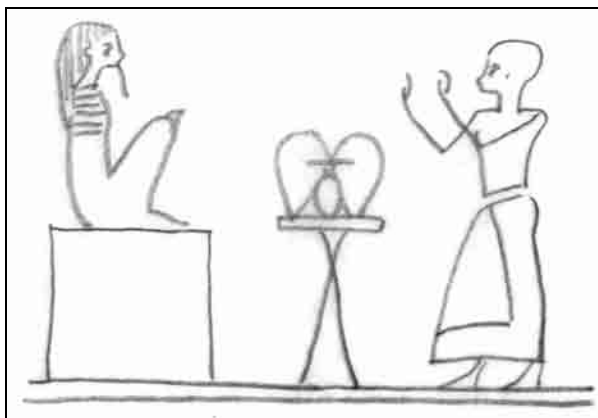


Fig. 8. Book of the Dead of Horsaïset. Ptolemaic Period?
Louvre Museum (N 3082), Paris.

3. THE VIGNETTES OF CHAPTER 28 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

Some of the vignettes of chapter 28 combine elements depicted in the previously discussed illustrations. Most commonly, they depict the deceased kneeling before a single god. Unlike the precedent vignettes, this one presents as central element a divine staff with a heart, standing between the god and the deceased. The shape of the composition that surmounts the heart hold by the standard is not conventional at all: a strange appendix of two lobules is depicted over the heart, reminding the shape of the lungs united with the cardiac organ. This kind of depiction of the heart is also detected among heart amulets that were adorned with a downward border type. Curiously enough, this particular kind of objects seems to have been produced in the Late Period, the same period where these types of vignettes were drawn²⁰. Although few examples have survived, the major part of these objects is still covered by a gold leaf, which points to a solar symbolism. In the same way, the vignette underlines the solar connotations of the depiction through the red ink used in the coloration of the heart²¹.

The significance of that representation of the heart must be necessarily connected with the presence of the god depicted in the same vignette. In Egyptian iconography, the depiction of a deity and a standard usually means that the god is hidden inside the sacred object. If this reading is correct, the figure shows the god that lives inside the totem of the heart. Unlike the previous illustrations, here the deceased doesn't hold

²⁰ About the different types of heart amulets see SOUSA, «Os amuletos do coração no Antigo Egípto: Tipologia e caracterização», *Cadmo* 15 (2005), pp. 105-130.

²¹ We must point out that among later copies of the Book of the Dead, the use of colour is very rare. When it happens, it must have a special significance. See M. MOSHER, «Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period», *JARCE* XXIX, p. 172.

the heart on his hand: both his arms are usually raised in adoration. This is certainly the depiction of the adoration of the inner god that lives in the «temple» of the heart. The magical concern of the vignette seems less focused in the «possession of the heart», as the previous ones did, and seems to have instead a wider spiritual scope, since it gives a greater attention to the heart as the seat of the inner god.

Although well documented in Egyptian literature, this god of the heart is rarely depicted, especially in other contexts besides the Book of the Dead. The only depiction of a «heart god» that we know of is found in the *mammisi* of the temple of Isis, in Philae. He is depicted as an anthropomorphic god that holds a vase with a heart on the top of his head. The god is shown in the context of the presentation of Horpakhered to an assembly of gods. This god of the heart seems to protect the young Horpakhered and seems to be a personification of his heart, in the abstract meaning of seat of life, conscience and divine will.

The text of chapter 28, although very obscure, gives us some clues on how to understand the magical function of the vignette. In the text, the deceased identifies himself with the primordial flower in order to be protected against the enemies of light and cosmic order:

O lion, je suis la fleur-*oune*! Mon abomination est la salle d'abattage. Que ce viscère de mon coeur ne me soit pas enlevé par les combattants dans l'Héliopolis!²²

The word *uneb* simply means «flower»²³ and it was an allusion to the mythic primordial lotus of the hermapolitan cosmogony. Therefore, the *uneb* flower symbolizes the power of light and the allusion to it seems to be connected to a particular kind of threat: certain heliopolitan «demons» could remove the hearts of those who were impure. By the identification with the *uneb* flower the deceased aimed to guarantee a pristine purity to his heart in order to keep him safe from the attacks of the guardians of the hereafter.

For undetermined reasons, it is possible that this particular type of anatomical representation of the heart and the lungs eventually gained an iconographic value as a symbol of the identification between the heart and the *uneb* flower²⁴. The purpose of that identification was to guarantee the magical protection of the heart against the attacks of the demons of the underworld.

²² Chapter 28 of the Book of the Dead.

²³ See FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 61.

²⁴ See BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 73, note I. Its determinative shows that the flower is a lotus. See the hieroglyphic version of the text in the coffin of the lady Gautsechenu, in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, in Copenhagen (AEIN 1522). JORGENSEN, *Catalogue Egypt II (1550-1080 B.C.)*, p. 204. The solar significance of this flower is also suggested by the fact that among some versions of this chapter, the deceased identifies himself with Re, as an equivalent form of the lotus. See BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 73, note I. Chapter 71 also speaks about that flower and establishes a parallel with the plant *nebheh*: «Je suis la fleur-*oune* de Naref, la plante-*nebheh* de la butte cachée». See *Idem*, p. 110, note 4. The plant *nebheh* symbolizes the sacred mount that stood over the tomb of Osiris, in Busiris. Also here the primordial meaning of the flower seems to be prevalent.



Fig. 9. Book of the Dead of Djedhor. Late Period. Vignette of chapter 29. The deceased is depicted in a standing position, holding a staff, symbol of social status and dignity. Louvre Museum (N 3079), Paris.

4. THE VIGNETTES OF CHAPTER 29 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

Another specific type of vignettes consists simply in the representation of the deceased in a standing position, holding his heart on his hand. The image, depicting the possession of the heart, tries to assure the full domain of the powers of life through the possession of the heart. Although rarely depicted among latter versions of the Book of the Dead, it is usually in the vicinity of chapter 29 that it is found²⁵. This formula deals with the magical protection of the heart against a possible attack:

Formule pour empêcher que le coeur de N. ne lui soit enlevé dans l'empire des morts. Paroles dites par l'Osiris N.: «Arrière, messenger de quelque dieu que ce soit! Si tu es venu pour m'enlever ce viscère de mon coeur d'homme, ce viscère de mon coeur d'homme, (à toi) qui chemines et qui obéis aux dieux des offrandes : qu'ils tombent sur leur face, et qu'ils errent (?) eux-mêmes dans la terre»²⁶.

Also chapter 29 A has the same concern:

Formule pour que ne soit pas enlevé le siège de la pensée de celui qui est proclamé juste, dans l'empire des morts. Qu'il dise: «mon coeur est en ma possession, il ne me sera certes pas enlevé! Je suis le maître des coeurs, (ô) celui qui tranche les viscères du coeur, et je vis de la vérité, étant celui qui existe par elle. Je suis Horus qui habite les coeurs, l'être intime qui habite le corps, je vis comme quelqu'un qui pense que mon coeur, il ne me sera pas enlevé; le viscère de mon coeur m'appartient, qu'il ne me soit pas courroucé (contre moi), que la terre ne m'accable pas (de) ce qu'il (m') est enlevé, tandis que je suis

²⁵ Malcom Mosher also refers that this chapter is rarely illustrated. See «Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period», *JARCE* XXIX, p. 144, nota 13.

²⁶ Chapter 29 of the Book of the Dead, in BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 74.

dans le sein de mon père Geb et de ma mère Nout. Je n'ai pas commis de chose abominable contre les dieux, je ne suis pas déchu par là, étant proclamé juste²⁷.

In this text the possession of the heart is related to the verdict of the court of the hereafter. Possession of the heart is only allowed to those who were proclaimed as the rightful ones that lived by *maet*. The text says that the deceased is Horus, the intimate being that lives in each body. This sentence is very important as it reveals the identity of the inner god that lives in the heart of man. Chapter 29 A aimed to guarantee the possession of the heart by identifying the god of one's heart with Horus.

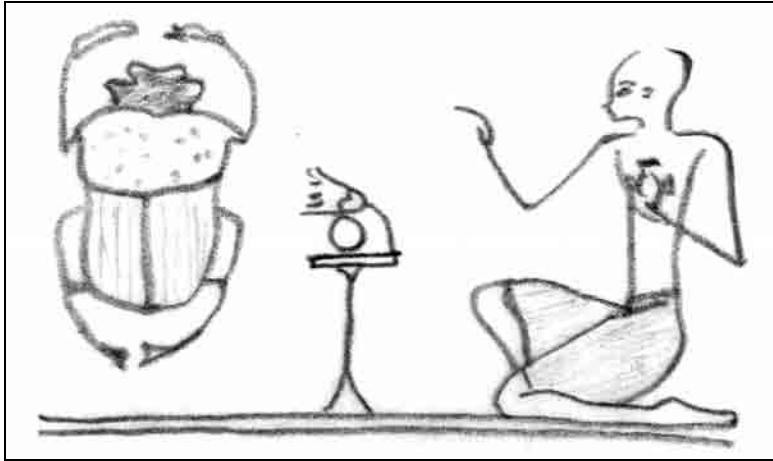


Fig. 10. Book of the Dead of Usiruer. Ptolemaic Period. Vignette of chapter 30 B. Depicted in the traditional position that symbolizes the control of the heart, the deceased kneels before the sacred scarab. Between the heart of the deceased and the sacred scarab, Khepri, an identification is established to assure his purity. Louvre Museum (N 3143), Paris.

5. THE VIGNETTES OF CHAPTER 30 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

Although the earliest versions of chapter 30 were illustrated both by the vignette of the weighing of the heart and by the representation of the sacred scarab²⁸, it became more and more strongly associated with the scarab²⁹.

²⁷ Chapter 29 of the Book of the Dead, in *ibidem*.

²⁸ See MILDE, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferronpet*, p. 136.

²⁹ The vignette of the weighing of the heart is more often associated with chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead. For that reason we will not study that vignette in this article.

In these images, the deceased is depicted before a scarab, which sometimes is explicitly drawn to suggest the resemblance with the heart scarab amulet³⁰. More often the scarab is depicted simply on top of a temple or over a *maetic* socle. Regarding the deceased, he is usually kneeling, rising one of his hands in a gesture of adoration and holding his heart on the other hand. As we saw in previous chapters, this gesture is connected with the protection of the physical organ.

The reason for the depiction of the scarab in the context of chapter 30 can be found on the rubric that recommends the writing of the formula over a heart scarab: «Words to be said facing a nephrite scarab over *electrum* and with a silver ring around the deceased's neck»³¹.

It is often written that the magical function of chapter 30 is connected to the protection required in the weighing of the heart. However, as we have seen above, the specific vignette related to this process was connected to chapter 125 and not with chapter 30. This is an important piece of information that should make us reconsider the magical purpose of that chapter. It is a fact that this formula is very concerned with the testimony of the heart in the court of Osiris. However, if we consider the Book of the Dead as a whole, we can easily find out that the cardiac chapters (26-30) of the composition do not refer to the osirian trial but to the process of reanimation of the mummy, in the moment where the physical and spiritual powers of the deceased were intended to be restored. The magical function of both the heart scarab and of chapter 30 was much more focused in the moment of reanimation of the deceased than on the weighing of the heart, strictly speaking.

Of course we cannot deny that both the text and the heart scarab aimed to be helpful in the court of Osiris. Nevertheless, although aiming to help the deceased overcoming that challenge, their main purpose is located in a previous moment, when the powers of life were bestowed to the deceased. In this manner, when the awakening of the deceased was supposed to happen, both the heart amulet and chapter 30 could be helpful in the way that they could give to the heart the purity required by the court of Osiris.

6. CONCLUSIONS

From the five vignettes used to illustrate the cardiac chapters of the Book of the Dead, three of them seem to be especially concerned with the possession of the heart and thus, aimed to prevent the spoliation of the heart by the demons of the netherworld (chapters 26, 27 and 29)³². Ultimately, the control of the heart reflects the victory of the deceased over death.

³⁰ See MILDE, *Studies The Vinhettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferenpet*, pl. 41

³¹ Translated from the French in BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 76. Archaeological data show that these prescriptions were in fact followed during the funeral ritual.

³² A comparative approach of these chapter is presented in BUCK, «Een groep dodenboekspreuken betreffende het hart», *JEOL* 9 (1944), pp. 9-24.

The vignette of chapter 28 aimed to guarantee the identification between the heart of the deceased and the heart of the creator, not in the physical sense, but with the purpose of giving to the heart the light and purity of the primordial god. This magical goal is perhaps the reason why the solar scarab, the image of the rising sun, was chosen to create such an important amulet as the heart scarab. Both this amulet and the vignette of chapter 30 intended to identify the heart of the deceased with the symbol of Khepri. By the identification of his heart with the solar symbols (the flower *uneb*, in chapter 28, or the scarab, in chapter 30), the deceased acquired purity and light that kept aside the danger of a possible attack that aimed to steal his heart from him, or even to prevent a possible accusation against his heart in the court of Osiris.

In any case, the magical purpose of these formulas is not focused on the weighing of the heart (this is the concern of chapter 125), but rather in the reanimation of the mummy, where the powers of life, such as the conscience, were awakened. Seen in this perspective, these formulas had a preparatory purpose since they gave to the deceased the purity of heart required to overcome successfully the trial of Osiris.

In conclusion, the magical purpose of the cardiac chapter of the Book of the Dead was only secondarily connected to the weighing of the heart. The main concerns were both to guarantee the possession of the heart and the subsequent reanimation of the powers of life (chapter 26, 27 and 29) and also its purity through the identification with the rising sun or the creator god (chapter 30 and 28, respectively).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALLEN, Thomas George (1974), *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day. Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms*, SAOC vol. 37, University of Chicago Press, Chicago..
- ARAÚJO, Luís Manuel de (2000), «Um escaravelho do coração numa coleção privada portuguesa», *Museu* 9, pp. 7-27.
- ASSMANN, Jan (2003), *Mort et au-delà dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, Éditions du Rocher, Monaco.
- BARGUET, Paul (1967), *Le Livre des Morts des Anciens Égyptiens*, Litteratures Anciennes du Proche-Orient, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris.
- BUCK, Adrian de (1944), «Een groep dodenboekspreuken betreffende het hart», *JEOL* 9, pp. 9-24.
- FAULKNER, Raymond (1999), *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Griffith Institute, Oxford.
- JORGENSEN, Mogens (1998), *Catalogue Egypt II (1550-1080 B.C.)*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.
- LEPSIUS, Richard (1842), *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem Einem Vorworte zum Ersten Male Herausgegeben*, Leipzig.
- Michel MALAISE, (1978), *Les Scarabées de Coeur dans l'Égypte ancienne*, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles.
- Henk MILDE, (1991), *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferenpet*, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden.

THE CARDIAC VIGNETS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (LATE PERIOD)

- MOSHER, Malcom «Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period», *JARCE* 29, pp. 143-172.
- QUIRKE, Stephen (2001-2002), «Two Thirteenth Dynasty Heart Scarabs», *JEOL* 37, pp. 31-40.
- RATIE, Suzanne (1968), *Le papyrus de Néferoubenef (Louvre III 93)*, IFAO, Cairo.
- SORENSEN, Jorgen (1987), «Divine Access: The so-called democratisation of Egyptian funerary literature as a socio-cultural process», em Gertie Englund (ed) *The religion of ancient Egyptians: Cognitive structures and popular expressions. Proceedings of Symposia in Uppsala and Bergen 1987 and 1988*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, 20, Uppsala, pp. 109-123.
- SOSA, Rogério Ferreira de (2006), *A Simbólica do Coração no Antigo Egipto: Estudo de antropologia religiosa sobre a representação da consciência*, dissertação de doutoramento em História, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Porto.
- SOSA, Rogério Ferreira de (2005), «Os amuletos do coração no antigo Egipto: Tipologia e caracterização», *Cadmo* 15, pp. 105-130.
- YOYOTTE, Jean, (1961), «Le jugement des morts dans l'Égypte ancienne», *Sources Orientales*, IV: Le jugement des Morts, Seuil, Paris.