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The Funerary Texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766:  
A Demotic Book of Breathing (Part I)<sup>1</sup>

(Tafel 25-26)

A new publication of pTurin N. 766 is offered here with a commentary and the first complete facsimile. Several improvements are made upon the prior edition by G. BOTTI in *JEA* 54 (1968) 223–230. In part II the text, which the scribe labelled ‘Book of Breathing’ is placed in the context of contemporary and earlier mortuary and funerary texts and a Theban provenance in the 1st century AD is assigned to it.

A. Description

I. The Papyrus

The Demotic papyrus Turin N. 766, first published by Giuseppe Botti<sup>2</sup>, bears a shorter funerary composition of 36 lines on its recto divided into two parts called recto A and B<sup>3</sup> by Botti, whose nomenclature shall be maintained here to avoid confusion, and a short inscription of one line on the verso. It was inscribed, probably in the first century AD,<sup>4</sup> for *pa-rmwṯ*, son of *ḫ-šrt-ḫnsw* (recto A 20 and 29 f.).

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Anna Maria Donadoni-Roveri, Soprintendente al Museo delle Antichità Egizie, and Dr. Elisabetta Valtz of the Museo Egizio di Torino for granting the publication rights of the papyrus and their help and hospitality during my time in Turin. Furthermore I am indebted to my supervisor Dr. Mark J. Smith for his supervision and support during my work, Prof. Dr. Karl-Theodor Zauzich for discussing with me various problems, Christina J. Riggs, M. A., for checking and correcting my English, Dr. Mark Depauw and Susanne Woodhouse, M. A., for references, the Old Members’ Trust of University College Oxford and the University of Oxford for travel grants making the trip to Turin possible, my parents for financing my studies and the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes for partial financial support towards the costs of my studies in Oxford.

The present article and its continuation are short versions of works submitted to the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the University of Oxford in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Studies in Oriental Studies (Egyptology) in 1998. Although already quite abbreviated the length of the works made a distribution in two parts necessary and therefore it might be useful to give an outline of the topics I intend to cover in the two parts: Part I contains a description of the papyrus and its script, the texts’ transliteration and translation and the commentary, alongside a glossary. Part II will place pTurin N. 766 in the Theban context and in the context of contemporary funerary texts. Furthermore I will discuss there the function of its texts.

<sup>2</sup> BOTTI, G., „Il libro del respirare e un suo nuovo esemplare nel papiro demotico N. 766 del Museo Egizio di Torino“, in: *JEA* 54 (1968) 223–230.

<sup>3</sup> See below for details.

<sup>4</sup> For the dating see part II (*Enchoria* 26, 2000).

For the description the following terminology is used: Unless stated otherwise, 'right' and 'left' always denote the papyrus' right and left when looking at text A on the recto. With respect to the verso, 'top' and 'bottom' are used when looking at the verso's text, i. e. recto's right is verso's bottom and verso's top is recto's left and the shorter edges are the right and left respectively. Reference to the verso is always marked as such.

Nowadays the papyrus is kept between two glass plates so that both sides of the papyrus are well visible. It is no longer one sheet as it was in antiquity, but consists out of eight fragments of different sizes, to which I have given the letters A to H as can be seen in the sketch (fig. 1) below. A long vertical break runs through the middle of the papyrus, apparently the result of a fold. Parts of fragments A, B and C are only loosely connected with the main body of each respective fragment. In its present state of conservation the papyrus measures 30.9 cm in height (maximally) and 22.5 cm in width, but, as pointed out further below, fragment G has to be moved to the right, increasing the maximum width to approximately 24.5 cm. The colour is a homogenous light yellowish beige with the exception of the distinctly different fragment H, discoloured grey. Looking at the papyrus against light shows its poor quality, for one can see the different degrees of thickness and the crossed layers of papyrus fibres: Parts of the papyrus are quite thick, others quite thin. The sheet apparently had holes already in antiquity, because in recto A 29 the distance between *rm* and *wꜥ* in the name *pa-rmwꜥ* is filled by four little holes which do not affect any sign and around which the scribe appears to have written the text.

The edges at the top, the bottom and the left show in the undamaged areas a fairly straight line which must be taken as a cut made by the Egyptian scribe. In contrast, the right edge's rather irregular shape is due to damages, mainly the loss of the right corner at the top. In general the right hand third of the papyrus is more poorly preserved than the rest with major lacunae between fragments A, F, G and H and between fragments B, E, F, G and H. Otherwise numerous smaller holes are scattered over the entire sheet, including some caused by worms.

The papyrus had been rolled until 1948 according to Botti and resembled a 'Tuscan cigar'.<sup>5</sup> The rolling is to be reconstructed as follows: The sheet was first rolled with the text of the recto to the interior so that the back of the right margin was the last layer to the outside, explaining the higher degree of damage in this area. Afterwards the papyrus was folded in the middle, as suggested by the horizontal break in the middle of the papyrus running over the whole width and the inscription of the verso running over the whole

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<sup>5</sup> BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 224.

length of the verso's bottom. This text must have been intended to be seen in the rolled and folded state, what could not have been achieved by folding the papyrus before rolling it.

As mentioned above, the placement of fragment F+G is to be rethought on the basis of four observations:

1. In the current position the beginnings of the lines in recto A are not flush, as one would expect.
2. For the determinative of *hnt* in recto A 26 more space is required. Likewise the length of the mother's name in recto A 30 is considerably shorter than in recto A 20.
3. The two parts of the verso's inscription are astonishingly not in one line, but their positions differ about 2 cm from each other.
4. In the same area, below both parts of the verso's writing the papyrus is equally thick, whereas the lower part of fragment G (when looking at the verso's script) is distinctly thinner and does not match with the neighbouring part of fragment A.

The only objection against a repositioning of fragments F+G is the fairly straight edge of fragment A, which appears to be a cut and which would not then align with the edge of fragment G, resulting in a stepped edge instead. Nevertheless the points listed above are, to my mind, very much in favour of a repositioning. Perhaps the right hand edge of A is, after all, a modern cut or a break and not due to cutting.

## *II. The Script*

The text is written in Demotic in a rather careful hand. The verso bears just one line running over the length of the papyrus (parallel to the long fibres on the surface of this side). The recto's text is formed by two parts: On the right 30 lines (recto A) parallel to the short fibres on this side and – turning the sheet 90° to the right – six lines running over its whole length, thus perpendicular to the short fibres. On the right a margin of 2.3 to 3 cm and on the left of 2.5 cm is left empty. Apart from these texts there are illegible traces of ink in the left corner on the bottom below recto B 6 and on the verso's top. The lack of further traces within the inscribed parts indicates that the papyrus is not a palimpsest. However, the sheet could have been cut off a previously inscribed longer roll preserving some of the other text's ink.

Fig. 1. The fragments of pTurin N. 766 (recto without ink, reduced to 70 % of the original size)

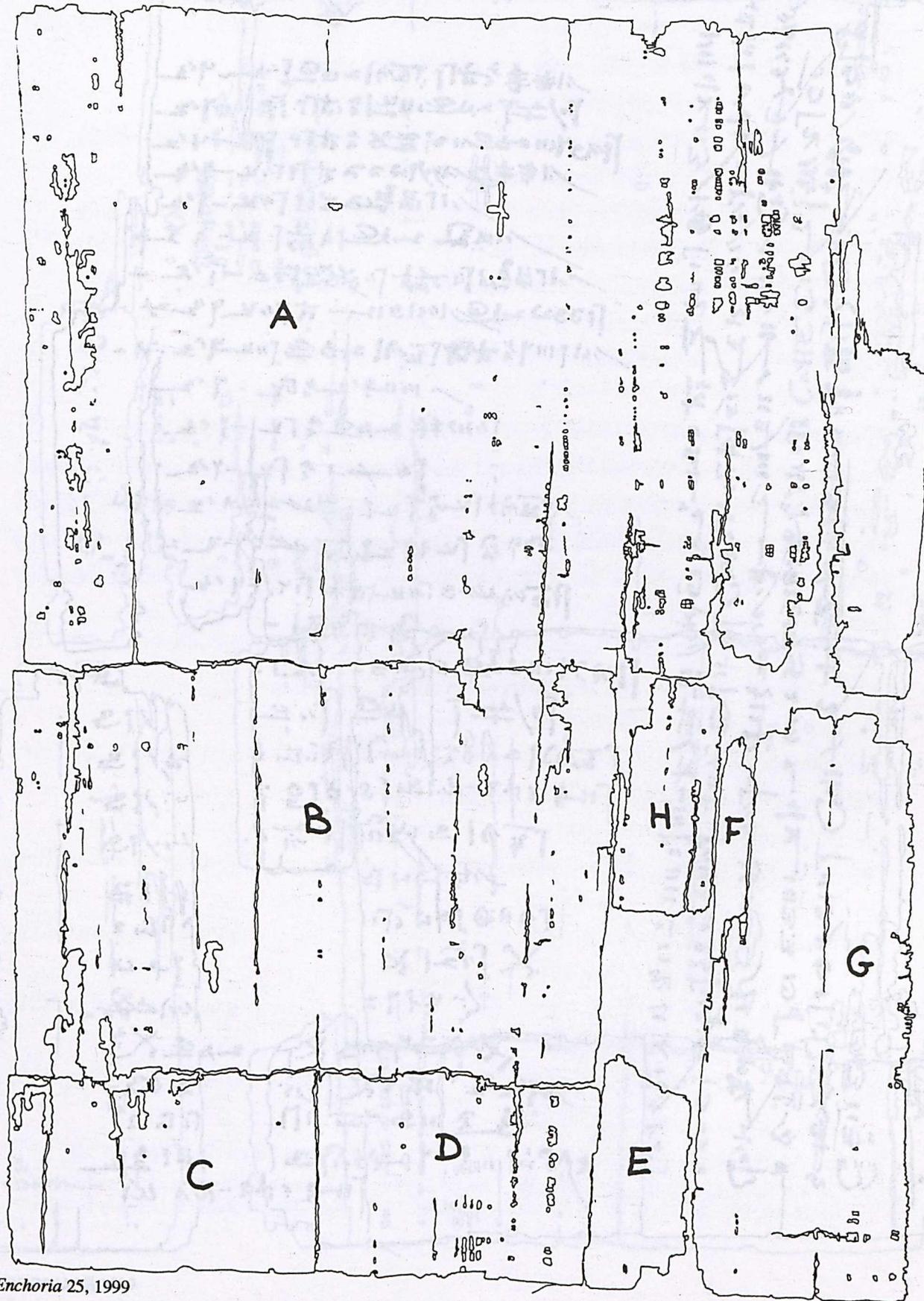


Fig. 2. Repositioning of the fragments (reduced to 70 % of the original size): recto

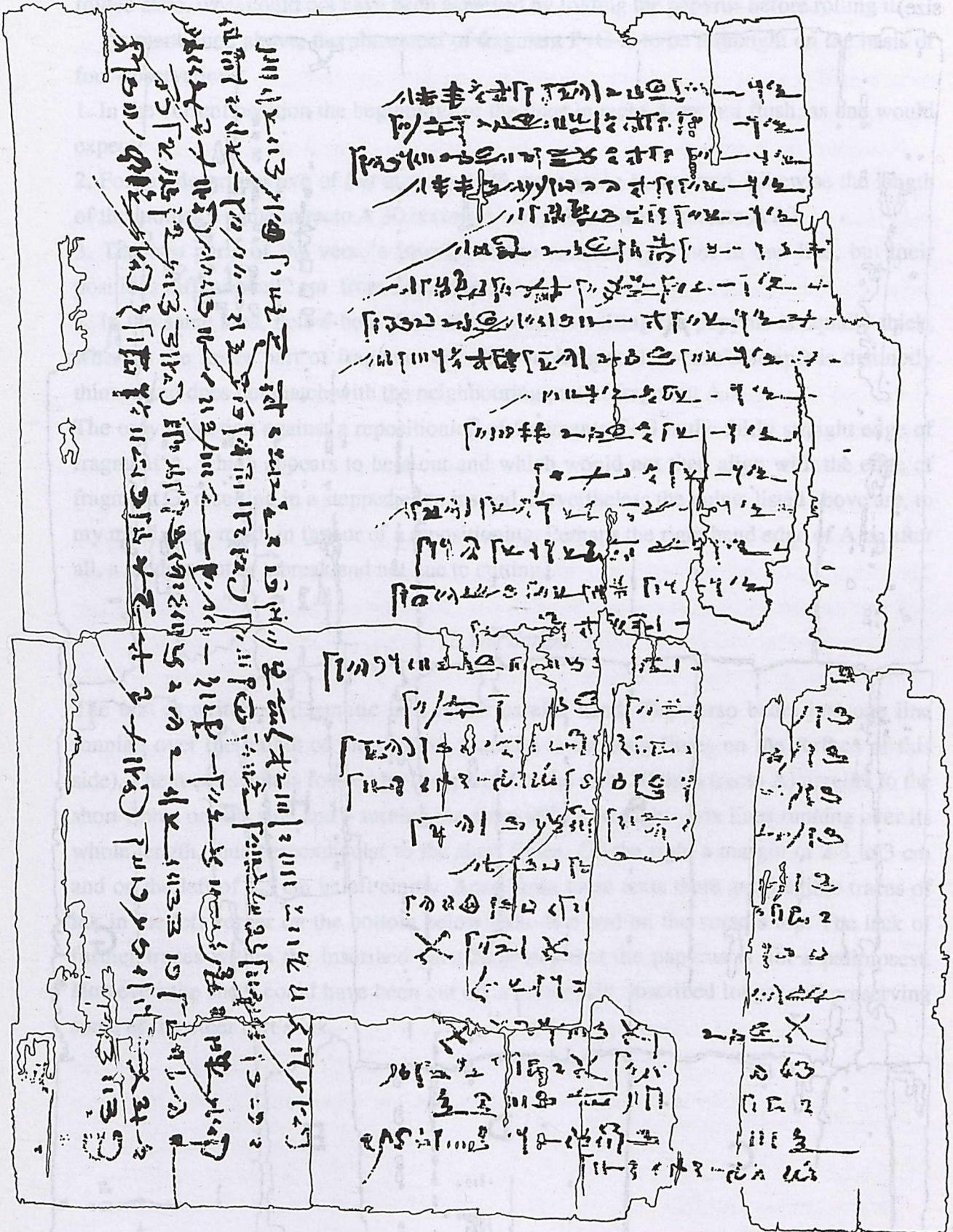
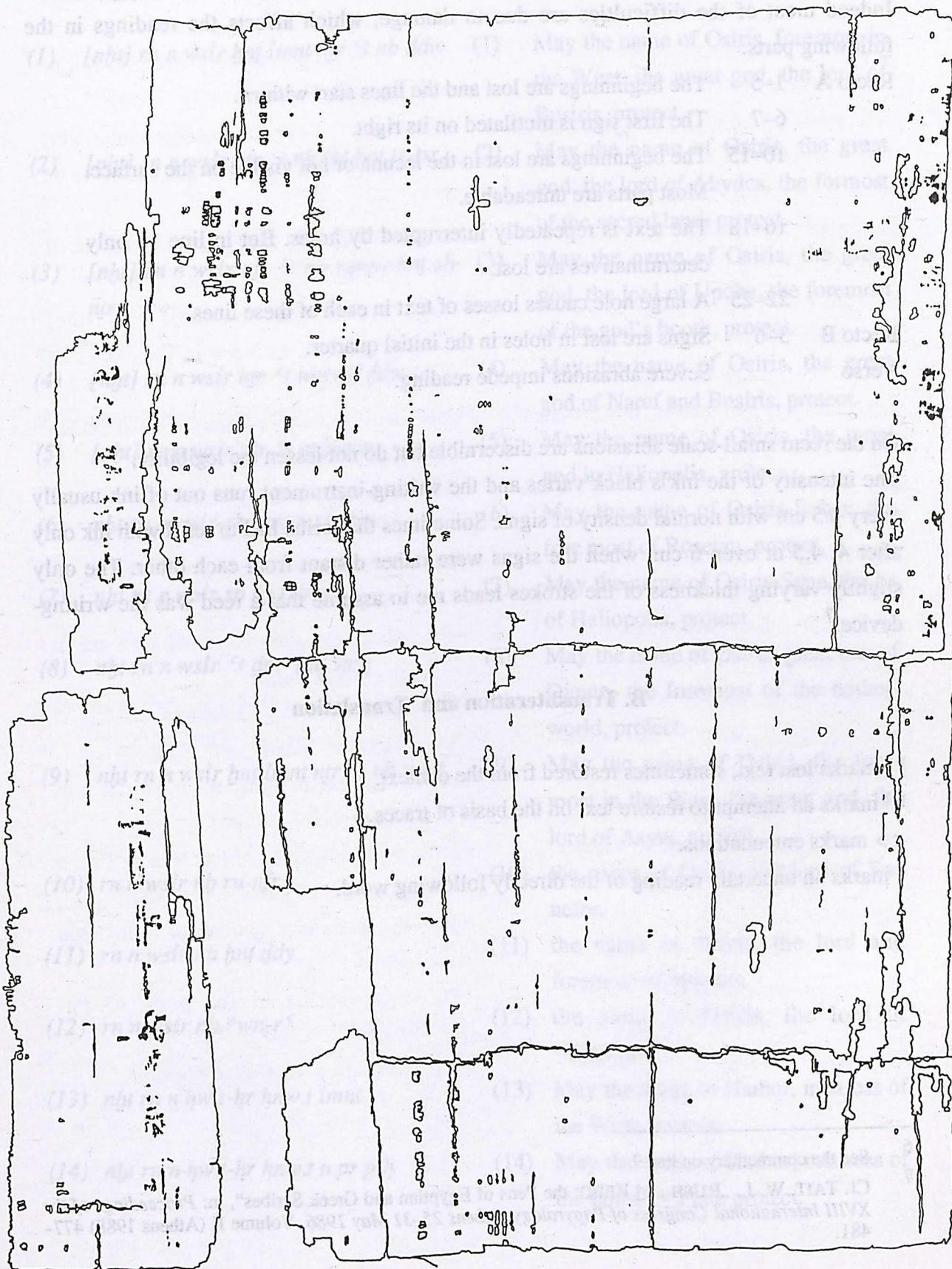


Fig. 3. Repositioning of the fragments (reduced to 70 % of the original size): verso



The writing is careful, with only one scribal error,<sup>6</sup> and does not pose too many problems. Indeed most of the difficulties are due to damage, which affects the readings in the following parts:

- Recto A 1–5 The beginnings are lost and the lines start with *rn*.  
 6–7 The first sign is mutilated on its right.  
 10–15 The beginnings are lost in the lacuna or not visible on the surface.  
 Most parts are unreadable.  
 16–18 The text is repeatedly interrupted by holes. But in line 18 only determinatives are lost.  
 22–25 A large hole causes losses of text in each of these lines.
- Recto B 3–6 Signs are lost in holes in the initial quarter.
- Verso Severe abrasions impede reading.

On the recto small-scale abrasions are discernible but do not lessen the legibility. The intensity of the ink's black varies and the writing-instrument runs out of ink usually every 3.5 cm with normal density of signs. Sometimes the scribe had to refill with ink only after 4, 4.5 or even 6 cm, when the signs were rather distant from each other. The only slightly varying thickness of the strokes leads me to assume that a reed was the writing-device.<sup>7</sup>

### B. Transliteration and Translation

[ ] marks lost text, sometimes restored from the context.

[ ] marks an attempt to restore text on the basis of traces.

< > marks emendations.

\* marks an uncertain reading of the directly following word.

<sup>6</sup> See the commentary on line 9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. TAIT, W. J., „RUSH and REED: the Pens of Egyptian and Greek Scribes“, in: *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology. Athens 25–31 May 1986*. Volume II (Athens 1988) 477–481.

## I. Recto A

- (1) [nh̄t] rn n ws̄r hn̄t ïmnt n̄r ʕ nb ḏḏw (1) May the name of Osiris, foremost in the West, the great god, the lord of Busiris, protect.
- (2) [nh̄t] rn n ws̄r n̄r ʕ nb ïbt hn̄t t̄3-tsr (2) May the name of Osiris, the great god, the lord of Abydos, the foremost of the sacred land, protect.
- (3) [nh̄t] rn n ws̄r n̄r ʕ nb wpqw hn̄t sh̄- n̄r (3) May the name of Osiris, the great god, the lord of Upoke, the foremost of the god's booth, protect.
- (4) [nh̄t] rn n ws̄r n̄r ʕ nn̄3wlf ḏḏw (4) May the name of Osiris, the great god of Naref and Busiris, protect.
- (5) [nh̄t] rn n ws̄r n̄r ʕ m ïwnw (5) May the name of Osiris, the great god in Heliopolis, protect.
- (6) nh̄t rn n ws̄r-skr hn̄t n r̄3-st̄3w (6) May the name of Osiris-Sokar, the foremost of Rosetau, protect.
- (7) nh̄t rn n ws̄r sp by ïwnw (7) May the name of Osiris-Sepa, the ba of Heliopolis, protect.
- (8) nh̄t rn n ws̄r ʕ ḏm̄<sup>c</sup> hn̄t ʕmh̄ (8) May the name of Osiris, great one of Djeme, the foremost of the nether-world, protect.
- (9) nh̄t rn n ws̄r hn̄t ïmnt n̄r ʕ nb syw̄t (9) May the name of Osiris, the foremost in the West, the great god, the lord of Asyut, protect,
- (10) rn n ws̄r nb rn-nfr (10) the name of Osiris, the lord of Ranefer,
- (11) rn n ws̄r nb hn̄t ḏḏy (11) the name of Osiris, the lord and foremost of Mendes,
- (12) rn n ws̄r nb \*wn-r<sup>c</sup> (12) the name of Osiris, the lord of \*Wen-Re.
- (13) nh̄t rn n ḥw.t-ḥr ḥnw.t ïmnt (13) May the name of Hathor, mistress of the West, protect.
- (14) nh̄t rn n ḥw.t-ḥr ḥnw.t n pr pth̄ (14) May the name of Hathor, mistress of the house of Ptah, protect.

- (15) *nḥt rn n pth-skr-wsṛ m ḥw.t n r* <sup>c</sup> (15) May the name of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in the house of Re, protect.
- (16) [...] *n ḥnpw ʕ sʕ wsṛ* <sup>l</sup> (16) [...] of Anubis, the great, 'the son of Osiris'.
- (17) *m[wr ...] ḥnpw [...] m wyt ḥnṯ šḥ-nṯr* (17) May [... of] Anubis, the embalmer, the foremost of the god's booth, be equipped,
- (18) *mwr [...] ḥnpw ḥnṯ t3-tsr* (18) may [... of] Anubis, the foremost of the sacred land, be equipped,
- (19) *mwr [...] n3 nṯr.w [n3] nṯr.wt ʕmw* <sup>l</sup> (19) may [... of] the gods and [the] goddesses who are in the West, be equipped,
- (20) *mwr [...] pa-rmwṯ ms n t3-šrt-ḥnsw* (20) may [... of] Pa-Remuti, born of Ta-sheret-Khensu, be equipped,
- (21) *mwr [by=f m] p.t ḥe<.t>=f m ḥmnt* (21) may [his soul] be equipped [in] the sky and his body in the West,
- (22) *mwr [...] ʕmw rsy* (22) may [...] who are in the South, be equipped,
- (23) *n3 nṯr.w [...] ʕmw tw3.t* (23) (and) the gods [..., and] who are in the netherworld,
- (24) *ʕmw [...] ḥ ḥnpw ḥ* (24) who are in [...]. O Anubis, o
- (25) *ḥw.t [-ḥr ...]nswg* (25) Hat[hor ...] *nswg*,
- (26) *ḥ ḥn[t].w ḥ rry.w m3<.t* <sup>l</sup> ḥ (26) o foremost ones, o you 'who act righteously', o (you)
- (27) *m-b3ḥ \*10 p3-r< ḥ n3 nṯr.w ḥtp.t* (27) in the presence of the \*ten of Pre, o you gods of the offering-table,
- (28) *n3 nṯr.w nṯr.wt my-tw=tn* (28) the gods and goddesses: May you place
- (29) *rnpy m ḥe.t pa-rmwṯ* (29) rejuvenation in the body of Pa-Remuti,
- (30) *ms <n> t3-šrt-ḥnsw* (30) born <by> Ta-sheret-Khensu,

II. recto B

- (1) *mtw=f swr wnm irm n3 iy<h>.w 3kr.w hr* (1) so that he will drink and eat together  
*t3 htp.t 3.t n qm3-ib mtw=f š<m> iy irm* with the excellent Akh-spirits at the  
 great offering-table of him who  
 invents with the heart. And that he  
 will go and come with
- (2) *n3 Ihm.w hft \*hm-<sup>1</sup>nh<sup>1</sup> p3-r<sup>c</sup> py hwy* (2) them [who exterminate the enemy  
*mtw imn ipy w3h-n=f mw n p3y=f hrw n* in \*Khem-ankh<sup>1</sup> (and) Re, the holy  
*iy r t3 iny.t* winged beetle. And that Amenope  
 will pour water for him on the day  
 of coming to the valley.
- (3) *mtw=f šp t3 izw.t Ih hn p3 w n hñ n p3y=f* (3) And that he will receive the office in  
*hrw n t yr r dm<sup>c</sup> mtw=w ti-n=f rñ=f* the bark of millions on his day of  
 crossing the river to Djeme. And  
 that his feet will be given to him
- (4) *hn imnt hr šm.t iy hn t3 wsh3.t m3<sup>c</sup>.t.w* (4) in the West for going and coming in  
*mtw=w <ti> šm=f n-dr.t dhwti hr* the Hall of the Righteous Ones. And  
 that they will <cause> that he may  
 go by the hand of Thoth because of  
 the efficacious deeds he has done on  
 earth. And that they will give him  
 great power in the presence of the  
 lord of the gods. And that he will  
 enter the place
- (5) *n3 mnh<.w> r.ir=f hr p3 t3 mtw=w ti-n=f* (5) which is glorious.  
*3 phñ m-b3h p3 nb ntr.w mtw=f q r p3*  
*m3<sup>c</sup>*
- (6) *nt šš<sup>c</sup>* (6) which is glorious.

III. Verso

*t3 š<sup>c</sup>.t<sup>1</sup> n sns n nt iy hr d3d3 [n pa-rmwñ]*

[The Book<sup>1</sup> of Breathing that goes  
 beneath the head [of Pa-Remuti]

## C. Commentary

## I. Recto

## Line 1

Botti reconstructs  $t\dot{i}<=y>$  in lines 1–5 comparing lines 6–10 and 13–15.<sup>8</sup> The translation ‘rivolgo (io) preghiera a (...)’, however, is not convincing. Taking the sign as the proclitic pronoun of the first person singular, reflecting the actual pronunciation of the Coptic  $\dagger$ –,<sup>9</sup> causes some problems: ‘I am the name of Osiris in ...’ is odd in respect to both grammar and meaning, even if one assumes that  $rn$  is the Demotic expression for  $k\dot{z}$ .<sup>10</sup> I have considered the reading  $nht$  (as an unattested and therefore debatable short form): ‘may the name of ... protect.’ But looking at the general structure of the Second Book of Breathing,<sup>11</sup> ‘May my name flourish as the name of god NN flourishes in ...’, I find it difficult to fit in the rendering proposed here, because it does not involve the deceased at all, as it is the case in the hieratic texts. Alternatively  $\mathbf{2/}$  could be a rare form of  $n$ <sup>12</sup> and  $rn$  as an expression for  $k\dot{z}$ . If so, then lines 1–15 would be an offering-litany and they would not follow the Second Book of Breathing as a pattern. Because of the semi-hieratic writing of the toponym for ‘Busiris’ I transliterate  $\underline{d}dw$ , although  $twtw$ <sup>13</sup> is more usual.

## Line 3

$wpqw$  (<  $w pqr$  ‘district of Poker’, Coptic  $\sigma\pi\omega\kappa\epsilon$ )<sup>14</sup> is to be read and not  $wp\text{-}hwn$ , interpreted as an epithet of Osiris.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226, 228.

<sup>9</sup> SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg 1925) 68.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. pRhind I 7 h10, d10, 9 h10, d10, 10 h5, d6 und II 9 h7, d8 (MÖLLER, G., *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburgh*, *Demotische Studien* 6 (Leipzig 1913) 36f., 42f., 46f., 68f., pls. 7, 9, 10, 20). Cf. BLACKMAN, A. M., „The Pharaoh’s Placenta and the Moon-God Khons“, in *JEA* 3 (1916) 242 n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Here following the terminology of COENEN, M., „Books of Breathings. More than a Terminological Question?“ In: *OLP* 26 (1995) 29–38.

<sup>12</sup> ERICHSEN, W., *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen 1954) 198.

<sup>13</sup> On the semi-hieratic writing: SMITH, M., *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum (London 1987) 98 f. (A list of further attestations in Demotic can be found there; the reference, however, for pCairo 31169 is not line 23, but line 24. SPIEGELBERG, W., *Die Demotischen Denkmäler II. Die demotischen Inschriften 30601–31270, 50001–50022*. CGC: (Strassburg 1906) pl. 109.) Transliteration with  $\underline{d}dw$ : VITTMANN, G., „Ein neuer religiöser demotischer Text (Mumienbrett BM 35464)“, in: *ZÄS* 117 (1990) 81 f.

<sup>14</sup> For further attestations in Demotic: SMITH, M., *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* (Oxford 1993) 54. Cf. HOFFMANN, F., „Die Lesung des demotischen Wortes für Götterbarke“, in: *Enchoria* 23 (1996) 40.

<sup>15</sup> BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226, 228.

A funerary monument of Osiris with his funerary bed was thought to be in the area of Poker at Abydos.<sup>16</sup> In imitation of this, similar Osiris-sanctuaries at other sites (Sais, Buto) were given the same name.<sup>17</sup> The importance of Upoke in the Graeco-Roman period is proved by the prophecy of the lamb of Bokchoris (pVindob. D 10000 II 17), where it is mentioned together with six other Egyptian cities (Heliopolis, Bubastis, Nilupolis, Sebennytos, Memphis, Thebes, Letopolis) with whom the 'great trees of Upoke' are in grief because of the miseries occurring in Egypt.<sup>18</sup>

Botti read the last word in this line and line 17 as *ssnw* and interpreted it as a Demotic transcription of the Late Period hieroglyphic writing of *hmnw* 'Hermupolis',<sup>19</sup> written with two folded-cloth-*s*-sign,<sup>20</sup> derived from the hieratic writing of the double four strokes.<sup>21</sup> The context in line 17 where the name of Anubis replaces that of Osiris in the combination with this epithet suggests the reading *sh-ntr* (see below). In all attestations of this word known so far it is written with **𐤀** as first letter, with the exception of the unetymological writing of Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 1374 a+b as *s3-hw.t-ntr* lit. 'son of the temple',<sup>22</sup> sometimes with an additional *y* as *syh-ntr*.<sup>23</sup> The signs **𐤀** before **𐤀** may be a corruption through the writings for *sh* 'mummy, deceased' attested with this *s* and a group like *ntr* at the end.<sup>24</sup>

- 16 Its location at the modern Umm al-qaâb is subject to some debate: Denied by CHASSINAT, É., *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak I* (Le Caire 1966) 253–255, and in contradiction to him and his followers later advocated by LEAHY, A., „A Protective Measure at Abydos“, in: *JEA* 75 (1989) 57–59, and accepted by KOEMOTH, P., *Osiris et les arbres. Contribution à l'étude des arbres sacrés de l'Égypte ancienne*. *Aegyptiaca Leodiensia* 3 (Liège 1994) 245.
- 17 CHASSINAT, *Khoiak I* 253–260. Cf. GRIFFITH, F. LI. / THOMPSON, H., *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (London 1909) 91, XII 17. KOMOETH, *Osiris* 245–249.
- 18 ZAUZICH, K.-Th., „Das Lamm des Bokchoris“, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.) Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Wien 1983) 166, 168, 173. THISSEN, H.-J., „'Apocalypse now!'. Anmerkungen zum Lamm des Bokchoris“, in: CLARYSSE, W. / SCHOORS, A. / WILLEMS, H. (Hgg.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur II*. OLA 85 (Leuven 1998) 1044 f.
- 19 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227, 228.
- 20 S 26 in Gardiner's sign-list (GARDINER, A. H., *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford 1957) 507.). The writing for 'Hermupolis': *Wb* III 283. GAUTHIER, H., *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques IV* (Le Caire 1928) 176. But cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 360 f. for the usual writing in Demotic.
- 21 E. g. MÖLLER, G., *Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit I* (Leipzig 1909) 63 no. 663.
- 22 SMITH, M., „A Demotic Formula of Intercession for the Deceased“, in: *Enchoria* 19 / 20 (1992 / 93) 134, 140, pl. 34.
- 23 For the quotation of other references in Demotic see SMITH, *Liturgy* 39. Cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 445.
- 24 ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 445.

The deity connected with the god's booth<sup>25</sup> is usually Anubis, who is found as the *ḥnty sh-ntṛ* since the fourth dynasty, whereas Osiris or the deceased identified with Osiris is the *imy sh-ntṛ*.<sup>26</sup> The designation of Osiris as 'foremost of the God's Booth' is rather unusual, but it is attested for the Graeco-Roman period.<sup>27</sup> In a hymn to Osiris in Dendera one finds *in iw=k m dwn-ḥn.wy m-ḥnt sh-ntṛ* (...) 'Are you in Dunanui in the god's booth?',<sup>28</sup> with *m-ḥnt* 'in etw. (einem Raum, Ort u. s. w.) befindlich', the most frequent use of this idiom<sup>29</sup> corresponding to the older *imy*. Therefore I think that in the Graeco-Roman period *m-ḥnt sh-ntṛ* 'in the god's booth' was reinterpreted as *ḥnt / ḥnty sh-ntṛ* 'foremost of the god's booth', and in pTurin N. 766 a Demotic attestation is found. Alternatively one may see the transformation of Osiris into Anubis as a reason for Osiris' assumption of the Anubis-epithet.<sup>30</sup>

#### Line 4

*nnṣwlf* is a writing of the toponym *nṣrf*.<sup>31</sup> Further attestations of *nṣrf* (possibly to be read *nnṣrf*) in Demotic are found in pRylands 9 XX 10 and 18 (*wsir nṣrf*).<sup>32</sup> Botti gives an *m* after *nnṣwlf*.<sup>33</sup> The *m*-like sign may well be a part of *nnṣwlf*'s determinatives, since Naref is not in Busiris.

Naref seems to be a place in the 20th Upper Egyptian nome (Heracleopolis Magna – *nṣr.t ḥnt.t*), because it is often mentioned together with Heracleopolis.<sup>34</sup> Like Busiris, Ro-

<sup>25</sup> For the term, perhaps better translated 'shrine', see: SPENCER, P., *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study* (London 1984) 114–119.

<sup>26</sup> Pyr. 184 a. Pyr. 2100 c. Cf. ALLEN, T. G., *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts*. SAOC 27 (Chicago 1950) 99. ALTENMÜLLER, H., „Zur Bedeutung der 'Gotteshalle des Anubis'“, in: *JEOL* 22 (1971–72) 308 f. FAULKNER, R. O., *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10569)* (Oxford 1958) 7, 17\*.

<sup>27</sup> *Wb* III 465, 4. (Urk. II 63, 11. Edfou I 489, 18–490, 1. MARIETTE, A., *Dendérah. Description générale du grand temple de cette ville* III (Paris 1873) pl. 69 a. MARIETTE, *Dendérah* IV pl. 89.) See CAUVILLE, S., *Le Temple de Dendara. Les chapelles osiriennes* I. BdÉ 117 (Le Caire 1997) 221, 229. *Ead.*, *Chapelles Osiriennes* II, BdÉ 118, 254 f., 261, 271. PJumilhac XI upper part 15 (VANDIER, J., *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris 1961) 121.) FAULKNER, R. O., „Giessen University Library Papyrus No. 115“, in: *JEA* 44 (1958) 71 f.

<sup>28</sup> MARIETTE, *Dendérah* IV pl. 73, 24. *Dendara* II 131, 2. Cf. BEINLICH, H., „Zwei Osirishymnen in Dendera“, in: *ZÄS* 122 (1955) 13, 27.

<sup>29</sup> *Wb* III 302, 11.

<sup>30</sup> PJumilhac upper part VIII 12 f. (VANDIER, *Papyrus Jumilhac*. Cf. *id.*, „Le dieu Sokar Shou dans le Papyrus Jumilhac“, in: *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 273–275.)

<sup>31</sup> LIMME, L., in: *LÄ* IV (Wiesbaden 1982) 348 s. v. Naref. SMITH, *Mortuary Texts* 57. Cf. GAUTHIER, *DG* III 67 f.

<sup>32</sup> GRIFFITH, F. Ll., *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* III (Manchester 1909) 246 n. 10, 423.

<sup>33</sup> BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226.

<sup>34</sup> ASSMANN, J., *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik* I. MÄS 19 (Berlin 1969) 69. Cf. CHASSINAT, *Khoiak* I 155. *AEO* II 114\*. STERNBERG-EL HOTABI, H.,

setau and other places with Osirian associations, Naref was thought to be the location of a grand tribunal before which Osiris or the deceased was justified against his enemies.<sup>35</sup> As a burial place of Osiris (or rather his umbilical cord)<sup>36</sup> it was consecrated to him and was the setting of 'mysteries', sepulchral rites and ceremonies of resurrection.<sup>37</sup> This explains the important role of this toponym in the Book of the Dead, whereas it is rarely attested outside religious texts.<sup>38</sup>

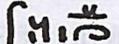
#### Line 5

For the solar aspect of Osiris probably expressed in the epithet 'great god in Heliopolis' see the commentary on line 7 and cf. *wsîr 3 pḥ.t m îwnw* 'Osiris great in might in Heliopolis' of pBerlin 6750 V, 4 f.<sup>39</sup> See also the caption of a Minia-coffin<sup>40</sup> and pBerlin 8351 III 1 and M. Smith's remarks on that line.<sup>41</sup>

#### Line 6

For the interpretation of the first sign in the line see the commentary on line 1.

*R3-sf3w* should be read<sup>42</sup> instead of *Pr-sdr*.<sup>43</sup>

Sokar is written here  *srk* and in line 15.<sup>44</sup>

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„Die 'Götterliste' des Sanktuars im Hibis-Tempel von El-Chargeh. Überlegungen zur Tradierung und Kodifizierung religiösen und kulttopographischen Gedankengutes“, in: MINAS, M. / ZEIDLER, J. (eds.), *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur. Fs E. WINTER. Aegyptiaca Treverensia 7* (Mainz 1994) 243 f.

- 35 GOYON, J. C., *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris 1972) 250. NAVILLE, É., *Das Aegyptische Totdenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden II* (Berlin 1886) 81, 29–82, 31. Cf. KEES, H., „Göttinger Totenbuchstudien“, in: *ZÄS 65* (1930) 69 f. BD sp. 18 (NAVILLE, *Totdenbuch II* 78, 81.).
- 36 BLACKMAN, A. M., „Emblem upon the Head of an Egyptian Birth-Goddess“, in: *JEA 3* (1916) 204.
- 37 GOYON, J. C., „Le cérémonial de glorification d'Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I. 3079 (colonnes 110 à 111)“, in: *BIFAO 65* (1967) 113, 127. MOKHTAR, M. G. E.-D., *Ihnâsya el-Medina (Herakleopolis magna). Its Importance and its Role in Pharaonic History*. BdÉ 40 (Le Caire 1983) 177–200.
- 38 ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder* 69, and the references cited there.
- 39 SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig / Berlin 1902) pl. 78.
- 40 KURTH, D., *Der Sarg der Teüris*. *Aegyptiaca Treverensia 6* (Mainz 1990) 33. As Kurth points out, the inscriptions on this coffin seem to be fixed phrases added by the artist who had a very basic or rather rudimentary knowledge of hieroglyphs. This would indicate how common the connection of Osiris with Heliopolis was.
- 41 SMITH, *Liturgy* 26, 31, 50, pl. 3.
- 42 SMITH, „An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 9 (p) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part1)“, in: *Enchoria 15* (1987) 61–91. Id., *Liturgy 37*. SPIEGELBERG, W., *Zu R3-sf3w*, „Nekropolis“, in: *ZÄS 59* (1924) 159 f.
- 43 BOTTI, *JEA 54* (1968) 226, 228.
- 44 For other attestations of this writing cf. MALEK, J. / SMITH, M., „Henry Salt's Egyptian copies and drawings“, in: *GM 64* (1983) 48 f. and SPIEGELBERG, W., *Ägyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit*. *Demotische Studien 1* (Leipzig 1901) pl. 16 no. 46.

Ro-Setau, denoting the Memphite necropolis (including Saqqara and Giza), was also a region in the netherworld where the deceased wished to see the sun-god<sup>45</sup> and a place of judgement where Osiris was justified against his enemies.<sup>46</sup> Since the Pyramid Texts, Ro-Setau was primarily associated with Sokar,<sup>47</sup> its lord, who was then superseded, but never entirely eliminated in this respect by Osiris in the course of the increasingly frequent syncretism of the two gods.<sup>48</sup> The text examined here reflects the original association of Sokar with Ro-Setau.

#### Line 7

*sp* (< *spʒ*): See M. Smith's discussion of *sp*.<sup>49</sup> Cf. the similar writing on the stela CG 31122<sup>50</sup> and in pLouvre E 3452 V 10 with just the divine determinative.<sup>51</sup>

*byn*: The photograph suggests the reading *byn* 'phoenix',<sup>52</sup> but in fact *by* 'soul' is written. The papyrus is undamaged at this point and no traces of an *n* are visible.<sup>53</sup> The sense is not really affected, because the concepts of Osiris both as a phoenix and as a soul in Heliopolis are closely related.<sup>54</sup>

Osiris-Sepa is found e. g. in BD sp. 142<sup>55</sup> and pBM 10569 IV 1 and VI 20.<sup>56</sup> In pBM 10569 IV 1 Osiris-Sepa is called the 'most august of the spirits of Heliopolis', and in the same papyrus in VII 7 simply Sepa the 'most august of Spirits of Heliopolis'.<sup>57</sup> The chthonic millipede Sepa had his sanctuary near the Heliopolitan harbour and was the only

45 ZIVIE, C. M., „Encore Ro-setaou“, in: *JEA* 70 (1984) 145.

46 GOYON, *Rituels funéraires funéraires* 250. BD sp. 18 (NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 82.).

47 Pyr. 445b.

48 ZIVIE, C. M., in: *LÄ* V (Wiesbaden 1984) 303–309 s. v. Ro-setau. Most recently on Ro-Setau: EL-KHOLY, A., „Quelques remarques sur le Ra-Setaou“, in: *ArOr* 67 (1999) 45–50.

49 SMITH, *Liturgie* 65.

50 SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Denkmäler* I. 48, pl. 11.

51 LEGRAIN, G., *Le Livre des transformations* (Paris 1890) pl. 5.

52 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226.

53 For the writings of *by* with a round element (bird determinative) between the *y* and the divine determinative cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 111, and the even more similar ones of pBerlin 1522, 5 (SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus Berlin* pl. 84) and the inscription of the coffin Edinburgh L. 224/3002, 5 l. 3 (BARNES, J., „A Demotic Coffin Inscription in Edinburgh“, in: *Diatribae ... Lexa* 1. *ArOr* 20 (1952) 69–71).

54 KEES, H., *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (Berlin 1926) 63.

55 NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 366.

56 FAULKNER, *Book of Hours* 2, 4.

57 FAULKNER, *Book of Hours* 4.

deity of this region with whom Osiris could be amalgamated to be integrated into the Heliopolitan system.<sup>58</sup>

In the Book of the Dead, spell 17, shortly after an allusion to the soul (*bꜣ*) of Re, the great phoenix (*bnw*) in Heliopolis is explicitly identified with Osiris.<sup>59</sup> Later on, paralleled in CT spell 335,<sup>60</sup> the double-soul is explained as the unification of Osiris and the soul of Re after Osiris entered Mendes, found the soul of Re there and embraced it.<sup>61</sup> Osiris-Phoenix is sometimes called the 'soul of Re in the bark of millions' (pLouvre I. 3079 CX II 15)<sup>62</sup> and Osiris is explicitly denoted as Re's soul in Dendera.<sup>63</sup> The Demotic papyrus studied here seems to share the same idea in referring to the solar nature of Osiris as the soul in the main cult-centre of Re.

#### Line 8

Without giving a reference Botti transliterates *ꜣmm* and explains it as a locality in the Memphite area or a holy place in the netherworld.<sup>64</sup> The reading *ꜣmh* proposed here, Botti's second *m* being read as *ḥ* by comparison with the *m*-like *ḥ* in *sh-ntr* in lines 3 and 16, takes the word as a descendant of the older *imḥ.t*, 'Name der Unterwelt, Nekropole verschiedener Orte, Teil des Tempels von Dendera',<sup>65</sup> which might be – but not necessarily – the necropolis of Memphis<sup>66</sup> and which denotes, in the Book of the Two Ways, the home of Osiris in the sky.<sup>67</sup> It is attested in Demotic as following:

<sup>58</sup> KEES, H., *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1956) 59 f., 266. Cf. EL-BANNA, E., „À propos des aspects héliopolitains d'Osiris“, in: *BIFAO* 89 (1989) 101–126, for a collection of documents referring to Osiris in Heliopolis. Cf. CORTEGGIANI, J.-P., „Une stèle héliopolitaine d'époque saïte“, in: *Hommages à la mémoire de S. Sauneron* I. BdÉ 81 (Le Caire 1979) 121, 134–141, 142–147, for references to the cult of Sepa.

<sup>59</sup> NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 38–41.

<sup>60</sup> CT IV 276–281. See WILLEMS, H., *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden 1988) 153 f.

<sup>61</sup> NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 57 f. Cf. SPIEGEL, J., „Versuche zur Verschmelzung von Re und Osiris“, in: WESTENDORF, W., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien. Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*. GOF IV.3 (Wiesbaden 1975) 129–181, esp. 144 ff.

<sup>62</sup> GOYON, J. C., „Le cérémonial pour faire sortir Sokaris. Papyrus Louvre I. 3079, col. 112–114“, in: *RdÉ* 20 (1968) 66, 90. See also GOYON, *Rituels funéraires* 200, 220.

<sup>63</sup> E. g. *Dendara* II 139. Cf. NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 95. BELLUCCIO, A., „Le mythe du Phénix à la lumière de la consubstantialité royale du père et du fils“, in: *Atti del VI Congresso internazionale di egittologia* II (Turin 1993) 24.

<sup>64</sup> BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226, 229.

<sup>65</sup> *Wb* I 88.

<sup>66</sup> GOYON, *BIFAO* 65 (1967) 133 n. 213. EL-SAYED, R., „Un document relatif au culte dans Kher-Aha (Statue Caire CG. 682)“, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 195 n. f.

<sup>67</sup> LESKO, L. H., *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Two Ways* (Berkeley 1972) 61.

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*imḥ* (pRylands 9 XXV 4)<sup>68</sup>

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*imhy* (stela CG 31110, l. 3)<sup>69</sup>

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*ꜥmhy*<sup>70</sup>

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*ꜥmḥꜥ.t* (pBerlin 8351 IV 21)<sup>71</sup>

Djeme (*im.t ꜥm.t > dm<sup>c</sup>*),<sup>72</sup> the modern Medinet Habu, is the burial place of the Hermupolitan ogdoad and Amun in his manifestation as the *km-ꜥ.t=f*-serpent. This very serpent is identified with Osiris,<sup>73</sup> turning Djeme into a burial place of Osiris,<sup>74</sup> possibly not before the Saite period.<sup>75</sup> In Demotic *wsir ꜥ n dm<sup>c</sup>* is also found in pCairo 31170, l. 8–9<sup>76</sup> and in pLouvre E 3452 II 2.<sup>77</sup>

#### Line 9

As in the next two lines, the first word in this line is *rn*, without any traces of the sign that I read *nḥt* on the undamaged surface of the papyrus here. In lines 12 f. the latter reappears, possibly due to the change of the divine name from Osiris to Hathor.

Here the scribe's only correction of a mistake is found in *nḥr*. Apparently misled by the divine determinative of *imnt* he wrote *ꜥ* as the next word, leaving out *nḥr*, but he immediately realized the mistake, corrected it to *nḥr* and then added *ꜥ*.

<sup>68</sup> GRIFFITH, *Rylands* I pl. 47, III 328.

<sup>69</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Denkmäler* I 41–44, pl. 9.

<sup>70</sup> BRUGSCH, H., *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*. Fünfte Abtheilung (Leipzig 1891) 990 no. 65, l. 5.

<sup>71</sup> SMITH, *Liturgy* 28, 33, 61, 91, pl. 3. Two other attestations in the unpublished Bodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3 (P) II 10 and 11 are quoted there on p. 61. Further examples of the word: DEVAUCHELLE, D., „Une invocation aux dieux du Sérapéum de Memphis“, in: CLARYSSE, W. / SCHOORS, A. / WILLEMS, H. (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies dedicated to the Memory of Jean Quaegebeur* I. OLA 84 (Leuven 1998) 603f.

<sup>72</sup> GAUTHIER, *DG* VI 66.

<sup>73</sup> SETHE, K., *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*. APAW 4 (Berlin 1929) 55.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *Urk.* VIII 59, § 72d and pWien 3865, l. 29 (HERBIN, F. R., „Une liturgie des rites décadaires de Djemê. Papyrus Vienne 3865“, in: *RdÉ* 35 (1984) 106–126, who cites references to Osiris' burial in Opet 91, and Opet III 44. These are ambiguous, since they actually refer to Amun-Re – who is admittedly identified as the 'noble soul of Osiris'.).

<sup>75</sup> KOEMOTH, *Osiris* 7. HERBIN, F. R., *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*. OLA 58 (Leuven 1994) 139.

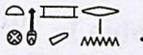
<sup>76</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Denkmäler* II 281, pl. 112. In the transliteration the lines 8 and 9 are inadvertently inverted.

<sup>77</sup> LEGRAIN, *Transformations* pl. 2.

Although Upuaut was the main deity of Asyut, Osiris is attested as the 'lord of Asyut' from the time of the Pyramid Texts<sup>78</sup> until at least the Persian period (pCairo 50059, 2).<sup>79</sup> and the cult-place of Anubis in Asyut's necropolis *r3-qrr.t* became the site of a tomb of Osiris through the identification Anubis-Osiris.<sup>80</sup> A reference in pCairo 50058, 5<sup>81</sup> proves the existence of a temple of Osiris in Asyut.<sup>82</sup>

## Line 10

The dot at the beginning before *rn* is either part of *rn* or, alternatively, the scribe inadvertently started to write the *nht*-sign that he just had decided to leave out for the rest of the Osiris-names.

The unattested *Qwsb3*<sup>83</sup> looks like *rn nfr* plus a very faint determinative for a toponym. In pBM 10569 VIII 11 and in the inscription of Louvre E 7689 Osiris is called the lord of <sup>84</sup> *R3-nfr(.t)* also occurs as one of Osiris' districts in a decree of Amun-Re for Osiris, written <sup>85</sup>. On the basis of the homophony of *rn-nfr* (*rn* being in Coptic  $\rho\Delta\mathbf{N}$ , thus vocalized in the middle)<sup>86</sup> and *r3-nfr(.t)* I take the first as an unetymological writing for the latter.<sup>87</sup> Probably there was a town *r3-nfr(.t)* in the nome of Mendes,<sup>88</sup> mentioned in the next line, another one in the Hermopolitan nome.<sup>89</sup>

## Line 11

The two *dd*-pillars and the signs after them that are transliterated *y* here, plus the determinatives (a sun and a divine determinative) cannot be read *Tt-pr-R*<sup>c</sup> and understood as an unattested toponym in the Memphite area.<sup>90</sup> The word seems not to be

78 Pyr. 630 and 1634.

79 SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Denkmäler* III. 42 f, pl. 18–20.

80 *Urk.* VII 56 f.

81 SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Denkmäler* III 40 f., pl 17.

82 BEINLICH, H., in: *LÄ I* (Wiesbaden 1975) 489–495 s. v. Assiut.

83 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226, 229.

84 FAULKNER, *Book of Hours* 5, 12\*. Cf. GAUTHIER, *DG* III 121. LEFEBVRE, G., „Textes égyptiennes du Louvre“, in: *RdE* 1 (1933) 88f.

85 DARESSY, M. G., „Un décret d'Amon en faveur d'Osiris“, in: *ASAE* 18 (1918) 220.

86 CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford 1939) 297.

87 Cf. SMITH, M., „Lexicographical Notes on Demotic Texts“, in: *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens. Fs W. Westendorf* 1. Sprache (Göttingen 1984) 390, and id., *Liturgie* 58, for *r3-nfr* in pBerlin 8351 IV 5, written as *rm-nfr*.

88 GAUTHIER, *DG* III 121.

89 However, the reading for that place in pLoeb 10, 6 is as uncertain as its location, see SPIEGELBERG, W., *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb* (München 1931) IX f., 34, 5\*, pl. 8.

90 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226, 229.

‘Busiris’ either, because that toponym is written differently in lines 1 and 4. ‘Mendes’ is not in ERICHSEN’s *Glossar*, but the *y* – for its transliteration cf. the similar *y* in *by* (recto A 7) – might reflect the vowel that is a relic of the lost feminine *.t* of *dd.t*.<sup>91</sup>

The Ram, lord of Mendes, was assimilated to Osiris as his soul from very early times onwards, as well as an incarnation of the souls of Re, Shu and Geb.<sup>92</sup> Hence the ram was four-headed and four naoi were built for him.<sup>93</sup> According to pJumilhac IV 21 f. and V the Mendesian nome was the place where the phallus or – according to another tradition – the backbone of Osiris was found.<sup>94</sup> For the unification of Osiris and the soul of Re cf. the commentary on line 8.

#### Line 12

Cf. the uncertain *wn-r* in pCairo 31169 recto I 20.<sup>95</sup> All signs are clearly separate and look like *nt t̄ r* in the original (cf. *t̄* at the end of recto B 3), but the ‘lord who gives Re’ is not convincing either.

#### Line 13

Botti’s *pth-skr-ws̄r n s.t imnt* seems to be impossible. In line 14 he read the same signs before his *pr sw* as part of *pth-skr-ws̄r*, while he transliterated them as *n s.t* in line 13.<sup>96</sup> But *pth-skr-ws̄r* is written in the normal way (with *skr* written as *srk*, see commentary on recto A 6) in line 15. In fact *ḥw.t-ḥr ḥnw.t* is written in both lines, followed here by *imnt*.

#### Line 14

Botti transliterates *pr sw* instead of *pr pth*, but cannot quote another attestation for this toponym.<sup>97</sup>

For Hathor as mistress of Memphis cf. the *ḥw.t-ḥr nb.t inbw* in e. g. pLouvre I 3079, 52, 65<sup>98</sup> and pBM 10188, XX 10.<sup>99</sup>

91 Cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Grammatik* §§ 21–24, esp. Anmerkung on p. 21 f.

92 DE MEULENAERE, H., „Cults and Priesthoods of the Mendesian Nome“, in: HALL, E. S. / BOTHMER, B. V. (eds.), *Mendes II* (Warminster 1976) 179.

93 SOGHOR, C. L., II, „Inscriptions from Tell el Rub’a“, in: *JARCE* 6 (1967) 16–23.

94 VANDIER, *Papyrus Jumilhac* 136 f.

95 SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Denkmäler* II 270, pl. 109. See DARESSY, G., „La liste géographique du papyrus no. 31169 du Caire“, in: *Sphinx* 14 (1911) 158.

96 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226.

97 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226, 229.

98 GOYON, *RdÉ* 20 (1968) 68, 78, 80, 93 n. 45.

99 FAULKNER, R. O., *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (British Museum No. 10188)*. BAe III (Bruxelles 1933) 39. Cf. GOYON, *RdÉ* 20 (1968) 93 n. 45.

## Line 15

In connection with a toponym or building *m-b3h*<sup>100</sup> is rather uncommon. Normally, that preposition is only used with kings and gods<sup>101</sup> and occasionally with the deceased.<sup>102</sup> I prefer to read *m*.

*R*<sup>c</sup> appears here in a semi-hieratic form.

For Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in the House of Re (*hw.t n r<sup>c</sup>*) cf. *dd mdw in pth rsy inbw<=f> ntr* *3 hry-ib inw.t tnw m d.t=f n pr-r<sup>c</sup> (...)* 'Spell by Ptah who is south of <his> wall, the great god dwelling in Dendera, the august one in his image of the house of Re (...)'.<sup>103</sup>

## Line 16

Perhaps *nht rn n* is to be restored at the beginning.

For the restoration and Anubis as *s3 wsir* cf. e. g. pHarkness IV 18<sup>104</sup> and – outside Demotic, but in contemporary contexts – pCairo 58007 I 3, 58009 I 7, 58011 recto 3 and 58017 recto 10,<sup>105</sup> pLeiden T 33, 3,<sup>106</sup> the mummy masks CG 33129 and 33135<sup>107</sup>, a caption in a tomb at Tuna el-Gebel,<sup>108</sup> the reference to Anubis' father in pHarkness V 19<sup>109</sup> and **ANOTΠ CI OTCIPE** in the Old Coptic pSchmidt.<sup>110</sup> Anubis, originally a son of Re,<sup>111</sup> was perceived as the son of Osiris since the 19th dynasty,<sup>112</sup> because he as the god of burial buried Osiris and thus carried out typical duties of a son.<sup>113</sup>

100 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226.

101 SPIEGELBERG, *Grammatik* 148 § 326.

102 E. g. pBM 10507 II 1 (SMITH, *Mortuary Texts* 36.), pHarkness III 6, 25, 33, 37, IV 3, 6 (SMITH, *Mortuary Texts* 52, pl 11. LOGAN, Th. J., „Papyrus Harkness“, in: *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*. SAOC 39 (Chicago 1976) 154 f.)

103 *Dendara* V 8, 15. Cf. LEITZ, C., „Die Nacht des Kindes in seinem Nest in Dendera“, in: *ZÄS* 120 (1993) 145.

104 LOGAN, *P. Harkness* 155 f.

105 GOLÉNISCHEFF, W., *Papyrus hiératiques Nos. 58001–58036*. CGC (Le Caire 1927) 23, 35, 46, 58, 73.

106 STRICKER, B., „De lijkpapyrus van Sensaas“, in: *OMRO* 23 (1942) 30–47.

107 EDGAR, M. C. C., *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits. N<sup>os</sup> 33101–33285*. CGC (Le Caire 1905) pls. 10, 16.

108 GABRA, S. / DRIOTON, É., *Peintures à fresque et scènes peintes à Hermoupolis-Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)* (Le Caire 1954) pl. 29.

109 LOGAN, *P. Harkness* 158 f.

110 SATZINGER, H., „The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus“, in: *JARCE* 12 (1975) 39, 40. QUAEGBEUR, J., „Anubis, fils d'Osiris, le vacher“, in: *StudAeg* 3 (1977) 119–130.

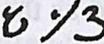
111 GRENIER, J.-Cl., *Anubis alexandrin et romain* (Leiden 1977) 9.

112 ROEDER, G., *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II. Inschriften des Neuen Reiches* (Leipzig 1924) 155, E 1–3.

113 GRENIER, *Anubis* 18 f.

## Line 17

Botti transliterates *mhl*, which he connects with *mhl* 'bald',<sup>114</sup> interpreting the shaving of the head as a ceremony of purification.<sup>115</sup> On reflection I have abandoned my first reading *mw*<sup>116</sup> *rt*, suggested by the recurrent formula of the Second Book of Breathing 'may the name of NN flourish in Thebes and the nomes forever *as the name of god NN flourishes* in XY'. The first part of this formula<sup>117</sup> is missing in our text, and the deceased is not mentioned until line 20 among the gods. If the *nht* of *rt*. A 1–16 were taken as the first part of the Second Book's formula, the problem arises that the divine names of the first part shall be as strong or protective as the divine names of the second part flourish. This, however, involves the impossible implicature that e. g. Osiris' name is less strong or protective than Anubis'.

*Mw* as a variant of the imperative of *my* 'cause, give', used to express the optative from Late Egyptian onwards (Coptic ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-),<sup>118</sup> is otherwise unattested. The reading *mwr* seems secure. However, a verb *mwr* is not found elsewhere and unfortunately all occurrences of the word in this papyrus are damaged. I suspect a meaning 'to be equipped' and would be inclined to translate the sentences of recto A 17–22 as 'May NN be equipped (with offerings and nourishment?) ...' with  *ml* 'to gird' of pKrall in mind showing a similar determinative. That verb, with the Fayumic change *r* > *l*, is always used there in the sense of 'to equip oneself' or 'to be equipped' with weapons or armour.<sup>119</sup> It is normally written *mr* in Demotic as in older stages of the Egyptian language and developed to Coptic ⲙⲟⲣⲡ showing the vowel or weak consonant between *m* and *r*,<sup>120</sup> possibly indicated in *mwr* here.

The repositioning of fragments F+G leads to more space and makes thus the restitution of another word after *mwr* necessary. Given *mwr* is really a verb as proposed here this missing word must be a noun connected with the following in the genitive on grounds of grammar.

114 ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 171

115 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 229.

116 SMITH, M., *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Chicago) 208.

117 See part II on that problem.

118 ERMAN, A., *Neuägyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig 1933) §§ 287, 291. SPIEGELBERG, *Grammatik* § 184.

119 HOFFMANN, F., *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros. Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*. *MPÖR* Neue Serie. 26. Folge (Wien 1996) 28, 467.

120 *Wb* II 105, 1–8. ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 166. WESTENDORF, W., *KHWb* 99. CRUM, *CD* 180–182.

The vertical dark line visible in the photograph is not ink, but a very dark shadow of a crack.

After Botti's *mhl*, my *mwr*, I am unable to see an *n* in lines 17–22.<sup>121</sup>

Botti reads [*imy*] *wyt* (< *imy wt*) 'he who is in *wt*'. *M wyt* 'embalmer' alone seems to be preferable, since this is the normal form of that epithet in Demotic, but the gap before the *m* is quite big so that a word must be missing after *inpw*.

For the *sh-ntr* see the commentary on line 3.

#### Line 19

The reading *mhl n n3 ntr.w hn ht.w ip m Imnte*<sup>122</sup> cannot be matched with the traces on the papyrus at all.

#### Line 20

The deceased's name among the names of deities is probably the result of the idea that the deceased becomes a divine being.<sup>123</sup> This is also found in the litanies of pHarkness V 16–28 and VI 18–29<sup>124</sup> and paralleled with the representation of the deceased in a row with gods and goddesses on some coffins of the Roman Period.<sup>125</sup>

#### Line 21

Neither a *k3* nor an *iw* is visible.<sup>126</sup> The gap may be filled with the restitution suggested here.

#### Line 22

Botti reads *3mh* in this and the following lines instead of *3mw* (< *imy.w*) interpreting it as a toponym.<sup>127</sup> In pHarkness III 1 *3mw* is attested three times.<sup>128</sup>

121 Contra BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226.

122 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226

123 BD sp. 78 (NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 164–171.). Cf. SMITH, *Mortuary Papyrus* 26. KURTH, *Teüris* 63–67.

124 LOGAN, „P. Harkness“ 160 f., 1162 f. SMITH, M., „Papyrus Harkness“, in: *Enchoria* 18 (1991) 95–105.

125 KURTH, *Teüris* 19 f. NEEDLER, W., *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in The Royal Ontario Museum*. Occasional Paper 6. Art and Archaeology Division Royal Ontario Museum – University of Toronto (Toronto 1963) pl. 4.

126 So BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226.

127 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 229. For the correct reading cf. SMITH, *Mortuary Texts* 117.

128 SMITH, *Mortuary Texts* 49, 117, pl 2.

## Line 23

The line is a continuation of the preceding one so that *ntr.wt* must be restored in the lacuna. Also in support of this are the remains after the gap resembling the last two signs of *ntr.w*, as in line 28, plus a feminine *.t*.

## Line 24

The traces after the hole are clearly those of an *n* and *nt swg*<sup>129</sup> must therefore be abandoned. Is *wg* the older *wgʒ* 'Altersschwäche, Herzenschwäche'<sup>130</sup> or *wgʒ.t* 'Schädliches, Schädigung'<sup>131</sup> or should one read *nswg* related to *nsq* 'bildlich von boshafte Reden?'<sup>132</sup> ?

## Line 25

Botti connects *wy.w* with *ʿw* 'great', because *ʿw* 'stretch out; to be, become happy' can be so written,<sup>133</sup> but the *w* looks more like an *ir* than other examples of *w* in the text (recto A 3, recto B 3). Cf. the *ir* in recto B 4. The proposed translation assumes an archaizing participle of *ir* formed with *-y*.

## Line 26

After *m-bʒh* a divine name is expected. For *nkt* 'potenza'<sup>134</sup> I could not find any trace in the original, but I am unable to give a satisfying explanation for  $\text{𓂏}$ . Is it '10' and thus referring to an assembly of 10 gods?<sup>135</sup>

## Line 27

After *ntr.w*, *ntr.wt* is written, not *it.w-ntr*.<sup>136</sup>

## Line 28

Behind *he.t* again an ink-like shadow of a crack appears in the photograph.

129 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 229.

130 *Wb* I 376, 13–14.

131 *Wb* I 376, 15–377, 1.

132 *Wb* II 336, 16.

133 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226, 229. ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 57, 78.

134 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226, 227.

135 For the construction of *m-bʒh* plus word for 'council' or 'assembly' cf. *m-bʒh dʒdʒ.t nsw ʒ.t* of e. g. the contemporary pCairo 58007 I 15, 58008, 18, 31, 58009 II passim (GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus hiératiques* 23–54.) and pLeiden T 33 (STRICKER, *OMRO* 23 (1942) 30–47.).

136 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 226.

## II. Recto B

## Line 1

The conjunctive may have final sense especially after verbs of command and wish<sup>137</sup> and I interpret it here as a final clause continuing the text of recto A: 'May NN be equipped (...) Place rejuvenation (...) so that he will drink ...'

There is no *t̄* between  $\text{Ḫ}$  and *qm̄-ib*,<sup>138</sup> the sign in question is instead the feminine .t of  $\text{Ḫ.t}$ .

$\text{Ḫ}^c\text{-ij}$  as an unetymological writing of *šm-iy*<sup>139</sup> is questionable, whereas the reading  $\text{Ḫ}^c\text{<m>iy}$  is supported by the Late Egyptian *š̄i*,<sup>140</sup> another instance in pBM 69008+pBerlin 13381,<sup>141</sup> the Coptic  $\text{ϣϣ}$ ,<sup>142</sup> reflecting the loss of the last consonant in the neighbouring stages of the Egyptian language<sup>143</sup> and the well attested wish of free movement in the netherworld expressed in Demotic through the opposition of *šm* and *iy* (*iw*).<sup>144</sup> After the  $\text{Ḫ}$  a stroke is written, as in the two phonetic writings of *šm* in recto B line 4, and the word ends with the walking legs as determinative.

## Line 2

The reading given here instead of *nt m-s̄ šb̄ n špe n* after *p̄-r*<sup>145</sup> assumes that *ḫtm.w* is an archaizing participial form of *ḫtm* 'vernichten, vertilgen u.ä., Personen vertilgen, bes. die Feinde, die Bösen',<sup>146</sup> and that *ḫm-ḫ* is identical with the name of a necropolis on the Theban west bank *ḫm-ḫ* in pRhind II 9 d 5.<sup>147</sup> However, the abrasions and cracks in the present line make this interpretation problematic and it should only be

137 SPIEGELBERG, *Grammatik* 72 §§149 f.

138 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227.

139 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227, 230.

140 ERMAN, *Neudgyptische Grammatik* 195 §§ 257, 406.

141 Line 18 (line 17 in the transliteration through a little mistake in the line-numbering) in the edition of KAPLONY-HECKEL, U. „Ein neuer demotischer Brief aus Gebelen (zusammengesetzt aus zwei Fragmenten in London und Berlin)“, in: *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin 1974) 290 f., 298 n. II, and line 19 in VAN T'DACK, E. et al., *The Judean-Syriac-Egyptian Conflict of 103–101 B. C. A Multilingual Dossier concerning a „War of Sceptres“*. *Collectanea Hellenistica* 1 (Brussel 1989) 52, 60.

142 CRUM, *CD* 544b.

143 WESTENDORF, *KHwB* 301. ČERNÝ, *CED* 235.

144 E. g. pHarkness III 23 (*šm- iw*), IV 15 (*šm - iy*, *šm - iw*) (SMITH, *Mortuary Texts* pl. 11, LOGAN, „P. Harkness“ 156 f.) and pRhind I 4 d 13 (*šm - iw*), 6 d 8 (*šm - iy*) (MÖLLER, *Totenpapyrus* 24 f., 32 f., pls. 4, 6.).

145 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227.

146 *Wb* III 197.

147 MÖLLER, *Totenpapyrus* 68 f., 76\*, pl. 20.

regarded as hypothetical. The reading *hft*, referring to the Apophis-serpent that must be killed during the nightly journey of Re through the netherworld, is especially doubtful.

The *py* 'winged beetle' (not recognized by Botti)<sup>148</sup> is a manifestation of the sun-god.<sup>149</sup>

The Glossar lists *hwy* 'schützen. Auch: heilig, ehrwürdig' with a similar writing, but without the divine determinatives supporting the translation given here.<sup>150</sup>

Considering other writings of *tī* in this text (e. g. recto B 3 and 5) *tī r-r=f mw*<sup>151</sup> is to be corrected to *w<sup>3</sup>h-n=f mw*.

The reading *imn ipy* requires fewer emendations than the grammatically, palaeographically and theologically somewhat problematic *t<sup>3</sup> ntr py* 'the goddess of Pe',<sup>152</sup> as a male god (Horus) is usually associated with Pe, whereas the goddess of Buto (Wadjit) is connected with Dep, the other part of Buto.<sup>153</sup> The mention of a libation here and of the feast of traversing the river in the next line matches with the well attested travel of Amenope to Djeme at the beginning of every decade.<sup>154</sup>

### Line 3

*Wī<sup>3</sup> (n) hḥ* is a name of the sun-bark since the Book of the Dead. The Demotic form of this name is *w n hḥ*.<sup>155</sup>

After *w n hḥ*, I see *p<sup>3</sup>y=f* written and not *p<sup>3</sup>*.<sup>156</sup>

For the feast of crossing the river to Djeme see the commentary on the preceding line.

148 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227.

149 For other attestations in Demotic see SMITH, *Liturgy* 63.

150 ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 352. See also *Wb* III 244 f.

151 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227.

152 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227, 230.

153 See VANDIER, J., *Oudjet et l'Horus léontocephale de Bouto*. Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres 55 (1967) 56, ALTENMÜLLER, H., in: *LÄ* I (Wiesbaden 1975) 887–889 s. v. Buto, and FISCHER-ELFERT, H.-W., in: *LÄ* VI (Wiesbaden 1986) 908 s. v. Uto, and the references cited there.

154 SETHE, *Amun* 57, 59, pl. 5. WILD, H., „Statue de Hor-Néfer au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne“, in: *BIFAO* 54 (1954) 183–185. DORESSE, M., „Le dieu voilé dans sa chasse et la fête du début de la décade“, in: *RdÉ* 23 (1971) 113–136. Ead., „Le dieu voilé dans sa chasse et la fête du début de la décade“, in: *RdÉ* 31 (1979) 36–65, esp. 45–63. TRAUNECKER, C. / LE SAOUT, F. / MASSON, O., *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak II*. Texte (Paris 1981) 130–134. HERBIN, *Parcourir l'éternité* 52 f., 70, 140–147, 254, 437 f, 483. See also for Demotic parallels pRhind I 6 d 10 (MÖLLER, *Totenpapyrus* 32 f., pl. 6.).

155 *Wb* I 271, 11. The reading in Demotic is discussed by HOFFMANN, *Enchoria* 23 (1996) 39–51, with reference to this text on p. 40 and 49.

156 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227.

To be in the sun-bark is highly desirable: In BD sp. 175, Atum points out that he has done more for Osiris than for every other god, e. g.: *iri.n=i s.t=f m wi3 h3 iw rdi.n=i h3b=f wr.w* 'I have made his <throne> in the bark of millions. I caused him to send the grandees.'<sup>157</sup> For the Roman period the funerary bed Berlin Inv. 12442 can be cited (*di=w wstn m wi3 (n) h3* 'They will allow (you) free movement in the bark of millions.').<sup>158</sup> In the *Grande Inscription Dédicatoire* Ramesses II addresses his deceased father in the manner of a mortuary liturgy: (...) *wy=k<y> hr st3 itm m p.t m t3 mi ihm.w-wrd ihm.w-sk iw=k m imy h3.t n wi3 n h3* (...) '(...) your arms draw Atum in the sky and on earth like the unwearing stars and the imperishable stars, while you are at the prow rope of the bark of millions. (...)'<sup>159</sup> I. e., it is hoped that Ramesses' father Seti will carry out a task in the sun-bark – like the owner of pTurin N. 766 – and be among its deities, whose presence there is mentioned in pHarris I 57, 3<sup>160</sup> and BD sp. 186 (Ani).<sup>161</sup> Like royal persons every deceased individual wished to enter the sun-bark and to be a member of its crew,<sup>162</sup> for which purpose the Book of the Dead provided special spells such as BD sp. 100 ('Book to make a spirit excellent and to let him descend to the bark of Re together with them who are in his following'), and 129 (a variant to 100)<sup>163</sup> and 102 ('Spell to enter the sun-bark').<sup>164</sup> The same idea is found in pHarkness V 30: *9=t r sgty.t irm p3-r n tw3y ir=t mne.w mnt3.t n p3 rse* 'You will go on board to the morning-bark together with Re at dawn, you will carry out the moorings of the evening-bark in the evening.'<sup>165</sup>

<sup>157</sup> NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch I*, pl. 98 col. 19. Cf. ALLEN, T. G., *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 37 (Chicago 1974) 184. Further variants are found in: WALLIS-BUDGE, E. A., *The Book of the Dead. The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum* (London 1895) 186. LUFT, U., „Das Totenbuch des Ptahmose“, in: ZÄS 104 (1977) 46–74, pl. III col. 38.

<sup>158</sup> MORENZ, S., „Anubis mit dem Schlüssel“, in: Id., *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Weimar 1975) Abb. 25. (= KURTH, *Teûris* 21.)

<sup>159</sup> GAUTHIER, H., *La grande inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos*. BdÉ 4 (Le Caire 1912) 19. Cf. BREASTED, J. H., *Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical Documents from the earliest Times to the Persian Conquest III* (Chicago 1906) 114 § 278.

<sup>160</sup> ERICHSEN, W., *Papyrus Harris I. Hieroglyphische Transkription*. BAe 5 (Bruxelles 1933) 65. Cf. GRANDET, P., *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*. BdÉ 99, 1 (Le Caire 1994) 303.

<sup>161</sup> WALLIS-BUDGE, *Book of the Dead* 242. ALLEN, *Book of the Dead* 209. Another connection between Hathor and the bark of millions in: MARIETTE, *Dendérah* pl. 12.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. CT II sp. 151. For the Graeco-Roman period: GOYON, *Rituels funéraires* 255, 259, 261.

<sup>163</sup> NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch II* 233–236.

<sup>164</sup> NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch II* 237–239.

<sup>165</sup> LOGAN, „P. Harkness“ 158 f. SMITH, *Enchoria* 18 (1991) 99.

Line 4

Botti transliterated the unattested šš<sup>c</sup>-*ij* and šš<sup>c</sup> without commentary.<sup>166</sup> For a phonetic writing of šm as a new reading<sup>167</sup> cf. pLouvre E. 3452 III 11, V 7, VI 8, VII 8, IX 7, 8, XIII 2, 3, 5<sup>168</sup> and pLouvre 10605, 18<sup>169</sup>. The first sign after the stroke is the determinative (walking legs) followed by a *t*, thus an infinitive of šm with *.t* is used here<sup>170</sup> as an archaism.<sup>171</sup>

*Mte=w šš<sup>c</sup>=f* does not take into account the two suffix-pronouns with just one verb,<sup>172</sup> and an emendation seems to be required.

The text alludes to Thoth's role as the scribe of š<sup>c</sup>.*t n sns n* 'a Document of Breathing' and as a secretary of the gods' assembly. In pParis BN 149 I 9 reference is made to š<sup>c</sup>.*t n sns n dḥwty m sḏ=k nt sh n db<sup>c</sup>=f ḥ<sup>c</sup>=f* 'a Document of Breathing of Thoth which is written with his own fingers'.<sup>173</sup> According to pRhind II 8 d 1 Thoth has made a Document of Breathing 'to be a protection for you (i. e. the deceased) to prevent you from standing outside of the hall of Osiris' (*tḏ š<sup>c</sup>.t sns n i.ḥr-n=t dḥwty r ḥr-n=t sḏ r tm ti ḥ<sup>c</sup>=t pḏ bnr n tḏ wshḏ.t n wsir*, similarly in pRhind I 8 d 1), and pRhind II 8 d 4 states 'they will receive the document which Thoth has written in front of you, so that you may go to the gateways of the netherworld' (*šp=w tḏ š<sup>c</sup>.t r.sh dḥwty ḥḏ.t=t mš<sup>c</sup>=t r nḏ sb.w n tḏ twḏ.t*).<sup>174</sup> These references show that the documents were thought to be passports for free movement in the netherworld,<sup>175</sup> and allow us to see the significance of *n-dr.t dḥwty* in pTurin N. 766.

Apparently Thoth does not act on his own initiative. Like a secretary he executes an order to issue a document.<sup>176</sup> In the same manner the content of the Books of Breathing,

166 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227.

167 Discussion of the verb in: SMITH, *Mortuary Texts* 91.

168 SMITH, *Mortuary Papyrus* 83, 85, 96, 100, 105, 114, 145, 171.

169 SMITH, *Liturgy* 117, pl. 6.

170 Cf. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar* § 299.

171 On archaizing grammatical features of Demotic mortuary texts see SMITH, *Mortuary Texts* 28 f. Id., *Liturgy* 18 f.

172 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227.

173 LEXA, F., *Das demotische Totenbuch der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Pamonthes)*. Demotische Studien 4 (Leipzig 1910). Cf. the similar passage in pLeiden T 32 VIII, 9 (HERBIN, *Parcourir l'éternité* 70, 255, 483 f.

174 MÖLLER, *Totenpapyrus* 36–39, 66, 67, pl. 8, 19.

175 QUAEGBEUR, J., „Lettres de Thot et Décrets pour Osiris“, in: KAMSTRA, J. H. / MILDE, H. / WAGTENDONK, K. (eds.), *Funerary Symbols and Religion. FS. M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss* (Kampen 1988) 119.

176 LES 39, 4. LEITZ, C., *Tagewählerei. Das Buch ḥḏ.t nḥḥ pḥwy dt*. ÄA 55 (Wiesbaden 1994) 65 f., 147 f. PJumilhac XIV 19–21 (VANDIER, *Papyrus Jumilhac* 126).

although written by Thoth, is not determined by him.<sup>177</sup> In pHarkness IV 15 another hint is found that an assembly is in charge of issuing documents for free movement in and out of the netherworld:  $\dot{i}.\dot{i}r=t\ mr\ \dot{s}m\ \dot{i}y\ hb=w\ h\dot{s}.t=t$  'If you want to go and to come, they will write in your presence.'<sup>178</sup> To my mind the Righteous Ones are the divine members<sup>179</sup> of the court judging the deceased in the Hall of the Righteous Ones (the classical dual 'Hall of the Two Truths' is in Demotic reinterpreted as a nisbe of  $m\dot{s}\ \dot{c}.t$  from which the plural was formed).<sup>180</sup> Sometimes they are called  $n\dot{s}\ h\dot{s}y.w$  in  $wsh.t\ n\dot{s}\ h\dot{s}y.w$  in the Demotic sections of the Rhind papyri, where the hieratic gives  $wsh.t\ m\dot{s}\ \dot{c}.ty$ .<sup>181</sup> In pCairo 58012 recto 10 the wish is expressed that the deceased will have free access to the Hall of the Righteous Ones and sit next to them ( $pr\dot{i}=k\ h\dot{s}\dot{i}=k\ r\ wsh.t\ m\dot{s}\ \dot{c}.ty\ \dot{i}r\dot{i}=k\ s.t=k\ r-gs\ m\dot{s}\ \dot{c}.ty$ ).<sup>182</sup> Therefore in pTurin N. 766 an assembly of gods appears to order the divine secretary Thoth to compose a document allowing free movement to the deceased.

## Line 5

After  $t\dot{i}$  I read  $-n=f\ \dot{c}\ ph\dot{t}$ <sup>183</sup> rather than  $r-r=f\ t\dot{i}.t\ ph\ nh.t$ .<sup>184</sup>

The line closes with  $mtw=f\ \dot{c}q$ <sup>185</sup>  $r\ p\dot{s}\ m\dot{s}\ \dot{c}$  rather than with  $mtw=f\ \dot{i}r\ \dot{s}r\ n\ p\dot{s}\ m\dot{s}\ \dot{c}$ .<sup>186</sup>

## III. Verso

The second part of the line, transliterated by Botti as  $m-tj\ sh\ P\dot{s}-hj-n-t\dot{i}.wy$  with the name not included in the *Demotisches Namenbuch*,<sup>187</sup> is very mutilated. The traces, however,

177 QUAEGBEUR, J., „Diodore I, 20 et les mystères d'Osiris“, in: DUQUESNE, T. (ed.), *Hermes Aegyptiacus. Egyptological Studies for B H Stricker on his 85th birthday* (Oxford 1995) 167 f. Id., „Lettres de Thoth“ 110–113. DE MEULENAERE'S criticisms („Le Décret d'Osiris“, in: *CdÉ* 63 (1988) 234–241), followed by KÁKOSY, L., „Three Decrees of Gods from Theban Tomb 32“, in: *OLP* 23 (1992) 313 f., against Quaegebeur do not refer to the parts relevant within the scope of this article.

178 LOGAN, „Papyrus Harkness“ 157. For the expression  $hb\ h\dot{s}.t$  cf. pRhind II 8 d4 (quoted above) and SMITH, M., Review of RAY, J.D., *The Archive of Hor*, in: *JEA* 64 (1978) 180f.

179 In pCairo 58008, 4 for instance are gods in the Hall of the Righteous Ones mentioned (GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus hiératiques* 36–44.).

180 See SMITH, *Mortuary Papyrus* 161 n. 1. Cf. pParis BN 149 I 16 f., 24 ff. (LEXA, *Totenbuch* pl. 1.).

181 pRhind I 4 d 2, 5 d 10, II 7 d 8 (MÖLLER, *Totenpapyrus* 22 f., 28 f., 64 f., pls. 4, 5, 18.).

182 GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus hiératiques* 59–62.

183 Cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 138, 226.

184 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227.

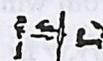
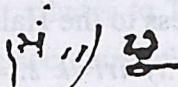
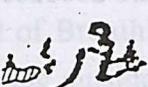
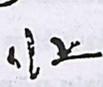
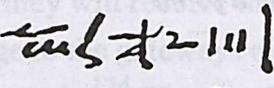
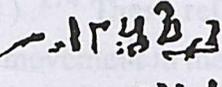
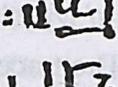
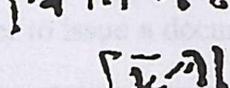
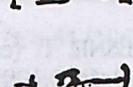
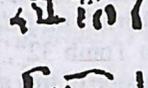
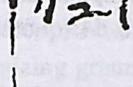
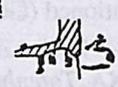
185 Cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar* 72.

186 BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 227.

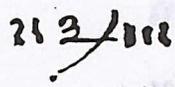
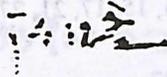
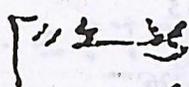
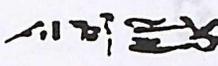
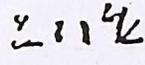
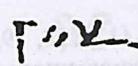
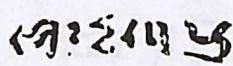
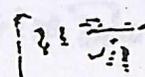
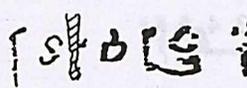
187 *Demot. Nb.*

suggest a phrase specifying where to place the papyrus on the mummy, a reading which finds support in other late funerary papyri.<sup>188</sup>

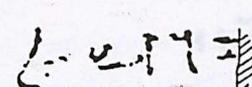
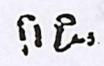
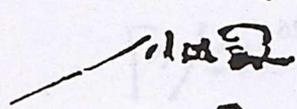
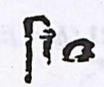
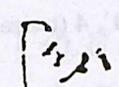
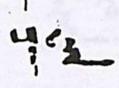
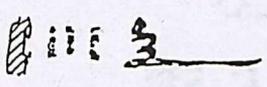
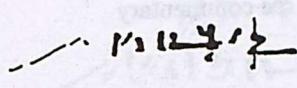
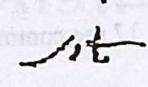
#### D. Glossary

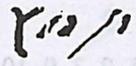
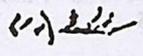
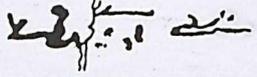
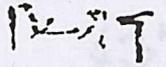
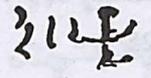
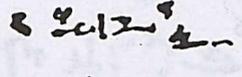
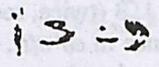
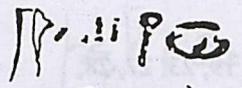
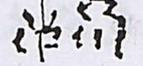
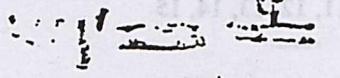
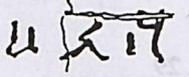
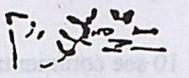
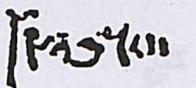
	<i>ḥmw</i>	they who are in	rt. A '19', 22, 23, 24 see commentary on l. 22
	<i>ḥmh</i>	netherworld	rt. A 8 see commentary
	<i>ḥkr</i>	excellent	rt. B 1
	<i>i</i>	vocative particle	rt. A 24 (twice), 26 (thrice), 27
	<i>ḥw.t</i>	office	rt. B 3
	<i>iy</i>	come	rt. B 1, 2, 4 vs.
	<i>iy&lt;h&gt;.w</i>	akh-spirits	rt. B 1
	<i>ḥwnw</i>	Heliopolis	rt. A 5, 7
	<i>ḥbt</i>	Abydos	rt. A 2
	<i>ḥmn ḥpy</i>	Amenope	rt. B 2 see commentary
	<i>ḥmnt</i>	West	rt. A 1, 9, 13, 19, 21 rt. B 4
	<i>ḥny.t</i>	valley	rt. B 2
	<i>ḥnpw</i>	Anubis	rt. A 16, 17, 18, 24
	<i>ḥr</i>	do, make, act	
	<i>ḥry.w</i>	they who do, act	rt. A '26' see commentary
	<i>r.ḥr</i>	done	rt. B 5
	<i>ḥrm</i>	together with	rt. B 1 (twice)

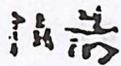
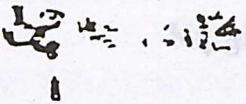
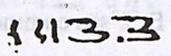
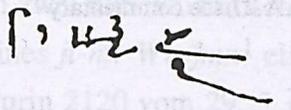
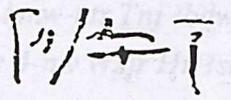
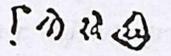
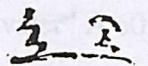
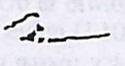
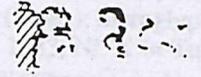
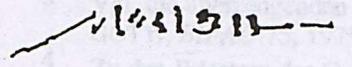
<sup>188</sup> For other attestations of this sort of instruction see COENEN, *OLP* 26 (1995) 37 f. Add pCairo 58013 and 58014, perhaps 58017 and 58023 (GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus Hiératiques* 65, 68, 74, 92.)

	<i>yr</i>	river	rt. B 3
	<i>ʿ</i>	great	rt. A 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 16 rt. B 5
	<i>ʿ.t</i>	(feminine)	rt. B 1
	<i>ʿpy</i>	winged beetle	rt. B 2 see commentary
	<i>ʿq</i>	enter	rt. B 5
	<i>w</i>	bark	rt. B 3
	<i>wšh</i>	put, pour	rt. B 2
	<i>wyt</i>	embalmer	rt. A 17 see commentary
	<i>wpqw</i>	Upoke	rt. A 3 see commentary
	<i>wnm</i>	eat	rt. B 1
	<i>wsîr</i>	Osiris	rt. A 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (in <i>wsîr-skr</i> ), 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15 (in <i>pth-skr-wsîr</i> ), '16'
	<i>wšh.t</i>	hall	rt. B 4
	<i>by</i>	ba, soul	rt. A 7
	<i>p.t</i>	sky, heaven	rt. A 21
	<i>pî</i>	definite article masculine singular	rt. B 3, 5 (thrice)
	<i>pîy=f</i>	his	rt. B 2, 3
	<i>pa-rmwî</i>	Pa-Remuti	rt. A 20, 29
	<i>pr</i>	house	rt. A 14
	<i>phî</i>	power	rt. B 5
	<i>pth</i>	Ptah	rt. A 14, 15 (in <i>pth-skr-wsîr</i> )

	<i>pth-skr-wsîr</i>	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris	rt. A 15
	<i>=f</i>	suffix pronoun third person masculine singular	rt. A 21 rt. B 3, 4, 5
	<i>m</i>	in, as	rt. A 5, 15, 17, 21, 27, 29
	<i>m-b3h</i>	before, in the presence of	rt. A 27 rt. B 5
	<i>m'c</i>	place	rt. B 5
	<i>m'c.t</i>	righteousness	rt. A '26'
	<i>m'c.t.w</i>	righteous ones	rt. B 4
	<i>my</i>	give!, place!	rt. A 28
	<i>mw</i>	water	rt. B 2
	<i>mwr</i>	*be equipped	rt. A '17', 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 see commentary on l. 17
	<i>mnh</i>	efficacious	rt. B 5
	<i>ms</i>	born	rt. A 20, 30
	<i>mtw</i>	conjunctive	rt. B 2
	<i>mtw=f</i>	conjunctive third person masculine singular	rt. B 1 (twice), 3, 5
	<i>mtw=w</i>	conjunctive third person plural	rt. B 3, 4, 5
	<i>n</i>	of	rt. A 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (twice), 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 (twice), 15 (twice), 16 rt. B 1, 2, 3 (twice) vs.
	<i>n</i>	by, for, on	rt. A 20 rt. B 2, 3
	<i>-n=f</i>	for him	rt. B 2, 3, 5

2	<i>n'</i>	definite article	rt. A 19 ([twice]), 23, 27, 28 rt. B 1, 2, 5
		plural	
	<i>nb</i>	lord	rt. A 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12 rt. B 5
	<i>nb'wlf</i>	Naref	rt. A 4
	<i>nbt</i>	to protect	rt. A [1], [2], [3],[4], [5], 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15 see commentary on l. 1
	<i>nswg</i>	a negative term	rt. A 25
	<i>nt</i>	relative converter	rt. B 6 vs.
	<i>ntr</i>	god	rt. A 1, 3 (twice, second instance in <i>sh-ntr</i> ), 4, 5, 9, 17 (in <i>sh-ntr</i> )
	<i>ntr.w</i>	gods	rt. A 19, 23, 27, 28, rt. B 5
	<i>ntrw.t</i>	goddesses	rt. A '19', 28
	<i>r</i>	to, towards	rt. B 2, 3, 5
	<i>r'st'w</i>	Ro-setau	rt. A 6
	<i>r'</i>	Re	rt. A 15
	<i>p'-'r'</i>	Prê	rt. A 27 rt. B 2
	<i>rn</i>	name	rt. A 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
	<i>rnpy</i>	rejuvenation	rt. A 29
	<i>rn-nfr</i>	Ranefer	rt. A 10 see commentary
	<i>rsy</i>	South	rt. A 22

	<i>rt</i>	foot	rt. B 3
	<i>hrw</i>	day	rt. B 2, 3
	<i>hw.t</i>	house	rt. A 15
	<i>hw.t-hr</i>	Hathor	rt. A 13, 14, 25
	<i>hnw.t</i>	mistress	rt. A 13, 14
	<i>hr</i>	at, for, because of, on	rt. B 1, 4 (twice), 5
	<i>hh</i>	millions	rt. B 3
	<i>htp.t</i>	offering-table	rt. A 27 rt. B 1
	<i>htm.w</i>	exterminators	rt. B '2' see commentary
	<i>hwy</i>	holy	rt. B 2
	<i>hft</i>	enemy	rt. B '2'
	<i>hnt</i>	foremost	rt. A 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 17, 18
	<i>hnt.w</i>	(plural)	rt. A 26
	<i>he.t</i>	body	rt. A 21 ( <i>he&lt;.t&gt;</i> ), 29
	<i>hn</i>	in	rt. B '3', 4 (twice)
	<i>s3</i>	son	rt. A '16'
	<i>snsn</i>	breath	vs.
	<i>swr</i>	drink	rt. B 1
	<i>sp</i>	Sepa	rt. A 7 see commentary
	<i>sh-ntr</i>	god's booth	rt. A 3, 17 see commentary

	<i>skr (srk)</i>	Sokar	rt. A 6 (in <i>wsr-skr</i> ), 15 (in <i>pth-skr-wsr</i> ) see commentary on l. 6
	<i>š&lt;t</i>	book, document, letter	vs.
	<i>š&lt;š&lt;</i>	be glorious	rt. B 6
	<i>šp</i>	receive	rt. B 3
	<i>šm</i>	go	rt. B 4
	<i>š&lt;m&gt;</i>	go	rt. B 1 see commentary
	<i>šm.t</i>	go (archaic infinitive)	rt. B 4 see commentary
	<i>qm)-ib</i>	the one who invents with the heart	rt. B 1
	<i>t3</i>	definite article femi- nine singular	rt. B 1, 2, 3, 4
	<i>t3-šr.t-hnsw</i>	Ta-sheret-Khensu	rt. A 20, 30
	<i>t3</i>	earth, land	rt. B 5
	<i>t3-tsr</i>	sacred land	rt. A 2, 18
	<i>ti</i>	give	rt. B 3, 5
	<i>tw3.t</i>	netherworld	rt. A 23
	<i>-tw=tn</i>	dependent pronoun second person plural	rt. A 28
	<i>t</i>	take; here: cross	rt. B 3
	<i>d3d3</i>	head	vs. see commentary
	<i>dm&lt;</i>	Djeme	rt. A 8 see commentary rt. B 3

𐎎𐎗𐎍𐎎

*n-dr.t*

by the hand of,

rt. B 4

𐎎𐎗𐎍

*dhwtj*

through

Thoth

rt. B 4

𐎎𐎗𐎍𐎎𐎗

*ddy*

Mendes

rt. A 11 see commentary

𐎎𐎗𐎍𐎎

*ddw*

Busiris

rt. A 1, 4

Problematic readings

𐎎𐎗𐎍𐎎

*\*wn-r'*

\*Wen-Re

rt. A 12 see commentary

𐎎𐎗𐎍𐎎𐎗𐎍

*\*hm-nh*

Khem-ankh

rt. B '2' see commentary

𐎎

*\*10*

\*10

rt. A 27 see commentary

𐎎𐎗𐎍

*hr'*

beneath, under

vs.

Hier ist ein Fragment eines Papyrusdokuments in Hieroglyphen. Die Schrift ist in vertikalen Spalten angeordnet. Die linke Spalte enthält eine längere Inschrift, während die rechte Spalte eine Tabelle mit mehreren Spalten und Zeilen darstellt. Die Tabelle enthält Zahlen und hieroglyphische Symbole, die wahrscheinlich eine Liste von Gütern oder Opfergaben darstellen. Die Inschriften sind teilweise durch die Beschädigung des Papyrus verdeckt.

P. Turin N. 766 recto (7:10)  
 (zu STADLER, *The Funerary Texts*, S. 76–110)



P. Turin N. 766 verso (7:10)  
(zu STADLER, *The Funerary Texts*, S. 76–110)