

Comparison of the texts and scenes in the Greenfield Papyrus and the tombs of Osorkon II (Tanis) and Sheshonq (Memphis)¹

GIUSEPPINA LENZO

Abstract

The Greenfield Papyrus (papyrus London BM EA 10554) from the Royal Cachette in Deir el-Bahari provides a selection of various texts such as spells from the *Book of the Dead*, hymns and litanies, as well as “mythological” vignettes. Some parts of this hieratic papyrus, which probably date to the end of the 21st dynasty, are displayed in a very similar way on the walls of the tomb of King Osorkon II in Tanis and in the tomb of his son Sheshonq, High Priest of Ptah, in Memphis (now in Cairo, JE 88131) during the 22nd dynasty. This paper aims to compare the texts and scenes on these different mediums and to investigate the transmission of the texts between Thebes and the north.

Due to its exceptional length and unusual content, the Greenfield Papyrus of the late 21st dynasty is one of the most well-known funerary papyri.² Found in the 1870s in the Royal Cachette of Deir el-Bahari during the unofficial exploitation of the Cachette by the Abderrassul brothers of Gurna,³ it was sold to Mr Greenfield and given to the British Museum by Mrs Greenfield in 1910. It was quickly accessible thanks to the publication of Budge in 1912.⁴ Since then, numerous publications have been devoted to parts of the document.⁵

The owner of the papyrus is also well-known: Nestanebetisheru was a daughter of the High Priest of Amun Pinedjem II and of the priestess of Karnak Neskhonsu.⁶

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 - 2 The exact date of the papyrus is unknown. On the mummy bandage of Nestanebetisheru, a year 13 is mentioned, which could refer to the reign of Psusennes II at the end of the 21st dynasty (see ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 230), but a later date at the beginning of the 22nd dynasty is not excluded.
 - 3 For the discovery of the Royal Cachette, see MASPERO, in: *MMAF1* (4), Cairo 1889, 511–787.
 - 4 BUDGE, *The Greenfield Papyrus*.
 - 5 For a recent bibliography, see LENZO, in: QUACK & LUFT (edd.), *Schrift und Material*; I am currently preparing a new edition of the whole papyrus for the British Museum Press.
 - 6 The papyrus of Pinedjem II (papyrus London BM EA 10793, see MUNRO, *Pa-nedjem II.*)

She was also priestess of Amun and Mut, and of other deities in the Karnak temples. In addition to the papyrus, her coffins – now in Cairo – were also found in the Cachette,⁷ as well as vessels and many shabtis, which were divided among different museums.⁸

With its length of 37 m, now divided into 96 sheets, the Greenfield papyrus is the longest *Book of the Dead* known to this day. In addition to the *Book of the Dead* spells, the papyrus also contains other texts such as hymns and litanies and various vignettes reminiscent of the so-called “mythological” papyri.

The details of its content are as follows:

BD 1 – 15 (var. I) – 17 – 18 – 23 – 24 I – 25 I – 24 II – 25 II – 26 I – 28 I – 27 I – 38 – 40 – 36 I – 33 – 37 – 56 – 61 I – 30B – 29 – 27 II – 28 II – 11 – 2 – 4 – 43 – 61 II – 6 – 5 – 105 – 47 – 104 – 96/97 – 94 – 103 – 36 II – 55 – 117 – 118 – 21 – 12/120 – 122 – 31 – 10 – 90 – 131 – 102 – 41B – 32 – 134 – 15 (var. II) – Hymn to Atum – 99B – 108 I – 112 – 113 – 107 – 108 II – 109 – 114 – 115 – 116 – 81 – 80 – 87 – 88 – 76 – 53 – 91 – 44 – 93 – 50 – 188 – 141/142 I – 124 – 125 I – 26 II – 135 – 148 I – 147 – 193 – Hymn to Osiris – 146 – 145 I – 149 – 150 – 182 – Prayer to Thot – 183 – Hymns – 110 – 144 – 145 II – “Mythological” section – 125 II – 101 – 141/142 II – 190 – 148 II – 133

1. The tomb of Osorkon II in Tanis (MONTET, *NRT I*) and the tomb of Sheshonq, son of Osorkon II, in Memphis (Cairo JE 88131)

Among the recent studies devoted to the Greenfield papyrus, two articles, the first one written by Karl Jansen-Winkeln and the second one by Gilles Roulin,⁹ have made the link between the content of the Greenfield papyrus and the texts carved in the tombs of King Osorkon II in Tanis (MONTET, *NRT I*)¹⁰ and of his son Sheshonq in Memphis, now in Cairo (JE 88131)¹¹. Sheshonq – known as “Sheshonq D”

corresponds almost exactly to the first part of the papyrus of her daughter, while the content of the Book of the Dead of Neskhonsu is different (papyrus Cairo JE 26230, see NAVILLE, *Papyrus funéraires de la XXIe dynastie I*).

7 Coffins Cairo CG 61033.

8 For a list of the objects belonging to Nestabnebetisheru, see ASTON, *Burial Assemblages*, 230.

9 JANSEN-WINKELN, in: *GM* 102, 1988, 31–39; ROULIN, in: BRISSAUD & ZIVIE-COCHE (edd.), *Tanis*, 193–276.

10 Tomb published by MONTET, *NRT I*.

11 See BADAWI, in: *ASAÉ* 54, 1956, 153–177. A new publication of the tomb and its material is currently in preparation by Raphaële Meffre, Frédéric Payraudeau and Giuseppina Lenzo (Ifao-Project in collaboration with the University of Paris-Sorbonne, the *Mission française des*

in the current literature – was High Priest of Ptah in Memphis and probably died only a few years after his father.¹² Thus, both tombs can be dated to approximately the same period, around 830 BC, if we consider that the reign of Osorkon II can be situated *c.* 870–831 BC. This means that the texts and scenes of the tombs have been copied some 80 years after the Greenfield papyrus had been written, if we assume that the burial of Nestanebetisheru took place around 950 BC. This is an interesting point to highlight as some texts and vignettes in both tombs are very similar, sometimes almost identical, to those found in Papyrus Greenfield (see the list in table 1). In the tomb of Osorkon II, the parts identical with the Papyrus Greenfield are *Book of the Dead* spells as well as vignettes, and the parallel parts are distributed throughout the papyrus. Thus, the identical parts are not following each other in

Table 1: Texts attested in Papyrus Greenfield, Osorkon II's tomb and Sheshonq's tomb

| Texts | pGreenfield | Tomb of Osorkon II | Tomb of Sheshonq |
|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| BD 15 vignette | Sheet 2 vignette | Room 2, East wall ^{a)} | North wall ^{b)} |
| BD 15b (= Hymn 2) | Sheet 3a, l. 7–12 | Room 2, East wall ^{c)} | – |
| BD 31 vignette | Sheet 22 vignette | – | East wall ^{d)} |
| BD 146 | Sheet 46, l. 4–12 | Room 1, South wall ^{e)} | – |
| Scene Osiris and Isis | Sheet 77 vignette | Room 2, North wall ^{f)} | – |
| BD 110 | Sheet 81 | Room 3, South wall ^{g)} | – |
| BD 144 text | Sheet 82 | Room 3, West wall ^{b)} | – |
| BD 146 vignette | Sheet 45 vignette | | |
| “Mythological” section | Sheets 85–86–87–88 | – | East wall ⁱ⁾ |
| | Sheet 88 | Room 1, South wall ^{j)} | |
| | Sheet 87 (extract) | Room 3, North wall ^{k)} | |

Table notes

- a) MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 32.
- b) BADAWI, in: *ASAE* 54, 1956, pl. VIII; the scene is very similar but not identical, perhaps for want of space.
- c) MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 32.
- d) BADAWI, in: *ASAE* 54, 1956, pl. 9.
- e) MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 24bis.
- f) MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 31.
- g) MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 36.
- h) MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 35.
- i) BADAWI, in: *ASAE* 54, 1956, pl. 9, 10, 11.
- j) MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 24.
- k) MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 37.

fouilles de Tanis and the Institute of Archaeology and Classical Studies of the University of Lausanne).

12 About Sheshonq (D), see JANSEN-WINKELN, in: *GM* 207, 2005, 75–80, and PAYRAUDEAU, *XXIF dynastie bubastite*, 122–123.

the Papyrus Greenfield. As to the tomb of Sheshonq, the almost identical part exactly corresponds to four sheets of the Papyrus Greenfield which follow each other, but the text of sheet 86 was carved in a shorter version. Two other scenes can be added: the first one is the vignette of BD 15, which is very similar, but not exactly identical, because some elements, such as Isis and Nephthys kneeling, are missing, probably for want of space on the wall. The other scene corresponds to the vignette of BD 31 with four crocodiles, which is directly below the “mythological” part equivalent to Papyrus Greenfield, sheets 85–86–87–88. The corresponding parts in Sheshonq’s tomb display only the scenes without texts.

The comparison of some examples of texts and scenes on these different mediums, and especially of the hieratic and hieroglyphic signs on the papyrus with the hieroglyphs carved in the tombs, represents a good starting point to question the transmission of the texts between Thebes and the north during the Third Intermediate Period.

2. The Papyrus Greenfield and the tomb of Osorkon II (MONTET, *NRT I*)

In the tomb of Osorkon II in Tanis, texts similar to those of Papyrus Greenfield are attested in three rooms: the antechamber or room 1, room 2 and especially room 3 (see fig. 1).

2.1. Sequence Adoration of Osiris and Isis – BD 1 – BD 15

Let us first consider the beginning of the Papyrus Greenfield, the sequence of which is the same as the one found in room 2 of the tomb of Osorkon II, North and East walls, that is: Adoration of Osiris and Isis – BD 1 – BD 15.

The North wall contains a vignette of adoration of Osiris and Isis followed by an abbreviated version of spell 1 of the *Book of the Dead*. A vignette of the same kind is found at the beginning of the Papyrus Greenfield, followed by a whole version of BD 1. Neither the vignette nor the spell seems to derive from the same model, but the vignette of the adoration of Osiris in the tomb is similar to another vignette in the Papyrus Greenfield on sheet 77 in a middle section of the papyrus with hymns and litanies.

If we consider the texts on the East wall, the sequence is again the same in both documents, but this time their content can be compared. In fact, if we examine the

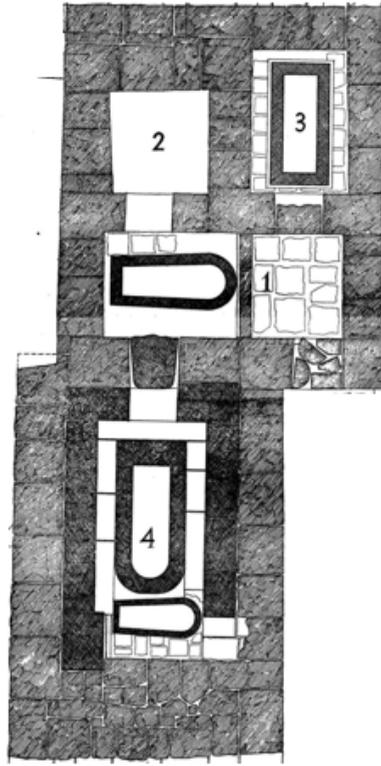


Fig. 1: Tomb of Osorkon II in Tanis (MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 7).

vignette of BD 15 with the sunrise,¹³ they immediately appear very similar. The sun is supported by an *ankh*-sign with arms placed on top of a *djed*-pillar, with Isis and Nephthys on either side as well as three baboons (and not four as on the facsimile by Montet¹⁴). If the scene is well-known since the New Kingdom (see for example the papyrus of Ani¹⁵), the treatment of both scenes is almost identical in Papyrus Greenfield and in the tomb of Osorkon II.

Besides, if we compare the texts, we can suggest that they probably originate from the same archetype. However, whereas Papyrus Greenfield contains the nine hymns to the sun (called “15 a–i” by Allen and “Hymns 1–9” by Quirke¹⁶), Osorkon

13 For this scene, see LAPP, *Die Vignetten zu Spruch 15*, 72–73, pl. 4.

14 ROULIN, in: BRISSAUD & ZIVIE-COCHE (edd.), *Tanis*, 233.

15 Papyrus London BM EA 10470, sheet 2, 19th dynasty.

16 ALLEN †, *Book of the Dead*, 12–16; QUIRKE, *Book of the Dead*, 46–50.

displays only a part of it, i.e. the almost complete 15 b = Hymn 2¹⁷, without its beginning. Thus, the 10 columns of Osorkon correspond to 6 lines of Papyrus Greenfield (sheet 3a, l. 7–12). Some comparable variants are shown in the following table 2.

Table 2: Similar writings in spell BD 15b

| pGreenfield sheet 3a | Osorkon II, room 2, East wall |
|--|--|
|  l. 8 |  col. 4 |
|  l. 8 |  col. 6 |
|  l. 10 |  col. 10 |
|  l. 8 |  col. 5 |
|  l. 9 |  col. 8 |
|  l. 9 |  col. 8 |

These words taken alone would not be sufficient to make a link between these two texts, but there are many more examples. Therefore, we can assume that both come from the same model or archetype. Some differences are also regularly found as characteristics of Papyrus Greenfield or Osorkon II. For example, the scribe of Papyrus Greenfield automatically writes *šh.ty* instead of *šh.t*, but this is not the case in Osorkon's tomb. The letter *n* written with the red crown instead of the ripple of

17 QUIRKE, *Book of the Dead*, 46.

water is regularly found in Osorkon, as well as the suffix written with the hieroglyph of the Pharaoh.

To summarize, in room 2 we are dealing with the same sequence Adoration of Osiris – BD 1 – BD 15, but whereas the scene of adoration corresponds to Papyrus Greenfield sheet 77, and the versions of BD 1 are different, the attestations of BD 15 correspond to and stem from the same archetype.

2.2. BD 146 and Osiris on the throne dais

Another important example is the complete South wall of the antechamber (or room) 1 of the tomb of Osorkon II, which corresponds to two different sheets in Papyrus Greenfield: the upper part with the original scene of Osiris on the throne dais is arranged almost exactly in the same layout on Papyrus Greenfield sheet 46, but the text on the lower part is found on Papyrus Greenfield sheet 88.

Spell BD 146, both in Papyrus Greenfield and Osorkon's tomb, corresponds to the version in use during the 21st dynasty¹⁸, even if Osorkon's version is a short extract, as was the case for BD 15 indicated above. Otherwise, both versions are very similar¹⁹. A specific example is the identical way of writing the word  (Papyrus Greenfield, sheet 46, l. 2)  (Osorkon, col. 5) *dhr(t)* “bitterness”²⁰, the determinative of which is usually the sparrow (G37) instead of the cow skin (F27) attested for the word *dhr* “leather”.²¹

If we also consider the upper part of the same wall with the scene of Osiris on the throne dais, the link with Papyrus Greenfield is confirmed, as the representations are almost identical (fig. 2 and 3).

BD 146 presents the deceased as Horus-protector-of-his-father and the journey through the different doors. As Roulin has highlighted,²² the scene on the upper part is linked with the BD spell, as they share the same subject. In fact, the scene with Osiris on the throne is related to his rebirth and his position as king, and the selected passage of the spell deals with his son Horus protecting his father from illnesses and enemies, thus permitting the rebirth of Osiris on the upper register.

18 For the version of this spell in use during the 21st dynasty and the Late Period, see VERHOEVEN, in: *RdÉ* 43, 1992, 169–194.

19 A synoptic version of both versions is in preparation by the author.

20 *Wb* V, 483, 5–10, already mentioned by JANSEN-WINKELN, in: *GM* 102, 1988, 34–35, ROULIN, in: BRISAUD & ZIVIE-COCHE (edd.), *Tanis*, 221.

21 *Wb* V, 481, 13–482, 12.

22 ROULIN, in: BRISAUD & ZIVIE-COCHE (edd.), *Tanis*, 221.



Fig. 2: Papyrus Greenfield, London BM EA 10554, sheet 88
(© The Trustees of the British Museum).

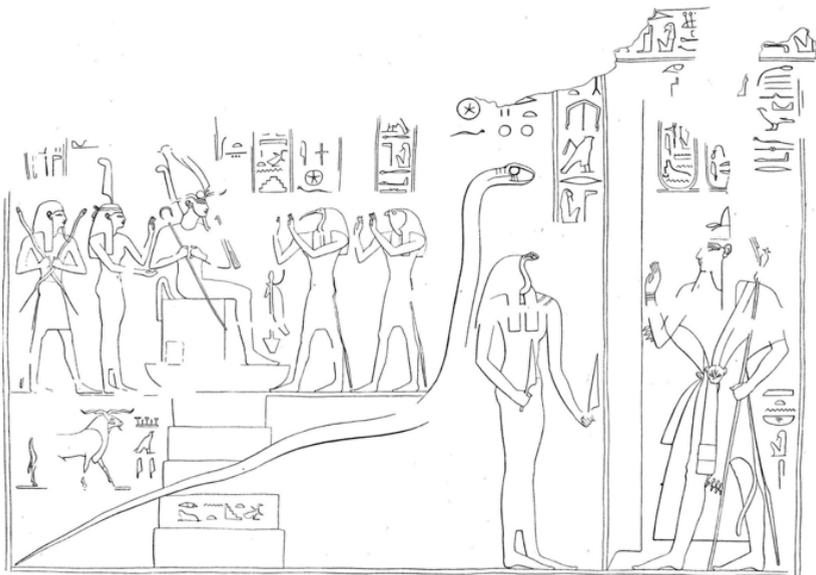


Fig. 3: Tomb of Osorkon II in Tanis, Room 1, South wall (MONTET, *NRTI*, pl. 24).



Fig. 4: Tomb of Sheshonq, Cairo JE 88131, East wall
(© Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Photo G. Lenzo).

In the tomb, the artist who designed the wall organized these two parts – which are separated in Papyrus Greenfield by 42 sheets – in another original way.

Furthermore, the scene is also attested in the Memphite tomb of Sheshonq, son of Osorkon II where it is almost identical: only a few differences are discernible, such as the presence of a god in a bark pulled by another god under the great snake and behind the goddess with knives Hepetet-Hor (fig. 4).

This scene is particularly frequent during the 21st dynasty, but the first known version has been found in TT 148 of the 20th dynasty.²³ Furthermore, the latter is similar to the version in the Papyrus Greenfield, Osorkon and Sheshonq.

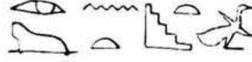
In addition, the comparison of the texts, this time all in hieroglyphs, shows the same writing in each case, for example in $(tn)ḥ.t n.t Wsir$ “throne dais of Osiris”:

Papyrus Greenfield,
sheet 88



²³ On this scene, see NIWIŃSKI, in: *JEOL* 30, 1987–88, 96–97; NIWIŃSKI, *Theban Funerary Papyri*, 39–40; LULL, in: *JEA* 87, 2001, 180–186; PIANKOFF & RAMBOVA, *Mythological Papyri*, 58–60, as well as LENZO, *La déesse Hepetet(-Hor)* (forthcoming). For the version in TT 148, see OCKINGA, in: FISCHER-ELFERT & ZIBELIUS-CHEN (edd.), *Festschrift*.

Osorkon II



Sheshonq



2.3. BD spells 110–144–146

Room 3 in Osorkon's tomb displays the greatest number of scenes similar to Papyrus Greenfield, with the sequence BD 110–144–146. On the South wall, the scene in the Fields of Iaru of BD 110 is identical with the same scene in Papyrus Greenfield, sheet 81. It is followed by BD 144 on the West wall, an order which is observed in Papyrus Greenfield, with this spell occurring on sheet 82. However, after this spell, the next scene on the wall is a vignette of BD 146, which occurs on sheet 45 in Papyrus Greenfield. That is, the sequence BD 144–146 of the wall corresponds to two sheets in the papyrus (82 and 45), which are separated from each other by 37 sheets. Spell BD 146 is already attested in the antechamber 1 of Osorkon's tomb (see above). There we find the vignette, which is thus in another room in the tomb, but right beside the text in Papyrus Greenfield. In both cases, there is no doubt that the model was the same. Besides, the theme on the West wall is linked with the doors and their doorkeepers, which the deceased had to pass.

The versions in Papyrus Greenfield and Osorkon II for BD 144 (fig. 5 and 6) are almost exactly the same regarding their content, their writing and the indication of the seven doorkeepers in the lower part.²⁴ The names of the deities are the same and are given in a similar order, which does not correspond to the usual version. It also contains the wish for the deceased to pass each door.²⁵ Hence, the same model was certainly used for both documents and was copied once in hieratic for the papyrus and once in hieroglyphs for the tomb.

As for BD 146, its vignette in Papyrus Greenfield is very uncommon: it shows the deceased being illuminated by the sun, a doorkeeper with a double snake-head and a knife, and another doorkeeper holding something indeterminate, maybe a plant or a knife (fig. 7 and 8).²⁶ According to Guilhou, this scene is very rare.²⁷

24 The versions of the New Kingdom and of the Saite period are very different; see LUCARELLI, in: *BMSAES* 15, 2010, 85–102.

25 A detailed study of the spell with a synoptic presentation is in preparation by the author.

26 See GUILHOU, in: AUFRÈRE (ed.), *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal*, 383 and 385.

27 GUILHOU, in: AUFRÈRE (ed.), *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal*, 383 and 385.

Comparison of the texts and scenes in the Greenfield Papyrus



Fig. 5: Papyrus Greenfield, London BM EA 10554, sheet 82
(© The Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 6: Tomb of Osorkon II in Tanis, Room 3, West wall
(MONTET, *NRT I*, pl. 25).

It is found in other papyri of the 21st dynasty,²⁸ but these versions differ from the Greenfield papyrus.



Fig. 7: Extract of Papyrus Greenfield, London BM EA 10554, sheet 45
(© The Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 8: Tomb of Osorkon II in Tanis, Room 1, South wall (MONTET, *NRT* I, pl. 25).

28 In addition to the two papyri cited by GUILHOU, papyrus Cairo S. R. IV 11494 (see GUILHOU, in: AUFRÈRE (ed.), *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal*, 383, fig. 40) and papyrus Gatseshen = papyrus Cairo JE 95838 (see LUCARELLI, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen*, pl. 45), we can add other papyri similar to papyrus Gatseshen such as papyrus Cairo S. R. IV 981 (NIEWIŃSKI, *Theban Funerary Papyri*, pl. 14a–b), papyrus Paris BNF 84 (RAGAZZOLI, in: *BMSAES* 15, 2010, 241), papyrus Paris Louvre E 3661 (unpublished).

3. The Papyrus Greenfield and the tomb of Sheshonq (Cairo JE 88131)

The tomb of Sheshonq was found in Memphis in 1942, then published by Badawi in 1956²⁹, and is now exhibited in the garden of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 88131). Sheshonq (D) was the son of Osorkon II and was buried during the reign of Sheshonq III, probably soon after the death of his father. Therefore, the tombs of Osorkon II and Sheshonq can probably be dated to the same period. The very interesting thing about this tomb is the fact that four sheets attested in Papyrus Greenfield (85–86–87–88) have been copied almost exactly in the same way on the East wall.

3.1. “Mythological” scenes

The upper register of the East wall of the tomb of Sheshonq corresponds to the “mythological” part of the Greenfield papyrus (sheets 85 to 88). The first scene represents the deceased (Nestanebetisheru in the papyrus and Sheshonq in the tomb) in the attitude of adoration in front of the bark of Amun-Ra-Horakhty (sheet 85). Then Nestanebetisheru is shown kneeling in front of four gods (sheet 86). In the tomb, the representation of Sheshonq is missing, the gods have been carved one above the other on four registers, and the last one was destroyed. The next scene is the well-known representation of the separation of Geb and Nut by Shu (sheet 87) and, finally, the last one shows Osiris on the throne dais (sheet 88, see above 2.2. and fig. 3–4). Except for sheet 88, the other scene with texts is the one with the separation of Geb and Nut. Not only are the figures very similar, but the texts in hieroglyphs are also written, and sometimes displayed, in almost the same way. Table 3 gives some examples of writings. If other versions of the scene are well-known from other documents, such as papyri or coffins,³⁰ none of them presents the same similarities as in Papyrus Greenfield and the tomb of Sheshonq.

Finally, part of this particular scene was also used in Osorkon’s tomb: the gods on the right side of the papyrus are exactly the same, but instead of a praise to Geb and Nut, the god represented is Amun-Re-Horakhty.³¹

29 BADAWI, in: *ASAÉ* 54, 1956, 153–177.

30 See for example papyrus Cairo S. R. VII 11501 for a papyrus (PIANKOFF & RAMBOVA, *Mythological Papyri*, number 11) or coffin Cairo CG 6190 (NIWIŃSKI, *Second Find of Deir El-Bahari (coffins)*, 88, fig. 124).

31 See ROULIN, in: BRISSAUD & ZIVIE-COCHE (edd.), *Tanis*, 241.

Table 3: Similar writings in the scene of the separation of Geb and Nut by Shu

| pGreenfield sheet 87 | Sheshonq, East wall | pGreenfield sheet 87 | Sheshonq, East wall |
|---|---|---|--|
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |

However, some other texts are written in very different ways: for example spell BD 125 seems different in both Osorkon and Sheshonq, as well as in Papyrus Greenfield (attested twice). It shows the use of various models reorganized in different ways, each document with its own logical sequence.

4. Conclusions about the links between Papyrus Greenfield and the tombs

Starting from the examples of the Papyrus Greenfield and the tombs of Osorkon II and Sheshonq, some preliminary conclusions can be highlighted.

First of all, the Greenfield papyrus is clearly a compound of different parts, which probably originated from several models compiled for this specific papyrus in Thebes around 950 BC.

The scenes represented exactly in the same way, as well as the similarities both in the content and in the spelling of the words, leave no doubt about the fact that parts of these three documents stem from the same archetype.

Since the tomb of Sheshonq presents almost exactly the same content as four sheets of Papyrus Greenfield, we can suggest that there was a papyrus with these scenes (and maybe some others), which was used as a model.

The situation for Osorkon II is more complex to grasp, because the similar parts sometimes correspond to very different excerpts of the papyrus, which do not follow each other and are sometimes separated by several meters: did one papyrus, or did more papyri serve as model(s)?

We can deduce that models circulated between Thebes and Tanis/Memphis even in the space of approximately 80 years. Since the Papyrus Greenfield is the oldest document, we can assume that the model(s), certainly as papyri, were brought from Thebes to Tanis and/or Memphis. The provenance could be the archives of the Karnak temple, because one of the titles of Nestanebetisheru can be linked to these archives (“servant of the inventory/lists of Amun-Ra, king of the gods”). She may thus have had direct access to all the models. We cannot exclude that the models existed in Tanis almost at the same time as in Karnak and that they were spread simultaneously, already during the 21st dynasty. Besides, many other funerary texts were found in the tombs, suggesting that Tanis certainly had its own important library. Moreover, other objects were transported from Thebes to Tanis, such as the sarcophagus of Merenptah, which was used in the tomb of Psusennes I (*NRT II*).³² The other question is that of the links between Tanis and Memphis. As the tomb of Sheshonq dates from the same period and since he was buried shortly after his father, it was either the case that copies of the same models were brought to Memphis, or different copies were brought from Thebes to both Tanis and Memphis. In the latter case, the question is whether this perhaps even happened at the same time in order to install the same archives in these two main centres.

The last point to tackle is about the choice of the texts and the writings. First, how were the texts chosen? The choice was probably made from models on papyri or ostraca in the archives, and the texts were selected so as to make the travel in the hereafter a logical sequence including the important considerations for that period.

The choice of the writings is more problematic when the same text in hieratic is clearly reproduced in hieroglyphs. Some of the studies presented during the “Ägyptologische ‚Binsen‘-Weisheiten II” Colloquium published in 2015 give very insightful answers in this regard, such as the articles by Ben Haring, Barbara Lüscher and

32 MONTET, *NRT II*, 111.

Erhart Graefe.³³ Especially Haring's contribution, based on convincing examples, shows that the copies were probably written in the same script as the original and that it was presumably not an easy matter to go from hieratic to hieroglyphs.

If we go back to Papyrus Greenfield, we can clearly see links in the identical way of writing the same word in hieratic and hieroglyphs, but at the same time, the scribe was able to change some signs, like the *n* from the ripple of water to the red crown. Can we imagine that it was copied directly from the model that was used in the tomb, or was there an intermediate stage represented by, for instance, ostraca in hieroglyphs?

Due to a lack of information regarding practical aspects, our understanding of the transmission of texts in different centres, especially far away from each other, is only slowly progressing.

However, the case of the Greenfield papyrus and the tombs in the north represents an important contribution in this regard, especially during a period with so many innovations in the funerary texts.

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