

## EGYPTIAN MORTUARY LITURGIES

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### 1. Introduction: mortuary liturgies and funerary literature

When we think of Egyptian mortuary/funerary<sup>2</sup> texts it is always in terms of the three great corpora of funerary literature: Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead. What has remained obscure, hitherto, is that there is another extant corpus which is comparable in volume to the known collections of mortuary/funerary texts. The texts of this corpus, unlike the corpora of funerary literature, do not share a single provenance or mode of transmission; on the contrary: we find them on papyri, coffins, tombs, stelae, statues of all periods from the pyramid age to Roman times.

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<sup>2</sup> There is no German equivalent for the English distinction between »funerary« and »mortuary«, and with regard to the functional context of *s3ḥw* I feel myself

Without the external criterion of locational and transmissional similarity ("Aufzeichnungsform"), how can we determine what belongs to this new group of texts? We must instead rely on features of the "inner form": formulation patterns, typical themes, interpersonal attitudes, by which we seek to establish the underlying genre.<sup>3</sup> The definition of the new corpus is therefore entirely different from that of the other corpora whose texts are heterogeneous in the extreme: offering spells, incantations, hymns, »transfigurations«, transformation spells, ascension texts, food-spells, ferryman-texts, interrogations, dialogues, aretalogies, lamentations, dramatic fragments, fragments of myth and theology etc. The texts I propose to introduce in this essay, however, are all of them rooted in the same context of function and situation: the mortuary cult. They did not serve the dead as a text to be read in the hereafter but are meant - at least were originally meant - for the use of the living, i.e. the mortuary priest performing his rites in the tomb. This identity of function accounts for a regularity of composition and a semantic cohesion which are missing in the funerary literature and which allow a better understanding.

It would be wrong to suppose that the new corpus is completely separate from the three known corpora. There are substantial overlaps. My leading motive in gathering this corpus was not only the collection of new texts, but also the classification of known texts

reluctant to make this distinction. The recitation of *s3hw* accompanied both the rites of the funeral and the mortuary cult. I use »funerary« with regard to the funerary equipment, and »mortuary« with regard to the cult of the deceased.

<sup>3</sup> For the theoretical and methodical implications see Assmann (1975), 6-25 and 78-94.



according to their genre. Here we are faced with an interesting curve in the historical development. Among the PT, a large proportion of the spells (> 33%<sup>4</sup>) has an affinity with our genre, in the CT they amount to only 8% and in the BD they have virtually disappeared. I think this apparent decrease is indicative of a process of differentiation. In its early state the funerary literature still relied heavily on the recitations of the mortuary service, but with time it became separated from the cult and developed its own forms. In the Late Period there is no room for doubt whether we are dealing with funerary literature or with mortuary liturgies (Goyon 1974). I shall therefore start there, at the end, and work backwards.

## 2. »s3ḥw«-liturgies in the cult of Osiris at Abydos

### 2.1 Preliminary remarks: temple liturgies in the »tomb libraries« of Ptolemaic priests

In Egyptology - the majority of whose material comes from tombs - traditions that were probably well developed characteristically become only known when, and insofar as, they are recorded in tombs. Thus we owe our knowledge of Egyptian mortuary liturgies to such a process of functional displacement. At the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, it became customary among the Theban clergy to take rituals and liturgies of the temple cult into the tomb.

<sup>4</sup> Pace Barta (1981), who takes the whole corpus of Pyramid Texts to consist of s3ḥw and renounces by this procedure any further differentiation in terms of genre-analysis.

Sometimes these temple liturgies are annexed to Book of the Dead (e.g. pLouvre 3129) but usually they are written on separate scrolls.<sup>3</sup> Most of these liturgical papyri contain several liturgies as e.g. pBremner-Rhind with its *Lamentations*, its *Book of Bringing in Sokar* and its *Spells against Apopis*. Of the roughly 25 known liturgies and rituals on these late papyri, 4 bear the title *s3hw*. They occur on altogether 12 papyri, in connection with 6 further rituals (fig.1).

The situation of these *s3hw* is rather paradoxical. There can be no doubt that they are temple liturgies and not mortuary spells. This is explicitly stated in the title rubrics, which link the texts with the cult of Osiris in Abydos, and correspondingly it is the god Osiris Khontamenti and not a private Osiris NN, who is addressed throughout the texts. It is, however, equally evident that these temple liturgies are in fact collections of typical mortuary spells. Many of the spells are known as pyramid texts, some as coffin texts, the rest being spells of a similar form and content. The title of these liturgies, *s3hw*, points rather to the cult of the dead than to that of the gods. *3h* is the term for the »transfigured spirit«, i.e. the ritually equipped and »justified« deceased (Englund 1978); the rite of »reciting many *s3hw*« is attested already in the mortuary cult of the OK, and the title *s3hw* even occurs, occasionally, in the funerary literature. In other words, we are dealing with mortuary liturgies which were performed in the cult of Osiris at Abydos and which have survived in tombs

<sup>3</sup> "livres rituels usurpés": Goyon (1974), 77ff., cf. also Burkard (1988), 1-8.



of Ptolemaic priests as *temple* liturgies.<sup>6</sup>

All I can do here is to survey briefly these extensive texts. Besides drawing attention to some characteristic features of the genre, I want to illustrate the method I have used in constituting the corpus. The criteria for this kind of investigation are mainly derived from the mode of transmission of the text. Every liturgy has a specific context of transmission. There are significant parallels in the older funerary literature, but I have found equally important evidence for these texts in the contemporary (i.e. LP) private monuments such as coffins, sarcophagi, tombs, stelae and statues. We must pursue this complex network of relations in all its ramifications if we are to reconstruct the corpus of Egyptian mortuary liturgies. For this task we must rely on two mutually supporting and confirming criteria: the extra-textual criterion of redaction, transmission and locational context, and the intra-textual criterion of composition, theme and interpersonal form, that is, the characteristic features of the genre.

## 2.2 *s3hw* I: Nr.13.<sup>7</sup>

The *s3hw* liturgies are numbered according to their frequency

<sup>6</sup> All this applies only to 3 of these 4 *s3hw*. These 3 share the characteristic features of funerary spells and have many parallels in the funerary literature. Their titles indicate that they are to be recited by the chief lector priest of the temple, whereas the 4th *s3hw*-liturgy is to be recited as *lamentations* by priestesses taking the part of Isis and Nephthys (see Goyon 1967 and 1974, 81 n.1). As this constitutes a genre of its own, I shall restrict myself to the first three liturgies.

<sup>7</sup> The numbering follows Assmann (1986), 999. As I am here working backwards, I do not start with Nr.1, but rather at the end, with Nrs.13-15. For *s3hw* I see Goyon (1974), 79f. and Szczudlowska (1972).

in the late papyri. There are 7 copies of Nr.I, 4 of Nr.II and one of Nr.III. The title of *s3hw* I reads as follows:

*s3hw* which are performed in the temple of Osiris by the chief lector-priest of this temple. What is to be said at the beginning of each time of the *w<sup>c</sup>bt* (Embalming chamber) and performed at the festival of the month, the mid-month festival and all the mortuary festivals.<sup>8</sup>

The liturgy contains 18 spells. The segmentation is indicated by rubrics with the words *s3hw* or *kjj* (another, vic. spell). There are seven papyri, which have each spell in a separate column. Fig.2 analyzes the 18 spells with their incipits according to their interpersonal form. I use the following symbols: »1:2« indicates the explicit presence of speaker (1st person) and hearer (2nd person), »0:2«: an anonymous speaker never referring to himself addresses a hearer, »0:0«: an anonymous speaker refers to events and actions without directly addressing a hearer. »Dramatic« means that several speakers and/or hearers appear in the same spell. The typical case of funerary literature in which the deceased is speaking about himself to indefinite hearers (»1:0«) occurs nowhere in our liturgical texts.<sup>9</sup>

In terms of interpersonal form, *s3hw* I can be divided into 2 parts. Spells 1-3 are »dramatic«, the rest is primarily in the form »0:2«. Fig.3 shows how this change of interpersonal form corresponds to a change in content. The 3 »dramatic« spells refer to

<sup>8</sup> Szczudłowska (1972), 51.

<sup>9</sup> Note, however, the many Pyramid Texts which have been transposed from one interpersonal form to another, most frequently from »1:0« to »0:0«, sometimes from »0:2« via »1:0« to »0:0«.



performances in the *wrjyt*, i.e. the release and subsequent slaughtering of 4 geese. We know from the identity of the *dramatis personae* as well as from numerous textual allusions, that these spells refer to the dramatic presentation of a mythical episode, the vigil of Osiris, who has to be protected against the attacks of Seth and his followers. The same applies to the ritual *Stundenwachen* (hourly vigil) known from texts in Graeco-Roman temples, published by Junker (1910).<sup>10</sup> There are parallels to the *Stundenwachen* among these first spells. It is striking that the sungod Re appears in none of them, whereas he plays a major part in each of the following spells. Only in the last 6 spells is Re absent, and Horus, Isis and Nephthys, the main agents of the beginning, again take over. These spells also contain allusions to evening rites such as kindling a torch. It is therefore probable that the spells without Re were to be recited during the night, and those including references to him, during the day. We can infer that the liturgy starts at night, continues through the day, and ends the following night. There is further evidence for this hypothesis: the day-time spells contain hints of three meals, while the night-spells mention the chamber of embalment. This should warn us against classifying spells according to the occurrence of specific gods. Schott (1945), for instance, employed this method of classification and arrived at the problematic conclusion that the Pyramid Texts which do not mention Re must be older than the »transfigurations« (*s3hw*) in which Re dominates. Another common procedure is to classify spells as following "Osirian" and "Heliopolitan" traditions. Here, howe-

<sup>10</sup> See Assmann (1985) and Smith (1987), 22ff. For shorter versions on sarcophagi of Dyn. XXV and XXVI see Soukiassian (1982).

ver, we have a case where "Osirian" spells omitting Re and "Heliopolitan" spells mentioning Re belong to a single liturgy. The thematic differences do not reflect different dates of origin and/or theological traditions but point to different stages in the same ritual. The night spells accompany the embalming rites and enact the protection of the passively outstretched deceased, while the daytime spells accompany the presentation of food offerings and center around the main theme of the integration of the deceased in the community of the gods and, above all, in the company of the sun-god. Both forms and themes are interdependent and complementary. This may be true as early as the PT.

Fig.4 summarizes the textual parallels for our liturgy. It is not surprising to find parallels to spells 1-3 in the *Stundenwachen*. Spells 6, 12 and 13 are based on PT, whereas spells 9 and 10 are very closely related to the »food-spells« of the CT. The many parallels on sarcophagi of the Ptolemaic Period, however, provide novel insights. Individual spells from our liturgy are here surrounded by very similar spells, all of which are addressed to the deceased in the »0:2« form and contain the same thematic material. Similar spells also occur on private mortuary monuments of the LP. This shows how about 140 spells can be added to *s3hw* I.<sup>11</sup>

## 2.2 *s3hw* II: Nr.14.<sup>12</sup>

*s3hw* II is attested on 4 papyri. Its full title reads:

<sup>11</sup> Those other texts are given individual provisional numbers starting with 100 in my notation.

<sup>12</sup> See Möller (1900); Goyon (1974), 80; Assmann (1986), 999 Nr.14.



Beginning of the Great *s3hw* to be recited at the 6th day festival, the festival of the mid-month and the month, and at every festival of Osiris, by the chief lector priest of this temple.

In this text, the individual spells are not separated by rubrics or columns. Twice, however, rubrics with indications of origin are inserted:

Found upon a leather roll in the library of the temple of Osiris from the time of king Amenophis III.<sup>13</sup>

Found upon another leather roll from the time of king Thutmose III and Amenophis III in the library of the temple of Osiris at Abydos.<sup>14</sup>

The most striking feature of this liturgy is that (excluding spell 1) it consists exclusively of Pyramid and Coffin Texts. Fig. 5 shows identifications of the various spells. These identifications allow us to divide the uninterrupted text into 25 spells (CT 838 and 839, which are badly preserved on the MK coffins, obviously form 2 stanzas of a single spell). We find, again the same characteristics of the genre as in the first liturgy. All the spells except the short Spell 15 are in the typical »0:2« form. Spell 24 is »dramatic«. In terms of content, the principle of composition is not so clear as in *s3hw* I. One reason of this may be that the theme of the *Stundenwachen* is not fully elaborated in the Pyramid Texts. Again applying the criteria of passivity of the addressee and absence of the sun-god, the first nightly sequence can be identified in 7-14 and the second in 24-25. The spell sequences 2-

<sup>13</sup> Inserted in the middle of PT 690 = spell 19.

<sup>14</sup> Inserted before CT sp. 837 = spell 24.

6 and 15-23 develop the theme of ascension, which is associated repeatedly with goddesses of the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (spells 3, 5, 16, 17 and 23).

In this context, the age and origin of the individual spells is not so significant as the fact that they occur in the same order—as early as the MK coffins (fig.6).<sup>15</sup> This shows that the rubricized indications of origin are by no means exaggerations. On the contrary: the 18th Dyn. leather rolls, mentioned as sources, must be copies of much older mss. similar to those used for the decoration of the MK coffins. The liturgy *s3hw* II thus points directly back at least 1700 years to the MK. Evidence of this liturgy is also found on private monuments of the Late Period. Here, it is interesting that the context is quite different from that of the occurrences of *s3hw* I, namely the "door-spells" in Theban tombs of the Saite period.<sup>16</sup> In these tombs, jambs and thicknesses are normally inscribed with spells. These all address the owner of the tomb in the same fashion as the mortuary liturgies. I have been able to trace about 35 spells in this context, 14 of which go back to the PT. But every one of these texts also occurs in the liturgy *s3hw* II, so that they probably derive not from the Pyramid Texts but from this liturgy. Proof of this conclusion is supplied by "door-spells" derived from spell 1 of our liturgy, which has no parallel in the PT. In the staircase of TT 196, moreover, an almost complete version of *s3hw* II is preserved.<sup>17</sup> There are, therefore, at

<sup>15</sup> See Altenmüller (1972), 49-51.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Assmann (1973), 95-97 and (1977), 26-28.

<sup>17</sup> To be published by E. Graefe, who brought this version to my attention and provided me with his hand-copies.



least 4 different contexts in which liturgy II was set down, with considerable time gaps between them:

1. MK coffins
2. 18th Dyn. leather rolls, used as liturgical mss. in the temple library at Abydos (this can only be inferred from the indications of sources in the Ptolemaic mss.)
3. Theban tombs of the Saite Period, and
4. liturgical papyri of the Ptolemaic Period.

In order to extend our corpus, it is necessary to investigate the different contexts in which liturgical texts occur. The door-spells of the Theban tombs, to which I have given the nrs. 1-99 (because they formed the starting point of my investigation), have so far produced 35 texts. Much more might be expected from the MK coffins and their extraordinary wealth of inscriptions known as Coffin Texts, to which our liturgy offers a completely new approach. But before going deeper into this matter, let me describe very briefly the liturgy *s3hw* III.

#### 2.4 *s3hw* III: Nr.15<sup>18</sup>

*s3hw* III is attested only once on a papyrus of the library of Pa-werem.<sup>19</sup> The 16 spells of this liturgy are written (in pBM 10081)

<sup>18</sup> Goyon (1974), 80; Assmann (1986), 999 Nr.15.

<sup>19</sup> Schott (1930) and (1956). For another papyrus of this library see Caminos (1972).

in distinct columns (16-32). The title reads:

*s3hw*, which is to be performed in the temple of Osiris by the chief lector priest of this temple. To be recited in »*h3-snd*« (i.e. with »*hnw*«-gesticulations) at every funeral festival

Diagram 8 conveys an idea of its composition. There are roughly three sequences. Part A (Spells 1-6) centers on ascension and regeneration, drawing on material from the PT, CT and the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth. Part B (Spells 7-9) contains a series of 7 PT, all of which are based on the "Osirian" idea of the deceased lying passively outstretched. We know, now, that this conception forms part of the nocturnal rites and recitations to be held in the embalming-room or the sarcophagus-chamber. Part C (Spells 10-16) contains spells of the *Stundenwachen* type: this confirms our interpretation of the preceding spells as a nocturnal ritual. Spell 10 even prescribes a recitation »by night«. Since a prescription states that spell 2 is to be recited »in the evening« (*m msrw*), we may conclude that the recitation of the liturgy is to start in the evening and to continue into the night.

The history of part B is particularly interesting. The 7 Pyramid Texts of this group occur in identical order not only in the Saite tomb of Psamtek at Saqqara, but already on MK coffins—including those which contain *s3hw* II. On these coffins, they immediately precede this liturgy. In the other sources, they end with 373 or 721 (see fig.6).



## 2.5 Resumé

Let me summarize this first stage in my investigation. I have surveyed 3 mortuary liturgies from Ptolemaic temple scriptoria called *s3hw*. They contain 18, 25 and 16 spells, - 59 in all. More than half of these are attested as early as the Pyramid Texts. Whereas individual spells date back to the OK, the liturgies, as a whole, date back to sources used for the decoration of MK coffins. We can be positive about this because among these liturgies, we can find no Pyramid Text which is not also recorded on MK coffins. Another significant reason is that their sequence and redaction is not that of the pyramids but that of the coffins. The remaining texts of the Ptolemaic liturgies are (1) spells in the style of Pyramid Texts which are not attested in the pyramids themselves, perhaps only through accidents of transmission or preservation, and (2) spells of the *Stundenwachen* type. These are related to Osirian rituals in Ptolemaic temples. But, the next stage in the investigation will show that the *Stundenwachen* date back to the MK too.

## 3. Mortuary liturgies on MK coffins

### 3.1 Pyramid Text liturgies

Having by now gained somewhat firmer ground, we may look again at the MK coffins in a new and promising light. We know that on these coffins are inscribed the same mortuary liturgies which we find 1700 years later on liturgical papyri, and we have some idea of the characteristics of these liturgies. We can now look for further

sequences of spells on the coffins which show a similarity with our liturgies in formulation and in themes such as nourishment, bodily and personal restitution, integration in the celestial sphere, community with the sun-god, and *Stundenwachen*. As the 3 known liturgies consist of or contain Pyramid Texts, we may first look for further sequences of pyramid spells. As a result, this investigation reveals only one additional liturgy, which is, however, attested extremely often and appears in the same order already in the pyramids: spells 213-219 and 220-222.<sup>20</sup> In this group we may recognize the oldest mortuary liturgy, and a glance at Allen's Index shows that it remained the most popular-into the Late Period. Unas had it inscribed on the S wall of his sarcophagus chamber opposite the offering ritual on the N wall (Osing 1987). In the location of texts, a certain separation of liturgies and literature seems to be observed here. The liturgies decorate the main walls of the sarcophagus chamber, while the literature or magical equipment of the deceased is spread across the other walls. Similar principles apply in the MK. The liturgies figure prominently on the walls of the sarcophagus chamber (if extant) or on the outer coffin, while the "literature" is situated inside, in direct contact with the deceased.

### 3.2 Coffin Text liturgies

Besides identifying pyramid spells on MK coffins, we can discover

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Altenmüller (1972), 46f. "Spruchfolge A"; Osing (1987), "C".



sequences of spells among the Coffin Texts, proper, which show an affinity to our genre of mortuary liturgies. So far, I have been able to identify 6 such liturgies in the shape of spell sequences. 3 of these are attested once or twice and scattered among the 7 vols. of de Buck's edition.<sup>21</sup> The remaining three occur often and their unity is so manifest, that de Buck has observed it in the 1st volume of his edition. For this brief survey, I confine myself to these three major liturgies, which I will number 1-3.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.2.1 *s3hw* 1: CT spells 1-26.

Liturgy V is attested in Middle Egypt (El Bersheh, Meir, Assiut) and Thebes.<sup>23</sup> In 2 mss. it is stated in a horizontal title line to be a mortuary liturgy: *dd mdw: s3hw*. In another version starting with spell 7<sup>24</sup>, the title reads:

Beginning of the Book of Justifying a Man in the Netherworld,

emphasizing the specific thematic focus of this liturgy.

Through the later transmission of Liturgy 1, we know that it is composed of 2 parts. The second part, consisting of CT spells 20-26, forms with Spell 1 a short version. This occurs already on 4

<sup>21</sup> Assmann (1986), 999 Nrs. 4-6.

<sup>22</sup> Systematically, Nr.1 should have been reserved for PT 213-222, the oldest and »classical« liturgy. But, there are most certainly several other liturgies still to be identified within the abundant mass of *s3hw*-like spells in the pyramids, which should also precede, in numerotation, the CT *s3hw*. Thus, I prefer to indicate the PT liturgies by letters (A to ...) and to start anew with the CT liturgies.

<sup>23</sup> For T2C see CT spell 844.

<sup>24</sup> There are good reasons to assume that liturgy 1 originally started with Spell 7, as do MC 105, T9C, T1L and T1NY, because in Spell 62 the liturgy seems to be quoted by its incipit »*hbs t3*« (CT I 268f).

MK coffins<sup>25</sup>, and was later taken over as Ch.169 of the BD. The 1st part, or CT spells 1-19, consists of three sections. The middle part (CT 7-9) deals with the justification of the deceased in a dramatic enactment of the judgment scene. This scene differs from the later representations of the act of judgment in that the deceased is justified against his personal enemies rather than before a divine accusant. Both this version and the later "classical" conception share the assumption that the deceased can enter into the Netherworld only as a justified *3h*.

Spells 1-6 have an introductory character. In the typical form of »0:2«, they awaken the dead and provide him with equipment for the trial. The refrain *m3c-hrw.k* "so that you may be justified" shows that there are actually 4 (and not 6) spells. Spells 10-19 address the dead after the trial. In the »0:2« form, they acclaim him in his new identity of a justified and victorious Horus. Here, again, there are 4 spells, not the 10 numbered by de Buck according to the rather arbitrary position of separation marks in some of the mss. Part 1 is, therefore, concerned exclusively with the justification of the deceased. This is the reason why this part is missing in later versions. With the change in the conception of the judgment of the dead, this section grew obsolete and was substituted by texts like BD 125 and 30.

The second part is one of the few mortuary liturgies which penetrated into the BD. There it bears the title: *r3 n s<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup> hnkjyt* "spell for putting up the bier". This refers unambiguously to the

<sup>25</sup> MC 105; T9C; T1L; BH5C.



situation of the vigil, the embalment and funeral, and concerns the transfiguration of the outstretched corpse. This is confirmed by two representations in the tomb of the Gods-father Nefer-hotep - TT 50 - of the time of Horemheb.<sup>26</sup> There, we find two spells from BD 169 performed in the context of a mortuary liturgy. The corresponding scenes show the outstretched mummy and torches. The captions state that these spells are to be recited in the sarcophagus chamber - *hnkjjt* - which is to be opened twice a year for a festival period of 8 days. I have recently come across some archeological evidence for this ritual practice. After the time of Amenophis III, the sarcophagus chamber is no longer separated from the accessible part of the tomb by a pit, but is kept accessible even after the funeral by means of a sloping passage (Assmann, 1984).

The content of these spells is fully in keeping with their function. CT 20-23 deal with the bodily reconstitution of the deceased and the integrity of his person, while Spell 24 lists the typical rites of the vigil: lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, slaughtering offerings by Thoth, embalming by Anubis. CT 25 is a post-script, but has not been recognized as such by modern translators or ancient copyists (who should have used red ink for it):

This is a glorifying (transfiguring - *3h*) speech and an opening of the West,  
agreeable in the heart of Re,  
satisfying in the heart of his court,  
the guardians of mankind.

In this context, the "opening of the West" means the entry into the

<sup>26</sup> Hari (1985) pls. XXIX and XXXIII see p. 42f. and 46f.

Netherworld accorded to the justified deceased. The recitation of this liturgy, most probably pronounced on the day of his death and repeated at festivals, introduces him to Re and the *ḏ3ḏ3t*. CT 26 is a typical closing utterance in the form \*1:2\*. The hitherto anonymous speaker emerges in his cult-role and explicates the various actions which he has performed while reciting the preceding liturgy. He has conferred upon the deceased renown, respect and honor among the dead. Since this recalls the theme of justification omitted from the BD version, it is consistent that this CT is also absent from the BD. Instead, BD 169 supplies a lengthy continuation in the \*0:2\*-form which is not in the CT.

BD 169 leads to yet another group of texts: the divine speeches on coffins of the NK and Late Period. There, we find representations of the gods: Isis and Nephthys, Geb and Nut, Horus, Anubis, Thoth and the 4 sons of Horus. These deities address the deceased with words primarily derived from BD 169. CT 20 corresponds to a speech of Geb, 21 to a speech of Amset, 22 to a speech of Duamutef, BD 169.17-19 (not in CT) to a speech of Hapi, 169.20-21 to a speech of the grandson of Horus *Hq3m33-jtj.f* and BD 169.21-22, 25-26 to a speech of the grandson of Horus *Jr-rn.f-ds.f*.<sup>27</sup> These occurrences provide further confirmation for the supposition that these texts were meant for recitation during the hourly vigil.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> See Assmann (1984), 288 n.60.

<sup>28</sup> For the very strong connection between the ritual of the hourly vigil and the decorations of coffins and sarcophagi see Assmann (1972), (1977) and Waitkus (1987).



## 3.2.2. Liturgy 2: CT 44-62 (fig.10)

Lit.2 occurs only on coffins from El-Bersheh. Again it consists of 2 distinct parts. Part 1 (Spells 44-48) evokes rites performed at or in the tomb. The numerous and elaborate concluding utterances confirm this connection: PT 223, for instance, is repeated three times:

Betake yourself to me, draw near to me,  
be not far from thy tomb, turn to me!<sup>29</sup>

All these concluding utterances are marked by the desire to continually renew and assure contact between speaker and hearer. This is obviously the major concern of this liturgy. One of the concluding utterances begins with: "you are my father, I am your son!" The first part is segmented into 8 spells by these meta-communicative statements.

Part 2 comprises Spells 49-61. Up to 60A, it deals with actions in the *wrjyt* at night. 60B marks daybreak, and the action then turns outwards. The doors of the *wrjyt* open, and the next group of recitations seems to accompany the deceased on his way to the necropolis. This part of the liturgy contains several surprises for us. If we hitherto considered the *Stundenwachen* to be part of the late cult of Osiris, Spell 49 teaches us otherwise, enacting a regular *Stundenwache* in the dramatic fashion of the late liturgies.<sup>30</sup> Spells 51 to 59 produce a similar parallel. Here, we find lamentations by Isis and Nephthys. What is additionally striking about these spells is their grand style and considerable length, their

<sup>29</sup> CT I 182h-183c; 190g-191a; 238a-c; Pyr. §§ 216; 645; 1342; pBM 10819, VII, 3-4.

<sup>30</sup> See Soukoussian (1982), Assmann (1985) and Smith (1987), 22 ff.

solemn and elaborate »introductory proclamations« and their carefully balanced composition. Spell 62, which shares all these characteristics, develops another rather extraordinary theme. It occurs only on one coffin, on which it is repeated five times. The text is of the »1:2«-type with the speaker presenting himself as Horus. I take this spell to be an independent meta-text, unconnected with Liturgy 2, intended to accompany and comment on the funeral rites, and stress their value for the deceased. The middle stanza describes the ritual overcoming of the nocturnal crisis. The translation of this passage has hitherto presented a crux. I think it can be solved if we identify the *incipit* of the three liturgies which we have found on the coffins:

the »*hbs-t3*« is recited for you,  
 the rebel who comes in the night is driven off for you,  
 the thief of the dawn.  
 For you are performed nocturnal rites, the *jj thb-wr*  
 and the *hnmw*-lamentations of the house of Isis.<sup>31</sup>

*hbs t3* is the introduction of Spell 7, the core scene of Liturgy 1, *jj thb wr* marks the enigmatic beginning of Liturgy 3, *hnmw* is repeated over and over as a refrain in the lamentations of Liturgy 2. All three liturgies are present on the same coffin which is the only source of Spell 62. Incidentally, this text offers an interesting hint as to the meaning of tomb decoration. In the 3rd part, which deals with community with the sun-god, there is a description of the pleasures to be enjoyed at the places of *šms-ib*.<sup>32</sup> Such diversions are none other than the well-known motifs of tomb-deco-

<sup>31</sup> CT I 268 f-j.

<sup>32</sup> CT I 268 k- 270 d. The *swt njwt šms-jb* are mentioned I 269 a.



rations, such as excursions in the papyrus-marshes, fishing and fowling, and hunting in the desert.

### 3.2.3 Liturgy 3: CT 63-74 (fig.11)

Liturgy VII is attested at Saqqara, El-Bersheh and Thebes. Quoted by spell 62 as a "nocturnal ritual" (*h3wj*), this liturgy is also organized in two parts. Spells 1-10 evoke sacrificial rites (libation and nourishment), 11-18 refer to the vigil.

The first part of the liturgy is unusual in two respects: there are obvious allusions - if not word-for-word correspondences - to the PT and there is a very clear reference to the performance of specific rituals. Four of the spells have functional titles which identify them as ritual spells (e.g. *rdj mw n 3h*, giving water to the deceased), others mention explicitly the associated ritual functions (e.g. 63: lustration *z3t*; 72: lustration with 4 *nmst-jars*). This part is really more of a ritual than a liturgy. Only two spells, 66 and 69, contain no explicit references to rites and it is significant that these are the only spells to contain the designation *s3hw*. We can determine the difference between mortuary liturgies and mortuary rituals according to the emphasis laid on their various components. Liturgies consist of recitations and perhaps accompanying performances, while rituals consist of performances with concomitant recitations.

Spell 73 introduces a typical sequence of nocturnal recitations at

the vigil: the appearance of Isis and Nephthys (CT 73 = PT 532), the lamentations of Isis and Nephthys (CT 74, divided into 6 stanzas by a refrain<sup>33</sup>), ascension (CT 832 = PT 306), lamentation (PT 670 and PT 532 once again). At this point comes the sequence CT 837-839, which forms the conclusion to LP versions of *s3hw* II. In this text, the typical bipartite structure of the liturgies is especially clear: the 1st part consisting of sacrificial rites performed in/at the tomb, the 2nd being concerned with rites for protecting and transfiguring the mummy.

#### 4. Mortuary liturgies of the New Kingdom

##### 4.1 Liturgies in Theban Tombs of 18th dyn.

Before leaving Liturgy 3, I should like to call attention to a most remarkable feature of its later transmission. There is a NK parallel for this liturgy in the Deir el Bahari tomb of Sen-en-mut (TT 353).<sup>34</sup> In this tomb, the 4 walls of the second chamber are decorated with BD spells in very carefully carved relief. These spells are preceded by our *s3hw* 3 which is located on the East wall on either side of the entrance. Here, again, we find the separation of mortuary liturgies (outer part) and mortuary literature (inner part). The Senenmut-Version is particularly significant in that it contains an extraordinary combination of our text with

<sup>33</sup> For similar divisions in *Stundenwachen*-texts, corresponding to the different hours (often marked by *hwt* "stanza") see Smith (1987), 80 (a) and Junker (1910), 24.

<sup>34</sup> To be published by Peter F. Dorman in the MMA series, who has kindly provided me with his copies of the texts.



another mortuary liturgy, thereby yielding an important further specimen of our genre.

This text, which I shall here designate as no.7 (reserving nrs.4-6 for the minor CT-liturgies<sup>35</sup>), offers us an interesting link with the NK liturgies. As space forbids to go into details, I will stress just one point relating to the question of transmission of the text. In the 18th Dyn. tombs, mortuary liturgies are for the first time distinguished from the funerary literature by their location. They are situated on walls and pillars of the accessible cult chambers. This location corresponds more closely to their actual use in ritual, whereas earlier liturgies are preserved only insofar as they were inserted into funerary literature. I mentioned already, that the occurrence of liturgies in the corpora of funerary literature diminishes from PT to BD. This process of differentiation, as I have called it, can be dated more precisely. At the time when the liturgies virtually disappear from the funerary literature (the BD), we find evidence for them in the 18th Dyn. tombs and on separate papyri. I have identified extensive extracts from mortuary liturgies in the following additional Theb.T.:

- 1.) The tomb of the vizier *Rekh-mi-Re* TT 100, temp. Th III - Am II (Davies 1943)
- 2.) The tomb of the vizier *Imn-m-ipt* TT 29, temp. Am II (unpublished)

<sup>35</sup> See Assmann (1986), 999.

3.) The tomb of the gods-father *Neferhotep* TT 50, temp. Horemheb (Hari 1985).

The liturgical extracts in TT 100 and TT 29 are closely related. Most of their spells also occur in other contexts. Of these, the spells *jnjw.k m pt* ("if thou art in the sky" TT 100<sup>36</sup>) and *wn n.k pt wn n.k t3* ("The sky is opened for thee, the earth is opened for thee" TT 29) are among the most frequently recorded. In *Rekh-mi-Re*, the spell *jnjw.k m pt* bears the title *r3 n jnt 3h r djt šsp.f htpt-ntr.f*, "spell summoning the 3h in order that he may receive his offerings". This summoning to a meal precedes the actual presentation of the offerings. There are three different versions of this spell in the CT, all of which are also attested in the NK and later.<sup>37</sup> This spell provides an illustration of the reception of mortuary liturgies in general, and teaches us to modify our suppositions. G. Möller, H. Altenmüller, D. Silverman and others have interpreted the history of reception of PT in Late Period tombs and Ptol. papyri as an archaistic revival of ancient sources. What has never been noticed, however, is the specific nature of these revivals. Hardly anywhere do they go outside the restricted genre of the mortuary liturgies. It is now possible to affirm that these texts were not copied from ancient tombs and coffins, but from current liturgical mss. of the mortuary service. What they exhibit is not learned excavation but continual use.

The title of the other popular spell, *wn n.k pt wn n.k t3*, indicates that it is to be recited at the presentation of offerings (*r3*

<sup>36</sup> Davies (1943), pl. 96 = CT spell 902 and the statue of *T3wj* in Philadelphia, see Silverman (1979) and Clère (1981).

<sup>37</sup> See Assmann (1984), 286 with n. 42-47.



n w3h ḥtpw).<sup>38</sup> F.R. Herbin, who is preparing a study of this spell, has collected no less than 40 occurrences of it, most of which on private monuments, especially Theban tombs of the NK. The position is similar with many spells among the mortuary liturgies, although none is quite so widespread.

If we apply the principles outlined above and acknowledge not only parallels and free variants, but also new spells of the same type as specimens of our genre, it is possible to enlarge the corpus by another 200 spells. At present, my collection comprises a core of 16 liturgies and approximately 500 dispersed spells.

#### 4.2 Papyri

##### 4.2.1 pBM 10209

Both of the spells just mentioned - the summoning to a meal jnjw.k m pt and the presentations of offerings wn n.k pt wn n.k t3 - occur in this order in one of the "Funerary Papyri" of Nesmin, pBM 10209 (ed. Haikal 1970/72), which should therefore be included in the corpus. The remaining 8 spells confirm this identification, for all of them show the characteristic features of the s3hw genre. The title of this liturgy has been constantly misunderstood. It reads:

<sup>38</sup> The title is indicated in the oldest preserved parallel on a funerary pot from Harageh, see Gunn (1923), pl. 79. For a recent publication of one of the innumerable variants see Testa (1986).

Extract from<sup>39</sup> the book of the Valley Festival.

The title shows this liturgy to be connected with the Theban mortuary cult, whereas all the liturgies in the other Ptolemaic papyri were linked with the cult of Osiris at Abydos. We may, therefore, conclude that *s3ḥw* 12 is much closer to the practical function of the genre than it is the case for *s3ḥw* 13-16 (I-IV), in their Ptolemaic reception.

These remarks on the abundant genre of mortuary liturgies have brought us back to our starting point. The Ptolemaic papyri guided us back to the MK coffins, from there we moved to the tombs of the NK, whence we have returned to the Ptolemaic papyri. This pattern of investigation is not a random stroll through the different periods. Rather, it mirrors the essential links in the network of tradition. In fig. 15, five typical spells are selected in order to illustrate these connections. The genre of *s3ḥw* remained vital and productive for as long as it was used in mortuary practice. Its extraordinary longevity is to be accounted for not by an »antiquarian interest in ancient texts«, but by its continuing to have a practical function.

#### 4.2.2 pBM 10819

If there can be anything like a proof in matters of historical re-

<sup>39</sup> F. Haikal (1972), 16 reads *jnj* <*b3*> *r s3ḥw n ḥ3b jnt* and translates "Book of bringing (the soul) to the glorifications of the Festival of the Valley". The true reading is *jnj r sfdw* (or another term for book, scroll) *n ḥ3b jnt*. *jnj r* has the technical meaning "extracted from" or "rendered according to", s. Assmann (1969), 222 n.171.



construction, it is provided by a recently acquired and unpublished papyrus in the British Museum.<sup>40</sup> This religious papyrus of the 18th Dynasty contains neither a Book of the Dead nor any temple liturgy of the divine service. Instead, it has a mortuary liturgy linked by various parallels to our familiar NR liturgies. The text is not quite complete. The first column(s) are missing. The 8 columns preserved on the recto contain 16 spells, the 134 lines on the verso contain 25 spells. Some of them occur more than once. Most of the spells from TT 100 and TT 29, and from TT 50 and TT 353 reappear in this liturgy. This papyrus must once have served the lector priest to perform the mortuary service of a certain Osiris, the scribe P3-c 3. This is a vital record of the actual context in which the liturgies were used. The *h3bt* or »fest roll« of P3-c 3 is invaluable in that it shows us a mortuary liturgy in its proper place and not in its usual displaced position in coffin or tomb decoration.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> It was in 1971 when I first came across this unique piece, then labelled »medical«, in the exhibition of the BM. Thanks to the extraordinary generosity of H. James, who sent me a set of excellent photographs, I have been able to take a more specific notice of its content. In view of the publication by T.G.H. James, which is in preparation, I restrict myself here to very few remarks of a more general character.

<sup>41</sup> Another fest roll (*h3bt*), which is explicitly designated as such on its verso, is pBerlin 10482 (ed. Grapow 1915). It contains, however, only one *s3h*-spell (CT sp. 225), the rest being food- and transformation spells (CT spells 169-171; 109; 329; 417; 89; 149) see Lesko (1979), 72.

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Titles of liturgies	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	total
<i>s3hw I</i>	-	f	-	a	a	d	b	-	f	b	-	-	7
<i>s3hw II</i>	a	-	a	-	b	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	4
<i>s3hw III</i>	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>s3hw IV</i>	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	b	g	-	a	a	5
Great Ceremony of Geb	-	e	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-	2
Averting the Evil One	-	b	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Casting Down Seth	-	c	-	-	-	b	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Protecting the <i>nsmt-bark</i>	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	d	-	-	-	-	2
Bringing in Sokar	-	d	-	-	-	d	e	g	-	-	b	-	5
<i>s<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup> s<sup>c</sup></i>													

- A = pBM 10081  
 B = pBM 10252  
 C = pBM 10255  
 D = pBM 10317  
 E = pBM 10319  
 F = pLouvre 3129  
 G = pBerlin 3057  
 H = pNew York 35.9.21  
 I = pLeiden T 31  
 K = pKrakau  
 L = pLouvre 3079  
 M = pBM 10208

Fig.1: Distribution of liturgies in liturgical papyri of the Ptolemaic Period

EGYPTIAN MORTUARY LITURGIES

spell	incipit	interpersonal form
1	<i>jj z3 wr nd.n.f jtj.f</i>	dramatic
2	<i>rs wr nhs wr 2B: jj Wsjr, mrj.k z3.k</i>	"
3	<i>c h<sup>c</sup> wrw zbj shmw</i>	"
4	<i>wn pt, wn t3</i>	0:0, 0:2
5	<i>jjtj m jrw.k</i>	0:2
6	<i>wtz tw hr gs.k</i>	0:2
7	<i>c h<sup>c</sup> jr.k r bw hr ntr</i>	0:2
8	<i>c nh.tj m3w.tj rnp.tj</i>	0:2
9	<i>htp dj njswt htp dj Gbb 9B: wnn.k m ntr</i>	0:0, 0:2
10	<i>c h<sup>c</sup>.k szp n.k t.k 10B jw Wsjr n gs.f</i>	0:2
11	<i>h<sup>c</sup> j jr.k hftjw hrw hr.k</i>	0:2
12	<i>hr wr hr gs.f</i>	0:0, 0:2
13	<i>dj sdt</i>	dramatic
14	<i>jn n.k Gbb sntj.kj</i>	0:2
15	<i>jj jnjw b3w</i>	dramatic
16	<i>mj, wtz tw, jw.k wtz.tj</i>	0:2
17	<i>wtz tw, Wsjr</i>	0:2
18	<i>sq3 tw wrw njw P</i>	0:2

fig. 2: s3hw I: segmentation, form of spells



spell form Nr.	reference to ritual	dramatis personae	episodes
1	dram. <i>wrjyt</i>	Horus, Isis & Nephthys Thoth, 4 sons of Horus, 4 Anubises	Hourly vigil, apotropaic rites in the <i>wrjyt</i>
2	dram. presenting <i>cnh, w3s</i> 4 geese	Same as 1, + Seth and his followers	
3	dram.	Horus, Isis & Nephthys Geb, Nut, Atum	
4	0:0,0:2 meal	Re, Nut	"turning outward" 1st meal, worship
5	0:2 -	Horus, I&N, Gods. Re	2nd meal
6	0:2 2nd meal	Re	
7	0:2 -	Re	worship
8	0:2 -	Re	
9	0:0,0:2 3rd meal	Re	3rd meal
10	0:2 <i>Tnnt</i>	Re, Geb, I&N	worship
11	0:2 -	Thoth, Horus, Nut, Re	
12	0:0,0:2 evening rites	Re, Geb	"turning inward"
13	dram. incense, ascension	"Incense". Gods. Ferryman	torch, incense: closing rites at evening
14	0:0 -	Geb, Horus, I&N	
15	dram. -	"Gods who bring the Ba's"	adoration
16	0:2 -	Horus, I&N	in the
17	0:2 -	same as 16	<i>wc bt</i>
18	0:2 -	same	

fig. 3: *s3hw* I: ritual structure

EGYPTIAN MORTUARY LITURGIES

spells	literal parallels	free variants	singular spells on private monuments
1	<i>Stundenwachen</i> (SW) 107.85-108.98		
2	2B = <i>s3hw III</i>		135; 147
3	SW 116		125; 177; 34: 126
4			§5: 126
5			146
6		PT 482/670	
7			111; 144
8			115 ("BD 192")
9		CT food spells	121; 131; 128; 208
10		CT food spells e.g. 278, 287, 581-583	154
11			148; 149
12	PT 677+365+373A <i>s3hw III</i> 8-9		155
13	PT 269-70		
14		PT-style	
15			"BD 191"
16			153
17			
18			

Fig.4: *s3hw I*: parallels and variants. Nrs. in col.4 refer to temp. Nrs. in the corpus.



spell incipit	parallels	form
1 <i>jjti</i>	-	0:2
2 <i>jhj jhj wtz cw N pw: šzp n.k tp.k</i>	PT 373	0:2
3 <i>h3 N pw, wtz tw r wrw jr.k</i>	PT 721=CT 516	0:2
4 <i>h3 N pw, šm.n.k 3h.k šm.n.k m ntr</i>	PT 422	0:2
5 <i>wr.tj, N pw, d3.tj, N pw</i>	PT 374+CT 517	0:2
6 <i>h3 N pw, šm.k pw šmw.t.k jptn</i>	PT 424	0:2
7 <i>h3 Wsjr N °hc, wtz tw ms.n tw mwt.k Nwt</i>	PT 366	0:2
8 <i>h3 wsjr N jn n.k Gb Hrw nd.f tw</i>	PT 367	0:2
9 <i>h3 wsjr N, Hrw nw m hnw °jwj.kj</i>	PT 368	0:2
10 <i>h3 wsjr N °hc, rdj.n Hrw °hc.k</i>	PT 369	0:2
11 <i>h3 wsjr N mn n.k qbḥ.k jpn</i>	PT 423	0:2
12 <i>h3 wsjr N rdj.n Hrw dmd tw ntrw</i>	PT 370	0:2
13 <i>h3 wsjr N, dj.n tw Hrw m-h3t ntrw</i>	PT 371	0:2
14 <i>h3 wsjr N jrs jr.k</i>	PT 372	0:2
15 <i>N pw nw prjw m hn</i>	PT 332+722	0:0
16 <i>wrš wr hr k3.f jb3n jr.f wr pn hr k3.f</i>	PT 468	0:0,0:2
17 <i>hr wr hr gs.f nmnm jmj ndjt</i>	PT 412	0:0,0:2
18 <i>wtz tw hr qsw.k bj3w</i>	PT 723=CT 519	0:2
19 <i>rs Wsjr nhs ntr jb3gjj</i>	PT 690	0:0,0:2
20 <i>n3 N pw jnk z3.k jnk Hrw</i>	PT 674	1:2
21 <i>h3 N wr wrš °3 sdr</i>	PT 462	0:2
22 <i>h3 N »mj m ḥtp* jr.k n Wsjr</i>	PT 675	0:2
23 <i>mw.k n.k b°ḥ.k n.k</i>	PT 676	0:2
24 (a) from PT 532 (b) <i>wn °3wj pt</i>	PT 477=CT 837	dram.
25A <i>hr wr hr gs.f nmnm jmj ndjt</i>	CT 838	0:0,0:2
25B <i>hr wr hr gs.f nmnm jmj ndjt</i>	CT 839	0:0,0:2

Fig.5 s3hw II: identity of spells

EGYPTIAN MORTUARY LITURGIES

spells	Sq4C	B9C	B10C <sub>1</sub>	B10C <sub>2</sub>	Psamtik	s3hw II	s3hw III
PT 593	157-69	291-97	256-60	395-99	102-13		XXIII:7a
PT 356-57	169-77	297-302	260-63	399-402	113-25		7b-c
PT 364	177-98	302-12	263-69	402-08	125-41		7d
PT 677	198-212	312-19	269-74	408-13	142-50		XXIV 8
PT 365	212-19	319-22	274-76	413-15	150-55		XXV 9a
PT 373	220-27	322-25	276-81	418-21		Nr.2	
PT 721	228-33	325-29	279-81	418-21		Nr.3	9b
PT 422		330-39	281-87	422-29		Nr.4	
PT 374+CT 517		339-44	287-91	429-33		Nr.5	
PT 424		344-49		434-38		Nr.6	
PT 366-69		349-63		438-49		Nr.7-10	
PT 423		363-65		449-50		Nr.11	
PT 370-72		365-73		451-56		Nr.12-14	
PT 332+CT 518		373-76		456-57		Nr.15	
PT 468		376-87		458-67		Nr.16	
PT 412		387-96		467-74		Nr.17	
CT 519		396-98		474-76		Nr.18	
PT 690		398-415		476-91		Nr.19	
PT 674		415-16		491-94		Nr.20	
PT 462				494-95		Nr.21	
PT 675-76				495-505		Nr.22-23	
CT 837						Nr.24	
CT 838-39						Nr.25	

Fig.6: Sequence of spells on MK coffins, the Saite tomb of Psamtik (Saqqara) and in s3hw II and III.



<i>s3hw</i> II spells		TT 196	"door spells" in TT
1			Texts 2, 4
2	373	entrance L =	Text 18
3	721	"	R = Text 17
4	422		Texts 5, 15, 19
5	374/CT 517	L 30-37	
6	424	L 39-42	
7	366	L 43-50	
8	367	R 46-48	
9	368		
10	369	R 1-20	Text 11
11	423		
12	370		
13	371		
14	372	R 20-45	
15	332/CT 518		
16	468		
17	412		Texts 9, 10
18	CT 519	L 1-26	= Text 12
19	690		Texts 12a, 13, 14

Fig.7: *s3hw* in Saite tombs at Thebes

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Nr	col.	parallels	reference to ritual	theme
1	16			
2	17	PT 670	"to be recited at evening"	
3	18+19	Opening of the mouth scene 55A=Text 171		ascension and rebirth
4	20	(a)=CT 363		
5	21	cf. PT §638, §25		
6	22	(b)= PT §634		
7	23a	= PT 593		
	b	= PT 356		
	c	= PT 357		"Osirian" rites
	d	= PT 364		around the out-
8	24	= PT 677 = <i>s3hw I 12A</i>		stretched corpse
9	25a	= PT 365 = <i>s3hw I 12B</i>		
	b	= PT 373A= <i>s3hw I 12B</i>		
10	26	~ <i>s3hw I 2</i>	to be recited "by night"	
11	27	~ <i>s3hw I 2</i>	4 geese	
12	28	~ <i>s3hw I 2</i>	4 geese	
13	29		slaughtering	<i>Stunden-</i>
14	30	CT 839 = <i>s3hw II 25B</i>	"	<i>wachen</i>
15	31	<i>Stundenwachen</i>		
16	32		detailed indications concerning recitation and action	

Fig.8: *s3hw III*: composition



Nr.	CT spell	incipit	theme and interpersonal form
1	1-2	<i>h3 wsjr N ntk Rw ntk Rwtj</i>	
2	3	<i>h3 wsjr N šzp n.k mdw.k</i>	preparatory invocations
3	4-5	<i>wn n.k t3 r3.f</i>	(revival, equipment)
4	6	<i>wr-wj jbd n q33 pt</i>	0:2
5	7	Title: <i>r3w nw s3hw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw hbs t3 <sup>c</sup>h3.n rhwj</i>	
6	8	<i>jnd hr.tn d3d3t</i>	judgment scene
7	9	<i>jnd-hr.k Dhwtj</i>	in dramatic form
8	10-11	<i>h3 wsjr N pn wq<sup>c</sup> n.k sb3</i>	
9	12-14	<i>wsjr N, prj.n.k wr.tj <sup>c</sup>3.tj</i>	acclamations of the justified deceased
10	15-17	<i>jj bn k3 zp snw</i>	after judgment
11	18-19	<i>h3 wsjr N pn d3j.k pt</i>	
12	20	<i>h3 wsjr N pn wn n.-k Gbb jrtj.kj</i>	bodily
13	21	<i>h3 wsjr N pn jw jr.k prj.k r pt</i>	restitution: 0:2
14	22	<i>drp tw Tfnt z3t R<sup>c</sup>w</i>	
15	23	<i>d3jw.k tbtwtj.kj 'h3w n w3t</i>	movement: 0:2
16	24	<i>h3 wsjr N jw h3 n.k jn bjk</i>	lamentations, opening: 0:2
17	25	<i>h3 wsjr N pn jw rdjw n.k šdw</i>	
18	26	<i>h3 wsjr N pn jw rdj n.k 3t.k</i>	1:2: closing utterance

Fig.9: *s3hw* Nr.1: CT 1-26

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Nr.	CT spell	incipit	special features	closing utterance
1	44A	[...] wn ° 3wj pt n nfrw.k		mz tw jr.j
2	44B 183f	hzj tw 3st hnc Nbthwt		mz tw jr.j
3	45A 191d	hr sd3 m 3ht j3btt	introductory proclamation	jnk Wpw3wt.k
4	45B 194f	hc j wrw jmjw 3ht	"	jnk z3.k Hrw
5	46	hc ° šmsw n nb 3ht	"	jnk shd rnpw
6	47A 204a	nfr-wj šzp jtj.j t hnqt		tw jtj.j jnk z3.k
7	47B 208A	rs ntr pn jmj 3ht	exhortatory refrain	
8	48	jnd hr.k wsjr N pn	"	jnk z3.k jwc.k
9	49	hr sd3 m 3ht j3btt	introductory proclamation (Stundenwachen)	
10	50A 223a	dsr pt hc ° 3htjw	"	
11	50B 228b	rs Jnpw nb r3-qrrt	"	jnk z3 z3.k
12	51	jm hr njswt	lamentation	
13	52	ntrw, mj m mh3w.j pn	"	
14	53	rs.tj n ° nh	"	
15-20	54-59	hnm m zh	"	
21	60	hc j ntr m hnw k3r.f	introductory proclamation	
22	61	ntr nb r r3 n š.f	cont. of 60	
-	62	jnd hr.k jtj.j wsjr	general meta-text	

Fig.10: s3hw 2: CT 44-62



Nr. CT spell incipit		interpersonal form	reference to ritual
1	63	<i>jj thb wr</i>	0:2 z3t lustration
2	64	<i>qbh.k jpn, jtj.j</i>	1:2 rdjt mw n 3h qbh libation
3	65A	<i>jnj tw jtj.j</i>	1:2 rdjt mw, t food
	B 277h	<i>šm.k šmw.t.k jptn</i>	0:2 +self-present. "
4	66	<i>j3 N pn wr.tj rr</i>	0:2 m3 <sup>c</sup> w s3hw
5	67A	<i>rs, rs wsjr N pn</i>	0:2, clos. utt. 1:2 "
	B 284e	<i>j3 N pn šm.k pw 3htj</i>	0:2
6	68	<i>j3 N pn c<sup>h</sup>c jr.k r c3wj</i>	0:2, clos.utt. 1:2 bread and beer
7	69	<i>hr wr hr gs.f</i>	0:0, 0:2 clos.utt. self-pres. (Horus): s3hw pn
8	70	<i>mn n.k t.k pn</i>	0:2 rdjt t n 3h food
9	71	<i>mn n.k jrt Hrw</i>	0:2 " "
10	72	<i>h3 wsjr N pn mw.k n.k</i>	0:2 + 2 clos.utt. libation & food
11	73	<i>wh<sup>c</sup> Dd m M<sup>c</sup> ndt n nb.s</i>	0:0, 0:2 s3h (=PT 532)
12	74A	<i>jnn jnn sdr</i>	0:2 refrain 1:2
	B 307h	<i>wnn mdw.n tw Hrw</i>	0:2 refrain 1:2
	C 308j	<i>wtz tw sn.j c<sup>h</sup>nh jb.k</i>	0:2 refrain 1:2
	D 309j	<i>nhs, rs, dsr tw hr gs.k</i>	0:2 refrain 1:2
	E 310b	<i>jj Hrw hr jj.k, Wsjr</i>	0:2 refrain 1:2
	F 311g	<i>nfr.wj-tw c<sup>h</sup>c.tj m mjn</i>	0:2 refrain 1:2
13	832=PT 306	<i>nfr.wj m33 htp.wj sdm</i>	0:0, 0:2
14	PT 670	<i>wn c3wj pt zn c3wj qbh<sup>w</sup></i>	
15	PT 532 cf. Nr.11	<i>wh<sup>c</sup> Dd m M<sup>c</sup> ndt</i>	
16	837 cf. PT 477	<i>wn c3wj pt zn c3wj qbh<sup>w</sup></i>	dram.
17	838-839	<i>hr wr hr gs.f nmnm</i>	

Fig.11: s3hw 3: CT 63-74

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sections	Nr. of verses	stanzas
I: Gifts of Horus: restitution	8 16	self-presentation of Horus movement, in the air (8) and on the water (8)
II: justification	8	overcoming of the "nocturnal crisis"
III: community with the sun-god	16 8	<i>šms-jb</i> : fishing and fowling hunting in the desert ascension

Fig.11: composition of spell 62

CT PT  
spell spell cf.

63	666B, 619, 553, 468, 665	<i>z3t</i>
63	§22 a-b	<i>qbh</i>
65	659, 578	<i>rdj mw, t</i>
66	508 (480), 582, 698	<i>s3h</i>
67A	667	
67B	666B	
67C	665C, 666, 691B, 717	
68	373, 463, 578, 666A	
69	412	
71	§64b	
73	532	
832	306	
	670	
	532	
837	477	

Fig.12: *s3hw* 3: correspondences to PT



TT 353 TT 353 lines parallels incipit, remarks  
A=Nr.3 B=Nr.7

1-5	R1-12	CT 63-67A	
6	R15-16	<i>h3 wsjr N jw.n&lt;.j&gt; sh<sup>c</sup>&lt;.j&gt; tw</i> closing utterance 1:2	
7	R16-17	<i>wtz kw Gbb mr.n.f kw</i>	
8	R17-19	<i>nfr.wj-tw hz.wj-tw</i>	
9	R19-20	<i>nfr.wj-tw hz.wj-tw</i>	
10	R20-26	<i>jw n.k Sw, Tfnt</i>	cf.6(b)
11	R26-27	<i>h3 wsjr N, h3.k m t</i>	
12	R27-31	PT 220-221 <i>wn <sup>c</sup>3wj 3ht snhbhb 3pwt.s</i>	
13	R31-38	PT 222 <i><sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.k hr.f t3 pn prjw m Jtmw</i>	
14	R38	PyrS64b <i>h3 wsjr mn n.k jrt Hrw</i>	
15	R38-43	CT 723 <i>fq3w pw nn n R<sup>c</sup>w</i>	
16	R43-44	cf CT 751 <i>Jmstj Hpj Dw3mwtf Qbhsnwf</i>	
17	R45-47	<i>h3 wsjr N m3<sup>c</sup>hrw m33.k m jrtj.kj</i>	
18	R47-48	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b tw R<sup>c</sup>w <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.tj hnc mwt.k Nwt</i>	
19	R48	PT 364A <i>h3 wsjr N jj Hrw jp.f tw mm ntrw</i>	
20	R49-52	PTSS638+781f <i>h3 wsjr N pzs.n sj mwt.k Nwt</i>	
21	R52-53	<i>rdj.n z3.k Hrw hftjw.k hr.k</i>	
22-27	L1-26	CT 67B-74A, omitting 70, 71	
28	L26-27	<i>h3 wsjr N, h3.k m t</i>	
29	L28-32	CT 834 <i>jnjw.k m pt</i>	
30	L33-39	PT 364 <i>h3 wsjr N <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup> jr.k jj Hrw</i>	
31-34	L40-49	PT 532B (SS1259-61), CT 837, 832, 74B	

Fig.13: liturgies 3 and 7 combined in TT 353

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TT 100	TT 29	pBM 10819	other sources
pl.76 T r3 n jnt jb n 3h n.f S jn<.j> n.k jb.k m ht.k	-	vso Nr.25	CT 28-29 Rit.f.Amen.I
pl.78 a T r3 n qbh sntr n r <sup>c</sup> w nb S qbh jpn wsjr N prw hr Hrw	Pillar 2	rto. Nr.1, Nr.8	
b zbj zbj hnc k3.f	Pillar 3	vso. Nr.22	PT 25
pl.86 a T r3 n jrt jht wdb jht S t, hnqt, k3w, 3pdw	-	-	-
b szp n.k ddwt n.k wn.k r3.k n H <sup>c</sup> pj	Pillar 3	rto. Nr.5 E	
pl.96La T r3 n sw <sup>c</sup> b wdhw S jw w <sup>c</sup> b sw <sup>c</sup> b wdhw	-	vso Nr.16	CT 831
b T r3 n sntr w <sup>c</sup> b n k3.k S k3p tp.k m sntr	-	-	-
pl.96R T r3 n jnt 3h rdjt htp.f hr sbw.f S jnjw.k m pt	[...] -	CT 902 Rit.f.Amen.I pBM 10209 etc.	
pl.104 T r3 n c <sup>c</sup> q r wdb jht S a) nd sb3 smr jrj w3t b) j <sup>c</sup> -tw hmzj hr jht		Rto. 11, Vso 8, Vso. 9	
c) jrt htp-dj-njswt			
d sm.n.k qd.n.k mdwt			PT 224
pl.108 a c <sup>c</sup> nh.tj ntr jm hnk m t		Vso Nr.16	
b htp ntr m htpt-ntr.f	Pillar 4N		PT 223+222
	Pillar 4E:	Rto Nr.3	CT 723
	fq3w pw n R <sup>c</sup> w		TT 353
	Pillar 3W	Vso Nr.5	pBM 10209
	wn n.k pt	T: r3 n w3h jht	ca. 40 oc- currences

fig.14: spells in TT 100, TT 29 and their parallels in pBM 10819 and other sources



spells (incipit)	CT	pBM 10819	TT100	TT29	TT353	pBM 10209	Am.I Rit.	other
jnjw.k m pt	834 842 902	[...]	pl.96	-	Nr.29	Nr.2	XVII	some
fj3w pw n Rcw	723	rto.3	-	4E	Nr.15	-	-	-
jn.j n.k jb.k	28-29	vso.25	pl.76	-	-	-	XVII	some
Jmstj, Hpj, Dw3mwtf	751	rto.14, vso.11	-	-	Nr.16	-	-	-
wn n.k pt wn n.k t3	-	vso.5	-	3W	-	Nr.4	-	many

Fig.15: distribution of some spells in the mortuary liturgies of the NK and some other sources