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AN INTERPRETATION OF THE STEMMATA OF THE BOOKS OF THE NETHERWORLD IN THE NEW KINGDOM — TOMB DECORATION AND THE TEXT ADDITIONS FOR OSIRIS NN

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INTRODUCTION

Through the method of modern textual criticism it is possible to reconstruct parts of the history of copies made from an «original» copy of a text which all the others directly or indirectly derive from (*recensio*). The result can be presented in a graph displaying the dependencies (*stemma*). Once constructed, the stemma can be used to make assumptions on the text of those copies reconstructed in addition to the actual text witnesses attested. Most frequently it is the oldest, «first» text copy that is reconstructed (*examinatio*).

Here, in contrast, an attempt is made to interpret stemmata as a partial picture of the history of the copying processes itself and to compare different such histories in the context of the books' usage — namely those of the *Amduat*, the *Litany of Re*, the *Book of Gates*, and the *Book of Caverns* through the duration of the New Kingdom.

I. THE STEMMATA (RECONSIDERED)[1]

I.1. *Amduat — Repairs of decoration papyri*

The stemma of the *Amduat* in the New Kingdom was constructed by Hartwig Altenmüller in 1969 and by Peter Jürgens in 1999.[2]

A parallel, independent analysis by the present author led to a stemma largely similar to Jürgens'. There are, however, some significant deviations to add that render it necessary to revise some of the relations between the reconstructed papyri.

[1] The names of the reconstructed papyri are kept here. Additional papyri got new names, not used before to prevent any confusion. The abbreviations used for the text witnesses are similar to those used in the text editions mentioned, except for the following cases (edition→here): ThI→Hat (see Florence Mauric-Barberio, «Le premier exemplaire du Livre de l'Amdouat», in *BIFAO* 101 (2001), p. 315–350 [p. 333–334]), U→User, (mummy) ThIII→mThIII, (tomb) ThIII G→ThIII (!), (catalog) ThIII K→cThIII, T→(tomb) Tut vs. (shrine) sTut, A→Ay, H→Har, (temple) Abyd→tRII, (temple) O→tOsir, M→Mer, Ta~TS→Ta/Se, (papyrus) Pap.→pNedj P.→Pet, (sarcophagi) SIs→sSI, Ms→sMer, RIIIs→sRIII, Ber→sPeti, Sarc~S.→sTji.

[2] Hartwig Altenmüller, «Zur Überlieferung des Amduat», *JEOL* 20 (1968), p. 27–42; Peter Jürgens, «Das Stemma des *Amduat* nach den Textzeugen des Neuen Reiches», *SAK* 27 (1999), p. 141–171.

The examination of the text witnesses sRIII und RIV made it possible to conclude the existence of two more papyri.

ThIII	cThIII	AII	AIII	sTut	Tut	Ay	**SI**	RII	Ta/Se	sMer	sRIII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	**RVI**	RIX	lists (JSt.: Jürgens, Stemma, lists p.161–9)
?	-	?	?	?	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	JSt.11 (no.131,138–9)
++	-	++	++	-	-	-	++	++	-	-	-	-	++	++	++	-	**c**		JSt.11 (no.132–7)
++	-	++	++	++	-	-	**c**												JSt.10
		?	?	/	?	?	?	?	?	/	?	?	-	/	?	-	?	-	list 1 (no.1,3,21,25,33,37)
		++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	**c**		list 1 (others)
		++	++	-	++	++	**c**												JSt.8
							+	/	+	/	-	+	+	/	+	-	+	+	JSt.6
							++	++	++	++	-	++	++	++	++	-	**c**		JSt.5a/b (no.40–69)
										?	?	?	-	-	?	-	?	-	list 4 (no.57)
										-	-	++	++	++	++	-	**c**		JSt.3
																+	+	+	list 6

(+: deviations, ++: also significant deviations,?: questionable, /: destroyed, —: not attested, c: collation)

Table 1. Deviations of δ, ζ and ι.

Significant deviations are shared by the texts between AII and RIII (and AII and RIX, see below); that is those text witnesses deriving from ζ and those deriving from ι (or θ) (table 1). On the basis of Jürgens' stemma this is impossible since ThIII should have inherited it as well.[3] The attempt to construct a stemma based on this data leads to contradictions which can be solved by assuming that copy ι (or θ) derived from a collation of ζ and α. Indeed all those deviations of ζ (and δ) not shared by ι that had led Jürgens to reconstruct a copy γ are concentrated between the text following the first and that preceding the third hour.[4] When comparing the middle register of the 2nd hour in the tombs of ThIII, AII, sTut, and SI one can impressively see why such a scenario makes sense. The papyrus δ for ThIII was obviously severely damaged in the middle segment of the beginning of the roll and the damage grows even further with the subsequent copy for the decoration of AII. Figures are omitted or only partially drawn and gaps indicate missing text segments. Some parts were explicitly stated as having been found destroyed (*gm(j) wš*).[5] The old decoration papyrus was repaired by collation no earlier than for SI.

[3] Jürgens, *Stemma*, p. 148.

[4] Erik Hornung (ed.), *Texte zum Amduat* I-III, *ÆH* [1]3/14/15, Geneva, 1987/1992/1994, p. 157–272.

[5] Paul Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, *MIFAO* 60, Cairo, 1932, pl. 2-3 and 27–28; Alexandre Piankoff & Natacha Rambova (ed.), *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*,

Similar evidence concerning the relationship of ι and ν/RVI led Jürgens to assume the existence of a copy θ. Some deviations are shared by both text groups which derive from both ι and ν, others only by one of them. In the majority of cases RVI — indeed ν — did not inherit any of the deviations of other papyri. This proves that it derives predominately from a papyrus lacking errors. On the other hand the fact that it nevertheless appears to inherit some of the errors of the earlier text witnesses suggests a collation of α and a papyrus containing errors (λ). Under these circumstances it is unnecessary to assume the existence of θ.

Concerning Jürgens' copy η the data in favor of the inclusion of AIII in it is not entirely convincing.[6] Tut (tomb) and Ay, however, do indeed contain common digressions (list 2). Unfortunately it is impossible to say whether AIII is affected by them or not. The relation to sTut is also impossible to define. The similarities of the tomb decoration of Tutankhamen and Ay may indicate a common papyrus excerpt, of which we might have found the reflex here (η′). The single digression which seems to be inherited by SI is not convincing enough to reconstruct another complete copy between ζ and ι. There is another excerpt κ′ for parts of the decoration in SI (list 3). The sarcophagi sMer and sRIII show common deviations and are obviously linked to copy λ, and it appears that they derive from another copy of λ (list 4). As far as Ta/Se is concerned, there are some deviations in common with SI and RII but not with sRIII, which proves that it derived from κ (list 5 and Jürgens, *Stemma*, p. 164-165 [no. 70-100]). RIV has one error in common with ν but does not share some other deviations of it (list 6 and Jürgens, *Stemma*, p. 161 [no. 8-12,14,15]). Consequently we can assume that there was another copy π as direct ancestor of ν. Unfortunately it can not be determined whether the collation, mentioned above, proven by RVI and RIX produced ν or had already produced π (see below).

I.2. *The Litany of Re – Repair of a decoration papyri and the question of the kings' names*

The stemma of the *Litany of Re* in the New Kingdom has been constructed by Wolfgang Schenkel in 1978 and 1980.[7]

A reexamination of certain parts has brought about some further results: A few deviations that User and mThIII share could point to a common ancestor (list 7).

Bollingen Series 40.2, New York, 1955, fig. 30, pl. 31–32); Erik Hornung, *The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I – Das Grab Sethos' I.*, Zurich/Munich, 1991, pl. 166–167. Hornung, *Amduat* I, p. 133, 167–272. See also Edward F. Wente, «Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?», *JNES* 41 (1982), p. 161–179 [p. 164].

[6] The gap taken by Jürgens (*Stemma*, p. 167 [no. 102]) as a proof for η is in fact quite different in both copies (see Hornung, *Amduat* II, p. 467).

[7] Wolfgang Schenkel, *Das Stemma der altägyptischen Sonnenlitanei*, *GOF* IV.6, Wiesbaden, 1978; *idem*, «Weiteres zum Stemma der Sonnenlitanei», *GM* 37 (1980), p. 37–39.

A closer examination of RIII revealed that there are quite a few deviations in common with γ but not with θ (list 8). If, at the same time, one takes the errors that RIII shares with RIV seriously (list 9) then one is once again forced to assume a collation of η with another papyrus lacking deviations for the production of θ. It is then unnecessary to assume the existence of β. The copy η′ reconstructed by Schenkel need not be assumed as the single deviation of θ not shared by the Taharqa copy can be explained as «corrected» in parallel to the verse directly before the passage.[8]

As far as the problem of the personal pronouns and names are concerned, there are four different groups:[9] a) [ThIII(G)-RIII, RIX] third person pronouns and kings' names in certain phrases, a′) [RIV] like a) but third person instead of some of the king's names, a″) [tRII=Abyd] third person pronouns in most of the cases, a few king's names in the same phrases as a), b) [User, mThIII] first person in all those phases. Apart from that, mThIII and SI contain a few individual, additional phrases with cartouches, and RIX shows exchanges of pronouns with the king's name. Contrary to Erik Hornung's belief that the version with the kings' names (and third person pronouns) must be the original,[10] some observations clearly prove that it was not. In fact the first person version was the original (α).

The fact that the kings' names are secondary is proven by some grammatical errors that occurred when the pronouns were replaced with nouns. The reading *sn r=sn wn=sn n=j/=f dwȝ.t* is correct, but *sn r=sn wn=sn n* NN *dwȝ.t* is not.[11] In addition, there are three instances where even the version of the kings' tombs contain first person pronouns.[12] Since there would be no reason to change a hypothetical original third person version to first person the occurrences clearly prove the latter version to be the original. In another passage the Ramesside kings' tombs contain an erroneous replacement of first person with third person pronouns in two passages in direct speech (*«mj-nt=j sn.y=j ḏs=j» j.n Rʿ(w)/Dbȝ-dmḏ r=j/=f/*NN).[13]

One can therefore assume the existence of another copy κ in which the replacement of the first person with third person pronouns and the king's names had taken place. The phrases chosen for the king's names are — despite the few individual changes

[8] Schenkel, «Weiteres zum Stemma». See Erik Hornung (ed.), *Das Buch von der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)* I, *ÆH* 2, Geneva, 1975, p. 97.

[9] Friedrich Abitz, *Pharao als Gott in den Unterweltsbüchern des Neuen Reiches*, *OBO* 146, Fribourg 1995, p. 61–66.

[10] Erik Hornung (ed.), *Das Buch von der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)* II, *ÆH* 3, Geneva, 1976, p. 23 and en. 217 (p. 217).

[11] Hornung, *Sonnenlitanei* I, p. 90–91. Also the substantival sentences and cleft sentences with nouns are suspicious. *jnk/ntk* [substantive] vs. NN [substantive] <*pw*> or *jnk ntk ṯz-pḥr* vs. NN *ntk ṯz-pḥr* (e.g. p. 101) and *jnk/ntk* [adjective] vs. <*jn*> NN [adjective] (e.g. p. 251).

[12] Hornung, *Sonnenlitanei* II, en. 588 [p. 152]; *id.*, *Sonnenlitanei* I, p. 257–258. See also *jw=(j)* *rḫ.k(w) s.šṯȝ=k* in RIV which proves its connection to a first person version (*ibid.*, p. 145), described as collation above.

[13] Hornung, *Sonnenlitanei* I, p. 110–111.

of SI, tRII, RIV and RIX mentioned above — conspicuously parallel in all the versions in the kings' tombs and the temple of Rameses II. in Abydos.

I.3. *The Book of Gates*

The stemma of the *Book of Gates* in the New Kingdom was published by Jürgen Zeidler in 1988 and 1999.[14]

One digression suggests that RII probably derived from γ or another copy γ′ (list 10 [no. 85]). There is a suspicious case of a copy κ first used by a non-royal individual Tjanefer, Third Prophet of Amun, and used for RIV later. Its reconstruction on the basis of orthographic statistics and some dubious deviations that all seem to connect Tj to RIV is not totally convincing.[15] It is obviously connected to the η-branch, but unfortunately it is not clear if it derives from ι or another copy κ (list 10 [no. 87-88]). Two deviations in a text part in RIV written twice — though in close proximity — suggest that there was an extra copy ν for the tomb of Rameses IV (list 10 [no. 89-90]).

I.4. *The Book of Caverns*

The construction of the stemma of the *Book of Caverns* was part of the magister thesis of the present author and some of the results are presented here. All of the copies in kings' tombs share several deviations which separate them from the other text witnesses which share deviations on their own (list 11). The later tombs RVI, RVII, and RIX, however, contain some deviations on their own which RIV is not affected by (list 12). In addition it can be shown, that there was another papyrus for the decoration of the annex chamber of RIV with two copies of the beginning of the book (list 13).

II. Interpretation

There are at least two things to be kept in mind when interpreting the stemmata (Fig. 1).

[14] Jürgen Zeidler, «Textkritik und Textgeschichte des Pfortenbuches», *GM* 105 (1988), p. 85–96; idem, *Pfortenbuchstudien* I–II, *GOF* IV.36, Wiesbaden, 1999. Reviews: Christian Leitz, «Review of Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*», *Die Welt des Orients* 31 (2000/2001), p. 190–194, Friedrich Joachim Quack, «Review of Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*», *BiOr* 57 (2000), col. 541–559.

[15] Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien* I, p. 117–118. Concerning the deviations *ibid.*, Liste 10 [p. 299]: Ed.S. 109, Tj very likely reads *m ḫrw* as well. Deviation Ed.S. 110 is not very significant because each of the copies deriving indirectly from η have some kind of horizontal stroke interpretation *n*, *ꜥ*, or *ꜣ* (list 10 [no. 86]). Based on deviation Ed.S. 110 (quail chick→rope) no assumptions can be made.

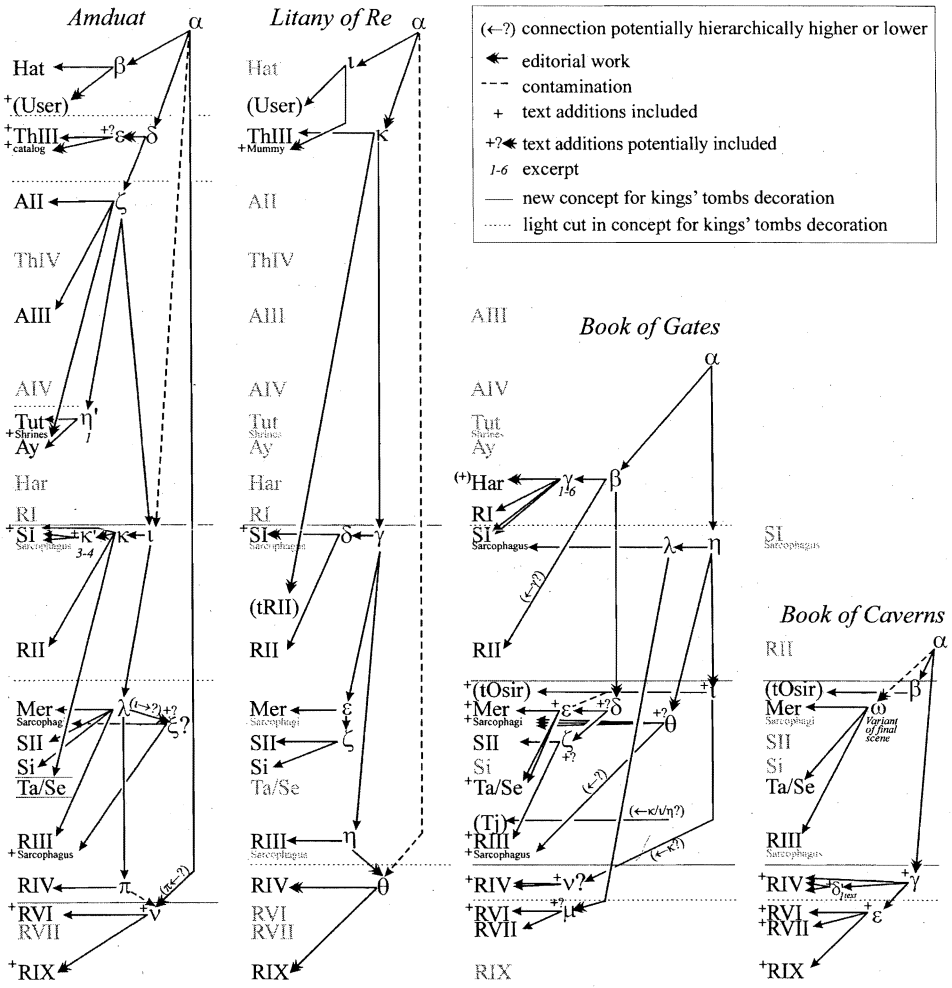

Fig. 1. Stemmata of the Books of the Netherworld in the New Kingdom.

First, there is the inherent limitation of the method of textual criticism: Only those copies can be reconstructed that are ancestors of at least two attested text witnesses. And even then it is only possible if significant deviations are attested that occurred during the production of the ancestor copy. For example, it is quite possible that there were extra copies for the *Amduat* versions of User and/or RIX. In addition to those, the existence of other copies can be assumed in special cases. For example it is most likely that complex text additions to a text attested in the kings' tombs were actually

not made during the decoration itself but were added in a papyrus used for the decoration. If the direct ancestor definitely did not contain the addition (e.g. the versions of the *Amduat* on Tutankhamen's shrine and in Rameses IX.' tomb) one can assume another copy between those two. On the other hand it will be shown that the existence of most of the reconstructed papyri of the Books of the Netherworld can plausibly be explained and that there is little reason to assume that many more copies were made.

Second, it is usually impossible to date the reconstructed papyri. The following interpretation is based on the general assumption that the copies were actually made for the decorations which they were used for first (directly or indirectly). They are therefore dated to their *termini post quem non* given by their first proven use.[16]

II.1. *Temple archive, workshop and tomb decoration papyri*[17]

Two or three reconstructed copies can obviously be attributed to sarcophagus workshops ($^{Am}\xi$, $^{BG}\theta/\lambda$). In connection with the decoration of the kings' tombs in some cases two or three copies appear in a row (e.g. $^{Am}\iota$–κ'). Some copies of the «background» can most likely be attributed to temple archives since they serve as originals for other copies of a variety of uses ($^{Am}\alpha$, $^{Lit}\alpha$, $^{BG}\alpha/\eta$, $^{BC}\alpha/\beta$).

Based on the place in the stemma and the interpretation of the ancestor(s) and successor(s), we can hypothetically divide the papyri into five groups: (1) temple archive copies of which (2) sarcophagus workshop copies and (3a) tomb decoration master copies ($^{Am}\delta/\iota/\pi$, $^{Lit}\kappa/\gamma/\theta$, $^{BG}\beta/\delta$, $^{BC}\gamma$) were made. The latter are the ancestors of (3b) reused tomb decoration copies ($^{Am}\beta/\varepsilon/\zeta/\kappa/\lambda/\nu$, $^{Lit}\delta/\varepsilon/\zeta/\eta$, $^{BG}\gamma/\varepsilon/\zeta/\nu/\mu$, $^{BC}\varepsilon$) which are, in some cases, ancestors of (3c) specific excerpt copies for parts of individual tombs ($^{Am}\eta'/\kappa'$, $^{BC}\delta'$).

In connection with the decoration of the entrance corridor of the Osireion under Merenptah special copies made from temple archive papyri can be reconstructed ($^{BG}\eta\rightarrow\iota$, $^{BC}\alpha\rightarrow\beta$). The papyrus used for the tomb decoration of the *Book of Gates* at that time belongs to another tradition of tomb decoration papyri.

[16] Zeidler (*Pfortenbuchstudien* I, p. 227) discusses a case where the papyrus seems to predate the first use significantly. The argument is not convincing though (doubtful also Leitz, «Review of *Pfortenbuchstudien*», p. 192). The deviation  →  (erroneously quoted as  and ) is explained by himself (Zeidler, *op. cit.*, p. 214). The two deviations *q3s*→*qm* and *jwt(j).w*→*mt(w)* are actually both misreadings of cursive-hieroglyphic *3* as *m* — perhaps in connection with another papyrus between η and θ for the sarcophagus of Ramses II.

Comparing the stemmata of the *Amduat* and the *Book of Gates* though, one might wonder whether the first person version ι of the *Litany of Re* might have been a copy made for the decoration of Hatshepsut's mummy.

[17] Papyri of different stemmata with the same name are marked by Am=Amduat, Lit=Litany of Re, BG=Book of Gates, BC=Book of Caverns.

The descent of the tomb decoration papyrus $^{BG}\mu$ for RVI and RVII is an especially remarkable, unique case as it derives from $^{BG}\lambda$, which was most likely connected to a sarcophagus decoration workshop.

II.2. *Contamination: repairs and collation of papyri*

As discussed above, in the textual tradition of the *Amduat* we can observe a case where the a damaged decoration papyrus ζ is repaired in certain parts through collation with an intact archive copy α. A very similar collation can be observed in the case of the *Litany of Re* (θ). A third incidence is likely for copy ν of the *Amduat*. Unfortunately one can not determine here whether the collation produced already π or only ν.

II.3. *Text additions for Osiris NN*

On the basis of the stemmata it is possible to see that the text phrases in the versions of the Books of the Netherworld which relate aspects of the dead king to the actions described in the books are secondary indeed. None of the α-copies contained them. This is in complete concord with the hypothesis that the decoration of the tombs with these books is a secondary use and that the books' primary function is probably that of storing knowledge about the netherworld needed, among others, for liturgics.[18] With this background the fact that Osiris is one of the most prominent subjects of the book can be interpreted as being one of the main reasons why the Osiris(NN)' tomb are decorated with it. The aim of the secondary text additions is thus to establish the connection between the dead king and the original subject of the books.

The first proven reuses of copies containing text additions in later tombs are ^{BG}Ta/Se$\leftarrow\varepsilon(\leftarrow\delta?)$, ^{BC}RVI$\leftarrow\varepsilon\leftarrow\gamma$, and ^{Am}RIX$\leftarrow\nu$ respectively. The text alteration form first to third person pronouns and the kings' names in the *Litany of Re* version κ is a special case since it is not an addition to the original text, but an alteration.

New additions were created at the least for Useramun, Thutmosis III. (tomb and mummy), Tutankhamen (shrine), Seti I. (tomb), Merenptah (tomb and sarcophagi), Rameses IV., Rameses VI., and Rameses IX. Those for Tawosret/Sethnakht and Rameses VII., some of those for Rameses IV–IX., and possibly those for Rameses III. (tomb and sarcophagus) are cases of the reuse of older papyri already containing additions.

[18] Alexandra von Lieven, «Mysterien des Kosmos: Kosmographie und Priesterwissenschaft», in Jan Assmann & Martin Bommas (eds.), *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, Munich, 2002, p. 47–58 [p. 56].

II.4. *Tomb decoration programs and copying activity*

It is possible to connect most of the tomb decoration papyri to major changes in the decoration programs of the tombs.[19]

Hat and User have decorations with the *Amduat* in approximately the size of a papyrus ($^{Am}\beta$). In ThIII the decoration is scaled to the height of a wall in the order prescribed in the book ($^{Am}\delta/\varepsilon$ [new text additions?]). In AII the order of the hours is changed to the natural order of time ($^{Am}\zeta$). Tut and Ay are decorated with an excerpt version only ($^{Am}\eta'$, see discussion above). From SI onward certain walls of the upper half of the tomb are decorated with parts of the Amduat ($^{Am}\iota$ [fixed through collation]/κ/κ' [new text add.]). From RVI on, the complete book is part of the decoration programs again ($^{Am}\nu$ [fixed through collation, new text add.]).

User and mThIII are decorated with a first person version of the *Litany of Re* ($^{Lit}\iota$). ThIII(G) is the first tomb decorated with a new third person version ($^{Lit}\kappa$). From SI on it is decorated in the first corridor in particular divisions ($^{Lit}\gamma/\delta$). From RIV on the divisions are changed slightly ($^{Lit}\theta$ [fixed through collation]). [20]

From Har on, the burial chamber is decorated with parts of the first half of the *Book of Gates* ($^{BG}\beta/\gamma$). From SI on, in addition to that the first pillared hall is decorated with the fifth and sixth hours. For Mer the decoration of the burial chamber had been completely revised. Now the *Création du disque solaire* accompanied parts of predominately the second half of the *Book of Gates* ($^{BG}\delta$ [new text add.?]/ε [collated, text add.]). Finally the decoration program of the tombs from RIV onward included the (complete) book ($^{BG}\nu$ [new text add.?]) in parallel to the B*ook of Caverns* ($^{BC}\gamma$ [new text add.]/δ'). Due to the early death of Rameses IV., the desired concept could only be executed in an abridged version in RIV[21] but was nearly finished in the subsequent tomb of Rameses (V/)VI. ($^{BG}\mu$ [new text add.?], $^{BC}\varepsilon$).

Whereas the papyri mentioned above are easily explained as copies necessary for the execution of a new decoration concept, a few are left unexplained: For $^{Lit}\zeta$ and $^{BG}\zeta$ for SII, as well as for $^{Lit}\eta$ no obvious motivation can be found. $^{Am}\lambda$ and $^{Lit}\varepsilon$, on the other hand, parallel $^{BG}\varepsilon$ and $^{BC}\omega$ and can therefore be understood in the context of comprehensive copying activity connected to the revision of the burial chamber decoration for Merenptah's tomb.

[19] See among others Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, chapters II.A.1, II.B.b, II.D, III.1, IV.1, VI[.0], IX.1, and IX.3.

[20] Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, p. 54.

[21] C. Nicholas Reeves & Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings*, London, 1996, p. 163. See also Sara Demichelis, «Le projet initial de la tombe de Ramsès IV? Papyrus de Turin CGT 55002», in *ZÄS* 131 (2004), p. 114-133.

III. Conclusions

A comparison of the textual traditions of the *Amduat*, the *Litany of Re*, the *Book of Gates*, and the *Book of Caverns* in the New Kingdom brings about reasonable results that can cautiously be interpreted as a realistic picture of the actual copying processes for archival purposes, sarcophagus workshops, and tomb decoration.

Major copying activities can be reconstructed in parallel to important changes in the decoration program of the kings' tombs and sarcophagi. Remarkable bundles of copying activities including text alterations, collation, and the repair of papyri can be proven in connection with the decoration of the tombs of Thutmosis III., Haremhab, Seti I., Merenptah, Rameses IV., and Rameses VI.

The additions to and alterations of the text proper — which relate aspects of the dead king to the actions described in these texts — can be proven to be secondary for all of the four books discussed.[22]

[22] The author will present proof for the secondary nature of the text additions in the *Book of Caverns* in a future publication.

Lists of Deviations

Seq.no.: Sequence number; ^{J,S,Z}: deviations also in the lists in Jürgens, *Stemma*; Schenkel, *Stemma*; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*.

Ed.p.: Page in text editions (Hornung, *Amduat* I–III; Hornung, *Sonnenlitanei* I; Erik Hornung (ed.), *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits* I, *ÆH* 7, Geneva, 1979; Alexandre Piankoff, *Le Livre des Quererts*, Cairo 1946).

Type: s: significant; a: additional.

Deviations: →: error or digression; ':': difference.

Text witnesses: /: destroyed; blank: not attested (or destroyed); 0: not decidable; S: special case.

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	Hat	User	ThIII	cThIII	AII	AIII	sTut	Tut	Ay	SI	RII	Ta/Se	sMer	sRIII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	RVI	RIX
1	116	a	*ḫknw* (1) → *jknw* (2)	1	1	1	1	2	/	-	2	2	2^S	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2^S	-
2	130	s	*jf* (1) → ø (2)	1	1	1	1	2	/	-	2	2	2	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-
3	137	a	*smy* (1) → *sm3y* (2)	1	1	1^S	1	2	/	-	-	-	2^S	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2^S	-
4	153	s	*n* (1) → *rn* (2)	1	1	1	-	2	/	2^S	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	1	-
5	161	a	Det. in *ᶜq*: 𓊃 (1) → ø (2)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	/	/	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	1^S	-
6	162	s	=*k kkw* (1) → *kkw* (2) → *kw* (3)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	/	/	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	-	1^S	-
7	172	a	*n* (1) → *s* (2)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-
8	209	a	*ntsn* (1) → *stsn* (2)	/	1	1	-	2	/	1	-	-	2	/	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1^S	1^S
9	321	a	*ḥtp* (1) → *ḥtp.t* (2)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	-
10	330	s	*n(j) ḥr* (1) → *nn ḥr* (2) → *n* (3)	1	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	3	/	-	-	-	-
11	335	s	*3ḫ(w)* (1) → ø (2)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	/	-	-	-	-
12	341	a	Det in *sḥ.t*: 𓉐 (1) → ø (2)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	/	-	-	-	-
13	352	a	two times: 𓈖 (1) → *n* (2)	/	/	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	/	2	-	1	-
14	363	s	*ᶜbw dw3.t* (1) → ø (2)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	/	2	-	1	-
15	377	s	*mtn.yt* (1) → ø (2)	/	/	1^S	2^S	2	/	-	-	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	/	2	-	1	-
16	378	s	*š3t.t* (1) → ø (2)	/	/	1^S	2^S	2	/	-	-	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	/	2	-	1^S	-
17	399	s	⊛ (1) → ⊗ (2)	1	S	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	/	/	-	-	-	2	-	/	2	-	1	-
18	401	a	*mny* (1) → *mnj* (2) → *mnys* (3)	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	/	3	-	-	-
19	412	s	*ntsn* (1) → ø (2)	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	/	2	-	-	-
20	418	s	*Skr* (1) → *Sr* (2)	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2^S	2^S	-	2	-	2	-	-	2^S	-	1	-
21	423	s	*nzw* (1) → (*n*)*zw* (2) → *zzw* (3)	/	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	1'	-	-	-	3	-	-	3^S	-	3	
22	423	a	*z3=f* (1) → *z3=f s(j)* (2) → (1')	/	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	[2]	-	-	-	2	-	-	1'	-	1	-
23	423	s	*t3-Skr* (1) → *t3 t3kr* (2)	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	S	2^S	-	-	-	2^S	-	-	2^S	-	-	-
24	423	s	*pr(w)* (1) → *h* (2) | (1) → ø (3)	2	2^S	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-
25	437	a	*ᶜp* (1) : *ᶜp.n*~*ᶜpp.n* (2)	/	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	/	-	2	-	/	2	-	2	-
26	466	a	*n.t* (1) → *tn* (2)	1	1	1	-	2	1	S	-	-	2	/	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
27	469	a	*ḫpr* (1) → *ḫrp* (2)	1	/	1^S	-	2	S	2	-	-	2	/	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
28	473	a	*wtz.*(*w*) (1) → *wtz* (2)	1	2	1	-	2	1^S	2	-	-	2	/	2^S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
29	475	s	names 410–8: (1) → ø (2)	1	1	1	1	2	/	-	-	-	2	/	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
30	477	a	*str.t* (1) → *ntr.t* (2)	1	1	1	-	2^S	2^S	-	-	-	2	/	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1^S	-
31	503	a	*n* (1) → ø (2) | (1) → *s* (3)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
32	504	s	*ᶜš3-ḫr.*(*w*) (1) → ø (2)	1	/	S	1	2	/	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
33	534	a	Det. in *ḫr*: 𓂋 (1) → 𓊹 (2)	S	1	1	-	2	2^S	-	-	-	2	/	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
34	541	s	*jm=j* (1) → *jm* (2)	1	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	/	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
35	683	s	*mn=sn* (1) → *mn* (2)	1	2^S	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	/	-	2^S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
36	685	a	Det. in *znf.w*: 𓄿 (1) : ø (2)	1	/	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2^S	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
37	686	a	*mr.t* (1) → *sḫmrt.t* (2) → *ᶜnḫrt.t* (3)	1	-	1	1	2	/	-	-	-	/	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-

List 1. Deviations of $^{Am}ι$ inherited from $^{Am}ζ$.

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	Hat	User	ThIII	cThIII	AII	AIII	sTut	Tut	Ay	SI	RII	Ta/Se	sMer	sRIII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	RVI	RIX
J38	134	s	complete (1) → position of excerpt end (2)	1	1	1	-	1	/	-	2	2	1	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
39	140	a	Det. in *ḥttj*: [hieroglyph] (1) → ø (2)	1	/	1	-	1	/	-	2	2	2	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-
40	141	a	*jb3*𓂻*w* (1) → *jb3w*𓂻 (2)	1	/	1	S	1	/	-	2	2	/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-

List 2. Deviations of Tut and Ay ($^{Am}\eta'$).

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	Hat	User	ThIII	cThIII	AII	AIII	sTut	Tut	Ay	SI.1	SI.2	SI.3	RII	Ta/Se	sMer	sRIII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	RVI	RIX
41	317	s	[hieroglyph] (1) → [hieroglyph] (2) → [hieroglyph] (3)	/	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	-	-	-
42	329	a	*n* (1) → ø (2)	/	1	1	-	1	[1]	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
43	329	s	Det. in *npr.t*: [hieroglyph] (1) : [hieroglyph] (2) | (1/2) → [hieroglyph] (3)	/	1	1	-	1	[1]	-	-	-	3	3	0	-	-	-	-	2	2	/	-	-	-	-
44	329	s	*mw n=ṯn* (1) → *n=ṯn* (2) | (1) → *mw n=ṯ* (3)	/	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	3	3	S	-	-	-	-
45	335	a	*jst* (1) → *jsṯ* (2) → *jstw* (3)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	3	3	[2] ?	-	-	-	-	2	2	/	-	-	-	-
46	340	s	*m jrw* (1) → ø (2)	/	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-

List 3. Deviations of $^{Am}\kappa'$ (SI.1/2).

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	Hat	User	ThIII	cThIII	AII	AIII	sTut	Tut	Ay	SI	RII	Ta/Se	sMer	sRIII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	RVI	RIX
47	417	a	*w3.(w)t* (1) → *w3.(w)* (2)	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	/	-	2^S	-	1	-	-	2^S	-	2	-
48	397	a	*nḏs* (1) → *wr* (2)	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	S	2	-	2	-	2	-	/	1	-	1	-
49	417	a	*=s* (1) → *n* (2)	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	2^S	-	S	-
50	531	a	*=ṯ* (1) : *=t{j}* (2)	/	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	/	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
51	531	s	*ḥkn.yt n … n ḥty.t=ṯ ꜥnḫ.yt* (1) → *ḥkn.yt n … n ꜥnḫ.yt ḥty.t=ṯ* (2) → *ḥkn.y{ḥty.t}t n … n ꜥnḫ.yt* (3)	/	S	2	-	2^S	1	-	-	-	3^S	/	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1^S	-
52	535	a	*sn* (1) → *s* (2)	/	1	1	-	1	1^S	-	-	-	2	/	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
J53	539	s	*njkw* (1) → *njkwr* (2)	/	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	/	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
54	613	a	*=k kkw* (1) → *kkw* (2)	1	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
J55	590	a	*ꜥff* (1) → *ꜥf(w)* (2) → *ꜥf* (3)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	S	-
56	419	a	*n* (1) → ø (2)	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
57	606	a	Det. in *nṯr.(w)*: *1* (1) : 𓀭 (2)	1	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	/	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
58	607	a	Det. in *qrr.t*: ○ (1) : ▭ (2)	1	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
59	607	a	*nb.t* (1) → *nb* (2)	1	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
60	607	a	*tn* (1) → *<t>n* (2)	1	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	1^S	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
61	607	s	*ḫrw* (1) → *jw* (2)	1	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
62	607	s	*ḏwj=f* (1) → *ḏwj{r}f* (2) → *ḏw=f* (3)	/	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	2	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
63	607	a	*jrj* (1) → *jr.(w)* (2) → (1')	[2] ?	1	1	-	2	/	-	-	-	2	-	2	1'	1'	-	-	-	-	-	2	-

List 4. Deviations of the *Amduat* copies sMer/sRIII.

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	Hat	User	ThIII	cThIII	AII	AIII	sTut	Tut	Ay	SI	RII	Ta/Se	sMer	sRIII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	RVI	RIX
66	547	a	Log. *ḫrw*: (1) : (2) : (1')	/	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	1'	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
J67	548	s	*p* (1) → *pw* (1S) | (1) → *ȝ* (2) | (1) →  (3)	1	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	/	3	-	1S	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
J68	550	a	*r* (1) → ø (2)	/	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
J69	598	a	*jr(j).n* (1) → *jr(j)* (2)	/	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
J70	603	a	*(j)ḫ.t* (1) → *rᶜ(w)* (2)	/	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	S	-
J71	641	s	*jm(j).t* (1) → *ḫ3rt* (2)	/	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

List 5. Deviations of $^{Am}\kappa$ (SI,RII,Ta/Se).

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	Hat	User	ThIII	cThIII	AII	AIII	sTut	Tut	Ay	SI	RII	Ta/Se	sMer	sRIII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	RVI	RIX
72	220f	s	*b3* (1) → *ȝ* (2)	1	1	1	-	1	/	-	-	-	1	/	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	2	2

List 6. Deviations of $^{Am}\pi$ (RIV,RVI,RIX).

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	User	mThIII	ThIII(G)	tRII	SI	RII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	RIX
73	72	a	*ḫ3.t* (1) → ø (2)	2	2	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
74	77	a	in *bzy*: (1) : ø (2)	2	2	-	-	1	1	1	1	/	1	1	1
75	88	a	*rḫ.k(w)* (1) → *rḫ<.k(w)>* (2) | (1) → *rḫ(.w)* (2') [editorial work]	2	2	-	1	-	-	2'	/	2'	2'S	2'	2'S

List 7. Deviations of $^{Lit}\iota$ (User,mThIII).

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	User	mThIII	ThIII(G)	tRII	SI	RII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	RIX
S76	92	a	*nw n(j)* (1) : *nw* (2) | (1?) : *nn (nj)* (3)	1	1	-	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3S
77	101	a	Det. after *b3=k*:  (1) → ø (2)	1	2	-	-	2	/	2	2	/	2	1	/
S78	111	a	*r=j* (1) → *r* NN (2) → *r=f* (3) | (2) → *r* ø (4) | (4?) → ø (5)	-	1	2	3	/	/	4	4	4	4	5	5S
79	115	a	*qr(r)t(j).w* (1) → *q{3}r(r)t(j).w* (2)	-	1	-	-	2S	/	2	2	2	2	1	-
S80	133	a	ø (1) → *n(j)* (2)	-	1	-	-	/	2	/	2	/	[1] ?	1	-
81	137f	s	*wḏ=k ... wȝš* (1) → ø (2)	-	1	-	-	2	2	2	2	S	2	1	-

List 8. Deviations of $^{Lit}\gamma$ (SI,RII,Mer,SII,Si,RIII) without $^{Lit}\theta$ (RIV,RIX).

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	User	mThIII	ThIII(G)	tRII	SI	RII	Mer	SII	Si	RIII	RIV	RIX
S82	148	a	=*sn d(j)*=*sn* (1) → =*s*<...>*n* (2)	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	-
S83	166	a	=*j* (1) → =*f* (2) | (1) → ø (3)	-	1	-	-	[2]	2	2	2	/	3	[3] ?	-
S84	263	a	*zp-2* (1) → *t-2* (2) → *3* (3)	-	/	-	-	/	1	[1]	-	-	3	2	-

List 9. Deviations of RIII and $^{Lit}\theta$ (RIV,RIX).

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	Har	RI	SI	RII	Mer	Ta/Se	SII	RIII	tOsir	Tj	RIV(.a)	RIV.b	sMer	sRIII	sSI	RVI	RVII
85	94	a	*n(j)* (1) → *nn* (2)	2	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	1		-	-	1	1	-
Z86	110	a	ᶜ.*wj*=*tn* (1) → ᶜ3 ᶜ.*wj*=*tn* (2) : ᶜᶜ.*wj*=*tn* (3) : *n* ᶜ.*wj*=*tn* (4)	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	3	[2]	2		-	-	4	/	-
87		s	no odorant (1) → NN adores sun god in sun barks of middle registers (2) → NN adores sun bark from outside picture frame (3)	1	1	1	1?	1?	1	1?	1?	2	3	2		1?	-	1	1	1
Z88	109	a	*m ḫrw* (1) → *m sḫr*(*w*) (2) | (1) → *sḫr*(*w*) (3) → *nḫr*(*w*) (3^S)	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	[1] ?	3	3^S	-	-	1	1	-
89	109	a	*st3.w* (1) → *st3.*(*w*) (2)	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	-	-	1	/	-
90	112	s	*ḫ3p.t dw3t*(*j*).*w* (1) → *ḫ3p.t w t*(*j*).*w* (2)	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	1	/	-

List 10. Deviations in the *Book of Gates*.

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	tOsir	RIV.1	RIV.2	RIV.3	RVI	RVII	RIX	pNedj	Pet	sPeti	sTji
91	14f	s	sun with rays (1) → without rays (2)	1	2	-	-	2	-	2	1	1	-	1
92	pl3	s	*w3š* (1) → *w3* (2) | (1) → *w3.t* (3)	1	3	2	2	2?	2	2	-	?	-	-
93	pl3	a	*tp*(*j*) (1) → *tp*(*j*).*t* (2)	1	2	/	2	0	2?	2	-	?	-	1
94	pl4	s	*jm*(*j*).*w-ḫt* (1) → *mw-ḫt* (2)	1	2	-	2	/	2	2^S	-	?	-	-
95	pl4	s	*psḏ.t n.t ntr.*(*w*) (1) → *psḏ.t* (2) → (1')	1	2	1'	2	1'	-	2	?	?	-	1
96	pl5	s	ᶜ*p*(*j*)=*j* (1) → ᶜ*p*(*j*) *wj* (2) → *p*ᶜ=*j* (3)	1	2	3	3	/	-	2^S	-	?	-	-
97	pl5	a	Det. $\overset{\beta}{\text{𓂋}}$ (1) → ø (2)	1	-	/	2	2	-	2	-	?	-	1
98	pl6	a	*dw3t*(*j*).*w* (1) → *dw3* (2)	1	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	?	-	-

List 11. Deviations of $^{BC}\gamma$ (RIV,RVI,RVII,RIX).

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	tOsir	RIV.1	RIV.2	RIV.3	RVI	RVII	RIX	pNedj	Pet	sPeti	sTji
99	pl3	s	*jw=j ᶜq=j* (1) : *jw ᶜq=j* (2)	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	-	?	-	-
100	pl3	a	*wḏ.t n=ṯn* (1) → *wḏ n=ṯn* (2)	1	1	1^{s}	1	2	2	2	-	?	-	2
101	pl5	s	*psḏ.t n.t nṯr.(w)* (1) : *psḏ.t* (2)	1	1	/	1	2	-	2	-	?	-	1
102	pl33	s	*šn(j)* (1) → *št3* (2) → *št3w t* (3)	1	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	1	-	-
103	pl33	a	*ḥᶜ(w)* (1) → *ḥᶜt* (2)	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	S	-	-
104	pl47	s	*ḫntj-jmnt.j* (1) : *ḫntj* (2)	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-
105	pl70	s	*b3 n(j)-* (1) → ø (2)	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-

List 12. Deviations of $^{BC}\varepsilon$ (RVI,RVII,RIX).

No	Ed. p.	Type	Deviations	tOsir	RIV.1	RIV.2	RIV.3	RVI	RVII	RIX	pNedj	Pet	sPeti	sTji
106	pl3	a	*r=(j)*  (1) → *r=(j)*  (2) → *rn*  ^{2} (3)	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	-	?	-	1
107	pl4	a	Det. in *ḥtm.yt*: *  (1) →  (2) | (1) →  (3) | (1) →  (4)	/	3	2	2	4	-	4	-	?	-	-
108	pl4	a	*z3-t3* (1) → *p3-t3* (2)	1	1	2	2	1	-	1	-	?	-	-
109	pl5	s	*ᶜp(j)=j* (1) → *ᶜp(j) wj* (2) → *pᶜ=j* (3)	1	2	3	3	/	-	2^{s}	-	?	-	-

List 13. Deviations of $^{BC}\delta'$ (RIV.2/3).