



Three funerary papyri from Thebes: New evidence on scribal and funerary practice in the Late Period

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The three papyri

The following ideas are based mainly on evidence provided by one specific group of funerary papyri from Late Period Thebes. The three papyri P. Berlin P. 3158, P. Berlin P. 3159, and P. Aberdeen ABDUA 84023 (Backes 2009b) have so many peculiarities in common that they are believed to have been produced by the same workshop around 300 BC (see below).¹ It has been argued that all three owners belonged to the same family—the grandmother Reret (*Rrt*, owner of P. Berlin P. 3158), the father Padihorpakhered (*P3-dj-Hr-p3-hrd*, owner of P. Aberdeen) and the daughter Taatum (*T3-(n-)Itm*, owner of P. Berlin P. 3159)²—since the names of the owners' parents are written on each.

The absence of significant titulary, and the fact that the three papyri in question probably come from a group burial—which is assured for the two papyri now in Berlin (Passalacqua 1826, 170, no. 1; see Backes 2009b, 3)³—make it likely that their owners did not belong to the highest rank of society. Without more information, an attribute such as 'middle class' or 'sub-elite' might be most appropriate to describe their status in broad terms.

Identification of a workshop

Hardly anything is known about the 'workshops' where funerary papyri were produced, and even their existence, although most probable, is hypothetical (see Kockelmann 2008, 117–18, especially nos. 1–2). It is difficult to envisage how decorated funerary papyri, or other types of tomb equipment, might have been produced without the existence of something akin to what would now be called a 'workshop.' We are largely ignorant of how such work was organised, and without written evidence it is very difficult to identify in the historical record.⁴ Several arguments can be advanced, however, and while specific cases may include others, the following criteria can generally be used:

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¹ On the dating of the papyri, see Munro in Curtis, Kockelmann and Munro 2005, 52–53, and Backes 2009b, 3–4.

² The pedigree, which also includes Reret's parents as well as Padihorpakhered's father and his wife, was first established by Munro in Curtis, Kockelmann and Munro 2005, 52–53.

³ The relative brevity of the papyri might also be an indicator for this: P. Berlin P. 3159: 193cm; P. Berlin P. 3158: 266cm; P. Aberdeen ABDUA 84023: c. 350cm; see Backes 2009b, 4–6, 9.

⁴ On artistic production in general see Verbovsek 2006, especially 675–83 (with further references), and 681–82 for a critical view on too careless an assignment of the term 'workshops.'

1. Similar or identical handwriting (Kockelmann 2008, 118 with no. 7).
2. Vignettes painted in a very similar style or even by the same hand (Quaegebeur 1997, 73; Kockelmann 2008, 118).
3. Similar or identical layout (Kockelmann 2008, 118).
4. Use of the same model/master copy for text or vignettes.
5. Owners belonging to the same family (Kockelmann 2008, 118 with no. 10).

None of these arguments can be used without some reservations. Very similar handwritings might tell us that the scribes had the same teacher, but this does not necessarily mean that they were employed in the same workshop. Furthermore, a scribe could have moved from one workshop to another during his lifetime, or even founded his own. The same is true for vignette painters, with the added difficulty that identifying a single artist is always a delicate task.⁵ The layout of texts and images on papyri (and other media) might depend on the layout of the original template, and templates could be transferred from one workshop to another, or even throughout the whole country.⁶ Also, there is no reason why a workshop could not have employed various templates in order to offer a wide range of choices to their customers. Similarities in iconographic and scribal details prove a tradition, not a single workshop. Finally, while one family could, and perhaps usually did, procure their funerary equipment from the same workshop, this can by no means be taken as a rule.

I propose that at least two of the five arguments listed above are necessary to make the case that the same ‘workshop’ produced a series of funerary papyri. In this case, the same master copy was evidently used for most of the vignettes on P. Berlin P. 3158 and P. Aberdeen. Probably the best example is the vignettes of chapter 125 on the two papyri (Figs. 1–2; see Backes 2009b for the other vignettes). P. Berlin P. 3159 differs in the sequence of scenes, and in single elements of such large scenes as the Judgement of the Dead (Fig. 3), but the scenes themselves are similar to the other two papyri.⁷ The painting style is definitely similar on all three papyri, featuring rather short human figures, painted using thick layers of colour without indication of many details, but this is not sufficient to conclude with certainty that the vignettes were painted by a single hand rather than that they belong to the same tradition.⁸ The situation is clearer for the texts, for although each papyrus has texts not attested on the other two, there are a number of spells in common (Table 1). Some of these are not yet attested on any other papyrus.⁹ Furthermore, the orthography of the texts

⁵ For example, Quaegebeur 1997, 73 with pl. 35: ‘There can be little doubt, for instance, that the weighing of the heart scene in P. Louvre N 3126 was drawn by the same man who was responsible for the illustrations in P. Berlin 3135 and the P. Lafayette College.’ His impression might have some foundation from an investigation of the original, but looking at the plate in the publication I have more than only ‘little doubt’ about his hypothesis.

⁶ See I. Munro’s contribution in this volume.

⁷ For details of the vignettes on all three papyri see Backes 2009b, chapter 17.2 and plates.

⁸ Some of the colours used for P. Berlin P. 3159 are not the same as those on the other two papyri, see Backes 2009b, 70–73.

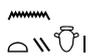
⁹ This is the case for the Invocations to the West A and B and the Coming of the Gods at the Prow of the Night Bark, for which I could not find an exact parallel. The Formula Concerning the Sons of Horus and

is highly characteristic, which will serve as a starting point for the main part of this article (see below). The texts share many further features (‘mistakes’), making it highly likely that they were copied from the same model, and the handwriting is indeed very similar on all three papyri.¹⁰ The basic layout of the papyri is identical, but not original: a row of vignettes without separation lines running over a zone of hieroglyphic columns, interrupted by the large vignettes of BD 15 and BD 125. Thus, even if impossible to prove, the assumption that the three papyri were produced in a single workshop is at least likely.¹¹

The writing system of the papyri

At first sight it is apparent that the three papyri contain numerous ‘mistakes.’ Without recourse to parallels, about half of the texts could not be properly understood (see Backes 2009b, 31–69). This is nothing remarkable as, through centuries of copying and re-copying of texts, some strands of the Book of the Dead tradition resulted in very erroneous copies, a prominent example being Books of the Dead from Ptolemaic Akhmim.¹² The current case is different: all three papyri present not only misunderstood signs, words or phrases, but also a consistent, unetymological writing system which makes it unlikely that all of the ‘mistakes’ can be explained by erroneous copying (although many of them certainly can).

The main characteristic of this ‘system’ is its extensive use of monoliteral signs. Some words are only written with these, showing neither determinatives nor ideograms. A choice of the clearest examples will suffice to demonstrate this¹³:

	<i>igr.t</i> ‘necropolis/Beyond’ (P. Berlin P. 3159, 83)
	<i>ndm</i> ‘sweet, pleasant’ (P. Berlin P. 3159, 71)
	<i>ndm-ib</i> ‘joyful’ (P. Berlin P. 3158, 49–50)
	<i>hsf</i> ‘repel’ (P. Aberdeen, 157)
	<i>grg</i> ‘lie’ (P. Aberdeen, 161)
	<i>d.t=f</i> ‘his body’ (eleven instances on all three papyri)
...	<i>ih/3h</i> (various writings) for the preposition <i>hr</i> (P. Berlin P. 3158, 61, 67, 77; P. 3159, 61; P. Aberdeen, 131)

the Invocation to the Heir of the Gods are not attested on papyri similar to the three treated here, but do occur on other media (see Backes 2009b and Assmann 2008, 249).

¹⁰ For initial remarks on the handwriting on the three papyri see Backes 2009b, 14–18.

¹¹ Note that adding the ‘same family argument’ (no. 5) here would be circular reasoning, because without the similarities of the papyri, it would not have been believed that their owners belonged to one family (Munro, in Curtis, Kockelmann and Munro 2005, 52–53).

¹² See, for example, the synopsis of BD 1 in Akhmim papyri in Lüscher 2000.

¹³ For a more extensive list see Backes 2009b, 27–30.

Two aspects characterise these and similar spellings:

1. By replacing multiliteral signs and determinatives with monoliteral signs, there are considerably fewer hieroglyphs than in texts with more traditional orthographies (i.e., featuring multiliteral signs and determinatives).
2. The monoliteral signs do not reproduce the traditional phonetic values of the absent logograms and multiliteral signs, but seem to be closer to the contemporaneous pronunciation of (the consonants of) the words in question (Backes 2009b, 27–28).

Recitation and understanding

There are several possible explanations for the appearance of these unetymological spellings. One is that they could add a second layer of meaning to a word,¹⁴ similar to what has been called ‘visual poetry’ for hieroglyphic texts (Morenz 2004).¹⁵ For the three papyri in question this aspect does not seem to have played a significant role. There are instances where a word has come into the text for phonetic reasons without being written alphabetically (e.g., *dj* ‘give’ replacing *dr* ‘repel’ in BD 89), but I cannot see any examples of ‘visual poetry’ within them.

A second explanation frequently proposed is that unetymological, and especially ‘alphabetical,’ writings could facilitate the pronunciation. F. Hoffmann (2002, 227), for example, assumes that unetymological writings (alphabetical as well as ‘group writings’) in the demotic P. Vienna D 6951 facilitate the recitation of a (neo-)Middle Egyptian text.¹⁶ This, however, is an assumption and is not as self-evident as it may initially seem because the Egyptian script does not render vowels, and so the reader has to identify the actual word in order to be able to pronounce it correctly. Spellings like the ones noted above do not necessarily facilitate such identifications: readers would still have to know which words they expected in a text in order to recognise them. For those who did know, the writings could indeed have offered some help in providing an acoustical *aide-mémoire*.

Another possibility is that the reduction of the total number of signs in the writing system might have been less of an aid for the reader than it was for the scribe.¹⁷ Certainly, the incomprehensibility of the texts is due not only to the writing system but also to ‘real’ mistakes, so there does indeed seem to have been at least one point at which a scribe needed some help. Still, this does not fully explain the influence of contemporaneous pronunciation, which is especially clear when the monoliteral signs do not render the traditional value of the logograms they replace. This is clearly visible in *krk* for *grg*, *3kr* for *igr:t*, and especially in the use of *3h* and *iht* for the preposition *hr*—a spelling attested in demotic texts as well (Smith 1978, 23–25; 1987, 58, l. 7, n. b; 2005, 87). Hieroglyphic examples seem to be extremely rare,

¹⁴ See Widmer 2004, 677–86. More recent contributions that add examples of unetymological spellings in demotic are Smith 2005, 87, and Stadler 2006, 201–203; soon also Smith in press, where earlier literature can be found.

¹⁵ There are also innumerable examples in Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions, to which the term ‘poetry’ has been applied (Derchain and von Recklinghausen 2004, especially 118–20).

¹⁶ See also the general statement of Quack 2005, 2–3.

¹⁷ I am grateful to Mark Smith for pointing out this alternative to me.

with most, if not all, known examples coming from the Roman decoration in the temple of Dakka (Smith 1978, 24, n. 22), though it is possible that 𓆎 in the triumphal stela of Pi(ankhi) is also a writing of *hr*.¹⁸

One could add that a writing system such as occurs in the papyri considered here was indeed meant to facilitate pronunciation¹⁹ because this fits so well with the attested use of some texts as recitation texts (see below). However, possible alternatives must not be discarded. One should not forget that the current papyri were probably decorated not much later than Dynasty 30 when alphabetic writings flourished in monumental inscriptions, their exact function(s) still being a matter for discussion (Schweitzer 2003; Engsheden 2006). Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the strange spellings should perhaps be considered as the result of a ‘scribal zeitgeist.’

Regardless of the writing system, the possibility exists that the texts were intended for recitation, since this usage is indeed attested in other sources for some of them. The ‘Invocation to the Bringer of Bas’ is perhaps the best known of these, the spell being integrated into one of the great ‘glorifications’ of the Late Period.²⁰ Other parts of the short texts on the papyri give the impression of ‘recitation texts’ as well; notably, short statements of the deceased’s approaching include the ritual cry *z3-ḥ*, which hardly makes sense without a loud recitation. Generally the possibility of an original ritual context for texts on funerary papyri may have been underestimated (see Gee 2006, especially the list on 80–81).

In this respect the three rather small papyri are reminiscent of papyri found in contemporaneous tombs, which contain liturgical texts that could be meant for the deceased as well as for Osiris.²¹ This makes it difficult to decide whether they were originally meant to be funerary papyri at all. Some of them are not personalised by having the deceased’s name written instead of that of Osiris, and these might well have been used in temples before they were placed in a tomb.²² However, in contrast to this sort of ‘ritual book,’ the Book of the Dead title and vignettes, along with the hieroglyphic script used on the three papyri examined here, show them to have been intended originally to accompany their owners in the afterlife. Bearing excerpts for liturgical texts was only one of several functions of such papyri (on this aspect see below).

If the possibility exists that at least some of the texts on these papyri could have been

¹⁸ Smith 1978, 24, n. 22 disagrees with this interpretation of *ih* in the Piankhi stela, proposed by Möller (1913) and used by Osing (1976, 151, n. 190), but partly because this instance is much older than the comparable demotic writings (most of them of Roman date) and those at Dakka. On the basis of the three papyri studied here the gap can/should be reduced by a few hundred years to around 400. This is still a very long time, but this evidence makes it reasonable to not discard the possibility of earlier instances.

¹⁹ Similarly Quack 1999, 310–11. On the influence of the spoken language on late temple inscriptions see Quack 1995.

²⁰ Second part of spell 14 of ‘*s3ḥ.w I*,’ following Assmann 2008, 212. In earlier numbering it was spell 15 (Goyon 1974; Assmann 1990, 32–33; Schneider 1994, 356–57).

²¹ See, for example, Smith 2009, especially the introductions to parts 1 (adapted Osirian liturgies) and 2 (texts originally written for the deceased); Assmann 2008, 3; Quack 2009a, 616–20.

²² This seems very likely in cases where the manuscript had been secondarily personalised by adding a colophon with the owner’s name at the end (P. Bremner-Rhind, see now Smith 2009, 120–23), or by replacing Osiris’ name with that of the deceased (Schott 1929, 3). For an overview and further thoughts see Smith 2009, 61–65; Smith in press.

recited, then the question arises to what extent their potential listeners or their scribes could understand them. For the scribes, at least, there is reason to conclude that the function of the texts was known to them: the best argument for this is the position of BD 30B on P. Aberdeen, in which the famous address to the heart of the deceased has been written immediately before the judgement of the dead scene, and thus in the place where it makes the most sense. Another example of this placement is known from the Third Intermediate Period (P. BM EA 10020), and during the New Kingdom the same formula could even appear *in* the judgement scene, as in the papyri of Ani and Hunefer (e.g., Faulkner and Andrews 1985, 14 with figure above).

This striking example of a meaningful arrangement in the text means that the scribe—or at least the one who designed the model used by the scribe—was probably aware of what the text was about. Yet it is clear that many passages in this and other texts on these three papyri do not make sense in the form in which they are written. Sentences or phrases are missing, and the end of P. Berlin P. 3159 is a mixture of repeated, incomplete texts whose only function seems to be to fill the remaining space. Furthermore, on the two Berlin papyri, the pronouns have not been adapted to the sex of their female owners.

Overall, somebody listening to a recitation of texts from papyri similar to those examined here would probably have understood some sentences and a large number of important words, among them the names of the deceased and of gods. This may have been sufficient for most people who had not learned any Middle Egyptian. The ‘Horus stelae’ of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods offer a good comparison. As early as the Ptolemaic period, many of their inscriptions cannot be read as whole texts any more, and just as with these three papyri certain ‘catch words’ appear between incomprehensible passages (Sternberg-El Hotabi 1994, 222–31). Heike Sternberg-El Hotabi (1994) has concluded that these inscriptions testify to an early stage of the ‘death’ of the hieroglyphic script.²³ As Sternberg-El Hotabi herself admits, inscriptions on ‘Horus stelae’ do not tell us much about the hieroglyphic skills of a *hierogrammateus* designing ritual scenes and texts for a new temple wall (Sternberg-El Hotabi 1994, 237–245). The same is true for funerary papyri like the three treated here. The level of reduced ‘hieroglyphic literacy’ to which they seem to testify does not reveal anything about the people who wrote long liturgical papyri of high quality, like the contemporaneous P. Bremner-Rhind (305 BC). A reduced level of literacy of scribes working for a ‘sub-elite’ does not necessarily indicate the imminent demise of a script, especially when the script was of almost exclusively religious function (as hieroglyphs by this time were). Not only a reduced ability to read, but perhaps even complete illiteracy, is attested for people writing hieroglyphs on coffins as early as the Third Intermediate Period (Martin 1991, 144).

As noted above, it is clear that at least some of the texts on the three papyri were recited from similar (and hopefully better) copies normally in hieratic script, such as in the long ‘glorification’ papyri. If this is true, we have the right to assume a ritualist—not necessarily a professional lector priest—at a ‘middle class’ burial reciting Middle Egyptian texts which, from a modern point of view, could be quite erroneous. Only very few, if any, of the persons present at such an occasion would have been able to decide if a recited Middle Egyptian text was correct and complete or not. With the exception of the small group of well-trained

²³ For the most recent overview of the demise of Ancient Egyptian writing systems see Stadler 2008; see also Houston, Baines and Cooper 2003, especially 445.

(lector) priests, only very few Egyptians of the Late Period (and earlier) can be expected to have been able to understand all of what was recited during funerary rites; this may even have enhanced the ‘sacred’ status of Middle Egyptian religious texts (see te Velde 1988).²⁴ But everybody would have been able to judge from the understandable words and phrases that these Middle Egyptian texts were dealing with the deceased, the gods, the beyond, and thus were appropriate for a funeral. Such a scenario might seem unusual at first sight, but—to take a more recent example—the average Catholic attending Mass before Vaticanum II would not have understood much of the priest’s Latin recitations. I argue that for people attending the funeral of, say, *Rrt*, owner of P. Berlin P. 3158, a lack of understanding need not have lessened the experience. In such a case, the alphabetic spellings discussed above might really have offered some help to a lector-priest, not necessarily enabling him to correctly pronounce a Middle Egyptian text, but at least to pronounce words that *sounded* correct. The ritualist’s prior knowledge of what a text should contain would have helped him to identify what he ought to say.

This argumentation can be extended to such texts as BD 30B and BD 72, which are written in the first person. It ought not to prevent one from arguing that the writing system would facilitate their recitation, in this case not by a living speaker, but by the deceased in the Beyond.²⁵

Functions of funerary texts versus functions of funerary papyri

As noted above, texts similar to those on the three papyri in this study were recited, but they were not recited from these papyri. These are funerary papyri, designed to be placed on or near the deceased’s mummy in the tomb. Apart from the use of hieroglyphs, which were not normally used for liturgical papyri, this is demonstrated by the vignettes, and by the overall layout of the papyrus, which is that of a ‘normal’ abridged Book of the Dead.²⁶ Indeed, both Berlin papyri, the beginnings of which are preserved, start with an abridged version of the title of the Book of the Dead (Backes 2009b, 31–32).²⁷ The addition of ‘other’ texts to a Book of the Dead is by no means unusual. In most cases the added texts are few compared with the amount of the BD chapters (e.g., P. Greenfield: see Zaluskowski 1996), and normally Book of the Dead and other texts are clearly separated.²⁸ The three papyri here are different

²⁴ On the use of Middle Egyptian language and hieroglyphic script as important criteria for a text’s sacredness, see Vernus 1990, especially 42–43 with notes 29–30. For the comparable use of a few words, lines or captions of hieroglyphic text in hieratic or demotic documents, see Vernus 1990, 46–47. So-called ‘pseudohieroglyphic’ inscriptions, such as those on ‘Horus stelae’ of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, can be mentioned here, where the incomprehensible copies merely (or still) signal the presence of a sacred text; see Sternberg-El Hotabi 1994, 231. Stadler 2004, 552–53 provides examples of ‘pseudohieroglyphs’ that potentially enhance the magical efficacy of a demotic funerary papyrus (P. BM EA 10415).

²⁵ For the function of BD 72 as a ‘Netherworld text’ in contrast to recitation spells, see Bommas 2006, 12–15.

²⁶ A list of examples of ‘short’ Book of the Dead papyri from the Late Period (in contrast to the ‘long’ papyri containing chapters 1–165) is provided by Kockelmann 2008, 191, with n. 3.

²⁷ On the definition of these papyri as ‘Books of the Dead’ see Backes 2009b, 100–102.

²⁸ There are a number of examples of the Late and Ptolemaic periods. Papyri in which texts are added at the end of a Book of the Dead include P. Ryerson (probably Dynasty 30), where some columns of hieroglyphic

because the other texts *replace* Book of the Dead chapters. A closer parallel than the examples just cited might be seen in the papyrus of Mentuemhat, which contains spells for amulets, among them BD chapters 155 and 157, alongside chapters 89, 100 and 162 (Munro 2003). As BD 100 is the most popular chapter on single spell amulet papyri of the Late Period,²⁹ the function of the whole papyrus seems to have been ‘amuletic,’ and therefore different from the papyri in question. However, the combination of ritual texts and popular chapters of the Book of the Dead is a noteworthy parallel. But what were the criteria for choosing the texts?

At this point it is necessary to discuss the relation between the few Book of the Dead chapters present in the papyri discussed here and the majority of other texts. Without the background knowledge that they are attested as spells of the *pr.t m hrw* collection, one might not conclude that BD 30B, 72 and 89B were in any way different from the other texts, being characterised by the same largely ‘alphabetical’ spelling and absence of determinatives described above. Indeed, these chapters had not been identified on the papyri before (Backes 2009b, 1, n. 2). The situation is different for the four transformation spells (BD chapters 79, 80, 85 and 86) that open the textual sequence of P. Aberdeen, which are easily recognisable. Furthermore, some hieroglyphs in these chapters have different shapes to their counterparts in the other texts, and some logograms and determinatives appear only here, which might be due partly to the more traditional writings (Backes 2009b, 14–15). Obviously, the versions of chapters 30B, 72 and 89B that occur on the papyri under consideration here had not been transmitted as part of the collection now referred to as the ‘Book of the Dead’ (*pr.t m hrw*), but were taken together with, and as part of, the other texts.

One common feature of the heterogenous ‘other’ texts is that several are known from parts of tomb equipment: coffins/sarcophagi, tomb-walls, stelae, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures and other items (see Table 2). This might offer a practical explanation for the sequence of spells on the papyri. At least for the two Berlin papyri it is clear that they were found in a group burial (see above), and it is reasonable to conclude the same for the papyrus now in Aberdeen, for which no such record exists. As the space for each burial was very limited in such a family tomb—be it a new tomb or an older, reused one—texts that one would otherwise

texts are added after a long hieratic Book of the Dead, among them the ‘Invocation to the Bringer of Bas’ (Allen 1960); P. Berlin P. 3008 where, conversely, a hieroglyphic Book of the Dead is followed by a hieratic text which is a short version of the ‘Recitation of Glorifications Which the Two Sisters Performed’ (Smith 2009, 124–34 with previous literature to be found there); P. Paris Louvre N. 3125 (probably 1st century BC), where a Book of the Dead is followed by a hitherto unparalleled text (Lejeune 2006, 197–202); P. BM EA 9995 (reign of Augustus), which is noteworthy for including a ‘Book of Breathing made by Isis for her Brother Osiris’ between an introduction scene and three Book of the Dead vignettes (V 1, 146, 125) with hieroglyphic captions (Herbin 2008, 37–45 with pls. 15–24). The so-called ‘Ba Book’ is attested on two BD papyri from Akhmim; one written at the beginning, the other at the end (Beinlich 1999). One might raise the question of whether the different solar hymns on New Kingdom BD papyri (traditionally counted as BD 15) and the hymns to Osiris (partly counted as BD spells 183 or 185) were really seen as being part of the ‘Book of the Dead’ in that period. At least in some instances they clearly were not, such as on the papyri of Hunefer (P. BM EA 9901) and Ani (P. BM EA 10470) where the hymns are separated from the BD chapters (Backes 2009a, 16–17); see also Quack 2009b, especially 13–15.

²⁹ Twelve out of fifteen single-spell Book of the Dead papyri from the Late and Ptolemaic periods feature BD 100/129 (Illés 2006, 123, 130). BD 89 and 162 are each attested on one single-spell amulet papyrus as well (Illés 2006, 129–30), and indeed both spells can be linked to amuletic objects: BD 89 by its postscript; BD 162 being the most popular chapter on hypocephali (Illés 2006, 124–25).

have carved on walls, sarcophagi and other elements of the deceased's equipment had to be written on mummy cartonnage, mummy linen, or a papyrus.³⁰ A. Niwiński's observation that, at least during some periods, the possession of a Book of the Dead text on one medium practically excluded its existence on another medium in the same tomb (Niwiński 1989, 29–34) supports this idea. Although his rule should not be taken as definite for all instances,³¹ it seems plausible to think a step further and suggest that the occurrence of papyri containing texts usually found on tomb equipment might mean that the traditional spaces these texts occupied were unavailable.

The master copies from which the texts were chosen and copied would probably have included short inscriptions for tomb equipment of all kinds. The three Book of the Dead chapters 30B, 72 and 89B seem to fit this scenario. BD 30B is the classic inscription of 'heart-scarabs' (Malaise 1978, 13–40 and *passim*), and although there was enough space for a heart-scarab in every coffin or mummy cartonnage, the text may well have been a part of a collection of tomb equipment texts available to the scribes responsible for the burial. The case is even clearer for chapters 72 and 89, which are the most popular Book of the Dead spells on sarcophagi.³² The main difference here is that the three papyri contain only the second half of BD 89 (called 'BD 89B' in Table 1), but this distinguishes them from all known copies of BD 89, both on papyrus or other media.

The 'practical' explanation offered here for the surprising sequences of texts on the three papyri by no means diminishes the possible function of the texts as recitation spells at burials, mentioned above. It is important to differentiate between the possible functions and meaning the texts could have, and the functions of the papyri as funerary objects, since the texts are only one element of them, albeit a pre-eminent one.

The papyri as funerary objects

This second aspect—the functions not of the texts themselves, but of the papyri bearing them—needs further discussion.³³ The primary aim of funerary papyri was to provide the deceased with some important spells and images for the afterlife. These had to be chosen from a wide range of possibilities. As already stated, a choice was made from a range of texts

³⁰ I have already proposed this practical reason in the publication of the papyri (Backes 2009b, 104).

Independently, Mark Smith has come to very similar conclusions for funerary texts of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Smith 2009, 47–49). For the limited space available for inscriptions in Late Period 'elite' burials, see Aston 2003, 138–166, especially the drawing on p. 162.

³¹ In the Late and Ptolemaic periods the same individual could have two Books of the Dead: one on papyrus and the other on mummy bandages (Kockelmann 2008, 217–23).

³² For BD 72 on sarcophagi of the Late Period (and earlier) see Bommas 2006, 1–15, with the necessary references on 6. Attestations of BD 89 on sarcophagi of Dynasty 30 are listed in Manassa 2007, 375–76 (CGC 29302, CGC 29306, CGC 29307, Vienna 1, Louvre D8), and more of the entire Late Period in Buhl 1959, 227. Typical Theban coffin ensembles of the 3rd century BC show either BD 72 or another BD chapter on the exterior of the inner lid, and BD 89 on its interior (Illés 2006, 126).

³³ For a comparable approach, i.e., to consider a papyrus 'not simply as a collection of ritual compositions, but rather as a concrete object, an artefact, asking how that object was actually employed, where, in what circumstances, and by whom,' see Smith in press.

that otherwise would have been written on sarcophagi, stelae, or parts of funerary equipment that the owners of the three papyri probably did not possess. A comparable process could/can be postulated for the amuletic papyrus of Seta-gewa (3rd or early 2nd century BC), found in 2001 in Theban Tomb 32, and bearing BD 1 at a time when this spell was no longer part of the standard programme for coffin inscription (Illés 2006, especially 126).

Collecting inscriptions was not the only purpose of these papyri, however. Their images are Book of the Dead vignettes, and their layout is that of a typical Late Period Book of the Dead where a register of vignettes runs above a higher register containing the texts, interrupted occasionally by large vignettes (V 15, V 125). In the Late Period, a Book of the Dead was still by far the most popular funerary papyrus, and a fundamental element of each elite burial. One should expect that owners of long papyri with Osirian liturgies would also have owned a Book of the Dead.³⁴ Alternatively, a Book of the Dead and other spells could be contained on a single papyrus (see above, especially note 28). The papyri studied here were Books of the Dead, according to their titles and outer forms, so that their owners could claim to possess a copy of the most important type of funerary papyrus, regardless of the exact content of the texts. This is an early instance of a later custom whereby funerary papyri containing versions of the Book of Traversing Eternity could include the formula *pr.t m hrw* in their titles.³⁵ In these later instances the meaning of the traditional title could have shifted to ‘funerary texts’ in general, instead of indicating one specific collection. This is especially true for papyri dating to the first two centuries CE, when the Book of the Dead was no longer used.

Thus, each funerary papyrus was an element of funerary equipment with at least one specific function, as well as containing specific meaning and function in each text and image. The papyri studied here, although they are by no means ‘sophisticated’ objects, can be seen to have at least three layers of function:

1. Being a Book of the Dead.
2. Providing the most necessary texts and images (BD chapters and other texts).
3. Perpetuating recitations/rites.

The first aspect is fulfilled by the layout of the papyri, by their vignettes, and especially by

³⁴ For example the priest Nesmin owned P. BM EA 10188 (P. Bremner-Rhind) and 10208 (‘Ceremony of Glorifying Osiris in the God’s Domain’), together with the funerary papyrus P. BM EA 10209 (offering liturgies for the feast of the valley), and the Book of the Dead P. Detroit Institute of Arts 1988.10 (see Smith 2009, 97 and references given there). Imhotep, son of Psintaes and Tjehenet, was the owner of the liturgical papyrus P. New York MMA 35.9.21 and the Book of the Dead P. New York MMA 35.9.20 (Smith 2009, 67; Munro 2003, 5).

³⁵ P. Paris Louvre N 3147: *ky r3 n pr(.t) m hrw* ‘another spell for going forth by day’; P. Chicago OIC 25389: *r3 n pr.t m hrw r bw mrj=f* ‘spell for going forth by day to the place he wishes’ (see Herbin 1994, 330). Even closer is the demotic P. Paris BN 149 (Stadler 2003, 27): *[n3] sh.w n n3 pyr m p3 hrw* ‘[the] writings of going forth by day.’ In this case, one might object that the combination of the Book of Traversing Eternity with the famous demotic translation of BD 125 would have led to a title resembling that of the Book of the Dead, but BD 125 has its own title on this papyrus (see Stadler 2003, 30, 59), and the two other examples just cited show that *pr.t m hrw* could be used as a designation for copies of the Book of Traversing Eternity. See also the remarks by Smith 2009, 396, 403.

the title that opens the sequence in the two Berlin papyri (and probably also in P. Aberdeen), rather than by the existence of BD 72 and 89B in the sequence. On P. Aberdeen, the four transformation chapters that open the sequence are a further Book of the Dead element.

The second aspect is clear from other attestations of the texts as well as from their contents (see below). For the third aspect it should be remembered that the texts contained within were not necessarily identical with what was recited at the owners' burials (see above). But by their orthography they appear to be recitation spells, and throughout all periods of ancient Egyptian history the mere existence of recitation texts in a tomb was seen as a guarantee for perpetuating the ritual (Smith 2009, 64–65 and references provided there). Furthermore, short texts that consist of not more than one or two sentences might be a reference to a longer text, similar to some captions on tomb walls.³⁶ In any case, whilst being Books of the Dead, the three papyri fulfil a function similar to that group of funerary papyri which contain parts of burial rites.³⁷

Tradition, workshops and individual choice

Whatever choices were made from this wide range of possibilities, they were not determined only by cost, for there was room for personal preference. However crude one might find the texts on the three papyri, and however modest they might appear in comparison with the great contemporaneous Books of the Dead of the Late Period recension and long liturgical papyri, each of them is unique, showing its own sequence of vignettes and texts. The uniqueness of each papyrus shows that people in Late Period Egypt, whose knowledge of religious literature was rather restricted, did spend time considering what outer form, texts and images should be chosen for a funerary papyrus.³⁸

It is not known to what extent the owners of the papyri, members of their family, scribes, and even their superiors were involved in these decisions. The fact that the outer form of all papyri—'classic' Book of the Dead layout—is virtually identical makes it probable that the workshop where they were produced had at least one model to offer. It seems reasonable to imagine a sort of catalogue of texts which the scribes had at their disposal, and from which customers could choose, because there must have been master copies of the texts. Master copies of the texts could have included titles or other indications of their purpose³⁹ that have not been copied onto the papyri, which was a common way of shortening texts (Kockelmann

³⁶ E.g., the frequent phrase *iy ntr – z3-B* found in various rituals (see references in Backes 2009b, 47). On short captions on tomb walls that point to longer texts on papyri, focussing on examples from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see Morenz 1996, 60–62.

³⁷ On these and their double function—recitation and eternalising rites—see Smith 2009, 212, and texts 11–20, 24, and 58 (Embalming Ritual, hourly vigil texts, texts for the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, glorification texts), with earlier literature to be found there.

³⁸ See R. Lucarelli's conclusion on the Book of the Dead of Gatseshen which in her opinion 'is not simply a magical object made for the dead, but also a reflection of her owner's religious experience in this world' (Lucarelli 2006, 261). I would not go so far for the papyri discussed here, but they still testify a vivid discourse about preparation for the afterlife (see Conclusion below).

³⁹ The texts could also be arranged in thematic groups as is the case in the much older Gardiner papyri, which are generally believed to be master copies (Gestermann 2003, especially 204 with further references).

2008: 201–202 with examples from mummy bandages). The scribes should also have been able to provide their customers with some information on texts and images if necessary.

Indeed, the choice was not made without purpose. By examining the content of the texts and the vignettes it is apparent that they comprise most of what might be called the ‘basic needs’ of the deceased:

1. To arrive in the Beyond (V 1, invocations to the West and texts around them, V 162).
2. To be justified in the judgement of the dead (V 125, BD 30B).
3. To participate in the daily cycle of the Sun-god (BD 89B, V 15, V 17).
4. To dispose of provisions (offering formulas, BD 72).
5. Protection (BD 72, Formula Concerning the Sons of Horus, Coming of the Gods at the Prow of the Night Bark, coming of Anubis).
6. Uniting of ba and mummy (Invocation to the Bringer of Bas; BD 89B).
7. Mobility of the ba (BD 72,⁴⁰ BD 89B; BD 79, 80, 85, 86 in P. Aberdeen).

Missing is a direct allusion to repelling netherworldly dangers, but with this exception, all major contents one usually attributes to the Book of the Dead are covered in the three papyri.

Conclusion

The ideas presented here include elements of speculation, but as long as there are no clear statements from the Egyptians themselves about how they came to produce an individual funerary papyrus, one must rely partly on imagination.⁴¹ Only ‘partly,’ because even a rough view over the mass of evidence makes it clear that freedom of individual choice and variation did not mean that traditions or rules were not followed. The exact combination of textual and iconographic elements on these three papyri is indeed unique but, as noted above, most elements are attested in other sources, and those which are not express well-known ideas in different words. Together with their peculiar writing system, this shows the papyri to have (at least) a triple function: as replacements for texts on funerary equipment; as collections of ritual spells; and as ‘classic’ Books of the Dead.

Where at first sight the standardised Late Period recension of the Book of the Dead gives an impression of greater uniformity, in reality the range of variation is as wide as it was during earlier periods of Egyptian history.⁴² The three papyri studied here add more evidence to current knowledge of how funerary papyri of Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt could look, and what factors mattered to make them such. They also show how people

⁴⁰ See Bommas 2006, 14 with n. 87.

⁴¹ Compare, for example, the possible explanations for the use of Osirian liturgies in funerary papyri discussed by Smith 2009, 61–65.

⁴² Taking into account all sorts of funerary papyri (and other media) found in tombs of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods and adding the different forms of (and decoration on) coffins and sarcophagi, I cannot see much less variation than during the time around late Dynasty 21 when, in S. Quirke’s words, ‘the variety of the papyri, and of decoration on the ornate wooden coffins, reaches its peak’ (Forman and Quirke 1996, 145).

who could not afford an elaborate elite burial found a way to have a wide range of aspects embodied in their funerary equipment.⁴³ Evidence like this does not make it easier for us to understand what ‘the’ Book of the Dead was for ‘the’ Egyptians. Far from being the result of a profound theological discourse, it is exactly this shifting position between tradition and individual solutions which makes the three papyri considered here such valuable sources for a more substantial knowledge of religious practice in Late Period Egypt.

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⁴³ Without a papyrus, spells, vignettes, and even images of amulets could still be written and drawn on mummy bandages and thereby accompany the deceased. On the Book of the Dead on mummy bandages in general, see Kockelmann 2008, with 309–46 on linen amulets.

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P. Berlin P. 3158	P. Aberdeen ABDUA 84023	P. Berlin P. 3159
1–5: Title of the Book of the Dead	[x+] 1–5: BD 79, end (beginning lost)	1–5: Title of the Book of the Dead
6–7: Invocation to the West A (16.8)	5–19: BD 80	5–11: Firsts words of BD 1, here as an invocation to Osiris-Khontamenti, containing wishes from the offering formula to Osiris-Khontamenti
7–10: Coming of the deceased as a god	19–47: BD 85	12–19: Offering formula to Osiris-Khontamenti, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and Anubis
11: <i>iy.n=i hr=k r m3^c-hrw ib=k</i>	48–68: BD 86	19–29: Offering formula to Re-Horakhti and other gods
11–13: Coming of Anubis	69–70: Invocation to the West A	29–33: Captions to an adoration scene (?)
13–16: Invocation to the West B	70–73: Coming of the deceased as a god	34–38: Words by Osiris-Khontamenti
17–27: Invocation to the Bringer of Bas	73–74: Coming of Anubis	38–40: Coming of Anubis
28–30: Formula Concerning the Sons of Horus	74–77: Invocation to the West B	40–44: Invocation to the West B
31–35: Coming of the Gods at the Prow of the Night-Bark	77–84: Offering formula to Re-Horakhti and other gods	45–46: Invocation to the West A
35–43: Offering formula to Re-Horakhti and other gods	85–86: Coming of Anubis	46–50: Coming of the deceased as a god
44–48: Offering formula to Osiris-Khontamenti	86–90: Invocation to the West B	51–66: BD 89B
49–52: Captions to an adoration scene (?)	91–101: Invocation to the Bringer of Bas	67–79: Invocation to the Bringer of Bas
53–58: Words by Osiris-Khontamenti	101–103: Words by Osiris-Khontamenti, containing wishes from the offering formula to Osiris-Khontamenti	80–90: Invocation to the Heir of the Gods
59–70: BD 89B	104–107: Formula Concerning the sons of Horus	91–92: Coming of the Gods at the Prow of the Night-Bark
71–82: BD 72, beginning	107–111: Coming of the Gods at the Prow of the Night-Bark	92–95: Formula Concerning the Sons of Horus
83–94: Invocation to the Bringer of Bas	112–118: Offering formula to Re-Horakhti and other gods	95–96: Formula Concerning the Sons of Horus (part)
94–95: <i>iy.n=i hr=k r mn ib=k</i> <i>Wsir NN</i>	119–120: Invocation to the West A	96–99: Coming of the Gods at the Prow of the Night-Bark
95–99: Offering formula to Osiris-Khontamenti and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris	120–123: Coming of the deceased as a god	
100–101: Offering formula to Hathor	123–134: BD 89B	
101–105: Invocation to the West B	134–135: BD 72, beginning	
105–107: Invocation to the West A	136–143: BD 89B, end	
107–110: Coming of the deceased as a god	144–150: Offering formula to Osiris-Khontamenti and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris; wishes from the offering formula to Re-Horakhti and other gods	
111–120: A sequence of wishes for the beyond (addressed to the deceased)	150–152: Coming of Anubis	
120–121: Coming of Anubis	152–155: Invocation to the West B	
122–125: Invocation to the West B	156–161: BD 30B	
125–128: Coming of Anubis	162–171: Invocation to the Bringer of Bas	
128–132: Invocation to the West B	171–172: Invocation to the West A	
133–135: Invocation to the West A	172–175: Coming of the deceased as a god	
135–140: Coming of the deceased as a god	176–182: Words by Khepri	
	182–184: Coming of Anubis	
	184–186: Invocation to the West B	

Table 1: Sequence of texts in the three papyri.

BD 72, 89 (Backes 2009b, 34–40)	Coffins and sarcophagi (see above), tomb walls
Invocation to the Bringer of Bas (Backes 2009b, 40–43)	Coffins and sarcophagi (Buhl 1959, 228), mortuary liturgy (see above)
Formula concerning the Sons of Horus (Backes 2009b, 43–45) ¹	Sarcophagi, tomb walls, stela, mortuary liturgy (Assmann 2008, 249)
Text addressed or related to the West-Goddess (Backes 2009b, 45–47, 49–50)	Tomb walls, sarcophagi, ‘Documents of Breathing’ (Herbin 2008, 119, “Line 5” ²)
Invocation to the Heir of the Gods (Backes 2009b, 56–58)	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures (Raven 1978–1979; Budka 2003)
BD 30B (Backes 2009b, 32–34)	Heart scarabs (see, for example, Malaise 1978)
BD 30B (Backes 2009b, 32–34)	Stelae, coffins, sarcophagi, tomb-walls ...
<i>iy.n</i> god YX; speeches of gods (Backes 2009b, 48–49, 54–55)	Coffins and sarcophagi, ³ Osirian festivals (texts on papyri and temple walls) ...
<i>iy ntr z3-t3</i>	Ritual texts for the deceased or Osiris on coffins, tomb-walls, temple walls ... (Backes 2009b, 47)
Captions to adoration scenes (?) (Backes 2009b, 53)	Stelae, tomb walls, temples ...

Table 2: Texts on the three papyri with attested parallels on other media.

¹ On the previously unknown ‘Coming of the Gods at the Prow of the Night Bark,’ which follows this formula on all three papyri, see Backes 2009b, 45.

² In addition to the references given there, see also Piehl 1895, 68, text γ ; von Bergmann 1883–1884, 2:12; Refai 1996, 6; von Falck and Martinssen-von Falck 2008, 93–108, especially 96–97.

³ The sentence *iy.n=i nr=k* or similar is a regular feature of the ‘canopic spells’, for which see Elias 1993, 516, 557–84.

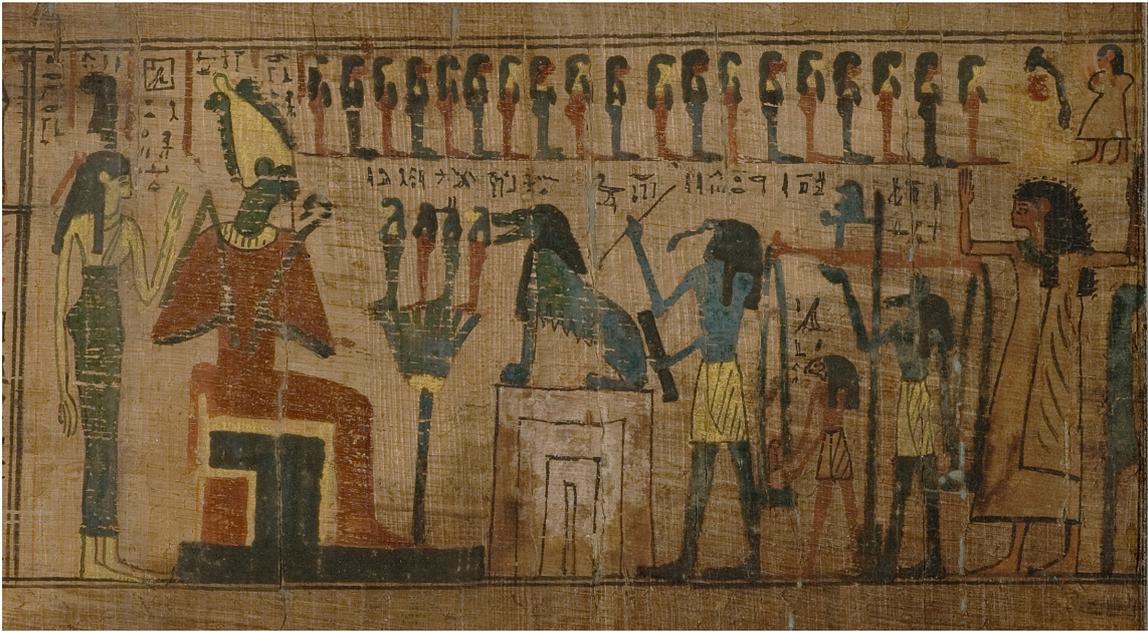


Fig. 1: The judgement scene on P. Berlin P. 3158, photomontage of two photographs by Sandra Steiß, Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (see Backes 2009b, colour plates 5–6).

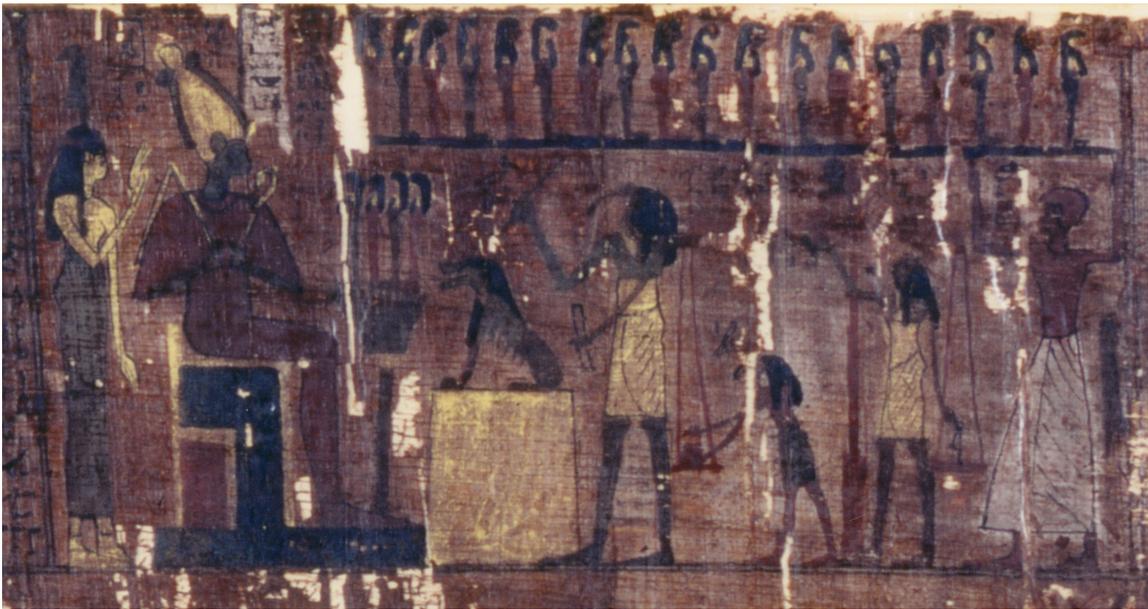


Fig. 2: The judgement scene on P. Aberdeen ABDUA 84023, part of a photograph by Michael Craig, University of Aberdeen, Marischal Museum (see Backes 2009b, colour plate 15).



Fig. 3: The judgement scene on P. Berlin P. 3159, part of a photograph by Sandra Steiß, Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (see Backes 2009b, colour plate 22).



The Book of the Dead as canon

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When the term canon is used in ancient Egypt, it is usually applied to proportions in artwork (Iversen 1968; Simon 1993), or to the king list on P.Turin 1874 (Gardiner 1959; Malék 1982). Outside of Egyptian art, however, canon is normally applied to a 'collection or list of books,' distinguishing that collection or list as sacred, and can refer to 'any set of sacred books' (*OED*, s.v. canon). The question can at least be asked: did the ancient Egyptians have a canon in the sense of a set of sacred writings?

Canon

The term necessarily invokes biblical studies,

the one discipline devoted to exploring what a canon is, how it emerges historically, how its texts relate to one another, and how it effects the community that espouses it (Levinson 2003, 3).

The word canon

has come to be used with reference to the corpus of scriptural writings that is considered authoritative and standard for defining and determining 'orthodox' religious beliefs and practices (Sanders 1992, 837).

It is not clear that there is a concept of orthodoxy in ancient Egyptian religion. The English term derives from the Greek term *orthodoxia* which is first listed as appearing in the second century AD works of Julius Pollux of Naucratis (Liddell et al. 1968, 1248) in his *Onomasticon* (4.7.3), although its principle usage in Greek is by Christians. The concept of canon is largely the focus of Christians.

Though the concept of the canon and most of the terms that define it come from Christianity, it can be applied to Egyptian religion because many of the features we find with the Christian canon are also found in the Book of the Dead. At the beginning of a book on Egyptian theology, Jan Assmann writes,

There was no explicit and coherent explanation of Egyptian theology on the metalevel of theoretical discourse in ancient Egypt any more than there were theoretical explications in other areas, such as grammar, rhetoric, or historiography (Assmann 2001, 9).

There seems to be no setting forth of beliefs in systematic or other fashion, or any other attempt at doing what is called *theology* in modern parlance. Yet the fact that the ancient

Egyptians had no theology has not prevented Egyptologists from writing about their non-existent theology.

When we look for criteria for canonization that do not require looking into the religious outlook we can come up with a number of criteria that we might test, including: the number of manuscripts, standardization, quotation, usage in commentaries, and archaeological placement. Assmann surveys a number of different, external, factors leading to canonisation (2008, 90–105); the ones considered here, on the other hand, are all internal to the culture.

Number of manuscripts

Canonical texts tend to be found more frequently than non-canonical texts. Thus we find that among papyri, the Leuven database lists 1901 records for copies of Homer found in Egypt in a twelve-century span, 802 for the Old Testament, and 656 for the New Testament.¹ The Book of the Dead easily dwarfs these manuscript numbers, with over 3500 manuscripts known (Kockelmann 2006, 161–62).

Standardisation

Some have argued that

a canon results when someone seeks to impose a strict boundary around a smaller subset of writings or teachings with the larger, slowly evolving ‘cloud of sacred texts,’ and thus ‘a canon of scripture,’ properly so called, did not appear until church officials, acting under the guidance of the highest levels of the Roman government, met together on several specific occasions to create a rigid boundary around the approved texts (Dungan 2007, 3).

Nonetheless, it has been pointed out years ago that

these decisions by bishops or synods are only a sanctioning of much earlier traditions, and a discussion continued in the Christian churches which led to the concept of ‘proto’- and ‘deutero’-canonical writings which is still used today (Schillebeeckx 1983, 67).

The Rosetta Stone illustrates the convocation of priestly synods to ratify changes, but records of such synods are scarce. The Rosetta Stone itself claims that copies of its texts were set up in all the temples, but few copies have actually survived. If no copies had survived, would that mean that the synod did not take place? I mention this merely to point out that we know little about how developments in Egyptian religion were adopted, even when we can document consistent and wide-spread changes.

The effects of such boundaries can be seen in the standardisation of the texts, such as we

¹ www.trismegistos.org/ldab/ [1 June 2010].

find in the Book of the Dead starting in Dynasty 26. It is commonly maintained that there was no standardisation in the Book of the Dead before the Saite Period (Anonymous 1975, 92; Bohleke 1997, 116), though it is attested through standard strings of texts in Dynasty 18 examples. These include:

BD 17–18–1–22–23–25–26–28–27–30A–43–24–31–33–34–35–74–45–93–91–41–42–14–68–92–63A–105–95–72 (Lapp 1997, 36–7; already attested in Dynasty 17).

BD 124–83–84–85–82–77–86–99B–119–7–102–38A–27–14–39–65–116–91–64–30B (Munro 1994, 14–15).

BD 76–85–82–77–86–124–83–84–81–87–88 (Lapp 1997, 39).

BD 141/2–190–133–136A–134–130–131–89–154 (Lapp 1997, 40).

BD 115–116–112–113 (Lapp 1997, 40).

BD 100–102–136A–136B–149–150 (Lapp 1997, 42).

Another standard sequence is found in the Third Intermediate Period:²

Adoration of Osiris–BD 23–24–26–28–27–162

Quotation

Another sign of canonicity is the quotation of texts. One of the most frequently quoted is BD 17,³ which is just the later version of Coffin Text 335 (CT 335 IV 184–326). The number of manuscripts for this text in any particular period of time dwarf those of any Egyptian text regardless of time period.⁴ It has been called ‘the most frequently copied of all major Egyptian funerary texts’ (Allen 2003, 15). The earliest manuscripts of the text that we have may be from late Dynasty 11, but if one compares the phrases in the tenth section, one can see that they are quoted in several Old Kingdom tomb biographies, which would indicate that the text originates no later than Dynasty 5. Thus the Coffin Text version is:

² P. Mich. 3524, P. Berlin P. 10466, P. Bologna KS 3163, P. Dublin MS 1674, P. Cairo S.R. VII 10271, P. Cairo JE 95716 (=S.R. IV 650), P. Leiden T 25, P. BM EA 10044, P. BM EA 74135, P. BM EA 10329, P. BM EA 10207, P. BM EA 10327, P. Manchester 2, P. New York MMA 26.2.51, P. Paris Louvre E. 31856, P. Turin 1855, P. Zagreb Arch. Mus. 887.

³ For text, conveniently, BD 17, in *Urk.* V, 1–99. For bibliography, see Gulden and Munro 1998, 84–89.

⁴ Compare four manuscripts of the *Eloquent Peasant* (Parkinson 1991, ix–xxviii), thirty-three manuscripts of *Simuhe* (Koch 1990, vi), one manuscript each for the *Shipwrecked Sailor* and the tales of P. Westcar (Parkinson 1997, 91, 105), twenty-seven Middle Kingdom manuscripts of CT 335 known to de Buck (CT 335 IV 184–326). Several new Middle Kingdom manuscripts have been discovered since de Buck’s publication. The number of manuscripts from the New Kingdom and onwards numbers in the hundreds.

ii.n=i m niw.t=i
pr.n=i m t3=i
h3=i r sp3.t=i
wnn=i hn^c it=i itm m hr.t-hrw nt r^c nb

‘After I came from my city,⁵ I went out from my land, that I might go down to my district and I might be with my father Atum in the course of every day’ (CT 335 IV 207 T3Be).

The version that begins to appear in autobiographies beginning in late Dynasty 5 is:

ii.n=i m niw.t=i
h3.n=i m sp3.t

‘After I came from my city, I went down to my district.’⁶

The phrase appears at the very beginning of the autobiography,⁷ and alludes to the Coffin Text with variations of lines quoted from that document. The frequent quotation of the text is an indicator of its status and the esteem in which it was held, and thus a measure of its canonicity.

BD 125 is quoted extensively both in the Document of Breathings Made by Isis⁸ and the Book of the Temple (Grieshammer 1974, 19–25; Merkelbach 1968, 7–30; Merkelbach 1987; Assmann 1989: 135–37). In the daily temple liturgy, several of the texts end with the formulae: *htp-di-nsw* and *iw=i w^cb.kwi*. The *htp-di-nsw* formula is familiar, but the second formula seems to find its fullest expression in BD 125:

iw=i w^cb.kwi sp-4
bw=i bw bnw pw 3 nty m nny-nsw
hr-ntt ink is fnd pw n nb bw s^cnh rhyt nbt hrw pwy n mh wd3t m iwnw m 3bd 2 prt rgy
m-b3h n nb t3 pn

‘I am pure four times. The purity of that great phoenix which is in Herakleopolis is my purity because I, however, am the nose of the lord of breath who makes all the people live on that day of filling the *wedjat* in Heliopolis on the last day of Mecheir before the lord of this land’ (BD 125 A, end, in Maystre 1937, 51–55).

⁵ The translation of the grammar follows the parallel case in *Urk.* VI, 63; see Gee 2009.

⁶ *Urk.* I 57, 80, 121, 150, 263, 265; *Urk.* VII, 4, 8, 63; Edel 1944, 47–48; Janssen 1946, 1:38–39; 2:58–60.

⁷ Edel 1944, 47–48; Kloth 2002, 54–61. For the dating, see Kloth 2002, 57–59.

⁸ For the text, see now Herbin 2008 (11–49), but supplement with Rhodes 2002, which has inexplicably been omitted.

Commentary

One of the signs of canonical status is the tendency for canonical texts to spark commentaries. Among the Christian canon, the tradition of commentaries on texts starts with Heracleon, who wrote a commentary (now lost) on the Gospel of John (Quasten 1950, 1:262). Origen composed commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Hebrews, Titus, and Philemon, and the Old Testament books of Genesis, Kings, Song of Songs, Isaiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, and the minor prophets (Quasten 1950, 2:48–51). Origen's contemporary, Hippolytus of Rome, composed commentaries on Daniel and the Song of Songs (Quasten 1950, 2:171–74). The earliest commentaries are on texts that would later be termed canonical. So one way of measuring canonicity is the extent to which commentaries are made on the text.

BD 17 is known for commentaries on the text, located within the text itself. The earliest manuscript I know of, P. Cairo 28023 (=T1C), dates to after year 39 of Mentuhotep II and contains two copies of the text (Willems 1988, 113). The first eight sections of the text in this manuscript contain no commentary (CT 335 IV 184–203 T1C a and b). Starting with the ninth section, full-blown commentary appears in one of the copies (CT 335 IV 204–206 T1C b). This indicates that the tradition of commentary on the text is in fact older than our earliest copy, and that the copyist tried unsuccessfully to remove the commentary from the text. Without the commentary, the Coffin Text speaks of being saved from various unpleasanties of the next life—such as death, burning, or losing one's soul—because of the individual's purity, rectitude, and his closeness to the gods. It was also used by the living to 'prosper on earth,' 'always escape any fire,' and make it so that 'no evil thing [could] reach [them]' (BD 17, in *Urk.* V 96). This larger context is invoked by the quotation in the autobiographies and is more than just 'passing from life to death,' as maintained by some (Kloth 2002, 54–56).

Archaeological placement

It is well known that the Book of the Dead was placed in the coffin. This practice continued into Christian times. The earliest Coptic manuscript of the Gospel of John was found in a pot in a Roman period cemetery at Qau (Petrie 1924, ix), while the oldest surviving complete Coptic Psalter 'was placed open as a pillow beneath the head of an adolescent girl in a humble cemetery at Al-Mudil, forty kilometers northeast of Oxyrhynchus' (Brown 2006, 74–75; Emmenegger 2007, 1; Gabra 1995). This may be seen as the continuation of a cultural practice. Sacred texts are buried with the dead, but in the later time period the text buried is canonical. What then should we think about the earlier case of the Book of the Dead? Should it not be a text of comparable esteem in the earlier religious tradition? Granted, not everyone is buried with a Bible, but neither is everyone buried with a Book of the Dead. In fact, only the upper stratum of society could afford a Book of the Dead in pharaonic times, as a survey of New Kingdom intact burials demonstrates (Smith 1992, 201, 219).

'The Book of the Dead is my amulet,' declares one manuscript (P. Louvre N 3083 6/7, Herbin 1999, 211). Kockelmann has provided numerous examples of the Book of the Dead's

use as an amulet in mummy wrappings (2008). In Christian times a popular amulet is one containing quotations of the opening lines of all four gospels. This too should be seen as a cultural continuation, indicating that the Bible was seen as the equivalent of the Book of the Dead.

Divinely inspired scripture

The word canon as a collection of standard texts is first used by Athanasius in his Festal Letter 39 (AD 367):

‘Forasmuch as some have taken in hand,’ to reduce into order for themselves the books termed apocryphal, and to mix them up with the divinely inspired Scripture, concerning which we have been fully persuaded, as they who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word, delivered to the fathers; it seemed good to me also, having been urged thereto by true brethren, and having learned from the beginning, to set before you the books included in the Canon, and handed down, and accredited as Divine; to the end that any one who has fallen into error may condemn those who have led him astray (Schaff and Wace [1890] 1980, 551–52).

So for Athanasius, canon was the collection of ‘divinely inspired Scripture.’ This notion picks up from the apostle Paul.

Any divinely inspired writing is also useful for teaching, for proof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness (2 Timothy 3.16 [author’s translation]).

As Egyptologists, we tend to bristle at the thought of the Egyptians having divinely inspired Scripture, but they viewed many texts as such (Gee 2007, 807–13). Thus, it should come as no surprise to find in the postscript of BD 30B,

This text was found in Hermopolis under the feet of the majesty of this god, written on an iron brick as a writing of the god himself (*m sh ntr ds=f*), in the time of King Mycerinos, by the Prince Hordjedef, he found it as he went forth to inspect the temples (BD 30B from P. Parma, in Naville 1886, 2:99; Assmann and Kucharek 2008, 405; Hornung 1990, 96–97).

This terminal comment does not appear in all copies of this text. Should we interpret the result that only one ancient Egyptian viewed the text as divinely inspired, that at least one ancient Egyptian viewed it so, or that it was so commonly viewed that most scribes did not feel the need to write the obvious?

A similar colophon is found at the end of BD 64, which is not that different from BD 30B. Ptolemaic versions include BD 30B within BD 64, in the terminal comments after the story of Hordjedef (BD 64T in Lepsius 1842, pl. XXV). Another similar colophon occurs at the end of BD 137A, which changes a couple of details:

It was the king's son, Hordjedef, vindicated, who found this scroll in a secret box in writing of the god himself in the temple of Wenut, mistress of Wenu when he made an inspection of the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. He brought it as a marvel to his majesty when he saw that it was an effective truth, a great thing remaining for eternity (BD 64T, in Lapp 2004, pl. 71).⁹

While the rubrics for BD 30B and 64 only claim the divine writing of the individual texts (*r3*), BD 137A claims it for the entire scroll (*md3.t tn*). We know from other passages that the Book of the Dead was considered to be a *md3.t* compiled of multiple individual *r3*:

'Beginning of the texts (*r3.w*) of the Book of the Dead (*pr m hrw*)' (BD 1 rubric, in Lepsius 1842, Taf. I).

'Texts (*r3.w*) of exalting and making glorified spirits and making a procession (*pr*)¹⁰ in the god's property' (BD 17 rubric, in Lepsius 1842, Taf. VII).

'Texts (*r3.w*) brought to another book (*šft*) in addition to the Book of the Dead (*pr m hrw*)' (BD 165 rubric, in Lepsius 1842, Taf. LXXVII).

The Book of the Dead also contained various *md3.t*:

'Scroll (*md3.t*) of entering into the hall of justice' (BD 125 rubric).

This story about the discovery (or discoveries) by Hordjedef of a text written by the god himself, and hidden in a box at a cult place, seems to be the basis for one of the parts of the Setne story (P. Setne I, in Goldbrunner 2006). Hordjedef becomes Naneferkaptah, the god who wrote the text is specified as Thoth, and the cult centre is changed to Coptos. The scroll that Setne recovers deserves more attention in comparison to the Book of the Dead. The scroll contained two texts (*hp*, P. Setne I, 3/35–7). The first of these allowed the individual to encircle (*phr*) heaven, earth, the netherworld, the mountains and the sea, to discover everything that the birds, the fish and the beasts said (P. Setne I, 3/35–6). The second allowed the individual to see sun appearing in heaven along with his associated deities, the moon, the stars, and the fish in the water (P. Setne I, 3/36–7). These purposes can be found in the rubrics to the Book of the Dead.

The Book of the Dead is not the only Egyptian text thought to be divinely written. Coffin Texts 131–135 are explicitly said to be written by Geb (CT 131 II 151; see also Gee 2007, 808), as are the oracular amuletic decrees (Edwards 1960), the Ptolemaic divine decrees (Quaegebeur 1988; Kakosy 1992), and the so-called Book of Breathings Made by Isis (Gee 2007, 808–9).

Mathieu has extended authorship by Thoth to both the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts (2008, 259), and questions whether a distinction can be drawn between the two. The same distinction between the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead becomes questionable when

⁹ This papyrus is also the source of the version in Naville 1886, 1:pl. CL.

¹⁰ For this nuance, see Wilson 1997, 356–57.

we look at the Second Intermediate Period material. The picture that emerges is that this is a single work, whose contents change over time. We thus are dealing with an open rather than a closed canon.

Thus the Book of the Dead, to the Egyptians, fills the same category of divinely inspired scripture that the Christian canon does for the Christians. And we know that at least 55 of the 192 chapters (29%) of the Book of the Dead were certainly used by the living as well as by the dead (Gee 2006, 73–81), so this canonicity was recognised by living Egyptians.

Conclusions

In Egyptology, the denial of canon for the Book of the Dead provides an excuse not to study the text. The normally insightful Barry Kemp begins a book called *How to read the Egyptian Book of the Dead* with an admission that writing the book finally gave him the opportunity ‘to confront a text I have long avoided’ (Kemp 2007, ix). Someone who has avoided a text is not the obvious selection to write a book on how to read that text, and it certainly would have helped if the editors had picked someone who actually studied the text and was at least familiar with it. But most Egyptologists fall into the camp of those who avoid the Book of the Dead: ‘most modern scholars regard [the Book of the Dead] with a lack of interest bordering on contempt’ (Bohleke 1997, 115). Given the importance of the Book of the Dead to the Egyptians, this neglect by Egyptologists is inexcusable. Granted, it is not an easy set of texts to understand, but the difficulty should not deter us. If any text in ancient Egypt was canonical, it was the Book of the Dead.

Cover image: Papyrus roll, British Museum EA 10748.

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Creating borders: New insights into making the Papyrus of Ani

B. Leach and R. B. Parkinson

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‘But an example will make the situation clearer. Let us follow the fortunes of B.M. 10470, or the “Papyrus of Ani”?’
E. M. Forster, ‘For the museum’s sake’ ([1936] 1996, 281)

We present here some reflections on the pigments used in the red and yellow borders of the famous Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470), and some observations on the possible manufacturing processes that these borders reveal.¹ The published accounts of the physical aspects of the papyrus by Wallis Budge are unreliable in detail (e.g., 1913, 217–20). Although these remarks have been supplemented in part by the commentary of Ogden Goelet to a reprint of Budge’s facsimiles (1994), a fresh examination of the original papyrus inevitably reveals some new insights into the process of manufacturing such a roll.² The Papyrus of Ani provides a particularly suitable ‘test case’ for a preliminary attempt to identify such procedures because it is widely regarded as a fine representative of the art of the makers of these funerary papyri, and also because it is extensive, complete, and largely undamaged.

Pigments

A number of studies have been undertaken at the British Museum to examine and identify the pigments used to illustrate the papyri in the collection (Lee and Quirke 2000). Further work examined the yellow and red colours, namely orpiment and realgar, and the changes that can occur to these pigments over time. More recent work focused on realgar, particularly where used on the Papyrus of Ani, with some interesting results (Daniels and Leach 2004).

To put the red and yellow colours used on funerary papyri into context, the occurrence of the pigments identified can be summarized as follows. The most common reds and yellows are ochres or iron oxides; for consistency they are referred to here as iron oxides (Lee and Quirke 2000, 114). Both occur naturally and can range in hue from brown to red to yellow. According to the Greek physician Dioscorides, writing in the first century AD, the best red ochre was Egyptian (Gunther 1934, 638). It was used extensively as a watercolour to paint vignettes, and red iron oxide was almost invariably used on papyri as the colourant for red writing ink.

Two rare occurrences of vermilion and red lead have been identified. Vermillion was

¹ The authors would like to thank Vincent Daniels of the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research, British Museum, for his collaboration and invaluable scientific work on realgar; and to Claire Thorne for help with illustrations. We retain the oral character of the presentation, and have kept references to a minimum, especially since much of the paper is based on direct observations of the papyrus.

² Recent photographs are available on the Museum’s ‘Collections Online’ web-page; these new images were taken by Michael Row in 2009.

found on the Papyrus of Nesmin, attributed to the Late Period (P. BM EA 9916: Quirke 1993, 49), where it was used to colour the vignette (Lee and Quirke 2000, 114). Vermillion was not mentioned in Lucas's reference work on materials (1989, 346–48), and does not appear to have been used in Dynastic Egypt, although it was certainly known to the Romans (Rutherford et al. 1993, 159). The red ink used for the writing on the same papyrus was found to be red iron oxide. The second rare occurrence was red lead, found on the Roman period Papyrus of Kerasher (P. BM EA 9995), where it was used extensively to colour the large vignettes (Daniels 1999).

Finally, the minerals yellow orpiment and red-orange realgar have been found on a significant number of illustrated funerary papyri in the Museum's collection including the Papyrus of Ani (Lee and Quirke 2000, 114). These colours are both arsenic sulphides that are likely to be found in the same mineral deposits (Fig. 1). The name orpiment derives from the Latin 'auripigmentum' literally meaning 'gold paint' as it was said to contain gold. It is also sometimes called King's Yellow. The name realgar means 'powder of the mine' in Arabic, and in the classical period it was referred to as 'sandarach' (FitzHugh 1997, 47). The Greek geographer Strabo records that there were sandarach mines in Northern Turkey, where slaves, who had been sold for their crimes, were employed. He recounts that 'the air is said to be destructive of life ... hence the slaves are short lived' (*Geography* 12.3.40; trans. Hamilton and Falconer 1856, 313). Both orpiment and realgar have been found on papyri from as early as the New Kingdom (Green 1994), but the source of the mineral used by the ancient Egyptians is not known. Pliny refers to it being found on the island of Topazus (St. John's Island) in the Red Sea (*Natural history* 35.39; ed. and trans. Rackham 1952, 291) so this was one possible source. Realgar can vary from an intense orange or orange-red to a rosy red colour.

For conservation, identifying the pigments used on the papyri is very important as realgar and orpiment are extremely light sensitive. Unlike iron oxides, these vibrantly coloured minerals, when ground up and used as watercolours, fade when exposed to light. Examples of this fading can be seen very clearly on the Papyrus of Ani and many other papyri in the collection as certain sections of the rolls, in practice different frames of the same papyrus, have been exposed to more light than others. The red and yellow double bands forming the borders at the top and bottom show these changes very markedly on Ani's papyrus.

Light induced changes to realgar and orpiment

Orpiment and realgar were the subject of several scientific studies carried out during the 1990s in order to examine the effects of light on the pigments. The work on realgar examined the different phases, or polymorphs, that occur as it breaks down and fades (Corbeil and Helwig 199, Lee and Leach 1997b). An intermediate, or 'χ' phase, was identified by Douglass and Shing in 1992 (Douglass et al. 1992). To summarise these phases, we start with α-realgar. The low temperature form of the mineral found on artefacts so far is ground up and used to make a watercolour (Daniels and Leach 2004, 74). This watercolour is the vibrant red-orange colour of the mineral itself (see Fig. 1). In the presence of light, particles of α-realgar begin to degrade and pass through the 'χ' phase to yellow pararealgar, and then eventually to arsenic oxide or arsenolite, a dull whitish colour. The images in Fig. 2 show the colour changes that

accompany these phases. Orpiment appears to be less complicated and fades gradually to arsenolite (Lee and Leach 1997a). It has been observed that this final product of orpiment and realgar sparkles under bright lights such as fibre optics (Green 1994, 3). It is thought that the effect is caused by the reflection of the oxide crystals.

Fig. 3 shows a test that was carried out several years ago at the British Museum. Squares of orpiment and realgar watercolour paint were painted on to paper and placed between sheets of glass in the same way as the papyri are framed. The set at the top was kept in the dark while the two sets below were placed in UV filtered light for approximately one year. The fading was very rapid during the first 12 weeks and then more gradual as time progressed, but the fading overall was readily apparent, particularly for realgar.

How far these changes progress will depend largely on how much light the colours receive. There are other factors that play a part in the changes, however, such as temperature (Lee and Leach 1997b), the size of the ground up pigment particles used to make the watercolour (Daniels and Leach 2004, 76), and the pigment-to-binder ratio or pigment density of the watercolour itself. An example of a low pigment density and faded realgar can be found on the Dynasty 18 Papyrus of Ahmes (P. BM EA 9968). Unusually on this papyrus, realgar was used for red writing ink. When first applied in antiquity, the colour would have had the red-orange appearance that the scribe intended, but it now appears yellow and is very faded in certain areas. The ink has been identified as pararealgar (Lee and Quirke 2000, 113). The recent history of the papyrus and how much light exposure it has received is not known, but the fading in this case can be attributed in part to the low density of pigment particles in a diluted watery pigment that would have been suitable for writing.

The British Museum research project

A project was undertaken in 2003 to examine light fading of realgar and its polymorphs on the polychrome Egyptian papyri in the British Museum. The papyri were examined using a Raman microscope that has the advantage of allowing the objects to be examined through their glass frames. The microscope enables single particles of pigment to be analysed as each one produces a unique spectrograph that can then be compared with standard reference spectra. When looking at an area of realgar on a papyrus through the microscope it is possible to see single particles at different stages of change. Particles of α -realgar, χ -realgar and pararealgar were identified on an apparently pristine area of realgar on the New Kingdom Papyrus of Huy (P. BM EA 70896). To the naked eye this area of the pigment remains relatively intense, but the presence of χ -realgar and pararealgar particles reveals that some changes have already taken place and a small amount of fading has occurred.

A number of the frames of the Papyrus of Ani, some with considerable fading, were also examined. It should be mentioned that the full effect that continual light can have on ancient artefacts and their media has only been understood relatively recently. The Papyrus of Ani was acquired in 1888 and some frames would have been displayed for a very long time during the last century as were many other polychrome funerary papyri. The passage of time had already changed the papyrus by 1913: 'when brought to England the papyrus was a very light colour ... but after it was unrolled ... the whites, yellows, blues, and greens lost their intense

vividness, and certain parts of the sections contracted' (Budge 1913, 217). Other objects painted with realgar and orpiment, such as coffins, are not necessarily as light sensitive as papyri because, in many cases, they were varnished in antiquity and this process effectively created a barrier from the light.

The frame of EA 10470.21 (Fig. 4) of the Papyrus of Ani has had very little light exposure and the colours remain very fresh, the sun disc in the vignette to BD 15 in particular having the intense red-orange colour that is so characteristic of α -realgar. Examination of the disc, however, revealed some particles of χ -realgar and pararealgar among those of α -realgar. EA 10470.15 (Fig. 5) was also examined and the outer bands of the border, in appearance a rich yellow, were analysed using the Raman microscope. The spectrographs for most of the particles in these areas were pararealgar. In contrast, EA 10470.19 (Fig. 6) is an example of a very badly faded section and the once orange-red and yellow borders now both appear a whitish colour. When examining the outer bands of the border under the Raman microscope, many colourless arsenolite crystals could be seen with some orange-yellow pararealgar particles also present.

The use of different red pigments on the Papyrus of Ani

The fact that some realgar has faded so dramatically now highlights the fact that the same red pigment has not been used throughout the roll. Red iron oxide has also been used, but unlike realgar, this colour does not fade when exposed to light. Where the colours are used side by side, the contrast is now very noticeable. In some cases the change of pigment has taken place along the outer band of the borders and here the colours can be seen in contrast. An area on the top outer band on EA 10470.9 in BD 17 shows this particularly clearly (Fig. 7): the iron oxide remains unchanged but the realgar has faded to arsenolite. When first painted by the artist or scribe, this colour change would not have been particularly noticeable as the area that is now arsenolite would have had a red-orange hue and blended in reasonably well with the red iron oxide. Indeed it can be seen in this area how the artist has overpainted the bands a little in order to try to blend the colours together.

To make matters a little more complicated, sometimes red iron oxide has been either painted over, or mixed with realgar or orpiment. Examination of EA 10470.37 (Fig. 8) shows this to be the case. It is clear that the vignette of BD 186 has faded considerably. The areas that would have been painted with orpiment, such as Hathor's head and the inner bands of the borders, are now completely faded. The areas of the body of the hippopotamus that are colored a blotchy red have the characteristic sparkle of arsenolite, together with the darker red of iron oxide. Painting one colour over another, or mixing them, is evident from analysis of other funerary papyri. For example the orange colour on the opening vignette of the Papyrus of Nu (EA 10477.1) was found to be orpiment or realgar with red iron oxide (Lee and Quirke 2000, 113). The mixing of red and yellow ochres to produce orange was mentioned by Lucas (1989, 346). Both red iron oxide and realgar were found on the Papyrus of Ani (Daniels and Leach 2004, 80) and as mentioned above, visual examination of many of the frames shows that mixes of realgar or orpiment with red iron oxide are present. Another example of this is found on the borders of Ani's judgement vignette (EA 10470.3; Fig. 9). In 2009 a small

area of the outer band was examined and photographed under magnification. The image was compared with one taken under the same magnification of a test sample of orpiment and red iron oxide that had been mixed and artificially faded. These images compare fairly well, especially when compared with one of iron oxide alone (Fig. 10). Examination of the papyrus shows clearly that both pigments, in some cases mixed, were used throughout the roll to colour both the vignettes and the outer bands of the borders at the beginning and end sections of the roll. The outer bands of the middle section of the papyrus, however, are painted with realgar only.

The manufacture of the Papyrus of Ani

These colour changes on the Papyrus of Ani led us to re-examine the joins between the sheets of the papyrus since these corresponded with changes in the pigments in frames EA 10470.9 and .29, and with other irregularities in the borders elsewhere in the roll. These irregularities have always been obvious (e.g., Budge 1913, 219), but have rarely been discussed. We here sketch only the major features that we have observed through the length of the roll from a preliminary examination. We comment only on areas where the joins between sheets can be clearly observed; these are the areas where the joins were difficult, and it is possible that other more successful joins may also have been made and are now unnoticeable.

The papyrus roll is a composite and collaborative work.³ For the most part, it is made up of papyrus sheets of fairly regular lengths (29.6 to 34.7 cm), joined together left over right. It is clear that more than one scribe copied the text and several painters were involved, but it is probably impossible to estimate exactly the number of individuals (compare the estimates of Budge 1913, 218; Goelet 1994, 142; 2010, 129 n. 50). We do not address these issues here, but the differences between directly comparable vignettes, such as the large vignettes of Ani and his wife Tutu, suggest a larger rather than a smaller number of artists. All of the papyrus was manufactured before Ani became its owner, despite Budge's claim that the first section of the roll was written specifically for him (1913, 218).⁴ Budge's claim would make sense for the set of introductory hymns and scenes which are written in a more elaborate form of the linear hieroglyphic script, as is usual (P. BM EA 10470.1–4).⁵ An examination of the changes in the tone of the ink and the uneven spacing, however, shows that the name 'Ani' is a later addition here also. The later addition of Ani's name is simply more obvious and easier to observe in the subsequent areas because these were written in a less elaborate form of the linear script. Sometimes it is extremely obvious: for example, in the title to BD 1 (l. 3–4), the name was written in twice (P. BM EA 10470.5).

The join in BD 17

³ Budge stated that the papyrus 'is made of six distinct lengths of papyrus that vary from 5 feet 7 inches to 26 feet 9 inches in length' (1913, 216). Our conclusions differ.

⁴ 'As however such additions do not occur in the first section, which measures 16 feet 4 inches in length, it must be concluded that that section was written expressly for him and that the others were some of those ready written copies in which blank spaces were left'.

⁵ The same elaborate script is also used for the final vignette (P. BM EA 10470.36–37).

At the start of the papyrus, the borders are beautifully executed and painted in a mix of red iron oxide and orpiment/realgar for the outer border and orpiment for the inner border. They run evenly over the sheet joins. After 539.9 cm, in the middle of BD 17 (P. BM EA 10470.9–10), however, a join has been made between two sections that had borders at different heights and where the outer band of the border has been coloured with different pigments: the section to the right is coloured with realgar (Fig. 11). The transition between these different sections is effected by a patch of papyrus, 16.6 cm long; the first join is left over right, as usual, but the second is right over left. After this patch had been inserted, borders that sloped were drawn on it in order to accommodate the different heights to either side. Extra pigment was applied to join the coloured bands and smooth over the transition. From visible traces of erasures and alterations it is certain that the sections on either side of the patch were already fully painted when the patch was added. For example, in the vignettes to the right of the patch, the baseline under the figure of Tutu worshipping Khepri (above BD 17, l. 113–14,⁶ P. BM EA 10470.10) had been drawn as horizontal and was then erased and re-drawn at a slope. The black lines outlining these new borders are thicker and more crudely drawn than the outlines of the original borders to either side of the join.

The two joined sections to either side of the patch differ in other respects: the vignettes are painted in slightly different styles, as is obvious from comparing the treatment of the draperies in the figures of Ani and Tutu worshipping Khepri with those of the vignette showing them playing *senet* earlier in the spell (P. BM EA 10470.7). The handwriting to either side of the patch is also different, as are the widths of the columns. It seems that BD 17 was copied in two halves by two different groups of artists and copyists, and drastic measures had to be taken to get these two prefabricated parts to join smoothly. The text on the patch (l. 103–113) follows on from the already written l. 102; l. 103 was written after the join was made: the red ink at the top of the line is very different in colour from the red ink at the bottom of l. 102. The text that follows continues the spell but in an abbreviated form, up to l. 112 (Lapp 2006, 171–89). After the end of l. 112, there is a large omission in the full text (equivalent to Lapp 2006, 189–279), including the description that should accompany the vignette of the ‘great cat’ that was painted on the patch. The full text of the spell from the start of the patch up to this point (l. 103–113) would have occupied, at a rough calculation, some 100 extra lines on the papyrus. The handwriting on the patch seems different from both the sheets to the right, and to the left, suggesting that the patch was executed by a third group of copyists and possibly illustrators. The pigments on the patch’s borders are orpiment and realgar, the same as on the borders to the right. Line 113 is written over the join between the patch and the section to the right, but was written in two stages. When the join (right over left) was being made, the section to the right was cut in a neat vertical line. This cut went through the middle of a line of text that had already been copied out. After this section was joined to the patch, the scribe who copied out the text on the patch restored the rest of the line: the *ʔ* sign is clearly written in two halves—with a thick pen to the left and a thin pen to the right; the left part of the *ʕnh* had been cut away and was accidentally not restored. Perhaps when the two pre-fabricated sections were joined, and it was realised that the heights did not match, the workshop decided to manufacture only a new short patch to smooth the transition. It seems likely that a considerable area was removed from the second of the pre-fabricated sections

⁶ Line numbers follow Budge 1913.

before the patch was added; the cut was made at a point that corresponded to the right edge of the final vignette of BD 17. The abbreviated text is certainly a result of the practical considerations of joining two already written but incompatible sections of the papyrus, but exactly why so much of the full spell was removed remains uncertain.

The join between BD 146, 147 and 18

After this point the borders run smoothly until a sheet join after another 157.2 cm, at the end of BD 147 and 146 (P. BM EA 10470.12; Fig. 12). The borders on either side of this join are of the same thickness and are both painted with realgar and orpiment, but are at different heights. The vignettes on either side of this join had also already been painted before the join was made. The join (right over left) is made just to the right of a normal sheet join on the section to the left. The section to the right was neatly cut along a ruled black line (partly removing it) that had formed the original left edge of the border of the vignette of BD 146. The two sections were then joined, and the borders were adjusted leaving traces of the erased original horizontal borders and smudges to both sides of the join. The black lines of the new parts of the borders are much more crudely executed than the original ones; as before, extra realgar and orpiment was used to cover up the joins on the borders. When the sections were joined, an area to the right of BD 147 was cleaned, leaving a few faint palimpsest traces of text, and this provided a gap between the vignettes of BD 146 and 147 and those of BD 18, presumably to help ease the transition between the prefabricated sections by allowing the artist to draw the new sloping borders at a less steep angle. Even so, the borders at the bottom had to be drastically aligned to accommodate the different heights of the two sections: the top band simply disappears and its sudden end was smoothed over with an extra daub of orpiment, making the top band fade away behind Tutu's legs, to reappear as a horizontal band under her feet. The yellow register line in the middle of the introductory vignette of BD 18 was not extended to cover the blank gap between the vignettes. Although the pigments in the borders are the same on either side of the join, other features suggest that these two sections were made by different members of the workshop: the scribes' spacing of signs is different and the vignettes are in different styles on either side of this join (compare, for example, the figures of Ani and Tutu on P. BM EA 10470.12 with those on P. BM EA 10470.11; Fig. 13). This pre-fabricated section is comparatively short (128.7 cm) and comprises a single spell; the height is greater than that of the sections on either side of it.

The join between BD 18 and 23

After 128.7 cm, at the end of BD 18, there is another sheet join which produces sloping borders and another blank space (P. BM EA 10470.14–15; Fig. 14). The borders on either side of this join are of the same thickness and are both painted with realgar and orpiment, but are at different heights: the heights return approximately to that of the section before BD 18. In the section immediately to the left of the join, the final line of the spell was too long for the column, with the result that the final signs were written in the border although they are not covered by the paint (section J l. 6); this indicates that the text was copied after the borders were drawn but before they were coloured (for another instance, see l. 9 of BD 93, P. BM EA 10470.17). Everything had been copied and coloured before the two sections were joined: then the section to the left was neatly cut, leaving traces of a black vertical line that

was probably the original border of the subsequent spell. This was then joined to the other section (left over right) and the borders were erased and redrawn so that they would join up. As the artist was redrawing the borders, he erased part of the already copied text of BD 23: the bottom signs in l. 1–2 are smudged and retouched, and the new border covers up part of the body of the white god at the bottom of the vignette to BD 18. The artist lined the two sections at the top, and he managed to join the borders there smoothly. At the bottom, there was a significant difference. A blank space was left between the spells; once again this extra space presumably allowed him to draw the new sloping borders at a less steep angle.⁷ As mounted in the modern frame, the new lines do not actually meet at the sheet join, but this is probably due to slippage and damage in the nineteenth century when the papyrus was mounted on its paper backing.⁸

The papyrus further to the right of this join contains a single sequence of spells starting with BD 23. These are all short spells with small vignettes, unlike the larger-scale formats of the immediately preceding spells. The borders run smoothly through this sequence, although there is significant irregularity in sheet lengths in P. BM EA 10470.17 where a join occurs in BD 143. Here the sheet to the left of a join is only 19.4 cm long, and the join is right over left. The join runs though the ruled vertical line between BD 143, l. 1 and 2. The vignette seems to be painted directly over this join, and so the join seems to have been made before the area was decorated. The borders run smoothly over the join.

The join in BD 15

The next irregularly executed join is after 277.6 cm (P. BM EA 10470.19; Fig. 6). The borders on either side of this join are painted with realgar and orpiment, and are at approximately the same height, but are of different thicknesses. After a hymn to the sun god (BD 15), there is a large vignette of Ani and Tutu facing another of Osiris and Isis, with the text of a litany to Osiris separating the two sets of figures. In the middle of the first vignette is a join (right over left) between two sections with different borders (painted in the same pigment): the borders to the left are thicker; the borders to the right are thinner. The borders were joined and adjusted before the caption was written with the deceased pair's names and titles: Tutu's name was visibly written after the original border line had been erased and re-drawn (caption l. 7–8).⁹ Nevertheless, the vignette was not painted across the join between the sheets, but is actually formed of two half vignettes that have been joined together: the difference in height between Ani and Tutu here is more pronounced than in other similar vignettes; the cut removed the left-most tip of Ani's rear shoulder, which was then retouched with a thicker red line. Tutu's papyrus bouquet is very different in style from the bouquets in other similar vignettes that have considerable detail outlined over the green paint; it is as if it were painted as a simple block of green, as a later addition covering up the join. The shadows on the draperies of the two figures are different in style, suggesting that this vignette was created out of two vignettes by different artists. The other vignettes to either side of this join are also

⁷ Since the vertical lines on the two sections were not parallel, this gap is irregularly shaped. This is not simply a blank column as Goelet suggests (1994, 162).

⁸ The ink and pigment of the new borders on the left extend over the actual sheet join. Unfortunately the area is obscured by minor damage. Another example of such slippage is on P. BM EA 10470.18, BD 132.

⁹ Line numbers again follow Budge 1913 (see above, n. 6).

by different artists: compare the two versions of Ani worshipping the sun god on P. BM EA 10470.19 and P. BM EA 10470.21 (Figs 6 and 4, both BD 15). This duplication of the sun hymns may be a result of the joining of different sections.

The join between BD 134 and 18

After this point, the borders run smoothly for another 236.9 cm until after BD 134, where there is another join between sections, left over right (P. BM EA 10470.22–23; Fig. 15). The following spell is a second copy of BD 18. The borders on either side of this join are of the same thickness and are both painted with realgar and orpiment, but are at slightly different heights. Here the borders have been altered to make them join smoothly, and this is especially noticeable at the bottom. The sheet lengths on either side are unusually short (15.5 cm and 19.4 cm), suggesting that both prefabricated sections were cut down before they were joined. Between BD 134 and 18 there is a full-height vignette, which depicts not ‘a ladder’ (Budge 1913, 300) but ‘one leaf of a large yellow door’ (Goelet 1994, 165). Presumably this is an equivalent of the vignette of two doorways in the earlier copy of the spell (P. BM EA 10470.13), and perhaps it was even designed to cover this local problem: the sheet join runs through the middle of the image of the door and this was painted after the sections were joined, directly over where they meet. Once again, a blank gap was left to help ease the joining of the borders. In order to create this gap, some already written text was erased, leaving a few traces of palimpsest: traces of a red sign at the top are clearly visible, presumably part of the title of the next spell that had originally occupied this space. Since the vignette is somewhat asymmetrical, and so has the appearance of a compromise: a yellow band marks the end of BD 135, then there is a gap, and then another band forms the edge of the vignette of the ‘ladder’; immediately to the right of the ladder, a single band (currently at the leftmost edge of P. BM EA 10470.23) forms the edge of the vignette between it and the subsequent text of the spell.¹⁰ This asymmetrical spacing does serve to associate the vignette with the spell that follows. The existence of a duplicate copy of BD 18 is presumably an unintentional result of the assembly of the roll. The text of the spell is very close in both copies and contains a shared error, suggesting that they were copied from a single original, as one would expect from scribes working in the same workshop (on the text of BD 18 here, see Goelet 1994, 161; 2010, 130). Nevertheless, they are laid out in two very different ways: one version has a series of full-height vignettes, elaborately laid out with the text between them, while the other has a single short vignette running along the top of the papyrus. The duplication of the spell would have occurred easily if the person joining the sections together was working from the vignettes rather than from reading the opening text of the spells, either through lack of care or through an inability to read, or (as in the case of the present authors) because he found it quicker and easier to identify spells from the vignettes than from reading the text. Both copies of BD 18 are at the start of prefabricated sections.

The join between BD 175 and 125A

BD 18 is followed by BD 124 and then the sequence of transformation spells. The borders

¹⁰ As the sheet was cut at this point, it is admittedly possible that Budge removed a blank portion of the papyrus at this point and created the asymmetry, but it seems that he made a cut directly down the middle of the black line that forms the left edge of the right-most yellow band.

run smoothly through this sequence of spells with small vignettes, with one slight exception. In BD 78, at l. 11 (P. BM EA 10470.25; Fig. 16), a short sheet is followed by a join that is unusually right over left, and at l. 13 the ruled lines of the borders change direction. It looks as if the papyrus roll itself bends upwards slightly at this point, changing direction, due to an irregularity in aligning the sheets when they were stuck together to form this section of the roll. This meant that the person drawing the border lines had to change their angle in order to accommodate this irregularity in the papyrus. This was all done before the text or vignettes were executed.

The next join between pre-fabricated sections occurs after 454.1 cm, at the sheet-join after the end of BD 175 and before the large vignette of BD 125A (P. BM EA 10470.29; Fig. 17). This is a join (right over left) between two pre-painted and pre-written sections that had borders of different thicknesses and of different heights and where the outer band of the border is painted with a different pigment. The borders of the final section are the same as the first section: a mix of red iron oxide and orpiment/realgar for the outer border and orpiment for the inner border. The end of the sheet to the left was neatly cut, slicing away part of the black line that outlines the vertical yellow border. Both sections of papyrus to either side of the join were cut down, leaving them with short sheets (21.4 cm to the left and 26.5 cm to the right). Then the right section was joined onto the section to the left, but the vertical lines of BD 175 proved not to be parallel with those of BD 125A. This meant that, while the join is exact at the top, towards the bottom there is an awkward trapezoidal gap between the spells. The borders were then re-drawn and re-painted. This was done after the text had been copied, but before Ani's name was added in: the re-painted border covers part of the *n* of *mmnt* in l. 25 and the *r* of *rh* in l. 26, but not the titles and name of Ani in l. 27–28.¹¹ This join marks a transition between a section of the papyrus with small vignettes and the following section that contains many large, full height vignettes, such as BD 125, 42, 151, 110, 148, and 186.

The borders are consistent through the great final vignettes until the end of the roll (P. BM EA 10470.37), and the sheet lengths are also consistent with one exception. Between the text and vignette of BD 110, there is a sheet join that is right over left, and the following sheet is short (28.8 cm). The next sheet—comprising the end of the vignette and the start of the following scene of BD 148—is also short (22.0 cm). Both of these appear to be chance happenings while making up the roll, since in both cases the vignette is painted over the sheet join. This final section is 502.4 cm long.

Conclusions and implications

From this re-examination, it is clear that several different sections were joined together after the borders had been drawn and coloured. The joins were also made after the vignettes had been painted and after the text had been copied, and it seems that in many cases copied text was erased when these joins were made. Prefabricated sections were cut down and bits of text erased when necessary to provide blank gaps to help to smooth the joins between the sections

¹¹ Contra Goelet who suggests, that the prefabricated sheets were joined 'most likely after the blank spaces' were filled in with Ani's name (2010, 130).

that had borders of different heights or thicknesses. The edge of the section that is placed on top of the join always shows signs of having been carefully cut. These prefabricated sections are never single sheets of papyrus: the joins between the prefabricated sections usually do not correspond to the expected natural sheet joins of the sheets of papyrus (see Appendix). Different scribes and painters can be observed on either side of all of these joins, and the joins also often correspond with a change in the style of format. It is probable that within the workshop different groups of illustrators and copyists specialised in different styles of layout—some producing the spells that were laid out with large vignettes or in formats that extended the full height of the roll, with others working on spells that had small vignettes at the top of the papyrus. As with BD 18, some spells were copied in both formats. The prefabricated sections are of highly variable lengths, including one that comprises a single spell: 539.9, 16.6, 157.2, 151.8, 277.6, 236.9, 454.1, 502.4 cm. This suggests that they are not the result of a manufacturing process where each group produced a set amount, but are the result of a more fluid set of practices. It is not surprising that such a roll was not a product of a consistent, single, planned process, but of complex and flexible workshop procedures in which different copyists were working on multiple copies of different spells, and sometimes even on different sections of the same spell (e.g., BD 17). It is, however, perhaps significant that the two outer sections are among the longest, and most elaborately illustrated: they are similar in many other respects, such as the colour of borders and script, and may perhaps have been executed in part by the same hands. The beginning (and, to a lesser extent, the end of a roll) is the most visibly important section, and this presumably represents what was considered the most accomplished example of the workshop's artistry. The inner part of the roll is less smoothly accomplished.

A possible hypothetical scenario might be that Ani or his heirs commissioned a roll of a certain length, and that the copyists assembled a choice of sections from material that was already finished, and then joined them together. This assembly was perhaps done with some speed, as they accidentally included two copies of BD 18. They re-drew and re-painted the borders where they did not line up, even adding a new section as patch in one passage of BD 17 where this was needed; providing a continuity of vignettes was more important than text, appearance more important than content. Sometimes the necessary adjustments and alterations were quite drastic, but the overall visual impression remains impressive unless one looks closely at the areas of these joins. Some joins show considerable bravado, such as where two vignettes of Ani and Tutu were cut in two and then two halves by two different painters were joined together into a single vignette.¹² When the roll had been assembled, they added in the name of Ani, with a few careless slips and even omissions (e.g., Budge 1913, 218–19). The final product was a roll that was fairly coherent in style. In all probability, they little realised that their varied choice of pigments would betray them by fading at different rates and in different ways to reveal the flexibility of their practices.

The workshop that produced the Papyrus of Ani was not unique in this respect. Other papyri were also manufactured in separate sections that were subsequently joined into a single

¹² Even the drastic join of P. BM EA 10470.12 carries visual conviction, as is seen in its modern reception: the artist who produced the facsimile for the first edition of Budge's publication of the papyrus was so taken in by the adjustment that he completed and extended it without comment and drew the borders as if they were smoothly continuous bands (reprinted in Goelet 1994, pl. 11–12).

roll. For example, on the very long Papyrus of Nestanebtasheru (P. Greenfield, P. BM EA 10554; Fig. 18) in frames 69–70 there is a sheet join (right over left) where the border at the top is smoothly aligned but changes depth, while the bottom border and the border of the vignette do not align exactly. Either side of the join is written a sign in red (an enemy-sign), presumably to indicate which sections should be joined together. This feature can be observed throughout the length of the papyrus. The roughly contemporaneous Papyrus of Hunefer (P. BM EA 9901), however, shows no evidence of being assembled from pre-fabricated sections. Like Ani's, this papyrus was ready-made and the owner's name was written in after manufacture (although this is not always immediately obvious). The roll is made up of papyrus sheets of an extremely regular length (30.5–31.0 cm), and the borders, text and vignette run smoothly over these joins in all cases. In only one case is there sign of any adjustments at a sheet join: at the end of the first sheet, the papyrus was cut and re-joined at a point between the end of the text of the hymn to the sun god and the associated vignette (P. BM EA 9901.1). It seems likely that the illustrator who laid out the papyrus left too much space for the first hymn, and when the text was copied in, a blank column was left. This was then cut out, the roll was shortened and the sheets rejoined, resulting in a sheet length of 29.0 cm. It may be that Hunefer bought a higher quality roll than Ani's; the papyrus is of a higher quality and the vignettes appear more carefully painted in many ways. Since the Papyrus of Hunefer is unusually short (only 5.5 m long), the whole papyrus is perhaps, in effect, a single prefabricated section. It even may be no coincidence that Hunefer's papyrus ends at the vignette of the 'great cat' in BD 17, and the first prefabricated section of the Papyrus of Ani ends just before this vignette. Perhaps if Hunefer had acquired a longer papyrus, there would have been visible evidence of joins made between several prefabricated sections.

The irregularities in the borders and the variations between the pigments allow us to glimpse the extent to which the manufacture of these wonderful rolls was a varied and contingent process that was shaped by practical considerations and by the variable habits of their (occasionally all-too human) copyists and illustrators.

Appendix: Sheet lengths of the Papyrus of Ani

The sheets lengths have been measured along the top edge of the top border, reading left to right. We have not attempted to determine the amount of overlap at the joins, but have measured from the edge of one top sheet at a join to the next. All sheet joins are left over right unless otherwise indicated. Where a sheet is now split between two modern frames, the lengths of the two parts of the sheet in each frame are given in parenthesis after the total. Those joins which are irregular and which are discussed in this paper are highlighted in red.

Sheet length	Contents of sheet	Modern frame
4.6	Blank margin	10470.1
31.6	Introductory hymn to the sun god	10470.1
31.1 (21.2+9.9)	Continuation of hymn	10470.1–2
31.7	End of previous; hymn to Osiris	10470.2
32.6 (14.5+18.1)	Hymn to Osiris (cont.) and judgement scene	10470.2–3
31.4	Judgement scene (cont.)	10470.3
31.0 (11.8+19.2)	Judgement scene (cont.)	10470.3–4
30.9	Judgement scene (cont.)	10470.4
31.4 (9.0+22.4)	Judgement scene (cont.) and BD 1	10470.4–5
29.6	BD 1 (cont.)	10470.5
29.9 (4.7+25.2)	BD 1 (cont.) and BD 22	10470.5–6
31.7	BD 22 (cont.), rubric of BD 72	10470.6
32 (0.3+31.7)	BD 17	10470.6–7
31.7	BD 17 (cont.)	10470.7
31.8 (2.4+29.4)	BD 17 (cont.)	10470.7–8
32.2	BD 17 (cont.)	10470.8
33.4 (5.7+27.7)	BD 17 (cont.)	10470.8–9
31.3 [total: 539.9]	BD 17 (cont.); patch starts at this join	10470.9
16.6 (6.2+10.4) [total 16.6]	BD 17 (cont.); patch ends at this join, right over left	10470.9–10
27.3	BD 17 (cont.)	10470.10
31.9 (30.1+1.8)	BD 17 (end), BD 146–47	10470.10–11
31.2	BD 146–47	10470.11
30.7	BD 146–47	10470.11
32.3	BD 146–47	10470.12
3.8 [total 157.2]	BD 146–47; then a blank gap and a join right over left	10470.12
23.1	BD 18, introduction	10470.12
32.5 (3.3+29.2)	BD 18, introduction and spell	10470.12–13
33.7	BD 18 (cont.)	10470.13
34.5	BD 18 (cont.)	10470.14

Sheet length (cont.)	Contents of sheet (cont.)	Modern frame (cont.)
28 (22.6+5.4) [total 151.8]	BD 18 (end);	10470.14–15
25.4	Starts with gap; BD 23, 24, 26	10470.15
31.1	BD 26 (cont.), 30B, 61, 54, 29, 27	10470.15
32.0 (1.2+30.8)	BD 27 (cont.), 58, 59, 44 (NB yellow band is at sheet join)	10470.15–16
31.2 (30.5+0.7)	BD 44 (cont.), 45, 46, 50, 93 (NB yellow band is at sheet join)	10470.16–17
19.4	BD 93 (cont.), 43: following join right over left	10470.17
30.9	BD 43 (cont.), 89, 91	10470.17
31.7 (10.0+21.7)	BD 91 (cont.), 92, 74	10470.17–18
31.3	BD 74 (cont.), 8, 2, 9, 132	10470.18
30.6 (11.8+18.8)	BD 132 (cont.), 10/48, 15	10470.18–19
14.0 [total 277.6]	BD 15 (cont.), litany to Osiris with join right over left	10470.19
20.8	Litany to Osiris (cont.)	10470.19
33.7 (17.0+16.7)	Litany to Osiris (cont.), hymn to sun god, litany to Osiris (end)	10470.19–20
33.8	BD 15	10470.20
33 (18.4+14.7)	BD 15 (cont.)	10470.20–21
33.6	BD 15 (end), 133	10470.21
33.5 (18.0+15.5)	BD 133, rubric	10470.21–22
33.0	BD 133 rubric (cont.), 134	10470.22
15.5 [total 236.9]	BD 134, blank gap and then vignette to BD 18	10470.22
19.4 (2.0+ 17.4)	Vignette to BD 18, BD 18	10470.22–23
32.0	BD 18 (cont.)	10470.23
31.9 (18.0+13.9)	BD 18 (cont.)	10470.23–24
32.1	BD 18 (end), 124	10470.24
32.6 (23.6+9)	BD 124 (cont.), 86	10470.24–25
31.5	BD 86 (cont.), 77	10470.25
19.0	BD 77 (end), 78 with join right over left	10470.25
32.3 (12.3+20.0)	BD 78 (cont.)	10470.25–26
34.0	BD 78 (cont.)	10470.26
34.2 (18.2+16.0)	BD 78 (cont.), 87, 88, 82	10470.26–27
33.7	BD 82 (cont.), 85, 83	10470.27
34.7 (12.2+22.5)	BD 83 (cont.), 84.	10470.27–28
34.1	BD 84 (cont.), 81A, 80	10470.28
31.2 (7.2+24.0)	BD 80 (cont.), 175	10470.28–29
21.4 [total 454.1]	BD 175 (end) with join right over left	10470.29

Sheet length (cont.)	Contents of sheet (cont.)	Modern frame (cont.)
34.5 (18.2+16.3)	BD 125	10470.29–30
32.8	BD 125 (cont.)	10470.30
31.8 (10.8+21.0)	BD 125 (cont.)	10470.30–31
32.4	BD 125 (cont.)	10470.31
29.6 (10.5+19.1)	BD 125 (cont.)	10470.31–32
31.9	BD 125 (end), 42	10470.32
31.3 (15.0+16.3)	BD 42 and rubric (cont.)	10470.32–33
31.6	BD 42 rubric (end), 155, 156, 29B, 166, 151	10470.33
32.4 (5.4+27.0)	BD 151 (cont.)	10470.33–34
33.3 (32.6+1.0)	BD 151 (end), 110 (text) with join right over left	10470.34–35
28.8	BD 110 (vignette)	10470.35
22.2	BD 110 (vignette cont.), 148	10470.35
32.1 (13.8+18.3)	BD 148 (cont.)	10470.35–36
33.8	BD 148 (end), 185	10470.36
33.9 (1.0+32.9)	BD 185 (end), 186	10470.36–37
30.0 [total 502.4]	BD 186 (end), margin	10470.37

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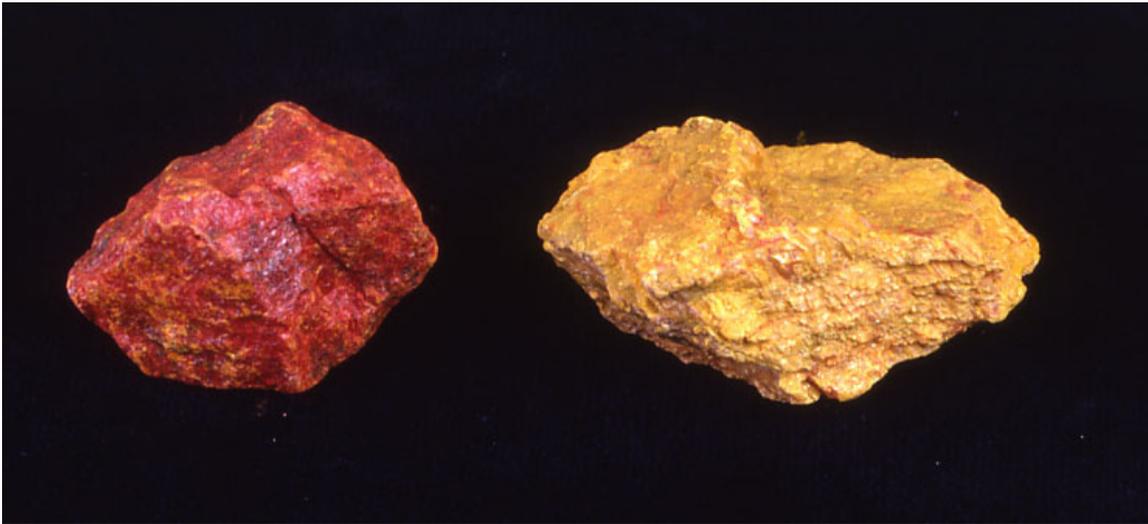


Fig. 1: The raw minerals realgar (left) and orpiment (right).



a. Unfaded realgar.



b. Pararealgar, a sample of realgar exposed to daylight for 55 days.



c. Arsenolite, a sample of orpiment exposed to daylight for almost two years.

Fig. 2: Examples of realgar and orpiment watercolour seen under magnification (x 30) showing the changes that occur to the colours when exposed to light.

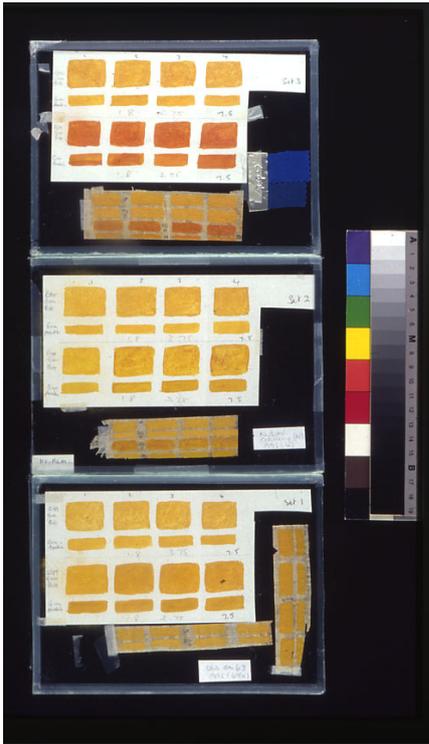


Fig. 3: Three identical sets of realgar and orpiment watercolour painted onto test sheets. The set at the top was kept in the dark and colours are not faded, the two sets below were exposed to ultra-violet filtered light in different locations for one year.



Fig. 4: A section of the Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470.21) containing unfaded realgar and orpiment.



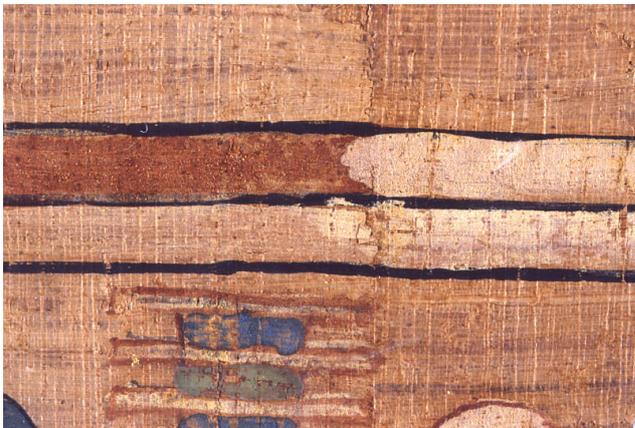
Fig 5: A section of the Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470.15) where the colours are partly faded. Pararealgar was identified on the outer bands of the borders.



Fig 6: A section of the Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470.19) which is very faded. Arsenolite was identified on both the inner and outer bands of the borders.



- a. A sheet join on the papyrus where the colour used to paint the outer band has changed from red iron oxide to the now-faded realgar as seen on the right side.



- b. Detail showing the top right side where the change occurs.

Fig. 7: A section of the Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470.9).



Fig 8: A section of the Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470.37) showing the use of colour mixes on Ani. The colour on the body of the hippopotamus shows the characteristic sparkle of arsenolite together with the darker red of iron oxide.



Fig 9: A section of the Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470.3) with an arrow denoting the area on the outer band which appears to be painted with orpiment or realgar and red iron oxide, photographed under magnification (Fig. 10a).



a. The area on the Papyrus of Ani shown in Fig. 9.



b. Sample of red iron oxide and orpiment mixed and light faded.



c. A sample of red iron oxide only.

Fig. 10: Images taken under magnification (x30) for comparison.



Fig. 11: A section of the Papyrus of Ani showing the join in BD 17 (P. BM EA 10470.9-10).



Fig. 12: A section of the Papyrus of Ani showing the join between BD 146, 147 and 18 (P. BM EA 10470.12).



Fig. 13: A section of the Papyrus of Ani, BD 146 and 147 (P. BM EA 10470.11).



Fig. 14: A section of the Papyrus of Ani showing the join between BD 18 and 23 (P. BM EA 10470.14–15).



Fig. 15: A section of the Papyrus of Ani showing the join between BD 134 and 18 (P. BM EA 10470.22–23).



Fig. 16: A section of the Papyrus of Ani showing the change in alignment in BD 78 (BM P. EA 10470.25).



Fig. 17: A section of the Papyrus of Ani showing the join between BD 175 and 125A (BM P. EA 10470.29).

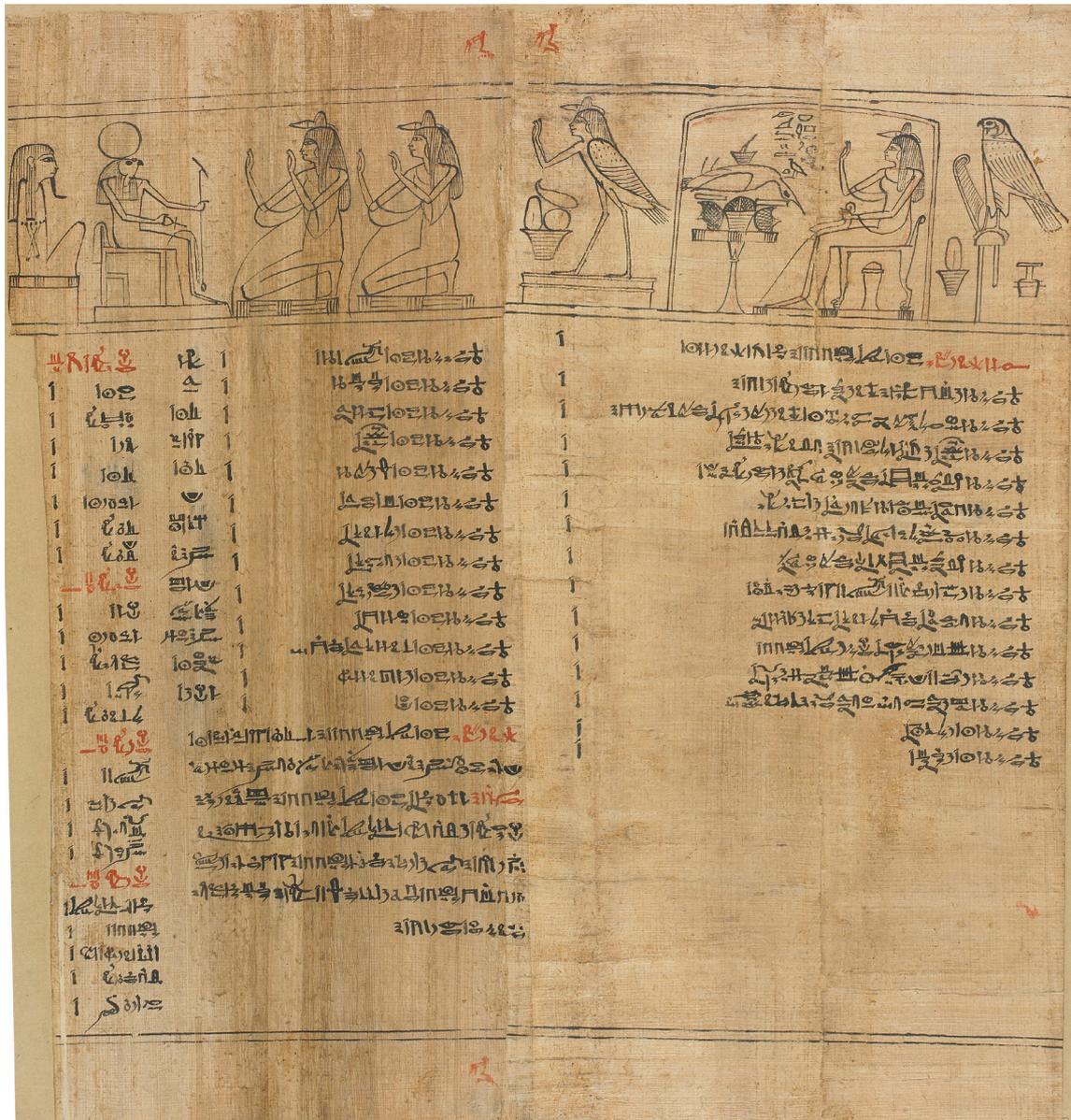
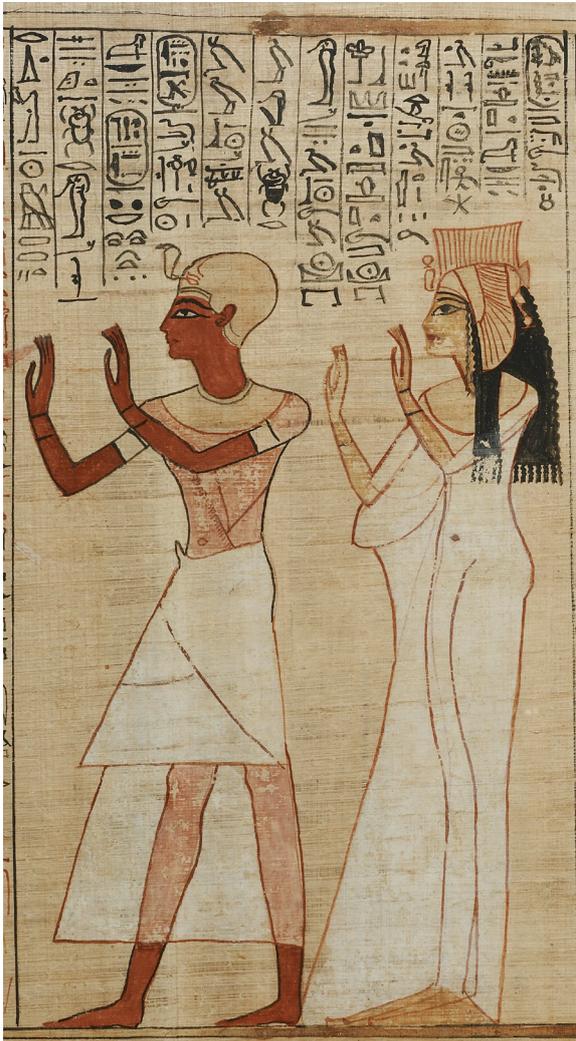


Fig. 18: A section of the Papyrus of Nestanebtasheru showing a join (P.Greenfield, P. BM EA 10554.69–70).



**The two funerary papyri of Queen Nedjmet
(P. BM EA 10490 and P. BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258)**

Giuseppina Lenzo

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The two funerary papyri of Queen Nedjmet (P. BM EA 10490 and P. BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258)

Giuseppina Lenzo

This paper aims to present the preliminary results of a new study of two funerary papyri of the Third Intermediate Period.¹ They were both written for a Queen Nedjmet and they probably date from the first part of Dynasty 21. The first papyrus is divided between the British Museum and the Musée du Louvre (P. BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258), and the second belongs to the British Museum (P. BM EA 10490). Despite their difference in content and style, it is generally believed that the two papyri belonged to the same person, and that they originate from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari. Both papyri are well known to Egyptologists, but none has been completely studied, even if Budge published the second one (1899).

The owner of the papyri

It is generally assumed that the two papyri belonged to the same person, Queen Nedjmet, wife of the High Priest of Amun Herihor at the beginning of Dynasty 21, and that they originate from the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari. The end of the New Kingdom and the beginning of Dynasty 21 has been the subject of much discussion in recent years, but this is not the purpose of this paper; however, it is appropriate here to consider the identity of the owner of these papyri.

Who was Nedjmet and why did she have two Books of the Dead? Or were there two Nedjmet? The answers are not straightforward, though a Queen Nedjmet is well known from the end of Dynasty 20 and the beginning of Dynasty 21. Nedjmet is given the following titles:

P. BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258

Lady of the Two Lands, King's Mother Nedjmet

King's Mother of the Lord of the Two Lands, God's Mother of Khons-the-child, Chief of the Harim of Amonrasonther, Chief Noblewoman, Lady of the Two Lands, Nedjmet

P. BM EA 10490

King's Mother Nedjmet, daughter of the King's Mother Herere

King's Mother, Who has borne the Strong Bull, Lady of the two Lands

In both papyri, she is designated 'King's Mother,' but it is not clear which pharaoh this refers to. Two graffiti in Luxor could indicate that she was Pinedjem I's mother (Taylor 1998, 1151–52). As we know the father of Pinedjem was the High Priest Piankh, we can deduce Nedjmet

¹ A new study and translation of these two papyri, which will be compared to other manuscripts of the same period, will be published as part of the series *Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten*.

also married Piankh.

Taylor summarises the various theories, and his conclusion (1998, 1143–55) is followed with some alterations by Broekman (2002). Both follow the interpretation of Jansen-Winkeln (1992) that Piankh was High Priest of Amun before Herihor, instead of the opposite. Others have differed from this view (e.g., Kitchen 2009, 192–96). Here it is assumed that Nedjmet could have married first Herihor ('traditional theory') or Piankh (if we follow Jansen-Winkeln).

Regarding the owner of the papyrus, Thijs (1998) proposed two different owners, with one Nedjmet being mother of Herihor (P. BM EA 10541) and the other Nedjmet wife of Herihor (P. BM EA 10490). But it seems difficult to accept that the Nedjmet of P. BM EA 10541 was Herihor's mother, because Nedjmet was a king's wife (*nb.t t3wy*), yet it is difficult to identify a Dynasty 20 king who could have had Nedjmet as queen (see Broekman 2002, 14).

P. BM EA 10541 + P. Paris Louvre E. 6258

This hieroglyphic Book of the Dead papyrus is preserved in lengths of 4.19m (British Museum) and 8.92m (Louvre) and in a third part previously in Munich, but which has been lost or destroyed. The missing part probably measured 1.5m in length,² suggesting that the original papyrus may have been over 14m in length. The High Priest Herihor is also present in the papyrus (Fig. 1).

Provenance

The papyrus was donated by King Edward VII in 1903 to the British Museum:

As Prince of Wales, the future Edward VII visited Egypt in 1862 and 1869. He presented the first part of the *Book of the Dead* of Nedjmet to the BM in 1903. The end of the manuscript is in the Louvre and a central section with part of BD 17 was in Munich but is now unlocated (Quirke 1993, 8).

The papyrus is also cited by Maspero, in his book about the discovery of the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari. As we know, many objects were sold by the Abderrassoul brothers from 1871, before the official discovery in 1881.

En 1877, M. De Saulcy me remettait les photographies d'un long papyrus ayant appartenu à la reine Nedjemet et dont la fin est aujourd'hui au Louvre, le commencement en Angleterre et en Bavière: l'original était, disait-on, dans les mains d'un drogman qui l'avait acquis à Louxor (Maspero 1889, 512).

Concerning the part in Munich, a footnote stated:

Au témoignage de Lauth (Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 1882, p. 658, n° 45) la collection Mook, acquise par le musée de Munich, renfermerait un fragment du Rituel de Nedjemet, comprenant tout ou partie du chapitre XVII (Maspero 1889, 512, n. 1).

² Niwiński 1989, 377 (Location unknown 2). According to Munro (2001b, 10–11), the part in Munich was designated papyrus ÄS 825.

The coffins and the mummy of Queen Nedjmet were discovered in the Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari at the moment of the official opening in 1881.

Content

P. BM EA 10541	BD 15V–V125–101–100V–V15–1V–17V
[Lost part in Munich	BD 17]
P. Paris Louvre E 6258	BD 17V–18–V153A–V89–V71–124+vignette (130?)– 83V–84V–110V–134–136A–64–2–132–141/142V–63AV– 106–V79–102–136BV–V149–V150–125AV–125BV–146V– V148–vignette: adoration of Osiris and Isis

Comment

This papyrus can be linked to other papyri of the same period. They belong to the group BD.II.1 of Niwiński's classification of Third Intermediate Period papyri (1999, 118–28). The general appearance is similar to papyri of the Ramesside Period: the use of hieroglyphs and the presence of the vignettes throughout the document. The spells conform to Ramesside traditions. Variants in the papyrus of Nedjmet have not yet been checked with other papyri of the Ramesside Period or Dynasty 21, but this will be undertaken ahead of final publication. Niwiński has identified thirty papyri of the same kind, but only a few have been published. Among them, we can cite papyri similar in style and content:

P. Cairo S.R. VII 11488 (Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, no. 235)

Owner: High Priest Pinedjem I.

Provenance: Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahari.

Length: 4.44m.

P. Cairo S.R. IV 955 = JE 95856 = CG 40005 = Boulaq 22 (Mariette 1876, pls. 12–18)

Owner: Henuttauy, wife of the High Priest Pinedjem I.

Provenance: Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahari.

Length: 3.67m.

P. Cairo S.R. IV 980 = JE 26229 (Neville 1912, pls. I–X)

Owner: Maatkare, daughter of Pinedjem I.

Provenance: Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahari.

Length: 6.12m.

We can thus ascertain that three members of the same family, perhaps four if we accept that Nedjmet was the mother of Pinedjem I, had the same kind of papyrus; these were also found in the same place, the Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari.³ The papyrus of Nedjmet is also the longest (at around 14m), while the others are between 4m (Pinedjem I and Henuttauy) and 6m (Maatkare) in length.

³ For the complete list of papyri of the same kind, see Niwiński 1989, 118–28.

P. BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258 is therefore a typical Book of the Dead in the Ramesside tradition and shares characteristics with other contemporary papyri, especially with those of the family of the High Priest Pinedjem I. As stated before, the next step in the study of this papyrus is to check contemporary texts, as well as earlier papyri, for similarities and/or differences.

P. BM EA 10490: Provenance and content

This hieratic papyrus is complete and well-preserved, measuring 3.96 m in length. The papyrus came from the collection of Edward Stanton, British consul in Egypt from 1865 to 1876; the British Museum acquired it in 1894 (Quirke 1993, 13). If we accept that the owner of the papyrus is the same Nedjmet of P. BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258, the provenance of the document is also the same: the Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari. Like the first document, it would probably have been sold before the official opening of the Cache in 1881. Since the first buyer of the papyrus, Edward Stanton, was in Egypt from 1865 to 1876, it corresponds perfectly to the period when different objects from the Cache were sold.

Content

Vignette: adoration of Osiris and Amun-Re-Horakhty

BD 190–148–Book of Caverns, second division–125–Book of Caverns, sixth division–New spell–BD 100/129–Book of Caverns, fourth division–101–91–123/139–1B–Book of Caverns, first division.

The title of the new spell is: ‘Spell for bringing the garland of triumph during the *wag*-feast in *Upeger*, the first month of the *akhet*-season, (day) 4.’

P. BM EA 10490: Commentary

The vignette (or etiquette, see Lenzo Marchese 2004) (Fig. 2)

The first vignette of the Book of the Dead is well known from the New Kingdom as a scene of adoration of Osiris. During the Third Intermediate Period, the Book of the Dead was no longer the only funerary papyrus, and with the appearance of the Amduat, Litany of Re and mythological scenes on papyri, the vignettes begin to change. A study of the hieroglyphic papyri of the Theban caches has shown that the god Re-Horakhty appears instead of Osiris at least at the time of the High Priest Menkheperre (Lenzo Marchese 2004, 47), as well as in a new kind of papyrus: abbreviated Books of the Dead, especially with ‘solar’ spells in the papyrus, or with new texts on papyrus, such as the Amduat. Throughout the Third Intermediate Period, the syncretism with other gods became more complicated, including examples with Re-Horakhty-Atum (Lenzo Marchese 2004, 57–58). But in the case of this papyrus, we have two gods: Osiris, as is typical, and Amun-Re-Horakhty, which is unusual and is represented as a falcon-headed god with solar disc. Niwiński, in his article about the solar-Osirian unity, noted that it is the only example with the mention of Amun ‘among thousands

of scenes from the coffins and papyri of the 21st Dynasty.⁴

The Book of the Dead spells

The spells of this papyrus can be gathered in different sequences, for instance by their common theme.

BD 190–148 (I, 1 – II, 11) (Fig. 2)

It seems that there were two versions of BD 190 during the Third Intermediate Period:

1. BD 190 before BD 133–136A–134–130 (Lenzo Marchese 2007, 35–38) or after BD 141/142 as a kind of rubric (Lucarelli 2006, 156–57)⁵ in a continuation of the New Kingdom tradition. For example, P. Nu (P. BM EA 10477) has the following sequence: BD 141–142–190–133–136A–134–130 (Lapp 1997, 40). During the Third Intermediate Period, this spell was shortened when it came at the end of BD 141/142 (Lucarelli 2006, 156–57).
2. BD 190 before BD 148, used as a title (Lenzo Marchese 2007, 35–38), as it would be regularly during the Late Period. The papyrus of Nedjmet shows the first example of BD 190 as the title of BD 148. We find a similar version in a group of papyri, probably from the time of the High Priest Pinedjem II. In fact, as two papyri from the Bab el-Gusus Cache can be dated from the time of Pinedjem II, and as the variants between the other papyri are very similar, we can infer that most of them are from the same workshop, or at least from the same period (Lenzo Marchese 2007, 35–38).

P. Cairo S.R. IV 564 = JE 95663 (unpublished)

Spell sequence: BD 190–148–135–1B–15BIII

P. Cairo S.R. IV 954 = JE 95855 = CG 40030 (unpublished)

Spell sequence: BD 190–148–135–1B–15BIII–Title 180

P. Cairo S.R. IV 999 = CG 40027 (partly published: Niwiński 1989, pls. 3a–b).

Spell sequence: Adoration of Osiris–BD 190–148–135–1B–180

166^{Naville}–101–155–156–‘Spell for the *wedjat*–amulet in *bia*–metal’

Adoration of Osiris

P. Cairo S.R. IV 1532 = CG 40020 (unpublished)

Spell sequence: BD 190–148–135–1B–15BIII–180–190–133–134–136A–130–166^{Naville}

P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250 (unpublished)

Spell sequence: Adoration of Osiris–BD 190–148–135–1B–15BIII–180

P. Leiden RA 58 (www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=RA+58+vel+1) [30 May 2010]

Spell sequence: Adoration of Osiris and Re-Horakhty–BD 15BIII–180

⁴ Niwiński 1987–1988, 104, n. 11. There is also an example of a double vignette in P. Leiden RA 58, where each vignette has a different god: Osiris and Re-Horakhty-Atum, www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=RA+58+vel+1 [30 October 2009].

⁵ On BD 190, see also Lucarelli 2006, 166–69.

P. BM EA 10094 (unpublished)

Spell sequence: [...]–BD 15BIII–180–[...]

P. BM EA 10096 (unpublished)

Spell sequence: Adoration of Osiris–BD 190–148–135–1B

P. BM EA 10988 (unpublished)

Spell sequence: Adoration of [...]–BD 190–148–135–1B–15BIII–180–190–133–134–136A–130–166^{Naville}–101–155–156 –‘Spell for the *wedjat*-amulet in *bia*-metal’+ 137A^{rubric}–100–137B–137A

P. New York MMA 25.3.32 (unpublished)

Spell sequence: Adoration of Osiris and Isis–BD 190–148–135–1B–15BIII

P. Turin CGT 53001 (Lenzo Marchese 2007, 9–38)

Spell sequence: Adoration of Osiris and Isis–BD 148–135–1B–15BIII–180–190–133–134–[...]

P. Turin CGT 53002 (Lenzo Marchese 2007, 39–43)

Spell sequence: Adoration of Osiris–BD 1B–15BIII

The papyrus of Nedjmet is not exactly the same, but some variants are identical. For example, the junction between BD 190 and BD 148 is the same, with an identical phrase omitted in other papyri of this group (for example P. Gatseshen); this version is an example of the Saite redaction. The variants that were to be retained during the Late Period also occur in this group of papyri and that of Nedjmet, though the paleography differs in the papyrus of Nedjmet. It has some particularities, as well as different spells.

BD 125 (A and B) (IV, 1 – VIII, 20) (Fig. 3)

This papyrus includes the first part of the spell: the arrival in the hall of Justice and the list of the gods with the declaration of innocence. Most of the Third Intermediate Period papyri containing this spell, or part of it, are hieroglyphic (47 hieroglyphic and 14 hieratic; Munro 2001b, 67–70).

BD 100/129 (XI, 6 – XI, 13) and BD 101 (XII, 1 – XII, 14) (Fig. 5)

Title of BD 100/129: ‘Scroll for making a glorious spirit perfect and causing him to descend in the bark of Re with his retinue’ (XI, 6: *md3t nt sikr 3h, rdit h3.fr wi3 n R^c hn^c imyw ht.f*)

Title of BD 101: ‘Scroll for making a glorious spirit perfect’ (XII, 1: *md3t nt s3h 3h*); the typical title is ‘Spell for protecting the bark of Re’ (Allen 1974, 83).

Even though they are separated by an illustration from the Book of Caverns (fourth division), these two chapters have the same theme and are often found together. The sequence with other spells about travelling in the solar boat and the *ikr 3h* spells have been analysed by Lucarelli (2006, 62, 80–83).

BD 91 (XII, 14 – XIII, 1) (Figs. 5–6)

The title is: ‘Spell for not confining the *ba* of a man in the necropolis.’ The spell belongs to the group of ‘*r n tm* spells (‘spells for not...’) (Lucarelli 2006, 63, 80–83). This spell is generally found in lengthy hieratic papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro 2001b, 51): P. Cairo JE 95838 (P. Gatseshen), P. BM 10064 (P. Panesettau), P. BM EA 10554 (P. Greenfield), P. BM EA 10747, P. BM EA 10793 (P. Pinedjem II) and P. Louvre E. 3661 P. BN 138–140. It also occurs in two hieroglyphic papyri: P. Cairo S.R. VII 10653 and P. Leiden T 6. The version of the spell in P. BM EA 10490 features a different ending, and thus far I am not aware of parallels.

BD 123/139 (XIII, 1 – XIII, 4) (Fig. 6)

The title is: ‘Spell for entering the <great> house.’ Again, this spell is generally found in lengthy hieratic papyri of the Third Intermediate Period from the same tradition as the P. Gatseshen (Munro 2001b, 67): P. Cairo JE 95838 (P. Gatseshen), P. Cairo S.R. VII 10267, P. BM 10064 (P. Panesettau), P. BN 62–88, P. Louvre E. 3661, P. BN 138–140 and in two hieroglyphic papyri (vignette only in P. Cairo CG 40007 and P. BM EA 9903). It belongs to a sequence of spells ‘*r n k*’ 13/121–138–123/139–187–12/120–122, which is also in an abbreviated form in P. Turin CGT 53007.⁶

BD 1B (XIII, 4 – XIII, 16) (Fig. 6)

The spell 1B, ‘Spell for causing the mummy to descend to the netherworld on the day of joining the earth, was no longer used in the Saite redaction. During the Third Intermediate Period we find it in a unique kind of papyrus, the same as the introduction BD 190–148 (see above, and Lenzo Marchese 2007, 9–38). The papyrus of Nedjmet is a complete version: the other papyri of the Third Intermediate Period omit both the end and rubric (Lenzo Marchese 2007, 19).

The new spell (IX, 1 - XI, 5) (Figs. 4–5)

The new spell is between the sixth division of the Book of Caverns and BD 100/129. The title is: ‘Spell for bringing the garland of triumph during the *wag*-feast in *Upeger*, the first month of the *akbet*-season, (day) 4.’ The theme of the garland of triumph/justification is well known. BD 19 concerns a proclamation of the victory of Horus over Seth in the different tribunals of gods and ends with an instruction that the text is to be pronounced as the garland is placed on (the head of) the dead (the mummy). BD 20 concerns Thoth, and proclaims the victory of Osiris over his enemies in the tribunals. In the offering rituals of the Ptolemaic period, the ‘Offering of the garland of justification’ by the king to the gods is found in different temples, notably at Edfu (Derchain 1955). The ritual is particularly found on pylons, external doors and surrounding walls. Horus is often the recipient, as the legitimate successor to Osiris. The content of these rituals is clearly distinct from the spell on the papyrus discussed here.

Garlands of flowers have also been found on the head of mummies (like crowns, which is why *m3h* has also been translated as ‘crown’) or around the neck (Barguet 1867, 67; further examples cited in Derchain 1955, 225). This garland is a reference to Horus, a garland he

⁶ For the sequence in the long version, see Lucarelli 2006, 63 and 119–25 and for an abbreviated version, Lenzo Marchese 2007, 69–90.

received as successor to Osiris. The reference to Abydos is clear in our spell with the indication of *Upeger* and it was certainly the origin of the rite. A statue in the Louvre (A 66) of Dynasty 19 shows that the owner, Unnefer, was a priest of Harendotes in charge of a ritual of the garland in *Upeger* (Derchain 1955, 235–36). We also learn here that the ritual was performed during the *mag*-feast.

In our papyrus, the text could be divided as follows. The first part concerns what the priest of Harendotes has to do when preparing himself for the ritual, the offerings of the priest of Harendotes to Horus, the journey to where Osiris is, offerings to Osiris and to the gods that are in this procession, the making of a figure of the goddess Maat, and the journey of the priest of Harendotes in order to bring the garland of triumph. The second part of the text is about the journey of Re in his heavenly bark. The Osirian content is thus complemented by a solar part. At the end, Osiris (as lord of the underworld), Re and Nedjmet are protected. The solar part is a feature of the Third Intermediate Period papyri, as attested by the use of spells like BD 15BIII or 180, in parallel with the association with Osiris. The solar influence later appears in the Ptolemaic temple versions, but is rather less prominent (Derchain 1955, 238–41). At the end of the spell, Nedjmet has thus triumphed over her enemies. This text is important because it is the only known complete version of the ritual of the garland of triumph and because it shows its reuse in a funerary papyrus. Such a reuse of text, or introduction of new texts, is found in other contemporary papyri: P. Gatseshen (Lucarelli 2006, 175–81) and P. Greenfield (Zalusowski 1996).

The Book of Caverns

The papyrus of Nedjmet also contains some extracts of divisions from the Book of Caverns, in the midst of BD spells:

BD 190–148–Book of Caverns, second division–125–Book of Caverns, sixth division–New Spell–100/129–Book of Caverns, fourth division–101–91–123/139–1B–Book of Caverns, first division.

Among the compositions of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, the Book of Caverns is one of the least frequently attested. During the Third Intermediate Period, tombs in Thebes featured less decoration and royal funerary compositions, such as the Amduat, are frequently used (e.g., Sadek 1985); the new ‘mythological’ papyri also appeared. In addition, this period witnessed individuals provided with multiple examples of the Book of the Dead, and the use of hieratic instead of hieroglyphs. Nonetheless, this is the only known papyrus with scenes from the Book of Caverns.

Book of Caverns, second division, part of the third register (Fig. 2)

This illustration is situated after BD 148 and before BD 125A. The left segment is part of the third register of the second division of the Books of Caverns. Four figures are depicted in a gesture of adoration before a chest, in which the body of Osiris was hidden (Piankoff 1954, 55). Beneath, four disks and four staffs topped with ram-heads are arranged within a register; the one below contains four *msr*-poles and four disks. On the other side, there are two gods with a sun disk in the middle. This scene does not belong to the Book of Caverns, and its

meaning remains uncertain.

Book of Caverns, sixth division, final register (Figs. 4, 11)

This illustration is situated after BD 125 and before the new spell. It forms the final register and the last part of the Book of Caverns, showing the rebirth of the sun after his journey in the underworld (Piankoff 1954, 119–20). This theme is well known and occurs frequently in the Amduat. When hours of the Amduat were chosen for inclusion in Third Intermediate Period papyri, the twelfth and last hour, representing the rebirth of the sun, is most common. Thus the selection of the closing part of the Book of Caverns is not surprising. If we compare the papyrus version with scenes in tombs in the Valley of the Kings, it is notable that the direction of the scene is reversed (Figs. 11–12).

Book of Caverns, fourth division, first register (Figs. 2, 9)

The complete division has three registers and more texts (Piankoff 1954, 7); here only the first register is included. The illustration is between the New Spell, BD 101 ('to descend in the bark of Re') and BD 100 ('to protect the bark of Re'). The label in the tomb of Ramses VI helps us to understand the meaning (Piankoff 1944, 36–38): Osiris, between Isis and Nephthys, is in his cavern and the disk enters the cavern and talks to Horus and Anubis (next scene) in order to be in charge of the body of Osiris. Osiris is designated *hnty sšt3w*, 'at the head of his mysteries.' The meaning of the last illustration is not clear, even if there is a link between Horus and the ichneumon. There could be a link between these illustrations and the new spell which precedes it, which also concerns Osiris and Re. As with the sixth division, the scene, compared with those in the royal tombs, is not in the same direction (Figs. 9–10).

Book of Caverns, first division (Figs. 6–7)

The text in Ramesside tombs indicates that the first division concerns the entrance of Re 'in the Netherworld (in the) first Cavern of the West' (Piankoff 1954, 48–53), and he addresses the gods who are in the first Cavern of the Netherworld. If we compare the scene on P. BM EA 10490 with that in the tomb of Ramses VI (Figs. 7–8), it is clear that the orientation is reversed. Was the papyrus to be read starting with this first register from the *Book of Caverns*?

P. BM EA 10490: Preliminary observations

Considering the papyrus as a whole, the contents can be summarised as:

- BD 190–148: Beginning of the BD and 'spell for provisioning the blessed one.'
- Book of Caverns, second division: concerning the chest of Osiris, and another scene whose meaning is not yet clear.
- BD 125: Osiris' tribunal.
- Book of Caverns, sixth division: end of the journey of the sun in the Netherworld.
- New Spell: offerings to Osiris, overthrow of his enemies, journey of Re, victory of Re, rebirth, overthrow of the enemies of Nedjmet.
- BD 100/129: 'to descend in the bark of Re.'

Book of Caverns, fourth division: Osiris in his cavern and the entrance of Re.

BD 101: to protect the bark of Re.

BD 91: 'Spell for not confining the ba of a man in the necropolis' (i.e., to be free to move).

BD 123/139: 'Spell for entering the <great> house' (i.e., entrance to the tomb).

BD 1B: 'Spell for causing the mummy to descend to the netherworld on the day of joining the earth.'

Book of Caverns, first division: beginning of the journey of the sun in the Netherworld.

Two separate parts of the papyrus can be distinguished. Firstly, the beginning of the Book of the Dead with BD 190–148 emphasising the importance of the provisioning. The selection of BD 125 is not surprising here, but the presence of the second division of the Book of Caverns, between BD 148 and 125, is more difficult to explain. Secondly, the final register to the first register of the Book of Caverns is included, with the scenes in reverse orientation to that found in the royal tombs. This may indicate the direction in which the papyrus should be read: if we commence reading at the 'end' of the papyrus, it opens with the first part of the Book of Caverns (the entrance to the Netherworld). This would explain the choice of both spells and illustrations from the Book of Caverns. A clear parallel exists between the journey of the deceased and the course of the sun, with both Osirian and solar aspects. The papyrus would then read as follows:

The entrance of the sun to the Netherworld (BC first division) and the descent of the mummy into the Netherworld (BD 1B), the entrance to the tomb (BD 123/139), and the importance of being free to move (BD 91)

The protection of the bark of Re (BD 101) and the descent in it (BD 100/129)

The link between Re and Osiris through the fourth division of the Book of Caverns could also be connected to the new spell, with the final goal of overthrowing all the enemies and the obtaining of the crown of triumph. The illustrations of the Book of Caverns are after BD 100/129, maybe because the scribe preferred to insert it at the end of the page, because the link between BD 100/129 and BD 101 seems to be certain.

The last part is then the end of the journey of the sun in the Netherworld and its rebirth, with the final register of the Book of Caverns.

A development of iconographic representations of the solar-Osirian unity is attested on coffins and papyri of Dynasty 21 (Niwiński 1987–1988); the papyrus of Nedjmet is a good example of this development, which began in the New Kingdom. This papyrus is rather original, with many innovations. It is one of the earliest Books of the Dead in hieratic, if we accept it belongs to Nedjmet, wife of Herihor. The hieratic writing is very rarely employed for this kind of text during the New Kingdom, while from Dynasty 21 it starts to be used more often. The next datable hieratic papyri are from the time of Amenemope/Pinedjem II (Lenzo Marchese 2007, 177). But it is not impossible that other caches or tombs of the time of Pinedjem I, Masaharta or Menkheperre are yet to be found, and may yield earlier hieratic papyri.

The initial vignette with the presence of Amun-Re-Horakhy, as well as Osiris, is another innovation. Re-Horakhty may be included to emphasise solar aspects; for Amun's inclusion the reasoning is less evident, although the supremacy of this god in post-New Kingdom

Thebes may have been a factor. As already noted, it is the only mention of Amun in this type of scene during Dynasty 21 (Niwiński 1987–1988, 104 n. 11).

Besides the traditional spells of the Book of the Dead, a text not attested before in this corpus relates to the victory of Osiris, Re and the deceased. Extracts from the Book of Caverns are included rather than parts of the Amduat, the Litany of Re or the so-called mythological scenes.⁷ As for the new spell, the illustrations seem to have been chosen to produce a coherent whole, presumably by a priest with a good knowledge and understanding of the content and purpose of the composition.

A final distinctive feature of P. BM EA 10490 is the use of spells (the sequence BD 190–148 and the spell 1B) which would later be found in a new ‘abbreviated’ Book of the Dead during the time of the High Priest Pinedjem II (e.g., P. Cairo CG 40030, P. Cairo CG 40027 and P. BM EA 10988). The use of BD 190 as a title for BD 148 would survive the Saite recension.

Conclusion: Position of both papyri in the study of the Book of the Dead

Why would one person have two Book of the Dead papyri? During the Third Intermediate Period, it was common to own two funerary papyri instead of one, perhaps to compensate for the lack of decoration in tombs. This increase in the number of papyri accompanying the deceased may have prompted the composition of new kinds of texts on papyri: abbreviated versions of the Amduat, mythological papyri, the Litany of Re, and hieratic Books of the Dead. This last group includes full versions, as in the New Kingdom, or abbreviated ones using the principle of ‘a part for a whole’ (*pars pro toto*). If we analyze the group of papyri from the different caches, we can see that people took two papyri with them to the tomb for the afterlife: typically a Book of the Dead (hieroglyphic or hieratic) with an Amduat, a mythological papyrus or a Litany of Re (Lenzo Marchese 2004, 52–53). Amongst the papyri from the Bab el-Gusus cache, two hieroglyphic papyri were provided for one person,⁸ while another owned two mythological papyri.⁹ Most of the papyri, however, date from the time of the High Priest Pinedjem II/King Amenemope onwards. It must also be said that among the occupants of the Royal Cache, only Henuttauy (wife of Pinedjem I), Pinedjem II and his son-in-law Djedptahieufânkh, owned two papyri. In the case of Nedjmet, the hieroglyphic papyrus may have been seen as the ‘real’ Book of the Dead, and the hieratic one as the second papyrus with ‘new’ texts.

If we accept that the owner of this papyrus was Queen Nedjmet, wife of Herihor, whose mummy was found in the Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari, it would seem that she probably died during Pinedjem’s pontificate or kingship.¹⁰ Her hieroglyphic papyrus and her coffin are very similar to those of Pinedjem I and his wife Henuttawy (Taylor 1998, 1148). The hieratic

⁷ Niwiński 1989, 211, indicates a papyrus with extracts of the Amduat together with the Book of the Earth (Turin 18 = P. Turin 1789).

⁸ P. Cairo S.R. VII 10230 and P. Cairo S.R. VII 11495 of the time Pinedjem II / Menkheperre.

⁹ P. Cairo S.R. IV 544 and P. Cairo S.R. VII 10252 of the time of Menkheperre.

¹⁰ Concerning the reference to a ‘first year of Pinotmou’ on a bandage from her mummy (now lost) and whether it indicates the date of her death, see Taylor 1998, 1148 who believes that Nedjmet was still alive during Pinedjem’s kingship.

papyrus was possibly one of the first attempts to use the compositions of the New Kingdom royal tombs in a new way on papyrus. Later, the Amduat or the so-called ‘mythological scenes’ were preferred. Niwiński emphasised how this atypical content illustrates ‘an extraordinary privilege’ provided to Nedjmet by the king (1989, 210). This is perhaps more understandable if she was the mother of Pinedjem I.

Another papyrus of a slightly later period, P. Greenfield (P. BM EA 10544; Budge 1912), also found in the Royal Cache, belonged to a daughter of Pinedjem II and requires consideration here. This is another extraordinary document with a mixture of Book of the Dead spells, new spells and mythological scenes. Why did the daughter have such a papyrus, while her parents owned a shorter hieratic Book of the Dead? Niwiński suggested that the hieratic papyrus of Nedjmet was written later, at the time of the High Priest Pinedjem II, i.e., fifty years after the burial, and wonders whether the original second papyrus of Nedjmet, an Amduat-type, was ‘destroyed by thieves who plundered her mummy, and was replaced by another papyrus at her reburial’ (Niwiński 1989, 210). This might be possible if Nedjmet was not buried directly in the Royal Cache but in some other tomb, as might be the case with Herihor and Piânkh. The use of BD 190–148 can be dated with certainty by other papyri to the time of Pinedjem II, even if the palaeography and the variants are not identical to those on other papyri likely to be from the same workshop.

The hieroglyphic papyrus (P. BM EA 10541 + Louvre E 6259) is clearly in the tradition of the Ramesside period—which persisted throughout Dynasty 21—whereas the hieratic papyrus reflects significant changes in the Book of the Dead tradition. The finding of other papyri in some tombs or other caches from the very beginning of Dynasty 21 to the time of Pinedjem II/Amenemope would help us to understand exactly the position of the second hieratic papyrus (P. BM EA 10490); perhaps an ‘intermediate’ stage is still missing. It now seems certain that many innovations occurred during the time of Pinedjem II.

Both papyri require further study, but it is already evident that Nedjmet occupied a special position at the beginning of Dynasty 21, and that the analysis of her papyri is important for understanding the wider history of the Book of the Dead.

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Fig 1: P. BM EA 10541, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

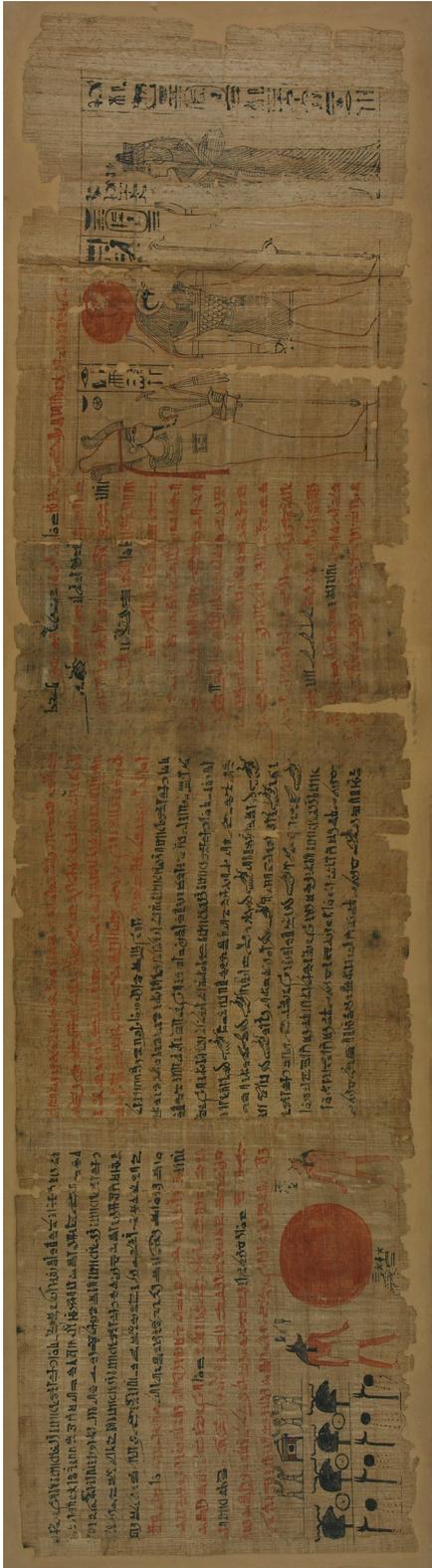


Fig. 2: P. BM EA 10490.1, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

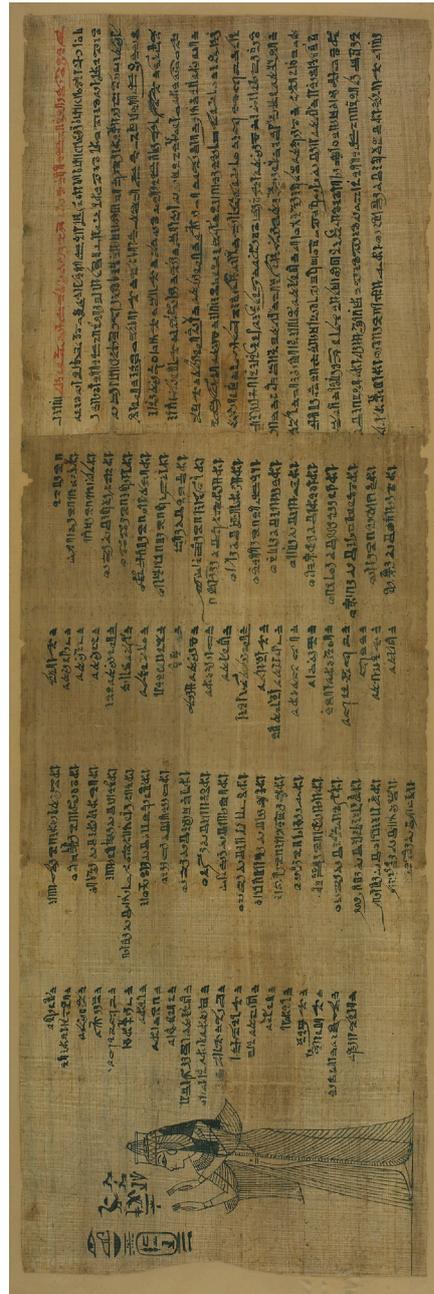


Fig. 3: P. BM EA 10490.2, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

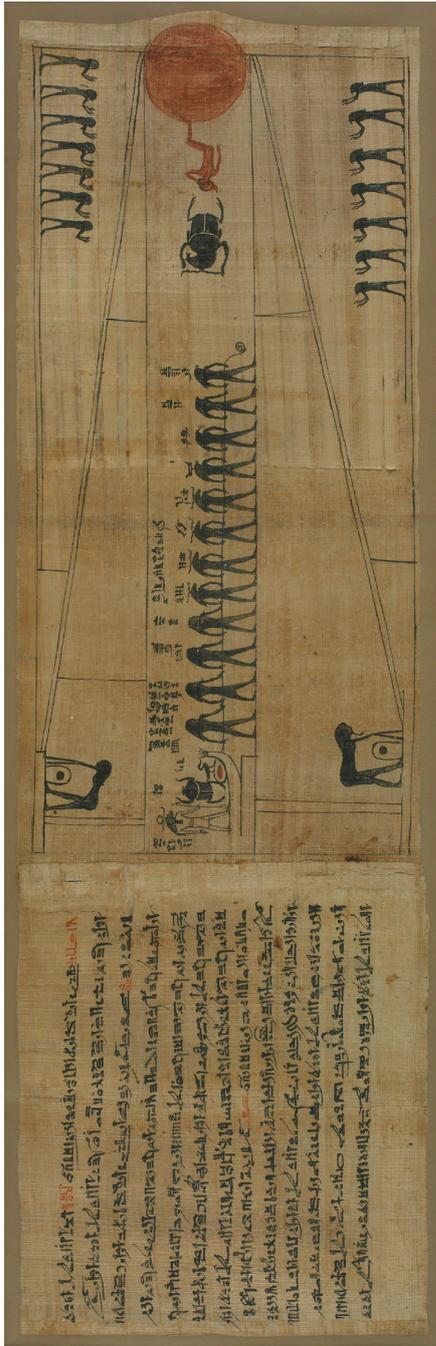


Fig. 4: P. BM EA 10490.3, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 5: P. BM EA 10490.4, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

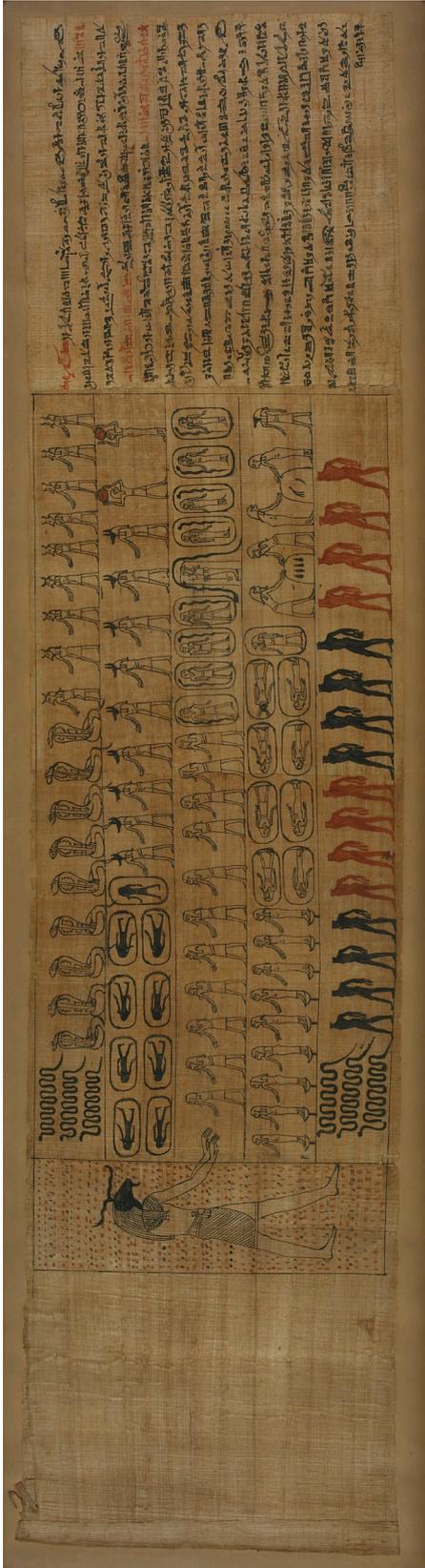


Fig. 6: P. BM EA 10490.5, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

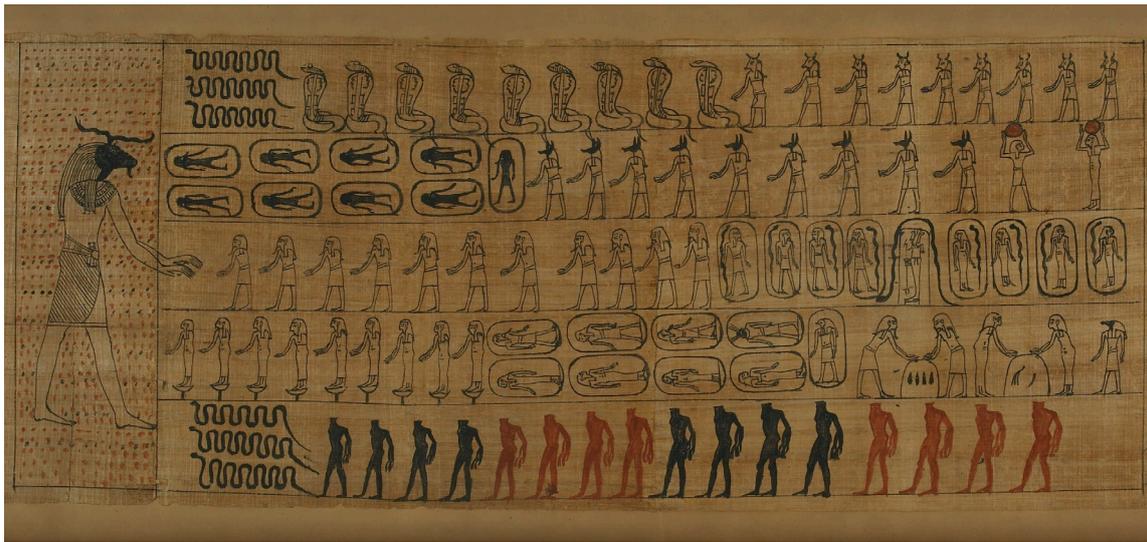


Fig. 7: Book of Caverns, first division (P. BM EA 10490.5), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

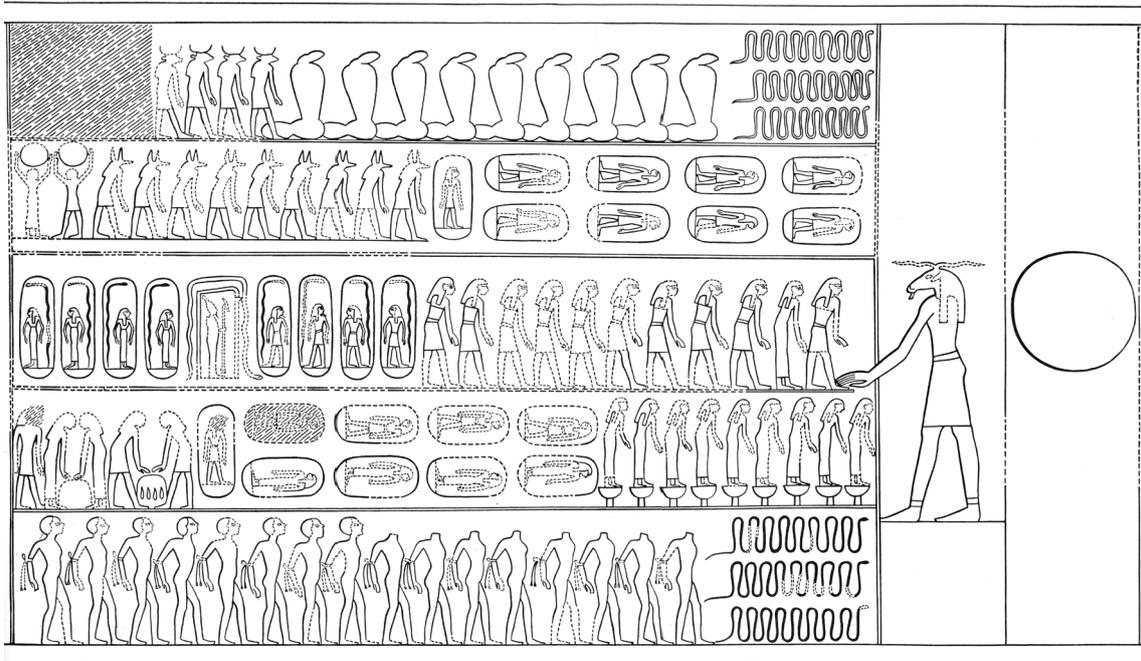


Fig. 8: Book of Caverns, first division. Tomb of Ramses VI (KV 9, from Piankoff 1954, fig. 10).



Fig. 9: Book of Caverns, fourth division, first register (P. BM EA 10490.4), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 10: Book of Caverns, fourth division, first register. Tomb of Ramses VI (KV 9, from Piankoff 1954, fig. 13).

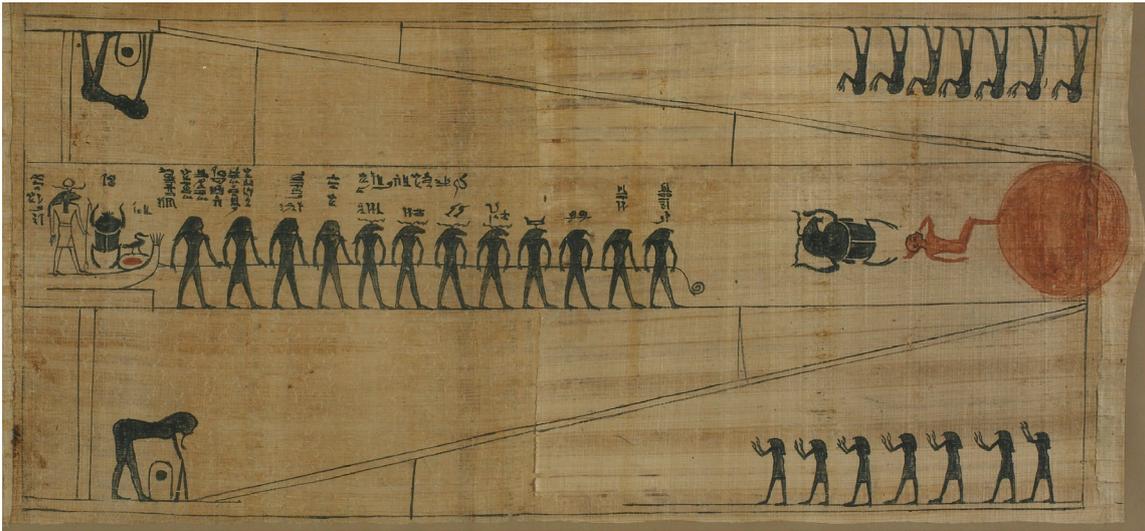


Fig. 11: Book of Caverns, sixth division, final register (P. BM EA 10490.3), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

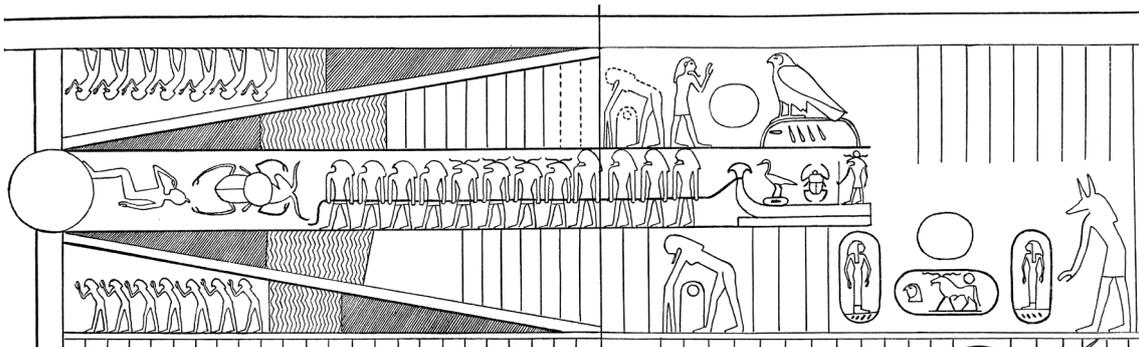


Fig. 12: Book of Caverns, sixth division, final register. Tomb of Ramses VI (KV 9, from Piankoff 1954, fig. 20).



The guardian-demons of the Book of the Dead

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The guardian-demons of the Book of the Dead

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Among the encounters of the deceased during his journey, a special place is given to those creatures who watch over certain passages that are represented as gates, portals and doors; these encounters are described in BD 144–147 (Fig. 1). Doors and door-watchers of the netherworld are also the theme of other ancient Egyptian funerary compositions, for example the Book of Gates and the Book of the Night. On a broader perspective, the central role that demonic beings play for the protection of sacred liminal places located between earth and the netherworld is also well attested in other religions, be it that of ancient Mesopotamia, or modern Buddhism and Hinduism. Nonetheless, the manner in which the deceased personally interacts with the guardians of the doors, and in most of the cases engages in a direct dialogue with them, is unique to Book of the Dead spells. These spells are also among the Book of the Dead compositions which appear more often on coffins, in tombs¹ and temples (Kákosy 1982), while antecedents of BD 144 and 147 can be found in the Coffin Texts (Barguet 1967, 190, 203).

From an ontological point of view, I would define these guardian-figures as ‘demons,’ namely supernatural beings which mediate between gods and mankind. Although the term *ntr* or its hieroglyphic determinatives can designate the inhabitants of the netherworld and in particular the door-guardians,² I think it is possible to distinguish the guardians from the gods of the official pantheon. As a matter of fact, the ancient Egyptian demons possess supernatural powers like the gods, but, in general, they have rather specific tasks and often their action is the consequence of the gods’ will.³ In the particular case of the guardian-demons, their sphere of action is limited to the place they watch over. Moreover, while other types of demons are only mentioned in the texts, the guardians of the Book of the Dead are almost constantly associated with a pictographic representation, which is generally a hybrid creature with human body and animal head, although sometimes it can be purely anthropomorphic.

The importance of representing these demons pictographically is motivated by the fact that the deceased must be ready not only to know their names,⁴ but also to visually recognize them. Their outward appearance is not much different from the way deities are depicted in their animal and hybrid forms. However, the repertoire of the animals included in their composite bodies is somewhat more varied: reptiles, felines, canines, donkeys, baboons, hippopotami, goats, bulls, insects, scorpions, and birds such as falcons and vultures. They generally hold attributes in their hands; the most recurrent ones are knives, while *ankh*-signs

¹ For the occurrences of these chapters in the tombs of the New Kingdom, see Saleh 1984, 76–81; for Ramesside tombs, see Assmann 1991, 193 and Barthelmeß 1992, 175–81.

² See for instance the title of BD 147, mentioned below.

³ For a detailed definition of demons in ancient Egypt, see Lucarelli, in press.

⁴ ‘Knowing the name’ of beings, places and sacred objects is one of the central principles of funerary magic and occurs frequently in the spells of the Book of the Dead; see in particular the so-called spells for ‘knowing the *bas* of the sacred places’ (BD 107–109, 111–116), Lucarelli 2006, 95–104.

and vegetal elements appear as well, clear symbols of the potentially benevolent nature of these creatures (Guilhou 1999).

Spells BD 144 and 147 are two variants of the same text, which refers to the seven

“*rr.wt*-gates of the house of Osiris in the west and the gods who are in their caverns while offerings for them are upon earth.”⁵

The *rr.wt* are guarded by triads of demonic beings for each gate: an *iry-ʿ3* ‘doorkeeper,’ a *s3w* ‘watcher,’ and a *smi* ‘herald’ (Fig. 2). The vignettes accompanying these spells, especially in the Late Period and Ptolemaic papyri, may depict however only one or two of the triad’s components.⁶ BD 145 and 146 are also variants of the same spell, which deals with the passage through the *sbh.wt*-portals,⁷ each of them guarded by one demon (Fig. 3).

The iconographical variants of these guardians have already been a topic of study in the past (Guilhou 1999; Munro 1987, 215, for BD 144); analysis of this iconography could help identify those papyri deriving from one single prototype and produced in the same workshop. On the other hand, from a theological perspective, the inconsistency in their iconography deserves comment: the depiction of each guardian can feature different forms of heads, although there are few cases where it is possible to isolate common animal heads and associate them with a specific guardian.⁸ It is likely that the variety in the guardians’ iconography symbolizes their capacity to manifest in many forms. More consistent, and less subject to variants, are the guardians’ epithets, which occur more or less unvaried both in the New Kingdom Theban redaction and the later Saite version. These composite names and epithets generally refer to parts of their body, or to a specific character trait indicating their protective, but potentially aggressive, function.

Since they originally belonged to the imagery of the Beyond, it is especially notable that the door-guardians can also be found in the ritual context of the Ptolemaic temples, where they contribute to strengthen the army of the temple protectors.⁹ Apart from excerpts from BD 144 in the temple of Abydos of Ramses II, and BD 146 in the temple of Hibis at el-Kharga (Cauville 1997, 2:166 n. 342), it is in the so-called Osiride chapels of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendera that the function of these demons as temple guardians can be better analysed. More exactly, it is on the walls of the second western chapel that BD 144, 145 and 146 occur (Figs 4–6). Within the complex of the six chapels, those of the middle (second east and second west) have a liminal function and represent the dynamic and sensitive moment of transition between the rituals devoted to the mysteries of Osiris during the month of

⁵ This title occurs in a small number of papyri, especially in Dynasty 21, see Lucarelli 2006, 60 n. 227 and 164–65.

⁶ See for example P. London BM 10588 (Mosher 2001, pl. 25), P. Cairo JE 32887 (unpublished, photos from the Book of the Dead Project, Bonn), P. Greenfield (P. London BM 10554, Budge 1912, pls. XCVI–C). See also the remarks in Lucarelli 2006, 164 n. 1166 and 165 n. 1167.

⁷ Their number oscillates from 14 to 21, according to the variants.

⁸ The most fully-documented study in this direction is Pantalacci 1983, on the turtle-headed guardian *wnm-hw3t* of BD 144. A more general survey of crocodile-headed demons has been published (Grimm 1979).

⁹ According to Leprohon 1994, the figures of the guardians of the underworld may have been inspired by mortal gate-keepers working in the temple.

Khoiak (performed in the first chapels) and the process of death and resurrection of the god occurring in the third chapels (Cauville 1997, 2:209–10).

As usual during a moment of transition, the forces of chaos are particularly active, and this may explain why a consistent part of the decoration of the middle chapels has an apotropaic character. In particular, it must be remembered that the second western chapel precedes the tomb of the god (namely the third western chapel). Therefore, the spells of the Book of the Dead recorded on it may be associated with the entrance to the realm of the dead. The function of the guardian-demons here is that of opening the gates of the netherworld for Osiris, therefore the private funerary sphere to which the Book of the Dead spells refer gains an amplified cosmogonical and ritual dimension, concerning the rebirth and power of Osiris in the realm of the dead. What is especially interesting is that, in the version attested in Dendera only, the textual section concerning the description of the gates and of their keepers occurs, while the introductory and final texts, as well as other recitative passages, occurring in the papyri version in between the names of the gates and doorkeepers, are omitted. Moreover, the scene shows Horus, accompanied by Anubis, who greets Osiris at the entrance of the gates (Fig. 4), a function which, in the papyri, was instead played by the deceased.¹⁰ Moreover, in BD 144 only two guardians per gate are represented, namely the watcher and the herald, while the seated doorkeeper is omitted; as mentioned above, the same layout is found in some late papyri of the Book of the Dead and may be a means of saving space.

One of the reasons why these figures of door-watchers of the netherworld have been introduced among the legions of the temple genii is to be found in their skill in ‘opening the way’ (*wn w3.t*), granting the passage through gates and doors separating different domains (earth/netherworld, pure/impure, sacred/profane). Both funerary magic (opening the gates of the netherworld) and temple ritual (giving access to the most hidden spaces where the rituals were performed) are based on this skill; the guardian demons become therefore the ideal, dynamic link among funerary and daily ritual magic. It is not a coincidence that in BD 145 a recurrent declaration pronounced by the deceased in front of the gates is

*‘Make way for me, since I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the god who guards you.’*¹¹

In the Ptolemaic period the theme of ‘opening the way’ is also highlighted in what we may call ‘ritual papyri, containing royal and divine temple rituals adapted for private, funerary use. These kinds of documents, which are typical of the Ptolemaic period,¹² may include the elaboration of earlier funerary texts such as the Book of the Dead spells on the guardian

¹⁰ The centrality of the role of the deceased in this context is especially clear in a Dynasty 21 papyrus, where BD 146 (including extracts from BD 145) opens the scroll and the deceased is depicted while offering his heart to the guardians (Gozdawa-Golebiowska 2009).

¹¹ See the invocation recurring at the beginning of BD 144 in the second western chapel (*Dendera X*, 345), and in the third western chapel near the doorway (*Dendera X*, 399): *sth.tw n=k sb3.w n.w dw3.t*, ‘the doors of the netherworld are open for you (i.e., Osiris)’ (Cauville 1997, 1:186–87 and 216–17).

¹² The occurrence of new funerary texts for private persons during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods has been studied by Smith 2009. In particular, see pp. 18–22 for the texts originating from temple rituals.

demons mentioned above.¹³

A particularly interesting case is that of the very well known Ptolemaic papyrus kept in the Metropolitan Museum (P. MMA 35.9.21), containing six rituals devoted mainly to the Osirian mysteries adapted for a deceased person, a priest called Imuthes (Goyon 1999; Smith 2009, 67–95). In particular, the first of these rituals, called ‘The great decree issued to the nome of *Igeret* (Silent Land)’ (Goyon 1999, 17–26), aims to let Osiris (the deceased) rule in the ‘nome of the Silent Land,’ which is one of the names of the realm of the dead. In fact, this is a temple ritual, devoted to Osiris. The ‘house of Shentayt,’ mentioned as the starting place of the ritual (Goyon 1999, 27, col. 1/6), is a toponym referring to temple buildings such as the Osirian chapels of Dendera (Goyon 1999, 22 n.31, with further bibliography); ‘Shentayt’ is also a name of Isis as mourner of Osiris (Smith 2009, 68; Cauville 1981). The ritual mentions various demonic and divine inhabitants of the netherworld, listed and occasionally described as well, who are asked to give access, to protect and to adore the god/deceased who is approaching them. Among others, the guardian demons of BD 144–145 are mentioned, and it is clear that the knowledge of the names of these guardians is crucial for granting the passage into the netherworld for Osiris/the deceased. In contrast to Book of the Dead papyri, however, here there are no illustrations representing the guardians. Moreover, their names are listed one after the other without specifying their function as doorkeeper, watcher and herald, as in the Book of the Dead version.¹⁴

A comparison of the guardians’ names in BD 144, as occurring in a Ptolemaic period papyrus (P. Turin 1791: Lepsius 1842, pls. LX–LXI), in the temple of Dendera (*Dendara X*, 345–346; Cauville 1997, 1:186–87) and in the ritual papyrus of Imuthes (Goyon 1999, 34–5, cols. 7/16–8/5, pls. VI–VIIA) can be found in Table 1. Many of the guardians have a double name, one referring to a physical feature and the other to moral behaviour. The Book of the Dead version on papyrus was certainly the model-copy for the temple version and the ritual papyrus. The latter shows the most corrupted forms of names and in one case even a lacuna,¹⁵ but also some interesting interpretations: for instance the name of the falcon-headed guardian of the first gate, which was originally *smt(.w)*, *smtr*, ‘the eavesdropper, the hearer,’ is transformed in the papyrus of Imuthes to *s3w mtwt*, ‘The Watcher of Venom.’¹⁶ A further reference to the potentially venomous nature of some guardians is in the name that the watcher of the second gate takes in the papyrus of Imuthes, *mtwtj*, ‘The Toxic One,’ which has no parallel in the other versions.¹⁷ In the case of the doorkeeper of the seventh gate, the papyrus of Imuthes seems to improve the other two versions by adding an object to

¹³ On the later papyri recording temple rituals, see Quack 2002. The difference is stressed between the epigraphic versions of the rituals devoted to the gods of the temple and those on papyri kept in the libraries of the temple itself and composed mostly for the king. On amulets and funerary papyri, it is the private deceased who benefits from the same rituals.

¹⁴ A close parallel to P. MMA 35.9.21 is the ritual P. Tamerit 1, which also contains a version of BD 144 and 145. Due to its fragmentary state, this document has been edited through a comparison with the texts of P. MMA 35.9.21 (Beinlich 2009, 48–59). Different from the papyrus of Imuthes, P. Imuterit 1 does not refer to a private owner and must have been used by the priests of a temple.

¹⁵ The epithets of the watcher and of the herald of the 6th gate are missing.

¹⁶ Same epithet also in P. Tamerit 1 (l. 7,1), Beinlich 2009, 77 and 131.

¹⁷ Same variant in P. Tamerit 1.

the participle: *ds h3.t=sn*, ‘the slaughterer of their bodies.’

In contrast, the text in Dendera temple is a faithful copy of the Book of the Dead version, with the exception of a few variants for the names of the last three guardians. Moreover, the fact that in Dendera as well as in the ritual papyrus the guardian-demons remain connected to the domain of Osiris, namely to the realm of the dead, shows that their role must be slightly differentiated from that of many other protective genii and deities that occur in temple decoration. The names of these last figures are often followed by the toponym of the earthly town or sanctuary to which they belong.¹⁸

On the other hand, the iconography of the guardians of the netherworld occurs also on a peculiar category of monuments of non-funerary character, namely the architectural slabs from temples, and monolithic *naoi* of the Saite Period and of Dynasty 30.¹⁹ A significant example can be seen on a greywacke architectural slab originally belonging to the Atum temple at Heliopolis in Lower Egypt and presently kept in the Archaeological Museum of Bologna (Fig. 7). It represents the pharaoh Nectanebo I kneeling in front of demonic figures whose iconography identifies them as guardians (crocodile- or multiple-snake-headed figures with long knives). Nectanebo offers jewellery and clothes to them and in the inscriptions he thanks them for having granted to him victory and power over Egypt and the foreign countries (Bologna KS 1870: Morigi Govi and Pernigotti 1994, 103; Bologna 1990, 172, pl. 119). Similar slabs are now in the British Museum²⁰; one of these dates to the reign of Psamtek I (Fig. 8) and shows depictions of similar demonic beings, to which offerings are brought as on the Bologna slab. In this type of scene the guardians are clearly dealt with as if they were gods, according to a widely attested trend in the religious life of the later periods: demons can be divinized and receive a cult like the gods.²¹

Moreover, the guardians of the Book of the Dead belonged to that sub-category of demonic beings that, as already mentioned above, already had a beneficial, protective role on earlier monuments. In particular, we should mention the wooden statuettes of anonymous guardian-like gods, which were probably objects of funerary cult and which have been found in some of the royal tombs of Dynasties 18 and 19 (Fig. 9; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 132–3, 135 and 169; Strudwick 2006, 188–9). Later examples of statues and coffins depicting the same figures have been found in the tomb of Montuemhat (Dynasty 25–26; Leclant 1961, Pantalacci 1983, 304 n. 1). Where the text of these statuettes is still readable, some of the epithets given to these tomb-guardians correspond to those of the BD spells (see Table 1,

¹⁸ For instance, the third register of the same Osirian chapel with the guardians contains the depiction of a series of protective figures including some of the official gods of the pantheon, such as Bastet of Bubastis, Sekhmet of Memphis and Khnum of Elephantine (Cauville 1997, 2:168–74).

¹⁹ For examples depicting protective figures reminiscent of the guardians of the Book of the Dead, see Spencer 2006, 21. In particular, upon a naos from Kom el-Ahmar, dedicated to Osiris Hemag (Leiden IM 107) and dating to the reign of Amasis, some of the epithets of the deities represented correspond to the guardians of BD 144, see Zecchi 1996, 12–15.

²⁰ British Museum EA 20, 22 and 928. A study of these slabs is in preparation by Neal Spencer, whom I wish to thank for the information on this material.

²¹ I am currently preparing a monograph on demonology in ancient Egypt, where this issue will be broadly discussed. The case of the first of the seven demons commanded by Tutu, *ꜥ3 phty*, who received a personal cult during the Ptolemaic period, is particularly notable (Kaper 2003, 62 n. 33).

particularly nn. 4–11).

Finally, depictions of guardian demons, closely resembling those of the Book of the Dead, also occur in the wall decoration of a few Ramesside tombs in the Valley of the Queens, such as in the anonymous tomb QV 40, where an abstract of BD 145 occurs (Abitz 1986, 84). Later occurrences of our guardians are to be found in funerary compositions which reuse texts and vignettes of the Book of the Dead, for example a papyrus from Thebes dating to the first or second century BC, and containing extracts from the *Livre de parcourir l'éternité* (P. Louvre N 3147: Herbin 1994). In a scene which reminds us also of the vignette of BD 151, figures of divine beings hold knives and protect the mummy, thus similar to the doorkeepers of BD 146. The guardians of BD 146 are also deployed in a Book of Breathing of the same period, as protection for the mortuary bed supervised by Anubis (P. BM EA 9995: Herbin 2008, 40, pl. 23); in these later documents the protective role of the guardians seems to be more directly related to the body of the deceased than to the door which they traditionally guard.²²

In accordance with the evidence discussed above, we may say that the figures of the guardian-demons and the spells related to them are a perfect example of how a Book of the Dead theme can be employed and re-interpreted in a number of other sources, including those not of a strictly funerary character.

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²² In P. BM EA 9995 the scene includes the depiction and names of the *sbh.wt*-portals that appear in the vignette of BD 146.

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Gates	Guardian names	P. Turin 1791	Second Western Osirian chapel, Dendera	P. MMA 35.9.21
1	Doorkeeper	<i>šhd-ḥr</i> ; <i>š3 ir.w</i> 'Face-downward, numerous of shapes'	<i>šhd-ḥr</i> ; <i>š3 ir.w</i>	<i>s3w ḥr.w</i> ; <i>š3 ir.w</i> , 'The One with vigilant face, numerous of shapes'
1	Watcher	<i>smt(.w)</i> 'Eavesdropper'	<i>smt(.w)</i>	<i>s3w mtwt</i> , 'The Watcher of venom' ¹
1	Herald	<i>3h-ḥrw</i> , 'Sad of Voice'	<i>3h-ḥrw</i>	<i>ih3m ḥr</i> , 'The One with lamenting voice'
2	Doorkeeper	<i>dwn-ḥ3.t</i> , 'One who stretches out (his) brow' ²	<i>dwn-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>dwn-ḥ3.t=f</i>
2	Watcher	<i>skd ḥr</i> , 'One with vigilant face'	<i>skd ḥr</i>	<i>Mtw.tj</i> , 'The Toxic one'
2	Herald	<i>3sb.w</i> , 'The Burning One'	<i>3sb(.w)</i>	<i>3sb.t</i>
3	Doorkeeper	<i>wmm ḥw3.w n pḥ.w(y)=f</i> , 'One who eats the excrement of his rectum' ³	<i>wmm ḥw33.t</i>	<i>wmm ḥw3.w (n) pḥ.w(y)=f</i>
3	Watcher	<i>rs ḥr</i> , 'Alert of face'	<i>rs ḥr</i>	<i>rs ḥr</i>
3	Herald	<i>wš3.w</i> , 'The Reviler'	<i>wš3(.w)</i> , 'the Calumniator'	<i>š3-w.t (?)</i>
4	Doorkeeper	<i>ḥsf ḥr</i> ; <i>š3-ḥrw</i> , 'Repulsive of face, who is noisy'	<i>ḥsf ḥr</i> ; <i>š3-ḥrw</i>	<i>ḥsf ḥr</i> ; <i>š3-ḥrw</i>
4	Watcher	<i>rs ib</i> , 'Awake of heart' ⁴	<i>rs ib</i>	<i>rs ib</i>
4	Herald	<i>š3 ḥr</i> ; <i>ḥsf 3d.w</i> , 'Great of face, who repel the furious one' ⁵	<i>š3 ḥr</i> ; <i>ḥsf 3d.w</i>	<i>sd.t š3 ḥr ḥsf</i> , 'Great of flame, repulsing face' ⁶
5	Doorkeeper	<i>ḥnh m fnt.w</i> , 'One who lives on worms'	<i>ḥnh m fnt.w</i>	<i>ḥnh m fnt.y</i>
5	Watcher	<i>wšb</i> , 'The Devourer' (?) ⁷	<i>3šb</i>	<i>3šb.w</i> ⁸
5	Herald	<i>nb.t ḥr khb.w 3t</i> , 'Burning face with violent strength'	<i>nbd-ḥr khb 3t=f</i> , 'Evil of face, with violent strength'	<i>nb ḥr nšn.yt 3t</i> , 'The Lord of the face with destructive power'
6	Doorkeeper	<i>jnkt t3 khb.w ḥrw</i> , 'One who grasps the bread, with violent voice' ⁹	<i>jkt (sic)</i> , <i>khb ḥrw</i>	<i>kkt t3</i> ¹⁰
6	Watcher	<i>jn ḥr</i> , 'One who brings (his) face'	<i>jn ḥry.t</i> , 'One who brings terror'	
6	Herald	<i>mḏs ḥr jr.y p.t</i> , 'Violent of face, who belongs to the sky'	<i>mḏs ḥr jr.y p.t</i>	
7	Doorkeeper	<i>mḏs sn</i> , 'One who slaughters them (the enemies?)' ¹¹	<i>mḏs sn</i>	<i>šhd-ḥr ds ḥ3t=sn</i> , 'One with reversed head, who slaughters their bodies' ¹²
	Watcher	<i>š3 ḥrw</i> , 'One with loud voice'	<i>š3 mi (sis)</i>	<i>š3 ḥrw</i>
	Herald	<i>ḥsf ḥm.y.w</i> , 'One who wards off the subversives' ¹³	<i>ḥsf ḥm.y.w</i>	<i>ḥsf ḥm.y.w</i>

Table 1: Comparison of the names of guardian figures.

¹ Alternatively: 'One who wards off venom.'

² Grimm 1979. This epithet probably indicates somebody who interferes with others affairs or a spy, as proposed by Allen 1974, 232, n. c.

³ See Pantalacci 1983.

⁴ The same epithet occurs on a statuette of guardian demons from Montuemhat (Leclant 1961, 117).

⁵ This epithet occurs already in the Coffin Texts, where it depicts the guardian of a turn in the Book of the Two Ways (Leitz 2002, 2:35–36). *ḥsf 3d* occurs also as a name of Shu in a magical text of the New Kingdom, and as an epithet of a temple god in late ritual texts (Leitz 2002, 5:954).

⁶ Smith (2009, 84) translates: 'flamer great in the act of repelling.'

⁷ Two variants are known: *3bšw*, *šbw* (Munro 1987, 326 n. 533).

⁸ Only in P. MMA 35.9.21: 'The Ardent One'. In P. Tamerit a new epithet seems to have been inserted: *jmm(y)...*, 'The hidden one...'

⁹ This epithet has many variants and an unclear meaning (Leitz 2002, 1:569–70). *tkw t3*, 'the Clawer of the earth' is a name of Osiris in PT 959b.

¹⁰ The indication *gm wš*, 'found missing,' follows.

¹¹ *Mḏs* is also the name of a statuette of a guardian demon from the tomb of Montuemhat, Leclant 1961, 112.

¹² In this case P. MMA 35.9.21 seems to explain the obscure epithet occurring in the papyrus and temple version (Goyon 1999, 35 n. 50).

¹³ Cauville (1997a, 186), translates *ḥm.y.w* as 'demons'; in fact, this epithet is employed also in magical texts to indicate a gang of demons (Leitz 2002, 5:740); Smith (2009, 84) translates: 'he who drives back those who would destroy.'



Fig. 2: BD 144, P. Turin 1791, from Lepsius 1842, pl. LX.

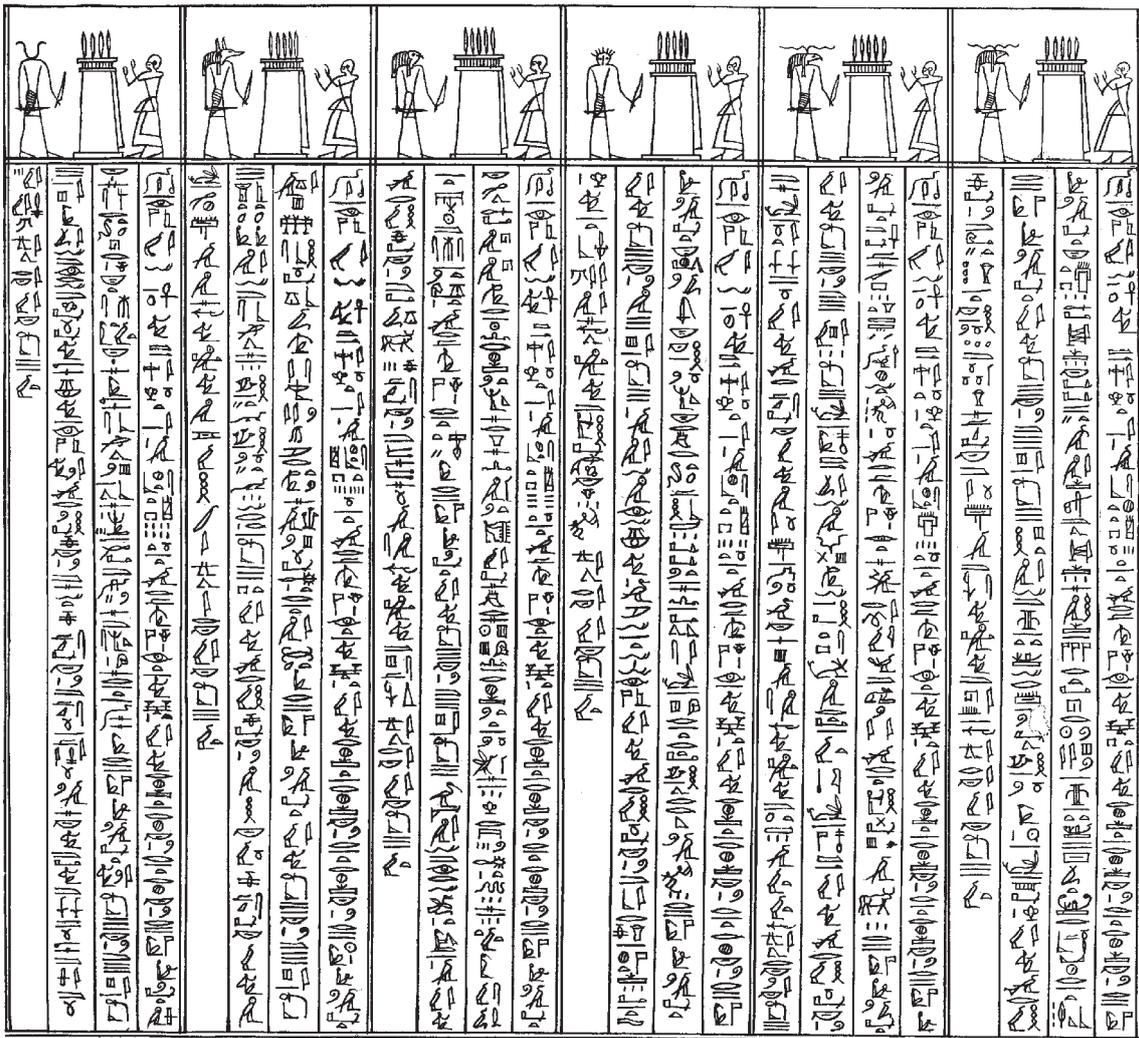


Fig. 3: BD 145, P. Turin 1791, from Lepsius 1842, pl. LXII.

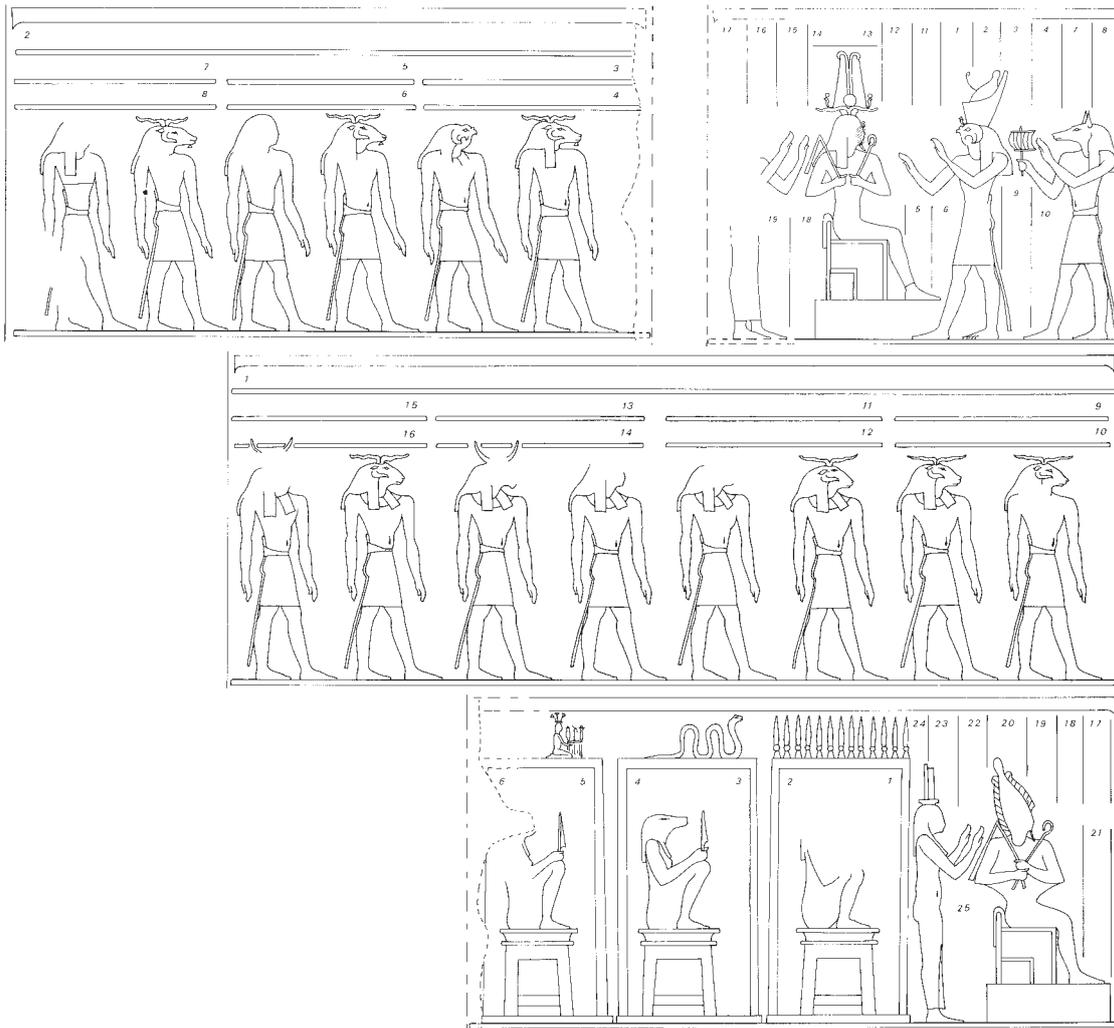


Fig. 4: Second western Osirian chapel, temple of Hathor at Dendera, BD 144, from Cauville 1997, pl. 192.

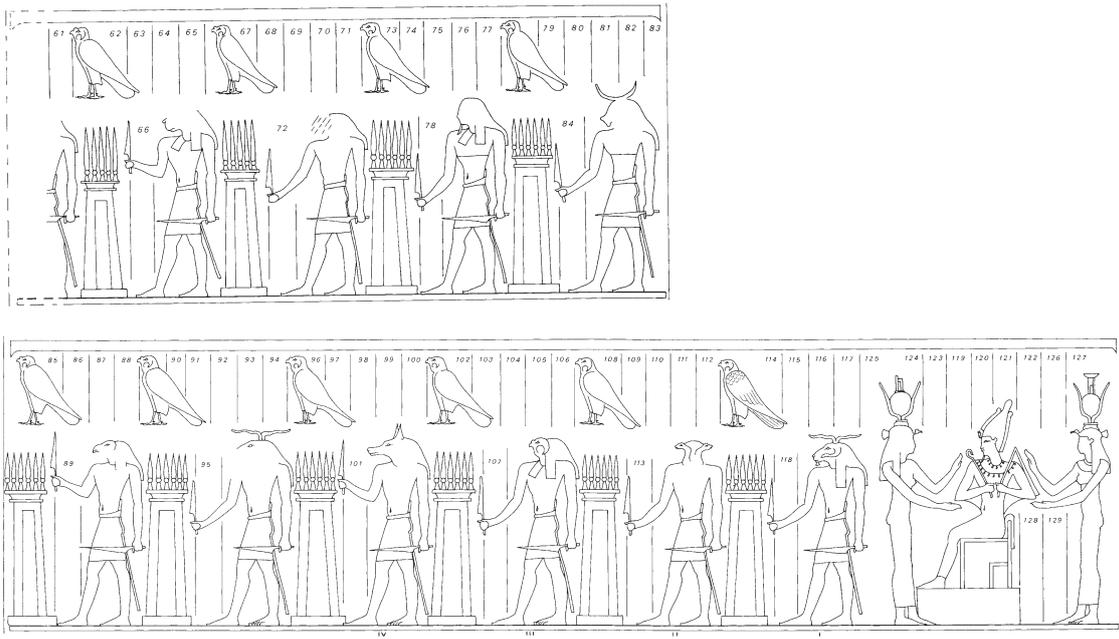


Fig 5: Second western Osirian chapel, temple of Hathor at Dendera, BD 145, from Cauville 1997, pl. 195.

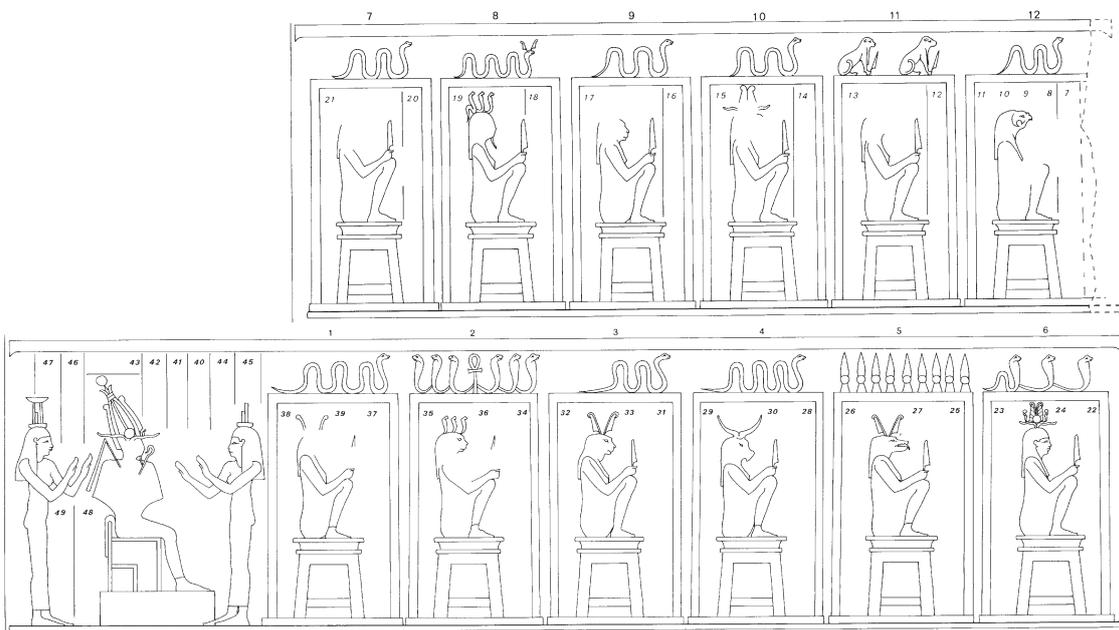


Fig 6: Second western Osirian chapel, temple of Hathor at Dendera, BD 146, from Cauville 1997, pl. 193.



Fig. 7: Architectural slab, Bologna Museo Civico KS 1870 (photograph: Neal Spencer, courtesy of the Museo Civico).

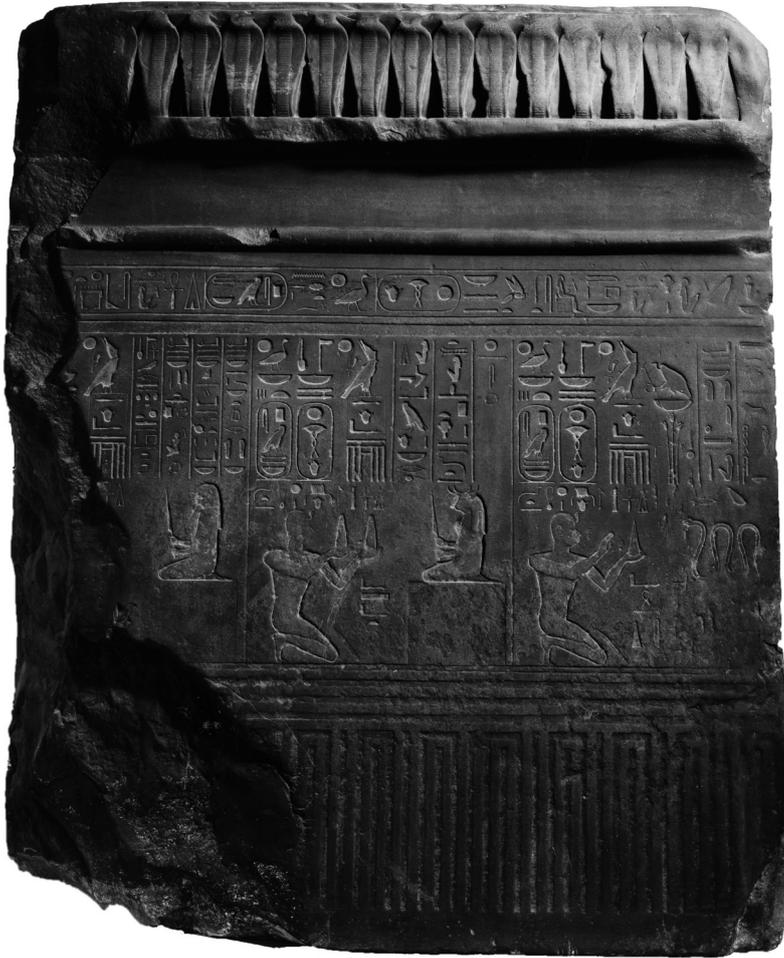


Fig. 8: Architectural slab, British Museum EA 20, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig 9: Wooden statuettes of guardian figures EA 50699, 50702 and 50703 (left to right), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

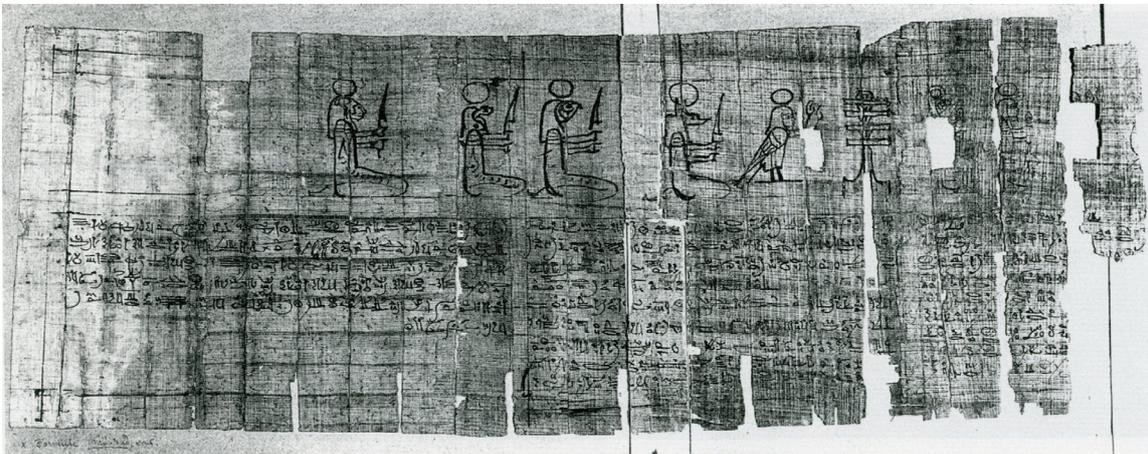


Fig 10: P. Louvre N 3157, from Herbin 1994, pl. XXVIII.



In the footsteps of Edouard Naville (1844–1926)

Barbara Lüscher

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In the footsteps of Edouard Naville (1844–1926)

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The Swiss scholar (Henri-)Edouard Naville is best known for his early philological studies and excavations on behalf of the British-based Egypt Exploration Fund (Naville 1870; Naville 1875; Hall 1927, 1–6; James 1982). He also played a major role in the history of Book of the Dead scholarship, his contribution providing the critical edition for over a century until the advent of the Swiss *Totenbuchtexte* project in 2004. A supplementary project initiated in 2009 focuses on the archival material associated with Naville's work on the Book of the Dead. Thus, the current article's title, 'In the Footsteps of Edouard Naville,' has a double meaning. While our re-edition of his *Todtenbuch* can be seen as following in his footsteps towards the future, this second project leads back into the past.

Naville and the Book of the Dead

Educated in Geneva, London, Paris and Bonn, Naville travelled to Berlin in order to study with the renowned scholar (Karl) Richard Lepsius (1810–1884), who had been appointed Professor of Egyptology at Berlin University after having successfully led the famous Prussian Expedition to Egypt and Nubia between 1842 and 1845. In the following years, Naville became one of Lepsius's most ambitious students and a regular guest at his house, even accompanying him to Egypt in 1869 for the festivities related to the opening of the Suez Canal (Stahelin 1988, 85). Later, he was entrusted with the first comparative text edition of the Theban recension of the Book of the Dead. Later, assisted by Ludwig Borchardt and others, Naville edited the five text volumes (1897–1913) that followed from Lepsius's famous twelve folio volumes entitled *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1849–1859).

The first facsimile of a complete Book of the Dead manuscript from the Ptolemaic period had been published in 1805 by J. M. Cadet (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1–19)¹ and reprinted in the famous *Description de l'Égypte* (Pancoucke 1809–1822: Antiquités vol. 2 [1821²], pls. 72–75).² It was Lepsius who, with his 1842 edition of the Late Ptolemaic papyrus of Iuefankh in the Turin Museum (inv. 1791), introduced the name 'Todtenbuch' for Champollion's *Rituel funéraire* and established the standard numbering of spells still in use today (Lepsius 1842). Lepsius considered the Book of the Dead to be 'das einzige grössere altägyptische Literaturwerk' (1867, 21). According to his announcement at the Second International Congress of Orientalists in London 1874, Lepsius planned a full edition of this textual corpus through all periods of Egyptian history with his young Genevan colleague and former student Naville as its primary editor (Naville 1886 [Einleitung], 5–6). Despite Lepsius's original plan, Naville decided to limit the corpus to New Kingdom manuscripts, both due to

¹ For an earlier facsimile of a Book of the Dead papyrus fragment, see de Maussion de Favières 1994, 192.

² For other (late) Book of the Dead manuscripts published in the *Description*, see the preceding pls. 60–71 in the same vol. II and pls. 44–46 in vol. V.

the enormous quantity of Book of the Dead material and the perceived higher relevance and reliability of the earlier manuscripts (Naville 1886 [Einleitung], 7ff.).³ As a result of more than a decade's work of collecting, studying and copying the relevant documents either directly, in the museums, or by retracing the texts from photographs and facsimiles provided by other scholars, Naville presented his edition in 1886 and his work became the standard for more than 120 years.

Naville himself stressed his attempt to attain the highest accuracy in his copies (Naville 1886 [Einleitung], 14–15), but scholars have since criticized several aspects of his publication and called for a new edition. The main critical points are the lack of a true synopsis (aside from the one full version he only noted the more relevant variations), a rather high percentage of misspellings or omissions, and a lack of information about the rubric passages (de Buck 1935, xiv–xv).

The Swiss *Totenbuchttexte* project

The sheer amount of Book of the Dead source material has multiplied since Naville's time and now vastly exceeds the number of surviving copies of the Pyramid or Coffin Texts. A re-edition had been long regarded 'eine Aufgabe, welche die Kräfte eines Einzelnen wohl weit übersteigt' (Hornung 1986, viii). Nevertheless, in 2004, Günther Lapp and the present author established the groundwork for a new edition (Lüscher 2005, 213–219). From the outset, several obstacles had to be overcome, the foremost being the creation of computer software, Günther Lapp's *VisualGlyph 2.0*, to accurately transcribe and format the synoptic text editions.

Now, roughly six years later, the first few volumes have appeared in a new series (*Totenbuchttexte*, abbreviated *TbT*) published by Orientverlag (Basel). With this 'remake' we follow in the footsteps of our earlier Swiss colleague. In contrast to Naville's edition, however, ours provides the complete text for each document with all of the rubrics noted and with the original arrangement of signs. We have also introduced a new system of sigla following the general model used by de Buck for the Coffin Texts (1935).

One of the main problems was (and partly still is) access to source material, which, as mentioned above, has significantly increased since Naville's time. Therefore we have been committed from the beginning to find a balance between an ideal world, in which we had access to all known sources, and reality, in which, for various reasons, a number of known documents are unavailable to us. Most sources, distributed throughout museums and collections all over the world or locked away in tombs, are still unpublished. Although the project aims to make as complete a record as possible, we are well aware that new material will continue to turn up sporadically in museums, archives, private collections, auction sales, and as the result of new excavations. Therefore, where we could not include all sources for a particular spell, we have listed them for further reference. More volumes can still be added at a later stage of our project when new material might become available (Lapp 2006, foreword). We must also contend with the serious issue of limiting publication costs. Nevertheless, given

³ Naville's publication consists of two edition volumes and one unnumbered introductory volume entitled, 'Einleitung,' and hereafter cited 'Naville 1886 (Einleitung).'

the fragile condition of many of the original sources and their uncertain futures, we decided to make a start.

To begin the series, we have focused on a set of well-attested spells: BD 17 (*TbT* 1), the transformation spells BD 76–88 (*TbT* 2), and BD 125 (*TbT* 3), as well as the ferryman spells BD 98 and 99 (*TbT* 4), and BD 18 and 20 (*TbT* 5). Planned forthcoming volumes will cover BD 149/150 (*TbT* 6), BD 64 together with a selection of other *peret-em-heru* spells (*TbT* 7), and the spells of knowing the souls (*TbT* 8). Many more volumes are planned to follow.⁴ By providing a new and much broader text-basis we hope to initiate further studies and new translations.

Full synoptic editions can also produce results of unexpected value. The decision to include not only papyri and linen shrouds, but also texts on tomb walls and funerary equipment, has proved especially important and fruitful, as demonstrated in the first volume of our new monograph series *Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten (BAÄ)* where a particular local Deir el-Medina tradition and workshop(s) could be identified (Lüscher 2007). While it is widely known that the decoration programme of the Deir el-Medina workmen's tombs reflects a special *iconographic* tradition (Saleh 1987; Milde 1991), a critical comparison of their texts has made it clear that, in the Ramesside period, the workmen's community had also developed its own *text* tradition. This is perhaps unsurprising given the community's exceptionally high literacy rate. In addition to the well-known papyrus of Neferrenpet (owner of Theban tomb 336), several more papyri and papyrus fragments can be provenanced confidently to Deir el-Medina by virtue of the special text formulae they contain. One group of papyri have almost identical vignettes and texts, and share the same palaeographical details, textual omissions, differing text-versions, and scribal misspellings. While we have known that the local workmen were busy decorating their own or their colleagues' tombs and funerary equipment in their spare time, it is quite a new revelation that they included papyri in their work as well.⁵

Once attuned to the peculiarities of the Deir el-Medina corpus, it becomes relatively easy to identify local text versions among the material. Even sources not belonging to that special group of papyri mentioned above still show the same text variations, which clearly differ from those on other contemporary Theban material. Further, this local tradition cannot only be found on papyri but also on Deir el-Medina coffins, sarcophagus-shrines, stelae, and other funerary equipment. For example, the texts of TT 218 (tomb of Amunnakht), TT 1 (tomb of Sennedjem), TT 290 (tomb of Irinefer), the sarcophagus shrine of Khonsu (a son of Sennedjem, from TT 1), the sarcophagus of Pashed (from TT 3) as well as the stela of Hui (Museo Archeologico di Torino, Suppl. 6148bis), all from Deir el-Medina, show the same text variants of BD 1 (Lüscher 1986). The proposed provenance is confirmed by additional sources for BD 1 known to have come from Deir el-Medina, for example the British Museum stela of the workman Neferabu (BM EA 305, probably from TT 5; Bierbrier 1982, 57, fig. 38) or the Papyrus of Pashed (BM EA 9955, probably belonging to the tomb owner of TT 3; Lüscher 2007, 30, 40, pl. 38a). The latter shows the same local text-tradition, and the

⁴ For regular updates on the available volumes, see: www.orientverlag.ch. Provisional corrigenda to the volumes already published can be found there as well.

⁵ In contrast with comments by K. Cooney, in which she deduces from the very few known examples of Book of the Dead papyri from Deir el-Medina that 'painting papyri was not an obvious part of their decorative niche' (2007, 32).

scribe of the manuscript even chose the motif of Anubis at the bier in the accompanying vignette—the typical illustration for BD 1 in Deir el-Medina tombs replacing the funeral procession usually found on papyri. This example therefore clearly reveals provenance by combining the local iconographic *and* text traditions (Lüscher 2007). This study is a first and preliminary step towards a closer and more detailed investigation of this particular local tradition—preliminary because so far the majority of tombs and other textual material from Deir el-Medina remain unpublished and are not yet available for further critical comparison.

The Making of Naville's *Todtenbuch*

Since undertaking the Swiss Book of the Dead Project, it has become clear that there is much to learn from nineteenth century archival sources. Under the working title *Auf den Spuren von Edouard Naville*, the new project retraces Naville's steps towards his edition by working through his hand-written notes, drawings, and extensive correspondence with scholars and museums, part of which was left to the Bibliothèque de Genève together with his extensive private library.⁶ The most important documents will be published as *Todtenbuchttexte (TbT) Supplementa 1*. The material can be divided into three main parts:

- The preprint of Naville's Book of the Dead edition from 1886 (vols 1 and 2), with original French titles in handwriting (later translated into German by the Berlin professor Ludwig Stein).
- Letters to and from international scholars, among them many to and from Richard Lepsius.
- Some of Naville's personal notes, drawings and hand copies of several documents made by himself, his wife Marguerite, and others.

Many of the original sources he used are still unpublished and some have partly suffered from deterioration or even disappeared completely. Thus, such a collection of early notes and facsimile drawings is of particular value today. A selection of the most interesting items will be discussed and photographically reproduced in the forthcoming monograph. What follows is a preliminary outline of the techniques employed by Naville and his contemporaries and a demonstration of the usefulness of such archival material for Book of the Dead studies in general.

Tools and techniques

Just as the Swiss Book of the Dead project's editions depend on a special computer program for transcribing and accurately formatting text, it is useful to recognize the tools

⁶ Catalogue 1926. In 2006 the Naville family gave more archival material to the Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève, Département d'archéologie, where J.-L. Chappaz and his team are in the process of cataloguing and studying it. We would like to express here our gratitude to J.-L. Chappaz for his very generous and open exchange of information and material. For a detailed article on Naville and his wife Marguerite and their relationship to the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Genève, see his article, Chappaz 2009. I also would like to thank Frédéric Naville, president of the Naville Foundation, for kindly giving me access to his collection of private photographs from the Naville family.

and techniques available to our predecessors in the nineteenth century. When Lepsius led his Prussian Expedition to Egypt and Nubia between 1842 and 1845, photography was a new technology and he evidently did not use it. Instead, Lepsius relied on skilled and specially trained painters and artists, like Jacob Frey and the brothers Ernst and Max Weidenbach. Facsimiles of monuments or objects were made using semi-translucent paper ('Kalkierpapier,' 'papier calque') or taking squeezes ('Abklatsche'). In his biography of Lepsius, G. Ebers states that 'Lepsius der Erste gewesen ist, welcher die treffliche Kopirmethode des Papierabklatsches glücklich und in ausgiebiger Weise anwandte' (Ebers 1885, 200–201).

As a student in Berlin, Naville learned these techniques directly from Lepsius: 'Bientôt Lepsius l'introduit au musée où il dispose d'un cabinet particulier et lui donne des papyrus à copier. Il lui apprend aussi à faire des estampages' (van Berchem 1989, 38). Before Naville left for Egypt, Lepsius reminded him, in a letter dated 13 September 1868, to take good equipment for making squeezes.

Vergessen Sie nicht eine tüchtige Quantität festes ungeleimtes Papier, Schwamm und mehrere Bürsten mit gleichmässig vertheilten Haaren und einem Stile mitzunehmen zum Abklatschen, was Sie bald Ihrem Zeichner überlassen werden, den Sie natürlich auch sonst sehr nützlich verwenden können, wenn er sich erst in den Stil der ägyptischen Figuren gefunden haben wird (Bibliothèque de Genève, Département de manuscrits, Ms. fr. 2527; van Berchem 1989, 122).⁷

Another famous scholar, Emmanuel de Rougé (1811–1872), gave Naville similar advice in a letter of 1 October 1868.

Comme préparation au voyage, ce que je vous recommanderais avant tout, c'est de vous exercer à copier les inscriptions d'après les monuments; quand on n'a pas cette fortune on fait une foule de fautes de copie. ... Je recommande, quand une inscription vous paraîtra neuve et intéressante, pour peu qu'elle vous semble un peu difficile à copier, n'hésitez pas à en prendre des bonnes empreintes en papier; exercez vous avant de partir, vous et votre aide, afin de bien choisir votre papier et vos brosses: c'est très essentiel d'être bien outillé (Bibliothèque de Genève, Département de manuscrits, Ms. fr. 2535; van Berchem 1989, 135–36).

Naville recognized the disadvantage of the technique and the obvious damage it caused to the monuments. In a letter he wrote to his parents during his first trip to Egypt in 1868, he states, 'Mon papier est peut-être un peu mince, et les estampages se déchiraient facilement; mais ils n'ont que trop bien réussi; car ils ont emporté avec eux beaucoup de couleurs' (van Berchem 1989, 64.)

For his work on funerary papyri, Naville mainly used semi-translucent tracing paper to produce his facsimiles. He drew some facsimiles himself directly from the objects or from photographs, while others were provided by colleagues and then re-copied by Naville or his wife, Marguerite de Pourtalès (1852–1930). Often it is not clear whether a given drawing was

⁷ This letter is among the 66 letters from Lepsius to Naville, now in Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits.

made by Edouard or Marguerite, also a talented artist. He mentions in his introduction that, at least for the first volume of his edition, his wife drew and prepared for publication all texts and vignettes using a so-called pantograph ('Storchenschnabel') to reduce the drawings to scale (Naville 1886 [Einleitung], 14–15).

Naville's editing process: The Papyrus of Nebseni and its parallels

The starting point for Naville's Book of the Dead project began with the first photographic reproduction of the London Papyrus of Nebseni (BM EA 9900, Naville 1886 [Einleitung], 48). The value of the photograph of the papyrus for Naville's process is demonstrated by extracts from several letters he wrote to Lepsius in 1875. All of these letters are held in the Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits, under the siglum Ms. fr. 2547.

Après ce que j'ai vu à Leyde, je suis toujours plus convaincu de la nécessité d'avoir une reproduction du pap. de Nebseni de Londres, calque ou photographie, il est bien supérieur comme correctif aux papyrus de Leiden; et il devra nous servir de base pour beaucoup de chapitres (1 August 1875).

Quant à Mr. Birch, j'ai reçu il y a quinze jours une lettre me demandant de répondre par le retour du courrier sur cette question ci: à savoir si une photographie du papyrus de Nebseni de la grandeur de celui de Hunefer publié précédemment était suffisante pour le travail, pour qu'il voulait proposer aux trustees de le publier de cette manière. J'ai répondu aussitôt que oui, puis Mr. Birch m'a écrit que les trustees avaient accepté, et il m'a envoyé hier un spécimen photographique, que je trouve remarquablement bien réussi (25 October 1875).

In a footnote at the bottom of this letter he adds after his signature: 'Mr. Birch me dit qu'il vous envoie aussi un spécimen de Nebseni. Le mien est fort bien réussi.'

J'ai examiné avec grand soin l'épreuve photographique du pap. de Nebseni que m'a envoyé Mr. Birch, elle est vraiment réussie d'une manière remarquable, et sera d'une grande importance pour l'édition thébaine (8 November 1875).

After general approval of this first photographic test, the Trustees of the British Museum granted permission for the official publication of Papyrus Nebseni: 'Le British Museum ayant décidé la publication du papyrus de Nebseni, c'est le moment je crois de reprendre le programme que je vous avais soumis, et de le publier' (22 November 1875). Here Naville refers to the *circulaire*, a flyer that was printed in December of 1875 and sent out to the various museums and private collectors announcing 'la grande édition du livre des morts,' and signed by a committee of four scholars: 'S. Birch, British Museum, London. F. Chabas, Châlons-sur-Saône, France. Lepsius, Bendlerstrasse, 18, Berlin. Ed. Naville, Cour St-Pierre, Genève' (Bibliothèque de Genève, Département de manuscrits, Ms. fr. 2547/112–113).

With the Papyrus of Nebseni as his *texte de base* for the majority of spells, Naville began travelling to different museums in 1877 to collect material. He compared each new version against the Nebseni text, noted the textual variants and palaeographic details, and copied

unusual or new vignettes. Only those spells that did not occur on the Papyrus of Nebsemi were copied in full from other papyri (Neville 1886 [Einleitung], 11). Therefore his notes regarding other documents mainly consist of comments on special passages or written descriptions, rather than full copies of the texts. He made particular use of the Louvre Papyrus of Mesemnetjer (Louvre E.21324; Neville's siglum Ca) and the Papyrus of Neferoubenef (Louvre N.3092; Neville's siglum Pb) as complementary versions to Nebsemi.

In several cases Neville relied on drawings given to him by other scholars. The importance of these copies is aptly illustrated by the facsimile of a Hannover papyrus fragment, which is discussed and reproduced here for the first time (Fig. 8). This facsimile belongs to a set of documents to be addressed in *Totenbuchtexte (TbT) Supplementa 1* (Lüscher forthcoming) and nicely demonstrates the potential of archival papers for establishing a corpus of material, which, when studied together, can be attributed to an ancient centre of production.

Again, the London Papyrus of Nebsemi (BM EA 9900) plays a central role. According to Sotheby's 1836 auction catalogue, this famous manuscript originates from Memphis, a provenance confirmed by the deceased's titles and the names of his children (Lapp 2004, 22). One of its special features, perhaps also a criterion for a Memphite origin, is the arrangement of some vignettes in two registers (Lapp 2004, pls. 4–14). Known parallels are very rare. A comparable arrangement in two registers, along with many other similarities to the Papyrus of Nebsemi, occurs in the Papyrus Bakai/Amenemope in Warsaw (Museum Narodowe Inv. Nr. 237128; Andrzejewski 1951), and discussed by I. Munro (Munro 1988, 133–34). A second parallel is the recently published Papyrus Princeton pharaonic roll 5, which was only unrolled in 1999 (Lüscher 2008).⁸ Lepsius and Neville identified a third parallel over a century ago, the Hannover fragment mentioned above, which was apparently lost or destroyed. It is represented by Neville's siglum Ha (for Hannover) and listed in his introduction under 'Fragment Kestner in Hannover' (Neville 1886, 83), referring to the following comment by Lepsius:

Ein andres kurzes Fragment von c. 14" Höhe von überaus feiner Zeichnung in den Vignetten, auch von links zu lesen, gehört der Kestner'schen Sammlung in Hannover an. Es enthält in einer obern Abtheilung einen Theil von K. 146 (Abschnitt c.), in einer unteren Theile von K. 77 (l. 2–5) und 86 (l. 1–4) (Lepsius 1867, 13).

Neville himself had never seen the original papyrus fragment: 'Ich kenne dieses Bruchstück nur aus einer Durchzeichnung von Lepsius, die mir derselbe gütigst mitgetheilt hat' (Neville 1886 [Einleitung], 83). Nevertheless, he recognized that the fragment belonged to a manuscript in Florence and that both show 'in den Vignetten und in der Anordnung der Kapitel eine ausserordentliche Ähnlichkeit mit Aa' [= Nebsemi], and therefore might have been copied 'sehr wohl nach demselben Original' (Neville 1886 [Einleitung], 49). The Florence part of the papyrus, originally produced for a man called Senemnetjer, is now in the Egyptian collection of the Museo Archeologico di Firenze (Inv. no. 3660A) and is dated by I. Munro to the time of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III (Munro 1988, 285, no. 42).⁹ Neville lists this fragment under his siglum Ib with the following spell sequence: BD 134–114–112–113–108. He mentions further that 'Herr Dr. Schiaparelli hat die Güte gehabt mir eine Durchzeichnung dieses

⁸ For the special arrangement of vignettes in two registers see Lüscher 2008, chapter 4.12 and pls. 3–5, 10–14.

⁹ Note that the inv. no. given in Munro 1988 (250, no. 42) as 3630 is incorrect; the correct no. is 3660A.

Papyrus zu liefern' (Naville 1886 [Einleitung], 85). Fortunately, this drawing of the Florence fragment—or perhaps a copy of it actually made by the Navilles?¹⁰—is among Naville's papers (Bibliothèque de Genève, Département de manuscrits, Ms. fr. 2549/4) and, like the Hannover fragment facsimile, is also reproduced here for the first time, side by side with the modern photograph of the original papyrus (Figs. 1–6). A comparison of the facsimile with the original papyrus reveals that the drawing is accurate and reliable. Some passages of the text were clearly better preserved some 130 years ago than they are today, demonstrating the importance of publishing nineteenth century copies.

The titles of both papyrus owners, Nebseni (*sš sphr.w m hw.t-Pth / pr-Pth, sš kdw.t m hw.t-Pth / pr-Pth*) and Senemnetjer (*hrj hny.t n pr-Pth*), with their connection to the temple of Ptah, clearly point to a Memphite origin. Unfortunately the Florence fragment does not show the special arrangement of vignettes in two registers mentioned above as a common feature of the three other Memphite papyri belonging to Nebseni, Bakai/Amenemope and Princeton pharaonic roll 5; but, the Hannover fragment of the same papyrus does. The original Hannover fragment may be lost, but fortunately not its copy! Again, it was preserved as a facsimile-drawing among Naville's papers and thus conveys valuable information. I. Munro tried without success to locate the papyrus fragment and summarizes her search:

Nachforschungen in den Inventarbüchern und sämtlichen alten Vorkriegs-Katalogen erbrachten allerdings keinerlei Anhaltspunkt dafür, dass dieses Fragment jemals zum Bestand des Kestner-Museums gehört hatte, so dass mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit R. Lepsius und E. Naville bei dem angegebenen Standort Hannover ein Irrtum unterlaufen sein musste (Munro 1988, 322 n. 427).

U. Luft has also stated that 'Das Stück in Hannover ist verschollen nach Auskunft von Peter Munro' (Luft 1977, 73). Thus, the coloured facsimile drawing on tracing paper is one of the 'hidden treasures' to be found among Naville's papers (Bibliothèque de Genève, Département de manuscrits, Ms. fr. 2549/4; Fig. 8). It is in fact the copy of a copy, which was originally lent to him by Lepsius and then retraced either by Naville himself or by his wife Marguerite.¹¹ The original drawing by Lepsius also survives and can be consulted in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (to be published in Lüscher forthcoming).

Now, for the first time in roughly 120 years, we can confirm the common features of the Memphite group of papyri, particularly with regard to the arrangement of some vignettes in two registers. A comparison between the corresponding part in the Papyrus of Nebseni and the Kestner fragment makes it clear that both were based on the same local text and vignette tradition (Figs 7 and 8).

What happened to the original papyrus fragment in Hannover after Lepsius examined and copied it remains uncertain. The Kestner family at the time consisted of several members (among them Charlotte Kestner, Goethe's famous 'Lotte' and mother of August Kestner, for whom, see Jorns 1964), all of them personally known to Lepsius, and it cannot be confirmed

¹⁰ It seems that Edouard and Marguerite Naville used to make their own copies of drawings given to them by other scholars.

¹¹ The writing of the title 'Fragment Kestner' on the tracing paper looks quite similar to Marguerite's own handwriting.

that the papyrus ever formed part of the Kestner *museum* since Lepsius only speaks of the ‘Kestner collection in Hannover.’ Perhaps it was destroyed during a time of war, or perhaps it has remained in the private possession of one of August Kestner’s relatives. The discovery of this long-missing textual part of Papyrus Senemnetjer, however, shows once again how fruitful it can be to rummage through libraries and archives where certainly more ‘wonderful things’ await their re-discovery.

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Frontispiece: Edouard Naville © Fondation Naville, Genève.

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Fig. 1: Papyrus Senemnetjer (Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Inv. no. 3660A) © Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana.



Fig. 2: Facsimile-drawing of Papyrus Senemnetjer (Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits, Ms. fr. 2549/4, summary siglum) © Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits.



Fig. 3: Papyrus Senemnetjer (Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Inv. no. 3660A) © Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana

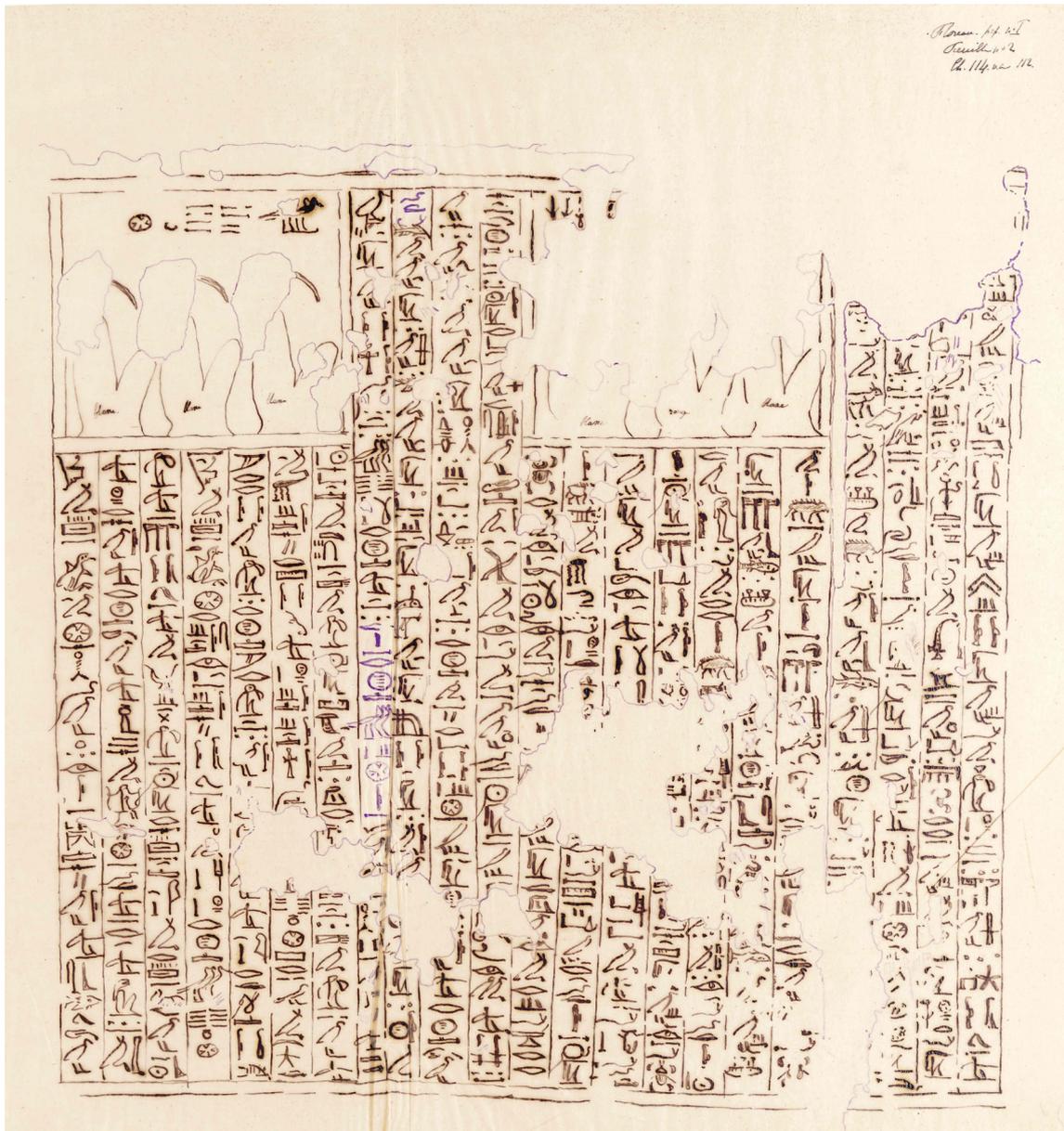


Fig. 4: Facsimile-drawing of Papyrus Senemnetjer (Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits, Ms. fr. 2549/4, summary siglum) © Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits



Fig. 5: Papyrus Senemnetjer (Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Inv. no. 3660A) © Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana

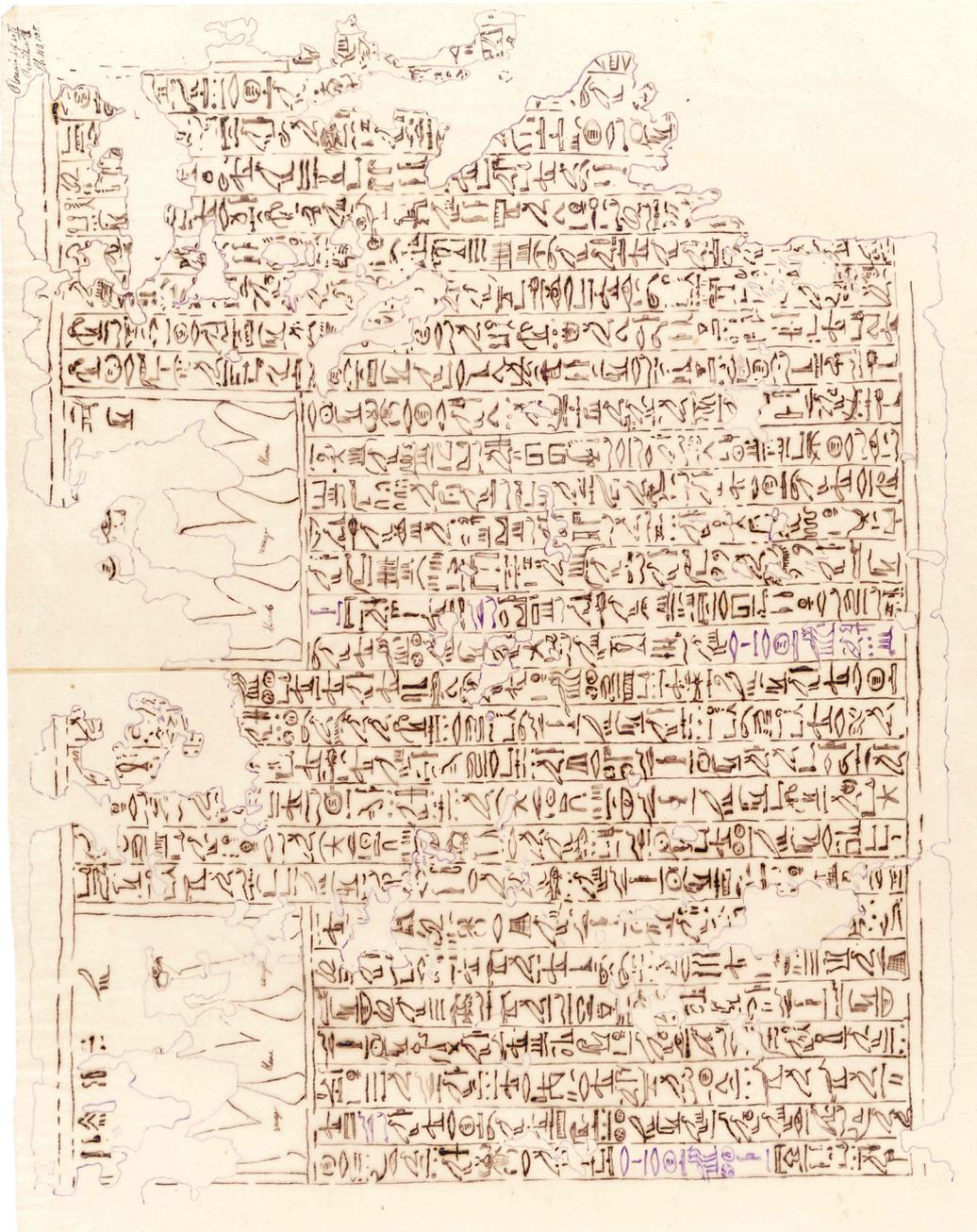


Fig. 6: Facsimile-drawing of Papyrus Senemneijer (Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits, Ms. fr. 2549/4, summary siglum) © Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits.



Fig. 7: Papyrus Nebseni (British Museum EA 9900) © The Trustees of the British Museum.

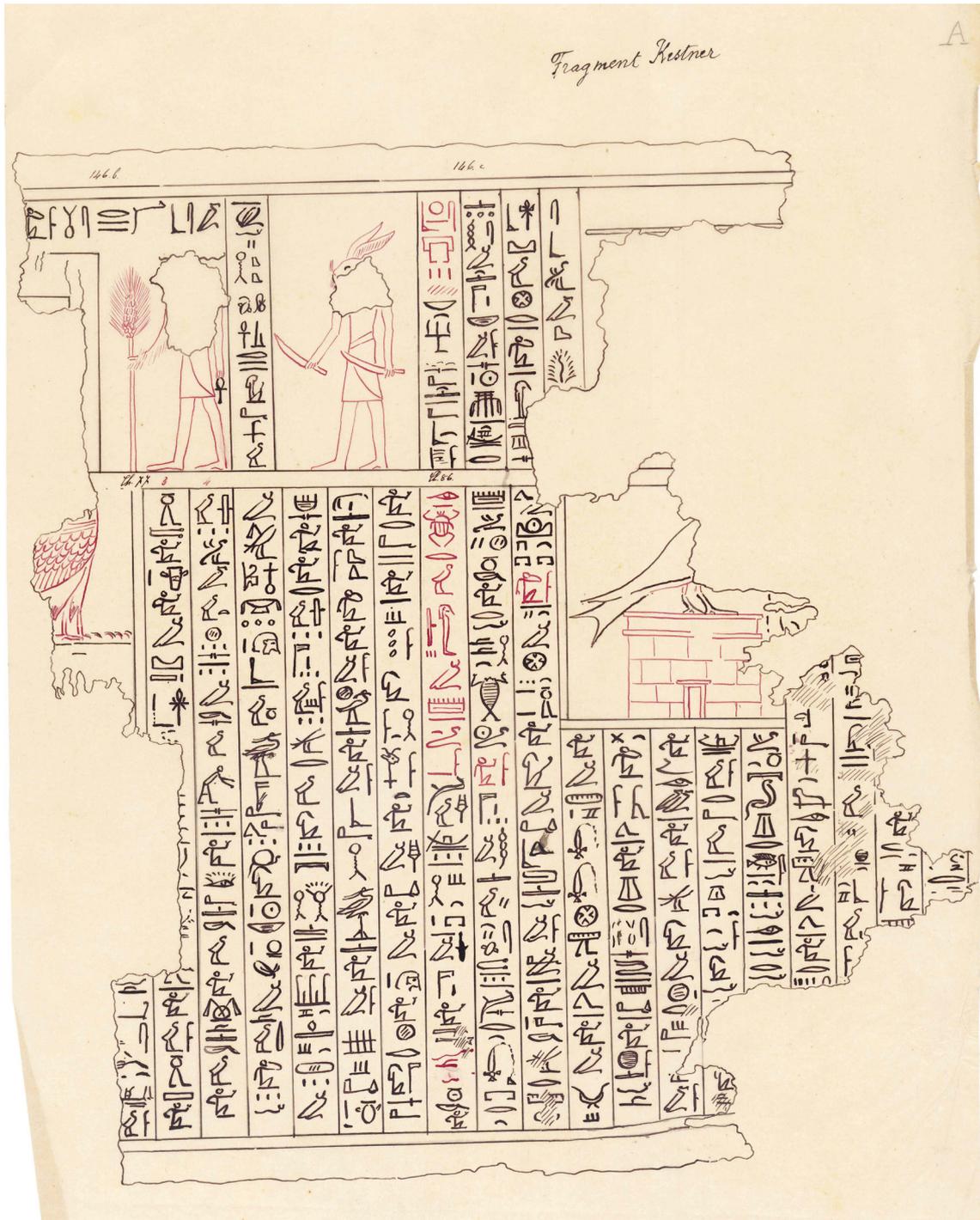


Fig 8: Facsimile-drawing of the 'Fragment Kestner' (Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits, Ms. fr. 2549/4, summary siglum) © Bibliothèque de Genève, Département des manuscrits.



An intriguing Theban Book of the Dead tradition in the Late Period

Malcolm Mosher, Jr.

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An intriguing Theban Book of the Dead tradition in the Late Period

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The tradition presented here is attested through nine primary and two secondary documents:

Primary documents	P. BM EA 10086 P. BM EA 10088 P. Cairo JE 97249 P. Christchurch EA 1988 P. Louvre N 3082 P. Louvre N 3142 P. Milan E 1023 P. Sydney P. BM EA 10047.1–4 and Getty 83.AI.47.2.1–4
Secondary documents	P. Louvre N 3087 P. Louvre E 6130

Primary documents

Before discussing the specifics of the tradition, a brief summary of each document is provided, with an accompanying schematic diagram and a representative photograph of the document. These schematic diagrams do not convey proportions or dimensions but rather serve to indicate the overall layout and general condition of each document, and the contents per column with regard to texts and vignettes of spells. The following conventions are used:

- Numbers refer to the BD spell.
- Suffix ‘c’ indicates continuation of the text from the previous column.¹
- Suffix ‘v’ indicates that the vignette for the spell is presented with the text.
- Suffix ‘z’ indicates that only the vignette is present (e.g., 16z and 110z in P. BM EA 10086); in the case where vignettes were presented continuously across the top of the texts, the vignette is numbered with a ‘z’ and the text is also listed by itself in the column below (e.g., col. 18 in P. BM EA 10086), or where the vignette is not directly aligned with the text or was presented without text (e.g., cols. 28–29 in P. BM EA 10086).
- ‘/’ indicates a broken area of the document.
- Independent fragments stand by themselves (e.g., P. Sydney).

In Late Period Books of the Dead, the vignette of a spell is not always correctly aligned with the text, and this is particularly true where vignettes are strung continuously across the top of a document and have no direct alignment with the texts below. While the latter does

¹ The case of BD 15c is special, where the continuation of this text in the next column is 15cc.

not pertain to the primary or secondary documents listed here, it does apply to some other documents discussed in this paper. Identification of vignettes is based on overwhelming statistics in documents where vignettes and texts were correctly aligned, coupled with the fact that the illustrations for the different spells in the Late Period were standardised, even where different versions of vignettes were used for a spell (Mosher 2002, 96).

Finally, each column in the diagram is numbered below the column. In the interest of brevity, where a spell exclusively takes up two or more columns, only a single column is presented in the diagram, but the number indicates the range of columns consumed by the spell (e.g., BD 17 in P. BM EA 10086).

P. BM EA 10086 (Figs. 1–2).

Quirke designated this unpublished document in the British Museum as no. 258 (Quirke 1993, 65–66). The deceased was Tentameniy (*T3-Imn-ii-w*), whose mother was the mistress of the house, Neshorpakhered. It follows a format I have previously identified as Style 1 and it is an abridged Book of the Dead in that many spells from the Late Period corpus were omitted (Fig. 2; Mosher 1992, 145–46).

P. BM EA 10088 (Figs. 3–4).

Quirke designated this unpublished document in the British Museum as no. 262 (Quirke 1993, 66). The deceased is identified as Tentdjehuty (*T3-nt-Dḥwty*), whose mother was Tadineferhotep. It is a highly abridged Style 1 Book of the Dead, containing only a relatively small number of spells (Fig. 4).

P. Cairo JE 97249

This published document is a badly damaged Style 1 Book of the Dead that appears also to have been abbreviated, but less so than the other documents discussed in the current study (Burkard 1986, 68–71, no. 17). Indeed, the document is in such poor condition that a schematic diagram is not possible, and the best one can do is list the spells it contains. The deceased was creator of the god's body, Nesmin, whose mother was the mistress of the house, Tasheritmin. The sequence of its texts is as follows: BD 2///15///17–23///31–32///34–35///38, 39?, 43///51–55, 57, 59–60, 62, 61///65///68, 71–75, 77–81///85, 90–91///94–101, 110z, 111–116, 120, 122, 124–133///137z, 140///142///146–147, 148z, 149, 150z///151–152, 156–159///163–165, 162.

P. Christchurch EA 1988.73–76 (Figs. 5–6).

This unpublished document in the Canterbury Museum (Christchurch, New Zealand) was recently brought to my attention by Tamás Mekis. The deceased was Takerheb, whose mother was the mistress of the house, *Nbt-dnh-ihyt*. The initial column is preserved, but this section of the document is damaged and it is difficult to say how many columns originally existed between the initial column and that containing BD 10 and 15a–b. It is a highly abridged Style 1 document (Fig. 6). One can readily observe unusual peculiarities in the sequence of spells, and several illustrations have no relationship with the spells with which they are paired. In column $n+12$, both illustrations are either fanciful creations by the particular artist responsible for the document, or were perhaps mistakenly misplaced from their proper location: the upper

illustration might have been misplaced from BD 18, and the lower illustration might have been a corrupted variation of the scene from the upper register of the vignette known as BD 16. Similarly, the illustration at the top of column n+15 might also have been misplaced from BD 18, a proposal that is supported by the fact that only four of the ten individual scenes normally used for BD 18 were given with the text of BD 18 in this document. Only the first half of the text of BD 54 is presented, concluding with a few phrases from BD 56.

Getty 83.AI.47.2.1–4 and P. BM EA 10047.1–4 (bandages of Padiusir)

For this unpublished collection of mummy bandages, only five of the original set have been located. The bandages that originally formed numbers 1, 3, 4, and 9 are now located at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California (Fig. 7), and the bandage that was originally number 2 is located at the British Museum. The deceased was Padiusir, whose mother was Nainesbastet. Because of one special consideration pertaining to this document, a schematic diagram for the surviving set of bandages is both difficult and impractical. Typically, a ‘page’ on a mummy bandage, appearing as a column of horizontal lines, tends to be fairly wide when no vignettes are involved (e.g., de Caluwe 1991, pls. I–III). Where vignettes were placed with the texts, the width of the page can be reduced, sometimes leaving space sufficient for as few as 10–12 characters per line (Fig. 8).

The unusual characteristic of Padiusir’s mummy bandages is that the majority of ‘pages’ have a width that typically allowed only 7–12 characters per line, even where no vignettes are involved (Fig. 7). Therefore, producing a schematic diagram was pointless for this type of layout. Instead, the contents of each bandage are listed below, where it can be readily noticed that the vignettes were not aligned with the texts.

- Bandage 1 BD 11c, 12, 13, 14 (with vignette of 16), 15g and 15h (with vignette of 17), 15i, 17.
- Bandage 2 BD 18v.
- Bandage 3 BD 18 conclusion, 19 (with unusual vignette - necklace instead of wreath), 20 (with vignette of 20), 21 (with unknown vignette), 22, 23, 25 (with vignettes of 26 and 27), 26 (with vignette of 28).
- Bandage 4 BD 26c, 27 (with vignette of 30 and then vignette of 64), 28 (with vignette of 43), 19 (with vignette of 45), 38 (with vignettes of 47, 50, 51, and 52), 43 (with vignette of 54), 44 (with vignette of 59), start of 45 (with vignette of 60).
- Bandage 9 Part of BD 145 with scenes.

The documents making up the primary set of this tradition are Theban, yet the style of these bandages is clearly Memphite, though of more narrow width than was typical. Examples associated with Thebes typically consist of a thin bandage that permitted only one to three lines of text, thereby allowing only a few spells per bandage (e.g., Burkard 1986, pl. 86).

The provenance of the bandages is unknown; if they were produced in Memphis, how did a Theban tradition arrive in Memphis? Perhaps the deceased moved north and brought a copy of the Theban tradition with him for his own funerary arrangements. Alternatively, if they were produced in Thebes, then perhaps the deceased was from the Memphite area,

moved south, and had a Book of the Dead written on mummy bandages for his own funerary arrangements. Both suggestions represent speculation, but the fact remains that we have a Theban textual tradition written on a Memphite medium.

P. Louvre N 3082 (Figs. 9–10).

This papyrus is an abridged Style 1 document, having only a handful of spells after the text of BD 64 (Fig. 10; Rougé 1861–79, pls. I–IV).² The deceased was the *Hry-tp-nsw*, divine father, prophet of Amen-Re king of the gods, *Hnk-nwn* of Hermonthis, Harsiese, whose mother was Takhybiat.

P. Louvre N 3142 (Figs. 11–12)

This papyrus is a highly abridged, unpublished, Style 1 document (Fig. 12; Devéria 1872, 109; Bellion 1987, 204). The deceased was the sistrum player of Amen-Re and Chantress, Tadit, whose mother was Nestefnut.

P. Milan E 1023 (Figs. 13–14)

Given the damage along the bottom, this abridged Style 1 document may have contained more spells than those listed in the diagram (Fig. 14; Vandoni 1969, 77–85).³ Fragments of BD 127, 129, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, and 152 also exist but have been excluded from the diagram because it is impossible to know what the latter part of the document looked like from these fragments. The deceased was the prophet, Hornefer, whose mother was the mistress of the house, Takerheb (Clarysse 1981, 68, no. 5476a).⁴

P. Sydney (Figs. 15–16)

The owner of this abbreviated Style 1 Book of the Dead (Fig. 16; Nicholson 1891; Bellion 1987, 264) was the divine father, prophet of Amen-Re king of the gods, prophet of Neferhotep, scribe of Amen of the third phyle, Nesmin, whose mother was the mistress of the house and sistrum player of Amen-Re, Asetweret, also named Nesweret (Clarysse 1981, 84, no. 5581a). The document has suffered damage, and its sequence is clearly peculiar. With regard to the vignette of BD 110, this scene was neatly cut on each side and it is difficult to say where it originally belonged. I have placed it after column 13 because the left edge of column 13 and the right edge of column 15 seem to match up with the sides of the vignette of BD 110. On the other hand, this is a best guess, and it is possible that it could have originally been located after column 17.

² See also Devéria 1872, 68 and Clarysse 1981, 69, no. 5484b; Bellion 1987, 196.

³ Additional fragments are in the Vatican: Gasse 1993, 45, no. 31; Bellion 1987, 231.

⁴ This otherwise useful publication contains several minor errors. BD 59 is misidentified as BD 69. The vignettes in column n+20 are misidentified as those of BD 61 and 63, but each illustration was incorrectly aligned so that it followed its text, and thus the illustrations are those of BD 60 and 61. This is made certain by the fact that a fragment of the actual vignette for BD 63 survives and was incorrectly mounted in modern times after the vignette of BD 126; it was originally located, in all likelihood, towards the bottom of column n+20. The text and vignette of BD 77 is misidentified as BD 78. For BD 89, the vignette is correctly identified, but the text is incorrectly identified as BD 99. The vignettes in column n+27 are not identified, but the first is undoubtedly that of BD 95 and the second is likely that of BD 100. The deities in the vignette of BD 113 are incorrectly identified as Horus, Anubis, and Horus, but in fact they are Horus, Duamutef, and Qebhsennuef. The deities in the vignette of BD 114 are also incorrectly identified as Thoth, a man, and Re of Upper and Lower Egypt, but in fact they are Thoth, Sia, and Atum.

The secondary documents

Two documents are relevant to this tradition as they contain features of the tradition but also contain aspects related to other traditions.

P. Louvre E 6130

This papyrus is an unpublished abridged document of Style 2, a style associated with many Saite documents, but also Memphite documents of the Ptolemaic Period (Fig. 17; Devéria 1872, 75; Bellion 1987, 220).⁵ The texts of the majority of spells belong to the Saite-Memphite tradition, but the following range of spells belong to the Theban tradition under discussion here: BD 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 44, 45, 50, 51, 52, 53, 47, 54, 59, 60, and 63. Regarding BD 50, 52, and 53, the text of each was highly abbreviated and one cannot determine what tradition they followed, although presumably each followed the Theban tradition as with the other spells in this range. Thus the texts of the initial and final sections followed the Saite-Memphite tradition, while the texts in the middle section followed the Theban tradition under discussion here. The deceased was Asetreshi, whose mother was Setjairetbint.

P. Louvre N 3087 (Fig. 18)

This unpublished document is an abridged Style 1 Book of the Dead (Fig. 18) that contains the following spells: BD 6–14, 15a–d, 16V, 15g–i, 17–20, 43–48, 52–54, 56, 65, 67, 66, 72–77, 79, 110–111, 113–114, 117–120, 122, 121, 123–136, 140, 137–138, 141–142, 165, 162. The beginning is lost. The texts of most spells belong to other Theban traditions, but BD 15b, 15c, 15g, 15i, 17, 18, and 19 follow the tradition being discussed here. Since these represent such a small percentage of spells contained in the overall document, there is no value in presenting a schematic diagram. The deceased was the sistrum player of Amen-Re, Nehemesretawy, whose mother was the mistress of the house, Tasheritmin (Devéria 1872, 83; Bellion 1987, 197).

Definition of this Theban tradition

Turning attention now to the specifics of this tradition, one may ask what defines it. Indeed, what defines any of the Late Period traditions for the Book of the Dead? In response, there are five basic factors that define any tradition: the versions of text they contain, the versions of vignettes they contain, the corpus of spells used by the tradition, the sequence of spells, and the style of layout used for the document.

Style

Regarding style, with the exception of the mummy bandages of Padiusir and P. Louvre E 6130, all documents were constructed with the general layout of Style 1 found in Thebes. By itself, style is not a defining factor for the tradition under discussion here because other Theban traditions also used Style 1.

⁵ On Style 2, see Mosher 1992, 149–50.

Corpus

Regarding corpus, all eleven documents were abridged to varying degrees, with some so abridged that they only contain a relatively small number of spells (e.g., P. Christchurch and P. Sydney). Therefore, deductions based on the selection of spells used in the documents listed above are not really possible, but one can nevertheless make several interesting observations. BD 50 follows BD 47 in four of the six documents having BD 47, thereby omitting BD 48 and 49.⁶ P. Louvre E 6130 has the text of BD 47 out of sequence but still excludes BD 48 and 49. While the text of BD 47 is lost from the mummy bandages of Padiusir, the sequence of vignettes has 47, 50, 51, and 52 contiguous to each other (Fig. 19), clearly omitting the vignettes of BD 48 and 49. In P. BM EA 10088, the texts jump from BD 43 to 54 and 59, while in P. Louvre N 3142 the texts jump from BD 43 to 59, not allowing one to draw a conclusion about BD 48 and 49. In P. Cairo JE 97249, the section containing BD 43 and 50 is badly damaged and no traces of any intervening spells survive. P. Christchurch is the exception because it does contain BD 48 and 49, but one must also observe the jumbled sequence of texts (Fig. 5), where BD 47 and 50 were not included. Further, since this document has only come to my attention recently, I have not had the opportunity yet to examine the texts for the spells beyond the range of BD 1 to 64. In summary, it would seem that BD 48 and 49 were normally omitted from the tradition, but P. Christchurch is the exception.

The second interesting observation that one can make is the omission of BD 56 and 58. P. BM EA 10086, P. Cairo JE 97249, and P. Louvre N 3082 contain the following sequence of spells: BD 54, 55, 57, and 59, clearly omitting 56 and 58. P. Milan E 1023 has the same sequence although BD 55 was omitted as well. P. BM EA 10088 and P. Louvre E 6130 jump from BD 54 to 59, and the same jump can be seen for the vignettes in the mummy bandages of Padiusir. Similarly, P. Christchurch has only BD 54 and 57, but curiously the text of BD 54 is abbreviated and a line from BD 56 was appended to the end of 54, thereby making it clear that BD 56 was known, even if not used by the tradition. Finally, P. Louvre N 3142 has only BD 59. Thus, while some variation exists with regard to the omission or inclusion of BD 54, 55, 57 and 59, it seems BD 56 and 58 were not included, at least based on the evidence of the documents discussed herein.

As stated above, the omission of BD 48, 49, 56, and 58 is of interest, but it is not sufficient to state anything definitive about the tradition.

Sequence

Two peculiarities regarding the sequence of spells are apparent: the placement of the vignette known as BD 16 before the text of 15g, and the inversion of BD 62 before 61.

Regarding the placement of BD 16, the sequence of texts in P. BM EA 10086 and P. Louvre N 3082 is: BD 15a–f, vignette of BD 16, and the texts of BD 15g–i. Variations on this are: (a) BD 15a–15d, vignette of BD 16, and BD 15g–h (P. BM EA 10088, P. Christchurch, and P. Louvre N 3087), and (b) BD 14, vignette of 16, and 15g–i (mummy bandages of Padiusir). Damage to P. Cairo JE 97249, P. Louvre N 3142, and P. Milan E 1023 prevent one from determining the sequence in these documents. With regard to P. Sydney, a portion of the document is now lost after BD 15a, but it is unlikely that it contained more than a single column of text, and we cannot be sure that another column even followed. Assuming there

⁶ P. BM EA 10086, P. Louvre N 3082, P. Milan E 1023 and P. Sydney.

was a following column, spatial limitations would not likely have allowed all of BD 15b–f. The BD 16 vignette survives, but the vignette of BD 17 above the text of BD 18 follow, with the texts of BD 15g–i and 17 omitted. Thus, the arrangement in this document differs from that in the other documents, but this was likely the result of the aforesaid omissions. This peculiarity in sequence stands out quite strikingly when viewing the graphic layout of the different documents, as can be observed in figures 18 and 20–24.

The second peculiarity is the sequence of BD 60, 62, and 61, which can be observed in P. BM EA 10086, P. Cairo JE 97249, and P. Louvre N 3082. In P. Louvre N 3142, we find the text of BD 59, followed by the vignette of BD 61, and then the text of BD 62; given the abridged nature of this document, it may well have been the case that the vignette for BD 61 was intended to deliver the magic of the spell, without the text, and thus the same basic sequence is evident. In P. Milan E 1023, the text of BD 61 follows that of BD 60, but this document omitted BD 62 and thus its sequence does not contradict the special sequence above, nor does P. Louvre E 6130, which omitted both BD 62 and 61. For the remaining primary documents, all either omitted these spells or they are now lost.

The texts

While the corpus and sequence found in these documents suggest a special tradition, it is the versions of the texts that make this tradition stand out in high relief because they often differ dramatically from the versions of texts found in other Theban traditions.

When comparing versions of texts of one tradition against another, one can observe four basic types of changes:

- 1 Introduction of one or more new passages of text.
- 2 Enhancements or embellishments to the existing text.
- 3 Reworking of the existing text for improvement, possibly to achieve new meaning.
- 4 Rework of the existing text for improvement, possibly based on a misunderstanding of the original text or meant as a correction to text perceived as incorrect or insufficient.

When one consistently finds the same changes to the text of an individual spell in a reasonable number of documents, then one is justified in stating that these changes represent a *version*, as opposed to changes that can only be found in a single document. Secondly, when one consistently observes the same versions of texts across all spells in a group of documents, then one is justified in stating that the group represents a *tradition*. Because each document consistently used the same versions and texts across the common sets of spells found in the documents as a group, this group clearly represent a Theban tradition.

A detailed discussion of the text in every spell is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, a small selection of spells are considered, which illustrate the different types of changes mentioned above and that illustrate the unique nature of the texts of this tradition.

With regard to the first type of change, many spells in this tradition contain new passages. For two simple examples, the conclusion of BD 44 concludes with two new statements not found in other Late Period traditions: ‘One shall not cut off my head in the necropolis. I am

Atum.⁷ Given the fact that the purpose of BD 44 is to prevent the deceased from dying a second time, the first statement fits well into this context, and the deceased's identification with Atum strengthens the claim. One might suggest that the first statement was derived from BD 43, whose title is 'BD for not allowing one to cut off the head of a man in the necropolis,' but the statement is new to the conclusion to BD 44, and the additional statement wherein the deceased is identified with Atum cannot be traced to any surrounding spells. Both statements add new support to the purpose of BD 44, expressed in its title, 'Spell for not dying again in the necropolis.'

Similarly, the text of BD 59 concludes with 'I am Atum,' an ending that can be found in five of the six documents that contain the spell.⁸ The sixth document, P. BM EA 10086, concludes with 'I am N, the great god, lord of the westerners and the great Ennead who are with them [in] the sacred land, N.'⁹ The spell was included in P. Milan E 1023, but the conclusion of the text is lost. In considering that BD 54–55, 57, 59–62 form a cohesive set that pertain to providing the deceased with air and water, that BD 54 and 62 involve Atum, that BD 55, 57, 60–62 involve Hapi, and that BD 59 does not mention either deity in the other Theban traditions, the decision by the master scribes of this tradition to involve Atum in BD 59 was a clever means of tying this spell to the others of the set by assigning one of the two patron deities of the overall set to the spell.

BD 31 offers a far more interesting example of a combination of new text, enhanced text, and reworked text. BD 31 and BD 69 are related because they contain some passages in common, and both ultimately go back to CT 227 and 228. Four versions of BD 31 are attested in the Late Period, with translations of the first and fourth provided by Verhoeven and Allen respectively (Verhoeven 1993, 125–27; Allen 1960, 116–17). Allen, in his translation, broke the spell down into three sections (*a*, *b*, *c*). While revisions were made to section *a* in all versions, the main revisions of interest for the tradition under discussion here are those that follow. Specifically, a new section of text was inserted between sections *a* and *b*, section *b* was reworked, section *c* was omitted, and the text concludes with a new statement. With regard to the new section, much derives from BD 69, a spell not surprisingly unrepresented in any of the documents of the tradition, but the text was significantly revised from the text of BD 69.¹⁰ Below is the translation of BD 31 from the new section down to the end of the spell.

I am Aseby, the conjuror of Asebyt. I am Osiris, the conjuror of Isis.¹¹ I have come to seek the son of Horus along with his mother Isis.¹² He has protected me from the performing

⁷ *nm šꜥd.tw tp.i m hrt-ntr ink'Itm*, found in all documents with this spell.

⁸ P. BM EA 10088, P. Cairo JE 97249, P. Louvre N 3082, P. Louvre N 3142, P. Louvre E 6130.

⁹ *ink N /// ntr ꜥ nb imntyw psdt ꜥ imy.w [m] B-dsr N*. The text of this spell is located toward the bottom of the papyrus, and it would seem that the scribe chose to make a large embellishment to fill up the space, whereas *ink'Itm* was too short to fill that space.

¹⁰ The revised text is found in P. Cairo JE 97249 (partially lost), P. Louvre N 3082, P. Sydney, and P. Milan E 1023. BD 31 is also found in P. BM EA 10086, but the text terminates after section *a*.

¹¹ *ink 3sby šni n 3sbyt ink Wsir šni n 3st*. These statements are derived from BD 69, although in the other traditions one finds *sn* 'brother' instead of *šni* 'conjuror,' which is an example of intelligent rework for new meaning or possible rework based on a misreading of *sn*.

¹² *ii.n.i r hꜣy sꜥ Hr hnꜥ mwt.f3st*.

of this diseased trouble against me.¹³ I, moreover, place the bonds against his arms, namely he who creates more than his inheritance.¹⁴ It is I, I am Osiris, the elder of the womb, the elder of the five gods, the heir¹⁵ of his father Geb, stout of phallus,¹⁶ weak of legs, lord of the flame,¹⁷ the rampart of mankind.¹⁸

O,¹⁹ I am the bull, foremost²⁰ of his fields.²¹ It is I, I am Osiris, whose father Geb and whose mother Nut were sealed.²² I am Horus the elder on the day his appearance.²³ [I am] Anubis on the day of the examiner.²⁴ It is I, I am Osiris, the elder who assembles, who speaks(?)...the doorkeeper of Osiris.²⁵

¹³ *ndty.n.f wi m-ꜥ iry 3h3 pn mr ri*. This and the previous statement were completely reworked from the text in BD 69.

¹⁴ *iw.i irf wd ntw r ꜥ.wy.f km3 r iwꜥt.f*. This statement was partially reworked from the text in BD 69 and represents the whole new idea of binding up he who seeks more than his share, presumably at the expense of the deceased.

¹⁵ P. Sydney varies this, stating ‘It is I, I am Osiris, the heir...?’

¹⁶ P. Sydney varies this, stating ‘It is I, I am Osiris, stout of phallus...?’

¹⁷ ‘Flame of the flame’ in P. Sydney.

¹⁸ *ink pw ink Wsir i3w n ht i3w n ntr 5 iwꜥ n.it.f Gb nht hnn gnn rdwy nb nbi imdr rhyt*. Part of the paragraph was derived from BD 69, while the part about the legs, the flame, and the rampart represent new ideas. The text in P. Sydney terminates here.

¹⁹ This paragraph follows the general text for section *b* found in the other Late Period Theban Books of the Dead, although with revisions.

²⁰ *hnty* mistaken in P. Milan E 1023 as *m-ꜥ*, although even so the essential meaning is the same: ‘I am the bull in charge of his fields.’

²¹ *i ink k3 hnty sht.f*: so P. Louvre N 3082 and P. Milan E 1023, although the area with the opening *i* in P. Milan E 1023 and P. Cairo JE 97249 is lost.

²² *ink pw ink Wsir htm.n it.f Gb hnꜥ mwt.f Nwt*, in P. Milan E 1023. P. Louvre N 3082 adds ‘on the day of the great slaughter’ (*hrw pfy sꜥd ꜥ3*), as found in the text of BD 69; the rest of the paragraph was omitted in this document and the text resumes at ‘O he who drags ...’ P. Milan E 1023 becomes the only source for the remainder of the paragraph, with parts found in P. Cairo JE 97249.

²³ *ink Hr smsw hrw hꜥ.f*, surviving in P. Milan E 1023.

²⁴ [*ink pw*] *Inpw hrw sip*, P. Milan E 1023, where *ink pw* is lost but assumed by virtue of the same passage being found in BD 69. Regarding ‘examiner,’ the word in CT and some New Kingdom Books of the Dead is *sp3* ‘centipede,’ but the word is spelled differently in P. Milan E 1023 (Fig. 25), which is partially like *sip* and partially like *sp3*. The signs fit *Wb* III, 441.11, but that does not seem to have relevance to the context of this passage. Verhoeven (1993, 126) reads an almost identical spelling as ‘Abrechnung,’ and it is clearly not *sp3* ‘centipede,’ as found in P. Ryerson (Allen 1960, 116 and 144). The statement was included in P. Cairo JE 97249, but the word in question is lost, although it does appear to have the divine determinative and might not have had the reed leaf. Hence, with the word surviving in only one document, it is difficult to be certain what the scribe intended.

²⁵ *ink pw ink Wsir i3w iꜥb dd ... iry-ꜥ3 Wsir*. All text after *iꜥb* is lost in P. Cairo JE 97249. The text immediately following *iꜥb* in P. Milan E 1023 is also lost, but it can be partially reconstructed based on the text of BD 31 and 69 from other Theban traditions: *ink pw ink Wsir i3w ꜥꜥ dd iꜥb sšw iry-ꜥ3 Wsir*, ‘It is I, I am Osiris. Elder one, enter and tell the assembler of writings...’ but the order of the words in P. Milan E 1023 and P. Cairo JE 97249 differs with regard to what directly follows *i3w* and to the placement of *dd*. Thus this passage seems to show some reworking, but with some of the text now lost, it is impossible to determine if the revision represented new ideas, or rather represented an attempt to make sense out of a

O he who drags when searching,²⁶ he having performed ... (?),²⁷ may you rescue N from the elders who are in this month of offerings.²⁸

BD 33 offers a simple and brief example of new and revised text. Three versions can be observed in the Late Period, with the main difference between the first and third versions involving the opening invocation. In Version 1, the serpent Rerek is addressed, while in Version 3 the invocation is either to ‘every *hrr*-snake’ or ‘every *rr*-snake’ (Allen 1960, Verhoeven 1993).²⁹ For Version 2 (Fig. 28), found in five of our 11 documents, the entire opening has been revised with a new concept.³⁰ Further on, the passages dealing with the mouse and the bones of the putrefied cat have been reworked into a conditional statement that serves as an abominable threat to the serpent in question. The complete text of this short version is as follows:

I know your name, *Hf3w*-snake. Do not go against me! Behold, Geb and Shu have stood up against you. If you bite into me, you will have eaten a mouse, the abomination of Re, and you will have chewed the bones of an afflicted cat.³¹

The change to the opening of this spell renders it more personal than Versions 1 or 3, with the Gnostic knowledge of the serpent’s name making the subsequent imperative more commanding. The use of the conditional statement extends the notion of the threat introduced at the start of the spell. The apodosis should not be taken to infer that the deceased is a mouse or an injured cat; rather, it would seem to involve intelligent subterfuge played on the snake; if the snake thinks it is biting the deceased, it will actually be biting a mouse or a sick cat, not the deceased.

misunderstanding of the original source text.

²⁶ *i s3 m hhy*; see Fig. 26a for the text in P. Milan E 1023 and Fig. 26b for the text in P. Louvre N 3082. The opening *i* was omitted in P. Louvre N 3082, whether intentionally or by mistake. It is difficult to say who is invoked here.

²⁷ *ir.n.fpp(?)* in P. Louvre N 3082, where the reading of the final word is, frankly, a guess (Fig. 27). The two *p*-signs are certain, and the determinative is certain, but what is the lexical item? In P. Milan E 1023, the same word appears although the determinative is lost.

²⁸ The last part of the text in P. Cairo JE 97249 is lost, but it is present in both P. Louvre N 3082 and P. Milan E 1023: *nhm.k N m-ε i3w imyw 3bd pn htw*. The entire statement is completely new text, without precedent in BD 31 and 69.

²⁹ For the former, see *Wb* III, 150; for the latter, see *Wb* II, 438.12. Quite possibly the latter was actually meant to be the former, with the *h*-sign omitted.

³⁰ P. BM EA 10086, P. Louvre N 3082, P. Milan E 1023, P. Sydney (most now lost, but surviving portion shows this version), and P. Louvre E 6130.

³¹ *iw.i rh.kwi rn.k hf3 m sm r.i mk Gb Šw hε r.k ir psh.k im.i iw wnm.n.k pnw bwt Rε iw wšc.n.k ksw miw h3w*. P. Louvre N 3082 has *rn n* and omits the *r* of *r.i* in the first statement; P. Louvre E 6130 confused the hieratic for the suffix singular pronoun with the walking legs, while the scribe of P. BM EA 10086 added a stroke after the *r* of *r.i*, perhaps mistakenly thinking it meant ‘my mouth.’ For the final word, *hw3* ‘putrefied’ is to be expected, and this is found in P. Louvre E 6130, but P. BM EA 10086, P. Louvre N 3082 and P. Milan E 1023 spell it consistently as *h3w*. Either we regard this as an error for *hw3* or we read it as a variation of *h3t* ‘afflicted’ or ‘injured’ (*Wb* III, 7). In either case, the unpleasant nature of the statement is clear.

The text of BD 39 offers another example of a variety of different types of changes that define the tradition under discussion.³² Five versions of this spell can be observed in the Late Period, and each shows revision and reorganization. For four of the five, the text consists of a lengthy address by the deceased to the serpent mentioned in the title and then Re, followed by dialog from Atum, Geb, Hathor, Nut, gods in general, and Nut. In Version 2, however, the text was considerably shortened, now consisting of just an address by the deceased to the serpent referenced in the title, a short revised statement by Atum, and a revised statement by the gods in general, followed by an entirely new concluding statement.

The opening statement in the Saite P. Louvre N 3091, representing Version 1, reads as follows (Fig. 29):

Back you! Glide away! Withdraw with Apophis! May you swim to the pool of Nun, to the place where your father has commanded to make your slaughter.³³

In Version 2, a revision intended to provide new clarification is readily apparent (Fig. 30):

Back you! Glide away with Apophis!³⁴ May you swim to the pool,³⁵ to the place your father has commanded, in the windings that belongs to your father,³⁶ in order to make your guarding.³⁷

Two statements later we can observe further changes based on the reworking, either for new clarification or perhaps based on a misunderstanding. From P. Louvre N 3091 we find this passage (Fig. 31):

Back you! Sharp is your discharge. Fall to Re! Your face is turned upside down by the gods, your heart is cut out by Mafdet.³⁸

In Version 2, we find that the entire passage has been reworked although the essential meaning remains unchanged (Fig. 32):

Back you from the knife! Re has hurled down your face. It is the assembled gods who order your slaughter.³⁹

³² For a recent study of BD 39 that is primarily focused on New Kingdom versions of the spell, see Borghouts 2007.

³³ *ḥ3.k sbn inty m-^c 3pp mḥ.k r š Nw r bw wd.n it.k r ir š^cd.k im.*

³⁴ *inty* was deemed expendable and thus eliminated.

³⁵ The association of Nun with the pool was dropped.

³⁶ *m ḳ3b ny.it.k*; where *ḳ3b* is perhaps a reference to a winding waterway?

³⁷ *r ir s3w.k*. Apparently this is a holding area before the actual slaughter takes place, an action mentioned later in the text.

³⁸ *ḥ3.k mds šp.k shr n R^c pn ḥr.k in ntrw šdi ḥ3ty.k in M^cfdt.*

³⁹ *ḥ3.k m ds shr.n.R^c ḥr.k in ntrw dmd wd š^cd.k.*

The initial basis of the change involves reinterpreting *mds šp.k* in the Saite text. It is impossible to say whether the root of the change was a misreading of the term *mds* as *m ds*, but it is of no consequence as the master scribes correctly dropped *šp.k* that would have caused a problem with *m ds*. The next phrase was then changed from the Saite version by reinterpreting the imperative *šhr* as *šhr.n.f* and dropping the subsequent verb *pn^c*, with the resulting text making intelligent sense. Then *in* was changed from the Saite specification of agency attached to *pn^c* to fronting *ntrw* for emphasis. Now while one might argue that all of these changes came about from the initial misunderstanding of *mds*, which then led to further misunderstanding of the Saite text, the final phrase was not the result of any confusion but is instead an intelligent ending that also works in the slaughter of Apophis. When reflecting on the entire passage, I am more inclined to accept that the master scribes responsible for Version 2 did not like the Saite text and therefore revised it for better sense, at least in their opinion.

The remaining text of Version 2 follows, with the conclusion of the address to Apophis, followed by the statements from Atum and the gods, and finally a concluding new statement I have not observed in any other versions of BD 39.

The gods of the south, north, west, and east,⁴⁰ their fetters are on you. You are overthrown. You are thrown down [by] Aker, and you are fettered [by] he-who-is-over-the-coloured-inks. The heart is preserved in peace, in peace. Re, Apophis is fallen and the enemies of Re.⁴¹

Says Atum: Raise up ye faces, millions.⁴²

Say the gods: Receive ye offering cakes and travel around the pool of turquoise! Come we to he-who-is-in-his-shrine. Give ye adoration to him.⁴³

May ye rescue me from every *hf3w*-snake and every *ddfj*-snake that is in the necropolis like ye did on behalf of Osiris Wennefer, justified.⁴⁴

With regard to this new text that concludes the spell, its more general nature serves to protect the deceased not just from Apophis but from every other serpent as well. Further, there is no question that the sense expressed therein was derived from intelligent and informed thinking.

There is much more to be said about the texts of this particular Theban tradition under discussion here because many of the spells were revised to varying degrees. I have already

⁴⁰ The text stops here in P. BM EA 10086, and the remaining text is lost at this very point in P. Sydney.

⁴¹ *ntrw rsy mḥty imnty ḳḳs.sn im.k šhr.tw.k [in] 3kr ḳ3s.tw.k ḥry-ryt wd3 ib m ḥtp sp-sn R^c 3pp ḥr ḥftyw n R^c*. With regard to *ryt*, see *Wb* II, 399, 9. It seems to be a reference to Thoth, as pointed out by Allen (1960, 123, n. f), where the divine determinative follows the word.

⁴² *i-in Itm ts ḥr.tn ḥḥ*. Regarding the *i-in* construction, the actual writing is rendered like the interjection *i* ‘O’ in P. Louvre N 3082 (Fig. 33), but in the next statement it is *i-in*, and it thus appears that the scribe mistakenly omitted the *in* element in the first statement.

⁴³ *i-in ntrw šsp p3wtjw.tn phr š mkk3t mi n imyw k3rt.f rdi.tn n.f i3w*.

⁴⁴ *nḥm.tn wi m ḥf3w nb ddfyw nb nty m ḥrt-ntr mi ir.tn ḥr Wsir Wn-nfr m3^c-ḥrw*. This statement is only found complete in P. Louvre N 3082 and P. Louvre E 6130, but the fragments in P. Cairo JE 97249 indicate that it too had the statement.

discussed some spells elsewhere, and it is hoped that the discussions presented above will whet the interest in a coming publication that will address all versions of texts.⁴⁵ A point has been made above to observe that the changes made in this tradition were typically executed with full understanding of the subject matter, and the results demonstrate intelligent thinking on the part of the master scribes who were responsible for assembling the texts of the tradition. This is a vital point to bear in mind because one continues to read statements implying that the Late Period texts, if they diverged from New Kingdom paradigms, were the result of corruption and scribal confusion.⁴⁶ On the contrary, each of the Late Period traditions often demonstrates thoughtful intelligence behind their respective revisions. This is not to say that one does not find occasional confusion in passages that seem to ignore grammatical rules or are difficult to comprehend. In some cases, scribal errors committed by the master scribes are certain, but in other instances the problems encountered in texts might be due to our own shortcomings. For example, grammar for texts written in Middle Egyptian style might well have evolved considerably by the era of the Late Period, and the rules of Middle Egyptian that we would like to impose on Late Period texts might no longer be valid.

The vignettes

The use of specific versions of vignettes provides supporting evidence of the tradition, although to a much lesser degree than the versions of texts. Indeed, the versions of vignettes used by this tradition were not exclusive to the tradition but were rather used by one other Theban tradition as well as by a subset of documents that belonged to a third Theban tradition, as will become clear in the examples that follow. Further, it is not the case that versions of vignettes were so firmly fixed that individual artistic expression was stifled. One can occasionally observe vignettes that reveal individual artistic expression added to a standardized illustration. Further, in some cases one might argue artistic error instead of individual variation. See, for example, figure 34, which represents the common illustration used for BD 131, and figure 35, which perhaps offers an embellished individual variation, although with the sun-disk omitted, perhaps by error.

As with the texts, the scope of this publication does not permit a discussion about each vignette used by the tradition, thus a small set of representative examples is provided to demonstrate some of the versions of vignettes used, with comparison to other versions of vignettes used by other Theban traditions. Since this portion of this essay introduces other Theban traditions, all Late Period Book of the Dead traditions are listed below with a subset of documents that belong to each. As stated further above, the primary criteria for identifying each tradition is based on the versions of texts used by each tradition, with other aspects forming secondary criteria. This list of traditions will be referenced for each version of vignette discussed.

⁴⁵ BD 15a–b, 15g, 15i and 72 were translated in Mosher 2002, 72–95; BD 19 was translated in Mosher 2008. The future publication will be a multi-volume set, with the initial volume covering BD 1 to 64, and subsequent volumes dealing with the remaining spells.

⁴⁶ See Borghouts 2007, 10, where he states that his synoptic transcriptions of the text of BD 39 reflect the ‘vicissitudes of the text through time,’ further stating that the Late Period texts ‘were generally disregarded.’

Saite-Memphite Tradition P. Louvre N 3091, P. Vatican 48823, P. Nespasefy,
P. Iahtesnacht, P. Louvre N 5450, P. Louvre N 3084.⁴⁷

This tradition was used in Thebes as well as Memphis during the Saite Period, and it continued to be used in the Memphite area throughout the Ptolemaic Period. At some point during Dynasty 30 in Thebes, however, this tradition was replaced by the Theban examples that follow. Thus, features that might have been used in Theban and Memphite areas during the Saite Period often only appear in Memphite documents during the Ptolemaic Period.

P. BM EA 10086 group The full set of documents belonging to this group has been presented further above.

Louvre N 3152 group P. Louvre N 3152, P. Louvre N 3232, P. Louvre N 3143,
P. BMFA 92.2583, P. Louvre N 7716, P. Louvre N 3087.⁴⁸

The texts of this Theban tradition are usually based on Saite tradition, but occasionally show elements of the tradition represented by the P. BM EA 10086 group.

Louvre N 3079 group P. Louvre N 3079, P. Louvre N 3086, P. Louvre N 3129,
P. Louvre N 3249, P. BM EA 10087, P. Leiden T16.⁴⁹

The texts of this Theban tradition are usually based on the Saite tradition and occasionally that of the Louvre N 3152 group. The documents P. Louvre N 3079 and P. Louvre N 3144 form a special subset because they typically used vignettes used by the P. BM EA 10086 and Louvre N 3152 groups, whereas the greater subset of documents for the Louvre N 3079 group typically used different versions, versions also found in the Louvre N 3089 and Ryerson groups.

Louvre N 3089 group P. Louvre N 3089, P. Louvre N 3248, P. Louvre N 3272,
P. BM EA 10257, P. Detroit 1988.

The texts of this Theban group are usually based on the tradition represented by the Louvre N 3079 group.

Ryerson group P. Ryerson, P. Louvre N 3145, P. Louvre N 3255,
P. BM EA 10311.⁵⁰

The texts of this Theban tradition are usually based on that represented by the Louvre N 3089 group, but occasionally they show a preference for the older Saite texts, thereby omitting changes introduced in the traditions represented by the Louvre N 3152, Louvre N 3079, and Louvre N 3089 groups. It must also be admitted that the boundary lines between the Louvre N 3089, Ryerson, and Hieroglyphic groups are not hard and fast. For example, P.

⁴⁷ For P. Nespasefy, see Verhoeven 1999; for P. Iahtesnacht, see Verhoeven 1993.

⁴⁸ P. Louvre N 3087 is listed further above as a secondary document that contains a small set of texts that belong to the P. BM EA 10086 group, but it also contains some spells that belong to this tradition, as well as other spells that belong to later Theban traditions.

⁴⁹ The only published documents are P. Louvre N 3079 (de Rougé 1861–76) and P. Leiden T16 (Leemans 1869).

⁵⁰ The only published document of this group is P. Ryerson (Allen 1960).

Detroit 1988 has texts that usually follow those of the Louvre N 3089 group, but occasionally they follow those of the Ryerson group. Having a mixture of texts from the current and preceding traditions is not surprising, if documents were produced during the transitional periods between one tradition and the next.

Hieroglyphic group P. Turin 1791, P. BM EA 10017, P. Louvre N 3094,
P. Louvre N 3096, P. Louvre N 3100.

The texts of this Theban tradition more often than not appear to be based on the Saite traditions, but also often show elements from the Louvre N 3089 and Ryerson groups.

The first vignette for discussion is that of BD 27, for which two versions were used in the Late Period. In Version 1, the deceased kneels or stands in supplication, holding his/her heart, before the Four Sons of Horus (Fig. 36). There are two possibilities regarding whom the Four Sons of Horus represent. The spell opens with an address: ‘O seizer of hearts, who break open breasts...’⁵¹ Alternatively, a little further along in the text a second invocation occurs: ‘Hail to ye lords of eternity, who establish everlasting, seize not this my heart...’⁵² While I have only had the opportunity to examine one Saite document with this illustration, this basic illustration can be observed in P. BM EA 10097, a seemingly fourth century BC document that appears to follow the Saite texts and presumably the Saite illustrations (Fig. 37),⁵³ as well as in later Memphite documents. Curiously, in these same documents the vignettes for BD 26 and 27 were often paired together, where the deceased, holding his/her heart, is depicted in supplication before his/her *ba*, representing BD 26, followed by the Four Sons of Horus representing BD 27 (Gasse 2001, Pl VII; see Fig. 38 for a variation on this). This pairing can also be observed in the mummy bandages of Padiusir (Fig. 39) and the secondary P. Louvre E 6130 (Fig. 40), two documents that belong to the P. BM EA 10086 group and that have connections to the Memphite tradition.

The other documents of the P. BM EA 10086 group, however, used Version 2 of the illustration: the deceased, holding his/her heart, kneels or stands in supplication before the three mummiform male deities seated on a plinth. Undoubtedly, they represent the same personages as Version 1, although here their identity has been removed (Figs. 41–44). Further, this version can also be observed in documents belonging to the Louvre N 3152 group as well as the two documents belonging to the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079 subgroup (Figs. 45–48). It would seem that the Saite vignette was re-evaluated, that the Four Sons of Horus were no longer considered appropriate for the context of the spell and its illustration, and that the three unmarked deities replaced the Sons. Version 1, however, was revived and used once again for the other documents of the greater subset of the Louvre N 3079 group as well as for the Louvre N 3089, Ryerson, and Hieroglyphic groups (Fig. 49).

There is another curiosity associated with Version 2. For those documents that used it, the vignette was commonly placed with the text of BD 26, with the vignette of BD 26 placed with the text of BD 27, a reversal that can be observed in the P. BM EA 10086 and Louvre N

⁵¹ *i it ibw ngi h3tyw*. The forms of *it* and *ngi* appear to be singular, but the use of the second person plural pronoun further on indicates that they were understood as plural.

⁵² *ind hr.tn n3 nbw hḥ grg dt m it ib.i pn*.

⁵³ de Meulenaere 1989, 63–73.

3152 groups, and the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079. Why the vignettes should have been reversed and thereby placed with the wrong text is difficult to explain because the vignette of BD 27 has no connection with the text of BD 26, whereas the correct pairing of the vignette to the text of BD 27 has direct bearing. Perhaps this was a mistake that crept into the original master manuscript of the tradition when Version 2 was introduced, and was then dutifully copied to all subsequent documents of the tradition, as well as to other traditions that used Version 2.

BD 28 is another heart spell, and the text begins with an invocation to Ruty, followed shortly after by a reference to the warrior (or warriors) in Heliopolis who seizes hearts. Two versions of the vignette exist that depict the same basic scene, the deceased in supplication before a seated mummiform god on a plinth, who likely represents the warrior, with a representation of the heart of the deceased resting on a plinth between them. The title of the spell is ‘Spell for not allowing the heart (*h3ty*) of a man to be seized from him in the necropolis,’ and to this end the deceased is depicted in supplication to the potential seizer of his/her heart. The difference between the two versions rests on the depiction of the heart. In Version 1, found in Saite and later Memphite documents, the heart appears generalized as an oval shaped object with a generalized anatomical depiction of the vena cava and pulmonary arteries resting over the top (Figs. 50–51), an illustration that can also be seen in P. BM EA 10097 from Thebes (mid-fourth century BC, Fig. 52). In Version 2, found in the P. BM EA 10086 and Louvre N 3152 groups as well as the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079, the representation of the heart has greater definition with regard to the incoming veins and the outgoing arteries, with what seems to be a generalized view of the blood vessels exterior to the heart (Figs. 53–54). The same definition of the heart appears in figures 55–57, but the depiction of the vessels has partial resemblance to the generalized vessels of Version 1. As was the case with BD 27, the greater subset of the Louvre N 3079 group reverted back to Version 1, as did the documents of the subsequent traditions (Fig. 58). Further, as was the case with BD 27, the mummy bandages of Padiusir and P. Louvre E 6130 once again used Version 1, found in other Memphite documents (Figs. 59–60).

BD 35 belongs to the set of serpent spells and is entitled ‘Spell for not allowing a man to be eaten in the necropolis by any snake (*h3w*).’ I have not had the opportunity to observe a Saite or later Memphite document with the vignette of this spell. The familiar illustration one expects is Version 1, which can be observed in the Louvre N 3089 and Ryerson groups as well as in the greater subset of the Louvre N 3079 group, where the deceased is depicted spearing an advancing serpent, a scene clearly based on the title of the spell, where one can also observe artistic variety in the depiction of the serpent (Figs. 61–64). In contrast to these scenes, Version 2 appears to have been based on the importance of Osiris, where a passage early in the text states that Osiris is gladdened. Accordingly, we see the deceased standing in adoration before Osiris, who is typically depicted standing and holding a *w3s*-scepter, crook, and flail. Version 2 can be observed in the BM EA 10086 and Louvre N 3152 groups, as well as in the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079 group (Figs. 65–69).

The text of BD 39 has been discussed further above, and two versions of the vignette for this spell can be observed in the Late Period. Once again, I have not been able to observe a vignette for the spell in the Saite documents I have seen, but Version 1 can be seen in later Memphite documents as well as in P. BM EA 10097 (mid-fourth century BC). While the title

of the spell does not mention Apophis, the text in all versions of the spell largely concerns the driving off and slaughtering of this fearsome enemy of Re. Accordingly, we see the deceased spearing and driving back an enormous snake that doubtless represents the monstrous Apophis (Figs. 70–72). Version 1 can also be observed in the greater subset of the Louvre N 3079 group as well as in the subsequent Louvre N 3089, Ryerson, and Hieroglyphic groups (Figs. 73–77). In contrast to this, Version 2 was based on the passage translated further above, wherein the gods of the four cardinal points are said to have fettered Apophis. Accordingly, we see a generalized scene of the deceased spearing and driving back four serpents, each doubtless representing an advancing serpent from one of the four cardinal points (Figs. 78–83). Version 2 once again is found in the P. BM EA 10086 and Louvre N 3152 groups as well as the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079 group. As was the case with vignettes for other spells discussed above, P. Louvre E 6130, a document with a clear Memphite connection, features Version 1.

For the final example, one can observe two versions of the vignette for BD 63 in the Late Period, both of which are based on the title of the spell: ‘Spell for drinking water and not being parched by fire.’ While the Late Period text of BD 63 was ultimately derived from two New Kingdom spells identified as BD 63A and 63B, these two references no longer make sense in the context of Late Period Books of the Dead because the texts of the two were clearly regarded as a single spell in the Late Period. One can observe five versions of the text in the Late Period. With four of the five, the text does consist of two parts that were based on the earlier BD 63A and 63B, but there was only a single title in the Late Period, and the second part, revised from the earlier BD 63B, was preceded by *ky dd* (‘variant’). This issue is of even greater relevance to the tradition discussed here because this version of the text collapsed both parts into a contiguous set of statements without the intervening *ky dd*, where the text was also revised and shortened, clearly being regarded as a single spell.

Once again, I have not had the opportunity to observe Saite vignettes for this spell, but the vignette in P. BM EA 10097 may very well have been based on the Saite version, as with the other illustrations discussed above. Unfortunately the right side of this illustration is now lost, but on the left side we can see a fire pot and the missing part was very likely the same as that seen in later Memphite documents (Figs. 84–86). Indeed, P. BM EA 10558 and P. Louvre N 5450 both used the same sign for a brazier with flame, in contrast to the more common sign for a fire pot that was widely used for the illustration, as seen in that of P. BM EA 10097. With regard to the overall illustration, identified as Version 1, the fire pot and deceased receiving water illustrate the title of the spell; in spite of the presence of the fire sign, the deceased receives an abundance of water, graphically illustrating that the deceased will never be parched by the fire. The same illustration can also be observed in documents for the greater subset of the Louvre N 3079 group as well as in documents from the Louvre N 3089, Ryerson, and Hieroglyphic groups (Figs. 87–91). A new variation can be observed in four documents that will be discussed a little further below (Figs. 92–95).

In contrast, Version 2 completely omits the element of fire and focuses instead on the deceased receiving water from a sycamore, a scene that was doubtless derived from the illustrations used for BD 57 and 59. Version 2 can be observed in P. BM EA 10086 and P. Louvre N 3082 (Figs. 96–97) as well as in the Louvre N 3152 group (Fig. 98) and the lesser subset of the N 3079 group, including P. BM EA 10087, a document that belongs to the

greater N 3079 subset (Figs. 99–101). Curiously, the illustration in P. Christchurch follows the similar variation of Version 1 that one can observe in P. Louvre N 5450 (Fig. 86), where the goddess offering water to the deceased might in fact have been understood as the goddess often depicted in the tree of Version 2 (Fig. 101), although P. Christchurch included the additional figure of the seated mummiform god with *w3s*-scepter (Fig. 103). More likely, the latter deity was added to fill out the space allocated for the vignette because the column over which the vignette appears was too wide for Version 1 or Version 2 by itself. Similarly, the illustration in P. Milan E 1023 also follows that of Version 1 (Fig. 103), although the right side of the scene is now lost. The fact that these two documents used a different illustration to that of the other documents in the tradition is discussed further below.

Any discussion of the vignette used for BD 63 inevitably invites a discussion of BD 61, for which two versions of the vignette existed in the Late Period. The more common Version 2 shows the deceased standing and holding an air-sign. This illustration has no bearing at all on the text of the spell, but seems to have been indirectly based on its title, ‘Another spell.’ This generic title points to the preceding spell, but BD 60 has the same title, which then points back to BD 59. The title of BD 59 in Saite and later Memphite documents, as well as in Theban documents of the P. BM EA 10086, Louvre N 3152, and Hieroglyphic groups was ‘Spell for drinking water in the necropolis,’ but the title was revised to ‘Spell for breathing air in the necropolis’ in documents of the Louvre N 3079, Louvre N 3089, and Ryerson groups. With regard to BD 59, however, one main version of the vignette can be observed: the deceased receiving bread and water from a sycamore tree, within which the goddess Nut or Hathor (the regalia is typically that of Hathor) was often depicted, owing to the opening invocation of the spell, ‘O sycamore of Nut’ (Figs. 104–5). It should also be noted that this goddess was not exclusively used for BD 59 because she can also often appear in the vignette of BD 57. When the title for BD 59 was revised to ‘Spell for Breathing Air in the Necropolis,’ it seems that the vignette was also revised by adding the air-sign to the hand of the deceased, as can be seen in many, but not all, of the documents with the revised title (Figs. 106–7). In these same documents, the illustration used for BD 60 and 61 was based on the revised title of BD 59, and thus we see the deceased depicted with the orientation of one having gone forth and holding an air sign (Version 2, Fig. 108). With regard to the Hieroglyphic group, the title for BD 59 appears to have reverted back to the Saite title, but the vignettes for BD 60 and 61 continued to be based on the revision of the title of BD 59 found in the Louvre N 3079, Louvre N 3089, and Ryerson groups, at least as regards the only hieroglyphic document with certain vignettes for BD 60 and 61 that I have seen, P. Turin 1791 (Iwefankh).

The issue of interest involving Version 1 of the illustration for BD 61 is its very representation. For the documents of the P. BM EA 10086 and Louvre N 3152 groups, as well as the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079 group, a different illustration was used (Version 1, Figs. 109–12). This illustration can also be observed in P. BM EA 10097 (mid-fourth century BC), where it precedes the illustration of BD 63, thereby making it absolutely clear that this illustration and that of BD 63 represented different spells (Fig. 113). Neither illustration is aligned with the texts of these two spells in this document, but these were standardized vignettes and were doubtless immediately recognized by the Egyptians for the spells they represented, just as they are for the modern scholar.

This same illustration can also be observed in P. Iahtesnacht (Dynasty 26), where it precedes the illustration of BD 64. Verhoeven identified the illustration not as that of BD 61 but rather of BD 63A–B (Fig. 114; Verhoeven 1993, 54). Neither of these two illustrations is aligned with the text of these two spells; in fact they appear above the tail end of the text of BD 68 and BD 69–71. Hence, there is no reason to take the illustration as that of BD 63 based on alignment. Similarly, in the mummy bandages that belonged to a man named Hor, a string of vignettes occur that have been identified as illustrations for BD 54, 59, 57, and 63A (Kockelmann 2008, pl. 53). The reason for identifying the second and third illustrations for BD 59 and 57 appears to have been entirely based on the presence of the goddess within the sycamore, who dispenses bread and water to the deceased, leading Kockelmann to identify the first as the vignette of BD 59 and the second, without the goddess, as BD 57. As stated above, however, the goddess can often be observed frequently in the vignette for BD 57, the sequence of texts in the document is linear (BD 57 to 63), and thus there is no valid reason not to identify these scenes as vignettes for BD 57 and 59, respectively. With respect to the vignette Kockelmann identified as BD 63A, there is no reason to assume it is the illustration of BD 63. Indeed the aforementioned string of vignettes appears above the texts of BD 59, 60, 61, and 62. Finally, in the hieroglyphic Book of the Dead of yet another Hor we can observe the same two illustrations found in P. BM EA 10097 presented side by side; the first (Version 1 of BD 61 above) was identified as the vignette of BD 63A, and the second (Version 1 of BD 63 above) as the vignette of BD 63B (Munro 2006, 60, pl. 5). As stated above, the designations of BD 63A and 63B have no bearing in the Late Period because it was recognized as a single spell with two parts, and in all documents I have seen, only a single illustration was ever used for BD 63, either Version 1 or Version 2 listed above. The second illustration in the Book of the Dead of Hor (Munro 2006) is unmistakably that of Version 1 of BD 63, even though it stands above the text of BD 85 in her document. Should the first illustration, located above the text of BD 63 be identified as that of BD 63 simply because it stands above the text of BD 63? Indeed, other clearly identifiable vignettes in this document are not aligned with their texts either: the vignette of BD 64 appears above the text of BD 80, and the vignettes of BD 47, 50, and 51 appear above the text of BD 85. Since examples of misalignment between illustrations and texts can be observed in this same area of the papyrus, one can equally argue that the illustration above the text of BD 63 was also misaligned. Two facts stand out: we have no clear example of any Late Period document giving two vignettes for BD 63, and the illustration in question is indeed found clearly associated with the text of BD 61 in the P. BM EA 10086 and Louvre N 3152 groups as well as the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079 group. Therefore, in this document, it is preferable to regard the illustration above the text of BD 63 as the vignette of BD 61, and identify the vignette above the text of BD 85 as the illustration for BD 63. This makes sense for P. BM EA 10097, and does for the manuscript of Hor (Munro 2006). In the case of the other Hor (Kockelmann 2008), the illustration does in fact occur above the text of BD 61 and 62, but since BD 62 was rarely accompanied by a vignette in the Late Period, there is no reason to identify the illustration in question as any other than that of BD 61. Similarly there is no reason to accept the illustration in P. Iahtesnacht as representative of anything other than BD 61, particularly where we have clear examples of that illustration aligned with the text of BD 61.

In three documents from Memphis that give every indication of being late Ptolemaic, based on the poor quality of their texts and their paleography, Version 1 of BD 61 occurs above the text of BD 63. Three possibilities can explain this: (1) the vignette of BD 61 had been reassigned to the text of BD 63, (2) the artist made a mistake, or (3) the vignette for BD 61 was knowingly presented over the text of BD 63 to deliver the magic of both spells in a single column. With regard to the first of these (Fig. 115), P. Louvre N 3081 contains a number of problems involving vignettes aligned with the wrong texts: vignette of BD 68 over text of BD 51, vignette of BD 71 over text of BD 52, vignette of BD 73 over text of BD 53, vignette of BD 132 over text of BD 134. Therefore, the presence of the vignette of BD 61 over the text of BD 63 is very likely evidence of yet another mistake of misalignment between text and vignette. In fact, since the texts of BD 61 and 132 were not included in the document, one might also argue that the scribe and artist intended the magic of BD 61 and 132 to be provided only by illustration, a concept that is obvious in many abridged documents from the late Ptolemaic Period (for example, Mosher 1992, 171). With regard to the second document, P. Vienna Nationalbibliothek Aeg 65 (Fig. 116), any of the three explanations given above might apply here too. For example, the vignette of BD 100 is presented over the text of BD 96, vignettes of BD 101, 104, 105, and 108 are given over the text of BD 99, vignette of BD 130 over the text of BD 127, vignettes of BD 134 and 138 over the text of BD 128, and part of the vignette of BD 140 over the text of BD 129. These might be the result of errors, but one might equally argue that these vignettes, whose texts were not given in the document, were intended to deliver the magic of their spells by illustration alone. The third document is P. Louvre E 6130 (Fig. 117), one of the two secondary documents associated with the tradition discussed here. As with the previous two documents, one of the same three arguments listed above may explain why the vignette identified here as Version 1 of BD 61 appears above the text of BD 63. Given the presentation of a number of vignettes over the wrong texts in all three documents, there is absolutely no concrete evidence to conclude that the vignette of BD 61 was reassigned to the text of BD 63 any more than all the other misplaced vignettes had been reassigned to different texts.

As for the illustration itself, it is directly based on the text of BD 61, for which I have only observed a single version of this very short text in the Late Period:

It is I. I am he who came forth from the flood waters given to him as the inundation, that he might have power over it (i.e., the flood waters) as Hapi.

Accordingly, we see two streams of water rising up from a large bowl, like the rising waters of the inundation, pouring forth to the deceased. In the illustrations of P. BM EA 10097 (Fig. 113) and P. Louvre E 6130 (Fig. 117), the deceased holds a vase. This could represent water of the inundation being poured from the vase, but it could also represent the water of the inundation flowing up from the bowl into the vase.

One final topic regarding BD 61 and 63 remains with respect to the Ryerson, Detroit, Louvre N 3145, and Louvre N 3090 papyri (Figs. 92–95). Recall that each of these used Version 2 of the vignette for BD 61 with the text of that spell. In looking at the illustrations for BD 63 in these documents, it would seem that Version 1 of BD 63 was merged with Version 1 of BD 61, doubtless serving the same purpose as in the latter: the waters of

the inundation rising up to the deceased and thereby preventing the deceased from being parched, as the title of BD 63 proclaims.

Dating the tradition

Dating any tradition, or even an individual Book of the Dead manuscript, is a complex and potentially controversial topic, and one need only reflect on three opinions for the Akhmim Books of the Dead. I have proposed a late Ptolemaic date, perhaps late first century BC, for this group (Mosher 2002). In contrast, De Meulenaere proposed an early to mid-third century BC date (2002, 492–93), while Derchain-Urtel prefers a late first century AD date (Derchain-Urtel in Lüscher 2000, 44–45). This current essay is not the forum for further discussion on that topic, but the latitude of opinions on the Akhmim documents serves to illustrate the problems one faces when attempting to date Late Period Books of the Dead.

As has been stated above, one can observe six general Theban traditions from the fourth century down to the late Ptolemaic Period. The fundamental question one must ask oneself is whether these traditions represent chronological evolution over time, or whether some might have been in use concurrently with others. In general, it seems that most scholars who have developed typologies for the different styles of funerary equipment tend to view differences in style as representative of chronological evolution, and admittedly the current author had assumed the same with regard to the different traditions of the Book of the Dead in the Late Period without ever considering the possibility of concurrent usage for some traditions. If one can demonstrate concurrency with regard to some Books of the Dead, why should the same not also apply to other types of funerary equipment during the Late Period? With regard to the texts, one can see a clear succession of traditions from the Louvre N 3079 group to the Louvre N 3089 group because the texts of the Louvre N 3089 group were based on changes introduced in the Louvre N 3079 group. Similarly, one can observe that the changes introduced in the Ryerson group were largely based on changes introduced in the Louvre N 3089 group, along with the start of an archaizing trend wherein some older Saite passages were restored. The Hieroglyphic group introduced new variations based largely on changes introduced in the Ryerson group, although by this time the archaizing trend was in full force. The relationship between P. BM EA 10086 and Louvre N 3152 groups, however, is much less clear, although both were clearly derived from the Saite Tradition.

It is appropriate here to discuss some of the preliminary findings resulting from a collaboration between Tamás Mekis, who is developing a typology for hypocephali, and myself. These findings may stimulate others into reflecting on the issue, not just with regard to Late Period Books of the Dead but with regard to other types of contemporary funerary equipment. The first topic for discussion involves the family tree of Djedhor, the deceased of P. Louvre N 3079 (Fig. 118; de Meulenaere 1994, 216–20).

The Book of the Dead of Djedhor obviously belongs to the Louvre N 3079 group, the Book of the Dead of Nestanetjeretten belongs to the Louvre N 3152 group, and the Book

of the Dead of Nehemesretawy belongs to the Louvre N 3079 group.⁵⁴ If this family tree cannot be disproven, then we have clear evidence that the Louvre N 3152 and Louvre N 3079 groups were used concurrently. Further, recall that the versions of vignettes found in the Louvre N 3152 group could also be observed in the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079 group, specifically P. Louvre N 3079 and P. Louvre N 3144, even though the texts in these two documents contain the same texts found in the other documents of the Louvre N 3079 group.

Interestingly, P. Leiden T16 belongs to the Louvre N 3079 group, and Raven has provided reasonable evidence to date this document to the turn of the fourth to third centuries BC (1980, 28–29). If this timeframe for P. Leiden T16 holds up, then it also provides a general timeframe for both the Louvre N 3079 and Louvre N 3152 groups.

A second family tree, that of the brothers Nesmin and Hornefer, also has significant bearing on the dating of the traditions discussed here (Fig. 119; Kákosy 2003, 207). This Nesmin was a royal scribe and is well known to us today, with his name appearing on documents that date from 305–264 BC (Clarysse 1981, 83, no. 5569a). His brother is none other than the Hornefer of P. Milan E 1023, a document that belongs to the P. BM EA 10086 group under discussion here. It would also seem that fragments of the Book of the Dead for Nesmin have survived: P. Vatican 38572/1 and possibly P. Vatican 38572/2 (Gasse 1993, 43–45, nos. 28 and 30). Unfortunately this Book of the Dead is highly fragmented, with only parts of BD 51, 54, 74, 77, 109, and 100 having been published. While the surviving texts of BD 77, 109, and 100 reveal nothing about the versions selected, enough of the text for BD 54 survives to indicate that it followed the same version of text as that in Hornefer's Book of the Dead (P. BM EA 10086 group). Regarding BD 51 and 74, too little survives to be certain about the versions of texts they had, but enough survives to indicate that they may also have followed the same versions as those found in Hornefer's. It should not be surprising that both brothers would have had Books of the Dead produced from the same tradition, but one can also point out that the Books of the Dead for Djedhor and his sister Nestanetjeretten came from different traditions.

Regarding Nesmin's nephew, Paheb appears with his uncle on a tax document dated to 278 BC, indicating that he was active in his career at least by this time (Muhs 2005, 69–70, with further references). The Book of the Dead for Paheb appears to be P. Milan E 1204, but unfortunately only a small portion of the text of BD 15g is preserved along with the vignette known as BD 16. Enough of the text of BD 15g survives, however, to indicate that it did not follow the text of the P. BM EA 10086 group. Indeed, it clearly follows the textual tradition found in the Louvre N 3079 and Louvre N 3089 groups. Further conclusions cannot be drawn from this one fragment of the papyrus.

Given the range of dates that can be attributed to Nesmin and the general dates we have for the members of the two family trees presented above, it becomes immediately clear that the Theban traditions represented by the P. BM EA 10086, Louvre N 3152, and Louvre N 3079 groups must have coexisted in the Theban area and were thus in use concurrently. In reflecting back on the versions of vignettes examined above, it is not surprising that the P. BM EA 10086 and Louvre N 3152 groups as well as the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079 group

⁵⁴ P. Louvre N 3204 B also belongs to P. Louvre N 3149 and the Bonn database adds P. Louvre N 3123 *bis* and N 3213. I have not seen these last two documents.

typically used the same versions of vignettes. Whether these three traditions were produced concurrently in the same workshops or in different workshops in the greater Theban area remains uncertain. It would seem probable that different workshops were involved, but this is conjecture. Further, while we can observe the tradition of the Louvre N 3079 group being replaced by the tradition of the Louvre N 3089 group, we have no evidence to indicate when the tradition of the P. BM EA 10086 group ended, nor for that matter when the tradition of the Louvre N 3152 group ended.

With regard to the issue of concurrency involving other funerary objects, one can mention the funerary stela of two individuals named in the two family trees above. The stela of (Ta) Hereret, sister of Nesmin and Hornefer, has been designated as Theban Type IV A, which Munro dates to the general range of 300–250 BC.⁵⁵ The funerary stela of Nestanetjeretten (Munro 1973, pl. 20, fig. 73) belongs to Theban Type IV E, a type for which he gave a general range of dates from the mid- to late Ptolemaic Period.⁵⁶ From the two family trees presented above, however, we know that these two women were doubtless contemporaries. Thus, it appears that we have a clear case of two different types of stela used concurrently in Thebes during the first half of the third century. Since the validity of these two types representing chronological change is no longer the case, one must reconsider the other aspects of Munro's chronological typology for all stela. Further, if concurrency applies to Books of the Dead and stela, one must ask whether concurrency might also apply to existing chronological typologies for other funerary objects.

Conclusion

The P. BM EA 10086 group is set apart from the other Theban traditions first and foremost by the versions of the texts it contains. More conclusions can doubtless be drawn from the texts, but the texts of some spells still require analysis and hence the conclusions presented here should be viewed as preliminary in nature. On the other hand, BD 1 to 100 have been studied, along with a number of random spells from BD 101 to 165, so the claims made above are not based on analysis of just a small sample of spells. The texts that were discussed above were not singled out for any special reason because the types of changes observed above can be seen in the majority of spells found in the tradition. In all texts examined thus far, they were modified from Saite versions, not from versions of any other Theban traditions. As for the relationship between this tradition and those of the other Theban groups, further discussion will appear in a future publication.

We have observed several interesting variations in sequence for the tradition, particularly the location of the vignette for BD 16, and to a lesser extent the inverted sequence of BD 60, 62, and 61. We have also observed some consistency with regard to the omission of BD 48, 49, 56, and 58, but P. Christchurch is the exception, having both BD 48 and 49, as well as having part of the text of BD 56 merged into the text of BD 54, using a version of BD 56 that belongs to the Louvre N 3079 group.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ For the stela of (Ta)Hereret, see Kákósy 1992, 311–15 and pl. IV. For type IV A, see Munro 1973, 235–37 and pls. 18–19 for examples.

⁵⁶ Mekis has prepared an extensive article on the funerary equipment of Nestanetjeretten, to appear in *CdE*.

⁵⁷ *iw.i ir:k b3.i nb.i Tm phr Zūt wr pn hr rn n N*, after which the text terminates in P. Christchurch.

For the vignettes used by the tradition, many represent different versions from those used during the Saite Period and later in the third century BC, and these versions were also used in documents belonging to the Louvre N 3152 group and the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079 group. This indicates that during the late fourth century BC and into the early third century BC, one common set of vignettes was used in Thebes for all three traditions, and that these illustrations were revised to reflect different perspectives on the associated spells, whose texts were also revised.

One peculiarity that needs to be accounted for is the fact that the lesser subset of the Louvre N 3079 group used the same versions of vignettes as the P. BM EA 10086 and Louvre N 3152 groups, but the texts in these two documents follow those of the greater subset of the Louvre N 3079 group. One suggestion seems possible. It may well be the case that P. Louvre N 3079 and P. Louvre N 3144 were among the earliest documents produced by the new tradition represented by the Louvre N 3079 group, that the texts of the tradition were developed first, and that initially the same versions of vignettes used by the other two traditions were employed. The vignettes were then revised by the master scribes and artists responsible for the new tradition, who often chose to revert back to Saite illustrations or sometimes chose new illustrations to reflect their re-evaluation of the texts and their individual purposes.

A second peculiarity concerns the mummy bandages of Padiusir and P. Louvre E 6130. As stated above, both have obvious connections to the Memphite tradition. The mummy bandages follow the same versions of texts as the other documents of the P. BM EA 10086 group. For P. Louvre E 6130, a secondary document, only a range of spells followed these versions of texts, with the majority following the texts of the Memphite tradition. Both documents, however, employed versions of vignettes used in the Memphite tradition, not those of the P. BM EA 10086 group. With regard to the mummy bandages, an explanation is difficult. Perhaps the deceased was originally from the north, he moved south to Thebes, and he had a Book of the Dead inscribed on mummy bandages following the Memphite practice he had been accustomed to, and he used the Theban texts while preferring the Memphite vignettes. This is admittedly speculation. Regarding P. Louvre E 6130, the quality of texts in this document is poor and the texts are highly abbreviated, sometimes consisting of only a few lines per spell. Since one encounters excellent texts in Memphite documents during the third century, one can speculate that this document was produced later in the Ptolemaic Period, when perhaps a manuscript from Thebes was brought to Memphis? It is clear that when this document was produced, the scribe or scribes responsible for the texts used both the Memphite tradition as well as that of the P. BM EA 10086 group, but why the one range of texts were reproduced from a manuscript of the P. BM EA 10086 group, when all other texts and indeed all vignettes were taken from the Memphite tradition remains a mystery.

P. Louvre N 3087, the other secondary document, must also be accounted for. Interestingly, this document has only a small set of texts that follow those of the P. BM EA 10086 group; other texts follow those of the Louvre N 3152 group, and yet other texts follow those of the later Theban groups.⁵⁸ The majority of its vignettes, however, follow the versions used by the P. BM EA 10086 group. The fact that this document contains texts from different Theban versions hints that it was likely produced later in the Ptolemaic Period. Clearly the vignette

⁵⁸ For example, it has the same version of text for BD 54 as that used by the Louvre N 3079, Louvre N 3089, and Ryerson groups.

tradition found in the P. BM EA 10086 group was used, but the texts must have been taken from different manuscripts from different Theban traditions to have such a cross-section of versions. Given the jumbled sequence in P. Christchurch, this document might also have been produced later in the Ptolemaic Period, which might also account for the presence of BD 48 and 49, as well as the merged texts of BD 54 and 56.

As stated early on, the discussions contained herein are somewhat preliminary. A number of interesting issues and questions have been raised, some of which might never be fully resolved while others might be clarified when the remaining unexamined texts have been studied and analysed.

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////	20z	19z	18z	<---	17z	->		<-----	1z	-----	///
21	/ 19c			/	15i	15g		15cc	13c	5c	1c / /
22	/ 20	19	18v	17c /				15d	14		/ /
	/			/	17	15h		15e	15a	6-	2- / 1 /
23v	/			/				15f	15b	13	5 / /
	/			/					15c		/ /
20	19	18	14-17	9-13	8	7	6	5	4	3	2 1

57z	54z	52z/	47z	44z	42c	40z	37v	33z	31z	30z	28z	27z	24z
57	54	52 /	47	44	43v	40-1	37	33	31	30	28	26	24
59v	55v	53v/	50v	45v	45z	41z	38v	34v	32v	64v	29v	26z	25v
		/	51		46	42		35v				27	
		/						36v					
34	33	32	31	30	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21

	103z	95z	91z	89z	////	79z	83z	75z	72z	68z	63z	60z
110z	103	95	91	89	81	79	83	75	72	68	63	60
	104v	100v	92v		85v		84v	76v	74v	71v	65v	62v
								77v				61v
47-48	46	45	44	43	42	41	40	39	38	37	36	35

	/		142z?		130z		125z	119z	117z	121z
151v	146v	/148z	142	143z	130	125v	125	119	117	121
	/	/			131v			125	124v	
	/	/								
60	59	58	56-57	55	54	53	52	51	50	49

158z	155z			/////
158	155			
159v	156v	150z	147v	?
	157v			
162z				
69	68	64-67	63	61-62

Fig. 1: Schematic diagram of P. BM EA 10086.



Fig. 2: P. BM EA 10086.7.

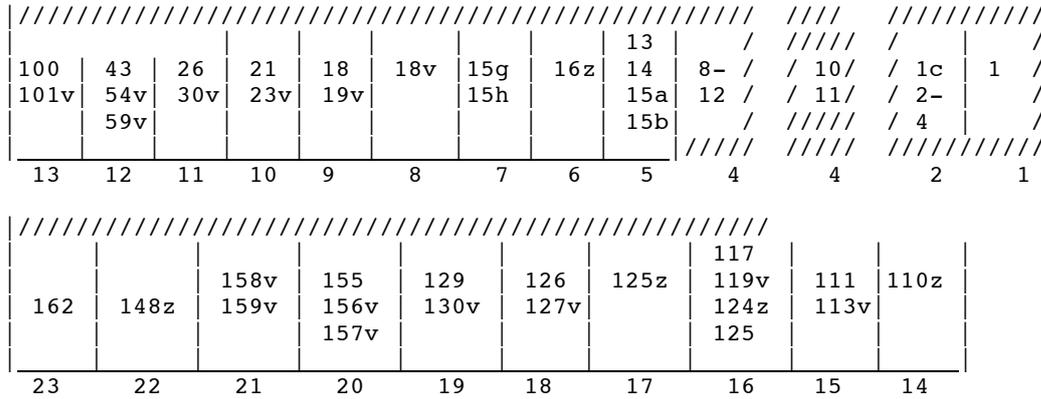


Fig. 3: Schematic diagram of P. BM EA 10088.

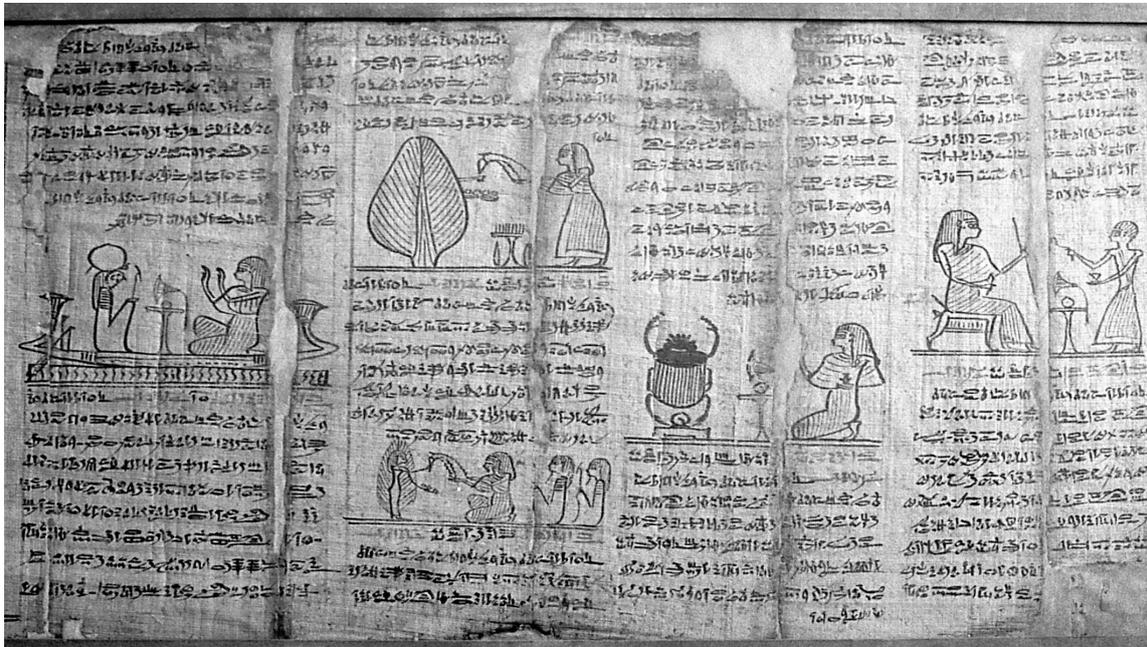


Fig. 4: P. BM EA 10088.

	89z	54z	27z	19z	18z	17z		<----- 1z ----->		
110z	89	54*	26	19	18v	15g	16z	10	////	/ 1
	26z	57v	30v			15h		15a	/ 7/	/
	91							15b	/ 8/	/
									/ ////	////
n+10	n+9	n+8	n+7	n+6	n+4-	n+3	n+2	n+1	n	1
					n+5					

162z	?z	129z		?z	100z
162	65	129	125z	45	100
	?v	63v		?z	79z 101z
	68			48	80 101
				49	
n+16	n+15	n+14	n+13	n+12	n+11

Fig 5. Schematic diagram of P. Christchurch EA 1988.73–6.

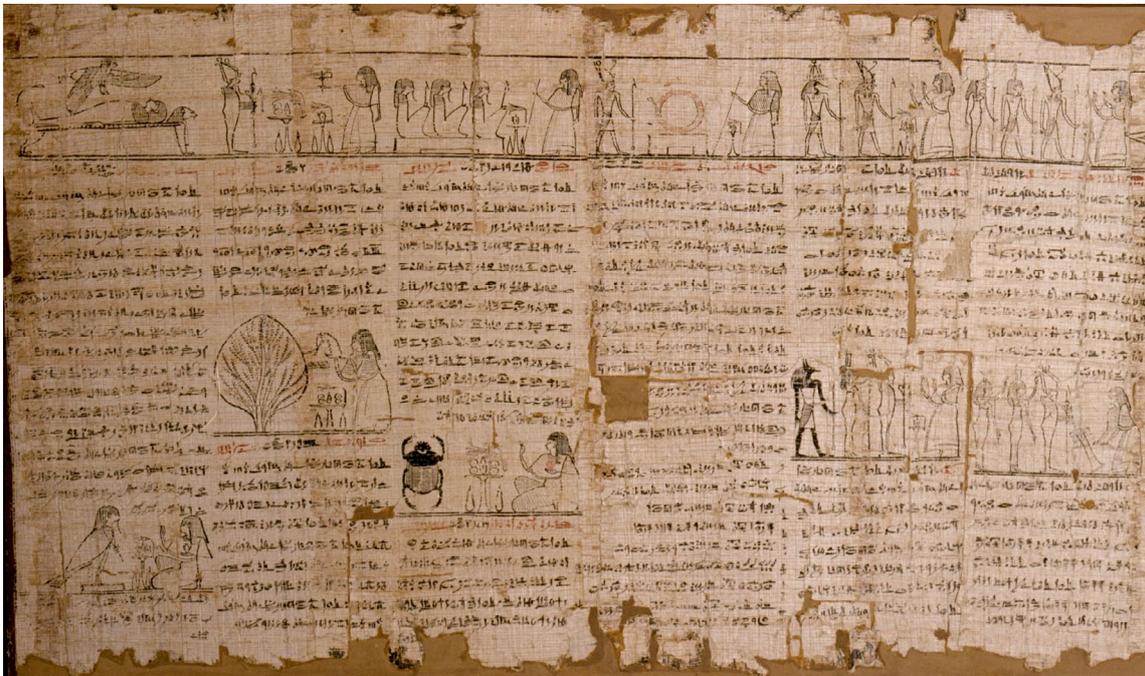


Fig 6: P. Christchurch EA 1988.

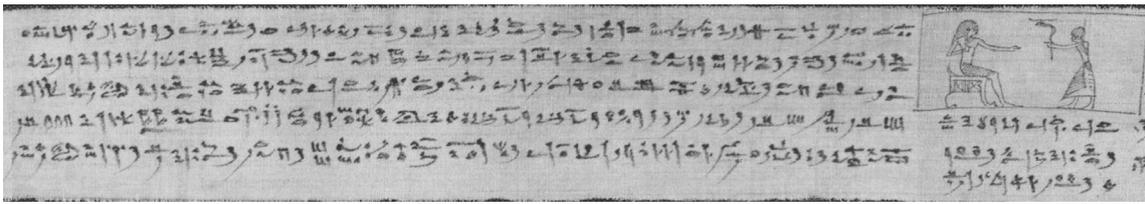


Fig. 7: Getty 83.AI.47.2.4 (Padiusir).

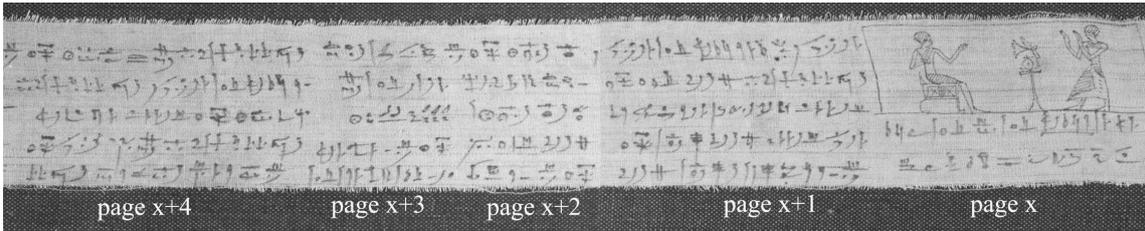


Fig. 8: Getty 83.AI.47.1.6.

19c				17c				15hc	15e			
20								15f				
21z 20z	19	18v		17c	15i		16z		12c	2-	1	
21				18c	18c	18		15gc	15g	13-	12	
22								15h		15a-		
				<----- 18z ----->						15d		
13	12	11	8-10	7			6	5	4	3	2	1

	76			39	36	32c		27	25		
52		45	41c			33		28v	26	23	
53z 52z	50	46v	42	40z 39z	37v	33v	31	31v	27v	24z 23z	
53	51v	45z		40-41	38v	34	32	35v	26v	24	
		47	44	43		35v		32v	26		
	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14

	103			62	57		
98c	93	65		60z	57z	54	
	89	68	64		59	54z	
	91	?v		61	59z		
	98			63v	60	55	
		92	64z			55z	
	31	30	29	28	27	26	25

Fig. 9: Schematic diagram of P. Louvre N 3082.

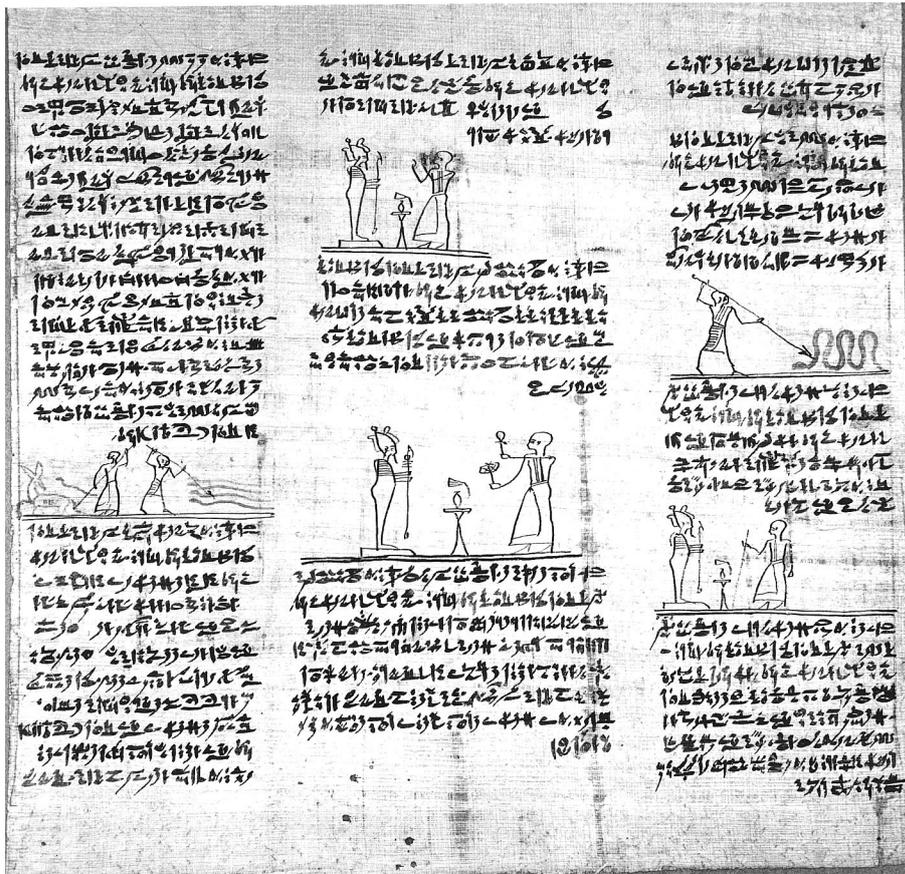


Fig. 10: P. Louvre N 3082.

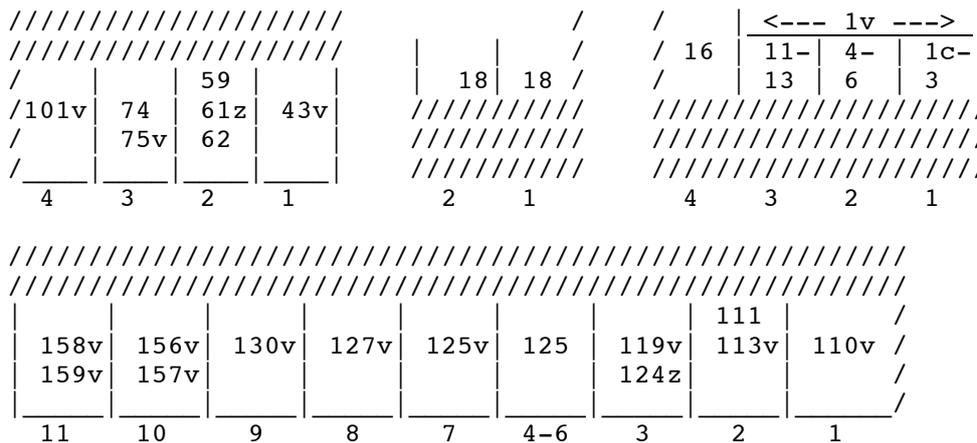


Fig. 11. Schematic diagram of P. Louvre N 3142.

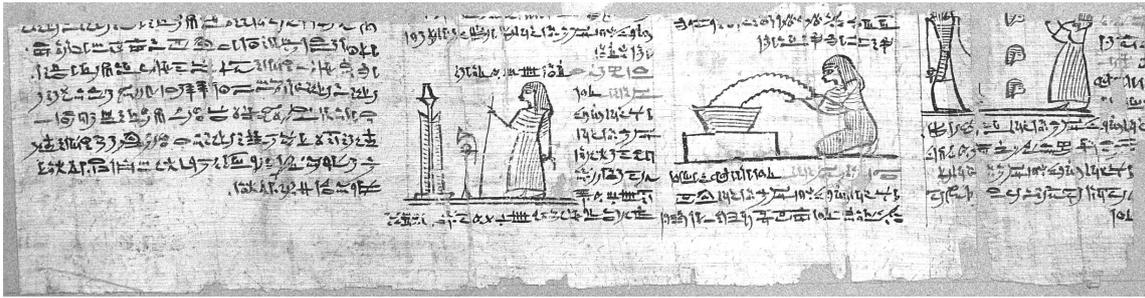


Fig. 12: P. Louvre N 3142.

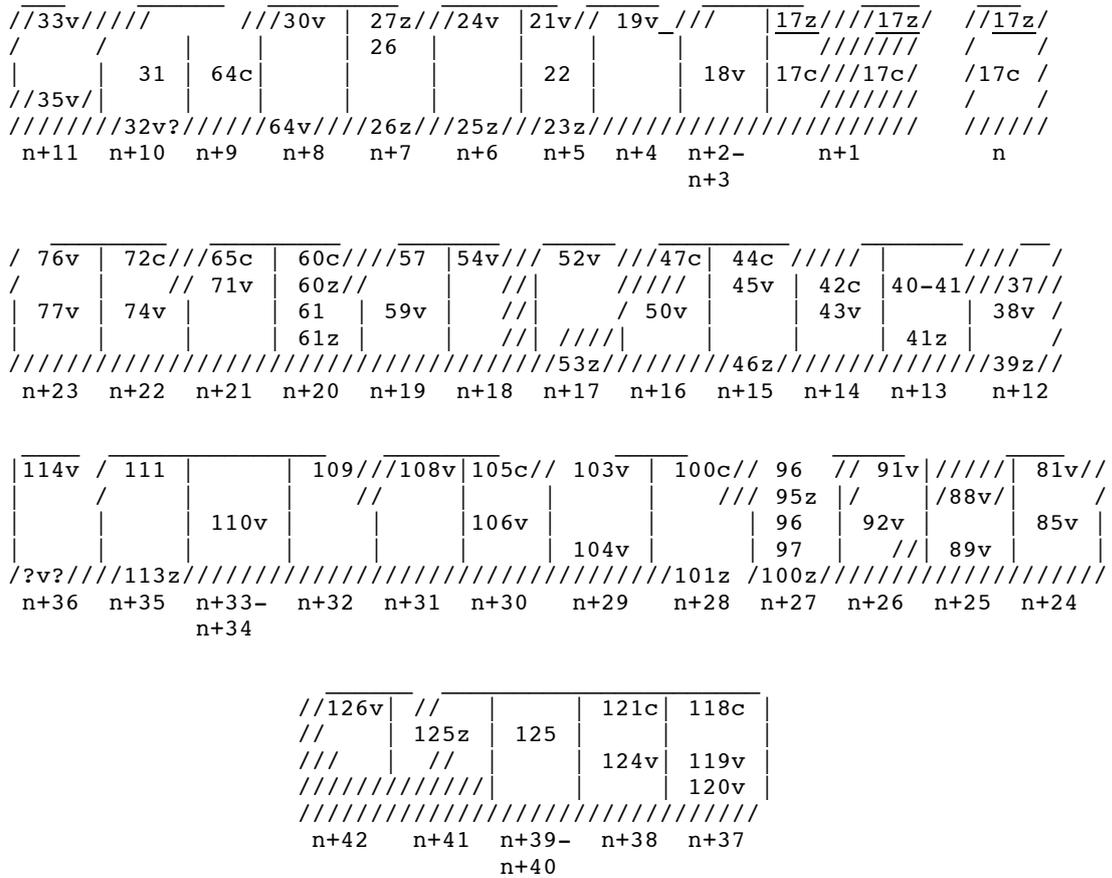


Fig. 13: Schematic diagram of P. Milan E 1023.

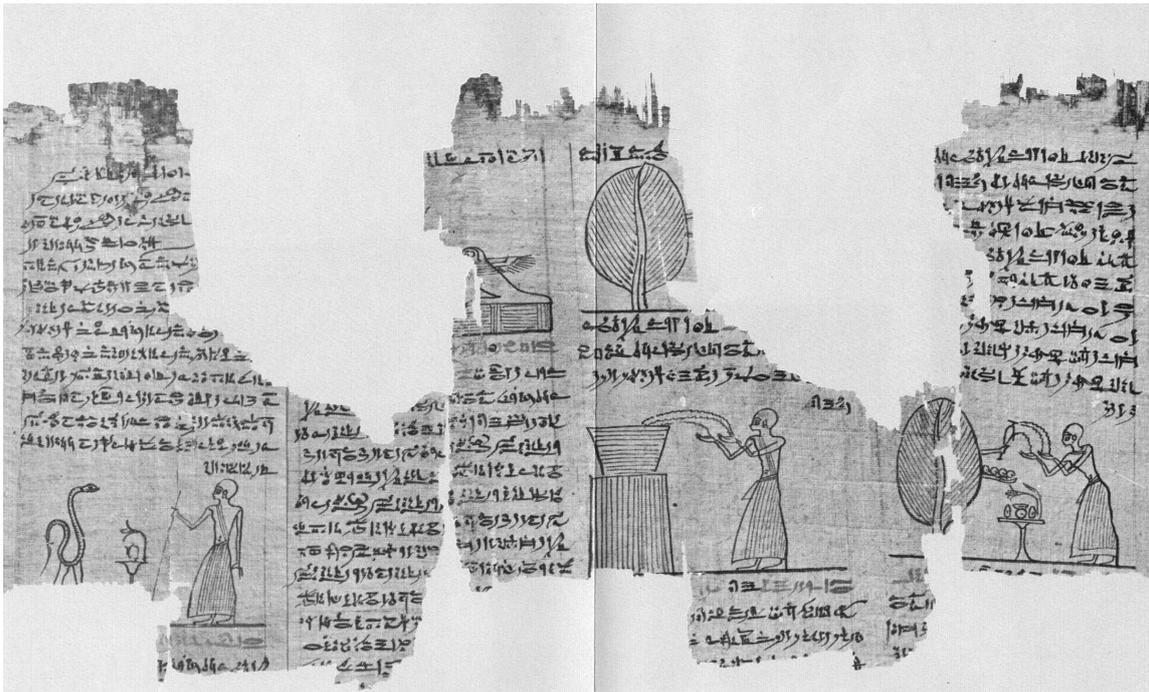


Fig. 14: P. Milan E 1023.

26z	?z?	25z	22z	20z	21z	19z	//	//	//	1v	//	////	////
28	26	24	22					/	/	14	7/	/	1c/
				20	19		18v					/	2-/
28z	27v	25v	24z	21v				/	/	15a	9/	/	6 /
29			23					/	/		//	/	/
								//	//			////	////
12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1		

/	162z	50z	45z	44z	40z	38z	24z		31z		64z
//	162	50	45	43	40-41	38	35		31		30
/			46v					125z	33v	32v	110z
//		51v		44v	41z	39v	36v		32		64v
//////////			47v		42				33		
//////////				////	////	////	37z	////	////	////	////
	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13

Fig. 15: Schematic diagram of P. Sydney.

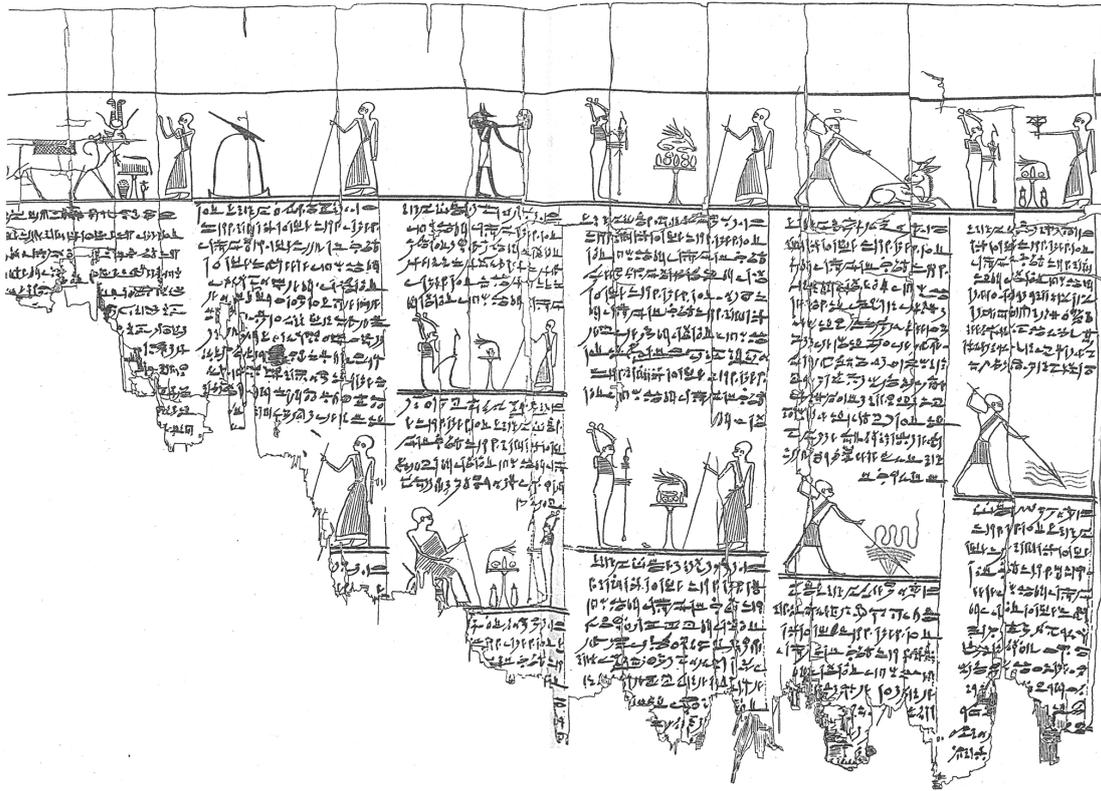


Fig 16: P. Sydney.



Fig 17: P. Louvre E 6130.

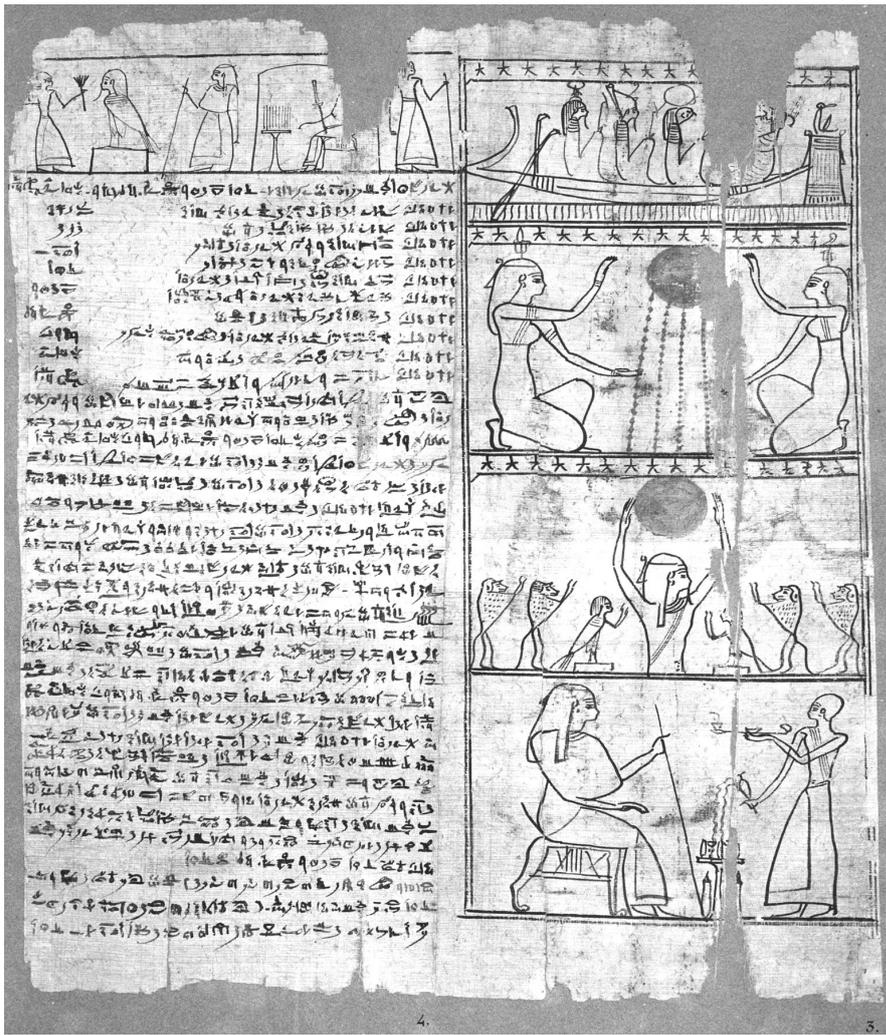


Fig. 18: P. Louvre N 3187.

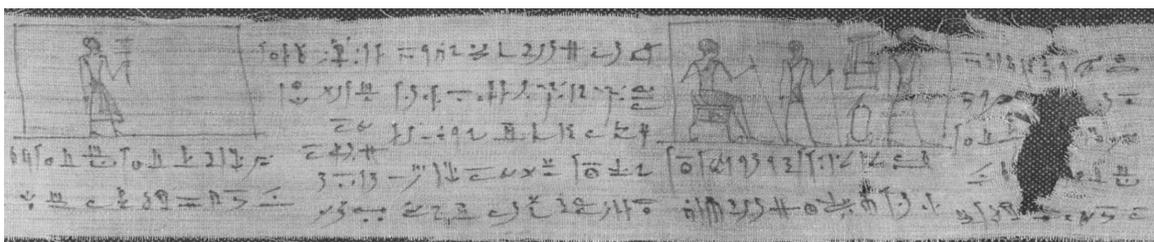


Fig. 19: Getty 83.AI.47.2.4, vignette of BD 47, 50 and 51.

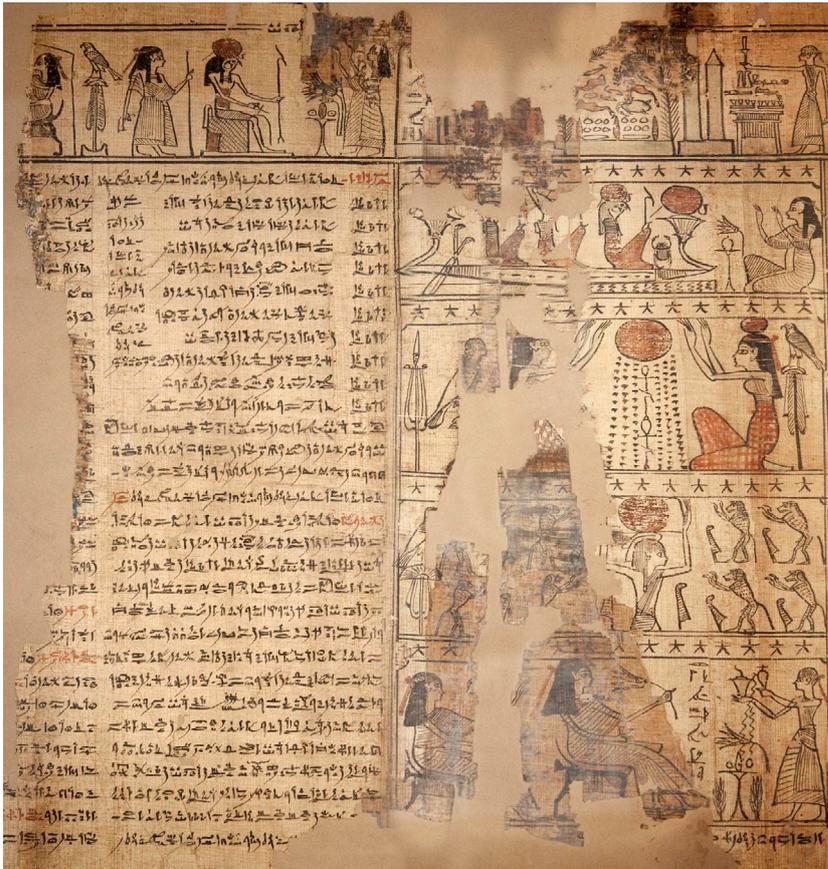


Fig. 20: P. BM EA 10086, vignette of BD 16 before 15g.

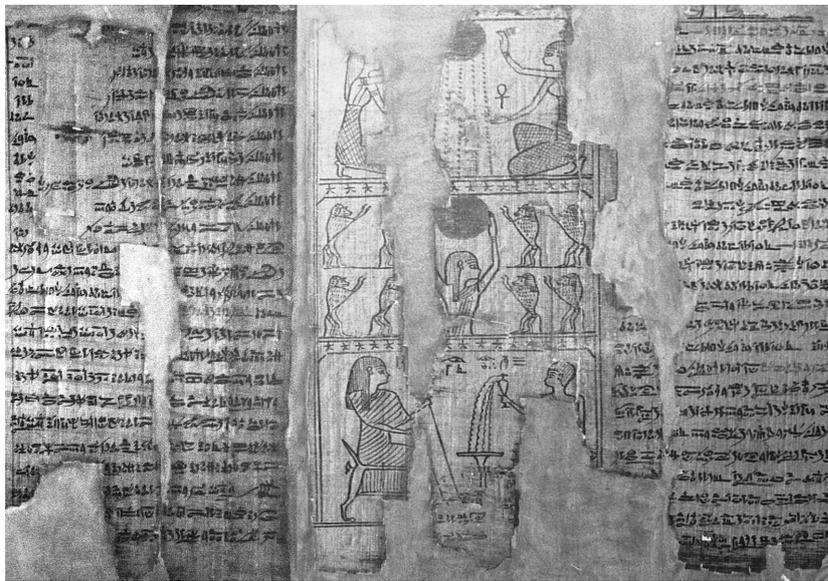


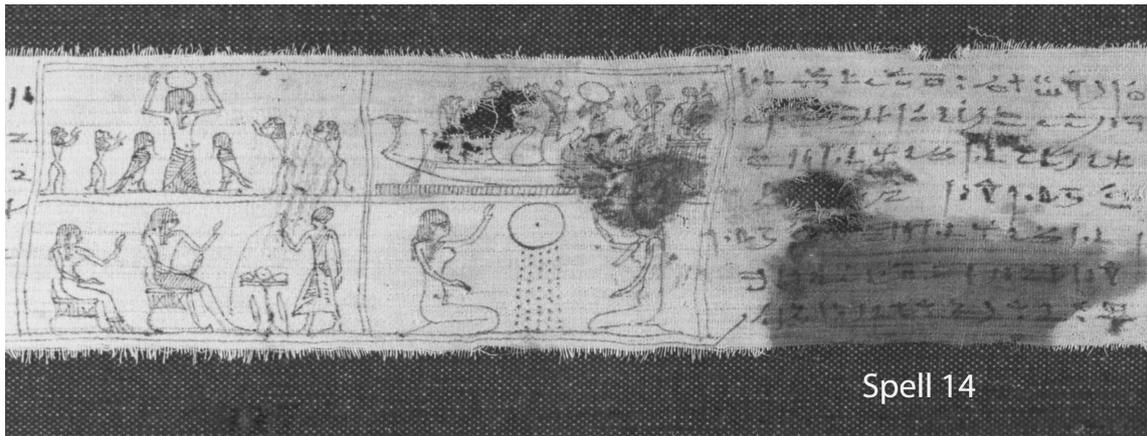
Fig. 21: P. BM EA 10088, vignette of BD 16 before 15g.



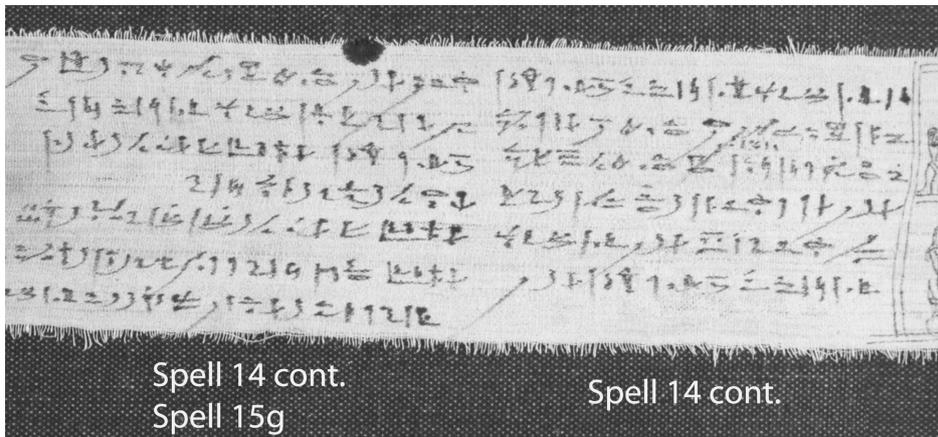
Fig. 22: P. Louvre N 3082, vignette of BD 16 before 15g.



Fig. 23: P. Christchurch, vignette of BD 16 before 15g.



Spell 14



Spell 14 cont.
Spell 15g

Spell 14 cont.

Fig. 24: Getty 83.AI.47.2.4, Spell 14, vignette of BD 16, and BD 15g (right end of bandage at top; left end below).

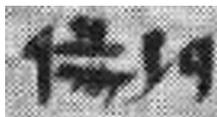


Fig. 25: Text in P. Milan E 1023.

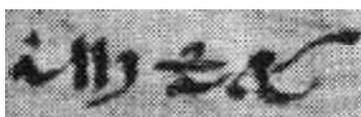


Fig. 26a: Text in P. Milan E 1023.

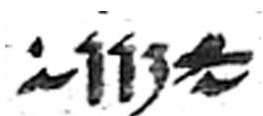


Fig. 26b: Text in P. Louvre N 3082.



Fig. 27: Text in P. Louvre N 3082.

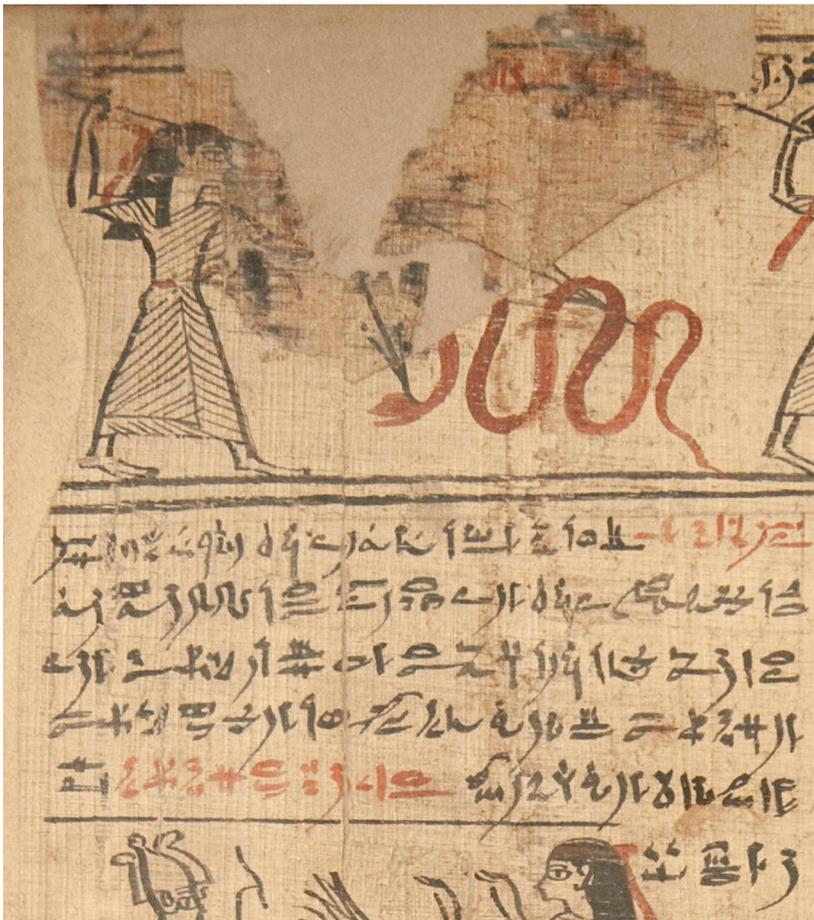


Fig. 28: BD 33, P. BM EA 10086.

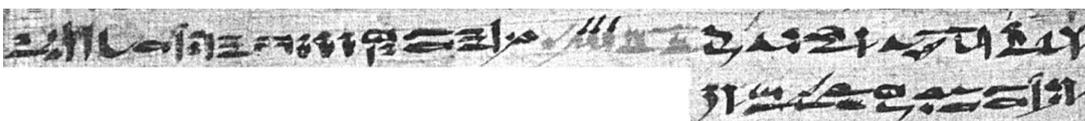


Fig. 29: Text #1, P. Louvre N 3091 for BD 39.

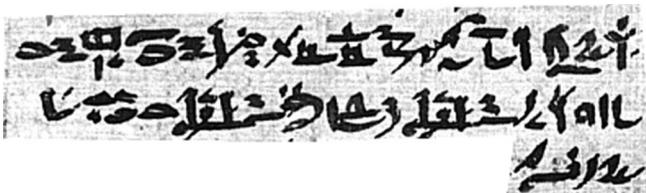


Fig. 30: Text #1, P. Louvre N 3082 for BD 39.



Fig. 31: Text #2, P. Louvre N 3091 for BD 39.

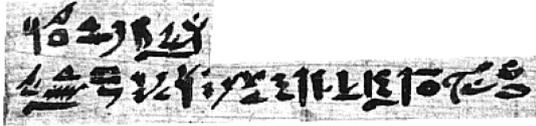


Fig. 32: Text #2, P. Louvre N 3082 for BD 39.

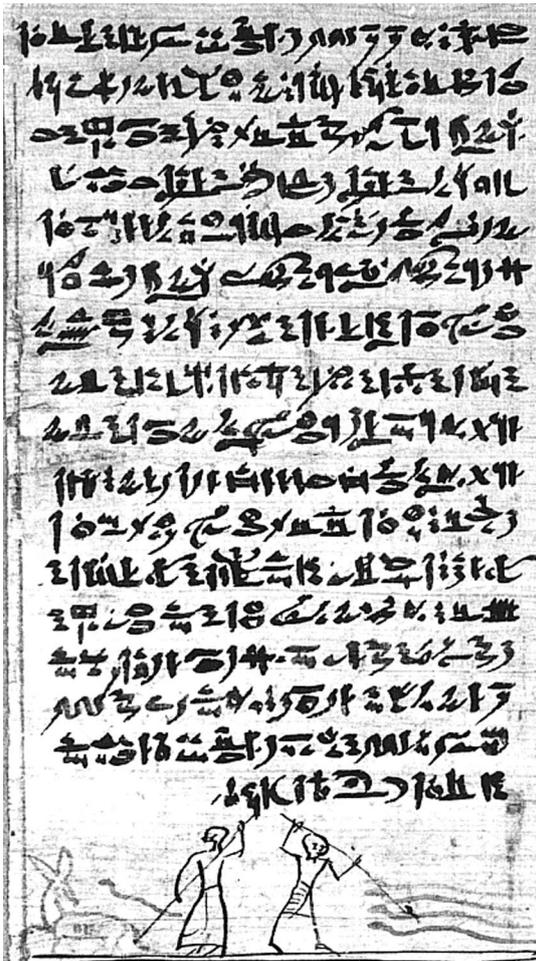


Fig. 33: BD 39 with vignettes of BD 39 and 40, P. Louvre N 3082.



Fig. 34: Vignette of BD 131 in P. Louvre N 3079.



Fig. 35: Vignette of BD 131 in P. BM EA 10086.

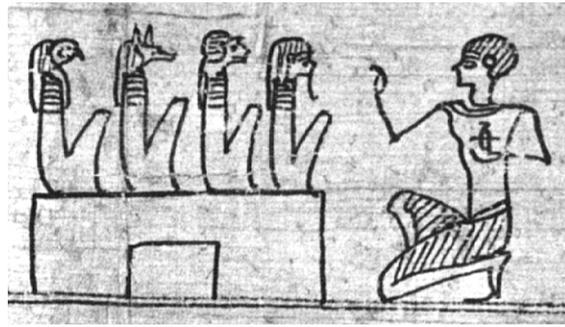


Fig. 36: Version 1 of vignette for BD 27 in P. Louvre N 3089.



Fig. 37: Version 1 of vignette for BD 27 in P. BM EA 10097.



Fig. 38: Vignettes of BD 26 and 27 in P. BM EA 10558.

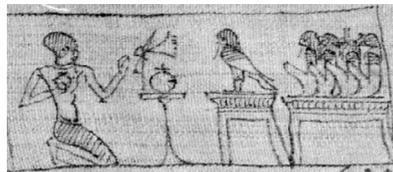


Fig. 39: Vignettes of BD 26 and 27 upon the mummy bandages of Padiusir.

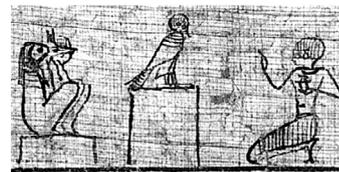


Fig. 40: Vignettes of BD 26 and 27 in P. Louvre E 6130.



Fig. 41: Version 2 of vignette for BD 27 in P. BM EA 10086.



Fig. 42: Version 2 of vignette for BD 27 in P. Louvre N 3082.



Fig. 43: Version 2 of vignette for BD 27 in P. Sydney.



Fig. 44: Version 2 of vignette for BD 27 in P. Christchurch EA 1988.



Fig. 45: Version 2 of vignette for BD 27 in P. Louvre N 3152.



Fig. 46: Version 2 of vignette for BD 27 in P. BMFA 92.2582.



Fig. 47: Version 2 of vignette for BD 27 in P. Louvre N 3079.



Fig. 48: Version 2 of vignette for BD 27 in P. Louvre N 3144.

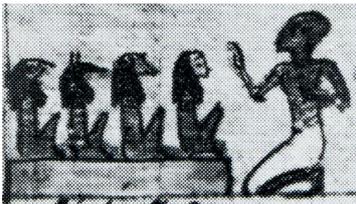


Fig. 49: Version 1 of vignette for BD 27 in P. Ryerson.

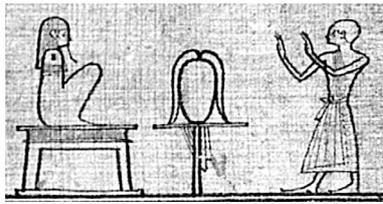


Fig. 50: Version 1 of vignette for BD 28 in P. Louvre N 5450.



Fig. 51: Version 1 of vignette for BD 28 in P. BM EA 10558.



Fig. 52: Version 1 of vignette for BD 28 in P. BM EA 10097.



Fig. 53: Version 2 of vignette for BD 28 in P. BM EA 10086.

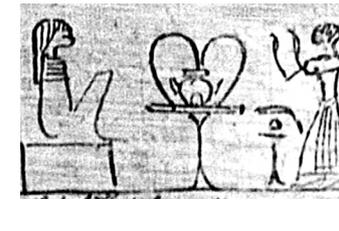


Fig. 54: Version 2 of vignette for BD 28 in P. Louvre N 3079.

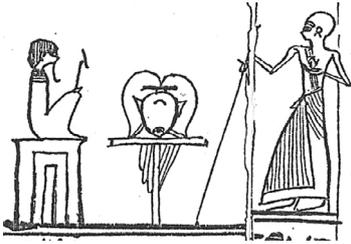


Fig. 55: Version 2 of vignette for BD 28 in P. Sydney.



Fig. 56: Version 2 of vignette for BD 28 in P. Louvre N 3082.

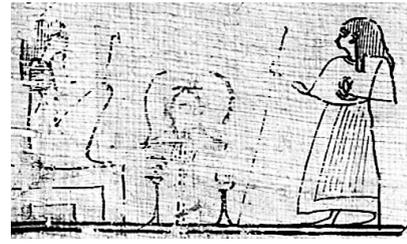


Fig. 57: Version 2 of vignette for BD 28 in P. BMFA 92.2582.

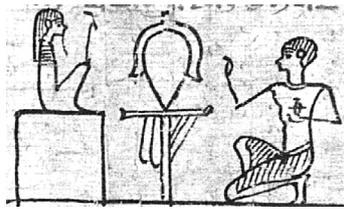


Fig. 58: Vignette of BD 28 in P. Louvre N 3089.



Fig. 59: Vignette of BD 28 upon the mummy bandages of Padiusir.

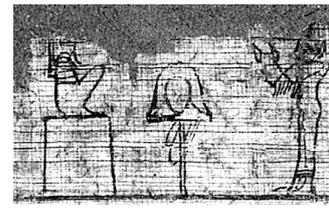


Fig. 60: Vignette of BD 28 in P. Louvre E 6130.



Fig. 61: Vignette of BD 35 in P. Louvre N 3249.



Fig. 62: Vignette of BD 35 in P. Louvre N 3089.



Fig. 63: Vignette of BD 35 in P. Louvre N 3151.



Fig. 64: Vignette of BD 35 in P. BM EA 10257.



Fig. 65: Vignette of BD 35 in P. BM EA 10086.

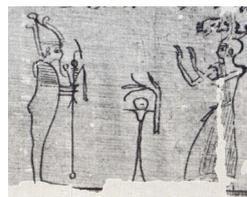


Fig. 66: Vignette of BD 35 in P. Milan E 1023.



Fig. 67: Vignette of BD 35 in P. Louvre N 3082.



Fig. 68: Vignette of BD 35 in P. Louvre N 3143.



Fig. 69: Vignette of BD 35 in P. Louvre N 3079.

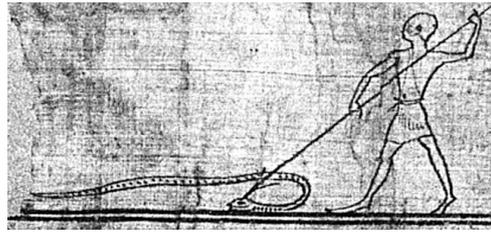


Fig. 70: Version 1 of vignette for BD 39 in P. Louvre N 5450.



Fig. 71: Version 1 of vignette for BD 39 in P. BM EA 10558.

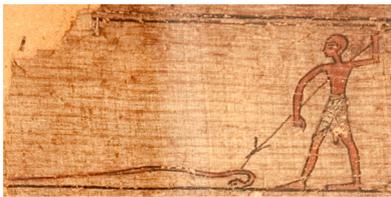


Fig. 72: Version 1 of vignette for BD 39 in P. BM EA 10097.

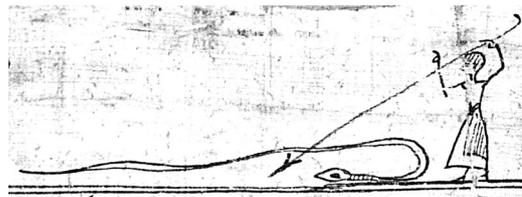


Fig. 73: Version 1 of vignette for BD 39 in P. Louvre N 3089.

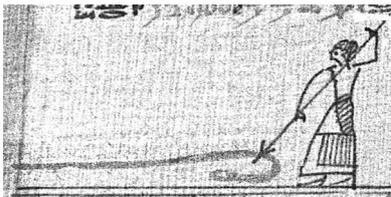


Fig. 74: Version 1 of vignette for BD 39 in P. BM EA 10257.



Fig. 75: Version 1 of vignette for BD 39 in P. Louvre N 3249.



Fig. 76: Version 1 of vignette for BD 39 in P. Detroit 1988.



Fig. 77: Version 1 of vignette for BD 39 in P. Louvre N 3094.



Fig. 78: Version 2 of
vignette for BD 39
in P. BM EA 10086.

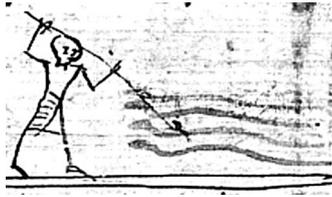


Fig. 79: Version 2 of vignette
for BD 39 in
P. Louvre N 3082.



Fig. 80: Version 2 of
vignette for
BD 39 in
P. Sydney.



Fig. 81: Version 2 of
vignette for
BD 39 in
P. Louvre N 7716.

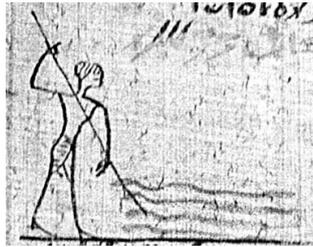


Fig. 82: Version 2 of vignette
for BD 39 in
P. Louvre N 3079.



Fig. 83: Version 2 of vignette for
BD 39 in
P. Louvre N 3144.



Fig. 84: Version 1 of
vignette for
BD 63 in
P. BM EA 10097.



Fig. 85: Version 1 of vignette
for BD 63 in
P. BM EA 10558.

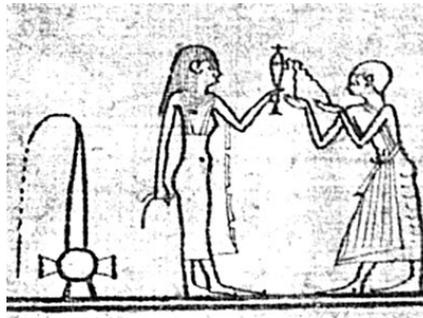


Fig. 86: Version 1 of vignette for BD 63
in P. Louvre N 5450.

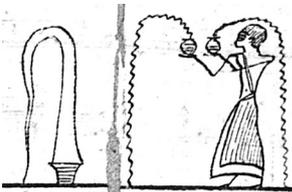


Fig. 87: Version 1 of
vignette for
BD 63 in
P. Louvre N 3086.

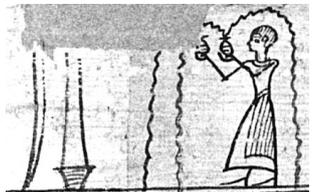


Fig. 88: Version 1 of vignette
for BD 63 in
P. Louvre N 3089.



Fig. 89: Version 1 of vignette
for BD 63 in
P. Louvre N 3248.

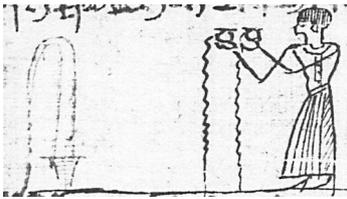


Fig. 90: Version 1 of vignette for BD 63 in P. BM EA 75044.

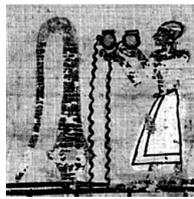


Fig. 91: Version 1 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Louvre N 3096.

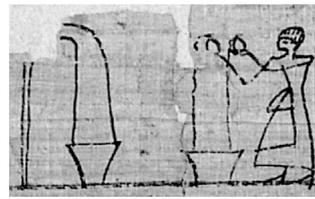


Fig. 92: Version 1 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Louvre N 3145.



Fig. 93: Version 1 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Detroit 1988.



Fig. 94: Version 1 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Louvre N 3090.

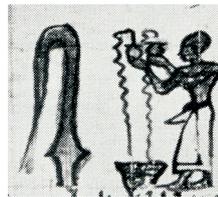


Fig. 95: Version 1 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Ryerson.

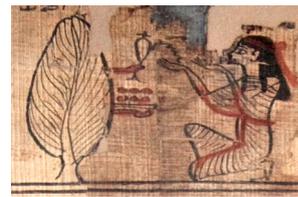


Fig. 96: Version 2 of vignette for BD 63 in P. BM EA 10086.



Fig. 97: Version 2 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Louvre N 3082.

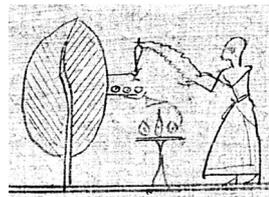


Fig. 98: Version 2 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Louvre N 3152.



Fig. 99: Version 2 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Louvre N 3079.



Fig. 100: Version 2 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Louvre N 3144.



Fig. 101: Version 2 of vignette for BD 63 in P. BM EA 10087.



Fig. 102: Vignette for BD 63 in P. Christchurch EA 1988.



Fig. 103: Version 1 of vignette for BD 63 in P. Milan E 1023.



Fig. 104: Vignette for BD 59 in P. Louvre N 3079.



Fig. 105: Vignette for BD 59 in P. BM EA 10086.

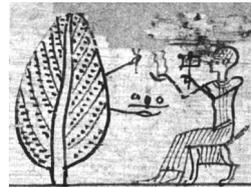


Fig. 106: Vignette for BD 59 with Revised Title in P. Louvre N 3089.



Fig. 107: Vignette for BD 59 with Revised Title in P. Louvre N 3272.



Fig. 108: Version 2 of vignette for BD 61 in P. Louvre N 3248.



Fig. 109: Version 1 of vignette for BD 61 in P. BME EA 10086.



Fig. 110: Version 1 of vignette for BD 61 in P. Louvre N 3142.



Fig. 111: Version 1 of vignette for BD 61 in P. Louvre N 3079.



Fig. 112: Version 1 of vignette for BD 61 in P. Louvre N 3144.



Fig. 113: Version 1 of vignette for BD 61 in P. BM EA 10097.



Fig. 114: Version 1 of vignette for BD 61 in P. Jahtesnacht.



Fig. 115: Version 1 of vignette for BD 61 in P. Louvre N 3081.

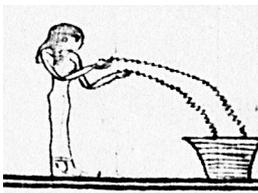


Fig. 116: Version 1 of vignette for BD 61 in P. Vienna Nationalbibliothek Aeg 65.



Fig. 117: Version 1 of vignette for BD 61 in P. Louvre E 6130.

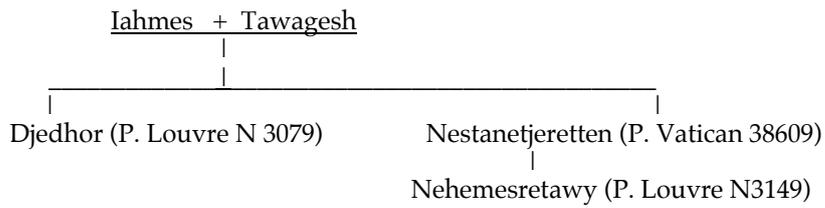


Fig. 118: Family tree of Djedhor with Books of the Dead.

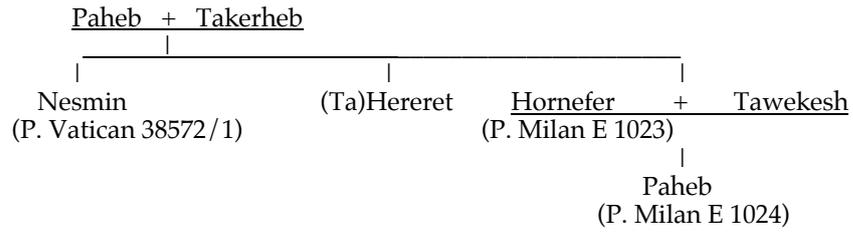
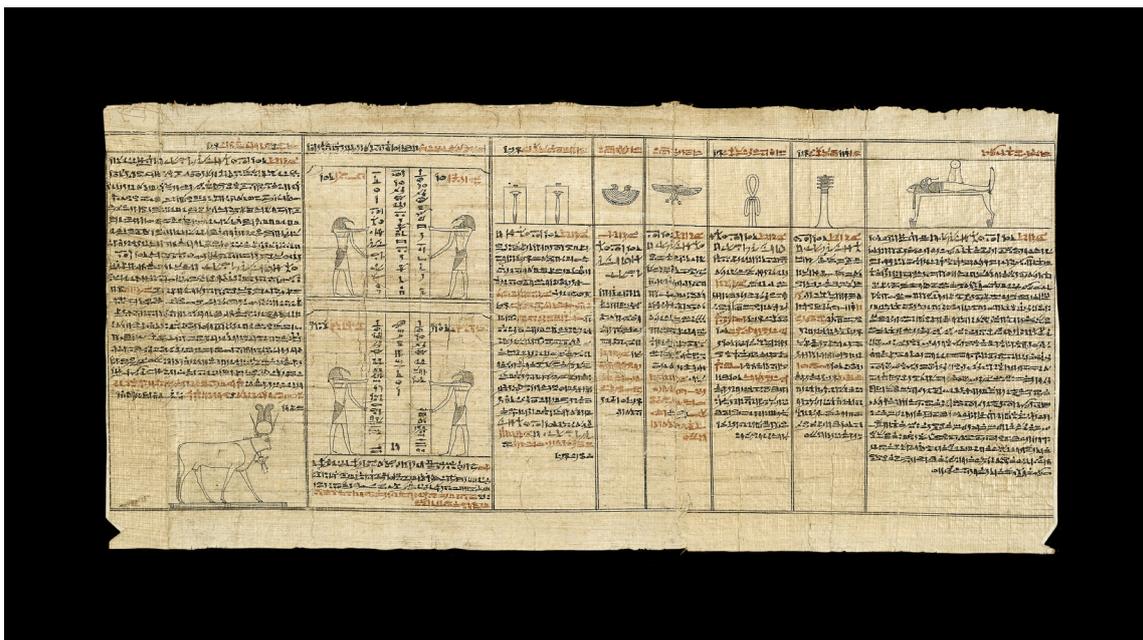


Fig. 119: Family Tree of Nesmin with Books of the Dead.



From Memphis to Thebes: Local traditions in the Late Period

Marcus Müller-Roth

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From Memphis to Thebes: Local traditions in the Late Period

Marcus Müller-Roth

Many of the articles published in this volume deal with vignettes. The attention given to this topic is fully justified, for approximately half of all manuscripts with Book of the Dead spells have vignettes. In the Saitic Recension, which is the particular focus of this paper, there are over 1000 manuscripts with approximately 10,000 single vignettes in total. If one were to count the scenes in composite vignettes individually (such as the vignettes of the gate-keepers BD 144–147), this number would be even higher.

For a long time such attention was not paid to the vignettes, not even at the British Museum's Annual Egyptological Colloquium in 2009. In most manuscript editions, remarks about the vignettes hardly go beyond a description of the scenes (Munro 2001, 66–68; Lapp 2004, 53–55). Several general studies of vignettes were presented about 20 years ago: Irmtraut Munro (1988, 13–137) discussed the vignettes of Dynasty 18 in detail in her thesis, and only a few years later Henk Milde (1991) described the development of about 50 vignettes from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period in his thesis about the Papyrus of Neferrenpet.

The most extensive and complete study to date is that presented by Malcolm Mosher (1989; 1992, 151–53), who has commented on almost all of the vignettes. Unlike the two aforementioned works, however, Mosher's thesis unfortunately remains unpublished and hence it has not received the attention which it deserves. Mosher clearly demonstrates the different traditions and clears away the prejudice that the vignettes are standardised in the Saitic Recension. Of course, the vignettes do become more uniform than before, but variants in the iconography indicate the existence of groups that can be distinguished from one other on geographical or chronological grounds. In addition to many other criteria which indicate the provenance of a manuscript—for example, the titles of the owner or the sequence of spells—the vignettes are also a useful aid.

Apart from the circumstance that his work is hardly known, Mosher had to confine himself to a mere 35 handwritten manuscripts, in most cases from the Louvre. In the light of the increased quantity of material available today, with well over 1000 known manuscripts, there is no doubt that this material must be reprocessed and an overview of the different traditions made. Attempts to classify manuscripts with regard to their provenance on the basis of the vignettes, such as the papyrus of Qeqa by Martin von Falck (2006, 59–65), demonstrate that this approach fails without sufficient comparative material and the necessary overview (Müller-Roth 2009).

I begin with some examples which demonstrate the current limits of our knowledge of the vignettes (Fig. 1). The first example is one that I have already presented in a previous paper (Müller-Roth 2008, 57–60): a fragment from the Asasif, published by Günther Burkard (1986, 36–37). It shows the tail of a bird with an upright neck in the centre. Below the tail there is a line, which is probably a leg. The text below is not helpful for identifying the vignette because it only records the name and title of the owner Isis-weret. Günther Burkard has reconstructed this as a Ba-bird from Vignette 85. The appearance of the bird's

back argues for this interpretation, whereas this feature does not correspond to the birds of Vignettes 83, 84 and 86 (Lepsius 1842, pls. 21–32). By contrast, the upright neck and the tiny fragment on the opposite side suggest a reconstruction of Vignette 88. Vignette 88 typically has no figure of a bird but an upright mummified crocodile. Most of the manuscripts show no additional elements (Fig. 2a). Only a minority show the crocodile with a *w3s*-sceptre in its hands (Fig. 2b). In many manuscripts the crocodile has an extension to his back. Normally this extension is the body of the crocodile (Fig. 2c). However, P. BM EA 10315 and P. Lyon H 1579–1583 have variants with the tail of a bird (Fig. 2d). Because there are only two other manuscripts with that extraordinary motif, it is obvious that it would not be possible to identify the vignette of P. Cairo JE 97249 (Papyrus 5) without knowing the entire range of the variants of this vignette.

I next discuss some new examples to demonstrate the inadequacies of our knowledge of the variants. Figure 3 shows a section of P. BM EA 10253. On the left side there is a crocodile represented with a naturalistic body; this is the vignette of BD 31 or BD 32 (Lepsius 1842, pls. 16–17). Generally four crocodiles are represented, although manuscripts exist with three, two or even a single crocodile (see, for example, P. Milbank; Allen 1960, pl. 65). However, the two vignettes in front of the crocodile in P. BM EA 10253 and the texts below make it clear that this is not the vignette of BD 31 or BD 32. Rather, it is another variant of the aforementioned vignette of BD 88. This variant is only attested in two sources: P. BM EA 10253 and P. BM EA 10097.

A second example shows the well-known scene of the Ba-bird above the corpse of the deceased (Fig. 4). Normally this is the vignette of BD 89 (Lepsius 1842, pl. 33), although the vignette of BD 17 also uses this motif; from the edition of P. Hildesheim 5248 and P. MacGregor, both from the Akhmim group (Lüscher 2000, pl. 36; Mosher 2001, pl. 16), it is evident that this is a variant of BD 151. In P. BM EA 9902 the following vignettes and the sequence of the spells below make it clear that this is the vignette of BD 154 (Fig. 5b). Apart from this example, this constellation is only known from P. Geneva 23464/1–6 and P. Cairo JE 32887 (S.R. IV 930). In the vignette of BD 154 elements such as the sun (Fig. 5c) and the hieroglyph of the sky above (Fig. 5e) are known. A single example with wings above the deceased (Fig. 5d) is also attested from Akhmim.

Besides these very rare vignettes, there are also vignettes of which only one example is known. The identification of these vignettes has been uncertain until now. Because of their singularity it is unclear whether they can be identified simply by considering the BD texts occurring in, before, or after them. Many examples are known from P. Tübingen 2012 (Müller-Roth 2010, fig. 1) or P. Amsterdam APM 9223 (Fig. 6).

As suggested earlier and elaborated by Malcom Mosher, it is tempting to presume that the characteristics can be matched with local styles. One must be aware that the provenance of many of the manuscripts is unknown. Only one-third of the 1400 manuscripts with vignettes of the Saitic Recension have been assigned a precise provenance on the basis of their findspot, the titles of the owner or other evidence. The provenance of about 600 mummy bandages and over 250 papyri is as yet unknown. In these cases the vignettes can render a useful service.

I present below a summary of the results from the current study of BD 149. The vignette of this spell (Lepsius 1842, pls. 71–73), depicting the regions of the netherworld and the demons encountered there, provides significant examples of local styles.

The demon of the first mound is illustrated in very different and individual forms (Müller-Roth 2008, 62–63). The distribution of the manuscripts makes it clear that these are local styles. The Theban manuscripts use the form with a herb as a head (Fig. 7a). Some examples with the same provenance, such as P. Ryerson, show a human head with two objects which are probably feathers (Fig. 7b). The demon in the Memphite manuscripts, however, has the head of the god Bes (Fig. 7c). One exception, P. Louvre N 3081, shows a headless shape, possibly with spots of blood (Fig. 7d). In the manuscripts from Herakleopolis the demon has a black head without facial features, but with some stubble (Fig. 7e). In examples from Akhmim the head is also round, but it is definitely a human head here (Fig. 7f). A further variant replaces the head with knives. This variant is known from Middle Egypt, for example in P. Milbank (Fig. 7g).

In the ninth mound, the head of the demon is again the distinctive feature. The crocodile in front of the demon has no individual features (Fig. 8). Sometimes it is erect, but also sometimes inclined, although this is probably dependent upon the available space. The head of the demon can be composed of two, three or four snakes, or even three birds; alternatively, the demon can be replaced by three women. The snakes are known from different sites and probably represent the standard form, but the vignettes with heads of birds (Fig. 8d) are definitely from Memphis and the women (Fig. 8e) from Akhmim.

Other features also provide indications of local styles. The pot before the crocodile, which is rarely used in the Saitic Recension, occurs only at Akhmim. Even there, the pot only appears in manuscripts illustrating the demon with a head composed of three snakes. In some other manuscripts the pot is only a strap, as in P. Vienna ÄS 3862 (Fig. 8d). No matter which variants of the head are used, manuscripts in which the head is composed of three or four snakes, or three birds, are from Memphis. Manuscripts from Thebes do not contain this element of the vignette.

There are fewer variants in the fifth mound (Fig. 9). In this vignette a figure, probably the god Thoth, is shown standing on the head or the back of a lion. In some cases, there is a representation of wickerwork (Gardiner sign list V 32) in front of the two figures, which is replaced by the emblem of the goddess Neith from Dynasty 26 onwards (Fig. 9a). There are only two variations of the figure of the lion: either with the head of an ibis (Fig. 9a) or the head of a ram (Fig. 9b); only a few exceptions depict a figure which appears to have the head of a falcon (Fig. 9c). The head of a ram is known from many provenances and the head of a falcon is also known from both Memphis and Thebes, whereas the ibis is known only at Thebes.

The eighth mound has yet more variants (Fig. 10). The demon in this vignette takes the shape of a hippopotamus, or else is represented as a chimera with the body parts of a hippopotamus. The headdress has many variants: one snake or three, the horns of a ram, horns with a sun disc, or a uraeus with knives partially surrounding it. The last variants are known with two, four, or six knives. The demon may also be shown wearing the *atef*-crown or a *bembem*-crown. Some manuscripts omit the entire headdress except the wig. This last variant has no distinctive features, and hence it is not surprising that it is known from different sites. Some variants occur only once or twice, and hence the number of manuscripts is too small to distinguish a specific local style. But other variants can be connected with particular provenances. The headdresses with snakes (Fig. 10e–f), for example, are both from Thebes,

similar to the *bembem*-crown (Fig. 10c). The headdresses with knives on the ram's horns (Fig. 10g–h) appear to be from Memphis and, naturally, Herakleopolis; the manuscripts with six knives (Fig. 10i) confuse this picture, being known only from two Theban papyri.

The hippopotamus in the vignette of the twelfth mound occurs in many different stylistic forms, but without any distinctive feature that can be used to characterise local groups (Fig. 11). The papyri from Akhmim are the only examples to represent the hippopotamus like a pig (Fig. 11a). However, the bin above the hippopotamus is illustrated with different objects. Most of the manuscripts show four knives (Fig. 11c), sometimes simplified to four strokes. Two exceptions transform them into four feathers (Fig. 11d). Many other manuscripts omit the objects entirely. Some have no extension except for two loops, as in P. Cairo CG 40029 (Fig. 11b); others arrange the four lines horizontally, so that they take on the appearance of handles (Fig. 11a). The distribution of the manuscripts demonstrates that all of the Theban examples contain the knives (Fig. 11c), but some from other sites do too. Furthermore, all Akhmim manuscripts show the bin with the horizontal strokes (Fig. 11a); the bin without the strokes or knives is known only from Memphis (Fig. 11b).

The vignettes of the thirteenth mound do not vary in the form of the demon's head (Fig. 12). The figure on the right is always a hippopotamus and the figure sitting on the throne on the left has the head of a rabbit. However, there is some variation in the weapons held by the god on the left. Sometimes he is shown with knives (Fig. 12d), or a bow and arrow (Fig. 12b), while other manuscripts show a sceptre in his hand (Fig. 12c). Some manuscripts omit the weapons entirely (Fig. 12a). Although the vignette has up to four figures or elements, on the basis of these weapons alone it becomes clear that the bow and arrow are characteristic of Theban manuscripts, while the other types are used at different sites.

The vignettes of BD 149 are only one example from about 150 vignettes of the late Book of the Dead tradition. Considering that I have here analysed only 7 features from 14 individual vignettes, each together with about 40 elements—the demons, the icons of the mounds and other objects and creatures—the potential of the vignettes for further analysis is clearly evident.

Such results are helpful primarily for classifying manuscripts with regard to their provenance. Examining the vignette of BD 149 in P. Zagreb 604 (Fig. 13), for example, one recognizes the headdress of the demon of the eighth mound in position number three consisting of three snakes, which is a Theban feature. Another example—a papyrus now in Halle, Thuringia, published by Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert (2008, 115–18, pl. 26)—exemplifies the value of the vignettes (Fig. 14). Fischer-Elfert gives no information regarding the provenance of the papyrus and does not discuss this question. Turning to the vignettes, the headdress of the hippopotamus in the vignette of the eighth mound consists of a snake. This headdress is known in five other manuscripts, all currently recognised as originating from Thebes. In this case the analysis of the provenance provides not only information about the Book of the Dead, but also about the text on the verso of the papyrus: an onomasticon listing trees and minerals, also known from Tebtunis. Even though the onomasticon was written by another scribe and at a later date, it is still indicative of the provenance of this text.

I have used only one vignette in both the above examples, but it goes without saying that such arguments must combine the analysis of as many vignettes as possible. Naturally this depends on the size of the individual manuscript. In this instance I have restricted my

argument to the vignette of BD 149. Furthermore, some of the limitations of this method must be mentioned. Firstly, not every distinction between individual vignettes provides reliable conclusions concerning the provenance of those groups. For example, a popular motif shows the Ba-bird over the deceased's corpse. Even if it is used with unusual BD spells, such as BD 154 in the case of P. BM EA 9902 (Fig. 4), it is hardly characteristic of a local style or a special workshop. By contrast, the winged crocodile is very distinctive and therefore characteristic. This variant and the naturalistic crocodile are Theban styles (Figs. 1 and 3). We can therefore assume that a vignette with many characteristics is more significant than a vignette with fewer singularities.

This leads to the second limitation: that the analysis of vignettes works on the basis of probability. If five or six manuscripts of a specific type have the same provenance—for example, Memphis—one may conclude that one or two other manuscripts of the same type are also from Memphis. But the reverse can also be true. In many cases one must be cautious: the papyrus discussed by Irmtraut Munro in this volume, for example, is obviously from Thebes but has vignettes with many Memphite features.

This in turn leads to the third restriction: the need to differentiate between iconography and style. In principle, iconography refers to a sample from a specific provenance, but it does not refer to the provenance in itself. If stylistic features point to a different provenance than that suggested by the iconography, one must assume that a sample was carried from one region to another. In these cases the vignettes provide an interesting insight into the development of the Book of the Dead and the specific manuscript. Nonetheless, this illustrates the problem of using the iconography of vignettes to identify the provenance of a manuscript. Therefore, the vignettes can be only one part of a string of arguments.

In his article in the Festschrift dedicated to Leonard Lesko, Malcom Mosher (2008) stated that the texts also offer variants that can be connected with local styles. Barbara Lüscher (2007) has illustrated this on the basis of Book of the Dead manuscripts of the New Kingdom dealing with the tradition of Deir el-Medina. Both have dealt with the well-known group of Akhmim papyri (Lüscher 2000; Mosher 2001). They point out that features of local styles can be found at different levels. But it is also clear that one could produce many additional arguments because the Book of the Dead has about 150 vignettes with more than 300 individual scenes and a multiplicity of elements, such as figures, animals and objects. The potential is therefore almost endless.

There is certainly a great deal of work to be done, because there are more than 1000 manuscripts for the Late Period alone. In the future, the Book of the Dead Project in Bonn will attempt to record the vignettes and their features in a database in order to handle the mass of material and to analyse this information efficiently. To date, I have manually collected evidence to identify about 100 manuscripts; I hope that it will be possible to double this result by using technical support.

The question that remains is: what is the reason for the occurrence of different vignettes? Specifically, what is the meaning of the demon with the head of the god Bes in Memphis (Fig. 7c)? What is the meaning of the birds in place of the snakes as the head of a demon in Memphis (Fig. 8d)? And what is the meaning of the wings on the mummified crocodile in some Theban manuscripts (Fig. 2d)? These are the types of questions which accompany the study of local styles. I am curious about the answers.

Cover image: P. BM EA 10558.27. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

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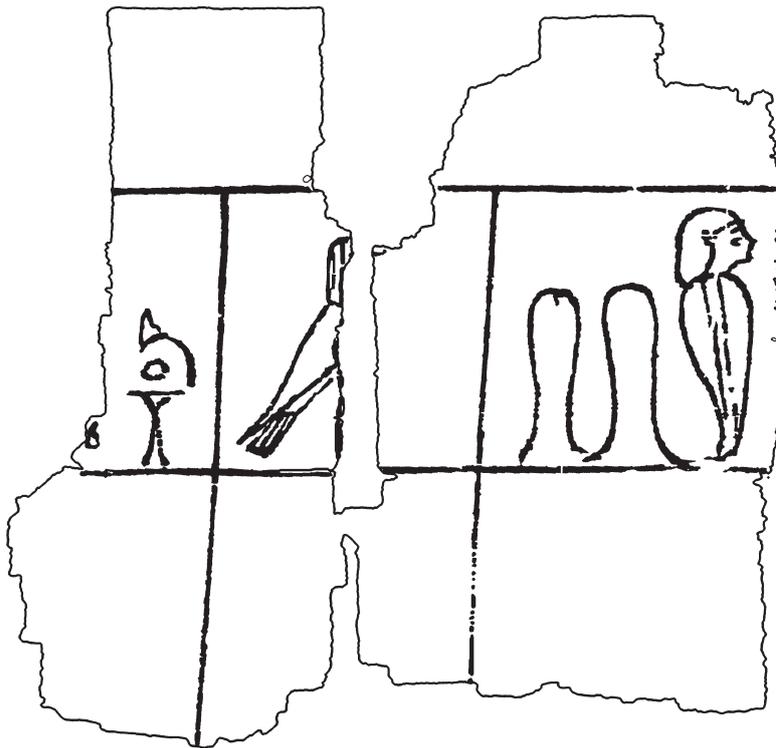


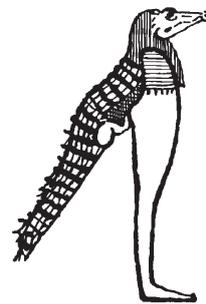
Fig. 1: P. Cairo JE 97249 (Papyrus 5), fragments 2–3.



a) P. Turin 1791



b) P. BM EA 10558



c) P. Berlin P. 3149



d) P. BM EA 10315

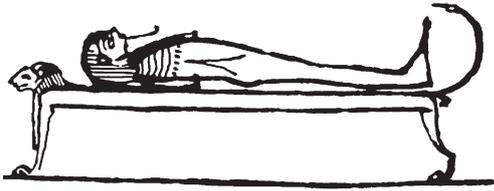
Fig. 2: Vignettes to BD 88.



Fig. 3: P. BM EA 10253.3. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum.



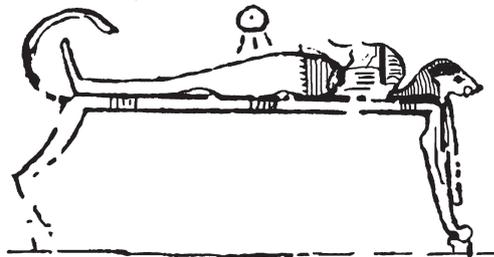
Fig. 4: P. BM EA 9902.4. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum.



a) P. Berlin P. 10478



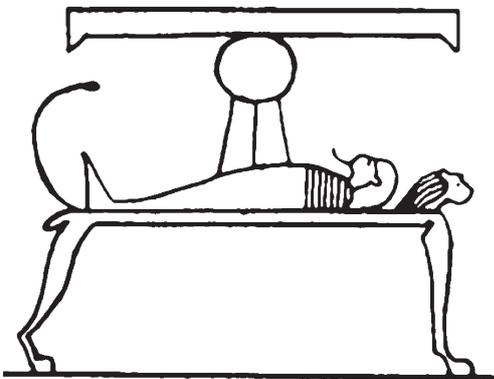
b) P. BM EA 9902



c) P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 65

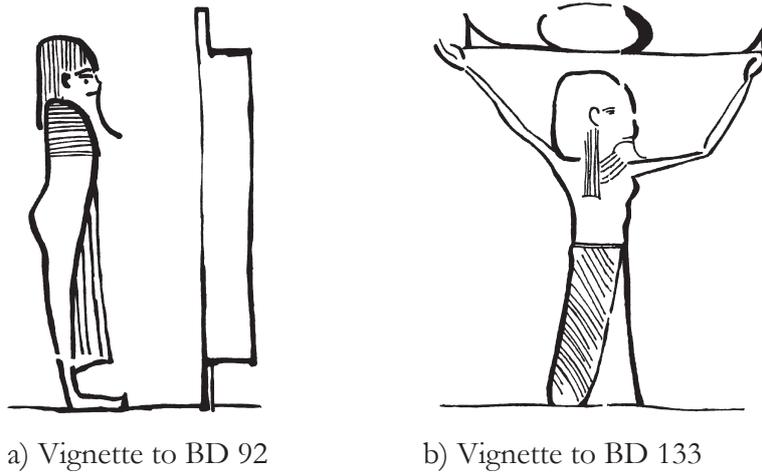


d) P. Berlin P. 10477



e) P. Turin 1791

Fig. 5: Vignettes to BD 154.



a) Vignette to BD 92

b) Vignette to BD 133

Fig. 6: Vignettes in P. Amsterdam APM 9223.



a) P. Vienna ÄS 3862

b) P. Chicago OIM 9787

c) P. Heidelberg Portheim (A)



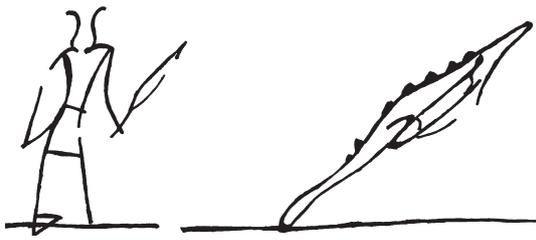
d) P. Louvre N 3081

e) P. Colon. Aeg. 10207

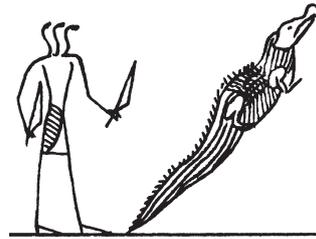
f) P. Berlin P. 10478

g) P. Chicago OIM 10486

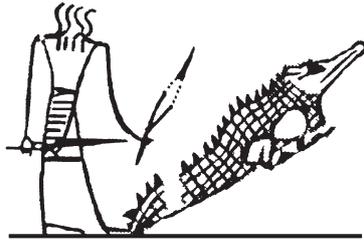
Fig. 7: Vignettes to BD 149a.



a) P. Aberdeen ABDUA 84123



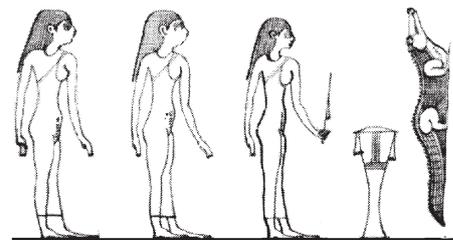
b) P. Turin 1791



c) P. Louvre N 3079

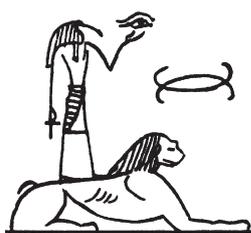


d) P. Vienna ÄS 3862

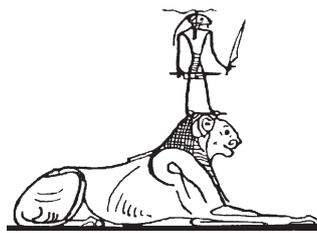


e) P. New Brunswick

Fig. 8: Vignettes to BD 149i.



a) P. Turin 1791



b) P. Vienna ÄS 3862



c) P. Louvre N 3079

Fig. 9: Vignettes to BD 149e.



a) P. Vienna ÄS 3852



b) P. Chicago OIM 10486



c) P. Leiden T 19



d) P. New York MMA 35.9.20



e) P. Cologne CV



f) P. Turin 1791



g) P. Vienna ÄS 3862

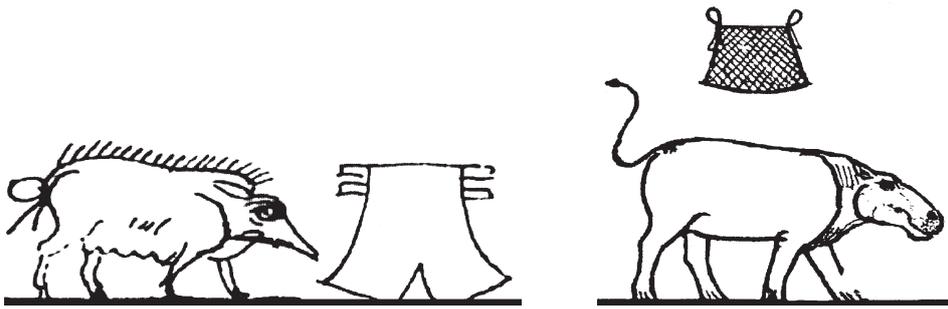


h) P. Cairo CG 40029



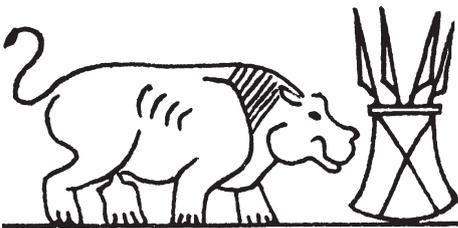
i) P. Louvre N 3079

Fig. 10: Vignettes to BD 149h.

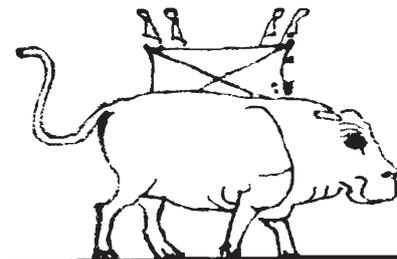


a) P. BM EA 10479

b) P. Cairo CG 40029



c) P. Turin 1791

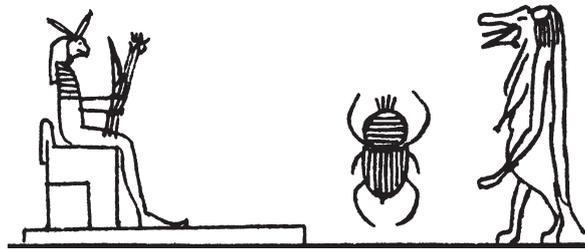


d) P. Cairo JE 95859

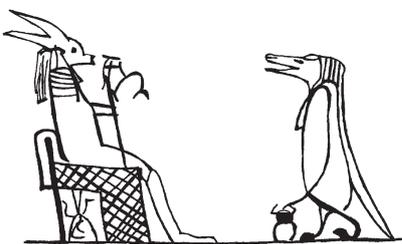
Fig. 11: Vignettes to BD 149m.



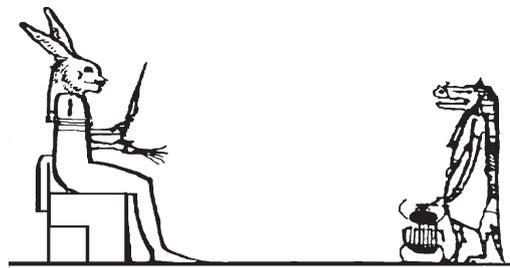
a) P. BM EA 10479



b) P. Turin 1791



c) M. London UC 32435



d) P. Cairo CG 40029

Fig. 12: Vignettes to BD 149n.



Fig. 13: P. Zagreb 604. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.



Fig. 14: P. Halle Kurth Inv. 33 A-B. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of the Martin-Luther-University Halle.



The Book of the Dead Project: Past, present and future

Marcus Müller-Roth

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The Book of the Dead Project: Past, present and future

Marcus Müller-Roth

It seems superfluous to introduce the Book of the Dead Project, because it has been in existence for over 15 years and the academic community is already familiar with its publications, the series *Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches* (HAT) and *Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch* (SAT), which include a total of 25 publications to date.¹ Some of the manuscripts published in these series belong to the most famous Book of the Dead papyri, such as the papyrus of Nespasefy (Verhoeven 1999) or Paennestitai (Munro 2001a). Nonetheless, it is important to summarise the various aims and tasks of the project from time to time, in addition to describing the individual work of each team member, since many of them will publish their own research in this volume. The questions I wish to answer here are: What is the current status quo of the database of Book of the Dead manuscripts? Which manuscripts will the project edit in future? What are the aims and objectives of the project in the coming years?

In order to set the future aims of the project in perspective, we should first briefly analyse its recent past (Kockelmann 2006b). The Book of the Dead project has been in existence for over 15 years. At that time, Prof. Ursula Rößler-Köhler, who began working on the Book of the Dead in the 1970s, instituted a working group whose specific aim was the study of the history and development of the Book of the Dead genre. This was promoted by the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia at the beginning of the 1990s; the German Research Foundation (DFG) later provided funds for an additional period of 10 years. During this phase the Institute of Egyptology at the University of Cologne, under the direction of Prof. Heinz Josef Thissen, was also involved in the project. In 2004 the project was incorporated into the programme of the Academies of Sciences and Arts.² The current project has two main tasks: to offer services to the academic community in general; and to prepare a number of studies, mainly based on editions of unpublished Book of the Dead manuscripts.

From the outset of the project, an archive has been built up as a basis for in-depth research on the Book of the Dead. This consists of a database containing information about all known Book of the Dead manuscripts in museums and private collections worldwide, and until now has focused on papyri and mummy bandages. At present, about 4000 records are registered, from small fragments to complete scrolls. Information about current location, provenance, dimensions, date, state of preservation, the ancient Egyptian owner and their kinship relations, the choice and sequence of Book of the Dead spells, and known literature is recorded for each object. In addition, the project maintains a photographic archive containing images of each registered manuscript. These range from images in publications to digital photographs from museums, as well as private photographs. It is remarkable that the project has assembled photographic material for about 80% of the known objects.

¹ <http://www.totenbuch-projekt.uni-bonn.de/publikationen> [30 November 2009].

² <http://www.awk.nrw.de/> [30 November 2009], <http://www.akademienunion.de/> [30 November 2009].

Both the photographic archive and the database can be used by scholars who visit the project in Bonn, but as it is not always possible for scholars to travel, the team is also prepared to answer enquiries from colleagues via e-mail. In the near future the database will also be made available online. The project team is working on the digitisation of the database in collaboration with the Kompetenzzentrum für elektronische Erschließungs- und Publikationsverfahren in den Geisteswissenschaften at the University of Trier.³ The database will be revised and enlarged by the winter of 2009–10, so that the results and the collected information will be available in 2011. Unfortunately the photographic archive cannot be made available online due to copyright restrictions.

The project's aims are not only to provide the simple data on the material, however. Some data are also processed by the team and then published as resources. An updated bibliography has now been published (Backes et al. 2009), which expands upon that originally composed ten years before (Gülden and Munro 1998). Furthermore, Burkhard Backes has compiled a vocabulary of the Late Period Book of the Dead on the basis of Papyrus Turin 1791 (2005). The starting-point for this work was a complete translation of the papyrus which he had prepared for the Wörterbuch-Projekt in Berlin. In total, there are about 400 Book of the Dead spells in transliteration and translation from all periods. They can be viewed and used via the web portal of the Thesaurus Linguae Aegypti.⁴

Some information which is registered in the database has also been indexed. Irmtraut Munro prepared a list of Book of the Dead spells documented in the Third Intermediate Period (2001b). In addition, the project has published lists on the internet, documenting personal names and titles known from the registered Book of the Dead manuscripts.⁵ There is certainly much further information to be gathered from the Book of the Dead, the analysis of which promises interesting results, and this will be of special concern to the project in the near future. The utilisation of the project's database via the internet would be a great step forward in this regard.

While much information on the manuscripts can be found in the SAT series, the central part of the project is the edition of manuscripts in the HAT series. The HAT publications present representative manuscripts from individual periods, but also manuscripts which stand out because of their textual composition, their style or other unusual features of redaction. While the first seven volumes in the HAT series are devoted to manuscripts from the earlier periods, in the last few years the project has focussed on the Saitic Recension. Indeed, the later Book of the Dead production deserves more attention. Moreover, in this way the project can avoid duplicating the research of Günther Lapp and Barbara Lüscher in Basel.⁶

Two new editions of papyri were recently completed: Irmtraut Munro has published a Dynasty 25 papyrus in Moscow (2009). Few objects can be dated with any certainty to this period; the dating of this papyrus was carried out using palaeographic evidence which John Taylor has confirmed by studying the related coffins. Burkard Backes has studied three papyri in Berlin and Aberdeen, which also contain many unusual spells that are not part of the

³ <http://germazope.uni-trier.de/Projects/KoZe2/> [9 June 2010].

⁴ <http://aaww.bbaw.de/tla/> [30 November 2009].

⁵ <http://www.totenbuch-projekt.uni-bonn.de/publikationen/online-publikationen> [30 November 2009].

⁶ <http://www.orientverlag.ch/> [30 November 2009].

Book of the Dead tradition, in addition to those from the classic corpus (2009). These peculiar spells were incorporated in a typical Book of the Dead manuscript and accompanied by vignettes, so that they appear like other Book of the Dead spells. These papyri were produced in the same workshop.

What are the tasks currently occupying the project? Irmtraut Munro is undertaking a new study of a group of papyri from Dynasty 26, fragments of which are distributed across numerous museums and collections worldwide. Collections with fragments of these papyri are mostly in Cairo and Heidelberg, but also in Assisi and Cortona in Italy, in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem, and also in the Institute of Fine Arts in New York (Verhoeven 1998, 224–25; Munro 2006b, 240–43).

In addition, Susanne Töpfer and I are focusing on papyri which apparently come at the end of the Book of the Dead tradition, in order to be able to adequately describe the Saitic Recension and to understand the development of the Book of the Dead. Among other things these papyri show strongly modified vignettes as well as the intermixing of the Book of the Dead text with the Documents of Breathing. The principal source is Papyrus Tübingen 2012 (Fig. 1) which has already been partly published by Emma Brunner-Traut (Brunner and Brunner-Traut 1981, 294–95) and mentioned by Marc Coenen in his studies on Late Period papyri (Coenen 1998, 106–7). However, there is an unpublished papyrus in the Louvre (N 3085) which seems to be from the same workshop. An examination of these papyri and the study of the final period of the Book of the Dead tradition is a topic worthy of future attention.

Commencing in 2010 and 2011, Rita Lucarelli, Annik Wüthrich and I will work on a very peculiar manuscript: a large mummy bandage with the layout of a papyrus, now in Princeton (Pharaonic Roll No. 8).⁷ It is one of only four known mummy bandages in this format and the only one which has been preserved in excellent condition, totalling 12m in length. It probably originated from the Memphite area.

This leads us on to the project's main aim for the coming years. While most manuscripts from Thebes and the Akhmim group have been broadly studied to date, the Memphite tradition has yet to be closely examined. This fact influenced our decision to work on the mummy bandage from Princeton and to devote ourselves to the study of the vignettes of the Saitic Recension (Müller-Roth 2008; 2009). We have not yet selected the Memphite papyrus to be edited, although the project will ultimately lead in this direction. There are very well-preserved pieces in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, in the Louvre in Paris and in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Besides the editions of Books of the Dead, the project also focuses on single spells which are examined in their entirety (Luft 2009). One of these is a joint study by Rita Lucarelli, Susanne Töpfer and myself on BD 149 which will be published in 2010. The spell will be examined on a textual and pictorial level, and with particular regard to the content. In addition to this, a study on BD 191—the so-called Address to the Bringer of Bas—has been in progress for a long time, but had to be interrupted due to a change in personnel. Until now, many scholars have been more familiar with the sarcophagi and ritual papyri with BD 191 than they are with the two dozen Books of the Dead bearing this spell (Fig. 2; Quack 2009, 21). This edition will be continued soon and will be completed in the course of 2010.

⁷ <http://infoshare1.princeton.edu/rbsc2/papyri/BookoftheDeadRoll8.html> [25 November 2009].

The project also includes a range of other works in addition to the well-known publications. Thanks to Backes' Index (2005), for example, it is now possible for Egyptologists to identify Book of the Dead spells more easily. Nonetheless, this kind of work can be extremely difficult and time-consuming, particularly when dealing with fragments containing only a few components of text, or for smaller collections and private individuals who do not have access to an Egyptologist. Much of the material which reaches us has not been previously identified.

Figure 3 shows a selection of 10 fragments with Book of the Dead spells in the Michael C. Carlos Museum in Atlanta. To my knowledge, the Carlos Museum has in its collection about 270 fragments with remains of the Book of the Dead. Peter Lacovara sent photographs of them to the project in 2006 and 2009. Even though the fragments preserve only two or three words, the Book of the Dead spells can often be recognized. If such fragments, or even larger sections, are identified, pieces of the same manuscript can often be found in the project archive; particularly helpful features in this regard are the identification of ancient owners and their relatives, the palaeography, and the style of the vignettes. The fragments from Atlanta are unfortunately too small for this kind of reconstruction, but several other examples of manuscripts which have been published by the project's team members should be mentioned.

Holger Kockelmann, who currently works at the University of Trier, has recognized that papyrus fragment 784 in the Columbia University Library, New York, is part of the lost beginning of the well-known Papyrus Ryerson in Chicago (Kockelmann 2006a). Moreover, in his recently published PhD thesis, Kockelmann has worked on the mummy bandages of Hor from the Ptolemaic period (2008). Most parts of this set of bandages are in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, although sections have also been found in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and in the British Museum. Prior to this project, researchers paid little attention to the use of linen in the Book of the Dead tradition.

Other examples of papyri edited by the Book of the Dead Project which are distributed in museums around the world include the Dynasty 26 papyri of Nespasefy in Cairo, Albany and Marseilles (Verhoeven 1999) as well as the Ptolemaic Period Book of the Dead of Hor (Munro 2006a). Sections of manuscripts in the Art Museum in Denver and the Art Museum in Cincinnati, as well as fragments in Cologny, Switzerland, also belong to this papyrus. Irmtraut Munro's discovery that a total of four scribes worked on the papyrus is particularly striking.

In addition to the above, the project supports museums in reconstructing and restoring papyri. Irmtraut Munro, for example, was involved in the restoration of the papyrus of Ramose in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. Figure 4 demonstrates how the fragments were assembled on the basis of photographs, while Figure 5 shows the finished restoration. On two occasions in 2008, Irmtraut Munro and two German conservators visited the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto to restore a Dynasty 26 papyrus. Figures 6 and 7 show one of the conservators, as well as a part of the papyrus prior to unrolling, while Figure 8 shows the condition of the judgement scene (BD 125) after the reconstruction and restoration.

This report has summarised some of the past, present and future activities of the Book of the Dead Project. With the publication of the database in particular, the project hopes to make an important contribution to academic research. Generally, the team is open to further suggestions and collaborative projects, and can always be contacted at the address below.

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Fig. 1: Papyrus Tübingen 2012 (Part A). Photograph: Thomas Zachmann, courtesy of the Institute for Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Department of Egyptology, University of Tübingen.



Fig. 2: P. BM EA 10751 with BD 191 inside the vignette of BD 129. Photograph: Annik Wüthrich (Book of the Dead Project), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

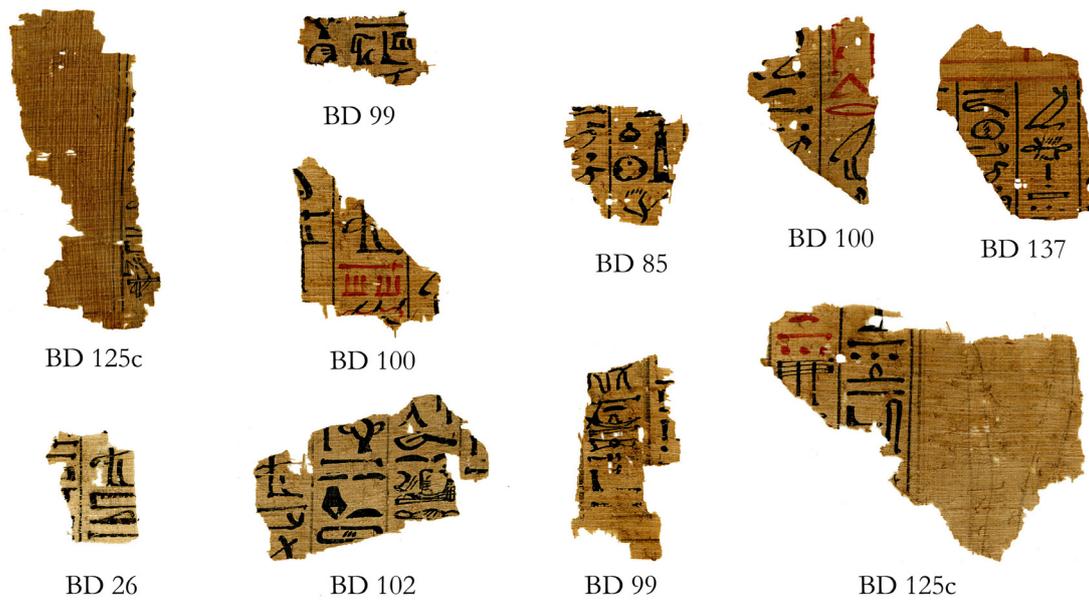


Fig. 3: Papyrus Atlanta MCCM 2004.22.1, Fragments 4, 16, 20, 21, 45, 58, 59, 78, 79, 83. Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University.

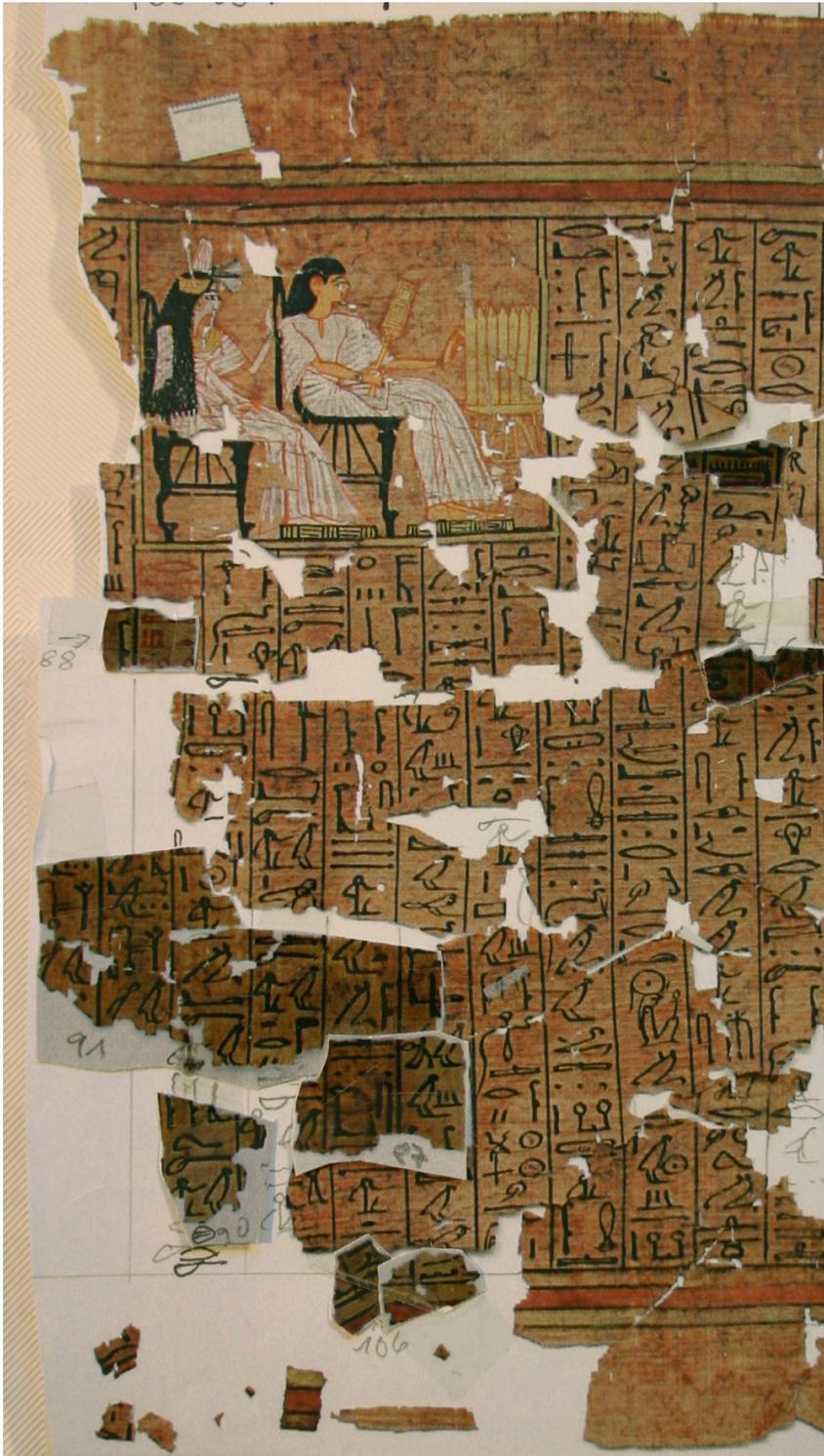


Fig. 4: Papyrus Cambridge E.2.1922 (re-assembly). Photograph: Wolfgang Schade, courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.



Fig. 5: Papyrus Cambridge E.2.1922 (restoration), courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.



Fig. 7: Conservator Sabine Güttler at work. Photo: Wolfgang Schade.



Fig 6: Papyrus Toronto ROM 978x43.1 (rolled). Photograph: Wolfgang Schade, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

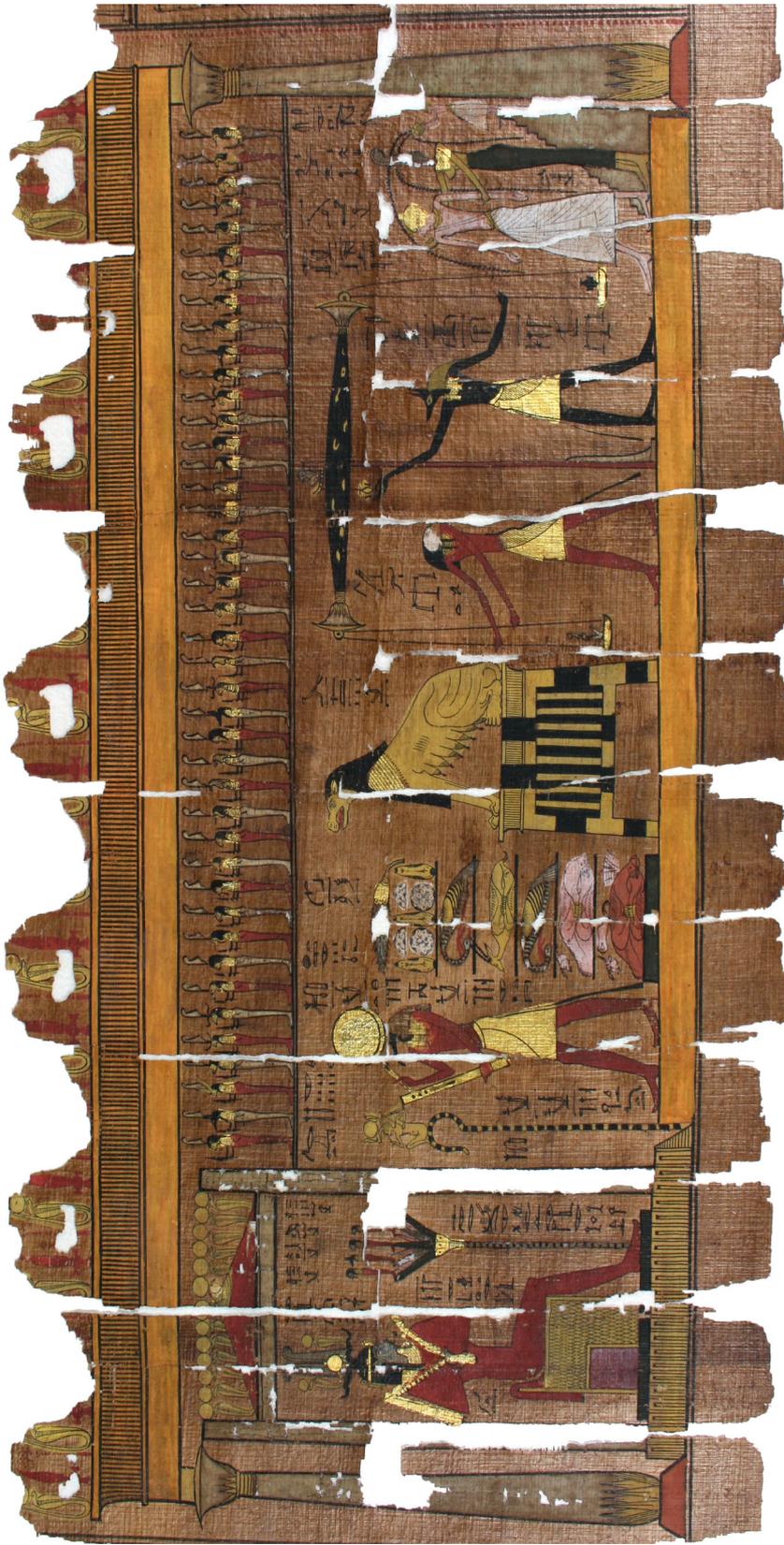
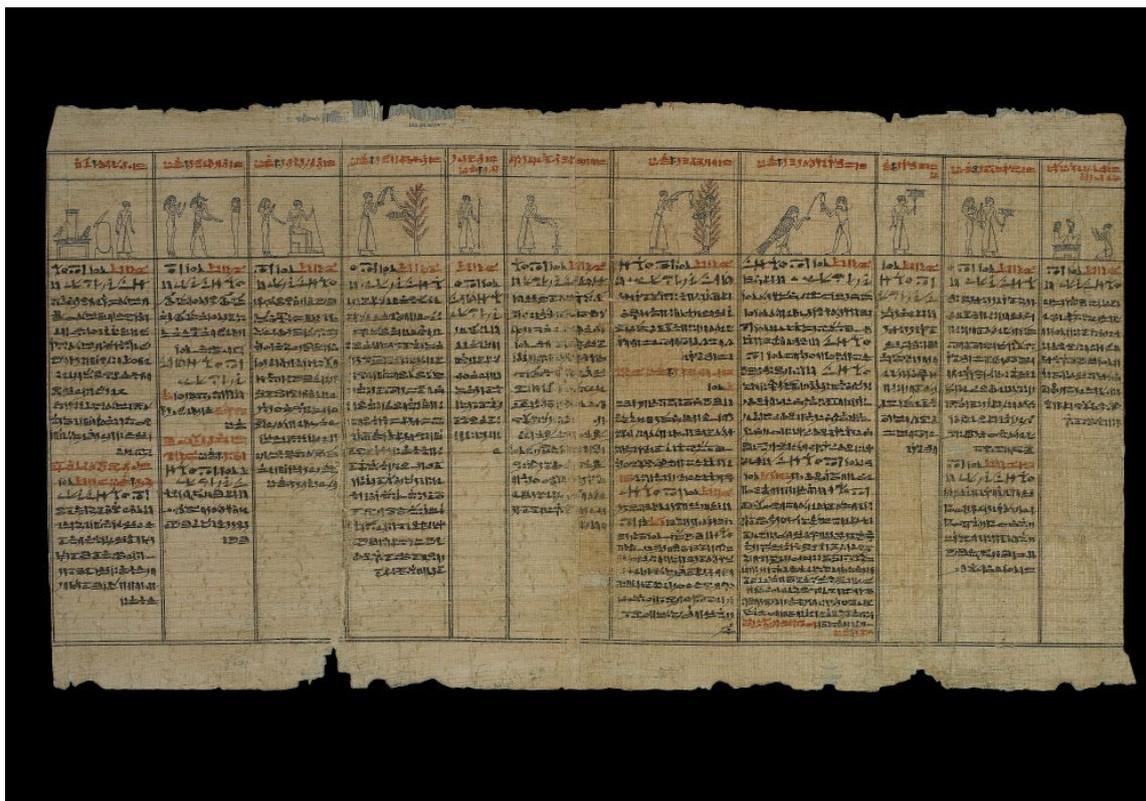


Fig. 8: Papyrus Toronto ROM 978x43.1 (BD 125, judgement scene). Photograph: Wolfgang Schade, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.



Evidence of a master copy transferred from Thebes to the Memphite area in Dynasty 26

Irmtraut Munro

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Evidence of a master copy transferred from Thebes to the Memphite area in Dynasty 26

*Irmtraut Munro**

During a photographic survey at Cairo Museum in 2001, members of the Book of the Dead Project in Bonn photographed more than 60 glass frames of different sizes and five envelopes which together contained about 3000 papyrus fragments from three different Book of the Dead documents (Figs. 1a–b, 3–4; Munro 2002, 2:831–41, pls. 1 and 2).

The first document, consisting of about 1500 fragments, in most cases has a blank space where one would expect the name of the papyrus owner. Hence, this papyrus was a stock-produced copy of the Book of the Dead. Only at the very beginning of the roll has the name and filiation of the owner been inserted (Fig. 2). It was written on behalf of a lady named Ta-sheret-en-Aset (*T3-šrt-n-3st*). The Cairo papyrus proved to form part of a Book of the Dead document that is preserved in the Völkerkunde-Museum in Heidelberg. It was previously thought to be anonymous (Verhoeven 1998, 224–25, pls. 26, 27).

The owner of the second manuscript—comprising over 1150 fragments and clearly distinguishable by its neat and elegant handwriting—was a certain Djed-khi (*Dd-ḥi*), who held the priestly title *ḥm-ntr Mnṯw* in addition to some other designations (Fig. 3). The name of his father Bes-en-Mut (*Bs-n-Mwt*) is mentioned twice; he held the same titles as his son. The owner's mother Taweret (*T3w-irit*) is mentioned in the manuscript more frequently than his father.

There is evidence from a third document that comprises about 300 fragments, some of which clearly show the name of the owner Taweret (Fig. 4). There is no information regarding their provenance or when these three groups of fragments entered Cairo Museum. Since the pieces have been juxtaposed and mounted between glass all together, one may conclude that the fragments must have been found in close proximity, for instance in a family tomb.

As Bes-en-Mut and his son Djed-khi practised their priestly duties in Thebes, it is not overly speculative to assume that this family tomb was located somewhere in the area. It is known that the tomb of the grandson Irty-ru-tjaw (*Irti-rw-Bw*) was definitely situated at Deir el-Bahri (Dabrowska-Smekkala 1966a; 1966b). The texts from his coffin record Djed-khi and Ta-sheret-en-Aset as the parents of Irty-ru-tjaw. The Book of the Dead papyri of Bes-en-Mut's wife Taweret, of Djed-khi and his wife Ta-sheret-en-Aset unquestionably have their origin in the Theban region.

In fact, the data available are sufficient to reconstruct in detail the family tree with Taweret and Bes-en-Mut as parents, Djed-khi and Ta-sheret-en-Aset as son and daughter-in-law, and with a son of this couple named Irty-ru-tjaw. The latter is the owner of a Book of the Dead papyrus of which additional fragments were found at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Dabrowska-Smekkala 1966, pl. 47).¹ Djed-khi and his son are well-known as choachytes in the necropolis of Thebes: they are mentioned in a land-lease document from year 37 of King

* I am indebted to my colleague T. DuQuesne for correcting and amending this article.

¹ P. Toronto ROM 910.85.222, to be published by I. Munro.

Amasis dated to 534 BCE (Donker van Heel 1996, 21–27, 216–17). Fortunately it is also possible to trace these individuals and their genealogy from their sarcophagi, which are held in Cairo and have been published by Moret (1913; CG 41011, 41037) and Gauthier (1913; CG 41065, CG 41066, CG 41070).

Meanwhile, even more fragments than the aforementioned 3000 pieces in Cairo have been found in nine other collections; there too, the fragments of the three papyri have been mixed up and reflect the close context of the three burials:

1. Assisi, Bibliotheca comunale: P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. Djed-khi.
2. Budapest, National Library: P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. Djed-khi.
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (with different inventory numbers): P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset, P. Djed-khi and P. Taweret.
4. Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca: P. Djed-khi.
5. Heidelberg, Völkerkunde-Museum der von Portheim Stiftung: P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. Djed-khi.
6. Heidelberg, Collection of the Egyptological Institute of the University: P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.
7. Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum: P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.
8. Moscow, Pushkin-Museum: P. Djed-khi and P. Taweret.
9. New York, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University: P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.
10. Uppsala, Museum Gustavianum: P. Djed-khi.

An attempt to reassemble the pieces in Cairo Museum was unsuccessful due to administrative difficulties. The team therefore had to be content with the virtual joining of fragments on the basis of digital images. The results of this digital reconstruction of the Cairo papyri will be published in part as one of the next volumes in the HAT series.² The virtual restoration of approximately 90 per cent of the manuscript (Fig. 5) now provides a reasonably adequate basis for research on P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset, which is the subject of the present article. The papyrus proved to be of considerable length—about 17m—and is complete except for a number of lacunae and a missing section from BD chapters 19 to 29. Its fragmentary state, however, has not prevented the identification of special features, both in the text and in the vignettes. Some 139 spells and 90 vignettes are suitable for comparison and have provided a solid basis for our research.

Like all the other Theban documents of Dynasty 26 (see Table 1), the papyrus of Ta-sheret-en-Aset is written in hieratic script, in contrast to the two previously known documents dating to Dynasty 25,³ which are written in hieroglyphic script. It has a layout that is typical of contemporary Saite papyri and corresponds to Style 2 in Mosher's classification (1992, 143–72). It has double lines for borders at the top, bottom and sides of each chapter, a horizontal line for the headings of spells, and all vignettes are situated above the text. Mosher's Style 2 is by no means an exceptional layout, but has a format characteristic of Dynasty 26 Book of

² HAT 12 (in preparation).

³ P. Nemti and P. Ta-shep-en-Khonsu.

the Dead manuscripts in Thebes *and* the Memphite region.⁴

The sequence of spells is particularly noteworthy. P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset does not follow the Saite recension, which usually features in manuscripts from Dynasty 26 onward. Instead of a variable text sequence from one manuscript to another—as is usually the case during the New Kingdom until Dynasty 25—the later Book of the Dead collators codified spells in the sequence with which we are familiar from Lepsius's edition *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter* (1842), based on P. Turin 1791. Lepsius numbered its spells consecutively, so that we can now easily compare the order of spells in different manuscripts.

It is impossible to be certain when the so-called 'Saite' text revision took place. There is, however, convincing evidence that the two known Book of the Dead papyri dating from Dynasty 25—one of them from the end of Dynasty 25 (Munro 2009)—do not yet follow the Saite recension, while Book of the Dead papyri from the beginning of Dynasty 26 do so entirely. See Table 2 for the sequence of spells in P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset, where the breaks within the numerically ascending order of spells are indicated in red.

Examination of the Book of the Dead archive in Bonn reveals that there is only one document, from a total of 859 data sets of the Late and Ptolemaic Period manuscripts, which has a strikingly similar, almost identical sequence as P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset: this is P. BM EA 10558. Another document, P. Turin 1842, may also have followed the same sequence, but unfortunately it ends after chapter 81.⁵ To demonstrate the striking similarity of both manuscripts in terms of their sequence of spells, their text sequences have been assembled so that one can easily identify where they have the sequence in common and where they show some differences (Table 2). Of particular note is the occurrence of an adoration scene at the beginning of P. BM EA 10558, which is absent in P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset; the insertion of spell 123 and 122; the inversion of vignette 150 and spell 152; the insertion of vignette 151 in P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset; and the addition of chapters 163, 164 and 165 in P. BM EA 10558. But if one takes into consideration the fact that there are more than 130 spells in common and that these even follow the same non-canonical order, it may be concluded that both manuscripts must have been copied from the same template, which was written during Dynasty 25, before the so-called Saite recension.

The two manuscripts P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. BM EA 10558 not only share the same unusual sequence of spells; they also have the same general layout and share the overwhelming majority of vignettes. Out of 91 vignettes in P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. BM EA 10558, 89 have the same layout and accompany the same spells; they even share the same motifs. The two papyri differ in only eight cases, where P. BM EA 10558 shows a vignette that is not in the scheme of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and vice versa. In six cases the position of a vignette in P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset is the same as in P. BM EA 10558, but the illustration is absent.

What is most impressive in the case of both papyri, however, is the fact that in almost all cases they possess similar—if not almost identical—motifs in their vignettes. Some of them appear only in these two papyri. This cannot be coincidental and suggests that the same source must have been used. The following is a selection of some of these motifs:

⁴ P. Vatican 48832; P. Louvre N. 3091; P. BM EA 10558.

⁵ M. Mosher's suggestion of two additional manuscripts (P. New York MMA 35.9.20 and P. Chicago OIM 10486/P. Milbank) proved to be invalid.

Vignette to chapter 72 and vignette to chapter 73 (Fig. 6)

The vignette of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset shows the deceased before three deities: Horus, Shu and a goddess, probably Tefnut. P. BM EA 10558 differs only in representing a third male deity instead of a female: this combination is comparable to the iconography known for the vignette to chapter BD 115 in the Late Period. The next vignette, accompanying spell 73, corresponds in both papyri with the iconography of BD 72. In this case, the position of the vignette has shifted only one spell forward.

Vignette to chapter 80 (Fig. 7)

P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. BM EA 10558 show a vignette normally associated with BD spell 79 as an illustration to BD 80: the deceased with a staff, or in adoration before three overlapping figures of deities. This vignette seems also to have shifted its position.

Vignette to chapter 63 (Fig. 8)

Usually the deceased is represented with upraised hands holding two *mw*-pots and pouring water before a large sign for fire, as in P. Turin 1791. Alternatively, the deceased is seen pouring water-jets from his hands into a vessel. In P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. BM EA 10558 the deceased is shown pouring water onto a fire pot or fire sign that stands on the ground.

Vignette to chapter 110, illustrating the Elysian fields (Fig. 9)

Although P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset omits the vignette to chapter 110c, the illustration of the Elysian fields is in most details—in text and iconography—largely comparable with P. BM EA 10558. In both documents there are four registers that show the same arrangement of scenes. The only difference seems to be the scene of sowing behind the scene of ploughing in the third register, for which there is a blank section in P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset. Another marginal difference is the gesture of *nini* in P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset, while in P. BM EA 10558 the deceased is depicted with his arms raised in adoration.

Vignette to chapter 122 (Fig. 10)

A unique vignette, only attested in P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. BM EA 10558, is the illustration to chapter 122: two male figures standing back to back before a shrine with an open door.

Vignette to chapter 68 in combination with vignette to chapter 91 (Fig. 11)

Also unique, but with one parallel among the mummy bandages (M. Princeton Pharaonic roll Nr.8, dated to the Ptolemaic Period, from Saqqara), is the combination of two vignettes. The illustration accompanies BD chapter 68 in both papyri, P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. BM EA 10558. To the left is the figure of the goddess Hathor in a kiosk and an offering-table, elements already familiar from vignette BD chapter 68, as for example in P. Turin 1791. The next components are from BD chapter 91 and show the deceased together with his Ba-bird. The reason why these two components have been combined is not obvious and therefore this motif is strong evidence for a common master copy.

These few examples may be sufficient to demonstrate that P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. BM EA 10558 not only shared a common master copy relating to their textual order and extent, but also relied on it in using the same motifs of vignettes.

The close relationship between P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. BM EA 10558 can also be observed in their texts. Throughout, many close and significant analogies are attested in the most extraordinary way: in both manuscripts there are unusual headings for spells not known from other documents (BD chapters 107, 109, 114); a congruence of text passages such as the deification of the members in BD chapter 42; and the composition of BD chapter 141/142, in which the list of the names of the various deities normally differs from one manuscript to the other in position, omission or the addition of a name. It is also noticeable that there are many common features in both manuscripts in which the spell has been cut off abruptly,⁶ many congruent omissions of passages and some curious spellings of words.⁷

The occurrence of a nearly identical text sequence, the similarity in choice and position of the vignettes and the close relationship between the texts in both manuscripts are strong arguments for their derivation from the same master copy. This conclusion would not be problematic if one accepted that the two papyri under consideration had been produced in the same region and during the same period. Regarding the provenance and dating of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset: the manuscript is clearly from Thebes and dates to Dynasty 26, but what can be said about the provenance and dating of P. BM EA 10558?

The dating of this papyrus is a controversial issue among researchers. Mosher dates the document to the 3rd century, followed by Budek (2008, 35, n. 96) in her study on the full-scale vignette of BD chapter 15. The Ptolemaic dating of P. BM EA 10558 is based on the occurrence of the sun-child sitting between the horns of Mehet-weret in vignette BD 17 and 71, which according to Mosher (2001, 18) is not attested in any Dynasty 26 manuscript and not before the 3rd century. As noted above however, this motif already occurs in the Dynasty 26 papyrus of Ta-sheret-en-Aset (Fig. 12). Style 2 as another argument for a 3rd century dating cannot be valid either, because this is the usual style observed in Dynasty 26 documents. A second suggestion that P. BM EA 10558 belongs to Dynasty 26 was proposed by Kockelmann (2008, 197–98) and Pinch (1984, 104), but neither adduced any specific arguments. Nevertheless the following criteria confirm their opinion:

First, the script of the document clearly points to a Dynasty 26 date, as do the single signs and the characteristics of its handwriting. Second—and this is the major point—the close relationship of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset and P. BM EA 10558 and their almost identical sequence indicates that both are more or less contemporaneous copies belonging to Dynasty 26. It is inconceivable that P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset was copied in Dynasty 26 and that P. BM EA 10558 was produced from the same source document three hundred years later.

There is no assured report about the origin of P. BM EA 10558 either, so it must be deduced from internal criteria. Some features, which Mosher (1992, 143–72) has found to be distinctive or nonexistent for the Memphite and the Theban tradition respectively, point to a Theban rather than a Memphite tradition. Mosher himself, however, repeatedly assigns a Memphite origin and, in his publication of P. Hor, would assign a Middle Egyptian provenance for P. BM EA 10558 (Mosher 2001, 20, n. 119 and 23, n. 134).

⁶ P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset, BD 136 A, BD 124; see the forthcoming publication HAT 12.

⁷ P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset, BD 69, BD 121, BD 124; see the forthcoming publication HAT 12.

The rightward orientation in the vignettes to chapters 91, 92, 93, 98 or 117, which signals a Memphite tradition, is not a reliable argument, as P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset shows the same orientation. Nor does the argument in favour of a distinctive provenance, the repetition of spells or their absence, work with respect to P. BM EA 10558 due to the generally consistent source document from which the two papyri derive (Mosher 1992, 156–57). Nevertheless, Mosher proposes an argument that may indeed indicate a Memphite provenance for P. BM EA 10558. This is the illustration to chapter 143. In accordance with some other Memphite documents, P. BM EA 10558 shows the full-scale vignette in three registers, as stated by Mosher (1992, 153) for the Memphite tradition. This vignette is lacking in P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset. In favour of a Memphite origin may be the concluding passages of P. BM EA 10558: the fact that chapters 163–164–165 follow chapter 162, a phenomenon hitherto known from the Memphite P. Louvre N. 3091 and P. Vatican 48832 (Gasse 2001). Mosher (1992, 158–69) goes so far as to select P. BM EA 10558 as one of the basic documents of the Memphite version for the synopsis of chapter 163. These statements do not contradict the evidence for a Memphite origin of P. BM EA 10558.

An iconographic detail, observed by Kockelmann (2008, 197–98) in his handbook of mummy bandages, is the missing spike on top of the Iun-pillar in BD chapter 75 (Fig. 13), attested so far only in Memphite documents, both in papyri and on mummy bandages.

When one compares P. BM EA 10558 with contemporary papyri, it becomes evident that its vignettes do not show the same polychromatic colouring attested in Theban documents which include vignettes (Fig. 12a). In P. BM EA 10558, only the black outlines survive and in rare cases also some red-coloured strokes for rendering details like branches or fire (Fig. 14a). The contrast in impression is extreme. A lack of polychromatic colouring can also be observed in P. Vatican 48832 and later Memphite documents.⁸

Another feature relating to the vignettes is noteworthy: the figures do not show the slender characters, overlength and elongated forms that are one of the typical stylistic features of the Theban Dynasty 26 style (Fig. 15). This is where P. BM EA 10558 differs from the twin manuscript, that of the Theban P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.

But the crucial factor that supports the hypothesis of a Memphite workshop is a small but very important stylistic detail. In scenes where a figure is depicted in the gesture of adoring with two arms raised or with arms bent forward, often only one shoulder can be seen, while the other is concealed by the socket of its arm, so that the line from the neck to the back is rendered in profile (Fig. 16). This is a feature often attested in the Old Kingdom that was revived in the Late Period; it was frequently used in the Memphite area, while it occurs in Upper Egypt only in exceptional cases (Munro 1993, 156–57).

If one accepts a Memphite provenance for P. BM EA 10558 and assigns it to Dynasty 26, one is confronted by the evidence of a text transfer between Thebes and Memphis and we need to explain how this text transfer took place. The question must be asked: did the source document derive from Thebes from whence it was exported to Memphis, or vice versa?

There is no doubt among scholars that an exchange of model manuscripts between libraries in the two areas existed. Verhoeven (2001, 341) assumes that there was a regular exchange of manuscripts between the libraries of Thebes, Memphis and other smaller sites in Egypt, especially at a time when the priests were heavily occupied in copying earlier monuments and

⁸ E.g., P. Khonsu-*iw* or P. Cairo CG 40029.

documents.

More explicitly, Rössler-Köhler states that Thebes developed from the beginning as a religious centre for composing Book of the Dead texts in Dynasty 18 and even before. During the Third Intermediate Period and later, the city also remained the centre of the Book of the Dead tradition, its maintenance and recension. Rössler-Köhler (1991, 279–80) provides four examples of a text transfer from Thebes to Memphis during Dynasties 18 and 19.

In her research on the tradition of Coffin Texts in the Late Period, Gestermann (2005, Teil 1: Text. 403, 435) refers to the earliest occurrence of Coffin Texts at the end of Dynasty 25 in Thebes, where high-ranking individuals such as the owner of TT 33, Pa-di-Amen-opet, had access to archives and were able to provide their tombs with a collection of Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead spells and other religious texts. Systematic research and investigation by the priests must have taken place prior to this time. From Thebes, these texts found their way to the necropolis of Saqqara, where shortly afterwards the high official Bak-en-renef also equipped his tomb with Coffin Texts. In the case of the transfer of Coffin Texts, all available information points to a transfer from Thebes to the north. In accordance with the transfer of the Coffin Texts, we may assume also a Theban redaction and a transfer to the north for the Book of the Dead, a theory that can be supported by a further argument: most of the manuscripts of Dynasty 26, the period when the recension must have taken place, derive from Thebes. Their layout is derivative of Theban manuscripts of Dynasty 18. More precisely, they copied a layout that was used only in a very limited phase: from the time of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III to the first years of Amenhotep II. This time had a particularly strong influence on the textual compositions in tombs of the Late Period, such as those in the tombs of Basa or Ibi (Gestermann 2005, 446, n. 1791), and was regarded by later generations as one of the most prosperous and glorious epochs—one of the ‘golden ages’ of Egyptian history—which they wished to revive. Thus, the adoption of a Theban layout for newly arranged manuscripts strongly indicates a Theban source for the Saite recension.

In conclusion, the occurrence of a document produced in a Memphite workshop, but with distinctive features in common with a Theban manuscript, can only signify a transfer of the model copy from Thebes to Memphis. In addition to the four examples of a text transfer in Dynasties 18 and 19, a fifth example now corroborates the evidence for a transfer from Thebes to Memphis.

Cover image. P. BM EA 10558.10

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P. Ankhef-en-Khonsu (<i>ꜥnh-f-n-Ḥnsw</i>)	Thebes	early Dynasty 26 ¹
P. Pef-iuiu (<i>Pf-iwiw</i>)	Thebes	c. 670-650 BC ²
P. Nes-pa-sefi (<i>Ns-p3-sfi</i>)	Thebes	Dynasty 26, reign of Psametik I ³
P. Kham-Her (<i>Ḥ3m-Ḥr</i>) C	Thebes	c. 630 BC ⁴
P. Nehem-su-Mut (<i>Nḥm-sw-Mwt</i>)	Thebes	middle to end of Dynasty 26 ⁵
P. Turin 1842	Thebes	c. 534 BC ⁶
P. Taweret (<i>T3w-irit</i>)	Thebes	before 534 BC, reign of Amasis ⁷
P. Djed-khi (<i>Dd-ḥi</i>)	Thebes	c. 534 BC ⁸
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset (<i>T3-šrt-n-3st</i>)	Thebes	c. 534 BC ⁹
P. Irty-ru-tjaw (<i>Irti-rw-t3w</i>)	Thebes	c. 534 BC ¹⁰
P. Thebes/Ramessesum (2)	Thebes	Dynasty 26 ¹¹
P. Pa-kharu (<i>P3-ḥ3rw</i>)/P. location unknown	Thebes	Dynasty 26 (unpublished)
P. Psametik (<i>Psmtk</i>)/P. Neuchâtel 242	Thebes	Dynasty 26 (unpublished)
P. Nes-Khonsu (<i>Ns-Ḥnsw</i>)/P. Florenz 3668	Thebes	Dynasty 26 (unpublished)
P. Iah-tai-es-nekhet (<i>Jꜥḥ-t3i-s-nḥt</i>)	Middle Egypt	c. 600 BC ¹²
P. Ankh-pa-ef-heri (<i>ꜥnh-p3-f-ḥri</i>)/P. OIM 5739	Abydos	Dynasty 26 ¹³
P. Pef-tjaw (<i>Pf-t3w</i>)	Abydos	c. 580-570 BC ¹⁴
P. Paris Louvre N. 3091	Memphis	end of Dynasty 26 ¹⁵
P. Vatican 48832	Memphis	end of Dynasty 26 ¹⁶
P. BM EA 10558	Memphis	end of Dynasty 26 ¹⁷
P. New York Brooklyn 47.218.1850	Memphis	Dynasty 26 ¹⁸

Table 1: List of Dynasty 26 manuscripts.

¹ Verhoeven 2001, 17.² Verhoeven 2001, 68–70; Munro 1973, 219–20.³ Verhoeven 2001, 17, 70–71; 1999, 9–10.⁴ Verhoeven 2001, 17, 71.⁵ Verhoeven 2001, 18–19.⁶ Evidence from its script, Mosher 2008, 238, n. 4.⁷ Mother of Djed-khi.⁸ Donker van Heel 1996, 21–23, 27, 216–17.⁹ Wife of Djed-khi.¹⁰ Donker van Heel 1996, 21–23, 27, 216–17.¹¹ Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 75, fig. 12.¹² Verhoeven 2001, 18, 72; 1993, 3–12.¹³ Allen 1960, 14; Verhoeven 2001, 18, 72–73.¹⁴ Verhoeven 2001, 18.¹⁵ Verhoeven 2001, 18, 73–74.¹⁶ Verhoeven 2001, 18; Gasse 2001, 9.¹⁷ Strong similarity in sequence and motifs of vignettes with P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.¹⁸ Verhoeven 2001, 308–18.

P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	1V	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15V	V15
P. BM EA 10558	1V	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15V	V15
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	17V	18V	19V	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	///	29	30V	64V+30BV
P. BM EA 10558	17V	18V	19V	20	21V	22	23V	24	25V	26V	27V	28V	29	30V	64V+30BV
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	31V	32V	33V	34	35	36V	37	38	39V	40V	41V	42	65[V]	66	67[V]
P. BM EA 10558	31V	32V	33V	34	35	36V	37	38	39V	40V	41V	42	65V	66	67V
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	74V	75	76	77	78	79[V]	80	V79	81AV	82	83[V]	84V	85V	86[V]	87V
P. BM EA 10558	74V	75V	76	77V	78V	79V	80	V79	81AV	82V	83V	84V	85V	86V	87V
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	88V	72V	73V	54 + 55V	-	56V	57[V]	-	-	58	59	60	-	62	63V
P. BM EA 10558	88V	72V	73V	54V	55	56V	57V	123	122	58	59V	60	61	62	63V
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	51	52	44V	45V	46	50V	47V	93V	43V	89V	91V	92V	98V	99	100
P. BM EA 10558	51V	52V	44V	45V	46	50V	47V	93V	43V	89V	91V	92V	98V	99	100V
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	101V	102V	129V	133V	134V	135	136AV	95V	96/97	94V	104V	105V	106V	71V	68
P. BM EA 10558	101V	102V	129V	133V	134V	135	136AV	95V	96/97	94V	104V	105V	106V	71V	68
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	V91	V68	69	70	117	118	119V	122V	120[V]	121[V]	107	108V	109[V]	V110	111
P. BM EA 10558	V91	V68	69	70	117V	118	119V	122V	120	121V	107	108V	109V	V110	111
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	112V	113V	114V	115V	116	124V	125A	125B	-	TG	126V	140V	127	128[V]	141/142
P. BM EA 10558	112V	113V	114V	115V	116	124V	125A	125B	125C	TG	126V	140V	127	128	141/142
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	130	-	144V	145V	146V	147V	148V	149V	V150	152	151V	152V	153	154V	155V
P. BM EA 10558	130	V143	144V	145V	146V	147V	148V	149V	152	V150	151V	152V	153	154V	155V
P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset	156V				160V	161V	161V	V162	163V	164V	165V				
P. BM EA 10558	156V	157V	158V	159V	160V	161V	161V	162V	163V	164V	165V				

Table 2: Sequence of spells on P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset (Theban) and P. BM EA 10558 ('Memphite'). Breaks within the numerically ascending order of the spells are indicated in red.



Fig. 1a: Fragments of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset in Cairo.

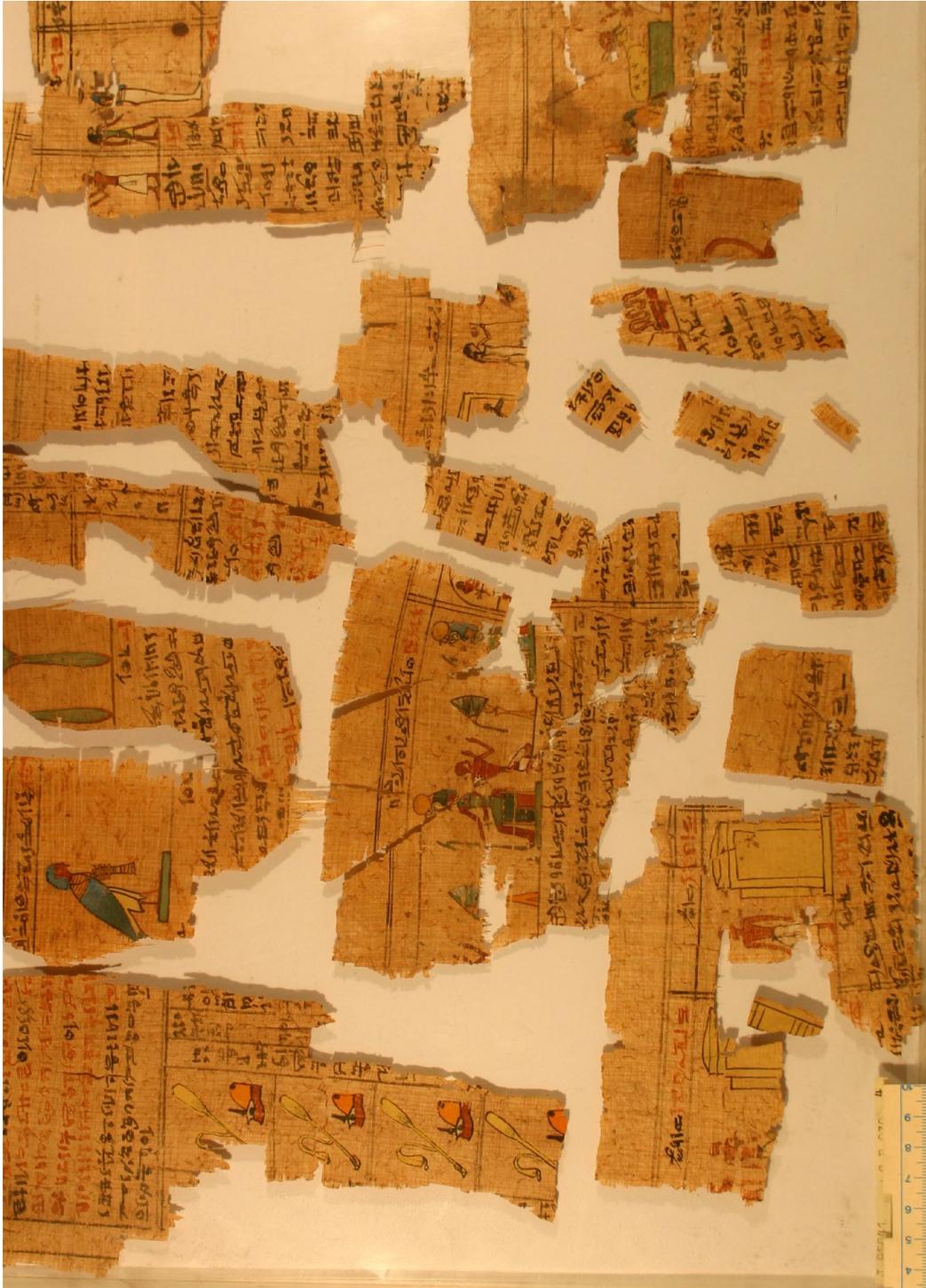


Fig. 1b: Fragments of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset in Cairo.

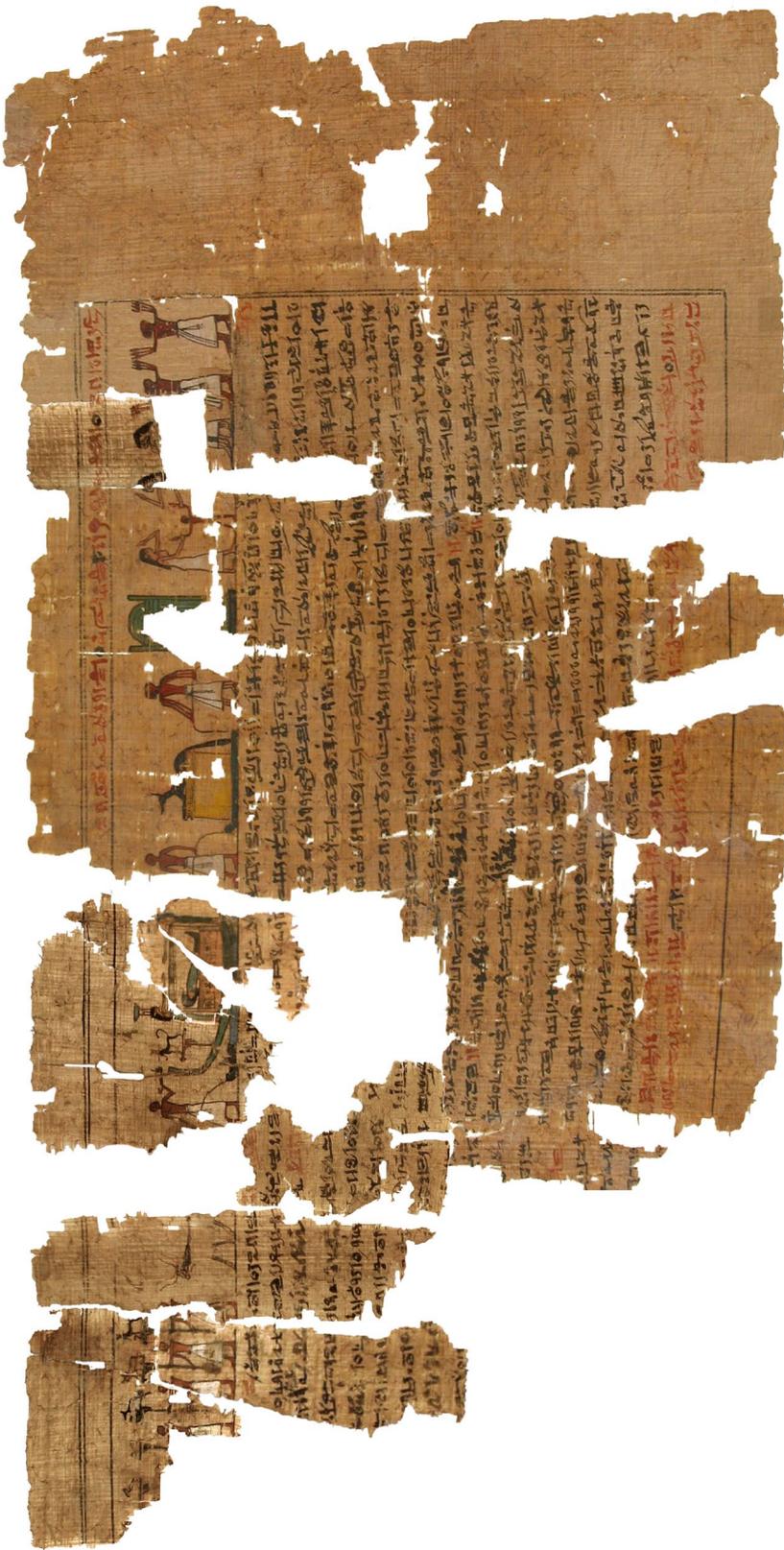


Fig. 2: BD 1 with the names completed afterwards.

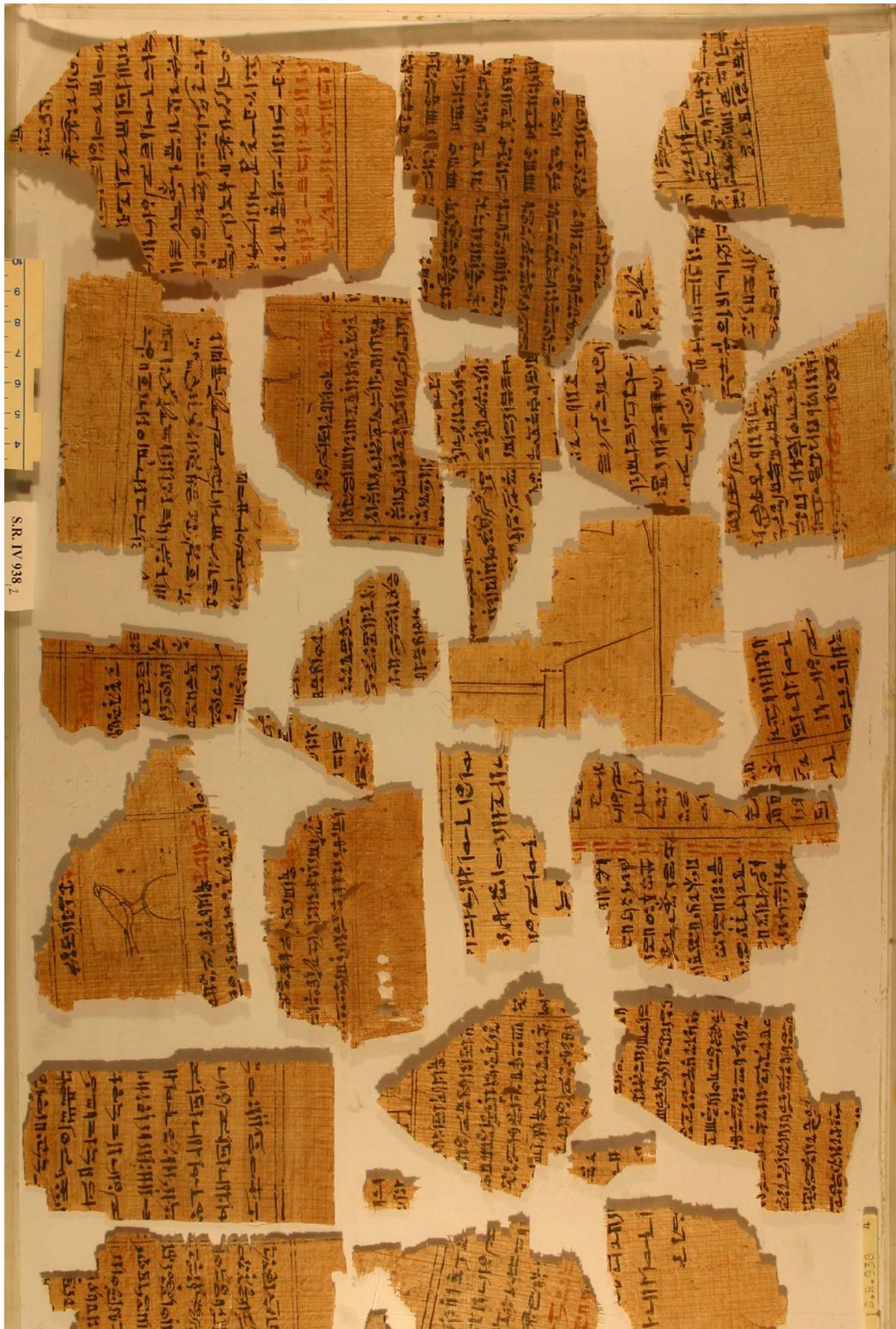


Fig. 3: Fragments of P. Djed-khi in Cairo.



Fig. 4: Fragments of P. Taweret in Cairo.



Fig. 5: Reconstructed section of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.



Fig. 6b: Vignettes BD 72 and 73 of P. BM EA 10558.10 and 9.



Fig. 6a: Vignettes BD 72 and 73 of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.



Fig. 7a: Vignette BD 80 of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.



Fig. 7b: Vignette BD 80 of P. BM EA 10558.9.



Fig. 8a: Vignette BD 63 of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.



Fig. 8b: Vignette BD 63 of P. BM EA 10558.10.



Fig. 9a: Vignette BD 110 of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.

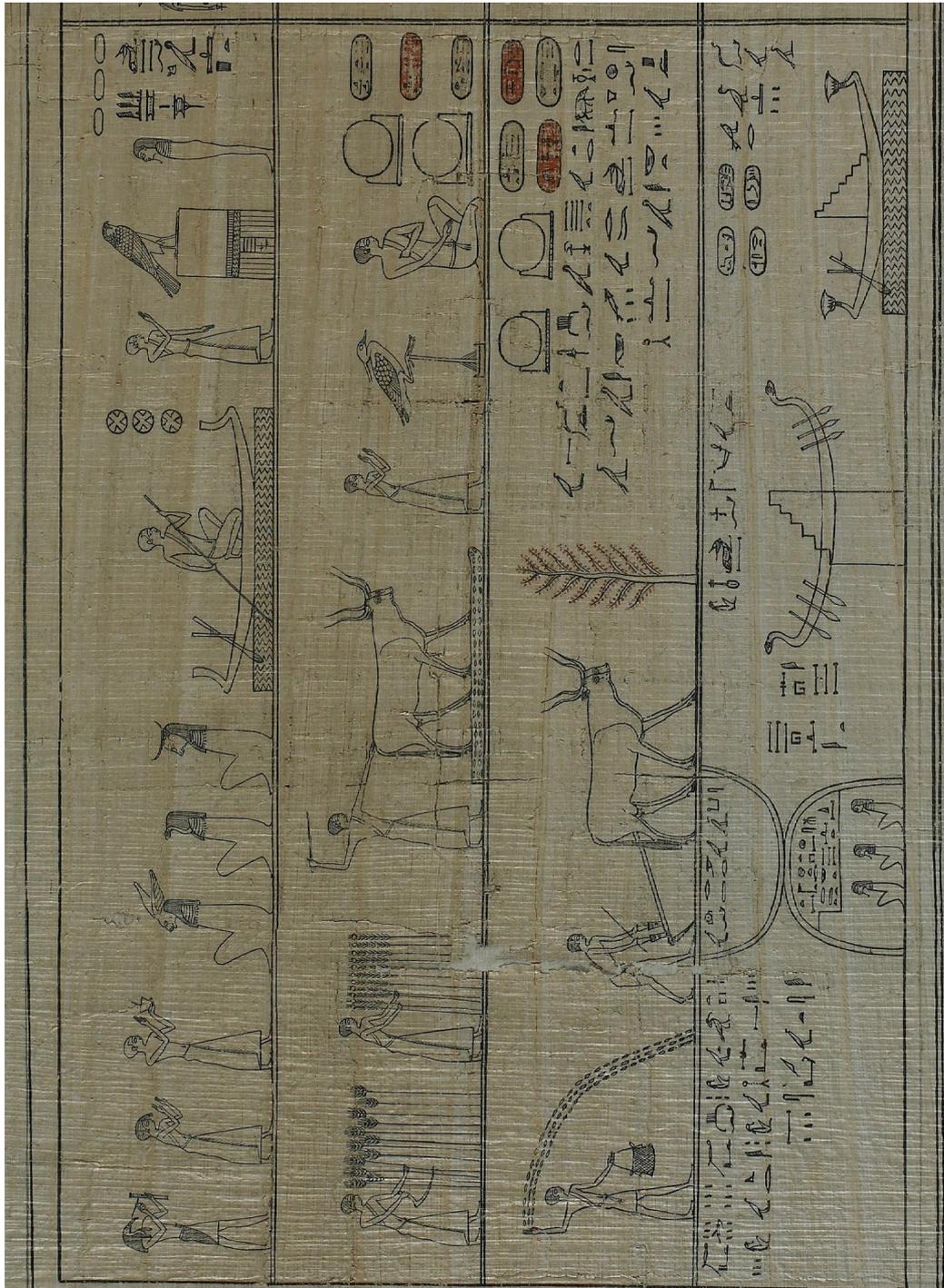


Fig. 9b: Vignette BD 110 of P. BM EA 10558.15.

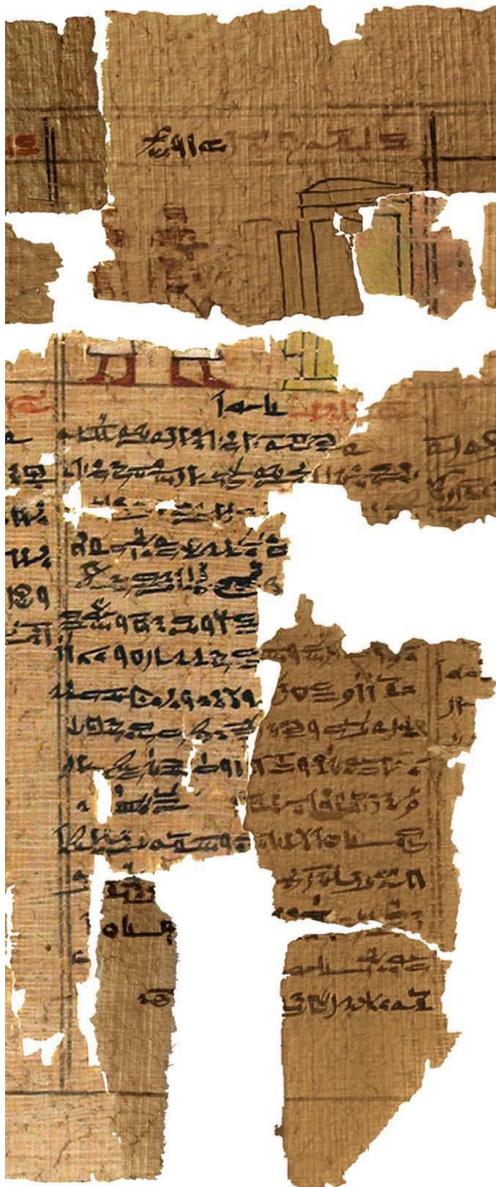


Fig. 10a: Vignette BD 122 of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.

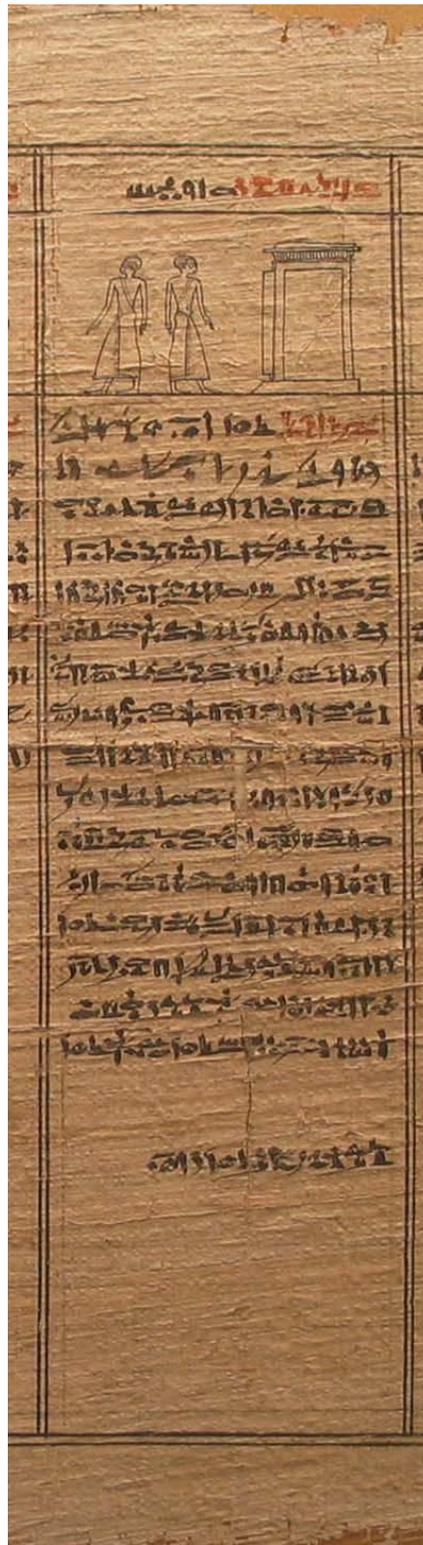


Fig. 10b: Vignette BD 122 of P. BM EA 10558.14.

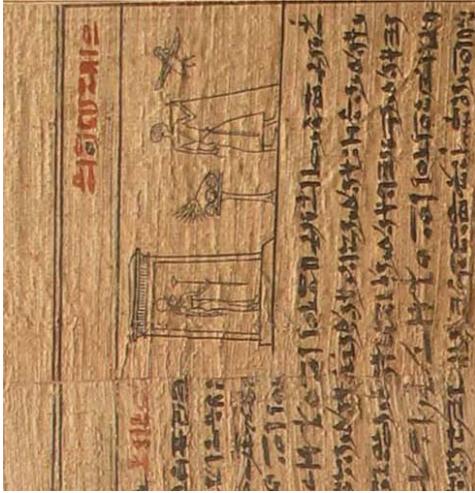


Fig. 11b: Vignettes BD 68 and 91 of P. BM EA 10558.14.

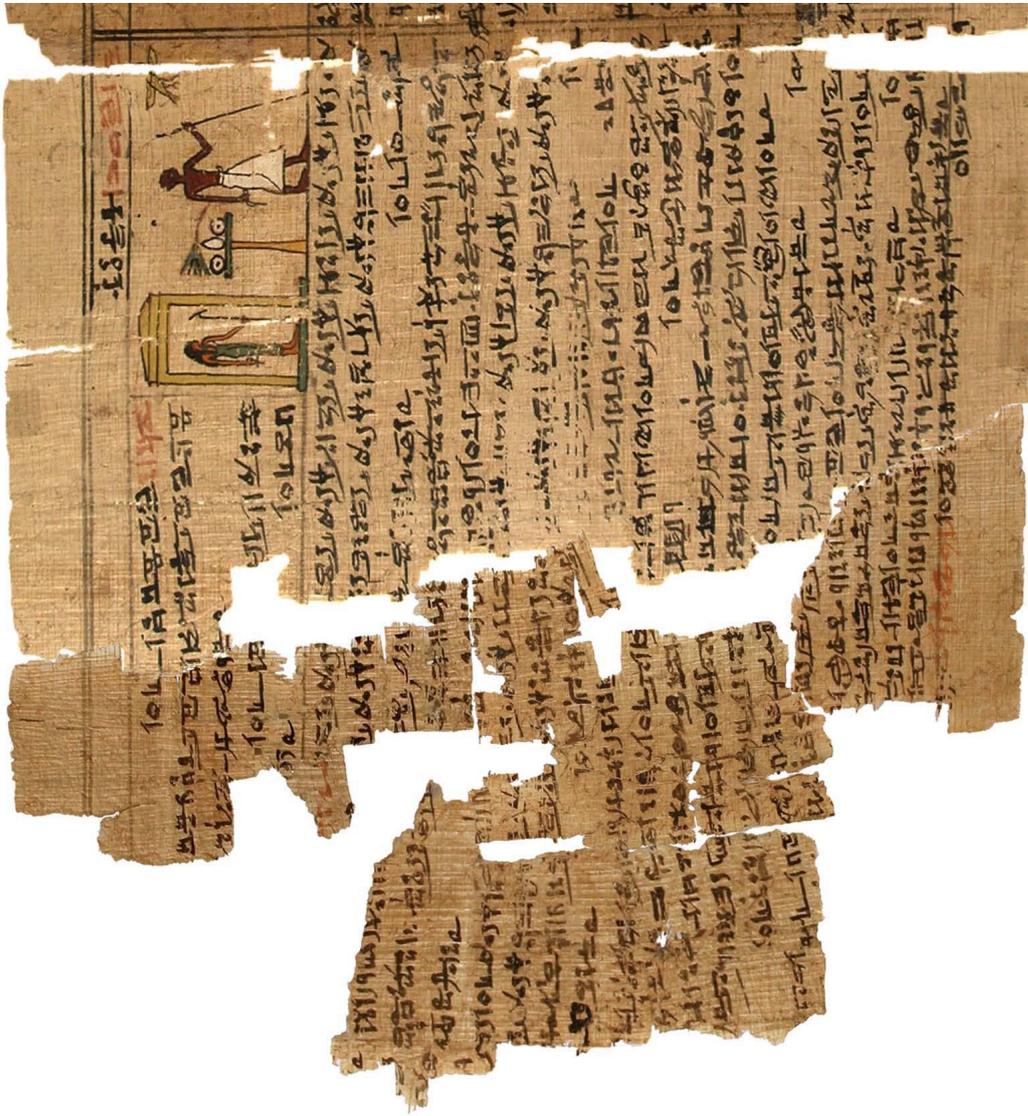


Fig. 11a: Vignettes BD 68 and 91 of P. Ta-sheret-en-Asset.



Fig. 12a: Vignette BD 71 of P. Ta-sheret-en-Aset.



Fig. 12b: Vignette BD 71 of P. BM EA 10558.13.

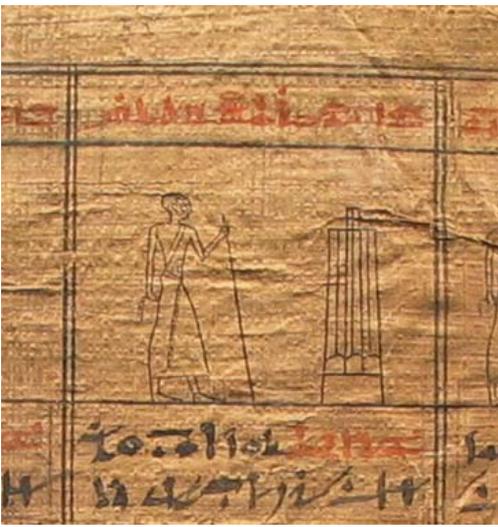


Fig. 13: Missing spike of Iun-pillar in Vignette BD 75 of P. BM EA 10558.8.



Fig. 14: Colouring of P. BM EA 10558.10; outlines in black, some details in red.

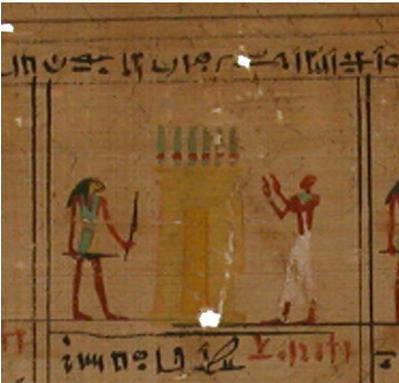


Fig. 15: Theban style, shown in Vignette BD 145 of P. Djed-khi.

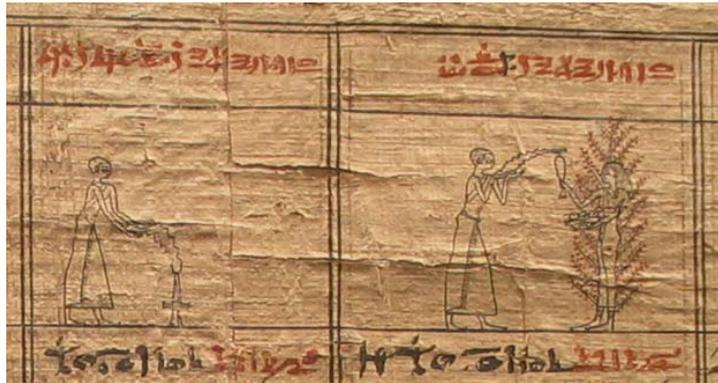


Fig. 16: Rendering of the shoulders in the Memphite P. BM EA 10558.10.



**The Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset
(P. BNF Egyptien 62–88)**

Traces of workshop production or scribal experiments?

Chloe Ragazzoli

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The Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset (P. BNF Egyptien 62–88) Traces of workshop production or scribal experiments?

Chloe Ragazzoli

Overview of the papyrus

P. BNF 62–88 is a fine Book of the Dead manuscript of Dynasty 21, belonging to the mistress of the house, singer of Amun and chantress of the arm of Mut, Ankhesenaset (Fig. 1). It has been identified, on the basis of style and content, as part of a group of very similar Books of the Dead originating from Thebes (Niwinski 1989, 35; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 305; Rössler-Köhler 1999, 88–89; Munro 2001, 128; Lucarelli 2006, 238–39).

The papyrus is particularly notable for its marginalia, i.e., notes in the margin describing the vignettes in the text, along with a unique arrangement of text around the pictures.

The papyrus is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF, Richelieu site), as part of the papyri collection of the Department of Manuscripts. It was initially held within the Cabinet des Monnaies et Médailles, along with other Egyptian antiquities, before it was transferred to the Department of Manuscripts in 1856. During the early nineteenth century, the Bibliothèque imperiale, subsequently Bibliothèque royale, was an important centre for European Egyptology. Later, its most impressive antiquities, including the king's list from Karnak and the Dendera zodiac, were sent to the Louvre (Sarmant 1994, 332). The present day collection of Egyptian manuscripts amounts to 247 items (Berthier 2000, 32), almost half of which are Books of the Dead. The process of making these available online is underway.¹

Content

Previous citations of this unpublished papyrus (Bellion 1987, 75; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 305), provide varying identifications of the spell sequence. This is due to a difficulty specific to several Books of the Dead kept at the Bibliothèque nationale: when cut and framed, the fragments became mixed up. As a result, the inventory numbers of each frame (here 62 to 88) do not follow the original order of the fragments in the roll. Material evidence, hinting at the original order of divided manuscripts, is difficult to identify. In the case of Ankhesenaset's Book of the Dead, however, the modern framer was very careful in his division of the papyrus, cutting the fragments in a very straight line, following almost exactly the joins, between two columns of text. Six sequences of continuous pages (18 out of a total 27) can thus be reconstructed, on the basis of spells running across more than one page. To arrange these sequences, I first considered contemporary parallels. Thereafter, I checked the now reconstructed order with evidence left by rare instances of uneven cutting, or where ink ran over a join.

¹ <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/cdc.html> [Menu: 'Département des Manuscrits' > 'Afrique' > 'Égypte'].

Sequence of spells	Etiquette (adoration of Osiris)–title–BD17–65–100–136–98–14–78–82–77–86–85–83–84–81A–80–87–88–76–102–119–7–31–32–38B–54–55–38A–5–13/121–138–123/139–187–57–53–93–75–61–189–30B–29–28–11–27–145–110–178–110
Sheet order	inv. 62–63–67–78–77–69–70–71–74–75–73–72–80–66–68–81–76–65–64–82–83–84–87–86–85–88–79

The choice of spells makes it clear that this papyrus belongs to a known Theban group, whose model was two Books of the Dead of the time of King Amenemope (P. London BM EA 10064 of Pa-en-nessi-taui, and P. Cairo JE 95838 of Gatseshen). This group can be distinguished from another group dating to the end of Dynasty 21 (Siamon/Psusesnes), represented by P. BM EA 10793 (Pinedjem II) and P. BM EA 10554 (P. Greenfield), which are distinctive for a different choice of spells and their specific variants. The papyrus of Ankhesenaset, which dates to the end of Dynasty 21, belongs to the first group, together with those of Nesikhonsu (P. Cairo JE 26230) and the unpublished papyrus of Asety (P. BM EA 10084). Forms and textual choices hint at a composition for Ankhesenaset's papyri in the first half of the reign of Siamon (Rössler-Köhler 1999, 88; Niwinski 1989, 131, 351). This set of manuscripts seems to be the product of a workshop active for about twenty years during mid-Dynasty 21, in the reigns of Amenemope and Siamon.

The list below summarises the thematic sequences present in P. Ankhesenaset and on contemporary papyri (Lucarelli 2006, 36–85).

Introduction of the deceased to the netherworld (BD 17)

P. Gatseshen, P. Pa-en-nessi-taui, P. Nesikhonsu, P. Cairo JE 95879,
 P. London BM EA 10040, P. London BM EA 10793,
 P. New Haven CtYBR 2754 + P. Louvre N 3132 + P. Louvre E 18965,
 P. Louvre 3244, P. Vatican 48812.

Spells for going out (BD 65)

P. Gatseshen, P. Nesikhonsu, P. Pa-en-nessi-taui, P. Asety,
 P. Paris BN 138–140+Louvre E 3661, P. JE 96 651.

Travelling in the solar boat and preparing for entry into the realm of the dead (BD 136–98–14)

P. Gatseshen (BD 101–100–**136B–136A–98**–99–63–8–**14**),
 P. Nesikhonsu (BD 100–**136A–98**–99–63B),
 P. Pa-en-nessi-taui (BD101–100–**136B–136A–98**–99B–63B–8–**14**),
 P. Asety (BD 101–100–**136B–136A–98**–99B–63B–8),
 P. Paris BN 138–140+Louvre E 3661 (BD 100–**136B–136A–98**–99B–63B–8–**14**),
 P. JE 96651 (BD **136B–136A–98**–99B–**14**).

Transformation spells (BD 78–82–77–86–85–83–84–86–81A–80–87–88–76),
 P. Gatseshen (BD 78–82–77–86–85–83–84–81A–80–87–88–76),
 P. Nesikhonsu (BD 82–77–86–85–83–84–81A),
 P. Pa-en-nesti-taui (BD 78–82–77–86–85–83–84–81A–80–87–88–76),
 P. Asety (BD 82–77–86–85–83),
 P. JE 96651 (BD 82–77–86–85–83–84–81A–80),
 P. BM EA 10554 = P. Greenfield (BD 81–80–87–88–76),
 P. BM EA 10793 (BD 81A–80–87–76).

Solar boat and entering Rosetjau (BD 102–119–7)

P. Gatseshen, P. Pa-en-nesti-taui, P. Paris BN 138–140+Louvre E 3661.

Spells for warding off hostile powers and animals (BD 7–31–32)

P. Gatseshen (7–39–42–41–41B–31–32–40–36–33–37),

P. Pa-en-nesti-taui (7–39–42–41–41B–31–32–40–36–33–37),

P. Paris BN 138–140 + Louvre E 3661 (7–39–42–41–41B–31–32–40–36–33–37).

Spells for acquiring power over air (BD 38B–54–55–38A–56)

P. Gatseshen, P. Panenestitaui, P. Caire S.R. VII 10267,

P. Paris BN 138–140+Louvre E 3661, P. Turin CGT 53007.

Spells for coming in (BD 13/121–138–123/139–187)

P. Gatseshen, P. Pa-en-nesti-taui, P. Caire S.R. VII 10267,

P. Paris BN 138–140+Louvre E 3661.

Final transfigurations of the deceased (BD 110–178–110)

P. Gatseshen, P. Pa-en-nesti-taui.

Isolated chapters (BD 57–53–93–75–61–189–30–28–11–27–145).

The longer papyri include more spells in each of the thematic sequences, but all of the spells from P. Ankhesenaset are present, in the same order, on the other papyri.

The owner and her milieu

The owners of these texts are almost entirely women from the priestly community of the Theban Estate of Amun. It is possible that some were related to each other: Nesikhonsu is the niece of Gatseshen (Lucarelli 2006, 38). Gatseshen also shares some of her titles with Ankhesenaset. She is *nb.t pr, šm^cy.t n(y).t Jmn, ḥsy.t n(y.t) ^c n(y) mw.t*, ‘mistress of the house, singer of Amon, chantress of the arm of Mut.’ Though rare, this title is attested during Dynasty 21 (Niwinski 1995, no. 39, p. 191).

The manuscript

Despite the similarities outlined above, each roll is nevertheless specific:

Each of these papyri presents a number of original features that show that this workshop did not only produce stock manuscripts. The artist had a freedom of choice in adapting and reworking the existing models [...]. These are not always a sign of the artist's creativity but may also be a consequence of an attempt to accommodate texts and vignettes to the dimension of each roll (Lucarelli 2006, 237).

We can also envisage the owner being involved in these choices (von Voss 1991).

As for the material features of Ankhesenaset's Book of the Dead, this fine roll was cut into 27 fragments in the nineteenth century, each fragment corresponding to a column of text or a full-page illustration (see Table 2). The papyrus was glued onto a cardboard sheet and presented behind a passe-partout in an oak frame, which is the standard and most common treatment of Egyptian papyri in the BNF, particularly between 1892 and 1893. Once attached to each other, the fragments constitute a roll 4.53m long and 24cm high. This is the most common height for a roll of the time, corresponding to a full roll cut into two papyri (Niwinski 1989, 74). The end of the roll, perhaps two sheets of papyri containing the vignette of BD 110 and purification scenes (as found on comparable papyri), is missing. One can envisage an original papyrus of approximately 5m in length, which would place it amongst the most lengthy papyri of this period (Niwinski 1989, 75). Each of the 27 individual sheets which are joined to make the roll are 23cm wide, with the exception of the 14th. Joins of one sheet to the next were made by laying over the previous sheet to the right. Each column of text corresponds to a sheet of papyrus.

The Book of the Dead has been carefully laid out on the papyrus roll, in contrast to, for example, P. Gatseshen. Edges are kept straight on both sides, and the upper and lower margin as well as the interspace between the columns are of a regular size. Black ink is used for the text, with rubrum used to highlight the titles and key points of the spell. The writing is fluent and homogeneous throughout the full length of the roll and resembles that upon P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nessi-tai), P. Cairo JE 95879 (Gatseshen) and P. Cairo JE 95838 (Munro 2001, 5). It can also be observed that the scribe always paused to dip his reed in ink after the end of a word, implying that he understood what he was copying. All illustrations are polychrome, including a very fine etiquette and 18 vignettes. The same vignettes are found on P. Gatseshen, P. Pa-en-nessi-tai, P. Nesikhonsu and the curious catalogue-like P. Cairo JE 95879 which contains only vignettes after a copy of BD 17.

As such, the roll belongs to type II.2 (Niwinski 1989, 129–32), which is distinguished by the following characteristics: initial vignette at the right end of the roll, text written in hieratic, texts and vignettes from the well-known chapters. In addition Niwinski noted that

the text plays an important role, and the figures are, in most cases, only illustrations. Vignettes can be, however, sometimes the only representative of certain of the BD-chapters, without any additional text (1989, 129).

Eleven papyri have been identified as belonging to this group.²

To grasp the full meaning and implications of P. Ankhesenaset's specificity, we must put the document back into its practical context and consider it as a physical object involved in human interactions. Egyptian documents are too often considered from a purely philological viewpoint (Parkinson 2009, 263). Their modern presentation in framed fragments and the system of reference often takes the form of a codex. The subsequent publication of these manuscripts, with the search for archetypes and stemma, rarely considers the conditions and contingencies of their initial production as papyrus rolls. However erudite our modern editions may be, these texts were primarily manuscripts. From this point of view, it is essential to consider P. Ankhesenaset as a *hieratic manuscript* of the Book of the Dead. Hieratic Books of the Dead from the Third Intermediate Period continue a very recent tradition starting only 'from the early 18th dynasty, when the texts play the main role although a number of simply drawn vignettes appear as well' (Lucarelli 2006, 17). Few examples of hieratic Books of the Dead are preserved from the New Kingdom, and these mainly omit illustrations.³

The general features of these Books of the Dead are those of the literary manuscripts produced in Egypt from the second part of the Middle Kingdom onwards (Parkinson and Quirke 1995, 26). Historians of writing and manuscripts have noted that this is the most common layout of a manuscript, because of the limits of the human visual field. The height of the sheet defines the vertical dimension of the manuscript while the width was determined by the surface that the two hands of the reader can unroll in front of the eyes, and by the length of the sequence of signs the eye can follow without mixing up several lines together (Martin and Vezin 1990, 9).

From the Egyptian and scribal perspective, illustrated hieratic Books of the Dead were still innovative in Dynasty 21, and posed specific problems for the scribe to solve, leading to different attempted solutions. Indeed, integrating pictures into a continuous text is a different problem to that of laying out hieroglyphs and images: the hieroglyphic funerary manuscript is

dependent on the arrangement of bordering and dividing lines on the papyrus surface, everything that filled the space between these lines or that adjoined the border line from outside belonged to the substantial elements of the manuscripts (Niwinski 1989, 93).

The arrangement of, and relationship between, text and pictorial representation, from which comes the whole religious sense of each papyrus in this category, relies on the rule of decorum, which 'defines and ranks the fitness of pictorial and written material on monuments, their content, their captions' (Baines 2007, 37).

In order to include pictures in a continuous hieratic text during the Third Intermediate Period, the most commonly adopted solution was to leave space for the image to be drawn in. But it seems that our exemplar chose a different, and seemingly unique solution: to write the text around the picture.

In terms of their insertion in the papyrus, the vignettes are of several types, from full page

² P. Cairo S.R. IV 549 = JE95651, P. Cairo S.R. IV. 981 = JE 95679, P. Cairo S.R. VII.10224, P. Cairo SR VII.11485 = JE 26230, P. BM EA 9904, P. BM EA 9953B, P. BM EA 10041, P. BM EA 10064.

³ P. BM EA 10281, P. Louvre E 11085, P. Muti (Brussels), see Munro 1988, 190–92.

illustrations to an image tightly framed with text. Each type produces different challenges for the scribe laying out the papyrus.

Type a: the page system (Figs. 2–3)

An illustration fills a full page and takes the same space as a column of text. Such an illustration can easily be inserted between two pages and the writing does not need to be altered. This is the case with the etiquette at the beginning of the roll. These etiquettes, present on most hieratic manuscripts of the time (Lenzo Marchese 2004a), are of higher quality than the illustrations in the text. It is generally accepted that they were separately painted, either at the beginning of a virgin roll sold as such, or on a separate sheet that would then be adhered to a Book of the Dead chosen by/for the owner. This system is extended to the inside of the roll, where some empty pages are left for full-sized illustration (columns 22 and 27). It is to be noted that these pictures are not in separate columns and that, unlike the etiquette, they could not therefore have been made separately and added to the roll. For example, the text in column 21 slightly runs over the joint with column 22 and the picture of column 27 starts in column 26.

Type b: uninscribed space between lines (Figs. 4–5)

This is probably the easiest way to lay out the page: the scribe would leave a space and start writing again lower down on the page (or indeed on the next page). The whole width of the column is left blank for the image, which does not necessarily fill up all the available space (column 4 and 5). We should note that this procedure, namely leaving space for a painted illustration that interrupts the text column, is the oldest known and most common in Western manuscripts. Some scholars have even linked this tradition back to Egypt.⁴ Such illustrations are to be found in the oldest illustrated Greek documents, for example the astrological treatise of Euxodus (P. Louvre 1).

Type c: a true 'vignette' (Fig. 6)

The picture is enclosed by the text usually on three sides. In this case, a 'box' without drawn edges is left blank in the text and the picture is painted inside. It has much in common with the vignettes in hieroglyphic Books of the Dead, but for the fact that no division lines are drawn (columns 6, 9, 10, 19).

Our text offers an alternative, more complex, solution (Fig. 1): the illustration is integrated into the writing, the latter following closely the profile of the vignette (columns 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15). This seems to be unique to our papyrus amongst the group of manuscripts considered here, and might be considered in relation to the general layout of the papyrus and the number of blanks in the text. To the eye, this constitutes a curious disruption in the continuity of text and image, yet papyrus was too costly to afford such carelessness. Those blanks are much more substantial than can be accounted for by a missing name or a passage that the scribe could not read (as with papyri studied by Rössler-Köhler 1984–1985). In five cases out of six, no picture seems to be missing: the blank appears after the spells and the

⁴ For K. Weizmann (1959, 2), the Greeks were probably exposed to the Egyptian scribal tradition with the foundation of Naukratis in the 7th century BC and then in the scriptoria at Alexandria.

corresponding vignettes have been drawn. Column 18 (inv. 65), however, presents a blank between two formulae. We might consider that this blank was left for a possible illustration of BD 30B, as found in P. Gatseshen and P. Pa-en-nesti-taui.

Furthermore, P. Gatseshen presents the same kind of blanks. Nevertheless, in that case, some text is actually missing and this is not the case with P. Ankhesenaset. As for P. BM EA 10084, the situation is again different: vignettes have been created but the actual pictures were not painted there. Perhaps we ought to attribute the idiosyncracies of P. Ankhesenaset to an experimentation in layout, and the unique situation of a text written after the vignettes were completed. We can imagine that the scribe laid out his work but when it came to copy the text, he found he had allowed too much space for it and was unable to fill every page.

The marginalia

Another—and more striking—distinctive feature of the papyrus is the marginalia denoting which vignettes were to be added. These reflect experimentation in process, and provide the modern reader with a glimpse of the actual moments of creation and decision, the hesitations and solutions of a human mind.

Column 6



Bjk: for the 6th vignette of the roll (BD 78, ‘Spell for changing into a hawk’). The vignette is placed beside the first spell in the column (14) and not the one it belongs to.

Column 9



k3(j) Pth, bjk: for the vignettes of BD 82 (‘Spell for changing into Ptah, eating cakes, drinking ale, unloosing the body and living On’) and BD 77 (‘Spell for changing into a golden hawk’). Part of the note is written in red. The text follows closely the feature of the vignette especially for the falcon: note how the 19th line is shorter in order to leave space to the baseline for the illustration.

Column 10



t3 mnw, p3 b3, for the vignettes of BD (‘Spell for changing into the *ba*’) and BD 86 (‘Spell for changing into a swallow’). The second vignette appears rather low in the column, beside BD 83, and runs into the margin. The writing follows the shape of the animals, especially the *ba*-bird.

Column 11



p3 bnw 2: for BD 83 ('Spell for changing into a *bennu*-bird') and BD 84 ('Spell for changing into a heron'). The two birds, each being the vignette of a different spell, are put in the same space, as was customary in Books of the Dead of this period. The lines follow clearly the shape of the pictures, with the beak projecting into the text.

Column 12



p3 sšn: for BD 81A ('Spell for changing into a lotus'), the first spell in a column of four. This column is thus a fine example of layout dictated by the illustration: the vignette is located immediately below the first line of the spell it belongs to (as seems to be the rule) but extends further down the page, alongside the other spells.

Column 13



wj3: for BD 102 ('Spell for going into the boat of Ra'). The picture seems to belong to our second type, with a whole section of the column left blank for the vignette but here again the text fits around the vignette.

Column 19



hpr: for BD 28 ('Spell for not allowing the heart of a man to be taken from him in the underworld'). This is the only one of the marginalia where hieroglyphs are used. The vignette (type c) is located below the first line of the spell, as expected.

Column 26



hr: written in red. There is no vignette in this column and none is expected. We must then assume that this notation indicates something else, perhaps the last column after which the final scenes were placed?

These marginalia are striking for their use of Late Egyptian definite articles. Two forms of writing are therefore present on the same document: Middle Egyptian for the ritual text

and Late Egyptian for practical information. Both were probably written and used by the same person: the marginalia appear more cursive, and feature different spellings, but the palaeography cannot be distinguished.

The marginalia name the picture rather than identifying it or describing it. If these notations were used by several craftsmen, they hint at a common and clear system of references among the different people involved, and it was clearly sufficient to use a brief name to refer to them. The similarity of the vignettes among the different papyri of the group makes this all the more likely. If the draughtsman was a different person from the writer, it also means that the former could read. But it could also be evidence of an integrated work, where scribes copied the text and also painted the illustrations.

The principal question remains how these marginalia were used, which in turn provokes consideration of the production of Books of the Dead and the existence of workshops. For the majority of these texts, it is probable that

most of the BD-papyri were prepared anonymously in the Theban workshops of the funerary equipment, and offered for the clients' choice. After the papyrus was purchased, the texts and the legends in the vignettes were supplemented with the names and titles of the owner and his wife, and usually only then was the etiquette made, and was stuck on the border of the scroll (Niwinski 1989, 18).

In the present case, P. Ankhesenaset, we are in the realm of luxury products and made-to-order papyri, for which the client presumably expressed preferences or choices. Chapters, quantity and style of the vignettes were decided upon; the workshops or temples must have kept prototypes from which a choice could be made. Niwinski suggests that the Theban redaction actually rests upon a number of

model-papyri, each containing a thematically arranged series of spells, [which] can well explain both the absence and the repeated occurrence of some chapters in BD-manuscripts (Niwinski 1989, 24).

Intuition suggests that the marginalia in P. Ankhesenaset were written by the scribe copying the text, while leaving instructions to the painter (Lucarelli 2006, 201); this situation would correspond exactly (though maybe misleadingly) with the situation familiar to historians of the Middle Ages and the structures of the scriptoria of this time. Quality, size, preparation of the leather roll, layout of the text, place and types of initials were planned in advance and the copyist would leave blanks for the illustrations (Toubert 1990, 416–20). In these cases, marginalia and indications to the painters are well attested (BN ms fr. 823, *Pèlerinage de l'Âme*, 1393). But our papyrus does not fit into this situation: marginalia refer to vignettes enclosed within a text laid out around them: the illustrations cannot have been executed after the text. Rather, the marginalia were added at a preliminary phase, to indicate to the draughtsman where the illustrations were to be painted. These vignettes would have been painted, or at least drafted, before the spells were actually copied. Examples of such a process are rare, even in Medieval times. In the 13th century AD manuscript *Liber de arte dimicatoria*, the text is shaped by the pictures, on which it is a commentary (Cinato and Suprenant 2009)

P. Ankhesenaset allows us to grasp the movements, hesitations, casualties and the creation of a roll by real scribes. At the beginning of illustrated hieratic papyri, they are looking for solutions and experiment. Here, it is clear that pictures were drafted before the text, putting in question the Medieval supremacy of image over text but very much in agreement with the Egyptian tradition of decorum, where the text can be considered as the caption of a picture.

In any case, we should not follow too closely the Medieval model: it seems obvious that draughtsman and scribe worked in close association with one another, and we are free from the almost industrial division of tasks found in Medieval scriptoria. The collaboration could have been very close between the scribe and the painter, with a constant passing back and forth of the working manuscript. The draughtsman clearly knew how to read; indeed, we cannot rule out that this manuscript is actually the work of a single person. This is not particularly surprising in view of the suspicion raised by Černý that some draughtsmen later became scribes, which is attested in at least one case (Černý 2001, 193).

Checklist of sources

P. Cairo JE 26230 (Nesikhonsu)	Naville 1912; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 285.
P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen)	Lucarelli 2006; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 284.
P. Cairo JE 95879	Niwinski 1989, pls. 11–16; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 288.
P. Cairo JE 95651	Unpublished, cf. Lenzo Marchese 2007, 285–86.
P. Cairo S.R. VII 10267	Piankoff 1957, 156–62, pl. 19; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 289.
P. BM EA 10040	Unpublished, cf. Lenzo Marchese 2007, 296.
P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-tau)	Munro 2001; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 297.
P. BM EA 10084 (Asety)	Unpublished, cf. Lenzo Marchese 2007, 298.
P. BM EA 10793 (Pinedjem II)	Munro 1996; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 301.
P. BM EA 10554 (P. Greenfield)	Budge 1912; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 301.
P. New Haven CtYBR 2754	Bohleke 1997; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 302.
+ P. Paris Louvre N 3132	
+ P. Paris Louvre E 18965	
P. Paris BN 138–140	Unpublished, cf. Lenzo Marchese 2007, 306.
P. Paris Louvre 3244	Unpublished, cf. Lenzo Marchese 2007, 307.
P. Paris Louvre E 3661	Unpublished, cf. Lenzo Marchese 2007, 308.
P. Turin CGT 53007	Lenzo Marchese 2007, 69–90, pls. 34–37a.
P. Vatican 48812	Haikal 1983; Gasse 1993, n° 10, 23, pls. XIII–XIV; Lenzo Marchese 2007, 309.

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	Inv. No.	Spells (BD)	Vignettes (BD)	Gateshen	Pa-en-nesti-taui	Nesikhonsu	JE 95879
			Étiquette	Étiquette	Étiquette	Étiquette	Étiquette
1	inv. 62						
2	inv. 63	title; 17					
3	inv. 67	65	65	65 (p.19)	65 (p.15)	65 (p.6)	65 (p.2)
4	inv. 78	100	100	100 (p.21)	100 (p.17)	100 (p.7)	100 (p.3)
5	inv. 77	136 A (l. 1-3); 98 (l. 4-14)	136 A; 98	136A; 98 (p.22)	136A (p.17); 98	136A (p.4; p.7); 98 (p.8); 99 (p.8)	136A (p.4), 98 (p.4)
6	inv. 69	14 (l.1-6); 78 (l.6-24)	78	78 (p.24)	78 (p.18)		78 (p.5)
7	inv. 70	78					
8	inv. 71	78	blank				
9	inv. 74	82 (l.1-12); 77 (l. 12-19); 86 (20-22)	82; 77	82; 77 (p.25)	82; 77 (p.21)	82 (p.9); 77 (p.10)	82, 77 (p.5)
10	inv. 75	86 (l.1-7); 85 (l.8-20); 83 (l.20-23)	86; 85	86; 85 (p.26)	86 (p.21), 85 (p.22)	86, 85 (p.10)	86, 85 (p.5)
11	inv. 73	83 (l.1-2); 84 (l.2-12)	83; 84	83; 84 (p.27)	83; 84 (p.22)	83; 84 (p.11)	82, 84(p.5)
12	inv. 72	81A (l.1-3); 80 (l.3-7); 87 (l.7-9); 88 (l. 9-11); 76 (l.11-13)	81A	81A; (p.27)	81A; 87 (p.22); 88 (p.23)	81A(p.11)	81A(p.5)
13	inv. 80	102 (l.1-7); 119 (l.7-12); 7 (l. 12-16)	102	102 (p.29)	102 (p.25)	102 (p.13)	102 (p.5)
14	inv. 66	31 (l.1-8); 32 (l. 9-22)	31	31 (p.31)	31 (p. 27); 32 (p.28)	31 (p.14)	31 (p.6)
15	inv. 68	38 B (l.1-6); 54 (l.6-10); 55 (l.10-12); 38 A (l.12-19); 56 (l.20-22); 13 (l.22-23)	38 B	38B (p.32)	38A (p.29)	38B (p.14)	38B (p.6)
16	inv. 81	13 (l.1); 138 (l.1-8); 123(l.8-11); 187 (l.11-13); 57 (l.13-20); 53 (l.21-23)					
17	inv. 76	53 (l.1-3); 93 (l.3-7); 75 (l.7-12); 61 (l.12-13); 189 (l.13-23)					
18	inv. 65	189 (l.1-4); 30 B (l.5-12)		30B (p.37)	30B (p.18)		

Table 1: Synoptic overview of papyri from the same workshop.

	Inv. No.	Spells (BD)	Vignettes (BD)	Gatseshen	Pa-en-nesti-taui	Nesikhonsu	JE 95879
19	inv. 64	28 (l.1-9); 11 (l.9-13); 27 (l.13-18); 145 (l.19-23)	28	X	X		28 (p.7)
20	inv. 82	145					
21	inv. 83	145					
22	inv. 84		145: full page	145 (p.45)	145 (p.41-2)		145 (p.8)
23	inv. 87	110 (l.1-18); 178 (l. 18-25)			110 (p.61-62)	110 (p.20)	
24	inv. 86	178					
25	inv. 85	178					
26	inv. 88	178					
27	inv. 79		110: full page	110 (p.64)			110 (p.13)

Table 1 (continued): Synoptic overview of papyri from the same workshop.

	Inv. Nr	BD chapters	URL [30 May 2010]
1	62	Étiquette	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304500s
2	63	17	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045016
3	67	65V	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304505v
4	78	100V	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304516n
5	77	136AV (l.1-3); 98V (l.4-14)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045157
6	69	14 (l.1-6); 78V (l.6-24)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304507p
7	70	78	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045083
8	71	78	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304509h
9	74	82V (l.1-12); 77V (l.12-19); 86 (l.20-22)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045120

Table 2: Online source for each sheet of P. BNF 62-88.

10	75	86V (1.1-7); 85V (1.8-20); 83 (1.20-23)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304513d
11	73	83V (1.1-2); 84V (1.2-12)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304511k
12	72	81AV (1.1-3); 80 (1.3-7); 87 (1.7-9); 88 (1.9-11); 76 (1.11-13)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045105
13	80	102V (1.1-7); 119 (1.7-12); 7 (1.12-16)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304518g
14	66	31V (1.1-8); 32 (1.9-22)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304504f
15	68	38BV (1.1-6); 54 (1.6-10); 55 (1.10-12); 38A (1.12-19); 56 (1.20-22); 13 (1.22-23)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045068
16	81	13 (1.1); 138 (1.1-8); 123 (1.8-11); 187 (1.11-13); 57 (1.13-20); 53 (1.21-23)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304519w
17	76	53 (1.1-3); 93 (1.3-7); 75 (1.7-12); 61 (1.12-13); 189 (1.13-23)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304514t
18	65	189 (1.1-4); 30B (1.5-10); 29 (1.10-12)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045031
19	64	28 (1.1-9); 11 (1.9-13); 27 (1.13-18); 145 (1.19-23)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304502m
20	82	145		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304520j
21	83	145		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304521z
22	84	145V		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304522c
23	87	110 (1.1-18); 178 (1.18-25)		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304525m
24	86	178		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045246
25	85	178		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b8304523s
26	88	178		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045261
27	79	110V		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b83045172

Table 2: Online source for each sheet of P. BNF 62-88.

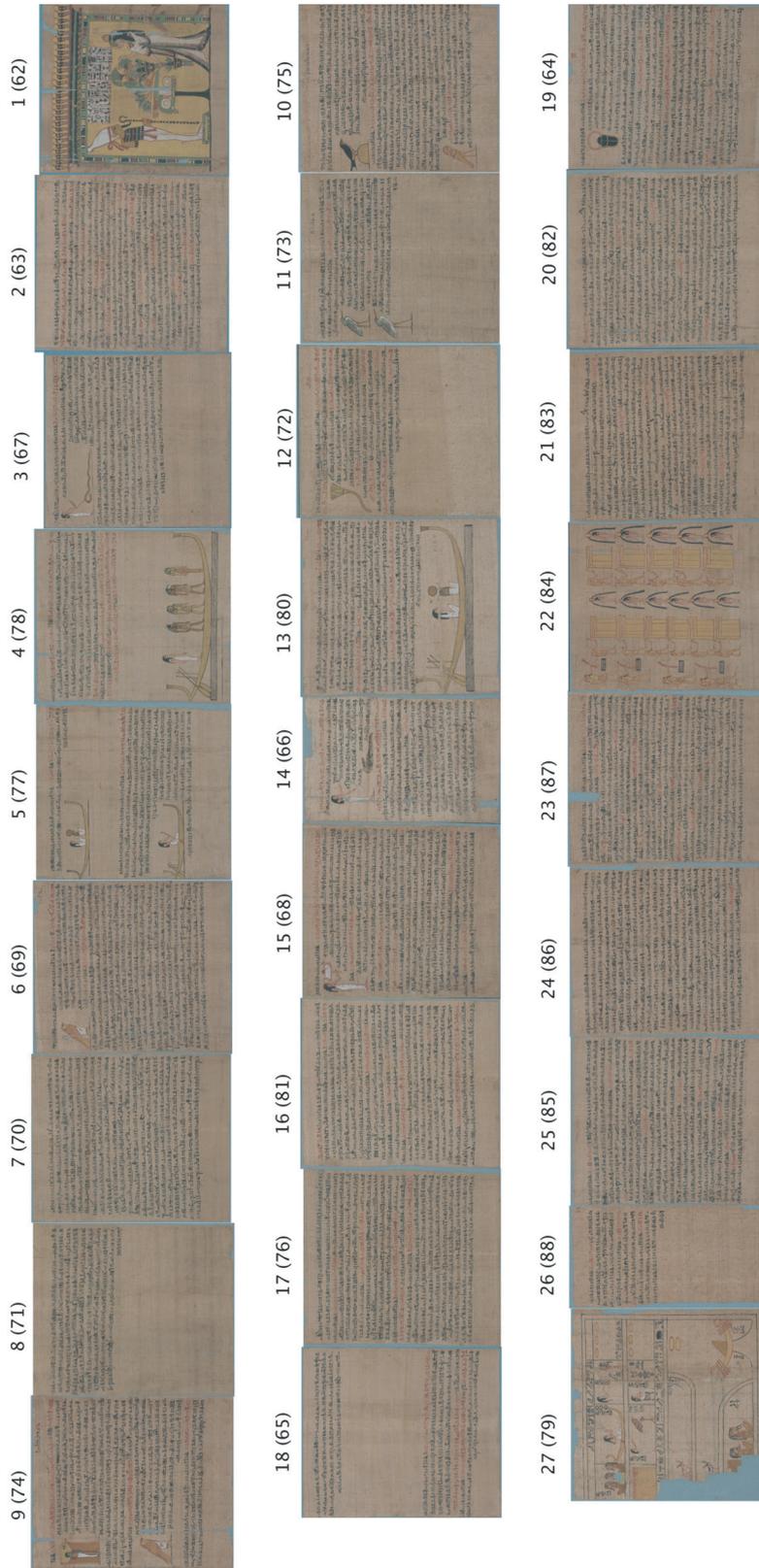


Fig. 1: P. BNF 62–88, overview of the entire roll, copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica.

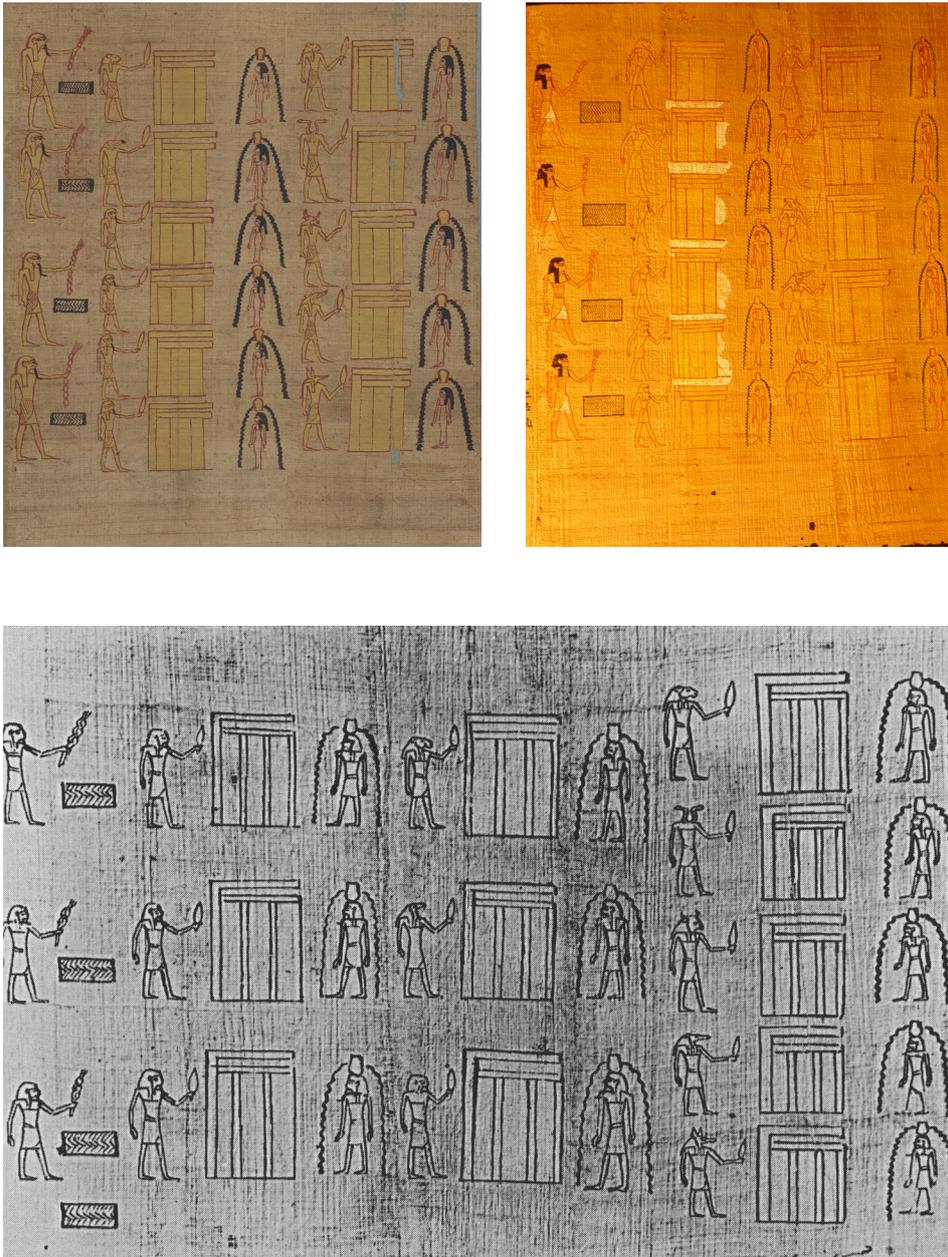


Fig. 2: (Top left) P. BN 84, col.22 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 (Top right) P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, 45 (copyright NINO).
 (Bottom) P. Cairo JE 95879, from Niwinski 1989, pl. 14a.

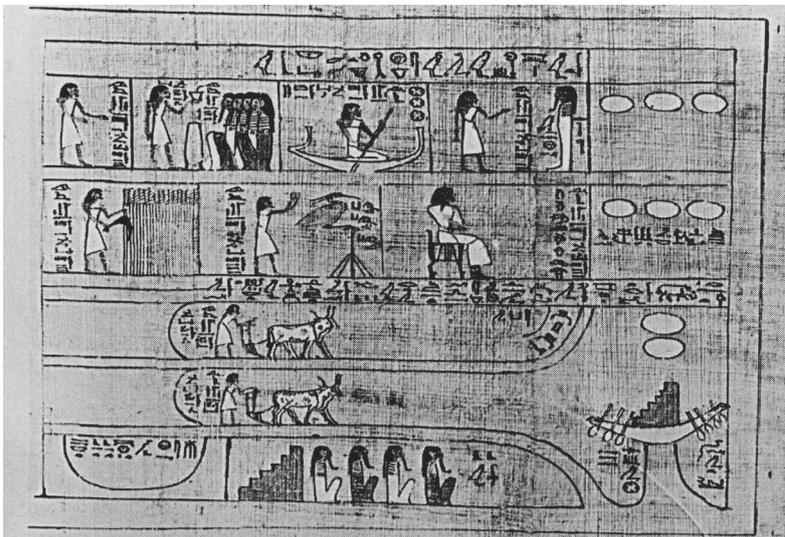
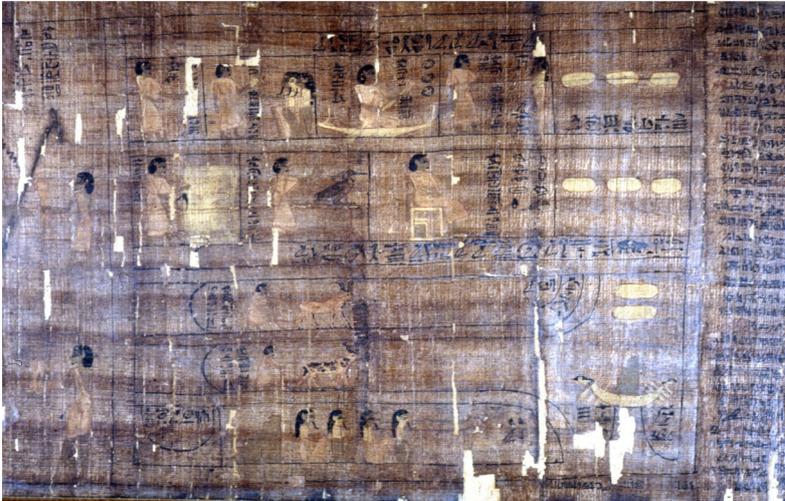


Fig. 3: (Top) P. BN 79, col. 27 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 (Middle) P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-tau), from Munro 2001, pl. 65.
 (Bottom) P. Cairo JE 95879, from Niwinski 1989, pl. 16a.

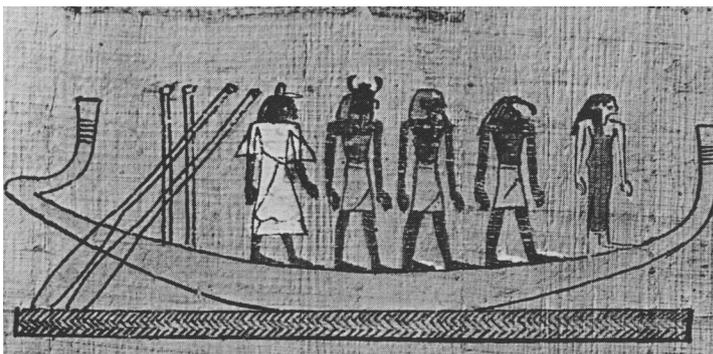
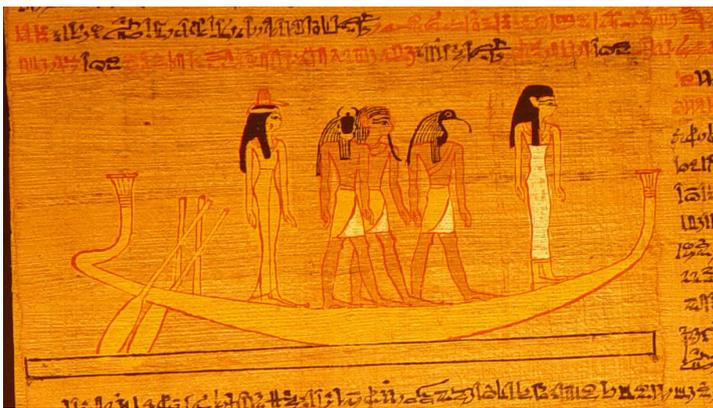


Fig. 4: (Top) P. BN 78, col. 4 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 (Middle) P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 21 (copyright NINO).
 (Bottom) P. Cairo JE 95879, from Niwinski 1989, pl. 12b.

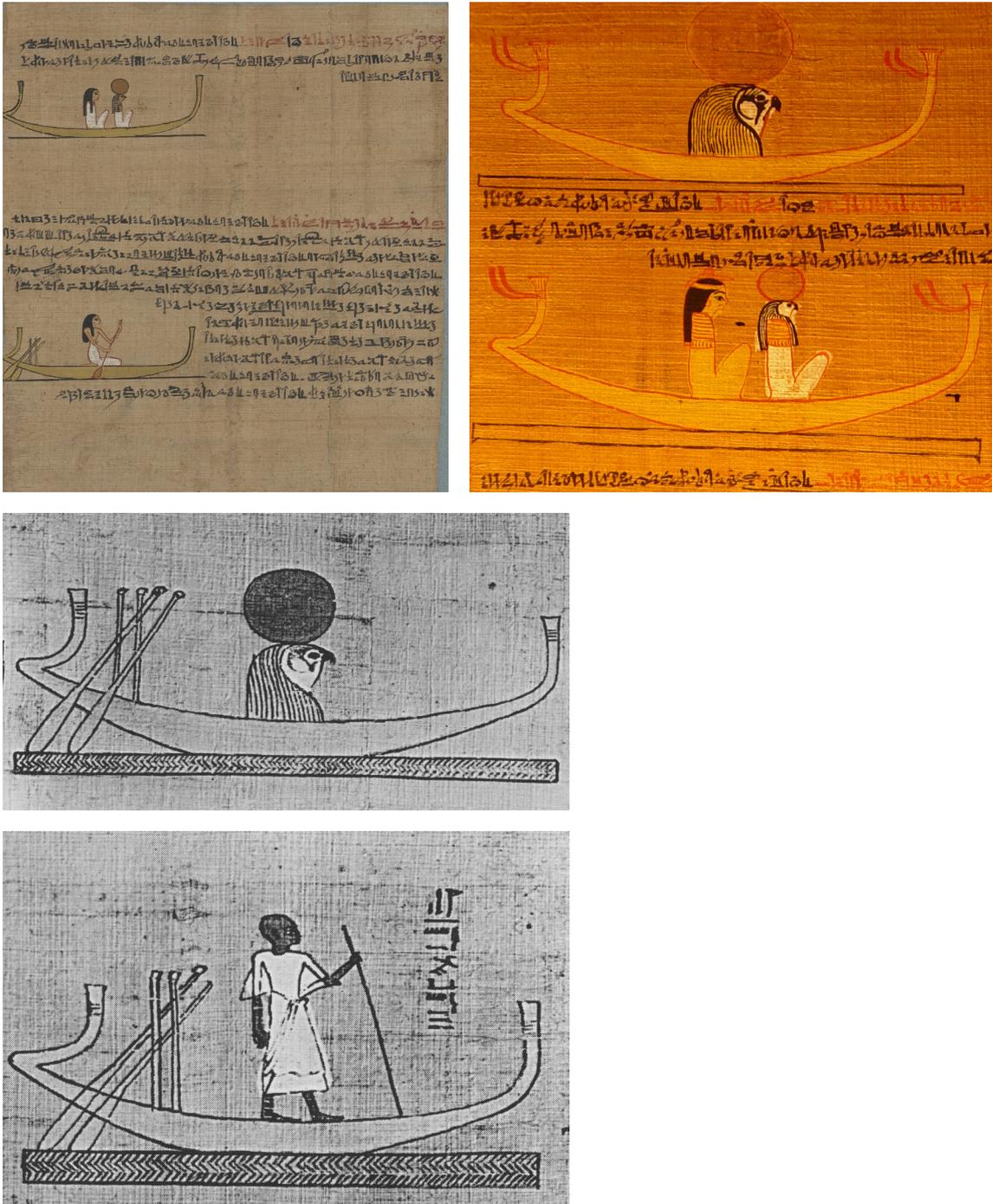


Fig 5: (Top left) P. BN 77, col. 5 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 (Top right) P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 22 (copyright NINO).
 (Middle) P. Cairo JE 95879, from Niwinski 1989, pl. 12.
 (Bottom) P. Cairo JE 95879, from Niwinski 1989, pl. 12.

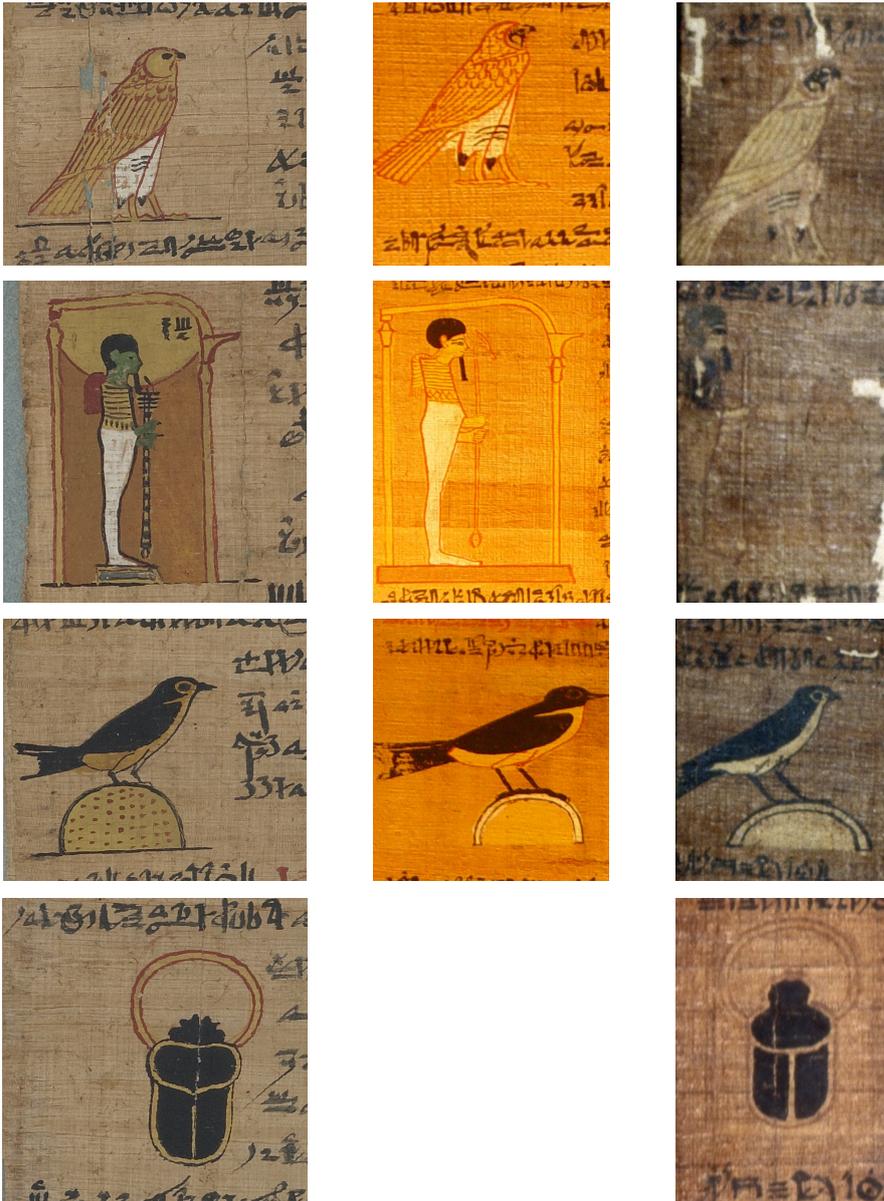


Fig. 6: (left-right, top-bottom)

- P. BN 69, col. 6 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 24 (copyright NINO).
 P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-taui), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
 P. BN 74, col. 9 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 25 (copyright NINO).
 P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-taui), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
 P. BN 75 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 25 (copyright NINO).
 P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-taui), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
 P. BN 64, col.19 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-taui), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
 P. Cairo JE 95879, from Niwinski 1989, pl. 12.



Fig. 7a: (left-right, top-bottom)

- P. BN 67 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
- P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 19 (copyright NINO).
- P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-taui), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
- P. BN 74 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
- P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 25 (copyright NINO).
- P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-taui), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
- P. BN 75 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
- P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 26 (copyright NINO).
- P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-taui), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

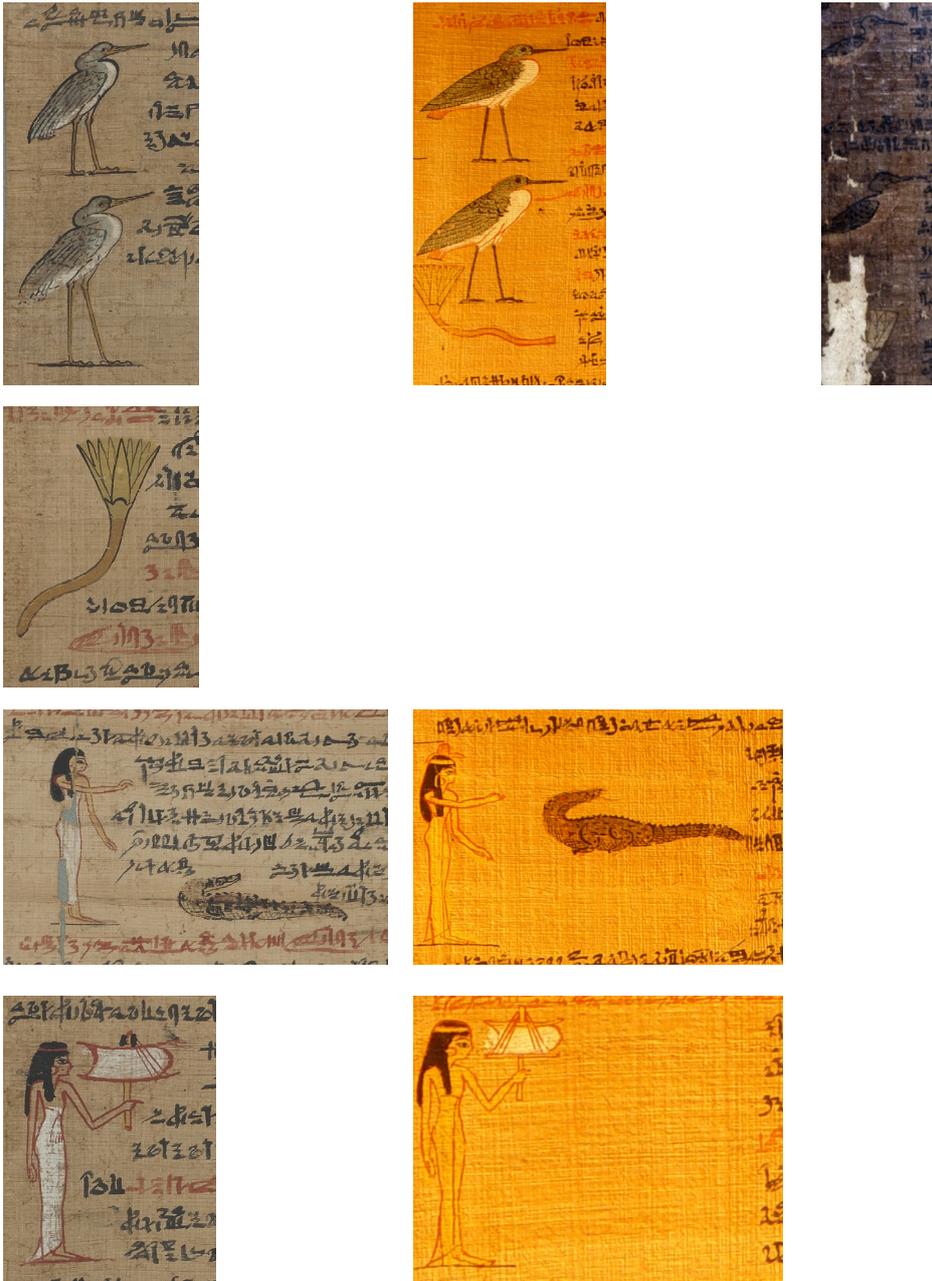


Fig. 7b: (left-right, top-bottom)

- P. BN 73 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
- P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 26 (copyright NINO).
- P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-taui), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
- P. BN 72 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
- P. BN 66 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
- P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 31 (copyright NINO).
- P. BN 68 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
- P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 32 (copyright NINO).



**Book of the Dead documents from the New Kingdom
necropolis at Saqqara**

Maarten J. Raven

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Book of the Dead documents from the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara

Maarten J. Raven

Egyptological research on the text and vignettes of the Book of the Dead has always given pride of place to the extant manuscripts on papyrus belonging to this important corpus of funerary literature. On the other hand, a systematic study of temple and tomb reliefs and paintings, stelae or other funerary objects inscribed with copies of these texts and illustrations has never been undertaken. For the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings we at least have a rough index of the spells occurring on their walls in the website of the Theban Mapping Project.¹ For the more than 400 private Theban tombs, M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed published a cursory list of Book of the Dead spells occurring on their walls, but it is not exhaustive and only includes material dating to the New Kingdom (1966, 251–59).² Nothing similar has ever been done for source material from other provenances, although of course the pages of the *Topographical Bibliography* can serve as a starting-point for such an enterprise (Porter and Moss 1960). As a result of this situation, studies on specific spells from the Book of the Dead are often unduly dominated by Theban examples. Since most funerary papyri also stem from Thebes, we should realise that our understanding of the Book of the Dead is largely based on the traditions of a single Egyptian city.

The contemporary Memphite material is largely unknown. The vast New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara was plundered at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the result that numerous decorated blocks, papyri and other funerary articles can now be found in museums all over the world. A study of this material is hampered because the exact provenance is unknown in most cases. Nevertheless, since 1975, several expeditions have been involved in the archaeological exploration of the New Kingdom cemeteries at Saqqara.³ Over the years, a considerable corpus of new texts and vignettes has come up from the desert sand. This material is found on the tomb-walls and stelae of the monuments belonging to the highest officials of Dynasties 18 and 19, and on various items of their burial equipment such as sarcophagi, shabtis, and other objects. Together with the objects in museums, these new finds constitute a substantial corpus, which provides an opportunity to study the Book of the Dead in its Memphite context. In the following, I would like to give a glimpse of this rich material. This will include some recent (and partly still unpublished) data from the work

¹ http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/search/search_decoration.asp (last accessed August 2009).

² Porter and Moss give an even briefer list (1960, 472–73). A comparison between the two lists immediately shows that there are some contradictory references.

³ Apart from the EES/Leiden Expedition (since 1999 the Expedition of Leiden University and the Leiden Museum), missions working at Saqqara include the Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion (directed by A. P. Zivie), the Waseda University excavations (dir. S. Yoshimura and N. Kawai), the mission of Cairo University (dir. O. el-Aguizy), the Australian Centre for Egyptology Expedition (dir. N. Kanawati and B. Ockinga), and the Supreme Council for Antiquities research (dir. Z. Hawass) carried out in the Teti Pyramid area. In view of the fact that there are no more than preliminary publications of most of this research, the following study will rely mainly on the work of the (EES/Leiden Expedition).

carried out to the south of the Unas causeway by the Leiden expedition.

The Fields of Iaru (BD 110)

Abdul-Qader Muhammed already drew attention to the fact that illustrations of Book of the Dead spell 110 belong to the most popular vignettes found on Theban private tomb walls (1966, 253 *sub* III, erroneously identified as BD 15). All ten copies he identified derive from Dynasties 19 and 20 and, accordingly, he concluded that this vignette is to be found only in Ramesside tombs. This proves to be incorrect when one compares his list of scenes of the Fields of Iaru with the one published by Porter and Moss (1960, 473 *sub* d) six years before Muhammed's book came out. The latter contains eighteen New Kingdom specimens, plus one dating to the Late Period. No less than five of these BD 110 vignettes derive from Dynasty 18 tombs, which vary in date between the reigns of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III.⁴ In J. S. Gesellensetter's dissertation, twenty examples from Theban tombs are listed, six of which date to Dynasty 18 (1997, 230–40). In the Valley of the Kings, this spell only occurs in the tombs of Ramesses II (KV 7) and Ramesses III (KV 11).

In view of this confusing and contradictory evidence, it is useful to compare it to the picture presented by finds from the Memphite necropolis, where BD 110 was likewise popular for the decoration of New Kingdom tombs. A well-known copy occurred in the tomb of the general Horemheb. One block depicting this scene has been in the Bologna Museum since 1860 (inv. KS 1885), and in 1976 the Anglo-Dutch expedition found an adjacent block and some fragments (Martin 1989, 123–24 and pls. 136–37, scene 117; here Fig. 1). They show the Fields of Iaru in six registers separated by canals. The topmost register depicts the tomb-owner facing two attendants, one censuring and the other presenting two staves. In the second register, Horemheb salutes a mummiform genius, with three oval lakes or ponds represented behind the latter. Register three shows Horemheb offering to three mummiform deities with ponds behind, whereas the harvest of cereal is represented to the right. In the fourth register, Horemheb is represented four times: seated behind an offering table on the left, worshipping the phoenix, standing grasping his sceptres, and, on the far right, encouraging oxen on the threshing-floor. Register number five contains two virtually identical scenes of the deceased ploughing the fields, whereas the lower register shows more lakes and a serpent-headed bark, together with a scene of the flax harvest and another figure of the deceased behind an offering table. Both the order of the agricultural duties and a comparison with the text of this spell strongly suggest that the vignette has to be read from bottom to top, as was recently suggested (Heerma van Voss 2006).

J. Capart was the first person to stress how unusual the layout of Horemheb's vignette is in comparison with other contemporary depictions of this spell (1921, 34 and pl. 5). So far, six other Memphite tombs of the period were known to have possessed a copy of this vignette as part of their wall decoration. The vignette is found among the reliefs from the monuments of

⁴ See Porter and Moss 1960 entries for the following Theban Tombs and the relevant walls numbers, TT 57 (21)–(22), TT 120 (5), TT 353 (4), TT B.2, TT C.4.

Paatenemheb,⁵ Amenemone,⁶ Iuty,⁷ Mose,⁸ and Kyiry,⁹ and on a puzzling Frankfurt fragment which is generally no longer regarded as part of Horemheb's composition.¹⁰ The copies belonging to Amenemone and Kyiry and the Frankfurt fragment are incomplete, but, on the other three monuments, the vignette is laid out in no more than three registers, a feature also typical in Thebes. Thus Horemheb's vignette with its six registers is a marked exception and so far unique.

Fortunately we can now add a new example from the royal butler Ptahemwia's tomb, which was found by the Leiden expedition in 2007 (Fig. 2).¹¹ Ptahemwia's copy is clearly unfinished and part of the decoration has only been applied in red ink or in lightly scratched outlines. Nevertheless, it is immediately recognizable as a close copy of Horemheb's composition of the scene. The remaining lower half of the wall still has three registers that show the same scenes as those of Horemheb's copy, suggesting that the lost top of the wall would have presented three more registers with a number of essential scenes now clearly missing. Moreover, the two vignettes share unusual scenes, such as the depictions of threshing (which is not part of the normal repertoire) and the flax harvest. The latter does not occur on other Dynasty 18 vignettes, although it became more usual in the Ramesside Period (Gesellensetter 1997, 201–202). The presence of auxiliary workers in Horemheb's and Ptahemwia's harvest scenes is remarkable because they are not appropriate in the context of the Fields of Iaru where the deceased had to perform the agricultural work himself. Their inclusion—and the presence of the flax scene itself, which is not mentioned in the text of spell 110—probably betrays the influence of agricultural scenes from Old Kingdom mastabas and can be regarded as a typical Memphite characteristic,¹² which was later adopted in Third Intermediate Period vignettes from Thebes.¹³ Another rare scene in Ptahemwia's vignette depicts a person with a hoe, probably the tomb-owner himself rather than his wife; only a single parallel exists from the papyrus of Anhai (Gesellensetter 1997, 205).

For the sake of completeness, I include yet another fragmentary version of the BD 110 vignette, which was found in 2002 on a loose block near the tomb of Meryneith (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, scene 137; here Fig. 3). The relief merely shows part of the bark and the squatting gods from the bottom register of the vignette. The raised relief technique seems to date this fragment to Dynasty 18.

In view of the lacunary state and loss of archaeological context of most scenes, it is difficult to identify a pattern according to which the Iaru scenes would have been placed in

⁵ Now Leiden inv. AMT 1-35. See Boeser 1911, 4 and pl. 12.

⁶ Cairo T 17/6/25/1 f. See Ockinga 2004, 58–59 and pls. 15b and 62b, scene 7B.

⁷ Florence 2605. See Berendsen 1882, 98–99; Schiaparelli 1887, 333–37 with fig. on p. 334. This block is not mentioned in Porter and Moss; the owner is identical to that of the seated statue Leiden AST 10.

⁸ Cairo T 17.6.25.5. See Gaballa 1977, 11–12 and pls. 21–22.

⁹ Cairo T 17.6.24.8. See Quibell 1912, 145 and pl. 76.9; Grajetzki 2003, 121 *sub* b.

¹⁰ Frankfurt, Liebieghaus Inv. 270. See Martin 1989, 125–26 and pl. 135, scene 120; Gessler-Löhr 1993.

¹¹ See Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2007, 23. An initial analysis of this vignette was made by Mila Álvarez Sosa (University of La Laguna), whom I wish to thank for her help.

¹² Cf. the tomb of Mose; Gaballa 1977, pl. 21.

¹³ Cf. the papyrus of Taiuheryt (Leiden AMS 40); Heerma van Voss 1971, pl. 11.

the original tombs. Nothing can be said of the specimens belonging to Kyiry¹⁴ and Iuty. The vignette of Horemheb has been attributed to the west wall of the central chapel (Martin 1989, 123; Van Siclen 1990, 199–203, figs. 1 and 5, scene G), but a more probable place would be the north wall of the antechapel.¹⁵ Paatenemheb's scene occurs on the south half of the east wall of his central chapel, while Amenemone had his scene on the exterior (east) face of the northern screen-wall separating the inner sanctuary and antechapel. Mose's scene probably comes from the south wall of the central chapel, and Ptahemwia's version graced the east end of the north wall of the peristyle courtyard. One thing is certain: representations of BD 110 were a regular motif of Dynasty 18 and 19 tomb decoration also at Memphis. Further, the Horemheb/Ptahemwia variant introduced new iconographical elements into the repertoire.

The judgement scene (BD 125)

Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead, the famous judgement scene involving the weighing of the heart of the deceased, was another favourite theme in the decoration of New Kingdom tombs. Abdul-Qader Muhammed identified thirty Theban private tombs depicting this scene (1966, 251). C. Seeber, in her study devoted to the concomitant vignette, lists no less than 48 New Kingdom Theban tombs, as well as seven others from Saqqara, Asyut, Abydos, Aswan, Aniba, and Dehmit (Seeber 1976, 202–203, 205–209). Her single example from Saqqara belongs to the tomb of the Ramesside steward Horemheb (to be distinguished from his namesake, the Dynasty 18 general and later pharaoh; Quibell 1912, 144 and pl. 72.2). It shows a squatting god (either Horus or Anubis) performing the act of weighing with Thoth supervising on the left and the Heart-Eater squatting below.¹⁶

Five additional Memphite texts and representations of Book of the Dead spell 125 can be found on blocks in various museum collections. The first is a relief, possibly from the tomb of Pahemnetjer and now in Stockholm, bearing parts of the text of this spell.¹⁷ Another partial text copy occurs on a block from the tomb of the goldsmith Amenemone.¹⁸ The other three concern characteristic representations of the vignette of spell 125. A scene from the tomb of Mose adheres to the Dynasty 18 type depicting the weighing without separate introduction or ushering scenes.¹⁹ Another fragment, from an unknown tomb and now in Boston, depicts

¹⁴ Grajetzki 2003, 121: position unknown.

¹⁵ In the first place, a representation of the Fields of Iaru would be very strange on a chapel's west wall, where one would expect a stela with ordinary offering scenes. Second, the presence of an unworked strip along the lateral edges of the Iaru scene betrays the presence of cross-walls, which would not make sense on the west wall (since the width of the Iaru scene is less than that of Horemheb's west wall); however, such walls could be identical to the northern screen-wall and the chapel's entrance wall if the scene was placed on the north wall of the antechapel. Third, the east face of Horemheb's north screen-wall (Martin's blocks 121–122 and Van Siclen's scenes D and K) shows part of three boats perhaps connected with the Iaru scenes; it is just possible that the Frankfurt block was part of this wall.

¹⁶ Types A 2 or B of Seeber 1976, 32–35.

¹⁷ Medelhavsmuseet NME 38, MM 32011. See Martin 1987, 25 and pl. 20 (no. 56).

¹⁸ Cairo T 17.6.25.1. See Ockinga 2004, 69–72 and pls. 20 and 67, scene 12.

¹⁹ Cairo T 17.6.25.5. See Gaballa 1977, 14–15 and pl. 29, scene 20.

the tomb-owner behind the scales and, after having passed the judgement, he is ushered in to Osiris by the god Thoth.²⁰ This ushering scene clearly betrays a Ramesside date for this fragment (Seeber 1976, 35). The third judgment scene now in Bologna comes from the tomb of Hormin, director of the harim of Seti I. Its depiction of Anubis holding the scales is likewise typically Ramesside.²¹ Yet, the representation of the deceased with one hand raised and the other holding his heart is otherwise known only from Dynasty 21 onwards (Seeber 1976, 39–44).

To these six Memphite texts and representations can be added three more from our recent fieldwork in the necropolis of Saqqara. A Ramesside relief slab, found to the east of the tomb of Pay in 1994, shows Horus wielding the scales and Thoth reporting the result to the enthroned Osiris.²² Another Ramesside block found to the south of the tomb of Horemheb in 1999 depicts a row of squatting deities with feathers on their heads and knees, doubtless the tribunal of the judgement scene (Fig. 4).²³ Finally, an inscribed block found to the south of the tomb of Meryneith in 2003 contains an invocation in three columns to the judges nos. 40–42, who are represented at the bottom of the columns, likewise with feathers on their heads (Fig. 5).

Clearly, representations of BD 125 were a lot more common in the Memphite necropolis than has been hitherto assumed. The specimen from the tomb of Hormin, with its early occurrence of the gesture of vindication and of the deceased holding his own heart, indicates how influential the iconographical innovations of the Memphite area may have been for the later development of the Book of the Dead.

Other spells and vignettes

This investigation of two of the most important spells from the Book of the Dead has already shown the usefulness of comparing the Memphite texts and representations with those stemming from the Theban tradition. I shall now briefly cite the occurrences of other spells in the material from Saqqara, listing them in the conventional order given to the spells since the time of Lepsius. Of course, this does not reflect the relative importance of the various texts and vignettes in the corpus as a whole.

Excerpts from BD 2 occur on a stela fragment of Tjuneroy (now Cairo JE 18924), the texts of which were published by K. Piehl (1886, pl. 78; 1888, 67).

I shall not mention here the numerous copies of BD 6 occurring on shabtis, which of course are regular finds in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. One should realise that several of these objects date in fact to the Late Period, so we can illustrate quite a substantial part of the chronological development of the shabti text with our finds. There is even a copy of the rare Amenhotep III text on a shabti fragment inscribed for Pay.²⁴

²⁰ Boston Museum of Fine Arts 11.1532. See Martin 1987, 38 and pl. 35, no. 94; cf. also n. 68b on p. 47.

²¹ Bologna KS 1944. See Pernigotti 1994, 42. For Anubis, see Seeber 1976, 34ff.

²² Raven et al. 2005, 49–50 and pls. 80–81, scene 86. For the type of representation, cf. Seeber 1976, 37 (B 5).

²³ Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, scene 59. For the judges, cf. Seeber 1976, 136–39 with fig. 50.

²⁴ Raven et al. 2005, 85 and pls. 95 and 102, Cat. 141. For a joining fragment completing the text, which was found during the season 2009, see Raven, Hays, et al. 2010, 16–17, fig. 13.

Part of the text of BD 8 was also used on the above-mentioned stela fragment of Tjuneroy now in Cairo (Piehl 1886, pls. 77–78; Piehl 1888, 67).

The various solar hymns, commonly known as BD 15, were a very popular genre often copied on funerary stelae, pyramidia, and tomb walls. Assmann has argued persuasively against referring to the New Kingdom hymns occurring on tomb walls or in the papyri of the period as copies of BD 15 because they are all variations on a theme that only received codification with the Saitic recension of the Book of the Dead (1983, xxxv *sub* 2). Good examples are presented by stelae from the tombs of Horemheb,²⁵ Iniuiia,²⁶ and Pay,²⁷ by a pyramidion from the tomb of Amenemone,²⁸ and by reliefs from the tombs of Pay (Raven et al. 2005, 35 and pls. 50–51, scene 48) and Meritptah (Assmann 1975, 212, no. 90; Raven 1996, 55, no. 20). On the other hand, the concomitant vignette, usually referred to as BD 16, is only found on a single lintel from Saqqara.²⁹ J. Van Dijk has proposed that the typical Memphite *djed* pillars be understood as three-dimensional versions of this vignette, and indeed clauses from the hymns occasionally appear on their shafts (Van Dijk 1993, 167).

Over the years, the EES/Leiden excavations at Saqqara have produced several minute scraps of papyri attesting to the presence of funerary manuscripts in the necropolis. G. Lapp identified one fragment giving the text of BD 17 (Lapp 2006, xxiv (pSq1); cf. *ibid.* 238–43 with Raven 2001, 56 and pl. 39, Cat. 315).

A loose block found in 2002 in the forecourt of the tomb of Meryneith has been inscribed with the text of BD 21 (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. forthcoming, scene 150; here Fig. 6).

Several copies of spell BD 30B have been found on heart scarabs from the site. One of these scarabs was retrieved from a subsidiary shaft in the tomb of Horemheb (Schneider 1996, 36 and pls. 21 and 68, Cat. 196), another was found in a pit burial against Horemheb's south wall (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 73b), and a third was found in the tomb of Maya (Raven 2001, 29 and pls. 15 and 33, Cat. 71).

Some vignettes of the spells for repelling evil animals (BD 31–32, 39–40) occur on a relief from the tomb of Hormin (Cairo JE 8374).³⁰ The tomb of the army scribe Huy, found near the Teti pyramid, likewise contained a scene with the text and vignette of BD 32 (Wenig 1974, 241–42 and pl. 32c). A fragment of the text of spell BD 38B was found on a fragment of papyrus discovered in the tomb of Horemheb (Schneider 1996, 9 and pls. 1 and 47, Cat. 2).

Several vignettes on New Kingdom tomb-walls from Saqqara have been connected with BD 58–59. They depict the deceased receiving sustenance from the tree-goddess, as mentioned in the latter spell. A relief from the tomb of Amenemone, however, shows a mixture of palm and sycamore trees and thereby seems to include the former spell, often illustrated by a vignette showing the deceased drinking from a pool under a date palm.³¹

²⁵ Now British Museum EA 551. See Martin 1989, 29–31 and pls. 21–22, scene 7.

²⁶ Cairo JE 10079. See Schneider forthcoming, scene 7.

²⁷ One of his stelae is now in Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7270. See Raven et al. 2005, 24, 42–46, and pls. 18–19, 72–77, stelae 6, 70 and 71. A new fragment of stela 70 was found during the season 2009; see Raven, Hays, et al. 2010, 14–16, fig. 12.

²⁸ Cairo JE 41665. See Ockinga 2004, 98–104 and pls. 32–33, 76–78, scene 23.

²⁹ Martin 1987, 20 and pl. 12, no. 40 (found near the Unas valley temple, now in a SCA magazine at Saqqara).

³⁰ Werbrouck 1938, pl. 35. For the captions, see Kitchen 1975, 316.

³¹ Munich GI 98. See Ockinga 2004, 63–65 and pls. 13, 14b and 61, scene 6B.

Similar scenes occur on blocks from the tombs of Kyiry,³² Hormin,³³ Saiempetref,³⁴ Sakah,³⁵ Ptahemheb and Amenemheb,³⁶ and Nyiy.³⁷

Part of the text of BD 74 occurs on the above-mentioned stela fragment of Tjuneroy again (Piehl 1886, pl. 77; Piehl 1888, 67).

A vignette of BD 100 (or BD 129) is located on the south wall of the gold-washer Khay's chapel, found in 1986 (Martin, 2001, 14 and pls. 5 and 54, scene 5). The two barks of the vignette were depicted side by side unlike another Memphite copy occurring in the tomb of Hormin and where they occupy two different registers.³⁸ A minute fragment bearing text from this spell was found to the west of Horemheb's tomb in 1981 (Martin 2001, 14 n. 7, reg. no. 81:159). The first clause of the text is quoted on the sarcophagus of Iniua³⁹ and on a stela from the tomb of Pay.⁴⁰

Part of the text of BD 137A/151A occurs on a *djed* amulet found in the tomb-chambers of Maya, one of the four protective images set up on the magic bricks (Raven 2001, 48 and pls. 21, 38 and A, Cat. 240). Other portions of this spell were inscribed on the sarcophagi of Tia⁴¹ and Raia (Raven et al. 2005, 63–64 and pls. 83–91), and on a coffin found in a pit burial south of the tomb of Horemheb (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 14).

Lists of the divine names derived from BD 141–142 were found by J. E. Quibell on a number of blocks from the chapel of a Late Period official Nesthoth (Quibell 1912, 143 and pl. 63). An additional block from this chapel came up in the area of the Leiden concession in 2005 (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, scene 62).

According to Abdul-Qader Muhammed (1966, 252–53), representations of the gate-keepers of the hereafter are another favourite of Theban tombs. He mentions no less than 34 instances of this motif, which is derived from BD 146–147 (cf. also Barthelmeß 1992, 175–81). A vignette of two gate-keepers and part of the concomitant text is represented on a block from the tomb of a treasurer Ypu.⁴² More gate-keepers occur on three blocks from the tomb of an unknown steward found by Quibell in the Monastery of Apa Jeremias (Quibell 1912, pl. 77.1–2).

Abdul-Qader Muhammed (1966, 254–55) identifies four instances of the occurrence of BD 148 in Theban tombs. At Saqqara this spell was also a favourite. Copies have been

³² Cairo T.1.7.24.10. See Quibell 1912, 144–45 and pls. 69.3 and 76.7; Grajetzki 2003, 121 *sub* c.

³³ Cairo 1.7.24.6. See Kitchen 1975, 319 *sub* J.

³⁴ Cairo JE 52542. See Wallert 1962, 136 and pl. 12.

³⁵ Vienna ÄS 5816. See Étienne (ed.) 2008, 164–65, Cat. 134.

³⁶ Cairo JE 46190-1. See Châban 1917, nos. 14–15.

³⁷ Hannover 2933 and Berlin 7322. For convenient references, see Ockinga 2004, 63–64 with nn. 124 and 128–30.

³⁸ Cairo JE 8374. See Werbrouck 1938, pl. 35.

³⁹ Louvre D 2. See Schneider forthcoming, Chapter IV.1, Text 12.

⁴⁰ Berlin 7271. See Raven et al. 2005, 23 with n. 4 and pls. 17–18 (scene 5, line 13).

⁴¹ Martin 1997, 66–67 and pls. 103 and 170–71, Cat. 6; more fragments found in 2004, see Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 290.

⁴² Brooklyn 37.1478E. See Martin 1987, 20 and pls. 14 and 45, no. 41.

recorded from the tomb-walls of Tia (Martin 1997, 31 and pl. 47, scene 83), Kyiry,⁴³ and Mose,⁴⁴ and on a loose block found by the Leiden expedition in 2002 (Fig. 7).⁴⁵ Excerpts from the text of this spell have also been found on the edge-band of a rectangular wooden sarcophagus or shrine belonging to Tia (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 291).

The same enigmatic object also bore several texts and representations from BD 161, as did the accompanying stone sarcophagus of Tia (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 290–91; cf. Martin 1997, 66–67 and pls. 103 and 170–71, Cat. 6). In fact, these representations of the god Thoth opening the four corners of the sky became a favourite vignette often applied on the four corners of New Kingdom coffins and sarcophagi. At Saqqara it occurs on several similar items found by the EES/Leiden Expedition (Martin 2001, 40 and pls. 30 and 77, Cat. 24; Raven et al. 2005, 64 and pls. 87 and 89; Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 14; Schneider forthcoming, Chapter IV.1).

A rare text is that of BD 180. Only one instance has been recorded from Saqqara, on a reused block found in the tomb of Tia (Martin 1997, 41 and pl. 73, scene 184).

Equally unusual is the text of BD 182. We know of two copies: one on a block now in the library at Linköping (Martin 1987, 40 and pl. 39, no. 104), and the other by sheer coincidence likewise in Sweden.⁴⁶ The latter is from the tomb of the Memphite high-priest Pahemnetjer and its text copy continues with part of BD 183.

The title of BD 187 occurs on a block from the tomb of the army scribe Huy, now in Berlin.⁴⁷ The text following the title, however, does not conform to the expected spell.

Conclusions

This overview may serve to prove my point that a proper study of all Book of the Dead documents from a Memphite context would be very useful. Of course, there are Memphite papyri among the manuscripts used as source material for a study of the Book of the Dead,⁴⁸ but compared with the Theban documents they represent a distinct minority, probably because their chances of preservation in the shallow sands of the Saqqara desert were not as good. An alternative corpus of material preserved on stone—consisting of tomb reliefs, stelae and other funerary objects—has suffered from the action of tomb-robbers and art dealers and is now distributed all over the world. As a result, modern research has concentrated on the more easily accessible evidence from the Theban tombs.

Thus, in Book of the Dead studies there is an undue emphasis on Theban material. I hope to have demonstrated that the Memphite texts and representations deserve our attention because some of the innovations hitherto attributed to the Ramesside dynasties or the

⁴³ Cairo JE 43275. See Quibell 1912, 77.4–6; Grajetzki 2003, 116–18, scene 3.

⁴⁴ Cairo T 17.6.25.5. See Gaballa 1977, 10–11 and pls. 19–20, scene 9.

⁴⁵ Excavation number 2002-R77; the block was found reused in a Late Period tomb-chamber to the south of the tomb of Meryneith.

⁴⁶ Stockholm MM 32013. See Peterson 1969, 6–8 with fig. 3.

⁴⁷ Berlin 2087. See Martin 1987, 10 and pl. 4, no. 10.

⁴⁸ An example is the papyrus of the scribe of the offering table of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ra (Leiden cat. T 5), which is said to be from Memphis in the Anastasi Sales List. Cf. Raven 1996, 48–50, no. 17.

Third Intermediate Period were in fact already present in Dynasty 18 tombs such as that of Horemheb at Saqqara. Likewise, the occurrence of unusual spells or variations in the Memphite tombs should be studied in the context of contemporary society in the Egyptian capital, where the presence of the high-priests of Ptah and the proximity of the sun-temple at Heliopolis may have resulted in a shift of focus when compared with the Theban milieu dominated by the priests of Amun. It can only be hoped that the ongoing excavations at Saqqara, as well as speedy publication of the recently excavated material, will provide more documents of this kind.

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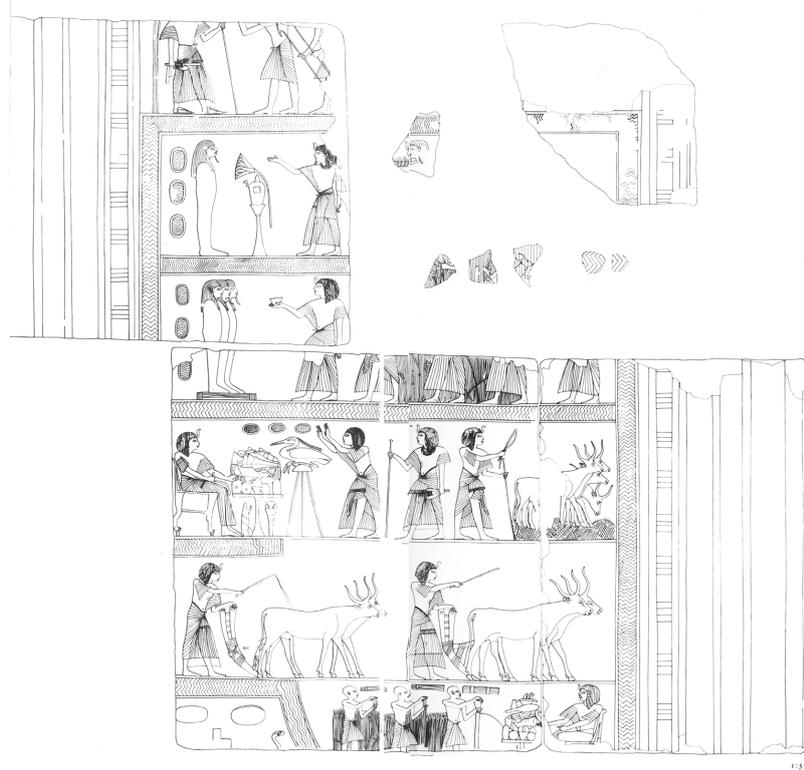


Fig. 1: BD 110 as represented in the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara (from Martin 1989, pl. 137, scene 117).

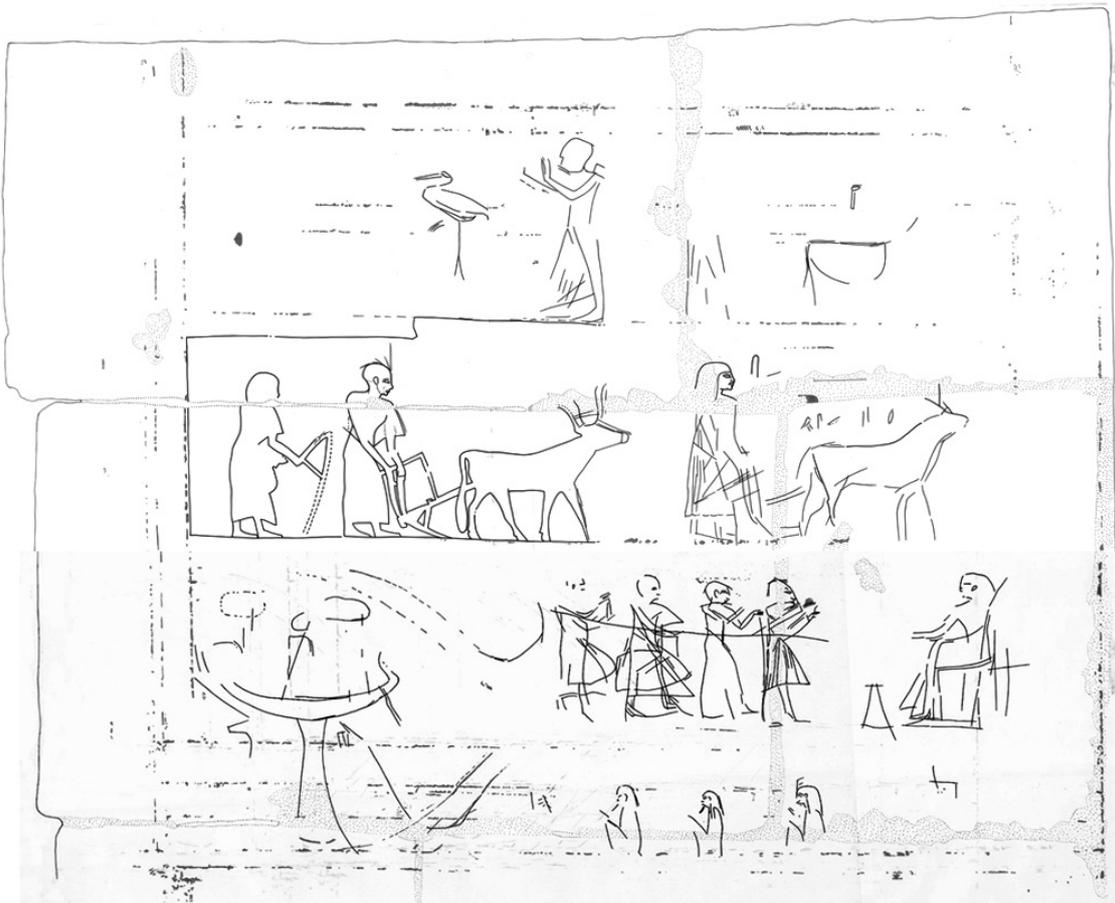


Fig. 2: BD 110 as represented in the tomb of Ptahemwia at Saqqara (drawing: D. Schulz).



Fig. 3: BD 110 on a loose block from Saqqara (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. forthcoming, scene 137).

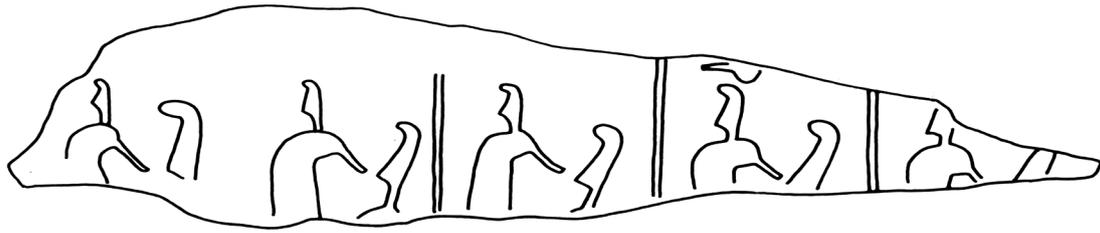


Fig. 4: Judges from BD 125 on a loose block from Saqqara (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, scene 59).



Fig. 5: Names of judges from BD 125 on a loose block from Saqqara (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. forthcoming, scene 157).



Fig. 6: BD 21 on a loose block from Saqqara (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. forthcoming, scene 150).



Fig. 7: BD 148 on a loose block from Saqqara (excavation number 2002-R77).



**When the Book of the Dead does not match archaeology:
The case of the protective magical bricks (BD 151)**

Isabelle Régen

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When the Book of the Dead does not match archaeology: The case of the protective magical bricks (BD 151)

Isabelle Régen

The vignette of BD 151 illustrates the ideal burial chamber and its equipment from a physically impossible perspective (see Lüscher 1998; Régen 2000). According to the spell, four magical bricks need to be walled up in the funerary chamber in relation to the cardinal points. Each of these clay bricks is inscribed with a spell and decorated with an amulet:

Northern wall, facing South	A mummiform figurine of <i>ima</i> -wood; it is supposed to repel aggressors of the dead.
Southern wall, facing North	A reed-torch with a wick soaked in <i>sefet</i> -oil, to fight demons termed <i>sjfw</i> or <i>sjfw</i> . ¹
Western wall, facing East	A blue faience <i>djed</i> -pillar whose top is plated with electrum foil; the amulet is to chase away a malicious entity called <i>Kap-her</i> 'Hidden of Face.' The latter can be replaced by the famous <i>Neba-her</i> . ²
Eastern wall, facing West	An unbaked clay figurine of Anubis as a seated dog; the figurine is to be vigilant in protecting the dead from the attack of aggressors.

A rare set of such amulets are preserved in the British Museum, belonging to a Dynasty 19 priestess, Henutmehyt (Cover image).³ This ritual is intended to protect the mummy and the tomb. The rite of magical bricks offers the possibility to compare textual instructions and the archaeological application of a funerary practice. It is documented by papyri from the very beginning of Dynasty 18 to the Ptolemaic Period. The archaeological evidence for the ritual is demonstrated in tombs dating from the reign of Thutmosis III to that of Nectanebo I. At the present time, less than one hundred persons are known to have used the ritual (kings, royal family, elite officials and sacred animals [Apis]; Regen 1999). This number is rather low for a practice demonstrated to have been in use for more than a thousand years, but many bricks may still be walled up in burial chambers.

Consideration of this funerary rite will show how and why the practical application of the ritual in tombs could differ from the tradition noted in manuscripts; in other words, cases where reality does not match the text. Beyond this specific spell, the study prompts questions about the connection between the Book of the Dead text and implementation of some of its concepts.

¹ The names only in appear in some of the preserved papyri, e.g., P. Torino inv. Suppl. 8438 (Khâ) and P. Louvre N 3092 (Neferubenef).

² In P. Busca (Dynasties 19–20; Crevatin 2008, 47). For *Neba-her*, see el-Sayed 1981.

³ British Museum EA 41544–41547 (Taylor 1999, pl. 15).

The ritual in its ideal application

A brief review of the ritual prescriptions of BD 151, that is those instructions known from papyri, is appropriate here. The version cited appears in P. Turin.

Northern spell

This spell is to be said over an unbaked clay brick on which this spell has been carved. Make a niche for it in the walls of the netherworld and set an image of *ima*-wood 7 digits high, whose mouth has been opened, firmly on this brick on the northern wall, its face toward the south, and cover its face.

Southern spell

This spell is to be said over an unbaked clay brick (on which this spell has been carved). Attach a lighted torch. Make a niche for it in the southern wall, its face toward the north, and cover its face.

Western spell

(This spell is) to be said over a *djed*-pillar amulet of faience whose top has been covered with electrum, wrapped in royal linen with ointment poured over it, set firmly on an unbaked clay brick. Make a niche for it on the western wall, its face toward the east, and cover its face with earth. (This is a means of) being under the *âru*-tree and repelling the adversaries of Osiris, in whatever form (they) come.

Eastern spell

This spell is to be said over an Anubis of unbaked clay mixed with incense, set firmly on a brick of (unbaked) clay, with this spell carved on it. Make a niche for it in the eastern wall, its face toward the west, and cover its face.

When the Book of the Dead text does not match archaeology

Bricks

The instructions in BD 151 require that the magical spell is carved on a brick. Excepting papyri and representations of magical bricks, there is one case in which bricks are not directly used: upon the stela of the early Dynasty 19 general Kasa, from Saqqara, now in Marseilles (Fig. 1; Naville 1880; Berlandini 1977, 38, 44; Meeks et al. 1990: 49–50). The surface of each stela features a cavity for each amulet and its brick, yet the spell was carved on the stela, not directly on the brick.

The BD text gives directions for the use of four bricks, but Carter discovered five bricks in the tomb of Tutankhamun. Four bricks were placed in the walls of the burial chamber; a fifth one—for the torch—was placed on the ground of the Treasury, at the feet of the famous Anubis statue, more precisely between the poles of the carrying shrine of Anubis. The king was provided with the standard amulets (figurine, torch, *djed*, Anubis) but also a new one, that of Osiris (Fig. 2; Cairo Museum JE 61377). This figurine is less than 20cm high, and its brick bears the eastern spell usually associated with Anubis; no text is found on the Anubis brick.

Carter discovered the niches still plastered, thus not visible upon discovery of the tomb. The presence of 'small brown fungus growths' on the tomb walls was absent where the niches lay behind (Reeves 1990, 72); on the western wall, the difference is particularly obvious between the areas with brown fungus growths and the plaster of the niche. It seems the niches were sealed after the walls had been decorated: according to Carter, 'the niches, closed with suitable but quite rough splinters of limestone, were plastered over flush with the surfaces of the walls and were then painted over to match the colour decorating the walls.'⁴

The yellow colour used for the sealing of the niches does not exactly match the rest of the decoration, whereas inside some of the niches, splashes of yellow paint (that used for the original decoration of the walls), were noted. On a photograph showing this wall before the opening of the niche (Reeves 1990, 73–74; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 39), the name of the ape, which is supposed to be inscribed precisely where the niche was sealed, seems to be missing but was never intended to be added. The absence of an inscription in front of this ape is rather to be expected, as the creature does not have a name in the Amduat. It is thus evident that the decorators of the tomb wisely located the niche in a free space in front of the apes of the first hour of the Amduat, precluding the need for any decoration to be executed twice. The same care on the part of the artists is evident on the other walls, where the niches are placed to avoid the legs of the individuals.

Why did the decorators choose to make the niches after the walls had already been decorated? As mentioned, five bricks instead of the usual four were discovered in the tomb of the king. The extra brick is that with a figurine of Osiris, but carved with the eastern text that usually relates to the Anubis figurine. Yet the Anubis brick of the king does not bear any spell. Is it possible that the significant size of Anubis on this brick did not leave enough space to inscribe the text? Is this a sufficient reason to create a new brick?

The fifth brick, the one discovered at the entrance of the Treasury, at the feet of the famous Anubis statue, bears the southern spell, associated with the protective flame. Beside the broken brick, a torch with a gilded top was found (Fig. 3). In addition, a ceramic pedestal was found; considering its position in relation to that of the brick, it may have been used to hold the torch (JE 62357+JE 87851; Carter and Mace 1963, pl. 52). Perhaps the brick was not strong enough to hold the torch, which is much larger than that provided for the priestess Henutmehyt (8.3cm high). The presence of charcoal fragments on the tomb floor beside the torch indicate that it had been used.

The protective role of the flame is illustrated by BD 137A, in which four torches are used (Luft 2009). This chapter is closely related to BD 151 in the papyrus of Nu (P. BM EA 10477): the text relating to magical bricks is separated from the rest of the chapter, allowing it to be placed directly after the text of the four protective torches. The torch in the tomb of Tutankhamun was situated by one of the doors of the burial chamber, as if protecting the entrance. The Anubis statue also seems to keep watch over the deceased. Four torches on pedestals were found in the tomb, and all may be related to BD 137A. The torch discussed above, found next to the ceramic pedestal, was left lit when the tomb was being closed. Perhaps it was not placed in a niche to allow its use in a ceremony that took place at the closing of the tomb. This would explain why the niches were walled up at the last moment, after decoration was completed.

⁴ www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/258-c257-2.html (30 September 2010).

According to BD 151, an unbaked clay brick had to be used for the ritual, yet in several cases, a fired brick was used. In some examples, the brick was fired after deposition in the tomb, perhaps during a fire when the tomb was opened for re-use, or in modern times (e.g., a Berlin Museum brick fired through bomb damage during the Second World War). Fired bricks have only been found in non-royal tombs (Silverman 1996, 732; Davoli 2004, 62 n. 7).

Each brick bears an amulet that is associated with a specific cardinal point. Most of the figurines are not preserved, given their fragile nature. Nonetheless, some bricks never supported amulets, but rather bore a drawing of the relevant object. The vizier Amenemhat (IT 82) used both systems, with a real amulet complemented by a drawing on the reverse of the brick (Scalf 2009, 294–95). It should be noted that, when found in its niche, the *djed*-pillar amulet was simply placed on the brick, not inserted into a cavity; the same practice is found on the western brick of Tutankhamun. An anonymous brick in a private collection (van Voss 1965, 315–16, pl. 17) bears an imprint of a *djed*-amulet on the upper part.

The eastern brick of the vizier User, who lived in the reign of Thutmose III, displays another feature. On the reverse, an incised design depicts two eyes in a rectangle (Régen 2002, 998–99, 1002(A)).⁵ This represents the eyes of Anubis watching over the deceased; the eastern spell specifies the vigilance of this god. The framing rectangle can also be explained. When Carter discovered the tomb of Thutmose IV, the eastern niche was still walled up, apart from a small aperture in the plaster. This aperture was directly in front of the eyes of the Anubis amulet, allowing it to see the sarcophagus and thus watch over the dead.⁶

Examples of deviation from the prescribed types of amulet are also known. The Osiris figurine in the tomb of Tutankhamun is one such example. The Anubis spell on a brick of Paibmer, god's father of Amun (Dynasty 19), is associated with a mummiform figurine usually related to another spell (Scalf 2009, 279). This kind of mistake can also be found, surprisingly, in royal burials. Amenhotep II owned two bricks with Anubis figurines.⁷ One was obviously included through error, as its text relates to the amulet of the flame.

BD 151 stipulates that the text is 'carved' (*htj*). Many bricks, including royal ones, however, have their text simply painted (see Régen 2010, 23–42). The whole Late Period set of bricks of Horemkhebit from Saqqara does not bear any text or inscription (Arnold 1997, 31–54; Davoli 2004, 67–68, 76 [Tav. XIII–XVI]).⁸ This may reflect a late development of the ritual. The north *and* south text of the mummiform figurine of Yuya are inscribed directly on the amulet. The feet of the figurine do not seem ever to have been fixed in a brick. It has the appearance of a shabti and was actually discovered among the shabtis of Yuya (Davis 1907, 29, pl. 22; Quibell 1908, 38, pl. 18; Davoli 2004, 67, 76 (Tav. XII)).

It should be emphasised that the spells developed in two ways, one for papyri and the other for the actual bricks. In the case of the southern spell, from the reign of Amenhotep III and IV, a new variant text became the canonical version for bricks (Régen 2009, 53). The papyrus version remained different until the Ptolemaic Period. A further development of this southern spell is attested on the stela of general Kasa, where it is associated with a new text

⁵ An examination of the originals has revealed that the bricks of User are not baked, Davoli 2004, 62, n. 7.

⁶ Papers of Howard Carter kept in the Griffith Institute (G.I.A.133 (I)).

⁷ For the Anubis figurine fixed on the brick bearing the southern (flame) spell, see Hermann and Schwan 1940, 66.

⁸ See, in particular, the case of Hekaemsaf: Davoli 2004, 68, 77 (Tav. XVII–XIX).

about the power of the flame, reminiscent of BD 137A (Régen 2009, 54).

Once the amulet has been set in a niche, the spell stipulates ‘cover its face’ (or ‘cover over it’). Considering the archaeological evidence, this could correspond to one of two practices: the wrapping of the amulet (and brick) with linen (Monnet 1951, 152, n. 8), or more probably the sealing of the niche, making it invisible behind the wall decoration. A few niches were found unsealed, for example in the tombs of Amenhotep III (wooden panel), Tutankhamun (plastered and painted rough splinters of limestone) and Nefertari (stone slab). The four spells never refer to the wrapping of the bricks and amulets with linen, even though such a practice is attested from as early as the reign of Amenhotep II (e.g., Davoli 2004, 64, 74, KV 48 of Amenemipet). Only the western (*djed*) spell specifies the wrapping⁹ of the *djed*-pillar in royal linen. This instruction seems not to have been systematically applied. In 1929, Mond and Emery discovered an unviolated niche in a Theban tomb, TT 97 of Amenemhat; once the sealing plaster had been removed, a magical brick decorated with a *djed*-pillar was revealed, not covered by any piece of cloth (Davoli 2004, 65–67, 75). Furthermore, in the photographs taken immediately after the opening of the niches in the tomb of Tutankhamun, all the amulets appear covered with linen, with the notable exception of the *djed*-pillar (Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, 76–77, fig. 41 a–d); yet this amulet is the only one which should be covered according to the text.

In fact, the western spell prescribes that the covering (*db3*) has to be made ‘with earth.’ The sequence *db3 hr=f* thus clearly refers to the sealing of the niches. The practice of using linen to wrap the amulets and bricks is a divergence from the papyrus tradition, as this practice was only required for the *djed*-amulet but was applied to other bricks.¹⁰

Location

A stipulation ‘make for it [i.e., the brick with amulet] a niche in the wall’ forms part of BD 151, yet the cavities are not always present. The earliest known royal and private examples of bricks were not placed in niches, namely those of the vizier Amenemhat (TT 82) and Thutmose III. Niches appear for the first time in a private tomb (that of User, vizier under Thutmose III), and later in royal burials, beginning with that of Amenhotep II. Nonetheless, niches were not universally adopted: bricks were placed directly upon the floor of the burial chamber in some tombs.

Orientation

The final divergence between the textual tradition and the archaeological evidence concerns the orientation of the bricks. These rarely reflect true geographical orientation, and it is possible that a ritual orientation was re-created underground in the burial chamber. In that case, the orientation of the objects would correspond with the conception of the burial chamber, a point that cannot be developed further here.

⁹ Usually *Hbs*, but the stela of Kasa employs the verb *db3*.

¹⁰ Similarly, incense particles are mentioned only for the Anubis amulet, but are found elsewhere.

Why does reality not match the text?

In this paper, I have referred to ‘differences’ between the ideal application of the ritual, based on texts, and what archaeological evidence reveals as to the practical application of the ritual. Is it implicit in such a discussion that the text predates the application? A funerary corpus such as the Pyramid Texts is now recognised as a late codification of earlier oral traditions and practices (Mathieu 1999, 16), and I prefer to adopt the same reasoning in relation to BD 151.

The ‘differences’ encountered can be ascribed to error, or innovation. In both cases, it is the human element that is concerned, and divergences defined by us as mistakes may not have been recognised as such by the ancient Egyptians. Any innovation was presumably introduced to enhance the efficiency of the ritual.

Thus to ensure the ritual was effective for eternity, several innovations were introduced:

- 1) Make the equipment less fragile by (a) choosing a more long-lasting material to ensure the durability of the text, for example the limestone stelae of Kasa to hold the clay brick, or the use of fired bricks; or (b) replacing fragile amuletic figurines with depictions or imprints on the bricks.
- 2) Multiply the sources to enhance the chances of survival: the tomb of Sennefer was equipped with magical bricks *and* a vignette of BD 151 on one of the walls of the burial chamber (Gundlach et al. 1981, 49, fig. 33). Sennefer may also have owned a papyrus containing BD 151. Another example is the ‘doubling’ of amulets to include both amulet and drawing thereof.
- 3) Enhance security: in the tombs of the kings, niches were progressively placed higher up the wall. Early examples were level with the sarcophagus, while later niches were directly beneath the ceiling.
- 4) Combine different rituals: perhaps rites relating to magical bricks and a flame ritual were enacted at the closing of the tomb? The choice of a figurine of Osiris is a further guarantee of efficacy.
- 5) Combine different texts: the southern stela of Kasa features the new text of the flame, echoing BD 137A.

The term ‘interpretation’ is relevant here: each generation adapts and appropriates the text, bringing its personal touch, part of the process of the creation of a cultural heritage. Throughout their history, Egyptians continuously glossed, improved and corrected texts. They thus reconciled the ‘impératif de conformité’ and ‘impératif de surpassement’ (Vernus 1995, 90–92). Those imperatives apply not only to the ritual text, but also to its archaeological performance.

The relationship between textual tradition and related practical applications of the rituals deserves more consideration, particularly in relation to the Book of the Dead.

Cover image: magical bricks and amulets, British Museum EA 41544–41547, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

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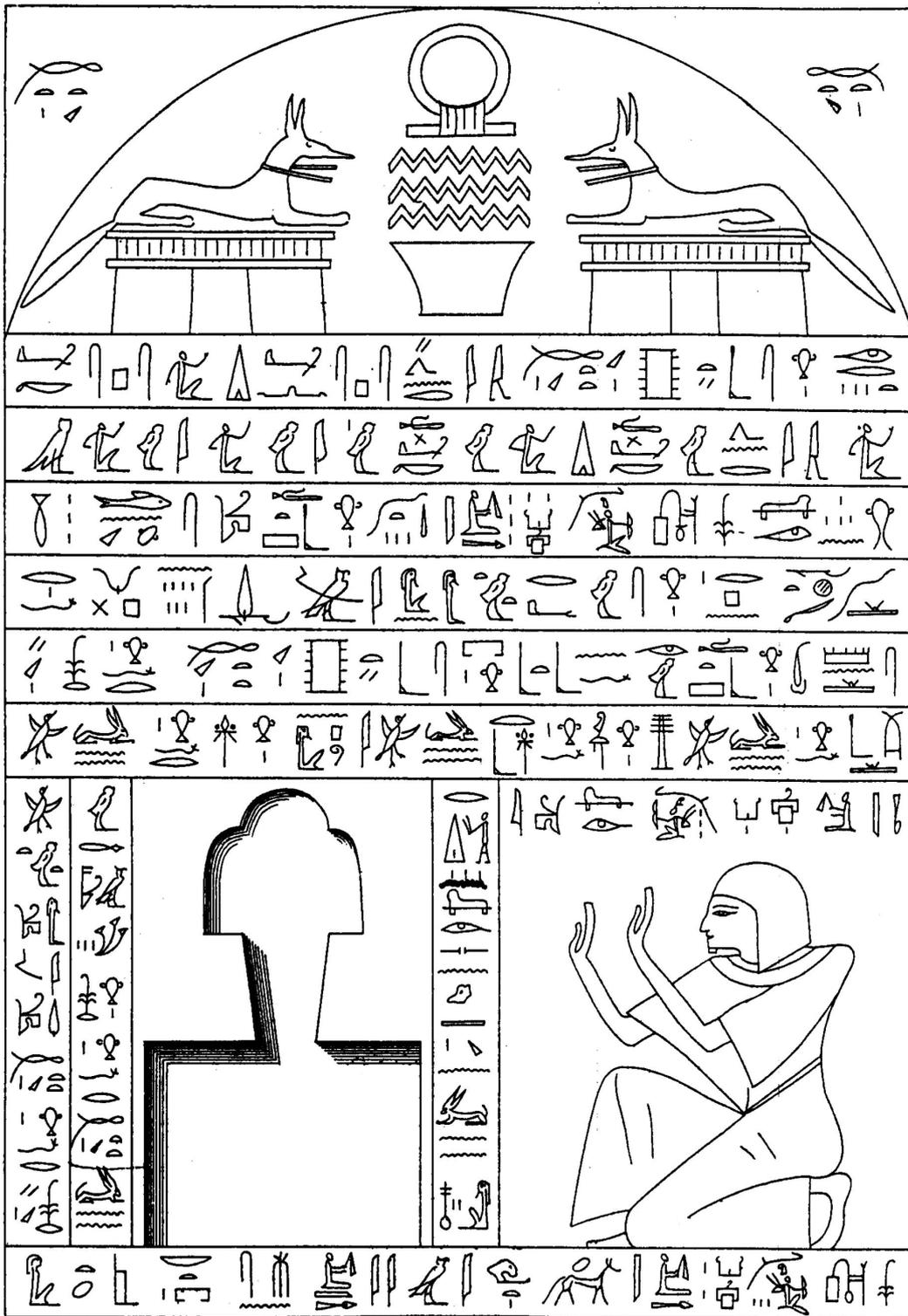


Fig. 1: Northern stela of Kasa, Marseilles inv. 240 (from Naville 1878, pl. 12).



Fig. 2: Osiris brick of Tutankhamun, Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 61377, copyright Alain Lecler, IFAO.



Fig. 3: Torch brick of Tutankhamun, Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 62357 + 87851, copyright Alain Lecler, IFAO.