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# **Aspects of the Ancient Egyptian First and Second Books of Breathing**

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient History, University of Auckland, 2020.

# ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ancient Egyptian First and Second Books of Breathing – a collection of hieratic funerary papyri dating from the Greco-Roman Period that largely superseded the Book of the Dead. It aims to determine the general purpose of these works, their origins and ultimately the reasons for why they came to be.

Using exemplars of the papyri themselves, this thesis first examines their physical characteristics, vignettes and written content. The analysis of these features will show that both works are derived from texts known already from tomb walls, coffins, stelae and earlier forms of funerary literature.

This thesis then discusses the religious functions of the texts in an attempt to ascertain their purpose. Drawing from the themes expounded upon in the works, it will show how both compositions comprise utterances catering to several different aspects of ancient Egyptian eschatology and could have a multitude of functions – from perpetuating the name of their beneficiaries to protecting them in the burial. However, the analysis of the word *snsn* “breathing” in their titles will show that their main purpose was to reanimate their beneficiaries after death.

Finally, this thesis examines the owners of the papyri, the redaction of the texts and their genesis. Utilising a more object-oriented and diachronic method of analysis, it intimates that the First and Second Books of Breathing also functioned as replacements for other texts, and were created to allow compositions from objects such as coffins and sarcophagi to be included in the burial, since many of these objects were unavailable to the deceased at the time. In this way, they were created for the same reasons as a number of other funerary texts known only from the last historical periods of ancient Egyptian civilisation.

For my family.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It goes without saying that completing a doctoral thesis is by no means an easy task and the last few years have been quite a journey. But it is a truth that this journey may have never come to pass if it were not for the help I received along the way. As such, I would like to thank the following individuals and institutions.

First, the Faculty of Arts of the School of Humanities and the University of Auckland Scholarships committee for providing me the opportunity and financial support required to undertake this journey in the first place, and their assistance throughout. For this I am more than grateful.

Secondly, my friends and fellow graduate students in the Department of Classics and Ancient History who have always shown unwavering support and solidarity, not only to me but to each other as well: Bryant Aharinburg, Miriam Bissett, Alecia Bland, Sinead Brennan-McMahon, Caroline Crowhurst, Anna Chilcott, Elizabeth Eltze, Ashley Flavell, Nova Petrechko, Nicola Rawnsley, Christina Robertson, Aaron Schroder, Geoffrey Thompson, Susan Thorpe, Simon Underwood, Lawrence Xu-Nan, and anyone else I might have missed.

I would also like to thank Karen Evans for her advice and encouragement; Josanne Blyth and Rosalind Henshaw for administrative support; and the staff members of the Department of Classics and Ancient History who all generously gave their time to help me in some way: Dr. Jeremy Armstrong, Associate Professor Lisa Bailey, Dr. Dougal Blyth, Dr. Jennifer Hellum, Associate Professor Anne Mackay, and Professor Matthew Trundle.

A very special thank you must also be given to Colleen Manassa-Darnell for reading early drafts of some chapters, and Ilona Regulski at the British Museum for providing me with digital images of pBM EA 10191 and pBM EA 10110 + 10111, which proved to be invaluable.

However, my deepest thanks must go to my supervisor Professor Anthony Spalinger for all that he has done for me over the years, his knowledge, his feedback, and his all-round good character. It is always a pleasure to be one of his students.

Last but not least I would like to thank both the Morgan family and the Earle family for their patience and for always believing in me.

# CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Tables	vii
Abbreviations	viii
Chapter One: Introduction and Background	
1.1. General Remarks	1
1.2. Previous Research	1
1.3. Aims of the Present Study	11
Chapter Two: The Papyri	
2.1. General Remarks	15
2.2. Physical Characteristics of the Papyri	18
2.3. Vignettes and Iconography	23
2.4. Main Text and Written Content	29
2.4.1. The First Book of Breathing	31
2.4.2. The Second Book of Breathing	46
Chapter Three: Transliteration and Translation	
3.1. General Remarks	51
3.2. The First Book of Breathing (pBritish Museum EA 10191)	51
3.3. The Second Book of Breathing (pBritish Museum EA 10110 + 10111)	62
Notes	68
Chapter Four: The Purpose of the First and Second Books of Breathing	
4.1. Introduction	85
4.2. Themes and Functions	85
4.2.1. To Ensure the Deceased of Their Corporeal Integrity	86
4.2.2. To Reconstitute the Physical Faculties of the Deceased	88
4.2.3. To Secure and Preserve the Heart	90
4.2.4. To Perpetuate the Name of the Deceased	93
4.2.5. To Ensure Nourishment in the Afterlife and Freedom of Movement	95
4.2.6. To Ensure the Deceased's Inclusion into the Realm of the Gods	100
4.3. The Meaning of the Designation <i>šꜥt n snsn</i>	103

Chapter Five: Use and Development	
5.1. Introduction	115
5.2. The Owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing	115
5.3. Authorship	127
5.4. Scribal Practice: The Making of the First and Second Books of Breathing	132
5.5. Genesis	145
Conclusion	166
Appendix One: Catalogue of Papyri	170
First Books of Breathing	170
Second Books of Breathing	191
First and Second Books of Breathing	208
Appendix Two: Antecedents	213
Appendix Three: Loci of Antecedents	215
Appendix Four: Frequency of Occurrence	219
Appendix Five: Genealogies	222
The Family of Prophets of Min-Amun	222
The Soter Family	223
Bibliography	225

# LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Stricker's Classification of the Books of Breathing	4
Table 2: Kees' Classification of the Books of Breathing	6
Table 3: Goyon's Classification of the Books of Breathing	7
Table 4: Coenen's Classification of the Books of Breathing	9
Table 5: Names of the Owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing	117
Table 6: Titles of the Owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing	123



# ABBREVIATIONS

## GENERAL

BD	Book of the Dead (followed by spell/chapter number).
BM	British Museum (followed by accession number).
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France (followed by accession number).
CG	Catalogue Générale du Musée du Caire, Cairo (followed by accession number).
CT	Coffin Text (followed by spell/chapter number).
EA	British Museum reference number prefix.
N	Name of deceased (including titles).
p	Papyrus.
PT	Pyramid Text (followed by spell/chapter number).
TT	Theban tomb (followed by tomb number).

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

AAASH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte.</i>
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'étude.
BÉ	<i>Bibliothèque Égyptologique.</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.</i>
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan.</i>
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte.</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen.</i>
HAT	Handschriftendes Altägyptischen Totenbuches.
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions.</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>

<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i>
<i>JMFA</i>	<i>Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.</i>
<i>MÄS</i>	<i>Münchener Ägyptologische Studien.</i>
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.</i>
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis biblicus et orientalis.</i>
<i>OIC</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Communications.</i>
<i>OIP</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Publications.</i>
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta.</i>
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica.</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</i>
<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijkmuseum van Oudheiden te Leiden.</i>
<i>RdÉ</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie.</i>
<i>RT</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur.</i>
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago, Illinois).</i>
<i>SAT</i>	<i>Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch.</i>
<i>Wb.</i>	<i>Erman, A. and H. Grapow (eds.). 1955. Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache, im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien, 7 vols., Berlin: Akademie Verlag.</i>
<i>YES</i>	<i>Yale Egyptological Studies.</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i>

## CHAPTER ONE

# Introduction and Background

### 1.1. General Remarks

The ancient Egyptians have bestowed the modern world a wealth of religious material from the 3000 years of their civilisation. Out of this material some of the most interesting are the First and Second Books of Breathing. Written on papyrus in distinctive forms of hieratic these texts are attested only from the Greco-Roman Period, and contain utterances designed to aid the souls of the deceased into the afterlife and ensure their safety and survival in the burial. With a large number of surviving copies, these compositions formed an important part of Egyptian funerary ensembles and were so crucial for supporting a post-mortem life that they eventually replaced the Book of the Dead.<sup>1</sup> The prevalence of these texts therefore raises fundamental issues about their creation and use, as well as contemporary funerary trends and thought in Egypt's later history. But as it stands we do not know that much about them.

### 1.2. Previous Research

First brought to light by Jean-François Champollion,<sup>2</sup> the First and Second Books of Breathing have been known since the early days of Egyptology. However, most studies tend to be devoted only to the translation and grammatical commentary of individual exemplars. Out of these, the earliest was provided by P. Pierret who translated the text of pLouvre N 3148 in 1873. This papyrus preserves not only a First Book of Breathing and a Second Book of Breathing but also a number of other funerary texts.<sup>3</sup> However, in this edition Pierret made a crucial mistake and misread the title given to one of the texts as “Second Book of Breathing” rather than “First Book of Breathing.” This would prove later on to cause confusion regarding the classification of the papyri.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Goyon 1975, 524; Coenen 1995, 29; and *idem*, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> See Cailliaud 1827, 22-54.

<sup>3</sup> Pierret 1873, 42-79.

<sup>4</sup> For this and a review of the earlier literature, see Coenen 1995.

Following this, F. Rossi and W. Pleyte transliterated and translated a First Book of Breathing in Turin,<sup>5</sup> and in 1884-1885 S. Birch provided translations of pEdinburgh A. 212.113.4, pEdinburgh A. 212.13.5, pBM EA 10111, and pBM EA 10109.<sup>6</sup> About ten years later, J. Lieblein then gathered and translated further exemplars for his book *Le livre égyptien “Que mon nom fleurisse”* which was published in 1895.<sup>7</sup> This edition was mainly comprised of manuscripts now in Cairo, but the author also included cognate texts now in London, Paris, and Turin.<sup>8</sup>

Shortly after Lieblein, É. Chassinat studied the corpus and made reference to a few more copies of the texts housed in various museums around the world.<sup>9</sup> He also noted that “le titre exact de cette composition nous est fourni, entre autres, par le papyrus du Louvre inv. n° 3157, qui le nomme « Livre second des respirations ».”<sup>10</sup> More importantly he stated:

*Ce titre, qu’il ne faudrait pas confondre avec celui d’un autre livre contemporain de forme assez différente connu depuis longtemps des savants par les publications de H. Brugsch et de J. de Horrack, « Le Livre des respirations », Ta shaî ni sinsinou, fut parfois une source d’erreurs pour les écrivains anciens chargés de recopier les écrits funéraires, gens pour le plupart peu lettrés, qui ne firent, bien souvent, aucune distinction entre les deux livres et leurs attribuèrent le même titre, bien qu’ils fassent étrangers l’un à l’autre par leur contenu.*<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Rossi and Pleyte 1869-1876, 201 with pl. CXLIII.

<sup>6</sup> Birch 1884-1885, 86-89 and 206-208.

<sup>7</sup> Lieblein 1895.

<sup>8</sup> These include pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10110, pCairo CG 58008, pCairo CG 58009, pCairo CG 58010, pCairo CG 58011, pCairo CG 58013, pCairo CG 58014, pCairo CG 58015, pCairo CG 58016, pCairo CG 58018, pCairo CG 58019, pLieblein, pSalt 58, and pTurin 1990.

<sup>9</sup> Chassinat 1895.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 314.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* The studies of H. Brugsch and J. de Horrack referred to here correspond to Brugsch 1851, which presents a transcription and translation of pBerlin GY 15 (now pBerlin 3154), and de Horrack 1877, which gives the text of pLouvre N 3284. Both of these manuscripts bear what has now been identified as the “Book of Breathing which Isis Made for Her Brother Osiris” (see Coenen 1995; and 1998a).

Exemplars now in Florence were later studied by A. Pellegrini in 1903 and 1904. One (pFlorence 3662) was published in Bessarione, Anno 8, Serie 2, vols. 5 and 6,<sup>12</sup> while two more (pFlorence 3669 and pFlorence 3670) were published in *Sphinx* 8.<sup>13</sup> Although the former is a copy of the First Book of Breathing, like Pierret, Pellegrini misread the number in the title of the composition as “Second” rather than “First” and attributed the name “(First) Book of Breathing” to an altogether different type of text published earlier by H. Brugsch and J. de Horrack.<sup>14</sup> Again, this was to cause some confusion about the correct designation of the texts.

After this, L. Speelers studied a text now in Brussels (pBrussels E 5298) which he said belonged to those that “nous avons pris l’habitude de nommer *Livre que mon nom fleurisse* d’après Lieblein,”<sup>15</sup> and in 1942 B.H. Stricker discussed and translated a papyrus now in Leiden (pLeiden T 33) which belonged originally to a member of the well-known Soter family of the Roman Period.<sup>16</sup> In this article Stricker argued that the papyrus should be called a “Document/Letter of Breathing” based on the phrase *šꜥt n snsn* written on the back of the manuscript.<sup>17</sup> He also gave a correct reading of the title of the composition written on this papyrus as *t3 šꜥt n snsn mḥ 1.t* (“the First Book of Breathing”) and organised the funerary texts of the Greco-Roman Period into three groups (Table 1 below).<sup>18</sup> His first group included the papyri studied by Pellegrini, Lieblein, Birch, and Pierret, which were divided into 12 sub-groups based largely on the contents of pLouvre N 3148. His second group included the papyri studied earlier by Brugsch and de Horrack, which he identified as copies of the “Boek van het Ademen, Vervaardigd door Isis voor haar Broeder Osiris.” His third group included a collection of short funerary texts written in Demotic.

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<sup>12</sup> Pellegrini 1903, 310-321; and 1904, 49-57, 147-158.

<sup>13</sup> Pellegrini 1904b, 216-222.

<sup>14</sup> See note 11 above; and Coenen 1995, 31-32, 35-36.

<sup>15</sup> Speelers 1921, 27.

<sup>16</sup> Stricker 1942.

<sup>17</sup> Stricker 1942, 40-41.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, 41-43.

Table 1: Stricker's Classification of the Books of Breathing

Group	Papyrus exemplars mentioned by Stricker
I.a.	Louvre N 3148, col. I, 1-III, 12.
I.b. "Erste Boek van het Ademen" ( <i>t3 šꜥt n sns n mḥ 1.t</i> )	Louvre N 3148, col. III, 12-VII, 6; BM EA 10109; BN 151; BN 152; Cairo CG 58007; Cairo CG 58008; Cairo CG 58009; Cairo CG 58011; Cairo CG 58014; Cairo CG 58021; Cairo CG 58023; Florence 3662; Louvre N 3152; Louvre N 3157; Louvre N 3176A; Louvre N 3176B; Louvre N 3176E; Louvre N 3279; Louvre N 3290; Louvre E 3865.
I.c.	Louvre N 3148, col. VII, 7-25.
I.d. "Tweede Boek van het Ademen" ( <i>t3 šꜥt n sns n mḥ 2.t</i> )	Louvre N 3148, col. VIII, 1-IXa, 10; BM EA 10111; Berlin 3163; Cairo CG 58007; Cairo CG 58009; Cairo CG 58013; Cairo CG 58017; Cairo CG 58018; Cairo CG 58020; Cairo CG 58022; Edinburgh A. 212.113.5; Louvre N 3157; Louvre N 3159; Louvre N 3161; Louvre N 3162; Louvre N 3163; Louvre N 3174; Louvre N 3176J; Louvre N 3177A; Louvre N 3289; Louvre E 3865; Salt 58.
I.e.	Louvre N 3148, col. IXa, 11-IXb, 12.
I.f.	Louvre N 3148, col. IXb, 12-X, 1.
I.g.	Louvre N 3148, col. X, 3-X, 6.
I.h.	Louvre N 3148, col. X, 7-XI, 9.
I.i. "Uw ziel leeft" ( <i>ꜥnh b3=k</i> )	BM EA 10108; BM EA 10112; Cairo CG 58009; Cairo CG 58012; Lieblein (col. I, 1-10); Louvre N 3161; Louvre N 3375; Turin 1989.

I.k. “Ik ben Re” ( <i>jnk R</i> ) <sup>19</sup>	Brussels E 5298; Cairo CG 58015; Cairo CG 58016; Cairo CG 58019; Edinburgh A. 212.113.4; Florence 3669; Florence 3670; Turin 1990.
I.l.	Cairo CG 58010.
I.m.	Berlin 3030.
II. “Boek van het Ademen, Vervaardigd door Isis voor haar Broeder Osiris”	BM EA 9995; Berlin GY 15 (= Berlin 3154); Denon; Florence 3665; Louvre N 3121; Louvre N 3126; Louvre N 3154; Louvre N 3158; Louvre N 3166; Louvre N 3167; Louvre N 3221; Louvre N 3222; Louvre N 3284; Louvre N 3285; Louvre N 3291.
III. “Grammaire Démotique” <sup>20</sup>	BM EA 10072; Berlin 1522; Berlin 3169; Cairo 31170; Cairo 31171; Cairo 31172; Cairo 31175; Cairo 31176; Louvre N 3165; Louvre N 3176R; Louvre N 3258.

In 1952, a short introduction to the texts was given by H. Kees in the *Reallexicon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*.<sup>21</sup> In it he distinguished between three groups of Books of Breathing (Table 2). Group I included the papyri edited by Brugsch and de Horrack and two additional papyri bearing the same text (pBM EA 9995 and pFlorence 3665). Group II included the papyri edited by Pelligrini and Pierret, while Group III included one of the papyri edited by Lieblein.

<sup>19</sup> These papyri are in fact First Books of Breathing, since this type of text begins with the expression *jnk R* (*m h* = *f jnk Itm m htp* = *f*) “I am Re (at his rising, I am Atum at his setting).”

<sup>20</sup> Several of these texts are also found on mummy labels, coffins, and graffiti (see Reich 1931; Quaegebeur 1978; Smith 1992-1993, 151-152; and more recently Scalf 2014).

<sup>21</sup> Kees 1971 [1952], 58-59.

Table 2: Kees' Classification of the Books of Breathing

Group	Papyrus exemplars mentioned by Kees
I.	BM EA 9995; Berlin 3135; Florence 3665; Louvre N 3284
II.	Florence 3662; Louvre N 3148
III.	Cairo CG 58008

In 1966, J.-C. Goyon then published a study of pLouvre N 3276,<sup>22</sup> and in 1972 presented a synopsis of the Books of Breathing, with translations of key texts, in his *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*.<sup>23</sup> The former included a transcription and transliteration of what he said was a “*Livre (Second) des Respirations*” based on the affinity of the text with those in the publication of Lieblein.<sup>24</sup> However, he was quick to point out that:

*il ne contient pas la litanie ... qui apparaît dans d'autres manuscrits, et s'apparente ainsi à un certain nombre de documents connus qui donnent, soit un état identique du texte (parallèles exacts), soit un état comportant diverses variantes.*<sup>25</sup>

At the same time, he made comments about the origins of the papyrus, its formal features, vignettes, and palaeography. In the other study, he proceeded to date our Books of Breathing to the 1st or 2nd century AD, discussed their Theban origin, and interpreted their function as that of letters intended to admit the deceased into the hereafter. He also commented upon the titles of the works and attempted yet another classification (Table 3) – one which would be

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<sup>22</sup> Goyon 1966.

<sup>23</sup> Goyon 1972. Reviewed by Zivie 1976, 180-182.

<sup>24</sup> Goyon 1966, vii-viii and 75 with n.1.

<sup>25</sup> Goyon 1966, viii.



maintained further in two subsequent articles written for *Textes et langues de l'Égypte pharaonique*<sup>26</sup> and the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*<sup>27</sup> respectively.

Table 3: Goyon's Classification of the Books of Breathing

<b>Group</b>	<b>Papyrus exemplars mentioned by Goyon</b>
I. "Isis ou le livre premier des respirations."	BM EA 9995; Berlin 3135; Denon; Louvre N 3121; Louvre N 3126; Louvre N 3154; Louvre N 3158; Louvre N 3166; Louvre N 3167 + N 3222; Louvre N 3221; Louvre N 3284; Louvre N 3285; Louvre N 3291.
II. "Thoth ou le livre second des respirations."	
- Texte I. "Les Sarcophages."	Louvre N 3148, col. I-III, x + 11; Louvre N 3174.
- Texte II A. "Le Phylactère Étape vers la renaissance."	Berlin 3030; Cairo CG 58008; Cairo CG 58018; Florence 3662; Leiden T 33; Louvre E 3865; Louvre N 3148; Louvre N 3174; Louvre N 3176A.
- Texte II B. "Le Phylactère et l'intégrité corporelle recouvrée."	Cairo CG 58007; Cairo CG 58023; Florence 3662; Louvre E 3865; Louvre N 3148; Louvre N 3279.
- Texte III. "Le Guide de l'Autre Monde." <sup>28</sup>	Louvre N 3148, col. VII, 7-25.
- Texte IV. "La Conservation du Nom."	BM EA 10304; Cairo CG 58007; Cairo CG 58018; Louvre N 3157; Louvre N 3159; Louvre N 3174.
- Texte V. "L'Hypocéphale et les Protections magiques."	Berlin 3030, col. VI, 1-16 and col. X, 7-23; Louvre N 3148, col. IX, 11-X, 9.
- Texte VI. "Nout et la Renaissance."	Louvre N 3148, col. X, 10-XI, 11; Louvre N 3159, col. x + 33-x + 42.

<sup>26</sup> Goyon 1974.

<sup>27</sup> Goyon 1975a.

<sup>28</sup> This text is actually known today as the "Intercessory Hymn to the Solar Deity" (see Herbin 1984, 252; *idem*, 2008, 199; and Smith 2009a, 590-598).

- “Les abrégés.”	BM EA 10109; Cairo CG 58009; Cairo CG 58010; Cairo CG 58013; Cairo CG 58014; Cairo CG 58019; Florence 3669; Florence 3670; Louvre N 3156; Louvre N 3161; Louvre N 3162; Parma 107; Turin 1990.
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For the most part, this classification was similar to Stricker's, but in this case Goyon separated the Books of Breathing into two groups. The first, “*Isis ou le livre premier des respirations*,” was largely comprised of the manuscripts listed in Stricker's Group II, while the second, “*Thoth ou le livre second des respirations*,” included those in Stricker's Group I (a-m), which were then divided into six sub-groups (“*Textes I-VI*”) as well as abridged versions (“*Les abrégés*”). However, in an article published in 1995, M. Coenen re-divided the Books of Breathing into three kinds (Table 4).<sup>29</sup> This was done on the basis of the titles the Egyptians themselves gave to some of the papyri.<sup>30</sup> As such, it can now be agreed upon that the First Book of Breathing is in fact *Textes II A-B* of Goyon's “*Thoth ou le livre second des respirations*” only, while the Second Book of Breathing is Goyon's *Texte IV*. On the other hand, Goyon's “*Isis ou livre premier des respirations*” is another composition known as the “Book of Breathing which Isis Made for Her Brother Osiris.”<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See Coenen 1995. This classification has since replaced that of Goyon's. Cf. for example, Stadler 2000, 114-116; Rhodes 2002, 14; Ritner 2003, 167 with n. 38; Bell 2008, 22; Herbin 2008, 1-3; Smith 2009a, 499-500, 514-515; Stadler 2010-2011, 168; and Guermeur 2016, 361.

<sup>30</sup> See Coenen 1995, 34-37.

<sup>31</sup> See Coenen 1995, 38; and 1998a for an overview of this composition.

Table 4: Coenen's Classification of the Books of Breathing<sup>32</sup>

<b>Egyptian Title</b>	<b>Papyrus exemplars mentioned by Coenen</b>	<b>Goyon's Classification</b>
“Book of Breathing which Isis Made for Her Brother Osiris” ( <i>t3 šꜥt n sns n jr. n ʿst n sn=s Wsjr</i> )	BM EA 9995; Florence 3665; Louvre N 3166; Louvre N 3291; Tübingen 2016; Vienna 3863.	“Isis ou livre premier des respirations.”
“First Book of Breathing which goes under his head” ( <i>t3 šꜥt n sns n mh 1. t nty šm hr d3d3=f</i> )	Berlin 3028; BN 151; Florence 3662; Louvre N 3148, col. III, x + 12-VII, 6.	Texte II A and II B of “Thoth ou le livre second des respirations.”
“Second Book of Breathing which one should place at the feet of the Osiris N” ( <i>t3 šꜥt n sns n mh 2. t nty iw= w r h3ꜥ-s i-ir rdwyꜥ Wsjr N</i> ) <sup>33</sup>	BM EA 10110 + 10111; Cairo CG 58007; Louvre N 3148, col. VIII, 1-IX, 10; Louvre N 3157.	Texte IV of “Thoth ou le livre second des respirations.”

Nevertheless, further texts belonging to the corpus were identified by F.-R. Herbin in 1984,<sup>34</sup> and a papyrus bearing a First Book of Breathing in the British Museum (pBM EA 10194) was translated and commented upon by R.A. Caminos in 1993.<sup>35</sup> Likewise, a First Book of Breathing in the Landesmuseum Klagenfurt (pLandesmuseum Klagenfurt AE III/1) was translated as part of a catalogue prepared by U. Horak and H. Harrauer in 1999,<sup>36</sup> and in 2000 M. Coenen surveyed a First Book of Breathing, along with other funerary papyri, currently in the Bodleian Library.<sup>37</sup>

Subsequent to this, Coenen translated copies of the First and Second Books of Breathing belonging to the papyrus collection of the Royal Museum of Edinburgh,<sup>38</sup> and in 2008 Herbin's

<sup>32</sup> Based on the table given in Stadler 2000, 115.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. also the comments of Coenen 1995, 36: “The long litany of names in these papyri rather simplifies the identification of the Second Book of Breathings and enables us to equate it with Goyon's type IV of the Second Book of Breathings.”

<sup>34</sup> Herbin 1984a.

<sup>35</sup> Caminos 1993.

<sup>36</sup> Horak and Harrauer 1999, 61-62 (no. 44).

<sup>37</sup> Coenen 2000, 96-97.

<sup>38</sup> Coenen 2004a.

monumental *Books of Breathing and Related Texts* was published.<sup>39</sup> This includes critical text editions of all Books of Breathing in the British Museum, as well as line-by-line commentary, plates and hieroglyphic transcriptions.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, copies of the First and Second Books of Breathing were discussed and translated by M. Smith in 2009 in his *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*.<sup>41</sup> A First Book of Breathing in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (pBN 246) was edited by L. Coilliot and C. Ragazzoli in 2010,<sup>42</sup> and a Second Book of Breathing in Tübingen was discussed and translated by I. Guerneur in 2016.<sup>43</sup> Finally, C. Carrier has transliterated and translated several First and Second Books of Breathing in his *Livre des respirations de l'Égypte ancienne*, which also includes plates and hieroglyphic transcriptions.<sup>44</sup>

Other than these studies, J. Quaegebeur took an interest in the papyri and has contributed greatly to giving us a deeper understanding of the texts and their setting. In a few articles written between 1988 and 1997 he demonstrated that the papyri not only date back to the Ptolemaic Period, but were “Lettres de Thot” intended to admit the deceased into the afterlife.<sup>45</sup> In another paper published in 1994 he also noted that some of the papyri belonged originally to members of an important priestly family who ministered the cult of Min-Amun at Thebes throughout the 1st century BC.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Herbin devoted several pages to the affinity shared by the Books of Breathing and the Book of Traversing Eternity in his *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité* published in 1994,<sup>47</sup> while Smith gave an introduction to the texts in his edition of the *Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* published in 1993.<sup>48</sup> Like Goyon and Quaegebeur before him, Smith described the texts as serving “as introductions or letters of recommendation, assuring the inhabitants of the West that their bearers were worthy of acceptance into their

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<sup>39</sup> Herbin 2008.

<sup>40</sup> For the First and Second Books of Breathing in particular, see *ibid.*, 50-116 with pls. 29-89.

<sup>41</sup> Smith 2009a, 499-525.

<sup>42</sup> Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010.

<sup>43</sup> Guerneur 2016.

<sup>44</sup> Carrier 2017.

<sup>45</sup> Quaegebeur 1988; 1990; 1995; and 1997. For the dates of the Books of Breathing, see also Quirke 1999.

<sup>46</sup> Quaegebeur 1994. See also Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 59-62.

<sup>47</sup> Herbin 1994, 326-328.

<sup>48</sup> Smith 1993, 14.

company,”<sup>49</sup> and that they were “intended for use by the deceased as a sort of passport to the afterlife.”<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, a brief summation of the texts with bibliography was included in E. Hornung’s *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*,<sup>51</sup> and several aspects of the compositions, such as their titles and contents, have been discussed more recently by J. Gee,<sup>52</sup> M.A. Stadler,<sup>53</sup> and F. Scalf.<sup>54</sup> Lastly, descriptions of the papyri were given by T. Deveria (1881) for those in the Louvre, A. Fabretti *et al* (1882) for those in Turin, W. Golenischeff (1927) for those in Cairo, E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner (1981) for those in Tübingen, U. Kaplony-Heckel (1986) for those in Berlin, and A. Gasse (1993) for a copy of the First Book of Breathing now in the Vatican.<sup>55</sup> Copies of the Second Book of Breathing in the University Museum of Aberdeen were also described in an article written by Curtis *et al* in 2005.<sup>56</sup>

### 1.3. Aims of the Present Study

With a large number of surviving copies, both long and short, the First and Second Books of Breathing were undoubtedly the most popular afterlife texts of the Greco-Roman Period. Although stemming from earlier funerary rituals, including the Book of the Dead, the two works show a remarkable originality,<sup>57</sup> and were seemingly part of a larger trend that contributed to the composition of a range of similar and/or related texts each with their own discrete meaning and purpose – such as the Book of Breathing which Isis Made for Her Brother Osiris,<sup>58</sup> the Book of Traversing Eternity,<sup>59</sup> the Rhind funerary papyri,<sup>60</sup> the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. also Caminos 1993.

<sup>51</sup> Hornung 1997b, 34-36; and the English version (trans. D. Lorton) 1999, 23-25, 168-169.

<sup>52</sup> Gee 2009.

<sup>53</sup> Stadler 1999; 2000; and 2015, esp. 76-80.

<sup>54</sup> Scalf 2014.

<sup>55</sup> Gasse 1993, 78-79 (no. 76) with pl. LV.

<sup>56</sup> Curtis *et al* 2005, 54 (nos. 11-13) with figs. 3-4.

<sup>57</sup> Goyon 1972, 211.

<sup>58</sup> For this text, see *inter alia*, de Horrack 1877; Coenen 1998a; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995; Rhodes 2002; Herbin 2008, 11-49, pls. 1-28; Smith 2009a, 462-498; and Ritner 2011.

<sup>59</sup> Herbin 1994; Smith 2009a, 395-431. See also Coenen 1999c, 69-71.

<sup>60</sup> See Rhind 1862; Brugsch 1865; and Möller 1913; Assmann and Kucharek 2008, 597-613, 882-894 for a (German) translation and commentary on the hieratic versions of the texts; and Smith 2009a, 302-348 for (English) translations of the demotic versions of the texts. The vignettes used to illustrate pRhind 1 have been discussed by Revillout 1914. A brief overview of the papyri has also been provided by Stadler 2012a, 143-147 and Scalf 2014,

for Breathing,<sup>61</sup> the Book of Transformations,<sup>62</sup> and a number of other funerary texts written in Demotic.<sup>63</sup> Seen in this light, our texts are particularly significant, for not only do they reflect another stage in the evolution of funerary literature, they also show that important developments had taken place in funerary religion and custom during the Greco-Roman Period.<sup>64</sup>

Furthermore, several papyri bearing a First and/or Second Book of Breathing are known. The sheer number of individual manuscripts that have been recovered to date consequently places the texts amongst some of the most essential pieces of religious literature to survive from Greco-Roman Egypt. But what is known about their development is limited at best. As outlined above, most studies devoted to the First and Second Books of Breathing are focused on the translation of the texts, the dates of the papyri, and their classification. But as it stands, their genesis has yet to be discussed. At the same time, the First and Second Books of Breathing have received far less attention compared to the funerary literature of the Pharaonic Period. As such, we still do not know the reasons for their use or why these texts even came about in the first place.

The purpose of this study then is to fill this knowledge gap and shed new light on the origins of these texts.

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43-45. For studies of the functions of the texts, see also Merkelbach 1993; Stadler 2001; and now Quack 2014-2015.

<sup>61</sup> Smith 1993; and 2009a, 349-387; Stadler 2012a, 136-139; Scalf 2014, 51-53.

<sup>62</sup> Legrain 1889; Frank-Kamenetzky 1914; Smith 1979; 2009a, 610-649; Stadler 2012a, 133-136; Scalf 2014, 43.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. pTurin N 766 (Botti 1968; Stadler 1999; and 2000; Smith 2009a, 550-556; Stadler 2012a, 149-150); pBodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P) (Smith 2009a, 650-662; Stadler 2012a, 129-130; Scalf 2014, 51); pHarkness (Logan 1976; Smith 1991; 1999; 2005; 2009a, 264-301; Stadler 2012a, 139-142; Scalf 2014, 47-49); pBM EA 10507 (Smith 1987; 2009a, 245-263; Stadler 2012a, 139-142; Scalf 2014, 45-47); pBN 149 (Lexa 1910; Herbin 1994, 31, 79, 520, and pl. 35; Stadler 2003; Smith 2009a, 437-454; Quack 2014; Scalf 2014, 50-51); as well as the corpus of “*ḥꜥ pꜣ by*” texts found inscribed on temple walls, ostraca, sarcophagi, coffins, mummy boards, shrouds, linen wrappings, mummy tags, stelae, and papyrus (Spiegelberg 1901, 9-15; and 1928, 14-23; Reich 1931; Wångstedt 1970-1971, 52-53 with pl. II; Quaegebeur 1978, 236-239, 251-255; Smith 1979, 2-13; Brunsch 1984; Quaegebeur 1990, 776-795; Brunsch 1999-2000; Riggs and Depauw 2002, 80-82; Depauw 2003; Stadler 2004b; Smith 2009a, 557-564; Vleeming 2011; and more recently Scalf 2014).

<sup>64</sup> For studies and discussions on the topic of continuity and change in Egyptian religion, particularly during the Greco-Roman Period, see *inter alia* Kákosy 1979, esp. 347; Bagnall 1988, 24-25; Corcoran 1995; Ritner 1995; Dieleman 2005; Quack 2006a; and 2009; Smith 2009a, 10; Riggs 2010b; Klotz 2012a; and Stadler 2012b.

The next chapter will begin with an examination of the papyri themselves, focusing first manuscripts, their physical characteristics, and vignettes. This has been done to give us a better understanding of the papyri in general and more insight into what sort of artefacts we are dealing with. It will then focus on the written contents of the papyri and present an analysis of each section pertaining to the texts. This will not only describe what the texts say, but also point out their antecedents, giving us a better understanding of the compositions as a whole and the subject matter underlying them. In presenting this chapter, however, it should be noted that I have examined the papyri holistically, but analysed the texts themselves separately. Furthermore, analysing the contents of every known copy of the texts is outside the scope of this study. Therefore, only copies which I feel best represent the two works have been included. In the case of the First Book of Breathing, the copy I have chosen is pBritish Museum EA 10191, and in the case of the Second Book of Breathing, pBritish Museum EA 10110 + 10111. These were chosen for two reasons. First, both of the papyri are extremely well-preserved. Second, both copies are complete and contain all known sections or elements of the texts.

In Chapter Three, I will then present a transliteration and translation of the texts of these two manuscripts, as well as note variants in other copies of the works. These translations have been included mainly to supplement Chapter Two, but are also intended to better inform us of what the two works actually say and accentuate.

Following this, Chapter Four will deal with the religious functions of the compositions. Indeed, everything human beings create is created for a reason and the First and Second Books of Breathing are no exception. As such, this chapter will touch upon the meaning of the texts and is intended to shed light upon their purpose, as well as the roles the two works were envisaged to play in the burial. The approach will be primarily text-based and focused on drawing conclusions from themes expounded upon in the two works. However, evidence from other sources of contemporaneous funerary literature and material culture will also be considered, for these illumine other aspects of the texts and the ideas behind them.

Finally, Chapter Five will discuss the use and development of the First and Second Books of Breathing, focusing first on the original owners of the papyri, the authorship of the texts, and the scribal processes involved in their production. Attention will then be given to the origins of the texts and the circumstances of their formation. Utilising a more object-oriented and

diachronic method of analysis,<sup>65</sup> it will attempt to answer the difficult question of why the First and Second Books of Breathing were created, ultimately shedding light on the genesis of the compositions and the reasons for their use.

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<sup>65</sup> For this approach cf. the recent studies by Backes 2010; and 2015; as well as Luft 2015.



## CHAPTER TWO

### The Papyri

#### 2.1. General Remarks

At present, there are at least 50 papyri bearing a First Book of Breathing, 41 papyri bearing a Second Book of Breathing, and at least seven papyri containing both compositions. Each of these manuscripts is listed below.<sup>1</sup> Some of them belonged to men and some of them belonged to women, but all of them can be said to have originated from Thebes. Indeed, prosopographical information recorded in the texts reveals that several of the owners of these papyri were local to Thebes or more specifically the areas of Medinet Habu, Medamud, and Hermonthis (Armant).<sup>2</sup> Deities mentioned in the texts, such as Amun and Amenopet, also provide evidence for a strong connection to Thebes. As such, it appears that our Books of Breathing were a tradition which developed in and remained exclusive to that region.<sup>3</sup> However, it is possible that the texts were more widely disseminated. In fact, a papyrus bearing part of the Second Book of Breathing (pChicago OIC 25389), as well as excerpts of the Book of Traversing Eternity, and select spells of the Book of the Dead, is said to come from Esna.<sup>4</sup>

As for dates, the earliest known copy of the texts can be attributed to pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194. The owner of this papyrus is not only mentioned in the text, but also Demotic graffito Medinet Habu no. 52, dated to precisely year 11 of Cleopatra VII (42/41 BC).<sup>5</sup> This graffito commemorates a woman called Taimouthes (*T3-jj-m-htp*) who is in fact the daughter of the owner of pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194. As such, the papyrus can be dated roughly to the mid-first century BC. Furthermore, J. Quaegebeur purported that the father of the owner of pLouvre N

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<sup>1</sup> A full catalogue is also presented in Appendix One.

<sup>2</sup> Goyon 1972, 192-193.

<sup>3</sup> Herbin 2008, 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Herbin 2008, 1 n. 2; and *idem*, 1994, 13-18.

<sup>5</sup> See Quaegebeur 1994, 215-218; and Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 59-62. For the graffito itself, see Thissen 1989, 55-58.

3159 + N 3194 is mentioned in pCasati dated to 113 BC.<sup>6</sup> This would confirm once again a first century BC date for the papyrus. But this identification is uncertain.

The latest dated copies on the other hand come from the burial of the well-known Soter family and can be ascribed with all certainty to the late first to mid second century AD.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, written on the coffins and other burial items of this group are inscriptions bearing dates corresponding to the reigns of the Roman emperors Trajan and Hadrian. These two emperors ruled from AD 98 – 138. However, it should be mentioned that most of the papyri bearing a First and/or Second Book of Breathing cannot be connected to any known individuals or additional material culture and as a result have been dated solely on the basis of palaeography. While this has its merits and has allowed scholars to authenticate that the papyri belong to the Greco-Roman Period, the palaeography only gives us a general time-frame, rather than a precise date.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the *floruit* of our texts could be extended.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, exact dates are known for at least some of the papyri and it can be assumed safely that they were in use from around the mid-first century BC until no later than the end of the first half of the second century AD.

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<sup>6</sup> Quaegebeur 1994, 216-217; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 60.

<sup>7</sup> Herbin 2008, 4. For the objects and papyri belonging to the members of this family, see also *idem*, 2002; Grimm 1974; van Landuyt 1995; Riggs and Depauw 2002, 75-90 with pls. IX-XI; Riggs and Stadler 2003; Riggs 2003, 193-195; *idem*, 2005, 182-205; *idem*, 2006; and Corcoran 2010. For the tomb of the Soter family (TT 32), originally built for a man named Djehutymose who lived during the reign of Ramesses II, see Kákosy 1995; and Kákosy and Vörös 1996.

<sup>8</sup> For the problematic nature of dating late hieratic funerary papyri on the basis of palaeographical analysis, see *inter alia* Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 52; Coenen 2001, 69-70; Quaegebeur 1997, 73-75; Tait 1986, 75; and Mosher 1992, 169-170. For the problems of palaeographic dating in general and in other disciplines, see also Turner 1987, 19-23; and Schniedewind 2005.

<sup>9</sup> Striking in this respect is a Demotic text from the Roman Period which associates a “Hymn for Breathing” (*tw3 n sns n*) with the mummy of Psamtek I in the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; but it cannot be known if this hymn is one of our texts or if it even existed at all (see Erichsen 1956, 49-81; and Smith 1985, 103-104).

### List of Papyri Bearing a First Book of Breathing

- |                      |                             |   |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. pBerlin 3028      | 2. pBerlin 3030             | 3. pBN 151                              |
| 4. pBN 152           | 5. pBN 246                  | 6. pBod. Library Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P) |
| 7. pBM EA 10109      | 8. pBM EA 10115             | 9. pBM EA 10123                         |
| 10. pBM EA 10191     | 11. pBM EA 10194            | 12. pBM EA 10199                        |
| 13. pBM EA 10206     | 14. pBM EA 10283            | 15. pBM EA 10303                        |
| 16. pBM EA 10337     | 17. pBM EA 10338            | 18. pBM EA 10340                        |
| 19. pBM EA 10343     | 20. pBM EA 10705            | 21. pBM EA 71513B                       |
| 22. pBM EA 71513C    | 23. pBrussels E 5298        | 24. pCairo CG 58008                     |
| 25. pCairo CG 58011  | 26. pCairo CG 58014         | 27. pCairo CG 58015                     |
| 28. pCairo CG 58016  | 29. pCairo CG 58019         | 30. pCairo CG 58021                     |
| 31. pCairo CG 58023  | 32. pEdinburgh A.1956.357 E | 33. pEdinburgh A.212.113.4              |
| 34. pFlorence 3662   | 35. pKlagenfurt AE III/1    | 36. pLeiden T 33                        |
| 37. pLouvre E 10284  | 38. pLouvre N 3148          | 39. pLouvre N 3163                      |
| 40. pLouvre N 3176 A | 41. pLouvre N 3176 D        | 42. pLouvre N 3176 E                    |
| 43. pLouvre N 3176 F | 44. pLouvre N 3176 G        | 45. pLouvre N 3279                      |
| 46. pLouvre N 3290   | 47. pLouvre SN              | 48. pTurin 1861 C (= 14965)             |
| 49. pTurin 1990      | 50. pVatican Inv. 38599     | 51. pVienna 3870                        |

### List of Papyri Bearing a Second Book of Breathing

- |                          |                              |                             |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. pAberdeen ABDUA 84025 | 2. pAberdeen ABDUA 84026     | 3. pAberdeen ABDUA 84027    |
| 4. pBerlin 3041          | 5. pBM EA 9977               | 6. pBM EA 10110 + 10111     |
| 7. pBM EA 10116          | 8. pBM EA 10124              | 9. pBM EA 10192             |
| 10. pBM EA 10264         | 11. pBM EA 10275             | 12. pBM EA 10282            |
| 13. pBM EA 10286         | 14. pBM EA 10304             | 15. pBM EA 10331            |
| 16. pBM EA 71513D        | 17. pCairo CG 58013          | 18. pCairo CG 58017         |
| 19. pCairo CG 58018      | 20. pCairo CG 58020          | 21. pCairo CG 58022         |
| 22. pChicago OIC 25389   | 23. pEdinburgh A. 1956.357 D | 24. pEdinburgh A. 212.113.5 |
| 25. pFlorence 3669       | 26. pFlorence 3670           | 27. pLieblein               |
| 28. pLouvre N 3156       | 29. pLouvre N 3157           | 30. pLouvre N 3161          |
| 31. pLouvre N 3162       | 32. pLouvre N 3174           | 33. pLouvre N 3176 J        |
| 34. pLouvre N 3176 K     | 35. pLouvre N 3176 L         | 36. pLouvre N 3177 A        |
| 37. pLouvre N 3289       | 38. pSalt 58                 | 39. pTübingen 2001          |
| 40. pTübingen 2014       | 41. pTurin 1861 B (= 14964)  |                             |

### List of Papyri Bearing a First and Second Book of Breathing

- |                        |                    |                            |
|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. pBerlin 3052        | 2. pBerlin 3163    | 3. pBM EA 10125            |
| 4. pBM EA 71513A       | 5. pCairo CG 58007 | 6. pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194 |
| 7. pRylands Hieratic 6 |                    |                            |

## 2.2. Physical Characteristics of the Papyri

As for the papyri themselves, the sheets that were used are, for the most part, rectangular. Altogether their average size is about 38 cm in length and about 20 cm in height. However, some of the papyri are higher than they are longer, whereas others are much longer than they are higher, indicating that the size of the papyrus sheet on which the text was written could vary.

On the recto side of most of the papyri is the main text,<sup>10</sup> which is usually written in hieratic and in the language known as Late Classical Egyptian (“*égyptien de tradition*”). However, several passages “are couched in a vernacular language presenting many specific elements of contemporary demotic (sometimes also in the writing of some words).”<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the first line of pBM EA 9977 and second line of the text of pBM EA 10115 are written in hieroglyphics.<sup>12</sup>

In terms of the number of text columns, most exemplars have only one text column, except for pBodleian Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P) which has a total of seven text columns and pRylands Hieratic 6 which comprises thirteen columns of writing. In addition, pBerlin 3030, pCairo CG 58007, and pLouvre N 3148 are all comprised of five text columns,<sup>13</sup> while pBerlin 3028, pFlorence 3662, and pLouvre N 3279 all have four text columns. The copies of the Second Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10282 and pCairo CG 58018 on the other hand both have three text columns,<sup>14</sup> while pBM EA 10191 and pBM EA 10110 + 10111 each contain two text columns. The three columns in pBM EA 10282 are also set between a row of three lines of text at the top and one line at the bottom.

In the case of those manuscripts with more than one text column, a blank space, running proportionate to the height of the papyrus, usually serves to separate each one;<sup>15</sup> and blank

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<sup>10</sup> With the exception of pEdinburgh A. 212.113.4 which bears the main text on its verso (see Coenen 2004a, 106).

<sup>11</sup> Quack 2012, 271. See also *idem*, 2009a; and *idem*, 2010, 316.

<sup>12</sup> See Herbin 2008, 103-104 with pls. 62-63 and 125-126 with pls. 98-99 respectively.

<sup>13</sup> On this note, pBerlin 3030 actually has a total of nine text columns, but only the first five contain the text of the First Book of Breathing (see Herbin 1984a, 252). Similarly, pLouvre N 3148 comprises eleven text columns in total, but only cols. III, x + 12-VII, 6 are devoted to the First Book (see *ibid*; and Pierret 1873, 42-79).

<sup>14</sup> See Herbin 2008, 108-109 with pls. 74-75.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. pBM EA 10191 and pCairo CG 58007.

spaces may also be used to delineate the text from the edges of the papyrus scroll. Otherwise, each column of writing is set within thick double-line borders, such as in the case of pBerlin 3028, pFlorence 3662, pLouvre N 3279, and pRylands Hieratic 6. These borders are similar to those used to enclose the texts and vignettes of some Book of the Dead manuscripts produced during the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>16</sup> As for guidelines for the writing, none of the known witnesses bear any trace of these.<sup>17</sup>

With regards to the versos of the papyri, some were left blank,<sup>18</sup> whereas the backsides of others are inscribed with a short note. Once again, this is usually written in hieratic, and usually along the length of the papyrus and in the same direction as the main text on the recto,<sup>19</sup> but some of the papyri have a note written in demotic on the back as well. The latter generally consists of nothing more than the words *d3d3=f/s* (“his/her head”), such as in the case of pBM EA 10109 and pBM EA 10283,<sup>20</sup> or *rdwy=f/s* (“his/her feet”), such as on the verso sides of pBM EA 10282 and pCairo CG 58013.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, the verso side of pBM EA 10191 is inscribed with the words *t3 šꜥt n snsn nty šm hr d3d3=f* “The Document of Breathing which goes under his head,”<sup>22</sup> and on the reverse side of pTübingen 2014 is an almost identical note.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, pBM EA 10110 + 10111 has the expression *t3 šꜥt n snsn mh 2.t nty iw=w r h3ꜥ-s i-ir rdwyꜥt Wsir N* “The Second Document of Breathing which one should place at the feet of the Osiris N” followed by the titles of the deceased written on the verso side,<sup>24</sup> while the backside of pBM EA 10304 is inscribed with the words *t3 šꜥt n snsn nty šm hr rdwy=f* “The Document of

<sup>16</sup> E.g. the Book of the Dead in pBodleian Library Ms. Egypt.c.2 which has been dated to c. 150-50 BC (see Coenen 2000, 87-93 with pl. XIII, 1). Similar borders are also a feature of Demotic papyri, see Smith 2009a, 167; Herbin 2004, 172, n. 12; and Stadler 2004, 25.

<sup>17</sup> For instances of and a background to the use of guidelines in ancient Egypt, see Tait 1986, 63-89.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. pBN 256, pBM EA 10338, pBM EA 10705, pCairo CG 58007, pEdinburgh A.212.113.5, pEdinburgh A.1956.357 D, pFlorence 3662, pTurin 1861 C (= 14965), and pTurin 1990.

<sup>19</sup> However, some of the verso notes were inscribed along the height of the papyrus and appear perpendicular to the main text on the recto, for example, pBM EA 10194 and pBM EA 101303.

<sup>20</sup> Herbin 2008, 76 with pls. 35-36; and *ibid.*, 83 with pls. 42-43.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 108 with pls. 74-75; and Carrier 2017, 270 and 281. See also Smith 2009a, 525 for pCairo CG 58013.

<sup>22</sup> Herbin 2008, 50 with pl. 32.

<sup>23</sup> Guermeur 2016, 368-370: *t3 šꜥt n snsn nty šm [hr] d3d3 n ntr(t) tn* “The Document of Breathing which goes [under] the head of this god(dess).”

<sup>24</sup> Herbin, 2008, 90 with pl. 59.

Breathing which goes under his feet.”<sup>25</sup> Once again, these are all written in demotic, and are merely instructions indicating where the papyrus should be placed in the burial.

The hieratic notes, on the other hand, are slightly more elaborate. Some give the title of the work, which may be followed by the name of the deceased,<sup>26</sup> or instructions for placement,<sup>27</sup> whereas others present a set of statements which Herbin has described as “annexed formulae.”<sup>28</sup> A few of the better preserved examples of the latter can be translated as follows:

Example 1:

*sm3-t3 nfr ddj=s jw ks[w=k] w3h=s jw [j]w[=k] nn [sk nn mrh] dt*

A good burial. May it endure over [your] bones and may it remain over [your] flesh without [destruction] and [without decay], eternally.<sup>29</sup>

Example 2:

*[sm3-t3 nfr ddj]=s hr ksw=k hr jw[=k] [nn] mrh dt Imntt nfrt wy=s r t3=k m wdt n Hnwt Ndbwt*

[A good burial. May] it [endure] over your bones and over your flesh [without] decay, eternally. May the beautiful West extend her arms in order to receive you according to the decree of the Mistress of the Earth’s Foundations.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 100 with pls. 60-61.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. pBM EA 9977, pBM EA 10199, pBM EA 10275, pBN 152, pLeiden T 33, and pVatican Inv. 38599. Only the name of the deceased, however, occurs on the verso side of pBM EA 10343.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. pLouvre N 3157: *t3 šct n sns n mh 2.t nty jw=w h3c-s hr rdwy [p3] ntr* “The Second Book of Breathing which one should place under the feet of [the] god” (see Smith, 2009a, 514; and Coenen, 1995, 36).

<sup>28</sup> Herbin 2008, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Verso note of pEdinburgh A. 212.113.4 (after Coenen, 2004, 107), with a similar note on the versos of pBM EA 10115, pBM EA 10116, pBM EA 10123, pBM EA 10125, pBM EA 10283, pBM EA 10286, pBM EA 10303, pBM EA 10337, pBM EA 10340, pBM EA 71513A, pBM EA 71513C, pBM EA 71513D, pBrussels E 5298, pCairo CG 58014, pCairo CG 58019, pLandesmuseum Klagenfurt AE III/1, and pTübingen 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Verso note of pBM EA 10125 (after Herbin 2008 112 with pls. 84-85), with a similar note on the versos of pBM EA 10112, pBM EA 10115, pBM EA 10123, and pCairo CG 58012. Furthermore, a note on the back of pBM EA 10109 reads: *dt st3t [wy=s r šsp=t] jw šcy [n sns n] Dhwt m s3w=t Hwt-hr T3-nt-dm m3c-hrw ms n T3-(nt-)k3 m3c-hrw* “The necropolis extends [her arms in order to receive you]. The Document [of Breathing of] Thoth is as your protection, (O) the Hathor Tasemis, justified, born of Tikos, justified” (see Herbin 2008, 76 with pls. 35-36).

Example 3:

ʕk jw ʔmntt [m wdt n] Hnwt Ndbwt

Granting the West [according to the decree of] the Mistress of the Earth's Foundations.<sup>31</sup>

Example 4:

[št n snsn n Dḥwty m s3w=k] nn nhm ntw=k m wsht Wsjr [...]

[The Document of Breathing of Thoth is as your protection] so that you will not be turned away from the hall of Osiris [...].<sup>32</sup>

Example 5:

nn šnʕ b3=k r b(w) mr(w)=k <jrw=k> ḥprw jw jb=k pr(w)=k h3w=k ḥr t3 Gb  
tg3w=k šhrw nbw ntyw jm=f Wsjr N

Your *ba* will not be turned away from the place you desire. <You will make> transformations according to your *jb*-heart. You will come and go upon the land of Geb and behold every affair which is in it, Osiris N.<sup>33</sup>

Example 6:

ʕk šm m ḥrt-ntr wstn Hwt-ḥr rdwy jw [...]

Come and go in the god's domain. Hathor causes that your legs go freely [...].<sup>34</sup>

Other than that, pBerlin 3163 bears five lines of hieroglyphic writing on the verso said to be related to the Ritual of Embalming;<sup>35</sup> but according to Smith these lines have no connection to

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<sup>31</sup> Verso note of pBM EA 10194 (after Herbin 2008, 134 with pls. 108-109), with a similar note on the versos of pBM EA 10282 and pCairo CG 58013. For the “Mistress of the Earth's Foundations,” which is apparently a designation of either Hathor or Isis, see Herbin 1994, 267; Leitz (ed.) 2002, vol. V, 192c; and Smith 2009a, 522-523 with further references there. Interestingly, Stadler 2015, 77-78 has suggested that the expression “Decree of the Mistress of the Earth's Foundations” might be the actual title of the works. For the sake of convenience, however, I will continue to refer to the texts as the First and Second Books of Breathing.

<sup>32</sup> Verso note of pBM EA 71513B (after Herbin 2008, 87 with pls. 53-4), with a similar note on the versos of pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10124, and pBM EA 71513A.

<sup>33</sup> Verso note of pCairo CG 58018 (after Carrier 2017, 157 and 185 with pl. B/9; and Smith 2009a, 520).

<sup>34</sup> Verso note pBM EA 10192 (after Herbin 2008, 105 with pls. 68-69).

<sup>35</sup> Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 45.

that work.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, on the backside of pBM EA 10123 is an inscription in Greek containing the words *Πρὸς κεφαλὴν* (“at the head”),<sup>37</sup> and written below and in the opposite direction of the hieratic note on the verso of pBM EA 9977 is a Greek transliteration of the name of the original owner: *KANΔAK[H]* (Candace).<sup>38</sup> Similarly, a Greek inscription giving the name *Χάρις* (Charis) is written on the verso side of pFlorence 3669,<sup>39</sup> and written in Greek on the backside of pLouvre N 3289 is the name *ΣΩΤΗΡ* (Soter), followed by the expression *ὑπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν* (“under the head”).<sup>40</sup> Finally, some of the papyri bear strokes of ink in the shape of a *saltire* (“X” in the Roman type) or an *asterix* on the verso. These occur in the centre of the text notes inscribed on the backs of pBM EA 10124,<sup>41</sup> pBM EA 10116,<sup>42</sup> pBM EA 10123,<sup>43</sup> pBM EA 10340,<sup>44</sup> and at the end of the text note on the backside of pBM EA 10718.<sup>45</sup> Introduced during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD,<sup>46</sup> these *saltires* are a type of seal and were commonly used to protect the integrity of secular papyrus letters.<sup>47</sup> This indicates that the papyri were originally folded and sealed like a letter prior to being deposited with the mummy, hence the designation: *ἡτ* (*n snsn*) “Letter/Document (of Breathing).”<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Smith 2009a, 215.

<sup>37</sup> Herbin 2008, 132 with pls. 106-107. A similar note reading *κεφαλὴν* can also be found on the recto of pLouvre N 3176A (see *ibid.*, 2 with n. 23).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 103 with pls. 62-3.

<sup>39</sup> See Pellegrini 1904, 218; Spiegelberg 1906, 21.

<sup>40</sup> Herbin 2002, 10; Cailliaud 1827, 25.

<sup>41</sup> See Herbin 2008, pls. 66 and 67.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 102 and 103.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 106 and 107. Another, larger X-shaped pattern occurs directly beneath the verso note in this manuscript as well. This, however, seems to have been overlooked by Herbin as it does not appear in his transcription on pl. 107.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 129 and 130.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 139 and 140. See also the verso of pBM EA 10114, a Book of Traversing Eternity, which likewise contains such strokes (*ibid.*, pls. 143 and 144).

<sup>46</sup> Vandorpe and van Beek 2012, 86.

<sup>47</sup> Vandorpe 1996, 268-291; and the discussion in Scalf 2014, 82-85.

<sup>48</sup> Indeed, fold lines or creases are clearly visible on pEdinburgh A. 212.113.4 and pEdinburgh A. 1956.357 D. According to Coenen (2004, 106), the papyrus scrolls were first folded in their height from the top down so that only the versos were exposed to view. The papyri were subsequently folded again a certain number of times in the same way so as to form a long, narrow strip, then doubled over by folding once in their length to create a small rectangular package. The note was then inscribed parallel to the long edge of the available writing surface in the manner of a label or docket, and the finished product presumably secured with a thin strap or string of papyrus



### 2.3. Vignettes and Iconography

Some of the papyri containing a First and/or Second Book of Breathing are also illustrated, namely pBerlin 3028, pBodleian Library Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P), pFlorence 3662, pLouvre N 3279, pRylands Hieratic 6 and pTübingen 2001. In each case the images are drawn on the recto and have been executed in line-drawing, solely with black ink. For the most part the scenes appear to have been implemented with care, but in some exemplars the images look slightly “sketchy,” suggesting that the artist was perhaps hurried when it came to illustrating the papyrus.<sup>49</sup> In these cases, it is possible that one person alone wrote the text and produced the images, whereas in others it seems the artist worked autonomously.

Nevertheless, most of the scenes adorning these papyri are set once again within double-line borders, usually above the text columns across the top of the manuscript; except for the images featured in pRylands Hieratic 6 which have been placed inside a single-line border. But in terms of the scenes themselves, each of the aforementioned manuscripts contains more or less the same set of vignettes. This has led scholars such as Coenen to suggest that these papyri were “in all likelihood copied from the same model in the same local workshop.”<sup>50</sup> However, some diversity can be seen amongst the images adorning pRylands Hieratic 6. Furthermore, the vignettes “often do not have but a very distant connection with the text written beneath.”<sup>51</sup> For this reason it is difficult to determine the relationship between each scene and the subject matter

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with a *saltire* drawn over it. This is essentially the same method used for folding and sealing demotic letters of the so-called *High* and *Broad* formats as discussed in Depauw 2006, 78-80. However, it should be noted that our papyri were not “letters” *per se*. First of all, the papyri lack what Depauw calls the epistolary framework of letters, that is, “the basic elements which characterise the document as a letter” (*ibid*, 113 and following; *idem*, 2003, 98. Contrary to this, however, are the comments of Smith 2009a, 558-559). Secondly, as a word derived from the verb *šꜥ* meaning “to cut,” the term *šꜥt* merely denotes a “piece (of papyrus)” (Depauw 2006, 258). For this reason, it is difficult to view the papyri strictly as letters. Furthermore, the mode of folding or packaging our Books of Breathing was also common for papyrus amulets since at least the New Kingdom, and therefore not limited solely to the genre of letters (see Krutzsch 2006, esp. 175-177; Krutzsch 2015; Dieleman 2014, 32; Dieleman 2015, esp. 42-46; and Dieleman and Fischer-Elfert 2017).

<sup>49</sup> E.g. the vignettes of pLouvre N 3279 (see the unnumbered plate in Goyon 1966).

<sup>50</sup> Coenen 2000, 97.

<sup>51</sup> Translated from Goyon 1966, 2.

of the column of writing underneath them.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, beginning with pBerlin 3028, each papyrus mentioned above includes the following set of scenes or illustrations:

pBerlin 3028:

1. An image of the mummy of the deceased and a human-headed bird on a plinth in front of a table of flowers and offerings, perhaps derived from the vignette of BD 26 of the Saite recension.<sup>53</sup> This is followed by an image of Anubis holding the deceased upright, similar to the vignette of BD 45, a so-called “Spell for not rotting in the god’s domain” (*r n tm ḥw3 m ḥrt-ntr*).<sup>54</sup>
2. A scene depicting the weighing of the heart of the deceased, likely reproduced from the vignette of BD 125,<sup>55</sup> followed by four deities. Each one of these deities is standing and has a feather on their head.
3. A depiction of Thoth writing on a papyrus scroll, followed by the beast Amet on top of a plinth, a representation of Ma’at, the goddess of truth and justice, with arms raised and an ostrich feather for a head, and the mummy of the deceased.
4. A scene showing Osiris and Hathor before the four sons of Horus – Amseti, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef – on top of a lotus flower, followed by a representation of two knife-wielding demons. One of these demons has the head of a man, whereas the other one has the head of a jackal. The representation of these demons may have been inspired by the vignettes associated with BD 145 and 146.<sup>56</sup> However, depictions of deities holding knives are also found on coffins of the Third Intermediate Period,<sup>57</sup> as well as temple doorjambs – such as those of the southern and northern chapels at Deir el-Medina.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> However, this appears to be the case with only some of the papyri bearing illustrations. Cf. the comments of Smith 2009a, 504 regarding the vignettes of pLouvre N 3279: “Unlike the vignettes of [pFlorence 3662], those of P. Louvre N 3279 seem to bear little relation to the columns of text inscribed below them.”

<sup>53</sup> Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 23. For the vignette of BD 26, a good example comes from the papyrus of Iufankh (see Quirke 2013, 89).

<sup>54</sup> Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 23. Again, cf. the vignette of BD 45 from the papyrus of Iufankh (Quirke 2013, 125).

<sup>55</sup> Kaplony-Heckel, 1986, 23; Pellegrini 1903, 316. For the vignette(s) of BD 125, see also Seeber 1976.

<sup>56</sup> Kaplony-Heckel, 1986, 23. See also Quirke 2013, 330-349; and Assmann 1977, 32-40 and 59-64 for these two spells and their vignettes.

<sup>57</sup> E.g. Taylor 2003, pls. 55, 73, and 91.

<sup>58</sup> Riggs 2006, 326; Bourguet and Gabolde 2002, 50-51 (nos. 46-51) and 72-73 (nos. 73-76).

pBodleian Library Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P):

1. An image of a human-headed bird.
2. An image of Anubis supporting the mummy.
3. An image of the tree-goddess or Nut as the sycamore of the sky pouring a libation similar to that found in vignettes associated with BD 57 and 59,<sup>59</sup> as well as funerary scenes on tomb walls,<sup>60</sup> stelae,<sup>61</sup> and offering tables.<sup>62</sup>
4. A scene showing the weighing of the heart; and
5. A depiction of four demons or guardian deities with a knife in one hand and an *ankh*-sign in the other.

pFlorence 3662:

1. A depiction of the *ba* of the deceased as a human-headed bird on a plinth in front of a table of flowers and offerings, followed by her mummy and various divinities. These include the four sons of Horus and Ma'at. Like the third vignette of pBerlin 3028, Ma'at here has her arms raised and an ostrich feather for a head.
2. The first part of a scene depicting the weighing of the heart of the deceased, probably reproduced, once again, from BD 125. From right to left it shows Anubis leading the deceased before a set of scales, which are being attended to by both Anubis himself and Horus. One can also see what appears to be a baboon sitting on top of the scales.
3. The second part of the scene showing the weighing of the heart. It shows Thoth in his usual ibis-headed form with a brush and scribal palette in his hands, followed by the beast Amet, then the four sons of Horus atop a lotus blossom. After them comes Osiris wearing the *atef*-crown and behind him stand Isis and Nephthys.

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<sup>59</sup> See Billing 2002, 231-243; and 2004, esp. 41-48. The image of the tree-goddess was also sometimes used to illustrate BD 63A, such as in the papyrus of Sutymes (pBN 38-45) dating to the Third Intermediate Period (see Quirke 2015, 151), as well as in pBM EA 10086, pBM EA 10087, pLouvre N 3079, pLouvre N 3082, pLouvre N 3144, and pLouvre N 3152 of the fourth and third centuries BC (see Mosher 2010, 170 with figs. 96-101).

<sup>60</sup> E.g. the tomb of Nakht (Davies 1917, pl. X B); the tomb of Amenmose (Wreszinski 1923, pl. 120); and to a certain extent the tomb of Userhat which bears a scene showing the deceased along with his wife and mother sitting under a sycamore-tree before the goddess Nut (Davies 1927, pls. I, IX and X).

<sup>61</sup> E.g. Maspero 1883, 427-428 (No. 6050).

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Cairo CG 23160 and Cairo CG 23162 (see Buhl 1947, 93-94; Kamal 1906, pl. XLIII).

4. A scene depicting four deities or demons with a knife in their hand. In this case, the first one has the head of a man, while the second one has the head of a falcon. The third and fourth deities on the other hand have a head of a lion and a jackal respectively.

pLouvre N 3279:

1. A depiction of two knife-wielding demons, each standing in front of a door or gateway. These two demons are both human in appearance and wear loin-cloths around their waists that are fastened, apparently, by a belt made of *šndwt*-leaves.<sup>63</sup> On top of their heads is a traditional round wig.<sup>64</sup>
2. Another representation of two knife-wielding demons before gateways. This time, however, the demons are both seated and shown in mummiform. One also has the head of a crocodile with two black feathers on it, while the other has the head of a vulture with two striped feathers. Again, similar guardians are found in the vignette of BD 146.<sup>65</sup>
3. A combination of three divine icons or emblems, namely, a mummiform falcon and a recumbent cow on either side of a pylon, followed by a jackal with a flabellum sitting on a plinth. The cow might be a representation of Hathor, since she was often depicted in the form of Mehetweret (a recumbent cow) alongside a falcon in certain funerary scenes from the Late Period onwards,<sup>66</sup> while the falcon is probably to be identified as Sokar,<sup>67</sup> if not the falcon who rises from the underworld in BD 71.<sup>68</sup> The jackal on a plinth, on the other hand, is likely a representation of Anubis and mimics similar depictions found on coffins, shrouds, mummy-masks, and stelae from Thebes and Hermonthis.<sup>69</sup>
4. A scene similar to the third vignette of pBodleian Library Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P) above, but showing the deceased holding a *t3w*-sail and receiving food and water from Nut in the

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<sup>63</sup> Goyon 1966, 3.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> See Quirke 2013, 343. Cf. also part of the vignette occupying the third “page” of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made in pBM EA 9995 which shows twelve netherworldly gateways and their respective guardians (Herbin 2008, 39–40 with pl. 23). According to Herbin (2008, 40), this “derives directly from *BD* ch. 146.”

<sup>66</sup> See, for example, the vignette of BD 71 in the papyrus of Iufankh (Quirke 2013, 170); and the top register of stela Cairo CG 50028 (Abdalla 1992, 43 (no. 87), pl. 35A). References to further examples can also be found in Žabkar 1969, 107 with n. 39. For the identification of Mehetweret with Hathor, see also Abdalla 1992, 100.

<sup>67</sup> Goyon 1966, 5; Varga 1961, 237.

<sup>68</sup> See Faulkner 1985, 71.

<sup>69</sup> Riggs 2005, 238. See also the stela discussed by Žabkar 1969, 107 with fig. 8, where a jackal on a plinth and a falcon on a plinth appear on either side of a young girl.

forms of a woman standing next to a sycamore tree, a celestial cow, and as a sycamore itself. As already mentioned, a similar image of Nut as tree-goddess was used to illustrate BD 57 and 59, and is found frequently on the walls of tombs, as well as stelae, and offering tables. Likewise, the image of the deceased holding a *t3w*-sail, the hieroglyph for breath, air, or wind, is found not only in BD 57, but also BD 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, and 62.<sup>70</sup> However, in these scenes the deceased is shown either standing or kneeling. In this scene, the deceased is shown sitting down on a seat upon a pedestal.

pRylands Hieratic 6:

Unfortunately a large portion of the upper part of this papyrus has been damaged, so many of the scenes are now lost.<sup>71</sup> But one can still see from left to right:

1. A figure of a woman holding an *ankh*-sign, followed by Osiris and an offering table. In the case of Osiris he is dressed in royal regalia and wears the *atef*-crown on his head.
2. An image of the deceased as a human-headed *ba*-bird on a plinth, similar to that already encountered in the first vignette of pBerlin 3028 and the first vignette of pBodleian Library Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P) above. Here, however, the bird has two arms raised.
3. A procession of priests, five in total, carrying offerings of various sorts. The second one is also pouring a libation.
4. Another bird on a plinth with arms raised. This one, however, has the head of what could be either a ram, a crocodile, or possibly even a baboon, but a small fragment of the papyrus here is missing.
5. Anubis holding upright the mummy of the deceased, followed by an image of a ram-headed deity inside a solar disc upon a bark and a block of water. The deity is wearing a kilt and a long tri-partite wig and holds an *ankh*-sign in one hand and a sceptre in the other.
6. Lastly, above the first text column is the image of another offering-table, a lotus plant, and what remains of a female figure.

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<sup>70</sup> See Quirke 2013, 136, 137, 139, 143, 147, 148, and 149 respectively.

<sup>71</sup> A digital image of the papyrus can be found at:

<http://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/ManchesterDev~93~3~22548~100295:Book-of-Breathing>

pTübingen 2001:

1. A judgement scene similar to the one in pFlorence 3662. It shows, from right to left, a priest and a deity, whose head is now lost, leading the mummiform deceased towards the balance. Following this is the beast Amet atop a plinth, an enthroned Osiris, and finally Isis. In the case of Isis, she is depicted with horns and a sun-disc on her head and she has one of her hands raised in a gesture of protection. In the case of Osiris, he is shown wearing the *atef*-crown and he holds two sceptres in his hands. Again, the entire scene was probably inspired by the vignette of BD 125.

Other than these scenes, we also have a drawing of a human head on some manuscripts,<sup>72</sup> and an illustration of a pair of legs on others.<sup>73</sup> These are not vignettes *per se* but rather instructions for a funerary worker indicating where the papyrus should be placed on the mummy.<sup>74</sup> In addition, the bottom right corner of the recto side of pBerlin 3041 contains an image of the deceased before four seated deities: Anubis, Isis, Nephthys, and Thoth;<sup>75</sup> and in the upper part of pBM EA 10705 are the remains of a drawing of two deities in thick, black lines.<sup>76</sup> According to Herbin, the one on the right is a lion-headed goddess with a sun-disk and a uraeus on her head and a papyriform sceptre in her hand, while the one on the left is Osiris since the top of what appears to be a white crown is still visible, but the image itself is not very well-preserved.<sup>77</sup> Lastly, pBM EA 10303 and pTübingen 2014 are both illustrated with an image of a mummy lying prostrate.<sup>78</sup> It has been suggested that this image represents the deceased in a state of inertia, but if one was to turn the papyrus manuscript 90 degrees, i.e. to read the main text, the mummy will be standing upright, as if reanimated.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> E.g. pBM EA 10340, pCairo CG 58017, pFlorence 3669, pLouvre N 3176 A, and pLouvre N 3289.

<sup>73</sup> E.g. pBM EA 10282, pFlorence 3670, and pLouvre N 3176 F.

<sup>74</sup> On this note, cf. Scalf 2014, 80-81: "It is 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.""

<sup>75</sup> See Herbin 2002, 18 (no. 20).

<sup>76</sup> See Herbin 2008, 86 with pl. 51.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, 86.

<sup>78</sup> See Herbin 2008, pls. 44-45 (pBM EA 10303); and Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 297 (pTübingen 2014).

<sup>79</sup> Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 297.

## 2.4. Main Text and Written Content

As for the main text, it usually consists of either the First Book of Breathing or the Second Book of Breathing or both depending on the papyrus. But in some of the papyri the main text has been combined with or inserted between other funerary works. Besides a copy of the First Book of Breathing, for instance, pBerlin 3030 also contains a text derived from BD 162 and 72 at VI, 1-16 and IX, 7-23, as well as another text known as the Intercessory Hymn to the Solar Deity at VI, 17-IX, 6.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, pLouvre N 3148 (+ N 3220 A) contains not only a First Book of Breathing, but a text inspired by BD 162 and 72 at IX, 11-X, 9, and another version of the Intercessory Hymn to the Solar Deity at VII, 7-25. It also bears two more texts, one of which occurs at the beginning (I-III, x + 11) and the other at the end (X, 10-XI, 11). These correspond to Goyon's *Texte I* and *Texte VI* respectively.<sup>81</sup> Other than that, pChicago OIC 25389, which contains a version of the Second Book of Breathing, also contains BD spells 126, 127, 129, 146, 148, and 155, two versions of the Book of Traversing Eternity, as well as various other, unidentified funerary texts.<sup>82</sup> Lastly, pBM EA 10115 contains only the beginning of the First Book of Breathing, which occurs at I, 1-3, followed by an unparalleled text at I, 3-14; while texts unrelated to either the First or Second Book can also be found in pBM EA 10116,<sup>83</sup> pBM EA 10123,<sup>84</sup> pBM EA 10194,<sup>85</sup> pBM EA 10340,<sup>86</sup> pBM EA 10343,<sup>87</sup> pFlorence 3669,<sup>88</sup> pLieblein,<sup>89</sup> pLouvre N 3156,<sup>90</sup> and pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> See Herbin 1984a, 252; 2008, 199; and Smith 2009a, 590-598 for a translation of the Intercessory Hymn to the Solar Deity. For a translation of the text extracted from BD 162 and 72, see also Goyon 1972, 277-280. This corresponds to his *Texte V*.

<sup>81</sup> See Goyon 1972, 233-242 and 280-285 for translations. The First Book on the other hand begins at III, x + 11 and ends at VII, 6, see Pierret 1873, 47-58 in particular.

<sup>82</sup> See Herbin 1994, 14.

<sup>83</sup> Herbin 2008, 126-132 with pls. 100-103.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, 132-134 with pls. 104-107.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, 134-135 with pls. 108-109; Caminos 1993.

<sup>86</sup> Herbin 2008, 146-147 with pls. 129-130.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, 147-148 with pls. 82-83.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 203.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*; Lieblein 1895, 42-43 (no. 21) with pls. LXX-LXXIII.

<sup>90</sup> Herbin 2008, 205.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, 205; Herbin 1994, 26-27 with n. 75

With regards to the First Book of Breathing itself, the text is written in the form of a speech to be spoken by the deceased to the gods.<sup>92</sup> As such, it can be divided into eleven sections of varying length, each one beginning with the phrase “O” (j) “so-and-so” which in other funerary compositions sometimes marks the beginning of a paragraph.<sup>93</sup> In saying that, each of these sections is relatively fixed between copies, but it should be mentioned that only a handful of the known exemplars actually contain all of them. Some copies are made up of only one or two sections,<sup>94</sup> whereas others could be comprised of five or six sections and so on.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, these sections can exist in an abridged form and they are not always in the same order.<sup>96</sup> In other words, different arrangements of the text exist and most copies present the First Book of Breathing in a much more condensed or rather summarised manner. However, based on the principle of *pars pro toto* it is likely the abridged versions were considered to be as equally effective nonetheless.<sup>97</sup> In addition to this, variant readings of some parts of the text can be observed between copies,<sup>98</sup> and certain passages or words have been omitted or are otherwise in lacuna. A slightly different passage or small adjunction has also been added to some sections in certain copies,<sup>99</sup> and some phrases have been substituted with others or with a different

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<sup>92</sup> See Goyon 1966, 79; and Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010, 191.

<sup>93</sup> E.g. the Book of Breathing which Isis Made (see Coenen 1998, 43; Smith 2009a, 462).

<sup>94</sup> E.g. pBM EA 10109 (Herbin 2008, 76-78 with pls. 33-6), pBM EA 10194 (*ibid*, 134-135 with pls. 108-109; Caminos 1993; Smith 2009a, 540-542), pBM EA 10303 (Herbin 2008, 83 with pls. 44-45), pBM EA 10337 (*ibid*, 83-84 with pls. 46-48), pBM EA 71513B (*ibid*, 87-88 with pls. 53-54), pBM EA 71513C (*ibid*, 88-89 with pls. 55-56), pBN 246 (Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010), pLandesmuseum Klagenfurt AE III/1 (Horrak and Harrauer 1999, 61-62), pLeiden T 33 (Stricker 1942), and pTurin 1990 (Rossi and Pleyte 1869-1876, 201 with pl. CXLIII; Lieblein 1895, 12 (no. 6) with pl. XV).

<sup>95</sup> E.g. pBM EA 10199 (Herbin 2008, 78-80 with pls. 37-39), and pBM EA 10206 (*ibid*, 80-81 with pls. 40-41).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. for example, the sequence of sections in pBM EA 10199 (§§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 11) with those in pBM EA 10206 (§§ 2, 3, 4, 11).

<sup>97</sup> Smith 2009a, 511. For the rule of *pars pro toto*, see in particular Niwinski 1989, 17-22.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. for example, the slightly different readings of the same passage in pBM EA 10109 (I, 7), pBM EA 10125 (I, 10-11), pBM EA 10283 (I, 7), pBN 152 (I, 12), pLouvre E 3865 (II, 6-7), pLouvre N 3290 (I, 11-12), pBerlin 3052 (I, 11), pCairo CG 58009 (II, 1-3), and pCairo CG 58014 (I, 8-10) (see Herbin 2008, 56-57).

<sup>99</sup> pBM EA 10109 (I, 2-3) and pCairo CG 58009 (I, 4-6), for example, both add “I am an ibis whose head is black, whose belly is white, whose back is blue. I am he before whom a decree is made before the lords of Heliopolis” to the text which is not attested in any other First or Second Book of Breathing (see Herbin 2008, 52-53).



passage entirely.<sup>100</sup> For the most part, however, these are only minor deviations and they do not seem to have any effect on the overall meaning of the work.

The same could be said about the text of the Second Book of Breathing. It can generally be divided into three sections, all of which are addressed to certain gods and are to be spoken by the deceased themselves. Again, each section is essentially fixed and has the same reading across manuscripts; although, some copies present variations to particular invocations, and certain sentences may be partly or wholly in lacuna or otherwise omitted. In addition to this, there are some interpolations to particular formulations and not all sections of the text may be present in the given papyri. In fact, most copies are comprised of only one element of the text, the so-called “Litany for the preservation of the name,” and in several copies this is presented in an abridged form. In these cases, it is as if the compilers stripped the composition to its bare essentials and produced copies that included only the part of the text that was considered to be the most important or efficacious.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, the work seems to have “subit le même sort que le *Livre des morts* et fut abrégé à son tour.”<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, on the basis of the copy of the First Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10191,<sup>103</sup> and the copy of the Second Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10110 + 10111,<sup>104</sup> each section pertaining to the texts can be described as follows.

#### 2.4.1. The First Book of Breathing

**§ 1:**<sup>105</sup> An assertion of the deceased’s identification with Re, Atum, and Osiris, followed by an appeal to various divinities for certain favours. These include freedom of the *ba*-spirit, access to offerings, and admission into the realm of the dead. In every case, each deity is enjoined to face towards the deceased. As such, before each invocation is the expression “Turn your face to me” (*hr=tn r=j*), conjuring up the theme of recognition. This is in fact an abbreviated form of the injunction “Give your face towards me” (*mj hr=tn r=j*) which is sometimes found in

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<sup>100</sup> Cf. for example, pCairo CG 58009 (I, 9-11) with pBM EA 10191 (I, 4-5) (see Herbin 2008, 54).

<sup>101</sup> For a brief discussion of the procedure involved, see Smith 2009a, 522.

<sup>102</sup> Chassinat 1895, 316, n. 1.

<sup>103</sup> Herbin 2008, 50-76 with pls. 29-32.

<sup>104</sup> Budge 1922, 296 (no. 9); Stricker 1942, 33; Birch 1884-1885, 207-208 with pl.; Lieblein 1895, 9-10 (no. 4) with pls. X-XII; Herbin 2008, 90-100 with pls. 57-59.

<sup>105</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 1-15.

mortuary liturgies.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, in terms of the deities addressed, they include the “door-keepers of the West” (*jryw-ʕ n Imntt*), followed by Anubis “son of Osiris, the strict door-keeper of the underworld” (*s3 Wsjr jry-ʕ mtr n t3 dw3t*),<sup>107</sup> the so-called “gods with sharp eyes who are in the retinue of Osiris” (*ntrw mdsjw-jrty jmyw-ht Wsjr*), and finally Hathor as “the lady of the West” (*hnt Imntt*). Also mentioned are “these gods who are in the hall of Two Truths” (*n3 ntrw jmyw t3 wsht M3ʕty*), “these gods who are in the hall <of the Field of> Reeds” (*n3 ntrw jmyw t3 wsht <shwt> j3rw*), and “these gods who watch over Osiris” (*n3 ntrw nty rs r Wsjr*). The first two may be an allusion to the council of assessor deities and the blessed dead respectively.<sup>108</sup> Although, a number of other First Books of Breathing insinuate that these deities belong to the “gods with sharp eyes.”<sup>109</sup> Therefore, they are probably all one and the same – a group of genies who provided protection for Osiris in the *Stundenwachen*.<sup>110</sup> The “gods who watch over Osiris,” on the other hand, could be the “four *akh*-spirits” (*3hw fdw*) who watch over Osiris mentioned in some Late Period coffins and amuletic papyri of the Ramesside Period.<sup>111</sup> Although, they could also be identified as Anubis, Isis, and possibly Nephthys and Thoth. This can be supported by the vignette above col. VII of pRhind I which shows Osiris in the form of a *djed*-pillar, a figure of the deceased, a mourning woman, and a recumbent jackal on a standard. The annotation accompanying this vignette states that these figures are “Osiris, lord of the *djed*-pillar, the goddess who weeps and the gods who watch over Osiris,” while the caption above the scene states that the vignette is showing “Anubis holding Hamsouphis (= the deceased), a figure of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys.”<sup>112</sup>

<sup>106</sup> E.g. the demotic pBM EA10507 (I, 15): *im n=y 3ty nfr sn mnḥ my ḥr=k r-ḥr=y ink snt=k 3st mwt n-wʕt in gm=k kṯt m-qty=y* “Come to me, fair sovereign, excellent brother. Give your face towards me. I am your sister Isis, a mother unique. Have you found another like me?” (after Smith 1987, 36).

<sup>107</sup> For Anubis son of Osiris, see Vittmann 1990, 80 and the references cited there.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. for example, Zandee 1960, 273 (*nbw m3ʕt* “lords of truth”).

<sup>109</sup> These include: pBerlin 3030 (I, 9), pBN 152 (I, 4-5), pLeiden T 33 (I, 4), and pLouvre N 3290 (I, 4), see Herbin 2008, 54.

<sup>110</sup> For the *Stundenwachen*, see Junker 1910, 4; Herbin 1994, 220 (VI, 9-10) with further references there; and more recently Pries 2011.

<sup>111</sup> See Leitz (ed.) 2002, vol. I, 44b.

<sup>112</sup> See Möller 1913, 34-35 and pl. VII; and Smith 2009a, 333.

As for an antecedent to this first section of the First Book of Breathing, it somewhat resembles the beginning of BD 15AI,<sup>113</sup> as well as part of BD 127 which is found mainly in Late and Ptolemaic Period papyri and derives in part from the so-called Book of the Adoration of Re.<sup>114</sup> In saying that, it is also not unlike certain funerary texts of the New Kingdom, such as that found in TT 183, in which the deceased declares his worthiness to several deities in the hope that they might welcome him into their realm.<sup>115</sup> More importantly, however, it has an affinity to the so-called Divine Decrees of the early Ptolemaic Period usually inscribed on wooden stelae in which the gods Amun-Re, Atum and Ptah ask Osiris and other deities to receive the deceased, protect him, and glorify him.<sup>116</sup> Only in the case of our text the deceased is the speaker.

**§ 2:**<sup>117</sup> An appeal to Thoth for justification. Like section one, it begins with a request that the deity turn his face to the dead person. It then continues with the deceased asking the deity to justify him at several different tribunals.<sup>118</sup> These include the tribunals in:

1. Heliopolis, “on that night of the battle in order to overthrow that rebel and annihilate the enemy of the Lord-of-all with it” (*grh pfy n ḥ3-ṛ r shr sbjw pfy sh̄tm h̄fty n Nb-dr jm=f*).

<sup>113</sup> Cf. for example, the beginning of this spell as it is preserved in the papyrus of Qenena (pLeiden T2), 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: *j-nd hr=k Rṛ m wbn=f Ttm m hṛw=k nfr wbn=k sp sn psd=k sp sn tp dw3y hṛ.tj m nswt ntrw* “Hail, Re in his rising, Atum in your beautiful appearing. May you rise, may you rise. May you shine, may you shine at daybreak, arisen as king of the gods ...” (after Quirke 2013, 34).

<sup>114</sup> See Quirke 2013, 279-281; and T.G. Allen 1974, 102-104. The part of BD 127 in question can be translated as follows: *j-nd hr=tn ntrw krtw jmyw Imntt j-nd hr=tn jryw-ṛ3 s3w ntr pn sṛ=tn smj m b3h Wsjr dj=tn w3š=tn sh̄tm=tn h̄ftyw nw Rṛ sh̄d=tn hsr=tn kkwy m33=tn dsrt wrw=tn ṛnh=tn mjtt ṛnh=f ṛš=tn n jmy Ttn=f sšm=tn r w3t=tn ṛk b3=j hr št3t=tn jnk wṛ jm=tn* “Hail, you cavern gods who are in the West. Hail, you door-keepers who guard this god. You raise up reports in the presence of Osiris. You give your worship. You annihilate the enemies of Re. You illuminate and you dispel the darkness. You see the sacred land of your elders. You live just as he lives. You call to the one who is in his sun-disk. You guide on your ways. May my *ba* enter into your secret place, (for) I am one of you” (after Quirke 2013, 280). For the Book of the Adoration of Re also known as the Litany of Re, see Piankoff 1964; and Hornung 1975-1976.

<sup>115</sup> For this, see Assmann 2005, 59-60.

<sup>116</sup> For these, see Otto 1977; Clarysse 1978, 240-241; De Meulenaere 1988; Quaegebeur 1988; Kákosy 1992; Smith 2009a, 599-606; Beinlich 2009, esp. 11-39; and Quack 2011. An abridged version of these decrees written in Demotic also appears on O. Strasbourg D 132 + 133 + 134 dated to the first century BC, see Smith 2009a, 607-609; and *idem*, 2010.

<sup>117</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 15-29.

<sup>118</sup> Smith 2009a, 501; Goelet, Jr. 1994, 161; Stricker 1942, 44-45.

2. Letopolis, “on that night of the festival of offerings upon the altar in Letopolis” (*grḥ pfy ḥwt ḥ3wt m Ḥm*).
3. Busiris, “on that night [of] raising the *Djed*-pillar in Busiris” (*grḥ pfy [n] sḥḥ dd m Ddwj*).
4. Pe and Dep, “on that night when Horus occupied the abode of the gods and when the inheritance of Horus was confirmed as the property of his father, Osiris” (*grḥ pfy n šsp Ḥr mshnt ntrw smn(.tw) jwḥ n Ḥr m ḥwt jt=f Wsjr*).
5. The Banks of Rekhty, “on that night which Isis spent watching and mourning for her brother, Osiris” (*grḥ pfy n sdr Ḳst rs ḥr jkbw ḥr snj=s Wsjr*).
6. The roads of the dead, “on that night of assessing the non-existent” (*grḥ pfy n jr sjp m jwty(w)=sn*).
7. Naref, “on that night of the mysteries of the great of forms in Heracleopolis” (*grḥ pfy n št3(w) 3 jr w m Ḥwt-nn-nsw*).
8. Busiris, “on that night of the great Hacking of the Earth festival in Busiris” (*grḥ pfy n ḥbs-t3 3 m Ddw*).
9. Rosetau, “on that night of Anubis (with) his two hands upon the offerings behind his father, Osiris (?)” (*grḥ pfy n Inpw ʿwy=f ḥr ḥwt ḥ3 jt=f Wsjr*).

All in all, it is virtually the same text found in BD 18 only it has been reworked and abbreviated slightly.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, the full formula of BD 18 usually includes ten tribunals, but only nine of them occur here in the First Book of Breathing.<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, BD 18 usually has an epilogue. That part of the spell has been omitted entirely in our text.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Stricker 1942, 44-45; Herbin 2008, 58-60; Smith 2009a, 501. For BD 18, see Stadler 2009, 320-351; and Quirke 2013, 70-74.

<sup>120</sup> Smith 2009a, 501. In fact, with the exception of pBM EA 10125, which lists only three tribunals, the tribunal associated with Abydos has more or less been omitted in the tradition of the First Book of Breathing. However, what is usually the tribunal of Pe and Dep in most manuscripts is a tribunal at Abydos in pCairo CG 58009 (II, 8). In the same manuscript (II, 11-III, 1), what should be the tribunal of Busiris “on the night of the Hacking of the Earth festival” is instead “the great tribunal which is at the great Hacking of the Earth in Abydos, on that night of the festival of Haker” (see Herbin 2008, 60).

<sup>121</sup> On this note, a similar situation is attested for this spell in certain Ptolemaic Period Book of the Dead papyri: they too are seemingly missing the text at the end. See, for example, Lejeune 2006, 200.

**§ 3:**<sup>122</sup> An invocation to Atum as the “Lord-of-light” (*Nb-šsp*) for the restoration of the mouth and oratorical abilities of the deceased. Although omitted in some copies,<sup>123</sup> it begins with an exhortation that the deity grant the deceased his mouth and by extension the power of speech so that it might assist him at judgement. As such, the dead person asks Atum once again to create (*jr*) for him his mouth so that he may speak before Osiris and “not be turned away from the sky or the earth before the tribunal of any god or goddess” (*nn šn<sup>c</sup>.tw=j m pt t3 m-b3h d3d3t nt ntr nb ntrt nbt*), and states that he is “the *ba* of Horus who extinguishes the flame when it flares up” (*jnk b3 n Hr jr hm ht m pr=s*). Under scrutiny, it seems to have been inspired by the closing lines of BD 21 and the beginning of BD 22,<sup>124</sup> both of which are called a “Spell for giving the mouth of a man to him in the god’s domain” (*r n rdjt r n s n=f m hrt-ntr*).<sup>125</sup> This being the case, it relates to the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth performed on the mummy of the deceased on the day of burial.<sup>126</sup>

**§ 4:**<sup>127</sup> An invocation to Ptah, again, for the reconstitution of the mouth, but also the heart, as well as further requests for the rejuvenation of the eyes, the perpetuation of the name, the revitalisation of the limbs, and access to Osiris, all of which are subsumed under another claim that the deceased is a divinity in his own right – this time as “the *ba* of Sekhmet who dwells in the West side of the sky” (*jnk b3 n Shmt nt(y) hms hr jmy-wrt nt pt*). Thus, after asserting the

<sup>122</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 29-31.

<sup>123</sup> E.g. pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10125, and partially in pBM EA 10199 (see Herbin 2008, 61).

<sup>124</sup> Stricker 1942, 46; Goyon 1966, 77; Herbin 2008, 61-62.

<sup>125</sup> Naville 1886, 194. Cf. for example, the version of BD 21, again from the papyrus of Nu: *j-nd hr=k Nb-šsp hnty hwt-št hry-tp kkw sm3w jj.n=j hr=k 3h.tj w<sup>c</sup>b.tj wy=k h3=k dnjw=k tpw=k dj=k n=j r3=j mdw=j jm=f ssm wj jb=j r wnw=f nbd t grh* “Hail Lord-of-light, foremost of the great domain, overlord of the deepest darkness. I have come before you, who are transfigured and pure, your arms behind you with your bowls and your first parts (?). May you give my mouth to me so that I may speak with it, and guide me and my *jb*-heart in its hour of injury and night” (after Quirke 2013, 81; Lapp 1997, pl. 24); and the version of BD 22 from the same papyrus: *wbn.n=j m swht jmt t3 št3w jw rdj n=j r3=j mdw=j jm=f m-b3h ntr nb [dw3t] [nnhsf] =j m d3d3t nt ntr nb jnk Wsjr nb R-st3w psš nw nty m tp htyw jj.n=j jr.n=j mrt jb=j m jw nsrsr [h]m=j sdt pr.tj* “I have risen in the egg that is in the land of secrets. My mouth is given to me so that I may speak with it in the presence of every god of [the underworld]. I [cannot be repelled] from the tribunal of any god. For I am Osiris, lord of Rosetjau, divider (?) of those, the one who is upon the terrace. I have come, I have done that which my *jb*-heart desired in the Island of Fire. I quench the fire as it flares up” (after Quirke 2013, 82; Lapp 1997, pl. 12).

<sup>126</sup> Quirke 2013, 80-81. For the Opening of the Mouth, see Otto 1960. For the continuation of the ritual in Greco-Roman times, see also Quack 2006b.

<sup>127</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 31-38.

assistance of Ptah for full restoration of the mouth, the deceased asks the deity to perpetuate the name, reinstate the heart, and re-establish the eyes and limbs. Following this the dead person asks to be allowed to enter the gates of the hereafter, “become one in the following of Osiris” (*jr=j w<sup>c</sup> m šms Wsjr*), and requests that a decree be written in Memphis (*hwt-k3-Pth*) so as to allow freedom of movement, the liberation of the *ka*, and the union of the *ba* and corpse.

All in all, it recalls similar invocations found throughout the corpora of late funerary literature whereby Ptah is not only called upon to open the mouth of the deceased, but appealed to in connection with performing other services as well, such as purifying, clothing, and effecting the rejuvenation of the limbs.<sup>128</sup> It also recalls parts of BD spells 23, 25, and especially 26 known since the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>129</sup> Indeed, the former is another spell related to the Opening of the Mouth and explicitly mentions Ptah, as well as the tools used in the ritual.<sup>130</sup> Similarly, the beginning of the final paragraph of that spell emphasizes the deceased’s identity with Sekhmet, but also other deities.<sup>131</sup>

BD 25 on the other hand is called “Spell for giving the memory of N and his name in the god’s domain” (*r n rdjt sh3w (n) N rn=f m hrt-ntr*),<sup>132</sup> and is focused upon securing the name of the deceased and recognition in the afterlife.<sup>133</sup> Therefore, the request to Ptah for the perpetuation of the name of the deceased here in our text may have originated from this composition, which is also “within the frame of the Opening of the Mouth ritual.”<sup>134</sup> The vignette of BD 25 for

<sup>128</sup> E.g. pBM EA 10507, VIII, 7 (see Smith 1987, 45 and 104); pHarkness, III, 32, IV, 5 and V, 5-6 (*ibid*, 104; *idem*, 2005, 71, 73 and 78). For the roles of Ptah in the funerary religion, see also Sandman Holmberg 1946, 25-30, 94-104, 123-150; Otto 1960, vol. 2, 162-164; and Altenmüller 1975, 63-66.

<sup>129</sup> Goyon 1966, 77; Herbin 2008, 62-64.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. the version of BD 23 from the papyrus of Nebseny (pBM EA 9900), 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: *wn r3=j jn Pth wh<sup>c</sup> ntyw jry r3=j jn njwt=j ... dj.tw n=j r3=j wp r3=j jn Pth m md3t=f twy nt bj3 m wpt.n=f r3(w) n ntrw jm=s* “My mouth is opened by Ptah and the bonds on my mouth have been loosed by my city ... My mouth is given to me. My mouth is opened by Ptah with this his *medjat*-chisel of iron, as he opened the mouths of the gods with it” (after Quirke 2013, 85).

<sup>131</sup> Cf. again BD 23 from the papyrus of Nebseny: *jnk Shmt w3dyt hmst hr gs jmy-wrt nt pt jnk S3hyt hrt-jb b3w Twnw* “I am Sekhmet-Wadjet who dwells on the West side of the sky. I am Sahyt amidst the *bas* of Heliopolis” (after Quirke 2013, 85).

<sup>132</sup> Naville 1886, 195.

<sup>133</sup> Quirke 2013, 88.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*.

instance sometimes shows a *sem*-priest (*sm*) holding a mummiform figure in front of the deceased.<sup>135</sup> *Sem*-priests were an important part of the burial rites and usually conducted the ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth.<sup>136</sup>

As for BD 26, it is entitled “Spell for giving the heart of N to him in the god’s domain” (*r n rdjt jb n N n=f m hrt-ntr*),<sup>137</sup> and is essentially an appeal for the possession of the heart.<sup>138</sup> It relates to the practise of mummification and the assignment of a heart-scarab for the deceased which helped ensure access to the afterlife.<sup>139</sup> More than that, it heralds the Egyptian idea that the heart powers the body, as well as the mind, and the other constituents of one’s existence,<sup>140</sup> which is strictly in line with the contents of this part of the First Book of Breathing.<sup>141</sup> As such, several passages of BD 26 stand out here and one can see clearly that much of its subject matter has been integrated into this section of our text. Upon further scrutiny, it could even be considered an abbreviated version of the spell, only it has been combined with elements borrowed from BD 23 and 25.<sup>142</sup>

**§ 5:**<sup>143</sup> An invocation to the heart. Introduced by the phrase “O my *jb*-heart” (*j jb=j*), the deceased first urges, in accordance with a decree of Tatenen, that his heart remain obedient and un-defiant. The speaker then stresses that his heart shall not be taken away by the “warriors of Heliopolis” (*h3w m Twnw*) – a group of deities considered to be hostile to the dead.<sup>144</sup> Following

<sup>135</sup> Naville 1886, 127. A good example is the vignette of BD 25 from the papyrus of Baksu (pKestner Museum 1970.37 = pBrocklehurst 2), 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (see Quirke 2013, 88; Munro 1995, 23 with pl. 2).

<sup>136</sup> David 2002, 211.

<sup>137</sup> Naville 1886, 195.

<sup>138</sup> Taylor 2010b, 172.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 161; Assmann 2005a, 102. For the heart-scarab in particular, see also Shorter 1935, 171-173; Andrews 1994, 56-59; and Quirke 2003. Note, however, that such objects were usually inscribed with BD 30B.

<sup>140</sup> Assmann 2005a, 28-30 and 103-104; Taylor 2010b, 172; Smith 1987, 104.

<sup>141</sup> E.g. the last lines of BD 26 from the papyrus of Nu state: *sḥm=j [m h3ty=j] sḥm=j m ʿwy=j sḥm=j m rdwy=j jry=j mrrt k3=j nn hnr jm=f [k3=j] šwt=j hr sb3w nw Tmntt dt r nḥh* “I have power over [my *h3ty*-heart]. I have power over my arms. I have power over my legs. I shall do that which my *ka* desires. [My *ka*] and my shadow shall not be turned back therein at the gates of the West, forever and eternally” (after Quirke 2013, 90; and Lapp 1997, pl. 13).

<sup>142</sup> Goyon 1966, 77; Herbin 2008, 62-64.

<sup>143</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 38-41.

<sup>144</sup> Zandee 1960, 201.

this, the deceased states: “I am that one before whom Atum inscribes annals under the august balanites-tree in Heliopolis by the writing of Thoth himself,” (*jnk pfy jr Itm gnwt ḥ3t=f hr p3 jšd šps m Twnw m sš n Dḥwty ds=f*), and ends the invocation by saying that he will illumine his own eyes in order to see Atum every day.

Like the previous section, this particular part of the text dwells on themes reminiscent of BD 26, but its content seems to be a combination of passages drawn from BD 27 and 28,<sup>145</sup> both of which are entitled “Spell for preventing the theft of the ḥ3ty-heart of N in the god’s domain” (*r n tm rdjt jt.tw ḥ3ty n N m-ḥ=f m hrt-ntr*).<sup>146</sup> In fact, the opening lines are very similar to the last few clauses of BD 27,<sup>147</sup> while reference to the warriors of Heliopolis is also made at the beginning of BD 28.<sup>148</sup>

With regard to the final lines of this section, however, they are rather ambiguous. As such, it is difficult to identify the source from which they might have originated. However, BD 28 provides a similar passage in the form of “This my *jb*-heart gives the annals of Atum” (*jw jb=j pn hr rdjt gnwt nt Itm*),<sup>149</sup> so it is possible the compilers just elaborated upon this theme. Whatever the case, these lines seem to be related to the ancient ceremony represented in temples from the 18th Dynasty onwards which depict deities such as Atum, Thoth, and Seshat recording royal annals (*gnwt*) on the foliage of the balanites-tree (*jšd*).<sup>150</sup> The leaves of this tree were thought to be “life-giving” and were often used to make garlands for the benefit of the deceased.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Goyon 1966, 77; Herbin 2008, 64-65.

<sup>146</sup> Naville 1886, 194; Quirke 2013, 91-94.

<sup>147</sup> Herbin 2008, 64-65. Cf. for example, BD 27 from the papyrus of Nu: *sḏm n=j jb=j jnk nb=k jw=k m ht=j nn rk=k wj jnk wdd sḏm=k n=f m hrt-ntr* “Listen to me, my *jb*-heart: I am your lord, while you are in my body. You shall not unbalance me, (for) I am the one who decrees, and the one whom you obey in the god’s domain” (after Quirke, 2013, 91; and Lapp 1997, pl. 14).

<sup>148</sup> Herbin 2008, 65. E.g. BD 28, again from the papyrus of Nu: *j rw jnk wnb bwt=j pw nmt ntr nn jt.tw ḥ3ty=j pn m-ḥ=j jn ḥ3w m Twnw* “O lion-god. I am the *weneb*-flower. The slaughter-house of the god is my abomination. This my ḥ3ty-heart shall not be taken away from [me by] the warriors in Heliopolis” (after Quirke, 2013, 93; and Lapp 1997, pl. 13).

<sup>149</sup> See Quirke 2013, 94.

<sup>150</sup> Helck 1958, 122-140; Myśliwiec 1980; Budde 2000, 97-104 with pls. 9-10. For the *jšd*-tree and the concept of the writing of annals (*gnwt*), see also Buhl 1947, 88-89; and Wilson 1997, 115-116 and 1101-1102 respectively.

<sup>151</sup> Buhl 1947, 89; Wilson 1997, 115.



**§ 6:**<sup>152</sup> Another invocation to the heart. This time, however, the deceased proclaims that his heart is now firmly established and then invokes Atum for more benefits. These include extolling the deceased before Nehebkau – one of the 42 judges often depicted as a serpent<sup>153</sup> – and making the body “live again” (*sḥ m whm*). After this, the deceased asks Atum to place him in the bark of Re, enable him to assume different forms (*hprw*), reconstitute his mouth, and make it possible for him to “repeat life like Re every day” (*whm=j ḥ mj R r nb*).

As for this part of the text, judging by a few isolated lines, it seems to be an adaptation or abbreviated form of BD 30 for “preventing the theft of the *h3ty*-heart of a man from him in the god’s domain” (*r n rdjt tm jt.tw h3ty n s r=f m hrt-ntr*).<sup>154</sup> This composition is found not only on papyri, but also on scarab amulets, and 25<sup>th</sup> to early 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty coffins.<sup>155</sup> However, there is an emphasis here on certain aspects or functions of Atum who is entrusted essentially to beatify the beneficiary and grant eternal life. To this end, it evokes ideas expressed in various sources, particularly BD 38A in which the deceased claims identity with Atum as one who has ascended to the horizon, taken his seat in the West, and embarked on the solar boat in the following of Re. Interestingly, BD 38A was supposed to help secure for the deceased power over air in the necropolis as indicated by its title: “Spell for living on air in the god’s domain” (*r n ḥ m t3w m hrt-ntr*). Also, at the end of that spell it is stated specifically that the deceased will be “in the following of Re” (*m šms R*) and “live after death every day” (*ḥ m-ht mwt=j r nb*).<sup>156</sup> These statements are more than congruent to those presented here in the First Book of Breathing which connects the welfare of the deceased to the sun-god: “May he (= Atum) cause that I repeat life like Re every day. If I prosper, Re will prosper and vice versa” (*dj=f whm=j ḥ mj R r nb wd3=j wd3 R ts phr*).

Nevertheless, what follows is a part of the text which Goyon designated a “declaration of divine identity” (“*declaration d’identité divine*”).<sup>157</sup> It begins with a so-called a *Gliedervergottung*, which can be found in several sources dating from the Old Kingdom down to the Greco-Roman

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<sup>152</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 41-52.

<sup>153</sup> Barta 1982, 388-389.

<sup>154</sup> Goyon 1966, 77; and Quirke 2013, 97 for this spell.

<sup>155</sup> Quirke 2013, 97.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid*, 112.

<sup>157</sup> Goyon 1966, 66.

Period.<sup>158</sup> However, it has been said that the version here “corresponds most clearly to that found in Spell 42 of the Book of the Dead,”<sup>159</sup> which is essentially a protective spell for preventing physical loss. In papyri of the Theban recension, for example, BD 42 is known by the title “Spell for warding off the slaughter done in Heracleopolis” (*r n ḥsf šꜥt jrt m Nn-nswt*), and belongs more or less to a series of spells (BD 39-42) intended to ensure that the body will not be harmed in the burial.<sup>160</sup>

Following this, the deceased states that he is both Horus and Osiris and declares affiliation with the Heliopolitan family of gods (Shu, Tefnut, Geb, and Nut). To finish this section, he then makes a short assertion against the notion of meeting to an absolute or second death, stating: “I appear as king of the gods. I shall not die again in the god’s domain” (*ḥꜥ=j m nsw ntrw nn mt=j m whm m hrt-ntr*).<sup>161</sup> Like the *Gliedervergottung*, this part of the text is similar to BD 42, but one can see elements of BD 44 here as well.<sup>162</sup> The latter, for example, was called “Spell for not dying again” (*r n tm mwt m whm-ꜥ*),<sup>163</sup> and features the deceased making several declarations of divine identity. However, in that spell the deceased proclaims to be the sun god, Re, and declares that Osiris is his father.<sup>164</sup> Despite this, it ends with essentially the same clauses used to close this section of the First Book of Breathing: “I am risen as king of the gods. I shall not die again” (*jw=j ḥꜥ.kwj m nswt n ntrw nn mwt=j m whm-ꜥ*).<sup>165</sup>

<sup>158</sup> See Walker 1996, 286-288; and Massart 1959, 227-46. For the *Gliedervergottung*, see Altenmüller 1977, 624-627; DuQuense 2002, 237-271; and more recently Nyord 2009, 510-523. A list of sources can also be found in Assmann 2002, 179-188; and Hellinckx 2004, 10-15.

<sup>159</sup> Smith 2009a, 502. See also Goyon 1966, 77; and Herbin 2008, 65-69.

<sup>160</sup> Naville 1886, 196; Quirke 2013, 118-121. Interestingly, like BD 30 the spell was not only inscribed on papyri, but also coffins of the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties (see Taylor 2003, 114 with pl. 62).

<sup>161</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 52. For the idea of a “second death,” prevalent in Egyptian funerary literature, see Zandee 1960, 186-188.

<sup>162</sup> Goyon 1966, 77; Herbin 2008, 65-69.

<sup>163</sup> Naville 1886, 196.

<sup>164</sup> E.g. the second part of BD 44 from the papyrus of Nu: *jw ḥr=j wn ḥꜣty=j ḥr st=f tp-r=j rh.n=j jnk Rꜥ mk sw ds=f n ḥm=j ꜥwꜣ.tw=j ꜥnh jr=k jt=j sꜣ Nwt jnk sꜣ=k smsw mꜣꜣ šꜣw=k* “My sight is opened. My ḥꜣty-heart is at its place. My pronouncement is known to me. I am Re who protects himself. I am not unaware of violence against me. Live then, my father, son of Nut. I am your eldest son. The one who sees your secrets” (after Quirke 2013, 124).

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid*, 124.

**§ 7:**<sup>166</sup> A declaration of the deceased's divinity addressed to the gods in their totality.<sup>167</sup> Evoking section one, the deceased first instructs all gods and goddesses to turn towards him. He then asserts that he has traversed the cosmos and is now in the following of Osiris. After this, he declares that Re-Horakhty is his name and that he is god in his own right, i.e. “I am the god, lord of the underworld” (*jnk ntr nb dw3t*).<sup>168</sup> A text similar to this is known from BD 48 (= 10) for “going forth justified” (*pr m m3ꜥ-hrw*).<sup>169</sup>

Following this, the deceased states that he shall have power over his enemies and over the different parts of his body, including his legs for walking, his mouth for speaking, his eyes for seeing, and his ears for hearing. Again, a similar text can be found in the Book of the Dead, this time in the form of spell 49 (= 11).<sup>170</sup> Indeed, it is essentially the same text. However, certain sentences have been omitted – such as the opening lines which associate the deceased with Re and a few clauses near the end in which the beneficiary claims to be Horus and sometimes Ptah.<sup>171</sup> Furthermore, at the very end of this section of the First Book of Breathing it is stated:

*šm=j m rdwy=j mdw=j m r3=j m33=j m jrty=j sdm=j m ꜥnhwy=j*

I shall walk with my legs. I shall speak with my mouth. I shall see with my eyes. I shall hear with my ears.<sup>172</sup>

Followed by:

*jnk nb ꜥnh wꜥm ꜥnh ꜥnh jr w rn=j jnk rw jnk Rwtj jnk smsw n Rꜥ-Itm*

I am the lord of life who repeats life. “The one who lives on rites” is my name. I am the lion. I am Ruty. I am the eldest son of Re-Atum.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 53-II, 7.

<sup>167</sup> Goyon 1966, 66.

<sup>168</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 1-2.

<sup>169</sup> Goyon 1966, 78; Herbin 2008, 69-70; and Quirke 2013, 27, 128 for this spell.

<sup>170</sup> Goyon 1966, 78; Herbin 2008, 70; and Quirke 2013, 28 and 129 for BD 11 and 49.

<sup>171</sup> E.g. BD 11 from the papyrus of Nu: *ꜥhꜥ.n=j m Hr ꜥms.n=j m Pth* “I have stood as Horus. I have sat down as Ptah” (after Quirke 2013, 28; Lapp 1997, pl. 62).

<sup>172</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 4-5.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid*, II, 5-7.

These last few clauses may have their origins in BD 38 in which the deceased explicitly asserts identity with Ruty – the twin lion gods associated with the eastern and western horizons – and calls himself “the eldest son of Re” (*smsw n R*).<sup>174</sup> If so, this entire section of the First Book of Breathing is an amalgamation of elements borrowed from that spell as well as BD 48 and 49.

**§ 8:**<sup>175</sup> An invocation to Amun. Although omitted in some copies,<sup>176</sup> and abbreviated in others,<sup>177</sup> it begins with the deceased soliciting the power of that god to provide him with the breath of life. Indeed, Amun was not only a creator but also a deity connected to the wind and the concept of providing vital breath for the deceased in the afterlife.<sup>178</sup> As such, the deity in our text is asked to give “sweet air” (*t3w ndm*) to the nose of the departed. In an attempt to substantiate this request,<sup>179</sup> the deceased then goes on to state his filiation with the deity, before identifying himself as “the egg of the great cackler” (*swht twy nt ngg wr*); in other words, the primordial egg from which the sun was hatched in the Hermopolitan cosmology. After this, the deceased presents a warning to the gods of the underworld and tells them to “beware” (*s3w*) for he is now residing as an ibis or rather Thoth in his nest. He then asks for the sweet air of Amun once again and justifies it by saying that he is an ibis and “the possessor of honour before Re” (*nb jm3h hr R*).<sup>180</sup>

As a whole, it seems to have been adapted directly from BD spells 54 and/or 56,<sup>180</sup> usually found grouped together with spells 38B, 55, and 38A on earlier papyri,<sup>181</sup> but also on coffins, statues, and offering tables from the New Kingdom onwards.<sup>182</sup> This being the case, it is connected with the themes of creation and rebirth and is intended to secure for the deceased

<sup>174</sup> Herbin 2008, 70-71. For this spell, see Quirke 2013, 111.

<sup>175</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 7-14.

<sup>176</sup> E.g. pBerlin 3052, IV (see Herbin 2008, 71-72).

<sup>177</sup> E.g. pBM EA 10199, pBM EA 10206 C, and pBM EA 10283.

<sup>178</sup> For these aspects of Amun, see Spiegelberg 1911, 127-128; Wainwright 1934, 144-147; Klotz 2006, 28-29, 59-65; and *idem*, 2012a, 58-66. For Amun in general, see also Assmann 1995; and Sethe 1929.

<sup>179</sup> Quirke 2013, 139.

<sup>180</sup> Goyon 1966, 78; Herbin 2008, 71-72.

<sup>181</sup> E.g. the papyrus of Gatseshen (see Lucarelli 2006, 114-119).

<sup>182</sup> See *ibid*, 116-119; and Quirke 2013, 136 and 139 for translations of BD 54 and 56. For statues inscribed with BD 56, see Jacquet-Gordon 1972, esp. 142-144; and James 1974, 86-87 (no. 199) with pl. LI. For a naos inscribed with BD 54/56, see also Franke 1994, 241-243.

power over and access to air<sup>183</sup> – a necessary rudiment that an Egyptian could not be without for survival in the afterlife.<sup>184</sup> The title of BD 54 for example is “Spell for giving air to N in the god’s domain” (*r n rdjt t3w n N m hrt-ntr*),<sup>185</sup> while BD 56 was known as “Spell for breathing air beside water in the god’s domain” (*r n ssnt t3w m-m mw m hrt-ntr*).<sup>186</sup>

However, as an adaptation of these two spells it is not without differences. The most noticeable of these is the fact that the utterances here in the First Book of Breathing are directed to Amun. In the Book of the Dead, the aforementioned compositions were traditionally an appeal to Atum. Moreover, BD 54 usually includes a passage at the end making reference to Horus and Seth, in addition to Osiris as the “Swathed one of Pe” (*Nm n P*).<sup>187</sup> This has been omitted almost entirely from the First Book of Breathing, or at the very least has been replaced by the reference to the ibis and from this the second request for air at the end of the section. In other words, a large part of BD 54 has been omitted here. However, the omission of these utterances is in fact fitting with the transmission of BD 54 in certain Ptolemaic Period papyri, which also tended to leave out the last part.<sup>188</sup> Only in the case of our text, certain passages which could be considered novel, such as the very last clause (i.e. “I am the possessor of honour before Re”) have been added.<sup>189</sup>

**§ 9:**<sup>190</sup> An invocation to Hapy. It begins with the speaker asking the deity to refresh the heart with the rejuvenating waters of the Nile, grant the beneficiary access to water like Sekhmet,

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<sup>183</sup> Lucarelli 2006, 114-116; Quirke 2013, 135 and 136. For the egg, air and wind in a funerary context, see also Elias 1993, 474-476.

<sup>184</sup> Goyon 1966, 86.

<sup>185</sup> Naville 1886, 196; Quirke 2013, 136.

<sup>186</sup> Naville 1886, 196; Quirke 2013, 139.

<sup>187</sup> E.g. BD 54 from the papyrus of Nu: *Hr phty Swty j Nm n P t3wy jmy df33 jmy hsb d s33=tn r jmy s3=f nhn pr=f r=tn* “Horus and the strength of Seth. O Swathed one of Pe of the Two Lands, you who are with food-offerings, (you) who are with lapis lazuli, beware the one who is in his nest, the child who goes forth against you all” (after Quirke 2013, 136; Lapp 1997, pls. 33-34).

<sup>188</sup> See Lejeune 2006, 200.

<sup>189</sup> This adaptation could therefore be compared to the redaction of BD 54 and 56 themselves, which basically involved scribes adding to and omitting certain passages of CT [223] III from which they are derived (see Lucarelli 2006, 116).

<sup>190</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 14-19.

and permit the dead person to attain to an old age in the manner of Osiris.<sup>191</sup> To ensure that this will be the case, the deceased then asserts and insinuates his connection to three important religious localities (Heliopolis, Memphis, and Hermopolis),<sup>192</sup> and states:

*jnk ḥpr m sp tpy jnk Rsyt jnk Mḥtt jnk Imntt jnk Ṛbtt nm jr w mj k(3)y=j wpw-ḥr=k*  
 I am one who came into existence on the first occasion. I am the South. I am the North. I am the West. I am the East. Who thereof is like my nature except for you?<sup>193</sup>

Altogether it evokes BD 57 for “breathing air and having power over water in the god’s domain” (*ssnt t3w šḥm m mw m ḥrt-ntr*), and is most likely an adaptation of that spell.<sup>194</sup>

**§ 10:**<sup>195</sup> Another invocation to Hapy. The deceased first asks the deity for water once again, as well as air, and asserts that he is “one who occupies the place in the middle of the Eye of Re” (*šḥn st ḥr-jb Ṛrt R*) – another name for the cult centre of the sun-god. Following this the deceased stresses that as long as Hapy lives he will live as well, and states specifically:

*rwd=k rwd=j ts-phr ḥnh=k ḥnh=j ts-phr dj=k n=j mw sns n=j kbb=k jm*  
 If you flourish, I flourish, and vice versa. If you live, I live, and vice versa. You shall give to me water. I shall receive your freshness therein.<sup>196</sup>

Upon scrutiny, this entire section is in fact an adaptation of BD 59,<sup>197</sup> a composition traditionally addressed to the sycamore of Nut,<sup>198</sup> and like that spell is centred on the theme of the deceased taking control over water in the afterlife.<sup>199</sup> Interesting to note, however, is that the phrase “I have guarded that egg of the great-cackler” (*jw s3.n=j swḥt twy nt gngn wr*) from

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<sup>191</sup> *Ibid*, II, 14-16.

<sup>192</sup> Goyon 1966, 69 and 71-72.

<sup>193</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 18-19.

<sup>194</sup> Goyon 1966, 78; Herbin 2008, 72; and Quirke 2013, 140-142 for translations of BD 57.

<sup>195</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 19-21.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid*, II, 20-21.

<sup>197</sup> Goyon 1966, 78; Herbin 2008, 73.

<sup>198</sup> Quirke 2013, 145.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid*, 135; Lucarelli 2006, 118-119.

BD 59 has been omitted here. But a variant of this expression can be found, as mentioned, in § 8 above as part of the invocation to Amun.<sup>200</sup>

**§ 11:**<sup>201</sup> A third and final invocation to Hapy. It begins with the deceased commanding the deity to fill him with the inundation because he is Hapy himself. The speaker then identifies himself with a host of other deities as one to be granted power over the inundation, interpreted here as a “great libation” (*ḳbh wrw*). These deities include the different forms of the sun-god (Atum and Khepri), in addition to Shu, Thoth, and Hapy himself, who is said to be “the first *ba* of Osiris” (*b3 tpy n Wsjr*). After this, the speaker likens himself to Re in the heavens created by the sky-goddess Nut and declares that he is Thoth. He then asks that the sky and earth be opened for him and recites a litany for power over his body and access to offerings such as bread, water, beer, wine, and incense; in other words, the rudiments of life. Finally, the deceased presents one last assertion of his divinity as “the great god come forth from the sunbeams of Re” (*ntr ʕ pr m stwt n Rʕ*), and declares that the air of Amun and the water of Hapy belong to him eternally.

As for the first part of this section (pBM EA 10191, II, 21-24), similar declarations form the basis of BD 61 known as a “Spell for not taking the *ba*-spirit of a man away from him in the god’s domain” (*r n tm nhm b3 n s m-ʕ=f m hrt-ntr*),<sup>202</sup> but the text here does not seem to have been drawn from that spell *per se*. Furthermore, in funerary papyri from the Late Period down, BD 61 is often found associated with BD 60 and 62,<sup>203</sup> both of which were designated as a “Spell for drinking water in the god’s domain” (*r n swrj mw m hrt-ntr*). Interestingly, this same title is actually used to introduce this part of the text of the First Book of Breathing in pLouvre N 3279,<sup>204</sup> so it is possible the utterances here were adapted from one of these spells.

As for the rest of this section (pBM EA 10191, II, 25-34), the last few clauses are seemingly unparalleled; although, similar utterances occur near the end of the Second Book of Breathing

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<sup>200</sup> Cf. pBM EA 10191, II, 7-10: *j ʔmn mj t3w ndm r fnd=j jnk s3=k šps s3=j swht twy ʕ3t wp=n Gb r t3 ʕnh=j ʕnh=s ts=phr nh3=s nh3=j ts-phr snsn=s snsn=j ts-phr* “O Amun, give sweet air to my nose. I am your august son, truly. I am this egg of the great cackler. I shall guard this great egg which Geb separated from the earth. If I live, it lives, and vice versa. If it grows old, I grow old, and vice versa. If it breathes, I breathe, and vice versa.”

<sup>201</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 21-34.

<sup>202</sup> Quirke 2013, 148.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> Goyon 1966, 50; Smith 2009a, 502; Carrier 2017, 95.

(see below). The litany the deceased recites, however, seems to be the same one found in BD 68 only here it has been drastically shortened,<sup>205</sup> while the part about the deceased identifying himself with Re and Thoth may derive from BD 66,<sup>206</sup> but in that composition the deceased is identified with Horus and Wadjyt instead.<sup>207</sup> Nevertheless, when looking at this section as a whole, it is possible to regard it as a composition comprised of passages originally belonging to different sources. But for the most part, these sources were most likely certain spells of the Book of the Dead.

#### 2.4.2. The Second Book of Breathing

**§ 1:**<sup>208</sup> An invocation to Re, Osiris and Thoth, followed by a litany of wishes addressed to Re-Horakhty and the Greater and Lesser Enneads for the preservation of the deceased's name. In the case of the latter, each wish begins with the phrase *mj rwd rn=j* and is essentially a request that the name of the deceased be made to “flourish” (*rwd*) like the name of a certain deity in his or her cult centre. Following the copy of the Second Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10110 + 10111, these include the gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead: “Atum, lord of Heliopolis, in Heliopolis” (*Itm nb Twnw m Twnw*), “Shu in the upper *Menset*-sanctuary in Heliopolis” (*Šw m Mnst hrt m Twnw*), “Tefnut in the lower *Menset*-sanctuary in Heliopolis” (*Tfnwt m Mnst hrt m Twnw*), “Geb in the place of foreigners” (*Gb m bw šm3w*), “Nut in the mansion of Shenu” (*Nwt m hwt Šnw*), “Osiris, foremost of the West, in Abydos” (*Wsjr hnty jmntt m 3bdw*), “Isis in Tower” (*Ist m T3-wr*), “Horus in Pe” (*Hr m P*), and “Wadjyt in Dep” (*W3dyt m Dp*); followed by a few other divinities associated with the Osirian cycle: “Nephthys in Heliopolis” (*Nbt-hwt m Twnw*), “Banebdjed in the house of Banebdjed” (*B3-nb-dd m pr B3-nb-dd*), and “Thoth in Hermopolis” (*Dhwtj m Hmnw*).<sup>209</sup> After these deities comes “the four Montus within their towns” (*Mntw 4 m-hnw njwt=sn*), which is likely a reference to the four distinct cults of Montu

<sup>205</sup> Goyon 1966, 78; Herbin 2008, 74-75. For BD 68, see Quirke 2013, 166-167.

<sup>206</sup> See Herbin 2008, 74.

<sup>207</sup> Indeed, cf. the version of BD 66 as written on the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty shroud of Sa'a (Cairo JE 33984): *jw=j rh.kwj jwr.kwj jn Šhmt ms.kwj jn Šsmtt jnk Hr pr m Trt Hr jnk S-3 jnk W3dyt prt m bjk jnk Hr p3.n=j hn.n=j m wpt m h3t wj3=fjmy Nnw* “I know I am conceived by Sekhmet and born by Shesmetet. I am Horus who goes forth as the Eye of Horus. I am Sa'a. I am Wadjyt who goes forth as a falcon. I am Horus. I have flown up and I have alighted on the brow on the front of his bark which is in Nun” (after Quirke 2013, 164).

<sup>208</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, I, 1-37.

<sup>209</sup> For the connection of Thoth with the Osirian cycle, see Bleeker 1973, 131-136 and 145-150; and Stadler 2009, passim. For this connection in Ptolemaic and Roman times, see also Derchain-Urtel, 1981, 2-4.



at Thebes, Medamud, Armant, and Tod respectively,<sup>210</sup> followed by “Khnum in Elephantine” (*Hnmw m 3bw*), “Haroeris in Ombos” (*Hr-wr m Nwb*), “Horus-Behedty in Edfu” (*Hr-Bhdty m Db3*), “Nekhet in El Kab” (*Nhbt m Nh*), “all the gods in Thebes” (*ntrw nbw m W3st*), and “Haroeris, lord of Upper Egypt, within Qus” (*Hr-wr nb Šm m-hnw Gsj*).<sup>211</sup> Finally, it lists “Isis in Coptos” (*Ist m Ntr-Šm*), “Hathor in the nome of Iker” (*Hwt-hr m Ikr*), “Neferhotep in Diospolis Parva” (*Nfr-htp m Hwt-šhmw*), “Min in Akhmim” (*Mnw m Ip*), “Nemty in Wadjyt” (*Nmty m W3d(y)t*), “Wepwawet in Asyut” (*Wp-w3wt m S3wty*), and “Hathor in Cusae” (*Hwt-hr m Ks*); followed by “Horus in Hebenu” (*Hr m Hbnw*), “Anubis in Hardai” (*Inpw m Hr-dw*), “Harsaphes in Heracleopolis” (*Hr-šfy m Hwt-nn-nsw*), “Sobek in Moeris” (*Sbk m Mr-wr*), and the triad of “Ptah-Sekhmet-Nefertem within Memphis” (*Pth-Šhmt-Nfr-tm m-hnw Inbw-hd*).

Interestingly, an almost identical, albeit shorter list is found in the so-called “Spell for Making a Torch” (*r n jrt tk3*) known from two New Kingdom tombs,<sup>212</sup> a limestone shrine of the Middle Kingdom,<sup>213</sup> the hypostyle hall at Karnak,<sup>214</sup> and a Ptolemaic Period papyrus (pLouvre N 3083) bearing Book of the Dead spells and a Book of Breathing which Isis Made.<sup>215</sup> This suggests that a copy of this text may have been used as a source.<sup>216</sup> Indeed, the divinities and the sanctuaries enumerated in this ritual are almost indistinguishable from those listed in the first half of the Second Book of Breathing and “occur in more or less the same order.”<sup>217</sup> But instead of the name of the deceased, this litany is designed to link the endurance of a torch to the names of deities and their cult centres. Furthermore, two other versions of this litany are known. One appears in the “Spell for Renewing the God’s Offerings” which is preserved at Karnak and

<sup>210</sup> Cf. Quaegebeur 1991; and Smith, 2002, 50-51.

<sup>211</sup> For Haroeris as well as Heqet at Qus in the Ptolemaic Period, see Porter and Moss, vol. V, 1962, 135; and Wilkinson 1843, 131-132.

<sup>212</sup> These include the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50) (see Hari 1985, 41-42 with pl. XXVIII; Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 430-432; and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303), and the tomb of the royal scribe Tay (TT 23) (see de Garis Davies 1924, 12-13; Haikal 1985, 361-372; and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303).

<sup>213</sup> See Fakhry 1961, 63-69 with pls. LXVIII and LXIX; and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-301.

<sup>214</sup> Nelson 1949, 336-339 (Episodes 52 and 53); and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303 with pls. 50-51 and vol. II, 263-268.

<sup>215</sup> Herbin 1984, 249-250, n. 3; 1999, 156-157, 184-189, 210-215, pls. 19-21; 2008, 92; and Smith 2009a, 490-493.

<sup>216</sup> Herbin 2008, 92-93; Smith 2009a, 516.

<sup>217</sup> Smith 2009a, 516.

Abydos,<sup>218</sup> as well as in papyri containing the Offering Ritual (pBM EA 10689 and pCairo CG 58030 + pTurin CGT 54041).<sup>219</sup> The other version features in PT 601 (§§ 1660a-1671d),<sup>220</sup> and like the Second Book of Breathing it is also addressed to the Greater Ennead.<sup>221</sup> This suggests that our text may have derived in part from a copy of one these spells as well.<sup>222</sup> But in the manner of the torch-spell both of these litanies are focused on preserving the everlastingness of a different aspect of the deceased. Either way, when compared to this section of the Second Book of Breathing it is clear that any one of these rituals may have been a source of inspiration and that this part of our text has antecedents in earlier forms of Egyptian funerary literature.

**§ 2:**<sup>223</sup> A series of additional formulations or requests addressed to an anonymous recipient (or possibly the Enneads once again) for the survival of the deceased as an effective being in the hereafter.<sup>224</sup> Emphasizing his blessed state and triumph over death, it begins with the deceased asserting his divinity, first of all as an “image of Osiris-Wennefer” (*sh̄m n Wsjr Wn-nfr*) and secondly as Thoth as an ibis “come forth from the mountain of the East” (*pr hr dw ʿBbt*).<sup>225</sup> Following this, the deceased claims to be like the “second of Re-Horakhty” (*snw n Rꜥ-Hr-ḥty*),<sup>226</sup> and asks for participation in the journey of the sun god aboard his barks, fellowship with Osiris, and participation in offerings consecrated to certain gods, in this case, Atum, Shu, and Osiris himself.<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> See Nelson 1949, 324-327 (Episode 40); and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 206-226 with pls. 54 and 67 and vol. II, 193-202.

<sup>219</sup> See Gardiner 1935, 91 with pls. 53-53A; Golenischeff 1927, 149 with pl. 26; Bacchi 1942, 49-50 with pl. 20; and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 206-226 with pls. 9-10 and 22.

<sup>220</sup> Goyon 1972, 268; Herbin 2008, 92; Smith 2009a, 516, n. 16.

<sup>221</sup> For translations of PT 601, see J.P. Allen 2005, 219 (M 226); and Carrier 2009-2010, 1904-1909.

<sup>222</sup> Chassinat 1895, 313. Cf. also the comments of Smith 2009a, 516, n. 16 concerning the litany in PT 601: “Although slightly different in format, this is obviously the ultimate ancestor of both the torch litany and the one in our text.” But see also Stadler 2015, 79-80 who suggests that the offering-spell is the most likely candidate.

<sup>223</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 1-13.

<sup>224</sup> Although it is possible that this particular part of the text belongs to section one, since most copies of the Second Book of Breathing come to an end after the litany for the name it can be counted as a new section.

<sup>225</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 3-4.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 4-5.

<sup>227</sup> Smith 2009a, 517.

Taken as a whole, it can be compared to spells BD 102,<sup>228</sup> 129 (=100),<sup>229</sup> and 136B,<sup>230</sup> as well as certain parts of the collection of solar hymns comprising BD 15 praising the rising and setting of the sun.<sup>231</sup> However, it more closely resembles BD 77 for “taking the form of a falcon of gold” (*hprw m bjk n nbw*),<sup>232</sup> and is in fact a rewording of this spell. This being the case, it is connected to the re-creation process of the deceased and entertains closely the Egyptian funerary notion of “going forth by day” (*pr m hrw*); in other words, the freedom of the *ba* of the deceased individual to go forth from the darkness of the tomb (underworld) to the realm of the living during the day.<sup>233</sup>

**§ 3:**<sup>234</sup> An invocation to various deities in which the deceased asks them to grant him certain provisions and ultimately eternal life. These include Amun and Re who are to grant the dead person the two chief provisions of air and light respectively, Hapy who is to supply the deceased with water, Nepri who is to supply the deceased with bread, the *Akhet*-cow who is to provide milk, and Menqet who is to endow the deceased with beer. Following this, the deceased states that “Thoth” is his name and that all the gods shall live as a result of saying this name.

The last part of course evokes the litany in § 1 above and the specific desire that the name of the deceased should endure for all time.<sup>235</sup> The first part, on the other hand, can be compared to passages attested at the end of § 11 of the First Book of Breathing in which the deceased asks for offerings from the gods and claims possession of the powers and privileges of Amun, Re,

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<sup>228</sup> Quirke 2013, 228-229.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid*, 224-225 and 284-285.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid*, 304-305.

<sup>231</sup> See Herbin 2008, 97. But more specifically BD 15f (T.G. Allen 1974, 13-14; Stewart 1966, 51); BD 15A1 (T.G. Allen 1974, 16; Quirke 2013, 34); and BD 15B2 (T.G. Allen 1974, 2; Stewart 1966, 70; and Quirke 2013, 42).

<sup>232</sup> Quirke 2013, 182.

<sup>233</sup> Quirke 2013, xiv; Assmann 2005a, 209-218. For the function of the transformation spells, see *inter alia* Assmann 2005a, 212-216; Servjean 2004, 17 and *passim*; Federn 1960, 244 and *passim*; Žabkar 1963, 59-60; and more recently Smith 2009a, 610-617. For an interesting study on the relationship between transformation spells and amulets as well as the purpose of the former, see also Žabkar 1985.

<sup>234</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 14-21.

<sup>235</sup> Smith 2009a, 517.

and Hapy.<sup>236</sup> However, the text here in the Second Book of Breathing is more of an exhortation to the deities to bestow upon the dead person sustenance and the necessities of life. In inspiration though, it may have derived in part once again from the torch-spell mentioned above. At the end of some versions of that ritual, for example, is a passage stating the following:

*Hꜥpy dj=f n=k mw Nprj dj=f n=k t Hwt-hr dj=s n=k hnꜥt Hst dj=s n=k jrꜥt*

Hapy: may he give water to you. Nepri: may he give bread to you. Hathor: may she give beer to you. Hesat: may she give milk to you.<sup>237</sup>

These lines are almost identical to those preserved here in the Second Book of Breathing. However, it should be pointed out that Hapy, Nepri, Hathor, and Hesat are invoked for the same reasons in several other texts,<sup>238</sup> including a work called “Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits,”<sup>239</sup> which is known from a great number of sources dating from at least the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>240</sup> Therefore, it is not certain if the torch-spell or this other ritual forms the basis of this particular part of our text. Nevertheless, it is symptomatically Egyptian and there is once again a significant continuity between this section of the Second Book of Breathing and earlier funerary literature.

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<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.* i.e. *ꜥnh=j m t3 m Gb snb=j m mw m Hꜥpy ꜥhꜥ=j m hnꜥt sꜥm=j m jrꜥt wꜥꜥ=j m jrp šdh šsp=j snsn m k3p snꜥr jnk nꜥr ꜥ3 pr m stwt n Rꜥ ꜥ3w n ꜥImn mw n Hꜥpy nnk st dt* “I shall live on the bread of Geb. I shall be healthy from the water of Hapy. I shall rise by means of beer. I shall swallow milk. I shall consume wine and *shedeh*-brew. I shall receive breath by means of kyphi and incense. I am the great god come forth from the sunbeams of Re. The air of Amun and the water of Hapy: they are mine eternally” (pBM EA 10191, II, 31-34).

<sup>237</sup> After Haikal 1985, 367 with pl. II.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 372

<sup>239</sup> See for instance Smith 2009a, 517; and Herbin 2008, 98-99 with n. 63.

<sup>240</sup> For these, see Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 147-224 and his list of the various sources on 149-177; as well as Kurth 1990, 22. According to Assmann, the earliest is the version inscribed upon two funerary bowls recovered from a tomb in Haraga dating to Dynasty 17/18 (see Assmann 2005a, 343; *idem*, *Totenliturgien* 2, 149-152; and Engelbach and Gunn 1923, 30 with pls. LXXVIII-LXXIX).

## CHAPTER THREE

# Transliteration and Translation

### 3.1. General Remarks

The texts transliterated and translated below are by no means intended to be nor should be considered critical text editions of the Books of Breathing discussed in this thesis. While the translations are my own, they have been included merely to supplement Chapter Two above. Moreover, it was mentioned earlier that the texts dealt with here were chosen based on their being the best and most extant exemplars of each composition currently known, but they should not be taken as representative of both text traditions as a whole. However, other manuscripts of each text type are referred to in the endnotes in case of any significant or major variations.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, in following the texts from beginning to end, each line is transliterated first followed by the translation of that line.

### 3.2. The First Book of Breathing (pBritish Museum EA 10191)

#### *Recto:*

Column I

#### § 1<sup>2</sup>

1) *hr=f n Wsjr<sup>3</sup> P(3)-dj-wr-j3bt m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms n T3-šrjt-hry m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw<sup>4</sup> jnk R<sup>c5</sup>*

Thus speaks the Osiris Padiweriabet, justified, born of Tasherit-hery, justified: I am Re

2) *m h<sup>c</sup>=f jnk 'Itm m htp=f jnk Wsjr hnty 'Imntt<sup>6</sup> m grh<sup>7</sup> hr=tn r=j<sup>8</sup> n3 jryw-<sup>c3</sup> n*

at his rising. I am Atum at his setting. I am Osiris, foremost of the West, during the night. (Turn) your faces to me, these door-keepers of

3) *Imntt n3 s3wtyw n t3 dw3t n3 jryw-<sup>c3</sup> n pr Hnw<sup>9</sup> hr=k n=j Inpw s3 Wsjr*

the West, guardians of the underworld, these door-keepers of the house of Henu. (Turn) your face to me, Anubis, son of Osiris,

4) *p3 jry-<sup>c3</sup> mtr n t3 dw3t<sup>10</sup> hr=tn r=j ntrw mdsw-jrty<sup>11</sup> jmyw-ht Wsjr<sup>12</sup> n3 ntrw*

the strict door-keeper of the underworld. (Turn) your faces to me, gods with sharp eyes who are in the retinue of Osiris, these gods

5) *jmyw t3 wsht M3<sup>c</sup>ty n3 ntrw jmyw t3 wsht <Shwt> Trw<sup>13</sup> hr=t r=j Hwt-hr hnt <Imnt>*

who are in the hall of Two Truths, and these gods who are in the hall <of the Field of> Reeds. (Turn) your face to me, Hathor, mistress <of the West,>

6) *M3<sup>c</sup>t hnw n=s Imntyw hr=tn r=j n3 ntrw n t3 dw3t drw n3 ntrw nty rs r Wsjr<sup>14</sup>*

and Ma'at, to whom the Westerners have been entrusted (?) (Turn) your faces to me these gods of the underworld, all these gods who keep watch over Osiris.

7) *jnk jt=tn R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty<sup>15</sup> jw pr=tn jm=f m sp tpy<sup>16</sup> jnk Hr s3 Ist s3 Wsjr nt(y) hr nst=f dt<sup>17</sup>*

I am your father, Re-Horakhty, from whom you came forth on the first occasion. I am Horus, son of Isis and son of Osiris, who is upon his throne eternally.

8) *jnk Hr-wr nb Šm<sup>c</sup> jr dj(t) nfr h<sup>c</sup>w n R<sup>c</sup> jw=f dj Hr hr nst jt=f<sup>18</sup> jnk Hr-mrty nb*

I am Haroeris, lord of Upper Egypt, who made perfect the body of Re,<sup>19</sup> and placed Horus upon the throne of his father. I am Hor-merty, lord of

9) *r3-<sup>c</sup>-ht jr nht n3 ntrw drw<sup>20</sup> jnk Hr nb Hm nb pr Ijt nty smd sbjw*

combat, who made those gods victorious. I am Horus, lord of Letopolis, lord of the house of Iyit, who drove away the rebels

10) *r Twnw<sup>21</sup> jnk Dhwtj nb mdw-ntr nt(y) dj smdwt n ntrw nb(w)<sup>22</sup> hr=tn r=j n3 s3wtyw n t3 dw3t<sup>23</sup>*

from Heliopolis. I am Thoth, lord of divine words, who made testimony to all the gods. (Turn) your faces to me, these guardians of the underworld.

11) *h3<sup>c</sup> n=j wšr nh wnwwt n grh mj pr p(3y)=j b3 r hrt hn<sup>c</sup> n3 b3w n ntrw wrw<sup>24</sup> mj sm3=j*

Leave for me the time of the hours of the night.<sup>25</sup> Let my *ba* go forth to heaven together with those *bas* of the great gods. Let me receive

12) *hwt hn<sup>c</sup> Itm mj kbh.w n=j mw m hwt sr mj p3 sr wr nty m Twnw<sup>26</sup>*

offerings together with Atum. Let water be poured out for me in the mansion of the magistrate, like the great magistrate who is in Heliopolis.

13) *mj k=j r Twnw n grh<sup>27</sup> n ht-h3yt snt hn<sup>c</sup> ntrw ntrwt nb n Šm<sup>c</sup> Mhw jw=j m w<sup>c</sup> jm=sn*

Let me proceed to Heliopolis on the night of offerings upon the altar and on the festival of the sixth day together with all the gods and goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt because I am as one of them.

14) *mj ʕk=j r Wsjr hnty Imntt hnʕ ntrw špsw m grh n hb Hnw ntr p(3y)=j b3*

Let me enter before Osiris, foremost of the West, together with the august gods on the night of the *Henu*-festival. May my *ba* be divine

15) *m hrt hrw<sup>28</sup> mj ʕk=j mj pr=j<sup>29</sup> jw=j m wʕ jm=sn<sup>30</sup>*

daily. Let me enter and let me go forth because I am as one of them.

## §2<sup>31</sup>

15) *j Dḥwty mj hr=k r=j sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw=j*

O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me

16) *r hftyw=j mj sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw Wsjr r hftyw=f<sup>32</sup> m-b3h d3d3t ʕ3t jmyw Twnw grh pfy n ʕh3-ʕ*  
against my enemies, like you justified Osiris against his enemies: before the great tribunal which is in Heliopolis, on that night of the battle

17) *r shr sbjw pfy sḥtm hfty n Nb-dr jm=f<sup>33</sup> j Dḥwty mj hr=k r=j sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw=j r hftyw=j*  
in order to overthrow that rebel and annihilate the enemy of the Lord-of-all with it. O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me against my enemies,

18) *mj sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw Wsjr r hftyw=f m-b3h d3d3t ʕ3t jmyw Hm<sup>34</sup> grh pfy hwt h3wt m Hm<sup>35</sup>*  
like you justified Osiris against his enemies: before the great tribunal which is in Letopolis, on that night of the festival of offerings upon the altar in Letopolis.

19) *j Dḥwty mj hr=k r=j sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw=j r hftyw=j mj sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw Wsjr r hftyw=f m-b3h d3d3t ʕ3t jmyw*

O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me against my enemies, like you justified Osiris against his enemies: before the great tribunal which is in

20) *Ddw grh pfy [n] sʕhʕ dd m Ddw j Dḥwty mj hr=k r=j sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw=j r hftyw=j mj sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw*

Busiris, on that night [of] raising the *Djed*-pillar in Busiris. O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me against my enemies, like you justified

21) *Wsjr r hftyw=f m-b3h d3d3t ʕ3t jmyw P Dp<sup>36</sup> grh pfy n šsp Hr mshnt ntrw*

Osiris against his enemies: before the great tribunal which is in Pe and Dep, on that night when Horus occupied the abode of the gods

22) *smn(.tw) jwʕ n Hr m hwt jt=f Wsjr<sup>37</sup> j Dḥwty mj hr=k r=j sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw=j r hftyw=j mj sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw Wsir r*

and when the inheritance of Horus was confirmed as the property of his father, Osiris. O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me against my enemies, like you justified Osiris against

23) *hftyw=f m-b3h d3d3t 3t jmyw Idbw-Rhty grh pfy n sdr Ist<sup>38</sup> rs hr jkbw hr snj=s*

his enemies: before the great tribunal which is in the Banks of Rekhty, on that night which Isis spent watching over and mourning for her brother,

24) *Wsjr j Dhwtj mj hr=k r=j sm3<sup>c</sup>-hrw=k hrw=j r hftyw=j mj sm3<sup>c</sup>-hrw=k hrw Wsjr r hftyw=f m-b3h d3d3t 3t*

Osiris. O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me against my enemies, like you justified Osiris against his enemies: before the great tribunal

25) *jmyw W3wt M(w)tw grh pfy n jr sjp m jwty(w)=sn j Dhwtj mj hr=k r=j sm3<sup>c</sup>-hrw=k hrw=j r hftyw=j mj sm3<sup>c</sup>-hrw=k hrw*

which is on the Roads of the Dead, on that night of assessing the non-existent. O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me against my enemies, like you justified

26) *Wsjr r hftyw=f m-b3h d3d3t 3t jmyw N-3r=f<sup>39</sup> grh pfy n st3(w) 3 jr w m Hwt-nn-nsw<sup>40</sup>*

Osiris against his enemies: before the great tribunal which is in Naref, on that night of the mysteries of the great of forms in Heracleopolis.

27) *j Dhwtj mj hr=k r=j sm3<sup>c</sup>-hrw=k hrw=j r hftyw=j m-b3h d3d3t 3t jmyw Ddw grh pfy n hbs-t3 3*

O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me against my enemies: before the great tribunal which is in Busiris, on that night of the great Hacking of the Earth festival

28) *m Ddw<sup>41</sup> j Dhwtj mj hr=k r=j sm3<sup>c</sup>-hrw=k hrw=j r hftyw=j m-b3h d3d3t 3t jmyw R3-st3w*  
in Busiris. O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me against my enemies: before the great tribunal which is in Rosetau,

29) *grh pfy n Inpw<sup>42</sup> 3wy=f hr hwt h3 jt=f Wsjr<sup>43</sup>*

on that night of Anubis (with) his hands upon the offerings behind his father, Osiris.

### §3<sup>44</sup>

29) *j Nb-šsp hnty hwt-3t hr=k r=j dj=k n=j r3=j*

O Lord-of-light, foremost of the great mansion, turn your face to me. May you give my mouth to me

30) *mdw=j jm=f sšm=k n=j jb=j<sup>45</sup> m 3t nt nbd jr=k n=j r3=j mdw=j jm=f m-b3h ntr 3 nb dw3t<sup>46</sup> nn šn<sup>c</sup>[.tw=j m]*

so that I may speak with it. May you guide my jb-heart for me in the moment of injury. May you create my mouth for me so that I may speak with it before the great god, lord of the underworld. May [I] not be [turned away from]



31) *pt t3<sup>47</sup> m-b3h d3d3t nt ntr nb ntrt nb(t) jnk b3 n Hr<sup>48</sup> jr ʕhm ht m pr=s*

the sky or the earth before the tribunal of any god or any goddess. I am the *ba* of Horus who extinguishes the flame when it flares up.<sup>49</sup>

#### § 4<sup>50</sup>

31) *j Pth jt ntrw*

O Ptah, father of the gods,

32) [*hr=k r=j*] *wn n=j r3=j wp n=j jrty=j mj jr.t n Skr-Wsjr m hwt-nbw m Inbw-hd j-wn n=j r3=j m md3t*

[(turn) your face to me]. Open my mouth for me. Open my eyes for me like that which was done for Sokar-Osiris in the mansion of gold in Memphis. Open my mouth for me with the *medjat*-chisel

33) [*nt*] *bj3 j-wpj=k r3(w) n ntrw jm=s jnk b3 n Shmt<sup>51</sup> nt(y) hms hr jmy-wrt nt pt srwd=k rn=j* [of] iron with which you opened the mouths of the gods. I am the *ba* of Sekhmet who dwells on the west side of the sky. May you make my name flourish

34) [*mj Wsjr*] *hnty Imntt tnw=k wj<sup>52</sup> hnt ntrw p3wtyw<sup>53</sup> jr=k n=j jb=j m pr jbw h3ty=j m pr h3tyw*

[like Osiris], foremost of the West. May you promote me to the head of the primordial gods. May you create my *jb*-heart for me in the house of *jb*-hearts and my *h3ty*-heart in the house of *h3ty*-hearts.

35) [*jr=k n=j*] *jb=j htp<sup>54</sup> hr st=f h3ty=j smn hr mkt=f<sup>55</sup> dj=k n=j r3=j r mdw rdwy=j r sm<sup>56</sup> ʕwy=j*

[May you make for me] my *jb*-heart rest in its place and my *h3ty*-heart established in its proper position. May you give to me my mouth in order to speak, my legs in order to walk, and my arms

36) [*r shr*] *hftyw=j<sup>57</sup> j-wn <n=j> ʕwy m pt<sup>58</sup> mj jr=k n ntrw ntrwt<sup>59</sup> mj wn n=j Inpw n3 sbhwt n t3 dw3t<sup>60</sup>*

[in order to overthrow] my enemies. Open <for me> the double doors in the sky like that which you do for the gods and goddesses. Let Anubis open for me the portals of the underworld.

37) *mj jr=j wʕ m šms Wsjr sš wdʔ<sup>61</sup> m-hnw hwt-k3-Pth<sup>62</sup> r tm šnʕ nmt=j<sup>63</sup> m hrt-ntr r dj(t) jr=j mr k3=j*

Let me become one in the following of Osiris. May a decree be written in the mansion-of-the-*ka*-of-Ptah so that my movements will not be turned away in the god's domain, in order to cause that I do that which my *ka* desires

38) *m pt t3*<sup>64</sup> *r dj(t) hn b3=j hr-tp t3 mr jb=j*<sup>65</sup>

in the sky and earth, in order to cause that my *ba* alight upon the earth <according to> that which my *jb*-heart desires.

## § 5<sup>66</sup>

38) *(j jb=j)*<sup>67</sup> *jnk nb=k nn w3=k r=j r<sup>c</sup> nb m wdwt n T3-nn wr*

(O my *jb*-heart), I am your master and you shall not be far from me every day by the decree of Ta(te)nen the great.

39) *s<sub>d</sub>m n=j*<sup>68</sup> *jb=j ds=j jw=k m ht=j nn w3=k*<sup>69</sup> *r=j*<sup>70</sup> *jnk pfy jr.w wdwt h3t=f m hwt-k3-Pth*<sup>71</sup>  
*jw=w s<sub>d</sub>m n=f*

Listen to me my very own *jb*-heart, while you are in my body: you shall not be far from me. I am he before whom a decree is made in the mansion-of-the-*ka*-of-Ptah and one should listen to it

40) *m hrt-ntr*<sup>72</sup> *nn jt.tw jb=j m-<sup>c</sup>=j jn <sup>c</sup>h3w m 'Twnw jnk pfy jr 'Itm gnwt h3t=f hr p3 jsd šps*<sup>73</sup>

in the god's domain. My *jb*-heart shall not be taken away from me by the warriors in Heliopolis. I am that one before whom Atum inscribes annals under the august balanites-tree

41) *m 'Twnw m sš n D<sub>h</sub>wty ds=f jw jr=j wnny m-hnw jrt=j*<sup>74</sup> *r šm m grh m hrw jw m33 stwt=f*<sup>75</sup>  
*r<sup>c</sup> nb*

in Heliopolis by the writing of Thoth himself. I create light within my eyes in order to walk at night and at day, and to see his rays every day.

## § 6<sup>76</sup>

41) *(j) jb=j*

(O) my *jb*-heart

42) *mwt=j sp 2*<sup>77</sup> *h3ty=j smn hr mkt=f dd n=j 'Itm nfrw=f swd=f tw(j) n Nhb-k3(w)*<sup>78</sup> *dj=f s3h=j t3 m*<sup>79</sup>

of my mother, my *jb*-heart of my mother. My *h3ty*-heart is established in its proper place. Atum tells to me his perfection. May he commend me to Nehebkau. May he cause that I reach the earth in

43) *3ht nt pt nn dj=f mt=j m hrt-ntr*<sup>80</sup> *ntr=f b3=j s3h=f h3t=j s<sup>c</sup>nh=f h<sup>c</sup>w=j m whm dd (w)j 'Itm*  
the horizon of the sky. May he cause that I not die in the god's domain. May he divinize my *ba*. May he glorify my corpse. May he make my body live again. May Atum place me

44) *r wj3 n R<sup>c</sup> dj=f jr=j hprw nb mr=j dj=f n=j r3=j mdw=j jm=f dj=f whm=j <sup>c</sup>nh<sup>81</sup> mj R<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup> nb wd3=j wd3 R<sup>c</sup> ts phr<sup>82</sup>*

in the bark of Re. May he cause that I assume any form I desire. May he give to me my mouth so that I may speak with it. May he cause that I repeat life like Re every day. If I prosper, Re will prosper, and vice versa.

45) *jw šnw=j m Nwn jw hr=j m R<sup>c</sup> jw jrty=j m Hwt-hr jw msdrwy(=j) m Wp-w3wt jw fnd=j m Hnty-Hm*

My hair is as Nun. My face is as Re. My eyes are as Hathor. (My) ears are as Wepwawet. My nose is as Khenty-Khem.

46) *jw spt=j m Inpw jw jbh<sup>w</sup>=j m Srkt jw nhbt=j m Ist Nbt-hwt<sup>83</sup> jw <sup>c</sup>wy=j m B3-nb-dd jw šnbt=j [m Nt nbt] S3w*

My lips are as Anubis. My teeth are as Serqet. My neck is as Isis and Nephthys. My arms are as Banebdjed. My chest [is as Neith, the lady] of Sais.

47) *jw psd=j m n3 nbw Hr-<sup>c</sup>h3 [jw ht=j] n Shmt jw hpšw=j<sup>84</sup> m Irt Hr<sup>85</sup> jw mnty=j m Nwt jw rdwy=j m Pth*

My back is as the lords of Kher-Aha. [My belly] is of Sekhmet. My thighs are as the Eye of Horus. My calves are as Nut. My legs are as Ptah.

48) *jw s3hw=j m j<sup>c</sup>r<sup>c</sup>wt <sup>c</sup>nhw<sup>86</sup> nn <sup>c</sup>t jm[=j] šw m ntr Dhwtj m s3 n h<sup>c</sup>w=j jwf=j tm n <sup>c</sup>nh r<sup>c</sup> nb nn hf<sup>c</sup>.tw(=j)*

My toes are as a living uraeus. No limb of [mine] is without a god, and Thoth is as the protector of my body. My flesh is full of life every day. (I) shall not be grasped

49) *hr <sup>c</sup>wy=j nn 3m.tw(=j) hr drt=j<sup>87</sup> smn<sup>88</sup> n h3 n rnpwt rn=j hnd=j<sup>89</sup> m pt m t3 jw snd=j m ht n n3 ntrw*

by my arms. (I) shall not be seized by my hands. “One who is established for millions of years” is my name. I shall tread in the sky and on earth. Fear of me is in the body of the gods.

50) *jt(=j)<sup>90</sup> pw Gb mwt(=j) pw Nwt Wsjr hnty Imntt rn=j jnk Hr hnty h3 n hb-sd h3 nst=f n t3 nb jnk wr b3<sup>91</sup>*

Geb is (my) father and Nut is (my) mother. “Osiris, foremost of the West” is my name. I am Horus, foremost of millions of jubilees, ruler of his throne in every land. I am the great one, the *ba* of

51) *(sic) wr <sup>c</sup>3 b3 (sic) <sup>c</sup>3 jnk Hr jw<sup>c</sup> n R<sup>c</sup> <sup>92</sup> jnk shm n jt=f Wsjr <sup>93</sup> jnk t3w n Šw hn<sup>c</sup> Tfnwt jnk ms n Gb*

the great *ba* of the great one. I am Horus, the heir of Re. I am the image of his father, Osiris. I am the male child of Shu together with Tefnut. I am the child of Geb

52) *hn<sup>c</sup> Nwt jnk b3 šps m W3st Imn rn=j jnk Dḥwty* (or: *ntr*) <sup>94</sup> *m t3 nb ḥ<sup>c</sup>=j m nsw ntrw nn mt=j m wḥm m ḥrt-ntr*

together with Nut. I am the august *ba* in Thebes and “Amun” is my name. I am Thoth (or: a god) in every land, and I appear as king of the gods. I shall not die again in the god’s domain.

## § 7<sup>95</sup>

53) *j ntr nb ntrt nb(t) ḥr(w)=tn r=j jnk jt=tn wnn=j m šmsw Wsjr<sup>96</sup> nmt.n=j m pt wb3.n=j m t3 š3js.n=j t3*

O all gods and every goddess, (turn) your faces to me. I am your father. I am in the following of Osiris. I have journeyed through the sky. I have opened the earth. I have traversed the land

### Column II

1) *r nmt 3ḥw špsw<sup>97</sup> jnk ʕpr ḥḥ R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3ḥty rn=j jnk*

at the paces of the august spirits. I am equipped with millions (of word-powers),<sup>98</sup> and “Re-Horakhty” is my name. I am

2) *ntr nb dw3t pr=j m 3ḥt<sup>99</sup> r ḥfty=j nn nḥm=f m-<sup>c</sup>=j m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw=j mj nb wrt*

the god, lord of the underworld. I shall go forth from the horizon against my enemy. He shall not be rescued from me. I shall be justified like the lord of the white-crown.

3) *twn=j rdwy=j m dwn ḥ<sup>c</sup>=j šḥr ḥftyw=j r<sup>c</sup> nb*

I shall extend my legs in movement. I shall arise and overthrow my enemies every day.

4) *ḥms=j m pt nḥt=j m Dḥwty<sup>100</sup> wsr=j m Itm šm=j m rdwy=j mdw=j m*

I shall appear in the sky. I shall be as strong as Thoth. I shall be as mighty as Atum. I shall walk with my legs. I shall speak with

5) *r3=j m33=j m jrty=j sdm=j m ʕnhwy=j jnk nb ʕnh wḥm ʕnh*

my mouth. I shall see with my eyes. I shall hear with my ears. I am the lord of life who repeats life.

6) *ʕnh jr w rn=j jnk rw<sup>101</sup> jnk Rwtj jnk smsw n R<sup>c</sup>-Itm*

“The one who lives on rites” is my name. I am the lion. I am Ruty. I am the eldest son of Re-Atum.

7) *ḥ<sup>c</sup>=j ḥr ḥ<sup>c</sup>t n wj3 n R<sup>c</sup> šsp=j ḥ3tt m (m)sktt*

I shall stand at the prow of the bark of Re. I shall seize the rudder in the *mesketet*-bark.<sup>102</sup>

## § 8<sup>103</sup>

7) *j 'Imn mj t3w*

O Amun, give

8) *ndm r fnd=j jnk s3=k šps<sup>104</sup> n m3t jnk swht twy nt ngg wr*

sweet air to my nose. I am your august son, truly. I am this egg of the great cackler.

9) *s3=j swht twy 3t wp=n Gb r t3 nh=j nh=s ts-phr*

I shall guard this great egg which Geb separated from the earth. If I live, it lives, and vice versa.

10) *nhh=s nhh=j ts-phr snsn=s snsn=j ts-phr wd<sup>c</sup> b rn=j*

If it grows old, I grow old, and vice versa. If it breathes, I breathe, and vice versa. “The one who is judged pure” is my name.

11) *s3w=tn s3w r=j jmyw dw3t jnk jmy sš=f m hb šps<sup>105</sup>*

You shall beware, beware of me those who are in the underworld. I am the one who is in his nest as an august ibis.

12) *Dhwtj rn=j j 'Imn dj=k t3w ndm r fnd=j jnk b3=k šps pr jm=k*

“Thoth” is my name. O Amun, you shall give sweet air to my nose. I am your august *ba* who came forth from you.

13) *mj nh=j mj snsn=j t3w=k<sup>106</sup> jnk hb šps m-hnw sš=k*

Let me live, let me breathe your air. I am the august ibis within your nest.

14) *jnk nb jm3h hr R<sup>c</sup>*

I am the possessor of honour before Re.

## § 9<sup>107</sup>

14) *j H<sup>c</sup>py wr n pt<sup>108</sup> hr=k r=j nn w3=k r=j<sup>109</sup>*

O Hapy, great one of the sky, (turn) your face to me. You shall not be far from me.

15) *jnk b3 n ntrw<sup>110</sup> wrw mj (n=j) kbh m mw n rnp r<sup>c</sup> nb<sup>111</sup> kbh=k jb=j m hbbt dj=k<sup>112</sup>*

I am the *ba* of the great gods. Give (to me) a libation of the water of rejuvenation every day and refresh my *jb*-heart with the inundation that you give.

16) *sh<sup>m</sup>=j m mw<sup>113</sup> mj Shmt dj=k j3w=j mj Wsjr m W3st<sup>114</sup> nst=j*

I shall have access to water like Sekhmet. You shall cause that I grow old like Osiris in Thebes. My throne

17) *n Twnw ḥms=j m Inbw-ḥd pr(=j) n Wnw Bḥ st=j sp3t nbt hr wdt=j*

is in Heliopolis. I reside in Memphis. (My) house is Unu and Bahu. My place is every nome under my command.

18) *mj (n=j) mw<sup>115</sup> r-ḥ3t ntrw jnk ḥpr m sp tpy<sup>116</sup> jnk Rsyt jnk Mḥtt jnk Imntt*

Give (to me) water at the forefront of the gods. I am one who came into existence on the first occasion. I am the South. I am the North. I am the West.

19) *jnḳ Ibtt<sup>117</sup> nm jrww mj k(3)y=j wpw-ḥr=k*

I am the East. Who thereof is like my nature except for you?

## § 10<sup>118</sup>

19) *(j) Ḥḥpy wr mj n=j mw*

(O) Hapy the great, give to me the water

20) *t3w jm=k<sup>119</sup> jnk shn st hr-jb Trt Rḥ<sup>120</sup> rwd=k rwd=j ts-phr ḥnh=k*

and the air (which comes forth) from you. I am one who occupies the place in the middle of the Eye of Re. If you flourish, I flourish, and vice versa. If you live,

21) *ḥnh=j ts-phr<sup>121</sup> dj=k n=j mw sns=n j kbb=k jm<sup>122</sup>*

I live, and vice versa. You shall give to me water. I shall receive your freshness therein.

## § 11<sup>123</sup>

21) *(j) Ḥḥpy wr*

(O) Hapy the great,

22) *mj s3w=j m ḥbbt=k jnk ḥḥ ḥms m Ḥḥpy wr shm=j jm=f r-djt jb=j<sup>124</sup>*

let me be sated with your inundation. I am one who stands up and sits down as Hapy the great. I shall have power over it by means of my *jb*-heart.

23) *dj=k shm=j m kbḥ=k jpww wrw m kbḥ ndm jnk Nb-dr jnk Itm jnk*

You shall cause that I have power over this your great libation and over the sweet libation. I am the Lord-of-all. I am Atum. I am

24) *[Hpr]j jnk smsw n Rḥ jnk hb šps jnk Ḥḥpy b3<sup>125</sup> tpy n Wsjr*

[Khepr]i. I am the eldest son of Re. I am the august ibis. I am Hapy, the first *ba* of Osiris.

25) *jnḳ pr m Nwn jnk Rḥ<sup>126</sup> jnk ḥw pt ḥnḥ Pth<sup>127</sup> jnk ḥy r*

I am one who comes forth from Nun. I am Re. I am one who raises the sky together with Ptah. I am one who ascends to

26) *nnt*<sup>128</sup> *šm=j hr t3 hrp=j m Nwn šm.n=j m wj3*

heaven. I shall walk upon earth. I shall be immersed in Nun. I have set out in the bark

27) *n R<sup>c</sup> 129 jwr tw(j) Šhmt ms tw(j) Nwt<sup>130</sup> jnk Dhwtj mh wd3t jnk hb*

of Re. Sekhmet conceives me and Nut creates me. I am Thoth who fills the *wedjat*-eye. I am the ibis

28) *pr m Pth<sup>131</sup> jw wn n=j pt jw wn n=j t3 shm=j m jb=j shm=j*

who goes forth from Ptah. The sky shall open for me, and the earth shall open for me. I shall have power over my *jb*-heart. I shall have power

29) *m h3ty=j<sup>132</sup> shm=j m wy=j shm=j m r3=j shm=j*

over my *h3ty*-heart. I shall have power over my arms. I shall have power over my mouth. I shall have power

30) *m wt=j jrw shm=j m prt-hrw<sup>133</sup> shm=j m mw m hbbt shm=j m jrt=j*

over my whole limbs. I shall have power over the invocation-offering. I shall have power over water and over the inundation. I shall have power over my eyes

31) *m t3 shm=j m jrt=j m hrt-ntr<sup>134</sup> nh=j m t3 m Gb snb=j m mw*

upon earth. I shall have power over my eyes in the god's domain. I shall live on the bread of Geb. I shall be healthy from the water

32) *m H<sup>c</sup>py h<sup>c</sup>=j m hnkt sm=j<sup>135</sup> m jrtt ws<sup>c</sup>=j m jrp*

of Hapy. I shall rise by means of beer. I shall swallow milk. I shall consume wine

33) *šdh<sup>136</sup> šsp=j sns<sup>n</sup><sup>137</sup> m k3p sntr<sup>138</sup> jnk ntr <sup>c</sup>3<sup>139</sup> pr m*

and *shedeh*-brew. I shall receive breath by means of kyphi and incense. I am the great god come forth from

34) *stwt n R<sup>c</sup><sup>140</sup> t3w n Imn mw n H<sup>c</sup>py nnk st dt<sup>141</sup>*

the sunbeams of Re. The air of Amun and the water of Hapy: they are mine eternally.

### **Verso:**

(In demotic): *t3 š<sup>c</sup>t n sns<sup>n</sup> nty šm hr d3d3=f*

The Document of Breathing which goes under his head.

### 3.3. The Second Book of Breathing (pBritish Museum EA 10110 + 10111)

#### *Recto:*

Column I

#### § 1

1) *hr=f n Wsjr s3wtyw pr-hd n pr Imn hm-ntr n pr-nbw<sup>142</sup> Imn*

Thus speaks the Osiris, guardian of the treasury of the House of Amun, prophet of the treasury of Amun,

2) *P(3)y=f-t3w-ꜥwy-Mntw m3ꜥ-hrw ms n Ns-wrt m3ꜥ-hrw j Rꜥ jnk s3=k<sup>143</sup>*

Payef-tjawy-Montu, justified, born of Nesweret, justified: O Re, I am your son.

3) *j Dhwtj jnk mr=k<sup>144</sup> j Wsjr jnk shm=k<sup>145</sup> j [nb] Hmnw jnk jwꜥ=k m*

O Thoth, I am your beloved. O Osiris, I am your power (or: image). O [lord] of Hermopolis, I am your heir in

4) *m3ꜥt<sup>146</sup> j Hr-3hty<sup>147</sup> j Psdt ꜥ3t j Psdt ndst<sup>148</sup> mj rwd rn=j*

truth. O Horakhty, O greater Ennead, O lesser Ennead, let my name flourish

5) *m-hnw sp3wt r nhꜥ dt*

within the nomes for ever and eternally.

6) *mj rwd rn=j m-hnw W3st m-hnw sp3wt r nhꜥ dt<sup>149</sup>*

Let my name flourish within Thebes and within the nomes for ever and eternally,

7) *mj rwd rn n Itm<sup>150</sup> nb Twnw m Twnw*

like the name of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, flourishes in Heliopolis;

8) *mj rwd rn n Šw m Mnst hrt m Twnw<sup>151</sup>*

like the name of Shu flourishes in the upper *Menset*-sanctuary in Heliopolis;

9) *mj rwd rn n Tfn(w)t m Mnst hrt m Twnw<sup>152</sup>*

like the name of Tefnut flourishes in the lower *Menset*-sanctuary in Heliopolis;

10) *mj rwd rn n Gb m bw šm3w<sup>153</sup>*

like the name of Geb flourishes in the place of foreigners;

11) *mj rwd rn n Nwt m hwt Šnw<sup>154</sup>*

like the name of Nut flourishes in the mansion of Shenu;

12) *mj rwd rn n Wsjr hnty Imntt m 3bdw<sup>155</sup>*

like the name of Osiris, foremost of the West, flourishes in Abydos;



13) *mj rwd rn n 'Ist m T3-wr*<sup>156</sup>

like the name of Isis flourishes in Ta-wer;

14) *mj rwd rn n Hr m P*<sup>157</sup>

like the name of Horus flourishes in Pe;

15) *mj rwd rn n W3dyt m Dp*<sup>158</sup>

like the name of Wadjyt flourishes in Dep;

16) *mj rwd rn n Nbt-hwt m Twnw*<sup>159</sup>

like the name of Nephthys flourishes in Heliopolis;

17) *mj rwd rn n B3-nb-dd m pr B3-nb-dd*<sup>160</sup>

like the name of Banebdjed flourishes in the house of Banebdjed;

18) *mj rwd rn n Dhwtj m Hmnw*<sup>161</sup>

like the name of Thoth flourishes in Heliopolis;

19) *mj rwd rn n Mntw 4 m-hnw njwt=sn*<sup>162</sup>

like the name of the four Montus flourish within their town;

20) *mj rwd rn n Hnmw m 3bw*<sup>163</sup>

like the name of Khnum flourishes in Elephantine;

21) *mj rwd rn n Hr-wr m Nwbt*<sup>164</sup>

like the name of Haroeris flourishes in Ombos;

22) *mj rwd rn n Hr-Bhdty m Db3*<sup>165</sup>

like the name of Horus-Behedty flourishes in Edfu;

23) *mj rwd rn n Nhbt m Nhbt*<sup>166</sup>

like the name of Nekhbet flourishes in El Kab;

24) *mj rwd rn n n3 ntrw nbw m W3st*<sup>167</sup>

like the name of all the gods flourish in Thebes;

25) *mj rwd rn n Hr-wr nb Šm<sup>c</sup> m-hnw Gsj*<sup>168</sup>

like the name of Haroeris, lord of Upper Egypt, flourishes within Qus;

26) *mj rwd rn n 'Ist m Ntr-šm<sup>c</sup>*<sup>169</sup>

like the name of Isis flourishes in Coptos;

27) *mj rwd rn n Hwt-hr m 'Ikr*<sup>170</sup>

like the name of Hathor flourishes in Iqer;

28) *mj rwd rn n Nfr-ḥtp m Ḥwt-šḥmw*<sup>171</sup>

like the name of Neferhotep flourishes in Diospolis Parva;

29) *mj rwd rn n Mnw m Ḳpw*<sup>172</sup>

like the name of Min flourishes in Akhmim;

30) *mj rwd rn n Nmty m W3dyt*<sup>173</sup>

like the name of Nemty flourishes in Wadjyt;

31) *mj rwd rn n Wp-w3wt m S3wtj*<sup>174</sup>

like the name of Wepwawet flourishes in Asyut;

32) *mj rwd rn n Ḥwt-ḥr m Ḳs*<sup>175</sup>

like the name of Hathor flourishes in Cusae;

33) *mj rwd rn n Hr m Ḥbnw*<sup>176</sup>

like the name of Horus flourishes in Hebenu;

34) *mj rwd rn n Ḳnpw m Ḥr-dw*<sup>177</sup>

like the name of Anubis flourishes in Hardai;

35) *mj rwd rn n Ḥr-šfy m Ḥwt-nn-nsw*<sup>178</sup>

like the name of Harsaphes flourishes in Heracleopolis;

36) *mj rwd rn n Sbk m Mr-wr*

like the name of Sobek flourishes in Moeris;

37) *mj rwd rn n Pth-Šhmt-Nfr-tm m-ḥnw Ḳnbw-ḥd*<sup>179</sup>

like the name of Ptah-Sekhmet-Nefertem flourishes within Memphis.

## Column II

### § 2

1) *jw=j ḥꜥ.kwj*<sup>180</sup> *m hb ʕ3 pr m ḥet*<sup>181</sup> *n mwt=j*<sup>182</sup> *jw=j m šḥm*

I am risen as a great ibis come forth from the womb of my mother. I am as an image

2) *n Wsjr Wn-nfr m3ꜥ-ḥrw*<sup>183</sup> *Dḥwty ḥr.tw*<sup>184</sup> *r rn=j jw=j m hb m mḥ 5 jw*

of Osiris-Wennefer, justified. “Thoth” is said for my name. I am as an ibis of five cubits.

3) *psd=j m w3d Šmꜥ jw=j m ntr wr pr m (m)sktt jw=j m ḥd*

My back is as Upper Egyptian malachite. I am as the great god come forth from the *mesketet*-bark. I am as the silver

4) *pr hr dw Tbt<sup>185</sup> k=j (m)sktt hnd=j m<sup>c</sup>ndt jw=j*

come forth from the mountain of the East. I shall enter the *mesketet*-bark. I shall board the *mandjet*-bark, since I am

5) *m snw n R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty<sup>186</sup> dj=w n=j j3w jmyw<sup>187</sup> wj3<sup>188</sup> sn t3*

as the second of Re-Horakhty. They shall give to me adoration, those who are in the bark, while the earth is kissed

6) *jn jst R<sup>c</sup> k=j hs.tw pr=j mr.tw m dw3t nt hwt<sup>189</sup>*

by the crew of Re. I shall enter praised and go forth beloved in the underworld of the mansion of

7) *bnbn dd=w n=j dwn twk ndm jb=k wstn nmtt=j<sup>190</sup>*

the *benben*-stone. They shall say to me: “Stand up! May your *jb*-heart be glad!” My step is broad

8) *m k3r st3 h<sup>c</sup>=j m mwt=j m Hr nfr n nbw<sup>191</sup> m hb*

in the secret sanctuary. I shall appear from my mother as a beautiful Horus of gold and as an ibis

9) *km h3t ph k=j<sup>192</sup> r Wsjr sdm=f mdw=j m pr=j m*

black in front and rear. I shall enter before Osiris. He shall hear my words as I come forth from

10) *ht hn<sup>c</sup>=f<sup>193</sup> dj=f n=j c3 wsr jm=f<sup>194</sup> jw=j m nb hrw sc<sup>c</sup> hprw*

the womb together with him. He shall give to me the greatness and the power in him since I am as the lord of appearances (lit: faces), numerous of forms.

11) *sm<sup>c</sup>=j hwt hn<sup>c</sup> Itm hms=j hr nn<sup>195</sup> nw*

I shall consume offerings together with Atum. I shall sit down for the oblations of

12) *Sw<sup>196</sup> sp=j kbh hn<sup>c</sup> Wsjr 3h=j hn<sup>c</sup>=f r ntr<sup>197</sup> nb kbh*

Shu. I shall receive a libation together with Osiris. I shall be glorious together with him more than any god.

13) *n=j n3 nbw kbh<sup>198</sup> wy(=j) hr hwt m hrt hrw nt r<sup>c</sup> nb*

Those lords of libation shall pour a libation for me. (My) arms shall be full of offerings in the course of every day.

### § 3<sup>199</sup>

14) *j Imn mj n=j t3w ndm<sup>200</sup> jnk s3=k mr=k<sup>201</sup> j R<sup>c</sup> mj n=j*

O Amun, give to me the sweet air, (for) I am your beloved son. O Re, give to me

15) *stwt=k mj m33=j twk m hrt hrw nt r<sup>c</sup> nb j H<sup>c</sup>py*  
your rays, let me see you in the course of every day. O Hapy,

16) *mj n=j kbh Nprj<sup>202</sup> mi n=j t3*  
give to me a libation. Nepri, give to me bread.

17) *Mnkt mj n=j hnkt 3ht mj n=j jrtt<sup>203</sup>*  
Menqet, give to me beer. Akhet-cow, give to me milk.

18) *wy=j 3w r šsp prt-hrw t3 hnkt k3w 3pdw<sup>204</sup>*  
My arms are raised in order to receive an invocation-offering of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl.

19) *jnk pr m ht hn<sup>c</sup> Wsjr nn hr=j r=f m hrt-ntr<sup>205</sup>*  
I am one who comes forth from the womb together with Osiris. I shall not be distant from him in the god's domain.

20) *mj n=j nh n3 nbw nh<sup>206</sup> jnk hb whm nh*  
Give to me life, those lords of life, (for) I am an ibis whose life is renewed.

21) *Dhwtj k3.tw m rn=j nh ntrw nbw m dm rn=j r nh dt<sup>207</sup>*  
“Thoth” shall be uttered as my name and all the gods shall live by pronouncing my name for ever and eternally.

#### § 4

Additional text (unparalleled in any other Second Book of Breathing)

22) *r3-<sup>c</sup>wy r=k nty s3=k mr=k k3w=f r bw hr k3=k*  
The activity in your favour is that of your beloved son; his work is at the place carrying your *ka*.<sup>208</sup>

23) *ndm (?) m r3=f r rdj(t) st m-b3h=k hr 3 wr n mnhw=k mj jr*  
Sweet (?) at its opening in order to place them before you. Great is the greatness of your efficacy, like that which is done by

24) *jt n h3w(=f) r s<sup>c</sup>nh=sn m dj=f n=sn wr.wy nn*  
a father for (his) children in order to make them live by means of that which he gives to them. How great is that which is

25) *ht m db<sup>c</sup>w=f r-nty wn m htp ndm jb=k m bw m3<sup>c</sup>*  
inscribed with his fingers, namely: “Be in peace.” May your *jb*-heart be glad in the place of truth.

**Verso:**

(In demotic):  $t3 \text{ } \check{s}^c t \text{ } n \text{ } snsn \text{ } mh \text{ } 2.t \text{ } nty \text{ } iw=w \text{ } r \text{ } h3^c-s \text{ } i-ir \text{ } rdwy\check{t} \text{ } Wsir \text{ } s3wt(y)w \text{ } [pr-h\check{d}] \text{ } n \text{ } pr \text{ } Imn \text{ } irm$   
 $n3y=frpyw \text{ } rh \text{ } ihy^{209} \text{ } wr \text{ } [mh(wt)=f]^{210}$

The Second Document of Breathing which one should place at the feet of (?) the Osiris, guardian [of the treasury] of the House of Amun and of his temples, the most talented of [his clan].

## Notes:

<sup>1</sup> These notes largely follow those of Herbin 2008 who has compiled most copies of the texts and already pointed out many of their differences.

<sup>2</sup> This section is missing from pLouvre N 3279. It has also been abridged in pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10123, pBM EA 10125, pBM EA 10194, pBM EA 10199, pBM EA 10283, pBM EA 10303, pBM EA 10337, pBM EA 71513B, pBM EA 71513C, pCairo CG 58007, pCairo CG 58009, and pCairo 58014. Passages have also been omitted in pBN 151, pFlorence 3662, pLouvre N 3176 F, pLouvre N 3176 G, and pLouvre SN (see Herbin 2008, 52-58).

<sup>3</sup> For this construction, see Stadler 2001, 338-339; Herbin 2008, 52 (I, 1); and Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010, 191.

<sup>4</sup> In pBM EA 10194 (I, 1-2) this opening passage is replaced by the expression *h3y Wsjr N dd mdw hr jt=f Wsjr hnty Imntt* “Hail, the Osiris N. Words to be recited to his father, the foremost of the West” (see Herbin 2008, 134-135 with pls. 108-109; Caminos, 1993, 109 with fig. 1 on 107). Placed before this passage in pBerlin 3028 (I, 1), pBN 151 (I, 1), pFlorence 3662 (I, 1), pLouvre N 3148 (III, x + 12), and pVienna 3870 (I, 1) is the full title of the work: *t3 šct n sns n (mh l.t) nty jw=w h3c-s hr d3d3t n p(3) ntr dd mdw* “The (First) Document of Breathing which one should place under the head of the god. Words to be recited” (see Herbin 2008, 52).

<sup>5</sup> *Rc-Hr-3hty* “Re-Horakhty” in pBM EA 10194 (I, 2-3) (see *ibid*, 134-135 with pls. 108-109). *Wsjr* “Osiris” in pBN 246 (I, 1) (Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010, 189 with pl. VII).

<sup>6</sup> *Wsjr hnty Imntyw ntr 3 nb 3bdw* “Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos” in pEdinburgh A. 212.113.4 (I, 1-2) (see Coenen 2004a, 107 with pl. 6).

<sup>7</sup> pBM EA 10337 (I, 2), pBM EA 71513A (I, 2), pBM EA 71513B (I, 1), pBM EA 71513C (I, 2-3), pBerlin 3028 (I, 6), pBerlin 3030 (I, 6), pBerlin 3052 (I, 1-2), pBN 151 (I, 3), pBN 246 (I, 2), pFlorence 3662 (I, 3), pLouvre N 3148 (I, 13-14), pLouvre N 3176 E (I, 2), pTurin 1861 C (I, 1-2), and pVienna 3870 (I, 3) all put: *m grh m hrw* “during the night and during the day” here. However, pBM EA 10199 (I, 2-3), pCairo CG 58009 (I, 3-4), pCairo CG 58014 (I, 2-3), Louvre E 3865 (I, 5-6), and Louvre SN (I, 1-2) extend this passage by putting: *m grh m hrw m nw nb nty rc nb* “during the night and during the day, at every moment of every day.” On the other hand, pLouvre N 3176 A (I, 1-2) reads: *jnk Wsjr hnty Imntt ntr 3 nb 3bdw m grh m hrw* “I am Osiris, foremost of the West, great god, lord of Abydos, during the night and during the day;” while pVatican Inv. 38599 (I, 2-3) has: *j Rc m hct=fj Itm m htp=fj Wsjr hnty Imntt nb 3bdw* “O Re at his rising, O Atum at his setting, O Osiris, foremost of the West, lord of Abydos.” Also added to the end of this passage in pBM 10109 (I, 2-3) is the expression: *jnk hb km tp hd ht hsb d psd jnk p3w jr=w wdt hct=fm Twnw r sdm hrw=fm Imn-shrw* “I am an ibis with a black head, white breast, and a blue back. I am he before whom a decree is made in Heliopolis so that his voice will be heard in *Imn-shrw*” (see Herbin 2008, 52-53).

<sup>8</sup> *hr=tn r=j*: This is an abbreviated form of the expression *mj hr=tn r=j* “Give your face towards me” (see *ibid*, 53).

<sup>9</sup> *s3=tn r=j n3 s3ww n dw3t jw wn n=j n3 s3ww n pr Hnw* “Be on your guard against me, these guardians of the underworld, (for) these guardians of the house of *Henu* are open to me” in pCairo CG 58015 (I, 3-4), pCairo CG 58016 (I, 4-5), and pCairo CG 58019 (I, 2-4). Also added to the end of this passage in pCairo CG 58009 (I, 7-8) is: *mj k=j mj pr=j mj jr=j w<sup>c</sup> n-jm=tn* “May I come, may I go, may I be one of you” (*ibid*, 53).

<sup>10</sup> This passage, *hr=k n=j Inpw ... t3 dw3t*, is absent in pLouvre N 3176 F, pBM EA 10283, and pBM EA 10303 (*ibid*, 53).

<sup>11</sup> *n3 ntrw mds-w-jrty* in pBN 246 (Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010, 189 with pl. VIII).

<sup>12</sup> *hr=tn r=j Hwt-hr hnt Imntt M3<sup>t</sup> hn=w n=s Imntyw* “(Turn) your face to me, Hathor, mistress of the West, and Ma’at, to whom the Westerners have been entrusted(?)” in pBerlin 3052 (I, 3-4); [*hr=tn r=j n3*] *ntrw n t3 dw3t drw ntrw mds-w-jrty jmyw-ht Wsjr* “[ (Turn) your faces to me, these] gods of the underworld, and all gods with sharp eyes who are in the retinue of Osiris” in pBM EA 10125 (I, 6); and *hr=tn r=j n3 ntrw mds-w ntrwt jmyw-ht Wsjr* “(Turn) your faces to me, these gods with sharp eyes and goddesses who are in the retinue of Osiris” in pBM EA 10337 (I, 4), pBM EA 71513A (I, 4-5), pLouvre SN (I, 4), pLouvre N 3176 F (I, 3), and pTurin 1861 C (I, 3) (Herbin 2008, 53-54).

<sup>13</sup> pCairo CG 58009 (I, 9-11) replaces this passage entirely for a completely different one: *mj k=j r wsh<sup>t</sup> ww M3<sup>t</sup> mj jr=j w<sup>c</sup> m šms Skr jw=j m w<sup>c</sup> n-jm=sn htp dj nsw w<sup>c</sup>b.kwi* “Let me enter into the hall of the region of Ma’at, let me be in the service of Sokar, (for) I am as one of them. A boon which the king gives. I am in a state of purity” (*ibid*, 54).

<sup>14</sup> *hr=tn r=j n3 ntrw nty rs r Wsjr mj k=j mj pr=j mj sns=j jw=j m w<sup>c</sup> jm=sn* “(Turn) your faces to me, these gods who watch over Osiris. Let me enter, let me go, let me breathe, (for) I am as one of them” in pBM EA 10303 (I, 6-9) (see *ibid*, 83 with pls. 44-45). Also inserted after this passage in pLouvre N 3176 G (I, 8-13) is a similar expression: *jw mj <ntr> p(3y=j) b3 m hrt hrw jw mj k=j mj pr=j mj w<sup>c</sup> n-jm=w jw mj skbh<sup>w</sup> mw m hwt sr [...]* “Let (my) *ba* be <divinized> every day. Let me enter, let me go, like somebody who is as one of them. Let there be made a libation of water in the mansion of the Prince [...]” (*ibid*, 55).

<sup>15</sup> *R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty ntr 3* in pBM EA 71513A (I, 7) and pBM EA 71513B (I, 4) (*ibid*, 114-115 with pls. 86-87, and 87-88 with pls. 53-54 respectively).

<sup>16</sup> This entire passage, *jnk jt=tn R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty jw pr=tn jm=f m sp tpy*, has been replaced in pLouvre E 3865 (II, 3-4) with *jnk hb pr m sp tpy* “I am the ibis which came forth at the first time” (*ibid*, 55).

<sup>17</sup> pLouvre E 3865 (II, 4), perhaps mistakenly, puts *hr nst jt=f* “upon the throne of his father” here (see *ibid*, 55; and Smith, 1987, 58 with n. 186 for the possibility of mistaking *nst=f* for *nst jt=f* and vice versa). However, pBM EA 10194 (I, 4) reads: *jnk Dhwt<sup>y</sup> 3 nb Hmnw jr dj Hr hr nst=f (sic) jt=f* “I am

Thoth the great, lord of Hermopolis, who causes Horus to be upon the throne of his father” (see Herbin 2008, 55 and 134-135 with pls. 108-109; and Caminos 1993, 109 with fig. 1 on 107).

<sup>18</sup> *jnk Hr-wr swnw jr dj nfr h<sup>c</sup>w-ntr n jt=f R<sup>c</sup>* “I am Haroeris the physician, who causes the divine body of his father, Re, to be perfect” in pBM EA 10194 (I, 4-5) (see Herbin 2008, 55 and 134-135 with pls. 108-109; Caminos 1993, 109 with fig. 1 on 107). A seemingly truncated version which reads *jnk Hr-wr nb Hm jw=f djt Hr hr nst jt=f* “I am Haroeris, lord of Letopolis, who causes Horus to be upon the throne of his father” also occurs in pLouvre E 3865 (II, 4) (see Herbin 2008, 55).

<sup>19</sup> For the translation of *jr dj(t) nfr* as “to have made perfect,” see Quack 2012, 272.

<sup>20</sup> pCairo CG 58014 (I, 11) has: *jnk Hr-mrty nb jr ht* instead of *jnk Hr-mrty nb r3-<sup>c</sup>ht* and replaces *jr nht n3 ntrw drw* with *nty <sup>c</sup>md sby<w> r Twnw* “who drives away rebels from Heliopolis” (see Herbin 2008, 56; Lieblein 1895, 22-23 with pls. XXXIV-XXXVI).

<sup>21</sup> *jnk Hr-wr nb t3 Šm<sup>c</sup> nb pr Tjt nty <sup>c</sup>md sbj r Twnw* “I am Haroeris, lord of Upper Egypt, lord of the house of Iyit, who drives away rebels from Heliopolis” in pBM EA 10283 (I, 4-5) (see Herbin 2008, 82 with pls. 42-43).

<sup>22</sup> *jnk Dhwtj nb Hmnw jr dj smdt n ntrw nbw* “I am Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, who makes testimony to all the gods” in pCairo CG 58008 (I, 10) (see *ibid*, 56); and *jnk Dhwtj 3 3 nb Hmnw jr smdt n ntrw nbw ky dd ntr nbw... (?)* “I am Thoth, the twice great, lord of Hermopolis, who makes testimony to all the gods, otherwise said: every god ... (?)” in pLouvre N 3176 A (I, 7) (*ibid*, 56).

<sup>23</sup> *hr=tn r=j ntrw n t3 dw3t* “(Turn) your faces to me gods of the underworld” in pCairo CG 58008 (I, 10-11) and pLouvre N 3176 A (I, 8) (see *ibid*, 56).

<sup>24</sup> *mj k=j mj pr=j mj p3y<=j> r hrt hn<sup>c</sup> b3w nw ntrw ntrwt* “Let me enter, let me go forth, let <me> fly to heaven together with the *bas* of the gods and the goddesses” in pBM EA 10109 (I, 7) (see *ibid*, 56-57, 76 and 78 with pls. 33-34). *mj pr p3y(=f) b3 r hrt hn<sup>c</sup> n3 b3w nty šms Wsjr jnk w<sup>c</sup> n-jm=tn* “Let my *ba* go forth to heaven together with the *bas* who serve Osiris (for) I am one of you” in pBM EA 10283 (I, 7) (*ibid*, 57 and 82 with pls. 42-43). *mj p3y b3(=j) r hrt hn<sup>c</sup> n3 b3w n ntrw wrw* “Let (my) *ba* fly up to heaven together with the *bas* of the great gods” in pLouvre E 3865 (II, 6-7), with a similar variation in pLouvre N 3290 (I, 11-12), pBerlin 3052 (I, 11), pCairo CG 58009 (II, 1-3), pBM EA 10125 (I, 10-11), and pBN 152 (I, 12) (*ibid*, 57). However, pCairo CG 58014 (I, 8-10) puts *j ntrw jmyw t3 wsht M3<sup>c</sup>ty mj pr p3y(=f) b3 r hrt hn<sup>c</sup> n3 b3w n3 ntrw wrw* “O gods who are in the hall of Two Truths, let my *ba* go forth to heaven together with the *bas* of these great gods” (see *ibid*, 57).

<sup>25</sup> For this translation, see Quack 2012, 272.

<sup>26</sup> *mj kbh.w n=j mw m hwt-k3-Pth ky dd nty m Twnw* “Let water be poured out for me in the mansion-of-the-*ka*-of-Ptah, otherwise said: who is in Heliopolis” in pVienna 3870 (I, 13-14) (see Herbin 2008, 57).

<sup>27</sup> The text in pLouvre SN (I, 14) ends here after *grh* (see *ibid*, 57).



<sup>28</sup> *mj p3y p3y=j b3 mj hrt hrw* “Let my *ba* fly up daily” in pBerlin 3052 (I, 15). *m hrt-ntr* “in the god’s domain” in pBerlin 3030 (I, 21), pBN 152 (I, 16), and pLouvre N 3290 (I, 16). *ntrw p(3y)=j m hrt-ntr m hrt hrw* “May I be divine in the god’s domain daily” in pTurin 1861 C (I, 14) (see *ibid*, 58).

<sup>29</sup> *p3y=j* instead of *pr=j* in pBerlin 3052 (I, 16) (*ibid*, 58).

<sup>30</sup> *mj ʕk=j mj pr=j mj snsn=j jw=j m wʕ jm=sn* “Let me enter, let me go forth, let me breathe, because I am as one of them” in pBM EA 10303 (I, 7-8) (see *ibid*, 58 and 83 with pls. 44-45).

<sup>31</sup> This section is missing from pLouvre N 3279 and omitted in pTurin 1861 C. Otherwise it occurs with some variants and abridgements in pBM EA 10109 (I, 10-13), pBM EA 10125 (I, 15-21), pBM EA 10199 (I, 11-15), pBM EA 10266 A+B (I, 1-4), pBM EA 10303 (I, 9-13), pBM EA 10705 (I, 1-6), pBM EA 71513A (I, 19-23), pBerlin 3028 (III, 1-16), pBerlin 3030 (I, 22-II, 11), pBerlin 3052 (I, 16-II, 13), pBN 151 (I, 9-18), pBN 152 (I, 17-26), pCairo CG 58007 (I, 14-16), pCairo CG 58008 (I, 16-28), pCairo CG 58009 (II, 4-III, 3), pFlorence 3662 (II, 4-15), pLeiden T 33 (I, 15-19), pLouvre E 10284 (II, 1-III, 3), pLouvre N 3176A (I, 12-13), pLouvre N 3290 (I, 17-19), and pVienna 3870 (I, 17-32) (see Herbin 2008, 58-60).

<sup>32</sup> Besides pBM EA 10191, this litany *sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw=j r hftyw=j mj sm3ʕ-hrw=k hrw Wsjr r hftyw=f* is repeated at the beginning of each invocation, with some variants, only in pBM EA 10303, pBerlin 3078, pBN 152, pFlorence 3662, pLeiden T 33, pLouvre N 3290, and pVienna 3870 (see *ibid*, 58).

<sup>33</sup> pBM EA 10125 (I, 16) substitutes this passage for *grh pfy n hwt hr h3wt m Twnw* “on that night of the festival of offerings on the altar in Heliopolis” (*ibid*, 58, and 112-13 with pls. 82-3). Similarly, pBM EA 10109 (I, 10-11) reads: *grh pfy n snwt n <ʕn>p* “on that night of the festival of the sixth day of the ʕnp-festival” (*ibid*, 58 and 76-8 with pls. 33-34). On the other hand, pCairo CG 58009 (II, 6) puts: *grh pfy n wdʕ snm* “on that night of cutting the hair” (*ibid*, 58; Carrier 2017, 207). Also, the last part, *šhtm hfty n nb-dr*, is absent in pBM EA 10199 (I, 13) (Herbin 2008, 58 and 79-80 with pls. 37-38), while other copies are met with slight variants, e.g. pLouvre N 3148 (IV, x + 3): *m hrw pfy n šhtm hftyw n Nb-r-dr jm=f* “on that day of annihilating the enemies of the Lord-of-all with it” (see *ibid*, 58-59).

<sup>34</sup> In pBM EA 10303 (I, 11-14) the passage *m-b3h d3d3t ʕ3t jmyw Hm* is absent, while the following passage, *grh pfy hwt h3wt m hm*, is replaced with *grh pfy n hwt hr h3wt m Hm nhh dt* “on that night of the festival of offerings on the altar in Letopolis forever and eternally.” The text then ends at this point (see *ibid*, 59 and 83 with pls. 44-45).

<sup>35</sup> *n hwt hr h3wt m/n Hm* in pBerlin 3028 (II, 5), pBerlin 3030 (II, 3), pBerlin 3052 (II, 4), pCairo CG 58008 (I, 21), pLeiden T 33 (I, 18), pLouvre E 3865 (II, 14), and pVienna 3870 (I, 23) (*ibid*, 59). *n hwt h3wt* in pBN 152 (I, 22); *m grh pfy n hwt h3wt* in pBN 151 (I, 12); *m grh pfy n hwt hr h3wt* in pFlorence 3662 (II, 8) and pLouvre N 3148 (IV, x + 5-6); and *grh pwy n hwt hr h3wt* in pLouvre E 10284 (II, 6-7) (*ibid*, 59). Also, this tribunal is absent in pCairo 58009 (see Carrier 2017, 207).

<sup>36</sup> *3bdw* “Abydos” or *I(3)bt* “the East” instead of *Pe* and *Dep* in pCairo CG 58009 (II, 8) (*ibid*, 207; Herbin 2008, 59).

- <sup>37</sup> *grḥ pfy n šsp Hr mshnt ntrw jw whm.n Hr ḥknw sp 4* “on that night when Horus occupied the abode of the gods (and when) Horus repeated the praises four times” in pBM EA 10109 (I, 13) (Herbin 2008, 59, 76, and 78 with pls. 33-4). *grḥ pfy n sm³ᶜ-ḥrw Hr r ḥftyw=f jw whm.n Hr ḥknw sp 4* “on that night of justifying Horus against his enemies (and when) Horus repeated the praises four times” in pBM EA 10125 (I, 20-1) (*ibid*, 59 and 112-113 with pls. 82-83).
- <sup>38</sup> *grḥ pfy n krs Ist* in pCairo CG 58008 (I, 28), and *sdr pfy n sdr Ist*, perhaps by confusion, in pBerlin 3028 (III, 9) (*ibid*, 60). Both pBM EA 10109 (I, 12) and pBM EA 10125 (I, 19-20), however, read *grḥ pfy n ḥb Hkr* “on that night of the festival of Haker” (*ibid*, 60, 76, 78 and 112-113 with pls. 33-34 and 82-83 respectively), while pCairo 58009 (II, 10) reads *m-b3ḥ d3d3t ʿ3t jmyw P Dp grḥ pfy n sm³ᶜ-ḥrw Hr s3 Ist s3 Wsjr r ḥftyw=f* “before the great tribunal which is in Pe and Dep on that night of making Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, justified against his enemies” (Carrier 2017, 208).
- <sup>39</sup> *N-3r=f ḥr st=f* in pCairo CG 58008 (I, 26) (Herbin 2008, 60), and pBN 246 (I, x + 8) (Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010, 189 with pl. VII). For *N-3r=f* here, see also Quack 2012, 274.
- <sup>40</sup> *nsw* instead of *Hwt-nn-nsw* in pBN 151 (I, 17) (Herbin 2008, 60).
- <sup>41</sup> For this passage, pCairo CG 58009 (II, 11-III, 1) puts: *m-b3ḥ d3d3t ʿ3t jmyw ḥbs-t3 ʿ3 m 3bdw grḥ pfy n ḥb Hkr* “before the great tribunal which is at the great Hacking of the Earth festival in Abydos on that night of the festival of Haker.” This is then followed by a short isolated formula and the text of the Second Book of Breathing (*ibid*, 60 with n. 50; and Carrier 2017, 208-213).
- <sup>42</sup> *grḥ pwy n rdj.n Inpw* in pLouvre E 10284 (III, 2-3) and pBN 246 (I, x + 9 - 10) (see Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010, 186 with pl. VII). *sdr Inpw* in pBM EA 10199 (I, 15), pBerlin 3052 (II, 13), pCairo CG 58008 (II, 28), and pFlorence 3662 (I, 15) (see Herbin 2008, 60).
- <sup>43</sup> *ḥ3 jt=f Wsjr* is absent in pBerlin 3028 (III, 15), and *jt=f* is absent in pBerlin 3030 (II, 11), pBerlin 3052 (II, 13), pBM EA 10199 (I, 15), pBM EA 10206 A + B (I, 4), pBN 152 (I, 26), pCairo CG 58008 (I, 28), and pLeiden T 33 (*ibid*, 60).
- <sup>44</sup> This entire section is absent in pBM EA 10109, P. BM EA 10125, and partially in pBM EA 10199 (*ibid*, 61).
- <sup>45</sup> *snḏm=k n=j jb=k* “May you make my *jb*-heart pleasant for me” instead of *sšm=k n=j jb=k* “May you guide my *jb*-heart for me” in pLouvre E 3865 (III, 5) (*ibid*).
- <sup>46</sup> *m-b3ḥ ntr ʿ3 nb Imntt* “before the great god, lord of the West” in pVienna 3870 (I, 35) (*ibid*).
- <sup>47</sup> pBN 246 (I, x + 11 - 12) combines this with a passage from § 4: *m pt t3 jnk b3 n Shmt nty ḥms n jmy-wrt nt pt srwd=k rn=j mj Wsjr ḥnty Imntt* “in the sky and earth. I am the *ba* of Sekhmet who dwells on the west side of the sky. May you make my name flourish like Osiris, foremost of the West” (see Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010, 186 with pl. VII).

<sup>48</sup> *jnk Hr wr* “I am Horus the great” in pCairo CG 58008 (I, 31-2) (Herbin 2008, 61) and pLouvre N 3279 (I, 4) (see Goyon 1966, 28; Carrier 2017, 80). *jnk Hr* “I am Horus” in pBerlin 3052 (II, 16) (see Herbin 2008, 61).

<sup>49</sup> For this, see Quack 2012, 272.

<sup>50</sup> Section abridged in pBM EA 10199 (I, 16-22) (see Herbin 2008, 78-80 with pls. 37-38).

<sup>51</sup> *jnk Nfr-tm s3 Shmt* “I am Nefertem, son of Sekhmet” in pLouvre N 3279 (I, 8) (see *ibid*, 62; Goyon 1966, 32). *jnk s3/s3t Shmt* “I am the son/daughter of Sekhmet” in pBerlin 3052 (III, 1), pCairo CG 58007 (I, 19), pCairo CG 58008 (I, 34), pFlorence 3662 (III, 4), and pVienna 3870 (I, 39) (Herbin 2008, 62).

<sup>52</sup> pBerlin 3030 (IV, 7), pBM EA 10338 (I, x + 3), pBN 152 (I, 36), pFlorence 3662 (III, 5), pLouvre E 10284 (III, 11), pLouvre N 3279 (I, 10), and pVienna 3870 (I, 40) all put *tnw=k tw(j)* here. However, pBerlin 3028 (IV, 7), pBerlin 3052 (III, 2), and pCairo CG 58007 (II, 1-2) have *tnw=j twk*, while pBN 151 (I, 22) has *tnw.tw=k* (Herbin 2008, 62).

<sup>53</sup> *tnw tw ntrw p3wtyw* “May the primordial gods promote you” in pCairo CG 58008 (I, 35) (*ibid*).

<sup>54</sup> *jb=j mn* in pLouvre N 3279 (I, 12) (*ibid*, 63; Goyon 1966, 32; Carrier 2017, 82).

<sup>55</sup> *h3ty=j htp hr mkt=f* in pCairo CG 58008 (I, 37), pLouvre N 3279 (I, 12), and pVienna 3870 (I, 41). For this passage, however, pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 2) adds *h3ty=j smn=f (sic) hr mkt n nḥ=f* (see Herbin 2008, 63).

<sup>56</sup> *r mšc* in pBerlin 3052 (III, 4), pCairo CG 58007 (II, 4), and pLouvre E 3865 (III, 11) (*ibid*).

<sup>57</sup> For this passage, pLouvre N 3279 (I, 14) puts: *jw n=j r wy=j r shr hftyw=j nb <mj> Rc dt* “My arms belong to me in order to overthrow all my enemies <like> Re, eternally.” This is then followed by a standalone passage (at I, 15-16) unattested in other copy: *dd mdw jn Hwt-hr N ms n N j nb Iwnw jr hdt3 hr=k r=j* “Words to be recited by the Hathor N, born of N: O lord of Heliopolis who makes dawn, (turn) your face to me” (see *ibid*; and Goyon 1966, 32 and 36).

<sup>58</sup> *m pt m t3* “(the double doors) in the sky and in the earth” in pBerlin 3052 (III, 4), pCairo CG 58007 (II, 5), pCairo CG 58008 (I, 38), pFlorence 3662 (III, 7), pLouvre E 3865 (III, 12), and pVienna 3870 (I, 42) (Herbin 2008, 63).

<sup>59</sup> *ntrw ntrwt nbt* “all the gods and goddesses” in pLouvre N 3279 (II, 3) (*ibid*; and Goyon 1966, 36).

<sup>60</sup> For this, pCairo CG 58008 (I, 39) reads: *n3 sb3w n n3 (sic) dw3t* (Herbin 2008, 63)

<sup>61</sup> *sš=k wdt* “May you write a decree” in pLouvre N 3279 (II, 5) (Goyon 1966, 36). *sš=k n=j wdt* in pBM EA 10199 (I, 20) (Herbin 2008, 79-80 with pls. 37-38). *sš n=j wdt* in pBN 151 (I, 24), and *sš=k wdt=j* in pBerlin 3052 (III, 1), pCairo CG 58007 (II, 7), and pCairo CG 58008 (I, 40) (*ibid*, 63).

<sup>62</sup> [*sš=k (?)*] *wdt=j m-b3h hnw hwt-k3-Pth* “[May you write (?)] my decree within the mansion of the ka of Ptah” in pBM EA 10338 (I, x + 6-7) (*ibid*, 64 and 84-85 with pls. 49-50).

<sup>63</sup> *nn šnḥ nmtt=j* in pCairo CG 58008 (I, 40) (*ibid*, 64).

<sup>64</sup> *rdjt jr=j mr=j h3 m (?) [pt t3 (?)]* “Cause that I do that which I desire and travel in (?) [the sky and earth (?)]” in pBM EA 10338 (I, x + 7) (*ibid*, 64 and 84-85 with pls. 49-50). *rdjt jr=j mr=j rdjt jr=j mr*

*k3=j m pt m t3* “Cause that I do that which I desire. Cause that I do that which my *ka* desires in the sky and in the earth” in pLouvre N 3279 (II, 6-7) (*ibid*, 64; Goyon 1966, 37).

<sup>65</sup> pBM EA 10199 (I, 21-2), pBM EA 10338 (I, x + 7-8), pBerlin 3028 (IV, 13), pBerlin 3030 (II, 3), pBN 151 (I, 25), pCairo CG 58007 (II, 8-9), pCairo CG 58008 (I, 41), pFlorence 3662 (III, 10), pLouvre E 3865 (III, 14), pLouvre E 10284 (I, 19), pLouvre N 3148 (V, x + 1), pLouvre N 3279 (II, 6-7), and pVienna 3870 (I, 45) replace this passage with: *rdj(t) hn b3=j hr h3(w)t=j* “Cause that my *ba* alight upon my corpse” (Herbin 2008, 64).

<sup>66</sup> Section abridged in pBM EA 10109 (I, 2-3) and pBM EA 10125 (I, 12-13) (see *ibid*, 64-65, 76-8, and 112-113 with pls. 33-34 and 82-83).

<sup>67</sup> After pBerlin 3028 (IV, 13-14), pBerlin 3030 (III, 3-4), pBN 151 (I, 25), pBN 152 (I, 41), pFlorence 3662 (III, 10-11), pLouvre E 3865 (III, 14), pLouvre N 3148 (V, x + 1), pLouvre N 3279 (II, 8-9), and pVienna 3870 (I, 45-6): *j jb=j jnk nb=k* (*ibid*, 64). Both pBerlin 3052 (III, 6) and pCairo CG 58007 (II, 9), however, read *nnk jb=j jnk nb=k* “My *jb*-heart belongs to me. I am your master” (see *ibid*).

<sup>68</sup> *jr=k n=j* “Act for me” in Berlin 3052 (III, 7) (*ibid*).

<sup>69</sup> A number of parallels put *nn rk3=k/j* instead of *nn w3=k* here (*ibid*).

<sup>70</sup> For this entire passage, pBN 151 (I, 26) reads simply *sdm n=j jb=j nn w3=k r=j* “Listen to me my *jb*-heart: you shall not be far from me,” while pCairo CG 58008 (I, 42) puts *sdm n=j jb=j ds=j m wdwt n T3-nn jw=k m ht=j nn w3=k r=j* “Listen to me my very own *jb*-heart according to the decree of Ta(te)nen while you are in my body: you shall not be far from me” (*ibid*).

<sup>71</sup> *m hwt-k3-Pth* is absent in both pBM EA 10338 (I, x + 9) and pCairo CG 58008 (I, 42), and is replaced with *Inbw-hd* in pCairo CG 58007 (II, 11) (*ibid*, 63-64; Carrier 2017, 132).

<sup>72</sup> For this passage as it appears in pBM EA 10109 (I, 2-3) see note 4 above. pBM EA 10125 (I, 12-13) puts *jnkn p3(y) jr.w wdwt ht=f m Twnw r sdm hrw=f m hwt-3t* “I am he before whom a decree is made in Heliopolis, so that his voice is heard in the great mansion” (see Herbin 2008, 65 and 112-113 with pls. 82-83).

<sup>73</sup> *jnkn pfy jr m gnwt ht=f hr p(3) jnb=f(?) šps* for this passage in pLouvre E 10284 (IV, 4) (*ibid*, 65).

<sup>74</sup> *r rdjt wny(ny) m-hnw jrt(y)=j* “in order to cause light within my eyes” in pBerlin 3028 (V, 3-4), pBerlin 3030 (III, 8), pBerlin 3052 (III, 9), pCairo CG 58008 (I, 44-5), pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 8), pFlorence 3662 (III, 14), pLouvre E 3865 (IV, 1), pLouvre E 10284 (IV, 5), pLouvre N 3148 (V, x + 4), pLouvre N 3279 (II, 14), and pVienna 3870 (I, 49) (*ibid*, 65).

<sup>75</sup> The passage here actually reads *jw n=j stwt=f*, but this is corrupt and should be replaced with *r m33 stwt=f* “in order to see his rays” as in the parallels (see *ibid*, 55). However, pBN 151 (I, 27) and pLouvre N 3148 (V, x + 4-5) put *r m33=f stwt=f* here (*ibid*, 65).

<sup>76</sup> Section omitted in pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10125, and pBM EA 10199. Abridged in pBerlin 3052 and pLouvre N 3279 (see *ibid*, 65-69).

<sup>77</sup> This passage, *jb=j mwt=j sp 2*, is absent in pBerlin 3052 (III, 10) (*ibid*, 65).

<sup>78</sup> Passage absent in pBN 151 (I, 28), pLouvre E 10284 (IV, 6-7), and pLouvre N 3279 (II, 28-29). A slightly different reading for this passage also occurs in pBerlin 3028 (V, 5), pBerlin 3052 (III, 10-11), and pFlorence 3662 (III, 15-16): *dd n=j Ttm nfr jh<sup>c</sup>w=j m whm swd.tw=f n Nh<sup>b</sup>-k3(w)* “Atum says to me that my body is perfect again, and that it shall be commended to Nehebkau” (*ibid*).

<sup>79</sup> *djt šms=j t3 m [...]* in pBM EA 10338 (I, x + 12) (*ibid*, 66 and 85 with pls. 49-50).

<sup>80</sup> *nn hm=fwj m hrt-ntr* “He shall not repel me in the god’s domain” in pBN 151 (I, 28) (*ibid*, 66). Also added after *hrt-ntr* in pLouvre N 3279 (II, 29) is the phrase *hr jr mr=j jm dt* “doing that which I desire therein eternally.” However, the next part of this section, corresponding to the remainder of line 43 up until line 50, in that copy is absent (see *ibid*, 66; Goyon 1966, 40-43; Carrier 2017, 87).

<sup>81</sup> *dj=f whm <sup>c</sup>nh=j* in pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 11) (Herbin, 2008, 66); *dj=f <sup>c</sup>nh=j* in pBM EA 10338 (I, x + 13) (*ibid*, 66 and 85 with pls. 49-50).

<sup>82</sup> *wd3 R<sup>c</sup> wd3=j* in pBerlin 3030 (III, 14) (*ibid*, 66).

<sup>83</sup> Instead of *jw nhbt=j m Tst Nbt-hwt*, pBerlin 3052 (III, 14-15) puts: *jw h3t=j htp hr st=s* “My body rests in its place” (*ibid*).

<sup>84</sup> pBerlin 3052 (III, 16) puts *jnhwy=j* “My eyebrows” instead of *hpsw=j* “My thighs” here (*ibid*, 67).

<sup>85</sup> *jw hpswy=j m Shmt m jrt hr* for this passage in pBerlin 3028 (V, 12) (*ibid*).

<sup>86</sup> *j<sup>c</sup>rty nb <sup>c</sup>nh* in pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 15) (*ibid*).

<sup>87</sup> *nn 3m.tw(=j) hr drt=j* absent in pBM EA 10338 (I, x + 17) (*ibid*, 68 and 85-86 with pls. 49-50).

<sup>88</sup> *mn* instead of *smn* in pBerlin 3028 (V, 14), pBerlin 3030 (III, 21-2), pBN 151 (I, 33), pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 16), pFlorence 3662 (IV, 9-10), pLouvre E 3865 (III, 11), and pLouvre N 3148 (V, x + 13) (*ibid*, 68).

<sup>89</sup> *hnd b3=j* “My *ba* shall tread (in the sky)” in pLouvre E 10284 (V, 1) (*ibid*).

<sup>90</sup> *dd mdw jn Hwt-hr Njt-j ...* in pLouvre N 3279 (III, 1) (Goyon 1966, 43).

<sup>91</sup> *s3* “son” instead of *b3* in pBerlin 3028 (V, 17), pBN 151 (I, 35), and pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 1) (Herbin 2008, 68).

<sup>92</sup> *Hr 3 n R<sup>c</sup>* in pLouvre E 10284 (V, 4) with *jw<sup>c</sup>* having been written in the upper margin above 3 (*ibid*, 68 with n. 104); *Hr s3 n R<sup>c</sup>* in pFlorence 3662 (IV, 12) (*ibid*, 68; Pelligrini 1904, 157).

<sup>93</sup> *jt=f R<sup>c</sup>* in pBerlin 3028 (V, 17), pBN 151 (I, 35), pFlorence 3662 (IV, 13), pLouvre N 3279 (III, 5), pLouvre E 3865 (III, 14), and pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 1) (Herbin 2008, 68).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. pLouvre N 3279 (III, 6) (Goyon 1966, 44; Carrier 2017, 90).

<sup>95</sup> Section absent in pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10125, pBM EA 10199, and pBerlin 3052 (Herbin 2008, 69-71).

<sup>96</sup> For this passage, pLouvre N 3279 (III, 8-9) puts *j ntr nb ntrt nb(t) hr=tn r=j jnk nb=tn jnk nb=tn s3 nb=tn mj n=j jnk jt=tn wnn=j m šmsw Wsjr* “O all gods and every goddess, turn your faces to me. I am your lord, I am your lord, the son of your lord. Come to me. I am your father. I am in the following of

Osiris” (see *ibid*, 69; Goyon 1966, 46; Carrier 2017, 91). However, pBN 151 (I, 36-7), pFlorence 3662 (IV, 15-16), pLouvre E 3865 (V, 2-3), and pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 3-5) all read *j ntr(w) nb ntr(w)t nb(t) hr=tn r=j jnk nb=tn mj n=j m šms=j jnk nb=tn s3 nb=tn hrw=tn r=j jnk jt=tn wnn=j m šms Wsjr* “O all gods and every goddess, turn your faces to me. I am your lord. Come to me, in my following. I am your lord, the son of your lord. Turn your faces to me. I am your father. I am in the following of Osiris” (see Herbin 2008, 69).

<sup>97</sup> *š3js.n=j m dw3t jw nmt.n=j m 3h šps* “I have traversed the underworld. I have travelled as an august spirit” in pLouvre N 3279 (III, 10-11) (*ibid*, 69; Goyon 1966, 47; Carrier 2017, 91). *š3js.n=j n dw3t r nmt 3hw* “I have traversed the underworld at the paces of the spirits” in pLouvre E 3865 (V, 3-4) (Herbin 2008, 69). *š3js=j t3 m hrt-ntr r<sup>c</sup> nb* “I traverse the land in the god’s domain every day” in pBN 151 (I, 37) (*ibid*).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. BD 48 (= 10) from the papyrus of Iahtesnakht (University of Cologne P. Aeg. 10207): *jn<sup>k</sup> pr hhw m h3kw=f* “I am equipped with millions of his word-powers” (see Quirke 2013, 128).

<sup>99</sup> *jn<sup>k</sup> ntr nb dw3t jnk R<sup>c</sup> pr=j m 3ht* “I am the god, lord of the underworld. I am Re who goes forth from the horizon” in pBerlin 3030 (IV, 7), pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 21), pLouvre E 3865 (V, 4), pLouvre E 10284 (V, 10), pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 6), and pLouvre N 3279 (III, 12); and *jn<sup>k</sup> ntr nb dw3t jnk R<sup>c</sup> pr m 3ht* “I am the god, lord of the underworld. I am Re going forth from the horizon” in pBN 151 (I, 38) (Herbin 2008, 70).

<sup>100</sup> *nht(.n)=j m ntr* in pBerlin 3030 (IV, 9), pLouvre E 3865 (V, 6), and pLouvre N 3279 (III, 14) (*ibid*; Goyon 1966, 47; Carrier 2017, 92).

<sup>101</sup> *jn<sup>k</sup> nb* in pLouvre E 10284 (V, 14) (Herbin 2008, 70).

<sup>102</sup> The correct meaning of (*m*)*sktt* here is hard to determine. It is possible that the term means “night-bark” as it usually does in earlier religious texts, but it should be remembered that in late religious texts *msktt* is usually the day-bark and *m<sup>c</sup>ndt* is usually the night-bark (see Smith 1987, 85). Because of this, and the fact that it is difficult to know if the roles of the barks in our text have actually been reversed, *msktt* has been translated here and elsewhere in this thesis simply as “mesketet-bark” and *m<sup>c</sup>ndt* as “mandjet-bark.”

<sup>103</sup> Section absent in pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10125, pBM EA 10199, and pBerlin 3052 (IV) (see Herbin 2008, 71-72).

<sup>104</sup> *jn<sup>k</sup> b3=k šps* “I am your august *ba*” in pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 25), pLouvre E 10284 (V, 16), and pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 11) (*ibid*, 71).

<sup>105</sup> pLouvre E 3865 (V, 11-12) puts *jn<sup>k</sup> pr m s3=f m hb šps* “I am one who goes forth from his nest as an august ibis” for this passage (see *ibid*).

<sup>106</sup> This passage, *jn<sup>k</sup> b3=k šps pr jm=k mj <sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>=j mj sns<sup>n</sup>=j t3w=k*, is absent in pBN 151 (I, 43) (*ibid*, 72).

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<sup>107</sup> Section absent in pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10125, pBM EA 10199, and pBerlin 3052 (see *ibid*, 72-73).

<sup>108</sup> *j Hꜥpy jt ntrw* “O Hapy, father of the gods” in pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 3) (*ibid*, 72; Goyon 1966, 50; Carrier 2017, 96).

<sup>109</sup> This last passage, *nn w3=k r=j*, has been omitted in pLouvre N 3865 (V, 14) and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 2) (see Goyon 1966, 50; Herbin 2008, 72; Carrier 2017, 96).

<sup>110</sup> *jnk s3 n ntrw* in pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 29-30); *jnk b3 n n3 ntrw* in pBerlin 3030 (IV, 19), pLouvre E 3865 (V, 14), pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 16), and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 3) (Herbin 2008, 72; Goyon 1966, 50; Carrier 2017, 96); and *jnk b3=k n3 ntrw* in pLouvre E 10284 (VI, 3) (see Herbin 2008, 72).

<sup>111</sup> *mj n=j jw=k m mw n rnp rꜥ nb* “Come to me, (for) you are the water of rejuvenation, every day” in pBerlin 3030 (IV, 19), pBN 151 (I, 44), pLouvre E 10284 (VI, 3), pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 16), and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 3) (*ibid*; Goyon 1966, 50; Carrier 2017, 96).

<sup>112</sup> Following this passage in pLouvre E 3865 (I, 6-7) is an isolated introductory line to the next passage: *hr=k r=j Wsjr hnty Imntyw* “(Turn) your face to me, Osiris, foremost of the Westerners” (see Herbin 2008, 72).

<sup>113</sup> *mw=k* “your water” in pBN 151 (I, 44), pLouvre E 3865 (I, 7), and pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 7) (*ibid*).

<sup>114</sup> *dj=k j3w=j m dw3t mj Wsjr m W3st* “You shall cause that I grow old in the underworld like Osiris in Thebes” in pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 4-5) (*ibid*; Goyon 1966, 51; Carrier 2017, 97).

<sup>115</sup> pBerlin 3030 (IV, 22), pBN 151 (I, 45), pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 31), pLouvre E 3865 (I, 8), pLouvre E 10284 (VI, 6), pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 18), and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 6) all put *mj n=j mw* here (see Goyon 1966, 51; Herbin 2008, 72; Carrier 2017, 98).

<sup>116</sup> For this passage, pLouvre E 10284 (VI, 6-7) puts: *mj n=j mw t3w jm=k jnk shn st jnk hpr m sp tpy* “Give to me water and the air (which comes forth) from you. I am he who occupies the place. I am he who arose in the first time” (see Herbin 2008, 72).

<sup>117</sup> This passage, *jnk Rsyt jnk Mhꜥtt jnk Imntt jnk T3btt*, is absent in pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 7) (see Goyon 1966, 51; Carrier 2017, 98). pLouvre E 3865 (I, 9), however, reads merely: *jnk T3btt jnk Imntt* (see Herbin 2008, 73).

<sup>118</sup> Section absent in pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10125, pBM EA 10199, pBerlin 3052, and partially omitted in pCairo CG 58023 and pLouvre N 3279 (see *ibid*, 73).

<sup>119</sup> *mj t3w ndm jm=k* “Give (to me) the sweet air (which comes forth) from you” in pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 8) (*ibid*; Goyon 1966, 51; Carrier 2017, 98).

<sup>120</sup> *Hmnw* “Hermopolis” instead of *Trt Rꜥ* in pBN 151 (I, 47), pLouvre E 3865 (I, 11), pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 20), and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 8) (Goyon 1966, 51; Herbin 2008, 73; Carrier 2017, 98).

<sup>121</sup> *ꜥnh=k ꜥnh=j ts-phr* omitted in pLouvre E 3865 (I, 11) and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 9) (Goyon 1966, 51 and 56; Herbin 2008, 73; Carrier 2017, 99). However, pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 33-4) reads: *rwꜥd=k*

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*rwḏ=j šhm=j jm=f r-djt jb=j* “If you flourish, I flourish. I control it at my *jb*-heart’s desire” (Herbin 2008, 73).

<sup>122</sup> *snsn=j m ḃw=k* “I shall breathe by means of your air” in pBN 151 (I, 47) (*ibid*).

<sup>123</sup> Section largely omitted in pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10125, and pBM 10199, and abridged in pBerlin 3052 and pLouvre N 3279 (see *ibid*, 73-76).

<sup>124</sup> *r-dr jb=j* in pBerlin 3030 (V, 4) (*ibid*).

<sup>125</sup> *s3* “son” instead of *b3* in pBN 151 (I, 49) and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 12) (*ibid*; Goyon 1966, 56; Carrier 2017, 100).

<sup>126</sup> *jnk pr m Nwn hn R* “I am one who comes forth from Nun together with Re” in pBM EA 10206C (I, 4) (Herbin, 2008, 73 and 81 with pls. 40-1), pLouvre E 3865 (I, 14-15), pLouvre N 3148 (VI, 24-5), and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 12-13) (*ibid*; Goyon 1966, 56).

<sup>127</sup> *jnk ḥw pt jnk Pth* “I am one who raises the sky. I am Ptah” in pBerlin 3030 (V, 6-7) (Herbin 2008, 73).

<sup>128</sup> *jnk Pth hy nnt* “I am Ptah who ascends to heaven” in pBN 151 (I, 49), pLouvre E 10284 (VI, 15), and pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 35) (*ibid*).

<sup>129</sup> *pr.n=j m wj3 n R* “I came forth from the bark of Re” in pBerlin 3052 (IV, 1) and pLouvre E 3865 (I, 15) (*ibid*, 74).

<sup>130</sup> This entire passage, *šm=j hr t3 hrp=j m Nwn ... jwr tw(j) Šhmt ms tw(j) Nwt*, is absent in pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 13) (*ibid*; Goyon 1966, 56; Carrier 2017, 101).

<sup>131</sup> *jnk hb pr m ḥwt-k3-Pth* “I am an ibis who comes forth from the mansion of the *ka* of Ptah” in pBerlin 3052 (IV, 3) and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 13-14) (Goyon 1966, 56; Herbin 2008, 74; Carrier 2017, 101).

<sup>132</sup> *šhm=j m jb=j šhm=j m jḥw=j šhm=j m ḥ3ty=j* “I shall have power over my *jb*-heart. I shall have power over my limbs. I shall have power over my *ḥ3ty*-heart” in pBerlin 3052 (IV, 4) (Herbin 2008, 74).

<sup>133</sup> pBM EA 10206C (I, 8), pBerlin 3028 (V, 22) pBerlin 3030 (V, 11), pBerlin 3052 (IV, 5), pBN 151 (I, 51), pLouvre E 3865 (VI, 1-2), pLouvre E 10284 (VI, 19), and pLouvre N 3148 (VII, 2) all add (*m*) *t3 hnkt jḥw 3pdw* “(consisting of) bread, beer, oxen, and fowl” at this point after *prt-ḥrw* (*ibid*).

<sup>134</sup> This passage, *šhm=j m jrt=j m ḥrt-ntr*, is absent in pBM EA 10199 (I, 24) (*ibid*, 74 and 79-80 with pls. 37-38). pLouvre E 3865 (VI, 2), however, reads: *jmy m33.n=j m jrty=j m t3* (*ibid*).

<sup>135</sup> *hms=j* instead of *sḥm=j* in pBM EA 10199 (I, 25), and pLouvre N 3279 (IV, 16) (*ibid*, 75 and 79-80 with pls. 37-8; Goyon 1966, 59; Carrier 2017, 102).

<sup>136</sup> There are a number of different readings for this passage depending upon the manuscript: pBM EA 10338 (I, x + 18), for example, puts: *hms=k m t3 wšḥ=k m hnkt wn[m=k m ḥt (?)] nb(t) nfr(t)* “You shall sit down with bread. You shall consume beer and e[at (?)] every good [thing]” (Herbin 2008, 75 and 85-86 with pls. 49-50); pBerlin 3030 (V, 12-13) puts: *ḥn.n=j m t3 n Gb snb.n=j m mw m Ḥpy swr.n=j m hnkt sḥm.n=j m jrty wšḥ.n=j jrp šdh* “I lived by means of the bread of Geb. I am healthy from the water



of Hapy. I drank beer. I swallowed milk. I consumed wine and *shedeh*-brew” (*ibid*, 75); pBerlin 3052 (IV, 6-7) has: *nh=j m t3 skbh(=j) m mw m Hpy h=j m t3 hms=j m jrtrt ws=j m jrp* “I shall live by means of bread. (I) shall be refreshed from the water of Hapy. I shall rise by means of bread. I shall sit down with milk. I shall consume wine” (*ibid*). Lastly, pCairo CG 58007 (II, 15-16) reads: *nh=j m jrty=j skbh=j m mw m Hpy h=j m t3 hms=j m jrtrt ws=j m jrp* “I shall live by means of my eyes. I shall be refreshed from the water of Hapy. I shall rise by means of bread. I shall sit down with milk. I shall consume wine” (see *ibid*; Carrier 2017, 133).

<sup>137</sup> *jt=j sns* in pBM EA 10199 (I, 26) (Herbin 2008, 75 and 79-80 with pls. 37-38; and 1994, 247 [VIII, 2] for *jt* and *šsp*). *šsp=j snw* in pBerlin 3028 (V, 25) and pBN 151 (I, 53) (Herbin 2008, 75), and *šsp.n=j ss* in pLouvre N 3279 (V, 1) (see *ibid*; Goyon 1966, 59; Carrier 2017, 103).

<sup>138</sup> This passage, *šsp=j sns m k3p sntr*, is absent in pBM EA 10109 (I, 13), pBM EA 10125 (I, 27), and pCairo CG 58007 (I, 16) (see Herbin 2008, 75; Carrier 2017, 133). pBerlin 3052 (IV, 4), however, writes: *km3=j šsp=j sns m Rpwrt (?)* (Herbin 2008, 75).

<sup>139</sup> *ntrt 3t* “great goddess” in pLouvre E 3865 (VI, 4) (*ibid*).

<sup>140</sup> *jnk ntr 3 pr m* absent in pBM EA 10109 (I, 13) and pBM EA 10125 (I, 27) (*ibid*). pBerlin 3030 (V, 14) has *pr m t3* here “come forth from the earth,” while pBerlin 3052 (IV, 8) reads: *pr m hrt-ntr* “come forth from the god’s domain” (*ibid*). Similarly, pLouvre E 3865 (VI, 4) has *pr m ntr 3* “come forth from the great god” (*ibid*), while pLouvre N 3279 (V, 1) reads: *pr m ntr* “come forth from the god” (*ibid*; Goyon 1966, 59; Carrier 2017, 103). This is then followed by *stwt n R t3w n Imn mw n Hpy nnk st r 3w dt* “The sunbeams of Re, the air of Amun, and the water of Hapy: they are mine for the length of eternity” in the case of the latter (Goyon 1966, 59; Herbin 2008, 76; Carrier 2017, 103); *stwt n R t3w n Imn mw n Hpy nnk st dt* “The sunbeams of Re, the air of Amun, and the water of Hapy: they are mine eternally” in the case of pBerlin 3030 (V, 15) (Herbin 2008, 75); and *stwt n R t3w n Imn nnk st dt* “The sunbeams of Re and the air of Amun: they are mine eternally” in the case of pBerlin 3052 (IV, 9) (*ibid*, 76). Furthermore, pBM EA 10125 (I, 28) puts *stwt n Šw mw n Hpy t3w n Imn nnk st drw* “The sunbeams of Shu, the water of Hapy, and the air of Amun: they are all mine” (*ibid*, 76 and 113-114 with pls. 82-83); pBM 10340 (I, 6-7) puts *t3w n Imn šw n R mw n Hpy nnk st dt* “The air of Amun, the sunlight of Re, and the water of Hapy: they are mine eternally” (*ibid*, 76 146-147 with pls. 129-130); pBN 151 (I, 53) on the other hand has *hwt n Hpy* “the flow of Hapy” instead of *mw n Hpy* “the water of Hapy” (*ibid*, 76).

<sup>141</sup> *drw* instead of *dt* in pBM EA 10109 (I, 14) and pBM EA 10125 (I, 28) (*ibid*, 76-78 and 113-114 with pls. 33-34 and 82-83 respectively); *jnk st n dt* in pCairo CG 58007 (II, 17) (*ibid*, 76; Carrier 2017, 134); *sn dt* in pBM EA 10283 (I, 10) and pCairo CG 58014 (I, 14) (Herbin 2008, 76; Carrier 2017, 296); and *r 3w dt* in pLouvre N 3279 (V, 2) (Goyon 1966, 59; Herbin 2008, 76; Carrier 2017, 104).

<sup>142</sup> For this as *pr-nbw*, not *hwt-nbw* as read by Herbin 2008, 90, see Quack 2012, 275.

<sup>143</sup> *jnk b3=k* “I am your *ba*” in pCairo CG 58013 (I, 2) and pTurin 1861 B (I, 1) (Herbin 2008, 91; Carrier 2017, 273).

<sup>144</sup> *j R<sup>c</sup> jnk s3=k jnk mr=k* “O Re I am your son. I am your beloved” in pBM EA 10116 (I, 2) (Herbin 2008, 91).

<sup>145</sup> Variant reading in pCairo CG 58023 (I, x + 18-19): *jnk shm n jt=f Wsjr jnk t3wy n Šw hn<sup>c</sup> [Tfnwt]* “I am the image of his father, Osiris. I am the nestling of Shu together with [Tefnut]” (*ibid*, 92)

<sup>146</sup> *jnk jw<sup>c</sup> n m3<sup>c</sup>t* “I am the heir of truth” in pLouvre N 3162 (I, 2), pTurin 1861 B (I, 2), and pCairo CG 58013 (I, 3) (*ibid*; Carrier 2017, 274).

<sup>147</sup> *R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty* “Re-Horakhty” in pBM EA 10116 (I, 2), pCairo CG 58077 (III, 3), pCairo CG 58018 (I, 5), pLouvre N 3157 (I, 3), pLouvre N 3162 (I, 2), and pLouvre N 3174 (I, 2). *Hr* “Horus” in pBerlin 3052 (IV, 11) (Herbin 2008, 92).

<sup>148</sup> Instead of the greater and lesser Enneads here, some copies invoke an entirely different set of divinities: pBM EA 10282 (I, 2-3), for example, puts *j ntrw jmy(w) pt j ntrw jmy(w) t3 j ntrw jmy(w) Rsyt j ntrw jmy(w) Mht Imntt Tbt* “O gods who are in the sky. O gods who are upon the earth. O gods who are in the South. O gods who are in the North, West and East;” pLouvre N 3176 J (I, 1-2) puts: *j Wsjr hnty Imntt ntr 3 nb 3bdw j Ist wrt mwt-ntr j Hr s3 Ist s3 Wsjr j Nbt-hwt mwt-ntr j Inpw s3 Wsjr j p(3) rs nty rs r t3 dw3t* “O Osiris, foremost of the West, great god, lord of Abydos. O Isis the great, mother of the god. O Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris. O Nephthys, mother of the god. O Anubis, son of Osiris. O watchman who watches over the underworld.” pCairo CG 58022 (I, 1), however, reads: *j ntrw jmyw wsht M3<sup>c</sup>ty n3 jryw-3* [...] “O gods who are in the hall of Two Truths, doorkeepers [...],” while pLouvre N 3147 (V, 2) gives: *j ntr pn šps jt ntrw ntrwt* “O this noble god, father of the gods and goddesses” (*ibid*, 92). On the other hand, pCairo CG 58009 (III, 3) reads: *j Dhwtj mj hr=k r=j* “O Thoth, turn towards me” (*ibid*, 92 with n. 5; Carrier 2017, 210), while pFlorence 3669 (I, 9-12) gives a completely different introduction to the litany for the name: *jm3hw 3w nw Imntt šsp=sn h3t=t r dw3t m htp srwd rn=t m-hnw dw3t dsrt mj rwd rn n Itm nb Twnw m Twnw* “The great revered ones of the West: they shall receive your corpse in the underworld in peace, and make your name flourish within the sacred underworld like the name of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, flourishes in Heliopolis ...” (see Herbin 2008, 92; and Pellegrini 1904, 219-220).

<sup>149</sup> This entire passage is written in a vertical column running down the right edge of lines 7-37.

<sup>150</sup> pBM EA 10286 (I, 3), perhaps mistakenly, writes *jt* “father” instead of *Itm* “Atum” here. However, pLouvre N 3289 (I, 7-8) puts: *mj rwd rn Itm nbw (sic) Twnw m Twnw mj Itm nty m Twnw* for this passage (Herbin 2008, 93).

<sup>151</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10286 and pLouvre N 3289 (*ibid*.). Also placed before this passage in pFlorence 3669 (I, 13) is: *sdd h3t=t m-hnw Imntt* ... “making your corpse stable in the West ...” (see *ibid*, 93 with n. 19; and Pellegrini 1904, 220).

<sup>152</sup> pFlorence 3669 (I, 14-15) adds *rwḏ rn=t m-ḥnw pr=t* ... “Your name shall flourish within your house ...” to the beginning of this passage (Herbin 2008, 93 with n. 22; Pellegrini 1904, 220).

<sup>153</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10286 and pLouvre N 3289. Added, once again, to the beginning of this passage in pFlorence 3669 (I, 16) is the expression *sḏḏ ḥ3t=t m-ḥnw štyt=t* ... “making your corpse stable within your tomb ...” (Herbin 2008, 93 with n. 25; Pellegrini 1904, 220).

<sup>154</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10286 and pCairo CG 58009. This passage, which is linked to the former by the preposition *ḥnʿ* “together with” in pFlorence 3669 (I, 18), also marks the end of the litany in that copy (Herbin 2008, 94 with n. 27; Pellegrini 1904, 221).

<sup>155</sup> pLouvre N 3289 (I, 12-13) gives: *Wsḥr ḥnty ʿImntt ntr ʿ3 nbw (sic) 3ḃḏw mj Wsḥr nty m ḏw3t* “Osiris, foremost of the West, great god, lord of Abydos, like Osiris who is in the underworld.” However, pLouvre N 3156 (I, 10-11) puts: *Wsḥr ḥnty ʿImntt ntr ʿ3 nbw (sic) 3ḃḏw m 3w n ḏt nḥḥ* “Osiris, foremost of the West, great god, lord of Abydos, in the entirety of eternity and forever.” This in turn ends the litany in that manuscript (Herbin 2008, 94).

<sup>156</sup> Passage absent in pLouvre E 3865. However, pBM EA 10125 (I, 26) reads: *mjtt Wsḥr m ʿnd* “likewise Osiris in Andj,” while pCairo CG 58009 (III, 10-11) reads: *mj rwḏ Wsḥr nb ḏḏw m ntr ʿ3 nb ʿnd ntr njwwt ḥk3 sp3wt* “like Osiris, lord of Busiris as the great god, lord of Andj, god of the towns, ruler of the nomes, flourishes” (*ibid*). Meanwhile, pEdinburgh A. 1956.357 D (I, 4) seemingly replaces Isis with *Hwt-ḥr ḥnwt ʿImntt* “Hathor, mistress of the West” (see Coenen 2004a, 114 with pl. 8).

<sup>157</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 9977, pBM EA 10125, pLouvre E 3865, and pLouvre N 3161. Also put instead of *P* here in pBM EA 10331 (I, 8) is *ḥwt-ʿ3t (?)* (Herbin 2008, 94).

<sup>158</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 9977, pBM EA 10124, pBM EA 10125, and pLouvre N 3161. *m P Dp* “in Pe and Dep” in pBM EA 71513A (I, 33), pCairo CG 58007 (III, 13), pLouvre E 3865 (VI, 14), pLouvre N 3174 (I, 14), and pTurin 1861 B (I, 12). End of litany, and Nephthys instead of Wadjyt, in pBM EA 10286 (I, 6) (*ibid*).

<sup>159</sup> Passage absent in pLouvre E 3865. *m ḥwt šnw* in pBM EA 10124 (I, 7) and *m Dp* in pBM EA 10286 (I, 5). The phrase *mj rwḏ rn n ʿIst m sp3wt nb(t)* “like the name of Isis flourishes in all the nomes” is also added to this passage in pCairo CG 58009 (III, 13) (*ibid*, 94-95; Carrier 2017, 212).

<sup>160</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 9977, pBM EA 10125, pLouvre E 3865, and pLouvre N 3161. Passage partially omitted in pBM EA 10116 (I, 15), pBM EA 10282 (I, 17), pBM EA 10331 (I, 11), pBM EA 71513A (I, 35), pCairo CG 58009 (III, 13-14), pCairo CG 58013 (I, 16), pCairo CG 58017 (I, 9), pLieblein (I, 26), pLouvre N 3162 (I, 15), and pCairo CG 58022 (I, 16). This passage also marks the end of the litany in the latter (Herbin 2008, 95).

<sup>161</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125. End of litany in pBM EA 9977 (I, 9), pBM EA 10264 (I, 6-7), pCairo CG 58009 (III, 14), pEdinburgh A. 1956.357 D (I, 11), pLieblein (I, 27), and pLouvre E 3865 (VI, 14). *ḏḥwty ʿ3 nb Ḥmnw* in pCairo 58013 (I, 17) and pLouvre N 3161 (I, 12). *ḏḥwty ʿ3 wr nb Ḥmnw*

in pBM EA 9977 (I, 9) and pBM EA 10331 (I, 12). *Dḥwty ʕ spy nb Ḥmnw* in pLouvre E 3865 (VI, 14) and pLouvre N 3162 (I, 16). *Dḥwty ʕ ʕ wr nb Ḥmnw* in pCairo CG 58009 (III, 14). *Dḥwty ʕ ʕ ʕ nb Ḥmnw* in pCairo CG 58017 (I, 9), and *Dḥwty ʕ ʕ ʕ wr nb Ḥmnw* in pBM EA 10282 (I, 19) (see *ibid*). *Dḥwty ʕ ʕ nb Ḥmnw* in pEdinburgh A. 1956.357 D (I, 11) (see Coenen 2004a, 114 with pl. 8).

<sup>162</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161. End of litany in pBM EA 10116 (I, 17). Another text, which also ends this section, is inserted at this point in pBM EA 10282 (I, 20-5): *Ḥr s3 ʔst s3 Wsjr Ḥwt-ḥr ḥnwt ʔmntt M3ʔt ḥn=w n=s ʔmntyw mj rwd rn(=j) m-ḥnw sp(3w)t r nḥḥ* “Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, Hathor, mistress of the West, and Ma’at to whom the Westerners have been entrusted, let (my) name flourish within the nome(s) for ever” (see Herbin 2008, 95 with n. 34, and 108-109 with pls. 74 and 75).

<sup>163</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*, 95).

<sup>164</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125, pCairo CG 58007, pLouvre N 3148, pLouvre N 3157, pLouvre N 3161, and pTurin 1861 B (*ibid*).

<sup>165</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>166</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>167</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>168</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*, 96).

<sup>169</sup> Passage absent in pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>170</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>171</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>172</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161. End of litany in pCairo CG 58007 (IV, 12) (*ibid*; Carrier 2017, 144).

<sup>173</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (Herbin 2008, 96).

<sup>174</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>175</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>176</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>177</sup> Passage absent in pBM EA 10125 and pLouvre N 3161 (*ibid*).

<sup>178</sup> Added to this passage, and marking the end of the text in pBM EA 10125 (I, 27) is the expression: *stwt n Rʕ t3w n ʔmn mw n Ḥʕpy nnk* “The rays of Re, the air of Amun, and the water of Hapy belong to me.” Note that a similar passage is found at the end of some First Books of Breathing, such as pBM EA 10191 (II, 34) above (see *ibid*, 96 with n. 45). But note also the abridged Second Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10282 (I, 26-7) which contains the same expression (*ibid*, 108).

<sup>179</sup> *m-ḥnw Mn-nfr* in pBM EA 10304 (I, 35) (*ibid*, 97).

<sup>180</sup> Herbin read this as *dj=j ḥʕ=kwj* “I cause that I appear” (Herbin 2008, 91 and 97). However, Quack 2012, 275, suggested: ““Ich veranlasse, daß du erscheinst” (mit *kw* als Schreibung für Suffix *k*) oder “Ich bin erschienen” (mit *dj=j* als Schreibung für das proklitische Personalpronomen *tw=j*, was im

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Demotischen öfters vorkommt) verstanden werden.” But cf. also BD 77: *jw=j ḥꜥ.kwj sp sn m bjk ʕ pr m swḥt=f* “I am risen, I am risen, as a great falcon come forth from its egg” (see Quirke 2013, 182).

<sup>181</sup> See Quack 2012, 275.

<sup>182</sup> This entire passage *jw=j ḥꜥ.kwj m hb ʕ pr m ḥet n mwt=j* is absent in pTurin 1861 B (Herbin 2008, 97).

<sup>183</sup> *ḥnḥ wd3 snb* “life, prosperity and health” instead of *m3ꜥ-ḥrw* “justified” in pLouvre N 3174 (I, 40) (*ibid.*).

<sup>184</sup> *k3.tw* instead of *ḥr.tw* in pBM EA 10304 (I, 37) (*ibid.*).

<sup>185</sup> *ḥd pr m ḥ3swt* “silver come forth from the desert” in pLouvre N 3174 (I, 71-72) and pLouvre N 3220 A (I, 8-9) (*ibid.*, 97 with n. 50).

<sup>186</sup> *jw=j m-ḥnw Rꜥ-Ḥr-3ḥty* “I am in the presence of Re-Horakhty” in pLouvre N 3174 (I, 46) (*ibid.*, 97).

<sup>187</sup> *dj=w n=j j3w jn jmyw* in pCairo CG 58007 (V, 5), pLouvre N 3157 (I, 46), pLouvre N 3174 (I, 46-47), and pTurin 1861 B (I, 43-44) (*ibid.*).

<sup>188</sup> “*mesketet*-bark” in pCairo CG 58007 (V, 5), pLouvre N 3174 (I, 46-47), and pTurin 1861 B (I, 44). At this point in the latter, the Second Book of Breathing is interrupted and resumes again at II, 20 (*ibid.*, 97 with n. 53).

<sup>189</sup> Passage absent in pTurin 1861 B. pCairo CG 58007 (V, 6) reads as: *ꜥk=j ḥs mr.tw pr=j mr.tw* (Carrier 2017, 147). Likewise, pLouvre N 3174 (I, 47-48) puts *ꜥk.n=j ḥs.tw mr.tw pr=j mr.tw* here (Herbin 2008, 97; and 1994, 145-6 [II, 1]).

<sup>190</sup> *wstn m Wsjr* in pCairo CG 58007 (V, 7-8) (Herbin 2008, 98).

<sup>191</sup> For *Ḥr nfr n nbw* in pCairo CG 58018, Carrier (2017, 178) translated this as “faucon d’or magnifique.” However, the hieratic in this copy of the text shows the word *Ḥr* followed by the seated god determinative (Gardiner, A 40), suggesting that “Horus” is meant. Furthermore, the hieratic in pBM EA 10110 + 10111 shows the word *Ḥr* followed by the falcon of Horus on a standard determinative (Gardiner, G 7), which is also how it is written in Col. I, line 14 above (see Herbin 2008, pls. 57-58). This suggests that *Ḥr* here is most likely a theonym and not “falcon” *per se*.

<sup>192</sup> This passage, corresponding to lines 8-9, is absent in pCairo CG 58007 (*ibid.*, 98; Carrier 2017, 147-148).

<sup>193</sup> *pr=j n=j (sic) m ḥt ḥnꜥ=f* in pCairo CG 58007 (V, 8) (Herbin 2008, 98; Carrier 2017, 148).

<sup>194</sup> *ʕwy wstn=j* in pCairo CG 58018 (III, 9) (Herbin 2008, 98. Mistakenly listed as pBM EA 58018). In pCairo CG 58007 (V, 8-9), which reads *dj=f n=j ʕ wsr=j (?) jm=f*, the text ends at this point (*ibid.*, 98 with n. 60; Carrier 2017, 148).

<sup>195</sup> For *nn* here as denoting an offering or food, see Wilson 1997, 523.

<sup>196</sup> *ḥms=j ḥr ḥtyw (?) ḥr [...] n Šw* in pLouvre N 3148 (IX, 4) (Herbin 2008, 98).

<sup>197</sup> *ḥnꜥ wr ntr ... (?)* in pLouvre N 3157 (I, 56) (*ibid.*).

<sup>198</sup> *nbw Twnw* “lords of Heliopolis” in pLouvre N 3174 (I, 54-55) (*ibid.*).

- <sup>199</sup> Besides pBM EA 10110 + 10111, this section occurs only in pBM EA 10304 (I, 44-47), pCairo CG 58018 (III, 14-21), pLouvre N 3148 (IX, 6-8), pLouvre N 3159 (I, 26-28), pLouvre N 3174 (I, 55-59), and pLouvre N 3157 (I, 57-58). However, the part containing this section in the latter is now lost (see *ibid*, 98 with n. 62). A slightly truncated version of this section (basically the first half of it) also appears at the end of the First Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10199 (I, 26-29) (see *ibid*, 79).
- <sup>200</sup> *mhyt ndm(t)* in pCairo CG 58018 (III, 15) (*ibid*, 99; Carrier 2017, 180).
- <sup>201</sup> *r fnd=j* “(sweet air) for my nose” in pBM EA 10199 (I, 26) (Herbin 2008, 79 and 99).
- <sup>202</sup> *j Nprj* “O Nepri” in pLouvre N 3174 (I, 58) (*ibid*, 99).
- <sup>203</sup> *3ht mj n=j jr tt* omitted in pBM EA 10199 (I, 28) (*ibid*, 79 and 99).
- <sup>204</sup> The kinds of offerings (bread, beer, oxen and fowl) are not enumerated in pBM EA 10304 (I, 48), pLouvre N 3148 (IX, 8), and pLouvre N 3174 (I, 60). However, pCairo CG 58018 (III, 20-1) extends the list by adding *t3w hr sdt* “grains of incense on the flame” to this passage (*ibid*, 99; Goyon 1972, 275 with n. 5; and Carrier 2017, 182).
- <sup>205</sup> This entire passage has been substituted for the expression *nn ws r nhj hn dt* “unendingly, forever and eternally” in pBM EA 10199 (I, 29). This in turn ends the text of that manuscript (Herbin 2008, 79 and 99).
- <sup>206</sup> The beginning of this passage (*mj n=j nh n3 nbw nh*) is absent in pCairo CG 58013 (I, 21) (*ibid*, 99; Carrier 2017, 272).
- <sup>207</sup> This typically marks the end of the text of the Second Book of Breathing. Cf. for example, pBM EA 10304 (I, 50), pCairo CG 58018 (III, 24), and pTurin 1861 B (I, 45-6). However, apart from the text following this in pBM EA 10110 + 10111 (II, 22-25), the copy in pLouvre N 3148 (IX, 10ff) continues with a version of BD 162 and an original text corresponding to Goyon’s “*Texte VI*” which concerns the deceased’s passage through the body of Nut (see Goyon 1972, 280-285). Likewise, the end of this “*Texte VI*” also appears at the end of the Second Book of Breathing in pLouvre N 3159 + 3194 (x + 33 – x + 42), so does a titulary of the deceased (x + 29 – x + 32) (see *ibid*, 283-285 with n. 1 on 283; and Herbin 2008, 99 with n. 69).
- <sup>208</sup> For the translation of *k3w=f r bw hr k3=k*, see Quack 2012, 275: “verstehe wohl genauer “sein Werk ist auf den Platz gerichtet, der deinen Ka trägt.””
- <sup>209</sup> *Ibid*, 276.
- <sup>210</sup> *Ibid*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# The Purpose of the First and Second Books of Breathing

### **4.1. Introduction**

The previous chapters have revealed a great deal of information about the First and Second Books of Breathing, including their physical characteristics, written content, and the texts from which they are derived. At the same time, these chapters have shown that both works expound upon a variety of funerary themes and can be seen to have had a number of religious functions. This chapter aims to describe these functions in more detail and is intended to answer two important questions: what was the purpose of the texts and what were they supposed to do?

### **4.2. Themes and Functions**

As we have seen, the First and Second Books of Breathing are an expression of several funerary ideas. But upon scrutiny, many of these ideas are no different to those expounded upon in afterlife texts of the Pharaonic Period. Indeed, to paraphrase Chassinat, the ideas presented are more or less the same; it is only the form in which they are conveyed that differs.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it was shown in the previous chapters that the texts comprising the First and Second Books of Breathing are derived from texts known already from tomb walls, coffins, stelae, and other forms of funerary literature, including spells of the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, and especially the Book of the Dead. By comparing the various sections of our texts with their antecedents it can be established that the First and Second Books of Breathing had a number of functions – and it is from these functions that we can discern their purpose. Bear in mind, however, that not every copy of the texts is the same. As mentioned above, many of them are in fact abridged and therefore much shorter than those translated in the previous chapter. Regardless of this, it can be established that the papyri have at least one of the following functions.

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<sup>1</sup> Chassinat 1895, 314.

#### 4.2.1. To Ensure the Deceased of Their Corporeal Integrity

The first, it can be argued, is to assure the deceased of their corporeal integrity. Indeed, throughout the First and Second Books of Breathing are certain passages referring to the protection of the body and the long-term survival of the corpse in the tomb. On one hand we have the so-called *Gliedervergottung* forming part of § 6 of the First Book of Breathing in which the deceased identifies them self or rather parts of their body with different deities:

*jw šnw=j m Nwn jw hr=j m R<sup>c</sup> jw jrty=j m Hwt-hr jw msdrwy(=j) m Wp-w3wt jw  
fnd=j m Hnty-Hm jw spt=j m Inpw jw jbh<sup>w</sup>=j m Srkt jw nhbt=j m Ist Nbt-hwt jw  
wy=j m B3-nb-dd jw snbt=j [m Nt nbt] S3w jw psd=j m n3 nbw Hr-<sup>c</sup>h3 [jw ht=j] n  
Shmt jw hpšw=j m Irt Hr jw mnty=j m Nwt jw rdwy=j m Pth jw s3hw=j m j<sup>c</sup>r<sup>c</sup>wt  
nhw nn <sup>c</sup>t jm[=j] šw m ntr Dhwtj m s3 n h<sup>c</sup>w=j jwf=j tm n nh r<sup>c</sup> nb nn hf<sup>c</sup>.tw(=j)  
hr wy=j nn 3m.tw(=j) hr drt=j smn n hh n rnpwt rn=j*

My hair is as Nun. My face is as Re. My eyes are as Hathor. (My) ears are as Wepwawet. My nose is as Khenty-Khem. My lips are as Anubis. My teeth are as Serqet. My neck is as Isis and Nephthys. My arms are as Banebdjed. My chest [is as Neith, the lady] of Sais. My back is as the lords of Kher-Aha. [My belly] is of Sekhmet. My thighs are as the Eye of Horus. My calves are as Nut. My legs are as Ptah. My toes are as a living uraeus. No limb of [mine] is without a god, and Thoth is as the protector of my body. My flesh is full of life every day. (I) shall not be grasped by my arms. (I) shall not be seized by my hands. “One who is established for millions of years” is my name.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, there is a note on the versos of some of the papyri affirming for the beneficiary a good and everlasting burial:

*sm3-t3 nfr ddj=s jw ks[w=k] w3h=s jw [j]wf[=k] nn [sk nn mrh] dt*

A good burial. May it endure over [your] bones and may it remain over [your] flesh without [destruction] and [without decay], eternally.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 45-49.

<sup>3</sup> Verso note of pEdinburgh A. 212.113.4 (after Coenen 2004, 107), with a similar note on the versos of pBM EA 10115, pBM EA 10123, pBM EA 10125, pBM EA 10283, pBM EA 10286, pBM EA 10303, pBM EA 10337,



Essentially, both of these are reassurances that the body of the deceased will survive eternally and remain perfect and indestructible for all time. In fact, according to pHarkness (MMA 31.9.7) a “good burial” (*sm3-t3 nfr*) was thought to exalt the deceased and keep them safe:

*qset nfr ir hr iw=s q hr-3t=t t3 qset r-tw n=t [3]st i-ir=t s<sup>c</sup>ym n-im=s t3 qset mnht r-tw n=t t3 nb t3wy*

A good burial is favourable. It is exalted upon you, the burial which [I]sis gave you. Through it you are blessed, the efficacious burial which the lady of the Two Lands gave you.<sup>4</sup>

Also, the type of *Gliedervergottung* here is based on the concept of death as dismemberment,<sup>5</sup> and is said to be the “intellectual counterpart” to the process of mummification.<sup>6</sup> This being the case, it is essentially a spell for the protection and preservation of the body and is intended to ensure that the corpse of the deceased will remain intact forever; hence the expressions “No limb of [mine] is without a god” (*nn ʿt jm[=j] šw m ntr*) and “My flesh is full of life every day” (*jwf=j tm n ʿnh r<sup>c</sup> nb*).

In addition to all of this, the papyri occasionally supply us with directions concerning where they should be deposited with the deceased. According to these directions, copies of the First Book of Breathing were to be placed under/at the head and copies of the Second Book of Breathing were to be placed under/at the feet. Despite some notable exceptions to these rules,<sup>7</sup>

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pBM EA 71513A, pBM EA 71513C, pBM EA 71513D, pBrussels E 5298, pCairo CG 58014, pCairo CG 58019, pLandesmuseum Klagenfurt AE III/1, and pTübingen 2014.

<sup>4</sup> pHarkness, I, 4-5 (after Smith 2005, 49). For the meaning of a “good burial” in ancient Egypt, see also Riggs 2005, 2.

<sup>5</sup> See Assmann 2002, 179; 2005a, 31-38; and Zandee 1960, 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> Taylor 2010b, 162.

<sup>7</sup> Indeed, it seems that some Second Books of Breathing could be placed under the head. Both pCairo CG 58017 and pLouvre N 3289, as well as pFlorence 3669, for example, contain the text of the Second Book of Breathing but have a head represented or mentioned on their versos. This suggests that the placement of the Second Book of Breathing was not restricted solely to the feet. Additionally, there are several instances where the placement of the papyri is not referred to at all. This is especially true in circumstances where both a First and Second Book of Breathing occupy the same papyrus scroll (e.g. pBM EA 10125, pBM EA 71513A-C, pBerlin 3052, pCairo CG 58007, pLouvre E 3865, pLouvre N 3148, and pLouvre N 3159 + 3194). Likewise, in terms of the First Books of Breathing in pBM EA 10115, pBM EA 10191, pBM EA 10283, pBerlin 3030, pCairo CG 58015, and pCairo CG

positioning the objects in relation to these parts of the body seems to have been done so for a reason.<sup>8</sup> As such, it makes the texts analogous to those found inscribed on the head and foot ends of coffins invoking deities for protection and support.<sup>9</sup> It also makes the papyri analogous to funerary amulets such as *hypocephali* or pectorals usually placed near the head in order to protect the body of its bearer and ward off danger.<sup>10</sup> This can be corroborated by the fact that some exemplars are inscribed with the words “The Document of Breathing of Thoth is as your protection” (*šꜥt n snsn n Dḥwty m s3w=k*).<sup>11</sup> In Egyptian, the word for “protection” (*s3*) can also mean “amulet,”<sup>12</sup> indicating that the papyri were apotropaic in nature and intended to supply the deceased with utterances that would help to make them impervious to physical harm.

#### 4.2.2. To Reconstitute of the Physical Faculties of the Deceased

Another idea expounded upon in the texts is the reconstitution of the physical faculties of the deceased. This is seen most clearly in the First Book of Breathing, especially in § 3 and § 4, which refer particularly to the restoration of the mouth by Atum and Ptah respectively:

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58016, and the Second Books of Breathing in pBM EA 10124 and pBM EA 10286, there is no reference to the placement of the documents at all (see Herbin 2008, 2-3).

<sup>8</sup> Scalf 2014, 207.

<sup>9</sup> A good example is furnished by the coffin of Userhet from Beni Hasan (see Snape 2011, 142 and 146). For further comments see also Scalf 2014, 205-214 who argues that placement at the head and feet is connected to the goddesses Isis and Nephthys as protectors at the head and feet of a recumbent Osiris, and that it continues a theme known mainly from Middle Kingdom rectangular coffins.

<sup>10</sup> For the so-called *hypocephali*, dated to the Late Period and early Ptolemaic Dynasty, see *inter alia* Varga 1961; *idem*, 1968; Clarysse 1998; and Miatello 2012-2013 who presents examples of mummy masks with a *hypocephalus* drawn on top of the head. For a good example of a pectoral, see Lacovara 1990.

<sup>11</sup> After pBM EA 71513B (Herbin 2008, 87 with pls. 53-54), with a similar note on the versos of pBM EA 10109, pBM EA 10124, and pBM EA 71513A.

<sup>12</sup> *Wb.* III, 414-415; Andrews 1994, 6; Ritner 1995, 49; Wilson 1997, 782-783; and also Erichsen 1954 [1972], 403.

Example 1:

*j Nb-šsp hnty hwt-ʕ3t hr=k r=j dj=k n=j r3=j mdw=j jm=f sšm=k n=j jb=j m 3t nt  
nbd jr=k n=j r3=j mdw=j jm=f m-b3h ntr ʕ3 nb dw3t nn šnʕ[.tw=j m] pt t3 m-b3h  
d3d3t nt ntr nb ntrt nb(t) jnk b3 n Hr jr ʕhm ht m pr=s*

O Lord-of-light, foremost of the great mansion, turn you face to me. May you give my mouth to me so that I may speak with it. May you guide my *jb*-heart for me in the moment of injury. May you create my mouth for me so that I may speak with it before the great god, lord of the underworld. May [I] not be [turned away from] the sky or the earth before the tribunal of any god or any goddess. I am the *ba* of Horus who extinguishes the flame when it flares up.<sup>13</sup>

Example 2:

*j Pth jt ntrw [hr=k r=j] wn n=j r3=j wp n=j jrty=j mj jr.t n Skr-Wsjr m hwt-nbw m  
Inbw-hd j-wn n=j r3=j m md3t [nt] bj3 j-wpj=k r3(w) n ntrw jm=s jnk b3 n Shmt  
nt(y) hms hr jmy-wrt nt pt*

O Ptah, father of the gods, [(turn) your face to me]. Open my mouth for me. Open my eyes for me like that which was done for Sokar-Osiris in the mansion of gold in Memphis. Open my mouth for me with the *medjat*-chisel [of] iron with which you opened the mouths of the gods. I am the *ba* of Sekhmet who dwells on the west side of the sky.<sup>14</sup>

As a whole, these passages relate directly to the “Opening of the Mouth” (*wpt-r*) – a ceremony usually performed by priests to endow the deceased with certain “life-preserving actions,” such as the ability to eat, drink, speak, and breathe.<sup>15</sup> They are also adapted directly from BD 21-22, which might “reflect more specifically a funeral liturgy in which the mouth was consecrated to provide the deceased with power over it.”<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, despite the fact that these spells do not repeat the words of the Opening of the Mouth verbatim, each one had the magical purpose of guaranteeing that the ceremony would be performed forever, evidently without the succour

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<sup>13</sup> pBM EA 101091, I, 29-31.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 31-33.

<sup>15</sup> Dieleman 2005, 173. See also Taylor 2010a, 100; and esp. Otto 1960. For a translation of the ritual, see also Goyon 1972, 87-182.

<sup>16</sup> Quirke 2013, 80.

of priests.<sup>17</sup> If so, then our text was supposed to ensure this for the deceased as well. As such, it is not only comparable to BD 21-22, but also scenes depicting the Opening of the Mouth on tomb walls, which likewise made it possible for the deceased to benefit from the ritual eternally.<sup>18</sup> Hence the reason § 3 of the First Book of Breathing is addressed to Atum the “Lord-of-light.” The god, manifested in the form of the sun, “charged” the mummy, ultimately restoring the deceased back to life.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, § 4 is addressed to Ptah. This god was related to metalworking and sculpture and from at least the Middle Kingdom onwards was also believed to preside over the Opening of the Mouth.<sup>20</sup>

#### 4.2.3. To Secure and Preserve the Heart

Emphasis is also placed upon ensuring that the deceased is not without their heart in the afterlife. Again, at various points throughout the First Book of Breathing are references to the *jb*-heart and the *ḥ3ty*-heart, most of which have antecedents in the well-known “heart chapters” of the Book of the Dead.<sup>21</sup> These include parts of BD 27 and 28, which served to prevent the heart from being taken away from the deceased, and especially BD 26 for “giving the *jb*-heart of N to him in the god’s domain” (*rdjt jb n N n=f m ḥrt-ntr*):

##### Example 1:

First Book of Breathing:

*jr=k n=j jb=j m pr jbw ḥ3ty=j m pr ḥ3tyw [jr=k n=j] jb=j ḥtp ḥr st=f ḥ3ty=j smn ḥr  
mkt=f dj=k n=j r3=j r mdw rdwy=j r šm ʿwy=j [r shr] ḥftyw=j j-wn <n=j> ʿ3wy m  
pt mj jr=k n ntrw ntrwt mj wn n=j Inpw n3 sbḥwt n t3 dw3t mj jr=j wʿ m šms Wsjr  
sš wdt m-ḥnw ḥwt-k3-Pth r tm šnʿ nmt=j m ḥrt-ntr*

May you (= Ptah) create my *jb*-heart for me in the house of *jb*-hearts and my *ḥ3ty*-heart in the house of *ḥ3ty*-hearts. [May you make for me] my *jb*-heart rest in its place and my *ḥ3ty*-heart established in its proper position. May you give to me my mouth in order to speak, my legs in order to walk, and my arms [in order to overthrow] my enemies. Open <for me> the double doors in the sky like that which

<sup>17</sup> Taylor 2010a, 88.

<sup>18</sup> For the functions of these scenes, see Hartwig 2004, 117-120.

<sup>19</sup> Assmann 2005a, 317-324; and 1972, 126-127 for the idea of the Opening of the Mouth being performed in the open air in the presence of the sun god.

<sup>20</sup> Assmann 2005a, 272; Otto 1960, vol. 2, 35-36; Goyon 1966, 31-36; and Sandman Holmberg 1946, 95-96.

<sup>21</sup> For these chapters, see Birch 1870, 30-34, 46-48, 73-81; and Quirke 2013, 89-100.

you do for the gods and goddesses. Let Anubis open for me the portals of the underworld. Let me become one in the following of Osiris. May a decree be written in the mansion-of-the-*ka*-of-Ptah so that my movements will not be turned away in the god's domain.<sup>22</sup>

BD 26:

*jb=j n=j m pr jbw ḥ3ty=j n=j m pr ḥ3tyw ... jw n=j r3=j r mdwt rdwy=j r šmt ʕwy=j  
r šhrt ḥftyw=j wn n=j ʕ3wy t3 sn.n Gb r=j ʕrty.fy wn=f jrty=j šdntt dwn=f rdwy=j  
krf srwd.n Inpw m3sty=j ts wj jrf d[wn.n] wj jst ntrt wnn=j m pt jr.tw wdt.n=j m  
ḥwt-k3-Pth*

Mine is my *jb*-heart in the house of *jb*-hearts. Mine is my *ḥ3ty*-heart in the house of *ḥ3ty*-hearts ... Mine is my mouth in order to speak, my legs in order to walk, and my arms in order to overthrow my enemies. May the double doors of the earth be open for me. Geb has opened his jaws towards me. May he open my fastened eyes. May he stretch out my twisted legs. Anubis has strengthened my knees. Raise me then! Isis the goddess has stretched me out. I shall exist in the sky, and that which I have decreed is to be done in the mansion-of-the-*ka*-of-Ptah.<sup>23</sup>

## Example 2:

First Book of Breathing:

*(j jb=j) jnk nb=k nn w3=k r=j rʕ nb m wdwt n T3-nn wr sdm n=j jb=j ds=j jw=k m  
ht=j nn w3=k r=j jnk pfy jr.w wdwt ḥ3t=f m ḥwt-k3-Pth jw=w sdm n=f m ḥrt-ntr nn  
jt.tw jb=j m-ʕ=j jn ʕḥ3w m Twnw*

(O my *jb*-heart), I am your master and you shall not be far from me every day by the decree of Ta(te)nen the great. Listen to me my very own *jb*-heart, while you are in my body: you shall not be far from me. I am he before whom a decree is made in the mansion-of-the-*ka*-Ptah and one should listen to it in the god's domain. My *jb*-heart shall not be taken away from me by the warriors in Heliopolis.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 34-37.

<sup>23</sup> From the papyrus of Nu (translation after Quirke 2013, 89-90).

<sup>24</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 38-40.

BD 27 (Last part):

*s<sub>dm</sub> n=j jb=j jnk nb=k jw=k m ht=j nn rk=k wj jnk wdd s<sub>dm</sub>=k n=f m hrt-ntr*

Listen to me, my *jb*-heart: I am your lord while you are in my body. You shall not disobey me. I am the one who decrees, and you will listen to it in the god's domain.<sup>25</sup>

BD 28 (First part):

*j rw jnk wnb bwt=j pw nmt ntr nn jt.tw h3ty=j pn m-<sup>c</sup>[=j] [jn] <sup>c</sup>h3w m Twnw*

O lion-god. I am the *weneb*-flower. The slaughter-house of the god is my abomination. This my *h3ty*-heart shall not be taken away from [me] [by] the warriors in Heliopolis.<sup>26</sup>

It is well known that the ancient Egyptians considered the heart to be an important aspect of a person, not only because it governed them “anatomically and emotionally,”<sup>27</sup> but also because of the role it played in judgement after death.<sup>28</sup> For this reason, several methods were used to safeguard it in the burial, such as by means of amulets or the aforementioned spells of the Book of the Dead.<sup>29</sup> Like those spells of the Book of the Dead it seems our text was supposed to guarantee for the deceased that he or she not only receives their heart but remains in possession of it as well, probably so that it will not deny them an afterlife. Similarly, it sets out to ensure that the heart is not stolen or corrupted by evil forces in the hereafter. Evidence for this comes from the expression: *nn jt.tw jb=j m-<sup>c</sup>=j jn <sup>c</sup>h3w m Twnw* “My heart shall not be taken away from me by the warriors in Heliopolis.” These warriors were envisaged as otherworldly beings hostile to the deceased.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, one of the vignettes illustrating the first text column of the First Book of Breathing in pBerlin 3028 shows an anthropomorphic *ba*-bird standing before a group of divinities. As mentioned, the iconography here is similar to the vignette that sometimes illustrates BD spells 26 and 27 which depicts the deceased and his heart before a

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<sup>25</sup> From the papyrus of Nu (translation after Quirke 2013, 91).

<sup>26</sup> From the papyrus of Nu (translation after Quirke 2013, 93).

<sup>27</sup> Taylor 2001, 17.

<sup>28</sup> For the importance attached to the heart, see also Assmann 2005a, 28-31 and 102-104; Brunner 1965; and Piankoff 1930.

<sup>29</sup> Taylor 2001, 17-18. For studies on heart amulets, see also Ferreira de Sousa 2007a; and 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Zandee 1960, 201.

small host of deities.<sup>31</sup> According to the text of BD 27, these deities are probably to be identified as netherworldly demons called “thieves of *jb*-hearts, cutters of *h3ty*-hearts” (*jtȳw jbw nkȳw h3tyw*).<sup>32</sup> These demons supposedly had the power to take the deceased’s heart and use it against him during judgement.<sup>33</sup> If the group of deities depicted in pBerlin 3028 are the same as those featured in the vignettes of BD 26-27, then one of the aims of the First Book of Breathing was to prevent this from happening.

#### 4.2.4. To Perpetuate the Name of the Deceased

It was not only the heart or physical faculties of the deceased that needed to be secured in order for a person to survive after death, the non-physical constituents had to be preserved as well. One of the most important of these was the name, and forming a large part of the text of the Second Book of Breathing is a litany for making the name “flourish” (*rwḏ*) like the names of various deities. In ancient Egypt, the name was more than an appellation “sufficient for the identification of the living and the dead.”<sup>34</sup> Like the heart, it was considered to be vital and without it one ceased to exist. In a funerary context, it was therefore considered integral to the bearer’s eternal survival in the afterlife and it was said that “One who is in the necropolis will live when his name is pronounced” (*ḥnh jmy hrt-ntr tm.tw rn=j*).<sup>35</sup> As such, great emphasis was placed on keeping a person’s name alive after death and perpetuating it for posterity. For example, spells such as CT 410-412 and BD 25 all deal with the idea of ensuring that the name of the deceased is not forgotten,<sup>36</sup> as do the so-called “Appeals to the Living” carved on the entrances of certain tombs:

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<sup>31</sup> See Quirke 2013, 91; Taylor 2010b, 162, fig. 48; Ferreira de Sousa 2007a, esp. 43 (fig. 4).

<sup>32</sup> Quirke 2013, 91

<sup>33</sup> Taylor 2010b, 162; Zandee 1960, 180-181, 243 and 246-247.

<sup>34</sup> Vittmann 2013, 2.

<sup>35</sup> Jansen-Winkel 1999, 49 (A.1.b.7).

<sup>36</sup> Vittmann 2013, 6. For these spells, see Faulkner 1977, vol. II, 63-64; and Quirke 2013, 88 respectively.

*j hm-ntr nb w<sup>c</sup>b hm-ntr (sic) nb sšw nb rh-jht nb ʕk=sn r3-st3t tn m33=sn jsj pn jh  
dm=tn rn(=j) nfr dd=tn pr-hrw t3 hkt jhw r3w hwt nb(w) nfr(w) n k3 n nb n jsj pn*  
O every prophet, every *wab*-priest, every scribe, every scholar who will enter this  
necropolis and see this tomb, may you mention (my) good name and say: “An  
invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, oxen, geese, and all good things for  
the *ka* of the lord of this tomb!”<sup>37</sup>

In addition, a number of texts, usually written by pilgrims during their peregrinations to sacred sites, bear the expression “the good name remains” (*rn nfr mn*),<sup>38</sup> and appearing in the corpus of Demotic funerary texts are formulae ensuring for the deceased the survivability of their name in the afterlife. For example: “May your name live” (*ʕnh rn=k*),<sup>39</sup> and “May your name remain after you upon the earth forever” (*mne rn=k m-s3=k hr p3 t3 šʕ-r-nhh*).<sup>40</sup> The litany of the Second Book of Breathing it seems was intended to serve a similar purpose and functioned as another means of ensuring that the name of the deceased will not be forgotten and that he or she will live-on in the hereafter. As Smith has stated: “By linking the perdurability of the his name with that of the names of a series of divinities, the deceased ensures its continued survival in the afterlife.”<sup>41</sup>

At the same time, it is possible that the litany in the Second Book of Breathing was also intended to perpetuate the spirit components of the individual, namely the *ka* – the “life-force,” “double,” “essence,” or “conscience” of an individual.<sup>42</sup> It has been shown, for example, that the terms *rn* (“name”) and *k3* (“*ka*”) are often used synonymously,<sup>43</sup> even in funerary texts dated the Greco-Roman Period.<sup>44</sup> This suggests that the litany in the Second Book of Breathing may not just be

<sup>37</sup> From the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel (after Vittmann 2013, 6; and Lefebvre 1923, 3 and 1924, 43-44). For more on Appeals to the Living, see also Leprohon 2001, 570-571.

<sup>38</sup> Thissen 1979, 88-89; Dechauvelle 1983, 123-124; Thissen 1989, 197-198; Dijkstra 2008, 187-188; Vleeming 2011, 792-793; and Cruz-Urbe 2012, 111; with references to further literature in Scalf 2014, 56-57, n. 218.

<sup>39</sup> Smith 1998, 439; Barns 1952, 69-71, pl. III.

<sup>40</sup> Smith 1993, 26, 32 and pl. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Smith 2009a, 516. Cf. also the comments of Stadler 1999, 97 and *idem*, 2000, 119-123 regarding the function of litanies or lists of names in a funerary context.

<sup>42</sup> Zandee 1960, 180.

<sup>43</sup> See *ibid*, 180 with n. 5 and n. 6; and Stadler 1999, 86 for *rn* as an expression for *k3* in Demotic funerary texts.

<sup>44</sup> For example, in the bilingual pRhind I a passage in the hieratic (VIIh, 10) stating *k3=j hr šmsy k3=k* “my *ka* following your *ka*” reads in the demotic section (VIIId, 10) as *iw p3y=y rn ih šms p3y=k rn* “my name following



a litany for the name but a litany for the *ka* as well, and is intended perhaps to perpetuate these two aspects of the identity of the deceased forever.

#### 4.2.5. To Ensure Nourishment in the Afterlife and Freedom of Movement

Besides the everlastingness of the name, another theme reflected in the Second Book of Breathing is the provision of food and drink – substances essential for the survival of the living but also the dead. We see this especially in the case of the long versions which feature an utterance stating the following:

*j Imn mj n=j t3w ndm jnk s3=k mr=k j R<sup>c</sup> mj n=j stwt=k mj m33=j twk m hrt hrw nt  
r<sup>c</sup> nb j H<sup>c</sup>py mj n=j kbh Nprj mj n=j t3 Mnkt mj n=j hnkt 3ht mj n=j jrtt wy=j f3w r  
šsp prt-hrw t3 hnkt k3w 3pdw*

O Amun, give to me the sweet air, (for) I am your beloved son. O Re, give to me your rays, let me see you in the course of every day. O Hapy, give to me a libation. Nepri, give to me bread. Menqet, give to me beer. *Akhet*-cow, give to me milk. My arms are raised in order to receive an invocation-offering of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl.<sup>45</sup>

As mentioned above, this part of the text evokes a passage found in the so-called “Spell for Making a Torch,”<sup>46</sup> as well as sources of the “Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits” attested on papyri, tomb walls, sarcophagi, and other objects from at least the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards:<sup>47</sup>

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your name.” In the same text, another passage in the hieratic (Xh, 4-5) reads: *jmy jrj-f hpr nb r-dr jb=f m bw nb mr k3=f jm* “Let him make every transformation in his heart in every place his *ka* desires,” whereas in the corresponding demotic (Xd, 5-6) it states: *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” (see Scalf 2014, 241).

<sup>45</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 14-18.

<sup>46</sup> See de Garis Davies 1924, 12-13; Nelson 1949, 336-339 (Episodes 52 and 53); Fakhry 1961, 63-69 with pls. LXVIII and LXIX; Hari 1985, 41-42 with pl. XXVIII; Haikal 1985, 361-372; Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 412-414, 430-434; and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303 with pls. 50-51 and vol. II, 263-268.

<sup>47</sup> Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 147-224.

ḥnḥ b3=k w3ḏ mtw=k wb3 ḥr=k m w3t kkw Ḥpy dj=f n=k mw Nprj dj=f n=k t3 Ḥwt-  
ḥrw dj=s n=k ḥnḫt Ḥs3t dj=s n=k jrṯt

May your *ba* live and your vessels be fresh. May your face be opened on the ways of darkness. Hapy: may he give water to you. Nepri: may he give bread to you.

Hathor: may she give beer to you. Hesat: may she give milk to you.<sup>48</sup>

This spell for presenting offerings is one of the most prevalent offering formulas known from ancient Egypt,<sup>49</sup> and is an invocation to deities to supply the deceased with food and drink – a role usually attributed to the tree-goddess in other funerary compositions.<sup>50</sup> To this end, ensuring that the deceased remained nourished in the next world seems to have been another function of our papyri.

In connection to this, § 8 of the First Book of Breathing is comprised of statements borrowed from BD 54,<sup>51</sup> while §§ 9 – 11 seem to be an amalgamation of various utterances inspired by BD 57, 59, 60, and 62.<sup>52</sup> All of these are compositions for ensuring control over air and water in the necropolis as indicated by their titles,<sup>53</sup> and are connected to the theme of nourishment. More significantly, at the end of some First Books of Breathing the deceased recites the following set of wishes:

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<sup>48</sup> After *ibid*, 153.

<sup>49</sup> Assmann 2005a, 343.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 345. The most notable of these compositions is BD 59, a Ramesside Period adaptation of BD 56, in which the tree-goddess is invoked to provide air and water for the deceased (see Billing 2004, 46).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. pBM EA 10191, II, 7-14.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. pBM EA 10191, II, 14-26.

<sup>53</sup> BD 54: *r n rdjt t3w m ḥrt-ntr* “Spell for giving air in the god’s domain;” BD 57: *r n ssn t3w shm m mw m ḥrt-ntr* “Spell for breathing air and having power over water in the god’s domain;” BD 59: *r n ssn t3w shm m mw m ḥrt-ntr* “Spell for breathing air and having power over water in the god’s domain;” BD 60: *r n swrj mw m ḥrt-ntr* “Spell for drinking water in the god’s domain;” BD 62: *r n swrj mw m ḥrt-ntr* “Spell for drinking water in the god’s domain.”

ʿnh=j m t3 m Gb snb=j m mw m Hʿpy ʿhʿ=j m hnk̄t sʿm=j m jr̄tt wšʿ=j m jrp šdh  
 sšp=j snsn m k3p sn̄tr jnk n̄tr ʿ3 pr m stwt n Rʿ t3w n ʿImn mw n Hʿpy nnk st dt

I shall live on the bread of Geb. I shall be healthy from the water of Hapy. I shall rise by means of beer. I shall swallow milk. I shall consume wine and *shedeh*-brew. I shall receive breath by means of kyphi and incense. I am the great god come forth from the sunbeams of Re. The air of Amun and the water of Hapy: they are mine eternally.<sup>54</sup>

These final lines tend to relate to the mortuary cult, but imply that the deceased is to receive sustenance from offerings either from the gods themselves or from regular rituals performed on their behalf. If so, it is supposed to guarantee for the deceased an eternal supply of provisions and functioned to help their bearers sustain themselves in the netherworld. Air, water, and food, of course, being the most basic and important requirements for human survival.

Furthermore, drawn above the text columns in some copies of the First Book of Breathing is a vignette showing Nut in various forms – a scene undoubtedly derived from the illustrations used for BD 57 and 59.<sup>55</sup> In one of these forms Nut is depicted as a goddess emerging from a sycamore pouring a libation before the deceased who is seated in front of an offering-table.<sup>56</sup> This vignette can be viewed as relating once again to the mortuary cult, but like any visual representation from ancient Egypt was also believed to have a magical effect in the sense that it would become real in the netherworld.<sup>57</sup> Since some First Books of Breathing contain such a scene, it is likely the work could have been used to help secure nourishment for the deceased as well.

That said, a part of securing nourishment was the freedom of the *ba*-spirit to “go forth by day,”<sup>58</sup> and at the beginning of § 7 of the First Book of Breathing is a passage stating the following:

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<sup>54</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 31-34.

<sup>55</sup> For example, pBodleian Library Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P) and pLouvre N 3279.

<sup>56</sup> See especially Goyon 1966, 7-8 with the unnumbered plate.

<sup>57</sup> Hodel-Hoenes 2000, 22.

<sup>58</sup> Quirke 2013, xiv; Assmann 2005a, 209-234; Assmann and Kucharek 2008, 827-828.

*j ntr nb ntrt nb(t) hr(w)=tn r=j jnk jt=tn wnn=j m šmsw Wsjr nmt.n=j m pt wb3.n=j  
m t3 š3js.n=j t3 r nmt 3hw špsw jnk ʕpr hḥ Rʕ-Hr-3ḥty rn=j jnk ntr nb dw3t pr=j m  
3ḥt r ḥfty=j nn nḥm=f m-ʕ=j m3ʕ-hrw=j mj nb wrrt twm=j rdwy=j m dwn ḥʕ=j šḥr  
ḥftyw=j rʕ nb*

O all gods and every goddess, (turn) your faces to me. I am your father. I am in the following of Osiris. I have journeyed through the sky. I have opened the earth. I have traversed the land at the paces of the august spirits. I am equipped with millions (of word-powers), and “Re-Horakhty” is my name. I am the god, lord of the underworld. I shall go forth from the horizon against my enemy. He shall not be rescued from me. I shall be justified like the lord of the white-crown. I shall extend my legs in movement. I shall arise and overthrow my enemies every day.<sup>59</sup>

It was mentioned earlier in this study that this entire part of the text is inspired directly by BD 48 (= 10) and BD 49 (= 11), two spells associated with the concept of enabling the deceased to “go forth” (*pr*) from the necropolis without obstruction. This suggests that besides securing nourishment the text was also intended to allow freedom of movement.

In addition, part of § 11 of the First Book of Breathing comprises passages paralleled in BD 68, known by the title “Spell for going forth by day” (*r n prt m hrw*),<sup>60</sup> but also “Opening a way for a perfect glorified spirit in the god’s domain” (*wn w3t n 3ḥ jkr m ḥrt-ntr*).<sup>61</sup> In the manner of that spell it features a request to open the sky and earth for the deceased, followed by a litany for control over the body and the senses, as well as offerings:

*jw wn n=j pt jw wn n=j t3 šḥm=j m jb=j šḥm=j m ḥ3ty=j šḥm=j m ʕwy=j šḥm=j m  
r3=j šḥm=j m ʕwt=j jr w šḥm=j m prt-hrw šḥm=j m mw m ḥbbt šḥm=j m jrt=j m t3  
šḥm=j m jrt=j m ḥrt-ntr*

The sky shall open for me, and the earth shall open for me. I shall have power over my *jb*-heart. I shall have power over my *ḥ3ty*-heart. I have power over my arms. I shall have power over my mouth. I shall have power over my whole limbs. I have power over the invocation-offering. I shall have power over water and over the

<sup>59</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 53–II, 3.

<sup>60</sup> Naville 1886 I, 197.

<sup>61</sup> Naville 1886 II, 144; Lucarelli 2006, 48.

inundation. I have power over my eyes upon earth. I shall have power over my eyes in the god's domain.<sup>62</sup>

Having control over the body meant that the deceased was no longer immobile and able to travel freely.<sup>63</sup> By reciting this part of the text, the deceased is assured that this will be the case.

Similarly, in the Second Book of Breathing, there are several passages which envisage the deceased's transformation into either an ibis, Thoth, or a "beautiful Horus of gold" (*Hr nfr n nbw*). These passages can be found at the beginning of § 2 in the long versions only:

*jw=j ḥꜥ=kwj m hb ʕ3 pr m ḥet n mwt=j jw=j m shm n Wsjr Wn-nfr m3ꜥ-ḥrw Dḥwty  
ḥr.tw r rn=j jw=j m hb m mh 5 jw psd=j m w3d Šmꜥ jw=j m ntr wr pr m (m)sktt  
jw=j m ḥd pr ḥr dw ʔbtt*

I am risen as a great ibis come forth from the womb of my mother. I am as an image of Osiris-Wennefer, justified. "Thoth" is said for my name. I am as an ibis of five cubits. My back is as Upper Egyptian malachite. I am as the great god come forth from the *mesketet*-bark. I am as the silver come forth from the mountain of the East.<sup>64</sup>

From at least the New Kingdom, several compositions reflect a desire for the deceased to transform,<sup>65</sup> and several of these transformations were avian in nature as evinced by BD 77, 78, 84, and 86.<sup>66</sup> Birds of course are eminent for their ability to fly and travel across the sky unhindered, and by taking on such forms the deceased was enabled freedom of movement.<sup>67</sup> Since these passages in the Second Book of Breathing are in fact a paraphrase of the opening

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<sup>62</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 28-31.

<sup>63</sup> Taylor 2010b, 165.

<sup>64</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 1-4.

<sup>65</sup> Taylor 2010b, 166; Assmann 2005a, 213-218.

<sup>66</sup> For these spells in particular, and others associated with it (spells 76-88), see Quirke 2013, 179-204. For the so-called "Book of Transformations" of Greco-Roman times, which is more or less based on these spells, see Smith 1979; 2009a, 610-649; and 2017. For the theme of post-mortem transformations in the Coffin Texts, see also Federn 1960.

<sup>67</sup> Taylor 2010b, 166; Assmann 2005a, 213.

lines of BD 77, undoubtedly the work was supposed to serve a similar purpose: to give the deceased freedom to move anywhere.

#### 4.2.6. To Ensure the Deceased's Inclusion into the Realm of the Gods

Lastly, there is the idea of the deceased's incorporation into the realm of the gods.<sup>68</sup> A good example of this comes from § 1 of the First Book of Breathing which, as mentioned, is essentially an appeal made by the deceased to allow entry into the underworld. Hence the terminal utterances:

*mj ʕk=j r Wsjr hnty Imntt hnʕ ntrw špsw m grḥ n ḥb Hnw ntr p(zy)=j bʒ m hrt hrw  
mj ʕk=j mj pr=j jw=j m wʕ jm=sn*

Let me enter before Osiris, foremost of the West, together with the august gods on the night of the *Henu*-festival. May my *ba* be divine daily. Let me enter and let me go forth because I am as one of them.<sup>69</sup>

Furthermore, § 2 contains an invocation to Thoth for justification and is related to the judgement of the deceased.<sup>70</sup> It is well-known in Egyptology that judgement after death was a sort of initiation and was crucial for determining whether or not the deceased could pass and be integrated into the realm of the gods.<sup>71</sup>

Nevertheless, in the Second Book of Breathing, a repeated theme is the deceased entering before Osiris and being together with him in the afterlife.<sup>72</sup> For example, in § 2 one finds utterances such as:

*ʕk=j r Wsjr sdm=f mdw=j m pr=j m ht hnʕ=f*

I shall enter before Osiris. He shall hear my words as I come forth from the womb together with him.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Assmann 2005a, 58-63.

<sup>69</sup> pBM EA 10191, I, 14-15.

<sup>70</sup> Stadler 2008; Goelet, Jr. 1994, 161.

<sup>71</sup> Assmann 1989, 146-147, 150-152.

<sup>72</sup> Smith 2009a, 517.

<sup>73</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 9-10.

As well as:

*šsp=j kbh hn<sup>c</sup> Wsjr 3h=j hn<sup>c</sup>=f r ntr nb*

I shall receive a libation together with Osiris. I shall be glorious together with him more than any god.<sup>74</sup>

Near the end of § 3 of the Second Book of Breathing the deceased also states:

*jnk pr m ht hn<sup>c</sup> Wsjr nn hr=j r=f m hrt-ntr*

I am one who goes forth from the womb together with Osiris. I shall not be distant from him in the god's domain.<sup>75</sup>

All of these undoubtedly relate to the idea of the integration of the deceased into the retinue of the gods, or in the case of the Second Book of Breathing in particular, the retinue of Osiris.

As for § 1 of the First Book of Breathing it should be stressed again that the text here is very similar to mortuary texts of the New Kingdom in which the deceased invokes the gods for admittance into their realm.<sup>76</sup> However, as a means of ensuring that this will be the case, the deceased in our text claims assimilation or identification with several powerful beings, including the sun-god (Re and Atum) and other deities (Osiris, Re-Horakhty, Horus, Haroeris, Hor-merty, and Thoth). The aim of these identifications is to put the deceased on equal footing with the gods, not only to enable interaction but recognition as well.<sup>77</sup> As such, it is difficult not to view the First Book of Breathing as a sort of “recommendation,” intended in this respect to persuade the inhabitants of the hereafter that the deceased is a god and therefore worthy of

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, II, 12.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, II, 19.

<sup>76</sup> For example, an inscription from TT 183 states: “I have come to you, my arms full of *ma'at*, and no contrariness in my body. I have not knowingly told a lie. I have not coveted the belongings of another. I have done *ma'at* for the lord of *ma'at* and have calmed the Light-eye for its lord. I have given divine offerings to the Ennead and mortuary offerings to the ancestral spirits. Open up for me, that I may enter into your midst, I am one of you!” (after Assmann 2005a, 60 with n. 45).

<sup>77</sup> Assmann 2005a, 59; Dieleman 2005, 154.

joining them.<sup>78</sup> However, some scholars have also interpreted the papyri as “passports,” envisioned from this point of view to allow the holder access to the West and all the benefits that might come with it.<sup>79</sup> The evidence for this comes from *psychopomp* scenes occurring on papyri,<sup>80</sup> mummy shrouds,<sup>81</sup> coffins,<sup>82</sup> and stelae,<sup>83</sup> dating from as early as the third century BC. Each of these scenes show either the deceased or a deity (usually Thoth) holding a papyrus scroll before Osiris and other deities. A caption describing the vignette above the eighth text column of pRhind I indicates that this scroll is in fact a Book of Breathing.<sup>84</sup>

Additionally, all Books of Breathing were envisaged to have been written by Thoth,<sup>85</sup> and in the text of pRhind I are passages referring to the reception of the documents in the afterlife. A passage in the demotic version of the text, for example, reads:

*šp=w t3 sꜥt r-ir Dḥwty ḥt=k mšꜥ=k r n3 sb3w n t3 tw3t*

They will receive the document which Thoth wrote in your presence. You will proceed to the doors of the underworld.<sup>86</sup>

However, the corresponding passage in hieratic says:

*šsp=w wd pn jr.n 'Isdnw ḥr šm r sb3w nw dw3t*

They will receive this decree which Isden (= Thoth) made concerning going to the doors of the underworld.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Stricker 1940, 40, n. 5; Goyon 1972, 196-197; Quaegebeur 1988, 105, 110, 119; and 1990, 794; Smith 1993, 14; and 2009a, 503.

<sup>79</sup> See *inter alia* Quaegebeur 1988, 105; and 1990, 794; Caminos 1993; Smith 1993, 14; and 2009a, 503, 518.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. the vignette illustrating the first text column of pRhind I (Möller 1913, pl. I).

<sup>81</sup> E.g. Shroud Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow 4229/I Ia 5749 from Saqqara (see Riggs 2005, 172-173 with pl. 8; Corcoran 1995, 52-53).

<sup>82</sup> E.g. a coffin from El-Deir in the Kharga Oasis (see Dunand, Heim, and Lichtenberg 2010, 25; Scalf 2014, 201).

<sup>83</sup> E.g. Stela Vienna AEOS 236 (Beinlich 2009, 13-14 with pls. 20-22; Scalf 2014, 201); as well as those bearing the so-called Divine Decrees (see Quaegebeur 1988, 115 with stelae nos. 2, 4, 7, 10, and 11; Smith 2009a, 601; Kákossy 1992, 322; Otto 1977, 677; Scalf 2014, 201).

<sup>84</sup> See Möller 1913, 36-37 with pl. VIII; Smith 2009a, 334.

<sup>85</sup> Quaegebeur 1988, 112-113; and 1995b, 167-170.

<sup>86</sup> pRhind I, VIIId, 3 (after Möller 1913, 38-39).

<sup>87</sup> pRhind I, VIIIf, 4 (after *ibid*).



Smith has pointed out that the word *pn* (“this”) in the latter can only refer to pRhind I itself.<sup>88</sup> This indicates that funerary papyri of the Greco-Roman Period were meant to be presented to deities upon arrival to the realm of the dead.<sup>89</sup>

Lastly, we have already seen that some of our papyri contain a note on their versos saying that the deceased is to be granted the West at the command of the gods, for example:

ḳ jw Imntt [m wdt n] Hnwt Ndbwt

Granting the West [according to the decree of] the Mistress of the Earth’s Foundations.<sup>90</sup>

This note on the backside of the papyri has been interpreted “as the desired response to its presentation, in other words, a sort of stamp of approval applied to the document proactively.”<sup>91</sup> If so, it evokes the command found inside some passports today,<sup>92</sup> suggesting that one of the functions of our papyri was to admit their bearers into the company of the gods.

#### 4.3. The Meaning of the Designation ṣṣt n snsn

Interestingly, it is precisely this function of the papyri, to include the deceased in the realm of the gods, which has led certain scholars to question the meaning of the works and the title the ancient editors themselves used to designate them. John Gee, for instance, is of the opinion that the designation “Book of Breathing” is inaccurate and that the documents should be called

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<sup>88</sup> Smith 2009a, 308.

<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, at least two known exemplars of the Demotic ḳḥ p3 by texts (pBM EA 10415 and pStrasbourg D 270) bear an address on their versos: “to the underworld in the presence of Osiris” (Brusch 1999-2000, 179-185; Stadler 2004b, 557-559, pl. 50; Smith 2009a, 559; Scalf 2014, 78-79). This suggests that such documents were thought to be taken by the deceased to the next world and handed over to Osiris upon entering his realm (see Scalf 2014, 78-80, 199-203).

<sup>90</sup> Verso note of pBM EA 10194 (after Herbin 2008, 134 with pls. 108-9), with a similar note on the versos of pBM EA 10282 and pCairo CG 58013. For the “Mistress of the Earth’s Foundations,” which is apparently a designation of either Hathor or Isis, see Herbin 1994, 267; Leitz (ed.) vol. 5, 2002, 192; and Smith 2009a, 522-523 with further references there.

<sup>91</sup> Smith 2009a, 523.

<sup>92</sup> For example, the note inside the cover of a New Zealand passport: “The Governor-General in the Realm of New Zealand requests in the Name of Her Majesty The Queen all whom it may concern to allow the holder to pass without delay or hindrance and in the case of need to give all lawful assistance and protection.”

“Books/Letters of Fellowship” instead.<sup>93</sup> Gee has pointed out that several different translations have been applied to the term *snsn* since the discovery of the documents in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>94</sup> but it was de Horrack in his edition of pLouvre N 3284 who originally translated it as “respirations” or “breathings.”<sup>95</sup> However, on the basis of lexemes such as *ssn*, *sns*, and *sn*, Gee argues that *snsn* does not mean “to breathe” at all,<sup>96</sup> and that the term is “etymologically the reduplication of *sn* “brother” and has the meaning of “fraternize, fellowship, associate, join.””<sup>97</sup>

On top of this he mentions iconography, namely a *psychopomp* scene showing the deceased’s introduction to Osiris used to illustrate copies of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made and the so-called “*nh p3 by*” material of the Roman Period.<sup>98</sup> It is said that this scene derives from the judgement scene of BD 125,<sup>99</sup> but according to Gee it “is not that of a judgment scene but rather that of initiation into the temple.”<sup>100</sup>

While it can be agreed upon that the *psychopomp* scene in question is not the judgement scene proper, it should be pointed out that the subject matter of the former is rather ubiquitous and attested on a wide range of funerary material extending back to at least the New Kingdom.<sup>101</sup> Secondly, what Gee fails to acknowledge is that a scene depicting the deceased’s introduction into the presence of Osiris actually forms part of the vignette of BD 125 as can be seen, for

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<sup>93</sup> Gee 2009, 136-138; and 2008, 135. Contrary to this, however, see Quack 2012, 271, n. 1 and more recently Scalf 2014, 19-26 and 160-164 for which the following discussion is based. Gees’ study regarding the word *snsn* is also mentioned in Stadler 2012a, 152, but it should be stressed that Stadler does not claim to support Gee’s hypothesis.

<sup>94</sup> For example, “transmigrations” and “lamentations” (Champollion 1836, 295 and 454 respectively), “migrationem” (Brugsch 1851, 13 and 24), and “singing” (Seyffarth 1860, pl. 8). For a more comprehensive overview, see Gee 2009, 136-137.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 137; de Horrack 1877. However, *snsn* as “breathing” can actually be found earlier in Brugsch 1868, 4: 1254 (see Gee 2008, 135).

<sup>96</sup> Gee 2008, 135; and 2009, 137-138.

<sup>97</sup> Gee 2009, 137. See also *idem* 2008, 135.

<sup>98</sup> Gee 2009, 139-141.

<sup>99</sup> Baer 1968, 126-127; Coenen 1999b, 101-102; Ritner 2000, 113-114; Ritner 2003a, 175-176; and 2011, 138.

<sup>100</sup> Gee 2009, 144.

<sup>101</sup> See Scalf 2014, 158-160; and Leahy 2010, 62-64.

example, in pBM EA 9901,<sup>102</sup> pLouvre N 3278,<sup>103</sup> and pBN 149.<sup>104</sup> This suggests that the *psychopomp* scene is indeed derived from the vignettes of BD 125.<sup>105</sup>

As for the word *snsn*, however, it can be specified as a rather ambiguous term and several meanings are possible.<sup>106</sup> But as Nibley has pointed out, all of these meanings fall under one of two categories.<sup>107</sup> The first relates to the idea of breath or air, whereby *snsn* – which could be written either with two two-pronged harpoons (Gardiner T22) and nose determinative (Gardiner D19) or the bolt-*s* (Gardiner O34) or folded cloth-*s* (Gardiner S29) with sail determinative (Gardiner P5) – can mean the following:

- “to inhale” as a reduplication of the word *sn* meaning “to smell,”<sup>108</sup> usually with incense or a fragrance as the object.<sup>109</sup>
- “to breathe” when a person, the *ba*-spirit or the nose is the subject,<sup>110</sup> and when a scent, air or the breath of life (*t3w n ʕnh*) is the object.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Faulkner 1985, 34-35.

<sup>103</sup> Étienne 2002, 144-145.

<sup>104</sup> This manuscript does not depict the vignette of BD 125 *per se*, rather it describes it (see Stadler 2003, 55-58; Lexa 1910, 6-8).

<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, several manuscripts containing a Book of Breathing which Isis Made bear a *psychopomp* scene at the beginning and the judgement/weighing of the heart scene at the end. For example, the Book of Breathing which Isis Made in the unpublished pLafayette College (an image is available at <http://sites.lafayette.edu/papyrus/>), pLouvre N 3284 (Herbin 1994, pls.XV-XVI and XXXI), and pBM EA 9995 (Herbin 2008, pls. 15 and 24); although, the vignette at the end of the latter actually shows both the weighing of the heart and the deceased standing before Osiris.

<sup>106</sup> Nibley 1971, 166; *Wb.* IV, 171 -174; Lesko and Lesko 1987, 66; Wilson 1997, 870; Scalf 2014, 19-22.

<sup>107</sup> Nibley 1971, 166-170.

<sup>108</sup> While the *Wb.* (IV, 277) suggests that *snsn* as meaning “to smell” is an *s*-causative of *sn* (i.e. *ssn*), according to Wilson (1997, 870) it is in fact “the true reduplicated form of *sn* ‘to smell’ and is often used in GR texts.”

<sup>109</sup> *Wb.* IV, 172 (A. I).

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, 172 (B. I).

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, 172 (B. II).

However, as a noun, *snsn* can also stand for “the breath of life” (“der Odem”).<sup>112</sup> Otherwise, it denotes an “odour,” “perfume,” or “aroma,”<sup>113</sup> and even the “stench” of a corpse.<sup>114</sup> The term can also be regarded as a reduplication of *sn*, “kiss,” and therefore can sometimes mean “caress” and “love,”<sup>115</sup> but it is generally always associated with actions related to the nose and thus translated as “smell,” “sniff,” “inhale,” or “breathe.”<sup>116</sup> Hence, in the myth of Osiris it is said that the deity is restored back to life when “he inhales/breathes (*snsn*) the air of Isis.”<sup>117</sup> Likewise, in reference to the cries of grief of Isis and Nephthys at the loss of their brother, a line in the Abaton Decree from Philae states: “May Osiris receive the mourning cries from your mouth! May his *ba* breathe by means of (*snsn m*) the tears.”<sup>118</sup> These tears were thought to create fresh air for the deceased, as well as other benefits.<sup>119</sup> Similarly, in CT 80 (II, 35c) one reads: “Nu said to Atum: Breathe (*snsn*) your daughter Ma’at, place her at your nose so that your heart may live, for she will not be far from you;”<sup>120</sup> and in the Book of Traversing Eternity it states: “Your nostrils will breathe (*nšp*<sup>121</sup>) the fragrance of Shu. Your nose will inhale (*snsn*) the north wind. The breeze has opened your throat so that life is united (*hnm*) with your body.”<sup>122</sup>

In the second category, however, *snsn*, as a lexeme of *snsu*, can mean to “praise” or “honour,” as in a king or a god.<sup>123</sup> But when written by reduplicating the bolt-*s* or the two-pronged harpoon used in the word “brother” (*sn*), it can also mean to “join” or “unite.”<sup>124</sup> In other words, it can

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, 172 (C).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, 172 (A. II).

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*, 174; Nibley 1971, 166.

<sup>115</sup> Nibley 1971, 168. On this note, cf. the expression *sn-ḥ* “to kiss the earth,” which despite the phrase, actually involved touching the ground with the nose rather than kissing it with the lips (Wilson 1997, 853-854; Lesko and Lesko 1987, 60; Scalf 2014, 20, n. 86).

<sup>116</sup> Nibley 1971, 168.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, 166; Hopfner 1941 [1991], 81-85.

<sup>118</sup> Manassa 2007, 46-47; Junker 1913, 6.

<sup>119</sup> Manassa 2007, 47.

<sup>120</sup> Faulkner 1973, 84; de Buck 1938, II 35c; and Willems 1996, 278 with n. 1607.

<sup>121</sup> Another expression meaning “to breathe” or “to smell” (with fragrance or air as the object) common in the Greco-Roman Period and usually used when “nose/nostrils” is the subject (see *Wb.* II, 339; Wilson 1997, 549).

<sup>122</sup> pLeiden T 32, I, 6-7 (see Herbin 1994, 47, 86-88, 387-389 and pl. I; Smith 2009a, 406; Nibley 1971, 167).

<sup>123</sup> *Wb.* IV, 172.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 172 (C); Nibley 1971, 168.

be used as a reflexive verb with direct object denoting a person “joining” another person or “uniting” with a group, becoming a “friend” with someone or, in terms of the dead, joining the gods in the afterlife.<sup>125</sup> Otherwise, it denotes one joining the king or, in the case of the gods themselves, uniting with their *ba*-spirit and/or image in the temple.<sup>126</sup> It can also mean to unite or join with light and be illuminated by it,<sup>127</sup> but when used with prepositional connections, namely *r* “towards” or *hn* “together with,” it usually means “to fraternize” or enter into a “bond” with someone (as in a brotherhood or marriage),<sup>128</sup> ascend to the sky and “join” with the stars,<sup>129</sup> “combine” two things that belong together (such as the Two Lands or the two crowns),<sup>130</sup> or to “fuse” one object with another (such as clothing and jewellery with the body or, again, a person with the stars).<sup>131</sup> Following Nibley, for example, it is stated in the Memphite Theology that “Horus and Seth pacified and united (*sm3*)” then “fraternized (*snsn*) so as to cease quarrelling in whatever place they might be;”<sup>132</sup> and in another document that the goddess Ma’at came “from heaven to earth and joined/fraternized together with (*snsn hn*) all the gods.”<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, in an inscription dating to Dynasty 13, king Neferhotep says: “May I associate together with (*snsn hn*) all the gods.”<sup>134</sup> As one can see, all of these connote the idea of fellowship or joining and show that several different translations of *snsn* are possible. The only distinguishing factor between the meanings in most cases is the orthography. Additionally, the ideas associated with the term *snsn* tend to intertwine with “fragrance, light, and air as joining something.”<sup>135</sup> In other words, if a person were to smell or inhale incense he or she becomes one with it as “a picture of complete union is envisaged with the incense pervading the body and joining it totally.”<sup>136</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Wb. IV, 172 (A. I. a); Nibley 1971, 168.

<sup>126</sup> Wb. IV, 172-3 (A. I. a-b, II. c); Nibley 1971, 168.

<sup>127</sup> Wb. IV, 173 (A. I. c); Nibley 1971, 168.

<sup>128</sup> Wb. IV, 173 (A. II. b); Nibley 1971, 168; Gee 2009, 137.

<sup>129</sup> Wb. IV, 173 (A. I. f, II. b); Nibley 1971, 168.

<sup>130</sup> Wb. IV, 173 (A. I. g, II. e); Nibley 1971, 168.

<sup>131</sup> Wb. IV, 173 (A. I. e, II. b-d); Nibley 1971, 168.

<sup>132</sup> Nibley 1971, 167; Lichtheim 1973, vol. 1, 53; Sethe 1928, 35 (15c-16c) and 76.

<sup>133</sup> Nibley 1971, 167; and Otto 1969, 103 (T. 4).

<sup>134</sup> Nibley 1971, 168; and Pieper 1929, 10.

<sup>135</sup> Wb. IV, 173 (A. I. d); Nibley 1971, 168.

<sup>136</sup> Wilson 1997, 870. One could cite here a passage from a hymn to Osiris: “From the efflux of your arms the Nile emerges, you breathe (*snsn*) the air that is in your throat into the noses of men. How divine is that from which men live. It is all united (*snsn*) in your nostrils, the tree and its leaves, the rushes and the grasses, wheat, barley, and

As for the word in the context of the Books of Breathing, it is possible that *snsn* is a corrupted form of *sn* “to cause to smell/inhale.”<sup>137</sup> But as Foy Scalf has recently noted, rather than a reduplication of *sn* “brother” with the meaning of “fraternizing” or “fellowship,” *snsn* is more likely the reduplication of *sn* “to smell/inhale,” if not also the reduplication of the action the word connotes, i.e. inhaling – exhaling – and inhaling again, and therefore “breathing.”<sup>138</sup> Moreover, even though *snsn* is in the place of a noun in the expression *šꜥt n snsn* it is most likely an infinitive and being used here as the object of the preposition *n* to express the magical purpose of the texts.<sup>139</sup> In this respect, it can be compared to the title of BD spell 56, “Spell for breathing air beside water in the necropolis” (*r n ssnt t3w m-m mw m hrt-ntr*),<sup>140</sup> which shows the deceased holding a *t3w*-sail in the illustration.<sup>141</sup> Additionally, in the Books of Breathing, at least in those that have been published, *snsn* is always written by reduplicating the bolt-*s* and water sign and determined with the *t3w*-sail. This determinative is meant to denote “the inner breath, the eternal air and the wind.”<sup>142</sup> Contrary to this, the *Wörterbuch* shows that the

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fruit-trees ... You are the father and mother of mankind and they live by your breath” (after Hopfner 1941 [1991], 151; and Nibley 1971, 166).

<sup>137</sup> Gee 2009, 137 with n. 47. Cf. also Scalf 2014, 21, n. 88: “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 *sn* means ‘to cause inhalation (through the nose)’ and this would explain the ease with which *sn* and *snsn* are substituted and thus confused.”

<sup>138</sup> Scalf 2014, 21. Osing 1998, 79 and 81 noted a similar interpretation for *snsn*, which is written with a wind determinative, as “to go back and forth” based on the idea that it is a reduplication of the word *snj* “to pass by” (Cf. *Wb.* III, 454-457). Despite Gee (2009, 137) saying that “the wind determinative does not necessarily determine the correct meaning of the term,” it nevertheless connotes the idea of being able to go back and forth like the wind or air going in and out of the body, which again would argue in favour of *snsn* as meaning “to breathe” (see Scalf 2014, 21, n. 89).

<sup>139</sup> Scalf 2014, 21. Cf. also the statement by Lucarelli (2006, 41) regarding the chapter headings of BD spells: “The magic action evoked in the spell is always expressed in the titles through the infinitive after the genitival adjective *n(y)* of the *r n* or *ky r n* formulas, with no indication of the ... agent or object of the action.”

<sup>140</sup> After the title of the spell as it appears in pBM EA 10477 (see Quirke 2013, 139); but see also Schott 1990, 226 (911): *r n sns n m hrt-ntr* “Spell for breathing in the god’s domain.”

<sup>141</sup> See Quirke 2013, 136.

<sup>142</sup> Lucarelli 2006, 114. See also Kákosy 1997, 220-221. Furthermore, in some Demotic funerary texts *snsn* can be determined by a lotus plant instead of a sail (for example, pBerlin 8351, I, 11-12 [Smith 1993, 30 and 38 with pl. I]; and pHarkness, I, 32, III, 17, III, 30, and IV, 14 [Smith 2005, 32, 68, 70, 74, and 127 with pls. 3, 5, and 6]). The lotus of course connotes freshness and exudes a fragrance. This being the case, the use of the lotus would suggest that the word is again connected to air or at least the action of inhaling something through the nose (Scalf 2014, 22 with n. 92). The lotus was also “presented to the deceased as a symbol of rebirth” (Smith 2005, 127).

orthographies associated with *snsn* “to fraternize, join, unite, etc.” always reduplicate the two-pronged harpoon and in the Greco-Roman Period are sometimes determined with the sign showing two men joining hands (Gardiner A80).<sup>143</sup> It should be mentioned that this determinative of two men joining hands is found only in contemporaneous temple texts,<sup>144</sup> but nowhere in the Books of Breathing. As Scalf noted: “The title *šꜥ.t n snsn* is always written with the sail determinative, both in the labels and inter-textual references.”<sup>145</sup>

Furthermore, it is a point to make that there are other words in Egyptian which have a meaning similar to that of “fraternizing, joining, union, etc.” One of these is the word *hnm*, which occurs frequently throughout the Books of Breathing. As a transitive verb it can mean “to join” or “unite with” (*hnm hnꜥ*), again, as in a person with a god or the dead, a god with his image, the *ba*-spirit with the corpse, a brother with a sister, a king with a queen or air with the nostrils. Otherwise it can mean “to include” or “enclose” someone, “enter” a place, “take” or “have” something, “receive” favours, “endow” one with (*m*) life or land with gifts. As an intransitive verb it means “to be united,” “associated,” “provided,” or “endowed” with (*m*) someone or something,<sup>146</sup> and in our texts a clear distinction between this term and *snsn* can be made. In the first section of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made, for example, it states that one of the goals of the work is to “make all his limbs youthful again, so that he will join (*hnm*) the horizon together with his father, Re.”<sup>147</sup> Likewise, at the end of the sixth section of the same composition it states “the *ba* of Shu joins (*hnm*) your nostrils,”<sup>148</sup> and in the eleventh section it is said “Your *ba* will live by means of the Document of Breathing (*snsn*), you will be united (*hnm*) with the like.”<sup>149</sup> Similarly, in pChicago OIC 25389, a papyrus containing a Book of Traversing Eternity as well as a number of other funerary texts, one reads “He (Amun) gives to you air for breathing (*snsn*) in order to unite (*hnm*) with life.”<sup>150</sup> All of these show that the basic meaning of *snsn* in such contexts should be “breathing,” not “uniting,” “joining,” or “fraternizing.”

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<sup>143</sup> Wb. IV, 172-173.

<sup>144</sup> Scalf 2014, 22, n. 91.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> Wb. III, 377-382; Faulkner 1962, 202.

<sup>147</sup> pLouvre N 3284, I, 2.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* II, 21.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* III, 20.

<sup>150</sup> Herbin 1994, 411; Scalf 2014, 23.

That said, however, there are certain instances in our texts where *snsn* could be translated as “uniting,” “joining,” or “fraternizing.” But as Gee himself notes, this is only possible through the use of the preposition *hn* “together with.”<sup>151</sup> The first is a passage from the Book of Breathing which Isis Made in pLouvre N 3284 (V, 9-10), which could be read as: “Accept his Book of Breathing. Let him fraternize together with (*mj jr=f sns n hn*) that *ba* of his in the underworld.”<sup>152</sup> Another is col. VI, ll. 9-11 of the same manuscript, which could be translated as: “If this document is made for him, he shall fraternize together with (*sns n=f hn*) the *bas* of the gods forever and ever.”<sup>153</sup> While these show that “to fraternize, join, etc” is a potential translation for *snsn*, it should be mentioned that the preposition *hn* “together with” is replaced with the preposition *mj* “like” in a different version of the passage just presented.<sup>154</sup> Also, despite the preposition *hn*, one could just as easily translate *snsn* as “to breathe” in these passages as well.<sup>155</sup> Indeed, breathing is “endowment with life in the widest sense.”<sup>156</sup> As such, it is not surprising to find that *snsn* “to breathe” and *nh* “to live” are sometimes used synonymously.<sup>157</sup> Therefore, in order to establish a correct reading for *snsn* one must rely on both context and the orthography of the word; and in these cases *snsn* always ends with either a sail or nose determinative, signalling yet again that it must denote a meaning related to air, inhaling, or breathing.

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<sup>151</sup> Gee 2009, 138, n. 75.

<sup>152</sup> de Horrack 1877, pl. V.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*; Gee 2009, 138, n. 75.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. for example, the version of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made in the Joseph Smith papyri (II, 8-9): *jr.tw n=f md3t tn hr sns n=f mj b3[w] ntrw r nh hn dt* “If this book is made for him then he will breathe **like** the *bas* of the gods forever and eternally” (see Rhodes 2002, 27-28; Ritner 2011, 100-101; Scalf 2014, 25, n. 100).

<sup>155</sup> Scalf 2014, 25, n. 100.

<sup>156</sup> Nibley 1971, 165.

<sup>157</sup> For example, a passage in Demotic from pBN 149, I, 1-2: *nh by=k mi R [sn]sne het=k mi Wsir* “May your *ba* live like Re. May your body breathe like Osiris” (see Scalf 2014, 24; and Stadler 2003, 27). Cf. also a passage from the Book of Transformations (pLouvre E 3452, I, 9-10): *3st wret mwt-ntr tw=s sns nw by=k nh r r nbw* “Isis the great, the god’s mother, she will cause your *ba* to be made to breathe so that you will live every day” (Smith 1979, 46-47; and 2009a, 638); as well as a text from the temple of Dendera: *mn n=k nh r fnt=k ssp=k Mhyt r šrt=k sns=k jm=sn* “Take for yourself life to your nose so that you may receive the North Wind to your nostrils, so that you may breathe through them” (see Scalf 2014, 25, n. 100; Cauville 1997a, 373 with pls. 203, 234; and *idem*, 1997b, 201).



At the same time, Scalf has shown that certain passages containing the word *snsn* in the Books of Breathing and other late funerary texts prove that “to breathe” or “breathing” is intended.<sup>158</sup> One is a passage from § 4 of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made, which states:

*shd hr=k hr R<sup>c</sup> nh b3=k hr Imn rnp h3(t)=k hr Wsjr **snsn**=k r nh dt*

Your face will be illuminated before Re. Your *ba* will live before Amun. Your corpse will be rejuvenated before Osiris. You will **breathe** forever and eternally.<sup>159</sup>

Another is part of § 6, which states how Amun will dispense breath for the deceased in the sarcophagus:

*jj n=k Imn hr bw n nh dj=f jry=k **snsn** m db3t=k pry=k r t3 r<sup>c</sup> nb šy n **snsn** n Dhwtj m s3=k **snsn**=k jm=s r<sup>c</sup> nb*

Amun will come to you bearing the breath (lit: air) of life. He will cause that you be made to **breathe** in your sarcophagus. You will go forth to the earth every day (with) the Document of **Breathing** of Thoth as your protection. You will **breathe** by means of it every day.<sup>160</sup>

Likewise, in § 8 of the First Book of Breathing, it is stated:

*j Imn mj bw ndm r fnd=j jnk s3=k šps n m3<sup>c</sup>t jnk swht twy nt ngg wr ... nh=j nh=s ts-phr nhh=s nhh=j ts-phr **snsn**=s **snsn**=j ts-phr*

O Amun, give sweet air to my nose. I am your august son, truly. I am this egg of the great cackler ... If I live, it lives, and vice versa. If it grows old, I grow old, and vice versa. If it **breathes**, I **breathe**, and vice versa.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>158</sup> See Scalf 2014, 23-26.

<sup>159</sup> pLouvre N 3284, II, 3-4; Scalf 2014, 24.

<sup>160</sup> pLouvre N 3284, II, 17-19; Scalf 2014, 24.

<sup>161</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 7-10.

And later on in the same invocation the deceased asks:

*j ʿImn dj=k t3w ndm r fnd=j jnk b3=k šps pr jm=k mj ʿnh=j mj snsn=j t3w=k*

O Amun, you shall give sweet air to my nose. I am your august *ba* who came forth from you. Let me live, let me **breathe** your air.<sup>162</sup>

Furthermore, Scaif has pointed out that there are associations between the *ba*-spirit and breathing in the Rhind funerary papyri,<sup>163</sup> and particularly the Book of Transformations in pLouvre E 3452.<sup>164</sup> In the latter, the *ba* is said to breathe upon each part of the deceased so as to allow him to go forth by day:

*iw=y by i by snsn ih tp=f ih ʿtwe=f nb ... iy n t3w m hr hrw nt ir rʿ nbw ir Wsir N  
ms n N wnn=f by šmy m t3w wn n=f sbw n-nw twet ir rʿ nbw wnn[=f i]h iy šmy m  
m (sic) htp wn n=f sbw [n 3]grt m hʿy r nhḥ pr n=f t3w ntm n mḥt rʿ nbw šmy by by  
by wt n=f ʿnh m 3ytm*

O *ba*, O *ba*, **breathe** upon his head and upon all his limbs ... Coming to the breeze in the course of every single day by the Osiris N born of N. He will be manifest and go forth with the breeze. The doors of the underworld will open for him every day. [He] will come and go in peace. The doors [of the sil]ent land will open for him in jubilation forever. The sweet breeze of the north wind will appear for him every day. The *ba* will go forth. The *ba* will be immanent (*by*). Life will be decreed for him in a state of happiness.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, II, 12-13.

<sup>163</sup> For example, pRhind I (VIh, 6-7) which states: *dj=w n=k js-nj3w m-hn nfrt=k snsn hnmty=k swḥ n ʿnh* “You will be given air inside your perfect place. Your nostrils will **breathe** the breath of life” (after Möller 1913, 30-31 with pl. VI; Smith 2009a, 326; and Scaif 2014, 23).

<sup>164</sup> Scaif 2014, 24-25. For translations of the text on this papyrus, see also Legrain 1889; Smith 1979; and 2009a, 627-649.

<sup>165</sup> pLouvre E 3452, IX, 1 and XII, 1-6 (translation after Smith 1979, 145 and 171; and 2009a, 645-648). On this note, cf. also a passage occurring in VI, 20 of the same manuscript, where it is said: *wnn=w ʿnhḥ ih snsn <n>by=f r nhḥ dt* “They (the different body parts) will live by virtue of the **breathing** of his *ba* forever and eternally” (see Smith 1979, 105-106; and 2009a, 642).

What all of these passages show is that translating *snsn* as “to fraternize, associate, join” rather than “to breathe” or “breathing” is not only impossible, it also “damages their most obvious meaning.”<sup>166</sup>

Lastly, it is a point to make that the designation *šꜥt n snsn* was not meant to act as a title identifying the contents of specific texts. As several scholars have confirmed,<sup>167</sup> the designation is in fact far more conceptual and has a meaning similar to our expression “funerary text.” Therefore, any text composed specifically for the benefit of the dead in the Greco-Roman Period could be called a *šꜥt n snsn*.<sup>168</sup> Furthermore, the idea of the deceased joining the gods and living eternally in their company is undoubtedly a major concern of the texts, just as it was a basic aspect of Egyptian eschatology from the Old Kingdom down,<sup>169</sup> but it is not the only theme of these particular compositions. As we have already seen, the Books of Breathing are just as concerned with the provision of food and drink, the physical preservation of the body, transformation, freedom of movement, and the perpetuation of different elements of one’s personality, such as the name and the mummy. More importantly, they are concerned with the revivification of the deceased, the rejuvenation of the limbs, and the means to function again.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Scalf 2014, 25.

<sup>167</sup> For example, Quaegebeur 1995, 161, 168; Smith 1993, 17-28; 2009a, 313, 357; Backes 2010, 11; Scalf 2014, 18-19; Stadler 2012a, 151-152; and 2015, 76-78.

<sup>168</sup> Nibley 1971, 164.

<sup>169</sup> The so-called “Cannibal Hymn,” for example, shows that great emphasis was placed on ensuring the king’s incorporation into the realm of the gods (Assmann 2005a, 58-59). Many spells after this also express a fundamental desire for the deceased to be accepted amongst or initiated into the hierarchy of divinities in the afterlife, for example, CT 154, CT 156-160, BD 108-109 and BD 112-115 (see Assmann 2005a, 203; and Sethe (ed.), 1924 for these so-called “Spells for knowing the souls of the sacred places”).

<sup>170</sup> Nibley 1971, 164. A perfectly clear example of this comes from the opening section of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made in pLouvre N 3284 (I, 1-7): *h3(t)-ꜥ m šꜥyt n snsn jr.n 'Ist n snj=s Wsjr jw sꜥnh b3=f r sꜥnh h3(t)=f r srnp(j) hꜥwt=f nbt m whm r hnm=f 3ht hnꜥ jt=f Rꜥ r shꜥ b3=f m pt m 'It n jꜥh r psd h3(t)=f m S3h m ht n Nwt [r] rdjt hpr mjtt nn n Wsjr N hꜥp spy jm=k rdjt ꜥš s(w) s nb 3h s(w) n s m hrt-ntr ꜥnh=f m whm m šs m3ꜥt hh n sp* “Beginning of the Document of Breathing which Isis made for her brother, Osiris, in order to make his *ba* live, to make his corpse live, to make all his limbs youthful again, so that he will join the horizon together with his father, Re; in order to make his *ba* appear in the sky as the disc of the moon, so that his body will shine as Orion in the womb of Nut; [in order to] cause that the same happen for the Osiris N. Hide (it), hide (it). Do not let anyone read it. It is beneficial for a man in the god’s domain so that he will live again. Truly effective, a million times” (translation after Rhodes 2002, 52-53, 65; Smith 2009a, 469).

It should be stressed that in ancient Egypt all of this amounted to “breathing first of all.”<sup>171</sup> This suggests that the designation is not to do with fraternizing as such, but rather the inertia of death and the ability of the text to help reanimate the deceased so they can live again in the hereafter.<sup>172</sup> If so, the correct designation would have to be “Document of Breathing,” not “Document of Fellowship.”

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<sup>171</sup> Nibley 1971, 164-165.

<sup>172</sup> Scalf 2014, 22-23.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# Use and Development

### 5.1. Introduction

Undoubtedly the First and Second Books of Breathing were an important part of the funerary equipment in the Greco-Roman Period. This is not surprising considering that funerary texts had been an important part of Egyptian funerary equipment since at least the Old Kingdom. But unlike the funerary texts of the Pharaonic Period, the use and development of the First and Second Books of Breathing has been largely overlooked. As such, we know little about their production, the circumstances of their formation, and the kind of people who used them. In this chapter, the identity of the original owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing is discussed, followed by the creators of the texts, the scribal techniques that were used to produce them, and finally their genesis.

### 5.2. The Owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing

In terms of those who used our texts, it can be presumed that most of them were Egyptian and predominantly of a Theban background. A large number of the papyri, for example, are inscribed with the names of their respective owners, which in some cases may also be followed by their titles and a short genealogy.<sup>1</sup> Out of these names some of the most notable include

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<sup>1</sup> This genealogy usually consists of the names of the deceased's parents and sometimes their titles. Instances of this feature in at least 43 of the 58 known exemplars of the First Book of Breathing and in 29 of the 48 known copies of the Second Book of Breathing. However, in most cases it is usually only the identity of the mother of the deceased that is recorded. The reasons for this are unknown, but based on the hypothesis of Bringmann, it might have been done to distinguish between individuals with the same name (L. Bringmann, *Die Frau im ptolemäisch-kaiserlichen Aegypten*, Bonn, 1939, 35-36 cited in Depauw 2010, 120) or, as Ritner pointed out, to enhance the status of the beneficiary (Ritner 2010, 176). In connection with this, Huebner has observed that in the Roman Period especially there was an increase in female-headed households, e.g. a widowed woman with young children (Huebner 2013, 130-131). Therefore, it is possible that the owner was simply fatherless at the time the papyrus was produced (see Scalf 2014, 187-188 with n. 5). However, instances of identifying an individual by one's maternal lineage alone are well attested in Egyptian literature, especially in medical and magical manuals from the New Kingdom onwards where there seems to be a close relationship between mother and son (Dieleman 2010, 139-142; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 46). Therefore, it could be understood as reflecting perhaps the so-called

*ḥnḥ=f-n-Ḥnsw* (Chaponchonsis), *P3-dj-Imn-jpt* (Petamenophis), *P3-dj-Ḥnsw* (Petachonsis), *P3-dj-Ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd* (Petachonpokrates), *P3-Mn(t)w* (Pamonthis), *P3-Mntw-ḥ3* (Pamonthis-a'a), and *T3-šrjt-Ḥnsw* (Senchonsis). All of these are Egyptian theophoric personal names and identify the owners with the principal deities of Thebes and Hermonthis (Armant), i.e. Amun, Khonsu, and Montu.

Furthermore, the owner of pVienna 3870 was named *Ḳj-m-ḥtp* (Imouthes), probably after the deified vizier who is known to have been worshipped within the temple of Ptah at Karnak, as well as in various chapels on the West-bank of Thebes.<sup>2</sup> The owners of pBN 151, pBM EA 10199, pBM EA 10264, pLandesmuseum Klagenfurt AE III/1, and pLouvre N 3157 also have names related to Horus and Isis. The former and the latter, for example, were both given the name *Ḳr-s3-Ḳst* (Harsiesis) which means “Horus son of Isis,” while the owners of pBM EA 10199, pBM EA 10264, and pLandesmuseum Klagenfurt AE III/1 were all named *Ḳst-wrt* (Esoeris) or “Isis the great.” These two names go back to at least the New Kingdom,<sup>3</sup> and undoubtedly originate from Egyptian religion. Likewise, the owners of pBM EA 10340, pCairo CG 58015, and pCairo CG 58016 have the name *T3-šrjt-Inpw* (Senanoupis) which identifies them with the god Anubis, while the owners of pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194 and pSalt 58 both sport the name *Ns-p3wty-t3wy* (Spotous) which would identify them with Amun. Indeed, the name *Ns-p3wty-t3wy* is first attested in graffiti from the Theban necropolis dating to the Third Intermediate Period,<sup>4</sup> and means “He who belongs to the primeval god of the Two Lands.” The expression “the primeval god of the Two Lands” is an epithet of Amun.<sup>5</sup> This being the case, the name is symptomatically Egyptian and it can be presumed that these two individuals, along with several other beneficiaries of the papyri, were as well.

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“matriarchalischen Urzuständen Ägyptens” as proposed by Wilckens (for this see U. Wilckens, *ArchP* 1 (1901), 424-425 cited in Jordan 1976, 130, n. 8; and Scalf 2014, 187-188 with n. 5).

<sup>2</sup> See Wildung 1977a, 188-250; Klotz 2012a, 119-121; and Quack 1998, 255-256. For Imhotep in general, see also Wildung 1977b, 31-81; Cauville 2010, 17-25; and Hurry 1978 [1928].

<sup>3</sup> See Ranke 1935, 4 (no. 1) and 250 (nos. 13-14) respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Ranke 1935, 176 (no. 1); Spiegelberg 1921, 60 (no. 743) and 133-134 (no. 287).

<sup>5</sup> Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 45; Klotz 2012a, 58-59 with n. 88.

Table 5: Names of the Owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing

<b>Transliteration</b>	<b>Translation</b>	<b>Name of the owner(s) of Papyrus Inventory No.</b>
<i>3pwltyty</i>	Apollodote	BM EA 10286
<i>3prtynyds</i>	Apollonides	BM EA 10331
<i>Αμμώνιος</i>	Ammonios	BN 152
<i>3rswyny3t</i>	Arsinoe	Florence 3662
<i>3rtymy</i>	Artemis	Louvre N 3176 G
<i>Ἰj-m-ḥtp</i>	Imouthes	Vienna 3870
<i>Ἰpr/l (?)</i>	Apollo/Apellas	Cairo CG 58013; Cairo CG 58014
<i>Ἰst-wrt</i>	Esoeris	BM EA 10199; BM EA 10264; Landesmuseum Klagenfurt AE/1
<i>ϣ3-ph(ty)</i>	Apathes	Cairo CG 58019
<i>ϣnh=f-n-Ḥnsw</i>	Chapochonsis	Louvre N 3148 (+ N 3220 A)
<i>ϣnh-ḥw-tsm-ḥrt (?)</i>	(?)	Cairo CG 58009
<i>(Wsjr)-wr-Ḥryw</i>	Osoroeris/Erieus	Berlin 3052
<i>P3-wr-j3btt</i>	Poregebthis	BM EA 10194
<i>P3-Mnw/P3njjsḡ/P3nsjjg</i>	Phaminis/Paniscos	Aberdeen ABDUA 84026; Aberdeen ABDUA 84027
<i>P3-Mnw/P3-Mn(t)w</i>	Phaminis/Pamonthis	Berlin 3041; Vatican Inv. 38599
<i>P(3)-Mntw-ϣ</i>	Pamonthis-a'a	Edinburgh A. 212.113.4
<i>P(3)y=f-t3w-ϣwy-Mntw</i>	(?)	BM EA 10110 + 10111
<i>P(3)-šrj-Ḥst-wrt</i>	Psenesoeris	Louvre N 3162
<i>P3-šrj-ϣ3-ph(ty)</i>	Psenapathes	Turin 1990
<i>P3-šrj-(n-)t3-jht</i>	Psentaes	Louvre N 3174
<i>P3-dj-Imn-jpt</i>	Petamenophis	BN 152; Edinburgh A.1956.357 D; Edinburgh A.1956.357 E; Turin 1861 B (= 14964); Turin 1861 C (= 14965)

<i>P3-dj-wr-j3bt</i>	Petaporegebthis	BM EA 10191; BM EA 10304
<i>P3-dj-p[...]</i>	(?)	BM EA 71513A
<i>P3-dj-Nfr-ḥtp</i>	Petanephotes	Louvre N 3176 F
<i>P3-dj-Ḥnsw</i>	Petachonsis	BM EA 10337
<i>P3-dj-Ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd</i>	Petachonpocrates	Louvre SN
<i>P<sup>c</sup>tr<sup>c</sup>ny</i>	Petronius	Louvre N 3161
<i>Fḥ-Mntw</i>	(?)	Cairo CG 58022
<i>Ns-p3wty-t3wy</i>	Spotous	Louvre N 3159 + N 3194; Salt 58
<i>Ḥwt-ḥr-ḥryt</i>	(?)	Rylands Hieratic 6
<i>Ḥr-p(3)-bjk</i>	Harpabekis	Edinburgh A.1956.357 E
<i>Ḥr-s3-Ist</i>	Harsiesis	BN 151; Louvre N 3157
<i>Ḥtr</i>	Hatres	Berlin 3030; Cairo CG 58018
<i>Ḥ3rt</i>	(?)	Cairo CG 58007
<i>Swtr/CwTHP</i>	Soter	BM EA 10282; BM EA 10283; Louvre N 3156; Louvre N 3289
<i>K3rnyr</i>	Cornelius	Louvre N 3290
<i>Kn[dg]3y, KANAAK[H]</i>	Candace	BM EA 9977
<i>Kš3rys/Xάρις</i>	Charis	Florence 3669; Florence 3670
<i>G3rw3p<sup>c</sup>tr<sup>c</sup></i>	Cleopatra	BM EA 9977
<i>Gr3jwptr</i>	Cleopatra	BM EA 10115
<i>T3-w3wt or T3-w3w-šryt</i>	Thaues	Bodleian Library Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P); Louvre N 3279
<i>T3-p(w)r/T3-p(w)l</i>	Sapaulis	BM EA 10123; BM EA 10124
<i>T3-(nt-)Ij-m-ḥtp</i>	Taimouthes	Tübingen 2001
<i>T3-(nt-)fdw-Mnw</i>	Taphthouminis	Louvre N 3176 J
<i>T3-nt-D<sup>c</sup>m</i>	Tasemis	BM EA 10109
<i>T3-rpyt[...]-t3-rypt</i>	(?)	Cairo CG 58023
<i>T3-Ḥnmty</i>	(?)	Louvre N 3176 A



<i>T3-šrjt-3plw</i>	Senapollo	Tübingen 2014
<i>T3-šrjt-Inpw</i>	Senanoupis	BM EA 10340; Cairo CG 58015; Cairo CG 58016
<i>T3-šrjt-(nt)p(3) [...]</i>	(?)	BM EA 10275
<i>T3-šrjt-Ns-Mnw</i>	Senesminis	BM EA 10116
<i>T3-šrjt-Hnsw</i>	Senchonsis	BM EA 10123; BM EA 10124
<i>T3-šrjt-Gpryn</i>	(?)	BM EA 10343
<i>T3-šrjt-Twtw</i>	Sentotoes	Louvre N 3177 A
<i>T3-šrjt-(n-)Dd-hr</i>	Sensaos	Leiden T 33
<i>Twt</i>	Tothoes	BN 246

However, non-Egyptian personal names abound, so it is possible that some of the owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing were not Egyptian *per se*. Indeed, some of the owners bear names such as “Apollo” (*Ipr/l*), “Apollodote” (*3pwltyty*), “Arsinoe” (*3rswyny3t*), and “Artemis” (*3rtymy*). On the verso side of pFlorence 3669 we also find the name “Charis” (*Χάρις*).<sup>6</sup> These are all Greek in origin and an indicator that some of the owners of our papyri were possibly immigrants or perhaps Hellenised Egyptians.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, attested amongst the Soter group are not only the Dynastic names of “Soter” (*Swtr*) and “Cleopatra” (*G3rw3p<sup>c</sup>tr<sup>c</sup>/Gr3jwptr*),<sup>8</sup> but the Roman-sounding names of “Cornelius” (*K3rnyr*) and “Petronius” (*P<sup>c</sup>tr<sup>c</sup>ny*),<sup>9</sup> the supposed Persian name of “Sapaulis” (*T3-p(w)r/T3-p(w)l*),<sup>10</sup> and the

<sup>6</sup> See Pellegrini 1904, 218; Spiegelberg 1906, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Cannata 2012, 608.

<sup>8</sup> For the Greek name “Soter” (*Σωτήρ*) which has been categorised as a surname derived from a god, see Bechtel 1982, 570. For the name “Cleopatra” which is the feminine counterpart of the Greek name “Patrocles,” see also Broux 2015, 173, n. 45.

<sup>9</sup> For the name “Cornelius,” see Pape and Benseler 1959, 698-699; Glare (ed.) 1982, 445; and van Landuyt 1995, 72 with further references there. For the name “Petronius,” see Glare *op. cit.* 1370.

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, van Landuyt 1995, 80 with n. 47 who has interpreted this name as the feminine form of the Persian name *Š.h-pwhr* (Saboulis) meaning “king’s son.” However, it has also been interpreted as an Egyptian transliteration of the Greek name “Zephyra” (*Ζεφύρα*) meaning “west-wind” (see *ibid*, 80 with n. 45).

name “Candace” (*KANΔAK[H]*), which is Meroitic in origin.<sup>11</sup> Also attested on the coffins of this group are Greek, demotic, and hieroglyphic inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> Such data suggests that this family might not have been Egyptian and that the papyri were not solely the preserve of the indigenous population.<sup>13</sup> But since all we have to go on are names, it is difficult to be certain.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, when it comes to the status of the owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing, it seems that they were primarily members of the elite; or more specifically, men and women who once held high-ranking sacerdotal and/or administrative positions within the various temples of Thebes. Out of the male owners who bear titles, for instance, the list below (Table 6) shows that at least six of them were a “God’s father” (*jt-ntr*) and “prophet” (*hm-ntr*) in main Karnak temple of “Amun-Re, king of the gods” (*Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw*), also known by the Greeks as the Ammonieion (*Ἀμμωνιεῖον*).<sup>15</sup> These include the owners of pBerlin 3028, pBerlin 3030 and pCairo CG 58018, pBN 151 and pLouvre N 3157, pLouvre N 3148 (+ N 3220 A), and pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194. The owner of pCairo CG 58009 is also listed as a “God’s father” but not a “prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods.” In the Greco-Roman Period, the title “God’s father” was only held by top-tier, full-time priests or persons with a prominent role in the priesthood.<sup>16</sup> At Thebes, the title was also used to denote the first, second, third, and fourth prophets of Amun, who were basically the main religious functionaries of the region.<sup>17</sup>

Besides that, the owner of pBerlin 3028 and the beneficiary of pBN 151 were also “prophets of Khonsu-who-governs-in-Thebes” (*hm-ntr n Hnsw-p(3)-jrj-sḥrw-m-W3st*), as well as prophets in the cults of “Mut, mistress of perfection” (*Mwt ḥnwt nfrw*) and “Bastet who dwells in Thebes”

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 72-74. For an interesting discussion of funerary objects bearing both Egyptian and Greek inscriptions, viz. mummy labels, see also Fewster 2002, 230-231.

<sup>12</sup> See van Landuyt 1995, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> On this note, it has been said that Soter had an Egyptian mother and a Roman father, making him “the offspring of a multi-racial union” (see *ibid*, 71-72).

<sup>14</sup> Indeed, identity and ethnicity in Greco-Roman Egypt is a broad and complicated study (see, for example, Goudriaan 1988; Collombert 2000; and Riggs 2005, esp. 14-26). Furthermore, Thompson has stated that “... names form just one identifier, and sometimes they may be misleading” (Thompson 2002, 139). Although, it should also be remembered that names in the ancient world “are closely tied to personal, local, and ethnic identity” (Muhs 2010, 188).

<sup>15</sup> Quaegebeur 1975-1976, 464-465; Lajtar 2012, 175.

<sup>16</sup> Habachi 1977, 825-826; Dieleman 2003, 138; Monson 2012, 212-213.

<sup>17</sup> For these prophets, at least in the Ptolemaic Period, see De Meulenaere 1998, 1117-1130.

(*B3stt hr(t)-jb W3st*) respectively.<sup>18</sup> This suggests that they were not only elite, but also probably quite wealthy since by holding more than one priestly office they would have received earnings from different temples.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the owner of pBerlin 3028 also has the title *sm3ty n k3-mwt=f*. This means he was a high priest of Amun and Min, who were both called *k3-mwt=f* (“the bull of his mother”) at Luxor, Karnak, and various other Theban temples.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the title *sm3ty* identifies him as a member of a select group of priests, otherwise known as *στολιστής* (“Stolistes”) in Greek, authorized to enter the inner-most part of a temple to wash and adorn the cult statues of the gods during the daily rituals.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, it is stated further in the case of the owner of pBN 151 that he was a “purifier of the god” (*ʿb-ntr*) and “overseer of secrets” (*hry s3t3*), but he also seems to have been a scribe or textual specialist, likely within the temple of Amun at Karnak. This is indicated by the expressions “Great scholar in Thebes” (*rh-ht wr m W3st*), “he who renews the names of the kings on the wall” (*sm3wy rnw nsyw hr s3t*), and “he who inscribes the temple walls” (*sphr s3ww m gsw-prw*) found at the end of his titulary.

Likewise, the owner of pBerlin 3030, besides a “God’s father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods,” was also a prophet of Mut, as well as a prophet or “major-domo” (*ʿ3-pr*) of the temple of “Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep” (*Hnsw-m-W3st-Nfr-htp*). The title “major-domo” in this context suggests that he was a higher administrative official,<sup>22</sup> and, among other duties, was probably responsible for managing the priestly staff in the temple of Khonsu located in the southwest corner of the Amun precinct.<sup>23</sup> In addition to this, he was also a “great *setem*-priest” (*stm ʿ3*), “*wab*-priest of Amun” (*wʿb n Imn*), “prophet of Amenopet of Djeme, the great living god” (*hm-ntr n Imn-jpt n Dʿm ntr ʿ3*), and finally “overseer of the *wab*-priests of Sekhmet” (*mr wʿb Shmt*). This last title indicates that he was at one time in charge of some low-ranking priests

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<sup>18</sup> The temple of “Khonsu who governs in Thebes” is probably to be identified with “Temple C” in East Karnak (see Klotz 2012, 96; Thiers 2003, 587-602). “Bastet who dwells in Thebes,” on the other hand, probably refers to the temple of “Bastet in Thebes” located in the Mut precinct near the Isheru (*Išrw*) – the sacred lake devoted to leonine goddesses (see Klotz 2012, 79; Tillier 2010, 167-176; and Sauneron 1983, 77-84 for the Isheru in particular. For further references to the Isheru, see also Spalinger 1993, 162).

<sup>19</sup> TeVelde 1995, 1735; Manning 2003, 190; Clarysse 2010, 288-289.

<sup>20</sup> Wainwright 1934, 139-140; Helmuth Jacobson 1980, 308-309; Klotz 2012, 143.

<sup>21</sup> For Stolistes in Greco-Roman Egypt, see Derda 1991, esp. 21-22 with the references there; and Frankfurter 1998, 73.

<sup>22</sup> *Wb.* I, 514.

<sup>23</sup> Vandorpe 1995, 214-215.

probably attached to the small chapel of Sekhmet northwest of the sacred lake in the Mut precinct.

Furthermore, the owner of pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194 was a “prophet of Min-Amun” (*hm-ntr n Mnw-Imn*), otherwise known as “Min of United-with-eternity” (*hnmt-nhh*) at Medinet Habu,<sup>24</sup> and as mentioned “Amun(-Min), the bull of his mother” (*k3-mwt=f*) at Luxor and Karnak.<sup>25</sup> This being the case, he has been identified as belonging to an important Theban family known to have been active from at least the end of the second century BC to the first half of the first century AD.<sup>26</sup> He also bears the designation “Great prominent one in Thebes” (*h3ty-(p)-r wr m W3st*), which in this case is a title supposedly connected to executive members of the priesthood of Amun.<sup>27</sup>

Other than that, the owner of pBM EA 10110 + 10111 held the administrative function of “Guardian of the treasury of the House of Amun and of his temples” (*s3wttyw pr-hd n pr Imn irm n3y=f rpyw*),<sup>28</sup> while the owner of pBM EA 10125 was “Doorkeeper of the treasury of Amun” (*jry-3 n pr-nbw n Imn*) and “Head of the clothing of the House of Amun-Re, king of the gods” (*hry mnht n pr Imn-Rr nsw ntrw*). Again, these titles all relate to principal positions within the priesthood and major ministries of the estate of the Karnak temple, and indicate for the most part that these men were of a high social status.

As for the women who owned such documents, only the beneficiary of pLouvre N 3279 has a title. She was a “Sistrum-player of Amun-Re” (*jhyt n Imn-Rr*). Besides denoting a priestess providing music in rituals, not much is known about this vocation,<sup>29</sup> and therefore the status of this woman. However, it is likely she was high-ranking. This can be supported by some Ptolemaic Period statuettes made for women also bearing the title “Sistrum-player of Amun-Re” who are in each case identified as a daughter of a priest controlling an important position

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 225-226; Bataille 1952, 103-104; and Thissen 1989, 191.

<sup>25</sup> Klotz 2012a, 143.

<sup>26</sup> See Quaegebeur 1994, 215-217; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 59-62; and Herbin 1994, 26-27.

<sup>27</sup> Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 48-50.

<sup>28</sup> This is written in demotic on the verso of the papyrus (see Herbin 2008, pl. 59). In the main text which is written in hieratic, the owner is called *s3wttyw pr-hd n pr Imn* “Guardian of the treasury of the House of Amun” and *hm-ntr n pr-nbw Imn* “Prophet of the treasury of Amun” (Herbin 2008, 90 with pls. 57-58; Quack 2012, 275).

<sup>29</sup> Albersmeier 2011, 64.

in a major Egyptian temple (i.e. a “god’s father and prophet of Amun”).<sup>30</sup> The title of “Sistrum-player” was also initially held by royal women from the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty onwards before becoming a common, if not honorific, appellation amongst non-royal women who were members of top-tier priestly families during Greco-Roman times.<sup>31</sup> The fact that the owner of pLouvre N 3279 occupied such a function suggests that she was probably a very privileged individual and, like many others who relied upon one of our Books of Breathing, socially very high-ranking.

Table 6: Titles of the Owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing.

Transliteration	Translation	Title of the owner(s) of Papyrus Inventory No.
<i>Ἀρχων Θηβών</i> <sup>32</sup>	Archon of Thebes	BM EA 10283
<i>jry-ꜣ n pr-nbw n 'Imn</i>	Doorkeeper of the treasury of Amun	BM EA 10125
<i>jhyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ</i>	Sistrum-player of Amun-Re	Louvre N 3279
<i>jt-ntr ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i>	God’s father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods	Berlin 3028; Berlin 3030; BN 151; Cairo CG 58018; Louvre N 3157; Louvre N 3148 (+ N 3220 A); Louvre N 3159 + N 3194; Salt 58
<i>ꜥb-ntr</i>	Purifier of the god	BN 151; Louvre N 3157
<i>wꜥb n 'Imn</i>	<i>Wab</i> -priest of Amun	Berlin 3030
<i>bw3 wr m njwt=f</i> <sup>33</sup>	Great magistrate in his town	BM EA 10283
<i>mr wꜥb Shmt</i>	Overseer of the <i>wab</i> -priests of Sekhmet	Berlin 3030; Cairo CG 58018
<i>rh-ht</i>	Scholar	Louvre N 3157

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *ibid*, 62-63 (esp. the inscriptions of nos. 5-9 and no. 11).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 63-64.

<sup>32</sup> After the Greek inscription on his coffin (Coffin BM EA 6705), see Neugebauer and Parker 1969, 91 (no. 67) with pl. 47 A; Grimm 1974, pl. 138 (nos. 1 and 3); Bowman 1986, 135 (fig. 80); van Landuyt 1995, 71; Riggs 2005, 280-281 (no. 77 with figs. 87-89, 98); Walker *et al* 1997, 150; and Herbin 2008, 9.

<sup>33</sup> After the hieroglyphic inscriptions on his coffin (Coffin BM EA 6705) and burial shroud (BM EA 6705 A). For the coffin, see the previous note. For the shroud, see Walker *et al* 1997, 166; and Riggs 2005, 194-198, 281.

<i>rh-ht wr m W3st</i> <sup>34</sup>	Great scholar in Thebes	BN 151
<i>rh st-r3=f</i> <sup>35</sup>	He who knows his utterance	Louvre N 3157
<i>h3ty-(p)-c wr m W3st</i>	Great prominent one in Thebes	Louvre N 3159 + N 3194; Salt 58
<i>hm-ntr 2.nw n Imn</i>	Second prophet of Amun	Berlin 3030
<i>hm-ntr 3.nw n Imn</i>	Third prophet of Amun	Berlin 3030
<i>hm-ntr 4.nw n Imn</i>	Fourth prophet of Amun	Berlin 3030
<i>hm-ntr n Imn-jpt n Dcm ntr c3 nh hry ntrw hn n3 nty m-s3=f (?)</i>	Prophet of Amenopet of Djeme, the great living god, overseer of the gods together with those who are behind him (?)	Berlin 3030
<i>hm-ntr n B3stt hr(t)-jb W3st</i>	Prophet of Bastet who dwells in Thebes	BN 151; Louvre N 3157
<i>hm-ntr n Mwt hnwt nfrw</i>	Prophet of Mut, mistress of perfection	Berlin 3028
<i>hm-ntr n Mwt wrt nbt Isrw</i>	Prophet of Mut the great, lady of the Isheru	Berlin 3030
<i>hm-ntr n Mnw-Imn</i>	Prophet of Min-Amun	pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194
<i>hm-ntr n pr-nbw Imn</i>	Prophet of the treasury of Amun	BM EA 10110 + 10111
<i>hm-ntr n Hnsw-p3-jrj-shrw-m-W3st</i>	Prophet of Khonsu-who-governs-in-Thebes	Berlin 3028; BN 151; Louvre N 3157
<i>hm-ntr c3-pr n Hnsw-m-W3st-Nfr-htp</i>	Prophet and majordomo of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep	Berlin 3030
<i>hry mnht n pr Imn-Rc nsw ntrw</i>	Head of clothing of the house of Amun-Re, king of the gods	BM EA 10125
<i>hry sst3</i>	Overseer of secrets	BN 151; Louvre N 3157
<i>s3wt(y)w [pr-hd] n pr Imn irm n3y=f rpyw rh ihy wr [mh(wt)=f]</i>	Guardian [of the treasury] of the House of Amun and of his temples, the most talented of [his clan]	BM EA 10110 + 10111

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Faulkner 1962, 151: *rh-ht n rmtt* “wisest of all men.”

<sup>35</sup> For *st-r(3)* “utterance,” see *ibid.*, 206.

<i>sphr s3ww m gsw-prw</i>	He who inscribes the temple walls	Louvre N 3157
<i>sm3wy rnw nsyw hr s3t</i>	He who renews the names of the kings on the wall	BN 151
<i>sm3ty n K3-βy-ε</i>	<i>Sematy</i> -priest of Kafay'a	Berlin 3028
<i>sm3ty n K3-mwt=f</i>	<i>Sematy</i> -priest of the bull of his mother	Berlin 3028
<i>stm ε3</i>	Great <i>setem</i> -priest	Berlin 3030

With that said, however, it should be mentioned that most of the papyri do not bear the titles of their owners. Like the absence of the owner's titles in some Ptolemaic Period Book of the Dead manuscripts, this may indicate that our documents were not destined exclusively for members of the elite, but were also being used by people of a lower social standing.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, a number of copies of our texts were recovered from group burials. As Burkhard Backes suggested in the case of a collection of Late Period funerary papyri (pBerlin 3158, pBerlin 3159, and pAberdeen ABDUA 84023) found under similar circumstances: "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."<sup>37</sup> While this may also be the case with some of the owners of our papyri, it should be pointed out first and foremost that being interred in a group burial cannot be taken as a marker of one's social status. In other words, plenty of group burials are known from ancient Egypt, but this does not mean that the individuals exhumed were of a lowly social class.<sup>38</sup> This is especially true of the Late and Greco-Roman Periods when certain rooms of earlier tombs were repurposed for interment of members of the elite and their families, such as those of TT 32 originally built for a man named Djehutymose of the Ramesside Period. In

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. Backes 2010, 2.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> To name but a few, there is the burial of the Neferkhawet family of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Hayes 1935; S. Smith 1992, 227-228; and Dorman 2003, 34-37); the group burial discovered in the tomb of Senenmut (Lansing and Hayes 1937; Dorman 2003, 32-34); and of course the royal cache discovered at Thebes (Belova 2003; Graefe 2003). In each of these burials, the individuals interred were relatively well-to-do. Also noteworthy are the general remarks of Grajetzki 2007, 16: "A prominent phenomenon in Egyptian funerary culture is the practice of multiple burial, very well attested in the Pre-Dynastic Period, not very common in the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom, but then from the Old Kingdom on again widespread."

Room I and Rooms VIII-XIV of that tomb, for instance, were found the mummies of a family dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>39</sup> The titles held by some members of this family reveal that they were royal scribes and scribes of Amun and of a high social standing.<sup>40</sup>

In addition, it can be proven that some of our documents did in fact belong to high-ranking, well-to-do people, even when the titles of the owners are lacking. A case in point are those belonging to Sensaos (pLeiden T 33), Petamenophis I Ammonios (pBN 152), Petronius (pLouvre N 3161), Apollonides (pBM EA 10331), Petamenophis II (pTurin 1861 B and C), Sapaulis II (pBM EA 10123 and 10124), and Soter II (pLouvre N 3156 and N 3289). While none of these individuals bear any titles, we know that each of them was affiliated genealogically to the “archon” Soter, and as such were most likely privileged members of society.<sup>41</sup> As a further sign of an elite status, all of them were provisioned with items such as decorated coffins, shrouds, gilded wreaths, and copper crowns after they died.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, the owners of pEdinburgh A.1956.357 D and pEdinburgh A.1956.357 E, who again do not bear titles, were both placed in a rare wooden double anthropoid-shape coffin (Edinburgh A.1956.357 A) and equipped with amuletic necklaces and metal plaques.<sup>43</sup> All of these items constitute a rather extensive funerary ensemble and, like the descendants of Soter, indicate that the owners were probably members of a relatively advantaged family.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Kákosity 1995, 61-62. This is also apparently the same tomb in which the Soter family was buried.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 62; Arlt 2011, esp. 18-23. Cf. also the Pebos family of the Roman Period whose mummies were discovered in the basement of a house at Deir el-Medina (see Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 188-193; Riggs 2003, 195-198; and *idem*, 2005, 205-217). For the purchasing of parts of the Theban necropolis and the tombs therein by members of the elite, which evidently began during the Saïte Period, see Aston 2003, 155-7. For the reuse of pre-existing tombs in the Theban region during the Greco-Roman Period, see Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 200-202; and Strudwick 2003, esp. 171-175, 179, and 182.

<sup>41</sup> Note here the comments of Riggs 2006, 316: “Soter himself was a local official, known as an *archon* ... Hence the group of burials belong to a local elite connected to civic and religious offices in the region, and they model a noticeably Egyptian identity in the mortuary sphere of Roman Thebes.”

<sup>42</sup> For the burial equipment associated with the Soter group, aptly dubbed “Soternalia,” see Grimm 1974; van Landuyt 1995; Herbin 2002; Riggs and Depauw 2002, 75-90 with pls. IX-XI; Riggs and Stadler 2003; Riggs 2003, 193-195; Riggs 2005, 182-204; *idem*, 2006; and Corcoran 2010.

<sup>43</sup> For these items, see Riggs 2005, 185 and 285; Coenen 2004, 112-118; Dawson 1926-1927, 290-296; Grimm 1974, pl. 139.5 (1956.307 *sic*); Manley and Dodson 2010, 140-142 (no. 61); and Gessler-Löhr 2012, 673.

<sup>44</sup> On this note, cf. also Dawson 1926-1927, 294 who stated the following about the two boys: “From the careful treatment of the body it is evident that this infant and its twin were the children of wealthy parents.”



Finally, as the instructions for the placement of our Books of Breathing indicate, the documents were to be integrated into the mummy-wrappings or placed under the head or feet of the mummified body of the deceased. Despite the fact that several different methods were employed and that the quality of the procedure could vary,<sup>45</sup> mummification in the Greco-Roman Period could be quite expensive.<sup>46</sup> According to the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (I.91), for example, embalming alone could cost anywhere from an unknown amount to 2000 drachmas to 1 talent (= 6000 drachmas).<sup>47</sup> Linen on the other hand, as indicated by a letter dated to the Roman Period (pGiss. 68) even cost one family as much as 600 drachmas.<sup>48</sup> In the words of Dominic Montserrat, these are all rather “substantial sums.”<sup>49</sup> On top of this, it is mentioned in Setne I 3/16 (pCairo CG 30646) that a funeral could cost up to 2000 silver drachmas in the Ptolemaic Period,<sup>50</sup> and based on a list compiled by Montserrat,<sup>51</sup> an average of around 500 drachmas in the Roman Period. If it is true that the “annual middle-class income in the second to third century CE was around 200 to 300 drachmas,”<sup>52</sup> surely then the expense of embalming combined with the cost of certain burial items (i.e. a coffin, shroud, amulets, funerary papyrus, etc.) and the funeral itself would have been feasible only for those of the upper class. If so, there is good reason to believe that the original owners of the First and Second Books of Breathing were all persons of high social rank, regardless of the fact that many of them are without a title.

### 5.3. Authorship

As for who created our texts, all that can be said is that we cannot know for certain. Like other forms of Egyptian literature, those responsible for writing the texts did not sign their name and remain completely anonymous. As mentioned, the bulk of the papyri may bear only the names of their original owners, and sometimes their parents; the names of the people who wrote the texts are entirely absent. This makes discerning the identity of the authors a difficult task.

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<sup>45</sup> For the different ways in which deceased persons could be mummified in Greco-Roman Egypt, see in particular Gessler-Löhr 2012, 670-675.

<sup>46</sup> Cannata 2012, 597.

<sup>47</sup> Gessler-Löhr 2012, 677; Burton 1972, 262; Montserrat 1997, 36.

<sup>48</sup> See Cannata 2012, 604; and Montserrat 1997, 36 and 41.

<sup>49</sup> Montserrat 1997, 36.

<sup>50</sup> See Gessler-Löhr 2012, 677; Depauw 2004, 241.

<sup>51</sup> For these, see the list in Montserrat 1997, 41.

<sup>52</sup> Gessler-Löhr 2012, 677.

Despite this, a demotic tale from the time of the Roman emperor Augustus may provide some insight. In this text (pBerlin 13588), a priest of Amun is explicitly credited with saying:

*ir=i t3 70.t n hrw iw=i n n3 r3w n t3 w<sup>c</sup>bt iw=i sh w<sup>c</sup>t mdyt n dm<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>t knyt n sh w<sup>c</sup>  
tw3 n sns n r p3 mnḥ ntr n Wsir nsw Pr-<sup>c</sup>3 P3-s-n-mṯk*

I spent 70 days lingering at the doors of the pure place copying a papyrus roll, a written record, and a hymn (*tw3*) of breathing (which were) on the divine bandages of the Osiris, king, pharaoh, Psamtek (I).<sup>53</sup>

If this so-called “hymn of breathing” is to be connected with our Books of Breathing then this passage is crucial for understanding the origins of the texts. It implies that either Psamtek I himself or a scribe in his service was responsible for the creation of the texts. It also pushes back the date of the use of the Books of Breathing to the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. However, such claims to the derivation of the works should be taken with a grain of salt. It is well known that the ancient Egyptians employed rhetorical devices to enhance the legacy of written traditions,<sup>54</sup> and in the face of the fact that no Book of Breathing *per se* can be attributed to the mummy of Psamtek I, it would be wise to treat this passage of text as entirely fictitious. Furthermore, when it came to creating a text more than one person and redaction was usually involved.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the creation of a text was usually cooperative and can be attributed, more generally, to a select caste of individuals rather than a single man or woman.<sup>56</sup>

In the case of our texts then, it can be intimated that this caste of individuals was most likely priests. Indeed, evidence in the texts and in other sources shows that there is a close connection with the priesthood and the creation of our texts. First of all, the First and Second Books of Breathing are both religious texts and written in a script and language considered to be sacred

<sup>53</sup> pBerlin 13588, III, 7-8 (translation after Erichsen 1956, 61 with pl. III; and Smith 1985, 103-104. See also Möller 1918, 180-184).

<sup>54</sup> For example, in ritual, magical, and medical texts, as well as in a number of spells of the Book of the Dead (see Dieleman 2005, 254-274; Stadler 2009, 70-90; and Eyre 2014, 278).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. the remarks of Tait 305-306; and van der Toorn 2007, 5, 48. Although, there are exceptions, such as the autobiography of Nefer inscribed on a stela dating to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (see Edwards 1965, esp. 25-26 with pl. XI, 2; and Fischer-Elfert 2013).

<sup>56</sup> van der Toorn 2007, 5; Scalf 2017, 143.

at the time.<sup>57</sup> Our documents also disclose the names of deities and their epithets or make reference to certain mythological events and the locations of cults. Such knowledge of course was mainly the prerogative of the priesthood.

Furthermore, it was mentioned that the First and Second Books of Breathing are envisaged to have been written by Thoth,<sup>58</sup> and on the versos of some exemplars is an explicit reference to this:

[šꜥt n sns n *Dḥwty* m s3w=k] nn nhm ntw=k m wsht Wsjr [...]

[The Document of Breathing of Thoth is as your protection] so that you will not be turned away from the hall of Osiris [...]<sup>59</sup>

It has been said that Thoth was a preferred “mode of becoming” (*hprw*) amongst priestly scribes,<sup>60</sup> and by the Roman Period “the primary pseudonymous authority for diverse priestly texts.”<sup>61</sup> The fact that our documents are credited as the work of Thoth confirms that the texts

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<sup>57</sup> For the hieratic script in general, see Goelet, Jr. 2003, 3. For the situation of the hieratic script in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, see Hoffman 2012, 543-545; and Depauw 2012, 493 who states that in the Roman Period: “Hieratic had become the ‘priestly’ script used for literary texts and scholarly or scientific literature.” For a general discussion of the language used in the Documents of Breathing, i.e. Late Classical Egyptian, see also Dieleman and Moyer 2010, 431; and the comments of Vernus 2017, 479. Furthermore, Klotz 2012b, 566 has recently stated that: “several archaizing funerary papyri of the Roman period, which contain variants of the Documents of Breathing, are composed in ornate hieroglyphs, and employ the same enigmatic script popular in temple inscriptions of the era.” It should be mentioned that temples in the Greco-Roman Period were the last strongholds for the Egyptian scripts and to this end were effectively under the care of the same group of people: Egyptian priests.

<sup>58</sup> Herbin 1984a, 249; Quaegebeur 1988, 112-113; and 1995b, 167-170.

<sup>59</sup> Verso note of pBM EA 71513B with a similar note on the versos of pBM EA 10109 and pBM EA 71513A.

Cf. also a passage from the Book of Breathing which Isis Made (pLouvre N 3284, II, 8-9): *jj n=k Dḥwty ʕ3 ʕ3 nbt hmnw sš=f n=k šꜥy n sns m dbꜥw=f ds=f sns b3=k r nhḥ whm=k* “Thoth, the twice great, lord of Hermopolis, will come to you. He will write a Document of Breathing for you with his own fingers so that your *ba* will live forever” (after Rhodes 2002, 54-55, 66; and Herbin 1994, pl. 29).

<sup>60</sup> For a discussion of this as well as the term *hprw* in this context, see Nordh 1996, 49-61, 108, and 114.

<sup>61</sup> Frankfurter 1998, 240. For Thoth in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, see also Kákosy 1963, 123-128; Quaegebeur 1975, 19-24; Boylan 1979, 165-172; and Fowden 1996, 21-23. For Thoth as the author of the Books of Breathing, see Quaegebeur 1988, 112-113; 1995, 167-170; and 1997, 72.

were the preserve of the clergy, and that the persons most likely involved in their creation were members of the Egyptian priestly class.

With that said, it is possible that some of the owners of our papyri themselves or at the very least members of the same sacerdotal group to which some of the users of our texts belonged may have been these priests. Written across the top of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made in pLouvre N 3284 is an invocation to Osiris to be spoken by the owner, Osoroeris.<sup>62</sup> At the end of the third line of this invocation there is a short message saying that it was written by his eldest son – a man called Spotous (*Ns-p3wty-t3wy*). This Spotous is in fact the same person mentioned in *Pros. Ptol.* IX, 5817,<sup>63</sup> demotic graffito Medinet Habu no. 52,<sup>64</sup> and lastly the First and Second Books of Breathing preserved in pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194, which was his copy of the texts.<sup>65</sup> While it cannot be known for certain if Spotous wrote the entire text of pLouvre N 3284 or just these additional three lines,<sup>66</sup> what this shows is that the owners were more than capable of producing a funerary text, and that some of them may have been contemporary with, if not, related to the persons in charge of the original composition of the works. One may even venture to argue that Spotous himself was one of the original authors of the compositions since pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194 is the earliest datable copy of the First and Second Books of Breathing known so far.<sup>67</sup> But admittedly, there is no evidence to support this. Also, his funerary papyrus has yet to be edited.

Nevertheless, it was mentioned above that several of the owners of our papyri were priests while alive and held titles linking them directly to the temples at Karnak and its subsidiaries, such as “god’s father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods” (*jt-ntr ḥm-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw*). These titles indicate not only that they held high-ranking sacerdotal positions, but also that they were probably part of a close-knit community of religious experts, some of whom might have

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<sup>62</sup> For this manuscript, see de Horrack, 1877. For a hieroglyphic transcription of the three additional lines of hieratic (not provided by de Horrack), see Herbin 1994, 511-513. For a translation, see Smith 2009a, 476-477.

<sup>63</sup> Coenen 2004b, 66 with n. 30; Quaegebeur 1994, 216-217.

<sup>64</sup> See Quaegebeur 1994, 216-217; Thissen 1989, 55-58.

<sup>65</sup> Quaegebeur 1994, 216-217; Herbin 1994, 26-27.

<sup>66</sup> Although, since the handwriting is consistent throughout the entire papyrus, it is highly likely he wrote the whole thing.

<sup>67</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Two it dates to anywhere between 113 BC and 42/41 BC, based on the demotic graffito and the fact that Osoroeris, Spotous’ father, is mentioned in the Greek pCasati.

been involved in the conception of the texts. Indeed, from the Late Period onwards, the priesthood was still largely hereditary in character,<sup>68</sup> and we know that some of the owners of our texts, such as Spotous, held the same priestly titles as their father.<sup>69</sup> This indicates that the authors and some of the owners of our papyri were probably of the same ilk. Furthermore, when we consider the contents of our texts, it has been said that “Amun plays an important role here, especially, in one group of abbreviated versions, as Amenomope, that is, Amun of Luxor.”<sup>70</sup> Amun was considered both a demiurge and ruler of the gods, and was by far one of the most prevailing Theban deities.<sup>71</sup> But the god was also connected to wind, air, and breathing.<sup>72</sup> As

<sup>68</sup> Te Velde 1995, 1734-1735. See *inter alia* the priestly families studied by Quaegebeur 1980; Thissen 1977; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 54-62; Coenen 1998b; De Meulenaere 1998; and Traunecker 1998.

<sup>69</sup> Spotous, for instance, bears the titles *jt-ntr hm-ntr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw* “god’s father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods,” *hm-ntr n Mnw-Imn* “prophet of Min-Amun,” and *h3ty(-p)-<sup>c</sup> wr m W3st* “great prominent one in Thebes.” His father, Osoroeris, is *jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw* “god’s father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods” and [*hm-ntr n Mnw-Imn-R<sup>c</sup> k3*] *mwt=f hry st=f wrt* “[prophet of Min-Amun-Re, the bull] of his mother who is upon his great seat” (see pLouvre N 3284 and pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194). As for Spotous’ mother, she was called *T3-nwb* and was *nbt pr* “lady of the house” as well as *jhyt n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw* “sistrum-player of Amun-Re, king of the gods” (see pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194; pLouvre N 3278 which is a Book of the Dead belonging to Hr son of *Wsjr-wr* and *T3-nwb*, i.e. Spotous’ brother; and Leipzig figurines 2903 and 2905 in Steindorff 1935-38, 841). Similarly, the owner of the Second Book of Breathing in pSalt 58 (Lieblein 1895, 37-40, no. 19, pls. LXI-LXVII), another man named Spotous, was a *jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn* “god’s father and prophet of Amun,” as well as a *h3ty(-p)-<sup>c</sup> wr m W3st* “great prominent one in Thebes,” while his mother, a woman called Tete (*Tt*) was *nbt pr* “lady of the house,” and his father, a certain Pawy (*P3wy*), a *mj nn* “priest of the same rank (as the son),” and *jt-ntr hm-ntr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw* “god’s father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods.” For priests also bearing the name Spotous as well as Osoroeris in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, see Quaegebeur 1974, 41-43; and Bierbrier 1977, 1248.

<sup>70</sup> Hornung 1999, 24. Cf. also a passage from pLeiden T 32 (II, 29-30), a copy of the Book of Traversing Eternity: *dg3=k Imn-jpt m d3=f r D3m r w3h hwt n Km-3t=f šsp.n=k mw m-<sup>c</sup>=f hn<sup>c</sup> b3w jkrw dr f3.n=f<sup>c</sup>=f n jt=f* “You will behold Amenopet when he ferries across to Djeme in order to present offerings to Kematef. You will receive water from his hand together with the excellent *bas* after he has raised his arm to his father” (Herbin 1994, 52-53, 140-142; Smith 2009a, 412). The abbreviated versions of the First Book of Breathing in pCairo CG 58015, pCairo CG 58016, pTurin 1990, and pEdinburgh A.212.113.4 contain a similar passage: *šsp=k mw jw htp n ts n dw3t n<sup>c</sup>h b3=k jw nh<sup>c</sup> nnpj=f jw dt* “May you receive water from the offering table of he who guards the underworld. May your *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate eternally” (Coenen 2004, 107). Although this passage does not mention Amenopet *per se*, it is to be understood as a reference to deity’s provisioning at the decade festival (see Scalf 2014, 217 with n. 121).

<sup>71</sup> Klotz 2012a, 58-61. For Amun in general, see also Assmann 1995; and Sethe 1929.

<sup>72</sup> Spiegelberg 1911, 127-128; Wainwright 1934, 144-147; Klotz 2006, 28-29, 59-65; and *idem*, 2012a, 61-62.

David Klotz has shown, Amun is regularly referred to in the Greco-Roman Period by the epithet “the maker of air” (*jrj-ḥw*),<sup>73</sup> and was generally thought of as the hypostasis of the wind “who provides the breath of life to all noses” (*dj ḥw n ḥnh n fnd nb*).<sup>74</sup> The deity was also believed to journey through the underworld where he would “illumine the faces of the Westerners” (*ḥꜥy ḥrw n Ḥmntyw*) and basically help bring the dead back to life.<sup>75</sup> It is to be expected that in order to create the Books of Breathing the authors would need to have an understanding of these theological concepts, and it can be easily imagined that some of the owners of the papyri would have been familiar with these concepts as well. If so, the authors were probably part of the same sacerdotal group as some of the owners: Egyptian priests who held high offices in the cult of Amun at Thebes.

#### 5.4. Scribal Practice: The Making of the First and Second Books of Breathing

If it can be accepted that the creators of our texts were priests, then we can go ahead and presume that the place in which they created them was the House of Life (*pr-ḥnh*),<sup>76</sup> or some kind of temple library, like the one said to exist at Luxor.<sup>77</sup> However, what remains to be seen is how

<sup>73</sup> Klotz 2012a, 61; Firchow (ed.) 1957, 66b, 69b, 95c, 103b; Clère 1961, pl. 11, 5, 49, 42; de Wit 1958, 166; Zivie-Coche 1986, 151, 4; Leitz (ed.) 2002, 504.

<sup>74</sup> Klotz 2012a, 62; de Wit 1958, 117, 157.

<sup>75</sup> Klotz 2012a, 65-66; Firchow (ed.) 1957, 140b.

<sup>76</sup> Herbin 2008, 4; Stadler 2012b, 388; Scalf 2017, 142-143. For the House of Life, see Gardiner 1938; Derchain 1965; Weber 1977, 954-957; Nordh 1996, 107-132; Frankfurter 1998, 238-248; Stadler 2015b, 189-190; and *idem*, 2017, 35-46. For the existence of a House of Life at Bubastis, see also Habachi and Ghalioungui 1971. Whether or not one existed there in the Greco-Roman Period, however, is another matter.

<sup>77</sup> This is attested by the expression *js n sšw*, “Chamber of Writings,” in an inscription of Ramesses II:

[...*jr*] *ntr pn nfr sš pw jkr m šs3 m rht mj Dḥwtj rh tp-rd wn-ḥr m tsw (?) jp mj [...]* *nn jy(t) (?) [...]* *ḥꜥ.n dꜥr ḥm=f js n sšw pg3.n=f sšw pr-ḥnh rh.n=f jmnwt nw pt sš3 nb nw t3*

[...As for] this good god, he is a scribe, excellent in skill and in knowledge like Thoth, who knows the regulations, is skilled in precepts(?), and reckons like [...] without mishap(?) [...] Then His Majesty studied (in) the Chamber of Writings, and he opened the writings of the House of Life. He (thus) knew the secrets of the sky and all the mysteries of the earth... (translation after Abd el-Razik 1974, 144. See also *idem*, 1975, 125).

Furthermore, both pCarlsberg 325 and pSalt 825 bear a list of books which possibly belonged to a library (see Ryholt 2006: 151-155; and Derchain 1965, I, 141-142 respectively), and attested in connection with the expression “House of Books” (*pr-md3t*) are similar lists at the Greco-Roman Period temples of Edfu, Tôd, and Philae (Eyre 2014, 309; Burkard 1980, 85 and 102; Grimm 1989; and Thiers 2004). An inscription at Philae temple tells us that this “House of Books” was in fact a sort of depository, not only for the writings of the House of Life but other

these priests created them. The answer to this question is difficult to obtain and we are still very much in the dark when it comes to the methods used in the composition of religious texts, perhaps because these methods were trade secrets or because they were so engrained there was no need to record them. Despite this, it is often argued in Egyptology that “copying,” that is, from already existing compositions, “was the initial and most essential step.”<sup>78</sup> Indeed, the creation, like the transmission, of texts was inseparable from processes of copying and it is well-known that Egyptian scribes were prone to putting together new texts by drawing from and reworking older ones.<sup>79</sup> At the same time, “the accretion of scholia, commentary, and exegesis produced new versions of old texts,” if not new texts entirely.<sup>80</sup> With regards to funerary literature, an especially good example is BD 17. Certain lines, passages, and phrases of that text are simply parallels to those occurring in CT 335.<sup>81</sup> This suggests that the former was created directly from copying and reworking a source of the latter. Similarly, BD 57 comprises excerpts already found in CT 353, CT 355, and in some cases CT 352.<sup>82</sup> When one compares these texts it is clear that BD 57 probably derived through a similar process and was created in part by being copied directly from archetypes of the earlier spells.<sup>83</sup>

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documents as well (Eyre 2014, 310). These writings were probably stored in small niches in the walls or in chests and included books dealing with different aspects of ancient Egyptian religion and ritual, as well as theology, astronomy, medicine, and geography (see *ibid.*, 309-310; Nordh 1996, 108, 116; and Schott 1990). Additionally, a number of texts, such as the Book of Thoth, speak of what is called a *hwt-jryw* “House/Mansion of *jryw*-texts.” This also seems to have been a library of sorts (see Fischer-Elfert 2013, esp. 110-113).

<sup>78</sup> Goelet, Jr. 2010, 121.

<sup>79</sup> On the importance of copying in ancient Egypt, see Silverman 1982, 67; *idem*, 1989, 29-33; Quirke 2004, 44-47; Goelet, Jr. 2010, 121-122; the introduction of Pries 2011; and Stadler 2003, 17-20 who demonstrated that the Demotic version of BD 125 in pBN 149 was copied and translated from a hieroglyphic version. For discussions of the production, reproduction, and transmission of ancient Egyptian texts, particularly those of a religious character, see Nordh 1996, 132-186; and Vernus 2017. For the reproduction or transmission of texts through the process of copying from memory, see also Quack 2002, 166-167.

<sup>80</sup> Scaf 2015, 202; and *idem*, 2015-2016. For the custom of the Egyptians themselves commenting on and explicating the content of key texts, see also Quack 2002, 167.

<sup>81</sup> See Rössler-Köhler 1979; Westendorf (ed.), 1975; Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 40-48.

<sup>82</sup> For instance, the version on the papyrus of Neferwebenef Turi of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (see Quirke 2013, 140-142)

<sup>83</sup> For more on the practice of copying in the tradition of the Book of the Dead, see Stadler 2009, 43-47. Cf. also the texts produced in the tomb of Iufaa at Abusir studied by Landgráfová 2015; and the two hymns from Room X of the temple of Philadelphus at Philae studied by Žabkar 1980. In another interesting text, a scribe of the New Kingdom condensed phrases from 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty offering formula to compose what was supposed to be a sun hymn (see Silverman 1976, 201-208).

When looking at the text of our documents, it can be argued that the same approach was most likely taken here as well. In the case of the First Book of Breathing, the authors initially selected a basic text or sources which could be used as a model, then copied certain parts or excerpts of them accordingly. In order to create the text they then combined these excerpts together – not haphazardly but rather carefully. In this case the sources in particular were undoubtedly spells pertaining to the Book of the Dead, versions of which unfortunately cannot be identified.<sup>84</sup> Certainly, as shown in Chapter Two, the content of the work borrows heavily from specific spells of that corpus and it is clear that most of it derived from the Book of the Dead. Based on the subject matter of the First Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10191, the extent of this can be summarised as follows:<sup>85</sup>

- Col. I, ll. 1-15 = BD 127/BD 15AI.<sup>86</sup>
- Col. I, ll. 15-29 = BD 18.
- Col. I, ll. 29-30 = BD 21.
- Col. I, ll. 30-31 = BD 22.
- Col. I, ll. 31-33 = BD 23.
- Col. I, ll. 33-34 = BD 25 (?).
- Col. I, ll. 34-38 = BD 26.
- Col. I, ll. 38-40 = BD 27 and BD 28.
- Col. I, ll. 41-43 = BD 30 (or BD 30A).
- Col. I, ll. 45-50 = BD 42 (*Gliedervergottung*).

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<sup>84</sup> Indeed, the transmission history of the Book of the Dead was incredibly long and there is considerable textual and iconographic diversity amongst the many documents. According to Niwinski 1989, 114: “This diversity may reflect an existence of different patterns of the texts or model papyri.” Furthermore, the order and number of the spells, as well as the texts themselves, were never static and no two papyri are exactly the same (von Lieven 2016, 68; Quack 2009, 33-34). This makes the task of identifying a particular source impossible. Nevertheless, one cannot rule out influence from Books of the Dead of the Saïte recension since these represent a later, more standardised and contemporary phase in the transmission of that corpus of spells. However, even these show discrepancies, mainly in the form of independent reworking, and not one example is precisely the same as another (see Quirke 2013, xxvii; and Mosher 2010 and 2017 for evidence of reworking in later Books of the Dead).

<sup>85</sup> On this note, some of the papyri bearing a First Book of Breathing contain vignettes. These, or rather elements thereof, also appear to have been borrowed from the Book of the Dead. A good example is the representation of the weighing of the heart of the deceased in pBerlin 3028, pBodleian Library Ms. Douce. Or.b. 10 (P), and pFlorence 3662.

<sup>86</sup> And perhaps the vignettes of BD 15 (see Scalf 2017, 142).



- Col. I, ll. 50-52 = BD 44.
- Col. I, l. 53-Col. II, l. 2 = BD 48/10.
- Col. II, ll. 2-5 = BD 49/11.
- Col. II, ll. 6-7 = BD 38.
- Col. II, ll. 7-11 = BD 54.
- Col. II, ll. 14-19 = BD 57.
- Col. II, ll. 19-21 = BD 56/59.
- Col. II, ll. 21-22 = BD 60, 61 and/or 62 (?).
- Col. II, ll. 26-28 = BD 66.
- Col. II, ll. 28-31 = BD 68.

However, the creators did not always copy closely a spell of the Book of the Dead and decided to introduce a few modifications. These modifications included shortening the spell, changing the names of the deities to whom the utterances are addressed, and omitting certain phrases and replacing them with others. § 8 (pBM EA 10191, II, 7-14) in this respect is a good example. The majority of that part of the text is virtually the same as BD 54, but the creators changed it into an invocation to the god Amun. BD 54 was originally an invocation to Atum. Secondly, they omitted the last few lines of BD 54 and replaced them with a passage not present in any known copy of that spell. In this case, the words:

*s3w=tn s3w r=j jmyw dw3t jnk jmy sš=f m hb šps Dḥwty rn=j j Imn dj=k t3w ndm  
r fnd=j jnk b3=k šps pr jm=k mj ʿnh=j mj sns=j t3w=k jnk hb šps m-hnw sš=k jnk  
nb jm3h hr Rʿ*

You shall beware, beware of me those who are in the underworld. I am the one who is in his nest as an august ibis. “Thoth” is my name. O Amun, you shall give sweet air to my nose. I am your august *ba* who came forth from you. Let me live, let me breathe your air. I am the august ibis within your nest. I am the possessor of honour before Re.<sup>87</sup>

§ 2 (pBM EA 10191, I, 15-29), on the other hand, is nothing more than an abbreviated version of BD 18 and features only the list of divine tribunals enumerated in that text. Both the introduction to that spell and the epilogue are missing. This suggests that the compilers of the

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<sup>87</sup> pBM EA 10191, II, 11-14.

First Book of Breathing had access to a copy of BD 18 but chose not to reproduce all elements of it. At the same time, they introduced the phrase “O Thoth, turn your face to me” (*j Dḥwty mj ḥr=k r=j*) to the beginning of each invocation, which is not attested in any known version of BD 18. For example, each invocation in BD 18 usually begins with “O Thoth who justifies Osiris against his enemies, justify the Osiris N against his enemies ...” (*j Dḥwty sm3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw Wsjr r ḥftyw=f sm3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw Wsjr N r ḥftyw=f...*). In the First Book of Breathing each invocation begins with “O Thoth, turn your face to me. May you justify me against my enemies, like you justified Osiris against his enemies ...” (*j Dḥwty mj ḥr=k r=j sm3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw=k ḥrw=j r ḥftyw=j mj sm3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw=k ḥrw Wsjr r ḥftyw=f...*). However, it is worth mentioning that BD 18 is usually found abbreviated already in the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>88</sup> Not unlike the text of the First Book of Breathing it contains only the list of divine tribunals and omits the epilogue. Additionally, the list of tribunals is more or less the same as the list of tribunals presented in the First Book of Breathing.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the makers of the latter merely took a pre-existing version of BD 18 and copied most of it as is. Either way, they still made a few adjustments to BD 18 and altered the spell for the purposes of the First Book, providing an interesting reinterpretation of or variant to the received material.

As for the Second Book of Breathing, it would appear that the creators drew most of it from a copy of PT spell 601 (§§ 1660 a -1671 d), which is a ritual text for the protection of the pyramid. As we have already seen, both the text of the Second Book of Breathing and the text of PT 601 are very similar since they each contain a litany for allowing a certain aspect of the deceased to “flourish” (*rwḏ*) like the names of particular deities flourish in their cult centres.

However, it was mentioned in Chapter Two that the text of the so-called “Spell for Renewing the God’s Offerings” features a similar litany,<sup>90</sup> as does the “Spell for Making a Torch” known from some New Kingdom tombs,<sup>91</sup> a shrine dated to the Middle Kingdom,<sup>92</sup> the hypostyle hall

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<sup>88</sup> See Lejeune 2006, 200-201.

<sup>89</sup> Smith 2009a, 501.

<sup>90</sup> See Gardiner 1935, 91 with pls. 53-53A; Golenischeff 1927, 149 with pl. 26; Bacchi 1942, 49-50 with pl. 20; Nelson 1949, 324-327 (Episode 32); and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 206-226 with pls. 9-10, 22, 54, 67 and vol. II, 193-202.

<sup>91</sup> i.e. TT 50 (Hari 1985, 41-42 with pl. XXVIII; Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 430-432; and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303), and TT 23 (de Garis Davies 1924, 12-13; Haikal 1985, 361-372; and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303).

<sup>92</sup> See Fakhry 1961, 63-69 with pls. LXVIII and LXIX; and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-301.

at Karnak,<sup>93</sup> and pLouvre N 3083 dated to the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>94</sup> Like the Second Book of Breathing, copies of the latter may also contain a text at the end featuring a guarantee of food and drink to be provided by the gods Hapy, Nepri, Hathor, and Hesat.<sup>95</sup> To this end, a copy or version of one of these texts may have been used as a model as well.

Whatever the case may be, the beginning of the Second Book of Breathing is different. The “Spell for Renewing the God’s Offerings,” for example, generally begins with an invocation to Atum and Khepri to embrace the beneficiary and enable his *ka* to flourish in Heliopolis. It then follows that the offerings of the god should flourish like the name of Atum, Shu, Tefnut, and so-on in their respective sanctuaries.<sup>96</sup>

The torch-spell, however, generally begins as follows:

*r n jrt tk3 jnd-ḥr=k tk3 pn nfr n Wsjr N jnd-ḥr=t Trt Ḥrw sšmt w3t m kkw sšmt Wsjr  
N r bw nb mrr k3=f jm jw ḥtp tk3 pn nfr n Wsjr N m ʕd m3w <m> ḥbs rḥty m dḏw  
n=k jt=k Gbb mwt=k Nwt Wsjr Ist Šwty Nbt-ḥwt jʕj<=sn> ḥr=k sk=sn rmm=k  
wpj=sn r=k m dbʕw<=sn> jpw b3kw jw rdjw n=k m pt jw rdjw n=k m t3 jw rdjw  
n=k m sḥt-j3rw m grḥ pn nfr n wpj-rnpt n smn 3bdw jw rdj.n=k mw rnpw n ntrw jw  
rdj n=k mw rnpw n mjtt m ʕb nb sb3w jḥmw-wrd jw tk3 pn nfr n Wsjr N n dt rwd tk3  
pn nfr n Wsjr N mj [rwd rn n] tm nb [t3wy] m Twnw ...*

Spell for making a torch. Hail to you this perfect torch of the Osiris N. Hail to you the Eye of Horus which shows the way in darkness and guides the Osiris N to every place his *ka* desires therein. This perfect torch of the Osiris N is content with fresh fat and <with> the cloth of the washer-man as that which your father Geb and your mother Nut gave to you. Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys: May <they> wash your face. May they wipe away your tears. May they open your mouth with <their> shiny fingers. That which is in the sky is given to you. That which is on earth is given to you. That which is in the Field of Rushes is given to you in this beautiful night of the festival of the New Year when the months are made firm. You gave fresh water

<sup>93</sup> Nelson 1949, 336-339 (Episodes 52 and 53); Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303 with pls. 50-51 and vol. II, 263-268.

<sup>94</sup> Herbin 1984, 249-250, n. 3; 1999, 156-157; 2008, 92; Smith 2009a, 490-493.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. for example, the Second Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 14-21 with the version of the torch-spell from the tomb of Thay (TT 23), lines 24-28 (Haikal 1985, 367; and de Garis Davies 1924, 13).

<sup>96</sup> Gardiner 1935, 91.

to the gods and fresh water is given to you in likeness of all the purifications of the unwearying stars. This perfect torch of the Osiris N is eternal. May this beautiful torch of the Osiris N flourish like [the name of] Atum, lord of [the Two Lands] [flourishes] in Heliopolis ...<sup>97</sup>

As for PT 601, that spell usually begins with:

*dd mdw j Psdt ʿ3t jm(y)t Twnw rdj=tn rwd N (r)dj=tn rwd mr pn n dt dt mj rwd rn  
Itm hnty Psdt ʿ3t mj rwd rn šw nb Mnst hr(y)t m Twnw*

Words to be recited: O Great Ennead which is in Heliopolis, may you make N flourish! May you make this pyramid flourish for ever and ever, like the name “Atum, foremost of the great Ennead,” flourishes and like the name “Shu, lord of the upper *Menset*-sanctuary,” flourishes in Heliopolis!’<sup>98</sup>

The beginning of the text of the Second Book of Breathing, on the other hand, reads:

*hr=f n Wsjr N j Rʿ jnk s3=k j Dhwtj jnk mr=k j Wsjr jnk shm=k j [nb] Hmnw jnk  
jwʿ=k m m3ʿt j Hr-3hty j Psdt ʿ3t j Psdt ndst mj rwd rn=j m-hnw sp3wt r nhḥ dt ...  
mj rwd rn n Itm nb Twnw m Twnw ...*

Thus speaks the Osiris N: O Re, I am your son. O Thoth, I am your beloved. O Osiris, I am your power (or: image). O [lord] of Hermopolis, I am your heir in truth. O Horakhty, O greater Ennead, O lesser Ennead, let my name flourish within the nomes for ever and eternally ... like the name of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, flourishes in Heliopolis ...’<sup>99</sup>

This shows that the creators of the Second Book of Breathing, regardless of which text was consulted, simply changed the introductory lines of the source material. Accordingly, they also added the expression *mj rwd rn=j m-hnw sp3wt r nhḥ dt* “Let my name flourish within the nomes forever and eternally” to the beginning of the litany. Obviously this part of the text

<sup>97</sup> After Hari 1985, 41-42 with pl. XXVIII; and Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 430-431. Cf. also Nelson 1949, 336-337 (Episode 52); Fakhry 1961, 63-64 (lines 1-11); and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303.

<sup>98</sup> PT spell 601 (§§ 1660 a–1661 a) from the pyramid of Merenre, after Carrier 2010, 1904-1905.

<sup>99</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, I, 1-7.

needed rephrasing for the purposes of the Second Book of Breathing since the text here is primarily about the endurance of the name rather than a torch or pyramid or offerings.

In addition to this, it seems that the creators of the Second Book of Breathing also decided to extend the litany. Both PT 601 and the offering-spell, for instance, give a list of only twelve deities and their respective places of worship. Based on the spell of PT 601 as it occurs in the pyramid of Merenre,<sup>100</sup> and the version of the offering-spell in in pBM EA 10689,<sup>101</sup> these can be outlined as follows:

PT 601:

- Atum, foremost of the great Ennead, in Heliopolis.
- Shu, lord of the upper *Menset*-sanctuary, in Heliopolis.
- Tefnut, lady of the lower *Menset*-sanctuary, in Heliopolis.
- Geb, the *ba* of the earth, in Heliopolis.
- Nut in the mansion of Shenu in Heliopolis.
- Osiris in Ta-wer.
- Osiris, foremost of the West, in Abydos.
- Seth in Ombos.
- Horus in Buto.
- Re in the horizon.
- Khenty-irty in Letopolis.
- Wadjyt in Dep.

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<sup>100</sup> See Carrier 2010, 1904-1909.

<sup>101</sup> Gardiner 1935, 91; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 211-224.

Spell for Renewing the God's Offerings:

- Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, in Heliopolis.
- Shu, lord of the upper *Menset*-sanctuary, in Heliopolis.
- Tefnut, lady of the lower *Menset*-sanctuary, in Heliopolis.
- Geb, the *ba* of the earth, in Heliopolis.
- Nut in the mansion of Shenu in Heliopolis.
- Osiris, foremost of the West, in Abydos.
- Isis in Netjeru.
- Horus in Pe.
- Seth in Ombos.
- Nephthys in the mansion in Heliopolis.
- Banebdjed in Djedet (Mendes).
- Thoth in Hermopolis.

The torch-spell, as inscribed in the hypostyle hall at Karnak,<sup>102</sup> on the other hand, mentions thirteen:

- Atum, lord of the Two Lands, in Heliopolis.
- Shu in the upper *Menset*-sanctuary in Heliopolis.
- Tefnut in the lower *Menset*-sanctuary in Heliopolis.
- Geb, the *ba* of the land, in Heliopolis.
- Nut in the mansion of Shenu in Heliopolis.
- Osiris, foremost of the West, in Abydos.
- Isis in Netjeru.
- Seth of Ombos in Ombos.
- Nephthys in the mansion in Heliopolis.
- Horus in Pe.
- Wadjyt in Dep.
- Ba(nebdjed ?) in Djedet.
- Thoth in Hermopolis.

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<sup>102</sup> See Nelson 1949, 338-339 with fig. 38; and Tacke 2013, vol. I, 300-302.

The text of the Second Book of Breathing contains more or less the same list as the torch-spell, in sequence, but omits Seth and also adds:

- The four Montus within their town.
- Khnum in Elephantine.
- Haroeris in Ombos.
- Horus-Behedty in Edfu.
- Nekhbet in El Kab.
- Haroeris, lord of Upper Egypt, in Qus.
- Isis in Coptos.
- Hathor in Iqer.
- Neferhotep in Diospolis Parva.
- Min in Akhmim.
- Nemty in Wadjyt.
- Wepwawet in Asyut.
- Hathor in Cusae.
- Horus in Hebenu.
- Anubis in Hardai.
- Harsaphes in Heracleopolis.
- Sobek in Moeris.
- Ptah-Sekhmet-Nefertem in Memphis.

Interestingly, the deities listed in the Second Book of Breathing are presented “in an order determined by the geographical location of their cult centres, starting in the south and ending in the north.”<sup>103</sup> This indicates that the makers did not simply re-edit the received material but rather decided to incorporate new material or enlarge it with supplementary data. As such, it reflects the scribal procedure of compilation and was perhaps created either by taking the substance of an existing list and expounding upon it or by taking separate lists and reworking them into a larger unit.<sup>104</sup> In the case of the latter, this other list may have been something not unlike the “Book of Hours” in pBM EA 10569 which also bears a list of deities and their cult

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<sup>103</sup> Smith 2009a, 516.

<sup>104</sup> van der Toorn 2007, 118-125.

centres,<sup>105</sup> or the text preserved in pJumilhac (= pLouvre E 17110) dated to the Ptolemaic Period, which contains a cult topography of the eighteenth nome of Upper Egypt and was probably stored in the temple archives.<sup>106</sup> But this is purely a speculation.

As for the rest of the text of the Second Book of Breathing, it appears that most of it was composed by paraphrasing elements of earlier funerary spells, including the “Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits” and, more importantly, BD 77 for “taking the form of a falcon of gold” (*jrt hprw m bjk n nbw*). Indeed, comparison between the first few lines of § 2 of the Second Book of Breathing and the first few lines of BD 77 shows that they are virtually the same, except for a few key elements. First of all, BD 77 generally begins with the expression:

*jw=j h<sup>c</sup>.kwj sp sn m bjk ʕ pr m swht=f*

I am risen. I am risen as a great falcon come forth from its egg.<sup>107</sup>

While § 2 of the Second Book begins as follows:

*jw=j h<sup>c</sup>.kwj m hb ʕ pr m heṭ n mwt=j jw=j m šm n Wsjr Wn-nfr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw Dḥwty  
hr.tw r rn=j*

I am risen as a great ibis come forth from the womb of my mother. I am as an image of Osiris-Wennefer, justified. “Thoth” is said for my name.<sup>108</sup>

Secondly, the text of BD 77 follows with:

*p3.n=j hnn.n=j m bjk n mh 4 m psd=f dnḥwy.fy m w3d Šm<sup>c</sup> pr.n=j m ʕdt msktt jw jn  
n=j jb=j m dw ʔbty*

I have flown up. I have alighted as a falcon of four cubits in its back, its two wings are as Upper Egyptian malachite. I have gone out from the chest of the *mesketet*-bark. My *jb*-heart is brought to me from the mountain of the East.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Faulkner 1958.

<sup>106</sup> Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 233. For pJumilhac, see also Vandier 1961.

<sup>107</sup> After Quirke 2013, 182.

<sup>108</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 1-2.

<sup>109</sup> After Quirke 2013, 182.



While the text of the Second Book of Breathing reads:

*jw=j m hb m mh 5 jw psd=j m w3d Šm<sup>c</sup> jw=j m ntr wr pr m (m)sktt jw=j m hd pr hr  
dw Bbtt*

I am as an ibis of five cubits. My back is as Upper Egyptian malachite. I am as the great god come forth from the *mesketet*-bark. I am as the silver come forth from the mountain of the East.<sup>110</sup>

As one can see, the creators of the Second Book of Breathing merely reworded the beginning of BD 77 in a different way, envisaging the deceased's transformation into an ibis as opposed to a falcon. However, the creators of the Second Book of Breathing also introduced some other changes, which included adding a few extra sentences or lines of text not known from BD 77. After the introductory phrases, BD 77, for example, continues with the following set of utterances:

*hnn.n=j m m<sup>c</sup>ndt jw jn n=j jmyw p3wt=sn m ksw dj=sn n=j j3w h<sup>c</sup>.kwj dmd.kwj m  
bjk nfr n nbw tp bnw k<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup> hr sdm mdw=f r<sup>c</sup> nb hms=j r-jmywt ntrw jpw wrw n nnt  
w3h n=j shty htp m-b3h=j wnm=j jm=f 3h=j jm=f b<sup>c</sup>h=j šsp jb=j rdj.n n=j Nprj htyt  
shm=j m jry tp=j*

I have alighted in the *mandjet*-bark. Those who are with their offerings bring to me, bowing, so that they may give me adoration, who am risen and united, as a beautiful falcon of gold upon the *benu*-heron, at the hearing whose words Re enters every day. I sit between these elder gods of the watery sky-goddess. The two marshes of offerings are laid out for me in my presence. I eat from it. I am transfigured by it. I am flooded. My wish is taken up. Nepri has given me a throat, so that I may have power over the keeper upon me.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 2-4.

<sup>111</sup> After Quirke 2013, 182.

§ 2 of the Second Book of Breathing, on the other hand, continues as follows:

ʕk=j (m)sktt hnd=j mʕndt jw=j m snw n Rʕ-Hr-3hty dj=w n=j j3w jmyw wj3 sn t3 jn  
jst Rʕ ʕk=j hs.tw pr=j mr.tw m dw3t nt hwt bnbn dd=w n=j dwn twk ndm jb=k wstn  
nmtt=j m k3r št3 hʕ=j m mwt=j m Hr nfr n nbw m hb km h3t ph ʕk=j r Wsjr sdm=f  
mdw=j m pr=j m ht hnʕ=f dj=f n=j ʕ3 wsr jm=f jw=j m nb hrw ʕsʕ hprw šmʕ=j hwt  
hnʕ Itm hms=j hr nn nw Šw šsp=j kbh hnʕ Wsjr 3h=j hnʕ=f r ntr nb kbh n=j n3 nbw  
kbh kwy(=j) hr hwt m hrt hrw nt rʕ nb

I shall enter the *mesketet*-bark. I shall board the *mandjet*-bark, since I am as the second of Re-Horakhty. They shall give to me adoration, those who are in the bark, while the earth is kissed by the crew of Re. I shall enter praised. I shall go forth beloved in the underworld of the mansion of the *benben*-stone. They shall say to me: “Stand up! May your *jb*-heart be glad!” My step is broad in the secret sanctuary. I shall appear from my mother as a beautiful Horus of gold and as an ibis black in front and rear. I shall enter before Osiris. He shall hear my words as I come forth from the womb together with him. He shall give to me the greatness and the power in him since I am as the lord of faces, numerous of forms. I shall consume offerings together with Atum. I shall sit down for the oblations of Shu. I shall receive a libation together with Osiris. I shall be glorious together with him more than any god. Those lords of libation shall pour a libation for me. (My) arms shall be full of offerings in the course of every day.<sup>112</sup>

Here it seems the authors of the Second Book of Breathing not only took passages from BD 77, but inserted expressions such as “I shall enter the *mesketet*-bark” and “I am as the second of Re-Horakhty” in-between them. However, they also elaborated on motifs such as sustenance from offerings and almost rewrote completely the ending of the text – so much so that § 2 of the Second Book of Breathing bears only a slight resemblance to BD 77. Either way, the authors worked from the text in BD 77 to produce a new one.

<sup>112</sup> pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 4-13.

## 5.5. Genesis

As for why, again it is difficult to be certain and attempting to understand the circumstances under which the compilers decided to make these texts is complicated to put it mildly. Beyond being what appear to be an exclusively Theban tradition, we do not know precisely when our texts were first introduced. Although it was mentioned in Chapter Two that the earliest copies date to around the mid-first century BC, it should be remembered that most of the papyri can only be dated on the basis of their palaeography. As a result, it is possible that the tradition of the First and Second Books of Breathing goes back even further. But unfortunately this is impossible to determine. Furthermore, no additional material culture is associated with most of our papyri and for this reason conjecture is bound to present itself. But when it comes to the question of their formation, a few important points can still be made.

The first is that our texts are not the only funerary texts inimitable to the Greco-Roman Period. Besides the First and Second Books of Breathing we also have copies of texts such as:

- the Book of Breathing which Isis Made for Her Brother Osiris.<sup>113</sup>
- the Book of Traversing Eternity;<sup>114</sup>
- the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing;<sup>115</sup>
- the Rhind funerary texts;<sup>116</sup>
- the Book of Transformations;<sup>117</sup> and
- the text of pHarkness.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> de Horrack 1877; Coenen 1998a; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995; Rhodes 2002; Herbin 2008, 11-49, pls. 1-28; Smith 2009a, 462-498; Ritner 2011.

<sup>114</sup> Herbin 1994; Smith 2009a, 395-436. See also Coenen 1999c, 69-71.

<sup>115</sup> Smith 1987b; 1988; 1993; 2009a, 349-387; Stadler 2012a, 136-139; Scalf 2014, 51-53.

<sup>116</sup> Rhind 1862; Brugsch 1865; Möller 1913; Revillout 1914; Assmann and Kucharek 2008, 597-613 and 882-894; Smith 2009a, 302-348; Stadler 2012a, 143- 147 and Scalf 2014, 43-45.

<sup>117</sup> Legrain 1889; Frank-Kamenetzky 1914; Smith 1979; and 2009a, 610-649; Stadler 2012a, 133-136; Scalf 2014, 43; and Smith 2017.

<sup>118</sup> Logan 1976; Smith 1999; 2005; and 2009a, 264-301 with bibliography; Stadler 2012a, 139-142; Scalf 2014, 47-49.

We also have the Divine Decrees for the deceased usually written on wooden stelae,<sup>119</sup> and papyri containing texts adapted from temple liturgy, including:

- the Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land;<sup>120</sup>
- the Ceremony of Glorifying Osiris in the God's Domain;<sup>121</sup>
- the Revelations of the Mysteries of the Four Balls;<sup>122</sup>
- the Book of Protecting the *Neshmet*-Bark;<sup>123</sup>
- the Rite of Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh;<sup>124</sup>
- the Rite of Bringing Sokar Out of the Shrine;<sup>125</sup>
- the Stanzas of the Festival of the Two Kites;<sup>126</sup>
- the Recitations of Glorifications which the Two Sisters Performed for/in the House of Osiris, foremost of the Westerners;<sup>127</sup>
- the Liturgy of the Decade of Djeme;<sup>128</sup>
- the Book of Glorifying the Spirit;<sup>129</sup> and
- the Book which Isis Made/Recited for Osiris, foremost in the West.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Otto 1977; Clarysse 1978, 240-241; De Meulenaere 1988; Quaegebeur 1988; Kákosy 1992; Beinlich 2009, esp. 11-39 with the review by Quack 2011; Smith 2009a, 599-609; and *idem*, 2010.

<sup>120</sup> Goyon 1999, 27-47, pls. 1-17; Smith 2006; *idem*, 2009a, 67-95; Beinlich 2009 and the review by Quack 2011; Kucharek 2010, 48-49, 275-423; and Carrier 2014.

<sup>121</sup> Goyon 1999, 49-62, pls. 17-24; Smith 2009a, 135-151.

<sup>122</sup> Goyon 1975b; Ziegler 1979; Goyon 1999, 63-73, pls. 25-31; Koch 2012, 56-59.

<sup>123</sup> Goyon 1999, 75-81, pls. 32-34.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 83-94, pls. 34-40; Smith 2009a, 152-166.

<sup>125</sup> Goyon 1999, 95-100, pls. 41-43.

<sup>126</sup> Faulkner 1932, vi-vii, 1-32; and 1936; Burkard 1995, 13-15, 130-178; Smith 2009a, 96-119 with the references there; and Kucharek 2010, 42-44, 166-226.

<sup>127</sup> Faulkner 1934, 337-348, pls. 1-4; Smith 2009a, 124-134 with bibliography; and Kucharek 2010, 31-36, 56-96.

<sup>128</sup> Herbin 1984b; Coulon 2015.

<sup>129</sup> Szczudłowska 1970; Assmann, *Totenliturgien* 3, 42-93; Smith 2009a, 167-177.

<sup>130</sup> Smith 1987a; and 2009a, 245-263; Stadler 2012a, 139-142. It is noteworthy that spells from both the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts also appear in a number of late funerary manuscripts, see, for example, T.G. Allen 1950; Assmann 1990, 8-12; *idem*, *Totenliturgien* 3, 227-498; and Smith 2009a, 650-662. As for the Book of the Dead in the Greco-Roman Period, see the discussion in Quirke 1999a; as well as the studies of Mosher 2016-2017 and 2017.

Secondly, we know from the archaeology of sites such as Dra Abu el-Naga, Sheikh Abdel Qurna, el-Khokha, and Deir el-Medina that group burials in pre-existing tombs was more or less the norm in the Theban region from the end of the Late Period onwards,<sup>131</sup> and that not all of the deceased were provisioned with items such as coffins and sarcophagi which were usually decorated with religious icons and texts that might benefit them in the hereafter. The lack of an individual tomb as well as certain grave goods therefore saw the body of a person come to be “the single focus after death,”<sup>132</sup> and several texts which were traditionally inscribed on tomb walls, sarcophagi, and other objects intended for the burial come to be written on media such as mummy-wrappings, shrouds, cartonnage, and papyrus instead.<sup>133</sup> A good example of this comes from the papyrus of Kerasher (pBM EA 9995), which contains a passage of text that can also be found on a stela from the Bucheum:

*h3y Wsjr N ʕk=k r dw3t wʕb.tj r dw n s3t m hʕw=k ʔInpw ʔImy-wt sndm.n=f ksw=k  
Tpy-dw=f jʕb=f hʕw=k ʕwy=f r=k m ntr sfh m dt n ntr ʕ3 pr=k r Nšmt šsp=k dpt-ntr  
hrw pfy n hn Skr pr=k m hrw n hsf.tw=k hn=k r bw dr jb=k wstn nmmt=k m ʔBt D3mt  
hs.tj hr ntrw jmy(w)=s*

Hail, the Osiris N. May you enter into the underworld, being purified from evil and without calumny in your limbs. Anubis the Embalmer has made your bones pleasant. He-who-is-on-his-hill unites your limbs, his arms (raised) to you with divine wrappings which are loosed from the body of the great god. May you go forth to the *Neshmet*-bark. May you embark on the divine-boat on that day of the rowing of Sokar. May you go forth by day without being repulsed. May you alight in (any) place at your *jb*-heart's desire. Your step is broad in the Mound of Djeme, being praised by the gods who are in it.<sup>134</sup>

Some of the texts mentioned above, as well as several other funerary texts written during the Greco-Roman Period, either contain “what are purportedly utterances originally inscribed

<sup>131</sup> This shift to group burials seems to have already begun by the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (see Cooney 2011, 3-44).

<sup>132</sup> Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 187. See also Smith 2009a, 45, 47-48; and Riggs 2005, 29.

<sup>133</sup> Smith 2009a, 47-49; Backes 2010, 8-12; and 2015; Albert 2012; Miatello 2012-2013.

<sup>134</sup> pBM EA 9995, IV, 1-2 (see Herbin 2008, 40 and 44; Goyon 1972, 197-201; and Mond and Myers 1934, vol. II, 13-14 (no. 14) with pl. XLIII for the text as it appears in the Bucheum stela).

inside the tomb or sarcophagus,”<sup>135</sup> or, like the papyrus of Kerasher, excerpts of texts adapted from other items of funerary paraphernalia. A particular group of funerary papyri studied by Burkhard Backes, for example, bear texts attested on media such as coffins and sarcophagi, tomb walls, stelae, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, heart scarabs, and temples. These include BD 72, BD 89, invocations to the bringer of *bas*, formula concerning the sons of Horus, texts addressed to the goddess of the West, invocations to the heir of the gods, BD 30B, speeches of the gods, and captions to adoration scenes.<sup>136</sup> According to Backes, each of these papyri could act “as replacements for texts on funerary equipment,”<sup>137</sup> ensuring that those texts would be available to the deceased in the afterlife. Furthermore, the text of pRhind I contains a speech to be delivered by the four sons of Horus,<sup>138</sup> as well as an utterance beginning with the expression “The writings of the figure of Nut which is in the sarcophagus.”<sup>139</sup> It should be noted that the four sons of Horus and the goddess Nut are frequently represented on the sides and floors of coffins and sarcophagi from the Late Period onwards,<sup>140</sup> and that the texts in this manuscript are similar to the texts that sometimes accompany them. This being the case it can be intimated that the texts on these papyri could be used as a proxy,<sup>141</sup> and were created to replace the texts and images often inscribed on tomb walls, coffins, and other funerary objects that the deceased might have been without.<sup>142</sup>

This then makes the papyri not at all different to Book of the Dead manuscripts, which themselves seem to have been created to replace the texts traditionally inscribed on coffins. Indeed, some scholars believe that the Book of the Dead came about as a result of the need to reformulate funerary practices after the royal court shifted from Lisht (*Iti-tawy*) to Thebes at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The religious texts inscribed on the coffin of queen Mentuhotep of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty shows that, after moving to Thebes, the elite may have been cut-off from sources of Memphite and Heliopolitan text traditions and therefore forced to

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<sup>135</sup> Smith 2009a, 49.

<sup>136</sup> Backes 2010, 18-19 (tables 1 and 2).

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid*, 13.

<sup>138</sup> pRhind I, VIIIId, 6-12.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, XIId, 4-13.

<sup>140</sup> Riggs 2005, 191; Elias 1993, 849; Rusch 1922. A scene showing Nut also occurs in the burial chamber of the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11), see Galan 2013.

<sup>141</sup> Smith 2009a, 48.

<sup>142</sup> Backes 2010, 10-11.

produce new compositions, ultimately leading to the spells of the Book of the Dead.<sup>143</sup> At the same time, the curvature of anthropomorphic coffins in use during the Second Intermediate Period made them unsuitable for bearing a full selection of texts in the burial. Consigning the spells to other media such as papyrus scrolls and linen shrouds therefore provided an ideal solution;<sup>144</sup> and it is on these materials that Books of the Dead proper appear for the first time. Indeed, several burials of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty contained Book of the Dead spells written on linen shrouds in a format almost identical to that used in Middle Kingdom coffins, whereas burials from the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III contained the first known Books of the Dead written on papyri.<sup>145</sup> However, it should be noted that several anthropoid coffins from the early New Kingdom down contain BD spells on their surfaces. Good examples are the coffin of Besenmut which contains extracts of BD spells 154, 68, 71, 19, 23, 89, 43, 31, 32, and 34-36,<sup>146</sup> and the coffin of Satdjehuty which contains BD spells 124, 83, 84, and 85.<sup>147</sup> According to Miniaci “... in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the use of a linen shroud as a carrier of a BD text may be a possible intermediary between the shift from the coffin (late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period) to the papyrus roll (in the reigns Hatshepsut-Thutmosis III).”<sup>148</sup>

Nevertheless, it should also be mentioned that some Ptolemaic Period mummy-masks are decorated with a depiction of a *hypocephalus* and incorporate spells of the Book of the Dead for the protection of the head.<sup>149</sup> These images likely functioned as magical substitutes for *hypocephali* themselves. In addition to this, a number of Late and Ptolemaic Period papyri bear depictions or lists of various amulets and their properties, for example, pVatican 38596,<sup>150</sup> pMacGregor,<sup>151</sup> and pBM EA 10098,<sup>152</sup> and drawn on small pieces of linen are amuletic symbols.<sup>153</sup> It is said that “Each of these manuscripts fulfils a specific funerary function: they

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<sup>143</sup> See Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 48; Taylor 2001, 196; Miniaci 2011, 19 and 152; and Dorman 2017, 38.

<sup>144</sup> Miniaci 2011, 152; Dorman 2017, 34-35

<sup>145</sup> See Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 47-8 with n. 23; and Dorman 2017, 35-36.

<sup>146</sup> See Legrain 1893, 11-16; Munro 2010, 74-75, cat. no. 29.

<sup>147</sup> See Grimm and Schoske 1999, 16-18.

<sup>148</sup> Miniaci 2011, 152.

<sup>149</sup> Miatello 2012-13, 53-8 with fig. 1.

<sup>150</sup> Gasse 1993, 66-67, pl. XLV.

<sup>151</sup> Capart 1908; Mosher 2001, 4-5, pl. 5.

<sup>152</sup> Andrews 1994, 7-8, fig. 2; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 138.

<sup>153</sup> Kockelmann 2003; 2008, 309-346.

accompany and protect the deceased in the afterlife, just as the three-dimensional amulets would do,” and were created in this respect to be used as substitutes.<sup>154</sup>

If so, then it is possible that the First and Second Books of Breathing were formed for the same reasons and were created in part to be used in the same way. Of course we cannot be definite about this, but when looking at the texts, certain aspects of them would suggest that this was most likely the case. First of all, it was mentioned that the papyri were intended to be placed at the head and feet of the deceased in the burial. Placement of the scrolls with the corpse in this manner not only made them accessible to their owners, more importantly, it associates the texts with those often found carved on the head and foot ends of coffins, suggesting that they could have stood to be used as a replacement, protecting the deceased and encouraging rejuvenation.<sup>155</sup> In fact, a similar motive underlies the use of the so-called *‘nh p3* by texts written on papyri dating to the Roman Period. These are said to represent “commonly uttered funerary laments, echoing those uttered by Isis and Nephthys for Osiris,”<sup>156</sup> and were likewise intended for placement at the head and feet of the mummy.<sup>157</sup> It is well-known that similar speeches of Isis and Nephthys appear at the head and foot ends of coffins along with images of the goddesses,<sup>158</sup> and that these speeches allowed the goddesses themselves to assist the deceased beyond the grave.<sup>159</sup> By placing these papyri at the head and feet it was expected that the texts would “perform the same symbolic function,”<sup>160</sup> and therefore could act as substitutes. As Foy Scalf notes:

*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, 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*

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<sup>154</sup> Albert 2012, 74-76.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Scalf 2014, 207-214.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid*, 212.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid*, 80-82.

<sup>158</sup> Good examples are the coffin of Anu (Mathieu 2009, 297-298) and the coffin of Userhet (Snape 2011, 142 and 146).

<sup>159</sup> Scalf 2014, 213-214. See also the comments of Münster 1968, 24-31; Barguet 1971, 20-21; and Willems 1988, 135.

<sup>160</sup> Scalf 2014, 214.



*interaction between the two spheres, acting as receptacle for the multifaceted identity of the individual as well as a medium for social existence.*<sup>161</sup>

Secondly, it was shown in Chapters Two and Four that the texts studied here either derived from or had functions similar to texts known from elsewhere, such as tomb walls, papyri, stelae, and coffins. When looking at the First Book of Breathing, for instance, § 1 is similar to a text found inscribed on the wall of TT 183, intended to integrate the deceased into the world beyond,<sup>162</sup> as well as the genre of Divine Decrees usually inscribed on wooden stela.<sup>163</sup> § 2 on the other hand is similar to BD 18 known not only from papyri, but tomb walls,<sup>164</sup> coffins,<sup>165</sup> and mummy bandages;<sup>166</sup> while §§ 3 and 4 are similar to BD spells 21 and 22, as well as texts and images of the Opening the Mouth on tomb walls.<sup>167</sup> Indeed, the purpose of the latter was to ensure the performance of the ritual eternally,<sup>168</sup> and as mentioned in Chapter Four this is precisely the function of §§ 3 and 4 of the First Book of Breathing. This suggests that our text may have been created as a substitute, not only for these scenes, but texts and images traditionally inscribed on other funerary objects; an idea that would not be unfounded, especially if we consider that many of the objects or surfaces on which these texts were inscribed may not have been available to people at the time.<sup>169</sup> Furthermore, § 6 of the First

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<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, 214.

<sup>162</sup> Assmann 2005a, 59-60.

<sup>163</sup> Interestingly, these decrees date to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, but seem to have fallen out of use by the end of the third century BC (see Clarysse 1978, 240-241). This suggests that they may in fact be precursors to our text, and in this sense the inspiration for this particular part of the First Book of Breathing. So the comments of Smith 2009a, 603-604: “Given the chronological distribution of divine decrees and letters for breathing, the latter might be viewed as, in some sense, a further development of the former.”

<sup>164</sup> E.g. the tomb of Amenemhet, see Davies and Gardiner 1915, 105 with pls. XL-XLI. For further examples of BD 18 on tomb walls, see also Saleh 1984, 22-24.

<sup>165</sup> E.g. coffin Cairo CG 41016, see Moret 1913, 168-174.

<sup>166</sup> E.g. M. Warschau o.Nr, see Kockelmann 2008, 382.

<sup>167</sup> Good examples come from the tombs of Rekhmire (TT 100) (see Davies 1943 [1973], 74-77, pls. XCVII-CII, CV-CVII; Hodel-Hoenes 2000, 169-172), Amenmose (TT 89) (Hartwig 2004, 117-118 and fig. 27 on p. 228), Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181) (*ibid*, 118 with fig. 40 on p. 241; Davies 1925, pl. XIX), and Nebsumenu (TT 183) (Assmann 2003).

<sup>168</sup> Hartwig 2004, 117-120.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Backes 2010, 10-11 concerning pBerlin P. 3158, pBerlin P. 3159, and pAberdeen ABDUA 84023: “As already stated, a choice was made from a range of texts that otherwise would have been written on sarcophagi, stelae, or parts of funerary equipment that the owners of the three papyri probably did not possess.” At the same

Book of Breathing entertains the theme of the preservation of the heart, but more importantly has parallels in BD 30/30A. These compositions are found most frequently on large scarabs or amulets to be placed on the heart. On the other hand, parts of §§ 8-11 were intended to give the deceased power over air and water in the necropolis as well as access to food offerings and are comprised essentially of excerpts of BD spells 54, 57, 56/59, 61, 66, and 68. These spells are known not only from papyri, but can also be found yet again on tomb walls,<sup>170</sup> coffins,<sup>171</sup> and shrouds,<sup>172</sup> as well as statues and stelae.<sup>173</sup> Providing air, water, and food for the deceased was likewise one of the functions of the tree-goddess,<sup>174</sup> and it is precisely this deity who is sometimes represented on offering tables and stelae,<sup>175</sup> and on the walls of Theban tombs from the 18th Dynasty onwards.<sup>176</sup> If it can be assumed that the deceased was without a tomb or stelae or offering table of their own that could bear such a representation, it can be easily imagined that the First Book of Breathing could be used as an alternative. If so it may have been created as a replacement for these scenes and therefore certain texts and images one may otherwise have been deprived of due to changes in burial customs and the unavailability of the

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time, reproducing texts traditionally inscribed on other burials items onto a papyrus scroll was not uncommon in ancient Egypt. As Vernus notes (2017, 482 with 44), the famous “Song of the Harpist” preserved in pHarris 500 (= pBritish Museum 10060) purports to have been copied from a version inscribed in the tomb of King Intef. Similarly, the so-called “Amduat Papyri” of the Third Intermediate Period reproduce scenes inscribed in the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings (see Piankoff and Rambova 1957; and Niwinski 1989, 159-211).

<sup>170</sup> For BD 54 and 56/59 on tomb walls, see Saleh 1984, 27-32 and Rosati 2006 who presents the texts inscribed in the second court of the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34) dated to the 25<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The texts there include not only BD 54 and 56/59, but also BD 57 and 61 among others. For BD 66 on tomb walls, see Davies and Gardiner 1915, 106 with pl. XLI. For BD 68, see Saleh 1984, 36-37 and Rosati 2006.

<sup>171</sup> BD 54, for example, appears on coffin Cairo CG 41001 (see Moret 1913, 6-22 and 75-78). BD 57, 56/59 appear on coffin Cairo CG 41046 (Elias 1993, 521; Gauthier 1913, 83-111, esp. 95-98). BD 61 appears on coffin Cairo CG 41003 (Moret 1913, 61-75). BD 66 on coffin Cairo CG 41058 (Gauthier 1913, 323-355, esp. 346), and BD 68 on coffin Cairo CG 41047 (Gauthier 1913, 111-138, esp. 126-128).

<sup>172</sup> BD 61, for instance, appears on the shroud of Thutmose III (Boston MFA 82.31 + Cairo CG 40001) (Munro 1988, 287; Dunham 1931).

<sup>173</sup> BD 56/59, for example, appears on statue Berlin 2296 and statue Cairo JE 47278 (see Jacquet-Gordon 1972), as well as stele New York MMA 22.3.33 (see Billing 2002, 406 with fig. D.24).

<sup>174</sup> Assmann 2005a, 345; Billing 2002, 242-243; Billing 2004, 46.

<sup>175</sup> E.g. Maspero 1883, 427-428 (No. 6050); Cairo CG 23160 and Cairo CG 23162 (see Buhl 1947, 93-94; Kamal 1906, pl. XLIII). For the tree-goddess on stelae, see also Billing 2002, 280-293, 353, 391-406, 424.

<sup>176</sup> E.g. the tomb of Nakht (Davies 1917, pl. X B) and the tomb of Amenmose (Wreszinski 1923, pl. 120) with further examples and a discussion in Billing 2002, 243-272, 339, 357-361, 363-383, 423-424.

objects on which they were traditionally inscribed. In this case, texts such as the Divine Decrees on wooden stelae, images of the tree-goddess on tomb walls, the texts usually inscribed on heart-scarabs, and so on, or in the case of the abbreviated versions, perhaps just one of these texts, if it was felt that the deceased needed to be in possession of it.

In saying that, the First Book of Breathing could have even been created as a substitute for the Book of the Dead. For a start, the layout of some exemplars imitates that of Book of the Dead manuscripts produced during the Late and Ptolemaic Periods.<sup>177</sup> Secondly, almost every section pertaining to the First Book of Breathing is derived from a spell of the Book of the Dead, as are certain vignettes, such as the weighing of the deceased's heart on pBerlin 3028, pBodleian Library Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P), and pFlorence 3662. The fact that the First Book of Breathing has parallels in the Book of the Dead suggests that such documents were intended to act as one.<sup>178</sup> Furthermore, some Books of Breathing were actually called a Book of the Dead, or are attested on papyri bearing Book of the Dead spells.<sup>179</sup> This may be taken as a proof that the Egyptians viewed both works as indistinguishable, and perhaps regarded our text as some kind of ancillary, if not also another form of Book of the Dead itself.<sup>180</sup> This however does not mean that the transmission of the Book of the Dead stopped, since certain spells pertaining to that corpus continued to be reproduced even into the Roman Period.<sup>181</sup> But it does provide an

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<sup>177</sup> See Scaf 2017, 143, fig. 12.5.

<sup>178</sup> Backes 2010, 11-12.

<sup>179</sup> Herbin 1994, 328 and 330; 1999, 216; Coenen 1995, 35; 1998, 42-43; Lejeune 2006; Töpfer and Müller-Roth 2011; Mosher 2014; Stadler 2015a, 77. Cf. also part of the First Book of Breathing in pLouvre N 3279 which is introduced with the expression: *r n swrj mw m hrt-ntr* "Spell for drinking water in the god's domain" (see Goyon 1966, 50; Smith 2009a, 502; and Carrier 2017, 95). This is indeed the title of both BD 60 and 62.

<sup>180</sup> A similar observation has been made concerning BD spells and vignettes on tomb walls: "... the wall decoration of a burial chamber with the texts and vignettes of the Book of the Dead was an alternative to an ensemble of the BD-chapters on a funerary papyrus. From the religious point of view, the only important was the fact of possessing somewhere in one's funeral furniture of the proper composition of spells, formulae, hymns and other texts being magical equipment of the deceased for his journey to the Hereafter, and furnishing him the necessary information about the Underworld. The kind of the bearer of this religious substance and the chosen form of its expression were considered secondary" (Niwinski 1989, 30).

<sup>181</sup> For example, pBerlin 3030 which contains BD 162 and BD 72 (see Herbin 1984a, 249-302 and Smith 2009a, 590-598); and pBN 149 which contains a Demotic translation of BD 125 and BD 128 (Lexa 1910; Stadler 2003; Smith 2009a, 437-454; Quack 2014). For more on BD spells in Demotic, see also Stadler 2003, 27-35, 182-183; Vleeming 2004, 623-637, pl. LVIII; Smith 2009b; and Stadler 2012a, 130-136. Furthermore, some of the mummy shrouds (e.g. Leiden AAM 8) and wooden coffins (e.g. BM EA 6706 and Leiden M 75) belonging to the Soter

explanation for why the First Book of Breathing might have been so popular and why the work might have been created in the first place.

Furthermore, there is a significant correlation between the First Book of Breathing and the Book of the Dead. At least 20 of approximately 190 spells of the Book of the Dead were in some way included in or reworked for the purposes of the First Book of Breathing. What is interesting about this is that the authors of the First Book of Breathing seem to have selected spells that were of immense importance.<sup>182</sup> Indeed, statistical evidence from the University of Bonn's Book of the Dead database (<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>) shows that BD 18, for example, was copied a large number of times, not only onto papyrus but other objects as well, and for this reason might have been chosen to form § 2 of the First Book of Breathing. BD 18 is also one of three spells featuring appeals to Thoth for the justification of the deceased (i.e. BD 18-20),<sup>183</sup> and when looking at the number of entries for these spells in the Book of the Dead database, it becomes apparent that BD 18 was the most popular. The data which forms the basis of this discussion is presented in Appendix Four below.

Additionally, BD 21-23, 26-28, and 30-30A all belong to a group of spells for the mouth and heart (i.e. BD spells 21-30).<sup>184</sup> Out of all the spells in this group, the Book of the Dead database reveals that BD 21-23, 26-28, and 30-30A seem to have been the most important, and it is perhaps for this reason that certain parts of them were reworked for the First Book of Breathing.

Furthermore, BD 42, which has as a feature the same *Gliedervergottung* found in § 6 of the First Book of Breathing, was usually grouped with BD spells 39-41.<sup>185</sup> Out of these spells, the relative frequency of their occurrence in the Book of the Dead database is 122 entries for BD 39, 116 entries for BD 40, 110 entries for BD 41, and 174 entries for BD 42.<sup>186</sup> What this shows is that BD 42 was another spell of great importance, and that certain parts of it might have been

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group contain Book of the Dead formulae. A mummy board (BM EA 36502) dating to the first-second century AD also contains Book of the Dead formulae inscribed in hieroglyphics.

<sup>182</sup> Goyon 1966, 76; Scalf 2017, 142.

<sup>183</sup> See Quirke 2013, 69-79.

<sup>184</sup> See Quirke 2013, 80-100.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*, 113-121.

<sup>186</sup> See Appendix Four below.

incorporated into the First Book of Breathing as a result.<sup>187</sup> If so, the implication is that the First Book of Breathing is a sort of collation of some of the most important or popular spells of the Book of the Dead.<sup>188</sup>

Lastly, BD 54, 57, 56/59, and 60-62 are all related to a sequence of spells for the provision of air and water for the deceased in the afterlife (i.e. BD 54-63).<sup>189</sup> Out of all these spells the Book of the Dead database shows that BD 54, 57, 56/59, and 60-62 are once again the most frequently attested. This can be taken to mean that BD 54, 57, 56/59, and 60-62 were more important than the rest of the spells in that sequence,<sup>190</sup> and that they too were chosen to be included in the First Book of Breathing as a result. In this way, the First Book of Breathing is a text that could not only be used to replace certain Book of the Dead spells on papyri, coffins, tomb walls, and other funerary equipment, but a text that could also be used as a Book of the Dead itself.

Congruently, it was mentioned earlier that § 1 of the Second Book of Breathing is akin to PT 601, the Spell for Making a Torch, and a spell found in the Offering Ritual, while § 2 is derived from BD 77. PT 601 of course is found inscribed on the walls of the burial chambers of the pyramids of the Old Kingdom, whereas the torch-spell and the spell from the Offering Ritual are known from media such as papyri,<sup>191</sup> tomb walls,<sup>192</sup> temple walls,<sup>193</sup> and even a shrine

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<sup>187</sup> See Scalf 2017, 142.

<sup>188</sup> On this note, cf. also the remarks of the following regarding the Books of Breathing and late funerary texts in general: Chassinat 1895, 316-319; Stricker 1942, 44; Kees 1952, 58-59; Botti 1968, 223; Nibley 1971, 163-164; Goyon 1966, 76, 82, 86; *idem*, 1972, 201; *idem*, 1974, 75; *idem*, 1975a, 525; Herbin 1994, 332, 336; and Stadler 2000, 116, 119.

<sup>189</sup> Quirke 2013, 135-152.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. also the comments of Scalf (2017, 142) regarding the First Book of Breathing and the text of BD 42: “It seems likely that the scribe saw the apotropaic spells of BD 31-41, which warded off various noxious animals, as less theologically significant than the text of BD 42, which identified the body parts of the deceased directly with the most important deities in the Egyptian pantheon.”

<sup>191</sup> E.g. pLouvre N 3083 (see Herbin 1984, 249-250, n. 3; *idem*, 1999, 156-157; *idem*, 2008, 92; Smith 2009a, 490-493), pBM EA 10689 (Tacke 2013, vol. I, 206-226, pl. 22) and pCairo CG 58030 + pTurin CGT 54041 (*ibid*, vol. I, 206-226, pls. 9-10).

<sup>192</sup> E.g. TT 50 (see Hari 1985, 41-42 with pl. XXVIII; Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 430-432; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303) and TT 23 (see de Garis Davies 1924, 12-13; Haikal 1985, 361-372; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303).

<sup>193</sup> E.g. the hypostyle hall at Karnak (Nelson 1949, 324-327 and 336-339; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 206-226 with pl. 54 and 296-303 with pls. 50-51; Tacke 2013, vol. II, 193-202 and 263-268).

dating to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>194</sup> The loci of BD 77 on the other hand include not only papyri, but also tomb walls,<sup>195</sup> and coffins,<sup>196</sup> suggesting that the text of the Second Book of Breathing could be used as a substitute. Furthermore, part of § 3 contains elements of the so-called Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits, known from papyri, tomb walls, and sarcophagi,<sup>197</sup> and may have been intended to function in the same way: to ensure for the deceased a continued supply of food and drink in the afterlife. If so, then the Second Book of Breathing is a replacement for this text as well as a sort of proxy for the objects on which it was traditionally inscribed. The fact that the last known variants of the Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits appear on papyri bearing a Second Book of Breathing may be a further proof of this.

Additionally, the Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits seems to have been copied a large number of times before parts of came to be included in the Second Book of Breathing,<sup>198</sup> while the Offering Ritual, one of the possible sources of inspiration for the litany of the name, is said to be “one of Ancient Egypt’s most prominent and important liturgies.”<sup>199</sup> This suggests that the Second Book of Breathing is also a sort of collation of some of ancient Egypt’s most important or popular funerary spells, and in the manner of the First Book of Breathing could have easily been used as an alternative.

However, it should be noted that our texts are not precisely the same as the ones they are intended to replace. Although several basic principles of their function remain constant, the utterances comprising the First and Second Books of Breathing are by no means exact duplicates of their antecedents: a number of changes were introduced and they tend to express certain concepts in a different way. This might have been done to make the texts more original, or perhaps to reflect more accurately funerary ideas current at the time. Of course we cannot be sure about this since we do not know precisely who the authors of our texts were or what they thought. But it is a point to make that the Egyptian religion was never based upon one immutable source of religious scripture. Rather, it was based upon a compendium of spells and

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<sup>194</sup> Fakhry 1961, 63-69 with pls. LXVIII and LXIX; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-301.

<sup>195</sup> See Saleh 1984, 40.

<sup>196</sup> E.g. coffin Cairo CG 41008 (see Moret 1913, 101-117).

<sup>197</sup> See Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 147-177 for the various sources of this spell.

<sup>198</sup> Indeed, over 50 sources of this spell are known (see Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 147-177).

<sup>199</sup> Tacke 2013, vol. I, 1.

utterances that could be copied, adapted, reorganised, or updated at any time.<sup>200</sup> Moreover, the formation of a funerary text on papyrus is “closely related to, if not dependent on, the religious ideas that were customarily stressed in the period when the document was produced,”<sup>201</sup> and when looking at our texts it is clear that many of the ideas they expound upon are the same as those that were in vogue at the time.<sup>202</sup>

To begin with, it has been mentioned frequently throughout this study that copies of the First Book of Breathing were to be placed under the head of the mummified body. This custom of placing the papyri with the deceased like a *hypocephalus* is presumably reflected in a spell of the Ritual of Embalming concerning the anointing and wrapping of the head:

*jj n=k Dḥwty wp(w) rhwy shṭpy ntrw jr=f sdm=k m sšw m sns n tp-r3w n Pr-md3wt  
nfr m-(h)nw Imntt*

Thoth, he who separated the two combatants and pacified the gods, will come to you. He will make you hear by means of the document concerned with breathing, the utterances of the perfect House of Books in the West.<sup>203</sup>

It should be added that the text of this ritual is contained in papyrus copies dated to the 1st century AD.<sup>204</sup> This shows that our text may have been linked to certain ritual practices current in the Greco-Roman Period.

Furthermore, § 8 of the First Book of Breathing contains an invocation addressed to Amun derived, as mentioned, from BD 59. Traditionally, Amun had next to no role in funerary texts.<sup>205</sup> But in sources dating from the New Kingdom onwards, references to the deity in an eschatological context become increasingly more prominent. Good examples are texts such as

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<sup>200</sup> Baines 2004, 16; Vernus 2017, 496-497.

<sup>201</sup> Lucarelli 2006, 256.

<sup>202</sup> Chassiant 1895, 314-315.

<sup>203</sup> pBoulaq III, V, 10-11 (see Sauneron 1952, 16; Goyon 1972, 60; Smith 2009a, 233; Töpfer 2015, 118, 135-136 with pls. 10-11; and Carrier 2016, 102).

<sup>204</sup> Smith 2009a, 215.

<sup>205</sup> On this see Kákosy 1992, 318; and Mosher 1992, 156.

the decrees for the afterlife of Neskhons and Pinudjem II of the Third Intermediate Period,<sup>206</sup> some 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC Book of the Dead manuscripts from Thebes,<sup>207</sup> and several other funerary texts produced during the Ptolemaic Period, including the Divine Decrees,<sup>208</sup> the texts on pBM EA 10507,<sup>209</sup> pLeiden T 32,<sup>210</sup> pLouvre E 3452,<sup>211</sup> the Book of Breathing which Isis Made,<sup>212</sup> and a text in the northern chapel of the temple of Deir el-Medina. In the latter, the deity is said to provide air for Osiris at the Festival of the Valley:

*sʕr=f tʒw ndm n fnd n Wsjr m tr=f n hb-jnt ʕnh[=f(?) ...] r dt*

He (= Amun) elevates sweet air to the nose of Osiris at his time of the Festival of the Valley [so that he might (?) live [...] eternally].<sup>213</sup>

Some Greco-Roman Period sarcophagi and stelae also attest to an emphasis placed on wind and the cult of wind deities,<sup>214</sup> revealing that the idea of Amun as a god of the dead was not infrequent and, by the end of the Ptolemaic Period, an important theme in the funerary religion

<sup>206</sup> For the decrees of Neskhons, see Golenischeff 1927, 169-196; Černý 1942; and Gunn 1955. For the decree of Pinudjem II, see Daressy 1910; and Golenischeff 1927, 196-209.

<sup>207</sup> Mosher 1992, 156.

<sup>208</sup> Kákosy 1992; Smith 2009a, 599-609.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. in particular VIII, 8 of the papyrus: *iw n=k 'Imn hm=f n=k tʒw* “Amun will come to you so that he might grant you breath” (Smith 1987a, 45; and 2009a, 259).

<sup>210</sup> Cf. VIII, 6-8: *jj n=k Hʕpy ʕnh=k m fdt=f js njw m-ʕ Šw 'Imn-jpt snsn=k kbh=f Imn snb=k mw=f tʒw=f m fnd=k nn hr=f r=k* “Hapi will come to you. You will live by his efflux and the breath of the wind from Shu. Amenopet, you will breathe <by means of> his libation. Amun, you will be hale <through> his water. His breath is in your nose. It will not be distant from you” (Herbin 1994, 253-254; Smith 2009a, 429).

<sup>211</sup> Cf. XII, 1-6 (Smith 1979, 171; and 2009a, 648).

<sup>212</sup> Cf. the copy of the text in pLouvre N 3284, I, 20-21: *Imn r-mʕ=k djt n=k tʒw* “Amun is with you, giving breath to you” (de Horrack 1877, pl. I; Smith 2009a, 470); and II, 17-19: *jj n=k 'Imn hr tʒw n ʕh dj=f jry=k snsn m dbʒt=k pry=k r tʒ rʕ nb šʕy n snsn n Dhwtj m sʒ=k snsn=k jm=s rʕ nb* “Amun will come to you bearing the breath of life. He will cause that you be made to breathe in your sarcophagus. You will go forth from the earth every day (with) the Document of Breathing of Thoth as your protection. You will breathe by means of it every day” (de Horrack 1877, pl. II; Smith 2009a, 471).

<sup>213</sup> Klotz 2012a, 69; du Bourguet and Gabolde 2002, 74 (no. 81).

<sup>214</sup> See Kákosy 1997. Furthermore, the corners of the lid of the vaulted coffin of the archon Soter each bear an image of a ram-headed deity. Each of these deities represents one of the winds of the four cardinal points of the earth, see Riggs 2005, 187. For the four winds, see also Kurth 1994. For an interesting study on the colours corresponding to the four cardinal points, see Spalinger 2008.



of the Egyptians. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the creators of the First Book of Breathing would rework the text of BD 59 into an invocation to Amun. Furthermore, a number of funerary texts produced between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD contain references to Amun in his form of Amenopet.<sup>215</sup> In these texts it is said that the deity will make offerings to the deceased, pour libations for them, and give incense to them at each of his decades.<sup>216</sup> Such references are undoubtedly connected to the reversion of offerings and Amenopet's role of pouring libations for the deities Kematef and the Ogdoad at Djeme every ten days.<sup>217</sup> But due to their relative ubiquity in the funerary literature, these references may also be connected to theological developments prevalent at the time – such as a greater emphasis on the act of libation,<sup>218</sup> and the purported assimilation of the Festival of the Valley with the Festival of the Decade.<sup>219</sup>

Nevertheless, it should be stressed again that some copies of the Second Book of Breathing contain a text resembling BD 77 in which the deceased is believed to take on the form of an ibis. Part of a copy of the text known as the “Book of Transformations” dated to *ca.* 56-57 BC shows that the desire for the *ba*-spirit of the deceased to manifest as an ibis was current during the Greco-Roman Period and that BD 77 may have been adapted in order to replicate this desire:

*ir hrb n hb in Wsir N ms n N h<sup>c</sup> by m hrb n hb ih šms Dḥwty m rn=f ts=f wsr by m  
hrb n hb ih mne n=f ts (?) n m3<sup>c</sup>t h<sup>c</sup>y by m hrb n hb iyṯ m ḥtp n p3 wr-tyw n m3<sup>c</sup>t psṯ  
by m hrb n hb iy n ibe n m3<sup>c</sup>t sdm.n=f d=f mnew by m hrb n hb ʿyw by m hrb n hb  
sptw by m hrb n hb ntrw by m hrb n hb iy m hrb n hb ih mne Wsir hnt Imnt snsnw  
m hrb n hb ih šms t3 nb ʿr<sup>c</sup>t*

Assuming the form of an ibis by the Osiris N born of N. The *ba* will appear in the form of an ibis, serving Thoth in his own name. The *ba* will be mighty in the form of an ibis, seeing for himself the veritable magistrate. The *ba* will be jubilant in the form of an ibis, coming in peace to the veritable greatest of the five. The *ba* will

<sup>215</sup> For this deity in particular, see Klotz 2012a, 52-58 and the literature there.

<sup>216</sup> See Goyon 1972, 299-302; De Meulenaere and Bothmer 1974; Doresse 1979, 36-65, 51-54 and 65; Herbin 1994, 143-144 and 155; *idem*, 2008, 133, 135 and 139; and Guermeur 2004, 256.

<sup>217</sup> Klotz 2012a, 56-57.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. for example, the text of pBM EA 10209 dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Smith 2009a, 178-192; Assmann 2001, 463).

<sup>219</sup> For this, see Traunecker, Le Saout and Masson 1981, 135-137.

shine in the form of an ibis, coming to the veritable heart. He has heard his utterance. The *ba* will be made to endure in the form of an ibis. The *ba* will be magnified in the form of an ibis. The *ba* will be rendered effective in the form of an ibis. The *ba* will be made divine in the form of an ibis. Come in the form of an ibis and see Osiris foremost in the West, breathing in the form of an ibis and serving the lady of the uraeus.<sup>220</sup>

However, the deceased in falcon form is still well-attested in contemporary funerary literature,<sup>221</sup> and is still alluded to in the Second Book of Breathing.<sup>222</sup> As such, it is difficult to know what was going on in the minds of the authors when they created this part of text. Although, veneration for the ibis is known to have increased from at least the Late Period onwards, as evinced by the proliferation of sacred animal cults beginning in the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. A vast number of ibises were bred, killed, and mummified during these times and placed in catacombs as votive offerings to Thoth.<sup>223</sup> Such activity may have sparked an increased admiration for the ibis in the funerary religion, perhaps influencing the creators of the Second Book of Breathing to accentuate it in the text. Whatever the case may be, this identification of the deceased with an ibis is “another noteworthy feature of the text,”<sup>224</sup> and seems to have been a fundamental aspect of funerary thought prevalent at the time – one that evidently came to be expressed as part of the Second Book of Breathing.

<sup>220</sup> pLouvre E 3452, IV, 1-12 (after Legrain 1889, 7-9; Smith 1979, 87-88; and *idem*, 2009a, 640).

<sup>221</sup> A good example is furnished by the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (pBerlin 8351, V, 8) which links the deceased’s transformations to both an ibis and a falcon: *fy=k n hb w3h=k n bk iw=k (n) sšt n ‘hm ntr* “You will fly up as an ibis and alight as a hawk, being (in) the form of a divine falcon” (after Smith 1993, 29 and 34). Likewise, part of a short Demotic text inscribed on part of a coffin lid from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC states the following: *šm=k n hb šps iw=k n bk ntr qm3 p3y=k b(3)w n ipy wr šp=w he(t)=k r tw3t ts(r)* “You will go as a noble ibis and return as a divine falcon. Your *ba* will create as a winged scarab. Your body will be accepted at the holy underworld” (after Smith 1998, 429 and 431 with n. 16 for further examples elsewhere). Furthermore, an epithet commonly given to deceased individuals during the Greco-Roman Period was “the falcon” (*p3 ‘hm*) or “Osiris the falcon” (*Wsjr p3 ‘hm*), see Spiegelberg 1927.

<sup>222</sup> i.e. *h‘=j m mwt=j m Hr nfr n nbw m hb km h3t ph* “I shall appear from my mother as a beautiful Horus of gold and as an ibis black in front and rear” (pBM EA 10110 + 10111, II, 8-9).

<sup>223</sup> Nicholson 1994, 6-9; *idem*, 1996; and Clarysse 2010, 278. See also Mohammed 1987, 121-123.

<sup>224</sup> Smith 2009a, 516-517.

In addition to the deceased's transformation into an ibis, a large part of the Second Book of Breathing expresses the wish that the name of the deceased endure for all time, and throughout the funerary material of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods are several references attesting to the permanence of this concept for a person's well-being in the afterlife. The name, for example, is an important theme of the colophon of pBremner-Rhind,<sup>225</sup> and is a topic that features prominently in the text of the Book of Traversing Eternity:

Example 1: pLeiden T 32, I, 4-5:

*rn=k dd tp r3 n wnyw hr md3t tn sb nhh*

Your name endures on the mouths of those who exist by virtue of the Book of Traversing Eternity.<sup>226</sup>

Example 2: pLeiden T 32, III, 11:

*njs.tw rn=k hnt srw m M3dw hft st3 jht grh pfy n hb Hry-jb-niwt=f*

Your name will be invoked among the magistrates in Medamud at the time of the cow's induction on that night of the feast of He-who-dwells-within-his-city.<sup>227</sup>

Example 3: pLeiden T 32, V, 27:

*njs.tw rn=k h3t šmsw-ntr hft w3h ht n Imntyw*

Your name will be invoked before the followers of the god when oblations are presented to the Westerners.<sup>228</sup>

Example 4: pLeiden T 32, VII, 7:

*dm.tw rn=k hr hbw nw pt hrww nw ts [...] m st=s*

Your name will be pronounced during the feasts of the sky on the days of tying (?) [...] in its place.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Spiegelberg 1913; Faulkner 1932, viii-ix and 32-34; Smith 2009a, 120-123.

<sup>226</sup> Herbin 1994, 47 and 84, pl. I; Smith 2009a, 405.

<sup>227</sup> Herbin 1994, 54 and 154, pl. III; Smith 2009a, 413.

<sup>228</sup> Herbin 1994, 62 and 212, pl. V; Smith 2009a, 421.

<sup>229</sup> Herbin 1994, 67 and 238, pl. VII; Smith 2009a, 426.

Example 5: pLeiden T 32, VIII, 11:

*pr=k mn msw=k 3h.tj rn=k m t3 nn ws=f*

Your house endures and your children are beneficial. Your name is on earth unceasingly.<sup>230</sup>

Example 6: pLeiden T 32, VIII, 14-17:

*Imy-wt hr dd hr jt=f N jj.n=j hr=k jmy m33=j krt=f m hrt-ntr jw jwf=f dd.tj hr  
ksw=f jmy sm b3=f r pt hr R<sup>c</sup> jmy mn rn=f m t3 hr Gb*

He-who-is-the-embalmer says before his father N: “I have come before you. Let me see his burial in the god’s domain (with) his flesh being firm upon his bones. Let his *ba* go to the sky before Re. Let his name endure on earth before Geb.”<sup>231</sup>

The name is also alluded to at several points in the Book of Breathing which Isis Made and the text of pBM EA 10209, and it is certainly a major theme of some coffin inscriptions written during the 1st century BC:

Example 7: pLouvre N 3284, II, 2-3:

*mn rn=k dd h3t=k rwd s<sup>c</sup>hw=k*

Your name will remain, your corpse will endure, and your mummy will flourish.<sup>232</sup>

Example 8: pLouvre N 3284, III, 16-17:

*nh hr<=k> nfr msw<=k> rn=k rwd=f r<sup>c</sup> nb*

<Your> face will live, <your> children will be happy, and your name will flourish every day.<sup>233</sup>

Example 9: pLouvre N 3284, line 3 of the hieratic writing above the main text:

*jry=j hpr(t) nbt m mrt=j rn=j smn (?) rwd*

May I undergo every transformation according to that which I desire, while my name is established (?) and permanent.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Herbin 1994, 70 and 256, pl. VIII; Smith 2009a, 429.

<sup>231</sup> Herbin 1994, 71 and 259-260, pl. VIII; Smith 2009a, 430.

<sup>232</sup> de Horrack 1877, pl. II; Smith 2009a, 470.

<sup>233</sup> de Horrack 1877, pl. III; Smith 2009a, 473.

<sup>234</sup> Herbin 1994, 513; Smith 2009a, 477.

Example 10: pBM EA 10209, II, 5-6:

ʕnh b3=k r nhḥ sp 2 smn st=k rwd rn=k mj p3 sr wr m ddw

Your *ba* will live forever two times. Your seat will be established. Your name will flourish like that of the great magistrate in Busiris.<sup>235</sup>

Example 11: pBM EA 10209, III, 24-5:

hʕj=k m jʕh r tr n Wrš mn rn=k m hwt sr

You will appear as the moon at the time of the *Weresh*-feast. Your name will endure in the house of the magistrate.<sup>236</sup>

Example 12: Edinburgh Coffin Inscription Regn. No. L. 224/3002:

ʕnh=k ʕnh rn=k rnpy=k rnpʕy by=k ʕnh=k r nhḥ rnpy=k šʕ dt

You will live and your name will live. You will rejuvenate and your *ba* will rejuvenate. You will live forever and you will rejuvenate eternally ...<sup>237</sup>

Example 13: Berlin Coffin Inscription Äg. Inv. 7227, Line 1:

ʕnh=k ʕnh rn=k Wsir N (s3) N mwt=f N ...

You will live and your name will live, Osiris N (son of) N, whose mother is N...<sup>238</sup>

Several texts written after the New Kingdom also record a genealogy of the deceased and are intended to preserve the name and affiliation of the beneficiary for posterity.<sup>239</sup> When comparing these texts to the litany in the Second Book of Breathing it is clear that the idea of perpetuating the name was considered to be fundamental in the funerary religion at the end of the Ptolemaic Period, and that our text was probably compiled in order to reflect this.

Finally, there is the idea of the deceased being integrated into the company of the gods and that of certain deities being invoked to grant the beneficiary specific boons. These ideas are in keeping with texts such as those inscribed on coffins of the early Ptolemaic Period and those

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<sup>235</sup> Haikal 1970, 31 with pl. VI; and 1972, 18; Assmann *Totenliturgien* 3, 511; Smith 2009a, 187.

<sup>236</sup> Haikal 1970, 39 with pl. VII; and 1972, 20; Assmann *Totenliturgien* 3, 527; Smith 2009a, 190.

<sup>237</sup> Stadler 2000, 116-117; Barns 1952; Smith 2009a, 576.

<sup>238</sup> Smith 1998, 429-30 with pl. 1; and 2009a, 578.

<sup>239</sup> Abdalla 1992, 130.

inscribed on the doorways of some Late Period tombs. In each of these texts a prominent theme is the inclusion of the deceased into the realm of the gods:

Example 1: Inscription from the tomb of Basa (TT 389), Saïte Period:

*wn-tw m šmsw msktt m šmsw R<sup>c</sup>w m m<sup>c</sup>ndt jr.tw st=k m ḥwt Skr hnm tw m psdt*

You who remain in the following of the *mesketet*-bark, and in the following of Re in the *mandjet*-bark. A seat will be set up for you in the temple of Sokar. You will join the ennead.<sup>240</sup>

Example 2: Inscription from the coffin of Haremheb (Cairo JE 8390), early Ptolemaic Period:

*ḥ<sup>c</sup>=k r bw hr ntr r bw dsr hr ntr sj<sup>c</sup>r tw šmsw (ntr) st3 tw st3yw ḥ<sup>c</sup> ntrw m ḥsf=k wnm.n=k t hr ḥ3wt Nnw sr tw fktj sj<sup>c</sup>r tw wr-m33w shnt rd.wj=k m ḥwt ʿ3t prj=k h3j=k m-m ntrw hnm.tj m 3bwt-ntr ...*

May you appear in the place beneath the god, in the sacred place beneath the god. May the followers (of the god) lift you up. May the ushers usher you. May the gods rejoice in your presence. May you eat bread from the altar of Re. May your *ka* take nourishment from the offering table of Nun. May the Shorn One announce you, and the Greatest of the Seers introduce you. May your steps be furthered in the Great House. May you go forth and enter among the gods, and be accepted into the divine family...<sup>241</sup>

Furthermore, several other texts produced during the Late and Greco-Roman Periods were intended to secure for the deceased admission into the underworld and feature a variety of passages promising them that the gods will come and grant them certain privileges. These include the likes of texts such as: O. Strasbourg D. 132 + 133 + 134 and the Divine Decrees,<sup>242</sup> BM Stela Inv. 711,<sup>243</sup> the Intercessory Hymn to the Solar Deity,<sup>244</sup> BM Mummy Board EA

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<sup>240</sup> Assmann 2001, 87; 2005a, 61; and 1973, pl. VII.

<sup>241</sup> Assmann 2001, 87-88; 2005a, 62; and *idem*, *Totenliturgien* 3, 129-132.

<sup>242</sup> Smith 2009a, 607-609.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid*, 665-668; Vleeming 2004.

<sup>244</sup> Herbin 1984, 252; Smith 2009a, 590-598.

35464,<sup>245</sup> Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 1374 a + b,<sup>246</sup> pLouvre N 2420c,<sup>247</sup> pCairo CG 58009,<sup>248</sup> pParma 183,<sup>249</sup> the Book of Breathing which Isis Made,<sup>250</sup> the Book of Traversing Eternity,<sup>251</sup> the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing,<sup>252</sup> pRhind I and II,<sup>253</sup> pBM EA 10507,<sup>254</sup> pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II (esp. Fragment Group B),<sup>255</sup> pVatican Inv. 38608 (I, 1-4),<sup>256</sup> pBM EA 10209 (esp. I, 29-II, 10),<sup>257</sup> and the Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land (esp. I, 7-II, 17 and VII, 15-VIII, 5).<sup>258</sup> What all of these show is that inclusion into the realm of the gods was a major concern during the Greco-Roman Period and that our texts were adapted from others in order to reflect this.

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<sup>245</sup> Vittmann 1990; Smith 2009a, 586-589.

<sup>246</sup> Smith 1992-1993; and 2009a, 579-582.

<sup>247</sup> Chauveau 1990; Smith 2009a, 571-572.

<sup>248</sup> Lieblein 1895, 12-16 (no. 7) with pls. XVII-XXIV; Budge 1910, 175-181; Golenischeff 1927, 44-54 with pls. IX-X; Goyon 1972, 302-310; Smith 2009a, 526-534; Carrier 2017, xlii and 191-225 with pls. C/1-C/5.

<sup>249</sup> Botti 1964, 56-59 with pls. 13-14; Goyon 1972, 314-317 (designated there as pParma 107); Smith 2009a, 535-539.

<sup>250</sup> de Horrack 1877; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995; Rhodes 2002; Ritner 2011, 81-149; Smith 2009a, 462-498.

<sup>251</sup> Herbin 1994; Smith 2009a, 395-436.

<sup>252</sup> Smith 1993; and 2009a, 349-387.

<sup>253</sup> Möller 1913; Smith 2009a, 302-348.

<sup>254</sup> Smith 1987; and 2009a, 245-263.

<sup>255</sup> Quack 2000, esp. 83-87 with pls. XIV-XV; Smith 2009a, 200-06.

<sup>256</sup> Herbin 2003; Smith 2009a, 193-199.

<sup>257</sup> Haikal 1970, 28-32 with pls. 5-9; 1972, 17-18; Assmann *Totenliturgien* 3, esp. 508-515; Martin and Ryholt 2006, 270-274; Smith 2009a, 178-192

<sup>258</sup> Goyon 1999, 27-29 with pls. I-IIA and 34-35 with pls. VI-VIIA; Smith 2009a, 76-78 and 83-84; Carrier 2014, 46-61 and 98-122.

# Conclusion

The overall aim of this thesis was to analyse the First and Second Books of Breathing and determine the reasons for why they came to be. It first looked at the papyri themselves and noted that each one comes from Thebes and was produced sometime between the mid-first century BC and the end of the first half of the second century AD. This thesis then discussed the physical characteristics of the papyri and their vignettes, noting that the scenes adorning some exemplars are more or less derived from the vignettes used to illustrate the Book of the Dead, namely BD 26, BD 45, BD 125, BD 145, BD 146, BD 57, and BD 59. However, some of the iconography is also known from coffins, stelae, and the walls of tombs.

After this, this thesis examined the text written on these papyri. It showed that copies of the First Book of Breathing can consist of up to eleven sections, whereas copies of the Second Book of Breathing do not comprise more than three sections of text. However, in some of the papyri the text has been combined with or inserted between other funerary works. Additionally, most copies present the text in an abridged form and/or in other arrangements, resulting in a number of variations. Either way, the analysis of each section pertaining to the texts gave us some idea of the general character of the works and also revealed important information about their origins. In the case of the First Book of Breathing, it was shown that the text has antecedents in the form of the Divine Decrees for the deceased of the early Ptolemaic Period, BD 15AI, BD 127, BD 18, BD 21-23, BD 26-28, BD 30/30A, BD 42 and 44, BD 48/10 and 49/11, BD 38, BD 54, BD 57, BD 56/59, and possibly BD 60, 61, and/or 62, BD 66, and BD 68, suggesting that all of these formed the basis of the composition. On the other hand, it was shown that the text of the Second Book of Breathing derived from PT 601 (§§1660 a-1671 d), the “Spell for Making a Torch,” the “Spell for Renewing the God's Offerings,” BD 77, and finally a text called “Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits,” which contains an utterance addressed to the deities Hapy, Nepri, Hathor, and Hesat to provision the deceased with water, bread, beer, and milk respectively.

Nevertheless, Chapter Three presented a transliteration and translation of the First Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10191 and the Second Book of Breathing in pBM EA 10110 + 10111, and also noted variants in other copies of the works; and in Chapter Four the religious functions



of the texts were discussed in an attempt to gain a better understanding of their purpose. Drawing largely from themes expounded upon in the two works, this chapter showed that the compositions functioned akin to texts not only inscribed on papyrus, but also on objects such as coffins, sarcophagi, stelae, and tomb walls. One of these functions was to provide a protection for the deceased in the burial and ensure their users of their corporeal integrity. Another was to aid in the reconstitution of the physical faculties of the deceased, as evinced by §§ 3 and 4 of the First Book of Breathing. Other than that the texts were also intended to help secure and preserve the heart, perpetuate the name of the deceased in the case of the Second Book of Breathing, ensure nourishment in the afterlife, and allow freedom of movement. Finally, the works were intended to ensure the deceased's inclusion into the realm of the gods and in many ways functioned as a sort of "recommendation," ensuring the inhabitants of the hereafter that the deceased is worthy of joining them. Ultimately, however, their purpose was to reanimate their beneficiaries after death. This is expressed essentially by the Egyptian word *snsn* "breathing" in the designation of the papyri, which itself is "endowment with life in the widest sense."<sup>1</sup> This of course is at variance with a recent argument that *snsn* here can also mean and should mean "fraternizing" or "fellowship,"<sup>2</sup> but can be supported by the fact that the word in our papyri is always written with the *ḥw*-sail determinative, the fact that *snsn* "to breathe" is often used synonymously with the term *ḥnh* "to live," and lastly, the beginning of the Book of Breathing which Isis Made for Her Brother Osiris.<sup>3</sup> In this text, it is clearly stated that it deals with the beneficiary's revivification, the rejuvenation of the limbs, and the renewal of life from the inertia of death.<sup>4</sup>

In Chapter Five this thesis then looked at the use and development of the papyri, focusing first on the identity and status of their original owners and the identity of the people who created the texts. It then looked at the scribal processes used to make of the First and Second Books of Breathing and attempted to explain the difficult question of why these two works were created in the first place. On the basis of titles and personal names preserved in the papyri, this chapter argued that the owners of our texts were predominately Egyptians and of high social standing. Indeed, many of the owners bear Egyptian theophoric personal names identifying them with

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<sup>1</sup> Nibley 1971, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Gee 2009.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. pLouvre N 3284, I, 1-7.

<sup>4</sup> Nibley 1971, 164.

deities such as Amun, Khonsu, and Montu, and have titles linking them to the priesthood of Amun as well as various Theban temples. Some of the owners of these papyri also belonged to high-ranking Theban families, such as the family of Prophets of Min-Amun active from the end of the second century BC to the first half of the first century AD, and the well-known Soter family of the Roman Period. However, not all of the beneficiaries of these papyri were given an Egyptian name, so it is reasonable to suggest that some of the owners may not have been Egyptian *per se*. Furthermore, not all of the owners of these papyri have a title. This suggests that the First and Second Books of Breathing may not have been solely a prerogative of the elite. But based on the cost of mummification as well as the expense of a burial in Greco-Roman Egypt, it is to be expected that the beneficiaries of these papyri would have to have been relatively well-to-do people.

In addition, it was argued that the persons who created the texts were most likely priests of Amun, and that they created them mainly as replacements for texts and images traditionally inscribed on tomb walls, sarcophagi, and other objects intended for the burial. Although this is difficult to prove, the fact that burial practices had undergone substantial change in the Theban region by the end of the Ptolemaic Period, and that the principal bearers of religious texts and icons such as coffins, sarcophagi, and even individual tombs were simply unavailable to most people during this time, tends to reinforce this idea. Additionally, it was shown that every section pertaining to the First and Second Books of Breathing is derived from or has functions similar to texts and images usually inscribed on other burial items. This suggests that the papyri could be used as an alternative, and were created to fulfil a function of allowing compositions from other media and their magic to be included in the burial.

Lastly, this thesis showed that both texts were likely created through a process of scribal copying and compilation, but that the authors also made a number of changes to the received material. Such changes might have been made to make the texts more contemporary theologically or to better reflect mortuary beliefs prevalent at the time. That this was the case can be supported by the fact that concepts expounded upon in the texts, such as the permanence of the name, a disposition towards the ibis, and deities such as Amun, seem to have been of major importance in the funerary religion during the Greco-Roman Period. If so, the texts are not just substitutes for other texts, but also manifestations of some of the most important eschatological beliefs prevailing in the Theban region at the time when they were produced.

Either way, what we are left with is a pair of compositions that can be seen to be both traditional yet innovative, and like the plethora of funerary texts written before them, compositions that were substantially significant for securing a life after death. Indeed, if a text is advanced or original then it could be seen as innovative. If a text is creative in its design or solves a problem and becomes valuable to people as a result, then it is innovative;<sup>5</sup> and it can be established that the First and Second Books of Breathing are a good example of this. On the one hand, we have two compositions that are generally much shorter than other funerary texts (for example, Book of the Dead papyri) but tailored to cater to several different aspects of ancient Egyptian eschatology, such as the concepts of going forth by day, not dying again, and inclusion into the realm of the gods. On the other hand, we have two compositions that combine these themes together in a custom that could be considered as creative, and it was shown that both works could function in a variety of ways – from perpetuating the name of their beneficiaries to protecting them in the burial. All of this is what makes them innovative. More importantly, the two works were created to solve a problem, which in this instance was to allow texts from other funerary objects to be included in the burial, and this perhaps is what made them so valuable. This being the case, the First and Second Books of Breathing are two truly remarkable funerary compositions that we can imagine must have been of immense importance to those who used them.

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<sup>5</sup> This of course is based on the same criteria we use to evaluate something as innovative today. For a discussion, see Van der Duin *et al* 2006, 228-230.

## APPENDIX ONE

### Catalogue of Papyri

Below is a list of all papyri bearing a First and/or Second Book of Breathing known to the present author, including (when it is given) the name and titles of the original owner(s), as well as his or her parents, the suggested dates and the dimensions of the manuscripts. The main text of the papyri listed is written in the hieratic script; although, pBM EA 9977 and pBM EA 10115 both contain a line of text written in hieroglyphics.<sup>1</sup> As for the documents' place of origin, almost all of them come from Thebes, except for pChicago OIC 25389 which comes from Esna.<sup>2</sup>

#### First Books of Breathing

##### **pBerlin 3028**

Owner:

Name in lacuna.

Titles:

*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw; sm3ty n K3-mwt=f; sm3ty n K3-f3y-<sup>c</sup>; hm-ntr n Hnsw-p(3)-jrrj-shrw-m-W3st; hm-ntr n Mwt hnwnt nfrw*

God's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods; *sematy*-priest of Kamutef; *sematy*-priest of Kafay'a; prophet of Khonsu-who-governs-in-Thebes; prophet of Mut, mistress of perfection.

Mother:

*T3-hy-bj3* (Chibois).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>3</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Two pieces: 70 x 22 cm; 67 x 17 cm.

Literature:

Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 23 (no. 21); Scalf 2017, 143, fig. 12.5.

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<sup>1</sup> See Herbin 2008, 103-104 with pls. 62-63 (pBM EA 9977) and 125-126 with pls. 98-99 (pBM EA 10115).

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, 1, n. 2; and *idem.*, 1994, 13-18.

<sup>3</sup> Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 23.

## pBerlin 3030 <sup>4</sup>

Owner:

*Htr* (Hatres).<sup>5</sup>

Titles:

*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw; hm-ntr 2.nw; hm-ntr 3.nw; hm-ntr 4.nw; stm ʕ3; w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn; hm-ntr n Imn-jpt n D<sup>c</sup>m ntr ʕ3 ʕnh hry ntrw hn<sup>c</sup> n3 nty m-s3=f (?); hm-ntr n Mwt wrt nbt Išrw; hm-ntr ʕ3-pr n Hnsw-m-W3st-Nfr-ḥtp; mr w<sup>c</sup>b Shmt*

God's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods; second prophet; third prophet; fourth prophet; great *setem*-priest; *wab*-priest of Amun; prophet of Amenopet of Djeme, the great living god, overseer of the gods together with those who are behind him (?); prophet of Mut the great, lady of the Isheru; prophet and major-domo of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep; overseer of the *wab*-priests of Sekhmet.

Mother:

*T3y-Hr* (Tiuris).

Father:

*Hr-s3-Ist* (Harsiesis).

Titles of father:

*hry sšt3; ʕb-ntr n pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw*  
Overseer of secrets; purifier of the god of the house of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

Date:

AD 125.<sup>6</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Two pieces: 172 x 28 cm; 168.5 x 25.5 cm.

Literature:

Möller 1936, pl. X (col. VIII); Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 23 (no. 22); Herbin 1984, 251-252, pls. XLIX-L (cols. VI-IX); Smith 2009a, 590-598.

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<sup>4</sup> Besides a copy of the First Book, this papyrus also contains a text derived from BD 162 and 72 at VI, 1-16 and IX, 7-23, as well as another text known as the "Intercessory Hymn to the Solar Deity" at VI, 17 and IX, 6; see Herbin 1984, 252; 2008, 199; and Smith 2009a, 590-598 for a translation of the latter. For a translation of the text extracted from BD 162 and 72, see also Goyon 1972, 277-280 (his *Texte V*).

<sup>5</sup> Also written for the same man was a Second Book of Breathing in pCairo CG 58018, and (possibly) the Ritual of Embalming in pBoulaq 3; see Herbin 1984, 251; 2008, 199 with n. 1; Smith 2009a, 216-217, 515, and 590.

<sup>6</sup> Based on a pair of demotic inscriptions on the lid and a horoscope on the inside of a wooden coffin supposedly belonging to the owner of this manuscript, see Neugebauer and Parker 1969, 93-95 with pl. 50.

## pBibliothèque Nationale 151

Owner:

*Hr-s3-Ist* (Harsiesis).<sup>7</sup>

Titles:

*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw; hm-ntr n Hnsw-p3-jr-shrw-m-W3st; hm-ntr n B3stt hr(t)-jb W3st; hry s3t3; w<sup>c</sup>b-ntr; rh-hw twr m W3st; sm3wy rnw nsyw hr s3t*

God's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods; prophet of Khonsu-who-governs-in-Thebes; prophet of Bastet who dwells in Thebes; overseer of secrets; purifier of the god; great scholar in Thebes; he who renews the names of the kings on the wall.<sup>8</sup>

Mother:

*K3yk3y* (?)

Titles of mother:

*nbt pr; jhyt n Imn-R<sup>c</sup>*

Lady of the house; sistrum-player of Amun-Re.

Date:

AD 65.<sup>9</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unknown.

Literature:

Unpublished.

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<sup>7</sup> The same man owned the copy of the Book of Traversing Eternity in pLeiden T 32, the Second Book of Breathing in pLouvre N 3157, and the Books of Breathing which Isis Made in pLouvre N 3285 and pLouvre N 3291 (see Herbin 1994, 7).

<sup>8</sup> For this latter title see Herbin 2008, 201 with n. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Herbin 1994, 5 with n.1; and 2008, 201 with n. 11.

## pBibliothèque Nationale 152

Owner:

*P3-dj-Imn-jpt* (Petamenophis), a.k.a. *Ἀμμώνιος* (Ammonios).<sup>10</sup>

Mother:

*G3rw3ptr*(<sup>ϙ</sup>) (Cleopatra),  
a.k.a. *Ḳntj3gy* (Candace).<sup>12</sup>

Father:

*Swtr* (Soter).<sup>11</sup>

Date:

AD 116.<sup>13</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

22.5 x 49.5 cm.

Literature: Cailliaud 1827, 22-54; Herbin 2002, 44-49 (no. 40).

## pBibliothèque Nationale 246

Owner:

*Twt* (Tothoes).

Mother:

*Ḳr-n-t3* (Kollouthé).

Date:

Unspecified.<sup>14</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Two pieces: 28.5 x 10 cm; 23 x 7.5 cm.

Literature: Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010, 187-193 with pl. VII.

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<sup>10</sup> Herbin 2008, 201. The alias, Ammonios, appears in a Greek inscription on his coffin (Coffin Louvre E 13048 + E 13016), see the next note below.

<sup>11</sup> According to a demotic subscription on the verso of the papyrus as well as a Greek inscription on the head end of his coffin which reads: “Petemenophis, also called Ammonios, son of Soter, son of Cornelius Pollius, whose mother is Cleopatra, daughter of Ammonios. He lived for 21 years, 4 months, and 22 days. He died in (year) 19 of Trajan, the lord, (on the) 8<sup>th</sup> of Payni” (see Herbin 2008, 7; and van Landuyt 1995, 75. For the coffin itself, see also Herbin 2002, 27-35). This would make this Petamenophis the brother of the owner of the First Book in pLeiden T 33 and the son of the archon Soter who owned the First Book of Breathing in pBritish Museum EA 10283 and the Second Book of Breathing in pBritish Museum EA 10282.

<sup>12</sup> For the name Candace/Kandake, see van Landuyt 1995, 72-74.

<sup>13</sup> Again, in the Greek inscription on his coffin it says: “He died in year 19 of Trajan, the lord, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of Payni.” This corresponds to 2<sup>nd</sup> June AD 116 (van Landuyt 1995, 75).

<sup>14</sup> But cf. the comment made by Coilliot and Ragazzoli 2010, 189: “Le texte est composé dans un trait assez fin, caractéristique d’un calame en roseau d’époque tardive.”

### **pBodleian Library Ms. Douce. Or.b.10 (P)**

Owner:

*T3-w3wt* (Thaues).

Date:

Late Ptolemaic - early Roman period.<sup>15</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

124 x 28.5 cm.

Literature: Coenen 2000, 96-97.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10109**

Owner:

*T3-nt-Dm* (Tasemis).<sup>16</sup>

Mother:

*T3-(nt)-k3* (Tikos).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>17</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

26.2 x 16.5 cm.

Literature: Birch 1884-1885, 206-207; Lieblein 1895, 5-6 (no. 2) with pls. IV-VI; Chassinat 1895, 318-319; Budge 1922, 297-298 (no. 21); Stricker 1942, 32; Herbin 2008, 76-78 with pls. 33-36.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10115 <sup>18</sup>**

Owner:

*Gr3jwptr* (Cleopatra).<sup>19</sup>

Mother:

*Knt*[...] (Candace).

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>20</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

22.5 x 23 cm.

Literature: Budge 1922, 298 (no. 24); Stricker 1942, 32; Herbin 2002, 14 (no. 14); *idem*, 2008, 125-126 with pls. 98-99.

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<sup>15</sup> Coenen 2000, 97.

<sup>16</sup> Also the owner of pBritish Museum EA 10108.

<sup>17</sup> Herbin 2008, 76 with n. 150.

<sup>18</sup> This papyrus contains only the beginning of the First Book of Breathing (I, 1-3), followed by an unparalleled text (I, 3-14). Also, the second line of text has been written in hieroglyphics.

<sup>19</sup> One of the daughters of the archon Soter who owned the First Book of Breathing in pBritish Museum EA 10283.

<sup>20</sup> Herbin 2008, 125.



## pBritish Museum EA 10123 <sup>21</sup>

Owner:

*T3-šrjt-Hnsw* (Senchonsis) a.k.a. *T3-p(w)r* (Sapaulis).<sup>22</sup>

Mother:

*T3-k(3w-)d3* (Tkauthe).

Father:

*Πίκωτος* (Pikos).<sup>23</sup>

Date:

AD 146.<sup>24</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

19 x 35.3 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 132-134 with pls. 104-107; Quack 2012, 277-278.

## pBritish Museum EA 10191

Owner:

*P3-dj-wr-j3bt* (Petaporegebthis).<sup>25</sup>

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-Hry* (Senerieus).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>26</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

30.7 x 24.1 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 50-76 with pls. 29-32; Quack 2012, 274.

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<sup>21</sup> Mostly an original text.

<sup>22</sup> Also owned the Second Book of Breathing in pBritish Museum EA 10124. For this manuscript see Herbin 2008, 104-105 with pls. 64-67.

<sup>23</sup> After the Greek inscription on the owner's coffin (now lost) which reads: "Senchonsis, also known as Sapaulis, eldest (daughter) of Pikos. She was born in year 4 of the god, Trajan, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Pachons. She died in year 9 of Antoninus Caesar, the lord, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Phamenoth, so that she lived for 44 years and 10 months. Be of good cheer" (see Herbin 2008, 8; and van Landuyt 1995, 79. For a copy of the inscription on the coffin, which was lost in a shipwreck, see also Raoul-Rochette 1824, 240-241). This Pikos mentioned here is probably to be identified with the man called Pebos who was the father of the owner of the First Book in pTurin 1861 C (= 14965) below (see Herbin 2008, 7 and 8; and van Landuyt 1995, 80).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the translation of the Greek inscription in the previous note. The date there corresponds to 11<sup>th</sup> March AD 146 (van Landuyt 1995, 79).

<sup>25</sup> Also the owner of pBritish Museum EA 10304.

<sup>26</sup> Herbin 2008, 50.

### **pBritish Museum 10194** <sup>27</sup>

Owner:

*P3-wr-j3btt* (Poregebthis).

Mother:

*T3-(nt)-n3-m3w* (?).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>28</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

25 x 22.3 cm.

Literature: Caminos 1987, 147–159, esp. 147-151; *idem*, 1993, 104-123; Herbin 2008, 134-135 with pls. 108-109; Smith 2009a, 540-542.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10199**

Owner:

*Ist-wrt* (Esoeris).

Mother:

*T3-~~hrt~~-(nt-)Mnw* (Tchormenis?)

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>29</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

37.5 x 22 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 78-80 with pls. 37-39; Quack 2012, 275.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10206 (fragmentary)**

Owner:

Name lost.

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>30</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Three pieces: 7.1 x 4.3 cm; 5.8 x 4.3 cm;  
(4.5) x 4.3 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 80-81 with pls. 40-41.

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<sup>27</sup> Could be considered a text adapted from the First Book of Breathing.

<sup>28</sup> Caminos 1993, 105; Herbin 2008, 134.

<sup>29</sup> Herbin 2008, 78.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 80.

## pBritish Museum EA 10283

Owner:

*Swtr* (Soter).<sup>31</sup>

Titles:

*Ἀρχὼν Θηβῶν; bw3 wr m njwt=f*

Archon of Thebes; great magistrate in his town.<sup>32</sup>

Mother:

*Pylt/Pymt* (Philous).

Father:

*P3-krr* (?), a.k.a. *Κορνηλίου Πολλίου*  
(Cornelius Pollius).<sup>33</sup>

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>34</sup>

Dimensions:

36.3 x 19.2 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 81-82 with pls. 42-43; Quack 2012, 275.

## pBritish Museum EA 10303

Owner:

Name lost.

Mother:

[...-](?)*t3-šrjt*

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>35</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

14.6 x 27.4 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 83 with pls. 44-45; Quack 2012, 275.

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<sup>31</sup> Also owned the Second Book of Breathing in pBritish Museum EA 10282.

<sup>32</sup> After the Greek and hieroglyphic inscriptions on his coffin (Coffin BM EA 6705). Greek: "Soter, son of Cornelius Pollius, and of his mother Philous, archon of Thebes." Hieroglyphic: "The Osiris Soter, the great magistrate in his town, born of the Hathor Philous" (translations after Herbin 2008, 9; and van Landuyt 1995, 71). A shroud belonging to him (Shroud BM EA 6705 A) also dubs him as: "The noble in his town, the great magistrate of his nome of Thebes" (see Herbin 2008, 9; van Landuyt 1995, 71; and Riggs 2005, 281).

<sup>33</sup> For the alias, see again the translation of the Greek inscription on Soter's coffin in the previous note. Also, this Cornelius Pollius is possibly to be identified with the owner of pLouvre N 3290 below (see Herbin 2008, 7).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 81.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 83.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10337 (incomplete version)**

Owner:

*P3-dj-Hnsw* (Petachonsis).

Mother:

*T3-[...]*.

Date:

Possibly 1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>36</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

34 x 14.7 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 83-84 with pls. 46-48.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10338 (incomplete version)**

Owner:

Name lost.

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>37</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Poor condition, only the length of the lines ( $\pm$  30 cm) on the lower part of one page can be determined.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 84-86 with pls. 49-50.

### **pBritish Museum 10340**

Owner:

*T3-šrjt-Inpw* (Senanoupis).

Mother:

*T3-špst* (?)

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>38</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

22.5 x 13.7 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 146-147 with pls. 129-130.

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, 83.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, 84.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 146.

### **pBritish Museum 10343**

Owner:

*T3-šrjt-Gpryn* (?)

Mother:

*HByrn* (?)

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>39</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

23.6 x 25.8 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 147-148 with pls. 82-83.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10705 (fragment only)**

Owner:

Name lost.

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>40</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

12.5 x 6.7 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 86-87 with pls. 51-52.

### **pBritish Museum EA 71513B (incomplete version)**

Owner:

Name lost.

Date:

1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>41</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Two pieces: 16.7 x 4.9 cm; 17.6 x 7.6 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 87-88 with pls. 53-54.

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, 147.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 86.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 87.

### **pBritish Museum EA 71513C (incomplete version)**

Owner:

[...]-*hṭp*

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>42</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Two pieces of similar size: ± 18.6 x 6 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 88-89 with pls. 55-56.

### **pBrussels E 5298**

Owner:

Name lost.

Mother:

*ʾst-grt* (?)

Date:

Unknown.<sup>43</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

21 x 17 cm.

Literature: Speelers 1921, 25-43 with pls. I-II.

### **pCairo CG 58008**

Owner:

Name uncertain.

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-w3w* (?)

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>44</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

13.5 x 29 cm.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 27-30 (no. 16) with pls. XLII-XLVII; Golenischeff 1927, 36-44 with pl. VIII.

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, 88.

<sup>43</sup> Although, Speelers (1921, 26-27) dated it to the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: “Par la forme des hiéroglyphes et par certaines graphies fautives ou irrégulières propres à cette époque, on peut dater ce document de la XXXe dynastie environ comme du même genre.” However, this is tentative at best, considering that most papyri of this kind date to the Roman Period.

<sup>44</sup> Golenischeff 1927, 36.

### pCairo CG 58011

Owner:  
Name lost.

Date:  
Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>45</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
12.3 x 18.5 cm.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 24 (no. 12) with pl. XXXVIII; Golenischeff 1927, 57-58 with pl. XII.

### pCairo CG 58014

Owner:  
*Ṭpr/l (?)* (Apellas/Apollo).<sup>46</sup>

Mother:  
*T3-šrjt-kr-t3* (Tachratis ?).

Father:  
*Ṭw (?)* (Weru/Iau ?).<sup>47</sup>

Date:  
Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>48</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
24.8 x 20.9 cm.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 22-23 (no. 10) with pls. XXXIV-XXXVI; Golenischeff 1927, 66-68 with pl. XIV; Smith 2009a, 511-513; Carrier 2017, xliii and 283-297 with pl. C/9.

### pCairo CG 58015 and pCairo CG 58016 <sup>49</sup>

Owner:  
*T3-šrjt-Inpw* (Senanoupis).

Father:  
*Ṭs-wr (?)*

Date:  
Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>50</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
58015: 17.3 x 19.1 cm; 58016: 18.1 x 16.1 cm.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 25 (nos. 13 and 14) with pls. XXXVIII-XL; Golenischeff 1927, 68-72 with pl. XV.

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 58.

<sup>46</sup> Also the owner of the Second Book of Breathing in pCairo CG 58013.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Ranke 1935, 6 (no. 8).

<sup>48</sup> Golenischeff 1927, 66.

<sup>49</sup> Two separate copies of the First Book of Breathing belonging to the same person (see Herbin 2008, 202).

<sup>50</sup> Golenischeff 1927, 69.

### **pCairo CG 58019**

Owner:

ⲓⲃ-ⲡⲏ(ⲧⲓ) (Apathes).

Mother :

ⲧⲓ-ⲥⲣⲓⲧ-ⲏⲃⲧ (?)

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>51</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

21.1 x 24.5 cm.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 23-24 (no. 11) with pls. XXXVI-XXXVII; Golenischeff 1927, 80-83 with pl. XVIII; Goyon 1972, 310-313; Carrier 2017, xliii and 299-313 with pl. C/10.

### **pCairo CG 58021**

Owner:

Name lost.

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>52</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unspecified (five fragments).

Literature: Golenischeff 1927, 87-90 with pls. XX-XXI.

### **pCairo CG 58023**

Owner:

ⲧⲓ-ⲣⲡⲓⲧ or [...]ⲧⲓ-ⲣⲓⲧⲧ (?)

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>53</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Two pieces: 2.6 x 6.3 cm; 8.8 x 2.5 cm.

Literature: Golenischeff 1927, 92-99.

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 80.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 87.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 92.



### **pEdinburgh A. 1956.357 E**

Owner:

Written for two individuals: *Hr-p(3)-bjk* (Harpabekis) and *P3-dj-Imn-jpt* (Petamenophis).

Mother:

*T3-rnnwt* (Tharmouthis).

Date:

Early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

10.5 x 21.5 cm.

Literature: Coenen 2004, 115-118 with pl. 9.

### **pEdinburgh A. 212.113.4**

Owner:

*P(3)-Mntw-ꜣ* (Pamonthis-a'a).<sup>54</sup>

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-p3-Mntw* (Senpamonthis).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

28.6 x 12.4 cm.

Literature: Birch 1884-1885, 86-88; Coenen 2004, 106-110 with pl. 6.

### **pFlorence 3662**

Owner:

*3rswyny3t* (Arsinoe).

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-Twt* (Sentothoes).

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.<sup>55</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

72 x 23.5 cm.

Literature: Pellegrini 1903, 310-321; *idem*, 1904a, 49-57 and 147-158; Smith 2009a, 499-510.

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<sup>54</sup> See Coenen 2004, 108.

<sup>55</sup> Coenen 2000, 97. But more likely 1<sup>st</sup> century AD since the text columns are surrounded by double-line borders which are typically a feature of texts written in the Roman Period (for this see Smith 2009a, 167; Stadler 2004, 25; and Herbin 2004, 172).

### **pLandesmuseum Klagenfurt AE III/1**

Owner:

*ʾIst-wrt* (Esoeris).

Mother:

*T3-(ʾ)st (?)* (Taesis).

Date:

Unspecified.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

32.4 x 16 cm.

Literature: Horak and Harrauer 1999, 61-62 (no. 44).

### **pLeiden T 33**

Owner:

*T3-šrjt-Dd-ḥr* (Sensaos).

Mother:

*G3rw3ptr* (Cleopatra),  
a.k.a. *Kndgy* (Candace).

Father:

*Σωτήρ* (Soter).<sup>56</sup>

Date:

AD 109.<sup>57</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

24.5 x 21.5 cm.

Literature: Stricker 1942, 30-47.

### **pLouvre E 10284**

Owner:

Name lost.<sup>58</sup>

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unknown.

Literature: Unpublished.

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<sup>56</sup> After the Greek inscription on the head end of the owner's coffin (Coffin Leiden M 75) which reads: "Sensaos, daughter of Soter, son of Cornelius, and of (her) mother, Cleopatra also called Candace, daughter of Ammonios, has died, a maiden of 16 years, 2 months, and 9 days, (in year) 12 of Trajan, the lord, (on the) 21<sup>st</sup> of Epeiph" (see Herbin 2008, 9; and van Landuyt 1995, 75). This makes her the daughter of the archon Soter who owned pBritish Museum EA 10282 and pBritish Museum 10283, and the sister of the owner of pBibliothèque Nationale 152 above.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. the last part of her coffin inscription in the previous note which states that she died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of Epeiph in year 12 of the emperor Trajan. This corresponds to precisely 15<sup>th</sup> July AD 109 (van Landuyt 1995, 75).

<sup>58</sup> Herbin 2008, 204.

**pLouvre N 3148 (+ N 3220 A) <sup>59</sup>**

Owner:

*ḥnh=f-n-Hnsw* (Chapochonsis).

Titles:

*jt-ntr ḥm-ntr n Imn-Rḥ nsw ntrw*

God's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-Mntw* (Senmonthis).

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 30 cm.

Literature: Pierret 1873, 42-79; Devéria 1881, 147-149 (V. 12); Goyon 1972, 233-234; Herbin 1984, 252 with pl. LI (col. VII only).

**pLouvre N 3163 (fragment only)**

Owner:

Unknown.

Date:

Unknown

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 15 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 139 (V. 7).

**pLouvre N 3176 A**

Owner:

*T3-(nt-)Hnmty* (?)

Mother:

*T3-ḥy-bj3* (Chibois).<sup>60</sup>

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (?).

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 15 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 159-160 (V. 44).

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<sup>59</sup> Like pBerlin 3030 above, this papyrus also contains a text inspired by BD 162 and 72 at IX, 11-X, 9, and bears another version of the Intercessory Hymn to the Solar Deity at VII, 7-25 (for references see under pBerlin 3030). It also bears two original/unrelated texts, one at the beginning (I-III, x + 11) and one at the end (X, 10-XI, 11). These correspond to Goyon's *Texte I* and *Texte VI* respectively (see Goyon 1972, 233-242 and 280-285 for translations). The First Book on the other hand begins at III, x + 11 and ends at VII, 6 (see Pierret 1873, 47-58).

<sup>60</sup> Same mother as the person who owned pBerlin 3028.

**pLouvre N 3176 D (fragment only)**

Owner:  
Name lost.

Mother:  
[...]-(?) *T3-šrjt-Ḥnsw* ([...]-(?) Senchonsis).

Date:	Dimensions ( <i>l x h</i> ):
Unknown.	? x 21.5 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 159 (V. 43).

**pLouvre N 3176 E (fragmentary).**

Owner:  
Name in lacuna.

Mother:  
*T3-(nt-)Ḥnsw* (Tachonsis) or *T3-(šrjt-)Ḥnsw* (Senchonsis).

Date:	Dimensions ( <i>l x h</i> ):
Unknown.	? x 15 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 159 (V. 42).

**pLouvre N 3176 F**

Owner:  
*P3-dj-Nfr-ḥtp* (Petanephotes).

Mother:  
*T3-rmt-n(t)-Ḍm* (?)

Date:	Dimensions ( <i>l x h</i> ):
Unknown.	? x 18.5 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 154 (V. 23).

### pLouvre N 3176 G

Owner:  
*ḥrtymy* (Artemis).

Mother:  
Unreadable.

Date:  
Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
? x 21 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 158-159 (V. 40).

### pLouvre N 3279

Owner:  
*T3-w3w-šryt*<sup>61</sup> or *T3-w3wt* (Thaues).

Titles:  
*ḥhyt n 'Imn-R'*  
Sistrum-player of Amun-Re.

Mother:  
*'Ipt-wrt* (Epoeris).

Date:  
AD 60-100.<sup>62</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
81.6 x 23.5 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 161-163 (V. 46); Goyon 1966; Smith 2009a, 499-510; Carrier 2017, xli and 67-104.

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<sup>61</sup> See Carrier 2017, 83.

<sup>62</sup> Goyon 1966, 19. On this note, it should be mentioned that the designation “Hathor” is used before the name of the owner in this manuscript. This seems to have been largely a custom of the Roman Period (see Quirke 1999, 85).

### **pLouvre N 3290**

Owner:

*K3rnyr* (Cornelius).<sup>63</sup>

Mother:

*Ist-wrt* (Esoeris).

Date:

Reign of Trajan or Hadrian.<sup>64</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

21.7 x 27.5 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 163 (V. 47); Herbin 2002, 10 (no. 6).

### **pLouvre SN**

Owner:

*P3-dj-Hnsw-p3-hrd* (Petachonpokrates).

Mother:

[...] (?) *-t3-hrd*.

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unknown.

Literature: Unpublished.

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<sup>63</sup> The father of the archon Soter, and the grandfather of the owners of pBibliothèque Nationale 152 and pLeiden T 33 above (see Herbin 2008, 7).

<sup>64</sup> See *ibid*, 6 (no. 2) and 207.

## pTurin 1861 C (=14965)

Owner:

*P3-dj-Imn-jpt* (Petamenophis).<sup>65</sup>

Mother:

*T3-[k3w-d3]* (Tkauthe).<sup>66</sup>

Father:

*Πεβωτος* (Pebos).<sup>67</sup>

Date:

AD 123.<sup>68</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unknown.

Literature: Fabretti, et al. 1882, 234; Bellion 1987, 281.

## pTurin 1990

Owner:

*P3-šrj-ʿ3-ph̄ty* (Psenapathes).

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-p3-šrj-Mntw* (Senpsenmonthis).

Date:

Unspecified.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unspecified.

Literature: Rossi and Pleyte 1869-1876, 201 with pl. CXLIII; Lieblein 1895, 12 (no. 6) with pl. XV; Goyon 1972, 313-314.

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<sup>65</sup> Another member of the Soter family and also the owner of the Second Book of Breathing in pTurin 1861 B (= 14964). For this manuscript see Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzzone 1882, 234; and Bellion 1987, 281.

<sup>66</sup> After pTurin 1861 B and the hieroglyphic inscription on the lid and floor of the owner's coffin (Coffin Turin 2230): "The Osiris, Petamenophis, justified, born of *T3-k3w-d3*, healthy. His lifetime was 4 years, 8 months, and 10 days" (see Herbin 2008, 8).

<sup>67</sup> After the Greek inscription on the head end of the owner's coffin (Coffin Turin 2230): "Coffin of Petemenophis, son of Pebos. He was born in (year) 3 of Hadrian, the lord, (on the) 24<sup>th</sup> of Khioak, and died in the 7<sup>th</sup> (year), (on) the 4<sup>th</sup> of the epagomenal days, so that he lived for 4 years, 8 months, and 10 days. Farewell" (see Herbin 2008, 8; and van Landuyt 1995, 76. For the coffin and other burial goods belonging to this Petemenophis, see Herbin 2002, 15 and 19). This Pebos mentioned here could possibly also be identified with Pikos who was the father of the woman who owned pBritish Museum EA 10123 above (see Herbin 2008, 8; and van Landuyt 1995, 80).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. the translation of the Greek inscription in the previous note. The date given there corresponds to 27<sup>th</sup> August AD 123 (van Landuyt 1995, 76).

### **pVatican Inv. 38599**

Owner:

*P3-Mnw* (Phaminis) or *P3-Mn(t)w* (Pamonthis).<sup>69</sup>

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-p(3)-Mntw* (Senpamonthis).

Date:

End of 1<sup>st</sup> – early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>70</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

16.5 x 11.5 cm.

Literature: Gasse 1993, 78-79 (no. 76) with pl. LV.

### **pVienna 3870**

Owner:

*Tj-m-htp* (Imouthes).

Mother:

*T3- [...]*

Father:

*P3-fdw-Mntw* (Phtomonthis).

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unknown.

Literature: Unpublished.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Cf. the names of the owner and mother of this manuscript with those of pEdinburgh A. 212.113.4 above. Could this copy have belonged to the same person?

<sup>70</sup> Gasse 1993, 78.

<sup>71</sup> The manuscript is, however, mentioned in the list in Satzinger 1984, 33.



## Second Books of Breathing

### pAberdeen ABDUA 84025

Owner:  
Name lost.

Mother:  
Name lost.

Date:	Dimensions ( <i>l x h</i> ):
End of 1 <sup>st</sup> – early 2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD. <sup>72</sup>	26.7 x 16 cm.

Literature: Curtis *et al* 2005, 54 (nos. 11-13).

### pAberdeen ABDUA 84026

Owner:  
*P3-Mnw/P3njjsgr* (Phaminis/Paniscos).<sup>73</sup>

Mother:  
*Kntgrjj/Knt3kjjs* (Candace).

Date:	Dimensions ( <i>l x h</i> ):
Unspecified.	26.5 x 20.4 cm.

Literature: Curtis *et al* 2005, 54 (nos. 11-13), fig. 3.

### pAberdeen ABDUA 84027

Owner:  
*P3nsjjg/P3-b3* (Paniscos).

Mother:  
*Kntgjj* (Candace).

Date:	Dimensions ( <i>l x h</i> ):
Unspecified.	26.5 x 15.6 cm.

Literature: Curtis *et al* 2005, 54 (nos. 11-13), fig. 4.

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<sup>72</sup> Curtis *et al* 2005, 54.

<sup>73</sup> Also said to be the owner of pAberdeen ABDUA 84027 below (see Curtis *et al* 2005, 54).

### pBerlin 3041 <sup>74</sup>

Owner:

*P3-Mnw* (Phaminis).

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-n-S3wtr* (Sensoter),  
a.k.a. *T3-rw(3)rw* (Tlelous). <sup>76</sup>

Father:

*Ἡρακλείου* (Heracleios). <sup>75</sup>

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

34 x 43 cm.

Literature: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 26 (no. 29); Herbin 2002, 18 (no. 20).

### pBritish Museum EA 9977 <sup>77</sup>

Owner:

*Kn[dg]3y, KANAAK[H]* (Candace), <sup>78</sup> a.k.a. *G3rw3p<sup>c</sup>tr<sup>c</sup>* (Cleopatra). <sup>79</sup>

Mother:

*T3-p3r/D3-pwr* (Sapaulis).

Father:

*Ἀμμωνίου* (Ammonios). <sup>80</sup>

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. <sup>81</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

26.4 x 22.6 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 103-104 with pls. 62-63.

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<sup>74</sup> An original composition partly inspired by the Second Book of Breathing.

<sup>75</sup> After a Greek inscription on Phaminis' coffin: "Phaminis (son of) Heracleios, (he lived for) 2 (years)" (see Herbin 2008, 8; and van Landuyt 1995, 77).

<sup>76</sup> After a Demotic inscription also on Phaminis' coffin: "May your *ba* live forever, (O) the Osiris Phaminis, born of Tlelous also called Sensoter. His lifetime was 2 years, 10 months, and 18 days (?)" (see Herbin 2008, 8; and van Landuyt 1995, 78).

<sup>77</sup> Found alongside pBritish Museum EA 9978 in the tomb of the archon Soter (see Herbin 2008, 103).

<sup>78</sup> As her name is written on the verso (see *ibid.*, 103 with pls. 62-63).

<sup>79</sup> The mother of the owners of pBibliothèque Nationale 152, pBritish Museum EA 10331, pLeiden T 33, and pLouvre N 3161, and the wife of the archon Soter.

<sup>80</sup> After the Greek inscription on the coffin belonging to the owner of pBibliothèque Nationale 152 (see note 9 above).

<sup>81</sup> Herbin 2008, 103.

## pBritish Museum EA 10110 + 10111

Owner:

*P3)y=f-t3w-ϵwy-Mntw (?)*<sup>82</sup>

Titles:

*s3wt(y)w [pr-hd] n pr Imn irm n3y=f rpyw rh ihy*<sup>83</sup> *wr [mh(wt)=f]*<sup>84</sup>

Guardian [of the treasury] of the House of Amun and of his temples, the most talented of [his clan].<sup>85</sup>

*s3wtyw pr-hd n pr Imn; hm-ntr n pr-nbw Imn*

Guardian of the treasury of the House of Amun; prophet of the treasury of Amun.<sup>86</sup>

Mother:

*Ns-wrt* (Esoeris).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (?).<sup>87</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

29.4 x 56 cm.

Literature: Budge 1922, 296 (no. 9); Stricker 1942, 33; Birch 1884-1885, 207-208 with pl.; Lieblein 1895, 9-10 (no. 4) with pls. X-XII; Herbin 2008, 90-100 with pls. 57-59; Quack 2012, 275-276.

## pBritish Museum 10116

Owner:

*T3-šrjt-Ns-Mnw* (Senesminis).

*Mqther*:

*T3-šrjt-p3-dj-Hnsw-p3-hrd* (Senpetechespochrates).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (?).<sup>88</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

21.4 x 22.6 cm.

Literature: Budge 1922, 298 (no. 22); Stricker 1942, 33; Herbin 2008, 126-132 with pls. 100-103.

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<sup>82</sup> Cf. Ranke 1935, 128 (no. 1): *P3=f-t3w-(m-)ϵw.j-mn(w)*.

<sup>83</sup> See Quack 2012, 276.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> As written in demotic on the verso of the papyrus.

<sup>86</sup> As written in hieratic in the main text.

<sup>87</sup> Herbin 2008, 90.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10124**

Owner:

*T3-šrjt-Hnsw* (Senchonsis), a.k.a. *T3-p(w)l* (Sapaulis).<sup>89</sup>

Mother:

*T3-k(3)-(w)d3* (Tkauthe).

Father:

*Πίκωτος* (Pikos).<sup>90</sup>

Date:

AD 146.<sup>91</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

35.4 x 19.3 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 104-105 with pls. 64-67; Quack 2012, 276.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10192 (fragmentary)**

Owner:

Name lost.

Mother:

*T(3)-hrd(t)-Mnw* (?)

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>92</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

12.7 x 18.1 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 105 with pls. 68-69; Quack 2012, 276.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10264 (incomplete version)**

Owner:

*Ist-wrt* (Esoeris).

Mother:

Name lost.

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>93</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Two pieces: 8.6 x 7.4 cm; 8.6 x 7.4 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 106 with pls. 70-71; Quack 2012, 276.

---

<sup>89</sup> Same person as the owner of pBritish Museum EA 10123 above, and mother of Soter who owned both pLouvre N 3156 and N 3289.

<sup>90</sup> After the Greek inscription on the owner's coffin, see note 21 above.

<sup>91</sup> See note 22 above.

<sup>92</sup> Herbin 2008, 105.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, 106.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10275**

Owner:

*T3-šrjt-(nt-)p(3)* [...]

Mother:

*[Ist]-wrt* (Esoeris).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>94</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

36 x 12.7 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 107-108 with pls. 72-73; Quack 2012, 276-277.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10282**

Owner:

*Swtr* (Soter).<sup>95</sup>

Mother:

*Pylt* (Philous)

Father:

*P3-krr* (?)

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>96</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

36.5 x 20.2 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 108-109 with pls. 74-75.

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 107.

<sup>95</sup> Also owned the (abridged) First Book of Breathing in pBritish Museum EA 10283.

<sup>96</sup> Herbin 2008, 108.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10286**

Owner:

*3pwltyty* (Apollodote).<sup>97</sup>

Mother:

*3rw3syny* (Arsinoe).<sup>98</sup>

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>99</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

19.2 x 12.3 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 109-110 with pls. 76-77.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10304**

Owner:

*P3-dj-wr-j3bt(t)* (Petaporegebthis).<sup>100</sup>

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-Hry* (Senerieus).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>101</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

13.7 x 30.5 cm.

Literature: Budge 1909, 63; Herbin 2008, 100-103 with pls. 60-61; Quack 2012, 276.

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<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, 109 with n. 84.

<sup>98</sup> Her name does not actually appear on this manuscript but rather on pBritish Museum EA 10285 which contains an original text and belonged to the same deceased (see *ibid*, 109 with n. 84 and 143-144 with pls. 123-126 for the manuscript itself).

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, 109.

<sup>100</sup> Also owned the First Book of Breathing in pBritish Museum EA 10191.

<sup>101</sup> Herbin 2008, 100.

### **pBritish Museum EA 10331**

Owner:

*Ἀπολλωνίδης* (Apollonides).

Mother:

*Κανδάκη* (Candace).

Father:

*Σωτήρ* (Soter).<sup>102</sup>

Date:

Reign of Trajan (AD 98-117) or  
Hadrian (AD 117-138).

Dimensions (*l x h*):

20.4 x 35.1 cm.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 110-111 with pls. 78-79.

### **pBritish Museum EA 71513D (fragment only)**

Owner:

Name lost.

Mother:

[...]-*π(3)-Μντω*

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>103</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Not recorded.

Literature: Herbin 2008, 111 with pls. 80-81; Quack 2012, 277.

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<sup>102</sup> After a Greek inscription on a mummy label (now lost): “Apollonides, son of Soter, son of Cornelius, he lived for 68 years, 11 months, and 23 days” (see Herbin 2008, 7). This makes Apollonides the son of the archon Soter who owned both pBritish Museum EA 10282 and 10283, and the brother of the owners of pBibliothèque Nationale 152, pLeiden T 33, and pLouvre N 3161.

<sup>103</sup> Herbin 2008, 111.

### pCairo CG 58013

Owner:

*ṭpr/l (?)* (Apellas/Apollo).<sup>104</sup>

Mother:

*T3-šrjt-Ḳr-t3* (Senchratis ?).

Father:

*Bw (?)* (Weru/Iau ?).<sup>105</sup>

Date:

Late 1st -early 2nd century AD.<sup>106</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

24.5 x 19.7 cm.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 31 (no. 17) with pls. XLVIII-XLIX; Golenischeff 1927, 63-65 with pl. XIII (mistakenly labelled 57013); Smith 2009a, 521-525; Carrier 2017, xlii-xliii and 267-281 with pl. C/8.

### pCairo CG 58017

Owner:

[...] *npy...* (?)

Mother:

*T3-Imn-rw3* (?)

Date:

Late 1st - early 2nd century AD.<sup>107</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Two pieces: 10.8 x 18.5 cm; 13.9 x 18.6 cm.

Literature: Golenischeff 1927, 72-74 with pl. XVI.

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<sup>104</sup> Same person who owned the First Book of Breathing in pCairo CG 58014.

<sup>105</sup> See under the First Book of Breathing in pCairo CG 58014 above.

<sup>106</sup> Golenischeff 1927, 63.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid*, 72.



## pCairo CG 58018

Owner:

*Htr* (Hatres).<sup>108</sup>

Titles:

*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw; mr w<sup>c</sup>b Shmt*

God's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods; overseer of the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priests of Sekhmet.

Mother:

*T3wt* (Thaues).

Father:

*Hr-s3-Ist* (Harsiesis).

Titles of father:

*jt-ntr*

God's father.

Date:

AD 125.<sup>109</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

39 x 27 cm.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 19-22 (no. 9) with pls. XXIX-XXXIV; Golenischeff 1927, 74-80 with pl. XVII; Smith 2009a, 514-520; Carrier 2017, xli and 149-185 with pls. B/6-B/9.

## pCairo CG 58020<sup>110</sup>

Owner:

Name lost.

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>111</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

21.5 x 16 cm.

Literature: Golenischeff 1927, 83-87 with pl. XIX.

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<sup>108</sup> Also owned the copy of the First Book in pBerlin 3030 and (possibly) the Ritual of Embalming in pBoulaq III (see under pBerlin 3030 above).

<sup>109</sup> See pBerlin 3030 above.

<sup>110</sup> Begins with an original text (see Herbin 2008, 202).

<sup>111</sup> Golenischeff 1927, 83.

### **pCairo CG 58022**

Owner:

*Fh-Mntw* (?)

Mother:

*ṛtm*[...] (Artemidora ?)

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>112</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

16.7 x 10.1 cm.

Literature: Golenischeff 1927, 90-92.

### **pChicago OIC 25389** <sup>113</sup>

Owner:

*Šm<sup>c</sup>-nfr* (?)

Provenance:

Esna.<sup>114</sup>

Date:

1st century BC - 1st century AD.<sup>115</sup>

Dimensions:

Unknown.

Literature: Herbin 1994, 13-18, and 264.

### **pEdinburgh A.1956.357 D**

Owner:

*P3-dj-Imn*[-*jp.t*] (Petamen[ophis]).<sup>116</sup>

Mother:

*T3-rnnwt* (Tharmouthis).

Date:

Early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>117</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

12.7 x 18.5 cm.

Literature: Coenen 2004, 112-115.

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, 90.

<sup>113</sup> This papyrus contains BD spells 126, 127, 129, 146, 148 and 155, two versions of the Book of Traversing Eternity, a version of the Second Book's litany for the name and various other (unidentified) funerary texts (see Herbin 1994, 14).

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*, 13.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>116</sup> For the mummy of this boy, see Dawson 1926-1927, 290-296.

<sup>117</sup> See Coenen 2004, 112.

**pEdinburgh A. 212.113.5** <sup>118</sup>

Owner:  
Name lost.

Date:  
1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. <sup>119</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
7.5 x 19.5 cm.

Literature: Birch 1884-1885, 89; Coenen 2004, 110-112.

**pFlorence 3669** <sup>120</sup>

Owner:  
*Kš3rys/Xáρις* (Charis). <sup>121</sup>

Mother:  
*Bw-rhw=s* (?) <sup>122</sup>

Date:  
Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
Unknown.

Literature: Pellegrini 1904b, 216-217 with pl.; Spiegelberg 1906, 21; Möller 1910, pl. 31 (no. 5).

**pFlorence 3670** <sup>123</sup>

Owner:  
*Kš3rys* (Charis).

Mother:  
*Bw-rhw=s* (?)

Date:  
Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
Unknown.

Literature: Pellegrini 1904b, 217 with pl.

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<sup>118</sup> Possibly a text adapted from the Second Book of Breathing.

<sup>119</sup> Coenen 2004, 110.

<sup>120</sup> Contains an original text (see Herbin 2008, 203).

<sup>121</sup> Also owned pFlorence 3670.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Ranke 1935, 94 (no. 10): *Bw-rhw=s*.

<sup>123</sup> The text of this manuscript is almost identical to that of pFlorence 3670 above (see Pellegrini 1904, 217; Herbin 2008, 203 with n. 17).

**pLieblein** <sup>124</sup>

Owner:

[...]w3p<sup>ε</sup>t (?)

Mother:

T3-šrjt-Pyrm<sup>ε</sup>y (?)

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unknown.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 42-43 (no. 21) with pls. LXX-LXXIII. <sup>125</sup>

**pLouvre N 3156** <sup>126</sup>

Owner:

Swtr (Soter). <sup>127</sup>

Mother:

D3-pwr (Sapaulis), a.k.a. T3-šrjt-Hnsw (Senchonsis). <sup>128</sup>

Date:

Reign of Hadrian (AD 117-138) or  
Antonius Pius (AD 138-61). <sup>129</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 18.5 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 152 (V. 19). <sup>130</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Also contains an original text (see Herbin 2008, 203).

<sup>125</sup> Part of this manuscript is also featured in a colour plate at the end.

<sup>126</sup> Contains an original text and only part of the Second Book of Breathing (see Herbin 2008, 205).

<sup>127</sup> Also owned the copy in pLouvre N 3289 below.

<sup>128</sup> Same person as the owner of pBritish Museum EA 10123 and 10124 above.

<sup>129</sup> See Herbin 2008, 205. According to a passage on the recto and a Greek inscription on the verso, this Soter was a young boy who died when he was only “4 years, 5 months, and 2 days” old (see Herbin 2008, 9).

<sup>130</sup> See also Herbin 2008, 203 who cites *Naissance de l'écriture*, exhibition catalogue, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 1982, 161 with pl.

## pLouvre N 3157

Owner:

*Hr-s3-Ist* (Harsiesis).<sup>131</sup>

Titles:

*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn-R nsw ntrw; hm-ntr n Hnsw-p3-jr-shrw-m-W3st; hm-ntr n B3stt hr(t)-jb W3st; hry s3t3; b-ntr; sphr s3ww m gsw-prw; rh-ht; rh st-r3=f*

God's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods; prophet of Khonsu-who-governs-in-Thebes; prophet of Bastet who dwells in Thebes; overseer of secrets; purifier of the god; he who inscribes the temple walls; scholar; he who knows his utterance.

Mother:

*K3yk3y* (?)<sup>132</sup>

Date:

AD 65.<sup>133</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 21 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 152-153 (V. 20).

## pLouvre N 3161

Owner:

*Ptṛny* (Petronius).<sup>134</sup>

Mother:

*Kntṛgys* (Candace).

Father:

Not mentioned (but apparently the archon Soter).

Date:

Reign of Trajan (AD 98-117) or Hadrian (AD 117-138).<sup>135</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

26 x 16.5 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 152 (V. 18); Goyon 1972, 293-294; Herbin 2002, 11 (no. 7).

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<sup>131</sup> Same person who owned the First Book of Breathing in pBibliothèque Nationale 151 above, as well as the Book of Traversing Eternity in pLeiden T 32, and the Books of Breathing which Isis Made in pLouvre N 3285 and pLouvre N 3291.

<sup>132</sup> Her titles appear to not have been mentioned here, but one can safely assume they would be the same as those mentioned in pBibliothèque Nationale 151 above.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. the date assigned to pBibliothèque Nationale 151 above.

<sup>134</sup> Supposedly a son of Cleopatra Candace – the owner of pBritish Museum EA 9977 and wife of the archon Soter – which would make Petronius a brother of the owners of pBritish Museum EA 10331, pBibliothèque Nationale 152, and pLeiden T 33 (see Herbin 2008, 8).

<sup>135</sup> Cf. the date of pBritish Museum EA 10331 above.

### **pLouvre N 3162**

Owner:

*P(3)-šrj-ʿIst-wrt* (Psenesoeris).

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 12 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 153 (V. 21).

### **pLouvre N 3174**

Owner:

*P3-šrj-(n-)t3-jht* (Psentaes).

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 63 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 154-155 (V. 25).

### **pLouvre N 3176 J**

Owner:

*T3-(nt-)fdw-Mnw* (Taphthouminis).

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 21 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 158 (V. 39).

### **pLouvre N 3176 K**

Owner:

Name lost.

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 13 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 158 (V. 38).

### **pLouvre N 3176 L**

Owner:  
Name lost.

Date:  
Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
? x 12.5 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 158 (V. 37).

### **pLouvre N 3177 A**

Owner:  
*T3-šrjt-Twtw* (Sentotoes).

Date:  
Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
? x 41 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 157 (V. 34).

### **pLouvre N 3289**

Owner:  
*Swtr/CŌTHP* (Soter).<sup>136</sup>

Mother :  
*D3-pwr* (Sapaulis), a.k.a. *T3-šrjt-Hnsw* (Senchonsis).<sup>137</sup>

Date:  
Reign of Hadrian (AD 117-138) or  
Antonius Pius (AD 138-161).<sup>138</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):  
23 x 30 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 163-164 (V. 48); Herbin 2002, 10 (no. 5).

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<sup>136</sup> Same person as the owner of pLouvre N 3156 above.

<sup>137</sup> Same person as the owner of pBritish Museum EA 10123 and 10124 above.

<sup>138</sup> See under pLouvre N 3156 above.

## pSalt 58

Owner:

*Ns-p3wty-t3wy* (Spotous).

Titles:

*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn; h3ty(-p-ꜣ) wr m W3st*

God's father and prophet of Amun; great *haty-pa* in Thebes.

Mother:

*Tt*<sup>139</sup>

Father:

*P3wy*

Titles of mother:

*nbt pr*

Lady of the house.

Titles of father:

*mj nn; jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*

Priest of the same rank (as the son);  
god's father and prophet of Amun-Re,  
king of the gods.

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*) :

Unknown.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 37-40 (no. 19) with pls. LXI-LXVII.

## pTübingen 2001<sup>140</sup>

Owner:

*T3-(nt-)Ij-m-htp* (Taimouthes).

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Three pieces: 14 x 23.3 cm; 4.5 x  
23.3 cm; 15 x 23.3 cm.

Literature: Herbin 1994, 580-581; Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 295-296.

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<sup>139</sup> Cf. Ranke 1935, 383 (no. 20).

<sup>140</sup> Abridged version containing the litany for the name, as well as a passage from the Book of Traversing Eternity (see Herbin 1994, 580).



## pTübingen 2014

Owner:

*T3-šrjt-3plw* (Senapollo).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>141</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

26 x 23 cm.

Literature: Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 297; I. Guernieur 2016, 361-370.

## pTurin 1861 B (=14964)

Owner:

[*P3-dj-Imn-jpt*] (Petamenophis).<sup>142</sup>

Mother:

*T3-k3w-d3* (Tkauthi).<sup>143</sup>

Father:

*Πεβωτος* (Pebos).<sup>144</sup>

Date:

AD 123.<sup>145</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unknown.

Literature: Fabretti, et al. 1882, 234; Bellion 1987, 281.

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<sup>141</sup> Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, I, 297.

<sup>142</sup> Same person as the owner of pTurin 1861 C (= 14965) above. Both manuscripts were found alongside each other.

<sup>143</sup> After a hieroglyphic inscription on the owner's coffin: "The Osiris, Petamenophis, justified, born of *T3-k3w-d3*, healthy. His lifetime was 4 years, 8 months, and 10 days" (see Herbin 2008, 8).

<sup>144</sup> After a Greek inscription on the owner's coffin (Coffin Turin 2230), see note 67 above.

<sup>145</sup> See note 66 above. Apparently he was just under 5 years old when he died.

## First and Second Books of Breathing<sup>146</sup>

### pBerlin 3052

Owner:

*Hryw* (Erieus) or (*Wsjr*)-*wr* (Osoroeris).<sup>147</sup>

Mother:

*Mwt-Mnw* (?)

Father:

*Ij-m-htp* (Imouthes).

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>148</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

96 x 21 cm.

Literature: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 29 (no. 38).

### pBerlin 3163<sup>149</sup>

Owner:

Unknown.

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>150</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

36.5 x 15.5 cm.

Literature: Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 45 (no. 88).

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<sup>146</sup> Papyri that contain or combine both a First and Second Book.

<sup>147</sup> Herbin 2008, 199 with n. 2.

<sup>148</sup> Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 29.

<sup>149</sup> This papyrus also bears five lines of hieroglyphic writing on the verso said to be related to the Ritual of Embalming. However, see Smith 2009a, 215.

<sup>150</sup> Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 45.

## pBritish Museum EA 10125

Owner:

Name lost.

Titles:

*jry-ꜣ n pr-nbw n 'Imn; ḥry mnḥt n pr 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*

Doorkeeper of the treasury of Amun; head of clothing of the House of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

Mother:

*H3ꜥ-s(t)-n-'Ist (?)*.<sup>151</sup>

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>152</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

47.7 x 22.1cm (although upper page and upper right corner are lost).

Literature: Herbin 2008, 112-114 with pls. 82-85; Quack 2012, 277.

## pBritish Museum EA 71513A

Owner:

*P3-dj-p[...]* (?)

Mother:

*T3-[...]yn* (?)

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>153</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unspecified.<sup>154</sup>

Literature: Herbin 2008, 114-116 with pls. 86-89; Quack 2012, 277.

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<sup>151</sup> Cf. Ranke 1935, 262 (no. 19): *H3ꜥ.s(.t)-n-3st*.

<sup>152</sup> Herbin 2008, 112.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, 114.

<sup>154</sup> As Herbin points out the papyrus has been “reconstructed from eighteen fragments” and is “very poorly preserved” (*ibid*, 114).

### pCairo CG 58007

Owner:

*H3rt* (?)

Mother:

*T3-w3wt* (Thaues) or *H3-w3wt*(?)

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>155</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

115.5 x 23.8 cm.

Literature: Golenischeff 1927, 23-35 with pls. V-VII; Carrier 2017, xli and 105-148 with pls. B/1-B/5.

### pCairo CG 58009<sup>156</sup>

Owner:

*nh-hw-tsm-hrt* (?)

Titles:

*jt-ntr*; *sm3ty wr*

God's father; great *sematy*-priest.

Mother:

*T3-(srjt-)nt-Hwt-hr* (?)

Father:

*Ns-Pth* (Esptais).

Date:

Late 1<sup>st</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>157</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

105.9 x 24.2 cm.

Literature: Lieblein 1895, 12-16 (no. 7) with pls. XVII-XXIV; Budge 1910, 175-181; Golenischeff 1927, 44-54 with pls. IX-X; Goyon 1972, 302-310; Smith 2009a, 526-534; Carrier 2017, xlii and 191-225 with pls. C/1-C/5.

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<sup>155</sup> Golenischeff 1927, 23.

<sup>156</sup> This is actually a copy of the so-called "Book of Entering the God's Domain and Promenading in the Hall of Two Truths" as indicated by two lines of hieratic on the verso. However, as the text of this composition is essentially comprised of extracts of the First and Second Books of Breathing, it has thus been included here in this catalogue.

<sup>157</sup> Golenischeff 1927, 44.

**pLouvre E 3865** <sup>158</sup>

Owner:

*ṯj-m-ḥtp* (Imouthes).<sup>159</sup>

Titles:

*jt-ntr ḥm-ntr n ṯmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw; smꜣty wr Gbtyw-tꜣwy; ḥm-ntr n ṯst wrt ntrt ꜥꜣt ḥr(t)-jb Gbtyw; ḥm-ntr 2.nw n ṯmn; ḥm-ntr 4.nw n ṯmn; ḥm-ntr n Mwt wrt nbt ṯšrw; ꜥꜣ-pr n Ḥnsw-m-Wꜣst-Nfr-ḥtp; ḥm-ntr n Mnw-ṯmn; ḥm-ntr n Wsjr ḥt Mnw*

God's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods; great *sematy*-priest of Coptos of the Two Lands; prophet of Isis the great, the great goddess who dwells in Coptos; second prophet of Amun; fourth prophet of Amun; prophet of Mut the great, lady of Icheru; major-domo of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep; prophet of Min-Amun; prophet of Osiris of the terrace of Min.

Mother:

*Tꜣ-(šrjt-)nt-rj* (?)<sup>160</sup>

Father:

*ꜥnh-ḥsꜣt* (?)<sup>161</sup>

Titles of mother:

*nbt pr; jḥyt n ṯmn-Rꜥ;*

*jbht n Mnw*

Lady of the house; sistrum-player of Amun-Re; dancer of Min.

Date:

Unknown.

Dimensions (*l x h*):

? x 22 cm.

Literature: Devéria 1881, 151 (V. 16).

<sup>158</sup> This papyrus contains another copy of the Book of Entering the God's Domain and Promenading in the Hall of Two Truths, which as mentioned is comprised of extracts of the First Book as well as the Second Book of Breathing. The manuscript also contains extracts of BD spells 44, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 56, and 57 (see Devéria 1881, 151).

<sup>159</sup> For a coffin fragment belonging to a certain *ṯj-m-ḥtp* son of *ꜥnh-ḥsꜣt*, see Maspero 1915, 2.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Ranke 1935, 369 (no. 9): *Tꜣ-šrjt-(nt-)Rꜥ*; and 370 (no. 7): *Tꜣ-šrjt-(nt-)Tkrj*.

<sup>161</sup> Same person as the owner of pCairo CG 58009 above?

## pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194 <sup>162</sup>

Owner:

*Ns-p3wty-t3wy* (Spotous).

Titles:

*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw; hm-ntr n Mnw-Imn; h3ty-(p-)<sup>c</sup> wr m W3st*

God's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods; prophet of Min-Amun; great *haty-pa* in Thebes.

Mother:

*T3-nwb (?)*

Father:

*Wsjr-wr* (Osoroeris).

Titles of mother:

*nbt pr;*

*jhyt n Imn-R<sup>c</sup>*

*nsw ntrw*

Lady of the House; sistrum-player of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

Titles of father:

*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw*

*ntrw; [hm-ntr n Mnw-Imn-R<sup>c</sup>*

*k3] mwt=f hry st=f wrt*

God's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods; [prophet of Min-Amun Re, the bull] of his mother who is upon his great seat.

Date:

± 113 BC. <sup>163</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unknown.

Literature: Herbin 1994, 26-27 with n. 75.

## pRylands Hieratic 6

Owner:

*Hwt-hr-hryt (?)*

Mother:

*T3-p3-rwy (?)*

Date:

1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. <sup>164</sup>

Dimensions (*l x h*):

Unknown.

Literature: Unpublished.

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<sup>162</sup> Also contains original texts.

<sup>163</sup> Herbin 2008, 205; Quaegebeur 1994, 216; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 59-62.

<sup>164</sup> Coenen 2000, 97.

## APPENDIX TWO

### Antecedents

Below is a list of texts from which the First and Second Books of Breathing are most likely derived. Once again, each section pertaining to the First Book of Breathing follows the copy in pBM EA 10191, and in the case of the Second Book of Breathing, pBM EA 10110 + 10111.

#### First Book of Breathing:

**Section 1 =**

BD 15AI (beginning of).

BD 127 (?)

Divine Decrees for the deceased.

**Section 2 =**

BD 18.

**Section 3 =**

BD 21.

BD 22.

**Section 4 =**

BD 23.

BD 26.

**Section 5 =**

BD 27 (last part).

BD 28 (first and last parts).

**Section 6 =**

BD 30/30A.

BD 42 (*Gliedervergottung*).

BD 44.

**Section 7 =**

BD 48 (= 10).

BD 49 (= 11).

BD 38.

**Section 8 =**

BD 54.

**Section 9 =**

BD 57.

**Section 10 =**

BD 56/59.

**Section 11 =**

BD 60.

BD 61.

BD 62.

BD 66.

BD 68 (first half).

**Second Book of Breathing:**

**Section 1 =**

PT 601 (§§ 1660 -1671).

Spell for Making a Torch.

Spell for Renewing the God's Offerings.

**Section 2 =**

BD 77.

**Section 3 =**

Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits (?)

Spell for Making a Torch (?)



## APPENDIX THREE

### Loci of Antecedents<sup>165</sup>

#### First Book of Breathing

Antecedent	Loci of Antecedent
BD 15	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, mummy wrappings, wooden boards, stelae.
BD 127	Papyri, tomb walls, <sup>166</sup> coffins, <sup>167</sup> sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings.
Divine Decrees for the deceased	Stelae, ostraca. <sup>168</sup>
BD 18	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, stelae, leather rolls.
BD 21	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings.
BD 22	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, leather rolls, wooden boards.
BD 23	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, shrouds, mummy wrappings, leather rolls.
BD 25	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, shrouds, mummy wrappings, leather rolls, wooden boards.

<sup>165</sup> Data for the spells of the Book of the Dead obtained from <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>.

<sup>166</sup> E.g. KV2 and KV9 (Porter and Moss 1964, 497-500, 511-517; Abitz 1995, 176, 183-184).

<sup>167</sup> E.g. coffin Cairo CG 41021, see Moret 1913, 208-219 with pls. XXIII-XXIV).

<sup>168</sup> E.g. O. Strasbourg D 132 + 133 + 134 dated to the first century BC, see Smith 2009a, 607-609; and *idem*, 2010.

BD 26	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, stelae, leather rolls, wooden boards, shrines, <sup>169</sup> magical blocks.
BD 27	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, leather rolls, wooden boards, shrines. <sup>170</sup>
BD 28	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, leather rolls.
BD 30/30A	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, <sup>171</sup> shrouds, mummy wrappings, leather rolls.
BD 42	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, leather rolls.
BD 44	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, shrouds, mummy wrappings.
BD 48 (= 10)	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, mummy wrappings.
BD 49 (= 11)	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, mummy wrappings.
BD 38	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, mummy wrappings.
BD 54	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings.
BD 57	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings.

<sup>169</sup> E.g. Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 60666), see Hornung 1983, 31; Beinlich 1988, 8

<sup>170</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>171</sup> E.g. sarcophagus Grenoble 93, see Elias 1993, 424-425.

BD 56/59	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, stelae, <sup>172</sup> statues, <sup>173</sup> magical blocks, offering tables, <i>ushabti</i> cases.
BD 60	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, offering tables.
BD 61	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, magical blocks, headrests.
BD 62	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, mummy wrappings, offering tables, headrests.
BD 66	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, shrouds, mummy wrappings, stelae.
BD 68	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings, ostraca.

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<sup>172</sup> E.g. stele New York MMA 22.3.33, see Billing 2002, 406 with fig. D.24.

<sup>173</sup> E.g. statue Berlin 2296 and statue Cairo JE 47278, see Jacquet-Gordon 1972.

## Second Book of Breathing

PT 601	Tomb (Pyramid) walls.
Spell for Making a Torch	Papyri, tomb walls, <sup>174</sup> temple walls, <sup>175</sup> shrines. <sup>176</sup>
Spell for Renewing the God's Offerings	Papyri, <sup>177</sup> temple walls. <sup>178</sup>
Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits	Papyri, tomb walls, sarcophagi. <sup>179</sup>
BD 77	Papyri, tomb walls, coffins, <sup>180</sup> sarcophagi, shrouds, mummy wrappings.

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<sup>174</sup> E.g. TT 50 (see Hari 1985, 41-42 with pl. XXVIII; Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 430-432; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303) and TT 23 (see Haikal 1985, 361-372; de Garis Davies 1924, 12-13; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303).

<sup>175</sup> E.g. the hypostyle hall at Karnak (see Nelson 1949, 336-339; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-303 with pls. 50-51 and vol. II, 263-268).

<sup>176</sup> E.g. a limestone shrine of the Middle Kingdom (see Fakhry 1961, 63-69 with pls. LXVIII and LXIX; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 296-301).

<sup>177</sup> See Gardiner 1935, 91 with pls. 53-53A; Golenischeff 1927, 149 with pl. 26; Bacchi 1942, 49-50 with pl. 20; and Tacke 2013, 206-226 with pls. 9-10 and 22.

<sup>178</sup> See Nelson 1949, 324-327; Tacke 2013, vol. I, 206-216 with pls. 54 and 67 and vol. II, 193-202.

<sup>179</sup> See Assmann *Totenliturgien* 2, 147-177 for the various sources of this spell.

<sup>180</sup> E.g. coffin Cairo CG 41008, see Moret 1913, 101-117.

## APPENDIX FOUR

### Frequency of Occurrence

The following tables show the frequency of occurrence for BD spells 18-20, 21-30A, 39-42, and 54-63B, and are meant to compliment the discussion in Chapter Five above (pp. 153-155). The data has been obtained from *Das altägyptische Totenbuch. Ein digitales Textzeugenarchiv* found at <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>. It represents the number of entries each spell has in the database and the number of known attestations of that spell on papyri, coffins, sarcophagi, tomb walls, and other objects from the beginning of the New Kingdom down to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. For example, BD 18 is attested on 292 papyri, 4 coffins, 2 sarcophagi, 8 tomb walls, and 81 other objects, which amounts to 387 entries in total. The spells in bold represent those that were in some way included in or repurposed for the First Book of Breathing.

Data Set 1: BD spells 18-20

Spell	Frequency of Occurrence (Number of Attestations)					
	Papyri	Coffins	Sarcophagi	Tomb walls	Other objects	Total
<b>BD 18</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>81</b> <sup>181</sup>	<b>387</b>
BD 19	136	8	5	2	52 <sup>182</sup>	203
BD 20	75	1	-	1	20 <sup>183</sup>	97

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<sup>181</sup> These include: 4 shrouds, 1 leather roll, 75 mummy wrappings, and 1 stela.

<sup>182</sup> 50 mummy shrouds, 1 mummy mask, and 1 stela.

<sup>183</sup> 19 mummy wrappings and 1 stela.

### Data Set 2: BD spells 21-30A

Spell	Frequency of Occurrence (Number of Attestations)					
	Papyri	Coffins	Sarcophagi	Tomb walls	Other objects	Total
<b>BD 21</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>31</b> <sup>184</sup>	<b>171</b>
<b>BD 22</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>31</b> <sup>185</sup>	<b>154</b>
<b>BD 23</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>33</b> <sup>186</sup>	<b>275</b>
BD 24	166	8	-	2	32 <sup>187</sup>	208
<b>BD 25</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>30</b> <sup>188</sup>	<b>215</b>
<b>BD 26</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>47</b> <sup>189</sup>	<b>335</b>
<b>BD 27</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>44</b> <sup>190</sup>	<b>247</b>
<b>BD 28</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>35</b> <sup>191</sup>	<b>231</b>
BD 29	82	2	1	3	16 <sup>192</sup>	104
BD 29A	2	-	-	-	-	2
BD 29B	2	-	1	-	-	3
<b>BD 30-30A</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>32</b> <sup>193</sup>	<b>232</b>

### Data Set 3: BD spells 39-42

Spell	Frequency of Occurrence (Number of Attestations)					
	Papyri	Coffins	Sarcophagi	Tomb walls	Other objects	Total
BD 39	94	1	-	4	23 <sup>194</sup>	122
BD 40	107	2	-	2	5 <sup>195</sup>	116
BD 41	99	1	-	1	9 <sup>196</sup>	110
<b>BD 42</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>24</b> <sup>197</sup>	<b>174</b>

<sup>184</sup> 1 shroud and 30 mummy wrappings.

<sup>185</sup> 1 wooden board, 3 shrouds, 1 leather roll, and 26 mummy wrappings.

<sup>186</sup> 3 shrouds, 1 leather roll, and 29 mummy wrappings.

<sup>187</sup> 3 shrouds, 1 leather roll, and 28 mummy wrappings.

<sup>188</sup> 1 wooden board, 2 shrouds, 1 leather roll, and 26 mummy wrappings.

<sup>189</sup> 1 block, 1 wooden board, 2 shrouds, 2 leather rolls, 39 mummy wrappings, 1 shrine, and 1 stela.

<sup>190</sup> 1 wooden board, 9 shrouds, 2 leather rolls, 31 mummy wrappings, and 1 shrine.

<sup>191</sup> 2 shrouds, 1 leather roll, and 32 mummy wrappings.

<sup>192</sup> 15 mummy wrappings and 1 shrine.

<sup>193</sup> 2 shrouds (BD 30A only), 1 leather roll (BD 30A only), and 29 mummy wrappings (BD 30 only).

<sup>194</sup> 9 shrouds and 14 mummy wrappings.

<sup>195</sup> 5 mummy wrappings.

<sup>196</sup> 9 mummy wrappings.

<sup>197</sup> 3 shrouds, 1 leather roll, 19 mummy wrappings, and 1 copy which is inscribed in the temple of Abydos.

#### Data Set 4: BD spells 54-63B

Spell	Frequency of Occurrence (Number of Attestations)					
	Papyri	Coffins	Sarcophagi	Tomb walls	Other objects	Total
<b>BD 54</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>18</b> <sup>198</sup>	<b>154</b>
BD 55	49	1	1	6	11 <sup>199</sup>	68
<b>BD 56</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b> <sup>200</sup>	<b>147</b>
<b>BD 57</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>23</b> <sup>201</sup>	<b>169</b>
BD 58	47	2	-	2	6 <sup>202</sup>	57
<b>BD 59</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>57</b> <sup>203</sup>	<b>307</b>
<b>BD 60</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>16</b> <sup>204</sup>	<b>104</b>
<b>BD 61</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b> <sup>205</sup>	<b>106</b>
<b>BD 62</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b> <sup>206</sup>	<b>84</b>
BD 63	93	3	-	2	22 <sup>207</sup>	120
BD 63A	37	-	-	7	-	44
BD 63B	22	-	-	2	1 <sup>208</sup>	25

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<sup>198</sup> 1 shroud and 17 mummy wrappings.

<sup>199</sup> 1 headrest and 10 mummy wrappings.

<sup>200</sup> 1 shroud, 9 mummy wrappings, and 2 statues.

<sup>201</sup> 3 shrouds and 20 mummy wrappings.

<sup>202</sup> 6 mummy wrappings.

<sup>203</sup> 8 blocks, 15 mummy wrappings, 5 offering tables, 1 situla, 25 stelae, and 3 *ushabti* cases.

<sup>204</sup> 1 shroud, 13 mummy wrappings, and 2 offering tables.

<sup>205</sup> 3 blocks, 1 headrest, 2 shrouds, and 6 mummy wrappings.

<sup>206</sup> 1 headrest, 8 mummy wrappings, and 1 offering table.

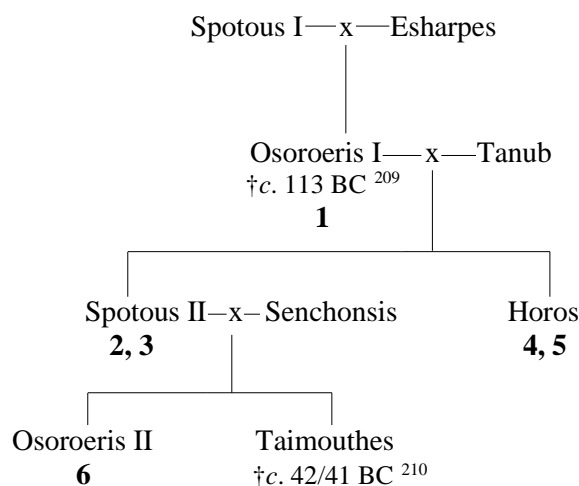
<sup>207</sup> 22 mummy wrappings.

<sup>208</sup> 1 shroud.

## APPENDIX FIVE

### Genealogies

#### The Family of Prophets of Min-Amun



Key:\* Each number corresponds to an object or item commissioned for or owned by that person.

1. pLouvre N 3284 (Book of Breathing which Isis Made).<sup>211</sup>
2. pLouvre N 3159 + N 3194 (First and Second Book of Breathing).<sup>212</sup>
3. Wooden figurines on bases in Turin and Leipzig.<sup>213</sup>
4. pLouvre N 3278 (Book of the Dead).<sup>214</sup>
5. pMunich 805 (Book of Breathing which Isis Made).<sup>215</sup>
6. pLouvre N 3125 (Book of the Dead).<sup>216</sup>

<sup>209</sup> For this date see Quaegebeur 1994, 216; and Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 59-62.

<sup>210</sup> Based on Demotic graffito Medinet Habu no. 52 which commemorates a woman called "Taimhotep (Taimouthes), daughter of the god's father ... Nespautilawy (Spotous II), son of Osoroeris (I), whose mother is Tasheretkhonsu (Senchonsis)" (see Quaegebeur 1994, 216; Thissen 1989, 55-58).

<sup>211</sup> See *inter alia* de Horrack 1877; Goyon 1972, 213-232; Herbin 1994, 2-7 with pls. XXIX-XXXI; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 114-118; Rhodes 2002, 52-70; and Smith 2009a, 462-478.

<sup>212</sup> Herbin 1994, 26-27.

<sup>213</sup> Quaegebeur 1994, 216. For the figurines in Leipzig see Krauspe 1976, 61 (no.79/17) with pl. XXVI. For those in Turin see Donadoni Roveri *et al* 1988, 70-71.

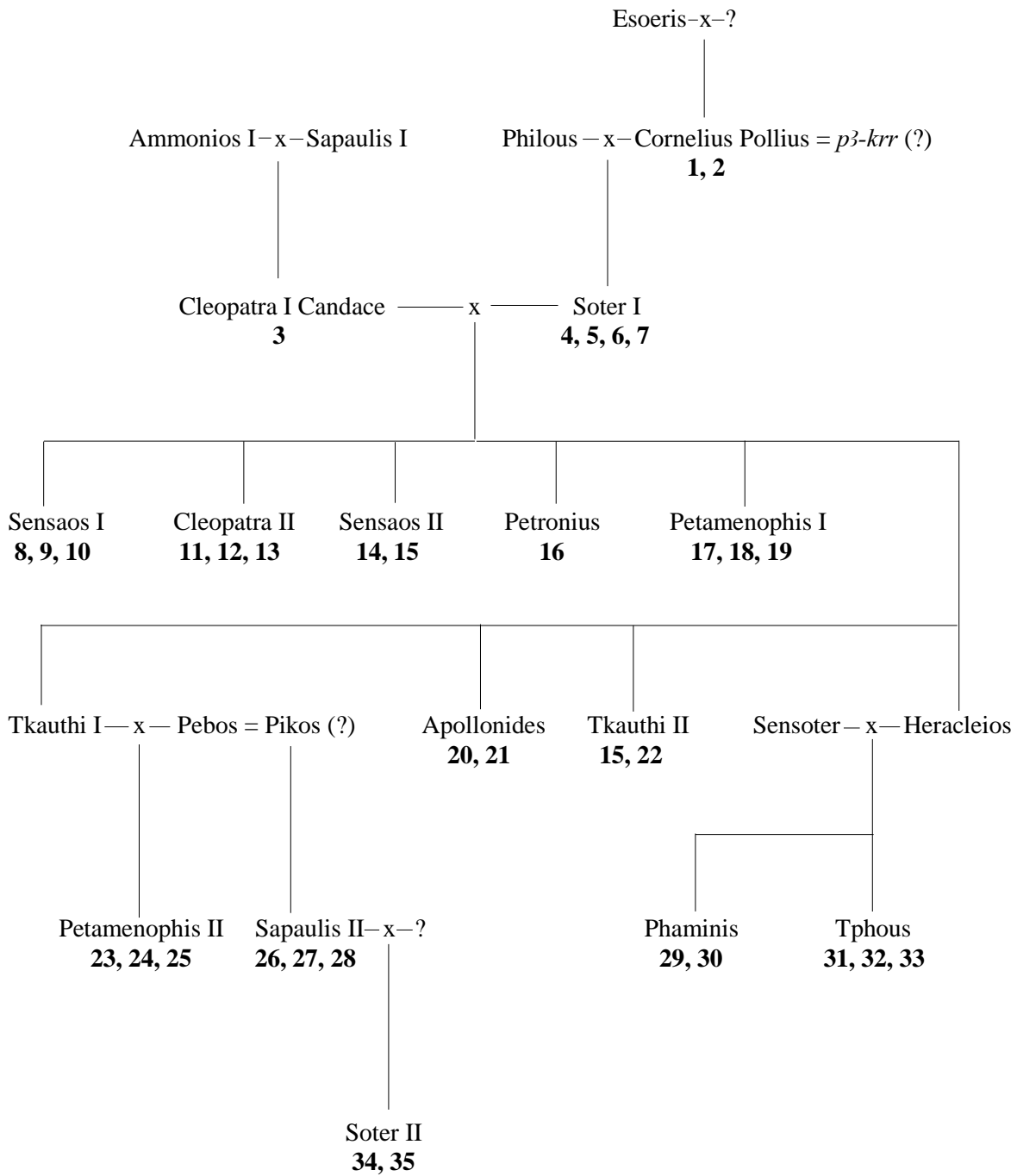
<sup>214</sup> For this papyrus see Étienne 2002, 144-151 (no. 72).

<sup>215</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>216</sup> See Lejeune 2006, 197-202.



## The Soter Family



**Key:\*** Each number corresponds to an object or item commissioned for or owned by that person.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>1.</b> pLouvre N 3290.                               | <b>19.</b> Shroud Louvre E 13382 CM 365.                |
| <b>2.</b> Base and cover of coffin BM EA 6950 + 6950 A. | <b>20.</b> pBM EA 10331.                                |
| <b>3.</b> pBM EA 9977.                                  | <b>21.</b> Mummy label (lost).                          |
| <b>4.</b> pBM EA 10282.                                 | <b>22.</b> pBerlin 3069 (lost). <sup>217</sup>          |
| <b>5.</b> pBM EA 10283.                                 | <b>23.</b> pTurin 1861 B.                               |
| <b>6.</b> Coffin BM EA 6705.                            | <b>24.</b> pTurin 1861 C.                               |
| <b>7.</b> Shroud BM EA 6705 A.                          | <b>25.</b> Coffin Turin 2230.                           |
| <b>8.</b> pLeiden T 33.                                 | <b>26.</b> pBM EA 10123.                                |
| <b>9.</b> Coffin Leiden M 75.                           | <b>27.</b> pBM EA 10124.                                |
| <b>10.</b> Shroud Leiden AMM 8. <sup>218</sup>          | <b>28.</b> Coffin (lost).                               |
| <b>11.</b> pBM EA 10114 (Text unknown). <sup>219</sup>  | <b>29.</b> pBerlin 3041.                                |
| <b>12.</b> pBM EA 10115 (Original text). <sup>220</sup> | <b>30.</b> Coffin Berlin 504.                           |
| <b>13.</b> Coffin BM EA 6706.                           | <b>31.</b> pBM EA 10256 (Original text). <sup>221</sup> |
| <b>14.</b> pBerlin 3068 (lost). <sup>222</sup>          | <b>32.</b> pBM EA 10259 (Text unknown). <sup>223</sup>  |
| <b>15.</b> Coffin Berlin 505. <sup>224</sup>            | <b>33.</b> Coffin BM EA 6708.                           |
| <b>16.</b> pLouvre N 3161.                              | <b>34.</b> pLouvre N 3156.                              |
| <b>17.</b> pBN 152 .                                    | <b>35.</b> pLouvre N 3289.                              |
| <b>18.</b> Coffin Louvre E 13048 + 13016.               |   |

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<sup>217</sup> Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 33 (no. 49).

<sup>218</sup> For this shroud, see Herbin 2002, 20, fig. 24; and Raven and Taconis 2005, 179-183.

<sup>219</sup> This appears to not have been published by Herbin. However, Quirke (1993, 34) states that it is a Book of Breathing nonetheless.

<sup>220</sup> Herbin 2008, 125-126 with pls. 98-99.

<sup>221</sup> Quirke 1993, 63 (no. 236); Herbin 2008, 141-142 with pls. 118-119.

<sup>222</sup> Kaplony-Heckel, 33 (no. 48).

<sup>223</sup> Again, this appears to not have been published by Herbin. But see Quirke 1993, 63 (no. 237) who lists it as a Book of Breathing.

<sup>224</sup> Coffin contained two mummies, that of Sensaos II and her sister Tkauthi II (see Stricker 1942, 34; and Erman 1934, 410 for the coffin itself).

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