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Abstract

The so-called *chapitres supplémentaires*, BD 162 to 167, Pleyte, have been composed during the last phase of the history of the Book of the Dead. The group of spells 163, 164, and 165 was first introduced into this corpus as an addition to it, while BD 162 seems to be considered the conclusive chapter of this ensemble. Furthermore, their originality lies in the main role played by the Theban theology and, on a lexical level, in the attempt to give them a Nubian background. Stylistically, they show some features of Late Egyptian, while the rest of the corpus is written in classical Middle Egyptian.

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Challenging Time(s): A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology

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The so-called *Chapitres Supplémentaires*

Annik Wüthrich

<1> Introduction: the designation of *chapitres supplémentaires*

In 1881, Willem Pleyte, the curator of the Egyptian collection in the Museum of Leiden at that time, published an ensemble of spells found on papyrus belonging to that museum, to the Louvre and to the British Museum, which he called *chapitres supplémentaires* (Pleyte, 1881). He numbered these spells according to the publication of the Book of the Dead by Richard Lepsius (1842) from 162 to 174, adding nine new chapters to the corpus. The slightly later publication by Édouard Naville (1886) created a problem of double numbering from BD 166 to 174 since Naville did not take the numbering by Pleyte into account. To justify its decision, he argued that the BD chapters Pleyte published did not exist in the New Kingdom sources. He also left numbers 162 to 165 "free", because they were already known from the Lepsius reference book (Naville, 1886, 14). This confusion has been maintained in some translations of the BD which mix both sets of spells (for instance Barguet, 1967: 238, who placed the translation of the two spells one after the other without explaining that this is simply an Egyptological convention).

The modern designation of *chapitres supplémentaires* is inspired by the incipit written before BD 163 on some ten papyri from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, which mentions that those spells are "extracted from another roll as an addition to the *Going forth by Day*, which has been found in the temple of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands in Tanis, the one who makes live the two lands." (Wüthrich, 2015: 80-81). However, if Pleyte applied his designation to thirteen spells that appear together only on one single Ptolemaic papyrus (P. Louvre N3248, partially published in Wüthrich, 2015), that ancient designation in

fact pertains just to spells 163 to 165. As Jean Yoyotte (1977), who wrote the seminal article for the study of those chapters, remarks, BD 162, 166, and 167 are conceptually, theologically, and linguistically very similar to these three chapters, whereas BD 168 to 174 focus on a completely different topic. The main purpose of these latter texts is to ensure the preservation and the awakening of the mummy, the so-called "Osiris Liturgy." We can therefore assume that the *chapitres supplémentaires* in the ancient sense are BD 163 to 165, and we can consider BD 162, 166, and 167 to be closely related.

<1> The incipit

The incipit introducing the *chapitres supplémentaires* is very interesting for several reasons. First of all, it presents the notion of a supplement or an addition to the corpus and raises the issue of what exactly a Book of the Dead spell is. It appears, like three of these spells (BD 163, 164, and 165), for the first time on manuscripts dating from the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty or the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, when the scribes decided to reorganize the corpus to make a standardized version of it, which the Egyptologists describe as the Saite or Late Recension (see #Albert and Gülden, this volume#). We do not know the exact purpose of this reorganization, but it seems that after that time, a lot of funerary papyri were mass-produced and personalized only by adding the name and title of the owner of the manuscript. Even the vignettes were not always made for the owner of the papyrus, as scrolls of female owners demonstrate, in which the deceased is depicted as a man (see #Töpfer and Verhoeven, this volume#).

However, during the same time, we can observe the continuation of the practice of text selection, already attested in the Third Intermediate Period. This practice consisted of selecting some texts that might or might not have belonged to the Late Recension, and that could be reworked to allow the deceased to take with him all the knowledge he needed in the

afterlife. Therefore, the designation of "addition" means that the scribes considered, at least when these chapters were first being used, that they did not belong to the classical "Going forth by Day," but were instead added to the "classical" corpus to be useful for the survival of the deceased. Nevertheless, it seems that, throughout the whole documentation, the use of the incipit remains marginal and the scribes did not find it difficult to consider those three spells to be part of the Late Recension, or at least that these texts were essential for the deceased. If the three chapters originated from another repertoire, it is worth noting nonetheless that there is no example of a papyrus containing just those three BD chapters. If they are an addition to the classical Book of the Dead, we have no evidence of their prior existence, separate from the BD.

BD 162 is associated with these three spells from their very first attestation at the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. However, it originally appears separated from the group in the Twenty-first Dynasty. The theological concepts involved in this chapter are slightly different from the other three spells: the god invoked is not yet clearly defined as Amun, but the different epithets linked to this deity allow us to identify him with the Theban god. This is, one might say, the first step of the evolution of the Theban theology into the Book of the Dead. On the contrary, Amun is openly named in BD 163 and 165, while in BD 164 the goddess Mut is the main deity of the text. Another difference is the origin of the foreign words. While a proximity to Nubian languages is quite clear in BD 163, 164, and 165, the origin of the unidentified lexemes in BD 162 remains impossible to establish.

The position of the *chapitres supplémentaires* remains unchanged until the end of the use of the Book of the Dead: as a group, they are always inscribed at the end of the 'standard' version. Rarely, however, we can find them separately in personalized manuscripts, as it is the case with BD 163 in some papyri coming from Akhmim, although they still appear near

the end of the text collection (Mosher, 2011), whereas BD 162 was written, even at the beginning of its use, mostly frequently as the final text.

Besides the incipit, four of the papyri inscribed with the *chapitres supplémentaires* contain the phrase *ỉw=f pw*, which is the usual colophon used to indicate the end of a text (Lenzo-Marchese, 2004). On P.Marseille 291 (Verhoeven, 1999), which is one of the oldest attestations of BD 163 to 165, the indication is after BD 161, while on the other three it is after BD 162. The sequence of P.Marseille is 161-colophon-incipit-163-164-165-162. Here, the function of the incipit is probably to introduce the four spells. In the three other papyri, the sequence is BD 162-colophon-incipit-163-164-165, which means that the scribes considered the colophon as the final remark of the Book of the Dead and the three chapters as an actual addition to the corpus. All three of these manuscripts date to the Ptolemaic period. On the other hand, the colophon is attested after BD 162 on about ten other manuscripts, again dating to the Ptolemaic Period, while it is written only once after the last spell (BD 165) on the Ptolemaic P.London BM EA 10097 (partially published in Wüthrich, 2015). Oddly enough, the colophon is written twice on this papyrus, once again after BD 162. In summary, the colophon indicates that the conclusive spell of the Book of the Dead in the Late Period was BD 162, and that at times it can mark the end of the corpus.

These four spells are thus described as an addition and conclusion to this funerary ensemble. But why do these spells have this status? Overall, we can observe that the spells of the Late Recension are organized in thematic groups, which are in part introduced by a common title, as they came from another repertoire, but this mention of an "addition" is unique.

<1> The *chapitres supplémentaires* as final spells of the Book of the Dead

This, however, does not alone explain their final position. The six BD spells (BD 155-160), which are almost always written before the *chapitres supplémentaires*, are linked to the

amulets, whereas the rubrics from BD 162 to 165 all contain instructions for the fabrication of such objects. Above all else, the grouping and the final position of the four spells have to do with their theological and linguistic particularism. The themes of the texts, for instance, can explain their position, especially in the case of BD 162. The goal of this text is "to provide heat under the head of the blessed one in the necropolis." The heat (*ḥꜣbs* in the very first attestation, and then always *bs*) will ensure that the deceased will be reborn, that he will pass from a lethargic to a living state. Moreover, this text allows the deceased to assimilate his fate to that of the solar god, who is reborn every day after his nightly journey in the underworld. The position of this text could be explained, therefore, as a final spell in the process of rebirth initiated at the beginning of the Book of the Dead with the inhumation of the deceased into his grave.

<1> Pseudepigraphic justification

The mention of Tanis as the place where the texts were found is also unusual. This should not be understood literally, but rather as one of the many examples in Egyptian literature of the use of pseudepigrapha, which can be defined as using a famous reference, person, god, or place, to give a text a more sacral value. As for Tanis, it never had the status of a holy city like Heliopolis or Thebes, even if it is sometimes described as the "Northern Thebes" (Guermeur, 2005: 117-124). However, Tanis must have played as significant a theological role as Thebes or Edfu from the Third Intermediate Period onwards. If we take into account that the first mention of this group of texts dates from the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, then we can consider this a clue for the sacralization of the city during or after the reign of the Kushites. Later, in BD 163, we first find another geographical reference that can be related to the contemporary theology: the peak of Napata, the Gebel Barkal, is the place where the god Amun rests, and is also viewed as the southern replica of the temple of Karnak by the

Kushites (Wüthrich, 2010: 6-8; 130-137). Another city is mentioned with a reference to Neith of Sais. All these cities bore the name of "Northern" or "Southern" Thebes, whereas this designation for Sais is attested only in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Guermeur, 2005: 117-125). Therefore, one can see the *chapitres supplémentaires* as an attempt to reflect the theological reality of the time on a geographical level.

The use of pseudepigrapha in order to give to the text more sacrality is also attested in BD 166 and 167, giving them also the status of annex to the corpus: the incipit of BD 166 mentions that the spell has been found "on the neck of Ramses II (User-Maat-Ra) in the necropolis" (in the latest variant of the text "at the time of Ramses II" for a different analysis of this incipit, see Dahms, Pehal, and Willems, 2014), whereas that of BD 167 names Khemwaset and Amenhotep, son of Hapu, as the discoverers of the text in the necropolis of Memphis. All references are probably pseudepigraphic and have the purpose of placing the texts under the authority of high dignitaries, who were celebrated for their wisdom or perhaps for their encyclopaedic knowledge.

<1> Date of attestation

The six spells appear late in the history of the Book of the Dead: BD 162 and 166 date from the middle of the Twenty-first Dynasty, BD 163 to 165 are not known before the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and BD 167 is attested entirely on only two papyri from the Ptolemaic period.

BD 166 was first inscribed on small pieces of papyrus placed directly on different parts of the mummy, sometimes folded and sometimes rolled up and put into the clothes of the mummy. At the same time, we also find this text on longer papyri.

Likewise, BD 162 appears at the end of the so-called "abrégés" of the Third Intermediate Period. These are short papyri written mostly in hieratic with an initial illustration,

representing the deceased in adoration before one or more deities (usually Osiris or Re-Horakhty). The manuscript also contains a selection of texts or of parts of spells, which were the most important element for survival in the afterlife. As we have already emphasized, BD 162 seems to have been understood at this time as the conclusive spell of this repertoire.

<1> The language of the *chapitres supplémentaires*

All *chapitres supplémentaires* are composed in a language tinged with Late Egyptian constructions, which is quite unusual for this kind of text. The Book of the Dead belongs to those texts conceived in a language similar to what was thought to be the language of the First occasion (zp-tp.j), i.e. contemporary with the creation of the world. This is the language of the first phase, namely Old and Middle Egyptian. But from the beginning of the New Kingdom, it becomes an artificial one that we call "*égyptien de tradition*", which aims at avoiding any trace of the contemporary idioms in order to maintain the world in its initial state. As noted by Pascal Vernus, the imitation of the old language leads to a situation of diglossia, especially when the "gap between this language and the spoken language is so large that the knowledge of the latter does not ensure the understanding of the former" (Vernus, 1996: 557). While most of the spells from the corpus of the Book of the Dead have their origin in the corpus of the Coffin Texts, some of them were elaborated during the New Kingdom or later. Since the *chapitres supplémentaires* are not attested before the middle of the Twenty-first Dynasty, we can suppose that they were conceived during the Ramesside era at the earliest. Like the rest of the corpus, the six spells are a combination of different genres: hymn, prayer, descriptive part, rubric, and so on.

Nevertheless, contrary to the other Book of the Dead spells we can observe in those chapters Late Egyptian features that do not appear with the same quantity in each part of the texts. BD 166 is clearly the text that is most influenced by Late Egyptian. Its first attestation is very

similar to another practice from the same period on small papyri found in the funerary context of the village of Deir el Medineh. Their purpose was to protect their owner against all possible misfortunes, such as serpent or scorpion bites (Edwards, 1960; Fischer-Elfert 2015). The owner of the papyrus asked the deity through the mediation of a priest for an oracular utterance that would protect him. These papyri were then rolled and placed in a cylinder around his neck (Dielman, 2015). If we compare BD 166 with those texts, we can assume that it was conceived as a funerary counterpart to this magical practice because of their very similar appearance and also because of the content of the text: the gods who are addressed in the first part of the text are defined as "the ones who spread the oracle to the solar disc", while the universal god is invoked in the latter part to confirm that the ushabtis will work for the deceased in the underworld as they used to do on earth (Černý, 1942). Just as the topics of the spell and its appearance are very similar, we can observe that the language is also closely related to the style of the amuletic decrees, which show many Late Egyptian features. The incipit of BD 166 is clearly written in Late Egyptian, perhaps to reinforce the impression of authenticity. In this text, like in BD 162, many words belong to the lexicon of the second phase (Late Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic). The period of attestation of BD 166 is short, and so is that of the practice of the amuletic decrees.

If the Late Egyptian features are particularly evident in BD 166, it is in the rubrics of the other spells that we find most of the younger constructions. They contain the practical information regarding the use of the spell as a magic formula to be inscribed on specific objects, such as images of a golden cow or a mummy bandage. From the New Kingdom onwards, the magical papyri were clearly written in the contemporarily spoken language. It is therefore no surprise to find the same practice in the technical part of the *chapitres supplémentaires*.

In its first attestation, the hymnic part of BD 162 clearly exhibits the use of a Late Egyptian vocabulary, which indicates a recent elaboration of the text, while its later variant was reworked using words which belong to the classical lexicon of the earlier period, probably in order to better adapt it to the holy nature of these kinds of texts. The scribes of the Late Recension of the Book of the Dead rewrote this part of the text in a pure "*égyptien de tradition*," expurgating it of its neologisms. BD 164 and 165 also contain a hymnic part at the beginning of the formula. This is clearly written in "*égyptien de tradition*." In the final section, the instructions regarding the construction of the amulet are composed in Late Egyptian to increase its performativity and efficiency. The last part of this section then contains the assurance about the efficiency of the use of the spell: if the text is correctly recited and the object properly made, then the deceased will survive and receive all the advantages he deserves in the afterlife.

<1> Foreign words or abracadabra?

Another particularity of these texts is the use of words written in syllabic script, which can suggest a foreign origin. The reference to Nubia in three of these texts suggests the Nubian origin of these lexemes (Vernus, 1984). Their identification and translation are still very problematic. Thanks to the signs that are used as determinatives for these lexemes, however, we can conclude that they are either toponyms and theonyms or epithets of gods. None of the attempts that have been undertaken to identify them, are entirely convincing (Rilly, 2007; Zibelius-Chen, 2013). The main problem is that the exact language has not been identified. Since spells 163, 164, and 165 mention Nubia, we can assume that these words are from that region. They are probably written in what could be described as Proto-Meroitic language, "Proto" because the Meroitic language was the language of Kush from only the eighth century BCE to the fourth century CE. Georges Posener (1940) and Claude Rilly (2007) have

demonstrated that there are already traces of the predecessor of this language in the lists of enemies or of toponyms from the Middle Kingdom. The absence of some vowels that are also missing in later Meroitic is a good clue for the identification of the language. But, as underlined by Rilly, these lexemes are lexical elements "genetically close" to the later Meroitic and the exact nature of this language is still unknown.

The first attestation, which is certainly a transcription of the language of the Nubians, dates from the Hyksos period (sixteenth century BCE). It is a list of anthroponyms that has the purpose of precisely enumerating the allies or the enemies of the kingdom (Erman, 1911; Vernus, 1984). Thanks to it, we can establish a consonantal inventory of Proto-Meroitic. However, the main question remains: Why did the scribes include Nubian words in at least three spells of the Book of the Dead? The Egyptians' interest in Nubia is not new. The sources demonstrate that most of the kings tried, with greater or lesser success, to establish their hegemony in this region for commercial and strategic purposes. The examples quoted so far had the purpose of identifying the enemy or the dangerous entities that could mean trouble for Egypt. There is nothing similar in the *chapitres supplémentaires*. All these lexemes are connected with Amun or his family, or with toponyms. The recent research on the Meroitic lexicography has allowed us to establish a list of some hundred words that can be translated (Rilly, 2012). In her attempt to decipher the foreign lexemes of the *chapitres supplémentaires*, Karola Zibelius-Chen (2013) has been able to recognize some "generic" words such as "princess" or "to engender." The collection of variants of these lexemes shows that their orthography is far from fixed. With great caution, we can hypothesize that these words are in fact an attempt to imitate the Nubian language with some use of real generic terms. The phenomenon is called *voces magicae* and is very popular in the late magical practice (Dielman, 2005). Knowing the power of the Nubian magic, the scribes tried to compose words which seemed Nubian.

<1> The Theban theology in the *chapitres supplémentaires*

The inclusion of the Theban theology is probably the most remarkable aspect of these texts. The presence of Amun or Mut in the Book of the Dead is indeed very anecdotic, and this innovation is really an ideological revolution. The geographical and historical background in which the *chapitres supplémentaires* appear is therefore particularly illuminating. The growing influence of the priests of Amun-Re at the end of the New Kingdom made the establishment of a truly theocratic form of government possible (Vernus, 1995; Assmann, 1995; Jansen-Winkeln, 2001); theoretically each decision was submitted for the approval of the Theban god. Therefore, we can observe an important modification in the perception of the deity. A symptom of this phenomenon could be the increase in sources that show a personal piety, in parallel with a decline of royal authority. From this time on, Amun-Re is perceived as the true king of both gods and men. He is presented as an autogenic and primordial god, superior to the other gods who are born from him, a god of fertility as well as a solar god, who can also be observed in the underworld, as a protector and saviour, a lawyer and judge, transcendent and immanent and as one and many. Jan Assmann (1983, 96-143) defines this theology as a New Solar Theology, which appears in most of the hymns of the second part of the Eighteenth Dynasty and later. The exact starting point of this theological "revolution" has not been definitively established yet (Stadler, 2009, 2010). However, it seems rather clear that the theologians of the post-Amarna Period had rethought some aspects of the solar theology. On the basis of sometimes even older concepts, they developed a new theological discourse that established Amun and his consort Mut as universal deities.

In the *chapitres supplémentaires*, Amun and Mut are characterized as funerary deities, competing with, if not replacing, the sovereign of the afterlife, Osiris. However, the role of Amun and of his companion differs from spell to spell, probably relating to the supposed date

of composition, and this reflects the evolution of his theology. In BD 162, the god invoked is not named, but his royal and solar epithets clearly link him to Amun-Re, as mentioned into the so-called "credo" of the Third Intermediate Period (Meyer 1928, 503). Those characteristics correspond to the sixteen epithets of the lion god of BD 162. Its first specificity is to be a royal deity: "Hail to thou, the rw-lion, the powerful one, lofty of plumes, lord of the Upper Egyptian crown, equipped with the scourge". The autogenic and primordial aspect is evocated trough the following epithet: "Thou art the lord of the phallus". The god is here defined as a reproductive entity on the one hand, demiurge because he is the one with the instrument of creation, the phallus; and on the other hand as autogenic, this attribute allowing him to create himself. These two notions are to be found slightly more indirectly in the other element: "Thou art the loudly roaring one in the midst of the Ennead, the great courser, swift of step."

The loudly roaring must be linked to the creative act, when the silence before creation is broken by the first scream. Those three epithets can be brought together with the warrior and violent aspects of the deity, as per his leonine nature. In a solar context, they also allude to the god's ability to move rapidly. This ability refers to the idea of proximity and distance, one another main characteristic of this god.

At the end of the Ramesside period, Amun-Re is also often evoked in the context of personal piety. In BD 162 the god is defined as: "(…) Thou art the mighty god, the one who comes to whom has called him, who protects the needy from distress," which matches perfectly well with the idea of a judging god protecting the widow and the orphan.

Finally, and this is probably one of his main particularities, the lion god of BD 162 is omnipotent and hidden, transcendent and immanent, one and many. This can be found in a series of epithets: "Thou art the lord of forms, numerous of colors, who conceals himself in the sound eyes from his children." The first is the essence of Amun-Re himself: he is

multiform. The two others symbolize the immanence (the bright side of the divine falcon) and the deity's transcendence (the god stays hidden from his children).

As such, "thou art constant as riser, shiner who has no limit." The god shines in the sky and he is untouchable. His power is infinite, as his sun rays are able to reach the limits of the earth. He is also unchanging as the solar cycle that is renewed every morning.

In BD 162, his mother is the Ihet-cow. She is identified as the one "who gives birth to the solar god" in all periods of her attestation and is related to the function of demiurge (Wüthrich, 2016). Here, she names the god, but these theonyms are completely impervious to any attempt of translation, except for two trigrams showing the solar and timeless nature of the god. We can conclude that, at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period, BD 162 was introduced into the Book of the Dead's corpus because it presents the universal form of the deity. Even unnamed, Amun has his habitual attributes in this spell, besides those normally reserved for Osiris as a god of the underworld as well as a fertility god.

The unnamed god of BD 166 is closely also related to Osiris: he is "the mourner" (or "the mourned one," if we follow the proposition of Dahms, Pehal, and Willems, 2014: 409), and "the universal master," victim of a violent death. But his attributes are also very close to those of the solar god of BD 162, as a god capable of violence and able to rule over the deceased's fate. This god is invoked to act in conformity with what is usually asked of Osiris in the Book of the Dead. In the final section of BD 166, the deceased pleads that the "ushabti" i.e., the statuettes who magically worked in his place as his servants (doing his farming, for instance, in the underworld) and were acquired by him on earth, act in his favour. Contrary to the traditional BD 6 inscribed on the "shabti" which were the substitutes for the deceased or his entourage in the New Kingdom, and again on the ushabti from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty onwards, the "ushabti" here are not directly commended to work in the place of the deceased, but it is the universal master who is asked to order them to act. This change again fits

perfectly within the establishment of a theocracy in the Third Intermediate Period. When we compare BD 166 and the decree for Nesikhonsu on the Mc Cullum and Rodgers palettes (Černý, 1942), it appears clear that the "ushabti" are forced to act only through the will of Amun-Re. Therefore, it is not because he has become a justified Osiris that the deceased benefits from the work of the "ushabti," but rather because Amun-Re has decided so. We can speak here of Amun's "Osirianization." (Wüthrich, 2010, 37-41 and 159-161; Smith, 2017, sp. 498-502)

The development of the theology of the Theban family experienced another crucial phase with the Kushites. In the Book of the Dead, the evolution of Amun and Mut into universal entities with a funerary role is completed. Both Amun (BD 163 and 165) and Mut (BD 164) are clearly identified. They bear their usual attributes as solar and royal deities, as well as some funerary epithets. However, unlike in BD 162, the deceased does not ask here to be identified with the solar god to participate in the solar renaissance. The topics used in these three spells are similar to the usual wishes in the Book of the Dead: physical integrity and recovery of the physical functions, ability to move freely, good reputation, and ability to again be a part of society. All these elements are closely related to the usual content of this corpus, but they are simultaneously very innovative because of the use of the Theban pantheon as a reflection of the theology established by the Kushites.

BD 167 is clearly different from the other spells. It is more of a collection of four texts assembled at an unknown period. As mentioned in its title, these four texts are "writings of the bowl". The first three texts refer to the god Amun, first presented as a bull with the demiurge's and royal attributes, reminiscent of the deity of BD 163 and 165. This bull is then defined in the second part as terrifying and blazing, but also as transcendent. The same motif is used in the third part of the spell, but the god is here referred to with an unidentified theonym. In those three parts, we can find the same attributes and themes as those from BD

163, 164 and 165, and like the other *chapitres supplémentaires*, it ends with a rubric that indicates the procedure to follow for the fabrication of the amulet.

The topic of the last part is completely different: the deceased is called upon out; then a series of wishes follow that are very consistent with the usual themes of the Book of the Dead (offerings, freedom to exit and enter the underworld, physical integrity, to be justified, etc.) and the wish to be towed during the Sokar-Festival. This latter ritual is a clear assimilation of the deceased with the rebirth of Osiris, and is followed by some allusions to diverse deities in connection with the funerary rituals.

<1> Conclusion

The appellation *chapitres supplémentaires* is both an ancient and a modern designation. The ancient Egyptian scribes reworked ancient formulas and also composed new spells during the first Millenium BCE thar, among other things, reflected the developments of the theological concepts of Amun's religion. Three of them (BD 163, 164, and 165) were defined as an "addition to the *Going forth by Day*" – the Book of the Dead. At the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, those three chapters were integrated into the Book of Dead. From this period on, they are always associated with BD 162, the spell that concludes this corpus since its first attestation in the Twenty-first Dynasty.

The modern designation of *chapitres supplémentaires* was adopted by W. Pleyte to describe thirteen spells appearing together on only one papyrus from the Ptolemaic Period (P. Paris Louvre N3248). J. Yoyotte refined the definition by splitting the *chapitres supplémentaires* into two thematic groups: the first one (BD 162 to 167) regrouped the "Theban spells", while the second one can be considered the "Osirian spells". Because of their conceptual similarities (Theban theology, inclusion of foreign magical words, importance of a Nubian background) and stylistic (inclusion of late Egyptian features), BD 166 and 167 were added to the "ancient" *chapitres supplémentaires*. These six spells are testimony to the Egyptians'

creativity and their capacity to adapt and update an ancient corpus of texts, in order to be in keeping with the contemporaneous theological discourse. They are therefore a very important source for the comprehension of the funerary religion of the Late Period.

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