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Höhe 12,5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum Acc. no. 31.4.1a.
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The hieratic 18th dynasty Book of the Dead of the Lady Hatnofer from the Egyptian Museum Cairo.

Preliminary overview

KHALED HASSAN¹

Abstract

A few examples of Book of the Dead manuscripts in the hieratic handwriting from the beginning of the 18th dynasty were discovered. One of these early examples is the Book of the Dead that belongs to the lady Hatnofer, the mother of the renowned official Senenmut. This Book of the Dead comprises four manuscripts, i. e. two hieratic papyri, one leather roll, and one linen shroud. They are preserved in the Egyptian Museum Cairo. This paper will give a general overview of the two hieratic papyri and also will stress on some aspects and peculiarities of the hieratic handwriting, whereas the details of the script will be displayed in the study of these manuscripts. The other early examples and the reasons for using and abandoning the hieratic script at that time will be discussed in short. The scribes of the two papyri, based on palaeographic comparisons, will be displayed as well.

Fundamentally, the importance of the hereafter and the believing in a second life after death were hallmarks in the beliefs of the Ancient Egyptians, thus the Book of the Dead (BD) was not the output of the New Kingdom itself. This means that the corpus of the BD spells is not a completely new aggregation of religious texts, and some of its spells protrude from an earlier collection such as Pyramid and Coffin Texts.² Nevertheless, the New Kingdom era represents the real starting point for this long-lasting religious composition, which was recorded on the majority of the available writing mediums at that time. During the 17th and 18th dynasties, large linen shrouds were used on a wide range as a surface for writing the Books of the Dead spells.³ A few of these shrouds contain spells in hieratic script arranged in vertical

1 Associate professor at the Faculty of Archaeology – Cairo University, Egyptology Department. I would like to thank the curators of the Egyptian Museum Cairo for granting me the permission to publish these papyri and providing me with recent photos. I am also indebted to the curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York for sending me the old photos of the two papyri and giving me permission to use them in the publication. Many thanks to Florence Albert, a scientific member of IFAO, for reading the draft of this paper and for her valuable comments.

2 Dorman 2018, 29.

3 Dorman 2018, 36.

columns such as L. Ahmose-Penhat (New York, MMA 22.3.296a), the prince and chancellor Ahmose in Turin Museum, and L. Ahmose Henut-tamehu in the Egyptian Museum Cairo.⁴ Early attestations of these spells were inscribed on the inner walls of the rectangular sarcophagus of Queen Mentuhotep,⁵ and the coffin board of Herunefer in the British Museum.⁶ They have constituted the first incontrovertible evidence of the early BD examples.⁷ This may also reflect that the decoration of the coffin interiors of that time with Book the Dead spells was only confined on the Royal sphere at the beginning.⁸ Surprisingly, not only the spells on the coffins of the Queen Mentuhotep, and the coffin of Herunefer are arranged typically to the sequence of the New Kingdom Books of the Dead but also are inscribed in purely horizontal hieratic lines imitating the papyrus roll format.⁹ Another early example of the BD is the fragmented shroud of the 17th dynasty King Intef, as the few surviving inscriptions could identify as a BD material rather than coffin texts.¹⁰

Early 18th dynasty hieratic BD examples

The cursive hieroglyph in retrograde style was the popular script for the BD during the New Kingdom.¹¹ Thus, the majority of the manuscripts in this era are written in cursive hieroglyphic and most of them ascribed to men rather than to women,¹² about 191 objects attributed to men in comparison to 25 objects ascribed to women

4 Dorman 2018, 36; Kockelmann 2018, 76.

5 Quirke 2013, xi; Dorman 2018, 34. The Queen Mentuhotep is the wife of King Djehouty who ruled towards the end of 13th dynasty or the very beginning of the 16th dynasty. The coffin has been discovered in Thebes at the beginning of 19th Century, but is lost today. The texts were copied by Sir John Wilkinson in 1832 at the time of the discovery. For more details about this coffin cf. Geisen 2004.

6 Dorman 2018, 34.

7 Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 47; Gestermann 2005, 104.

8 Végh 2017, 514; O'Rourke 2016, 32.

9 Dorman 2018, 34; Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 47; <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135250> [27 March 2020].

10 <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133831> [24 March 2020]; Quirke 1993, 1.

11 Kockelmann 2018, 69; According to the *Totenbuch*-project, a few hieratic BD manuscripts could date back to the 19th and 20th Dynasties as well, i. e. 19th 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; 20th dynasty: L. Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 35409, O. IFAO 423, P. Marseille 5323, P. Turin 1828. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>[27 March 2020].

12 The papyrus of Amenemipet/Baki, preserved in Warsaw museum Nardowe 21884, is one of relatively few 18th dynasty books of the Dead for women, in addition to the Cairo papyrus of Nebemteret from Saqqara.

in the New Kingdom.¹³ A few copies of this genre dated to the beginning of the 18th dynasty and inscribed in the hieratic script have survived.¹⁴ Most probably this refers that the earliest documentation of the spell sequences of the BD on papyri, leather, linen, and on the inner walls of the coffins has been formulated in hieratic handwriting.¹⁵ These early examples raise two questions: Why was the hieratic script used for these early sources? Why the ancient Egyptian ceased utilizing the hieratic script for the BD at some point in the 18th dynasty?¹⁶ The hypothetical reasons are still controversial. Later on, from the Third Intermediate Period onwards hieratic became the popular script for the BD manuscripts and was the preferred script for several religious texts from the Saite period onwards.¹⁷

For using this script, the early 18th dynasty hieratic manuscripts were most probably imitating the earlier examples having been inscribed on the inner walls of the coffins such as the one of queen Mentuhotep. This could indicate that at that time of the 18th dynasty the scribe tried to admit and follow this writing style which started on the coffins. Particularly Hieratic was the optimum script that was used on smooth sheets of papyrus from the first dynasty onwards. Thus it could be utilized, in some cases, as a pattern text for copying spells on the coffins like that of Mentuhotep and Herunefer.¹⁸ The notion of using the hieratic script as master copy in some cases is acceptable and this could be enhanced by the leather manuscript of Nebimes from the beginning of 18th dynasty, where the name of the deceased has been squeezed in narrow spaces.¹⁹ Another suggestion refers that the early sources in hieratic script preferred to pursue the writing style and tradition of the New Kingdom literary manuscripts which were executed in a very good hieratic handwriting.²⁰ In this vein, issuing copies in hieratic was more comfortable and easy for the copyists who were involved in producing the manuscripts, and this could be a possible reason for using hieratic in these early manuscripts.

At some point during the 18th dynasty, the ancient scribes stopped using the hieratic script for the BD. The reasons for this shift are unknown. However, it seems that it is far from the theory stating that the hieroglyph or even cursive hieroglyph is more prestigious than hieratic and the latter was basically dedicated for the secular

13 <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/uebersicht/besitzer-verwandte#StringBalken> [24 March 2020].

14 Barwik 1997, 331.

15 Dorman 2018, 34.

16 On the parallel use of hieroglyphic, cursive hieroglyphs and hieratic scripts in the funerary texts cf. Graefe 2015, 119–142.

17 Taylor 2010, 267; Goelet 2010, 127. For more details about reusing the hieratic script in the BD at that time cf. Lenzo-Marchese 2007.

18 Dorman 2018, 35.

19 Shorter 1934, 34; Dorman 2018, 34.

20 Taylor 2010, 267.

texts, while the hieroglyphs were used for the afterlife texts.²¹ At the same context, the existence of many BD spells in the hieroglyphic or even cursive hieroglyphic script in the elite tombs of the 18th dynasty does not prove that hieroglyphic was more prestigious than hieratic.²² Practical factors could be possible reasons behind this shift such as the format of the manuscript and the distribution of the vignettes. From an aesthetic and physical point of view, it is remarkable that the format and general layout of the hieratic copies at that time have no aesthetic appearance in comparison with the hieroglyphic and cursive hieroglyphic versions. The texts were arranged in vertical columns or horizontal lines without any particular layout, while the cursive hieroglyphic copies displayed the attention of the scribes and artists to the manuscript. The best example is the BD papyrus of the gold worker Sobekmose (P. Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York, no. 37.1777 E). Sobekmose owned two versions of the BD written on the *recto* and the *verso* of the same papyrus.²³ The *recto* is inscribed in cursive hieroglyphic and the *verso* is executed in horizontal hieratic lines. The *recto* is well decorated with vignettes in different colours and the excellent layout has top and bottom margins. In contrary, the *verso* of this manuscript was written in 12 columns of purely hieratic lines, in black ink, with rubrics, but without any format or outlines for the text.

As a matter of content, it seems that the Egyptians believed in the magical power of the vignettes, so that they became important in the manuscripts side by side to the written texts.²⁴ Proceeding from this idea, the existence of vignettes is a fundamental part of the BD. Thus, perhaps the lack of vignettes was a negative point in the hieratic versions in the sight of the Ancient Egyptians. The cursive hieroglyphic copies are well prepared and decorated with several polychrome vignettes. For example, the papyrus of the gold worker Sobekmose contains four polychrome vignettes drawn only on the *recto*, and nothing is recorded on the *verso*.²⁵ While, the early copies of the hieratic BD contained one or two vignettes at the most, and some of them have no vignettes at all. An interesting notice is that some accompanying texts, captions, of the vignettes in the hieratic versions were inscribed in cursive hieroglyphics. Such as P. Los Angeles 83.Ar.46.3 that contains only a single vignette drawn up at the right side of the papyrus before the beginning of the text itself. This illustration represents the vignette of spell 150 that normally ends many of the 18th dynasty BD papyri.²⁶ Although, the spells of this papyrus were inscribed in vertical

21 Goelet 2010, 126.

22 Galán 2010, 247–272. Several spells were inscribed on the walls of this tomb.

23 O'Rourke 2016.

24 Munro 2017, 54 ff.

25 The four vignettes were inserted through the text. Three of these illustrations were attested in the early 18th dynasty hieratic Books of the Dead i.e. Hatnofer (Vignette BD 125), Muti (Vignette BD 136B) and that of P. Los Angeles 83.Ar.46.3 (Vignette BD 150).

26 Quirke 2013, 365.

columns, the labels of the mounds in the vignette were inscribed mostly in horizontal lines and also in the cursive hieroglyphic script, not in hieratic.²⁷ This attitude could reflect the existence of the cursive hieroglyphic in the memory of the scribes who are involved in the production of the manuscripts, and the master copy of the vignettes was executed in cursive hieroglyphic. Another possible reason for using the cursive hieroglyphic instead of hieratic is the writing system known as retrograde that was to be used only in the hieroglyphic and cursive hieroglyphic texts. Most probably the religious considerations of this writing style play a role in changing the script.²⁸ In one of the early hieratic copies, P. Ahmose, the title accompanying spell 136B was written in four short hieratic columns in a retrograde form.²⁹

To sum up, the possible reasons for this abandonment is the lack of the aesthetic appearance of the manuscripts written in hieratic. Most probably, the format of the hieratic script was not enabling the scribes to insert more vignettes that were an essential element in this genre.³⁰ The retrograde writing system has religious importance for the ancient Egyptians and it was important to use it in these texts. All the previous reasons could play a role in stop using the hieratic for the copies of the BD. Few hieratic manuscripts dated back to the early 18th dynasty have been presented to the scholarly sphere, some of them are published in full and the rest still needs publication, in addition to the two unpublished papyri of the lady Hatnofer of the current paper:

1. Papyrus Los Angeles, Paul Getty Museum 83.AI.46.3, provenance unknown, one vignette.³¹
2. Papyrus Ahmose, Paris, Louvre E 11085/REF AE O 24030, from Thebes, one vignette.³²
3. Leather roll of Nebimes, London, British Museum EA 10281, from Thebes, no vignettes.³³

27 <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 [27 March 2020].

28 For more information about this type of writing Goelet 2010, 128; cf. Niwinski 1989, 13; Chegodaev 1996, 19; Hassan 2014, 251–252.

29 Quirke 2013, 304. The papyrus of Nebseny provides similar vignette; Lapp 2004, pl. 77. Goelet mentioned in his paper that few hieratic BD papyrus were executed in retrograde style, however he did not mention them through his paper. Goelet 2010, 128.

30 Another possible reason is the wish to organize the manuscript (BD) as a resemblance of a tomb. The organization of tombs and hieroglyphic Books of the Dead seems to be more or less the same. Florence Albert in her comments on the draft.

31 Kraus 1979, no. 3; Kockelmann 2008, II, 133, no. 96.

32 Munro 1995.

33 Shorter 1934, 33–40; Munro 1987, 280–281; Bellion 1987, 65.

4. Papyrus Mwti Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History SN, provenance unknown, two vignettes.³⁴
5. Papyrus of Sobekmose, New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.1777 E, from Saqqara, no vignettes.³⁵
6. Papyrus of Neferkhawet, location unknown, from Deir el-Bahari.³⁶
7. Papyrus of Ruyu, location unknown, from Deir el-Bahari.³⁷
8. Papyrus of Baki, location unknown, from Deir el-Bahari.³⁸
9. Papyrus London, British Museum EA 10738, 1–3, from Deir el-Bahari.³⁹
10. Papyrus Moscow, Pushkin Museum, provenance unknown, coloured vignettes.⁴⁰
11. Papyrus Mesemnetjer, Paris, Louvre E 21324 partially in hieratic, provenance unknown, no vignettes.⁴¹

The hieratic papyri of Hatnofer

Owner and provenance of the BD

The lady Hatnofer was the wife of Ramose and the mother of the eminent official Senenmut who lived at the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III. The origins of Hatnofer are not distinctly known, however, the suppositions refer to Armant, a town located not far from Thebes, as her hometown.⁴² Nothing is known almost about the origin of her husband Ramose, but he most probably had a modest origin such as a tenant farmer, artisan, or even a small landowner.⁴³ The relationship between Hatnofer and her son Senenmut is known through several written sources in Senenmut's tomb. The most salient source occurs on the central relief of the false

34 Capart 1934, 242–251; Munro 1987, 278–279; Kockelmann 2008, I–II, 391 (Index) (pBrüssel Nr. unbek.); Bellion 1987, 98. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134264> [27 March 2020].

35 O'Rourke 2016; Munro 1987, 302; Clère 1967–1968, 88–93; Bellion 1987, 94.

36 Barwik 1997, 331–338; Hayes 1959, 226; Hayes 1935, 17–36.

37 Barwik 1997, 331–338; Hayes 1959, 226; Hayes 1935, 17–36.

38 Barwik 1997, 331–338; Hayes 1959, 226; Hayes 1935, 17–36.

39 https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?museumno=10738 [27 March 2020].

40 Kockelmann 2008, I, 396 (Index).

41 Munro 1987, 279, pl. 24; Taylor 2010, 267.

42 Roehrig 2004.

43 Roehrig 2004.

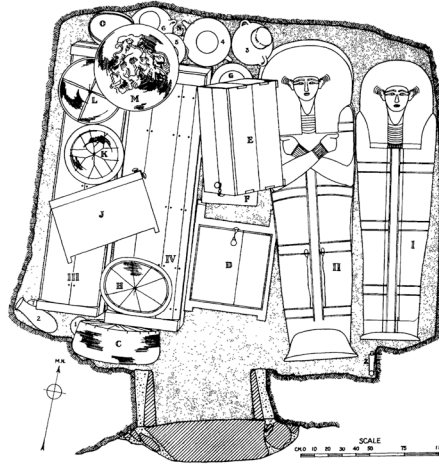


Fig. 1: Drawing of the objects found in the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer (Lansing and Hayes 1937, 24, fig. 27)

door stela of TT 353. The text above the figures reads: “The steward of Amun Senemut, his beloved father Ramose, his mother Hatnofer, justified”.⁴⁴

In season 1935–36, the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art under the direction of Ambrose Lansing and William Hayes, uncovered the small rock-cut tomb of Hatnofer and her husband Ramose below Senenmut’s tomb TT 71.⁴⁵ It was precisely located under the ruins of the artificial terrace in front of this tomb, on the northeast face of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna at Deir el-Bahari region.⁴⁶ The small tomb of Hatnofer included the coffins of Ramose, Hatnofer, and six additional anonymous mummies of three young women and three children in two plain coffins, and numerous household objects, the majority of them belongs to Hatnofer (fig. 1).⁴⁷

Besides the several other funerary objects in the tomb, her large wooden coffin is elaborately manufactured representing an anthropoid mummiform with crossed arms over the chest, with rows of hieroglyphic writings running over it.⁴⁸ This coffin contained a fully wrapped mummy in several shawls and sheets of linen, some of these shawls bore the title and the name of queen Hatshepsut in cursive hieroglyphic marks.⁴⁹

44 Lansing and Hayes 1937, 22; Dorman 1991, 136.

45 Lansing and Hayes 1937, 12 ff; PM I, 2, 669.

46 Dorman 1991, 23.

47 Lansing and Hayes 1937, 31; Dorman 1991, 23.

48 Lansing and Hayes 1937, 19.

49 Lansing and Hayes 1937, 19.



Fig. 2: The leather roll of Hatnofer Cairo TR 25.I.55.6 (© Egyptian Museum Cairo)

On the chest of the mummy, outside the wrappings, a bunch of two papyri and one leather roll were found tied with a linen tape tucked under the edge of her gilded cartonnage mask.⁵⁰ The linen shroud that covered the mummy bears spells of the BD inscribed in cursive hieroglyphic and published by Munro.⁵¹ Hence, the lady Hatnofer owned four BD manuscripts, i. e. two in hieratic script and two in cursive hieroglyphic, all of them preserved in the Egyptian Museum Cairo. Among the two cursive hieroglyphic manuscripts is a leather roll found together with the two hieratic papyri under the mask of Hatnofer's mummy. The leather roll (fig. 2) is composed of 14 cursive hieroglyphic columns written in black ink in retrograde style and contains only the spell 100 with its vignette. The name of Hatnofer is written over the drawing of her head in black ink as the rest of the god's names. The other cursive hieroglyphic manuscript is the linen shroud that covered the mummy of Hatnofer. It is preserved in the Egyptian Museum Cairo under the inventory number JE 66218.⁵² This linen shroud displays only the spell BD 72 followed by the text of CT 335.⁵³

⁵⁰ Lansing and Hayes 1937, 20; Hayes 1959, 226. Likewise, three funerary papyri were found in position on the fully wrapped mummy of Nefer-Khewet's son-in-law Baki, a contemporary of King Thutmose III. Hayes 1959, 226; Dorman 2000, 17.

⁵¹ Munro 1994, 27.

⁵² Munro 1994, pl. 10.

⁵³ Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2018, 95.

Description of the papyri

The two papyri of Hatnofer I–II are inscribed in hieratic script and are now stored in the Egyptian Museum Cairo under the temporary number (TR) 25.1.55.6. They are found with the leather roll in the same place under the mummy mask. By the end of the excavation season, the two papyri were moved to the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York for study purposes. They were kept through the years of World War II.⁵⁴ In 1953, before they were returned to Egypt, Hayes unrolled and photographed these two papyri for the first time. Then the staff of the Metropolitan Museum cut them into eight segments with varying measurements from 61 cm to 119 cm length. These sections were placed between heavy pieces of white acid-free cardboard, in order to preserve and secure them during their journey back to the Egypt.⁵⁵ At the same year, these papyri entered to the Egyptian Museum Cairo and recorded with the leather roll under the one temporary number TR 25.1.55.6.⁵⁶

Papyrus Hatnofer I

Papyrus Hatnofer I is the longest manuscript in this group with about 4.65 cm length. The latter papyrus is written on both sides, i. e. *recto* and *verso*. The *recto* is composed of 22 pages, while the *verso* consists of 18 pages, in addition to about 4 blank pages on the *verso*, particularly at the end of the scroll. The text is written mainly in black ink with some insertions in red. These rubrics are used to highlight the titles and the key points of the spells. The lower part of the papyrus has mostly disintegrated because it was soaked in the mummification liquids while the mummy was still wet. As a result of this placement, the writings on this part are damaged and the ink is wiped out in many places. The title of the BD as *Pr.t m hrw* is inscribed at the last page of the *verso* in a vertical column. This papyrus displays only one vignette executed in red and black ink relating to chapter BD 125D, which is located on the first page of the *verso* (fig. 3). It is a representation of four squatting baboons seated around a rectangular lake of fire.

54 Dorman 2000, 17.

55 Dorman 2000, 17.

56 According to the Egyptian Museum database, these three manuscripts are recorded under the same number, while the number that assigned to the short one (P. Kairo o. Nr. CII) in *Totenbuchprojekt*-database, which is incorrect, cf. [http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135561#P.%20Kairo%20o.Nr.%20\(C%20II\)](http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135561#P.%20Kairo%20o.Nr.%20(C%20II)) [27 March 2020].



Fig. 3: Vignette 125D on the verso of Papyrus Hatnofer I (© Egyptian Museum Cairo)

Papyrus Hatnofer II

Papyrus Hatnofer II is made of a very thin and high quality papyrus and measures about 2.55 cm length.⁵⁷ The curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art had cut it into four segments, which were laid between heavy pieces of white acid-free cardboard before it was taken back to Egypt.⁵⁸ Now, this manuscript is in a very bad condition and the disarticulated fragments can also be noticed everywhere. This papyrus is inscribed in nine horizontal hieratic pages only on the *recto* alongside with a detailed vignette of spell BD 150 in addition to several blank pages (fig. 4). The *verso* contains a very faint drawing of the vignette of the spell BD 150 which is hardly to be seen. The handwriting is coherent, neat, and elegant. The text is mainly inscribed in black ink with some rubrics as in the larger manuscript. The width of the pages of this roll is not fixed and varies from one page to another. The number of lines varies between 11–14 lines for each page. The lower part was not affected by the mummification liquids like the large manuscript. The handwriting is very faint in most parts of it, and several fragments were lost from this papyrus. The quite interesting point is that the last horizontal text on the *recto* ends with three short columns of hieratic text. This Papyrus contains two large vignettes, one is on the *recto* and the other is on the *verso*. The two vignettes belong to the spell BD 150, which ends many 18th dynasty Book of Dead papyri.⁵⁹ The *recto* represents the large

57 Dorman 2000, 17.










58 Dorman 2000, 17.

59 Quirke 2013, 365.

Predications

Through the whole text, the owner's name is followed three times by the predication *mꜣ:t-ḥrw*: two on the *recto* and one on the *verso*. The form and the spelling of the predications were variable. In two examples they were written in detailed form, while in the other example it is inscribed in an abbreviated form (table 1).

Papyrus Hatnofer II

The name of Hatnofer occurs 23 times in this papyrus, about 19 times written on the first two pages. The common form of this name is , about 15 times, while this short form  occurs about 8 times. Contrary to the longer papyrus, no titles for Hatnofer such as “mistress of the house” were used here. The palaeography and the orthography of the name are not identical throughout the text. Sometimes the scribe preferred to ligature the  and as  like in the longer manuscript () and sometimes the word *nfr* is written without  and  at all. The determinative of the seated woman (B1) was varied from the abbreviated form () to the detailed one ().

Predications

The name of Hatnofer was preceded by the name of Osiris about 16 times. It was followed by the predication *mꜣ:t-ḥrw* about 17 times. Most of the previous cases occur together: *Wsir Ḥꜣ:t-nfr mꜣ:t-ḥrw* “Osiris Hatnofer, justified” (table 2)

Sequence of the spells






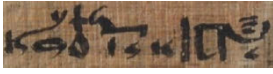
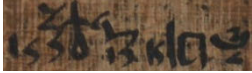
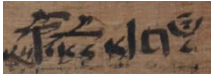
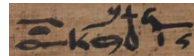


The spells of the BD were not constant or uniform geographically and chronologically.⁶² Assuredly, the choice of the spells was not randomly executed, but the exact reasons behind the choice of certain spells in the manuscripts are still unknown.⁶³ Perhaps, the economic capacity or the personal predilection of the owner played a role for the length and the quality of the illustrations of the manuscript, but not for the arrangement of the spells. Most of the contemporary manuscripts of the 18th dynasty BD show a similar systematic sequence for a group of spells. Most probably this semi-uniform sequence resulted from a theological background and convic-

62 Kockelmann 2018, 73.




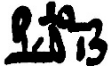
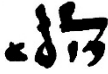



63 Kockelmann 2018, 73.

The hieratic 18th dynasty Book of the Dead of the Lady Hatnofer

Table 1: Spellings from Papyrus Hatnofer I

Name	 rt. 5.2	 rt. 1.1
	 rt. 12.7	 rt. 4.10
	 rt. 13.1	 vs. 16.6
	 vs. 16.1	 rt. 2.6
Name with predications	 rt. 12.4	 vs. 15.6
	 rt. 7.3,4	

Tab. 2: Spellings from Papyrus Hatnofer II

Name	 I.1	 I.2	 I.4
	 I.11	 I.13	 I.10
	Name with predications		
	 I.11		 2.5

tions of the priests who were involved in producing these kind of manuscripts at that time. Totally, this papyrus contains 60 spells, about 40 on the *recto* and 20 on the *verso*. This is the largest corpus of spells which was compiled on contemporary hieratic BD manuscripts. The judgment spell BD 125 is one of the most important spells in the BD of Hatnofret, which seems to form the core of the roll. This papyrus also contains the spell 106 of the Coffin Texts.⁶⁴

Spells on the *recto*

BD 22 – 23 – 24 – 25 – 26 – 28 – 27 – 43 – 30A – 31 – 33 – 34 – 35 – 74 – 45 – 93 – 91 – 41 – 42 – 14 – 68 – 69 – 70 + R – 92 – 72 + R – 71 – 67 – 9 – 8 – 63A – 61 – 59 – 105 – 95 – 106 – 99/99B + R – 125A – 125B – 125C – 125D

Spells on the *verso*

BD 125D – CT 106 – 1B/172 – 13/121 + R – 119 – 76 – 85 – 82 – 77 – 86 + R – 39 – 65 – 91 – 64 + R – 30B – 124 – 7 – 102 – 116 – 38A.

In comparison with the long manuscript, the short papyrus displays a few spells ordered in the following sequence: *recto* BD 136/136A – 136B – 149 – V150; *verso* BD V150.

Scribes of the papyri

The production of the BD manuscripts depends basically on a team of several experienced scribes and painters who must have been members in the scriptorium.⁶⁵ Some BD papyri of a considerable length were inscribed by only one scribe, while some others were written by different hands. Several examples of the 26th dynasty show that single manuscripts were written by different copyists such as the papyrus of Khamhor C being inscribed by four different scribes,⁶⁶ or the long papyrus of Iahtesnakht made by at least three different hands.⁶⁷

64 Heerma van Voss 1986, 49–52.

65 Kockelmann 2018, 72.

66 Verhoeven 2017, 55–66.

67 Verhoeven 1993 and Verhoeven 2001: 102–225.


Papyrus Hatnofer I

Usually, the names of the scribes and artists who carried out the manuscripts were anonymous. So, defining the different hands of the manuscript can be accomplished only through the palaeographical investigation to the handwriting, the format, and also the style of the vignettes. From the first look one can state that the whole texts on the *recto* and the *verso* are written by the same hand, however, the close investigation to the handwriting reveals that at least three different scribes, i. e. A, B, and C, carried out this longer papyrus. The puzzling point is that each scribe has no specific pages of the text, but their handwritings are sometimes jumbled together. The similar features of the handwriting of this papyrus are somehow homogeneous, especially the scribes B and C. Sometimes, individual signs and words are inscribed in the same form by the three scribes, and this makes the distinction of the handwritings a difficult task. For making such distinction between the scribes' handwriting, the comparison does not depend on just a few signs, but it relies on comparing different words, group of signs, and ligatures.

Scribe A







The main scribe of this longer manuscript, most probably wrote the whole *recto*, except the pages number 3 and 14, and few pages of the *verso*. In fact, some pages of his hand are not exactly defined where no definite pieces of evidence have occurred. This scribe mostly used a thick brush forming bold and medium-sized signs. He had the ability to write the signs in different variant forms and this sometimes caused a problem in determining his handwriting. The connection between his handwriting on the *recto* and the *verso* came through the very close similarities on both sides. The palaeographical comparison shows the distinction between his hand and the two different scribes.

Scribe B

He wrote probably about eleven pages on the *verso*, numbers 6–13, 15–17. In fact, maybe some pages of his hand are not exactly defined where no definite pieces of evidence occurred. On one side, the handwriting of this scribe has been determined through different aspects such as the quite interesting form of the head-sign (D1 ) that was written in cursive hieroglyphic form in most of the previously mentioned pages (table 3).

On the other side, a clear distinction between this scribe and the two other scribes occurred through comparing their handwriting. This scribe used a thinner brush, compared to the scribe (A) forming large and thin signs.

Table 3: Head-signs (D1) of scribe B in Papyrus Hatnofer I

					
vs. 7.7	vs. 7.5	vs. 9.6	vs. 9.6	vs. 9.4	vs. 15.8

Scribe C






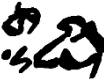



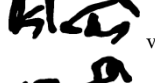
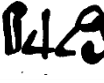

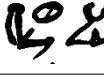
Based on paleographical bases, it seems that this scribe wrote only pages 3 and 14 of the *recto*. There are no traces of a similar handwriting through the rest of the papyrus. Comparing the two pages (see the table 4 below) reveals that they are inscribed by the same hand. Certain signs of these two pages were not formed in this way in the rest of the papyrus such as , , ,  and the name of the god “Ra”  being inscribed with an interesting classifier, the sun with uraeus (N6 ☉). The spelling with this determinative is attested only twice on page 14 of the *recto*, while the other forms were written with the normal determinative of the sun disk (N5 ☉). The suffix pronoun .f of page 3 is characteristic by its tall and large form and this could be noticed through the text.










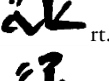
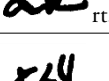




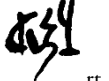

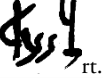
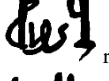


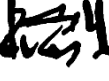

Table 4 compares the writings of three scribes for a number of words.

Table 4: Selected spellings of the three scribes of Papyrus Hatnofer I

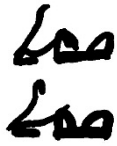
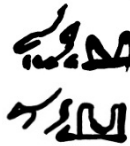


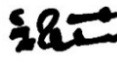
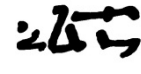

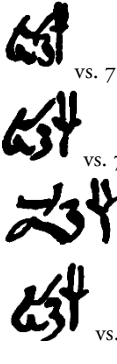






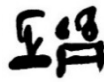

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
ih/hw	 vs. 3.2	 vs. 7.3	 rt. 14.2
	 vs. 4.4	 vs. 11.1	
	 rt. 5.1	 vs. 13.2	
	 rt. 6.1		

continued on next page

The hieratic 18th dynasty Book of the Dead of the Lady Hatnofer

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
<i>nh/nhh</i>	 rt. 15.4  rt. 9.3  rt. 19.1  rt. 19.2	 vs. 6.8	 rt. 3.12  rt. 3.18
<i>ii</i>	 vs. 5.2  rt. 1.2  rt. 8.II  rt. 20.5	 vs. 6.8  vs. 8.4  vs. 8.2	 rt. 14.2
<i>mdw</i>	 rt. 1.1  rt. 5.4  rt. 6.6  rt. 7.3  rt. 15.5	 vs. 15.6  vs. 15.10	 rt. 3.1

continued on next page

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
dw	 rt. 8.4 rt. 6.7	 vs. 15.6 vs. 15.10	 rt. 3.1
ʿ	 rt. 9.5	 vs. 8.6	 rt. 3.10
shm	 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
	 rt. 4.5 rt. 2.14 rt. 8.13	 vs. 7.5 vs. 10.6 vs. 15.9 vs. 12.2	 rt. 14.8
Nw.t	 rt. 8.9	 vs. 8.3	 rt. 14.8

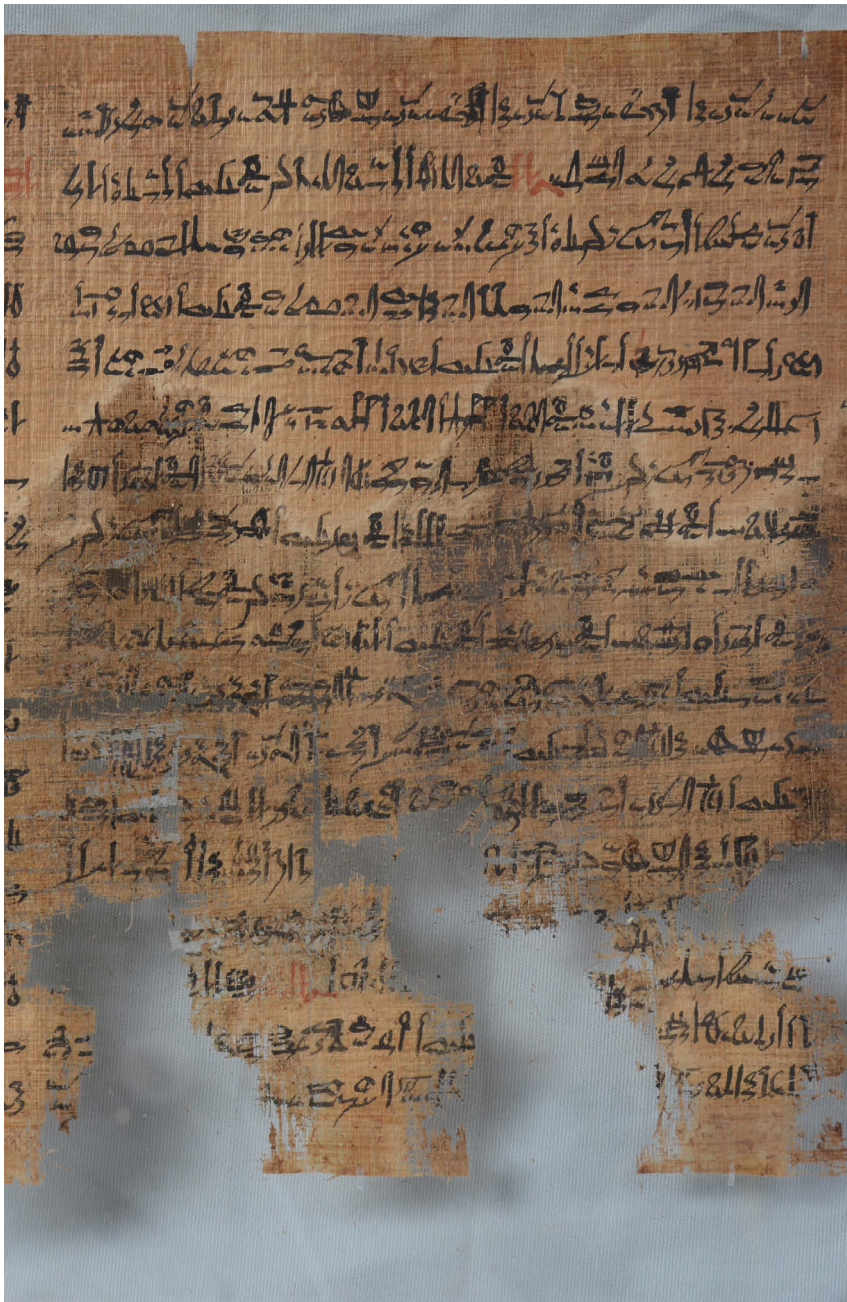


Fig. 5: Hatnofer Papyrus I, Cairo TR 25. 1. 55. 6, recto 8 (© Egyptian Museum Cairo)

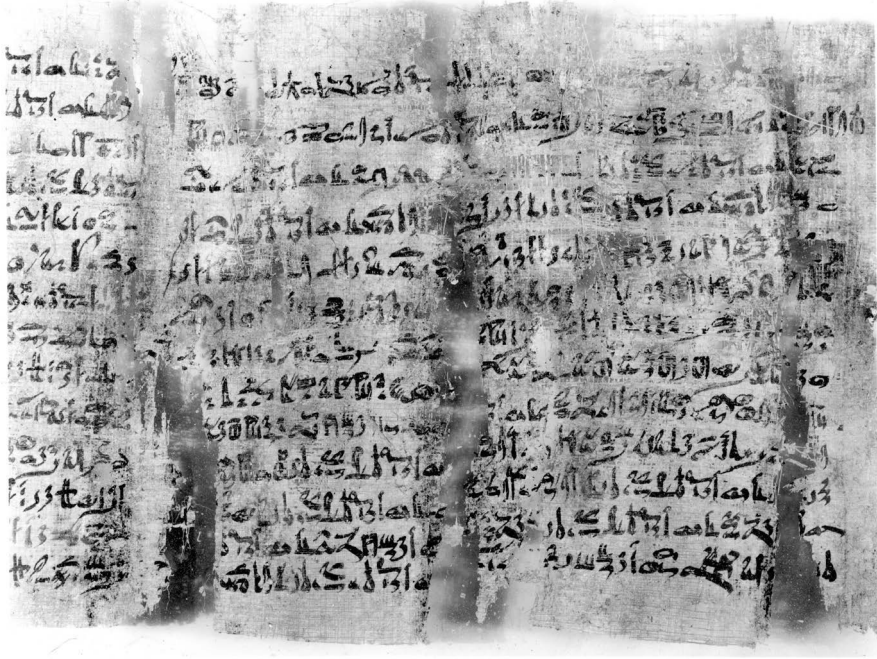


Fig. 6: Hatnofer Papyrus II, Cairo TR 25. 1. 55. 6, *recto* 1 (© Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Papyrus Hatnofer II

It seems that the short manuscript is inscribed by only one hand, because many signs are repeated in the same form through the different pages of the manuscript. Similar to the long papyrus, the scribe was able to form the sign in variant forms.

What can be noticed in this papyrus is that the handwriting is more cursive than in the longer manuscript, particularly the ligatures and the size of signs are relatively small and short-formed. The handwriting of the first six pages displays compact signs, and the line spacing is narrow. Apparently, the scribe changed his attitude on the last three pages, where the line spacing is wider than in the first few pages. The arrangement of the signs and words is not compact like in the first pages. Interestingly, the scribe preferred to end spell BD 149 that also ends the whole manuscript in columns. He switched his writing direction and added three columns forming the end of the manuscript. The interesting point in these columns is that the scribe changed not only the direction but also some forms of his writings such as **43**. Changing the writing direction was relatively known in a few contemporary hieratic Books of the Dead; the scribe of the papyrus of Ahmose started the text

with 25 horizontal lines, and then shifted his writings to columns in the same page. This was an uncommon writing attitude in the hieratic Books of the Dead of the early 18th dynasty. The reasons behind this shifting are unclear; however, this could indicate that the ancient scribes somehow still adhered to this classical writing style. By comparing the handwriting of this papyrus with the long one, it reveals that the handwritings are different. There is little similar handwriting, however different words, determinatives, signs and writing style could assure the existence of different scribes of the two rolls. The comparison between the handwritings of the two manuscripts reveals that the two papyri were written in different hands (cf. fig. 5 and 6).

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