



## THREE MUMMY WRAPPINGS OF NESIKHONSU (Cairo JE 96813)

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### ABSTRACT

This paper discusses three mummy wrappings, stored in the Cairo Egyptian Museum with the inventory numbers SR 2201, 2202, 2203 (JE 96813), which are as yet unpublished. No information about their provenance, date and owner is recorded. The mummy wrapping SR 2201 is probably unique as it presents a cryptographic writing of the name of king Ramesses II with a representation of Cobra as Amun. The two other bandages present different abridged versions of BD Spell 101 for a woman named Nesikhonsu. Although no titles or family affiliations are included, she may have belonged to a Theban family of the Twenty-first Dynasty. This paper interprets these illustrations, and presents a transliteration, translation, and commentary of Spell 101.

### KEYWORDS

Mummy wrappings, Ramesses II, Cryptographic writing, Twenty-first Dynasty, Nesikhonsou, Book of the dead, Thebes, Amun, Cobra, Hieratic.

### المخلص

تناقش هذه المقالة ثلاثة اربطة مومياوات محفوظين بالمتحف المصري بالقاهرة تحت ارقام SR 2201, 2202, 2203 ورقم JE 96813 ، لم يتم نشرهم بعد، كما لا يوجد معلومات مسجلة عنهم خاصة بالاقليم او التاريخ او المالك. الرباط رقم Sr 2201، من المحتمل انه يقدم نموذج فريد حيث انه يحتوي علي كتابة مشفرة لاسم الملك رمسيس الثاني مع الكوبرا كتمثيل لاسم امون. كما يحتوي الرباطان Sr 2202, 2203 علي نسختين مختلفتين للفصل ١٠١ من كتاب الموتى، استخدمتا كتعويذة حماية لأجل سيدة تعرف باسم نسخنسو، لا تضمن النصوص اية الالقاب او نسب عائلي لها ولكن من المحتمل انها تنتمي لأسرة طيبة من الاسرة الحادية والعشرين. تهدف الدراسة الي تفسير الرسومات الواردة مع تقديم ترجمة وتعليق للفصل ١٠١.

### الكلمات الدالة

اربطة المومياوات، رمسيس الثاني، كتابة مشفرة، الاسرة ٢١، نسخنسو، كتاب الموتى، طيبة، امون، الكوبرا، الهيراطيقي

## Introduction

The three mummy wrappings<sup>1</sup> under consideration are housed in the Cairo Egyptian Museum<sup>2</sup> with the inventory number JE 96813 and SR numbers 2201, 2202, 2203.<sup>3</sup> The folded wrappings have been restored and each bandage is firmly glued onto cardboard. The Cairo Egyptian Museum records only describe them as ‘3 of long clothes and covered with inscriptions’. Although their provenance and precise date are unknown, it is suggested that they may be from Thebes and date to the Twenty-first Dynasty, thanks to the elements of the texts, and its palaeography<sup>4</sup>.

The bandages are now stored in the fourth Department of the Cairo Egyptian Museum. Their state of preservation is generally good with the material still being stable. They are made of flaxen cloth or linen,<sup>5</sup> and the colour is light-brown.<sup>6</sup> They are perfectly rectangular and narrow in shape,<sup>7</sup> with similar measurements. The upper and lower margins are regular, showing the original width. The left and right edges show that they are the original ends, despite SR 2201 having frayed and torn edges. There are a few large holes in the linen, sometimes impacting the text like in SR 2203.

SR 2201 presents in outline and black ink a fully symmetrical illustration: the centre of the register is a possible cryptographic writing of the name of Ramesses II. The mummy wrappings SR 2202 and SR 2203 show that its owner was provided with two separate

<sup>1</sup> The mummy wrappings are the second 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. Ronsecco, P., *Due Libri dei Morti del principio del Nuovo Regno. Il lenzuolo funerario della principessa Ahmosi e le tele del sa-nesu Ahmosi* Turin, (1996), XXXVff; Caminos R.A., “Fragments of the Book of the Dead on linen and papyrus”, in: *JEA* 56, (1970), 117-131; Dorman, Peter F., “Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead”, in: *JARCE* 55, (2019), 19–53. Overall characteristics of this media with book of the dead assembled in Kockelmann, H., *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch Handschriften auf Mumienbinden*, II, *SAT* 12, (2008), 9-11.

<sup>2</sup> The author is grateful to the General Director of the Egyptian Museum, Dr. Lotfy Abd El Hamid; the Curator of the fourth Department, Mr. Ibrahim Gawad; the General Director of the Database, Mrs. Marwa Badr Eldeen; and the Photographer of the Museum, Mr. Sameh Abdel Mohsen, for their kind assistance and permission to publish the mummy wrappings.

<sup>3</sup> These mummy wrappings are not published yet. They are not listed in the index of Kockelmann, H., *Untersuchungen*, 365. However, they are known by the Totenbuch Project <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133835>> accessed 17.07.2019, as an unpublished source without any data except for a probable date (from Pre-Ptolemaic to Ptolemaic periods) and approximate measurements (a) L.: 1,35 m; b) 1,20 m (2 Z.); c) 1,03 m (3 Z.)). The photos of the three bandages are published here for the first time.

<sup>4</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. H. Kockelmann, Dr. Robert J. Demaree and Dr. M. Mosher Jr for many enlightening discussions concerning this article.

<sup>5</sup> The main material from which mummy wrappings bearing the Book of the Dead spells were made, is linen. When first used, they were not woven as narrow straps, as presented here, but obtained by tearing off larger pieces of cloth. D’Amicone, “Stoffe und Webarten”, in: *LÄ* VI, (1986), 57-63; Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen*, 39 (4.1).

<sup>6</sup> Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen*, 41 (4.5).

<sup>7</sup> According to Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen*, 91 (5), 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. Abdalla, A., “A group of Osiris Cloths of the 21st Dynasty in the Cairo Museum”, *JEA* 74, (1988), 163. In 1991, A. De Caluwe made a classification of mummy wrappings, consisting of four groups with subtypes. He relied on external criteria, including measurements, execution of texts and vignettes, and type of the script. De Caluwe, A., *Un Livre des Morts sur bandelette de momie (Bruxelles, Musées royaux d’Art et d’Histoire E. 6179)*, *BAE* 18, Brussels, (1991), XVII-XIX. For a recent categorisation of mummy wrappings up to the Ptolemaic Period. Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen*, 93 (5. 2).

abridged versions of the Book of the Dead Spell 101.<sup>1</sup> The complete state of these two objects without any frayed edges suggests that Spell 101 was here probably used as a single text and served as an amulet, with the same protective function as common amulets.<sup>2</sup> According to the end of this spell,<sup>3</sup> it had been laid on the body at the throat of the deceased.

The texts are written from right to left in hieratic in black ink, with no rubrics. There are traces of blackish and dark brown stains, perhaps caused by the chemical liquids used by the embalmers.<sup>4</sup> The density of the colour differs on the three bandages, and this makes SR 2203 difficult to read. It is possible, however, to identify the owner as Nesikhonsu,<sup>5</sup> and this name appears four times on SR 2202 and twice on SR 2203. In all cases, her name is preceded by the epithet *Wsir* and not followed by the common *mꜣꜥ hrw*, nor by any official or priestly title, nor her affiliation.<sup>6</sup> For that reason, it has been difficult to identify this Nesikhonsu.

## MUMMY WRAPPING CAIRO SR 2201

### *Description*

This bandage measures approximately 117 cm in length and from 9.5 to 10 cm in width (Pl.2, 2201). It is very thin, and both edges are torn. The right margin is 16 cm and the left 21 cm. The colour is light brown. There are a few gaps in different places. The content shows a single horizontal register of almost symmetrical images in line-drawings, completely preserved and made with a reed brush in black ink.

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes it happened that the deceased was provided with two copies of the Book of the Dead, one on papyrus and one on linen wrappings. Kockelmann H., "How a Book of the Dead manuscript was produced", in: Foy Scalf (Ed.), *Book of the Dead: becoming god in ancient Egypt*. With new object photography by Kevin Bryce Lowry Chicago, (2017), 67.

<sup>2</sup> Specific spells of the Book of the Dead were used as single amulet texts on papyri and mummy wrappings, This such of using of the BD spells is attested in the papyrus of Henutmehyt from 19 dynasty, Taylor, John H., "The Burial Assemblage of Henutmehyt: Inventory, Date and Provenance", In: W. V. Davies (ed.). *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities: A Tribute to T. G. H. James*. British Museum Occasional Papers 123. London: British Museum, (1999), 59-72 and 163-170. Since the end of the Twentieth dynasty, It became common, Klasens A., "An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty", *Oudheidkundigmededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 56, (1975), 20-28; Illiés O., "Single Spell Book of the Dead Papyri as Amulets", *SAT* 11 (2006), 121ff.; Illiés, O., "An Unusual Book of the Dead Manuscript from TT 32", in: *Acta Antiqua* 46, (2006), 119-127; Wüthrich A., "Untersuchungen zu den Zusatzkapiteln 162 bis 167 des Totenbuchs: erste Bemerkungen", In: Backes, Burkhard, Irtraut Munro, and Simone Stöhr (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen: gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (2006), 365-370; Lenzo M. Giuseppina., *Manuscrits hiératiques du Livre des Morts de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (Papyrus de Turin CGT 53001-53013)*. Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie 8. Genève: Société d'Égyptologie, (2007); Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen*, 202 (8.4); Wüthrich, A., *Éléments de théologie thébaine: les chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*. *SAT* 16, (2010); Albert F. and Mark, G., "Le papyrus-Amulette de Lyon Musée des Beaux-Arts H 2425", in: *Egypt Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 6, (2013), 159-168; Barbash, Y., "The Ritual Context of the Book of the Dead", in: F. Scalf (ed.), *Whoever Knows This Book Will Never Perish. Becoming God in Ancient Egypt with the Book of the Dead*, OIMP 39, Chicago, (2017), 80; Mosher, M. Jr, *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*, (2018), 183-184.

<sup>3</sup> Quirke, S., *Going out in Daylight: prt m hrw. The ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Translation, Sources, Sources, Meanings*, London: Golden House Publication, (2013), 227.

<sup>4</sup> For an explanation on these chemical liquids: Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen*, 225–230.

<sup>5</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 178.20

<sup>6</sup> For writing the name of the deceased without an additions: Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen*, 242.

### Description of the register

In the centre of the register drawing, a Cobra is represented in a frontal position crowned with the sun disk, standing on . On the right side, a small-scale Seated figure holds the sign  on its knees, while on the left, a similar figure bears  on its head.

On each side a Vulture with  on its back, wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is followed by Two Cobras on each side, each crowned with the sun disk. They are followed by images of Osiris with the *Atef* crown, holding the sign, consisting of  and  (one above the other) on the left side.

After the Osiris figures, a seated figure might represent the deceased represented with a false beard and holding the signs  and  on the left side. Next on both sides, Re-Horakhty, crowned with the *Atef* crown on the right and the double crown on the left, is represented, holding the same signs  and . These illustrations end with a figure of a Cobra with a long tail, crowned by the double crown while the cobra on the right is holding the signs  and .

### The reading of the cryptographic writing

The central section of this depiction probably shows the cryptographic writing of a royal name that consists of the following elements:



Fig. 1: Facsimile of the royal name on the mummy wrapping Cairo SR 2201



On the right side, the figure of the seated god holding the sign  represents the first part of the name and is read 'wsr'<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 462 (F12).



On the left side the figure of a seated god with false beard is crowned by the feather  and sun disk , for 'M3<sup>c</sup>t' and 'R<sup>c</sup>'. The drawing of the first sign over the other indicates that they are to be read in that order.



The hieroglyphic sign  below the cobra is formed by two horizontal lines with a rectangle in between, and is read 'mry'<sup>1</sup>.



The cobra is depicted in a frontal position standing on a *mry* sign, with a sun disk on its head. According to M. el-Saghir<sup>2</sup> in his study of a Cobra statue from Luxor temple of the king Taharka (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), the cobra is considered to be a manifestation of the following gods: Amun, Amun-Re, Amun-Re-Ka-mutef, Khonsu, and Mut.

#### *Identity of the king referred to in the cryptographic writing*

To identify this king, the first section of his royal name consists of *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>* 'Powerful one of the Truth of Re'<sup>3</sup>. It is a commonly epithet applied to the king of the New Kingdom, particularly in the Ramesside period, It is known to have belonged to Ramesside kings: Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, Ramesses V, Ramesses VII and Ramesses VIII.<sup>4</sup> All of them have the same throne name, that of Ramesses II as their collective role model.

As suggested by M. el-Saghir, the manifestation of the Cobra may be seen as Amun, with the *mry* sign below, the reading of the second section is then *Mry-Imn* 'Beloved of Amun'. By that, M. SR 2201's name is read *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> Mry-Imn* 'Powerful one of the Truth of Re, Beloved of Amun', This was the throne name of King Ramesses III. These elements of the name are also a part of that of Ramesses VII: *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup> mry-ïmn*.

There is no comparable case of this illustration in the different versions of the Book of the Dead,<sup>5</sup> nor is it found in Saite and Ptolemaic periods documents.<sup>6</sup> The name of Ramesses II, however is found in the supplementary chapter 166 of the Book of the Dead and occurs in three funerary papyri dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 462 (N36).

<sup>2</sup> Saghir, M. el, *Das Statuenversteck im Luxortempel*, Mainz, (1992), 52 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Leprohon, R. J., *The great name: ancient Egyptian royal titulary*, WAW 33, Atlanta, (2013).

<sup>4</sup> Jürgen Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Deutscher Kunstverlag Munchen, Berlin, (1984), 88-97.

<sup>5</sup> Many thanks to Prof. Holger Kockelmann for his kind help looking for a parallel through the investigation of more than 200 mummy wrappings.

<sup>6</sup> My gratitude to Dr. M. Mosher, Jr for his confirmation that it is not found in later documents.

<sup>7</sup> Wüthrich, A., *Eléments de théologie thébaine*, pp.98-115; Dahms, J.-M., Pehal, M. and Willems H., "Ramses II helps the dead: an interpretation of Book of the Dead Supplementary Chapter 166", in: *JEA* 100 (2014), 397ff.

	P. Berlin 3031 <sup>1</sup>	P. Leiden T 25 <sup>2</sup>	P. Louvre 3172 <sup>3</sup>
Owner	<i>P3-šbwt-Mwt-wbht</i>	<i>Ns- hns- p3- hrd</i>	Unknown
Provenience	Thebes	Thebes	Thebes
The mentioned King in the title	 <i>Nsw.t Wsr-m3ct-Rc-stp-(n-Rc)</i>	 <i>Nsw.t Wsr-m3ct-Rc</i>	 <i>Nsw.t Wsr-m3ct-Rc</i>

According to the interpretation of the supplementary BD 166 by J.-M. Dahms, M. Pehal and H. Willems, the king mentioned in these papyri is *wsr-m3ct-Rc*, a spelling that applies to several pharaohs. It is generally assumed, however, that it refers to Ramesses II, the most illustrious bearer of the name. This is confirmed by one of the earliest sources of BD supplementary Ch. 166: P. Berlin 3031, on which the title of the king is spelled *Wsr-m3ct-Rc-stp-(n-Rc)*, the birth name of Ramesses II and Ramesses VII. Although the name may refer to the short-lived Ramesses VII, the alternative that these papyri mention his famous earlier namesake is more likely. The authors assume that this identification refers to Ramesses II.<sup>4</sup>

In view of this, the unparalleled cryptographic writing on Cairo SR 2201, which reads *wsr-m3ct-r-c-mry-umn*, probably refers to the famous Ramesses II<sup>5</sup> or a part of his throne name, he was considered by his successors as a ‘Great ancestor’.<sup>6</sup>

## MUMMY WRAPPING CAIRO SR 2202, 2203

### *Description*

#### *Mummy wrapping Cairo SR 2202*

It measures 130 cm (length) and 11 cm (width) (Pl.2, 2202). Edges at both ends show that this was the original length of this bandage, the right margin being 17 cm and the left 8.2 cm. The upper margin is 1.7 cm to 2 cm; the lower is 3.5 cm to 4.7 cm.

The text is divided into three long lines; the first two are of equal length (105.3 cm to 105.5 cm) while the third is approximately 40 cm. The lines are spaced by 1 cm to 1.5 cm. There are no stains or gaps in the text.

The hieratic handwriting is dense and faint but legible. The writing shows variations in the darkness of the ink. The number of signs written with each dip of the scribe's brush can thus be estimated, according to when the ink was nearly exhausted. The verso is blank except for some black dots due to the seeping of excess ink from the recto. The text contains an abridged version of the Spell 101 of the Book of the Dead.

#### *Mummy wrapping Cairo SR 2203*

It measures 99 cm (length) and 11.5 cm (width) (Pl.2, 2203). It is also a complete bandage. The right margin is about 15.5 cm and the left 3.8 cm. The upper margin starts being 3.8

<sup>1</sup> Allam, M., *Papyrus Berlin 3031. Totentexte der 21. Dynastie mit und ohne Parallelen*, Bonn, (1992).

<sup>2</sup> Pleyte, *Les chapitres supplémentaires*, pl. 111; for the transcription, see Allam, *Papyrus Berlin 3031*, 81.

<sup>3</sup> Spiegelberg, W., *Die ägyptische Sammlung des Museum-Meermann-Westreenianum im Haag*, Strasbourg, (1896), pl. 2B; for the transcription, see Allam, *Papyrus Berlin 3031*, 81

<sup>4</sup> Dahms, Pehal and Willems, “Ramses II helps the dead: an interpretation of Book of the Dead Supplementary Chapter 166”, 397ff.

<sup>5</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Robert Demarée for his discussion of this cryptographic writing.

<sup>6</sup> Kitchen, K. A., *Pharaoh triumphant, and times of Ramesses II*, Warminster, (1982).

cm and then varies to reach 6 cm at the end. This difference is due to the text not being written in a straight line, sloping at the end. It shows the scribe's inexperience. The lower margin also differs, being from 5.5 cm to 4.5 cm at the end.

The content comprises two lines of hieratic script, executed carelessly because the script appears untidy. The handwriting is not very neat, and some signs are difficult to identify because they were not skilfully executed. One line is longer than the other; the first is 85.2 cm long while the other is 48 cm. They were written in a different handwriting from the one seen in SR 2202.

The wrapping shows some discoloration due to an extraneous resinous substance. As a result, the text is difficult to read; this is not helped by the small font and its untidiness in some places. The second line especially was difficult to read.

The text is also an abridged version of Spell 101 of the Book of the Dead. Our attempt to read the text here is based on the parallel version of mummy wrapping SR 2202. The transliteration<sup>1</sup> records what is visible on the linen, while reconstructions are suggested in the commentary.

## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

### (§1): SR 2202

*i i3ty mw prr m hbb hfd hr m3 wi3 d3i.k  
phr.k r r3-<sup>c</sup>.k sf hfd.k hr m3 wi3.k iw  
hnm.k Wsir Ns-Hnsw hr Wsir m 3h pn  
ikr m ist.f*

O traverser of the waters, who goes forth from the flood water, who sits on the stern of the bark, may you cross over, may you circle around to your position of yesterday, may you sitting on the stern of your bark, when you join Osiris Nesikhonsu before Osiris as this excellent blessed one in his crew.

### (§1): SR 2203

*i i3ty mw prr m hbbt hfd.k hr m3 wi3.k  
wd3.k phr.k r r3-<sup>c</sup>.k n sf hms.k hr m3  
wi3.k iw hnm.k Wsir Ns-Hnsw hr Wsir m  
3h pn ikr m ist.f*

O traverser of the waters, who goes forth from the flood water, you sitting on the stern of your bark, may you set out, may you circle around to your position of yesterday, may you sitting on the stern of your bark. You join Osiris Nesikhonsu before Osiris as this excellent blessed one in his crew.

### (§2): SR 2202

*I R<sup>c</sup> m rn.k pn R<sup>c</sup> ir sš.k wd3t n mh df.st  
hmt gs mh k3 swd3.k Wsir Ns-Hnsw m 3h  
ikr wd3.k wd3 .st*

O Re, in this your name of Re, if you pass the sound eye of cubits, its pupil consisting of three and half cubits, so shall you make be sound Osiris Nesikhonsu as this excellent blessed one. As you are sound, she is sound.

### (§2): SR 2203

*I R<sup>c</sup> m rn pwy n R<sup>c</sup> ir sš.k wd3t n mh sfh*

O Re, in this name of Re. if you pass the

<sup>1</sup> The following translation, based on the division of the text of the recently study of Saite version of this spell of Mosher Jr, *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods*, 197ff.

/// *hmt gs k3.k swd3<sup>2</sup>.k n Wsir m 3h ikr*  
*wd3 .f wd3.k*

sound eye of seven cubits /// consisting of three and half, so shall you make sound of Osiris. as this excellent blessed one. As he is sound, you are sound.

(§3): SR 2202

*I R<sup>c</sup> m rn.st pw R<sup>c</sup> ir sš.k hr ntyw (im)*  
*mt shd k3 s<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.k Wsir Ns-Hnsw m 3h ikr*  
*h<sup>c</sup>.st hr rd.st wd3.st wd3.k*

O Re, in this her name of Re, as you pass by they who are there, the upside-down dead, so shall you rise Osiris Nesikhonsu as an excellent blessed one, she stands on her feet. As she is sound as you are sound.

(§3): SR 2203

Omitted

... ..

(§4): SR 2202

*I R<sup>c</sup> m rn.k pw R<sup>c</sup> ir wn.tw n.k sšt3w m*  
*imht i sšm ib n psdt k3 di.k ib n Wsir Ns-*  
*Hnsw n st m 3h ikr wd3.st h<sup>c</sup>w.k n.k R<sup>c</sup>*

O Re in this your name of Re, as the mysteries of the netherworld are opened for you to guide the heart of the Ennead, so shall you give the heart of Osiris Nesikhonsu to her as an excellent blessed one, she is sound, your body belongs to you Re.

(§4): SR 2203

*I R<sup>c</sup> m rn.k pw R<sup>c</sup> ir wn.tw n.k sšt3w (m)*  
*imht i sšm ib n psdt k3 /// /// Wsir Ns-*  
*Hnsw m 3h ikr /// /// ///*

O Re in this name of Re. as the mysteries of the netherworld are opened for you to guide the heart of the ennead, so shall /// /// Osiris Nesikhonsu as excellent blessed one, /// ///  
///

## Commentary

In the commentary, the following sources used in the comparison are given as parallel texts of Spell 101, dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty to Third Intermediate Period.<sup>1</sup>

- P. BM EA 10477 Papyrus of Nu, Thebes, Eighteenth Dynasty, London, British Museum, E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead, the Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, I (London 1910).
- M. Cairo JE 35409 Mummy bandage of *t3-di-mwt*, Thebes, Twentieth-Twenty-first Dynasty, Cairo Egyptian Museum, G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions sur les objets accompagnant la momie de Ta-du-Maut', *ASAE* 3 (1902), 155ff.
- P. Cairo JE 95838 Papyrus of *g3t-sšn*, Thebes, Twenty-first Dynasty, Cairo Egyptian Museum, Naville, É., *Le Papyrus hiéroglyphique de Kamara et Le Papyrus hiératique de Nesikhonsou au Musée du Caire*, Bd. I: Papyrus funéraires de la XXIe dynastie (Paris, 1912).
- P. BM EA10490 Papyrus of *Ndm.t*, Thebes, Twenty-first Dynasty, London, British Museum, Lenzo, G., 'The two funerary papyri of Queen Nedjmet (P. BM EA 10490 and P. BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258)', *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 63ff.

<sup>1</sup> The list of manuscripts is based on the archives of the Totenbuch-Projekt in Bonn and follows the registration system and dating of the project.

- P. BM EA 10119 Papyrus of *p3-dit.f*, Unknown provenance, late Twenty-first Dynasty, London, British Museum, unpublished.
- P. BM EA 10554 Papyrus of *Nst-t3-nbt-t3wy*, Thebes, Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasty, London, British Museum, E. A. W. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum. The Funerary Papyrus of Princess Nesitanebtashru, Daughter of Painetchem II and Nesi-Khensu, and Priestess of Amen-Râ at Thebes*, about B.C. 970 (London, 1912).
- P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000 Papyrus of *3st-n-bit*, Unknown provenance, Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasty, London, British Museum, unpublished
- P. BM EA 10084 Papyrus of *3sti*, Unknown provenance, Third Intermediate Period, London, British Museum, unpublished.
- P. Oxford 1892.618 Papyrus of Unknown, Unknown provenance, Third Intermediate Period, Oxford, unpublished.

### (§1)

*i i3ty mw* ‘O traverser of the waters’.

The title of spell BD 101 is regularly written at the beginning of the spell, introducing its content in Late period and Ptolemaic papyri and mummy wrappings. When this spell is used as an amulet from the Twentieth Dynasty, the title is omitted (Cairo JE 35409, SR 2202, SR 2203), and remains absent in the Late Period mummy wrapping of *p3 3<sup>c</sup>/p3 i<sup>c</sup>nj<sup>1</sup>* (P. BM EA 73709).<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the scribe or the owner wanted to focus on the subject more than the title. Other concordant examples amulet BD spells on the papyri dating to the Third Intermediate Period and without titles: P. Cairo CG 58025<sup>3</sup> (Ch. 135 and Unknown text), P. Cairo JE 96272 (Ch. 162), P. Leiden T 37 (Ch. 166), P. BM EA 75026 (Ch. 166), P. BM EA 75027 (Ch. 166), P. New York MMA 26.2.52 (Ch. 166), P. Oxford 1892.618 (Ch. 135), P. Paris Louvre N. 3160 (Ch. 166), and to the Ptolemaic Period: P. Basel III.131 (Ch. 89), P. BM 10197 (Ch. 100).<sup>4</sup>

The omission of the title can also be observed in the papyrus-amulets of BD 100, but in every example only part of the text was given. Therefore it is also possible that the title was omitted to conserve space, also the illustration identified the spell, so in this sense the title was unnecessary.<sup>5</sup>

*prr m hbb* ‘Who goes forth from the flood water’.

In SR 2202, the phonetic complement *r* of *pr* is written faintly, barely readable. *hbb* and *hbbt* are used interchangeably in Late and Ptolemaic periods’ versions<sup>6</sup>. In P. BM EA 10490 (Twenty-first Dynasty), a unique variant occurs, inserting the word  *wdbw*<sup>7</sup> ‘shore, river bank’,<sup>1</sup> instead of *hbb*. *wdbw* may be an erroneous

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 99.23, 100.6.

<sup>2</sup> Not yet studied. Probably used as an amulet. The photos are published by the Book of the Dead archive in Bonn.

<sup>3</sup> Golénischeff, W., *Papyrus hiératiques CG 58001-58036*, Cairo, (1927), 102f, pl. XXIII.

<sup>4</sup> These examples attested to the use of a single spell on the papyrus used as amulet by Illiés, “Single Spell Book of the Dead Papyri as Amulets”, 121ff.

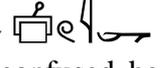
<sup>5</sup> Many thanks for Dr. Mosher for this information based on his study of this spell through Saite and Ptolemaic period.

<sup>6</sup> Mosher Jr, *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods*, 197ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Wb.* I, 409, 2-3

writing for the term *wḏnw* ‘flood’<sup>2</sup>. From Twenty-sixth Dynasty onwards,<sup>3</sup> the suffix pronoun *.f* and *.k* occasionally occurred after *ḥbb*.<sup>4</sup>

*ḥfd ḥr m3 wi3* ‘Who sits on the stern of the bark’.

In Sr 2202, the sign  (U1) of *m3* shows the flint blades more extended below *ḥfd*. The word of stern<sup>5</sup> *m3* is spelled  in M. SR 2202 but occurs with only the sign  in M. SR 2203 and  in P. BM EA 10477. In P. Oxford 1892.618. *m3* is replaced by  *s3y*<sup>6</sup> ‘plank or beam’ and the scribe of P. BM EA 10554 must have been confused because he wrote *m3<sup>c</sup>*. Between *m3* and *wi3*, the genitival adjective *n* is sometimes written. The suffix pronoun *.k* and *.f* occasionally occur after *wi3*.

*d3i.k* ‘you cross over’.

In SR 2203, we find *wḏ3* instead of *d3i* in SR 2202, and *wḏ3* is also found in P. BM EA 10477 and P. Oxford 1892.618. and also found in Saite and Ptolemaic documents.<sup>7</sup>

In P. BM EA 10490, *wḏ3* was replaced by  *wi3* ‘to remove’.<sup>8</sup>

*phr.k r r3-<sup>c</sup>.k sf* ‘May you circle around to your position of yesterday’.

Only in the documents dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty (M. Cairo Je 35409, P. BM EA 10554, P. Oxford 1892.618) is *d3i/wḏ3* followed by *phr.k* ‘to go around’,<sup>9</sup> and it does not occur in late periods. The simple preposition *r* before *r-<sup>c</sup>* is omitted in P. BM EA 10477 and P. BM EA 10554.

*ḥfd.k ḥr m3 wi3.k* ‘You are sitting on the stern of your bark’.

In SR 2203, The faded traces after *ḥ* is probably for  (N41) for *ḥms* ‘to sit’<sup>10</sup>. In the two documents under study *ḥfd* and *ḥms* occur interchangeably. However in the Third Intermediate Period’s versions (P. Cairo 95838, P. BM EA 10084, P. BM EA 10490, P. Wien Vindob. Aeg. 12000, P. Oxford 1892.618, P. BM EA 10119) *ḥms* is more frequently used than *ḥfd* (P. BM EA 10554). During the Late and Ptolemaic periods, the verb *ḥfd* became used commonly.<sup>11</sup> *ḥfd/ḥms.f ḥr m3 wi3.k* is omitted in P.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, Leuven, (1997), 290f.

<sup>2</sup> *Wb.* I, 409, 10-12

<sup>3</sup> P. Cairo JE 95717 (Unpublished).

<sup>4</sup> Mosher Jr, *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods*, 197ff.

<sup>5</sup> Kockelmann, H., “Mumienbinde mit Totenbuch-Spruch 101”, in: *Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Hg.), *Kölner Papyri* (P. Köln) 10, *Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Bd. VII/10: *Papyrologica Coloniensia*, Paderborn/ München/ Wien/ Zürich, (2003), 209

<sup>6</sup> *Wb.* III, 419, 19

<sup>7</sup> Mosher Jr, *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods*, 197ff

<sup>8</sup> Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, I, 92

<sup>9</sup> *Wb.* I, 544, 12-547,7; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 366.

<sup>10</sup> *Wb.* III 96 (13)-98 (22).

<sup>11</sup> According to Mosher.2018, 197ff, a few examples are attested in Late and Ptolemaic periods for the verb *ḥms*: M. BM EA 73707 (Unpublished), M. Berlin P. 3072a (Unpublished), M. Aberdeen ABDUA 84180.10 (Unpublished); P. Standort unbekannt Stuart [14] (Unpublished). In P. Louvre N. 3085 (Ptolemaic period, Töpfer, S and Müller-Roth M., “Das Ende der Totenbuchtradition und der Übergang zum Buch vom Atmen: die Totenbücher des Monthemhat (pTübingen 2012) und der Tanedjmet (pLouvre N 3085)”, in: *HAT* 13

BM EA 10477. In M. SR 2202, *mw* is written mistakenly for *m3*. After *m3* the preposition *n* occasionally occurs. In SR 2202, The phonetic complement (G1) of *wi3* is partially damaged but still visible; its spelling in the beginning of this line is clearer.

*iw hnm.k Wsir Ns-Hnsw* ‘You join Osiris Nesikhonsou’.

The preposition *n* is inserted after *hnm* in P. BM EA 10477 and P. BM EA 10554. In Late and Ptolemaic periods’ versions, the common construction is *iw hnm.n.i m ist.k* ‘I have joined with your crew’.<sup>1</sup>

*hr Wsir m 3h pn ikr m ist.f* ‘Before Osiris as this excellent blessed one in his crew’.

In this part of the linen of SR 2203, the text has faded considerably, but the reading is still recognizable thanks to its parallel in M. SR 2202. The sign  shows an unusual form  in SR 2203. *hr wsir* is omitted in P. BM EA 10477, P. Cairo JE 95838, P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000, P. BM EA 10084 and P. BM EA 10490. It occurs in P. BM EA 10119 and was damaged in M. Cairo JE 35409. *m* and *pn* are omitted in P. BM EA 10477, P. Cairo JE 95838, P. BM EA 10490, P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000, P. BM EA 10084. In SR 2203 the lost signs in the lacuna are reconstructed as   , as a complement of *ist.f* ‘his crew’ thanks to its parallel in M. SR 2202.

## (§2)

*I R<sup>c</sup> m rn.k pn R<sup>c</sup>* ‘O Re, in this your name of Re’.

In SR 2202, The  (A2) of *rn* and the suffix pronoun *.k* are almost invisible, to be compared with l.2. In SR 2203, only a few traces of the word ‘*rn*’ are recognizable in the lacuna. In SR 2203, *.k* is omitted. *pn* after *rn.k* in SR 2202 occurs as *pwy* in SR 2203, and *pwy* is seen in all the Third Intermediate Period versions.

*ir sš.k wd3t n mh* ‘If you pass the sound eye of cubits’.

In the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period versions, the common spelling of the verb *sš* is <sup>2</sup> (M. SR 2203, P. BM EA 10477, M. Cairo JE 35409, P. BM EA 10490, P. BM EA 10554, P. Oxford 1892.618). It occurs as  in M. SR 2202, P. Cairo 95838, and P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000. This term is replaced by    ‘to pass’<sup>3</sup> in P. BM EA 10054. The term *wd3t* is in M. Cairo JE 35409, P. BM EA 10490, P. BM EA 10554, P. Oxford 1892.618 and replaced by *irt* in P. BM EA 10477, P. Cairo 95838, P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000. In all the documents, the preposition  occurs before *wd3t*, but it has been omitted in the two versions here. In SR 2203, *n mh sfh* ‘of seven cubits’ appears after *wd3t*, also in P. BM EA 10119 and P. Oxford 1892.618. The use of *nt* instead of *n* is common in the other documents.

Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, (2011). the verb *ts* ‘to raise up’ instead of *hms/hfd* was used for the first time and did not appear again.

<sup>1</sup> For example: P. Cairo JE 95717, P. Budapest OSzk cod. afr. 2a; P. New York MMA 35.9.20, P. St. Petersburg 3531, P. Berlin P. 3151 A-E, P. Manchester Hieratic 3, see Mosher Jr, *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods*, 197ff.

<sup>2</sup> *sš* or *sw3j* see, Kockelmann, Mumienbinde mit Totenbuch-Spruch 101, 219

<sup>3</sup> *Wb.* IV, 60, 8-61, 20

*df.s hmt gs mh* ‘Its pupil consisting of three and half cubits’.

In M. SR 2203, *dfd*, commonly spelled as  is lost, only the end of *d* is visible on the left edge of the lacuna; it is spelled  in M. SR 2202 and  in P. Cairo 95838. The pronoun with *dfd* is omitted in M. SR 2203 and it is erroneously *st* in SR 2202. In M. SR 2202, *mh* is erroneously written after *gs* and omitted in M. SR 2203. In P. Oxford 1892.618, a unique variant occurs with the word *hmt* ‘3’ replaced by ‘80’.

*k3 swd3.k Wsir Ns-Hnsw* ‘So shall you make sound Osiris Nesikhonsu’.

In M. SR 2203, *.k* after *k3* also appears in P. BM EA 10477, P. Cairo 95838, P. BM EA 10490. In SR 2203, the text should read *swd3 .k Wsir* like in SR 2202, but it was corrupted as *swd3 .k n Wsir*. The owner's name is omitted in SR 2203.

*m 3h ikr* ‘As this excellent blessed one’.

Sometimes, *m ist .k* ‘in your crew’ is written after *ikr*, as in P. BM EA 10477, P. BM EA 10490, and P. BM EA 10554.

*wd3.k wd3 .st* ‘As you are sound, she is sound’.

The expression *wd3.k wd3.s* occurs in M. SR 2202, P. BM EA 10490, P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000, but it is written *wd3.k wd3.s ts phr* in P. BM EA 10554. In M. SR 2203, P. BM EA 10477 and M. Cairo 35409 it is *wd3.k wd3.f*.

(§3) Only in SR 2202

*I R<sup>c</sup> m rn.s pw R<sup>c</sup>* ‘O Re, in this her name of Re’.

*pw* is seen instead of *pw* in all the Third Intermediate Period versions.

*ir sš.k hr ntyw (im)* ‘As you pass by they who are there’.

In P. BM EA 10554, *sš* is replaced by *sw3*.<sup>1</sup> *im* after *ntyw* is omitted here, and in P. Cairo 95838, P. BM EA 10490.

*mt shd* ‘The upside-down dead’.

The preposition *m* before *shd* is omitted here, in P. BM EA 10490, in P. BM EA 10554, in P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000, and in P. Oxford 1892.618. *mt* is omitted in P. BM EA 10490. The determinative man upside down (A29)  of *shd* is faded by the crumbling of the linen.

*k3 s<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.k Wsir Ns-Hnsw m 3h ikr* ‘So shall you rise Osiris Nesikhonsou as excellent blessed one’.

The suffix pronoun *.k* is inserted after *k3* in P. BM EA 10477, P. Cairo JE 95838, P. BM EA 10490, P. BM EA 10554, P. BM EA 10084. *n* after *s<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>* is inserted in P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000, P. BM EA 10084. *m* occurs here and M. Cairo JE 35409, P. BM EA 10490.

*<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.st hr rd.st* ‘She stands on her feet’.

The expression *<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.st hr rdwy.st* is omitted in M. Cairo JE 35409, and replaced by *m ist.k* ‘in your crew’ in P. BM EA 10490. *<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.st* is omitted in P. BM 10477, P. Cairo 95838, and P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000. In P. BM EA 10554, this composition

<sup>1</sup> See the note about *sš* above.

occurred *k3.k sḥḥ.k wsir N hr rdwy.st iw .st 3h ikr m ist.k ḥḥ.st hr rdwy.st* ‘so shall you rise Osiris N on her feet, she is excellent blessed one in your crew, she stands on her feet’.

*wḏ3.st wḏ3 k* ‘As she is sound as you are sound’.

The expression *wḏ3.st wḏ3.k* also appears in P. BM EA 10554, and the terms inverted ‘*wḏ3.k wḏ3.st*’ in P. BM EA 10490. *wḏ3.s wḏ3.k is* in P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000. *wḏ3.k wḏ3.f* appears in P. BM EA 10477, M. Cairo JE 35409, and P. Cairo JE 95838.

#### (§4)

*i Rḥ m rn.k pw Rḥ* ‘O Re in this your name of Re’.

In SR 2203, *pw* stands instead of *pw* (M. SR 2202), and *pw* is common during the Third Intermediate Period.

*ir wn.tw n.k sst3w m imḥt* ‘As the mysteries of the netherworld are opened’.

*wn.tw* occurred as *wn.ti* in P. BM EA 10490 and P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000. The preposition *m* and *n* are used interchangeably before *imḥt* through Third Intermediate period documents. The prefix *i* is written for the common *r* in all the documents above.

*i ssm ib n psdt* ‘For you to guide the heart of the Ennead’.

The spelling of *ssm* is somewhat unclear, but based on M. SR 2202, the clear spelling is , a unique variant compared to the parallels where it appears as  ‘to lead’.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that  is a confused writing for this common verb or for the verb *rš* ‘to rejoice’.<sup>2</sup> *n* before *psdt* is omitted in P. BM EA 10119. The suffix pronoun *.k* is occasionally written after *psdt*.

*k3 di.k ib n Wsir Ns-Hnsw n st m 3h ikr* ‘So shall you give the heart of Osiris Nesikhonsu to her as excellent blessed one’.

Though badly faded in M. SR 2203, the composition *k3 di.k ib n* also occurs in M. Cairo JE 35409, P. 10119, P. Wien Vindob Aeg-12000, and P. Oxford 1892.618. The suffix pronoun *.k* is inserted after *k3* in P. BM EA 10477, P. Cairo JE 95838, P. BM EA 10490, and P. BM EA 10554.

*wḏ3.st ḥḥ.w.k n.k Rḥ* ‘She is sound, your body belongs to you Re’.

In M. SR 2203, the last part of the line is badly damaged and difficult to read. It probably corresponds to its parallel in M. SR 2202: *m 3h ikr wḏ3.st ḥḥ.w.k n.k Rḥ* ‘as excellent blessed one, She is hale, your body belongs to you Ra’. However, the faded text space is longer than in M. SR 2202, suggesting that this reconstruction may remain uncertain. Through parallels (P. BM EA 10477, P. Cairo JE 95838, P. BM EA 10490), a potential reading appears as *m 3h ikr wḏ3.k wḏ3.f ḥḥ.w.k rḥ dd m r* ‘as excellent blessed one, you are hale, he is hale, your body, Re enduring by means of the spell’.

#### PALAEOGRAPHICAL REMARKS

Different scribes undoubtedly wrote the two versions of BD Spell 101 of Nesikhonsou; the text of M. SR 2202 was executed by an experienced scribe, while the scribe of M. SR 2203

<sup>1</sup> *Wb.* IV 285 (7)-287 (20)

<sup>2</sup> It is a common verb in parallels texts dating to the Late and Ptolemaic periods.

was inexperienced. Despite the faded ink in the first mummy wrapping, the linen is inscribed in neat, well-organised handwriting, which reflects the skills of the scribe. The writing size is somewhat larger, making the signs legible. As for M. SR 2203, the scribe appears inexperienced, the text being untidy in appearance, and written in a sloping line. The usage of a thin reed-brush can be suggested due to the handwriting being small and thin.

Although the Nesikhonsu mummy wrappings do not contain clear dating criteria, they may date to the end of the Twentieth to the Twenty-first Dynasty, palaeography resembling that of the early Twenty-first Dynasty. A comparison with Möller's<sup>1</sup> and Verhoeven's<sup>2</sup> palaeographies and the parallel texts mentioned support this suggestion. The handwriting of M. SR 2202 and M. SR 2203 allow selecting signs which are characteristic of the hands of these two scribes, as presented in the following table. They are numbered according to Gardiner's Sign list<sup>3</sup> and the palaeographical works of Möller and Verhoeven. The following signs show close similarity to P. Harris: A17a, D2, D2a; P. Abbot: E34; P. BM EA 10554: A2, A7, A51, D10, F20, F34, G25, V31, W9.

No.	Hiero	M. SR 2202	M. SR 2203	No.	Hiero.	M. SR 2202	M. SR 2203
A2 35		 1. 1 1. 2	 1. 1	E34 132 b		 1. 2	 1.2
A7 32			 1. 1	F20 161		 1. 3	 1. 1
A17 a 31		 1. 1		F34 179		 1. 2	
A51 26		 1.1 1. 2	 1. 1	F47 183		 1. 1	 1. 1
D2 80		 1. 1		G25 204		 1. 2	 1. 1
D2 A 80c		 1. 1 1. 2	 1. 1	G43 200			
D10 86		 1. 1		V31 511		 1. 2	 1. 1

<sup>1</sup> Möller, *Hieratische Päläographie*, II.

<sup>2</sup> Verhoeven U., *Untersuchungen zur Späthieratischen Buchschrift*, OLA 99, Leuven. (2001), 102ff.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 544ff

D54 119		 1. 1	 1. 1		W9 508		 1.1	 1.1
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## CONCLUSIONS

The Cairo Egyptian museum has many sets of unpublished mummy wrappings and Cairo Sr 2201, 2202, 2203 (Je 96813) which represent one set that has been discussed in this article. None of these three documents, however, include any information that can be used to suggest a date for when they were produced. The details discussed above suggest a Twenty-first Dynasty date: the elements in the texts supports this, such as, for instance, the construction of *phr .k* 'to go around' after *d3i/wd3* which only appear in versions dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty (M. Cairo Je 35409, P. BM EA 10554, P. Oxford 1892.618). their palaeography resembles that of the end of the Twentieth to the Twenty-first Dynasty. By that, Cairo mummy wrappings JE 96813 are considered one of the earliest examples of book of the dead being used as amulets on linen. All three bandages were prepared for Nesikhonsu. There is however no title with her name, but maybe she belonged to a Theban priestly family, based on the unusual feature of a royal name in cryptographic writing presumably representing that of King Ramesses II as a unique illustration on mummy wrapping Cairo SR 2201. The name of this king is in the Book of the Dead mentioned only in the title of Supplementary Spell BD 166, and this suggests a link between Cairo SR 2201 and this spell.

While two scribes executed the texts of M. SR 2202 and M. SR 2203, the features of the three wrappings and their similar measurements show that these objects were produced in one Theban workshop for one owner who was provided with two separate abridged versions of the Book of the Dead spell 101. The complete state of these two objects without any frayed edges suggests that Spell 101 was used as a single text and served as a protective amulet. It is unclear why two slightly different versions of the same spell were provided for the same owner. It may be due to the carelessness in which Cairo M. SR 2203 was executed, requiring that a new one was made or perhaps one was placed on each side of the throat.

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Fig. (2): Three Cairo Mummy Wrappings of Nesikhonson (Cairo SR 2201, 2202, 2203).

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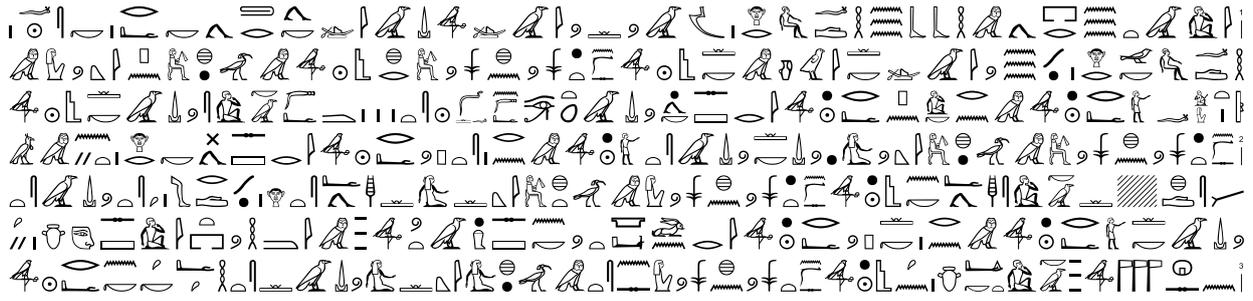


Fig. (3): Transcription of BD Spell 101 of Cairo Mummy Wrappings of Nesikhonsou (Cairo SR 2202).

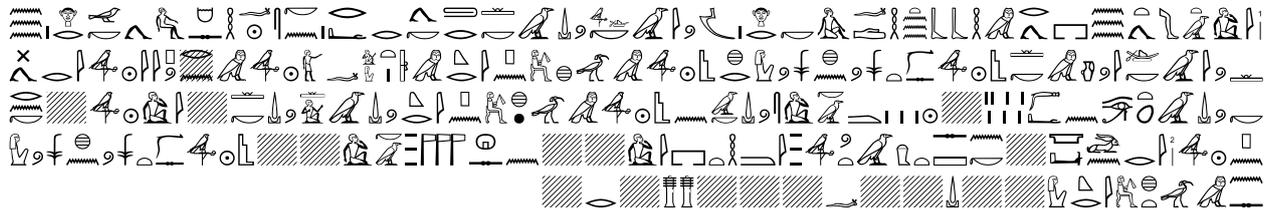


Fig. (4): Transcription of BD Spell 101 of Cairo Mummy Wrappings of Nesikhonsou (Cairo SR 2203).