

MARTIN ANDREAS STADLER

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

### D. The Theban Context of Papyrus Turin N. 766

The original owner of the papyrus is called *pa-rmwṯ* son of *t3-šr.t-hnsw*, which occurs in recto A lines 20 and 29 without any titles, the name being a variant of *pa-t3-rmw.t / pa-t3-rnn.t* (Πατερμουθης).<sup>2</sup> All attestations listed by the *Demot. Namenbuch* are from the Roman period and of Upper Egyptian origin, but the *Demot. Namenbuch* does not give a certain geographical attribution for pTurin N. 766. Links to other safely dated objects that *pa-rmwṯ* possessed or secure identifications with other dated occurrences of that person are not possible. Therefore the limited prosopographical data available for the owner do not help to date the papyrus. Under these circumstances I am unable to improve upon Botti's proposed late first to early second century AD date, a suggestion with which Quaegebeur concurs.<sup>3</sup> Botti's arguments are based on the dates of related texts, the filiation with the maternal name and the lack of the deceased's title 'Osiris'.

Botti interpreted words he could not read as unattested toponyms of Memphite sacred places.<sup>4</sup> The syncretism of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and the character of the script were to his mind further evidence for a Memphite origin rather than a Theban one.<sup>5</sup> Admittedly both Ptah and Sokar are Memphite deities in origin, but the worship of Sokar, whose feast is first mentioned in Thebes on a First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom stela in an offering formula,<sup>6</sup> appeared in Thebes as early as the first half of the New Kingdom with a

<sup>1</sup> The present article is the continuation of the the new edition of pTurin N. 766. [*Enchoria* 25 (1999) 76–110, Taf. 25f.] Both articles are short versions of works submitted to the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the University of Oxford in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Studies in Oriental Studies (Egyptology) in 1998 under the supervision of Dr. Mark Smith. For the acknowledgments see *Enchoria* 25, 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Demot. Nb.* I Lief. 6 392, 424. Cf. SPIEGELBERG, W., *Ägyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Demotische Studien 1 (Leipzig 1901) 12\*–14\*.

<sup>3</sup> BOTTI, G., „Il libro del respirare e un suo nuovo esemplare nel papiro demotico N. 766 del Museo Egizio di Torino“, in: *JEA* 54 (1968) 225 f. QUAEGBEUR, J., „P. Brux. Dem. E. 8258. Une Lettre de recommandation pour l'au-delà“, in: ISRAELIT-GROLL, S. (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim* 2 (Jerusalem 1990) 788.

<sup>4</sup> BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 228 note h (*pr-sdr*), 229 note k (*3mm*), note m (*qwsb3, tt-pr-r<sup>c</sup>, wn-r<sup>c</sup>, pr-sw*).

<sup>5</sup> BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 225.

<sup>6</sup> CLÈRE, J. J. / VANDIER, J., *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XIème dynastie*. BAe 10 (Bruxelles 1948) 3. GRAINDORGE-HÉREIL, C., *Le Dieu Sokar à Thebes au Nouvel Empire*. GOF IV 28.2 (Wiesbaden 1994) 58 f.



cult site in Tuthmosis III's Akhmenu in Karnak.<sup>7</sup>

From the 22nd dynasty onwards the number of Theban Osiris sanctuaries increased. Later Thebes claimed to be Osiris' birthplace.<sup>8</sup> Amun was called Osiris' oldest son<sup>9</sup> and Sokar was so closely linked to Osiris that 'Sokar' became almost a second name of Osiris.<sup>10</sup> Rituals for Ptah-Sokar-Osiris are attested in Thebes around 300 BC,<sup>11</sup> where the god's mansion (*ḥw.t*), built by Amenophis III as an adjunct to his funerary temple, had its own priests for whom evidence exists until the Ramesside period.<sup>12</sup> Veneration of Sokar in the Theban area is sustained through the scenes of the festival of Sokar in Ramesses III's temple at Medinet Habu,<sup>13</sup> the representation of the Sokar-bark in 20 private tombs (from the time of Haremhab to the end of the 20th dynasty)<sup>14</sup> and the bark's depiction on a series of painted plaster and linen mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri (Roman period).<sup>15</sup> Thus Ptah-Sokar-Osiris was not a stranger to the Theban population in Roman times at all and cannot be used to a Memphite provenance of pTurin N. 766.

Furthermore, Botti ignores 'Osiris, the great one of Djeme' (recto A 8) and the reference to the decadary feast during which Amenope, whose name Botti did not read, traverses the river. Osiris, the great one of Djeme, already indicates a Theban provenance<sup>16</sup> for the papyrus, because the epithet embeds Osiris into the Theban theological system. Considering the allusion to Amenope and the typically Theban feast of rites at Djeme in

<sup>7</sup> GABALLA, G. A. / KITCHEN, K. A., „The Festival of Sokar“, in: *Orientalia* 38 (1969) 27 f. For the cult of Memphite deities in the Theban area see SCHOTT, S., *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of the Mayor Paser at Medinet Habu*. SAOC 30 (Chicago 1957) 8.

<sup>8</sup> Urk. VIII 9 (10b). Cf. STERNBERG-EL HOTABI, H., *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels in Karnak-Nord. Zum Dekorationsprinzip des Tores und Übersetzung und Kommentierung der Urkunden VIII, Texte Nr. 1–50*. GOF IV. 25 (Wiesbaden 1993) 146. *Dendara II* 101 line 3

<sup>9</sup> Urk. VIII 7 (8b). Cf. STERNBERG-EL HOTABI, *Propylon* 11 ff., 14.

<sup>10</sup> BARGUET, P., *Le papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*. BdÉ 37 (Le Caire 1962) 31–37. COULON, L. / LECLÈRE, F. / MARCHAND, S., „‘Catacombes’ Osiriennes de Ptolémée IV à Karnak. Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouilles 1993“, in: *Karnak* 10 (1995) 206–237.

<sup>11</sup> GABALLA / KITCHEN, *Orientalia* 38 (1969) 26–34.

<sup>12</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>13</sup> *Medinet Habu* IV 218–228.

<sup>14</sup> Listed by SALEH, M., *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches. Texte und Vignetten*. AV 46 (Mainz 1984) 39.

<sup>15</sup> GRIMM, G., *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1974) 93–96, pls. E, 112. WALKER, S. / BIERBRIER, M. et al., *Ancient Faces. Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (London 1997) 156–159, nos. 175–178.

<sup>16</sup> Further examples in hieroglyphs of epithets associating Osiris with Djeme are found in the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor in Deir al-Medina: *nb ḥ.t ḥm.t* (LD IV 16 b. PIEHL, K., *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Égypte I* (Stockholm 1886) pl. 182 f. OTTO, E., *Osiris und Amun. Kult und heilige Stätten* (München 1966) pl. 8.), *ntr ḥ n / m ḥm.t* (LD IV 16 a. PIEHL, *Inscriptions* pl. 182 k, pl. 182 S (twice).), *ḥry-ḥb ḥ.t ḥm.t* (PIEHL, *Inscriptions* pl. 177 μ. Likewise on an offering-table (Saite period) found at Medamud, see BISSON DE LA ROQUE, M. F., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud* (1925). FIFAO 3, 1 (Le Caire 1926) 47.). For hieratic e. g. *wsir ḥ n ḥm* in pLeiden 32 II 26 (HERBIN, F. R., *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*. OLA 58 (Leuven 1994) 52, 139, 437.)



recto B 2 and 3, it appears to be impossible to take this Djeme as a name for a Memphite region.<sup>17</sup>

Amenope is an ithyphallic, and in the Late Period almost autonomous, deity of fertility similar to Min.<sup>18</sup> Amenope travelled to Djeme at the beginning of every decade in order to make offerings and libations to Amun as the *km-3.t=f*-serpent and to the ogdoad buried there, from which the ordinary deceased hoped to benefit.<sup>19</sup> In the context of the papyrus, the mention of Amenope makes it quite clear that the specific Theban festival is meant,<sup>20</sup> which was in its origins a purely funerary rite to guarantee regular libations for the deceased buried in the Theban necropolis. Libations remained the feast's central goal throughout Egyptian history<sup>21</sup> and at least in the Ptolemaic period the execution was the duty of a group of choachytes who formed a religious 'association of Amenope' (*6.nt n imn-ipy*).<sup>22</sup>

Quaegebeur objected to the traditional translation of Amenope as 'Amun of Luxor', on the basis that the god was not restricted to the Luxor-temple, that *ip.t* is a generic term for 'harîm' not specific to this temple, and that Amenope was worshipped outside Thebes in Tanis, Oxyrhynchus, Lykopolis, Esna, Kom Ombo and Philadelphia.<sup>23</sup>

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

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- 17 For *ip.t-3m.t* in Giza see ZIVIE, C. M., *Giza au deuxième millénaire*. BdÉ 70 (Le Caire 1976) 295–297.
- 18 SETHE, K., *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*. APAW 4 (Berlin 1929) 20 f.
- 19 Urk. VIII 31 (36 b), 81 (96 b). PRhind I 6, 10 (MÖLLER, G., *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburgh*. Demotische Studien 6 (Leipzig 1916) 32 f.). SETHE, *Amun* 20 f. DORESSE, M., „Le dieu voilé dans sa chasse et la fête du début de la décade“, in: *RdÉ* 31 (1979) 62. DE MEULENAERE, H. / BOTHMER, B. V., „Une statue thébaine de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque“, in: *ZÄS* 101 (1974) 110 f. STERNBERG EL-HOTABI, *Propylon* 16, 119–121. THISSEN, H.-J., *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*. Demotische Studien 10 (Sommerhausen 1989) 19, 20 f., 29, 41 f.
- 20 For references to similar feasts outside the Theban area see: TRAUNECKER, C. / LE SAOUT, F. / MASSON, O., *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak II*. Texte (Paris 1981) 130 n. 219.
- 21 DORESSE, *RdÉ* 31 (1979) 61–64. TRAUNECKER, *Achôris* 130–134. HERBIN, F. R., „Une Liturgie des rites décadaires de Djemê. Papyrus Vienne 3865“, in: *RdÉ* 35 (1984) 105. JANSEN-WINKELN, K., „Bezeichnung und Funktion einer Situla“, in: *DE* 32 (1995) 59 f. TRAUNECKER, C., „Le Pap. Spiegelberg et l'Évolution des Liturgies Thébaines“, in: VLEEMING, S. P., *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27 (Leiden / New York / Köln 1995) 183–201. Further sources on Amenope's actions in Djeme collected by HERBIN, *Parcourir l'éternité* 140–142.
- 22 DE CENIVAL, F., *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques*. BdÉ 46 (Le Caire 1972) 103–107, with further references to the feast and the discussion on its actual execution on p. 112. Most recently on that topic: PESTMAN, P. W., *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B. C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive* (Leuven 1993) 5–9, 196–201, 430 f. (pBerlin 3115)
- 23 QUAEGBEUR, J., „Amenophis, nom royal et nom divin. Questions méthodologiques“, in: *RdÉ* 37 (1986) 104 f. Accepted by THISSEN, *Demotische Graffiti* 29.



Panemerit had spent time in Thebes.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand Tanis was designed as the northern pendant of Thebes during the 21st dynasty through the architectural analogy with Theban temples and the identity of the main deities at Tanis who retained their Theban epithets.<sup>25</sup> Amenope's occurrence in Tanis is therefore further proof for the Theban character of this god. 2. Oxyrhynchus: The statue of the dignitary *p3-šr-t3-ih.t* of unknown provenance gives as one of his titles 'prophet of Amenope of *p3-d3d3*',<sup>26</sup> i. e. of a town *pr-d3d3* in the 7th Upper Egyptian nome of Diospolis Parva<sup>27</sup> and not of Oxyrhynchus in the 19th Upper Egyptian nome. 3. Lykopolis: Onomastic evidence, names such as Ἀμενοφίς or *p3-di-îmn-îpy*, simply shows that Amenope was not unknown there.<sup>28</sup> The pastophoros of Amenope in a Demotic account is not necessarily linked with Lykopolis.<sup>29</sup> 4. The reading of Amenope's name in a list of deities who come to visit the temple of Esna is uncertain.<sup>30</sup> 5. The publication Quaegebeur cited for worship of Amenope in Kom Ombo does not give the deity's name in the translated Egyptian texts, but the commentary points out how Amenope's Theban epithet 'living image of Re' was used for Sobek to describe Sobek's solar aspects.<sup>31</sup> Thus Quaegebeur's hypothesis is quite problematic. Only the temple of Amenope at Philadelphia seems to be definitely attested.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, no non-Theban evidence for Amenope mentions his decadary rite of libations performed by Amenope. This is only found in Theban sources.

Mortuary texts mentioning Amenope, Djeme and libations are from the Theban region, as verified by the titles of the owner (e. g. pLeiden T 32<sup>33</sup> or a shroud in a private collection<sup>34</sup>) and, if no such further evidence is available, the occurrence of Amenope in a

24 MONTET, P., „Inscriptions de basse époque trouvées à Tanis“, in: *Kēmi* 8 (1946) 95 f.

25 RÖMER, M., in: *LÄ VI* (Wiesbaden 1986) 196–198 s.v. Tanis.

26 BOTTI, G. / ROMANELLI, P., *Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Città del Vaticano 1951) 41–43 no. 42, pl. 35. = PEREMANS, W. / VAN 'T DACK, E., *Prosopographia Ptolemaica III. Le clergé, le notariat, les tribunaux* (Louvain / Leiden 1956) no. 5891. Id., *Prosopographia Ptolemaica IX. Addenda et Corrigenda au volume III* (1956) (Lovanii 1981) 127 f.

27 GAUTHIER, H., *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques II* 140.

28 CLARYSSE, W., „Theban Personal names and the Cult of Bouchis“, in: THISSEN, H.-J. / ZAUZICH, K.-Th. (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Fs E. Lüddeckens* (Sommerhausen 1984) 27.

29 SPIEGELBERG, W., *Die demotischen Denkmäler III. Die demotischen Inschriften und Papyri 50023–50165*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Berlin 1932) 46–48.

30 SAUNERON, S., *Le temple d'Esna. Esna II* (Le Caire 1963) 126 f. Id., *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles de paganisme. Esna V* (Le Caire 1962) 48–52.

31 GUTBUB, A., *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo*. BdÉ 47 (Le Caire 1973) 467, 483, 492 f. Quaegebeur cites from the index of this work.

32 MARTIN, C. J., „A Demotic Land Lease from Philadelphia: P. BM 10560“, in: *JEA* 72 (1986) 161, 165.

33 HERBIN, *Parcourir l'éternité* 5, 52 f., 437 f.

34 Present owner unknown, formerly in Dr. Olsen's collection, Guilford / Connecticut, on loan to North Carolina Museum of Art 1957.14.95, sold at an auction (Sotheby's New York, Sale 6196, lot 48, June 18, 1991). (I owe this information to Ms CHRISTINA J. RIGGS.) The hieroglyphic text's transliteration and translation by K.-Th. ZAUZICH is found in PARLASCA, K., „Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen



text is a good reason to attribute it to this area (e. g. pCairo 31170, 31175, pVienna 3865).<sup>35</sup> For pTurin N. 766 the Theban theological background strongly indicates a Theban provenance, too, and Botti's suggestion of a Memphite origin should be abandoned.<sup>36</sup>

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

The typical Theban mortuary literature of the Graeco-Roman period was the genre of the Books of Breathing, comprising a range of different types of texts and increasingly replacing the use of the Book of the Dead.<sup>37</sup> There is considerable confusion, though, how the different types are to be named: TASCHO-aN-NÉSENSÔN,<sup>38</sup> *Sai an sinsin sive liber metempsychosis veterum Ægyptiorum*,<sup>39</sup> *Que mon nom fleurisse*<sup>40</sup> or terming them as First and Second Book (Document or Letter respectively) of Breathing are just some examples, with changing, sometimes contradictory attributions, classifications and sub-classifications of texts especially under the latter title.<sup>41</sup> The most influential systematisation<sup>42</sup> is Goyon's distinction between a First Book, such as pLouvre N 3284, and a Second Book, with pLouvre N 3174 as its most elaborate example and six rather different types plus a series of short versions.<sup>43</sup>

Recently M. Coenen has proposed another terminology.<sup>44</sup> Since it is based on the

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Gräberwesen der griechisch-römischen Zeit“, in: *Ägypten. Dauer und Wandel. Symposium anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo am 10. und 11. Oktober 1982*. SDAIK 18 (Mainz 1985) 99 n. 6, pl. 4 a. For the Theban provenance see KÁKOSY, L., „The Soter Tomb in Thebes“, in: *Hundred-Gated Thebes* 66. VAN LANDUYDT, K., „The Soter Family: Genealogy and Onomastics“, in: *Hundred-Gated Thebes* 82 n. 61, pl. II.

35 SPIEGELBERG, W., *Die demotischen Denkmäler II. Die demotischen Papyrus 30601–31270, 50001–50022. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Strassburg 1904) 280, 284. HERBIN, *RdÉ* 35 (1984) 107.

36 QUAEGEBEUR, „Lettre de recommandation“ 789. SMITH, M., *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation (University of Chicago 1979) 12. BOTTI, *JEA* 54 (1968) 225, 229. Following Botti: LÜDDECKENS, E., in: *LÄ IV* (Wiesbaden 1982) 886 s. v. „Papyri, Demotische“, Turin.

37 GOYON, J.-Cl., *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris 1972) 189–198.

38 CHAMPOLLION LE JEUNE, F., „Notice sur le papyrus hiératique et les peintures du cercueil de Pétaménoph“, in: CAILLIAUD, F., *Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fazogl dans le midi du Royaume de Sennâr, à Syounah et dans cinq autres oasis, fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822 IV* (Paris 1827) 28.

39 BRUGSCH, H., *Sai an sinsin sive liber metempsychosis veterum Ægyptiorum* (Berolini 1851).

40 LIEBLEIN, J., *Le livre égyptien Que mon nom fleurisse* (Leipzig 1895).

41 A survey is given by COENEN, M., „Books of Breathings more than a Terminological Question?“, in: *OLP* 26 (1995) 29–34.

42 COENEN, *OLP* 26 (1995) 33 f.

43 GOYON, *Rituels funéraires* 185–317.

44 COENEN, *OLP* 26 (1995) 34–38. References for the following Egyptian titles can be found there.



original Egyptian titles, it is adopted here and shall be summarized in a table:

Egyptian Title / New Classification	Attestations listed by Coenen	Goyon's Classification (with further attestations listed by him)
'Book of Breathing made by Isis' <i>t3 š' t n sns n ĩr n 3 s. t n</i> <i>sn=s ws ĩr</i> (variant titles: <i>ky r3 n</i> <i>pr. t m hrw</i> , <i>t3 š' t sns n</i> <i>hn' t3 pr. t m hrw</i> , <i>pr. t m</i> <i>hrw 2. t</i> )	pBM 9995, pFlorence 3665, pLouvre N 3166, pLouvre N 3291, pTübingen 2016, pVienna 3863	<i>Isis ou Le livre premier des respirations</i>
'First Book of Breathing' <i>t3 š' t n sns n mh 1. t nty</i> <i>ĩw=w h3' s hr d3 d3. t</i> <i>p(3) ntr</i>	pFlorence 3662, pLouvre N 3148 III x+12 – VII 6, pParis BN 151.	type II a and b of <i>Thoth ou Le livre second des respirations - Le Phylactère</i> pBerlin 3028, pBerlin 3030, pBerlin without number, <sup>45</sup> pCairo 58007, pCairo 58008, pCairo 58023, pLeiden T 33, parts of pLouvre N 3174, pLouvre N 3176, pLouvre N 3279, pLouvre N 3290, pLouvre E 3865, Short version: pBM 10109, pCairo 58014.
'Second Book of Breathing' <i>t3 š' t n sns n mh 2. t nty</i> <i>ĩw=w h3' s hr rd. wy</i> <i>[p3] ntr</i>	pBM 10110 and 10111, pCairo 58007, pLouvre N 3157.	type IV of <i>Thoth ou Le livre second des respirations 'La Conservation du Nom'</i> pBM10304, pCairo 58018, pLouvre N 3148 VIII 1–IX 10, pLouvre N 3159. Short versions (GOYON, <i>Rituels</i> 290 ff.): pCairo 58013, pCairo 58010, pFlorence 3669–3670, pLouvre N 3161 (unpublished), pLouvre N 3162 (unpublished).

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



However, COENEN's terminology has its weaknesses: There is a range of alternative titles assigned to 'Book of Breathing made by Isis' (cf. the table above). COENEN's Second Book of Breathing is called in pCairo 58008 š[ʿy] n snsn n i m sʿ=i 'Document of Breathing by Thoth as my protection' on its verso<sup>46</sup> and in pCairo 58009 mdʿ.t n.t ʿq r hr.t-ntr wnšnš m wsh.t mʿ.ʿty nn šn ʿ bʿ=k r ib=k iri=k hpr.w rdī ib=k 'Book of entering the necropolis, of promenading<sup>47</sup> in the Hall of the Two Truths. Your ba will not be reproached from the place of your desire. You will assume transformations which your heart gives'.<sup>48</sup> This demonstrates that the Egyptians did not follow a strict and unitary terminology. In the Ptolemaic-Roman period the Egyptians used 'Book of Breathing' as a general term for a variety of mortuary texts written either in hieratic or Demotic<sup>49</sup> and differing from the instances cited in the table above. For example, the term was applied to very short Demotic spells summarizing the essence of mortuary religion in a few words, while other titles were also used for these short Demotic documents. Therefore 'Book of Breathing' was not a specific name restricted to a specific class of mortuary texts at that time.

Among the Demotic mortuary and funerary texts<sup>50</sup> only the inscription of the coffin L.224/3002,5 in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh is reminiscent at first glance of pTurin N. 766 recto B in respect of length and topics. The coffin was found at Thebes by Rhind together with the funerary papyri named after him.<sup>51</sup> The text says:

(1) ʿnh=k ʿnh rn=k rnpy=k rnp ʿy by=k  
ʿnh=k r nhḥ rnpy=k š ʿ d.t

(1) You will live, as your name will live.  
You will rejuvenate, as your ba will rejuvenate. You will live forever, you will rejuvenate eternally.

(2) šp=w pʿy=k by r tʿ twʿ.t tʿ wshʿ.t n nʿ  
mʿ.ʿt.w tʿ qnhʿ.t tp.t nt iw wsir pʿ ntr ʿ

(2) Your ba will be presented to the netherworld, the Hall of the Righteous Ones, the first shrine in which Osiris, the great god,

<sup>46</sup> GOLÉNISCHEFF, W., *Papyrus hiératiques Nos. 58001–58036*. Catalogue général des antiquités du Musée du Caire (Le Caire 1927) 43.

<sup>47</sup> Wb I 325, 10.

<sup>48</sup> GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus hiératiques* 54.

<sup>49</sup> See SMITH, M., *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* (Oxford 1993) 14.

<sup>50</sup> For an account see DEPAUW, M., *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. Papyrologica Bruxellensia 28 (Bruxelles 1997) 116–121.

<sup>51</sup> BARNES, J., „A Demotic Coffin Inscription in Edinburgh“, in: *Diatribae ... Lexa* 1. *ArOr* 20 (1952) 69–71. Circumstances of excavation: RHIND, A. H., *Thebes. Its Tombs and their Tenants* (London 1962) 88–123. Inventory number according to *Demot. Nb.* I 5, 300.



- (3) *h̄tp hn=s mtw p̄zy=k by 'q r šm ĩrm p̄z-* (3) rests. And your ba will enter to go to-  
*r 'n tw̄zy mtw=f h̄tp hr t̄zy=k he.t* together with Re at dawn and he will rest  
upon your body (in)
- (4) *rhwy w̄zh-n=k ĩmn ĩpy '3 n dm 'ntr '3* (4) the evening. Amenope, the great one of  
*nsw ntr.w ĩn mw r h̄tp̄.t n qbh n p̄z 3 sw 10* Djeme, the great god, the king of the gods,  
will pour water for you to the libation-table  
in the three decades
- (5) *hr ĩbt-nb gl-šr s̄z p̄z-t̄i-ws̄r-bh p̄z '3) n* (5) each month. Kalasiris, the son of Pa-ti-  
*100 rn mw.t=f t̄z-šr.t-hnsw* Usir-Bekh, the hekatontarch. The name of  
his mother is Ta-sheret-Khonsu.

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

Line 2:

As in pBN 149 I 10, 16 and 17 I would read *m̄z 't.w* rather than *m̄z 'wt*, *m̄z 't.w* being a reinterpretation of the ancient dual *m̄z 'ty* as a nisbe-form.<sup>52</sup>

Line 3:

The reading *'q r šm* is less 'surprising'<sup>53</sup> than Barns' *'q r-bnr*.

Barns read at the end of this line *hr bh̄te.t n* 'on the throne in'.

Line 4:

The beginning differs from Barns' *ĩr h̄ry m̄š 'to the chief of the army'*.<sup>54</sup>

Barns' reading does not take into account the group before *ĩmn-ĩpy*. The sign before *mw* is not *ĩn* but the plural strokes usually written with *ntr.w*. His translation 'O Amenophis (...) bring water to (...) ' does not match with the normal imperative of this verb *r.ĩny / ĩ.ĩny* (**ANI**-).<sup>55</sup>

Line 5: For *p̄z '3) n 100* see SMITH, *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 81 n. 59.

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

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

<sup>52</sup> See SMITH, *Mortuary Papyrus* 161 n. 1. Edition of pBN 149: LEXA, F., *Das demotische Totenbuch der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus des Pamouthes)*. Demotische Studien 4 (Leipzig 1910).

<sup>53</sup> BARNES, *ArOr* 20 (1952) 70.

<sup>54</sup> See SMITH, M., „An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 9 (P) + P. Louvre E 10605) I“, in: *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 81 n. 59.

<sup>55</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Grammatik* § 216.



recto A is not found at all in Demotic mortuary texts.

Among the hieratic Books of Breathing, the Second Book of Breathing contains a litany of divine names which invites comparison to pTurin N. 766. The former texts start with an invocation to Re, Thoth and Osiris linking the deceased to them as son and heir, followed by an invocation to Re-Harakhte, the great and the small ennead connected with the wish to make the deceased's name flourish 'in Thebes and the nomes forever and eternally'. The name shall flourish in the same way as the names of the various gods in their cult centres, listed subsequently. Both the sequence of names and the toponyms attributed to them seems to be fixed with little variation among the papyri inscribed with the Second Book of Breathing. According to the published versions<sup>56</sup> there are no additional names, fundamentally different theological ideas or orders of names in the copies, just abridgements leaving out some gods. The texts close with a self-identification of the deceased with Thoth, especially in the shape of an ibis of five cubits, and with a twin of Osiris, as well as common and general wishes, such as for libations, offerings, free movement, and presence in the sun-bark. In the published parallels this part and the introduction to the litany are again identical except for minor variants.

In some respects pCairo 58009 forms an exception: Two divine names (Osiris in Busiris and Isis in all nomes) are added to the list. Furthermore the introduction is more elaborate in identifying the titular with Re, Atum, Osiris and an Ibis, and the closing section (column IV f.) is substantially different, actually a composition identical with pCairo 58012 recto 1–4.<sup>57</sup> Therefore it seems to be likely that pCairo 58009 is a little compilation, partly independent from the other instances of Second Books of Breathing.

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

<sup>56</sup> The completely published papyri are:

pCairo 58007 III f.	GOLÉNISCHEFF, <i>Papyrus hiératiques</i> 23–35.
pCairo 58009 III	GOLÉNISCHEFF, <i>Papyrus hiératiques</i> 44–54. GOYONS, <i>Rituels funéraires</i> 302–310.
pCairo 58013	GOLÉNISCHEFF, <i>Papyrus hiératiques</i> 63 ff.
pCairo 58017 (short version)	GOLÉNISCHEFF, <i>Papyrus hiératiques</i> 72–74.
pCairo 58018	GOLÉNISCHEFF, <i>Papyrus hiératiques</i> 74–80.
pFlorence 3669+3670	PELLEGRINI, A., „Due papiri funerari del Museo egizio di Firenze“, in: <i>Sphinx</i> 8 (1904) 216–222. SPIEGELBERG, W., „Die Eigentümerin des Pap. Florent. 3669“, in: <i>Sphinx</i> 9 (1906) 21. MÖLLER, G., <i>Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch</i> III (Leipzig 1910) 31.
pLouvre N 3148 VIII	PIERRET, P., <i>Études égyptologiques comprenant le texte et la traduction d'une stèle éthiopienne inédite et de divers manuscrits religieux ...</i> (Paris 1873) 62 f.

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

<sup>57</sup> GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Papyrus hiératiques* 60 f.



and in pTurin N. 766 do not show the same high degree of similarity as among the hieratic versions, rather the former differ considerably from the latter. In pTurin N. 766 recto A a series of names of Osiris and cult centres is found, whereas the Second Book's sequence of deities above is completely absent. Considering the fact that there are several papyri giving an almost identical version of the Second Book of Breathing, one would expect the Demotic scribe to follow his hieratic colleagues closely, if he really wanted to write a Second Book of Breathing in Demotic. Apparently this was not his intention and he followed another model for recto A, which certainly is not a 'translation' of a Second Book of Breathing into Demotic.<sup>58</sup> This result coincides with the instructions of the First and Second Book of Breathing specifying where to put the papyrus at the mummy: The First Book shall be put beneath the head like pTurin N. 766, in contrast to the Second Book which shall be put beneath the feet. Thus the Second Book of Breathing and pTurin N. 766 do not go in the same place,<sup>59</sup> and this indicates to me that pTurin N. 766 bears a purposefully distinct text. Recto B on the other hand is a collection of ideas common to many Egyptian mortuary texts and in that respect an example of the Egyptians' tendency in the Ptolemaic-Roman period to summarize the essence of their mortuary beliefs in short compositions.<sup>60</sup> The offering-litany of pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II does not supply a hieratic parallel for pTurin N. 766 either, because the sequences of the divine names in the two texts deviate rather significantly from each other, although the names of Osiris show some similarities on occasion.<sup>61</sup>

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

In Egyptian religious literature litanies were of considerable importance, originating from offering-litanies and the attempt to summarize knowledge in lists by mentioning the names of constituents.<sup>62</sup> 'Litany' denotes compositions ranging from a recited list of names to a

<sup>58</sup> Contra KÁKOSY, L., „Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion“, in: ZÄS 97 (1971) 95. Id., *Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten*, in: ANRW II 18.5 (Berlin / New York 1995) 3001.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the table above and the attestations cited in *Enchoria* 25 (1999) 104 note 188.

<sup>60</sup> KÁKOSY, ANRW II 18.5, 3002. HERBIN, *Parcourir l'éternité* 332.

<sup>61</sup> QUACK, J.F., „Ein neuer funerärer Text der Spätzeit (pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II)“, in: ZÄS 127 (2000) 74–87, Taf. 10–17. Quack (p. 79 note g) cites pTurin N. 766 recto A 7 as *wsîr sp byn m îwnw* and gives a phonetic explanation for *byn* there. However, by 'Ba, soul' with a bird determinative is written [See *Enchoria* 25 (1999) 90 with note 53].

<sup>62</sup> FIRCHOW, O., *Grundzüge der Stilistik in den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten. Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Stilistik 2* (Berlin 1953) 192–215. SCHOTT, S., „Eine ägyptische Bezeichnung für Litaneien“, in: FIRCHOW, O. (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien. Fs H. Grapow* (Berlin 1995) 289–295. ASSMANN, J., in: LÄ III (Wiesbaden 1980) 1064 s. v. Litanei.



poem formed by anaphoric stanzas.<sup>63</sup> A list of names (onomasticon) is a litany when recited, because the catalogue is then a recitation consisting of invocations. To distinguish it from other religious texts, the basic characteristics of the litany are thus the principle of the list and the word-for-word repetition of a stereotype frame.<sup>64</sup>

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

Evidence for the use of the litany-genre in funerary practices and its relationship to the rites that revivify the dead is provided by the two litanies 'Burning incense to all gods and goddesses' in two versions of the Rite of Opening the Mouth, one of them with a section particularly dedicated to Osiris,<sup>65</sup> and the collection of litanies in the Book of the Dead in the Greenfield Papyrus.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore the Book of the Dead contains the litany to the sun-god in spell 15,<sup>67</sup> the invocation to the judges in the Hall of the Two Truths of spell 125, and the litanies of spell 141/142<sup>68</sup> and spell 148.

The Book of Hours 'To Osiris in all [his names]',<sup>69</sup> whose invocations are divided into hourly recitations and do not cover just Osiris' names, but also 'gods, spirits and all kinds of entities (...) which could influence human welfare or evoke the emotions of wonder and awe'<sup>70</sup> gives a cult topography for the whole of Egypt. The hymns to Osiris in the Osiris chapels in Dendera<sup>71</sup> should be mentioned, because they inform us about the various links this god had to different towns and places. The latter text goes through the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt with an explanation of Osiris' form of appearance for each nome and

63 E. g. in the Pyramid Texts (cf. Firthow, *Grundzüge* 192–215.), the Greenfield Papyrus (BUDGE, E. W. A., *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum. The Funerary Papyrus of Princess Nesitanebtashru, daughter of Painetchem II ...* (London 1912) 55 f., 59 f., pls. 76, 77, 80 f.) or pLouvre I. 3079 (GOYON, J. C., „Le cérémonial de glorification d'Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I. 3079 (colonnes 110 à 111)“, in: *BIFAO* 65 (1967) 98 f., 144 f.).

64 ASSMANN, LÄ III 1062 f.

65 OTTO, E., *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*. ÄA 3 (Wiesbaden 1960) I: 154–159, II: 134–137.

66 BUDGE, *Greenfield Papyrus* 48 f., 53–63, 65–72, 83–89, pls. 70, 75–83, 85–87, 90 f., 110–114.

67 ASSMANN, J., *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik* 1. MÄS 19 (Berlin 1969) 77–91, 106–112.

68 NAVILLE, E., *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin 1886) I 153, II 364–368. ALLEN†, T. G., *The Book of the Dead or Going forth by day. Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their Own Terms*. SAOC 37 (Chicago 1974) 117–120. ALLEN, T. G., *The Egyptian Book of the Dead. Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*. OIP 82 (Chicago 1960) 225–230. ASSMANN, J., *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole. Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970*. AV 6 (Mainz 1973) 86–92.

69 FAULKNER, *Book of Hours*.

70 FAULKNER, *Book of Hours*.

71 BEINLICH, H., „Zwei Osirishymnen in Dendera“, in: *ZÄS* 122 (1995) 5–31.



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

The basis for this concept of reducing any being to a single word is the idea that the essence of a being can be expressed by its name inherently connected with the identity of the denoted.<sup>73</sup> The creation can be perceived as an act of giving names<sup>74</sup> and the demiurge is consequently called 'he who creates the names' (*qm3 rn.w*),<sup>75</sup> while the time before the act of creation is 'when the name of anything had not been pronounced yet'.<sup>76</sup> Every being, including the gods, is therefore vulnerable through his or her name on whose use Egyptian magic relies,<sup>77</sup> and gods try to hide their secret name, which gives power over them.<sup>78</sup> The utterance of the secret name is to be avoided because of the danger lying in the power and mightiness it contains.<sup>79</sup> Transgressors were punished by changing theophoric parts of their names, since their sacrilege made them unworthy of continued connection with a certain god.<sup>80</sup> They could also be threatened with total annihilation through the destruction of their names,<sup>81</sup> which was a means against evil revenants, as well,<sup>82</sup> whereas the remembrance and utterance of a deceased's name was thought to ensure his or her revivification and endurance from the Pyramid texts onwards.<sup>83</sup>

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

- <sup>72</sup> Cf. ASSMANN, *Basa* 92. For a connection between the Osiris-hymns and the litany of BD 141/ 142 see CAUVILLE, S., *Le Temple de Dendara. Les Chapelles Osiriennes* II. (Le Caire 1997) BdÉ 118, 140.
- <sup>73</sup> BONNET, H., *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1952) 501–504. ZANDEE, J., *Death as an Enemy. According to ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden 1960) 179 f. VERNUS, P., in: *LÄ* IV (Wiesbaden 1982) 320–326 s. v. Name.
- <sup>74</sup> GRAPOW, H., „Die Welt vor der Schöpfung“, in: *ZÄS* 67 (1931) 36.
- <sup>75</sup> Atum: e. g. CT II 23 e, IV 190–191 a. BD sp. 17 (NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 34.).
- <sup>76</sup> GRAPOW, *ZÄS* 67 (1931) 36.
- <sup>77</sup> KOENIG, Y., *Magie et magiciens dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris 1995) 156–165.
- <sup>78</sup> E. g. Re: pTurin 1993 [5] vs. 6, 11–9, 5. See BORGHOOTS, J. F., *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts. Religious Texts Translations Series NISABA* 9 (Leiden 1978) 51–55.
- <sup>79</sup> ASSMANN, J., *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich / München 1975) 318.
- <sup>80</sup> GRIFFITH, F. LI., „Papyrus Dodgson“, in: *PSBA* 31 (1909) 100–109. POSENER, G., „Les criminels débaptisés et les morts sans noms“, in: *RdÉ* 5 (1946) 51–56. Latest publication on pDodgson with further references on it: MARTIN, C. J., „The Child Born in Elephantine: Papyrus Dodgson Revisited“, in: *EVO* 17 (1994) 199–212, and id., in: PORTEN, B., *The Elephantine Papyri in English. Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (Leiden 1996) 339–345. However there is general agreement concerning Griffith's understanding of the passage on the changing of the names as penalty.
- <sup>81</sup> SOTTAS, H., *La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte avec le recueil des formules d'imprécation* (Paris 1913) 49. CT II 253 g, Urk. IV 2, 5–6.
- <sup>82</sup> pChester Beatty VIII verso 7, 9–7, 11.
- <sup>83</sup> The relevant spells from Pyr. and CT are collected by SCHOTT, S., „Zur Unvergänglichkeit des Namens“, in: *MDAIK* 25 (1969) 134 f. For the New Kingdom e. g. Urk. IV 518, 14. For the Late Period see: OTTO, E., *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit. Ihre geistesgeschichtliche und literarische Bedeutung*. PÄ 2 (Leiden 1954) 62 f.



distinguished before the Persian or Ptolemaic periods,<sup>84</sup> and they originally formed a single list of divine names giving an account of Osiris in his theological aspects, syncretisms and cult places in the list's second part (then sp. 142). The roots of the cult topographical litanies typical for Osiris can already be found in the Pyramid Texts<sup>85</sup> and are due to the analysis of the numerous hypostases particularly specific to Osiris for which representations are found in the Osiris chapels in Dendera.<sup>86</sup> The spell's nature as an offering-litany is suggested by the vignettes depicting the deceased offering before Osiris, who is attended by Isis and Nephthys in some copies of the Book of the Dead,<sup>87</sup> and the relic *n* 'for' in front of the divine names. Furthermore the title of Naville's variant Ba and the end of the title in Basa's tomb (TT 389, second to third decade of Psametik I, i. e. 654 to 634 BC<sup>88</sup>) support this view.<sup>89</sup> Through the knowledge of the spell, i. e. the knowledge of names, the deceased appears efficacious, will be together with the gods and – from around the fifth century BC – is able to move freely.<sup>90</sup> Although cultic in origin, sp. 141/142 seems to have been perceived primarily as an instructive onomastic account because of its strict form as a list, hence the 'knowing the names of the gods ...' in some versions.<sup>91</sup> Compare this with the *rh p3 wdnw nty tw=tw <iri=f n> hrw sm3-t3* 'Knowing the offering-litany which one <performs on> the day of the burial' in the introductory section of pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II's new funerary text, where both onomastic knowledge and the aspect of an offering-litany come together.<sup>92</sup>

Likewise familiarity with names, e. g. of the doorkeepers (BD 145–147)<sup>93</sup> or of the

84 ALLEN, *Book of the Dead* 117 n. 236. ASSMANN, *Basa* 92

85 E. g. Pyr. §§ 581, 620 f., 627 f., 630. Cf. SCHOTT, S., *Mythe und Mythenbildung im alten Ägypten*. UGAÄ 15 (Leipzig 1945) 37–46.

86 Dendara X pl. 134–137. Cf. CAUVILLE, *Chapelles Osiriennes* II, BdÉ 118, 114–121.

87 NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* I 153.

88 ASSMANN, *Basa* 22. BECKERATH, J. v., *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten. Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.* MÄS 46 (München 1997) 88.

89 NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 364 (Ba). ASSMANN, *Basa* 86 f.

90 NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 364 (Cc). LEPSIUS, R., *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig 1842) pl. 58. ALLEN, *Book of the Dead in the Oriental Institute* 225, 227, pl. 39. (pRyerson CIX 1 ff., 39 ff.) LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch* pl. 59. BD sp. 142 in pRyerson CIX 38 (ALLEN, *Book of the Dead in the Oriental Institute* 227 pl. 39.).

91 ASSMANN, *Basa* 90.

92 QUACK, ZÄS 127 (2000) 78, Taf. 10. Quack translates *rh* with 'Aufstellung' – apparently taking it as a writing for *rht* 'Verzeichnis, Zahl, Betrag' (Wb II 448, 12–449, 1.) – thus obscuring the idea of knowing divine names and the text's instructive intention that might actually be the meaning of *rh* in pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II considering the other evidence concerning *rh* 'to know' discussed here. (Cf. Assmann, *Basa* 90.) Possibly *rht* 'account, number, list' was understood as being derived from *rh* 'to know', despite having a different root in fact. The introduction of lists with *r di.t rh* 'to let know' indicates that this etymology was created by the Egyptians themselves.

93 NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* I, 155–166, II 369–376.



door's parts, helps to overcome the obstacles against entering the netherworld,<sup>94</sup> and to my mind one of the aims of the negative confession's litany<sup>95</sup> is to prove the deceased's claim to know the names of the 42 judges and to give him access to the hereafter.<sup>96</sup> That the concept of pacifying the judges in the Hall of the Two Truths ('Hall of the Righteous Ones' for the texts of the Ptolemaic-Roman period)<sup>97</sup> was still part of the mortuary religion is proved by the Demotic Book of the Dead<sup>98</sup> and the *Livre des transformations*, whose column XI describes the pacification of the beings in that hall by recitation of their names.<sup>99</sup>

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

### G. Conclusion

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

<sup>94</sup> E. g. BD sp. 125 (NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 288, 310 f., 325–328.). Cf. the Demotic version of pBN 149 I 27 f., II 30 f., III 8–19. (LEXA, *Totenbuch* 9, 26–31, pls. Ia, IIIa.)

<sup>95</sup> For the negative confession as litany cf. ASSMANN, *LÄ* III 1063.

<sup>96</sup> NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch* II 288–309. See MUELLER, D., „An Early Egyptian Guide to the Hereafter“, in: *JEA* 58 (1972) 99–125, esp. 105–108, 112–122, for attestations in the Coffin Texts for the necessity of onomastic knowledge to enter the netherworld.

<sup>97</sup> SMITH, *Mortuary Papyrus* 161 n. 1.

<sup>98</sup> LEXA, *Totenbuch*.

<sup>99</sup> SMITH, *Mortuary Papyrus* 18, 158–160.



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

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

PTurin N. 766 was inscribed for a *pa-rmwṯ*, son of *t3-šr.t-hnsw*. He presumably lived in the first century AD in Thebes, as suggested by the allusion to the Theban funerary rite of Amenope's travel to Djeme and his libations there. The texts of pTurin N. 766 can hardly be paralleled with any other contemporary mortuary composition, be it Demotic or hieratic, long or short, except for some fairly general ideas shared by most of them. Although the list of the Turin papyrus tempts one to label it as a Demotic Second Book of Breathing the attested versions of the Second Book of Breathing form a homogenous group and are quite different from pTurin N. 766. Comparison with onomastic passages in the Book of the Dead (sp. 125, 141 / 142) whose roots can partly be traced back to the Pyramid Texts suggests that pTurin N. 766 might have served a similar purpose, i. e. to give the dead knowledge of relevant names that would help him to overcome obstacles in the netherworld. Like a magic spell, pTurin N. 766 guaranteed the deceased's welfare in the hereafter and, as its title proves, accompanied the deceased physically in order to fulfill its function.