

The Use of Hieratic in Funerary Texts During the 21st and 22nd Dynasties

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Ancient Egyptian funerary texts and especially papyri belonging to the Book of the Dead are generally written in cursive hieroglyphs during the New Kingdom. Only a few hieratic copies have been found, mostly dating to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. From the Saite period onwards, Books of the Dead were written in hieroglyphs as well as in hieratic. The use of both scripts continued until the Graeco-Roman period. But the custom of writing funerary spells on papyri in hieratic had developed during the Third Intermediate Period. This article aims to follow the evolution of the presence of the hieratic script on funerary papyri in this period, focusing on the 21st and 22nd Dynasties, and to offer some explanations for its use.¹

1 Hieratic Books of the Dead Before the Third Intermediate Period

The earliest surviving examples of Book of the Dead spells are written in hieratic.² To date, the first known attestations are two coffins from the Second Intermediate Period.³ The oldest copies of Book of the Dead, mixed with Coffin Texts spells, were found on the inner parts of the coffin of Queen Mentuhotep⁴ and on a fragment of a wooden coffin board of

¹ I have benefited from many discussions on the use of hieratic during the 21st and 22nd Dynasties with Ursula Verhoeven during my various stays in Mainz, for which I am very grateful. I would like to thank her for her kind help over many years. Thanks are also due to Yekaterina Barbash (Brooklyn Museum), Ilona Regulski (British Museum), and Susanne Töpfer (Museo Egizio Torino) for their assistance and authorization to study the papyri in these museums.

² On the earliest versions of the Books of the Dead, see Dorman, 2017, 2019; Hassan 2022a, 2022b.

³ For a list of examples with both Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead spells which witness the transition between both collections of texts, see Dorman 2019, 26.

⁴ 13th or 16th Dynasty, see Dorman 2017, 34 with bibliography; Dorman 2019, 27–30. The coffin is lost but has been published according to surviving copies by Geisen 2004.

the Prince Herunefer.⁵ Both are written in horizontal lines, which seems to indicate that they followed a master copy on papyrus.⁶ Other compositions with Book of the Dead spells have been found on shrouds dating to the 17th and early 18th Dynasties in both hieroglyphs and hieratic.⁷ In 2019 Dorman published an essay on the first Books of the Dead and highlighted the case of a leather roll of Nebimes, dating to the early 18th Dynasty, which was probably used as a master copy.⁸ The use of hieratic in Books of the Dead seems to have continued at least until the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III⁹ and was progressively abandoned¹⁰ as retrograde cursive hieroglyphs became preeminent.

According to Hassan, the preference for hieroglyphs was perhaps because of the importance of inserting vignettes¹¹ as well as the fact that hieroglyphs were considered more suitable for religious texts. Indeed, the two papyri of Hatnefer from the time of Hatshepsut have only few vignettes, which are not incorporated in the text.¹² The same is true of the contemporary papyrus of Sobekmose: the recto is written in hieroglyphs and includes vignettes; the verso in hieratic, without vignettes.¹³ Thus it seems there is a difference between papyri with a “monumental” compositional format with texts written in hieroglyphs, incorporating many vignettes, and papyri with texts written in hieratic and few or even no vignettes.¹⁴ Ultimately, as Dorman highlights, Books of the Dead dating to the New Kingdom era are similar in composition to “monumental” papyri, which might explain the use of hieroglyphs.¹⁵

2 The First Attestations of Hieratic in Funerary Papyri During the 21st Dynasty

The end of the Ramesside Period was marked by very important changes in funerary practices. In the Theban area, members of the clergy of Karnak and their families were buried

⁵ BM EA 29997; see Parkinson and Quirke 1992.

⁶ See also Dorman 2017, 34–35; Hassan 2022a, 131.

⁷ On shrouds, see Dorman 2019, 34–45. For a list of sources: Dorman 2019, 48–49; Hassan 2022a, 131.

⁸ BM EA 10281; see Dorman 2019, 30.

⁹ See Dorman 2019, 48–49. For lists of Books of the Dead in hieratic during the 18th Dynasty, see Dorman 2019, 48–49; Hassan 2022a, 132–133; Hassan 2022b, 283–284.

¹⁰ Books of the Dead in hieratic are occasionally found dating to the Ramesside Period; see the list in Hassan 2022b, 280, no. 11, compiled in reference to the *Totenbuch-Projekt* database (<https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de>) (accessed November 4, 2022).

¹¹ Hassan 2022a, 133–135, 2022b, 282–283.

¹² P. Cairo TR 25.1.55.6; see Dorman 2019, 22. On the two papyri, see Hassan 2022b.

¹³ P. Brooklyn 37.1777E; see O'Rourke 2016. Also Dorman 2019, 44–45, who suggests that the papyrus was written in hieratic on the verso so that “the entire document [could] be read in the same direction on both sides.” Dorman adds that the papyrus can also be seen as a transition between different traditions. Photos online: <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/118297> (accessed November 4, 2022).

¹⁴ Dorman 2019, 22–23.

¹⁵ On papyri of the New Kingdom and their “monumental” aspect, see Dorman 2019, 21.

in collective tombs or reused ancient tombs.¹⁶ Breaking from previous traditions, the walls of these tombs were undecorated. One of the main consequences was the change in the content of the funerary papyri as well as in the decoration of the coffins. However, during the same period, tombs in the north of the country, such as in Tanis or Memphis, continued to be decorated.¹⁷

The main characteristic of funerary texts dating to the 21st and 22nd Dynasties is that they were often composed of extracts of texts from the same collection or of extracts of texts from different collections combined in various media—mainly papyri, but also coffins and tombs. Indeed, the reduced space available—due to the smaller tombs (as at Tanis and Memphis) and often shorter papyri—led scribes to make certain choices when composing the texts to be reproduced on these media. The reduced space also meant that more funerary texts were combined. For example, among the various texts and scenes from this period are not only Book of the Dead spells (with or without vignettes) but also excerpts from the underworld books that had been used in the tombs of the Valley of the Kings in earlier dynasties.¹⁸ Among these are extracts from the Amduat, the Litany of Ra, the Book of the Gates, and the Book of Caverns. Moreover, some papyri contain a mix of compositions, such as spells from the Book of the Dead and scenes from other books or even new scenes. Many of them correspond to the so-called “mythological” papyri.¹⁹ In addition to these innovations of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties, the deceased could now own one or two papyri of this kind, commonly a Book of the Dead papyrus alongside another kind of compilation, such as an Amduat or a “mythological” papyrus.

In this context, hieratic papyri containing spells from the Book of the Dead or new spells are very often attested. Owing to the work of the *Totenbuch-Projekt* in Bonn,²⁰ 320 papyri from the Third Intermediate Period have been identified,²¹ among which 216 are in hieratic. This is significantly more than those identified for the New Kingdom. Most 21st Dynasty hieratic papyri date to the second half of the dynasty, starting from the time of Pinedjem II (Table 1). But at least two papyri appear to be older.

The most ancient dated papyri for the 21st Dynasty belonged to the family of the High Priest Pinedjem I and were discovered among other papyri buried in the Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahari.²² Most members of this family owned one or two hieroglyphic papyri, but Queen Nedjmet, mother of Pinedjem I, owned one hieroglyphic and one hieratic papyrus: a hieroglyphic Book of the Dead, which mainly follows the tradition of the Ramesside Peri-

¹⁶ Such as the Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahari or the Second Cache of Deir el-Bahari (or Bab el-Gasus), the tombs discovered by the Metropolitan Museum of Art: MMA 60 and MMA 65. For an example of a reused tomb, KV 64 discovered by the University of Basel, see Bickel 2017.

¹⁷ For the tombs in Tanis, see Montet 1947, 1951, 1960; Lull, 2001; Meffre and Payraudeau forthcoming. For Memphis, see Lenzo, Meffre, and Payraudeau forthcoming.

¹⁸ Niwiński 1989 highlights the different types of papyri for this period by dividing them into categories. Among recent studies of this period, see Lenzo 2018–2019 and Lenzo forthcoming a.

¹⁹ See Piankoff and Rambova 1957.

²⁰ <https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/> (accessed November 4, 2022).

²¹ In this database only papyri containing spells from the Book of the Dead are registered; hence, many papyri with texts such as the Amduat or the Litany of Ra, are missing from the list.

²² See the list of papyri of the Royal Cache in Lenzo forthcoming a, table I; Lenzo forthcoming b.

od,²³ and a hieratic Book of the Dead, combined with excerpts from the Book of Caverns (fig. 1).²⁴ The latter also contains an original ritual written in hieratic. This papyrus displays an unusual arrangement of texts, which together form a logical scheme depicting the journey of the deceased into the underworld. It is unique not only because of its unusual content (including also new spells and vignettes arranged in novel ways), but because it appears to be the earliest papyrus in hieratic dating to the 21st Dynasty.²⁵ The inclusion of new spells and vignettes arranged in a new way could explain the use of hieratic. In particular, the master copy of the ritual, inserted in the middle of other texts and vignettes, was probably in hieratic. At the same time, the presence of excerpts from the Book of Caverns may suggest the important position of Nedjmet herself. Attestations of the Book of Caverns are rarely found during the Third Intermediate Period, and during the New Kingdom they appear in the tombs of the Valley of the Kings.²⁶ Given this, it is very likely that King Pinedjem I ordered a special papyrus for his mother.²⁷ Another possibility, suggested by Niwiński, is that the papyrus was ordered later by Pinedjem II, when the body of Nedjmet was removed to the Royal Cache. The unique arrangement of content and the use of hieratic would indeed be more usual for papyri dating to this later period. But this theory remains difficult to prove, and the presence of a hieratic papyrus as early as the beginning of the 21st Dynasty cannot be excluded.

In any case, a genuine modification in content appears in the funerary papyri owned by members of the family of the High Priest Menkheperra, most of whom were buried during the reign of Menkheperra's son Pinedjem II. For example, Menkheperra's daughter Gatseshen owned a long hieratic Book of the Dead and an Amduat,²⁸ while Gatseshen's husband Tjanefer possessed a hieroglyphic version of the Book of the Dead accompanied by a Litany of Ra.²⁹ This again demonstrates the multiplicity of texts and variants used for the afterlife during that period. But for the time of Menkheperra itself, we can add another, short hieratic papyrus; that is, the papyrus of Aha-Nefer-Amun found in the Second Cache of Deir el-Bahari (Bab el-Gasus).³⁰ This short papyrus contains the beginning of Spell 23 of the Book of the Dead, a formula for the opening of the mouth, followed by the title of Spell 26, which introduces an extract of the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth. The papyrus finishes with the title of Spell 25, followed by an invocation to the gods of the

²³ P. BM EA 10541 + P. Louvre E 6258; see Lenzo 2010.

²⁴ P. BM EA 10490; see Lenzo 2010.

²⁵ The next dated hieratic papyri must be placed later, during the pontificates of the High Priest Menkheperra and especially his son Pinedjem II.

²⁶ See Werning 2011.

²⁷ On the queen and her position during the end of the New Kingdom and beginning of the Third Intermediate Period, see Taylor 1998; also Payraudeau 2020, 57–58. It is now accepted that one Nedjmet owned the two papyri, see Thijs 2013 (Nodjmet A).

²⁸ Book of the Dead: P. Cairo S. R. IV 936 = JE 95838, published by Lucarelli 2006; Amduat: P. Cairo S. R. VII 10265, published in Sadek 1985, C3, 95–98, pl. 9.

²⁹ Book of the Dead: P. Cairo S. R. VII 10244 (= JE 33997 = CG 40014), unpublished; Litany of Ra: P. Cairo S. R. IV 952, published in Piankoff 1964, no 5, 98–109.

³⁰ P. Cairo S. R. IV 635 = JE 95705, unpublished, <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134486>. Aha-Nefer-Amun (whose nickname was Pa-Khar and who bore the title “God’s father”) is also attested as the owner of another original papyrus, a version of the Litany of Ra mixed with a formula for offerings (P. Cairo S. R. IV 979 = JE 95878), see Piankoff 1964, no 1, 66–71, 133–137.

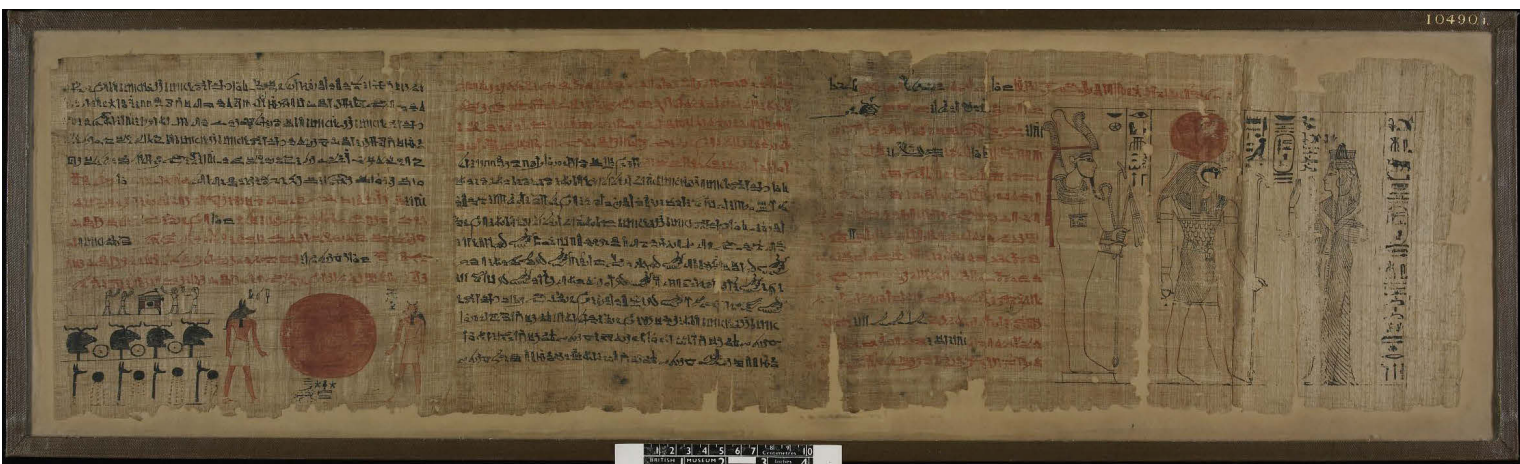


Fig. 1: P. BM EA 10490, frame 1 © The Trustees of the British Museum

Ennead. The content of the papyrus is very original and the presence of unusual texts for a Book of the Dead, such as rituals, could explain the use of hieratic.³¹ As in the case of the hieratic papyrus of Nedjmet, the writing was perhaps used in the master copy that served as a guide for the composition of the manuscript. Furthermore, this papyrus announces a tradition that is well documented during the 22nd Dynasty, but which seems to have begun during the 21st Dynasty (see below).

Since the time of the High Priest Pinedjem II, papyri written in hieratic became more frequent. Elsewhere I have identified at least three traditions of hieratic papyri from this period, with many subgroups.³²

1. Gatseshen's tradition, with subgroups³³
2. Pinedjem II's tradition, with a subgroup³⁴
3. Pashebmutebkhet's tradition³⁵

Each tradition is represented by a main papyrus, which is generally the longest one and thus contains a long sequence of spells. Each tradition is named after the owner of the main papyrus. From the master copy, which was used for each tradition, many abbreviated versions emerged; that is, versions with a selection of spells. The texts were probably chosen by the owner of the papyrus or his or her family, possibly according to their financial means. These papyri generally begin with an initial vignette depicting the deceased in adoration and making offerings to a deity, usually Osiris or a form of the sun god Ra-Horakhty.³⁶ This vignette is usually the only one in these manuscripts, except for the tradition of Gatseshen, where colored vignettes have been inserted in the middle of the spells. The other exception is Papyrus Greenfield, which belongs to Pinedjem II's tradition but has many novel features.³⁷ This papyrus is noteworthy because of its length—more than 37 meters—and because it not only contains spells from the Book of the Dead, but also hymns and litanies as well as many vignettes that belong to the repertoire of the “mythological” papyri. Vignettes are frequently drawn in the upper part of the papyrus, which resembles a layout used during the Late Period.³⁸ Some vignettes in this papyrus occupy an entire page.

³¹ Another papyrus from Berlin also contains an excerpt of Spell 23, followed by excerpts from the opening of the mouth ritual. I have proposed to date this papyrus to the 22nd Dynasty (Lenzo 2012) because of the regular presence of the beginning of Spell 23 to start a papyrus during that dynasty (see below). However, the Berlin papyrus could also be placed in the second half of the 21st Dynasty.

³² Lenzo 2019.

³³ P. Cairo JE 95838; for the papyri belonging to the same tradition, see Lenzo 2019, 244–246.

³⁴ P. BM EA 10793; for the papyri of the same tradition, see Lenzo 2019, 246–247.

³⁵ P. BM EA 10988; a list of papyri can be found in Lenzo 2019, 247. A new papyrus can be added to this list: P. Louvre E 8078, unpublished, <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/c1010202842> (accessed November 8, 2022).

³⁶ On the initial vignette of this time, see Lenzo 2004.

³⁷ See Lenzo forthcoming b.

³⁸ Style 2 according to Mosher 1992, 149, n. 34, where as style 1a of the Late Period is more similar to Gatseshen's tradition (Mosher 1992, 149, n. 34). On the layout of hieratic papyri during the Third Intermediate Period, see Lenzo 2019, 251–252.

Numerous papyri can be dated to this period, especially because many were found in the different caches and can be quite accurately dated. The different traditions in hieratic papyri attested at least since the time of Pinedjem II continue to be present until the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty.³⁹ It is however difficult to say until when they were used afterwards, since none can be dated later. Moreover, later papyri seem to stem from other traditions.

Table 1: Chronology of the 21st Dynasty⁴⁰

21 st Dynasty (Tanis)		High Priest of Amun (Thebes)	
Smendes I	1069–1043 BC	Herihor (also king)	1073–1064 BC
		Pinedjem I (also king)	1064–1032 BC
Amenemnisut	1043–1039 BC	Masaharta	1054–1046 BC
Psusennes I	1039–989 BC	Djedkhonsuiuefankh	1046? BC
		Menkheperra	1045–992 BC
Amenemope	989–980 BC	Smendes II	992–990 BC
Osorkon the Older	980–975 BC	Pinedjem II	990–969 BC
Siamun	975–956 BC	Psusennes III	968–? BC
Psusennes II	956–943 BC		

3 The Attestations of Hieratic Funerary Papyri during the 22nd Dynasty and Later

In addition to papyri that can be placed at the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty, other hieratic papyri can be dated to this dynasty with some certainty (Table 2). However, traditions are somewhat different from the usual ones found during the 21st Dynasty.

³⁹ P. Brocklehurst I and P. Cairo S. R. VII 10246 have been dated to the reign of Sheshonq I. A similar dating is possible for P. Louvre E 31856; see Table 2.

⁴⁰ Chronology according to Gombert-Meurice, Payraudeau 2018, 405.

Table 2: Chronology of the 22nd Dynasty and list of the papyri for this period⁴¹

22 nd Dynasty (Bubastis)		22 nd Dynasty (Thebes)		Papyri (22 nd Dyn.)
Sheshonq I	943–922 BC			P. Brocklehurst I and P. Cairo S. R. VII 10246 (Djedptahiuefankh)
Osorkon I	922–887 BC			P. Louvre E 31856? (Neskhonsupakhered); P. Hamburg C 3835 and P. Hamburg C 3836 (Khonsumaakheru); P. Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.100.1896 (Nakhtefmut); P. Cleveland 1914.882 and P. Cleveland 1914.732? (Bakenmut); P. Cleveland 1914.733 and P. Cleveland 1914.725? (Buirharmut); P. Geneva Bodmer 106? (Nesepernebu)
Takelot I	887–874 BC			P. St-Petersburg NRL 1 and NRL 2 (Osorkon D, grandson of Osorkon I): between Osorkon I and Osorkon II
Sheshonq IIa	874–? BC			
Sheshonq IIb	?–865 BC	Harsiesis I	c. 870–855 BC	
Osorkon II	870/865–831 BC	Takelot II	834–809 BC	P. Turin CG 53012 and P. Turin Cat. 1785: Takelot II, possibly Harsiesis I; P. Cairo S. R. IV 650 and P. Cairo S. R. IV 652 (Djedamoniuefankh, son of Iutjek (B)); P. Cairo S. R. IV 650: between Osorkon II and Sheshonq III
Sheshonq III	831–791 BC	Iuput I	809–798 BC	
Sheshonq IV	791–779 BC	Osorkon III	791–764 BC	
Pami	779–773 BC	Takelot III	768–756 BC	
Sheshonq V	773–735 BC	Rudamon	756–750 BC	

First, two papyri can be dated to the reign of Osorkon I thanks to mention of the pharaoh on surviving strips of the mummy belonging to the deceased.⁴² The owner of these two papyri, Khonsumaakheru, was *wab*-priest of Amun, son of the *wab*-priest of Amun Padiaset. Both papyri are in hieratic. The first contains hymnal parts dedicated to the sun (similar to P. Greenfield) and the second chapters from the Book of the Dead (extracts from chapters 26 and 149).⁴³ Another papyrus can be placed in the reign of Osorkon I, that is the pa-

⁴¹ Chronology according to Payraudeau 2020, 555–556; Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018, 405 and list of papyri according to Lenzo 2018–2019, 82.

⁴² The papyri were found with the mummy when the cartonnage was opened. The years 11, 12, and 23 are written on leather straps.

⁴³ P. Hamburg C 3835 and P. Hamburg C 3836, published by Altenmüller 2006a and Altenmüller 2006b.

papyrus of Nakhtefmut, whose tomb was discovered by Quibell in the Ramesseum in 1896.⁴⁴ Written on both sides, the papyrus contains Book of the Dead spells (17, 29, 11 and 142).

Another set of well-dated papyri belongs to Osorkon (D), priest of Amun, son of the High Priest of Amun Sheshonq (Q) and grandson of Osorkon I, which makes it possible to place him between the reigns of Osorkon I and Osorkon II.⁴⁵ The first is a hieratic papyrus beginning with a vignette of adoration for Ra-Horakhty followed by traditional chapters of the Book of the Dead (chapters 30A, 29, and 180).⁴⁶ The second papyrus is a Book of the Amduat with excerpts from the tenth, eleventh and twelfth hours.⁴⁷

A last set of papyri can be placed to the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty. It is a group composed of four papyri with two different owners: Bakenmut, divine father of Amun, and his wife Buirharmut, singer of Amun and of the chorus of Mut the Great, mistress of Isheru. Each owner has a hieratic papyrus with chapters from the Book of the Dead⁴⁸ and a Book of the Amduat (with excerpts from the eleventh and twelfth hours).⁴⁹ Bakenmut's hieratic papyrus contains traditional chapters from the Book of the Dead (23, 161, 29 and 6), while the hieratic papyrus belonging to his wife is more original. Indeed, Buirharmut's papyrus begins with an extract from chapter 23 of the Book of the Dead devoted to the opening of the mouth ritual and continues with texts that are not part of the traditional corpus of the Book of the Dead. The opening of the mouth (with excerpts of Spell 23) is followed by a series of wishes to allow the *ba* to fly away and reach the sky, to benefit from various offerings, and to go out in daylight. Thus, the papyrus contains the main themes of the Book of the Dead but in a very short and concise way. The dating of these documents to the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty is based essentially on the coffin of Bakenmut, which completes this set⁵⁰ and which belongs to the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty according to the typology by Niwiński.⁵¹

Other papyri with themes similar to the papyrus of Buirharmut have been identified. Among these, at least two belong to the Theban clergy of the second half of 22nd Dynasty. The owners of these two papyri are Djedamuniuefankh, son of the vizier Iutjek (B),⁵² and

⁴⁴ P. Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.100.1896, see Strudwick 2009, 201–202, who also gives the list of objects found in his tomb at the Ramesseum. See also <https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/49510> (accessed November 10, 2022).

⁴⁵ According to Payraudeau 2014, 46. The papyri—P. St. Petersburg NRL 1 and NRL 2—were found by Vivant Denon (P. Denon B and C) in 1800.

⁴⁶ P. St. Petersburg NRL 1, published in Berlev and Hodjash 1998, 141–144, pl. 158–159.

⁴⁷ P. St. Petersburg NRL 2, published in Berlev and Hodjash 1998, 144, pl. 159–160.

⁴⁸ Book of the Dead of Bakenmut: P. Cleveland 1914.882; Book of the Dead of Buirharmut: P. Cleveland 1914.733, both published in Berman and Boháč 1999, 373–374 and 377–378. See also <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1914.882> and <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1914.733> (accessed November 10, 2022).

⁴⁹ Amduat of Bakenmut: P. Cleveland 1914.732; Amduat of Buirharmut: P. Cleveland 1914.725, both published in Berman and Boháč 1999, 375–377. See also <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1914.732> and <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1914.725> (accessed November 10, 2022).

⁵⁰ Coffin Cleveland 1914.561, published in Berman and Boháč 1999, 314–324. See also <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1914.561> with further literature (accessed November 10, 2022).

⁵¹ Niwiński 1988, 134, no 160.

⁵² P. Cairo S. R. IV 650 = JE 95716; see Lenzo 2018–2019, 89, fig. 14.

Penupeker, son of Iahuben (fig. 2).⁵³ Each of them also possessed a second papyrus, a Book of the Amduat.⁵⁴ Djedamuniuefankh was also the grandson of Hor, who lived during the reigns of Takelot I and Osorkon II.⁵⁵ As such, Djedamuniuefankh must have lived during the reign of Osorkon II or Sheshonq III. As for Penupeker, he is certainly the owner of a statue found in the Karnak Cachette, erected by his son Nes-pa-netjer-aa-n-djer-a (B).⁵⁶ He is also the grandfather of Pami (ii), whose family has been studied by Payraudeau.⁵⁷ According to the chronology that has been established for this family, Penupeker can be placed approximately to the beginning of the reign of Takelot II or a little earlier. Thus, these papyri can be dated to around the reigns of Osorkon II and Sheshonq III (Table 2 above).

Other hieratic papyri resemble these two manuscripts.⁵⁸ They share many features, even if none are exactly the same: they are short papyri, with contents emphasizing the opening of the mouth, offering formulae and freedom of movement for the deceased. In some cases, the paleography is also very similar. It is highly possible that many of these papyri stem from the same workshop or were written by the same scribe. It is for this reason that I suggest dating them to the 22nd Dynasty.

Another tradition can be identified in three papyri of the 22nd Dynasty or even later. First, a papyrus from the Bodmer collection in Geneva has been dated by Valloggia to this period or to the 25th Dynasty, which is possible.⁵⁹ The papyrus contains a vignette with Ra-Horakhty-Atum associated with Osiris or Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, an excerpt of Book of the Dead chapter 15f with original sentences and ends with an extract of the twelfth hour of the Amduat. As highlighted by Valloggia,⁶⁰ the hieratic text is attested earlier on the statue of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, found in Karnak. This gives a particularly interesting example of the transmission of a text. Such texts were probably kept in the archives of the temple of Amun, or we can wonder if the text was directly copied from the statue placed in Karnak. The two other papyri, one in the Brooklyn Museum (fig. 3)⁶¹ and the other in

⁵³ P. Turin CGT 53012, published in Lenzo 2007, 141–165, pls. 51–54a.

⁵⁴ Amduat of Djedamuniuefankh: P. Cairo S. R. IV 652, published in Piankoff and Rambova 1957, no. 27; Amduat of Penupeker: P. Turin Cat. 1785; see Lenzo 2018–2019, 87, fig. 12.

⁵⁵ Hor is the owner of a statue found in the Karnak Cachette (Cairo JE 35712); see <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck454> (accessed November 10, 2022).

⁵⁶ Cairo JE 36938; see <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=182> (accessed November 10, 2022); published in Leahy 1999.

⁵⁷ Payraudeau, in Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018, 67.

⁵⁸ According to the list in Lenzo 2018–2019, 85, compiled in reference to the *Totenbuch-Projekt* database: P. Berlin P. 3010 (Lenzo 2012, 99–104, pls. 1–2); P. Berlin P. 3011 + P. Genève MAH D 190 (Lenzo 2012, 105–112, pls. 3–4); P. BM EA 10328 (unpublished); P. BNF Egyptien 59 (unpublished); P. BNF Egyptien 128 (Yacoub 2012, 229–237); P. Cairo S. R. IV 650 = JE 95716 (unpublished); P. Cleveland 1914.733 (Berman and Boháč 1999, 377–378); P. Geneva Bodmer 103 (Valloggia 1991, 129–136); P. Geneva Bodmer 106 (Valloggia 2012, 1045–1057); P. Heidelberg 1025 (unpublished); P. Louvre N 3244 (unpublished); P. Moscow Puchkine I, 1b, 130 (unpublished); P. Oberlin AMAM 1952.15 (Wilson 1961–1962, 90–96); P. Sydney R 402 (Coenen 2006, 81–82, pl. 13b); P. Turin CGT 53011 (Lenzo 2007, 131–139, pls. 48–50a); P. Turin CGT 53012 (Lenzo 2007, 141–165, pls. 51–54a); P. Vatican 38606 (Gasse 1993, 29–30, pl. XXII); P. Yale CtYBR 2755 (unpublished).

⁵⁹ P. Bodmer 107, published in Valloggia 1989.

⁶⁰ Valloggia 1989, 138–139.

⁶¹ P. Brooklyn 37.1826a, published in O'Rourke 2008.

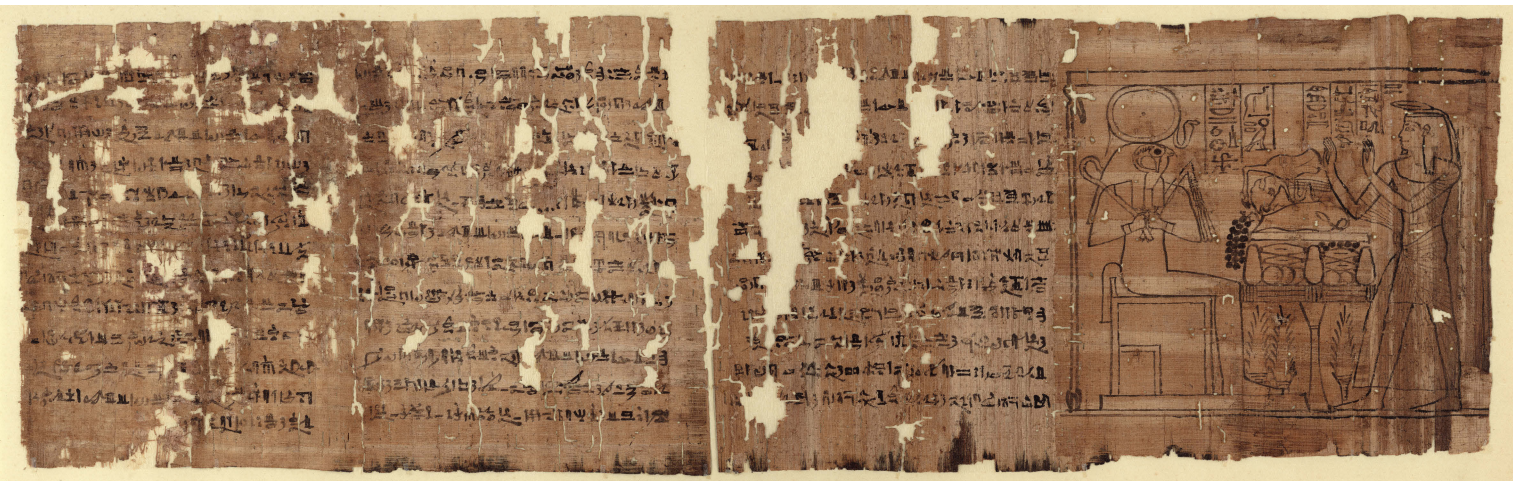


Fig. 2: P. Turin CGT 53012 (Cat. 1859/1) © Museo Egizio di Torino

the Louvre,⁶² are very similar to the Geneva papyrus in content, in the appearance of an initial vignette, and in the palaeography, so again we can hypothesize that they are from the same workshop, or perhaps the hieratic text was written by the same scribe. In the Geneva papyrus, the Amduat scene is on the same papyrus, while for the Brooklyn and Louvre papyri the twelfth hour of the Amduat seems to have been copied on another sheet of papyrus (fig. 4).⁶³

For manuscripts dating to the 22nd Dynasty and maybe even later, when a second papyrus is attributed to the same owner it is always a version of the Amduat. Indeed, other kinds of texts, as well as the “mythological” papyri, do not seem to be in use from that time onward. Furthermore, what is remarkable is that all funerary papyri with spells are in hieratic during this period; no version in hieroglyphs seems to be attested at all.

4 Conclusion

The increase in use of hieratic in funerary texts during the 21st and 22nd Dynasties can probably be explained by a combination of different factors. First, during the New Kingdom the hieroglyphic versions of the Book of the Dead on papyri were almost certainly made by skilled draftsmen accustomed to monumental versions such as those found on the walls of tombs.⁶⁴ As the practice of decorating tombs ceased at the beginning of the 21st Dynasty, funerary papyri were probably copied by scribes more familiar with hieratic script, which they would have used on a daily basis, evidenced by the fact that signs that are usually used in hieratic administrative texts can also be found in funerary texts.⁶⁵ It seems likely that papyri of the New Kingdom were products of teams of people, with the scribe only in charge of the writing and others responsible for the vignettes. During the Third Intermediate Period, the need for skilled draftsmen to work on tombs disappeared and scribes likely chose texts to be written with fewer vignettes. As suggested by Dorman, papyri that had no monumental aspect certainly required less technical ability,⁶⁶ and with the cessation of tomb decoration in the Third Intermediate Period, such artists probably diminished in number as a consequence. Like hieratic Books of the Dead during the New Kingdom, hieratic versions during the 21st and 22nd Dynasties do not generally contain vignettes. Rather, vignettes seem to be reserved for other compositions, such as the Amduat, the Litany of Ra, the “mythological” papyri, and, especially during the 22nd Dynasty, variants of the Amduat only. This is probably no coincidence but a conscious practice since new layouts of Book of the Dead papyri including vignettes, both in hieroglyphs and hi-

⁶² P. Louvre N 3141, unpublished.

⁶³ P. Brooklyn 37.1826b (unpublished) and P. Louvre N 3140 (unpublished). It is also possible that P. Brooklyn 37.1826a + P. Brooklyn 37.1826b on one side, and P. Louvre N 3140 + P. Louvre N 3141 on the other, are originally one single papyrus divided into two papyri in later, modern times. This should be checked against the originals.

⁶⁴ Dorman 2019, 23.

⁶⁵ For example, Lenzo 2007, 198–201.

⁶⁶ Dorman 2019, 24.



Fig. 3: P. Brooklyn 37.1826a. Courtesy Brooklyn Museum



Fig. 4: P. Brooklyn 37.1826b. Courtesy Brooklyn Museum

eratic, appeared again with the reemergence of monumental tombs in Thebes during the 25th Dynasty.

Second, the compilation of texts and new spells in this period probably lent itself to the use of hieratic instead of hieroglyphs because the former was better understood and because models used for the integration of hymns or ritual texts that do not belong to the usual repertoire of the Book of the Dead were probably originally in hieratic. For scribes who wrote mostly in hieratic, it would certainly not have been easy to switch from one script to the other. Indeed, we are dealing here with a specific socioeconomic group, the clergy of Amun, who certainly would have had access to many models in hieratic kept in the archives of the Karnak temple.

Finally, the regular use of hieratic begins from the time of Pinedjem II onward (i.e., toward the end of the 21st Dynasty) and becomes the writing system of choice during the 22nd Dynasty. One wonders if this is linked to the better understanding of the hieratic script in general during the Libyan dynasties of the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties.⁶⁷ In fact, stelae carved in hieratic have been found dating to same period, especially donation stelae. It seems that hieratic was almost certainly better understood by a dynasty of foreign origin.⁶⁸

As mentioned above, with the return of monumental and decorated tombs during the 25th Dynasty,⁶⁹ texts were presented with a new layout, both on tombs walls and on papyri. Spells were arranged in new sequences, the so-called Saite redaction. But the period between the 22nd and 25th Dynasties is still hard to understand in detail because papyri of this period are difficult to date. Some attempts were made to date papyri to this period, for example a date for a papyrus divided between Durham and the Vatican was convincingly suggested by Albert.⁷⁰ Another document possibly from the 25th dynasty is the hieroglyphic papyrus of Tashepenkhons, which demonstrates an innovative approach to the Book of the Dead.⁷¹

In conclusion, hieratic is predominant first on papyri with unusual spells dating to the 21st Dynasty and its use evolved during the subsequent Libyan dynasties; that is, at the very time when other materials such as donation stelae were also often engraved in hieratic rather than hieroglyphs. At the same time, the end of tomb decoration may also have influenced versions on papyri, with Books of the Dead in hieratic and often featuring no vignettes, which are reserved for other texts such as the Amduat. The texts of the Third Intermediate Period are thus essential for our understanding of the evolution of funerary texts and the transition to the Late Period, which notably retained the use of hieratic writing alongside hieroglyphs.

⁶⁷ As suggested by Leahy 1985; Kaper and Demarée 2005, 37; also Lenzo 2015, 276.

⁶⁸ See Lenzo 2015; also her upcoming study on hieratic on stone.

⁶⁹ See Einaudi 2021.

⁷⁰ P. Durham 1952.7 + P. Vatican 38581, see Albert forthcoming.

⁷¹ P. Moscow Pushkin-Museum I, 1b, 121, published in Munro 2009; for dating, see Taylor in Munro 2009, 5–10.

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