
1 Naming and Locating the Gods: Space as a Divine Onomastic Attribute

1.1 Egypt and Near East

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The Names of Osiris in the Litany of the So-Called Spell 141/142 of the *Book of the Dead* in Ancient Egypt

1 Names and Designations of Gods in Ancient Egyptian Litanies

In ancient Egypt, the names of the gods are regularly followed by a series of epithets. This is particularly true of hymns and litanies in which the different functions of a god are repeated many times.¹ Hymns appear in a wide variety of media, written upon papyri, on the walls of temples, on the walls of tombs, on stelae, on ostraca, on coffins, or on statues. They are usually dedicated to a single god described through its main functions – most commonly through periphrases. As for the litanies of gods, which were also integrated into hymns,² they appear in lists with the name of one or more deities followed by a geographic indication or a function.³ In cultic contexts, these litanies could be copied onto different media such as walls of temples or papyri and used during the performance of rituals. These texts are also attested in funerary contexts, used for the deceased. Litanies were written on papyri, coffins, stelae, or walls of tombs.⁴ Litanies are first attested in writing in the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts*, the oldest Egyptian funerary texts that were put in writing during the reign of Unas (5th Dynasty, ca. 2400 BCE). They consist of formulas that help the deceased on his or her journey to the afterlife. For example, spell PT 601 can be considered a precursor to the

1 For a list of hymns in ancient Egypt, see Barucq/Daumas 1980; Assmann 1999; Knigge 2006; Knigge Salis *et al.* 2013, 145–272. For a definition of hymns in ancient Egypt, see recently Luft 2018, 362–378.

2 See for example P. Greenfield (P. BM EA 10554, 21st Dynasty), which contains what Assmann (1969, 23) has defined as a “liturgical appendix,” containing both hymns and litanies. It corresponds to sheets 64–78 of the papyrus (see Lenzo forthcoming). For examples of hymns with long lists of deities, see also Budde 2011, 4.

3 On litanies, see Schott 1955; Assmann 1980; Quack 2000.

4 The transition of texts from cultic contexts in temples to funerary contexts in liturgies for the dead is well attested in Egypt, especially during the second half of the 1st millennium BCE. Among the literature on the topic, see for example Backes/Dieleman 2015; Vuilleumier 2016; Smith 2019.

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litanies, as it contains a list of names of gods followed by geographic indications coupled with other sentences.⁵ Litanies of divine names consisting of short sentences in more or less long lists are well attested since the New Kingdom (1550–1069 BCE) and are present until the Roman period.

A common litany for the gods is found in the *wdn* (i.e., “offerings” or “litany of offerings”), in which the names of gods are listed in columns of texts.⁶ These lists often follow the same general structure:

- a title which can differ from one text to another;
- the indication that it is a *wdn* “offering” or *wdnw* “offerings,” but this term is not always present;
- the preposition *n* “to, for” followed by the name of the god. The preposition can be repeated before each name of the god or at the beginning of each column, with a distributive value for all the names. When the singular *wdn* is used, the form *wdn n* “offering to/for” is often repeated before each name of god;
- the indication that it is for a god “in all his names” (*m rnw=f nbw*).

In these lists, many localized forms of the same god appear, with the most commonly attested ones corresponding to what J. Assmann called a “Kulttopographie”.⁷ J. Assmann also highlighted the fact that this kind of litany was often accompanied by an offering of incense, such as in the temple Amun at Luxor (ancient Thebes), which contains a long litany of 124 forms of Amun-Ra. The litany begins with, “censing to Amun-Ra, king of the gods, in all his names” (*irt sntr n ĩmn-R' nsw ntrw m rnw=f nbw*), and is accompanied by a scene in which the Pharaoh Ramses II makes an incense offering.⁸

This kind of *wdnw* litany was thus part of a ritual performed in the framework of the offerings to the gods, probably first attested in temples.⁹ Yet, most attestations of these litanies are found in funerary contexts: in this way, it allowed the deceased to benefit from the offerings for the gods.

⁵ Allen 2005, 199–200 (P 582); Mathieu 2018, 600–601 (TP 601).

⁶ Lists of entities, species, or toponyms are very common in Egypt. See for example Gardiner 1947; Hoffmann, 2015.

⁷ Assmann 1980, 1062.

⁸ Daressy 1910, 62–68; KRI II, 622–627. A similar scene was also engraved in the shrine of Philippos Arrhidaios in Karnak, see Thiers 2020, 40–41, n^{os} 70–71. Other litanies for gods in temples appear in the Ramesseum: a litany for Ra-Horakhty and another one for Ptah and Sekhmet (KRI II, 657–661).

⁹ As suggested by Quack 2000, 83–87. As highlighted by Smith 2019, 14, the first attestation in one context does not indicate that it was its first use.

2 The Litany of the So-Called Spell 141/142 of the *Book of the Dead*

Presentation and Content of the So-Called Spell 141/142

Among the litanies, the so-called “spell 141/142” of the *Book of the Dead* is particularly important. The *Book of the Dead* is a collection of about 200 spells or formulas whose main goal was to help the deceased in their journey in the underworld. Found in tombs and written on papyri or other media (coffins, walls, objects, etc.), the *Book of the Dead* was used as a funerary text for about 1500 years: from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period (1550–30 BCE). As spells were not always identical from one document to another, a choice was often made to highlight the most important themes for the journey of the deceased at a particular point.

Spell 141/142 (or BD 141/142) is very interesting for various reasons: (1) it furnishes an important number of denominations for Osiris as well as other divine entities; (2) it is used in different spaces and contexts, both within the tomb and the temple; (3) it is often accompanied with vignettes which represents the deity evoked; and, (4) the spell appears in texts over a long period of time, enabling researchers to follow the evolution of the formula.

According to the database of the *Totenbuch-Projekt*, spell 141/142 is attested about 125 times throughout all periods¹⁰ – from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period – mostly on papyri. It is difficult to be more precise because the spell is most often registered in the database without the inclusion of spell 142. As a result, the final number cannot be obtained without examining each occurrence in detail. In any case, spells 141 and 142 were taken as a single spell during the New Kingdom (1550–1069 BCE) and the Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BCE). They were divided into two distinct spells during the Late and Ptolemaic Periods (664–30 BCE), at which time each formula had its own title.¹¹ Indeed, the second part of the spell – which corresponds to BD 142 – was concentrated on the names of Osiris, which explains why it was considered a separate spell from at least the 26th Dynasty onwards. The separation of the spell into two distinctive formulas occurred when the spells of the *Book of the Dead* were reorganized – a period that scholars refer to as the “Saite” redaction or recension.¹² The two spells then adopted two titles, as in the papyrus of Iahtesnakht (P. Cologne Inv. Nr. 10207) from the 26th Dynasty, for example:¹³

¹⁰ <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>. This database registered all the occurrences of *Book of the Dead* spells written on objects and all kind of media (i.e., papyri, tombs, coffins, mummy bandages, etc.).

¹¹ See Mosher 2020, 403–466 for spell 141 and 467–546 for spell 142.

¹² On the *Book of the Dead* in this period, see Quack 2009; Mosher 2016, 1–37.

¹³ Published by Verhoeven 1993.

– **Title of BD 141 (col. 67,11–15):¹⁴**

^{67,11} Papyrus-roll for making the *ba* excellent, knowing the names of the gods of the southern sky and the northern sky, the gods that are in the necropolis and the gods who guide the underworld. (Papyrus-roll) that a man performed for his father
^{67,12} or his son the day of the festivals of the West. He makes (it) excellent on the heart of Ra, on the heart of the gods. He will be with them.

What is said on the day of the festival of the new moon by Osiris N.¹⁵

^{67,13} Offerings are for him such as bread, beer, cattle, birds, roasted meat, incense on the flame. ^{67,14} Papyrus-roll for ^{67,15} the offerings to Osiris in all his names, given to Osiris N., to Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, four times.”¹⁶

– **Title of BD 142 (col. 68b,9–10):**

^{68b,9} Another papyrus-roll for making a transfigured one excellent, knowing the names of ^{68b,10} Osiris in all his places his *ka* likes.”¹⁷

The first title begins by clearly explaining the importance of knowing the names (*rnw*) of all the gods (gods in the sky, in the necropolis, and in the underworld). It continues by indicating that the ritual was performed for the ancestors (“for his father or his son”; other versions include “his mother”, see P. Louvre E 6258 below) during the festival of the West, the West being the domain of Osiris where the deceased were buried. The gods were satisfied by the ritual performance and allowed the deceased to join them. The ritual had to be recited during the festival of the new moon by offering *wdnw* to the deceased owner of the papyrus and to Osiris. The title adds that it was for “Osiris in all his names” and includes the most common epithets for Osiris: “foremost of the Westerners” (i.e., the dead) and “lord of Abydos” (i.e., the most important centre for the cult of Osiris). It finishes with the indication that it must be performed “four times.” After the title, a long list of the different divine entities who benefit from the offerings appears. The number of gods can vary between versions; in this papyrus there are 54.¹⁸

The title of BD 142 is much shorter. The indication “another papyrus-roll” clearly implies that it was known as a continuation of BD 141, even if separated from it by the addition of this title that did not exist during the prior periods (New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period). The title focuses on the importance of knowing the

¹⁴ Underlined text in these translations indicates that the original is written in red.

¹⁵ N. indicates “name” (i.e., the name of the deceased, owner of the papyrus).

¹⁶ For the text, see <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Totenbuch/PK10207-23.jpg> and German translation in Verhoeven 1993, I, 265.

¹⁷ For the text, see <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Totenbuch/PK10207-23.jpg> and German translation in Verhoeven 1993, I, 267.

¹⁸ For other versions in Late and Ptolemaic periods, see Mosher 2020, 403–466. We thank M. Mosher for sharing with us this material.

names (*rnw*) of Osiris “in all his places his *ka* likes,” that is, in all possible places the god wishes to be. A list of the different forms of Osiris are also indicated, mostly with local designations. In some cases, names of other deities, such as Isis, Horus, and Anubis, are added at the end of the list. In the papyrus of Iahesnakht, 108 forms of Osiris are mentioned, as well as the names of 40 other deities. As for spell 141, the number can differ from one version to another.

Other Litanies Parallel to Spell 141/142

Besides the presence of this litany in the *Book of the Dead*, the text is attested in other contexts:

- Other funerary texts which do not exactly correspond to spell 141/142, such as the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth* (scene 59 C).¹⁹
- Funerary papyri and other cultic texts that would have originally been used in temples: P. Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (papyrus of the 30th Dynasty or beginning of the Ptolemaic Period)²⁰ and the ritual for the Festival of Khoiak of Osiris in P. Louvre N 3176 S (Roman Period).²¹
- On walls of temples of the New Kingdom: the Osireion in Abydos (Sethi I, 19th Dynasty)²² and the temple of Medinet Habu in the context of the Festival of Sokar (Ramses III, 20th Dynasty).²³
- In papyri with ritual usage in temples, such as the list of names of Osiris, pharaohs, queens, and princesses in P. Turin Cat. 1877 (Ramses II),²⁴ the *Book of Hours* (P. BM EA 10569, Late Period),²⁵ or the litany in P. Giessen University Library Papyrus no 115 (end of Ptolemaic Period or early Roman Period).²⁶
- A variant of the spell is also present in ritual papyri in demotic such as P. Berlin P. 6750 and P. Berlin P. 8765 of the Roman Period which gathers many liturgies.²⁷

These versions all contain lists of the name of Osiris based on a similar model as the one used for BD 141/142. In some cases, variations in the names of Osiris appears, but also in the addition of other major deities, such as Sokar and Ptah. Indeed, some of

¹⁹ Otto 1960, I, p. 154–155, II, 134–135.

²⁰ Quack 2000.

²¹ Published by Barguet 1962, see more recent observations by Coulon 2021, 176–179.

²² Murray 1904, pl. IX.

²³ *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 221–222.

²⁴ Pleyte, Rossi, 1869–1876, 22–24, pl. XI–XIII, see <https://papyri.museoegizio.it/o/200935>. The publication of the papyrus is currently in preparation by G. Lenzo.

²⁵ Faulkner 1958a.

²⁶ Faulkner 1958b.

²⁷ Widmer 2015, in particular 67–71, 99–111, 194–244. A list of demotic sources is in Quack 2000, 77, n. 18.

these texts were used during rituals performed in temples, most notably the Festival of Sokar (the god of the Memphite necropolis with whom Osiris was frequently associated).

Furthermore, other litanies to Osiris or to other deities are engraved on temple walls from the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (e.g., the temples of Esna,²⁸ Edfu, and Dendara). Names of Osiris and/or other gods are also attested in other rituals. They were copied for funerary usage but they were first used in temples, such as the *Ritual for Bringing Sokar out of the Shrine*²⁹ or the litany in the P. Princeton Pharaonic Roll 10.³⁰ Epithets of Osiris were also written in the Osirian catacombs in Karnak.³¹

The different contexts in which spell 141/142 appears was first highlighted by G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen in their 1969 study on the Festival of Sokar – providing evidence for the use of this spell.³² In a subsequent study on the same festival, J.-Cl. Goyon remarked on the liturgical origin of this spell.³³ In 1973, in the framework of the publication of the tomb of Basa (TT 389),³⁴ J. Assmann reflected on spell 141/142 and its associations with spell 148, which allow the deceased and the god both benefit from the offerings in the lists as a “kultische Rezitation”.³⁵ More recently, J. F. Quack questioned the notion of this spell as a “litany,” highlighting its use in a funerary papyrus whose texts were probably first used in cultic places.³⁶

The association of BD 141/142 with spell 148 has also been made by A. Niwiński. The main goal of BD 148 was to provide the deceased with offerings with the help of seven cows, a bull, and four oars representing the four cardinal points.³⁷ These entities are also cited in spell 141/142, which further reinforces the link between them. Furthermore, spell 148 was also found in a temple context.³⁸

This short survey of the sources showing the presence of texts with similar content in different context explains why the appellation “spell 141/142 of the *Book of the Dead*” is misleading, especially considering the numerous versions and the evolution of the litany.³⁹ The classification with a number (141/142) is practical but is not representative of a single text whose use was very fluid.

²⁸ Derchain-Urtel 1997; Leitz 2008.

²⁹ Gill 2019, 85, 315–328.

³⁰ Vuilleumier 2016, 435–446.

³¹ About the 360 (or 365) epithets of Osiris present in Karnak, but also in other contexts, see Coulon 2008, 81–82.

³² Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 4, n. 2.

³³ Goyon 1978.

³⁴ Assmann 1973, 89.

³⁵ Assmann 1973, 90.

³⁶ Quack 2000.

³⁷ For the association of BD 141/142 and BD 148, see Niwiński 2009.

³⁸ See the list in von Lieven 2012.

³⁹ A complete study of all these versions is still to be done, a project on this topic directed by L. Coulon and G. Lenzo is in preparation.

3 The Names of Osiris in Spell 141/142: the Version in P. Louvre E 6258

This study examines the names of Osiris in spell 141/142 in a specific papyrus. This is necessary because a detailed study of every version of spell 141/142 and the variants in each recension would require a much longer study taking into account the many versions both in funerary and cultic contexts.⁴⁰

The papyrus examined here belonged to Queen Nedjmet of the 21st Dynasty (ca. 1050 BCE). The papyrus was found in illicit excavations of the “Royal Cachette of Deir el-Bahari” (TT 320) in Thebes and was sold sometime in the 1870s, before being officially discovered in 1881.⁴¹ The papyrus was cut and sold in three parts: the first part is currently kept at the British Museum (P. BM EA 10541), the middle section was in Munich (ÄS 825) but was destroyed during the Second World War, while the last part – which contains spell 141/142 – is at the Louvre (P. Louvre E 6258).⁴²

There were several reasons for choosing this papyrus as an example for spell 141/142: it contains an extensive sample of Osiris’ names, giving us an idea of the use of the names of the god, especially in the geographical context; it is an important clue to the textual evolution of the spell because of its composition after the New Kingdom but before the reorganization of the spell into two separate parts (i.e., spells 141 and 142);⁴³ and, it is accompanied by illustrations that depict different deities.

In P. Louvre E 6258, spell 141/142 is written inside two chapels positioned one upon the other. There are corniche on each shrine as well as doors at each extremity of the shrine (Fig. 1). Each shrine contains the names of 58 deities, one per column:

40 We are very grateful to Vincent Rondot, director of the *Département des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre* for the authorization to publish this part of the papyrus, all our thanks are due to him as well as to Audrey Viger, *chargée de la photographie au Département des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre*, for her precious help in the obtention of the photograph.

41 On the different “Cachettes” in the Theban area, see the various articles in Sousa, Amenta, Cooney 2021. The Royal Cachette was initially the tomb of the High Priests of Amun of the 21st Dynasty and their families; later, mummies of king and queens of the New Kingdom buried in the Valley of the Kings were moved in this tomb by the priests of Amun.

42 For a presentation of the papyrus, see Lenzo 2010.

43 Another textual version critical to understand the evolution of the spell is certainly P. Greenfield (P. BM EA 10554, 21st Dynasty). This papyrus probably contains the version of BD 141/142 with the majority of divine names and it presents two versions of the spell: the first version has 185 names of gods (col. 35a,1–36c,24), while the second version shows 249 names (col. 93,11–94e,39). Because of the considerable number of gods, it would not have been suitable to take it as an example in this article. On the papyrus, see Lenzo forthcoming.



Fig. 1: Spell 141/142 in P. Louvre E 6258. © 2005 Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Georges Poncet.

the shrine of the upper part is only consecrated to the names of Osiris – corresponding to BD 142 (Tab. 1) – while the lower shrine contains a list of divine entities typical of BD 141. (Tab. 2) Each divine name is written on a column that ends with the representation of the deity invoked. In this version, each deity is introduced by “o” (in red) followed by the name of the deity, so that they are all clearly invoked one after another.

In the last two columns of the preceding frame, before the shrines, we can see the title of the spell on sheet P. Louvre E 6258:⁴⁴

md3t 3hw ir m hrt-ntr s (n) it-f mwt-f r-pw m hb imntt siqr 3h (?) hr (ib) ² R' hr(y)-ib ntrw wnn hn^csn ddwt hrw n hb in Wsir (mwt-nsw Ndmr) m3' hrw

“Papyrus-roll of transfigurations performed in the necropolis (by) a man (for) his father or his mother on the festival of the West. Making the transfigured one excellent on (the heart) of ² Ra in the middle of the gods. Being with them. What is said on the day of the festival by Osiris, the (king's mother Nedjmet)| justified.”

This title differs slightly from the version indicated above and the offerings are not mentioned, but the lists that follows are typical of spell 141/142. (Tab. 1 and 2).

⁴⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see the photo of the papyrus on <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010379049>.

Tab. 1: Translation of the first row (shrine of the upper part, spell 142).

Spell 142	Remarks ⁴⁵
¹ <i>Wṣr Wn-nfr</i> ¹ <i>Osiris Wennefer</i>	Wennefer (Onnophris in the Grecized form) is a well-known name for a form of Osiris, which literally means, “the one who exists, being perfect.” Most often, the name Wennefer appears after the name of Osiris, but it also appears alone or with other epithets (see <i>LGG</i> II, 375–378). Different forms of Osiris-Wennefer are found in the Osirian Chapels of Karnak, see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018.
² <i>Wṣr nb 'nh Wṣr 'nḥty</i> ² <i>Osiris lord of life, Osiris Ankhty</i>	In this spell, these two names of Osiris are usually separated in two lines. The scribe may have condensed the names into one line because of the similarity between “life” (<i>'nḥ</i>) and “the living one” (<i>'nḥty</i> , <i>LGG</i> II, 169) – a lack of space can also explain this grouping. A chapel of Osiris Neb-anhk is attested in Karnak, see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018.
³ <i>Wṣr nb r ḏr</i> ³ <i>Osiris lord of all</i>	Lord of all is a common epithet for many major deities (<i>LGG</i> III, 795–797).
⁴ <i>Wṣr ḥnt(y) G33</i> ⁴ <i>Osiris foremost of Gaa</i>	Gaa is an unknown location, unattested in the common version of the text. The word could be understood as, <i>g3ît</i> “chapel, shrine” (<i>Wb</i> V, 150, 1–4).
⁵ <i>Wṣr s3ḥ</i> ⁵ <i>Osiris Orion</i>	A common designation for Orion, often associated with Osiris (<i>LGG</i> II, 561).
⁶ <i>Wṣr s3w</i> ⁶ <i>Osiris the protector</i>	Epithet used for different deities (<i>LGG</i> VI, 125–126).
⁷ <i>Wṣr ḥṇ(ty) wnt</i> ⁷ <i>Osiris foremost of the wenet-sanctuary</i>	<i>wnt</i> is a general term for sanctuary (<i>Wb</i> I, 315, 1; <i>LGG</i> V, 797).
⁸ <i>Wṣr (m) Mḥ-nt</i> ⁸ <i>Osiris (in) the North Chapel</i>	The North Chapel is a designation of the chapel of Osiris in the temple of the goddess Neith in Sais (<i>Wb</i> II, 126, 9; <i>LGG</i> II, 547). Usually, there is the counterpart “Osiris in the South Chapel,” which is absent in this papyrus.

⁴⁵ These remarks are very general and meant to help the reader; a deeper analysis considering all the variants is still to be done, as already indicated above. Unlike for the second row, we have not indicated who is the god represented at the end of each column, because in each case it is a seated Osiris wearing the white crown.

Tab. 1 (continued)

Spell 142	Remarks
⁹ <i>i Wsîr nbw ḥḥ</i> ⁹ <i>Osiris, gold of the millions</i>	Epithet used for different deities (<i>LGG</i> III, 703–704).
¹⁰ <i>i Wsîr B3(t)-(R)pyt</i> ¹⁰ <i>Osiris Ba(t)-(R)epyt</i>	Association with another divine entity – Ba(t)-(R)epyt – whose function is not clear (<i>LGG</i> II, 736).
¹¹ <i>i Wsîr-Pth nb 'nh</i> ¹¹ <i>Osiris-Ptah lord of life</i>	Association with Ptah, a major deity (<i>LGG</i> II, 546). A chapel dedicated to the form “Osiris-Ptah lord of life” is attested in Karnak, see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018.
¹² <i>i Wsîr ḥnty R-st3w</i> ¹² <i>Osiris foremost of Rosetau</i>	Rosetau is the necropolis, so the presence of Osiris is understandable as the god who oversees the dead. It also explains why there are various epithets constructed with Rosetau (see below 31, 32 and 43). Additionally, the title “foremost of Rosetau” is frequently used with other deities (<i>LGG</i> V, 826).
¹³ <i>i Wsîr ḥr(y)-ib ḥ3st-f</i> ¹³ <i>Osiris in the middle of his desert</i>	Usually, the epithet is “the one who is the middle of the desert,” without the possessive. In any case, this epithet is commonly attributed to both Osiris and Horus (<i>LGG</i> V, 343).
¹⁴ <i>i Wsîr m 'ndty</i> ¹⁴ <i>Osiris in Andjty</i>	Andjty is both the designation of the 9 th nome of Lower Egypt, whose capital was Busiris, as well as a god of Busiris. The god is in fact a form of Osiris (<i>LGG</i> II, 175–176). In this example two translations are grammatically possible: “Osiris in Andjty” as well as “Osiris as Andjty.” We suggest reading the preposition <i>m</i> as “in” + geographical place here (see below), that is the first option.
¹⁵ <i>i Wsîr m Sh̄ty</i> ¹⁵ <i>Osiris in Sehety</i>	The toponym Sehety may be situated to the South of Memphis (21 st nome of Upper Egypt, see Yoyotte 1963, 101–106) or it is a variant of Heselet, the necropolis of Hermopolis (<i>LGG</i> II, 556).
¹⁶ <i>i Wsîr m S3wty</i> ¹⁶ <i>Osiris in Assiut</i>	Assiut is a well-known toponym in Middle Egypt (on this form of Osiris, see <i>LGG</i> II, 561).
¹⁷ <i>i Wsîr m Ndff(t)</i> ¹⁷ <i>Osiris in Nedjef(et)</i>	Nedjefet is a toponym situated in the 13 th or 14 th nome of Upper Egypt (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 205). On this form of Osiris, see <i>LGG</i> II, 550.
¹⁸ <i>i Wsîr m rsy</i> ¹⁸ <i>Osiris in the South</i>	A vague geographical indication (<i>LGG</i> II, 551).
¹⁹ <i>i Wsîr m P</i> ¹⁹ <i>Osiris in Pe</i>	Buto is a well-known town in Lower Egypt (<i>LGG</i> II, 544).
²⁰ <i>i Wsîr m Ntrw</i> ²⁰ <i>Osiris in Netjeru</i>	Behbeit el-Hagar, center for a cult to Isis in the Delta (<i>LGG</i> II, 549).

Tab. 1 (continued)

Spell 142	Remarks
²¹ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m S3w</i> ²¹ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in Sais	Sais, well known town in the Delta (<i>LGG</i> II, 560).
²² <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m bîk</i> ²² <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in the city of the falcon	The precise location of the city of the falcon is unknown (<i>LGG</i> II, 543). The preposition <i>m</i> can also be read as, “as” (“Osiris as the falcon”), because other versions omit <i>m</i> (“Osiris the falcon”), an epithet also present in demotic document according to <i>LGG</i> II, 543.
²³ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m Wnw</i> ²³ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in Wenu	Hermopolis is a well-known town in Middle Egypt (<i>LGG</i> II, 542).
²⁴ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m R3-Ḥnnt</i> ²⁴ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in Ro-Henen	Illahun in the Fayum (<i>LGG</i> II, 550, see also Quack 2000, 78).
²⁵ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m 'pr</i> ²⁵ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in Aper	There are two different possibilities for the location Aper: a sanctuary for Osiris, maybe at the North of Memphis or a place in the funerary context (<i>LGG</i> II, 539).
²⁶ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m Qfnw</i> ²⁶ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in Qefenu	Qefenu is an unknown locality (<i>LGG</i> II, 565).
²⁷ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m Skr-Pḏ-š ḥnty niwt-f</i> ²⁷ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in Sokar-Pedj-she, foremost of his city	Sokar-Pedj-she is an unknown toponym (<i>LGG</i> II, 564), the addition of “foremost of his city” seems to be a unique addition in this papyrus.
²⁸ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m Psgr</i> ²⁸ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in Pesegeker.	Pesegeker is an unknown toponym. On this form of Osiris, see <i>LGG</i> II, 545.
²⁹ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m st-f ḥmy(t) T3-mḥ</i> ²⁹ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in his place in Lower Egypt	This may be a reference to the major cultic center in the Delta, (i.e., Busiris) or it may more generally indicate a form of Osiris in Lower Egypt. His parallel form, “Osiris in his place in Upper Egypt,” may also appear in the spell (<i>LGG</i> II, 559).
³⁰ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m st-f ḥmy(t) pt</i> ³⁰ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in his place in the sky	With this title, Osiris is also present in the sky.
³¹ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m st-f ḥmy(t) R-sṯ3w</i> ³¹ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in his place in Rosetau	For an unknown reason, the scribe has repeated the same epithet twice. The association of Osiris with the necropolis (Rosetau) is well attested, but he is usually “foremost of Rosetau” (see number 12 above).
³² <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m st-f ḥmy(t) R-sṯ3w</i> ³² <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in his place in Rosetau	
³³ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsîr m Nsty</i> ³³ <i>Ḗ</i> Osiris in Nesty (in the Two Thrones?)	Nesty is an unknown toponym. Some occurrences register “Osiris in Nedjesty” (see P. Greenfield 35e,12). <i>LGG</i> (II, 550) wonders if it is a toponym but decides that it has been changed to “Osiris an den beiden Thronsitzen”.

Tab. 1 (continued)

Spell 142	Remarks
³⁴ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr m İtf3-wr</i> ³⁴ <i>Ö</i> Osiris in İtefa-wer	İtefa-wer is a locality near Heliopolis where a sanctuary of Osiris was located, but its exact position is unknown (Goyon 1967, 133, n. 210; El-Banna 1989, 108).
³⁵ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr Skr</i> ³⁵ <i>Ö</i> Osiris-Sokar	The association of Osiris with Sokar is well attested (<i>LGG</i> II, 563–564).
³⁶ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr ĥq3 dt</i> ³⁶ <i>Ö</i> Osiris ruler of eternity	A chapel of Osiris Heka-djet is present in Karnak, see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018. The title is quite common and can be used for many deities, see <i>LGG</i> V, 531–532.
³⁷ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr wt(y)</i> ³⁷ <i>Ö</i> Osiris the begetter	Epithet for Osiris, but also for other deities (<i>LGG</i> II, 597–598).
³⁸ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr nb İnr</i> ³⁸ <i>Ö</i> Osiris lord of İner	İner is an unknown toponym (<i>LGG</i> II, 539).
³⁹ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr m sk(tt)</i> ³⁹ <i>Ö</i> Osiris in the night-boat	This is a reference to the boat of Re, used during his nocturnal journey. According to <i>LGG</i> (II, 563), this epithet referred to an unknown toponym <i>Skw</i> , present only in this spell, rather than a reference to a boat.
⁴⁰ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr nb dt</i> ⁴⁰ <i>Ö</i> Osiris lord of eternity	A chapel of Osiris Neb-djet is attested in North Karnak (see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018). The epithet is common and used with other deities, see <i>LGG</i> III, 791–792.
⁴¹ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr İty</i> ⁴¹ <i>Ö</i> Osiris the sovereign	This title is very common and is used for many deities as well as for the Pharaoh (<i>LGG</i> I, 588–590).
⁴² <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr n T3yt</i> ⁴² <i>Ö</i> Osiris of Tayt	Tayt is a toponym in Lower Egypt. The preposition <i>n</i> “of,” is used instead of <i>m</i> “in.”
⁴³ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr m R-st3w</i> ⁴³ <i>Ö</i> Osiris in Ro-setau	Ro-setau (already mentioned in numbers 12, 31 and 32) is the necropolis. On this form of Osiris, see <i>LGG</i> II, 550.
⁴⁴ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr m ĥr(y)-İb š't</i> ⁴⁴ <i>Ö</i> Osiris as He-who-is-upon-his-sand	Epithet of Osiris that seems to appear only in BD 141/142 (<i>LGG</i> V, 347). The meaning is not entirely clear, though probably refers to a mythological event.
⁴⁵ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr ĥnty sh İdwt</i> ⁴⁵ <i>Ö</i> Osiris foremost of the hall of the cows	This epithet of Osiris is found only in this spell (<i>LGG</i> V, 859–860), it is not clear to understand to what it refers.
⁴⁶ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr m Tnnt</i> ⁴⁶ <i>Ö</i> Osiris in Tjenenet	Tjenenet is the name of a sanctuary. For this form of Osiris, see <i>LGG</i> II, 568.
⁴⁷ <i>i</i> <i>Wsîr m Dny(t)</i> ⁴⁷ <i>Ö</i> Osiris in Deny(t)	Unknown toponym (<i>LGG</i> II, 549).

Tab. 1 (continued)

Spell 142	Remarks
⁴⁸ <i>Ws̥r m Sṯ</i> ⁴⁸ <i>Osiris in Sia</i>	Unknown toponym (<i>LGG</i> II, 561).
⁴⁹ <i>Ws̥r m Bdšt</i> ⁴⁹ <i>Osiris in Bedeshet</i>	Unknown toponym (<i>LGG</i> II, 544).
⁵⁰ <i>Ws̥r m Dp</i> ⁵⁰ <i>Osiris in Dep</i>	Buto, well known toponym in the Delta.
⁵¹ <i>Ws̥r m S3w ḥrt</i> ⁵¹ <i>Osiris in Higher Sais</i>	Higher Sais was a part of Sais (?), it is usually accompanied by the “Lower Sais.” (<i>LGG</i> II, 560–561).
⁵² <i>Ws̥r m Npr(t)</i> ⁵² <i>Osiris in Neper(et)</i>	Unknown toponym (<i>LGG</i> II, 549).
⁵³ <i>Ws̥r m Šnw</i> ⁵³ <i>Osiris in Shenu</i>	Shenu may represent a toponym in the 16 th nome of Upper Egypt (<i>LGG</i> II, 565).
⁵⁴ <i>Ws̥r m Ḥknt</i> ⁵⁴ <i>Osiris in Hekenet</i>	Unknown toponym (<i>LGG</i> II, 556).
⁵⁵ <i>Ws̥r m T3-skr</i> ⁵⁵ <i>Osiris in the land of Sokar</i>	Toponym in the Atfih area (22 th nome of Upper Egypt), according to <i>LGG</i> II, 567.
⁵⁶ <i>Ws̥r m Š33(w)</i> ⁵⁶ <i>Osiris in Sha(u)</i>	Unknown toponym (<i>LGG</i> II, 564).
⁵⁷ <i>Ws̥r f3 Ḥr</i> ⁵⁷ <i>Osiris He-who-carries-Horus</i>	This epithet is probably a reference to Osiris as father of Horus (<i>LGG</i> III, 189).
⁵⁸ <i>Ws̥r m Hn</i> ⁵⁸ <i>Osiris in Hen</i>	Hen seems to be a toponym located in the Memphite area, according to <i>LGG</i> (II, 552), but could also be read, “Osiris in the chest,” which is attested in the <i>Book of Hours</i> (P. BM EA 10569, col. 16, 26; see also <i>LGG</i> II, 552).

Tab. 2: Translation of the second row (shrine of the lower part, spell 141).

Spell 141	God represented at the end of each column ⁴⁶
⁵⁹ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Wsir ḥnty ḥmntyw</i> ⁵⁹ <i>Ḑ</i> Osiris foremost of the Westerners	Osiris seated
⁶⁰ <i>ḥ</i> <i>R^c-Ḥr-3ḥty</i> ⁶⁰ <i>Ḑ</i> Ra-Horakhty	Ra-Horakhty seated
⁶¹ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Nwn</i> ⁶¹ <i>Ḑ</i> Nun	A seated god
⁶² <i>ḥ</i> <i>M3't</i> ⁶² <i>Ḑ</i> Maat	Maat seated
⁶³ <i>ḥ</i> <i>wṯ3 n R^c</i> ⁶³ <i>Ḑ</i> boat of Ra	A boat
⁶⁴ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Ḥtm</i> ⁶⁴ <i>Ḑ</i> Atum	A seated god
⁶⁵ <i>ḥ</i> <i>psdt 3t</i> ⁶⁵ <i>Ḑ</i> the Great Ennead	A seated god
⁶⁶ <i>ḥ</i> <i>psdt nḡst</i> ⁶⁶ <i>Ḑ</i> the Small Ennead	A seated god
⁶⁷ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Ḥr nb wrt</i> ⁶⁷ <i>Ḑ</i> Horus lord of the Great One (i.e., the crown of Upper Egypt)	A seated god with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt
⁶⁸ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Šw</i> ⁶⁸ <i>Ḑ</i> Shu	A seated god
⁶⁹ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Tfnwt</i> ⁶⁹ <i>Ḑ</i> Tefnut	A seated goddess
⁷⁰ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Gb</i> ⁷⁰ <i>Ḑ</i> Geb	A seated god
⁷¹ <i>ḥ</i> <i>Nwt</i> ⁷¹ <i>Ḑ</i> Nut	A seated goddess

⁴⁶ We have not remarked on this spell as we did for the names of Osiris. Instead, we include a general comment at the end of the translation. However, we identify the god represented at the end of each column, as contrary to the first row that only describes Osiris, the second row includes many different deities.

Tab. 2 (continued)

Spell 141	God represented at the end of each column
⁷² <i>i</i> 3st ⁷² <i>Q</i> Isis	A seated goddess
⁷³ <i>i</i> Nb- <i>hwt</i> ⁷³ <i>Q</i> Nephthys	A seated goddess
⁷⁴ <i>i</i> <i>Hwt-k3 nb r-gr</i> ⁷⁴ <i>Q</i> Mansion-of-kas, lady of all (cow 1)	A seated god
⁷⁵ <i>i</i> <i>Imnt(y) hntt st-s</i> ⁷⁵ <i>Q</i> Amenet foremost of her seat (cow 2)	A seated goddess
⁷⁶ <i>i</i> 3 <i>h-bit</i> ⁷⁶ <i>Q</i> Akh-bit (cow 3)	A seated god
⁷⁷ <i>i</i> n <i>tr s'h</i> ⁷⁷ <i>Q</i> She-who-envelops-the-god-in-bandages (cow 4)	A seated god
⁷⁸ <i>i</i> wr-mrt-s d <i>šrw</i> ⁷⁸ <i>Q</i> She-the-love-of-whom-is-great, red-one (cow 5)	A seated god with a red crown
⁷⁹ <i>i</i> hnm 'n <i>h iwny</i> ⁷⁹ <i>Q</i> She-who-joins-life, coloured-one (cow 6)	A seated god
⁸⁰ <i>i</i> <i>Shmt rn-s m hmt-s</i> ⁸⁰ <i>Q</i> She-whose-name-is-powerful-in-her-craft (cow 7)	A seated lion-headed goddess
⁸¹ <i>i</i> k3 t3y i <i>dt</i> ⁸¹ <i>Q</i> the bull, male of the cow	A seated god
⁸² <i>i</i> s <i>hm nfr hmw nfr m pt mhtt</i> ⁸² <i>Q</i> good powerful one, good steering oar of the northern sky	A steering oar
⁸³ <i>i</i> dbn s <i>šm-t3wy hm nfr m pt imntt</i> ⁸³ <i>Q</i> the one who travels around, head of the Two Lands, good steering oar of the western sky	A steering oar
⁸⁴ <i>i</i> 3 <i>hw hr(y)-ib 'hm hm nfr m pt i3btt</i> ⁸⁴ <i>Q</i> radiance in the middle of the (estate of) the images, good steering oar of the eastern sky	A steering oar
⁸⁵ <i>i</i> hntt hr(y)- <i>ib hwt dšr hm nfr m pt rst</i> ⁸⁵ <i>Q</i> foremost in the middle of the red estate, good steering oar of the southern sky	A steering oar
⁸⁶ <i>i</i> (i)mst ⁸⁶ <i>Q</i> Amset	A seated god

Tab. 2 (continued)

Spell 141	God represented at the end of each column
⁸⁷ <i>i</i> H'py ⁸⁷ <u>Q</u> Hapy	A seated god
⁸⁸ <i>i</i> Dw3-mwt-f ⁸⁸ <u>Q</u> Duamutef	A seated god
⁸⁹ <i>i</i> Qbh-snw-f ⁸⁹ <u>Q</u> Qebehsenuf	A seated god
⁹⁰ <i>i</i> itrt šm' ⁹⁰ <u>Q</u> Shrine of Upper Egypt	A shrine
⁹¹ <i>i</i> sktt ⁹¹ <u>Q</u> Night-boat	A boat
⁹² <i>i</i> m'ndt ⁹² <u>Q</u> Day-boat	A boat
⁹³ <i>i</i> ntrw rsyw ⁹³ <u>Q</u> southern gods	A seated god
⁹⁴ <i>i</i> ntrw mḥtyw ⁹⁴ <u>Q</u> northern gods	A seated god
⁹⁵ <i>i</i> ntrw imntyw ⁹⁵ <u>Q</u> westerner gods	A seated god
⁹⁶ <i>i</i> ntrw i3btyw ⁹⁶ <u>Q</u> easterner gods	A seated god
⁹⁷ <i>i</i> ntrw m3styw ⁹⁷ <u>Q</u> gods who belong to the knees (?)	A seated god
⁹⁸ <i>i</i> ntrw ḥtpyw ⁹⁸ <u>Q</u> gods who rest	A seated god
⁹⁹ <i>i</i> pr-wr ⁹⁹ <u>Q</u> Great House	A shrine of Upper Egypt
¹⁰⁰ <i>i</i> pr-nsr ¹⁰⁰ <u>Q</u> House of the Flame	A shrine of Lower Egypt
¹⁰¹ <i>i</i> ntrw i3t(y)w ¹⁰¹ <u>Q</u> gods who belong to the mound	Three snakes
¹⁰² <i>i</i> ntrw 3ḥtyw ¹⁰² <u>Q</u> gods who belong to the horizon	A seated god
¹⁰³ <i>i</i> ntrw šḥtyw ¹⁰³ <u>Q</u> gods who belong to the field	A seated god

Tab. 2 (continued)

Spell 141	God represented at the end of each column
¹⁰⁴ <i>ī nṯrw prtyw</i> ¹⁰⁴ <i>Q</i> gods who belong to the house	A seated god
¹⁰⁵ <i>ī nṯrw nstyw</i> ¹⁰⁵ <i>Q</i> gods who belong to the throne	A seated god
¹⁰⁶ <i>ī nṯrw w3wt rswt</i> ¹⁰⁶ <i>Q</i> gods of the southern ways	Three seated gods
¹⁰⁷ <i>ī nṯrw w3wt mḥwt</i> ¹⁰⁷ <i>Q</i> gods of the northern ways	Three seated gods
¹⁰⁸ <i>ī nṯrw w3wt imntwt</i> ¹⁰⁸ <i>Q</i> gods of the western ways	Three seated gods
¹⁰⁹ <i>ī nṯrw w3wt i3btwt</i> ¹⁰⁹ <i>Q</i> gods of the eastern ways	Three seated gods
¹¹⁰ <i>ī sb3w dw3t</i> ¹¹⁰ <i>Q</i> gates of the underworld	A gate
¹¹¹ <i>ī sbḥwt dw3t</i> ¹¹¹ <i>Q</i> portals of the underworld	A portal
¹¹² <i>ī sbḥwt št3w</i> ¹¹² <i>Q</i> the secret portals	A portal
¹¹³ <i>ī 3w št3w</i> ¹¹³ <i>Q</i> the secret doors	A door
¹¹⁴ <i>ī iṯrty Šm'</i> ¹¹⁴ <i>Q</i> the two shrines of the South	A shrine
¹¹⁵ <i>ī s3w-3 sb3w dw3t</i> ¹¹⁵ <i>Q</i> doorkeepers of the gates of the underworld	A male doorkeeper seated with a knife
¹¹⁶ <i>ī št3w(-ḥr) s3w w3t</i> ¹¹⁶ <i>Q</i> hidden(-faces) who guard of the way	A female doorkeeper seated with a knife

The first list (BD 142) provides 58 names of Osiris (Tab. 1); the second list (BD 141) begins with one name of Osiris followed by 57 names of other divine entities (Tab. 2).

The names of the deities and personifications in spell 141 (Tab. 2), though it is not a central part of this study, suggest a structural framework to this composition:

1. Deities 59–67: major deities, starting with Osiris himself and his most common epithet: “foremost of the Westerners”. He is followed by members of the Ennead or deities involved in the creation of the world (i.e., Nun), as well as the important mode of transport of the most important god in the process of creation: the solar god and his boat.

2. Deities 68–73: other members of the Ennead of Heliopolis.
3. Divine entities 74–81: the cows and the bull of spell 148, who furnishes the deceased with offerings. Surprisingly, with the exception of the lion goddess (80) because of the presence of the name “Sekhmet” which suggests a link with the lioness in her name, the cows are represented as male deities instead of female.
4. Divine entities 82–85: the four steering oars of each cardinal point of the sky, which are also found in spell 148, provide the dead with provisions.
5. Deities 86–89: the four sons of Horus.
6. Divine entities 91–92: the two boats of Ra for his travel during day and night.
7. Divine entities 93–109: general indications of gods and the two important shrines representing Upper and Lower Egypt (99 and 100).
8. Divine entities 110–116: gates, portals, and their doorkeepers, and a shrine.

Therefore, this list shows a logical arrangement that includes deities and personifications of cultic implements (shrines, gates, barks . . .). This same arrangement is not as clear in the case of BD 142.

4 The Various Designations of Osiris in Spell 141/142

Starting from the version of BD 142 (Tab. 1) in the papyrus of Nedjmet, it is possible to highlight the different ways the Egyptians described various forms of Osiris, especially in relation to a place or a toponym. These denominations are displayed in the table below, according to their structure (Tab. 3).

Tab. 3: The designations and functions of Osiris.

Osiris + name of another deity	Function of a god (one or two substantives)	Names with <i>ḥnty</i> “foremost”
Osiris Wennefer (1) ⁴⁷	lord of life (2), with Ptah (11)	foremost of Gaa (4) (unknown place)
Osiris Ankhty (2)	lord of all (3)	foremost of the <i>wenet</i> -sanctuary (7)
Osiris Orion (5)	lord of eternity (40)	foremost of Rosetau (12)
Osiris Ba(t)-(R)epyt (10)	lord of Iner (38) (unknown toponym)	foremost of the hall of the cows (45)

⁴⁷ The number in brackets refers to the column number in the papyrus.

Tab. 3 (continued)

Osiris + name of another deity	Function of a god (one or two substantives)	Names with <i>hnty</i> “foremost”
Osiris-Ptah lord of life (11)	ruler of eternity (36)	foremost of his city (27)
Osiris-Sokar (35)	the protector (6)	foremost of the Westerners (59)
	gold of the millions (9)	Names with <i>hr(y)-ib</i> “in the middle of”
	the begetter (37)	in the middle of his desert (13)
	the sovereign (41)	
	He-who-carries-Horus (57)	
Names with <i>m</i> “in” (or “as”)		
Well known toponyms	Identification	Unknown toponyms
(in) the North Chapel (8)	chapel in Sais, Delta	in the city of the falcon (22)
in Andjty (14)	Busiris, Delta	in Qefenu (26)
in Sehety (15)	south of Memphis?	in Sokar-Pedj-she, foremost of his city (27)
in Assiut (16)	Upper Egypt	in Pesegeker (28)
in Nedjef(et) (17)	Upper Egypt	in Nesty (33)
in Pe (19)	Buto, Delta	in Deny(t) (47)
in Netjeru (20)	Behbeit el-Hagar, Delta	in Sia (48)
in Sais (21)	Delta	in Bedeshet (49)
in Wenu (23)	Hermopolis, Upper Egypt	in Neper(et) (52)
in Ro-Henen (24)	Illahun, Fayum	in Hekenet (54)
in Aper (25)	North of Memphis or mythological place?	in Sha(u) (56)
in Itefa-wer (34)	near Heliopolis	
in Higher Sais (51)	part of Sais, Delta	
in Dep (50)	Buto, Delta	
in Shenu (53)	in the 16 th nome of Upper Egypt?	
in the land of Sokar (55)	in Atfih area, 22 th nome of Upper Egypt	
in Hen (58)	Memphite area or a chest?	

Tab. 3 (continued)

Osiris + name of another deity	Function of a god (one or two substantives)
General places	
in the South (18)	very general
in Ro-setau (43) in his place in Rosetau (31 and 32)	the necropolis
in Tjenenet (46)	a sanctuary
in his place in Lower Egypt (29)	general
in his place in the sky (30)	general
in the night-boat (39)	a specific place
Variant with <i>n</i> “of”	
of Tayt (42)	Lower Egypt
Name with <i>m</i> “as”	
as He-who-is-upon-his-sand (44)	

Based on the texts examined in this study, it is possible to draw some conclusions about how the designations of Osiris were structured (Tab. 3):

- Double names: Osiris is followed by the name of another deity. Most of the gods with which Osiris is associated are well-known (Wennefer, Ankhety, Orion, Ptah, and Sokar) and their association is easily understandable, except for the lesser-known Bat-Repyt.⁴⁸
- Names that indicate a function of the god: one or two substantives or construction with *nb* “lord.” Many functions listed here are well-known, but not all. When “lord” is followed by a geographical indication, it is assumed that it corresponds to the major center cult of the deity.⁴⁹ In other cases it seems to indicate a specific function or aspect of the deity, whose meaning or role is not always evident.⁵⁰
- Names with *hnty* “foremost” or *hr(y)-ib* “in the middle of.” The title “foremost of the Westerners” is one of the most common epithets for Osiris, representing

⁴⁸ About the possible meaning of the name of the deity, see Ward 1977, 265–269.

⁴⁹ Kurth 1983, 182; Budde 2011, 3–4.

⁵⁰ See some examples with the construction with *nb* in Budde 2011, 2–3.

the fundamental function of Osiris as the god in charge of the dead who were buried in the West. There is also an Osirian Chapel in Karnak and another one in Medamud dedicated to this aspect of Osiris.⁵¹ As for the other examples in this papyrus, they should be studied in comparison with other functions structured with *hnty*. So far, we can see that they refer to general places and not to specific localities or towns. More generally, it seems that when a toponym followed *hnty*, it indicated the presence of a local cult of the god as a guest.⁵²

- For *hr(y)-ib* “in the middle of” (lit. “in the heart of”), it also seems to refer to the presence of a god as a host in a cultic center.⁵³ K. Eaton even suggested that a god’s presence in a cult center could be achieved not only through a statue, but also by another kind of representation of the deity, such as mentioning them in texts or depicting them in scenes on temple walls.⁵⁴
- Names with *m* “in.” As already mentioned by M. Mosher, it is not clear if the preposition *m* always means “in” or if in some cases it should be translated “as,” both being grammatically correct.⁵⁵ When a toponym is securely identified, the translation should be rendered as “in,” in reference to a local cultic center for the god, most certainly as a guest. The structure with *m* is the most frequently attested form in spell 141/142.

In her study on Osiris in the temple of Edfu, S. Cauville argued that *m* refers to a local god in the temple, *hr(y)-ib* indicates a temporary presence of the god as a guest in a temple, while *hnty* is used to highlight the fact that the god is particularly important in the temple.⁵⁶ D. Kurth also wonders if *hnt(y)*, *m*, and *n* could refer to a local presence of a god as a guest, rather than as the main god at the shrine. He added that this local god would have his own temple in addition to the one in which they visit as guests.⁵⁷ To summarize, the local presence of a god as a guest could be indicated by the use of *hnt(y)* “foremost of,” *hr(y)-ib* “in the middle of,” *m* “in,” and *n* “of.” Conversely, the main god of a cultic center was described through the term, *nb* “lord,” followed by a geographical place. Unfortunately, the precise significance of the form of the god according to the expression used is still difficult to apprehend. The association with other deities through double names as well as the use of substantives, including *nb* “lord” without toponyms, highlighted the different functions of a god, but they are not always clearly understandable.

⁵¹ Coulon 2016; Coulon/Hallmann/Payraudeau 2018; Coulon 2017.

⁵² Budde 2011, 3–4.

⁵³ Kurth 1983, 182–183; Budde 2011, 3–4; Eaton 2012.

⁵⁴ Eaton 2012.

⁵⁵ Mosher 2020, 535.

⁵⁶ Cauville 1983, 180.

⁵⁷ Kurth 1983, 183.

5 Preliminary Remarks on Names and Local Forms of Osiris

As indicated above, the use of *m* “in” with a geographical indication is the most common way to designate forms of Osiris in spell 141/142. We can wonder if it is not possible to link the presence of Osirian Chapels or other Osirian structures in different temples with the forms of the denomination of the god constructed with *m* “in,” but this seems difficult to prove. In fact, some of the forms of Osiris mentioned in the spell, such as Osiris Wennefer, Osiris foremost of the Westerners, Osiris Neb-ankh (“lord of life”), Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh (“lord of life”), Osiris Heqa-djet (“ruler of eternity”), Osiris Neb-djet (“lord of eternity”) were venerated in independent chapels in the precinct of other deities (e.g., the Osirian Chapels in the precinct of the temple of Karnak and in Medamud).⁵⁸ Osirian structures were also placed on the roofs of temples, such as in Dendara.⁵⁹ But among these forms, none are constructed with *m*. This does not exclude the possibility that other minor structures, such as small chapels, were consecrated to forms of Osiris, as it was certainly the case in many temples in Egypt. With the diffusion of the cult of Osiris and the performance of the Festival of Khoiak, which took place throughout Egypt after the inundation of the Nile, the forms of the god would have been multiplied. It is also possible that in parallel to the presence of the god in real and established cultic centers, mythological places were also attributed to Osiris. Thus, it is somewhat difficult to understand the genuine cultic dimension of each form of the god. Furthermore, alternative forms of Osiris were added to or removed from the various versions of spell 141/142, as well as in other litanies of the god. To understand how scribes selected the denominations of Osiris in a specific version more clearly, it is important to compare the different versions of spell 142 and to examine the titles of Osiris in other sources, such as titles of priests or inscriptions in temples. In this way, we can determine if some of these texts were used in the course of cultic performances.

Based on spell 141/142, it is thus possible to examine the presence of names of gods in long chains and to identify the various ways they are designated. Furthermore, this litany allows us to consider the diversity in the construction of divine names in ancient Egypt and furnishes a starting point to question the modern terms used in this context. Finally, it seems that the terms “epithet” or “theonym” are somewhat limited to render all the kind of constructed items that describes a deity. Therefore, the notion of “onomastic sequences,” as suggested by C. Bonnet and her team, seems more suitable to describe the litanies.⁶⁰ This term is more flexible and

⁵⁸ Coulon 2016; Coulon/Hallmann/Payraudeau 2018; Coulon 2017.

⁵⁹ See Cauville 1997.

⁶⁰ Bonnet/Bianco/Galoppin/Guillon/Laurent/Lebreton/Porzia, 2018.

adaptable to the kinds of denomination found in very long god lists, which enabled ancient Egyptians to invoke a deity in all its forms and functions.

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