

## The Distribution of Book of the Dead Spells' in Ptolemaic Tombs in Egypt

Nagoua Zoair

Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Fayoum University

### Abstract

Tomb was the posthumous residence of the deceased. Thus Ancient Egyptians high priority great attention to construct an elaborate tomb equipped with all necessities of eternal existence as the iconography of walls and ceiling. The religious theme was the principal sources of tombs' decorative programs in Ptolemaic Period in Egypt. These scenes revealed many subjects as presenting offerings to gods, but the most frequent scene's subject is that of funerary texts, especially the vignette and texts of Book of the Dead.

This paper aims to investigate the spatial distribution of Book of the Dead's scenes on different parts of the tomb and its significance. It will survey all scenes according to their spell number and every spell will be analysed according to place, title, vignette's description and finally its function; the latter highlight its choice. Results could provide some indications about the function of every part of the tomb.

**Key words:** Tombs, Ptolemaic Period, Egypt, Book of the Dead, Funerary beliefs.

### Introduction

Seeking of Posthumous existence and immortality was the ultimate goal of Ancient Egyptians. Accordingly, they developed many funerary texts to secure the deceased's resurrection and to gain immortality; these spells and utterances subsumes under some generic names as: Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead. Others were developed to describe the sun's journey in the Underworld as: Amduat, Book of the two Ways, Book of the Gates, Book of Caverns, Book of the Cow...etc. The Egyptians thought that the deceased would imitate this journey to be resurrected. The iconography of New Kingdom's tombs, either royal or non-royal individuals, and countless funerary materials denote the deeply root of such beliefs and the highly exigencies of funerary texts to secure the rebirth. This custom continues till the end of the pagan period, elucidating the persistence of Egyptian funerary customs and beliefs even amidst the Greek milieu.

The Book of the Dead or what was known in Ancient Egypt as "tA mDA t nT pr.t m hrw" or "Book for going out of the day"<sup>1</sup> was compiled for the first time as a corpus during the Second Intermediate Period (1700 B.C.)<sup>2</sup> and was attested on the coffins of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty<sup>3</sup>. It composed nearly of 200 spells which the majority based on Coffin Texts and others occurrence were during that period<sup>4</sup>. These collections of spells were divided into two types. The first type was spells recited on behalf of the deceased to secure his passage to the afterlife and recited especially during the interments and funerary festivals. The second type was spells pronounced by the dead

---

<sup>1</sup> Scalf F., "What is the Book of the Dead", In Scalf F. (ed.), *Book of the Dead: becoming god in ancient Egypt*, Chicago, 2017, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary hints for the books of the Dead was found on sarcophagus of queen Mentouhotep (13th dynasty), cf. Geisen Ch., *Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges des Königin Mentuhotep aus der 13. Dynastie*, SAT 8, Wiesbaden, 2004. Another initial compilation that dates back to the same period is the spell 17 of that book inscribed on the coffin of prince Herunefer, cf. Parkinson R. and Quirk S., "The coffin of the prince Herunefer and the early history of the Book of the Dead", In Lloyd A.B. (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic religion and society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffith*, London, 1992, p. 37-51.

<sup>3</sup> Smith M., *Traversing eternity. Texts for the afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, Oxford, 2009, p. 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> Munro I., "The evolution of the Book of the Dead", In Tylor J., *Journey through the afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, London, 2010, p. 55

himself through his journey to Netherworld to guarantee his rebirth and immortal destiny<sup>1</sup>. Spells of Book of the Dead were widely appeared in many funerary objects prior to the Ptolemaic Period; their representations didn't occur only in papyri but also in sarcophagi, coffins, mummy shrouds, funerary masks, amulets, individual statues, shabti statuettes and in the tombs. Inherited from the "Saite Recension"<sup>2</sup>, the Book of the Dead was still in used during the Graeco-Roman Period, and it was represented either in a complete version<sup>3</sup> or as excerpts in the funerary objects. The majority of the Graeco-Roman tombs, especially that of *Chora*, which were constructed for high social strata, consists of single or a pair of chambers which were decorated by reliefs of religious subjects that reveal. The scenes' themes of these tombs denote clearly the popularity of Egyptian funerary texts. Although every necropolis has its decorative programme that demonstrated very wide rang of funerary practices and religious beliefs, BD was a main part of decorative schema of these tombs. Spells of the BD are usually represented in the tomb to enable the owner to move freely out of it and to return; he could even travel through sky and could join gods there.

The Book of the Dead spells will be discussed through their places and description of the scene. The number of spells and lines is set according to R. Lepsius publication of Papyrus of Iufankh which dates back to the mid or late of Ptolemaic Period. The spell title would be mentioned; even it is not inscribed in the tomb because it indicates its purpose. In case of absence of the tile, it will be cited according to R. Lepsius publication<sup>4</sup> *supra*. The sample will cover all the tombs that dates back to the Ptolemaic; they are three tombs from north to south: tombe of Atfih, Petosiris Tomb in Touna el-Gebel and Tomb of Hu. The previous scholarships, the database of *Das Altägyptische Totenbuch* of Bonne University d scenes will be the base for studying these scenes.

### 1. Tomb of Atfih

Situated about 80 km south of Cairo, Atfih which was known in Ancient Egypt as &p-iHw, or Aphroditopolis in the Graeco-Roman Period, was the main cult centre the XXII<sup>nd</sup> nome of Upper Egypt, Mdnit in Egyptian and Aphroditopolite in Greek<sup>5</sup>. In 1903, the locals of the village Manshyet Soliman, east of Atfih, had discovered a tomb decorated with painted scenes and religious texts<sup>6</sup>. Unfortunately, before the arrival of G. Daressy, the tomb was partially destroyed

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> According to scholars, during the beginning of the Saite Period or perhaps at the end of the XXV<sup>th</sup> dynasty, these spells were arranged in a fixed manner and specific sequences; this is known as 'Recension Saite'. This sequences of texts and illustrations were used till the final use of BD during the Roman Period. For more information, cf. Qurik S., *Going out in daylight: prt m hrw - the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead - translation, Sources and meanings*, London, 2013, p. ix; Scalf F., 'the death of the Book of the Dead', In Scalf F. (ed.), *Book of the Dead: becoming god in ancient Egypt*, Chicago, 2017, p. 141

<sup>3</sup> One of the complete version of Book of the Dead was the famous papyrus of Iufankh which dates back to the middle or Late of Ptolemaic Period, cf. Lepsius R., *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem Hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, Leipzig, 1842; it was recently translated by Carrier C., *Le papyrus de Iouefankh (Turin, cat. n°1791)*, Paris, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eldamaty M.M., *Sokar-Osiris-Kapelle im Temple von Dendara*, Hamburg, 1995, p. 172; Leitz C., *Die Gaumonographien in Edfou und ihre Papyrusvarianten. Ein überregionaler Kanon kultischen Wissens im spätzeitlichen Ägypten. Soubassementstudien III, SSR9*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 171-176.

<sup>6</sup> Daressy G., "Tombeau ptolémaïque à Atfieh", *ASAE* 3, 1902, p. 160-180.

by the locals but the scholars were able to save it and have cemented it after copying the texts and drawing some scenes<sup>1</sup>.

Oriented north-south, the tomb is composed of a long passageway which leads to two rectangular chambers constructed in the same axe, the whole is vaulted by a semi circle dome figures 1 and 2)<sup>2</sup>. It was initially constructed for a high official family, it-nTr and hA.ti-a PA-di-Wsir<sup>3</sup> and his successors; every hieroglyph legend was inscribed in a separate wall. The family was buried in six limestone sarcophagi which were carved in the floor; their wives were buried in the same tomb. Later on, it seems that it was transferred to a collective burial as remains of, at least, a dozen mummies were discovered in it<sup>4</sup>.

Despite that tomb dates back to the mid of the Ptolemaic Period<sup>5</sup>, and that period is characterised by the amalgamation of Egyptian and Greek traditions, customs and even the religious thoughts, the walls and ceiling scenes as well as the texts illustrated exclusively the Egyptian aspects of funerary beliefs, elucidating the existence of some conservative Egyptian families. The scenes painted in red; they represented the Book of the hours, vignettes and texts of BD. The spells represented in the two chambers are 45, 46, 47, 148, 154, 54, 56, 89, 162<sup>6</sup>.

1.1. Spell 45 (scene only)

(figure 3)

Location: Chamber I, southern wall, eastern jamb of the entrance, upper register.

Description: This scene was described by Daressy without citing its number. It represented Anubis in anthropoid form with a jackal head, supporting the upright deceased mummy by putting a hand on his back and the other on his shoulder. This spell is one which developed from CT 755<sup>7</sup>.

Title: r n tm HwA m Xr.t-nTr

“*Formula for not rotting in necropolis*”.

Function: Recited by the deceased, its purpose to prevent the decomposing of some parts of his body especially limbs.

1.2. Spell 46 (text only)

(figure 3)

Location: Chamber I, southern wall, eastern jamb of entrance, under previous scene.

Description: It was inscribed in two columns including the title; some parts are missing. The conserved text represents a part of columns one and two (according to Lepsius 1834 numbering).

Title:

---

<sup>1</sup> For more information about excavations in Atfih, cf. Cassier Ch. “Fouille à Atfih au début du XXe siècle”, *ENiM* 4, 2011, p. 273-290. The site is recently excavated by a joint mission of faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Helwan University and Université de Montpellier III especially in the necropolis of the sacred cows; for more information about the results of this mission, cf. Mission égypto-française d’Atfih (MEFA), “Atfih, la zone centrale de l’Hésateum (zone A). Travaux dans la nécropole des vaches sacrées (1)”, *ENiM* 3, 2010, p. 137-165.

<sup>2</sup> The plan of that tomb looks like that of cow necropolis in the same area cf. *Ibid.*, fig. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Ranke H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I., Holesstein, 1935, p. 123.1.

<sup>4</sup> Daressy G., *op.cit.*, p. 160-161.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> For information about spells Cf. Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 1353230, [totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135333](http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135333); the spell 45 is not cited in the site.

<sup>7</sup> De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin texts*, vol. VI, 522.



r n tm ski wnn anx m Xr.t-nTr

*Formula for not perishing but existing living in the necropolis.*

Function: It is one of the utterances that recited by the deceased himself. The purpose of this formula is not clear perhaps it refers to the regeneration of the deceased<sup>1</sup>.

1.3. **Spell 47** (text only)

(figure 3)

Location: chamber I, southern wall, eastern door jamb, beside the columns of previous spell.

Description: the text is arranged in 3 columns; the division between spell 47 and 46 didn't exist as the title of the former is inscribed with the second column of the later. The formula was completely depicted despite many parts have disappeared.

Title:



r (n tm) rdi iT tw st n s ma=f r Xr.t-nTr

*“Formula for not taken never the seat of a man from him in necropolis”.*

Function: The spell is recited by the deceased to preserve his place and seat in the netherworld, in another way to keep himself amidst the immortal of the god's land. Its origin is the CT. 552<sup>2</sup>.

1.4. **Spell 148** (scene and text)

(figure 3)

Location: chamber I, southern wall, western door jamb; text belongs to PA-di-@r-dnit<sup>3</sup>, son of PA-di-Wsir.

Description: The scene of the spell was completely depicted as illustrated in the papyri of Book of the Dead, but some texts are missing. According to Daressy<sup>4</sup>, it depicts the deceased with arms raised in adoration of mummy god Osiris<sup>5</sup> wearing *atef* crown and supported by a goddess holding a hieroglyph *imn.t* “the West; behind the dead man is a woman holding a sistrum; in

<sup>1</sup> Quirk S., *op.cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin texts*

<sup>3</sup> Ranke H., *op.cit.*, p. 125, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Daressy G., *op.cit.*, p. 163-164.

<sup>5</sup> Osiris is frequently represented with falcon head, probably as Sokar; cf. Lepsius, *op.cit.*, p. LXX.

front of the god is depicted an offering table full of different kind of offering. Behind the goddess are depicted seven cows and a bull in four registers, two in every register accompanied by hieroglyphs legends of which that of three cows and the bull are conserved. Behind the goddess are arranged four steering-oars headed with a falcon head accompanied with four representations of *Udjat* eye. The text is arranged in six lines which represented part of spell from mid of line 8 till mid of line 12.

Title: is absent in this tomb; in Iufankh papyrus, spell title cited in a line not before the scene as the usual manner of depiction the titles. It reads:

mDA t n sikr<sup>1</sup> Ax Hr-ib Ra rdi=f sxm Itm saA=f xr Wsir

*“Book for making the transfigured excellent upon the heart of Re, allowing him to have power before Atum, to exalting him before Osiris”.*

Function: The spell appeals for offerings to the transfigured spirit “Ax”. It seems that it was recited by relatives during some ceremonies of deceased cult as the day of interment and during some different festivals of which some are mentioned in the first and second lines of the Iufankh papyrus as: PsDntyw sw 1 Abd 6-nw Hb 15-nw.t Hb wAg Hb +Hwty (Hb) msw.t Wsir Hb Mnw grH n Hb HAK *“the day of the New Moon, the first day of the month, the feast of the sixth day, the festivals of fifteenth day, the feast of wag, the feast of Thoth, the feast of Min and the night of the feast of Haker”.* The main purpose of these festivals varied but they attached certainly to resurrection and presenting offering to deceased; the seven cows and the bull were responsible to provide the deceased with offerings and accordingly, he could gain the rebirth<sup>2</sup>. The text inscribed in the tomb reinforce the spell function; it is an invocation to Re “who shines in his sun disk” to provide him with bread and beer and to confer the statue of transfigured spirit “Akh” upon him.

#### 1.5. Spell 154 (scene and text)

(figure 4)

Location: Chamber I, eastern wall, upper register; Chamber II, eastern wall, upper register.

Description: A mummy is laid on a lion-from bed; above them is represented a red sun disk sending its rays to the mummy chest. To protect the deceased from threatening forces, a group of gods is represented around the mummy: Amesti and Duamutef followed by four anthropoid divinities on the side of the head; Hapi and Qebehsenuf and four other divinities on the side of leg<sup>3</sup>. The text was inscribed in seventeen columns under the mummy bed represented three columns of that of Lepsius’ publication.

Title: hasn’t been mentioned in the text.

r n tm rdi.t sbi XA.t

*“Formula for preventing the body from passing away”.*

Function: it is recited by the deceased who aimed to preserve his body complete and prevent its decomposition. In the text mentioned in the tomb, the deceased appeal to Osiris to treat him as he treated his father Atum by allowing him going to the land of eternity and by not passing away his body<sup>4</sup>.

#### 1.6. Spell 89 (scene and text)

(figure 4)

Location: Chamber I, eastern wall, second register, below the previous one.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson P., Ptolemaic Lexikon, A lexicographical study in the temple of Edfu, Leuven, 1997, p. 801.

<sup>2</sup> Lucarelli R., “Gods, spirit, demons of the Book of the Dead”, In Scalf F. (ed.), *Book of the Dead: becoming god in ancient Egypt*, Chicago, 2017, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Normally, the mummy is solely represented in the vignettes of the Book of the Dead.

<sup>4</sup> Daressy, *op.cit.*, p. 168.

Description: A ba-soul holding shen sign between its claws hovers over a mummy laid on a lion-form bed. Under the bed are represented four canopic jars with lids in the form of four sons of Horus. The mummy's head is protected by kneeling Nephtys following by three stands deities: one with human head wearing solar disc, the second with cow head and the third catching a knife; the whole representation is followed by a scarab standing on a pedestal. Regarding the feet, it is protected by kneeling Isis following by a priest presenting offerings to the mummy. Behind him is depicted a group of divinities: two divinities in a mummy form, a lion-headed goddess catching a knife, and a god with a jackal head representing with two arms leaning forward. The texts, which inscribed with some other funerary inscription, presented the whole spell except its title and the last part of it (about half of a column).

Title: not mentioned in the tomb.

r n rd.i dmy bA=f r XA=f m Xrt nTr

“Formula for allowing his ba joining to his body in the god's domain”

Function: Originally found in CT 100<sup>1</sup>, the utterance concerns with securing the embodiment of ba-soul into the mummy corps after allowing her to move freely in skies. The deceased warn any delay of this operation will bring the anger of Horus on. It was one of many utterances inscribed on amulets. Also who knows this spell would never miss the connection between his *ba* and his body.

On this walls, other inscriptions were inscribed accompanying the previous scene presenting some BD's spells 191 and 192 according to T.G. Allen numbering<sup>2</sup>. These two spells appeared during the Ptolemaic Period. First spell is found in some other funerary monuments as sarcophagi and stela<sup>3</sup>. Second spell were less commonly represented in BD but was found in many sarcophagi. This tomb is the only known example that includes these two spells.

### 1.7. Spell 191 (text)

(figure 4)

Location: Chamber I, eastern wall, southern side, second register.

Description: in known version of BD, the spell has the same scene of spell 89, the soul which hover above the body. The text is distributing on 16 columns. According to Allen, 10 of them are that of spell 191 and the other six belong to the beginning of spell 192.

Title: not written in the tomb but in the Allen's publication is mentioned:

r n int bA r Xt

“Formula for bringing the ba-soul to the body”

Function: this Ptolemaic spell was intending to help the *ba* to join the body. Goyon cited that this spell was a part of *sakhu* corpus “transfiguration” which was recited annually at the rebirth of Osiris. Thus, the deceased hoped to be resurrected as Osiris.

### 1.8. Spell 192 (text)

(figure 4)

Location: Chamber I, eastern wall, southern side, first register above the previous spell

Description: the text was inscribed in 16 columns; the first four columns are just a repetition of the last four columns of spell 191.

Title: not mentioned in the text and it parallel cases it started only by word *ky r* “another formula”

Function: this spell is another excerpts from the *sakhu* corpus which enable the rebirth of Osiris.

### 1.9. Spell 54 (scene and text)

(figure 1)

Location: Chamber II, northern wall, eastern door jamb.

<sup>1</sup> De Buck, *Coffin Text*, vol. II, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Allen T.G., *The book of the Dead or Going forth by day*, Chicago, 1952, p. 214-215.

<sup>3</sup> Quireck, *op.cit.*, p. 558.



Location: chamber II, western wall.

Description: the scene depicts the striding primeval cow floodwater, Ihet, wearing a solar disk surmounted by double plumes, a necklace at her neck and a red cover on her back. The texts consist of 16 columns: two are inscribed in front of cow's head and the other above her back occupying the height of the register<sup>1</sup>. The texts represented seven columns and half with insignificant variations.

Title: It is depicted in the first column in front of Ihet head.



r n rdi xpr bs Xr tp n Ax

*“Formula for creating heat under the head of transfigured spirit”*

Function: It is one of supplemented chapter which made its first appearance during the second half of 21<sup>th</sup> dynasty<sup>2</sup>. It was usually inscribed on hypocephali, on a sheet of papyrus placed under head of the mummy, or on the uppermost of masks. The spell is an invocation to Amon for creating flame under the head of deceased and thus he could get rid of his lethargic state and to be turned to a *ba*.

As a result, tomb of Atfih includes seven spells in addition to four duplicated spells; they belong to different owners: Pa-di-Wsr, Pa-di-Hr Dnit and S-n-Wsrt. Seven spells are depicted on façade's two sides and walls of the chamber II; four were figured on the eastern wall of chamber I which are just a repetition of that of chamber II. The eastern half of the tomb includes nine: spells 45, 46 and 47 on the eastern part of the facade of burial chamber; 54 and 56 on the eastern side of the northern wall of chamber II; 154 and 89 on the eastern wall of the two chambers. Only 148 and 162 spells were represented on western part: the former on west side of southern wall of chamber I while the latter is figured on the western wall of chamber II.

The spells' choice denotes some remarks regarding their function. In order to secure the posthumous existence, the deceased would require a preserved physical body (45, 46, 154, 162), vital supplies (air and water 54 and 56, offering 148), mobile *ba* that join the body (89, 191 and 192) and place in Osiris realm (47). Thus, every funerary chamber is adorned with collection of spells that secures all these vital elements. Spells for preserving body, securing place and the offerings are inscribed on the shared wall of two chambers: spells 45, 46, 47, 148 respectively; other for securing the mobility of the *ba* and preventing body's decomposition are repeated in the same place of every chamber. The second chamber includes spells that reinforce the vital supplies for body and *Akh* spirit (54 and 56) and keeping the vitality of the body (162).

Analysis of spells distribution according to its owners leads almost to the same results *supra*. Inscriptions include three persons two brothers, PA-di-@r \_nit and %-n-Wsrt, and the son of the latter PA-di-Wsir. The first two persons were mentioned in spells of chamber II: 54, 56, 162, 148, 89, 154 while the third one is mentioned in spells of chamber I: 45, 46, 47, 89 and 154.

<sup>1</sup> Daressy G., *op.cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Wüthrich A, *Éléments de théologie thébain, les chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts, SAT 16*, Wiesbaden, 2010, p. 45.

Every group of them achieve the attainment of eternal posthumous existence of the deceased. The two brothers secure their physical body (I54), the vital needs (54, 56 and 148), and mobile *ba* (89), the return of the *ba* to the body and annual resurrection (191 and 192); the place was secured by some excerpts from BD 154 when the deceased asked Osiris to let him “go down to the land of eternity” as he did for his father Atum. Similarly, those of PA-di-Wsr confirm his passage to eternity: 45, 46 and 154 for preserving corporal body; 89 for the free-moving *ban* offering and breathing; 191 and 191 for allowing the *ba* returning to the body and rebirth; and 47 for his seat in the land of eternity.

Despite it is useless to arrange requirements of immortality according to their importance because the absence of any previous elements brings the decay. However, it is unequivocal question that the first step is preserving corporal body and thus the embalming process occurs after a short time of death, then it was followed by some rituals, one of them is making offering in the day of interment. Thus the artist depicts the preserving body’s spell and that of offering on the vocal point of the tomb: the façade of the chamber II, the first place to be viewed by those who will enter the tomb. The spells of 154, 89, 191 and 192 which secure the corporal body over which hover the *ba* that are inscribed on the eastern<sup>1</sup> wall of the two chambers to emulate the sun reborn on the eastern horizon after passing the realm of the Dead; the mobile *ba* could accordingly travel anywhere on earth and in the sky joining the realm of sun god. Also, in the text of BD 89, the deceased asked to allow his *ba* to bear meat from the eastern horizon of the sky<sup>2</sup>.

The internal of main burial chamber includes other spells on the eastern side of its northern wall (spell 54 and 56). They secure the provision of air and water to the deceased. Its placement is not obvious. En general, the ancient Egyptian preferred generally the breeze of the north wind and to nourish it, the deceased has to dwell in the south.

The west half of the tomb includes only two spells: 162 on the southern wall of chamber II and 148 on the western side of chamber II façade. This distribution is probably due to the geographical context of the tomb. Despite its location is still missing but according to ulterior excavation of Daressy, it lies probably on the north west side of the site<sup>3</sup>. According to sketch of A. Kamal, the western wall of this tomb views on the necropolis of sacred cows<sup>4</sup>. As the cow plays an important role in 148 and 162 spells: provider of offering and appealing for creation head under the head respectively, the owners may aim to invoked the prayers to the cows that buried there.

## 2. Tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel

Tuna el-Gebel is one of the most important necropolis in Egypt; it was massively used during the Graeco-Roman Period by the residents of Hermopolis Magana, the metropolitan capital of the 15<sup>th</sup> nome, Wnt, of Upper Egypt<sup>5</sup>. This necropolis endures very rich figurative reliefs that represent the persistence and the interaction of both Greek and Egyptian religious beliefs.

<sup>1</sup> The East was regarded by the Egyptian as the place of punishment and the deceased should avoid it (cf. Zandee J., *Death as an enemy according to ancient Egyptian conceptions*, Leiden, 1960, p. 161); this concept continues in Graeco-Roman Period: a father wish that her daughter will never dwell in the eastern necropolis (cf. Smith M., *The papyrus Harkness (MAA 31.9.7)*, Oxford, 2005, p 73 n°4). But the tomb as a whole was considered contiguous to the West where Osiris presided and its directions refers to four cardinal points and its four doors.

<sup>2</sup> Qurik, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Cassier Ch., *op.cit.*, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Kamal A., “Fouilles à Atfih”, *ASAE* 9, 1908, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> Leitz, *op.cit.*, 115-124.

Discovered by G. Lefebvre at the end of 1919<sup>1</sup>, the tomb of Petosiris is considered to be the core and the focal point of the necropolis by its decorative programme which expresses the continuity of Egyptian thoughts after the conquest of Alexandre the Great and the existence of Greek influences in life of the Egyptian elites. The tomb may be dated to the 30<sup>th</sup> dynasty and some additions were constructed in Ptolemaic Period.

Oriented north-south, the tomb consists of two parts: an elongated pronaos and a rectangular chapel; the latter includes the shaft that leads to the burial chamber of Petosiris' family below the building (figure 5). The chapel is divided into three parts by two rows of two pilasters; there are other two pilasters in each of southern and northern wall. The reliefs of the pronaos carry the earliest evidence of Greek art in Egyptian context, especially in the *Chora* of Egypt. Contrary to the pronaos, the figurative scenes of naos only indicate Egyptian art and beliefs of the fourth century B.C. The scenes of the chapel are divided equally between the father, Neshu, and the elder brother of Petosiris, Djedthotiuankh: the eastern part for the former and the western part for the latter.

This tomb was adorned by many funerary texts derived from PT, Amduat, BD and book of respiration. The texts and scenes of BD spells were mainly concentrated on the chapel but there are some scenes, inspired from some BD vignette of "Theban Recension" in the inner wall of the tomb as playing *senet* game.

### 2.1. Spell 128 (text)

(figure 6)

Location: chapel, northern wall, eastern side.

Description: the text is inscribed in 9 columns; five of them were the text of spell 128 and the other were that of PT. The upper part of the first four columns is totally destroyed.

Title: the spell is a hymn to Osiris which started frequently with *dwA Wsir*.

Function: It is a hymn to Osiris in which his son Horus ensures to him that he got over of his enemies and he made all his efforts for the welfare of his father in the Netherworld. The chapter in Petosiris context reflects the role and the duty of the son (Petosiris) to commemorate his father and thus gain his benedictions. The hymn to god is also a means to make the deceased being amidst gods.

### 2.2. Spell 57 (text and scene)

(figure 7)

Location: chapel, northern wall, eastern side.

Description: Neshu and his wife are sitting on two chairs in front of a Nut emerging from sycamore tree; she is pouring four rays of water from a *Hs* vase ending in four cups holding by Neshu, his wife and two children on their knees. The texts were organised in 16 columns of different height. The text includes all the formula except its end.

Title: not mentioned in the text

*r ssnt TAw sxm m mw m Xrt nTr*

"Formula for breathing air and having power on water in the god's domain".

Function: The spell is one of the series that secure providing of breath and water to the deceased in the netherworld. The text mentioned in this tomb is originally derived from the CT spells 352 and 3552. The spell also contains some recitation that enables the deceased to keep a place in Djedu and Iunu.

### 2.3. Spell 1 (scenes only).

(figure 8)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lefebvre G., *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, 3 vols., Cairo, 1924; cf. Lembke K. and Prell S., *Die Petosiris-Nekropole von Tuna el-Gebel*, Tuna el-Gebel 6, Vaterstetten 2015.

<sup>2</sup> De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin texts*, IV, CT353 and V. CT355, Chicago, 1935.

Location: chapel, east wall.

Description: The whole wall depicts the funeral of Neshu in three registers which end in the south part of the wall by purification of the deceased by his son Djedher. The whole scene is inspired by the New kingdom tombs in Thebes, either royal or private. The upper register represents daughters and sons of Nesu acting as mourners and then followed by offering bearers priests, who are acting as the four sons of Horus holding the necessary elements for enter the life after death: mummy form (body), ba, ib, and ka. The middle register shows the cart supports a boat carrying the shrine of Neshu's mummy. Behind the cart is depicted the canopic shrine and box of shabti; in front, there are standards bearers, offering bearers, two males performing the sacrifices. The lower register is occupied by different kinds of offering holding by males and females. The southern part is almost occupied by a large panel of a height of the two registers representing the deceased and his son stand on a podium decorated with cavetto cornice and behind them the tomb topped by a pyramidion. The son is holding a vase and pouring water over the mummy.

Title: in BD of New kingdom papyri, this whole scene holds n°1<sup>1</sup>, but in late period the funeral vignette surmounted the texts from 1-15; the later include the nine hymns to the sun.

Function: this spell is one of most spells represented widely in papyri dating to the New kingdom onwards. The purpose of this formula is to start the rituals of burial. The formula is supposed to be recited by the deceased himself by taking the role of Thoth "the figure of wisdom", who brings the exact and ritual knowledge necessary for reviving the dead". Assmann though that the popularity of spell 1 refers to its linking the eternal life of the deceased with the sacred rites, which take place in some selected places, of Osiris' justification and destroying his enemies; thus occurs actually by knowing and reciting litanies in an accurate manner as Thoth did in the course of Osiris justification and establishing his status<sup>2</sup>. In the end of the spell the deceased aske for the principal needs for his eternity as offering which enables his ba to move freely.

#### 2.4. Spell 18 (text and scenes)

(figure 9)

Location: chapel, west wall, middle register.

Description: the scene was almost inherited from the BD vignette. It is divided into nine panels which occupies longitudinally all the middle register of the wall. Every panel is occupied by text organised in columns accompanied by the deceased venerating gods and goddesses invoked in the texts.

Title: This chapter has no titles and it follows directly chapter 17 and it has no separated title but every panels here starts with the formule of:

Dd mdw in wsir wr 5 xrp nswt ntr a +d-+Hwt-.if-anX ma xrw i +htwy smAa Xrw Wsir r Xftwy.f smAa xrw (.i) r xftwy mi.

"Words spoken by the great of five, controller of seats, great god, Djedthoutiufankh, true of voice, O Thoth! Who justify Osiris against his enemies, (may you) justify me like".

Function: the spell is one of the most repeated spells of BD. The deceased aims that Thoth justify him, declaring him true of voice, in the presence of gods of 'tribunal' of scared places<sup>3</sup>. Every place is related to some rituals of reviving and embalming of Osiris. These gods and their scared places inscribed in this tombs are from north to south:

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Budge E.A.W., The Book of the Dead, facimiles of the papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet, London, 1899, fig. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Assmann et al., Altägyptischen Totenlilurgien 2, Totenlilurgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches, Heidelberg, 2005, p. 254f.; Quirk, op.cit., p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Quirk, op.cit., p. 69.

Table1: the sequence of sacred places and ritual in the the tomb of Petosiris.

Pane 1	gods	Sacred place	Ritual	Daressy pub.
1	Atum, Shou, Tefnut	Iunu (Heliopolis)	Offering of the night and destroying the gang of Seth	II, p. 53, col. 85-96.
2	Osiris, Isis, Nephtys, Horus nD it.f	Djedu (Busiris)	Erecting djed pillar	II, p. 52, col. 73-84.
3	Horus mxnty irty, Thoth	Khem <sup>1</sup> (Letopolis)	Offering of the night in the dawn of Osiris burial	II, p. 52, col. 63-83
4	Horus, Isis, Amsety, Hapy	Pe and Dep	Confirmation of Hours' inheritance by raising the columned-shrine.	II, p. 52, col. 53-62.
5	Horus, Isis, Imsety	River bank of the wisherman	Awaking Osiris by Isis	II, p. 51- 52, col. 43-61
6	Osiris, Isis, Anubis	Abydos	Night of Hekar Festival, time of calculating the dead and the transfigured ones and creating the dance in Tjeni <sup>2</sup>	II, p. 51, col. 33-42.
7	Thoth, Osiris, Anbuis, Isdes <sup>3</sup>	Ways of the dead	Make an inventory for those with nothing.	II, p. 51, col. 20-32.
8	Thoth, Horus	Hacking the earth	Slaughtering the gang of Seth in Busiris	II, p. 51, col. 11-19.
9	Re, Shu, Osiris	Naref cemetery of (Herakleopolis)	Burying forearm, head, thigh and flank of Wennefer	II, p. 51, col. 1-10

According to the table, some places were chosen to be inscribed, other places as Restetiau are missing. Unlike most of late period sources, this sequence followed what was observed in the New kingdom BD papyri<sup>4</sup> with slight differences for the invoked gods. The geographical location had its effect on the artist as he represented Thoth and Horus respectively in eights panel, taking the opportunity that the text didn't have any reference to gods. In ninth panel the artist represents Osiris, despite his absence in the text, instead of Baba<sup>5</sup> who was mentioned in the text.

To sum up, Petosiris tomb includes texts and vignettes of three spells (128, 57 and 18) and the vignettes of spells 1:15. Their choice and spatial distribution denote geographical and functional impacts. For the former, the supreme god of Hermopolis Magna, Thoth was in presence in 3 spells: 18 as the one who transfigured Osiris in different places; spells 1 start by word recited by him because he is the one who could recite the right words in the reviving rituals of the deceased; and finally he has a secondary role but very ultimate one in spell 128 as the one who "says to great transfiguration". Thoth has its effects in some details of representations; in spell 18, the

<sup>1</sup> In the text of Late Period, Khem is written as Skhem; cf. Leitz, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> One of the VIII<sup>th</sup> nome of upper Egypt, but its location is still unknown; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> For Isdes cf. LGG I, p. 560 and for his identification with Isden p. 556-560.

<sup>4</sup> Milde H., *The vignette in the Book of the Dead of Neferrpet*, Leiden, 1991, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> LGG II, p. 736-738.

artist profited from the absence of any reference to any gods and made Thoth the main god in the scene.

The spatial distribution related also to the spell function. All these spells are inscribed in the shrine which is considered, strictly speaking, the eternal residence of the two deceased. Spell 57 in which the deceased seeking for breathing air and power over water is inscribed in the north wall of the chapel as notice in Atfih tomb and probably for the same concept.

The spells corresponding to the funeral ceremonies, 1-15, were depicted on the east side on three registers. This may express the journey of the dead to the eternal life, from east to west. The funeral starts from the north to south, or in other sense from the world of living, beside the entrance, to the realm of Osiris, the end of the wall where the dead was purified in front of his tomb.

Opposite to these representation, is inscribed spell 18 which is a hymn to Thoth and within it the nocturnal rites and places of embalming and reviving Osiris were mentioned; the last place was Naref, where it was thought that his mummy was housed<sup>1</sup>. The specific time of Osiris embalming (the single night), the specific places (mainly related to the West), and the transfiguration of Osiris were probably the reason for depicting the spell on the west wall.

### 3. Tomb of @r-sA-Ast called Dionysus in Hu

Hu is a city that is situated on the west bank of Nile in Qena governorate, about 30 km west of Dendera. It was the ancient @wt, the capital of 7<sup>th</sup> nome of Upper Egypt<sup>2</sup>, which took the name Diospolis Mikara or Diospolis Parva in the Graeco-Roman Period. The excavation indicated that the city was known since the Predynastic Period till the Graeco-Roman Period<sup>3</sup>. The site hasn't meet the sufficient attention of archaeologists perhaps for its destroyed conditions.

Nestor l'Hôte was the first one who gave some details about this tomb<sup>4</sup>; according to him, it was heavily destroyed: the roof and the upper part of wall were turn into debris. However, his citation indicates a tomb that consist of one chamber taking the form of a chapel (figure 10); its walls were decorated with Egyptian funerary scenes representing Egyptian gods, spell of book of the dead and the book of the Hours. Unfortunately, there is neither a plan for the tomb nor an indication for its direction<sup>5</sup>.

#### 3.1. Spell 125

(figure 11)

Location: rear wall, two adjacent walls of the niche.

Description: on the right side of the niche, it depicts the weight of the heart before Osiris who is sitting on the throne with a low back; in front of him, standing on the lotus flower, the four sons of Horus and behind them Thoth writing down the decision. The weighting of the heart is controlled by Anubis, beside the side of Maat, and Horus, beside the sign ib, the heart of the deceased. The later is representing behind the balance, adoring to gods and is supported by

---

<sup>1</sup> Mathieu B., "Mais qui est donc Osiris? Ou la politique sous le linceul de la religion", *ENiM* 3, 2010, p. 88; *CT I*, 78i-m.

<sup>2</sup> Leitz, *op.cit.*, p. 71-75.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Petrie W. M. F., *Diospolis Parva, the cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu* 1898-9, London, 1901, p.31-57.

<sup>4</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie, Nestor l'Hôte (1804-1842), *choix de documents conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale et aux archives du musée du Louvre*, Leiden, 1963, p. 32-33.

<sup>5</sup> L'Hôte has mentioned that the chapel is situated in the south-east angle of an enclosure wall of mud-brick, but Petrie has corrected this information indicating that the supposed tomb should lies on the south-west angle; cf. Petrie, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

goddess Maat. On the left side, the deceased is led by Horus and Anubis to be represented to Osiris who is sitting in his low back throne and is protected by goddess Maat.

Title: mDA.t n.t aq r wsxt-mAaty pxA s m xww iri.n.f rmAA Hrw-nTrw

*book for entering the Hall of the Two Truth, shielding the man from evil that he has done and seeing the faces of gods*

Function: By no means, it is the most popular spell represented in the funerary context from the New kingdom to the victory of Christianity. It is the core point of the deceased journey in the Netherworld and his seeking for immortality as its result determines his destiny. Those he who proved his innocent from evils were praised with the epithets ‘transfigured or blessed’; the one who condemned to different fates, was consumed by the devourer of the deceased, or probably by other means of punishment as: eternal residence in gloomy cravens or cooking in cauldrons<sup>1</sup>.

### Conclusion

Unlike Alexandria, there are few decorated tombs that used by a person or a family, could be dated to the Ptolemaic Period in the Egyptian *Chora*. Many tombs of that period were mainly poor graves that could be only a simple shaft hewn in the rock as notice in necropolis of Fayoum<sup>2</sup>, or a small pyramid-capped tomb chapel without any decoration<sup>3</sup>. The reuse of ancient tombs was also a very common practice especially in extensive necropolis as in Thebes<sup>4</sup>; mass graves that could contain hundreds of mummies were discovered in many areas such as the necropolis of Diyyabat at Akhmim<sup>5</sup>. Despite the rarity of elaborated tombs, these few examples elucidate the loyalty of the elite milieu in *Chore* to the Egyptian beliefs and customs either by representations or texts.

The sample as well as the absence of frequency of BD spells in tombs didn’t allow drawing a complete picture about canonical distribution. Yet, the analysis of BD spell arrangement in Late Period may elucidate some aspects of their layout especially that many funerary aspects of Ptolemaic Period show signs of having been influenced by this period.

According to next tables (2:4), it seems that during the Ptolemaic Period, unlike the previous periods, the distribution of BD spells was limited to the burial chamber or the last part of the tomb as notice in the chapel of Petosiris tomb and in the rear wall of that of Hu. For Atfih tomb, the texts disclose two phases of use; in the initial phase, the the BD spells were exclusively distributed in chamber II which was the original burial chambers for two brothers. Later on, chamber I was transformed to include other family burials and was subsequently decorated with BD spells which belong to a son of one of two brothers. Thus, the burial chamber in this period was, strictly speaking, the eternal residence or the mother which “conceiving and giving birth of the deceased”<sup>6</sup>.

Table 2: the BD spells’ distribution in some Late Period tombs and Petosiris tomb

	1	18	57	128
TT223	-	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, west	2 <sup>nd</sup> pillared hall, second	-

<sup>1</sup> Zandée, *op.cit.*, p. 133f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Davoli P., *L’archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana*, Napoli, 1998

<sup>3</sup> Andrews C. A. R., *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, London, 1990, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> For the re-use of earlier tombs at Thebes, cf. Strudwick N., “Some Aspects of the Archaeology of the Theban Necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods”, In Strudwick N. and Taylor J. (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis Past, Present and Future*, London, 2003, pp. 171-175.

<sup>5</sup> G. Maspero, *Etudes de mythologies et d’archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. I, Paris, 1893, p. 215-220.

<sup>6</sup> Smith M, *Traversing eternity*, p. 270.

		wall	pillar in north side, east face; south-eastern pilaster, south face	
TT33 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, east wall	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, west wall	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, west pilaster, north face.	-
TT196	Open court, South wall, from East to west	Open court, north wall, from west to east	-	-
TT37 <sup>2</sup>	-	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, west wall	-	-
TT279 <sup>3</sup>	-	-	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, west half, south pillar, east face	-
TT27	-	-	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, west half, south pillar, east face	-
Petosiris	Chapel, east wall	Chapel, west wall	Chapel, north wall, west pilaster	Chapel, north wall

Table 3: the BD spells' distribution in some Late Period tombs and tomb of Atfih

	TT223 <sup>4</sup>	TT37 <sup>5</sup>	TT196 <sup>6</sup>	TT279	TT27	Atfih
45	2 <sup>nd</sup> pillared hall, southern side, 1 <sup>st</sup> pillar, south face	Courtyard, east wall, south pilaster, west face		1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, north-west wall, west pilaster, south face	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, south-west wall, west pilaster, north face	Chamber I, south wall, east jamb
46	-	-	-	-	-	Chamber I, south wall, east jamb
47	-	-	Room 6,	-	-	Chamber I,

<sup>1</sup> Einaudi S, "Les livres des morts dans les deux salles hypostyles de la tombe de Padiménopé (TT33)", In Budka J. et al. (eds.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum – Eine wissenschaftliche Blütenlese von Schülern und Freunden für Helmut Satzinger zum 75. Geburtstag am 21. Jänner 2013, Göttinger Miscellen Beihefte nr. 14*, Göttingen 2013, p. 61, fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, "Between south and north Asasif: The tomb of Hawra (TT37) as a "transitional monument", In Pischikova E. et al. (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium B. C.*, Cambridge, 2014, p. 323-341.

<sup>3</sup> Roasti G., "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead in the second court of the tomb of Montuemhat (TT34)", In Backs B. et al. (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn 25. Bis 29. September 2005*, Wiesbaden, 2006, p. 297-325.

<sup>4</sup> For BD spells in 1<sup>st</sup> hypostyle hall of TT233 cf., Molinero Polo M. A., "The Textual Program of Karakhamun's First Pillared Hall." In Pischikova E. (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis, Thebes. Karakhamun (TT 223) and Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty*, Cairo, 2014, p. 131-172; for the second pillar cf. Griffin K, "The book of the Dead from the second pillared hall of the tomb of Karakhamun: a preliminary survey" In Pischikova E. (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis, Thebes. Karakhamun (TT 223) and Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty*, Cairo, 2014, p. 173-199.

<sup>5</sup> For tombs TT279, TT27 and TT37 cf. Rosati G., "Il Libro dei Morti sui pilastru orientali della corte (tomba tebana 27 di Sheshonq all'Asasif. III rapporto preliminare)", *Vicino Oriente* 9, 1993, 9, p. 107-117.

<sup>6</sup> For BD spell in TT196, cf. Graefe E., *Das Grab des Pedihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)*, 2 vols., Turnhout, 2003.

			middle of the south wall			south wall, east jamb
54	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, 1 <sup>st</sup> south pillar, south face	-	Room 6, east wall	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, west half, middle pillar, east face	-	Chamber II, north wall, east jamb
56	-	-	-	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, west half, south pillar, east face	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, south-west wall, west pilaster, west face	Chamber II, north wall, east jamb
89	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, 2 <sup>nd</sup> north pillar, north face	Courtyard, west wall, south pilaster, east face	Open court, west wall, south part	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, south-west pilaster, north and west face	1 <sup>st</sup> pillared hall, north-west wall, west pilaster, south and west face	Duplicated on east wall of two chambers
148	-	-	-	-	-	Chamber I, north wall, west jamb
154			Room 6, east wall cont. on south wall			Duplicated on east wall of two chambers
162	-	-	-	-	-	Chamber II, west wall
191	-	-	-	-	-	Duplicated on east wall of two chambers
192	-	-	-	-	-	Duplicated on east wall of two chambers

Table 4: the BD spells' distribution in some Late Period tombs and tomb of Hu

	TT223 <sup>1</sup>	TT33	TT196	Hu tomb
125	Burial chamber	Chamber IX, whole walls	Room 6, south wall; Room 11 east, north and west walls	Burial chamber

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Molinero Polo M. A., "The Broad hall of the Two Maats: spell BD 125 in Karakhamun's main burial chamber" In Pischikova et al. (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium B. C.*, Cambridge, 2014, p. 270-293.

The table 2, 3 and 4 indicate some common aspects of canonical system for distributing the BD spells in tombs of Late and Ptolemaic Periods and the duality of some spells.

The first group of spells is spells 1 and 18. Spell 1 appears in selected tombs 3 times; two of them, the vignettes and texts, were depicted on the east wall; once in the south wall (left side from the entrance) with keeping the direction of the scenes from east to west in TT196. For spell 18 which was represented four times in the sample; three of them on the west wall and the last one in the north wall (right side from the entrance, tomb TT196); the scenes run from west to east. Presumably, the frequency of the two spells indicates their duality and their complementary functions. They share some common points. The litanies of spell 18 denotes that all who died asked Thoth to justify them as he did with Osiris in the tribunal, while in spell 1 the deceased acts as Thoth himself and counts his good deeds for his request of reviving and justification in the realm of Osiris. Consequently, the rites described in the two spell are mostly the same with few details, and other requests for secure the deceased immortality in spell 1.

According to their temporal occurrence, the analysis of the two spells indicates their complementary functions. The litanies of 18 denote the nocturnal rites that preceded the day of burial; the night refers to the nocturnal journey of sun god carried out in the west. The litanies of spell 1 refer to interment's day which its rites were described in the vignettes. Normally, these rites took place in daylight which refers to the East. Thus, the depiction of these two spells is mostly related to its temporal occurrence. Spell 1 is depicted mostly in the east and spell 18 in the west in three tombs. However, the exception exists, in tomb TT196 where they are depicted on the south and north respectively. It seems that the artist preferred that he represented the two spells in the two longitudinal with respecting that the scenes run from the entrance to the interior of the tomb as notice in Petosiris tomb.

The second dual in selected tombs is 45 and 89 spells. They occur together in five of six tombs where they are depicted opposite to each other; the latter occur once alone in TT196. The nature of their functions may gives an explicit indication for their association. For the Egyptians, the human being is composed of one entity and any hoped for posthumous existence require the conservation of its integrity. The two spells achieve this goal: the spell 45 helps the deceased to preserve the body from rotting, and by consequence conserving its integrity, while spell 89 is for enabling the *ba* to join the corps. The ultimate importance of these two spells had effects in their distribution. according to table 3, there is no specific placement for these two spells; they could be represented in any wall of the tomb regardless its direction. However, in tombs of Late Period, both of them are frequently represented in faces of pilasters of entrances, which are considered to be the vocal point of the tombs for whom enter or leave the tomb/hall. They are carved in the place where the last rituals were performing; thus their placement will provide who died with the physical and spiritual requirements of posthumous life. The same explanation could be accepted for placement of the two spells in tomb of Atfih, 45 represented only once; 89 twice. The chamber I they represented on two contiguous walls, wall of the entrance of burial chamber for the former and the east wall for the latter; both of them are placed in the vocal point of the chamber for who entre the tomb. The east wall also may refer to the horizon, the preferred place for the moving *ba* to join the sun.

Another group of spell that guarantee the physical needs for the eternal life is spells 46, 47 and 154. The first isn't found in any tombs of sample of Late Period, but some of them are still unpublished and not entirely excavated. The second was depicted only twice in tomb TT196 and tomb of Atfih. They don't share the same part of the tomb but they are depicted in the same placement: south wall which is the entrance for the next part of the tomb. Their placement is

probably due to the same reason of spell 45 as they supply the deceased with the same needs. The spell 154, it was depicted twice in the same wall, east wall: in tomb TT169, it is depicted on the east wall and continued in the south wall, wall of entrance to the next part, while in the tomb of Atfih it appears above the spell 89 and compose a dual of the latter for the same purpose of 89 and 45.

The group of spells 54, 56 and 57 which guarantee another kind of physical need to the deceased by enabling him to have power upon air and water. These spells are repeated in four tombs of Late period and two in Ptolemaic Period; the last spell is most frequently than the first two; it is represented twice in one tomb. The reason for depicting these spells in specific places in the tomb is not obvious. Their depiction provides the absence of spatial canonical system; they are found in all parts, either walls of hall, pilasters, pillars, or burial chamber. But, in Late period tomb, they are represented in the places where the final rituals of revival were carried out. Their representation in all sides of the hall may denote the seeking for air wherever direction it comes from<sup>1</sup>, as the deceased declared in spell 57. But their depiction on the south side of walls, pillars and pilasters are most frequent. This may be due to its connection to the north wind, the privilege wind for the ancient Egyptians. They thought that it was go out from Atum and go to Osiris to nourish his nose as declared by Isis in spell 151; in chapter 161, this wind was regarded as Osiris himself. The north wind was thought to be also a divine gift that hinder the inundation to flow toward the sea<sup>2</sup> and thus keep the water in the Egyptian land. Thus the deceased in these tombs wish to endure provision of breeze of the north wind<sup>3</sup>. However, the spells in the two tombs of Ptolemaic Period were depicted in the north wall beside the entrance; the reason is unobvious.

One of the most widespread spells in the funerary context is that of 125 which described the judgement of the deceased in the “Two halls of Truth”. It is surprising that this popularity didn’t appear in the iconography of the tombs. But, some remarks should be take into consideration. First, current excavations in the tombs of Late Period are still unpublished and thus it is premature to conclude the depiction of this spell. Second, for the Ptolemaic Period, the number of painted tombs didn’t allow to draw a conclusion about its position in the funerary pictorial representation of tombs. In current situation, spell is represented in two rooms and two burial chambers. The purpose of the former is still imprecise, and probably used for interments purpose. Whatever its purpose, the vignette was depicted in the inner parts of the tomb; it was never found in pillared halls or first tombs. This makes it more sacred and this is natural because of its results determine the destiny of the deceased.

The last group of spell appears exclusively in the Ptolemaic Period: 148, 162, 191 and 192 in Atfih, 128 in Petosiris tomb. The reason of choice of the first two spells may be due to geographical reasons: glorification of cow cult, the sacred animal of main goddess in the region. The spells 191 and 192 were represented to emulate the resurrection of Osiris and they were depicted in the same walls of 154 and 89 to complete and guarantee requirements of resurrection for the deceased. The last spell 128 was also a model of emulation but for Horus this time. The litanies of the spell count the good deeds of the divine son for his father and it is probably that Petosiris aimed to represented himself as a personification of Horus. Thus, he depicted the spell in the entrance of the tomb.

---

<sup>1</sup> Quirk, *Going out*, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Sauneron S., “Une page de géographie physique: le cycle agricole égyptien”, *BIFAO* 60, 1960, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> In many funerary texts as the Book which Isis made for Osiris; she prays that the deceased (Osiris) won’t suffer lack of north wind; cf. Smith M., *The mortuary texts of papyrus B.M.10507*, London, 1987, col. VI-VIII, 22 and col. XI, 11-12.

To sum up, the reasons of choice and spatial distribution in the Ptolemaic Period of BD spells relate to many reasons that could be religious, geographical, and personal. But they all lead to revival and resurrection of the deceased.

### **Bibliography**

- Allen T.G., *The book of the Dead or Going forth by day*, Chicago, 1952.
- Andrews C. A. R., *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, London, 1990.
- Assmann, Bommes J. M. and Kucharek A., *Altägyptischen Totenliturgien 2, Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches*, Heidelberg, 2005.
- Cassier Ch. “Fouille à Atfih au début du XXe siècle”, *ENiM* 4, 2011, p. 273-290.
- Carrier C., *Le papyrus de Iouefankh (Turin, cat. n°1791)*, Paris, 2011.
- Davoli P., *L’archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana*, Napoli, 1998.
- Daressy G., ‘Tombeau ptolémaïque à Atfieh’, *ASAE* 3, 1902, p. 160-180.
- De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin texts, vols. IV and V*, Chicago, 1935.
- Eldamaty M.M., *Sokar-Osiris-Kapelle im Temple von Dendara*, Hamburg, 1995.
- Einaudi S, “Les livres des morts dans les deux salles hypostyles de la tombe de Padiménopé (TT33)”, In Budka J., Gundacker R. and Pieke G. (eds.), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum – Eine wissenschaftliche Blütenlese von Schülern und Freunden für Helmut Satzinger zum 75. Geburtstag am 21. Jänner 2013*, Göttinger Miszellen Beihefte nr. 14, Göttingen, 2013, p. 59-74.
- Id., “Between south and north Asasif: The tomb of Hawra (TT37) as a “transitional monument”, In Pischikova E. and Budka J., and Griffin K. (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium B. C.*, Cambridge, 2014, p. 323-341.
- Geisen Ch., *Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges des Königin Mentuhotep aus der 13. Dynastie*, SAT 8, Wiesbaden, 2004.
- Graefe E., *Das Grab des Pedihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)*, 2 vols., Turnhout, 2003.
- Griffin K, “The book of the Dead from the second pillared hall of the tomb of Karakhamun: a preliminary survey” In Pischikova E. (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis, Thebes. Karakhamun (TT 223) and Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty*, Cairo, 2014, p. 173-199.
- Kamal A., “Fouilles à Atfih”, *ASAE* 9, 1908, p. 113-117.
- Lapp G., *The papyrus of Nu, Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum I*, London, 1997.
- Lefebvre G., *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, 3 vols., Cairo, 1924.
- Leitz C., *Die Gaumonographien in Edfou und ihre Papyrusvarianten. Ein überregionaler Kanon kultischen Wissens im spätzeitlichen Ägypten. Soubassementstudien III, SSR9, vol. 1*, Wiesbaden, 2014.
- Lembke K. and Prell S., *Die Petosiris-Nekropole von Tuna el-Gebel*, Tuna el-Gebel 6, Vaterstetten 2015.
- Lepsius R., *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter each dem Hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, Leipzig, 1842.
- Lucarelli R., “Gods, spirit, demons of the Book of the Dead”, In Scalf F. (ed.), *Book of the Dead: becoming god in ancient Egypt*, Chicago, 2017, p. 127-136.
- Mathieu B., “Mais qui est donc Osiris? Ou la politique sous le linceul de la religion”, *ENiM* 3, 2010, p. 77-107.
- Maspero G., *Etudes de mythologies et d’archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. I, Paris, 1893.
- Milde H., *The vignette in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, Leiden, 1991.
- Mission égypto-française d’Atfih (MEFA), “Atfih, la zone centrale de l’Hésateum (zone A). Travaux dans la nécropole des vaches sacrées (1)”, *ENiM* 3, 2010, p. 137-165.

- Molinero Polo M. A., "The Textual Program of Karakhamun's First Pillared Hall." In Pischikova E. (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis, Thebes. Karakhamun (TT 223) and Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Cairo, 2014*, p. 131-172.
- Id., "The Broad hall of the Two Maats: spell BD 125 in Karakhamun's main burial chamber" In Pischikova E. and Budka J., and Griffin K. (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium B. C.*, Cambridge, 2014, p. 270-293.
- Munro I., "The evolution of the Book of the Dead", In Tylor J., *Journey through the afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, London, 2010, p. 54-63.
- Parkinson R. and Quirk S., "The coffin of the prince Herunefer and the early history of the Book of the Dead", In Lloyd A. B. (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic religion and society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, London, 1992, p. 37-51.
- Petrie W. M. F., *Diospolis Parva, the cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu1898-9*, London, 1901.
- Quirk S., *Going out in daylight: prt m hrw - the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead - translation, Sources and meanings*, London, 2013.
- Rosati G., "Il Libro dei Morti sui pilastru orientali della corte (tomba tebana 27 di Sheshonq all'Asasif. III rapporto preliminare)", *Vicino Oriente* 9, 1993, 9, p. 107-117.
- Id., "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead in the second court of the tomb of Montuemhat (TT34)", In Backs B., Munro I. and Stöhr S.(eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn 25. Bis 29. September 2005*, Wiesbaden, 2006, p. 297-325.
- Scalf F., "What is the Book of the Dead", In Scalf F. (ed.), *Book of the Dead: becoming god in ancient Egypt*, Chicago, 2017, p. 21-27.
- Id., "the death of the Book of the Dead", In Scalf F. (ed.), *Book of the Dead: becoming god in ancient Egypt*, Chicago, 2017, p. 139-147.
- Sauneron S., "Une page de géographie physique: le cycle agricole égyptien", *BIFAO* 60, 1960, p. 11-17.
- Smith M., *The mortuary texts of papyrus B.M.10507*, London, 1987.
- Id., *The papyrus Harkness (MAA 31.9.7)*, Oxford, 2005.
- Id., *Traversing eternity. Texts for the afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, Oxford, 2009.
- Strudwick N., "Some Aspects of the Archaeology of the Theban Necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods", In Strudwick N. and Taylor J. (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis Past, Present and Future*, London, 2003, pp. 171-175.
- Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 1353230, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm13533*.
- Vandier d'Abbadie, Nestor l'Hôte (1804-1842), *choix de documents conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale et aux archives du musée du Louvre*, Leiden, 1963.
- Wilson P., *Ptolemaic Lexikon, A lexicographical study in the temple of Edfu*, Leuven, 1997,
- Wüthrich A, *Éléments de théologie thébain, les chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, SAT 16, Wiesbaden, 2010.
- Zandée J., *Death as an enemy according to ancient Egyptian conceptions*, Leiden, 1960.

### Figures

Figure 1: Plan of Atfih after Daressy, Drawing N. Zoair and E. Zoair

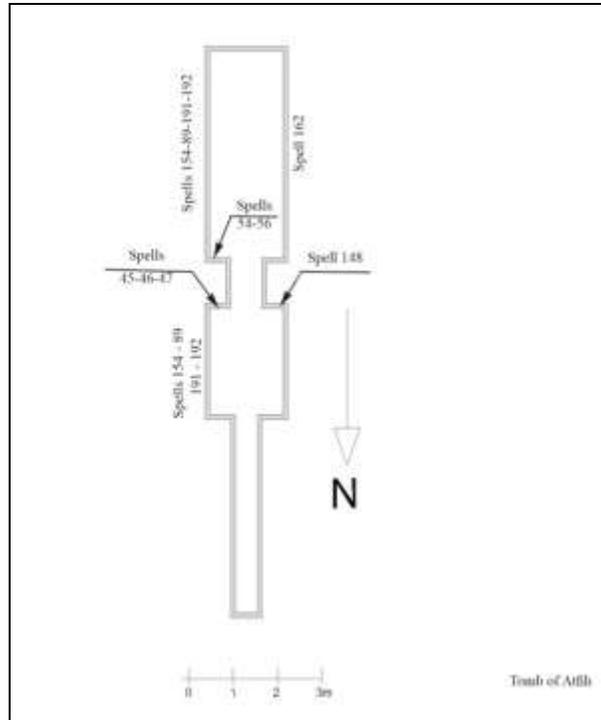


Figure 2 : Reconstruction of Atfih tomb after Daressy's description. Drawing E. Zoair.

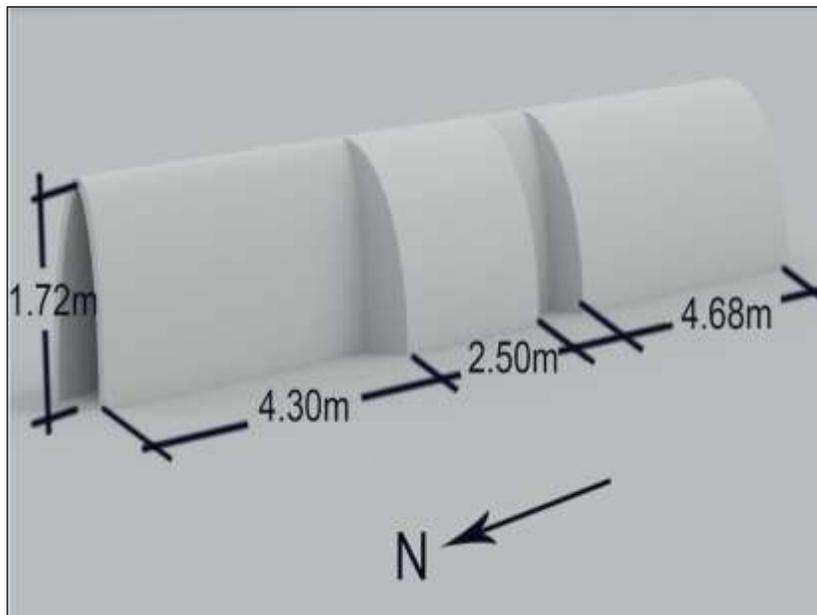


Figure 3: The southern wall of chamber 1 at Atfih tomb. Drawing N. Zoair and E. Zoair



Figure 4: Division of the east wall of chamber I at Atfih tomb after description of Daressy. Drawing E. Zoair and N. Zoair

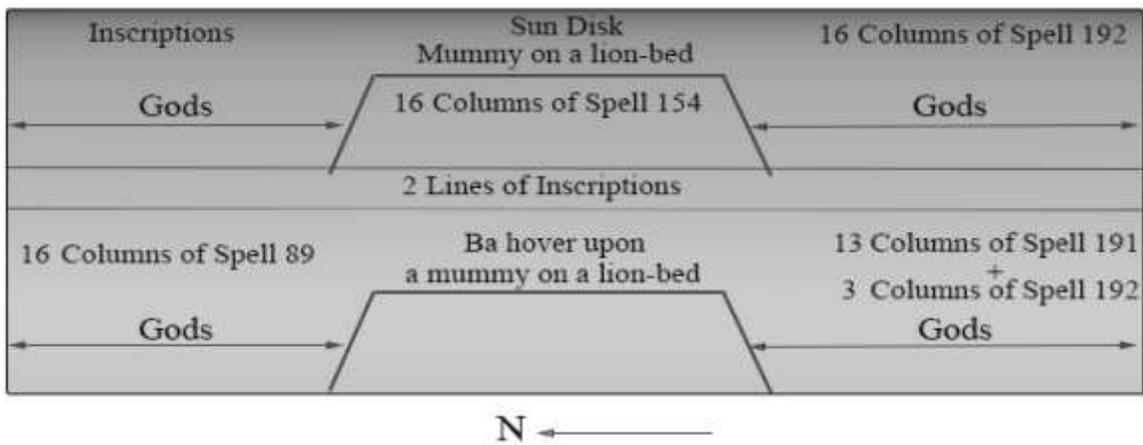


Figure 3: Plan of Petosiris' tomb at Tuna el-Gebel, after Lefebvre. Drawing by E. Zoair and N. Zoair

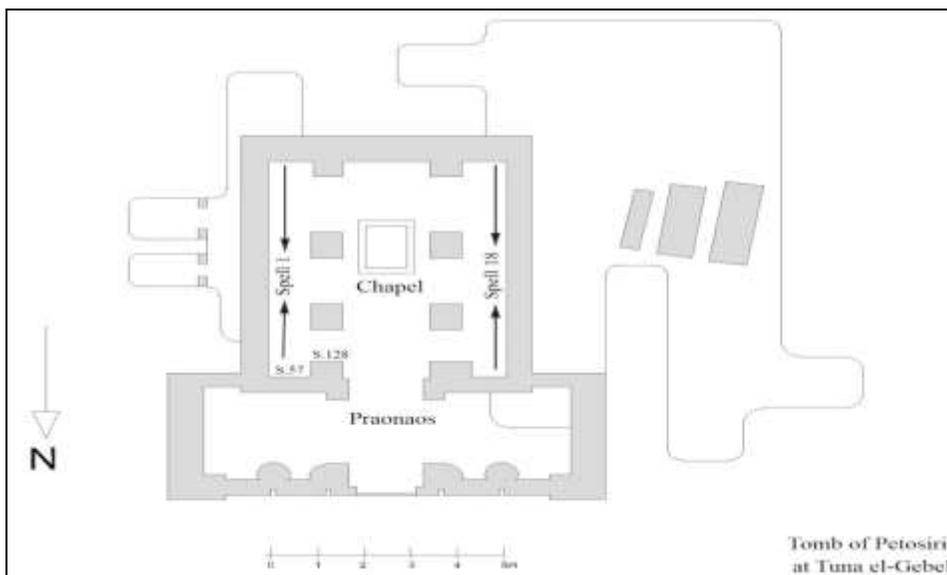


Figure 4: spell 128 in Petosiris' tomb at Tuna el-Gebel. Photo M. el-Sayed



Figure 5: Spell 57 in Petosiris' tomb at Tuna el-Gebel. Photo M. el-Sayed



Figure 6: spell 1 in Petosiris' tomb at Tuna el-Gebel. Photo M. el-Sayed



Figure 7: spell 18 in Petosiris' tomb at Tuna el-Gebel. Photo M. el-Sayed



Figure 8: part of the N. L'Hôt description of the tomb of Hu with its plan, after Vandier d'Abbadie, J. Nestor l'Hôte (1804-1842), pl. XIX, 1.



Figure 9: Spell 125 in tomb of Hu, after Vandier d'Abbadie, J. Nestor l'Hôte (1804-1842), pl. XXI, 1.

