

The *Glorifications* of Herisenef in the Museo Egizio (P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08))

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This paper publishes for the first time and discusses P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08). The owner of the manuscript is identified and information regarding his family and career collected and analysed. This is followed by a presentation of parallels for the texts, a discussion of the layout and palaeography of the manuscript, a hieroglyphic transcription, and a transliteration and translation, as well as a commentary on the general content and on specific textual passages. The paper is concluded by an investigation of the specific combination of spells that Herisenef chose for his funerary papyrus.

ملخص البحث:

تُنشر هذه الدراسة لأول مرة وتناقش بردية رقم P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) بالمتحف المصري بتورينو، تم التعرف على صاحب هذه المخطوطة، كما تم جمع المعلومات المتعلقة بعائلته وحياته المهنية وتحليلها. يتبع ذلك عرض للنصوص ومناقشة تصميم المخطوطة ودراساتها من خلال علم المخطوطات وكتابتها الهيروغليفية ونقل لفظها وترجمتها بالإضافة إلى التعليق على المحتوى بشكل عام وعلى مقاطع نصية محددة. إختتمت الدراسة ببحث مجموعة محددة من التعاويذ التي إختارها "جري-سنف" لبرديته الجنائزية.

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1 Introduction and physical description

The papyrus roll, bearing the inventory number Cat. 2117 (R 08) in the Museo Egizio, was first described in the catalogue by Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone in 1882: "Rotolo di papiro con testo jeratico alto m. 0,27, tutto rotto e guasto dal bitumen, segnato col n. VIII".¹ Apart from this, no further information about this papyrus is provided in the museum records, and it has not received any attention in Egyptological literature since. The manuscript was most likely acquired by the museum in 1824 as part of the Drovetti collection. Even though no records concerning its acquisition or provenance exist, the following investigation of its owner will show that Thebes is a highly likely place of origin. Furthermore, it will show that the papyrus is not as "tutto rotto" as Fabretti et al. assumed.²

In its current state, the papyrus roll (Fig. 1, Pls. 1-3) is 26.4 cm high and 46 cm long, and is of a light brown

colour. Several bitumen stains are visible along the upper margin of the recto and in a number of areas on the verso, especially of the first sheet. Three sheet joins are still preserved (the first after 1.5 cm from the right side on the recto, the second after an additional 15 cm, and the third after an additional 14.5 cm), as well as the verso fibres that were usually attached to the recto in order to mark the end of a papyrus roll.³ The scribe used the sheet joins as a reference for drawing the black double lines that separate the columns.

Two strips of linen with traces of bitumen are still attached to the verso (Fig. 2). According to information previously in the main database of the Museo Egizio, these were used to close the rolled-up papyrus manuscript. However, it is obvious that the scribe removed a strip of the papyrus layer from the verso – approximately in the middle of the roll –, which he most likely rolled into a cord-like shape and used



Fig. 1: P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08), recto, as currently mounted. Scan by Museo Egizio.



Fig. 2: P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08), verso, as currently mounted. Scan by Museo Egizio.

afterwards to close the rolled-up papyrus.⁴ Therefore, the two strips of linen with bitumen are most likely remains of the mummy bandages that were still attached to the papyrus roll after it had been torn from the mummified body to which it was tightly stuck because of the bitumen covering the mummy. The papyrus displays a number of vertical cracks where it was bent after being rolled-up, as well as a regularly occurring horizontal pattern of dam-

age, especially in the middle area. Both the fact that the first preserved column displays greater damage than the other sections and the fact that the vertical cracks occur at shorter intervals in the area of the blank protective sheet to the left indicates that the papyrus was rolled from left to right and the right-hand side was hence the outermost. Furthermore, no traces of bitumen are visible on the verso of the protective sheet, as this was on the inside of the roll. Although the bad state of preservation of the manu-

script's first preserved column of text makes it difficult to ascertain whether this was originally the first column of the manuscript or whether more text had preceded it, several factors suggest that the whole document originally consisted of only these three columns. The fragment that is currently attached to the lower right edge of the papyrus, just before the first column, offers the first hint. It needs to be shifted 2.5 cm downwards until its bottom line is aligned with the bottom line of the main part. On the verso of the fragment, one can still see traces of bitumen where the two strips of bandages were originally attached. These were reused in modern times to fix the fragment in its current position. The fact that it is entirely blank on the recto supports the hypothesis that there were no preceding columns of text. Furthermore, the traces of bitumen along the fragment's right edge – which stained the inward-facing recto of the rolled-up papyrus – suggest that this was the outermost and, hence, the first sheet of the document. Moreover, a closer look at the original reveals that the first visible pair of column separation lines (in the lower right corner) is also where the column frames start, as the horizontal double line does not extend rightward of this first separation. Another important argument is provided by the text itself, more specifically, its headline and the title of the deceased in the first two lines of the first column. As the following investigation will show, neither the title of the deceased nor an extensive headline occur again in the course of the composition. All these data concur in indicating that the total length of the original manuscript is preserved.

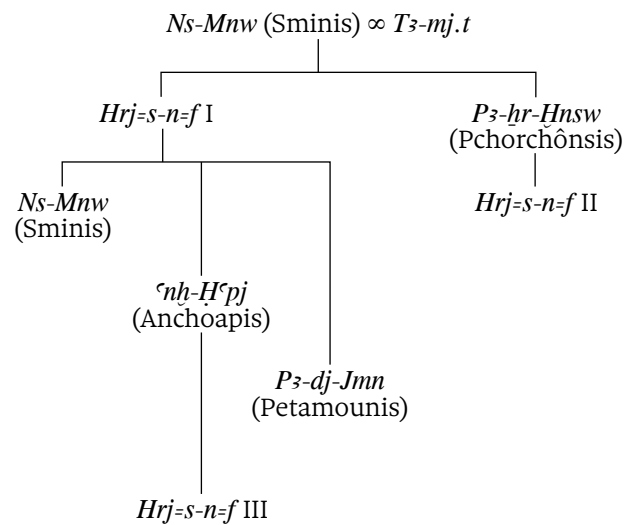
2 The owner of P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) and his family

The manuscript gives us the names of its owner and his mother:



Wsjr Hrj-s-n=f ms^c-hrw msj.n nb.t-pr T3-mj.t ms^c(.t)-hrw, “the Osiris of Herisenef,⁵ justified, whom the mistress of the house Tamyt,⁶ justified, has born”. This Herisenef is known from a number of other sources. A statue from the Cachette in Karnak, now

in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (RT 18/12/24/2),⁷ gives a detailed account of members of his direct family. According to this document, *Hrj-s-n=f* was the son of *Ns-Mnw* and *T3-mj.t*, and himself had two sons called *nh-H^cpj* and *Ns-Mnw*. Furthermore, the whole family figures in several Theban Demotic administrative documents collected by Clarysse.⁸ They further reveal that Herisenef had a third son named *P3-dj-Jmn*. Based on the family tree constructed by Clarysse, the owner of P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) can thus be identified with Herisenef I, who lived around 330 BCE:⁹



In addition to the material collected by Clarysse, Herisenef and other members of his direct family are known from documents of the “archive of Teos and Thabis” from Thebes. Our Herisenef (I) is mentioned in a witness list on a papyrus for selling a house (P. Brussels 8252), which dates to year 6 of Alexander the Great (327/6 BCE); he is the seventh in the list, identified as *Hrj-s-n=f s3 Ns-Mnw*.¹⁰ Moreover, in the witness list of P. Brussels 8254, dated to year 6 of Alexander IV (311 BCE), a certain *Ns-Mnw*, son of *Hrj-s-n=f* is named, who might be identical with the aforementioned son of Herisenef I.¹¹

In the first line of the first preserved column of P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08), the title of the deceased Herisenef can be reconstructed with some certainty, as it is known for other members of his family¹² and is also attested for him in a “Geldbezahlungsschrift”¹³ dated to year 3 of Alexander the Great (330/29 BCE): *wn.w n pr-nbw n Jmn*, “the shrine opener/pastophoros of the Gold House of Amun”.¹⁴ No other titles, if they were originally written in the lacuna, are pre-

served, and neither are additional titles of his listed in the administrative documents referred to above. According to the list provided by Depauw, which is based on the material he collected, only the members of Herisenef's family (he himself, his son Ankh-hapi, and his brother Pakherkhonsu) bore the specific title "pastophoros of the Gold House of Amun".¹⁵ Ankh-hapi also held the titles of "pastophoros of Amun" and *swnw-jr.t*, "ophthalmologist",¹⁶ and possessed two houses in the northern part of Thebes, in the district called "the House of the Cow", where his father likewise resided.¹⁷

3 Discussion of the text inscribed and parallels

The papyrus is inscribed with the final columns of a composition known today by Egyptologists as the so-called *Glorifications I*.¹⁸ This composition is a compilation of 18 or 16 spells (depending on the subdivision of the text) that were used in the cult of the god Osiris in Abydos.¹⁹ This text's introductory lines – preserved in P. BM EA 10252, col. 36, ll. 1–2²⁰ – give instructions for its performance: *s3h.w jrj m h3w.t-n3r n.t Wsjr jn hrj-hb hrj-tp m pr pn dd.w m tp-tr nb n w3b.t jrj mrj.t m 3bd smd.t m hb nb n.w jmnt.t*, "Glorifications, which are performed in the temple of Osiris, by the chief lector priest of this house. What is said on each due occasion of the embalming place. What is desired should be performed at the month-festival, the fifteenth day festival, and at every festival of the West". However, as Smith has already pointed out, the designation *Glorifications I* – just as the other three books called *Glorifications II*, *III*, and *IV* – is a modern one and its use problematic, especially considering that each of these compositions has an ancient Egyptian title of its own, like the one just translated above.²¹

The main purpose of these spells is to assert "that the dead will be revived, protected, nourished, and accepted among the underworld gods and their followers".²² As they are hence intended to highlight what *will* happen, instead of wishing for it to happen, the main verb form used is the future *s3dm=f*, addressing the person who is supposed to benefit from it in the second person singular.²³ Since the version on P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) was originally intended for funerary purposes – and thus, unlike P. BM EA

10252, was not an original temple manuscript that was only later reused for funerary purposes – *Wsjr NN* is added after *Wsjr hntj jmnt.t* throughout the composition. However, it should be pointed out that in the parallel version of the *Glorifications I* in P. BM EA 10317 – which was likewise originally intended for funerary use – solely *Wsjr NN* is present, whereas *Wsjr hntj jmnt.t* is omitted entirely.

The complete composition of the *Glorifications I* is currently known to be preserved on five papyri:

P. BM EA 10317²⁴ can be dated to around 300 BCE. It belonged to *Dd-hr*, also called *P3-j3ny*, who is the owner of two other papyri in the Museo Egizio: P. Turin Cat. 1830 (Book of the Dead) and P. Turin Cat. 1845 (*Glorifications III*) + CGT 54047 (*Ritual for Bringing Sokar out of the Shrine*). Djedher was buried in the tomb of Ankhhor in the Asasif (TT 414) together with his family members, and this location is thus the presumable find-spot of these papyri.²⁵

P. BM EA 10319²⁶ can likewise be dated to around 300 BCE. It belonged to the priest *P3-hr-H3sw*, the brother of the aforementioned Djedher. He further possessed a Book of the Dead, currently kept in the Museo Egizio (P. Turin Cat. 1832).²⁷

P. BM EA 10252²⁸ is dated to 307/6 BCE by a colophon written on it. It most likely formed one consecutive papyrus roll with P. BM EA 10081. These documents originally belonged to a temple library and were only later adapted by a certain *P3-wrm*, who possessed a number of funerary papyri. The exact find spot of the papyrus is not known, but it certainly comes from Thebes.

P. Berlin P. 3057 (P. Schmitt)²⁹ dates to around 300 BCE. Its owner as well as its provenance are unknown.

P. Louvre N. 3129³⁰ can be dated to the 4th or 3rd century BCE. It belonged to the priest *P3-3rj-n-Mnw*, who was also called *Wsjr-wr*. Its provenance is not known. Furthermore, four other papyri contain excerpts, although none is parallel to the spells preserved on the papyrus of Herisenef: P. Cracow Jagiellonen University Library 03.03.1992 (= P. S3kowski)³¹ can be dated to Roman times and contains Spells 1–4 of the *Glorifications I*; P. Asasif 7 (Psametik),³² dating to the early Ptolemaic Period, preserves Spells 3–4; P. Leiden T31,³³ also dating to the early Ptolemaic Period, contains Spells 7–8; and P. Barcelona Palau-Rib. inv.



























Sign	Hieratic	Position
D21 		col. 2, l. 2 col. 2, l. 14
D28 		col. 2, l. 13 col. 3, l. 15 col. 3, l. 18
G21 		col. 3, l. 18
G25 		col. 1, l. 1
K4 		col. 2, l. 5
L1 		col. 1, l. 5
P1 		col. 3, l. 3
Q7 		col. 2, l. 13
R2 		col. 3, l. 19
S23 		col. 1, l. 3
U21 		col. 2, l. 15
W19 		col. 2, l. 17 col. 1, l. 2
Aa1 + D43 		col. 3, l. 17

Table 1: Overview of some of the most distinctive signs in P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08).




80/68,³⁴ from the early Ptolemaic Period, preserves Spells 8–10. The provenance of P. Sękowski, P. Leiden T31, and P. Palau-Rib. inv. 80/68 is not known, whereas P. Asasif 7 was found in the excavation of the tomb of Mutirdis in Asasif (TT 389).³⁵ In addition, a number of excerpts are known from sarcophagi of the Ptolemaic Period, and from the *Hourly Vigil* in the temple of Edfu.³⁶ The text of P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) is written in hieratic, in *scriptio continua*, filling each line completely. The scribe used red ink for the introductory rubrics mentioning the *sšhw*³⁷ or *kj*, “another”,³⁸ as well as for the invocation *hšy*³⁹ and mentions of the enemies.⁴⁰ The version on P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) consists of a total of 9 invocations – structured by means of *hšy* and, once, *kj* – corresponding to Spells 14–16 as numbered by Assmann.⁴¹

4 Layout and palaeography

The first two columns are enclosed by frames consisting of two black lines, whereas the third column is written without any framing lines or other markers for orientation. This column is also much narrower than the other two, although there was more writing space to the left on the papyrus. The width of the column eventually turned out to be insufficient, so that the scribe had to stop writing before the actual end of the text.

The double-lined borders are unusual for liturgical papyri of the early Ptolemaic Period. In P. Sękowski, however, which dates to Roman times, the individual

columns are likewise enclosed by two black lines.⁴² Moreover, black double-lined borders just like those of P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08), are commonly used in hieratic Books of the Dead of the Late and Ptolemaic periods.⁴³ It is known that the framing lines or borders for these Book of the Dead spells were drawn on the papyrus sheets before they were assembled,⁴⁴ and this would explain the layout of the papyrus of Herisenef: the sheet, already prepared with framing lines, may have been originally intended for Book of the Dead spells, but was then repurposed and used for glorification spells.

As argued in the previous sub-chapter, the papyrus can be dated to around 330 BCE and comes from Thebes. As we are in the fortunate position of having a date and provenance for this manuscript, it is worth dwelling on its palaeography (see Table 1), as this could be useful for comparative studies. The handwriting of the scribe appears swift, with little attention to detail; compare, for instance,  (W 19) in col. 2, l. 17, where he placed the upper part of the sign too far to the left. He tried to simplify/abbreviate the hieratic signs as much as possible. On the other hand, however, one should note the elaborate writing of the scarab sign (L 1). There are a few characteristic signs that distinguish our scribe, such as his writing of  (D 21) with a rather prominent downward stroke on the right-hand side, or his writing of  (P 1), where he seems to add a supplementary vertical stroke to the horizontal base line.⁴⁵

5 Transliteration, translation, and commentary

5.1 First invocation: col. 1, ll. 1–4

This corresponds to Spell 14, “Erster Abschnitt” (following Assmann’s subdivision of the text).⁴⁶



¹ [...] *sšhw*^a *Wsjr wn.w n pr-nbw n* ² [*Jmn Hrj=s-n=f mšc-šrw msj.n nb.t-pr*] *T3-mjw.t mšc(.t)-šrw jnj.n n=k Gb sn.tj=k*

³ [*r gs=k šs.t pw hn^c Nb.t-šw.t rdj.n Hr*]⁴⁷ *dmd-šw ntr.w sns=s n r=k m rn=s n* ⁴ [*n snw.tj*]⁴⁸

“¹ [...] ^b Glorification of the Osiris of the shrine opener/pastophoros of the Gold House of ² [Amun ^c Herisenef, justified, whom the mistress of the house,] Tamyt, justified, [has born]. Geb has brought for you your two sisters ³ [to your side. It is Isis together with Nephthys. Horus has caused] that the gods assemble/join with you, that they are brotherly towards you in their name ⁴ [of the two *snw.t*-shrines].”

^a The parallels add *h(z)*, “Hail”; compare P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 7; P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, l. 1; P. BM EA 10319, col. 11, l. 25.

^b As the parallels all start with *sšh* and do not have any text before it, it is impossible to reconstruct the beginning of the line in P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) with any certainty. Nevertheless, since it seems that our version of the *Glorifications* I started at this point and presumably only consisted of these three columns, the beginning of the line might have included a short introduction concerning the broader purpose of the collection of glorifying spells that follow.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the ancient Egyptian title of the whole composition, designated as *Glorifications* I nowadays, is *mḏs.t n.t sšhw šh*, “Book of glorifying the spirit” in the version of P. Sękowski, col. 10, l. 1,⁵⁰ which, just like our version, does not have the complete text, but only a selection of several of the spells; it is hence probable that *mḏs.t n.t sšhw Wsjr NN*, “Book of glorifying the Osiris of NN” or a similar title was originally written at the start of the text on P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08). The title in P. Leiden T31, which likewise only made use of a couple of spells (7–8), reads *jnj r sšh hzy*, “Extract from the (Book of the) Glorification ‘Hail’”,⁵¹ so an *jnj r*-phrase for introducing an excerpt could have originally been written in the lacuna as well.⁵²

^c Compare the remarks above under “The owner of P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) and his family” for this restoration of the title in the lacuna. For the title *wn.w*, “shrine opener/pastophoros”, see Jelínková-Reymond, *CdE* 28 (1953), pp. 53–59; Ramond, *JEA* 65 (1979), p. 170, n. (d); Johnson (ed.), *CDD_W*, 2009, pp. 89–92, and the literature references cited in these works. For the *wn.w n pr-nbw n Jmn* more specifically, see Johnson (ed.), *CDD_P*, 2010, p. 57.

5.2 Second invocation: col. 1, ll. 4–7

This corresponds to Spell 14, “Erster Abschnitt”.⁵³



[*hzy Wsjr*]⁵⁴ *hntj jmnt.t hzy Wsjr Hrj{jmn}* = *s-n=f*⁵⁵ ⁵ [*mš^c-hrw msj.n Tz-mj.t mš^c(.t)-hr*] *w nḥ.tw m nḥw nḏ(.w)=k m Dd.t* ⁶ [*sšw n=k šs.t hn^c Nb.t-hw.t*]⁵⁶ *m Sšw n nb[=sn] jm=k m rn=k* ⁷ [*n nb Sšw ...*] *sšw ...*

“[Hail Osiris], foremost of the West, hail the Osiris of Herisenef, ⁵ [justified, whom Tamyt, justified, has born], you are alive like/as the living one (the beetle), you will be protected in Mendes.⁵⁷ ⁶ [Isis and Nephthys will exercise protection for you] in Sais, for [their] lord which you are, in your name ⁷ [of lord of Sais ...] the guardian(?) [...] ^d”

^d As our copy seems to deviate here from the known parallels, a reconstruction seems impossible for this section. P. Schmitt, col. 17, ll. 9–10; P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, ll. 7–8, and P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 4 read: ... *nb Sšw ntr=sn jm=k m rn=k n ntr spš.wt*, “... lord of Sais,⁵⁸ their god which you are, in your name of god of the

nomes”. Considering the position of *s3w* in our text, maybe P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) once read *s3w sp3.wt*, “guardian of the nomes”⁵⁹ instead of *ntr sp3.wt*, “god of the nomes”.

5.3 Third invocation: col. 1, ll. 7–12

This corresponds to Spell 14, “Zweiter Abschnitt”.⁶⁰

A fragment that belongs to this section is currently misplaced to the left, in col. 2.⁶¹

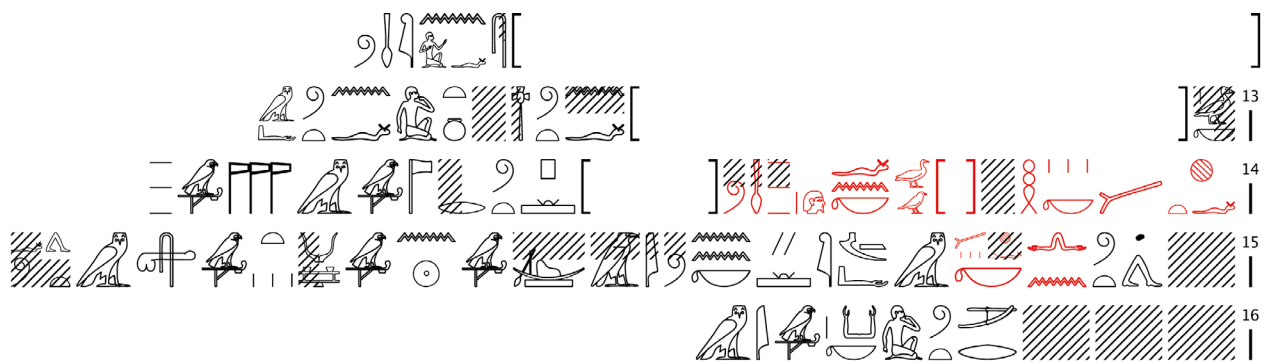


h Wsjr hntj-jmnt.t ⁸ [*h3y Wsjr Hrj=s-n=f*] *m3^c-hrw*⁶² [*msj.n nb.t-pr T3-m*] *jw.t m3^c(.t)-hrw* ⁹ [*htm jb=k m hn*] *m.t*⁶³ [*wr.t*
3.wj=k r h3p]⁶⁴ ¹⁰ [*jj=f n=k mj jr.t n R^c ng3=f jtrw 3nh*]=*k*⁶⁵ *3nh.tw* ¹¹ [*w3š=k w3š.tw spd=k spd.tw rdj n=k 3nh w3s n R^c*
h3w.tw r ¹² [*hftj.w=k*]⁶⁶

“Hail Osiris, foremost of the West, ⁸ [hail the Osiris of Herisenef,] justified, [whom the mistress of the house Tam]yt, justified, [has born], ⁹ [quench your thirst in the great w]ell, [your arms towards the Nile inundation.] ¹⁰ [It will come for you like that which is done for Re. It will break open the river.] You [will live,] being alive. ¹¹ [You will be honoured, being honoured. You will be effective, being effective. The *3nh*-sign and the *w3s*-sceptre of Re will be given to you, so that] you are protected from ¹² [your enemies.]”

5.4 Fourth invocation: col. 1, ll. 12–16

This corresponds to Spell 14, “Dritter Abschnitt”.⁶⁷



[*h3y Wsjr hntj jmnt.t h3y Wsjr Hrj*]=*s-n=f m3^c-hrw* ¹³ *s3=k* [*Hr pw Hr h3w=f-tw nhm*].*n=f-tw*⁶⁸ *nd.n=f-tw m-^c* ¹⁴ [*hftj.w=k*
h[sk]=f^e n=k tp.w hrw[.w=k j]p.tw^f r ntr m ntr.w ¹⁵ [*d*].*tw* ^g *nn hftj.w=k m3^c.n n=k wj3⁶⁹ n R^c Wp-w3.wt sšm=f-tw* ¹⁶
*[r bw nb]*⁷⁰ *mrw.t k3=k jm*

“[Hail Osiris, foremost of the West, hail the Osiris of Heri]senef, justified, ¹³ your son [Horus is it. Horus, he will protect ^h you,] he [rescue]d you, he saved you from ¹⁴ your enemies. He will cut [off] for you the heads

Herisenef, justified, for/to him. ² May you unite his body for him, that his heart may be glad. His son will come at the (correct) time⁷⁸ according to his wish.⁷⁹ ^j May the ba embrace/unite ³ the body and his heart. ^k Bring them for him, gods, in the Benben-house in Heliopolis, in the presence of Shu, ⁴ the son of Atum. His *jb*-heart is for/belongs to him like Re, his *h3tj*-heart is for/belongs to him like Khepri. Purification, twice, for ⁵ your ka and your body, your ba and your shadow, your corpse and your noble mummy, ^l Osiris, foremost of the West, ⁶ your noble mummy, the Osiris of Herisenef, justified.”

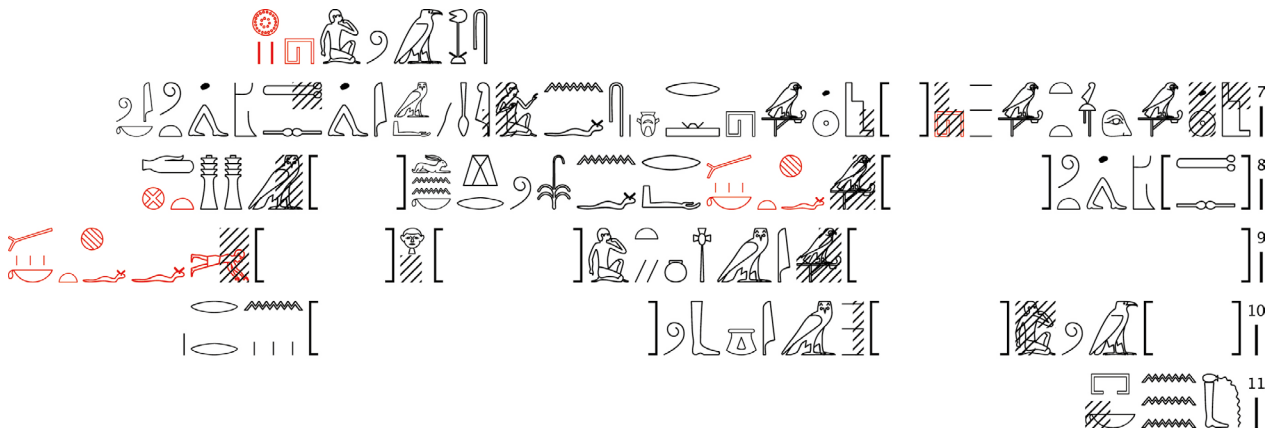
^j Our version deviates from the parallels, the reason for which seems to have been confusion and/or misunderstanding. Nevertheless, the sentence here makes sense as it is written. The parallels read: *jw b3=f n d.t=f n jb=f*, “May his ba come to his body and to his heart.”⁸⁰

^k Some of the parallels add *htm b3=f n d.t=f n jb=f*, “May his ba be complete/provided with his body and his heart” (or similar) here.⁸¹

^l P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 17; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 7; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 16 reverse the order of *šw.t=k* and *h3.t=k*.⁸² In addition, P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 16 and P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 17 add *n*, “for” in front of *d.t=k*, *b3=k*, *h3.t=k*, and *šw.t=k*.

5.6 Sixth invocation: col. 2, ll. 6–11

This corresponds to Spell 15, “Erster Abschnitt” (again, following Assmann’s subdivision of the text).⁸³



10

*sh3w*⁸⁴ *h sp-2* ⁷ *Wsjr hntj jmnt.t h [sp-2]* *Wsjr Hrj=s-n=f m3^c-hrw mj ts-tw jw=k* ⁸ *ts.tw [shr.n Hr]*⁸⁵ *hftj.w=k rdj.n=f-sw hr<=k>*⁸⁶ *wnn=k [dj]*⁸⁷ *m Dd.t* ⁹ *[s.t=k tn mrj(.t) k3=k]*⁸⁸ *jm nd[.n s3=k Hr]* *hr[=k shr]=f*⁸⁹ *hftj.w=k* ¹⁰ *[sh]3w[-tw^m sn.tj]*⁹⁰ *m jgbw[=sn h3j=s]*⁹¹ *r r3* ¹¹ *w^cb(.t)=kⁿ*

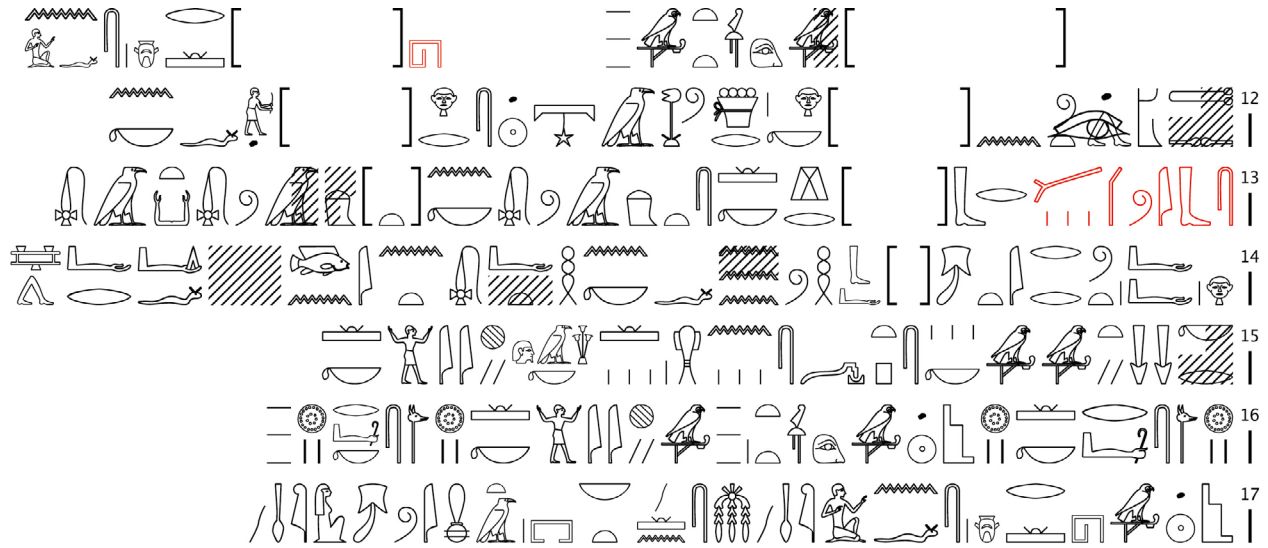
“Remembrance. Hail, twice, ⁷ Osiris, foremost of the West, hail, [twice,] the Osiris of Herisenef, justified, come and raise yourself! You are ⁸ risen. [Horus has overthrown] your enemies and he has placed him (= the enemy = Seth) under <you>. You will be [here] in Busiris,⁹² ⁹ [this your seat,] where [your ka wants to be. Your son Horus has] greet[ed you.] He [will fell] your enemies. ¹⁰ [The two sisters will remem]ber [you] with [their] mourning. [They will mourn/wail] at the door ¹¹ of your Wabet.”

^m For *sh3w* being written instead of *s3hw*, see also above in col. 2, l. 6. The parallels have *s3h*; compare, for instance, P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, ll. 5–6; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 3, or P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 20.

ⁿ P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 4; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 20; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 14 read *r r3 n w^cb.t=k*.

5.7 Seventh invocation: col. 2, ll. 11–17




This corresponds to Spell 15, “Zweiter Abschnitt”.⁹³



[h Wsjr] hntj jmnt.t ° h [Wsjr H]rj=s-n=f⁹⁴ 12 [[tsj-tw]]rs.n ° [Hr]⁹⁵ hr=k dr whz shr[j]=f n=k 13 sbj.w ° r b[w]⁹⁶ hr=k stzw <=f> n=k tzw(?)⁹⁷ tkz 14 hr °.wj Rrj.t b°h=f n=k h°t n.t jn[s] dj=f °r=k 15 r sn.tj=k stp=sn szw ° hz=k hy=k ° 16 sp-2 wsr=k sp-2 Wsjr hntj jmnt.t hy=k sp-2 wsr=k sp-2 17 Wsjr Hrj=s-n=f m°c-hrw msj.n nb.t-pr Tz-mjw.t m°c(.t)-hrw


“[Hail Osiris], foremost of the West, hail [the Osiris of H]erisenef, ¹² [Horus] has [[raised you]] watched over you since the darkness. He will drive away for you ¹³ the rebels from the pla[ce], where you are. <He> will light for you the heat(?) of the torch ¹⁴ on the arms of Reret. He will inundate for you the wick of bright-red lin[en]. He will cause you to ascend ¹⁵ to your two sisters, and they will exercise protection around you. You will rise up, ¹⁶ twice, you will be strong, twice, Osiris, foremost of the West! You will rise up, twice, you will be strong, twice, ¹⁷ the Osiris of Herisenef, justified, whom the mistress of the house Tamyt, justified, has born!”

° The scribe of our version left a blank space of 2 cm between the invocation to Osiris, foremost of the West, and the one to the Osiris of Herisenef, for reasons I do not see. He was probably confused and wanted to leave the space in front of the call to Osiris, foremost of the West, in order to separate the following invocation from the preceding one.

° The scribe first wrote  ts-tw, “raise yourself”, presumably out of habit as this phrase already occurred a couple of times in the text (col. 2, ll. 7, 8). He then seems to have realised his mistake and corrected  into , thus changing the word ts into rs.

° P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 21 has sbj.w=k, “your rebels”.

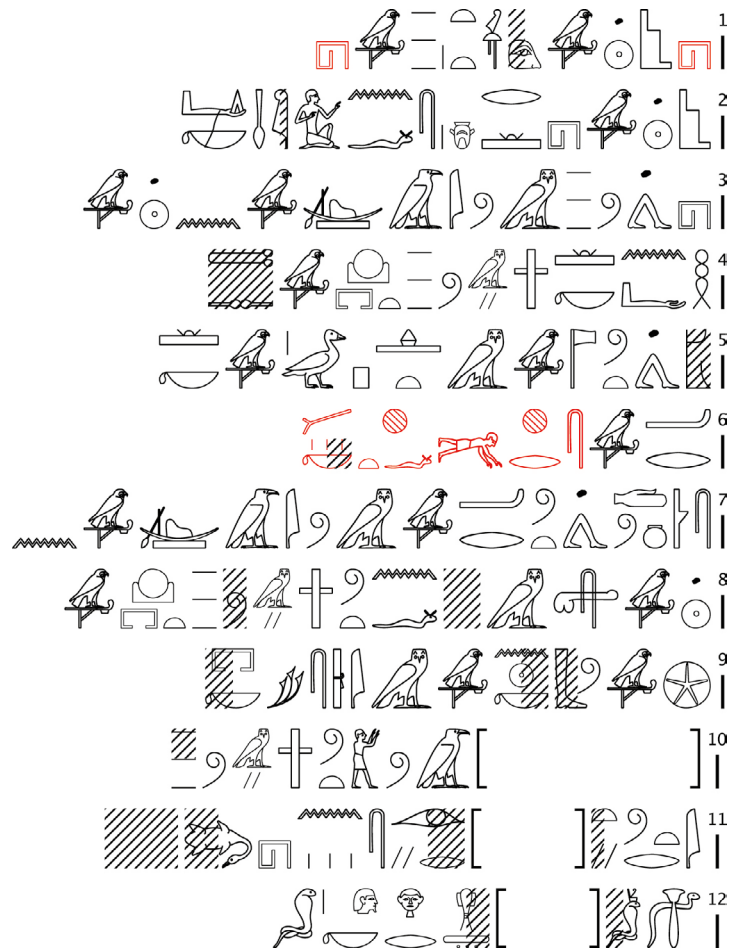
° P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, ll. 13–14; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 7; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, ll. 17–18, and P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 23 have szw=sn, “their protection”.

° The parallels have the single sign  here, so maybe our version proves that this likewise needs to be read hy instead of k°j in the parallels.⁹⁸

5.8 Eighth invocation: col. 3, ll. 1–12



This corresponds to Spell 16, “Zweite Strophe” (following Assmann’s division of the text).⁹⁹

The version of P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) omits the final three invocations of Spell 15 as well as the first and the second invocation of Spell 16, probably due to shortage of space. The following column is added without any framing lines.



¹ *h* Wsjr *hntj jmnt.t h* ² Wsjr Hrj=s-n=f m³z^c-hrw dj=k ³ h(z)j=w m wjz n R^c ⁴ hn^c=k jmj.w *zh.t ts-tw* ⁵ ntr m htp s⁶z=k ⁶ Hr *shr=f hftj.w=k* ⁷ skd-tw Hr m wjz n ⁸ R^c s⁸m.n=f-tw jmj.w *zh.t* ⁹ d⁹z.t wbn=k m js=k ¹⁰ [nb ^cnh¹⁰⁰ dw]zw-tw¹⁰¹ jmj.w ¹¹ jtr[.tj] jrj=sn h(z)-snd [n]¹⁰² ¹² w³d[.tj=k]¹⁰³ s³z-t³ hrj(.t)-tp=k

“¹ Hail Osiris, foremost of the West, hail ² the Osiris of Herisenef, justified. You will cause ³ them to descend to the barque of Re, ⁴ together with you (and) the ones who are in the horizon. “Raise yourself up, ⁵ god, in peace! Your son ⁶ Horus, he will fell your enemies. ⁷ Horus will sail you in the barque of ⁸ Re. He has led you <to>^v the ones who are in the horizon ⁹ and the underworld ^w, (so that) you rise/shine in your tomb, ¹⁰ [the lord of life]. Those who are in ¹¹ the [two] rows of shrines [will pra]ise you. They will show veneration [for] ¹² [your two] serpent goddesses, and adoration <for>¹⁰⁴ the one who is on your head (i.e. uraeus).”

^t The scribe initially ended the line with , but then decided to write  into the diagonal stroke of m³z^c-hrw, probably because he had already continued with h³zj and then realised his accidental omission of dj=k.

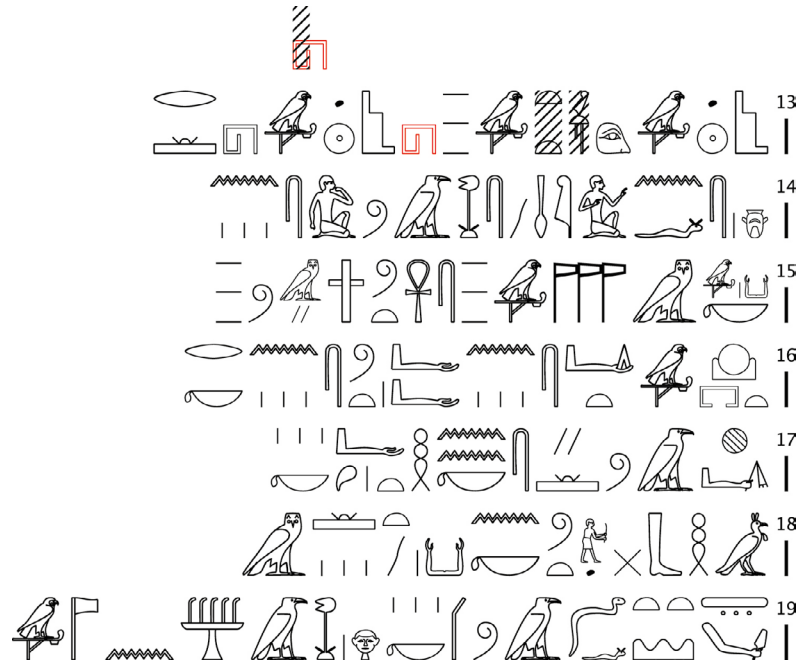
^u The scribe of our version reinterpreted the original sense of this sentence, which is dj n=k hw m wjz n R^c h^cj n=k jmj.w *zh.t*, “Shouting/jubilation will be given for you in the barque of Re, the ones who are in the horizon rejoice for you” in the parallels.¹⁰⁵

^v The parallels add the preposition n; see, for instance, P. BM EA 10252, col. 50, l. 13; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 36; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 33. P. BM EA 10317, col. 16, l. 10 has s⁸m=n[-t]w ... “we will guide you to ...”.

^w The parallels have only jmj.w d⁹z.t; compare, for instance, P. BM EA 10252, col. 50, l. 13; P. BM EA 10317, col. 16, l. 10; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 36; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 34. The scribe of our text was perhaps reminded of the earlier jmj.w *zh.t* (col. 3, l. 4).

5.9 Ninth invocation: col. 3, ll. 12–19

This corresponds to Spell 16, “Dritte Strophe”.¹⁰⁶



*h*¹³ *Wsjr hntj jmnt.t h Wsjr Hry* ¹⁴*=s-n=f m3^c-hrw sh3w=sn* ¹⁵*k3=k m ntr.w s^cnh-tw jmj.w* ¹⁶*3h.t dj=sn ^c.wj=sn r=k* ¹⁷*h3wj=sn n=k h^c.wt=k* ¹⁸*nhb.tw n=k k3.wt m* ¹⁹*t3-dsr df3.w=k hr h3(.t) n ntr*

“Hail ¹³ Osiris, foremost of the West, hail the Osiris of Herisenef, ¹⁴ justified. They will remember ¹⁵ your ka among the gods. The ones who are in ¹⁶ the horizon will make you live. They will extend their arms towards you. ¹⁷ They will protect your limbs for you. ¹⁸ One will provide food for you in ¹⁹ the Sacred Land and your provisions on the altar of the god.”^x

^x The parallels add *shm=k jm ^cnh k3=k jm htm.tw m d.t n d.t*, “(so that) you will be powerful therewith and your ka will live therewith, while you are equipped with a body for ever”.¹⁰⁷ Our scribe stopped after *ntr*, most likely due to shortage of space, as the column is entirely filled at this point.

6 Concluding remarks

P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) contains a total of 3 columns, the number 3 representing plurality. Altogether it has 9 invocations, the number 9 being the plural of the plural and thus the symbol of totality. If this was done intentionally, it means that Herisenef made sure that he got a count representing allness in every respect. However, the number of columns and invocations might just as well be coincidental. Although Herisenef selected a rather short compilation for his funerary papyrus – compared to the extensive examples of collections of glorification spells of this period like on P. BM EA 10317 or P. Schmitt –, he made sure that every important aspect of this text category was included. According to Backes

and Smith, the main characteristics of glorifications are:¹⁰⁸

1. “Die Erweckung des Osiris/Verstorbenen zu neuem Leben” – “Revivification”: **1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9**
2. “Wiederherstellung und Schutz des Körpers” – “Protection”: **1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9**
3. “Aufstieg zum Himmel bzw. allgemein Eintritt ins Jenseits”, “Reise durch das Jenseits zum Sonnengott im Horizont”, “Empfang als Gott von hohem Status bzw. als Herrscher” – “Acceptance among the underworld gods and their followers”: **4, 5, 8, 9**
4. “Zuweisung von Nahrung, meist den Opferspeisen des Re in Heliopolis” – “Nourishment”: **9**

The selection of glorifications that Herisenef chose for his funerary papyrus provides further answers to

the question raised by Smith concerning the *Glorifications*, namely “to what extent and by how many scribes it was actually regarded as a unitary composition”.¹⁰⁹ P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) is another piece in this puzzle that suggests that what is today very often designated as *Glorifications* I was not seen as a mandatory sequence of spells that belonged together in its entirety. The selection of spells – just like the compilations found in other manuscripts, such as P. Sękowski, or excerpts on objects – was regarded as an entity in its own right by the ancient scribe and not as part of a longer work.

Furthermore, we are in the fortunate position of possessing a wealth of additional information on the person who owned the funerary papyrus P. Tu-

rin Cat. 2117 (R 08), which is not the case for the majority of the other ritual manuscripts. In addition, most of the owners of papyri containing Osirian compositions held the title *jt-ntr*,¹¹⁰ which was particularly important in rites involving Osiris,¹¹¹ one that is, however, not attested for Herisenef in any of the documents covered above. What his only attested title, “pastophoros of the Gold House of Amun” does suggest is that Herisenef seems to have been affiliated with the temple of Karnak in Thebes.

Pl. 1: Recto of P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) as currently mounted (© Museo Egizio)

Pl. 2: Verso of P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) as currently mounted (© Museo Egizio)

Notes

¹ Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, 1882, p. 280, n. 1, no. 8.

² I would like to thank Arto Belekdanian, Thomas Christiansen, and Manon Schutz for their corrections and suggestions on earlier drafts of this article. I am further very grateful to Federico Poole and Susanne Töpfer (Museo Egizio) and Ilona Regulski (the British Museum) for their help, and to the anonymous reviewers for their corrections and improvements.

³ Compare Gill, *Ritual Books*, forthcoming, chapter 3, for more information on this.

⁴ I would like to thank Thomas Christiansen for pointing this out to me.

⁵ See Ranke, *PN*, I, 1935, p. 230, (16) and (25); Lüddekens, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, 1991, pp. 751–52; Clarysse, *CdE* 53 (1978), p. 239, nn. 2 and 3. For the reading *Hrj-s-n=f* instead of *Hrj-jb-s-n=f*, see Leahy, *SAK* 8 (1980), pp. 173–74, with n. 18.

⁶ See Ranke, *PN*, I, 1935, p. 357, (5).

⁷ The statue is not published, but compare the information and photographs on <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=800> (last accessed on 28/05/2018). It is also discussed by Clarysse, *CdE* 53 (1978), pp. 242–43. Depauw, *Archive of Teos and Thabis*, 2000, p. 95, (jj) describes it as “a cube statue of mediocre quality”.

⁸ Clarysse, *CdE* 53 (1978), pp. 239–43. See there for more members of Herisenef’s family and compare the family tree provided here in the text.

⁹ See Clarysse, *CdE* 53 (1978), p. 242, adding the Egyptian forms of the names to the ones provided in Greek by Clarysse.

¹⁰ Depauw, *Archive of Teos and Thabis*, 2000, p. 81 and pl. 11.

¹¹ See Depauw, *Archive of Teos and Thabis*, 2000, p. 131, first witness, and pl. 24. The connection was also proposed by Depauw, *Archive of Teos and Thabis*, 2000, p. 136, (m). Another object from the Museo Egizio might also be attributed to the family. It is Cat. 2371 (see Fabretti

et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, 1882, p. 335 and the online database of the Museo Egizio, https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/Cat_2371/?description=gatto&inventoryNumber=&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=provenance=&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh= [last accessed on 20/08/2018]), a small wooden coffin that contains a mummified cat. The inscription by the dedicator identifies him as *jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt Hrj-s-n=f s3 jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt Ns-Mnw jrj nb(.t)-pr Ns-Hnsw*, “the god’s father, prophet of Amun in Karnak Herisenef, son of the god’s father, prophet of Amun in Karnak Nesmin, whom the mistress of the house Neskonsu made”. Although Herisenef I is the son of a Nesmin, the name of the mother Tamyt is not identical, but it cannot be excluded that she had more than one name, as this is not uncommon. Nevertheless, Herisenef had a son called Nesmin, who again might have had a son called Herisenef, as his brother and uncle had. However, since I have not been able to find any other secure attestation of a son of this Nesmin, this suggestion must remain speculative.

¹² Compare the table by Depauw, *Archive of Teos and Thabis*, 2000, p. 33 (13, for *nh-H’pi*), p. 35 (31, for *P3-hr-Hnsw*), and p. 42 (97, for *Hrj-s-n=f*).

¹³ P. Louvre 2439, l. 2; compare Zauzich, *Schreibertradition*, I, 1968, pp. 10–12, and see the mention by Clarysse, *CdE* 53 (1978), p. 241.

¹⁴ See Clarysse, *CdE* 53 (1978), p. 241. Zauzich, *Schreibertradition*, I, 1968, p. 11 translates “Pastophor des Amuntempels” for *wn.w n pr nbw n Jmn*.

¹⁵ Depauw, *Archive of Teos and Thabis*, 2000, p. 53.

¹⁶ Depauw, *Archive of Teos and Thabis*, 2000, p. 33, (13) and p. 53, and Clarysse, *CdE* 53 (1978), p. 239, with n. 5.

¹⁷ Clarysse, *CdE* 53 (1978), pp. 239–41. For a detailed study on “the House of the Cow”, see Depauw, *Archive of Teos and Thabis*, 2000, pp. 18–55.

¹⁸ Compare the study by Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, pp. 37–225 and the relevant publications of the different versions listed in the following. See also

- the discussions by Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, pp. 167–71; Wüthrich and Stöhr, *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider*, 2013, pp. 26–28.
- ¹⁹ See Assmann, in Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Fs Lichtheim*, 1990, pp. 5–6 and fig. 2 on p. 32 for these divisions. Compare also Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, pp. 331–37 for the structure and function of the *Glorifications I*.
- ²⁰ Compare the photograph in Gill, *Ritual Books*, forthcoming, pl. 41. See also the translation by Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, p. 171.
- ²¹ Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, p. 139.
- ²² Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, p. 11.
- ²³ Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, pp. 11–12, 53, and 169.
- ²⁴ Unpublished; publication in preparation by F.-R. Herbin for the second volume of his catalogue *Late Egyptian Religious Texts in the British Museum*. For information about it, see Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 19; Backes, in Burkhard Backes et al. (eds.), *Liturgical Texts*, 2015, p. 20 (where it is mistakenly dated to 200 BCE); Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, p. 168 and n. 8. I would like to thank Ilona Regulski (the British Museum) for sending me photographs of this manuscript.
- ²⁵ The connection of the three papyri to the same owner and their likely provenance from TT 414 was noted by Demichelis, *Memorie Sc. Mor.* 40 (2016), pp. 43–44 and see also the entry at: <https://www.trismegistos.org/text/57047> (last accessed on 26/05/2018). See also Gill, “The funerary papyri of the brothers Djedher (TT 414) and Pakherkhonsu in the Museo Egizio and the British Museum, with some observations on scribal practices”, SAK, forthcoming, for more information and literature references.
- ²⁶ Unpublished; publication in preparation by F.-R. Herbin for the second volume of his catalogue *Late Egyptian Religious Texts in the British Museum*. It contains the *Glorifications I*, II, and III. For information about it, compare Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 19; Kucharek, *Totenliturgien*, IV, 2010, p. 38; Backes, in Burkhard Backes et al. (eds.), *Liturgical Texts*, 2015, p. 20 (where it is mistakenly dated to 200 BCE). I would like to thank Ilona Regulski (the British Museum) for sending me photographs of this manuscript.
- ²⁷ For more information on this individual and his papyri, see Gill, “The funerary papyri of the brothers Djedher (TT 414) and Pakherkhonsu in the Museo Egizio and the British Museum with some observations on scribal practices”, SAK, forthcoming.
- ²⁸ Published by Gill, *Ritual Books*, forthcoming. It contains the *Spells against Enemies*, the *Interpretations of the Secrets of the Ritual of Driving Away the Aggressor*, the *Ritual of Felling Seth*, the *Second Book of Felling Seth*, the *Ritual for Bringing Sokar out of the Shrine*, the *Book of Protecting the Neshmet-Barque*, the *Great Ceremonies of Geb*, and the *Glorifications I*.
- ²⁹ Published by Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016. It contains the *Great Ceremonies of Geb*, the *Glorifications I* and II, the *Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh*, and the *Ritual for Bringing Sokar out of the Shrine*.
- ³⁰ Unpublished. It is a Book of the Dead, extended with the *Book of Protecting the Neshmet-Barque*, the *Ritual of Felling Seth*, the *Ritual of Driving Away the Aggressor*, the *Glorifications I*, and the *Ritual for Bringing Sokar out of the Shrine*. Compare Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 19; Backes, in Burkhard Backes et al. (eds.), *Liturgical Texts*, 2015, p. 21; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, p. 168 with n. 6; Vuilleumier, *Papyrus Princeton Pharaonic Roll 10*, 2016, p. 147, for information on this papyrus.
- ³¹ The papyrus contains the *Book of Glorifying the Akh*, the *Spell of Breathing in the Netherworld*, variants of Book of the Dead Spells 100 and 175, an unidentified excerpt from a litany, and Spells 1–4 of the *Glorifications I*. Compare the publications and studies of the various texts: Szczudłowska, ZÄS 98 (1970), pp. 50–80, with pls. 3–12; Szczudłowska, ZÄS 99 (1972), pp. 25–29; Herbin, SAK 32 (2004), pp. 171–204; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, pp. 167–77; Wagner, in Burkhard Backes et al. (eds.), *Liturgical Texts*, 2015, pp. 179–202.
- ³² Compare the publication by Burkard, *Grabung im Asasif*, III, 1986, pp. 38–41, with pls. 35–36, and Burkard, *Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien*, 1995, pp. 13 and 111–29.
- ³³ Unpublished; the papyrus contains the so-called “chapitres supplémentaires” of the Book of the Dead and excerpts of the *Glorifications I*, the *Lamentations*, and the *Glorifications IV*. Compare Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, pp. 20–21; Backes, in Burkhard Backes et al. (eds.), *Liturgical Texts*, 2015, pp. 22 and 24; Kucharek, *Totenliturgien*, IV, 2010, p. 35; Kucharek, in Burkhard Backes et al. (eds.), *Liturgical Texts*, 2015, pp. 238–42 for information on this papyrus.
- ³⁴ Klakowicz, *StudPap* 19 (1980), pp. 9–38 and compare the pictures and the information on the database of the Book of the Dead project: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, TM 129921, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm129921 (last accessed on 15/06/2018). Re-publication in preparation by S. Vuilleumier; see Vuilleumier, in Ursula Verhoeven (ed.), *Binsen-Weisheiten*, 2015, pp. 341–67.
- ³⁵ Burkard, *Grabung im Asasif*, III, 1986, p. 38.
- ³⁶ Compare Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, p. 168 with n. 12, and the literature referred to there. A full list of parallels, including those from the Pyramid Texts, is provided by Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, pp. 340–506; Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, pp. 37–41.
- ³⁷ Col. 1, l. 1; the beginning of that line is lost, so that it is not possible to reconstruct what originally came before *sꜣḥw*, as the parallels simply have *sꜣḥw*, “glorification”.
- ³⁸ Col. 1, l. 16.
- ³⁹ Col. 1, ll. 4 and 7; col. 2, ll. 6 (*h sp-2*) and 11; col. 3, ll. 1, 12, and 13.
- ⁴⁰ Col. 1, l. 14 (*ḥftj.w-k ḥ[sk]=f n-k tp.w ḥrw[.w ...]*); col. 2, l. 8 (*ḥftj.w-k*), l. 9 (*[shṛ]=f ḥftj.w-k*), l. 13 (*shj.w*); col. 3, l. 6 (*shṛ ḥftj.w-k*).
- ⁴¹ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, pp. 210–25.
- ⁴² Compare Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, p. 167 with n. 4, for more information on this general feature

in the Roman Period. For borders and guidelines in hieratic texts in general, see Tait, in Morris L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Papyrus*, 1986, pp. 75–76.

⁴³ See, for instance, the Books of the Dead in Taylor (ed.), *Journey Through the Afterlife*, 2010, p. 269 (fig. 81; Ptolemaic Period) and p. 283 (no. 151; 26th Dynasty).

⁴⁴ Compare Lucarelli, in John H. Taylor (ed.), *Journey Through the Afterlife*, 2010, p. 267. I am grateful to one of my anonymous reviewers for drawing my attention to this.

⁴⁵ There are two vaguely comparable examples; one in Möller, *Paläographie*, III, 1912, p. 35 (374; Leiden I 32) and one in Verhoeven, *Buchschrift*, 2001, p. 173 (P1; Tb pBM 10037, 2b,11), where in both cases a dot is added below the horizontal line.

⁴⁶ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 210. Compare Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, pp. 491–92, and Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, pp. 210–11 for further parallels, such as passages already attested in the Pyramid Texts.

⁴⁷ The lacuna is restored according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, ll. 2–3; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, ll. 1–2; P. Schmitt, col. 17, ll. 7–8.

⁴⁸ Reconstructed according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, l. 4; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 2; P. BM EA 10319, col. 11, l. 28; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 8.

⁴⁹ Compare the introduction above for more information on the presumable original length of the manuscript.

⁵⁰ See Szczudłowska, ZÄS 98 (1970), pl. III, and compare also Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, pp. 168 and 171, with n. 24.

⁵¹ See Kucharek, in Burkhard Backes et al. (eds.), *Liturgical Texts*, 2015, p. 238.

⁵² I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this. For excerpts in papyri with Osiris liturgies in general, compare Kucharek, in Burkhard Backes et al. (eds.), *Liturgical Texts*, 2015, pp. 237–42.

⁵³ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 211. Compare Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, pp. 492–93 for further parallels, such as passages already attested in the Pyramid Texts.

⁵⁴ Reconstruction according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, ll. 4–5; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 2; P. BM EA 10319, col. 25, l. 28; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 8.

⁵⁵ Due to the habit of writing *h3y Wsjr hntj jmnt.t*, the scribe confused the *jb*-sign with the *jmn*-sign.

⁵⁶ Restoration according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, l. 6; P. BM 10317, col. 14, l. 3; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 9.

⁵⁷ For the translation Mendes instead of Busiris – as, for instance, in Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 211, see Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, pp. 492–93. Compare also Kucharek, *Totenliturgien*, IV, 2010, pp. 83–84 (reference courtesy of one of my anonymous reviewers). P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 3, however, has a clear writing for *Ddw* “Busiris”.

⁵⁸ For Osiris and his connection to Sais, see Gill, *Ritual Books*, forthcoming, commentary of P. BM EA 10252, col. 25, l. 5 (*The Great Ceremonies of Geb*).

⁵⁹ LGG VI, 132b.

⁶⁰ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 211. Compare Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, pp. 494–95 for further

parallels, such as passages already attested in the Pyramid Texts.

⁶¹ Compare the following footnotes for more details.

⁶² The relevant fragment is currently misplaced to the left, at the beginning of col. 2, ll. 8–10.

⁶³ The relevant fragment is currently misplaced to the left, at the beginning of col. 2, ll. 8–10. The lacuna is restored according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, l. 9; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, ll. 5–6; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 10.

⁶⁴ The lacuna is filled according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, l. 10; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 6; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 10.

⁶⁵ Restoration according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, ll. 10–11; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 6; P. Schmitt, col. 17, ll. 10–11.

⁶⁶ The lacunae are filled according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, ll. 12–13; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, ll. 7–8; P. BM EA 10319, col. 11, l. 34; P. Schmitt, col. 17, ll. 11–12.

⁶⁷ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 212.

⁶⁸ Restored according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, ll. 14–15; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 12. P. BM EA 10319, col. 11, l. 35 has *nḥm-f-tw*.

⁶⁹ Compare the hieratic writing of the ship-sign in col. 3, l. 3.

⁷⁰ Restoration according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, l. 18; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 11; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 1; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 13.



⁷¹ I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for this reading suggestion.

⁷² P. Turin Cat. 1791, Spell 149, l. 48 (11th mound); compare the pictures on the database of the *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, TM 57201, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57201 (last accessed on 19/06/2018).

⁷³ Compare Gill, *GM* 246 (2015), pp. 38–40, and the literature references provided there. Add now also Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, pp. 495–98. The most recent study of the “address to the bringer of bas” is provided by Wüthrich and Stöhr, *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider*, 2013.

⁷⁴ This hypocephalus belonged to Pawerem, the owner of the abovementioned P. BM EA 10252 and 10081. Compare the publication of this object by Gill, *GM* 246 (2015).

⁷⁵ Restored according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 48, l. 20; P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 12; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 2; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 14. For further parallels, compare also the synopsis in Wüthrich and Stöhr, *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider*, 2013, pp. 54–55.

⁷⁶ The scribe forgot the two little strokes at the head of the bird for the writing of  (compare the writing of that bird in the line above), so that he wrote the hieratic for .

⁷⁷ Compare Wüthrich and Stöhr, *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider*, 2013, p. 29, with n. 2 for this translation.

⁷⁸ See *Wb* V, pp. 314–15, B, I. for *m tr*.

⁷⁹ Compare *Wb* I, p. 60, IV. for this meaning of *n jb-f*.

⁸⁰ P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, l. 14; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 4; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 15. See Wüthrich and Stöhr, *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider*, 2013, p. 29 and pp. 32–33.

- ⁸¹ P. BM EA 10317, col. 14, ll. 14–15; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 5; P. Schmitt, col. 17, ll. 15–16. See Wüthrich and Stöhr, *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider*, 2013, pp. 29 and 33, and Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, p. 497.
- ⁸² Compare Wüthrich and Stöhr, *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider*, 2013, p. 30 and pp. 34–35 for deviations in other versions.
- ⁸³ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 216. Compare Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, p. 498 and Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, pp. 216–18 for further parallels, such as passages already attested in the Pyramid Texts.
- ⁸⁴ For *szh* being interchangeable with *shz*, see *Wb* IV, p. 24, 4. The parallels have *szh*; see, for instance, P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, l. 1; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 1; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 9, or P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 18.
- ⁸⁵ Restored according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, l. 2; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 2; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 11; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 18.
- ⁸⁶ Compare the parallels: P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 2; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 11; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 19.
- ⁸⁷ Restored according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, l. 3; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 2; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 19.
- ⁸⁸ The lacuna is filled according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, l. 4; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, ll. 2–3; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 12; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 19.
- ⁸⁹ Restoration of the lacunae according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, ll. 4–5; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 3; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 12; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 19.
- ⁹⁰ The lacuna is filled according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, l. 6; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 3; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 20.
- ⁹¹ The lacuna is filled according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, ll. 6–7; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 4; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 13; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 20.
- ⁹² P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 2; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 19; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, ll. 11–12 have clearly *Ddw* “Busiris” written.
- ⁹³ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, pp. 216–17.
- ⁹⁴ No clear traces of *mꜣꜥ-hrw* are preserved; neither at the end of l. 11 nor the beginning of l. 12.
- ⁹⁵ Restored according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, l. 8; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 5; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 14; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 21.
- ⁹⁶ Reconstruction according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, l. 10; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 6; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 15; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 21.
- ⁹⁷ None of the parallels has something between *n=k* and *tkꜣ*; compare, for instance, P. BM EA 10252, col. 49, ll. 10–11; P. BM EA 10317, col. 15, l. 6, or P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 22. The traces of ink still preserved, however, suggest this restoration for our version.
- ⁹⁸ See Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, I, 2007, p. 127 (4.) for the value *hj* of this sign.
- ⁹⁹ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, pp. 219–20.
- ¹⁰⁰ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 219 reads *nb.t jmn.t*, “Herrin des Westens”. However, the sign written in P. BM EA 10252, col. 50, l. 14; P. BM EA 10319, col. 13, l. 1; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 34 is clearly *nh* and not the divine/west standard.
- ¹⁰¹ The lacuna is filled according to P. BM EA 10252,

col. 50, l. 14; P. BM EA 10317, col. 16, l. 11; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 36–col. 13, l. 1; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 34.

¹⁰² See P. BM EA 10252, col. 50, l. 15; P. BM EA 10319, col. 13, l. 2; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 34.

¹⁰³ Restoration according to P. BM EA 10252, col. 50, l. 16; P. BM EA 10317, col. 16, l. 12; P. BM EA 10319, col. 13, l. 2; P. Schmitt, col. 17, ll. 34–35.

¹⁰⁴ Emendation based on the parallels; see, for instance, P. BM EA 10252, col. 50, l. 16; P. BM EA 10317, col. 16, l. 12; P. BM EA 10319, col. 13, l. 2; P. Schmitt, col. 17, l. 35.

¹⁰⁵ Compare, for instance, P. BM EA 10252, col. 50, ll. 9–10; P. BM EA 10317, col. 16, ll. 8–9; P. BM EA 10319, col. 12, l. 34; P. Schmitt, col. 17, ll. 32–33.

¹⁰⁶ Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, III, 2008, p. 220.

¹⁰⁷ Compare P. Schmitt, col. 17, ll. 36–37; P. BM EA 10319, col. 13, ll. 7–8; P. BM EA 10317, col. 16, ll. 16–17. The version of P. BM EA 10252, col. 50, ll. 22–23 is only fragmentarily preserved.

¹⁰⁸ Backes, *Papyrus Schmitt*, 2016, p. 333, and Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, p. 11. The relevant invocation from P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08) that counts into that category is written in bold.

¹⁰⁹ Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 2009, p. 169.

¹¹⁰ See Backes, in Burkhard Backes et al. (eds.), *Liturgical Texts*, 2015, p. 24, and compare his list of ritual papyri on pp. 18–23.

¹¹¹ Compare Gill, *Ritual Books*, forthcoming, chapter 7.

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Pl. 2: P. Turin Cat. 2117 (R 08), recto, col. 2. Scan by Museo Egizio.

