

p.30. The SENSAOS was acquired in 1828 by the Leyden Mus. along with the rest of the G. d'Anastasy coll.

; ; Found on the mummy of a young woman with the Gk. insc.: SENSAOS, also  
; in Leiden: M76. Fundplatz Thebes, the W. bank opp. Luxor.

The Dir. of the Mus. C.J.C.Reuvs found that Sensaos was part of a much greater vondst, now scattered in Eur. museums.

Reuvs' publication of this fact in 1830 made veel opgang at the time, but after that in vergetelheid is geraakt.

HERE REUVENS' REPORT IS SUMMARIZED:

The SENSAOS mummy discovered by the NATIVES of the Village of Sheikh-Abdel-Qurna on the W. bank opp. Luxor. *in winter 8 1819/20*

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11  
Sir FREDERICK HENNIKER (Dict.Nat.Biog. 1891, 435) wrote "Notes, During a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, Mount Sinai, and Jerusalem, (London, 1823). In Jan.1820 visited Luxor, crossed the river to see the natives at work. "x pp.136-7: "I was standing by when the resurr. men found a sepulchre they offered me the haul, unopened, for 4 ~~gix~~ guineas. It proves to be Grecian-Egyptian, the FIRST of its kind hitherto discovered; 3 chambers, 14 coffins ...there wer also coffinless bodies...On the principal coffin is the follow ing inscription:

Soter Korniliou Polliou Metros  
Philontoc Archon Thebon (Ankh-sign)

...the pap. found in this case (case & pap. presented to the Br.Mus.), is NOT as usu;. rolled up, but folded flat; the body was enveloped in 30 linnen wrapp ers, the hands and mouth gilt

SOTER, the son of Cornel.Pollius, was the FATHER of Sensaos

p.31. "...there can be no doubt that Henniker had the fortun to behold with his own eyes the opening of the tomb out of which more than SIX MUSEUMS have acquired their Roman-Egyptian mummies."

The find immediately interested the antiquarian dealers, "and so we see, shortly after Henniker a certain Mr. Lebolo ten ~~tooneele~~ <sup>een</sup> verschijnen, who is known to us from the accounts of Belzoni and others as a special collector & agent of the French Consul and antiquities dealer DROVETTI. This Lebolob also obtained part of the find and ~~wanted to~~ added it to the mummies that Drovetti had gathered at Turin. The Conservator G. di San Quintino there wrote a report, Turin 1824, describing the mummies.

"This mummy was found by "a Piedmontese traveller, Mr. Lebolo, in a deep sepulchre near ancient THEBES, NEAR...THE VILLAGE OF Gournah. The form of the tomb is not different from that of the others which are found there in lagge numbers, except that instead of being simply dug into the rock or earth there was at the bottom of the pozzo, fabbricato de mattoni, & all covered inside with diverse pictures.

12-13  
....12 or 13 wooden sarcophagi...p.32 all decorated with the usu. hierogls symbols, & portraits.. One of them was plain sycomore wood, rare 6 or 7 vases w. Gk. inscrs.

p.32. Division of the swag took place immediately, Lebolo taking over as seller ;(verkoopster). "He seems to have arrived at once on the spot, and was probably de man achter de schermen of the entire excavation,, There were a few buyers at Luxor: tourists and consuls; they were all people who collected wholesale & whose names have accordingly remained known down to the present.

HENNIKER "got ...only the mummy with trimmings of the principal member of the family, SOTER, the Archon" (perhaps because the problem of transportation stumped him). His prize was unwrapped on the spot & then lost, the case going to the Br. Mus.

Henniker's travel-companion Geo. Francis GREY acquired the mummy of (2) TPHOUS, a young girl, whose case also ended up in the Br.Mus. sans mummy.

(3) the mummy of CLEOPATRA CANDACE kept by the Arabs & later bought from them by Janniad'ATHANSI for his boss Henry SALT for the Br. Mus.

In the Br. Mus. Guide to 1,2,3, Eg. Rooms for 1924: Lids of Corn.Pollius, Soter, Celo., & Tphous

2 papyri found with Cloe. Candace

4 other papyri with others from the same tomb (Birch, Proc.Soc.Bibl.Arch. Londo 1885, pp.204-210, 220.93 Sol3p. Pt. VII)

~~Thexxx~~

p.33. Reuvers Pap. of SOTER is perhaps ident. with the hier opgesomde exemplaren.

(4) the mummy of PETEMENOPHIS, Brother of Sensaos was acquired by the famous traveller Frederic Caillaud & sent to the Bibl.Roayale (Nat.), where it was unwrapped ~~by Caillaud~~ in the presence of Champollion (alas), the remains & the case going later to the Louvre. The papyri are still in the Bibl.Nat., 152-5.

(5) and UNKNOWN person of the family of SOTER, parts from ~~II~~ Salt II (1824) and Drovetti II (1827) was placed by Champollion in the Mus. Charles X. He described them in 1827.

5 mummy-portraits and a number of papyri catalogued by Deveria.

(6) SOTER, got by d'Anastasy, now in Leiden.

The "long earthenware jars" mentioned by Henniker have disappeared.

part of the stuff that went to the Pruss. General  
"A fatal star hung over the/~~division of the swag~~ the mummy was with the mummy was  
Heinrich von MINUTOLI, who was cheated by Lebolo already in Egypt, as he reports in a letter to Reuvers. Among other charges against Lebolo is that he stole the golden or gilt crown of one of the mummies.

~~Minutoli~~ von Minutoli collected a lot of stuff in Eg. including 5 Gk.-Eg. mummies p.34; he sent all the stuff to Trieste, 1/6 went by land to Berlin, the rest by sea & perished in the mouth of the Elbe. Minutoli's collection included

(7) the mummy of PHAMINIS the brother of Tphous, which reached Berlin.

(8) another SENSAOS and her sister (9) TKAUTHI (tkoui, de kleine), 2 sisters in one coffin, (Erman, Relig.der Aegypter, p.410, Fig. 174). Moeller III,15 is as one of the 3 papyri from these 3 mummies.

(SENCHONSIS=SAPPAULIS (10), lost in the Elbe with the others.

(11) a mummy-case to Florence Mus.

(12) PETEMENOPHIS, in Turin, with 2 small papyri.

~~Reuvers~~ (13) Rnp.t-nfr.t, listed by Di San Quintino, perhaps NOT from the tomb of Soter

(13) Di San Quintino also lists a mummy retained by LEBOLO in Trieste in his private collection. "It must have been the finest of all and was anthropomorphic, but as far as I know has not received ~~any~~ special mention by anyone for more than 100 years." Therefore B.H.Stricker "has some doubt about its mention by Di San Quintino--did it ever exist?"

p.45. The work at Leiden has been so good that the pres. staff is at a loss for something new. "...a museum is and remains a place of surprises" Against all expectation the workers found this pap.

T32 is from the Coll. of ~~ix~~ de l'ESCLUZE or of d'ANASTASY or of MARIA CIMBA, all colls. being acquired betw. 1820 & 1830. Cimba is now out, Anasasy probably out, because of their dimensions.

The Coll. of De l'Escluze, acquired in 1827, had very few papyri, but this is perhaps one of them.

p.48. This papyrus can along with Bremner-Rhind be labelled "the best homogeneous source for the knowledge of Gr.-Rom. Hieratic."

There are NO RUBRICS in the text, except in titles & kj-dd, "variant".

It was prepared on order of a Priest of Amon-Ra in Thebes--Horsiese, born in the 10th yr. of Caesar Augustus on the 30th of Hathor; lived 83 years & 4 months & died in 64 A.D. This was

49. during Rome's Golden Age & Eg. was quiet.

HORSIESE was 20 years older than Jesus; when he died Paul was making his mission to Macedonia.

His place of buried is today unknown, his tomb plundered by the dealers at the beginning of the 19th Century.. FOUR Books of Breathing come from there (including; L. 3291) published by P.J. De Horrack: "een zeer verzorgde tekst..."

Horsise had at least 5 Totentexte with him, placed "links van de borst bij de a rm."

p.50. It ends with pai.f mnq pai, "it is the end", cf. the Hermetic Logos teleios.

The main text is followed by HORSIESE's biography, a summary of the CULTICALLY relevant acts & facts of his life. In Col.VIII is an address TO the dead, summarizing the facts in the preceding columns, and another address BY the dead to Osiris, of like content. The liturgical signif. of this escapes us.

3 titles: the Demot. notes calls it Pa-dwa-ijkh <sup>①</sup> Book of Adoration of the Dead-- a "semi-vulgaire technische term", as the def.art. shows.

VIII,9 Sh'.t-n-snsn <sup>②</sup> "Brief van het Ademen". "The mummy had FOUR Letters of Breathing bij zich; but this title in the Singular denotes this one particular B. of Breathing., but it is a generic name and NOT the real title

③ He is told that his name will remain alive ON EARTH thru the power of "this Book of Living in Eternity," which is the Hieratic title of the Ordinance.-- but to use this title would lead to yet more misunderstandings.

The ordinance is plainly not special for Horsiese: the variants are found on other papyri and steles & in the ~~Durck~~ Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit

\*\*\*LIST OF STELES WITH PARALLEL TEXTS! They contain always only the beginning of the rites, abruptly truncated with the Schlussformel.. Leiden T32w is by far the longest.

p.51. the other versions follow along; but break off at various places, but all? following the same ORDER.

(WILSON is wrong: the fun. texts are NOT thrown together in haphazard order!

THE DEATH PAPYRUS OF SENSAS

The<sup>1</sup> papyrus published in this article, a death text from the days of Roman rule, belongs to the older constituents of the Egyptian Collection of the National Museum of Antiquities (Rijksmuseum van oudheden) and was purchased in 1828, together with the rest of his collection, from G. d'Anastasy, Swedish Consul at Alexandria and also a noted dealer in antiquities. As can be seen from the catalog compiled by d'Anastasy, the papyrus (AMS 29) was found on the mummy of a young woman, named Sensas in the Greek inscription, which was also present in the collection (AMM 8) and now bears the number M 76. In a note by d'Anastasy's co-worker Barthoux, "Thebes" is given as the spot where the mummy was found, by which in the catalog are understood the ruins of the town of Luxor on the west bank.

Shortly after the purchase, it became obvious to Mr. C.J.C. Reuvs, who was then the Director of the Museum and, understandably, mainly directed his attention to those objects of the Collection, that were accessible for a closer examination because of the presence of Greek inscriptions, that with the mummy and the papyrus of Sensas only part of a much larger find had been acquired, the remainder of which had landed in various European Museums through other dealers than d'Anastasy. Reuvs announced this discovery in the second of his "Lettres a M. Letronne, sur les Papyrus Bilingues et Grecs, et sur Quelques Autres Monuments Greco-Egyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités de l'Université de Leide", Leyden 1830, a publication that created a lot of excitement when it appeared, but which has since virtually disappeared into oblivion. The matter of the "Mummy Grecque", however, is important to Egyptian studies for more than one reason, and since the literature of the last fifty years has shown a complete ignorance everywhere with the work of Reuvs<sup>2</sup>, may I briefly outline its content here. Few finds in Egypt are in need of a small monography as much as this one.

The mummy and the other antiquities, bought up by the dealers, was discovered by the inhabitants of the hamlet Shaich-Abd-al Gurna, situated on the bank of the Nile opposite Luxor, in the winter of the year 1819/20. In that year Egypt was traveled by an English tourist, Sir Frederick Henniker, a man about whom some particulars may be found in the XXVth volume of the Dictionary

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<sup>1</sup>Mr. Jean Capart, Director of the Musées d'Art et d'Histoire at Brussels was kind enough to send me some of the books for perusal. I extend my sincere thanks to him. ?✓

<sup>2</sup>A laudable exception is Valdemar Schmidt, whose collections of material have been very useful to me. Apart from that I have not succeeded either in obtaining an in any way clear picture of the find. This will only then be possible, when--which in my opinion is not yet the case--for the British Museum the same has been done what Reuvs did for our Museum and Di San Quintino for the Museum of Turin.

of National Biography, London 1891, on page 425, and who has left us a description of his journey, entitled: Notes, During a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, Mount Sinai, and Jerusalem, London, 1823. Henniker arrived at Luxor in the middle of January and spent a few days there visiting the antiquities. During his excursion to the city of the dead on the west bank (pp. 136, 137) he had the opportunity to see the native diggers at work, and he tells us the following of this episode:

"I was standing by when the resurrection men found the sepulchre, they offered me the haul, unopened, for four guineas. It proves to be Grecian-Egyptian, the first of its kind hitherto discovered; three chambers, fourteen coffins, on each of which was placed a bunch of sycamore branches; these branches fell to atoms at the touch -- there are also coffinless bodies, having the appearance of leather, dried in the same manner as is still practised by the Capuchin friars in Sicily: one of these stood erect at the entrance, the others were prostrate on benches; the heads were shaved; the beards were of a few days growth; on the principal coffin is the following inscription:

ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΙΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ  
ΦΙΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΘΕΩΩΝ †

the hieroglyphical figures testify to the degeneracy of the art; the papyrus found in this case<sup>3</sup>, is not, as is usual, rolled up, but folded flat; the body was enveloped in thirty linen wrappers, the hands and mouth gilt: -- from another I copied an inscription, which attests the coffin to be about sixteen hundred and fifty years old -- some long earthenware jars were in the tomb, but empty."

Soter, the son of Cornelius Pollius, was the father of the Sensaos kept in our Museum and there can be no doubt that Henniker had the good fortune to observe with his own eyes the opening of the grave, from which more than six Museums were to obtain their Roman-Egyptian mummies.

But he was not the only one. A so remarkable find could not but set in motion the cogs of the already then flourishing trade of antiquities, and so we see shortly after Henniker a certain Lebolo appearing on the scene, who according to the reports of Belzoni and others is a well-known private collector and agent of the French Consul and antique dealer Drovetti. This Lebolo also made a report of the find and sent this with the mummie sold by Drovetti to Turin. Here it came into the hands of the Conservator of the Collection, G. di San Quintino, who in an article, entitled "Interpretazione e Confronto di una Bilingue Iscrizione che Sta sopra una mummia Egiziana nel R. Museo di Torino," which formed part of his "Lezioni Archeologiche," Turin 1824, and devoted to the description of this mummie, tells

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<sup>3</sup>A note here: "The case and papyrus presented to the British Museum." *That is Soter*

of its content in his own words.

"Questa mummia," he says on page 6, "fu ritrovata da un viaggiatore piemontese, il sig. Lebolo, in un profondo sepolcro presso all' antica Tebe, sulla sponda libica del Nilo, dov' è di presente il villaggio arabo di Gournah. La struttura di quel sepolcro non differiva da quella degli altri che sono colà in gran numero, se non in ciò che invece di essere semplicemente scavato nel sasso o nel terreno, era, nel fondo del suo pozzo, fabbricato di mattoni, e tutto ornato internamente di pitture diverse. Quivi stavato riposto dodici o tredici sarcofago di legno, altri più altri meno ben conservati. Tutti erano di forma quadrata con coperchio semicircolare, tranne uno tagliato tuttavia nel modo più comune sulla foggia del corpo umano; ed erano tutti fregiati delle solite leggende religiose in geroglifici, ed ornati di figure simboliche a più colori, col ritratto del loro defunto. Uno solo conservava ancora estermanente l'apparenza del legno del sicomoro, senza traccia alcuna di gesso, gomme o colori con qui potesse essere stato altre volte ricoperto; nè so bene se sulle casse mortuali egiziane siasi più veduta una simile particolarità. Oltre di ciò sei o sette di quelle urne presentavano pure alcune brevi iscrizioni in lingua greca."

After the tomb has thus been found, the division of the booty begins. I combine from now on with Reuvens' information those things I have been able to find myself in the Egyptological literature<sup>4</sup>. Lebolo acts as dealer. He appears to have arrived on the scene immediately and was presumably the man behind the scenes of all the digging. Buyers are the few Consuls or tourists present at Luxor; they are all persons who were large-scale collectors and whose names, because of that, have been preserved until the present day.

Henniker received from the find only the mummy with appurtenances of the most important member of the entombed family, Soter, the Archon, either because the four guineas were too much for him, or because, which is more plausible, he dreaded the difficulties of transportation. The mummy was unwrapped, either by himself or by a servant, and got lost, the coffin was donated by him to the British Museum. The same happened to the mummies and the coffin of Iphous, a young girl, purchased by Henniker's traveling companion, George Frances Grey. Here too the mummy was lost and the coffin went to the British Museum. A third mummy, that of Cleopatra Candace, remained with the Arabs after the sale, and was purchased some time later by Janni d'Anastasi.

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<sup>4</sup>Reuvens already refers to the older literature; as will be seen, virtually nothing has been added.

who dispatched it to his principal, the English Consul Henry Salt, who also worked for the British Museum<sup>5</sup>.

With the aid of the "Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms," London 1924, I found in the British Museum the following objects: Of Cornelius Pollius, the lid of the coffin (No. 6950A) and a wooden base board (No. 6950). Of Soter, the coffin (No. 6705), a base board (No. 6705) and a shroud (No. 6705A). Of Cpeopatra Candace, the mummy (No. 6707) and the coffin (No. 6706). And of Tphous, the coffin (No. 6708) and a mummy board (No. 6708). The high inventory numbers of the two first-mentioned objects point to the fact that they had been added later, which will also be the reason why they were unknown to Reuvens. *By whom*

On the mummies some death papyri were found, which are mentioned only very casually in the "Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms and the Coptic Room," London 1922. They bear the numbers 10114 and 10115; both come from the mummy of Cleopatra Candace. Not attributable with certainty, but most probably found by Robert Grey -- in whom we would have a new buyer -- on mummies from the same tomb, are further the numbers 10108, 10109, 10111, and 10112<sup>6</sup> donated to the Museum and published by S. Birch in the VIIth volume of "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," London 1885, on pp. 204-210, and the numbers 10110 and 10116, as yet unpublished. The papyrus of Soter, reported by Reuvens, is not mentioned by name, but must be present and is perhaps identical with one of the specimens enumerated here. *check*

France managed to acquire two mummies and some smaller pieces from the find. The more beautiful of the two mummies, the one of Petemenophis, the brother of Sensaos, was purchased with matching coffin by the famous traveler Frédéric Caillaud, who after his return from Egypt and the Sudan donated it to the Bibliothèque Royale (now Nationale). Here Caillaud had it unwrapped in the presence of Champollion, an injudicious act, which he tried to make good to some extent by an extensive and reliable

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<sup>5</sup>Cf. G. d'Anastasi, A Brief Account of the Researches and discoveries in Upper Egypt, Made under the Direction of Henry Salt, Esq., London 1836, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup>It could be investigated whether in the manuscripts of Hay's, which are being kept in the British Museum, any mention is made of Soter's tomb. According to a statement of Champollion (on p. 91 of his letters, published by Fräulein H. Hartleben, which will be quoted hereafter) there should be drawings in the papers of W.J. Bankes.

publication<sup>7</sup>. With the other Egyptian antiquities, the coffin and the remains of the mummy were handed over to the Louvre some years ago. The papyri are still in the Bibliothèque Nationale and have been inventoried under the numbers 152-155.

The second mummy and the smaller pieces, together with the collections Salt II (1824) and Drovetti II (1827), landed in the Musée Charles X, founded by Champollion. They have been described in "Notice Descriptive des Monumens Egyptiens du Musée Charles X," Paris 1827, which was written by him for this collection, but it was, unfortunately, not accessible to me. Reuvsen quotes the following fragments: The mummy of an unknown person belonging to the Soter family. A shroud, perhaps taken from the same mummy. Five mummy portraits, some provided with Greek inscriptions, all published by H. Cros and Ch. Henry in the illustrations 7, 8, 9, 18, and 22 of their work "L'Encaustique," Paris 1884<sup>8</sup>. And a number of papyri. These can be gleaned from T. Deveria's "Catalogue des Manuscrits Egyptiens qui sont Conservés au Musée Egyptien du Louvre," Paris 1872, and as far as they are recognizable, they bear the numbers 3156, 3289, and 3290 (all from the Salt II collection) and 3161 (from the Drovetti II collection).

D'Anastasy purchased what is now in our Museum, the mummy and the coffin of Senses and the papyrus found on it. Apart from that perhaps the mummy whose painted portrait has been reproduced on the title plate of this issue, and some earthenware. Henniker speaks of a number of "long earthenware jars," which he found in the tomb and which have not since come to light. The description, however, is too vague to be useful.

The part of the find sold to the Prussian General Heinrich von Minutoli, whose purchases were intended for Berlin, did not have a lucky star. While he was still in Egypt, he was deceived by Lebolo. In his "Lettre à Monsieur Reuvsen, Relativement à un Tombeau Greco-Egyptien Decouvert à Thebes et le Papyrus Grec, Appelé Communément le Papyrus d'Anastasy, Faisant Partie du Musée de Leide," published in Berlin and Stettin 1831, as the ninth of his "Abhandlungen Vermischten Inhalts," Zweiter Cyklus, Erstes Bändchen, he reproaches him for having stolen several objects from him, among which a golden or gild crown, given with one of the mummies. Von Minutoli had accumulated an enormous collection of antiquities at Luxor and other places, among which were five Graeco-Egyptian mummies. He dispatched this collection to Trieste, from where a small part, about one sixth of the total, was transported to Berlin by land and arrived there safely, and the rest was sent to Hamburg by ship. The destination was not reached, however, for at the mouth of the Elbe the vessel was attacked by a storm and was miserably shipwrecked with all its treasures.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. F. Caillaud, Voyage à Meroé, au Fleuve Blanc, à Syouah et dans Cinq Autres Oasis, volume IV, Paris 1827, pp. 1-54, with plates 66-71 of the second volume of plates.

<sup>8</sup>H. Wilcken, Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin 1889, pp. 1-7, expresses his doubts about the way these portraits were ascribed, but Lebolo calls them expressly: "ad ornati di figure simboliche a piu colori, col retratto del loro defunto."



The circumstances under which von Minutoli had to do his purchases, had not permitted him to do a thorough study of his pieces. The complete volume of the part of the tomb that fell to him will, therefore, never be determined, but it is certain that the following objects belonged to it: The mummy and coffin of Phaminis, the brother of Tphous, number 504 in Berlin, cf. the "Ausführliches Verzeichniss der Egyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse," second edition, Berlin 1899, p. 344. The mummies of Sensas (a different one from ours!) and her sister Tkauthi<sup>9</sup>, and the double coffin belonging to these two mummies, depicted on p. 410 of A. Erman's "Die Religion der Ägypter," Berlin and Leipzig 1934. All three are mentioned in the Ausführliches Verzeichniss on page 345, combined under no. 505; on the bottom of the coffin, as with the previous one, is a mummy portrait. The death papyri found on these three mummies numbered 3041, 3058, and 3069, cf. G. Möller, Hieratische Paläographie, volume III, second edition, Leipzig 1936, p. 15. Also the mummy and coffin of Senchonsis, surnamed Sapaulis. These were lost in the shipwreck, but in Trieste a copy had been made of the Greek inscription.

A last batch found its way to Italy, where it was placed at Florence and at Turin. The former Museum came into the possession of the coffin, depicted in fig. 1338 of Valdemar Schmidt's "Sarkofager, Mumiekister, og Mumiehylstre i det Gamle Egypten. Typologisk Atlas," Copenhagen 1919. The latter of the mummy and coffin of Petenephis, in A. Fabretti, F. Rossi and R.V. Lanzzone's "Catalogo Generale," volume I, Rome 1881, inventoried under No. 2230, cf. H. Hartleben, Lettres de Champollion le Jeune, volume I, Paris 1909, pp. 46 and 47; and of the two death papyri found on these, bearing the number 1861. Di San Quintino adds a few more objects to this in his treatise, namely three mummy portraits and two mummies, each provided with a double coffin. I do not venture to say anything about the portraits. The mummies, one of which, that of Rnp.t-nfr.t, is identified by the number 2231/2 of the catalog, do not seem to me to originate from Soter's tomb, although they too are of a late date. I also have some doubt with regard to the mummy which was kept by Lebolo in Trieste in his private collection and quoted by Di San Quintino. It must have been the most beautiful of all, and was anthropomorphic, but as far as I know it has never again been considered as exceptional in more than a hundred years. The Turin specimens were purchased from Drovetti with his first collection (1824)<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Tkauthi, i.e. Tkauthi, "little one."

<sup>10</sup>Some further Greek mummy labels were quoted by Champollion, cf. H. Hartleben, pp. 91 and 92.

The tomb, whose contents were thus scattered to the four winds, was the final resting place of a family, whose members, according to the Greek inscriptions on the coffins, must have lived at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century of our era, under the Roman emperors Trajan and Hadrian. The scientific data obtained in Europe from these inscriptions, Greek as well as Egyptian, have not given what had originally perhaps been hoped. They contain no more than the names, the genealogy and the ages of the persons concerned, and only the inscription on Soter's coffin is a little more detailed and tells us that he bore the title of Ἀρχων Θηβαίων. Short as this statement is, it poses some puzzles. Archon of Thebes or, as it would have been called administratively, of Diospolis Magna, could only be borne by 6 or 7 persons, who filled the offices of gymnasiarch, exegete, cosmète, eutheniarch, archiereus, agoranome or hypomnematograph of the metropolis. And it can hardly be assumed that a man, whose closest relatives, with the exception of his father, all had purely Egyptian names, who, in addition, received in his tomb a copy of the "Book of Breath," would during his life have been eligible for an office whose bearers should have been champions of Greek culture in Egypt. I do not quite know what to think of this and would refer to the discussion by W. Dittenberger, Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, volume II, Leipzig 1905, pp. 435-436, where also the older papyrological literature is given. From the Egyptian inscriptions, which have been poorly or not at all published, no conclusions can be drawn.

Soter's tomb was found in the vicinity of the hamlet of Shaich-Abd-al-Qurna, on the north edge of the area covered by the ancient city, on the west bank of the Nile. It was, in Lebolo's words, "in fondo del suo pozzo fabbricato di mattoni e tutto ornato internamente di pitture diverse" and could, therefore, possibly be identified with one of the numerous open tombs in the area. To my knowledge this has not yet taken place. In the Theban Necropolis there was great uncertainty regarding the places where antiquities from the Greco-Roman period had been found. The city of the dead, Luxor, has never been wanting in finds of this kind, but none of the older ones have been localized with certainty. This, at least, we may conclude from the silence of that part of the "Topological Bibliography" by the Misses B. Porter and R. Moss, that is devoted to the Theban Necropolis.

With one of these finds the things discussed here may be brought into a wider context. It was done at the same time when also the famous archive of the Theban Choachytes came to light<sup>11</sup>. The discoverer of this was again Lebolo. In a jar dozens, perhaps even more than a hundred large papyri were found, which, studied and published in the course of the nineteenth century, contained the Demotic and Greek contracts and other documents

<sup>11</sup>Cf. U. Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolomäerzeit, volume II, Berlin and Leipzig 1935, p. 38.



is limited to Reuvens' remarks on page 33 of his second Lettre à M. Letronne, and Leemans' listing in his "Description Raisonnée des Monoments <sup>Egyptiens</sup> du Musée d' Antiquités des Pays Bas a Leide, Leyden 1840, under number T 33.

[Translator's note: here follows the translation of the text as it reads in Dutch.]

The Hathor Sensaos, justified, daughter of Cleopatra, surnamed Candace, saith: "I am Re at his rising, Atum at his setting and Osiris Chentamentiu in the night. Turn to me, ye gate keepers of the West, guards of the Underworld, guards at the House of Henu-bark! Turn to me Anubis, son of Osiris, thou trusted guard of the Underworld! Turn to me, ye gods with piercing eyes, who art among Osiris' retinue, in the hall of the true ones, gods, who are in the hall of the Ealufield! Turn to me, all ye gods of the Underworld, gods, who watch over Osiris! I am thy father Re-Horachte, from whom thou art sprung forth at the creation. I am Hor-wer, lord of Upper Egypt, who hath healed the limbs [Translator's note: or: members, the Dutch is not clear on this.] of Re and placed Horus on his father's throne. I am Homerti, lord of the battle, who hath protected all gods<sup>12</sup>. I am Horus, lord of Letopolis, lord of Per-ie, who devoureth rebels in the vicinity of Heliopolis. I am Thoth, lord of the divine words, that give insight(?) to all gods. Turn to me, guards of the Underworld! Leave me .....<sup>13</sup> the nightly hours. May my soul go forth to heaven, with the souls of the great gods. May I receive sacrifices together with Atum. May water be poured to me in the House of the Prince, as it is to the old Prince<sup>14</sup>, who is in Heliopolis. May I enter into Heliopolis, in the night of the sacrificial meal and in the night of the feast of the sixth day of the month, together with all gods and goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, while I am one of them. May I enter in at Osiris Chentamentiu, together with the lofty gods, in the night of the feast of the Henu-bark.

<sup>12</sup>nht, cf. Wörterbuch II, p. 315, note 3 with Belegstellen. Unknown to the editors of the Wörterbuch is the feminine noun nht.t, "protection," Coptic *naute*, which has been derived from this, not to be confused with the masculine nht.w, "victory." For nht.t, cf. Ch. Kuentz, La Bataille de Gadech, third issue, Cairo 1934, B(ulletin), No. 25 and 41, and F. Ll. Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Volume III, Manchester 1909, p. 363. The examples quoted in the Belegstellen of Wörterbuch II, p. 317, note 16-22, do all belong under nht.w. Compare, for instance, with those of note 16, Kuentz, P9oeme) 39, 127, B 111, and L(egende) 1; with those of note 17 and 18, P 26, L 61 and 62; with those of note 19, P 247, 338, L 6, 18 and 19; with those of note 20, P 10; with those of note 21, P 170, 197, and with those of note 22, P 1. The incorrect orthography may have been copied from the Hieratic.

<sup>13</sup>wsr or ws, uncertain of the translation.

<sup>14</sup>I.e. to Atum.

May my soul be deified in the necropolis. May I enter and leave, while I am one of them.

O Thoth, turn thy face to me and give me justice against mine enemies, as thou gavest justice to Osiris against his enemies, before the great court of justice at Heliopolis, in that night of the battle of destruction of that enemy, on that day when the enemies of the All-lord were crushed.

O Thoth, turn to me and give me justice against mine enemies, as thou gavest justice to Osiris against his enemies [before the great court of justice] in Busiris, in that night of the erecting of the Djed column in Busiris (Djedu).

O Thoth, turn to me and give me justice against mine enemies, as thou gavest justice to Osiris against his enemies, before the great court of justice] in Letopolis, in that night of the sacrificial meal in Letopolis.

O Thoth, turn to me and give me justice against mine enemies, as thou gavest justice to Osiris against his enemies, before the great court of justice] in Rostau, in that night, when Anubis laid both his arms on the things(?) behind Osiris.

O Lord of light, who art in the Great Palace, turn to me! Give me my mouth, that I may speak, lead me mine heart in the hour of the Evil one. Make<sup>15</sup> my mouth, that I may speak before the great god, the lord of the Underworld. (I) am not turned away in heaven, on earth or before the court of justice of any god or goddess. I am the soul of Horus, who hath put out the fire at his coming forth.

The rays of Re, the air of Amon, the water of Hapi, they belong to me till eternity<sup>16</sup>.

On the reverse side of the manuscript is the title: :The Sc.t n snn of the Hathor Sensaos, justified, daughter of Cleopatra, [surnamed] Candace." With that the text is easily identified. Sc.t n snn, "Book of Breath," or, as we should perhaps translate, "Letter of Breath"<sup>17</sup>, is the name borne by a number of religious compositions of a very late date, which have all become known

<sup>15</sup>Sic, irj.k. The Book of the Dead here has, understandably, iw rdj n.j. "I have been given."

<sup>16</sup>For the translation of ink st, cf. papyrus Cairo 58018, lines 60-63.

<sup>17</sup>The customary word in Demotic Sc.t means "letter," and the supposed meaning "book" is supported only by some late book titles, cf. Wörterbuch IV, p. 419, notes 18 and 19. In Papyrus Rhind I 8, d 3, and II 8, d 4, is spoken of the "Sc.t n snn", which Thoth has written for your introduction. A letter, rather than a book is written for someone's introduction. At any rate, the name of a religious book is mdj .t.

from the death papyri found on Egyptian mummies from the Roman period. It is an extensive, but yet little studied literature, partially borrowed from older collections of proverbs, as for instance the Book of the Dead, but apparently, also partially original.

The bewildering quantity of the literary material that can be counted among this may be divided into at least three groups, which stand independently and have only the title in common. I am going to elaborate on this a little and distinguish:

1627  
I. A text cycle, edited by J. Lieblein in his "Le Livre Egyptien Que Mon Nom Fleurisse, "Leipzig 1895<sup>18</sup>. A latest codification of the religious and magical literature from pre-dynastic times, analogous to the well-known collections such as the Pyramid Texts, the Sarcophagus Texts, the Book of the Dead, etc. The proverbs are all long, but are nearly always given in strong abbreviations and appear separately in twos and threes on the papyri. As a result the content of the manuscripts varies greatly, since each person makes his own choice and abbreviates them in his own way. Complete editions do not occur, or have not yet been found. The most detailed one is the papyrus Louvre 314B, published in transcription by P. Pierret, Etudes Egyptologiques, first edition, Paris 1873, on pp 42-79. Here we find ten texts:

- a. From p. I 1 tp p. III 12: The remains of one or more proverbs, without title and, I believe, not known from other sources.
- b. From p. III 12 tp p. VII 6: A proverb, which perhaps in this one and certainly in another papyrus<sup>19</sup> bears the title Tj3 .t n snn mh I.t, or "First Book of Breath." It is often found, cf. the papyri Br. Mus. 10109; Bibl. Nat. 151 and 152; Louvre 3152, 3157, 3176a, 3176b, 3176e, 3279, 3290, 3865, etc.; Florence 3662; Cairo 58007, 58008, 58009, 58011, 58014, 58021 and 58023; Lepsius, Denkmäler VI, 122. The papyrus Louvre 3279 divides the proverb in five sub-divisions,

<sup>18</sup>Complete bibliography by W. Golénischeff, Papyrus Hiératiques, Cairo 1927, on p. 35. Lieblein's work was discussed by E. Chassinat in an article published in the Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, volume XXXI, Paris 1895, p. 312.

<sup>19</sup>Papyrus Florence 3662, published by A. Pellegrini. The addition mh I.t is written here half Hieratic, half Demotic as ḥ, which Pellegrini, supported by Pierret, incorrectly defines as mh II.t. Pierret came across a character in the Paris papyrus, which he thought to be ḥ. This can hardly be correct, for "second" in Egyptian is mh sn.t. or sn.nw.t, but not sn alone. I presume that he was confronted with the completely Demotic group for mh I.t, namely ḥ, and read it as ḥ, the Hieratic character for sn. Both characters are indeed very much alike. In papyrus Cairo 58007 the proverb is not titled, but is followed by proverb d. with the inscription mh II.t, so that an inscription \*mh ḥ.t could have been forgotten with the first one.

- the last one of which has a sub-title, translated by Deveria as "Chapitre de boire l'eau dans le lieu funèbre."
- c. From p. VII 7 to p. VII 25: A proverb without title.
  - d. From p. VIII 1 to p. IXa 10: A proverb, here without title, but in another manuscript (papyrus Cairo 58007) furnished with the note mh II.t, which will be an abbreviation of \*Tj Šc.t n šnšn mh II.t or "Second Book of Breath"<sup>20</sup>  
Also very well-liked, cf. the papyri Br. Mus. 10111; Edinburgh<sup>21</sup>; Louvre 3157, 3159, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3174, 3176j, 3177a, 3289, 3865, Salt 58, etc.; Cairo 58007, 58009, 58013, 58017, 58018, 58020, and 58022; Berlin, 3163, Lepsius, Denkmäler VI, 122.
  - e. From p. IXa 11 to p. IXb 12: A proverb without title, interspersed with magical names.
  - f. From p. IXb 12 to p. X 1: A proverb without title.
  - g. From p. X 3 to p. X 6: A proverb without title.
  - h. From p. X 7 to p. XI 9: A proverb without title, cf. papyrus Salt 58, line 33-42. Papyrus Louvre 3148 has not been completely preserved. It is only a torso, the beginning and end of which are lacking. Some texts, therefore, must have become lost. In other manuscripts we find:
    - i. A proverb, beginning with the words *nh b3.k*, "Thy soul liveth." Very customary, cf. the papyri Br. Mus. 10108 and 10112; Louvre 3161 and 3375; Turin 1989; Cairo 58009 and 58012, and pap. Lieblein (line 1-10). The title is still lacking.
    - k. A proverb, beginning with the words as dealt with under b. ink Rc "I am Re," but completely different in further content. Cf. the papyri Edinburgh; Brussels E 5298; Turin 1990; Florence 3669 and 3670; Cairo 58015, 58016 and 58019. Here too the title has not been found.
    - l. A proverb with unknown title, cf. papyrus Cairo 58010.
  - m. A proverb with many geographical allusions, occurring in papyrus Berlin 3030, and partially accessible in G. Möller's "Hieratische Paläographie," volume III, second edition, Leipzig 1936, print X. It is perhaps no more than the continuation of a previous one.

With this all that has been published about these texts has been inventoried. The inventory cannot, however, be complete this way. Not only has the complete text been found of only a small part of the proverbs, but also the number of proverbs itself must have been greater. We may conclude this from the ease with which new ones keep coming to light.

II. The "Book of Breath, Prepared by Isis for her Brother Osiris."  
published and edited by V Denon, H. Brugsch, P.J. de Horrack,

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<sup>20</sup>This was read by Deveria in the papyri Louvre 3157 and 3161. Cf. also number 3865.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Birch's remark, P.S.B.A., volume 7; p. 89.

E.A. Wallis Budge and A. Pellegrini<sup>22</sup>. The content is closely related to that of the "Livre Que Mon Nom Fleurisse," but the manuscripts are distinguished by a greater uniformity; they all give virtually the same text and rarely abbreviate. The critical edition, desired by G. Maspero in his discussion of de Horrack's work, *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, volume II, Paris 1893, pp. 477-480, is yet to be compiled. It would have to be based on the following manuscripts: Br. Mus. 9995; pap. Denon; Louvre 3121, 3126, 3154, 3158, 3166, 3167, 3221, 3222, 3284, 3285 and 3291; Berlin GY 15 (old number) and 3135<sup>23</sup>; and Florence 3665.

III. The short text, published in facsimile by H. Brugsch on plate X of his "Grammaire Démotique," Berlin 1855, borrowed, according to a note, from a papyrus kept at Dresden, according to the description on p. 202, borrowed from a papyrus in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In spite of its pompous title *Šc.t n šnšn*, or "Book of Breath," it is no more than a hodgepodge of a few unconnected formulas that serve to garnish the listing of name, genealogy and age of the deceased. There are variants in the papyri Br. Mus. 10072, Louvre 3165, 3176r and 3258, Berlin 1522 and 3169, and Cairo 31170, 31171, 31172, 31175(?) and 31176. The first of these has been published by N. Reich in his article "An Abbreviated Demotic Book of the Dead,": *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, volume XVII, pp. 85-97, where also a complete bibliography can be found. The manuscripts of the text (and the inscriptions) are all written in Demotic, not in Hieratic, and can, on paleographic grounds, be dated as Roman.

The distribution of the above-mentioned three texts and text groups stands firm, since they call themselves the "Books of Breath" in so many words. The list could even be considerably expanded, if, with Spiegelberg<sup>24</sup>, we would also include the following late religious works: the texts of both Demotic papyri Rhind (cf. G. Möller, *Die Beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburgh*, Leipzig 1913, I 8, d 1, with matching vignette, and II 8, d 1), that of the Demotic papyrus Bibl. Nat. 140 (cf. F. Lexa, *Das Demotische Totenbuch der Pariser Nationalbibliothek*, Leipzig 1910, I 9) and the so-called "Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit" (cf. the Hieratic papyrus Leyden T 33, VIII 9).

<sup>22</sup>Cf. E.A. Wallis Budge, *the Book of the Dead, Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai Kerāsher and Netchemet*, London 1899, pp. 39-43, with prints 1-3; *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Series Quinta*, volume XIII, Rome 1904, pp. 87-104. References to the older literature by Maspero.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. G. Möller, *Hieratic Lesestücke*, volume III, Leipzig 1910, plate 32, and also *Hieratische Paläographie*, second edition, volume III, Leipzig 1936 plate XI.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig and Berlin 1902, p. 26.



The case for the defense is that in all of these texts mention is made that the "Book of Breath" has been given along with the deceased, but that, except in the last case, no further documents were found on the mummies, so that with the quote reference must be made to the papyrus itself. I am giving this opinion for what it is worth. If Spiegelberg is right, the range of the title becomes so much wider, that we would have to conclude that in Roman days "Book of Breath" was a general term for death texts. This even more so, since the Paris and Leyden papyri bear different titles.

The death papyrus, given along with Sensaos -- to return to the subject under discussion -- is written with the first part of the proverb mentioned under I b. She begins with an address to the various gods, which, compared with the wording in other manuscripts, must have been rendered virtually completely. The deceased introduces herself as Re, as Atum, and as Osiris Chentamentiu<sup>25</sup>, the rulers of the three parts of the space of 24 hours, and directs herself to the guards of the Underworld, particularly to Anubis, the "Lethaeus janitor," who is here introduced, entirely as by Plutarch, as son of Osiris, and to Hathor<sup>26</sup>. After this she identifies herself again with some of the gods, whom she gives interesting, but unfortunately, to us rather incomprehensible epithets, and then she comes with her request: That her soul may unite with one of the gods, that she may receive sacrifices and water, that she may take part in certain rites, etc., the usual mixture of animistic and local-cultic representations, typical for the ancient Egyptian Death literature. The grouping of the motifs in this first paragraph, even more so than the motifs themselves, point to a late composition, and this impression is confirmed by linguistic peculiarities. The circumscription of the participles in line 8 is unthinkable in Egyptian, older than the late New Kingdom.

This invocation is followed, strongly abbreviated, by an aphorism, borrowed from the Book of the Dead, where it occurs in three wordings, which in our modern division into chapters, bear the numbers XVIII, XIX and XX. To these three wordings, the Roman-Egyptian death papyri add a fourth. As the aphorism appears here, and, therefore, also in our manuscript, it shows a great deal of similarity with the Book of the Dead, chapter XVIII, but it lacks its completeness. Meanwhile the differences are not great and already in the older literature the motifs are all present.

(<sup>25</sup>Wsir hntj imntj.w.) In Greek transcription *Ὀὐσερετεμεν*, cf. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, volume II, Leipzig and Berlin 1931, p. 20, line 445. The words imn.t.t, "West," and imn.tjw, "inhabitants of the West," have coincided in this papyrus, as also in other ones from the Graeco-Roman period.  
<sup>26</sup>Cf. also Th. Hopfner, *Fontes Historiae Religiosae Aegypticae*, Bonn 1922-25, p. 209, line 23 and also, Plutarch *uber Isis und Osiris*, volume I, Prague 1940, pp. 47/48.

The content of this aphorism [or: proverb], recorded in the Book of the Dead under the title "Proverb of the Wreath," consists of an invocation directed to the god Thoth, the Doomsday Judge,

and he is beseeched to give justice<sup>27</sup> to the deceased against

27šmꜥ-hrw. This term is translated in volume IV of the Wörterbuch, p. 125, as "die Stimme jemand's richtig machen = ihn obsiegen lassen im Gericht." The second translation is better than the first. šmꜥ is not "to make righteous," but "to recognize as righteous," as also in Hebrew פָּתַח gives this meaning. Here we are dealing with the declarative or estimative meaning of the causative, well known in the Semitic languages (cf. C. Brockelmann, Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen, volume I, Berlin 1908, and Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, volume I, Cambridge 1896, p. 34) and not rare in Egyptian either. To the examples given by Sethe on p. 217 of the first volume of his "Verbum" I add the verbs: šꜥꜣ (of ꜥ, great), šꜥn (of ꜥn, clean), šwꜥꜥ (of wꜥꜥ, substantial), šwr (of wr, great), šbk (of šbk, excellent) and šꜥꜣ (of ꜥꜣ, high), all with the meaning of "to praise, to honor," šwꜥꜥ, to forgive (of wꜥꜥ, pure; cf. Wörterbuch IV, p. 66, note 27), and šꜥꜣ (of ꜥꜣ, slight), šhwr (of hwr, miserable), šhrꜥꜥ (of hrꜥꜥ, servant) and šꜥw (of ꜥw, bad), all with the meaning "to scorn, to disparage." The declarative-estimative function, after the disappearance of the causative, is taken over by the circumscription with rdꜣ, to give, and in Coptic we find, for instance: ⲧⲁⲓⲟ, to honor (of ꜥ, great), ⲧⲁⲧⲟ, to sentence (of ꜥꜣ, guilty), ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲟ, to justify, to praise (of mꜥꜥ, court (of justice)) and ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲟ, to condemn (cf. nedꜥ, to be ugly). The change from a causative to a declarative-estimative meaning is found in many languages, even in Dutch, where we speak of "billijken," for "to consider fair" and of "loochenen," for "to declare a lie." Also the noun hrw cannot have its normal meaning of "voice" in the context šmꜥ-hrw. Here it is the "voice" of the plaintiff before the judge, i.e. the total of his written and oral argumentation; his "concluding remarks," I believe a modern attorney would say. In this sense the word seems to be unknown in the older Egyptian texts, cf. Wörterbuch III, pp. 324, 325, but good examples may be found in the Demotic legal literature, cf. Zeitschrift der Savignystiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung, volume LVII, Weimar 1937, p. 290, note 2. The entire expression šmꜥ-hrw therefore, means deciding in favor of one of the parties of the law suit. In some cases (as it is here, since the righteousness of Thoth cannot be doubted) this translation is too weak, and it seems that we are dealing with a more active intervention. This works out well again with the Hebrew parallel, which, apart from deciding in favor of someone, also has the meaning of "to help someone to get justice, to make someone's (just) cause his own," where the judge steps out of his passivity. -- I am taking this opportunity to point out another typical, and well-known use in the Semitic language (cf. Brockelmann, p. 528, Wright, p. 35) of the causative, namely the denominative with verbs derived from nouns indicating a time concept. In Egyptian I know: šwꜥꜣ, to spend the night; šmꜥꜣrw, to spend the evening; šnhꜥ, to be up early, and šꜥwꜥ, to spend the morning.

her enemies the same way he had done to Osiris on several, to us unknown, mythological occasions. Who the enemies of the deceased are, and on which occasion Thoth can give aid, we are not told. In them we would like to see the personifications of sin, who could waylay the deceased at the weighing of her heart in the presence of Osiris, and probably this is also the intention of the aphorism; but in the literature of the dead, where the ethical always hides behind the mythological, it is nowhere clearly said.

Once the deceased has been recognized by Thoth as just, she will, according to ancient custom, to which 2 Timothy 4:8 also alludes, be able to put on a crown<sup>28</sup>. The title of the chapter obviously points to this. What is striking, however, is that the Egyptians, in their desire for "justice," usually do not wait for Thoth's sentence, but have themselves already crowned as mummies, while still on earth. This custom was first pointed out by W. Pleyte, in a monograph entitled "La Couronne de la Justification," and published in the proceedings of the sixth international Congress of Orientalists, held at Leyden in 1884. Where mummies could be found in their original environments and by those who were qualified in the matter, they were always, or at least customarily, crowned with real or artificial flowers or be surrounded by garlands of flowers. In more ancient times the wreaths are larger and rest on the shoulders<sup>29</sup>, later they become smaller and are on the head, as was the case with the mummies found in Soter's tomb. The Egyptian custom, to crown the heads of the deceased, is not distinguishable any more in any way from the Greek one, so that with the many mummy portraits stemming from the Roman period, on which the deceased are depicted wearing the crown, one could think of Egyptian as much as of Greek influence.

If the deceased is entombed wearing the crown, then this must mean that he had already been found righteous before his funeral. That this is indeed true is evident from the fact that since time immemorial the deceased in Egypt bear the epithet *ms<sup>c</sup>-hrw*.

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<sup>28</sup>When in papyrus Chester Beatty I, 16, 7. Horus has won his suit against Seth, the gods who have assisted him, crown themselves

<sup>29</sup>Whether these more ancient and larger wreaths may, with Newberry (cf. H. Carter, The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen, volume II, London 1927, p. 190), already be considered to be "crowns of righteousness," remains uncertain. According to the inscriptions quoted by Pleyte on mummy M10 of our Museum (cf. P. A. A. Boeser, Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Volume XI, The Hague 1920, top line) the garland was in any case already put on the head during the XXth Dynasty, i.e. long before the arrival of the Greeks. A new edition of Pleyte's monograph would be very desirable.

or "justified<sup>30</sup>." Here we are probably dealing with a custom to place the deceased in a condition of ritual purity by means of certain sacramental acts and incantations. The Egyptian texts are, unfortunately, little informative on this point and we would have to limit ourselves to hypotheses, if it were not for the work of a Greek author that helped us a little out of our impasse. This author is the historian Diodorus of Agyrium, and the passage is the 92nd chapter from the first Book of his *Βιβλιοθήκη Ἱστορικὴ*, in which he gives us the following description of the funeral customs of the Egyptians:

"The family of the one to be buried announce the day of the funeral to the judges and the relatives and friends of the deceased, and give the assurance that "so and so -- here they give the name of the deceased -- will cross the lake." When, subsequently, the judges, forty-two in number, have come together and have taken their seats on a semi-circular platform on the opposite side of the lake, the barque, made beforehand by men who specialize in this business, is lowered. In it stands the ferryman, whom the Egyptians call Charon in their language. Orpheus, who in olden times had been with the Egyptians and had seen this custom, is said to have invented the legend about Hades, partially by way of imitation, partially from his own fantasy -- but we shall speak about this again. When the barque has been lowered into the lake, but the sarcophagus with the mummy has not yet been placed on it, custom allows anyone who feels that way inclined to bring a charge. If someone comes forward with a charge and proves that the deceased has led a bad life, the judges publicly pass judgment and the mummy is not admitted to the customary funeral. If it turns out, however, that the accuser has brought a false charge, he is punished heavily. If no one comes forward, or if someone has been found to bring a false accusation, the family lay aside their mourning and start eulogies on the deceased. Nothing is said about the parentage contrary to Greek custom, since they are of the opinion that all Egyptians are of equally good birth, but they describe his behavior as a child and how he grew up, his piety and righteousness in the years of his manhood and his selfcontrol and other virtues; and they call upon the subterranean gods, that they may include him among the blessed. The crowd joins in with these eulogies and praises the name of the deceased, who will now live in the Underworld amid the blessed. Hereupon they who possess their own tombs place the mummy in the allotted space and they who do not possess their own tombs, build a new room in their houses and place the sarcophagus against the strongest wall in an upright position. Also the corpses of those who may not be buried on account of

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<sup>30</sup>It is not easily determined whether *ms<sup>c</sup>-hrw* is here to be considered to be an apposition, or, with Gardner, Egyptian Grammar, par. 313, a parenthetical wish. The latter possibility is supported by the fact that the "Aphorism of the Wreath" in the colophon of the Book of the Dead, chapter XIX, is called an amulet. Also cf. Papyrus Rhind I 10, d 13.

an accusation or because a mortgage has been taken out on them, are kept at home and it happens not seldom that their grandchildren, when they have reached prosperity, free them from their financial obligations or of their charges and then have them entombed in a splendid way."

This according to the historian Diodorus. In a previous chapter (cap. 72) he says about the same in fewer words about the formalities observed at the funeral of Pharaohs and the correctness of his description, confirmed, for that matter, to a certain extent by the content of texts such as the one of both Rhind papyri, need not be doubted. ✓

The text of the papyrus is continued with some sentences borrowed from chapters XXI and XXII of the Book of the Dead, and whose drift is to give the deceased free control over her mouth in the Underworld. The ending follows rather abruptly. In a last sentence the deceased declares herself mistress over the elements. That is the formula with which the specimens of the "Livre Que Mon Non Fleurisse" usually end.

The death papyrus of Sensaos was found "sur côté de la momie, en dehors du bras droit," and was "roulé plat<sup>31</sup>." The statement is of value since virtually nothing was announced about the spots where the rest of the published papyri were found. Many of the specimens contain ancient instructions showing that the manuscripts were preferably placed under the head (*dj d3*) or under the feet (*rwj*). So, for instance, the papyri Br. Mus. 10109 (text b); Louvre 3148 (text b), 3176a (text b, inscription *κεφαλή*), 3273 and 3289 (text d, inscription *ὕπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς*); Florence 3662 (text b) and Cairo 58017 (text d) were intended to be placed under the head, and the papyri Br. Mus. 10108 (text i); Louvre 3157 (text d), 3176f (text d?) and 3246 (text d?; and Cairo 58022 (text d) to be placed under the feet. Some mummies were even provided with two copies, one of which had to be placed under the head and one under the feet. On them were found the papyri Florence 3669 (for the head, text k), and 3670 (for the feet, text k), Cairo 58013 (for the feet, text d) and 58014 (for the head, text b), and 58015 and 15016 (without further instruction, both text k). There were, therefore, certain rules for the placing of the manuscripts, according to which text b. was generally placed under the head and text d. usually under the feet. The Leyden specimen is an exception to these rules.

Finally a few words about the proliferation of the literature summarized according to place and time under the name "Book

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<sup>31</sup>"Folded flat" was also the papyrus found by Henniker on Soter's mummy.

of Breath." All published manuscripts stem from Thebes<sup>32</sup>, as far as the origin is known or even probable. The date is fixed only for the papyri found in Soter's tomb (first/second century A.D.), and for those from the tomb of a certain Horstese, priest of Amon in Thebes, whose contents were spread over at least the Museums of Leyden and Paris (during Augustus' reign)<sup>33</sup>. Judging by the paleography, none of the specimens appear to be older than the Roman period. The "Books of Breath" are the last religious texts of pagan inspiration Egypt has produced and the manuscripts contained by them give us the last examples of the use of the Hieratic script. The old and venerable Book of the Dead had already disappeared in this period<sup>34</sup>. It did not make it to the Roman period<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup>Also the papyrus Cairo 58018, cf. G. Moller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, volume III, p. 14 and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, volume XIV, p. 16, and A. Mariette, *Les Papyrus Egyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, Paris 1871, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup>On the mummy of this man were found: 1. A detailed copy of the "Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit" (papyrus Leyden T 32; 2 and 3. Two copies of the "Livre Que Mon Nom Fleurisse" (the papyri Louvre 3157 and Bibl. Nat. 151); 4 and 5. Two copies of the "Book of Breath," wording Isis (the papyri Louvre 3285 and 3291).

<sup>34</sup>Compare note 2 of B. Moller, p. 14. The Demotic papyrus published by Lexa dating from the year 63 A.D., is already no more than an anthology from the Book of the Dead.

<sup>35</sup>[To the source listing on p. 4 we may add: M. Chabouillet, *Catalogue Général et Raisonné des Camées et Pierres Gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris 1858, in which on p. 408 some documents in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale are inventoried.]