

the death of the individual. By the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the heart scarab inscription had been joined by an elaborate composition denying wrong-doing by the deceased, the so-called Negative Confession in Chapter 125 of the Lepsius edition of the Book of the Dead. The expression of beliefs in a divine judgement acquired in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty an iconography that would remain remarkably constant down to the Roman Period in Egypt<sup>17</sup>. Divine judgement as the rite of passage to resurrection became part of later theologies, whether or not the Egyptian formulation can be considered ancestral to these<sup>18</sup>. The heart scarabs take their place now at the earliest edge of what seems a modern global history.

The mid-Twelfth Dynasty had already witnessed profound changes in the balance of solar and chthonic strategies at the cult centre and burial place of the king. In the pyramid complex of Senusret II, causeway access is forfeited to an emplacement of trees planted around the enclosure wall, while the subterranean chambers anticipate the plan of the deep tomb behind the Abydos South temple of Sety I<sup>19</sup>. During the reign of his son, Senusret III, the burial place seems to have been sited not in the pyramid fields of the north, but at Abydos South, where a rock-cut corridor tomb replaced the solar pyramid form<sup>20</sup>. Under Amenemhat III, the Abydene theme yielded to a variant strategy at Hawara, looking to the Fayum, though with the emphasis still on the fertility of the earth<sup>21</sup>. In this last lengthy Middle Kingdom reign, an inscription concerning the accession of the king ascribed to Sobek the status of national deity later assumed by Amun<sup>22</sup>. Perhaps then, from the ideological perspective, we might echo the Egyptian written record and define the late Middle Kingdom as the era of Sobek-Ra. During this period, multiple burials come to replace single burials as the norm in Egyptian cemeteries. Such gradual change marks a momentous revision of funerary customs, as they express social perception of the human being at and beyond death. The heart scarab and its inscription belong to, and may perhaps help us make sense of, this broader setting.

<sup>17</sup> Christine Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten*, Munich and Berlin 1976.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, C. W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, Columbia University Press, New York 1995.

<sup>19</sup> W.M.F. Petrie, G. Brunton and M. Murray, *Lahun II*, London 1923, pl.8.

<sup>20</sup> Joe Wegner, 'Old and new excavations at the Abydene complex of Senuwosret III', in *KMT* 6, 1995, 59-71.

<sup>21</sup> See Dieter Arnold, 'Labyrinth', in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, Wiesbaden 1980, cols. 905-907.

<sup>22</sup> Inscription of Amenemhat III from Fayum, fragments Berlin 15801-3, with parallel in later inscription of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, see *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin I. Inschriften der ältesten Zeit und des Alten Reiches*, Leipzig 1901, 268.

## CH. 41B OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD\*

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The study of the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead (BD) has been progressing quickly over the last decades; many new manuscripts have become available for thorough comparative studies thanks to the increasing number of publications, especially concerning papyri of the post-New Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

However, some important issues have still to be investigated in order to understand the process of textual transmission of which the BD represents the final phase. In particular a greater effort should be made in trying to define, on the one hand, which texts are later additions to the Theban recension and on the other hand, which have to be considered revised versions of earlier sources, in particular of the Coffin Texts (CT). The originality of the BD genre is in fact in the peculiar re-elaboration of the earlier sources, which implies the ability to develop original ideas and textual variations of existing spells. It is not a coincidence that texts, which at first glance would seem to be of late origin, are in fact variants of spells belonging to earlier corpora of funerary literature.

The hieratic BD papyri of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty offer abundant material for investigation on this topic. The insertion within these lengthy documents of textual passages that cannot be easily located in earlier sources highlights the aforementioned problem of defining their origin and date of composition. Some of what are currently considered "new 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty textual additions", because their only occurrence is on manuscripts of this period, derive from the CT. Chiefly for this reason, a more profound and extensive comparison between the two corpora should be made, in order to clarify the patterns of transmission and/or variation of these mortuary texts.

Following this line of research, in the current study I will discuss the case of a short text, the so-called Ch. 41B of the BD, occurring on a few hieratic papyri of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Until now this spell has been considered a 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty addition to the BD; in the following paragraphs I will show that, in reality, its source has to be located in spell 750 of the CT.

### 1. The text

The designation of Ch. 41B was originally made by Naville in the facsimile publication of the papyrus of Gatseshen (Naville 1914, XXXI: 21-25), because its text occurs at the end of Ch. 41. However, this short spell has been mostly ignored in the translations of the BD, which

\* I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. J.F. Borghouts and to Prof. M. Heerma van Voss for reading the manuscript and discussing with me some of the issues concerning the ancient Egyptian text.

<sup>1</sup> See the considerable number of titles on recent publications of papyri (56 in the last ten years) in: S.A. Gülden and I. Munro, *Bibliographie zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch*, Wiesbaden 1998: 28-54.

only include Ch. 41; only Allen has made an attempt to translate this text, by comparing the variants occurring in pGatseshen and pGreenfield (Allen 1974: 48).

Ch. 41B is only attested in four hieratic papyri of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, none of which is accompanied by a vignette:

- 1) PLondon BM 10064 — the BD of Paennestitai, pure-priest, chief bark captain of the Amun domain.<sup>2</sup>
- 2) PCairo JE 95838 — the BD of Gatseshen, a daughter of the High Priest Menkhepera.<sup>3</sup>
- 3) PLondon BM 10793 — so-called pCampbell, belonging to the High Priest Pinodjem II.<sup>4</sup>
- 4) PLondon BM 10554 — the so-called pGreenfield, belonging to Nesytanebtesheru, daughter of the High Priest Pinedjem II.<sup>5</sup>

It is possible to distinguish two main types of redaction of this text, one occurring in pCairo JE 95838 and pLondon BM 10064 (version A), and the other in pCampbell and pGreenfield (version B).

Only two of the mentioned papyri belong to women (pGatseshen and pGreenfield); however, feminine grammatical forms occur also in pPaennestitai and in the BD of Pinedjem II. On the basis of such evidence, in a recent study it has been suggested that the text of Ch. 41B was originally composed for a woman, and that the papyrus of Gatseshen, dated earlier than pGreenfield,<sup>6</sup> was probably the source book for this spell (Lesko 1994: 179-186).

In reality, even though accepting the hypothesis that this spell was originally destined for a woman, she was not Gatseshen. The mentioned text appears in fact on the Middle Kingdom's outer coffin of Sat-hedjhotep,<sup>7</sup> found in Bersheh (Daressy 1900; Lacau 1903: 222-238) and included in the sources of the Coffin Texts with the denomination of coffin B4C. On this coffin is the only attested version of the text, which was numbered spell 750 of the CT by A. de Buck.

## 2. Textual comparison

### 1. CT<sup>8</sup> - *Hsf (i)mnḥ.w*

A<sup>9</sup> - *Ky r3 n ḥsf š'd*

B<sup>10</sup> - *R3 n ḫtī mr.ty*

<sup>2</sup> I. Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Pa-en-nes-ti-tai aus der regierungszeit des Amenemope*, HAT 7, Wiesbaden 2001, Kol. 25, 11-17. I am grateful to Dr. I. Munro for having shown to me the photos and her transcription into hieroglyphs of this manuscript before publication.

<sup>3</sup> E. Naville, *op. cit.*; see Plate 1 for the transcription from the hieratic into hieroglyphs.

<sup>4</sup> I. Munro, *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus des Hohenpriesters Pa-nedjem II*, HAT 3, Wiesbaden 1996, Kol. 22, 5-9, Taf. 23.

<sup>5</sup> E.A.W. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum*, London 1912, Pls. XXVI: 16-XXVII: 3.

<sup>6</sup> PGatseshen was very probably composed at the time of Psusennes I/Amenemope, while pGreenfield originated from the time of Siamun/Sheshonk I; see Rößler-Köhler 1999: 85, 95.

<sup>7</sup> She was probably the wife of the nomarch Nehri II during the reign of Sesostris I; see H. Willems, *Chests of life*, Leiden 1988: 74.

<sup>8</sup> CT VI, 379k-380f.

<sup>9</sup> Based on pCairo JE 95838; variations in pLondon BM 10064 will be added in the footnotes.

<sup>10</sup> Based on pLondon BM 10554; variations in pLondon BM 10793 will be added in the footnotes.

2. CT - -----*I (i)mnḥ.w i.pf n(y).w nb 'nh*

A - *Dd mdw.w in N: i sfd.w ipw -----*

B - -----*sft.w<sup>11</sup>-----*

3. CT - [.....]

A - *nty ḥr=sn m sd.t, spd.w db'.w ḥ'.w=sn*

B - -----

4. CT - *'b3(.w) m iw'.w n~(y).w ḥrd.w n nb 'nh,*

A - *'b3b3y.w<sup>12</sup>-----n ḥrd.w=sn nb 'nh,*

B - -----

5. CT - *ḥr(i).ty(w)n(y) r Wsir N tn, m 'b3(.w) im=s*

A - *ḥr(i)<sup>13</sup> (t)n r=i, m 'b3b3 im=st*

B - *ḥr.w tn<sup>14</sup> -----im<sup>15</sup>*

6. CT - [.....]

A - *iw'.w n it=f wsir nb 'nh.*

B - -----

7. CT - *ḥr(i)ty(w)n(y) r=s, m=tn s(y) r rdi.t rh=f sm3=s n=f ḥft(.y).w=f*

A - *Ḥr(i)=tn r=i, m=tn tw ----- sm3m.w<sup>16</sup> ḥft(.y)=f*

A - *Ḥr.w=tn<sup>17</sup> r=i, m=tn tw -----sm3m -----*

8. CT - *S[twt?]=s n=f sby.w ḥr=f. wsir N tn [.....] wsir N tn, šm.n=t 'nh=t, n šm.n=t is mt.*

A - [.....]


B - [.....]

9. CT - [.....]


A - *'Ink s3.t=f, ink ms=f.<sup>18</sup>*

B - -----*ms(.w)=f.*

10. A - *'I in.yw ḥtp.w n wb3 r3=f, shnti sš.w, p(w)g3 md3.w.t, smn m3'.w, shnti tms(y).w, smn ntry.w.t, ink Wsir ip itr.w=f. Sdm=i nw n md3.wt, ts(i) k'h.t wnmy wp(.i)=f sms.w h3b(.w)<sup>19</sup>=f m d3d3.t.*

<sup>11</sup> The correct transcription of this term is , where the tyw bird is a graphic-phonemic bridge between *t* and *d* (contra Budge, *op.cit.*: 22, where the tyw bird is transcribed as *ḏ*); *sfd.w* occurs in pLondon BM 10793.

<sup>12</sup> In pLondon BM 10064 *'b3b3y*.


<sup>13</sup> The signs  added to *ḥr(i)* in pGatseshen are space fillers because of the end of the line; they do not occur in pPaennestitai, though also here the term is written at the end of the line.

<sup>14</sup> In pLondon BM 10793 *ḥr(i) (t)n*; see Munro, *op. cit.*: 35, d.

<sup>15</sup> In pLondon BM 10793 *im=st*.

<sup>16</sup> In pLondon BM 10064 *sm3m*.

<sup>17</sup> In pLondon BM 10793 *ḥr(i)=tn*.

<sup>18</sup> The signs  for *grh*, "pause", follow in both papyri, indicating the end of the textual section.

<sup>19</sup> In pLondon BM 10064 *h3b* with two diagonal strokes instead of the *w*.

## 3. Translation

(1) CT — To drive away the slayers.

A - Another spell<sup>a</sup> for preventing the slaughtering.<sup>b</sup>

B - Spell for seizing the *mr.ty*.<sup>c</sup>

(2) Words to be spoken by Osiris N:

O you slaughterers<sup>d</sup> of the Lord of Life,<sup>e</sup> (3) with burning faces and sharp of fingers and bodies,<sup>f</sup> (4) who make presentation<sup>g</sup> of the legs of {their}<sup>h</sup> children (of) the Lord of Life, (5) be away<sup>i</sup> from me, do not make presentation thereof. (6) The legs (belong) to his<sup>20</sup> father Osiris, Lord of Life. (7) Be away from me; look, he will be made to know, the slayer, his enemy<sup>l</sup>. (8) She will assemble (?)<sup>21</sup> for me<sup>22</sup> those ones who rebel against me. O Osiris N [.....] Osiris N, truly, you have gone away alive, you have not gone away dead. (9) I am his daughter, I am his child.<sup>m</sup> (10)<sup>n</sup> O you who bring the offerings for opening<sup>o</sup> his mouth, putting forward the writings, unfolding the papyrus rolls,<sup>p</sup> establishing the truth,<sup>q</sup> putting forward the wrong, establishing the goddesses,<sup>r</sup> I am Osiris, who counts his seasons, may I listen to these papyrus rolls, raising the right arm<sup>s</sup> (when) he judges<sup>t</sup> the Elders whom he has sent to the council.<sup>u</sup>

## 4. Commentary

a. The formula *ky r3* as chapter heading clearly shows that Ch. 41B was part of a group of spells of thematic consistency, namely the spells "for repelling hostile forces and animals". Their sequence is identical in both papyri of version A: Chs. 7-39-42-41-41B-31-32-40-36-33-37. The title of version B begins differently with *r3 n*, for in both manuscripts the spell is not directly related to the one copied before, namely Ch. 102, a spell for "travelling in the bark of Re".

The difference in redaction and textual arrangement between versions A and B derives from their belonging to two different groups of papyri of the hieratic textual tradition of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty BD. The stemma of this tradition has been reconstructed on the basis of Ch. 17 (Rößler-Köhler 1999: 77f.).

b. *š'd* or *š't*, the hieratic writing being identical in both the spellings, occurs also in the titles of Ch. 41<sup>23</sup> and 42; in this passage it can be better translated "slaughtering" instead of the less specific word "harm". The term "slaughtering" is also closer to the specific meaning of *š'd*, which in funerary texts indicates the "cutting off, chopping off" (Wb IV: 122; Zandee 1960: 154).

Moreover, the evil action of slaughtering the deceased corresponds more closely to the function indicated by the term *(i)mnḥ.w*, "slaughterers" or "slayers", the demons mentioned

<sup>20</sup> Namely of the deceased; the use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person for referring to the deceased is typical of the CT, while in the BD the 1<sup>st</sup> person is more often used. In the following translation the use of the 1<sup>st</sup> person will be preferred also in the passages that occur only in the CT, in order to uniform the text.


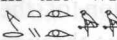
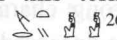
<sup>21</sup> *stwt*, "to assemble" (Wb IV, 335: 14-16), seems to be the most probable term which could fill the lacuna in the CT passage.


<sup>22</sup> See note 20.

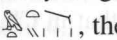
<sup>23</sup> However, in both papyri of version A the scribe has curiously skipped this term while writing the title of Ch. 41, which consequently results in the incomplete *r3 n ḥsf [š't] m ḥr.t ntr*, "Spell for warding off [harm] in the necropolis".

in spell 750 of the CT (Zandee 1960: 200).<sup>24</sup> Thus, the title of version A maintains a strong resemblance to that one of the CT spell.

c. The title of version B seems to connect the spell to the sequence of chapters against dangerous animals, if we identify the mentioned *mr.ty* with the pair of snake-goddesses that populated the Realm of the Dead and that are mentioned also in the title of spell 37 and in spells 58 and 122 of the BD. They constituted very probably the infernal aspect of the goddess Meret (Guglielmi 1991: 160f.); in the CT they are called *mr(i).w.t.y*, "the two beloved ones".

However, in both papyri of version B the word is not written with the pair of snakes or the two eyes generally employed as its determinative (Wb II: 107), but with the hieratic sign , which commonly characterises words related to death and enemies. Moreover, in other passages of both papyri in which the two snake-goddesses are mentioned, other variations in the writing of this term are employed, exhibiting different determinatives as well: <sup>25</sup> and <sup>26</sup>. In both these writings the two types of divine determinative clearly show that the *mr.ty* were considered divine beings.

On the contrary, in Ch. 41B the hieratic sign that has been employed does not concern a divine personification, but only gives an evil connotation to the word. In pGatseshen the same sign is used as determinative of other snakes as well, mainly Apopis and Rerek,<sup>27</sup> but in the later papyri of Version B the snake's determinative is more often represented by the sign <sup>28</sup>.

Furthermore, in the text of Ch. 41B, which follows this opening, no further mention of the two snakes is made. On the other hand, it is interesting to note how the hieratic writing for *mr.ty* is graphically almost identical, in both the papyri, to the one employed for *mt.t.y.w*, , the dead which in many funerary texts are intended as "damned people", for instance in Ch. 18 of the BD.<sup>29</sup>

On the basis of such evidence it would be possible to assume that *mt.t(y.w)* was the word which the scribe was thinking of when writing down the title of Ch. 41B; as collective form of *mt*, "dead" (Wb II: 167), this term could be connected to the mortal danger to be avoided by the deceased when he meets the "slaughterers" and the other demonic helpers of Osiris. In CT VI, 93d-e, *mt.t* with the meaning "dead male and female" is connected to the evil action of slaughtering performed by the inhabitants of the realm of the dead: "He (Atum?) will rescue me from the evil slaughtering (*š't*) that men, gods, Akhw and the dead (*mt.t*) say they will commit against my soul".

Accordingly, the verb *iti*, which replaces *ḥsf* of the title of version A, could take on a specific connotation and be translated "to snatch away, to pull away" in relation to the urge of escaping the *mt.w*. In funerary texts this verb expresses especially the fear of the deceased of "being taken away" by death (Zandee 1960: 86). In that case, an alternative translation of the title of version B could be "Spell for pulling away the dead".

<sup>24</sup> The reading *(i)mnḥ.w* should be preferred to *tnmw* (contra Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III, Warminster, 1978: 67, note 4, on CT IV 303, 6b); see also Wb III: 87.

<sup>25</sup> PGreenfield: Budge, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII: 13; pCampbell: Munro, *op. cit.*, Pl. 16: 11.

<sup>26</sup> PGreenfield: Budge, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII: 15; pCampbell: Munro, *op. cit.*, Pl. 21: 4.

<sup>27</sup> Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXX: 5 (Apopis, Ch. 7), 8 (Rerek, Ch. 39).

<sup>28</sup> This is especially true for pGreenfield; see for instance the writing of Apopis in Ch. 134 (Budge, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVIII: 2). However, in the corresponding passage of pCampbell the hieratic sign for enemies occurs as well as determinative of Apopis (Munro, *op. cit.*, Pl. 31: 7).

<sup>29</sup> PGreenfield, Pl. XIII: 17; pCampbell Pl. 12: 10.

d. *sft.w-sfd.w*: once again the original CT name of the demons (*imnh.w*) is replaced by a term with a very similar meaning. The *sft.w* or *sfd.w* were divine beings (Wb III: 444) very probably related to the ritual sacrifices for the offerings to the gods, as suggested by the meaning of the verb *sft* (Wb III: 443). This verb is also employed in CT VI, 8b: "For I know the name of this man who slaughters", referring to one of the demons who wants to catch the deceased in the net.

Demons connected to the slaughtering as the (*imnh.w*), the *sft.w* and the *'dty.w*,<sup>30</sup> are always related to Osiris.<sup>31</sup> They represent one of the main dangers that the deceased has to try to avoid during his travel in the underworld. The main role that the slaughtering played as punishment and danger in the Realm of the Dead is also iconographically shown by the many illustrations, on funerary papyri, of demons holding knives and swords (Zandee 1960: 16f., 201).

The funerary conception which emerges from that, is a strong characterisation of the Osirian netherworld as a place of execution and danger, which the deceased has to go through in order to reach the final assimilation to Re in heaven (Zandee 1960: 210-212). Consequently, Osiris appears mainly as an infernal god, symbolising the final judgement and damnation, in opposition to Re, who protects the deceased against the King of the Dead and his demons. In the BD such a conception becomes especially clear in those spells which, like Ch. 41B, derive from the CT, but its' first evidence dates back to the PT (Griffiths 1980: 173-176); in PT 145b it is recited: "Re-Atum has not delivered you to Osiris; he (Osiris) has not reckoned your heart, he has not taken possession of your heart".

e. The "Lord of Life" mentioned in the text is Osiris, as shown by the passage that in Ch. 41B integrates one of the missing parts of the CT spell: "the legs (belong) to his father Osiris, Lord of Life" (see translation, 6). This epithet is also mentioned between the names of Osiris listed in Ch. 142 of the BD, and it refers very probably to one of the most ancient aspects of the god as deity of the vegetation.

f. Lit. "Whose faces are on fire, whose fingers and bodies are sharp". This passage, which fills the corresponding lacuna in the CT spell, describes two typical physical characteristics of the demons, namely the burning (*sdt*) faces and the sharpness of many parts of the body. *Sdt* is employed very frequently in funerary texts for describing internal fire (Zandee 1960: 139f.); in CT II, 303b and 303b/413 (copied in spell 17 of the BD) the (*imnh.w*) are said "slayers of Osiris, painful of fingers...sharp of fingers".

g. *'b3by.w* could be seen as a reduplicating variant of *'b3(y).w*, "to make presentation".<sup>32</sup>

h. The suffix pronoun =*sn* is probably a corruption of the *n* occurring in CT VI 379, o. I would prefer to consider this *n* as a genitive form instead of a dative; the "children of the Lord of Life" (similarly to Allen, *op. cit.*), whose legs are offered by the demons, could be the dead men who, once arrived in the Realm of the Dead, become children of Osiris, Lord of

<sup>30</sup> See CT III, 305e, where the deceased expresses his fear of the demons *'dty.w* in the same way as in CT VI, 379p and s and in Ch. 41B: "be away from me!".

<sup>31</sup> See also CT VII, 133f: "O you slaughterers who belong to Osiris".

<sup>32</sup> Allen, *op. cit.*, hypothesised a different translation: "...whose bodies are ^glutted^ with..."; he probably did not know the existence of the earlier CT source. Probably for the same reason, Munro (*op. cit.*, 35, note c) arrived to the conclusion that the verb under question is "of unknown meaning".

Life. Thus, the closing expression "I am his child, I am his daughter", which occurs in the BD version of the text (see translation, 9), would clearly recall the beginning of the spell.

In a 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty version of Ch. 168B of the BD a similar expression can be found: "Offer him life forever as child of Osiris the Lord of [eternity] (says Re)" (Allen 1974: 170, S 6), where the "child of Osiris" is clearly the deceased.

i. In the BD the stative has lost the ending of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, *.ty(w)n(y)*, which is shown in the CT. This seems to be in close correspondence to the fact that in Late Middle Egyptian the endings of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons plural disappear (Jansen-Winkeln 1996: 76), and it shows how the text has been copied from a manuscript of later date.

l. In the CT: "She will slay his enemies for him". The passive verbal construction, which occurs in the BD version, is very rare to find in the CT, while it recalls the phraseology used at the beginning of the New Kingdom. This could indicate that the intermediate manuscript, from which the spell had been copied in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty papyri, was from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

Here the parallel of Ch. 41B with the CT ends, but the spell continues on the Middle Kingdom coffin with a short passage, 380 b-f (see translation, 8).

m. The closing expression of the spell, which does not occur in the CT, is very probably a declaration of the deceased to Osiris, Lord of Life, who is the only divinity repeatedly appealed to in this text (Lesko 1994: 183). In particular, it is noteworthy that the feminine expression "I am his daughter" occurs also in the papyri destined to males, namely pPaennestitai and pCampbell. A similar expression, *ink hy*, "I am the child", occurs also in Ch. 42, with probable reference to Herakleopolis, which is mentioned in the title of this spell (Hornung 1979: 442; Milde 1991: 224-225). The vignette of Ch. 42 in pGatseshen (Navelle 1914, Pl. XXX) shows a child inside a house, very probably also referring to the writing of *nn nswt*, Heracleopolis (Wb II: 272).

n. The following passage, originally corresponding to the closing section of the preceding Ch. 41, occurs here only in version A. The scribe has probably forgotten to copy it together with Ch. 41, and he has subsequently added it to the end of Ch. 41B; alternatively, we could assume that such a collation process was favoured because in this passage, as well as in the text of Ch. 41B, Osiris plays a central role.

On the other hand, in the remaining text of Ch. 41 the sun god, under his different forms, is mainly mentioned as helper of the deceased during his entry into the Realm of the Dead. As already pointed out by Hornung (1979: 441f.), the deceased is identified respectively with Atum and Osiris at the beginning and at the end of Ch. 41 in two earlier versions of the spell (pNeferubenef and pNu); this shows that solar and Osirian motives were originally both present in the integral version of Ch. 41, which included the passage under consideration.

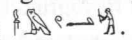
o. *n wb3 r3=f* is a corruption of the original passage *wb3 r3=f*, "who opens his mouth".

The long series of participial forms in the final passage coming from Ch. 41 seems to miss the main clause; consequently, the translation of the whole passage is unclear, as already noted by Barguet (1979: 84, note 5). However, in later versions the text has been shortened if compared to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty edition, as we can see for instance in pNespanefy (Verhoven 1999, col. A22, 11-12). In pGatseshen and pPaennestitai the main clause appears to have been built by changing the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty version *m-b3h Wsir, ntr '3, nb dt* in: *ink Wsir*.

p. *md3w.t* instead of *htp.w*, which occurs in the earlier as well as in the later versions (Budge 1898: 111, line 8; Verhoeven 1999, Kol. A22, 11), is probably the result of a mechanical mistake of the scribe who wrote the book roll instead of the hieroglyph for *htp*.

q. The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty text adds: *r st=s*, "on her throne" (Budge 1898: 111, lines 8-9).

r. As already noted above, the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty text has been shortened, the original passage including: *m-b3h Wsir, ntr 3, hk3 dt*, "in the presence of Osiris, the Great God, sovereign of Eternity" (Budge 1898: 111, line 10).

s. The writing of *wnmy* is unusual in pGatseshen, since it presents the striking man as determinative: .

t. Osiris "judge of the Elders" brings to mind the role of this god as judge of the dead, which is more attested by the BD than in the earlier funerary literature. This role has to be connected to his feared nature as a deity who has power over the dead: a possible negative judgement by Osiris was very much feared by the deceased.

u. In pNebsey a short passage is added to the end of the chapter: *imy m hrt-ntr*, "which is in the necropolis" (Budge 1898: 111, line 13).

## 5. Conclusions

The history of the text of Ch. 41B is representative of the high level of innovation in the funerary textual tradition of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty Thebes, particularly when dealing with the BD. However, in using the term "innovation" we do not only have to think of the introduction of new texts within the earlier corpus of spells; it is more the process of collation and elaboration of earlier sources into new compositions, that constitutes the most innovative feature of this BD tradition.

This appears to be especially true for the hieratic manuscripts that have been mentioned in connection with Ch. 41B. They all show a wide selection of spells, which have been arranged according to thematic sequences. Most of these textual sequences can be found already in the earlier manuscripts of the New Kingdom Theban recension. However, some new interesting variations emerge from the standardised ordering of spells, primarily concerning a new collation process of textual passages deriving from different sources.

The case of Ch. 41B is certainly one of the most striking examples of this peculiar textual patchwork. What is most remarkable is that this short text does not occur in the New Kingdom Theban recension of the Book of the Dead, but it derives directly from the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts. Moreover, the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty edition of this spell displays an active process of re-elaboration, beginning with some significant textual changes, which serve to the insertion of the spell into the earlier attested sequence of chapters for repelling hostile forces and animals. This sequence is fully shown, as we have seen above, in the manuscripts of Version A (see comment, a). On the other hand, in Version B we could better speak of a "chapter pairing", for only the chapters 41B-32 have been selected from the whole sequence, and inserted within a longer series of spells on the solar boat (Chs. 102, 99B) and on related topics concerning solar beliefs (Chs. 134, 15). The complete sequence is as follows: Chs. 102-41B-32-134-15-99B.

With regard to this subject, the most striking evidence of textual elaboration is the occurrence of two new variants in the chapter's heading. As already noted above, the title of version A

seems to have been appositely composed for inserting the spell into the mentioned textual sequence, and especially for connecting it to Ch. 41, which is copied before and presents an almost identical title.

Furthermore, this process of textual amalgamation has not happened at random, but it has moved from a well thought out selection of texts having similar contents. In the specific case of Ch. 41B, it is clear that its Middle Kingdom recension bore the same magical function as Ch. 41, namely the protection of the deceased against the dangers and tortures that he encounters in the Realm of the Dead. Consequently, we could assume that both spells were part of a group of texts on the same topic, from which the scribe had made a selection to copy onto the papyri. Very probably he was also allowed to make slight changes in the texts in order to connect more properly the different sources. The result was, as seen earlier, that the demons (*imnh.w*, which were referred to in the CT title, were replaced in version A of Ch. 41B by the more general word *3't* or *3'd*, which characterises most of the other spells titles belonging to the same thematic sequence.

On the other hand, the scribes of the later papyri of version B seem to have opted for a different title variant, which does not exactly match the contents of the following text, if we consider the *mr.ty* as the two snake-goddesses occurring in other places of the BD, but which are not mentioned in the text of Ch. 41B.

However, though we can not exactly explain what kind of religious or ritual connection relates the new title to the CT spell, it is clear that the earlier source, also in this case, has not been simply copied but re-elaborated into a new textual context.

Moreover, it is interesting that, despite the different title, the final short passage "I am his daughter, I am his child", which does not derive from the CT, occurs in both versions of the spell. This shows that there was a common textual model, where the original source had already been re-elaborated, and from which the text was copied in papyri belonging to a different redaction, namely what we have called versions A and B. Where to locate exactly this intermediate manuscript is presently hard to say, but on the basis of a few grammatical evidences we could think to the beginning of the New Kingdom (see in particular: commentary, i-1).

This sort of evidence gives us the measure of the peculiar character of the BD tradition of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, when the canonical corpus of spells underwent a complementary and contemporaneous process of variation concerning the redaction of the single texts as well as the clustering of them within the papyri. This procedure of textual recension did not only concern the formal layout of the papyri, but it certainly originated from specific theological choices, which are reflected in the textual selection and re-elaboration of the texts.

Spell 750 of the CT is a typical Osirian text. In the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, it has been adapted to a wider textual context, namely the BD, in the texts of which the Osirian religion merged to a great degree with the solar beliefs, through a complex network of mythological associations. This could explain why, once copied in the BD, CT 750 has been placed beside other spells which mainly refer to the sun-god.

This appears to be especially true in the case of version B, where Chs. 41B and 32 seem to serve the protection of the deceased during his travel in the solar boat mentioned in the spells copied before (Ch. 102) and after them (Ch. 99B). On the other hand, in version A the text has been closely woven into Ch. 41, mainly a solar spell; its only passage referring to Osiris has been copied at the end of Ch. 41B, according to what appears to be a coherent process of textual collation (see commentary, m).

The same principle of textual elaboration could be applied to many other spells of the BD. It strongly indicates that the fusion of solar and Osirian religion remains indeed the most characterising feature of the funerary religion in the Late New Kingdom, as expressed in the BD manuscripts. Much has already been said on this matter and on the theological developments that originated from this merging of different religious concepts (Hornung 1982: 93f.; Niwiński 1988).

However, insufficient emphasis has been placed on the fact that the re-use of the CT into the BD corpus was fundamental, in the Late New Kingdom and in particular during the 21st Dynasty, for the expression of the funerary beliefs of the period. Consequently, it becomes of the greatest importance to carry out a thorough comparative study between the two corpora of the CT and BD. As in the case of Ch. 41B, the study of the location of the early CT sources can widen our understanding of the patterns of composition of the later BD papyri, at the same time shedding light on the religious ideas mirrored by these composite funerary texts.

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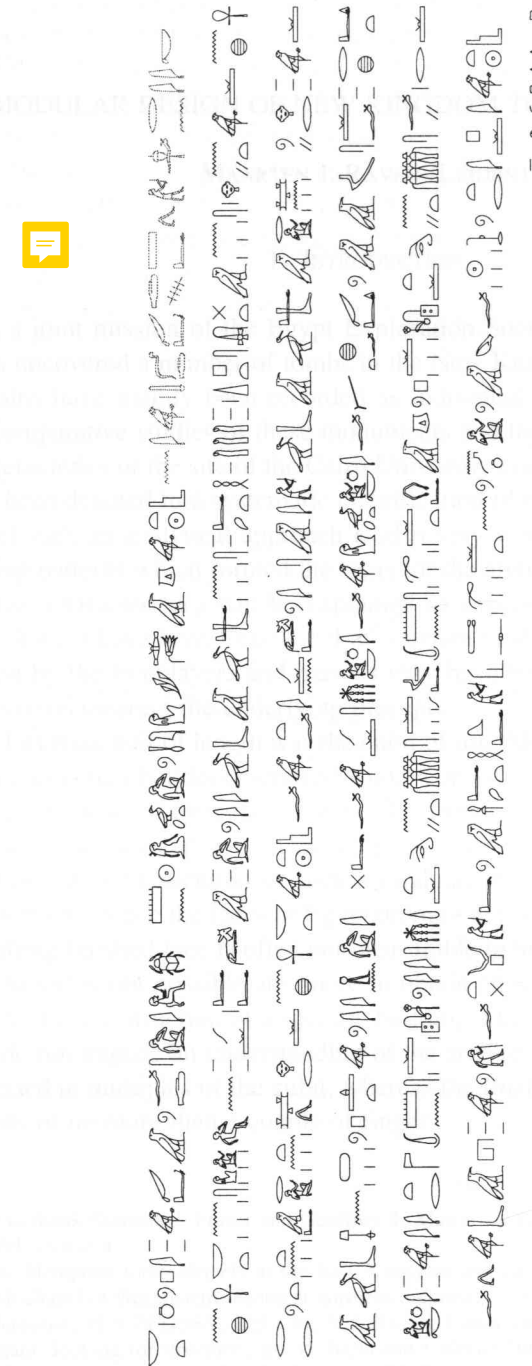


Plate 1. Naville, pl. XXXI: 21-25.

