

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PASSPORTS TO ETERNITY: FORMULAIC DEMOTIC FUNERARY TEXTS AND THE
FINAL PHASE OF EGYPTIAN FUNERARY LITERATURE IN ROMAN EGYPT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

FOY DAVID SCALF III

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MARCH 2014

© Foy David Scalf III

2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
LIST OF PLATES.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	x
ABSTRACT.....	xii
PREFACE.....	xiv
ABBREVIATIONS.....	xvi
CHAPTER 1. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FUNERARY TEXTS.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature.....	2
1.3 The Hieratic Funerary Literature of Greco-Roman Egypt.....	12
1.4 The Demotic Funerary Literature of Greco-Roman Egypt.....	42
1.5 Diversity in Greco-Roman Funerary Manuscripts.....	57
CHAPTER 2. FORMULAIC DEMOTIC FUNERARY TEXTS.....	66
2.1 Introduction.....	66
2.2 Labels and Addresses.....	71
2.3 The <i>ḥp</i> by Formulae.....	85
2.4 Dating and Paleography.....	106
2.5 Text Editions Nos. 1-45.....	111
CHAPTER 3. ICONOGRAPHY OF THE VIGNETTE SCENES.....	150
3.1 Introduction.....	150
3.2 Presentation before Osiris.....	153
3.3 Embalming Ritual.....	167
3.4 <i>Orantes</i> Figures.....	171
3.5 Falcon Imagery.....	177
3.6 The Relationship between Text and Illustration.....	182

CHAPTER 4. RITUAL AND SOCIAL SETTING OF DEMOTIC FUNERARY LITERATURE	186
4.1 Introduction	186
4.2 Owners: Status and Identity	187
4.3 Letters, Passports, Amulets, and Phylacteries	195
4.4 Purpose and Function: Placement	199
4.5 Production: Ritual Setting, Ritual Language, and Scribal Practice	214
4.6 Memory and Orality	223
4.7 Religious Theology	239
4.8 Conclusion	246
CHAPTER 5. REDACTION OF DEMOTIC FUNERARY LITERATURE	248
5.1 Introduction	248
5.2 Textual Criticism of Demotic Funerary Literature	252
5.3 Pragmatics of Register Interaction: Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, and Demotic	265
5.4 Language Obsolescence: Script Death and Ritual Death	268
5.5 Conclusion	270
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS	272
BIBLIOGRAPHY	278
APPENDIX: PLATES	352

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Labels and Titles of the Books of Breathing.....	16
Table 1.2: Contents of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made.....	27
Table 1.3: Categorization of Glorification Spells.....	34
Table 1.4: Festival Dates for Glorification Spells.....	38
Table 1.5: Content Headings of pHarkness.....	48
Table 1.6: Contents of pMMA 35.9.21.....	59
Table 1.7: Contents of pCracow (Sękowski).....	60
Table 1.8: Contents of pLeiden T 31.....	60
Table 1.9: Contents of pQuaritch.....	60
Table 1.10: Contents of pBM 10507.....	61
Table 1.11: Contents of pHarkness.....	61
Table 2.1: Label $t\check{s}^c.t n snsn$ “the document of breathing”.....	72
Table 2.2: Orthography of $s\check{s}(?)$ “protection(?)”.....	75
Table 2.3: Label $p\check{s} \underline{d}m^c n s\check{s}(?)$ “the papyrus of protection(?)”.....	77
Table 2.4: Representations of Head and Feet on Papyri.....	81
Table 2.5: <i>Saltire</i> -Seals on Formulaic Demotic Funerary Papyri.....	84
Table 2.6: Biliteral and Phonetic Orthographies of $h\check{s}y.w$ “favored ones”.....	92
Table 2.7: Writings of hr as h	95
Table 2.8: Parallel Examples of Undeciphered Passage.....	97
Table 2.9: Orthographic Comparison of $rpy(.t)$ “noble lady”.....	101

Table 2.10: Parallel Examples of <i>m-qty n3 ftw rpy(.wt) nty fy hr t3 p.t</i>	102
Table 2.11: <i>rpy(.t)</i> “noble lady”	103
Table 3.1: Vignette Scenes.....	153
Table 4.1: Owners of <i>nh p3 by</i> Texts.....	189

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: Presentation Scene before Osiris in pBerlin 1522 and pLouvre 3176 Q.....	154
Figure 3.2: Presentation Scene before Osiris in pFlorence 11919.....	155
Figure 3.3: Presentation Scene before Osiris in pBM EA 10415.....	156
Figure 3.4: Presentation Scene before Osiris in pLouvre N 3176 R.....	157
Figure 3.5: Osiris Enthroned from pLouvre E 10304.....	157
Figure 3.6: Presentation of Mummy from pBM EA 10121.....	158
Figure 3.7: Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys from pMoscow I.1d.142.....	168
Figure 3.8: Anubis and the Funerary Bier from pMoscow I.1d.142 vs.....	169
Figure 3.9: <i>Orans</i> Figure from pMunich MÄS 816.....	172
Figure 3.10: Falcon from pBerlin 3169.....	178
Figure 3.11: Falcons from pMoscow I.1d.142.....	178
Figure 3.12: Falcons from pMoscow I.1d.142 vs.....	179

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: pBibliotheca Alexandria 3640 Recto.....	353
Plate 2: pBM EA 10415 Recto.....	354
Plate 3: pBM EA 10415 Verso.....	355
Plate 4: pFlorence 11919 Recto.....	356
Plate 5: pFlorence 11919 Verso.....	357
Plate 6: pHaun. Demot. 1 Recto.....	358
Plate 7: pHaun. Demot. 3 Recto.....	359
Plate 8: pLouvre N 3165 Recto.....	360
Plate 9: pLouvre N 3176 Q Recto.....	361
Plate 10: pLouvre N 3176 Q Verso.....	362
Plate 11: pLouvre N 3176 R Recto.....	363
Plate 12: pLouvre N 3258 Recto.....	364
Plate 13: pLouvre N 3375 Recto.....	365
Plate 14: pLouvre E 10304 Recto.....	366
Plate 15: pLouvre E 10304 Verso.....	367
Plate 16: pMoscow I.1d.142 Recto.....	368
Plate 17: pMoscow I.1d.142 Verso.....	369
Plate 18: pMoscow I.1d.143 Recto.....	370
Plate 19: pMoscow I.1d.143 Verso.....	371
Plate 20: pStrasbourg DG 26 Recto.....	372
Plate 21: pVienna D 12017 Recto.....	373
Plate 22: pVienna D 12017 Verso.....	374

Plate 23: pVienna D 12019 Recto.....	375
Plate 24: pVienna D 12019 Verso.....	376

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a dissertation wavers between a process long and arduous as well as dynamic and exciting. All along the way, the role of advisors and committee members are indispensable for support, encouragement, criticism, and above all navigational aid. Since my first day at the University of Chicago, Robert Ritner has been my primary advisor and I cannot thank him enough for his excellent advice and generous commitment to the success of this project. He not only read drafts, offered critical comments, pointed out missed sources, and shared unpublished work, but he has also been a sober sounding board for working ideas. It is my hope that this work will reflect the high standards he expects of his students.

Janet Johnson offered me the invaluable opportunity to work on the Chicago Demotic Dictionary and spend many hours digging through the fascinating files of the project. She has always been willing to listen and discuss all aspects of Demotic and Egyptian grammar and read drafts with incredible efficiency. Her graciousness with her time and her devotion to her students will be a lasting legacy of her tenure at the University of Chicago and beyond, where a generation of Demotists came of age under her supervision.

Mark Smith, one of Janet Johnson's first Ph.D. students, was gracious enough to serve on my committee. It is only fitting as this dissertation was directly inspired by the list of short Demotic funerary texts that appeared in his 1979 University of Chicago dissertation. I would like to thank him for offering his expertise as the leading specialist in the field of Demotic funerary literature as well as for his patience over the course of this rather delayed dissertation project. His close reading of successive drafts has saved me from a number of egregious errors and he has made many valuable suggestions which have greatly improved this study.

Without the assistance of a number of museums and colleagues, many aspects of this dissertation would have been impossible. I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Mark Étienne and Elisabeth David of the Musée du Louvre; Richard Parkinson, John Taylor, and Patricia Usick of the British Museum; Carol Burrows, Anne Clarkson, Dorothy Clayton, and Roberta Mazza of the John Rylands Library; Irmtraut Munro of the Bonn Book of the Dead Project; Kim Ryholt of the University of Copenhagen; and Helen McDonald and Susan Allison of the Oriental Institute.

I would like to thank a number of colleagues at the University of Chicago and abroad who have been, in one way or another, helpful during the preparation of this work: Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, Jacco Dieleman, Peter Dorman, Kate Grossman, Jackie Jay, Chuck Jones, Holger Kockelmann, Harold Hays, Paul Heilporn, Todd Hickey, Brian Muhs, Hratch Papazian, Tate Paulette, Seth Sanders, Emily Teeter, Steve Vinson, Sven Vleeming, Jennifer Westerfeld, Magnus Widell, Ghislaine Widmer, and Avi Winitzer.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, the Scalf family, Shannon Bohnert, and the Bohnert family for their encouragement, support, patience, impatience, and goading over the years.

ABSTRACT

The funerary literature from ancient Egypt has long been studied. However, the final manuscripts in this tradition have received negligible attention. In the first two centuries of the Common Era, a new funerary composition appeared, with papyrus as its most common medium for transmission. The composition consisted of a series of formulaic phrases, voiced primarily in the third person, concerning the deceased's postmortem existence, participation in the following of Osiris, reception of offerings, the proper mortuary treatment, and well wishes for remaining children. All known manuscripts can be dated to the first and second centuries of the Common Era, were written in Demotic script and grammar, and derive mostly from the Theban area. A small portion of the corpus was illustrated with a variety of vignettes reinforcing the main concepts of the textual formulae. The composition has been referred to by its opening phrase as the *'nh p3 by* "May the *ba* live" formulae.

The identity of the original owners of the manuscripts, despite the indication or preservation of personal names, remains mostly obscure. In the few cases where an individual can be identified, it is clear that they belong to the upper class of Egyptian society. Therefore, the small size and often hasty appearance of the texts cannot be taken as evidence that they were cheap substitutes for the poor. The papyri were specifically intended to be placed among the mummy wrappings, implying a certain level of social standing.

The origin of the formulae can be traced to an oral tradition that circulated at least by the time of the Ptolemaic Period. Short formulaic phrases would have been recited during the funerary rituals and similar formulae would have been uttered by grieving family and tomb visitors. At some point in the early Roman Period, a selection of these common phrases was

committed to writing, initiating the manuscript tradition preserved today. The formulae represented the mourning lamentations of the bereaved and were therefore stated in the texts to derive from Isis. Several features in the manuscript tradition demonstrate the oral circulation of the formulae and suggest that scribes composed some of the manuscripts from memory without resorting to a template text from which to copy.

Once committed to writing, the *nh p3* by “May the *ba* live” composition became part of a textual tradition. The surviving manuscripts preserve fragmentary evidence for the redaction of the text. Roman Egypt had a vibrant funerary literature industry in which this new composition became the most codified and most often reproduced. Scribes had intimate knowledge of all of these texts as is reflected in the highly intertextual nature of the texts with respect to both topical content and borrowing of formulae across multiple scripts (hieratic, hieroglyphs, Demotic) and registers (graffiti, literary texts, ritual texts).

PREFACE

The subject of this dissertation is a corpus of funerary texts written in Demotic sometime between the 1st and 3rd centuries of the Common Era. Accompanying individuals to the grave, their main purpose was to aid the deceased in the post-mortem transition into the following of Osiris. Until now, no comprehensive treatment of these texts has been undertaken. Because of this, their ritual and textual contexts have not been elucidated and they have often been denigrated because of their late date, brief nature, and imperfect appearance.

The methodology of the dissertation is essentially historicist and is built upon the explicit assumption that the explanations provided by historical and cultural contexts improve our understanding of human endeavors. Analyses of the processes through which intellectual material was created and maintained has proven valuable in answering questions of origins and purpose and has shed light on the human processes involved. Of course, this type of analysis by necessity takes place in retrospect, as all analysis of ancient cultures, but nevertheless a number of interesting conclusions can be drawn and a variety of predictions about future courses of research can be made.

The core of the following study consists of a close philological examination of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts in order to reconstruct the form and meaning of the formulae employed. With the form and meaning established, a contextual analysis seeks to ascertain their intertextuality within the historical tradition of funerary text composition as well as their place within developments of philosophical speculation on the nature of death, deity, and ritual praxis.

Finally, a diachronic analysis of Demotic funerary texts investigates the transmission, transformations, and ultimate disappearance of such manuscripts.¹

The dissertation is structured into five chapters. In chapter one, I provide an overview of the funerary literature of ancient Egypt beginning with the Pyramid Texts. Focus is made on the many compositions circulating contemporaneously with the formulaic Demotic funerary texts. Chapter two contains a detailed philological examination of the corpus including complete editions of all the texts. The iconography associated with the manuscripts is treated in detail in chapter three. In chapter four, I investigate the owners, purpose, function, and ritual setting of the texts in the corpus and make some suggestions about their origins. How these texts fit into the larger corpus and the evidence for intertextuality is discussed in chapter five.

¹ The importance of philology is an implicit assumption within ancient Near East studies. Such implicitness, however, ignores the “crisis” philology faces as an interdisciplinary practice (Pollock 2009). Explicitly discussing and justifying our methodologies, such as philological approaches, will not only clarify our positions, but will also provide further self-critical scrutiny of the discipline useful for comparative scholarship.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CD* Walter Crum. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
- CDD* Janet H. Johnson (ed.). *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
<https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/cdd/>
- ČED* Jaroslav Černý. *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- DELC* Werner Vycichl. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven: Peeters, 1983.
- Demot. Nb.* Erich Lüdeckens, Heinz Josef Thissen, Wolfgang Brunsch, Günther Vittmann, and Karl-Theodor Zauzich (eds.). *Demotisches Namenbuch*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980-2000.
- FCD* Raymond Falkner. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962.
- KHWb* Wolfhard Westendorf. *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1992.
- LSJ* H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Urk* *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906-.
- Wb.* Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Das Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1854-1937.

CHAPTER ONE

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FUNERARY LITERATURE

1.1 Introduction

By the time Octavian made his way to Egypt, the tradition of composing texts for the benefit of an individual's afterlife was over two millennia old. The priestly population of Roman Egypt continued, maintained and expanded this tradition – on the one hand, further incorporating motifs and elements of Hellenistic culture, and, on the other hand, continually redefining native Egyptian customs. Funerary texts in the Roman Period took many forms, having been composed in a wide variety of languages and scripts including Greek, hieroglyphs, hieratic, Demotic, and Coptic. Each reflected a complex relationship with both indigenous and non-indigenous religious practices and symbols.

Hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Demotic funerary compositions dated to the second century CE reflect the vitality of the final phase of the manuscript tradition in Egypt.¹ A corpus of formulaic compositions in Demotic seems to be the last bearer of this great tradition, carrying on the function of the Pyramid Texts before disappearing in the third or perhaps early fourth century CE. Scant attention has been paid to the end of this rich legacy, one which cannot be described as

¹ Dating the various hieratic, hieroglyphic, and Demotic manuscripts from this period is very difficult, but it is clear that there was an amount of overlap. Workshops produced coffins for the elite in Thebes in the early to mid second century CE that contained Demotic funerary inscriptions on their exteriors. Coffins from these same workshops belonging to members of Soter, his extended family, and others were accompanied by hieratic manuscripts of the Books of Breathing, Book of Traversing Eternity, and other compositions. There is, therefore, good evidence for the overlap of the various compositions preserved in hieratic and Demotic.

decadent or vulgar, as some scholars have done,² but as vibrant and imaginative, now reflected in recent scholarship on Greco-Roman Egypt.³ It will be shown that these formulaic Demotic funerary texts fulfilled an important purpose within contemporary religious practice, showed significant intertextual relationships within the corpus of funerary literature, and continued to function as desired commodities for a wealthy elite, despite their small size and often hurried appearance. This study will further demonstrate how priests of Roman Egypt continued to negotiate with their past as well as influence their present by analyzing the diversity within contemporary funerary literature, paying particularly close attention to the Demotic texts created during a period when large portions of the population began to turn towards Christianity.

1.2 Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature

Texts meant to empower the postmortem individual, through liturgical recitation, personal application, and/or amuletic efficacy,⁴ form the oldest corpus of explicitly religious literature⁵ from ancient Egypt. Essentially, such compositions functioned to ensure the

² E.g. “In this stagnant and decadent form, hieroglyphic writing lingered on as an obsolete and dying tradition throughout the Ptolemaic domination, and it survived the Roman occupation, as the spiritual property of a small and exclusive body of scholarly priests, but it was obvious that its final decline was immanent” (Iversen 1993, 25). Lewis 1986, 1-7, presents an accessible introduction to early assessments of the period.

³ The literature concerning the re-interpretation of Greco-Roman Egypt is vast. For recent discussion with relevant bibliography, see *inter alia* Ritner 1992b; *idem.* 1995b; Moyer 2004; Dieleman 2005; Dijkstra 2008; Klotz 2008; Burstein 2009. A current approach is expressed by Bowman 2007, 178, who describes a “complex,” “vibrant,” and “self-confident” culture in reference to a funerary assemblage from Roman Deir el-Bahari.

⁴ Religious compositions were employed by, *inter alia*, priests (e.g. *hry-ḥꜣb.t* “lector priest,” lit. “he who carries the festival scroll”), mourners (e.g. lamentations), funerary workers, and then they were ultimately interred for the recently passed. In order to triumph over death, an individual used his religious scrolls as a compendium of knowledge, memorizing, reciting, and simply possessing the authoritative compositions helped to usher him through the various phases of rejuvenation. Note the avoidance of the term “magical” here to describe such religious texts; see Ritner 1992a, 495-502; *idem.* 1995a, 4-28.

⁵ Here I understand “literature” as broadly conceived. The problem of defining and understanding “literature” has received enormous scholarly attention recently in the Egyptological community. See especially,

navigation of the afterlife journey, rejuvenation of the deceased, and continued support through offerings. Egyptologists have attempted to categorize these religious compositions based on their manner of employment. For the past twenty years, scholars have taken the working definitions proposed by Jan Assmann as a foundation.⁶ Assmann employed the term “mortuary liturgies”⁷ for those texts used by priests for recitation during rituals associated with death, burial, and postmortem cult,⁸ and he employed the term “funerary literature”⁹ for those texts which were actually buried with the deceased.¹⁰

Loprieno 1991; *idem.* 1996; *idem.* 1996b ; Moers 1999; Parkinson 2002; Baines 2003. Eagleton 1983 has provided a useful introduction to the problem of universal definitions of literature.

⁶ Assmann 1990, 1-3, and n. 2. The terminology and problems therewith were noted by Depauw 1997, 116.

⁷ While it is true that certain texts were meant to be recited by priests, I disagree with the assessment of Coenen 2000-2005, 5, that “... such texts were in origin not intended to ensure a safe passage through the underworld or to help the deceased to obtain an afterlife free of care” and Coenen and Verrept 2004, 97, “In contrast to funerary literature, mortuary liturgies were not developed to help the deceased to obtain a life free of care in the beyond.”

⁸ E.g. Willems 2001, 253, in reference to the liturgy of CT 30-41: “So this is not a funerary liturgy but a mortuary liturgy. With mortuary rituals, I mean the celebrations that regularly took place in the tomb after the burial, when relatives or professional priests commissioned by the relatives came to the tomb.” Mortuary liturgies have been further divided into “Ritual-Begleit-Text” and “Sprech-Riten” (“glorifications”) by Burkard 1995, 3-8, followed by Coenen and Verrept 2004, 98, who comment, “Whereas the text of an ‘*Osirian*’ ritual is a ‘*Ritual-Begleit-Text*’ and thus recited while a ritual is performed, *Glorifications* are ‘*Sprech-Riten*’ whose cultic act consists solely of the recitation of the text.” As defined, the distinction seems dubious, especially considering the categorization of the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys as Sprech-Riten and its colophon containing specific ritual instructions as a Ritual-Begleit-Text; see Faulkner 1935-1938, 341.

⁹ Among English speaking Egyptologists, the terms “funerary” and “mortuary” are often used as mere synonyms. Cf. the entries for “funerary” (“of or relating to a funeral or burial”) and “mortuary” (“of or relating to the burial or cremation of the dead”) in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. This is unfortunate for confusion has resulted from the problem of translation. Assmann 1990, 1-2, does discuss “mortuary/funerary texts,” but the real categories he is proposing are mortuary liturgies and funerary literature: “In the Late Period there is no room for doubt whether we are dealing with funerary literature or with mortuary liturgies” (*ibid.*, 3). Thus, the nouns “liturgies” and “literature” carry more distinction than “mortuary” and “funerary,” both of which are conveyed in German by *Toten*, as discussed by Smith 2009a, 210. As Assmann 1990, 1, n. 2, notes, usage of the English terminology does not adequately convey the idea of “mortuary liturgy” (Totenliturgien) and “mortuary literature” (Totenliteratur), now updated in Assmann 2001, 322; *idem.*, 2002, 13-20; *idem.*, 2008, 33-34; and further discussed by Hays 2006b, 226-228 and Scalf 2011, 124-126.

¹⁰ Backes 2010, 8, discusses the “functions of funerary texts versus functions of funerary papyri.”

The dichotomy between funerary and mortuary has since fostered an important discussion among Egyptologists.¹¹ As often noted in contradiction to this dichotomy, mortuary liturgies are found buried with the deceased. The state of preservation of the papyri themselves suggests their placement inside the mummy wrappings, coffin, and/or tomb, about which Smith states, “This subsequent usage as ‘funerary literature’ is the reason for the preservation of virtually every ‘mortuary liturgy’ still extant, since it meant that these were interred with their owners in the relatively protected environment of the sepulchre.”¹² Furthermore, certain funerary texts¹³ (or copies thereof) were probably recited as part of cult ritual before being placed in the grave.¹⁴ In fact, the association with the cultic rites would have infused the text with ritual power further influencing such placement. Ritual texts were employed for various functions, including

¹¹ Smith initially followed Assmann’s terminology but has since abandoned it completely in favor of the rather generic term “afterlife texts,” which he treats as more descriptive of function rather than usage. Cf. the developments offered by Smith 1979, 2, with his later comments in Smith 1993a, 6, and his more recent analysis 2009a, 209-211. Further adding to the confusion, Baines 2004, 15, n. 2, reverses the distinction of Assmann, stating: “I term texts ‘mortuary’ in the general sense that they could serve the deceased in the next life. ‘Funerary’ texts and other materials are a subcategory of mortuary ones that relates to the primarily ritual process leading from death to the burial of the mummy.” In this same note, Baines mentions the tenuousness of his categories: “It is not possible to distinguish neatly between the mortuary and funerary, and the relevance of both types should be borne in mind.” Like Baines, Manassa 2007, 411, n. 1, reverses Assmann’s distinction: “The term ‘mortuary’ is used to refer to documents discovered within burials....”

¹² Smith 2009a, 210. As the rituals surrounding death lasted for many days, it is most likely that the entombed mortuary liturgies were copies rather than the actual papyri used in the funerary rites. For example, the copy of the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys found on pBerlin 3008, published by Faulkner 1935-1938, was composed for a particular individual’s burial (*Wsr Inrty ms.n T3-h3^c-3 dd=tw n=s Prss m3^c-hrw* “Osiria Inrty, whom T3-h3^c-3, to whom Prss is said, justified”). The statement in the text that “It is effective for the one who performs it, like the gods” (*3h n ir s(y) mi n3 ntr.w*) may refer to either ritual use or an intended post-mortem use by the deceased. Herbin 1984, 107, speculates that pVienna 3864, a copy of the Liturgy of the Decade of Djeme, may derive from a temple library as it is not attributed to any particular individual.

¹³ Smith 2009a, 210, identifies the problem with using the term “literature” as a distinct category from “liturgy,” stating: “There are no objective criteria by which this part of the corpus can be shown to be more ‘literary’ than the other, and it has been argued with considerable cogency that the application of the term ‘literature’ in a technical sense to any body of written material from ancient Egypt is probably an anachronism.” Smith cites A. Assmann 1999, 84.

¹⁴ See the discussions of Federn 1960; Wente 1982; Ogden 1982.

funerary (associated with burial) and liturgical (recited during public ritual). For this study, the designation “funerary texts” will serve as reference to all manner of texts associated with death, rejuvenation, and the funeral cult and having as their theme the provisioning of the deceased, rejuvenation, navigation of the afterlife, and related cultic services.¹⁵

Funerary texts appear in the Fourth Dynasty initially within the private sphere in the form of the offering formula (*ḥtp-dī-ny-sw.t* “an offering which the king gives”).¹⁶ The offering formula established in ritual language the continued provisioning of the cult for the deceased through royal prerogative, absorbing and expanding upon earlier lists of offerings.¹⁷ However, the earliest extensive corpus is the Pyramid Texts (PT).¹⁸ Pyramid Texts consisted of a heterogeneous collection of compositions, referred to as spells (*rꜥ.w*), including offering lists,¹⁹ offering formulae,²⁰ hortatory wishes, royal rituals, apotropaic spells, and mythological

¹⁵ The term “mortuary” will be avoided except in its well-established reference to the mortuary cult, i.e., the rituals performed on behalf to the deceased during and after the completion of embalming and burial. The use of “liturgy” will reflect the function or use of particular texts without an implied distinction among any particular categories. Thus a ritual text could have been used for liturgical purposes prior to burial or a liturgical composition could have been composed especially for entombment. Adopted here is the definition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. liturgical): “pertaining to or connected with public worship; having to do with liturgies or forms of public worship.”

¹⁶ Gardiner’s discussion in Davies and Gardiner 1915, 79-93, remains profitable. Barta 1968 provides a diachronic study of the formula, although containing errors in dating pointed out by Goedicke 1971. Lapp 1986 is a comprehensive philological study. Lesko 2001 explicitly excludes “formulaic offering texts” from his account of “funerary literature.” See also, Strudwick 2005, 31-32.

¹⁷ The chronological survey of Barta 1963, documenting offering lists from the earliest dynasties, contradicts the derivation of Leprohon 2001, 571, that the origins of the offering lists lie “in the royal offering lists found in the Pyramid Texts” Baines 2004, 18-19, discusses the implications of oral traditions for these early texts.

¹⁸ The fundamental work on the Pyramid Texts remains Sethe 1908-1922 and *idem*. 1935-1962. For an annotated bibliography, see Hornung 1999, 159-162.

¹⁹ E.g. PT 72-171.

²⁰ E.g. PT 599/Pyr. 1649-1651, cited by Davies and Gardiner 1915, 88.

historiola meant to usher the deceased king into the Solar-Osirian cycle.²¹ Although the PT included offering formulae, a large portion of the remaining PT spells were intended to have a transformational character, providing for the transition between this world and the next for the deceased king. This transformational intention distinguished them from the offering formulae that had appeared in earlier texts. Fragments of offering formulae incorporated into the PT are attested already in the mortuary temple of Sahure, but the first significant preserved selection of spells is found carved in the tomb of the last king of the fifth dynasty, Unas, and kings of the sixth dynasty continued to expand upon them.²²

Although initial attestations of the Pyramid Texts corpus are found in royal contexts, by the 12th Dynasty such texts were incorporated into the mastaba tomb of a palace official.²³ Funerary literature migrated from the walls of 6th Dynasty pyramids to other funerary material belonging to social elites, perhaps by the end of the Old Kingdom and certainly early in the First Intermediate Period.²⁴ Pyramid Texts spells did not disappear entirely, but they were largely

²¹ Hornung 1999, 5-6; Allen 2005, 7-8.

²² See Sethe in Borchardt 1913, 126. Baines 2004 speculates on the origins of the Pyramid Texts, suggesting that funerary texts on perished materials may have accompanied royal burials prior to Unas. For further references to the canonical offering lists of the Old Kingdom, see Smith 2009c, 8-9.

²³ The tomb of *S-n-wsr.t-ḥ*, published by Hayes 1937. Adoption of such royal texts by private individuals has been described as the “democratization” of funerary literature. The trend of “democratization” is often applied to the Coffin Texts, e.g. Taylor 2001, 194-195, and Hornung 1999, 9. On the topic of democratization, see Willems 2008, 133-142; Smith 2009c; and Hays 2011. As noted above, offering formulae as well as other important bodies of Egyptian literature are first attested in the private realm. It is clear that traditions are more fluid than scholars have previously believed with elements first appearing in either private or royal spheres, which are subsequently adapted or imitated by the other, as the comments of Matthieu 2004 emphasize. However, lacking better evidence for the actual rituals and beliefs involved in the transfiguration of the deceased, we cannot attribute the origin of such ideas to these first written appearances, as pointed out by Smith 2009c and Hays 2011.

²⁴ Lapp 1996 provides a brief introduction to coffin development from the 6th-13th dynasties, describing how the offering lists and formula appeared first, followed by CT spells. The pyramids of Pepi I and Merenre contain the earliest CT spells yet discovered, including a fragmentary introduction to CT 1030, a section of the Book of the Two Ways, for which see Pierre-Croisiau 2004. Ibi, a monarch of dynasty 8, incorporated CT spells into his pyramid at Saqqara, published by Jecquier 1935. CT spells have been identified from an imprint of a shroud of

replaced by another set of compositions.²⁵ The new corpus, known as the Coffin Texts (CT) due to their common location and initial discovery,²⁶ contained traditional material from the Pyramid Texts²⁷ as well as further elaborations on compositions such as the Book of the Two Ways.²⁸ The purpose of the spells (*r3.w*), characterized as glorifications (*s3h.w*), is stated in the introduction to CT 1: “Beginning of the book of vindicating a man in the necropolis” (*h3.t-ꜥ m md3.t n.t sm3ꜥ hrw s m hr.t-ntr*).²⁹ Fluidity and ingenuity in the collections are demonstrated by the placement of so-

Medunefher from Balat in the Dakhla Oasis dated to the First Intermediate Period (FIP), published in Valloggia 1986, 74-77, pls. 62-63. Further coffins with CT have been dated to the FIP, e.g. CG 28117, published in Petrie 1900, pls. xxxvii-xxxviii, cited in Mace and Winlock 1916, 51, as 7th dynasty and Allen 1960, xxv, as 6th-10th dynasty. The migration of texts from pyramids to coffins may have been aided through intermediary papyri. Two papyri of uncertain date (pGardiner, MafS pT 2147) have been described as potential models from which scribes copied CT spells (see Posener-Kriéger 1973, 35; Barguet 1986, 10; Ritner 1995a, 58, with n. 267; Berger-el Naggar 2004).

²⁵ Silverman 1996 discusses PT and CT spells inscribed in the tomb of *Hsw* the elder at Kom el-Hisn. Various PT spells are attested in hieratic papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, e.g. pCracow (Sękowski) published in Szczudłowska 1972 and pBerlin 3057 published in Möller 1900, while others were incorporated into the glorification spells (*s3hw* 4) discussed by Assmann 2008, 227-234. The Roman Period manuscript pBodl. MS Egypt. a. 3(P) preserves PT 25 and 32 written in Demotic script, but Old Egyptian grammar, described by Smith 1993, 492-493, and translated with introduction in Smith 2009a, 650-662. PT spells continue to appear among the funerary assemblage and within ritual contexts into the Roman Period, see Dunham 1931; Hayes 1935; Grimm 1979; Soukiassian 1982, 55-62; Graefe 1991; Patanè 1992; Régen 2007, 193-200; Hays and Schenk 2007, 97-116; Carrier 2010, 2715-3669.

²⁶ Following Breasted 1959, 273, n. 1: “I have for convenience termed them Coffin Texts, a designation drawn from the place in which they are found.” See also Hays 2011, 116. For the Coffin Texts, the definitive edition remains De Buck 1935-1961, completed by Allen 2006, who publishes Pyramid Texts which appear on Middle Kingdom coffins initially excluded from the original publication, for which see the comments of De Buck 1935, xi. For an annotated bibliography, see Hornung 1999, 162-164. As stated in Hornung 1999, 7; Taylor 2001, 194; and Mattheiu 2004, 250-251, Coffin Texts were also inscribed on tomb walls, mummy masks, canopic equipment, stelae, and papyri.

²⁷ Thompson 1990 discusses the origins of the PT spells from Middle Kingdom coffins from Saqqara. For further discussion, see the study of Hays 2006a and Morales 2013.

²⁸ For the Book of the Two Ways, the editions by Lesko 1972, Piankoff 1974, Hermsen 1991, and Backes 2005 complement each other.

²⁹ The label “Recitation of glorifications” (*dd-md.w(t) s3h.w*) is preserved on a Theban coffin (MC105) in De Buck 1935, 1. It is interesting to note the designation *md3.t* which typically refers to a roll of papyrus (*md3.t n.t dmꜥ*) and could be cited as evidence of papyrus prototypes, as discussed by Jürgens 1990, 51-63. For further discussion of CT 1, see Assmann 2002, 69.

called Pyramid Text spells on coffins and so-called Coffin Text spells inside pyramids during what could be termed a transitional phase from the end of Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom.³⁰ Coffin Texts are the most prominent private funerary texts employed during the Middle Kingdom, especially well-represented from Middle Egypt, and continue in sporadic use into the Roman Period.³¹ Despite the prominence of the Pyramid Texts in Old Kingdom royal tombs, funerary literature remains strikingly absent among the preserved material of Middle Kingdom royal burials.³² However, this absence of preservation cannot be interpreted as definitive evidence concerning the Middle Kingdom kings' access to such literature.

A second transitional phase occurred during the Second Intermediate Period when the Book of the Dead³³ first appeared on coffins³⁴ and linen shrouds beginning in Dynasty 17 and

³⁰ Our modern divisions retain heuristic value if employed with critical awareness. Further discussion about the division between CT and PT can be found in Vernus 1996, 144-145; Assmann 2001, 334; Mathieu 2004; Assmann 2005, 248; Gesternann 2005, 12-20; and Hays 2006-2007.

³¹ CT passages are found in both Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom magical texts discussed by Roccati 1996. Silverman 1982 discusses the appearance of CT 902 in New Kingdom tombs and the temple of Seti I at Abydos. For use of the Coffin Texts after the New Kingdom, see Gesternann 1992; Elias 1993; Gesternann 2005.

³² Baines 2004, 37-38. As Baines cites, unique examples are found in the princesses' tomb at Deir el Bahari, published in Naville 1907, 47-51, and Naville 1910, 6-9. In an attempt to explain the disparity, Hays 2011, 119, makes a distinction between "*textual display* and *religious action and belief*" (emphasis in original). To this end, the internal construction methods of many Middle Kingdom royal pyramids did not lend themselves easily to textual display. Additionally, it is possible that the monarchs drew inspiration from an earlier "classical" age, i.e., the fourth dynasty, when the display of texts was lacking, but the ritual necessities were present via the mortuary cult complexes along with their associated priesthoods and rites. Rössler-Köhler 1999, Gesternann 1999, and Wegner 2009 attempt to associate Middle Kingdom pyramid design with the Amduat and Billing 2011 suggests "symbolic qualities" for the "'mute' chambers and corridors." Likewise, the influence of PT on Old Kingdom tomb design is still being debated by Allen 1991, 5-28; Vischak 2005, 133-158; Hays 2009, 195-201; Burn 2011, 17-34.

³³ The works of Lepsius 1842 and Naville 1886 are still fundamental to the study of the Book of the Dead, but see the recent bibliography of Gulden and Munro 1998, updated in Backes et al. 2009. For an annotated bibliography, see Hornung 1999, 165-168. Quirke 2013 now offers a general overview, transliteration and translation of spells, and critical notes on many source manuscripts. As noted by Niwiński 1989, 1-2, the Book of the Dead tradition on papyri was surprisingly private, as none of the royal burials of the 18th dynasty are known to have contained BD papyri. Neither the tomb of Tutankhamun contained one, nor did the reburial cache of Deir el-Bahari. Quirke's 1993, 17, objections that BD spells are found among royal burials on specific items such as magical bricks, linen shrouds, as well as the walls of certain royal tombs after the Amarna Period, are correct, but they do not change the fact that there are currently no attested BD papyri from royal burials. If such papyri existed, even in the face of plundering, it could be expected that at least some of them would have been acquired by the

early Dynasty 18, before developing into the elaborate and well decorated papyri known from Dynasties 18-20.³⁵ Like its funerary literature predecessors, the Book of the Dead combines elements new and old into a novel compendium that demonstrates remarkable consistency in format and content, even as it develops regional traditions,³⁶ but like all Egyptian funerary literature, it is never fossilized into a single canon.³⁷ However, there is an increased regularity in the sequence of Book of the Dead spells found in manuscripts from the 25th dynasty which resulted in the order of spells known as the “Saite recension,” a tradition maintained into the

major collectors of the 18th-20th centuries. The only references I know of to royal funerary papyri are from Pleyte’s BD 166 *t3 mdꜥ.t i.gmm r hh.wy n ny-sw.t Wsr-mꜥ.t-Rꜥ stp.n-Rꜥ nḥ wd3 snb m hr.t ntr* “the book found at the throat of King Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramses II), life, prosperity, health, in the necropolis” (Quirke 2013, 518) and pBerlin 13588, 3.7-3.8 *ir=y t3 70.t n hrw iw=y n n3 r3.w n t3 wꜥb.t iw=y sh n wꜥ.t md3.t n dmꜥ wꜥ.t qny.t n sh wꜥ tw3 n sns n r p3 mnḥ ntr n Wsir ny-sw.t Pr-3 P3-s-n-mtk* “I passed the 70 days in the storerooms of the embalming house, writing a papyrus roll, a document, and a hymn of breathing for the wrappings of Osiris, king, pharaoh, Psammetichus” (Erichsen 1956; Smith 1985, 103-14). During the New Kingdom and later, Book of the Dead spells were also very popular on funerary items and the walls of the tomb itself, for which see Davies and Gardiner 1915, 109; Martin 1987, 20, n. 41; Dorman 1991, 113-134; Lull 2001; Rosati 2006; a Ramesside block containing BD 146 with accompanying figures listed in the Sotheby’s catalogue for New York, June 6, 2006, n. 71; and the wooden BD “tablets” from the tomb of Nekau at Abusir discussed in Janák and Landgráfová 2006a, 28-33; *idem.* 2006b, 135-144; *idem.* 2009, 83-88; and *idem.* 2010, 219-223.

³⁴ Like the Coffin Texts found in the pyramids of Pepy I and Merenre, BD spells have been found on coffin fragments from the Second Intermediate Period, published in Grimm and Schoske 1999, 16-19; Geisen 2004; and Grajetzki 2006. The recognition of the interweaving of the traditions has a long history. For further discussion about the relationship between CT and BD, see Blackman 1911; Gesterman 2005, 21-22; and Quirke 2013, x-xii.

³⁵ Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 47-49. The early appearance of BD spells on linen was discussed by Peter Dorman in his paper “The Funerary Papyri of Hatnofer: Last of a Purely Cursive Breed?” at the 58th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt (to be published as Dorman forthcoming). See also Niwiński 1989, 5-6; Grimm and Schoske 1999, 21-22, and most recently Kockelmann 2008, 9-13.

³⁶ Memphis had its own BD traditions which have been studied by Mosher 1990, 1992, 2002a, 2002b. Akhmim also had an important tradition of funerary texts and material, for which see Mosher 2002a, 2002b, and Smith 2002, esp. 237-238. In addition, hypocephali, which may contain extracts from BD 162, are also known from Memphis, e.g. Wien Nationalbibliothek Aeg. 8324 published by Clarysse 1998. Most of the hypocephali derive from Thebes, and only recently have there been significant developments in their study. See especially Varga 1961, *idem.* 1998; Goyon 1972, 276-280; Gee 2001; Haslauer 2001, 173-184; Gee 2006; Vallée 2007; and Mekis 2008.

³⁷ E.g., the variability in the sun hymns of BD 15. For bibliography, see Backes et al. 2009. For the “codification” of the BD, see Quack 1009b, 11-34.

Ptolemaic Period.³⁸ BD 1, the introductory chapter in the Saite recension, begins with a rubric describing the spells' intent:

ḥ3.t-^c m r3.w n.w pr.t m hrw st3.w s3ḥ.w pr.t ḥ3y.t m
 ḥr.t-ntr 3ḥ.wt m imnt.t nfr.t dd.wt hrw n qrs ʿq m-
 ḥt pr.t

“Beginning of the spells of going forth by day, praises and glorifications of going forth and going down in the necropolis, which are effective in the beautiful west, which are spoken on the day of funeral preparations and entering after going forth”

Despite the overwhelming popularity of the Book of the Dead in the Ptolemaic Period³⁹ there seems to have been a punctuated decline in its use, with only isolated spells surviving into the Roman Period.⁴⁰

Book of the Dead papyri, supplemented with a growing number of spells,⁴¹ dominated New Kingdom private funerary literature, which also consisted of a large corpus of liturgies and

³⁸ Barguet 1967, 12-13; Quirke 1993, 20. According to Mosher 1992, 143: “...the Book of the Dead was revived during the 26th Dynasty, after having fallen out of use during the 23-25th Dynasties. Secondly, it underwent significant revision during the 26th Dynasty, when the number of spells was codified at 165, consisting mostly of older spells, as well as several spells that have not been attested in earlier periods. Moreover, the sequence of spells was generally standardized, providing the modern means by which we identify these spells today.” However, BD papyri from Dynasty 25 are known, for instance pMoskau Puschkin-Museum I, 1b, 121, published by Munro 2009, and the corpus of funerary texts is maintained throughout this period on coffins.

³⁹ Coenen 2001, 70-71, gives the following numbers for funerary papyri from Ptolemaic-Roman Egypt: 492 Ptolemaic copies of the Book of the Dead, 203 copies of the Books of Breathing and 24 copies of the Book of Traversing Eternity (these numbers have surely increased). Considering the fact that very few BD manuscripts can be securely dated to the Roman Period, BD manuscripts outnumber any other funerary text in the Ptolemaic Period by more than two to one. Mosher 1992 had announced preparation of a synoptic edition of Late Period Book of the Dead manuscripts, which may have been superseded by the Bonn *Totenbuch* project and the publications thereof in the series *Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch* and *Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches*.

⁴⁰ Through genealogical studies, Quaegebeur 1997 was able to show that many Book of the Dead papyri, once thought to date to the Roman Period, were actually composed in the Ptolemaic Period. Scholars have since found it difficult to securely date Book of the Dead papyri based on the “classical” model to the Roman Period, as discussed by Quirke 1993 and Coenen 2001. Therefore, it would seem that the replacement of Book of the Dead papyri with other funerary compositions (e.g., Books of Breathing) was nearly complete by the end of the Ptolemaic Period. However, it should be noted that individual BD spells continued to appear into the Roman Period on papyri in both hieratic, e.g., BD 100 and 175 in pCracow (Sękowski), cited in Herbin 2004, 173, and Demotic scripts, e.g., BD 125 and BD 128 (identified by Quack) in pBib. Nat. 149, published by Lexa 1910 and re-edited by Stadler 2003; BD 171 (according to the numbering of Pleyte) in pStrasbourg 3 and pBodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P), published in Smith 2009b; BD 15a in Stela BM 711, published in Vleeming 2004, 623-637. Furthermore, it is not unlikely that a corpus, perhaps small, of individual manuscripts may have been produced in the early Roman Period, e.g., those texts published in Töpfer and Müller-Roth 2011, reviewed by Nord 2012, 333-335.

litanies.⁴² Royal funerary literature reappears in the New Kingdom in a series of new compositions known as the underworld books,⁴³ which appeared alongside Book of the Dead spells in royal tombs. Transitioning from the underworld books on the walls of royal tombs to the papyri of private individuals, the Amduat papyri⁴⁴ of the Third Intermediate Period built on both Book of the Dead⁴⁵ and underworld book themes, but expressed them through a distinct elaboration of funerary imagery, a common practice in other spheres of Egyptian religious expression.⁴⁶

⁴¹ E.g. *r3 n sn-t3 m-b3h R^c-Hr-3h.ty hr tp dw3y in PN m-ht wbn=fm dw3w* “spell for kissing the earth before Rehorakhty at the top of the morning by PN after he has risen in the morning” appended to BD 15 in the 21st Dynasty pBM 10554, published by Budge 1912 and paralleled in the 22nd Dynasty pHamburg MVK C 3835, published by Altenmüller 2006.

⁴² Many of which are discussed in Assmann 2005a.

⁴³ Hornung 1984; *idem.* 1999, 26-152. A brief discussion of their development and employment can be found in Niwiński 1989, 1-6. The designation “underworld books” is a scholarly convention used to denote collectively a series of funerary compositions: Amduat, Litany of the Sun, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Book of the Earth, Book of the Divine Cow, Book of the Day and Night, among others. As a description, it derives primarily from the title of the Amduat composition *t3 md3.t imy.t dw3.t* “the book of what is in the netherworld,” see Piankoff 1964; Schott 1990, 96, nr. 169, and cf. BD 148 from the papyrus of Nedjmet š^c.t š^t.w n.t imy(.t) dw3.t “letter of the mysteries of what is in the netherworld;” see Schott 1990, 235. This serves as a description of the contents upon which the compositions focus, i.e., the sacred geography and guardian divinities of the Egyptian netherworld (*dw3.t*).

⁴⁴ Published with a detailed study of the mythological aspects of the imagery in Piankoff 1957, since continued by Niwiński 1989. The composition of the Amduat made its first appearance as part of the Underworld Books in the New Kingdom royal tombs (see Piankoff 1955), continued to be used in the royal tombs of the Third Intermediate Period at Tanis, and were subject to a renewed interest in Dynasty 30 (see Manassa 2007). Amduat papyri first appeared in the early 21st dynasty. and disappeared in the 25th dynasty; see Niwinski 1989, 107-109. While many of these texts were labeled as *md3.t imy.t dw3.t*, for which see Schott 1990, 96-97, the Amduat itself contains a long introductory title, beginning *sš n^c t imn.t* “Writing of the hidden chamber.” See the comparative edition of Hornung 1987, *idem.* 1992, *idem.* 1994. A new English translation accompanied by a transliteration and translation can be found in Warburton 2007.

⁴⁵ Book of the Dead Papyri were still being produced during the Third Intermediate Period and the corpus has recently been studied by Marchese 2007. The texts examined by Marchese show a reduction in the number of spells and vignettes presented; a typical model consisted of an introductory vignette of an offering scene before Osiris or Re followed by a short selection of BD spells among which BD 17 held a prominent position.

⁴⁶ Imagistic expression is a fundamental aspect of the Egyptian language itself. See Ritner 1993, 247-249; Goldwasser 1995; Assmann 2005, 393. From the 18th Dynasty to the 22nd Dynasty there was an increasing tendency,

Funerary compositions attested before the Third Intermediate Period, especially the Pyramid Texts-Coffin Texts-Book of the Dead tradition, have received an enormous amount of scholarly attention and even a place in the public's imagination. However, far less familiar, though no less important, is the funerary literature which superseded these compositions in later periods; the final documents in this tradition have often been disregarded as unimportant apart from philological interest. In order to properly examine the very last funerary texts composed according to "Pharaonic" tradition, it is first necessary to understand the context in which these documents were created by detailing the contemporary funerary literature of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Mark Smith has noted that "[t]he time is long since past when hieroglyphic and hieratic religious texts of the Graeco-Roman Period could be studied to any purpose without taking the Demotic evidence into account," so too is it true that the hieroglyphic and hieratic evidence should not be ignored when studying Demotic texts.⁴⁷ Only by taking a comparative analytical approach can we begin to compile a complete picture and come closer to an understanding of the complexities of these ancient Egyptian religious practices.

1.3 The Hieratic Funerary Literature of Greco-Roman Egypt

With regard to funerary literature, many details of the transition from the Third Intermediate Period to the Ptolemaic Period remain only partially attested due to the incomplete archaeological record.⁴⁸ However, after Alexander, there is a flourishing of important funerary

however inconsistent, to elevate the vignettes to the detriment of the text; cf. the 18th Dynasty BD papyrus of Nu (pBM EA 19477), published in Lapp 1997, with the papyri published by Piankoff 1957.

⁴⁷ Smith 2006a, 232.

⁴⁸ An overview is given in Manassa 2007, 411-435, and Ryholt 2010, 729-731. See also, Quack 2009b, 11-34; Quack 2009d, 597-629.

literature and a reinvigorated creativity in the diversity of manuscripts, at first in hieratic and hieroglyphs, but by the middle of the first century BCE also in Demotic. In the Ptolemaic Period, select Book of the Dead spells on small sheets of papyrus proliferate, acting both as funerary text and phylactery.⁴⁹ As far as we know at this point, Book of the Dead papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt far outnumber other preserved compositions. Goelet's characterization of the post Third Intermediate Period manuscripts as "very careless" and "badly garbled ... indicating that the scribes were working hastily and usually had poor comprehension of what they were copying" suffers from the perspective of post-Pharaonic Egypt as a cultural state of decline.⁵⁰ While certain manuscripts present editorial difficulties,⁵¹ many exemplars demonstrate careful copying by knowledgeable priests. The Book of the Dead based upon a "canonical" model of traceable spells is increasingly replaced, however, during the Ptolemaic Period by a variety of

⁴⁹ Quirke 1993, 20. The practice is already attested in the 19th Dynasty papyrus of Henutmehyt (pReading 1998.29.1) inscribed with BD 100 in white and red ink, published in Taylor 1999, 63-64, and 170; Taylor 2001, 197-198; Taylor 2010, 47. Such practices were anticipated by BD spells appearing on other funerary items such as BD 30 on heart scarabs and BD 151 on magical bricks, the latter emulated in a 25th dynasty magical spell written on a papyrus as an amulet, published by Klassen 1975. Several short sequences of BD spells have been identified by Marchese 2007, 273-276. Funerary texts were often attached to the mummy as protective phylacteries, as discussed in Illés 2006 and Illés 2006b, or written directly on the linen wrappings, for which see De Caluwe 1991; Quirke 1999; Curtis, Kockelmann, and Munro 2005; Kockelmann 2003, 2007, and 2008, those of the 17th Dynasty royalty being some of the earliest sources of BD spells. Hieratic phylacteries are known from several Ptolemaic papyri. The texts generally consist of Book of the Dead passages such as selections from BD 89 in pBasel III 131, published in Hauser-Scäublin 1976, 11, and BD 100 in pLouvre 3233, published by Goyon 1977, 45-54. See commentary and list in Illés 2006, esp. 129-130. BD spells in Demotic are attested on several papyri, most notably BD 125 and BD 128 in pBib. Nat. 149 published by Lexa 1910 and re-edited by Stadler 2003. Mark Smith 2009b has recently discovered a Demotic example of BD 171 on pStrasbourg 3 verso and pBodl MS. Egypt. a. 3(P). Vleeming 2004 has published a Demotic transliteration of BD 15a.

⁵⁰ Goelet 1994, 141.

⁵¹ Problems of the sort described by Goelet 1994, 141, such as chapters breaking off mid-phrase, were already present in 18th dynasty manuscripts.

compositions, including:⁵² the Books of Breathing (*šꜥ.t n snsn*),⁵³ the Book of Traversing Eternity (*mdꜥ.t n.t sbi nḥḥ*),⁵⁴ spells of glorification (*sḥ.w*),⁵⁵ Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land (*wꜥ.t ꜥ.t ir r spꜥ.t iqr.t*),⁵⁶ Ritual of Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh (*sꜥr ꜥꜥ.t m ꜥrqy Th*),⁵⁷ the Liturgy of the Decade of Djeme,⁵⁸ and an array of other compositions, many of which could appear together in a given manuscript.⁵⁹

⁵² As Stadler 2000, 114 points out, 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.”

⁵³ Basic translations and descriptions are included in Goyon 1972. Coenen 1995, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004 has gone far in publishing and categorizing the texts. The catalogue of Herbin 2008 aids tremendously in their interpretation and significantly increases the number of published exemplars. See also Ritner 2003, Ritner 2011, and Curtis, Kockelmann, and Munro 2005. An accessible introduction can be found in Hornung 1999, 23-25.

⁵⁴ The study of Herbin 1994 is now fundamental in understanding and working with this text. Further copies of this composition were published in Herbin 2008, 151-159.

⁵⁵ Assmann has produced a significant amount of work on the glorification spells, including categorization 1999 and a *magnum opus* 2002, 2005a, 2008. For a general overview, see the still valuable discussions in Goyon 1972 and *idem*. 1974.

⁵⁶ The Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land is currently known from two copies: pMMA 35.9.21, published by Goyon 1999 with critical comments of Smith 2006a, and pTamerit 1, published by Beinlich 2009. Smith 2009a, 67-95, provides an introduction and a translation. A synthetic overview, transliteration, and translation have now been published in Kucharek 2010, 48-49, 275-423. Associated with this composition is the Royal Decree Issued to the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Onnophrios, which forms a section incorporated into the Great Decree produced for the deceased. An introduction and translation can be found in Smith 2009a, 599-609, while a philological edition of the Demotic copies on ostraca in Strasbourg can be found in Smith 2010.

⁵⁷ Preserved on pMMA 35.9.21, cols. 40-56, published in Goyon 1999; pBerlin 3057, cols. 23a/1-16-28/23 (unpublished); pBM 10081, cols. 8/1-15/20 (unpublished); and pWalters Art Museum 10.551, cols. 1/1-5/36, studied in Coenen and Verrept 2004; Barbash 2006, 2007, and 2011. For the title, see Schott 1990, 344, nr. 1546 and Smith 2009a, 153-154. For a complete overview, including transliteration, translation, and commentary, see Kucharek 2010, 44-48, 227-274.

⁵⁸ This composition is preserved in pVienna 3865, published by Herbin 1984.

⁵⁹ For example, pTübingen 2012, published by Töpfer and Müller-Roth 2011, is a Book of the Dead written for Monthemhat dating between the first century BCE to the first century CE that has a unique supplemental spell in column 13 associating it with the Books of Breathing and their related texts. Smith 2009a contains a survey with translations of many funerary compositions from the Greco-Roman Period. Although we have a fair number of compositions preserved in multiple copies, there is also a large corpus of original compositions which share

Geographically, the majority of our manuscripts derive from Thebes, which appears, by the sheer volume of the preserved evidence, as the bastion epicenter for the production of these new funerary manuscripts. However, the weight of the evidence should be considered conscientiously, keeping in mind the intense archaeological attention that has been focused on the Theban region. In fact, there is at least one known funerary manuscript from Esna (pOIM 25389) which contains a series of interesting compositions, including selections from the Book of Traversing Eternity.⁶⁰ The amount and diversity of funerary literature from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt make a concise account difficult to provide. Due to the complexity of the available documentation, only a terse overview can be given here, but an understanding of this corpus is a basic necessity if an adequate analysis of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts is to follow.

To begin with the best documented composition after the Book of the Dead, Books of Breathing (*šꜥ.t n snsn*)⁶¹ have long been known to Egyptologists,⁶² but they were first systematically studied by Philippe-Jacques de Horrack⁶³ and Jean-Claude Goyon.⁶⁴ Goyon

similarities, but not direct phraseology. For examples, see Herbin 2008, 117-150; *idem.*, 2008b; and many of the texts covered in Smith 2009a.

⁶⁰ This papyrus was referenced in Ciccarello 1976, 49 n. 37, by the incorrect registration number 25387, as noted by Herbin 1994, 13. The so-called Quaritch papyrus, identified by Coenen 1997-2000, may belong to pOIM 25389. Ciccarello 1976, 49 n. 37, indicated that he was preparing pOIM 25389 for publication. A description, partial transcription, partial translation, and commentary were published by Herbin 1994, 13-18, 265-274, 499-509. The manuscript is currently being prepared for publication by Robert Ritner in a volume to be entitled *The Hynes Papyrus (OI 25389): A Roman Mortuary Compendium*. It should also be noted that several of the more extensive Demotic funerary papyri derive from outside of Thebes, although generally near the Thebaid, e.g., pBM 10507 (Akhmim), pBodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P) (Akhmim), pHarkness (Antaeopolis), pLouvre E 10607 (Akhmim).

⁶¹ The label *šꜥ.t n snsn* was applied to a variety of texts by ancient Egyptian scribes (Stadler 2000, 115-116; Quaegebuier 1995, 161). In this instance, reference is made to specific manuscripts of the Books of Breathing, written in hieratic and fairly consistent in redaction, as defined by Coenen 1995. For discussion of the remaining manuscripts designated by *šꜥ.t n snsn*, see below and Chapter 2.

⁶² The majority of the scholarly work on the Books of Breathing take De Horrack 1877 as their starting point. Previous work by Champollion 1827, 154-156, and Brugsch 1851 is mostly of historical interest.

divided the Books of Breathing into two groups: the First Book of Breathing and the Second Book of Breathing with variants. However, Marc Coenen has recently recategorized the Books of Breathing into three types, based on the distribution of the Egyptian labels often accompanying the papyri.⁶⁵ Instructions accompanying many Books of Breathing indicate that the papyri were intended to be placed in the coffin of the deceased, under the left arm, head and feet respectively.⁶⁶

Table 1.1: Labels and Titles of the Books of Breathing

<u>Title</u>	<u>Coenen</u>	<u>Goyon</u>
ṣ̌.t n ṣnsn īr.n ʒs.t	Book of Breathing which Isis Made	First Book of Breathing
ṣ̌.t n ṣnsn mḥ-1.t	First Book of Breathing	Second Book of Breathing IIa-b
ṣ̌.t n ṣnsn mḥ-2.t	Second Book of Breathing	Second Book of Breathing IV

The designation Book of Breathing, based on the parallel Book of the Dead, is a somewhat misleading translation of the Egyptian word ṣ̌.t,⁶⁷ which is often used to refer to a

⁶³ de Horrack 1877, republished in *idem.*, 1907.

⁶⁴ Synthetic edition with limited commentary can be found in Goyon 1972, 185-317, and a philological edition of pLouvre 3279 in Goyon 1966.

⁶⁵ Coenen 1995. This terminology has now become standard as cited in *inter alia* Stadler 2000, 114-116; Ritner 2001, 167 n. 38; Herbin 2008, 1-3; Smith 2009a, 499-500, and 514-515; Stadler 2010/2011, 168.

⁶⁶ Texts accompanying the Book of Breathing which Isis Made instruct placement under the left arm (*ḥr ʿ iʒb*) within the mummy wrappings; the First Book of Breathing is to be placed under the head (*tʒ ṣ̌.t n ṣnsn mḥ-1.t nty iw=w ḥʒ̣ ʿ s ḥr dʒdʒ; πρὸς κεφαλῆ, ὑπο τὴν κεφαλῆ, κεφαλῆ*); the Second Book of Breathing is to be placed by the legs (*tʒ ṣ̌.t n ṣnsn mḥ-2.t nty iw=w ḥʒ̣ ʿ s ḥr/īr rd.wy*). For further discussion, see Herbin 2008, 1-3, and chapter 4 below.

⁶⁷ For the sake of simplicity, the traditional terminology (Book of Breathing) has been retained here. The issue was already raised by Stricker 1940, who chose the translation “lettre,” further discussed by Goyon 1966, 85-86 n. 3. In his edition of a Demotic funerary papyrus, Depauw 2003, 97-99, refers to the Books of Breathing, but chooses the translation “document” for the shorter, Demotic text, while arguing against employing the translation “letter” because of a lack of epistolary character. See also Stadler 2010/2011, 168-169.

letter sized document.⁶⁸ In this case, these papyri have few epistolary elements and several suggestions have been made concerning their designation. Fundamentally, the label identifies them as pieces of papyrus.⁶⁹ It is difficult to determine the motivations behind the variety of compositional terminology. For example, uncertain are the features which would distinguish the substantial difference between šꜥ.t “piece (of papyrus)” and mḏꜣ.t “roll (of papyrus)”⁷⁰ in the context of funerary literature. While the terms are not used haphazardly, demonstrating an intentional technical nuance within their usage remains elusive. If length had been the deciding factor, then it was applied inconsistently. To take a single contemporaneous example, the Book of Breathing which Isis Made (šꜥ.t n sꜣsn ṛ.n ꜣs.t) is similar in length to the Book of Traversing Eternity (tꜣ mḏꜣ.t n sbi nḥḥ)⁷¹ and both compositions could be either rolled or folded during funerary preparations.⁷²

While mḏꜣ.t referred to a papyrus roll, from which sections (šꜥ.t) could be cut, the quintessential element of Egyptian funerary literature consisted of the utterance (rꜣ) performed

⁶⁸ Thus, Demotic writing is referred to by the ancient Egyptians as *sh n šꜥ.t* “letter writing.” For further discussion of šꜥ.t, see Weber 1969, 111-113; Depauw 2006, 257-258, and 313-314, in reference to “letters for the afterlife.”

⁶⁹ Quite literally a “slice” (from šꜥ “to cut, clip” *Wb.* IV, 415) of papyrus (*ḏmꜥ*) cut (šꜥ) from a roll (*mḏꜣ.t*). A “roll of papyrus” (*wꜥ.t mḏꜣ.t n.t ḏmꜥ*) used for funerary texts is mentioned in the literary narrative of pBerlin 13588, 3.7, published by Erichsen 1956.

⁷⁰ *Wb.* II, 187. For a discussion of *mḏꜣ.t*, see Weber 1969, 98-102. Schott 1990, 92-111, contains a compilation of various compositions designated as *mḏꜣ.t*.

⁷¹ Cf. also the similar length of the Book of Glorifying the Spirit (*mḏꜣ.t n.t sꜣḥw ꜣḥ*, otherwise known as *sꜣḥw* 1), title discussed by Herbin 2004, 175, or the compositions designated with *mḏꜣ.t* from pBM 10507, discussed by Smith 1987a, 19-28.

⁷² The fact that either text could be folded and sealed like a letter is assured by the appearance of the *saltire/deccusis* seal pattern on the verso, discussed further in Chapter 2.

through recitation (*ḏd md.wt, nis*). Utterances were gathered together to produce longer compositions (e.g. *r3.w n.w pr.t m hrw*), which could be collectively designated by a compositional label (e.g. *mḏ3.t imy-dw3.t*). In several versions of the Book of Traversing Eternity, supplemental utterances (*r3*) are found within the text.⁷³ As applied to the Books of Breathing, the Book of Breathing which Isis Made contains a series of direct addresses to the deceased, which, although not specifically labeled as such, constitute ritualized utterances. These are followed by several recitations (*ḏd-md.wt*). Likewise, the First and Second Books of Breathing contain ritualized utterances addressed by the deceased himself.⁷⁴

While the use of utterances (*r3.w*) to designate segments and rolls (*mḏ3.wt*) to designate compositions of Egyptian religious literature continue throughout the diachronic range of its existence, there are limits on the employment of *š3.t*. In relation to funerary literature, *š3.t* is not attested until Dynasty 21 in pBM EA 10541 (Nodjmet), where it is included in the title to BD spell 148 *š3.t š3.w n.t imy(.t) dw3.t* “document of the secrets of what is in the netherworld,” an obvious influence from the contemporary Amduat compositions. It is attested again in the Third Intermediate Period in the title to BD spell 182 (pBM 10010) *š3(.t) n ḏdy.t Wsir* “Book for raising Osiris.”⁷⁵ The term is currently unattested in reference to funerary literature apart from these instances until its reappearance in the Ptolemaic Period within the designation of the Books of

⁷³ Herbin 1994, 283-284.

⁷⁴ As with the Book of Traversing Eternity and other original texts, the formula *hr=f(n Wsir PN)* often serves to introduce the utterances. See Stadler 2001, 338-339; Herbin 2008a, 52, commentary to 1.1.

⁷⁵ Cf. *mḏ3.t*, which is found in numerous BD spell titles and rubrics. See Assmann 1969, 19 n. 2.

Breathing and related texts when the phrase $\check{s}.t n snsn$ becomes both a technical designation (through the qualifications $ir.n \check{s}.t, mh-1.t, mh-2.t$)⁷⁶ as well as a generic indicator for funerary texts.⁷⁷

Although relatively unquestioned since the studies of de Horrack, the translation of $\check{s}.t n snsn$ as “Book of Breathing”⁷⁸ has now been doubted by John Gee,⁷⁹ who suggests that the title $\check{s}.t n snsn$ should be translated as “the letter of fellowship” in all cases based on a homophonous root $snasn$ “to fraternize.”⁸⁰ The issue is further complicated by a series of homographic orthographies ($snasn$) derived from roots such as sns “to praise”⁸¹ and ssn “(to cause) to smell.”⁸²

⁷⁶ As noted by Herbin 1994, 255, and Stadler 2001, 337-338, $\check{s}.t n snsn n D\check{h}wty$ “Book of Breathing of Thoth” appears in several compositions: pBM EA 9995, 1.15-16, a copy of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made published by Herbin 2009: $\check{i}y n=k D\check{h}wty \text{ } \check{y} \check{y} nb hmnw s\check{s}=f n=k \check{s}.y.t n snsn m \check{d}b'.w=f \check{d}s=f$ “May Thoth come to you so that he may write for you a Book of Breathing” and in 1.22-23 $\check{s}.y.t n snsn n D\check{h}wty s\check{w}=k$ “a Book of Breathing of Thoth is your protection”; pRhind I, 8h.1 and 8d.1, published by Möller 1913: $\check{s}.t n snsn n D\check{h}wty m s\check{w}=k$ “Book of Breathing of Thoth as your protection,” cf. also pRhind II 8h.1 and 8d.1 $t\check{y} \check{s}.t snsn \check{i}ir n=t D\check{h}wty r \check{i}r n=t s\check{y}$ “the book of breathing which Thoth made for you in order to make protection for you.”

⁷⁷ The generic reference of $\check{s}.t n snsn$ is described by Smith 1993, 14: “What they have in common is that they were all intended for use by the deceased as a sort of passport to the afterlife. From this it would appear that, to the writers of such texts, their designation as letters for breathing depended not so much on their actual contents as on their intended function. It was expected that the deceased would present them on their arrival at the underworld in order to attain the privileges that were bestowed upon the blessed.”

⁷⁸ *Wb.* IV, 172. The meaning “to breathe” is well attested in Demotic; see EG 439 and CDD *W* (7 August 2009: 09.1), 74.

⁷⁹ Gee 2009, 135-138, where an overview of the development of the understanding of $snasn$ is provided. Stadler 2012a, 152, cites Gee for this proposal without comment. Quack 2012c, 271 n. 1, is very critical of Gee’s proposal and follows the traditional interpretation of $snasn$ as “breathing.”

⁸⁰ *Wb.* IV, 172-174. According to the standard dictionaries, a root with this meaning is not attested in Demotic (cf. EG 439) or Coptic (CD 345)

⁸¹ *Wb.* IV, 171 < s-causative of $n\check{i}s$ “to summon” *Wb.* II, 204 > Coptic **CNCN DELC** 191, **ČED** 156, **CD** 345a. This is the s-causative lexeme referenced by Vittmann 1998, 558, and cited as evidence by Gee 2009, 137, for the tendency of roots with the consonantal structure ABA to shift to ABAB in the Persian Period and later.

A variant of the former appears as *snsn* “to praise” in late period texts, conforming to a known consonantal pattern,⁸³ and examples of *snsn* “to breathe” have been conflated with *ssn* “to smell, to cause to smell.”⁸⁴ Despite the apparent confusion both ancient and modern, all of these lexemes can be sorted out.⁸⁵

As a verb, *sn* means “to smell,” but perhaps more fundamentally “to inhale through the nose,” without necessarily involving the detection of odor,⁸⁶ as suggested by a passage in BD 59:

However, writings of *sns* “to praise” as *snsn* are already present in the Middle Kingdom as demonstrated by the references collected in Hannig 2006, 2264 (a New Kingdom reference from Wild 1979, pl. 31a-b, is incorrectly cited under *snsn* in Meeks 1979, 259, while the plates rather show *snmq* and *ssn*). Vittmann’s analysis, in any case, is not applicable to *snsn* “to smell, to breathe” as the lexical foundation for this orthography of *snsn* is not in fact *sns* but *sn* or *ssn*. Writings of *snsn* for “to breathe” are already attested in the Middle Kingdom as well (see *Wb. IV*, 172; Hannig 2006, 2264). The confusion between *snsn* < *sns* “to praise” and *snsn* < *sn* “to breathe” is relatively restricted to a few examples in particular places where orthography and context are insufficient to determine meaning; cf. Wilson 1997, 868-869.

⁸² *Wb. IV*, 277.

⁸³ Vittmann 1998, 557-558.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Wb. IV*, 277 (s.v. *ssn*) and *Wb. IV*, 172 (s.v. *snsn*). Smith 2009a, 562, suggests that a reading *ss* for the label on the verso of pBrooklyn 37.1797E+37.1798E vs., pCairo 31171 vs., and pMunich MÄS 826 vs. is a variant of *ssn*, citing *Wb. IV*, 277. However, the writings suggesting an interpretation of *ss* as a variant for *ssn* all have a form of the  D19 classifier, indicating that the reading of a group  (see Lesko 2004, volume II, 77) may actually be *ssyn* since  D19 carries the phonetic value *sn* in addition to its value as a classifier, as attested in Daumas 1988, 156.

⁸⁵ As noted by Wilson 1997, 870, there is some inherent ambiguity and word play on the part of Egyptian priestly scribes in their use of *snsn*. The fact that “smelling” (*snsn*) has a direct link to “uniting” (cf. Wilson 1997, 869-870, s.v. *snsn*) should not come as a surprise considering that by breathing, substances and odors are inhaled directly into the body. Such considerations would not have been lost on Egyptian priests who profitably manipulated these “coincidences” in their religious writings.

⁸⁶ This explains the expression *sn-t3*, which is conventionally translated as “to kiss the earth,” but which does not involve the lips for the Egyptians (lit., “to sniff the earth”), but the placing of the nose near the ground in a manner of prostration. For *sn-t3*, see Lesko 2004, volume II, 49; Hannig 2006, 2255-2256. Despite Gee’s 2009, 138, objections, the various elements which serve as object of *snsn* actually support the translation “breathe,” most notable among them being “air” (*t3w*). Cf. the comments of Willems 1996, 278 with n. 1607, concerning the

*i nh.t twy n.t Nw.t rdi=t n=i mw t3w imy.w=t rwd=i rwd=t 'nh=i 'nh=t sn=i t3w sn=t t3w*⁸⁷ ...
sn=k t3w pr im(=i) 'nh iw f=k im hr-ntt ink rdi.t mw n s'h nb rdi.t t3w n šw h h=f

“O this sycamore of Nut, may you give to me the water (and) air which is in you. If I flourish, you will flourish. If I live, you will live. If I breathe the air, you will breathe the air. ... May you breathe the air which comes forth from (me) so that your flesh may live therefrom because I am the one who gives water to every mummy (and) gives air to he whose throat is dry.”

Like *ssn* “to cause to smell/breathe,”⁸⁸ *snsn* “to breathe” may be a derivation from this verbal root. The intensive or iterative action implied by the reduplicated root of the latter indicates precisely the idea of repeatedly inhaling through the nose. In *š.t n snsn* the noun *snsn*, probably an infinitive, is invariably classified with the sail, demonstrating this verb’s semantic association with air.⁸⁹ The orthography is sometimes distinguished from the root *snsn* “to fraternize,” which

translation of *sn* as “breathe” in CT 80 and the examples gathered by Schott 1990, 226: *sn t3w m hr.t-ntr* “breathing air in the necropolis” vs. *r3 n sns n m hr.t-ntr* “spell for breathing in the necropolis.”

⁸⁷ Note the variant in Late Period papyri: *snsn=i t3w sns=s t3w* “If I breathe the air, she will breathe the air” (Lepsius 1842, pl. xxiii).

⁸⁸ Although this verb appears to be a causative in origin, it is already employed in the Middle Kingdom with the meaning “to breathe” (*Wb.* IV, 277; *FCD* 245; Hannig 2006, 2346). The inconsistency may very well derive from the nuance of the English translation. If the fundamental meaning of *sn* is “to inhale (through the nose),” then perhaps *ssn* means “to cause inhalation (through the nose)” and this would explain the ease with which *ssn* and *snsn* are substituted and thus confused. If correct, a phrase such as *ssny fnt=k mhw* from the Book of Traversing Eternity would mean “May your nose cause the inhalation of (= smell/breathe) the north wind.”

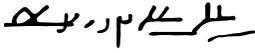
⁸⁹ As pointed out by Gee 2009, 137, there is an example of the sail determinative in a Demotic gloss read by Osing 1998, 79, as <*sn*>*sn* from the Tebtunis onomasticon associated with the hieratic root *snsn* “to pass by.” From this evidence, Gee 2009, 137, states that “... the Demotic gloss with a wind determinative should be noted as it shows that the wind determinative does not necessarily determine the correct meaning of the word.” Although essentially true, a single example which admittedly is not “correct,” appears in a damaged context, and may represent a non-reduplicated gloss for a reduplicated root, does not render the appearance of classifiers arbitrary. The sail determinative on the gloss to <*sn*>*sn* “to pass by” is an aberration (cf. orthographies of *sny* “to pass by” in EG 437), perhaps due to orthographic merging of writings of *snsn* or even scribal error. However, the movement of the air/wind itself may have motivated the use of the sail classifier on a verb meaning “to pass by,” as noted by Smith 2009a, 633, “... the wind symbolizes freedom of movement, since the impossibility of confining or obstructing it is proverbial.” In addition, the glosses in the Tebtunis onomasticon often represent simple homophones and do not necessarily indicate alternative writings.

is a reduplicated root derived from the noun *sn* “brother.”⁹⁰ If *šꜥ:t n snsn* meant “letter of fellowship,” it is surprising that there is not a single instance of the orthography   or the associated classifier  is found within the Books of Breathing.⁹¹ The hieratic and hieroglyphic orthography with sail determinative is paralleled in the Demotic corpus⁹² where the example from pBerlin 8351, 1.11-12, should be singled out. There we find *ir n=k Dḥwty wpy r3 n snsn* “Thoth has made for you an opening the mouth for breathing,” a context seemingly unfit for the idea of “fellowship;” the appearance of the lotus determinative further suggests an association with taking air into the nose.⁹³

Although Gee raises a number of issues worth considering by pointing out the orthographic confusion of these roots, ultimately the evidence favors the interpretation of de Horrack that *šꜥ:t n snsn* should be interpreted as “Book of Breathing” with the understanding that the compositions are intended for the reanimation of the deceased’s ability to breath in

⁹⁰ Loprieno 1995, 54.

⁹¹ Cf. the orthographies found in *Wb.* IV, 172-173; Lesko 2004, 54 and 77 (s.v. *ssn*). The title *šꜥ:t n snsn* is always written with the sail determinative, both in the labels and inter-textual references, and *snsn* in the label texts never takes an object or is otherwise elaborated upon. The A80 determinative  , however, is currently attested during the Greco-Roman Period only in temple texts.

⁹² In the Demotic examples, there is the addition of the lotus classifier in several cases, further suggesting the connection to the verb *sn* “to smell, to breathe,” e.g.,  pBerlin 13588, 3.11 (& 3.8, 3.9, 3.17);  pHarkness 3.17 (& 1.32, 3.30, 4.14). Any doubt concerning the interpretation of this classifier can be assuaged by comparison with the orthography of  *sšn* “lotus” in pHarkness 1.32.

⁹³ Smith 1993 provides a complete edition and commentary for pBerlin 8351 and its parallels (see 17-18, as well as Smith 1985, 103-104, for discussion of *wpy r3 n snsn*). This is paralleled by pLouvre N 3083 where the Book of Breathing which Isis Made is introduced as *r3 n snsn nḥ m t3w m ḥr.t-ntr* “Spell for breathing (and) living on the air in the necropolis.” See Herbin 1999, 155; Herbin 2008a, 1, n. 14.

conjunction with the purposes of associated rituals such as the opening of the mouth ceremonies.⁹⁴ The opening of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made explicitly states that the purpose of the Book of Breathing is “to revivify his *ba*, to revivify his corpse, to rejuvenate all his limbs again, to unite him with the horizon and his father Re, to cause his soul to appear in heaven as the disk of the moon, to cause his corpse to shine as Orion in the body of Nut, to make this also happen to Osiris PN.”⁹⁵

Despite Gee’s objections that “‘to breathe’ is not a possible translation” for *snsn*, the evidence suggesting otherwise is overwhelming. Several references in the Rhind papyri clearly demonstrate the meaning “to breathe,” such as:

Id6.5-6 *tí=w n=k t̄w n sns n hn t̄ h̄s.t sns šy.t=k t̄w n ‘nh*
 “May the air for breathing be given to you in the necropolis. May your nose breathe the air of life”

and the hieratic parallel:

Ih6.7 *dí=w n=k ís-níw m-hn nfr.t=k sns hnm.ty=k sw̄ n ‘nh*
 “May you be given air inside your perfect place. May your nostrils breathe the breath of life.”⁹⁶

The same concept is paralleled by a reference in pOI 25389, a collection of compositions containing a copy of the Book of Traversing Eternity:

dí=f n=k t̄w n sns iw hnm ‘nh
 “May he give to you the air for breathing in order to unite with life.”⁹⁷

⁹⁴ The references cited in note 93 above demonstrate the connection between breathing, the Books of Breathing, and the opening of the mouth (esp. *wpy r̄ n sns*). Rites of the opening of the mouth ceremony remained integral to the funerary rituals of Greco-Roman Egypt; see the comments of Smith 1993, 14-17, and Quack 2006a, 136-143.

⁹⁵ For further discussion, see Quagebeur 1995, 161-162.

⁹⁶ In the index under *snsn*, Möller 1913, 52, incorrectly assigns the former passage to I3d6:h7; the Demotic passage was also cited in EG 439.

A passage in the Demotic version from pBib. Nat. 149, 1.1-2, uses *snsne* as a synonym for *nh* and distinguishes between life functions and divine associations with specific vocabulary:

‘nh by=k mⁱ R^c sn^lsne he.t=k mⁱ Wsir šp=k sntr qbḥ m hr(.t)-hrw n-dr.t 3s.t irm Nb.t-ḥw.t hr Hr hr n3y-ḡdd=k^l Dhwti htp=f m hrw=k n m3^c(.t)
 “May your *ba* live like Re. May your body breathe like Osiris. May you receive incense (and) libation every day through Isis and Nephthys. Horus is amenable to what you say. As for Thoth, he is satisfied by your voice of truth.”

The Book of Breathing which Isis Made (pLouvre N 3284, 2.3-4) describes the eternal living state of the rejuvenated spirit:

‘nh b3=k hr Imn rnp h3.t=k hr Wsir sns=k r nhḥ d.t
 “May your *ba* live before Amun. May your corpse rejuvenate before Osiris. May you breathe forever (and) eternity.”⁹⁸

and the same composition (pLouvre N 3284, 2.17-19) goes on to describe breathing in detail:

ii n=k Imn hr t3w n ‘nh di=f ir=k sns m db3w(.t)=k pr=k r t3 r^c nb š^cy(.t) n sns n Dhwti m s3=k sns=k im=s r^c nb
 “May Amun come to you bearing the air of life. May he cause you to breathe in your sarcophagus. May you go forth to earth daily. The Book of Breathing of Thoth is your protection. May you breathe by means of it daily.”

The activity of “breathing” (*snsn*) figures prominently in the Book of Transformations (pLouvre E 3452), where each transformation is accompanied by descriptions of “breathing” as that particular manifestation. In 6.20 the limbs are said “to live through the breathing of his *ba* forever and eternity” (*wnn=w* ‘nh.t ih *snsn* by=f r nhḥ d.t). Breathing is also an essential function of Isis from the introduction to the text (1.9-10):

3s.t wre.t mw.t-ntr ti=s snsnw by=k ‘nh.t ir r^c nb

⁹⁷ Source G, line 6, in Herbin 1994, 411.

⁹⁸ de Horrack 1907, pl. VIII.

“Isis, the great, god’s mother, she will cause your *ba* to breath so that you live every day.”⁹⁹

In these passages, translating either “to smell” or “to fraternize” damages their most obvious meaning. Therefore, it is impossible to accept the conclusion of Gee that: “Examination of the use of *snsn* in the šꜥy n *snsn* reveals that most of the time the term *snsn* relates to the etymological *snsn* ‘fellowship, association,’ and not etymological *ssn* ‘to smell.’”¹⁰⁰ It seems rather that the Egyptian roots *ssn* and *snsn*, whether the latter is simply a corruption of the former or not, do not distinguish between the English semantics of smelling versus breathing. It is thus

⁹⁹ Smith 1979, 46-47 and 248.

¹⁰⁰ Gee 2009, 138. Gee would presumably translate all these occurrences as “to smell,” although references such as “May he give to you the air for breathing in order to unite with life” and “May your body breathe like Osiris” make less sense with the English semantics of smelling. Should we really interpret the powers of the sun god, described in pMMA 35.9.21, 2.3, as “he who gives air to your noses” (*rdi tꜥw r fnt=tn*), to be a reference to his influence over smelling? The example Gee cites in favor of his interpretation from pLouvre 3284, 6.9-11 (paralleled in pLouvre 3121, 7.14) *ir iry.tw n=f mdꜥ.t tn hr snsn=f hnꜥ bꜥ.w ntr.w r nhꜥ hnꜥ d.t* “If this book is made for him, he associates with the *bas* of the gods forever and eternity” has an alternative version in pHor, 2.7-9 *ir iry.tw n=f mdꜥ.t tn hr snsn=f mꜥ bꜥ[w] ntr.w r nhꜥ hnꜥ d.t* “If this book is made for him, he breathes like the *ba[s]* of the gods forever and eternity.” Translating the later phrase as “he associates like the soul[s] of the gods ...” is possible, but the sense of the passage is undermined on account of it. As Gee notes, it is the preposition *hnꜥ* in pLouvre 3284, 6.9-11, and pLouvre 3121, 7.14, which could signal an appropriate semantic context for the potential meaning “associate, fraternize.” Two further examples from pLouvre N 3284 (5.9-10 and horizontal line 3) attest to *snsn* in conjunction with *hnꜥ*: *šp tꜥy=f šꜥy(.t) n snsn mꜥ ir=f snsn hnꜥ bꜥ=f pꜥy nw twꜥ.t hnꜥ irw hꜥprw nb r-dꜥw ib=f hnꜥ imnty.w* “Receive his Book of Breathing. Have him join with this *ba* of his of the netherworld and assume every form which his heart placed with the westerners” and *snsn=i im hnꜥ bꜥ.w šps.w* “May I join there with the noble *bas*.” It is possible that the meaning “associate, join” is meant in these, a meaning adopted by Herbin 2008, 152 and 183, for pBM EA 10091, 2.3, *imn-ꜥp.t ssny=k qbꜥ=f* “As for Amenopet, may you join (= receive) his libation.” However, it is also possible to translate “breathe” in all these cases. In the latter, for example, the idea of “joining his libation” is unusual. An alternative suggestion is to understand “inhaling his libation” as a reference to scenes such as the “baptism of pharaoh” in which a flowing liquid of ‘*nh*’-signs poured from libation vessels surround the individual (Gardiner 1950b, 3-12; Langáfová 2011, 277-282). See further Smith 2005, 170. In the Osirian chapels at Dendera, there is a scene of Anubis offering the ‘*nh*’-sign and sail before Osiris, with the caption *mn n=k ‘nh r fnt=k šsp=k mꜥhy.t r šrty=k snsn=k im=sn* “Take for yourself life to your nose so that you may receive the north wind to your nostrils (and) so that you may breathe through them.” For this scene, see Cauville 1997a, volume 2 plate 203 and 234. For transcription, see Cauville 1997a, volume 1, 373. For transliteration and translation, see Cauville 1997b, volume 1, 201.

worth considering that the fundamental meaning of these lexemes was “to inhale (through the nose).”¹⁰¹

Most of the surviving manuscripts which preserve the Book of Breathing which Isis Made contain only this text. In the exceptional instances when it is accompanied by other compositions, no known supplements contain selections from the First or Second Book of Breathing. Rather, the accompanying compositions consist of Book of the Dead spells, the Ritual of the Torch, the Book of Traversing Eternity, the Liturgy of the Feast of the Decade of Djeme, as well as other compositions.¹⁰² The content of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made continues the themes elaborated in its funerary papyri predecessors such as reanimation of the corpse, proximity to the gods, and the establishment of provisions. The opening of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made summarizes the theological purpose of the text as follows:

*ḥ3.t-ꜥ m šꜥy.t n snsn ir.n 3s.t n sn=s Wsir [r] sꜥnh b3=f r sꜥnh ḥ3.t=f r srnp ḥꜥ.w=f nb m whm r
 ḥnm=f 3ḥ.t ḥnꜥ it=f Rꜥ r shꜥ b3=f m p.t m itn n iꜥh r psd ḥ3.t=f m s3ḥ m ḥ.t Nw.t r rdī ḥpr mit.t
 nn n Wsir PN*

Beginning¹⁰³ of the Book of Breathing which Isis made for her brother Osiris [in order] to revivify his soul, to revivify his corpse, to rejuvenate all his limbs again, so that he unite¹⁰⁴ with the horizon and his father Re, to cause his *ba* to appear in

¹⁰¹ The argument of Gee 2009 is especially confusing in that he maintains the existence of an orthography of *snsn*, only that it is a defective writing of *ssn* “to (cause to) smell,” which for Gee never means “to breathe.” Despite the fact that the writings are identical, he applies his reinterpretation especially in reference to *šꜥ.t n snsn* where he insists that the verb must rather be *snsn* “to fraternize.” However, it seems more support for his hypothesis could be gathered if rather than interpreting *snsn* as “to fraternize,” he simply understood *snsn* as the defective writing of *ssn* “to smell, breathe.”

¹⁰² Cf. pLouvre N 3166: Coenen 1995, 35; Coenen 1998, 42-43, and pLeiden T 24: Coenen 1995, 30 with n. 8, and Coenen 1999, 74.

¹⁰³ For the use of *ḥ3.t-ꜥ* “beginning of” in literary texts, see the comments of Parkinson 2002, 74-75.

¹⁰⁴ Most manuscripts agree on *r ḥnm=f 3ḥ.t ḥnꜥ it=f Rꜥ* “so that he unite with the horizon and his father Re,” which breaks the string of causatives (see further Herbin 2008a, 13-14). However, pLouvre N 3166, 1.2-3, has *rdī.t ḥnm=f 3ḥ.t ḥnꜥ it=f Rꜥ* “to cause that he unite with the horizon and his father Re” (see Herbin 1999, 216).

heaven as the disk of the moon, to cause his corpse to shine as Orion in the body of Nut, to make this also happen to Osiris PN ...¹⁰⁵

The remainder of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made has been divided into 16 sections,¹⁰⁶ many of which are introduced by a vocative to either the deceased individual (*h3y Wsir, Wsir*) or the gods (*i DN*).¹⁰⁷

Table 1.2: Contents of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made

§1	<i>h3.t-^c m šcy.t n sns n ir.n 3s.t n sn=s Wsir</i>	Beginning of the Book of Breathing which Isis made for her brother Osiris ...
§2	<i>h3y Wsir PN iw=k w^cb h3ty=k w^cb</i>	Hail Osiris PN! You are pure. Your heart is pure ...
§3	<i>h3y Wsir PN ^cq=k r dw3.t m ^cb wr</i>	Hail Osiris PN! May you enter into the netherworld in great purity ...
§4	<i>Wsir PN mn rn=k dd h3.t=k rwd s^ch=k</i>	Osiris PN! May your name remain. May your body be firm. May your mummy be strong ...
§5	<i>h3y Wsir PN r3 Imn m-^ck r^c nb hr whm=k ^cnh</i>	Hail Osiris PN! The utterance of Amun is with you daily as you repeat life ...
§6	<i>h3y Wsir PN sns n b3=k r bw mr=k</i>	Hail Osiris PN! May your <i>ba</i> breath where it wishes ...
§7	<i>Wsir PN ii n=k n3 ntr.w šm^cw mh^w</i>	Osiris PN! May the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt come to you ...

¹⁰⁵ Several texts show a remarkable consistency in redaction. Cf. pBM EA 10048, published by Herbin 2008, 11-37 with pls. 1-14; pLouvre 3284, published by De Horrack 1877; pLouvre 3291, published by De Horrack 1877; pDenon, published by Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995; pHor, published by Ritner 2003; and Schott 1990, 306-307.

¹⁰⁶ Scholars have been divided over the exact number of divisions of this text, some divisions of which are only identifiable by short spaces left on the papyrus, and many of the paragraphs are omitted in various manuscripts. For the division employed here, cf. the seventeen division of Coenen 1998, 43-44, with the sixteen divisions of Smith 2009a, 462; cf. also Ritner 2011, 145-149.

¹⁰⁷ In this text, the vocative particle *h3y* is reserved for addressing the deceased individual, while the vocative particle *i* is reserved for the address to the gods. This usage follows the standard pattern known for these particles since the Old Kingdom already attested in *Wb.* II, 471. However, this pattern is not always consistent as the Demotic texts from pBM 10507 show the use of *i* in addressing the deceased. In addition, section §15, where the latter vocatives begin, is a version of the negative confession from BD 125 where *i* may have been retained as part of the textual transmission. Note that in the Demotic translation of BD 125 and BD 128 in pBib Nat 149, the scribe replaced the vocative *i* “O” with *sdm* “Hear!” (see Stadler 2003, 109-110).

Table 1.2: Contents of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made (Continued)

§8	<i>Wsír PN šhm Šhm.t m w3w.w im=k</i>	Osiris PN! May Sekhmet have power over those who plot against you ...
§9	<i>mí r=k Wsír PN iw=k h^c.tw m q3iw=k twt.tw m hkr.w=k</i>	Come then, Osiris PN! You are arisen in your forms, complete in your adornments ...
§10	<i>h3y Wsír PN ^cnh b3=k m š^cy(.t) n sns n</i>	Hail Osiris PN! Your <i>ba</i> will live by means of the Book of Breathing ...
§11	<i>dd-md.w(t) in ntr.w imy.w-ht Wsír Wsír PN šms=k R^c šms=k Wsír b3=k ^cnh r (n)hh d.t</i>	Recitation by the gods who are in the following of Osiris: “Osiris PN! May you serve Re. May you serve Osiris. Your <i>ba</i> will live forever and eternity.”
§12	<i>dd-md.w(t) in ntr.w imy.w dw3.t n Wsír hnty imnty.w n Wsír PN</i>	Recitation by the gods in the netherworld to Osiris foremost of the westerners on behalf of Osiris PN ...
§13	<i>h^tp-di-ny-sw.t n Wsír hnty imnty.w</i>	Offering which the king gives to Osiris, foremost of the westerners ...
§14	<i>i DN nn ir Wsír PN ...</i>	O DN, may ¹⁰⁸ Osiris PN not commit ...
§15	<i>i ntr.w imy.w dw3.t sdm hrw Wsír PN</i>	O gods in the netherworld, listen to the voice of Osiris PN!
§16	<i>iw=w st3 Wsír r-hn p3 š wr n Hnsw m-ht hf^c ^c.wy=f hr h3ty=f iw=w qrs¹⁰⁹ t3 š^cy(.t) n sns n nty m sš n hn n bnr n-im=s m šs ny-sw.t rdⁱ.tw (hr) ^c i3b n p3 mtr n h3ty=f</i>	Osiris shall be towed into the great lake of Khonsu after placing his arms over his heart. The Book of Breathing, which is written on recto and verso, shall be wrapped in royal linen, having been placed (under) the left arm in the midst of the heart. ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ In BD 125, the negative confession contained the past tense negative indicative *n ir=i* “I did not ...” Editors have generally translated the *nn ir Wsír pn* as past tense based on this parallel, implicitly assuming confusion between *n* and *nn* among later scribes, a phenomenon well attested in texts from the Third Intermediate Period and later (Jansen-Winkel 1996, 200). The scribe of pBib Nat 149 employed the expected past tense Demotic form *bn-pw=y ir* “I did not do ...” (Stadler 2003, 116).

¹⁰⁹ For the meaning of *qrs* “to embalm, to wrap,” see Cannata 2007, 21-42; Ritner 2011, 101 n. 112.

¹¹⁰ This section appears at the beginning of pHor, rather than at the end; see the detailed commentary in Ritner 2011, 99-104.

Two vignettes often accompanied the text.¹¹¹ In the first, the deceased, who can be ushered in by Anubis, stands before Osiris and a retinue of Isis, Horus, and Nephthys. The second scene varied, consisting either of the reanimation of the body on the funerary bier conducted by Anubis¹¹² or an incense offering to the cow of Hathor standing upon a shrine housing the mummy.¹¹³

The First and Second Books of Breathing differ from the Book of Breathing which Isis Made in that they have been found together on the same papyrus,¹¹⁴ as well as interspersed among several different funerary compositions on a single papyrus.¹¹⁵ Abbreviated copies of both books were commonly produced.¹¹⁶ In addition, the First and Second Books of Breathing are composed primarily in the first person, consisting of supplications recited by the deceased, while the Book of Breathing which Isis Made is composed primarily in the second person, consisting of direct addresses to the deceased or to the gods on his/her behalf.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ For a short description of the remarkable vignettes of pLouvre 3284, see Herbin 1994, 25-26, and Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 32.

¹¹² E.g., pHor, reedited by Ritner 2003 and 2011.

¹¹³ E.g., pDenon published by Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 32; pLouvre 3284 published in Herbin 1994, plate xxxi, and Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 32.

¹¹⁴ E.g., pBerlin 3163, published by Lieblein 1895; pBM EA 10125 and pBM EA 71513A published by Herbin 2008a, 112-116 with pls. 82-89; pCairo 58007, published by Golénischeff 1927, 23-35, pls. 5-7; the unpublished pRylands Hieratic 6, currently being edited for publication by the author; pLouvre N 3148, partially published by Pierret 1873, 42-79, and Herbin 1984, 253, pl. LI; pLouvre N 3174, unpublished, but mentioned in Devéria 1881, 154-155; Goyon 1972, 76; and Smith 2009a, 499.

¹¹⁵ This fact has caused much confusion in our understanding of these compositions as edited by Goyon 1972, revised by Coenen 1995, further supplemented by Herbin 2008, 1-3, and Smith 2009a, 499-500.

¹¹⁶ For abbreviated versions of the First and Second Book of Breathing preserved on papyri in the British Museum, see Herbin 2008, 76-89, and 103-111.

¹¹⁷ While the Books of Breathing have been known and studied since the very beginnings of Egyptology, there have been few detailed studies of their actual content, in distinction from Book of the Dead spells. Coenen 1998 contains only a brief overview of the contents of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made. Herbin 2008 contains extensive philological commentary, but little commentary on the ritual or religious content. Perhaps the best introduction is now Smith 2009a, 462-469, for the Book of Breathing which Isis Made, 499-505, for the First Book of Breathing, and 514-518, for the Second Book of Breathing.

There are several distinct sections of the First Book of Breathing. After identifying with the gods associated with the solar cycle (Re, Atum, Osiris), the deceased directly addresses a series of divinities, including the “doorkeepers of the west” (*n3 ỉry.w-3 n ỉmnt.t*),¹¹⁸ “all the gods of the netherworld” (*ntr.w t3 dw3.t dr=w*), and “the guardians of the netherword” (*n3 s3wty.w n t3 dw3.t*), urging them to “face towards me” (*mỉ hr=tn r=i*). Thoth is then addressed in a similar fashion in a series of statements asking Thoth to “vindicate me against my enemies as you have vindicated Osiris against his enemies” (*sm3c-hrw=k hrw=i r hfty.w=i mỉ sm3c-hrw=k hrw Wsir r hfty.w=f*) before tribunals set in sacred geographical locations. After requests to Ptah for rejuvenation and access to the heavenly realm, the deceased describes his divinized body through identifications with deities, reminiscent of the corporeal gods constituting Ptah in the Memphite Theology. In the culminating speech to all the gods and goddesses, the rejuvenated individual indicates his divinization and power, calling himself the father of the gods (*ỉnk ỉt=tn* “I am your father”), indeed the solar creator who hatches from the egg at the beginning of primordial time (*ỉnk swh.t twy n.t ngg wr* “I am that egg of the great cackler”), and warning them of his great power (*s3w tn s3w r=i* “Guard yourselves. Guard against me”).

The Second Book of Breathing begins with the individual introducing himself as a progeny and intimate of Thoth, Osiris, Horakhty, the greater ennead, and the lesser ennead.

¹¹⁸ In the case of pRylands Hieratic 6, 1.5, *n3 ỉry.w-3 n3 ỉmnty.w* “the doorkeepers of the westerners” is written. It is possible that this could be a simple substitution of *n3* for *n*, as in pBM EA 10283 cited by Herbin 2008a, 53 n. 8, but the writing of  *ỉmnty.w* seems to indicate the plural vs. the writing of  in pRylands Hieratic 6, 1.11, where *ỉmnt.t* is clearly written.

There follows the section for which this composition is most well known, the “May my name flourish” (*rwḏ rn=i*) formulae, which consists of a long series of wishes for the name to endure as the names of the various deities along with sacred geographical locations invoked endure.¹¹⁹ It is this section that is often found excerpted in abbreviated versions of the text.¹²⁰ After this invocation, the deceased indicates his divination by identifying with numerous deities, detailing the sacred substances which make up his body, and associating with the solar-Osirian cycle. The composition concludes with a series of wishes for the gods to grant admission and acceptance among their ranks as well as the veneration of continued sustenance in the form of mortuary offerings with the final line again suggesting significant influence on the gods: “All the gods will live through the recitation of my name forever and eternity” (*nh ntr.w nb.w m dmi rn=i r nhḥ ḏ.t*).

The Book of Traversing Eternity¹²¹ (*mḏ3.t n.t sbi nhḥ*)¹²² was one of the more popular compositions of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, which, like the Books of Breathing, has been found in both long and short versions.¹²³ In contrast to the Books of Breathing, published copies

¹¹⁹ The ubiquity of this section’s appearance led Lieblein 1895 to dub the composition “Que mon nom fleurisse.”

¹²⁰ E.g., see the following “abridged” version from Herbin 2008, 103-111, pls. 62-79: pBM EA 9977, pBM EA 10124, pBM EA 10264, pBM EA 10275, pBM EA 10282, pBM EA 10286, pBM EA 10331. Goyon 1972, 290-291, lists the following examples: pCairo 58013, pLouvre 3156, pLouvre 3161, pLouvre N 3162. Coenen 2004 publishes pEdinburgh A.212.113.5 and pEdinburgh A.1956.357 D. Herbin 1994, 580-582, publishes pTübingen 2001. Cf. also pTurin N 766 (Stadler 1999 and 2000).

¹²¹ In a series of articles, Stricker 1950, 1953, 1956 fully edited the most complete copy found in pLeiden T 32. Herbin 1994 contains a synoptic edition of all manuscript witnesses known to him at the time. For additions and corrections, see Quack 1996, 151-158; Hoffmann 1997, 652-658; Herbin 2008, 151-159 and pls. 141-149; Smith 2009a, 395-436. A tablet with extracts was published by Herbin 2012, 286-314.

¹²² As noted by Herbin 1994, 283-286, the title is not present in all manuscripts and does not occur where one expects a title. The title is also discussed by Smith 2009a, 396, and Schott 1990, 103.

¹²³ Herbin 2008, 151-159; Smith 2009a, 395-436.

of which reflect a primarily Theban phenomenon, several manuscripts of the Book of Traversing Eternity are known to derive from Esna, Abydos, Hawara, and Sebennytos.¹²⁴ It appears in multiple copies, but they are often preserved among inconsistent collections of funerary compositions, including the Books of Breathing. Some of the examples have vignettes similar to those adorning other funerary compositions from the Greco-Roman Period, which show affinity with Book of the Dead vignettes.¹²⁵ The text is composed chiefly in couplets, marked by verse points in pLeiden T32. As the title suggests, it is primarily concerned with the post-mortem movement of the deceased. Although extensive versions are rare, the composition is composed chiefly of two parts. An introductory section consists of statements indicating the deceased's post-mortem status among the gods and the revitalization of his primary faculties. Following this introduction, there is a long and complex section describing the journeys the rejuvenated individual would conduct to various sacred locales and the many feasts to be celebrated there.

Spells of glorification (*s3h*) occur already in the Pyramid Texts corpus and have strong associations with the hourly vigil (*Studenwachen*);¹²⁶ they undergo a renaissance in the

¹²⁴ Herbin 1994, 2; Coenen 1999, 70; Smith 2009a, 396. Note that the majority of the manuscripts derive from Thebes and that only a single papyrus copy (pOIM 25889) is currently known to derive from outside of Thebes. The copies from Abydos (Sacophagus Horniman Museum), Hawara (Stela Cairo JE 44065), and Sebennytos (Stela Vatican 128 A) appear on a sarcophagus and two stelae. The disparity is likely a result of the fragmentary nature of our evidence from the sites outside of Thebes. Enough of the composition is preserved on the stelae to suggest a manuscript tradition, for which physical evidence has not survived, existed in these areas.

¹²⁵ pBerlin 3155: Herbin 1994, pl. xix-xx; pBM 10091: Herbin 1994, pl. xxvi, and Herbin 2008, pl. 141; pBM 10314: Herbin 1994, pl. xxxii, and Herbin 2008, pl. 147; pLeiden T 22: Coenen 1999, pl. 2; pLouvre N 3147: Herbin 1994, pl. xxvii-xxviii; pLouvre N 3221: Herbin 1994, pl. xxxiii; pLouvre N 3284: Herbin 1994, pl. xxix-xxxi; pVatican 55: Herbin 1994, pl. ix. See also Smith 2009a, 403, and chapter three below.

¹²⁶ The *Studenwachen* or hourly vigil consisted of a series of rituals associated with the division of the day into 24 hours: 12 hours of day and 12 hours of night. In the Osirian mythological cycle, a series of divinities stood watch, guarding the body of Osiris after the gathering of the dismembered body parts. The various deities assigned to the guard performed rituals and recitations for the protection as well as vivification of Osiris. Junker 1910 assembled the most detailed texts from the temples of Dendera, Edfu and Philae, and Pries 2011 includes an updated study of all the texts. Lamentations and *s3h.w* are prominent among the recitations involved in these ritual acts, as

Ptolemaic Period, appearing in a wide array of contexts, including a significant place in private funerary papyri.¹²⁷ Many of the manuscripts from this period containing glorification spells were composed for use in the temple rituals of Osiris as indicated by the rubrics and colophons accompanying several manuscripts, but were subsequently adopted for private use.¹²⁸ The designation “glorification” derived from the Egyptian term *s3h* “to glorify, lit. to cause to be effective,” a causative of *3h* “to be effective,” which has overtones of both vital efficacy and luminosity.¹²⁹ Ultimately, the purpose of this corpus is to aid in the transition and elevation of the deceased “to a particular state of existence,” including “the complete restoration of mental and physical faculties and integration within the hierarchy of gods and blessed spirits.”¹³⁰ The

identified for *s3hw* 1 by Szczudłowska 1970. Smith 1987a, 25-28, provides a useful overview of the hourly vigil and its relationship to the broader corpus of funerary literature and Kucharek 2010, 49-51, and 424-496, provides a new introduction, transliteration, translation, and commentary to the texts.

¹²⁷ Besides their appearance in temple inscriptions as part of the hourly vigil, *s3hw* also appear, among others, on sarcophagi, e.g. Ankhnesneferibre published by Sander-Handsen 1937, and in private funerary chapels, e.g., Petosiris published by Lefebvre 1923-1924. Herbin 2004 provided a comparative transcription and translation of pCracow (Sękowski), cols. 1-2, Ankhnesneferibre sarcophagus 126-160, and Petosiris chapel 63-64. For an overview of the *s3hw* spells and their various attestations, see Assmann 1990, supplemented by Smith 2009a, 11-12, 167-171, and 455-459. Assmann 2008, 16-17, lists only *s3hw* from papyri manuscripts.

¹²⁸ Goyon 1974, 77-81; Szczudłowska 1980, 131-132; Smith 1987a, 20; Assmann 1990, 3-5; Burkard 1995, 3-7; Herbin 2004, 174-175; Smith 2009a, 61-65. Assmann 2008 provides an introduction, transliteration, translation, and commentary to *s3hw* 1-3 and Kucharek 2010, 36-42, and 97-165, provides an introduction, transliteration, translation, and commentary to *s3hw* 4. For the adaptation of temple rituals to private funerary use, see Quack 2009d, 597-629.

¹²⁹ Amidst a very influential and erudite discussion, Wilson 1944, 209-210, also suggests the translation “beatification,” although with caveat. Englund 1978 and Friedman 1981, 13-15, though dated, still contain useful discussions and collections of references for *3h*. Both publications neglect the critical evidence from post-New Kingdom Egypt which is voluminous. Barbash 2011, 35-56, updates the discussion and questions the connection between *3h* “to be effective” and *i3h* “to be luminous” advocated by Assmann 1989, 136-137.

¹³⁰ Smith 1987a, 20. See also Barbash 2011, 44-56.

glorification spells are attested in diverse copies divided by Goyon and Assmann into four categories based on introductory titles:¹³¹

Table 1.3: Categorization of Glorification Spells

<p><i>s3hw</i> 1: <i>md3.t n.t s3hw 3h ir m hw.t-ntr n.t</i> <i>Wsir in hry-h3b.t hry-tp m pr pn</i> <i>dd.w m tp tr nb n w' b.t ir mit.t m</i> <i>3bd smd.t n.t hb m hb nb n imnt.t</i></p>	<p>Book of glorifying the spirit¹³² performed in the temple of Osiris by the chief lector priest in this temple, which is recited at each due occasion in the purification room, performed likewise in the monthly festival, the mid-month festival and in every festival of the west.¹³³</p>
<p><i>s3hw</i> 2: <i>h3.t-^c m s3h wr dd-md.w(t) m ssn.t</i> <i>m smd.t m 3bd m h3b nb n Wsir</i> <i>(i)n hry-h3b.t hry-tp n pr pn</i></p>	<p>Beginning of the glorification of the great one. Recitation in the 6-day festival, the 15-day festival, in the monthly festival, and in every festival of Osiris by the chief lector priest of this temple.¹³⁴</p>

¹³¹ Goyon 1974, 77-81. The divisions were based upon the titles accompanying the compositions as well as their frequency of attestation known at the time. This division has since been followed by every major editor, e.g., Assmann 1990, 3-13, and especially Assmann 2008. In his recent survey, Smith 2009a has avoided modern designations of these texts such as *s3hw* 1-4, Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, or Songs of Isis and Nephthys. Instead, he has simply used the Egyptian designation (see esp. 138-139). While appropriate, confusion persists, since, as Smith 2009a, 168, notes, distinguishing the original Egyptian title often proves difficult: “The words ‘Book of Glorifying the Spirit’ are probably not a title as such, but rather a generic descriptor, indicating the category of text to which ours belongs ...” In the terminology of Assmann 2008, 41-42, and Goyon 1974, 77-81, the category would be *s3hw* 1.

¹³² Cf. the title found at the beginning of pCracow (Sękowski), col. 1.1: *md3.t n.t s3h 3hw ir m pr Wsir hnty imnt(t) ntr 3 nb 3bdw m hr.t-hrw n.t r' nb r di wn 'b nb im=f* “Book of glorifying the spirit performed in the temple of Osiris, foremost of the west, great god, lord of Abydos, in the course of every day, to cause that any detriment pass away from him,” discussed by Herbin 2004, 175-176, and 181, and Smith 2009a, 455-461, and similar titles from the BD of 3s.t-wr.t pLouvre 3283, col. 1.1: *h3.t-^c m r3.w n.w pr(t) m hrw s3h 3hw m hr.t-ntr* “Beginning of the spells for going forth by day, glorifying the spirit in the necropolis,” published Wiedemann 1879, pl. 1, noted by Schott 1990, 104, nr. 196b, all of which confirm the reading *s3h 3h* misunderstood by Szczudłowska 1970, 64-65, who translated “Book of glorification. Glorification made in ...” and incorrectly transliterated only *s3h* by Assmann 2008, 42, following the parallel pBM 10252 despite noting that “[d]er Text folgt zunächst pKrakau.”

¹³³ pCracow (Sękowski), col. 10.1, published by Szczudłowska 1970. For a list of papyri containing *s3hw* 1, see Assmann 2008, 16. For discussion of the title of *s3hw* 1, see Goyon 1974b, 119-120; Szczudłowska 1970, 64-65; Schott 1990, 104, nr. 196b, and 339-340, nr. 1528b; and Assmann 2008, 41-42, together with the English translation of Assmann 1990, 6. Smith 2009a, 167-177, provides an updated introduction and translation of the text.

¹³⁴ pBM 10319, col. 14.1-3, currently unpublished and being prepared for publication by Assmann. Schott 1990, 299, nr. 1383, provides a transcription of the title. Möller 1900 gives a partial transcription and commentary for pBerlin 3057, which also contains a copy of *s3hw* 2. For a list of papyri containing *s3hw* 2, see Assmann 2008, 16. For discussion of the title, see Schott 1990, 299, nr. 1383, and Assmann 2008, 234-235.

Table 1.3: Categorization of Glorification Spells (Continued)

<p><i>s3hw</i> 3: <i>s3h ıry m hw.t-ntr n.t Wsir hnty ımnt.t in hry-h3b.t hry-tp n pr pn ddw m h3-snd¹³⁵ m hb nb n imnt.t</i></p>	<p>Glorification performed in the temple of Osiris, foremost of the west, by the chief lector priest of this temple (and) recited in veneration in every festival of the west.¹³⁶</p>
<p><i>s3hw</i> 4: <i>n.t-^c n s3h Wsir m hr.t-ntr ıry m hw.t-ntr n.t Wsir hnty imnt.t ntr 3 nb 3bdw m hb nb n Wsir m h^c=f nb n t3 ıry m gs.wy-pr.w mit.t</i></p>	<p>Ritual of glorifying Osiris in the necropolis performed in the temple of Osiris, foremost of the west, great god, lord of Abydos, in every festival of Osiris, in all of his appearances in the land, performed in the temples likewise.¹³⁷</p>

Despite this orderly categorization designed by modern scholars, the contents of the various *s3hw* compositions are, on the one hand, remarkably similar, but, on the other hand, quite variable. According to the texts, *s3hw* 1, divided into sixteen sections with further sub-sections,¹³⁸ is written in the second person with third person passages interspersed as performative historiola, all performed by the lector priest. A long series of second person addresses to Osiris structure *s3hw* 2, divided into twenty-five sections with further sub-sections, also indicated as performed

¹³⁵ The term *h3-snd* “fear, veneration (lit., descending of fear)” is discussed in *Wb.* II, 471; Assmann 1990, 12; Traunecker 1992, 219; Wilson 1997, 597-598; Hays 2005, 51-56; Rüter 2009, 132-138; and Barbash 2011, 135-136

¹³⁶ pBM 10081, col. 16.1-8, currently unpublished with preparation for publication by either Assmann (see note in Coenen and Verrept 2004, 97, n. 4) or Herbin (see note in Barbash 2011, 21, n. 177), see Wüthrich 2012, pl. X, for photo; paralleled by pWAM 551, 5.37-10.21, published in Barbash 2011, 131-269. Schott 1990, 339-340, nr. 1528a, provides a transcription. For a list of papyri containing *s3hw* 3, see Assmann 2008, 17. For discussion of the title, see Schott 1990, 339-340, nr. 1528a; Coenen and Verrept 2004, 101-102; Assmann 2008, 413-414; and Barbash 2011, 27-29.

¹³⁷ From pMMA 35.9.21, 18.1, published by Goyon 1999 and translated with introduction in Smith 2009a, 135-151, paralleled by pLouvre I. 3079, col. 110, 1, published by Goyon 1967, as well as a similar damaged passage in pBM 10208, col. 1, 1-3, published by Haikal 1970 and 1972. For a list of papyri containing *s3hw* 4, see Assmann 2008, 17, and Kucharek 2010, 36-42. For this title, see Schott 1990, 124-125, nr. 268.

¹³⁸ Assmann 2008, 37-225. Although designations appear inconsistently in the Egyptian texts, the sections, often called “spells,” can be labeled as *s3h* “glorification” or *s3h dd-md.wt in hry-h3b.t* “Glorification: recitation by the lector priest.”

by the lector priest.¹³⁹ Mourning laments to Osiris are interspersed with sacrificial texts in *s3hw* 3, divided into 16 sections.¹⁴⁰ After the introduction, *s3hw* 4 consists entirely of second person addresses performed by Isis, Nephthys, and Horus, divided into seventeen individual sections.¹⁴¹

There are two further texts closely related to glorifications that, however, have been considered distinct from them. The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys¹⁴² and the Songs of Isis and Nephthys¹⁴³ are known from papyrus copies dating primarily to the early Ptolemaic Period, but Roman manuscripts are attested as well. The introduction to the Lamentations of Isis and

¹³⁹ Assmann 2008, 227-412.

¹⁴⁰ Barbash 2011, 131; 17 sections in Assmann 2008, 413-498

¹⁴¹ The sections are not indicated in the original. Smith 2009a, 135-151, marks these divisions, while Kucharek 2010, 97-114, does not formally indicate them.

¹⁴² The title is found in an abbreviated copy consisting of 5 stanzas (*hw.t*) in pBerlin 3008, 1, published by Faulkner 1935-1938, containing the introductory title: *n3s s3h.w 3ry n sn.ty n pr Ws3r hnty imnt.t ntr 3 nb 3bdw m 3bd 4 3h.t sw 25 3ry mit.t m s.t nb.t n Ws3r m hb nb ...* “Recitation of glorifications performed by the two sisters in the temple of Osiris, foremost of the west, great god, lord of Abydos on Khoiak 25, performed likewise in every place of Osiris at every festival ...” For this title, see Schott 1990, 298, nr. 1379, and Coenen 2000-2005, 6. Further copies have now been edited by Von Lieven 2006 (although only identified in the review of Mark Smith 2008, 343), extending the length of the composition to 12 stanzas, one stanza for each hour of the night during the *Studenwachen*. Several additional copies of the Lamentations have been discovered by Coenen and Kucharek 2003. A forthcoming comprehensive publication of the Lamentations has been announced by Andrea Kucharek and Marc Coenen. Kucharek 2010 provides an overview, transliteration, translation, and commentary. An introduction and translation can be found in Smith 2009a, 124-134. pLeiden T 31, 6.7-11, contains an excerpt of the Lamentations, see Schott 1990, 342 nr. 1539, preceded by an excerpt of *s3hw* 1 (col. 5, 15-6, 6) and followed by *s3hw* 4 (col. 6, 21-26), see Schott 1990, 124-125, nr. 268. See also Coenen and Kucharek 2003, 49 n. 11. For the distinction between lamentations and glorifications, see Smith 1987a, 21-22; for the inaccuracy of the designation Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, see Smith 2008, 343.

¹⁴³ The title is found in pBM 10188 (Bremner-Rhind), col. 1.1-1.2, transcription in Faulkner 1933 and discussion in Faulkner 1936: *h3.t-3 m hw.wt n.w hb dr.ty 3ry m pr Ws3r hnty imnt.t ntr 3 nb 3bdw m 3bd 4 3h.t sw 22 nfr.yt r sw 26* “Beginning of the stanzas of the festival of the two kites performed in the temple of Osiris foremost of the west, perfect god, lord of Abydos, from Khoiak 22 to 26.” As discussed by Haikal 1972, 49; Faulkner 1933, vi and *idem.*, 1935-1938, 346-348, the so-called Songs of Isis and Nephthys has been kept distinct from the so-called Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys. Despite the divergent dates for their performance provided in these texts, the two compositions share similarities of content and purpose.

Nephthys provides a similar theological description to that of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made:

nīs s3h.w ỉry n sn.ty n pr Wsír hnty imnty.w ntr 3 nb 3bd m 3bd 4 3h.t sw 25 ỉry mıt.t m s.t nb.t n Wsír m hb nb s3h b3=f dd h3.t=f sh^c k3=f rdi.t t^cw r fnd ng3 ỉhty snfr ỉb n 3s.t hn^c Nb.t-hw.t rdi.t Hr hr ns.t=f n ıt=f rdi.t n^h dd w3s n Wsír

Recitation of glorifications performed by the two sisters in the temple of Osiris, foremost of the westerners, great god, lord of Abydos, on Khoiak 25, performed likewise in every place of Osiris, in every festival. Glorifying his *ba*. Memorializing his corpse. Jubilating his *ka*. Giving air to (his) nose. Opening the throat. Pleasing the heart of Isis and Nephthys. Placing Horus on the throne of his father. Giving life, stability, and dominion to Osiris ...¹⁴⁴

The Songs of Isis and Nephthys, on the other hand, provide a description of the ritual context of performance in which two women who meet a variety of purification standards are dressed and actually labeled as Isis and Nephthys:

h3.t-^c m hw.wt n.w hb dr.ty ỉry m pr Wsír hnty imnt.t ntr 3 nb 3bdw m 3bd 4 3h.t sw 22 nfry.t r sw 26 dsry.hr.tw pr r dr=f ın.hr.tw s.t [sn.t] w^b h^c nn wp=sn hr sk snw n h^c=sn mdh tp=sn m s[r...] sr m ˘wy=sn mtn rn=sn hr rmn.wy=sn r 3s.t Nb.t-hw.t hs=sn m hw.wt n.w(t) md3.t tn m-b3h ntr pn

Beginning of the stanzas of the festival of the two kites performed in the temple of Osiris foremost of the west, great god, lord of Abydos, from Khoiak 22 to 26. The entire temple is to be sanctified. [Two] women with pure limbs who have not opened (i.e., given birth) are brought. The hair of their body is removed, their heads adorned with wi[gs ...], tambourines in their hands. Write their names upon their shoulders as Isis and Nephthys. They will sing from the stanzas of this book before this god.¹⁴⁵

The fact that the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys begin with the “recitation of glorifications” (*nīs s3h.w*) demonstrates the continuity with other *s3h.w* compositions. The overlapping dates of

¹⁴⁴ pBerlin 3008, 1.1-1.10, published by Faulkner 1935-1938. For translation, see Smith 2009a, 129; Kucharek 2010, 56.

¹⁴⁵ pBM 10188 (Bremner-Rhind), col. 1.1-1.5, published in Faulkner 1933. For translation, see Smith 2009a, 104; Kucharek 2010, 166. Comparison should be made to the description of the ritual context for the Lamentations preserved at the end of column 5 in pBerlin 3008.

performance during the rites of the Khoiak festival between these compositions and the Songs of Isis and Nephthys suggest that there was some relationship, at least temporal, in how these texts were employed for ritualistic purposes.

Table 1.4: Festival Dates for Glorification Spells

<u>Composition</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Songs of Isis and Nephthys	Khoiak 22-26
<i>s3hw</i> 4	Khoiak 23-25
Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys	Khoiak 25
<i>s3hw</i> 1	15 th Day Fest, Monthly Fest, Every Fest of the West
<i>s3hw</i> 2	6 th Day Fest, 15 th Day Fest, Monthly Fest, Every Fest of the West
<i>s3hw</i> 3	Every Fest of the West

Therefore, the rituals of the Khoiak festivals provide the context for the Songs of Isis and Nephthys, Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, and *s3hw* 4, while *s3hw* 1-3 are associated with celebrations occurring on a more regular basis, with “every fest of the west” suggesting perhaps a generic framework for festive occasions. The restricted celebratory dates of compositions associated with the Khoiak mysteries indicate an increased sacredness of a specific religious occurrence.

The ritual text, written in a Demoticizing version of late Middle Egyptian,¹⁴⁶ preserved as the Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land (*wḏ.t ʕ.t ḥr(.t) r sp3.t ḡr.t*) was likewise

¹⁴⁶ Müller 2002, 437; Quack 2004, 331-332; Smith 2009a, 75.

intended for use during the Osiris mysteries on the 25 and 26 of Khoiak.¹⁴⁷ In the manner of the glorifications, Songs, and Lamentations, this composition contains sections divided into stanzas containing the utterances of Isis and Nephthys. It is not only revivification of Osiris that is its purpose, but ensuring his sovereignty over the nome of the silent land (*r rd̄.t ḥq̄ʒ Ws̄r m sp̄.t igr̄.t*). In order to successfully attain the rulership, the text employs the traditional Egyptian motif, derived from BD 144-145, of passing through underworld gates at which either a divine guardian (e.g., Anubis, Horus) or the deceased must express knowledge of the gatekeeper's name to obtain permission to pass.¹⁴⁸ Similar decrees were inscribed on stelae or even ostraca for the specific benefit of the deceased individual.¹⁴⁹

Although it has been suggested that the rite was incorporated into the Khoiak mysteries,¹⁵⁰ the Ritual of Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh (*s̄r ʕ̄ʒ̄.t m ʕ̄rqy Th̄*)¹⁵¹ indicates a celebration on the last day of the month of Thoth,¹⁵² although it was originally

¹⁴⁷ The composition is currently known from two manuscripts, pMMA 25.9.21, published by Goyon 1999 and pTamerit, published by Beinlich 2009. Introduction, transliteration, translation, and commentary can be found in Kucharek 2010, 48-49, and 275-423. Smith 2009a, 67-95, provides an introduction, translation, and notes. Stadler 2012a, 147-149, provides a brief overview. See also the notes of Smith 2006, 217-232, concerning Goyon's translation and discussion of the title in Schott 1990, 64-65.

¹⁴⁸ Smith 2009a, 70-72.

¹⁴⁹ Smith 2009a, 599-609; Smith 2010, 439-445; Stadler 2012a, 147-149. Divine decrees for the deceased have an ancient pedigree, such as pCairo 58032 belonging to Neskhons (Ritner 2009, 145-158).

¹⁵⁰ Goyon 1999, 84, speculates that it may have been, but Smith 2009a, 153, thinks that "... there is no compelling reason to link our text specifically with the Khoak mysteries."

¹⁵¹ Preserved on pMMA 35.9.21, cols. 40-56, published in Goyon 1999; pBerlin 3057, cols. 23a.1-16-28.23; pBM 10081, cols. 8.1-15.20, unpublished, but with description in Le Page Renouf 1893, 295-306; and pWalters Art Museum 10.551, cols. 1.1-5.36, studied in Coenen and Verrept 2004; Barbash 2006, 2007, and 2011. For the title, see Schott 1990, 344, nr. 1546, and Barbash 2011, 24-25, 62-63. For a complete overview, including transliteration, translation, and commentary, see Kucharek 2010, 44-48, 227-274.

¹⁵² The meaning of *th̄*, as either a festival or month name, is discussed by Smith 2009a, 152, and Barbash 2011, 24-25, both advocating that in this case it is an alternative name for the month of Thoth.

composed for the Abydos cult of Osiris and adapted for use as a private funerary text. Divided into seven stanzas (*ḥw.t*), it consists of a series of invocations to Osiris placed in the mouths of Isis, Nephthys, and Nut. It is in the fourth stanza where the “multitude” (*šš.t*) are described as “men and women” (*tȝy ḥm.wt*) who “pray for your coming” (*nḥt n iw=k*) and “seek their lord” (*ḥhy nb=sn*), a description reminiscent of the favored ones (*ḥs.w*) who follow Osiris (*šms Wsir*).¹⁵³

The text ends by describing a defeated Seth and victorious Horus who has taken the throne of his father, thereby ensuring continued provisioning in the future. Like the other hieratic funerary compositions from the Greco-Roman Period, the grammar of the Ritual of Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh is predominantly Middle Egyptian, although it is styled in a highly poetic fashion.

In addition to the aforementioned texts, there are a plethora of hieratic funerary compositions, often brief, many of which are currently known in only a few manuscript witnesses. A copy of a Liturgy of the Decade of Djeme, preserved in pVienna 3865, describes the favors performed for Osiris Wennefer by Horus and other gods at each decade (*tp sw 10*).¹⁵⁴

Two Roman Period (first century CE) hieratic copies of the Book of Transformations (pBerlin 3162¹⁵⁵ and pLouvre N 3122¹⁵⁶) preserve “spells intended to allow the owner of the text to

¹⁵³ Cf. the divine “multitude” (*šš.t*) mentioned in CT 75: *ink sbb mdw(.t) ḥpr ds=fn šš.t* “I am he who transmits the word of the one who came into being himself to the multitude.” For further discussion of the “followers of Osiris,” see chapter two.

¹⁵⁴ Herbin 1984 edited pVienna 3865 and mentioned important partial parallels. Due to the popularity of Amenope and his primary role in the weekly ritual, the festival of the decade of Djeme is prominently mentioned throughout texts from Greco-Roman Egypt. See further Klotz 2008, 78-80.

¹⁵⁵ Frank-Kamenetzky 1914, 97-102, 145-154, pls. 1-2; Smith 2009a, 610-622.

transform himself into various birds, reptiles, and mammals.”¹⁵⁷ Compositions with close affinities to the Books of Breathing are attested, such as the speech from the First Book of Breathing (pBM EA 10194)¹⁵⁸ and the liturgy in the Second Book of Breathing, preserved in several papyri (pFlorence 3669 and 3670) owned by the same individual.¹⁵⁹ Numerous “original texts”¹⁶⁰ were produced, some of which seem to be independent creations known from a single copy, further reflecting the creativity available to the priest of this period to compose texts of their choosing.¹⁶¹

The hieratic funerary literature from Greco-Roman Egypt displays a distinct continuity with the past by both directly invoking traditional texts through the copying practice of the manuscript tradition as well as less overt, indirect reference or modeling on earlier compositions. Emphasis on the deceased’s rejuvenation and association into the company of the gods sustains themes which predominate from previous periods. However, Greco-Roman funerary compositions also display diverse innovations, including a flowering of compositions either newly created or recently adapted for use privately.¹⁶² The roles of Isis and Nephthys in the

¹⁵⁶ Photographs of the papyrus are published in André-Leicknam and Ziegler 1982, 134-134. Smith 2009a, 623-626, provides an introduction and translation.

¹⁵⁷ Smith 2009a, 610.

¹⁵⁸ Caminos 1993; Herbin 2008, 134-135, pls. 108-109; Smith 2009a, 540-542.

¹⁵⁹ Pellegrini 1904; Möller 1961, 31, no. 5; Goyon 1972, 294-296; Smith 2009a, 543-545.

¹⁶⁰ E.g. pBM EA 10209, published in Haikal 1970 and 1972, further discussed by Smith 2009a, 178-192; the British Museum papyri published Herbin 2008a, 117-150, and pls. 90-140; pCairo 58009, discussed in Smith 2009a, 526-534; pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen 2, published by Quack 2000; pLeiden T 11, published by Coenen 1999; pMoscow 4661, 4651, and 4659, published by Herbin 2008b; pVatican Inv. 38608, published by Herbin 2003.

¹⁶¹ “On account of their diversity,” Herbin 2008, 3, notes, “it is difficult and probably illusory to establish a systematic classification of these original texts which mostly seem not to follow any special model.”

¹⁶² For discussion, see Assmann 1990, 1-27; Assmann 2008, 15-35; Smith 2009a, 61-65; Barbash 2011, 42-44; Stadler 2012, 157-164.

Osirian cycle are, furthermore, greatly expanded and enhanced, finding prominence in the majority of texts encountered. As its hereditary heir, Demotic funerary literature reflects many of these same traditions and innovations.

1.4 The Demotic Funerary Literature of Greco-Roman Egypt

Demotic literature, funerary and otherwise, grew directly out of the hieratic and hieroglyphic traditions preceding it.¹⁶³ Demotic funerary texts, as all funerary literature of ancient Egypt, are a variable group from very long and detailed to the single phrase. For the purposes of study, several methods have been followed when dealing with Demotic funerary literature. Most frequently, the corpus has been divided into groups based on length.¹⁶⁴ The longer texts are often exceptional, known from a single copy without parallel, although several important exceptions exist.¹⁶⁵ Like contemporaneous hieratic manuscripts, the assemblage of compositions found on a given papyrus is often unparalleled. Unlike Book of the Dead manuscripts which often preserved sequences of spells, Egyptian funerary literature from the Greco-Roman Period favored the collection of anthologies and the creation of new content. The shorter texts likewise have variable contents; however, there is a substantial group among this corpus which employs a standardized formula.

¹⁶³ See Shisha-Halevy 1989, 421-435; Tait 1996, 175-190; Depauw 1997, 85-121; Jasnow 2002, 207-216; Hoffmann and Quack 2007, 8-20; Jay 2008, 200-327; Ryholt 2010, 709-731; Tait 2011, 398-399.

¹⁶⁴ See the survey of Smith 1979, 2-13, and Stadler 2004, 561-571.

¹⁶⁵ The compositions of pRhind 1 and 2, written for a man and his wife, are unknown outside of these manuscripts. A long section from pBM 10507 is paralleled in a section of pHarkness, although each manuscript preserves other, unique compositions. The Liturgy for Opening the Mouth for Breathing is known from several witnesses. The implications of Demotic funerary literature's exceptionality are discussed in chapter five.

While a variety of religious literature had been written in the Demotic script for several centuries,¹⁶⁶ our first funerary papyrus¹⁶⁷ written in Demotic does not appear until the very end of the Ptolemaic Period with the Book of Transformations preserved on pLouvre E 3452 dated to 57/56 BCE.¹⁶⁸ Although in the Demotic script with the addition of several enigmatic characters,¹⁶⁹ the language of pLouvre E 3452 displays many archaic features retained from earlier phases of the Egyptian language. Sections describe the deceased's transformation into various animal forms, including birds, jackals and snakes, for the purpose of movement. Such spells can be directly tied to the transformation spells of the Coffin Texts, as well as the two hieratic parallels previously described (pBerlin 3162 and pLouvre N 3122), although pLouvre E 3452 addresses the deceased in the third person, rather the first or second as common in these other compositions.

Currently known dates for the remaining Demotic funerary papyri place them all in the Roman Period.¹⁷⁰ The contents of the most elaborate examples are diverse, often unique, compendiums, such as the Rhind Papyri.¹⁷¹ Written for a priest from Armant named

¹⁶⁶ Jay 2007, 93-106. Cf. the religious themes found in early Demotic texts from Saqqara published by Smith and Tait 1983.

¹⁶⁷ Note the appearance of BD 15a in Demotic transliteration, with some linguistic updating, on a stela from Akhmim published in Vleeming 2004 who dated the object with some reservations to the Ptolemaic Period. Several paleographic features, however, point to the Roman Period. See e.g., note h of Vleeming 2004, 630.

¹⁶⁸ Published by Legrain 1889, re-examined in the unpublished dissertation of Smith 1979, and translated with introduction in Smith 2009a, 627-649. A brief overview is provided by Stadler 2012a, 133-136.

¹⁶⁹ See Smith 2009a, 636-637.

¹⁷⁰ However, certain phrases are known from graffiti, which can serve functions similar to funerary texts.

¹⁷¹ In spite of their quality, size, and interesting contents, the Rhind papyri have received only a minimal amount of scholarly attention. The two papyri were first published in Rhind 1863, which included facsimiles as well as a translation by Samuel Birch. Brugsch 1865 reedited the texts, providing an interlinear transliteration/translation to the Demotic texts, a German translation of the Demotic, an English translation of the hieratic by Birch, a valuable interlinear hand copy of the Demotic and hieratic text and several indices. These publications were superseded by

Montuemsaf¹⁷² and his wife Tanuwat,¹⁷³ pRhind 1-2 were found deposited in adjacent chambers of a tomb on the west bank of Thebes.¹⁷⁴ Internal contents indicate that they died on July 4, 9 BCE and August 21, 9 BCE respectively. Both papyri have very similar contents, although pRhind 2 of Tanous is shorter than pRhind 1 of her husband. The most remarkable aspect about the papyri is their bilingual nature, consisting of columns containing both a hieratic as well as a Demotic version of essentially the same text below.¹⁷⁵ Each column is decorated with an accompanying vignette above. Their bilingual nature, liberal employment of vignettes, and unparalleled contents make the Rhind papyri exceptionally important exemplars of Roman Period funerary manuscripts.

The Rhind papyri display the absorption of several literary genres. Rather than simply listing the titles of the deceased, short biographical passages introduce the deceased, recalling the genre of ideal biographies which formed an important component of Egyptian literature of all periods. A potential title¹⁷⁶ for the following composition is found in pRhind 1.9-11:

ṯ šꜥ.t r-sh Dḥwtꜣ r imnꜥ r tꜥ sdm nꜥ nty ṯ twꜥ.t dd ḥpr wꜥb.t n sn n mhwꜥ.t n Pr-ꜥ ḥm-Swf

Möller 1913, who completely reedited the papyri, including large scale photographic reproductions. All subsequent work on these papyri has been based on Möller's excellent edition. Assmann and Kucharek 2008, 597-613, 882-894, provide a German translation and commentary on the hieratic and Smith 2009a, 302-348, provides an introduction and English translation of the Demotic portions of the papyri. Stadler 2012a, 143- 147, provides an overview.

¹⁷² *Demot. Nb.* 598.

¹⁷³ *Demot. Nb.* 1194.

¹⁷⁴ Rhind 1862, 118-123; Birch and Rhind 1863, 19-29.

¹⁷⁵ Hieroglyphic texts with Demotic addendum are known from stelae (Vleeming 2004, 624), but the exceptional text of BM 711 shows the continuation of the hieroglyphic text in Demotic (Vleeming 2004; Smith 2009a, 665-668).

¹⁷⁶As suggested by Smith 2009a, 304. For discussion of the meaning of ḥpr wꜥb.t, see Smith 1991, 102-104.

“The letter which Thoth has written to the west to cause those who are in the netherworld to hear that the embalming of the relative of Pharaoh, Hamsouphis (i.e. Menthesouphis) has occurred.”

A laconic description of the embalming process follows, a topic elaborated upon later in the text. Several addresses to the deceased occupy a central portion in the ritual, all of which ensure the benefits, sanction, and safety granted by the gods, most prominently Anubis, Thoth, Isis, and Osiris. While pRhind 2 ends with a speech by Osiris confirming Tanous’s place among the gods and an offering formula by Isis, the final column of pRhind 1 contains a Nut text describing the protection provided by the gods, the reception of mortuary offerings, ability of movement, and triumph over one’s enemies.

Nearly contemporaneous with pLouvre E 3452 and the Rhind Papyri is pBM 10507,¹⁷⁷ a compendium of funerary compositions belonging to Horos¹⁷⁸ son of Petemin dated paleographically to the second half of the first century BCE, which had been purchased by Budge at Akhmim.¹⁷⁹ The close parallels with the hieratic manuscript tradition can be seen in the title for the first composition on pBM 10507, 1.1: *mḏ3.t ṛ.n 3s.t r Wsir ḥnty imnt* “Book which Isis made for Osiris, foremost of the West.” This title is reminiscent of that applied to the Book of Breathing which Isis Made (*šꜥ.t n snsn ṛ.n 3s.t*), but the content is not directly related and shows more affinity with the glorifications, Songs of Isis and Nephthys, Lamentations of Isis and

¹⁷⁷ Published by Smith 1987. See also the reviews of Devauchelle 1988, 218-219; de Meulenaere 1989, 175-177; Ray 1990, 246-248; Thissen 1990, 177-178. A new introduction and translation is provided by Smith 2009a, 245-263, and an overview in Stadler 2012a, 139-142.

¹⁷⁸ *Dem. Nb.* 787-788, no. 50. Corrected in Smith 1987b, 63 n. 15, and cited in Smith 2009a, 245 n. 1, from the original reading *Ḥr-m-ḥb* in Smith 1987a, 18.

¹⁷⁹ Budge’s activity at Akhmim has been studied by Smith 1994, 293-303, and Smith 2002, 233-247, elaborates on the social and cultural context in which the Akhmim material can be situated.

Nephthys, and the Ritual for Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh.¹⁸⁰ Isis addresses her brother Osiris in a series of vocatives (lines 1.2-1.12), finishing with a poetic lament seeking her brother’s company and imploring him to speak to his son (lines 1.13-1.19).¹⁸¹

The composition closes with Isis’s request for Osiris to speak to his son, followed by a new piece introduced by the title (line 2.1):

mḏ3.t ir m-ib=f tnf n Hr s3 P3-ti-Mn r ti ʕ=w s n wpy-r3 m-b3h=f n grḥ n p3y=f ḥb qs

“Book which was made in exact accordance with his desire for Horos, son of Petemin, in order to have it recited as an Opening of the Mouth before him on the night of his burial feast.”

Although labeled as a “book,” the contents consist of the first person declarations issued by Horos to Osiris, a fitting continuation of the context set up at the end of column one. Like passages from pRhind 1-2, the declarations share similarities with the genre of the ideal biography (lines 2.3-2.12), but the text quickly morphs into a series of wishes for a beneficent afterlife (lines 2.13-3.8), concluding with a purification formula (*w^cb sp-2 Skr Wsir sp 4 w^cb sp-2 Wsir Hr s3 P3-ti-Mn* “Pure, pure, Sokar-Osiris, four times. Pure, pure, Osiris, Hor, son of Petemin).

The final composition in pBM 10507 is the longest, consisting of nine columns (4.1-12.24) divided into twelve chapters (*ḥw.wt*), entitled:

¹⁸⁰ For discussion, see Smith 1987a, 19-28, and Smith 2009a, 245-252.

¹⁸¹ The reference to the son of Osiris here is a *double entendre* referring to both the role of Horus (*Hr*) in the Osirian mythic cycle, but also to the deceased, whose name is Horos (*Hr*). Horos is not mentioned by name at all within the composition which occupies the first column of the papyrus, but the reference is certain. Isis introduces Horos, saying “Sovereign, your son is before you. Open your mouth to him in speech. Excellent brother, your son is before you. May you order him to the Ennead” (*3ty p3y=k s3 m-b3h=k wpy n=f r3=k n mt.t sn mnḥ p3y=k s3 m-b3h=k ḥn=k s r-tr psḏ.t*). The title for the next composition follows directly after that introduction. The purpose of this composition is: “to cause it to be recited as an opening of the mouth before him” (*r ti ʕ=w s n wpy-r3 m-b3h=f*), mentioning Horos by name. The composer has taken care in crafting this passage so as to enhance its poeticism through the repetition of key concepts and phrases (e.g. *wn r3, m-b3h*). In a later call back to this passage (line 2.17), Horos beseeches Osiris “Direct me to your Ennead, O lord of the gods!” (*ḥn t=y n psḏ.t=k i p3 nb ntr.w*).

n3 ḥw.wt n rsrs by nty iw=w ir=w n grḥ qs(.t) n ḥm-nṯr w^b qnbty šḥ irm p3 sp rmt nty ʿy nty iw šw
ir=w m-b3ḥ=w

“The chapters of waking the *ba* which are performed on the night of embalming for the prophet, priest, magistrate, scribe, and the remainder of the men who are great (and) before whom their performance is appropriate.”

Division into twelve recalls the *Stundenwachen* rituals and associates the text directly to the glorifications and related literature already discussed.¹⁸² A parallel copy of this composition occurs in pHarkness 2.11-3.8, although with a different introduction and without the division into chapters.¹⁸³ Praises addressing Osiris and the deceased begin each of the chapters in pBM 10507 and purification formulae complete them. Anonymous second person funerary wishes comprise the body of each chapter and focus on the familiar themes of proper funerary rites, rejuvenation, movement, presentation of offerings, triumph over enemies, and protection.

Several Demotic funerary manuscripts are known from the second half of the first century CE. Dating to 61 CE, pHarkness (MMA 31.9.7)¹⁸⁴ belonged to a woman named *Ta-n3-wr-ʿw*¹⁸⁵ and her father Hortefnakht (*Ḥr-t3y=f-nḥt*)¹⁸⁶ is mentioned explicitly within the text as the

¹⁸² See the comments of Smith 1987a, 25-26.

¹⁸³ Smith 1987a, 26-27; Smith 2005, 27; Smith 2009a, 252 and 268.

¹⁸⁴ The papyrus was first mentioned by Winlock 1932, 186-187. Logan 1976 provided the first treatment, but more importantly published photographs and hand copies of the text (the usefulness of which was diminished by their reduced publication size). Devauchelle 1982 published a note concerning the prosopography of the owner's father. Smith 1991 and 1999 provided a substantial description of the document along with a discussion of its provenance. The complete *edition princeps* can now be found in Smith 2005, with an updated introduction and translation in Smith 2009a, 264-301, and overview in Stadler 2012a, 139-142.

¹⁸⁵ *Demot. Nb.* 1190; Smith 2005, 12-13.

¹⁸⁶ *Demot. Nb.* 840, no. 7; Devauchelle 1982, 109; Smith 2005, 13.

addressor. Hortefnakht held a series of important priestly positions within the cults of Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus which are well reflected by the texts making up pHarkness.¹⁸⁷

A label, partially preserved on the verso, describes the papyrus as “[opening] the mouth (and making) libations [for P]N.”¹⁸⁸ The contents of papyrus Harkness consist of a collection of nine independent, but interrelated, sections:¹⁸⁹

Table 1.5: Content Headings of pHarkness

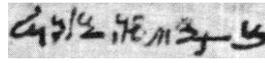
§1	<i>[βn]wt 3h ḥr=t s3.t ms n Pr-nb-wt.t i Wsir Ḥ.wt-Ḥr Ta-n3-wr.w-6w ta Ḥr-t3y=f-nḥt.t r-ms T3-ti-t3 ...</i>	[Ha]il to you, daughter born in Pernebwadjet, O Osiris Hathor Tanaweruow, daughter of Hortefnakht, whom Tatita bore ...
§2	<i>p3 rmy iir p3y=t it ...</i>	The lamentation which your father made ...
§3	<i>p3 rmy iir Ta-n3-wr.w-6w ta Ḥr- t3y=f-nḥt.t r-ms T3-ti-t3 ...</i>	The lamentation which Tanaweruow, daughter of Hortefnakht, whom Tatita bore, made ...
§4	<i>ḥrw p3y=t it Ḥr-t3y=f-nḥt.t iw=f tw3 r-ḥr=t ...</i>	Invocation of your father Hortefnakht as he praises you ...
§5	<i>i Ta-n3-wr.w-6w ta Ḥr-t3y=f-nḥt.t r-ms T3-ti-t3 ...</i>	O Tanaweruow, daughter of Hortefnakht, whom Tatita bore ...

¹⁸⁷ For the titles of Hortefnakht, see Smith 2005, 14-15.

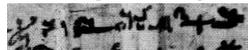
¹⁸⁸ Smith 2005, 21-22, restores line 1 as [... wpy.t]-r3=s(?) qbḥ, but Quack 2006, 156, suggested [... wpy.t]-r3 2-nw qbḥ, rejected by Smith 2009a, 265 n. 7, on paleographical and contextual criteria, suggesting that a second opening of the mouth ceremony would not be referenced in isolation. The proposed restoration of line 2 as [n Wsir Ḥw.t-Ḥr Ta-n3-wr.w-6w ta Ḥr-t3y=f-nḥt.t r-m]s T3-ti-t3 assumes that there was more at the beginning of line 1 or that the two lines did not align at the right and that line 1 would have been indented. The problematic sign following r3



may actually be a slightly unusual version of the document determinative found elsewhere



following the designation wpy.t r3, e.g. pBM 10507, 2.1; pLouvre 10607, 1.1



. If restored as , the form is not so dissimilar from that found in pLouvre 10607, 1.1.

¹⁸⁹ Following Smith 1991, 95-105; Smith 2005, 22-33; Smith 2009a, 265-274.

Table 1.5: Content Headings of pHarkness (Continued)

§6	[no heading]	[no heading] ¹⁹⁰
§7	<i>i Ta-n3-wr.w-6w ta Hr-t3y=f-nht.t r-ms T3-ti-t3 ...</i>	O Tanaweruow, daughter of Hortefnakht, whom Tatita bore ...
§8	<i>t3 h3.t</i>	(O) tomb ...
§9	<i>m hrw p3y=t it iw=f qbh n Wsir iw=f qbh n=t</i>	In an invocation of your father as he makes libation for Osiris (and) as he makes libation for you.

After an introductory speech to Tanaweruow describing the beneficial aspects of mummification (§1), her father addresses her tomb itself (§2), saying “I will open my mouth to you, (O) house of protection of Tanaweruow” (*iw=y wn r3=y r-hr=t t3 hw.t mky Ta-n3-wr.w-6w*).¹⁹¹ Tanaweruow responds with two laments (§3) asking for relatives to gather around so as to hear how she will bless their virtues and absolve their vices in the next world. Her father’s invocation (*hrw*) and following vocatives directed at her form the core of the text (§4-7), expressing in formulaic glorifications the many travels, beneficences, and abilities that will be granted to his daughter. A second copy of this invocation is preserved in pBM 10507, demonstrating the continuity of the textual tradition for nearly a century. The envelope construction opened in section two is closed in section eight as he once again calls out to the tomb. A final section (§9) presents the libation (*qbh*) formulae of the father, recalling the title ([... *wpy.t*]-*r3 qbh n PN* “[... opening of] the mouth (and) libating for PN”) preserved along the edge of the papyrus roll.

¹⁹⁰ The end of the previous section is clearly marked by the purification formula *w6b sp-2 Wsir hnt imnt sp-4 w6b sp-2 Wsir Hw.t-Hr n PN* “Pure, pure, Osiris, foremost of the west, four times. Pure, pure, Osiris Hathor PN” (pHarkness, 3.35-36) and a vocative addressing Tanawero occurs near the beginning of the passage (pHarkness, 3.37), as noted by Smith 2005, 29.

¹⁹¹ pHarkness, 1.25.

Composed just two years after pHarkness, pBib Nat 149 contains a selection of funerary compositions written in 63 CE for a man named Pamonthes, son of Pamonthes.¹⁹² What makes this papyrus so interesting is the selection of texts it contains. Although completely in Demotic, the texts of pBib Nat 149 are better known from their hieratic counterparts, but, as so often with Demotic funerary literature, packaged in a unique way. At the beginning of the manuscript we find a Demotic version of a composition most often found in hieratic associated with the Book of Traversing Eternity (pBib Nat 149, 1.1-1.16).¹⁹³ There follows a detailed description of the vignette of a judgment scene (pBib Nat 149, 1.16-1.24), including descriptions for the placement of the text on the papyrus which suggests the scribal model may have been hieroglyphic.¹⁹⁴

In pBib Nat 149, 1.24-2.3, there is a Demotic version of BD 125, one of the few BD spells currently attested in Demotic script and the only example reflecting a more contemporary grammar.¹⁹⁵ BD 125 is paired with the litany of the negative confession (pBib Nat 149, 2.3-2.29) and a section in which Pamonthes summarizes his good deeds (pBib Nat 149, 2.29-3.1), after which there is a vignette description of a presentation scene where Maat presents Pamonthes to Sokar-Osiris (pBib Nat 149, 3.1-3.2). A short space separates the preceding texts from a Demotic

¹⁹² A facsimile and partial publication was initially presented in Brugsch 1850, 22-28, 40-42, pls. 5-7. A nearly complete treatment followed by Revillout 1880, *idem.* 1888, *idem.* 1889. Lexa 1910 represents the first modern full edition of the text. The section associated with the Book of Traversing Eternity was included in Herbin 1994, 31, 79, 520, and pl. 35. Stadler 2003 provided a complete re-edition of the manuscript. A new introduction and translation can be found in Smith 2009a, 437-454.

¹⁹³ Stadler 2003, 16-17, referred to this text as an extract (“Auszug”) of the Book of Traversing Eternity. Quack 2005, 189, noted that the composition is known elsewhere in association with the Book of Traversing Eternity. However, Smith 2009a, 438, and n. 10, pointed out that two of the five hieratic versions currently known have no association with the Book of Traversing Eternity and are presented as essentially independent pieces.

¹⁹⁴ Stadler 2003, 25; Smith 2009a, 440-441. For further discussion of the intertextuality present in Demotic funerary literature, see the extended discussion in chapter five.

¹⁹⁵ As discussed by Stadler 2003, 108-123. For BD 171 in Demotic script, see Smith 2009b, 347-359, and *idem.* 2009, 389-394. There is also a section of BD 15 transliterated into Demotic on a stela from Akhmim (Vleeming 1990, 219-223).

version of BD 128, a speech of Pamonthes to Osiris, corresponding to the scene just described, in which he professes his service to the god (pBib Nat 149, 3.2-3.7). BD 125 then resumes, picking up with the demonstration of knowledge before the door leading to the hall of the two truths (pBib Nat 149, 3.7-3.26). The last lines of the text contain a colophon providing the date and ascribing authorship to the son of Pamonthes (pBib Nat 149, 3.27-3.30).

A series of six ritual texts from the second half of the first century CE are written on pBodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P), the first in hieratic and the remaining five in Demotic.¹⁹⁶ This manuscript is especially important because the references throughout to “Osiris so-and-so” indicate that it may have served as a scribal model for copying. If so, the collection of texts it preserves is interesting for its diversity. Column one contains a Demotic version of Pleyte’s BD 171¹⁹⁷ followed by seven columns for a hieratic version of the Rite of Bringing Sokar Out of the Shrine.¹⁹⁸ Four interrelated offering liturgies written in Demotic script employing archaizing grammar occupy the remaining columns and consist of unparalleled compositions as well as versions of a Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits, PT 32, and PT 25.

Unlike the unique compendia characterizing the majority of published Demotic funerary texts, four early first century CE papyri and a series of mummy bandages preserve parallel versions of a ritual text known as the Liturgy for Opening the Mouth for Breathing (*wpy.t rʒ n*

¹⁹⁶ This papyrus has not been fully published, but its contents were described in Smith 1992, Smith 1993, and Stadler 2012a, 129-130. An introduction and translation can be found in Smith 2009a, 650-662.

¹⁹⁷ See further Smith 2009b.

¹⁹⁸ This composition is well-known from hieratic sources, a bibliography for which is provided by Quack 2006, 65 n. 1.

snsn).¹⁹⁹ A further significant difference is found in one of the exemplars of this text, pBerlin 8351, which shows clear evidence that the text was written first and the patron's name filled in by a second scribe.²⁰⁰ Although such practice is well attested in Book of the Dead manuscripts, it is unusual for Demotic funerary texts.²⁰¹ The title clearly associates the liturgy with the ritual for opening the mouth, upon which it may have been loosely based while subject to a fair amount of redaction.²⁰²

This liturgy takes the form of an address to the deceased by a “beloved son” (*inky sy=k mr=k* “I am your beloved son”) and Thoth²⁰³ through which the departed will awaken and arise.²⁰⁴ Through wishes for reanimation and rejuvenation of the body at the head of the composition, the addressor seeks to ensure corporeal and spiritual vitality and unity for the addressee. Such desires are formalized by performative utterances referencing the production of

¹⁹⁹ The four papyri are pBerlin 8351, pBodl. MS. Egypt. c. 9 (P) + pLouvre E 10605, pLouvre E 10607, and pStrasbourg 3 verso, all of which were published in a synoptic edition by Smith 1993, along with updated introductions and translations in Smith 2009a, 349-387, and an overview in Stadler 2012a, 136-139. pBodl. MS. Egypt. c. 9 (P) + pLouvre E 10605 had been previously treated by Smith 1987b and 1988. The text on the mummy bandages remains unpublished, but were treated in a conference paper by Smith forthcoming.

²⁰⁰ Smith 1993, 2.

²⁰¹ For further discussion, see chapter four below.

²⁰² Smith 1993, 14-17. For a hypothetical reconstruction of manuscript tradition based on preserved sources, see Smith 1993, 12.

²⁰³ pBerlin 8351, 1.3; pLouvre E 10607, 3-4. See Smith 1993, 23 (transliteration), 30 (translation), pl. 1, pl. 7. At one point, the speaker identifies himself as Thoth (*ink Dhwty*), pBerlin 8351, 3.8; pBodl. MS. Egypt. c. 9(P) + pLouvre E 10605, 3.8. See Smith 1993, 26 (transliteration), 32 (translation), pl. 3, pl. 6. Thoth is otherwise referenced in the third person within the composition. See further, Smith 1993, 8-9, 15.

²⁰⁴ pBerlin 8351, 1.2: *nhs=k m hrw=y p'y=k m dd.t=y* “May you awake through my voice. May you arise through my speech.” See Smith 1993, 23 (transliteration), 30 (translation), pl. 1.

funerary compositions for the tomb.²⁰⁵ The body of the liturgy is composed in a non-linear format and concerns the three topics of divine association, offering provisions, and sacred voyage, although occasionally returning to the imagery of burial and resurrection.²⁰⁶

The number of substantial manuscripts preserving Demotic funerary texts is limited to pLouvre N 3542, pRhind 1-2, pBM 10507, pHarkness, pBib Nat 149, pBodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P), and the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing. Further additions to this corpus surely await discovery. However, a large corpus of less extensive manuscripts exists. Although they have been treated in many cases as supplements to the information found in the longer witnesses, these shorter texts far outnumber them. The size of the corpus suggests that, with regard to Demotic funerary manuscripts, short texts were the rule to which the longer texts were exceptions. In addition, a significant group of forty-five texts following a standardized formula implies a particular “normalized” form and function similar to the “canonical” copies of the Book of the Dead.²⁰⁷ More importantly, this corpus of Demotic funerary texts represents the last phase of native Egyptian funerary religion as expressed in their native tongue.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ pBerlin 8351, 1.11-13 (= pLouvre E 10607, 9-11): *ir n=k Dḥwty wpy(.t)-r3 n sns n ir=f n=k pr(.t) m hrw t3y=k st r t3y=k ḥw.t n r[py]* “Thoth has made for you an Opening of the Mouth for Breathing. He has made for you a Going Forth by Day. May you take them to your tomb of rejuvenation.” See Smith 1993, 17-18 (commentary), 23-24 (transliteration), 30 (translation), pl. 1, pl. 7.

²⁰⁶ Smith 1993, 7-9, who describes the “deceased’s unrestricted freedom of movement and acceptance by gods and blessed spirits” as the “reintegration of the individual into the cosmos.”

²⁰⁷ Stadler 2004 has organized this corpus based on length and thematic parallels and then categorized the corpus into two groups based on their use of formulae: a formulaic group and a non-formulaic group. Though Stadler 2004 based his categorization on this distinction, the nomenclature here derives ultimately from Smith 1979, 3-4: “Demotic mortuary texts can be divided into two general categories: (a) short formulaic texts which average approximately ten lines in length, and (b) longer compositions.” Smith included only a list of these texts, as the main subject of his dissertation was pLouvre E 3452. Smith distinguishes two corpora of texts based entirely on size in contrast to Stadler whose categories A and B correspond to texts only falling within the “short” category. These distinctions reflect the aspects of categorization described by Assmann 1990, 5: “... we must rely on two mutual supporting and confirming criteria: the extra-textual criterion of redaction, transmission and locational context, and

During the first and second centuries of the Common Era, there is a flourishing of Demotic funerary texts, the most common of which are not the beautifully decorated and detailed papyri reminiscent of classical Books of the Dead, but brief Demotic funerary wishes embodying the basic essentials of Egyptian afterlife theology.²⁰⁹ While most consist entirely of Demotic, several contain sections of hieroglyphs or hieratic. These “passports to eternity”²¹⁰ can be found written on every available surface including temple walls, ostraca, sarcophagi, coffins, mummy boards, shrouds, linen wrapping, mummy tags, stelae, and papyrus. They have been universally attributed a Theban provenance, but several unpublished examples from Gebelein demonstrate that they are not exclusively Theban.²¹¹ Characterizing the many short Demotic texts is difficult because of their heterogeneity, but their content divides them roughly between a non-formulaic and a formulaic group.²¹²

the intra-textual criterion of composition, theme and interpersonal form, that is, the characteristic features of the genre.” Smith’s “short formulaic” group actually consists of short non-formulaic in addition to formulaic texts.

²⁰⁸ With assumed caveats about dating, cf. the comments of Riggs 2003, 194, “The texts of the papyri are the latest securely dated funerary compositions from Egypt and are in keeping with other funerary literature of the Roman Period.” It should, however, be noted that features of Egyptian funerary religion were preserved *mutatis mutandis* in Hellenistic and Coptic traditions, as well as beyond. Such are the foundations for the sentiment of Peacock 2000, 437, “There can be no aspect of Roman Egypt more complex or more difficult to understand than religion.”

²⁰⁹ Parallels for which can be found in the Books of Breathing and funerary phylacteries. See Reich 1931, 86; Goyon 1972; *idem.*, 1974.

²¹⁰ While befitting their function and layout, designating such texts as “passports to eternity” is not unique to Demotic funerary texts and has a long history within Egyptology. See Caminos 1993; Goyon 1966, 76, who cites Capart 1943, 265-266; Garnot 1939-1943, 189-90; and Chassinat 1895, 315-316.

²¹¹ pHaun. Demot. 1 and pHaun. Demot. 3. I would like to thank Kim Ryholt for bringing these papyri to my attention and providing me with photographs. Additionally, several of the longer Demotic funerary texts derive from places outside of Thebes, such as pBM 10507, pBodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P), and pLouvre E 10607 from Akhmim.

²¹² Stadler 2004; Smith 1979, 3-4. As pointed out by Depauw 2003, 98: “Like that text [P. Turin N 766], however, it [P. Sydney Nicholson Museum 346 b] is no typical example of a specific category of funerary compositions, and perhaps in this late stage it is better to be sceptical of these categorizations altogether.” Due to the

The corpus of non-formulaic Demotic funerary texts is quite diverse and displays similarities to and differences from contemporary funerary literature, both hieratic and Demotic. While the contents display extensive variation, many of the texts show similarities in content and are sometimes labeled “document for breathing” (*t3 šꜥ.t n snsn*). Further evidence for the employment of texts within Osirian temple rituals as well as private funerary rituals is found in the Divine Decree for the Deceased, a unique Demotic version of which is found on a large ostrakon from Thebes inscribed in the first century BCE, since broken into three fragments.²¹³ Two papyri (pTurin N 766 and pSydney Nicholson 346 b) preserve Osirian liturgies meant to ensure the eternal life and provisioning of the owner’s *ba*, pTurin N 766 showing some affinity with the “May my name flourish” (*rwḏ rn=i*) section of the Second Book of Breathing.²¹⁴ A liturgy featuring Osiris, Horus the elder, Horus son of Isis, Hathor, and Amenhotep is written

common label “document for breathing” (*t3 šꜥ.t n snsn*) on their versos, these Demotic papyri have often been grouped together with the Books of Breathing, as noted by Coenen 1995, 32, who cites Stricker 1942, 42-43.

²¹³ oStrasbourg D. 132 + 133 + 134: Smith 2009a, 607-609 (translation); Smith 2010, 439-445, pls. 81-83 (*edition princeps*); Stadler 2012a, 149. Smith 2010, 439, n. 3, cites Spiegelberg’s hand copy among his papers “in the Research Archives of the Oriental Institute.” At the time of this writing, Spiegelberg’s hand copy is held by the Chicago Demotic Dictionary and can be found in a collection of his papers on the Strasburg ostraca. This Divine Decree is otherwise attested in hieroglyphs on stelae (Smith 2009a, 599-606; Kákósy 1992, 311-328). The Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land demonstrates the incorporation of the text into Osiride temple ritual. Although parallels are known for the Divine Decree for the Deceased, I include it here among the non-formulaic Demotic texts because only one Demotic version is currently attested. The hieroglyphic text of oVienna Nat. Bib. Aeg. 6 “bears the closest resemblance” to the Strasbourg copy (Smith 2010, 444).

²¹⁴ pTurin N 766, dated to the late first or early second century CE: Botti 1968; Stadler 1999 and 2000; Smith 2009a, 550-556; Stadler 2012a, 149-150. The similarity in the composition between pTurin N 766 and the Second Book of Breathing suggests that the former may be a Demotic reworking of the latter (Smith 2009a, 552). In addition to content, pTurin N 766 is labeled “document for breathing which comes under the head” (*t3 šꜥ.t1 n snsn nty iy hr ḏ3ḏ3*), a label most often associated with the First Book of Breathing rather than the second. Although Smith 1979, 9, categorizes pTurin N 766 among the longer Demotic funerary texts, its format on a single papyrus sheet consisting of thirty-six lines is more closely associated with the “shorter” texts (Stadler 1999, 76). For pSydney Nicholson Museum 346 b, dated to the second century CE, see Depauw 2003; Smith 2009a, 569-570.

partially in Demotic and partially in a difficult hieratic script.²¹⁵ Although not direct parallels, a number of diverse texts share a similar focus on the deceased's reception in the underworld (including mentions of Alkhai), the continued provision of offerings, and references to the Khoiak festival.²¹⁶ Additional unparalleled compositions further attest to the breadth of the corpus of non-formulaic Demotic texts.²¹⁷

The largest corpus of Demotic funerary texts currently identified follows a standardized formulae known as the *ḥḥ p3 by* (“May the *ba* live”) formulae after the composition's opening lines.²¹⁸ The stability of this manuscript tradition over a period of at least a century, perhaps

²¹⁵pBM EA 10198, published by Stadler 2004, 556-557, pl. xlix. The texts of pBM EA 10198 are difficult to interpret. The initial six lines have been interpreted as pseudohieroglyphs by Stadler, but there are clearly meaningful elements within them. In addition, the signs are interspersed with sections of Demotic. “Horus the elder” (*Hr p3 wr*) is found at the end of line 2 (read ... *wr* by Stadler). Some type of litany seems to have been identified as the majority of deciphered text constitutes simply the names of deities. Despite Stadler's 2004, 556, claim that the verso is uninscribed, a few Demotic signs can be identified, unfortunately partially covered by a dark brown spot on the papyrus. The traces suggest “the docu[ment for breathing]” (*t3 š[.t n] s[nsn]*).

²¹⁶Coffin Berlin Äg. Inv. 7227: Brugsch 1855, 201-202; Spiegelberg 1901, 13-14; Smith 1998, 425-439; Smith 2009a, 577-578. Mummy Board BM EA 35464: Vittmann 1990, 79-88, pls. 3-5; Smith 2009a, 586-589. Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 1374 a+b: Smith 1992-1993, 131-154, pls. 34-35; Smith 2009a, 579-582; Linen Cairo 31175: Spiegelberg 1906, pl. 114, and *idem*. 1908, 284-285; cited by Smith 1979, 5, and Quaegebeur 1990, 783 n. 15. pCairo 31170: Spiegelberg 1908, 280-281, pl. 112; Smith 2009a, 565-567. Columbia Missouri Mummy Shroud Inv. 61.66.63: Parlasca 1963, 264-268; Smith 1987a, 83; Smith 1992-1993, 136; Smith 2009a, 583-585. Coffin Edinburg Regn. No. L. 224/3002: Barns 1952, 69-71, pl. 3; Stadler 2000, 116-117; Smith 2009a, 575-576. oUppsala 672: Wångstedt 1957, 9-13; Smith 2009a, 573-574.

²¹⁷pLouvre N 2420c: Chauveau 1990, 3-8, pl. 1; Smith 2009a, 571-572. pBM EA 10072: Reich 1931, 85-97, pl. 11; Stadler 2004, 563-564; Smith 2009a, 568. pBM EA 10072 is a short Demotic text consisting of wishes for the everlasting life, rejuvenation, and movement of the *ba*, features which closely associate it with the formulaic Demotic texts.

²¹⁸Indirectly related to these funerary texts is a large corpus consisting of the votive formula “the good name remains” (*rn nfr mn*), discussed extensively in the literature: Cruz-Urbe 2012, 111; Vleeming 2011, 792-793; Smith, Andrews, and Davies 2011, 253-254; Moyer 2011, 70, n. 102; Vleeming 2001, 256; Thissen 1989, 197-198; Devauchelle 1983, 123-124; Thissen 1979, 88-89; Griffith 1937, 9; Möller 1913a, 4; Spiegelberg 1901, 5. Recording this formula was meant to ensure the continued presence of the authors or patrons before a deity or sacred site through the medium of the personal name. While such favor continued postmortem, the vast majority of these votive texts were recorded during the actual lifetime of individuals, often pilgrims making sacred voyages to cult centers (Rutherford 1998, 237; Cruz-Urbe 2002, 176-177; Dijkstra 2008, 187-188). Relationship between the corpora is shown by the inclusion of similar formula in Demotic funerary texts such as “May your name live” (*ḥḥ rn=k*) in Coffin Edinburg Regn. Nol. L. 224/3002, 1 (Barns 1952, pl. III) and Coffin Berlin Äg. Inv. 7227, 1 (Smith 1998,

longer, is exceptional within contemporary funerary literature and recalls the redaction of BD manuscripts from the Saite through the Ptolemaic Periods.²¹⁹ Currently all published exemplars have been dated to the 1st-2nd century CE and assigned a Theban provenance, although assessing chronological details about their redaction has proven difficult.²²⁰ Two aforementioned papyri currently in the Copenhagen collection extend their recognized geographical range to Gebelein. The themes of the composition emphasize the importance of the revivification and eternal life of the *ba*, the position of the deceased among the favored of Osiris, and the reception of offerings in the retinue of Osiris.²²¹

1.5 Diversity in Greco-Roman Funerary Manuscripts

The variability in the funerary literature of Greco-Roman Egypt, both hieratic and Demotic, clearly shows the influence priests maintained over composition, in opposition to Quirke's view that “in contrast to earlier periods few new texts seem to emerge in the Late

439); “... so that he may cause your name to live” *tī=f nḥ rn=k* in pBM 10507, 9.8 (Smith 1987a, pl. 7); “Your name remains among the favored ones” (*rn=k mne ḥn n3 ḥse.w*) Linen Cairo 31175, 6 (Spiegelberg 1906, pl. 114); “May your name remain after you upon the earth forever” (*mne rn=k m-s3=k ḥr p3 t3 šc-r-nḥḥ*) pBerlin 8351, 3.3-3.4 (Smith 1993, 26, 32, pl. 3); and mention should be made of the “Make my name flourish” (*mī rwd rn=i*) section of the Second Book of Breathing, mimicked in Demotic in pTurin N 766 as well as hieroglyphic examples such as *nḥ b3=k m p.t ḥr Rc rnpī rn=k m t3 ḥnḥ Gb r nḥḥ d.t* “May your *ba* live in heaven before Re. May your name rejuvenate on earth with Geb for ever (and) eternity” from a linen shroud published by Kurth 2010, 67-70. For further discussion, see Smith 1987a, 100, n. (a) to l. 9.

²¹⁹ Discussion of the “Saite recension” manuscript tradition can be found in Lesko 2003, 314-318; Quack 2009, 11-34; Munro 2010, 58-59.

²²⁰ Reich 1931, 87; Quaegebeur 1990, 785-786; Depauw 2003, 96-98; Riggs 2003, 194; Stadler 2004, 554; Smith 2009a, 557, 561, 565, 568. Further discussion of the dating of these texts appears in chapter two.

²²¹ The basis for their interpretation within the literature remains Quaegebeur 1990, 776-795. The philological details of this corpus is treated extensively in chapter two.

Period.”²²² A plethora of new compositions appear, but multiplicity is also found in the compiling of texts into a single manuscript, what Colleen Manassa has called the “interchangeability of parts.”²²³ Scribes interwove well-established texts with original compositions, sometimes inspired by the “canonical” texts,²²⁴ to form a rich, literary tapestry. Producing manuscripts of this sort necessitated the collection and preservation of texts within temple libraries (*pr-nh*) from which priestly scribes copied and further augmented through new composition.²²⁵ The literary output of this period raises difficult cultural questions about how and why fundamental traditions such as the Book of the Dead were eventually abandoned in favor of a more flexible selection of texts and compilation criteria.

Book of the Dead manuscripts from the Ptolemaic Period often preserve series of spell sequences; such sequences have been linked to localized geographical trends.²²⁶ The vast

²²² Quirke 1993, 20. For discussion of the diversity in Greco-Roman funerary papyri, see Backes 2010, 8-10.

²²³ Manassa 2007, 413 n. 19, and 441-445. The compositions from several of these mortuary compendia are listed in Assmann 2008, 17-22, e.g., pMMA 25.9.21 (Goyon 1999); pHynes (OIM 25889) in the forthcoming publication of Robert K. Ritner. Certain compositions, such as the Book of Traversing Eternity studied by Herbin 1994, appear in multiple versions, but these versions are preserved among inconsistent collections of funerary compositions. The same may be said of glorification (*sḥ.w*) spells (Szczudłowska 1970; Herbin 2004; Barbash 2006). Comparison should also be made with the Documents for Breathing and especially their shortened versions (Curtis, Kockelmann and Munro 2005, 54). The hieratic sections of the Rhind Papyri should also be included. It should be noted that Book of the Dead papyri were also collections of texts showing wide variation in contents between manuscripts (Munro 2010, 54-63).

²²⁴ E.g. pBM EA 10115, the funerary papyrus of Cleopatra II which contains a partial copy of the First Book of Breathing followed by an original composition; pBerlin ÄM 3041, the funerary papyrus of Phaminis which contains an original composition partially inspired by the Second Book of Breathing. Photos of both papyri appear in Herbin 2002, 14 and 18.

²²⁵ The potential richness of temple libraries from this period is amply demonstrated by the material from the Tebtunis temple library (Ryholt 2005, 141-170). Cf. MMA 35.9.21 which Goyon 1999, 15 believes had been compiled from temple texts.

²²⁶ Mosher 1990; Mosher 1992, 143-172; Mosher 2001, 6-36; Mosher 2002, 201-210; Mosher 2010, 123-172.

majority of funerary literature from the Greco-Roman Period is either explicitly from Thebes or implicitly assumed to be Theban.²²⁷ Even if the corpus were limited to items with a secure Theban provenance, the amount of production is impressive and the internal variability compelling. Many manuscripts contain only a single composition or a selection from one of the longer compositions. However, there are rare cases in which we find close parallels for composition sequences across different manuscripts. For example, the sequence of the Ritual of Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh followed by *sḥw* 3 in pWAM 551 is paralleled by pBM 10081 (pMalcom), although in the latter these two compositions are enveloped by other funerary compositions.²²⁸ Yet, the compositional sequence of any one papyrus is likely to be nearly unique, with few or no direct parallels for the same sequence elsewhere.²²⁹ For example, compare the contents of the following manuscripts:²³⁰

Table 1.6: Contents of pMMA 35.9.21²³¹

Col. 1-17	The Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land
Col. 18-25	<i>sḥw</i> 4
Col. 26-32	The Revelations of the Mysteries of the Four Balls
Col. 33-39	The Book of Protecting the Neshmet-Bark
Col. 40-56	The Ritual for Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh

²²⁷ All the papyri published in Herbin 2008 are listed with a provenance of “Thebes” or “probably Thebes.” Out of 18 texts studied in Herbin 1994, all are Theban except four: pOIM 25389 (Esna), Stela Vaticana 128 A (Sebennyos), Sarcophagus Horniman Museum (Abydos), Stela Cairo JE 44065 (Hawara). Note that among Herbin’s corpus, pOIM 25389 represents the only papyrus example not from Thebes.

²²⁸ As noted by Barbash 2011, 21 n. 177; Coenen and Verrept 2004, 97-102. As one might expect, there are significant differences between individual copies of the same compositions (Barbash 2011, 22).

²²⁹ Barbash 2011, 29 n. 248, notes that “[c]ompiling various rituals and spells on one manuscript is a common feature of LP mortuary papyri containing *sḥw* spells.”

²³⁰ For manuscripts containing the Book of Breathing which Isis Made embedded among other compositions, see Coenen 1998, 42-43. Assmann 2008, 17-22, provides a list of fourteen papyri with such compilations.

²³¹ Goyon 1999; Assmann 2008, 20.

Table 1.6: Contents of pMMA 35.9.21 (Continued)

Col. 57-62 The Ceremony for Bringing Out Sokar

Table 1.7: Contents of pCracow (Sękowski)²³²

Col. 1-2 Book of Glorifying the Blessed Dead
Col. 3-4 Book of Breathing in the Necropolis (PT 251-253, 266)
Col. 5 BD 100
Col. 6-8 BD 175
Col. 9 Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 10-23 *sḥw* 1

Table 1.8: Contents of pLeiden T 31²³³

Col. 1-5.14 BD 166-174, BD 166
Col. 5.15-6.6 *sḥw* 1
Col. 6.7-6.21 The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys
Col. 6.22-6.43 *sḥw* 4

Table 1.9: Contents of pQuaritch²³⁴

Col. 1.1-4 Genealogy
Col. 1.5-8 Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 1.9-10 Book of Traversing Eternity
Col. 1.11-13 Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 1.14 Liturgy of the Decade of Djeme
Col. 1.15-2.1 Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 2.2-6 Liturgy of the Decade of Djeme
Col. 2.7-15 Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 3.1-2 Genealogy
Col. 3.3-4 Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 3.5-4/4 Book of Traversing Eternity
Col. 4.5-11 Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 4.11-13 Book of Traversing Eternity
Col. 5.1-9 Genealogy
Col. 5.10-15 BD 126

²³² Szczudłowska 1970, 1972; Assmann 2008, 21.

²³³ Coenen 1999, 74-75; Assmann 2008, 20-21.

²³⁴ Coenen 1997-2000, 41-48.

Table 1.10: Contents of pBM 10507²³⁵

Col. 1	Book which Isis Made for Osiris, Foremost of the West
Col. 2-3	Book which was made precisely in his wish for Hor, son of Petemin, to cause it to be recited in the opening of the mouth before him on the night of his funeral celebration
Col. 4-12	The chapters of awakening the ba which are recited on the night of mummification for a prophet, a priest, a magistrate, a scribe, and the remainder of the great men before whom it is fitting to recite

Table 1.11: Contents of pHarkness²³⁶

Col. 1.1-1.21	Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 1.21-2.2	The lamentation which your father made
Col. 2.2-2.11	The lamentation which Tanaweruow, daughter of Hertophnakhtes, whose mother is Tatita, made
Col. 2.11-3.8	The speech of your father Hortefnakht as he gives praise to you (Parallel to Col. 4-12 in pBM 10507)
Col. 3.9-3.35	Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 3.35-4.11	Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 4.11-5.32	Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 6.1-6.10	Unidentified Funerary Text
Col. 6.10-6.32	Here is a speech of your father as he offers a libation formula to Osiris and offers a libation to you

One way to view this phenomenon is to see the various funerary compositions of these periods as equivalent to the many different “spells” selected for Book of the Dead papyri. However, unlike the Book of the Dead papyri for which many spell sequences are copied in tandem, creating identifiable selection traditions according to geographic locales across manuscripts, the Greco-Roman funerary papyri appear less structured, perhaps attesting to a tradition which had not yet been formalized. In this regard, what we see in the richness of variability may be the end of one codified tradition and the beginning of another still in the process of formation. The adoption of temple texts and the creation of new compositions may have revealed possibilities for which no tradition had yet been fixed. Although it may perhaps at

²³⁵ Smith 1987a.

²³⁶ Smith 2005.

first glance appear chaotic, this period should rather be characterized as a great flourishing of Demotic literature, both funerary as well as narrative, much as it has been considered with regard to Greek and Latin authors.²³⁷

It is clear that Egyptian priestly scribes were in the process of forming an entirely new funerary repertoire with a much more pronounced break between the manuscript traditions than that demonstrable between the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts or the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead. Although it is commonly claimed that the new funerary texts “replaced” the Book of the Dead, judging the transition on par with previous transitions in funerary literature, the funerary compositions of Ptolemaic Egypt were created contemporaneously with a thriving Book of the Dead tradition. A more apt comparison would be to the development of the “underworld books” for royal tombs of the New Kingdom which happened simultaneously with the flowering of the Book of the Dead tradition. In the Ptolemaic Period, however, the funerary manuscripts, as far as we now know, were created specifically for private elite individuals and not for members of the royal household.²³⁸

Several social and cultural factors probably influenced the flexibility of funerary texts from these periods. The “Saite recension” of the Book of the Dead developed out of the archaizing traditions of Dynasties 25-26 and uses of ancient source material. In an effort to be as

²³⁷ Demotic narrative literature has received significant recent attention: Tait 1996, 175-190; Quack 2005a; Jasnow 2007, 433-448; Hoffmann and Quack 2007; Hoffmann 2009, 351-384; Tait 2011, 397-410.

²³⁸ However, the story of pBerlin 13588, 3.7-8 (Erichsen 1956, 61), datable to the first century BCE, refers to the production of funerary literature for Pharaoh Psammetichus (*iw=y sh n w^c.t md³.t n dm^c w^c.t kny.t n sh w^c tw³ n sns n r p³ mn^h ntr n Wsir ny-sw.t Pr-³ P³-s-n-m^{tk} “... writing a roll of papyrus, a document, and a hymn of breathing for the wrappings of Osiris king Pharaoh Psammetichus”). Such textual references to royal funerary literature are extremely rare, so lack of comparable evidence for the Ptolemies or Roman emperors is not surprising. However, despite being set in the Saite Period, the funerary text “hymn for breathing” (*tw³ n sns n*), if that reading is correct (Smith 1985, 103), seems more characteristic of the Greco-Roman Period rather than the Saite Period.*

“Egyptian” as possible through the emulation of canonical compositions, priests of the Saite dynasty sought to establish the form of texts and scenes based upon previous Egyptian expressions. For the Book of the Dead, this codification carried over into the Ptolemaic Period. However, funerary texts developed under the Ptolemaic Dynasty present a rather different picture of increased localization.²³⁹ This can perhaps be attributed to the presence of the foreign rulers, who clearly participated in the ideology of Egyptian religion, but who did not necessarily seek to maintain the centralized training of Egyptian priests,²⁴⁰ especially in the Theban region which periodically sought its independence through revolt.²⁴¹

The Ptolemies were clearly concerned with religious matters as is shown by the sacerdotal decrees and influence in the Sarapis cult, but as the dynasty weakened under internal discord, regional tendencies appeared as priests and scribes developed their own local styles. Early evidence for this already appeared in the fourth century BCE when a variety of new compositions are found on papyri within the corpus of funerary literature.²⁴² The Thebaid, as a bastion of “Pharaonic” religion, continued to produce funerary material in the vein of previous

²³⁹ It is interesting that a similar multiplication of compositions and manuscript types occurred in the late 21st and early 22nd Dynasties as mentioned by Quirke 1993, 18, during which political fractures may have fostered localizing tendencies among regional workshops.

²⁴⁰ Non-centralization is also reflected in the employment of two scripts, Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic, at the beginning of the 7th century BCE. In addition, it is finally in Demotic where we first start to see clear evidence for the many dialects which must have existed throughout Egyptian history, but were masked by the standardization of the script. The situation was only further exacerbated in the Roman Period, as Herklotz 2012, 14, describes: “Possibly the Romans had a poor relationship with the priesthood, which had had a close association with the Ptolemies.”

²⁴¹ McGing 1997, 273-314; Véisse 2004.

²⁴² See compositions found in the collection of funerary papyri belonging to Esminis, son of Petemestous and Sentaes dated to 305 BCE: pBM EA 10188 (Bremner-Rhind), pBM EA 10208, pBM EA 10209, and pDetroit 1988.10. Cf. the nearly contemporary collection belonging to Imuthes, son of Psintaes and Tjehenet: pMMA 35.9.20 and pMMA 35.9.21. The earliest dated Book of Breathing (pLouvre N 3154) is dated to the mid-fourth century (Devéria 1881, 132; Hornung 1999, 23). It should be noted that the earliest dates for these new compositions suggest a beginning sometime between the Persian dominations, perhaps during the revitalization projects of Dynasty 30.

Egyptian tradition, but significant developments took place in the production of coffins, mummy shrouds, mummy labels, and formulaic Demotic funerary texts. For what are perhaps obvious reasons, cities such as Alexandria, Ptolemais, and the various localities of the Fayum forged more hybrid Hellenistic-Egyptian traditions in temple building and funerary culture, despite sharing particular themes.

In addition, the continued adoption of temple rituals for private use may have opened up a plethora of new compositions for inclusion into the funerary corpus. As priests considered temple ritual texts both as a source of private property belonging to the local priesthood as guarantors of this cultural heritage (rather than the state) and as a source for private funerary material, the majority of which was possessed by the very same priestly families, it became increasingly common to adapt these texts to their own uses, thereby creating a wealthy repertoire at their disposal.²⁴³ With the corpus expanding and the priestly scribes under less centralized religious training, we should perhaps expect a varied assemblage in the production of funerary manuscripts. As more texts are published and hopefully excavated, it would not be surprising to find important regional trends among various groups of funerary literature, with, however, Thebes occupying the predominant role.

The preceding overview of Egyptian funerary literature from the Greco-Roman Period reflects the great versatility reflected in the manuscript tradition from the late third century BCE until at least the second century CE. Sources from the end of the Ptolemaic Period and the early Roman Period show funerary literature in flux as the Book of the Dead essentially passes out of favor with the increased production of the Books of Breathing, Book of Traversing Eternity, and

²⁴³ Cf. Parkinson 2002, 68: "... institutional libraries may have been focal points for circulating copies and for individuals who obtained manuscripts for themselves," citing Nordh 1996, 155-156.

the adoption of Demotic for funerary texts. While funerary literature from earlier periods was by no means monolithic, the increase in the number of different compositions employed for funerary purposes in this period is dramatic, but such proliferation was also tempered by close scrutiny of the manuscript tradition. Compositions with well established scribal histories seem to have influenced some of the unparalleled texts and it is when funerary literature is at the height of its diversity with the addition of Demotic to the corpus that a new manuscript tradition producing a “standardized” text is born.²⁴⁴

Within a century of our earliest Demotic funerary text, a consistent version of the Demotic *‘nh p3 by* formulae appears, a new tradition emerging at a time of transformation. This appearance did not immediately supplant other funerary compositions, but it instead supplemented them. Although challenges exist in dating the manuscripts, it is likely that the *‘nh p3 by* papyri constitute the last attested funerary literature within the indigenous Egyptian tradition whose importance as a corpus has been overlooked until now.²⁴⁵ In order to fill this gap in our knowledge, it is necessary to examine the ritual language, production, function, employment, religious theology, and intertextuality of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts.

²⁴⁴ The historical development of Demotic funerary literature is treated fully in chapter five.

²⁴⁵ Riggs 2003, 194, described the papyri as the “latest securely dated funerary compositions.”

CHAPTER TWO

FORMULAIC DEMOTIC FUNERARY TEXTS¹

2.1 Introduction

As described in chapter one, Demotic funerary literature consisted of an array of compositional types that previous scholars have grouped together by length and/or formulae. Only meager manuscript traditions have so far been preserved for the more extensive texts and therefore tracing their redactional history has proven difficult.² The shorter texts have been sorted into two categories: non-formulaic and formulaic texts. Unique phraseology in the former complicates a classification based solely on textual criteria, but there was a shared purpose and utility between the two groups.³ For Christina Riggs and Mark Depauw, the multiplicity of approaches suggests that “[i]n the late Ptolemaic and early Roman Period the central ideas of unproblematic access to and a welcoming reception in the underworld seem to be expressed in a rather non-formulaic way.”⁴ However, there is a large corpus of Demotic texts employing the *‘nh*

¹ In the following discussion and throughout the remainder of this dissertation, references to formulaic Demotic funerary texts whose editions are provided below will not always be accompanied by footnotes containing publication information in order to avoid reduplication, unless necessary to prevent confusion. Complete bibliographic information for these texts is provided in the text editions at the end of this chapter. Information for texts not addressed there will be provided where appropriate.

² The difficulty stems mostly from the unique nature of the manuscripts or the dearth of multiple copies. For a detailed discussion of the criteria employed for determining redactional history of Egyptian texts, see von Lieven 2007, 205-250, an overview of which can be found in the review of Spalinger 2012, 379-380.

³ For further discussion, see chapter four, in addition to the comments of Vleeming 2011, 780, and Smith 1993, 14.

⁴ Riggs and Depauw 2002, 82.

p3 by formulae,⁵ inscribed on diverse media including papyri, sarcophagi, coffins, shrouds, bandages, mummy labels, stelae,⁶ and graffiti. Until recently, scholarly attention to manuscripts following the *nh p3* by formulae has been limited mainly to their philological interest.⁷

Formulaic Demotic funerary texts have been known to scholars since 1855 when Heinrich Brugsch included a facsimile of a Dresden papyrus in his Demotic grammar, where he described the text on this papyrus as a “petit extrait du ‘livre sacré de la transmigration.’”⁸ Descriptions of similar papyri from the Louvre museum were published in the catalogue of Deveria in 1874.⁹ In his 1901 study of mummy labels, Wilhelm Spiegelberg published a comparison of the *nh p3* by formulae from a variety of sources.¹⁰ Editions of these texts and several further examples were published between 1902 and 1906 by Spiegelberg (under the label

⁵ A convenient collection of this material has recently appeared in Vleeming 2011, some of which appears in translation in the survey of Smith 2009a.

⁶ The stelae were not included in Vleeming 2011, e.g., Uppsala Stela Inv. Nr. 27, published in Wångstedt 1970-1971, 52-53, and pl. II. See also Abdalla 1992.

⁷ The study of these texts consists primarily of text editions and philological commentary, e.g., Brugsch 1855; Spiegelberg 1902; *idem.* 1906-1908; Reich 1931; Botti 1941, 32-35, pl. 6; Müller 1976; Brunsch 1984; Chauveau 1990; Vittmann 1990; Hughes 2005, 8-9, pl. 12. Vleeming 2011 focuses closely on the texts and makes few references to the vignettes that could accompany them. Reich 1931, 86, notes the importance of these documents, but nevertheless his study is focused primarily on the philological aspects of the text as his subtitle indicates (“A Palaeographical Study of Papyrus British Museum 10072”).

⁸ Brugsch 1855, pl. X and page 202. “Transmigration,” a translation derived from the root *sni* “to travel,” is now generally considered obsolete in favor of “breathing” (as noted by Quaegebeur 1989, 782, and reviewed by Gee 2009, 135-138). See chapter one for a detailed discussion of *snsn* “to breathe.”

⁹ Deveria 1874, 143 (Louvre N 2420c), 139 (Louvre N 3165), 138 (Louvre N 3176q), 138 (Louvre N 3176r), 155 (Louvre N 3258), 139 (Louvre N 3375). Deveria published only descriptions. These texts, including Louvre E 10304, were examined by the author during a research visit to the Louvre in November 2006 made possible through the generosity of a François Furet Travel Grant.

¹⁰ Spiegelberg 1901, 9-15, including pDresden (= source D), pBerlin 1522 (= source B1), pBerlin 3169 (= source B2), Sarcophagus Florence 2166 (= source F), pCairo 31172 (= source G). He updated this with a brief note in Spiegelberg 1925, 29-31.

“Liturgischer Text”) in his catalogues of Demotic papyri in the museums of Berlin¹¹ and Cairo.¹² Georg Möller’s 1913 publication on mummy labels provided a catalog of formulae found in that corpus including the main elements of the *ḥꜥ pꜣ by* formulae.¹³ A few graffiti from Deir el-Medina tombs containing the formulae were published by Spiegelberg in 1928.¹⁴ The comparanda employed by Spiegelberg and Möller encompassed the extensive corpus of mummy labels, but in 1931 it was Julius Reich who reoriented these Demotic funerary compositions within the broader corpus of hieratic literature.¹⁵ His publication of pBM 10072, which only begins with the *ḥꜥ pꜣ by* formulae and then quickly diverges, focused on the philological details of the text, but he included a list of seven similar Demotic texts.¹⁶ Jan Quaegebeur followed Spiegelberg and Möller in 1978 by comparing the formulae with texts found on mummy labels.¹⁷

The scattered publications on Demotic funerary texts were brought together in a brief survey made by Mark Smith in an introduction to his 1979 University of Chicago dissertation on

¹¹ pBerlin 1522, Spiegelberg 1902, pl. 84; pBerlin 3169, Spiegelberg 1902, pl. 86.

¹² pCairo 30957, Spiegelberg 1906, 197; pCairo 31170, Spiegelberg 1906, 280-281 and pl. 112; pCairo 31171, Spiegelberg 1906, 281; pCairo 31172, Spiegelberg 1906, 282 and pl. 112; Linen Cairo 31175, Spiegelberg 1906, 284-285 and pl. 114; Linen Cairo 31176, Spiegelberg 1906, 285.

¹³ Möller 1913a, 4-5.

¹⁴ Spiegelberg 1928, 14-23. Similar graffiti from Medinet Habu were discussed by Thissen 1989, 196-197, and new examples (nr. 7) from the tomb of Nespekashuty (TT 312) will be treated by Ritner Forthcoming. I would like to thank Robert Ritner for sharing a pre-publication version of this article with the author.

¹⁵ Reich 1931 compared these documents to both hieratic and Demotic funerary texts, including the Books of Breathing and the Book of Traversing Eternity, although he was “not so sure” (85) about the relationship between the Second Book of Breathing and pBM 10072.

¹⁶ Reich 1931, 87: pCairo 31170, pCairo 31172, Linen Cairo 31175, pBerlin 1522, pBerlin 3169, pDresden, and Coffin Berlin Äg. Inv. 7227.

¹⁷ Quaegebeur 1978, 236-239, 251-255.

pLouvre E 3452, a Demotic version of the Book of Transformations.¹⁸ Smith identified 47 Demotic funerary texts, 36 of which he categorized as “short-formulaic.”¹⁹ However, his “short-formulaic” collection consisted of at least two categories: a miscellaneous group of twelve, each of which had contents of a non-formulaic nature and a group of twenty-four employing the ‘nh p3 by formulae. Known examples belonging to the latter group have since doubled in number and text editions of forty-five texts employing the ‘nh p3 by formulae (or elements thereof) are presented at the end of this chapter.

In 1990 Jan Quaegebeur made a fundamental contribution to the understanding of these texts which has since formed the basic analytical framework for all subsequent scholarship.²⁰ Quaegebeur reviewed the work of previous scholars, made comparisons with a number of similar texts, emphasized their Theban origin, established a date in the first to second century CE, and came to the conclusion that the papyri were “letters of recommendation” written by Thoth to usher the deceased into the beyond.²¹ Mark Depauw, despite some reservations about using the translation “letter” in reference to such texts, confirmed the relationship between these short Demotic texts and the hieratic Books for Breathing in 2003 by showing how two papyri written

¹⁸ Smith 1979, 2-13; Smith 2009a, 627-649.

¹⁹ However, it should be noted that pBM 10124, listed by Smith 1979, 4, as a short Demotic funerary text, is actually a hieratic copy of the Second Book for Breathing (with some unique sections), now published in Herbin 2008, 104-105, pls. 64-67.

²⁰ Quaegebeur 1990, 776-795. Smith 1992-1993, 152, remarked that Quaegebeur “has elucidated their purpose in a convincing fashion,” further endorsed in Smith 1998, 425, and Smith 2009a, 558. Stadler 2004, 571, cited the label *r t3 tw3.t m-b3h Wsir p3 ntr* 3 “to the netherworld before Osiris the great god” on the verso of pBM EA 10421 as support for Quaegebeur’s thesis. An appraisal of this hypothesis can be found in chapter four.

²¹ The function ascribed by Quaegebeur to the papyri was not evaluated by Abdalla 1992, 121-123, in reference to the ‘nh p3 by formulae found on stelae.

for the same individual were likely intended for placement beneath the head and feet within the burial.²² The corpus was reviewed in 2004 by Martin Stadler who published a comparative edition of nine *‘nh p3 by papyri*, five new papyri from the British Museum, and offered a brief discussion of eleven non-formulaic Demotic texts.²³ In his 2009 survey of Greco-Roman funerary literary, Mark Smith discussed and translated many Demotic funerary texts, including several following the *‘nh p3 by formulae*.²⁴ Sven Vleeming included a large selection of examples known to him in his 2011 collection of mummy labels and related texts.²⁵

Scholars have often described the formulaic Demotic funerary texts following the *‘nh p3 by formulae* as “abbreviated,” under the assumption that their contents were abridged versions of longer funerary compositions.²⁶ While these texts are short, their description as “abbreviated” has implied that their compositions are extracts from a more extensive source, employing the principle of *pars pro toto*. As Herbin has noted in reference to several Roman Period hieroglyphic funerary papyri: “Ce terme [abrégés] ne saurait s’appliquer aux papyrus ici étudiés, s’agissant de formules funéraires inédites dont on ne sait si elles sont extraites ou non d’un

²² Depauw 2003.

²³ Stadler 2004. As noted in the editions below, Demotic texts on the verso from several of the British Museum papyri had been omitted in Stadler’s publication.

²⁴ pBerlin 1522 and pMunich ÄS 826: Smith 2009a, 557-564.

²⁵ Vleeming 2011, 638-646 (nr. 1097-1101), 674-699 (nr. 1144-1157).

²⁶ See the title of Reich’s 1931 article “An Abbreviated Demotic *Book of the Dead*.” Brunsch 1999 follows Reich by entitling his article “Une version abrégée du ‘Livre des Morts’ en démotique tardif.” Similar sentiments are found in the description of Depauw 2003, 97: “Both [pCairo 31172 and pSydney Nicholson 346b] are abbreviated examples of what is often called a *š.t n snn* ‘document of breathing...’” As Coenen 2000, 86-87 notes, classification is difficult: “There also exist countless abbreviated versions, but their classification is still somewhat problematic and requires further research.”

recueil pré-existant.”²⁷ That the formulaic Demotic funerary texts summarize the major themes of their longer, non-formulaic counterparts is obvious and several elements of the phraseology have origins in earlier hieratic funerary literature. Nevertheless, they were not incomplete compositions and while similar phrases are found within Demotic funerary literature, no text has so far been discovered from which they have been extracted. Rather than “extracts” or “abbreviations,” the *nh p3* by texts should be considered a new compositional category, formulated with intention and purpose, as indicated clearly through the repeated imitation of established formulae over a period of at least a century. The document type was certainly considered *totum* by the Egyptian scribes who produced them.

2.2 Labels and Addresses

The categories employed by modern scholars in analyzing the *nh p3* by texts have no equivalent in ancient Egyptian terminology. In several instances, papyri containing the *nh p3* by formulae on the recto have labels or short phrases on the verso. The most common label is *t3 šc.t n snsn* “the document of breathing,” which mimics the labels and introductory titles found on the hieratic Books of Breathing.²⁸ In the case of the hieratic Books of Breathing, the label is often qualified as “First Book of Breathing” (*t3 šc.t n snsn mh-1.t*), “Second Book of Breathing” (*t3 šc.t n snsn mh-2.t*), or “Book of Breathing which Isis Made” (*t3 šc.t n snsn ir.n 3s.t*). Further qualification

²⁷ Herbin 2008a, 127.

²⁸ References in the literature to these Demotic texts reflect this usage, such as “Book for Breathing” (Ryholt 2011, 117, in reference to pBrooklyn 37.1797E+37.1798E), “Demotic Books for Breathing” (Ryholt 2010, 730), “Demotic Letter for Breathing” (Vleeming 2011, 638-639 and 783-789), or “Demotic Documents for Breathing” (Dieleman forth.).

does not occur on the formulaic Demotic funerary papyri, the following of which contain this label:

Table 2.1: Label $t^3 \check{s}^c.t n snsn$ “the document of breathing”

1. pBM EA 10421b vs.



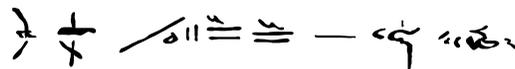
$[t^3 \check{s}^c.t n (saltire)^{29} s[nsn \dots]]$
 “[the docume]nt of br[eathing ...]”

2. pBM EA 10426 vs.



$t^3 \check{s}^c.t n (saltire) sn[sn \dots]$
 “the document of brea[thing ...]”

3. pDresden 828 vs.



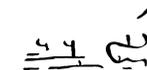
$t^3 \check{s}^c.t n snsn (saltire)$
 “the document of breathing”

4. pLouvre N 3176Q



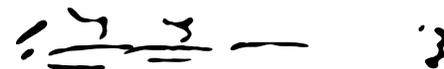
$[\check{s}^c.t]^{30} n sn[sn] n (saltire) Ws\dot{r} p^3 n\dot{r}^3$
 “[the document] of breat[hing] for Osiris, the great god”

5. pMunich ??? vs.



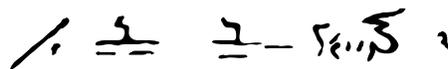
$[\check{s}^c.t] n snsn$
 “[document] of breathing”

6. pMunich 834a vs.



$[t^3] r^{\check{s}^c} [^c.t] n snsn$
 “[the document] of breathing”

7. pMunich 834b vs.

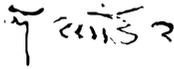


$t^3 \check{s}^c.t n snsn$
 “the document of breathing”

²⁹ The pattern of ink lines crossed over a strap used to close and seal the papyrus have been referred to as *saltire* or *decussis*, discussed further below and in Vandorpe 1996, 241-243; Vandorpe and Van Beek 2012, 86. A short, but popular discussion, can be found in Parsons 2007, 124-125.

³⁰ Small portion of scroll determinative can be seen at the end of the break.

Table 2.1: Label $t\dot{s}^c.t n snsn$ “the document of breathing” (Continued)

8. pVindob. 12017 
 $t\dot{s}^c.t n$ (saltire) $sn sn$
 “the document of breathing”
9. pVindob. 12019 
 $t\dot{s}^c.t [n sn sn]$
 “the document of breathing”

The fact that these papyri are labeled “the document for breathing” has led to confusion within the scholarly literature³¹ between the longer hieratic compositions referred to as the Books of Breathing, the abbreviated copies of the hieratic Books of Breathing, the Demotic $\epsilon nh p\dot{s} by$ papyri labeled “document for breathing,” for which Ryholt proposed the reference “Demotic Book for Breathing,”³² and miscellaneous funerary texts designated likewise. As noted by Smith,

[t]he term $\dot{s}^c.t n snsn$ was also used in a wider sense, as a designation for other compositions of a similar character which are unrelated to the First and Second Letters for Breathing. These other texts assume a number of different forms, and are attested both in hieratic and Demotic.³³

As the traditional terminology Book of Breathing is well established in reference to the hieratic compositions, it is retained here. Formulaic Demotic funerary texts following the $\epsilon nh p\dot{s} by$

³¹ Papyri such as these are presumably the origin of the reference in Hornung 1999, 24: “All copies of both books [First and Second Books of Breathing] known to date are written in hieratic; only a few abbreviated versions are in the Demotic script.”

³² Ryholt 2010, 730. Followed by Vleeming 2011, 783-789.

³³ Smith 1993, 14. At the time of writing, Smith was employing the division of Goyon 1972, 185-317, now updated by Coenen 1995.

formulae will not be referred to here as Books of Breathing or Demotic Books of Breathing to avoid furthering this confusion.³⁴

Four papyri contain a different label on their versos, whose decipherment has continued to defy certain interpretation. Until recently, the accepted reading was $p\text{ḥ} \underline{d}m^c n s\text{ḥ}$ “the papyrus of protection.”³⁵ Almost all previous commentators agree that the first sign is an unequivocal writing of alphabetic *s*.³⁶ Brunsch established the reading of the problematic word as a writing of $s\text{ḥ}$ “protection,” but did not identify the signs involved.³⁷ Unfortunately, the orthographies of $s\text{ḥ}(?)$ “protection(?)” preserved in these four papyri (see table 2.2) are unparalleled elsewhere.

³⁴ Perhaps surprisingly, Demotic copies of the hieratic Books of Breathing are unknown. If one day such texts are discovered, confusion is likely to increase.

³⁵ Brunsch 1984, 458; Quaegebeur 1990, 787-788; Stadler 2004, 570; Chauveau 1990, 8 n. 22; *contra* the reading of Hughes 2005, 9 ($p\text{ḥ} \underline{d}m^c n w\text{ḥ} sp-sn$ “the papyrus of enduring (and) enduring”).

³⁶ The sole exception is Hughes 2005, 9. The first and last signs seem secure, although homographs of the initial group are found in other lexemes such as $\text{ḥ} \llcorner \text{ll}$ *ih.t* “cow” (EG 41) and $\llcorner \text{ll} \text{ḥ}$ *mn* “remain” (EG 158). A brief survey of dictionaries and indexes suggests also that the initial form of *s* found here is more common in foreign words than in native Egyptian lexemes (although not unknown, e.g. EG 445 $\text{ḥ} \llcorner \text{ll}$ *sh* “mummy”), perhaps indicating a *hapax legomenon*. Divergent spellings of similar words are found in pMagical 2.8 $\text{ḥ} \llcorner \text{ll}$ (glossed $\text{C}\omega$), see Griffith and Thompson 1909, 71, cited in EG 403; Černý 1976, 146; and pRhind I, Id2 $\text{ḥ} \llcorner \text{ll}$ (in PN *Mnt-swf*), see Möller 1913, 74-75.

³⁷ Brunsch 1984, 458, cf. EG 403. Although no editors have explicitly identified it, it appears that the second sign in this word has been interpreted as a writing of the initial form of the quail chick (*w*). It is unusual to find the initial form of alphabetic *w* in the middle of a word. Alternatively, the flesh determinative (see Erichsen 1937, 39) and the *sp-sn* group represent alternative homographs.

Table 2.2: Orthography of sʾ(?) “protection(?)”

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E vs. |  |
| 2. pCairo 31171 vs. |  |
| 3. pLouvre E 10304 vs. |  |
| 4. pMunich ÄS 826 vs. |  |

Mark Smith has recently proposed reading $p^3 \underline{d}m' n s(n)s(n)(?)$ “the papyrus of breathing(?)”.³⁸

Smith astutely points out that the second sign in several examples closely resembles the Demotic group for *sp-sn* “two times,” particularly the example in pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E.³⁹

Therefore he has suggested that the word be read *ss*, i.e., *s-sp-sn* (*sp-sn* being a notation to repeat the previous sign), citing the writing *ss* attested as a variant of *ssn* in non-Demotic sources.⁴⁰

Although ingenious, the problems posed for such a reading necessitate caution in adopting it.

That *ss* is an attested variant of *ssn/snsn* can be questioned as the examples cited could actually

³⁸ I.e., *s-sp-sn*, Smith 2009a, 562, followed by Vleeming 2011, 683.

³⁹ For Demotic writings of the quail-chick in initial position, which can closely resemble the *sp-sn* group, see el-Aguizy 1998, 246-247. There is also a Demotic word *s's'* attested, perhaps meaning “to raise up,” which could be another possibility if the reading *ss* were accepted. For commentary on *s's'*, see Vos 1993, 207; Tait 1977, 19-20; Spiegelbeg 1910, 51*. Cf. *Wb.* IV, 54; *EG* 411.

⁴⁰ Citing *Wb.* IV, 277.

be read *ssn*.⁴¹ Furthermore, the clear document determinative, while fitting for the context, is not typical in orthographies of *snsn* even when *snsn* appears in such labels.⁴² Although clever sign combinations are a feature in the Egyptian scripts of Greco-Roman Egypt, it is unusual within these funerary texts.⁴³

Certain identification of the Demotic signs and thus the word appearing in these four examples has thus far eluded scholars. Mark Smith’s proposal is compelling, but the ingenuity of this reading causes hesitation. Brunsch’s original reading of *sʒ* requires less complication, although it remains unsatisfying. The problematic second sign (𐓚, 𐓛, 𐓜, 𐓝) could be understood as a homograph of the *sp-sn* sign (𐓞) such as the initial form of the quail chick (𐓟) or as the flesh classifier (𐓠, 𐓡),⁴⁴ attested in at least one hieroglyphic writing of *sʒ* “to protect” from the Ptolemaic Period.⁴⁵ Considering the problems involved and the statements

⁴¹ All the writings of *ss* from *Wb.* IV, 277, are determined by 𐓛 D19, a hieroglyphic sign with a consonantal value of /*sn*/ and could be interpreted as writings of *ssn* (as noted in chapter one). However, cf. the writing of *sn* 𐓛𐓛𐓛 in pMagical 21.4 (EG 435; Griffith 1909, 75).

⁴² For Demotic orthographies of *snsn*, see EG 439, and cf. with orthographies from table 2.1 above. This applies also to Demotic labels accompanying hieratic texts, such as *tʒ šʿ.t n snsn* on the versos of pBM EA 10191 (Herbin 2008a, pl. 32), pBM EA 10110+10111 (Herbin 2008a, pl. 59), and pBM EA 10304 (Herbin 2008a, pl. 60). One exception is pBerlin 3155, where the hieratic label on the verso includes the document determinative after *snsn* (Herbin 1994, pl. xix; Schott 1990, 368). However, the document determinative is typical for *sʒ*, see *Wb.* III, 414.

⁴³ For the expansion of values for individual signs, see Fairman 1945; Daumas 1988-1995; Kurth 2007.

⁴⁴ Examples from EG 426, and Erichsen 1937, 1, and 39, respectively. See also the very similar example of the flesh determinative and discussion of Widmer 2004, 669. The Louvre and Munich examples are even vaguely similar to a ligatured man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative.

⁴⁵ A writing of the verb 𐓛𐓛𐓛 *sʒw* “to protect” with a flesh determinative is known from Edfu IV, 58.8 (Wilson 1997, 782).

Table 2.3: Label $p\dot{3} \underline{d}m^c n s\dot{3}(?)$ “the papyrus of protection(?)” (Continued)

3. pLouvre E 10304 vs.



$p\dot{3} \underline{d}m^c n s\dot{3}(?)$ (saltire)
“the papyrus of protection(?)”

4. pMunich ÄS 826 vs.



$p\dot{3} \underline{d}m^c n s\dot{3}(?) m-b\dot{3}h Ws\dot{i}r$ (saltire)
“the papyrus of protection(?) before Osiris”

Three of the four examples of $p\dot{3} \underline{d}m^c n s\dot{3}(?)$ “the document of protection(?)” are qualified by the phrase $m-b\dot{3}h Ws\dot{i}r$ “before Osiris,” suggesting that the document would have been used or taken before Osiris.⁴⁸ In a similar fashion, short phrases often referred to as addresses occur on several papyri. On pBM EA 10415 vs. and pStrasbourg D 270 vs. there are short texts indicating the destination of the document. Unlike an epistolary address,⁴⁹ pBM EA 10415 vs. and pStrasbourg D 270 vs. were destined for use within a region of the cosmos ($tw\dot{3}.t$ “netherworld”) as well as before a specific individual ($Ws\dot{i}r$ “Osiris”).⁵⁰

pBM EA 10415 vs.



$r t\dot{3} tw\dot{3}.t m-b\dot{3}h (space) Ws\dot{i}r p\dot{3} n\dot{t}r \dot{3}$

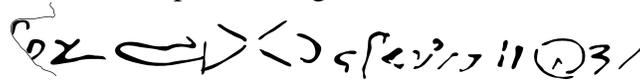
“To the netherworld, before Osiris, the great god”

⁴⁸ Cf. pLouvre N 3176 Q vs. $t\dot{3} \dot{s}^c t n s n s n n Ws\dot{i}r$ “the document of breathing for Osiris.”

⁴⁹ Standard epistolary addresses, for which see Depauw 2006, 113-127, have yet to be found on the Demotic funerary papyri.

⁵⁰ Smith 2009, 558-559: “...these are a special type of letter, directed not to an individual but to a place, the underworld....” Cf. Greek εἰς GN “to GN” in the mummy label (BM EA 66415), published in Muhs 2012, 288 (I would like to thank Robert Ritner for pointing this out to me).

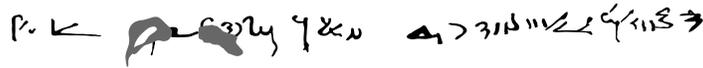
pStrasbourg D 270 vs.⁵¹



r t3 tw3.t m-[saltire]-b3h Wsir

“To the netherworld before Osiris”

A non-formulaic Demotic funerary text pSydney Nicholson 346 b contains a similar sentiment in its opening passage:⁵²



t3 šc.t r t3y.t=s m-b3h p3 nb ntr.w wsir

“The document to be taken before the lord of the gods Osiris”

Common to all these phrases is the deceased’s reception in the netherworld, a topic commonly found in contemporary Demotic funerary texts.⁵³ The introduction of pLouvre N 2420C, 1, addresses the “westerners” rather than the netherworld and likewise refers to the reception of the departed: *šp=y s r=tn n3 imnt.w n3 in-mwt.w n t3 wsh.t m3c.t iw-db3 hpr hm t3y* “May I take her to you, O westerners (and) deceased in the hall of two truths,⁵⁴ because she was a young person.”⁵⁵

⁵¹ Due to damage, pStrasbourg D 270 vs. lacks the epithet *p3 ntr* “the great god” after Osiris, as found in pBM EA 10415 vs., noted by Smith 2009, 558 n. 5.

⁵² Depauw 2003 identified the owner Theonas, son of Agathe, as the same individual for whom the formulaic Demotic funerary text pCairo 31172 was written. The core of pSydney Nicholson 346 b is essentially an Osirian litany (lines 1-7) with a short invocation of Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Habu at the end (lines 7-8). A clear relationship with the *n3h p3 by* formulae is demonstrated in line 9, which states the purpose of the text: *mtw=w ty n3h p3y=f by šc d.t* “so that they will cause his *ba* to live for eternity” (note the causative use of the verb *t3*, as translated by Smith 2009, 570, versus Depauw 2003, 95, who translated “so that they will give life to his *ba* until eternity”).

⁵³ Further examples can be found in Leitz 2011, 74.

⁵⁴  an unetymological writing translated “righteous” by Smith 2009a, 572 (understanding *m3c.t*) and “two truths” by Vleeming 2011, 709-710.

⁵⁵ Chaveau 1990, 3-8, cited by Leitz 2011, 74; given here with the improvements of Smith 2009a, 571-572, and Vleeming 2011, 708-710, Short Texts 2 Nr. 1171.

Mummy Label BM 23186, a 2-3, refers to the reception of the body in the netherworld: $i \check{s}p=w$ $h.t=s r t3 tw3.t m-b3h Wsir$ “O may her body be received in the netherworld before Osiris”⁵⁶ while a graffito from TT 214 refers to the reception of the *ba*: $\check{s}p Wsir Wn-nfr p3y=t by r t3 tw3.t$ “May Osiris Onnophris receive your *ba* in the netherworld.”⁵⁷ Mummy Label Berlin 10628 mentions both the *ba* and the body: $\check{s}p=w by=s r t3 tw3.t \check{s}p=w \{r\} h.t=s r t3 tw[3.t] m-b3h p3 nb ntr.w Wsir$ “May her *ba* be received in the netherworld. May her body be received in the netherw[orld] before the lord of the gods Osiris.”⁵⁸ Such phrases demonstrate the commonality of purpose for funerary texts on diverse media.

Semiotic ritual instructions for use accompany several labels in the form of a representation of the head or feet. This practice was already attested in manuscripts of the Ptolemaic Period on the verso of hieratic compositions such as the Books of Breathing where depictions of head, feet, or even short notes in Demotic concerning placement are found.⁵⁹ It is

⁵⁶ Cited with partial hand copy in Brunsch 1999-2000, 184. Cf. the reconstructed label on the verso of the hieratic First Book of Breathing, pBM 10109 vs. $di st3.t [wy=s] r [\check{s}sp=t]$ “May the necropolis extend [her arms] to [receive you],” Herbin 2008, 76, pl. 35-36. The latter phrase derives ultimately from the Pyramid Texts, see Rusch 1922, 55-56 (I would like to thank Robert Ritner for this reference).

⁵⁷ Spiegelberg 1928, 15, pl. 4.

⁵⁸ Möller 1913a, nr. 21, 5, pl. 7; Vleeming 2011, 179-180, Short Texts 2 Nr. 514.

⁵⁹ A copy of the First Book of Breathing occupies the recto of pBM EA 10191 and the verso contains a note in Demotic: $t3 \check{s}^c.t n snsn nty \check{s}m hr d3d3=f$ “the book of breathing which goes under his head” (Herbin 2008a, pl. 32). A similar note can be found on pBM EA 10304, a copy of the Second Book of Breathing: $t3 \check{s}^c.t n snsn nty \check{s}m hr rt3=f$ “the Book of Breathing which goes under his feet” (Herbin 2008a, pl. 60). pBM EA 10110+10111 has a copy of the Second Book of Breathing on the recto and a Demotic note on the verso: $t3 \check{s}^c.t n snsn mh-2.t nty iw=w r h3^c=s iir rt3$ (*space*) $Wsir s3wt [pr-hd] n pr Imn irm n3y=frpy.w rh ihy wr m hy.t=f$ “the Second Book of Breathing which should be placed at the feet (*space*) of Osiris, guardian of the ‘treasury’ of Amun and his temples, scholar, great one in his forecourt” (Herbin 2008a, pl. 59, who read $t3 \check{s}^c.t n snsn mh 2.t nty iw=w r h^c=s i.ir rd.wy.t Wsir s3w.t(y) [pr-hd] n pr Imn irm n3y=frpy.w rh hwt wr ...$). For *hy.t* “forecourt,” see EG 268 and 377; CDD H (29 June 2001): 01.1, 1-3 (especially the example from pMag 9.10). This passage is found at the beginning of the unpublished pRylands Hieratic 6, a

possible that these images were meant to be both pictorial as well as hieroglyphic instructions, standing for (*hr*) *d3d3* “(under) the head” or (*hr*) *rt.wy* “(under) the feet.”⁶⁰ Of the papyri, only pFlorence 3676⁶¹ shows an image of feet on the verso, the image of the head being more common. The placement of the image is on the outside of the folded papyrus juxtaposed to the labels, *saltire* seal patterns, as well as other images (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Representations of Head and Feet on Papyri

1. pFlorence 3676⁶²



2. pHaun. Demot. 1 vs.⁶³



copy of the First and Second Books for Breathing on the same papyrus. Rather than a head, an abridged version of the First Book of Breathing (pBM EA 10109) has simply *d3d3=s* “her head” on the verso (Herbin 2008a, pl. 35), pBM EA 10282 verso has *rt=f* “his feet” (Herbin 2008a, pl. 75), and pBM EA 10285 verso has *rt=s* “her feet” (Herbin 2008a, pl. 126), all in Demotic. pBM EA 10354 (Herbin 2008a, pl. 117), pFlorence 3669 (Pellegrini 1904, 218 and pl.), and pCairo 58017 (Golénischeff 1927, 72-74 and pl. 16) have drawings of a head while pCairo 58022 (Golénischeff 1927, 90-92) and pFlorence 3670 (Pellegrini 1904, 222 and pl.) have drawings of feet (cited by Smith 2009a, 543-544).

⁶⁰ The writing in pBM EA 10340 with a large head determinative resembling the illustrations under discussion suggests *tp=s* “her head” (Herbin 2008a, pl. 130). However, when the word is spelled out, it is spelled *d3d3*. It is found in Demotic in pTurin N. 766 *r t3 s:t n snsn nty iy hr d3d3* “the document of breathing which goes under the head” (Stadler 1999, 85 and pl. 26; see also pBM EA 1091 mentioned in the previous note) and it is commonly found in the hieratic Books of Breathing (Coenen 1995a, 35; Herbin 2008a, 2). For further discussion of the ambiguity in reading the head sign (D1), see Quack 2010b, 243. Although it may be tempting to interpret *hr d3d3* as a compound preposition meaning “beside” (> *2x.w*, see Klotz 2006, 76 and n. 56), the parallel (*hr*) *rt.wy* mitigates against this. The use of the bare noun *d3d3* “(his or her) head” without preposition with adverbial implication “on (his or her) head” also occurs in Demotic and Aramaic legal clauses; see Botta 2013, 36-37.

⁶¹ pFlorence 3676 has a mix of features, containing only one phrase from the *nh p3* by formulae and another phrase paralleled in pLouvre N 3165 and pLouvre N 3375.

⁶² On recto, hand copy from Botti 1941, 34; reproduced by Vleeming 2011, 706.

⁶³ pHaun. Demot. 1 remains unpublished. Appearance of the head on the verso is mentioned by Martin and Ryholt 2006, 274. A photograph of the recto of pHaun. Demot. 1 was graciously provided to the author by Kim Ryholt, who further noted that the papyrus is scheduled to be published in the Carlsberg Papyri series.

Table 2.4: Representations of Head and Feet on Papyri (Continued)

3. pLouvre E 10304 vs.



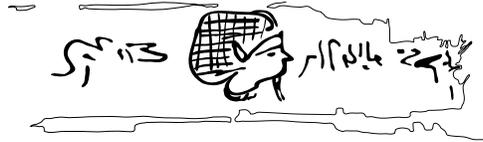
$p^3 \underline{d}m^c n s^3(?)$ (saltire)

“the papyrus of protection(?)”

4. pMoscow I.1d142 vs.



5. pMoscow I.1d143(?) vs.



[...]m-b \dot{z} h nb \dot{I} bt \check{s}^c \underline{d} .t

“[...] before the lord of Abydos for eternity”

6. pMunich ÄS 826 vs.



$p^3 \underline{d}m^c n s^3(?)$ m-b \dot{z} h Wsir (saltire)

“the papyrus of protection(?) before Osiris”

In addition to the pictorial instructions, many of the $n\dot{h} p^3$ by papyri contain a series of patterned strokes on the verso, as seen in the hand copies above. Ziemann proposed that similar markings found on Greek papyrus letters replaced the clay sealing typically used to control access and reduce tampering.⁶⁴ Ziemann’s suggestion was supported by Olsson and Crum, the latter noting that it “was accepted as a substitute for, or merely a reminiscence of, the elsewhere customary seal”⁶⁵ in his discussion of the writing materials used at the monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes. Early editors had often ignored the markings, perhaps assuming that they were merely

⁶⁴ Ziemann 1910, 281-282.

⁶⁵ Winlock and Crum 1927, 188. Citing Crum, Lüddeckens 1987, 34, provided a short discussion of several possible interpretations of the *saltire* pattern such as marking the place of the seal as well as representing the seal itself. In his discussion of pStrasbourg D 270, Brunsch 1999-2000, 184, cites the short treatment of Lüddeckens 1987, 34 (note Brunsch’s citation of Enchoria 1 should read Enchoria 15).

ornamental in nature, but with a surging interest in sealing practices within the ancient Near East during the last fifty years, their study has been placed on firm ground.⁶⁶

It has since become standard to refer to this seal marking as the *saltire* pattern or *decussis* because the ink patterns are often crossed.⁶⁷ The *saltire* pattern consists of a geometrical pattern employed as a make-shift seal. After a string or papyrus strap⁶⁸ had been secured around a folded document, a series of lines were drawn over the closure to form a “×,” “*,” or “✱” pattern.⁶⁹ If the document were to be opened, the lines would no longer connect, thus indicating that the security of the document had been compromised. Scribes commonly employed this feature in Greek and Coptic letters during the Roman and Byzantine periods, although it is absent from the few contemporary Demotic letters.⁷⁰ In addition to private letters, however, this sealing device was also employed on funerary papyri such as formulaic and non-formulaic Demotic papyri as well as hieratic manuscripts of the Books of Breathing,⁷¹ Book of Traversing Eternity,⁷² and

⁶⁶ For the use of the *saltire* pattern on Roman period letters, see Vandorpe 1996, 241-243; Vandorpe and Van Beek 2012, 86. It has become more common to find descriptions of the *saltire* sealing in papyrological editions, e.g., pOxy. LIX 3989 in Handley, Ioannidou, Pasrons, and Whitehorne 1992, 121, and pNepheros 1 in Kramer and Shelton 1987, 40.

⁶⁷ *Decussis* derives from the reference to the Roman numeral X, see Mlasowsky 1997, 359.

⁶⁸ The papyrus strap of unpublished pLouvre N 3176R and pMoscow I.1d.142 have been preserved and are mounted with the papyri. A papyrus strap used to close pBrux. Dem. E 8258 is visible in the published photographs (Quaegebeur 1990, 789 and 1120).

⁶⁹ In several instances, a papyrus has multiple *saltire*-seal patterns next to each other, indicating that the seal had been drawn on both the top and bottom of the folded document (cf. pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, see Hughes 2005, pl. 12; pBrux. Dem. E. 8258, see Quaegebeur 1990, 1120-1121, pls. 1-2; pMoscow I.1d.142 (unpublished); pBM EA 10123, see Herbin 2008, pls. 106, not indicated in the copy on pl. 107).

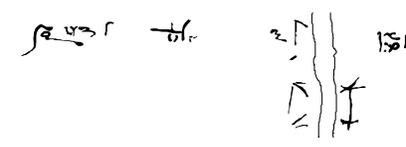
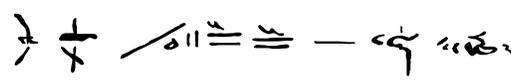
⁷⁰ Vandorpe and Van Beek 2012, 86; Depauw 2006, 79 n. 46. No Demotic documents are listed in the collection of documents containing *saltire* seal patterns provided by Vandorpe 1996, 268-274.

⁷¹ E.g. pBM EA 10124 vs., see Herbin 2008, pls. 66-67.

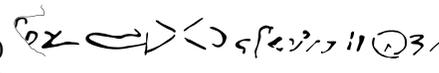
⁷² E.g. pBM EA 10114 vs., see Herbin 2008, pls. 143-144.

related original compositions.⁷³ The *saltire*-seal was written sometimes before the papyrus was folded and sometimes after. The label is occasionally interrupted by the seal pattern, although not always, indicating that the papyrus was folded and sealed prior to the label being written on the available space around the seal.⁷⁴ At other times, an exterior label was written on one side and the *saltire* pattern was drawn on the opposite side of the folded papyrus.⁷⁵ The pattern is found on the following formulaic Demotic funerary papyri.⁷⁶

Table 2.5: Saltire-Seals on Formulaic Demotic Funerary Papyri

1. pBM EA 10421b vs.	
2. pBM EA 10426a vs.	
3. pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E vs.	
4. pBrux. Dem. E. 8258 vs.	
5. pCairo 31171 vs.	
6. pDresden 828 vs.	
7. pFlorence 11919 vs.	

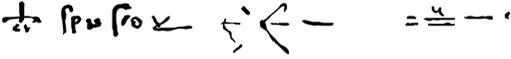
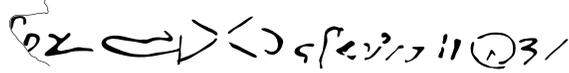
⁷³ E.g. pBM EA 10116 vs., pBM EA 10123 vs., pBM EA 10340 vs., pBM EA 10718 vs., see Herbin 2008, pls. 102-103, 106-107, 129-130, 139-140.

⁷⁴ See especially pStrasbourg D 270  where the compound preposition *m-b3h* “before” is separated by the *saltire* pattern.

⁷⁵ pFlorence 11919 vs.

⁷⁶ Several papyri versos have space where the papyrus was probably tied. It is possible that fading has now obliterated the *saltire*-seal patterns, if they had been present (e.g., pBM EA 10415 vs.).

Table 2.5: *Saltire-Seals* on Formulaic Demotic Funerary Papyri (Continued)

8. pLouvre N 3176Q vs. 
9. pLouvre E 10304 vs. 
10. pMoscow I.1d142 vs. 
11. pMunich ÄS 826 vs 
12. pStrasbourg D 270 vs. 
13. pVindob. D 12017 vs. 

2.2 The *‘nh p3* by Formulae

The contents of these texts consist of a number of funerary wishes for the benefit of the deceased persons for whom the texts were composed as well as for the benefit of those responsible for the burial. Despite the considerable number of parallels, it has not been possible to demonstrate that any one text serves as the *Urtext* for the corpus. Although there is significant variation, there are several often repeated formulae that form the core of the *‘nh p3* by formulae. Each surviving example may or may not contain any single element and their sequence is not fixed, although many follow the same or similar sequencing.⁷⁷ Details regarding individual texts can be found in the catalog of texts at the end of this chapter. Comments in this chapter will be kept to a philological nature, focusing on paleography, lexicography, grammar, and

⁷⁷ Cf. Vleeming 2011, 780: “The contents of the Demotic texts in question are extremely varied: a large part of them are unique compositions, even the twenty copies of the ‘standard text’ to be discussed in the next paragraphs show so much variation that only two are well nigh identical, two or three more come very close, whereas some copies show considerable interpolations.”

decipherment. Extensive commentary on the religious function and meaning of such texts can be found in chapter four.

The grammar of Demotic funerary texts varies between extensive use of “Classical Egyptian” forms and purely Demotic compositions. Unlike other funerary texts of the period which tend to show influences of “classical” Egyptian, the *‘nh p3* by texts are composed in Demotic grammar, with a limited number of archaisms or features of “elevated style.”⁷⁸ The designation derives from the introductory phrase of the formulae: *‘nh p3y=[k/f/s] by r nh3 rpy=f š’ d.t* “May [your/his/her] *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate for eternity.” Numerous texts containing just these introductory phrases or variations thereof, especially common on mummy labels and stelae, are known in hieroglyphic, hieratic, Demotic, and even Greek transcription.⁷⁹ This opening consists of two parallel hortatory wishes constructed with the prospective *sdm=f*⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Vleeming 2011, 790. See also Smith 1987a, 28-29; Smith 1993a, 18-19.

⁷⁹ A number of interesting examples are attested. A late Ptolemaic polychromed cartonnage mummy mask appeared as lot 236 in *Art of the Ancient World: Greek, Etruscan, Byzantine, Egyptian, and Near Eastern Antiquities Volume XVIII – 2007*. The back had a short text: *‘nh b3=f d.t=f d.t (n)h3* “May his *ba* (and) his body live forever and eternity.” Several hieroglyphic variants can be found in the corpus published by Reymond 1981, including: *i s‘nh b3=f r srnp d.t=f i sntr h3.t=f m hr.t-ntr* “in order to vivify his *ba*, in order to rejuvenate his body, in order to divinize his corpse in the necropolis” (BM 188, 6; Reymond 1981, 215 (transcription), 218 (translation), and pl. XVI); *wn b3=f ‘nh im (n)h3* “His *ba* will live there forever” (BM 391, 9; Reymond 1981, 97 (transcription), 99 (translation), and pl. VII). For discussion of the formulae on stelae, see Menu 1974, 69-71; Abdalla 1992, 121-123. For discussion of the formula on mummy labels, see Arlt 2011; Vleeming 2011, 792-795 and 801-802. Quaegebeur 1978, 254-255, points out two mummy labels with the Greek text $\alpha\nu\chi\eta\beta\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\mu\mu\alpha\ \omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\tau\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\ \nu\omicron\beta\eta\beta\omega\tau$, a transcription of *‘nh by=f m-b3h Wsir hnty imnt ntr 3 nb lb* “May his *ba* live before Osiris, foremost of the west, great god, lord of Abydos.”

⁸⁰ Quack 1991, 91-95 (cited by Vleeming 2011, 789-790) has attempted to show that the orthography of *‘nh* with the ayin written out is indicative of the prospective form and Quaegebeur 1978, 255, noted that a Greek transcription of *‘nh b3=f* as $\alpha\nu\chi\eta\beta\iota\omicron\upsilon$ further identifies the form as the prospective *sdm=f* (following the vocalization proposed by Vergote 1960, 21-23). As Quack noted (following a note of Spiegelberg in Sethe 1917, 41 n. 2, cited by Pestman 1995, 126 n. 7), this implies a different form of the *sdm=f* than that found in personal names of the *‘nh*-DN type, where the initial ayin is not written out in Demotic, a phenomenon that partially reflects the considerable

Although there have been various interpretations of the nuance of the initial clause,⁸³ Quaegebeur showed decisively that the Egyptian verb *šms* in this passage was translated into Greek using ὑπηρετέω “to serve, to be a servant,” reflecting the common usage of the lexeme in Coptic ⲠⲙⲚⲈ “to serve, to worship.”⁸⁴ Examples of *šms m-bʒh* “serve before” and *šms r* “serve for” show that physically “following” behind the god is probably not intended.⁸⁵ The combination of these two phrases is found already in Ptolemaic Period manuscripts of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made: *my šms=f Wsir hn' ntr.w qrty.w iw=f ḥs.tw m-m ḥsy.w* “Cause that he serve Osiris and the gods of the caverns, he being favored among the favored ones.”⁸⁶ Service for Osiris meant making the liturgical offerings and libations as suggested by the litany in pHarkness 6⁸⁷ as well as the terminology of liturgical service contracts.⁸⁸ Through such service,⁸⁹ the spirit becomes associated with the Solar-Osirian cult and entitled to mortuary offerings of its own.

⁸³ E.g., Brunsch 1984, 456 (“diene”); Brunsch 1990-2000, 183 (“serve”); Depauw 2003, 97 (“follow Osiris”); Stadler 2004, 564 (“folge”); Smith 2009a, 560 (“serve Osiris”). For discussion, see Reich 1908, 11, and Vleeming 2011, 791.

⁸⁴ Quaegebeur 1978, 252-253, following Möller 1913b, 4 n. 4. For ὑπηρετέω “to serve,” see *LSJ* 1872-1873. For ⲠⲙⲚⲈ “to serve, to worship,” see *CD* 567, *ČED* 245. For *šms* “to follow, to serve,” see *CDD* Š (24 March 2010): 10.1. See also Vleeming 2011, 791. It is uncertain if this interpretation can be applied to other constructions, e.g., Mummy Bed Berlin 12442 *ʿq=t m wsh.t mʿty.w ḥpr=t hn' iml.w-ht Wsir* “May you enter into the hall of the righteous. May you be together with those in the following of Osiris,” see Kurth 2010, 164.

⁸⁵ See *CDD* Š (24 March 2010): 10.1, 1511; further, for *šms m-bʒh* “serve before,” see Möller 1913b, 4; for *šms r*, see Spiegelberg 1901, 10 and 12.

⁸⁶ pBM EA 10048, 7.3-5: Herbin 2008, 13 (translation), 36 (commentary), pl. 13 (photo), pl. 14 (transcription). Cf. pBM EA 9995, 3.17-18: *my šms=f Wsir hn' ntr.w qrty.w iw=f ḥs m-m ḥs.w* “Cause that he serve Osiris and the gods of the caverns, he being favored among the favored ones,” dated through genealogy to the reign of Augustus, see Herbin 2008, 39 (translation), pl. 21 (photo), pl. 22 (transcription).

⁸⁷ In pHarkness 6.10-19, the father of the deceased performs a ritual recitation while libating (6.10: *m ḥrw pʒy=t it iw=f qbḥ n Wsir iw=f qbḥ n=t dd* “Through the voice of your father as he makes libations for Osiris and for you, saying”). In 6.15 the lamentations of Isis and Nephthys are mentioned followed by a reference to “Every praised one whose name Isis loves in order to give to them water” (*ḥsy nb nty mr ʒs.t rn=w r ti n=w mw*). Several imperative

Participation in the Solar-Osirian cult is encapsulated by the term *ḥsy* “praised, favored one,”⁹⁰ a common topic of concern in Demotic funerary manuscripts.⁹¹ These Demotic versions

phrases instruct to “give water at an offering table to DN” (*my mw r ḥtp*) concluding with a reference to the servants of Osiris in 6.17-18 *my šms=w n=f nṣy ntr.w nty ḥn nṣ mṣnw* “Have them serve him, the gods who are in the western mountains.” Smith 2005, 85, and 247 n. *f*, interpreted *šms* in this passage as causative (“May there be made to serve for him these gods who are in the western mountains”). However, the “gods who are in the western mountains” most likely refers to the deceased spirits of the western necropolis, identified in 6.27-28 as “all these *bas*, those of this mountainous region” (*nṣy by.w tr=w nṣw pṣy ḥr tw*) and they are the ones who will perform service for Osiris, to whom the passage refers (*n=f*). In pLouvre E 3452, 2.5-6, the *ba* of the deceased arrives to serve Osiris: *ii.n by n iṣ-m-ḥtp ms.n Tṣ-šr.t-Bṣs.t ih šms=k r nḥḥ ḥn n=f tṣ nb.t ʿr ih šms=f* “The *ba* of Imhotep, whom Tsenbast bore, has come to serve you forever while the lady of the uraeus issues orders about his service” (Smith 1979, 64-65). For further commentary on this form of service, see Smith 2006b, 334-336.

⁸⁸ Standard phrases appear throughout the contracts, such as OIM 6984, 3 *mtw=y ir nṣy=w šms.w mtw=y ir nṣy=w ʿrṣ.w* “And I will perform their services and I will perform their purificatory offerings,” published in Kaplony-Heckel 2004, 311-312 (nr. 12), and republished in Kaplony-Heckel 2009, 1307-1308 (nr. 29). This class of liturgical transfers on ostraca is discussed in Kaplony-Heckel 2004. The terminology *šms* and *ʿrṣ*, together with their respective Greek equivalents αἰ λειτουργία and τὰ ἀγνευτικά, are discussed by Pestman 1993, 458-459, and 461-463. Such services were taxed through the state by the *ʿq rmt iw=f šms* “income of a server tax,” discussed by Muhs 2005, 55-56.

⁸⁹ A ubiquitous theme in Egyptian texts: pHor 5.2-3 *ʿnḥ bṣ=k šms=k Wsir snsn=k (m)-ḥnt Rṣ-stṣw* “May your *ba* live. May you serve Osiris. May you breathe in Rosetjau,” see Ritner 2011, 128 (transliteration and translation) and pl. 1 (photo); pLouvre N 3083, 7.5-6 *šms=t Rʿ šms=t Wsir bṣ=t ʿnḥ iw (n)ḥḥ d.t* “As you serve Re, so you serve Osiris. Your *ba* will live forever and eternity,” see Herbin 1999, 186 (translation), 212 (transcription), pl. xxi (photo); on Third Intermediate Period Coffins *ink wʿ m šmsw Wsir* “I am one in the following of Osiris,” see Billing 2002, 143; Elias 1993, 608; Gauthier 1913, 457-458. For further discussion of the “following” of Sokar and Osiris, see Leitz 2011, 75-76.

⁹⁰ CDD H (30 July 2009): 0.1, 258-259.

⁹¹ A similar phrase is found in the Liturgy for Opening the Mouth for Breathing, pBerlin 8351, 2.15-16 *Wsir ḥnt imnty.w mtwk wʿ n nṣy=f ḥs.w* “As for Osiris, foremost of the westerners, you are one of his favored ones,” see Smith 1993, 25 (transliteration), 31 (translation), 49 (commentary), pl. 2 (photo). A section of pHarkness 5 contains a repeating refrain to various divinities, including the deceased in 5.27 *iw=t ḥs r nḥḥ* “You are praised forever,” see Smith 2005, 80-81 (transliteration and translation), 226 note *a*. In pRhind 1, 8d.10, the sons of Horus reassure the deceased that Osiris will favor him: *ḥs=f t=k r nḥḥ* “May he favor you forever.” When it is Osiris’s turn to speak (pRhind 1, 9d.1-2), he orders the gods to accept the deceased among the favored ones: *pṣy rmt nty ḥṣt=f mnḥ my s ḥn nṣ ḥsy.w* “As for this man whose heart is beneficent, place him among the favored ones.” For further references to *ḥsy* in the Rhind papyri, see the index in Möller 1913a, 43*, and the translation in Smith 2009a, 302-334. The end of the first chapter of “Awakening the *Ba*” in pBM 10507, 4.14-15 (parallel in pHarkness 2.16), places the deceased among the favored ones of Isis: *iw=k ḥn nṣ ḥs.w n tṣ ḥm.t ny-sw.t tp.t ṣs.t wry.t mw.t-ntr ḥr-ib ḥpw* “You are among the favored ones of the foremost royal wife Isis, the great, god’s mother, in the midst of Akhmim” (Smith 1987, 39;

were preceded by numerous hieratic variants from manuscripts of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made⁹² and the Book of Traversing Eternity.⁹³ In turn, the association between the immersion of Osiris in the Nile, drowned individuals, and “praised ones” made it a popular concept in literature from all periods.⁹⁴ Within the corpus under discussion, *ḥs.w* “favored ones”

with comments of Smith 2005, 153 and 224). References are also attested on stelae: Stela Geneva A 2009-2, 2 *rn=s ḥs nḥḥ d.t* “Her name is praised forever (and) eternity” (Laurent and Widmer 2011-2013, 84); Stela Vienna Kunst 5843 *iw=k ḥs m-b3ḥ Wsir-Ḥp p3 ntr 3* “You will be a favored one before Serapis, the great god” (Bresciani 1967, 32). In mummy label Berlin 10585, a similar phrase is found employing *ihy* “spirit” for *ḥsy* “favored one,” *nḥ p3 by n PN [iw]=s ḥn n3 ihy(.w) [nty] šms Skr-Wsir [šc] r d.t* “May the *ba* of PN live [while] she is among the spirits [who] serve Sokar-Osiris [for] ‘ever’ (Vleeming 2011, 170).

⁹² pBM EA 10260, 1.x+13-15: *dī=f ḥpr=k m ḥs.w=f r nb šsp b3=k r p.t ntry ḥ.t=k m dw3.t r snsn=k ḥn c b3.w ntr.w iw=k w c m ḥs.w šps m ḥr.t-ndr iw b3=k ḥs ḥr-tp t3 d.t* “May he (Osiris) cause that you be among his favored ones every day. May your *ba* be received to heaven. May your body be divinized in the netherworld so that you may breathe together with the divine *bas* because you are one of the favored ones, a noble in the necropolis. Your *ba* will be praised upon the earth (for) eternity,” see Herbin 2008, 45 (translation), 48 (commentary), pl. 25 (photo), pl. 26 (transcription). See also the comments of Herbin 2008, 48, note to lines I, x + 12-13, and 143, note to lines x + 5-6.

⁹³ pBib Nat 149: *iw=k ḥn n3y=f ḥs.w n mne* “... for you are among his favored ones daily ...,” see Stadler 2003, 28 (transliteration and translation), 44-45 (commentary), and 182 (hand copy). Cf. the hieratic versions published by Herbin 1994, 70 (translation). See also the ritual title of pLouvre I 3079, 110.3 *šn.t nt- c pn ih3=s n šn.t=f wnn=f ḥs n Wsir ḥr tp-t3 m-m nḥ.w* “Recitation of this ritual is effective for its reciter. He will be a favored one of Osiris on earth among the living,” see Goyon 1967, 95 (translation) and 141 (transcription). Of course, references abound in other sources as well, e.g., pMMA 35.9.21, 3.6 and pTamerit, x+1.6 *n3 ḥs.w m wsh.t 3.t* “the favored ones in the great hall” (Beinlich 2009, 63).

⁹⁴ E.g., the episode of drowning in the first tale of Setna (pCairo 30646, 4.9-14) and note 19 of Ritner in Simpson 2003, 460, along with “consecrating animals by drowning” in the magical handbooks (Ritner 1995b, 3352). There has been much discussion of the “drowning” of Osiris and “apotheosis by drowning” with disagreement over whether or not Osiris was drowned or simply cast into the Nile postmortem and how this relates to the status of deceased individuals. Pestman 1993, 470, summarizes by stating that “... according to Griffith and other scholars a person becomes ‘blessed’ by drowning, but according to Quaegebeur in the first place by a ritual immersion of the corpse” (cf. the comments in CDD H (30 July 2009): 0.1, 258). Note the description in pMMA 35.9.21, 26.6-7: *sw mī Stš p3 nšny p3 nty n-iw iw ḥr=f ḥs iw ir.ty=f inḥ n grg iw ire qnw m wḥm mī m ire=f sw ḥr-ḥ3.t m d3 ḥr itrw* “He is like Seth, the rager, the one who has come. His face is fierce. His eyes filled with the lie in order to commit evil again like what he did previously when crossing the river.” However, I do not see how the two need be mutually exclusive as drowning or the ritual imitation of it through immersion in water would have produced the same outcome, both of which seem to play a role in Egyptian funerary practices (thus the inconsistency and our confusion). For further discussion, see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 38-39 n. to line 31; Griffith 1909, 132-134; Budge 1920, 83; Kees 1932, 402-405; Dölger 1939, 153-182; Rowe 1940, 1-67, 291-299; el-Amir 1959, 126-137; Morenz 1959, 132-143; Hermann 1966, 370-410; Te Velde 1967, 84-86; Lindsay 1968, 298; Griffiths 1970, 34, 273, 344, 388, 431; Burton 1972, 60-61; Heyob 1975, 38; Quaegebeur 1977a, 138-143; Quaegebeur 1977b, 246-250; Tait 1977, 57-58 and n. *d*; Frankfort 1978, 191-192, 391 n. 42, and 393 n. 72; Evrard-Derriks and Quaegebeur 1979, 41-42 n. b and 53;

has two different orthographies;⁹⁵ one employs the familiar group writing and the other uses a much reduced writing that would be difficult to interpret without the extensive parallels shown in table 2.6.⁹⁶ The vertical strokes at the beginning of this reduced writing probably represent a phonetic spelling of ἐσιῆς, a transcription known from the magical handbooks,⁹⁷ for which the Bohairic dialect ⲈϮⲈ (Sahidic ϩⲗϮⲈ) shows the loss of the initial rough breathing (see table

Griffiths 1980, 9-10; Vernus 1991, 19-34; Hornung 1992b, 105; Pestman 1993, 470-473; Benko 1993, 124; Goelet 1994, 149; Ritner 1995b, 3352 n. 91; Willems 1996, 154 n. 745; Koenig 1998, 225-226; Wagner 1998, 1073-1078; Hare 1999, 13; Quack 2000-2001, 5-18; Griffiths 2001, 616-617; Ritner 2002, 94; Pinch 2002, 78; Smith 2005, 132 n. *d* to line 37, 232 n. *a* to line 24, and 246 n. *b* to line 16; Muhlstein 2005, 177; Mojsov 2005, 86; Vinson 2008, 328; Mairs and Martin 2008-2009, 60-67; Ulmer 2009, 121; Traunecker 2010, 177 (reference to immersion of deceased in the “lake of the just”); Ray 2011, 17 n. a; Lycourinos 2012, 55-56; Hays 2012, 590. The term *ḥs* “favored one” was also used in reference to certain deceased individuals commonly referenced in the transfer of rights for mortuary service. In pBM 10026, 5-6 and 8, a list of the “tombs of the favored ones” (*nḥ ḥw.wt n nḥ ḥsy.w*) is juxtaposed with a list of “the tombs of the people” (*nḥ ḥw.wt n nḥ rmt.w*). For publication of pBM 10026, see Andrews 1990, 17 (transliteration), 19 (translation), and pl. 6. In this context, Quaegebeur 1977b, 248-249, noted the translation of *ḥsy.w* as ὑποβρύχιοι “those under water” (*LSJ* 1876b) in a bilingual sale of liturgies published in Griffith and Wilcken 1908, 108, with the notes of Pestman 1993, 89-91.

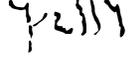
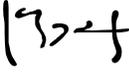
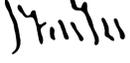
⁹⁵ Concerning the variant orthographies of *gmḥs* “sacred falcon,” Quack 2012, 227, explains that the “reason for the divergence” in variant orthographies of *ḥs* “praise” from Roman Period manuscripts “is perhaps that *ḥs* ‘praise’ gradually fell out of normal use (it is hardly attested in Coptic).” However, the common presence of *ḥs* in the texts under discussion, as well as in the magical papyri (*rḥ n tī ḥs mr.t* “spell for giving favor (and) love” pBM 10588, 7.1, published in Bell, Noch, and Thompson 1933, and this type of spell was discussed in Ritner 1995b, 3348), suggest that the term was well known to priestly scribes as shown, in fact, by the study of the use of the term *ḥs* in the spells for “favor and love” by Quack 2011. For a discussion of orthographic variation and so-called “non-etymological” writings in Demotic, see Widmer 2004, 672-683 683 (and the literature cited there); Smith 2009b, 356-357; and Quack 2012a, 219-243 (esp. 235-237).

⁹⁶ For pMunich ÄS 826, 3, Vleeming 2011, 686, notes that “the writing of the *ḥs* group is very reduced.” For pBerlin 3169, 3, Vleeming 2011, 681, reads <*ḥ*>*s.w* and suggests that “the *ḥs* sign itself was apparently omitted.”

⁹⁷ For discussion and bibliography, see CDD H (30 July 2009): 09.1, 258; *LSJ* 697a; Pestman 1993, 470-473; Ritner 1995b, 3352 n. 91. It has been transcribed both with and without the rough breathing. Quaegebeur 1977a, 140, and 1977b, 246-247, following closely the Coptic orthographies, transcribed ἐσιῆς and ἄσιῆς, suggesting a reduction in the initial vowel with the loss of *h/ʔ*. This conforms to the phonetic rule described in Peust 1999, 158, “The basic rule seems to be that *h* is lost in word onset position before unstressed *λ* in Bohairic” and should be combined with the observation in Peust 1999, 251, that: “All Coptic dialects allow for *λ*-, *Ϯ*-, and *ϮϮ*- to appear in unstressed word-initial position, with much variation across the dialects as far as *λ*- and *Ϯ*- are concerned.”

2.8).⁹⁸ It is uncertain if there is any relationship between this word and the lexeme originally read sy “to praise,” but which now has been interpreted as *sm* “to praise.”⁹⁹ The parallels attested below suggest that a form of *hsi* “to praise, to favor” is intended.

Table 2.6: Orthographies of *hsy.w* “favored ones”

pBerlin 1522, 2		pBerlin 3169, 3	
pBM EA 10415, 8		pBrooklyn 37.1797E+37.1798E, 3	
pBrux. Dem. E. 8258, 5		pLouvre E 10304, 3	
pLouvre N 3258, 4		pHaun. Demot. 1, 7	
pMunich ÄS 834b, 7		pMoscow I.1d.142, 3	
pStrasbourg 26 D		pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 4	

⁹⁸ Writings such as  pBrooklyn 37.1797E+37.1798E, 3, can be read *s.w* based on comparison with EG 461-462  *sw* “day, time.” Writings such as  from pMoscow I.1d.142, 3, can be read as *ese.w* or ‘*se.w*. The similar alphabetic orthographies  and  listed under *hsy* in EG 330 have been reinterpreted as writings of *hky* “magician” by CDD H (30 July 2009): 09.1, 258. For the reduced Coptic form in Bohairic ⲉⲈⲓⲉ, see CD 710, KHWb 392, ČED 710, DELC 313-314. Although it is tempting to see dialectal aspects to these Demotic orthographies, it is difficult to establish as many of the texts presumably derive from the same location (Thebes). The presence of ⲉⲟⲓⲛⲥ in the magical texts is commented on by Ritner 1995b, 3352 n. 91.

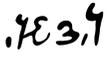
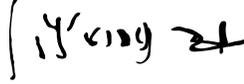
⁹⁹ For a discussion of sy  vs. *sm* , see Smith 1987, 86 n. (a) to l. 4.21; Smith 1993, 65 n. to l. 5.16; Smith 2005, 136 n. (c) to l. 2.6 and 143 n. (c) to l. 2.16. The Demotic attestation of sy “to praise” was originally connected to the word attested in hieroglyphs as *sīw* “to complain, to praise” (*Urk.* IV, 34; Wilson 1997, 797). Mark Smith (personal communication) has now reinterpreted such instances as examples of *sm* “to praise” (EG 430-431) < *sm*³ “to praise” (*Urk.* IV, 125; Wilson 1997, 845 s.v. *smw*) > Coptic ⲈⲞⲟⲤ “to bless, to praise” (CD 335; ČED 152; KHWb 185; DELC 188).

Table 2.6: Orthographies of *hsy.w* “favored ones” (Continued)

pVienna D 12017, 4		pMunich ÄS 826, 3	
pVienna D 12019, 3			

Having established the deceased in the service of Osiris, the topic of offerings continues in the next conjunctive passage by mentioning that the deceased will receive libation from the offering table of Osiris:¹⁰⁰ *mtw=[f/s] tšy mw hr tš htp.t m-sš Wsir n pš šy m-sš Wn-nfr* “May [he/she]¹⁰¹ take water from the offering table after Osiris (and) from the lake after Onnophris.” Several editors translated the final section as “after Osiris of the lake (and) after Onnophris” interpreting the conjunction to be signaled by the repetition of *m-sš* “after” and taking the *n* after Osiris as an indicator of the indirect genitive.¹⁰² However, the sense of the latter translation had never been

¹⁰⁰ The connection between the “favored ones,” offerings, formulaic Demotic funerary texts, and the feast of Amenope will be discussed in detail in chapter four. Note, however, Quaegebeur 1990, 788: “Nos textes démotiques sont apparentés plus spécialement aux manuscrits du groupe dit d’Amon-d’Ope, à cause de la formule se rapportant aux loués (les *hsj.w*) qui reçoivent l’eau sur la table d’offrande, formule qu’il faut sans doute rattacher aux libations décadaires.”

¹⁰¹ In texts written for women, the 3fs suffix pronoun appears here (e.g., pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E; pHaun. Demot. 1; Coffin Louvre N 2576; pLouvre N 3258; pMunich ÄS 826; pMunich ÄS 834a). However, in certain examples, the 3ms suffix pronoun appears (e.g., the 3ms suffix pronoun follows the conjunctive throughout pBrux. dem. E. 8258, with one exception in line 10; pStrasbourg D26). In these cases, one could assume scribal confusion, but it is more likely a reference to the masculine noun *ba* at the beginning of the text just as in *nḥ pšy=s by r nḥ rpy=f š d.t* “May her *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate for eternity.” Cf. also the use of 3ms pronouns following reference to Osiris PN, when PN is female, discussed in Ritner 2010, 176 n. 26.

¹⁰² Spiegelberg 1901, 12 (“von der Opfertafel hinter dem Osiris des Sees hinter Onnofris”); Quaegebeur 1990, 781 (“sur la table d’offrande derrière Osiris dans le lac, derrière Onnophris”); Depauw 2003, 97 (“on the offering table after Osiris of the lake and after Onnophris”); Stadler 2004, 565, and Stadler 2012a, 150 (“auf der Opfertafel hinter Osiris vom See, hinter Wen-nefer”); vs. Smith 2009a, 560 (“upon the offering table behind Osiris, and from the sea behind Wennefer”); Vleeming 2011, 792 (“on the offering table after Osiris (and) in/from the lake after Onnophris”).

explained.¹⁰³ The correct understanding of the passage is, however, demonstrated by the occurrence of two parallel variants preserving *ḥr t3 ḥtp.t m-s3 Wsīr ḥr p3 šy m-s3 Wn-nfr* “from the offering table after Osiris (and) from the lake after Onnophris.”¹⁰⁴ In several cases, the preposition *ḥr* “upon” is written as *ḥ*, Coptic Ⲅ (see table 2.9).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Although there does not seem to be an actual reference to “Osiris of the lake” in these texts, such a designation is not impossible as the Fayum is often referred to as *t3 šy* “land of the lake” and was considered one of the locations sacred for the burial of Osiris (Zecchi 2006, 130). The Book of the Fayum ends with the text *Rc Wsīr ḥr pr-3 š pn pw* “This lake is Re, Osiris, Horus, Pharaoh” written inside of a cartouch and refers to Osiris as *nb š=f* “lord of his lake” (Beinlich 1991, 1267 and 368). The Book of Traversing Eternity also refers to Osiris *ntr 3 ḥry-ib t3-š* “great god who resides in the land of the lake” (Herbin 1994, 240, 369). A liturgical text from the Fayum dealing with the burial ceremonies of Osiris, pBerlin 6750, 5.14, refers to *w^b sp-sn Skr m Tše Skr m R3-ḥny(.t) Skr-Wsīr m šy* “Pure, pure is Sokar in the Fayum, Sokar in Lahun, Sokar-Osiris in the lake,” see CDD Š (24 March 2010): 10.1, 7, for discussion of this text see Widmer 1998; Widmer 2003, 15-18; Widmer 2005. The Book of the Ba contains a long section on various waters: *dī=sn mw m šy imnt.t* “May they give water from the lake of the west,” only in version MG, see Beinlich 2000, 48-49, with partial transliteration and translation in Quirke 2013, 550. A reference in a magical text makes reference to *iw Wsīr ḥr mw ir.t Ḥr m-^cf py wr m ḥf tkn.t(w) r nty ḥr n tkn.t(w) r Wsīr* “Osiris is on the water, the eye of Horus with him, the great winged scarab in (his) grasp. One does not approach the one who is on (the water). One does not approach Osiris,” see Andrews 1998, 301-302. There is also the “great lake of Khonsu” (*šy wr n Ḥnsw*) referenced in pRhind I, 3.2, and the Book of Breathings which Isis Made: pLouvre N 3121, 7.11 “Osiris will be towed into the great lake of Khonsu” (*iw=w st3 Wsīr r ḥn n p3 šy wr n Ḥnsw*), see Herbin 1999; Smith 2009a, 316; Ritner 2001, 169; Ritner 2011, 100-101 n. 111; Stadler 2012a, 146. For commentary on a reference to the *šy wr* “great sea” in the Liturgy for Opening the Mouth for Breathing, see Smith 1993, 41-42, n. *e* to 2.3. There is also a reference to the *šy ntry* “divine lake” associated with the Osirian cult in the Book of the Temple (Quack 2010c, 24-25, 28). The preparation instructions for the magical spell for sending a dream in pLouvre E3229, 3.25, indicates that water from the *šy ntry* “divine lake” be used to water plants used in the spell (Johnson 1977, 61, 69, pl. 12; Johnson in Betz 1996, 325-326; Quack 2010c, 28; Quack 2011b, 132-133). Note that the beginning of this spell refers to a *iyḥ šps ntry nt[y p3y=f by m p].t he3.t=f m tw3.t she=f[...]* *i wpwty nfr n Wsīr i r šms¹ wr ḥry nm.t=f* “noble divine spirit who[se *ba* is in heave]n, whose corpse is in the netherworld, whose mummy [...], O perfect messenger of Osiris, O great ‘follower’ of he who is on his funerary bier.” This spell, therefore, reflects several aspects of the *nḥ p3 by* formulae: water from the lake, *ba* in heaven, corpse in the netherworld, and service (*šms*).

¹⁰⁴ pBM EA 10415, 5-7, and pStrasbourg D 270, 4-6. For discussion of the phrase, see Vleeming 2011, 791-792. In addition, many texts end with *m-s3 Wsīr* “after Osiris,” which is never qualified by *n šy* “of the lake” (e.g., pDresden 828, 5; pLouvre N 3176Q, x+4-x+5). This interpretation is supported by similar passages from other texts: pLouvre N 2420c, 2-3 *iw=w r qbḥ n=s mw ḥr t3 ḥtp.t m-s3 šs.t irm Wsīr* “She will receive a libation of water upon the offering table after Isis and Osiris,” see Chauveau 1990; pBerlin 8351, 2.3/pLouvre E 10607, 15-16 *šp=k mw n rpy m-s3 Wsīr šp=k qbḥ m-s3 p3 nb ntr.w in=y n=k mw n šy wr* “May you receive water of rejuvenation after Osiris. May you receive libation after the lord of the gods. I will bring to you water from the great lake,” see Smith 1993, 24, 31, pl. 2, and pl. 7; Stela Cairo 50031 *t3y mw t3 ḥtp(.t) n Wsīr* “Take water (from) the offering table of Osiris,” see Spiegelberg 1932. Note the curse against tomb robbers: *ir nty nb r th.t ḥ3.t=i m ḥr.t-ntr nty r šd.t twt=i m is=i wnn=f m*

Table 2.7: Writings of *hr* as *h*

pBerlin 3169, 4 ¹⁰⁶	
Coffin Florence 2165 ¹⁰⁷	
pLouvre E 10304, 4	
pMoscow I.1d.142	
pMoscow I.1d.143(?) ¹⁰⁸	
pMunich ÄS 826, 3 ¹⁰⁹	

Not every passage from the formulae concerned the deceased directly. Building upon the concept of “praise, favor” (*hs*), the subsequent conjunctive dealt with the interaction of the deceased with those who prepared them for burial: *mtw=[f/s] hs n3 iir qs=[f/s] m-b3h Wsir hnt imnt ntr 3 nb 3btw* “And may [he/she] favor those who prepared [his/her] burial before Osiris, foremost

hbd n R' nn šsp=fmw hr wdḥ(w) n Wsir nn sw3d=fḥ.wt=f n hrd.w=f r nḥḥ “As for anyone who will attack my corpse in the necropolis, who will remove my statue from my tomb, he is a hated one of Re. He shall not receive water from upon the altar of Osiris. He shall not transmit his property to his children forever,” see Ritner 2012, 396.

¹⁰⁵ CDD H (30 July 2009): 09.1, 201. Similar forms cited already in EG 320 from pCairo 30646, 5.12. Cf. the orthography of *h3* “behind” from pBM 10508, 18.12, cited in CDD H (30 July 2009): 09.1, 1. See also pBerlin

3169, 7  (in *hr p3 t3*); pBM EA 10072, 4  (in *hr p3 t3*); Coffin Florence 2165  (in *hr p3 t3*); pLouvre E 10304, 6  (in *hr p3 t3*); pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 6  (in *hr p3 t3*).

¹⁰⁶ Noted by Vleeming 2011, 681.

¹⁰⁷ Hand copy from Vleeming 2011, 640.

¹⁰⁸ In this example, the scribe seems to have written the sign once and not being happy with the result, wrote a second sign over the top of the first.

¹⁰⁹ Noted by Stadler 2004, 564; Smith 2009a, 563 (“The preposition *hr*, ‘upon,’ is written as if it were *h.t*, ‘before’”); Vleeming 2011, 686 (“*h3.t* used for *hr*”).

of the west, great god, lord of Abydos.” The latter sought the favor of the powerful spirit of the dead through fulfilling the obligations of the mortuary cult.¹¹⁰ Just as Osiris will be gracious to Isis and Nephthys for the gathering of his body and embalming (pBremner-Rhind 11/5-11/12), so too will the deceased (i.e., Osiris) favor (*hs*) those who prepared his funeral (*n3 iir qs=f m-b3h Wsir*).

In five cases there follows a conjunctive phrase whose problems of decipherment warrant an extended discussion. Martin Stadler, in his comparative transliteration and translation of pBerlin 3169 and pMunich ÄS 826, suggested the following:¹¹¹

pBerlin 3169, 5-6	<i>mtw šy</i>	<i>rnpy,t=f</i>	<i>m-qty Nw.t nt fy hr t3 p.t</i>
pMunich ÄS 826, 6-7	<i>mtw</i>	<i>rnpy</i>	<i>m-qty Nw.t nt fy hr t3 p.t</i>

Smith improved upon this understanding in his translation of pMunich ÄS 826, which he read *mtw(=w) twy=s(?) hy rpy hr-ir=s m-qty t3y(?) rpy(.t) nt fy hr t3 p.t* “And may she be positioned(?) so that the noble lady raises her up like this(?) female figure which lifts up the sky.”¹¹² Since the attempts of Stadler and Smith to decipher this passage, several new parallels have been identified: pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 5-7,¹¹³ and pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8-9, as well as a garbled, partial parallel in in pMoscow I.1d.142 (see table 2.8).

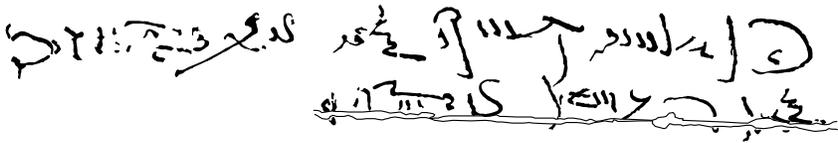
¹¹⁰ Here we find an allusion to necromantic principles familiar from the letters to the dead and gods, whereby supplicants sought help from powerful spirits by providing the spirit with offerings along with requests for aid. For letters to the dead and gods, see Gardiner and Sethe 1928; Gardiner 1930; Hughes 1958; Hughes 1968; Hughes 1969; Lüdeckens 1971; Wentz 1975/1976; Migahid 1987; Vittmann 1995; Ritner 2002, 89-96; Janák 2003, 275-277; Migahid and Vittmann 2003; Ray 2005b; Gesterman 2006, 289-306; Endreffy 2009; Endreffy 2010.

¹¹¹ Stadler 2004, 565-566 and n. 58.

¹¹² Smith 2009, 563-564 and n. 17-20, followed by Vleeming 2011, 680-681 and 685-686.

¹¹³ Unrecognized by previous editors as a parallel: Hughes 2005, 8-9 (nr. 16); Vleeming 2011, 681-684.

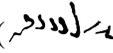
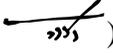
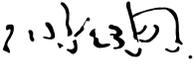
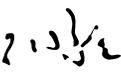
Table 2.8: Parallel Examples of Undeciphered Passage

1. pBerlin 3169, 5-6 
2. pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 5-7 
3. pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8-9 
4. pMunich ÄS 826, 6-7 
5. pMoscow I.1d.142, 9 

Despite the existence of parallel examples of this phrase, many difficulties remain in its decipherment. The reading *mtw* is certain. While it is possible to interpret the various orthographies as *mtw(=w)* following Smith,¹¹⁴ none of them include an unambiguous second vertical stroke.¹¹⁵ Inserting the third person plural suffix pronoun stems from the need to have a subject following the conjunctive morpheme, but the lack of its appearance in every example argues against this interpretation.

¹¹⁴ Smith 2009a, 563, n. 17. Cf. EG 187; Johnson 1976, 182.

¹¹⁵ pBerlin 3169, 5 ; pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 5 ; pMoscow I.1d.142, 9 ; pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8 ; pMunich ÄS 826, 6 .

Smith interpreted the subsequent group as a form of *tī* “to give” followed by a suffix pronoun. In pBerlin 3169, 5 () the suffix pronoun =f follows this group and it is probable that the signs following a similar group in pMunich ÄS 826, 6 () represent =s, although now obscured by a drop of ink from the scribe’s pen. The parallel section of pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8 () shows no suffix pronoun and pMoscow I.1d.142, 9 () shows what could be a writing of *ty* with what may be the head of a suffix pronoun =f. An interesting variant is preserved in pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 5 ().¹¹⁶ Based on the parallels, the final group  should represent *tw=s*. This leaves an unambiguous *t3/n3* sign following *mtw*, suggesting that the following group could be the nominal necessary for the missing subject. Although *tī* “to give” is a possible reading for the various orthographies discussed here, it does not produce the best sense. Considering that the reading *tī* derives from the forearm sign (D37 ), it is possible that this group represents the homograph for *ʕy.t* “limbs” or *ʕ.wy* “arms.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Although it is tempting to read *mtw=s*, the third person feminine suffix pronoun is written consistently throughout pBrooklyn 37.1797E+37.1798E with multiple vertical strokes, cf. *mtw=s* in line 3 () and line 4 ().

¹¹⁷ Or perhaps read *ḏr.t* “hand(s)” (CDD D (29 June 2001): 01.1, 60-65).

The body part can take the suffix pronoun and can be written with the arm sign or its variants.¹¹⁸

Thus I tentatively suggest the reading *mtw n3 ʿy.t(?)=s* “And may her limbs(?).”¹¹⁹

The next group is written šy three times (pBerlin 3169, 5 ); pMoscow I.1d.142, 9

; pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8 ) and ideographically in pMunich ÄS 826, 6 ().¹²⁰

Although read šy “lake” by Stadler,¹²¹ a comparison of the various orthographies of šy “lake”

within the texts confirms Smith’s rejection of this interpretation in favor of *hy* “to be high, to raise.”¹²² The distinctive determinative distinguishes *šy/hy* “to be high, to raise” specifically

¹¹⁸ See the entries under *ʿy.t* “limb” and *ʿwy* “arms” in CDD ʿ (23 July 2003): 03.1, 4-5; EG 51-52.

¹¹⁹ This leaves an obvious problem of the definite article preceding a noun with attached suffix pronoun. With the small set of nouns that continue to take the suffix pronoun for possession from Late Egyptian onward, this feature is not unknown, see Junge 2001, 58-59; Wente 1967, 47 n. f; Borghouts 1971, 124. The phenomenon occurs in Demotic texts with nouns outside of this restricted group as well, see Smith 2005, 152; Smith 1988, 88. Cf. also the use of the demonstrative pronoun with a noun governed by the suffix pronoun (*m ʿ.wt=i iptn* “in these limbs of mine” in pEbers 2.1-6, a passage discussed in Quack 1999).

¹²⁰ Assuming the correct interpretation of the final preceding group  as =s.

¹²¹ Stadler 2004, 565. For orthographies of šy, see EG 484-485 and CDD š (24 March 2010): 10.1, 6-11.

¹²² Smith 2009, 563-564 and n. 18, followed by Vleeming 2011, 680-681, and 685-686; *Wb.* 4, 237; Wilson 1997, 706. Cf. *hy* “to raise up” *Wb.* 1, 224; Wilson 1997, 176; EG 70; CDD ʿ (23 July 2003): 03.1, 127. For Demotic orthographies of *hy*, see EG 349 and CDD Ĥ (14 June 2006): 06:1, 15-19. A similar oscillation can be found in the orthographies of  *šw* “to raise up, to ascend” and ,  *hy* “to raise up” in the Book of Traversing Eternity, see Herbin 1994, 94 (commentary to I, 11-12), and 297 (transcription of textual parallels), and Herbin 2008, 156 (commentary to line 11), and pls. 143-144 (photograph and transcription); cf. van der Molen 2000, 610-611 (s.v. *šw*). Similar hieroglyphic writings are attested, e.g., Dendera 15, 42, 11  *nwi šy.t šyw.t h(r) ip.t* “I am Fayt, who carries under the sky.” For *ip.t* “sky,” see *Wb.* I, 68. It is interesting to note that one of the goddesses associated with the pillars of the sky is named *Hy.t*, (along with *hʿ.yt*, *twšy.t*, and *šy.t*), see Kurth 1975, 91-96; Leitz 2002, *Band V*, 640, and that Anubis can take the epithet *hy-p.t* “he who raises the sky,” see pLouvre E 3229, 4.16, published in Johnson 1977, and cited by Leitz 2002, *Band V*, 639. For the development from *h* > *š* as reflected in Coptic, see Peust 1999, 115-118.

from šy “lake.”¹²³ Smith understood *hy* to be a *sdm=f* form in a purpose close (“... so that the noble lady will raise him up ...”).¹²⁴ However, attestations of *hy* being used in conjunction with the preposition *hr* meaning “to raise up under” are to my knowledge extremely rare.¹²⁵ Perhaps this group is simply an adjective describing the “limbs” of the deceased: *mtw* ‘y.t(?)=[f/s] *hy* “And may [his/her] long limbs(?)”¹²⁶

The following group read by Smith as the “noble lady” (*rpy.t*) must be compared to a similar group later in the line read by Smith as “female figure” (*rpy.t*).¹²⁷ Despite the similarities, however, the two are distinguished in each case by different, but consistent orthographies (see table 2.11).¹²⁸ In both words, the writing of the initial group is the same, while the middle group and determinative are distinct.

¹²³ Cf. pBerlin 3169, 5, šy (for *hy*) “to be high” vs. pBerlin 3169, 4, šy “lake” and the determinative of pBerlin 3169, 3, *mw* “water” ; pMoscow I.1d.142, 9, šy (for *hy*) “to be high” vs. pMoscow I.1d.142, 4, šy “lake” and the determinative of pMoscow I.1d.142, 3, *mw* “water” ; pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8, šy (for *hy*) “to be high” vs. pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 5, šy “lake” and the determinative of pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 4, *mw* “water” ; pMunich ÄS 826, 6, *hy* “to be high” vs. the determinative of pMunich ÄS 826, 3, *mw* “water” .

¹²⁴ Smith 2009a, 563.

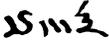
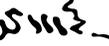
¹²⁵ Cf. Dendera 15, 42, 11 *nwi* *f*y.t *š*yw.t *h*(r) *i*p.t “I am Fayt, who carries under the sky” and *hy-p.t* “he who raises the sky.”

¹²⁶ For *hy* “long,” see CDD H (14 June 2006): 06.1, 15-19.

¹²⁷ Smith 2009a, 563-564. Followed by Vleeming 2011, 680-681, and 685-686.

¹²⁸ Smith 2009, 564 n. 20: “There is a play on words here involving two different senses of the noun *rpy.t*: ‘noble lady’ and ‘figure, representation.’ The ‘noble lady’ is the goddess Nut, who is also depicted below the text.”

Table 2.9: Orthographic Comparison of *rpy(.t)* “noble lady” and *rpy(.t)* “female figure”

Text	<i>rpy(.t)</i> “noble lady”	Text	<i>rpy(.t)</i> “female figure”
pMunich ÄS 826, 6		pMunich ÄS 826, 7	
pBerlin 3169, 5		pBerlin 3169, 6	
pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 6		pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 6	
pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8		pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 9	

It is clear that there are two distinct elements here. To begin with the latter group, previously read *rpy(.t)* “female figure,” the consistent vertical stroke determinative suggests that this group refers to the pillars which hold up the sky, commonly referenced in hieroglyphic texts by *rmne(.w)* “pillars, supports.”¹²⁹ While a reading of *rmne(.w)* is not impossible for the paleography,¹³⁰ more likely *rpy(.t)* is an oblique reference to the pillars as the personified goddesses *Hyt* “one who is high,” *hꜥyt* “one who stands,” *Twꜥyt* “one who raises,” and *Fꜥyt* “one who carries” known from hieroglyphic temple texts.¹³¹

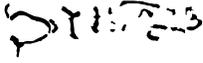
¹²⁹ *Wb.* IV, 420; Wilson 1994, 583, with references to “‘carrying or holding up’ the temple roof or, more symbolically, heaven.” As a noun in Demotic *rmn* “support, pillar” is unattested and the closest parallel is found in the Ptolemaic Period title *rmn p.t hꜥbs hꜥpr.w* “pillar of heaven, clother of manifestations” where *rmn* is written with the forearm with downward palm (D41 ) , see CDD R (29 June 2001): 01.1, following the priestly title (*rmn p.t*) known from Dendara cited in *Wb.* II, 420; EG 301 (where Erichsen read *rmn hꜥry hꜥbs hꜥpr.w*); Thompson 1934, 12 n. 5. For discussion of the epithet *rmn p.t* “supporter of heaven,” see Leitz 2012, 240-241.

¹³⁰ The similarity between the two groups in this line suggests that they be interpreted in the same way and the paleography strongly suggests *rpy*. That being said, *mtw ꜥy.t=f hy rmn hr-r=f m-qty nꜥ ftw rmn(.w) nty fy hr tꜥ p.t* “And may his limbs/arms raise the support under him like the four supports which lift under the sky” is a tempting interpretation.

¹³¹ Neugebauer and Parker 1969, 256-258; Kurth 1975, 91-96; Leitz 2002, *Band V*, 640. For *rpy.t* “statue of a goddess,” see CDD R (29 June 2001): 01.1, 29. There are similar references to the four pillar goddesses throughout Greco-Roman temple texts, e.g., Dendara Text Nr. 4 *dd md.w(t) iw.ty [m] hꜥp Twꜥyt twꜥ ip.t wꜥs wdꜥt hr ꜥ.wy=s* “Recitation: Come in peace, Twayt, who raises heaven, who lifts heaven upon her arms” and *ink Twꜥyt twꜥ p.t n nb p.t Hr-ꜥhty nꜥr ꜥ hr-ib İwn.t rmn=i ry.t n Rꜥ hr-ib hꜥw.t-nꜥr hꜥp=f wbn=f m hꜥnt=s* “I am Twayt, who raises heaven for the

The occurrence of the *rpy*-group with pillar determinative is always preceded by a sign previously read as *t3y* “this.” However, a better sense is derived if the sign is read as *ftw* “four”¹³² along with the definite article *t3* following *m-qty*, thereby interpreting the text as *m-qty t3 ftw rpy(.wt) nty fy hr t3 p.t* “like the four goddesses which support the sky.”¹³³ Such a reading improves the explanation of the various groups: the *t3* sign after *m-qty*, *ftw* in place of *t3y* (Smith) or *N.t* (Stadler), and the vertical determinative representing a pillar on *rpy.t* (see table 2.10).

Table 2.10: Parallel Examples of *m-qty t3 ftw rpy(.wt) nty fy hr t3 p.t*

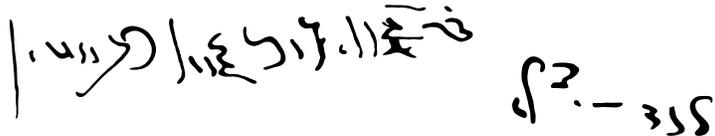
1. pBerlin 3169, 5-6
- 
- 

lord of Heaven Horakhty, the great god in Dendera. I have supported heaven for Re who is in the temple before which he sets and rises” (Kurth 1975, 15); Dendara 15, 20.20 *ink hi.t rmn p.t n nb.t=s Hw.t-Hr nb(t) Iwn.t* “I am Hiyt, who supports the sky for her lord Hathor, lady of Dendera”; Dendara 15, 42.11-12 *ink f3y.t 3yw.t h(r) ip.t tw3 Nw.t n nb Nw.t* “I am Fayt, who lifts under heaven, who raises Nut for the lord of heaven ...” (for the writing *ip.t* “heaven,” see *Wb.* I, 68.). Cf. also PT 417 (741a-e) *sdr wr hr mw.t=f Nw.t hbs tw mw.t=k T3i.t f3=s tw r p.t* “May the Great One sleep upon his mother Nut. May your mother Tait clothe you. May she lift you up to the sky” (Billing 2002, 38). These examples from Dendera pun on the use of *Iwn.t* “pillar” for the site (Gauthier 1925-1931, 56; *Urk.* I, 54). Note also the vignette of BD 131 in pBM EA 10086 showing the deceased raising the sky (Mosher 2011, fig. 35; Quirke 2013, 292) and the reference in BD 169 to *i iw n=k hm W3dy.t in=sn n=k 3.wy T3y.t* “O, may the majesty of Wadjet come to you so that they may bring to you the arms of Tait” (Quirke 2013, 541).

¹³² There is a consistent orthography in the examples:  pBerlin 3169, 5;  pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 6;  pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 9;  pMunich ÄS 826, 7. Although the orthography is similar, these examples more closely match the expected writings of *ftw* “four” listed in EG 696-697 than the writings of *t3y* “this” listed in EG 601.

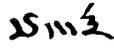
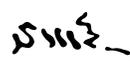
¹³³ The word order here does not following bookkeeping style; see Spiegelberg 1975, 48; Johnson 2000, 56-57. Note the use of the singular article in the writing of *p3 4 t3w* “the four winds” from pSpiegelberg 1.7, cited in EG 670; CDD T (29 June 2001): 01, 13; and Spiegelberg 1975, 4; *t3 4.t tby.t thn3* “the four faience bricks” from pHarkness 5.5 (Smith 2005, 78).

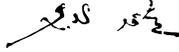
Table 2.10: Parallel Examples of *m-qty t3 ftw rpy(.wt) nty fy hr t3 p.t* (Continued)

2.	pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 6-7	
3.	pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 9	
4.	pMunich ÄS 826, 7	

Returning to the first example of *rpy(.t)* read by Smith as “noble lady,” it is clear that in every example there is a final sign that does not belong to a reading of *rpy(.t)* as “noble lady” (see table 2.13).¹³⁴

Table 2.11: *rpy(.t)* “noble lady”

Text	<i>rpy(.t)</i> “noble lady”
pMunich ÄS 826, 6	
pBerlin 3169, 5	
pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 6	
pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8	

¹³⁴ Unidentified by previous editors, although Stadler 2004, 565, read *rnpy.t=f* for pBerlin 3169, 5, dismissed by Vleeming 2011, 681 (“... and the *t=f* which has no place in *r(n)py* ...”), without further comment (not mentioned in Vleeming’s discussion of the orthographies of *rpy* on 828-831). In pMunich ÄS 826, 6 , Vleeming 2011, 686, interpreted the group following *rpy* as *hr-ir=s* (“The reading *hr.ir=s*, ‘beneath her,’ leaves *rpy* without determinative”), while I would read rather *rpy hr=s* in comparison with pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 6  *rpy hr=s*. Cf. to the masculine examples of *rpy hr-ir=f* in pBerlin 3169, 5  and pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8 , both of which have the determinative followed by the preposition.

passage have not been solved, perhaps some of the improvements offered here can lead to a more certain future interpretation.¹³⁸

Many of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts close with the formula providing the age of the deceased: *rnpt n 'nh r-ir=[f/s] hr p3 t3 ## rpy=[f/s] d.t* “Year(s) of life which [he/she] passed on earth, ##. May [he/she] rejuvenate (for) eternity.” Mummy labels commonly provide similar information and may represent an importation from the Hellenistic cultural practice of including the deceased’s age on funerary stelae.¹³⁹ A single example contains wishes for the children of the deceased to remain after them: *mtw n3y=[f/s] hrt.w smn m-s3=[f/s] hr p3 t3* “And may [his/her] children remain after [him/her] upon the earth.”¹⁴⁰

Finally, there are two papyri which begin with the *'nh p3 by r nhh rpy=fr d.t* “May the *ba* live forever, may it rejuvenate for eternity” formulae, but diverge into a separate set of phrases. Both papyri are in the Louvre collection, pLouvre N 3165 and pLouvre N 3375, have a parallel set of formulae, and appear to be written for an individual named Shai, whose mother was unknown to the scribe. Where the matronym is expected, the circumlocution *t3-3t.t-ir-ms.t=f* “the womb which bore him” appears.¹⁴¹ The two sets of formulae end with a phrase following closely

the sky” (Quirke 2013, 541). See further the discussion of Kurth 1975; Cauville 2009, 69-71; and Wilson 1997, 378-379.

¹³⁸ Cf. the depiction of Geb stretching out the legs of the deceased in the Nut texts: *dwn.n=i n=k rd.wy=k qrf* “For you I have stretched out your bent legs” (Elias 1993, 567-568).

¹³⁹ Arlt 2012. For determining the age of individuals, see Kruit 1998.

¹⁴⁰ pBerlin 1522, 4.

¹⁴¹ This Egyptian circumlocution is an accurate translation of a similar circumlocution known from the corpus of Greek magical papyri. A Roman Period lead tablet discovered in Jerusalem, dating to the third-fourth centuries CE, contains a Greek binding spell. After two separate personal names in three instances, the formula $\eta\nu/\delta\nu \xi\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu \eta \mu\eta\tau\rho\alpha$ “whom the womb bore” appears (Ben Ami, Tchekhanovets, and Daniel 2013, 232 and 234).

the Demotic note appended to the Book of Traversing Eternity in pBerlin 3044: *iw-iw=k hms.t m hr-ntr m wt n 3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr* “... while you dwell in the necropolis through the decree of Isis, the great, god’s mother.”¹⁴² In the two Louvre papyri, we find rather *my mn by=f m p.t he.t=f m tw3.t r hrw 3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr t3 ntr.t 3.t* “May his *ba* remain in heaven, his corpse in the netherworld, at the request of Isis, the great, god’s mother, the great goddess.”¹⁴³ The daily separation and nightly reunion of the *ba* and corpse were integral to Egyptian afterlife conceptions, mimicking the Solar-Osirian cycle itself, and references are found throughout Egyptian funerary literature.

2.4 Dating and Paleography

All the papyri have been assumed to derive from the Thebaid, if not the city of Thebes itself,¹⁴⁴ but examples from Gebelein should temper these assumptions.¹⁴⁵ In addition, one should keep in mind the examples on bandages and mummy labels from other locations including the Memphite region. Lack of secure proveniences complicates assigning dates to the texts because no find spots can be ascertained and additional material culture associated with the

Hollmann 2011, 160, has argued that the circumlocution with μηρὰ μέτρα “polluted womb” may indicate the ignoble birth of an individual. See further the discussion in Jordan 1976, 129-132; Jordan 1988, 239-241; Faraone 2012, 67.

¹⁴² For text, see Herbin 1994, pl. 17. For translation, see Smith 2009a, 436. Vleeming 2011, 673-674, provides a hand copy, transliteration, and translation.

¹⁴³ Cf. Linen Missouri Col. 61.66.3: *py p3y=s by r t3 p.t t3y=s h.t r t3 tw3.t* “May her *ba* fly up to heaven, her corpse to the netherworld” (Parlasca 1963, 264-268; Vleeming 2011, 595-596); pRhind II, 9.3: *my mn t3y=s h.t hn t3 tw3.t* “May her corpse remain in the netherworld” (Möller 1913a; cited in Allen 2013, 149). The association of the *ba* with heaven and the corpse with the netherworld was common in Egyptian funerary literature since the time of the Pyramid Texts. See the discussion in chapter four along with Žabkar 1968, 111, n. 139; Assmann 2005a, 90-94; Assmann 2005b, 138-142; and Assmann 2008, 524.

¹⁴⁴ Vleeming 2011, 675. However, note the caution of Stadler 2004, 554.

¹⁴⁵ Ryholt 2011, 112, see discussion under No. 16 (pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1978E).

original depositions can not be compared. The formulaic Demotic funerary texts have been dated to the first through third centuries A.D.¹⁴⁶ “The texts of the papyri,” as Riggs states, “are the latest securely dated funerary compositions from Egypt and are in keeping with other funerary literature of the Roman Period.”¹⁴⁷ The latest date so far considered for these manuscripts is the third century CE.¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately, all known papyrus copies have entered collections through illicit digging and the antiquities market. Unlike more extensive hieratic and Demotic manuscripts, owners of the formulaic papyri were often only identified by their name, supplemented occasionally by patronyms or matronyms.¹⁴⁹ The lack of titles associated with the owners of these papyri frustrates further attempts at dating based on genealogies or identifying the individual owners. In addition, the scribes employed to compose the texts are never identified. Scholars have thus relied almost exclusively on paleography. Although there has been some success with establishing several chronological models for dating Demotic papyri through paleography, it remains an inexact science for Demotic papyrology as a whole.¹⁵⁰ The variety of scribal hands associated with the formulaic Demotic funerary texts further complicates an already difficult issue.

Despite the slim evidence, we can make some qualifying statements. The earliest Demotic examples of the *‘nh p3* by formulae occur in graffiti dated to the Ptolemaic Period from

¹⁴⁶ Quaegebuier 1990, 786; Depauw 2003, 96-98; Smith 2009, 557, 561, 565, 568; Stadler 2004, 554; Vleeming 2011, 675 and 782.

¹⁴⁷ Riggs 2003, 194. Unfortunately, they are not as securely dated as one would like.

¹⁴⁸ Stadler 2004, 554; Vleeming 2011, 707.

¹⁴⁹ Barbash 2011, 19.

¹⁵⁰ Individual texts are well studied, but the comparative study of Demotic paleography is still a developing field. See Zauzich 1968; Tait 1977, viii-ix; el-Aguizy 1986; Vleeming 1991a, 191-252; Vleeming 1991b; Pestman 1994; Depauw 1997, 57; el-Aguizy 1998.

the Theban west bank: in the temple of Medinet Habu and the tomb of the 26th Dynasty vizier Nespekashuty.¹⁵¹ Several Ptolemaic mummy labels from Thebes and Dendera attest to the initial phrases of the formulae in Ptolemaic times.¹⁵² At the time, formal funerary literature was written in hieratic and only in the informal setting of graffiti and mummy labels could Demotic be used for such funerary texts. Over a century would pass before Demotic was used for formal funerary texts. The fact that the earliest known funerary papyrus written in Demotic does not appear until 57/56 BCE suggests a *terminus post quem*.¹⁵³

Apart from these inscriptions, the remaining examples of formulaic Demotic funerary texts can be safely dated to the Roman Period. Various elements of the paleography suggest this date,¹⁵⁴ but the most secure dating criteria currently available derive from the few texts with known archaeological contexts and connections to known individuals. Lids of two coffins that belonged to individuals buried at Deir el-Bahari and associated with the Soter group burial contain Demotic funerary texts employing the *ḥpꜣ* by formulae and it has generally been assumed that their dates are roughly contemporary with papyrus exemplars.¹⁵⁵ Exact dates are known for the death of several of Soter's family members, all dating to the first half of the

¹⁵¹ Thissen 1989; Ritner forth.

¹⁵² Vleeming 2011, 792.

¹⁵³ Smith 1979, 3. Although new data may force revisions to this date, e.g., the discussion in Riggs 2005, 63-64, concerning the Akhmim coffin group. If her dating to 83/82 BCE is accepted, it would make the Demotic funerary texts from these coffins the earliest datable Demotic funerary texts known. However, as Riggs discusses, an alternative date in the reign of Augustus (3/4 CE) is possible and preferable.

¹⁵⁴  *mw.t* "mother" (pLouvre N 3165, 3). Cf. Vos 1978, 260.

¹⁵⁵ Riggs and Depauw 2002, 75, 78.

second century CE.¹⁵⁶ A coffin with the Demotic formulae now in Florence is dated to the last quarter of the second century CE.¹⁵⁷ The reuse of the Soter group coffins in burials from the 3rd century CE further establishes their date.¹⁵⁸ A series of burials of the late third and early fourth centuries CE from Deir el-Bahari are more stylized and no papyri were mentioned in their discovery.¹⁵⁹ Likewise, the latest mummy labels can be dated to the late third century CE.¹⁶⁰ A decline in the second century CE reconfirms a similar pattern observed for other Demotic texts for “we know of no Egyptian recitation texts associated with the temple cult that were written down after the second century CE.”¹⁶¹

The emergence of the *saltire* pattern in the first century CE is also an indicator for the date of these texts. It “became popular in the second and third centuries” CE and, according to Katelijjn Vandorpe, the pattern went through a series of developmental stages.¹⁶² Patterns from the second and third century CE consisted of simple X-shapes (“×,” “*,” or “*”), but more elaborate patterns were produced in the fourth century CE consisting of lines, either straight or

¹⁵⁶ Sensaos d. 109, Ammonios d. 116, Tphous d. 127: Riggs 2003, 193.

¹⁵⁷ Florence 2165, re-edited by Vleeming 2011, 639-640, where the date is given as 194 CE. Vleeming later (675) cites this same coffin, referring to it by the number 2165 in the text (although throughout the volume he uses his own internal numbering system for which 1097 = Florence 2165), and provides the date 180 CE. A group of coffins now in Florence, including Coffin Florence 2165, derives from a known workshop which also produced a coffin now in Edinburgh A.1956.357 (Manley and Dodson 2010, 140-142).

¹⁵⁸ Riggs and Depauw 2002, 78.

¹⁵⁹ D’Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig 1988, 214-215.

¹⁶⁰ Arlt 2011; Stadler 2012a, 151, notes: “Das letzte dieser Mumienschilder mit einer religiösen Formel datiert um 275 n. Chr. und ist damit der letzte textliche Zeuge für die ägyptische Totenreligion.”

¹⁶¹ Stadler 2012b, 466.

¹⁶² Vandorpe and Van Beek 2012, 86. See also, Vandorpe 1996, 241-243.

crossed, placed within a rectangular shape and drawn on both sides of the folded papyrus.¹⁶³ A mix of styles is found on the formulaic Demotic funerary papyri. Of the thirteen papyri with the *saltire* pattern, four have a simple shape (“×,” “*,” or “*”), seven have the simple shape framed by vertical lines to the right and left, and two examples have the simple shape framed by vertical lines drawn twice, once on either side of the papyrus, as was common in the Byzantine Period.¹⁶⁴

It is difficult to determine the precise ramifications these *saltire*-seals have for the dating of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts. As a *terminus ante quem*, Coenen, working closely with hieratic funerary papyri, devised the following hypothesis: “In the late second or early third century A.D. funerary papyri were no longer buried with the dead.”¹⁶⁵ If Coenen is correct that funerary papyri were no longer produced after the early third century CE, and current evidence suggests that he is, the attestations of the elaborate pattern of the *saltire*-seals on Egyptian funerary papyri (hieratic Books of Breathing and Demotic funerary papyri) would be the earliest known examples of this elaborate type, previously attested from letters only beginning in the fourth century CE. The second century examples of the elaborate *saltire*-seals necessitate a revision of the chronological attestations of the elaborate patterns discussed by Vandorpe. Based on this evidence, assigning a date to a papyrus based on the *saltire*-seal design pattern should be done with caution and include corroborative data from paleography and archaeology as confirmation. For the formulaic Demotic funerary papyri, the developmental patterns in the

¹⁶³ For facsimiles of Byzantine examples, see Vandorpe 1996, 243.

¹⁶⁴ For facsimiles of these texts, see Table 2.5 above. Faint traces on the verso of pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E and pStrasbourg D 270 could indicate that the *saltire* pattern had been drawn twice.

¹⁶⁵ Coenen 2001, 71, with the admission of the lack of corroborating evidence to secure such a date.

saltire-seal designs does not indicate a later date for the papyri and the papyri can be placed within the general development of the *saltire*-seals in the second century CE.

2.5 Text Editions Nos. 1-45

Within the following corpus, several exemplars that do not meet the strict criterion of following the complete $\epsilon nh p^3$ by formulae are included because of their close affinity with the formulae and their appearance on diverse media.¹⁶⁶ The large corpus of graffiti, mummy labels, and linen bandages is not included in the following editions, although relevant data from them are included throughout the discussion and in the commentaries.¹⁶⁷ For hand copies of unpublished papyri, along with select examples for which adequate copies have not been published, reference is made to the plates at the end of this volume.

¹⁶⁶ Coffin Berlin ÄM 504, oBerlin P. 9508, pBM EA 10072, pFlorence 11919, pLouvre N 3176R; Linen Missouri Col. 61.66.3; Linen Munich ÄS 68.

¹⁶⁷ Arlt 2011 and Vleeming 2011 provide valuable studies of the mummy label corpus.

1. Coffin Berlin ÄM 504¹⁶⁸

- 1 *ḥḥ pꜣy=k by r nḥḥ rpy=f r d.t Ws̄r Pa-mn ms.n* May your *ba* live forever.¹⁷⁰ May it¹⁷¹
Tꜣ-lwl.t nty iw=w dd n=s Tꜣ-šr.t-swtr pꜣy=f ḥꜥ n rejuvenate for eternity, Osiris¹⁷² Paminis,
ḥḥ rnp.t 1.t¹⁶⁹ ibt 10 hrw 18 whom *Tꜣ-lwl.t*, who is called *Tꜣ-šr.t-Swtr*,

¹⁶⁸ A hand copy and discussion of the text is provided by van Landuyt 1995, 78, and Vleeming 2011, 636-637. One end of the coffin is shown in Grimm 1974, pl. 136.2. It is cited as a parallel by Riggs and Depauw 2002, 82 n. 36. A hand copy of Wilhelm Spiegelberg is kept among the files of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute.

¹⁶⁹ As Vleeming 2011, 637 notes, a Greek text from the coffin lists the age as “2” (β), thus supporting a reading of *1.t* for the Demotic.

¹⁷⁰ Parallels to the second person reference at the beginning of the formula, followed by third person references, can be found in pLouvre N 3165, 1-2; pLouvre N 3375, 1-2; as well as the mummy label published in Spiegelberg 1925, 29-31.

¹⁷¹ The translation “he” of van Landuyt 1995, 78, is possible. In examples written for women, there are examples of *rpy=s* in this position (Coffin Louvre N 2576; pMunich ÄS 826, 1; Graffito TT 312 no. 7, 1), but more examples of *rpy=f* in which the pronoun refers to *by* (pBM EA 10121, 4; pBrooklyn 37.1797E+37.1798E, 1; pLouvre N 3258, 1 and 7; pStrasbourg DG26, 1). In pCairo 31171, 5, the text specifies the *ba* by placing it in apposition to the subject: *ḥḥ=f by m-bꜣḥ Ws̄r* “May it, (the) *ba*, live before Osiris.” A passage from pBrux. dem. E. 8258, 13-14, refers to both the deceased woman and her *ba*: *rnpy=s nḥḥ d.t rnpy pꜣy=s by šꜥ d.t* “May she rejuvenate forever. May her *ba* rejuvenate for eternity.” In Stela Cairo 31132, 2, only the *ba* is mentioned (*rpe pꜣ bꜣ n PN* “May the *ba* of PN rejuvenate.”)

¹⁷² The issue of how to translate the designation *Ws̄r PN* “Osiris PN” has aroused a number of articles based on the appearance of the genitive *Ws̄r n PN* “Osiris of PN” in post-New Kingdom examples. The translation “Osiris of PN” was discussed by Kákosy 2002, 629-636, and he suggested that the indirect genitive evoked a subtle nuance and that “the concept of Osiris of PN never became popular enough to replace the traditional form, and the vast majority of texts continued to *identify* the deceased with Osiris” (italics in original). Kurth 1990, 65-67, followed and elaborated upon the work of Kákosy, believing that “Die Kluft zwischen dem Gott und den Vergöttlichten bleibt unüberbrückbar groß” and that the status of the deceased was “das Werden zu *einem* Osiris mit göttlichem Status (weit über den Lebenden stehend, aber noch weiter unter dem Gott Osiris)” (italics in original). However, Mark Smith has now treated the subject anew and he has come to the conclusion that the genitive, either direct or indirect, was intended in all periods as a means of referring to the transfigured state attained by the deceased through “ritual means” (Smith 2006b, 325-337; see also Smith 2012, 187-196). Robert Ritner, in personal communication to the author, believes that the examples of *Ws̄r PN* “Osiris PN” should be interpreted as two nouns in apposition rather than a direct genitive and that the later development with the insertion of the genitive has no influence on the meaning. He cites in favor of this an inscription naming *sꜣ nb tꜣ.wy Ws̄r Wsrkn* “son of the lord of the two lands Osiris Osorkon” and notes that the title “son of the lord of the two lands” precedes the designation “Osiris,” i.e., that it should not be translated as “son of the lord of the two lands of the Osiris of Osorkon.” However, apposition remains an option here “son of the lord of the two lands, the Osiris of Osorkon.” To these examples, one should add the Demotic examples on mummy labels that identify the deceased as *by n Ws̄r ḥntꜣ imntꜣ PN* “*ba* of Osiris, foremost of the west, PN” or *by Ws̄r ḥntꜣ imntꜣ PN* “*ba* of Osiris, foremost of the west, PN” (parallel examples shown in Zdiarsky 2013, 109). Both indirect and direct genitive constructions occur in the phrase “*ba* of Osiris,” but the edition of the epithet “foremost of the west” suggests the translation “*ba* of Osiris, foremost of the west, PN” and not “*ba* of

bore. His time of life: 1 year, 10 months, (and) 18 days.

2. pBerlin 1522¹⁷³

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | <p>ʿnh pꜣy=f by r nhḥ rpy=f d.t Pa-mnt̄ r-ms Tꜣy-tꜣ.wy(?) mtw pꜣy=f by</p> | <p>May his <i>ba</i> live forever. May he rejuvenate (for) eternity, Pamontu, whom Taytau(?)¹⁷⁴ bore.¹⁷⁵ And may his <i>ba</i></p> |
| 2 | <p>šms r Wsir mtw=f ḥpr ḥn nꜣ ḥse.w n Wsir mtw=f tꜣy mw ḥr tꜣ ḥtp.t m-sꜣ Wsir</p> | <p>serve Osiris. And may he be among the favored ones of Osiris. And may he take water from the offering table after Osiris</p> |
| 3 | <p>pꜣ šy m-sꜣ Wn-nfr mtw=f ḥs nꜣ ʿir qs=f m-bꜣḥ Wsir ḥnt̄ imnt̄</p> | <p>(and from) the lake after Onnophris. And may he favor those who buried him before Osiris foremost of the west,¹⁷⁶</p> |
| 4 | <p>ntr ʿꜣ nb ibty mtw nꜣy=f ḥrt̄.w=f smn m-sꜣ=f ḥr pꜣ tꜣ šꜥ d.t rnp.t n ʿnh</p> | <p>the great god, lord of Abydos. And may his children remain after him upon the earth for eternity. Year(s) of life</p> |
| 5 | <p>r-ir=f ḥr pꜣ tꜣ 55¹⁷⁷ rpy=f d.t rpy pꜣy={s}¹⁷⁸ by šꜥ d.t</p> | <p>which he passed on earth: 55. May he rejuvenate (for) eternity. May his <i>ba</i></p> |

Osiris, foremost of the west, of PN.” A further interesting example comes from a Late Period fragment of a mummy case now in a private collection (Kurth 2013, 37-41): ḥtp di ny-sw.t n Wsir ḥnty imnt̄(.t) n Wsir (ḥry)-sšbꜣ imꜣḥ mꜣꜥ n Wsir PN “An offering which the king gives to Osiris, foremost of the west, to Osiris, lector, truly vindicated, to Osiris PN.”

¹⁷³ Published by Spiegelberg 1901, 9-13; Spiegelberg 1902, 27 and pl. 84; cited by Smith 1979, 4; Lembke, Fluck and Vittmann 2004, 84 (photo and description); Stadler 2004, 563-567 (transliteration and translation); Smith 2009a, 557-560 (translation); Vleeming 2011, 678-670 (hand copy, transliteration, translation).

¹⁷⁴ The reading of the matronym is uncertain, see Stadler 2004, 563 n. 44; Smith 2009a, 557 n. 2; and Vleeming 2011, 679, for the suggestion Tꜣy-pa-tꜣ.wy. However, a similar orthography can be found in the writing of Tꜣy-tꜣ Mumsch. IFAO 12, 3 in *Demot. Nb.* 1242.

¹⁷⁵ The lack of paternity was common in Egyptian religious and magical texts going back to the Third Intermediate Period; see Ritner 2010a, 175-176, with n. 76-77. Exact reasons for this practice are unclear, although it may have been related to familial inheritance and social developments, but the format was traditional by the Roman Period. See further, Wilfong 2002, 131; Depauw 2010, 120-139; Depauw 2012, 497.

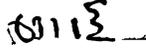
¹⁷⁶ From at least the Middle Kingdom onward, the epithet varies between ḥnt̄ imnt̄ “foremost of the west” and ḥnt̄ imnt̄.w “foremost of the westerners” (treated by CDD I 11.1 (18 April 2011), 138, and CDD H 06:1 (14 June 2006), 177, as a variants of a single epithet “formost of (the) west(erners)”). In Demotic texts, ḥnt̄ imnt̄ “foremost of the west” is most commonly encountered. It is found in Greek transcription as χοντεμωντ, along with the variant σετεμενθ (Quaegebeur 1978, 253). For discussion, see Kitchen 1960, 79; Smith 1987a, 56 n. (c) to l. 1; Smith 2005, 137 n. (a) to l. 7.

rejuvenate for eternity.

3. pBerlin 3169¹⁷⁹

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | [^c nh p ³ y=f] r ^c by r nh ^h rpy=f ^c [d.t] ... ¹⁸⁰ [...] | [May his] 'ba' live 'forever. May it rejuvenate' [(for) eternity] ... |
| 2 | [...]-wr mtw p ³ y=f by šms r Wsir | [...]-wr. And may his <i>ba</i> serve Osiris, |
| 3 | [... mtw=f hp]r hn n ³ sw.w ¹⁸¹ Wsir mtw=f t ³ y mw | [... And may he] be among the favored ones of Osiris. And may he may take water |
| 4 | h(r) ¹⁸² t ³ htp.t m-s ³ Wsir n p ³ šy r m-s ³ Wn-nfr ^c | from the offering table after Osiris (and) from the lake after Onnophris, |
| 5 | mtw y(t?)=f šy rpy(?) hr-ir=f m-qty n ³ 4 | and may his long limbs(?) rejuvenate(?) under him like the four |
| 6 | rpy(.wt) nty fy hr t ³ p.t rnp.t n 'nh ^c | goddesses which lift up the sky. 'Year(s) of life' |

¹⁷⁷ Following Smith 2009a, 560.

¹⁷⁸ This group has been read variously as *rnp^y* p³y=f (Stadler 2004a, 567); *rp^y*(?) p³y.f(?) (Vleeming 2011, 679-680). The writing of *rpy* here  differs from the writing of *rpy* elsewhere in the text ( in line 1 and  in line 5). The latter two examples represent standard orthographies of the verb consisting of the ligatured group for *r-p* followed by *-y* and the child with hand to mouth (A17) determinative. The initial group for *r-p*  is clear. The following group  looks most like *p³y=s* “her,” a mistake for *p³y=f* “his.” Abbreviated writings of the verb are fairly common, cf. *inter alia* the orthography of *rpy=f* “May it rejuvenate”  in pLouvre N 3258, 1 (similarly twice in line 7);  in pLouvre E 10304, 1. The writing of *p³y=s* is standard as the number of vertical strokes between the *p³* sign and the final *s* varies between two and five (see EG 129). Cf. also the writing of *p³y=s*  in pStrasbourg DG 26, 3.

¹⁷⁹ Spiegelberg 1902, pl. 86; cited by Smith 1979, 4; Stadler 2004, 562-567 (transliteration and translation); Smith 2009a, 563 n. 17 (citation); Vleeming 2011, 680-681 (copy, transliteration, translation).

¹⁸⁰ The deceased's name should occur in this position. A number of signs are preserved on the papyrus, with the house determinative being clear among them. The house determinative and surrounding traces may fit a reading of ...-ipy(?) pa(?), which suggest the possibility that the name is the familiar [P³-šr-İmn]-ipy(?) pa(?) “[Psenamen]ophis(?), son of(?)” (*Demot. Nb.* 225).

¹⁸¹ The Demotic is interpreted as an unetymological/phonetic writing *sw.w* for *hsy.w*. See above pages 89-93 for discussion.

¹⁸² Note the abbreviated writing of *h³* for *hr* here and in l. 7. See the comments of Vleeming 2011, 681.

7 $r-ir=f\dot{h}(r)^{183}$ $p\dot{3} t\dot{3} 4l$ $rpy=f sp-sn^{184}$ $\underline{d.t}$ $rpy\text{r}p\dot{3}y=f$ which he passed on earth 41. May he
 by¹ [$\underline{d.t}$] rejuvenate (for) eternity. May his *ba*
 rejuvenate [(for) eternity].

4. oBerlin P. 9508¹⁸⁵

1 $\dot{c}n\dot{h}$ $p\dot{3}y=f$ by r $n\dot{h}\dot{h}$ May his *ba* live forever.
 2 $rpy=f\check{s}^c$ $\underline{d.t}$ May it rejuvenate for eternity.
 3 $Wsir-Wr s\dot{3}^{186}$ $\dot{H}r-p\dot{3}y-\dot{3}s.t^{187}$ Osoroeris, son of Harsiese.

5. pBibliotheca Alexandria 3640¹⁸⁸

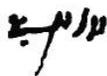
1
 2 $\dot{l}bt$ Abydos
 3 ... $\dot{H}r$... Horus,
 4 ms whom
 5 ... $T\dot{3}-\check{s}r.t-$ Tasher-
 6 $Wsir$... wesir bore.
 7 $mtw p\dot{3}y=f$ And may his
 8 by *ba*

¹⁸³ For the writing of $\dot{h}r$, see note 182 to l. 4.

¹⁸⁴ Following Spiegelberg 1902, 28, and Vleeming 2011, 681.

¹⁸⁵ Möller 1913a, 2; Vleeming 2011, 719-720.

¹⁸⁶ For the reading of the filiation sign as *pa* rather than *s3*, see Vleeming 2011, 846-851.



¹⁸⁷ The name  is written $\dot{H}r-p\dot{3}y-\dot{3}s.t$ for the expected $\dot{H}r-pa-\dot{3}s.t$. Cf. *Demot. Nb.* 807-808 and 834. I would like to thank Mark Smith for pointing this out to me.

¹⁸⁸ pBib Alex 3640 remains unpublished, see pl. 1. The badly damaged fragment contains many traces from other texts and the Demotic funerary text appears to be written in a thin vertical column for the first half of the papyrus and then extends for three further lines before the papyrus breaks off. I would like to thank Kim Ryholt for bringing this text to my attention and providing me with his photographs.

9	<i>šms</i>	serve
10	<i>r Wsīr mtw[...] Wsīr</i>	Osiris and [...] Osiris
11
12	<i>m[tw]=ftȝy [...Ws]īr</i>	A[nd] may he take [...Os]iris
6. pBritish Museum EA 10072 ¹⁸⁹		
1	<i>‘nh pȝy=t¹⁹⁰ by rpy=f</i>	May your <i>ba</i> live. May it rejuvenate. ¹⁹¹
2	<i>rh=f r nhḥ d.t šm=f r pȝ</i>	May it be able ¹⁹² forever (and) (for) eternity. May it go to the
3	<i>mȝ nty iw Wsīr n-īm=f īr=f šm iy</i>	place where Osiris is. May it go (and) come
4	<i>h(r) pȝ tȝ šc d.t Tȝy-kȝ</i>	upon the earth for eternity. Tayka,
5	<i>ta ȝs.t-ršy</i>	daughter of Asetreshi.

¹⁸⁹ Published by Reich 1931; Spiegelberg 1925, 30-31 (translation); Smith 1979, 4 (citation); Parkinson and Quirke 1995, 28 (photo and description); Stadler 2004, 563-564 (transliteration and translation); Smith 2009a, 568 (translation); Vleeming 2011, 703-704 (copy, transliteration, translation). This text made its way into the British Museum from the collection of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, bearing the stamp 5 B. 50 10072. pBM EA 10072 is written in a quick hand with the Greek style pen. The verso is now obscured by cardboard backing to which the papyrus is mounted.

¹⁹⁰ So Reich 1931, 88; Smith 2009a, 568; and Vleeming 2011, 704, vs. Stadler 2004, 563 who read *pȝy=s*.

¹⁹¹ Although this text begins with the expected opening phrases of the *‘nh pȝ by* formulae, the remainder consists of a compilation of funerary wishes.

¹⁹² Following the translation of Smith 2009, 568 (“capable”), vs. Reich 1931, 88 (“knoweth”); Stadler 2004, 564 (“Wissen”); and Vleeming 2011, 703 (“know”).

7. pBritish Museum EA 10121¹⁹³

	Recto ¹⁹⁴		Recto
1	... ¹⁹⁵		...
2	... ¹⁹⁶		...
3	ḥnh p̄y=s by		May her <i>ba</i> live
4	r nhḥ rpy=f r ḏ.t		forever. May it rejuvenate for eternity.
5
6
7
8
9
	Verso ¹⁹⁷		Verso
1	ḥnh p̄y=s by r nhḥ rpy[=f] (<i>saltire</i>) šḥ ḏ.t ... ¹⁹⁸		May her <i>ba</i> live forever. May [it] rejuvenate

¹⁹³ Published by Stadler 2004, 555-556, pl. XLVIII, and Vleeming 2011, 707-708 (copy, transliteration, translation); cited by Smith 1979, 4. pBM EA 10121 derives from the collection of Robert Hay 1868 and the framed papyrus still bears the number Hay 26. The top of the papyrus is decorated with a vignette showing the deceased with funerary cone atop the head. Anubis presents the deceased and holds the adze used in the opening of the mouth ceremony.

¹⁹⁴ The text on this papyrus is written in a mixture of cursive hieroglyphs/hieratic and Demotic. Stadler 2004, 552-553, and 555, offered no interpretation of the two opening and five closing lines of this papyrus apart from the description “Pseudo-Hieratisch,” but comments in Stadler 2012a, 151, that “... die aber Hieroglyphen und Hieratisch aufgrund ihres in dieser Zeit ausschließlich sakralen Kontextes einen magischen Stellenwert hatten.” Likewise, Vleeming 2011, 707-708, designated the characters as “ornamental hieroglyphs.” A comparison can be made to the texts on Horus cippi, where “their inscriptions cannot be read as whole texts any more, and just as with these three papyri certain ‘catch words’ appear between incomprehensible passages” (Backes 2010, 7). However, von Lieven 2009, 107, has suggested that there may be an intentional meaning behind such texts and that ornamental texts in hieratic or Demotic are extremely rare, concluding “I think it should be possible to crack much more of the texts by staring at and thinking long enough on them.” Yet, as Stadler 2012a, 151, notes, “Der Deutung dieser Zeilen als pseudohieroglyphisch oder pseudohieratisch wurde zwar widersprochen, aber eine Entzifferung, die von einem zusammenhängenden Text zu sprechen erlaubt, ist bislang nicht vorgeschlagen worden.” Cf. the text described as “ornamental” on the wooden shrine Berlin 8518 published by Kurth 2010, 203-212. Similar “decorative” texts have been identified from the Late New Kingdom and beyond, see Raven 1991, 29, and pl. 25; Raven et al. 2011, 84-85. Similar hieroglyphic signs appear on a coffin in Florence 10613 (Botti 1958, 131 and pl. XXXIX), which Botti did not interpret.

¹⁹⁵ Possible transcription:  *imn-rwš(?) sh.t(?)*.

¹⁹⁶ Possible transcription:  *Hr-šh.ty(?) yh.t(?) i.w(?)*.

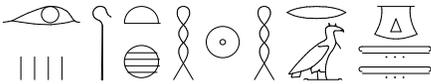
¹⁹⁷ The verso contains a single line of text interrupted by the *saltire* pattern (this pattern is not mentioned by Stadler 2004, 555-556, pl.xlviii).

¹⁹⁸ The faded text is difficult to interpret and is obscured by several dark brown patches. I mostly agree with the reconstruction of Stadler 2004, 555, however the traces at the end look like a personal name beginning with T3-.... Where Stadler read *i*, I see *b*.

for eternity . . .

8. pBritish Museum EA 10415¹⁹⁹

Recto

1  200

2 ḥnh pꜣy=f by²⁰² r nhḥ

3 rpy=f r d.t pꜣ mn²⁰³

Recto

Throne of the two lands²⁰¹ forever, ruler of actions(?).

May his *ba* live forever.

May it rejuvenate (for) eternity, PN

¹⁹⁹ New hand copy on pls. 2-3. Published by Stadler 2004, 557-559, pl. L, and Vleeming 2011, 688-690 (copy, transliteration, translation); cited by Smith 1979, 4. pBM EA 10415 derives from the collection of Henry Salt 1821. It is written in a quick, but neat hand with the pen. A register is outlined at the top of the papyrus for a vignette showing Anubis presenting the deceased (not “Anubis attending to a religious symbol,” as Vleeming 2011, 688) before an offering table behind which sit Osiris and Isis. The deceased is not shown here mummiform, which is more common in these texts, but in the pose of worship. Following two register lines, there is a single line of hieroglyphs, which has been labeled “pseudohieroglyphs” by Stadler. However, the presence of *nhḥ* suggests that the scribe had a least some familiarity with the meaning of what he wrote, even if that meaning is not a fully connected sentence. The recto is written along the fibers. The verso contains the address, which has a space, left for the *salitre* seal, perhaps now simply faded. Many traces of a palimpsest text can be seen on the verso.



The reading of this line is conjectural and uncertain. The first three groups of the text, written in cursive hieroglyphs, had been identified by Stadler 2004, 557, as *ns.t*, *tꜣ.wy*, and *nhḥ*. A clear group follows which could be read *th* “plumb” (*Wb.* V, 323), an epithet often attributed to Thoth or divinized outright (Leitz 2002, Band VII, 435-436), although the *h* is perhaps better interpreted as *sp*, forming a determinative group on *nhḥ*. The following *hqꜣ*-scepter could be read as a determinative to *th*, but it is understood here within the group *hqꜣ ʾiry.w* “ruler of actions,” an epithet associated with the god Heka in the mammisi at Edfu, although with a different orthography (Leitz 2002, Band V, 497). Alternatively, *ʾiry.w* “forms” (*Wb.* I, 113) could be intended.

²⁰¹ The phrase is better known from the common epithet *nb nsw.t tꜣ.wy*; however, *ns.t tꜣ.wy* is attested as an epithet for Hathor from twenty fifth dynasty inscriptions at Gebel Barkal (Leitz 2002, Band IV, 320). Although uncertain, it is tempting to associate this epithet with the seated goddess figure shown in the vignette at the top of the papyrus. “Ferner ist hinter Osiris,” as Stadler 2004, 557 states, “eher eine Göttin zu erwarten (Isis als Sothis etwa), so daß ihr Was-Szepter ein ikonographischer Fehler wäre. Das ist aber unwahrscheinlich, weil etwa Hathor, die ja ebenfalls als Sothis-Göttin nachzuweisen ist, in Dendera auch mit dem Was-Szepter erscheint.” The identification of the goddess as a form of Sothis derives from what Stadler interprets as a star above the goddess’s head. However, the strokes actually depict the horned solar disk with uraeus, as discussed further in chapter three.

²⁰² Note the writing of *by*  with star determinative, in place of the more common *bꜣ*-bird or sun disk. This particular orthography could derive from theological explanations or the similarity of the writing of *p.t* “sky, heaven.” Similar determinatives appear in the orthographies of *ꜣh.t* “horizon” and *ihy* “effective spirit.”

4 *r-ms p³²⁰⁴ mn mtw=f* whom PN bore. And may he
5 *t³y mw hr t³ htp.t* take water from the offering table
6 *m-s³ Ws^r hr²⁰⁵ p³ šy* after Osiris (and) from the lake
7 *m-s³ Wn-nfr mtw=f hpr* after Onnophris. And may he be
8 *hn n³ hs.w n* among the favored ones of
9 *Ws^r mtw=f hs.w* Osiris. And may he favor
10 *n³ i^r qs s m-b³h* those who buried him before
11 *Ws^r hnt_x {d.t}* Osiris, foremost
12 *imnt_e n_r nb i_bt_x* of the West, god, lord of Abydos.

Verso

1 *r t³ tw³.t m-b³h [spatium] Ws^r p³ n_r ʕ*

Verso

To the netherworld, before [spatium] Osiris, the great god

9. pBritish Museum EA 10421a²⁰⁶

1 *nh p³y=f by r nhh* May his *ba* live forever.
2 *rpy=f d.t Pa-hwe* May it rejuvenate (for) eternity, *Pa-hwe*
3 *(r-)ms T³-šr.t-gm_x mtw p³y=f* whom Tashergemet bore. And may his
4 *by šms r Ws^r mtw=f* *ba* serve Osiris. And may he
5 *hpr hn n³ hse.w n* be among the favored ones of

²⁰³ Although the orthography in line 3 *ʕ13* is nearly identical to the writing of *ʕ12* *mw* “water” in line 5, I follow Vleeming 2011, 689-690, in interpreting this as a writing of *p³mn* “so-and-so” as line 4 *ʕ113*.

²⁰⁴ As noted by Vleeming 2011, 690, a grammatical error for *t³*.

²⁰⁵ As noted by Vleeming 2011, 690, along with pStrasbourg D 270, 4-6, this is the only other example of the parallel *hr t³ htp.t m-s³ DN hr p³ šy m-s³ DN*. All other manuscripts drop the second *hr*.

²⁰⁶ Published by Stadler 2004, 559-561, pl. L-LI, and Vleeming 2011, 691-693 (copy, transliteration, translation); cited by Smith 1979, 4. pBM EA 10421a is now mounted with pBM EA 10421b, deriving from Anastasi in 1857. The text of pBM EA 10421a is written along the fibers in a somewhat squat. The verso of the papyrus is obscured by the backing of the mounting procedure. As portions of this backing is cut away from 10421b to make the text on the verso available, it is presumed that the verso is blank. There are some traces of ink at the far edge of lines 1 and 7, probably the remainder of previous texts on the roll before being cut.

6	<i>Wsir mtw=f t3y mw hr t3 htp.t</i>	Osiris. And may he take water from the offering table
7	<i>m-s3²⁰⁷ Wsir rnp.t n nḥ</i>	after Osiris. Year(s) of life
8	<i>r-ir=f hr p3 t3 60 ibt 6</i>	which he passed on earth 60 (and) 6 month(s),
9	<i>d.t</i>	(for) eternity.

10. pBritish Museum EA 10421b²⁰⁸

Recto	Recto
1 <i>nḥ p3y=f by r nḥḥ rpy=f</i>	May his <i>ba</i> live forever. May it rejuvenate
2 <i>d.t ...²⁰⁹ ms T3-šr.t-Pa-Ḥw(?)²¹⁰</i>	(for) eternity, ... whom Tasherpahu(?) bore.
3 <i>mtw p3y=f by šms r Wsir</i>	And may his <i>ba</i> serve Osiris.
4 <i>mtw=f hpr hn n3 ḥse.w</i>	And may he be among the favored ones
5 <i>n Wsir mtw=f t3y mw hr</i>	of Osiris. And may he take water from
6 <i>t3 htp.t m-s3 Wsir rnp.t n</i>	the offering table after Osiris. Year(s) of
7 <i>{n} nḥ 40²¹¹</i>	{of} life 40.
Verso²¹²	Verso

²⁰⁷ Although the initial sign is somewhat obscured by a vertical stroke, its curved nature is still clear and good for the expected reading *m-s3*, as Vleeming 2011, 693, rather than *p3y* (Stadler 2004, 560).

²⁰⁸ Published by Stadler 2004, 559-561, pl. L-LI, and Vleeming 2011, 693-694 (copy, transliteration, translation); cited by Smith 1979, 4. pBM EA 10421b is now mounted with pBM EA 10421a, deriving from Anastasi in 1857. The text of pBM EA 10421b is written along the fibers in a quick, but accurate hand written with the pen. Additional traces are visible at the beginning of lines 2-4, line 3 has what looks like the final signs in the word *nḥ*.

²⁰⁹ The name here remains undeciphered. Although the beginning of the name suggest *P3y-Ḥr*, it is not long enough to fill the space before *ms*. Perhaps this name could be read *P3-bik-...(?)*, for which see *Demot. Nb.* 182.

²¹⁰ As Vleeming 2011, 693-694. Stadler 2004, 560, read *T3-šr.t-Mw.t(?)*.

²¹¹ Vleeming 2011, 693-694, read “60.”

²¹² The verso of the papyrus contains a fragmentary label and *saltire* pattern. The verso of this text was not published by Stadler 2004 or Vleeming 2011.

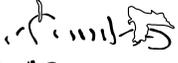
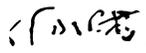
3	<i>mtw=s ḥpr [ḥ]n n3 sw²¹⁸ n Wsir</i>	And may she be [am]ong the favored ones of Osiris.
4	<i>mtw=s t3y mw [ḥr t3] ḥtp.t m-s3 Wsir</i>	And may she take water [from the] offering table after Osiris
5	<i>n p3 šy m-s3 Wn-nfr mtw n3 ʿy(.t?)=s²¹⁹</i>	(and) from the lake after Onnophris. And may her limbs(?)
6	<i>rpy(?) ḥr=s m-qty n3 4 rpy(.wt) nty fy</i>	rejuvenate(?) under her like the four goddesses which lift up
7	<i>ḥr t3 p.t rpy^r=s^r sp-sn ḥd.t^r rpy</i>	the sky. May she rejuvenate, may she rejuvenate (for) 'eternity.'
8	<i>p3y=s by šc d.t sp-sn</i>	May her <i>ba</i> rejuvenate for eternity!
9	... [...]	... [...]
10	<i>i-ıw(?)²²⁰ mn(?)=s(?) šc (d.t)</i>	O' (?) May she (?) remain (?) for (eternity)
11	<i>sp-sn ir mn(?)=s(?)²²¹ m tw3.t²²²</i>	Again. O (?) ²²³ may she (?) remain (?) in the netherworld.
12	<i>šc d.t i Wsir ḥntḫ imntḫ</i>	for eternity. O Osiris, foremost of the west,

²¹⁸ The Demotic is interpreted as an unetymological/phonetic writing *sw* for *ḥsy.w*. See above pages 89-93 for discussion.

²¹⁹ Unrecognized by previous editors, these signs parallel the phrase found in pBerlin 3169, 5-6; pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8-9; pMunich AS 826, 6-7; and garbled in pMoscow I.1d.142, 9. Vleeming 2011, 683, read "... rpy t3y=s ..." following Hughes 2005, 9. The definite article preceding a noun with attached suffix pronoun is a known grammatical feature in Late Egyptian (Junge 2001, 58-59; Wentz 1967, 47 n. f; Borghouts 1971, 124) and Demotic (Smith 2005, 152; Smith 1988, 88).

²²⁰ The initial sign looks like a clear vocative. The following two vertical strokes resemble the writing of *ıw* in *ıw=y* as an example of the vocative (CDD I 11.1, 2). See the example of pLouvre E. 3452, 9.1 *ıw=y by i by* "O *ba*, O *ba*" (Smith 1979, 145-146, and 252).

²²¹  The *ir* and the *m tw3.t* are clear, but the group around the break is not certain. Restoring *mn(?)=s(?)* follows pLouvre N 3165, 6-8, and pLouvre N 3375, 4-6: *my mn by=fm p.t ḥe.t=fm tw3.t* "Let his *ba* remain in heaven, his body in the netherworld."

²²² The orthography of *tw3.t* in line 11  is similar to that found in pLouvre N 3165, 8  and pLouvre N 3375, 6 .

²²³ *ir* is not the normal imperative form of *iri*, and I wonder if it is not a writing of the vocative here in parallel to the preceding sentence.

13 *Wn-nfr ...*

Verso

1 *p3 dm^c n s3(?)²²⁴ m-b3h Wsir [spatium] r hnt
imnt¹ ntr 3 nb ibt*

Onnophris ...

Verso

The papyrus of protection(?) before Osiris
‘foremost of the westerners’, the great god,
lord of Abydos.

13. pBrux. dem. E. 8258²²⁵

Recto

1 [*nh p3y=s by r nhh rpy=f*]
2 *r š^c d.t¹*
3 *T3-šr.t-p3-htr [r-ms ...]*
4 *3 ... [...]*
5 *mtw p3y=s by [šms r Wsir]*
6 *mtw=f hpr hn n3 hse n Wsir*
7 *mtw=f t3y mw hr htp.t*
8 *m-s3 Wsir n p3 šy m-s3 Wn-nfr*
9 *rnp.t n nh r-ir=s hr p3 t3*
10 *18.t [mtw]=s hpr hn*
11 *nšpe(?) n Wsir n3 ntr.wt(?)²²⁷*

Recto

[May her *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate]
‘for eternity.’
Tasherpaheter [whom ...]
great ... [...]
And may her *ba* [serve Osiris]
And may it²²⁶ be among the favored ones of
Osiris.
And may it take water from the offering
table
after Osiris (and) from the lake after
Onnophris.
Year(s) of life which she passed on earth:
18. [And] may she be in the
... of Osiris (and) the goddesses(?)

²²⁴ See discussion and table 2.2 above.

²²⁵ Published by Quaegebeur 1990, 777-781, 1120-1121; Vleeming 2011, 686-688.

²²⁶ It is more common in texts written for women to find the feminine pronoun =s here, but the presence of =f suggest reference to the *ba*.

²²⁷ As Mark Smith has suggested (personal communication), there should be parallel phrases here: “the ... of Osiris (and) the ... of Onnophris.” If the reading *nšpe* (Quaegebeur 1990, 779-780, n. m; Stadler 2004, 566; Vleeming 2011, 688) is accepted for the first noun, could the second noun be *dy.w* “ships” (EG 674; CDD D (29 June 2001): 01.1, 14-15), although the water determinative looks different than it’s clear form in line 8? However, it is also likely that the reading *nšpe* is incorrect as we should find *nšm* for “night bark.” Could this be a variant of *hse* “praised, favored (ones)” as in line 6 or a form of *šps* “nobles”? Quaegebeur 1990, 780, n. n, suggested *n3 iry.w(?)* and *n3y=s šms.w(?)* as options.

12 *n Wn-nfr hnt(?) [imnt] ntr 3 nb ibt*²²⁸

of Onnophris, foremost(?) [of the west],
great god, lord of Abydos.

13 *rnpy=s šc d.t rnp p3y=s*

May she rejuvenate for eternity. May her

14 *by šc d.t*

ba rejuvenate for eternity.

Verso

Verso

1 ... *šc d.t*

... for eternity.

14. pCairo 30957²²⁹

15. pCairo 31170²³⁰

Recto

Recto

x+1 *[nh] p3y=s [by nhh rpy=f d.t]*²³¹

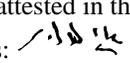
[May] her [*ba* live forever. May it
rejuvenate (for) eternity],

x+2 *Mw.t-ir-ty=s hr=tn r-r=s m-ir 3nt s*

Mutirtis. May you²³² be far from her. Do
not restrain her

x+3 *r šm m-b3h Wsir r-ir=s iy nhe=s Wsir*

from going before Osiris. She has come
just so that she may awaken Osiris.

²²⁸ The reading for  is assured. The initial signs are similar to the orthography of *by* “*ba*” in line 5; however, this group is followed here by the *t*, reading *ti* for *tw* (old *3bdw*). The tall stroke questioned by Vleeming 2011, 688, represents the determinative of place. This orthography is not attested in the standard dictionaries (EG 27; CDD Ī (18 April 2011): 11.1, 87-88), but is known from other sources:  in pMunich ÄS 826, 6;  pCairo 31171, 6.

²²⁹ A short description is published by Spiegelberg 1908, 197, which is cited by Smith 1979, 4, and Vleeming 2011, 701, but otherwise pCairo 30957 remains unpublished due to its damaged state.

²³⁰ Published by Spiegelberg 1906, pl. 112, and 1908, 280-281; Vleeming 2011, 704-706 (transliteration, translation, hand copy); cited by Smith 1979, 4; Smith 2009a, 565-567 (translation).

²³¹ This restoration follows Spiegelberg 1908, 280-281. However, as noted by Smith 2009a, 566, n. 5, it is possible to “... restore instead a request that they [the inhabitants of the west] welcome the deceased’s *ba* among them or perform some other service for her.” Based on the verso of this papyrus, which begins with *šp* “Receive,” it is tempting to restore [*šp=w*] *p3y=s* [*by* ...]. A parallel can be found in the mummy label Berlin 10628, 6 *šp=w by=s r t3 p.t šp=w {r} h.t=s n tw3.t* “May they receive her *ba* in heaven. May they receive her body in the netherworld” (Möller 1913a, no. 21, 5). pLouvre N 2420 C begins with a similar phrase *šp=y s r=tn i n3 imnt.w n3 in-mwt.w n t3 wsh.t m3ct* “May I take her to you, O’ westerners (and) deceased of the hall of the two truths” (see Chauveau 1990, 4, with notes of Smith 2009a, 572 n. 6).

²³² A reference to the inhabitants of the west; see Smith 2009a, 565-566.

x+4	<i>iw=w r ti n=t ir-syħe m-b3ħ Wsir ħnt ħmnt</i>	You will be given authority before Osiris, foremost of the west.
x+5	<i>pr p3y[=t by] rpy [p3y=t] 'ħ.t' ħn</i>	May you[r <i>ba</i>] go forth. May [your] 'body' rejuvenate in
x+6	<i>ħmnt [r p3y=t] by šm i[y tw]ys ti=w n=t</i>	the west [while your] <i>ba</i> goes (and) co[mes. Lo]ok, may they give to you
x+7	<i>mw irp ir.t.t iħ²³³ qbħ n ntr.w</i>	water, wine, and milk, making libation offerings for the gods
x+8	<i>n dm^c Īmn-R^c tsr s.t Wsir 3</i>	of Djeme, Amun-Re sacred of place, and Osiris, great one
x+9	<i>n Dm^c ti=w n=t ir-syħe m-b3ħ p3 nb</i>	of Djeme. May you be given authority before the lord
x+10	<i>ntr.w 'nh p3y=t by r nhħ rpy=f</i>	of the gods. May your <i>ba</i> live forever. May it rejuvenate
x+11	<i>r d.t Mw.t-ir-ty=s ta [...] mw.t=s²³⁴ T3-šr.t-p3y-k3</i>	for eternity, Mutirtis, daughter of [...] whose mother is Tasherpayka.

Verso

1 šp [s rsy].w²³⁵ n t3 tw3.t Mw.t-[ir-ty=s ...]

Verso

Receive [her, O' guardian]s of the netherworld, Mut[ortais].

16. pCairo 31171²³⁶

Recto

1 [...] ... mtw=f ħpr²³⁷

Recto

[...] ... And may he be

²³³ I would like to thank Mark Smith for suggesting the reading *iħ* for *ħr*.

²³⁴ For the abbreviated writing of the suffix pronoun in *mw.t=s*, see Smith 2005, 14; Laurent and Widmer 2011-2013, 87, n. (g) to line 2.

²³⁵ Following the restoration of Smith 2009a, 566-567.

²³⁶ Described by Spiegelberg 1908, 281; cited by Smith 1979, 4; cited by Quaegebeur 1990, 783; published by Brunsch 1984, 458-459, pl. 3 (hand copy, transliteration, translation); Vleeming 2011, 698-699 (transliteration, translation, hand copy).

²³⁷ The restoration of [*'nh p3y=f by m-b3ħ*] '*Wsir*' proposed by Brunsch 1984, 458, is possible, but none of the parallel texts begin in this fashion. Furthermore, the traces following the break do not resemble the final group in the orthography of *Wsir* present in lines 2, 5, or 8. The end of line 1 contains the conjunctive phrase *mtw=f ħpr*, before which the most standard phraseology is *'nh p3y=f by nhħ rpy=f d.t mtw=f šms r Wsir*. However, the break is not

2	[hn n3 ḥs.w Wsī]r ḥnt̄ imnt̄	[among the favored ones of Osiri]s, foremost of the west,
3	Wn-nfr [ntr ʕ] ḥnb Ḳbtw ²³⁸ šc d.t	Onnophris, [great god], 'lord of Abydos,' ¹ for eternity.
4	ḥnh=f rpy=f rpy p3[y=f] by šc d.t	May he live. May he rejuvenate. May h[is] <i>ba</i> rejuvenate for eternity.
5	ḥnh=f by m-b3ḥ Wsīr ntr ʕ	May it, the <i>ba</i> , live before Osiris, the great god,
6	ḥnb Ḳbtw šc d.t mtw(=f) ḥs (n3) (i)ir qs=f	'lord' of Abydos for eternity. And may (he) praise (those) who prepared his embalming before Osiris, foremost of the west,
7	m-b3ḥ Wsīr ḥnt̄ imnt̄ Wn-nfr ntr ʕ mtw(=f) ²³⁹	Onnophris, the great god. And may (he) praise (those) who prepared his embalming before Osiris, foremost of the west,
8	ḥs (n3) (i)ir qs=f m-b3ḥ Wsīr ḥnt̄ imt̄	praise (those) who prepared his embalming before Osiris, foremost of the west,
9	Wn-nfr ntr ʕ nb Ḳbt ²⁴⁰ d.t	Onnophris, great god, lord of Abydos, (for) eternity.
	Verso	Verso
1	[p3] dm ^c n s3(?) m-b3ḥ ḥ Wsīr ḥ [ntr ʕ(?)] ²⁴¹	[the] papyrus of protection(?) before 'Osiris,' [the great god(?)]

adequate for such a restoration. An alternative possibility would consist of the deceased's personal name followed by *mtw p3y=f by šms r Wsīr* as found in pCario 31172, 1-3.

²³⁸ Brunsch 1984, 458, restores [*nb imnt.t*] based on what he read as a writing of *nb imnt̄* in line 9, but the restoration of ḥnb Ḳbtw¹ is more likely for both readings. The traces left on the papyrus as indicated on the editor's

hand copy  are difficult, but may represent the end of *nb* and the beginning of *lbtw*. Cf. the parallels of *Wn-nfr ntr ʕ nb Ḳbtw* "Onnophris, great god, lord of Abydos" from pBrux. dem. E. 8258, 12, and pMunich ÄS 826, 5-6.

²³⁹ Here begins a dittographic repetition of the previous phrase.

²⁴⁰ Brunsch 1984, 458, read *nb imnt.t* "lord of the west," but the group  is certainly a writing of *Ḳbt* "Abydos," consisting of the *b* over a fragmentary *t*, the *t̄* sign, and the place determinative as found in similar

writings such as  in pBrux. dem. E. 8258, 12;  in pMunich ÄS 826, 6.

²⁴¹ Restoration as suggested by the traces.

17. pCairo 31172²⁴²

Recto	Recto
1 <i>Wsr̄ ḥnt̄ imnt̄ Wn-nfr p̄ n̄tr̄ ʿp̄ nb n</i>	(O) Osiris foremost of the west, Onnophris the great god, the lord of
2 <i>ibt Tywns²⁴³ p̄ šr n ʿg^cthe mtw</i>	Abydos, Dionys, the son of Agathe. And may
3 <i>p̄y=f by šms r Wsr̄ mtw=f ḥpr ḥn</i>	his <i>ba</i> serve Osiris. And may he be among
4 <i>n̄ ḥsy.w n Wsr̄ mtw=f t̄ mw ḥr</i>	the praised of Osiris. And may he take water from
5 <i>t̄ ḥtp.t m-s̄ Wsr̄ n p̄ šy m-s̄</i>	the offering table after Osiris (and) from the lake after
6 <i>Wn-nfr rnp.t n ʿnh̄ r-ir=f ḥr p̄ t̄</i>	Onnophris. Years of life which he passed on earth:
7 <i>45²⁴⁴ rpy=f sp-sn r nh̄ rpy p̄y=f</i>	45. May he rejuvenate, may he rejuvenate forever. May his <i>ba</i> be
8 <i>by š^c nh̄ d.t</i>	young forever and (for) eternity.

18. pDresden 828²⁴⁵

Recto	Recto
1 <i>ʿnh̄ p̄y=f by r nh̄ rpy=f d.t</i>	May his <i>ba</i> live forever. May it rejuvenate for eternity,
2 <i>Pa-iry r-ms T̄-šr.t-pa-Mnt̄ mtw p̄y=f</i>	Paury, whom Tasherpamontu bore. And may his
3 <i>by šms Wsr̄ mtw=f ḥpr</i>	<i>ba</i> serve Osiris. And may he be

²⁴² Published by Spiegelberg 1906, 282, and *idem.* 1908, pl. 112; Smith 1979, 5-7 (transliteration and translation); Depauw 2003, 31, 97 (transliteration and translation); Stadler 2004a, 563-568 (transliteration and translation); Smith 2009a, 569 (translation); Vleeming 2011, 700-701 (transliteration, translation, hand copy).

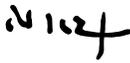
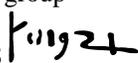
²⁴³ The Greek name was mentioned by Depauw, yet there has been little commentary on the meaning of such. Not only does the owner of the papyrus have a Greek name, but so does his mother.

²⁴⁴ The age of the man has been variously interpreted. Spiegelberg read 60 (?). Depauw has read 80 (?) and mentioned a possibility of reading 50.t. However, the reading in Mark Smith's unpublished dissertation of 45 seems most plausible.

²⁴⁵ Facsimile published in Brugsch 1855, pl. X; Stadler 2004, 562-569 (transliteration and translation); Vleeming 2011, 676-678, nr. 1144 (transliteration, translation, hand copy).

4	<i>hn n3 ḥsy.w Wsir mtw=f</i>	among the favored ones of Osiris. And may he
5	<i>t3y mw ḥr t3 ḥtp.t m-s3 Wsir</i>	take water from the offering table after Osiris.
6	<i>mtw p3y=f by šm r t3 p.t</i>	And may his <i>ba</i> go to heaven.
7	<i>mtw=f sns n ḥr p3 t3 šc d.t</i>	And may he breathe upon the earth for eternity.
8	<i>mtw=f ḥs n3 iir qrs=f</i>	And may he favor those who prepared his burial
9	<i>m-b3ḥ Wsir ḥnt imnt ntr 3</i>	before Osiris, foremost of the west, good god,
10	<i>nb İbt rnp.t n ḥḥ</i>	lord of Abydos. Year(s) of life
11	<i>r-ir=f ḥr p3 t3 26 mtw{=f}=w²⁴⁶ t3y.t=f</i>	which he passed on earth 26. And may they take him
12	<i>r ḥw.t(?)²⁴⁷ n pr.t²⁴⁸ r ḥw.t(?) mth(?)²⁴⁹</i>	to the tomb(?) in winter (and) to house(?) of ointment(?)
13	<i>n šmw mtw p3y=f by</i>	in summer. And may his <i>ba</i>

²⁴⁶ The 3pl suffix pronoun =w was written over the 3ms suffix pronoun =f.

²⁴⁷ The word written here, clearer in the second example, is written . Stadler 2004, 566-567, read *ḥsy.w(?) n pr ḥsy.w(?)* “to the praised ones of the house of praise.” Vleeming 2011, 676-678, left the group unread (suggesting hesitantly *sdr*), but noted that it is differentiated from *ḥs* as written earlier in line 8 . The group is difficult to decipher because of the many potential values for the first sign, including *ḥs*, *ip*, *wp*, *hm*, and *sdr* (see Erichsen 1937, 21).

²⁴⁸ For the reading of the seasons, see Vleeming 2011, 676-678.

²⁴⁹ For *ḥw.t mth* “house of ointment,” see CDD M (13 July 2010): 10.1, 295; Smith 2005, 231. Mark Smith has very hesitantly suggested the reading *tp t3* “upon earth” for the end of line 12 and beginning of line 13.

14 *snsn hr p3 t3 iw=f ir*

breathe²⁵⁰ upon the earth. He will make

15 *hpr(?)²⁵¹ n p3 nty mr=f nb*

the manifestation²⁵² of all that he desires.

Verso

Verso

1 *t3 šc.t n snsn*

the document for breathing

19. Coffin Florence 2165²⁵³

Lid

Lid

1 *nh p3y=f by r nhh rpy=f d.t Twlsp3hrs ta T3-šr.t-
p3-m3y(?)²⁵⁴ 3 nty iw=w dd n=f P3-lw^rlw^r mtw
p3y=f by šms r Wsir mtw=f hpr hn n3 hsy.w Wsir
mtw=f t3y mw hr p3 t3 n imnt m-s3 Wn-nfr rnp.t n
nh r-ir=f hr p3 t3 32.t rpy=f sp-sn²⁵⁵ d.t rpy p3y=f
by šc d.t mtw(=f) hs ir²⁵⁶ qs=f m-b3h Wsir ntr 3*

May his *ba* live forever. May he rejuvenate
(for) eternity, Telesphoros, daughter of
Tasherpamay(?), the elder, who is called
Palulu. And may his *ba* serve Osiris. And
may he be among the favored ones of Osiris.
And may he take water from the land of the
west after Onnophris. Years of life which he

²⁵⁰ The signs at the beginning of line 14 had been read previously as *mḥ* “to begin.” For discussion of *mḥ* as “to begin,” see Smith 1979, 151-152; followed by Vleeming 2011, 678, and Smith 2009a, 646 n. 129. Smith cites EG 171-172, but nothing there suggests the meaning “to begin” for *mḥ* + infinitive (the CDD does not list this meaning either). Although Smith 1979, 151, notes that the translation “‘seize’ here [in pLouvre E 3452, 9.8] makes no sense,” a sensible understanding could be achieved from the same root’s alternative meaning as “to prevail, to grasp” and the nominal derivative “taking (of power), accension,” discussed in CDD M (13 July 2010): 10.1, along with the Coptic ⲁⲙⲁⲗⲧⲈ discussed in CD 9b-10a (I would like to thank Robert Ritner for suggesting this derivation); cf. pLouvre E 3452, 9.8 *i by ih snsn ih rt.t=f mḥ=f šmy m htp ih t3 nb* “O *ba*, breathing upon his feet, may he have the power to go in peace over every land.” However, Mark Smith has noted (personal communication) that what is actually written at the beginning of line 14 are the final signs of the word by “*ba*” from line 13 as can be seen when compared with the writing of by “*ba*” in lines 1 and 3.

²⁵¹ As suggested by Mark Smith, cited in Vleeming 2011, 676-678.

²⁵² Noting that the *hpr* was a later addition to the text, Vleeming 2011, 676, amended the text to *iw=f {ir} <di.t> hpr {n}* and translated “while he makes ‘happen’ everything which he wishes.”

²⁵³ Photograph and facsimile published in Botti 1941a, 34-36, and pl. 2; re-edited with facsimile in Vleeming 2011, 639-642 (nr. 1097). It is cited as a parallel by Riggs and Depauw 2002, 82 n. 36, and listed by Riggs 2005, 285-286.

²⁵⁴ I would like to thank Mark Smith for this suggestion. Cf. *Demot. Nb.* 1098.

²⁵⁵ Despite Botti 1941a, 35 and n. 34, who read *hn t3 my.t d.t* “on the path of eternity,” the reading is assured through the following parallels: pBrooklyn 37.1797E+37.1798E, 7; pCairo 31172, 7; Coffin Louvre N 2576; pLouvre N 3258, 7; pMoscow I.1d.142, 5 and 10; pMunich ?, x+7; pVienna 12017, 7.

²⁵⁶ Botti 1941a, 36, read *hs n3 qs=f*, but the photo and hand copy suggest *hs ir qs=f*, as paralleled in pCairo 31171, 6 and 8; pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 10.

*nb imnt*²⁵⁷ šꜥ *d.t* ‘*nḥ=f rpy(=f) d.t rpy pꜣy=f by* šꜥ
d.t

passed on earth 32. May he rejuvenate, may he rejuvenate (for) eternity. May his *ba* rejuvenate for eternity. And may (he) favor (those who) prepared his burial before Osiris, great god, lord of the west, for eternity. May he live. May (he) rejuvenate (for) eternity. May his *ba* rejuvenate for eternity.

20. Coffin Florence 2166²⁵⁸

Lid

1 ‘*nḥ pꜣy=f by r nḥḥ rpy=f d.t Pꜣy-ym*²⁵⁹ *sꜣ My-ḥs mtw pꜣy=f by šms Wsṛ mtw=f ḥpr ḥn ḥsy n Wsṛ mtw=f tꜣy mw ḥr tꜣ ḥtp.t m-sꜣ Wsṛ šꜥ d.t*

Lid

May his *ba* live forever. May he rejuvenate (for) eternity, Payom, son of Mihos. And may his *ba* serve Osiris. And may he be among the favored ones of Osiris. And may he take water from the offering table after Osiris for eternity.

21. pFlorence 3676²⁶⁰

Recto

1 *Myg*³ *r-ms Tꜣ-šr.t-pꜣ-4-Mn tꜣy n=k mw ḥr tꜣ ḥtp.t m-sꜣ Wsṛ*

Recto

Mikkos, whom Tasherpafedumin bore, take for yourself water from the offering table after Osiris,

2 *r-ḥrw*²⁶¹ *šs.t tꜣ ntr.t* ³*t* ‘*nḥ=k rpy=k rpy by=k*

at the request of Isis, the great goddess, so

²⁵⁷ Although *ntr* ³*nb ḥbt* “great god, lord of Abydos” or *ḥnty imnt.w* “foremost of the westerners” are more common among this corpus, pCairo 31171, 9, preserves the epithet *nb imnt* applied to Onnophris.

²⁵⁸ Photograph and facsimile published in Botti 1941a, 36-38, and pl. 4; re-edited with facsimile in Vleeming 2011, 643-645, Short Texts 2 nr. 1099 (transliteration, translation, hand copy). It is cited as a parallel by Riggs and Depauw 2002, 82 n. 36, and listed by Riggs 2005, 285-286.

²⁵⁹ Following Vleeming 2011, 644-645.

²⁶⁰ Published by Botti 1941, 34, P. Testi Botti 5 (photo, copy, translation); Vleeming 2011, 706-707, Short Texts 2 nr. 1169 (transliteration, translation, hand copy); Smith 2009a, 663-664 (translation). Cited by Boswinkel and Pestman 1978, 225; Trismegistos Nr. 48924.

²⁶¹ Actions at the behest of deities, especially Isis, occur often in contemporary funerary texts including: pFlorence 3676, 1-2 (*tꜣy n=k mw ḥr tꜣ ḥtp.t m-sꜣ Wsṛ r ḥrw šs.t* “Take for yourself water from the offering table after Osiris at the request of Isis”), published in Botti 1941a, 32-35, pl. 6, and translated in Smith 2009a, 663-664; Munich Mummy Bandage (*tṛ-w nḥ n dyt r-ḥrw pꜣ ntr* ³*Wsṛ Wn-nfr* “May they give an olive wreath at the request of the great god Osiris Onnophris”), published in Spiegelberg 1925, 31-33; MH Graffito 41, 7 (& 4) (*ḥnk n=k wꜣḥ n=k*

3 *m grḥ m nw m hrw nb r nḥḥ*²⁶² that you live, so that you rejuvenate, so that your *ba* rejuvenate
at night, at (any) time in the day, for eternity.

22. pFlorence 11919²⁶³

<p>Recto</p> <p>1 ḥn pȝy=s by r nḥḥ</p> <p>2 rpy=f d.t Ta-Ḥw.t²⁶⁴ ta</p> <p>3 [...]gš²⁶⁵</p> <p>Verso</p> <p>1 [...] n Ta-Ḥw.t [...]</p>	<p>Recto</p> <p>May her <i>ba</i> live forever.</p> <p>May it rejuvenate (for) eternity, Tahut, daughter of</p> <p>[...]gesh</p> <p>Verso</p> <p>[...] of Tahut.</p>
--	--

23. pHaun. Demot. 1²⁶⁶

<p>Recto</p> <p>1 ḥn²⁶⁷ pȝy={f}²⁶⁸ by nḥḥ rpy²⁶⁹</p>	<p>Recto</p> <p>May her <i>ba</i> live forever.</p>
--	--

ḥtp.w m-sʿ Wsir iw ḥrw ȝs.t “Offer for yourself and pour for yourself (from) the offerings after Osiris at the request of Isis”), published by Edgerton 1937, pl 14. For the possible interpretation of *r-ḥrw* “at the request of” as a variant orthography of *ḥr* “before,” see ee Spiegelberg 1925, 33; Smith 1987, 84, n. 340; Smith 2009a, 663-664, n. 5.

²⁶² For the reading of this line, see the notes of Smith 2009a, 664 n. 6.

²⁶³ Unpublished, see pls. 4-5. I would like to thank Kim Ryholt for bringing this text to my attention, providing me with photographs, and putting me in contact with the curators in Florence. The image of the two facing jackals depicted on the recto suggest a Theban provenience (see Riggs 2005, 238).

²⁶⁴ *Demot. Nb.* 1201. Alternatively, the name could be understood as *Ta-Ḥw.t-Ḥr* (*Demot. Nb.* 1202).

²⁶⁵ The foreign name determinative is preserved at the end of the line. Perhaps restore *Pȝ-igš* (*Demot. Nb.* 160).

²⁶⁶ Unpublished, see pl. 6. I would like to thank Kim Ryholt for bringing this text to my attention and providing me with photographs. According to his personal communication, it is scheduled to be published in the Carlsberg Papyri series.

²⁶⁷ The ḥn is here  written with the initial ayin and then a tall stroke representing the trilateral ḥn-sign  (S34). Typically, this group is followed by a large ḥ sign (EG 63; CDD ‘ (23 July 2003): 03.1, 80), which has been left out here.

2	<i>p̄y=s <by></i> ²⁷⁰ <i>d.t mtw p̄y=s by</i> ²⁷¹	May her <ba> rejuvenate (for) eternity. And may her <i>ba</i>
3	<i>šms</i> ᵀ <i>Wsir</i> ²⁷²	serve 'Osiris.'
4	<i>T̄šr.t-p̄-ti-Ḥnsw ms Ta-l̄ mtw p̄[y=s]</i>	Tasherpetechonsu, whom Tala, bore. And may h[er]
5	<i>by šms</i>	<i>ba</i> serve
6	<i>r Wsir mtw=s ḥpr ḥn</i>	Osiris. And may she be among
7	<i>n̄ sw.w</i> ²⁷³ <i>n Wsir mtw[=s]</i>	the favored ones of Osiris. And may [she]
8	<i>t̄y mw [ḥ(r)] t̄ ḥtp.t m-s̄ [Wsir]</i>	take water [from] the offering table after [Osiris]
9	<i>n p̄š y m-s̄ Wn-nfr</i>	(and) from the lake after Onnophris.
10	<i>rn[p.t] n ḥ [r-i]r=s</i>	Ye[ar(s)] of life [which] she [pas]sed

²⁶⁸ The scribe has mistakenly written *p̄y=f* here for *p̄y=s* as the text is written for a woman.

²⁶⁹ The determinative of *rpy* follows at the beginning of line 2.

²⁷⁰ At the beginning of the line, we find these  signs. This is clearly a writing of the determinative of *rpy* followed by a writing of *p̄y=s*. In most manuscripts, the suffix pronoun =*f* appears here, referring back to the masculine *b̄*.

²⁷¹ Only the *b* of *by* is written on line 2, with the *y* and determinatives following at the beginning of line 3.

²⁷² The divine determinative at the end of the line belongs to the name "Osiris," which must have occupied the faded section immediately to the right of the sign.

²⁷³ The Demotic  is interpreted as an unetymological/phonetic writing *n̄ sw.w* for *n̄ ḥsy.w*. See above pages 89-93 for discussion.

24. pHaun. Demot. 3²⁷⁴

<p>Recto</p> <p>1 ʿnh pꜣy=f by [...]</p> <p>2 pꜣ mn r-ms [...]</p> <p>3 šms Wsir rnp.t²⁷⁵ n [ʿnh ...]</p>	<p>Recto</p> <p>May his <i>ba</i> live [...]</p> <p>PN, whom [...] bore [...]</p> <p>serve Osiris. Year(s) of [life ...]</p>
--	---

25. Coffin Louvre N 2576²⁷⁶

<p>Coffin Lid</p> <p>1 [ʿnh pꜣy=s by r] nhḥ rpy=s ... d.t^ḥ ... Gl...t(?)...⁷ mtw pꜣy=s [by] šms(?) [(r)? Wsir(?)] mtw=s [ḥpr(?)] hn(?) [nꜣ ḥsy.w n Wsir(?)] mtw=s [tꜣy mw ḥr tꜣ ḥtp.t m-sꜣ Wsir n pꜣ šy(?)] m-sꜣ [Wn- nfr(?)...] rnp.t [n ʿnh] r-ir=s ḥr [pꜣ tꜣ 36(?)]²⁷⁷ rpy=s sp-sn(?)/nhḥ(?) d.t rpy pꜣy=s by š^c d.t ... š^c ...</p>	<p>Coffin Lid</p> <p>[May her <i>ba</i> live] forever. May she rejuvenate ... (for) eternity. [...Chelidona(?)...]²⁷⁸ and may her [<i>ba</i>] serve(?) [Osiris(?)] and may she [be(?)] among [the favored ones of Osiris(?)] and may she [take water from the offering table after Osirs (and from) the lake] after [Onnophris(?)...]. Years [of life] which she passed on [earth 36(?)]. May she rejuvenate, may she rejuvenate forever(?) and (for) eternity. May her <i>ba</i> rejuvenate for eternity... for ...</p>
---	---

²⁷⁴ Unpublished, see pl. 7. I would like to thank Kim Ryholt for bringing this text to my attention and providing me with photographs. According to his personal communication, it is scheduled to be published in the Carlsberg Papyri series.

²⁷⁵ The scribe began to write the *rpy* group , but then wrote the *rnp.t* group  over it, resulting in  preserved on the papyrus.

²⁷⁶ Published in Aubert and Nachtergaele 2005, 298-307; cited by Vleeming 2011, 646. The wooden coffin of Chelidona contains a Greek epitaph on one side of the lid and a Demotic inscription down the center of the lid. The original editors of the piece described the Demotic text as illegible (repeated by Vleeming), but an examination of the photographs and original on exhibition in Paris demonstrate that some of the inscription remains and restorations can be made in the lacunae. Several wooden coffins contain funerary texts for the deceased in both Greek and Egyptian, including Coffin Florence 2165, published by Botti 1941a, 34-36, pl. 2, and several others contain Demotic funerary texts alongside short Greek epitaphs, including Coffin Berlin ÄM 504, partially published by van Landuyt 1995, 78, and Coffin MMA I, published in Riggs and Depauw 2002, 78-80, pls. ix-x.

²⁷⁷ Restored from Greek epitaph on the coffin, Aubert and Nachtergaele 2005, 298-307.

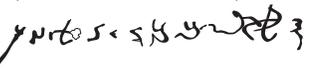
²⁷⁸ The Demotic text here is badly damaged, but several letters can be made out and the name can be restored from the Greek inscription on another panel of the coffin.

26. pLouvre N 3165²⁷⁹

Recto	Recto
1 <i>nh p3y=k by r nhh</i>	May your <i>ba</i> live forever.
2 <i>rpy=fr d.t r hrw</i>	May it rejuvenate for eternity at the request of
3 <i>3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr t3 ntr.t 3.t</i>	Isis, the great, god's mother, ²⁸⁰ the great goddess.
4 <i>3'iy r-ms²⁸¹</i>	Shai, ²⁸² whom
5 <i>t3 {ms.t}²⁸³ 3t.t(?)</i>	the womb
6 <i>ir ms.t=f²⁸⁴ my mn</i>	which bore him bore. Let

²⁷⁹ Unpublished, see pl. 8; descriptions published in Deveria 1881, 139, and Vleeming 2011, 702, Short Texts 2 nr. 1162.

²⁸⁰ For *r hrw 3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr*, cf. oStrass 1338, 5; cited in CDD H (14 June 2006): 06.1, 135.

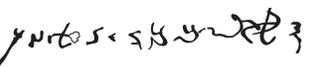
²⁸¹ For the writing , compare the abbreviated writings in CDD M (13 July 2010): 10.1, 225 (s.v. *ms* “to give birth), and 227 (s.v. *ms* “(human) offspring”), and EG 178. The scribe employed a similar writing in matronym  *t3 3t.t ir ms.t=f*. A second scribe employed the sign in the writing



of the same matronym in pLouvre 3375, 4.

²⁸² Cf. *Demot. Nb.* 962.

²⁸³ From the additional strokes  it appears that the scribe wrote the *ms* (or *3r.t*) sign and then crossed it out.

²⁸⁴ The group  appears again in pLouvre N 3375, 4,

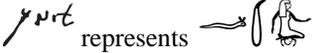
written by a different hand. The phrase is a circumlocution referring to the mother, whose name was presumably unknown, meaning “the womb which bore him.” This Egyptian circumlocution appears to be a translation of ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ μήτρα “whom the womb bore” found in a number of Greek papyri. See Jordan 1988, 239-241; Hollmann 2011, 160; Ben Ami, Tchekhanovets, and Daniel 2013, 232 and 234. There is a stroke extending from the *t3*-sign () that may be just an errant drip of ink. Employment of the perfective participle *ir* in place of *nty ir* is commonly attested within personal names. The orthography of *3ty.t* is unusual as *t* is not typically substituted for *t*, see CDD 3 (23 August 2002): 02.1, 105; EG, 13. The determinative has suffered from

- 7 *by=f m p.t* his *ba* remain in heaven,
 8 *he.t=f m tw3.t*²⁸⁵ his body in the netherworld,²⁸⁶
 9 *[r] hrw 3s.t «wr.t» [mw.t-ntr]* at the request of Isis, the great, god's
 mother,
 10 *t3 ntr.t 3.t* 'the great goddess.'

27. pLouvre N 3176Q²⁸⁷

Recto
 x+1 *[nh p3y=f by r nhh]*

Recto
 [May his *ba* live forever.]

fading due to damage from folding as well as the ink running dry on the scribal pen, but the parallel provided in EG 13  could provide a similar writing. The reading of the final group  represents . Further support for the reading *ms.t=f* may derive from the orthography in pLouvre N 3375 where the initial sign of this group is written  a writing of  (or ) and the writing of *r-ms* as  at the end of pLouvre N 3165, 4. Similar circumlocutions are found in pFlorence 3669, 1-2, *mw.t=s bw rh=w s* “whose mother is not known” (Pellegrini 1904, 218; Smith 2009a, 543); pBM 10508 (Instructions of Onchsheshonqy), 10.20 *hmy iir 3ty.t šp p3y=s k3* “May the womb receive its male,” explained by Ritner 1987, 645; the Famine Stele, 8 *nk=f m sbh mi t3y k3 r hm.t* “he copulates in leaping like a man, a male to the woman” (Barguet 1953, 19, and pl. iii, translation by Ritner in Simpson 2003, 388); and pPSI Inv. I 89 *mn r-ms t3 id.t* “PN whom the uterus bore,” an unpublished papyrus described by Joachim Friedrich Quack in a public lecture entitled “New Demotic Egyptian Magical Papyri from the Florence Collection” at the Oriental Institute on January 9, 2012.

²⁸⁵ For the writing of *tw3.t* in these texts, see Vleeming 2011, 858-859.

²⁸⁶ The themes present in lines 6-8, the *ba* being in the sky and the body in the netherworld, are echoed in many other funerary documents, in Demotic, hieratic and hieroglyphic: Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 1374 a + b (Demotic) *py by=k r p[t mw] 3py wr he.t=k r t3 tw3.t mw bk ntr* “May your *ba* fly up to heaven like a great scarab, your body to the netherworld like a divine falcon,” published in Smith 1992-1993, 134-136; Mummy Shroud North Carolina Museum of Art L.57.14.95 (hieroglyphs) *nh b3=k m p.t hr R h3.t=k m dw3.t hr Wsir (n)hh d.t* “May your *ba* live in the sky before Re (and) your body in the netherworld before Osiris forever (and for) eternity,” published in Kákosy 1995, 66, pl. 2, and Parlasca 1985, 99, pl. 4a. For further discussion and a collection of references, see Assmann 2008, 524.

²⁸⁷ Unpublished, see pls. 9-10; description published in Deveria 1881, 138, and Vleeming 2011, 703, Short Texts 2 nr. 1164.

x+2 rpy[=f d.t ...]s[...]²⁸⁸

x+3 s³²⁸⁹ Pwly^rz¹²⁹⁰ rn m^rw¹.t=f

x+4 T3-hf.t²⁹¹ mtw=f t3y mw m-s3

x+5 Wsir [p3] <ntr> 3 mtw p3y=f by

x+6 šms Wsir š^c d.t

Verso

1 [š^c.t]²⁹² n sn [sn] n (saltire) Wsir p3 ntr 3

May [it] rejuvenate [for eternity ...]s[...],
son of Pulya. His mother's name is
T3-hf.t. And may he take water after
Osiris, the great god. And may his *ba*
serve Osiris forever.

Verso

[Document] for breat[hing] to (saltire)
Osiris, the great god.

28. pLouvre N 3176R²⁹³

Recto

1 ʿnh š^c d.t

2 ʿmss(?)

3 ta(?) 3s.t-ii.t(?)²⁹⁴

4 rnp.t(?) 6(?)²⁹⁵

Recto

live forever,

Amasis(?),

daughter of(?) Asetiiti(?)

6(?) years(?)

²⁸⁸ Small portion of foreign name determinative preserved at the end of the line . The determinative is better preserved at the end of the personal name in line x+3 .

²⁸⁹ For the reading of the filiation sign as *pa* rather than *s3*, see Vleeming 2011, 846-851.

²⁹⁰  πυρρίας, πύρριος, *Demot. Nb.* 455, s.v. *Pwrī3*.

²⁹¹  T3-hf.t “the (female) serpent,” not in *Demot. Nb.*, cf. T3-hf(t)-špse.t, *Demot. Nb.* 1078; P3-hf, *Demot. Nb.* 204. However, this name is cited in EG 303.

²⁹² Small portion of scroll determinative at the end of the break .

²⁹³ Unpublished, see pl. 11; description published in Deveria 1881, 139, and Vleeming 2011, 702, Short Texts 2 nr. 1161. Cited by Quaegebeur 1990, 784.

²⁹⁴ For the reading of  as 3s.t-ii.t(?), cf. *Demot. Nb.* 74.

²⁹⁵ I would like to thank Mark Smith for suggesting the reading of this line.

- 5 šꜥ d.t mt(?) forever. May they(?)
 6 =w(?) ḥnh d.t say(?), “Live forever!”
 7 (traces?) ...

29. pLouvre N 3258²⁹⁶

- 1 ḥnh pꜣy=s by r nhḥ rp=f d.t May her *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate (for) eternity,
 2 Tꜣ-šr.t-pꜣ-ti-ḥnsw r-ms Ns-wr.t mtw pꜣy=s Tasherpatichonsu, whom Newsere bore. And may her
 3 by šms r Wsir mtw=s ḥpr ḥn *ba* serve Osiris. And may she be among
 4 nꜣ ḥsy.w n Wsir mtw=s ḥsy the favored ones of Osiris. And may she favor
 5 nꜣ iir qs=s m-bꜣḥ Wsir šꜥ d.t those who prepared her burial before Osiris for eternity.
 6 rnp.t n ḥnh r-ir=s ḥr pꜣ tꜣ 35 Years of life which she passed on earth 35.
 7 rp=f sp-sn d.t rp pꜣy=s by šꜥ d.t May it rejuvenate, may it rejuvenate (for) eternity. May her *ba* rejuvenate for eternity.

30. pLouvre N 3375²⁹⁷

- 1 ḥnh pꜣy=k by²⁹⁸ r nhḥ rpy=f May your *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate
 2 r nhḥ d.t mtw pꜣy=k [by¹ r šms²⁹⁹ forever (and for) eternity. And may your *ba*

²⁹⁶ Unpublished, see pl. 12; description published in Deveria 1881, 139, and Vleeming 2011, 703, Short Texts 2 nr. 1163. A translation of Michel Chauveau is cited in note 17 of Aubert and Nachtergaele 2005, 298. This translation is provided as a parallel text to the one found on the coffin of Chelidona (Louvre N 2576). However, an examination of the photograph reveals that some of the coffin's text can be partially deciphered, although the editors describe it as “illisible” (Aubert and Nachtergaele 2005, 298). On the verso of pLouvre N 3258 there is an undated Greek administrative text showing two columns mentioning amounts and allocations.

²⁹⁷ Unpublished, see pl. 13; description published in Deveria 1881, 139, and Vleeming 2011, 703, Short Texts 2 nr. 1165; cited by Smith 1979, 5.



²⁹⁸ A smudge of ink obscures part of *by*, indicated here in the hand copy in grey.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 3 | <i>Wsîr r hrw ʒs.t ʕ(ʒ.t?) r mw.t-ntr³⁰⁰ ʒiʕy(?)</i> | serve
Osiris, at the request of Isis, great one(?),
god's mother, Shai(?), |
| 4 | <i>r-ms tʒ ʒt.t ir ms.t=f³⁰¹ my</i> | whom the womb which bore him bore. Let |
| 5 | <i>mn by m p.t</i> | (his) <i>ba</i> remain in heaven, |
| 6 | <i>he.t=f m twʒ.t³⁰²</i> | his body in the netherworld, |
| 7 | <i>r hrw ʒs.t wr.t mw.t-ntr</i> | at the request of Isis, the great, god's
mother, |
| 8 | <i>tʒ ntr.t ʕ.t [tʒ] nb.t p.t(?) imnt(?)³⁰³</i> | the great goddess, [the] lady of heaven (and)
the west(?). |

31. pLouvre E 10304³⁰⁴

Recto

- 1 ʕnh pʒy=f by r nhh rpe(=f)³⁰⁵ d.t

Recto

May his *ba* live forever. May (it) rejuvenate



The traces on the papyrus are fragmentary, but fit the expected formula. For *pʒy=k by*, cf. the writing in the previous line.

³⁰⁰ There are two vertical strokes in between *ʒs.t* and *mw.t-ntr*. The restoration of *mw.t-ntr* in the damaged section  is based on the appearance of the same epithet in line 7  in addition to that epithet's expected appearance as found in the parallels from pLouvre N 3165, 3 (and restored in 9). The two strokes following  Isis may be a writing of *ʕ(.t)* "great one" as an alternative to the expected *wr.t* "great one" (EG 54; CDD ʕ (23 July 2003): 03.1, 28-31). For *ʒs.t ʕ.t* "Isis, the great one," see CDD ʒ (23 August 2002): 02.1, 74 and Kockelmann 2008b, 49-50, both citing pCairo 31178, 4.

³⁰¹ For this circumlocution referring to the mother, see note 284 to pLouvre N 3165.

³⁰² For the writing of *twʒ.t* in these texts, see Vleeming 2011, 858-859.

³⁰³ The traces are difficult, but suggest the reading *nb.t p.t(?) imnt(?)*, otherwise not attested in this particular variation. A similar epithet of Isis, *nb.t p.t hnʕ tʒ* "lady of heaven and earth," is known from oHor 10, 10, discussed by Ray 1976, 155-156. In pHarkness 5.11, the epithet *nb.t p.t* and in 5.20, the epithet *tʒ nb(.t) hny.t imnt* are applied to Hathor. Although it is tempting to identify the traces of pLouvre N 3375, 8, as a version of the latter epithet, it is far from convincing. A series of interesting epithets applied to Isis can be found in Theban Graffito 3445 and 3156, published by Jasnow 1984, 97-105.

³⁰⁴ Unpublished, see pls. 14-15; description published in Deveria 1881, 139, and Vleeming 2011, 703, Short Texts 2 nr. 1166. Translated by Chauveau 1990, 8, n. 22.

- 2 *mtw p3y=f by šms.w r Wsir*
 3 *mtw=f hpr hn n3 hš3.w n Wsir*
 4 *mtw=f t3y mw h(r) t3 htp.t m-s3 Wsir*
 5 *n p3 šy m-s3 Wn-nfr*
 6 *rnp.t n 'nh r-ir=f h(r) p3 t3 23*³⁰⁶
 7 *šc d.t*

Verso

- 1 *p3 dm' n s3(?) (saltire)*

32. Linen Missouri Col. 61.66.3³⁰⁷

Shroud

- 1 *'nh p3 by Ta-Hw.t-Hr r-ms T3-htr.t m-b3h Wsir-
 Skr ntr 3 nb Imnt py p3y=s by r t3 p.t t3y=s h.t r t3
 tw3.t hn=s r n3 ntr.w nty šmsy n p3 nb n n3 ntr.w*
 2 *ti=w n=s b'y b=w n=s 'by grh ibt 4 3h.t sw 22 hr p3
 Rst3w İbd m-b3h Wsir hnt Imnt ntr 3 nb İbt ti=w*

for eternity.
 And may his *ba* serve Osiris.
 And may he be among the favored ones of
 Osiris.
 And may he take water from the offering
 table after Osiris
 (and) from the lake after Onnophris.
 Years of life which he passed on earth: 23,
 for eternity.

Verso

- 1 The papyrus of protection(?)

Shroud

May the *ba* of Tahathor, whom Tahetere
 bore, live before Osiris-Sokar, the great god,
 lord of the west. May her *ba* fly up to
 heaven, her corpse to the netherworld. May
 she approach the gods who serve the lord of
 the gods.
 May they give to her a palm branch. May
 they offer to her an offering on the night of

³⁰⁵ The sign at the end of  is not the suffix pronoun, which is written differently in this text,

but the determinative of *rpe* “to rejuvenate.” It is found throughout the corpus, cf.  pBerlin 3169, 5;

 pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E, 6;  pMoscow I.1d.143, 8 (and  in line

1);  pMunich ÄS 826, 6. In most cases the sign closely resembles *t*, but the expected determinative here is the child with finger to mouth (EG 244; CDD R (29 June 2001): 01.1, 26-27). I have suggested on pages 96-

105 that this determinative may actually represent  (M7), the common determinative in hieroglyphic writings of *rnp*. A similar Demotic form of the *rnp* sign can be found in abbreviated writings of *hšb.t* “regnal year” (see Erichsen 1937, 4, sign nr. C1).

³⁰⁶ Clearly 23, rather than Chauveau’s translation of 25 in Chauveau 1990, 8, n. 22.

³⁰⁷ Published in Parlasca 1963, 264-268; Parlasca 1966, pl. E; Bresciani 1996, 25; cited by Smith 1999-2000, 136; Smith 2009a, 583-585 (translation); Vleeming 2011, 595-596 (transliteration, translation, hand copy).

n=s ḥs.t m-bꜣḥ pꜣ nb n nꜣ nꜣr.w šꜥ d.t

Khoiak 22 in the necropolis of Abydos before Osiris, foremost of the west, great god, lord of Abydos. May they give to her praise before the lord of the gods for eternity.

33. Coffin MMA I³⁰⁸

Coffin Lid

- 1 *ḥḥ pꜣy=f by r nḥḥ rpy=f d.t Ḥr r-ms ꜣsglꜥ mtw pꜣy=f by šms r Wsꜣr mtw=f ḥꜣr ḥn nꜣ ḥs.w n Wsꜣr mtw=f tꜣy mw ḥr tꜣ ḥtp(.t) m-sꜣ Wsꜣr mtw=f ḥs nꜣ iꜣr qs=f m-bꜣḥ Wsꜣr šꜥ d.t rnp.t n ḥḥ r-ir=f ḥr pꜣ tꜣ d.t*

Coffin Lid

May his *ba* live forever. May he rejuvenate (for) eternity, Horus, whom Askleia bore. And may his *ba* serve Osiris. And may he be among the favored ones of Osiris. And may he take water from the offering table after Osiris. And may he favor those who prepared his burial before Osiris for eternity. Year(s) of life which he passed on earth, (for) eternity.

34. Coffin MMA II³⁰⁹

Coffin Lid

- 1 *ḥḥ pꜣy=f by r nḥḥ rpy=f d.t Pꜣy-kꜣ ms Tꜣ-šr.t-pꜣy-kꜣ mtw pꜣy=f by šms r Wsꜣr rnp.t n ḥḥ r-ir=f ḥr pꜣ tꜣ 30.t rpy=f sp-sn d.t šꜥ d.t*

Coffin Lid

May his *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate (for) eternity, Payka, whom Tasherepayka bore. And may his *ba* serve Osiris. Year(s) of life which he passed on earth: 30. May he rejuvenate, may he rejuvenate (for) eternity, for eternity.

35. pMoscow I.1d.142³¹⁰

Recto

- 1 *ḥḥ pꜣy=f by r nḥḥ rpy(=f) d.t Pwtwms(?)*

Recto

May his *ba* live forever. May (it) rejuvenate (for) eternity, Pto(l)emy(?),

³⁰⁸ Published by Riggs and Depauw 2002, 78-80, pls. ix-x; re-edited by Vleeming 2011, 642-643, Short Texts 2 nr. 1098 (transliteration, translation, hand copy).

³⁰⁹ Published by Riggs and Depauw 2002, 80-82, pls. ix-xi; ; re-edited by Vleeming 2011, 645-646, Short Texts 2 nr. 1100 (transliteration, translation, hand copy).

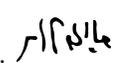
³¹⁰ Unpublished, see pls. 17-18. I would like to thank Holger Kockelmann for bringing this text to my attention and Irmtraut Munro and the Bonn Book of the Dead Project for providing me with photographs. Attempt to acquire publication rights from the Pushkin Museum have been unsuccessful.

- 2 *r-ms N.t-igr(?) mtw p3y=f by šms r Wsir mtw=f* whom Netiger(?)³¹¹ bore. And may his *ba* serve Osiris. And may he
- 3 *hpr hn n3 sw.w³¹² n Wsir mtw=f t3y mw h(r) t3* be among the favored ones of Osiris. And may he take water from the
- 4 *htp.t m-s3 [Wsir n p3] šy m-s3 Wn-nfr* offering table after Osiris (and from) the lake after Onnophris.
- 5 *rnp.t n nḥ r-ir=f h[r p3] t3 rnp³¹³ sp-sn d.t rpy* Year(s) of life which he passed [on] earth. Be rejuvenated, be rejuvenated (for) eternity. May
- 6 *p3y=f by šc d.t mtw(=f) ḥs (n3) (i)ir qs(.t)=f m-b3ḥ* his *ba* rejuvenate for eternity. And may (he) favor (those) who made his burial before
- 7 *Wsir hnt imnt Wn-nfr p3 ntr 3 p3 nb n İbt³¹⁴* Osiris, foremost of the West, (and) Onnophris, the great god, lord of Abydos,
- 8 *šc d.t nḥ=f rpy=f d.t rpy p3y=f by* for eternity. May he live. May he rejuvenate (for) eternity. May his *ba* rejuvenate
- 9 *šc d.t p3 by nty hn³¹⁵ y(.t?)=f šy* for eternity, the *ba* which is in his long limbs(?).
- 10 *rnp sp-sn d.t rpy p3 by r nḥḥ* Be rejuvenated, be rejuvenated, (for) eternity. May his *ba* rejuvenate forever (and)
- 11 *d.t i ḥc=w(?) i sdm=w(?) šc d.t* (for) eternity. O' may they stand(?). O' may

³¹¹ For Nitocris(?). I would like to thank Robert Ritner for this suggestion.

³¹² The Demotic is interpreted as an unetymological/phonetic writing *sw.w* for *ḥsy.w*. See above pages 89-93 for discussion.

³¹³ Here *rpy* is written with the *rnp.t* group, perhaps influenced by the writing of *rnp.t* at the beginning of the line. For this phenomenon, see Vleeming 2011, 828-831.

³¹⁴ For the orthography of  *İbt* "Abydos," cf. pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 11  and vs. ; pMunich ÄS 826, 6  and 8 . These manuscripts show a number of similar orthographic features that suggest they may have been produced in the same workshop.

³¹⁵ The orthography also resembles that of *mn*  and deserves comment. If so, it appears to be written without its common determinative, cf. EG 159 and CDD M (13 July 2010): 10.1, 90-93. While it may be tempting to interpret the following group as a determinative , it does not correspond well to the common determinatives of *mn*. Furthermore, without *mtw=w*, as paralleled in pBerlin 3169, 5; pMoscow I.1d.143(?), 8; and pMunich ÄS 826, 6, the next phrase would be left incomplete. The paleography corresponds to other examples of *mtw* within the papyrus, except for the lack of the following tall vertical stroke (e.g. line 6 ). The present interpretation owes much to the suggestions of Mark Smith.

they hear(?) for eternity.³¹⁶

Verso

1 *Wsir p3 ntr 3 p3 nb n tw3.t*

Verso

Osiris, the great god, the lord of the underworld.

36. pMoscow I.1d.143(?)³¹⁷

Recto

1 *nh p3y=f by r nh rpy=f d.t*

Recto

May his *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate (for) eternity,

2 *Hr r-ms T3-šr.t-İmn mtw p3y=f by*

Horus, whom Tashereamun bore. And may his *ba*

3 *šms r Wsir mtw=f hpr hn*

serve Osiris. And may he be among

4 *n3 se.w³¹⁸ Wsir mtw=f t3y mw h(r) t3 htp.t*

the favored ones of Osiris. And may he take water from the offering table

5 *m-s3 Wsir n p3 šy m-s3 Wn-nfr rpn.t*

'after' Osiris (and) from the lake after Onnophris. Year(s)

6 *n nh r-ir=f h(r) p3 t3 45 rpy=f sp-sn*

of life which he passed on earth: 45. May he rejuvenate, may he rejuvenate

7 *d.t rpy p3y=f by šc d.t*

(for) eternity. May his *ba* rejuvenate for eternity.

8 *mtw y(.t?) šy rpy hr-ir=f*

And may (his) long arms rejuvenate under him

9 *m-qty n3 4 rpy(.wt) nty fy hr t3 p.t*

like the four goddesses which lift up the sky.

10 *Mtw(=f) hs (n3) iir qsf m-b3h Wsir hnt*

And may (he) praise (those) who 'prepared' his burial before Osiris, foremost

11 *imnt Wn-nfr ntr 3 p3 nb n Ibt*

of the west, Onnophris, great god, the lord of Abydos.

³¹⁶



reading.

I would like to thank Mark Smith for suggesting this

³¹⁷ Unpublished, see pls. 18-19. I would like to thank Holger Kockelmann for bringing this text to my attention and Irtraut Munro and the Bonn Book of the Dead Project for providing me with photographs. Attempts to acquire publication rights from the Pushkin Museum have been unsuccessful.

³¹⁸ The Demotic is interpreted as an unetymological/phonetic writing for *hsy.w*. See above pages 89-93 for discussion.

Recto

- 1 T3-šr.t-p3-šr-Mnt³²³ ta³²⁴ P3-wr-ib³²⁵ s3 G-
d3d3³²⁶
- 2 tw=t ḥs r nḥḥ tw=t rpy.w šc d.t
- 3 tī=w nḥ n dyt³²⁷ r ḥrw³²⁸ p3 ntr 3 Wsīr Wn-
nfr³²⁹

Recto

Tasherepashermonu, daughter of
Paweriabet, son of Kathuti.

You are favored forever. You are
rejuvenated for eternity.

May an olive wreath be given at the request
of the great god Osiris Onnophris.

39. pMunich ÄS 826³³⁰**Recto**

- 1 nḥ p3y=s by r nḥḥ rpy=s d.t
- 2 mtw p3y=s by šms r Wsīr mtw=s ḥpr
- 3 ḥn n3 sw.w³³¹ n Wsīr mtw=s t3y mw ḥ(r) t3 ḥtp.t

Recto

May her *ba* live forever. May she
rejuvenate (for) eternity.

And may her *ba* serve Osiris. And may she
be
among the favored ones of Osiris. And may

³²³ Demot. Nb. 1102.

³²⁴ Written s3 with the diagonal stroke, read by Spiegelberg 1925, 31, as s3.t(?).

³²⁵ Demot. Nb. 178.

³²⁶ Demot. Nb. 1014.

³²⁷ CDD D (29 June 2001): 01.1, 20. For the presentation of an olive branch, see the commentary to pHarkness 2.14 in Smith 1987, 83-84, and Smith 2005, 141.

³²⁸ Spiegelberg 1925, 31, understood ḥrw “voice” as a non-etymological writing of ḥr “before.” However, I have understood the passage as it is written based on parallel texts that demonstrate the olive wreath was presented at the end of the Khoiak rituals and the common appearance of r ḥrw “at the request of” in Egyptian funerary texts of the Greco-Roman era. According to the mythological episode, the wreath was presented to the deceased upon successful judgement by Osiris; e.g., pHarkness 2.14 tī=w nḥ dyt (n)-tr.t=t ibt 4 3ḥ.t sw 26 “An olive wreath will be placed in your hand (on) Khoiak 26” (Smith 2005, 57, pl. 4); pBerlin 8351, 4.20-21 dd n=k Ḥnp p3 rse n t3 tw3.t 3wy.t=k tī=w n=k nḥ dyt n n3 r3.w n 3mh3.t “May Anubis, the guardian of the netherworld, say to you, ‘Be favored.’ An olive wreath will be given to you at the doors of the underworld” (Smith 1993, 29, 33, and pl. 3).

³²⁹ A minor oversight appears in the edition of Spiegelberg 1925, 31, where he transliterated Wn-nfr, but translated as “Osiris.”

³³⁰ Spiegelberg 1901, 9 (description and partial translation); Müller 1976, 214-215 (photograph and description of recto); Stadler 2004, 563-568 (transliteration and translation); Smith 2009a, 561-564 (introduction, translation, and commentary); Vleeming 2011, 684-686, Short Texts nr. 1148.

4	<i>m-s3 Wsir T3-šr. t-n-Hr-nb-^h(?) mtw=s h_s=w</i>	she take water from the offering table after Osiris, Tasherenhornebankh. And may she favor them,
5	<i>(n3 i)ir qs=s m-b3h Wsir [hnt] imnt Wn-nfr</i>	(those who) prepared her burial before Osiris, foremost of the westerners, Onnophris,
6	<i>ntr 3 nb ibt mtw y(.t)(?)=s hy rpy(?) hr-ir=s</i>	great god, lord of Abydos. And may her long arms(?) rejuvenate(?) under her
7	<i>m-qty t3 4 rpy(.w) nty fy hr t3 p. t rpy</i>	like the goddesses which support the sky. May
8	<i>=s m-b3h p3 nb ibt šc d. t</i>	she rejuvenate before the lord of Abydos for eternity,
9	<i>mtw[=s] hpr hn n3 hsy.w n p3 nb ntr.w³³²</i>	and may she be among the favored ones of the lord of the gods
10	<i>Wsir Wn-nfr ntr 3 [nb] ibtw</i>	Osiris, Onnophris, great god, [lord] of Abydos,
11	<i>šc d. t [s]p-sn</i>	for eternity, for eternity.
	Verso	Verso
1	<i>p3 dm^c n s3(?) m-b3h [Wsir] (spatium)</i> καλλιστιαίνα	The papyrus of protection(?) before 'Osiris' - Kallistiaina

40. pMunich ÄS 834a³³³

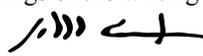
Recto	Recto
1 <i>nh p3y=s</i>	May her
2 <i>by r [nhh]³³⁴</i>	<i>ba</i> live 'forever.'

³³¹ The Demotic is interpreted as an unetymological/phonetic writing *sw.w* for *hsy.w*. See above pages 89-93 for discussion.

³³² The reading *n p3 nb ntr.w* was suggested by Mark Smith, versus Vleeming 2011, 685 who read *n Pr-3* "of pharaoh."

³³³ Published by Brunsch 1984, 455-456, and pl. 1; re-edited by Vleeming 2011, 695-696, Short Texts 2 nr. 1155 (transliteration, translation, hand copy).

³³⁴ As pointed out by Mark Smith (personal communication) and cited by Vleeming 2011, 696, several signs at the end of line 2 after *ba* are the beginnings of the writing of *nhh* "eternity." Cf. the signs from line 2

 and the writing of *by*  in line 7.

3	<i>rpy=f d.t</i>	May it rejuvenate (for) eternity,
4	<i>T3-šr.t-p3-šy</i>	Tasherepashy,
5	<i>ta P3-ḥtr mw.t=s</i>	daughter of Paheter, her mother being
6	<i>Ta-ḥmn mtw p3y=s</i>	Taamun. And may her
7	<i>by</i>	<i>ba</i>
8	<i>šms r Wsir</i>	serve Osiris.
9	<i>rnp.t n ḥnḥ</i>	Year(s) of life
10	<i>r-ir=s ḥr p3 t3</i>	which she passed on earth:
11	<i>26 rpy=s</i>	26. May she rejuvenate
12	<i>d.t rpy p3y=s(?)</i> ³³⁵	(for) eternity. May her
13	<i>by</i>	<i>ba</i> rejuvenate
14	<i>š d.t</i>	for eternity.

Verso

1	[σενψαις] φατρ[ητος]
2	[t3 š. t] n sns n

Verso

[Senpsais], (daughter of) Phatr[es]
[The document] for breathing

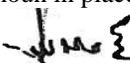
41. pMunich ÄS 834b³³⁶

Recto

1	[ḥnḥ p3y=f by
2	[rp]y=f
3	[š d.t ḥmn-iir-ti-s(?)

Recto

May his <i>ba</i> [l]ive.
May he [rejuven]ate
[for] eternity. (Horus, son of) Amenirtis,

³³⁵ Previous editors have read lines 12-13 as *rpy by={f}(=s)*, interpreting the last sign of line 13 as a mistaken writing of the 3ms suffix pronoun in place of the expected 3fs suffix pronoun. However, there is a group of signs at the end of line 12 (copied as  by Vleeming 2011, 696), previously unread, that must read *p3y=s*, similar to  in line 1. The long stroke in line 13 should then be interpreted as the bird determinative of *by* “*ba*.”

³³⁶ Published by Brunsch 1984, 457-460, and pl. 2; re-edited by Vleeming 2011, 696-698, Short Texts 2 nr. 1156 (transliteration, translation, hand copy).

4	rw.t=f ¹ s.t-wr.t ³³⁷	[whose mother] is Asetwere.
5	mtw p ³ y=f by	And may his <i>ba</i>
6	šms r Wsîr	serve Osiris.
7	mtw=f hpr hn	And may he be among
8	n ³ hsy.w n Wsîr	the favored ones of Osiris.
9	rnp.t n n ^c h	Year(s) of life
10	r-îr=f hr p ³ t ³ {rnp.t	which he passed on earth {year(s)
11	n n ^c h r-îr=f	of life which he passed
12	hr p ³ t ³ } 58(?) ³³⁸	which he passed on earth} 58(?).
13	qsy=f rpy	He was buried. May
14	by=f	his <i>ba</i> rejuvenate
15	š ^c	for
16	d.t	eternity.

Verso

1 t³ š^c.t n sns n ωροç

Verso

The document for breathing, Horos

42. pStrasbourg D 26³³⁹

Recto

1 n^ch p³y=s by r n^hh rpy=f d.t
 2 T³-šr.t-Hr-s³-s.t [r]-ms T³-rmt.t-n-pr-wr.t
 3 mtw p³y=s by šms r Wsîr mtw=f hpr
 4 hn n³ hse.w n Wsîr mtw=s t³y mw
 5 hr t³ htp.t m-s³ [Wsîr] n p³ šy m-s³ Wn-nfr

Recto

May her *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate
 (for) eternity.
 Tasherethorsaaset, [whom]
 Taremenperweret bore.
 And may her *ba* serve Osiris. And may it be
 among the favored ones of Osiris. And may
 she take water
 from the offering table after [Osiris] (and)

³³⁷ For  as s.t-wr.t, cf. *Demot. Nb.* 76-77. Stalder 2004a, 563, read T³-šr.t-p³y-k³. Vleeming 2011, 697-698 read Wd³-P³y-wr.t(?).

³³⁸ Suggested by Mark Smith, versus Brunsch 1984, 457, and Stadler 2004a, 566, who read “38” and Vleeming 2011, 697, who read “18.”

³³⁹ Unpublished, see pl. 20; cited by Colin 2006, 45 n. 106. I would like to thank Paul Heilporn for bringing this text to my attention and providing me with photographs. He presented the Greek text on the verso in a paper entitled “Un papyrus thébain du II^e s. apr. J.-Chr.” at the 25th International Congress of Papyrologists, August 2, 2007, which includes a number of difficult abbreviations.

- 6 *mtw(=s) [hs]e n3 i[r] qrs.t=s m-b3h* from the lake after Onnophris.
And may (she) [fav]or those who pre[pared]
her burial before
- 7 *W[sir] [...] p3 ntr 3 ... [...]* O[siris] [...] the great god ... [...]
- 8 *rpy[...]* rejuvenate [...]

43. pStrasbourg D 270³⁴⁰

Recto

- 1 *nh p3y=f by nhh*
- 2 *r d.t P3y-iqš s3 Grmyns*
- 3 *mw.t{s}(=f)³⁴¹ Ta-iwr mtw p3y=f by*
- 4 *šms r Wsir mtw=f t3y mw*
- 5 *hr t3 htp.t m-s3 Wsir*
- 6 *hr p3 šy m-s3 Wn-nfr mtw=f*
- 7 *hpr hn n3 hsy[.w]*
- 8 *n Wsir hnt imnt*
- 9 *p3 ntr 3 nb İbt*
- 10 *mtw=f {mtw=f} hs n3 iir q[s=f]*
- 11 *m-b3h Wsir p3 ntr 3*
- 12 *šc nhh d.t*
- 13 *d.t*

Verso

- 1 *πικος r t3 tw3.t m-b3h Wsir*

Recto

- May his *ba* live forever
(and) for eternity, Payiqesh, son of
Germanos,
whose mother is Taiwer. And may his *ba*
serve Osiris. And may he take water
from the offering table after Osiris
(and) from the lake after Onnophris. And
may he
be among the favored one[s]
of Osiris, foremost of the west,
the great god, lord of Abydos.
And may he favor those who performed his
burial
before Osiris, the great god,
forever, eternity,
(and) eternity.

Verso

- Pikos. To the netherworld before Osiris.

³⁴⁰ Published by Brunsch 1999-2000; Cited by Colin 2006, 45 n. 106; Smith 2009a, 558 n. 5, and 559 n. 12; re-edited by Vleeming 2011, 733-735, Short Texts nr. 1200.

³⁴¹ The scribe has written *mtw=s* in place of the correct *mtw=f*.

44. pVienna 12017³⁴²

Recto

- 1 ḥnh pꜣy=f by r nhḥ rpy=f
 2 d.t Gwrgꜣys r-ms Ph-
 3 ylwtere mtw pꜣy=f by šms r
 4 Wsṛ mtw=f ḥpr ḥn nꜣ ḥsy. w n
 5 Wsṛ mtw=f tꜣy mw ḥr tꜣ ḥtp.t
 6 m-sꜣ Wsṛ rnp.t n ḥnh r-ir=f
 7 ḥr pꜣ tꜣ 32 rpy=f sp-sn d.t
 8 rpy pꜣy=f by šꜣ d.t

Verso

- 1 tꜣ šꜣ.t n (saltire) sns n

45. pVienna 12019³⁴⁴

Recto

- 1 ḥnh pꜣy=f by r nhḥ rpy=f d.t
 2 Lwgy r-ms Hyss mtw pꜣy=f by
 3 šms r Wsṛ mtw=f ḥpr ḥn nꜣ ḥs.w n Wsṛ
 4 ṛmtw¹=f tꜣy mw ṛḥr¹ [tꜣ] ḥtp.t m-sꜣ Wsṛ [...]

Verso

- 1 tꜣ šꜣ.t [n sns n]

Recto

- May his *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate
 (for) eternity, Gorgias, whom
 Philotera³⁴³ bore. And may his *ba* serve
 Osiris. And may he be among the favored
 ones
 of Osiris. And may he take water from the
 offering table
 after Osiris. Year(s) of life which he passed
 on earth 32. May he rejuvenate, may he
 rejuvenate (for) eternity.
 May his *ba* rejuvenate for eternity.

Verso

- The document of (saltire) breathing

Recto

- May his *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate
 (for) eternity,
 Loki, whom Isis, bore. And may his *ba*
 serve Osiris. And may he be among the
 favored ones of Osiris.
 And may he take water from the offering
 after Osiris [...]

Verso

- The document [of breathing]

³⁴² Unpublished, see pls. 21-22. I would like to thank Kim Ryholt for bringing this text to my attention, providing me with photographs, and putting me in contact with the curators in Vienna. See Dieleemann forth.

³⁴³ φιλωτέρα *Demot. Nb.* 479.

³⁴⁴ Unpublished, see pls. 23-24. I would like to thank Kim Ryholt for bringing this text to my attention, providing me with photographs, and putting me in contact with the curators in Vienna. See Dieleemann forth.

CHAPTER THREE

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE VIGNETTE SCENES

3.1 Introduction

The formulaic Demotic funerary texts have an obvious importance for the study of religious practices, literary production, scribal habits, and linguistic change in Greco-Roman Egypt. However, these texts should not be isolated from, nor entirely confused with, the material object itself, in this case most often sheets of papyrus, but also linen cloths, wooden coffins, or stone stelae. Within the funerary cult, it was both the text and the objects that formed the pivotal points of interaction and mediation between living, deceased, and divine. Although beneficial for the protection of the dead, the texts themselves would have been mostly hidden away after the preparation of the body for burial. Potential employment as aids for the ritual speech of priests and mourners, if that had ever been a primary purpose, has been mostly lost to the modern observer, an aspect that is covered in detail in chapter four. It is imperative to recognize that the texts, adorned with a rich array of iconographic elements, formed part of a larger program of praxis, which involved a wide range of participants and products.

Religious iconography from Greco-Roman Egypt was traditional, yet innovative, dynamic and diverse, having maintained ancient elements in juxtaposition with features of more recent development.¹ The languages in the texts accompanying this iconography reflect a similar trend, with hieroglyphs, hieratic, and Demotic being found alongside Greek, Old Coptic, and Latin. Only recently has serious analysis begun of the imagery present in funerary culture from

¹ For general accounts of Roman Period funerary iconography, see Riggs 2002, 2003a, and 2006; Corbelli 2006; Corcoran 2010; Kurth 2010.

this period, conducted most prominently by Christina Riggs.² Despite this positive trend, the vignettes accompanying the formulaic Demotic funerary texts have received no general treatment beyond brief mentions within philological studies, and even these studies cite surprisingly few comparative data.³ In the discussion which follows, the iconography of these texts will be described and their historical development analyzed. This examination will reveal several important features of these objects, including their method of manufacture, responsible artisans, thematic constituents, and relationship to the texts. It will be demonstrated that the vignettes accompanying the Demotic funerary formulae fully complement the texts, but also place the object itself into a context further shaped by both artistic and theological concerns.

While the majority of our corpus is unaccompanied by vignettes, sixteen of the forty-six texts edited in chapter two have illustrations: pBerlin 1522, pBerlin 3169, pBM EA 10121, pBM EA 10415, Coffin Florence 2166, pFlorence 11919, pLouvre N 3176 Q, pLouvre N 3176 R, pLouvre E 10304, Linen Missouri Col. 61.66.3, Coffin MMA I, Coffin MMA II, pMoscow I.1d.142, pMunich ÄS 826, pMunich ÄS 834a, and pMunich ÄS 834b. Twelve of the illustrations occur on papyri while three texts are associated with imagery on coffins and a single example of the *ḥp* by formulae is found on an illustrated shroud. Similar imagery is found within the corpus of non-formulaic Demotic funerary texts, hieratic funerary literature, and throughout the repertoire of funerary iconography, forming important points of comparison

² An accessible introduction can be found in Riggs 2005. The specific dynamics of employing ancient sources for the artistic design of funerary equipment is discussed in Riggs 2006. The way in which modern research has biased certain evidence is taken up by Riggs 2002, 85-101.

³ The scholarly treatment of illustrated manuscripts from ancient Egypt has generally focused upon the text, with notable exceptions: Dawson 1924, Köhler 1972, Saleh 1984, Munro 1987, Mosher 1990, Milde 1991, Billing 2004, Marchese 2004, Heerma van Voss 2006, Lucarelli 2007, Marchese 2007b, Budek 2008, Tarasenko 2009, Stöhr 2009, Müller-Roth 2010, Milde 2011, Lucarelli 2012, and Tarasenko 2012. See Quirke 2013, xi, for notes in relation to BD papyri. Naville 1886 included an excellent collection of vignettes in addition to a study of the texts.

necessary for the elucidation of the vignettes under discussion. Within the corpus, the following discussion will focus on the papyrus vignettes while drawing on the entire corpus for comparison.

Apart from the more elaborate techniques of the painted shrouds, all of the images were drawn in black without any additional color, including those that appear next to the formulaic Demotic texts on the coffins in this particular corpus.⁴ The layout and execution of the images suggest in every way that the same person was responsible for both drawing the pictures and writing the text. Although it is now difficult to be certain in every case, it seems that as a general principle the images were arranged first, followed by the writing of the text.⁵ The scene was often at least partially bordered by layout lines and the vignettes could appear above, below, or occasionally in both positions, framing the text in the middle. In several examples, to be discussed in more detail below, it is hard to escape the impression that the layout was meant to intentionally replicate the visual format of a stela.

Although the number of illustrated examples is small, illustrations accompanying the formulaic Demotic funerary texts are diverse, showing little standardization. A variety of images appeared with the text, some of which have few parallels within the corpus, but for which precedents are known in related material. The following table (Table 3.1) summarizes the range of iconographic elements and it demonstrates that the most common illustration accompanying

⁴ Greco-Roman coffins had a wide variety of colorful imagery. However, the images directly associated with the texts studied here were drawn in black only.

⁵ In several cases, a vignette laid out at the top of a papyrus slants slightly downward toward the left and the text follows a similar slanting pattern (cf. pBM EA 10121, pLouvre N 3176 R). In other cases, the ink of the text overlays parts of the drawing or layout lines (cf. the *=f* and *hpr* in *mtw=fhpr* from Coffin Florence 2166; the *y* in *by* from line 1 of pFlorence 11919; the *h* in *nhh* from line 1 of pLouvre E 10304).

the formulaic Demotic funerary texts was a scene showing the presentation of the deceased before Osiris.

Table 3.1: Vignette Scenes

pBerlin 1522	Presentation before Osiris
pBerlin 3169	Falcon
pBM EA 10121	Presentation (before Osiris)
pBM EA 10415	Presentation before Osiris
Coffin Florence 2166	Falcon
pFlorence 11919	Presentation before Osiris; Jackals
pLouvre N 3176 Q	Presentation before Osiris
pLouvre N 3176 R	Presentation before Osiris
pLouvre E 10304	(Presentation before) Osiris
Linen Missouri Col. 61.66.3	7 scenes with miscellaneous content
Coffin MMA Soternalia I	Sons of Horus; Jackals
Coffin MMA Soternalia II	Falcon; Jackals
pMoscow I.1d.142	Osiris retinue; Falcon; Embalming
pMunich ÄS 826	Falcon; Mummy; Deceased
pMunich ÄS 834a	Falcon
pMunich ÄS 834b	Falcon

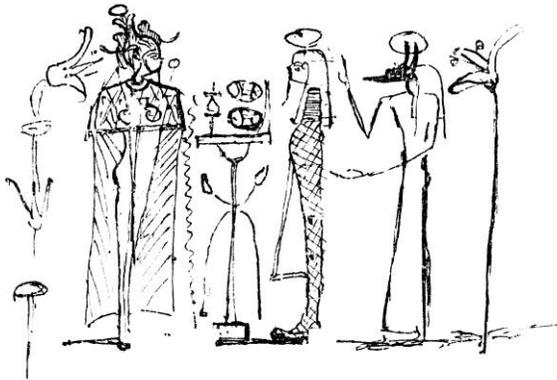
3.2 Presentation before Osiris

Seven manuscripts contain imagery from the scene of the presentation of the deceased before Osiris. A number of elements constituted the imagery associated with this illustration, any of which may or may not be present in a particular exemplar. The basic elements of the vignette consist of a depiction of Osiris, either standing or enthroned, often accompanied by one or more goddesses, prototypically Isis and Nephthys. Osiris is often shown wearing a bead net covering, examples of which have been discovered in burials draped over the mummified body.⁶ Before Osiris, there is an offering table piled with a variety of goods, including liquid and food

⁶ Taylor 2001, 206-207. See also Riggs 2005, 51, 60, 88, 125, 135, 282-283; Corcoran and Svoboda 2010.

offerings.⁷ In front of the offering table, Anubis presents the mummy of the deceased to the god of the underworld. The complete scene with all the main compositional elements from the vignette appears in five examples from the corpus of formulaic Demotic funerary texts.

Figure 3.1: Presentation Scene before Osiris in pBerlin 1522 and pLouvre 3176 Q



pBerlin 1522



pLouvre 3176 Q

The vignettes from pBerlin 1522 and pLouvre N 3176 Q (Figure 3.1) appear below the text and their size allowed the artist to include a significant amount of detail. The scribes finely executed both the image and text, although the scribe of pBerlin 1522 used a thinner and more delicate line, while the large papyrus size of pLouvre N 3176 Q allowed the scribe's bold, well organized hand to stand out prominently. A scene of similar quality once appeared on pFlorence 11919 above the Demotic text (Figure 3.2), but it has since been damaged and only the bottom right portion is preserved. These remains show the legs of an enthroned Osiris figure before

⁷ The appearance of the *ḥs*-vase on the offering table in the scene from pBerlin 1522 suggests an intertextual reference to the importance of the concept *ḥs* "praise, favor" within the text itself (Kurth 2011, 265-271); cf. the offering scene before Osiris and Isis before whom the deceased holds a *ḥs*-jar and incense bowl in an interesting Roman Period stela (Abdel-Rahman 2012, fig. 3). At the top of these stela, the deceased is presented to two rows of gods.

whom stands the deceased followed by Anubis. Two jackals with keys to the netherworld around their necks were drawn underneath the main vignette, surrounded by wavy lines perhaps indicating water, as a kind of border between image and text.⁸

Figure 3.2: Presentation Scene before Osiris in pFlorence 11919⁹



The vignettes of these three manuscripts are of exceptional quality when compared to the remaining examples, such as the scene preserved on pBM EA 10415 (Figure 3.3). This vignette is crowded together at the top of a thin cut papyrus, but the scribe has managed to squeeze in all the elements of the entire scene. To the right, Anubis is shown presenting the individual before an altar in a living state, a not inconsequential detail to be discussed below.¹⁰ Osiris and Isis sit

⁸ For the facing jackals as evidence of a Theban provenience, see Riggs 2005, 238. For the water as a framing device, compare the first vignette from pJS 1 (Ritner 2003a, fig. 1; Ritner 2011).

⁹ I have included pFlorence 11919 in this section, but due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus, it is uncertain if the deceased was actually depicted as a mummy or in a living state. As only one example on the papyri shows the individual in a living state, I chose to include pFlorence 11919 in the mummiform group.

¹⁰ Vleeming 2011, 688, described the scene as “Anubis tending to a religious symbol,” but it is clearly the deceased with arms upraised. Stadler 2004a, 557, did not identify this figure, stating only: “Zwischen Anubis auf der einen und Osiris und der vermutlichen Göttin auf der anderen Seite ist ein Opfertisch skizziert.”

behind the offering table, both holding *w3s*-scepters.¹¹ Osiris wears the atef-crown and Isis wears the horned sun disk with uraeus.¹² The scene is framed by double lines above and below.

Figure 3.3: Presentation Scene before Osiris in pBM EA 10415



A vignette drawn in a similarly cursory manner as that from pBM 10415 appears on pLouvre N 3176 R (Figure 3.4). The papyrus is small and probably incomplete judging from the traces on the right hand edge in addition to the difficult, and perhaps garbled, text. Anubis raises his arms behind the mummy of the deceased before a seated Osiris. Traces behind the figure of Osiris suggest that there may have been a further figure (perhaps Isis). Despite the rather rapid and rudimentary drawing, the main elements of the presentation scene are included in their orthodox arrangement.

¹¹ Stadler 2004a, 557, notes that “ihr Was-Szepter eine ikonographischer Fehler ware.” However, goddesses routinely carried the *w3s*-scepter and he must therefore be referring here to the *w3d*-scepter.

¹² Stadler 2004a, 557, noted that the goddess has a star drawn above her head: “Eine Vignette mit einem nach links blickenden Anubis, der vor Osiris und einer sitzenden Gottheit mit Stern auf ihrem Kopf opfert. Auf den Knien der sitzenden Götter stehen Was-Szepter. Die Gottheit hinter Osiris ist in ihrem Geschlecht nicht sicher zu bestimmen – der Stern läßt entfernt an Seschat denken.” However, as pointed out by Vleeming 2011, 688, Isis is shown “perhaps with sun disc and cow’s horns and uraeus.” Any hesitation in Vleeming’s suggestion can be removed when compared to other examples. The strokes in pBM EA 10415  render in a more schematic

form the same emblem found above Isis in pLouvre 3176Q . Clearly, the strokes do not represent a star, as

they may at first appear, but rather a sun disk, horns, and uraeus serpent  as is typically shown for Isis in this scene and elsewhere, such as the final vignette from pBM EA 9995 (Herbin 2008a, pl. 24) and the vignette of pLouvre N 3284 (Herbin 1994, pl. 31). For an introductory discussion of the various elements of this emblem, see Nilsson 2012, 32-33.

Figure 3.4: Presentation Scene before Osiris in pLouvre N 3176 R



Two remaining examples in the corpus contain only selections of the overall presentation scene. What determined the selection process is now impossible to know, but it is clear that any of the constituent elements could be chosen to represent the scene *pars pro toto*. In the case of pLouvre E 10304 (Figure 3.5), only the enthroned Osiris with crook and flail is depicted above the text.¹³ Although the figure could have represented a triumphant deceased in his guise as the god of the dead, having achieved this state after the appropriate rituals were performed,¹⁴ it seems more likely that the reference is to the well represented presentation scene.

Figure 3.5: Osiris Enthroned from pLouvre E 10304

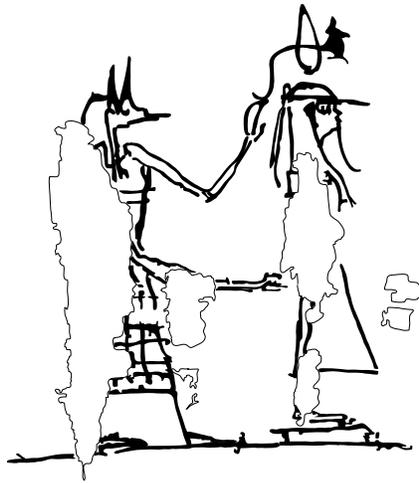


¹³ Cf. the similar depiction of Osiris flanked by Isis and Nephthys on stela Cairo 31147, published in Spiegelberg 1904, pl. XVII, with a pre-Ptolemaic date suggested by Vleeming 2001, 213.

¹⁴ For the deceased's becoming Osiris, see the comments of Smith 2006b, 325-337.

The compliment to the enshrined Osiris figure from pLouvre E 10304 is the scene above the Demotic text of pBM EA 10121 (Figure 3.6). In this case, Osiris is nowhere present as the only figures depicted are Anubis with outstretched arms behind a mummiform figure upon a pedestal with a perfume cone and lotus blossom upon his head.¹⁵ Despite the thin strip of papyrus employed, the figures are well proportioned apart from Anubis's right arm, showing a quality consistent with the finer examples discussed above.

Figure 3.6: Presentation of Mummy from pBM EA 10121



The subject matter of the vignette showing the presentation of the deceased before Osiris is a common type-scene known from many contexts,¹⁶ with a long and complex history of development because of its absolute ubiquity in Egyptian funerary imagery.¹⁷ It appears throughout the contemporary artistic repertoire, such as its appearance in the Rhind papyrus for

¹⁵ Stadler 2004, 555.

¹⁶ For an introduction to the elements of the scene, see Seeber 1976, 154-158; Abdalla 1992, 101-103; Stadler 2004b, 57-59.

¹⁷ Leahy 2010, 62-64.

Montusuef,¹⁸ the painted wall of tomb 83 at Abydos,¹⁹ and even on mummy masks.²⁰ Prior to its appearance in the Roman Period, a similar scene appeared in initial vignettes for the Book of Breathing which Isis Made,²¹ and this itself was an ancient tradition going back to initial vignettes decorating the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period²² and the New Kingdom.²³ An example of the presentation scene on a remarkable stela from the Ptolemaic Period accompanied a number of excerpts from funerary literature, including selections from the Book of Traversing Eternity.²⁴ Similar scenes were common on Late Period stelae,²⁵ coffins,²⁶ and even the lappets of mummy masks.²⁷ In these earlier scenes, the deceased is often shown in acts of offering or

¹⁸ pRhind I, vignette to column 4 (Möller 1913a, pl. IV); pRhind II, vignette to column 4 (Möller 1913a, pl. XV).

¹⁹ Abdalla 1992, pl. 76. A similar scene may be known from the Athribis tomb of Psenosiris, judging from the comments of el-Farag, Kaplony-Heckel, and Kuhlmann 1985, 6: “The entrance wall of the burial chamber is approximately halved by the doorway. The left part (A) contains an offering scene showing Psenosiris before Osiris and Anubis.”

²⁰ Stadler 2004b, 84-91 (cat. nr. 6-8).

²¹ Coenen 1998, 39-42; Coenen 1999b, 101; Smith 2009a, 463 and 483; Taylor 2010, 225. Cf. pLouvre N 3121: Herbin 1999, pl. XV-XVI; pDenon: Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 31.

²² Niwiński 1989, 113-118 (type BD.I.2), pl. 1a-6b; Valloggia 1989, 131-144; Valloggia 1991, 129-136; Marchese 2004, 43-64; see also Taylor 2010, 307.

²³ A Ptolemaic period text on linen has the Osiris reception scene at the beginning (Taylor 2010, 78-79, nr. 32). In the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasties, the vignette is found introducing short selections of BD spells, such as pBM EA 10063 (Taylor 2010, 72, nr. 27). See also Munro 1987, 159-160; Coenen 1998, 40; Munro 2010, 56.

²⁴ Daressy 1914, 73-82; Spiegelberg 1915, 594-596; Herbin 1999, 21-22, and pl. XXV.

²⁵ Munro 1973, pl. 20; Beinlich 2009, 206-207, pls. 20-22. For an analysis of the development of such scenes on stelae, see Munro 1985, 149-187.

²⁶ Taylor 2003, 95-121.

²⁷ Yale ANT 029702 in Manassa 2013, 77; See cat. nr. 6-9 and 12 in Stadler 2004b, 84-93 and 98-99.

worship before the gods, typically Osiris, but other gods as well.²⁸ They may or may not be accompanied by an introductory deity such as Thoth or Anubis.²⁹ Scenes of worship were obviously common throughout the Pharaonic past; however, the occasional presence of Thoth or Anubis to accompany the worshipper in the funerary scenes under discussion suggests a derivation similar to that of the *‘nh p3 by papyri* vignettes.

As suggested by previous editors, the scenes from the *‘nh p3 by papyri* most likely take as their departure the vignette from Book of the Dead spell 125.³⁰ This derivation has been opposed in a recent article by John Gee on the grounds that all of the elements of the judgment scene from BD 125 are not present.³¹ However, it is not the judgment scene itself, but the second half of the scene showing the introduction of the deceased before Osiris after the weighing of the heart that provided the inspiration for singling out the presentation scene.³² This derivation is clear even

²⁸ The divinity in such scenes is often identified as Osiris, but Sokar-Osiris, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and various forms of the solar deity are also common. At times, a double scene showed the individual before both the chthonian and solar deities. See Niwiński 1989, 100-101. Invocation of Sokar-Osiris is interesting because of the common formula in the corpus of mummy labels “before Sokar-Osiris/Osiris-Sokar” *m-b3h Wsir-Skr* (see the corpus collected by Vleeming 2011).

²⁹ Thoth leads the deceased before Osiris in the introductory vignette of linen shroud BM EA 10063 (Ptolemaic), with photograph in Taylor 2010, 79.

³⁰ Discussed by Coenen 199b, 101-102; Ritner 2000, 113-114; Ritner 2003, 175-176; Taylor 2010, 225; Ritner 2011, 138. It should be noted that elements of the judgment scene continue into the Coptic tradition; see Pearson 2004, 171-174.

³¹ Gee 2009, 139-141. Gee sought to distinguish between the judgment scene of BD 125 and what he called the “initiation” scenes found in these texts, a focus perhaps deriving from Gee’s Yale dissertation on initiation rituals (Gee 1998). There is no dispute that the scenes in question show the deceased presented before Osiris in a type of initiation. However, the very scene in question routinely occurs at the end of the judgment scene of BD 125 and is described as such in pBib Nat 149. Therefore, it is impossible to distinguish between a judgment scene and initiation scene in this context as both are integral parts of the scene associated with BD 125. Gee’s argument is further undermined by the presence of the judgment scene on a manuscript of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made, published by Coenen 1999b, 101-102, pls. XXI-XXIII.

³² For examples of BD 125 showing the deceased led before Osiris, see Naville 1886, pl. CXXXVI; Allen 1974, 101; Faulkner 1985, 34-35; Taylor 2010, 232-233. In many manuscripts, the deceased is only shown to the

from evidence which Gee cites, such as the description of the BD 125 scene found in Demotic on pBib Nat 149.³³

[p3 rmt] h3[=f](?) iw Inpw mhṭ dr.t=f w^c sšn lh^m3 2.t iw wn 4 ms Hr hr 3t.t=f w^c.t gw3.t iw Wsir
 hms.k p3y=f bhṭ hn=s iw wn w^c.t b3.t irm w^c.t sšn iir-hr=f 3s.t m-s3=f iw=s tw3 iw Nb.t-hw.t m-s3=f
 iw=s tw3

[The man] behind(?) (him)(?) whose hand Anubis grasps. A two budded lotus, upon which are the four children of Horus. A chapel in which Osiris occupies his throne, with an offering table and a lotus in front of him. Isis is behind him, giving praise and Nephthys is behind him giving praise.

In the second half of the BD 125 judgment scene, all our elements appeared together: deceased, presenter (Anubis or Thoth),³⁴ offering table, deity (Osiris), and retinue (Isis and Nephthys).³⁵ A literary description of the judgment can be found in the second tale of Setna (2.7-8), where the introduction into the “service” (*šms*) of the chthonic deity, using the same terminology as found in the *nh p3* by formulae (*mtw p3y=f by šms Wsir* “And may his *ba* serve Osiris”), is predicated upon the successful weighing of the heart: *iw p3 nty iw=w r gm.t=f iw n3y=f mnḥ.w in-iw wbe n3y=f why.w iw=w in.t=f hn n 3hy.w iqry.w nty šms n Skr-Wsir* “And the one whom they find that his good

right of the scene, being led to the judgment hall by Anubis, e.g., pLouvre N 3278, photo in Charron 2002, 144-145, or Maat, pLouvre N 3094, photo in Charron 2002, 170-171.

³³ Gee 2009, 140. For the understanding of the scene and an improved translation, see Smith 2009a, 439, and for publication, see Stadler 2003 and Lexa 1910.

³⁴ For discussion of Anubis as psychopomp, i.e., the guide of the deceased in the afterlife, see Morenz 1975, 510-520; DuQuesne 1994, 52-54; Riggs 2005, 165-173.

³⁵ Cf. the sequence of scenes showing the deceased lead by Anubis through the judgment hall to Osiris on the funerary bier Berlin 12442 (Riggs 2005, 145).

deeds come (out) equal to his evil deeds, they will bring him among the excellent spirits who serve Sokar-Osiris.”³⁶

The connection between the two scenes is clear on the Book of Breathing belonging to Kerasher (BM EA 9995) where the introductory vignette shows the presentation scene, including elements typical from the judgment scene such as the four sons of Horus upon a lotus.³⁷ The final vignette shows Kerasher during the weighing of the heart immediately followed by Kerasher worshipping before an offering table in front of the enthroned Osiris.³⁸ In both the introductory and final vignette, Kerasher stands before an offering table outside of a shrine containing Osiris and Isis. If a further connection with the presentation scene as found on the *‘nh p3 by* papyri were needed, the introductory scene on Kerasher’s papyrus contains a label between Anubis and Thoth making explicit the deceased’s entrance into the company of the “favored ones” (*h̄si.w*): *m̄i bs=k r bw hr it=f*³⁹ *rd̄i.n=f tw=k m tp h̄si.w* “Come so that you enter the place before his⁴⁰ father for he has placed you at the head of the favored ones.”⁴¹ This can be compared to the text found labeling a vignette in a late New Kingdom Book of the Dead manuscript. The vignette shows the deceased

³⁶ See Griffith 1900, 47-48 (translation), 152-153 (transliteration and translation), and pl. II-IIa (photo and handcopy). For translations, see Lichtheim 2006, vol. 3, 140; Ritner 2003b, 474.

³⁷ Herbin 2008a, pl. 15.

³⁸ Herbin 2008a, pl. 24; Taylor 2010, 224-225.

³⁹ For a parallel to this phrase, see *m33=i ntr h̄ft iry.w=f šmsw=i sw r bw hr=f* “As I see the god in his forms, so I follow him to the place bearing him,” from pLouvre N 3292, published in Nagel 1929; see note 43 below for extensive quotation.

⁴⁰ Herbin 2008a, 38 n. 160 states “it.f, by mistake for it.k.” However, a comparable text from pLouvre N 3278, published in Étienne 2002, 144-145 (cited by Gee 2009, 141), shows that the reference is to Anubis’s father: *m̄i bs=i tw m-b3h̄ it=i Wsir* “Come so that I may introduce you before my father Osiris.”

⁴¹ Herbin 2008a, 38 and pl. 15; for discussion of the “favored ones” (*h̄sy.w*), see chapter two.

coffin of Paserhor, the acts are divided into three scenes with the reception scene in the center, the heart-weighing to the right, and the introduction to the left. The placement of the reception scene in the center emphasizes its importance and provides evidence for how the similar scenes were selected for inclusion on funerary papyri in the Greco-Roman Period. A connection with the judgment hall depicted in the vignette of BD 125 is further reinforced by the text found in pRhind I, 4d1-2 (the same column with the presentation vignette), in which Anubis elaborates on his role in this context:

*ḥrw Ḳnpw Ḳnk p3 nty tī t3 myt.t ḥr t3 ḥ3.t n p3 nty iy nb r t3 wsh3.t n t3 tw3.t Ḳnk p3 nty wp n3 myt.wt
ḥr t3 ḥ3.t p3 nty mšc r t3 wsh3.t n n3 ḥs.w iw=f n (3) p3 m-šs n tī wšte=f Wsir*

“The address of Anubis: ‘I am the one who grants the way before anyone who comes to the hall of the netherworld. I am the one who opens the ways before the one who goes to the hall of the favored ones, when he is very great, to cause that he greet Osiris.’”⁴⁶

The keen observer will have noticed that in the scenes from the formulaic Demotic funerary papyri, the deceased is most commonly shown as a mummy (with only one exception), while texts from earlier periods show the individual in a living state. Showing the deceased in the presentation scene as a mummy seems to be a particular development of the late Ptolemaic Period,⁴⁷ where it appears side by side with depictions of the presentation of the living individual. In the Roman Period, the mummiform deceased became a quintessential element of

⁴⁶ Möller 1913, pl. IV; Smith 2009a, 323.

⁴⁷ Depictions of the mummy or the mummy presented by Anubis were common in other contexts from earlier funerary art, most notably in the vignette associated with BD 1 discussed below. For a selection of New Kingdom examples, see Saleh 1984, 10-11, 25, 52, 84. However, the presentation of the mummy in the specific context of the presentation scene is a later development. The mummiform deceased was briefly discussed by Stadler 2004b, 58-59, and Riggs 2005, 29 (“Still other scenes are either innovative or given greater prominence than in previous periods, notably the presentation of the deceased to Osiris, in which Anubis ushers the lifelike deceased into the presence of the god, or else supports a mummy understood to represent the deceased.”). According to Riggs 2005, 45-48, the depiction of the deceased as a mummy was indicative of males. However, note that pBM EA 10121 shows the deceased as a mummy, yet the text was written for a woman.

the presentation scene,⁴⁸ as it shows up routinely throughout funerary decoration and was especially common on Upper Egyptian stelae from the period.⁴⁹ An interesting example combines both the presentation by Anubis and the scene of Anubis and the funerary bier.⁵⁰ Overall, it is more common for the deceased to be shown as a mummy when Anubis appears behind the deceased in the presentation, but this pattern is not entirely consistent.⁵¹

It is clear that the offering and presentation scenes of earlier periods had evolved. This new type-scene that the creators of the formulaic Demotic funerary papyri were trying to imitate specifically included the presentation of the deceased's mummy to Osiris by Anubis.⁵²

Pinpointing the particular reasons for this change in decorum is difficult. It is possible that the

⁴⁸ Comparable to these are two stelae from Thebes showing Anubis presenting the mummy before an altar at which a priest performs incense and libation rituals: Turin 1529 and Turin 1567, dated to the Roman Period, published in Munro 1973, pl. 21.

⁴⁹ See the following from Abdalla 1992: nr. 5 (pl. 3a: unlocated), nr. 21 (pl. 10d: Merseyside County Museum 1977.109.41), nr. 48 (pl. 20b: unlocated), nr. 62 (pl. 25: Brussels Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E. 4283), nr. 101 (pl. 39c: Cairo Museum JE 39089), nr. 117 (pl. 45: National Museum of Ireland 1920.271), nr. 133 (pl. 52: Brussels Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E. 4304), nr. 171 (pl. 57: Ashmolean 1882.2 & 1962.501), nr. 195 (pl. 60: Fitzwilliam Museum E. 63.1901), nr. 197 (Fitzwilliam Museum E. 65.1901), nr. 204 (pl. 63b: unlocated), nr. 209 (pl. 64b: UCL 14537), nr. 210 (pl. 65a: 14776), nr. 211 (pl. 65b: UCL 14777). See the following from the Cairo Museum catalog by Spiegelberg 1904: 31091 (pl. IV), 31098 (pl. V mummy with upraised arms), 31102 (pl. VI), 31107 (pl. VIII), 31111 (pl. IX), 31113 (pl. IX), 31119 (pl. XI), 31121 (pl. XI), 31128 (pl. XIII), 31129 (pl. XIII), 31131 (pl. XIII), 31132 (pl. XIV), 31133 (pl. XIV), 31135 (pl. XIV), 31139 (pl. XVI), 31146 (pl. XVII), 31148 (pl. XVIII), 31150 (pl. XVIII), 31151 (pl. XVIII), 31158 (pl. XIX), 31159 (pl. XX). See the following from Hodjash and Berlev 1982: nr. 152 (213: Pushkin I.1.a. 5374). Stela Strasbourg 360 has the scene, published by Spiegelberg 1908-1909, pl. III. Farid 1988 published an example of the scene in Stela Berlin 31298. The scene is shown on the shroud of Sensaos I, now in Leiden M 76 (Herbin 2002, 21), and Patamunophis I, now in the Louvre E 13382 (Herbin 2002, 39). Likewise, the scenes of worship before Osiris that preceded these presentation scenes were likewise exceedingly common. Niwiński 1989, 99, remarks that "The scenes found in most of the etiquettes are paralleled by analogous representations on the stelae of the same period; however, stelae are much less frequent than the papyri." However, the offering scene before Osiris is one of the most common scenes on Third Intermediate Period stelae and must be comparable in number, if not more common, than the papyri scenes.

⁵⁰ Stela Liverpool SAOS E.3, published in Abdalla 1992, nr. 15 (20-21, pl. 8a).

⁵¹ The presentation scene on the coffin of Teos shows Anubis behind the deceased depicted in a living state (Kurth 1990, pl. 7). A very schematic representation on the foot of a coffin in Cairo depicts the living individual before Anubis (Kurth 1990, 64 fig. 22).

⁵² This attendant role of Anubis is described in BD 168 *ḥry sšt=f ḥry=k* "Anubis, the master of his secret, is your companion" (Quirke 2013, 540).

development represents a melding of the presentation scene with another vignette commonly found at the beginning of Book of the Dead papyri, the funeral scene in which the mummy is presented by Anubis after embalming for ritual purification and reanimation (BD 1). Orsolya Illés notes the importance of BD 1:

Chapter 1 is not only a spell frequently introducing compilations of Book of the Dead chapters, but a text expressing the basic idea underlying the entire text-collection we know as the Book of the Dead. Through the magic of Thot the deceased will be provided with everything he needs in the afterlife and his *b3* can move freely between the worlds of the living and the dead. Although it was originally designed to be recited on the day of burial, the terminal rubric of the spell included the specific direction that it should be inscribed on the coffin ...⁵³

Another reason for this combination of features could be that BD spell 1 seems to have played some role in scribal training as a hieratic copy with verse points suggests.⁵⁴ As Leahy pointed out, “As befits a spell intended for inscriptions on coffins, BD 1 features prominently on Theban examples of the late eighth and seventh centuries BC” and even appeared inscribed in stone.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, it is possible that the representation of the mummiform deceased had the simple intention of depicting the individual in the guise of his mummiform god Osiris, thereby showing their close association and the deceased’s divine transformation. The change in decorum could also have been influenced by the increased focus on the body and its trappings during this period when individual tombs became rather exceptional. Whatever motivated this development, the scene well complements the main purpose of the texts that accompany these scenes, where the deceased’s association with Osiris is described as his *ba* serving Osiris, he

⁵³ Illés 2006a, 126. The rubric instructing that the spell be inscribed on the coffin is especially interesting in light of both the early BD spells appearance on coffins as well as the importance of funerary texts on coffins into the Roman Period.

⁵⁴ Goelet 1994, 156. Cf. ostracon UCL 13248 with BD 17 and verse points.

⁵⁵ Leahy 2010, 61-62. See further the discussion of Wilfong 2013a, 69-77.

being among the favored ones of Osiris, and he taking water from the offering table after Osiris. Thus, the scene represents the fundamental elements described in the text.

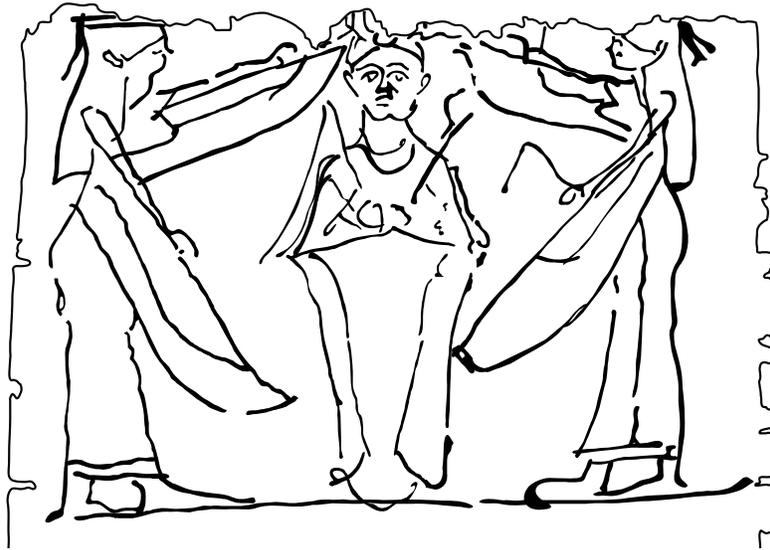
3.3 Embalming Ritual

The presentation of the mummy before Osiris is the most common scene associated with the *ḥꜥꜣꜣ* papyri, but other illustrations referring to various parts of the embalming and funeral ritual appeared, at times on the same papyrus. A series of images is found on both the recto and verso of pMoscow I.1d.142. The scene above the text in pMoscow I.1d.142 (figure 3.7) shows a front-facing figure of Osiris, holding the crook and flail, flanked by two goddesses who stretch out their arms and wings in a protective gesture.⁵⁶ Although the papyrus is broken at the top so that no label accompanies the figures, it is likely that the two goddesses represent Isis and Nephthys. In this case, a section of the presentation scene does not seem to be represented as suggested by the tool for the opening of the mouth ceremony in the hand of the goddess on the right. The performance of the opening of the mouth ritual seems to indicate that the Osiride figure here is an image of the deceased himself during the final stages of the funerary rituals and parallels the common phenomenon of referring to the deceased as Osiris PN or Hathor PN.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Cf. the position of protective goddesses on the corners of New Kingdom royal sarcophagi.

⁵⁷ Riggs and Depauw 2002, 77; Riggs 2003, 194; Smith 2006b, 325-337; Smith 2012, 187-196.

Figure 3.7: Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys from pMoscow I.1d.142



On the verso of pMoscow I.1d.142, there is a series of images drawn in the space more typically used for the label. The images are broken up like many of the textual labels by a *saltire* seal pattern in addition to the depiction of a human head indicating that the papyrus was meant to be placed under the head (*hr d3d3*) within the burial. What is interesting about this particular papyrus is that it includes a series of decorations, demonstrating the great latitude in choice present to scribes when producing these funerary objects. Some of the scenes are most often associated with other pieces from the funerary assemblage including coffins, cartonnage, shrouds, and stelae. One particular scene is especially iconic within Egyptian religious imagery as it depicts the quintessential act for the postmortem individual: the embalming ritual as performed by Anubis⁵⁸ and accompanied by the mourners Isis and Nephthys.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Guasch Jané 2012, 116-117. For discussion of Anubis, see Duquesne 2005.

⁵⁹ For discussion of this scene, see Abdalla 1992, 106-107; Corcoran 1995, 175-176. Hays 2013, 175, has noted, citing Assmann 1991, 11 with n. 173, that “depictions of embalming and mummification ... as a rule are not displayed in tombs during the pharaonic period.” However, the scene of Anubis standing over the funerary bier

Figure 3.8: Anubis and the Funerary Bier from pMoscow I.1d.142 vs.



Depictions of the scene are exceedingly common and a great deal of variation in the component images is attested from a variety of geographical regions, temporal eras, and artistic media.⁶⁰ It was exceedingly common on coffins and stelae throughout the Late Period.⁶¹ The scene was literally central to the vignette associated with BD 151⁶² and “spells for raising the bier” were common on Late Period coffins.⁶³

The scene of Anubis attending the deceased placed on a lion-shaped bier is one of the most traditional and enduring funerary images in Egyptian art from the time of

during the embalming process was commonly showed in the New Kingdom tombs at Deir el-Medina and elsewhere. For a selection of examples, see Saleh 1984, 10-11.

⁶⁰ An exhaustive catalog of this scene would require a volume of its own. Cited here are a select number of contemporary examples. Examples showing the complete scene with Anubis, funerary bier, mummy, Isis, and Nephthys include: Coffin Berlin 505 (Herbin 2002, 17); Shroud Boston MFA 50.630 (Riggs 2005, 3); Boston MFA 98.1054 (Leprohon 1986, 54-57); Shroud Lyon 1982-100 (Charron 2002, 107; Goyon 1996, 14-23); Stela Cairo 31108 (Spiegelberg 1904, pl. VIII); Stela Cairo 31120 (Spiegelberg 1904, pl. XI); Stela Cairo 31126 (Spiegelberg 1904, pl. XII); Shroud Turin 2265 (Riggs 2005, 228); Athribis tomb of Psenosiris (el-Farag, Kaplony-Heckel, and Kuhlmann 1985, pl. 10); in the tombs of Tigrane Pasha Street and Kom el-Shuqafa (McKenzie 2007, 194-199). Examples showing just the funerary bier with Anubis include: Shroud Berlin 11653 (Riggs 2005, 169); a copy is drawn below the magical text of PDM xii, 135-146 (PGM XII, 474-479). Examples showing just the funerary bier include: Boston MFA 98.1052 (Leprohon 1986, 49-50). Examples showing the funerary bier with Isis and Nephthys, but without Anubis include: Boston MFA 98.1053 (Leprohon 1986, 51-53); Coffin British Museum EA 6705 (Riggs 2005, 188). An example showing Thoth at the foot of the bier with Anubis tending to the mummy is found in Shroud Cairo 33216 (Corcoran 1995, 175). Even a coffin footboard displays the scene (Boston MFA 1979.37 (D’Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig 1988, 209.). The combination of the funerary bier scene with Anubis along with the presentation of the deceased by Anubis in Stela Cairo CG 31126 has been described as “without parallel” by Abdalla 1992, 98.

⁶¹ On a twenty-sixth dynasty coffin in Tiradritti 1999, 120. See also the interesting Persian-Egyptian stela from Saqqara with a depiction of the funerary bier scene above a Persian scene (Mathieson, Bettles, Davies, and Smith 1995, 23-41).

⁶² Lüscher 1998, 23, 304-314.

⁶³ Discussion in Elias 1993, 557-558.

the New Kingdom. It is repeatedly encountered in private tombs of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods and is statistically the most common image on otherwise undecorated “mummy tags” and stelae inscribed in Demotic from Dendera.⁶⁴

It is thus not surprising to find the scene among the iconography of our papyri. The fundamental importance of the embalming ritual and the preservation of the corpse reflects the close relationship between mummification and justification, sentiments furthered echoed in the text.⁶⁵

Depicting the attention to the corpse reinforced the idea that the “corpse remain in the netherworld” (*mn ... ḥꜣ.t m twꜣ.t*). In addition, appropriate care for the deceased reflected the social responsibility of the bereaved who sought favor from the dead for their proper treatment of the body: “May he favor those who made his burial before Osiris” (*mtw=f ḥs nꜣ iꜣr qs=f m-bꜣḥ Wsir*).

The depiction of the embalming on the funeral bier is an anomaly within the corpus of *ḥꜣ pꜣ* by papyri. It appeared on a single example and was hastily sketched on the verso of the papyrus, yet another indication of freedom by which scribes could compose. What is clear from the representations on these papyri is an increased focus on the individual. Pictures of deities are extremely limited, including only Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis.⁶⁶ The main deity in the scenes, in fact, is the deceased, transformed through his mummification. Archaeological trends from the period parallel this focus as the individual tomb became the exception and the collective

⁶⁴ Fazzini and Bianchi 1988, 233. It is now hard to accept the implications of the continuation of this quote, where Fazzini and Bianchi state: “Those commissioning such works must be regarded as staunchly conservative in their religious beliefs and outlooks inasmuch as the character of Anubis underwent an extreme metamorphosis in the hands of the Greeks and Romans in order to render his deeply entrenched theriomorphic nature more palatable to non-Egyptians.”

⁶⁵ For the relationship of mummification and justification, see Smith 2009a, 6.

⁶⁶ Images of falcons could, of course, represent certain deities; see discussion below.

or family tomb became the norm, especially in Thebes where burials were usually interred in reused sepulchers from earlier periods.⁶⁷

3.4 *Orantes* Figures

The emphasis on the individual is further reflected in another unique image accompanying a formulaic Demotic funerary papyrus. Below the text of pMunich MÄS 826 there is the drawing of a female figure with arms stretched out to the sides wearing a high-waisted skirt (figure 3.9). The identification of this figure is in dispute as several varying interpretations have been published. Early editors had identified the figure as representing the deceased woman for whom the papyrus was written.⁶⁸ Martin Stadler and Mark Smith argued that the figure must represent the goddess Nut, otherwise known as depicted on funerary miscellanea, most particularly coffins, and further based on the identification with an enigmatic reference in the text, which, however, is only partially deciphered with any certainty.⁶⁹ Although this suggestion is appealing, several lines of evidence lead to its rejection.

⁶⁷ See the comments of Montserrat and Meskell (1997), 187: “The lack of substantive burial assemblages which characterises post-New Kingdom mortuary praxis would also suggest that it was not the paraphernalia but the body which became the single focus after death. This culminates in Graeco-Roman times, when the material expression of death centres on the body itself, which then becomes an elaborately wrapped and decorated burial in microcosm. We witness the beginning of this shift in focus towards the end of the New Kingdom, with the ever-dwindling array of associated tomb goods and a reduced concern for personalised tomb.”

⁶⁸ Spiegelberg 1901, 9; Müller 1966, no. 75; Müller 1972, 95; Wildung 1976, 214-215; Musées de Marseille 1997, 168; these interpretations were cited by Vleeming 2011, 684.

⁶⁹ Stadler 2004, 566, n. 58; Smith 2009a, 561-562. For discussion of the text, see chapter two.

Figure 3.9: *Orans* Figure from pMunich MÄS 826



Comparisons of known figures of the goddess Nut, both contemporary and non-contemporary, demonstrate a variety of postures, only some of which are similar to the figure in pMunich MÄS 826.⁷⁰ In the coffin of Soter (BM EA 6705), the figure of Nut is strikingly similar to the image on the Munich papyrus, down to the hair style, skirt, shirt, bracelets, breasts, and feet.⁷¹ The main elements are common to contemporary iconography of Nut in this period, such as the zigzag pattern of the skirt as it appears on Nut inside a coffin base inscribed for a man named Sematawy.⁷² The only difference of significance is the position of the hands, turned palm up on the Munich papyrus, but turned palm inwards toward the head on the coffin of Soter.⁷³ The

⁷⁰ Note Žabkar 1969, 112, who claims that in the earliest depictions of the *orans* posture in Egypt, “... human, not divine, figures are represented with arms upraised in an attitude of adoration or prayer”

⁷¹ Grimm 1974, pl. 138.1.

⁷² Field Museum 30020: Riggs 2005, 76-77, with fig. 28, and 267-268; Grimm 1974, pl. 118.2.

⁷³ Another similar depiction can be found on the coffin of Cleopatra II, BM EA 6706 (Herbin 2002, 13 fig. 11) in the coffin of Petemenophis I, see Herbin 2002, 34 fig. 30.

practice of depicting Nut in this way has many ancient parallels, with very close parallels from the Saite-Persian period.⁷⁴

In earlier periods, Nut's hands and arms were often, although not always, shown outstretched above her head.⁷⁵ In the Roman Period, however, her arms often extend down by her sides,⁷⁶ a pose imitated by the depiction of the deceased on anthropoid coffins.⁷⁷ This pose is found on the base of Coffin Florence 2165, the canopy of which contains a formulaic Demotic funerary text.⁷⁸ A similar image of Nut is depicted in a vignette from pRhind 1, column 11 where Nut's arms reach slightly up from her sides to accept the mummy of the deceased.⁷⁹ The imagery is often mixed, as Nut with arms upraised is found on the coffin of Soter, but Nut with arms by her sides is found on the floor of Soter's coffin.⁸⁰ This artistic pattern is mimicked in the coffin

⁷⁴ Botti 1958, pl. III.

⁷⁵ Another scene showing Nut with her arms stretched out to the sides occurs in the burial chamber of the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11); see Galán 2013 and cf. the coffin of Petemenekh in the St. Louis Art Museum. The depiction of Nut's arms stretched overhead continued in the Ptolemaic Period as well; see Louvre D 40 (Charron 2002, 114-115).

⁷⁶ Coffin Floor Berlin ÄG 505 (Grimm 1974, pl. 138.4); Coffin Floor BM 6705 (Grimm 1974, pl. 138.3); Coffin Floor BM EA 6706 (Riggs 2005, 200 fig. 96); Coffin floor BM EA 6708 (Herbin 2002, 16 fig. 15); Coffin Floor BM EA 6950 (Herbin 2002, 16 fig. 17); Shroud BMFA 1872.4732 (Riggs 2005, 195 fig. 93); Coffin Floor Chicago FMNH 30020 (Grimm 1974, pl. 118.2); Coffin Floor Edinburgh 1956.307 (Grimm 1974, pl. 139.4); Shroud Leiden ROM 76 (Herbin 2002, 20 fig. 24); Coffin Floor Louvre E 13016 (Herbin 2002, 5 fig.2; Riggs 2005, 192 fig. 92 and 282-284 nr. 81); Coffin Lid Louvre E 13048 (Grimm 1974, pl. 139.1 and 282-284 nr. 81); Coffin Floor Turin 2230 (Grimm 1974, pl. 139.3; Herbin 2002, 19 fig. 22).

⁷⁷ Cf. Grimm 1974, pl. 111.3.

⁷⁸ Botti 1941, 33-34, pl. II-II; Riggs 2005, 285-286, no. 90.

⁷⁹ Smith 2009a, 562, cited the vignette as a *comparandum* for the figure on pMunich MÄS 826; mentioned by Vleeming 2011, 681: "... Stadler was correct in thinking of this goddess, 'who lifts up the heaven,' for the comparison made in this passage finds a perfect illustration in the vignette to P. Rhind I col. Xi, where the goddess is said to be Nut, who may recur in the figure beneath the text of" pMunich MÄS 826. Riggs 2005, 76 fig. 29, reproduced the facsimile to demonstrate that "Nut was believed to embrace the dead inside their coffins."

⁸⁰ BM EA 6705: Herbin 2002, 12 figs. 9-10.

and coffin floor of Cleopatra II.⁸¹ The decoration on these coffins is so similar that many of them can be placed clearly within particular workshops.⁸²

The iconography probably represents an intentional blending of identity between the deceased and the gods, typically Osiris and Nut. This is most apparent in the coffin now in Edinburgh, originally constructed to hold the mummies of two young boys.⁸³ On the outer lid of the coffin, two figures of Osiris are depicted. On the interior of the base are two images of Nut, identified as such by the *nw*-jar above their heads. However, many of the typical elements in the imagery of Nut are absent, like on the coffin of Tphous.⁸⁴ As Christina Riggs has noted, the iconographic blending had led earlier scholars to interpret the images as depictions of the deceased.⁸⁵

When one considers how the distinction between the goddess Nut and individuals was blurred, it reveals that the pose of the figure on the Munich papyrus is much closer to what is referred to as the *orans* (pl. *orantes*) figures, a description derived from the typical depiction of Christians in the act of prayer during the Late Antique period.⁸⁶ Yet, it is well known that the pose has a more ancient lineage and connections have been made with the worship of Isis.⁸⁷ The

⁸¹ BM EA 6706: Herbin 2002, 13 figs. 11-12.

⁸² Manley and Dodson 2010, 141: “The similarities of technique and decoration between the Florence coffins and the NMS double-coffin are so close that it is difficult to doubt that they come from the same workshop.”

⁸³ Manley and Dodson 2010, 140-142; Grimm 1974, pl. 139.4

⁸⁴ BM EA 6708: Herbin 2002, 16, fig. 15, 17 fig. 16, 53; Riggs 2005, 282 and fig. 86.

⁸⁵ Riggs 2005, 191. Confusion persists as the image of Nut on the base of the coffin of Chelidona (Louvre N 2576) has been described as an image of the deceased.

⁸⁶ At Medinet Habu in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, *orantes* figures “were a uniquely female component of religious practice in the western Theban area” (Wilfong 2002, 116).

⁸⁷ See Žabkar 1969, 111-113; Allen 1985, 437-457; Ballet 1991, 500-504; Wilfong 2002, 116 with n. 53.

individual is shown in frontal view with the arms raised at the sides, elbows bent with the palms facing up. Such postures are found on stelae throughout Egypt, but most famously on the Terenuthis stela⁸⁸ from the necropolis to the south of the western delta city of Kom Abu Billo.⁸⁹ Žabkar believed that the *orans* posture may have been influenced by the posture of the canopic goddesses Isis, Nephthys, and Nut, if only incidentally.⁹⁰ As an example, a 17th Dynasty *rishi* coffin in Edinburgh shows Isis and Nephthys kneeling on the foot of the coffin with their arms upraised in the *orans* posture.⁹¹

A stela with a Demotic funerary text including the opening phrase *ḥꜥ pꜣy=s by m-bꜣḥ Wsīr-Skr* “May her *ba* live before Osiris-Sokar” provides an interesting parallel. In the upper scene, a falcon-headed mummy is attended by Anubis, with Isis at the head and Nephthys at the feet. To the left, the individual is led in a living state by Anubis towards the embalming scene. Below this

⁸⁸ Hooper 1961; Žabkar 1969, 107-113; Winnicki 1992, 351-360; Parlasca 1970, 173-198.

⁸⁹ Baines and Malek 2000, 168.

⁹⁰ Žabkar 1969, 110-111: “It is certainly true that representations of figures with upraised arms occur throughout the ancient world from prehistoric times to the latest period and that they frequently occur on Egyptian coffins from the Middle Kingdom to Ptolemaic and Roman times. This gesture is often associated with the goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Nut, and Amentet, who, together with other deities, are often painted or engraved on coffins. Their pictures are accompanied by texts which promise special protection to the dead, who are often identified with Osiris. These pictures show the arms raised in two different positions: extended straight out from the shoulders and bent upward at the elbows or less extended and bent upward at the elbows. Variation in the position of the arms is found on Greco-Egyptian as well as Coptic stelae. The resemblance between the figures with upraised arms on Greco-Egyptian and Coptic stelae and those of Egyptian goddesses painted or engraved on coffins seems to point to an artistic tradition which developed during the Middle Kingdom, continued until the syncretistic Greco-Egyptian period, and was carried over into Christian Coptic art. Therefore, the *orans* gesture seen on Egyptian funerary monuments of the syncretistic period may be said to have a certain ‘Egyptian genealogy’ and may be ‘ascribed to native influence.’ We think, however, that this influence may have been of a purely external nature, carried on by artists who were long exposed to the visual stimulation of a variety of similar motifs. It was especially the popular artist who in the late period, led by the external similarity of funerary motifs, kept reproducing them, often without understanding their inner meaning and their distinctive characteristics. The position of the arms of the Egyptian goddesses represented on coffins is associated with the idea of ‘protecting’ and ‘encircling’ the deceased resting in the coffin, as the accompanying texts mention, and not with the idea of adoration, prayer, or worship, which seems to be most generally accepted as the significance of the *orans* gesture.”

⁹¹ Coffin A.1909.521.1, published in Manley and Dodson 2010, 25.

scene, a female *orans* figure is depicted flanked by jackal-headed figures holding *w3s*-scepters.⁹²

Although the text has only been incompletely deciphered, any doubt about the identification of the figure seems assuaged by the Demotic text *iw=s šll m-b3h p3 ntr Wsir* “She prays before the god Osiris.”⁹³

The whole issue has recently been reevaluated by François Gaudard and Janet Johnson in relation to the appearance of similar images on mummy labels.⁹⁴ Their conclusion that the depictions represent the deceased is supported by the above cited evidence. Like earlier editors, Gaudard and Johnson compared the *orans* posture to traditional Egyptian funerary iconography, such as the pose found for the triumphant justified as they exited the judgment hall.⁹⁵ The comparison suggests an interesting connection with the judgment and therefore also with the

⁹² Abdalla 1992, 98, perhaps unaware of the pMunich MÄS 826, states: “The nude *orans* figure in the third register is without parallel” Further, Abdalla 1992, 110, identifies the figure as nude and suggests that nudity “is not associated with the depiction of the deceased.” However, there are depictions of the deceased as a nude child in the “baptism” scene from a shroud (Cairo 17/10/16/1) published in Corcoran 1995, 197, with discussion on 71, concluding “the undraped appearance of male subjects in mummy portraits” alludes rather “to the rebirth that the individuals had experienced as a result of initiation into the Isiac cult.” In addition, one should compare the nude statue of the deceased Fitzwilliam 4688.1943, published in Willems and Clarysse 2000, 219, and it is necessary to decide about the purpose of nude terracotta figurines. Even if we accept that the deceased can be depicted in nude form, it is likely that the figure should be understood as wearing a sheer, form fitting outfit, which can be difficult to distinguish from nudity (cf. Stela Louvre E 25983 where Penaset is shown along with his wife, whose only indication of clothing is a collar and faint line at the ankles; see Widmer 2010, 63-97). Finally, we should be suspect of drawing firm boundaries between depictions of humans and deities for it is at the very heart of Egyptian art to depict the deceased assimilated in one way or another to the divine. Strengthening this point, Riggs 2005, 193-194, discusses the depictions of Nut from Roman Period coffins and concludes that “... the representation of Nut wearing the tunic conflates divine and quotidian images of women. ... Depicting the goddess Nut with these features was in some measure a result of the reverse case, in which a deceased female was shown with some of the attributes of a goddess. This god-like transformation of the dead led artists to create models that combined human and divine traits and could be used for either type of image. ... This convergence of the iconography for goddesses and the dead supports the idea that the artists used similar models for each type of object”

⁹³ Spiegelberg 1904, 49-50, followed by Abdalla 1992, 98.

⁹⁴ Gaudard and Johnson 2010.

⁹⁵ Willems and Clarysse 2000, 300-302. The deceased is also shown with arms upraised in this manner in the introductory vignette of BD papyri; see Burkhard 2009, pl. V.1. This fits well with Castiglione’s interpretation of the *orans* pose as representing a “rite of passage” (Castiglione 1969, 82).

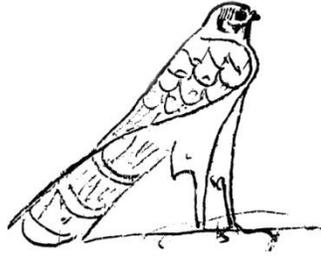
presentation scene before Osiris. Therefore, it is likely that the female image on pMunich ÄS 826 is not a depiction of Nut, but a depiction of the deceased *T3-šr.t-n-Hr-n-nb-ḥ(?)* herself, with intentional similarities to images of the goddess.⁹⁶ The images of the deceased with divine attributes may represent a graphic determinative for the references to them in the text.

3.5 Falcon Imagery

Elements of the falcon motif are spread across several illustrations in the corpus. In pBerlin 3169, the sole image on the papyrus consists of a falcon drawn beneath the Demotic text. The falcon is drawn in black by a quick, but careful artist who indicated the overlapping feathers on the wings and tail along with the distinctive facial markers of the Peregrine falcon. The layout of the papyrus closely resembles that of pBerlin 1522, where the presentation scene is found beneath the Demotic text. However, a comparison of the texts suggests that different scribes were responsible for them. The falcon of pBerlin 3169 is something of an anomaly in the corpus. Although elements of falcon iconography are present throughout the corpus, no other text has such a prominently placed avian as the sole image accompanying the text.

⁹⁶ How this compares to the somewhat later parallels found on magical papyri such as pKöln 8.340 (Gronewald, Maresch, and Römer 1991), a Greek magical amulet papyrus with two accompanying *orantes* figures, presumably depicting the male protagonist and female antagonist of a love spell, as identified by Dijkstra 2013 in a conference talk, or an *orans* figure identified as Solomon on the bronze phylactery from Xanthos (Jordan and Kotansky 1996, 161-174), is uncertain. Cf. also the images from Coptic magical papyri identified as deities such as Jesus published in Kropp 1930, pls. IV-VIII. These images further suggest the blending between deity and individual.

Figure 3.10: Falcon from pBerlin 3169



The depiction of a falcon on pBerlin 3169, while unique in the corpus of *ḥpꜣ* by papyri, has a parallel on a stela currently in the Cario Museum.⁹⁷ The hieratic text of pBasel III 131 contains BD 89 – a spell for the placement of a gold falcon amulet. After the text was finished, a series of hawk figures was drawn over the papyrus at opposite orientations, some with head to the left, some with head to the right.⁹⁸ A pair of falcons with sun disks on their heads appeared below the text on pMoscow I.1d.142 (figure 3.11). The falcons face each other, in a similar pose to the jackals with keys to the netherworld, with an *ḥpꜣ*-sign between them. On the verso of this same papyrus, two falcons with sun disks on their heads are shown facing each other with the *saltire* seal in between them (figure 3.12). These birds most probably represent Isis and Nephthys, with the *ḥpꜣ*-sign of pMoscow I.1d.142 representing Osiris.

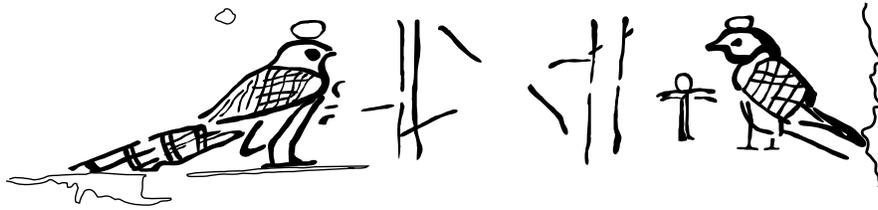
Figure 3.11: Falcons from pMoscow I.1d.142



⁹⁷ Stela Cairo 50031, published in Spiegelberg 1932, pl. IV.

⁹⁸ A photograph is published in Hauser-Schaublin 1976, 11, missed by Illés 2006a, 124, n. 15, who labeled it unpublished.

Figure 3.12: Falcons from pMoscow I.1d.142 vs.



In two papyri from Munich (pMunich ÄS 834a and b), a coffin in Florence (Coffin Florence 2166), and a coffin lid now lost (Coffin MMA II), a hovering falcon is shown at the top, framing the text in the manner of a stela. Above the head there is a solar disk. These four objects depict the falcon alone,⁹⁹ but a third papyrus in Munich (pMunich ÄS 826) shows the falcon hovering over the mummy.¹⁰⁰ Although rapidly drawn and somewhat schematic, it is clear that the falcon is shown in profile facing toward the right. One wing is shown in profile extending parallel to the head and bending down on the right side of the body, while the second wing is shown stretched out to the left.¹⁰¹ The overall shape resembles a falcon with frontally depicted wings, like that on a mummy board now in the British Museum (BM EA 35464), which includes a non-formulaic Demotic funerary text.¹⁰² This falcon design is well-known from Third Intermediate Period coffins from Thebes, where the falcon is labeled “He of Behdet.”¹⁰³ The

⁹⁹ Brunsch 1984, 455 and 457, describes this scene as “Die Seele als Falke über der Mumie schwebend.” The mummy is commonly shown under the falcon, but it is not depicted in these two examples as the vignette is delimited by framing lines directly below the falcon. Such framing lines are common in these and similar vignettes. Vleeming 2011, 695-698, Short Texts Nr. 1155-1156, makes no mention of the vignettes on these two Munich papyri.

¹⁰⁰ Müller 1976, 214-215; Vleeming 2011, 684-686, Short Texts nr. 1148.

¹⁰¹ For depictions and interpretations of birds with wings stretched out in front, see Evans 2012, 94-96 and Shonkwiler 2012, 49-57.

¹⁰² Vittmann 1990, pl. III; Smith 2009a, 586-589; Vleeming 2011, 626-629, Short Texts nr. 1084.

¹⁰³ Taylor 2003, 106 and pls. 47-48; Niwiński 2000, 29 fig. 9.

example from pMunich ÄS 826 substantiates published interpretations designating the falcon as the *ba* of the deceased, despite none of the examples depicting the bird with human head.

However, the British Museum mummy board contains a hieratic label above the falcon figure describing it as *by n T3-B3st.t* “the *ba* of Tabastet.”¹⁰⁴ The image of the falcon often represented a chthonic form of the deceased and associated them with Sokar.

Falcon imagery is obviously extremely common in the funerary art of ancient Egypt.¹⁰⁵ During the Late Period and into the Roman Period, the falcon headed funerary deity Sokar is often found referenced in mummy tags and even literary texts.¹⁰⁶ Iconographic elements of falcon imagery were frequently applied to the deceased in the same manner as it was applied to the gods.¹⁰⁷ Scenes of the resurrection depict a falcon headed mummy raised from the waist up while lying upon a funerary bier, several stelae of which are accompanied by phrases from the *ḥp3 by* formula.¹⁰⁸ These images of the falcon headed mummy are paralleled by actual

¹⁰⁴ Vittmann 1990, pl. III; Smith 2009a, 586; cf. the *ba*-bird on pJS 1 (Ritner 2003a, fig. 1; Ritner 2011).

¹⁰⁵ See Žabkar 1969, 107, with n. 39, for discussion of falcons on Greco-Roman funerary stelae.

¹⁰⁶ See the comments in *LdÄ* 1060: “In the Roman period, Osiris-Sokar, mummiform with falcon-head and equipped with the Osirian crook and flail, appears as enthroned judge of the dead. The popularity of Osiris-Sokar (or Sokar-Osiris) as a judge of the dead at this time is also attested by the Setne-romance (the second), where the righteous are placed among the blessed who serve Sokar-Osiris.” The reference in Setna II, 2.8, also mentions the “excellent spirits who serve Sokar-Osiris,” *iw p3 nty iw=w r gm.t=f iw n3y=f mnḥ.w in-iw wbe n3y=f why.w iw=w in.t=f ḥn n 3ḥy.w iqry.w nty šms n Skr-Wsir* “And the one whom they find that his good deeds are equal to his evil deeds, they will bring him among the excellent spirits who serve Sokar-Osiris.”

¹⁰⁷ Such as the depiction of Re and Osiris with the body of birds in pBM EA 10470 (Taylor 2010, 23); cf. the depiction from a Roman Period coffin (Louvre E 22309) of two falcons flanking the deceased, one with the double crown and one with the solar disk (Andreu-Lanoë 2013, 228-229).

¹⁰⁸ Stela CG 31126 begins with the *ḥp3 by* formula and below the scene showing the mummy on the bier there is the depiction of a female *orans* figure (published in Spiegelberg 1904, 49-50 and pl. XII, and Abdalla 1992, 98, nr. 255). Stela CG 31134 begins with the *ḥp3 by* formula and refers to the deceased as *p3 ḥm* “the falcon” in addition to the falcon-headed mummy on the funerary bier depicted above (Spiegelberg 1904, 52-53 and pl. XIV, and Abdalla 1992, 67, nr. 165). See also a mummy shroud (CG 33221) published Corcoran 1995, 155.

cartonnage mummy masks formed as a falcon head and fitted over the mummy.¹⁰⁹ References to the deceased as “the falcon” (*p3 ʕm*) and “Osiris the falcon” (*Wsir p3 ʕm*) are common,¹¹⁰ including a Greek text on a statue stating *ἰέραξ χρηστὲ χαῖρε* “Farewell good falcon!”¹¹¹ The *ʕm*-falcon form of the deceased is associated with various kinds of post-mortem travel in the Book of the Ba: *iy=k m ʕm m-hn wts-Hr ʕq=k r h3s.wt n.t 3btw* “May you come as an *achem*-falcon inside Wetjes-Hor. May you enter the mountains of Abydos.”¹¹² In the Demotic Liturgy for Opening the Mouth for Breathing, several avian forms of the deceased are referenced: *fy=k n hb w3h=k n bk iw=k (n) sst n ʕm ntr* “You will fly up as an Ibis. You will set as a hawk, you being in the form of a divine falcon.”¹¹³ Spiegelberg had already pointed out the formula from the 19th Dynasty grave of Bakenkhonsu, *b3=fr p.t ʕm=fr tw3.t* “His *ba* to heaven, his *achem*-falcon to the netherworld.”¹¹⁴

The popularity of the falcon imagery throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods had been boosted earlier in the Late Period. Sacred animal cults rose wildly in popularity beginning

¹⁰⁹ Spiegelberg 1927, 27-34, first gathered this evidence. For a catalog of coffins and cartonnages with falcon heads, see now Broekman 2009, 67-81, which includes references to the Third Intermediate Period royal coffins with falcon heads, such as the silver coffin of Shoshenq II and the granite coffin of Harsiese.

¹¹⁰ CDD ʕ (23 July 2003): 03.1, 130. For examples, see Stela Phila E.2982, Stela MFA 98.1054, Stela Cairo 31084, Stela MMA 98.4.60, and CG 31134. For discussion, see Abdalla 1992, 123. “The falcon” (*p3 ʕm*) was especially common in epithets and as an element in personal names at Dendera in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.

¹¹¹ Spiegelberg 1927, 30.

¹¹² Beinlich 2000, 40-41; Quirke 2013, 548.

¹¹³ Liturgy for Opening the Mouth for Breathing (pBerlin 8351, 5.8; pStrasburg 3 verso, x+V.10; pBodl. MS. Egypt. c. 9(P) + pLouvre E 10605, 3.18-19); see Smith 1993, 29 (transliteration), 34 (translation), 63-64 (commentary), pl. 4, pl. 6, pl. 11.

¹¹⁴ Spiegelberg 1927, 29.

near the end of the twenty-fifth dynasty. Millions of ibises and falcons were interred in enormous necropolises dedicated to the tutelary deities Thoth and Horus and the undeniable popularity of these cults continually impressed upon the population the reverence of the avian forms and deities. Probably for this reason, we find Nectanebo II in the thirtieth dynasty dedicating a falcon cult to himself, the living incarnation of Horus on earth.¹¹⁵ While the *ba*-concept had an ancient pedigree extending back to the earliest religious texts and iconography, the increased focus on the *ba* theology evidenced in the Ptolemaic and Roman Period, somewhat to the exclusion of other concepts in Demotic texts, may have been partially propelled through the imitation of the royal falcon cult.

3.6 The Relationship between Text and Illustration

The interrelationship between the illustrations on papyri and those from other sources such as the stelae is an interesting one and it raises a number of difficult to answer questions concerning their development.¹¹⁶ As the scenes in question were already spread throughout the funerary material at the end of the New Kingdom, it seems naïve to privilege a particular medium for tracing the redaction of the scene. Most probably, Theban scribes and artists were picking up the scene (or elements thereof) from its continued use on various media, including papyri, coffins, and stelae. This would help to explain the diversity found in the corpus under discussion. While the presentation scene was certainly a thematic scene for the *‘nh p3* by papyri, a

¹¹⁵ For example, see the priestly titles: *hm-ntr Nht-Hr-m-hb p3 bk (n) t3 Hw.t-ntr Thne* “prophet of Nectanebo, the falcon of the temple of Daphnae” (Stela BM 375, 9-10); *hm-ntr n3 twt.w Nht-Hr-m-hb p3 bk* “prophet of the statues of Nectanebo, the falcon” (Stela Ash Mus 1971/18, 8); see Holm-Rasmussen 1979, 21-25; Scalf 2012, 37 and 40, n. 10.

¹¹⁶ There has been some discussion about how to view the interrelationship between vignettes and the text; see Milde 2011, 43-56.

variety of imagery was added to the manuscripts and included significant differences in layout and details.¹¹⁷

It seems likely the same scribe would have been responsible for both the text and images on our papyri. This phenomenon differs from that found in some Book of the Dead papyri where it is clear that skilled artists were involved in producing the vignettes, sometimes even producing the scene on a separate papyrus which was then attached to the manuscript.¹¹⁸ In the manuscripts under discussion, all the images are drawn in a single color, the same black ink as used in the texts. In texts with handwriting slanting to one side, the vignette slants to this same side. As Coenen points out with reference to the vignettes of the Books of Breathing:

The simplicity of the layout applied in the papyri required no planning. The artist reserved place for the text and worked completely independent of the scribe. One person may even have written both the text and have drawn the vignettes, having far greater control over the layout than two persons would do.¹¹⁹

With a single scribe producing the manuscript, the variation in the images found on the papyri may be an indication that such objects were not produced solely via copying in what we have imagined to be a typical scribal workshop, whatever that may have looked like in Roman Period Thebes.¹²⁰ It seems more likely that manuscripts from this corpus were produced in a number of

¹¹⁷ Cf. the comments of Coenen 1998, 40, in regard to the Books of Breathing: “The repertoire of scenes represented in the vignettes is very limited and the vignettes are also extremely standardized. ... There is only little variation in the themes displayed on the vignettes.”

¹¹⁸ Niwiński 1989, 97-98. In some cases, there is evidence that the scenes were painted after the text had been produced. In pRyerson, a Demotic note is found beneath the hieratic text of BD 140 indicating that “there is no space for an image on it” (*bn wš n tk hr=f*); see Allen 1960, 225 n. 2, pl. 39. Other sections of pRyerson show that the colored inks used in the vignettes overlaps the black ink used for the text (*contra* Teeter in Woods 2010, 163). I would like to thank Mark Smith for pointing out the reference to the Demotic note of pRyerson.

¹¹⁹ Coenen 1998, 41-42.

¹²⁰ Backes 2010, 1-27, discussed the difficulty of identifying funerary workshops and proposes a few empirical criteria on which to base such identifications, noting that “[h]ardly anything is known about the ‘workshop’ where funerary papyri were produced, and even their existence, although most probable, is hypothetical

different environments, some in the scriptorium, but some in the field or in onsite funerary workshops. An examination of the textual formulae reveals further clues that composition from memory was indeed a reality, discussed in detail in chapter four.

The ubiquity of the scenes suggests that copying may have been an unnecessary element in the production of some of these pieces. The familiarity of the scribes and artists with the elements of the reception scene would have been such that they could compose the scene on the fly, from memory, without necessarily resorting to looking at a particular source. All the scenes were probably not produced in this way, as the well-executed example from pBerlin 1522 suggests careful attention to detail and perhaps reference to source material. In addition, we certainly know that scribes in the Roman Period were looking at earlier manuscripts and copying or translating their contents, as the Demotic copy of BD 125 in pBib Nat 149 proves.¹²¹ However, the cursory nature and quick execution of the examples under discussion imply that the scribes or artists were working fast and probably had no recourse to sources beyond those in the immediate vicinity if he happened to be in the field or perhaps in a small funerary workshop.

Analysis of the texts and images of these papyri together demonstrates a remarkable disunity in the method of their production. The images derived from the well-known source material of the Book of the Dead as it was filtered in the Ptolemaic Period to fit contemporary needs and styles. Elements of the iconography derive straight from this source, particularly the image of an enthroned Osiris along with his retinue of Isis and Nephthys. Updating of the scene took place through the selection of the presentation scene as a stand-alone vignette. This began

... We are largely ignorant of how such work was organized, and without written evidence it is very difficult to identify in the historical record.”

¹²¹ For BD spells in Demotic, see Stadler 2003, 27-35, 182-183; Vleeming 2004, 623-637, pl. LVIII; Smith 2009b, 347-359; Stadler 2012a, 130-136. For other Middle Egyptian texts in Demotic, see Smith 1993b, 491-495; Smith 1993c, 17-28; Osing 1998; Smith 2013, 117-126.

already in the late New Kingdom and became pronounced by the time of its appearance in Ptolemaic Period funerary manuscripts. The final changes appeared in the Roman Period as the depiction of the mummiform deceased became standardized.

The texts, however, do not derive from this same tradition. Although their general content continues the basic tradition of past funerary texts, there are a number of pronounced differences. First and foremost, the texts are recorded in Demotic script as well as Demotic grammar, a rarity among Demotic funerary literature, which tended toward archaizing grammatical forms reminiscent of Middle Egyptian.¹²² There are, however, further dissimilarities. Ancient Egyptian funerary texts were likely to be written in either the first or second person. Spells are often placed in the mouth of the deceased individual, who associates himself with particular deities, recites words of ritual knowledge, or offers praise and worship. The *ḥꜥ pꜣ* by formulae are written primarily in the third person (only a few elements were intermittently written in the second person at the beginning of the formulae, e.g., *ḥꜥ pꜣy=k* by “May your *ba* live”). This is a major switch in perspective for ancient Egyptian religion. In this case, the deceased is not the focus by being the addressor or addressee, but rather he has become the object about which other entities comment. Therefore, the texts, although a part of the funerary repertoire in general, did not follow the same redaction as the images. The combination of this new text with images derived from traditional sources produced a new manuscript tradition with its own history of redaction beginning in the early Roman Period.

¹²² See the discussion in Smith 1987, 28-29; Smith 1993a, 18-19; Smith 2013, 176-126.

CHAPTER FOUR

RITUAL AND SOCIAL SETTING OF DEMOTIC FUNERARY LITERATURE

4.1 Introduction

The texts and iconography of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts were produced with intention for particular purposes to meet specific ends. Although there are many parallel manuscripts well studied from other periods of Egyptian history, relatively little synthetic research on these Demotic texts has been conducted and thus our knowledge of how they came into existence, who produced them, who owned them, whence the formulae derived, the exact circumstances of their utilization, their reception, and the specifics of their purpose have remained relatively unanalyzed.¹ Furthermore, what analysis has been completed relies heavily on general characterizations of Egyptian funerary literature with few specifics regarding these actual texts, and many unexamined assumptions remain common in the scholarly discourse. The analysis of the texts and images in the preceding two chapters has demonstrated the complex history of the manuscript tradition and raised several important questions regarding their manufacture, use, and purpose. An attempt to answer these questions will necessitate a thorough revision of how the formulaic Demotic funerary texts are understood. In the following sections, a new analysis will be offered for who owned them, what the manuscripts were, how they were employed, how they were produced, and finally what they meant.

¹ Quaegebeur 1990, 776-795, made some hypotheses about the nature and function of these texts. Stadler 2004, 551-572, provided a brief comparative analysis of the manuscripts, which he followed up in a short overview in Stadler 2012a, 147-149. Vleeming 2011 collected together many of the published documents and made some important observations.

4.2 Owners: Status and Identity

Who were the owners of the *ḥꜥ pꜥ* by papyri? This is perhaps the most frustrating question to answer with regard to the corpus. In some manuscripts, the name of the deceased was not mentioned. As with ready-made papyri that lacked any identifying elements of the owners, once removed from the funerary assemblage “such papyri can no longer be attributed to their original owners.”² Several papyri were written for individuals listed specifically as “so-and-so” (*pꜥ mn*). Many of the manuscripts are damaged and only preserve fragments of personal names or family names. However, there are a number of personal names preserved in the corpus of formulaic Demotic funerary texts (see Table 4.1). In addition to the name of the deceased individual, often the names of one or more parents were given. In the preserved papyri, mothers were predominant among the parents identified, following the formula mentioning the mother employed for anonymous examples (*pꜥ mn r-ms pꜥ mn* “PN, whom PN bore”); the same formula was found in the Demotic magical papyri that had origins in New Kingdom magical and medical treatises.³ Egyptian influence has been suggested as the origin for a similar practice of preferring matronyms in Greek magical papyri.⁴ The exact reasons for such a preference remain uncertain, although shifting social circumstances and changing economic practices in the Roman Period

² Niwiński 1989, 99.

³ For discussion, see Dieleman 2010, 139-142; Ritner 2010a, 175-176.

⁴ See discussion in Jordan 1976, 130 n. 8; Curbera 1999, 195-204; Jordan 2001, 168-169; Versnel 2002, 135 n. 76; Dieleman 2010, 133-134 and 139-142; Wilburn 2012, 110-111 with n. 37. Identification via the matronym alone in the Greek papyri is a phenomenon of the Roman Period. In the registers studied by Willy Clarysse and Dorothy Thompson, identification was indicated through patronymic and only exceptionally by the matronymic (Clarysse and Thompson 2006, 328).

may be partially responsible.⁵ Considering the practice was part of long-standing tradition in Egypt,⁶ it seems unlikely that it was because the individual was “fatherless” (*apatores*), a legal term “to mark a fatherless person, who must give his or her mother’s name instead of the normal patronymic when officially declaring his or her identity.”⁷ When the ages at death are provided, the youngest was perhaps 6(?) and the oldest 60, but most died between the ages of 25-55.⁸ Unfortunately, the identity of many of these individuals remains obscure.

The prosopography data indicates a mixed cultural affiliation of individuals. Egyptian and Greek names are attested, often written in different scripts.⁹ Although it is difficult to make conclusions about the ethnicity of the individuals for whom the texts were written, it seems likely that attested individuals were from various ethnic backgrounds including Egyptian, Greek, and Greco-Egyptian. It is clear that the scribes responsible for this material were also working within a mixed cultural lexicon. In one instance, a Demotic translation of a Greek circumlocution is used to refer to the mother of the deceased, demonstrating the knowledge of certain practices

⁵ Depauw 2010, 120-139; Depauw 2012, 497. Huebner 2013, 130-131, notes that there was a significant increase in female heads of households from the Ptolemaic to the Roman Period. A similar practice of identification via matronym is known from the Coptic corpus at Jeme (Wilfong 2002, 131). Wilcken believed it may be due to the “matriarchalischen Urzuständen Ägyptens,” for which see Jordan 1976, 130 n. 8. Curbera 1999, 195-204, suggested that the matronymic identification found in the Roman Period Greek magical corpus meant to intentionally mimic Egyptian practice, a hypothesis refuted by Dieleman 2010, 140 with n. 46.

⁶ Evidence for naming only the mother extends back at least to the Middle Kingdom when the inscriptions on ivory wands named only the mother or child (Steindorf 1946, 50; Altenmüller 1965, 187). According to Dieleman 2010, 139: “Filiation through the mother only was widespread during the Middle Kingdom and remained the standard in magical spells for all periods.”

⁷ Malouta 2009, 120.

⁸ Arlt 2011 provides a detailed study on demographics derived from the mummy label data; see also Scheidel 1998, 285-292.

⁹ Similar practices are known on stelae, see Abdalla 1992, 123.

within the corpus of Greek magical texts among the Demotic scribes.¹⁰ In other cases, Greek funerary inscriptions accompanied separate Demotic funerary inscriptions.¹¹

Table 4.1: Owners of *ḥnh p3 by* Texts

Cat. No.	Inventory No.	Transliteration	Translation	Age
No. 2	pBerlin 1522	<i>Pa-mnṯ r-ms T3y-t3.wy(?)</i>	“Pamontu, whom Taytau(?) bore”	55
No. 5	pBibliotecha Alexandria 3640	<i>Hr ms ... T3-šr.t-Wsīr</i>	“Horus, whom ... Tasherwesir bore”	
No. 6	pBM EA 10072	<i>T3y-k3 ta 3s.t-ršy</i>	“Tayka, daughter of Asetreshi”	
No. 8	pBM EA 10415	<i>p3 mn r-ms t3¹² mn</i>	“PN, whom PN bore”	
No. 9	pBM EA 10421a	<i>Pa-ḥwe (r-)ms T3-šr.t-gmṯ</i>	“Pahue, (whom) Tashergetmet bore”	60
No. 10	pBM EA 10421b	<i>... ms T3-šr.t-Pa-Ḥw(?)</i>	“... whom Tasherpahu(?) bore”	40
No. 13	pBrux. dem. E. 8258	<i>T3-šr.t-p3-ḥtr [r-ms ...]</i>	“Tasherpaheter, [whom ... bore]”	18
No. 15	pCairo 31170	<i>Mw.t-īr-ty=s ta [...] mw.t=s T3-šr.t-p3y-k3</i>	“Mutirtis, daughter of [...], whose mother is Tasherpayka”	
No. 17	pCairo 31172	<i>Tywns p3 šr n 3g^cthe</i>	“Dionys, the son of Agathe”	45
No. 18	pDresden 828	<i>Pa-īry r-ms T3-šr.t-pa-Mnṯ</i>	“Pairy, whom Tasheretpamontu bore”	26

¹⁰ The Egyptian circumlocution *r-ms t3-3t.t-īr-ms.t=f* “whom the womb which bore him bore” is probably a translation of the Greek *ὄν/ἦν ἔτεκεν ἢ μήτρα* “whom the womb bore” found in a number of Greek papyri. See Jordan 1988, 239-241; Dieleman 2010, 133 (for *δεῖνα ὄν/ἦν ἔτεκεν ἢ δεῖνα* “So-and-so, whom So-and-so bore”); Hollmann 2011, 160; Ben Ami, Tchekhanovets, and Daniel 2013, 232 and 234; and discussion in chapter one and in chapter two.

¹¹ For discussion, see Fewster 2002, 230-231.

¹² The matronym should appear here, but the text has a clear reference to the masculine form

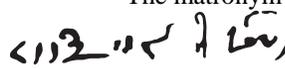
 *r-ms p3 mn* “whom so-and-so bore.” See Vleeming 2011, 690.

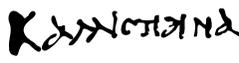
Table 4.1: Owners of ‘nh p3 by Texts (Continued)

No. 19	Coffin Florence 2165	<i>Twlsp3hrs (r)-ms T3-šr.t-p3- m3y(?) 3 nty iw=w dd n=f P3-lw¹lw¹</i>	“Telesphoros, (whom) Tasherpamay(?) the elder bore, who is called Palulu”	32
No. 20	Coffin Florence 2166	<i>P3y-ym s3 My-ħs</i>	“Payom, son of Mihos”	
No. 21	pFlorence 3676	<i>Myg3 r-ms T3-šr.t-p3-4-Mn</i>	“Mikkos, whom Tasherpafedumin bore”	
No. 22	pFlorence 11919	<i>Ta-ħw.t ta [...]gš</i>	“Tahut, daughter of [...]gsh”	
No. 23	pHaun. Demot. 1	<i>T3-šr.t-p3-ti-ħnsw ms Ta-ħ</i>	“Tasherpatechonsu, whom Tala bore”	
No. 24	pHaun. Demot. 3	<i>p3 mn r-ms [...]</i>	“PN, whom [...] bore”	
No. 25	Coffin Louvre N 2576	<i>‘... Gl...t(?)...’</i>	“Chelidona”	36
No. 26	pLouvre N 3165	<i>Š³iy(?) r-ms t3-{ms.t} 2- 3t.t(?)-ir-ms.t=f</i>	“Shai(?), whom the- womb-which-bore-him bore”	
No. 27	pLouvre N 3176Q	<i>[...]s[...] s3 Pwly¹3¹</i>	“[...]s[...] son of Pulya”	
No. 28	pLouvre N 3176R	<i>‘mss(?) ta(?) 3s.t-ii.t(?)</i>	“Amasis(?), daughter of(?) Asetiiti”	6(?)
No. 29	pLouvre N 3258	<i>T3-šr.t-p3-ti-ħnsw r-ms Ns- wr.t</i>	“Tasherpatichonsu, whom Neswere bore”	35
No. 30	pLouvre N 3375	<i>Š³iy(?) r-ms T3-3t.t-ir-ms.t=f</i>	“Shai(?), whom the- womb-which-bore-him bore”	
No. 32	Linen Missouri Col. 61.66.3	<i>Ta-ħw.t-ħr r-ms T3-ħtr.t</i>	“Tahathor, whom Tahetere bore”	
No. 33	Coffin MMA Soternalia I	<i>ħr r-ms 3sgl^c</i>	“Horus, whom Asgkleia bore”	
No. 34	Coffin MMA Soternalia II	<i>P3y-k3 ms T3-šr.t-p3y-k3</i>	“Payka, whom Tasherpayka bore”	30
No. 35	pMoscow I.1d.142	<i>Pwtwms(?) r-ms N.t-igr(?)</i>	“Ptolemy(?), whom Netiger(?) bore”	

Table 4.1: Owners of *‘nh p3* by Texts (Continued)

No. 36	pMoscow I.1d.143(?)	<i>Hr r-ms T3-šr.t-İmn</i>	“Horus, whom Tashereamun bore”	45
No. 38	Linen Munich ÄS 68	<i>T3-šr.t-p3-šr-Mnt ta P3-wr-İ3bt s3 G-d3d3</i>	“Tasherepashermontu, daughter of Paweriabet, son of Kathuti”	
No. 39	pMunich ÄS 826	<i>T3-šr.t-n-Hr-nb-‘nh(?)</i>	“Tasherenhornebankh” i.e. Kallistiaina ¹³	
No. 40	pMunich ÄS 834a	<i>T3-šr.t-p3-šy ta P3-ht mw.t=s Ta-İmn</i>	“Tasherepashy, daughter of Paheter, whose mother is Taamun”	26
No. 41	pMunich ÄS 834b	<i>Hr (s3) İmn-İir-tİ-s(?) r mw.t=f1 3s.t-wr.t</i>	“Horus, (son of) Amenirtis(?), whose mother is Asetwere”	58
No. 42	pStrasbourg D 26	<i>T3-šr.t-Hr-s3-3s.t [r]-ms T3- rmt.t-n-pr-wr.t</i>	“Tasherethorsaaset, whom Taremenperweret bore”	
No. 43	pStrasbourg D 270	<i>P3y-İqš s3 Grmyns mw.t{s=s}(=f) Ta-İwr</i>	“Payiqesh, son of Germanos, whose mother is Taiwer”	
No. 44	pVienna 12017	<i>Gwrg‘ys r-ms Phylwt‘re</i>	“Gorgias, whom Philotera bore”	32
No. 45	pVienna 12019	<i>Lwgy r-ms Hyss</i>	“Loki, whom Isis bore”	

As was the case with dating these texts, our best evidence for identifying the status of the owners derives from the coffins belonging to Soter, his extended family, and the priestly class of Thebes in the second century CE.¹⁴ We do not have as yet a formulaic Demotic funerary papyrus clearly identified with a member of the Soter family. However, the extended *‘nh p3* by formulae appeared on several coffins derived from individuals either associated with the family or whose

¹³ As indicated in the accompanying Greek text  καλλιστιαίνα on the verso.

¹⁴ For the study of the individuals associated with these coffins and shrouds, see Grimm 1974; van Landuyt, 1995, 69-82; Herbin 2002; Riggs and Stadler 2003; Riggs 2003a; Riggs 2005; Riggs 2006; Corcoran 2010.

funerary goods were produced in the same workshops.¹⁵ In addition to these formulaic Demotic funerary texts, manuscripts of hieratic funerary literature such as the Books of Breathing and the Book of Traversing Eternity belonged to members of the Soter family.¹⁶ This demonstrates not only the redundancy inherent in Egyptian funerary customs, but also that these texts were being employed on the funerary goods of the upper class stratum of society. The fact that the *‘nh p3 by* formulae were used on the coffins of a high ranking priestly family suggests that the formulaic papyri probably also belonged to members of the elite. Furthermore, the preservation of the papyri themselves indicates that they were consistently placed in a protected environment of the mummy wrappings, coffin, and/or tomb. Those who could afford such luxuries were in the upper classes of society.

The small size and rather hasty execution of some *‘nh p3 by* manuscripts have influenced certain scholars, such as Julius Reich, to conclude that the manuscripts were produced as cheaper substitutes for more elaborate manuscripts:

On the other hand, our papyrus was intended solely to enable the deceased to achieve, by its spell, the fulfillment of his wishes or desires for certain necessities or conveniences in the after-life. What those desires and ideals for the deceased were can be seen more clearly in our papyrus than in the larger Books of the Dead, for the poverty of the party which caused the abbreviation of the usually very elaborate text of the various kinds of the *Book of the Dead* forced the writer of our small papyrus leaf to condense or to select those wishes which were most desirable for the departed with respect to their supposed importance for the life to come. And this is precisely what makes this small text more important than some of the larger ones of its kind.¹⁷

¹⁵ Coffin Florence 2165 (cat. no. 19); Coffin Florence 2166 (cat. no. 20); Coffin Louvre N 2576 (cat. no. 25); Coffin MMA I (cat. no. 33); Coffin MMA II (cat. no. 34). The coffins are discussed by Aubert and Nachtergaele 2005, 289-307; Riggs and Depauw 2002, 75-90; Vleeming 2011, 638-648.

¹⁶ For these papyri, see Herbin 2002 and Herbin 2008a, 6-10.

¹⁷ Reich 1931, 86.

Egyptologists have also assumed that funerary texts written on the bandages of the mummy served as a cheaper substitute for papyrus documents.¹⁸ Mummy labels were often thought of as cheap substitutes for stelae, but the implications of such a statement about wealth must be ignored.¹⁹ As mummy labels were used often in burials of wealthy individuals, so too could the formulaic papyri accompany an elite individual to the grave as demonstrated by the coffins of the Soter group with these religious formulae on their exteriors.²⁰

While the name is often, but not always, mentioned in such texts, there seems to be more significance than simple identification of the deceased.²¹ Unfortunately, none of these inscriptions provide the titles of the deceased. Space was clearly not an issue as several papyri had room for such titles. In one case, a complete manuscript preserves the age at death, but no other identifying elements.²² The hieratic funerary literature of the period often did include the titles of the deceased.²³ As an example, the formulaic Demotic funerary texts from coffins do not indicate any titles, but the hieratic texts found within these burials did include such titles.²⁴ In fact, the short Demotic texts found on coffins and mummy labels, including those with elements

¹⁸ Discussed by Kockelmann 2008, 234.

¹⁹ Smith 2002, 235-236. The same was true in earlier periods for the abbreviated Book of the Dead amulets, as Illés 2006, 127-128, states: “The frequently voiced assumption that it was the lack of financial means which made the owners order such a short papyrus is easily disproved if we think of the rich burial set of Henutmehyt or the wealth of the Amun priests found in the Deir el-Bahari cache.”

²⁰ Riggs and Depauw 2002.

²¹ Cf. Riggs and Depaus 2002, 82: “Although often short and mainly concerned with the identification of the deceased, some of these inscriptions are longer and contain religious formulae.”

²² Cat. No. 32, pLouvre E 10304.

²³ For the titles attested in Book of the Dead papyri, see Albert 2012, 1-66.

²⁴ For the range of texts and titles of the deceased, see Herbin 2008a.

of the *‘nh p3* by formulae, do sometimes include the titles of the deceased.²⁵ When titles are included, it reconfirms the idea that Demotic funerary texts found on items within the burial assemblage often belonged to the priestly class or officers with some administrative rank in Thebes.²⁶ It is difficult to determine the reason for their absence in our corpus. It is clearly not the case that Demotic equivalents of the arcane religious titles were unknown by this point in the Roman Period. Even if exact Demotic equivalents for a title did not exist, there would have been a number of options for the scribe to transcribe or translate the titles. Why such options were not used remains unclear. The possibility remains that the deceased simply did not have such titles, although I do not believe that this has any implications for the social status of the individuals.²⁷ For example, many of the Demotic texts applied to coffins, items clearly requiring economic means, did not contain any titles for the deceased, even if texts in other scripts provided them.²⁸

²⁵ The data for the Demotic texts on mummy labels and how the deceased was identified is gathered in Vleeming 2011 and Arlt 2011. As described in chapters one and two, the data from the mummy labels was excluded from the philological portion of this study, but is used for purposes of comparison throughout.

²⁶ Two Demotic texts on the wooden coffin of Heter, son of Harsiese, begin with *‘nh p3y=k* by *rpy=fr nh3 d.t* “May your *ba* live. May it rejuvenate forever and eternity.” He is identified in these texts as *it-ntr hm Ht hm Hr-wr-w3d.ty* “god’s father, servant of the white crown, servant of Horus, the great one of the two uraei.” The texts are re-edited in Vleeming 2011, 637-638. For the priestly titles, see CDD W (7 August 2009): 09.1, 18-19; Vernus 1978, 178 n. a; Thissen 1989, 25-26.

²⁷ For a comparison of the “textualization” of Late Period coffins and the status of their owners, see Elias 1993, 850-852. Backes 2010, 1, suggests that a similar lack of titles in Ptolemaic Period BD papyri may indicate they belonged to a lower stratum of the upper class: “The absence of significant titular, and the fact that the three papyri in question probably come from a group burial . . . make it likely that their owners did not belong to the highest rank of society. Without more information, an attribute such as ‘middle class’ or ‘sub-elite’ might be most appropriate to describe their status in broad terms.”

²⁸ Examples of Demotic inscriptions on funerary material that do not provide any titles for the deceased include: Berlin Coffin Inscription 7227 (Smith 2009a, 577-578); Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 1374a+b (Smith 2009a, 579-582); BM Mummy Board EA 35464 (Smith 2009a, 586-589); Stela Geneva A 2009-2 (Laurent and Widmer 2011-2013, 92); Linen Missouri 61.66.3 (cat. no. 32; Smith 2009a, 583-585); pSydney Nicholson 346 b (Smith 2009a, 569-570). Non-formulaic Demotic funerary texts commonly did not mention titles: pTurin N 766 (Smith 2009a, 550-556). Hieratic funerary texts sometimes also did not provide any titles; e.g., the book of transformations of pBerlin 3162 (Smith 2009a, 610-622); pBM EA 10194 (Herbin 2008a, 134-135, pls. 108-109; Smith 2009a, 540-542); pCairo 58010 (Smith 2009a, 546-549); pFlorence 3669 (Pellegrini 1904, 216-222; Smith 2009a, 543-545); pParma 183

The exceptions prove the fact that the inscriptions belonged to members of the civil or priestly administration.²⁹

4.3 Letters, Passports, Amulets, and Phylacteries

The individuals who owned these manuscripts took them to the grave where they were kept close to the body. We surely owe their preservation to the protected environment of the tombs where they were presumably discovered. On account of this usage, a wide and confusing variety of terminology has been applied to Egyptian funerary texts, especially those from the Late Period onwards, as a result of the manifold functions and purposes they have been suggested to serve. Such terminology has been loosely applied in a descriptive manner to hieratic, hieroglyphic, and Demotic papyri alike, and few scholars have intended to produce categories through such descriptions.³⁰ The descriptions do, however, serve particular objectives, highlighting various characteristics of the texts indicative of their ultimate aim, at least the aim as seen from the perspective of the modern editor.

The papyri were folded and sealed in preparation for deposit within the funerary assemblage. Damage patterns on the papyri show a range of folding and labeling procedures. The

(Smith 2009a, 535-539). A rare exception to the observed patterns is Stela BM 711 where the first six lines contain a hieroglyphic offering formula ending “for the ka of” (*n k3 n*), but the text continues in Demotic by listing the name and titles of the deceased (Smith 2009a, 665-668). In certain cases, the same titles are indicated in texts of multiple scripts, such as the hieratic text of pCairo 58009 and the Demotic text of wooden chest Marseille 266, both identifying the deceased as the *it-nṯr sm3ti wr ʿnh-ḥsiy* “god’s father, great stolis Ankhhesat” (Smith 2009a, 526-534; Vleeming 2011, 611).

²⁹ Edinburgh Coffin Inscription L. 224/3002 was written for a hekatontarch (*ʿn 100* “Great one in 100”), discussed by Smith 1993a, 41; Smith 2009a, 574-575; Vleeming 2011, 616-618. The divine decree of ostrakon Strasbourg D. 132+133+134 was written for a “god’s father” and “master of secrets” (Smith 2009a, 607-609; Smith 2010, 439-445). The Demotic book of transformations of pLouvre E 3452 belonged to a high ranking priest (Smith 2009a, 627-649).

³⁰ E.g., pLouvre 3233, published in Goyon 1977, 45-54; P Basel (III 131), published in Hauser-Scäublin 1976, 11.

text on the verso of pBrooklyn 37.1797E + 37.1798E suggests that the papyrus was flipped over and turned ninety degrees before the label was applied so that the label would be oriented along the length of the papyrus, perpendicular to the text on the recto. This allowed the scribe plenty of space to inscribe the label in a single line parallel to the long edge of the papyrus. The label may have been written before final folding, with spacing left for the seal to be applied or it was written after the first three length-wise folds, but before the papyrus was ultimately folded in half for tying.³¹ The papyrus was folded three times length-wise as oriented to the label text on the verso³² and then folded in half, tied, and sealed. In light of these treatments and despite published objections, it is hard to avoid referring to these papyri as “letters,” in at least a general sense.³³ Despite the lack of explicitly epistolographic characteristics, labels often indicated a destination and the papyri were folded and sealed in manner similar to examples from the corpus of Demotic letters. Nevertheless, they were not letters in the strict sense of the term.

Due to the power inherent in the efficacy of Egyptian funerary texts, it is possible to situate the formulaic Demotic funerary texts within a very broad categorization of items used as amulets or for amuletic purposes,³⁴ as these terms have been used for nearly any manner of item

³¹ Text in the middle of the papyrus was written directly across the fold and if written after final folding would have a different appearance of ink patterns. pLouvre N 3176 Q was folded in a similar manner. The papyrus was folded three times length-wise at a ninety degree orientation to the text on the recto and then the folded papyrus was folded in half. After being folded, the papyrus was tied close to the middle fold and sealed with the *decussis* seal. A label was then written on both sides of the folded papyrus around the seal. The two papyri from the Vienna collection (pVienna D 12017 and pViennaD 12019) had their label written prior to folding; see Dieleman forthcoming. Note that pTurn N 766 “was actually found rolled up and folded in half with only” the label visible (Smith 2009a, 552). See further the discussion on 83-85 in chapter two.

³² Cf. the “Querformatbrief,” in Migahid 1988, 39. If folding was oriented length-wise to text on the recto, this would fit the so-called “broad format” of Depauw 2006, 79-80.

³³ Depauw 2003 objected to the description “letter” due to the lack of epistolary elements. Quaegebeur 1990 referred to these papyri as “letters of recommendation.”

³⁴ Depauw 2003, 99: “Rather than with letters, the documents can be compared with amulets, which are issued by an often anonymous but hopefully competent or authorized author to protect its owner against potential

with apotropaic or magical intentions.³⁵ Like other papyrus amulets, these texts were folded and sealed in preparation for final use.³⁶ The papyri employed were small sheets of non-standard size;³⁷ however, the long, thin strips customarily used for letters or rolled up and inserted into containers worn on the body were not used.³⁸ Items thus employed have been described as “phylacteries.”³⁹ Unlike the well-known Jewish Tefillin phylacteries, the formulaic Demotic funerary texts, as far as it is known, were not worn or used for their ritual power by the living.⁴⁰ Despite this fact, proximity to the body was an important feature of their placement, stipulated

problems. This better explains why Thoth is said to have written the document, and it also accounts for the directions where to place the papyrus on the body of the deceased, who is the beneficiary of these funerary ‘amulets.’” Likewise, Stadler 2012a, 151: “Die davon versprochene Wirkung war die eines Passierscheines, der beim Übergang ins Jenseits vorzuzeigen war und insofern al seine Art Amulett diente.” See also the comments of Ritner 2003a, 166-167, in reference to the Books of Breathing. The literature on amulets in ancient Egypt is copious and diverse. Basic introductions can be found in Andrews 1994, 6-13; Andrews 2001, 75-82. For papyrus amulets in particular, see Backes 2010, 8-9; Dieleman forthcoming.

³⁵ Amulet < Latin *amulētum*, whose appearance in Latin is of unknown origin according to the *OED*; however, cf. ἀμύνω “to ward off, guard, defend oneself,” *LSJ* 87. In Egyptian, the main lexemes for “amulet” are *sḏ* (*Wb.* III, 414-415), *mkt* (*Wb.* II, 160-161), *nht* (*Wb.* II, 281) and *wḏ* (*Wb.* I, 401), cited in Andrews 1994, 6.

³⁶ For discussion of the sealing procedure, see discussion in chapter two. Numerous cross-cultural comparisons are attested. Cf. a Lamaštu tablet with cylinder seal impressions; folded Coptic amuletic papyri; the Phoenecian papyrus amulet and Egyptian parallels discussed by Hölbl 1989, 116-123; Hölbl 1986, 345-353. See also Klasens 1975, 23-24.

³⁷ On the standard size and measurements of papyri, see Černý 1952. Several examples in the corpus of formulaic Demotic funerary papyri show evidence of re-use. The funerary text of pBib Alex 3640 is written among Demotic administrative texts. pHaun. Demot. 1 preserves traces of a Demotic administrative text on its right edge. pLouvre N 3258 has two columns of a Greek accounting text on the verso, both columns of which were split when the papyrus was cut to size for the funerary text. Another Greek administrative text is preserved on the recto of pStras DG 26 and it has also been fragmented when the papyrus was prepared for the inscription of the funerary text on the verso.

³⁸ Cf. the format and cases of the oracular amuletic decrees discussed in Edwards 1960; Ray 1972; Ogden 1972; Ogden 1973; Fischer-Elfert 1996; Bohleke 1997; Lucarelli 2009. This format has a cross-cultural parallel in Ethiopic magical texts (Mercier 1979; Chernetsov 2005). Wilfong 2013 has suggested that the length of the oracular amuletic decrees, like the Ethiopic magical texts, was determined by the height of the owner.

³⁹ From φυλακτήριον “safeguard, security, preservative, amulet,” *LSJ* 1960. See descriptions of Egyptian texts as such in Goyon 1972, 243; Goyon 1977; Illés 2006a; Illés 2006b.

⁴⁰ However, other texts found entombed were probably used pre-mortem in a variety of rituals. See discussion in chapter one.

according to the accompanying semiotic ritual instructions.⁴¹ Accompanying the dead, the texts provided the means to enter and negotiate the plethora of obstacles faced in the afterlife and have thus also been referred to as “passports.”⁴²

The amuletic efficacy of these Demotic texts, and Egyptian funerary texts in general, was reinforced by the images that occurred alongside them. Pharaonic imagery continued to be employed into the late second and early third centuries CE. At that time, however, the influence of such “pagan” scenes appeared among the Christian iconographic repertoire of late antique tunics, including those with prophylactic properties.⁴³ Deriving from a funerary context (although perhaps worn in daily life as well), these scenes played a similar role to the Osirian scenes which they supplanted. Not only apotropaic and prophylactic, the depiction of salvific motifs ensured the redemption of the soul and even the union with Christ.⁴⁴ Christological union would have found many sympathetic minds among a population well versed in the Osirian theology, and the continuation of performative imagery was probably not a matter of simple coincidence. That such customs were continued, even born, in Egypt only reinforces the importance of these native traditions. Just as the deceased could be wrapped in a shroud depicting him as Osiris, so he could be dressed in a tunic depicting the acts of Christ: “the result

⁴¹ See also the instructions accompanying the Books of Breathing discussed below and in chapter one.

⁴² Borghouts 1988, 133; Valloggia 1998, 441-453; Taylor 2001, 200; Ritner 2003, 166. Note the comments of Tarasenko 2012, 386, concerning Third Intermediate Period BD papyri. See also discussion in chapter one.

⁴³ Marinis 2007, 95-97. Marinis published fragments of an unusual tunic containing scenes derived from the New Testament.

⁴⁴ See Davis 2005, 336-362.

was a posthumous performance of human assimilation to the divine image, an assimilation that was enabled and effected through the incarnate Word's [or Osiris's] conquering of death."⁴⁵

4.4 Purpose and Function: Placement

Association of the scrolls with the corpse was paramount for their protective qualities and for reference to arcane religious doctrines. This was especially true for funerary literature such as the spells of the Book of the Dead, many of which revolve around the acquisition and use of esoteric knowledge (*rh.t*) by the individual in order to navigate the dangerous netherworld.

However, the *‘nh p3* by papyri do not contain such information; they are phrased in the third person and thus not meant for the deceased to make claims about the self, but for others to make claims on their behalf.⁴⁶ Understanding the purpose of these so-called passports relies on the foundational work of Jan Quaegebeur, who referred to these texts as “letters of recommendation,”⁴⁷ summarized by Mark Smith as follows:

What they have in common is that they were all intended for use by the deceased as a sort of passport to the afterlife. From this it would appear that, to the writers of such texts, their designation as letters for breathing depended not so much on their actual contents as on their intended function.⁴⁸ It was expected that the

⁴⁵ Davis 2005, 362.

⁴⁶ Cf. the third person Demotic funerary text on a stela in Geneva (Laurent and Widmer 2011, 77-92). Note, however, that grammatical perspective can change during transmission, as suggested for some of the Pyramid Texts spells, which “as originally introduced, were written in the first person. Soon after their appearance, however, the third person in the form of the name of the king was substituted for it” (Silverman 1989, 33). Some PT spells preserve the original first person singular.

⁴⁷ Their purpose as “letters of recommendation” have now entered into more popular literature on ancient Egypt; see Hornung 2001, 9: “He [Thoth] wrote letters of introduction for the deceased to smooth their way through the netherworld, and he and Isis were supposed to have composed the Books of Breathing, which came in part to replace the Book of the Dead.”

⁴⁸ The “intended function” is inferred from the religious information derived from the content of the texts, but also by comparing usage patterns known for related funerary literature.

deceased would present them on their arrival at the underworld in order to attain the privileges that were bestowed upon the blessed.⁴⁹

From this point of view, the documents were composed in order for the deceased to present them to a deity upon arrival in the afterlife. The evidence in the texts and vignettes suggest that the arrival focused on the presentation before Osiris and that Anubis would have been the deity likely to receive the document. A comparison with contemporary funerary compositions shows that, once written, such funerary manuscripts could be taken into the afterlife by the deceased in order to present them to deities on their own behalf. As Mark Smith points out, the labels found on the versos of *‘nh p3 by papyri* indicate their ultimate destination was the netherworld before Osiris:⁵⁰

They are addressed to the inhabitants of the underworld by an unnamed sender, and their purpose is to request that the person for whom they were written be admitted to the company of those in the West and granted the favours which they enjoy. One of the most important of these is the freedom to travel freely between this world and the next and receive libations in conjunction with Osiris. Thus, the texts seek to benefit the deceased and enhance their status in both worlds.⁵¹

A number of textual references suggest that the papyrus was meant to be received in the netherworld. In pRhind 1, 8d3, we find *šp=w t3 šc.t r-ir Dhwtj h.t=k* “May they receive the document which Thoth made before you.”⁵² The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing

⁴⁹ Smith 1993, 14.

⁵⁰ Cf. the verso note accompanying the hieratic text of pBM EA 10194, described by Smith 2009a, 541: “Similarly, the verso note, like other notes of the same type, can be interpreted as the hoped for response to the presentation of the document in the underworld, a sort of proactive stamp of approval to ensure the deceased’s favourable reception by its inhabitants.” See, e.g., pSydney Nicholson Museum 346 b, 1-2, *t3 šc.t r t3y.t=s m-b3h p3 nb ntr.w Wsir ntr* “The document to be taken before the lord of the gods, Osiris, the great god ...”

⁵¹ Smith 2009a, 558.

⁵² However, there is some ambiguity here since *šp h.t* is an idiom meaning “to receive.” Could this rather be interpreted as *šp=w (n) t3 šc.t r-ir Dhwtj h.t=k* “You will be received (on account of) the document which Thoth

suggests giving the deceased the papyrus (*ti Dḥwty šꜥ.t n hb n-tr.t=k* “May Thoth place a memorandum in your hand”)⁵³ and having him take it to his tomb (*ir n=k Dḥwty wpy(.t)-rꜥ n snsn ir=f n=k pr(.t) m hrw tꜥy=k st r tꜥy=k ḥw.t n r[py]* “Thoth has made for you an Opening of the Mouth for Breathing. He has made for you a Going Forth by Day. May you take them to your tomb of rejuvenation”).⁵⁴ These textual references seem to confirm Quaegebeur’s general thesis that the papyri were associated with Thoth and taken by the deceased into the beyond in order to be presented to Osiris and the gods of the netherworld.

Further support can be found within ancient Egyptian funerary iconography. A scene from a coffin from El-Deir in the Kharga Oasis shows the animated deceased before Osiris with Thoth. The deceased holds a papyrus in his hands. He is followed by a priest using an incense burner.⁵⁵ In stela Vienna AEOS 236, Anubis introduces the deceased to Osiris while holding a papyrus scroll⁵⁶ and on stelae with inscriptions of the Divine Decree for the Deceased, Anubis is shown leading the deceased before Osiris while holding a papyrus roll that has been identified as the divine decree itself.⁵⁷ Similar images of the deceased holding a scroll before Osiris appeared on shrouds.⁵⁸ In fact, their efficacy as powerful tools requires that they be closely associated with

made.” This accords with the well-attested reception of the deceased in the underworld, for which see Smith 1992-1993, 152-153. However, the expected word order would have been *šp=w ḥ.t=k (n) tꜥ šꜥ.t r-ir Dḥwty*.

⁵³ pBerlin 8351, 4.1 (= Bodl. MS. Egypt. c. 9(P) + pLouvre E 10605, 3.14; pStrasbourg 3 verso, x+II.x+3); see Smith 1993, 27 (transliteration), 32 (translation), 55-56 (commentary), pl. 3, pl. 6, pl. 8.

⁵⁴ pBerlin 8351, 1.11-13 (= pLouvre E 10607, 9-11); see Smith 1993, 17-18 (commentary), 23-24 (transliteration), 30 (translation), pl. 1, pl. 7.

⁵⁵ Shown in Dunand, Heim, and Lichtenberg 2010, 25.

⁵⁶ Beinlich 2009, 13-14, pl. 20-22.

⁵⁷ Smith 20091, 601, citing Otto (*LÄ* II), 677.

⁵⁸ Morenz 1975, fig. 10; Doxiadis 1995, fig. 14; Riggs 2005, pl. 8.

the individual, in their possession, for them to be useful. With the mechanics of ritual language in ancient Egypt, individuals would be reluctant to place this influence in the hands of others, even certain deities, because in Egyptian theology divine elements can both harm and protect, or be harmed and protected.⁵⁹ Information within the documents, such as the individual's name, titles, and family relations could be used against them if they fell into devious hands. It is difficult to reconstruct exactly how the transaction was envisioned, but it is likely that the texts were meant to be read out on the deceased's behalf in addition to being presented to Osiris. Thoth, the divine scribe, may have acted as a messenger, reciting the text aloud before the Osirian tribunal, just as a royal scribe would read aloud official correspondence before the king.⁶⁰

Recitation of religious texts before Osiris is known from other textual references. In pRhind 1, 5d7, the deceased specifically reads aloud a document: $\text{š=k sh n p}^3 \text{pr-}^{\text{G}} \text{n n}^3 \text{ntr.w } \text{irm n}^3 \text{rmt.w}$ “May you recite a document to the pharaoh of the gods and men.” Traditionally, it was Thoth who would record and recite⁶¹ such texts, and it was Thoth whom Quaegebeur believed was the divine author of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts.⁶² However, as Riggs and Depauw point out, the author of the text is not mentioned:

⁵⁹ Ritner 1995a.

⁶⁰ This role for Thoth is explicitly stated in several Third Intermediate Period funerary manuscripts where a short text portrays the speech of Thoth on behalf of the deceased after the weighing of the heart. As part of this speech, Thoth says: $\text{b}^3 \text{=fr p.t h}^3 \text{.t=f m } \text{wy } \text{Inpw}$ “his *ba* is at the sky, his corpse is in the arms of Anubis” (Quirke 2013, 515).

⁶¹ E.g., pLouvre 3079, 110.16-17 (published in Goyon 1967): $\text{Dhwty } \text{h}^{\text{c}} \text{r r}^3 \text{w}^{\text{b.t}} \text{hr nis m n.t-}^{\text{c}} \text{f s}^{\text{c}} \text{nh=f b}^3 \text{=k r}^{\text{c}} \text{nb}$ “Thoth stands at the door of the embalming chamber reciting his rituals so that he may vivify your *ba* everyday.”

⁶² Quaegebeur 1990, 776-795. For Thoth, decrees, and the documents of breathing, see Stadler 2009, 28, and Kucharek 2010, 64-65.

Although often short and mainly concerned with the identification of the deceased, some of these inscriptions are longer and contain religious formulae. They are often referred to with the general term ‘intercessions’, since the authorship of the texts, either an authoritative deity or a hopeful supplicant, is debated and uncertain. In the late Ptolemaic and early Roman Period the central ideas of unproblematic access to and a welcoming reception in the underworld seem to be expressed in a rather non-formulaic way.⁶³

Despite this anonymity, there is vast evidence for the role of Thoth as the deity most often associated with text production in the composition of funerary manuscripts. Thoth, the god of wisdom and writing, is associated best with the handbooks such as the Book of the Dead which the deceased would have used themselves (written in first person). He writes books of breathing for the deceased along with Isis⁶⁴ and he reads out the ritual texts for the deceased to hear.⁶⁵

In order for the deceased to take the funerary text with them to the netherworld, the manuscripts required placement in close proximity to the body during the funerary preparations. For example, a manuscript of a ritual text for the feast of the valley (pBM EA 10209) had a short Demotic note appended to the protective column of papyrus at the beginning of the roll.⁶⁶ The text indicates that the papyrus should be placed within the mummy wrappings inside the coffin:⁶⁷

my sh=w n=y sh r-hn-n p3 hnw n qty nty iw=w r tī.t(=y) r-hn=f my tī=w p3 dm^c r-hn t3y(=y)
qs(.t) sh Ns-Mn

⁶³ Riggs and Depauw 2002, 82.

⁶⁴ Cited in passing by Hornung 2001, 9.

⁶⁵ pBoulaq III, 5.10: *ii n=k Dhwty wp-r3 hī.wy shtp ntr.w ir=fsdm=k m sš m sns n tp-r3 n pr md3.t nfr m-hn imnt.t* “May Thoth come to you, the one who judges the disputants, who satisfies the gods. May he allow that you listen to the writings of breathing, the rituals of the perfect library in the west.” See Sauneron 1952, 16; Sternberg-el-Hotabi 1988, 418.

⁶⁶ Referred to as the *protokollon* by Vleeming 2011, 669.

⁶⁷ Edited first in Haikal 1970 and re-edited by Martin and Ryholt 2006, 272. I have adopted the updated readings in Smith 2009a, 178 n. 4, and Vleeming 2011, 669.

“Let a document be written for me for inside of the pine-wood⁶⁸ coffin into which I will be placed. Let the papyrus be placed inside my wrappings. Written by Nesmin.”

The Book of Breathing which Isis Made had very specific instructions for placement:⁶⁹

iw=w st3 Wsir r hn n p3 š(y) wr n Hnsw m-ht hf=f hr h3ty=f iw=w qrs t3 šcy(.t) n sns n nty m sš n hn n bnr n im=s m hbs šs-ny-sw.t rd3.tw hr ‘=f i3b n p3 mty n h3ty=f ir=w p(3) sp⁷⁰ t3 qrs.t p3y=s bnr ir ir=tw n=f md3.t tn hr sns n=f hn^c b3.w ntr.w r nhh hn^c d.t

“They will drag Osiris into the great lake of Khonsu after his fist (was) over his heart. They will wrap the book of breathing, which has writing on the inside and outside of it, in royal cloth, (and) it will be placed under his left arm in the

⁶⁸ References to pine-wood coffins occur also in the Apis embalming ritual (see CDD Q (24 February 2004): 04.1, 97 for references), but this type of wood is not mentioned in the “Spell for knowing the burial” (*r3 n rh qrs.t*) where a variety of wood coffin types are listed and the attributes associated therewith (Quirke 2013, 508-509).

⁶⁹ pLouvre 3284, 6, following the hand copy of de Horrack 1877, pl. XI. The same instructions appear in a slightly different version at the beginning of pHor 1.2; see Ritner 2011, 99-101, and pl. V. For discussion of these instructions, see Quack 2009a, 73-76.

⁷⁰ For  in pHor 2.6, Ritner 2000, 105, and Ritner 2003, 169-170, read *mn*, reread in Ritner 2011, 100, as *sp*. Although the writings of the game board and the relaxed arm are quite similar in this period (cf. Möller 1912, 52, nr. 540 and 9, nr. 101), the overall form of the sign  found in pLouvre N 3284, 6.8, and  in pLouvre N 3121, 7.13, more closely resembles the relaxed arm . Further confusion results from the fact that *mn* and *sp* have some synonymous overlap, the former meaning “to continue, be established, to remain” while the latter means “to occur, to leave out, to remain over.” Nominal derivatives of *mn* with the meaning “remainder, rest” are attested (*Wb.* II, 63; Lesko 2002, 216), although it is uncertain whether such a meaning is prevalent in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (unattested in Wilson 1997); cf. *mn.t* “test” in CDD M (13 July 2010):10.1, 98). Ritner questions whether there may have been some confusion in antiquity between the hieratic signs for *mn* and *rmn* leading to the present uncertainty (Ritner 2011, 100 n. 108). The reading *sp* has been suggested by Quack 2009a, 74, citing Quack 2004, 473, along with the readings already listed in Brugsch 1872, 121, nr. 90, and Daumas 1988, 189, nr. 707. Further attestations of the reading *sp* for the relaxed arm can be found in Kurth 2007, 174, along with 191, n. 365, and n. 372, and see the discussion of Kurth 2004, 404-405, n. 5. That the writing is an abbreviation is demonstrated by the lack in every case of any phonetic compliments or determinatives. This lack is more striking with respect to the game board interpretation, a sign which tended to get written together with other signs in a group (in pHor 2.6, an *n* is written beneath the *mn* sign, but it has always been interpreted as the genitival adjective). If correct, the reading *sp* further clarifies the orthographic origins of an otherwise unexplained abbreviated Demotic writing of *sp* (as noted by Quack 2009, 74, citing the discussion of Vleeming 1991, 229-230; cf. EG 426). The reading *sp* “remainder” for the relaxed arm may derive from the use of the relaxed arm as logogram or classifier in words involving cessation, rejection, or stopping (see Gardiner 1957, 455; Borghouts 2010, vol. II, 35), which coincides well with the specialized lexical meanings of *spi* as “to leave behind, to remain over” (*Wb.* III, 439). The best evidence for the reading *sp* is the parallel texts noted by Chassinat 1966, 192-193, in which the writing *spy*  alternates with  in one example.

vicinity of his heart. Let the remainder of the wrapping be made around it. If this book is made for him, he breathes with the *bas* of the gods forever and eternity.”

A Demotic version of this set of instructions appeared on pLouvre N 3291 vs.:⁷¹

t3 šc.t n sns nty iw=w ty(.t)=s hr p3 qh n smh n p3 ntr p3 bnr n t3 qrs.t n-hn iw bw-r3-
 tw=w hf^c dr.t=f r-hr h3t=f mtw=w qrs=s šs-ny-sw.t mtw=w ty(.t)=s iwt p3y=f dnh n smh⁷²
 irm p3y=f ib mtw=w ir p3 sp n t3 qrs.t p3y=s [bnr] t3 šc.t n sns r-ir 3s.t n Wsir t3y

“The Book of Breathing which will be placed under the elbow on the left side⁷³ of the god outside of the inner wrappings before his hand is clasped over his heart. And it will be wrapped (in) royal linen. And it will be placed between his left forearm and his heart. And the remainder of the wrapping will be made around it. This is the Book of Breathing which Isis made for Osiris.”

A similar Demotic note was appended to the Book of Traversing Eternity: p3 tw3 n iyh n it-ntr Hr-

s3-3s.t s3 Hr qsi n s3t3 itm ii r tw=f n smh⁷⁴ ur p3y=f qh “The spirit-praising⁷⁵ book of the god’s father

Harsiese, son of Horus, which is wrapped in red linen (and) which goes at his chest on the left by his arm.” Such notes about the placement of amuletic papyri go back to the rubrics of BD spells

in the New Kingdom, with BD 100 specifically indicating placement on the chest:⁷⁶ dd-md.wt m

⁷¹ Following the hand copy in de Horrack 1877, pl. XIII. The Demotic note on pLouvre N 3291 vs.

employs the abbreviated writing , which has historically been read *sp*, in place of the hieratic . See Quack 2009a, 74.

⁷² For the reading *smh* “left,” see Quack 2010-2011, 73-80.

⁷³ The group  in the hand copy of de Horrack 1877, pl. XIII, was read by Quack 2009a, 75-76, as *smh* “left,” derived from *Wb.* IV, 140; not attested in CDD or EG. For further discussion, see Quack 2010-2011, 73-80.

⁷⁴ Following Smith 2009a, 403, who translated “left.” The Demotic here resembles the word for *wmm* “right,” but must be read *smh* as in pLouvre N 3291.

⁷⁵ This title was discussed by Smith 1985, 103-104; Smith 2009a, 403.

⁷⁶ Naville 1886, pl. CXIII, with translation in Allen 1960, 81. Cf. BD 162: dd md.wt hr rpy.t ih3.t ir=tw m nbw nfr di r hh n 3h hn^c ir.t=s m s3.w hr dm^c n m3wy rdi(.w) hr tp=f “Recitation over a figure of a cow, made from beautiful gold, placed at the throat of the blessed spirit, as well as placing it in writing on new papyrus placed under his head.”

sšm nty m sš sš hr šw wšb m dm^c hm.t wšd.t šb.t hr mw ntyw rdi n šh pn hr šnb.t=f nn tkn n=f h^c.w=f

“Recitation on an image which is drawn, drawn upon a new sheet of papyrus, green glaze mixed with water of myrrh, placed for this spirit upon his breast without touching his body.” On coffins which display end panels associated with Isis and Nephthys, Thoth is sometimes mentioned aiding the deceased by grabbing the hand: *pry=k r p.t m-m ntr.w sšp^c=k in Dhwty* “May you go forth to heaven among the gods, your arm having been seized by Thoth.”⁷⁷

Formulaic Demotic funerary papyri did not contain rubrics or textual instructions for how to prepare the papyri for burial. However, placement was indicated by the drawing on the verso of several manuscripts of either a head or a pair of feet, either of which was understood to indicate “under the head” (*hr dšdš*) or “under the feet” (*hr rḫ.wy*) respectively.⁷⁸ As discussed in chapter two, similar images appeared on the hieratic Books of Breathing, which were supplemented by textual instructions as well. The First Book of Breathing was intended for placement under the head, while the Second Book of Breathing was intended for placement under the feet. Instructions accompanying the Book of Breathing which Isis Made, cited above,

Cf. also BD 167: *sš.w hr sšd n ins n imnt.t hn^c sš.w=f hr šw n mšw ir=f m mdš.t rdi.t(i) r hḫ.wy* “Writings on a bandage of red linen of the west and its writings on a new papyrus, it having been made as a book (and) placed at the throat” (Quirke 2013, 535).

⁷⁷ As noted by Willems 1988, 134 n. 44, previous editors (Barta 1968, 307, and Lapp 1986, 81) have interpreted the writing  , in light of the variant  , as a “document” delivered to Thoth “before the deceased can enter the netherworld.”

⁷⁸ Thus the texts have specific locations and should not be read *hr tp* “beside.” For the latter compound preposition in funerary texts, see Gee 2007, 810-811.

were carefully phrased in the future tense as directions to another funerary worker at a later phase of the embalming rites.⁷⁹

The placement of funerary papyri under the head and feet is not a matter of simple pragmatism. Although positioning within the burial simultaneously protected the papyri from damage as well as ensured their close proximity to the deceased, their specific locations had theological motives, mythological precedent, and ritual models. Protection of the head obviously ensured recognition of the deceased individual, critical for the alighting of the *ba* with the body. The concern for postmortem movement reflected in contemporary funerary compositions inspired placement adjacent to the feet. Protecting the poles of the body further symbolically protected the whole, although texts could also be placed under the folded arm of the deceased.⁸⁰ Such theological concerns had obvious implications influencing the placement of these funerary texts.

A mythological precedent played a fundamental role alongside the theological ones. Depicted on the ends of coffins dating back to the Middle Kingdom were Isis and Nephthys, whose position had been determined by Nut:⁸¹ “I have placed Nephthys under your head” (*dd*

⁷⁹ Note the third future in the relative clause, identifiable through the lack of durative object marker: *t3 šc.t n snsn nty iw=w ty(.t)=s hr p3 qh n smh n p3 ntr* “the Book of Breathing which will be placed under the elbow on the left side of the god.”

⁸⁰ Cf. the rubric from the Book of Breathing Made by Isis: *iw=w qrs t3 šc.y.t n snsn nty m sš.wy n hn n bnr n-im=s m hbs-ny-sw.t rdi.tw (hr) c i3b n p3 mtr n h3ty=f* “the document of breathing, which has writing on the inside and outside of it, in royal cloth, (and) it will be placed (under) his left arm in the vicinity of his heart.” See Schott 1990, 307; Ritner 2001, 166-167.

⁸¹ *dd mdw(.t) in Nw.t di.n(=i) n=k Nb.t-hw.t hr tp=k* “Recitation by Nut: ‘For you I have placed Nephthys at your head.’”; *dd mdw(.t) in Nw.t di.n(=i) n=k 3s.t hr rd.wy=k* “Recitation by Nut: ‘For you I have placed Isis at your feet.’” See Willems (1988), 42, 134, and 134 n. 49. Note the similarity in the expressions from these coffins and the instructions accompanying the First and Second Books of Breathing, *t3 šc.t n snsn mh 1.t nty iw=w h3c=s hr d3d3 n p3 ntr* and *t3 šc.t n snsn mh 2.t iw=w h3c=s iir rd.wy* respectively. For further discussion, see Münster 1968, 24-33. Nut’s granting of Isis and Nephthys is present already in PT 4-5. The appearance of Isis and Nephthys on coffins of the Third Intermediate Period revived this tradition (Taylor 2003, 116).

mdw(.t) in Nw.t di.n(=i) n=k Nb.t-ḥw.t ḥr-tp=k.⁸² In fact, as noted by Willems, “it has been argued that these boards were considered manifestations of Isis and Nephthys.”⁸³ A similar apotropaic attitude is reflected in pWestcar during the birth scene of Rudjedet. Nephthys stands behind her (*ḥ3-tp=s*) and Isis stands before her (*ḥft-ḥr=s*), presumably near the feet of the squatting mother while Heqat encouraged the birth.⁸⁴ It is not surprising to find measures used in the safe birth of the child applied to the rejuvenation after death. Furthermore, as Willems suggests, the positions of Isis and Nephthys at the feet and head had a ritual model in the form of mourners who “attended to the coffin, one standing near the head-end and one near the opposite end,”⁸⁵ further reflected in designs on so-called rishi coffins and codified in the vignette of BD 151.⁸⁶ Wooden statues of Isis and Nephthys included in the funerary furniture provided eternal mourners, such as the Ptolemaic examples from the Guéret Museum.⁸⁷

Elements of this mythology were already present in the Pyramid Texts spells 4-5, first attested in the spells adorning the sarcophagus of king Teti.⁸⁸ In PT 4, Nut describes how she positioned Isis on behalf of Teti: *ḏḏ md.w(t) in Nw.t Tti ṛḏi.n(=i) n=k sn.t=k 3s.t ndr=s im=k di=s n=k*

⁸² Willems 1988, 134.

⁸³ Willems 1988, 135, citing Barguet 1971, 20-21, and Münster 1968, 24ff., and 31. See also Soukoussian 1982.

⁸⁴ Isis is not simply standing up in front of Rudjedet since Isis appears as the mid-wife, speaking directly to the unborn fetus (*ḥḥn ḏḏn 3s.t* “Then Isis said”) and actually delivering the child into her arms (*wṛ.in ḥrd pn tp 3wy=sy* “Then this child came forth upon her arms”).

⁸⁵ Willems 1988, 135.

⁸⁶ Miniaci 2010, 59.

⁸⁷ Charron 2002, 130.

⁸⁸ Allen 2005, 67. Cf. CT 4-5, PT 443-444, PT 628 A-B.

ib=k n d.t=k “Recitation by Nut: Teti, I have given to you your sister Isis, so that she may embrace⁸⁹ you and give to you your heart for your body.” In PT 5, a description is provided for Nephthys: *dd md.w(t) in Nw.t Tti rd.i.n(=i) n=k sn.t=k Nb.t-ḥw.t ndr=s im=k di=s n=k ib=k n d.t=k* “Recitation by Nut: Teti, I have given to you your sister Nephthys, so that she may embrace you and give to you your heart for your body.” Similar texts were found on the coffin of Anu, from the First Intermediate Period, where the position of Isis and Nephthys at the head and feet is made explicit:⁹⁰ *ink Nw.t in.n(=i) Nb.t-Ḥw.t hr tp=k ndr=s ʿ=k Wsir ʿnw pn di=s n=k ib=k n d.t=k Wsir ʿnw pn ʿnh.ti d.t* “I am Nut. I have brought Nephthys under your head so that she may embrace your limbs, this Osiris Anu, so that she may give to you your own heart, this Osiris Anu, may you live forever;” *ink Nw.t in.n(=i) ʒs.t hr rd.wy=k ndr=s ʿ=k ʿnw pn di=s n=k ib=k n d.t=k* “I am Nut. I have brought Isis under your feat so that she may embrace your limbs, this (Osiris) Anu, so that she may give to you your heart for your body.” These so-called “Nut texts” of the Pyramid spells would continue to be popular on coffins through the rest of Egyptian history, down into the Ptolemaic and Roman Period.⁹¹

The model of the royal sarcophagus of the early New Kingdom expands this tradition, both textually and visually, for we find images of Isis and Nephthys on the ends of the

⁸⁹ For Nut as embracer of the deceased, compare the Nut texts from the PT to the royal sarcophagi. See PT 368 / PT 356 (paragraph 580b-c, 593, 1629), BD 178, and Hayes 1935, 127-128, 191, and 201-202, texts 45-46. Cf. the reconstructed label on the verso of the hieratic First Book of Breathing, pBM 10109 vs., *di stʒ.t [ʿ.wy=s] r [ʒsp=t]* “May the necropolis extend [her arms] to [receive you],” published in Herbin 2008, 76, pl. 35-36.

⁹⁰ Mathieu 2009, 297-298.

⁹¹ For translation and discussion of an example from the coffin of Djehutmose, see Wilfong 2013a, 78-80.

sarcophagi of Tuthmosis I,⁹² Hatshepsut,⁹³ Tuthmosis IV, as well as on the sarcophagi and coffins of Iouya and Touiyou.⁹⁴ The position of Isis and Nephthys remains a canonical element of Egyptian religious iconography until the very end of the tradition.⁹⁵ Although the images of heads and feet on the formulaic Demotic funerary papyri are vague, the position of Isis and Nephthys is explicitly referenced in a number of Demotic texts, including the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing: *iw=w r 'q r n3w t3 tw3.t irm hy sn hwt Wsir PN s3 PN iw 3s.t iir d3d3=f iw Nb.t-hwt iir r3=f iw Hr Inp ir n=f sm3-t3* “They will enter into those of the netherworld with a husband, a brother, a male, Osiris PN, son of PN, with Isis at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and Horus and Anubis performing for him the burial.”⁹⁶

Sacred cloths used in the wrapping of the mummy had a parallel placement and association with the goddesses Isis and Nephthys.⁹⁷ The “bright red band” (*s3t*), applied to the

⁹² Both the sarcophagus made by Hatshepsut and recarved for Tuthmosis I (BMFA 04.278) as well as the sarcophagus made by Tuthmosis III for Tuthmosis I (JE 52344).

⁹³ Only her royal sarcophagus (JE 37678).

⁹⁴ Davis 1907 and 1908. The foot end of the Boston sarcophagus lid of Hatshepsut reads: *dd md.w(t) in Nw.t ny-sw.t 3-hpr-k3-R' m3'-hrw rdi.n(=i) n=k tp=k d.t=k n g(3).n rwt=k iptn* “Recitation by Nut: King Aa-kheper-ka-re, justified, I have given you your head and your body; these limbs of yours will not be weary” (der Manuelian and Loeben 1993, 138). Further texts on the interior and exterior of the head and foot ends give further recitations by Nephthys and Isis.

⁹⁵ For comparison, see the sarcophagus of king Aspelta (BMFA 23.728); the Late Period sarcophagus of Hapymen (BM EA 23), copied from Tuthmosis III; the coffin of Iti (RMO M59), published in Moje 2012, pl. 26. Cf. also the scene from Philae with Isis at the feet and Nephthys at the head of Osiris Wennefer, photo in Hölbl 2004, 151, abb. 221. See also Hayes 1935, 67-68.

⁹⁶ See pBerlin 8351, 4.14-15 = pStrasbourg 3 verso, x+3.x+11-x+12 and x+5.1, published in Smith 1993, 28 (transliteration), 33 (translation), 60-61 (commentary), pl. 3, pls. 9-10.

⁹⁷ Cf. the discussion of “the red cloth” (*p3 tms*) in Bareš and Smoláriková 2011, 173-174, and the “red cloth” mummies of Corcoran 1995.

head, and the “dark red cloth” (*itmy*),⁹⁸ applied to the feet or over the body, are associated with the goddesses in pHarkness, 1.3-1.6.⁹⁹

... *iw t3y s3t t3y itmy ti-iwy.t r-hry n he.t=t iw n3 [s]3.w n3 rpy.w ʿy.w n3 ntr.w tr=w hpš r n3y=t k3h.w qse.t nfr ir hr iw=s q hr-3t=t t3 qse.t r-ti n=t [3]s.t iir=t sʿym n-im=s t3 qse.t mnht.r-ti n=t t3 nb(.t) t3.wy ir=t s3t w3ht=šm ir=t itmy w3ht=ʿq ir=t ryt [...] hr 3s.t ir=t mnš hr Nb.-hw(.t)*

“... while this bright red band and dark red cloth are placed around your body and the amulets of all the great temples of the gods are affixed(?) at your arms. A good mummification is favorable. It is exalted upon you, the mummification which Isis gave to you. Through it, you are blessed, the effective mummification which the lady of the two lands gave to you. You have employed the bright red band. You had gone out. You have employed the dark red cloth. You had entered. You have employed the bandage [...] through Isis. You have employed the wrapping through Nephthys.”

Protection of the upper and lower portions of the deceased’s body was not a completely new innovation in the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁰⁰ An unknown mummy, dated to circa 800 BCE, had been wrapped in a sheet tied to the mummy by several straps. Two decorated linen ornaments were attached, one near the ankles and one upon the chest, although the original placement of the former may have been on the bottom of the feet.¹⁰¹ There is also a set of white and green bandages applied to the mummy.¹⁰² The bandages are also mentioned in a number of texts,

⁹⁸ Cf. the magical spell in *PDM* lxi (pBM 10588, 7.6) referencing the *t3 itm3.t n Nb.t-hw.t* “the dark red cloth of Nephthys,” published in Bell, Nock, and Thompson 1933, 9 (transliteration), 12 (translation), 17 (commentary); Johnson in Betz 1996, 289.

⁹⁹ Smith 1987, 92-95; Smith 2005, 93-94, note (e) to 1.3; Goebis 2011, 68-74.

¹⁰⁰ Note the placement on coffins of Nephthys texts at the head and Isis texts at the feet discussed by Wilfong 2013a, 63-65, and the further placement of journey texts near the feet discussed in Raven 1981, 16-17.

¹⁰¹ *ÆÆ978* published in Jørgensen 2001, 348-351. Cf. the depiction of feet on Roman period mummy foot-cases in Corcoran 1995, 50-51.

¹⁰² See the Third Intermediate Period mummy in Copenhagen *ÆIN 978*, published in Jørgensen 2001, 348-351.

including on mummy cases.¹⁰³ Positioning Isis and Nephthys on either end of Osiris during the idealized Egyptian funeral had cascading implications for all these funerary practices.

Placement of the funerary papyri in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods suggests, therefore, that the concept of Isis and Nephthys as the protectors of the head and feet, acting symbolically as the head and foot of the coffin itself, persisted as well. The papyri were then ritually charged amulets taking the place of physical mourners who themselves represented Isis and Nephthys.¹⁰⁴ Evidence for these connections is not lacking. First, the texts of the formulaic Demotic funerary papyri are written in the third person and contain standard formulaic phrases. Although perhaps recorded by Thoth, the formulae from such texts should be considered actual funerary prayers of Isis and Nephthys, ensuring the rejuvenation of the deceased individual. Each of these features may at first seem unrelated; however, when examined closely, an understanding of the reason behind the placement in the burial, the use of the third person perspective, and the invocation of Isis as speaker can be achieved. The formulaic phrases represented commonly uttered funerary laments, echoing those uttered by Isis and Nephthys for Osiris. Furthermore, the papyri stood in as eternal substitutes for Isis and Nephthys by taking their physical placement in the burial.

In addition to the role of Isis and Nephthys, it is clear that the symbolic notion of the coffin as Nut, embracer of the deceased, continued to be utilized until the end of Egyptian funerary practices in the 3rd-4th centuries CE, especially prevalent in her depiction on the interior of coffins and coffin lids.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the figure of the deceased woman drawn on pMunich

¹⁰³ Mekis 2012, 258-263.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the *dry.t* mourners, see Fischer 1976, 39-50.

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of this role of Nut and an origin in the Saite Period, see Elias 1993, 849. For the depiction of Nut, see Rusch 1922.

MÄS 826, with features intentionally blending her identity with Nut, would suggest that the mummy wrappings and the papyrus itself assumed the cosmic functions previously associated with the coffin or sarcophagus. Developments in burial provisions provide a reason for the change. Throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, coffins and sarcophagi became increasingly restricted to only the very elite and the wrappings of the body, the sole external protection apart from the family/group tomb, became the preferred media for decoration and texts. As Christina Riggs notes: “Anthropoid wooden or stone coffins gave way to more fluid forms modeled in mud, linen, or papyrus cartonnage, and the coffin was often abandoned in preference for the wrapped body alone.”¹⁰⁶ Likewise, Smith suggests that:

... the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods are characterized by a decrease in the number of people who were interred in their own individual tombs or with elaborate burial goods like sarcophagi and coffins. As a corollary, there was an increased tendency for the body itself to be treated as the focus of funerary provision. When no other alternative suitable for bearing inscriptions was available, like a tomb wall or coffin, the mummy could, one might even say had to, function as a substitute. This could explain the greater emphasis upon close juxtaposition of text and mummy, and even the use of the latter as a writing surface for the former.¹⁰⁷

Thus there is a full complement of religious symbolism in the placement of funerary texts under the head and feet. The compositions are protective amulets containing powerful spells written on behalf of, or for the use of, the deceased individual. Their texts reflected the recitations on behalf of Osiris as performed by Isis and Nephthys, enacting mythological precedent in order to fully charge and ensure their religious function of protection. Just as the

¹⁰⁶ Riggs 2005, 29.

¹⁰⁷ Smith 2009, 47-48. Cf. the comments of Kockelmann 2008, 233: “Im Sepulkralwesen der Ptolemäerzeit scheint sich die Aufmerksamkeit gerade auf Bilder und Objekte, die die bandagierte Mumie unmittelbar bedeckten, zu konzentrieren – auch die Umwicklung mit Totenbuch-Mumienbinden könnte damit in Beziehung stehen.” Cf. also the shift to group burials and enhanced coffin decoration documented for the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period by Cooney 2011, 3-44.

ends of coffins contained images and ritual speeches of the goddesses, these papyri served to perform the same symbolic function of making those speeches (i.e. *mdw-ntr* “divine words”) and goddesses present for eternity in the burial. Through these compositions a full cycle of connection is made from the physical ritual, accompanied by mourning women enacting the roles of Isis and Nephthys,¹⁰⁸ to the divine realm encapsulated by the coffin (i.e. Nut) where Isis and Nephthys reside, and back to the physical realm of the body, which itself is a conduit for interaction between the two spheres, acting as a receptacle for the multifaceted identity of the individual as well as a medium for social existence.¹⁰⁹

4.5 Production: Ritual Setting, Ritual Language, and Scribal Practice

Just as there has arisen a discussion of the “grammar” of temples with regard to the layout of their texts and scenes, so too should an analysis of the burial take place along similar lines. Whether or not the metaphor of “grammar” is appropriate, a systematic analysis of funerary decorum is nevertheless necessary. Interaction between text, image, and action during the production, execution, and further maintenance of mortuary cult practices took on fairly specific forms at roughly specific times. The funerary ritual has been well studied, but only recently have results from the field of ritual studies, developed significantly in the last twenty years,¹¹⁰ been adopted within the field of Egyptology.¹¹¹ Despite the appearance of extensive

¹⁰⁸ I do not mean to imply that the presentation of Isis and Nephthys in the text and images under discussion inspired the ritual practices. I have assumed that funerary activities developed first, followed by these activities being codified by ritual and mythology. Such rituals and mythologies were then expressed through language and image in texts and artifacts.

¹⁰⁹ For the *ka*'s social function, see Assmann 2005, 96-102; Smith 2009, 5-6.

¹¹⁰ General introductions to the field of ritual studies can be found in Grimes 1982; Bell 1992; Grimes 1996; Kreinath, Snoek, and Stausberg 2006; Hüskén 2007; Kreinath, Snoeck, and Stausberg 2007; and Schilderman 2007.

variability in the execution and content of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts, fundamental aspects of how and why they were produced had structured patterns of procedure and defined interrelationships, even if such proscriptions show definite fluidity. There are two interrelated ritual contexts for the use of the formulae examined in this study.¹¹²

The first context to discuss with regard to the formulaic Demotic funerary texts is the offering ritual. The formula *mtw=f t̄y mw hr t̄ htp.t m-s̄ Wsir hr p̄ šy m-s̄ Wn-nfr* “And may he take¹¹³ water from the offering table after Osiris (and) from the pool¹¹⁴ after Onnophris,”¹¹⁵ a

¹¹¹ The centrality of ritual within Egyptian religious culture has led to a long and developed history of scholarship. Recently, Harold Hays has been particularly prodigious in adopting various theoretical models for the study of ritual (Hays 2009, Hays 2012, and Hays 2013). For overviews and surveys of recent advances, see Quaegebeur 1993; Dücker and Roeder 2005.

¹¹² This is not to suggest that these were the only ritual contexts for the use of Greco-Roman funerary literature, which is certainly not the case. See Gee 2006b, 73-86; Backes 2010, 6-7.

¹¹³ This formula can stand alone as on Stela Cairo 50031 where an imperative is used: *t̄y mw t̄ htp.(t) n Wsir PN* “Take water (from) the offering table of Osiris, PN” (Spiegelberg 1932); pFlorence 3676 vs., 1-2, *t̄y n=k mw hr t̄ htp.t m-s̄ Wsir hr hrw šs.t t̄ ntr.t ʒ.t* “Take for yourself water from the offering table after Osiris at the request of Isis, the great goddess” (Botti 1941, 32-35, pl. 6; Smith 2009a, 663-664; Vleeming 2011, 706-707, no. 1169); Graffito Medinet Habu 57 *t̄y n=t mw hr t̄ htp.t m-s̄ Wsir* “Take for yourself(?) water from the offering table after Osiris” (Edgerton 1937, pl. 24; Thissen 1989, 60, did not transliterate). See Herbin 2008a, 144, for a collection of similar phrases. Variant passages occur in other Demotic funerary texts; e.g., pLouvre N 2420c, 2-3: *iw=w r qb̄h n=s mw hr t̄ htp.t m-s̄ šs.t irm Wsir* “She will receive a libation of water upon the offering table after Isis and Osiris.” Partaking of offerings from the table of Onnophris was ancient in the literary tradition. There is a very detailed text from the New Kingdom tomb of Paheri: *n̄s.tw n=k m hr.t hrw hr wd̄hw n Wnn-nfr* “You are summoned every day to the altar of Onnophris ...” (*Urk.* IV, 115; translated in Piankoff 1957, 4).

¹¹⁴ The reference here is to a body of water, perhaps even an offering basin, associated with the Osirian cult as described in the Book of the Temple (Quack 2010c, 24-25, 28); cf., pBM 10209, *iw n=k mw n itr ʒ m š n Hr m hq̄-nd̄* “To you belongs the water of the great river from the sea of Horus in Helipolis” (Haikal 1970, 32, pl. VI; Haikal 1972, 18, 32-33; Assmann 2008, 516, 520-522). Offering tables with depressions for the collection of water are well known. Some have steps descending into the basin as if the basin was a pool (see Habachi 1977, 167-169; Bleiberg, Barbash, and Bruno 2013, 33) and some are labeled *t̄ htp.t n.(t) Wsir PN* “the offering table of Osiris PN” in accompanying inscriptions; see Smith and Davies 2007, 330-331. For the role of water in purification, nourishment, and navigation within the Osiris cult, see Traunecker 2010, 181.

¹¹⁵ The epithet *Wn-nfr* “Onnophris, i.e., the perfect being” refers to the rejuvenated Osiris; see Gardiner 1950, 44-53; Meeks 2006, 56, n. 56; Favard-Meeks and Meeks 2010, 45.

novel formulation of the offering formula for the period, must refer to the reversion of offerings with *m-s* “after” referring to temporality and not spatiality.¹¹⁶ Third Intermediate Period offering stelae expressed very similar concepts in hieroglyphic texts.¹¹⁷ The deceased is nourished through a mortuary cult based upon the reversion of offerings through which provisions are first offered to the gods and then the deceased. As traditional mortuary practices, the reversion of offerings is reflected in the formula common in the Roman Period funerary literature.

The reversion of offerings occurred during the various festivities celebrated in the Theban necropolis area. However, it is the feast of Amenemope that provides a specific occasion for the regular recitation of the *‘nh p* by formulae. The taking of water and food from the offering table of Osiris has been connected with the decade feast of Amenope.¹¹⁸ As a weekly appearance (*h*) of the god, the decade feast provided the occasion for the offering rituals of the mortuary cult

¹¹⁶ The reference is not to the offering table and lake “behind” the gods, but “after” the gods. In this respect, one wonders if *šy* could be a writing of *h*šw.t “offering table” (*Wb.* III, 226; Coptic ⲪⲚⲮⲈ); cf. the hieratic text of pFlorence 3669, 6-7: *šp n=t qbḥ hr ḥtp.w(t) šps.w(t) m-s* wšḥ *iḥ.t n imnty.w* “Accept for yourself a libation upon the august offering tables following the presentation of oblations to the westerners” (Moeller 1961, 3; Smith 2009a, 543-545). See also the section from the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (pBerlin 8351, 2.3, and pLouvre E 10607, 15-16): *šp=k mw n rpy m-s Wsir šp=k qbḥ m-s p* nb *ntr.w in=y n=k mw n šy wr* “May you receive water of rejuvenation after Osiris. May you receive libation after the lord of the gods. I will bring to you water from the great sea” (Smith 1993, 24, 31, pl. 2, pl. 7).

¹¹⁷ Vienna ÄS 157, 3b: *ḥtp di ny-sw.t Wsir nb Ddw ntr* *ḳ nb šbdw pr(t) nb.t h*šy.t *m-ḥt iri-ḥt ntr pr(t) m b* *‘nh iw-šm m imnt.t nfr.t* “An offering which the king gave (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris, great god, lord of Abydos: All that goes forth (from) the offering table after the ritual for the god (and) those who go forth as living *bas*, those who come and go from the beautiful west” (Satzinger 2012, 40-41); cf. also Obelisk Vienna ÄS 802: *ḥtp di ny-sw.t n Wsir Wn-nfr ntr* *ḳ ḥq* *d.t di=f.t.w n b* *mw h*š.t *mnḥ.t sḥ* “An offering which the king gives to Osiris Onnophris, the great god, ruler of eternity, so that he may give bread for the *ba*, water (for) the corpse, (and) linen (for) the mummy.” The rubric to BD 72 is very similar in theme: *iw di.tw n=f.t ḥnq.t wr n iwḥr h*šw.t *n.t Wsir* “He is given bread, beer, and a portion of meat from the offering table of Osiris.”

¹¹⁸ Quaegebeur 1990, 788: “Nos textes démotiques sont apparentés plus spécialement aux manuscrits du groupe dit d’Amon-d’Ope, à cause de la formule se rapportant aux loués (les *hsj.w*) qui reçoivent l’eau sur la table d’offrande, formule qu’il faut sans doute rattacher aux libations décadaires.” Traunecker 2010, 183-184, discusses libations in the context of Theban decade feasts and the feast of the valley.

carried out by choachytes (*wšḥ-mw*), oracular encounters, as well as feasting.¹¹⁹ Offerings would have been made to Amenope on the east bank of the Nile followed by the procession of the god carried in a bark shrine to the *Ḥ.t-Ḍm* “Mound of Thebes,” i.e., Medinet Habu, on the west bank of Thebes. Here Amenope distributed offerings, first to his ogdoad and then to other deities, including deceased individuals. Two passages from pLeiden T 32, a copy of the Book of Traversing Eternity, refer to these offerings: *šp=k mw m-^c=f ḥn^c b3.w iqr.w* “May you receive water from him together with the excellent *bas*” and *šp=k mw ḥr ḥtp.wt tp sw 10 ḥft wšḥ ḥ.t n Wn-nfr m3^c-ḥrw* “May you receive water upon the offering tables on the decade during the placing of offerings for Onnophris, justified.”¹²⁰ In describing the Documents of Breathing, Hornung states:

In contrast to the Book of the Dead, Amun plays an important role here, especially, in one group of abbreviated versions, as Amenemope, that is, Amun of Luxor. But it is Osiris who assures the survival of the *ba*, and the texts are supposed to serve the deceased as a sort of identity card in the realm of the dead, with the result that they belong to the genre of divine decrees.¹²¹

Amenope’s provisioning during the decade festival is further referred to in P Rhind I d6.10-11:

*ḥ^c=k r ḥ3.t n sw 10 nb ^cnḥ p3y=k by n p3 mw ḥr pry n Wsḥr n-tr.t Ḥmn-ḥpy mš^c=k ḥr t3 ḥ3s.t ḥr hrw
šp=k sny n tr.t p3 nty ḥr t3 ḥtp.t n Ḍm^c*

¹¹⁹ Wente 1975, 266; Herbin 1984, 105: “Puisant ses origines dans un rite purement funéraire destiné à garantir aux défunts une libation régulière, elle s’impose dès le Nouvel Empire comme une véritable institution.” See also Doresse 1971, Doresse 1973, Doresse 1979, Bommas 2005, Fazzini 1988, 22.

¹²⁰ For further discussion of the decade feast of Amenope in the Book of Traversing Eternity, see Herbin 1994, 143-145. See also the discussion of the graffiti from Medinet Habu and the connection with the decade feast in Thissen 1989, 199.

¹²¹ Hornung 1997, 35, and English translation in Hornung 1999, 24. See also the abbreviated Book of Breathing, pEdinburgh A. 212.113.4, 5-6: *šsp=k mw iw ḥtp(.t) n ts n tw3.t ^cnḥ b3=k iw nḥḥ mpy=f iw d.t* “May you receive water from the offering table of he who guards the netherworld. May your *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate eternally” (Coenen 2003, 107).

“May you [the deceased] appear at the beginning of every decade. May your *ba* live on the water which came forth from Osiris by Amenope. May you walk on the mountains during the day. May you receive offerings from the hand of the one who comes carrying the offering table of Djeme.”

There is even a connection to the embalming ritual. In the Ritual of Embalming, the decade festival of Amenope is described as: *w3h n=k Imn-ip.t mw hr htp.w(t) iw=f m-hnw in.t iw=f hr w3h mw n it=f mw.t=f* “May Amenope pour water for you on the offering tables when he is in the valley pouring water for his father and mother.”¹²² Thus the water taken from the offering table carried by Amenope is the Nile itself, the efflux (*rdw*) which pours forth from a resurrected Osiris (*p3 mw iir pry n Wsir*).¹²³ The life and rejuvenation of the *ba*, the most important components of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts, are effected through the life giving powers of the Nile waters as initiated by Amenope.

Besides Amenope, other gods are also involved in this theological ritual. In pVienna 3865, a hieratic liturgy composed for the decade festival dating to the first or second century, it is Isis and Nephthys who are the executors of the offerings:

*mw.t=f 3s.t hr pr(.t)-hrw n=k Nb.t-hw.t hr w3h n=k mw ... pr=k hr hrw=s šsp=k mw m-
ε=s*

“His mother Isis (makes) a voice-invocation for you. Nephthys pours water for you. ... May you go forth at her request. May you receive water from her hand.”¹²⁴

¹²² Sauneron 1952, 10.

¹²³ Reception of water from the offering table of Osiris was a long-lasting phenomenon. Curses against would-be tomb robbers were explicit about the fate of those damaging the funerary contents: *ir nty nb r th.t h3.t=i m hr.t-ntr nty r šd.t twt=i m is=i wnn=f m hbd n Rε nn šsp=f mw hr wdh(w) n Wsir nn sw3d=f h.wt=f n hrd.w=f r nhh* “As for anyone who will attack my corpse in the necropolis, who will remove my statue from my tomb, he is a hated one of Re. He shall not receive water from upon the altar of Osiris. He shall not transmit his property to his children forever” (Ritner 2012, 396).

¹²⁴ pVienna 3865, published by Herbin 1984, 107 (translation) and 124 (transcription).

The hieroglyphic text on shroud L.57.14.95 of the North Carolina Museum of Art specifically connects such texts to the decade feast.

*hy Wsir PN dī n=k 3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr qrs.t 3.t nfr.t hr imnt.t w3s.t sšp=k qbḥ m-ꜥ Īmn-īp.t n T3m.t tp
hrw 10 nb ʿnḥ b3=k m p.t hr Rꜥ ḥ3.t=k m tw3.t hr Wsir (n)ḥḥ d.t*

“Hail Osiris PN. May Isis, the great one, mother of god, give to you a good and beautiful funeral in the west of Thebes. May you receive libations from Amenope of Djeme on every 10th day. May your *ba* live in heaven before Re and your body in the netherworld before Osiris forever and eternity.”¹²⁵

On the shroud Columbia Inv. 61.66.3 of the University of Missouri Museum of Art, a formulaic Demotic funerary text takes the place of this hieroglyphic text on the North Carolina shroud, further supporting the connection with the decade feast.¹²⁶

The association with Isis and Nephthys at the head and foot of the funerary bier,¹²⁷ the depictions of the embalming by Anubis, and the content of the formulae itself demonstrates that the second ritual context for the formulaic Demotic funerary texts was the funeral itself.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Kurth 2010, 108. Cf. pBM EA 10123, 3: *my w3ḥ=w n=i ḥ.t m-b3ḥ Īmn-īp.t m p3y=f sw nb n ii(t) iw i3.t D3m* “May offerings be placed for me before Amenope on all his days of coming to the mound of Djeme” (Herbin 2008a, 133, pl. 104).

¹²⁶ Several Demotic funerary texts are connected with or reference the decade feast: Edinburgh Coffin Inscription L. 224/3002 (Smith 2009a, 575-576); Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Smith 1993a, 40-41 with n. (c) to 2.1).

¹²⁷ The ritual setting of Isis and Nephthys at the feet and head are referred to in various Demotic texts; see Smith 1987, 93-94, n. *b* to 6.15; Smith 1993, 60, n. *a* to 4.15.

¹²⁸ Evidence for what constituted an Egyptian funerary is large and complex. However, exactly what was recited during the ceremonies remains a matter of assumption. For example, Backes 2010, 7-8, stated: “With the exception of the small group of well-trained (lector) priests, only very few Egyptians of the Late Period (and earlier) can be expected to have been able to understand all of what was recited during funerary rites.” This assumption derives from our textual perspective and does not take into consideration the implications of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts. Our textual focus presents the scholarly products of scribes as the basis from which ritual activity is reconstructed. Such an approach is valuable and legitimate, but the evidence suggests a more complex picture. One has to assume that family and friends could participate in the funeral ceremonies and that such rites did not consist of exclusively arcane religious knowledge. Recitation of the offering formula and the formulaic Demotic funerary texts provide evidence of alternative approaches based on limited written evidence for popular oral performance. Cf. the connection with the Khoiak festival in the Demotic text from a mummy mask in Riggs 2005, 272 n. 52.

Although it is impossible to prove, their short, formulaic style probably reflected actual ritual speech performed at the funeral by family members, priests, or role-players performing the roles of Isis and Nephthys,¹²⁹ all of which took place “according to the craft of the lector priest” (*hft sš n hm.t hry-ḥḥb.t*).¹³⁰ The ritual scene is portrayed in the Songs of Isis and Nephthys, in which the wailing laments of the two goddesses “actually help to revivify and transfigure the dead god.”¹³¹ The purpose of the funerary rituals was to ensure the transformation of the deceased into an effective spirit (*ḥh*) and eternal resurrection as Osiris (*rd.t Wsir n* “give an Osiris to”).¹³² As Mark Smith has described:

The Osiris of a deceased person is that form which comes into existence after the proper rites of mummification have been performed for him or her; it is the transfigured mode of being which a deceased person enjoys through the efficacy of those rites, and in which he or she is supposed to endure for the rest of eternity.¹³³

Such a description takes as its approach the “rite of passage” type of ritual activity. Harold Hays has recently challenged such a view of Egyptian funerary ritual, stating: “The tripartite model supposes that a social change is brought about during the course of the ceremonies. It is a ritual

¹²⁹ As pointed out by Vleeming 2011, 783: “... we discuss the question in these terms because we tend to think of the tradition of Egyptian thought in written form.”

¹³⁰ Mentioned in a number of Old Kingdom tomb inscriptions: e.g., *Urk.* I, 187, 14 (and 190, 17): *ir.n=fḥt hft sš pf n hm.t hry-ḥḥb.t* “According to that text of the craft of the lector priest, he performed the ritual.”

¹³¹ Smith 2009, 98. In a classic article, Lüddeckens 1943 has examined the Egyptian funeral lament. See also Sweeney 2001, Volokhine 2008, and Harrington 2012, 109-112. Janzen 1972 examined the phenomenon from a wider cultural perspective. Protective utterances by deities is a common feature of Egyptian funerary literature, although such speeches are often addressed to the deceased, as mentioned by Elias 1993, 505: “Eventually the activities of the canopic gods are described in a group of relatively succinct texts blended out of appropriate parts selected from longer spells. These compositions are derived in a systematic way from BD chapters 151, 169, and other spell elements, and are intended to represent the specific utterances made by the protective deities to the deceased.”

¹³² See the inscription on the linen docket for Ramses III edited by Ritner 2009, 115.

¹³³ Smith 2006b, 333-334.

machine. On the one side, in comes ... the human; on the other, thanks to the ritual, out comes a god,” but he criticizes this approach since the ritual process seems to disobey a teleological narrative of transformation by presenting the deceased in a deified form early in the sequence: “Indeed, already from the start the dead has been aggregated with the goal state: he is a god! This is not anti-structure. This is anti-narrative.”¹³⁴ Yet, Hays relies on an interpretation of a crucial text from the tomb of Rekhmire for this judgment. According to Egyptian aetiological myths, humans were created from the tears of the sun god, thus deriving humanity from divine substance. However, in the tomb of Rekhmire, the reference to “having become a god” (*hpr m ntr*) does not refer to the deceased as Osiris. Rather, the word *ntr* “god” can be used to refer to the mummy of the deceased, and the deceased does not become an Osiris until the proper ritual procedures have been performed.¹³⁵ The deceased individual may therefore be referred to as a “god” at what appears to be the beginning of the funerary ritual, but an Osiris has not yet been given to him.¹³⁶

Many Egyptian funerary texts directly or indirectly imply an obvious ritual setting. However, just as often, the ritual setting of compositions found in the funerary corpora is uncertain. Some of the confusion regarding how the texts fit into ritual acts has manifested itself precisely because of the neglect to consider the reality of how the texts we actually have were

¹³⁴ Hays 2013, 177-178.

¹³⁵ See the Demotic text on the verso of pLouvre 3291, 1: *t3 š'c:t n snsn nty iw=w ty=s hr p3 qh n smh n p3 ntr* “the book of breathing which will be placed under the elbow on the left of the god.” See also the references in pVienna 3871, discussed by Spiegelberg 1918, 92 n.3. Cf. the reference to animal mummies as *ntr* “god,” in Thissen 1991, 111; Ebeid 2006, 68.

¹³⁶ Note that Hays’s interpretation also relies on “reading” the sequence of funerary rituals based on their appearance within tombs. However, the decorum of tomb decoration does not always lend itself to a linear interpretation and the deceased may be presented from beginning to end in the funerary scenes as rejuvenated for the performative function of the image and/or text. See also Smith 2009a, 315, with reference to pRhind 1.

composed.¹³⁷ The fact remains that many of the texts we have, and this is especially true regarding the preserved papyri, were probably never used in a particular setting of funerary rituals, and they were probably never intended for such. In fact, the production of the papyri often involved an academic setting. Many funerary papyri were transcribed within a library setting where scribes sitting among a variety of scrolls copied the relevant sections onto the document they were creating.¹³⁸ It would have been a laborious process that took considerable time. Furthermore, composing these texts was essentially an intellectual enterprise, and the diverse contents of the Greco-Roman manuscripts are testimony to the lengths priests were willing to go to incorporate or create new and unique texts. The texts were not observational, recording a ritual in its detail. In addition, the creation of the vast majority of the texts was also not simultaneous, but would have occurred either before or after the fact according to organizational principles of the scholarly tradition of priests. Once a decision was made that a text was needed, the order would be passed through the family and administration until the appropriate scribe was informed. This probably took place on some occasions during the lifetime of the client, but we have direct evidence of post-mortem composition.¹³⁹ The scribe then would consult the local library, either belonging to a temple or person in order to determine which texts should form the foundation for the new manuscript. The diversity of the Greco-Roman material

¹³⁷ See Smith 2009a, 274-275, for discussion of the ritual setting of pHarkness.

¹³⁸ The temple library setting is implied by the compilations that appeared within funerary manuscripts. Compiling a Book of the Dead manuscript, for example, required textual resources beyond most private libraries. Likewise, the adaptation of many temple ritual texts for use in the mortuary cult suggests scribes had access to and were working with resources from a temple libraries.

¹³⁹ E.g., death dates in pRhind 1-2, father's lament for departed daughter in pHarkness, ages at death in the mummy labels and formulaic demotic funerary papyri.

clearly indicates that these papyri were not assembled according to a single template, but were crafted by the careful attention and selection of their authors.

4.6 Memory and Orality

Reconstructions of the transmission of funerary texts, like the vast majority of Egyptian literature, relies primarily on an institutional model that views the preservation of texts as part of the curriculum of educating, training, and working scribes.¹⁴⁰ In this model, the primary mode of transmission is reproduction, i.e. the copying of texts from one manuscript to another. The evidence for this model is strong and relied upon in the discussions above. Textual production in antiquity consisted mostly of copying, editing, and commentary, a concept of “authorship” that would last through the Middle Ages.¹⁴¹ However, the production of texts was a more complicated process that demands a multifaceted approach to the material. Copying was certainly central to the Egyptian scribal traditions, but there is evidence for the composition of texts without recourse to templates. Likewise, many texts circulated in oral traditions prior to any attempt to record them in writing. Fortunately, this process often leaves traces in the texts themselves.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Nordh 1996, 184-186.

¹⁴¹ See Vogel and Gardthausen 1909 and Hunger 1981-. As Tait 1992, 306, notes: “Demotic more or less maintains the pharaonic tradition that ‘authorship,’ in its modern sense, is of no interest.”

¹⁴² See the comments of Reintges 2011, 19: “Oral traditions are much more transparent in religious compositions, since they have a performative rather than a narrative character, with the recitation being (part of) the ritual action itself.”

There are a number of features which suggest that the Formulaic Demotic funerary texts were not produced by copying, but were written from memory or dictation.¹⁴³ The main lines of evidence are as follows:

1. The paleographic style of several manuscripts resembles that of documentary hands rather than literary hands.
2. Variation in format and content based on the preserved manuscripts suggests they were not produced from copying templates.
3. The use of Demotic grammar and the formulaic nature of the texts implies an easily memorized text in contemporary language.
4. Several phonetic orthographies in the text suggest the insertion of memory variants into the manuscript tradition.

In the discussion that follows, each of these lines of evidence will be discussed in detail in order to assess how the conclusions drawn from such an analysis support the hypothesis that the formulaic Demotic funerary texts circulated as an oral tradition later recorded by scribes who at times produced their manuscripts from memory rather than through copying. Rather than copied in a house is life, some of these texts were probably composed from memory, thereby producing these phenomena.

Several manuscripts are written in a documentary hand and the language employed is the Demotic vernacular.¹⁴⁴ Unlike the Fayum where a considerable distinction between documentary

¹⁴³ Tait 1994, 190: “It is quite clear that, by the Roman period, a pupil who learnt to write Demotic had to learn some grammar and vocabulary that was totally unfamiliar. The priests may well have been engaged in composing new texts, but they were also – and primarily – concerned to preserve old ones.”

¹⁴⁴ General works on Demotic paleography resembling Thompson 1912 for Greek and Latin do not yet exist. Most paleographical discussions are restricted to individual texts. Basic principles of distinction between hands follow the descriptions of Pestman 1994b, 16-17. For the formulaic Demotic funerary texts, cf. literary style hand of pLouvre N 3176 Q with the documentary style of pLouvre N 3375.

and literary hands developed,¹⁴⁵ the two were much more similar in the Theban region. Criteria for identifying the hand writing style as documentary include unruled lines and a distinct lack of any hieraticisms,¹⁴⁶ prevalent in contemporary Demotic funerary and other religious texts such as the magical papyri composed in a temple scriptorium setting.¹⁴⁷ Elements of the vocabulary that gave the scribes the most trouble were religious terms (*ḥsi*). It is possible that documentary scribes less familiar with religious compositions drew up some of these papyri. Scribal training in this period must have been a complex matter,¹⁴⁸ as Stadler suggests:

The great number of priests active in a temple of medium size, together with the high incidence of a treatise about the Egyptian temple, indicates in the first two centuries CE at least a very lively and active priestly milieu with functioning scriptoria ... in which priestly training was carried out and priestly knowledge was cultivated.¹⁴⁹

However, purely documentary scribes trained in Demotic seem to have been in swift decline in the second century CE as Greek became the official language of the courts with the abolishment of the local Egyptian legislative bodies (*laocritai*).¹⁵⁰ It is also possible that some of the priestly

¹⁴⁵ See the comments of Tait 1994, 191: “However, one palaeographical comment concerning texts from the Faiyum may be offered:- the surviving Roman-period Demotic contracts are generally written in a highly cursive script which may be seen as a natural continuation of (or degradation from) the style of some later Ptolemaic documents. For Demotic literary material, on the other hand, scribes deliberately developed a bewildering array of new styles of hand. They have in common what might briefly be described as an avoidance of any cursive characteristic.”

¹⁴⁶ Depauw 2012, 496-499. However, it should be noted that there is also an opposite trend, the development of hieratic texts written in semi-Demotic grammar. See Quack 2010, 313-341, and Depauw 2012, 495.

¹⁴⁷ Dieleman 2005.

¹⁴⁸ Hoffmann 2012, 546, suggests that scribal training was a local affair in which “... each temple was left to its own preferences, which meant that the Demotic scribal tradition took a different course in different locations.”

¹⁴⁹ Stadler 2012b, 460. For references to Demotic scribal training, see Ryholt 2010, 429 n. 3.

¹⁵⁰ A recent overview can be found in Depauw 2012, 494-496, following the influential treatment of Lewis 1993, 276-281. See also comments of Hoffmann 2012, 557, and Tait 1992, 307. The comments of Tait 1994, 191, are a bit extreme by implying that non-priestly Demotic scribes were unknown in the Roman Period: “Evidence for

scribes in Thebes in the second century CE did not have access to the same level of training in Demotic and hieratic literature as composition in these scripts severely waned prior to their eventual disappearance.¹⁵¹ That the second century was the watershed for Pharaonic traditions has become clearer over the last two decades of scholarship. Although Egyptian religious texts continued in restricted use for several centuries, and we have the astounding libraries from the Fayum temples of Tebtunis, Soknopaiou Nesos, and Narmouthis, these appear to be anomalies within the overall pattern of decline in the number of manuscripts composed in Demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphs.

Tait has briefly commented on the variability in the manuscripts for Demotic narrative literature, believing it to have existed within a temple context, both in the material find spots, but also with regard to performance and reception:

In general, when more than one copy survives, either roughly contemporary or separated in time, the texts do not seem to indicate a desire to copy works with precise, mechanical accuracy, word for word. Minor variants are often in evidence: there is a different item of vocabulary, or a phrase is added or omitted. This is much the same cavalier attitude towards the inviolability of the text¹⁵² as is to be seen, a few centuries later, in many Coptic manuscripts, for example of hagiographic works. Among these, the Bohairic *Acta Martyrum* are described by Ewa Zakrzewska as “an oral-like literary genre, characterized by written production and transmission, oral performance, and aural (auditorial) reception by the audience.” In these circumstances, the copyist has an eye on the potential for

literacy in Demotic, or, rather, for any kind of use of Demotic, among persons who were not priests is problematic in the Roman period.”

¹⁵¹ Tait 1994, 192: “Mummy-labels also can provide evidence on literacy. ... They may be in Greek, in Demotic, or in both. It is quite likely that they were written by priests. However, as in the case of tax-receipts, little formal schooling will have been required in order to write them. They presumably were written with a view to being read, and not just as ‘amulets,’ or else the bilingual examples would be hard to explain.” See also Tait 1988, 481; Stadler 2010, 173-174.

¹⁵² Tait is quite correct to identify a “cavalier attitude towards the inviolability of the text” for the Egyptians had no such concept. Although certain texts became famous literary works, such as the Tale of Sinuhe, and faithfully copied by scribes for centuries, the religious literature shows an marked predilection for expansion via explanatory insertions, glosses, and other commentary. Egyptian religious literature was never “canonized” and was therefore being continually revised.

performance, and the text may be improved to taste. It may be suggested that Demotic narrative operated in the same fashion.¹⁵³

For Egyptian funerary literature in general, the situation is more complex. Egyptian religious literature never developed a closed canon; while certain texts such as various Book of the Dead spells were copied faithfully and accurately over the course of centuries, scribes could take creative license at any time. Therefore, the surviving evidence presents us with a mixed picture. On the one hand, a Book of the Dead spell copied in a Ptolemaic papyrus may reproduce a version nearly identical to the appearance of that spell in the late New Kingdom. On the other hand, variations, emendations, changes, and commentary appear in other contemporary manuscripts.

When considering the variation found in the formulaic Demotic funerary texts, apt comparisons for similar scribal habits can be profitably sought within two corpora: the literary ostraca of Deir el-Medina and Demotic contract manuscripts. Looking to other groups of literary or funerary material will confirm mostly the relevant facts concerning redaction via reproduction.¹⁵⁴ However, the short snippet citations of famous texts from the Deir el-Medina material has been viewed as containing memory variants. According to Parkinson: “Günter Burkard’s analysis of variants and/or errors in mostly New Kingdom manuscripts indicates that most non-redactional variants were due to copying from an original manuscript or copying from memory, not dictation.”¹⁵⁵ Demotic contract material also serves as an excellent test case. It is

¹⁵³ Tait 2013, 259-260.

¹⁵⁴ For a discussion of production vs. reproduction in textual studies, see Assmann 1983b, 7-14; Quack 1994, 18-23; Parkinson 2002, 50-55.

¹⁵⁵ Parkinson 2002, 52, citing Burkard 1977, 320-322. Note that if the manuscript from which one was copying already contained an error introduced into transmission through dictation or some other means, determining the origin of the error in the manuscript under examination is made the more difficult.

generally assumed that administrative scribes composed contracts without recourse to templates (although such templates are known and may have been used on occasion). The scribes would have been completely familiar with the necessary formulae and would have composed these texts from memory with the addition of necessary information from the parties involved.¹⁵⁶ In this way, the methods through which the texts were produced may have mimicked what is being proposed here for the formulaic Demotic funerary texts. Therefore, we should expect to see similar scribal phenomena between these corpora.¹⁵⁷

At first glance, the formulaic nature of these texts may suggest that they are all the same; however, there are few exact duplicates and the overall corpus shows a wide range of variation in the phrases selected as well as the order in which the phrases were recorded. As noted by Sven Vleeming:

The contents of the demotic texts in question are extremely varied: a large part of them are unique compositions, even the twenty copies of the ‘standard text’ to be discussed in the next paragraphs show so much variation that only two are well nigh identical, two or three more come very close, whereas some copies show considerable interpolations. Although we are reminded time and again of images and ideas expressed in the Late Period funerary literature and it seems clear that the papyri draw from the same sources as some of the longer coffin inscriptions . . . , it is difficult to find more than individual phrases shared by both bodies of text. As a consequence the exact relationship between the two has only been hinted at until now and no precise identifications have been proposed. I think all this variation is indicative of the freedom which our scribes had, and which they had to take, in adapting Late Period funerary scripture, even because the small papyrus format at their disposal forced them to avoid copying long spells from the contemporary versions of the Book of the Dead and to search for the few essential formulas from this sea of wisdom that would enable the deceased to be accepted forthwith and without fail among the followers of Osiris. Consequently one should not expect to find extensive textual correspondences between the two text corpora.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Zauzich 1968.

¹⁵⁷ Backes 2010, 7, suggested that a group of scribes with a “reduced level of literacy” working for a “sub-elite” may have produced Book of the Dead papyri of the early Ptolemaic Period demonstrating features of a “level of reduced ‘hieroglyphic literacy.’”

¹⁵⁸ Vleeming 2011, 780-781.

The textual variation attested is symptomatic of texts composed from memory and this helps to explain the increase in unique, single copy manuscripts in this period.¹⁵⁹ This applies even to the formulaic texts as the choice of phrases to include and the order of the phrases could vary. As noted by David Carr in regard to the Hebrew Bible, these “[s]hifts in order are also characteristic of texts transmitted by means of memory,” represent cases of “free variation,” and “are examples ... of the sorts of cognitive transformations that occur in texts transmitted, at least in part, through memory.”¹⁶⁰

The variation present in the format and compilation of the *‘nh p3 by papyri* is not a new phenomenon to Egyptian funerary literature of the Roman or even Ptolemaic Period. It is clear that the production of BD papyri went through cyclic phases of considerable diversity and standardization. As Mykola Tarasenko pointed out, “the *Book of the Dead* is often called the first example of the ‘replicated edition,’ but it will be difficult to find two identical scrolls of the New Kingdom. In general, the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* is mostly as ‘individual,’ as ‘mythological papyri’ of the 21st Dynasty.”¹⁶¹ The counterpart to the mythological papyri were the BD papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, many of which adhere to a fairly consistent format. Of course, the Saite recension is now the stereotypical example of standardization as the selection and sequence of spells included were somewhat codified, even if this codification was

¹⁵⁹ Herbin 2008a, 127, observed, with regard to the existence of so many unique manuscripts: “Il ne semble pas que leurs rédacteurs se soient contentés de recopier des extraits d’un formulaire établi; l’usage d’expressions jusqu’alors inusitées, la présence de mots rares ou nouveaux, l’évocation de divinités inconnues ou peu attestées montrent une nouvelle fois qu’à l’époque romaine, la créativité des *scriptoria* savait s’émanciper de la tradition et était capable d’innover dans la composition de textes funéraires.” Cf., Backes 2010, 12: “The uniqueness of each papyrus shows that people in Late Period Egypt, whose knowledge of religious literature was rather restricted, did spend time considering what outer form, texts and images should be chosen for a funerary papyrus.”

¹⁶⁰ Carr 2011, 41 and 58.

¹⁶¹ Tarasenko 2012, 380.

flexible. Even within the Saite recension, a number of formats and scripts were employed. The Saite recension remained dominant in BD papyri until the end of the Ptolemaic Period, but, as discussed in chapter one, a plethora of new texts was adapted for funerary use at the end of the fifth century BCE leading to an explosion of new funerary texts in the Ptolemaic Period.

The very nature of formulae often demands elements short enough and common enough for easy memorization; however, the significant variation in the manuscript tradition suggests not copying, but composing from a memorized “text.” This suggestion is further reinforced by a study of the images associated with the texts as these seem to have been completed at the same time and by the same person as the text itself. The images are not copied from a standard set, but rather consist of an amalgamation of funerary iconography found on various sources, and as described in chapter three, the accompanying imagery shows considerable differentiation. The corpus clearly reveals the basic choice of whether to even include imagery at all since less than one third of the preserved texts are found with vignettes. Position and style of the vignettes vary widely: scenes above and below, above only, below only, on the reverse, or absent all together. As previously described, the scene’s variation in content well complements the text’s variation in content.¹⁶²

Egyptian funerary texts in the Roman period demonstrate strong evidence for copying (texts in language phases no longer spoken). However, the *‘nh p3* by texts are composed primarily

¹⁶² This is not to suggest that we return to the outdated opinions expressed by Budge 1967, xlvi: “In the Græco-Roman period both texts and vignettes are very carelessly executed, and it is evident that they were written and drawn by ignorant workmen in the quickest and most careless way possible. In this period also certain passages of the text were copied in hieratic and Demotic upon small pieces of papyri which were buried with portions of the bodies of the dead, and upon narrow bandages of coarse linen in which they were swathed.” For a critical assessment of how Late Period Egypt has been approached, see Ritner 1992b, 283-290.

in the spoken idiom through Demotic grammar.¹⁶³ The use of a more contemporary grammar, still formal, but closer to the spoken idiom, in these Demotic formula implies an existence as an oral corpus prior to their physical recording, as such bringing into question our very notion of what a “text” actually is. A point of comparison may be made with the *ḥtp-dī-ny-sw.t* offering formula¹⁶⁴ or the address to the living.¹⁶⁵ Although the *ḥtp-dī-ny-sw.t* offering formula was still in use throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods and we have to presume that it could in some way still be recited (at least by some) despite the archaic grammar,¹⁶⁶ the *ḥnḥ p3 by* formulae was contemporary and perhaps more commonly recited during funerals, mortuary rituals, and via passers-by. This is the reason why the formulae were recorded in Demotic.¹⁶⁷ The formulae did not consist of the linguistic updating of an older text. As far as it is currently known, the *ḥnḥ p3 by* formulae of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts formed a new composition and not a

¹⁶³ Sweeney 2001, 37-43, and Goldwasser 1999, 321-326, examined the use of various linguistic registers used in mourning laments.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Parkinson 2002, 61, and the reference to what he calls “devotional verse.”

¹⁶⁵ Cf. “And he will favor those who prepared his burial before Osiris” with “O living ones upon the earth ...” Parkinson 2002, 63: “Commemorative inscriptions from temple and tomb are tied to their monumental presentation, as is explicitly acknowledged in the standard ‘address to tomb visitors’ ...”

¹⁶⁶ Isis and Nephthys recite the *ḥtp-dī-ny-sw.t* formula to Thoth on Montusuef’s behalf in pRhind 1, 9.3-9.10; see Möller 1913a, 42-43, pl. IX. The *pr.t-ḥrw* “invocation offering” section of the formula has also been translated into Demotic in two mummy labels republished by Vleeming 2011, 68-71 (nos. 378-379).

¹⁶⁷ See also the comments of Dieleman 2005, 48-49: “This development was due to a general decline in proficiency in hieratic among the native priesthood whose authority and training was gradually weakened by a decrease in, and eventual lack of, state subsidies. ... It is likely that Classical Egyptian fell the first victim to this development because it had existed only as an artificial language, requiring extensive training, for about two thousand years. As Demotic was closer to spoken language and therefore less difficult to learn, it became inevitably used where hieratic had previously been obligatory. In certain cases, hieratic texts were merely translated and reworked into Demotic, but the introduction of Demotic into the religious domain also gave a stimulating impetus for new compositions.”

translation of an older one. Recording the texts in Demotic grammar was probably based on the creation of this “text” within a Demotic oral tradition.

One interesting thematic aspect of comparing the *ḥnh p3* by formulae to the *ḥtp-di-ny-sw.t* formula is that the *ḥnh p3* by formulae bore no relationship to the ruling house. Although Roman rulers were often depicted in pharaonic guises, it is clear that into the second century Egyptian temple support was waning, and the religious administrations found themselves in a developing crisis situation. It makes sense under these conditions that the funerary liturgies would not dwell on the relationship between the individual and the king. With Roman rulers not being resident in Egypt and with few emperors spending significant time in Egypt, no individuals of the Egyptian religious administrations would have had access to the king anyhow. Furthermore, the deterioration of the administration may perhaps also be reflected in the lack of titles found in these texts. It is possible that as royal support waned and membership levels decreased, many priests and scribes were left to fend for their own while the priestly positions slowly disappeared.

The appearance of the formulae in graffiti, mummy labels, and stelae make it clear that they were written in the third person for liturgical reasons, so that they could be read out. Formulae on papyri then would have been meant to be read out before being placed in the burial.¹⁶⁸ Funerary compositions have been placed in the mouth of various speakers, including

¹⁶⁸ If the papyrus was actually placed within the coffin or on the mummy, it would have made it difficult to recite during the burial ceremonies. An amuletic papyrus found near the tomb entrance, however, suggests a possible ritual use prior to disposal: “... after having been recited over her coffin on the day of burial – the papyrus with the text to be read out was simply left there to accompany the dead. Thus, it could have served a double purpose: a textbook for the priest during the ceremony and a funerary papyrus for the person to be buried. The unusual find spot next to the entrance would also be explained by this hypothesis” (Illés 2006, 127). Yet, the repetitive nature of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts probably negated the need for a ritual book and the formulae could easily have been memorized.

the deceased themselves, the deceased's family members,¹⁶⁹ or other gods. This practice has raised questions about the intentions of their use, as Smith expressed:

Two possibilities present themselves: either the speaker is a divinity, perhaps Thoth, or else a mortuary priest or bereaved member of the deceased's family. If the former is correct, then the demotic texts on coffins and related objects can be categorised as instructions to those in the underworld concerning the deceased's reception there, similar to the letters of recommendation which they resemble in some respects. If, on the other hand, the latter alternative is correct, then the texts are more in the nature of prayers or pious wishes.¹⁷⁰

These ideas are not mutually exclusive and all these texts can be understood both as common funerary prayers imitating the divine mourners found in *historiola*. If they actually were read or simply made and positioned with the mummy, we may never know. However, these texts are written in the third person and the Louvre papyri demonstrate clearly that they were made “at the request of Isis” (*r ḥrw ʒs.t*). The *r ḥrw ʒs.t* formula suggests a lamentation of Isis¹⁷¹ and can be compared to the liturgical directions of pHarkness 6/10-11: *m ḥrw pʒy=t iṯ iw=f qbḥ n Wsir iw=f qbḥ n=t dd* “In the voice of your father as he libates for Osiris and libates for you saying...”¹⁷² The

¹⁶⁹ E.g., the father of pHarkness; the son of pBerlin 8351, which is confirmed in line 3 *ink sʒ=y mri=y* “I am your beloved son,” contra Riggs 2005, 35, who suggested that the speaker was “glorified spirits in the underworld.”

¹⁷⁰ Smith 1992-1993, 153-154.

¹⁷¹ See the comments of Smith 1987a, 21 note 41: “It was Isis, in particular, who was noted for the efficacy of her utterances. In P Geneva MAH 15273, recto, VI, 6, the goddess describes herself: ‘I am Isis skilled in speech (*rḥ rʒ=s*) that I might revivify the deceased.’” Smith cites Massa 1957, 179 and pls. 32-33; Assmann 1969, 365 n. 90. See also note b to pBM EA 10507, 10.15, *nḥṯ=k ḥn tʒ twʒ.t n tʒ wt.t n ʒs.t* “May you be powerful in the netherworld through the decree of Isis,” in Smith 1987 (paralleled in pHarkness: *nḥṯ=t ḥn nʒ sm.w (n) tʒ wt.t n ʒs.t* “May you be powerful in the praises through the decree of Isis.”), for the decree of Isis in pBerlin 3044 (*nḥ pʒy=k by r nḥḥ d.t PN i- iw=k ḥms.t m ḥr(t)-nṯr m wt(t) n ʒs.t wr.t mw.t-nṯr* “May your *ba* live forever and ever, PN, while you dwell in the necropolis through the decree of Isis, the great, god's mother.”

¹⁷² Cf. the liturgical phrase *pri bʒ ḥr ḥrw nis* “May the *ba* come forth at the request of the reciter,” Assmann 2005b, 586.

Demotic note appended to a copy of the Book of Traversing Eternity likewise connects this text with a decree of Isis:¹⁷³ *ḥḥ pꜣy=k by r nḥḥ d.t PN iw-iw=k ḥms.t m ḥr(.t)-ntr m wt n ꜣs.t wr.t mw.t-ntr* “May your *ba* live forever and eternity, PN, while you dwell in the necropolis through the decree of Isis, the great, mother of god.” The speech referred to by the *r ḥrw ꜣs.t* “at the request of Isis” formula in the formulaic Demotic funerary texts is the phrase “Have the *ba* remain in heaven (and) the corpse in the netherworld” (*my mn pꜣ by m p.t ḥꜣ.t m twꜣ.t*) taken directly from the embalming ritual.¹⁷⁴ This shows not only the intertextuality of these two texts, but also the nature of the ritual recitations.¹⁷⁵

The ritual language used in the formulaic Demotic funerary texts finds parallels in selected phrases from the Songs of Isis and Nephthys, including the introductory phrase *ḥḥ pꜣ by* “May the *ba* live,” addressed in pBM EA 10188 4.23 as *pꜣ by ḥḥ=k m wḥm* “O Ba, may you live again!” If further evidence was needed that the formulaic Demotic funerary papyri served these functions, two unpublished Louvre papyri (pLouvre N 3374, 4-8; p Louvre N 3165, 6-10) attest to a variation of the formula. There we find *my mn by=f m p.t ḥe.t=f m twꜣ.t r ḥrw ꜣs.t wr.t mw.t-ntr tꜣ ntr.t ꜣ.t* “Allow his *ba* to remain in heaven, his body in the netherworld, at the request of Isis, the

¹⁷³ pBerlin P. 3044, 42, published by Herbin 1994, pl. 17, with the Demotic text re-edited by Vleeming 2011, 673-674, following the earlier comments of Smith 1987, 117; Quack 1996, 152; and Smith 2009a, 432 with n. 2.

¹⁷⁴ Assmann 2005b, 141.

¹⁷⁵ Of course, these are not the first Demotic texts for which an oral recitation has been proposed; e.g., Stadler 2012b, 464: “*P Berlin 6750* is probably a compilation of relevant texts for recitation.” See also Quack 2012a, 235: “Thus, we can certainly arrive at the conclusion that oral performance played an important part in choosing this notation.” For a discussion of the oral wisdom of the Eloquent Peasant, see Parkinson 2002, 76-77. For further discussion of other texts and genres, see Hollis 2001, 612-615; Reintges 2011, 3-54.

great one, mother of god, great goddess.” Why the sentiment was placed in the mouth of Isis is readily apparent, for, as Smith describes, “[i]t was Isis, in particular, who was noted for the efficacy of her utterances.”¹⁷⁶ A similar formula is associated with the granting of a beautiful burial by Isis in a hieroglyphic inscription on Mummy Shroud North Carolina Museum of Art L.57.14.95:

*hy Wsir Qrlns m3^c-hrw ms.n Ta-Dḥwty di n=k 3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr qrs.t 3.t nfr.t hr imnt.t
w3s.t šsp=k qbḥ m-^c Imn-ḥp.t n Dm^c tp hrw 10 nb ^cnḥ b3=k m p.t hr R^c ḥ^c.t=k m tw3.t hr Wsir
(n)ḥḥ d.t*

“Hail Osiris Cornelius, justified, whom *Ta-Dḥwty* bore. May Isis, the great one, mother of god, give to you a good and beautiful funeral in the west of Thebes. May you receive libations from Amenope of Djeme on every 10th day. May your *ba* live in heaven before Re and your body in the netherworld before Osiris forever and eternity.”¹⁷⁷

A number of texts refer to Egyptian women donning the roles of Isis and Nephthys during the funeral.¹⁷⁸ The Christian author Minucius Felix described the scene of the Egyptian funeral at the end of the second century CE:

The poor worshipers of Isis beat their breasts and imitate the grief of the unfortunate mother. Immediately afterward, the little one is found; Isis rejoices, the priests cheer, and Dog-head (i.e., Anubis) is celebrated as the discoverer. This is repeated year after year, yet they do not cease to lose what they find and to find what they lose.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Smith 1987, 21, n. 41. See the legend of Isis and the Name of Re.

¹⁷⁷ Kákosy 1995, 66, pl. 2; Parlasca 1985, 99, pl. 4a.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Ritner 2011, 138 n. 337.

¹⁷⁹ Quoted in Hornung 2001, 13.

A number of Egyptian ritual texts also describe how “actresses” played the parts of Isis and Nephthys. The Songs of Isis and Nephthys specifically describe the ritual preparation of women to assume the position of the goddesses:

ḥ3.t-ᶜ m ḥw.wt n.w ḥb dr.ty ỉry m pr Wsir ḥnty ỉmnt.t ntr 3 nb 3bdw m 3bd 4 3ḥ.t sw 22 nfry.t r sw 26 dsry.ḥr.tw pr r dr=f in.ḥr.tw s.t [sn.t] wᶜb ḥᶜ nn wp=sn ḥr sk snw n ḥᶜ=sn mdḥ tp=sn m s[r...] sr m ʿ.wy=sn mt n rn=sn ḥr rmn.wy=sn r 3s.t Nb.t-ḥw.t ḥs=sn m ḥw.wt n.w(t) md3.t tn m-b3ḥ ntr pn

Beginning of the stanzas of the festival of the two kites performed in the temple of Osiris foremost of the west, perfect god, lord of Abydos, from Khoiak 22 to 26. The entire temple is to be sanctified. [Two] women with pure limbs, without their opening (i.e., given birth),¹⁸⁰ are brought. The hair of their body is removed, their heads adorned with wi[gs ...], tambourines in their hands. Write their names upon their shoulders as Isis and Nephthys. They will sing from the stanzas of this book before this god.¹⁸¹

A section of the Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land provides a description of a particular ritual involving the shrieking of Isis:¹⁸² *wn ḥr r pr nwb 3s.t pr.ti n p3 r3 ḥnw.t ḥrw sg3pw 3 m pr šnty.t dñiwy.w qd m ḥt m-dr m33 3s.t sn=s Wsir* “Revelation at the house of gold. Isis has gone forth from the door of the chamber. The sound of great shrieking in the house of Shentait. Shrieking. Proceeding with a torch when Isis sees her brother Osiris.” Thus there is good reason to believe that women would have been involved in the funerary rituals, reciting the laments of Isis and Nephthys.¹⁸³ This is the ritual context for the transmission of the oral formulae of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts, both prior to and contemporaneously with their written form.

¹⁸⁰ For the concept of opening related to the woman’s uterus, see Ritner 1984, 209-221.

¹⁸¹ pBM 10188 (Bremner-Rhind), col. 1.1-1.5, published in Faulkner 1933. For translation, see Smith 2009a, 104; Kucharek 2010, 166.

¹⁸² See Smith 2006a, 219: “A priestess playing the part of Isis shrieks in dismay as she sees, by the light of a torch, her brother Osiris” See further, Smith 2009a, 69.

¹⁸³ Tanawero, the women for whom pHarkness was composed, had the title *in-ww*, previously translated as “counselor,” but which may indicate women who “act as wailers, perhaps hired specifically for this purpose by the family of the deceased” (Depauw 1998, 1151).

Several phonetic orthographies suggest that the scribes were composing from memory or dictation. The term “memory variants” has been borrowed from Biblical studies to refer to these philological phenomena. In his textual criticism of the manuscript tradition of the Hebrew Bible, David Carr identifies “memory variants,” scribal variations derived from scribes working from memory.¹⁸⁴ Carr focused specifically on the manner in which texts were transmitted:

To be sure, the massive verbatim agreement between different recensions testifies to the probable use of writing to support the transmission of these traditions, since the transmission of textual tradition through exclusively oral means produces wider forms of variety than most examples seen here. Yet the presence of memory variants testifies to the use of memory – at least at times – to reproduce the traditions as well. In some cases, such memory variants may have been produced when scribes reproduced an entire text from memory, having mastered it as students or teachers. Yet other dynamics may have been involved as well. ... if we are to look empirically at the documented transmission of ancient texts, the first and most important thing to emphasize is the following: The vast majority of cases involve reproduction of earlier traditions with no shifts beyond the memory or graphic shifts surveyed so far. At the least, tradents¹⁸⁵ aimed for preservation of the semantic content of traditions. Often with time, scribes, such as those working in the later Mesopotamian and Jewish contexts, developed various techniques for ensuring more precise preservation of their traditions, often through processes of graphic copying and various techniques of proofing copies.¹⁸⁶

The philological examination of the *ʿnh pʾ* by formulae in chapter two revealed several phonetic orthographies that probably entered the manuscript tradition as memory variants. The writing of *s.w* “days” as an “unetymological” writing of *ḥsi* “to favor, praise” must have been the result of a

¹⁸⁴ Carr 2011, 41. Carr is not the first to ascribe the origins of philological phenomena to memory variation, as he well documents, but his work first brought it to my attention.

¹⁸⁵ See the definition of Soulen and Soulen 2011, 221: “A person, or group of persons ..., who preserve and transmit ... traditional material, whether written or oral.”

¹⁸⁶ Carr 2011, 98-99. Likewise, see the “memory hypothesis” of van der Toorn 2007, 194-195: “The Edom prophecy is most likely a composition based on quotations from memory. Variants in vocabulary and orthography, free citations, and the like, suggest that the scribe who wrote the text was not surrounded by manuscripts from which he simply copied.”

scribe who knew the pronunciation of the word, but not the traditional orthography.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, a number of prepositions were written phonetically in several manuscripts, typically an unremarkable feature, but compelling in constellation with the other evidence presented here.¹⁸⁸ The insertion of these features into the manuscript tradition is evidence of a scribe composing from memory rather than copying directly from another text. The repeated use of these spellings shows that they were subsequently copied by other scribes and that the methods of redaction are more complex than previously suspected.

Composition of these texts, therefore, calls into question even what we or the ancient Egyptians considered a text to be. These texts are more than just signs on a papyrus for they exist primarily in the mind of individuals and populations. Reciting, composing, or producing them was not only a simple act of copying, but a free action based on memorized verses. Their production looks quick, almost “unofficial,” and this raises questions about when and how they were produced. Many of them seem to have been made rapidly, on the fly, without recourse to requirements of time, papyrus size, organization, or neatness. Rather than being copied in a house of life, some of these texts were probably composed from memory.¹⁸⁹ This explains the variation in the texts as well as a number of other features such as phonetic writings. This conforms to Skjærvø’s idea of “(re)composition of performance,” where he elaborates that “To

¹⁸⁷ Cf., the comments of Stadler 2012b, 466: “Apparently the wooden panel Louvre E 10382, which is dated to the end of the Ptolemaic or the beginning of the Roman Imperial period, was used for direct recitation. In order to recite this hymn to an unnamed goddess, described as a daughter of the sun-god, it seemed appropriate to the writer to resort to phonetic Demotic spellings, i.e. to use above all spellings with Demotic single-consonant signs. Clearly this was easier for the performer to read than a hieratic or hieroglyphic text.” For the discussion of “unetymological” orthographies, see Smith 1978, 17-27; Hoffmann 2002, 227-228; Stadler 2003, 107-123; Widmer 2004, 672-686; Smith 2009b, 356-357; Quack 2009c, 2-3; Backes 2010, 6, adds the suggestion that “it cannot be excluded that the strange spellings should perhaps be considered as the result of a ‘scribal zeitgeist.’”

¹⁸⁸ For a discussion of this phenomenon, see Smith 1978, 23-25; Smith 1987, 58; 2005, 87; Backes 2010, 5-6.

¹⁸⁹ Tait 1992, 306, expressed the view that “we do not have any ‘transcriptions’ of oral literature.”

understand the structure of the text we have to understand the ritual it accompanies.”¹⁹⁰ He then states that such texts “which consist of formulaic material apparently combined into texts fairly ‘recently,’ may, in fact, never have been ‘texts’ in the sense of self-contained compositions until they were written down, but simply existed as shorter or longer formulas recited at certain rituals.” This neatly summarizes the situation we find with the formulaic Demotic funerary texts.

4.7 Religious Theology

The corpus studied here shows an interesting mix of text and imagery expressing some of the fundamental beliefs of Egyptian funerary practices in the Roman Period. Much of this material was discussed in reference to the philological examination of each formulaic element of the text in chapter two and need not be repeated here. However, a few basic statements can be made concerning how the concepts reflected in the formulaic Demotic funerary texts represented a summation of the basic elements of ancient Egyptian afterlife theology in Greco-Roman Egypt. As previously mentioned, the composition is not an abbreviation or extraction of another text; the themes discussed succinctly therein are the same themes repeated throughout Egyptian funerary literature and elaborated on in longer manuscripts. In our corpus, the topics of concern are mostly reduced to a single phrase encapsulating only the central necessities pertaining to the mortuary cult.

The *‘nh p3* by phrase is ubiquitous within the corpus of funerary literature, not just in Ptolemaic and Roman compositions, but it expressed a concept central to Egyptian religious belief already in the Pyramid Texts. It is found in hieratic, hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek

¹⁹⁰ Skjærvø 2012, 5-8.

texts written on any imaginable media, including: stone, bandages,¹⁹¹ ostraca, funerary masks, coffins, sarcophagi, mummy boards, and papyri. Herbin has gathered a number of references to the *nh b3=k* formulae, which may serve as parallels or points of origin for the *nh p3 by* formulae.¹⁹²

At the center of the formula is the *ba*, an ethereal element of the individual that intersected the worlds of the living and the dead. Images of the *ba* most often depicted a falcon with human head, although written phonetically with the stork,¹⁹³ and mummies also shared the designation *by n Wsir PN* “*ba* of Osiris PN” commonly found on labels.¹⁹⁴ The *ba* (*b3*) was a manifestation of force (*b3.w*) centered around the ability for free movement.¹⁹⁵ The *ba* theology played an increasingly prominent role throughout Late Period Egypt.

In Demotic texts of the Greco-Roman Period, focus is placed on the name (*rn*),¹⁹⁶ the *ba* (*b3*), and the corpse (*h3.t*) as the main elements of the deceased individual. The *ba* does not

¹⁹¹ Vandenbeusch 2010, 97-109.

¹⁹² Herbin 1994, 81-83.

¹⁹³ This presented some confusion for Hornung 2001, 12: “It is indeed striking, and not yet satisfactorily explained, how it is that when the *ba*-bird has a human head, the bird no longer has the appearance of a stork, but rather, that of a falcon.” The *ba*-bird hieroglyph was used for its phonetic value of *b3*, not for its logographic value as a stork.

¹⁹⁴ Mummy Board BM 35463, published in Vittmann 1990, 79, pl. III. See also Kurth 1990, 66; Vleeming 2011, 793.

¹⁹⁵ Žabkar 1968; Zandee 1960, 19-20; Allen 2001, 161-162; Assmann 2005, 89-90; Scalf 2013, 201-202.

¹⁹⁶ Stela Fitzwilliam E.65.1901 (Abdalla 1992, 80 and pl. 62) contains a Greek inscription which, if not a translation, expresses the same sentiment as the *p3 rn nfr mn* formula: Ἰσιδώρου Σαραπίωνος ἄωρον μνεῖα γενοῖτο εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον “May the memory of Isidoros, (son) of Sarapion, the untimely (dead), exist for all time.” Assuming for the moment that the inscription was a translation from Egyptian, μνεῖα neatly expresses many of the important concepts communicated by *rn*, though not all of them. However, the maintenance of memory through the repetition of one’s name had been a common *topos* in Egyptian texts of all genres from all eras. Using the subjunctive aorist of γινώμαι with εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, roughly then equals the use of the Future I construction *p3 rn nfr (r) mn (r) nh3 (šʕ) d.t*. Note that the stela has the presentation scene with Anubis presenting the deceased’s mummy to Osiris above the text.

completely replace the other elements of the deceased individual such as the *ka* (*k3*) and the shadow (*šw.t*), which were mentioned more prominently in hieratic and hieroglyphic funerary literature from the period.¹⁹⁷ This can be readily observed in the Rhind papyri where *b3* is used in both the hieratic and Demotic sections, while other elements were interchanged. For example, in pRhind 1, 7h.10 the mention of the *ka* in *k3=i hr šmsy k3=k* “my *ka* following your *ka*” is replaced in the Demotic (pRhind 1, 7d.10) section by the “name” (*rn*) *iw p3y=y rn ih šms p3y=k rn* “my name following your name.”¹⁹⁸ This provides an interesting perspective on the prevalence of the *p3 rn nfr mn* “The good name remains” formula in Roman Period Demotic inscriptions and the decreasing use of *k3*, which was primarily maintained in hieroglyphic inscriptions, being especially common in the *hṭp-dī-ny-sw.t* formula. However, the correspondences were not one to one. In pRhind 1, 10d.13-14 *mtwf p3 nty mr s p3y=f šy* “It is what his soul desires” Demotic *šy* is used where pRhind 1, 10h.12 used hieratic *k3* in *hr iry(.t) mr(.t) k3=f* “performing what his *ka*

¹⁹⁷ Qualifications are needed for the general comments of Ryholt 2009, 234 n. 14, that “The concept of the *ka* seems to have disappeared by the Greco-Roman period and this element of the name was therefore no longer understood by all.”

¹⁹⁸ Another example of this interchange is pRhind 1, 10h.4-5, where the hieratic *imy iri=f hpr nb r-dr ib=f m bw nb mr k3=f im* “Let him make every transformation in his heart in every place his *ka* desires” is followed in pRhind 1, 10d.5-6, *imy ir=f p3 hrb nb nty mr s h3t=f n p3 m3 nb nty mr s p3y=f rn* “Let him make every transformation which his heart desires in every place his name desires.” In reference to the names of the gods, both pRhind 1, 10.d1, *i ntr.w hwt n3 ntr.wt hm.wt r-dd=y rn=w* “O gods and goddesses whose names I know” and pRhind 1, 10.h1, *i ntr.w ntr.wt iw dm.tw rn=sn* “O gods and goddesses whose names are known” use *rn* “name.”

desired.”¹⁹⁹ Alternatively, in pRhind 1, 2.d1, $p\bar{3} t\bar{h}(r) n p\bar{3}y=f\bar{s}y n \bar{s}m r t\bar{3} p.t$ “Suffering for his soul going to the sky” Demotic $\bar{s}y$ is used for hieratic $\bar{h}m$ “majesty” in pRhind 1, 2.h1 $pry(t)$ ²⁰⁰ $n \bar{h}m=f n pr(t) i\bar{w} p.t$ “Sadness for his majesty in departing for the sky.” This demonstrates the complicated and multifaceted understanding of the Egyptian individual and their postmortem identities along with the complications of translating between two cultural lexicons (hieratic and Demotic).

Sustenance of the ba ²⁰¹ will allow the individual to travel along the solar-Osirian circuit, riding in the solar boat by day and entering the netherworld by night.²⁰² The culmination of the night-time journey occurred when the ba alighted and reunited with the corpse, the mythological precedent for which is the union of Re and Osiris.²⁰³ Such a union recharged the ba through the rejuvenating powers of Osiris and his resurrection after death. Deceased individuals sought association with these powers through the favor ($\bar{h}sy$) of Osiris and by being initiated into his

¹⁹⁹ In pBib Nat 149, 3.4-5 $s\bar{d}m Ws\bar{i}r tkr p\bar{3}y=k \bar{s}y i\bar{r}m=k \bar{h}tp p\bar{3}y=k rn nfr n \bar{s}y-m-\bar{h}tp$ “Listen, Osiris, may your spirit hasten with you. May your good name of Spirit-in-peace rest,” Demotic $\bar{s}y$ replaced $k\bar{3}$ in BD 128: $hy Ws\bar{i}r \bar{u}.n=k k\bar{3}=k hn=k \bar{h}tp=k m rn=k pwy n k\bar{3} \bar{h}tp$ “Hail, Osiris. Your spirit with you, you have come. May your rest in this your name of Resting-spirit.”

²⁰⁰ For the writing with sign O4 in place of O1,  found in pRhind 1, 2h.1, see *Wb.* II, 498, and Möller 1913a, 75. See Wilson 1997, 358, for the connection with the “great mourning” ($pr.t \bar{3}.t$) festival associated with Osiris, as well as the Greek equivalent from the Canopus decree $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha \pi\epsilon\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$.

²⁰¹ The ba required sustenance and it breathed air like other living beings, e.g., in pLouvre E 3452, 9: $\bar{s}t wre.t mw.t-ntr t\bar{i}=s sns.n.w by=k \bar{n}h.t \bar{i}r r' nb.w$ “Isis the great, god’s mother, may she cause your ba to be made to breathe so that you live every day” (see Smith 1979, 46-47, 55-57, 248; Smith 2009a, 638).

²⁰² See the comments of Assmann 2005, 93: “Clearly, then, the point of the dissociation of the ba and the $\bar{h}\bar{3}.t$, and of their assignment to the sky and the netherworld, was to enable the deceased to have a share in the sun god’s form of existence.”

²⁰³ The importance of this event is signified by the position of BD 89 on the central panel of Late Period coffins; see Wilfong 2013a, 65. For further discussion with reference to the Coffin Texts, see Nyord 2009, 342-344.

following (*šms*). After the appropriate rituals were performed and these characteristics were acquired, the individual became a “powerful spirit” (*ḥ*) that had the power to be effective (*ḥ*) in both worlds.

The transfigured deceased is encouraged to favor those who prepared the mummification and burial preparations.²⁰⁴ In the formulaic texts, the concept is reduced to the bare essentials *mtw=f ḥsi n3 ḫr p3y=f q(r)s(t) m-bḥ Wsir* “And may he praise those who prepared his mummification before Osiris.” A more complete sense of what is intended in these phrases is contained in the second lament of Tanawero from pHarkness 2.5-2.10:²⁰⁵

p3y=s rmy mḥ-2 ḫr=s ḫr n-im=f dd iw=y nᶜ ḫr Wsir p3y=y ḫt ḫrm p3y=y mry t3y=y šr.t ḫrm n3y=y sn.w ḫrm n3y=y rmt.w tr=w st ḫr t3 ḫ3.t n3y=y sm.w st n wš r n3y=y šḫw.w sdm Wsir ḫnt imnt.t p3y=y sm n r3=y r-r=w t3=w qse=w t(=y) r p3 t3 qse.t mnḫ.t r p3 wyš r ḫrw 3s.t ḫr=w nḫp.t r t3 nᶜy.t t3=w šms n3y=y ḫry sšḫ.w t3=w nkt n3y=y in-ww.w t3(=w) ᶜy n3y=y ḫry ḫs.w ḫ3ᶜ=w s iw iw=w dd n rn=y r n3 ḫtp.w n Wsir p3y 3 sw 9 nty iy tne ḫt ḫr rnp.t p3y 3 sw 10 nty iy n ḫt nb ḫr rnp.t nb šᶜ d.t m-šm iw=y dd n3y=w ḫs ḫr-ḫr p3 nb imnt.t ḫrm n3 nty iw=y nᶜ ḫr-n=w ḫrm n3 nty iw=y ḫtp ḫr-n=w ḫrm=w

Her second lament which she made: “I will go to Osiris. As for my father and my beloved,²⁰⁶ my daughter and my siblings and all my people, they are foremost of my

²⁰⁴ An interesting text on Stela Strasbourg 360, 2-3 (published in Spiegelberg 1908-1909, pl. III; Abdalla 1992, 79), *ḫḥ p3 by n PN m-bḥ Wsir sᶜ d.t iw=w dd p3 ḫs n ḫqr m-bḥ Wsir* “May the *ba* of PN live before Osiris for eternity while they speak the praise of the hungry before Osiris,” suggests that the idea of provision for the poor and hungry, known from the ideal biographies since the Old Kingdom, continued to be incorporated intermittently in the Roman Period. Spiegelberg, 1908-1909, 98-99 (followed by Abdalla), originally read *ḫs n ḫtr(?)* and translated “vorgeschriebene Lobgesang.”

²⁰⁵ The resemblance between the formulaic texts and this passage was pointed out by Smith 2005, 139, commentary (a) to line 10, who cites a small selection of examples and the study of Quaegebeur 1990. In a review of Smith 2005, Stadler 2008, 98, notes the lack of reference to Stadler 2004, which included a synoptic edition of several formulaic Demotic funerary texts.

²⁰⁶ As pointed out by Ryholt 2009b, 289, *p3y=y mry* need not reference a husband as suggested by Smith 2005, 135, commentary (d) to line 3. The significant role of the father in the burial arrangement implies that the deceased in this case may have been his dependent.

praises.²⁰⁷ They are exempt from my curses. May Osiris, foremost of the west, hear my praise from my mouth about them. May²⁰⁸ they mummify me at the (proper) time,²⁰⁹ an embellished mummification at the (right) moment,²¹⁰ at the request of Isis.²¹¹ May they mourn me at the moment.²¹² May they have my embalming priest perform the service. May they give goods to my Isis priest.²¹³ May they magnify my overseer of singers. May they obtain them and they will say my name at the offering tables of Osiris (on) these three nine-day (intervals)²¹⁴ which come each month yearly (and) these three ten-day (intervals) which come every month of every year for eternity. Go! I will speak their praise before the lord of the west together with those to whom I will go, together with those with whom I will rest.

The importance of the mortuary cult within the social dynamics of Roman Egypt is reflected in the famous text of the curse of Artemisia (PGM XL, 1-18), a Greek magical text from the 4th century BC. Artemisia curses the father of her daughter for his disgraceful actions against his

²⁰⁷ Tanawero's speech reflects the complement to the formula *mtw=f hsi n3 ʔir p3y=f q(r)s(t) m-b3h Wsir* "And may he praise those who prepared the mummification before Osiris."

²⁰⁸ The verb forms could indicate either indicative past tense or prospective future. Smith 2005, 55-56, and commentary on 137, and Depauw 1998, 1138, chose to translate indicative past tense as a description by Tanawero of what had been performed on her behalf. However, this section begins with a prospective form and ends with third future forms. The insertion of the circumstantial third future *iw iw=w dd n rm=y* "and they will say my name" suggests to me that the prospective is intended throughout the whole passage.

²⁰⁹ For *t3 (< dr "time")*, see CDD T (14 July 2012): 12.1, 57; Smith 2005, 137.

²¹⁰ For *wys (< wrs "time")*, see CDD W (7 August 2009): 09.1, 170; Smith 2005, 137.

²¹¹ Harkness here echoes the formula *r hrw 3s.t* "at the request of Isis" found in pLouvre N 3375, 3 and 7, and pLouvre N 3165, 9.

²¹² For *n'y.t (< nri "time")*, see CDD N (19 July 2004): 04.1, 14; Smith 2005, 137.

²¹³ For *in-ww.w* "Isis priest," literally "bringer of the distant one," previously translated as "counselor," see Depauw 1998, 1131-1154; CDD I (18 April 2011): 11.1, 147-149; Smith 2005, 132-133.

²¹⁴ Smith 2005, 138-139, commentary to line 9, notes that the three ten-day periods "clearly refers to the festival of the decade," but "[m]ore puzzling is the preceding reference" to three nine-day periods. As pointed out by Quack 2006, 159, this is a reference to the sidereal or draconic/nodical lunar month.

child. He had deprived the girl of her offerings and tomb, the essential elements for continued existence, thereby effectively killing her and destroying her existence in the next world.²¹⁵

Formulaic Demotic funerary texts provided precautions against threats such as those represented in the curse of Artemisia by including all of the basic elements necessary for a successful transition through death to the afterlife.²¹⁶ The initial phrases ensured the existence and eternal rejuvenation of the *ba*, an essential component of divine existence, identified by the deceased's name and age at death. There followed wishes for the individual to serve and fraternize with the gods. Such wishes were not completely altruistic as the request for the divinized dead to favor those who performed the burial shows. This is a “Cliff-notes” version of Egyptian theology (not an extraction) that succinctly provides the basic elements for postmortem existence. Reduction to the “‘basic needs’ of the deceased” derived directly from Book of the Dead manuscripts in the Ptolemaic Period.²¹⁷

A comparison can be made between the *ḥp* by formulae and a generalized schema of pHarkness. In pHarkness columns 1 and 2, the mummification, tomb description, and funeral are covered, summarized by *mtw=f ḥsī n3 iir q(r)s=f m-b3ḥ Wsīr šc d.t* “And may he favor those who made his funerary preparations before Osiris for eternity.” Column 3 of pHarkness focuses on rejuvenation, represented by the opening phrases *ḥp p3y=f by r nḥḥ rpy=f šc d.t* “May his *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate for eternity.” The serving of the gods, afterlife movement, and

²¹⁵ Preisendanz 1931, 177-178; Betz 1992, 280; Ritner 1995b, 3360 with n. 133; Rowlandson 2003, 63; Kreuzsaler 2013, 45-53.

²¹⁶ This follows the prominent position of offering texts on Late Period coffins; see Wilfong 2013a, 81-85.

²¹⁷ Backes 2010, 13.

offering rituals form the essence of pHarkness column 4, all elements covered by *mtw p3y=f by šms r Wsir* “And may his *ba* serve Osiris.” Column 4 of pHarkness emphasizes being praised before the gods, the same focus is found in *mtw=f hpr hn n3 hsi.w n Wsir* “And may he be among the favored ones of Osiris.” Finally, pHarkness column 6 details the reception of offerings and libations, just as *mtw=f t3y mw hr t3 htp.t m-s3 Wsir hr p3 šy m-s3 Wn-nfr* “And may he take water from the offering table after Osiris and from the lake after Onnophris.”

4.8 Conclusion

In the preceding pages an outline for a new interpretation of many aspects related to the formulaic Demotic funerary texts was attempted. These new interpretations consisted of an analysis of the known owners of such texts and their high social status, rejecting previous arguments that the texts were produced as cheap substitutes. The placement of the papyri with the mummy of their owners did not represent only the apotropaic function of having the amuletic text near the body; it also associated the papyri with the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, for whom the papyri acted as eternal substitutes. The association with these goddesses is strengthened by the interpretation of the formulae as funeral laments, at times specifically indicated to be “according to the voice of Isis” (*r hrw 3s.t*). The occasion for these laments was obviously the funeral, but similar recitations would have occurred at various Theban festivals, with the feast of Amenope indicated specifically. As laments, the texts surely existed for many years solely as oral traditions, being recited in the Demotic of everyday speech while funerary literature consisted only of hieratic and hieroglyphic texts. This Demotic oral tradition was finally

recorded piecemeal in graffiti of the late Ptolemaic Period and fully in the early Roman Period on the formulaic Demotic funerary texts. The first appearance of the formulae in graffiti further strengthens the argument for an oral tradition, as it was unlikely the graffiti were produced by copying. The formulae found in the graffiti would have been written from memory and later formalized into the tradition found within the corpus of formulaic Demotic funerary texts. That the oral tradition continued to be influential is demonstrated by the presence of memory variants in the texts revealed by a close philological analysis. Finally, the formulae of the texts concisely articulated the main elements of Egyptian funerary theology as it existed in the second century CE.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ These papyri fulfill the same functions as suggested by Backes 2010, 11, for several BD manuscripts: “1. Being a Book of the Dead, 2. Providing the most necessary texts and images . . . , 3. Perpetuating recitations/rites.”

CHAPTER FIVE

REDACTION OF DEMOTIC FUNERARY LITERATURE

5.1 Introduction

The processes by which the formulaic Demotic funerary texts appeared on papyrus are mostly lost to modern scholars. We are completely reliant upon the fragmentary nature of the material evidence, its inconsistent preservation, and its Theban bias. When dealing with funerary literature written in Demotic (both script and language) we are also constrained to a relatively restricted period of time. Demotic first emerged as an administrative language under the Saïtes in the middle of the seventh century BCE, while manuscripts with religious and literary contents appeared by the fourth century BCE. However, Demotic did not appear regularly in funerary compositions until the middle of the first century BCE. Until this time, the hieratic and hieroglyphic scripts continued to be used for the production of funerary literature. According to the current state of our knowledge, no Demotic funerary manuscript can be securely dated after the late second century CE. Therefore, the lifespan of Demotic funerary literature is less than three hundred years. This restricted length of time puts constraints on what analysis can be done with regard to the redaction of the manuscripts as it resulted in a limited number of manuscripts being produced and little time for changes to arise and be recorded.

Study of manuscript redaction has an established methodology in the field of textual criticism, an approach often employed by Egyptologists, but a term found most prominently

within biblical studies.¹ The application of textual criticism, i.e., “the nature and origin of all witnesses of a composition or text”² and the “mechanics through which textual changes arose,”³ to the ancient Egyptian material has progressed in piecemeal fashion, with most research done in the realm of individual compositions for which limited manuscript traditions are known.⁴ Very little has been done in the way of a general synthesis of the principles by which ancient Egyptian scribes transmitted their texts, a remaining *desideratum* in the field for which Classics, Assyriology, and Biblical Studies provide useful models.⁵ The reason for this lack may be surprising; the extreme wealth of ancient Egyptian texts makes the task a daunting one. However, the nature of the Egyptian evidence, and especially the funerary and ritual texts, is especially promising to this line of investigation as we have dateable manuscript examples of a continuously traceable tradition of nearly twenty-five hundred years.⁶

The complications of applying the methodology of textual criticism to the Egyptian material are manifold, and a healthy debate has arisen concerning how textual criticism has been employed in dating the composition of texts as opposed to the relatively uncontroversial dating

¹ The best evidence remains the massive compilations of Naville 1886, Sethe 1908-1922, de Buck 1935-1961, and now the *Totenbuchtexte* series and the Bonn Book of the Dead project publications in the *Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches* series.

² Tov 2013, 1.

³ Worthington 2012, 2.

⁴ Note particularly the work of Allen 1950, Allen 1974, and Hays 2012.

⁵ For an example of textual criticism applied to the Coffin Texts, see Silverman 1989. Tait 1992, 303-310, provides a general overview of textual criticism applied toward Demotic literature.

⁶ Quack 2009b. The Bonn Book of the Dead project offers particular promise in this regard and the work of Malcolm Mosher on the BD corpus has provided interesting preliminary results.

of manuscript witnesses.⁷ Texts often make bold claims of being copies of damaged originals, perhaps none more studied than the Shabaqo stone (BM EA 498). At the beginning of this text, a short narrative purports to record how the king copied the texts onto the stone from a worm-eaten papyrus:

spḥr.in ḥm=f sš pn n m3.t m pr it(=f) Pth rsy inb=f is gm.n ḥm=f m ir.n tpy.w-^c iw(=f) m wnm n dm.w nn⁸ rh.n.tw=f m ḥ3.t r ph^c h^c.n sp[hr.n ḥm=f sw] n m3.t nfr.w(y) r imy=f hr ḥ3.t n mr(w.t) dd rn=f sw3h mn.w=f m pr it(=f) Pth rsy inb=f m 3w(t) d.t m ir.n s3 R^c [Š3b3k3] n it(=f) Pth-t3-tnn ir=f di^c nh^c d.t

“Then his majesty copied this writing anew in the temple of his father Ptah, south of his wall, after his majesty had found (it) as what the ancestors had made, (it) being eaten by worms, it being unknown from beginning to end. Then [his majesty] cop[ied it] anew – how much better was it than what was in it previously – in order to secure his name (and) ensure his monuments in the temple of (his) father Ptah, south of his wall, for the length of eternity as what the son of Re, [Shabaqo] did for his father Ptah-Tatenen, so that he may be given life eternally.”⁹

Certainly the text contains an amount of hyperbole, for strictly speaking if the original text were “unknown from beginning to end,” there would have been nothing to copy.¹⁰ Yet, Egyptologists have found a kernel of truth in this account, basing their conclusions on grammatical elements in the text that ultimately derived from Old Egyptian. The question, however, remains: was the text composed at a late date in imitation of a much earlier text or was a much older text copied and subjected to partial linguistic updating? Arguments continue to be made on both sides, and all we

⁷ Dating the composition of a text (not the date of a particular manuscript) inspires many controversies, none more so than the dating of the composition of biblical texts. For discussions, see Manassa 2007, 441-446; von Lieven 2007, 205-257; Roberson 2013, 122-128.

⁸ For *n sdm.n=f*.

⁹ For text, see Breasted 1901, 41 and pl. I-II; Sethe 1928, 20-21; Rothöhler 2004, 18-19 and pl. 2; el-Hawary 2010, 116-117, pl. viii, xi, and foldout.

¹⁰ Silverman 1989, 30-31, following Lichtheim, translated “so that it could not be understood from beginning to end.” The idea of “understanding” fits the context well, but *tm.tw=f rh^c m ḥ3.t r ph^c* should have been used for the negated clause of purpose.

know with absolute certainty is that the copy itself was made in the time of the twenty-fifth dynasty.¹¹

As the text of the Shabaqo stone shows, ancient textual criticism was essential to the process of text production in Egypt, commonly discussed with reference to the use of *ky dd*, literally “another saying,” as a way to indicate glosses and redactional variants.¹² That the ancient scribes also struggled with interpreting their own texts is clear, not only from garbled passages,¹³ but from admissions such as that in the satiric letter of pAnastasi I: *wḥꜥ itn.w gnn.w mi ỉrr st* “the one who can interpret the difficulties of annals like the one who made them.”¹⁴ Ancient commentaries, glosses, and variants are the means by which a series of manuscripts devoted to a particular composition can be reconstructed into a history of the redaction of that composition. Unfortunately, severe obstacles stand in the way of a robust textual criticism of Demotic funerary literature

¹¹ An early date has recently been advocated by von Lieven 2007, 255-257, who believes that archaic or “archaizing” grammatical features in texts dating from later periods of Egyptian history are evidence that the texts were produced from earlier copies. Praise for her position and methodology can be found in Spalinger 2012a.

¹² Best known from BD 17, alongside *ptr rfs w* “What is that.” See Parkinson 2002, 83; Rössler-Köhler 1979; Quirke 2013, 52-53. Note the hieratic and Demotic writing of *dd r* “to say concerning” to introduce glosses and variants; see CDD D (29 June 2001): 01.1, 3; Quack 1999, 40. Such glosses and variants are extremely common in the magical and medical papyri; for the latter, see Ritner 2000b, 107-117.

¹³ Sometimes lacunae in the papyrus from which the ancient scribe was copying were indicated by the word *wš* “missing.”

¹⁴ Parkinson 2002, 83.

5.2 Textual Criticism of Demotic Funerary Literature

The three hundred year span during which Demotic was utilized for funerary literature occurs from 57/56 BCE to the end of the second century. Funerary phrases are already found in graffiti and mummy labels from the Ptolemaic Period, but Egyptian funerary literature in Demotic only appeared in the middle of the first century BCE and widespread use of Demotic for funerary material is attested only in the Roman Period. Our dated Demotic funerary manuscripts cluster in the early Roman Period, from the end of the 1st century BCE to the end of the 1st century CE. The earliest example considered “literature” is pLouvre E 3452, which contains a composition referred to as the Book of Transformations, dated to 57/56 BCE. Versions of this composition are known from contemporary hieratic papyri. The two Rhind Papyri, dated to 9 BCE, have no known parallels apart from the internal similarities derived from being written for a man and his wife. From the second half of the first century CE, pHarkness contains a selection of texts, one of which is partially paralleled in another Demotic papyrus now in the British Museum (papyrus BM 10507). Contemporary with papyrus Harkness, pBib Nat 149 contains a Demotic version of a text found in association with the Book of Traversing Eternity, a Demotic translation of Book of the Dead spells 125, an elaborate description in Demotic of the vignette from BD 125, and a Demotic translation of Book of the Dead Spell 128. These dated papyri form important linchpins for our understanding of the development of Egyptian funerary literature. For the most part, each of these papyri contains a unique compilation of compositions, although parallels for various sections are known.

The uniqueness of these manuscripts makes tracing their history difficult. For example, the Demotic Book of Transformations (pLouvre E 3452) makes use of transformation spells similar to those in the Coffin Texts. Two hieratic papyri of roughly contemporary date contain

similar texts. However, the manuscripts are not reliant upon one another and each represents a separate branch of transmission, the common ancestor of which is uncertain. No other Demotic funerary texts parallel the Rhind papyri and if it were not for the fact that a scribe drew up two papyri for a man and his wife, we would have no parallel manuscripts at all. The Demotic of the Rhind papyri appears to be reliant on the hieratic text (see further below), but the hieratic text has no known preserved precursors.¹⁵

Evidence for the transmission of funerary texts strictly in Demotic is restricted by the limited amount of preserved source material. A composition known as the “chapters of awakening the *ba*” (*n3 ḥ.wt n rsrs by*) is attested in two manuscripts (pBM 10507 and pHarkness), with slight differences between them.¹⁶ This composition shows similarities with the *Stundenwachen* ritual and may ultimately be indirectly derived from it. In the copy of pHarkness, this section begins simply “the speech of your father Hartefnakht when he praises you” (*ḥrw p3y=t iṯ Ḥr-t3y=f-nḥt iw=f tw3 r-ḥr=t*), without explicit title.¹⁷ The date of pHarkness is explicit (61 CE) and according to current thinking is slightly later than pBM 10507 (early first century CE).¹⁸ Addition of title rubrics in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead followed the opposite

¹⁵ Significant progress has been made in the last twenty years to publish and gather together the hieratic funerary and ritual manuscripts of Greco-Roman Egypt. Collections with bibliography can be found in Assmann 2008; Assmann and Kucharek 2008; Smith 2009a; Kucharek 2010.

¹⁶ The composition is inserted into a different compilation of texts on pHarkness 2.11-3.8 (Smith 2005) and pBM 10507, 4.1-12.24 (Smith 1987a).

¹⁷ Smith 2005, 27-28.

¹⁸ For the dating of pHarkness, see Smith 2005, 9. For the dating of pBM 10507, see Smith 1987a, 18-19; Smith 2009a, 245.

trajectory as they were often added during the process of transmission.¹⁹ If pHarkness is actually later than pBM 10507, it suggests that the author may have removed the title of that section, assuming that his source included it. If the author was actually Hartefnakht, the father of the owner of the papyrus Tanawero, he may have removed the more generic title in order to personalize the manuscript. Alternatively, since pBM 10507 is dated based mostly on paleography, it is also possible that it is later than pHarkness and reflects a similar development as the text critical features found in earlier funerary literature where title rubrics were added in later phases of transmission.

Our best example is the Liturgy for Opening the Mouth for Breathing, preserved in four separate papyrus copies. In the edition of these manuscripts, Mark Smith proposed a core version based on two sources upon which the other versions were reliant. Smith admits to the hypothetical nature of the reconstruction; nevertheless, it raises difficult questions of redaction. The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing represents an “independent reworking” of the Opening of the Mouth ritual.²⁰ The text is clearly derivative in terms of theme, but the appearance of classical Egyptian grammatical influence may further suggest an ultimate transmission through much earlier manuscripts.

This influence of classical Egyptian is a unifying element for the longer manuscripts containing Demotic funerary literary: including the Opening of the Mouth for Breathing papyri, pLouvre E 3452, pHarkness, pRhind 1-2, and pBM 10507.²¹ Each of these shows limited

¹⁹ Silverman 1989, 33: “Note that early Coffin Texts occur without titles; later ones usually include such a rubric.” For a discussion of revisions in BD titles for various groups of Ptolemaic Period papyri, see Mosher 2010, 124-148.

²⁰ Smith 1993a, 16.

²¹ See the discussion in Smith 1987, 28-29; Smith 1993a, 18-19.

features of “classicizing” language that raise questions concerning the date of their composition. Dating the manuscripts themselves is rather straightforward in comparison.²² The problem can be addressed from two perspectives. The classical Egyptian elements may represent remnants influenced in the process of copying an older text and subjecting it to linguistic updating. Alternatively, a Greco-Roman scribe may have inserted these elements in order to raise the text within the register of formality. Although general propositions have been proposed for how to interpret such complex material, it seems impossible not to approach each text on a case by case basis. Can we really believe that behind every Greco-Roman text with classical influences lies an indirect Middle Egyptian source? The situation must have been far more fluid and scribes of the Greco-Roman period appear far more capable of reproducing and imitating classical Egyptian than this hypothesis allows. In many instances we simply do not have enough information to draw conclusions about the history of transmission, but there are groups of Demotic texts whose precursors are certain.

The few Book of the Dead spells that appear in Demotic offer a window into the transmission of this ancient New Kingdom text from hieratic, hieroglyphs, and cursive hieroglyphs into Demotic.²³ In these cases, there is an attested, basically direct, manuscript tradition from the New Kingdom to the early Roman Period. Throughout the Ptolemaic Period, Book of the Dead papyri were by far the most popularly produced funerary documents and several discreet transmission traditions have been identified for workshops in Memphis,

²² Tait 1992, 305-306, discusses the problems associated with dating a composition versus a particular textual witness.

²³ Stadler 2012a, 131-133.

Akhmim, and Thebes.²⁴ These BD copies would have provided the sources from which scribes copied or transposed the text. Various techniques are attested. Some scribes chose to use the Demotic script to transcribe a Middle Egyptian text, leaving an interpretable document that nevertheless is replete with unusual looking sign groups.²⁵ There have been two main arguments for why texts of this type were produced: for the liturgical purpose of reading the text and to enhance the levels of lexical and graphical meaning of the text.²⁶ An alternative was to translate the earlier text into Demotic, producing a linguistically updated parallel text, for which a single Demotic manuscript preserves BD 125, BD 128, and a funerary text associated with the Book of Traversing Eternity.²⁷

The version of BD 15a that appears in Demotic on stela BM 711 followed the local tradition of Akhmim from which it derives. Although Sven Vleeming, who edited the text, describes the Demotic text as a transliteration, not a translation, from a classical Egyptian source,

²⁴ See Mosher 2001; Mosher 2002, 201-209; Mosher 2010, 123-172. It is interesting that Akhmim remained an important source of funerary literature throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, including both a group of BD papyri following a distinctly Akhmim tradition, but also the Demotic funerary papyri pBM 10507, pBodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P), and pLouvre E 10607, along with a stela preserving a Demotic transliteration of BD 15a. In addition, pHarkness may have derived from just north of Akhmim in the ninth Upper Egyptian nome. See Smith 1994, 293-303; Mosher 2001; Smith 2002, 233-247; Vleeming 2004, 623-637.

²⁵ BD 15a was transcribed into Demotic on Stela BM 711, published by Vleeming 2004, 623-637, pl. LVIII. Pleyte's BD 171 was transcribed into Demotic on pStrasbourg 3 vs. and pBodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P), for which see Smith 2009b, 347-359. Both manuscripts contained a selection of other ritual and funerary compositions attesting to the compilation of multiple sources during transmission. In the case of transmission, BD 171 is part of a group of spells labeled "extract of a burial ritual" (*ini-r n sm³-t³*), known only from two hieratic manuscripts (Quirke 2013, 544). The Demotic texts probably derive from hieratic BD papyri similar to the two preserving the spells, themselves extracted from a longer ritual text no longer preserved. For the technical term *ini-r* "extracted from," see the discussion in Assmann 1969, 222 n. 171; Schott 1990, 13-15 and 342-343; Assmann 1990, 25-26 with n. 39; Smith 2009a, 130 with n. 8; Quack 2011b, 255. In Demotic and Coptic, there is *ini-r bnr* (ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) "extracted out from," for which see CDD I (18 April 2011): 11.1, 150.

²⁶ Smith 1978, 17-27; Hoffmann 2002, 227-228; Stadler 2003, 107-123; Widmer 2004, 672-686; Smith 2009b, 356-357; Quack 2009c, 2-3; Backes 2010, 5-8.

²⁷ Translated into Demotic on pBib Nat 149, 1.1-3.1. See Stadler 2003, 27-35, 182-183; Stadler 2012a, 130-136.

there are a number of features where the scribe updated the text.²⁸ When compared to other versions of BD 15a, several features of the Demotic text in BM 711 connect it to the BD papyri manuscripts of the Ptolemaic Period from Akhmim. Most versions write *pr b3=f hn' =k r p.t* “so that his *ba* may go forth with you to the sky,” but BM 711, following the Akhmim papyri, has *py by n PN hr=k*²⁹ *r p.t* “so that the *ba* of PN may go forth with you to the sky.”³⁰ In line 9, Vleeming has read *t3 p.t* “the sky,” including the feminine article *t3*. In line 11, the word *p.t* “sky” is repeated, this time without the definite article. If the text is only a transliteration into Demotic and not a translation as Vleeming points out, the definite article would be considered a Late Egyptian or Demotic insertion. However, it is possible that *t3 p.t* was written to reflect the fact that Ptolemaic BD papyri from Akhmim regularly employ a writing of *tp* for *p.t* at this very point in the text and our Demotic scribe may have interpreted this as a writing of the definite article before the noun.³¹ In addition, the text has been partially updated. The titles of the hieratic and hieroglyphic papyri refer to *dw3 R' Hr-3h.ty* “Adoring Re-Horakhty,” but the body of the spell refers to *i R'* “O Re.” In BM 711, the Demotic text combines these two into a hybrid invocation *dw3 t=k R' Hr-3h.ty* “PN who praises you, Re-Horakhty,” perhaps partially based on a reading of the hieratic or

²⁸ Vleeming 2004, 624-626; e.g., the regular use of the enclitic pronoun *t=k* in *dw3=f t=k* “so that he may adore you” and *sh tp=f t=k* “so that he may propitiate you.” The Demotic *rhwy* “evening” is used to translate classical Egyptian *mšr* “evening,” according to Vleeming 2004, 636, “our text’s sole conscious effort at translation as against transliteration into demotic,” which should now be corrected.

²⁹ For the form of *hr=k* for *hn' =k*, see Vleeming 2004, 632 n. u.

³⁰ See Mosher 2001, 74-75.

³¹ See Mosher 2001, 74, n. 21, and pl. 13.

hieroglyphic sign  (A26) as *dw3* “to praise.”³² Like the Akhmim papyri group, stela BM 711 lacks an explicit title to the spell and begins with this phrase of invocation.³³ Therefore, the Demotic text of BM 711 seems to reflect a later stage of the Akhmim transmission tradition of BD 15a.

In terms of the number of manuscript witnesses, the formulaic Demotic funerary texts are the best attested Demotic funerary text known to date. The forty-five texts edited in chapter two represent the largest collection of exemplars for a single Demotic funerary composition.³⁴ It would seem to offer an opportunity to examine the transmission in detail. However, such an analysis is hampered by the lack of dates provided in the text along with the lost archaeological context in which they once existed. As the texts all derive from a period of less than two centuries, dating through paleography does not offer enough accuracy from which to draw meaningful conclusions. Paleographic comparison of the manuscripts demonstrates that the hands can vary widely, and it is difficult to determine whether one scribal hand should be placed earlier or later than another. If the formulae of these texts derived directly from an oral tradition, as suggested in chapter four, the aggregation of the formulae left no textual witnesses. Based on the existence of individual formula from the Ptolemaic Period, it seems likely that there was a period when several different formulae were being selected and compiled into the composition as a whole. Yet, none of the elements necessitated absolute inclusion; some manuscripts included

³² See the commentary of Vleeming 2004, 634 n. hh.

³³ See Mosher 2001, 75.

³⁴ This is true even when considering that several texts diverge rather significantly from the “standard” formulae.

formulae omitted in others.³⁵ The only aspect of the redaction that seems certain is that there were at least two distinct manuscript traditions: the first employing the standard writing of the word *ḥsy* “favored one” and the second following the introduction of the unetymological orthography. While it is tempting to reconstruction an *urtext* from which manuscripts deviated,³⁶ the nature of the evidence suggests that a more complicated process was involved. As Ghislaine Widmer concluded with regard to ritual texts from Soknopaiou Nesos:

... the fact that we do not know of any parallel from earlier times to these religious texts from Soknopaiou Nesos - which, on the other hand, appear to have been locally widespread - could indicate that the scribes of the scriptorium not only copied ancient texts, but also rearranged old formulae to create new compositions, in other words, that the activity of the scriptorium was still very intense in the Roman Period, at least in the first and second century A.D.³⁷

This seems to reflect Parkinson’s idea of the “textualization of a new form of discourse.”³⁸ The formulaic Demotic funerary texts have the added complexity of a mixed transmission history, partially oral including composition from memory, as I’ve argued in chapter four, and partially textual including copying from sources.

³⁵ See the comments of Vleeming 2011, 779: “Amidst the twining, the manifold windings of ever the same phrases from funerary papyri and coffins, mummy cases and shrouds in innumerable variations around the names of the persons commemorated on our mummy labels, it is difficult to discern a pattern that determines the selection of modules from which these texts were built.”

³⁶ Such as: *ḥḥ pꜣy=f by r nḥḥ rpy=f šꜥ d.t PN r-ms PN mtw pꜣy=f by šms r Wsir mtw=f ḥpr ḥn nꜣ ḥsy.w n Wsir ḥntꜥ imntꜥ.t pꜣ ntr ꜣ nb ḥbtw mtw=f tꜣy mw ḥr tꜣ ḥtp.t m-sꜣ Wsir m pꜣ šy m-sꜣ Wn-nfr mtw=f ḥsy nꜣ ḥr q(r)s(t)=f m-bꜣḥ Wsir rnp.t n ḥḥ i-ir=f ḥr pꜣ tꜣ (age)* “May his *ba* life forever. May it rejuvenate for eternity, PN, whom PN bore. And may his *ba* serve Osiris. And may he be among the favored ones of Osiris, foremost of the west, the great god, lord of Abydos. And may he take water from the offering table after Osiris and from the pool after Onnophris. And may he favor those who made his funerary preparations before Osiris. Years of life which he passed on earth, (age).”

³⁷ Widmer 2007, 354.

³⁸ Parkinson 2002, 66.

At this point, it is uncertain whether the collected formulae found in the formulaic Demotic funerary texts developed first in its complete form and then was adapted to individual circumstances. We know for certain that the introductory phrase *nh p3 by* “May the *ba* live” had been used for millennia (*mutatis mutandis*).³⁹ Certain phrases of the formulae (*mn by m p.t h3.t m tw3.t* “May the *ba* in heaven, the corpse remain in the netherworld”) appeared commonly as part of the corpus of so-called Nut texts, which appeared frequently on coffins of the Late Period, but extend directly back to attestations in the Pyramid Texts.⁴⁰ Those same formulae likewise formed part of the embalming ritual.⁴¹ Pinpointing the exact manner in which the formulaic Demotic funerary texts came into being may be impossible. If, as argued in chapter four, the Demotic formulae circulated within an oral tradition for a period of time before being committed to writing, such a stage will obviously be lost to history. Only fragments remain.

It is clear that a number of formulae were selected and/or resurrected over a course of several millennia. It is doubtful that the formulaic elements common to the Nut texts known from the Pyramid Texts were adapted directly from pyramids;⁴² rather, their common occurrence on coffins in the Third Intermediate Period and later suggests that there had been a continuing

³⁹ E.g., from the tomb of Maia (Dynasty 18): *nh b3(=i) ntry 3h(=i) mn rn(=i) r[-gs(?)] m r3 n rmt* “May (my) *ba* live. May (my) *akh* be divine. May (my) name remain in the mouth of the people ...,” see Zivie 2009, 65.

⁴⁰ For the Nut texts on the coffin of Djehutymose, see Wilfong 2013a, 78-80.

⁴¹ Assmann 2005b, 141.

⁴² Cf. Ritner 2010b, 425-428, for a possible connection between a Demotic literary tale (Setna I) and the Pyramid Texts. Ritner is currently editing a Ptolemaic coffin in Houston with multiple copies and variant versions of these Pyramid Texts on it.

manuscript tradition.⁴³ Scribes could easily have picked up the texts from papyrus copies or from the coffins themselves as they routinely encountered such coffins through the widespread practice of repurposing that took place throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. These elements made their way into the formulaic Demotic funerary texts with little change. Why these particular formulae were selected is unknown, although they expressed fundamental aspects of postmortem theology.

That an oral tradition played some part is suggested by the appearance of elements of the formulae in temple graffiti inscribed during the Ptolemaic Period. Like the *proskunema* in Greek, visitors and pilgrims visiting the sites would have scratched into the walls pious wishes composed on the spot.⁴⁴ The formulaic nature of many graffiti inscriptions further reflects this practice. It is unlikely that the author of a particular graffito would have been copying from another source, although exceptions probably exist, if such could be identified. These Ptolemaic graffiti represented the earliest examples of the *‘nh p3* by formulae in a coherent context. Such texts imply that their authors knew these formulae and carried them around in their heads, scratching fragments of them in sacred temple spaces. Only later, in the first century CE, was a composition based on the collection of these formulae formally committed to writing, providing us with the corpus of texts in this study. Even at this stage in the process, individual elements of the formulae continued to be extracted and employed in isolation on various media.⁴⁵

⁴³ For the possibility of a complex transmission process between papyri and other funerary equipment, see Backes 2010, 9-10.

⁴⁴ For studies of such graffiti, see Edgerton 1937; Griffith 1937; Thissen 1979; Devauchelle 1983; Jasnow 1984; Burkhardt 1985; Thissen 1989; Moje 2010; Cruz-Urbe 2012; Ritner forth.

⁴⁵ Vleeming 2011, 782-783: "... this use [of the Demotic formula on coffins] proves that the text in question was a standard text independently from the papyri. It shows how these ideas were used in varying funerary contexts, thereby suggesting that even this composition, the quintessence of Egyptian funerary thought, was

Egyptian texts of the Greco-Roman Period had a high degree of intertextuality and relied in many cases on copies of earlier texts.⁴⁶ As the compilations from these papyri show, scribes maintained a dialogue of sorts between the Demotic compositions and well-known hieratic funerary literature such as the Book of the Dead, Book of Breathings, and Book of Traversing Eternity.⁴⁷ These compositions formed an important portion of a larger group forming the core of Egyptian funerary literature at the end of the Ptolemaic Period. As employment of the Book of the Dead faded, the number of hieratic compositions increased. When Demotic came to be used for funerary texts, however, the Demotic compositions did not replace their hieratic counterparts; rather, they existed alongside them. Excellent examples of this are found among second century Theban funerary assemblages, such as those related to Soter, his extended family, and miscellanea from the same workshops. Among their grave goods we find copies of the hieratic Books of Breathings in addition to Demotic funerary texts inscribed on the lids of their coffins.⁴⁸

excerpted by the scribes of our mummy labels. ... if we cannot assume that the pious ideas expressed in the texts of the labels were taken by our mummy label scribes from this very composition, which would have spread from the Thebaid into Middle Egypt, we must suppose that both derive from a common source operative in the context of the funeral rites unknown to us. Between brackets, it may perhaps be noted that we discuss the question in these terms because we tend to think of the tradition of Egyptian thought in written form.”

⁴⁶ For the reliance of certain Philae texts on earlier copies of the daily temple ritual, see Coppens 2006, 37-41. The compilation of the Studenwachen texts in Greco-Roman temples is analyzed by Pries 2011, 443-463. For an overview of intertextuality in Middle Kingdom literary texts, see Parkinson 2002, 60-63.

⁴⁷ Cf. the title of a composition from pBM 10507, *mq̄ḏ.t ḫr.n ḏs.t r Ws̄ir ḫnt̄ imnt̄(.t)* “Book which Isis made for Osiris, foremost of the west,” with the *t̄ḥ̄.t n s̄sn ḫr.n ḏs.t* “the Book of Breathing which Isis made.” Imitation of texts on stelae equated to an imitation of “monumental discourse.” See Parkinson 2002, 62; Assmann 1996. Cf. also the phrase from pMMA 35.9.21: *tw̄t ʿwt=f nfr=f m ḫ̄ʿ.w=f ʿnh̄=f iw̄ nh̄ḫ̄ rnpy=f r d̄.t* “His limbs are complete. He is perfect in his limbs. May he live forever. May he rejuvenate for eternity.”

⁴⁸ Herbin 2008a, 4-10, provides an excellent overview on the “Dossier Soter.”

Although it is rather difficult to reconstruct or define what constituted a typical collection of funerary texts associated with elite burials in the Roman Period,⁴⁹ the copy of the Book of Traversing Eternity and the modified text based on the First Book for Breathings and the Book of the Dead found in the burial of Cleopatra II, daughter of Soter, shows that the ancient tradition of equipping the deceased with multiple funerary papyri had been at times maintained.⁵⁰ In what may be an exceptional case, four funerary manuscripts from the very beginning of the reign of Ptolemy I Soter have been identified as belonging to the Theban priest Nesmin.⁵¹ Four funerary manuscripts are also known to belong to Harsiese, son of Horos and Qaiqai.⁵² Theonias had two Demotic funerary texts.⁵³ Kharis had two hieratic funerary texts.⁵⁴ Many of these manuscripts acted as funerary and ritual compendia; priestly scribes collected together a series of texts from multiple sources on their own or their client's behalf. In several cases, the scribes compiling these texts were identified in their colophons.

⁴⁹ The statements of Kockelmann 2007, 250, apply to manuscripts of the Ptolemaic Period, but not to manuscripts of the Roman Period, as we can so far tell: "It should be noted, however, that most mummies with inscribed bandages apparently had only BD wrappings. The same proportions apply within the lot of late *papyri*: according to the present state of research, the majority of mummies with funerary manuscripts were given only a BD papyrus, some others a BD papyrus and a scroll with non-BD texts, whereas a few burials comprised a single papyrus on which both BD elements and texts of other origins were combined."

⁵⁰ pBM EA 10114 (Book of Traversing Eternity) and 10115, published by Herbin 2008, 153-157 with pls. 143-144 and 125-126 with pls. 98-99 respectively. pBM EA 10115 also appears in Herbin's 2002 discussion of Padiimenipet, son of Soter. The occurrence of multiple funerary papyri within the burial recalls the placement of Book of the Dead papyri and Amduat papyri of the Third Intermediate Period discussed by Niwiński 1989.

⁵¹ Smith 2009a, 96-97. On one of these papyri, pBM EA 10209, 5.19, appeared the *nh p3* by formula: *nh=tn nh b3(.w)=tn š3c d.t (n)hh* "May you live. May your *bas* life for eternity and forever." See Haikal 1970; Assmann 2008, 499-533; Smith 2009a, 178-192.

⁵² Smith 2009a, 397.

⁵³ Smith 2009a, 569-570.

⁵⁴ Smith 2009a, 542-545.

The scribes of the formulaic Demotic funerary texts are never identified and colophons are completely absent in these brief texts.⁵⁵ Colophons are known for several of the more extensive manuscripts, both Demotic and hieratic.⁵⁶ The colophon is an important intellectual phenomenon within ancient literary circles and connects the funerary texts to the wider milieu of the ancient scholar and most directly to literary texts.⁵⁷ As Richard Parkinson has noted for the literary manuscripts of the Middle Kingdom, “While the colophon marks a wide range of texts as parts of the transmitted body of written literature, it also exemplifies the literary texts’ uniquely verbal nature, and the reification of the performance text into a thing, a manuscript, that can be owned.”⁵⁸

Recording a colophon helped to preserve the steps of transmission in the manuscript tradition and would have been especially useful for other scribes in the scriptorium. The lack of similar colophons in the *ḥ p3* by manuscripts does not suggest that they are not part of the same tradition, but that the scribes identity was not considered necessary to the unity of the text. If the argument put forward in chapter four is accepted (that the formulae represent the funeral speech

⁵⁵ Cf. the comments of Elias 1993, 852-853, with regard to the producers of Late Period coffins: “Another aspect of this issue bears on the question of who made the coffins, and it is ironic that the identity of the producers of such an important object class remains an open issue. What is known is that operatives were not titled specifically enough to permit the identity of [a] single coffin maker to become known to us.”

⁵⁶ The colophon of Menkare in Demotic is found on pBib Nat 149, 3.27-30 (Stadler 2003, 39). Nesmin left a long colophon with extensive list of titles on pBM 10188 (Faulkner 1933, 32-34).

⁵⁷ The milieu of the scriptorium is important to consider with regard to ancient texts in the scholarly tradition. For example, much has been made of how texts with instructions for placement and use were often found used in ways alternative to the instructions. Ancient scholars would have often produced manuscripts in the temple library, an environment in which the rubric or directions for use existed within a literary, hermeneutic, and exegetic tradition organized around written texts. Winitzer 2011, 93-94, made this argument in relation to Mesopotamian omen literature. The relationships between how these texts were produced and how they were later employed in the funerary preparations is not completely clear, but it is likely that a different set of individuals were involved who may have never even seen, or been able to read, the directions in the text itself.

⁵⁸ Parkinson 2002, 75.

of divinities), then the lack of colophon could be explained. The fact that the ritual utterances of the gods and goddesses (or funeral speech of those imitating them) were recorded directly, without dialogic or paratactic markers, may have reduced the need to indicate the individual scribe responsible. In addition, the ultimate purpose of such manuscripts was deposition within the wrappings and tomb; therefore, they were not intended to communicate the chain of copying or composition to future scribes. Likewise, if any of our copies were made in the field or small funerary workshops, it is unlikely that such a colophon would have been appended.

5.3 Pragmatics of Register Interaction: Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, and Demotic

The interaction of scripts and language phases produced complex literary products straddling multiple levels of the priestly register, cutting across physical domains, and functioning within several contexts.⁵⁹ A signal composition could be found in hieroglyphic script on temple walls in a domain of sacred space and simultaneously appear in Demotic script on a wooden tablet designed for liturgical use.⁶⁰ Hieroglyphic and hieratic precursors to the Demotic funerary amulets like the *‘nh p³ by papyri* are numerous and offer insight into the development of this custom.⁶¹ Some texts began in the hieroglyphic script, only to shift midway through the text into the Demotic script.⁶² In several instances we find the interaction of multiple scripts on

⁵⁹ See Dieleman 2005, 48-62.

⁶⁰ Tablet Louvre E 10382 contains a Demotic text known from multiple copies in Dendera temple texts. See Widmer 2004, 651-686, pl. LXI. Based on the paleography, Widmer dated the tablet to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period, the same date as the Dendera temple texts. Nevertheless, she followed Cauville in connecting the text to a much earlier Ramesside hymn.

⁶¹ BD 100 in pLouvre 3233: Goyon 1977, 45-54; BD 89 in pBasel (III 131): Hauser-Scäublin 1976, 11.

⁶² Vleeming 2004, 623-637, pl. LVIII.

various media.⁶³ On a mummy label we find the identification of the deceased in Demotic, but a short funerary text in hieroglyphs.⁶⁴

In other cases, a composition is found translated or transcribed into multiple scripts or language phases upon a single object. The exact purpose of these “bilingual” documents is uncertain, but the practice is known from texts of multiple genres including divine invocations⁶⁵ and funerary texts consisting of mixed contents such as the Rhind papyri. Manuscripts such as pRhind 1-2 are important for demonstrating how little we understand about Demotic funerary literature. Their bi-scriptural nature (hieratic and Demotic) partly reflects linguistic divisions between *Spätmittelagyptisch* and Demotic (although the Demotic of pRhind has classicizing features), but it also raises the interesting question about the redaction of the text. How did the scribe produce these two manuscripts? Was he copying from a hieratic original and then transcribing and translating that into Demotic? The manuscripts are very similar to each other, with pRhind 2 slightly shorter than pRhind 1. Based on the elements in the texts, it seems most likely that the scribe was pulling from many different sources, probably mostly hieratic, combining elements together and then transposing it into Demotic.

Scribes responsible for literary transmission in the ancient world already held a scholarly status in society. The use of hieratic and Demotic in these first and second century CE texts associated them specifically with the Egyptian priestly class.⁶⁶ Ghislaine Widmer has described the use of hieratic and Demotic within the temple archives of Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos:

⁶³ Dieleemann 2005 provides a detailed discussion of script interaction within the magical handbooks.

⁶⁴ Spiegelberg 1912, 40-41.

⁶⁵ The hieratic and Demotic texts found on Stela Louvre IM 3713 published by Devauchelle 2004, 95-108.

⁶⁶ Tait 1992, 303-310; Dieleman 2005, 22.

... it seems to me that the corpus of cultic hymns which originated from Soknopaiou Nesos shows evidence of the sophisticated development of the Demotic script in this Fayyumic scriptorium during the early Roman period, not only through the diversity of unetymological writings which these documents attest, but also through the development of a more Hieratic-like Demotic, where more attention was given to the “style”. As a matter of fact, the evidence from Soknopaiou Nesos might point to a situation where Hieratic was not favoured, in contrast to the scriptorium of Tebtynis where Hieratic was the script meant for most - if not all - ritual and sacerdotal manuscripts.⁶⁷

The creativity in Demotic and hieratic literature during this period has now been proven and highlighted, but it remains somewhat surprising given the social and economic state of the temples in second century CE Egypt, not to mention the various disruptions within the empire. Although much recent attention has been devoted to the incredible discoveries from Fayum temple hoards, a similar trend can now be documented in second century CE Thebes. Just as the scientific, literary, and ritual texts flourished in the temple libraries of Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtunis, Theban scribes were circulating a wide variety of funerary texts in both hieratic and Demotic, many of which were of recent development. Cultural factors probably determined this distribution to some degree. The largely mixed Greco-Egyptian population of the Fayum was perhaps in less need of traditional funerary manuscripts, but a stronger connection to the scholarly center of the ancient world in Alexandria may have existed and similar motivations could be partly behind the collection of Demotic scholarly texts there. Certainly there existed extensive temple archives in the Theban area, but the continuation of many Pharaonic funerary practices influenced the circulation of religious papyri for the burial. The second century thus marks a watershed with regard to Demotic literature of all varieties throughout the country.

⁶⁷ Widmer 2007, 354. Tait 1992, 306, was “disinclined to see many of our texts as compilations or patchworks of already existing material.” For further discussion of the orthography of the Soknopaiou Nesos ritual manuscripts, see Stadler 2012c, 265-273.

Unfortunately this period of creative vitality was short lived. Within a century, the manuscript tradition went dark once again.

5.4 Language Obsolescence: Script Death and Ritual Death

The formulaic Demotic funerary texts represent the very last datable manuscripts in the nearly three millennia long tradition of native Egyptian funerary literature. Despite the disappearance of these texts at the end of the second century CE, Egyptian religious customs continued to be practiced into the fifth century CE and later. In addition, we have evidence for the continued recording in Demotic of religious, literary, and scientific texts into the third century CE. It has proven difficult to determine the precise nature of what's happening to the Demotic script between the early fourth century and the middle of the fifth century CE when our last dated Demotic text appeared.

During this period the Egyptian languages and scripts were entering a period of social obsolescence.⁶⁸ The ritual language⁶⁹ they employed was slowly, and then rapidly, disappearing. No longer did the dialectic between society and religious practice exist to provide a context for these Egyptian texts. This raises questions within language ideology about the social and political values inherent in the linguistic system. In this case, the linguistic system itself is converted for Christian use, but the scriptural systems have particular connections to various

⁶⁸ Dorian 1992; Houston, Baines, and Cooper 2003; Stadler 2010, 157-181. Incomprehensible elements within certain hieroglyphic texts have been cited as evidence for the “‘death’ of the hieroglyphic script” (Backes 2010, 7, citing Sternberg-El Hotabi 1994, 218-248).

⁶⁹ Du Bois 1992. See the comments of Stadler 2012b, 464: “The texts are composed in a liturgical language, even if they are recorded in Demotic writing.”

social groups, for example hieratic, hieroglyphic, Demotic = Egyptian priests (i.e., pagan), while Coptic = Christian authorities.⁷⁰

It is interesting to note that during this prolonged death of the native Egyptian scripts (hieroglyphic, hieratic, Demotic) by the middle of the fifth century CE, the Egyptian language continued through the use of the Coptic script, the widespread popularization of which coincided with the conversion of the Egyptian population to Christianity and the subsequent demise of indigenous religious practice. Clearly there are deciding factors in the relationship between scripts and social communities. In our case, the deciding factor is not entirely linguistic. While Coptic incorporated Greek lexical and grammatical elements, the linguistic stratum was thoroughly Egyptian. The disappearance of the “Pharaonic” scripts was therefore a conscious graphic choice by the same speech community. Egyptians did not give up Egyptian when Egypt became a thoroughly Christianized country; they gave up the old scripts associated and graphically bound to the old deities and rites.

The earliest literate Coptic priests were most likely derived from the group of pagan priests via a complex interaction of conversion, anachoresis, economic hardship, and political necessity, among other circumstances.⁷¹ What exactly motivated the initial transition remains uncertain. They avoided and abandoned the scripts of pagan Egypt and gravitated towards the modified Greek script of Coptic and its authoritative stature within early Christian literature.⁷²

⁷⁰ This assessment is a simplified description of a complex process. Old Coptic had prominent use within the “pagan” magical texts and this use continued into the third century CE at least. However, with the further Christianization of the country in the third and fourth centuries, a sharper divide arose between the employment of the old Egyptian scripts and Coptic.

⁷¹ For a discussion of the historical circumstances and social conditions, see Bagnall 1993, 251-260; Frankfurter 1998, 208-217.

⁷² See the perspective on hieroglyphs found in an “invective against Egyptian hieroglyphs” attributed to Shenoute (Young 1981, 348-360). For further discussion, see Griggs 1990, 15-17, 172-173; Stadler 2010, 157-181.

However, in an effort to reach the *chora*, these priests used the Coptic script to translate the Christian texts and compose texts of their own for a rural Egyptian audience. The language and retained “pagan” features communicated a sense of “Egyptianess” to the population, while the script communicated a sense of “Christianness.” It is during the early phases of this complex period that the formulaic Demotic funerary texts were finally abandoned.

5.5 Conclusion

The discussion above demonstrates the difficulty, but also the intrinsic necessity, of applying the text critical method to Egyptian texts. There needs to be a serious evaluation of the Demotic funerary material with regard to the relationship of textual witnesses and the historical circumstances under which they were transmitted.⁷³ As discussed throughout this study, the lack of attested parallels makes the reconstruction of the redaction of a particular manuscript extremely difficult and tentative. In theory, the wide selection of *‘nh p3* by papyri should provide a fruitful avenue of research. Yet, obstacles continue to plague us even here. Secure dating is currently lacking for many of the manuscripts, making a distinction between earlier and later exempla impossible. The short time frame during which the texts were produced (roughly two centuries) implies certain limitations on the changes we might expect to see occur in the transmissions process. Unfortunately, it is the vitality and creativity present in the funerary literature from Greco-Roman Egypt that thwarts some of our probing. Scribes had such a compositional freedom that texts could be produced at will, whether or not they were composed

⁷³ A characterization of textual criticism found in Tov 2012, 1.

from memory, selected from manuscript witnesses, or a combination of both. Therefore, in the words of Herbin:

Il ne semble pas que leurs rédacteurs se soient contentés de recopier des extraits d'un formulaire établi; l'usage d'expressions jusqu'alors inusitées, la présence de mots rares ou nouveaux, l'évocation de divinités inconnues ou peu attestées montrent une nouvelle fois qu'à l'époque romaine, la créativité des *scriptoria* savait s'émanciper de la tradition et était capable d'innover dans la composition de textes funéraires.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Herbin 2008a, 127.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

In the late Ptolemaic and early Roman Periods the Book of the Dead came to be replaced by a new, shorter composition, conceived as a passport to life after death, with the title ‘document for breathing’; one of the finest examples is that of Kerasher, with text interspersed with colour vignettes such as the Judgement of the Dead. Abridged versions of the *Book of Breathing* could be written like letters on a single sheet to be folded and set under the chin or at the feet of the deceased. Similar short funerary texts of the early Roman Period include the *Book of Living Throughout Eternity*, and all these texts together form the last creative output of the Egyptian funerary tradition before it was replaced first by late Greek and then by Christian customs in which funerary texts no longer accompanied the body to the afterlife.¹

The phrase “May the *ba* live” (‘nh by) existed in Egyptian funerary texts from the very beginning of the tradition. It continued to be used as a funerary wish into the Late Period and it was adapted to conform to the linguistic components of Late Egyptian (‘nh p3 by). In the Ptolemaic Period, the phrase was commonly used in graffiti and on other funerary items. At some point in the early Roman Period, probably early in the first century CE, “May the *ba* live” (‘nh p3 by) became the introduction to a series of formulae to which the phrase has now given its name. The use of these formulae was somewhat consistent in creating a new composition containing approximately five to ten lines, although never absolutely fixed. I have referred to this composition in this study with the circumlocution “formulaic Demotic funerary text” and ‘nh p3 by formulae. Others have referred to it as the Demotic Book of Breathing.

¹ Quirke and Spencer 1992, 101-102.

The surviving corpus can be dated to the first and second centuries CE, although with the caveat that evidence for dating is minimal. All of the papyrus manuscripts derive from unknown contexts as none has yet to be excavated *in situ*. Dating has been based mostly on paleography, prosopography, and comparative analysis. Demotic paleography, while notorious inexact, does provide some scientific recourse for dating. However, the range of handwriting in the corpus under discussion complicates this procedure. Prosopography and comparative analysis have provided our most secure dates as several exemplars can be associated with known individuals or workshops in the mid-second century CE. Comparative analysis presents particularly vexing problems of circularity because manuscripts have been dated to the second century CE because other manuscripts have been dated to the second century CE *ad nauseum*. It would not be surprising to discover that the practice extends into the third century CE, a time when Demotic scientific, ritual, and literary texts still flourished under certain prescribed circumstances, but as of yet no secure evidence can be cited to support such a hypothesis.

The formulae themselves represent a new phenomenon at the time: a funerary composition in both Demotic script and Demotic grammar. Few previous editors have pointed out the importance of this factor. Contemporary funerary literature in both hieratic and Demotic employed an archaizing grammatical style marked by the use of forms and constructions not typically or rarely found in the contemporary language. The ‘*nḥ p³*’ by formulae are marked, however, by the repeated use of the conjunctive morpheme (*mtw*), a feature common to the phases of the ancient Egyptian language from Late Egyptian to Coptic, in addition to elements such as the analytic use of the past participle (*iṛ*) of *iri* “to do, make” followed by an infinitive (*iṛ qs.t* lit., “to make an embalming”). Use of a contemporary linguistic medium has important

implications for the development of this textual genre, as discussed above. Until now, no one has tried, or even asked, the question of why this new composition was composed in Demotic, a question I have attempted to answer in chapter four and summarize in the conclusions that follow.

The contents of the *‘nh p3 by* formulae are an essential summation of the most significant themes of Egyptian funerary literature and despite their small format compare well with the themes present in larger Demotic funerary texts. At the core is the initiation of the deceased into the company of the gods through a union with the solar-Osirian cycle of death and rebirth. The *ba* (*b3*), along with its associated theology, is of primary concern because this aspect of the deceased individual provided the post-mortem abilities of movement and animation. It is no coincidence that the *ba* theology held such a primary importance in the Roman Period, overshadowing the older concept of the *ka* in Demotic texts, and that the texts in our corpus begin by proclaiming its eternal existence “May the *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate for eternity” (*‘nh p3 by r nh3 rpy=f 33 d.t*).

As a summation of contemporary thought concerning the afterlife, the formulae of the texts provide important evidence for what was considered important for end of life planning to citizens in Roman Period Egypt. A continued existence after death in the following of Osiris is necessary. In order to affect that state, the embalming conditions and ritual actions had to be performed. Continued sustenance had to be provided, even if the only item ensuring such sustenance was a textual reference. The common inclusion of personal names and ages at death indicates that the identification of the deceased remained a critical component of postmortem individuality, just as the name (*rn*) had been in earlier periods. Through this personal

identification favor could be sought from the departed by those still living (*mtw=fḥsi n3 iir qs.t=f m-b3ḥ Wsir* “And may he favor those who made his funerary preparation before Osiris”). These features formed the basic outline of Roman Period Egyptian afterlife theology. The preservation of the forty-five exemplars in this study reflected the popularity of the practice.

The formulaic text is often combined with a selected array of iconography. Papyri were often adorned with vignettes, while several coffins surrounded the texts with images similar to some papyri as well as stelae. Although there is a long and complex history behind how the appearance of the individual scenes arrived to this corpus, a number of significant points can be ascertained about the use of these images. First, the images, like the texts, were a distillation of the most important aspects of Egyptian funerary preparation, including the focus on the treatment of the corpse, the appropriate associated rituals, provision of offerings, and the introduction of the deceased into the realm of the gods.² The iconography provided appropriate illustrations for the main textual components and vice versa. Second, the images were drawn from the most common scenes in the funerary repertoire: the presentation of the deceased before Osiris, the embalming ritual with Anubis standing by the funerary couch, and the deceased in an attitude of prayer (*orans*). The scenes did not derive from esoteric compendiums. Scribes and artists were selecting the most well-known and easily accessible images known of the papyri, coffins, tombs, and stelae from centuries past, easily back through the Third Intermediate Period. How the scenes were selected further reinforces the hypothesis laid out in this study that some of the texts and images were composed rather than copied.

² The texts and images included on Late Period coffins focused on these same elements; see Wilfong 2013a, 58-88.

A number of characteristics shared between the text and iconography suggest that the manuscripts were produced in multiple ways. Not only were manuscripts produced via the standard method of scribal copying, but some manuscripts appear to be the result of composition from memory. Evidence for this includes the following: a wide variation in format and contents; the formulaic, easily memorized nature of the texts; phrasing in the third person for liturgical recitation; first appearance in graffiti; placement in the burial at the head and feet suggesting an association with the mourners Isis and Nephthys; specific attribution to the “request of Isis” (*ḥrw ʒs.t*); and several “unetymological” orthographies that entered the manuscript tradition as memory variants. Once these latter linguistic features were introduced as memory variants, they formed the basis for at least two traceable manuscript traditions, one following a traditional orthography (of *ḥsi*) and the other following an “unetymological” orthography. That the texts were meant as a type of lamentation of Isis and Nephthys is shown by their physical distribution in the burial. A positioning at the head and feet mimic the positions of Isis and Nephthys in the traditional funeral scene at the head and feet of Osiris. In several instances, the formulae are specifically stated to be recitations of Isis, a recitation most probably mimicked in reality by mourners at actual funerals.

It is difficult to “prove,” but it seems likely that these expressions circulated as a set of oral formulae prior to their written appearance. Their recording required the intervention of a literate scribe who was probably trained in the priestly tradition; however, it is also possible that some of our texts were recorded by scribes with documentary training, which would explain the documentary hands found in certain manuscripts. If the hypothesis that the formulae derive from common phrases recited at funerals and during tomb visits is correct, then the “texts” represent a

“Demotic” practice: popular sayings spread among the people until they were codified by the act of writing. This act transformed the “texts” from memorized words into script, thereby entering them into the milieu of the scriptorium where they could be subjected to the scholarly exercises of copying and intertextual reference. Features of the manuscripts show that they straddled these two worlds, on the one hand being written down from memory as necessary and on the other hand being copied alongside companion texts in some type of library setting. The predominance, therefore, of scribal copying as the modal for textual production in ancient Egypt is well founded, but hardly the only way in which “texts” were produced.

The quote at the beginning of this chapter suggests that the Book of the Dead was “replaced by a new, shorter composition” known as the Book of Breathing. In reality, the Book of the Dead was never “replaced,” as the collection of texts it contained coexisted alongside a plethora of compositions, among which were the Books of Breathing, compositions that were not monolithic, but rather a fluid set of traditional standards that could deviate from a main textual tradition in often radical ways. Even in the Roman Period, as the funerary traditions of Pharaonic Egypt began to wane, Book of the Dead spells were still being copied on papyri in Demotic intermixed with other late funerary literature. At the peak of this expansion of funerary compositions, the *ḥꜥꜣꜣ* formulae appeared and unbeknownst at the time ushered in the final epoch of indigenous Egyptian funerary literature. It would take roughly two centuries before the texts disappeared entirely, forgotten for the next sixteen hundred years until they were rediscovered in the late nineteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdalla, Aly

- 1992 *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Abdel-Rahman, Abdel Rahman Ali

- 2012 "A Unique Stela from the Fayoum in the Egyptian Museum CG no: 22197." *Aula Orientalis* 30:2, 211-219.

el-Aguizy, Ola

- 1986 "A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cario Museum." *Enchoria* 14, 67-70.
- 1998 *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign of King Taharka to the End of the Ptolemaic Period (684-30 B.C.)*. Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 113. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Albert, Florence

- 2012 "Quelques observations sur les titulatures attestées dans les Livres des Morts." In Rita Lucarelli, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Annik Wüthrich (eds.). *Herausgehen am Tage. Gesammelte Schriften zum altägyptischen Totenbuch*. Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1-66.

Allen, James P.

- 1994 "Reading a Pyramid." In Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal (eds.). *Hommages à Jean Leclant. Volume 1: Études Pharaoniques*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 106. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 5-28.
- 2001 "Ba." In Donald B. Redford (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. Volume 1. A-F*. New York: Oxford University Press, 161-162.
- 2005 *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Writings from the Ancient World 23. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2006 *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Oriental Institute Publications 132. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2013 *The Ancient Egyptian Language: An Historical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Allen, Marti Lu

- 1985 *The Terracotta Figurines from Karanis: A Study of Technique, Style and Chronology in the Fayoumic Coroplastics*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Allen, Thomas G.
- 1950 *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of These and Other Egyptian Mortuary Texts*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 27. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1960 *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*. Oriental Institute Publications 82. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1974 *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 37. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Altenmüller, Hartwig
- 1965 *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Munich.
- 2006 “Der ‘Liturgische Papyrus’ des Chonsu-maacheru im Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg (Pap. Hamburg MVK C 3835).” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 35, 1-24, pls. 1-4.
- el-Amir, Mustafa
- 1959 *A Family Archive from Thebes*. Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices.
- André-Leicknam, Béatrice and Christiane Ziegler
- 1982 *Naissance de l'écriture: cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux.
- Andreu-Lanoë, Guillemette (ed.)
- 2013 *L'art du contour. Le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Paris: Louvre éditions.
- Andrews, Carol
- 1994 *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum.
- 1998 “A Stone Vessel with Magical Scenes and Texts.” In Willy Clarysse, Antton Schoors, and Harco Willems (eds.). *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur. Part I: Archaeologica, Texts, Gods*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 84. Leuven: Peeters, 297-310.

- 2001 "Amulets." In Donald B. Redford (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. Volume 1: A-F*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 75-82.
- Arlt, Carolin
 2011 *Deine Seele möge Leben für Immer und Ewig*. Studia Demotica 10. Leuven: Peeters.
- Assmann, Aleida
 1999 "The History of the Text before Literature: Three Comments." In G. Moers (ed.). *Definitely: Egyptian Literature*. Lingua Aegyptia: Studia Monographia 2. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 83-90.
- Assmann, Jan
 1969 *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I*. München Ägyptologische Studien 19. Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling.
- 1983a *Sonnenhymnen in thebanische Gräbern*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- 1982b *Re und Amun: Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 51. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1989 "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt." In William Kelly Simpson (ed.). *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*. Yale Egyptological Studies 3. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1989, 135-159.
- 1990 "Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies." In Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.). *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*. Volume I. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1990, 1-45.
- 1991 *Das Grab des Amenemope, TT 41*. Theben 3. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- 1996 "Der literarische Aspekt des ägyptischen Grabes und seine Funktion im Rahmen des 'monumentalen Diskurses.'" In Antonio Loprieno (ed.). *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 10. Leiden: Brill, 97-104.
- 2001 *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten*. München: Beck.
- 2002 *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 1: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- 2002b *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- 2005a *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 2005b *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 2: Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- 2008 *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 3: Osirisliturgien in Papyri der Spätzeit*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Assmann, Jan and Anrea Kucharek
 2008 *Ägyptische Religion Totenliteratur*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Weltreligionen im Insel Verlag.
- Aubert, M. F. and G. Nachtergaele,
 2005 “Le cercueil de Chelidona au Musée du Louvre.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 80:157-158, 289-307.
- Backes, Brukhard
 2005 *Das altägyptische “Zweiwegebuch”*: Studien zu den Sargtext-Sprüchen 1029-1130. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 69. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- 2010 “Three Funerary Papyri from Thebes: New Evidence on Scribal and Funerary Practice in the Late Period.” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 15, 1-21.
- Backes, Burkhard, Gülden, Svenja A.; Kockelmann, Holger; Müller-Roth, Marcus; Munro, Irmtraut; Stöhr, Simone (eds.)
 2009 *Bibliographie zum altägyptischen Totenbuch*. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bagnall, Roger S.
 1993 *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Baines, John
 2003 “Research on Egyptian Literature: Background, Definitions, Prospects: Millennium Debate.” In Zahi Hawass (ed.). *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000. Volume 3: Language, Conservation, Museology*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003, 1-26.
- 2004 “Modelling Sources, Processes, and Locations of Early Mortuary Texts.” In Susanne Bickel and Bernard Mathieu (eds.). *D’un monde à l’autre: Textes des pyramides & textes des sarcophages*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 139. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 15-41.

Ballet, Pascale

- 1991 "Ceramics, Coptic: Figurines." In A. S. Atiya (ed.). *The Coptic Encyclopedia*. Volume 2. New York: Macmillan, 500-504.

Baratte, F. and B. Boyaval

- 1974 "Catalogue des étiquettes de momies du Musée du Louvre." *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 2, 155-264.

- 1975 "Catalogue des étiquettes de momies du Musée du Louvre." *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 3, 153-261.

Barbash, Yekaterina

- 2006 *The Mortuary Papyrus of Padikakem: Walters Art Museum 551*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University.

- 2007 "Ritual of Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh." *The 58th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt*.

- 2011 *The Mortuary Papyrus of Padikakem: Walters Art Museum 551*. Yale Egyptological Studies 8. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.

Bareš, Ladislav and Květa Smoláriková

- 2011 *The Shaft Tomb of Menekhibnekau – Volume 1: Archaeology*. Abusir XXV. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.

Barguet, Paul

- 1953 *Le stèle de la famine, à Séhel*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 24. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

- 1967 *Le Livre des Morts des anciens égyptiens*. Litteratures anciennes du Proche-Orient 1. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.

- 1986 *Textes des sarchopages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*. Litteratures roche-Orient. 12. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.

Barns, John

- 1952 "A Demotic Coffin Inscription in Edinburgh." *Archiv Orientalni* 20, 69-71.

Barta, Winfried

- 1963 *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*. Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling.

- 1968 *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 24. Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin.

- Beinlich, Horst
 2009 *Papyrus Tamerit I: Ein Ritualpapyrus der ägyptischen Spätzeit*. Dettelbach: J. H. Röll.
- Bell, Catherine
 1992 *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, H. I., A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson
 1933 *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum*. London: Humphrey Milford Amen House.
- Ben Ami, Doron, Yana Tchekhanovets, and Robert Walter Daniel
 2013 “A Juridical Curse from a Roman Mansion in the City of David.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 186, 227-236.
- Benko, Stephen
 1993 *The Virgin Goddess: Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology*. Studies in the History of Religions 59. Leiden: Brill.
- Berger-el Naggar, Catherin
 2004 “Des Textes des Pyramides sur papyrus dans les archives du temple funéraire de Pépy I^{er}.” In Susanne Bickel and Bernard Mathieu (eds.). *D’un monde à l’autre: Textes des pyramides & textes des sarcophages*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 139. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 85-90.
- Betz, Hans Dieter (ed.)
 1996 *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Billing, Nils
 2002 *Nut: The Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography*. Uppsala Studies in Egyptology 5. Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History.
- 2004 “Writing an Image – The Formulation of the Tree Goddess Motif in the Book of the Dead.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 32, 35-50.
- 2011 “Monumentalizing the Beyond: Reading the Pyramid before and after the Pyramid Texts.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 40, 53-66.
- Birch, Samuel and A. Henry Rhind
 1863 *Facsimiles of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green.
- Blackman, Aylward M.
 1911 “Some Chapters of the Totenbuch and Other Texts on a Middle Kingdom Coffin.”

Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache 49, 54-66.

Bleiberg, Edward, Yekaterina Barbash, and Lisa Bruno

2013 *Soulful Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum.

Block, H. P.

1930 "Drei Stelen aus den Spätzeit im Haagner Museum." *Acta Orientalia* 8, 177-234.

Bohleke, Briant

1997 "An Oracular Amuletic Decree of Khonsu in the Cleveland Museum of Art." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83, 155-167.

Bommas, Martin

2005 "Situlae and the Offering of Water in the Divine Funerary Cult: A New Approach to the Ritual of Djeme." In Alessia Amenta, Maria Michela Luiselli, and Maria Novella Sordi (eds.). *L'Acqua nell'Antico Egitto: Vita, rigenerazione, incantesimo, medicamento. Proceedings of the First International Conference for Young Egyptologists, Italy, Chianciano Terme, October 15-18, 2003*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 257-272.

Borghouts, Joris F.

1989 "A New Middle Kingdom Netherworld Guide." In Sylvia Schoske (ed.). *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses, München 1985*. Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beiheft 3. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 131-139.

2010 *Egyptian: An Introduction to the Writing and Language of the Middle Kingdom*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 24. Leuven: Peeters.

Borchardt, Ludwig

1913 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Š3hu-Re^c. Band II: Die Wandbilder*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

Boswinkel, E. and P. W. Pestman

1978 *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues (P. L. Bat. 19)*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 19. Leiden: Brill.

Botta, Alejandro F.

2013 "Three Additioanl Aramaic-Egyptian Parallel Legal Terms/Formulae." In Alejandro F. Botta (ed.). *In the Shadow of Bezalel. Aramaic, Biblical, and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Bezalel Porten*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 60. Leiden: Brill, 29-37.

Botti, G.

1941 *Testi demotici*. Firenze: E. Ariani.

- 1941a “Documenti demotici del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze.” In *Miscellanea Gregoriana: Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I centenario dalla fondazione del Pont. Museo Egizio (1839-1939)*. Rome: Max Bretschneider, 29-38.
- 1958 *Le casse di mummie e i sarcofagi da el Hibeh nel Museo Egizio di Firenze*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.
- 1968 “Il Libro del Respirare e un Suo Nuovo Esemplare nel Papiro Demotico N. 766 del Museo Egizio di Torino.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 54, 223-230, pl. XXV.
- Bowman, Alan K.
 2007 “Egypt in the Graeco-Roman World: From Ptolemaic Kingdom to Roman Province.” In Harriet Crawford (ed.). *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt: From Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 165-181.
- Boyaval, B.
 1976 *Corpus des étiquettes de momies grecques*. Lille.
- Breasted, James Henry
 1901 “The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 39, 39-54.
- 1959 *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. Harper & Brothers, New York.
- Bresciani, Edda
 1967 “Stele demotische dal Serapeo di Menfi nel Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna.” *Oriens Antiquus* 6, 23-45.
- 1996 *Il volto di Osiri: Tele funerary dipinte nell’Egitto romano*. Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore.
- Broekman, Gerard P. F.
 2009 “Falcon-Headed Coffins and Cartonnages.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 95, 67-81.
- Brugsch, Heinrich
 1850 *Die Inschrift von Rosette nach ihrem ägyptisch-demotischen Texte sprachlich und sachlich erklärt*. Berlin: Rudolph Gaertner.
- 1851 *Sai en Sinsin sive liber metempsychosis veterum Aegyptiorum e duabus papyrus*

funeribus hieraticis signis exaratis, nunc primum edidit, Latine vertit, notas adjecit. Berlin: Rud. Gaertner.

1855 *Grammaire démotique.* Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler, Libraire Editeur.

1865 *A. Henry Rhind's Zwei Bilingue Papyri Hieratisch und Demotisch.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

Brunsch, Wolfgang

1984 "Zwei funeräre demotische Texte in München (Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst Inv. Nr. 834A/834B)." In F. Junge (ed.). *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens: Zu ehren Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern.* Gottingen: Hubert & Co., 455-464.

1999-2000 "Une version abrégée du 'Livre des Morts' en démotique tardif (P. Strasbourg D 270)." *Memorie Valdarnesi* 7, 179-185.

Budge, E. A. W.

1912 *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum.* London: British Museum.

1920 *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary.* London: J. Murray.

1967 *The Book of the Dead. The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum.* New York: Dover.

Budek, Jana

2008 "Die Sonnenlaufszene: Untersuchungen zur Vignette 15 des Altägyptischen Totenbuches während der Spät- und Ptolemäerzeit." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 37, 19-48.

Burkard, Günter

1977 *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des Alten und Mittleren Reiches.* Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 34. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.

1985 "Ägypter und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos: Untersuchungen zur Typologie und Bedeutung der demotischen Graffiti." *Meroitica* 8, 7-137.

1995 *Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien im Corpus der Asasif-Papyri. Übersetzung, Kommnetar, Formale und inhaltliche Analyse.* Ägypten und Altes Testament 31. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

2009 *Drei Totenpapyri aus einer thebanischen Werkstatt der Spätzeit (pBerlin P. 3158, pBerlin P.3159, pAberdeen ABDUA 84023).* Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Burn, John
 2011 “The Pyramid Texts and Tomb Decoration in Dynasty Six: The Tomb of Mehu at Saqqara.” *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 22, 17-34.
- Burstein, S. M.
 2009 “Hecataeus of Miletus and the Greek Encounter with Egypt.” *Ancient West and East* 8, 133-146.
- Burton, Anne
 1972 *Diodorus Siculus. Book 1: A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.
- Cannata, Maria
 2007 “Of Bodies and Soles: The Meaning of the Root qs in the Ptolemaic Period.” In Maria Cannata (ed.). *Current Research in Egyptology 2006: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Symposium which Took Place at the University of Oxford April 2006*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 21-42.
- Capart, J.
 1943 Review of: Br. Stricker. *De lijkpapyrus van Sensaos*. Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden 23. Leiden: Brill, 1942. *Chronique d'Égypte* 36, 265-266.
- Caminos, R. A.
 1993 “A Passport to the Beyond: Papyrus British Museum 10194.” In E. E. Kormisheva (ed.). *Ancient Egypt and Kush. In Memoriam Mikhail A. Korostovtsev*. Moscow: Nauka Oriental Publishers, 104-123, pl. 11.
- Carr, David
 2011 *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carrier, Claude
 2010 *Textes des Pyramides de l'Égypte ancienne*. 6 volumes. Paris: Cybele.
- Castiglione, László
 1969 “Stele eine Kupferschmiedes: Zur Deutung der römerzeitlichen ägyptischen Grabsteine.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 24, 78-86, pls. X-XII.
- Cauville, Sylvie
 1997a *Le temple de Dendara: les chapelles osiriennes*. 2 volumes. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
 1997b *Dendara: Les chapelles osiriennes. Volume 1: Transcription et traduction. Volume 2: Commentaire. Volume 3: Index*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 117-119. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

- 2007 *Dendara: La temple d'Isis*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- 2009 *Dendara: Le temple d'Isis. Vol. I. Traduction. Vol. II. Analyse à la lumière du temple d'Hathor*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 178-179. Leuven: Peeters.
- Černý, Jaroslav
- 1952 *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt*. London: H. K. Louis.
- 1976 *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Champollion, Jean-François
- 1827 *Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du musée Charles X*. Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet.
- Charron, Alain Charron (ed.).
- 2002 *La mort n'est pas une fin. Pratiques funéraires en Égypte d'Alexandre à Cléopâtre*. Arles: Éditions du musée de l'Arles.
- Chassinat, E.
- 1895 "Le Livre second des Respirations," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 31, 312-319.
- Chauveau, Michel
- 1986 "Les cultes d'Edfa à l'époque romaine." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 37, 31-43.
- 1987 *Les étiquettes de momies démotiques et bilingues du musée du Louvre*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Université de Paris.
- 1990 "Glorification d'une morte anonyme (P. dém. LOUVRE N 2420 c)." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 41, 3-8.
- 1991 "Les étiquettes de momies de la Collection Carlsberg." *Bulletin d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 91, 135-146.
- 1992 "Autour des étiquettes de momies de la Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne." *Bulletin d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 92, 101-109.
- Chauveau, Michel and Fr. Kayser
- 1991 "Les étiquettes de momies de l'université de Milan." *Bulletin d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 91, 155-159.
- Chernetsov, Sevir
- 2005 "Ethiopian Magical Texts." *Forum for Anthropology and Culture* 2, 188-200.

Ciccarello, Mark

- 1976 "Shesmu the Letopolite." In Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente (eds.). *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes, January 12, 1977*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 43-54.

Clarysse, Willy

- 1998 "A Hypocephalus from Ptolemaic Memphis in Vienna." In Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, and Harco Willems (eds.). *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years, Part 1. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 84. Leuven: Peeters, 321-327.

Clarysse, Willy and Dorothy J. Thompson

- 2006 *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt. Volume 2: Historical Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coenen, Marc

- 1995a "Books of Breathing: More than a Terminological Question?" *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 26, 29-38.
- 1995b "The So-Called Denon Papyri." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81, 237-241.
- 1997-2000 "The Quaritch Papyrus: A Graeco-Roman Funerary Papyrus from Esna." *Jaarbericht "Ex Oriente Lux"* 35-36, 41-48.
- 1998 "An Introduction to the *Document of Breathing Made By Isis*." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 49, 37-45.
- 1999a "The Greco-Roman Mortuary Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 79, 67-79.
- 1999b "A Remarkable Judgement Scene in a *Document of Breathing Made by Isis*: Papyrus Florence 3665 + 3666 and Papyrus Vienna 3850." *Orientalia* 68, 98-103.
- 2000 "The Funerary Papyri of the Bodleian Library at Oxford." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 86, 81-98.
- 2000-2005 "New Stanzas of the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys*." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 31, 5-23.
- 2001 "On the Demise of the *Book of the Dead* in Ptolemaic Thebes." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 52, 69-84.
- 2003 "The *Documents of Breathing* in the Royal Museum of Edinburgh." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 32, 105-118.

- 2003a “The Funerary Papyri of Horos Son of Estneteretten in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 130, 160-169.
- 2004 “Owners of *Documents of Breathing Made by Isis*.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 79, 59-72.
- Coenen, Marc and Andrea Kucharek
 2003 “New Findings on the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys*.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 193, 45-50.
- Coenen, Marc and Jan Quaegebeur
 1995 *De Papyrus Denon in het Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum, Den Haag of het Boek van Het Ademen van Isis*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Coenen, Marc and Bert Verrept
 2004 “The Mortuary Liturgies in the Funerary Papyrus Baltimore Walters Art Museum 10.551.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 202, 97-102.
- Colin, Frédéric
 2006 “Hermaphrodite ou parturiente? Données nouvelles sur les humanoïdes de terre crue en contexte funéraire (Qaret el-Toub, Bahariya 2005).” *Bulletin d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 106, 21-55.
- Cooney, Kathlyn M.
 2011 “Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 47, 3-44.
- Coppens, Filip
 2006 “Creative Writing in Ptolemy II’s Time: Texts from the Temple of Isis at Philae.” In Rachael J. Dann (ed.). *Current Research in Egyptology 2004: Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 34-42.
- Corbelli, Judith A.
 2006 *The Art of Death in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications.
- Corcoran, Lorelei H.
 1995 *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries A.D.)*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 56. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
 2010 *Herakleides: A Portrait Mummy from Roman Egypt*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust.

- Cruz-Urbe, Eugene
 2012 "I. Hieroglyphic and Demotic Texts (Nos 180-296)." In Jitse H. F. Dijkstra (ed.). *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan*. Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 18. Cairo: Philipp von Zabern, 111-152.
- Cubera, J. B.
 1999 "Maternal Lineage in Greek Magical Texts." In D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, and E. Thomassen (ed.). *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 195-204.
- Curtis, Neil G. W., Holger Kockelmann, and Irmtraut Munro
 2005 "The Collection of Book of the Dead Manuscripts in Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen, Scotland: A Comprehensive Overview." *Bulletin d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 105, 49-73.
- Daressy, G.
 1914 "Une stèle de Hawara." *Recueil de Travaux* 36, 73-82.
- Daumas, François
 1988-1995 *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.
- Davies, Nina de Garis and Alan H. Gardiner
 1915 *The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82)*. Theban Tomb Series 1. London: Egyptian Exploration Fund.
- Davis, S. J.
 2006 "Fashioning a Divine Body: Coptic Christology and Ritualized Dress." *Harvard Theological Review* 98:3, 336-362.
- Dawson, Warren R.
 1924 "A Rare Vignette from the 'Book of the Dead.'" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 10, 40.
- de Buck, Adriaan
 1935-1961 *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 8 volumes. Oriental Institute Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87, 132. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- de Caluwe, Albert
 1991 *Un Livre des Mortes sur bandelette de momie (Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E. 6179)*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 18. Bruxelles: Éditions de la fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

de Horrack, P. J.

1877 *Le Livre des Respirations d'après les manuscrits du Musée du Louvre*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.

1907 *Oevres diverses*. Bibliothèque égyptologique 17. Chalon-sur-Saone: Imprimerie française et orientale.

de Meulenaere, Herman

1989 Review of M. Smith. *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3. London: British Museum, 1987. *Chronique d'Égypte* 64:127-128, 175-177.

Depauw, Mark

1997 *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

1998 "The Isionomos or in-wwy." In Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, and Haco Willems (eds.). *Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years, Part II: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 85. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1131-1154.

2003 "A 'Second' Amuletic Passport for the Afterlife: P. Sydney Nicholson Museum 346 b." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 31, 93-99.

2006 *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against their Intra- and Intercultural Background*. Demotische Studien 14. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich Verlag.

2010 "Do Mothers Matter? The Emergence of Metronymics in Early Roman Egypt." In T. V. Evans and D. D. Obbink (eds.). *The Language of the Papyri*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 120-139.

2012 "Language Use, Literacy, and Bilingualism." In Christina Riggs (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 493-506.

Der Manuelian, Peter and Christian E. Loeben

1993 "New Light on the Recarved Sarcophagus of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79, 121-155.

Derchain, P. (ed.)

1969 *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine, Colloque de Strasbourg 16-18 mai 1967*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969.

Devauchelle, Didier

1982 "À propos du Papyrus Harkness." *Enchoria* 11, 109.

- 1983 “Les graffites démotiques du toit du temple d’Edfou.” *Bulletin d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 83, 123-131.
- 1988 Review of M. Smith. *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3. London: British Museum, 1987. *Orientalia* 57, 218-219.
- 2004 “Une stèle hiératico-démotique provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis (Louvre IM 3713).” In F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen (eds.). *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*. *Studia Demotica* 6. Leuven: Peeters, 95-108.
- Deveria, Theodule
1881 *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens*. Paris: Charles de Mourgues frères.
- Dieleman, Jacco
2005 *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)*. *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 153. Leiden: Brill.
- 2010 “What’s in a Sign? Translating Filiation in the Demotic Magical Papyri.” In Arietta Papaconstantinou (ed.). *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the ’Abbasids*. Surrey, England: Ashgate, 127-152.
- Forth. “Two Demotic Documents for Breathing (P. Vindob. D 12017 and 12019).”
- Dijkstra, Jitse H. F.
2008 *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)*. *Orientalia Loveniensia Analecta* 173. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2013 “The Interplay between Image and Text: On Greek Amulets Containing Christian Elements from Late-Antique Egypt.” A paper presented at the conference *Ancient Amulets: Words, Images and Social Contexts* held at the University of Chicago.
- Dölger, F. J.
1939 “Esietus. Der Ertrunkene oder zu einem Osiris Gewordene.” *Antike und Christentum* 5, 152-182.
- Doresse, Marianne
1971 “Le dieu voilé dans sa châsse et la fête du début de la décade.” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 23, 113-136.

- 1973 “Le dieu voilé dans sa chasse et la fête du début de la décade.” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 25, 92-135.
- 1979 “Le dieu voilé dans sa chasse et la fête du début de la décade.” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 31, 36-65.
- Dorian, Nancy C.
 1992 “Obsolescent Languages.” In William Bright (ed.). *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics. Volume 3*. New York: Oxford University Press, 135-136.
- Dorman, Peter F.
 1991 *The Tombs of Senenmut: The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition XXIV. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 2007 “The Funerary Papyri of Hatnofer: Last of a Purely Cursive Breed?” Paper Presented at the 58th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, April 20-22, Toledo, Ohio.
- Forthcoming “Compositional Modes in Early Version of the Book of the Dead.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
- Doxiadis, Euphrosyne
 1995 *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Du Bois, John W.
 1992 “Ritual Language.” In William Bright (ed.). *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics. Volume 4*. New York: Oxford University Press, 335-337.
- Dücker, Burckhard and Hubert Roeder
 2005 *Text und Ritual: Kulturwissenschaftliche Essays und Analysen von Sesostri bis Dada*. Hermeia 8. Heidelberg: Synchron.
- Dunand, F. and R. Lichtenberg, R.
 1995 “Pratiques et croyances funéraires en Égypte romaine.” In Wolfgang Haase (ed.). *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Teil II: Principat, Band 18: Religion, 5. Teilband: Heidentum: die religiösen Verhältnisse in den Provinzen*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 3216-3315.
- Dunand, Françoise, Jean-Louis Heim, and Roger Lichtenberg
 2010 *El-Deir nécropoles. I. La nécropole Sud*. Paris: Éditions Cybèle, 2010.
- Dunham, Dows

- 1931 "A Fragment from the Mummy Wrappings of Tuthmosis III." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17, 209-210.
- Duquesne, T.
 1994 *At the Court of Osiris*. Oxfordshire Communications in Egyptology 4. London: Darengo Publications.
- 2005 *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt: I, from the Archaic Period to Dynasty X*. London: Darengo Publications.
- Eagleton, Terry
 1983 *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ebeid, M.
 2006 "Demotic Inscriptions from the Galleries of Tuna el-Gebel." *Bulletin d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 106, 57-74.
- Edwards, I. E. S.
 1960 *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 4. London: British Museum.
- Edgerton, William F.
 1937 *Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimiles*. Oriental Institute Publications 36. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Egberts, A.
 1995 *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 8. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Elias, Jonathan Paul
 1993 *Coffin Texts in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Chicago.
- Endreffy, Kata
 2009 "Reason for Despair: Notes on Some Demotic Letters to Thoth." In Basem Samir el-Sharkawy (ed.). *The Horizon: Studies in Egyptology in Honour of M. A. Nur el-Din (10-12 April 2007)*. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 241-251.
- 2010 "Business with Gods: The Role of Bargaining in Demotic Letters to Gods and Graeco-Roman Judicial Prayers." In András Hudecz and Máté Petrik (eds.). *Commerce and Economy in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Third International Congress for Young Egyptologists: 25-27 September 2009, Budapest*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 49-54.

Englund, Gertie

- 1978  *Akh – une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 11. Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Erichsen, Wolja

- 1937 *Demotische Lesestücke I. Literarische Texte. 3. Heft: Schrifttafel*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Verlag.

Erichsen, Wolja and Siegfried Schott

- 1954 "Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift (Pap. Demot. Berlin 13603)." *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Jahrgang 1954* Nr. 7, 303-394.

Étienne, Marc

- 2002 "Livre des Morts au nom de Hor." In Alain Charron (ed.). *La mort n'est pas une fin. Pratiques funéraires en Égypte d'Alexandre à Cléopâtre*. Arles: Éditions du muse de l'Arles, 144-145.

Evans, Linda

- 2012 "Bird Behavior in Ancient Egyptian Art." In Rozenn Bailleul-Le-Suer (ed.). *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 35. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 91-98.

Evrard-Derriks, Claire and Jan Quaegebeur

- 1979 "La situle décorée de Nesnakhetiou au Musée Royal de Mariemont." *Chronique d'Égypte* 54, 26-56.

Fairman, Herbert W.

- 1945 "An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 43, 51-138.

el-Farag, Rifaat, Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, and K. P. Kuhlmann

- 1985 "Recent Archaeological Explorations at Athribis (*Hw.t Rpjj.t*)." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 41, 1-8.

Faraone, Christopher

- 2012 "Scribal Mistakes, Handbook Abbreviations and Other Peculiarities on Some Ancient Greek Amulets." *MHNH* 12, 63074.

Farid, Adel

- 1988 "Die Denkmäler des Parthenios, des Verwlaters der Isis von Koptos." *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 44, 13-66.

Faulkner, R. O.

1933 *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (British Museum No. 10188)*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 3. Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.

1935-1938 “The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys.” In *Mélanges Maspero, Orient Ancien, First Fascicule*. Mémoires d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale 66:1. Cairo: L’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 337-348.

1936 “The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus: I. A. The Songs of Isis and Nephthys.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 22, 121-140.

1985 *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Favard-Meeks, Christine and Dimitri Meeks

2010 “Les corps osiriens: du *Papyrus du Delta* au temple de Behbeit.” In Laurent Coulon (ed.). *Le culte d’Osiris au Ier millénaire av. J.-C. Découvertes et travaux récents. Actes de la table ronde internationale tenue à Lyon Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée (université Lumière-Lyon 2) les 8 et 9 juillet 2005*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 153. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 39-48.

Fazzini, Richard A.

1988 *Egypt. Dynasty XXII-XXV*. Iconography of Religions Section XVI: Egypt 10. Leiden: Brill.

Fazzomo, Richard A. and Robert Steven Bianchi

1988 *Cleopatra’s Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum.

Federn, W.

1960 “The ‘Transformations’ in the Coffin Texts: A New Approach.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19, 241-257.

Fewster,

2002 “Bilingualism in Roman Egypt.” In J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (eds.). *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 220-245.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-W.

1996 “Two Oracle Petitions Addressed to Horus-khau with Some Notes on the Oracular Amuletic Decrees (P. Berlin P. 8525 and P. 8526).” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 82, 129–144.

Frankfort, Henri

1978 *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Frankfurter, David

1998 *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

2008 “Iconoclasm and Christianization in Late Antique Egypt: Christian Treatments of Space and Image.” In Johannes Hahnk, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter (eds.). *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 163. Leiden: Brill, 135-159.

Friedman, Florence Margaret Dunn

1981 *On the Meaning of AKH (ꜣḫ) in the Egyptian Mortuary Texts*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University.

Galán, José M.

2013 “The Book of the Dead in Djehuty’s Burial Chamber.” *Egyptian Archaeology* 42, 21-24.

Gardiner, Alan Henderson

1930 “A New Letter to the Dead.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16, 19-22.

1950a “ONNΩΦΡΙΣ.” *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia: gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Feier des 250 jährigen Bestehens der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 44-53.

1950b “The Baptism of Pharaoh.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 36, 3-12.

Gardiner, Alan Henderson and Kurt Sethe

1928 *Egyptian Letters to the Dead: Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Gauthier, Henri

1913 *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes nos. 41042-41072: Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.

1925-1931 *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques continus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*. Cairo: Institute Français d’Archéologie Orientale.

Gee, John

1998 *The Requirements of Ritual Purity in Ancient Egypt*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University.

2001 “Towards an Interpretation of Hypocephali.” In Hedvig Györy (ed.). “*Le lotus qui*

sort de terre: " mélanges offerts à Edith Varga. Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts. Supplément. Budapest: Musée hongrois des beaux-arts, 325-334.

- 2006a "Non-Round Hypocephali." In Hedvig Györy (ed.). *Aegyptus et Pannonia 3: Acta Symposii anno 2004.* Budapest: MEBT - ÓEB, 41-57.
- 2006b "The Use of the Daily Temple Liturgy in the Book of the Dead." In Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro, and Simone Stöhr (eds.). *Totenbuch-Forschungen Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005.* Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 73-86.
- 2007 "Were Egyptian Texts Divinely Written?" In Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin (eds.). *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6-12 septembre 2004.* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 150. Leuven: Peeters, 2007, 807-813.
- 2009 "A New Look at the *ḥnh p3* by Formula." In Ghilsaine Widmer and Didier Devauchelle (eds.). *Actes du IX^e congrès international des études démotiques.* Bibliothèque d'Étude 147. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2009, 133-144.

Gaudard, François and Janet H. Johnson

- 2010 "Six Stone Mummy Labels in the Oriental Institute Museum." In Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen (eds.). *Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen.* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 194. Leuven: Peeters, 193-209.

Geisen, Christina

- 2004 *Die Totentexte des vorschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep aus der 13. Dynastie. Ein Textzeuge aus der Übergangszeit von der Sargtexten zum Totenbuch.* Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Gestermann, Louise

- 1992 "Zu den spätzeitlichen Bezeugungen der Sargtexte." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 19, 117-132.
- 1999 "Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil 1: Ein 'Gottesbegräbnis' des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat, 6. Studie." In R. Gundlach and W. Seipel (eds.). *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum: Akten des 2. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Wien, 24.-26.9.1997.* Ägypten und Altes Testament 36:2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 97-110.

- 2005 *Die Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte altägyptischer Totenliteratur* (“Sargtexte”) in *spätzeitlichen Grabanlagen*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 68. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- 2006 “Ägyptische Briefe: Briefe in das Jenseits.” In Bernd Janowski and Gernot Wilhelm (eds.). *Briefe*. Text aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments: Neue Folge 3. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 289-306.
- Ghattas, Francis Abdel-Malek
 1968 *Das Buch mk.t-ḥꜣw* “Schutz des Leibes.” Göttingen: Georg-August Universität zu Göttingen.
- Goedicke, Hans
 1971 Review of Winfried Barta. *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 24. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1968. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 9, 143-144.
- Goebs, Katja
 2011 “King as God and God as King: Colour, Light, and Transformation in Egyptian Ritual.” In Rolf Gundlach and Kate Spence (eds.). *5. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie*. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4:2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 57-101.
- Goelet, Ogden, Jr.
 1994 “A Commentary on the Corpus of Literature and Tradition which Constitutes *The Book of Going Forth by Day*.” In Raymond O. Faulkner. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth by Day*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 139-171.
- Goldwasser, Orly
 1995 *From Icon to Metaphor: Studies in the Semiotics of Hieroglyphs*. Fribourg: University Press.
 1999 “‘Low’ and ‘High’ Dialects in Ramesside Egyptian.” In S. Grunert and I. Hafemann (eds.). *Textcorpus and Wörterbuch: Aspekte zur ägyptischen Lexicographie*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 14. Leiden: Brill, 321-326.
- Golénischeff, W.
 1927 *Papyrus hiératiques*. Catalogue générale. Cario: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- Goyon, Jean-Claude
 1966 *Le papyrus du Louvre N. 3279*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 42. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.

- 1967 “Le cérémonial de glorification d’Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I. 3079 (colonnes 110 à 112).” *Bulletin d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 65, 89-156.
- 1972 *Rituels funéraires de l’ancienne Égypte: Le Rituel de l’Embaumement, Le Rituel de l’Ouverture de la Bouche, Les livres des Respirations*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- 1974 “La littérature funéraire tardive.” In *Textes et langages de l’Égypte pharaonique: Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822-1972: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, 73-81.
- 1974b “La véritable attribution des soi-disant chapitres 191 et 192 du Livre des Morts.” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1, 117-127.
- 1977 “Un phylactère tardif: Le papyrus 3233 A et B du musée du Louvre,” *Bulletin d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 77, 45-54.
- 1996 “Un Linceul égyptien historié de la fin de l’époque ptolémaïque au muse des Beaux-Arts de Lyon.” *Bulletin des musées et monuments Lyonnais* 1996:4, 14-23.
- 1999 *Le papyrus d’Imouthès, fils de Psintaès, au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New-York (Papyrus MMA 35.9.21)*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Graefe, E.
 1991 “Über die Verarbeitung von Pyramidentexten in den späten Tempeln.” In U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (eds.). *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991*. Leuven: Peeters, 129-148.
- Grajetzki, Wolfram
 2006 “Another Early Source for the Book of the Dead: The Second Intermediate Period Burial D 25 at Abydos.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 34, 205-216.
- Griffith, Francis Llewellyn
 1900 *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis: The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 1909 “Herodotus II. 90. Apotheosis by Drowning.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 46, 132-134.
- 1937 *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*. Les temples immerges de la Nubie. Oxford: University Press.
- Griffith, Francis Llewellyn and Herbert Thompson
 1904 *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*. London: H. Grevel & Co.

- 1909 *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden. Volume III. Indices.* London: H. Grevel & Co.
- Griffith, Francis Llewellyn And U. Wilcken
 1908 "A Bilingual Sale of Liturgies in 136 B.C." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 45, 103-110.
- Griffiths, J. Gwyn
 1980 *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.
 2001 "Osiris." In Donald B. Redford (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 615-619.
- Griggs, C. Wilfred
 1990 *Early Egyptian Christianity from its Origins to 451 C.E.* Leiden: Brill.
- Grimes, Ronald L.
 1982 *Beginnings in Ritual Studies.* Lanham: University Press of America.
- Grimes, Ronald L. (ed.)
 1996 *Readings in Ritual Studies.* Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- Grimm, Alfred
 1979 "Ein Zitat aus den Pyramidtexten in einem Ptolemäischen Ritualtext des Horus-Tempels von Edfu: Edfou III, 130.14-15 = Pyr. 376b (Spr. 269). Zur Tradition altägyptischer Texte Voruntersuchungen zu einer Theorie der Gattungen." *Göttinger Miszellen* 31, 35-46.
- Grimm, Alfred and Sylvia Schoske
 1999 *Im Zeichnen des Mondes. Ägypten zu Beginn des Neuen Reiches.* München: Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst.
- Gronewald, M., Klaus Maresch, and Cornelia Römer
 1991 *Kölner Papyri (P. Köln).* Band 8. Papyrologica Coloniensia 8. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1991.
- Guasch Jané, Maria Rosa
 2012 "About the Orientation of the Magical Bricks in Tutankhamun's Burial Chamber." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 48, 111-118.
- Gulden, Svenja A. and Irmtraut Munro
 1998 *Bibliographie zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch.* Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

- Gunn, B.
1916 "The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3:2-3, 81-94.
- Habachi, Labib
1977 *Tavole d'offerta are e bacilli da libagione: N. 22001-22067*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino 2. Turin: Edizioni d'Arte Fratelli Pozzo.
- Haikal, Fayza Mohamed Hussein
1970 *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin. Part One: Introduction, Transcriptions and Plates. Part Two: Translation and Commentary*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 14-15. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Handley, E. W., H. G. Ioannidou, P. J. Parsons, and J. E. G. Whitehorne
1992 *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Volume LIX*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Hare, Tom
1999 *ReMembering Osiris: Number, Gender, and the Word in Ancient Egyptian Representational Systems*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Harrington, Nicola
2013 *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Haslauer, Elfriede
2001 "Hypocephali in Wien und im Asasif." In Hedvig Gyory (ed.). *Le lotus qui sort de terre.* *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga*. Budapest: Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts, 173-184.
- Hauser-Scäublin, Brigitta
1976 *So Lebten die Alten Ägypter*. Basel: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1976.
- el-Hawary, Amr
2010 *Wortschöpfung: Die Memphitische Theologie und die Siegesstele des Pije, zwei Zeugen kultureller Repräsentation in der 25 Dynastie*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 243. Fribourg: Academic Press.
- Hayes, W. C.
1935 *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
1937 *The Texts in the Mastaba of Se'n-wosret-'nkh at Lisht*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Hays, Harold
2005 "h3 snq 'Oh, be fearful!'" *Göttinger Miszellen* 204, 51-56.

- 2006a *The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts and Its Continuities with Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- 2006b Review of Jan Assmann *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*. Band 1. *Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 65:3, 226-229.
- 2006-2007 “The Mutability of Tradition: The Old Kingdom Heritage and Middle Kingdom Significance of Coffin Texts Spell 343.” *Jaarbericht “Ex Oriente Lux”* 40, 43-60.
- 2009 “Unreading the Pyramids.” *Bulletin d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 109, 195-220.
- 2011 “The Death of the Democratisation of the Afterlife.” In Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick (eds.). *Old Kingdom: New Perspectives. Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 115-130.
- 2012 *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts: Typology and Disposition*. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 31. Leiden: Brill.
- 2013 “The End of Rites of Passage and a Start with Ritual Syntax in Ancient Egypt.” *Rivista Studi Orientali Supplemento* 2, 165-186.
- Hays, Harold and William Schenck
- 2007 “Intersection of Ritual Space and Ritual Representation: Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tombs.” In Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan (eds.). *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes. Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop*. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 61. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007, 97-116.
- Heerma van Voss, Matthieu
- 2006 “Zur Vignette des Opfergefildes, Totenbuch 110.” In Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro, and Simone Stöhr (eds.). *Totenbuch-Forschungen Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005*. *Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch* 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 115-120.
- Herbin, François René
- 1984 “Une liturgie des rites dédicaires de Djemê P. Vienne 3865.” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 35, 105-126, pl. 9.
- 1994 *Le livre de parcourir l’éternité*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 58. Leuven: Peeters.

- 1999 “Trois manuscrits originaux du Louvre porteurs du Livre des Respirations Fait par Isis (P. Louvre N 3121, N 3083 et N 3166).” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 50, 149-223, pls. xv-xxii.
- 2002 *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter: Histoire d’une famille dans l’Égypte romaine*. Paris: Musée du Louvre.
- 2003 “Le renaissance d’Osiris au temple d’Opet (P. Vatican Inv. 38608).” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 54, 67-127.
- 2004 “Un texte de glorification.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 32, 171-204.
- 2008a *Books of Breathing*. Catalogue of the Books of the Dead and Other Religious Texts in the British Museum 4. London: British Museum Press.
- 2008b “Trois papyrus hiéroglyphiques d’époque romaine.” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 59, 125-146, pls. X-XIII.
- 2012 “La tablette hiéroglyphique MMA 55.144.1.” *Égypte, Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 5, 286-314.
- Herklotz, Friederike
- 2012 “Aegypto capta: Augustus and the Annexation of Egypt.” In Christina Riggs (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 11-21.
- Hermann, A.
- 1966 “Ertrinken.” *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Volume 6. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersman, 370-410.
- Hermesen, Edmund
- 1991 *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits: Das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch und seine Topographie*. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag.
- Heyob, Sharon Kelly
- 1975 *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World*. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain 51. Leiden: Brill.
- Hodjash, Svetlana and Oleg Berlev
- 1982 *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers.
- Hoffmann, Friedhelm
- 2002 “Die Hymnensammlung des P. Wien D6951.” Kim Ryholt (ed.). *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23-27 August*

1999. Carsten Niebuhr Publications 27. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 219-228.
- 2009 “Die Entstehung der demotischen Erzählliteratur: Beobachtungen zum Überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Kontext.” In Hubert Roeder (ed.). *Das Erzählen in frühen Hochkulturen. I. Der Fall Ägypten*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 351-384.
- 2012 “Hieratic and Demotic Literature.” In Christina Riggs (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 543-562.
- Hoffmann, Friedhelm and Joachim Friedrich Quack
 2007 *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4. Berlin: Lit Verlag.
- Hölbl, Günther
 1986 *Ägyptisches Kulturgut im phönikischen und punischen Sardinien*. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain 102. Leiden: Brill.
- 1989 *Ägyptisches Kulturgut auf den Inseln Malta und Gozo in phönikischer und punischer Zeit. Die Objekte im Archäologischen Museum von Valletta*. Studien zum Ägyptischen Kulturgut im Mittelmeerraum 1. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 2004 *Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel II. Die Tempel des römischen Nubien*. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Hollis, Susan Tower
 2001 “Oral Tradition.” In Donald B. Redford (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. Volume 2: G-O*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 612-615.
- Hollmann, Alexander
 2011 “A Curse Tablet from Antioch against Babyllas the Greengrocer.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 177, 157-165.
- Holm-Rasmussen, Torben
 1979 “On the Statue Cult of Nektanebos II.” *Acta Orientalia* 40, 21-26.
- Hooper, Finley A.
 1961 *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abu Billou*. Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.
- Hornung, Erik
 1984 *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*. Second Edition. Zurich: Artemis-Verlag.

- 1987 *Texte zum Amduat. Teil I: Kurzfassung und Langfassung, 1. bis 3. Stunde.* Aegyptiaca Helvetica 13. Geneva: Éditions de Belle Lettres.
- 1992a *Texte zum Amduat. Teil II: Langfassung, 4. bis 8. Stunde.* Aegyptiaca Helvetica 14. Geneva: Éditions de Belle Lettres.
- 1992b *Text into Image: Essays on Egyptian Thought.* New York: Timken.
- 1994 *Texte zum Amduat. Teil III: Langfassung, 9. bis 12. Stunde.* Aegyptiaca Helvetica 15. Geneva: Éditions de Belle Lettres.
- 1997 *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher.* Darmstadt: Primus Verlag.
- 1999 *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife.* Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 2001 *The Secret Lore of Egypt: Its Impact on the West.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Houston, Stephen, John Baines, and Jerrold Cooper
 2003 “Last Writing: Script Obsolescence in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Mesoamerica.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, 430-479.
- Huebner, Sabine R.
 2013 *The Family in Roman Egypt: A Comparative Approach to Intergenerational Solidarity and Conflict.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hughes, George R.
 1958 “A Demotic Letter to Thoth.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17, 1-12.
- 1968 “A Demotic Plea to Thoth in the Library of G. Michaelidis.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 54, 176-182.
- 1969 “The Cruel Father: A Demotic Papyrus in the Library of G. Michaelides.” In *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, September 12, 1969.* Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 35. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 43-54.
- 2005 *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum.* Oriental Institute Communication 29. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Hummel, Siebgert
 1982-1983 “Vignette zum ägyptischen Totenbuch, Kap. 110.” *Orientalia Suecana* 31-32, 43-46.

- 1980-1997 *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik III/1-3 A-C. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Hüsken, Ute
2007 *When Rituals Go Wrong: Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*. Studies in the History of Religions 115. Leiden: Boston.
- Illés, Orsolya
2006a “Single Spell Book of the Dead Papyri as Amulets.” In Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro, and Simone Stöhr (eds.). *Totenbuch-Forschungen. Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 121-130.
- 2006b “An Unusual Book of the Dead Manuscript from TT 32.” *Acta Antiqua* 46, 119-127.
- Iversen, Erik
1993 *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Janák, Jiří
2003 “Revealed but Undiscovered: A New Letter to the Dead.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, 275-277.
- Janák, Jiří and Renata Langráfová
2006a “The Book of the Dead on Wooden Tablets from Abusir.” In M. Bárta, F. Coppens, and J. Kerjčí (eds.). *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 28-33.
- 2006b “Wooden Fragments with Some Chapters of the Book of the Dead Belonging to Neferibreseneb Nekau.” In B. Backes, I. Munro, and S. Stöhr (eds.). *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn 25.-29. September, 2005*. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 135-144.
- 2009 “Nekau’s Book of the Dead Reopened.” In B. Backes, M. Müller-Roth, and S. Stöhr (eds.). *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des. Thot. Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 83-88.
- 2010 “Colourful Spells and Wooden Grid. Nekau’s Book of the Dead Once More.” In Ladislav Bareš, Phillip Coppens, and Květa Smoláriková (eds.). *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE*.

Proceedings of an International Conference, Prague, September 1-4, 2009.
Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 219-223.

Jansen-Winkeln, Karl

1996 *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 34. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996.

Janzen, Waldemar

1972 *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle*. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 125. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Jasnow, Richard

1984 "Demotic Graffiti from Western Thebes." In Heinz-Josef Thissen and Karl-Theodor Zauzich (eds.). *Grammat Demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*. Würzburg: Gisela Zauzich, 87-106.

2002 "Recent Trends and Advances in the Study of Late Period Egyptian Literature." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 39, 207-216.

2007 "'Through Demotic Eyes': On Style and Description in Demotic Narratives." In Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards (eds.). *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*. Volume 1. Cairo: SCA, 433-448.

Jay, Jacqueline E.

2007 "Religious Literature of Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt." *Religion Compass* 1:1, 93-106.

2008 *The Narrative Structure of Ancient Egyptian Tales: From Sinuhe to Setna*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago.

Jequier, G.

1935 *La pyramide d'Aba*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Johnson, Janet H.

2000 *Thus Wrote 'Onchsheshonqy: An Introductory Grammar of Demotic*. 3rd Edition. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 45. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

2004 *The Demotic Verbal System*. 2nd printing with corrections. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 30. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Jordan, David R.

1976 "CIL VIII 19525 (B).2: QPVLVA = Q(VEM) P(EPERIT) VVLVA." *Philologus* 120, 127-132.

- 1988 "A New Reading of a Papyrus Love Charm in the Louvre." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 74, 231-243.
- 2001 "P.Duk.inv. 230, an Erotic Spell." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 40, 159-170.
- Jordan, David R. and R. D. Kotansky
 1996 "Two Phylacteries from Xanthos." *Revue archéologique* 1, 161-174.
- Jørgensen, Mogens
 2001 *Catalogue Egypt. III. Coffins, Mummy Adornments and Mummies from the Third Intermediate, Late, Ptolemaic and the Roman Periods (1080 BC – AD 400)*. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
- Junge Friedrich
 2001 *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*. Translated by David Warburton. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Junker, Hermann
 1910 *Die Studienwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften Dendera, Edfu und Philae*. Wien: Alfred Hölder.
- Jürgens, P.
 1990 "Der Tote als Mittler zwischen Mensch und Göttern im Berliner Sargtextepapyrus." *Göttinger Miszellen* 116, 51-63.
- Kákosy, László
 1992 "Three Decrees of Gods from Theban Tomb 32." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 23, 311-328, pls. IV-VII.
- 2002 "Osiris of NN." In Mamdouh Eldamaty and Mai Trad (eds.). *Egyptian Collections around the World: Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo*. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002, 629-636.
- Kaplony-Heckel, Ursula
 2004 "Rund um die thebanischen Tempel (Demotische Ostraka zur Pfrunden-Wirtschaft)." In F. Hoffmann und H. J. Thissen (eds.). *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8 Juni 2004*. Studia Demotica 6. Leuven: Peeters, 283-338.
- 2009 *Land und Leute am Nil nach demotischen Inschriften, Papyri und Ostraka*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 71. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Karkowski, J. and J. K. Winnicki, with an appendix by E. Bresciani

- 1983 “Amenhotep, Son of Hapu and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari – Some Reconsiderations.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 39, 93-105.
- Kees, Hermann
 1932 “Apotheosis by Drowning.” In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. London: Oxford University Press, 402-405.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A.
 1960 “Four Stelae in Leicester City Museum.” *Orientalia* 29, 75-97.
- Klasens, A.
 1975 “An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty.” *Oudheidkundigmededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 56, 20-28.
- Klotz, David
 2008 *Kneph: The Religion of Roman Thebes*. Ph. D. Dissertation, Yale University.
- Kockelmann, Holger
 2003 “Vier späte Leinenamulette für Mumien im Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien und im Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 31, 235-260.
- 2007 “It’s Not Always the Book of the Dead! On the Unusual Texts of Berlin P. 3071 and Other Mummy Wrappings from Graeco-Roman Egypt.” In Kata Endreffy and András Gulyás (eds.). *Proceedings of the Fourth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists 31 August – 2 September 2006, Budapest*. *Studia Aegyptiaca* 18. Budapest: La Chaire d’Égyptologie, 239-261.
- 2008a *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden, Studien zur altägyptischen Totenbuch 12:II*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2008b *Praising the Goddess: A Comparative and Annotated Re-Edition of Six Demotic Hymns and Praises Addressed to Isis*. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 15. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Koenig, Yvan
 1998 “Quelques ‘égyptianismes’ de la Septante.” *Bulletin d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 98, 223-233.
- Köhler, Ursula
 1972 “Der Berliner Totenpapyrus (P 3127) und seine Parallelen. Die engen Beziehungen dieser Totenpapyrus-Gruppe zu den Vignetten des Totenbuches.” *Forschungen und Berichte* 14, 45-58.

Kramer, Bärbel and John C. Shelton

1987 *Das Archiv des Nephros und verwandte Texte*. Aegyptiaca Treverensia 4. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

Kreinath, Jens, Jan Snoek, and Michael Stausberg

2006 *Theorizing Rituals: Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*. Studies in the History of Religions 114:1. Leiden: Brill.

2007 *Theorizing Rituals: Annotated Bibliography of Ritual Theory, 1966-2005*. Studies in the History of Religions 114:2. Leiden: Brill.

Kreuzsaler, Claudia

2013 "Tote ohne Begräbnis – Die Klage der Artemisia." In Angelika Zdiarsky (ed.). *Wege zur Unsterblichkeit: Altägyptischer Totenkult und Jenseitsglaube*. Nilus 20. Wien: Phoibos Verlag, 45-53.

Kropp, M.

1930 *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte*. Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Kruit, Nico

1998 "Age Reckoning in Hellenistic Egypt: The Evidence of Declarations of Birth, Excerpts from the Ephebe Registers, and Census Returns." In A. M. F. W. Verhoogt and S. P. Vleeming (eds.). *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P. W. Pestman (P. L. Bat. 30)*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 30. Leiden: Brill, 37-58.

Kucharek, Andrea

2010 *Altägyptische Totenliturgien 4: Die Klagelieder von Isis und Nephthys in Texten der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Kurth, Dieter

1975 *Den Himmel Stützen: Die "Tw3 pt"-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche*. Rites Égyptiens II. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

1990 *Der Sarg der Teüris: Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten*. Aegyptiaca Treverensia 6. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

2004a *Edfou VII. Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu Abteilung I, Übersetzungen Band 2*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

2004b *The Temple of Edfu: A Guide by an Ancient Egyptian Priest*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

- 2007 *Einführung ins Ptolemäische: Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken. Teil I.* Hützel: Backe-Verlag.
- 2010 *Materialien zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten.* Hützel: Backe-Verlag.
- 2011 “Verschlüsselte Kennzeichnungen des gerechtfertigten Toten.” In Zahi Hawass, Khaled Daoud, and Ramadan B. Hussein (eds.). *Scribe of Justice: Egyptological Studies in honour of Shafik Allam.* Supplément aux annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte 42. Cairo: Ministry of State for Antiquities, 265-271.
- 2013 “Hausgrabungen.” *Aegyptiaca in deutschem Privatbesitz.* Hützel: Backe-Verlag.
- Landgráfová, Renata
- 2011 “The Oldest Known Scene of the Purification of the King.” In Vivienne G. Callender, Ladislav Bareš, Miroslav Bárta, Jiří Janák, and Jaromir Krejčí (eds.). *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday.* Prague: Charles University in Prague, 277-282.
- Lapp, Günther
- 1986 *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches.* Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo 21. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- 1996 “Die Entwicklung der Särge von der 6. bis zur 13. Dynastie.” In Harco Willems (ed.). *The World of the Coffin Texts: Proceedings of the Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan de Buck, Leiden, December 17-19, 1992.* Egyptologische Uitgaven 9. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 73-99.
- 1997 *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 19477).* London: British Museum.
- Laurent, Véronique and Ghislaine Widmer
- 2011-2013 “Une stèle démotique anciennement découverte à Tell el-Maskhouta (Genève, Musée d’art et d’histoire, inv. A 2009-2).” *Bulletin de la Société d’Égyptologie, Genève* 29, 77-92.
- Leahy, Anthony
- 1992 “‘May the King Live’: The Libyan Rulers in the Onomastic Record.” In Allan B. Lloyd (ed.). *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths.* London: Egypt Exploration Society, 146-163.
- 2010 “Text and Image in Funerary Identity at Abydos in the Early Seventh Century BC.” *Imago Aegypti* 3, 56-71, pl. 19-23.

Legrain, Georges

1889 *Le livre des transformations (Papyrus Démotique 3,452 du Louvre). Traduit, commente et accompagne d'un glossaire-index.* Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Leipoldt, Iohannes

1908 *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera Omnia. Volume III. Scriptorum Coptici, Series Secunda 4.* Paris: E Typographeo Reipublica.

Leitz, Christian

2002 *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Band I-VII. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110-116.* Leuven: Peeters.

2011 *Der Sarg des Panehemisis in Wien. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 3.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

2012 *Geographisch-osirianische Prozessionen aus Philae, Dendara und Athribis. Soubassementstudien II. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 8.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Lesko, Leonard

2004 *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian.* Second Edition. Providence: B. C. Scribe Publications.

Lembke, K., C. Fluck, and G. Vittmann

2004 *Ägyptens spät blüte: Die Römer am Nil.* Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern.

Leprohon, Ronald J.

2001 "Offering Formulas and Lists." In Donald B. Redford (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. Volume 2.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 569-572.

Lepsius, K.

1842 *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypten nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin mit einem Vorworte zum ersten Male Herausgegeben.* Leipzig: G. Wigand.

Lesko, Leonard

1972 *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

2001 "Funerary Literature." In Donald B. Redford (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. Volume 1: A-F.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 570-575.

2003 "Nubian Influence on the Later Versions of the Book of the Dead." In Zahi Hawass (ed.). *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century. Proceedings*

of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists. Volume 1: Archaeology.
Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 314-318.

Lewis, Naphtali

1993 "The Demise of the Demotic Document: When and Why." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79, 276–281.

Lexa, F.

1910 *Das demotische Totenbuch der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus des Pa-Month)*. Demotische Studien 4. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche.

Lichtheim, Miriam

2006 *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lieblein, J.

1895 *Le livre égyptien que mon nom fleurisse*. Leipzig: Librairie J. C. Hinrichs.

Lindsay, Jack

1968 *Men and Gods on the Roman Nile*. London: Muller.

Logan, T.

1976 "Papyrus Harkness." In Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente (eds.). *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 147-161.

Loprieno, Antonio

1991 "The Sign of Literature in the Shipwrecked Sailor." In Ursula Verhoeven and Erhart Graefe (eds.). *Religion und Philosophie im alten Agypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchaim zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 39. Leuven: Peeters,

1995 *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1996 "Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient Texts and Modern Literary Theory." In Jerrold S. Cooper and Glenn M. Schwartz (eds.). *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 209-232.

Loprieno, Antonio (ed.)

1996b *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 10. Leiden: Brill.

Lucarelli, Rita

- 2007 “The Vignette of Ch. 40 of the Book of the Dead.” In Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin (eds.). *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, 6-12 Sept. 2004*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 150. Leuven: Peeters, 1181-1186.
- 2009 “Popular Beliefs in Demons in the Libyan Period: The Evidence of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees.” In G. P. F. Broekman and O. E. Kaper (eds.). *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st-24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2008*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 23. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 231-239.
- 2012 “The So-Called Vignette of Spell 182 of the Book of the Dead.” In Rita Lucarelli, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Annik Wüthrich (eds.). *Herausgehen am Tage. Gesammelte Schriften zum altägyptischen Totenbuch*. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 79-91.
- Lüddeckens, Erich
- 1943 “Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 11, 1-188.
- 1971 “Frühdemotische Inschrift eines Tongefasses in Berlin.” *Enchoria* 1, 1-8.
- 1987 “Der koptische Brief Reykjavik XI, Corrigenda und Addenda.” *Enchoria* 15, 33-37.
- Lull, Jose
- 2001 “A Scene from the Book of the Dead Belonging to a Private Twenty-First Dynasty Tomb in Tanis (Tomb of *ʿnh.f-n-Jmnw*).” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 87, 180-186.
- Lycourinos, Damon Zacharias
- 2012 *Occult Traditions*. Geelong: Numen Books.
- Mace, Arthur C. and Herbet E. Winlock
- 1916 *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Mairs, Rachel and Cary J. Martin
- 2008-2009 “A Bilingual ‘Sale’ of Liturgies from the Archive of the Theban Choachytes: P. Berlin 5507, P. Berlin 3098 and P. Leiden 413.” *Enchoria* 31, 22-67.
- Malouta, Myrto

- 2009 “Fatherlessness and Formal Identification in Roman Egypt.” In Sabine R. Hübner and David M. Ratzan. *Growing up Fatherless in Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 120-138.
- Manassa, Colleen
 2007 *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 72:1-2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Manley, Bill and Aidan Dodson
 2010 *Life Everlasting: National Museums Scotland Collection of Egyptian Coffins*. Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland.
- Marchese, Giuseppina Lenzo
 2004 “La vignette initiale dans les papyrus funéraires de la Troisième Période intermédiaire.” *Bulletin de Société d’Égyptologie Genève* 26, 43-64.
- 2007a *Manuscrits hiératiques du Livre des Morts de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (Papyrus de Turin CGT 53001-53013)*. Cahiers de la Société d’Égyptologie 8. Genève: Société d’Égyptologie.
- 2007b “Les abrégés hiératiques du *Livre des Morts* durant la troisième période intermédiaire.” In Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin (eds.). *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6-12 septembre 2004*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 150. Leuven: Peeters, 1117-1124.
- Martin, Cary J. and Kim Ryholt
 2006 “Put My Funerary Papyrus in My Mummy Please.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 92, 270-274.
- Martin, Geoffrey Thorndike
 1984 “The Tomb of Tia and Tia: Preliminary Report on the Saqqâra Excavations, 1983.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 70, 5-12.
- 1987 *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt*. Vol. 1. London: KPI.
- Mathieson, Ian, Elizabeth Bettles, Sue Davies, and H. S. Smith
 1995 “A Stela of the Persian Period from Saqqara.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81, 23-41.
- Mathieu, Bernard
 2004 “La distinction entre Textes des Pyramides et Textes de Sarcophages est-elle

légitime?” In Susanne Bickel and Bernard Mathieu (eds.). *D'un monde à l'autre: Textes des pyramides & textes des sarcophages*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 139. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 247-262.

- 2009 “Le ‘Livre de Nout’ du chancelier Ânou: ‘Nouvelles’ versions de Textes des Pyramides.” In Isabelle Régen and Frédéric Servajean (eds.). *Verba manent: Recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks par ses collègues et amis*. Volume 2. Cahiers “Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne” 2. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 297-298.

McClearly, Roger V.

- 1992 “Ancestor Cults at Terenouthis in Lower Egypt: A Case for Greco-Egyptian Oecumenism.” In Janet H. Johnson (ed.). *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 51. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 221-231.

McGing, B. C.

- 1997 “Revolt Egyptian Style: Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule.” *AfP* 42, 273-314.

McKenzie, Judith

- 2007 *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt 300 BC – AD 700*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Meeks, Dimitri

- 2006 *Mythes et légendes du Delta d'après le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84*. Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 125. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2006.

Mekis, Tamás

- 2008 “Données nouvelles sur les hypocéphales.” *Kût* 2008:2, 34-80.

- 2012 “The Cartonnage of Nestanetjereten (Louvre AF 12859; MG E 1082) and Its Enigma.” *Bulletin d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 112, 243-273.

Menu, Bernadette

- 1974 “Une stèle démotique inédite.” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 26, 68-72.

Mercier, Jacques

- 1970 *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls*. New York: G. Braziller.

Migahid, Abdel Gawad

- 1988 *Demotische Briefe an Götter von der Spät- bis zur Römerzeit*. Würzburg: Universitätsverlag.

Migahid, Abdel Gawad and Günter Vittmann

- 2003 "Zwei weitere frühdemotische Briefe an Thot." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 54, 47-65.
- Milde, H.
 1991 *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 7. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- 2011 "Reading Vignettes: An Approach to Illustrations in the Book of the Dead." *Jaarbericht "Ex Oriente Lux"* 43, 43-56.
- Miniaci, Gianluca
 2011 "The Iconography of the *Rishi* Coffins and the Legacy of the Late Middle Kingdom." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 46, 49-61.
- Mlasowsky, Alexander
 1997 "Decussis." In Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider (eds.). *Der neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike. Band 3: Cl-Epi*. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 359.
- Moers, Gerald (ed.)
 1999 *Definitely: Egyptian Literature. Proceedings of the Symposium "Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms," Los Angeles, March 24-26, 1995*. *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica* 2. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie.
- Moje, Jan
 2010 "Die Entwicklung der bilinguen und monolinguen demotischen Graffiti im Ägypten des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr." In Ladislav Bareš, Filip Coppens, and Květa Smoláriková (eds.). *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE. Proceedings of an International Conference, Prague, September 1-4, 2009*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 286-304.
- 2012 "Der Domänenschreiber der Gottesgemahlin Nes-pa-qai-schuti B und seine Familie in der 25./26. Dynastie." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 41, 277-321.
- Mojsov, Bojana
 2005 *Osiris: Death and Afterlife of a God*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Möller, Georg
 1900 *Ueber die in einem späthieratischen Papyrus des Berliner Museums erhaltenen Pyramidentexte*. Berlin: Bernhard Paul.
- 1912 *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit. Dritter Band, von der zweiundzwanzigsten Dynastie bis zum dritten Jahrhundert nach Chr.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

- 1913a *Die Beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- 1913b *Demotische Texte aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Erster Band: Mumienbilder*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- 1961 *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch*. Drittes Heft. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Montet, Pierre
 1964 “Le rituel de foundation des temples égyptiens.” *Kêmi* 17, 74-100.
- Montserrat, Dominic and Lynn Meskell
 1997 “Mortuary Archaeology and Religious Landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83, 179-197.
- Morenz, Siegfried
 1959 “Zur Vergöttlichung in Ägypten.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 84, 132-143.
- 1975 *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten: Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag.
- Mosher, Malcolm
 1990 *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead in the Late Period: A Study of Revisions Evident in Evolving Vignettes and Possible Chronological and Geographical Implications for Differing Versions of Vignettes*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- 1992 “Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29, 143-172.
- 2001 *The Papyrus of Hor (BM EA 10479) with Papyrs MacGregor: The Late Period Tradition at Akhmim*. Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum 2. London: British Museum Press.
- 2002 “The Book of the Dead Tradition at Akhmim during the Late Period.” In A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs and J. Van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest. Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 31. Leiden: Brill, 201-209.
- 2010 “An Intriguing Theban Book of the Dead Tradition in the Late Period.” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 15, 123-172.

Moyer, Ian Strachan

2004 *At the Limits of Hellenism: Egyptian Priests and the Greek World*. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago.

2011 *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Muhlestein, Kerry

2005 "Death by Water: The Role of Water in Ancient Egypt's Treatment of Enemies and Juridical Process." In Alessia Amenta, Maria Michela Luiselli, and Maria Novella Sordi (eds.). *L'acqua nell'antico Egitto: Vita, rigenerazione, incantesimo, medicamento*. Egitto Antico 3. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 173-179.

Muhs, Brian P.

2005 *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes*. Oriental Institute Publications 126. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

2012 "Robert Curzon and His Mummy Labels." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 98, 285-291.

Müller, Hans Wolfgang

1976 *Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst*. Munich: Karl M. Lipp.

Müller, Matthias

2002 Review of Jean-Claude Goyon. *Le Papyrus d'Imouthès*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999. *Lingua Aegyptia* 10, 437-440.

Müller-Roth, Marcus

2010 "From Memphis to Thebes: Local Traditions in the Late Period." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 15, 173-187.

Munro, Irmtraut

1987 *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*. London: Kegan Paul.

2009 *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus der Ta-schep-en-Chonsu aus der späten 25. Dynastie (pMoskau Puschkin-Museum I, 1b, 121)*. Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuch 10. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

2010 "The Evolution of the Book of the Dead." In John Taylor (ed.). *Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 54-63.

Munro, Peter

1973 *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*. Gluckstadt: J. J. Augustin.

- 1985 “Zur Chronologie der Totenstelen aus Nag‘ el-Ḥiṣyâ.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 41, 149-187.
- Münster, Maria
 1968 *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling.
- Nagel, Georges
 1929 “Un papyrus funéraire de la fin du Nouvel Empire.” *Bulletin d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 29, 1-127.
- Naville, Edouard
 1886 *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt*. Berlin: A. Asher & Co.
 1907 *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari. Part I*. Excavation Memoirs 28. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
 1910 *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari. Part II*. Excavation Memoirs 30. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Neugebauer, Otto and Richard A. Parker
 1969 *Egyptian Astronomical Texts III. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*. London: Brown University Press.
- Nilsson, Maria
 2012 *The Crown of Arsinoë II: The Creation of an Imagery of Authority*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Niwiński, Andrzej
 1989 *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 86. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
 2000 “Iconography of the 21st Dynasty: Its Main Features, Levels of Attestation, the Media and their Diffusion.” In Christoph Uehlinger (ed.). *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium BCE)*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 175. Fribourg: Universeity Press Fribourg, 21-43.
- Nordh, Katarina
 1996 *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings: Conceptual Background and Transmission*. Boreas 26. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Nyord, Rune

- 2009 *Breathing Flesh: Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Carsten Niebuhr Publications 37. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- 2012 Review of Susanne Töpfer and Marcus Müller-Roth. *Das Ende er Totenbuchtradition und der Übergang zum Buch vom Atmen. Die Totenbücher des Monthemhat (pTübingen 2012) und der Tanedjemet (pLouvre N 3085)*. Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches 13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 102, 333-335.
- Ogden, J. M.
 1973 "Cylindrical Amulet Cases." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59, 231–233.
- 1974 "An Additional Note on 'Cylindrical Amulet Cases.'" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60, 258–259.
- Ogden, Jorge Roberto
 1982 "A New Dramatic Argument in the Coffin Texts (Spells 30-37)." In Jean Leclan (ed.). *L'Égyptologie en 1979: Axes Prioritaires de Recherche*. Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1982, 37-43.
- Olsson, Bror
 1925 *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit*. Uppsala: Akademisk avhandling.
- Osing, Jürgen
 1998 *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*. Carlsberg Papyri 2. CNI Publications 17. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Parkinson, Richard B.
 2002 *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection*. London: Continuum.
- Parkinson, Richard and Stephen Quirke
 1992 "The Coffin of Prince Herunefer and the Early History of the *Book of the Dead*." In Alan B. Lloyd (ed.). *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 37-51.
- Parlasca, Klaus
 1963 "A Painted Egyptian Mummy Shroud of the Roman Period." *Archaeology* 16:4, 264-268.
- 1966 *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- 1970 "Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen. Eine Gruppe römischer Grabreliefs aus Ägypten in Berlin." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 26, 172-198.

- 1985 “Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Gräberwesen der griechisch-römischen Zeit.” In *Ägypten: Dauer und Wandel: Symposium anlässlich des 75. Jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo am 10. Nd 11. Oktober 1982*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 18, 97-103, pls. 4-9.
- Parsons, Peter
2007 *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Patanè, Massimo
1992 *Les variants des textes des pyramides à la basse époque*. Genève: M. Patanè.
- Peacock, David
2000 “The Roman Period (30 BC – AD 395).” In Ian Shaw (ed.). *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 422-445.
- Pearson, Birger A.
2004 *Gnosticism and Christianity in Roman and Coptic Egypt*. Studies in Antiquity and Christianity. New York: T & T Clark International.
- Pellegrini, Astorre
1904 “Due papiri funerari del Museo egizio di Firenze.” *Sphinx* 8, 216-222.
- Pestman, P. W.
1993 *The Archives of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*. Studia Demotica 2. Leuven: Peeters.
1994a *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor)*. Studia Demotica 4. Leuven: Peeters.
1994b *The New Papyrological Primer*. Leiden: Brill.
1995 “Haronnophris and Chaonnophris: Two Indigenous Pharaohs in Ptolemaic Egypt (205 – 186 B.C.).” In S. P. Vleeming (ed.). *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Greco-Roman Period (P. L. Bat. 27)*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27. Brill: Leiden, 101-137.
- Petrie, W. M. F.
1900 *Denderah 1898*. Excavation Memoirs 17. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Piankoff, Alexandre
1955 “Le livre de l’Am-Duat et les variantes tardives.” In O. Firchow (ed.).

Ägyptologische Studien: Festschrift für H. Grapow. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften Veröffentlichung 29. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 244-247.

1957 *Mythological Papyri*. New York: Pantheon Books.

1964 “Quel est le ‘livre’ appelé ...” *Bulletin d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 62, 147-149.

1974 *The Wandering of the Soul*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pierre-Croisiau, Isabelle

2004 “Nouvelles identifications de Textes de Sarcophages parmi les “nouveaux” Textes des Pyramides de Pépy I^{er} et de Mérenrê.” In Susanne Bickel and Bernard Mathieu (eds.). *D’un monde à l’autre: Textes des pyramides & textes des sarcophages*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 139. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 263-278.

Pierret, P.

1873 *Recueil d’inscriptions inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre*. Études Égyptologiques 2. Paris: F. Vieweg.

Pinch, Geraldine

2002 *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Posener-Kriéger, P.

1973 “Les papyrus de l’Ancien Empire.” In *Textes et langages de l’Égypte pharaonique: Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822-1972: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 64:2. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 25-35.

Pries, Andreas H.

2011 *Die Studienwachen im Osiriskult. Eine Studie zur Tradition und späten Rezeption von Ritualen im Alten Ägypten*. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich

1991 “Über die mit ḥȝ gebildeten Namenstypen und die Vokalisation einiger Verbalformen.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 123, 91-100.

1994 *Die Lehren des Ani: Ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 141. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- 1996 Review of François-René Herbin. *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 58. Leuven: Peeters, 1994. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 91, 151-158.
- 1999 "Magie und Totenbuch – ein Fallstudie (pEbers 2,16)." *Chronique d'Égypte* 74:147, 5-17.
- 2000 "Ein neuer funerärer Text der Spätzeit (pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II)." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 127, 74-87, pls. 10-17.
- 2000-2001 "Die rituelle Erneuerung der Osiris-figurinen." *Welt des Orients* 31, 5-18.
- 2004 "Der pränatale Geschlechtsverkehr von Isis und Osiris sowie eine Notiz zum Alter des Osiris." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 32, 327-332.
- 2005a *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III: Die demotische und grako-ägyptische Literatur*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 3. Münster: Lit Verlag.
- 2005b Review of Martin Stadler. *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. nat. 149)*. Studien zur altägyptischen Totenbuch 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003. *Welt des Orients* 35, 188-193.
- 2006a "Fragmente des Mundöffnungsrituals aus Tebtynis." In Kim Ryholt (ed.). *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection*. CNI Publications 30. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 69-150.
- 2006b Review of Mark Smith. *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005. *Orientalia* 75, 156-160.
- 2006c "Eine Handschrift des Sokarrituals (P. Carlsberg 656)." In Kim Ryholt (ed.). *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection*. CNI Publications 30. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 65-68.
- 2009a "Der Schlußparagraph des Buches vom Atmen, das Isis machte." *Welt des Orients* 39, 73-76.
- 2009b "Redaktion und Kodifizierung im spätzeitlichen Ägypten. Der Fall des Totenbuches." In J. Schaper (ed.). *Die Textualisierung der Religion*. Forschung zum Alten Testament 62. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 11-34.
- 2009c *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III: Die demotische und grako-ägyptische Literatur*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 3. Münster: Lit Verlag.

- 2009d “Grab und Grabausstattung in späten Ägypten.” In A. Berlejung and B. Janowski (eds.). *Tod und Jenseits im alten Israel und in seiner Umwelt: Theologische, religionsgeschichtliche, archäologische und ikonographische Aspekte*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 64. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 597-629.
- 2010a “Imhomogenität von Ägyptischer Sprache Und Schrift in Texten Aus Dem Späten Ägypten.” In Katja Lembke, Martina Minas-Nerpel, and Stefan Pfeifer (eds.). *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt Under Roman Rule: Proceedings of the International Conference, Hildesheim, Roemer- and Pelizaeus-Museum, 3-6 July 2008*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 41. Leiden: Brill, 313–341.
- 2010b “Difficult Hieroglyphs and Unreadable Demotic? How the Ancient Egyptians Dealt with the Complexities of their Script.” In Alex de Voogt and Irving Finkel (eds.). *The Idea of Writing: Play and Complexity*. Leiden: Brill, 235-251.
- 2010c “Les norms pour le culte d’Osiris: Les indications du Manuel du Temple sur les lieux et les prêtres osiriens.” In Laurent Coulon (ed.). *Le culte d’Osiris au I^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. Découvertes et travaux récents. Actes de la table ronde internationale tenue à Lyon Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée (université Lumière-Lyon 2) les 8 et 9 juillet 2005*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 153. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 23-30.
- 2010-2011 “Zur Lesung der demotischen Gruppe für ‘links.’” *Enchoria* 32, 73-80.
- 2011a “From Ritual to Magic: Ancient Egyptian Precursors of the Charitesion and Their Social Setting.” In Gideon Bohak, Yuval Harari, and Shaul Shaked (eds.). *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 15. Leiden: Brill, 43-84.
- 2011b Review of Annik Wüthrich. *Éléments de théologie thébaine: les chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*. Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 16. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010. *Welt des Orients* 41, 253-261.
- 2012a “Old Wine in New Wineskins? How to Write Classical Egyptian Rituals in More Modern Writing Systems.” In Alex de Voogt and Joachim-Friedrich Quack (eds.). *The Idea of Writing: Writing Across Borders*. Leiden: Brill, 219–243.
- 2012c “Philologische Bemerkungen zu den Dokumenten vom Atmen im British Museum.” *Linguae Aegyptia* 20, 271-280.
- Quaegebeur, Jan
 1977a “Les ‘Saints’ égyptiens préchrétiens.” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8, 129-143.

- 1977b “Note sur l’Herésieion d’Antinoé.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 24, 246-250.
- 1978 “Mummy Labels: An Orientation.” In E. Boswinkel and P. W. Pestman (eds.) *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 19. Leiden: Brill, 232-259.
- 1982 “Mumienetiketten.” In Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (eds.). *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Volume IV. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 216-217.
- 1986 “La question des étiquettes de momies.” *Cahiers de Recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille* 8, 99-102.
- 1990 “P. Brux Dem. E. 8258 une lettre de recommandation pour l’au-delà.” In Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.). *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*. Volume II. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 776-795.
- 1995 “Diodore I, 20 et les mystères d’Osiris.” In T. DuQuesne (ed.). *Hermes Aegyptiacus: Egyptological Studies for B. H. Stricker*. Oxford: DE Publications, 1995, 157-181.
- 1997 “Books of Thoth Belonging to Owners of Portraits? On Dating Late Hieratic Funerary Papyri.” In M. L. Bierbrier (ed.) *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*. London: British Museum Press, 72-77.
- Quaeghebuere, Jan (ed.)
- 1993 *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 55. Leuven: Peeters.
- Quirke, Stephen
- 1993 *Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum*. London: British Museum.
- 1999 “Two Books of the Dead of a Ptolemaic Psamtek.” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 79, 37-66.
- 2013 *Going Out in Daylight – prt m hrw the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Translation, Sources, Meanings*. GHP Egyptology 20. London: Golden House Publications.
- Quirke, Stephen and Jeffrey Spencer
- 1992 *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Raven, Maarten J.

- 1981 “On Some Coffins of the Besenmut Family.” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 62, 7-21.
- 1991 *The Tomb of Iurudéf: A Memphite Official in the Reign of Ramesses II*. Excavation Memoir 57 London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Raven, Maarten J., Vincent Verschoor, Marije Vugts, and René van Walsem.
 2011 *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb with Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia*. PALMA Egyptology 6. Amsterdam: Brepols, 2011.
- Ray, John D.
 1972 “Two Inscribed Objects in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58, 247–253.
- 1990 Review of M. Smith. *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3. London: British Museum Press, 1987. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76, 246-248.
- 2005 “An Inscribed Linen Plea from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 91, 171-179.
- 2011 *Texts from the Baboon and Falcon Galleries: Demotic, Hieroglyphic and Greek Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara*. Texts from Excavations 15. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Régen, Isabelle
 2007 “Un bloc de tombe de Basse Époque avec Textes des Pyramides (TP 242-243) en reemploi dans la muraille ayyoubide du Caire.” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 58, 193-200.
- Reich, Nathaniel Julius
 1908 *Demotische und griechische Texte auf Mumientäfelchen in der Sammlung der Pap. Erzherzog Rainer*. Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius.
- 1931 “An Abbreviated Demotic Book of the Dead: A Palaeographical Study of Papyrus British Museum 10072.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17, 85-97.
- Reintges, Chris H.
 2011 “The Oral-Compositional Form of Pyramid Text Discourse.” In F. Hagen, J. Johnston, W. Monkhouse, K. Piquette, J. Tait, and M. Worthington (eds.). *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 189. Leuven: Peeters, 3-54.
- Reymond, E. A. E.

- 1981 *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Revillout, Eugène
- 1880 *Rituel funéraire de Pamonth en démotique avec les textes hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques correspondants*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- 1888 *Rituel funéraire de Pamonth en démotique avec les textes hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques correspondants. Chapitre-préface du démotique*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- 1889 *Rituel funéraire de Pamonth en démotique avec les textes hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques correspondants. La morale égyptienne, leçon professée à l'École du Louvre*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Rhind, A. Henry
- 1862 *Thebes: Its Tombs and Their Tenants*. London: Longman, Green, Lonman, and Roberts.
- Riggs, Christina
- 2002 "Facing the Dead: Recent Research on the Funerary Art of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt." *American Journal of Archaeology* 106, 85-101.
- 2003 "The Egyptian Funerary Traditions at Thebes in the Roman Period." In Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (eds.) *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, and Future*. London: British Museum Press, 189-201.
- 2005 *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2006 "Archaism and Artistic Sources in Roman Egypt: The Coffins of the Soter Family and the Temple of Deir el-Medina." *Bulletin d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 106, 315-332.
- Riggs, Christina and Mark Depauw
- 2002 "'Soternalia' from Deir el-Bahri, including Two Coffin Lids with Demotic Inscriptions." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 53, 75-90.
- Riggs, Christina and Martin Stadler
- 2003 "A Roman Shroud and its Demotic Inscription in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 40, 69-87.
- Ritner, Robert K.
- 1984 "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43, 209-221.

- 1987 Review of Hein-Josef Thissen. *Die Lehre des Anchsheschonqi (P. BM 10508)*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1984. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 44, 641-646.
- 1992a “Religion vs. Magic: The Evidence of the Magical Statue Bases.” In Ulrich Luft (ed.). *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákósy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*. *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14. Budapest: Innova Press, 495-502.
- 1992b “Implicit Models of Cross-Cultural Interaction: A Question of Noses, Soap, and Prejudice.” In Janet H. Johnson (ed.). *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine*. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 51. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 283-290.
- 1995a *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 54. Second Printing. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 1995b “Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and their Religious Context.” In Wolfgang Haase and Hildegard Temporini (eds.). *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW)*. Teil II: *Principat*. Band 18.5. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 3333-3379.
- 2000a “The ‘Breathing Permit of Hôr’ Thirty-Four Years Later.” *Dialogue* 33:4, 97-119.
- 2000b “Innovations and Adaptations in Ancient Egyptian Medicine.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59, 107-117.
- 2002 “Necromancy in Ancient Egypt.” In Leda Jean Ciruolo and Johnathan Lee Seidel (eds.). *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*. *Ancient Magic and Divination* 2. Leiden: Brill, 89-96.
- 2003a “The Breathing Permit of Hôr among the Joseph Smith Papyri.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, 161-180.
- 2003b “Demotic Literature.” In William Kelly Simpson (ed.). *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 445-529.
- 2009 *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period*. *Writings from the Ancient World* 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2010a “Two Third Intermediate Period Books of the Dead: P. Houston 31.72 and P. Brooklyn 37.1801E.” In Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Houser Wegner (eds.). *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*. *Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 39. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 167-183.

- 2010b “Setna’s Spell of Taking Security (Setna I, col. IV/31-34).” In Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen (eds.). *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 194. Leuven: Peeters, 425-428.
- 2011 *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition*. Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation.
- 2012 “Killing the Image, Killing the Essence: The Destruction of Text and Figures in Ancient Egyptian Thought, Ritual, and ‘Ritualized History.’” In Natalie Naomi May (ed.). *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*. Oriental Institute Seminars 8. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 395-405.
- Forth. *The Hynes Papyrus (OI 25389): A Roman Mortuary Compendium*.
- Forth. “Graffiti and Ostraca in the tomb of Nespakashuty.”

Roberson, Joshua Aaron

- 2013 *The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques. Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 262. Fribourg: Academic Press.

Roccati, Alessandro

- 1996 “Die Entwicklung der Särge von der 6. bis zur 13. Dynastie.” In Harco Willems (ed.). *The World of the Coffin Texts: Proceedings of the Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan de Buck, Leiden, December 17-19, 1992*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 9. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 109-113.

Rosati, Gloria

- 2006 “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead in the Second Court of the Tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34).” In Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro, and Simone Stohr (eds.) *Totenbuch-Forschungen Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005*. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 297-324.

Rössler-Köhler, Ursula

- 1979 *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuchs: Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte und Funktion eines Textes der altägyptischen Totenliteratur*. Göttinger Orientforschung IV:10. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1999 “Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil 1: Ein ‘Gottesbegräbnis’ des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat, 4. und

5. Stude.” In R. Gundlach and W. Seipel (eds.). *Das frühe ägyptische Königstum: Akten des 2. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Wien, 24.-26.9.1997*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 36:2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 73-96.

Rothöhler, Benedikt

2004 *Neue Gedanken zum Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Heidelberg.

Rowe, Alan

1940 “Newly-Identified Monuments in the Egyptian Museum Showing the Deification of the Dead together with Brief Details of Similar Objects Elsewhere.” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 40, 1-67, 291-299.

Rusch, Adolf

1922 *Die Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut zu einer Totengottheit*. Mitteilungen der Voerderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 27. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung.

Ryholt, Kim

2005 “On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library: A Status Report.” In S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.). *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005, 141-170.

2009a “Egyptian Historical Literature from the Greco-Roman Period.” In Martin Fitzenreiter (ed.). *Das Ereignis: Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Vorfall und Befund*. London: Golden House Publications, 231-238.

2009b Review of Mark Smith. *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 95, 287-289.

2010a “Late Period Literature.” In Alan B. Lloyd (ed.). *A Companion to Ancient Egypt. Volume II*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 709-731.

2010b “A Sesostri Story in Demotic Egyptian and Demotic Literary Exercises (O. Leipzig UB 2217).” In Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen. *Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense: Studien Zum Pharaonischen, Griechisch-römischen Und Spätantiken Ägypten Zu Ehren Von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 194. Leuven: Peeters, 429-437.

2011 Review of George Hughes. *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum*. Oriental Institute Communications 29. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2005. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 70, 111-113.

- 2012 *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*. Carlsberg Papyri 10. CNI Publications 35. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Sainte Fare Garnot, Jean
 1949 “Bibliographie analytique des religions de l’Égypte, 1939-1943.” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 135, 79-104.
- Saleh, Mohamed
 1984 *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches: Texte und Vignetten*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 46. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Sander-Hansen, C. E.
 1937 *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre*. Kopenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard.
- Satzinger, Helmut
 2012 *Hieroglyphische Inschriften aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit*. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung 17. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Sauneron, Serge
 1952 *Rituel de l’Embaumement, pap. Boulaq III, pap. Louvre 5.158*. Cairo: Imprimerie National.
- Scalf, Foy
 2011 Review of Jan Assmann. *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 70, 124-126.
 2012 “The Role of Birds within the Religious Landscape of Ancient Egypt.” In Rozenn Baileul-LeSuer (ed.). *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 35. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 33-40.
- Scheidel, Walter
 1998 “The Meaning of Dates on Mummy Labels: Seasonal Mortality and Mortuary Practice in Roman Egypt.” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11, 285-292.
- Schilderman, Hans
 2007 *Discourse in Ritual Studies*. Empirical Studies in Theology 14. Leiden: Brill.
- Schott, Siegfried
 1990 *Bücher und Bibliotheken im Alten Ägypten: Verzeichnis der Buch- und Spruchtitel und der Termini technici*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Seeber, Christine

- 1976 *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 35. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag München.
- Sethe, Kurt
 1908-1922 *Die altägyptische Pyramidentexte*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- 1917 "Die historische Bedeutung des 2. Philä-Dekrets aus der Zeit des Ptolemaios Epiphanes." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 53, 35-49.
- 1928 *Das "Denkmal memphitischer Theologie" der Schabakosteine der britischen Museen*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 10:1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung,
- 1935-1962 *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
- Shisha-Halevy, Ariel
 1989 "Papyrus Vandier Recto: An Early Demotic Literary Text?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109:3, 421-435.
- Shonkwiler, Randy
 2012 "Sheltering Wings: Birds as Symbols of Protection in Ancient Egypt." Rozenn Bailleul-Le-Suer (ed.). *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 35. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 49-57.
- Silverman, David P.
 1982 "Coffin Text Spell 902 and its Later Usages in the New Kingdom." In Jean Leclant (ed.). *L'Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches*. Tome I. Paris: CNRS, 67-70.
- 1989 "Textual Criticism in the Coffin Texts." In James P. Allen, Jan Assmann, Alan B. Lloyd, Robert K. Ritner, and David Silverman. *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*. Yale Egyptological Studies 3. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, .
- 1996 "Coffin Texts from Bersheh, Kom el Hisn, and Mendes." In Harco Willems (ed.). *The World of the Coffin Texts: Proceedings of the Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan de Buck, Leiden, December 17-19, 1992*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 9. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 129-141.
- Simpson, William Kelly
 2003 *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Skjærvø, Prods Oktor

- 2010 “The Zoroastrian Oral Tradition as Reflected in the Texts.” In Alberto Cantera (ed.). *The Transmission of the Avesta*. Iranica 20. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 3-48.
- Smith, H. S., C. A. R. Andrews, and S. Davies
 2011 *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara: The Mother of Apis inscriptions*. Texts from Excavations 14. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Smith, H. S. and Sue Davies
 2007 “The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara Yet Again! Some Late Period Inscribed Offering-Tables from the Site.” In Thomas Schneider and Kasia Szpakowska (eds.). *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of His Retirement*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 347. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 329-352.
- 2012 “The ‘Pewenhor’ Documents from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 98, 139-184.
- Smith, H. S. and W. J. Tait
 1983 *Saqqara Demotic Papyri I (P. Dem. Saq. I)*. Texts from Excavations 7. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Smith, Mark
 1978 “Remarks on the Orthography of Some Archaisms in Demotic Religious Texts.” *Enchoria* 8.2, 17-27.
- 1979 *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- 1985 “Lexicographical Notes on Demotic Texts II.” *Enchoria* 13, 103-114.
- 1987a *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. Volume III: The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.
- 1987b “An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 9(P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part I).” *Enchoria* 15, 61-92.
- 1988 “An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Part II).” *Enchoria* 16, 55-76.
- 1991 “Did Psammetichus I Die Abroad.” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 22, 101-109.
- 1992 “New Egyptian Religious Texts in the Bodleian Library.” *Bodleian Library Record* 14, 242-246.

- 1992-1993 “A Demotic Formula of Intercession for the Deceased.” *Enchoria* 19-20, 131-154.
- 1993a *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- 1993b “New Middle Egyptian Texts in the Demotic Script.” In *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti*. Volume II. Turin: Societa Italiana, 491-495.
- 1993c “Remarks on the Orthography of Some Archaisms in Demotic Religious Texts.” *Enchoria* 8:2, 17-28.
- 1994 “Budge at Akhmim, January 1896.” In Christopher Eyre, Anthony Leahy, and Lisa Montagno Leahy (eds.). *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*. London: Egypt Exportation Society, 293-303.
- 1998 “A Demotic Coffin Inscription: Berlin Äg. Inv. 7227.” In Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, and Harco Willems (ed.). *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur. Part I*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 84. Leuven: Peeters, 425-439.
- 2002 “Aspects of the Preservation and Transmission of Indigenous Religious Traditions in Akhmim and Its Environs during the Graeco-Roman Period.” In A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. Van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest. Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 31. Leiden: Brill, 233-247.
- 2005 *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- 2006a “The Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land.” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 57, 217-232.
- 2006b “Osiris NN or Osiris of NN?” In Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro, and Simone Stöhr (eds.). *Totenbuch-Forschungen. Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 325-337.
- 2008 Review of K. Ryholt (ed.). *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 30. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2006. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 94, 343-345.
- 2009a *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- 2009b “New Extracts from the Book of the Dead in Demotic.” In Ghislaine Widmer and Didier Devauchelle (eds.). *Actes du IX^e congrès international des études démotiques*. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 2009, 347-359.
- 2009c “Democratization of the Afterlife.” In Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich (eds.). *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles.
<http://repositories.cdlib.org/nelc/uee/1147>.
- 2010 “A Divine Decree for the Deceased (O. Strasbourg D. 132 + 133 + 134).” In Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen (eds.). *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 194. Leuven: Peeters, 439-445, pls. 81-83.
- 2012 “New References to the Deceased as *Wsîr n NN* from the Third Intermediate Period and the Earliest Reference to a Deceased Woman as *Ḥw.t-Ḥr NN*.” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 63, 187-196.
- 2013 “Orthographies of Middle Egyptian Verbal Forms in Demotic, with Particular Reference to the *sdm.n=f*.” In S. P. Vleeming (ed.). *Aspects of Demotic Orthography: Acts of an Internatioanl Colloquium Hed in Trier, 8 November 2010*. Studia Demotica 11. Leuven: Peeters, 117-126.
- Forth. “A New Version of the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing.” In *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference for Demotic Studies, Würzburg, 27. bis 30. August 2002*.

Soukiassian, Georges

- 1982 “Textes des pyramides et formules apparentées: remarques à propos des tombes saïtes.” In Jean Leclant (ed.). *L’Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches. Tome II*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 55-61.

Soulen, Richard N. and R. Kendall Soulen

- 2011 *Hanbook of Biblical Criticism*. Fourth Edition. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

Spalinger, Anthony

- 2012a Review of Alexandra von Lieven. *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: Das Sogenannte Nutbuch*. Carlsberg Papyri 8. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 71:2, 376-380.
- 2012b “Nut and the Egyptologist.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 41, 353-377.

Spiegelberg, Wilhelm

- 1901 *Ägyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mummienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- 1902 *Demotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin.* Berlin: Giesecke and Devrient.
- 1904 *Die demotischen Denkmäler 30601-31166 I. Die demotischen Inschriften.* Leipzig: W. Drugulin.
- 1906 *Die demotischen Papyrus. Die demotischen Denkmäler II. Catalogue générale des antiquités d Musée du Caire 30601-31270 and 50001-50022. Tafeln.* Strassburg: G. Fischbach.
- 1908 *Die demotischen Papyrus. Die demotischen Denkmäler II. Catalogue générale des antiquités d Musée du Caire 30601-31270 and 50001-50022. Text.* Strassburg: M. Dumont Schauberg.
- 1908-1909 "Neue demotische Inschriften." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 45, 97-102.
- 1910 *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis.* Demotische Studien 3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche.
- 1912 "Hieroglyphisch-demotische Mummienetiketten." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 50, 40-42, pl. III.
- 1915 "Die Bitte eines kinderlosen Ägypters um Totengebete." *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 18, 594-596.
- 1918 "Eine totenliturgie der Ptolemäerzeit." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 54, 86-92.
- 1925 *Demotica I.* München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 1927 "Die Falkenbezeichnung des Verstorbenen in der Spatzeit." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 62, 27-34.
- 1928 *Demotica II.* München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 1932 *Die demotischen Denkmäler III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (Fortsetzung) 50023-50165.* Berlin: Reichsbruckerei.
- 1975 *Demotische Grammatik.* 2nd Edition. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Stadler, Martin

- 1999 “The Funerary Texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766: A Demotic Book of Breathing (Part I).” *Enchoria* 25, 76-110.
- 2000 “The Funerary Texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766: A Demotic Book of Breathing (Part II).” *Enchoria* 26, 110-124.
- 2001 “War eine dramatische Aufführung eines Totengerichts Teil der ägyptischen Totenriten?” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 29, 331-348.
- 2003 *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. nat. 149)*. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2004a “Fünf neue funeräre Kurztexte (Papyri Britisches Museum EA 10121, 10198, 10415, 10421a, b, 10426a) und eine Zwischenbilanz zu dieser Textgrupper.” In F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen (eds.). *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zaunich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8 Juni 2004*. Studia Demotica 6. Leuven: Peeters, 551-572.
- 2004b *Ägyptische Mumienmasken in Würzburg*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- 2008 Review of Mark Smith. *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 65, 95-99.
- 2009 *Weiser und Wesir*. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- 2010 “On the Demise of Egyptian Writing: Working with a Problematic Source Basis.” In John Baines, John Bennet, and Stephen Houston (eds.). *The Disappearance of Writing Systems: Perspectives on Literacy and Communication*. London: Equinox, 157-181.
- 2010/2011 Review of Mark Smith. *Traversing Eternity. Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. *Enchoria* 32, 154-170.
- 2012a *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten*. Berlin: Lit Verlag.
- 2012b “Egyptian Cult: Evidence from Temple Scriptoria and Christian Hagiographies.” In Christina Riggs (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 457-473.
- 2012c “Eine neue Quelle zur Theologie des Sobek aus Dimê Papyrus British Library 264 Recto.” In Jochen Hallof (ed.). *Auf den Spuren des Sobek: Festschrift für Horst*

Beinlich zum 28. Dezember 2012. Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel 12. Dettelbach: J. H. Röhl, 265-273.

George Steindorff

1946 "The Magical Knives of Ancient Egypt." *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 9, 41-52.

Sternberg-El Hotabi, Heike

1994 "Der Untergang der Hieroglyphenschrift. Schriftverfall und Schrifttod im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit." *Chronique d'Égypte* 69, 218-248.

Stöhr, Simone

2009 "Who is Who? Die repräsentanten der Gliedervergottung in der späten Vignette zu Tb 42." In Burkhard Backes, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Simone Stöhr (eds.). *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot: Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 14.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 175-200.

Stricker, B. H.

1942 "De Lijkspapyrus van Sensaos." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 33, 30-47.

1950 "De egyptische mysterien: Pap. Leiden T 32." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 31, 45-63.

1953 "De egyptische mysterien: Pap. Leiden T 32 (vervlog)." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 34, 13-31.

1956 "De egyptische mysterien." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 37, 49-67.

Strudwick, Nigel C.

2005 *Texts from the Pyramid Age. Writings from the Ancient World 16.* Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Sweeney, Deborah

2001 "Walking Alone Forever, Following You: Gender and Mourners' Laments from Ancient Egypt." *NIN: Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity* 2, 27-48.

Szczudłowska, Albertyna

1963 "The Fragment of the Chapter CLXXV of the Book of the Dead Preserved in Sêkowski's Papyrus." *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 26, 123-142.

- 1970 “Liturgical Text Preserved on Sękowski Papyrus.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 98, 50-80.
- 1972 “Pyramid Texts Preserved on Sękowski Papyrus.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 99, 25-29.
- 1980 “Ancient Egyptian Glorification.” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 41:2, 131-138.

Tait, W. John

- 1977 *Papyrus from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek*. Texts from Excavations 3. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- 1988 “Rush and Reed: The Pens of Egyptian and Greek Scribes.” In Basil G. Mandilaras (ed.). *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens, 25-31 May 1986*. Volume 2. Athens: Greek Papyrological Society, 477-482.
- 1992 “Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society.” In Janet H. Johnson (ed.). *Life in an Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 51. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 303-310.
- 1994 “Some Notes on Demotic Scribal Training in the Roman Period.” In Adam Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.). *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23-29 August 1992*. Adam. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 188-192.
- 1996 “Demotic Literature: Forms and Genres.” In Antonio Loprieno (ed.). *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 10. Leiden: Brill, 175-190.
- 2011 “The Sinews of Demotic Narrative.” In F. Hagen, J. Johnston, W. Monkhouse, K. Piquette, J. Tait, and M. Worthington (eds.). *Narratives in Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 189. Leuven: Peeters, 397-410.
- 2013 “The Reception of Demotic Narrative.” In Roland Enmarch and Verena Lepper (eds.). *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 251-260.

Tarasenko, Mykola

- 2009 “The BD 42 Vignettes During the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.” In Burkhard Backes, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Simone Stöhr (eds.). *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot: Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 239-265.
- 2012 “The Vignettes of the Book of the Dead Chapter 17 during the Third Intermediate Period (21st-22nd Dynasties).” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 41, 379-394.

Taylor, John H.

- 1999 “The Burial Assemblage of Henutmehyt: Inventory, Date and Provenance.” In W. V. Davies (ed.). *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities: A Tribute to T. G. H. James*. British Museum Occasional Papers 123. London: British Museum, 59-72 and 163-170.
- 2001 *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- 2003 “Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development.” In Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (eds.). *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, and Future*. London: British Museum Press, 95-121.

Taylor, John H. (ed.)

- 2010 *Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Te Velde, H.

- 1967 *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 6. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Thissen, Heinz-Josef

- 1979 “Demotische Graffiti des Paneions im Wadi Hammamat.” *Enchoria* 9, 63-92.
- 1986 “Demotische Urkunden.” In R. W. Daniel, M. Gronewald, and H. J. Thissen (eds.). *Griechische und demotische Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 79-97, pls. XIII-XVI.
- 1989 *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*. Demotische Studien 10. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich Verlag.
- 1990 Review of M. Smith. *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3. *Enchoria* 17, 177-178.
- 1991 “Demotische Inschriften aus den Ibis-Galerien in Tuna el-Gebel.” *Enchoria* 18,

107-113, pls. 14-21.

Thompson, Stephen E.

1990 "The Origin of the Pyramid Texts Found on Middle Kingdom Saqqâra Coffins." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76, 17-25.

Tiradritti, Francesco

1999 *Sesh: lingue e scritture nell'antico Egitto*. Milan: Electa.

Töpfer, Susanne and Marcus Müller-Roth

2011 *Das Ende der Totenbuchtradition und der Übergang zum Buch vom Atmen. Die Totenbücher des Monthemhat (pTübingen 2012) und der Tanedjmet (pLouvre N 3085)*. Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches 13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Traunecker, Claude

1992 *Coptos: Hommes et dieux sur le parvis de Geb*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 43. Leuven: Peeters.

2010 "La chapelle d'Osiris 'seigneur de l'éternité-nehé' à Karnak." In Laurent Coulon (ed.). *Le culte d'Osiris au Ier millénaire av. J.-C. Découvertes et travaux récents. Actes de la table ronde internationale tenue à Lyon Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée (université Lumière-Lyon 2) les 8 et 9 juillet 2005*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 153. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 155-194.

Ulmer, Rivka

2009 *Egyptian Cultural Icons in Midrash*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Vallée, Brigitte

1998 "Les hypocéphales." In Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin (eds.). *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6-12 septembre 2004*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 150. Leuven: Peeters, 1869-1880.

Valloggia, Michel

1986 *Balat I: Le mastaba de Medou-nefer*. Fouilles d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 31. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

1989 "Le papyrus Bodmer 107 ou les reflets tardifs d'une conceptions d'éternité." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 40, 131-144.

1991 "Le Papyrus Bodmer 103: un abrégé du Livre des Morts de la Troisième Période Intermediaire." *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 13, 129-146.

- 1998 “Le papyrus Bodmer 108: un ‘passeport d’éternité’ du début de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire.” In Willy Clarysse, Anton Schoors, and Harco Willems (eds.). *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 84. Leuven: Peeters, 441-453.
- Vandenbeusch, Marie
 2010 *Catalogue des bandelettes de Momies Musée d’art et d’histoire de Genève*. Cahiers de la Société d’Égyptologie 10. Genève: Société d’Égyptologie, Genève.
- van der Molen, Rami
 2000 *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 15. Leiden: Brill.
- van der Toorn, Karel
 2007 *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Vandorpe, K.
 1996 “Seals in and on the Papyri of Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt.” In M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi (eds.). *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*. Paris: De Boccard, 231-291.
- Vandorpe, Katelijn and Bart van Beek
 2012 “‘Non Signat Aegyptus’? Seals and Stamps in the Multicultural Society of Greco-Roman Egypt.” In Ilona Regulski, Kim Duistermaat, and Peter Verkinderen (eds.). *Seals and Sealing Practices in the Near East: Developments in Administration and Magic from Prehistory to the Islamic Period: Proceedings of an International Workshop at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo on December 2-3, 2009*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 219. Leuven: Peeters, 81-98.
- van Landuyt, K.
 1995 “The Soter Family: Genealogy and Onomastics.” In S. P. Vleeming (ed.). *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period*. *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 27. Leiden: Brill, 69-82.
- Varga, Edith
 1961 “Les travaux préliminaires de la monographie sur les hypocéphales.” *Acta Orientalia* 12, 235-247.
- 1998 *Napkorong a fej alatt*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Véisse, A.-E.

- 2004 *Les 'Révoltes égyptiennes.' Recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Égypte du règne de Ptolémée III à la conquête romaine.* Studia Hellenistica 41. Leuven: Peeters.
- Vergote, J.
1960 *De oplossing van een gewichtig problem: de vocalisatie van de Egyptische werkwoordvormen.* Brussels: Acad. Voor Wetenschappen.
- Vernus, Pascal
1978 *Athribis: Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l'histoire d'une ville du delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique.* Bibliothèque d'Étude 74. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- 1996 "La position linguistique des Textes des Sarcophages." In Harco Willems (ed.). *The World of the Coffin Texts: Proceedings of the Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan de Buck, Leiden, December 17-19, 1992.* Egyptologische Uitgaven 9. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 143-196.
- Verrept, B. and Marc Coenen
2004 "The Mortuary Liturgies in the Funerary Papyrus Baltimore Walters Art Museum 10.551." *Göttinger Miszellen* 22, 97-102.
- Versnel, H. S.
2002 "The Poetics of the Magical Chard: An Essay in the Power of Words." In Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer (ed.). *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 141. Leiden: Brill, 105-158.
- Vinson, Steve
2008 "Through a Woman's Eyes, and in a Woman's Voice: Iheret as Focalizer in the *First Tale of Setne Khaemwas.*" In Paul McKechnie and Philippe Guillaume (eds.). *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and His World.* Mnemosyne 300. Leiden: Brill, 303-351.
- Vischak, Deborah
2003 "Common Ground between Pyramid Texts and Old Kingdom Tomb Design: The Case of Ankhmahor." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 40, 133-157.
- Vittmann, Günter
1990 "Ein neuer religiöser Text (Mumienbrett BM 35464)." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 17, 79-88.
- 1995 "Zwei demotische Briefe and den Gott Thot." *Enchoria* 22, 169-181.

- 2006/2007 Review of Mark Smith. *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005. *Enchoria* 30, 192-199.
- Vleeming, Sven P.
- 1990 "Transliterating Old Egyptian in Demotic." *Göttinger Miszellen* 117-118, 219-223.
- 1991a *The Gooseherds of Hou (Pap. Hou)*. Studia Demotica 3. Peeters: Leuven.
- 1991b "Transcribing Cursive Late-Hieratic." In Sylvia Schoske (ed.). *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1986. Band 3: Linguistik, Philologie, Religion*. Hamburg: Buske, 211-218.
- 2001 *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects and Gathered from Many Publications*. Studia Demotica 5. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2004 "A Hieroglyphic-Demotic Stela from Akhmim." In F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen (eds.). *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zaunich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8 Juni 2004*. Studia Demotica 6. Leuven; Peeters, 623-637, pl. 58.
- 2011 *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*. Studia Demotica 9. Leuven: Peeters.
- Vogel, Marie and Victor Gardthausen
- 1909 *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*. Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 33. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Volokhine, Youri
- 2008 "Tristesse rituelle et lamentations funéraires en Égypte ancienne." *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 2, 163-197.
- Von Lieven, Alexandra
- 2007 *The Carlsberg Papyri 8. Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 31. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- 2009 "Script and Pseudo Scripts in Graeco-Roman Egypt." In Petra Andrassy, Julia Budka, and Frank Kammerzell (eds.). *Non-Textual Marking Systems, Writing and Pseudo Script from Prehistory to Modern Times*. Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica 8. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 101-111.
- Vos, R. L.
- 1978 "Demotic Mummy Labels Containing Permission to Bury, Addressed to Totoês,

A *ḥrj sšṯ* of the Sacred Buchis at Hermonthis.” In E. Boswinkel and P. W. Pestman. *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues (P. L. Bat. 19)*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 19. Leiden: Brill, 260-267.

1993 *The Apis Embalming Ritual P. Vindob. 3873*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 50. Leuven: Peeters.

Wagner, G.

1998 “Le concept de *ḥsy* à la lumière des inscriptions grecques.” In Willy Clarysse, Antton Schoors, and Harco Willems (eds.). *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur. Part 1: Archaeologica, Texts, Gods*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 84. Leuven: Peeters, 1073-1078.

Wångstedt, Sten V.

1970-1971 “Zwei demotische Grabstelen.” *Orientalia Suecana* 19-20, 49-53.

Warburton, David

2007 *The Egyptian Amduat: The Book of the Hidden Chamber*. Revised and edited by Erik Hornung and Theodor Abt. Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications.

Wegner, Josef

2009 “The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos: Considerations on the Origins and Development of the Royal Amduat-Tomb.” In David P. Silverman, William K. Simpson, and Josef Wegner (eds.). *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*. New Haven: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University, 103-169.

Wente, Edward F.

1967 *Late Ramesside Letters*. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 33. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1976 “A Misplaced Letter to the Dead.” In P. Naster, H. De Meulenaere, and J. Quaegebeur (eds.). *Miscellanea in honorem Josephi Vergote*. Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 595-600.

1982 “Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 41:3, 161-179.

Widmer, Ghislaine

1998 “Un papyrus démotique religieux du Fayoum: P. Berlin 6750.” *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève* 22, 83-91.

2002 “Les fêtes en l'honneur de Sobek dans le Fayoum à l'époque gréco-romaine.” *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 32, 3-22.

- 2004 “Une invocation à la déesse (tablette démotique Louvre E 10382).” In F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen (eds.). *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zaunich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8 Juni 2004*. Studia Demotica 6. Leuven: Peeters, 651-686, pl. lxi.
- 2005 “On Egyptian Religion at Soknopaiu Nesos in the Roman Period (P. Berlin P 6750).” In Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit (eds.). *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums vom 11. Bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 171-184.
- 2007 “Sobek who Arises in the Primaeval Ocean (PBM EA 76638 and PStrasbourg Dem. 31).” In Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli (eds.). *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum: Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology*. Papyrologica Lupiensia 14. Salento: Congedo Editore, 347-354.
- Wiedemann, Alfred
- 1879 *Hieratische Texte aus den Museen zu Berlin und Paris in Facsimile mit Uebersetzung und sachlichem Commentar*. Leipzig: Joh. Ambr. Barth.
- Wilburn, Andrew T.
- 2012 *Materia Magica: The Archaeology of Magic in Roman Egypt, Cyprus, and Spain*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Wilfong, Terry
- 2002 *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 2013a *Life, Death, and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt: The Djehutymose Coffin in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology*. Kelsey Museum Publication 9. Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.
- 2013b “Format and Performance in the Egyptian Oracular Amuletic Decrees: Measuring, Writing and Speaking.” Paper presented at the conference Ancient Amulets: Words, Images and Social Contexts, University of Chicago, 2013.
- Willems, Harco
- 1988 *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*. Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux.
- 1996 *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 70. Leuven: Peeters.

- 2008 *Les textes des sarcophages et la démocratie: Éléments d'une histoire culturelle du Moyen Empire égyptien*. Paris: Cybele.
- Willems, Harco and Willy Clarysse
2000 *Les Empereurs du Nil*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Wilson, John A.
1944 "Funerary Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3:4, 201-218.
- Wilson, Penelope
1997 *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. *Orientalia Loveniensia Analecta* 78. Leuven: Peeters.
- Winitzer, Abraham
2011 "Writing and Mesopotamian Divination: The Case of Alternative Interpretation." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 63, 77-94.
- Winlock, Herbert Eustis and Walter E. Crum
1927 *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. Part 1: *The Archaeological Material* by H. E. Winlock. *The Literary Material* by W. E. Crum. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Winnicki, J. K.
1992 "Demotischen Stelen aus Terenuthis." In Janet H. Johnson (ed.). *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine*. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 51. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 351-360.
- de Wit, Constant
1967 "Inscriptions dédicatoires du temple d'Edfou." *Chronique d'Égypte* 36, 56-97, 277-320.
- Woods, Christopher (ed.)
2010 *Visible Language: Inventaions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*. *Oriental Institute Museum Publicaitons* 32. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Worthington, Martin
2012 *Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism*. *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 1. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Wüthrich, Annik
2012 "'Formule pour ne pas mourir à nouveau' le chapitre 175 du Livre des Morts." In Rita Lucarelli, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Annik Wüthrich (eds.). *Herausgehen am*

Tage: Gesammelte Schriften zum altägyptischen Totenbuch. Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 153-228.

Young, Dwight W.

1981 "A Monastic Invective against Egyptian Hieroglyphs." In Dwight W. Young (ed.). *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*. East Gloucester: Pirtle & Polson, 348-360.

Žabkar, Louis V.

1969 "A Greco-Egyptian Funerary Stela." In *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, September 12, 1969. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations 35*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 99-113.

Zauzich, Karl-Theodor

1968 *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 19*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Zdiarsky, Angelika (ed.)

2013 *Wege zur Unsterblichkeit. Altägyptischer Totenkult und Jenseitsglaube. Nilus 20*. Wien: Phoibos.

Zecchi, Marco

2006 "Osiris in the Fayyum." *Fayyum Studies 2*, 117-145.

Ziemann, F.

1910 *De epistularum graecarum formulis sollemnibus quaestiones selectae* (Diss. Phil. Halens, 18, 4). Halis Saxonum.

Zivie, Alain

2009 *La tombe de Maïa. Mère nourricière du roi Toutânkhamon et grade du harem (Bub. I. 20)*. Toulouse: Caracara Edition.

APPENDIX: PLATES

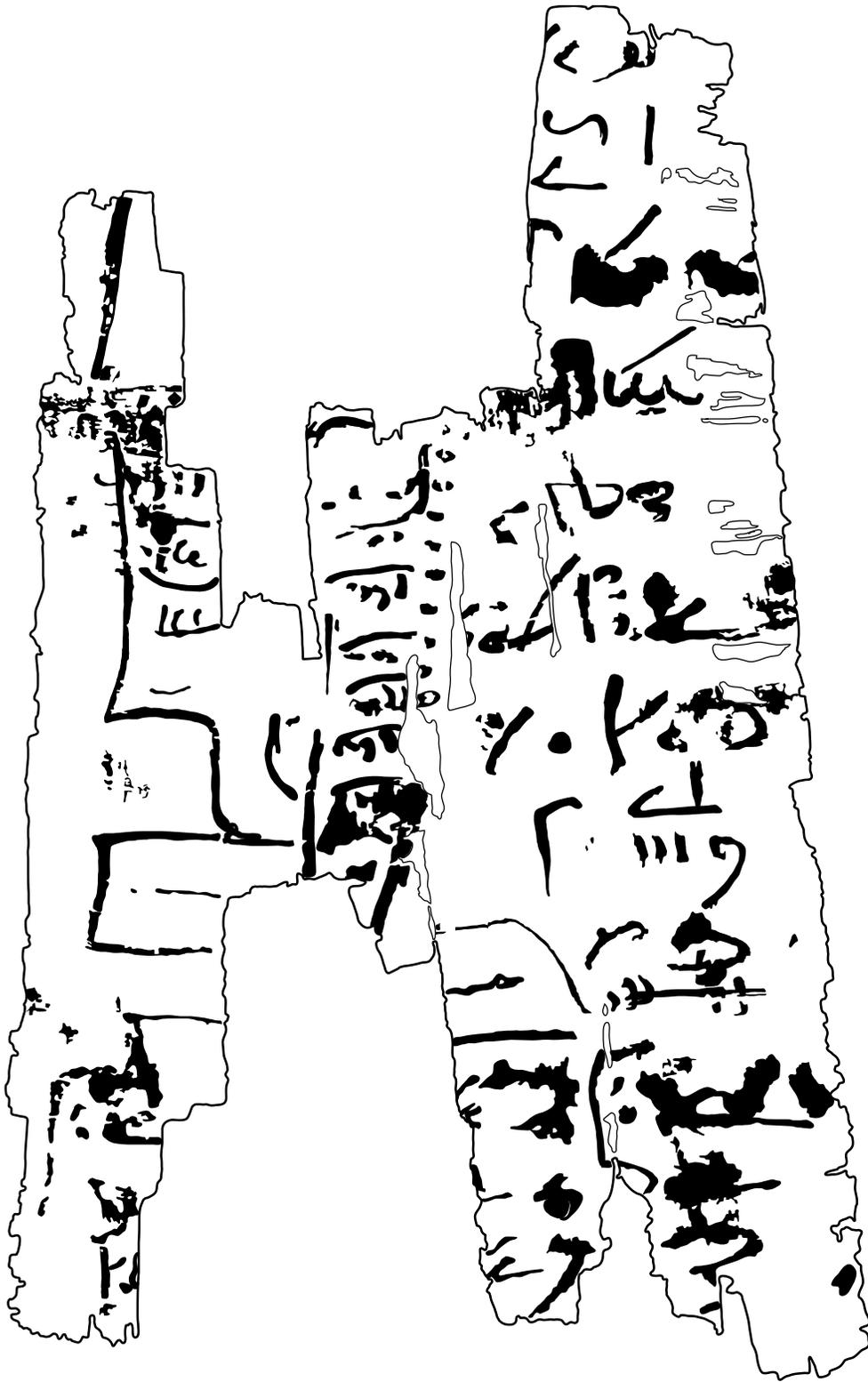


Plate 1: pBibliotheca Alexandria 3640 Recto

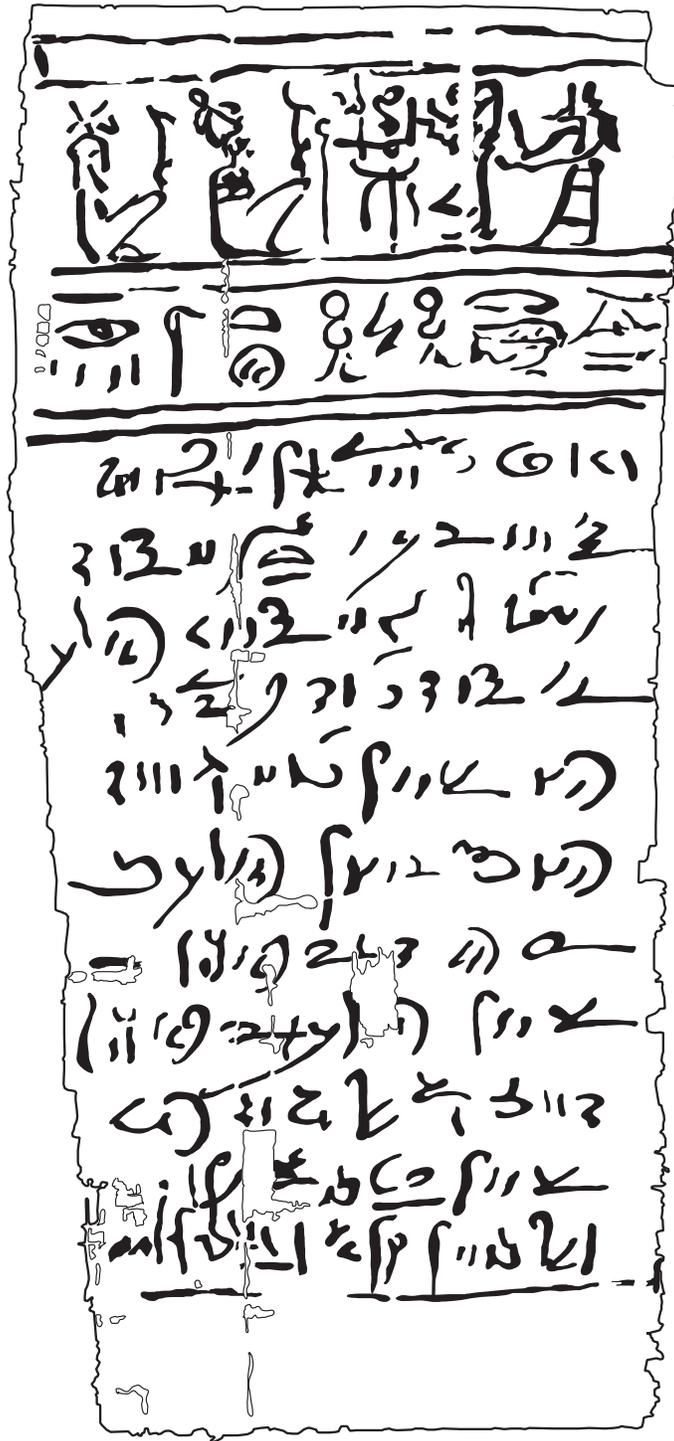


Plate 2: pBM EA 10415 Recto

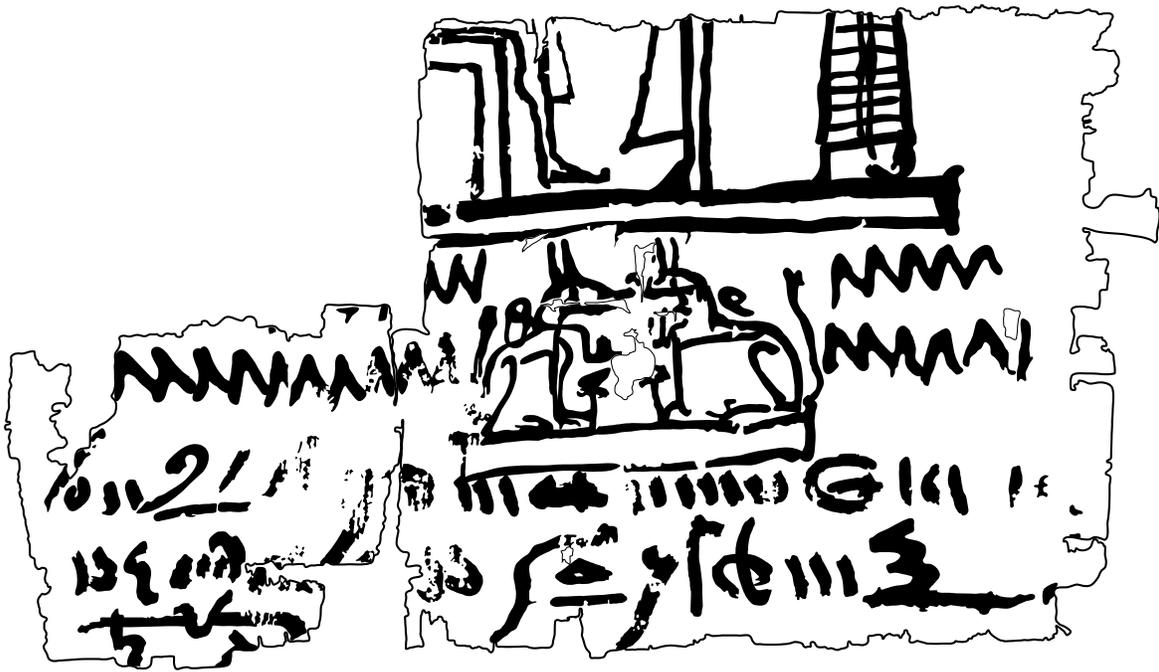


Plate 4: pFlorence 11919 Recto

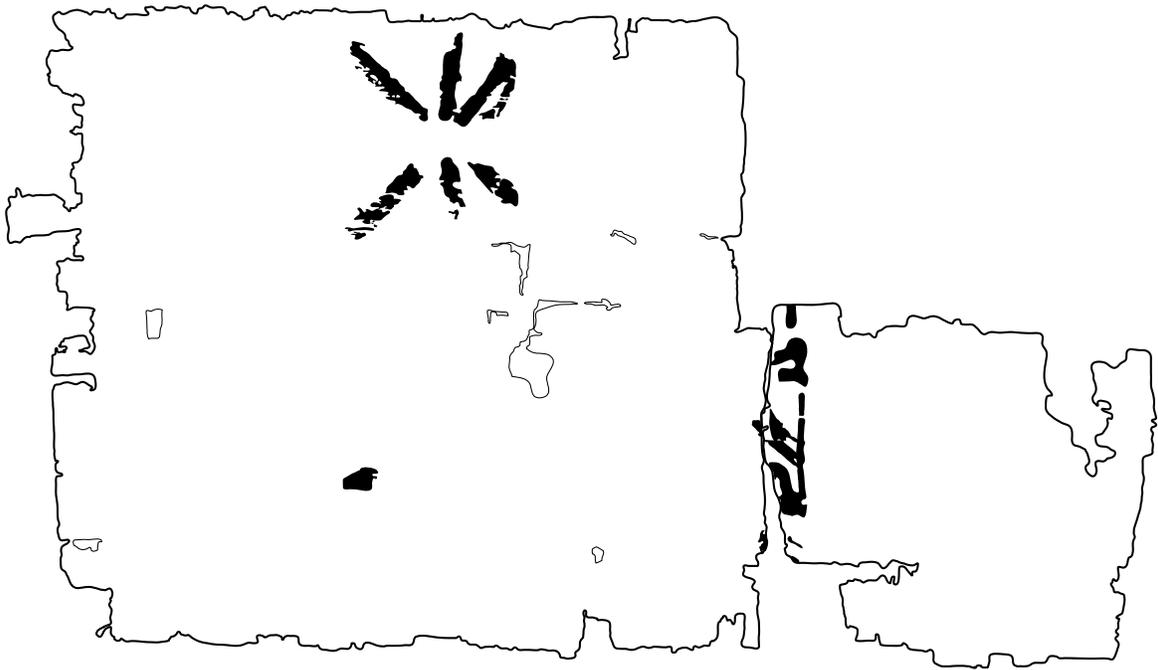


Plate 5: pFlorence 11919 Verso

Handwritten Demotic script on a fragment of papyrus, enclosed in a hand-drawn rectangular border. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines, written from right to left. The script is cursive and includes various signs and symbols characteristic of Demotic. Some lines begin with large, prominent signs that may represent specific words or grammatical markers. The fragment shows signs of wear, including some ink bleed-through from the reverse side.

Plate 6: pHaun. Demot. 1 Recto

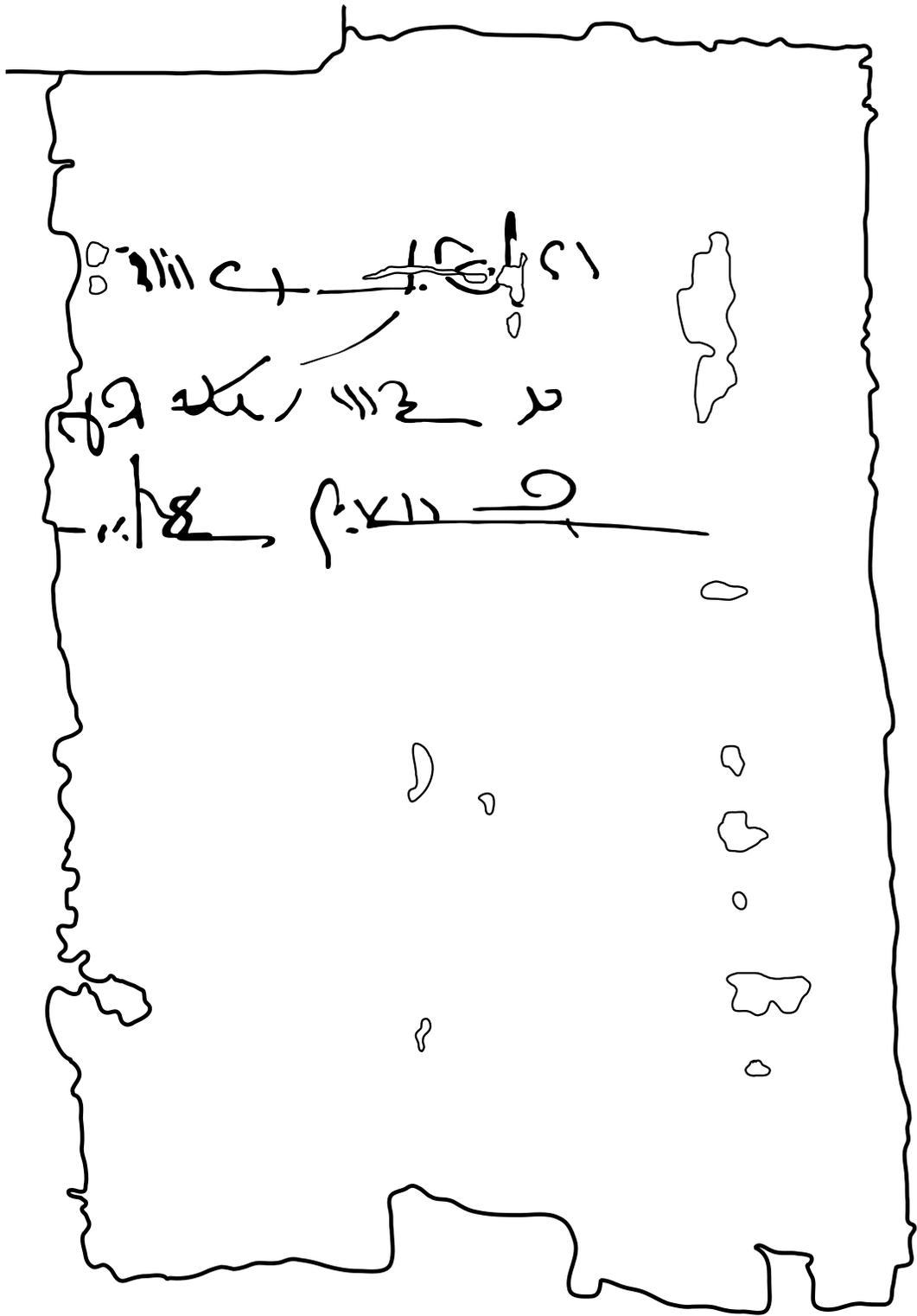


Plate 7: pHaun Demot. 3 Recto

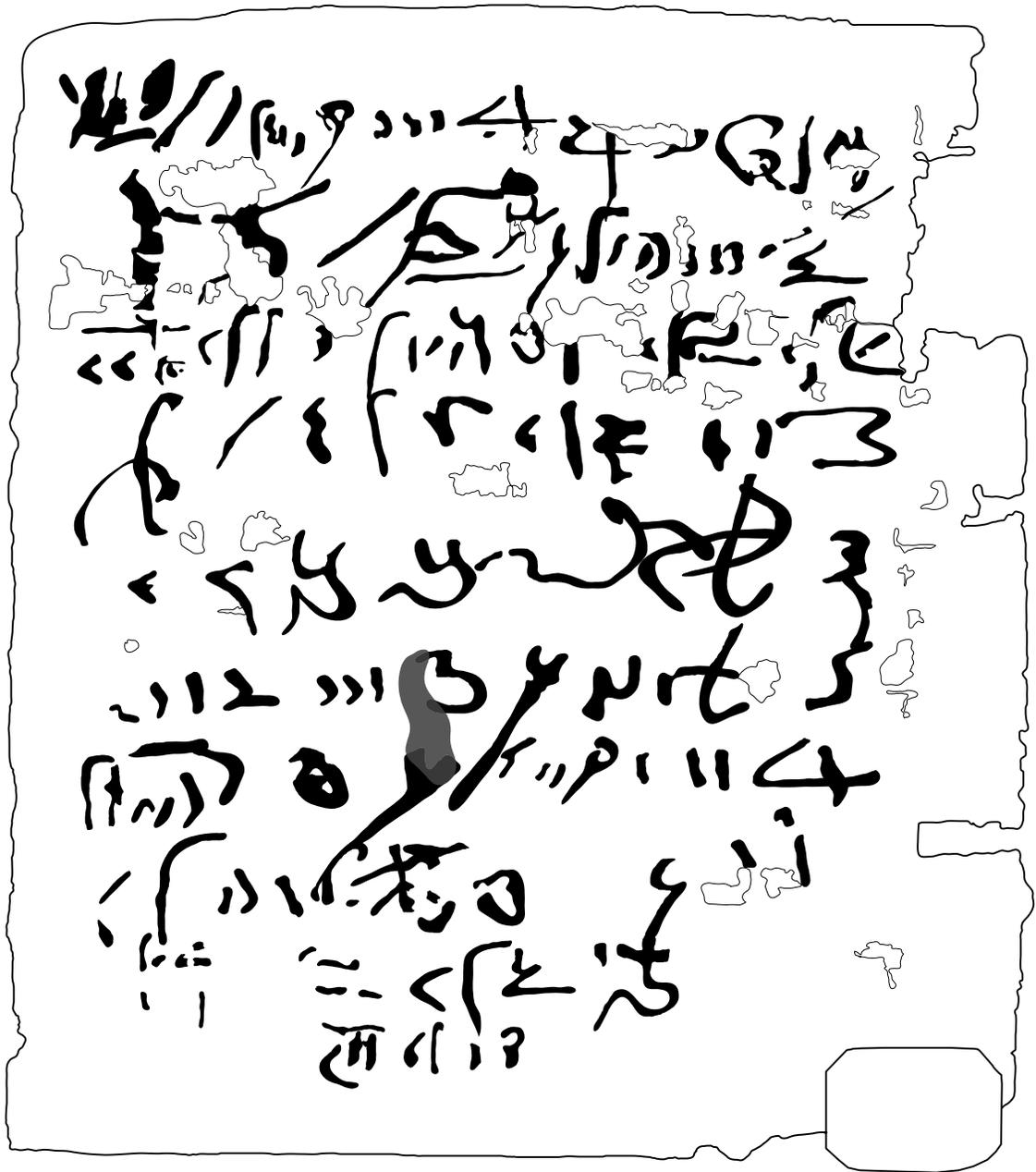


Plate 8: pLouvre N 3165 Recto



Plate 9: pLouvre N 3176 Q Recto

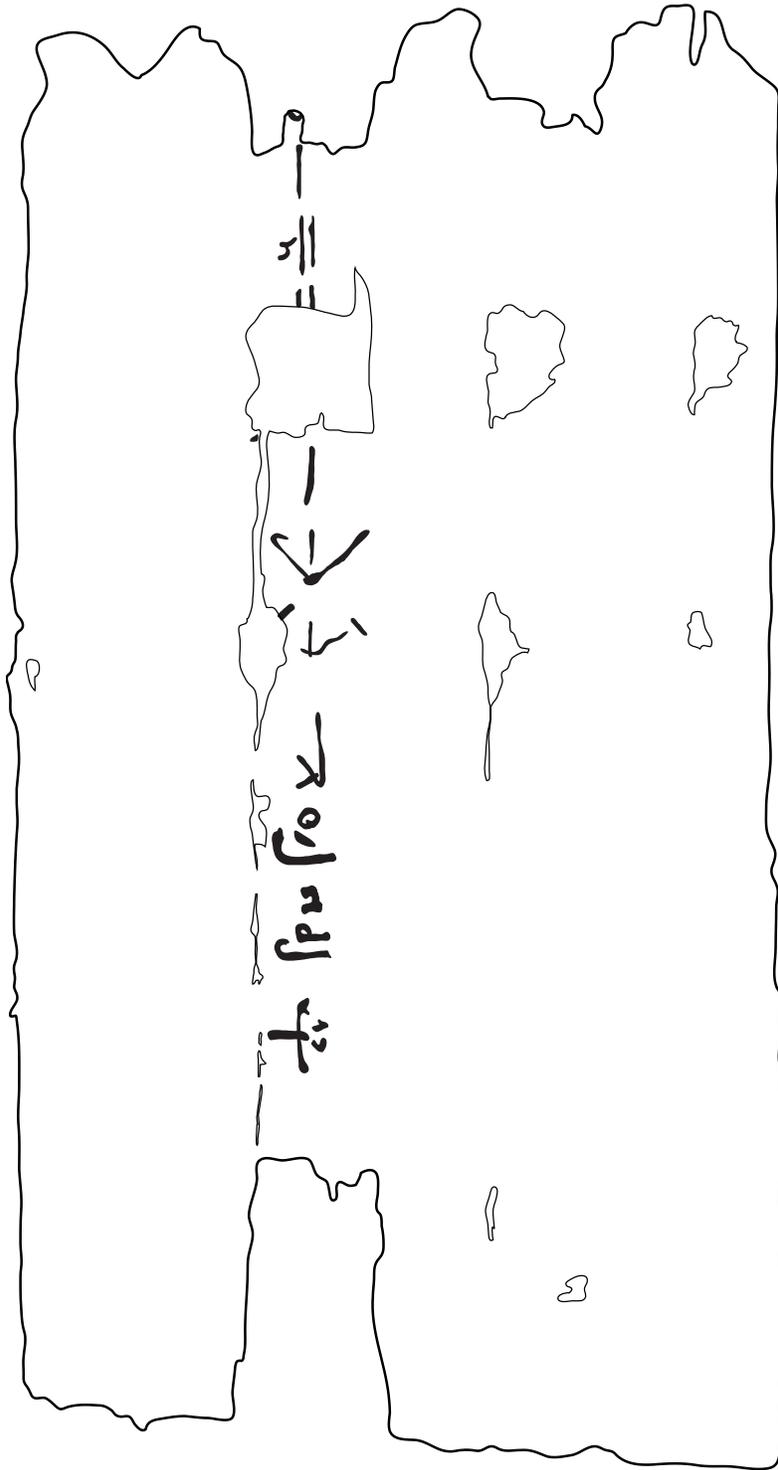


Plate 10: pLouvre N 3176 Q Verso

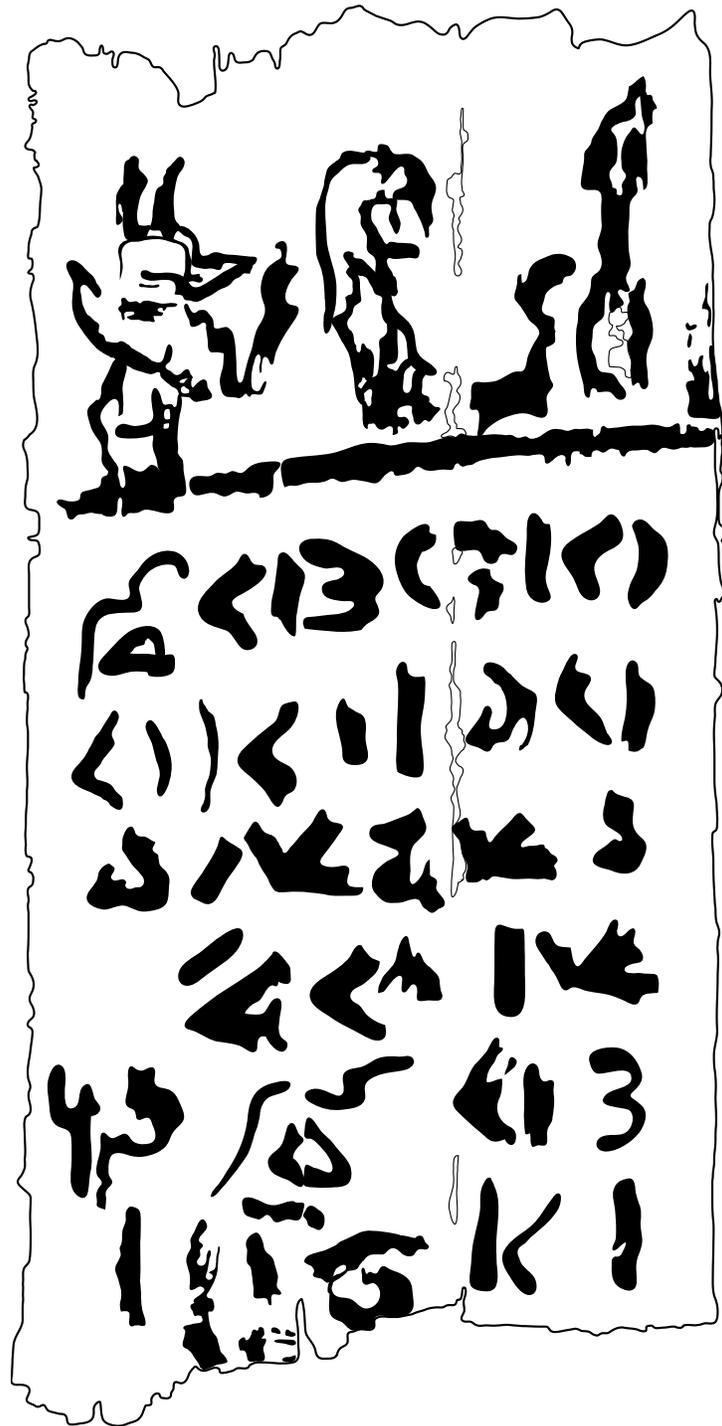


Plate 11: pLouvre N 3176 R Recto

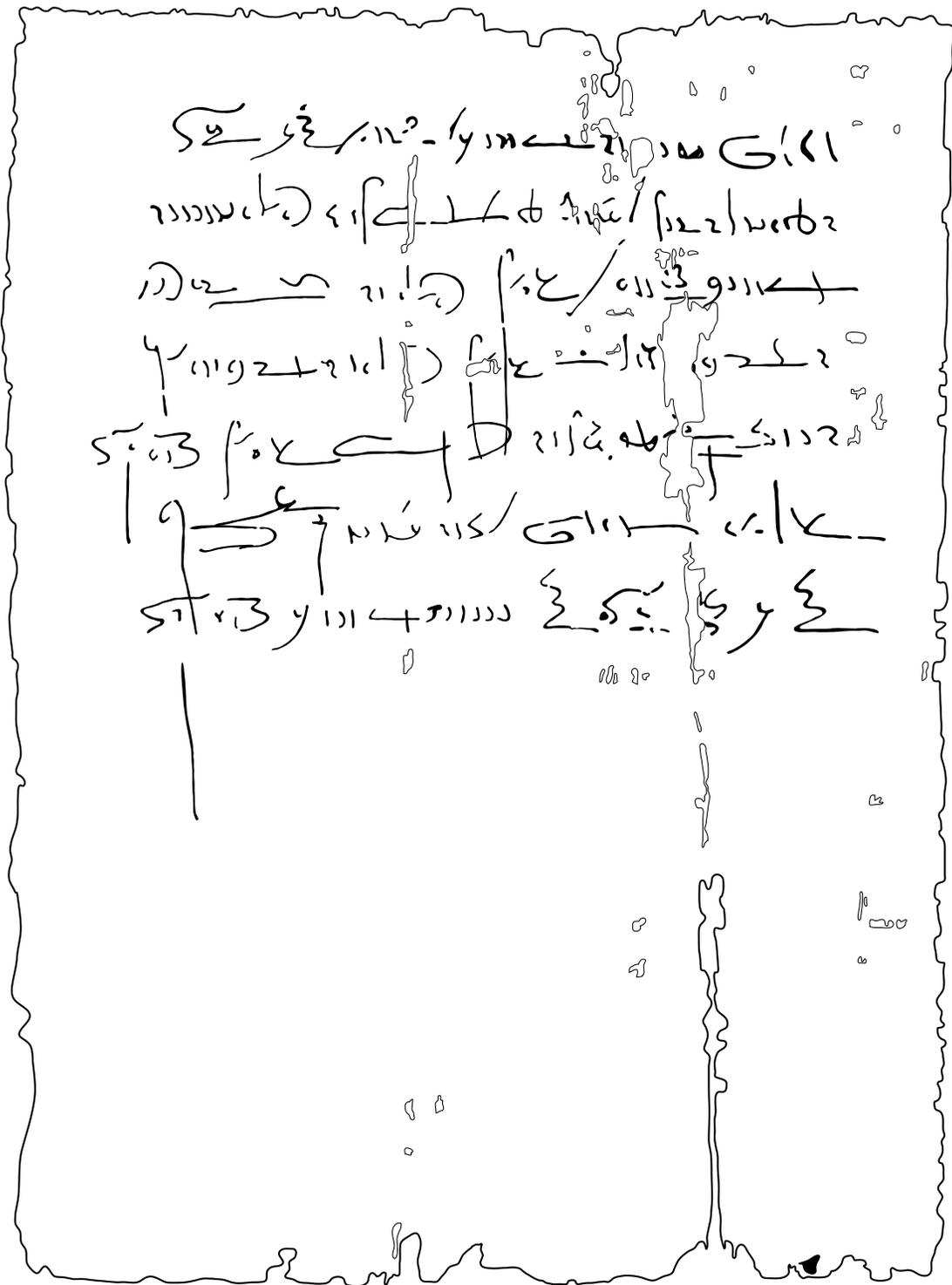


Plate 12: pLouvre N 3258 Recto

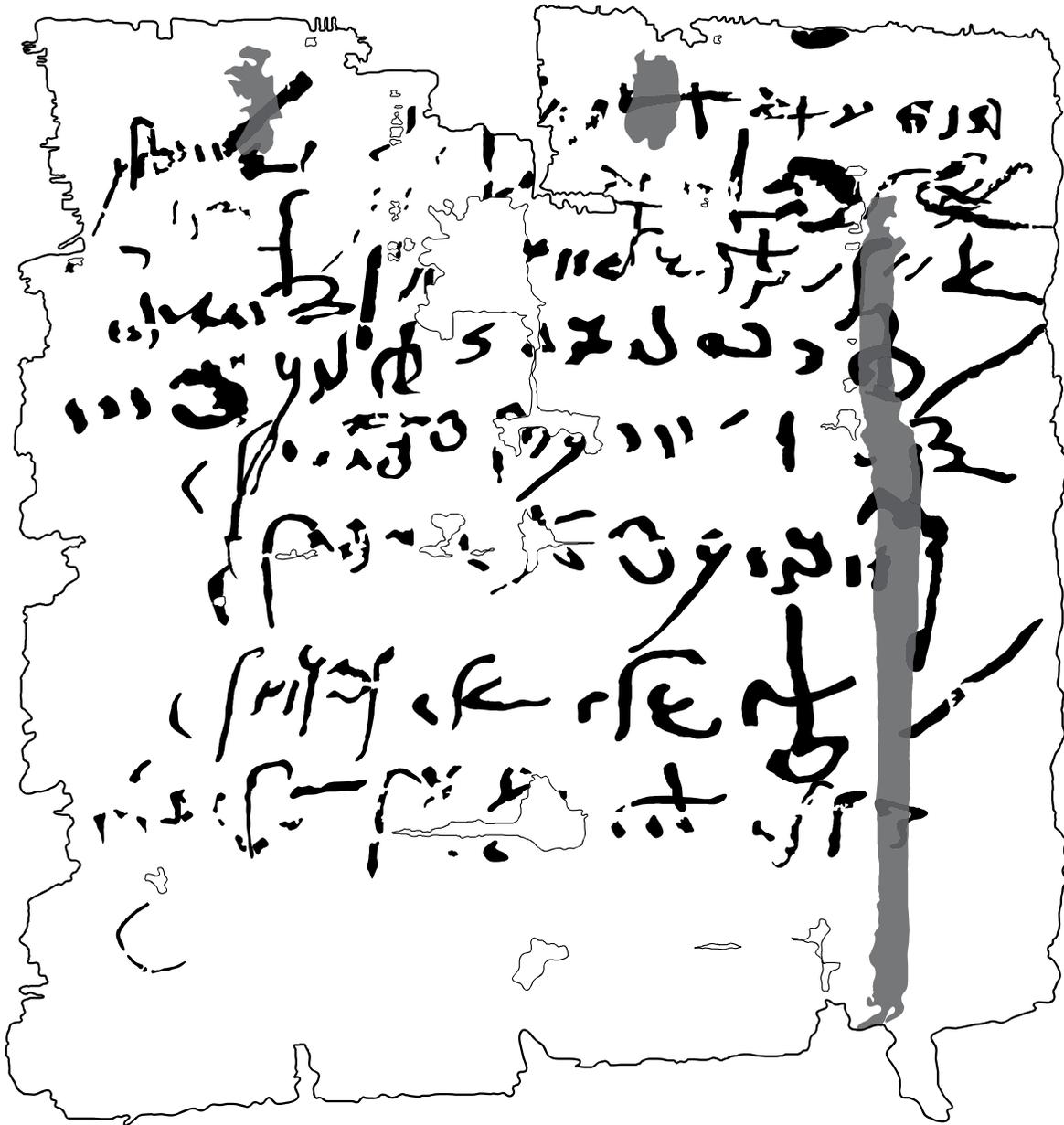


Plate 13: pLouvre N 3375 Recto

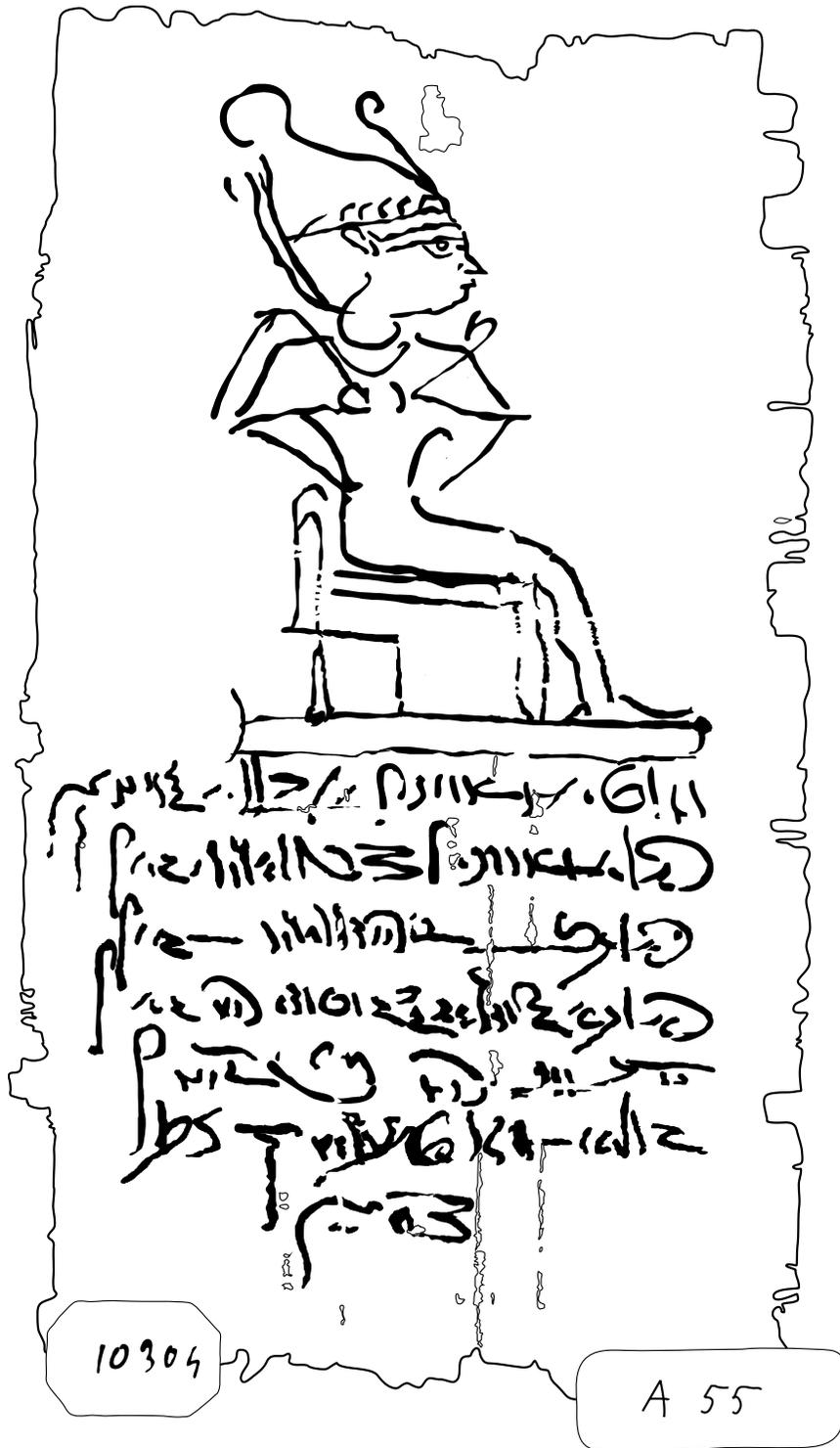


Plate 14: pLouvre E 10304 Recto

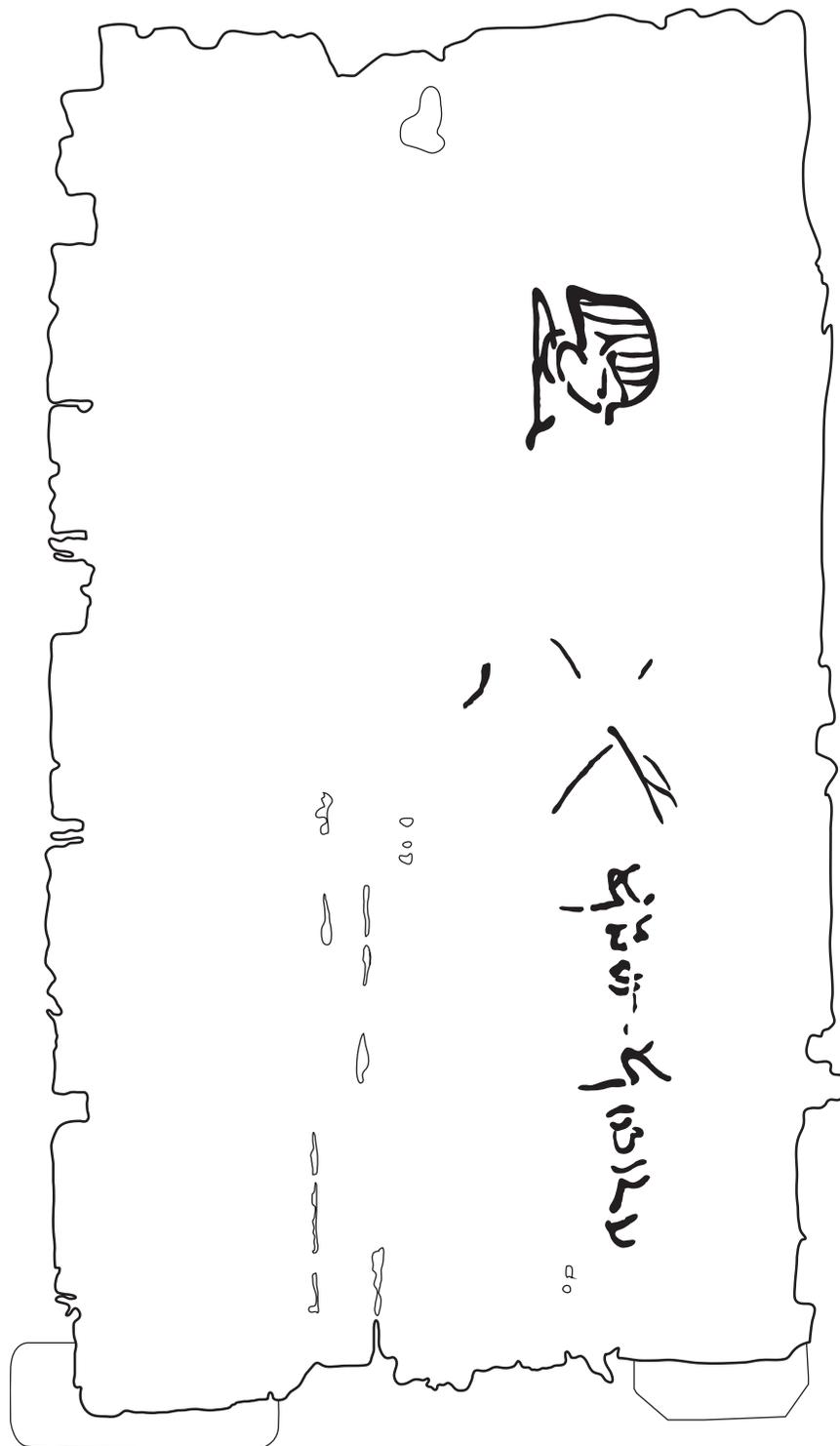


Plate 15: pLouvre E 10304 Verso

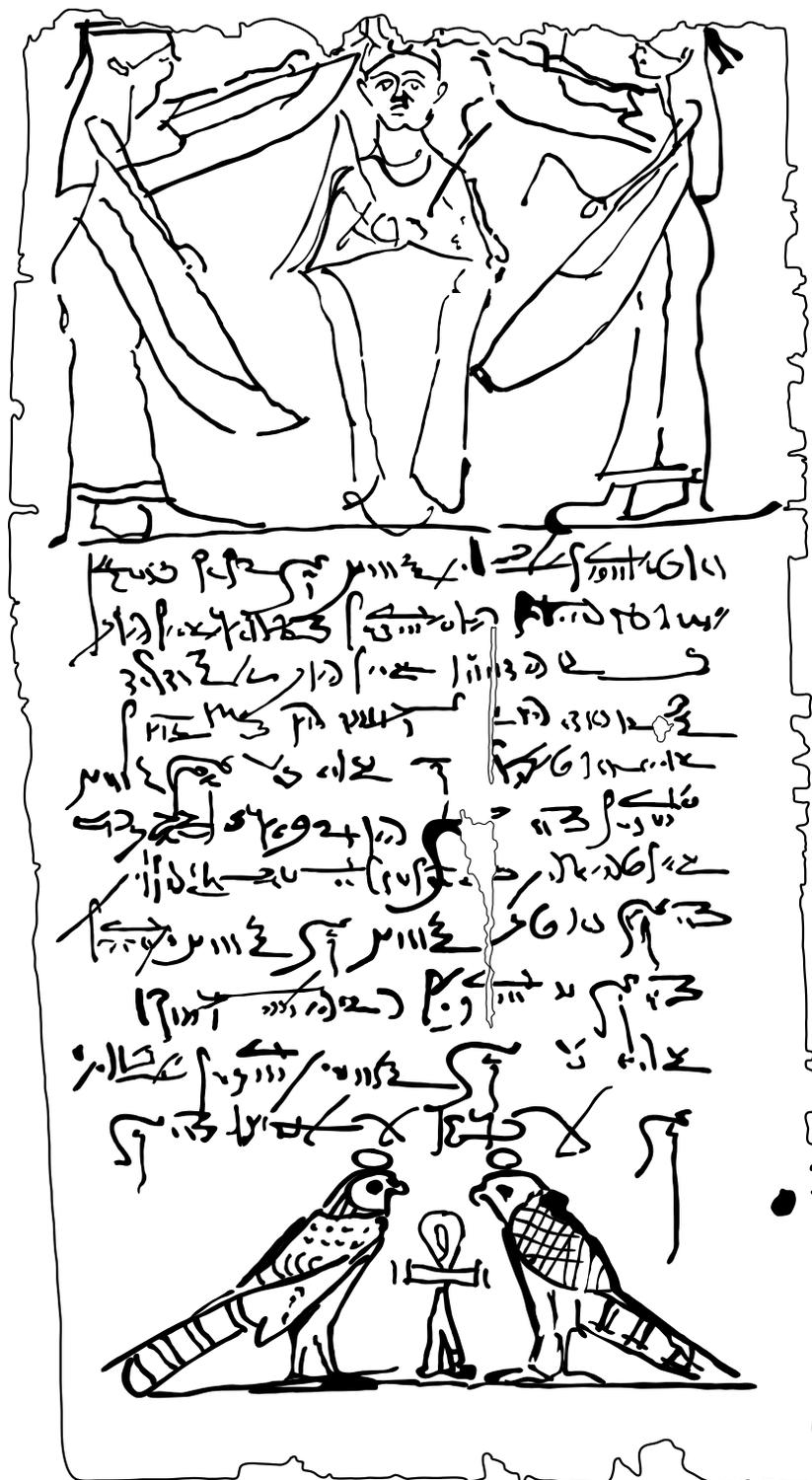


Plate 16: pMoscow I.1d.142 Recto

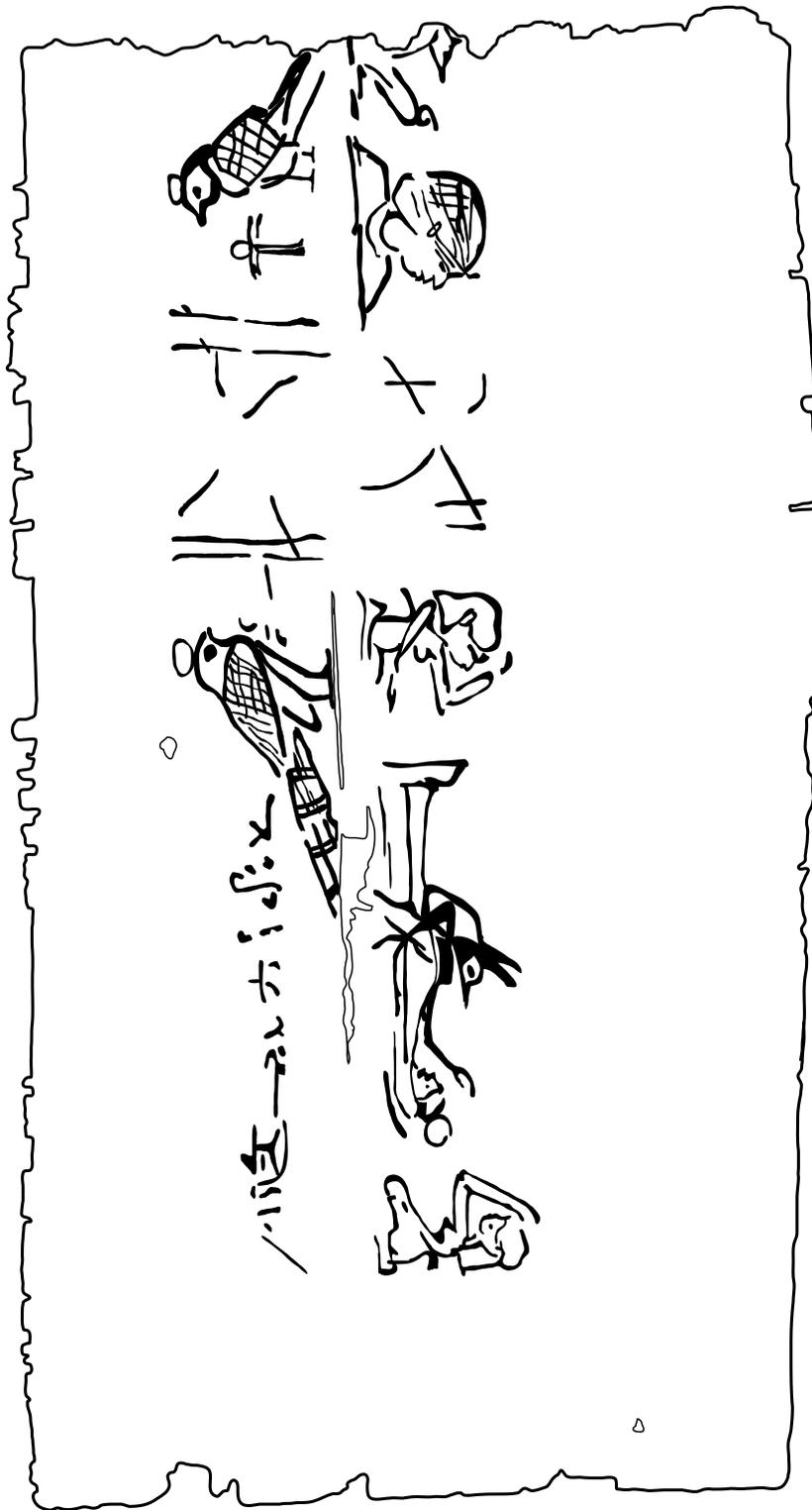


Plate 17: pMoscow I.1d.142 Verso

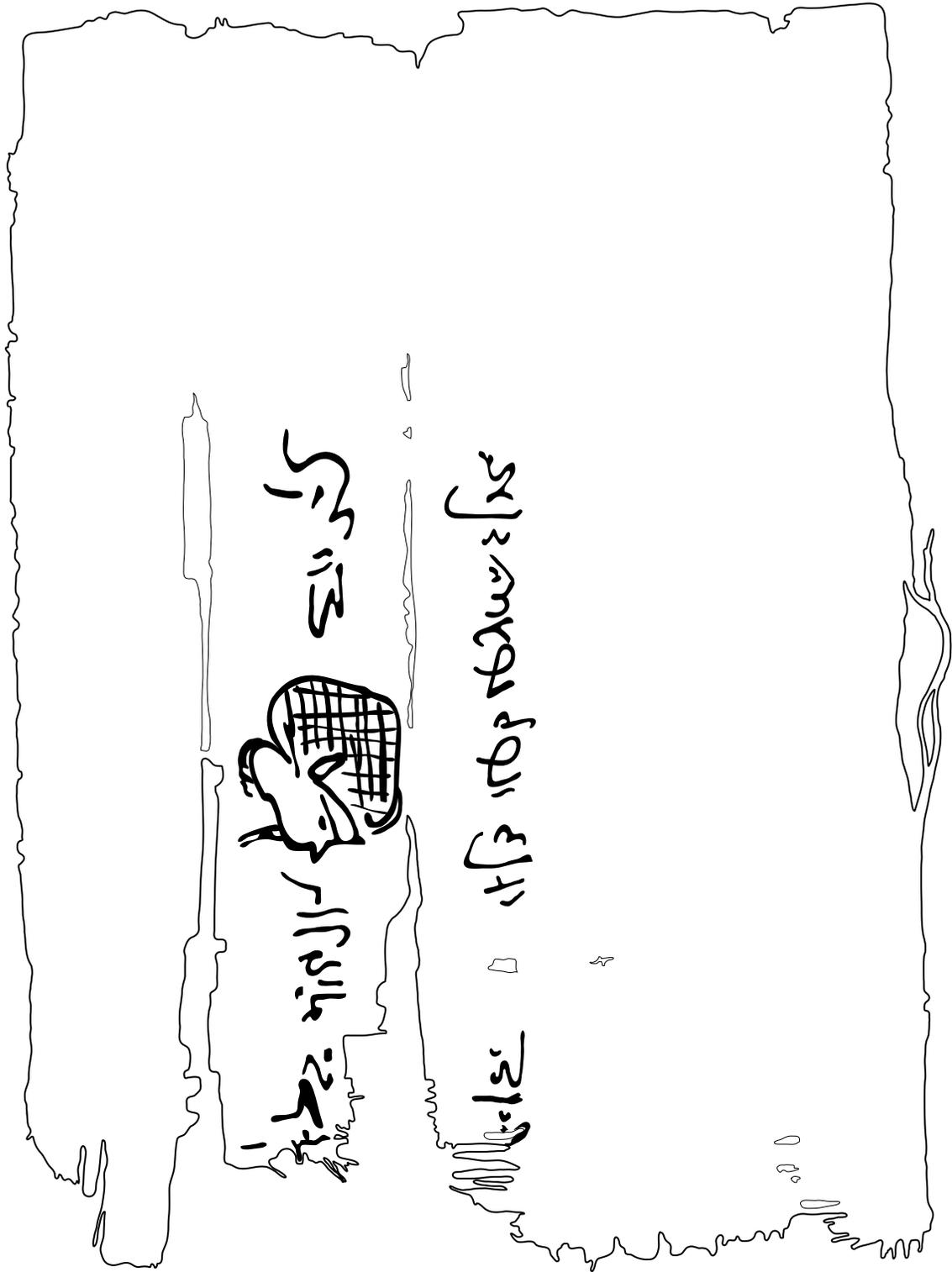


Plate 19: pMoscow I.1d.143 Verso

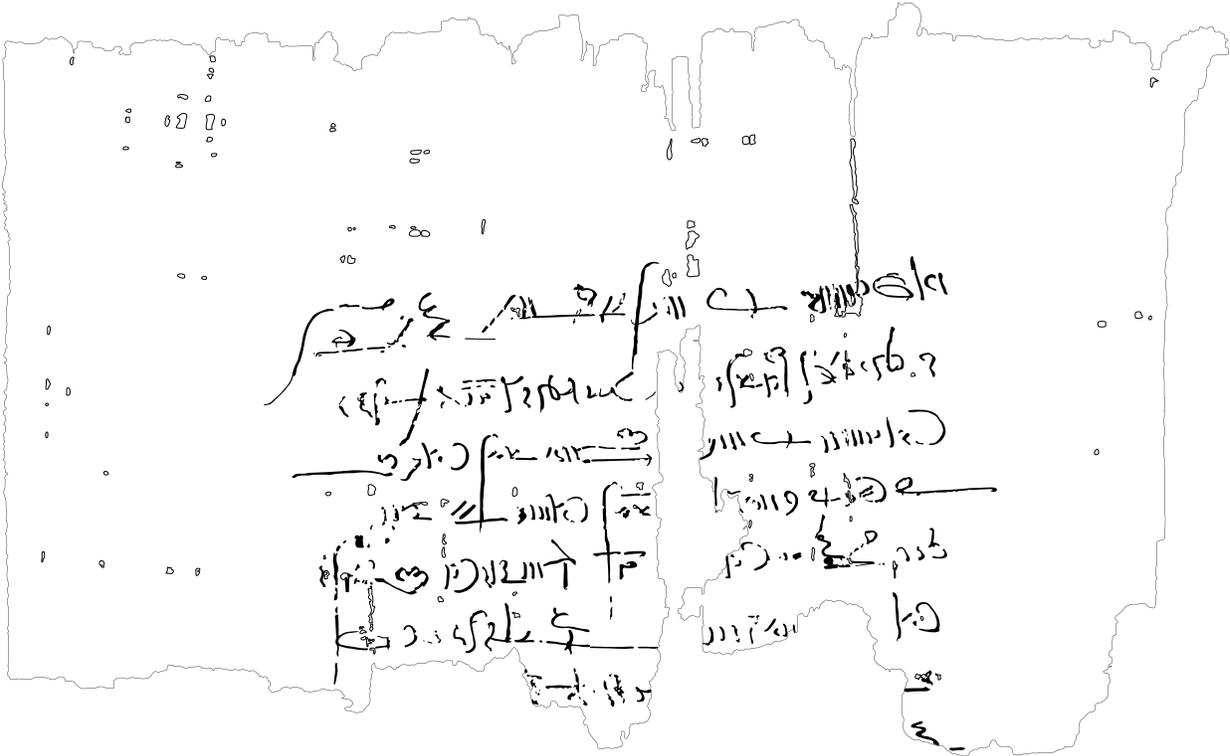


Plate 20: pStrasbourg DG 26 Verso

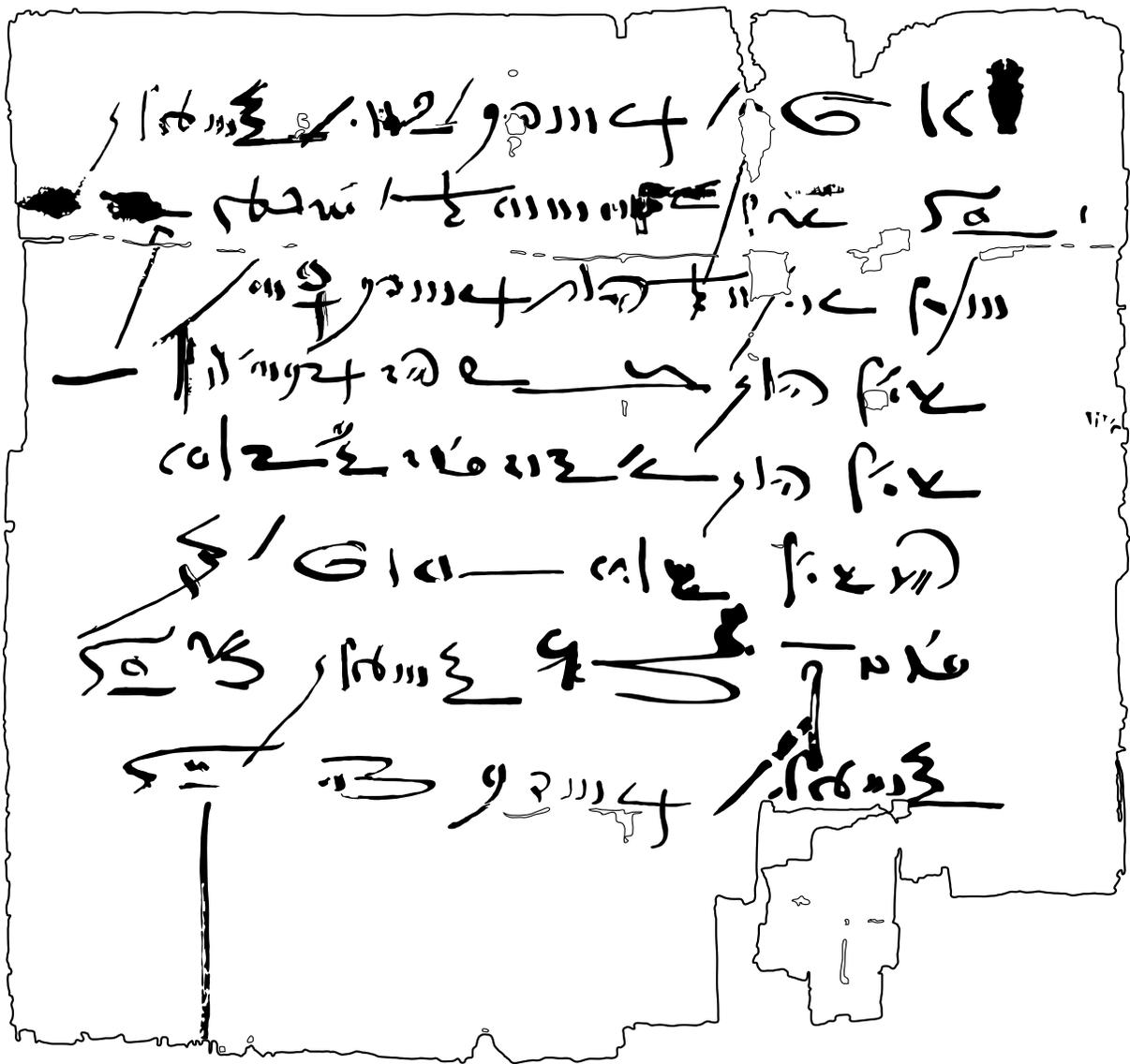


Plate 21: pVienna D 12017 Recto



Plate 22: pVienna D 12017 Verso

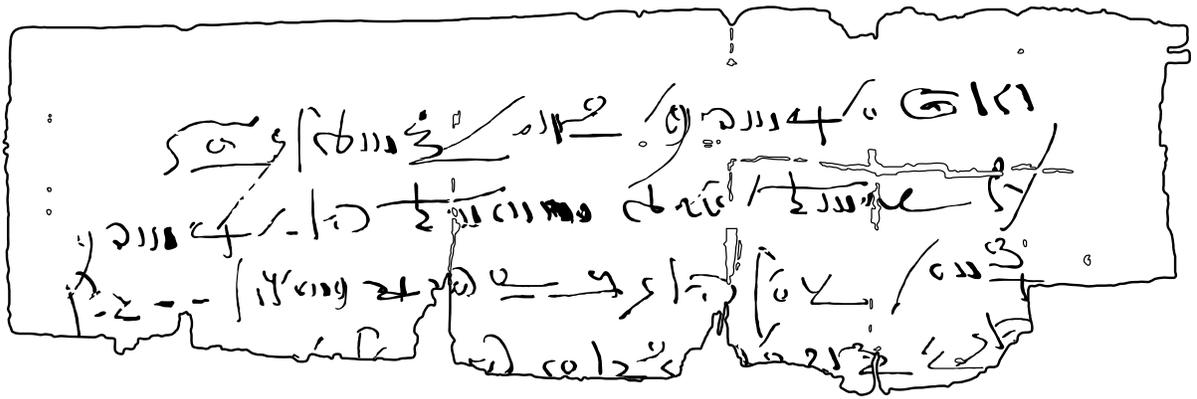


Plate 23: pVienna D 12019 Recto

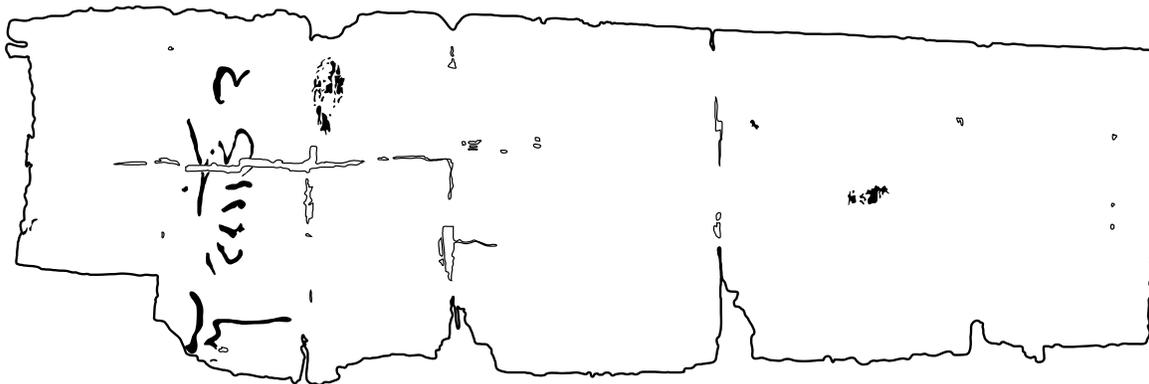


Plate 24: pVienna D 12019 Verso