



BULLETIN DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne

BIFAO 123 (2023), p. 273-293

Mahmoud M. Ibrahim, Mykola Tarasenko

Mummy Bandage Cairo JE 7638

Conditions d'utilisation

L'utilisation du contenu de ce site est limitée à un usage personnel et non commercial. Toute autre utilisation du site et de son contenu est soumise à une autorisation préalable de l'éditeur (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). Le copyright est conservé par l'éditeur (Ifao).

Conditions of Use

You may use content in this website only for your personal, noncommercial use. Any further use of this website and its content is forbidden, unless you have obtained prior permission from the publisher (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). The copyright is retained by the publisher (Ifao).

Dernières publications

9782724711622	<i>BIFAO 126</i>	
9782724711059	<i>Les Inscriptions de visiteurs dans les Tombes thébaines</i>	Chloé Ragazzoli
9782724711455	<i>Les émotions dans l'Égypte Ancienne</i>	Rania Y. Merzeban (éd.), Marie-Lys Arnette (éd.), Dimitri Laboury, Cédric Larcher
9782724711639	<i>AnIsl 60</i>	
9782724711448	<i>Athribis XI</i>	Marcus Müller (éd.)
9782724711615	<i>Le temple de Dendara X. Les chapelles osiriennes</i>	Sylvie Cauville, Oussama Bassiouni, Matjaž Kažnišnik, Bernard Lenthéric
9782724711707	????? ?????????? ??????? ???? ?? ???????	Omar Jamal Mohamed Ali, Ali al-Sayyid Abdelatif
???	????? ?? ??????? ??????? ?? ?????????? ??????????????	
????????????	???????????? ??????? ??????? ?? ??? ????????? ??????;	

Mummy Bandage Cairo JE 7638

MAHMOUD M. IBRAHIM^{*}, MYKOLA TARASENKO^{**}

ABSTRACT

This paper offers the publication of a mummy's linen bandage, kept in the Cairo Egyptian Museum with the inventory numbers JE 7638 (SR 2169). No information is recorded on its provenance and discovery. It is a long pictorial frieze, consisting of a series of vignettes from the *Book of the Dead*, and a short recitation mentioning the owner as Psamtik, whose mother is Ta-heret. On the basis of the inscriptions, and the stylistic iconography of the figures, the mummy bandage can be dated to the 26th Dynasty and originates from Saqqara. An interpretation of the vignettes and their origins is also proposed here.

Keywords: mummy Bandage, Cairo JE 7638, Saqqara, 26th Dynasty, Psamtik, *Book of the Dead*, vignettes.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article propose la publication d'une bandelette de momie en lin, conservée au Musée égyptien du Caire sous le numéro d'inventaire JE 7638 (SR 2169). Aucune information n'a été enregistrée sur sa provenance et sa découverte. C'est une longue frise picturale, composée d'une série de vignettes du *Livre des Morts*, et d'une brève inscription mentionnant le propriétaire Psammétique, dont la mère est Ta-heret. Les inscriptions et l'iconographie stylistique

^{*} Lecturer, New Valley University, Egyptology Department, Egypt (mahmoud_ibrahim@arch.svu.edu.eg).

^{**} Research Fellow at the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Oxford (mykola.tarasenko@ames.ox.ac.uk).

des figures suggèrent que la bandelette peut être datée de la XXVI^e dynastie et provient de Saqqara. Une interprétation des vignettes et de leur origine est également proposée ici.

Mots-clés : Bandage de momie, Caire JE 7638, Saqqara, XXVI^e dynastie, Psammétique, *Livre des Morts*, vignettes.



MUMMY BANDAGES are the second most common medium on which the *Book of the Dead* was written, after papyri. The origin of such use dates to the beginning of the New Kingdom, when large funerary shrouds bore texts and illustrations.¹ Many bandages are housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, including the unpublished Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) that is the topic of this essay.² It is now stored in the fourth Department of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The state of its preservation is generally good with the material still being stable, and it is kept rolled (pl. 1).³ Hence, it is hoped that the presentation of Cairo SR 7638 (SR 2169) will contribute to the growing library of funerary editions of that time.



PLATE I. Cairo mummy bandage JE 7638 (SR 2169)
in a roll form of preservation.

¹ RONSECCO 1996, pl. XXXVff; CAMINOS 1970, pp. 117–131; DORMAN 2019, pp. 19–53. Overall characteristics of this media with the *Book of the Dead* assembled in KOCKELMANN 2008, II, pp. 9–11.

² The photos of this object are published here for the first time. The authors are grateful to the General Director of the Egyptian Museum; the Curator of the fourth Department, Mr. Ibrahim Gawad; the General Director of the Database, Dr. Marwa Badr Eldeen; and the Photographer of the Museum, Mr. Sameh Abdel Mohsen, for their kind assistance and permission to publish it. The authors are thankful to Dr. Malcolm Jr. Mosher for the help with revising English in the article and various useful comments and suggestions. The drawing of the object is made by Mr. Aleksey Tochidlovsky.

³ According to KOCKELMANN 2008, II, p. 91; two major types of mummy wrappings illustrated with the *Book of the Dead* can be recognised; the first is the large rectangular shrouds, and the other on narrow and meter-long strips to which Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) belongs.

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECT

[PL. 2–3]

Object: linen mummy bandage (length 225 cm, width 9 cm).

Design: a pictorial frieze composed of vignettes from the *Book of the Dead* (BD) and a hieroglyphic inscription with titles and the name of the owner.

Dating: Late Period – Early Ptolemaic Period.

Bibliography: Kockelmann 2008, II, pp. 283 (268), 365; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM II42I8, <https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tmII42I8>.

2. PROVENANCE

The mention of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in the inscription suggests that the bandage comes from the Memphite necropolis (Saqqara), whose patron was this deity.

3. PICTORAL DESIGN

[PL. 4]

The bandage is decorated with 14 monochrome drawn scenes that stem from vignettes of various BD spells.

3.1. Scene 1

The deceased, with a short wig, facing left, is shown in a kneeling position, hands raised in a gesture of adoration before Re/Re-Harakhte. In front of the deceased is a table, on which is mounted a vase (*hs* or *nmst*) with a spout for libations, and a lotus blossom (fig. 1). This scene is typical of the vignettes of various BD spells of the late tradition⁴ on papyri as well as mummy bandages.⁵ The god holds the *w3s*-scepter and is oriented to the right, facing the human figure. The motif of human worship to Re/Re-Harakhte goes back to the vignettes of BD 15 (scene 1)⁶ (figs. 2–3) and directly illustrates the opening sentence passage (*ink*) *Šnw pwy ʿ3 nty m İwnw ink İry šİpty n nty wn [...]* – “The adoration of Re-Harakhte” in parts of the solar hymns of this spell.⁷

⁴ E.g. LEPSIUS 1842, pl. XLII, LVII; BARGUET 1967, p. 84; MOSHER 2001, pl. 6, 19.1; GASSE 2001, pl. I, II, VII, IX; STÖHR 2009, p. 178, fig. 1; TARASENKO 2013, pp. 335–336, figs. 11–12.

⁵ KOCKELMANN 2008, I/1, pl. 6–7, 24, 34, 51.

⁶ MOSHER 1990, p. 636; pl. 21; MOSHER 2016a, pp. 457–458.

⁷ MOSHER 2016a, pp. 414, 419, 423, 457.



PLATE 2. Cairo mummy bandage JE 7638 (SR 2169), Part 1.

© Egyptian Museum in Cairo



PLATE 3. Cairo mummy bandage JE 7638 (SR 2169), Part 2.

© Egyptian Museum in Cairo



PLATE 4. Pictorial decoration of the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

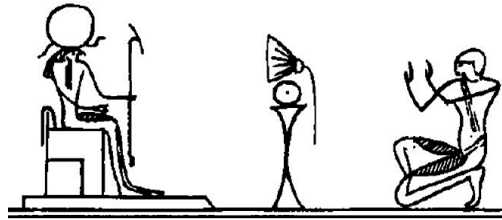


FIG. 3

FIG. 1. Scene 1 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 2. The initial vignette of BD 15 in pLondon BM EA 75044 (Ptolemaic) (after Mosher 2016a, p. 457).

FIG. 3. The initial vignette of BD 15 in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. VI).

3.2. Scene 2

A seated god of the Hapi or ‘Fertility Figure’⁸ type, in front of which two *pr*-symbols □ (GSL⁹ O1) are drawn (fig. 4). This figure comes from the long episodic scene of BD 17. In the typical representations of this scene one finds lake signs š □/▣ (GSL N37/39)¹⁰ (figs. 5–9), but here they were misunderstood as *pr*-signs.¹¹ We should note the closeness of this figure to the vignette in the Saite Period pCologne Aeg. 10207 (fig. 5), as well as the iconography of the Theban Redaction of the BD (figs. 7–9), where the signs š are always clearly outlined. This scene illustrates the following excerpt from BD 17:

*N pw ms.w m sš wr šwj nty m Nn-nšwt (n) hrw šbyt rhyt n ntr pff ntr š nty im.s ptr ršfst ššmw
hḥ.w rn n w' Wšd-wr rn n ky š pw n ḥšmn ḥn' š mš'w*

This N is born in the great large Lake that is in Heracleopolis in the Offering Day by *rekhyt*-people to this God – Great God, who is there. Who is he? ‘Leader of the Millions’ is the name of one, *Wadj-wer* is the name of the other. This is the ‘Lake of Natron’ together with the ‘Lake of Truth’.¹²

⁸ See BAINES 1985.

⁹ GSL = Gardiner’s Sign List (GARDINER 1957, pp. 442–548).

¹⁰ See MOSHER 1990, p. 642, pl. 32–39; MILDE 1991, p. 34 (VII); DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS 2005, passim; TARASENKO 2020, p. 137. See also DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS 2017.

¹¹ But cf. DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS 2005, pp. 36–37.

¹² After pCologne Aeg. 10207 (VERHOEVEN 1993, II, p. 11* (8.10–8.11)). The text in Theban Redaction: *w' btw=i pw hrw ms.wt=i w' b=i m sš.wy wr.wy šwj nty m Nn-nšwt (n) hrw šbt rhyt n ntr pwy š nty im.s pty ršfst Hḥ rn n w' Wšd-wr rn n ky š pw n ḥšmn ḥn' š n mš'.t* – “This is my purification in the day of my birthday. I am a becoming pure in two great (and) large Lakes that are in Heracleopolis in the Offering Day by *rekhyt*-people to this Great God, who is there. Who is he? *Heh* is the name of one, *Uadj-wr* is the name of the other. This is the Lake of Natron together with the Lake of Truth” (LAPP 2006, pp. 74–82; GRAPOW 1917, pp. 23–24 (Abs. 12)). See also ALLEN 1974, pp. 27–28; RÖSSLER-KÖHLER 1979, pp. 158, 215 (l. 16–17); QUIRKE 2013, p. 57; TARASENKO 2020, p. 137.

So, the deity in the drawing is *Wadj-wer* (lit. “Great Green”). The gloss specifies the name of the lakes (in Theban Redaction *sš.wy* – “Two Lakes”) with which the deity is associated and which are symbolically depicted: the ‘Lake of Natron’ and the ‘Lake of Truth’. It is characteristic that both in BD 17,¹³ and in its primary source, Spell 335 of the *Coffin Texts* (CT),¹⁴ the name ‘Lake of Truth’ (*š(ꜥ) n mꜣꜥ.t*) is in most cases written with a determinative \square (GSL O1).¹⁵ Perhaps the substitution of signs \square/\square for \square on the considered Cairo mummy bandage is explained by this very fact. In this case, the artist who created this drawing must have been well acquainted with the text of the spell.



FIG. 4



FIG. 5

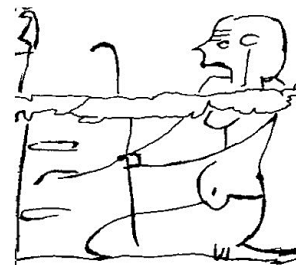


FIG. 6

FIG. 4. Scene 2 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 5. The vignette of BD 17 with the *Wadj-wer* and lakesymbols in pCologne Aeg. 10207 (Saite Period) (after Verhoeven 1993, III, pl. 3).

FIG. 6. The vignette of BD 17 with the *Wadj-wer* and lakesymbols on mummy bandage Berlin P. 3037 Nr. 5 (Late Period) (after Kockelmann 2008, I/1, pl. 26).



FIG. 7



FIG. 8



FIG. 9

FIG. 7. The vignette of BD 17 with the *Wadj-wer* and lakesymbols in pLondon BM EA 9901 (19th Dyn.).

FIG. 8. The vignette of BD 17 with the *Wadj-wer* and lakesymbols in pLondon BM EA 10470 (19th Dyn.) (after Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2017, p. 123, fig. 3).

FIG. 9. The vignette of BD 17 with the *Wadj-wer* and lakesymbols in pLondon BM EA 10471 (18th Dyn.).

¹³ LAPP 2006, pp. 81–82.

¹⁴ CT IV, pp. 216c, 217c.

¹⁵ Cf. DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS 2005, pp. 36–37.

3.3. Scene 3

Scene 3 is the so-called *Rw.ty*-scene with lions of the horizon, depicting two seated diametrically oriented lions holding on their backs the ‘horizon’ symbol – \odot *ꜥb.t* (GSL N27) (fig. 10). Like the previous scene, this scene also comes from BD 17,¹⁶ which also became an independent motive during the 21st Dynasty¹⁷ (figs. 11–13). The identification of this scene with the text of the spell is indisputable.¹⁸

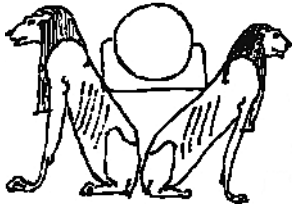


FIG. 10



FIG. 11

FIG. 10. Scene 3 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 11. The vignette of BD 17 with the horizon lions in pLondon BM EA 10257 (Ptolemaic).

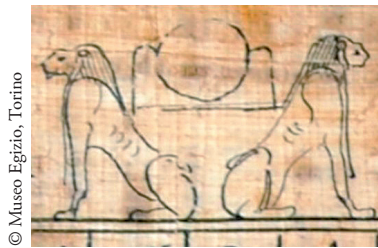


FIG. 12

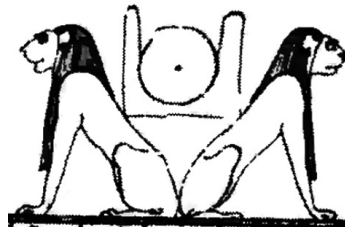


FIG. 13

FIG. 12. The vignette of BD 17 with the horizon lions in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic).

FIG. 13. The vignette of BD 17 with the horizon lions in pParis 3 (Private collection) (Ptolemaic) (after Clère 1987, pl. VI).

3.4. Scene 4

This scene depicts the deceased facing left, sitting in an adoration position. In front of him is an offering table with a vessel and a lotus (cf. scene 1). Further, six deities¹⁹ are shown facing right (fig. 14). The first god depicted sitting on a hill is Atum. The rest of the deities are standing

¹⁶ See in details MOSHER 1990, p. 641; pl. 32–39; TARASENKO 2007, pp. 77–122. Cf. KOCKELMANN 2008, I/1, pl. 12; I/2, pl. 26.

¹⁷ TARASENKO 2007, pp. 94–95, 100–101, 114–122. See also TARASENKO 2011, pp. 71–87; TARASENKO 2012, pp. 379–394.

¹⁸ ALLEN 1974, p. 26, n. 47 (3); MILDE 1991, p. 33 (IV); TARASENKO 2020, p. 136.

¹⁹ The motive of the worship of the deceased to groups of various deities can also be seen on the vignettes of different Chapters (17, 42–43, 72, 79, 104, 107–108, 110, 112–115, 127–128), but we do not know of any examples of the depiction of the worship to six deities. Usually groups are formed of two, three or four figures. The exception is BD 42 (STÖHR 2009, pp. 175–200; TARASENKO 2013, pp. 334–337, 342–348).

with a *w3s*-scepter in their left hand and the sign of life (*ꜥnb*) in their right. These are a god with the head of an ibis (Thoth), a god with the head of a falcon (Horus), an anthropomorphic goddess (?), a goddess with a snake's head (Wadjet), a god with a lion's head (Maahes²⁰ or a guardian demon?). Apparently, this composition could date back to the illustrations in BD 18, depicting the worship of the deceased to various local groups of deities: Heliopolis, Abydos, Busiris, Paths of the Dead, Pe and Dep, Great Plowing, Rosetau²¹ (figs. 15–16). Apparently, this drawing is synthetic and includes images of divine representatives of various local cult groups from BD 18.



FIG. 14. Scene 4 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).



FIG. 15. The vignettes of BD 18 in pParis Louvre N. 3151 (Ptolemaic) (after Barguet 1967, p. 67).



FIG. 16. The vignettes of BD 18 in the pLondon BM EA 10558 (26th Dyn.).

The image of the first god in the group, depicted sitting on a hill, is unusual (fig. 14). Apparently, we are dealing here with a cosmogonic motive here: Atum on the Primeval Hill. There is no direct analogy among the vignettes of BD 18 known to us, although Atum himself is included in the number of deities depicted there – he is the first in the group of the gods

²⁰ WILKINSON 2003, pp. 178–179.

²¹ MOSHER 1990, p. 661; MOSHER 2016b, pp. 100–120; MILDE 1991, pp. 60–61.

of Heliopolis.²² The figures of the deities sitting on the hill can be seen on the vignettes of BD 108²³ (fig. 17). On the other hand, among the BD 17 vignettes in pCologne Aeg. 10207 (26th Dynasty), there is a rare scene showing a solar deity on the semantic equivalent of the Primeval Hill: the stairs 𓏏 (GSL O40)²⁴ (fig. 18). It is possible that this image originated from BD 17 pectoral repertoire too.

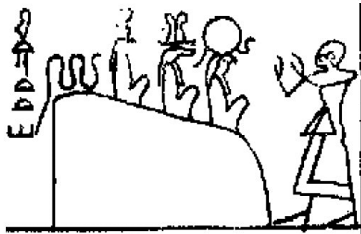


FIG. 17

FIG. 17. The vignette of BD 108 (illustrating BD 107) in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. XXXIX).



FIG. 18

FIG. 18. The vignette of BD 107 showing a figure of god on the stairs in pCologne Aeg. 10207 (26th Dyn.) (after Verhoeven 1993, III, pl. 2).

Also atypical is the image of the lion-headed god (Maahes or guardian demon?). We do not know the images of Maahes on the BD vignettes, and he is not mentioned in the BD text of the late tradition.²⁵ On the other hand, the goddess Tefnut is depicted with a lion's head on the vignettes of BD 18 (in the group of the gods of Heliopolis).²⁶ Perhaps the artist made and drew a male figure with a lion's head instead of a female figure. Thus, scene 4 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) is derived from BD 17 (image of the first deity) and BD 18 (with obvious errors).

3.5. Scene 5

The image of a scarab 𓆎 (*hpr*, GSL L1) above the *šn*-symbol 𓏏 (GSL V29) is drawn (fig. 19). The motif of the scarab is represented on the vignettes of BD Chapters 17, 29, 30, 34, and 149 of the late BD tradition.²⁷ The closest in iconography to the scene on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) are the vignettes of BD 30,²⁸ as, in particular, in pVatican 48832

²² MILDE 1991, p. 60; MOSHER 1990, p. 661; MOSHER 2016b, p. 101.

²³ MOSHER 1990, p. 772, pl. 125; MOSHER 2018b, pp. 312–313. Cf. MILDE 1991, p. 60; QUIRKE 2013, p. 237. In some papyri, such as pTurin 1791, this vignette erroneously illustrates BD 107. See in details MOSHER 2018b, pp. 292–314, esp. 300.

²⁴ VERHOEVEN 1993, I, p. 48. The motive of stairs is known also on BD 110 and 118 vignettes.

²⁵ Cf. BACKES 2005, p. 68.

²⁶ MILDE 1991, p. 60; MOSHER 1990, p. 661; MOSHER 2016b, p. 101.

²⁷ MOSHER 1990, pl. 37–39, 50–51, 207, 210; MOSHER 2016b, p. 386; QUIRKE 2013, pp. 67–68, 97, 357–358. See also http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/motiv/K_fer__Skarab_us_. For a summary of the mentions of the god Khepry, who incarnated in a scarab, see: BACKES 2005, p. 127.

²⁸ See a number of examples in MOSHER 2016b, pp. 398–431.

(26th Dynasty) (fig. 20) or pParis BN 141²⁹ (Saite to Ptolemaic period) (fig. 21). This Chapter has a title rubric: *r n tm rdit hsf.tw h3ty n s r-f m hrt-ntr* – “Spell for not allowing that the breast of a man be contending against him in the necropolis.”³⁰



FIG. 19



FIG. 20



FIG. 21

FIG. 19. Scene 5 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 20. The image of a scarab with a solar disk and *sn*-ring on BD 30 vignette in pVatican 48832 (26th Dyn.) (after Gasse 2001, pl. VIII).

FIG. 21. The image of a scarab with a solar disk and *sn*-ring on BD 30 vignette in pParis BN 141 (after Mosher 2016b, p. 423).

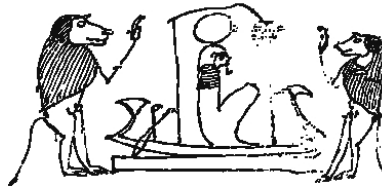


FIG. 22. Scene 6 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

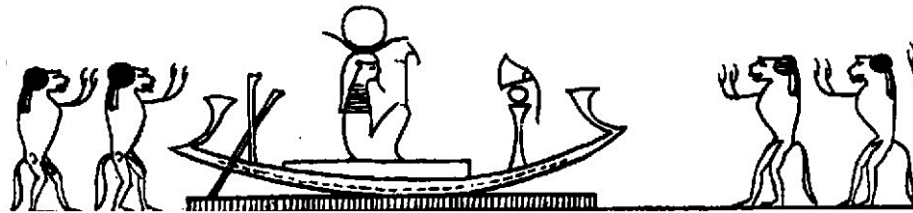


FIG. 23. BD 17 vignette showing baboons adoring solar boat in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. X).

3.6. Scene 6

Two baboons adore a boat on both sides, in which a solar deity sits, oriented to the right (fig. 22). In the late BD tradition, the baboon motif is represented on vignettes in three contexts:³¹ a) baboons, as participants in the afterlife judgment of souls (BD 125);³² b) baboons

²⁹ For a summary of 14 papyri showing a scarab with the *sn*-sign on BD 30 vignettes, see MOSHER 2016b, pp. 422–423. There is a similar vignette on the mummy bandage Berlin P. 3073 Nr. 9, see KOCKELMANN 2008, I/1, pl. 18; I/2, pl. 44.

³⁰ MOSHER 2016b, p. 398. Cf. QUIRKE 2013, p. 97.

³¹ See: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/motiv/Affen_Paviane_.

³² LEPSIUS 1842, pl. L; MOSHER 1990, pl. 151, 153–154, 156–157, 159–168.

near the ‘Lake of Fire’ (BD 126);³³ c) baboons in the solar compositions worshipping a solar deity (BD 15/16, 17).³⁴ At the same time, only on BD 17, baboons adore the sun boat (fig. 23), and thus, this scene on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) goes back to the iconography of BD 17 and illustrates the following lines: [...] *Hprī hry-ib wšz=f pšwty dt=f dt* [...] *ir Hprī hry-ib wšz=f R' pw dsz=f ir nw n iryw ššpw bnt.wy pw* – “[...] Oh, Khepry, who is in his boat, Primordial,³⁵ whose flesh is eternity! [...] It is Khepry in his boat. It is Re himself. As for these judges, they are two baboons.”³⁶



FIG. 24

FIG. 24. Scene 7 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).



© The Trustees of British Museum

FIG. 25

FIG. 25. The BD 21 vignette showing deceased adoring Osiris on throne in pLondon BM EA 10257 (Ptolemaic).

3.7. Scene 7

The deceased, oriented to the left, sits in an adoration posture. In front of him is shown a sacrificial table with a vessel and a lotus (cf. scenes 1 and 4). In front of him, on a throne, facing to the right, sits Osiris wearing a 3tf-crown with a *hk3*-scepter and a “fly swatter” (*nbhw*) in his hands (fig. 24). The motive of worshipping Osiris, the Lord of the Afterworld, is represented in illustrations of at least twenty BD spells.³⁷ At the same time, Osiris, seated on the throne, is shown on BD 18 (scene 10 by M. Mosher),³⁸ 21, 110, and 125 vignettes. The closest to the drawing on mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) is the iconography of BD 21 (version 2 by M. Mosher), showing the worship of Osiris seated on the throne in seven papyri³⁹ (fig. 25). This spell has a title rubric: *r n rdi r n s nzfm hrt-ntr* – “Spell for giving the mouth of a man to him in the necropolis.”⁴⁰

³³ LEPSIUS 1842, pl. LI; MOSHER 1990, pl. 170; QUIRKE 2013, p. 277.

³⁴ LEPSIUS 1842, pl. VI, IX–X; MOSHER 1990, pl. 22–31, 34–39; QUIRKE 2013, p. 67.

³⁵ *Wb* I, 496–497 (“*Urgott*”).

³⁶ After pCologne Aeg. 10207 (VERHOEVEN 1993, II, pp. 15* (12.1), 16* (12.5–12.6). The text in Theban Redaction: LAPP 2006, pp. 282, 284, 296, 298. See also GRAPOW 1917, pp. 80–81 (Abs. 32); ALLEN 1974, pp. 27, n. 47 (18), 31; RÖSSLER-KÖHLER 1979, pp. 164, 231–232 (l. 89–90, 94–5); QUIRKE 2013, p. 62; TARASENKO 2020, p. 140.

³⁷ See http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/motiv/Osiris_gestaltig_.

³⁸ MOSHER 2016b, p. 105. The scene for the Great Council of Rosetau showing Osiris (sometimes enthroned), Isis, Nephtis, and Horus.

³⁹ MOSHER 2016b, p. 191.

⁴⁰ QUIRKE 2013, p. 81; MOSHER 2016b, p. 176.

3.8. Scene 8

This scene shows the image of the *Benu*-bird, oriented to the right (fig. 26). The *Benu*-bird or a “phoenix” (𓂏 *Bnw*, GSL G31), i.e. the heron *Ardea cinerea* or *Ardea purpurea*⁴¹, is repeatedly mentioned in the BD.⁴² In the late pictorial tradition of the collection, it is represented as an independent character on the vignettes of BD 17 and 83⁴³ (figs. 27–31). In the first case, this is the sacred bird of Heliopolis: (*ink*) *Śnw pwy ʿ3 nty m ʿIwnw ink ʿry śṣṣṣ n nty wn [...]* – “I am this great *Benu*, who is in Heliopolis, I am in charge of all existing.”⁴⁴ In the second case, the spell (part of a so-called “transformation spells” or *Verwandlungssprüche*)⁴⁵ allows the deceased to take the forms of a *Benu* bird *n hpr.w m Bnw* – “Spell for making the shapes of a *Benu*.”⁴⁶ The orientation of a bird on a mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) allows us to match the drawing with the vignette of BD 83.



FIG. 26



FIG. 27



FIG. 28

FIG. 26. Scene 8 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 27. The *Benu*-bird on the BD 17 vignette in pLouvre N. 3248 (Ptolemaic) (after Barguet 1967, p. 60).

FIG. 28. The *Benu*-bird on the BD 17 vignette in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. VII).



FIG. 29



FIG. 30



FIG. 31

FIG. 29. The *Benu*-bird on the BD 83 vignette in pCologne Aeg. 10207 (26th Dyn.) (after Verhoeven 1993, III, pl. 215).

FIG. 30. The *Benu*-bird on the BD 83 vignette in pLouvre N. 3248 (Ptolemaic) (after Mosher 2018a, p. 178).

FIG. 31. The *Benu*-bird on the BD 83 vignette in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. XXXI).

⁴¹ GARDINER 1957, p. 470 (G31); cf. WYATT 2020, pp. 479–480.

⁴² LGG II, pp. 795–797; BACKES 2005, p. 55.

⁴³ See in details MOSHER 1990, pl. 32–39, 102; MOSHER 2018a, pp. 182–185. See also BAILLEUL-LESUER (ed.) 2012, p. 35, figs. 2.2, 2.3, 133–134.

⁴⁴ After pCologne Aeg. 10207 (26th Dyn.) (VERHOEVEN 1993, II, p. 10* (8.4). Cf. GRAPOW 1917, p. 17, fig. 8); ALLEN 1974, p. 26, n. 47, 27; RÖSSLER-KÖHLER 1979, pp. 158, 214 (l. 13–14); LAPP 2006, pp. 52–53; QUIRKE 2013, p. 56; TARASENKO 2020, p. 137.

⁴⁵ BD Chapters 76–88. See SERVAJEAN 2003; LÜSCHER 2006.

⁴⁶ LEPSIUS 1842, pl. XXXI; MOSHER 2018a, pp. 175–181; SERVAJEAN 2003, p. 70; QUIRKE 2013, p. 196.

3.9. Scene 9

Here are represented the four seated figures of the Children of Horus (*ms.w Hrw*), oriented to the right (from right to left): Hapi with the head of a baboon, Kebehsenuf with the head of a falcon, Duamutef with the head of a jackal, and Amset with the head of a man. Deities hold *w3s*-scepters (fig. 32). The motive of the Children of Horus in the late BD tradition is illustrated in spells 17, 27, 79, 125, 126, and 148⁴⁷. However, these four deities are shown in a sitting position only on the vignettes of BD 27 (version 1 by Malcolm Mosher)⁴⁸ (*r n tm rdit it.tw ib n s m-^cef m hrt-ntr* – “Spell for not allowing the heart of a man to be taken away from him in the Necropolis”) (figs. 33–34).⁴⁹ Apparently, the scene 9 on the bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) should be attributed to this spell, although on the vignettes of BD 27 the order of the deities is different (from right to left: Amset, Hapi, Duamutef, Kebehsenuf) and they do not have *w3s*-scepters.



FIG. 32. Scene 9 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).



FIG. 33. The scene of adoration to four Children of Horus on the BD 27 vignette in pLondon BM EA 10315 (Ptolemaic).




FIG. 34. The scene of adoration to four Children of Horus on the BD 27 vignette in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. XV).

⁴⁷ See http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/motiv/Horuss_hne; MOSHER 1990, pl. 32–39; MOSHER 2018a, p. 116.

⁴⁸ MOSHER 2016b, pp. 322, 325–326, 333–335.

⁴⁹ QUIRKE 2013, p. 91; MOSHER 2016b, p. 310.

3.10. Scene 10

An image of a swallow ( *mnt* GSL G36), oriented to the right, sitting on a hill or the hieroglyphic sign $\circ t$ (GSL XI) is drawn (fig. 35). This scene goes back to the vignette of BD 86 (figs. 36–37),⁵⁰ another spell from the so-called “Spells of transformations”: *r n ir hpr n mnt* – “Spell for making the shape of a swallow.”⁵¹

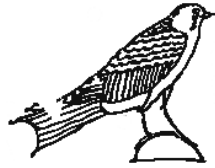


FIG. 35

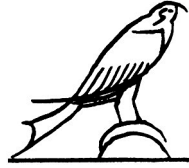


FIG. 36

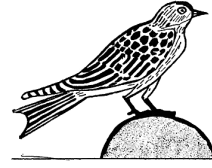


FIG. 37

FIG. 35. Scene 10 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 36. The BD 86 vignette showing a swallow in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. XXXII).

FIG. 37. The BD 86 vignette showing a swallow in pParis Louvre N. 3248 (Ptolemaic) (after Barguet 1967, p. 124).

3.11. Scene 11

The deceased, oriented to the right, with a staff in his left hand and a handkerchief in his right hand, stands in front of the symbol of Heliopolis $\ddot{I}wn$ (GSL O28) (fig. 38). This scene represents the BD 75 vignette (its version 1 by M. Mosher) (figs. 39–40).⁵² The Chapter is headed: *r n šm r İwnw r šsp st im* – “Spell for setting out for Heliopolis in order to receive a seat there.”⁵³



FIG. 38



FIG. 39



FIG. 40

FIG. 38. Scene 11 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 39. The BD 75 vignette showing a deceased in front of $\ddot{I}wn$ -symbol in pLondon BM EA 10558 (26th Dyn.).

FIG. 40. The BD 75 vignette showing a deceased in front of $\ddot{I}wn$ -symbol in pLondon BM EA 10311 (Ptolemaic).

⁵⁰ See in details MOSHER 2017, pp. 233–250.

⁵¹ MOSHER 2017, p. 230; QUIRKE 2013, pp. 201–202.

⁵² See in details MOSHER 2017, pp. 412–422, 428. Cf. KOCKELMANN 2008, I/1, pl. 25; I/2, pl. 67.

⁵³ MOSHER 2017, p. 412; QUIRKE 2013, p. 177.

3.12. Scene 12

A human head oriented to the right emerging from the lotus flower is represented (fig. 41). This drawing represents the vignette of BD 81 (its version 1 by M. Mosher),⁵⁴ which is also one of the “Spells of transformations” (figs. 42–43). The figure illustrates the title rubric of the spell: *r n irt hprw rn ššn* – “Spell for making a shape of a lotus.”⁵⁵

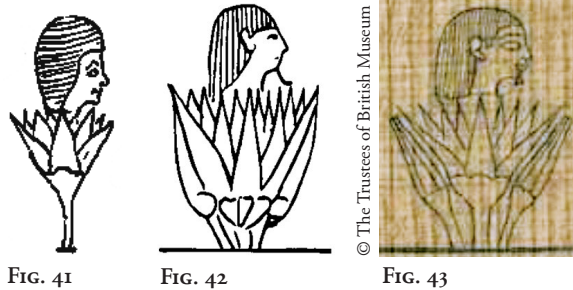


FIG. 41. Scene 12 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 42. The BD 81 vignette showing a human head rising from the lotus in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. XXXI).

FIG. 43. The BD 81 vignette showing a human head rising from the lotus in pLondon BM EA 10558 (26th Dyn.).

3.13. Scene 13

The picture shows a serpent (cobra) with human legs and two pairs of wings (fig. 44). Images of serpents are found on the vignettes of many BD spells (17, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 74, 87, 107, 109, 146, 149, 150, 163).⁵⁶ The motive of a serpent with human legs is known on the vignettes of BD 74 and 163 of the late tradition,⁵⁷ and the motive of a winged serpent with human legs is represented on BD 149 vignettes⁵⁸ (fig. 45). Here it is drawn in a so-called Tenth *Iat* (*ḫ.t, ḫ.w.t*), i.e. the “district/mound” of the Underworld,⁵⁹ and apparently shows the *Nw*-serpent, mentioned among the inhabitants of this *Iat*.⁶⁰ Thus, scene 13 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) can be associated with one of the illustrations of BD 149. But it should be noted that the cobra/*uraeus* (𓪓, 𓪔, GSL I12) is shown on the bandage. It has four wings. The visual image of the winged serpent/*uraeus* was formed in Egypt during the New Kingdom.⁶¹ In particular, the image of a serpent with four wings can be seen on the coffin

⁵⁴ See in details MOSHER 2018a, pp. 146–153. Cf. KOCKELMANN 2008, I/1, pl. 27; I/2, pl. 73.

⁵⁵ MOSHER 2018a, p. 145; QUIRKE 2013, p. 192.

⁵⁶ See <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/motiv/Schlange>.

⁵⁷ LEPSIUS 1842, pl. XXVII, LXXXVIII; MOSHER 1990, pl. 93, 163; MOSHER 2017, pp. 395–411; QUIRKE 2013, pp. 174, 396–398.

⁵⁸ LEPSIUS 1842, pl. LXII; MOSHER 1990, pl. 207–210; MILDE 1990, pp. 113–126; QUIRKE 2013, pp. 357–358.

⁵⁹ This name can be translated as “area”, “district”, “possession”, “island”, “mound”, etc. (*Wb* I, 26, 29; HANNIG 1995, pp. 22–23).

⁶⁰ QUIRKE 2013, p. 362.

⁶¹ WARD 1969, p. 136. For the Egyptian image of the winged serpent in a Middle Eastern context, see also RANDOLPH JOINES 1967, pp. 410–415; GOLDING 2013, pp. 207–210.

of Seti I (fig. 46). Since the 26th Dynasty, the image of universal pantheist deities,⁶² depicted, among other, with two pairs of parallel wings, such as Bes Pantheos or Hormerti,⁶³ who are often represented with a serpent with human legs and arms, became widespread.⁶⁴



FIG. 44

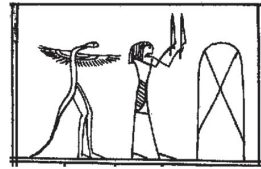


FIG. 45

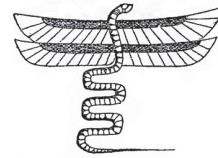


FIG. 46

FIG. 44. Scene 13 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 45. The BD 149 vignette showing a snake with wings and human legs in pTurin 1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. LXXII).

FIG. 46. The image of a fourwinged serpent on the alabaster coffin of Seti I, John Soane Museum (after Cooper 1873, p. 12, fig. 19).



FIG. 47



FIG. 48



FIG. 49

FIG. 47. Scene 14 on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

FIG. 48. The vignette of BD 151 showing jackal on the shrine in pTurin1791 (Ptolemaic) (after Lepsius 1842, pl. LXXIV).

FIG. 49. The vignette of BD 151 showing jackal on the shrine on mummy bandage Berlin P. 3037 Nr. 54 (Late Period) (after Kockelmann 2008, I/2, pl. 156).

3.14. Scene 14

The picture shows a jackal, oriented to the right, lying on the shrine; above him is a *nḥw*-symbol (𐀎 GSL S45) (fig. 47). In the late BD tradition, the jackal motive is represented on the vignettes of spells 1, 140, and 151.⁶⁵ This motive is the most characteristic for the vignettes of BD 151 (figs. 48–49), which gives us a reason to link this scene on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) with the illustrations of this spell.

⁶² WARD 1969, p. 136. See HORNING 2000, pp. 1–20.

⁶³ The pJumilhac shows Horsaisis with four wings (VANDIER 1956, p. 252, pl. II).

⁶⁴ E.g. SAUNERON 1970, pp. 23–26, figs. 2–3 (pBrooklyn 47.218.156); GOLENISCHEFF 1877, pl. V (XXI) (“Metternichstele”, New York MMA 50.85). See also STRICKER 1953, p. 6, fig. 1; PINCH 1994, p. 37, fig. 17 (pLondon BM EA 10296); HORNING 2000, p. 18, fig. 14; GOLENISCHEFF 1877, pl. III (IX).

⁶⁵ LEPSIUS 1842, pl. I, LVII, LXXIV; MOSHER 1990, pl. 17–20, 184, 214; QUIRKE 2013, pp. 4, 315, 367–368; <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/motiv/Schakal>.

The correlation of scenes on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) with their original sources is presented in Table 1.

Scene number	Original source (vignette)
1	BD 15
2	BD 17
3	BD 17
4	BD 17+18
5	BD 30
6	BD 17
7	BD 21
8	BD 83 (17?)
9	BD 27
10	BD 86
11	BD 75
12	BD 81
13	BD 149
14	BD 151

TABLE 1. Origin of pictorial scenes on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169).

4. HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTION

[Pl. 3]



dd mdw in im3hw hr Pth-skr-Wsir ntr 3 mrw N.t Psmtk m3'-hrw ms(w) n nb(.t) pr T3-hrt m3'-hrw

To be recited by glorified before Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the great god, beloved by Neith, Psamtik, true of voice, born by the Lady of the house Ta-heret, true of voice.

5. DISCUSSION

The name of the owner of mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) in the inscription is Psamtik (*Psmtk*, Gr. Ψαμμητιχος). It has been widely used since the 26th Dynasty (Trismegistos Database TM 952)⁶⁶. At the same time, the name of the mother of the owner of the bandage, Ta-heret (*T3-hrt*), is rather rare and has no direct analogy. The names closest

⁶⁶ See <https://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=952>; *PNI*, p. 136.8.

to it are known in the forms *T3-hrr* (Trismegistos Database TM 13877)⁶⁷ and *T3-hrt-ib* (Trismegistos Database TM 15642).⁶⁸

Based on a number of features, the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) can be dated to the 26th Dynasty.

First, the name Psamtik (*Psmṯk*) is characteristic to the 26th Dynasty (but on the other hand, it is also known from later times)⁶⁹. Three kings of this dynasty bore this name, which contributed to its spread among the Egyptian people.

Secondly, in the inscription, along with the Memphis deity of the necropolis Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the goddess Neith is mentioned (*ꜥ mrw N.t*). Neith was the supreme goddess of the city of Sais, the capital of the Fifth Nome of Lower Egypt, from where the 26th Dynasty originated.

Third, the inscription on the bandage is written in hieroglyphics, which may reflect the tendency towards “archaisation” characteristic of the 26th Dynasty.

Finally, the iconography of the bandage pictures has a number of atypical features that can be explained by the instability of the pictorial tradition at the time of the formation of the Saite BD Redaction:

- a. In scene 2, depicting *Wadj-wer* (BD 17), instead of the sign of the ‘pool’ (𓂏/𓂐), the sign of the ‘house’ (𓂑) is drawn, which is not typical for the illustrations of the BD 17 vignettes of both Theban and late BD Redactions. Such a substitution could appear in a period when the textual-pictorial tradition of the BD had not yet recovered after the troubled time of its rupture during the second half of the Third Intermediate Period. The arrangement of the deity’s hands on the bandage finds analogies on the BD 17 vignettes of the 26th Dynasty (pCologne Aeg. 10207) (fig. 5), and it is not typical for Ptolemaic copies.
- b. The depiction of six deities (BD 18) in scene 3 is not typical for the BD 18 illustrations. Also uncharacteristic for the Ptolemaic Redaction are the motives of a deity on a hill and a god with a lion’s head among the vignettes of BD 18. The first motive finds an analogy in the drawing of a god on the stairs on the vignettes of BD 17 in pCologne Aeg. 10207 from the 26th Dynasty (fig. 18).
- c. The image of a cobra/*ureus* with human legs and two pairs of wings in scene 13 may fit to the beginning of the tradition of depicting pantheistic creatures with two pairs of parallel wings (Bes Pantheos, Hormerti, Horsaisis), which falls during the 26th Dynasty.

⁶⁷ See <https://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=13877>. Fixed in pBerlin P. 11336 (pHauswaldt) (Edfu) (MANNING 1997, pp. 2, 31 (3c); LÜDDECKENS 1999, p. 1207).

⁶⁸ See <https://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=15642>; *PNI*, p. 361.19.

⁶⁹ See QUIRKE 1999, pp. 37–66.

CONCLUSION

In general, we can conclude that the scenes drawn on the mummy bandage Cairo JE 7638 (SR 2169) are the pictorial quintessence of the vignettes of the entire BD corpus (from 15 to 151 spells) and, thus, constitute a kind of small model of the entire collection, acting according to the *pars pro toto* principle. The presence of iconographic variability and hieroglyphic inscription brings this bandage closer to the design of funerary papyri of the Third Intermediate Period. This, among other things, may indicate the early origin of this object within the Late Period and the Saite Redaction of the *Book of the Dead*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALLEN 1974
T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians concerning the Hereafter as expressed in their own Terms*, SAOC 37, Chicago, 1974.
- BACKES 2005
B. Backes, *Wortindex zum späten Totenbuch (p Turin 1791)*, SAT 9, Wiesbaden, 2005.
- BAILLEUL-LESUER (ed.) 2012
R. Bailleul-Lesuer (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*, OIMP 35, Chicago, 2012.
- BAINES 1985
J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre*, Warminster, 1985.
- BARGUET 1967
P. Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens Égyptiens. Introduction, traduction, commentaire*, LAPO 1, Paris, 1967.
- CAMINOS 1970
R.A. Caminos, "Fragments of the Book of the Dead on Linen and Papyrus", *JEA* 56, 1970, pp. 117–131.
- CLÈRE 1987
J.J. Clère, *Le papyrus de Nesmin. Un Livre des Morts hiéroglyphique de l'époque ptolémaïque*, BiGen 10, Cairo, 1987.
- COOPER 1873
W.R. Cooper, *The Serpent Myth of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1873.
- DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS 2005
L. Díaz-Iglesias Llanos, "Commentary on Heracleopolis Magna from the Theological Perspective (I): The Image of the Local Lakes in the Vignette of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead", *Trabajos de Egiptología* 4, 2005, pp. 31–106.
- DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS 2017
L. Díaz-Iglesias Llanos, "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", *Trabajos de Egiptología* 8, 2017, pp. 117–182.
- DORMAN 2019
P.F. Dorman, "Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead", *JARCE* 55, 2019, pp. 19–53.
- GARDINER 1957
A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, London, Oxford, 1957 (3rd ed.).
- GASSE 2001
A. GASSE, *Le Livre des Morts de Pacherientaihet au Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, Museo Gregoriano Egizio Aegyptiaca Gregoriana IV, Vatican, 2001.
- GOLDING 2013
W.R.J. Golding, "Perceptions of the Serpent in the Ancient Near East: Its Bronze Age Role in Apotropaic Magic, Healing and Protection", PhD Dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2013.

- GOLENISCHIEFF 1877
W. Golenischeff, *Die Metternichstele in der Originalgröße*, Leipzig, 1877.
- HANNIG 1995
R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen: Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptische–Deutsch (2800–952 v. Chr.)*, Mainz am Rhein, 1995.
- HORNUNG 2000
E. Hornung, “Komposite Gottheiten in der ägyptischen Ikonographie”, in C. Uehlinger (ed.), *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st millennium BCE) – Proceedings of an International Symposium held in Fribourg on November 25–29, 1997*, OBO 175, Freiburg, Göttingen, 2000, pp. 1–20.
- KOCKELMANN 2008
H. Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden I/1–2, SAT 12*, Wiesbaden, 2008.
- LAPP 2006
G. Lapp, *Totenbuch Spruch 17: Synoptische Textausgabe nach Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, Totenbuchtexte 1, Basel, 2006.
- LEPSIUS 1842
R. Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, Leipzig, 1842.
- LÜDDECKENS 1999
E. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch I/16*, Wiesbaden, 1999.
- LÜSCHER 2006
B. Lüscher, *Die Verwandlungssprüche (Tb 76–88)*, Totenbuchtexte 2, Basel, 2006.
- MANNING 1997
J.G. Manning, *The Hauswaldt Papyri: A Third Century B.C. Family Dossier from Edfu – Transcription, Translation and Commentary*, DemStud 12, Sommerhauseen, 1997.
- MILDE 1991
H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferenpet*, EU 7, Leiden, 1991.
- MOSHER 1990
M. Mosher, “The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead in the Late Period: A Study of Revisions Evident in Evolving Vignettes, and Possible Chronological or Geographical Implications for Differing Versions of Vignettes”, PhD Dissertation, Berkeley University, 1990.
- MOSHER 2001
M. Mosher, *The Papyrus of Hor (BM EA 10479) with Papyrus MacGregor: The Late Period Tradition at Akhmim*, Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum 2, London, 2001.
- MOSHER 2016a
M. Mosher, *Book of the Dead: Saite through Ptolemaic Periods – A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes, vol. 1: BD spells 1–15*, SPBDStudies, Prescott, 2016.
- MOSHER 2016b
M. Mosher, *Book of the Dead: Saite through Ptolemaic Periods – A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes, vol. 2: BD spells 16, 18–30*, SPBDStudies, Prescott, 2016.
- MOSHER 2017
M. Mosher, *Book of the Dead: Saite through Ptolemaic Periods – A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes, vol. 4: BD Spells 50–63, 65–77*, SPBDStudies, Prescott, 2017.
- MOSHER 2018a
M. Mosher, *The Book of the Dead: Saite through Ptolemaic Periods – A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes, vol. 5: BD Spells 78–92*, Prescott, 2018.
- MOSHER 2018b
M. Mosher, *The Book of the Dead: Saite through Ptolemaic Periods – A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes, vol. 6: BD Spells 93–109*, Prescott, 2018.
- PINCH 1994
G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1994.
- QUIRKE 2013
S. Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight prt m hrw: The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead – Translation, Sources, Meanings*, GHP Egyptology 20, London, 2013.

- RANDOLPH JOINES 1967
K. Randolph Joines, “Winged Serpents in Isaiah’s Inaugural Vision”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (4), 1967, pp. 410–415.
- RONSECCO 1996
P. Ronsecco, *Due Libri dei Morti del principio del Nuovo Regno: Il lenzuolo funerario della principessa Ahmosi e le tele del sa-nesu Ahmosi*, Turin, 1996.
- RÖSSLER-KÖHLER 1979
U. Rößler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuches: Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte und Funktionen eines Textes der altägyptischen Totenliteratur*, GOF IV/10, Wiesbaden, 1979.
- SAUNERON 1970
S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, Brooklyn, 1970.
- SERVAJEAN 2003
F. Servajean, *Les formules des transformations du Livre des morts à la lumière d’une théorie de la performativité. XVIII^e-XX^e dynasties*, BiEtud 137, Cairo, 2003.
- STÖHR 2009
S. Stöhr, “Who is Who? Die Repräsentanten der Gliedervergottung in den späten Vignette zu Tb 42”, in B. Backes, M. Müller-Roth, S. Stöhr (eds), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot: Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, SAT 14, Wiesbaden, 2009, pp. 175–200.
- STRICKER 1953
B.H. Stricker, *De Grote Zeeslang*, MEOL 10, Leiden, 1953.
- TARASENKO 2007
M. Tarasenko, “‘Ruti-Scene’ in Ancient Egyptian Religious Art (19th-21st Dynasties)”, in E. Kormysheva (ed.), *Cultural Heritage of Egypt and Christian Orient* 4, Moscow, 2007, pp. 77–122.
- TARASENKO 2011
N.A. Tarasenko, “The Vignettes of the Book of the Dead Chapter 17 during the Saite Period”, in E. Kormysheva, D. Michaux-Colombot, E. Fantusati (eds.), *Cultural Heritage of Egypt and Christian Orient* 6, Moscow, Orleans, Roma, 2011, pp. 71–87.
- TARASENKO 2012
M. Tarasenko, “The Vignettes of the Book of the Dead Chapter 17 During the Third Intermediate Period (21st–22nd Dynasties)”, *SAK* 41, 2012, pp. 379–394.
- TARASENKO 2013
M. Tarasenko, “Development of Illustrative Tradition of the Chapter 42 of the Book of the Dead”, *SAK* 42, 2013, pp. 325–348.
- TARASENKO 2020
M. Tarasenko, “The Vignettes of Chapter 17 from the Book of the Dead as Found in the Papyrus of Nakht (London BM EA 10471): At the Beginning of the Ramesside Iconographic Tradition”, *Journal of the Hellenic Institute of Egyptology* 3, 2020, pp. 131–146.
- VANDIER 1956
J. Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac*, Paris, 1956.
- VERHOEVEN 1993
U. Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch der Iahesnacht. P. Colon. Aeg. 10207 I–III*, Bonn, 1993.
- WARD 1969
W.A. Ward, “The Four-Winged Serpent on Hebrew seals”, *RSO* 43, 1969, pp. 135–143.
- WILKINSON 2003
R.H. Wilkinson, *Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, London, 2003.
- WYATT 2020
J. Wyatt, “Birds of the Air: An Ornithological Overview of the Roles of Both Diurnal and Nocturnal Birds in the Religion, Art, Hieroglyphs and Lives and Deaths of Ancient Egyptians”, in A. Maravelia, N. Guillhou (eds.), *Environment and Religion in Ancient and Coptic Egypt: Sensing the Cosmos Through the Eyes of the Divine – Proceedings of the 1st Egyptological conference of the Hellenic Institute of Egyptology*, ArchaeoEg 30, Oxford, pp. 475–489.

