



HAL
open science

“The Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset (P. BNF 62–88): Traces of a Workshop Production or Scribal Experiments?”

Chloé Ragazzoli

► **To cite this version:**

Chloé Ragazzoli. “The Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset (P. BNF 62–88): Traces of a Workshop Production or Scribal Experiments?” . *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* , 2010, 15, pp. 225-45. hal-03938402

HAL Id: hal-03938402

<https://hal.science/hal-03938402>

Submitted on 14 Feb 2023

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



**The Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset
(P. BNF Egyptien 62–88)**

Traces of workshop production or scribal experiments?

Chloe Ragazzoli

British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 15 (2010): 225–48

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) ^cn(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 *benu*-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.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Richard Parkinson, Rita Lucarelli and Giuseppina Lenzo Marchese for their comments on earlier versions of the paper. The content, and any errors, remain my own responsibility. The cover image is copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica.

Bibliography

- Andreu, G., et al. 1997. *L'Égypte ancienne au Louvre*. Paris.
- Baines, J. 2007. *Visual and written culture in ancient Egypt*. Oxford.
- Barguet, P. 1967. *Le Livre des Morts des anciens Égyptiens*. Paris.
- Bellion, M. 1987. *Égypte ancienne: Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissus, publiés ou signalés*. Paris.
- Berthier, A. 2000. *Manuscrits, xylographes, estampages: Les collections orientales du département des Manuscrits*. Paris.
- Bohleke, B. 1997. The Book of the Dead of the chantress of Amon, Mutem-meres (Papyrus CtYBR inv. 2754 + Papyrus Louvre N 3132). *JARCE* 34: 115–41.
- Budge, E. A. W. 1912. *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum*. London.
- Cerny, J. 2001. *A community of workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside period*. BdE 50. Cairo.
- Cinato, F., and A. Surprenant (eds.). 2009. *Le livre de l'art du combat: Liber de arte dimicatoria. Édition critique du Royal Armouries MS. I.33*. Sources d'histoire médiévale 39. Paris.
- Daressy, G. 1907. Les Cercueils des prêtres d'Amon (deuxième trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari). *ASAE* 8: 3–38.
- Gasse, A. 1993. *Les papyrus hiératiques et hiéroglyphiques du Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Aegyptiaca Gregoriana I*. Vatican City.
- Haikal, F. 1983. Le papyrus et la statuette n° 19651 du Musée égyptien du Vatican. *ASAE* 69: 195–207.
- Lenzo Marchese, G. 2004a. *La tradition du Livre des Morts à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire d'après quelques manuscrits hiératiques du Musée égyptien de Turin*. PhD dissertation, University of Geneva.
- . 2004b. La vignette initiale dans les papyrus funéraires de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire. *BSEG* 26: 43–62.
- . 2007. *Manuscrits hiératiques du Livre des Morts de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (Papyrus de Turin CGT 53001–53013)*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino Serie Seconda, Collezioni XI. CSE 8. Geneva.
- Lucarelli, R. 2006. *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen: Ancient Egyptian funerary religion in the 10th century BC*. UV 21. Leiden.
- Martin, H.-J., and J. Vezin (eds.). 1990. *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*. Paris.
- Munro, I. 1988. *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*. London and New York.
- . 1996. *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus des Hohenpriesters Pa-nedjem II (pLondon BM EA 10793/ pCampbell)*. HAT 3. Wiesbaden.
- . 2001. *Spruchvorkommen auf Totenbuch-Textzeugen der Dritten Zwischenzeit*. SAT 5. Wiesbaden.
- . 2001. *Das Totenbuch des Pa-en-nesi-taui aus der Regierungszeit des Amenemope (pLondon BM EA 10064)*. SAT 7. Wiesbaden.
- Naville, E. 1912. *Papyrus funéraires de la XXIe dynastie I: Le papyrus hiéroglyphique de Kamara et le papyrus hiératique de Nesikhonsu au musée du Caire*. Paris.
- Niwinski, A. 1989. *Studies on the illustrated Theban funerary papyri of the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.* OBO 86. Fribourg-Göttingen.
- . 1995. *21st Dynasty coffins from Thebes: Chronological and typological studies*. Theben 5. Mainz.

- Parkinson, R. B. 2009. *Reading ancient Egyptian poetry, among other histories*. Oxford.
- Parkinson, R., and S. Quirke. 1995. *Papyrus*. London.
- Piankoff, A. 1957. *Mythological papyri*. Bollingen Series XL, 4. New York.
- Rössler-Köhler, U. 1984–1985. Zum Problem der Spatien in altägyptischen Texten: Versuch einer Systematik von Spatientypen. *ASAE* 70: 383–408.
- . 1999. *Zur Tradierungsgeschichte des Totenbuches zwischen der 17. und 22. Dynastie (Tb17)*. SAT 3. Wiesbaden.
- Sadek Abd el-Aziz, F. 1985. *Contributions à l'étude de l'Amdouat. Les variantes tardives du livres de l'Amdouat dans les papyrus du Musée du Caire*. OBO 65. Fribourg-Göttingen.
- Sarmant, T. 1994. *Le Cabinet des médailles de la Bibliothèque nationale: 1661–1848*. Paris.
- Toubert, H. 1990. L'illustration dans les colonnes du texte. In *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, H.-J. Martin and J. Vezin (eds.), 355–60. Paris.
- Weizmann, K. 1959. *Ancient book illumination*. Martin Classical Lectures 16. Cambridge, MA.

	Inv. No.	Spells (BD)	Vignettes (BD)	Gatseshen	Pa-en-nessi-taui	Nesikhonsu	JE 95879
1	inv. 62		Etiquette	Etiquette	Etiquette	Etiquette	Etiquette
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	Etiquette	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304500s
2	63	17	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83045016
3	67	65V	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304505v
4	78	100V	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304516n
5	77	136AV (l.1–3); 98V (l.4–14)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83045157
6	69	14 (l.1–6); 78V (l.6–24)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304507p
7	70	78	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83045083
8	71	78	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304509h
9	74	82V (l.1–12); 77V (l.12–19); 86 (l.20–22)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83045120

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/btv1b8304513d
11	73	83V (1.1–2); 84V (1.2–12)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304511k
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/btv1b83045105
13	80	102V (1.1–7); 119 (1.7–12); 7 (1.12–16)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304518g
14	66	31V (1.1–8); 32 (1.9–22)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304504f
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/btv1b83045068
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/btv1b8304519w
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/btv1b8304514t
18	65	189 (1.1–4); 30B (1.5–10); 29 (10–12)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83045031
19	64	28 (1.1–9); 11 (1. 9–13); 27 (1.13–18); 145 (1.19–23)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304502m
20	82	145	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304520j
21	83	145	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304521z
22	84	145V	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304522c
23	87	110 (1.1–18); 178 (1.18–25)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304525m
24	86	178	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83045246
25	85	178	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8304523s
26	88	178	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83045261
27	79	110V	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83045172

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.

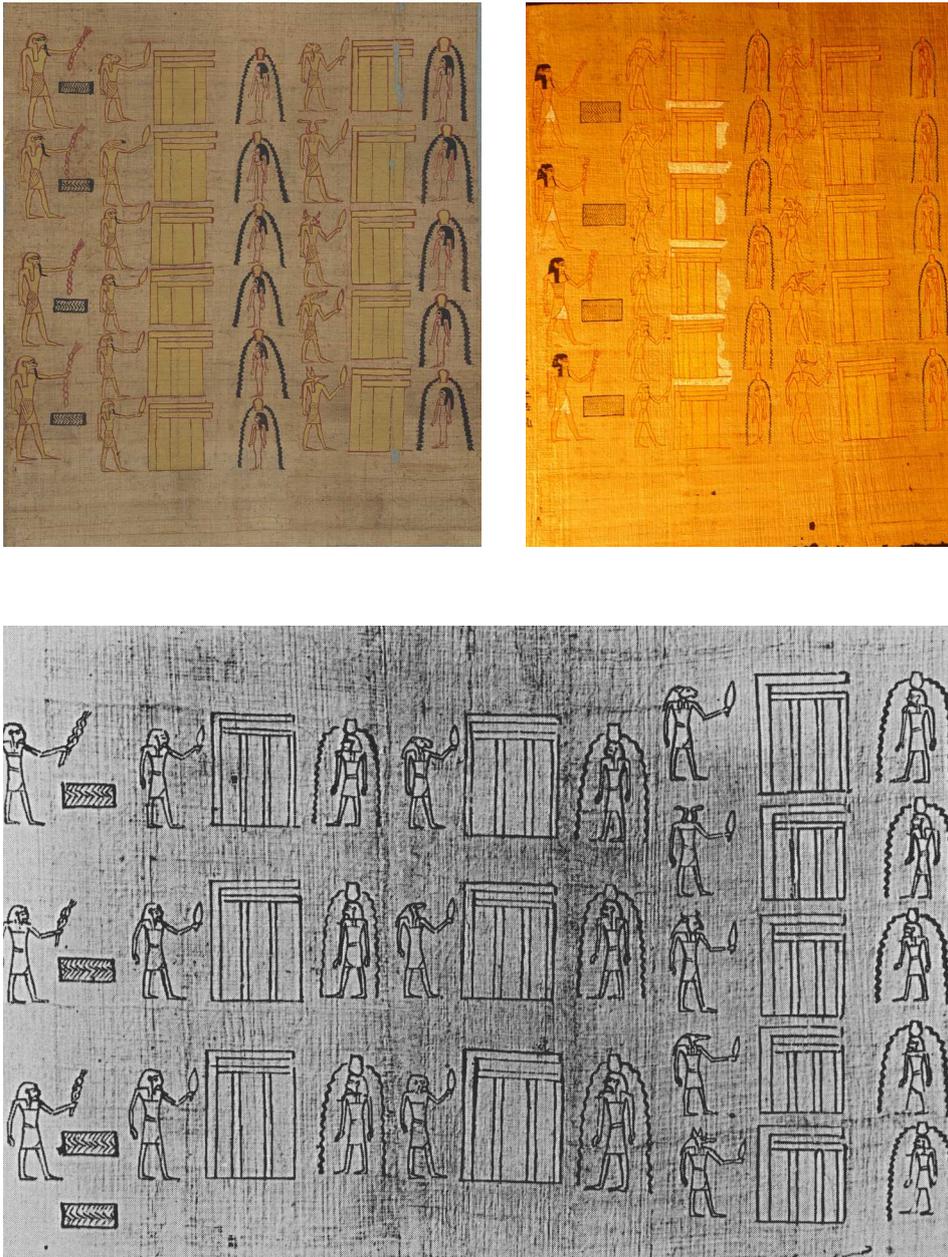


Fig. 2: (Top left) P. BN 84, col.22 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 (Top right) P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, 45 (copyright NINO).
 (Bottom) P. Cairo JE 95879, from Niwinski 1989, pl. 14a.

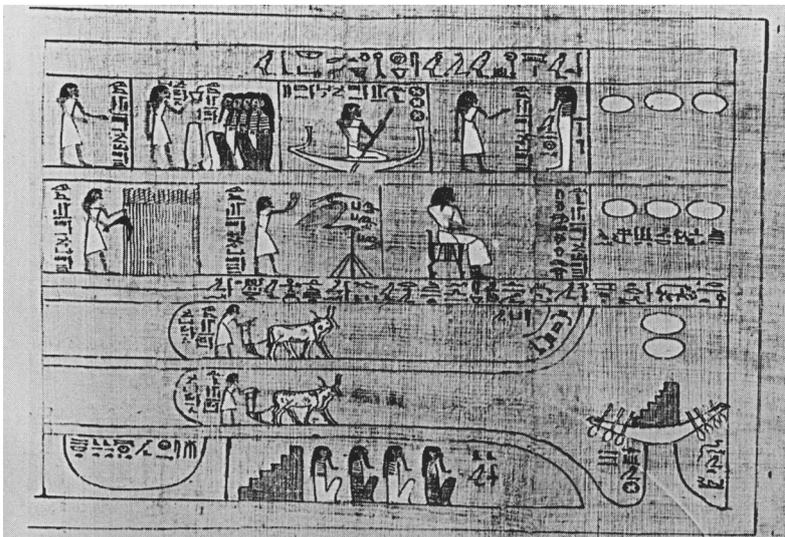
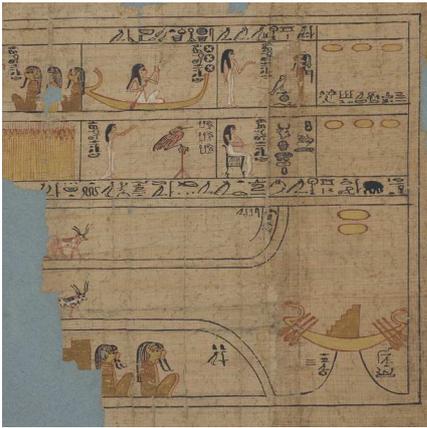


Fig. 3: (Top) P. BN 79, col. 27 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 (Middle) P. BM EA 10064 (Pa-en-nesti-tau), from Munro 2001, pl. 65.
 (Bottom) P. Cairo JE 95879, from Niwinski 1989, pl. 16a.

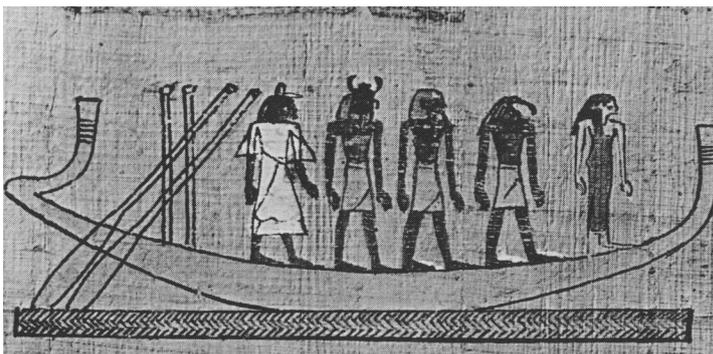
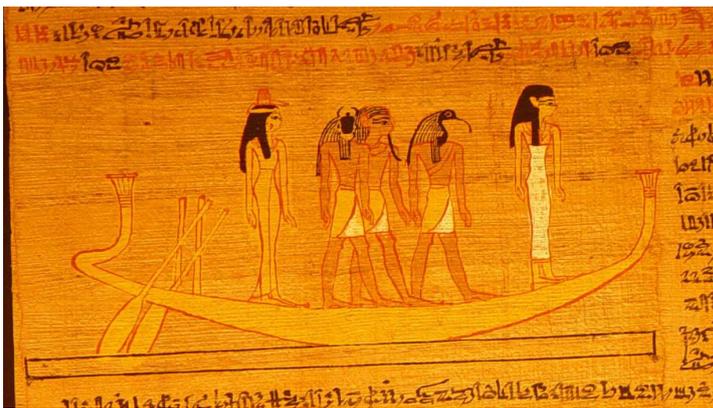
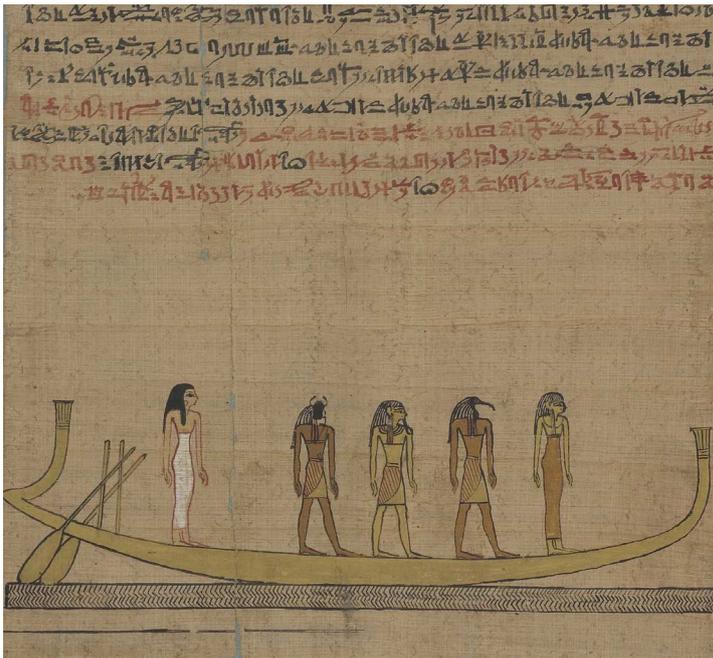


Fig. 4: (Top) P. BN 78, col. 4 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).
 (Middle) P. Cairo JE 95838 (Gatseshen), from Lucarelli 2006, pl. 21 (copyright NINO).
 (Bottom) P. Cairo JE 95879, from Niwinski 1989, pl. 12b.

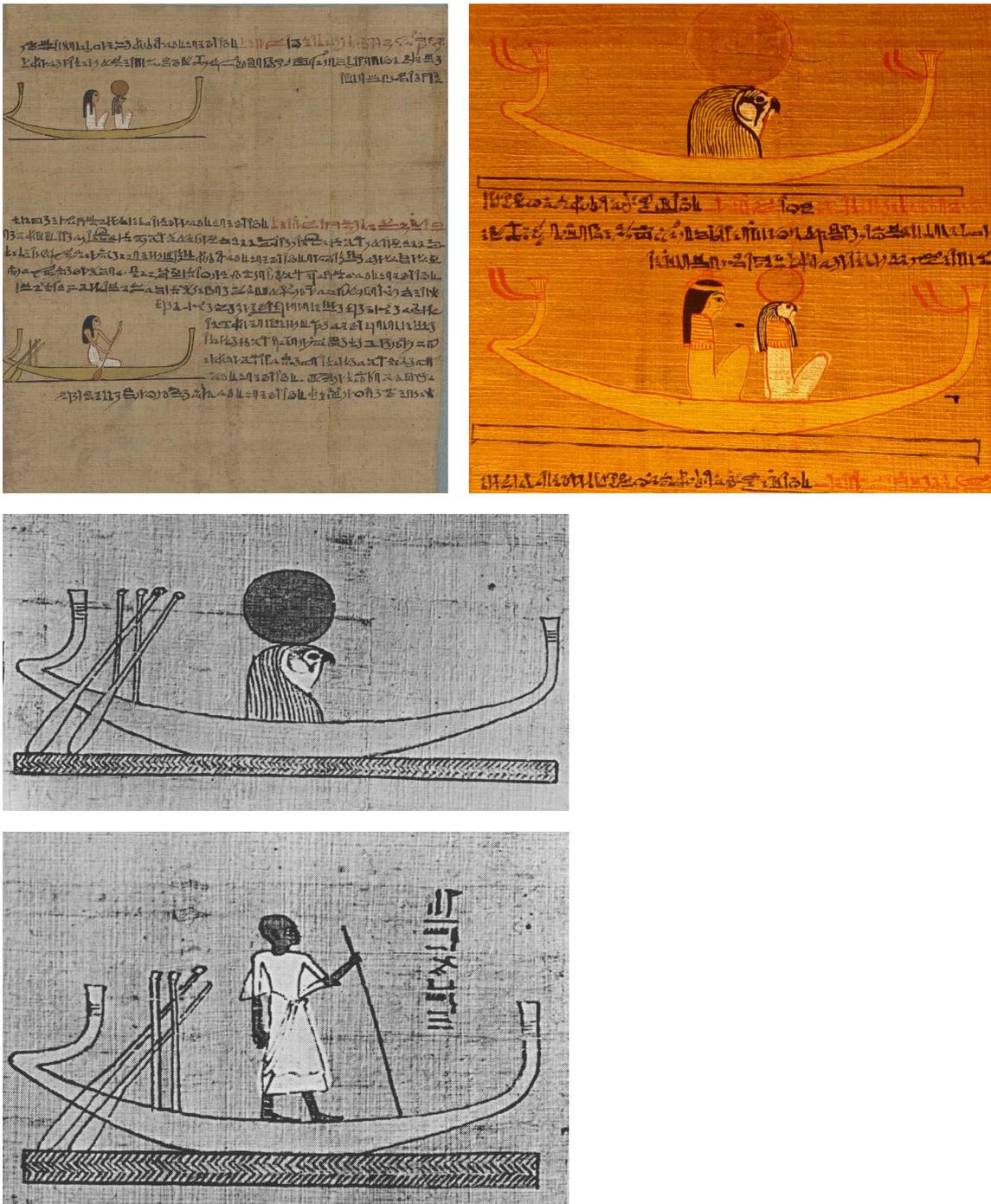


Fig 5: (Top left) P. BN 77, col. 5 (copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France - Gallica).

(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.

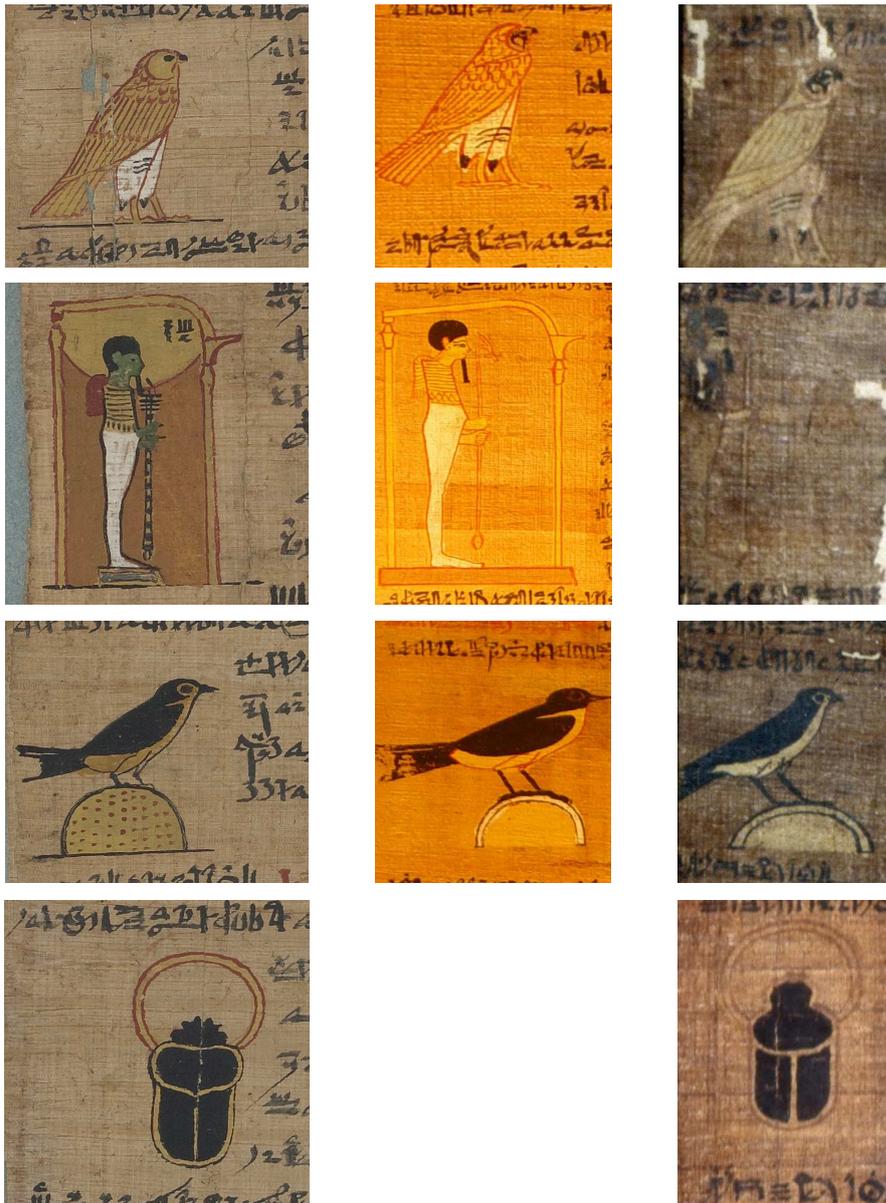


Fig. 6: (left-right, top-bottom)

- 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.

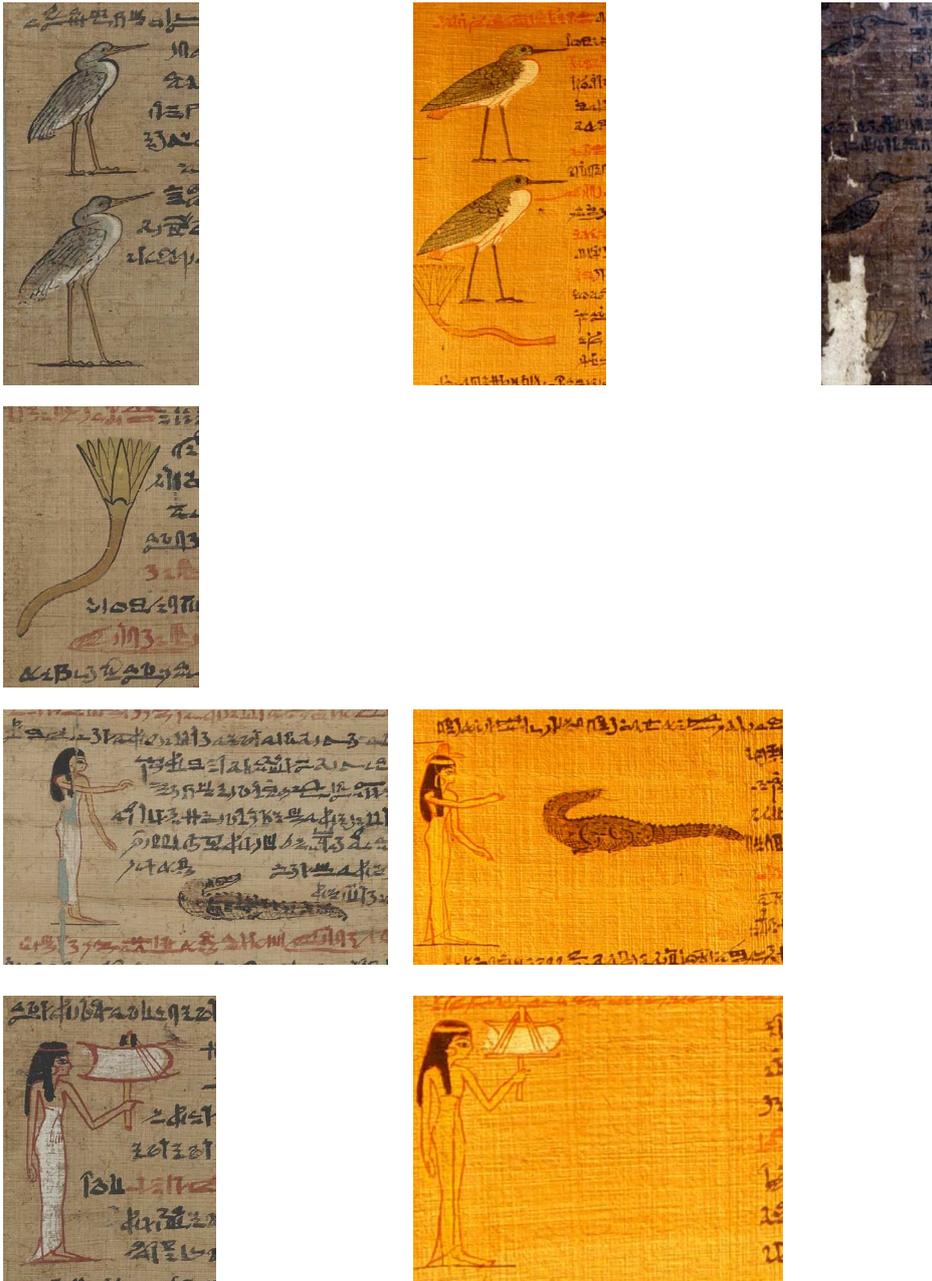


Fig. 7b: (left-right, top-bottom)

- 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).