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Covadonga en la Caldera del Teide. José Miguel Barrios Mufrege.

Iconographic Rendering of the Notion of Purification in two Elements Included in the Vignettes of Chapters 17 and 125 of the Book of the Dead

Lucía DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS

The paper seeks to analyse the components of the group placed on the ceiling of the Hall of Judgment as well as the formal and essential relationship of this group with the scene of the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17. This analysis will be the basis for suggesting how some ancient Egyptian iconographic representations were subjected to a process of iconographic convergence. A similar image, adapted to the specificities of each context (negative confession and judgment after death; bathing in local ponds), was used to convey the same purpose: the rebirth of the deceased and his/her transformation into a divine being.

Representación Iconográfica de la noción de purificación en dos elementos incluidos en las viñetas de las recitaciones 17 y 125 del Libro de la Salida al Día

El presente trabajo busca analizar los componentes de un grupo ubicado en el techo de la sala donde se celebra el juicio final y la relación de forma y contenido entre este grupo y la escena de los lagos heracleopolitanos incluida en LdSD 17. Este análisis será la base para sugerir cómo las representaciones pictóricas de los antiguos egipcios experimentaron un proceso de convergencia iconográfica. En virtud de este proceso una imagen similar, adaptada a las especificidades de cada contexto (confesión negativa y juicio postmortem; baño en los estanques locales) se usó para transmitir la misma idea: el renacimiento del finado y su transformación en un ser divino.

Keywords: Book of the Dead, justification, purification, iconographic convergence.

Palabras clave: Libro de los Muertos, justificación, purificación, convergencia iconográfica.

This study is dedicated to Covadonga Sevilla, whose passion for Egyptology went hand-in-hand with her humility, and with her empathy and kindness towards her students. My memories of Cova bring painful yet joyful feelings, because of her too early departure and the wonderful times spent together in- and outside the classroom. This third and final article closes a triad centred on the Herakleopolitan lakes, the others of which were published in this journal (Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2005, 2009), to which she devoted effort and care. I hope she will enjoy reading it in the Fields of Reeds.

In ancient Egypt, the notion or state of purity¹ and the physical act of cleaning by means of water, were strongly related, to the point that in many texts the execution of the latter became a metaphor for the achievement of the former. In this sense, it is significant that the Egyptian word for pure (*w^cb*) was rendered with hieroglyphs that represent water jars (𓆎, 𓆏). There is also a close conceptual link between purification by

¹ For purity in Egypt, see Meeks 1979 and, more recently, Quack 2013.

means of water and justification before a tribunal, the outcome of the trial being the emergence of a sinless and pure being. This link is expressed verbally in different types of funerary compositions, and iconographically in a scene inserted in the vignette accompanying Book of the Dead (hereafter BD) spell 125.² The scene bears a close resemblance to the image of the Herakleopolitan lakes depicted in BD 17,³ a similarity upon which several researchers have already drawn comparisons.⁴ However, no attempt has hitherto been made to explore in depth this resemblance and its wider implications.

The scene in BD 125 is central to a frieze adorning the ceiling of a building where judges listen to the negative confession uttered by the deceased, and/or attend the weighing of his or her heart (figs. 1, 2, 8). Despite the existence of small variations which will be explored in Section 1, the central element of the group is a single kneeling male figure whose arms are extended in opposite directions. His palms are generally turned down in a gesture of protection over two eyes. The typology of the latter exhibits some changes and they are generally placed in ovals. This paper seeks to analyse whether these small variations are significant in terms of chronology, local trends, workshops, or the evolving meaning of the scene.

The scene illustrating the purification of the deceased in the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17 is, in general terms, composed of two individuals portrayed as male fecundity figures, which represent the notions of abundance,

maturity, and fertility, and should be taken as personifications of the local pools (fig. 3). They are shown standing or kneeling and perform ritual acts (predominantly of protection) over two rectangular pools and a feathered eye, which is typically contained within an oval. This type of eye is used as a logogram for the word *jm³hw*, and appears to stand as a symbol for the resurrected deceased, who is worthy of veneration and is equated with the sun-god Atum-Re.

The similarity in characters, attitudes, and complements to the action in these elements of the vignettes of BD 125 and 17 is not incidental, but rather indicates the existence of a relationship between the scenes. This relationship rests on a convergence between the iconographic rendering of the status of purity that the deceased has reached, either through bathing in the Herakleopolitan lakes or by denying having committed faults (the so-called negative confession).

I will begin by analysing the elements comprising the scene on the frieze of BD 125 and reviewing any chronological or local modifications. Their meaning will then be explored, and a formal link that highlights both similarities to and differences from the scene inserted in BD 17 will be tackled. Finally, I will suggest an explanation for this association, drawing attention to the conceptual connection between the two mythological episodes that underlie the two different acts of purification. An appendix includes a series of tables upon which my assessment of the scene in BD 125 is based. Several features are consi-

² The most thorough study of the vignettes of BD 125 was undertaken by Seeber 1976. See also Munro 1988: 105–114 and Milde 1991: 84–92.

³ For the formal aspect of this scene and the meaning of its components, see Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2005, 2014: 244–270 (a revised and updated version of the previous article).

⁴ Piankoff and Rambova 1957: 100, n. 8; Thausing and Goedicke 1971: 41; Seeber 1976: 65–66; Zivie 1979: 80–81, n. (8); Baines 1985: 382, aa; Milde 1991: 53.

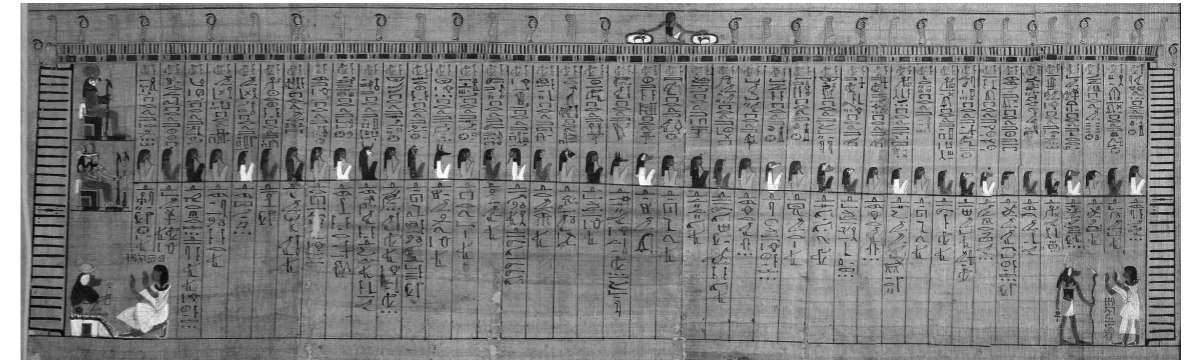


Figure 1: The figure between the eyes crowns a chapel-like structure where the negative confession takes place. pLondon BM EA 10471 (after Faulkner *et al.* 2000: Pls. 28–29).

dered: location, type of figure, attitude (standing or kneeling and gesture executed with the hands), and typology of accompanying objects. In total, there are ninety-three examples of this scene, distributed among tombs, papyri, coffins, and mummy shrouds, and the number of attestations increased over time as the Book of the Dead tradition developed.⁵

1. | Iconographic analysis of the scene: location, components, variations

Spell BD 125⁶ is attested in some of the earliest examples of the new funerary corpus, and the text was very soon accompanied by pictorial elements. Since the time of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, the so-called negative confession recited by the deceased before forty-two judges could be staged inside a chapel-

like structure, the ceiling of which received an elaborate frieze from the reigns of Thutmose III/Amenhotep II onward.⁷ The earliest examples of the figure, which was placed in the middle of the frieze crowning this building, date to the Eighteenth Dynasty, and are related to the negative confession. However, from the Late Period onwards, the figure presides over the frieze of the hall where the weighing of the heart, or Judgement after Death (hereafter JaD), is enacted before Ra, Harakhthy, Osiris, or the two Maat goddesses. In Late Period and Ptolemaic examples, the *psychostasia* takes pride of place in vignettes related to BD 125, and the forty-two juries are often incorporated into the scene, being placed in rows over the scales where the heart is balanced against a maat feather/goddess.⁸ The only known example of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (see table 5) follows the dominant model of the New King-

⁵ A greater number of attestations must have existed, but many manuscripts have come down to us in a poor state of preservation, so that parts of the decorated surface are lost.

⁶ The bibliography related to this spell is wide-ranging. A compilation of references can be found in Backes *et al.* 2009²: 185–195. The vignettes of this chapter have been dealt with by Seeber 1976; Saleh 1984: 63–71; Milde 1991: 84–92.

⁷ Munro 1988: 105–108.

⁸ Seeber's type E, in which BD 125 B and the weighing of the heart are brought together in the same building, is attested from the Twenty-second/Twenty-fifth Dynasty onward, see Seeber 1976: 15, 48–49, 64, 138, Abb. 23–27.

dom and Third Intermediate Period recensions, so that the revision of the scene should have taken place during the Late Period.

In both cases, whether situated above the negative confession or the JaD scene, the figure occupies the axis of a frieze composed of maat feathers (𓄿) and uraei (𐐣), interspersed with braziers (𓆎) in the Late Period, and occasionally accompanied by baboons (𓆎) and scales (𓆎) that were placed in the corners (figs. 2, 8). None of these elements can be used as dating criteria,⁹ although they convey specific meanings within the vignette that will be discussed below. As reflected in the appendix, only in two documents (QV 66 of the New Kingdom, and pCairo CG 40017 of the Third Intermediate Period) does the figure not crown a chapel-like structure. Despite being quite the exception to the rule, the figure between the eyes in these two examples is still related to the idea of judgement by its context and accompanying images.¹⁰

The leading figure of the scene¹¹ is, in most cases, a male whose divine status or rank is marked by a curved beard (Type 2 in the appendix tables, fig. 4a), although this element was sometimes omitted (Type 3, fig. 4b). In the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period and the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, figures with divine attributes were more common than those without signs of divine rank. This tendency became less pronounced over the course of the Late Period, and during the Ptolemaic Period figures with or without divine attributes appear in approximately equal numbers, with a slight predominance

of the former. There are two exceptions to the prevalence of males. The first is the Rameside pLondon BM EA 10470, where a male fecundity figure is depicted (fig. 5). Although the character lacks the swollen belly or oversized breasts generally seen of such figures, he wears a short kilt and belt, and his body is blue, which are typical for fecundity figures (Type 1 in the tables). The second exception is in the Ptolemaic M. Princeton pharaonic roll No 8, where a woman is included. The rounded breasts and belly, and the tight-fitting dress displayed by the figure, correspond to a female character (Type 4).

The protagonist of the scene is oriented toward the right, following the direction faced by the forty-two judges and the magistrate that heads the post-mortem tribunal. All of these figures confront the deceased as he or she enters the broad hall where the judgement takes place. Although Third Intermediate Period manuscripts display the opposite arrangement, with the male between the eyes facing the magistrate, during the Ptolemaic Period there was a return to the unidirectional pattern in which the former and the latter both sit facing right, looking at the deceased.¹²

The protagonist is clad in a short kilt and his chest is either bare or is partially covered by a vest or sash. Although New Kingdom examples are rich in details, his appearance later became highly schematised. The limbs might be fully depicted in Ptolemaic versions, but often overlooking anatomical details, or simple stick-figures might be used, while body ornaments (collars, arm and an-

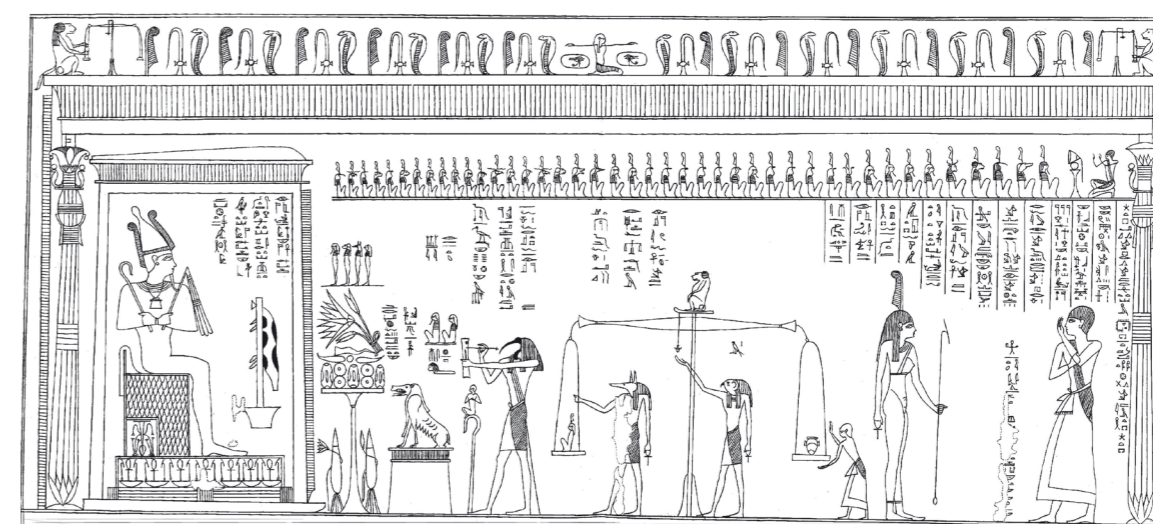


Figure 2: The figure between the eyes crowns a chapel-like structure where the weighing of the heart is featured. pTurin 1791 (after Lepsius *Tb. Taf. L*).

kle bands) or the wig were frequently omitted. Wigs occasionally display some embellishments in the form of solar discs (pBerlin 3150 A-D),¹³ bands (pLondon BM EA 10043, pLondon BM EA 10086, Deir el-Medina temple), or a *renepet* reed (pLondon BM EA 9946). The colourful representations of the New Kingdom gave way to a plainer style of black line-drawings during the Saite Recension, in which some details were sometimes indicated using a single colour.

Most publications do not include information on skin or wig colours, or only contain black-and-white photographs, which hinders the analysis of the meanings and implications conveyed by hues. But, and as indicated in the

appendix, during the New Kingdom wigs frequently display blue, black, or green hues that befit divine beings, and highlight the concepts of life and rebirth. In Ptolemaic products where colours are used, several papyri opt for a black filling while only a few of them resort to yellow or red tones.¹⁴

The body of the central figure in BD 125/JaD scenes is most frequently shown kneeling, either with his two knees resting on the ground line (Type 2 in the appendix tables) or with one leg bent in an attitude akin to the sign Gardiner A1 (𓆎, Type 1).¹⁵ His arms are completely or partially (with bent elbows) stretched in opposite directions, with the palms of his hands usually turned down in a

⁹ Munro 1988: 108 for New Kingdom papyri.

¹⁰ See n. 4 and 10 to the appendix tables.

¹¹ Among the sources collected in the appendix, the figure is only omitted in TT 296; see Feucht 1985: Taf. XVII, Szene 12.

¹² For Saite and Ptolemaic Books of the Dead, the right-facing orientation is symbolic of the exalted status held by deities or demigods as beings who live in the West, and, in the case of Osiris and Re, it indicates their standing as beings who have “gone forth” or achieved resurrection after death (Mosher 2016: 48).

¹³ In two New Kingdom papyri, a sun disc was drawn in the position assigned to the male figure in other manuscripts: pParis Louvre N. 3097 and pParis Louvre N. 3073.

¹⁴ The latter is the most frequently-used colour for details such as sun-disks, fire-signs, and other elements: see Mosher 2016: 43, 47 for comments on the trend toward the limited use of colour in some documents of the Theban-x, Theban-y, and Later HG traditions, either when enhancing the magical efficacy of the spells, or under the influence of older models.

¹⁵ A standing figure (Type 3), as opposed to a kneeling one, is only attested in pLeiden T16, pParis Louvre N. 3089, and pParis Louvre N. 3153, which all date to the Ptolemaic Period.

gesture of protection (figs. 1, 2, 4, 5). This is the same action as that performed by the personifications of the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17. The attitude of the character in BD 125 changed by the end of the Dynastic Period, as his palms were upturned and objects placed atop of them, so that the depicted action switched from protection to offering (fig. 6). It is notable that this change coincides chronologically with the reinterpretation of the figures of BD 17, which underwent the same modification to adopt an attitude of offering. The new attitude was not the dominant one in the two vignettes examined here, being limited to very few of the extant manuscripts.¹⁶ Moreover, in the case of Ptolemaic documents containing BD 125/JaD, the offering gesture alternates with a new attitude that is attested in twenty-five percent of the surviving examples: the figure has outstretched arms and his palms are turned toward the viewer (fig. 7). Although the gesture resembles that of offering, the hands lack a concave form, are not depicted in profile, and no object is placed atop them. Some particularly schematic images, where fingers are not indicated, pose a problem because it is not possible to discern which attitude was intended. In these examples, I have concluded that the

figure is making an offering if an object was placed above the hands, complementing the action,¹⁷ or if the palm is slightly cupped to represent a concave hand. If the fingers form a nearly straight line with the forearm and the thumbs protrude, I have taken these figures as examples of the new, forward facing gesture. The intent behind this new action could have been to render an act of recitation, following the description offered for this gesture by Brigitte Dominicus: “Bei der Rede und Rezitation wird eine Hand mit dem Daumen hoch nach vorn ausgestreckt (☞) . Der Arm ist dabei angewinkelt (↘) bis gestreckt (☞), auch über Schulterhöhe hinaus erhoben (☞)”.¹⁸

To complement the action performed by the figure, two identical objects—a pair of eyes—are shown flanking it. When the action is protective or recitative, the objects are placed below the palms; when the action is an offering, they are situated above them.¹⁹ There are three minor variations of this basic outline, only documented by a small number of documents. The first shows two pairs of eyes, with one pair placed above and the other below the palms (the Ptolemaic pNew York Amherst 35 and pLondon BM EA 10043). The second depicts two different objects, a feathered eye

¹⁶ The change in the gesture (from protection to offering) is attested in five percent of the Late Period to Ptolemaic documents of BD 125/JaD and in fifteen percent of the sources with BD 17 from the same periods.

¹⁷ I follow the assessment of Wilkinson in relation to offering gestures: “the active, formal presentation of an object is usually signified by the object’s being held on the outstretched, cupped hand” (1994: 195).

¹⁸ Dominicus 1994: 77–80, 89–91, 95, Abb. 17–18, 21–22. The author points out that the gesture (labelled by her as *Redegeste* or *Rezitationsgeste*) is characteristic in the Old Kingdom of tomb owners when making a speech, of priests performing a ritual or making signals, and of doctors slaughtering animals for offering. During the New Kingdom, the recitation gesture is attested in similar contexts. From the Old Kingdom onward it is also found in a variety of non-funerary scenes, such as in appeals to take counts or measurements, in songs accompanying the harvest or musicians who are addressing those who play instruments. For this gesture see also Brunner-Traut 1977. For open palms see Baines 1992.

¹⁹ There are some exceptions to this pattern: in pParis Louvre AE/N 3068+3133 and pVatican 48832, the eyes are quite sizeable and they have been depicted beside the figure, not under his protective arms; for pNew York Amherst 35 and pLondon BM EA 10043, with two pairs of eyes each, see below.

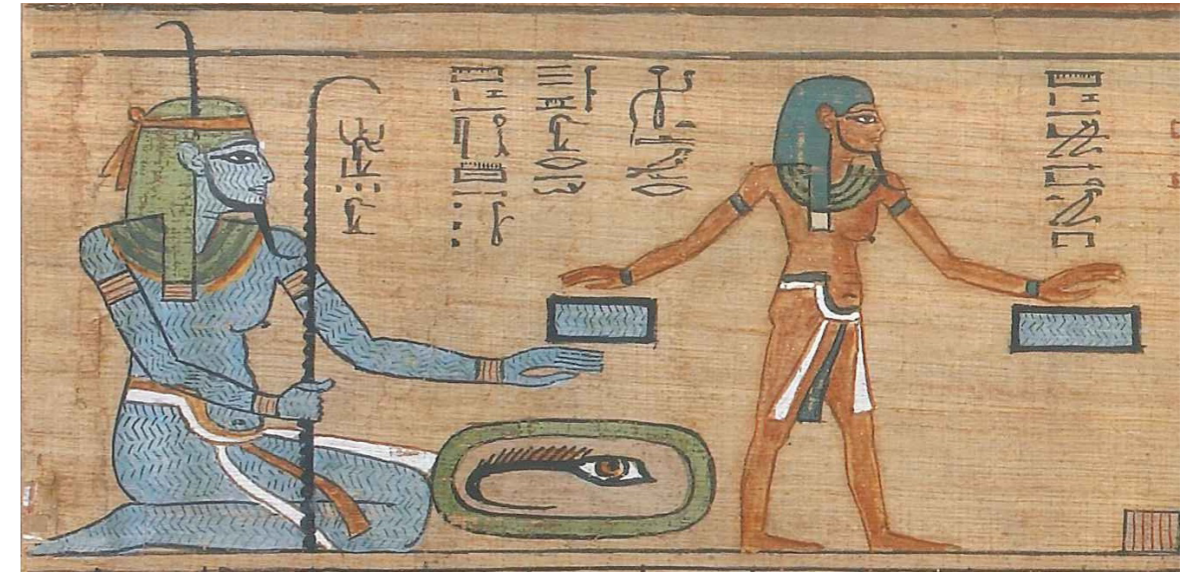


Figure 3: Depiction of the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17 (after Taylor (ed.) 2010: 52).

and a basin filled with vertical waves (pLondon BM EA 10470, fig. 5). The third variation omits all complements to the action (the Ptolemaic pLeiden L.XII.2, pLeiden T16, pLondon BM EA 9946, pLeiden T21, and pLondon BM EA 9963). Other than these three cases, the pair of flanking eyes are symmetrical, either with their corners turned inwards (the converging model, typical for most cases) or outwards (the diverging model).²⁰

The eyes are placed inside ovals in more than half of the available sources, though several manuscripts bear witness to the use of semicircles or the absence of surrounding elements. The rims of the ovals, if thick enough, can be painted blue or black, and the background colour of the oval, if any, is normally white (in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period), or yellow or red (in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods). Whereas white stands for purity and cleanliness, yellow is normal-

ly associated with the sun and is a symbol of everlastingness. The ovals encircling the eyes protected by the figures embodying the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17 are also painted yellow or red, which reinforces their solar connections.

A wide typology of eyes is attested. Before the Ptolemaic Period, the feathered type (☞) was fashionable, whereas the simple eye (☞) and the *wedjat* (☞) were used less often. This trend was reverted in later documents, in which the *wedjat* type is predominant, followed by the feathered eye (usually not inserted in ovals) and, to a much lesser extent, by the simple one. In Ptolemaic examples, the typology was extended with the introduction of simplified eyes, which were barely a schematic representation of the organ, or where the eyes were omitted. This change is also encountered in the vignette of the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17, in which

²⁰ The only exception is pDublin 1664, in which both eyes face right.

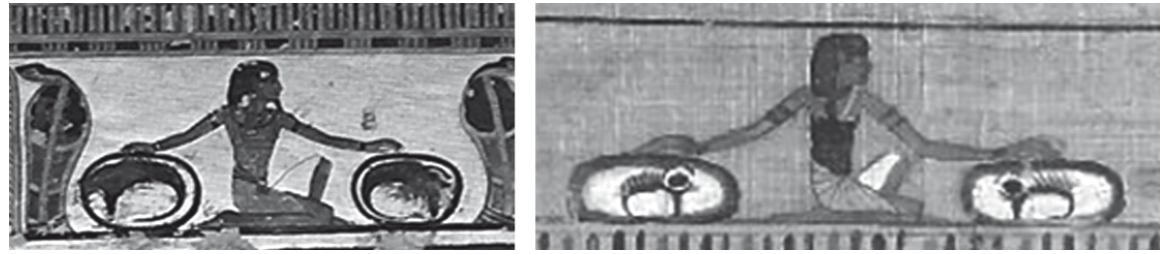


Figure 4: The central figure of a frieze crowning the Hall of Judgment. a. Bearing divine attributes (QV 66, after Thausing and Goedicke 1971: Pl. 24); b. Without divine attributes (pLondon BM EA 10471, after Faulkner *et al.* 1994: Pls. 28–29).

a wider variety of eye types was introduced in later periods. Nonetheless, the feathered eye was the most common in New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, and Theban Late and Ptolemaic examples of BD 17.

In diachronic terms, there is a gradual increase in the number of documents that depict the figure between the two eyes in BD 125/JaD, which reached its peak in the Ptolemaic Period, as well as a tendency towards the regionalization of the scene's features. Strikingly, the figure was typically absent from the models (*Vorlage*) of the JaD scene that were used to decorate the private tombs outside Thebes during the New Kingdom,²¹ the royal tombs of Tanis in the Third Intermediate Period (Osorkon II and Sheshonq III), and among those circulating in Ptolemaic workshops in Memphis and Akhmin. This explanation is more plausible than thinking that the figure was included in the *Vorlage* and omitted during the execution of the decoration of tomb walls and papyri in these areas. It is noticeable that the

male character-and-eyes motif is attested in Memphite documents from the New Kingdom and the Late Period, but disappeared shortly thereafter in that area. To account for this, one may suggest that the master copies from which the latter derive fell out of use during the Ptolemaic Period, when new models in which the figure was omitted were either generated or introduced from elsewhere (probably Thebes).

The figure is also conspicuously absent from other type of source bearing BD spells: mummy bandages. Of the thirty-seven examples of *psychostasia* collected in the database of the *Totenbuch-Projekt*, only two bear an elaborate version of the frieze (with braziers, uraei, and maat feathers) crowning the Hall of Judgment. Of these two, only M. Princeton pharaonic roll No 8 includes the figure. The reasons for such a limited number of attestations include the uneven state of preservation of bandages,²² and the fact that textiles are a rough material, more difficult to decorate

than papyrus, with a corresponding reduction on the scenes' details.

The data assembled in the appendix further provides information on workshops, the production of BD manuscripts, and the circulation of *Vorlage*. For the latter aspect, and as has been mentioned above, the Ptolemaic documents from Memphis provide some hints of a reintroduction of master copies in the last phases of BD production. Moreover, examples potentially derived from the same model or attributed to the same traditions or workshops can be compared to see how the figure between the eyes is rendered. In the case of the Late and Ptolemaic traditions identified by Malcolm Mosher, such comparisons should be made in the context of his conclusions regarding vignettes, namely that artists worked from a separate master source of illustrations that differed from the master source used for the texts.²³

The artists working in the tomb of Nefertari (QV 66) were also engaged in the decoration of some Deir el-Medina tombs (TT 265 and 290), and probably had access to the models used for the queen's monument.²⁴ Therefore, the compositions in the royal and the two private funerary monuments show many of the same features, although the direction of the eyes can follow either the diverging (QV 66, TT 290) or converging (TT 265) pattern. Similarly, papyri considered to have been pro-

duced in the same workshop show a strong resemblance.²⁵ The central element of the ceiling in BD 125/JaD is not, however, identical in those papyri that form a particular subset within the N3089 tradition (pParis Louvre N. 3089, pParis Louvre N. 3248, and pParis Louvre N. 3272). This subset can be identified by the use of textual variants and illustrations that are not found in other documents of the same tradition.²⁶ Moreover, despite deriving from a very similar master source, pParis Louvre E. 7716 and pCologne CIV²⁷ differ both in style, using stick figures the former and fully drawn limbs the latter, and in details such as the inclusion of ovals to enclose the eyes. Finally, the versions of the illustrations shared by the BM 10086 group, the N3152 group, and the papyri pParis Louvre N. 3079 and pParis Louvre N. 3144 also display small nuances.²⁸

The examples cited in the previous paragraph show that the presence or absence of signs of divine status in the figure, of small embellishments in body or wig, and of ovals surrounding the eyes and the typology of the latter, modify (within a frame of limited variations) the basic common scheme. These examples should be taken as a further evidence that the use of the same *Vorlage* did not limit the 'creativity' or 'freedom of choice' of a scribe or draughtsman. Thus, products manufactured in the same workshop or belonging to the same tradition could show small re-

21 The JaD scene was included in several non-Theban funerary monuments, in which the figure was omitted: the tomb of *Jmn-htp* in Assiut, beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty: Karig 1968; the tomb of *Rw-dd-nh*, Abydos v 40, Twentieth Dynasty: Ayrton *et al.* 1904: 9, 42, Pl. XXVI, Seeber 1976: Abb. 13; the tomb of *Nht-Mnw* in Dehmit, Nubia: Hermann 1936: 9, Taf. 4 a; the tomb of *K3-kmwt* in Aswan, Ramesside Period: Cecil 1903: 60–64, Pl. IV; the tomb of *Pn-nwt*, reign of Ramesses VI in Aniba; Steindorff 1937: II, 242–247, Pl. 104 a–b and Seeber 1976: Abb. 10; and the tomb of *Mry*, of the late Nineteenth Dynasty or early Twentieth Dynasty, also in Aniba: Steindorff 1937: II, 212–215, Taf. 27 a–d.

22 In some cases, only the lower part of the JaD scene or a small portion of it is preserved.

23 Mosher 2016: 42.

24 Hofmann 2004: 91. For similarities in Deir el-Medina examples and some royal tombs see also: Rößler-Köhler 1979: 139–140 and 1999: 17–18 and Abb. 25; Lüscher 2007.

25 Müller-Roth (2008: 154, Anm. 27) attributes pParis Louvre N. 3079, pMilano E. 1023, pParis Louvre N. 3144, and pCairo J.E. 97249 to the same workshop. A close resemblance between pChicago OIM 9787 and pBerlin P. 3058 is also highlighted by Mosher (2016: 29–32).

26 Mosher 2016: 27. In the other documents attributed to this tradition, the group of figure-plus-eyes was not added to the frieze.

27 Mosher 2016: 45.

28 Mosher 2016: 45.



Figure 5: The central figure is depicted as a fecundity figure between a feathered eye and a pool. pLondon BM EA 10471 (after Faulkner *et al.* 1994: Pl. 31).

workings of gestures, omission, or addition of details, but respect the traditions or rules that ensured that the scene would be recognisable. Alternatively, the person who executed the final product might have combined several of the copies available at the workshop, giving rise to a unique composition.²⁹

2. | Meaning of the figure between the eyes in BD 125 and JaD, and their relationship with the scene of the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17

Several researchers have offered differing explanations for the meaning of, and symbolism behind, the figure-plus-eyes-in-ovals group in BD 125/JaD, or of some of its components. Henk Milde considered that the ovals are depictions of the two Herakleopolitan lakes, mentioned and illustrated in BD 17 as places for the ritual cleaning of the sun and the de-

ceased prior to their rebirth.³⁰ However, the whitish, yellowish, reddish, or neutral colour of the ovals' filling, the absence of waves suggesting the presence of water, and even the omission of the ovals themselves call his suggestion into question. Moreover, these local bodies of water are not mentioned in the text of BD 125 and the only instance where a lake is depicted in the vignettes (pLondon BM EA 10470, fig. 5) is an exceptional case for which an alternative explanation can be offered (see below).

For Erika Schott, the two eyes are the symbols of the two Maat goddesses, who often supervised the judgement from one of the corners of the Hall, while the figure placed between the eyes could have been Osiris or Re, in-so-far as these two deities are often called "Lord of the two Maat".³¹ One may concede that many Egyptian goddesses who were regarded as daughters of Re, as Maat herself was, can be represented as eyes and emanations of the sun.³² However, Schott's hypothesis was based on a single manuscript of the Ptolemaic Period and does not take into account the fact that many examples display the figure placed between the eyes without divine attribute (Type 3 in the tables), a fact that would make equating it with Osiris or Re doubtful.

In my opinion, in order to grasp the meaning of the scene it is crucial to understand the symbolism of the eyes, to analyse the group in its closest iconographic context (the rest of the

elements integrated in the frieze of the building's ceiling), to seek the relationships between the vignette and the textual content of spell BD 125, and to explore the formal and semantic similarities between this scene and the image of the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17. I here endorse the opinion of several authors that have called attention to the relationship between the vignettes of these two chapters because of their shared ideas of purification, destruction of evil, and rebirth.³³

The figure analysed in this article lacks distinctive elements that provide clues to his identity. He does not wear a specific head-dress, grasp any characteristic object in his hands, nor are symbolic colours used for his body or labels written with his name (mythological or otherwise). Moreover, he is not mentioned directly in the accompanying text, be it the so-called negative confession or the captions to the JaD. I therefore think that the identity that some researchers have established for this figure, equating him with the Heh gods,³⁴ is not well grounded. Instead, I suggest that the figure could represent the deceased,³⁵ or rather a stereotyped image of the deceased, given that no gender distinction is visible between male and female owners in manuscripts that were made to order. I interpret the divine attributes borne by the figure as a sign of the result expected from BD 125: a positive verdict in the post-mortem judgement that would provide access to the beyond, and

enabled the deceased to rise as a sinless and divine being. The recitation gesture could be understood along these same lines, as an action undertaken by the deceased a negative declaration of sins in order to prove his or her purity. Alternatively, the figure could represent a male character of the hereafter who, by means of the protective gesture he makes, acts in favour of a deceased individual who is in the throes of final judgement.

The eyes play a crucial role in this scene, with the two dominating typologies being the feathered and the *wedjat* eyes. According to Christine Seeber, the feathered eyes were symbols of the solar god in two moments of his cosmic and vital cycle, namely at dawn as the rising sun and at dusk as the setting sun. Insofar as the deceased is assimilated to this god, the presence of two eyes could point to the daily and recurrent rebirth of the former, who is purified of all his sins and justified before the deity that heads the tribunal to decide upon his or her fate.³⁶ With regards to the rendering of solar deities' names, while the creator solar god could adopt the appearance of a *wedjat* eye, which could even function as a determinative in one of the sun-god's names in the Litany of Re, the feathered eye is only attested in the orthography of a word that refers to Atum (*jm3hw*).³⁷ Alberto Siliotti and Christian Leblanc have suggested that the two eyes could be cryptographic forms of rendering the two ancient Egyptian conceptions of time and

²⁹ For these two options, see: Lucarelli 2006: 237; Taylor 2006: 280 (on the "individual graphic hallmarks" incorporated by draughtsmen and scribes to the fundamental design); Backes 2010: 13; Mosher 2016: 48.

³⁰ Milde 1991: 91, n. 34. The same idea was earlier advanced by Seeber 1976: 66.

³¹ Schott 1992: 37. For the function and symbolism of the two Maat goddesses, see Griffiths 1960: 55–57; Yoyotte 1961: 61–63; Grieshammer 1970: 89–90; and Seeber 1976: 140–145.

³² According to a passage of BD 125, the deceased addresses those in the hall with the following words: *mk s3ty(=f), mrty(=f), jrty=f, nb m3ty rn=k*, "See, (his) two daughters, (his) beloved ones, his two eyes, Lord of the Two Maat is your name". For New Kingdom versions of this passage, see Lapp 2008: 16–17a.

³³ Seeber 1976: 66; Milde 1991: 85; Taylor (ed.) 2010: 207.

³⁴ Munro 1988: 107.

³⁵ An idea already suggested by Botti 1964: 52.

³⁶ Seeber 1976: 66.

³⁷ Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2005: 59–60; 2014: 269. The *wedjat* eye as a symbol of the sun-god is present in many representations of the horizon (Lapp 2015: 11–12, Abb. 11c, 19, Abb. 26b and 27c) and the sun-disc (2015: 37, Abb. 57b, 51, Abb. 81a, see also Koemoth 1996: 205–206, Fig. 1). Symmetrical compositions of two *wedjat* in some coffins and stelae are interpreted by Lapp as depictions of the east/morning/sun and west/evening/moon (2015: 29–31, 36, see also Aufrère 2015: 36–37) or of the east-sun (=Re) and west-sun (=Osiris) by Radwan (2015: 353–357).



Figure 6: The central figure depicted making the gesture of offering. pLeiden T1 (after Germer 1997: 42, fig. 43).

eternity, *nḥh* and *dt*.³⁸ However, I have found no examples in which feathered or *wedjat* eyes are used in the orthography of these words. For Sydney Aufrère, the feathered eye expresses the “potentialités anthropomorphiques du demiurge, considéré sous l’aspect d’un Falconide cosmique”,³⁹ but besides the solar connections highlighted by several authors, John Baines has pointed out that the sign could be used as a logogram for the word *jm3ḥw* (a resurrected being, venerable and commanding adoration).⁴⁰ Attention will be paid to this sphere of meaning below.

It is worth highlighting that *wedjat* eyes were a recurring element in the *psychostasia*. They can be included alone or as symmetrical

pair above the scales, in the upper part of the chapel, or presiding over the whole scene.⁴¹ The addition of *wedjat* eyes in the context of the weighing of the heart could be due to the fact that one of the meanings of this word, ‘to be truth’ or ‘to lack faults’ (*m3ʕ*),⁴² perfectly suits the idea of a judgement of the deceased’s behaviour on earth.⁴³ In this sense, reference is made in CT 691 (later incorporated into BD 71), to the “night of counting the *wedjat* eye” against the backdrop of the post-mortem judgement: “O those seven knots, shoulders of the balance on this night of calculating the *wedjat* eye, who slice off heads, and sever necks, who seize hearts, and snatch fore-hearts”.⁴⁴ Furthermore, given the general sym-

38 Siliotti and Leblanc, 1993: 130.

39 Aufrère 2015: 43.

40 Baines 1985: 327.

41 Seeber 1976: 70–71 and Anm. 254, Abb. 15, 17.

42 For *wd3t* bearing the meaning of *m3ʕ*, see Wb. I, 400, 3; with the meaning of *wd3* and *m3ʕt*, see Daumas 1988: 152 (149). Several examples of the use of the word *m3ʕ* in relation to the judgement were collected by Seeber 1976: 71, 79, 111. In one papyrus, the name given to the hall where judgement is enacted (*wsḥt*) includes the *wedjat* eye as a determinative (pParis Louvre E. 17401, Seeber 1976: 71, Anm. 253; Piankoff and Rambova 1957: 104–108, n° 9).

43 A near homophone of the word *wd3t*, *wd3*, bears the meaning of ‘remain over, of balance in calculation’ (Faulkner 1962: 75), which is also suitable for the context of judgment after death. I owe this reference to Andrés Diego Espinel.

44 CT VI, 323 q-t [691] = BD 71 § 8 (Quirke 2013: 171).

bolism attached to the *wedjat* as a metaphor for the complete being and divine order, as a sign of the east/sun/day/Re and west/moon/night/Osiris when paired, and as a powerful mechanism of protection, it becomes an appropriate element in the context of trial and justification, and the expected outcome (rebirth).⁴⁵

Several explanations could be posited to account for the presence of two eyes. First, and owing to the importance of the symmetrical pattern that governs the scene, one could think that the paired (and converging or diverging) eyes highlight the composition’s balance on the frieze, whose axis is the kneeling figure. Second, the coupled eyes could be an apotropaic symbol, similar to that found on tomb entrances from the Old Kingdom onward, on Middle Kingdom coffins and stelae, and on New Kingdom sarcophagi. Third, it might combine one meaning of *wedjat*—as lacking faults (see above)—and the interpretation of a feathered eye within an oval in the depiction of the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17 as a symbol of the justified and venerable deceased (= *jm3ḥw*).⁴⁶ In the latter case, the duality of the eyes could be related to the fact that the deceased denies having committed punishable actions in two different declarations (the so-called sections BD 125 A and 125 B), and that the hall in which the action takes place is called “Hall of the two Maat”.

The remainder of the elements that surround the central group of figure-plus-eyes,

such as ostrich feathers, upright cobras, and braziers, are mentioned in a dialogue between Thoth and the deceased that is included in BD 125:

smj=j jrf tw n-mj?
smj=k wj n h3yt m sdt, jnb m jʕrwt ʕnhw(w)t, wnn s3tw
pr=fm nwy,
sw pw?
Wsjr pw

“To whom should I announce you then?”

“You shall announce me to Him whose roof is fire, whose walls are living rising-cobras, the floor of whose house is water”.

“Who is that?”

“It is Osiris”.⁴⁷

According to this passage, Osiris is envisaged as a god surrounded and protected in his chapel by a barrier of flames and fiery serpents, a barrier which is iconographically rendered as a frieze of cobras and braziers crowning the architectural structure. The liquid mentioned could be related either to the pool from which a lotus with the four Horus’ sons rises,⁴⁸ or with the decoration of the podium below the throne of Osiris that is comprised of *ankh*-signs and *was*-sceptres⁴⁹ (fig. 8). In both cases, the *Nuu* is evoked as the medium of creation and rebirth, so that the podium and throne of Osiris become a version of the primeval hill that emerged out of the initial aquatic chaos.⁵⁰ The mention of water might also recall the importance of this element as a

45 Wilkinson 1992: 42–43; Aufrère 2015: 34–44.

46 Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2005: 60, 2014: 269–270. See also n. 40 above.

47 BD 125 C § 8. Lapp (2008: 268d–273d) collects the New Kingdom versions of this passage.

48 Servajean 2001: 275–276 § 15 and Tbl. III, IV.

49 A combination commonly used to evoke the water from the *Nww* which covers the valley when the inundation arrives: Gabolde 1995: 236 a; Servajean 2001: 276. The latter points out that one of the meanings of the throne’s podium (*m3ʕ*) is ‘shore of a water course’. The name could thus evoke the aquatic medium necessary for the emergence of the lotus or the beginning of the inundation (itself equated with the humours flowing from Osiris’ corpse).

50 According to Seeber (1976: 126), the continuous regeneration in the primeval hill and Osiris’ rebirth are linked to-

purifying agent, a recurrent factor in BD 125, as will be discussed below.

Feathers, *uraei*, and braziers are further closely related to the concepts of truth, purification, and destruction of evil,⁵¹ ideas that are akin to the context of BD 125. The ostrich feather (𓂏) is frequently used as a symbol of the goddess Maat, who represents the concepts of truth, justice, and order. *Uraei* (𓂐), or upright cobras, are well-known for their magical capacity to spit fire, and have a scorching breath that keeps the enemies of the gods and the pharaoh at a distance.⁵² They are thus elements of rejection and defence, which not only repel the evil pertaining to the deceased but also protect the Hall of Judgement and hinder the entrance of impure beings. The same dissuasive and threatening role is fulfilled by braziers (𓂑), which serve as reminders of the potential punishment involving destruction by fire that awaits those who have acted against maat.⁵³ Braziers simultaneously bear a positive value for the deceased due to their apotropaic side. Although the figure that stands in the midst of all these symbols of rectitude and purification is not mentioned in the text, he does not seem to be separated from this same conceptual context.

There are a number of conspicuous similarities, but also differences, between this scene from BD 125/JaD and the vignette that includes the personifications of the Herakleo-

politan lakes in BD 17 (fig. 3). Perhaps the most striking similarity is the gesture of protection made by the protagonist (or protagonists) of each scene. With outstretched arms and palms turned down, the figure is shown protecting the objects placed beneath. Moreover, the two scenes underwent a contemporaneous change, in which the attitude of protection was modified to that of offering. This change was limited in the two spells discussed here to a minor percentage of the extant documents. Furthermore, in both cases, the complements to the action performed by the characters are different types of eyes, with a preference for the feathered type in earlier phases of production.

There are also differences; the elements of BD 125/JaD discussed in this article are attested less often than those of the scene integrated into BD 17. Not only are the number of attestations lower, but they also appear on fewer surfaces,⁵⁴ given that the figure between the eyes is frequently lacking in the decoration of the frieze in the Hall of Judgement. Whereas the protagonist in BD 125/JaD is a male figure who may or may not have borne signs of divine status (mainly a curved beard), the local pools in BD 17 are most often personified as fecundity figures. The election of the latter typology owes to the blatant relationship between fecundity figures and water, which is the main component of the local lakes.

gether. Water also plays a vital role in Osirian tombs; textual, pictorial, and archaeological sources (specially from the New Kingdom onward) show water surrounding in a symbolic or real manner the nucleus of the god's tomb, featured as a hill atop an island (Einaudi 2007).

⁵¹ Seeber 1976: 65.

⁵² Wilkinson 1992: 108–109.

⁵³ Wilkinson 1992: 160–161. Feathers, braziers, and baboons are also present in other important hallmarks of the beyond, such as the Lake of Fire (BD 126): Seeber 1976: 184–186.

⁵⁴ The male figure between eyes is not incorporated into the iconographic repertoire of Third Intermediate and Late Period coffins, despite the fact that the Judgement after Death is frequently attested on coffin boards (Seeber 1976: 44–48; Niwiński 1985: 202–203, fig. 2 a, 2006: 248–254, 260). As mentioned above, the scene is not attested in private tombs outside Thebes and is only documented in one mummy bandage.

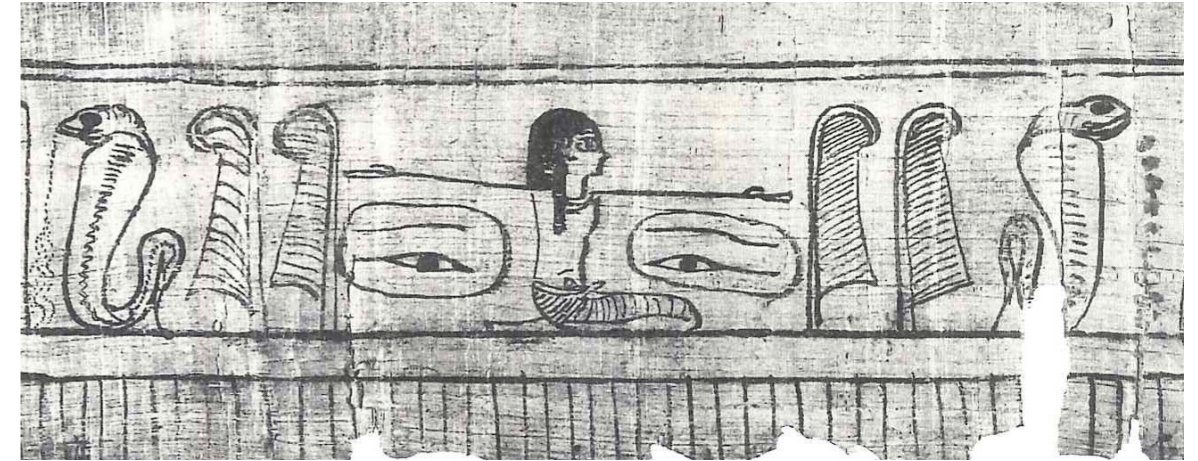


Figure 7: The central figure depicted making the gesture of recitation. pVatican 38604 (after Gasse 1993: Pl. XXXVIII).

Notwithstanding, male characters are also attested in the vignette of the Herakleopolitan lakes in occasional New Kingdom examples, and in most known Third Intermediate Period ones. Finally, watery extensions (in the form of rectangles, sometimes filled in with blue or green colours or featuring waves) are not present in BD 125/JaD, while they form a very prominent element in the Herakleopolitan scene of BD 17.

The formal relationship between the groups depicted in BD 125 and BD 17 is striking. Authors such as Milde have suggested that the mytheme of bathing the deceased in the Herakleopolitan lakes formed the backdrop to the image in BD 125. However, the idea that the local lakes are featured in the scene of BD 125 was rejected above and there are also some chronological problems. The vignettes of BD 125 are attested from the reigns of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III–Amenhotep II onward, and therefore predate the oldest developed images of BD 17, which only date to the post-Amarna period. Given this, the iconographic transfer could have worked in the opposite direction, from BD 125 to BD 17. The image in pLondon BM EA 10470 (fig. 5), a Ramesside manuscript that belonged to Any, might conceivably be

an intermediate link in the process, because it is the only one that shares elements characteristic of both chapters: a fecundity figure, a feathered eye, and a pool of water. This seems to be a hybrid composition, which mixes elements of BD 17 and 125, and may be unique. It may well have been created by mistake—a slip of the mind by the scribe or draughtsman in charge of the vignettes, who erroneously mixed elements of the two (rather similar) scenes.

Another hypothesis, which accords with characteristic traits of Egyptian thought patterns, such as the multiplicity of approaches, is to consider the formal similarity of the two vignettes to be the result of iconographic convergence. This is the process by which similar iconographic motifs serve to represent different, but essentially related, ways of conceiving the same idea. The single male character that protects two eyes within ovals in BD 125/JaD, and the two fecundity figures that protect an eye within an oval (and two pools) in BD 17, illustrate the common theme of purification, as well as the related ideas of justification of the deceased and rebirth as a divine being. This mythical argument (=mytheme) unfolds in the purification, elimination of sins, and

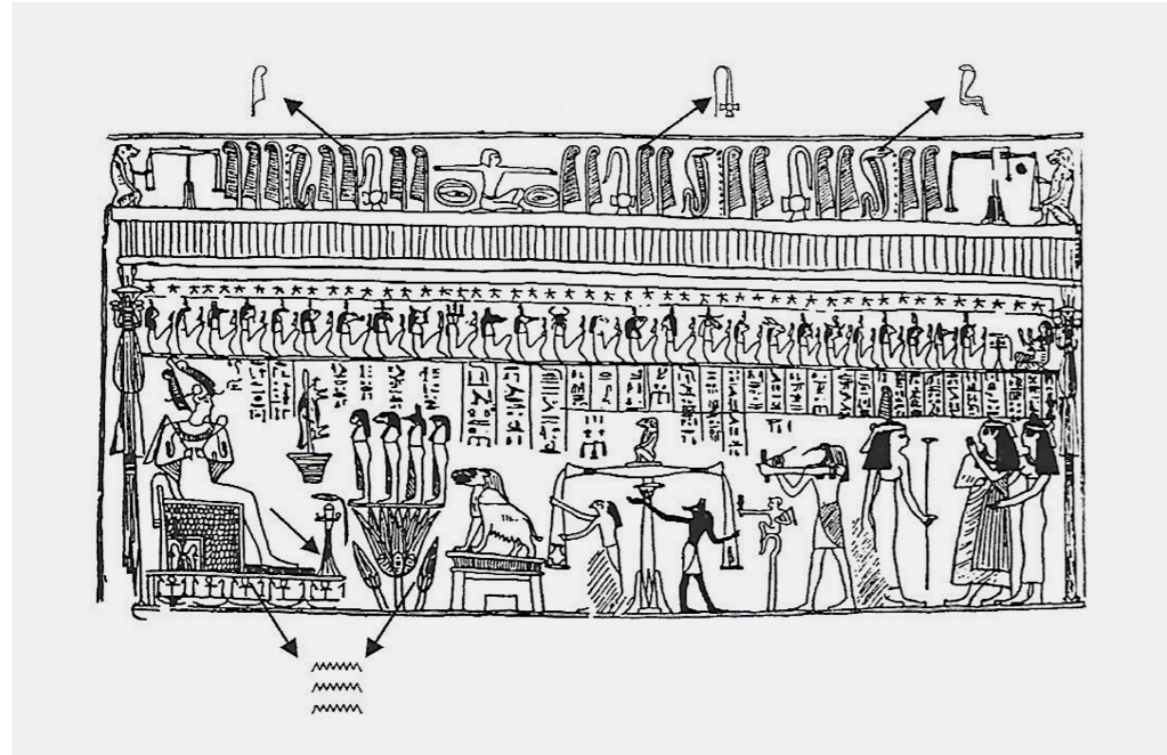


Figure 8: Elements that complement the meaning of the figure between eyes in pBerlin P. 3008 (modified, after Bonnet *RÄRG*: 338, fig. 82).

assimilation to the sun through bathing in the Herakleopolitan lakes (in BD 17), and in the two declarations of innocence recited by the deceased in the Hall of the Two Maat, which turn him or her into a justified being and an Oiris-*N* (in BD 125). Water and verbal negation are the two agents that, in each context, allow the deceased to do away with his or her faults, and to reach the state of a justified and divine being.

Within this process of convergence, the two vignettes are not identical but display distinct aspects that result from the specific traits of each situation. In BD 17, the duality of the Herakleopolitan lakes and their regenerative capacity is reflected in the depiction of two pools and the two beings that embody them, and in the decision to employ the physiognomy of fecundity figures for the latter. By fea-

turing two eyes in BD 125/JaD, the draftsman could maintain symmetry in a motif that occupies the axis of the ceiling of the Hall of Judgement, the decoration of which is mirrored on both sides of the central figure. This notwithstanding, the depiction of two feathered or *wedjat* eyes could be also related to the fact that the deceased needed to recite two confessions in order to do away with his or her faults and thus be turned into a purified (*wḏ* with the sense of *m3ʿ*), justified, and venerable being (an *jm3hw*).

As part of the process of iconographic convergence, the Egyptians appear to have considered that the scenes of BD 125/JaD and BD 17 were related. As a result, both underwent similar modifications over time, such as the change from a protective to an offering gesture performed by the protagonist(s).

The iconographic resemblance between these elements of BD 17 and BD 125/JaD strengthens the conceptual or essential link that exists between both compositions. This link has already been suggested by authors such as Hermann Kees, Joachim Spiegel, Reinhard Grieshammer, Christine Seeber, or Henk Milde⁵⁵ and will be explored in this final part of the article through their content and spatial distribution in a given media.

According to BD 17, bathing in the Herakleopolitan lakes enables the deceased to present him or herself before the tribunal that punishes culprits as a being who is free of sins,⁵⁶ and thus to gain access to Osiris' dwelling, a sacred space that requires absolute purity. Significantly, BD 125 is headed by the title *ddwt hft spr r wšht tn n(y)t m3ʿty, ph3 NN m hww nb jr-n=f, m33 hrw ntrw*,⁵⁷ "what is said upon arrival to this Hall of the two Maat, purify NN of all the evil he has committed, see the face of the gods". It can be concluded that the same topics, notably dispelling faults and having access to the gods, are dealt with in both BD 17 and 125.

In BD 125, the deceased that must prove his or her innocence in the trial insists several times on his or her purity by means of a wide variety of statements. In some of these, water plays a major role:

jw=j wʿb=kw, sp 4
ʿbw=j ʿbw bnw pwy ʿ3 nty m Nn-nswt

I am pure, (repeat) four times.

My purity is the purity of this great benu-heron which is in Herakleopolis Magna.⁵⁸

jnk wʿb r, wʿb ʿwy, ddw n=f: jj wy.sp 2 m htp jn m33yw sw

I am pure of mouth, pure of arms, one to whom is told: "come, come in peace" by those who see him.⁵⁹

<jw=j> wʿb=kw, h3t=j m wʿb, phy=j twr, hr(y)-jb=j m šdyt m3ʿt, nn ʿt jm=j šw=t(j) m m3ʿt, wʿb=j m šdyt rsy(t), htp=j m hm mht(y)t, m šht snhmw, wʿb jst Rʿ jm=s m wnw twy n(yt) grh hrw

<I> am pure, my breast in purity, my rear cleansed, my middle in the pool/site of Maat, there is no limb in me that is void of maat. I purify myself in the southern site/pool, I rest in the northern settlement, in the marsh of locusts, in which the crew of Re purifies at this hour of the night and day.⁶⁰

Mj mj, jn Dhwtj, jj-n=k r mj? jj-n=j r smjt, ptr hrt n=k? jw=j wʿb=kw m hww, hw-n(=j) wj m šntwt n(y)t jmjw hrw=sn

"Come, please!" says Thoth, "Why have you come?" "I have come to report". "What is your condition?" "I am purified from prohibited things, (I) have protected myself from the quarrels of those that are in their days (on duty)".⁶¹

If purity is clearly reflected in the translated passages of BD 125, it should be recalled that the deceased expects to obtain the same result by bathing in the Herakleopolitan lakes in BD 17. Some excerpts will suffice to illustrate this desire: "my wrongdoing has been done away

55 Kees 1956: 98–99; Spiegel 1935: 44–51, and 45 Anm. 2; Grieshammer 1970: 63; Seeber 1976: 66; Milde 1991: 53, 83–84, 91.

56 BD 17 § S 13, Quirke 2013: 58–59 (Section 20).

57 BD 125 a § P. Lapp (2008: 4a–7a) for the New Kingdom sources of this statement.

58 BD 125 a § S 3. For parallels, see Lapp 2008: 50c–53c (the version translated of all quoted passages is that of TT 82).

59 BD 125 c § S 4. For parallels, see Lapp 2008: 180–181a–c.

60 BD 125 c § S 5–6. For parallels, see Lapp 2008: 194c–201c.

61 LdSD 125 c § S 8. For parallels, see Lapp 2008: 262e–269a (translation of pCairo CG 24095).

with, my evil has been dispelled, the falseness that adhered to me has been removed. I have bathed/purified myself in those two great and stately lakes which are in Herakleopolis Magna".⁶² The insistence on purification conforms to the requirement that being physically and morally clean is crucial to achieving rebirth.

My assessment is that the conceptual association between the two chapters is further graphically and spatially strengthened in several sources. As explored in another article, BD 17 and 125 are located on the superimposed or opposing registers of walls in a number of tombs at Thebes (QV 66, TT 265), on a sarcophagus (of *P3-šdw* in TT 3), and in a temple (the Osireion at Abydos), each of which were constructed at different times, and in which a specific selection and distribution of BD chapters was chosen.⁶³ The two chapters are thus linked in vertical or horizontal axes that visually underscore all the shared connections highlighted here.

This analysis of the group depicted on the ceiling of the Hall of Judgement (BD 125) and the scene of the Herakleopolitan lakes (BD 17) suggests that there was a relationship between the two. Each depicts concepts of purity, either physical or spiritual, of judgement, and of transformation and rebirth. Although they appear to have come from different traditions, they eventually came to be regarded as related through a process of iconographic convergence.

Appendix Key to the tables

The appendix is comprised of the following tables:


1. Eighteenth Dynasty: papyri


2. Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties: papyri
3. Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties: royal and private tombs
4. Twenty-first Dynasty: papyri
5. Twenty-fifth Dynasty: tomb
6. Late Period to early Ptolemaic Period: papyri
7. Ptolemaic Period, Thebes: papyri and temples
8. Ptolemaic Period, Memphis: mummy bandages
9. Ptolemaic–Roman Period, Middle Egypt: papyri
10. Ptolemaic Period, unknown provenance: papyri

This catalogue of sources is structured according to media, provenance, and chronology. For Ptolemaic examples, papyri belonging to the traditions or groups established by M. Mosher (2016) are further grouped together.

Each entry includes the following information: inventory number; name of museum/collection; owner; date; extra sources (other documents that belong to the same manuscript); provenance (if placed between squared brackets, origin has been deduced from internal data); and state of preservation (three categories are distinguished: good state of preservation, if the vignette is wholly preserved; damaged image, if the image is partially damaged, but all its elements are recognisable; fragmentary state, if some of the elements are blurred or have disappeared owing to the presence of lacunae).

Two symbols are used in the bibliographical references:

 indicates publications or websites where the vignette is included (as an image or as a description);

 indicates other references that describe and discuss different aspects of the source. Where all relevant literature is cited by the Totenbuch-Projekt (totenbuch.awk.new.de/), the bibliography is kept to a minimum. Only those titles not recorded there or lengthier discussions on dating and transmission issues are cited.

The tables below include the following categories:

Location

Two positions predominate, albeit with some exceptions that will be mentioned in each section:


Above BD 125 B indicates that the figure is placed above the scene of the so-called negative confession, which is uttered before forty-two judges.

Above JaD (=Judgement after Death) indicates that the figure is located above the scene of the weighing of the heart.

Type of figure




1. Male fecundity figure
2. Male figure bearing a feature of divinity (typically a curved beard)
3. Male figure without feature of divinity
4. Female figure
- . Cannot be determined with certainty (due to damage or loss)
- ?. The figure does not appear in published images and may have been omitted, but this cannot be demonstrated
- ∅. Omitted

Body posture





1. Seated with arms extended in different directions, one knee bent upwards as in the sign Gardiner A1 .
2. Seated with arms extended in different directions, both knees touching the ground.
3. Standing with arms extended in different directions.
- . Cannot be determined with certainty (due

to damage or loss).
∅. Omitted.

Attitude of the figure

- . Protection
- . Offering
- . Recitation. Extended arms with open palms and thumbs pointing upwards
- . Cannot be determined with certainty (due to damage or loss)
- ∅. Omitted

Object protected or offered

Indications are provided for the typology of eyes (feathered  or , the latter lacking the vertical addition, *wedjat* ; and simple , the presence of ovals surrounding them, and orientation. The eyes always appear in pairs and are situated on either side of the central figure.


Abbreviations


- F. Fringe;
- B. Background

1. | Eighteenth Dynasty: papyri

Thebes

pCairo CG 24095 (=JE 338844); Egyptian Museum; *M3j-ḥr-prj*; Amenhotep II; KV 35; good state of preservation.

 Munro 1994: Taf. 60.

 Seeber 1976: 201 (1), dates it to the reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV; Luft 1977: 70; Bellion 1987: 105, places it in the 21st Dynasty; Munro 1988: 278 (Kat. a. 19), dates it to the time of Amenhotep II; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 134265 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134265>.

pParis Louvre AE/N 3068 + 3113; Musée du Louvre; *Nb-ḳd*; Thutmose IV–Thutmose IV/

⁶² BD 17 a § S 8.

⁶³ Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2013.

Amenhotep III; good state of preservation.

✍ Devéria 1872: Pl. VIII.

📖 Seeber 1976: 204 (9), dates it to the 19th Dynasty; Luft 1977: 71, suggests a date in the 19th Dynasty; Rössler-Köhler 1999: 33; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 133550 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133550>.

Memphis

pTübingen 2003 a-k; Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen; *S3-Jmn*; Thutmose III/Amenhotep II–Amenhotep II; [Memphis]; fragmentary state.

✍ Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981: 289–292, Taf. 106–107; Buroh *et al.* 1985: 47, 1 Pl. e.









📖 Seeber 1976: 204 (12), dates it to the 19th Dynasty; Luft 1977: 73; Munro 1988: 284

(Kat. a. 38), dates it to the time of Thutmose III/Amenhotep II–Amenhotep II; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 134314 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm134314>.

pLondon BM EA 9900; British Museum; *Nb-snj*; Thutmose IV; good state of preservation.

✍ Naville *Tb.*, A.a., Taf. 134–135; Lapp 2004: Pl. 90.

📖 Seeber 1976: 201 (2); Luft 1977: 71; Munro 1988: 281 (Kat. a. 28), suggests a date in the time of Thutmose IV; Lapp 2004, dates it between the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III and suggests that the owner was the copyist of the papyrus; Munro 2006; Lüscher 2010: 110; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 134286 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm 134286>.

N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/offered
pCairo CG 24095 ✍ Thebes	Above 125 B	2 Blue wig	1		 F: blue; B: white
pParis Louvre AE/N 3068+3113 ✍ Thebes	Above 125 B	2	1		 ¹
pTübingen 2003 a-k ✍ [Memphis]	Above 125 B	2 Black wig	1		 ²
pLondon BM EA 9900 ✍ Memphis	Above 125 B	2	1		

¹ Inserted in semicircles.

² Only half of the right oval is preserved. The form of the left eye is not well defined and resembles a mixture of a feathered and an *wedjat* eye.

2. | Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties: papyri

Thebes³

pLondon BM EA 10470; British Museum; *3nj*; 19th Dynasty; good state of preservation.

✍ Seeber 1976: 66, fig. 13; Faulkner *et al.* 1994: Pl. 31; <http://www.britishmuseum.org>

📖 Shorter 1938: 12; Luft 1977: 68; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 134357 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm 134357>.

pLondon BM EA 10471 + Leather Roll BM EA 10473; British Museum; *Nht*; end of 18th Dynasty–beginning of 19th Dynasty; good state of preservation.

✍ Faulkner *et al.* 1994: Pls. 28–29; <http://www.britishmuseum.org>





📖 Glanville 1927, suggests dating pLondon BM EA 10471 to the end of the 18th Dynas-

ty and pLondon BM EA 10473 to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty; Seeber 1976: 202 (13), places it in the group of papyri belonging to the 18th Dynasty; Luft 1977: 52, 71, dates it to the 19th Dynasty; Bellion 1987: 69–70, dates it to the time of Sety I; Munro 1988: 300 (Kat. b. 20), places it in the 19th–20th Dynasties; Quirke 1993: 47 (119), 77, n. 121, dates pLondon BM EA 10471 to the 18th Dynasty; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 133529 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm133529>.

Unknown provenance

pLondon BM EA 10466; British Museum; *P3-sr*; extra source: pLondon BM EA 9971 + 9972; fragmentary state (image in fragments 14 and 19).

📖 Totenbuchprojekt, TM 133518 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm133518>, proposes a date in the reign of Amenhotep II.

N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/offered
pLondon BM EA 10470 ✍ Thebes	Above 125 B and JaD	1 Green wig	1		
pLondon BM EA 10471 + Leather Roll BM EA 10473 ✍ Thebes	Above 125 B	3 Blue wig	1		 F: blue; B: white
pLondon BM EA 10466 Unknown	Above 125 B	2 Blue wig	1		 F: dark; B: white

³ The central part of the architrave in pBruxelles E. 5043 + pPhiladelphia E 2775, 16720–22 is lost and the presence of a figure between eyes cannot be demonstrated (Milde 1991: 89).

3. | Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties: Tombs

Thebes

KV 11; tomb of Ramesses III; fifth chamber, left wall; Valley of the Kings; good state of preservation.

✍ Lefebure 1889: 107–108; Abitz 1995: 186–187.

📖 PM I²: 2, 518–527; www.thebanmapping-project.com; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 135123 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm135123>.

QV 66; tomb of Nefertari (reign of Ramesses II); lintel above entrance to side rooms in the antechamber⁴; Valley of the Queens; good state of preservation

✍ PM I²: 2, 763 (11); Thausing and Goedicke 1971: Pl. 1–3, 24; Siliotti and Leblanc 1993: 130.

📖 Hofmann 2004: 91, suggests that the same artists that took part in the decoration of tombs TT 1, 290, and 265 at Deir el-Medina were involved in the decoration of QV 66 (see also Milde 1991: 238–239); Totenbuchprojekt, TM 135127 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm135127>.

Sarcophagus of TT 3 (present whereabouts unknown, but perhaps inside TT 3); *P3-sdw*; early reign of Ramesses II; Deir el-Medina; good state of preservation.

✍ Zivie 1979: 80–81, fig. 3, Pl. 27.

📖 Totenbuchprojekt, TM 135507 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm135507>.

TT 41; tomb of *Jmn-m-jpt*; Horemheb-Sety I; Sheikh Abd el-Gurna; fragmentary state.

⁴ Neither BD 125 B nor the scene of the JaD were included among the decoration in the side rooms. However, on the walls flanking the bay above which is the lintel bearing the figure between eyes, Anubis and Osiris are depicted. Both gods play an important role in the post-mortem judgement.

✍ Assmann 1991: I, 109, II, Taf. 8 (*Wandplan* 7, Sz. 99), LVI a.

📖 Totenbuchprojekt, TM 134991 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm134991>.

TT 265; tomb of *Jmn-m-jpt*; Sety I or Ramesses II; Deir el-Medina; fragmentary state.

✍ PM I²: I, 346 (4) II; Saleh 1984: 70, Abb. 11 and 75.

📖 Saleh 1984: 96–97, 99, *passim*, dates it to the reign of Sety I; Rößler-Köhler 1979: 139–140 and 1999: 12–13 and Abb. 25, dates it to the first half of Ramesses II's reign; Lüscher 2007: 21, highlights that the walls are decorated as if a papyrus was unrolled on them; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 135047 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm135047>.

TT 290; tomb of *Jrj-nfr*; Ramesses II; Deir el-Medina; good state of preservation

✍ PM I²: I, 372 (9)–(11) II; Saleh 1984: 70, Abb. 76 b.

📖 Saleh 1984: 97, 100, *passim*; Lüscher 2007: 21, dates it to an early phase in the reign of Ramesses II; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 135060 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm135060>.

TT 296; tomb of *Nfr-shrw*; middle or second half of the reign of Ramesses II; Khokha; fragmentary state.




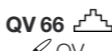










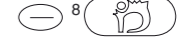



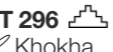

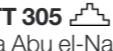

✍ Feucht 1985: Taf. XVII, Szene 12.

📖 Saleh 1984: 97, 100, *passim*; Niwiński 1989: 33; Hofmann 2004: 41, TT 178 and 296 share the same decoration, particularly with distribution and content, and could have been executed by the same artists; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 135062 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm135062>.

TT 305; tomb of *P3-sr*; Ramesside Period; Dra Abu el-Naga.

✍ Saleh 1984: 69–70.

📖 Saleh 1984: 97, 100, *passim*; Totenbuchprojekt, TM 135066 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm135066>.



N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/offered
KV 11  ✍ KV	Above 125 B	2	1		 ⁵
QV 66  ✍ QV	In lintel giving access to side chamber	2 Black wig	1		 F: black; B: white
Sarcophagus TT 3  ✍ Deir el-Medina	Above 125 B	2 Blue wig	1		 F: blue; B: white
TT 41  ✍ Sheikh Abd el-Gurna	? ⁶	3?	–	 ?	 ?, - ⁷
TT 265  ✍ Deir el-Medina	Above 125 B	2 Blue wig	1		 F: blue; B: white
TT 290  ✍ Deir el-Medina	Above 125 B	2 Dark wig	1		 F: blue; B: white; pupil: yellow; eyelash: red and black
TT 296  ✍ Khokha	Above 125 B	∅	∅	∅	 pupil: yellow; eyelash:
TT 305  ✍ Dra Abu el-Naga	Above 125 B and JaD	2?	?	?	 ⁹

⁵ Two circles, containing an object of ambiguous form.

⁶ The weighing of the heart, within a chapel presided over by Osiris (Assmann 1991: II, Taf. 9, Sz. 89), is found in the southern part of the same wall upon which the scene is depicted. Because the central part of the structure's architrave is lost, the presence or absence of the figure analysed cannot be determined. The negative confession was carved on another wall of the tomb (Assmann 1991: II, Taf. 9, Sz. 90).

⁷ Assmann (1991: II, Taf. 41) does not specify the presence of this element in the line drawing of the scene. However, one can see a deteriorated simple eye on the photograph (1991: II, Taf. LVI a).

⁸ Only the oval is preserved, while the eye inside it is damaged.

⁹ Only Saleh's description of this scene is available (1984: 70). The author mentions the presence of a squatting god, flanked by two *wedjat* eyes. Most authors interpret the feathered eye as a *wedjat* eye () although in BD 17 V the typical curved end of the eye () only appears in the 26th Dynasty. It may be that a feathered eye was depicted here.

4. | Twenty-first Dynasty: papyri

Thebes

pCairo CG 40006 (= S.R. VII 11488); Egyptian Museum; *P3j-ndm* I; beginning of the 21st Dynasty (ca. 1065–1045 BC); Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari; good state of preservation.

✍ Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: Nr. Cat. 235.

📖 Seeber 1976: 210 (2); Rössler-Köhler 1979: 130–131, 138; Munro 2001: 115 (65); Totenbuchprojekt, TM 134432 <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt.tm134432>.

pParis Louvre E. 6258; Musée du Louvre; *Ndmt*; early-mid 21st Dynasty (Psusennes I / Pinedjem I); Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari; extra sources: pLondon BM EA 10541 (British Museum) and pMünchen AS 825 (lost during

2nd World War); good state of preservation.

✍ Niwiński 1989: Pl. 9B.







📖 Seeber 1976: 210 (1); Munro 2001: 124 (198); Tawfik 2008: 239 (Kat. 37); Lenzo 2010: 64–67, fig. 1; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 133525, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133525>.

Unknown provenance

pCairo CG 40017 (S.R: VII. 11493); Egyptian Museum; *Nstj-t3-nbt-t3wy*; middle of 21st Dynasty; good state of preservation.



✍ Piankoff and Rambova 1957: 100, fig. 40.

📖 Bellion 1987: 109–110; Niwiński 1989: 294 (Cairo 115), type A.III. 1b; Munro 2001: 116 (72); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134711, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134711>.

N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/ offered
pCairo CG 40006 ✍ Royal Cache Deir el-Bahari	Above 125 B	2 Dark wig	2		 F: dark; B: white
pParis Louvre E. 6258 ✍ Royal Cache Deir el-Bahari	Above 125 B and JaD	2	1		
pCairo CG 40017 ✍ Unknown	In front of judge ¹⁰	2	2		

5. | Twenty-fifth Dynasty: tombs

Thebes

N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/ offered
TT 33 el-Asasif	Above 125 B	2?	–		

TT 33; tomb of *P3-dj-jmn-jpt*; end of the 25th Dynasty; el-Asasif; fragmentary state.

📖 Reference kindly provided by Silvia Einaudi.

¹⁰ The figure hovers in front of the judge that presides over the judgement session, and above other symbols that are not only recurrent in funerary scenes, but are also associated with ideas of protection and resurrection: knives, *tit*-knots, *djed*-pillar.

6. | Late Period to early Ptolemaic Period: papyri

Thebes

pVaticano 38571 (= Vaticano 48); Museo Gregoriano Egizio; *Ns-p3wty-t3wy*; 30th Dynasty–early Ptolemaic Period; extra sources: pAmsterdam UB 26 (A, Universiteitsbibliotheek), pDallas Public Library, pLecce PUL inv. I 4 (Centro di Studi Papirologico dell'Università di Lecce), pLondon BM EA 10289 (British Museum); good state of preservation.

✍ Gasse 1993: Pl. XXXI, lower image.

📖 Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57075, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57075>.

pBruxelles MRAH E. 8389; Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire; *Jpt-wrt*; Late Period–early Ptolemaic Period; fragmentary state.

✍ Limme 1983: fig. 3.

📖 Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56943, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56943>.

pCairo JE 95707 (=S.R. IV. 639); Egyptian Museum; *T3-wnt/T3-wn-3jhw*; Late Period–early Ptolemaic Period; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

📖 Budek 2008: 12; Tawfik 2008: 283 (Kat. 147); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57442, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57442>.

pSt Petersburg 3531; State Hermitage Museum; *Ns-Mnw/P3-Mnw*; 4th century BC; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

✍ Piotrovsky 1974: Pl. 135.

📖 Bellion 1987: 146, dates it to the Persian–Ptolemaic Period; Tawfik 2008: 277 (Kat. 127); Mosher 2016: 12–15; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57202, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57202>.

Memphis

pVaticano 48832 (=Vaticano 1); Museo Gregoriano Egizio; *P3-šrj-n-t3-jht dd Psmtk*; Saite–

Persian Period; [Memphis]; good state of preservation.

✍ Gasse 2001: cover.

📖 Allen 1960: 40–41, dates it to the Persian–Ptolemaic Period; Yoyotte 1971: 18–20, suggests a date in the Saite–Persian Period; Bellion 1987: 315, follows the suggestion of Yoyotte; Mosher 1992: 151, n. 40 (style 2); Gasse 1993: 35–36 (n^o 23), dates it to the last indigenous dynasties; Verhoeven 1993: 42, considers it belongs to the late 26th Dynasty; Gasse 2001 and 2002, suggests a dating in the late Saite Period or early Persian Period; Tawfik 2008: 243 (Kat. 48); Mosher 2016: 7–10, includes it in the Saite/Memphite tradition; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56970, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56970>.

Unknown provenance

pLeiden T21; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden; *3st-wrt*; Late Period–Ptolemaic Period; fragmentary state.

📖 Leemans 1840: 248; Coenen 1999a: 74, suggests a dating in the 26th Dynasty, Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56988, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56988>.

pRodez; Musée Fenaille, Musée d'Archéologie et d'Histoire du Rourgue; Late Period–Ptolemaic Period; fragmentary state (unrolled).

📖 Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134899, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134899>.

pVaticano 38604 (=Vaticano 34) + **pTorino 1815**; Museo Gregoriano Egizio and Museo Egizio; Late Period–early Ptolemaic Period; good state of preservation.

✍ Gasse 1993: Pl. XXXVIII.

📖 Bellion 1987: 278, 318, dates it to the 26th Dynasty; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57078, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57078>, opts for a dating in the Ptolemaic Period.

N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/offered
pVaticano 38571 Thebes	Above JaD? ¹¹	2	1		
pBruxelles MRAH E. 8389 1 Thebes	Above JaD	2	2		
pCairo JE 95707 [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	1		
pSt Petersburg 3531 [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	1		
pVaticano 48832 Memphis	Above JaD	3	1		¹²
pLeiden T21 Unknown	Above JaD	2 or 3 Dark wig	-		? -
pRodez pRodez Unknown	?	3	2	? ¹³	 F: dark; B: yellow
pVaticano 38604 Unknown	Above JaD	3 Dark wig	2		

7. | Ptolemaic Period, Thebes: papyri, temples

• Papyri

pAberdeen ABDUA 84022; Marischal Museum; *P3-dj-Hrw-p3-hrd*; 4th century BC; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

Curtis, Kockelmann, Munro 2005: fig. 1.

Curtis, Kockelmann, Munro 2005: 52 (8), 69, point out that pParis Louvre N. 3152 is a close parallel to this manuscript; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 108931, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm108931>.¹⁴

pLeiden L.XII.2; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden; *Dd-Hrw*; ca. 350–300 BC; [Thebes]; fragmentary state.

Tawfik 2008: 288 (Kat. 161). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57014, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57014>. The papyrus belongs to the same workshop than pStockholm MME 1981: 22 according to the database.

pParis Louvre N. 3089; Musée du Louvre; *Ššnḳ*; early 3rd century BC; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

Mosher 1990: 794, 1992 : 151, n. 42, style 1;

Budek 2008: 24, assigns it a Theban origin; Tawfik 2008: 281 (Kat. 140); Mosher 2010: 137 and 2016: 25–27, includes it in the tradition of the “N3089 group” and suggests a dating between 280 BC and the middle of the 3rd century BC; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56600, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56600>.

pParis Louvre N. 3248; Musée du Louvre; *Tjj-bh/Tjj-b3-3ht*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

Mosher 1990: Pl. 163.

Mosher 1990: 107–109, 455, 507, 547, 648, Pl. 37, suggests dating it ca. 250–200 BC, (style 1, group B); Mosher 1992: 151, n. 42, 158, n. 69, 159, fig. 7; Budek 2008: 25–26; Tawfik 2008: 287 (Kat. 158); Mosher 2010: 137 and 2016: 25–27, assigns it to the tradition of the “N3089 group”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56756, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56756>.

pParis Louvre N. 3272; Musée du Louvre; *T3-h3bs/T3-(w)-gš*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

Mosher 1990: Pl. 164.

Bellion 1987: 215, dates it to the Late Period; Budek 2008: 26, assigns it a Theban origin on account of the owner’s title and because it follows Mosher style 1, only attested in Thebes in the Ptolemaic Period; Tawfik 2008: 285 (Kat. 151); Mosher 2010: 137 and 2016: 25–27, assigns it to the tradition of the “N3089 group”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56766, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56766>.

pParis Louvre N. 3079; Musée du Louvre; *Dd-Hrw*; 3rd century BC; Armant; good state of preservation.

Mosher 1990: Pl. 151.

Allen 1960: 17, indicates that it could have shared master copy with pChicago OIM 9787 in the texts’ selection and distribution, on XXIV–XXV he points to a date in the Persian–Ptolemaic Period; Goyon 1967: 91, favours a Ptolemaic chronology; Munro 1973: 244, points to a date in the mid or late Ptolemaic Period due to its similarity with the stela Turin 1599; Mosher 1990: 61–65, 451–452, 507, 519, 533, 645, Pl. 32, suggests a date ca. 280–250 BC (style 1, group A) and highlights its similarity to the vignettes of pParis Louvre N. 3144; Mosher 1992: 146, fig. 1, 151 (style 1); Verhoeven 2001: 226–227, points to a date in the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 2nd century BC; Budek 2008: 23; Mosher 2008: 245–248, fig. 4, indicates that the dating suggestion of Verhoeven is a century too late; Müller-Roth 2008: 154, Anm. 27, considers that pParis Louvre N. 3079 belongs to the same workshop as pMilano E. 1023, pParis Louvre N. 3144, and pCairo J.E. 97249 (papyrus 17); Tawfik 2008: 289 (Kat. 162); Mosher 2010: 137, 144–145, 147, and 2016: 23–25, assigns it to the tradition of the “N3079 group”, but thinks that it is a hybrid product of several traditions. He also discusses different chronological attributions and dates it ca. 270–240 BC; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56591, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56591>.

pBruxelles MRAH E. 4976; Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire; *P3-šrj-(n)-Mnw dd-tw n=f Wsjr-wr*; early Ptolemaic Period; [Thebes]; extra sources: pParis Louvre N. 3129, E. 4890 B + N. 3096 (Musée du Louvre), pKraków XI 1503–06.1508–11 (Czartoryski Museum),

¹¹ Only the upper half of the scene, with the heads of the judges within the chapel, is preserved. It is probable that the scene depicted Judgement after Death instead of a negative confession.

¹² The eyes contained within ovals have thick eyebrows and are larger than the figure itself, so that they have been depicted on both sides of the latter and not under his protective arms.

¹³ The papyrus remains unrolled and no details of the figure’s hands are visible.

¹⁴ Mosher postulates the presence of several groups in the Theban production area during the Ptolemaic Period (2010: 137–138; complemented in 2016: 19–34).

pNew York Amherst 30 (Pierpont Morgan Library); good state of preservation.

✍ Quagebeur 1975: end Pl.

📖 Mosher 1990: 93–95 (style 1, group B), 507 (suggests dating it between 250–200 BC), 647, pl. 35; Barwik 1995, prefers a dating between the 30th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period on account of its palaeography and its similarity to pChicago OIM 9787; Budek 2008: 24; Tawfik 2008: 267 (Kat. 97); Mosher 2010: 137 and 2016: 23–25, includes it in the tradition of the “N3079 group”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56940, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56940>.

pParis Louvre N. 3144 + N. 3198 + N. 3250; Musée du Louvre; *Hrw-s3-3st*; damaged image.

✍ Mosher 1990: Pl. 157.

📖 Bellion 1987: 204, dates it between the 26th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period; Mosher 1990: 451–452, 507, 544, suggests a dating ca. 280–250 BC and highlights its similarity in vignettes to pParis Louvre N. 3079; Mosher 1992: 151, n. 42 (style 1); Budek 2008: 24; Mosher 2016: 23–25, assigns it to the tradition of the “N3079 group” and suggests a date ca. 270–240 BC; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56648, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56648>.

pLeiden T16; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden; *3st-wrt*; 4th–3rd century BC; good state of preservation.

✍ Leemans 1842–1905: Pl. XXVI.

📖 Leemans 1840: 243–247; Mosher 1992: 146, 151, n. 42, n. 89 and 97 (style 1); Verhoeven 1993: 43; Albert 2006: 40–41, fig. 5, suggests a date in the 30th Dynasty or the 3rd century BC; Budek 2008: 13; Tawfik 2008: 268 (Kat. 99); Mosher 2010: 137, 145 and 2016: 23–25, assigns it to the tradition of the “N3079 group”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56985, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56985>.

pParis Louvre N. 3152; Musée du Louvre; *Ššnk*; early 3rd century BC; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

✍ Mosher 1990: Pl. 159.

📖 Munro 1973: 243; Bellion 1987: 205, dates it to the Third Intermediate Period; Mosher 1990: 101–104, 507, 545, 647, Pl. 33, suggests dating it between the Saite Period (?) and the Ptolemaic Period (style 1, group A); Mosher 1992: 146, n. 24 and 2001: 12, n. 42; Budek 2008: 25; Tawfik 2008: 282 (Kat. 141); Mosher 2010: 137 and 2016: 21–22, assigns it to the tradition of the “N3152 group” and supports a production date in the first decade of the 3rd century BC; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56656, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56656>.

pBoston MFA 92.2582; Museum of Fine Arts; *T3-nt-Jmn*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

✍ Smith 1960: fig. 101; Mosher 1990: Pl. 168.

📖 Smith 1960: 163–165, fig. 101; D’Auria *et al.* 1988: 187–190, Nr. 134, indicates a provenance from Saqqara; Mosher 1990: 532; Budek 2008: 9; Mosher 2016: 21–22, places it within the “N3152 tradition”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56938, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56938>.

pCologne CIV; Biblioteca Bodmeriana, Fondation Martin Bodmer; *Wsjr-wr*; ca. 200 BC; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

✍ Bickel 2001: fig. 35.

📖 Coenen 2001: 72–79, indicates a date in the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC; Munro 2001: 113, points to a date in the first half of the 2nd century BC; Valloglia 2001: 139–140, 142, photos 121, 123, 130, suggests dating it between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD; Budek 2008: 11, points to a date ca. 200–150 BC; Tawfik 2008: 271 (Kat. 107); Mosher 2016: 21–22, 45, places it within the “N3152 tradition” and indicates that it derives from a very simi-

lar source to pParis Louvre E. 7716; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134874, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134874>.

pParis Louvre E. 7716; Musée du Louvre; *T3-hjj-bj3t*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

✍ Mosher 1990: Pl. 165.

📖 Mosher 1990: 116, 454, 468, 507, 551, 649, Pl. 33, suggests a date between the Saite (?) and the early Ptolemaic Period and assigns it to style 1 (group A); Mosher 1992: 146, n. 24; Budek 2008: 22; Tawfik 2008: 285 (Kat. 152); Mosher 2010: 137 and 2016: 21–22, 45, assigns it to the tradition of the “N3152 group” and indicates that it derives from a very similar source to pCologne CIV; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56844, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56844>.

pParis Louvre N. 3143 + pGenf D 29; Musée du Louvre and Musée d’Art et d’Histoire; *Wsjr-wr*; 1st century BC; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

✍ Mosher 1990: 795.

📖 Wild 1972: 36–39, Pl. VIII; Bellion 1987: 204, dates it to the Late Period; Mosher 1990: 453, 507, 453, assigns it to ca. 280–250 BC; Budek 2008: 11; Mosher 2010: 137 and 2016: 21–22, assigns it to the tradition of the “N3152 group”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57401, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57401> and Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56738, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56738>.

pLondon BM EA 10086; British Museum; *T3-nt-Jmn-jj*; [Thebes]; damaged image.

✍ <http://www.britishmuseum.org>

📖 Faulkner and Andrews 2000 [1985]: 9, suggests a dating ca. 250–150 BC, 52–53, 60, 65, 71, 114; Mosher 2008: 242–245, fig. 3; Budek 2008: 16; Tawfik 2008: 284 (Kat. 149), dates it between the Late and the Ptolemaic Period; Mosher 2010: 125, 137, figs. 1–2 and 2016: 19–20, assigns it to style

1 and to the “BM 10086” tradition, a tradition that was in use in the first half of the 3rd century BC and many of whose textual versions resurface again in the late Ptolemaic Period; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57229, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57229>.

pMilano E. 1023; Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, Castello Sforzesco; *Hrw-nfr*; 300–250 BC; [Thebes]; extra source: pVaticano 38572/3 (Museo Gregoriano Egizio); fragmentary state.

✍ Lise 1979: Tav. 89.

📖 Gasse 1993: 45 (n^o 56); Müller-Roth 2008: 154, Anm. 27, considers that pMilano E. 1023 belongs to the same workshop as pParis Louvre N. 3079, pParis Louvre N. 3144, and pCairo J.E. 97249 (papyrus 17); Mosher 2010: 127, fig. 13–14, and 2016: 20–21, assigns it to style 1 and to the “BM 10086” group; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56966, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56966>.

pParis Louvre N. 3087; Musée du Louvre; *Nhm=s-R^ct-t3wy*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

✍ Mosher 1990: Pl. 153.

📖 Bellion 1987: 197, dates it between the 26th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period; Mosher 1990: 81–82, 454, 507, 538, 646, Pl. 32, suggests a date between the Saite (?) and the early Ptolemaic Period and assigns it to style 1 (group A); Mosher 1992: 147, fig. 2; Budek 2008: 23–24; Tawfik 2008: 276 (Kat. 123); Mosher 2010: 128, 137, 147–148, *passim*, assigns it to the tradition of “pLondon BM EA 10086 group”, although it has textual features of other Theban traditions; Mosher 2016: 19, 37, highlights that although the texts can follow other traditions, the illustrations are nearly always closer to those used by the BM 10086 and N3152 groups; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn,

TM 56598, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56598>.

pBerlin P. 3058 A–I; Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; *T3-rmt-nt-B3stt*; 320–306 BC; good state of preservation.

✍ Munro 1973: Abb. 60.

📖 Munro 1973: 58, 150 Anm. 4, suggests a dating between 330 and 320 BC; U. Luft 1974: 44; Bellion 1987: 32; Budek 2008: 7; Mosher 2016: 29–32, assigns it to the “Theban-y Tradition” and indicates that it shares common features with pChicago OIM 9787 in the layout and the use of colour vignettes and also with pTorino 1833; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56975, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56975>.

pLausanne Inv. 3389; Antiken Museum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig; *Ns-Mnw*; [Thebes]; extra source: pParis Louvre E. 4890 (Musée du Louvre); good state of preservation.

✍ Wiese 2001: 204 (c).

📖 Budek 2008: 22; Tawfik 2008: 267 (Kat. 98); Mosher 2016: 29–32, assigns it to the “Theban-y Tradition”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56832, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56832>.

pTorino 1833; Museo Egizio; *T3j-s-nht*; good state of preservation.

📖 Budek 2008: 28; Tawfik 2008: 283 (Kat. 146); Mosher 2016: 29–32, assigns it to the “Theban-y Tradition” and indicates that it shares stylistic features with pBerlin P. 3058; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57577, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57577>.

pBerlin P. 3150 A–D; Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; *B-dj*; good state of preservation.

📖 Bellion 1987: 33; Budek 2008: 8, suggests a Theban provenance on account of the owner’s title and because it follows Mosher style 1, only attested in Thebes in the Ptole-

maic Period; Mosher 2016: 29–32, assigns it to the “Theban-y Tradition”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57104, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57104>.

pChicago OIM 9787 (=pRyerson); Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago; *Nsj-šw-tfnt*; [Thebes]; extra source: pNew York 784 (Columbia University Library); good state of preservation.

✍ Allen 1960: Pl. XXXIV–XXXV; Mosher 1990: Pl. 166; Teeter 2003: Cat. Nr. 51, 98–99, Pl. in 99 and 118.

📖 Allen 1960: 16–39, Pls. 13–50, suggests it comes from Edfu (n. 12), dates it to the Persian–Ptolemaic Period, and indicates that it could have shared master copy with pParis Louvre N. 3079 in the selection and distribution of texts; Mosher 1990: 118–120, 455–456, 507 (points out a date *ca.* 250–200 BC), 651, pl. 37 (style 1, group B); Mosher 1992: 170, 172, suggests a dating around 200 BC (*contra* Quaegebeur 1979: 38, n. 3, 39, who dates it to the early Ptolemaic Period); Verhoeven 1993: 43; Budek 2008: 10; Müller-Roth 2009: 126, argues in favour of a Theban origin; Mosher 2010: 137 and 2016: 27–28, includes it in the tradition of the “Ryerson group” and suggests a dating in the mid or second half of the 3rd century BC. He points out that it shares common features with pBerlin P. 3058 in the layout and the use of colour vignettes; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 48470, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm48470>.

pParis Louvre N. 3153; Musée du Louvre; *Nsj-p3-mdw*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.

✍ Mosher 1990: Pl. 160.

📖 Mosher 1990: 507, 546, suggests a dating *ca.* 260–240 BC; Mosher 1992: 146, n. 24; Budek 2008: 25; Mosher 2016: 27–28, assigns it to the “Ryerson Tradition”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 44551, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm44551>.

pNew York Amherst 35; *Hrw-nd-(hr-)jt=f*; Ptolemy III (245–222 BC) or later; extra source: pLondon BM EA 10037 (British Museum); good state of preservation.

📖 Newberry 1899: 52–53, Nr. XXXV, Pl. XXIV, dates it to the 22nd Dynasty; Bellion 1987: 8, 57, dates the New York papyrus to the 22nd Dynasty and the one in London to the 26th Dynasty; Quirke 1993: 40 (80), 74, n. 80, points out that the New York papyrus belongs to the same owner than the London manuscript, but was probably a second roll introduced in the burial assemblage; Mosher 2001: 85, n. 37 and 39, 2008: 258, suggests a dating in the second half of the 3rd century BC; Budek 2008: 15; Tawfik 2008: 280 (Kat. 136); Mosher 2016: 28–29, assigns it to the “Theban-x tradition”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 48381, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm48381>.

pTorino 1791; Museo Egizio; *Jw=f-nh*; good state of preservation.

✍ Lepsius *Tb.*, Taf. L; Seeber 1976: 226 (74), fig. 12, Abb. 25; Mosher 1990: Pl. 167.

📖 Bellion 1987: 275, dates it to the Saite Period; Limme 1983: 94, assigns it a date between 200–100 BC; Mosher 1990: 120 (in n. 137 and 507 points out that it probably dates to the 2nd or 1st century BC), 457, 651, pl. 38 (style 2, group B); Mosher 1992: 172, n. 127 (style 3); Verhoeven 1993: 43; Albert 2006: 40–41, dates it to the end of the 3rd century or the 2nd century BC; Budek 2008: 27, opts for a date in the 2nd–1st century BC; Tawfik 2008: 266 (Kat. 96); Mosher 2010: 138, assigns it to the tradition of the “Hieroglyphic Group”, whereas in 2016: 33–34, he includes it in the tradition of the “Later HG Set”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57201, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57201>.

pBerlin P. 3008; Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; *T3-nt-rwd*; 2nd century BC; good state of preservation.

✍ Müller 1985: 149.

📖 U. Luft 1974: 8; Seeber 1976: 222 (3), dates it between the 26th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period; Bellion 1987: 24–25; Budek 2008: 7; Tawfik 2008: 264 (Kat. 92), dates it to the 2nd century BC; Mosher 2016: 33–34, assigns it to the tradition of the “Later HG Set”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57089, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57089>.

pLondon BM EA 10017; British Museum; *Dd-Hrw*; damaged image.

📖 Mosher 1992: 158, n. 69, 172, n. 129; Budek 2008: 15; Tawfik 2008: 264 (Kat. 91), dates it to the late Ptolemaic Period; Mosher 2010: 138, includes it in the tradition of the “Hieroglyphic group”, whereas in 2016: 33–34, he includes it in the tradition of the “Later HG Set” and suggests a date in the second half of the 3rd century BC; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57215, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57215>, gives a date in the early Ptolemaic Period.

pParis BN 1/19 (=pCadet); Bibliothèque Nationale; *B-dj-Jmn-nb-nswt-t3wy*; early Ptolemaic Period; good state of preservation.

✍ <http://gallica.bnf.fr>


📖 Mosher 1992: 149, 172 (style 3); Coenen 1999b: 455–457, highlights the similarity between this papyrus and pOxford MS Egypt. a. 42 (P) and suggests that they were produced from the same master copy or could have belonged to the same person; Coenen 2000: 85; Budek 2008: 20–21; Mosher 2016: 33–34, assigns it to the tradition of the “Later HG Set”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 44389, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm44389>.


pVaticano 38569 (=Vaticano 59); Museo Gregoriano Egizio; *3st-wrt*; early Ptolemaic Period; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.



✍ Gasse 1993: Pl. XLVI.


📖 Mosher 2016: 92, assigns it to the tradition



of the “Later HG Set” (quoted under the siglum Vatican # 56); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57633, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57633>.

pLondon BM EA 9909; British Museum; *T3j-hm-ꜣwy*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  Budek 2008: 14; Tawfik 2008: 245 (Kat. 55); Mosher 2016: 92, assigns it to the tradition of the “Later HG Set”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57491, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57491>.


pLondon BM EA 9923; British Museum; *Jrtj-r-w*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  Budek 2008: 14; Tawfik 2008: 245 (Kat. 55); Mosher 2016: 90, assigns it to the tradition of the “Later HG Set”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57491, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57491>.


pLondon BM EA 9946; British Museum; *ꜣnh-ꜣp/Hꜣpj-ꜣnh*; extra sources: pCambridge (Mass, Hurst Gallery), pSwansea W. 867 (The Egypt Centre, Swansea University); good state of preservation.  <http://www.britishmuseum.org>  Budek 2008: 15; Tawfik 2008: 270 (Kat. 106); Mosher 2016: 91, assigns it to the tradition of the “Later HG Set”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57076, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57076>.


pLondon BM EA 9976; British Museum; *P3-Hrw*; good state of preservation.  Mosher 2016: 91, assigns it to the tradition of the “Later HG Set”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57503, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57503>.



pLondon BM EA 75042; British Museum; *Dꜣwtj-rꜣ-sw*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  <http://www.britishmuseum.org>  Mosher 2016: 91, assigns it to the tradition



of the “Later HG Set”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57529, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57529>.


pBerlin P. 3151 A-E; Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; *P3-Hrw*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  U. Luft 1974: 22; Mosher 1992: 151, n. 2 (style 1); Budek 2008: 8, suggests a Theban origin; Tawfik 2008: 246 (Kat. 61); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57105, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57105>.



pDublin 1664; Trinity College Library; *T3-Mnw*; [Thebes]; extra source: pBristol H960; good state of preservation.  Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57425, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57425>.


pDublin 1669 + pUnknown provenance; Trinity College Library; *T3-br*; [Thebes]; fragmentary state.  Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57426, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57426>.



pGenf 23464/1-6; Musée d’Art et d’Histoire; *T3-w3t/3st-wrt*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  (No author) 1981: 44, n° 117, Taf. 26.  Budek 2008: 11; Tawfik 2008: 247 (Kat. 63); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57435, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57435>.



pLeiden T1; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden; *Ns-(n3)-nht*; [Thebes]; damaged image.  Leemans 1842–1905: Pl. X; <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken>  Leemans 1840: 224–228; Budek 2008: 13; Tawfik 2008: 247 (Kat. 64); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56976, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56976>.



pLondon BM EA 10043; British Museum; *Hrw-s3-3st*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57222, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57222>.


pLondon BM EA 10370 B; British Museum; *3st-m-3hbjt*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  <http://www.britishmuseum.org>  Tawfik 2008: 289 (Kat. 166); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134918, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134918>.



pLondon BM EA 73671; British Museum; *P3-dj-Hnsw*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57524, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57524>.



pParis Louvre N. 3088; Musée du Louvre; *T3-šrjt-n-t3-jht*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  Mosher 1990: Pl. 154.  Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56599, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56599>.



pUnknown provenance Irti-rw; Jrtj-rw; good state of preservation.  Néret 2002 [1995]: 230–231 (=A. Vol. II, Pl. 60).  Kockelmann 2008 : II, 191, Anm. 3; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57133, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57133>.

pToulouse 73.1.6 (=pVarille); *T3-nt-Jmn*; good state of preservation.  Guillevic and Ramond 1975: 26–27 (vignette n° 4).  Budek 2008: 27, suggests a Theban origin based on the owner’s name; Tawfik 2008: 285 (Kat. 150); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57178, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57178>.



pTorino 1794; Museo Egizio; *T3-rd-šrj/T3-hrd*; [Thebes]; fragmentary state.  Tawfik 2008: 283 (Kat. 145); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57581, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57581>.





pTorino 1799; Museo Egizio; *Nꜣm=s-Rꜣt-t3wy*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  Donadoni-Roveri 1989: 123 (8).  Tawfik 2008: 276 (Kat. 124); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56965, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56965>.









































pTorino 1808; Museo Egizio; *Hrw*; [Thebes]; good state of preservation.  Donadoni-Roveri 1988: 196, Nr. 269.  Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57592, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57592>.

pLiverpool 1978.291.264; World Museum; *Dd-Hrw*; Hissaya; good state of preservation.  Bienkowski and Tooley 1995: 33, Pl. 39.  Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57300, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57300>.






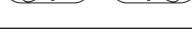




















• Temples

Temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina; southern sanctuary, South wall; Ptolemy VI; good state of preservation.  PM II: I, 405–406 (27); LD IV, 16 b; Kákosy 1979: 124–125, figs. 6 and 8; Du Bourget and Gabolde 2002: 303, Pl. 57–58.  Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 135131, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135131>.

N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/offered
pAberdeen ABDUA 84022  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	1		 

pLeiden L.XII.2  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	1		∅
pParis Louvre N. 3089  Thebes	Above JaD	3	3		
pParis Louvre N. 3248  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2 or 3	1		
pParis Louvre N. 3272  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2 or 3	1		
Paris Louvre N. 3079  Armant	Above JaD	3	2		
pBruxelles MRAH E. 4976  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	2		
pParis Louvre N. 3144 + N. 3198 + N. 3250 	Above JaD	2 or 3	2		
pLeiden T16 	Above JaD	2	3		∅
pParis Louvre N. 3152  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	1		
pBoston MFA 92.2582  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	1 ¹⁵		
pCologne CIV  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	2		
pParis Louvre E. 7716  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	2		
pParis Louvre N. 3143 + pGenf D 29  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2?	1		
pLondon BM EA 10086  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2 Ribbon across red wig	1		 B: red

















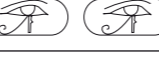
















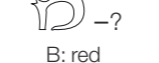






¹⁵ The leg is not bent at 90°, but protrudes forward.

pMilano E. 1023  [Thebes]	Above JaD? ¹⁶	-	1		
pParis Louvre N. 3087  Thebes	Above JaD	2	1		
pBerlin P. 3058 A-I 	Above JaD	2 Black wig	2		 B: yellow
pLausanne Inv. 3389  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	2		
pTorino 1833 	Above JaD	2 Bright wig	2		
pBerlin P. 3150 A-D  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3 Sun disk over wig	1		
pChicago OIM 9787 (pRyerson)  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3 Black wig	2		 B: red
pParis Louvre N. 3153  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	1		
pNew York Amherst 35 	Above JaD	2	1		 ¹⁷
pTorino 1791 	Above JaD	2	2		
pBerlin P. 3008 	Above JaD	3 Black wig	1		 F: no color
pLondon BM EA 10017 	Above JaD	2 Bright wig	2		 B: yellow
pParis BN 1/19 	Above JaD	2 Yellow wig	1		 B: yellow ¹⁸
pVaticano 38569  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	2		
pLondon BM EA 9909  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	2		

¹⁶ Only the upper part of the scene is preserved, and shows two rows of deities and the tip of the Osiris crown. It is probable that the lower half bore the weighing of the heart scene.

¹⁷ The hands are inserted between two pairs of eyes, so that two *wedjat* eyes lay atop of them and two feathered eyes lay beneath them.


















¹⁸ The eyes point in different directions, looking outwards.

pLondon BM EA 9923  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	2		
pLondon BM EA 9946  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3 <i>rnpt</i> -sign over wig	1		∅
pLondon BM EA 9976  [Thebes]	Above JaD or 125 B ¹⁹	2	2		
pLondon BM EA 75042  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	2		
pBerlin P. 3151 A-E  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	2		
pDublin 1664  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	1		
pDublin 1669 + pUnknown Provenance  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2 or 3 Black wig	1		
pGenf 23464/1-6  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	2		
pLeiden T1  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3 Black wig	2		 red and blue
pLondon BM EA 10043  [Thebes]	Above 125 B	3 Band across wig	1		 ²⁰
pLondon BM EA 10370 B  [Thebes]	Above JaD or 125 B ²¹	3	1	?	 ²¹ B: red
pLondon BM EA 73671  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	2		
pParis Louvre N. 3088  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	3		
pUnknown provenance Irti-rw  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3	1		

¹⁹ Only the upper half is preserved.


²⁰ The hands are inserted between two pair of eyes, so that the *wedjat* eyes are atop them, and the feathered eyes are beneath them.

²¹ Only the upper half is preserved.



pToulouse 73.1.6  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2	2		
pTorino 1794  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2 or 3	2	-	
pTorino 1799  [Thebes]	Above JaD	2 Dark wig	2		 B: bright
pTorino 1808  [Thebes]	Above JaD	3 Black wig	2		 B: yellow
pLiverpool 1978.291.264  Hissaya	Above JaD	3	2		
Temple of Deir el-Medina  Thebes	Above JaD	3	1		 ²²

8. | Ptolemaic Period, Memphis: mummy bandages

 <http://libweb2.princeton.edu/rbcs2/papyri/BookoftheDeadRoll8.html>.

 Kockelmann 2008: II, 269–270, Anm. 236; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 14129, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/m14129>, a 26th Dynasty date is given.


M. Princeton pharaonic roll No 8; *Hk3-m-s3=f*; [Memphis]; good state of preservation.

N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/offered
M. Princeton pharaonic roll No 8 [Memphis]	Above JaD	4	2		

9. | Ptolemaic– Roman Period, Middle Egypt: papyri

pChicago OIM 10486 (= pMilbank); Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago; *Jrtj-w-r-w*; Ptolemaic–Roman; Middle Egypt (?).

 Allen 1960: Pl. LXXX–LXXXI.



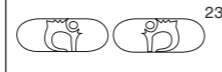
 Bellion 1987: 129; Mosher 1990: 116–117,

458, 460, 462–463, 496, 507 (suggests date between 200 BC and the Roman Period), 650 (style 2), points to its similarity to pNew York MMA 35.9.21, from Meir; Mosher 2001: 20, n. 119 and 23 n. 134, suggests that pChicago OIM 10486, pLondon BM EA 10558, and pNew York MMA 35.9.20 belong to a common tradition of

²² The whole of an almond shape eye, and not only the pupil, has been represented. The image reproduced by Lepsius (*LD IV*, 16 b) is not accurate.

Middle Egypt, based on Memphite prototypes with additional Theban elements (cf. Munro 2010); Tawfik 2008: 135–137, 256 (Kat. 77), indicates that the papy-


rus (or at least its master copy) originated in Meir; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57122, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57162>.

N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/offered
pChicago OIM 10486 	Above 125	2	1		 ²³

10. | Ptolemaic Period, unknown provenance: papyri


pVaticano 38568 (=Vaticano 17); Museo Gregoriano Egizio; *Ns-Mnw*; early Ptolemaic Period; good state of preservation.

 Gasse 1993: Pl. XLI.


 Seeber 1976: 227 (107), compares it to pVaticano 60; Mosher 2016: 29–32, assigns it to the “Theban-y Tradition”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57187, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57187>.

pLondon BM EA 9911; British Museum; *Krkwn*; 250–150 BC; good state of preservation.


 <http://www.britishmuseum.org>

 Fazzini and Bianchi 1988: 236–237 (Cat. 127); Quirke 1993: 43 (103), 76, n. 103 (Thebes is mentioned as place of provenance in Anastasi’s register); Mosher, 2016: 33–34, assigns it to the tradition of the “Later HG Set”; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57036, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57036>.


pBangor; Penrhyn Castle; 1) *T3-rjj*, 2) *P3-wn*; ca. 332–330 BC; fragmentary state.

 Tawfik 2008: 245 (Kat. 56); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM112431, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm112431>.


pBerlin P. 3015 A+B; Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; *Ns-n3-nht*; good state of preservation.


 Luft 1974: 36; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57090, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57090>.

pBerlin P. 3156; Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; *KrB*; good state of preservation.

 Luft 1974: 21; Budek 2008: 8–9; Tawfik 2008: 265 (Kat. 93); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57106, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57106>.

pPrivate Collection Sydney (without number); *Ns-Mnw*; good state of preservation.

 Catalogue Sotheby’s Auction, Sotheby’s Antiquities, London 10th July 1990: 117.

 Seeber 1976: 226 (73); Bellion 1987: 264, dates it between the 26th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period; Coenen 2006: 88, n. 2; Budek 2008: 27; Tawfik 2008: 278 (Kat. 128), considers it comes from Thebes; Mosher 2010: 125, 127, fig. 15–16, 137, *passim*, assigns it to style 1 and to the tradition of the “BM 10086 group”.


pLondon BM EA 9963, 1–4; British Museum; *P3-dj-Hrw-p3-hrd*; good state of preservation.

²³ The eye is simplified and does not bear the vertical addition.


 <http://www.britishmuseum.org>

 Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57241, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57241>.


pNew York MMA 66.9.142; Metropolitan Museum of Art; 332–320 BC; damaged image.


 Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57354, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57354>.

pParis BN 47–51; Bibliothèque Nationale; *T3-šrj-n-Hnsw*; 30th Dynasty–3rd century BC; damaged image.


 Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57381, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57381>.

pParis BN 129–136; Bibliothèque Nationale; *Dhwtj-jry-dj=s-wrs*; good state of preservation.

 <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

 Budek 2008: 21; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57386, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57386>.


pParma 106; Museo di Antichità di Parma; *Hrjj-m-htp*; good state of preservation.

 Botti 1964: Pl. 12.

 Bellion 1987: 243, dates it between the 26th


Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period; Tawfik 2008: 245 (Kat. 57); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56950, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56950>.

pTorino 1812; Museo Egizio; *P3-dj-wnwt*; good state of preservation.


 Néret 2002 [1995]: 250–251 (A. Vol. II, Pl. 72).













 Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57593, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57593>.

pVaticano 38602 (=Vaticano 28); Museo Gregoriano Egizio; *Hrw*; fragmentary state.

 Bellion 1987: 317, dates it to the 22nd Dynasty; Tawfik 2008: 279 (Kat. 134); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57644, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57644>.


































pZagreb 604; Archeoloski Musej, Baron von Soller collection; *P3-dj-š3-jhwt*; good state of preservation.

 Mosher 2016: 11–12, suggests that the papyrus is pre-Ptolemaic or based on a pre-Ptolemaic source; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134896, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134896>.

N° Inv / Provenance	Location	Type of figure	Body posture	Attitude	Object protected/offered
pVaticano 38568 	Above JaD	2	1	 ²⁴	
pLondon BM EA 9911 	Above JaD	3	1		
pBangor 	Above JaD	2 or 3	1		
pBerlin P. 3015 A+B 	Above JaD or 125 B ²⁵	2	2		

²⁴ The right-hand palm faces upwards while the left one faces downwards.

²⁵ Only the upper half is preserved.

pBerlin P 3156 	Above JaD	2	1		 
pPrivate Collection Sydney 	Above JaD	2	1		 
pLondon BM EA 9963 	Above JaD	3	1		
pNew York MMA 66.9.142 	Above JaD	2 or 3	2		 
pParis BN 47-51 	Above JaD	3	1		 
pParis BN 129-136 	Above JaD	3	1		 
pParma 106 	Above JaD	3	1		 
pTorino 1812 	Above JaD	2	1		 
pVaticano 38602 	Above JaD	2		?	 
pZagreb 604 	Above JaD	2	2		 

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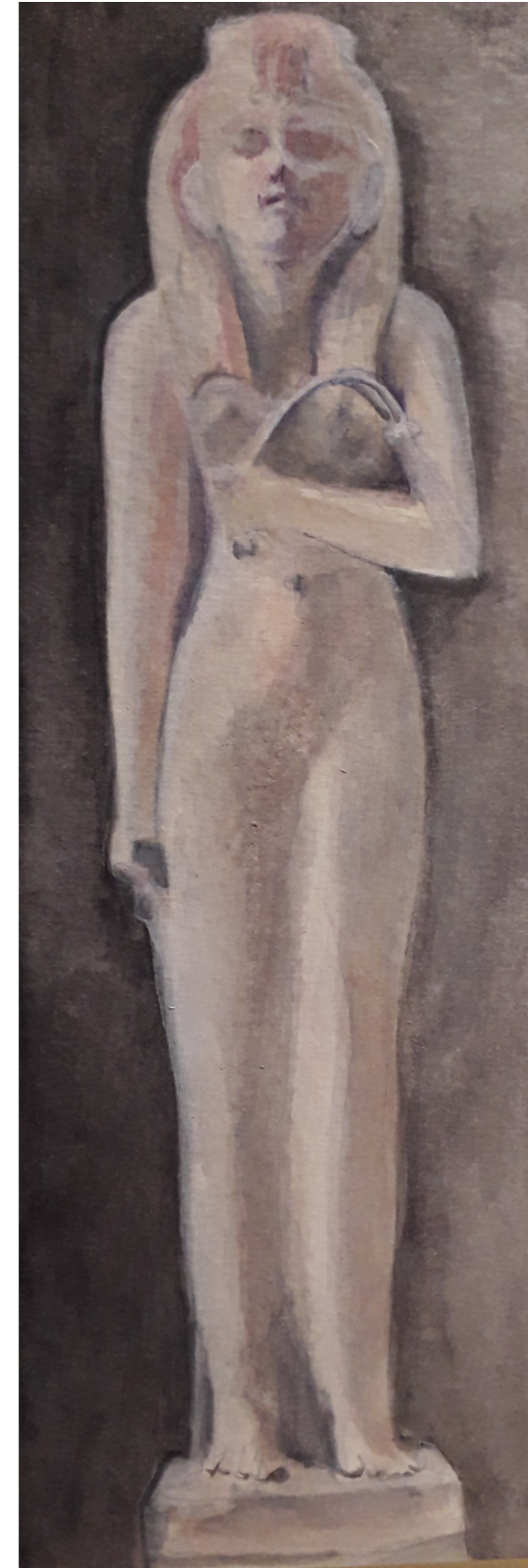
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Adoratrix del Dios. Isabel Sánchez Marqués.

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Prefacio

A Covadonga le gustaba conducir, le apasionaba estar al volante de su coche. “Pareces una chica del futurismo italiano”, le decía un amigo, aunque su primer automóvil fuera pequeño, blanco con un techo amarillo y a veces le costase llegar a su destino. Estuvimos años riendo cuando nos acordábamos del nombre con que habíamos bautizado aquella máquina. En nuestro recuerdo, ella sigue siendo la joven radiante y activa que conocimos a sus veinte años. Y su personalidad permanece entre nosotros como un perfume indeleble, retomando los versos del poeta alejandrino que tanto le gustaba. Quienes asistieron a sus conferencias conocieron la calidez de su voz; sus clases en la universidad crearon vocaciones; son, sin embargo, los que compartieron con ella su amistad quienes disfrutaron de los rasgos más sobresalientes de su personalidad: la generosidad, la entrega desinteresada a los demás. Cova tenía una capacidad excepcional para la empatía hacia los que se le acercaban. Eso le hizo ganar afectos en todos los ámbitos de su vida y conservarlos, desde los compañeros del colegio de la infancia y la pandilla de la juventud a los colegas de la madurez. Este tributo pretende también transmitir a las generaciones futuras el legado de una persona excepcional y la huella que dejó en su generación.

Un grupo de amigos que vivimos con ella sus labores de docencia, investigación o proyectos arqueológicos, decidimos rendirle un homenaje particular, uno más entre los que se le han dedicado desde el momento en que su *ka* voló al cielo. Este volumen es el resultado de esa voluntad de crear nuestro monumento a su memoria, por tantas experiencias inolvidables compartidas. El homenaje ha querido ser un caleidoscopio de miradas desde las que reflejar la personalidad de Covadonga y hemos preferido romper el formato académico tradicional. Los artículos se entrelazan con fotografías, dibujos, semblanzas o poemas que pretenden dejar constancia de la huella que ella legó a sus autores. Es nuestra ofrenda para que su *ba* siga regresando desde donde esté hasta nosotros, cada vez que la nombremos y en cada ocasión en que su recuerdo tome forma en nuestro corazón.

Foreword

Covadonga enjoyed driving; she loved being behind the wheel of her car. A friend used to tell her “you look like a woman of the Italian Futurism,” although her first car was small and white with a yellow roof, and sometimes had difficulties reaching its destination. We laughed for years remembering the name with which we baptized that machine. In our memories, she is still the radiant and active young woman we met in her twenties, and her personality remains among us as an indelible scent, to draw upon the verse of an Alexandrian poet that she loved so much. Those who attended her lectures knew the warmth of her voice, her classes at the university created vocations, however, it is those who shared her friendship who enjoyed the most outstanding features of her personality: generosity, and selfless dedication to others. Cova had an exceptional capacity for empathy toward those who approached her. This allowed her to win affection in all aspects of her life and to retain it, from the classmates of her early schooldays, to the circles of her youth, to the colleagues of her adult years. This tribute will surely be transmitted to future generations as the legacy of an exceptional individual, and the mark she left on her generation.

As a group of friends who lived with her through teaching, research, or archaeological projects, we have decided to pay her a particular tribute; one more among the many that have been dedicated to her from the moment her ka flew to heaven. This volume is the result of our desire to create for her a monument to so many unforgettable shared experiences. We decided that this tribute should be a kaleidoscope, to reflect Covadonga’s personality, and we have thus preferred to break from the traditional academic format. The articles are intertwined with photographs, drawings, sketches, or poems that are intended to record the traces she left with their authors. It is our offering so that her ba keeps coming back to us from where she now is, every time that her memory takes shape in our hearts.

Carta a una hermana en la luz

Son los hermanos y las hermanas quienes le hablan a su hermana en la luz, como el hijo que le habla a su padre, como la hija que le habla a su madre.

¡O Senet, Senet Meret! Que Osiris-Khentamentiú te otorgue millones de años respirando aliento en tu nariz, dándote pan y cerveza junto a Hathor, Señora de la Tierra de Luz.

Tu condición es como la vida millones de veces, por orden de los dioses que están en el cielo y la tierra. Que Ha, Señor de Occidente, actúe en tu favor de acuerdo a sus deseos, que Anubis, Señor del Buen Entierro actúe para ti como él lo quiera. Que pueda levantar una barrera contra los enemigos, hombres y mujeres malvados que se oponen a tu casa, tus hermanos, tus padres, tu memoria y tus obras.

Fuiste excelente en la tierra, por lo que también serás capaz y eficiente en el Más Allá. Que se te hagan ofrendas, que se realice la fiesta Haker para ti, que hagan la fiesta del Wag, que te den pan y cerveza del altar de Khentamentiú. Que puedas viajar río abajo en la Barca del Ocaso y que navegues río arriba en la Barca de la Mañana. Que estés justificada junto a cada dios. Que te conviertas en alguien elogiado por nuestros espíritus masculinos y femeninos.

¿Has visto estos lamentos ahora que estás allí en el Más Allá?

¡Oh, gran dolor! Útil es una queja para hablar de lo que se hace contra nosotros de una manera tan injusta. Aunque no hay nada que hayamos hecho contra los dioses, y aunque no hemos comido de sus ofrendas, ¡sin embargo nos han privado de ti!

Te han traído aquí a la Ciudad de la Eternidad, sin que albergues ira contra nosotros. Pero si hubiera un reproche en tu corazón, olvídale por el bien de tus hermanas y hermanos. Sé misericordiosa, sé misericordiosa, y así todos los dioses del nomo de This serán misericordiosos contigo.

Mantén alejadas todas las aflicciones dirigidas a nosotros, tus hermanas y hermanos, porque tú sabes que tenemos una gran necesidad de esto. Que vivas para nosotros y así el Grande te elogie. Que la cara del gran dios sea gozosa para ti, y que él te dé pan puro con ambas manos.

Todos los sacrificios funerarios se han realizado para la que está en la luz, a fin de que pueda interceder por nosotros, los sobrevivientes en la tierra que han quedado atrás. Por lo tanto, busca que el que causó aquello de lo que estamos sufriendo ahora te dé una explicación, porque necesitamos entender y queremos también ser justificados delante de los dioses como lo eres ahora, entendiendo todo, justificada y transfigurada.

Son los hermanos y hermanas quienes le hablan a su hermana, para quien la luz ya nunca se oscurecerá.

Letter to an enlightened sister

It is the brothers and sisters who are speaking to their sister like the son who is speaking to his father, like the daughter who is speaking to her mother.

O Senet, Senet Meret! May Osiris-Khentamentiu make millions of years for you by breathing breath into your nose, by giving bread and beer beside Hathor, Lady of the Land-of-Light.

Your condition is like life millions of time, by command of the gods who are in heaven and earth. May Ha, Lord of the West, act on your behalf as he wishes, may Anubis, Lord of the Good Burial act for you as he wishes. May you erect a barrier against male and female enemies, male and female evil ones who oppose your house, your brother, your mother, your memory, your deeds.

You are one who was excellent on earth, therefore you will also be capable in the hereafter. May one make offerings to you, may one make the Haker-feast for you, may one make the Wag-feast for you, may one give you bread and beer from the altar of Khentamentiu. You will travel downstream in the Bark-of-the-Evening and sail upstream in the Bark-of-the-Morning. May you be given justification at the side of every god. Make yourself into someone praised by our male and female ghosts.

Have you seen this lamentation now that you are there in the hereafter?

O, great grief! Useful is a complaint to speaking concerning this which is done against us in such an unjust way, although there is nothing that we have done against the gods, and although we have not eaten of his offerings, nevertheless they have deprived us of you!

You have been brought here to the City of Eternity, without you harbouring anger against us. But if there is a reproach in your heart, forget it for the sake of your sisters and brothers. Be merciful, be merciful, then all the gods of the Thinite nome will be merciful towards you.

Keep away all afflictions directed at us, your sisters and brothers, for you know we have a need for this. May you live for us in order for the Great One to praise you. May the face of the great god be joyous because of you, so that he will give you pure bread with both his hands.

All mortuary sacrifices are made for the enlightened one in order to intercede on behalf of the inhabitants of earth. Therefore seek an explanation from him who caused that of which we are suffering now, for we want to be justified in front of the gods same as you are now.

It is the brothers and sisters who are speaking to their sister, she for whom the light will never darken.