



Fig. 11. Chaotic animals on stela Kestner  
Museum 1935.200.688. Late Period  
(Stricker, *De Grote Zeeslang* 6, fig. 1).

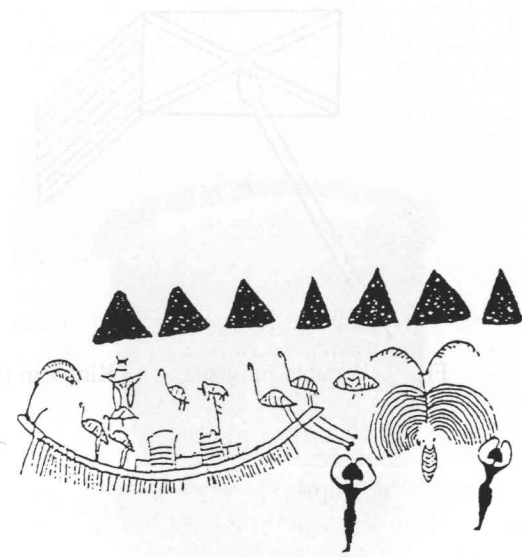


Fig. 12. Flamingos aboard a Naqada II type  
boat. Pot decoration  
(Capart, *Les débuts* fig. 83 below left).

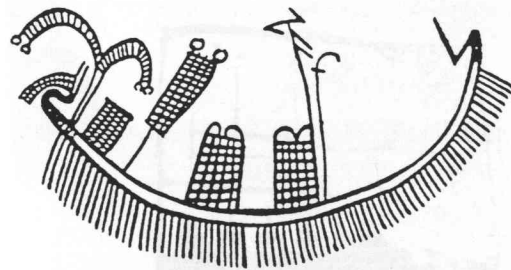


Fig. 13. Naqada II sunbark. Pot decoration  
(Budge, *A History of Egypt* I 73).

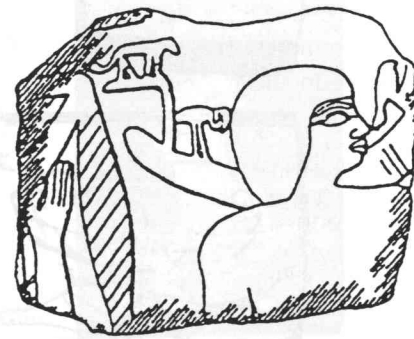


Fig. 14. Flamingo aboard a cultic solar boat.  
Sun-temple relief. Fifth Dynasty (von Bissing  
and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum* III pl. 11, 209).

## TWO THIRTEENTH DYNASTY HEART SCARABS

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Some ten years ago, Geoffrey Metz brought to my attention a green jasper heart scarab given to the British Museum by Percy Newberry, and preserved in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities (BM EA 64378). This exquisitely carved scarab has human face in place of scarab head, and is incised on the underside with 'incomplete hieroglyphs' giving chapter 30B of the Book of the Dead, in the course of which the owner is identified as the high steward Nebankh. 'Incomplete hieroglyphs' are typical of the late Middle Kingdom, first attested late in the reign of Amenemhat III, on the offering-table of Neferuptah from Hawara. Hieroglyphic rock inscriptions and other monuments date this official at this stage of his career more precisely to the reign of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty king Khaneferra Sobekhotep<sup>1</sup>. This early date was already noted in 1943 in the British Museum register, presumably following the indications given by Newberry himself. However, its precise chronological significance was obscured by the lack of a consensus at the time for the relative date of the king within the period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. Specifically, the available reference works for the period by commentators such as Weill and Petrie gave little credence to the Ramesside manuscript kinglist, the Turin Canon<sup>2</sup>. It must have seemed difficult at the time to assert that Nebankh belonged several generations earlier than the king Sobekemsaf whose heart scarab has generally been cited as the earliest dated example.

Regardless of the credibility of the position of Khaneferra Sobekhotep at column 7, line 27 in the Ramesside kinglist, and so as twenty-fourth ruler after the Twelfth Dynasty, there is now the additional evidence of three more heart scarabs. Together the names and titles on them support a date for the development of the heart scarabs to the broad period of material culture currently known as the late Middle Kingdom, rather than to the later Second Intermediate Period<sup>3</sup>. Already during his review of the heart scarabs in the collection, Geoffrey Metz noted a close parallel to the scarab of Nebankh, with the name of the owner given as a noblewoman Neferuptah. It is much to be hoped that those two magnificent gems are given a full publication. In the meantime, I publish here the only two other Thirteenth Dynasty heart

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<sup>1</sup> Wolfram Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*, Berlin 2000, 93-94, III.25.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond Weill, *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien*, Paris 1918; William M F Petrie, *A History of Egypt. Volume I. From the earliest kings to the XVIth Dynasty*, London 1923 (10<sup>th</sup> edition). See too Hans Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13.ten bis 17.ten Dynastie Ägyptens, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skarabäen dieser Zwischenzeit*, Glückstadt 1942, though this seems too late to have been known to Newberry at the time of the information supplied for the notice in the British Museum register in 1943.

<sup>3</sup> For the numbering of this column, differing from the previous interpretation of the manuscript by Alan Gardiner, see the reconstruction by Kim Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c.1800-1550 BC*, Copenhagen 1997, 9-33 with figure 10 on p.71.

scarabs known to me, one from the collections of the Louvre, the other from Leiden. I am most grateful to colleagues at the Louvre, in particular the head of the department, Christiane Ziegler, and Christophe Barbotin, Marc Etienne, and Elisabeth Delange, for assistance in examining the scarab there, and for photographs and permission to publish. I am indebted to Maarten Raven for the photographs of the Leiden scarab, and for the encouragement to publish in this journal.

1. The heart scarab of the king's intimate, Dedtu, Leiden L.II.6 (plate 1)

Material: green jasper

Dimensions: height 2.3 cm, length 4.9 cm, width 3.5 cm

Date: early to mid-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (by parallel of the Nebankh heart scarab)

Description: Finely cut green jasper scarab, with closely observed details of the scarab body and legs, pointed domed back, and shallow human face in place of the head and clypeus. The face has horizontal mouth and raised modelled lips and chin, and softly modelled nose, ears, eyebrows and eye rims, with demarcated pupils. On the underside are scored ten irregular horizontal lines, separating eleven lines of incised hieroglyphs in which animal and insect forms are avoided, and bird signs left incomplete without legs. There is damage to the lowest line of the inscription at the left end and edges.

Inscription on underside:

Transliteration:

- (1) *dd mdw h3 wsir rh nswt* (2) *dd.tw dd.f*  
*ib.i n mwt.i sp sn*  
 (3) *h3ty.i n hpri.i*  
*m 'h' r.i* (4) *m mtrw*  
*m hsf r.i m d3d3(5)-t*  
*m ir rq (?) r.i*  
*ntk k3.i* (6) *imy ht.i*  
*hnm swd3 'wt.i*  
*pr* (7) *k r bw hn.n im*  
*shšw (?) rnw* (8) *n šnyt irw rmt m 'h'w*  
 (9) *hn. n (?) nfr n sdm*  
*šw-ib n wd'-mdw*  
 (10) *m dd (?) grg-r r-gs ntr*  
 (11) ... *wn ...*

Translation:

'Words spoken. O Osiris the king's intimate Dedtu, he says:  
 My heart of my mother, my heart of my mother,  
 My heart of my being,  
 Do not stand against me as witness,

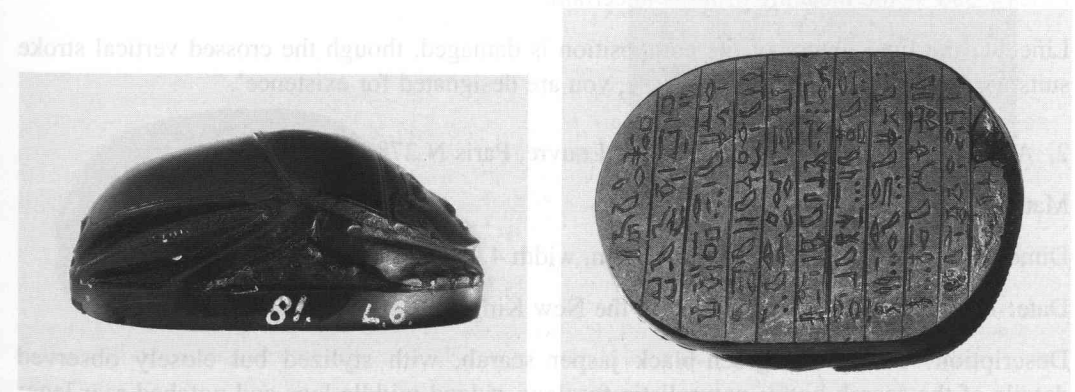
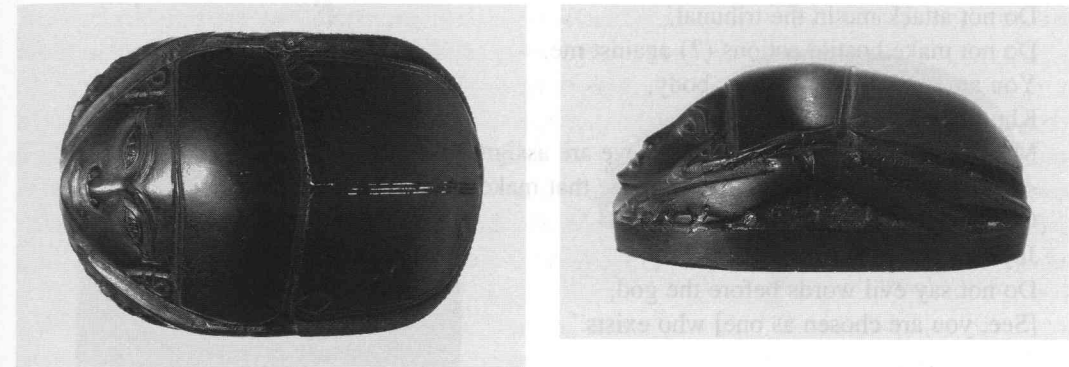


Plate 1. Leiden L.II.6

Do not attack me in the tribunal,  
 Do not make hostile actions (?) against me.  
 You are my ka that is in my body,  
 Khnum vitalising my limbs.  
 May you go out to the place where we are assigned (?),  
 <or> foul (my) names to the entourage that makes people in sessions.  
 Our assignment is good to the hearer,  
 Joyful for the one who judges  
 Do not say evil words before the god,  
 [See, you are chosen as one] who exists.'

Commentary:

The underside bears a religious literary composition included in New Kingdom and later funerary manuscripts, and known among Egyptologists as chapter 30B of the Book of the Dead. With the other late Middle Kingdom sources for this composition, the Leiden scarab demonstrates that it came into existence several centuries before the regular elite funerary practice developed, in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, of placing in the tomb a manuscript with religious compositions. The particular importance of chapter 30B is its reference to the judgement of the dead. On this and other general issues, see further below. The commentary here covers points of detail.

Line 1: in the late Middle Kingdom this title denotes a high official at court, though not in the innermost circle of the highest officials around the king. There are no other attestations known to me for a man named Deltu with this title.

Line 5: the signs *m ir* seem clear, but are followed by a horizontal sign recalling the hand, possibly for a mouth (?), and a rhomboid over a clear mouth, perhaps for the *rq* 'hostile actions' found on other heart scarabs. Possibly the cutter interpreted the phrase as *m ir drt r rq r.i* 'do not cause the balance-hand to incline against me'.

Line 7: the line appears to offer an incomplete writing for *shnš* 'cause to stink' as on other examples, including the scarab of Nebankh.

Lines 7 and 9: the meaning of *hn* is uncertain.

Line 11: the final phrase of the composition is damaged, though the crossed vertical stroke suits *wn* 'exist', in the formulation 'see, you are designated for existence'.

2. A heart scarab recut for Pauseramun, Louvre, Paris N 2780c (plate 2)

Material: green-black jasper

Dimensions: height 3.0 cm, length 6.9 cm, width 4.9 cm.

Date: late Middle Kingdom, reused in the New Kingdom (?)

Description: Finely cut green-black jasper scarab, with stylized but closely observed details of the scarab body: naturalistic forelegs, ridged middle legs and notched rear legs; double rib division between wing-cases, with petal-formed humeral callosity at outer side

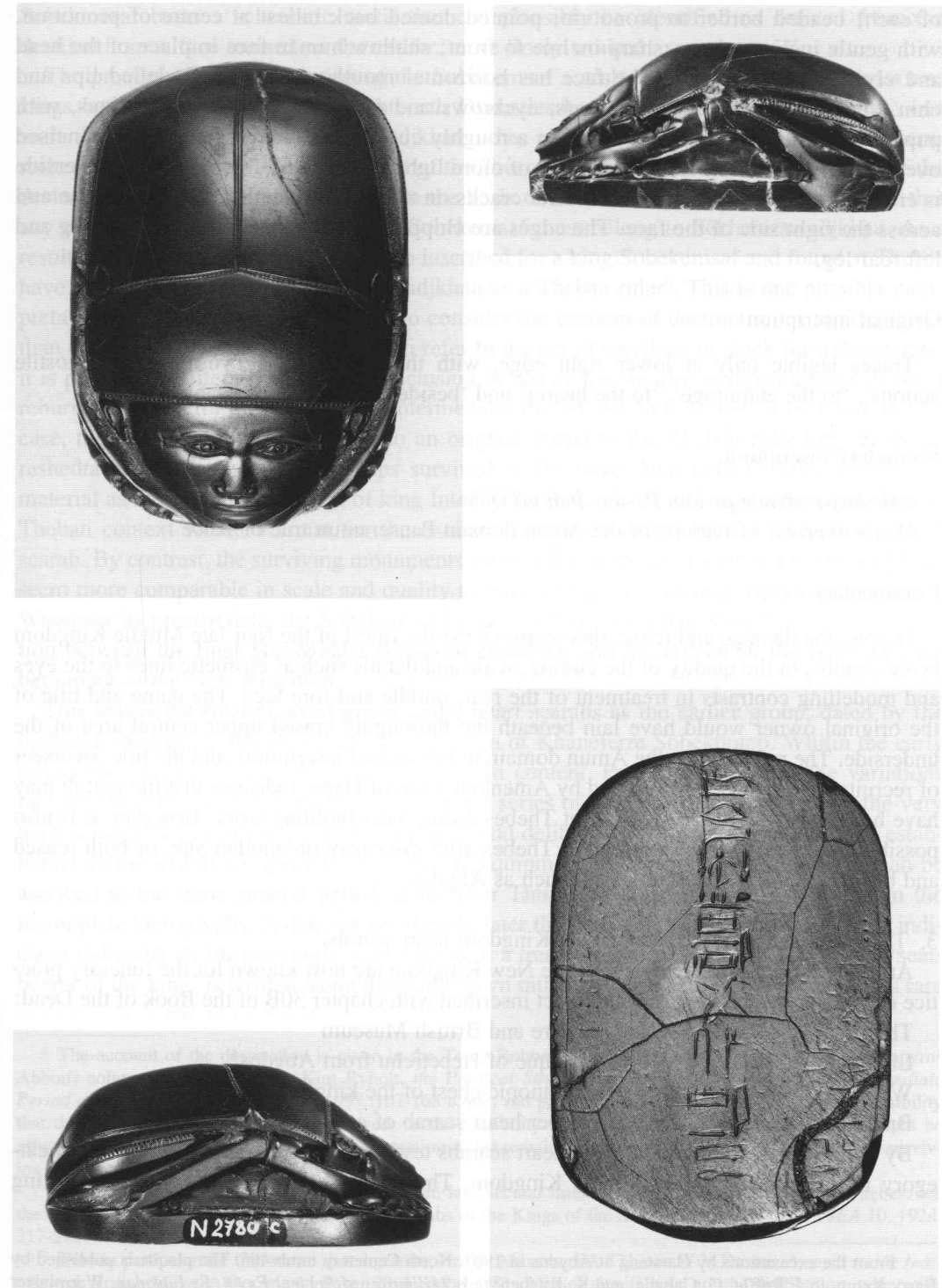


Plate 2. Louvre N 2780 C  
 (photos: Christian Larrieu, La Licorne 1994)

of each; beaded border to pronotum; pointed domed back tallest at centre of pronotum, with gentle incline to rear, sharp incline to front; shallow human face in place of the head and clypeus of the scarab. The face has horizontal mouth and raised modelled lips and chin, and softly modelled nose, ears, eyebrows and eye rims with cosmetic lines, with pupils demarcated. On the underside is a roughly cut vertical line of hieroglyphs, incised over an erased series of horizontal lines of more lightly incised hieroglyphs. The underside is cracked in several points, with further cracks on the upper side along left wing-case and across the right side of the face. The edges are chipped, particularly at the left front leg and left rear leg.

#### Original inscription:

Traces legible only at lower right edge, with the phrases 'may you go out', 'hostile actions', 'to the entourage', 'to the hearer' and 'beside the god' recognisable.

#### Secondary inscription:

*wsir imy-r nfrw n pr imn P3-wsr-imn m3'-hrw*

Osiris overseer of recruits of the Amun domain Pauseramun true of voice

#### Commentary

Despite the damage and reuse, this seems to me the finest of the four late Middle Kingdom heart scarabs, in the quality of the cutting, scale and details such as cosmetic lines to the eyes and modelling contrasts in treatment of the rear, middle and fore legs. The name and title of the original owner would have lain beneath the thoroughly erased upper central area of the underside. The reference to the Amun domain in the second inscription, and the title 'overseer of recruits', the same as that carried by Amenhotep son of Hapu, indicates that the scarab may have been found on the West Bank at Thebes during later building work. However, it is also possible that the scarab was reused at Thebes after discovery on another site, or both reused and buried at another national centre such as Abydos.

#### 3. The significance of the late Middle Kingdom heart scarabs

At least seven sources earlier than the New Kingdom are now known for the funerary practice of placing in an elite burial an object inscribed with chapter 30B of the Book of the Dead:

The four heart scarabs Leiden, Louvre and British Museum

Liverpool University E 944 gold plaque of Hepetrehu from Abydos<sup>4</sup>

Wood fragment from the quartzite canopic chest of the king's wife Keminub<sup>5</sup>

British Museum EA 7876 green jasper heart scarab of a king Sobekemsaf

By their quality, the four exquisite heart scarabs testify to the elaboration of this object category no later than the late Middle Kingdom. The upper side of the heart scarab of king

<sup>4</sup> From the excavations by Garstang at Abydos in 1907, North Cemetery tomb 405. The plaque is published by Barry Kemp, in J. Ruffle, G. Gaballa, and K. Kitchen, (eds.) *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt, Fs Fairman*, Warminster 1979, 26-29, noting that the contents seem typical of the late Middle Kingdom according to the dig records, but that the objects had not been relocated and checked for confirmation of this date.

<sup>5</sup> Jacques de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour 1894-1895*, Vienna 1903, 70, fig.116-117.

Sobekemsaf bears a schematic motif that can plausibly be identified as derived from the detailed human face incised on the earlier, more finely worked examples.

The precise date and ascription of the Sobekemsaf scarab remains uncertain. At least two kings between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties bore the birth-name Sobekemsaf: one with the throne-name Sekhemrawadjkhau, the other with the throne-name Sekhemrashedtawy. The Tomb Robbery Papyri of the Twentieth Dynasty include a description of the destruction of the tomb of the latter. On the basis of this, it has generally been assumed that any extant funerary material of a king Sobekemsaf must belong to Sekhemrawadjkhau. As a result the canopic chest and heart scarab inscribed for a king Sobekemsaf and found at Thebes have been used to identify Sekhemrawadjkhau as a Theban ruler<sup>6</sup>. This is one possible interpretation, but it also remains possible to consider the account of destruction as topical rather than exact. If the Tomb Robbery Papyri refer to the act of sacrilege in stock formulaic terms, it is possible that items survived for inclusion in one of the smaller or larger caches of royal reburials attested for the late Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom material. In that case, the heart scarab might belong to an original burial of the Theban ruler king Sekhemrashedtawy Sobekemsaf, and perhaps survived in the same Twentieth Dynasty reburial of material as the so-called 'diadem of king Intef' at Leiden<sup>7</sup>. A late Second Intermediate Period Theban context would account for the extreme stylization of the human face on the heart scarab. By contrast, the surviving monuments inscribed with the prenomen Sekhemrawadjkhau seem more comparable in scale and quality to those of the early to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty<sup>8</sup>. Whatever its precise date, the Sobekemsaf heart scarab inserts a transitional phase of production between the finer late Middle Kingdom examples and the revival of the type after the beginning of the New Kingdom.

This leaves the finely carved green jasper heart scarabs as the earlier group, dated by the Nebankh example to the period around the reign of Khaneferra Sobekhotep. Within the early group, the inscriptions on the underside vary in content. Possible factors for the variations include the difficulties in reproducing the same series of incomplete hieroglyphs on the very hard stone, changes in composition over time, and deliberate variation upon a centrally established theme within one period. The funerary equipment of the king's wife Keminub can be ascribed to the same general period as the four Thirteenth Dynasty heart scarabs, from the incomplete hieroglyphs. A date for her slightly later than Khaneferra Sobekhotep may be indicated indirectly by the proximity to the burial of a treasurer Amenhotep. His prefix title 'seal-bearer of the king' is written using the Red Crown rather than the bee: this orthography is rare

<sup>6</sup> The account of the destruction is given in the Tomb Robbery Papyrus British Museum EA 10221 (Papyrus Abbott) column 3, lines 1-7. See Kim Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c.1800-1550 BC*, Copenhagen 1997, 167-168 n.602, and p.396 n.2. Ryholt does not consider the possibility that the scarab was robbed but then retrieved, or the possibility that the account of destruction by fire might be affected by stock phrasing or topoi. All interpretations must remain speculative, given the limitations of the surviving record.

<sup>7</sup> On 19<sup>th</sup> century rediscoveries of material from late Second Intermediate Period royal burials at Thebes, see the clear exposition by Herbert Winlock, 'The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty', in *JEA* 10, 1924, 217-277.

<sup>8</sup> Note in particular the fine statue in red granite, British Museum EA 871, see W V Davies, *A royal statue reattributed*, British Museum Occasional Paper 28, London 1981. Also of significance are the distribution, type, scale and material of attestations: note the scale and material of the statues, and the Wadi Hammamat rock inscriptions, in Kim Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c.1800-1550 BC*, Copenhagen 1997, 395-6, File 17/6.

before the reign of Khanefer, and not attested on scarab seal-amulets until after that reign<sup>9</sup>. The publication of the Keminub fragment illustrates four lines, giving the first part of 'chapter 30B', and shows the heavy damage to the inscription. It is not clear from the published hand-copy whether the original wooden chest might have borne all of the heart scarab composition. The Hepetrehu plaque seems closer to the example inscribed for king Sobekemsaf, as both involve attachment and inscription of a gold mount, and therefore creation of a composite object, in contrast to the unitary inscribed stone of the Nebankh heart scarab and its three close parallels.

We may surmise three early phases in the history of the heart scarab and its inscription, as presently documented:

I Early to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty. Creation of the heart scarab type, with human face, and naturalistic scarab form including notched wing-cases; composition of inscription specifying the purpose of the object and written in incomplete hieroglyphs to avoid the threat of bird and animal within the burial. Attested in burials of high officials and of one woman of the same elite status. In this period the composition is also attested once in a royal burial, on canopic equipment.

II Later Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties. Gold-mounted heart scarab, the stone element derived from the Thirteenth Dynasty type: one example from the burial of a king.

III Early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. Use of the heart scarab form for elite burials, with gold foil T-back mount<sup>10</sup>; usually with scarab head, but in at least one, crudely carved example reviving also the human face in place of scarab head<sup>11</sup>.

The third phase of use may have been a revival, perhaps stimulated in part specifically by discovery of late Middle Kingdom scarabs in burials disrupted by early New Kingdom construction work. The Louvre scarab reinscribed for Pauseramun bears testimony to ancient discovery and reuse of burials and their goods, though its precise date is uncertain. There are also at least two Theban instances of the human face for heart scarabs in the Third Intermediate Period<sup>12</sup>. These could be taken to argue for a later date for the reuse of the Thirteenth Dynasty scarab for Pauseramun. From the Eighteenth Dynasty the heart scarab follows an almost continuous history down to the abandonment of inscribed burial goods in the mid-Ptolemaic

<sup>9</sup> See Wolfram Grajetzki, 'Der Schatzmeister Amenhotep und eine weitere Datierungshilfe für Denkmäler des Mittleren Reiches', in *BSEG* 19, 1995, 5-11.

<sup>10</sup> For a fine example, in an accessible publication, see the heart scarab of Hatnefer, mother of Senenmut, from the reign of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art 36.3.2, New York, published in William Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt II*, New York 1959, 224-225, fig.133.

<sup>11</sup> Scarab of Nakht from pit 3, chamber D in the 1915-16 Theban West Bank excavations for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* = Supplement to the *BMMA*, May 1917, 18, fig.21. This scarab bears an inscription in cursive hieroglyphs close to hieratic forms, not with incomplete animal and bird forms. It was dated to the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty by the excavators, see pp.22-24 and the picture of the burial p.16 fig.15. The inner coffin was an anthropoid rishi coffin with blue and white striped wig, the outer a rectangular form with slightly arched lid. Items in the burial included a hinged kohl-vase with rosette on the lid, bronze vessels, stone vessels and a long knife (p.19 figs.22-24, p.21 fig.25).

<sup>12</sup> Louvre N2780a, green steatite (?), inscribed with the opening phrases of chapter 30B for a woman named Tashedkhons, and Louvre N2780b, green steatite (?), inscribed with the full composition for a woman named Meretmut. I am grateful to my colleagues in the Louvre for supplying me with copies of the object record cards for these two heart scarabs.

Period. By contrast, the device of replacing scarab head with human face occurs only sporadically on small-scale soft stone scarab-amulets of the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom. The use of the human face should be distinguished from the motif of full three-dimensional human head on scarab back, another occasional motif found on a number of larger soft stone scarab-amulets, some perhaps Ramesside and many modern<sup>13</sup>. Both small-scale scarabs with human face and larger scale human-headed scarabs may derive from the green jasper gems of the late Middle Kingdom.

Funerary customs form one part of the range of evidence providing us with evidence to define one phase of material culture against preceding and following phases. The appearance of the heart scarab with its inscription in incomplete hieroglyphs confirms the body of evidence defining the late Middle Kingdom. James Allen has noted the disappearance of Coffin Texts in the mid-Twelfth Dynasty at Lisht, replaced by highly restricted selections from the earlier Pyramid Text corpus in the late Twelfth Dynasty<sup>14</sup>. During the final years of the Twelfth Dynasty and under the Thirteenth Dynasty, there is evidence for a new coffin type, with a revised and expanded corpus of Coffin Texts written in incomplete hieroglyphs on the exterior of coffins, removed from the body. In general, both commodity-production models and writing disappeared, to be replaced with religious images such as ivory 'wands' and faience animals and plants. To this period largely vacant of funerary literature, there date a small number of grave goods inscribed with short compositions in incomplete hieroglyphs. The earliest shabti figures in the surviving record date to the late Middle Kingdom, and now we find that the heart scarab developed in the same phase. From the research by Janine Bourriau, we can now appreciate late Middle Kingdom funerary practices in their difference to those of the early Middle Kingdom, if not perhaps exactly yet to the later Second Intermediate Period<sup>15</sup>. The heart scarab fits neatly into this chronologically demarcated strategy for obtaining eternal life through (1) a range of religious figural imagery and (2) a minimum of inscription, its power heightened to the point of needing special curtailment through incomplete depictions.

However, the inscription provided on the heart scarab holds special status in the development of afterlife beliefs, because this is the earliest religious composition explicit on the subject of judgment of the individual after death. There are scattered references to scales and divine assessment in First Intermediate Period inscription and Middle Kingdom literary composition<sup>16</sup>. Yet these heart scarabs provide us for the first time with unambiguous evidence for normative use of the metaphor of weighing the heart for the impartiality of divine justice at

<sup>13</sup> See for the type Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1979.570, published in Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara and Catharine Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic. The funerary arts of ancient Egypt*, Boston 1988, 161, cat.no.114.

<sup>14</sup> James P. Allen, 'Coffin Texts from Lisht', in Harco Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts. Proceedings of the Symposium held on the occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan de Buck, Leiden December 17-19, 1992*, Leiden 1996, 1-15.

<sup>15</sup> Janine Bourriau, 'Patterns of change in burial customs during the late Middle Kingdom', in Stephen Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, SIA Publishing, New Malden 1991, 3-20.

<sup>16</sup> See Christine Seeber, 'Jenseitsgericht', in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, Wiesbaden 1980, cols. 249-252, especially col.249 with nn.4-6 on col.251. An important early source is the inscription on the stela of general Intef, of the Eleventh Dynasty, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek AE.I.N. 963, lower section, line 6 'his voice is true in the calculation of differences'. Among other references to judgement before the New Kingdom, note that the 'Teaching for king Merykara' is probably a Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty composition, rather than a First Intermediate Period work contemporary with the Ninth-Tenth Dynasty kings in whose time it is set.

the death of the individual. By the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the heart scarab inscription had been joined by an elaborate composition denying wrong-doing by the deceased, the so-called Negative Confession in Chapter 125 of the Lepsius edition of the Book of the Dead. The expression of beliefs in a divine judgement acquired in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty an iconography that would remain remarkably constant down to the Roman Period in Egypt<sup>17</sup>. Divine judgement as the rite of passage to resurrection became part of later theologies, whether or not the Egyptian formulation can be considered ancestral to these<sup>18</sup>. The heart scarabs take their place now at the earliest edge of what seems a modern global history.

The mid-Twelfth Dynasty had already witnessed profound changes in the balance of solar and chthonic strategies at the cult centre and burial place of the king. In the pyramid complex of Senusret II, causeway access is forfeited to an emplacement of trees planted around the enclosure wall, while the subterranean chambers anticipate the plan of the deep tomb behind the Abydos South temple of Sety I<sup>19</sup>. During the reign of his son, Senusret III, the burial place seems to have been sited not in the pyramid fields of the north, but at Abydos South, where a rock-cut corridor tomb replaced the solar pyramid form<sup>20</sup>. Under Amenemhat III, the Abydene theme yielded to a variant strategy at Hawara, looking to the Fayum, though with the emphasis still on the fertility of the earth<sup>21</sup>. In this last lengthy Middle Kingdom reign, an inscription concerning the accession of the king ascribed to Sobek the status of national deity later assumed by Amun<sup>22</sup>. Perhaps then, from the ideological perspective, we might echo the Egyptian written record and define the late Middle Kingdom as the era of Sobek-Ra. During this period, multiple burials come to replace single burials as the norm in Egyptian cemeteries. Such gradual change marks a momentous revision of funerary customs, as they express social perception of the human being at and beyond death. The heart scarab and its inscription belong to, and may perhaps help us make sense of, this broader setting.

<sup>17</sup> Christine Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten*, Munich and Berlin 1976.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, C. W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, Columbia University Press, New York 1995.

<sup>19</sup> W.M.F. Petrie, G. Brunton and M. Murray, *Lahun II*, London 1923, pl.8.

<sup>20</sup> Joe Wegner, 'Old and new excavations at the Abydene complex of Senuwosret III', in *KMT* 6, 1995, 59-71.

<sup>21</sup> See Dieter Arnold, 'Labyrinth', in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III, Wiesbaden 1980, cols. 905-907.

<sup>22</sup> Inscription of Amenemhat III from Fayum, fragments Berlin 15801-3, with parallel in later inscription of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, see *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin I. Inschriften der ältesten Zeit und des Alten Reiches*, Leipzig 1901, 268.

## CH. 41B OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD\*

R. LUCARELLI (LEIDEN)

The study of the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead (BD) has been progressing quickly over the last decades; many new manuscripts have become available for thorough comparative studies thanks to the increasing number of publications, especially concerning papyri of the post-New Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

However, some important issues have still to be investigated in order to understand the process of textual transmission of which the BD represents the final phase. In particular a greater effort should be made in trying to define, on the one hand, which texts are later additions to the Theban recension and on the other hand, which have to be considered revised versions of earlier sources, in particular of the Coffin Texts (CT). The originality of the BD genre is in fact in the peculiar re-elaboration of the earlier sources, which implies the ability to develop original ideas and textual variations of existing spells. It is not a coincidence that texts, which at first glance would seem to be of late origin, are in fact variants of spells belonging to earlier corpora of funerary literature.

The hieratic BD papyri of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty offer abundant material for investigation on this topic. The insertion within these lengthy documents of textual passages that cannot be easily located in earlier sources highlights the aforementioned problem of defining their origin and date of composition. Some of what are currently considered "new 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty textual additions", because their only occurrence is on manuscripts of this period, derive from the CT. Chiefly for this reason, a more profound and extensive comparison between the two corpora should be made, in order to clarify the patterns of transmission and/or variation of these mortuary texts.

Following this line of research, in the current study I will discuss the case of a short text, the so-called Ch. 41B of the BD, occurring on a few hieratic papyri of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Until now this spell has been considered a 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty addition to the BD; in the following paragraphs I will show that, in reality, its source has to be located in spell 750 of the CT.

### 1. The text

The designation of Ch. 41B was originally made by Naville in the facsimile publication of the papyrus of Gatseshen (Naville 1914, XXXI: 21-25), because its text occurs at the end of Ch. 41. However, this short spell has been mostly ignored in the translations of the BD, which

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<sup>1</sup> See the considerable number of titles on recent publications of papyri (56 in the last ten years) in: S.A. Gülden and I. Munro, *Bibliographie zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch*, Wiesbaden 1998: 28-54.