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**pBarcelona E-615: Unveiling a New Source
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Daniel M. MÉNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ



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pBarcelona E-615: Unveiling a New Source of the *Book of the Twelve Caverns*

Daniel M. MÉNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ

The study of pBarcelona E-615, whose textual content has been unpublished until now, is the main purpose of this article. The papyrus is kept in the collection of the Museu Egipci of the Catalanian city. It is one of the relative few examples on papyrus of the *Book of the Twelve Caverns*. This spell is a religious composition belonging to the *Books of the Netherworld*, previously known as Naville's chapter 168 of the *Book of the Dead or Book of Going Forth by Day*. The identification of the content allows suggesting several inferences about the composition in general and about the manuscript in particular.

El objetivo de este artículo es documentar un papiro, pBarcelona E-615, cuyo contenido textual es hasta ahora inédito. El ejemplar se encuentra en la actualidad en la colección del Museu Egipci de la ciudad catalana. Es uno de los pocos ejemplares papirológicos en los que se ha transmitido el *Libro de las Doce Cavernas*, una composición religiosa perteneciente a los *Libros del Mundo Inferior* que fue anteriormente conocida como el capítulo 168 de Naville del *Libro de la Salida al Día*—más popularmente conocido como *Libro de los Muertos*—. La identificación del contenido del texto permitirá realizar una serie de inferencias acerca de la obra en general y del documento en particular.

Keywords: *Book of the Twelve Caverns*, *Book of the Dead*, BD 168, *Book of Going Forth by Day*, *Books of the Netherworld*, funerary literature, pBarcelona E-615.

Palabras clave: *Libro de las Doce Cavernas*, *Libro de los Muertos*, *Libro de la Salida al Día*, LdSD 168, *Libros del Mundo Inferior*, literatura funeraria, pBarcelona E-615.

Since the middle of 2002 an example on papyrus of the *Book of the Twelve Caverns*¹, previously known as chapter 168² of the *Book of the Dead*³, has been kept in the *Museu Egipci* of Barcelona: pBarcelona E-615. In that date a donation⁴ was made to the institution consisting of three small longitudinally fragmented papyrus scrolls. After a process of restoration⁵ they were consolidated in order to be exhibited⁶ and studied. Finally, the three papyrus scrolls belonged

1 This text also has been known as *Book of the Crypts* (Assmann, 1989: 148) and *Grüftbuch* (Lieven, 2007: 209; Müller-Roth and Webber, 2010). The name applied here comes from David Lorton's English translation of Hornung (1999 [1997]: 54-55).

2 Chapter 168 of the *Book of the Dead*—henceforth BD— (BD 168) following Naville's numbering (Naville, 1886).

3 Dr. Irmtraut Munro identified the content of the manuscript as chapter 168 of the *Book of the Dead* (González, 2006: 57). Since that moment, the papyrus only has been studied by González (2006), and it has briefly appeared in other studies (Méndez Rodríguez, 2008: 17, 285-287; Müller-Roth and Webber, 2010: 66).

4 The benefactor of the artifact has preferred to remain anonymous.

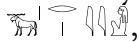
5 About the processes of restoration: Palau i Sallent and Andràdez Marques, 2006.

6 At the moment pBarcelona E-615 is displayed on the first floor of the museum.

to the lower part of the same manuscript measuring four meters in length⁷.

The condition of preservation is quite unfortunate because at least two thirds of the total width of the original size is missing. For this reason, the structure which organizes the space of the papyrus and also several texts fragmentarily preserved is only partially visible. The total number of fragments

comes to 75⁸ (fig. 1). The main objective of this article is to identify the texts and therefore the parts of the composition that have been preserved.

The owner of the funerary papyrus was a woman called *b3ry* , whose titles or occupations are unknown⁹. The chronology of the manuscript is the 19th-20th Dynasties based upon the information of the *Toten-*

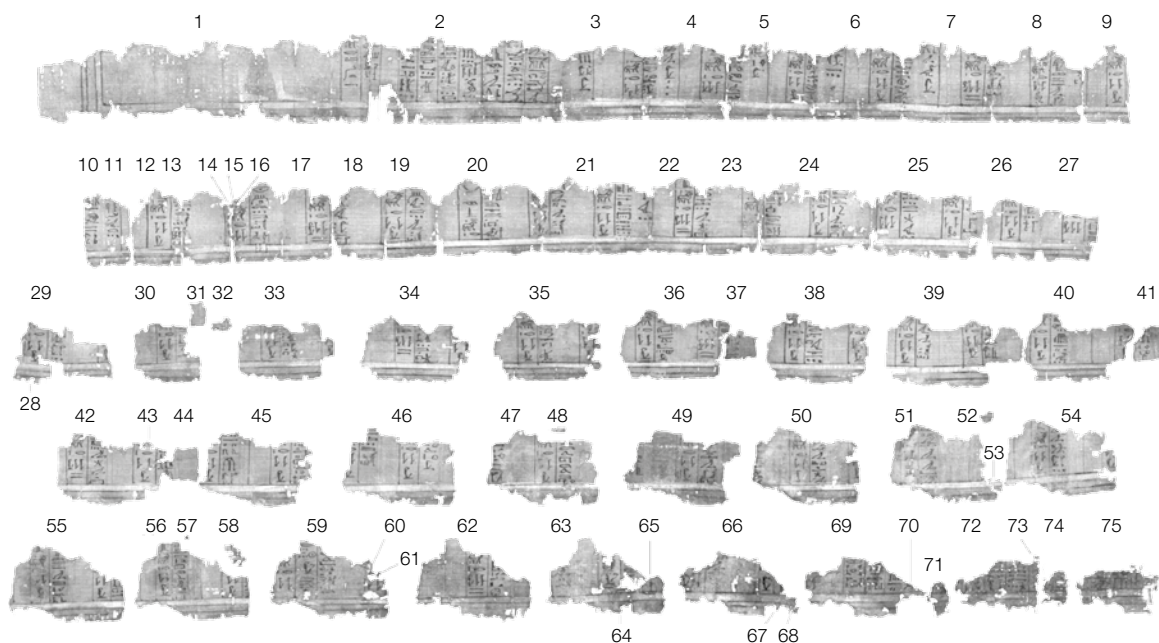


Figure 1. General view of pBarcelona E-615.

- 7 The length of other funerary papyri well preserved in which only this composition is depicted is 4,71 m (pLondon BM EA 10478) and 2,22 m (pCairo 24742 —J.E. 34001—, although this last one does not include the Element I of the composition —see below— neither the inclusion of names or occupation of the owner, which helps to save space.
- 8 This number could even be bigger if several tiny fragments without text are counted. These have been placed next to others of much bigger size in the process of consolidation and in some cases are more difficult to notice.
- 9 Her title(s) could have been written in the introductory text of the papyrus, but it is very badly preserved. However, it is noticeable that in Albert's study of the titles of the owners of *Book of the Dead* she attested 1646 documents without any title of their proprietors from a total amount of 3246 (including papyri, mummy wrappings and shrouds). The reasons could be that the titles sometimes were abridged or omitted to save space in the manuscript, or that they were copied in places that have not been preserved due to a badly state of conservation, or that it was not necessary or could be considered superfluous in an object intended for a personal and posthumous usage (Albert, 2012: 2, 10).

buchprojekt which rests mainly on the decorative pattern of the frame¹⁰ and the clothing of the owner and her husband¹¹ preserved in the vignette.

The temporal frame from the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III to the middle or the end of the 20th Dynasty clearly shows a scarcity of funerary papyri made for women. In this epoch women, wives of officials or priests, have unusually their own funerary book for the Beyond¹². Munro (2010: 63, 71) suggests that the proportion of the number of copies of the *Book of the Dead* during the 18th and 19th Dynasties is about 10:1 showing that the vast majority were produced for men. In these papyri the wife is sometimes depicted in the vignettes alongside her husband¹³. However, in the texts of the spells the name of the husband is written while

the wife's is usually omitted. This situation is quite different in later periods when women are owners as often as men¹⁴ and women could be depicted alone in the vignettes of their own papyrus¹⁵.

Therefore, pBarcelona E-615 —henceforth pBa— is a meaningful manuscript: it shows an intermediate state between these two phases. While the name of the woman is written along the papyrus and the spell is focused mainly for her benefit, her place in the vignette is secondary, dependent on the husband, which is quite appropriate for the *decorum* of the funerary papyri of this period. This is noticeable throughout the vignette, of which has been preserved only the lower part of two human figures in the left edge (frag. 1): *b3ry*'s husband with a long skirt and his legs separated¹⁶ and *b3ry*'s dress

10 It consists of three colorful bands (the internal one has preserved its yellow color in the majority of the fragments) which corresponds to Type D in Munro's classification (Munro, 1988: 261). She attested one manuscript from 18th Dynasty (from Amenhotep III's reign) and sixteen from 19th and 20th Dynasties with this specific decoration pattern of the frame.

11 González (2006: 57) states that these evidences made Dr. Munro to suggest a chronology of 19th Dynasty.

12 In 1999 Quirke (1999: 231) attested only four *Books of the Dead* owned by women from 18th (post-Amarna), 19th and 20th Dynasties. Following the researches made by Quirke (1999) and Munro (1988), and the recompilation of information in the digital archive of the *Totenbuchprojekt*, I have attested eight papyrus produced for women during the 19th and 20th Dynasties that I would like to study in a forthcoming publication: pBukarest Mss. Oriental 376 (=ps3hti; 18th-19th Dynasties); pLondon BM EA 9928 (=pnfr-rnpt; 18th (post-Amarna)-20th Dynasties; it is only a fragment of a vignette of BD 110 and Quirke (1993: 48) does not assure that it does not belong to her husband's papyrus); pReading (=phnwt-mhit; 19th Dynasty); pTallin k-542 / AM-5877 (=p3st; 19th Dynasty); pBarcelona E-615 (=pb3ry; 19th-20th Dynasties); pLondon BM EA 9969 (pMeyrick) (=pnfrt-iri; 19th-20th Dynasties); pPrivate Collection (Switzerland) (=pb3kt; 19th-20th Dynasties); pLondon BM EA 10472 (=pinh3i; 20th Dynasty).

13 This was one of the reasons why perhaps a distinct copy for the wife was unnecessary at this time (Munro, 2010: 63). One background explanation was proposed by Quirke (1999: 232). He suggested that this situation is related to the context of the building of tomb-chapels. The tomb-chapels were built for the lord of the family who assumed dominance in the textual and iconographic program. In this frame the women became secondary in the decoration and as proprietors of funerary papyri. This primacy could also have happened in the access to the workshops which produced the *Books of the Dead* as to those creating decorated tomb-chapels.

14 Quirke, 1999: 231; Lucarelli, 2008: 105-106; Munro, 2010: 63.

15 Since 20th Dynasty the woman can be depicted alone in front of the divinity in the first vignette of the papyri (Lucarelli, 2008: 107).

16 There are still rests of the yellowish ink which colored the feet of *b3ry*'s husband.

and feet together¹⁷. Curiously, the lines of drawing of the figures of both have been done with red ink. Most likely they were depicted in adoration in front of the divinities of the caverns.

Content

The *Book of the Twelve Caverns* is a composition in itself, but conventionally in the historiography it has been named as chapter 168 of the *Book of the Dead*. This text in its funerary aspect was used for different purposes: on one side, to allow the deceased to cross the region of the caverns inhabited by different deities during his eternal wandering in the Netherworld; and on the other side, to provide him with many benefits: to travel in the barque with Re, offerings for the sustenance of the *ka*; life, free movement and capacity of transfiguration for the *ba*, knowledge of the mysteries of the Netherworld; conservation and a place in the necropolis for the body... In order to achieve this, the deceased should give an offering to each group of divinities that dwelled in each cavern. The names and images of these gods were written and depicted on the papyrus in order to recognize them and make possible to act over them.

The main objective of this article is to present the content and distribution of the text of the papyrus and to point out several particularities. The spell is written in cursive hieroglyphic writing and in retrograde direction. That is, although the signs are orientated to the right, the correct order of reading the columns is from left to right.

The *Book of the Twelve Caverns* is often organized into four parts that will be called elements according to the terminology applied by Piankoff¹⁸ (fig. 2)¹⁹:

—Element I: one or more vignettes of the owner in which he/she makes an offering or a gesture of adoration. This iconography is accompanied by a text which introduces the rest of the composition. It has only been attested in another papyrus: pLondon BM EA 10478 (19th-20th Dynasties)²⁰.

—Element II: brief texts placed before the first group of gods of each cavern. These texts could be considered divided into two different parts: in the first one, the cavern is identified by its number (eighth, twelfth...), and in the second part the specific denomination or epithets related to the cavern can be found (for example, the ninth cavern is called: “She of mysterious forms, who cut off the [vital] air”. The element II does not appear in all the sources²¹. When it is included

17 The figure of *b3ry* is almost imperceptible.

18 Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 44.

19 Legend: 2 = Element II; 3 = Element III (text); 3' = Element III (vignette); 4 = Element IV.

20 Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon (1974: 46-47) describe a supposed element I depicted in pNew York MMA 35.9.19 (19th Dynasty), but the two vignettes and related texts are not properly from this composition but common in other papyri of the Book of the Dead: the adoration of Re and the bau and the adoration of Osiris (between Isis and Neftis). In other sources the text has not been found due to its omission, or perhaps because of the great damage that the examples suffered on papyri.

21 Until now it has been attested in: pCairo 24742 (J.E. 34001) (18th Dynasty), the Osireion in Abydos (19th Dynasty), pNew York Brooklyn 47.218.50 (19th Dynasty), pLondon BM EA 10478 (19th-20th Dynasties), pPrivate — to avoid confusions I have decided to call this manuscript in the same way than Müller-Roth and Webber (2010: 71)— (20th-21st Dynasties), pLondon BM EA 10569 (ca. 3rd century BC) and the Osiris' chapels in the temple of Dendara (Ptolemaic Period).

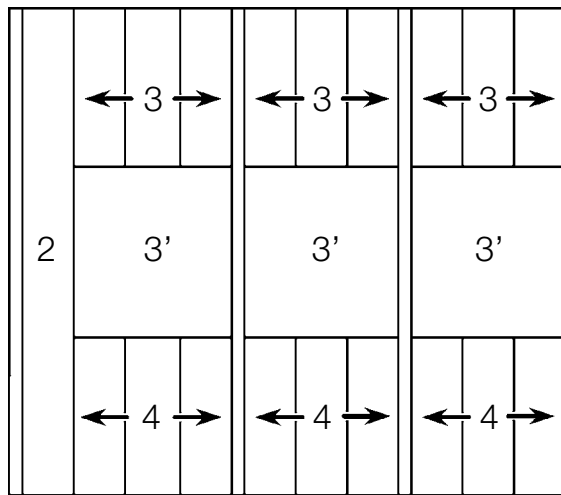


Figure 2. General organization scheme (Elements II, III and IV).

only the first of the two parts of the text has been written in the first seven caverns. In other words, the cavern is identified and named, but its epithets are not present.

—Element III: the deities of the caverns, introduced by their names (upper register), by their iconographic representation and, sometimes, by the number of gods who composed each group (middle register). In pBa this part of the composition has not been preserved.

—Element IV: offering formulae to the divinities and the benefit that the deceased receives in return by his / her action. In these texts two different parts can be easily differentiated:

The first one is always the same and it is repeated along the papyrus. It is usually written in red ink as a rubric. In different sources it presents slight variations. In the case of pBa²² it is written like this:



[*iw*] *w*dn=*tw* [*n*=]sn ^c *tp* *t*3

It is offered a portion (to) them on earth.

The second part of the offering formula is the text that changes along the composition. It consists of the benefit that the deceased receives in exchange for the offering given to the gods. Each cavern has its own texts that are generally applied only to the groups of deities of that cavern. There are more than eighty different offering formulae texts.

Due to the poor state of conservation of pBa, only fragments of Element I and Element IV are clearly recognizable. Moreover, there are several fragments of text that I will propose to identify as Element II.

Element I

Element I begins in pBa on the left edge of the papyrus as the first text on this side. Despite the fragmentary condition, it can be asserted that there was no other funerary text before this one. This can be assured by the conservation of part of the left margin and the vertical closure of the frame.

Element I consists of a text and a vignette. In the picture the wife is depicted behind her husband possibly in an adoration gesture²³. Only the lower part of the feet and the clothing of both, drawn with a red line, have been preserved.

²² The impersonal pronoun *tw* stands out. This is also present in other sources as pNewYork MMA 35.9.19, pNew York Brooklyn 47.218.50, pBerlin P. 5509 and pSt. Petersburg Hermitage 1113. Furthermore, it is noticeable that in pBarcelona E-615 the preposition *n* of the dative, which indicates to whom the offering is given (the gods of the caverns), is omitted.

²³ It could be proposed that the deceased and her husband both have an offering attitude, but in my opinion, due to the lack of space between the husband and the frame of the text this idea is not possible.

At the right of the vignette there is the lower part of eleven columns of the introductory text²⁴ of the composition (frag. 1-2; figs. 3, 4 and 16)²⁵:

|^{1-(x+1)} (...) *nb pt(?) dd(w) (i)n(?)*
 (...) lord of the sky(?) said by(?)
 |^{1-(x+2)} (...) *h̄tp(?) h̄r*
 (...) offering(?)

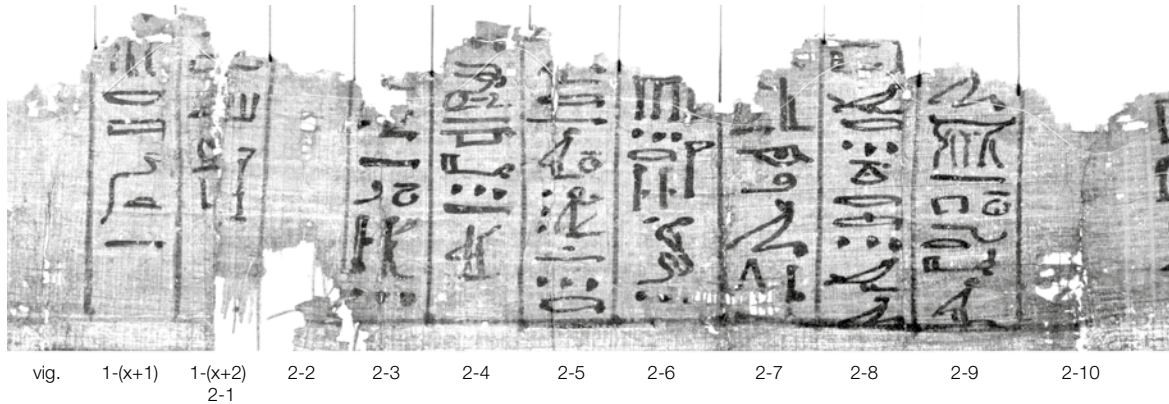


Figure 3. Text from Element I.

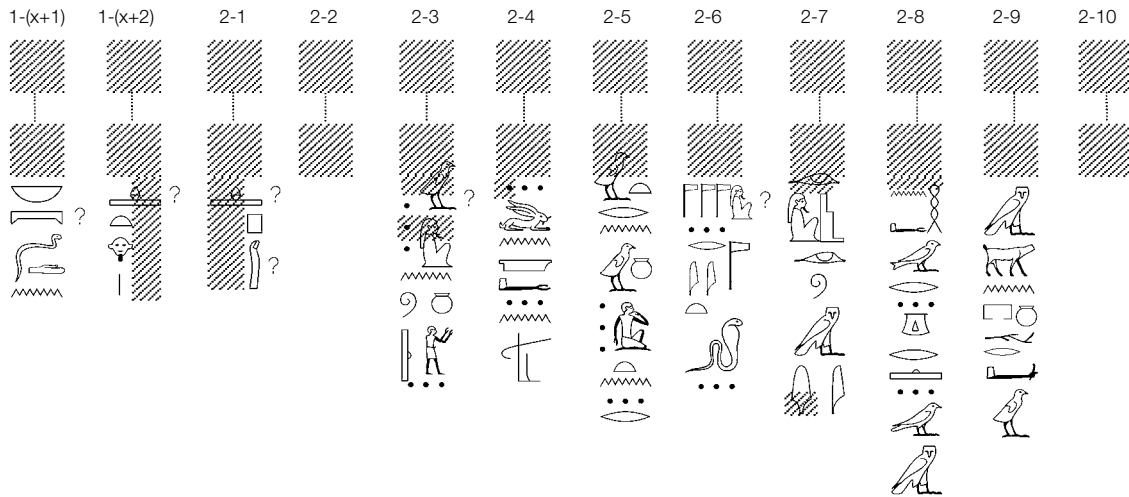


Figure 4. Text copied from Element I.

- 24 It should be pointed out that in two of these columns there are no traces of writing. In one of them (frag. 2, second column) maybe because there would be some kind of separation between two texts. In the other (frag. 2, tenth column) perhaps because the text had finished before reaching this point, although maybe there could have been a rubric that would have been erased and had left no traces of any recognizable sign.
- 25 The meanings of the signs used in the transcription: | means black line of separation between columns of text; || means double red line of separation between columns of text. The precise number of fragment and column of text are specified in the following way: the superscript |¹ means that

- |²⁻¹ (...) *htp(?) 10000(?)*²⁶ (...)
 (...) 10000 offerings(?)
 |²⁻² (...)
 |²⁻³ (...) *psdt(?) (im)nw(t)*
 (...) hidden
 |²⁻⁴ (...) *wn n=i*
 (...) Open up [your road] for me
 |²⁻⁵ (...) [*rh*]=*tw rnw=tn r[h]*
 (...) your names are known (...)
 known
 |²⁻⁶ (...) *ntrw ntrwyt*
 (...) gods and goddesses
 |²⁻⁷ (...) *wsir irw m i3mw*
 (...) Osiris made of palm-wood
 |²⁻⁸ (...) *hn^c wr(t) [r] gr(g) m*
 (...) and what is important [from]
 falsehood in
 |²⁻⁹ (...) *m-hnw ht rdw*
 (...) inside the wood, given to
 |²⁻¹⁰ (...)

Despite the small preserved part of the text, it has been compared with other introductory text of other papyrus, pLondon BM EA 10478²⁷ —henceforth pBM—, in an extraordinary good condition of conservation. This comparison could provide us with a wider understanding of the text (fig. 5). The similarities with pBa are written in bold.

- |¹ *r(3) n^cq n wsir* |² NN (name erased)
 |³ *dd=f: "ind-hr=tn, |⁴ ntrw ipw, psdt* |⁵

imnw swt[=s], |⁶ im(y)w-ht [wsir], |⁷ wnnyw r nhh |⁸ hntyt dt.

|⁹ *mtn, wi |¹⁰ ii=kw hr=tn. wn n=i w3t=tn^cq=i hr sb3wt=tn hr-ntyt |¹¹wi rh=kw **rnw. rh=kw s3t3w swt imn(wt).***

ii~n=i hr=k wn- |¹² nfr wnn.t(y)fy n dt ntrw qrwtdrwb3w, wd^cw m(w)dwtd.

|¹³ *wpyw m3^ct r isft. ntrw qrwtd. psdt m dw3t 3t3t irryw |¹⁴ hsq Bw".*

*dd m(w)dw hr tw(t) n **wsir** NN (name erased) **irw m** |¹⁵ **i3mw. rdw(t) psdt m-hnw=f, rdw n s r hr(y) t-ntr. wn²⁸~hr s nfr m ntr 3psy |¹⁶ wnn=f m nn n(y) ntrw nn sn^c~tw=f hr sb3w n(y) dw3t sb²⁹~tw=f.***

“Spell [to enable] the Osiris NN to enter.

He says: «Hail to you, O gods, **Ennead whose seats are hidden**, who are in the following [of Osiris], who exist for eternity and everlastingly.

Behold! I come to you. **Open up your road for me** that I may enter your gates, for I know **[your] names**. I know the mystery of [your] hidden abode.

I have come to you, Wennefer, who exists eternally and [you] **gods of the Caverns who protect the *bau*, who judge, who distinguish truth (*m3^ct*) from falsehood (*isft*).** Gods of the Caverns, **Ennead in the mysterious *Duat***, who cut off the [vital] air.»

Words to be spoken over a statue of the Osiris NN, **made of palm-wood, inside which the Ennead has been placed(?), giv-**

we are reading the first column (|¹⁻¹) of fragment 1 (|¹⁻¹). |^{1-(x+1)} means that it is unknown how many columns there are in a fragment due to the condition of conservation. Additionally, if it is considered that the same column of text is preserved in several fragments, this will be written in the following way: |^{6-5 (7-1)} means that the fifth column of fragment 6 is the same that the first column of fragment 7.

- 26 The sign **𓆎** is quite similar to Möller’s (1909-1965: II 650) for D50 **𓆎**.
 27 Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: pl. 17.
 28 Written *wnn~hr*.
 29 Written *st3*.

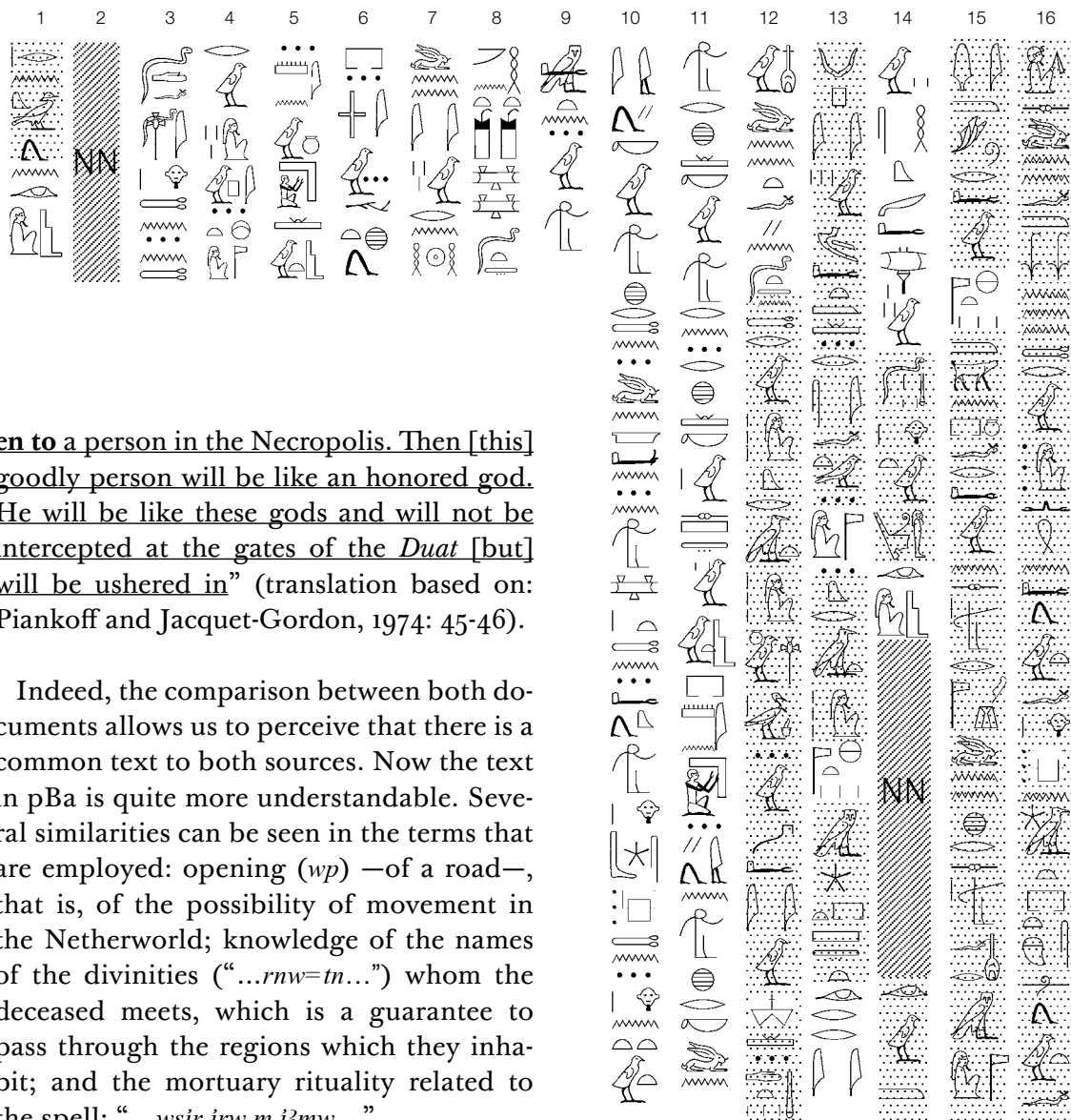


Figure 5. Text copied from Element I of pLondon BM EA 10478.


en to a person in the Necropolis. Then [this] goodly person will be like an honored god. He will be like these gods and will not be intercepted at the gates of the Duat [but] will be ushered in” (translation based on: Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 45-46).

Indeed, the comparison between both documents allows us to perceive that there is a common text to both sources. Now the text in pBa is quite more understandable. Several similarities can be seen in the terms that are employed: opening (*wp*) —of a road—, that is, of the possibility of movement in the Netherworld; knowledge of the names of the divinities (“...*rnw=tn...*”) whom the deceased meets, which is a guarantee to pass through the regions which they inhabit; and the mortuary rituality related to the spell: “...*wsir irw m i3mw...*”.

Unlike what has been considered to date by the historiography³⁰, the text of Element I in pBM is not only typical of this source, but it is based upon —directly or indirectly— a master copy that may have been used in other documents, as pBa proves. Consequently, perhaps the rubric with the title³¹

of the composition, which has only been preserved in this papyrus, may have been written in others and its use been more com-

30 Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 45-47.

31  *r(3) n ʿq n wsir NN* “Spell [to enable] the Osiris NN to enter”.

mon than what has been thought until now. This is, however, a conjecture.

The text in both cases is very similar, but several divergences exist:

—Three columns preserved (^{1-(x+1)}, ^{1-(x+2)} and ²⁻¹) do not have a parallel in pBM.

—The pronoun of 2nd person of plural “*tn*” is written in column ²⁻⁵, but it does not appear in pBM.

—In no place of the text of pBM is the word “goddesses” (*ntr̄ywt*) of column ²⁻⁶ (pBa) written. Perhaps it was added in pBa following the word “gods” (*ntr̄w*) which corresponds to columns 12 and 13 of the Element I of pBM.

—In column 14 of pBM the name of the owner is introduced to make reference to a statue of Osiris. However, the name does not appear in a similar grammatical construction in the supposed parallel text of column ²⁻⁷ of pBa.

—The texts of columns ²⁻⁷ and ²⁻⁹ of pBa can be found in pBM. Nevertheless, there is a text between both columns (column ²⁻⁸) which is not present in pBM. Therefore, it seems that at least one additional phrase has been introduced in-between, resulting in a modification of the text. It is interesting that this inserted text (column ²⁻⁸), is not written in pBM, and contains the word *gr̄g* (falsehood). In pBM an antagonistic duality between *m̄ʒ̄t* and *is̄ft* can be read. It should be considered that maybe this is a parallel comparison for opposite concepts added in the text after those ones by means of the conjunction *hn̄c*.

If a comparison between the external features of pBa and pBM (fig. 6) is made, several aspects can be additionally considered. The space of the introductory text in both papyri is important. In order to calculate the area of the text³² it is relevant to know what the height of each manuscript was.

The height of pBM is between 30.5³³ cm approximately. The introductory text consists of seven columns that take up the entire height of the lower and upper frame, and nine small columns that measure one fifth part of the others, due to the fact that they are located above a vignette. Therefore if the text would have been written in a continuous space without vignettes, it would have had almost nine columns.

Although the hypothesis could be suggested —without much certainty— that it was 24.3cm approximately, it is quite problematic to get to know the original height of pBa. This measure could be obtained making the following calculation: adding up lower margin (at least 1 cm) + lower frame (it should measure the same that the frame on the left side which has in fragment 1 = 1.4 cm) + three registers (if what is preserved of the lower register is not the totality of its height and it measures 6.5 cm, then the total height of the three registers is a bit higher to [6.5 × 3 =] 19.5 cm³⁴) + upper frame (*circa* 1.4 cm) + upper margin (at least 1 cm). In total, it would reach an approximate height of 24.3 cm.

The area preserved destined to Element I in pBa is at least eleven columns of text, considering that possibly part of one or several

³² This is something relative due to other circumstances, for example, the size of the signs.

³³ Lucarelli, 2010: 280. The different measure of height that Taylor (2010: 150) suggests (36.3 cm) is due to the measurement of the entire height including the frame in which the papyrus is kept.

³⁴ This result is based upon the three registers having the same height, which is probable but not definitive, as happens in pBM.

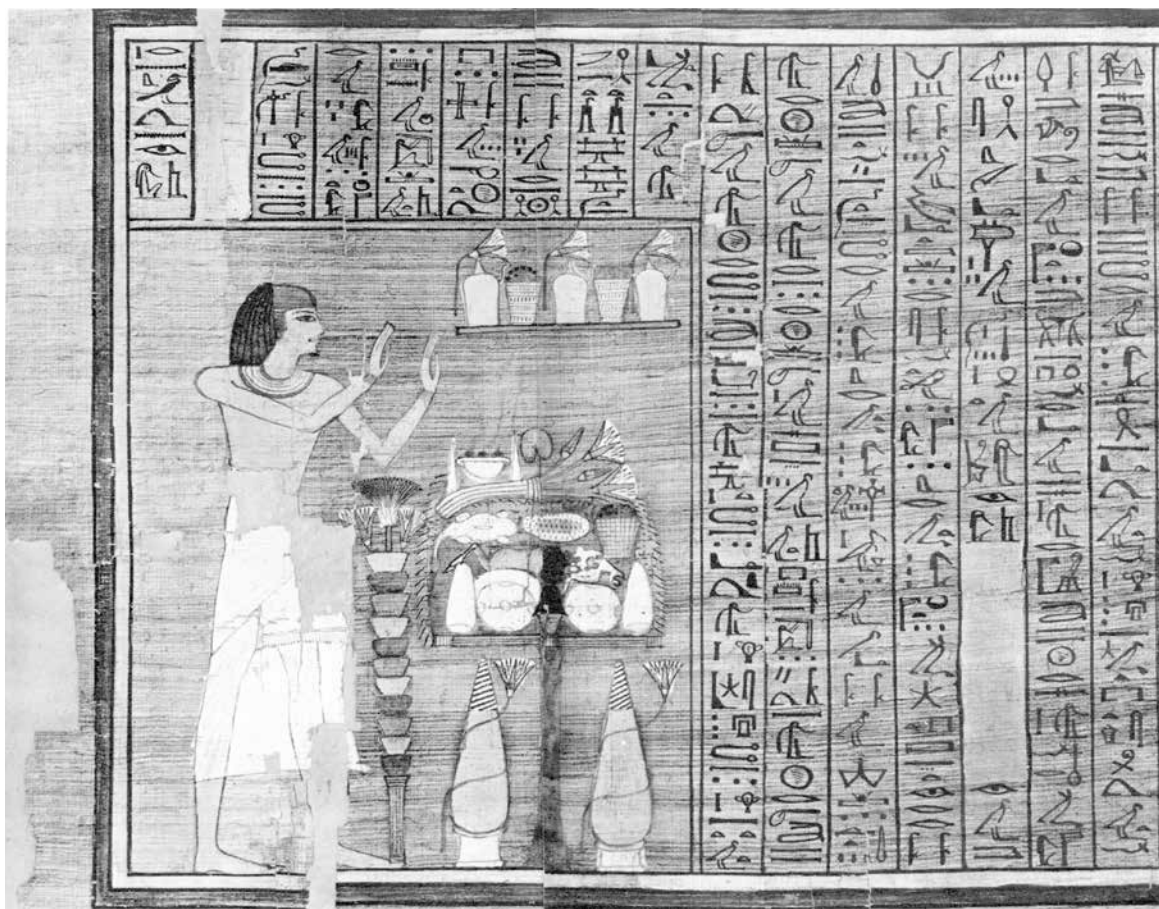


Figure 6. Element I in pLondon BM EA 10478. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

columns between fragments 1 and 2 are missing³⁵. Regarding these:

a) No parallels have been found to the texts of columns $1^{-(x+1)}$, $1^{-(x+2)}$ and 2^{-1} , so it cannot be known for sure how much text there was previously.

b) In relation to this and depending on the total height of the papyrus, a hypothesis can be suggested that the columns of the intro-

ductory text would extend—in a much smaller size—above the vignette of the deceased and her husband, as it occurs in pBM³⁶.

c) After the two first preserved columns of text in pBa, for some reason there are signs in the following one, column 2-2³⁷. Perhaps it is a way to distinguish two parts of the same text.

In summary, perhaps the text of pBa would need a larger number of columns

³⁵ The last column of fragment 1 and the first of fragment 2 do not seem to join appropriately.

³⁶ Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: pl. 17.

³⁷ There is no text in the column 2-10, but the introductory text does not finish in column 2-9. It would therefore be logical to think that it ends in a place in this column 2-10 in a part that has not been preserved.

than the one of pBM due to its hypothetical lesser height of the papyrus. It also could be because it includes some other text before the one that has been preserved. This text could be simply the rubric and the names and titles of *b3ry*.

Elements II and IV

Following the introductory text there is a formal delimitation with two red vertical lines that establishes a clear separation in respect to what comes next. That theoretically implies that the content from that point is different. From thereon — until a different text appears at the end — the papyrus is organized in squares and registers as previously described (fig. 2). A distinctive feature of pBa is that in the larger part of its extension the delimitation between squares is shown with two red vertical lines, whereas the simple change of columns of text is drawn with a single black line.

The textual distribution in all the squares begins with a text (1st column) which is followed by the typical offering formula written in red ink (2nd column), then the name of the deceased (3rd col.) and the specific text of offering (4th column). This scheme continues for a total of eight consecutive squares, with the exception of the sixth one, which is surely due to a mistake of the scribe³⁸. It is clear that the texts of the first columns of the squares are different to the ones of the

second columns because these are written in red ink and are the offering formulae. Consequently, the question arises of which texts are placed in the first columns of the squares before the offering formulae.

In the text of the first column of the eighth square (frag. 10) can be read: “...*r isft*”. In the composition the word *isfet* only³⁹ has been attested as text of the Element II, introducing the 8th cavern:

*ntrw qrrt 8-nwt. nd(wt) b3w, wd^c(wt), wp(wt)
m3^t r isft.*

The gods of the eighth cavern. She who protects the *bau*, she who judges, distinguishing truth from falsehood.

For this reason, the texts of the first columns of the first seven squares (frag. 3-9) may correspond to the introductory texts of the caverns (Element II) (fig. 7)⁴⁰. That is, these texts would represent a division between the squares that would depict the first seven caverns until the eighth one, whose introductory text is clearly written. Another reasoning that confirms this approach is that the specific texts of the offering formulae after the element II of the 8th cavern have been recognized as belonging to this cavern. Furthermore these texts are organized in a usual sequence found in other sources, and start with the common beginning: text 8A.

This proposal causes several doubts. The endings that have been preserved in the introductory texts of the first five⁴¹ caverns of

38 This kind of mistake is not exceptional. The omission of what is considered a text from Element II —as will be explain below— also happens in the 8th cavern of pBM (Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 48, pl. 19).

39 With the exception of Element I in pBM.

40 Legend: 2 = Element II.

41 As I have pointed out, the supposed introductory text of 6th cavern has been omitted by mistake.

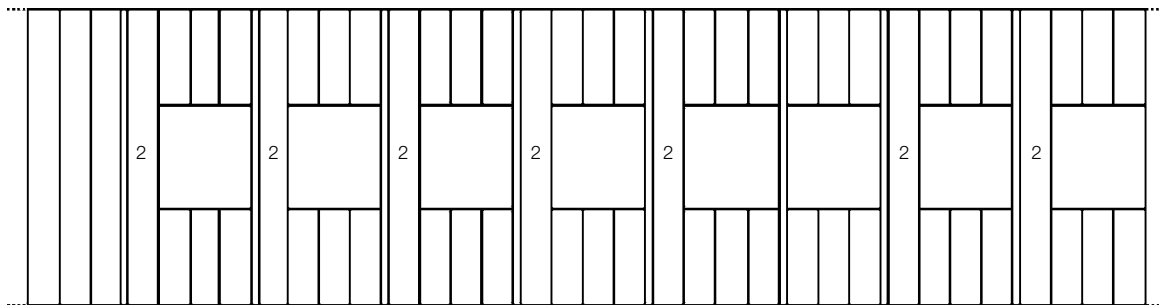


Figure 7. Hypothesis of the organization of the papyrus in the first eight caverns.

pBa have no known parallel until now. The supposed introductory text of the 7th cavern fits, but it may be simply because the conserved word —*dw3t*— is quite common in this composition.

The introductory texts of the first seven caverns are not found in the rest of funerary papyri. They were omitted or not preserved. Moreover, when the first caverns are depicted—the paradigmatic example is the Osireion from Abydos—, only the first part of the Element II appears: *ntrw qrrt tpt m dw3t* (gods of the first cavern of the *Duat*), *ntrw qrrt 2-nwt m dw3t* (gods of the second cavern of the *Duat*)... In other words, the specific epithets of the first seven caverns are omitted and only those from caverns 8th to 12th are written⁴². Therefore, this would be the first example of a funerary papyrus with the first seven caverns of the *Duat*. Apart from this, the first seven caverns have epithets that have not been found before, which could be the result of theological speculation.

The introductory text of the 7th cavern is quite interesting. The ending “*dw3t*” fits with other preserved versions: *ntrw qrrt 7-nw m dw3t* (Gods of the seventh cavern of the *Duat*). However, if it is stated that the introductory texts preserved in the first seven caverns of pBa consist of two parts (identification of the cavern and epithets), this would be the end of the epithet and not the end of the first part of the text as it would appear. This would be quite exceptional because pBa would be the only funerary source in which the epithets related to the first seven caverns have been preserved.

Perhaps for this reason it is also difficult to identify the specific texts of the offering formulae (Element IV) related to these caverns. That is, maybe new texts or variations of other texts have been used, and for this reason, are impossible to recognize. In the Osireion⁴³ the texts related to the offering formulae of the first seven caverns are the same as those that are always used in the 8th cavern. In other

42 Some time ago I suggested that the version of the Osireion (Méndez Rodríguez, 2008: 395-396) is a religious elaboration specifically made in order to appear complete. The reason could be that the only master copy may have been deteriorated and this part of the composition may have been lost. This idea has been also pointed out by other authors in their parallel researches: Müller-Roth / Weber, 2010: 65; Lieven, forthcoming.

43 Murray, 1904: pl. V; Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 53, 88-89.

words, due to the inexistence of specific texts of these first caverns, two texts of the 8th cavern⁴⁴ were used instead.

In pBa, the texts written in the first seven squares and the proposal of identification⁴⁵ are the following (frag. 3-11; fig. 8, 17 and 18):

||³⁻² (...) *n(?) ntrw*.
 (...) to(?) the gods.
 Element II(?)

|³⁻³ Offering formula (henceforth OF)

|³⁻⁴ [Osiris] NN

|⁴⁻¹ (...) [*m-*]^c *nb h(w)t*.

(...) [with(?)] the Lord of Things.

12B(?)⁴⁶

||⁴⁻² (...) *33w*.

(...) ?

|⁴⁻³ OF

|⁴⁻⁴ NN

|⁵⁻¹ (...) *t(?) hr m33 n=f nb*

11K⁴⁷

||⁵⁻² (...) [*wrd(?)*]-*ib*.⁴⁸

(...) the weary(?) -hearted one.

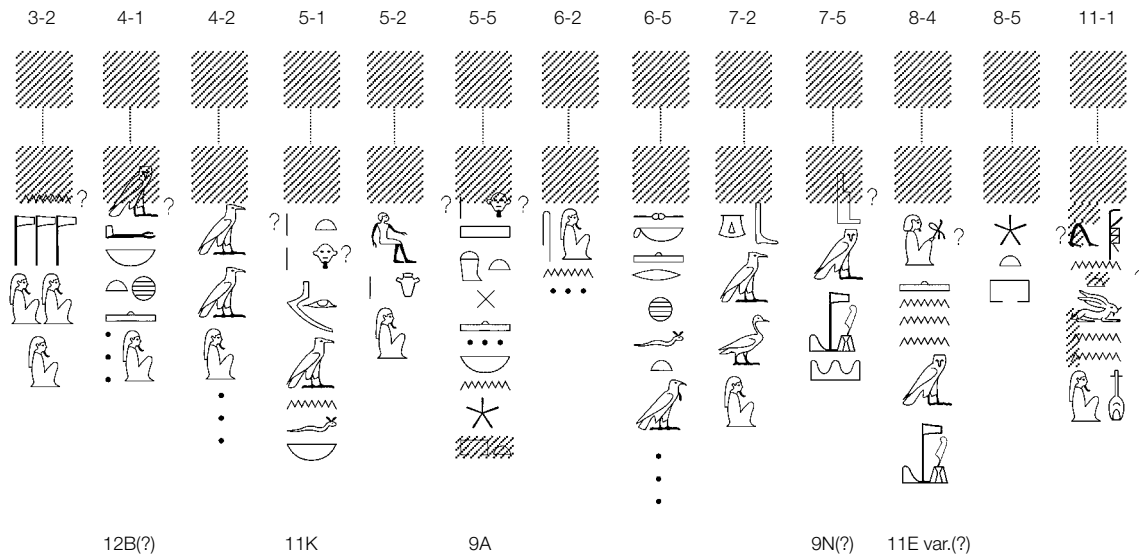


Figure 8. Text (frag. 3, col. 2 - frag. 11, col. 1).

44 These texts are A and G following Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon's classification (1974: 109-114).



45 The identification of the specific offering texts has been made following Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon's (1974: 109-114) abbreviations. A letter is associated to each different text of the offering formulae (ex.: A, B, C... etc.). In order to allude to any concrete offering formula, I adapted this system through adding a number preceding the abbreviation of the text which makes reference to the specific cavern to which that text belongs (ex.: 8C, 10D, 12A...etc.) (Méndez Rodríguez, 2008).



46 12B: ...*m prt=f^cq=f m imnt r sb3w nbw h(w)t*. ... as to him who goes forth and enters into the Western Region, at the gates of the Lords of Things.

47 11K: *h3p ht(=s) hr m33=f nb* ...NN is one whose body is concealed from everyone who sees it(?).

48 There are only three offering texts in the composition that contain the word *ib*: 9S (*hpr=f m nb^c(wy)[=f] shm ib m hr(y)t-ntr*; ...NN becomes one who possesses [his] (two) arms and has power over his heart in the Necropolis) (pBM: Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 98, 111, pl. 23); 11G (...*irt hprw m dd ib=f m hr(y)t-ntr*; ... NN creates form as one to whom his heart is given in the Necropolis) (Osireion: Piankoff

<p>Element II(?)</p> <p> ^{5:3} (...) OF</p> <p> ^{5:4} (...) NN</p> <p> ^{5:5 (=6-1)} (...) <i>hr(?) šṭṭw nb n dwṣt.</i></p> <p>9A⁴⁹</p> <p> ⁶⁻² (...) = <i>sn.</i></p> <p>Element II(?)</p> <p> ⁶⁻³ OF</p> <p> ⁶⁻⁴ NN</p> <p> ^{6-5 (=7-1)} (...) <i>sk(?) r hftyw</i></p> <p>(...) destruction against the enemies.</p> <p> ⁷⁻² (...) <i>bgṣ(?)⁵⁰ gb.</i></p> <p>(...) quiet voice(?) of Geb</p> <p>Element II(?)</p> <p> ^{7:3} OF</p> <p> ^{7:4} NN <i>mṣ^c(t) hrw</i></p>	<p> ^{7:5 (=8-1)} (...) <i>st / wsir] m hr(y)t-ntr</i></p> <p>9N(?)⁵¹</p> <p> ⁸⁻² OF</p> <p> ⁸⁻³ NN</p> <p> ⁸⁻⁴ (...) ... <i>iry(?) mw m hr(y)t-ntr</i></p> <p>...as to one who is related to the water (water-keeper?) in the Necropolis.</p> <p>11E var.(?)⁵²</p> <p> ^{8-5 (=9-1)} (...) <i>dwṣt.</i></p> <p>Element II(?)</p> <p> ⁹⁻² OF</p> <p> ^{9:3} NN</p> <p> ^{9:4} (...)</p> <p> ¹¹⁻¹ (...) <i>šmsw(t) n(y)t⁵³ wn-nfr⁵⁴</i></p> <p>(...) follower of Wennefer⁵⁵.</p>
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and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 105, 113. Murray, 1904, p. II); and 11J (...*nb st htp ib[=f] hrḏw n hr(y)t-ntr*; ... NN is in possession of a seat, [his] heart being at peace, on the mountain of the Necropolis) (pBM: Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 103, 113, pl. 27). Any of them fits with the fragment of text preserved in pBa. Nevertheless, there is a text of the Element III of one source –pBM– (Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 88, pl.32) which includes a reference to a god called *wrd-ib* (the weary-hearted). If *wrd* is the word missing here, then its determinative is not the usual one –A7 – but A17* .

- 49 9A: *m ḥ(w) hr šṭṭw nb n dwṣt...* as to one who enters all the mysteries of the *Duat*.
- 50 If the term written is *bgṣ* I have doubts regarding the translation of it. In the *Wb.* (I, 482.11) and Hannig's *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* (II, 825) the word more similar is *bgṣ* with the determinative , which is not written in the word of pBa, and means *Geschrei* (bawling, clamour, noise, shouting, yelling...). The same term is translated by Faulkner in the *Coffin Texts* –henceforth CT– (Sp 343, IV 364a; Sp 347, IV 379b; Sp 443, V 309a) as voice or quiet(?) voice, because he considers that *bgw* is a derivation from *bṣgy* “be weary” (Faulkner, 1973-1978: CT I, p. 279, n. 31). In CT 443, V 309a he doubts how to translate it and writes: “since *bg* could stand for *bṣg* “be weary” and *gbg* be related to *bbgb* “dell a foe” Pyr. §678, I have guessed “limpness” as an approximation, but it is clear from the variations in the text that its meaning was not completely understood even in ancient times; these passages seem to be ill-wishing the hostile beings named in 308c”. Carrier (2004: I, 856-857) translates *hrw bṣgw* as “*voix languissante*” (CT Sp 343, IV 364a), and *hrw pf n(y) b(ṣ)g n(y) iḥmw(w)-wrd(w)* as “*quand est entendue cette voix-là de lassitude (?) des Infatigables*” (Carrier, 2004: I, 868-869; CT 347, IV 379b).
- 51 9N: ...*hpr(w)=f m nb st hr(y)t-ntr...* NN becomes master of a place in the Necropolis.
- 52 11E: *m ir(y) mw š wsir.* ... as to one who is associated with the water in the pool of Osiris. The abbreviation “var.” means that it is a variation of the text.
- 53 If the letter *t* is really written, this could be an adaptation of the text to the gender of the owner.
- 54 Fragments 9 and 11 do not fit *a priori*, but this could be because of the poor condition of preservation of the papyrus, which is deteriorated on both edges. However, the shape of this broken edge is very similar to the one which exists between fragment 8 and 9. Moreover, there is a tiny mark of black ink in fragment 9 that could be the end of the second sign N35  of the word Wennefer that is written in fragment 11.
- 55 The name Wennefer is mentioned only here on the papyrus. The reference to this deity has been found in other manuscripts, but in a different place of the composition. In pLondon BM

The following texts belong to the 8th cavern (frag. 11-21; fig. 18). The first square has four columns of text, the first of which corresponds to the introductory text of this cavern. The next squares have only three columns of text as usual. The sequence of texts continues in the normal order but with the observation that one of them is repeated twice: 8A (fig. 9).

||¹¹⁻² (...) *r isft*.

Element II. 8th cavern⁵⁶

|^{11-3 (=12-1)} OF

|¹²⁻² NN

|¹²⁻³ (...) [*m nb*] *3wt m imntt qbb m sht-htp*.

8A⁵⁷

||¹²⁻⁴ OF

|^{12-5 (=14-1)} NN

|¹⁴⁻² (...) [*m*] *nb 3wt m imntt qbb m sht[-htp]*.

8A⁵⁸

||¹⁴⁻³ OF

|¹⁴⁻⁴ NN

|¹⁸⁻¹ (...) *šmsw n ntr*.

8B⁵⁹

||¹⁸⁻² OF

|^{18-3 (=19-1)} NN

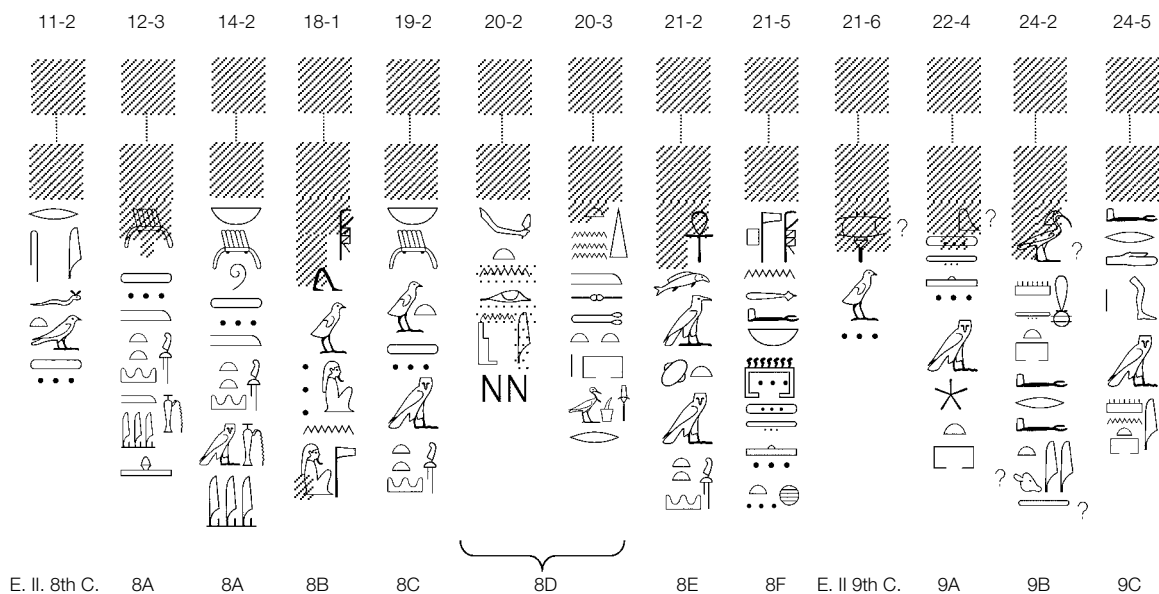


Figure 9. Text (frag. 11, col. 2 – frag. 24, col. 5).

EA 10478 is located in the Element I in the introductory text and in a vignette in the end of the papyrus in which the deceased is depicted before Wennefer once he has crossed the caverns (Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon (1974: 45-46, pls. 17-18, 33). In the case of pNew York MMA 39.9.19 can be found only in the final scene (Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon (1974: pl. 40).

- 56 Element II, 8th cavern: *ntrw qrrt 8-nwt. nd(wt) b3w, wd^c(wt), wp(wt) m3^ct r isft*. The gods of the eighth cavern. She who protects the *bau*, she who judges, distinguishing truth from falsehood.
- 57 8A: *m nb 3wt m imntt qbb m sht-htp*. ... NN is a possessor of gifts in the West and refreshment in the Field of Offerings.
- 58 8A: *m nb 3wt m imntt qbb m sht-htp*. ... NN is a possessor of gifts in the West and refreshment in the Field of Offerings.
- 59 8B: *m šmsw n(y) ntr 3 nb imntt* ...as to the followers of the Great God, Lord of the West.

|¹⁹⁻² (...) [m] nb 3wt m imntt.
8C⁶⁰

||^{19-3 (=20-1)} OF

|²⁰⁻² (...) dsr t_n(sic?) in wsir NN⁶¹

|²⁰⁻³ (...) dt(?)m stt⁶² ḥ^c b3 r
8D(?)⁶³

||²⁰⁻⁴ OF

|^{20-5 (=21-1)} NN

|²¹⁻² (...) ḥ^cnh(w) h3t m imntt.
8E⁶⁴

||²¹⁻³ OF

|²¹⁻⁴ NN

|²¹⁻⁵ (...) šms ntr pn ḥ^c3 r sbḥwt š3w(t) ḥt.
8F⁶⁵

The text 8F is the last one of the 8th cavern. Following it there is a square with four columns of text (frag. 21-23; fig. 19). The first of these columns has the ending of the introductory text to the 9th cavern. The offering texts of the first three squares of this cavern

are in the common order of sequence (frag. 21-24; figs. 9 and 19):

||^{21-6 (=22-1)} (...) ḥ^cw(?).

Element II. 9thcavern⁶⁶

|²²⁻² OF

|²²⁻³ NN m3^c(t)-ḥrw

|^{22-4 (=23-1)} (...) š3w m dw3t.

9A⁶⁷

||²³⁻² OF

|^{23-3 (=24-1)} NN

|²⁴⁻² (...) 3ḥ(?) mi (sic) š3t (sic) ḥ^cyt ḥnt(yt) ḥ

9B⁶⁸

||²⁴⁻³ OF

|²⁴⁻⁴ NN




|²⁴⁻⁵ (...) ⁶⁹rd(wy) m imntt.

9C⁷⁰

From this point onwards the offering formulae do not have a normal order of sequence as they are placed physically in

60 8C: m nb 3wt m imntt. ... as to those who have gifts in the West.

61 The reading order of the columns changes at this point. It should begin at the third column and continue with the second column following the proposed identification. Later on, this part of the text will be examined again.

62 I have not found the meaning of the word *stt*. Moreover, it is different to the only other attested textual version: *stt*  (pCairo 24742 —J.E. 34001—). The translation of this last term is also problematic due to its two simultaneous determinatives: Aa2  and O1 .

63 Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon (1974: 109) translate this formula as "...as to those who cross over... *bau* standing at the holy portico" avoiding therefore the translation of the word *stt* and choosing other of the variations for the translation. 8D (pCairo 24742 —J.E. 34001—): m nb dt(?) m stt ḥ^c b3 r sbḥt dsrt.

64 8E: ḥ^cnh(w) h3t m imntt. ... alive as bodies in the West.

65 8F: šms ntr pn ḥ^c3 r sbḥwt š3w(t) ḥt ...follower of this great god at the porticoes with mysterious properties.

66 Element II, 9th cavern: ntrw qrrt 9-nwt m dw3t, š3(w)t irw, ḥsq(w)t ḥw. The gods of the Ninth cavern in the *Duat*. She of mysterious forms, who cuts off the [vital] air.

67 9A: m ḥ^cq(w) ḥr š3w m dw3t ...as to one who enters the mysteries of the *Duat*.

68 ...as to an *akh* in the Mysterious Region (which) portico is in front of the *land*.
9B: m 3ḥ im(y) š3t ḥ^cyt ḥnt(y) dw3t. ...as to an *akh* in the Mysterious Region which approaches the One presiding over the *Duat*.

69  is here the determinative of the verb *sh̄m*.

70 9C: *sh̄m*(w) rd/rdwy m imntt(t) ...as the one who has the use of his leg(s) in the West.

the reconstruction. The reason or reasons for this could be: a) the current disposition of the fragments is not the same as it was in Antiquity; b) the sequence of the texts was not correlative originally (which would be something quite exceptional); or c) both occurred at the same time. Because of this, a description of the fragments with the offering formulae recognized in each of them will be made (figs. 10-13 and 17-20).

Frag. 24 (end):

||²⁴⁻⁶ OF

Frag. 25:

|²⁵⁻¹ OF

|²⁵⁻² NN

|²⁵⁻³ (...) [š]t3 nb(?) n dw3t.

9L⁷¹

||²⁵⁻⁴ OF

|²⁵⁻⁵ NN

|²⁵⁻⁶ (...) hr(y)t-ntr.

9M(?) / 9N(?)⁷²

Frag. 26:

[[|]]²⁶⁻¹ OF

|²⁶⁻² NN

|²⁶⁻³ (...)w⁷³ ntr nfr.

9P⁷⁴

Frag. 27:

||²⁷⁻¹ OF

|²⁷⁻² NN

|²⁷⁻³ (...) rd m [i]mnt.

9C⁷⁵

Frag. 28:

|^{28-1 (=29-1)} [OF]

|^{28-2 (=29-2)} NN

Frag. 29:

[[|]]²⁹⁻¹ [OF]

|²⁹⁻² NN

|²⁹⁻³ (...) m(w)dw ntrw.

9P⁷⁶

||²⁹⁻⁴ OF

|²⁹⁻⁵ NN

Frag. 30:

|³⁰⁻¹ OF

|³⁰⁻² NN

|³⁰⁻³ (...)f...nb n(?) h^cw(?)=f.

9Q(?)⁷⁷

||³⁰⁻⁴ (...)

Frag. 31:

|³¹⁻¹ OF

Frag. 32:

|³²⁻¹ (...) ⁷⁸

71 9L: rh št3w nb n dw3t ...NN knows all the mysteries of the *Duat*. There is a mistake: it is written “r” (D21) instead of “nb” (V30).

72 (...) necropolis. Because of the proximity of text 9L I propose that it would be more probable to identify this text with 9M or 9N.

73 Traces of A2 can be seen and also clearly three strokes indicating plural.

74 (...) [the words] of the good God. 9P: b3 sdm m(w)dw ntrw. ...NN is a *ba* who hears the words of the gods. If the identification of the text is correct, this would be the only variation of the text with the last word —god— in singular.

75 9C: shm(w) rdwy m imnt(t). ...as the one who has the use of his legs in the West.

76 9P: b3 sdm m(w)dw ntrw. ...NN is a *ba* who hears the words of the gods.

77 9Q: nḥ h^c=f snb h^cw=f. ...NN is one whose flesh lives and whose members are healthy forever.

78 Unidentifiable traces of text.

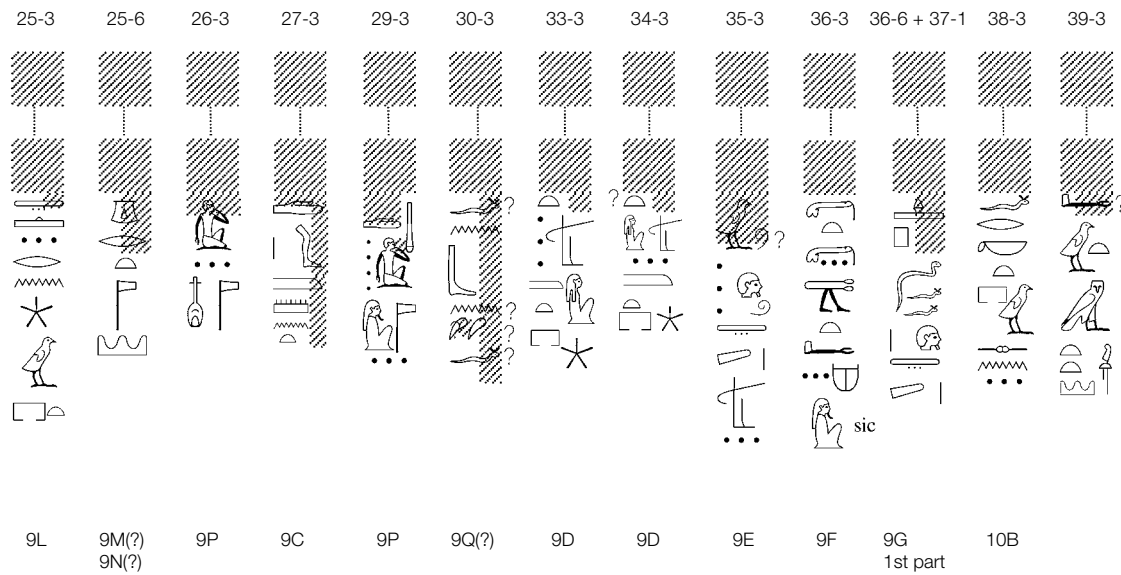


Figure 10. Text (frag. 25, col. 3 — frag. 39, col. 3).

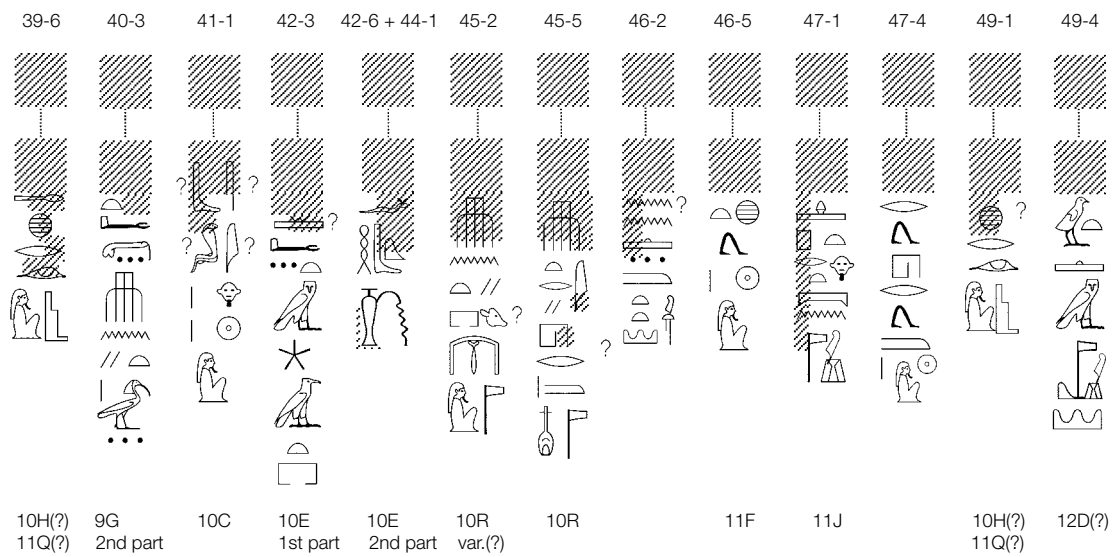


Figure 11. Text (frag. 39, col. 6 — frag. 49, col. 4).

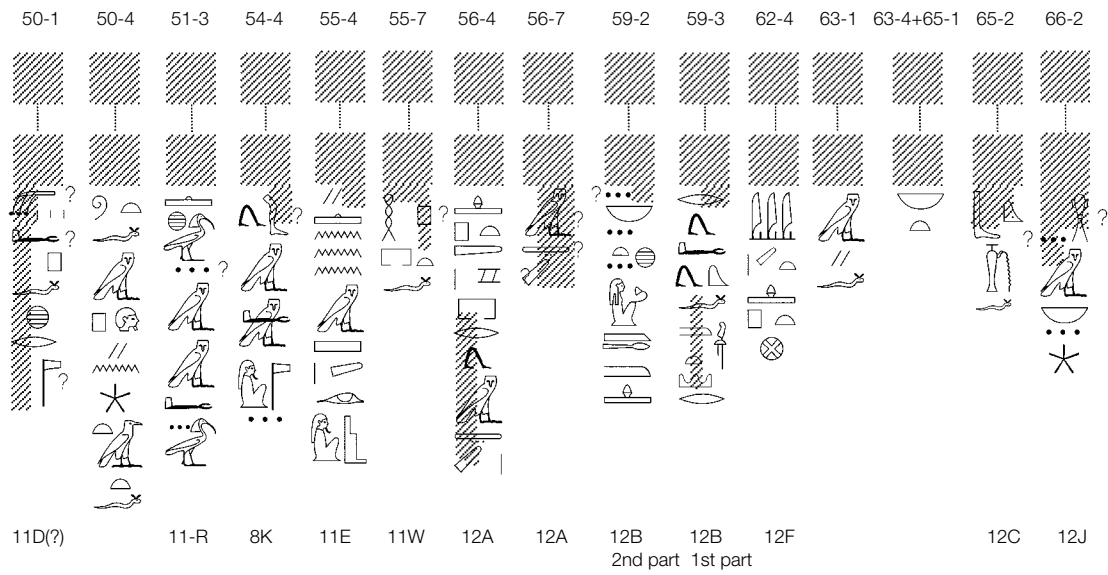


Figure 12. Text (frag. 50, col. 1 — frag. 66, col. 2).

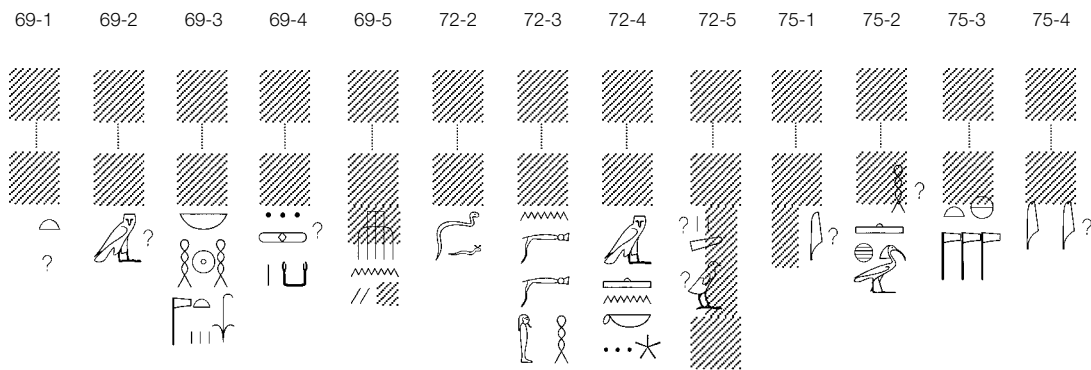


Figure 13. Text (frag. 69, col. 1 — frag. 75, col. 4).

Frag. 33:

||³³⁻¹ OF|³³⁻² NN|³³⁻³ (...) [3b]t m dw3t.9D⁷⁹||³³⁻⁴ OF|³³⁻⁵ NN

Frag. 34:

|³⁴⁻¹ OF|³⁴⁻² NN m3^c(t)-hrw|³⁴⁻³ (...) [3b]t m dw3t.9D⁸⁰||³⁴⁻⁴ OF|³⁴⁻⁵ NN

Frag. 35:

|³⁵⁻¹ OF|³⁵⁻² NN|³⁵⁻³ (...)w tp(y)w t3.9E⁸¹Frag. 36 + Frag. 37⁸²:|³⁶⁻¹ OF|³⁶⁻² NN, m3^c(t)-hrw(?)|³⁶⁻³ (...) m twt it hmw(t).9F⁸³||³⁶⁻⁴ OF|³⁶⁻⁵ NN m3^c(t)-hrw|³⁶⁻⁶⁽⁼³⁷⁻¹⁾ (...) htp[w] df3w(?) tp t3

... offerings and provisions on earth.

9G var. 1st part⁸⁴||³⁷⁻² (...) OF

Frag. 38:

|³⁸⁻¹ OF|³⁸⁻² NN|³⁸⁻³ (...)~n=fr kt(y)w(t)=sn.10B⁸⁵||³⁸⁻⁴ OF|³⁸⁻⁵ NN

Frag. 39:

|³⁹⁻¹ OF|³⁹⁻² NN|³⁹⁻³ (...) 3wt(?) m imntt.||³⁹⁻⁴ OF|³⁹⁻⁵ NN, m3^c(t)-hrw|³⁹⁻⁶ (...) hr wsir.10H(?)⁸⁶ / 11Q(?)⁸⁷||³⁹⁻⁷ OF

Frag. 40:

|⁴⁰⁻¹ [OF]|⁴⁰⁻² NN79 9D: m iry 3bt m dw3t. ...as a member of families in the *Duat*.80 9D: m iry 3bt m dw3t. ...as a member of families in the *Duat*.

81 9E: m sdm m(w)dw tp(y)w t3 ...as to one who hears the words of those upon earth.

82 The morphology of the broken edges of the two fragments and the existence of a variation of the text preserved in other source called pPrivate suggests the link between these two fragments.

83 9F: m nb mtwt it hmwt. ...as to those who have semina and seize women.

84 9G: ... m shm htpw tp t3 m nb 3 mtwt hnt 3hw. ...as to those who have power over their offerings on earth as possessors of much semina at the head of the *akh*.

85 10B: ... n h3~n=fr ktywt=sn ...he does not descend into their cauldrons.

86 10H: ... m b3=i ikr hr wsir ...as an enlightened spirit (*akh*) near Osiris (text variation from pLondon BM EA 9966).87 11Q: ... m3^c-hrw hr wsir hnty-imntt / nb t3 št3 / nb t3 dsr... is justified before Osiris Khenty-imentet / Lord of the Mysterious Land / Lord of the Sacred Land.

|⁴⁰⁻³ (...) ^ϵ3(?) *mtwt hnt 3hw*.

9G⁸⁸

||⁴⁰⁻⁴ (...) ⁸⁹

|⁴⁰⁻⁵ OF

|⁴⁰⁻⁶ NN

Frag. 41:

|⁴¹⁻¹ (...) *sbi(?) hr r^c*.

10C⁹⁰

||⁴¹⁻² OF

Frag. 42:

|⁴²⁻¹ OF

|⁴²⁻² NN *m³ϵ(t)-hrw*

|⁴²⁻³ (...) ^ϵ*wt m dw3t*.

10E. 1st part⁹¹


||⁴²⁻⁴ OF

|⁴²⁻⁵ NN

|⁴²⁻⁶ (=44-1) (...) *f hr qbħ (=f(?))*.

10E. 2nd part⁹²

Frag. 43:

The legs of a ram, sign E11  from Gardiner's list, belonging to the name of the deceased are depicted. This fragment could be placed above the column 5 of the fragment 42.

Frag. 44:

|⁴⁴⁻¹ (=42-6)

|⁴⁴⁻² OF

Frag. 45:

|⁴⁵⁻¹ NN

|⁴⁵⁻² (...) *hnty sh ntr*.

... who is in front of the booth of the god.

10R var.(?)⁹³

||⁴⁵⁻³ OF

|⁴⁵⁻⁴ NN

|⁴⁵⁻⁵ (...) *hnt itr(t)y r-gs ntr nfr*.

10 R⁹⁴

Frag. 46:

|⁴⁶⁻¹ NN

|⁴⁶⁻² (...) *w(?) m imntt*.⁹⁵

||⁴⁶⁻³ OF

|⁴⁶⁻⁴ NN

|⁴⁶⁻⁵ (...) [*imy*]-*ht r^c*.

11F⁹⁶

||⁴⁶⁻⁶ OF

Frag. 47:

|⁴⁷⁻¹ (...) *htp hr(y)-tp n hr(y)t-ntr*.

11J⁹⁷

88 9G: ...*m shm htpw tp t3 m nb ϵ...hnt 3hw*. ...as to those who have power over their offerings on earth as a possessor of semina at the head of the *akhu*.

89 There are no rests of text.

90 10C: *m hsf(w) sbi hr r^c*. ... as to one who repulses the rebel from Re.

91 10E: ... *m i^cb(w) ϵwt m dw3t. b3=fpr=f hr qbħ=f*. ... as to one whose members are assembled in the *Duat*. His *ba* comes forth toward his refreshment.

92 10E: ... *m i^cb(w) ϵwt m dw3t. b3=fpr=f hr qbħ=f*. ... as to one whose members are assembled in the *Duat*. His *ba* comes forth toward his refreshment.

93 10R: ...*hms=f m hnty r-gs ntr ϵ*. ... NN sits in front, beside the Great God.

94 ... in front of the two chapels, beside the good god. 10 R: ...*hms=f m-hnty r-gs ntr ϵ*. ... NN sits in front, beside the Great God.

95 Many offering formulae have this ending. The ones which are more probable are 10G y 11H.

96 11F: ...*m b3 imy-ht r^c* ...as to a *ba* in the following of Re.

97 11J: ...*nb st htp ib[=f] hr dw n hr(y)t-ntr*; ... NN is in possession of a seat, [his] heart being at peace, on the mountain of the Necropolis.

||⁴⁷⁻² OF
|⁴⁷⁻³ NN
|⁴⁷⁻⁴ (...) *r pr m r*⁹⁸.
||⁴⁷⁻⁵ OF

Frag. 48:
Only traces of an unrecognizable sign are preserved.

Frag. 49:
|⁴⁹⁻¹ (...) *hr(?) wsir*.
10H⁹⁹ / 11Q(?)¹⁰⁰
||⁴⁹⁻² OF
|⁴⁹⁻³ NN *m³ε(t)-hrw*
|⁴⁹⁻⁴ (...) [*3*] *wt(?) m hr(y)t-ntr*.
12D(?)¹⁰¹
||⁴⁹⁻⁵ (...) ¹⁰²

Frag. 50:
|⁵⁰⁻¹ (...) *w εp(?)=f hr ntr (?)*.
11D(?)¹⁰³

||⁵⁰⁻² OF
|⁵⁰⁻³ NN
|⁵⁰⁻⁴ (...) *tw=f m tpy n dw3t tf*¹⁰⁴

||⁵⁰⁻⁵ OF
|⁵⁰⁻⁶ NN

Frag. 51:
|⁵¹⁻¹ OF
|⁵¹⁻² NN
|⁵¹⁻³ (...) *3hw=f m m-ε 3hw*.
11R¹⁰⁵
||⁵¹⁻⁴ (...) ¹⁰⁶
|⁵¹⁻⁵ OF

Frag. 52¹⁰⁷:
|⁵²⁻¹ OF
|⁵²⁻² (...)

Frag. 53:
Frame decoration.

98 ... and come forth with/as Re.

The formula most similar to this text is 8J (Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 109). Nevertheless, it would be in a very unusual place. Perhaps, it is a modification of 11S (Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 113). The text 11S would be more appropriate due to the presence in this text of two verbs of movement at the same time that follows the sequence of the texts of offerings of this cavern (although omitting some). However, the ending of 11S offering formula is "...*m t3*" instead of "*m r3*" in this text. In this situation it could be a mistake due to: that the scribe heard while copying what another person had dictated, or maybe it is a morphological mistake and the scribe copied one low broad sign instead of the other. Perhaps, simply, it is a new text not found until now.

99 10H: ... *m b3=i ikr hr wsir*... as an enlightened spirit (*akh*) near Osiris. This variation of the text has been found in pLondon BM EA 9966.

100 11Q: ... *m³ε-hrw hr wsir nb t3 št3*... is justified before Osiris, Lord of the Mysterious Land.

101 12D: ... *m nb 3wt m hr(y)t-ntr*. ... NN is a possessor of gifts in the Necropolis.

102 There is a black line between two red ones. I suppose that it would be a mistake of the scribe that divided the internal spaces of the squares and that was rectified later at this point drawing two red lines.

103 11D: ... *m hwt m 3kbyw εp=f m-ht ntr ε3*. ... in the surroundings of the mourners(?) that he may go in the following of the great god.

104 This seems to be a new text not previously found and classified.

105 11R: *pr b3 (3h)=f m-ε 3hw*. His *ba/akh* [of NN] comes forth with the *akhu*.

106 There are no traces of signs.

107 There are only small traces of the signs that do not show the orientation of the fragment. Therefore, the rubric could be the first or the second column.

Frag. 54:
 |⁵⁴⁻¹ (...)
 |⁵⁴⁻² OF
 |⁵⁴⁻³ NN
 |⁵⁴⁻⁴ (...) *m m-^cntrw*.
 8K¹⁰⁸
 ||⁵⁴⁻⁵ (...) ¹⁰⁹
 |⁵⁴⁻⁶ OF
 |⁵⁴⁻⁷ NN

Frag. 55:
 |⁵⁵⁻¹ (...)
 |⁵⁵⁻² OF
 |⁵⁵⁻³ NN
 |⁵⁵⁻⁴ (...) [*ir*]y *mw m š wsir*.
 11E¹¹⁰
 ||⁵⁵⁻⁵ OF
 |⁵⁵⁻⁶ NN
 |⁵⁵⁻⁷ (...) *ht=f*.
 11W¹¹¹

Frag. 56:
 |⁵⁶⁻¹ (...)
 |⁵⁶⁻² OF
 |⁵⁶⁻³ NN
 |⁵⁶⁻⁴ (...) *htp idb pr(w) m t3*.
 12A¹¹²
 |⁵⁶⁻⁵ (...) ¹¹³

|⁵⁶⁻⁶ OF
 |⁵⁶⁻⁷ NN
 |⁵⁶⁻⁸ (...) *m(?) t3(?)*.
 12A¹¹⁴

Frag. 57:
 |⁵⁷⁻¹ (...)

Frag. 58:
 Small fragment with rests of a sign.

Frag. 59:
 |⁵⁹⁻¹ NN
 |⁵⁹⁻² (...) *nbw ht NN(?) m3^c(t)-hrw(?) m htp (?)*
 ... Lords of Things ... justified, in
 peace (?)
 12B (2nd part)
 |⁵⁹⁻³ (...) [*p*]r(=f) ^cq=f *m imnt m*
 12B (1st part)¹¹⁵
 ... (he) goes forth and enters in the West in
 ||⁵⁹⁻⁴ OF
 |⁵⁹⁻⁵ NN

Frag. 60:
 |⁵⁰⁻¹ (...)

Frag. 61:
 |⁶¹⁻¹ (...)

1088K: ...*wstn(=f) nmmt m m-^cntrw* ...he moves freely with the gods.

109 There are no traces of signs.

110 11E: *m ir(y) mw š wsir*. ...as to one who is associated with the water in the pool of Osiris.

111 11W: *m b3 ikr im(y) tph^t=f* ...NN is like a perfect *ba* in his cavern.

112 12A: *m htp(w) idb pr(w) m t3*. ... as one who rests on the shore and who comes forth on earth.

113 It seems to be a narrower column here but there are not visible traces of text.

114 12A: *m htp(w) idb pr(w) m t3*. ... as one who rests on the shore and who comes forth on earth.

115 There are different variations for the text of this offering formula. This source does not completely match with any of them:

12B (pLondon BM EA 10478): ...*m pr=f^cq=f m hr(y)t-ntr* ... as him who goes forth and enters into the necropolis.

12B (Osireion): ...*m q(=f) prr=f m imnt r sb3w nbw hrt* ... as him who enters and goes forth into the West at the gates of the Lords of Things.

Frag. 62:

||⁶²⁻¹ (...)
 |⁶²⁻² OF
 |⁶²⁻³ NN *m³ꜥ(t)-hrw*
 |⁶²⁻⁴ (...) *šht-htp*.
 12F¹¹⁶
 ||⁶²⁻⁵ (...)

Frag. 63:

|⁶³⁻¹ (...) *my=f*||⁶³⁻² OF

|⁶³⁻³ NN
 |^{63-4(+ 65-1?)} (...) *nbt (?)*¹¹⁷

Frag. 64:

Frame decoration.

Frag. 65:

|⁶⁵⁻¹ (...)
 |⁶⁵⁻² (...) *qbh=f*.
 12C¹¹⁸

Frag. 66:

|⁶⁶⁻¹ NN *m³ꜥ(t)-hrw*
 |⁶⁶⁻² (...) *m nbw(?) dwꜣt (?)*.
 12J¹¹⁹

||⁶⁶⁻³ OF|⁶⁶⁻⁴ NN

Frag. 67:

Frame decoration.

Frag. 68:

Frame decoration.

In the right edge of the manuscript there are several fragments with a text that do not continue the allocation in squares common to almost the rest of the papyrus. This could be a closing text related to the composition. Unfortunately, because of the poor condition of preservation of this part it cannot be confirmed if the manuscript would end with a vignette or with a BD chapter.

Frag. 69:

|⁶⁹⁻¹ (...) *t* (...)
 |⁶⁹⁻² (...) *m(?)*
 |⁶⁹⁻³ (...) *nb nhḥ nsw(?) ntrw(?)*
 (...) lord of eternity, king(?) of the
 gods(?) (...)
 |⁶⁹⁻⁴ (...) *w(?) kꜣ*
 (...) *ka*
 |⁶⁹⁻⁵ (...) *hnt(y)*
 (...) is in front of

Frag. 70:

|⁷⁰⁻¹ (...)

Frag. 71:

|⁷¹⁻¹ (...)

Frag. 72:

|⁷²⁻¹ (...)

116 12F: *skꜣ=f m šht-htp*. ...NN ploughs in the Field of Offerings. It could also be 8A, but because of the location, it is better to consider that it is 12F.

117 There is a fragment with a couple of signs (V 30 and X1) which seems to be united by several fibers of the papyrus to frag. 65. Therefore I supposed that it is part of the same fragment and it has been considered in this way here.

118 12C: ... *m ꜣh šhm qbh=f*. ... as to an *akh* who is in possession of his refreshment.

119 12J: ...*sꜣ=f sꜣ=k mi nbw dwꜣt*. ...The protection of NN is thy protection like that of the Lords of the *Duat*.

|⁷²⁻² (...)w(?) *df[3w](?)*
 (...) provisions (?)
 |⁷²⁻³ (...)mḥ mḥ(y)(?)(...)
 (...) guardian(?) (...)
 |⁷²⁻⁴ (...)m n=k sb3w(?)
 (...) to you the stars(?)
 |⁷²⁻⁵ (...)w(?) (...)

Frag. 73:
 Tiny fragment.

Frag. 74:
 |⁷⁴⁻¹ (...)
 |⁷⁴⁻² (...) d(?)

Frag. 75:
 |⁷⁵⁻¹ (...) i(?)
 |⁷⁵⁻² (...)ḥ(?) 3ḥ
 (...) akh
 |⁷⁵⁻³ (...) psdt
 (...) Ennead
 |⁷⁵⁻⁴ (...) y (?)

The manuscript is written in retrograde writing which is a feature frequently used in funerary papyri¹²⁰. That is, the signs of the text are oriented to the right but the reading of the columns of texts is done from left to right. On the papyrus there are two exceptional cases of distinct disposition of the text.

The first example is in fragment 20 (fig. 14)¹²¹. The common organization of the squares in which the text is written has been adapted here to the space available. In the first column the OF can be seen and in the second one the name of the deceased. Above the name—that

is not completely written—is the epithet “Osiris”. Between the signs of the word “Osiris” the preposition *in* is inserted written in red ink as it usually appears after the OF to express that is the deceased who is the agent of the action. However, it is noteworthy in this case that in this second column the word *dsrt* is written before the preposition, which seems to be the ending of the offering text of the third column. Despite the particularities of the textual variation it is apparently text 8D. Consequently, the offering text was written before the name of the deceased and the text is adapted to the available space. The result is a fragment of text on the papyrus which is not retrograde.

The second example is the text in fragment 59 (fig. 15)¹²². It is quite important that the square where the offering text is has at least¹²³ four columns which is something uncommon. The name of the owner is preserved in the first column, and also an offering text that exceptionally takes up two columns (the second and the third one). The disposition of this OF (12B) can be clearly read and begins in the third column, at the end of which is written the preposition “*r*”. For this reason and because of the coincidence of the text with other parallels, it can be verified that the formula ends in the second column. This means that this text is not written in retrograde writing. It is remarkable that after the specific text of the OF there is a determinative applied sometimes to the name of the deceased (see below). After this “*m3(t)-hrw m htp(?)*” can be read. I propose that in the second column there is a mix of the texts of the

¹²⁰About the use of retrograde writing in the *Book of the Dead* during the New Kingdom: Niwinski, 1989: 13-17.

¹²¹This image has been digitally modified in order to visibly see the traces of red ink of the rubrics.

¹²²This image has been digitally modified in order to visibly see the traces of red ink of the rubrics.

¹²³It is unknown if it could be another column for an Element II in this square, which would make the square to have more than four columns of text.

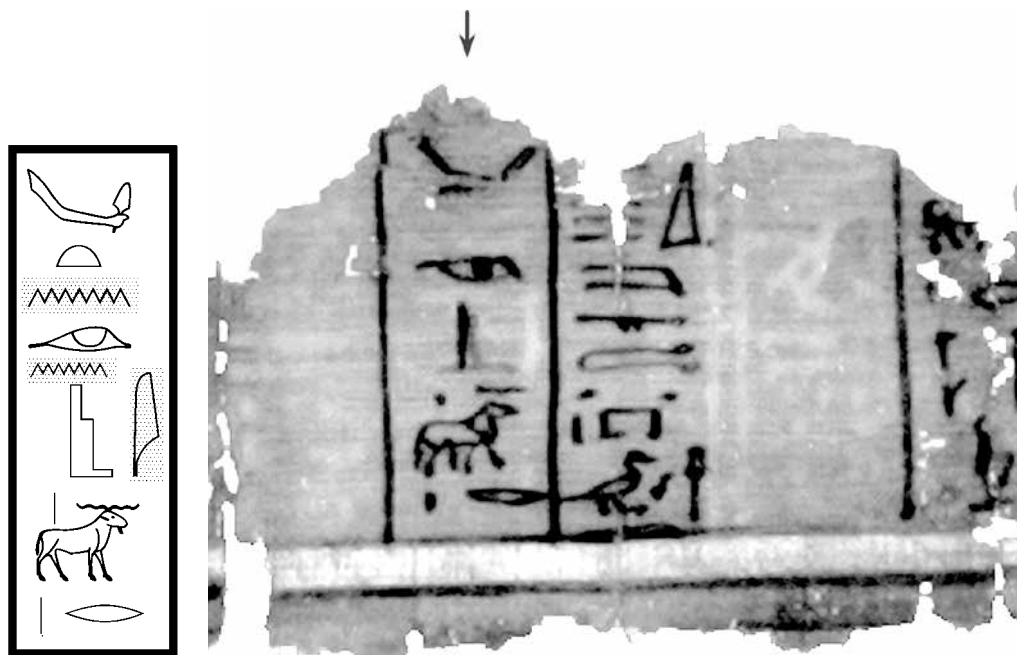




Figure 14. Fragment 20.

first and third column. In other words, the scribe copied the text sequentially in the following order: first, the OF in the first column; after that, the specific text of the OF—in this case 12B— starting in the fourth column and finishing in the third one, leaving half of the third column empty. In the end the name of the owner is written in the second column. However, there was not enough space for the determinative of the name. For this reason it was placed in the third column after the offering text 12B, and following this determinative it is written the epithet “*m3'(t)-hrrw m htp*”. This example could be clear evidence of the adaptation of the text to the available space in the papyrus and also of the sequence of copying the different texts.

Regarding the paleography it is noteworthy the use of two different determinatives applied to the name of the deceased. On one hand, the most common is the sitting woman (B1)  which is used in the vast majority of the manuscript (50 times = 87,71%). On the other hand, we find the sign of the sitting woman with a lotus flower in her hand (B8)  (4 times = 7,01%)¹²⁴. This second option was likely employed by the scribe on the papyrus nearby. It has been found in fragments 59, 63 and 66. In fragment 59 the offering texts 12B (1st part) and 12B (2nd part) have been identified, and in fragment 66 surely 12J. The approximately location of fragment 63 in the reconstruction is justified because the scribe perhaps used this specific

¹²⁴ There are also three signs that are incomplete and cannot be identified if they are B1 or B8. They represent 5, 26%.

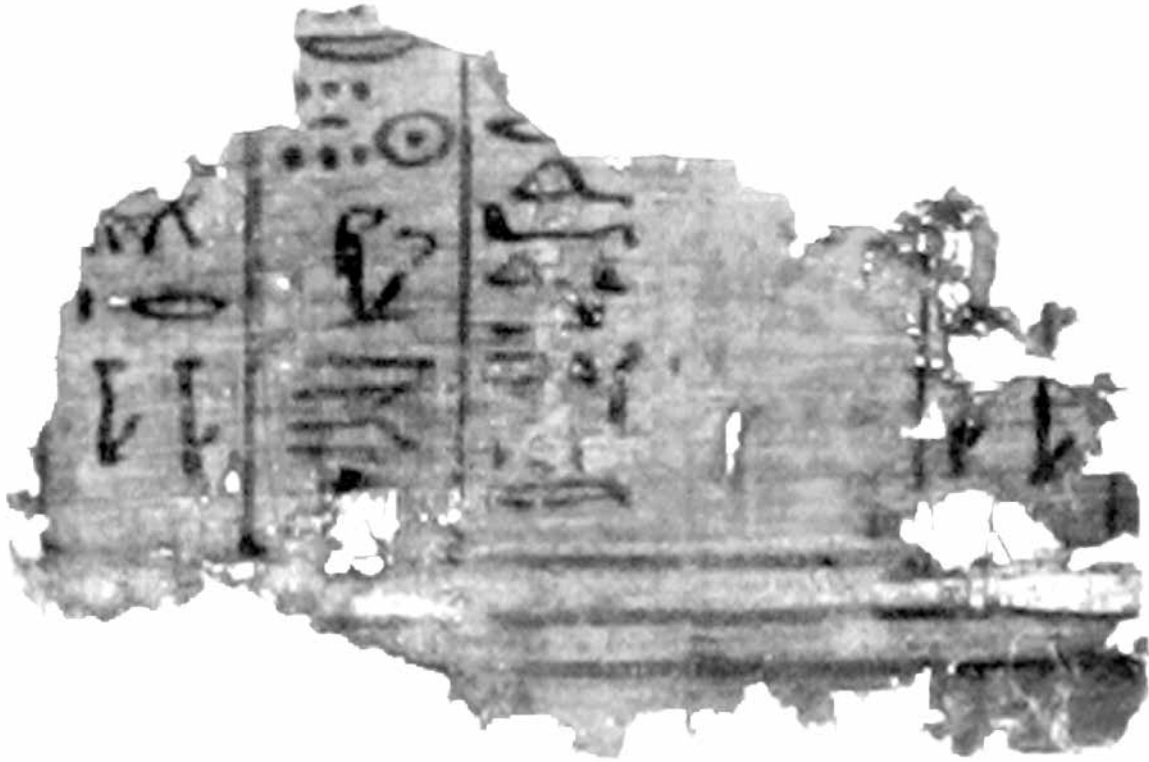


Figure 15. Fragment 59.

determinative in a specific area on the manuscript and not in the rest.

Conclusion

In conclusion this article intends to highlight several matters of pBarcelona E-615 in particular, and of the *Book of the Twelve Caverns* in general. Various features will be explained in detail following the structure of the composition.

The presence of Element I —introductory text of the spell— with its near textual parallel

in pLondon BM EA 10478, allows thinking that it is not a text created exclusively for a single manuscript but was also applied to other funerary papyri. Until now this text has only been found in two manuscripts — pBM and pBa— due to the poor condition of conservation of the vast majority of the papyrological sources. Perhaps this was the only text included in funerary papyri in which the composition was written exclusively without any other type of content¹²⁵.

It is quite important that the document presents the spell with a division in caverns,

¹²⁵ In this situation pCairo 24742 (J.E. 34001) would be an exception. This papyrus, found in the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35), is noted as the oldest source found of the composition. In the manuscript only the *Book of the Twelve Caverns* is written without any other additional text and it lacks Element I. This means that this Element I, if it existed previously, was omitted or was not included due to being created later.

which is a novelty with respect to what has been thought until now. This has been confirmed through the presence of the texts of Element II—which mention the specific cavern and its epithet—in fragment 11 (col. 2) (8th cavern) and in fragments 21 and 22 (cols. 6 and 1 respectively) (9th cavern). Consequently the papyrus corresponds to version I after Piankoff (Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, 1974: 44) and version A after Allen (1974: 162-168). The texts of the Element II for the 10th, 11th and 12th caverns have not been found until now and would be in unpreserved parts of the manuscript. The identification of the spell on the papyrus as version I implies also the possibility that, if the scribe made a reliable copy, there would have been a number in the vignettes of the gods showing how many deities were in each group.

Before the text of Element II of the 8th cavern there are seven squares, each of them separated with two vertical red lines and composed of four columns of text. The distinction of a double vertical red line followed by a square with four columns of text seems to indicate a change of cavern if compared with the texts identified as Element II of the 8th and 9th Caverns. This is quite exceptional in a funerary papyrus containing the *Book of the Twelve Caverns* as

the manuscript included the twelve parts of the composition.

In no other funerary papyrus has the spell been preserved with its twelve caverns. Only the five last ones, from 8th to the 12th, with their epithets and a list of their deities have been preserved. The twelve caverns have been found only in four sources: two in temples¹²⁶ and two in non-funerary papyri¹²⁷. In all of them, the first seven caverns appear to be in a simplified and schematized¹²⁸ version which gives the impression that they were later incorporated with the aim of presenting an ideal of complete composition. The lack of a detailed version of the first seven caverns in all the sources is surely due to a deterioration of the master copies and a loss of the text. The process of canonization¹²⁹ applied to the spell contributed to avoid the composition of new texts for the lost section. This was not usually depicted, and when it was, it was shown in a schematized way.

In pBarcelona E-615 there are seven squares that would be the place for the seven first caverns. These and their own groups of gods would be depicted in a summarized way in order to give the impression of being complete as in the examples previously mentioned. Regarding the preserved text several considerations can be pointed out. On one side, I could not identify any parallel

¹²⁶ In the Osireion of Abydos (Murray, 1904: 3-8, pl. II-V) and in the temple of Hathor in Dendara (Cauville, 1997a: 195-196, 198, 292-296; Cauville, 1997b: pl. 88-90, 94-95, 117-119, 123-124, 148, 154-155, 170-171; Cauville, 1997c: 102, 104, 157-159; Cauville, 1997d: 94-95, 145-146, 175, 215, 260).

¹²⁷ In Faulkner's *Book of Hours* (pLondon BM EA 10569: Faulkner, 1958: 22-23; 49*-52*) and in the ritual of confirmation of the royal power in the New Year (pNew York Brooklyn 47.218.50: Goyon, 1972: 30, 75-77; Goyon, 1974: pl. XIII y XIIIa).

¹²⁸ The first seven caverns have no epithets of each of the caverns, neither the specific name nor a detailed depiction for each group of deities. Regarding the iconography, the version in the Osireion is quite interesting. The divinities of the first seven caverns were depicted in groups of three, which implies an idea of undefined plurality, alternating mummified and non-mummified gods, a stylistic resource to avoid repetition. Moreover, the offering texts applied to them come from the 8th cavern.

¹²⁹ About the canonicity of the Egyptian religious texts: Gee, 2007; Gee, 2010; Lieven, forthcoming.

to the supposed texts of the Element II¹³⁰. This implies that these little texts were composed and added in this place, so the process of canonicity as is common in other sources has not been applied here. The texts written in pBa here have not survived in any other source. On the other side, the offering texts of Element IV in these first seven squares are a combination of: texts that can be clearly identified with other parallels¹³¹, others that may be variations of texts already known, the identification of which is more doubtful¹³²; and others that seem to be new¹³³. These offering formulae identified correspond to different caverns and are not in sequential order. For example, after an offering text related to the 11th cavern one finds other of the 9th cavern, which is something quiet anomalous.

Between the two offering texts of these first seven squares, which have no known parallel, one deserves special attention:

Frag. 6 (col. 5) = frag. 7 (col. 1):

(...) *sk(?) r hfiyw*.

(...) destruction against the enemies.

If the translation of the text is accurate, the destruction of the enemies is explicitly cited. Up to now, the theme of the annihilation of the enemies was absent. Only several texts¹³⁴ mention the verb repulse (*hsf*) and they refer to a snake *sbi*¹³⁵ which attacks the barque of Re¹³⁶. Hornung¹³⁷ stated that in this composition the scenes of punishment were absent, unlike in other Netherworld Books. In the text of the book found in the rest of the sources there is only one mention (in the temple of Dendara) to the allusion to punishment or annihilation of the enemies¹³⁸. For this reason the text is unusual.

In the general content of this papyrus texts of the offering formulae —Element IV— belonging to the 8th¹³⁹, 9th¹⁴⁰, 10th¹⁴¹, 11th¹⁴² and 12th¹⁴³ Caverns have been identified. The recognition of these texts has allowed us to perceive that, with the current position of multiple fragments in the consolidation of the papyrus, several texts of the offering formulae are not in their usual location. This means that these were not copied following a traditional sequence —which is uncommon— or

¹³⁰ These are the texts of fragments 3 (col. 2), 4 (col. 2), 5 (col. 2), 6 (col. 2), 7 (col. 2) y 8 (col. 5 = frag. 9, col. 1).

¹³¹ 9A (frag. 5, col. 5 = frag. 6, col. 6), y 11K (frag. 5, col. 1).

¹³² 9N (?) (frag. 7, col. 5 = frag. 8, col. 1); 11E var. (?) (frag. 8, col. 4); and 12B(?) (frag. 4, col. 1).

¹³³ Frag. 6 (col. 5) = frag. 7 (col. 1); and frag.11 (col. 1).

¹³⁴ 10C, 10K and 10L.

¹³⁵ The word *sbi* also can be translated as rebel.

¹³⁶ For example, as in text 10C: ... *m hsf(w) sbi hr r^c*. ... as to one who repulses the rebel from Re.

¹³⁷ Hornung, 1999 [1997]: 54-55.

¹³⁸ 9a: ...*hsq=sn tpw n(y)w hfiyw nbw n(y) wsir*. ... (so) they cut off the heads of all the enemies of Osiris (Cauville, 1997c: 159; Dendara X/1: 295).

¹³⁹ 8A (twice), 8B, 8C, 8D, 8E, 8F, 8K.

¹⁴⁰ 9A (twice), 9B, 9C, 9D (twice), 9E, 9F, 9G (in two parts), 9L, 9M(?) / 9N(?), 9N(?), 9P (twice), 9Q(?).

¹⁴¹ 10B, 10C, 10E (in two parts), 10H/10Q(?), 10R, 10R var.(?).

¹⁴² 11D?, 11E, 11E var.(?), 11F, 11J, 11K, 11Q(?), 11R, 11W.

¹⁴³ 12A (twice), 12B (in two parts), 12C, 12D(?), 12F, 12J.

that several fragments are not placed in their original order.

When the study of pBa started, I proposed that the identification of the texts would lead to a better reconstruction of the manuscript — through digital means— if the fragments were not in their original place. Unfortunately, many parts of the fragments' edges have been lost and because of this it has not been possible to establish more joins between them.

The identification of the texts of the offering formulae allows also knowing the exact content which was written on the papyrus and also which parts are missing due to the condition of conservation. In the *Book of the Twelve Caverns* each of the caverns is integrated by different groups of gods, to whom an offering was made and different offering formulae asking for different kinds of favors were dedicated. In the following table (Table 1) an accounting¹⁴⁴ of the number of attested offering formulae next to the number of groups of deities of each cavern in an ideal model¹⁴⁵ can be seen. This makes it possible to perceive the state of conservation of all the caverns. The 8th cavern has been preserved completely. Generally in all the sources this

cavern is composed of seven groups of deities commonly related with several texts (8A, 8B, 8C, 8D, 8E, 8F, 8G, 8H, 8J, 8K and 8L¹⁴⁶). These texts do not appear in all the sources but they were selected willingly by the scribe or the owner and / or depend on the content of the master copy used¹⁴⁷. In pBa there are eight offering texts of the 8th cavern, which means that one of them, text 8K (frag. 54, col. 4), was applied to a group of divinities of another cavern. This fact is not usual since it happens in other papyri¹⁴⁸. Perhaps it is a text of a different cavern —not the 8th— that has not been classified until now.

The 9th cavern has been preserved almost completely and this can be confirmed by the total number of texts identified. Most likely, several groups of gods represented in its corresponding vignettes and texts —more or less three— have been lost. The 10th cavern may be complete as well as the 12th, but the latter appears to be lacking one text. The situation of the 11th cavern is more complex. The total number of texts identified is 18 following an ideal model. The seven missing ones could be among those texts that have not been identified. Some of these, due to

¹⁴⁴ The duplicated offering formulae have been counted, as well as those that have been separated in two parts, as if they were different texts, due to being applied to two different groups of gods. The numbers vary due to the doubtful identification of some texts.

¹⁴⁵ The ideal model could be one of the most completed sources, as pCairo GC 24742 or pLondon BM 10478.

¹⁴⁶ I have added a new offering text (8L) to the classification of the offering formulae of the 8th cavern which was not attested in Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon (1974: 109). See in the forthcoming publication of my PhD dedicated to the *Book of the Twelve Caverns*.

¹⁴⁷ In this specific case, the texts which were not written in pBa are 8F, 8G, 8H and 8L. Each of them was only copied once in one source, so were the less popular texts or they had no diffusion by unknown reasons.

¹⁴⁸ In pLondon BM EA 10010 the text 8F is related to the group 2 of the 9th cavern; in pBerlin P. 5509 the text 9W is connected to the group 1 of the 10th cavern; and in pNew York MMA 35.9.19 different texts are associated with unusual groups of gods: 8D with group 1 of the 9th cavern, 9W with the group 1 of the 10th cavern, 9D with the group 1 of the 11th cavern, 10Q with the group 2 of the 11th cavern, 10R with the group 3 of the 11th cavern and 10N with the group 4 of the 11th cavern.

Caverns	N° of offering formulae attested in pBarcelona E-615		Total N° of groups of deities in each cavern in an ideal model
	Certain identification	Doubtful identification	
8th	8	-	7
9th	15	2	20
10th	5	3	8
11th	5	3	18
12th	7	1	9

Table 1. Relationship between the texts from the offering formulae (Element IV) and the groups of gods.

the proximity in the same fragment to other formulae of the 11th cavern support this proposal¹⁴⁹. Anyway, the impossibility of identification of these texts implies that new texts have been produced that have not been found in other sources to date and are related to the 11th cavern. Furthermore, it is important also that pBa is one of the few manuscripts in which the offering texts related to the 11th and 12th caverns have been preserved.

In short, pBarcelona E-615 or the master copy from which it was copied appears to be, in comparison with the rest of the fune-

rary sources, the result not only of a simple process of copy, but of a more complex elaboration. This is verified by the belief that the present composition was in an unusual state of being ideally complete, including the first seven caverns and new texts as well, some of which show an atypical thematic for this spell. The final product is an original funerary papyrus, different to the rest found until now. Furthermore, it was destined to be the «guide» in the Beyond of one of the few well positioned women of the Egyptian society that during the 19th and 20th Dynasties were owners of their own manuscript.

¹⁴⁹ This is the case of the fragments: 46 (col. 2), 47 (col. 4), 50 (col. 4).



Figure 16. Fragments 1-9.

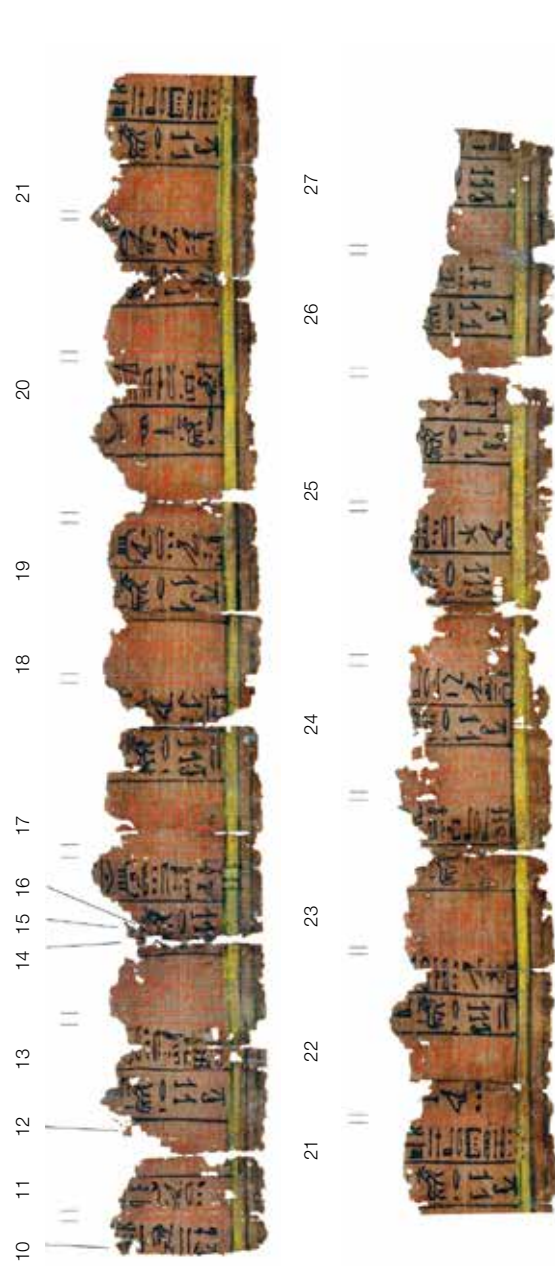


Figure 17. Fragments 10-27.

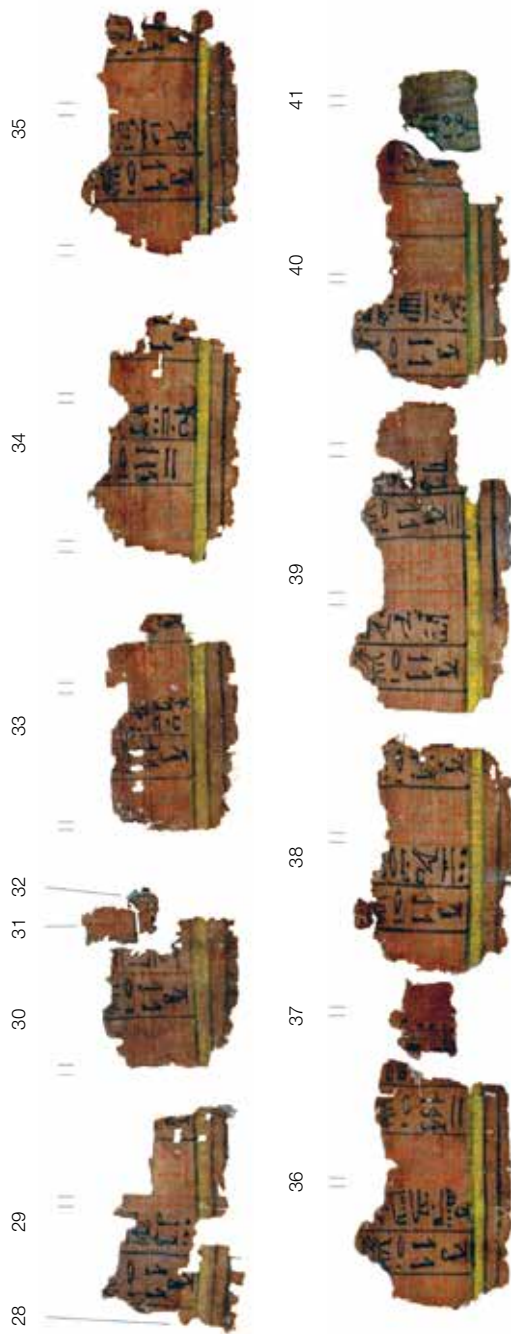


Figure 18. Fragments 28-41.

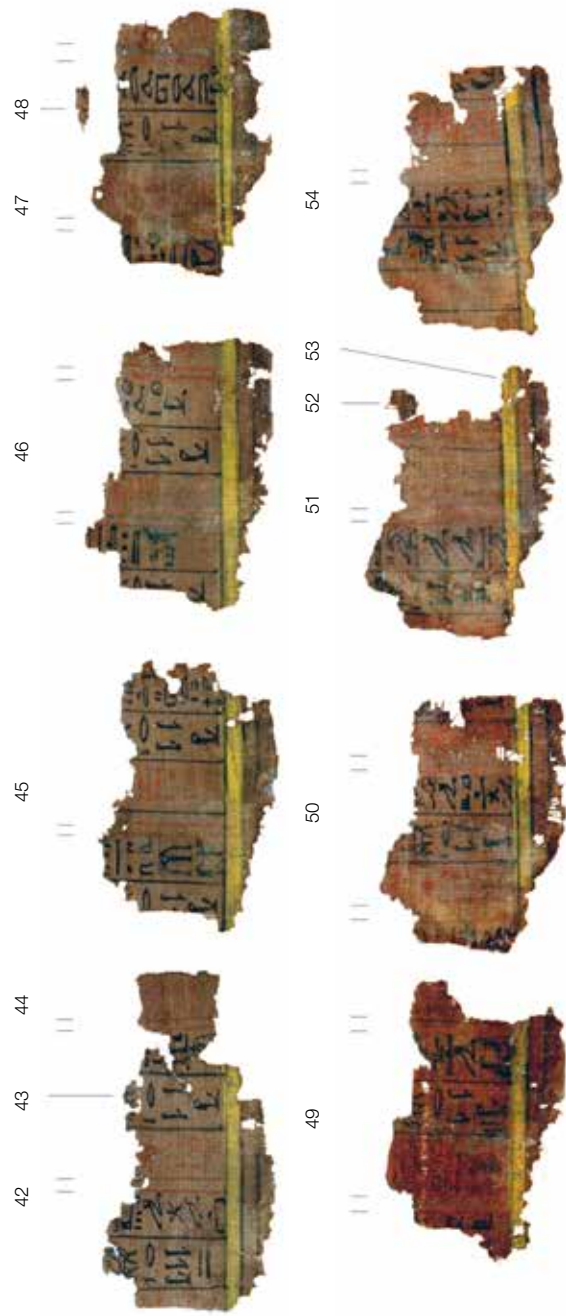


Figure 19. Fragments 42-54.

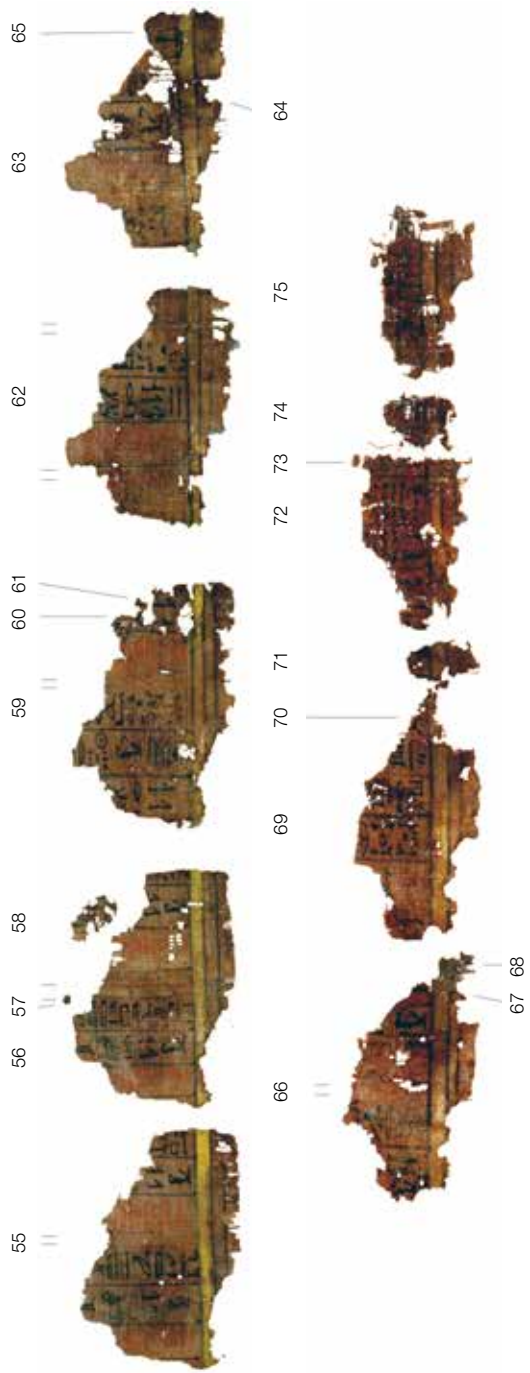


Figure 20. Fragments 55-75.

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España

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Diseño de arte y maquetación
Marian Montesdeoca
info@marianmontesdeoca.com

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