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An Excerpt from the Book of the Twelve Caverns in the Tomb of Petosiris (Tuna el-Gebel)

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# An Excerpt from the Book of the Twelve Caverns in the Tomb of Petosiris (Tuna el-Gebel)

DANIEL MIGUEL MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ[*]

**ABSTRACT**

The Book of the Twelve Caverns is a litany of the deities who dwelled in these regions of the ancient Egyptian underworld. This cosmographic composition, which is among the Books of the Netherworld, helped the deceased traverse the caverns of the Duat and receive diverse benefits when it was used in a funerary context. It has been attested on a variety of media (papyri, mummy wrappings, etc.). One of these sources is a depiction from the tomb of Petosiris—high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis—located at Tuna el-Gebel in Middle Egypt. This article will focus on the main features of this *pars pro toto* example, the adaptation of the book to this specific context, as well as the model used, which marked the history of the transmission of the composition: the Osireion of Abydos.

**Keywords:** Book of the Twelve Caverns, Book of Going Forth by Day, Book of the Dead, BD 168, Books of the Netherworld, Petosiris, Tuna el-Gebel.

**RÉSUMÉ**

Le Livre des Douze Cavernes est une litanie des divinités qui habitaient dans les régions de l'Au-delà égyptien ancien. Cette composition cosmographique, qui appartient aux Livres du Monde Inférieur, aidait les défunts à traverser les cavernes de la Douat et à recevoir divers avantages lorsqu'elle était utilisée dans un contexte funéraire. Le Livre des Douze Cavernes se trouve attesté sur de multiples supports (papyrus, bandelettes de momie, etc.). L'une de ses

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sources est la tombe de Pétosiris, grand prêtre de Thot à Hermopolis, située à Touna el-Gebel, en Moyenne Égypte. Cet article porte sur les principales caractéristiques de cette attestation *pars pro toto*, l'adaptation du livre au contexte spécifique de cette tombe, ainsi que le modèle utilisé, qui a marqué l'histoire de la transmission de la composition, à savoir l'Osireion d'Abydos.

**Mots-clés :** Livre des Douze Cavernes, Livre pour sortir au jour, Livre des Morts, LM 168, Livres du Monde Inférieur, Pétosiris, Touna el-Gebel.

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THE tomb of Petosiris is one of the most important funerary structures of the early Ptolemaic Period, dating from the end of the 4th century BC (c. 320 BC).[1] The monument is located in Tuna el-Gebel,[2] about 300 km south of Cairo near the modern city of Mallawi. In Antiquity, the necropolis served the city of Hermopolis (also known as Hermopolis Magna [Greek] or Khemenu [Egyptian]). Five generations of the family of Petosiris (Egyptian Padiusir Ankhefkhonsu[3] *p(3)-dj-wsjr ʿnḫ⸗f-ḫnsw*) are attested in the inscriptions.[4] They share several of the most important and honorable titles of contemporary Hermopolitan society, the most prominent being "Great of the Five" *wr djw* and "Controller of the Thrones" *ḥrp nswt*.[5] The former refers to the pentad of Hermopolis (Osiris, Haroeris, Seth, Isis and Nephthys) whose births were enabled by Thoth/Djehuty. The latter probably originally alluded to the thrones of Upper and Lower Egypt.[6]

The building resembles a small Graeco-Roman temple and shares certain architectonic elements with such later monuments as the temples of Edfu, Esna, Kalabsha and Debod.[7] The façade contains four columns joined by screen walls. The internal distribution of the tomb's superstructure is divided into two spaces: a vestibule or transverse hall (*pronaos*) and an inner chapel (*naos*). Sales considers this as the first preserved Egyptian *pronaos*, an element that will later become a mandatory characteristic of Ptolemaic temple architecture.[8] The complex also includes underground burial chambers.[9]

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1   NAKATEN 1982. KESSLER (1998, pp. 131–132) dates the tomb to the end of the reign of Ptolemy I, but BAINES (2004, p. 45 n. 34) questions this. The chronology of the tomb is problematic due to the absence of any royal name in the inscriptions (LEFEBVRE 1924a, p. 10; MONTET 1926, p. 164). Other authors have pointed to an earlier date for the funerary monument, e.g., LEFEBVRE 1924a, p. 10: late 4th century BC-early 3rd century BC; CAVAIGNAC 1929, p. 57: *ca.* 406–399 BC. A date just before or around 300 BC has also been suggested, using the morphology of amphorae represented in the reliefs of the tomb, its architectural features and Petosiris' genealogy as dating criteria (CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, p. 2 n. 7; see also ROEDER 1939, p. 741). On the historical context, see MENU 1994, pp. 326–327.

2   PM IV, pp. 169–174. *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, TM 135593; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135242 [accessed 30th December 2020].

3   LEFEBVRE 1924a, pp. 6–7.

4   For a genealogical tree of Petosiris' family: LEFEBVRE 1924a, p. 6; BROEKMAN 2006, p. 98; SALES 2011, p. 35; SALES 2014, p. 73.

5   BROEKMAN 2006 p. 97 translates the similar title *ḥrp nstj* as "Master of both Thrones".

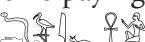6   This idea is based on BROEKMAN's proposal for *ḥrp nstj* (2006, p. 97).

7   SALES 2014, p. 48.

8   SALES 2016, p. 181.

9   LEFEBVRE 1924b, pls. I–III.

The iconographic program of the tomb has many interesting features. The outer walls lack decoration, apart from the façade. There the scenes depict Petosiris performing different rituals before several deities, playing a role traditionaly reserved for the pharaoh.[10]

The decoration of the *pronaos* included themes belonging to the tradition of so-called "daily life" scenes. These are mainly related to agricultural work—such as harvesting cereals and flax, grape treading and animal husbandry—but also include craftsmanship scenes—such as metal and woodworking or perfume preparation. Although the scenes belong to the traditional Egyptian repertoire, what is most striking is that they were rendered under the influence of Greek and perhaps also Persian[11] artistic canons. This Greek-Egyptian combination[12] has been labeled as "hybrid style", "a real and rare syncretism", or an "artistic eclecticism".[13]

By contrast, the vast majority of the reliefs in the inner chapel (*naos*) were created in a traditional Egyptian style typical of the Late Period, with the exception of the lower register.[14] Scenes from the middle and upper registers show, for example, Petosiris paying homage to his father Sishu ⸗ *Sšw*[15] and brother Djeddjehutyiuefankh ⸗ *Ḏd-ḏḥwty-j(w)⸗f-ʿnḫ*,[16] with his wife Nefretrenpet ⸗ *Nfr(t)-rnpt* receiving homage from their son, daughters and grandson,[17] and other rituals such as the Opening of the Mouth ceremony[18] and the presentation of offerings.[19]

The focal point of the decoration is a scene on the south wall depicting Khepri, the solar scarab, bearing Osirian features, protected by the goddesses Wadjet and Nekhbet.[20] According to François Daumas, this relief is a symbolic and condensed evocation of the mysteries linked to the Osirian resurrection. Thus, it is Osiris in a solar apotheosis whose mysteries grant resurrection to the deceased.[21]

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10  Following BAINES (2004, pp. 44–45), this "interaction of the deity with the subject of self-presentation bypasses the formal role of the king as the intermediary between humanity and the gods… The appropiation of active roles to non-royal protagonists had been characteristic of personal monuments for much of the 1st millennium". Cf. NAKATEN 1982, p. 996; SALES 2014, p. 68; SALES 2020—I would like to thank José das Candeias Sales for sharing his unpublished paper with me. For the reliefs: LEFEBVRE 1924b, pl. VI—scenes 12, 14–16, 19, 21, 23–27; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, pp. 19–27—scenes 12, 14, 15–18, 20, 22–26. For the correspondence between Lefebvre's and Cherpion's numbering of the scenes: CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, p. 7.

11  MONTET 1926, pp. 177–178.

12  In REDFORD's (2001, pp. 38–39) words: "Some aspects, such as the use of profile, echelon, and stance, hark back to a Nilotic past, but the musculature, individual likeness, irregular spacing, and costume point to the advent of a classical Greek style".

13  CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, p. 1; SALES 2016, p. 181.

14  See the depiction of the offering bearers (LEFEBVRE 1924b, pls. XXXV–XXXVI—inscr. no 69; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, pp. 113–127—scene 88, 136–147—scene 93).

15  LEFEBVRE 1924b, pl. XXV, fig. 1—inscr. no 69; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, p. 105—scene 83.

16  LEFEBVRE 1924b, pl. XXV, fig. 2—inscr. no 65, pl. L—inscr. no 106; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, p. 102—scene 77, p. 159—scene 113.

17  LEFEBVRE 1924b, pls. XVI–XVII—inscr. no 58, pls. XVI, XVIII—inscr. no 61; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, p. 83—scene 67, p. 90—scene 71.

18  LEFEBVRE 1924b, pls. XXVIII, XXXII—inscr. no 82; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, p. 130—scene 91a.

19  LEFEBVRE 1924b, pls. XXIX, XXXIII—inscr. no 81; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, p. 130—scene 92, 3. For the decoration of the frieze, see KOCKELMANN 2018.

20  LEFEBVRE 1924b, pls. LII, LIII—inscr. no 93–96; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, pp. 99, 154–155—scene 105.

21  DAUMAS 1959. Furthermore, closely related to the symbolism of the Osirian resurrection is the presence in the tomb of the "génies de Pharbaïthos" (see CAUVILLE 1990, pp. 115, 122–123; cf. LEFEBVRE 1923, pp. 67–68, 74, 77–82, 84–88; LEFEBVRE 1924a, pp. 149, 153–156, 184, 188–191; LEFEBVRE 1924b, pls. LIV-1–LIV-2 —inscrip. 88, 101, 107–114, 117–124 = CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, pp. 152, 158, 161–162, 164–165, 167–168, 170–171—scenes 99, 108, 115–118, 120–123, 125–128, 130–133).

On the west wall of the chapel, the iconographic program of the third register presents a very specific and interesting scene rendering one of the ancient Egyptian cosmographies of invisible reality:[22] the Book of the Twelve Caverns (Fig. 1).[23] This religious composition is among the Books of the Netherworld,[24] along with better-known texts such as the Book of the Hidden Chamber (also known as the Amduat), the Book of Gates, or the Book of Caverns. The Book of the Twelve Caverns must not be confused with the Book of Caverns despite their similar denomination, since they are completely different composi



Fig. 1.    Copy of the Book of the Twelve Caverns from the tomb of Petosiris (Cherpion et al. 2007, p. 107 scene 86 e —modified by the author).

tions with specific features.[25] Traditionally, the Book of the Twelve Caverns was considered part of the Book of Going Forth by Day (Book of the Dead), as spell 168 following Naville's numbering.[26] Lefebvre identified it as such in his publication of the tomb of Petosiris and called it the "chapitre des offrandes".[27] However, it is now recognised as an independent text, a change of perception mainly based on the work of Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon.[28]

This cosmography lists and depicts the supernatural beings that dwelled in a specific area of the Egyptian mythical topography of the beyond: the twelve caverns of the Duat. Related by their number to the twelve hours of the night, these twelve regions were crossed by the sun god in his nightly journey.[29] The book is basically a litany of deities, outlining the different

22    ASSMANN 2001, pp. 61–68.

23    LEFEBVRE 1924b, pls. LII, LIII, XLIV–XLV—inscr. no 76–77; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, pp. 99, 108—scene 86c; NAKATEN 1986, vol. I, p. 52, vol. II, p. 61, vol. IV, p. 114–115. For a short introduction to the composition: HORNUNG 1999, pp. 54–55; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2012; MÜLLER-ROTH, WEBER 2010; ROBERSON 2016, pp. 324–325. A new publication is in preparation based on the unpublished PhD thesis of MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ (2016). For the most updated information: MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2020a; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2019; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2017a; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2017b; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2017c; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2017d; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2015; SCALF 2018.

24    For an overview of these cosmographic texts: HORNUNG 1999, pp. 26–111; DARNELL, MANASSA DARNELL 2018, pp. 1–60; ROBERSON 2016.

25    See eg. HORNUNG 1999, pp. 54–55 (Book of the Twelve Caverns, called Spell of the Twelve Caves in the English translation by Lorton), and pp. 83–95 (Book of Caverns).

26    NAVILLE 1886, pp. 34, 59, 73–74, 185–187, 202, pls. CLXXXV–CLXXXIX. Following this tendency, the composition was included, for example, in translations of the Book of Going Forth by Day, e.g., ALLEN 1974, pp. 162–175; BARGUET 1967, pp. 242–246; CARRIER 2009, pp. 713–723; HORNUNG 1979, pp. 341–343; QUIRKE 2013, pp. 407–418.

27    LEFEBVRE 1924a, p. 175.

28    PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON 1974. They include the tomb of Petosiris in their comparative translation of the sources.

29    The conception of the Book of the Twelve Caverns as a cosmography is mainly based on the ideas mentioned by VON LIEVEN (2002) and ASSMANN (2001, pp. 61–68). However, it can be discussed whether it is really a cosmography or rather a cosmology. It does not seem to properly have an *imago mundi* or map-like aspect comparable to other compositions such as the Book of the Hidden Chamber (Amduat), the Book of Gates, etc. As stated above, the Book of the Twelve Caverns mainly contains a list of names and illustrations of the cavern deities. This may recall other books such as the Book of the Veneration of Re in the West (Litany of Re), which is defined as an etiological composition by ROBERSON (2016, p. 319). However, he included the Book of the Twelve Caverns—which he calls the Spell of the Twelve Caverns—in the section named The Twelve-hour Cosmographic Tradition (ROBERSON 2016, pp. 322–325). Further information on the mythological topography of the Duat is also revealed through the twelve-hour division, the epithets related to the caverns, and their depiction as a shrine in

groups of divinities that inhabited each of the caverns. Offerings were made to these gods and goddesses in order to receive diverse benefits related to the context of use in the composition. Its main funerary aim was to provide knowledge to the deceased that would allow his or her passage through the caverns of the underworld.[30]

There are 33 sources currently known for the Book of the Twelve Caverns.[31] The media featuring texts and/or images of the composition are heterogeneous; it has been attested on papyri, reliefs, mummy wrappings, stelae, etc., and adapted to their materiality in different ways. In diachronic terms, the known sources range from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period, attesting to the fact that the composition was used for at least 1300 years. Their geographical distribution shows considerable spread through Upper and Lower Egypt, including most of the main theological centers, such as Heliopolis, Hermopolis and Thebes.

This article will focus on several specific features of the copy of the Book of the Twelve Caverns included in the tomb of Petosiris. This source of the composition is selective or, as it may be called, a *pars pro toto*.[32] On the basis of current knowledge, the book is thought to have originally contained twelve sections/caverns.[33] However, seven of the twelve caverns were at some point lost forever, perhaps at the beginning of the New Kingdom, and no copy containing

some funerary manuscripts (e.g. pBerlin P. 3006—*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 133551; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/ tm134390 [accessed 23rd July 2020], pDresden Aeg. 775—*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134414; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/ objekt/tm134414 [accessed 23rd July 2020], pHavana—*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134426; totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/ tm134426 [accessed 23rd July 2020], pLondon BM EA 9966— *Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134364; totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/ objekt/tm134364 [accessed 23rd July 2020], pLondon BM EA 10478—*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134513; http://totenbuch.awk. nrw.de/objekt/tm134513 [accessed 23rd July 2020], pSaint Petersburg Hermitage 1113 + pOdessa Nr. 52974—*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134595; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134595 [accessed 23rd July 2020]). A more in-depth discussion is outside the scope of the present paper.

[30]   The acquisition of cosmographic/cosmologic knowledge is a relevant issue in the genre of the Books of the Netherworld. The title of the Book of the Hidden Chamber (Amduat) is a "Treatise of the hidden region, the positions of the *ba*-souls, the gods, the shadows, the *akh*-spirits and what is done. The beginning is the horn of the West, the gate of the western horizon, the end is Unified Darkness, the gate of the western horizon, to know the *ba*-souls of the Netherworld, to know what is done, to know their transfigurations for Re, to know the secret *ba*-souls, to know what is in the hours and their gods, to know what he calls to them, to know the gates, and the ways upon which the great god passes, to know the courses of the hours and their gods, to know the flourishing and the annihilated" (WARBURTON, HORNUNG, ABT 2007, pp. 11–13). Similarly, some funerary versions of the Book of the Twelve Caverns include a text (see below Element I) which reads: "Spell (to enable) the Osiris (of) 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 (…)'." (pLondon BM EA 10478; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2015, p. 77; PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON 1974, p. 45). See also WENTE 1982.

[31]   For the most complete list of the sources: MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2019. Partial lists of the sources have also been published: MÜLLER-ROTH, WEBER 2010; SCALF 2018 (although pBerlin P. 3002 A and pTheban 1002 were included, they in fact do not contain any part of the composition).

[32]   For a definition of this principle of representation and its application to funerary papyri and tomb decoration during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, see NIWIŃSKI 1989, pp. 17–22, 38, 44, 180, 164, 232. For its usage in the decorative program of stone sarcophagi from the Late Period, see MANASSA 2007, pp. 25, 202, 440, 448. This might be linked to what MANASSA (2007, pp. 440–445) has designated as "interchangeability of parts", a form of theological expression that began between the Twenty-Second and Thirtieth Dynasties. In this sense, as she puts it, "each funerary monument contains the sum of the solar journey, but rather than using the entirety of one Underworld Book, parts of different compositions are chosen for certain hours of the night or for the representation of the day and night skies" (MANASSA 2007, p. 440).

[33]   For an overview of the transmission of the Book of the Twelve Caverns: MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2017b.

this part has survived.[34] Of the remaining five caverns, only deities from the 9th Cavern were selected for reproduction in Petosiris' tomb. Furthermore, from the 20 groups of divinities who dwell in the 9th cavern, only 9 were chosen, of whom 3 are now partly lost: groups 3, 4, 5, 6, 6-bis, 7, 8, 9 and 10, after Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon's numeration (Fig. 2).[35]

In order to present a more detailed analysis, it is important to have a general view of the different parts into which the book is organised in the most complete copies. These parts are called "Elements" by Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon:[36]
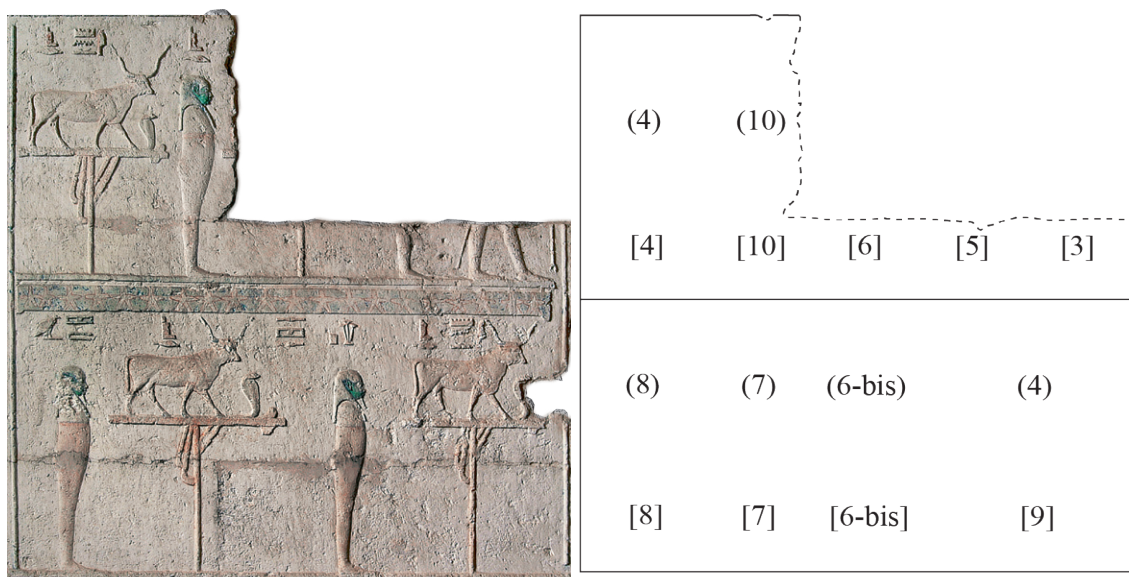


**FIG. 2.**    Deities from the 9th Cavern in the tomb of Petosiris and diagram with the identification of texts and illustrations (numbers in parentheses refer to the names–Element IIIa, and numbers in square brackets refer to the vignettes–Element IIIb).

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[34]   The oldest attestation of the Book of the Twelve Caverns is the funerary papyrus of Amenhotep II: pCairo CG 24742 (JE 34001); *Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 135554: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135556 [accessed 23rd July 2020]. In this document the first seven caverns are already missing: cf. PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON 1974, pls. 10–16. Surprisingly, four later sources included a reconstructed simplified version of this part of the composition:
  – the Osireion at Abydos (19th Dynasty; *Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 135134: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135134 [accessed 23rd July 2020]; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2020a; MURRAY, GRAFTON MILNE, CRUM 1904 (ed. 1989), p. 3 pl. V);
  – pNew York Brooklyn 47.218.50 (26th Dynasty; *Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 57559; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57559 [accessed 23rd July 2020]; col. XVII, 2–8; GOYON 1972, P. 75; GOYON 1974, PL. XIIIA);
  – pLondon BM EA 10569 (Ptolemaic Period, 3rd century BC; col. 31, lines 20–27; FAULKNER's 1958, p. 22, 49*) reading is mistaken; a new edition of the Book of the Twelve Caverns from this manuscript is in preparation);
  – two of the Osirian chapels of the temple of Hathor at Dendara (Ptolemaic Period, 1st century BC; *Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 135220; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135220 [accessed 23rd July 2020]; CAUVILLE 1997a, vol. I, p. 195; CAUVILLE 1997a, vol. 2, pls. 88, 94 (deities 36–42); CAUVILLE 1997b, p. 102; CAUVILLE 1997c, pp. 94–95; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2017a).
However, the content of this part is not the original cosmographic knowledge of the book. It is rather an abridged schematic reconstruction of the first seven caverns without meaningful details, which contrasts dramatically with the rest of the composition. All of these sources belonged to the sphere of liturgies performed in temples, and perhaps including a schematic version of the composition would enhance the effectiveness of the rituals in which it was involved; cf. MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2020b.

[35]   PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON 1974, pp. 62–66.

[36]   PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON 1974, pp. 44–45.

- Element I is an accompanying text that serves as an introduction or colophon to the composition. It is usually placed next to a vignette of the deceased, who is standing in front of the deities making an offering or with a gesture of adoration;
- Element II is the brief introductory text placed before the beginning of each cavern, mentioning the number of the cavern and its related epithet;
- Element III is the information about the specific deities of the caverns, and further types of content can be identified here. Element IIIa is the names of the gods; in some funerary sources, an additional phrase was added to explain what each group of deities granted to the deceased. As with the other Egyptian cosmographies belonging to the Books of the Netherworld, the illustrations are prominent features and Element IIIb refers to the divine manifestations depicted in the vignettes. Element IIIc indicates how many divinities are included in each group of deities. This may be expressed with a number next to a vignette and/or a fully developed illustration including the representation *in extenso* of all the members. The latter is the case for the Osireion at Abydos;
- Finally, Element IV is a series of texts in which two different parts can easily be distinguished. The first part is a typical offering formula, repeated throughout the composition, that usually reads:[37]

*jw wdn n=sn ʿ tp tꜣ*

A portion (of offering) is offered to them on earth.

The second part of Element IV is a continuously changing offering text that identifies the benefit to be granted in exchange for the offering given to the gods. Each cavern has its own texts that generally applied only to the groups of deities of that specific cavern. A total of 100 different offering texts has hitherto been attested,[38] with only a selection appearing in each source. Examples of benefits granted to the deceased include being justified (*mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*), owning a place in the necropolis, being in the company of the gods, achieving a state of *bꜣ jqr* or *ꜣḫ jqr*, preserving physical integrity of the body, obtaining offerings and other supplies for the beyond, and achieving or restoring certain abilities, such as being able to move, listening, maintaining sexual potency, performing rituals, undertaking agricultural activities, obtaining knowledge about the mysteries of the Duat, having control over the heart and the beings of the netherworld, fighting against the enemies, etc.[39]

The copy of the Book of the Twelve Caverns in Petosiris' tomb included only some of the previously mentioned content. Element I may be present, but due to its specific nature it will

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[37]  For an in-depth grammatical study of this specific offering formula, its variations and its attestations in other compositions, see Wente 1982, pp. 167–175. For its textual variants see also Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. I, pp. 91–97, 494–497; vol. II, pp. 186–189.
[38]  Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. I, pp. 98, 491–617.
[39]  Piankoff, Jacquet-Gordon 1974, pp. 90–114; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. I, pp. 491–617, vol. II, pp. 183–301.

be further discussed below. There is no Element II because only groups of the 9th Cavern are represented, so a dividing text placed between two caverns was unnecessary.

Element IIIa is recorded containing only the names of the deities *per se*, which constitutes the core text of the composition. No additional phrase(s) were added at the end as in other funerary copies (extended version).[40] As previously stated, the names included belong specifically to groups of the 9th Cavern (Table 1).[41]

| Group 3 | text destroyed | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Group 4 | 𓐰𓏏𓐰 | *jmn(w) Wsjr*[42] | *He who hides Osiris.* |
| Group 5 | text destroyed | | |
| Group 6 | text destroyed | | |
| Group 6-bis[43] | 𓌻𓐰 | *ḥȝp(w)*[44] | *He who covers/hides/veils.*[45] |
| Group 7 | 𓐰𓏏𓐰 [46] | *sš{tȝ} Wsjr*[47] | {He who makes} Osiris {inaccessible}. |
| Group 8 | 𓐰𓅨 | *Šṯm*[48] | *Shetchem.* |

40   An example of the core text versus an extended version (respectively) of group 4 of the 9th Cavern can be the following: Petosiris: *jmn(w) Wsjr* "He who hides Osiris"; pBerlin P. 3006: *jmn(w) Wsjr spd(w) dm(w) ḥnwty dꜣf wsr jn Wsjr NN mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḥr nḥḥ ḏt mꜣꜥ-ḫrw m ḥtp m pt m tꜣ* "He who hides Osiris, with sharp and knife-edged horns. May he grant that the Osiris (of) NN, justified, be powerful forever and everlasting and justified in peace in heaven and on earth". The preposition *jn* has not been translated since it may be a mistake.

41   Texts presented in this article have been copied from Lefebvre's (1924a) publication of the texts collated with the photographs in Cherpion, Corteggiani, Gout 2007.

42   Leitz 2002–2003 —henceforth *LGG*, I, p. 342 ("Der Osiris verbirgt").

43   The name of this group of deities (group 6-bis) was coined by Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon (1974, p. 64) since its name and illustration appear in pCairo CG 24742 (JE 34001) together with those of group 6.

44   *LGG* V, p. 21 ("der Verborgene"/"der Verbergende").

45   The verb may refer to Osiris. Similarly, it appears in other compositions such as the Book of the Veneration of Re in the West (i.e., Litany of Re; cf. Hornung 1975, I p. 69; Darnell, Manassa Darnell 2018, p. 97: "…who hides the putrefaction") or the Book of Caverns (Werning 2011, II, p. 118: "Die das Mysterium—i.e. Osiris' corpse— verhüllt hat"). I thank Daniel A. Werning for the last reference.

46   There is probably a morphological mistake in the last sign O34 ⟼, which was written instead of N16 ⟿.

47   Not included, to my knowledge, in *LGG*. The scribe should have written *sštꜣ-Wsjr* (*LGG* VI, p. 647 "der Osiris geheimnisvoll macht").

48   This group of deities is one with more textual variants. It appears as *šṯm* (Osireion at Abydos); *šṯmwt* (CG Cairo 29301 [JE 17429]); *šṯm* (pNew York Brooklyn 47.218.50); *šrm* (pCairo CG 24742 [JE 34001], pLondon BM EA 10478); and *šjꜣw* (pBerlin P. 3006). Some of these cases may be explained, for instance, by a **morphological mistake** (e.g., similarity between *ṯ* and *r* in hieratic) or by a change in the pronunciation (e.g. *ṯ* → *t*). I thank an anonymous reviewer for the first remark. In any case, the closest parallel to the inscription in Petosiris' tomb is that in the Osireion at Abydos. The writing of the sign 𓅨 G14 may be due to two possibilities. On one hand, this might be a morphological mistake, with confusion between this sign and 𓅬 G17 . In this sense, it is interesting to note that, at least from the 25th Dynasty onward, a variant of the hieratic writing of G17 is quite similar to that of G14 (see Möller 1909–1965, vol. III, pp. 17–18; cf. Verhoeven 2001, pp. 136–138). In fact, Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon (1974, p. 65) already considered this text a "misreading of *šrm*(?)". On the other hand, the inscriptions in the tomb of Petosiris may be written in early Ptolemaic script, an emerging writing system at that moment. Following the consonantal principle, a bi- or triliteral sign may be used in Ptolemaic script as a uniliteral sign (Fairman 1943a, pp. 291–298; Fairman 1943b, pp. 61–62; Sauneron 1972–1974, p. 52). In this sense the triliteral sign G14 could have had the unilateral phonetic value *m* (Brugsch 1872, p. 125 (no. 223); Fairman 1943a, p. 226, no. 178; Daumas, Amer, Winter 1988, vol. II p. 293 (G33=1230); Wilson 1997, p. 392; a variant of this sign has been included as the phonogram *m* in Cauville (2001, p. 105 [G14A]) and Kurth (2008, vol. I, p. 246). This would fit better with other parallel texts of the composition which include the phonetic element *m*, such as the Osireion at Abydos, pCairo CG 24742 (JE 34001),

| Group 9 | 𓏏𓏤𓊨 | *jmn(w) Wsjr*[49] | *He who hides Osiris.* |
|---------|---------|----------------|------------------------|
| Group 10 | 𓊨 | *Wsjr*[50] | Osiris. |

**TABLE 1.**    Names of the deities (Element IIIa) in the tomb of Petosiris.

Some additional remarks can be made about these names. Group 6-bis has hitherto been found only in three other copies,[51] and its closest textual parallel is the Osireion of Abydos. Similarly, this is also the case with group 8, despite its having more textual comparisons attested.[52]

Other striking features of the names relate to the specific way they were written. Late Period reception of texts normally involves a series of changes (orthographic, lexicographic, grammatical, etc.).[53] One example is an orthographic change of the theonym *Wsjr* "Osiris", with the previously most frequent classifier A40 𓀭 replaced by R8 𓊹. Four of the six preserved names of the cavern gods in Petosiris' tomb contain wsjr "Osiris" and are written 𓊨, without a classifier. This is just as the theonym appears in the Osireion at Abydos, but contrasts with other Late Period and Ptolemaic sources of the composition, in which the writing 𓊨𓀭 (var. 𓊨𓊹)[54] was used.[55] Since the writing 𓊨𓀭 can easily be found in the inscriptions from elsewhere in Petosiris' tomb,[56] this peculiarity is telling.[57] It is tempting to suggest that the scribe consciously took the decision not to update these writings but to strictly follow the model, leaving them unchanged.[58]

pLondon BM EA 10478, and pNew York Brooklyn 47.218.50—although they present divergencies. For the adaptation of the composition to the Ptolemaic script in the Osirian chapels of Dendara, see MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2017a, pp. 679–680, n. 16. Contradicting this statement is the more detailed phonetic version of this text found in the sarcophagus CG Cairo 29301 (JE 17429; *Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 109507; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm109507 [accessed 5 December 2019]), probably dated in the 30th Dynasty: *štmwt* (MASPERO 1914, p. 44). This may indicate that the former proposal (a morphological mistake based on a hieratic copy) may be the correct one. About mistakes in the tomb of Petosiris, see LEFEBVRE 1923, pp. 39, 64, 91, 98; cf. DAUMAS 1959, p. 78.

[49]    *LGG* I, p. 342 ("Der Osiris verbirgt"). This text has been erroneously copied here, as it is actually the name of group 4. The same mistake also appears in the copy in the Osireion at Abydos (MURRAY, GRAFTON MILNE, CRUM 1904 (ed. 1989), pl. IV), as already suggested by PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON (1974, p. 66).

[50]    The relief is lost to the right of this deity, but I consider this to be the entire name associated with this god for this source. In Petosiris' tomb, the names of the mummified entities are placed just above them. There is no more space available between this deity and the one to his right, since remains of the rear part of the standard on which another bovid god was carried can be clearly seen just next to it. The text from this group was considered by PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON (1974, p. 65) to be a variant from group 5 of the 9th Cavern. However, I propose that this text may be identified as a textual variant belonging to group 10, due to the similarities of the arrangement of the composition with the copy in the Osireion at Abydos (see below).

[51]    These sources are pCairo CG 24742 (JE 34001) (𓅓𓏤𓊨 *ḥꜣ(w)*); the Osireion at Abydos (𓅓�далее *ḥꜣp(w)*); CG Cairo 29301 (JE 17429) (𓅓�ꜿ *ḥꜣ(w)*). Cf. MÉNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ 2016, vol. I, p. 385.

[52]    MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2016, vol. I, pp. 388–389.

[53]    For these changes in another netherworld book (the Book of Caverns) see WERNING 2011, vol. I, pp. 177–186; WERNING 2017; WERNING 2018.

[54]    For a diachronic discussion of the name of Osiris, see LEAHY 1979.

[55]    E.g., in groups 4 and 7 of the 9th Cavern, it appears in CG Cairo 29301 (JE 17429) and in the Osirian chapels of the temple of Hathor at Dendara. In contrast, Osiris is written 𓊨𓅢 in pNew York Brooklyn 47.218.50 and pLondon BM EA 10569 (MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2016, vol. I, pp. 380, 386).

[56]    For all references to Osiris (god and epithet of the deceased) see LEFEBVRE 1924b, p. 10.

[57]    A similar example occurs with the verb *jmn* "to hide". While in the older sources of the Book of the Twelve Caverns it is written as 𓏏𓏤𓊨, Late and Ptolemaic Period attestations replace the phonological spelling of the root with a logographic spelling: 𓊪 (e.g., group 4 of the 9th Cavern; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2016, vol. I, p. 386; for this phenomenon in the Late Period reception of the Book of Caverns, see WERNING 2017, p. 56). In Petosiris' tomb, the name of group 4 of the 9th Cavern is written using the former option. However, this case is irrelevant since the writing attested in the tomb is either 𓏏𓏤𓏏 or 𓏏𓏤𓏏 and the sign 𓊪 is only used as classifier in nouns (LEFEBVRE 1924b, p. 21).

[58]    If this was the case, it would support the proposal of a morphological mistake in group 8 (see above n. 48).

The illustration of the deities (Element IIIb) was also included in the tomb of Petosiris. A description[59] of the vignettes and their identification is summed up as follows (Table 2).

| Group 3 | Remains of the lower part of a standing male anthropomorphic deity wearing a bull's tail; he is holding a *wȝs*(?)-scepter, of which only the bottom edge is visible. |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Group 4 | A cow[60] deity on a standard with a *uraeus* in front of her. |
| Group 5 | Remains of the lower part of the feet of a standing mummiform god. |
| Group 6 | Remains of the lower and rear part of a standard. A cow deity with a *uraeus* in front of her may have been depicted on a standard, but is now lost. |
| Group 6-bis | A standing mummiform god. |
| Group 7 | A cow deity on a standard with a *uraeus* in front of her. |
| Group 8 | A standing mummiform god. |
| Group 9 | A cow deity on a standard with a *uraeus* in front of her. |
| Group 10 | A standing mummiform god. |

**TABLE 2.**    Description of the illustrations of the deities (Element IIIb) in the tomb of Petosiris.

An outstanding peculiarity of the vignettes is that the anthropomorphic mummified gods have faces painted blue,[61] a feature not attested in any other source.

Element IIIc, the number of supernatural beings that compose each group, was not included. However, it was not necessary to include this information as all the divine groups selected for rendering are composed of a single member which was already present in the depiction. The text next to the scene of the cavern deities in the tomb of Petosiris is difficult to define and will be analysed below.

In their publication of the Book of the Twelve Caverns, Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon compared all the sources attested up to then and stated: "A scene on the walls of the tomb of Petosiris (…) seems to be an exact copy of one of the groups from Cavern Nine in the Osireion".[62] With this in mind, a comparative analysis was undertaken between the copies in the Osireion of Abydos and the tomb of Petosiris. The main aim was to determine whether the latter was really an exact copy of the former and which type of transmission[63] is involved. It is known that the Osireion played an important role in the transmission of other religious compositions during the Late Period.[64]

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59   Partial and inaccurate descriptions have hitherto been offered by LEFEBVRE 1924a, p. 176; PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON 1974, pp. 63–66.

60   Some authors have identified the bovid groups of deities in Petosiris as bull gods. However, the shape of the horns, the presence of udders, and the lack of a clear depiction of phalli indicates that these deities were rendered as female. Therefore, cows were depicted instead of bulls. This sex variation in the illustration for these groups of deities is also attested in other sources, such as CG Cairo 29301 (JE 17429), pCairo CG 24742 (JE 34001), and pLondon BM EA 10478. Another source, pUnknown location [27] (pNesyneferher; *Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 135554; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135554 [accessed 23rd July 2020]) includes a solar disc with two ostrich feathers between the cows' horns, which are attributes generally associated with female divine entities.

61   CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, p. 108—scene 86c.

62   PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON 1974, p. 44.

63   For reproductive and productive traditions as types of transmission, see ASSMANN 1995, pp. 4–7; KAHL 1999, pp. 37–38; WINAND 2017, pp. 22–23. Related to this, see also the concepts of intericonicity and interpictoriality in LABOURY 2017, p. 248.

64   An exceptional example is the influence of the Osireion at Abydos in the Late Period Theban tomb of Petamenophis (TT 33). For the Book of Caverns in TT 33—not to be confused with the composition under discussion here—see WERNING 2011, vol. I,

The version of the Book of the Twelve Caverns included in the Osireion of Abydos is located in the south chamber of the complex.[65] The 9th Cavern appears on the eastern wall and, among all the deities of this cavern, only a selection was reproduced in Petosiris' tomb. Also noteworthy is a specific feature that appears in the Osireion—the king is rendered making offerings to the cavern deities as part of an offering ritual in the context of the Osirian liturgies performed in the temple (Fig. 3).
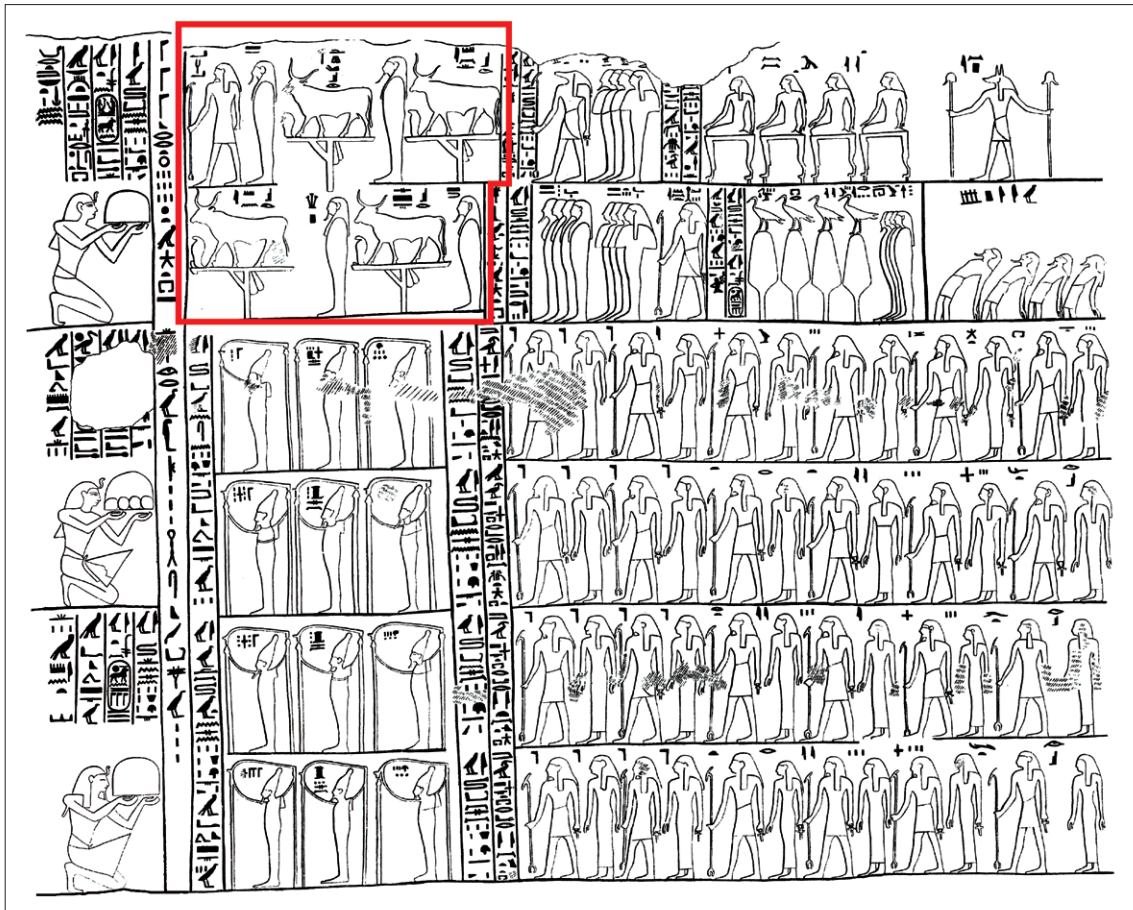


**FIG. 3.** King Merenptah presents offerings to the cavern deities. East wall of the South chamber of the Osireion at Abydos (Murray et al. 1989 [1904], pls. V-VI—modified by the author; selection highlights the iconographic content included in the tomb of Petosiris).

pp. 64–66; WERNING 2017; WERNING 2018; for the Book of Nut, see RÉGEN 2018, p. 167; for the Awakening of Osiris, see EINAUDI 2018, pp. 122–123; for architectural features, see Traunecker's remarks in GASSE et al. 2015 pp. 62–66; TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN 2016. This relationship has been partially justified by the Abydene titles held by Petamenophis (e.g., scribe of the temple of Osiris, lord of Abydos, scribe of the temple of Abydos; see WERNING 2018, p. 535 n. 23; RÉGEN 2018, p. 168). However, this cannot be applied to Petosiris, since he doesn't have any titles known to me that may relate him with Abydos (cf. NAKATEN 1986, vol. III pp. 1–2).

65 For the main features of the Book of the Twelve Caverns in the Osireion of Abydos: MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2020a. Cf. MURRAY, GRAFTON MILNE, CRUM 1904 (ed. 1989), pp. 3–8, pls. II–VI; VON LIEVEN 2007, pp. 169, 175; GESTERMANN 2008, pp. 112–113, 118.

If we compare both layouts, the resemblance is obvious, since they are almost identical (Fig. 4). No other source of the composition has the same arrangement for these or other groups of deities.[66] A minor difference is the starry sky included in Petosiris' scene as an upper frame above each register of deities. This addition should be considered in the context of the decoration of the tomb, where parallel scenes from the same register of the same wall include this iconographic element above each row of deities.[67]

The major difference between the scenes is the orientation of the divinities. However, this divergence is due to the adaptation of the reliefs to the architecture. In both cases they are facing towards the entrance of the chamber (Osireion) or the chapel (Petosiris). Since they were placed on opposite walls according to the decorative program of the buildings, their depiction is inverted. Inversion of an illustration is a common mechanism to adapt a vignette in a transmission process.



FIG. 4.   Comparison of a selection of the Book of the Twelve Caverns: Petosiris (left; CHERPION et al. 2007, p. 107 scene 86 e—modified by the author) vs Osireion (Abydos; right; photograph: Ayman Damarany).

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66   Illustrations of the cavern deities depicted in two rows can also be found in pLondon BM EA 10010 (*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134509; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134509 [accessed 23rd July 2020]; e.g. FAULKNER, ANDREWS 1985, pp. 168–169) and pLuxor J.24 (formerly Cairo S.R. VII 10253; *Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134556; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134556 [accessed 23rd July 2020]); cf. drawing in NIWIŃSKI 1989, p. 136, fig. 19—lower register). However, the arrangement of these sources is completely different from that in Petosiris and the Osireion. The vignettes of the former are simply drawn one above the other and only include certain groups of deities, whereas in the latter they are all strictly organised into registers.

67   Cf. LEFEBVRE 1924b, pls. XXIX–XL, XLII–XLIV—inscr. nos. 70–74; CHERPION, CORTEGGIANI, GOUT 2007, pp. 108–109—scenes 86d–f.

The textual and iconographic content of both sources was compared in order to analyse them thoroughly (Fig. 5). Despite the fact that the location of the groups is reversed due to the different orientation of the scenes, the distribution of the names and vignettes matches perfectly. Indeed, even the name of group 4 is repeated twice in both sources, once erroneously placed above the vignette of group 9. It should also be pointed out that the name of group 10 was omitted in the Osireion although it is included in the tomb of Petosiris. Furthermore, the inclusion of the name Osiris (see above Element IIIa, group 10) has no parallel with any other source and may be an addition made by the scribe or artist who adapted the composition to the tomb of Petosiris. The name Osiris was surely chosen because some other groups of the same cavern also contain the name of this god in their names. In this sense, it is interesting that the selection chosen for representation in the tomb of Petosiris shows the largest number of Osirian references in the names of the deities in the whole composition. This is relevant if two remarkable features linked to Osiris within the decorative program are taken into consideration: (1) the importance of the Osirian connotations of Khepri's depiction in the focal point of the decoration of the tomb should be borne in mind (see *supra*), and (2) the Book of the Twelve Caverns is rendered next to the scene of the deceased (in this case Petosiris' brother, Djeddjehutyiuefankh) being led towards Osiris (Fig. 6).[68] It is also noteworthy that some funerary papyri containing copies of the Book of the Twelve Caverns (e.g., pLondon BM EA 10478 and pNew York MMA 35.9.19) were also accompanied by vignettes of the deceased before Osiris.[69]



**FIG. 5.**    Comparison of the content: Petosiris (left) vs Osireion (right). Numbers in parentheses refer to the names—Element IIIa, and numbers in square brackets refer to the vignettes—Element IIIb.

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[68]   This is not the only case showing a direct relationship between the composition and Osiris within the decorative program of a building. For the Osireion at Abydos see MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2020a; for the Osirian chapels in the temple of Hathor in Dendara see MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2017a. Apart from this, it is evident that the composition was linked to several Osirian rituals, since it was also included in an Osirian liturgy of the 3rd century BC called the Book of Hours, published by FAULKNER (1958, pp. 22–23, 49*–52*).

[69]   PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON 1974, pp. 45, 47, pls. 17–18, 33, 40.

**Fig. 6.**    Djeddjehutyiuefankh is led before Osiris by Horus and Maat (Cherpion et al. 2007, p. 107—scene 86b).

If we specifically focus on the iconography, the copies of the Osireion at Abydos and in Petosiris' tomb also match, apart from two details. In the tomb of Petosiris, a bull's tail is included in the vignette of group 3 while there is none in the version in the Osireion. Furthermore, the sex of the animals depicted is different, with bulls appearing in the Osireion and cows in the tomb of Petosiris. Both details are slight modifications in these groups of deities that are also known from other sources.

These divergences can be explained differently. The presence of the bull's tail may be an artistic addition by the illustrator based on his creativity. The difference in the sex of the animals represented is perhaps due to



**Fig. 7.**    Djeddjehutyiuefankh presents offerings to the cavern deities (Cherpion et al. 2007, p. 107 scene 86 e—detail).

the ambiguous morphology of the horns of the bulls in the Osireion, which is significant if we compare it with other sources (Table 3). These horns resemble those of a cow more than those of a bull and it is possible that the scene from the Osireion was copied on an ostracon, a drawing board or a papyrus in a schematic way with no meaningful details. This would have led to doubts in the correct identification of the sex of the bovids when the content was later reproduced.

In the tomb of Petosiris, the above-mentioned text accompanying the composition surrounds a vignette (Fig. 7). The illustration does not depict Petosiris himself but rather his brother,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| pCairo CG 24742 (JE 34001) | Osireion (Abydos) | pLondon BM EA 10478 | pUnknown location [27] (pNesyneferher) |
| CG Cairo 29301 (JE 17429; east side) | CG Cairo 29301 (JE 17429; west side) | Petosiris (Tuna el-Gebel) | Hathor temple, Osirian chapels (Dendera) |
| pNew York MMA 35.9.19 | pBerlin P. 3006 | pLuxor J.24 (formerly Cairo S.R. VII 10253) | |

**TABLE 3.** Iconographic comparison of the vignettes from group 7 of the 9th Cavern: cows (upper and middle register) and bulls (lower register).

Djeddjehutyiuefankh. The omission of Petosiris and the presence of his brother should be understood in the general context of the distribution of the decorative program of the chapel.[70] While Petosiris' father Sishu is the main character of the scenes in the eastern half of the chapel, mainly dedicated to his funeral, the reliefs of the western half depict Djeddjehutyiuefankh as the main character interacting with the deities of the beyond.

In the vignette accompanying the text, Djeddjehutyiuefankh is making an offering to the cavern deities (see Fig. 7). This gesture must be highlighted when the scene is compared with the rest of the vignettes from the same register or from the lower register (Fig. 8). The scenes on the wall all depict Dejddjehutyiuefankh adoring different deities, with only two exceptions. One is the scene where he holds hands with Horus and Maat while he is being led towards Osiris (see Fig. 6). The other is the scene dedicated to the Book of the Twelve Caverns. Therefore, there was clearly an intentional choice in the gesture used as an interaction between the deceased and the cavern deities. Here, the presentation of offerings recalls the performance of an offering ritual, which is one of the main features of the composition.

The text accompanying the cavern deities is difficult to define (see Fig. 7). Though a third to a half of its original extension has been lost, its length would indicate that it might be the introduction or colophon of the book, Element I. The text contains seven columns, with the hieroglyphic signs rendered larger in the first three columns. The text above the depiction of Djeddjehutyiuefankh has smaller hieroglyphs, as is also the case in the surrounding scenes in the same register. The preserved part of the text reads as follows:[71]
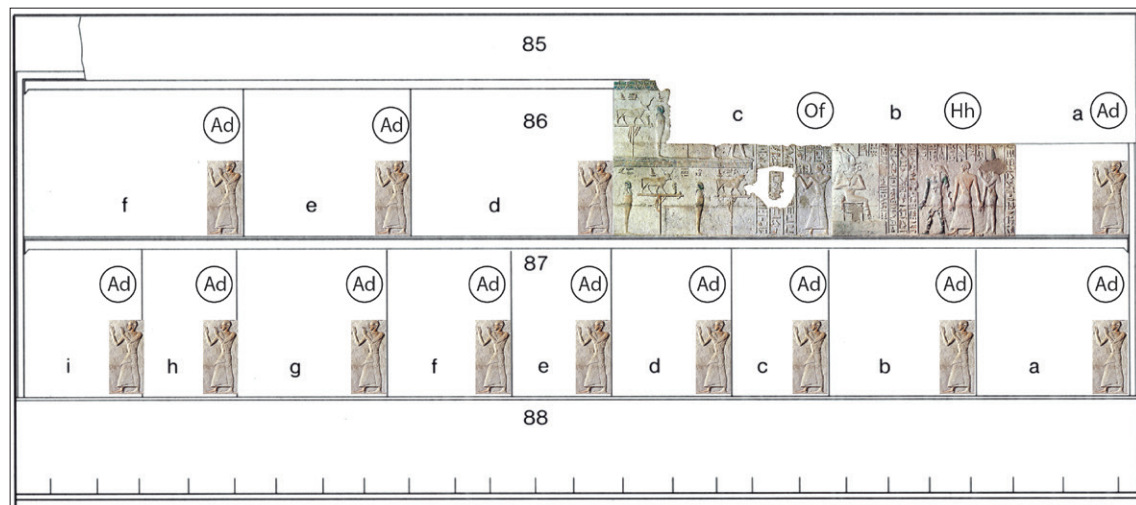


**FIG. 8.**    Gesture language of Djeddjehutyiuefankh in the scenes of the west wall (Cherpion et al. 2007—modified by the author; legend: Of = offering, Ad = adoration, Hh= holding hands being led towards Osiris).

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70   LEFEBVRE 1924a, p. 119.
71   The reconstruction of the missing parts is mainly based on parallel inscriptions of the upper and the middle registers of the west wall and the available space. For more details, see *infra* cols. 2–3.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
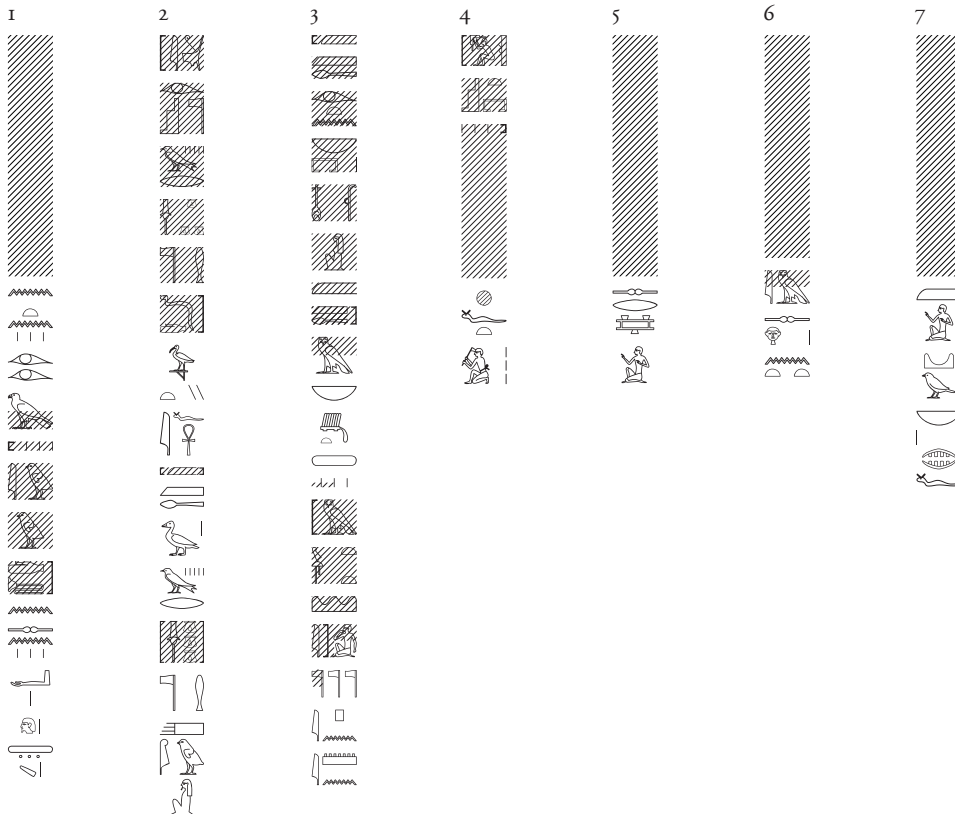


[1]    *[…] n⸗tn jrtyw(?) [jw wdn] n⸗sn ꜥ tp tꜣ*
        [...] for your (pl.) eyes(?). A portion (of offering) is offered to them on earth

[2]    *[jn Wsjr (ny) wr djw ḫrp-nswt ḥm-nṯr Ḏd-]ḏḥwty-jw⸗f-ꜥnḫ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw sꜣ wr djw [ḫrp-nswt] ḥm-nṯr Sšw*
        [by the Osiris (of the) great of the five, controller of the thrones, god's servant Djed]djehutyiuefankh justified, son of the great of the five, [controller of the thrones], the god's servant Sishu

[3]    *[mꜣꜥ-ḫrw jrt nb(t)-pr Nfr(t)-rnpt mꜣ(t)-ḫrw] m nb ꜣwt [m jmntt j] nṯrw jpn jmn(wt)*
        [justified (and) born of the lady of the house Neferetrenpet justified], as possessor of gifts [in the west. Oh!] these gods [whose seats(?)] are hidden

[4]    *[swt(?)] […] ḫftyw*
        [...] enemies

[5]    *[…] sꜥr⸗j*
        [...] I [do not allow evil] to approach to [the Osiris NN](?)

[6]    *[…] jm⸗s ḥr-nt(y)t*
        in that, because

[7]    *[…] m s(?) ḏw nb snw(?)[72] <m> r(ꜣ)⸗f*
        [...] as a man(?) all evil <with> his mouth.

[72]  The two vertical strokes have not been translated. Perhaps they are a mistake and three vertical strokes indicating the plural were originally intended. No other pair of vertical strokes such as these have been found in any other inscription in Lefebvre's publication (LEFEBVRE 1923), with the exception of the writing of the ordinal number 2 (e.g. *2-nw*).

One partially lost phrase seems to have a parallel in another source of the Book of the Twelve Caverns as part of its Element I:[73] "Oh! These gods, [whose seats(?)] are hidden…" (col. 3).[74] The structure of the texts accompanying the scenes in the same register in the tomb of Petosiris must also be taken into consideration. These illustrations also depict Djeddjehutyiuefankh in front of different groups of deities of the netherworld, and their accompanying texts all start with the same phraseology: "Words spoken by the Osiris (titles) Djeddjehutyiuefankh justi-fied, son of (titles) Sishu justified, born of (title) Neferrenpet justified. Oh, these gods, who… !". Thus, although it is possible that part of the Element I was used here, it cannot be certain. If that is the case, another master copy would have been required, since this specific text was not included in the version the Osireion of Abydos.

One relevant characteristic of the Book of the Twelve Caverns is its offering formula (Element IV). The accompanying text in Petosiris' tomb contains this Element, but only partially preserved (col. 1):

*[jw wdn(w)] n=sn ꜥ tp tꜣ*

A portion (of offering) [is offered] to them on earth.[75]

It is remarkable that the word a "portion (of offering)" is written with the sign D36 ⎯, the forearm—unlike many other sources, in which the sign W10 ▽ (the cup) was used instead. The sign D36 was the one chosen in the version of the composition in the Osireion of Abydos, adding a further point of similarity between the two sources.[76]

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73   Element I has only been found in four funerary papyri. The complete text has only been preserved in pLondon BM EA 10478 (PIANKOFF, JACQUET-GORDON 1974, p. 45–46, pl. 17; QUIRKE 2013, pp. 407–408). The other three sources are: pBarcelona E-615 (*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134752; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134752 [accessed 23rd July 2020]; MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2015, pp. 75–81), pVatican 38583.12,1,2,3,5,8,9,10,11,12 (MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2017d, pp. 30–32) and pUnknown location (pIry-Iry; formerly Newberry MS OR 53; SCALF 2018, pp. 13–18).

74   PLondon BM EA 10478: "Spell (to enable) the Osiris (of) 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, Wenen-nefer, who exists eternally and <you> gods of the caverns who protect the *bau*, who judge, who distinguish truth from falsehood. 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 (of) NN, made of palm-wood, inside which the Ennead has been placed(?), given 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" (MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2016, vol. II, p. 9). LEFEBVRE (1924a, p. 176) related this text to the name (Element IIIc) of group 17 of the 11th Cavern (*psḏt jmnw(w) Wsjr* The Ennead of those (masc.) who conceal Osiris). However, it appears to be another text, as has been stated previously.

75   Another possibility would be the following textual variant of the offering formula: *[jw wdn=tw] n=sn ꜥ tp tꜣ* "A portion (of offering) [is offered] to them on earth". However, due to the space available, it is less probable. LEFEBVRE (1924, I p. 175) preferred a translation in the future tense: "Il leur sera donné en offrande un vase par…".

76   It was also included in other sources, such as pCairo CG 24742 (JE 34001) and pCairo JE 95720 [3] (*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134329; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134329 [accessed 23rd July 2020]). Both signs were included in the offering formulae in other sources, such as pVatican 38583.12,1,2,3,5,8,9,10,11,12 (*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM 134385; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134385 [accessed 23rd July 2020]), mLondon BM EA 10452 (*Totenbuchprojekt* Bonn, TM

Secondly, some words of the text—[…] *m nb ꜣwt* […] […] as possessor of gifts […] (col. 3)—may allude to two possible offering texts from the 8th Cavern: 8A or 8C.[77] This phrase refers to the provisions that would be granted to the deceased in the west. It is noticeable that the offering text 8C was also copied in the Osireion next to the same group of deities.[78] Due to the space available, the offering text 8C is more likely to have been written in the tomb of Petosiris.

The rest of the accompanying text is so damaged that it does not provide significant information. Nevertheless, some concepts and expressions do appear in different parts of the composition: "enemies" (*ḫftyw*; col. 4);[79] "to approach" (*sꜥr*; col. 5);[80] "(so) that" (*ḥr-nt(y)t*; col. 6);[81] "all evil" (*ḏw nb*; col. 7).[82]

The most noteworthy feature of the accompanying text is that it seems to be an original product, probably the result of merging several texts from different parts of the composition and adding new parts not previously attested in other sources. It is obviously the outcome of a creative editing process that was apparently specially intended for the adaptation to this context.

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114127; http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm114127 [accessed 23rd July 2020]), and in the Osirian chapels in the temple of Hathor at Dendara. For a synoptic edition of the offering formula in the composition: Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. I, p. 404–407.

77    Offering text 8A (pLondon BM EA 10478): *nb ꜣwt m jmnt ḳb m sḫt-ḥtp* [as] possessor of gifts in the west and refreshment in the Field of Offerings (Piankoff, Jacquet-Gordon 1974, p. 109; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. I, p. 502, vol. II, p. 194–195). In pLondon BM EA 10478 the noun *ḳb* is written ⌐⌐⌐ (cf. Piankoff, Jacquet-Gordon 1974, pl. 19), unlike the rest of the sources, in which it is usually written ⌐⌐⌐.
Offering text 8C (Cairo CG 24742 (JE 34001)): *m nb ꜣwt m jmnt* as a possessor of gifts in the west (Piankoff, Jacquet-Gordon 1974, p. 109; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. I, p. 506, vol. II, pp. 198–199).

78    Cf. Fig. 3; Murray, Grafton Milne, Crum 1904 (ed. 1989), pl. V.

79    This noun has been attested in Element IIIa for the following groups: group 3 of the 11th Cavern (pLondon BM EA 10478: *bꜣw tꜣ dꜥsn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw n Wsjr NN r ḫft(y)w⸗f m pt tꜣ* "The *bau* of the earth. May they grant justification to the Osiris (of) NN against his enemies in heaven and on earth"; similar text in pNewYork MMA 35.9.19; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. II, pp. 124–125); group 5-bis of the 11th Cavern (pSaint Petersburg Hermitage 1113 + pOdessa Nr. 52974: *štꜣ nb ḫꜣft(?) d⸗f [sḫ]m wsjr NN m-ḫt ḫftyw* "The mysterious one (masc.) lord of his surroundings(?) […]. May he grant ⌐power⌐ to the Osiris (of) NN in pursuing <his> enemies"; similar text in pNewYork MMA 35.9.19 and Dresden Aeg. 775; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. II, pp. 130–131); group 6 of the 11th Cavern (pLondon BM EA 10478: *psḏt jm(y)w-ḫt wsjr d⸗sn sḫm Wsjr NN m-ḫt ḫft(y)w⸗f* "The ennead of those (masc.) who are in the following of Osiris. May they grant power to the Osiris (of) NN in pursuing his enemies" (Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. II, pp. 132–133).
There are also offering texts containing the noun *ḫft(y)w*: 8L (first western Osirian chapel in the temple of Hathor at Dendara: *d⸗sn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw Wsjr ḫnty-jmntt jw ḫftyw⸗f nbw mm* […] "May they grant justification (to) Osiris who is in front of the west. All his enemies are between […]"; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. II, pp. 206–207); 9a (first western Osirian chapel in the temple of Hathor at Dendara: *ḥsq⸗s[n] tpw n(y)w ḫftyw nbw n(y) Wsjr* "(so) they cut off the heads of all the enemies of Osiris"; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. II, pp. 238–239); and another offering text in mLondon BM EA 10452 (*ḏ(w)t⸗sn snḏt Wsjr NN ms(w) NN <n> jb ḫft(yw)<⸗f> nb* "(so) may they grant terror <to> Osiris (of) NN born of NN <for> the heart of all <his> enemies"; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. II, pp. 297–298). However, this term is also attested in other texts related to other deities of the upper register of the west wall (Lefebvre 1923, pp. 45, 48; Lefebvre 1924b, pls. XXXIX–XL—inscrip. 70–71, 74–75 = Cherpion, Corteggiani, Gout 2007, pp. 108–109—scenes 86d and 86f). In this sense, it could also be the result of the creation of new texts and not necessarily part of a phrase belonging to the Book of the Twelve Caverns.

80    Element IIIa: group 8 of the 9th Cavern (pLondon BM EA 10478): *Šrm nn sꜥr⸗f ḏwt ḥr wsjr NN m ḥr(y)t-nṯr* "Sherem. May he not allow evil to approach the Osiris (of) NN in the necropolis"; similar texts in pNewYork MMA 35.9.19 and pBerlin P. 3006; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. II, pp. 170–171).

81    Element I (pLondon BM EA 10478): *mtn wj jj⸗kw ḫr⸗tn wn n⸗j wꜣt⸗tn ꜥq⸗j ḥr sbꜣwt⸗tn ḥr-nt(y)t wj rḫ⸗kw rnw<⸗sn> rḫ⸗kw sštꜣw swt⸗sn jmnw(t)* "Behold! I come to you. Open up your road for me (so) that I may enter your gates, for I know <your> names. I know the mystery of <your> hidden abode" (Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. II, pp. 8–9).

82    The form of the noun that appears in other sources of the composition is *ḏwt*, not *ḏw*. The combination of *ḏwt nbt* is attested in Element IIIa: group 12 of the 11th Cavern (pLondon BM EA 10478: *jqḥrn sḥr⸗f ḏwt nb ḫr Wsjr NN ḏt* "Iqeheren. He drives away all evil from the Osiris (of) NN forever"; Méndez-Rodríguez 2016, vol. II, pp. 146–147).

The decorative program of the tomb of Petosiris is considered to be a compendium of transmitted knowledge in which tradition and innovation play a significant role. Some scholars have suggested that some literary passages in the inscriptions probably derive from much earlier texts, such as admonitions or instructions (*sebayt*).[83] The "daily life" scenes have been compared with other tombs and many similarities have been found with diverse reliefs and paintings from the Old and New Kingdoms.[84] These scenes were not simply copied, but instead combine traditional Egyptian designs with new inspiration based on Greek style. Religious texts such as Pyramid Texts,[85] spells from the Book of Going Forth by Day[86] and traditional funerary rituals such as the Opening of the Mouth have also been attested.[87]

The transmission of cosmographic knowledge was not an exception in this regard. Djeddjehutyiuefankh appears in the same register as the Book of the Twelve Caverns, in a posture of adoration toward several groups of other supernatural entities.[88] He asks for their protection, victory over his enemies, the undamaged preservation of the corpse in a place granted in the necropolis, freedom of movement, being in the company of the gods, repelling the darkness from him, casting light in the Duat, knowing the secrets of the Duat, and being accepted in the Hall of the Double Maat, among other requests.[89] The presence of these scenes in the tomb is remarkable. These groups of deities are a selection of those that appear in the first hour of the Book of the Hidden Chamber, popularly known as the Amduat (Fig. 9).[90] This means that Petosiris chose the two oldest cosmographic compositions from the Books of the Netherworld for his decorative program:[91] the Book of the Hidden Chamber and the Book

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83   Lefebvre 1924a, p. 37. Sales (2011, p. 24; 2014, p. 516) points out that these texts are a proclamation by Petosiris to persuade the living to follow a "way of life" (*mtn n(y) ʿnḫ*) consisting of exemplary and impeccable behaviour.

84   Lefebvre 1924a, pp. 31, 36; Sales 2016, pp. 195–198; Sales 2017, pp. 49–52.

85   Lefebvre 1924a, pp. 36, 122 (PT 399–412), 123 (PT 395–396, PT 414).

86   Lefebvre 1924a, pp. 36, 121 (BD 128), 124 (BD 57), 177 (BD 18), 202 (BD 42), 204 (BD 72).

87   Lefebvre 1924a, pp. 36, 60–64, 130–134.

88   These groups of deities are rendered on the west wall (Lefebvre 1924b, pls. XXXIX–XL, XLII–XLIV —inscrip. 70–75 = Cherpion, Corteggiani, Gout 2007, pp. 108–109—scenes 86 d–f). This upper register also continues with two other similar scenes depicted in the upper register on the south wall (Lefebvre 1924b, pls. XXXVII, L—inscrip. 83–84, 104–105 = Cherpion, Corteggiani, Gout 2007, pp. 149, 159—scenes 95 and 112).

89   Lefebvre 1924a, pp. 172–175.

90   The comparative view with the tomb of Thuthmosis III (KV 34) included in Fig. 9 only serves as an illustrative example in order to indicate the specific selected parts of the composition which were reproduced. The author does not suggest that this source was the master copy. The deities from the first hours of the Book of the Hidden Chamber included in Petosiris' tomb are the following: 22–30 (nine squatting gods with arms upraised in adoration; Lefebvre 1923, p. 65; Lefebvre 1924a, p. 151; Lefebvre 1924b, pl. XXXVII inscrip. 84 = Cherpion, Corteggiani, Gout 2007, p. 149—scene 95; cf. Warburton, Hornung, Abt 2007, p. 21), 31–42 (twelve goddesses; Lefebvre 1923, pp. 46–47; Lefebvre 1924a, pp. 174–175; Lefebvre 1924b, pls. XXXIX, XLIII inscrip. 73 = Cherpion, Corteggiani, Gout 2007, p. 109—scene 86 e; cf. Warburton, Hornung, Abt 2007, pp. 22–23), 83–91 (nine baboons; Lefebvre 1923, pp. 45–46; Lefebvre 1924a, p. 173; Lefebvre 1924b, pls. XXXIX, XLIII inscrip. 71 = Cherpion, Corteggiani, Gout 2007, p. 109—scene 86 f; cf. Warburton, Hornung, Abt 2007, p. 30), 92–103 (twelve fire-spitting cobra serpents; Lefebvre 1923, pp. 47–48; Lefebvre 1924a, p. 175; Lefebvre 1924b, pls. XL, XLIV inscrip. 75 = Cherpion, Corteggiani, Gout 2007, p. 108—scene 86 d; cf. Warburton, Hornung, Abt 2007, p. 31), 104–112 (nine gods standing with hands raised in adoration; Lefebvre 1923, p. 76; Lefebvre 1924a, p. 186; Lefebvre 1924b, pl. L inscrip. 105 = Cherpion, Hornung, Abt 2007, p. 159—scene 112; cf. Warburton, Hornung, Abt 2007, p. 32). The numeration is based on Warburton, Hornung, Abt 2007.

91   Hornung (1999, p. 26) suggests that these two compositions should be the oldest, based on their division in twelve parts.
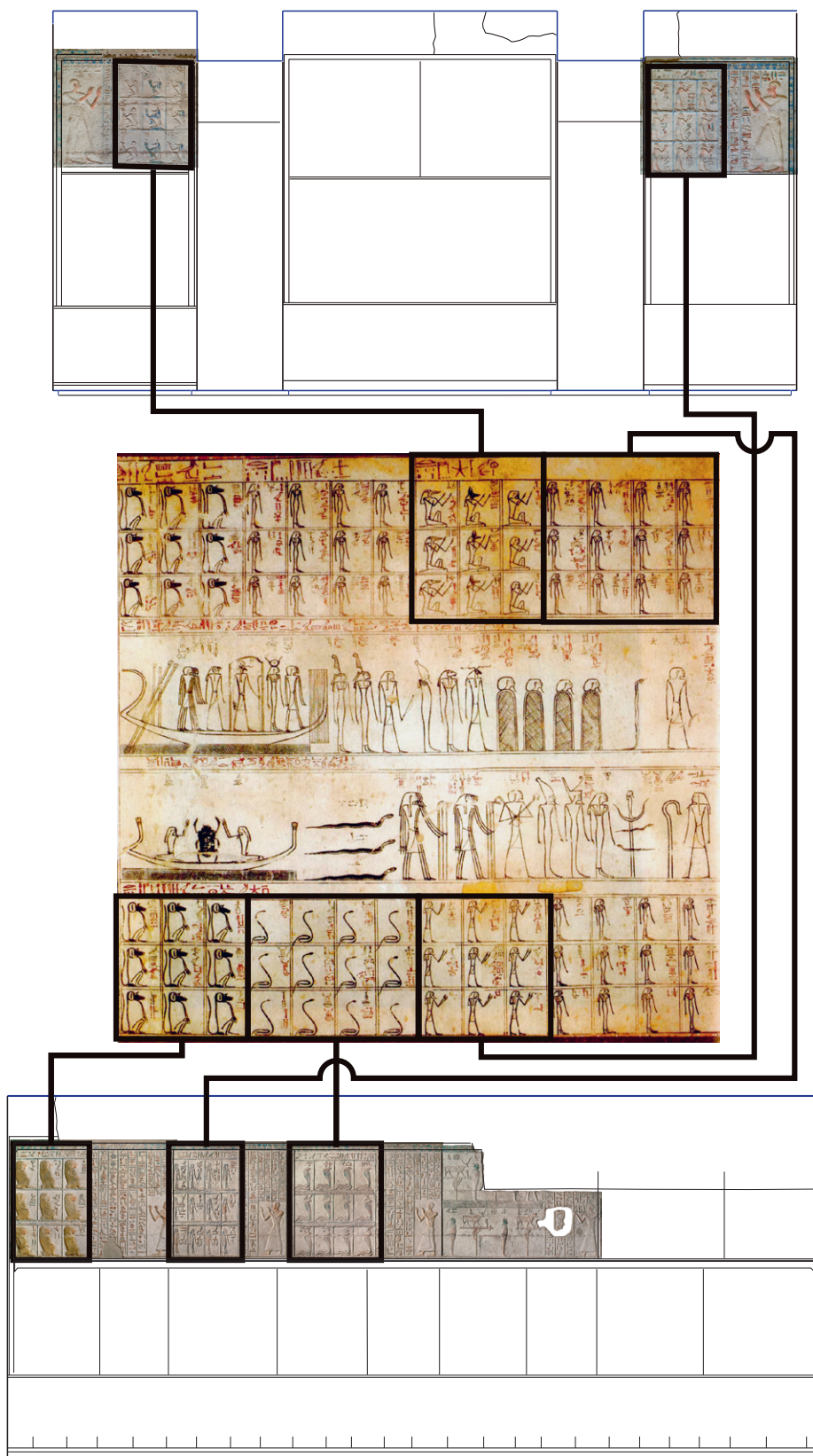
**FIG. 9.**    Comparison of the selected groups of deities from the first hour of the Book of the Hidden Chamber (Amduat) (above and below: south and west walls respectively of the *naos* of the tomb of Petosiris; Cherpion et al. 2007, pp. 106, 148—modified by the author; centre: south wall from the tomb of Thutmosis III (KV 34); Warburton et al. 2007, p. 16).

of the Twelve Caverns.[92] This cosmographic knowledge would enable Djeddjehutyiuefankh to traverse the underworld regions where these deities dwelled and be granted their favor in the aforementioned matters. An offering ritual to the cavern deities was required, as is explicitly stated in the offering formula included in the scene of the Book of the Twelve Caverns.

Furthermore, spell 18 of the Book of Going Forth by Day was included in the middle register of the west wall.[93] This text consists of a series of appeals to "cause (a person) to be (declared) true of voice" (*smꜣ ḫrw*). Each appeal asks Thoth to justify the deceased in the presence of different groups of deities identified as the tribunals of diverse sacred places at certain specific sacred moments related to the rituals for the embalming and revivification of Osiris.[94]

The interrelation in the decorative program between cosmographic knowledge and Djeddjehutyiuefankh's acceptance and justification by different tribunals, as well as being led and justified by Osiris, is not the result of chance. The association of Djeddjehutyiuefankh with these themes may be directly related to his political role during the historical period in which he lived. In this sense, Menu associates some subjects (the insistence on declaring his innocence and triumph in the beyond) and diverse concepts (*ḏw, ꜣw, jsft, grg, wn, ḏbꜥ, jtj-jnj, ḏꜣ(j)t*) which appear in the texts with his actions as high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis during the end of the reign of Nectanebo II and the conquest of Artaxerxes III.[95] The insertion of Djeddjehutyiuefankh within this discourse and ritual apparatus aimed not only to pay tribute to him in the funerary cult of the family, but also to gain his personal justification and declaration of innocence for the beyond.

## CONCLUSION

The version of the Book of the Twelve Caverns included in the tomb of Petosiris presents several exceptional features. The copy itself is an abridged version, a *pars pro toto*, including just nine groups of deities from the ninth cavern of the Duat. This may be also considered an example of the application of the theological principle called "interchangeability of parts".[96] Sections alluding to the nightly solar journey from different underworld books were selected, a theme directly related to the deceased's resurrection.

The original source of the copy was clearly the decoration in the Osireion of Abydos. It cannot be determined with certainty whether the final result was the product of using a template drawn directly from the Osireion, or from the master copy used for its decoration.[97] Additionally, the

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92   As stated above, the earliest copy of the Book of the Twelve Caverns is a funerary papyrus (pCairo CG 24742 [JE 34001]). Interestingly, this manuscript was found in the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35), whose sarcophagus chamber walls were decorated with the Book of the Hidden Chamber.

93   Lefebvre 1923, pp. 51–52 inscrip. 80; Lefebvre 1924a, pp. 177–180; Lefebvre 1924b, pls. XXXIX–XLI, XLIII–XLV = Cherpion, Corteggiani, Gout 2007, pp. 110–112—scene 87 a–i.

94   Quirke 2013, p. 69.

95   Menu 1994, pp. 317–320; Menu 1996, pp. 353–357.

96   For this concept see *supra* n. 32.

97   Werning suggests that the copy of the Book of Caverns in the Late Period Theban tomb of Petamenophis (TT 33) is the result of an "archaeo-philological" endeavour: a collation of a copy related to the copy in the Osireion and a copy from the tomb of Ramesses VI. Specifically with respect to the copy related to the Osireion, the author points out: "At the current state

version of the composition in the tomb of Petosiris is not a mere reproduction or "exact copy" of the Abydene monument as some scholars have suggested. Specific adaptations, modifications and additions have been attested, indicating that a scribal editing process was undertaken. A portion of the book was selected in order to adapt it to the available architectonic space and to the solar-Osirian mortuary context. In this light, the name "Osiris" (Element IIIa)—not hitherto attested in other sources as a denomination for a group of deities—was specifically associated with group 10 of the 9th Cavern. Therefore, new information was added to supposedly canonised cosmologic/cosmographic knowledge. The vignettes (Element IIIb) present slight modifications, for example sex variation of the bovid deities or addition of a bull's tail to an anthropomorphic god; and also the unique peculiarity of the blue-colored faces of the anthropomorphic deities. The starry sky was an iconographic feature added to homogenise the decorative scheme of all the scenes of the upper register of the west wall. A new accompanying text was produced, which may be a combination of the traditional Element I (introductory text) and Element IV (offering formula and related texts). This is the creative result of productive transmission,[98] consisting of merging different texts, composing new parts, and adapting them to the structure of the other texts in the upper register. The book was also adapted from the context of the performance of Osirian liturgies in a temple to a funerary context, perhaps related to a mortuary ritual performed for the deceased and his family.

The inclusion of a cosmography such as the Book of the Twelve Caverns and the use of the Osireion of Abydos as its source reveal not only intellectual interest in the arcane, but also access of the tomb owner to certain restricted knowledge[99] and religious spheres due to his highly prestigious position in Egyptian society. The sophisticated decorative program of the tomb is a meaningful expression of the status of the family within the cultural elite of one of the main theological centers in Egypt, Hermopolis Magna. The creation of a tomb especially characterised by a combination of tradition and innovation made it an intellectual and artistic masterpiece.

of research, it therefore may seem more reasonable to asume that this was (a copy of) the original master copy for the decoration of the Osireion that made it into the early Late Period and served as the other input for the collation" (WERNING 2017, p. 48; WERNING 2018, pp. 534, 551). In the case of the copy of the Book of the Twelve Caverns from Petosiris' tomb, both posibilities are tempting. Petosiris belonged to one of the most influential Hermopolitan families of the Late Period. He may have had access to notable libraries and archives in Hermopolis containing layout models of ancient monuments. Also due to his social position, access to the Osireion itself may have been granted to him in order to have its texts copied. In fact, visitors to the Abydene building have been attested afterwards (e.g. MURRAY, GRAFTON MILNE, CRUM 1904 (ed. 1989), p. 10, pl. XII). The morphological mistakes (i.e., *r* instead of *t*; O34 ⟼ instead of N16 ⟼; G14 𓄿 instead of G17 𓅓) and the change of the animals' sex in the illustrations could be explained as a copy from a hieratic template with vaguely detailed vignettes, which may have misled the scribe. This could result from either a copy directly done from the Osireion or from a Late Period copy of the layout originally made for the decoration of the building. Both possibilities may also offer an explanation for the error in the name of group 9, mistaken as that of group 4 only in these sources. However, perhaps it is more reasonable to consider that this occurrence was not in the original template for the decoration of the Osireion but the consequence of an absent-minded artist when the layout was applied on the wall of the building. This may be explained by the similar illustration related to both groups, as well as the location of the inscription on the upper part of the wall, which could have negatively affected the work done by the draughtsman. If this assumption is correct, a direct copy from the sacred monument may have contained the same mistake. For the peculiarities of the copy of the composition in the Osireion at Abydos, see MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 2020a.

98  See *supra*, n. 63.

99  For this concept, see BAINES 1990.

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Dendara (temple of Hathor): S. Cauville; pBerlin P. 3006: Ägyptisches Museum and Papyrussammlung; pCairo CG 24742 (JE 34001) and CG Cairo 29301 (JE 17429): Egyptian Museum of Cairo; pLondon BM EA 10478: The Trustees of the British Museum; pLuxor J. 24: Luxor Museum; pNew York MMA 35.9.19: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; tomb of Petosiris: N. Cherpion, J.-P. Corteggiani, J.-F. Gout.

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