

EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY HIERATIC BOOK OF THE DEAD MANUSCRIPTS. AN INSIGHT INTO THE WRITING STYLE AND FORMAT

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ABSTRACT

The Book of the Dead was commonly found in the New Kingdom, written in hieroglyphs and cursive hieroglyphs. Few examples recorded in hieratic script date to the early 18th Dynasty. They display an interesting format that differs from the other examples of different scripts. At the time, hieratic was used in the Book of the Dead on the papyrus and the linen shrouds. Before the New Kingdom, a few examples of the Book of the Dead were in written hieratic script as well. From the second half of the 18th Dynasty, writing Book of the Dead in hieratic was stopped and the scribes used only the hieroglyphs and cursive hieroglyphs for the rest of this era. Thus, this paper tackles the reasons behind stopping the Book of the Dead's writing in hieratic during the rest of New Kingdom. The layout and scribal practices of these examples are presented, focusing on the handwriting and scribes of the long papyrus of Hatnefer.

المخلص

كتبت نصوص كتاب الموتى فى عصر الدولة الحديثة بشكل أساسى بالخط الهيروغليفى و الهيروغليفى المختصر. إلا أن هذا لا يمنع من وجود عدد قليل جداً من النسخ التى كتبت بالخط الهيروغليفى و التى تؤرخ إلى بداية عصر الأسرة الثامنة عشرة. تقدم هذه النماذج سمات مميزة من ناحية الخط و التنسيق عن تلك التى كتبت بالهيروغليفى و الهيروغليفى المختصر. تستعرض هذه المقال الأسباب المحتملة التى أدت إلى توقف استخدام الخط الهيروغليفى خلال نسخ عصر الدولة الحديثة. كما سوف تركز فى جانب منها على الخط الهيروغليفى وسماته فى هذه النسخ المبكرة مع استعراض نموذجاً لأحدى برديات السيدة حات نفر.

¹ I am deeply thankful to the curators in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permitting me to work on the BD manuscripts of Hatnefer and providing me with the photos. I am also grateful to Olga Vassilie (Pushkin Museum) for allowing me to use the photos of Moscow papyrus in this research. I am also indebted to Dr Ahmed Mekawy (Cairo University) for reading the manuscript and drawing attention to many interesting points. Responsibility for possible errors is entirely mine.

KEYWORDS**الكلمات الدالة**

Book of the Dead- Early Eighteenth Dynasty- Hieratic- Hatnefer- Vignettes- Cursive hieroglyphs.

كتاب الموتى- بداية الأسرة الثامنة عشرة- هيراطيقى- حات نفر- تصوير- هيروغليفي مختصر

INTRODUCTION

Fundamentally, life after death and securing a safe place in paradise was an important aspect of the beliefs of the Ancient Egyptians from the dawn to the end of the Egyptian civilization. The Pyramid Texts were the first systematically recorded religious texts of the afterlife written in Old Kingdom royal pyramids. Later, in the Middle Kingdom, they were modified to be inked on coffins' interior walls, as Coffin Texts. After that, the Book of the Dead (hereafter BD) were important religious compositions created by the ancient Egyptians that persisted for hundreds of years. The attention to these religious texts emerged from the convincing of the ancient Egyptians by the crucial role of these texts in ensuring a safe pathway to the otherworld. The content of the BD is not an entirely new assemblage of religious spells, and some of its content was taken from earlier collections such as the Pyramid and Coffin Texts.¹ However, the New Kingdom constitutes the actual starting point for this long-lasting genre where it was written on the most available writing mediums at that time i.e. papyri, shrouds, mummy wrappings, ostraca, leather, and walls of tombs and temples.² Prior to the New Kingdom, a few examples of the BD in the hieratic script were discovered such as the spells that were inscribed on the inner walls of the rectangular sarcophagus of Queen Mentuhotep,³ and the coffin board of Herunefer, which constitutes the first incontrovertible evidence of the early BD examples.⁴ This may also reflect that the decorations of the coffin interiors of the time with BD spells were confined to the royal sphere at the beginning.⁵ Surprisingly, not only are the spells on the coffins of the Queen Mentuhotep and the coffin of the prince Herunefer (BM EA 29997) arranged to the typical sequence of the New Kingdom's BD, but they are also written in purely

¹ Dorman, P., "The Origins and Early Development of the Book of the Dead", in: Scalf, F., (ed.), *Book of the Dead, Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, OIMP 39, Chicago, (2018), 29. On the emergence of the BD spells in general cf. Dorman, P., "Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead", in: *JARCE* 55, (2019), 25–27.

² Kockelmann, H., "How A Book of the Dead manuscript was produced", in: Scalf, F. (ed.), *Book of the Dead, Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, OIMP 39, (2018), 67.

³ Quirke, St., *Going in Daylight, prt m hrw, The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, Translation, sources, meanings*, London, (2013), 11; Dorman, "The Origins and Early Development", 34. Queen Mentuhotep is the wife of King Djehuty, who ruled towards the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty or the very beginning of the Sixteen Dynasty. The coffin was discovered in Thebes at the beginning of the 19th century, but it is lost. Sir John Wilkinson copied the texts in 1832 at the time of discovery. For more details about this coffin cf. Geisen, Ch., *Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep aus der 13. Dynastie. Ein Textzeuge aus der Übergangszeit von den Sargtexten zum Totenbuch*, SAT 8, Wiesbaden, (2004).

⁴ PM I, 657; Parkinson, R and Quirke, St., "The Coffin of Prince Herunefer and the Early History of the Book of the Dead", in Lloyd, A.B., (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic religion and Society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, London, (1992), 47; Gestermann, L., "Aufgelesen: Die Anfänge des Altägyptischen Totenbuches", in: B. Backes, B., Munro, I., Stöhr, S. (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen. Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005*, SAT 11, Wiesbaden, (2006), 104.

⁵ Végh, Z., "The Transition from the Coffin texts to the Book of the Dead: The origin of the glosses in the Book of the Dead spell 18", in: Bickel, S., Díaz-Iglesias, L., (eds.) *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, Leuven; Paris; Bristol, (2017), 514; O'Rourke, P., *An Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, the Papyrus of Sobekmose*, Brooklyn, (2016), 32.

horizontal hieratic lines imitating the papyrus roll format.¹

The linen shrouds were commonly used in the 17th and 18th Dynasties on large scale for writing the spells of the BD.² Some of these were painted in the hieratic script, such as L. Ahmose-Penhat (MMA 22.3.296a), the prince and chancellor Ahmose in Turin Museum (63005), and L. Ahmose Henut-tamehu in the Cairo Museum (JE. 96810), which were arranged in vertical columns.³ Another early BD example is the fragmented shroud of the 17th Dynasty of King Intef, as the few surviving inscriptions could identify BD material rather than Coffin Texts.⁴ During the New Kingdom, the vast majority of the BD manuscripts were executed in cursive hieroglyphs with the retrograde writing style.⁵ They were mostly attributed to men rather than women:⁶ about 191 manuscripts ascribed to men, men, and about 25 manuscripts belonged to women.⁷ A few surviving copies were written in hieratic script and are dated to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty.⁸ These earlier examples could indicate that the earliest configuration of the spell sequences on the papyrus, leather, linen, and coffins' inner walls, was formulated in hieratic script.⁹ They are different in length, format, and spell sequence. At an unknown time in the 18th Dynasty, the hieratic script was discarded to write BD. The reasons behind the use and abandonment of this script are controversial, but they are briefly discussed in the following section.

EARLY HIERATIC BD COPIES OF THE NEW KINGDOM

Several hieratic manuscripts are dated to the early 18th Dynasty. Most are preserved in museums around the world, while a few have disappeared.¹⁰ Some of these papyri are fully published, while others remain unpublished, such as the two papyri of Lady Hatnefer. The

¹ Dorman, "The Origins and Early Development", 34; Parkinson, Quirke, "The Coffin of Prince Herunefer", 47; <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135250>> accessed 25.01.2021.

² For more details concerning the linen shrouds, their writing format in hieratic and cursive hieroglyphic examples cf. Dorman, "Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead", 34–44.

³ Dorman, "The Origins and Early Development", 35–36, fig. 2.5.

⁴ <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133831>> accessed 25.01.2021; Quirke, St. *Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum*, British Museum occasional Paper 92, London, (1993), 1.

⁵ Kockelmann, "How A Book of the Dead manuscript was produced", 69; According to the BD project-Bonn, Bonn, a few hieratic BD manuscripts could date back to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties e.g., Nineteenth Dynasty; O. IFAO 1608, O. IFAO 3016, O. London BM EA 29511, P. London BM EA 9953 A, P. New York Amherst 33, sh. 4[1], P. Reading. Twentieth Dynasty; Linen shroud of Cairo Museum J.E. 35409, O. IFAO 423, P. Marseille 5323, P. Turin 1828. <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>> accessed 27.03.2020.

⁶ The papyrus of Amenemipet Baki, preserved in Warsaw Museum Nardowe 21884, is one of relatively few 18th Dynasty BD dedicated to women, in addition to the papyrus of Nebemtert from Saqqara.

⁷ <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/uebersicht/besitzer-verwandte#StringBalken>> accessed 24.03.2020.

⁸ Barwik, M., "Amenemheb and Amenemopet: New light on a papyrus from the National Museum in Warsaw", in: Aksamit, L., (ed.), *Essays in honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska*. Bd. 1, Warschau, (1997), 331.

⁹ Dorman, "The Origins and Early Development of the Book of the Dead", 34.

¹⁰ The current location of the papyri of Neferkhawet, Ruyu, and Boki is unknown. They were uncovered in the tomb of Neferkhawet by the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in season 1934–35. The BD papyrus of Neferkhawet was inscribed in a very good hieratic script over one single side of papyrus in black and red ink. Like many other examples, the BD papyrus of Neferkhawet was found on his left shoulder, outside the wrappings of the mummy, as the roll of Hatnefer that was found on her breast. Hayes, W., *The Tomb of Nefer-Khewet and his family*, *BMMA*, Section II, New York, (1935). 26; Barwik, "Amenemheb and Amenemopet", 332. The copy of Ruyu was inscribed in a very good hieratic hand and the roll was also lying on her breast, the same position as Hatnefer's papyrus. No images or descriptions of this papyrus are available; it is known that it was written in a good hieratic script. Hayes, *The Tomb of Nefer-Khewet and his family*, 26. The BD of Boki was in hieratic, and was found on his left shoulder while two other papyri in cursive hieroglyphs were found inside his coffin as well Hayes, *The Tomb of Nefer-Khewet and his family*, 26.

list below presents the known hieratic examples dated to the early 18th Dynasty.

- 1- Papyri Hatnefer (Cairo I-II, TR 25. 1. 55. 6).¹
- 2- Papyrus Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3).²
- 3- Papyrus Ahmose (Louvre E. 11085/REF AE O 24030).³
- 4- Leather roll of Nebimes British Museum (EA 10281).⁴
- 5- Papyrus Mwti (P. Brussel MRAH SN).⁵
- 6- Papyrus Sobekmose (Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York, no. 37.1777 E).⁶
- 7- Papyrus Neferkhawet.⁷
- 8- Papyrus Ruyu.⁸
- 9- Papyrus Boki.⁹
- 10- Papyrus London British Museum (BM EA 10738, 1-3).¹⁰
- 11- Papyrus Mesemnetjer (Louvre E. 21324), partially in hieratic.¹¹

¹ The author of this paper is working on the hieratic BD papyri of the Lady Hatnefer from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo since 2017 on a project on early 18th Dynasty hieratic sources. For more information about these papyri cf. Hassan, "The Hieratic Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead", in Güllden, Konrad, and Verhoeven, *Ägyptologische „Binsen“-Weisheiten IV*, (in press). For more information about Hatnefer and her family cf. The Housemistress in New Kingdom Egypt: Hatnefer <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/htnf/hd_htnf.htm> accessed 17.01.2021.

² Kraus, H., *Papyri from the Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps. An insert in Bibliotheca Phillipica*, New York, (1979), (no. 3); Kockelmann, H., *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden, Band II; Handbuch zu den Mumienbunden und Leinenamuletten*, SAT 12, Wiesbaden, (2008), 133 (no. 96).

³ Munro, I., *Das Totenbuch des Jah-mes (Plouvre E. 11085) aus der frühen 18. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden, Einleitung, (1995).

⁴ Shorter, A. W., "A Leather Manuscript of the Book of the Dead in the British Museum", in: *JEA* 20/1-2, (1934), 33-40; Munro, I., *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie, Kriterien ihrer Daterung*, Studies in Egyptology, London, and New York, (1987), 280-281; Bellion, M., *Égypte ancienne: Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu, publiés ou signalés*, Paris, (1987), 65.

⁵ Capart, J., "Un papyrus du Livre des Morts aux Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire", in: *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques*, 5e série 20, (1934), 242-251; Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 278-279; Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen*, I-II, 391 (Index) (pBrüssel Nr. unbek.); Bellion, *Égypte ancienne*, 98. <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134264#P.%20Br%C3%BCssel%20MRAH%20SN>> accessed 27. 03.2020.

⁶ O'Rourke, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 302; Clère, J. J., "The Collection of "Book of the Dead" Papyri in the Brooklyn Museum", in: *BMA* 9, (1967-1968), 88-93; Bellion, *Égypte ancienne*, 94.

⁷ Barwik, "Amenemheb and Amenemopet", 331-338; Hayes, W., *The Scepter of Egypt: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.) II*, New York, (1959), 17-36.

⁸ Barwik, "Amenemheb and Amenemopet", 331-338; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 226; Hayes, *The Tomb of Nefer-Khewet and his family*, 17-36.

⁹ Barwik, "Amenemheb and Amenemopet", 331-338; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 226; Hayes, *The Tomb of Nefer-Khewet and his family*, 17-36.

¹⁰ <https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?museumno=10738> accessed 27.03.2020.

¹¹ Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 279, pl. 24; Étienne, M., *Les Portes du Ciel: Visions du monde dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, Paris, (2009), 263 (no. 225); Tarasenko, M., "The BD 42 vignettes during the New Kingdom and Third intermediate Period", in: Backes, B, Müller Roth, M., and Stöhr, S., (eds.) *Ausgestattet Mit Den Schriften des Thot. Festschrift Für Irmtraut Munro Zu Ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch; Bd. 14, Wiesbaden, (2009), 239-265

12- Papyrus Moscow (Pushkin Museum).¹

USE AND ABANDONMENT OF HIERATIC SCRIPT IN THE NEW KINGDOM BD COPIES

The early Eighteenth Dynasty hieratic examples of the BD probably followed the traditions and writing style of the New Kingdom literary works executed in an exquisite hieratic hand.² On the other hand, hieratic was a daily life script and was used by the scribes in everyday tasks. One may assume that producing copies in the hieratic script was a relatively easier task for the scribes copying the manuscript; this may be a reason for using the hieratic in these early manuscripts.³ The popularity of the hieratic script at the time resulted in several hieratic signs appearing in cursive hieroglyphs texts.⁴

Another hypothesis is that these early 18th Dynasty examples mimicked the early examples inscribed on coffins' inner walls, such as that of Queen Mentuhotep. This could indicate that the copyists attempted to imitate this writing style initiated on coffins.

In some cases, the idea of using the hieratic script as a master copy is a reasonable inference. The leather manuscript of Nebimes dating to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty could reinforce this, as the name of the deceased was clearly inserted into this copy at a later stage.⁵ During the first years of Amenhotep II's reign in the 18th Dynasty,⁶ producing hieratic BD copies completely ceased, and the scribes turned to the hieroglyphic and cursive hieroglyphic scripts particularly in retrograde style.⁷ From the Third Intermediate Period, the hieratic became the popular script for religious texts including BD.⁸

; Taylor, J., *Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, London, (2010), 267; Dorman, "Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead", 33. It measures 41,3 cm H, 72 cm W. This papyrus could be dated to the time of the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, Dorman, "Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead", 23. For more information about this papyrus cf. <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134311>> accessed 27.03.2020.

¹ Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen*, I, 396 (Index)

² Taylor, *Journey through the Afterlife*, 267.

³ Hassan, "The Hieratic Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead", in Gül den, Konrad, and Verhoeven, *Ägyptologische „Binsen“-Weisheiten IV*, (in press)

⁴ Lucarelli, "Cursive Hieroglyphs", in Davies, Laboury, *The Oxford Handbook*, 582. For several examples of hieratic signs in the cursive hieroglyphs cf. Lucarelli, R., "Cursive Hieroglyphs in the Book of the Dead", in: Davies, V., Laboury, D., (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Paleography*, Oxford, (2020), 582–84.

⁵ Shorter, "A Leather Manuscript of the Book of the Dead in the British Museum", (1934), 34; Kockelmann, "How A Book of the Dead manuscript was produced", 34. Generally, leather rolls were used from the Early Periods of Ancient Egypt. However, few examples survived, probably due to the dry Egyptian climate that affected the leather badly. Ancient Egyptians believed in the durability and permanency of leather more than papyrus. Leather as a writing medium occupied a prestigious position for Egyptians, and several texts support this. Therefore, the leather was primarily used for the prestigious texts of the temple's library, for texts designed to survive as archives, because of the expected permanency and durability. Because of the longevity of the rolls, they were in continual use in the hands of the ritualists, tutors, or military scribes cf. Eyre, Ch., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, Oxford, (2013), 32–33.

⁶ Munro, I., "Evidence of a master copy transferred from Thebes to the Memphite area in Dynasty 26", in: *BMSAES* 15, (2010), 208.

⁷ Lucarelli, "Cursive Hieroglyphs", in Davies, Laboury, *The Oxford Handbook*.

⁸ Taylor, *Journey through the Afterlife*, 267; Goelet, O., "Observations on copying and the Hieroglyphs tradition in the production of the Book of the Dead", in: D'Auria, S.H. (ed.) *Offering to the discerning eye: an Egyptological Medley in honor of Jack A. Josephson*, Leiden, (2010), 127. For more details about BD examples in hieratic script at the Third Intermediate Period cf. Lenzo-Marchese, G., "La vignette initiale dans

The layout of the few 18th Dynasty hieratic copies strongly impacted the BD papyri and on the compositions in Late Period tombs.¹ The reasons for this abandonment in the 18th Dynasty are unknown. However, the supposition that the hieroglyphs or even cursive hieroglyphs are more prestigious than hieratic is inconvenient.² In the same context, the execution of many BD spells in hieroglyphs or the cursive hieroglyphic script in the 18th Dynasty tombs of nobles does not demonstrate that hieroglyphs were more esteemed than hieratic.³ Practical reasons need to be considered, before considering the religious considerations behind this abandonment such as the layout of the manuscripts and distribution of the vignettes. From an aesthetic and format point of view, the design and layout of the hieratic examples display a poor appearance compared with the hieroglyphs and cursive hieroglyphs versions. The spells were also organised without a specific format, especially in the versions written in horizontal lines. In contrast, the examples written in cursive hieroglyphs displayed the interest of the scribes and artists in the manuscript.

The BD papyrus of the Goldworker Sobekmose (Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York, no. 37.1777 E) illustrates the differences in layout and format in one manuscript executed in two scripts. Sobekmose had two copies of the BD recorded on the recto and the verso of the same papyrus.⁴ The recto is in cursive hieroglyphs and the verso in horizontal hieratic lines. The recto is well decorated with vignettes in different colours, and the layout has top and bottom margins. The verso of this manuscript was written in 12 pages of purely horizontal hieratic script in black ink, with rubrics, but no formatting or outlines for the text. The inscriptions on the recto reflect the attention of the scribes to the text. The columns were arranged in a prepared format. The vignettes were systematically distributed in the recto's upper part in a specific place dedicated to them. Regarding the verso, the horizontal lines followed different sizes and shapes, and the lines' spaces were not the same throughout the text. The verso does not contain any illustrations.

Another contemporary example supporting this hypothesis of practicalities is the papyrus of Mesemnetjer, which was also written on both sides. The recto and the verso were executed in cursive hieroglyphs except for the verso's last spell, which is in purely horizontal hieratic lines.⁵ This last part consists of 15 hieratic lines without any layout or dividing lines, with a similar format as examples from Sobekmose and Hatnefer.⁶ One small illustration was placed outside the text border in the lower corner of the page.⁷ The cursive hieroglyphs BD on the same papyrus is organised with a prepared format and layout known in the cursive hieroglyphs manuscripts, like the recto of Sobekmose. The vignettes were integrated with the text itself and executed in an excellent manner.

les papyrus funéraires de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire”, in: *BSEG* 26, (2004), 43–62 43–62; Lenzo-Marchese, G., “Les colophons dans la littérature égyptienne”, in: *BIFAO* 104 (2004), 359–376; Lenzo-Marchese, *BIFAO* 102, (2002), 267–283; Ragazzoli, Ch., “The Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset (P. BNF Egyptian 62–88) Traces of workshop production or scribal experiments?”, in: *BMSAES* 15, (2010), 225–48.

¹ For more details cf. Munro, “Evidence of a master copy transferred from Thebes to the Memphite area in Dynasty 26”, 208.

² Goelet, “Observations on copying”, 126.

³ Galán, J.M., “The Inscribed Burial chamber of Djehuty (TT11)”, in: Galán, J. M., Brayan, B. M. and Dorman, P. F. (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in the reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, Chicago, (2014), 247–272. Several spells were inscribed on the walls of this tomb.

⁴ O'Rourke, P., *An Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, the Papyrus of Sobekmose*, Brooklyn, (2016)..

⁵ Quirke, *Going in Daylight*, xviii.

⁶ Dorman, “Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead”, 33.

⁷ For the photo of the hieratic spell and the vignette in this papyrus cf. Dorman, “Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead”, 33, fig. 5

As a matter of content, the BD“s vignettes hold magical power in the ancient Egyptians“ beliefs. Thus, it was important to include them in the manuscripts alongside the written spells.¹ Both spells and vignettes complete each other in the same document. Therefore, vignettes are fundamental to the BD“s manuscripts, and perhaps the lack of vignettes was a negative point in the hieratic versions for ancient Egyptians. Additionally, the writing system known as “retrograde“ could explain the use of cursive hieroglyphs as an alternative script to the hieratic. The religious aspect of the retrograde style may have played a role in changing the script.² Another example that could reinforce the supposition of the importance of the retrograde orientation in the mind of the scribes in the BD, is the early 18th Dynasty BD Papyrus of Ahmose that was completely written in hieratic script. Only on one page, the subtitle which accompanied the vignette of the spell 136B was executed in four hieratic columns in a retrograde.³

LAYOUT AND WRITING DIRECTION

For the preserved hieratic BD manuscripts dating to the beginning of the New Kingdom, most are on papyri, except for the copy of Nebimes on leather (BM EA 10281).⁴ These early examples display a layout that is somehow different from the copies of hieroglyphs and cursive hieroglyphs.

The hieratic script certainly imposed new rules in writing the text. In instances, the scribes preferred to leave blank space at the beginning of the manuscript, and similar space at its end to protect the text's ink, as seen on the Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3, Sobekmose, and Hatnefer I.⁵ About five blank pages were left at the end of the latter papyrus; it is difficult to conceive that so many were needed for protection. In other examples, they started directly at the beginning of the papyrus roll without any space, such as Papyrus Ahmose (Louvre E. 11085).⁶

The length of these early copies was variable, from short to very long manuscripts. For instance, Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3 was a medium-length manuscript composed of 114 vertical hieratic columns. They were arranged in a prepared format of vertical lines as text dividers, and horizontal lines used as upper and lower margins. These dividing lines were

¹ Munro, I., “The significance of the Book of the Dead Vignettes”, in: F. Scalf (ed.) *Book of the Dead becoming God in Ancient Egypt, Oriental Institute Museum Publication 39*, Chicago, (2018), 54.

² For more information about this writing Goelet, “Observations on copying”, 128; cf. Niwinski, A., *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.*, in: OBO 86, Warsaw, (1989), 13; Chegodaev, M., “Some Remarks regarding the so-called “Retrograde“ Direction of writing in the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead”, in: *DE 35*, (1996), 19; Hassan, Kh., “A Solar Hymn Ostrakon from Deir el-Bahri”, in: *BIFAO 114.1*, (2014), 251–252.

³ Quirke, *Going in Daylight*, 304. The papyrus of Nebseny provides a similar vignette; Lapp, G., *Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum. The papyrus of Nebseni (BM EA 9900) III*, London, (2004), pl. 77. Goelet mentioned that few hieratic BD papyrus were executed in retrograde style; however, he did not mention them through his paper. Goelet, “Observations on copying”, 128.

⁴ Generally, using leather was known from the early periods of ancient Egypt. However, a few examples survived, most probably because of the dry Egyptian climate that affects badly on the leather. The leather was utilized mostly for the prestigious texts of the temple's library, for texts designed to survive as archives, because of expected permanency and durability. Because of the great longevity of rolls, they were in continual use in the hands of the ritualists, tutors, or military scribes. Eyre, *The Use of Documents*, 31-32. Few examples of the BD were inscribed on leather in the New Kingdom for example The BD of Nakht that written in cursive hieroglyphs (late Eighteenth Dynasty–BM EA 10473.2) Parkinson and Quirke, *Papyrus*, 22.

⁵ Parkinson, Quirke, *Papyrus*, 38.

⁶ Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Jah-mes*, pl. 1.

only known on a large scale in cursive hieroglyphs manuscripts, and hieratic manuscripts written in vertical columns, such as the fragmentary papyrus London (BM EA 10738, 1-3), Los Angeles, Mwti, and Ahmose.¹ The latter papyrus was relatively long with 263 hieratic columns; the first 25 lines were arranged horizontally at the beginning of the document.² The whole text is executed and arranged in a prepared format with dividing lines, except for the 25 lines. Remarkably, the scribe shifted to hieratic columns after starting with horizontal lines. This manuscript displays an early example for horizontal hieratic lines that were developed into complete manuscripts during the early 18th Dynasty.

Similar shifting is attested in the short papyrus of Hatnefer II. The whole text of this papyrus was in horizontal hieratic lines except for the last three lines, end of Spell 149, written in hieratic columns. In these columns of Hatnefer II, the scribe changed the writing direction and some of his writing forms. This was an uncommon writing attitude in the hieratic BD of the early 18th Dynasty. The reasons for this shift are unclear; this could indicate that the scribes still adhered to this classical writing style. Papyrus Hatnefer I is still the longest known example in the New Kingdom written in horizontal hieratic script, and it represents a brief transitory phase from the earliest examples of the BD to the highly sophisticated papyri of the New Kingdom.³ The text is written on both the recto and the verso of the papyrus. The recto is composed of 22 pages and the verso 18. The title of the BD at the time was rarely recorded on manuscripts. Only papyrus Hatnefer I recorded the title on a blank page at the end of the verso in a vertical column, demarking itself from the horizontal lines found in the usual writing of the whole manuscript.

Another change in the writing is attested in the hieratic papyrus of Ahmose. The vignette in this papyrus was accompanied by the title of Spell 136B written in four short hieratic columns in a retrograde style. This form of retrograde writing was uncommon in the hieratic BD during the early 18th Dynasty, while it was executed in columns of hieroglyphs and cursive hieroglyphs.⁴ This writing style questions why these hieratic inscriptions were written in retrograde. These are probably copied from a cursive hieroglyphs pattern.

INSERTION AND POSITIONING THE VIGNETTES

Early 18th Dynasty hieratic copies were characterised by a small number of vignettes, one or two illustrations at the most. Some examples are free of vignettes. The format of the hieratic script probably did not provide the scribes and draughtsman with enough flexibility to insert more. On the other hand, the cursive hieroglyphs copies are well prepared and decorated with several polychrome vignettes. For instance, the contemporary papyrus of the Goldworker Sobekmose contains four polychrome vignettes drawn only on the recto, while

¹ London papyrus (BM EA 10738, 1–3) is inscribed in hieratic columns with vignettes and dates to the 18th Dynasty. The sequence of spells; /// BD 125B V /// 26 /// 124 ///. Cf. <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134257#P.%20London%20BM%20EA%2010738>> accessed 25.01.2021; <https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?museumno=10738> accessed 25.01.2021.

² Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Jah-mes*. Dorman miscounted the horizontal lines. Dorman, “Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead”, 32.

³ Dorman, P., “Conservation of the Funerary Papyri of Hatnefer”, in: *BARCE* 197, (2010), 19.

⁴ Goelet, “Observations on copying”, 128; for more information about this writing cf. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, 13; Chegodaev, “Some Remarks regarding the so-called “Retrograde“ Direction of writing in the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead”, 19; Hassan, “A Solar Hymn Ostrakon from Deir el-Bahri”, 251–52.

there are no vignettes the hieratic verso.¹ The same is seen in the papyrus of Mesemnetjer (Louvre E. 21324) that displays vignettes executed in a good manner in the cursive hieroglyphic text, and one tiny plain illustration in the hieratic text. Two common placements were determined for the vignettes in the hieratic copies: on the blank pages before or after the texts on the recto or even on the verso such as Hatnefer and Los Angeles papyri, or through the texts similarly to the cursive hieroglyph copies. On both hieratic papyri of the lady Hatnefer, a total of three vignettes was illustrated: two in the Hatnefer II and only one in the long manuscript i.e. Hatnefer I. The vignette of the latter papyrus was executed in red and black inks, relating to Spell 125D, and placed on the first blank page of the verso, where no inscriptions are found. It shows a rectangular lake of fire with four squatting baboons seated around it. A similar vignette was attested on the hieratic contemporary papyrus of Mwti.²

Papyrus Hatnefer II is shorter than Papyrus I but contains two large vignettes. One is situated on the recto and the other on the verso.³ Both illustrations relate to Spell 150, ending many 18th Dynasty BD papyri.⁴ The recto has a large and detailed vignette which is executed in a very good hand, while the vignette on the verso is faint. This vignette illustrates about 15 compartments of different heights and shapes. The texts accompanying the illustration are written in hieratic script. This is different from contemporary hieratic manuscripts, as cursive hieroglyphs accompanied the Los Angeles papyrus's vignette. The large vignette on the recto constitutes the largest known vignette in the early 18th Dynasty hieratic BD manuscripts. A similar position, on a blank page, is also attested in Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3, where only a single vignette of Spell 150 was drawn on the right side of the papyrus before the beginning of the text itself. Although the spells were recorded in vertical columns, the subtitles of the mounds in the vignette were in horizontal lines in the cursive hieroglyphic script, not in hieratic.⁵

This raises the question of why the texts of the vignettes in these examples were in cursive hieroglyphs rather than the hieratic hand. Was the script of the master copy of the vignette different from the spells' copy, or was the illustration painted out by a different draughtsman, not a scribe? Most probably the compilers for these spells and vignettes depended on ready master copies or model books of vignettes which were used for the wall paintings in the Theban tombs.⁶ The Third Intermediate Period BD papyrus Cairo JE 95879 95879 represents an interesting example for this master copy, where it represent a model book of vignettes with a specific sequence, and it was used in several contemporary manuscripts.⁷ Nevertheless, the existence of models does not prevent creative thinking for new vignettes. Sometimes, the illustrators innovated some complex vignettes through their close examination of the texts of the BD.⁸

In the last section of Papyrus Ahmose, between lines 240-243, a single clumsy formatted

¹ The four vignettes were inserted through the text. Three of these illustrations were attested in the early 18th Dynasty hieratic BD i.e., Hatnefer (vignette 125), Mwti (vignette 136B) and that of P. Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3 (Vignette 150)

² Capart, "Un papyrus du Livre des Morts aux Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire", 243–51.

³ Dorman stated that the recto of papyrus II has one vignette, but this is incorrect. Dorman, "Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead", 21.

⁴ Quirke, *Going in Daylight*, 365.

⁵ In Mesemnetjer papyrus, the subtitles of mounds were executed in cursive hieroglyphic script following the main script of the papyrus.

⁶ Munro, "The significance of the Book of the Dead", in Scalf, *Book of the Dead becoming God*, 49.

⁷ Munro, "The significance of the Book of the Dead", in Scalf, *Book of the Dead becoming God*, 54.

⁸ For examples cf. Munro, "The significance of the Book of the Dead", in Scalf, *Book of the Dead becoming God*, 50.

vignette was inserted among the spells. The illustration displays a small boat on a hieroglyphic sign representing the sky bearing winged falcon-head with a sun-disk encircled with a cobra. Two Wedjat-eyes are at the prow and the stern.¹ This illustration was done with the day-to-day writing bichrome palette, black and red.² This vignette was accompanied by the title of Spell 136B written in four short hieratic columns in a retrograde style. The execution of this vignette is somewhat careless, especially in the quality of drawing, colouring, and positioning when compared to the same vignette in the cursive hieroglyphic version of Sobekmose's papyrus.

In papyrus Mwti, two small-scale vignettes are embedded in the text, in the middle of the manuscript, one in the upper part, Spell 125, and the other in the lower part, Spell 129. The positions of these illustrations resemble the placement of Papyrus Ahmose (London BM EA 10738) in lines 1-3,³ as the vignettes are inserted within the text, not at the beginning of the manuscript. They were executed in excellent quality with the title, names of the gods, and owner of the papyrus written in cursive hieroglyphs at the upper part of the scene. The vignette's script is different from the main hieratic text of spells, indicating a different hand. Compared with the other early 18th Dynasty hieratic BD, this papyrus includes two vignettes, the largest among its contemporary examples. Their scale was relatively small compared to those in Hatnefer I-II, and Los Angeles. In the hieratic spell of the papyrus Mesemnetjer, another small-sized vignette is found and illustrated ordinarily if compared to the vignette of the cursive hieroglyphic version.

HANDWRITING AND SCRIBES

Based on palaeography, some of the hieratic copies of the BD in the early New Kingdom were executed in an elegant and well-organised hieratic handwriting. They display the most important features of the hieratic script of the time. The hieratic script in this corpus was mainly arranged in columns or horizontally. The copies written in columns were well organised and more aesthetic than those in horizontal lines. In the latter layout, the size of the hieratic pages, line spaces, and the number of lines were not unified throughout the whole manuscript. Indeed, in some cases, the size of the hieratic handwriting in the copies written horizontally was inconstant, its size changing throughout the manuscript.

The signs in the hieratic columns' copies were larger than the much-abbreviated signs in the horizontal copies. Besides the hieratic signs' size, the writing of some signs in columns was different from the same in horizontal lines. It may be that the manuscript's format forced the scribes to form signs in a certain way. Through a close examination of the hieratic manuscripts written in columns, several signs were identified to be formed differently than the horizontal manuscripts' ones: the seated man A1, some bird signs G1, G17, and G43. In horizontal manuscripts, the seated man was usually written in abbreviated forms (A, A, A),⁴ while in the columnar ones, it was written in details (A, A).⁵ In Papyrus Ahmose, the scribe used the two forms. The remaining documents are written in

¹ Nebseny papyrus provides a similar vignette; Lapp, *Catalogue of the Books of the Dead* III, pl. 77; Quirke, *Going in Daylight*, 304.

² Quirke, *Going in Daylight*, xi.

³ London papyrus is in hieratic columns with vignettes and dates to the 18th Dynasty. The sequence of spells; // BD 125B V // 26 // 124 //. <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134257#P.%20London%20BM%20EA%2010738>> accessed 25.01.2021.

⁴ Möller, G., *Hieratische Paläographie: Die Aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit* II, Leipzig, (1927), 33

⁵ Möller, G., *Hieratische Paläographie: Die Aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit* I, Leipzig, (1909), 33.

columns; the scribes used these detailed forms. In the papyrus of Hatnefer II, the scribe shifted his writing“s direction at the end of the manuscript. He changed the direction and the signs themselves to fit with the writing style. For instance, he changed the seated man and the birds (cf. the below table). Another case attested in papyrus Hatnefer I shows that the scribes sometimes mixed between the cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts in writing the text e.g., head-sign (D.1) . This sign is drawn and repeated several times in cursive hieroglyphs inside a hieratic texts, while the other examples of the head were written in a purely hieratic hand. This is a good indication that scribes had the knowledge

 vs. 7. 7	 vs. 7. 5	 vs. 9. 6	 vs. 9. 6	 vs. 9. 4	 vs. 15. 8
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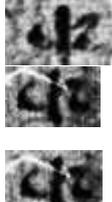
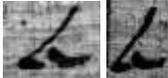
Hiero. signs	Papyrus Hatnefer II (columnar)	Papyrus BM (columnar)	Papyrus Los Angeles (columnar)	Papyrus Mwti (columnar)	Papyrus Ahmose (columnar)
					
					
					
					

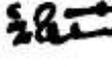
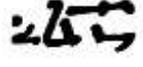
Table 1. The forms of signs of seated man and birds as attested in columnar documents.

A team of experienced scribes and draughtsmen were probably involved in producing the copies of the BD.¹ Generally, copies were produced in the workshops in large quantities with a blank space left between written spells, for the name and titles of the future buyer of

¹ Kockelmann, “How A Book of the Dead manuscript was produced”, in Scalf, *Book of the Dead*, 72.

the manuscript. However, some copies were created on special requests by the owner.¹ The scribes in BD copies do not leave their signatures at the end of the text, as often seen in other literary compositions with a “colophon”.² Thus the numbers of the scribes for each manuscript and the character of the handwriting can be only determined, in most cases, following the close examination of the palaeography.³

In the examined early copies of the 18th Dynasty, the close investigation of the palaeography is effective in determining the number of scribes involved in the manuscript. This method is applied for the hieratic papyri of the lady Hatnefer, revealing three scribes for Hatnefer I and only one scribe for Hatnefer II.⁴ The first scribe in Hatnefer I was responsible for writing most of the recto, except for pages three and fourteen, and few pages on the verso. He was a skilful scribe as he introduced variant forms for the signs. The second scribe was involved in writing about eleven pages on the verso. This scribe displayed an interesting form for specific signs, such as the head-sign D1 in a purely cursive hieroglyph form. The third scribe wrote only two pages according to the palaeographical investigation, explicated in the following tables.⁵

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
aA	 rt. 9. 5	 vs. 8. 6	 rt. 3. 10

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 6. 13	 vs. 10. 7  vs. 8. 3	 rt. 14. 1

¹ Some BD manuscripts were produced based on special order such as the Late Period papyrus of Amenemhat. Cf. Munro, I., *The Golden Book of the Dead of Amenemhet (pToronto ROM 910.85.236.1-13)*, HAT 14, Wiesbaden, (2015), 56.

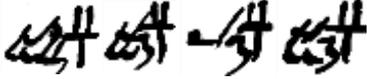
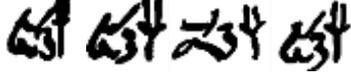
² A few colophons were attested in copies of the BD from the New Kingdom, as far as I know, without mentioning the name of the scribes. For more information about the colophons in the ancient Egyptian literature and in the BD cf. Lenzo-Marchese, “Les colophons dans la littérature égyptienne”, 369–71.

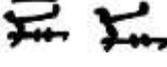
³ In Late Period, several examples of BD manuscripts of a considerable length were known to be written by different hands. For instance, the papyrus of Chamhor C, the priest of Montu of the 26th Dynasty, was done by four different scribes. (Verhoeven, U., *Das frühsaitische Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Chamhor C*, BAÄ 7, Basel, (2017), 55.) Verhoeven relied on the palaeography and the comparison between different forms of the handwriting. (For more details about the methodology that she followed to compare between the different forms cf. Verhoeven, *Das frühsaitische*, 57–66) Another Late Period example used several scribes for the single BD manuscript, such as the papyrus of Nespasfey written by two different hands. (Verhoeven, U., *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasfey aus der Zeit Psammetichs I: pKairo JE 95714 + pAlbany 1900.3.1, pKairo JE 95649, pMarseille 91/2/1 (ehem. Slg. Brunner) + pMarseille 291*, Wiesbaden, (1999). The papyrus of Djedchi from the end of the 26th Dynasty was also prepared by two scribes. (For the publication of the BD papyrus of Djedchi cf. Munro, *Die Totenbuch-Papyri des Ehepaars*.) At least four scribes were responsible for writing the early Ptolemaic papyrus of Hor. (Munro, 6-13; Kockelmann, “How A Book of the Dead manuscript was produced”, 72)

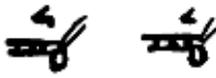
⁴ Hassan, “The Hieratic Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead”, in Gülден, Konrad, and Verhoeven, *Ägyptologische „Binsen“-Weisheiten IV*, (in press).

⁵ A full discussion about the three scribes will be introduced in the publication of these papyri by the author.

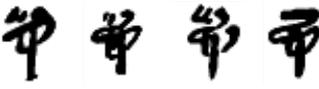
	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
Nw . t	 rt. 8. 9	 vs. 8. 3	 rt. 14. 8

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
sxm	 vs. 2. 3 vs. 4. 8 rt. 2. 5 rt. 9. 6	 vs. 7. 2 vs. 7. 3 vs. 8. 6 vs. 10. 2	 rt. 3. 3

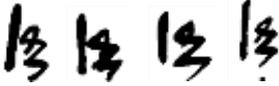
	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 8. 2	 vs. 11. 7	 rt.3.5 rt. 3. 6

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 1. 5 rt. 15. 1 rt. 2. 2 rt. 8. 9	 vs. 13. 3 vs. 16. 3	 rt. 3. 7

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 4. 9	 vs. 8. 1	 rt. 14. 6

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 4. 5 rt. 2. 14 rt. 8. 13	 vs. 7. 5 vs. 10. 6 vs. 15. 9 vs. 12. 2	 rt. 14. 8

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 8. 7 rt. 11. 8	 vs. 13. 3 vs. 7. 8	 rt. 14. 2

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 vs. 2. 8 vs. 2. 6 vs. 4. 5 rt. 19. 7	 vs. 8. 5 vs. 13. vs. 10. 5 vs. 12. 1 vs. 6. 6	 rt. 3. 11

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 6. 12 rt. 8. 6	 vs. 11. 1 vs. 11. 1 vs. 8. 7	 rt. 14. 1

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 18. 9	 vs. 7. 5	 rt. 14. 7

EDITING COPIES AND SCRIBAL MARKS

Several manuscripts of the BD were copied with mistakes and writing errors, but many others were produced in good quality with no significant faults.¹ In order to manufacture copies free of mistakes, an edition process including revisions, corrections, additions, deletions, numbers, and comments, had to be carried out. These *paratextual signs* inform about the process of production and the scriptorium behind the text.² This attitude is mainly attested on a wide range of Late Period hieratic documents, especially the 26th Dynasty. Nevertheless, the New Kingdom preserved examples of copying and producing BD copies. The best-known example is attested in the BD papyrus of Yuya, in which it was declared “[The book] is completed from the beginning to its end as it was written, having been

¹ Kockelmann, “How A Book of the Dead manuscript was produced”, 74

² Verhoeven, U., “Paratextual signs in Egyptian funerary and religious texts from the Saite and Early Ptolemaic Period”, in N. Carlig, et al. (eds), *Signes dans les textes. Continuités et ruptures des pratiques scribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine Proceedings of the international colloquium, 2–4 june 2016* (Papyrologica Leodiensia; Liège, (2020), 95.

copied, revised, compared, and verified sign by sign”.¹ This shows that the proofreading processes were somehow systematic. The hieratic BD copies of the early 18th Dynasty were no exception. The two papyri of Hatnefer introduce several marking signs of this kind, including red and black circles, additions over the lines, additions in the margins, deletion

marks, modification, and two standing signs . ²

Conclusions

The BD copies of the New Kingdom were mainly written in Hieroglyphs and cursive hieroglyphs, while scarce examples were written in hieratic script at the 1st half of the 18th Dynasty. The majority of the hieratic copies were written in columns, while a few examples were written in horizontal lines such as the two hieratic BD papyri of the Lady Hatnefer. The paper concluded that there are several reasons for using the hieroglyphs and cursive hieroglyphs instead of the hieratic. The absence of a graceful layout and the resulting appearance in hieratic manuscripts could be the reasons for this abandonment. The hieratic script’s format may not have enabled the scribes to integrate the essential vignettes in this genre. The retrograde writing system holds religious importance for the ancient Egyptians, and it was important to be used in texts. All these reasons could explain stopping using the hieratic script in copies of the BD. The paper also showed that the early BD hieratic copies presented different layouts and formats from the sources written in different scripts. The two hieratic papyri of the Lady Hatnefer are important examples of this era as they prove that there are process of editing and revisions were made on these BD copies. Paleography of the two papyri of Hatnefer suggested papyrus Hatnefer I is written by three scribes, while Hatnefer II is inscribed by only one scribe.

¹ Černý, J., *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt*, Chicago, (1952), 25; Kockelmann, “How A Book of the Dead manuscript was produced”, 74; Lenzo-Marchese, “Les colophons dans la littérature égyptienne”, 359–376 . For the hieroglyphic text cf. Černý, *Paper and Books*, pl. 33; Davis, *The Funeral Papyrus of Iouiya*; Munro, *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften*, 49-88, pls. 20–21 and pls. 46–72.

² All these signs and check marks will be discussed in detail in the publication of the two papyri.

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PLATES

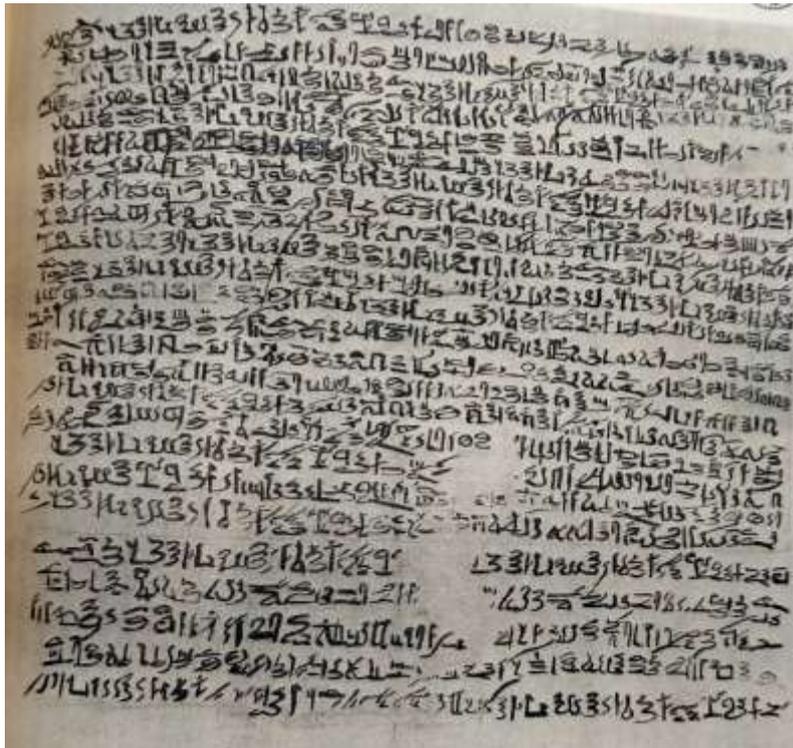


Fig.1. A copy of one section of the coffin of the Queen Mentuhotep (W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum with descriptions, Translations, etc* (London, 1910, pl. 39)



Fig. 2. Frame of the hieratic papyrus Moscow I, 1.b, 132 courtesy of Pushkin Museum, Moscow.



Fig. 3. Frame of the hieratic papyrus Moscow I.1.b 146 courtesy of Pushkin Museum, Moscow.



Fig. 4. Section from Papyrus Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3 Courtesy of Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles [open catalogue]¹



Fig. 5. Title of the BD manuscript on the verso of Hatnefer Papyrus I (TR 25.1.55.6) (Photo: Sameh Abd El-Mohsen, courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo).

¹ Papyrus Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3 <<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/16233/unknown-maker-fragmentary-papyrus-with-spells-and-vignettes-from-the-book-of-the-dead-egyptian-1085-730-bc/?artview=dor649016>> accessed 25.01.2021



Fig. 6. Vignette 125D on the first page of the verso, papyrus Hatnefer I (TR 25.1.55.6) (Photo: Sameh Abd El-Mohsen, courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo).



Fig. 7. Vignette of Spell 150 on the recto of papyrus Hatnefer I courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, (photo. no. MMA 25469–MMA 25471)

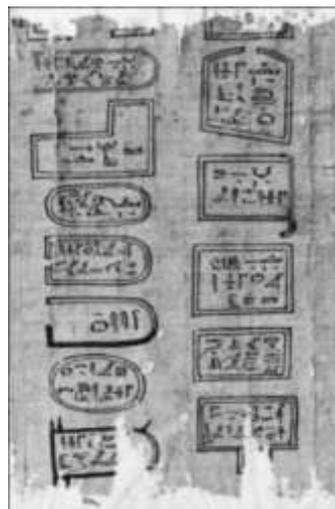


Fig. 8. Vignette of Spell 150 on the first page of papyrus Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3
Courtesy of Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles [open catalogue]



Fig. 9. (right) Vignette of Spell 136B on Papyrus Ahmose (left) the same vignette in the cursive hieroglyphic version of Sobekmose.



Fig. 10. Papyrus Mwti P. Brüssel MRAH SN (Capart, *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques*, 5e série 20, pl. 1, 2)