Demotic and Hieratic Scholia in Funerary Papyri and their Implications for the Manufacturing Process[1]

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Abstract: Many ancient Egyptian papyrus manuscripts inscribed with funerary compositions contain annotations within the text and margins. Some of these annotations relate directly to the production process for illustrating and inscribing the manuscripts by providing instructions for scribes and artists. Two overlooked examples, pKhaemhor (MMA 25.3.212) and pRyerson (OIM E9787), allow for new interpretations of parallel texts previously considered as labels or captions. An analysis of the corpus of scholia and marginalia demonstrates specific manufacturing proclivities for selective groups of texts, while simultaneously revealing a wide variety of possible construction sequences and techniques in others.

Résumé: Plusieurs manuscrits anciens de papyrus égyptiens sur lesquels sont inscrites des compositions funéraires contiennent des annotations dans le texte et dans les marges. Certaines de ces annotations sont directement liées au processus de production relatif à l'illustration et à l'inscription des manuscrits en donnant des instructions destinées aux scribes et aux artistes. Deux exemples négligés, le pKhaemhor (MMA 25.3.212) et le pRyerson (OIM E9787), permettent de nouvelles interprétations de textes parallèles précédemment considérés comme des étiquettes ou des légendes. Une analyse du corpus des scholia et marginalia démontre des tendances de fabrication spécifiques pour des groupes particuliers de textes, tout en révélant simultanément une grande variété de séquences et de techniques de construction dans d'autres cas.

Keywords: Book of the Dead – Funerary Papyri – Scholia – Marginalia – Hieratic – Demotic

Mots-clés: Livre des Morts – Papyrus funéraire – Scholia – Marginalia – hiératique – démotique

The production of illustrated funerary papyri in ancient Egypt was a complex and expensive process that often involved the efforts of a team of skilled scribes and artisans. The exact nature of their working habits remains only partially understood and is mostly obscured by the preserved evidence, which consists primarily of finished

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products.[2] However, these beautiful commodities retain clues to their material histories as fabricated artifacts in ancient workshops. A number of funerary papyri contain scholia,[3] i.e. marginal notations for the application of vignettes, and several unfinished manuscripts bear fragmentary witness to the processes involved in their production.[4] New readings for scholia in pRyerson and pKhaemhor are presented below and the implications of these new readings are discussed, including correcting published interpretations of manufacturing sequences for the texts in question. When these conclusions are applied to the Rhind Papyri manuscripts, appended textual elements that have long been considered "captions" to images can be reinterpreted as scholia, i.e. explanations for the placement of content and images appended during the course of drafting.[5] A reexamination of these often unstudied scholia and marginalia attest to the implementation of sequential manufacturing techniques while simultaneously demonstrating the overall variability in the production process.

Two papyri are famous for how their "unfinished" states reflect the order of steps employed during their production. In both the papyrus of Nespasefy[6] and that of Khaemhor[7] the full text was laid out inside gridlines, but only some of the vignettes

[2] Ogden Goelet, "Observations on Copying and the Hieroglyphic Tradition in the Production of the Book of the Dead," in Sue H. D'Auria (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, CHANE 38 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 119-133.

[3] I use the term scholia intentionally as these Egyptian texts perform many of the same functions as certain scholia in Classical texts, for which the term is more commonly applied in scholarly discourse. As noted by Eleanor Dickey, scholia has a wide usage, but in recent work means "commentary or notes written in the margins of a text." See Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 11, n. 25.

[4] Note especially, Chloe Ragazzoli, "The Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset (P. BNF Egyptien 62-88): Traces of Workshop Production or Scribal Experiments," *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 225-248, and Ursula Verhoeven, *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy aus der Zeit Psammetichs I.: pKairo JE 95714 + pAlbany 1900.3.1, pKairo JE 95649, pMarseille 91/2/1 (ehem. Slg. Brunner) + pMarseille 291*, Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

[5] As captions, the texts have long been understood as descriptions of the scenes in the vignettes. However, several lines of evidence discussed below, including re-interpreting these texts as instructional scholia, necessitate a reappraisal.

[6] Verhoeven, *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy*; Ursula Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*, Orientalia Lovaniensai Analecta 99 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 17 and 70-71; Rita Lucarelli, "Making the Book of the Dead," in John Taylor (ed.), *Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 283. Note that the Metropolitan Museum of Art manuscript previously attributed to Nespasefy by Werner Forman and Stephen Quirke, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 155, and Woods, *Visible Language*, 163, should rather be attributed to Khaemhor (see references in note 7 below).

[7] See Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*, 17, 71, and pl. 2; Ursula Verhoeven, "Internationales Totenbuch-Puzzle," *RdÉ* 49 (1998), 222 n. 7; and Terry G. Wilfong, "A Saite *Book of the Dead* Fragment in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology," in Rodney Ast, Hélène Cuvigny, Todd M. Hickey, and Julia Lougovaya (eds.), *Papyrological Texts in Honor of Roger S. Bagnall*, ASP 53 (Durham: American Society of Papyrologists, 2013), 325-330. According to Wilfong, the scattered fragments of pKhaemhor are currently in preparation for publication by Verhoeven.

were ever added.[8] The large empty spaces carefully laid out in preparation for the illustrator are an odd sight to an Egyptologist accustomed to looking at finished funerary manuscripts. Why the papyri were left in such an incomplete state is uncertain, but it was done despite a notation in Khaemhor's manuscript to have the spaces filled with their respective images – the addition of the vignettes was clearly part of the original plan. A hieratic annotation in the papyrus of Khaemhor (selection from pMMA 25.3.212d) reads (figure 1): *ỉrỉ mỉ sšm pn nty m sš* "Produce according to this guide which is in writing," i.e. draw the vignette(s) according to the description in the accompanying text.[9]
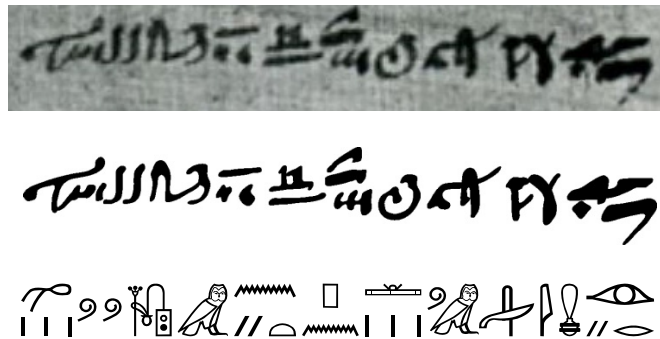
Figure 1. Hieratic Notation from pMMA 25.3.212d[10]

A comparison of pKhaemhor (MMA 25.3.212) and the later pRyerson (OIM E9787) demonstrates that scribes reflected the intended audience of their scholia by employing different scripts. The hieratic note in pMMA 25.3.212d matches the hieratic used throughout the papyrus, written in a hand very similar, if not identical to, that of the surrounding columns. However, such notes could also be written in scripts different from the main text, as shown by the Demotic note on pRyerson (OIM E9787), a famous Book of the Dead papyrus manuscript from the Oriental Institute

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[8] See also pTurin 1842 (*Totenbucharchiv Bonn, TM 57580*), a Saite Period manuscript with columns of text and empty spaces for vignettes. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for pointing me to this manuscript.

[9] Visible in the photograph in Forman and Quirke, *Hieroglyphs*, 155, who provided the translation "Add the prescribed images." For the interpretation of the well-known phrase *mỉ sšm pn* "according to this guide" (*contra* "images" in Forman and Quirke), see *Wb*. IV, 289.14-15 ("nach diesem Muster" and "in (dieser) Weise"). The demonstrative pronoun clearly indicates that the noun *sšm* is singular and the preceding preposition rules out the possibility of it acting as direct object of the verb. Based on the context and implicit meaning of this text, it is unlikely therefore that *sšm* here refers to any "image" and there is no need to invoke the root *sšm* that refers to cult statues, forms, and figures of gods (*Wb*. IV, 290-291; Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Text in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 (Lueven: Peeters, 1997), 925).

[10] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1925 (http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/590941).

Museum,[11] inscribed for a man named Nesshutefnut,[12] son of Asetreshti[13] and Iunihor.[14] The manuscript was purchased in Paris in 1919 and presented to the Oriental Institute by Martin A. Ryerson. Based on the titles of the owner, it has been suggested that the papyrus ultimately derives from Edfu.[15] It is a remarkable example of Ptolemaic Period[16] funerary production whose preservation, well organized text, and colorful vignettes have ensured that it remains a staple in exhibits and museum

[11] Thomas George Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead, Documents in The Oriental Institute Museum at The University of Chicago*, OIP 82 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1960), 10, 16-39, pls. XIII-L. A further fragment from the beginning of the papyrus was published by Holger Kockelmann, "Ein Fragment vom verschollenen Anfang des 'Papyrus Ryerson': pNew York, Columbia University Library Inv. 784," *ZÄS* 133 (2006), 94-95, pl. XXV-XXVI. Portions of pRyerson were used as *comparanda* for the Demotic version of BD 125 in Martin Andreas Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. Nat. 149)*, SAT 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003).

[12] *Ns-šw-Tfn.t*, Greek εστφηνις, see Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), 179; Erich Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1980), 691 (hereafter *Demot. Nam.*).

[13] *Ꜣs.t-rš.tἰ*, see Ranke, Personennamen, 4; Dem. Nam. 79.

[14] *Ἰἰ-n-Ḥr*, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 9-10 (s.v. *Ἰἰ-n=ἰ-Wsἰr, Ἰἰ-n=ἰ-bꜣ*). The father's name is mentioned only in column clviii (BD 191 *rꜣ n ἰnἰ(.t) bꜣ r ẖ(.t)* "spell for bringing the *ba* to the body"), while the mother's name is mentioned throughout (Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 16). Allen read the father's name as *ˁZpˁ-n-Ḥr*, but

suggested in a footnote the alternative *Ἰἰ-n-Ḥr*, for the hieroglyphic spelling ⸗⸗⸗ (Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 10 with n. 5, and pl. L; see also *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, *TM 48470*). The name should probably be read as *Ἰἰ-n(=ἰ)-Ḥr*, as hesitantly suggested by Allen, employing the jackal glyph (E17) for the value

ἰἰ as common in contemporary hieroglyphic inscriptions (*Wb*. I, 37). Cf. the writing of Imhotep as ⸗⸗⸗ on the inside of the northeast section of the enclosure wall at Edfu in Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*, MÄS 36 (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977), 144-145, §98. For further discussion, see Dieter Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische, Teil I* (Hützel: Backe-Verlag, 2007), 202, with notes. It should be further noted that the mention of the father's name appears in the first column of cursive hieroglyphs following the hieratic columns at the very end of the papyrus.

[15] Listed as Edfu in Trismegistos (TM 48470) and as "unknown" in the databank of the *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*. For the title of Nesshutefnut, *ḥm-nṯr n nꜣ bἰk.w ˁnḫ.w m ẖt=f* "priest of the living falcons in his tree," see Foy Scalf, "The Role of Birds within the Religious Landscape of Ancient Egypt," in Rozen Bailleul-LeSuer (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*, OIMP 35 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2012), 38 with fig. 2.7.

[16] Various dates have been assigned to the manuscript: Persian-Ptolemaic in Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 10; Late Period, Dynasty 31-early Ptolemaic Period, 4th century BC in Emily Teeter, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*, OIMP 23 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2003), 98; Ptolemaic, late third-second century BC in Christopher Woods (ed.), *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, OIMP 32 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2010), 163; BC 350-200 in Trismegistos; Dynasty 30-Early Ptolemaic in *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*. The late third to early second century BCE date follows Malcolm Mosher's examination of the format and layout of BD manuscripts, where he cited the issues in dating pRyerson: "The classic fault of using palaeography is well illustrated by Allen's attempt to date Papyrus Ryerson. Observing the use of signs that ranged from the 20th Dynasty to 60 A.D., he opted for a general Persian-Ptolemaic designation, whereas, based on an examination of the document's various features, Papyrus Ryerson cannot be dated earlier than the late third century, and may perhaps be attributed to the early second" (Malcom Mosher, Jr., "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period," *JARCE* 29 (1992), 169-170.

catalogs.[17] However, the short Demotic note appended to pRyerson's column cviii (after BD 140) has received relatively little attention. It is likely because an accurate reading of this inscription has yet to appear in the published literature,[18] and therefore its important implications for the general production methods of Book of the Dead papyri have not been noted before now.[19] In the original publication, Richard Parker provided Thomas George Allen with a reading of the Demotic text as *bn wš n ⸢sš ḥr⸣=f* "There is no lack of ⸢writing on⸣ it."[20] This interpretation can now be corrected with confidence.

Below the hieratic text for Book of the Dead spell 140 in pRyerson the short Demotic note reads (figure 2): *bn wš n ṯk ỉn pꜣy* "It is not an empty space for a picture."[21]
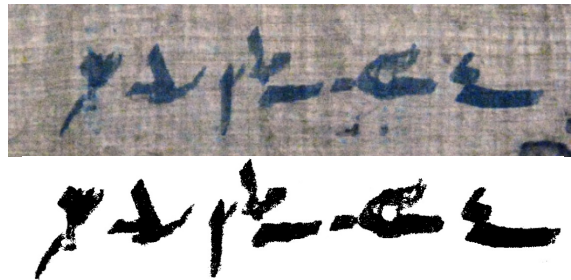

Figure 2. Demotic Note on pRyerson (OIM E9787G)

Several sign groups merit additional attention. The meaning of the word *ṯk*, "colored illustration," which Mark Depauw recently suggested was a ghost word,[22] has now been established beyond doubt by Kim Ryholt in his study of papyri from the Tebtunis

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temple library.[23] The final two groups have posed the most trouble to previous editors, being interpreted as *ḥr=f* and *n-îm=* respectively.[24] However, the paleography does not support either reading. The penultimate group is certainly the negative particle *în* that is used as the post-negation following ![bn glyph] *bn* to negate present tense, non-verbal sentences with nominal predicates.[25] The final group must then be the copula pronoun *pꜣy*,[26] necessary here to complete the predication of the nominal sentence.[27] Through this Demotic addendum, a scribe indicated that the space left at the bottom of BD 140 was not meant for the vignette associated with the next spell BD 141. BD 140, for which the correct vignette and title appear at the top of the papyrus,[28] ended close to the bottom of the papyrus and two additional lines from BD 137 in the previous column have further encroached upon the empty space. As a result, the scribe deemed this space inadequate for the location of the BD 141 vignette and feared that the illustrated would mistake it as such (plate 1).[29]

The Demotic note in pRyerson recalls the two hieroglyphic notes ![gm ws glyphs] *gm wš* "found blank"[30] in the papyrus of Gatseshen, which Rita Lucarelli believes were "likely to have been added by the illustrator on places previously left empty by the scribe."[31] In one particular section of pGatseshen, a scribe or artist has drawn these

[23] Kim Ryholt, "A Hieratic List of Book Titles," in *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collections*, CNI Publications 30 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 152-155; Mark Smith, *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005), 98 n. *(b)*. The hieratic evidence cited by Ryholt seems conclusive in determining the reading *ṯk < ṯky*. See also *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* T (14 July 2012): 12.1, 305-306. The transliteration *t* for the first sign (rather than *ṯ*) was established by Jan Quaegebeur, "Le terme ṯnf(j) 'danseur' en démotique," in Heinz-J. Thissen and Karl-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift für Erick Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983* (Würzburg: Gisela Zauzich Verlag, 1984), 157-170 (I would like to thank Sven Vleeming for reminding me of this reference).

[24] See note 20.

[25] For *în* and *bn*, see E*G*, 32 and 115.

[26] It is not surprising that previous interpreters confused this group with =*f* as the orthography can be very similar, cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 128.

[27] For further examples of the sentence type *bn* + NP + *în* + *pꜣy*, see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975), 211-212, §472.

[28] BD 140: *mḏꜣ.t îr.t ḫft mḥ wꜣḏ.t m ꜣbd 2 pr.t ꜥrqy* "Book used when filling the sound eye on Mecheir day 30." Cf. R. Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1842), pl. LVII.

[29] See Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, pl. XXIX.

[30] Alternatively, "found missing," i.e. lacunar (cf. "etwas zerstört finden" in *Wb*. I, 369.9-11).

[31] Rita Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen: Ancient Egyptian Funerary Religion in the 10th Century BC*, EU 21 (Leiden: NINO, 2006), 200-201.

hieroglyphs at a large scale in place of the actual vignette.[32] At this point, in pGatseshen, *gm wš* "found blank" is presumably a reference to a missing vignette in the source material used to compile the manuscript, while *bn wš n ṯk ỉn pȝy* "It is not an empty space for a picture" in pRyerson reflects a conscientious scribe who made an annotation for the artist that the "empty space" (*wš*) was not meant for a vignette. Despite mismatching of text and image elsewhere in pRyerson, the artist correctly skipped adding the vignette for BD 141 to this space and went on with his work. It seems unlikely that this Demotic note would have been added by the artist, for the vignette to BD 141 could have been easily squeezed into the available space[33] and furthermore vignettes in pRyerson were never put at the bottom of a column when the text of the spell began at the top of the next column.[34] Moreover, it implies that the source material used to compile pRyerson did not have a vignette associated with BD 141, a common occurrence with this particular spell.[35]

These scholia have implications for how the papyri were manufactured. Despite published assessments otherwise, it now seems clear that the text and overall layout of Papyrus Ryerson were produced prior to the vignettes being added, a typical manufacturing sequence based on what is currently known from a survey of the surviving evidence.[36] Malcolm Mosher had already noted in 1992 that the papyrus "is exceptional in that a large number of vignettes are misaligned with their respective spells, but even here the misalignment is so completely ordered that it is immediately apparent that the artist was off by one spell, sometimes two,"[37] and "… the scribe undoubtedly entered the text first, leaving space for the vignettes to be added later by the artist."[38] Evidence for this manufacturing sequence is apparent in certain areas where the ink used to produce the vignettes overlaps and covers up the black ink used

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[32] Lucarelli, *Gatseshen*, pl. VIII and XXVII. Lucarelli suggests that the two *gm wš* notes perform slightly different functions in pGatseshen: the first (pl. VIII) having been inspired by missing text (BD 162) and the second (pl. XXVII) by a missing vignette for BD 116. Cf. Lucarelli, *Gatseshen*, 202-205 and 213-215.

[33] For examples of a rather small vignette to BD 141, see Paul Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens égyptiens*, LAPO 1 (Paris: Les éditions du cerf, 1967), 185, and pLouvre N. 3087 in *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 56598*.

[34] Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, pls. XIII-L. This is further evidence that the Demotic text does not mean "There is not room for the picture" as no vignette was meant to be placed there.

[35] Richard Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1842), LVIII; Edouard Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1886), CLIII.

[36] Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 230: "In order to include pictures in a continuous hieratic text during the Third Intermediate Period, the most commonly adopted solution was to leave space for the image to be drawn in." Cf. the comment in Woods, *Visible Language*, 163, that the "vignettes … on Papyrus Ryerson were apparently done first, for the text in some areas is crowded into the available space," following Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 19: "Most at least of the vignettes were evidently sketched in ahead of the text, and the latter did not always fit as the artist had planned." A revised second edition of Woods, *Visible Language*, currently in preparation, will be amended to reflect more current research on pRyerson (personal communication by Emily Teeter).

[37] Mosher, "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead," 146-147 n. 25.

[38] Mosher, "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead," 148.

for the text,[39] a phenomenon also known from the famous papyrus of Iatesnakht where drips of color from the illustrator's brush dripped upon the columns of text.[40] The Demotic note in pRyerson provides further support to demonstrate that the hieratic text had already been written when it came time to add the vignettes. If any further proof of this sequence were needed, the empty space in pRyerson for the missing vignette of BD 37 is conclusive. Because BD 37 started in the middle of the papyrus, the illustrator accidentally missed adding the illustration and thereby caused the mismatching of text and vignettes previously cited when he went on to add the vignette for BD 37 to the text of BD 38. This follows the pattern of laying out the text prior to the vignettes reflected in the "unfinished" papyri of Nespasefy and Khaemhor.

Like the textual indications for the layout of vignettes, several manuscripts contain embedded notations describing in words the pictures found on a source text from which the scribe copied. Papyrus Bibliotèque Nationale 149 is not illustrated, but contains a selection of several Demotic compositions, including a Demotic translation of a funerary text often associated with the Book of Traversing Eternity, a textual description of the vignette of BD 125, a Demotic translation of BD 125, a description of a second vignette identified as the vignette for BD 148, a Demotic translation of BD 128, and a colophon identifying the scribe.[41] The Demotic texts associated with BD 125 appear following a short blank space in the papyrus separating it from the previous funerary compositions. At this point, there is an introductory text *nȝ sḫ.w nty šm r tȝ wsḫȝ.t n nȝ nṯr.w nty wpy* "the writings which go to the hall of the gods who judge," which is not a title for BD 125, but a description of where the text was positioned in the source material in relation to the vignette. This is followed by a lengthy Demotic description of the judgment scene associated with BD 125.[42] Martin Stadler has shown how the subsequent Demotic translation of BD 125 in pBib Nat 149 was clearly copied and translated from a hieroglyphic original in columnar

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[39] Noticeable especially around the judgement scene where the baboons' tails overlap text. See Woods, *Visible Language*, 164, fig. 84.

[40] Ursula Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht P. Colon. Aeg. 10207*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 41 (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1993), 13-14. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer who pointed this out to me.

[41] Franz Lexa, *Das demotische Totenbuch der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus des Pamonthes)*, Demotische Studien 4 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910); Martin Andreas Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. nat. 149)*, SAT 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003); Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 437-454; Martin Stadler, *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten*, EQA 7 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012), 132-133; Joachim Friedrich Quack, "A New Demotic Translation of (Excerpts of) a Chapter of the Book of the Dead," *JEA* 100 (2014), 381-393. It should be noted that, simply by coincidence, a Demotic note indicating the number of columns is found below the vignette of BD 148 in pBerlin 10477. See Malcolm Mosher, Review of Barbara Lüscher, *Das Totenbuch pBerlin P. 10477*, *JAOS* 123 (2003), 894.

[42] Joachim Quack, Review of Martin Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. Nat. 149)*, *WdO* 35 (2005), 189, where comparative material is cited; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 440.

format.[43] In this case the scribe decided to simply compose a description of the scene rather than illustrate the papyrus with a version from the source.[44]

Similar notes from other papyri further reveal the compilation process in arranging the compositions of a given manuscript. While making no reference to illustrations (the manuscript is not illustrated), a short Demotic note from pLeiden T 32, column 7, demarcates the end of the previous hieratic composition: $p^3y=f\,mnq\,p^3y$ "It is its end."[45] Like the more familiar $iw=f\,pw$ "This means it ends," $p^3y=f\,mnq\,p^3y$ signaled the separation of the previous composition from its hieratic neighbors like the spaces and notations in pBib Nat 149 described above. Joachim Quack and Mark Smith have pointed out that a hieratic composition following this Demotic note, although included in the publication of the Book of Traversing Eternity by François René-Herbin,[46] is only associated with that composition in roughly half the attested examples.[47] The Demotic note and independent exemplars (including the Demotic copy at the beginning of pBib Nat 149) rather suggest that this was an independent composition, which would have been brought together with other compositions during manuscript preparation presumably in the scriptorium. The scribe of pLeiden T 32, perhaps the owner Harsiesis himself,[48] therefore indicated his understanding of these texts as discreet units by adding this Demotic note, although it is uncertain why he would have added it in Demotic and not hieratic.

Several questions are raised by these interesting passages. Who wrote them and who were the intended readers? At first glance, one would presume that the Demotic

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[43] Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month*, 17-20.

[44] It is important to note here the scribe's role in composing the description of the vignettes in an attempt to interweave the compositions of pBib Nat 149 together. The main texts of the papyrus consist of Demotic translations of texts typically written in "l'égyptien de tradition." Using these as a basis, the scribe not only translated them into Demotic, but composed freely the vignette descriptions, for which it is assumed he did not have a textual source.

[45] See B. H. Stricker, "De Egyptische Mysteriën, Pap. Leiden T 32," *OMRO* 37 (1956), pl. VI; François René Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, OLA 58 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 477, pl. VII; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 399, and 428. Another case of the mixing of scripts in a single text is when personal names are written in Demotic in an otherwise hieratic text. The name of the owner of pGeneva D 229 appears in Demotic, as discussed by Didier Devauchelle, "À propos du papyrus de Genève D 229," *Enchoria* 8:2 (1978), 73-75. In pBM EA 10098, an unexplained Demotic orthography of *mn* "so-and-so" occurs in the spaces reserved for the owner's name. See Jacco Dieleman, "What's in a Sign? Translating Filiation in the Demotic Magical Papyri," in Arietta Papaconstantinou (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbasids* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 137-144. For a discussion of Demotic addenda in hieratic funerary papyri, see Scalf, *Passports*, 203-205; Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 403-404.

[46] Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*.

[47] Joachim Quack, Review of Martin Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. Nat. 149)*, *WdO* 35 (2005), 189; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 399-400, 438 n. 10. See also Martin Stadler *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. nat. 149)*, Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 16-17; Scalf, *Passports to Eternity*, 50 n. 193.

[48] Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 399.

notes regarding the placement of illustrations and text were written by the scribes who produced the hieratic texts and were therefore written in Demotic[49] since the contemporary vernacular would have been easier for the artist to comprehend than the archaic vocabulary, script, and grammar represented by the Middle Egyptian text in hieratic.[50] This seems to be the most likely explanation for the note in pRyerson. The fact that the ink in the pRyerson Demotic text is a slightly different shade of black than the surrounding hieratic text suggests that it may have been added at a later time, probably by the scribe checking his work after copying out the hieratic columns from his sources. There are no other Demotic texts in pRyerson with which to compare, but the scribal hand is similar enough to the hieratic, although not identical.[51] That the scribe wrote this note in Demotic would seem to indicate that the illustrator was literate in Demotic,[52] but less familiar with hieratic, a circumstance that would also

[49] In general, Demotic notes, glosses, scholia, and translations are found on numerous hieratic and hieroglyphic papyri, e.g., the Book of the Dead of pTurin 1791: R. Lepsius, *Das todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1842), pl. LX, and Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Die Datierung des Turiner Totenbuches," *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 152-153; Book of the Dead of Iateshankht (pColon. Aeg. 10207): Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch*, 339 and 347; pBoulaq 3: Susanne Töpfer, *Das Balsamierungsritual: Eine (Neu-)Edition der Textkomposition Balsamierungsritual (pBoulaq 3, pLouvre 5158, pDurham 1983.11 + pSt. Petersburg 18128)*, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 205-209; pJumilhac: Jacques Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959), Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "Zu einigen demotischen Glossen im Papyrus Jumilhac," *Enchoria* 4 (1974), 159-162, and Sandra L. Lippert, "L'étiologie de la fabrication des statuettes osiriennes au mois de Khoiak et le ritual de l'ouverture de la bouche d'après la Papyrus Jumilhac," *"ENiM* 5 (2012), 215-255; Book of the Faiyum: Richard Jasnow, "Greco-Roman Period Demotic Texts from the Faiyum and Their Relationship to the Book of Faiyum," in Horst Beinlich, Regine Schulz, and Alfried Wieczorek (eds.), *Egypt's Mysterious Book of the Faiyum* (Dettelbach: J. H. Röll, 2013), 79-87. For a discussion of the interaction between Demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic in the transmission of texts, see *inter alia* Alexandra von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: Das sogenannte Nutbuch*, Carlsberg Papyri 8 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007), 258-273; Didier Devauchelle, "Une stele hiératico-démotique provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis (Louvre IM 3713)," in F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen (eds.), *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, Studia Demotica 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 95-108; Jan Moje, "Die hieroglyphisch/demotische Stele Louvre E 13074: Synoptische Untersuchung der bilinguen Inschriften," *SAK* 42 (2013), 233-249.

[50] A similar situation is attested in pBNF Égyptien 62-88, where the marginal notations for the vignettes are composed in Late Egyptian using the definite article and in a more cursive hieratic hand. See Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 233-234. Cf. the habits of the scribe of pNu, who used *wš* to indicate lacunae in his source material and corrected missing text by inserting a sign in the text and added the missing text in hieratic in the margin (despite the remainder of the text being written in cursive hieroglyphs). See Günter Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)*, Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum 1 (London: British Museum, 1997), 54 (*wš*), 55 (in hieratic), pl. 58-59, pl. 56, pl. 21.

[51] There may be a slight difference in hand from that of the hieratic text, especially in the form of *k*. If the Demotic is indeed in a second hand, it is possible, if perhaps unlikely, that the artist, having reached this section of the papyrus and realizing that the space was not appropriate for an image, wrote the note to indicate why no vignette appears. Cf. the comments of Mosher, "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead," 148 n. 28: "This does not imply that all of the text was added first, with all the vignettes added later, for one can occasionally observe errors that clearly indicate that the scribe entered a section of text and the vignettes were then filled in before the scribe moved on to the next section." Unfortunately, there is nothing to be gained from comparing the paleography of the Demotic copular pronoun *pꜣy* with the hieratic Middle Egyptian *pw* of *iw=f pw* in BD 140 in column cviii above the Demotic notation.

[52] Or perhaps that the scribe felt more comfortable composing freely in Demotic rather than hieratic.

explain the mismatched vignettes throughout pRyerson. One wonders if the artist would have been provided with a separate list of spells in order to place the vignettes in the appropriate position. A further complication is the lack of Neshutefnut's name and his mother's name in the hieroglyphic text of the judgment scene. The image is complete, but when the hieroglyphic text was applied, spaces were left for the deceased's name and matronym, which subsequently were never filled.[53]

The scholia and marginalia discussed above can be added to a growing body of evidence revealing how funerary papyri were produced.[54] Marginalia in pBNF Égyptien 62-88 indicate the specific images the scribe intended to appear in the accompanying vignettes, although according to Ragazzoli, the illustrations here were added according to the marginalia before the main text.[55] Similar Demotic notations in the famous Rhind papyri[56] should probably be considered likewise as instructions for draftsmen rather than "captions" as they have generally been understood.[57] That these Demotic notations in pRhind I-II were written prior to the addition of the images is suggested by their position above the ruled framing lines demarcating the area for the vignettes. It is more difficult to discern the sequence employed for the further "labels" accompanying the figures inside the frame of the vignette. However, the hieroglyphic texts in the vignettes must have been added after, or simultaneously to, the images as the epithet *nb mꜣꜥ.t* "lord of truth" is carefully written around the extended hand of Thoth in pRhind I, column 4 (figure 3).
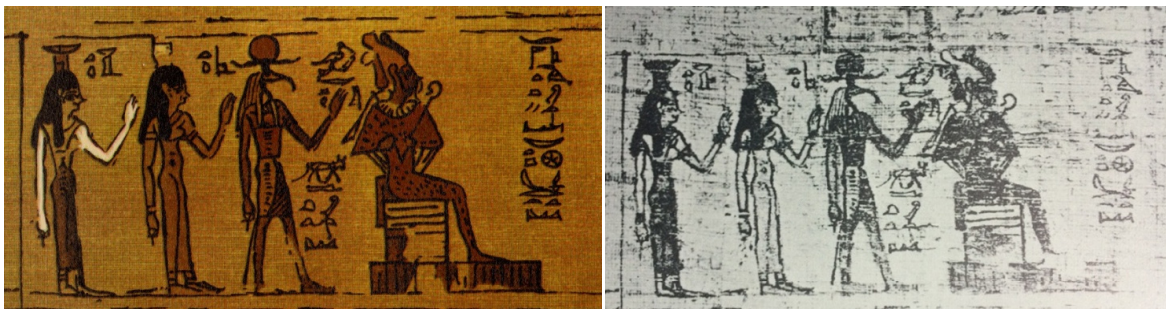

Figure 3. Vignette from pRhind I, Column 4[58]

[53] Woods, *Visible Language*, 163-164.

[54] For general comments, see Lucarelli, "Making the Book of the Dead," 268-269. Hieratic and Demotic notes on mummy labels also reveal manufacturing sequences, see Holger Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden*, Band II: *Handbuch zu den Mumienbinden und Leinenamuletten*, SAT 12 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 147-189.

[55] Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 234-235.

[56] Georg Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museum zu Edinburg* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913).

[57] Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 317, 332-334.

[58] On the left, a facsimile from Samuel Birch and A. Henry Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1863), pl. II. On the right is an image of the papyrus from Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, pl. IV.

In contrast, Demotic "label" texts written within the framing lines must have been produced before the images, as suggested by the way that the funerary bier seems to overlap the Demotic signs in *ḫr ḫpr 9* in the vignette to column 9 of Montusef's papyrus, pRhind I (figure 4).
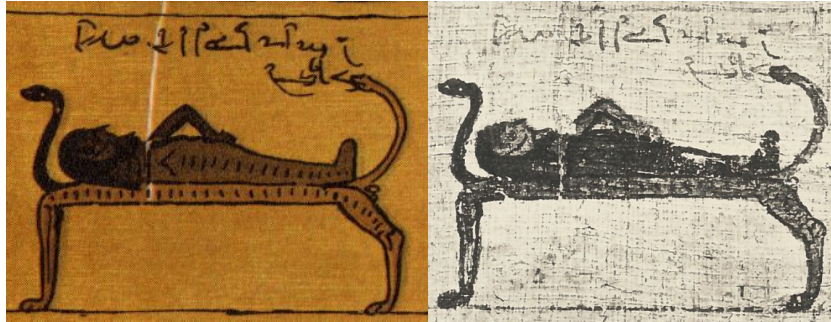

Figure 4. Vignette from pRhind I, Column 9[59]

In addition, the vignettes in the Rhind papyri are occasionally mismatched,[60] thereby indicating that a scribe was not "captioning" or "labeling" images that had already been produced, but that an artist was most likely painting them at a separate stage. Similar indications hinting at the order of production are missing from pRhind II, the papyrus for Montusef's wife, where only true marginalia appear: notations outside of the border lines of the scenes where the scribe did not feel it necessary to add any further descriptions inside the vignette frame (figure 5). However, it is clear at the very least that the guidelines were drawn first with the text and images added second, for sections of the marginalia texts and images overlap the inked guidelines.[61]
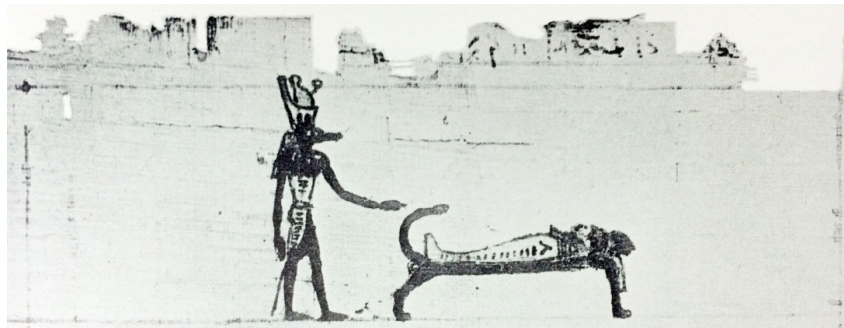

Figure 5. Vignette from pRhind II, Column 2[62]

[59] On the left, a facsimile from Birch and Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri*, pl. V. On the right is an image of the papyrus from Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, pl. IX. The facsimile shows the overlap more clearly.

[60] Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 317. Like pRyerson, the mismatched vignettes in the Rhind papyri are often one column off.

[61] E.g., figure 5, from Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, p. XIII, where the down stroke of *wꜥ* overlaps the upper border line.

[62] From Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, pl. XIII.

What is revealed by the scholia discussed above are the complex, multidimensional processes involved in creating such elaborate funerary papyri whose contents include vast compilations of text and imagery. Much has been learned in the study of various "traditions" followed in Book of the Dead production, [63] but more remains to be studied, especially about the actual manufacturing steps involved in preparing the finished products. It is still unclear how many individuals were involved, and the process was certainly not one-dimensional across space and time. For example, some manuscripts (such as pBNF Égyptien 62-88) had the vignettes added before the text, and some (such as pRyerson) after. Some manuscripts were produced with reference to source materials; others may have been made from scratch.[64] The fact that multiple individuals participated in certain demonstrable cases is indisputable;[65] in other cases, a single scribe was clearly responsible for an entire manuscript. The hieratic and Demotic marginalia imply a level of literacy among the funerary workshop staff, if we interpret these annotations as communication between personnel.[66] For elaborate papyri compiled from source material, this is no surprise as their origins in the scriptoria have long been assumed, where scribes with skills in texts must have worked alongside artist scribes with talents in drawing and painting.[67] Whether the procedures of the scriptoria pertained to the production of texts and images among the larger mortuary assemblage remain for further study.[68]

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[63] Malcolm Mosher, Jr., "An Intriguing Theban Book of the Dead Tradition in the Late Period," *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 123-172; Marcus Müller-Roth, "From Memphis to Thebes: Local Traditions in the Late Period," *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 173-187.

[64] For a discussion of producing Demotic funerary papyri outside of the scriptorium or formal workshop setting, see Scalf, *Passports*, 182-185.

[65] pBM EA 10743, pBM EA 10554, pBM EA 10470, in Lucarelli, "Making the Book of the Dead," 282, 284-286. Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 234-235, discusses the difficulty of determining how many people were involved.

[66] For manuscripts produced by a single scribe, the notes are clearly for internal purposes only, such as those on pBib Nat 149 and pLeiden T 32. Rather than instructions, these are traditional scholia, explanatory notes or comments to the text.

[67] Of course, in certain cases, a single scribe was competent enough to perform both tasks. See Ragazzoli, "Book of the Dead of Ankhesenaset," 235, citing Jaroslav Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, 2nd Edition, BdÉ 50 (Cairo: IFAO, 2001), 193, for the instance of Harshire, a draftsman who later became a scribe.

[68] See Kathyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period*, EU 22 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007).
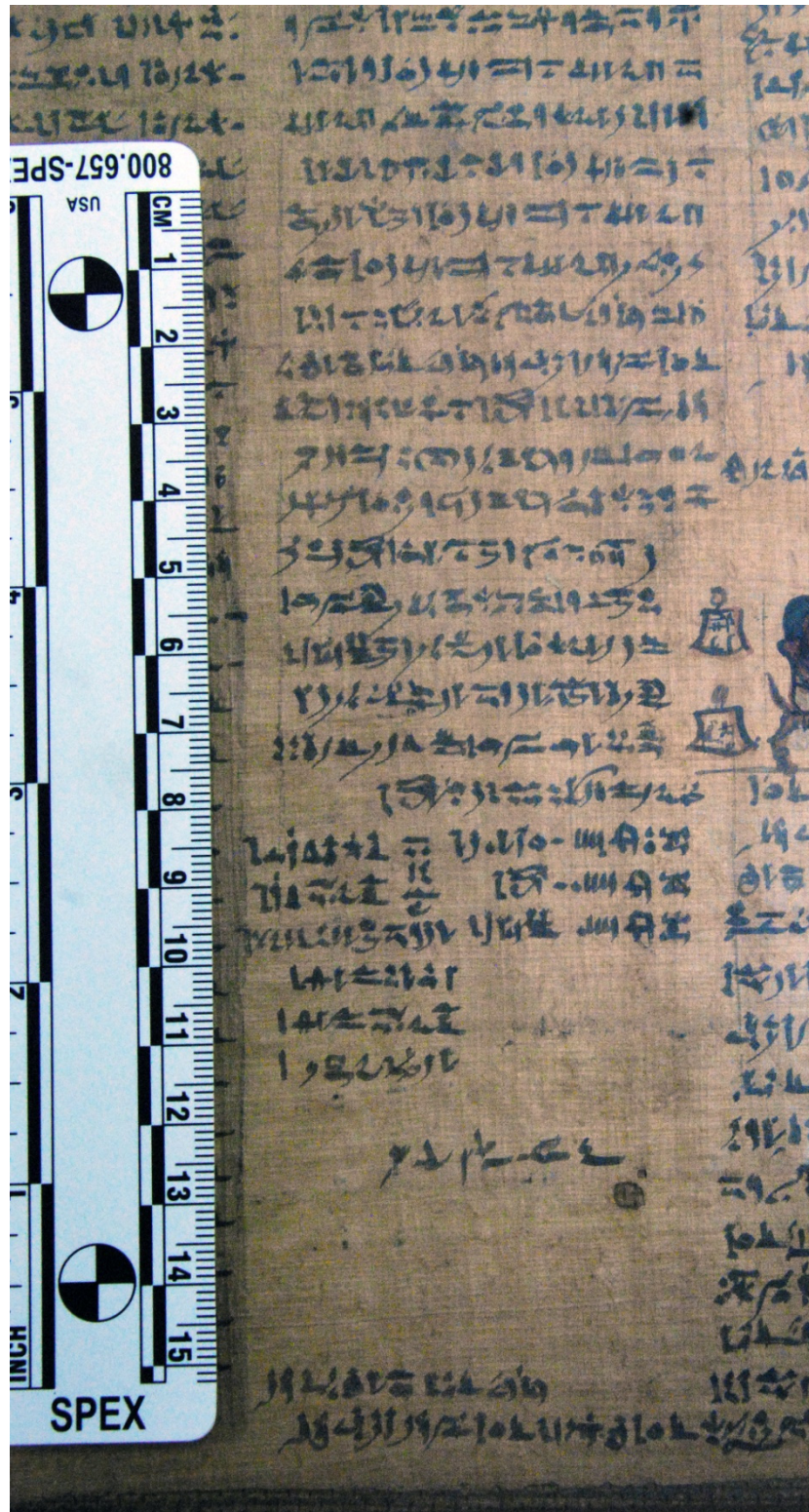
Plate 1. Column cviii of pRyerson (OIM E9787G): Crowding from BD 137 and BD 140