The original owner of the papyrus is called pa-rmwj son of t3-šr.t-hnsw, which occurs in recto A lines 20 and 29 without any titles, the name being a variant of pa-t3-rmwt.t / pa-t3-rmn.t (Πατερμουθης). All attestations listed by the Demot. Namenbuch are from the Roman period and of Upper Egyptian origin, but the Demot. Namenbuch does not give a certain geographical attribution for pTurin N. 766. Links to other safely dated objects that pa-rmwj possessed or secure identifications with other dated occurrences of that person are not possible. Therefore the limited prosopographical data available for the owner do not help to date the papyrus. Under these circumstances I am unable to improve upon Botti’s proposed late first to early second century AD date, a suggestion with which Quaegebeur concurs. Botti’s arguments are based on the dates of related texts, the filiation with the maternal name and the lack of the deceased’s title ‘Osiris’.

Botti interpreted words he could not read as unattested toponyms of Memphite sacred places. The syncretism of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and the character of the script were to his mind further evidence for a Memphite origin rather than a-Theban one. Admittedly both Ptah and Sokar are Memphite deities in origin, but the worship of Sokar, whose feast is first mentioned in Thebes on a First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom stela in an offering formula, appeared in Thebes as early as the first half of the New Kingdom with a
cult site in Tuthmosis III’s Akhmenu in Karnak. From the 22nd dynasty onwards the number of Theban Osiris sanctuaries increased. Later Thebes claimed to be Osiris’ birthplace. Amun was called Osiris’ oldest son and Sokar was so closely linked to Osiris that ‘Sokar’ became almost a second name of Osiris. Rituals for Ptah-Sokar-Osiris are attested in Thebes around 300 BC, where the god’s mansion (ḫw.t), built by Amenophis III as an adjunct to his funerary temple, had its own priests for whom evidence exists until the Ramesside period. Veneration of Sokar in the Theban area is sustained through the scenes of the festival of Sokar in Ramesses III’s temple at Medinet Habu, the representation of the Sokar-bark in 20 private tombs (from the time of Haremhab to the end of the 20th dynasty) and the bark’s depiction on a series of painted plaster and linen mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri (Roman period). Thus Ptah-Sokar-Osiris was not a stranger to the Theban population in Roman times at all and cannot be used to a Memphite provenance of pTurin N. 766.

Furthermore, Botti ignores ‘Osiris, the great one of Djeme’ (recto A 8) and the reference to the decadal feast during which Amenope, whose name Botti did not read, traverses the river. Osiris, the great one of Djeme, already indicates a Theban provenance for the papyrus, because the epithet embeds Osiris into the Theban theological system. Considering the allusion to Amenope and the typically Theban feast of rites at Djeme in

12 Loc. cit.
13 Medinet Habu IV 218–228.
16 Further examples in hieroglyphs of epithets associating Osiris with Djeme are found in the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor in Deir al-Medina: nb is.t.fsm.t (LD IV 16 b. PIEHL, K., Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques receuilles en Europe et en Égypte I (Stockholm 1886) pl. 182 f. OTTO, E., Osiris und Amun. Kult und heilige Stätten (München 1966) pl. 8.), nfr  sı n m.fsm.t (LD IV 16 a. PIEHL, Inscriptions pl. 182 k, pl. 182 S (twice.), hry-lb nb is.t.fsm.t (PIEHL, Inscriptions pl. 177 μ. Likewise on an offering-table (Suie period) found at Medamud, see BISSON DE LA ROQUE, M. F., Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1925). FIFAO 3, 1 (Le Caire 1926) 47.). For hieratic e. g. wsir sı n fsm in pl.Leiden 32 II 26 (HERBIN, F. R., Le Livre de parcourir l’éternité. OLA 58 (Leuven 1994) 52, 139, 437.)

Enchoria 26, 2000
recto B 2 and 3, it appears to be impossible to take this Djeme as a name for a Memphite region. 17

Amenope is an ithyphallic, and in the Late Period almost autonomous, deity of fertility similar to Min. 18 Amenope travelled to Djeme at the beginning of every decade in order to make offerings and libations to Amun as the km-t.t=f-serpent and to the ogdoad buried there, from which the ordinary deceased hoped to benefit. 19 In the context of the papyrus, the mention of Amenope makes it quite clear that the specific Theban festival is meant, 20 which was in its origins a purely funerary rite to guarantee regular libations for the deceased buried in the Theban necropolis. Libations remained the feast’s central goal throughout Egyptian history 21 and at least in the Ptolemaic period the execution was the duty of a group of choachytes who formed a religious ‘association of Amenope’ (6.nt n imn-ipy). 22

Quaegbeur objected to the traditional translation of Amenope as ‘Amun of Luxor’, on the basis that the god was not restricted to the Luxor-temple, that i.p.t is a generic term for ‘harfm’ not specific to this temple, and that Amenope was worshipped outside Thebes in Tanis, Oxyrhynchus, Lykopolis, Esna, Kom Ombo and Philadelphia. 23

As evidence Quaegbeur cited: 1. Tanis: Inscriptions of the statues of Panemerit found in Tanis. However, in Montet’s publication of the inscription, Montet suggested that

---

17 For i.t-tim.t in Giza see ZIVIE, C. M., Giza au deuxième millénaire. BdÉ 70 (Le Caire 1976) 295–297.
18 SETHE, K., Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. APAW 4 (Berlin 1929) 20 f.
20 For references to similar feasts outside the Theban area see: TRAUNECKER, C. / LE SAOUT, F. / MASSON, O., La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak II. Texte (Paris 1981) 130 n. 219.
Panem'erit had spent time in Thebes. On the other hand Tanis was designed as the northern pendant of Thebes during the 21st dynasty through the architectural analogy with Theban temples and the identity of the main deities at Tanis who retained their Theban epithets. Amenope's occurrence in Tanis is therefore further proof for the Theban character of this god. 2. Oxyrhynchus: The statue of the dignitary π3-šr-t3-ih.t of unknown provenance gives as one of his titles 'prophet of Amenope of π3-dzd3'; i.e. of a town pr-dzd3 in the 7th Upper Egyptian nome of Diospolis Parva and not of Oxyrhynchus in the 19th Upper Egyptian nome. 3. Lykopolis: Onomastic evidence, names such as Ἀμενωφίς or π3-di-imn-ipy, simply shows that Amenope was not unknown there. The pastophoros of Amenope in a Demotic account is not necessarily linked with Lykopolis. 4. The reading of Amenope's name in a list of deities who come to visit the temple of Esna is uncertain. 5. The publication Quaegebeur cited for worship of Amenope in Kom Ombo does not give the deity's name in the translated Egyptian texts, but the commentary points out how Amenope's Theban epithet 'living image of Re' was used for Sobek to describe Sobek's solar aspects. Thus Quaegebeur's hypothesis is quite problematic. Only the temple of Amenope at Philadelphia seems to be definitely attested. Furthermore, no non-Theban evidence for Amenope mentions his decadary rite of libations performed by Amenope. This is only found in Theban sources.

Mortuary texts mentioning Amenope, Djeme and libations are from the Theban region, as verified by the titles of the owner (e.g. pLeiden T 32) or a shroud in a private collection and, if no such further evidence is available, the occurrence of Amenope in a

24 MONTET, P., "Inscriptions de basse époque trouvées à Tanis", in: Kêmi 8 (1946) 95 f.
27 GAUTHIER, H., Dictionnaire des noms géographiques II 140.
31 GUTBUB, A., Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo. BdÉ 47 (Le Caire 1973) 467, 483, 492 f. Quaegebeur cites from the index of this work.
33 HERBEn, Parcourir l'éternité 5, 52 f., 437 f.
34 Present owner unknown, formerly in Dr. Olsen's collection, Guilford / Connecticut, on loan to North Carolina Museum of Art 1957.14.95, sold at an auction (Sotheby's New York, Sale 6196, lot 48, June 18, 1991). (I owe this information to Ms CHRISTINA J. RIGGS.) The hieroglyphic text's transliteration and translation by K.-Th. ZAUZICH is found in PARLASCA, K., "Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen
text is a good reason to attribute it to this area (e.g. pCairo 31170, 31175, pVienna 3865). For pTurin N. 766 the Theban theological background strongly indicates a Theban provenance, too, and Botti’s suggestion of a Memphite origin should be abandoned.

E. The Papyrus in the Context of Similar Contemporary Mortuary and Funerary Texts

The typical Theban mortuary literature of the Graeco-Roman period was the genre of the Books of Breathing, comprising a range of different types of texts and increasingly replacing the use of the Book of the Dead. There is considerable confusion, though, how the different types are to be named: TASCHO-aN-NÉSENSÓN, Sai an sinsin sive liber metempsychosis veterum Ægyptiorum, Que mon nom fleurisse or terming them as First and Second Book (Document or Letter respectively) of Breathing are just some examples, with changing, sometimes contradictory attributions, classifications and sub-classifications of texts especially under the latter title. The most influential systematisation is Goyon’s distinction between a First Book, such as pLouvre N 3284, and a Second Book, with pLouvre N 3174 as its most elaborate example and six rather different types plus a series of short versions.

Recently M. Coenen has proposed another terminology. Since it is based on the...
original Egyptian titles, it is adopted here and shall be summarized in a table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Egyptian Title / New Classification</th>
<th>Attestations listed by Coenen</th>
<th>Goyon’s Classification (with further attestations listed by him)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Book of Breathing made by Isis’</td>
<td>pBM 9995, pFlorence 3665, pLouvre N 3166, pLouvre N 3291, pTübingen 2016, pVienna 3863</td>
<td><em>Isis ou Le livre premier des respirations</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tꜣ sꜣt n ssn n tr n št n sn=s wsir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(variant titles: ky rꜣ n pr.t m hrw, tꜣ sꜣt ssn lhn tꜣ pr.t m hrw, pr.t m hrw 2.t)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘First Book of Breathing’</td>
<td>pFlorence 3662, pLouvre N 3148 III x+12 – VII 6, pParis BN 151.</td>
<td>type II a and b of <em>Thoth ou Le livre second des respirations - Le Phylactère</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tꜣ sꜣt n ssn mh l.t nty iw=w hꜣ&lt;s hr dʒdʒ.t p(ʒ) ntr</td>
<td></td>
<td>pBerlin 3028, pBerlin 3030, pBerlin without number, pCairo 58007, pCairo 58008, pCairo 58023, pLeiden T 33, parts of pLouvre N 3174, pLouvre N 3176, pLouvre N 3279, pLouvre N 3290, pLouvre E 3865, Short version: pBM 10109, pCairo 58014.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Second Book of Breathing’</td>
<td>pBM 10110 and 10111, pCairo 58007, pLouvre N 3157.</td>
<td>type IV of <em>Thoth ou Le livre second des respirations ‘La Conservation du Nom’</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45 LD VI 122 a, b. LIEBLEIN, *Que mon nom fleurisse* 31–37, pls. 50–61.

*Enchoria* 26, 2000
However, COENEN’s terminology has its weaknesses: There is a range of alternative titles assigned to ‘Book of Breathing made by Isis’ (cf. the table above). COENEN’s Second Book of Breathing is called in pCairo 58008 šḫ[y] n sns n m šš=š ‘Document of Breathing by Thoth as my protection’ on its verso and in pCairo 58009 mdš.t n.t šq r hr.t-nšr wnššš m wšb.t mš šy ny šn ššš=m šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš šššš
The Funerary Texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766

(3) htp hns twy=f htp hr tSy=k he.t

(3) rests. And your ba will enter to go together with Re at dawn and he will rest upon your body (in)

(4) rhwy wih-n=k imn ipy 'n dm<ntr 'n

(4) the evening. Amenope, the great one of Djeme, the great god, the king of the gods, will pour water for you to the libation-table in the three decades

(5) hr ibt-nb gl-šr s3 pr-ti-wns-nm hr ibt-nb gl-šr s3 pr-ti-wns-nm

(5) each month. Kalasiris, the son of Pati-Usir-Bekh, the hekatontarch. The name of his mother is Ta-asheret-Khonsu.

Commentary (Only readings differing from Barns are treated here.)

Line 2:
As in pBN 149 I 10, 16 and 17 I would read m3't.w rather than m3'wt, m3't.w being a reinterpretation of the ancient dual m3'ty as a nisbe-form.52

Line 3:
The reading 'q r Šm is less 'surprising' than Barns' 'q r-bnr.
Barns read at the end of this line hr bhte.t n 'on the throne in'.

Line 4:
The beginning differs from Barns' 'ir hry mš ' to the chief of the army'.54
Barns' reading does not take into account the group before imn-ipy. The sign before mw is not in but the plural strokes usually written with ntr.w. His translation 'O Amenophis (...) bring water to (...)’ does not match with the normal imperative of this verb r.iny / l.iny (ΔΝΙ-).55


The occurrences of the same topics in this inscription and pTurin N. 766 recto B are the wish to be together with Re (pTurin N. 766 rt. B 2, and implicitly 3), Amenope's libation (pTurin N. 766 rt. B 2) and the presence in the Hall of the Righteous Ones (pTurin N. 766 rt. B 4). Although three common topics for two five-lined texts are remarkable, the only truly striking parallel is Amenope's libation which might be due to the Theban provenance shared by both texts. Therefore this inscription cannot be regarded as an exact parallel for pTurin N. 766 either.

pTurin N. 766 is unique among the Demotic mortuary texts. Some ideas recur here and there, but they are too random to postulate a common root. The litany of pTurin N. 766

53 BARNs, ArOr 20 (1952) 70.
55 SPIEGELBERG, Grammatik § 216.
recto A is not found at all in Demotic mortuary texts.

Among the hieratic Books of Breathing, the Second Book of Breathing contains a litany of divine names which invites comparison to pTurin N. 766. The former texts start with an invocation to Re, Thoth and Osiris linking the deceased to them as son and heir, followed by an invocation to Re-Harakhte, the great and the small ennead connected with the wish to make the deceased’s name flourish ‘in Thebes and the nomes forever and eternally’. The name shall flourish in the same way as the names of the various gods in their cult centres, listed subsequently. Both the sequence of names and the toponyms attributed to them seems to be fixed with little variation among the papyri inscribed with the Second Book of Breathing. According to the published versions there are no additional names, fundamentally different theological ideas or orders of names in the copies, just abridgements leaving out some gods. The texts close with a self-identification of the deceased with Thoth, especially in the shape of an ibis of five cubits, and with a twin of Osiris, as well as common and general wishes, such as for libations, offerings, free movement, and presence in the sun-bark. In the published parallels this part and the introduction to the litany are again identical except for minor variants.

In some respects pCairo 58009 forms an exception: Two divine names (Osiris in Busiris and Isis in all nomes) are added to the list. Furthermore the introduction is more elaborate in identifying the titular with Re, Atum, Osiris and an Ibis, and the closing section (column IV f.) is substantially different, actually a composition identical with pCairo 58012 recto 1-4. Therefore it seems to be likely that pCairo 58009 is a little compilation, partly independent from the other instances of Second Books of Breathings.

The lists of divine names and the closing texts given in the Second Books of Breathing

The completely published papyri are:

- pCairo 58013 GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus hiératiques* 63 ff.
- pCairo 58017 (short version) GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus hiératiques* 72–74.
- pLouvre N 3148 VIII PIERRET, P., *Études égyptologiques comprenant le texte et la traduction d'une stèle éthiopienne inédite et de divers manuscrits religieux ...* (Paris 1873) 62 f.

The version of pBM 10304 seems to be another complete instance, but the photograph in the British Museum guide shows only one column. (British Museum, *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (London 1930) 83.) I suspect either that there is actually more than that one column, or that this is the only preserved part of a longer text.

56 The version of pBM 10304 seems to be another complete instance, but the photograph in the British Museum guide shows only one column. (British Museum, *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (London 1930) 83.) I suspect either that there is actually more than that one column, or that this is the only preserved part of a longer text.

57 GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus hiératiques* 60 f.
and in pTurin N. 766 do not show the same high degree of similarity as among the hieratic versions, rather the former differ considerably from the latter. In pTurin N. 766 recto A a series of names of Osiris and cult centres is found, whereas the Second Book’s sequence of deities above is completely absent. Considering the fact that there are several papyri giving an almost identical version of the Second Book of Breathing, one would expect the Demotic scribe to follow his hieratic colleagues closely, if he really wanted to write a Second Book of Breathing in Demotic. Apparently this was not his intention and he followed another model for recto A, which certainly is not a ‘translation’ of a Second Book of Breathing into Demotic. This result coincides with the instructions of the First and Second Book of Breathing specifying where to put the papyrus at the mummy: The First Book shall be put beneath the head like pTurin N. 766, in contrast to the Second Book which shall be put beneath the feet. Thus the Second Book of Breathing and pTurin N. 766 do not go in the same place, and this indicates to me that pTurin N. 766 bears a purposefully distinct text. Recto B on the other hand is a collection of ideas common to many Egyptian mortuary texts and in that respect an example of the Egyptians’ tendency in the Ptolemaic-Roman period to summarize the essence of their mortuary beliefs in short compositions. The offering-litany of pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II does not supply a hieratic parallel for pTurin N. 766 either, because the sequences of the divine names in the two texts deviate rather significantly from each other, although the names of Osiris show some similarities on occasion.

F. Papyrus Turin N. 766 in the Context of Litanies chiefly with Funerary Reference

In Egyptian religious literature litanies were of considerable importance, originating from offering-litanies and the attempt to summarize knowledge in lists by mentioning the names of constituents. ‘Litany’ denotes compositions ranging from a recited list of names to a

59 Cf. the table above and the attestations cited in Enchoria 25 (1999) 104 note 188.
60 KÁKOSY, ANRW II 18.5, 3002. HERBIN, Parcourir l’éternité 332.
61 QUACK, J.F., „Ein neuer funerärer Text der Spätzeit (pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II)“, in: ZÄS 127 (2000) 74–87, Taf. 10–17. Quack (p. 79 note g) cites pTurin N. 766 recto A 7 as wsfr sp byn m ūn and gives a phonetic explanation for byn there. However, by ‘Ba, soul’ with a bird determinative is written [See Enchoria 25 (1999) 90 with note 53].

Enchoria 26, 2000
poem formed by anaphoric stanzas. A list of names (onomasticon) is a litany when recited, because the catalogue is then a recitation consisting of invocations. To distinguish it from other religious texts, the basic characteristics of the litany are thus the principle of the list and the word-for-word repetition of a stereotype frame.

The sequence of divine names in pTurin N. 766 is characterized by the list of names of Osiris and the mention of a cult place for each form of the god. This finds its parallel in Egyptian litanies, which shed some light on the purpose of these lists in funerary contexts. A few examples are sufficient to illustrate the function of pTurin N. 766.

Evidence for the use of the litany-genre in funerary practices and its relationship to the rites that revivify the dead is provided by the two litanies 'Burning incense to all gods and goddesses' in two versions of the Rite of Opening the Mouth, one of them with a section particularly dedicated to Osiris, and the collection of litanies in the Book of the Dead in the Greenfield Papyrus. Furthermore the Book of the Dead contains the litany to the sun-god in spell 15, the invocation to the judges in the Hall of the Two Truths of spell 125, and the litanies of spell 141/142 and spell 148.

The Book of Hours ‘To Osiris in all [his names]’, whose invocations are divided into hourly recitations and do not cover just Osiris’ names, but also ‘gods, spirits and all kinds of entities (...) which could influence human welfare or evoke the emotions of wonder and awe’ gives a cult topography for the whole of Egypt. The hymns to Osiris in the Osiris chapels in Dendera should be mentioned, because they inform us about the various links this god had to different towns and places. The latter text goes through the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt with an explanation of Osiris’ form of appearance for each nome and

---

64 ASSMANN, LÄ III 1062 f.
69 FAULKNER, Book of Hours.
70 FAULKNER, Book of Hours.
The Funerary Texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766

121

town mentioned. In my opinion, litanies with 'god NN in XY' are a reduction of these longer topographical elaborations in the aforementioned Osirian hymn, with the phrase 'god NN in XY' as a kind of catchword.72

The basis for this concept of reducing any being to a single word is the idea that the essence of a being can be expressed by its name inherently connected with the identity of the denoted.73 The creation can be perceived as an act of giving names74 and the demiurge is consequently called 'he who creates the names' (qmi  wn.w),75 while the time before the act of creation is 'when the name of anything had not been pronounced yet'.76 Every being, including the gods, is therefore vulnerable through his or her name on whose use Egyptian magic relies,77 and gods try to hide their secret name, which gives power over them.78 The utterance of the secret name is to be avoided because of the danger lying in the power and mightiness it contains.79 Transgressors were punished by changing theophoric parts of their names, since their sacrilege made them unworthy of continued connection with a certain god.80 They could also be threatened with total annihilation through the destruction of their names,81 which was a means against evil revenants, as well,82 whereas the remembrance and utterance of a deceased’s name was thought to ensure his or her revivification and endurance from the Pyramid texts onwards.83

Particularly interesting in this respect are BD sp. 141 and 142: These spells were not

72 Cf. ASSMANN, Basa 92. For a connection between the Osiris-hymns and the litany of BD 141/142 see CAUVILLE, S., Le Temple de Dendara. Les Chapelles Osiriennes II. (Le Caire 1997) BdE 118, 140.
74 GRAPOW, H., „Die Welt vor der Schöpfung“; in: ZÄS 67 (1931) 36.
75 Atum: e. g. CT II 23 e, IV 190-191 a. BD sp. 17 (NAVILLE, Todtenbuch II 34.).
76 GRAPOW, ZÄS 67 (1931) 36.
77 KOENIG, Y., Magie et magiciens dans l’Égypte ancienne (Paris 1995) 156-165.
79 ASSMANN, J., Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete (Zürich / München 1975) 318.
81 SOTTAS, H., La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l’ancienne Égypte avec le recueil des formules d’imprécaution (Paris 1913) 49, CT II 253 g, Urk. IV 2, 5–6.
82 pChester Beatty VIII verso 7, 9–7, 11.
distinguished before the Persian or Ptolemaic periods, and they originally formed a single list of divine names giving an account of Osiris in his theological aspects, syncretisms and cult places in the list’s second part (then sp. 142). The roots of the cult topographical litanies typical for Osiris can already be found in the Pyramid Texts and are due to the analysis of the numerous hypostases particularly specific to Osiris for which representations are found in the Osiris chapels in Dendera. The spell’s nature as an offering-litany is suggested by the vignettes depicting the deceased offering before Osiris, who is attended by Isis and Nephthys in some copies of the Book of the Dead, and the relic ‘for’ in front of the divine names. Furthermore the title of Naville’s variant Ba and the end of the title in Basa’s tomb (TT 389, second to third decade of Psametik I, i.e. 654 to 634 BC) support this view. Through the knowledge of the spell, i.e. the knowledge of names, the deceased appears efficacious, will be together with the gods and – from around the fifth century BC – is able to move freely. Although cultic in origin, sp. 141/142 seems to have been perceived primarily as an instructive onomastic account because of its strict form as a list, hence the ‘knowing the names of the gods …’ in some versions. Compare this with the rḥ pḥṭ wdnw nty tw=tw $<$iri=f n$>$ hrw sm$t$-t$^3$ ‘Knowing the offering-litany which one $<$performs on$>$ the day of the burial’ in the introductory section of pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II’s new funerary text, where both onomastic knowledge and the aspect of an offering-litany come together.

Likewise familiarity with names, e.g. of the doorkeepers (BD 145–147) or of the

---

84 ALLEN, Book of the Dead 117 n. 236. ASSMANN, Basa 92
87 NAVILLE, Todtenbuch I 153.
89 NAVILLE, Todtenbuch II 364 (Ba). ASSMANN, Basa 86 f.
91 ASSMANN, Basa 90.
92 QUACK, ZÄS 127 (2000) 78, Taf. 10. Quack translates rḥ with ‘Aufstellung’ – apparently taking it as a writing for rḥt ‘Verzeichnis, Zahl, Betrag’ (Wb II 448, 12–449, 1.) – thus obscuring the idea of knowing divine names and the text’s instructive intention that might actually be the meaning of rḥ in pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II considering the other evidence concerning rḥ ‘to know’ discussed here. (Cf. Assmann, Basa 90.) Possibly rḥt ‘account, number, list’ was understood as being derived from rḥ ‘to know’, despite having a different root in fact. The introduction of lists with r ḫ.t rḥ ‘to let know’ indicates that this etymology was created by the Egyptians themselves.
93 NAVILLE, Todtenbuch I, 155–166, II 369–376.
door’s parts, helps to overcome the obstacles against entering the netherworld, and to my mind one of the aims of the negative confession’s litany is to prove the deceased’s claim to know the names of the 42 judges and to give him access to the hereafter. That the concept of pacifying the judges in the Hall of the Two Truths (‘Hall of the Righteous Ones’ for the texts of the Ptolemaic-Roman period) was still part of the mortuary religion is proved by the Demotic Book of the Dead and the *Livre des transformations*, whose column XI describes the pacification of the beings in that hall by recitation of their names.

In spite of the problematic readings of the initial verbs on each line in pTurin N. 766 recto A 1–16 and recto B 17–22, it is clear that the text contains three different litanies with the stereotypically repeated patterns *nḥt rn NN*, *mwr NN*, *i NN*. The list of cult places connected with Osiris in particular resembles the topographical list of BD sp. 142. For pTurin N. 766, no purpose for the list is given nor is it said how the owner should benefit from it. On the basis of the similarities with these other lists of names in a funerary context and their explicitly mentioned intentions, however, pTurin N. 766 recto A may be seen as a means of supplying the deceased with knowledge concerning the names (and nature) of underworld deities, in the first place Osiris himself. Thus the sentences of recto B, constructed with final conjunctives, operate on two levels: 1. The conditions are described in detail ‘may NN protect in XY, may NN do *mwr*, may you gods place rejuvenation in the deceased’s body so that he may eat together with the akh-spirits and ...’. 2. Presumably the implicit sense of the text is ‘May he know the names so that he ...’. Because the text does not explicitly express the latter, this suggestion must remain a theory though.

**G. Conclusion**

During my work on the new edition of the papyrus, I was forced to abandon my initial assumption that I was dealing with a Demotic version of the Second Book of Breathing, since I could not find any close parallels in both texts. Although in recto A 1–15 and 17–22 the verbs are not satisfactorily understandable, it can be stated that the text follows another

---

95 For the negative confession as litany cf. ASSMANN, *ÄA* III 1063.
98 LEXA, *Totenbuch*.

*Enchoria* 26, 2000
structure than that of the second Book of Breathing. The first part (recto A 1–15, probably 16) is an invocation to four deities particularly related to the hereafter, Osiris in different aspects and cult places, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Hathor and Anubis. In recto A 17–23 the wish is expressed that their names and those of all the other gods of the underworld may be equipped, and the deceased’s name is mixed among them so that he cannot be separated from them. The vocatives of recto A 24 – due to damage the transition from one part to the other is uncertain – introduce a second invocation leading to the imperative ‘Place rejuvenation in the body of Pa-Remuti (...)’ (recto A 24–30). This rejuvenation is in my opinion the basis for the text of recto B, whose conjunctives I explain as final sentences: Both the soundness of the deities and the deceased and the rejuvenation placed in his body are the prerequisites for the benefits described in recto B.

The names of the deities and their links with certain religious aspects and cult places show an ongoing theological tradition that can be traced back as far as the Pyramid Texts. The old ideas are mirrored in archaizing features both in the palaeography, cf. the semi-hieratic writing of Busiris, Mendes and Re, and in the grammar, such as the restricted use of the definite articles, the appearance of a participle and the infinitive of š$m$ with $.t$. However, they exist alongside characteristic Demotic grammatical constructions, most prominently the conjunctives, and prove the liveliness and continued use of Egyptian mortuary religion into or in the Roman Period.

PTurin N. 766 was inscribed for a pa-$\text{-rmwt}$, son of $t\text{3-}$-$\text{sr.t-}$-$\text{hnsn}$w. He presumably lived in the first century AD in Thebes, as suggested by the allusion to the Theban funerary rite of Amenope’s travel to Djeme and his libations there. The texts of pTurin N. 766 can hardly be paralleled with any other contemporary mortuary composition, be it Demotic or hieratic, long or short, except for some fairly general ideas shared by most of them. Although the list of the Turin papyrus tempts one to label it as a Demotic Second Book of Breathing the attested versions of the Second Book of Breathing form a homogenous group and are quite different from pTurin N. 766. Comparison with onomastic passages in the Book of the Dead (sp. 125, 141 / 142) whose roots can partly be traced back to the Pyramid Texts suggests that pTurin N. 766 might have served a similar purpose, i.e. to give the dead knowledge of relevant names that would help him to overcome obstacles in the netherworld. Like a magic spell, pTurin N. 766 guaranteed the deceased’s welfare in the hereafter and, as its title proves, accompanied the deceased physically in order to fulfill its function.