

## VIGNETTE OF CHAPTER 138 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD ON THE POPYRI OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

**Mohammed REFAAT**

Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, New Valley University, Egypt

E-mail: [mrefaat95@art.nvu.edu.eg](mailto:mrefaat95@art.nvu.edu.eg)

### ABSTRACT

The main subject of the present paper is the analysis of the specifics in the development of the vignettes of chapter 138 of The Book of the Dead on the papyrus of the Third Intermediate Period (1069/740 BC), especially the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Chapter 138 was rarely attested during the New Kingdom until the end of the Third Intermediate Period.

### المخلص

يعد الهدف الرئيسي من الورقة البحثية هو تحليل لتطور منظر الفصل ١٣٨ من كتاب الموتى على البردى خلال عصر الإنتقال الثالث (١٠٦٩-٧٤٠ ق.م) وخاصة خلال الأسرة ٢١. الفصل ١٣٨ كان نادر الظهور منذ عصر الدولة الحديثة حتى نهاية عصر الإنتقال الثالث.

### KEYWORDS

BD 138- Vignette- Abydos fetish- Osiris- Twenty-first Dynasty- Landing.

### الكلمات الدالة

الفصل ١٣٨ من كتاب الموتى - مناظر كتاب الموتى - طوطم أبيدوس - أوزير - الأسرة ٢١، الرسو.

## BOOK OF THE DEAD DURING THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

The economic situation at the end of the New Kingdom had its most significant effects on the funerary concepts and burial practices (Cooney 2011, 3-44). Niwinski indicated that the giving up of tomb decoration and a general worsening of the economic situation of the Theban society had consequences reflected in the contents of the funerary equipment of the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Papyri of the Book of the Dead were traditionally an alternative bearer of the funerary texts and representations not painted in the tombs (Niwinski 1989, 37).

The Third Intermediate Period, which followed the Ramesside era in many aspects and traditions, represented a particular phase in funerary papyri illustrative evolution with a number of quantitative and qualitative changes in the text/ image ratio in the scrolls (Niwinski 1989) & (Lucarelli 2006, 256-261). This period was a time of newly arising principles in Egyptian funerary religion, which showed their impact on contemporary Book of the Dead manuscripts. (Niwinski 2000).

The development of the pictorial mode of expression of the religious concepts that had already commonly spread under the Ramessides reached an apex in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. A

series of iconographic compositions which originated mainly from the New Kingdom represented complicated conceptions of cosmogony, cosmology and eschatology using a limited number of figural symbols (Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Papyri of the 11th and 10th centuries B.C* 1989, 38). These redactions are known by scholars as "Mythological" (Piankoff and Rambova 1957), "Litany of Re" (Piankoff 1964) and "Amduat" papyri (Sadek 1985). In fact, according to the titles of these papyri and Niwinski's classifications, they represented two main compositions. The first, called *t3 md3t imy d3t* "Book of What is in the Netherworld" (Niwinski A-category), contained new iconographic motifs which remained, however, closely related to the Litany of the Sun and were intimately connected with the mummy, being placed between its thighs and rolled together with it in the bandages. The second is called *pṛt m hrw*, "Going out in Daylight" (Niwinski BD-category).

As Lenzo mentioned (Lenzo 2019), "the challenge in the research related to the spells in the Book of the Dead during the Third Intermediate Period is the diversity of formulas used, and the new spells which appeared and frequently differed from one papyrus to another. This is mainly because of the use of short papyri that contain only a selection of spells which follow the principle of *pars pro toto*, with the result that the choice of spells differs. This gives the impression of an illogical arrangement of these spells, with no tradition that could be said to resemble the "Theban redaction" in the New Kingdom or the "Saite redaction" of the Late- Ptolemaic Periods."

Although Niwinski's study is the primary and noteworthy study of the funerary papyri of this period, especially for the classification of the papyri, some studies deal with traditions of the Book of the Dead from this period. Besides studies of Lucarelli (Lucarelli 2006) and Lenzo (Lenzo 2007), there are studies dealing with individual chapters like Tarasenko's "BD 17 vignette" (Tarasenko 2012).

## CHAPTER 138 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

Chapter 138 is a spell for entering Abydos and being in the following of Osiris. The text of the chapter was attested for the first time during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Budge 1898, 313-314):

**"Formula for entering Abydos and being in the following of Osiris"**, (Quirke 2013, 313)

*Words spoken by the monarchy manager, Nu: Oh, those gods who are in Abydos, the tribunal united in its entirety. Come in cheering at my approach so that you can see my father, Osiris. I check, I have gone out in front of him (Osiris), I am Horus, the lord of the Black and the Red Lands, I take everything, as one who can't be defeated, whose eye is powerful against his enemies, saver of his father, stolen away in the water of flood, his mother, he who overcomes his enemies, and who removes the pilferer there, who silences the power of the Opponent-god, chief of multitudes, master of the Two Lands, he who takes his father's house smoothly. I am judged, my voice is true, I am powerful over enemies, who are given the pain that they did against me, I'm strong through my protection. I am the son of Osiris. My father is that who safeguard his body from enemies".*

In this chapter (Lapp 1997, 54), Nu, is shown as Horus and announces divine status following judgment and achieving the power through his enemies. Although the text was attested from the mid-18th Dynasty, the vignette of the chapter appeared for the first time at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Navelle 1886, 169) in pNfr rnpt "Papyrus Brüssel MRAH E. 5043" (Milde 1991) – Papyrus Pth ms "Papyrus Busca" (Chiappa

1972) (Crevatin 2008). Both the text and vignette were rarely attested during the New Kingdom until the end of the Third Intermediate period but became widespread during the Saite- Ptolemaic period (Mosher 2020, 315-336).

Despite the importance of Chapter 138 of the Book of the Dead as it deals with one of the most important subjects in Egyptian funerary religion: "being in Abydos with Osiris", there is no specific study for it during the New Kingdom until the end of the Third Intermediate Period. Only Naville (Naville 1886, 169), Renouf (Renouf 1897, 225-228), Hornung (Hornung 1979, 271), and Quirke (Quirke 2013, 313) gave a short commentary in their studies about that chapter during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. From the Saite to the Ptolemaic period, there is the comprehensive study of the Malcolm Mosher series. (Mosher 2020, 315-336) The problem of this study is that there is no comprehensive publishing for the majority of the manuscripts containing the vignette of Chapter 138.

According to the "*Totenbuch-Projekt*" database (Totenbuch Project n.d.), There are fifteen Papyri with BD138 known to us from the Third Intermediate Period, all of them dated back to the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, eleven of the manuscripts from the middle to end of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. The chapter is attested two more times during the third intermediate period on the other sources: 1. on a coffin of *Dd Hr*: (Totenbuch Project n.d.) 2. On the tomb of tomb of Sheshonq (Cairo JE 88131), see: (Jurman 2020, vol. I 739-741, vol. II. pl. 148). These papyri are vary in the technique of writing and vignettes according to the classification by A. Niwinski, but the majority belongs to the following types:

**A- BD II. 2** (6 scrolls) (Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10224- Papyrus London BM EA 9904- Papyrus London BM EA 10064 – Papyrus Paris Louvre E. 3661- Papyrus Paris BN 62-88 – Papyrus Cairo J.E. 95838). This category characterizes the continuation of the traditions of the New Kingdom, texts are frequently written in hieratic, sometimes partially in hieroglyphic and partially in hieratic, and they are illustrated. Both texts and the vignettes represent the well-known spells of the traditional corpus of the Book of the Dead.

**B- BD II. 1** (4 scrolls) (Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222 –Papyrus London BM EA 10014- Papyrus Cairo CG 40007- Papyrus London BMEA 10020). This category is also marked by the direct continuation of the traditions of the New Kingdom; the text is commonly retrograde, written in cursive hieroglyphs, with vignettes painted using sundry colors.

The other four papyri follow four different types:

**BD. I.1** (Papyrus Paris BN 20-23). The texts are written in hieroglyphic columns.

**BD. III. 1a** (Papyrus Paris Louvre E. 17400), in which the texts follow the new redaction of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Texts are written in hieroglyphs and arranged in vertical columns, and the vignettes are painted with several colors. The number of represented figures exceeds that of the texts.

**BD III. 1b** (Papyrus Cleveland 1921.1032), which also uses the new redaction of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Vignettes are not painted, the represented figures are only outlined in black lines, texts were written in hieroglyphs, and the papyri contain many more represented figures than texts. **A. III. 1b** (Papyrus Cairo S. R. VII 10267) this hieratic papyrus combines mythological scenes and Book of the Dead themes. (Table I).

## VIGNETTE OF CHAPTER 138 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

During the New Kingdom, the vignette of BD 138 depicted the deceased standing or kneeling (Papyrus *Nfr rnpt* Papyrus Brüssel MRAH E. 5043) with arms raised in adoration before the fetish of Abydos and Anubis. This tradition was still used during the Third Intermediate Period alongside the new version.

Vignettes are found only in six manuscripts from the Third Intermediate Period: Papyrus London BM EA 9904, Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10224, Papyrus Cleveland 1921.1032, Papyrus Paris Louvre E. 17400, Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222, Papyrus London BM EA 10014. Four are from the middle- end of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty (Totenbuch Project n.d.). (Papyrus Cleveland 1921.1032/ Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222/ Papyrus London BM EA 9904/ Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10224). Only three contain the text with a vignette (Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222/ Papyrus London BM EA 10014/ Papyrus London BM EA 9904).

Two versions of the vignette of BD 138 were attested during the Third Intermediate Period:

### A. The first version:

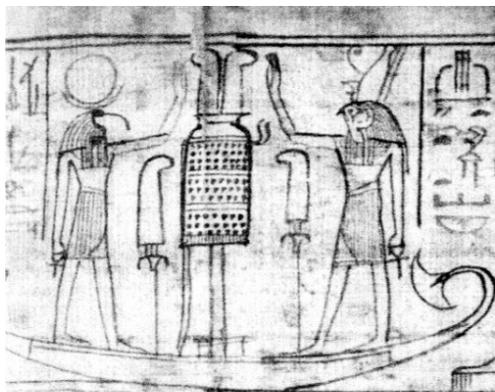
The deceased is shown raising his hands in adoration to the emblem or fetish of Abydos, this symbol was discussed and interpreted as a development of the west symbol or it may contains the head of Osiris (Winlock 1921, 15-16); (Coulon 2005); (Coulon 2011) . This version is represented in three documents:

The first, Papyrus Cleveland 1921.1032, shows two gods, Horus and Djehuty, in a boat with their arms raised forward before the emblem of Abydos, which itself faces the god Horus. Each god carries an *ankh* in his lower hand. A feather stands on either side of the Abydos emblem.

The second, Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10224, depicted a human-headed *ba* with arms raised in adoration before the emblem of Abydos, with a burning pot of incense in front of the *ba*.

The third, Papyrus Paris Louvre E. 17400, depicted the deceased with arms raised in adoration before the emblem of Abydos.

Two of the illustrations were drawn in only black outlines (monochrome), while the third (Papyrus Paris Louvre E. 17400) used black, red and green "polychrome".



p. Cleveland 1921.1032



p. Cairo S.R. VII 10224



Papyrus Paris Louvre E. 17400

### **OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIRST VERSION:**

In the three manuscripts containing the first version, there is no text of BD 138. In (Papyrus Paris Louvre E. 17400), the vignette is accompanied by the name of Osiris before the emblem of Abydos and the name of the deceased behind the emblem. At the same time, the title of BD 138 is included along with the vignette of BD 81 A in the lower row of the papyrus.

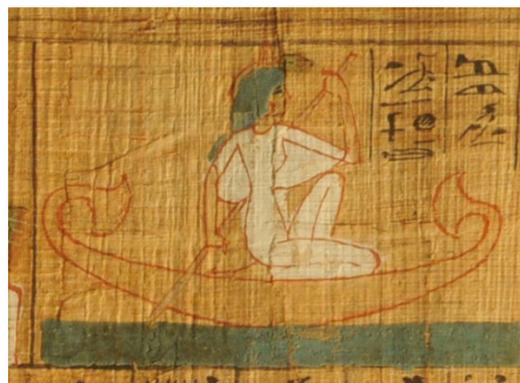
In this version, the artist used the Ramesside tradition in the illustrations of BD 138 in Papyrus *Nfr-rnpt* (Milde 1991)- and Papyrus *Pth-ms* (Papyrus Busca) (Crevatin 2008). With regard to Papyrus Cleveland 1921.1032, which depicted Djehuty and Horus in the boat raising hands toward the emblem of Abydos, a similar illustration was used in Papyrus *Pth-ms* "Ramesside period" with Isis and Horus instead of Djehuty and Horus, which confirms the idea of continuing the Ramesside traditions during this period.

In the Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10224, the artist replaced the deceased with an image of his *ba* in all papyrus illustrations.

### **B. The second version:**



Papyrus London BM EA 9904



Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222



Papyrus London BM EA 10014

In this version, the artist may use the illustration of BD 100 (Quirke 2013, 224), which depicted the deceased steering the boat, but here accompanied by the sun-god and heron to Osiris standing between the glyph for "east" and a *djed* pillar. Mosher indicated that the emblem of *i□btt* could represent Abydos, so he classified the vignette of papyrus Copenhagen-which depicted the deceased sitting inside his boat, with offering table and sign of east on the two sides- as an anomalous vignette of BD 138; also the sign of east appeared in the title of BD 138 (papyri BM 10039, N 3145, N3129, Turin 1833) (Mosher 2020, 321; 335). Anyway, this version of the illustration is represented in three documents Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222/ Papyrus London BM EA 10014/ Papyrus London BM EA 9904. This version is attested for the first and last time during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty.

The illustrations of the three documents were drawn in several colors "polychrome" (red- black- white- green).

### OBSERVATIONS ON THE SECOND VERSION:

Although the main title of BD 138 was "*r n ʿk r 3bdw*" (spell for entering Abydos), in this version documents, the changes of the illustrations accompanied by changes to the title of BD 138, and it becomes related to the idea of sailing to and landing at Abydos. In Papyrus London BM EA 9904, the title was in hieroglyphic: "*r n mni spr r 3bdw*" spell for landing and reaching Abydos. The title of BD 138 "*r n spr r 3bdw*" occurred another time in the Papyrus E4890 dated back to the Late Period (Mosher 2020, 315 note 2). In Papyrus London BM EA 10014 and Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222, the title was in hieroglyphic: "*r n<sup>e</sup>(i) mni spr r 3bdw*" (spell to set sail, land and reach Abydos). In Papyrus London BM EA 10014, The title was written in the retrograde system.

With regard to the illustration of BD, 138-which depicted the deceased in his boat-repeated three times on the papyrus as the deceased position was the Head Barque-Captain of the Amun Domain "*hr.i nfw.w wi3 n pr Imn*".

Although Niwinski indicated that this vignette was the BD 99 vignette (Niwinski 1989, Table VIII (c)), by comparing manuscripts containing vignettes of BD 138 from this period, and according to the accompanying text, it can be primarily the BD 138 vignette.

In the illustrations of Papyrus London BM EA 9904 and Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222, the artist draws the paddle of the boat behind the deceased instead of its normal position in front of the deceased, which could be an artistic mistake.

In Papyrus London BM EA 9904, the deceased is shown with offering baskets, which corresponded to the text of BD 117 "Formula for taking the ways in *Resetjau*" (Lapp 1997, pl. 24). The deceased declares the destination as *Resetjau*, Abydos was mentioned as a place of making offerings during the festive processions: "*ii.n.i smn.i ht m 3bdw*" I have come to establish offerings in Abydos".

## REMARKS

A- Abydos was the residence of one of the main gods in Ancient Egypt and was the earliest royal burial ground. Although there were several major cult centers of the god Osiris, such as Busiris, Memphis and Heliopolis, Abydos was undoubtedly, the most important one. So, all ancient Egyptians dreamed of being there, inside this holy place and in the following of the god Osiris. This idea was the main subject of BD 138.

B- Many events mentioned in the Book of the Dead occurred in Abydos. In BD 18 (Lapp 1997, pl. 9), for example, Abydos was mentioned as a place of the great tribunal, where the *Haker* festival occurred. It was also mentioned in BD 19 during the Third Intermediate Period "Formula of a garland of justification"-as a place of the great tribunal (Gasse 1993, Nr. 14, pl. XIX – XXI) where some rituals for Abydos occurred during The *Wag* festival (Assmann and Kucharek 2008, 822). In BD 64 "Formula of going out in the day"/ section 6 (Lapp 1997, pls. 59-60), the deceased sails from the dam of Abydos, perhaps evoking through sacred geography the funeral procession to the burial place. In some papyri containing BD 129, "Book for Making Excellent a Transfigured Spirit", for example, in Papyrus *Iahtesnakht* P. Köln P. Colon. Aeg. 10207 (Verhoeven 1993) (Quirke 2013, 284), the vignette shows the deceased ferrying the sun god and heron to Osiris in front of a *Djed-pillar*, while the text mentions that the deceased ferries the *benu-heron* to Abydos.

C- The idea of sailing and landing at Abydos was mentioned in many chapters of the Book of the Dead. In the text of BD 145 on papyrus Nu BM EA 10477 (Lapp 1997, pls. 71-73), the sailing south to Abydos was mentioned at the third gateway of Osiris "on the day of sailing south to Abydos" while in the text of BD 145 for example, in Papyrus *Iahtesnakht* (Verhoeven 1993) (Quirke 2013, 335) "on this day of the *neshmet*-boat sailing south to Abydos". The same idea was repeated in BD 146 (Quirke 2013, 343 ff), where the deceased indicated "*I have come, I have established the rites in Abydos*". The idea of establishing offering, in general, was mentioned in the text of BD 147 of Papyrus BM EA 10470 (Budge 1913, 404), but in BD 138, it was only for Abydos rites.

D- The vignette of BD 138 is located between two different spells in each manuscript. In Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222, its location is between 148 and 89, in Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10224, it is placed between 153A and 140, in Papyrus London BM EA 10014 between 148 and 57, in Papyrus London BM EA 9904, it is between 60 and 6, in pParis Louvre E. 17400 it is found after BD 92, while in Papyrus Cleveland 1921.1032 it was placed at the end of the series after the BD 151A vignette. Although we may notice the apparently haphazard method used in choosing the order of the spells series, which distinguished the "Theban recension" of New Kingdom Book of the Dead manuscripts, we can make a relationship between the spells located before and after the vignette of BD 138. As Lucarelli mentioned in her study about the Papyrus of Gatseshen (Lucarelli 2006, 119-120): "The Identification with Horus is a recurrent topic in those BD chapters characterized by a defensive attitude, where the deceased take action and fights against enemies. Thus, it is not surprising to find Ch. 138 in a sequence characterized by

movement, the deceased is actively involved in defending his freedom of movement in the Hereafter."

## CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 138 of the Book of the Dead is one of the most important chapters as it deals with entering holy Abydos and being in the following of the god Osiris. The reference to the "following of Osiris" proceeding towards Abydos is indeed a typical image of the religious life in ancient Egypt, beginning as early as the Middle Kingdom, and continuing into the New Kingdom, when religious processions had great importance during feasts and festivals held in cult places, Abydos being among the most famous of them. In Ch. 138, the deceased seems to have reached his goal and reached the desired position, where he can't only worship Osiris but even assimilate himself to Horus, the son and heir of the god on earth.

As the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty represented an exceptional case in the illustrative papyri, so I classified two versions of the vignette of BD 138. One of them related to adoring the fetish of Abydos, and the other represented sailing and landing in Abydos. Changes in the title of the chapter accompanied these changes in the vignette.

After the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and from the beginning of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty until the end of the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, there are no papyri containing chapter 138. This may relate to the general situation of the prominence of the Book of the Dead during the beginning of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, after which its use waned for nearly 300 years. It was revived, perhaps at the end of the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Mosher, *Transmission of Funerary Literature: saite through Ptolemaic periods* 2017), which paved the way to what is called the "Saite recension" (Quack 2009).

During the New Kingdom until the end of the Third Intermediate Period, the composition of the vignette of BD 138 was still under development, and there was no specific element. This situation continued until the beginning of the Late period when the illustration of this chapter became specific with only a few differences which were discussed in the Mosher SPBD studies. This funerary composition was still in widespread use from the Saite to the Ptolemaic period, with the occasional addition of a new funerary element such as Anubis being replaced with the *Imy-wet* fetish, which alludes to the presence of Anubis, and with the notion of embalming also alluding to the burial of deceased. (Mosher 2020, 315-336).

**Table (1)**

Occurrence of BD 138 during the Third Intermediate Period

(The following schema of description: 1. Owner, 2. Current location, 3. Origin, 4. Font, 5. Dating.)

source	Text	Vignette	Typology of Niwinski	Bibliography
<i>Hri</i> Papyrus Cleveland 1921.1032 Unknown Hieroglyphic Middle –end of 21 <sup>st</sup> Dynasty	X	√ Monochrome (with illustrations from The Book of the Gates)	BD III. 1b	(Heerma van Voss, <i>Over gewone en bevorderde doden</i> 2007) (Heerma van Voss 1982, 7 f, Taf. 1 - 3) (Niwinski 1989, 305 (Cleveland 2).)

<i>t3 b3k n hnsw</i> Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10222 Thebes (Bab el- Gusus) Hieroglyphic Middle –end of 21 <sup>st</sup> dynasty	√	√ polychrome	BD II. 1	(Niwinski 1989, 274 (Cairo 59).) (Totenbuch Project n.d.)
<i>Imn n niwt nht</i> Papyrus Cairo S.R. VII 10224 Thebes (Bab el- Gusus) Hieroglyphic Middle –end of 21 <sup>st</sup> dynasty	X	√ monochrome	BD II. 2	(Niwinski 1989, 274 (5)) (Totenbuch project n.d.)
<i>3 Imn</i> Papyrus London BM EA 10014 Thebes Hieroglyphic 1 <sup>st</sup> half of 21 <sup>st</sup> Dynasty	√	√ polychrome	BD II. 1	(Shorter 1938, 5-6, pl. VI) (Niwinski 1989, 329- 330) (Totenbuch Project n.d.)
<i>3st m 3h bit</i> Papyrus London BM EA 9904 Thebes Hieroglyphic- Hieratic Middle –end of 21 <sup>st</sup> Dynasty	√	√	BD II. 2	(Totenbuch Project n.d.) (Quirke 1993, 28, 92f) (Niwinski 1989, 320/ London 2) (Shorter 1938, 2)
<i>sr Imn</i> Papyrus Paris Louvre E. 17400 Unknown Hieroglyphic early 21 <sup>st</sup> Dynasty	X	√ polychrome	BD III. 1a	(Niwinski 1989, 363 (Paris 49).) (Totenbuch Project n.d.) (Bellion 1987, 222)
<i>M3ct k3 Rc</i> Papyrus Cairo CG 40007 Thebes Hieroglyphic 1 <sup>st</sup> half of 21 <sup>st</sup> Dynasty	√	X	BD II. 1	(Naville 1912, 7-19, pls. I-X)
<i>G3t 3Sn</i> Papyrus Cairo J.E. 95838 (S.R. IV 936) Thebes (Bab el-	√	X	BD II. 2	(Lucarelli 2006)

<b>Gasus) Hieratic Late 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty</b>				
<b><i>Dd hnsw</i> Papyrus Cairo S. R. VII 10267 Thebes (Bab el- Gasus) Hieroglyphic- Hieratic 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty</b>	√	X	A. III. 1b	(Piankoff and Rambova 1957, 156-162)
<b><i>P3 n m3ct</i> Papyrus London BMEA 10020 Thebes Hieroglyphic Middle 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty</b>	√	X	BD II. 1	(Quirke 1993, 58 Nr. 202)
<b><i>P3 n nsti t3wy</i> Papyrus London BM EA 10064 Thebes Hieroglyphic- Hieratic Late 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty</b>	√	X	BD II. 2	(Munro 2001) (Haslauer 2005)
<b><i>Nsi t3 nb t3wy</i> Papyrus Paris Louvre E. 3661 Thebes Hieratic End of 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty</b>	√	X	BD II. 2	(Deveria 1881, 86-87, III. 46) (Winkeln 1994, 269)
<b><i>Hnsw- ms</i> Papyrus Paris BN 20-23 Unknown Hieroglyphic Late 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty</b>	√	X	BD I. 1	(Navelle, Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie 1886, 105 (PI))
<b><i>enh. s n 3st</i> Papyrus Paris BN 62-88 Unknown Hieratic Late 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty</b>	√	X	BD II. 2	(Ragazzoli 2010)
<b><i>3sti</i> Papyrus. Turin CGT 53007 Thebes Hieratic End of 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty</b>	√	X	---	(Lenzo 2007, 69-90, pls. 34-37a)

## Acknowledgment:

I'm deeply wished to express my thankful and gratitude to Dr. Giuseppina Lenzo for reading the draft and her useful notes and comments.

## Bibliography

- Assmann, Jan, and Andrea Kucharek. *Ägyptische Religion. Totenliteratur*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp: Verlag der Weltreligionen,, 2008.
- Bellion, Madeleine. *Égypte ancienne. Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu, publiés ou signalés*. Paris: (80, rue Lauriston, 75016) : M. Bellion, 1987.
- Budge, Wallis. *The Book Of The Dead Papyrus Of Ani, vol. II*. London: Trustees of the British Museum., 1913.
- . *The Book of the dead: The Chapters of coming forth by day*. London: Kegan Paul, 1898.
- Chiappa, Franca. *Il papiro Busca (circa 1300 a.C.)*. Milano: La Ca' Granda, 1972.
- Cooney, Kara. "Changing Burial Practices at the end of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin decoration, and Mummifications." *JARCE*, 2011: 3-44.
- Coulon, Laurent. "Les reliques d'Osiris en Égypte ancienne: données générales et particularismes thébain." In *Les objets de la mémoire: pour une approche comparatiste des reliques et de leur culte*, by Ph. and Youri Vo., Borgeaud, 15-46. Bern: Peter Lang, 2005.
- . "Les uraei gardiens du fétiche abydénien. Un motif osirien et sa diffusion à l'époque saïte ." *La XXVIe dynastie. Continuités et ruptures. Actes du colloque de l'Université de Lille-III. 26-27 novembre 2004*. Paris: dans D. Devauchelle (éd.), Lille 3, 2011. 85-108.
- Crevatin, Franco. *Il libro dei morti di Ptahmose (Papiro Busca, Milano) ed altri documenti egiziani antichi*. Pisa: Fabrizio Serra , 2008.
- Deveria, Theodule. *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens : écrits sur papyrus, toile, tablettes et ostraca* . Paris: Charles de Mourgues, 1881.
- Gasse, Annie. *Les papyrus hiératiques et hiéroglyphiques du Museo Gregoriano Egizio*. Vatican: Città del Vaticano Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie , 1993.
- Haslauer , Elfriede. "Review: Das Totenbuch des Pa-en-nesti-tai aus der Regierungszeit des Amenemope (p.London BM 10064) by Irmtraut Munro." *WZKM* 95, 2005: 387-391.
- Heerma van Voss, Matthieu. *Ägypten, die 21. Dynastie*. Leiden: Brill Academic Pub, 1982.
- Heerma van Voss, Matthieu. "Over gewone en bevorderde doden." *Phoenix* 53,1, 2007: 45-49.
- Hornung, Erik. *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*. Zürich , München: Artemis-Verlag, 1979.
- Jurman, Claus. *Memphis in der Dritten Zwischenzeit. Eine Studie zur (Selbst-) Repräsentation von Eliten in der 21. und 22. Dynastie, vol. I*. Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, Hamburg, 2020.
- Lapp, Günther. *Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum I. The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)*. London: British Museum, 1997.

- Lenzo, Giuseppina. *Manuscripts hiératiques du Livre des Morts de la Troisième Période intermédiaire (Papyrus de Turin CGT 53001-53013)*. Genève: Société d'Égyptologie, 2007.
- Lenzo, Giuseppina. "Spell Traditions of the Book of the Dead during the Third Intermediate Period and their Evolution in the Saite Period." In *The Book of the Dead: Saite through Ptolemaic Periods. Essays on Books of the Dead and related Topics*, by Malcolm Mosher, 241-255. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2019.
- Lucarelli, Rita. *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen: Ancient Egyptian Funerary Religion in the 10th B.C century*. Leiden: Peeters Publishers & Booksellers, 2006.
- Milde, H. *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991.
- Mosher, Malcolm. *Book of the Dead Saite through Ptolemaic Periods, vol. 8*. SPBD Studies, 2020.
- Mosher, Malcolm. "Transmission of Funerary Literature: Saite through Ptolemaic periods." In *the Book of the dead. Becoming god in Ancient Egypt*, by edited by. Foy Scalf, 85-96. Chicago: OIMP 39, 2017.
- Munro, Irmtraut. *Das Totenbuch des Pa-en-nesi-taui aus der Regierungszeit des Amenemope (pLondon BM 10064), HAT 7*, . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz , 2001.
- Naville, Edouard. *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*. Berlin: Berlin, Asher, 1886.
- . *Le Papyrus hiéroglyphique de Kamara et Le Papyrus hiératique de Nesikhonsou au Musée du Caire, Bd. I: Papyrus funéraires de la XXIe dynastie*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1912.
- Niwinski, Andrzej. "Iconography of the 21st dynasty: its main features, levels of." In *Images as media: Sources for the cultural history of the Near East and the*, by Cristoph Uehlinger, 21-43. Switzerland: University press Fribourg Switzerland Vandenhoeck& Ruprecht Gottingen, 2000.
- . *Studies on the Illustrated Papyri of the 11th and 10th centuries B.C*. Freiburg, Schweiz : Universitätsverlag ; Göttingen :, 1989.
- Piankoff, Alexandre. *The Litany of Re. Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1964.
- Piankoff, Alexandre, and Natacha Rambova. *Piankoff, A., Rambova, N., Mythological Papyri. Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 3*, ,, 1957. New York: Pantheon Books, 1957.
- Quack, Joachim Friedrich. "Redaktion und Kodifizierung im spätzeitlichen Ägypten. Der Fall des Totenbuches." In *Die Textualisierung der Religion*, by Joachim Schaper, 11-34. Tübingen : Forschung zum Alten Testament 62, 2009.
- Quirke, Stephen. *Going out in Daylight? prt m hrw: The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead - translation, sources, meanings*. London: GHP 20, 2013.
- . *Owners of funerary papyri in the British Museum*. London: BMOP 92, 1993.
- Ragazzoli, Chloé. "The Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset (P. BNF Egyptien 62-88). Traces of workshop production or scribal experiments?" *BMSAES 15*, 2010: 225-248.
- Renouf, P. Le Page. *The Book of the Dead. Chapters CXXXVII A-CXXXIX*. PSBA 19, 1897.
- Sadek, Abdel-Aziz Fahmy. *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amdouat: les variantes tardives du Livre de l'Amdouat dans les papyrus du Musée du Caire*. Freiburg,

- Switzerland / Göttingen, Germany: Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985.
- Shorter, Alan. *Catalogue of Egyptian religious papyri in the British Museum: copies of the book PR(T)-M-HRW from the 18th to the 22nd dynasty. Volume 1, Description of papyri with text.* London: The British Museum, 1938.
- Tarasenko, Mykola. "The Vignette of the Book of the Dead Chapter 17 during the Third Intermediate Period 21st – 22nd dynasties." *SAK 41*, 2012: 379-394.
- Totenbuch project.* n.d. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134492> (accessed April 14, 2022).
- Totenbuch Project.* n.d. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/spruch/138> (accessed April 12, 2022).
- Totenbuch Project.* n.d. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134533> (accessed April 13, 2022).
- Totenbuch Project.* n.d. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134491> (accessed April 14, 2022).
- Totenbuch Project.* n.d. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134531> (accessed April 14, 2022).
- Totenbuch Project.* n.d. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134583> (accessed April 14, 2022).
- Verhoeven, Ursula. *Das saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht P. Colon. Aeg. 10207: Teil 1: Text, Teil 2: Hieroglyphische Transkription und Tafeln, Teil 3: Beilagen (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen).* Bonn: Habelt, 1993.
- Winkeln, Karl Jansen. *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit. Vorarbeiten zu einer spätmittelägyptischen Grammatik, (Ägypten und Altes Testament), Bd. 26.* Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz Verlag Ägypten und Altes Testament,, Bd. 26, 1994.
- Winlock, Herbert. *Bas- Reliefs from the Temple of RaRamesses at Abydos.* New York: MMA, 1921.