Forgeries for the Dead: fake specimens of the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead

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1. Introduction

It is not an easy job to manufacture ancient written objects. You have to imitate the archaic style, the writing must be copied faithfully to the original and the material has to look antique. Faking Book of the Dead manuscripts¹ implicates some advantages:

- The amount of available specimens is huge and only a few specialists know them all: currently we know about 3000 Book of the Dead manuscripts, from small fragments, only a few centimeterslong, up to complete manuscripts of more than 20 meters-long. Also, every day there is a chance that new manuscripts come out from auctions or excavations
- Since Book of the Dead manuscripts were in use for a period of about 2000 years, their typologies are various and numerous; manuscripts of very high quality are widely attested as well as very roughly decorated scrolls. Therefore, a heavyhanded line is not compulsorily an evidence for a forgery.
- In order to forge a manuscript which looks authentic, it is not necessary to have a very precise copy of the original. The Book of the Dead spells can be arranged in different sequences and in several layouts. The texts have different traditions with a lot of variations. One could adopt a sequence of spells from a master copy and arrange them into a new object whose original would therefore be hard to identify.
- 1 With Book of the Dead in Egyptology it is intended a corpus of magical spells and illustrations occurring on a variety of magical and funerary objects but first of all on papyrus, which had the aim of protecting the deceased during his journey in the ancient Egyptian netherworld, ending with the his or her assimilation to the gods. For an introduction to the major themes and sources of the Book of the Dead see J. Taylor (ed.), Journey Through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, London 2010. For a bibliography on the Book of the Dead studies see B. Backes et al., Bibliographie zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch, 2. Ed., Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 13, Wiesbaden 2009.

- The Book of the Dead corpus includes texts and vignettes, and manuscripts can contain both of them, but they can also present a predominance of texts or vignettes only. Faked fragments could also contain only vignettes, so that the character of the writing, which is the most difficult part to fake, would not be in need to be copied.
- The material that was used for Book of the Dead manuscripts, especially papyrus and linen, is also found preserved in blank condition and therefore it could be easily used for forgeries, making the final artifact looking antique.

On the basis of the points mentioned above, the fake of a Book of the Dead manuscript is not as difficult to realize as it may look at first sight. It is therefore remarkable that there are only about two dozens of fakes of this genre identified so far. In this paper, a few already known forgeries of the Book of the Dead and some new ones will be presented, in order to provide an overview on the subject and on the different way manuscripts and mummy bandages inscribed with Book of the Dead compositions can be faked. The source of the selected evidence is the archive of the Book of the Dead Project at Bonn University. During the process of building up the archive over a period of 20 years, many cases were identified, documented and discussed with colleagues of the Book of the Dead project and other specialists of ancient Egyptian manuscript production.

2. The Book of the Dead Project

Back in 1990, on the basis of a research activity began already in the 70's, Prof. Dr. Ursula Rössler-Köhler founded the Book of the Dead Project, consisting in building up an archive of photos and a database of Book of the Dead papyri scattered in museums and private collections around the world. The Project was initially supported by the Ministry of Science,

Humanities and Research of North-Rhine Westphalia and later on, from 1994 to 2003, in co-operation with Cologne University, by the German Research Foundation. It was then in 2004 that the Academy of Science and Arts of North-Rhine Westphalia started to support the new and last phase of the Project, since then only based at Bonn University and which ended in December 2012.

Today the Book of the Dead archive contains reproductions of about 3000 objects in total, which since March 2012 are also available online, together with information on the collected specimens.² During the last 20 years, the archive has been an optimal research center for students and scholars who came visiting the Project in Bonn from all over the world. Not only academics and academic institutions but also museums and private collectors have benefitted of the Book of the Dead Project, in particular in relation to the processes of identifying and joining papyri fragments dispersed through museums and private collections. And it is especially in connection to a few enquiries from private collectors that the team members who worked in this project, including the authors of this article, have been able to individuate many cases of forgeries for the Book of the Dead genre.

3. Forgeries of ancient papyri and mummy bandages

As stated above many forgeries of the Book of the Dead are restricted to some sketches of the vignettes, which are easier to copy than a hieroglyphic or hieratic text. Such examples are known from the Marischal Museum in Aberdeen, i.e. Mummy bandages ABDUA 23246, ABDUA [1] and ABDUA [2].³

Some other objects in the Marischal Museum are not labeled with Book of the Dead texts, but with royal cartouches, with is a commonly used trick to get



Fig. 1: Linen fragment with an embalming scene similar to that one of the vignette of Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead (priv. Coll.).

the attention of private collectors.⁴ However, since Book of the Dead texts contain royal cartouches only in a few rare cases, it is less common to find them also in Book of the Dead forgeries. Nevertheless, we have identified a linen fragment of about 30 cm long, with an embalming scene similar to that one of the vignette of Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead (fig. 1). This fragment was pointed out to our project by an Italian collector, who had seen it at an auction; he wanted to know if the piece should be identified as a mummy pectoral or as a Book of the Dead fragment on linen. Because of the easily recognizable occurrence of the cartouche of Ramesses II, the collector was thinking that it could represent a votive object given to the Pharaoh. However, this artifact can be quickly recognized as fake by a scholar, since the hieroglyphs are not readable, the layout is very uncommon and the vignette has been sketched in a very clumsy and untypically Egyptian way. However, even pieces like that can deceive the non-experts and therefore be

² See the link: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de.

³ Cf. N.G.W. Curtis / H. Kockelmann / I. Munro, The Collection of Book of the Dead Manuscripts in Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen, Scotland. A Comprehensive Overview, in: Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 105, 2005, p. 56 and H. Kockelmann, Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden. II. Handbuch zu den Mumienbinden und Leinenamuletten, Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 12.II, Wiesbaden 2008, p. 8.

⁴ These hieroglyphs are written in purple ink, which is uncommon in such a context. The only case with purple ink in Book of the Dead manuscripts seems to be a papyrus in Moscow. See I. Munro, Der Totenbuch-Papyrus der Ta-schep-en-Chonsu aus der späten 25. Dynastie (pMoskau Puschkin-Museum I, 1b, 121), Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches 10, Wiesbaden 2009, p. 2. However, also in this case, the ink was originally red; the author has just used and published bad photos.

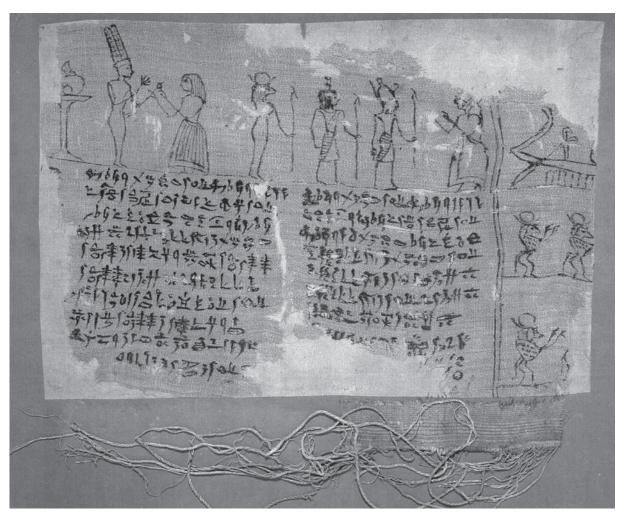


Fig. 2: Hieratic fragment belonging to a woman called Ns- Ḥr- p3- R3 ("Ryl. Hieroglyphic Manuscript 3").

a source of profit on the market. As in this case, it is especially hard to reconstruct the history of production and circulation of the forgery on the market, since we do not know where the collector has been finding or receiving the object.

Sometimes a scholar can be able to locate fake artifacts, which are kept in museums and until then considered to be authentic Book of the Dead specimens. This is the case of four mummy bandages inscribed with Book of the Dead spells and vignettes and dated to the Ptolemaic Period, which one of the former Project members, Holger Kockelmann, has recognized years ago in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. In a forthcoming article, Kockelmann has reconstructed the whole story of the pieces according to the information gathered in the museum.⁵ It seems that the origin of the four

pieces is unknown; they were found in Manchester as part of the Crawford collection purchased in 1901 and they were catalogued in the library as "Ryland hieroglyphic manuscripts 1-4", although two of them were written in hieratic. It is known that Mr. Crawford visited Egypt but the pieces may have been acquired also at an auction in Europe. Here we can discuss in particular one of the four fragments, as representative of the case of fakes kept in museums as original documents. This is a hieratic fragment of about 32 cm long and 21 high, belonging to a woman called Ns-Hr-p3-R3, which for conservation has been pasted on tissue and afterwards glued to a page of the red leather atlas holding all the Manchester bandages (fig. 2). It is labeled as "Ryl. Hiero-

⁵ We wish to thank Holger Kockelmann for granting permission to quote his still unpublished article on these pieces. The author has informed us that the quoted essay is expected

to appear as H. Kockelmann, "Four 19th Century Book of the Dead Forgeries on Mummy Linen in the John Rylands Library Manchester – or: The Description de l'Égypte as a Faker's Pattern Book", in: *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*.

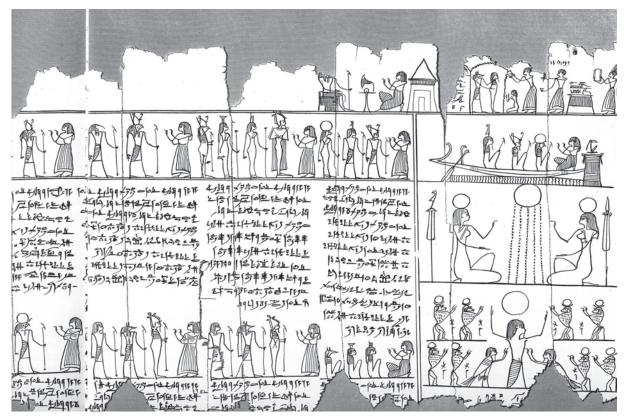


Fig. 3: Papyrus Paris BN 93 + 98.

glyphic Manuscript 3" in the Museum catalogue and, as Kockelmann writes, the fragment shows part of the vignette of Spell 15 of the Book of the Dead, showing the back part of the solar boat and four baboons in adoration; a few passages of Spell 18 of the Book of the Dead are also preserved, arranged in two columns of 10 lines each, with two vignettes placed above the text, that on the right showing the divinities Atum, Shu and Tefnut worshipped by the deceased. The second scene depicts the departed in front of the ithyphallic god Min or Min-Amon, behind whom stands an offering table.

There are some funny irregularities in the disposition of the text and vignette, like for instance the scene of the adoration of the ithyphallic Min, which generally does not occur in relation to Spell 18 of the Book of the Dead. Moreover, the prosopographical data of this fragment are the same as for the other hieratic linen fragment kept in the Rylands library ("Ryl. Hieroglyphic Manuscript 4"). It would be highly unusual, as Kockelmann has noted, that two copies of the same text and vignettes were written on cloth for the burial of one and the same person. Also, the hieratic text is legible but looks clumsy and not very authentic, so that Kockelmann concludes that these

must have been forgeries made by using a genuine Book of the Dead manuscript as a kind of master copy for his work, since the presented layout is much more common for the Book of the Dead on manuscripts. The genuine documents from which the Rylands pieces have been copied have been also identified by Kockelmann, thanks to the aid of the database at the Book of the Dead project. This is a papyrus document with the same prosopography kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and inventoried as Papyrus Paris BN 93 and 98, presenting a similar layout as the fake fragments (fig. 3). This was also one of the few Book of the Dead documents already available in high quality facsimiles in the early 19th Century since it was published in the Description de *l'Egypte*. 6 Very probably, it was this facsimile edition of the papyrus and not the original to be used as a model by the faker, as Kockelmann points out in his article. It is interesting also that, for unknown reasons, the forger left aside or changed some iconographical components of the original, while adding other details according to his wishes, such as the

⁶ G. Neret, Napoleon, Description de l'Égypte. publ. sous les ordres de Napoleon Bonaparte. [Conception and Text: Gilles Néret], Köln 1994, Pls. 61-65, in particular Pl. 62.

scene of the adoration of the ithyphallic god Min, which is a completely new element to the canonical vignette of Spell 18 of the Book of the Dead.⁷

Copying forgeries from originals is a method which can be observed in many other falsified Egyptian documents. A false funerary papyrus acquired in the Theban region proved to have been counterfeited from a published papyrus kept in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin (Papyrus Berlin P.3127);8 there are also illegible forged Greek papyri which seek to imitate the cursive hands of original documents.9 Finally, Kockelmann has also noted that the price attained by these linen pieces at the sale was higher compared to other pieces, what it could show that in those times book collectors were very interested to the genre. Since esthetically speaking they are not so appealing as the papyri, their popularity may be due to the mummy mania and the old mysterious charm connected to all what has to do with "mummies" and related mummy curses, which is an important part of the Western "Egyptomania".

Another example in the Book of the Dead corpus which combines two objects, probably one original and one copy are two mummy bandages whose illustrations are reminiscent of vignettes of spell 17, spell 64 and other Book of the Dead vignettes. 10 The sequence strings together scenes with sun-barques, gods, canopic jars and mummies. At the end of the bandage the name of the owner is mentioned, Mri-Nt-Psmtk. Interestingly, two almost identical objects are known. One of the mummy bandages is in the Egyptian Collection of the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna, registered as Mummy bandage Vienna AS 3932. The whereabouts of the other is unknown, but a picture of the mummy bandage was published in an auction catalogue a few years ago. 11 Even the writing style of this fragment is identical to the piece in Vienna. Because of this strict similarity, it is difficult

to decide which of the two mummy bandages is a fake and which one is a copy. Both of them present issues speaking of a fake or of an original at the same time. The mummy wrapping of unknown origin (in the Bonn Book of the Dead archive labeled as "M. Location Unknown [1]") has some little destroyed areas, such as the left side above a h3st-sign (Gardiner sign N 25). On the right side a t-hieroglyph (Gardiner sign X 1) is written, probably to be doubled on the other, destroyed side. At the same place on M. Vienna AS 3932, the text has a gap on the left and again a t-sign on the right side. But it is very unlikely that the scribe put the t-sign on the right side without cause. It could be evidence that the falsifier could not amend the lost hieroglyph; however, another case is present, where the scribe could amend a gap. In the word "Osiris" the hieroglyph of the throne (Gardiner sign Q 1) is partially destroyed in the fragment of unknown origin (M.Location unknown [1]) but it is written in M.Vienna ÄS 3932. Probably, these two fragments were both original and prepared for identical mummy bandages.

We have been also facing an example of a probable direct copy of a famous original manuscript. A few short papyri were found by a private person living in Gescher near Münster (Germany) who has contacted our project to ask about the authenticity of the pieces. The two manuscripts which were brought to our attention have been unrolled and restored in 2012; they contain the vignette of Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead with the final judgment of the deceased (fig. 4 and fig. 5, page 6). Its owner told us that those and other few similar papyri manuscripts were found on top of an old closet in a house which belonged to Johann Leiting (born 1868), about whom not much is known except that a friend of him named Carl Edelbrock (1874-1926) owned a casting house for bells and used to trade bells internationally. 12 Perhaps he has been travelling to Egypt for business and took back the manuscripts to Germany? At any case, it has to be noted the striking correspondence of these fragments with the section of Spells 125 and 30B of a famous and well preserved papyrus of the Book of the Dead dating to the 19th Dynasty and kept in the British Museum, namely the papyrus of

⁷ The vignette of Spell 18 usually represents the deceased in company of deities but never including Min.

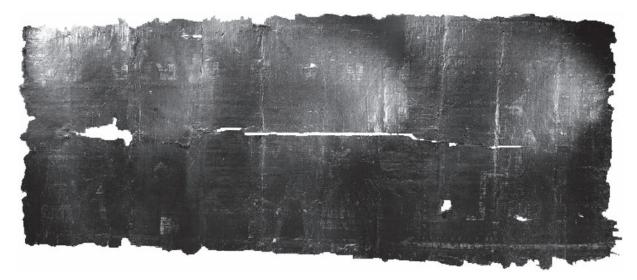
⁸ D. Meeks, "Deux papyrus funéraires de Marseille (Inv. 292 et 5323). À propos de quelques personnages thébains", in: Karpieskaja, E. G.; Kovaljev, A. A. (Hg.), Ancient Egypt and Kush (Gs Korostovtsev), Moskau 1993, S. 290-305.

⁹ Vgl. C. Schmidt, "Über moderne Papyrusfälschungen", in: Actes du Ve Congr. International de Papyrologie, Brussels 1938, 377.

¹⁰ This case was brought to our attention by Francesco Tiradritti.

¹¹ See Pandolfini Casa d'Aste, Reperti Archeolici, Firenze, 9 maggio 2008, Florenz 2008, p. 20-21, lot 237.

¹² http://www.petit-edelbrock-gescher.de/startseite/



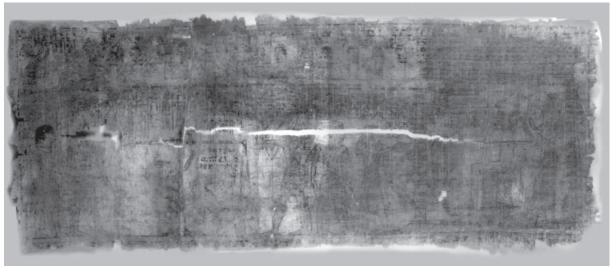


Fig. 4 and Fig. 5: Two photos - one original and one in infrared - of a manuscript containing the vignette of Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead (priv. Coll.).

the King's scribe Hunefer (BM EA 9901, fig. 6). ¹³ The copies are much smaller than the British Museum artifact, only 13 cm high and 30 cm in length. The colors are not so well preserved and the general conditions of the pieces are very bad. But we could recognize the scene and the name of the ancient owner from infra-red pictures made by the conservator. The alignment was very accurate, the text under the scale and the hieroglyphs and vignettes match perfectly the original. These should be old artifacts, made not later that the first two decades of the 20th Century. A still open question is where the model papyrus for these copies was seen first. The papyrus of Hunefer kept in the British Museum belongs to the

so-called Clot acquisitions, when in 1852 the British Museum purchased two funerary papyri from Clot Bey, the French surgeon-in-chief to Mohammed Ali who held that post after 1823, returned to Europe in 1832 and was again in Egypt between 1837 and 1849. Therefore the papyrus of Hunefer was in Europe much earlier than the possible date of manufacture of these copies. Also, it is strange that in the same place more than one copy of the same piece has been found, since indeed the owner says that there were at least four specimens of the same kind; although the other manuscripts are still rolled up, most likely they contain the same scene.

Sometimes, an artifact can be recognized as fake not only because of the esthetically insignificant or poor quality of the drawings and layout, but also thanks to the chemical testings of the material. This is

¹³ Cf. J.H. Taylor, (ed.), Journey through the afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead. The British Museum Press, London 2010, 302-305.

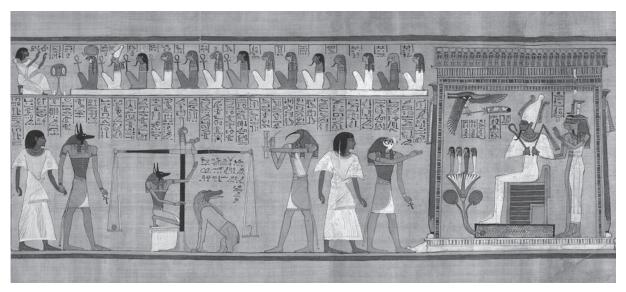


Fig. 6: Spells 125 and 30B, Book of the Dead of the King's scribe Hunefer (BM EA 9901).

the case of a papyrus fragment kept in the Biblioteca Laurentiana in Rome and found by chance by a curator of the library among some Arabic manuscripts of the library, 14 attached on a hard paper on the other side of which was an old photo of a dahabya-sailboat, which was commonly used by the aristocrats for river cruises during the period of the monarchy (1920-40). Similar to a previously mentioned case, the fragment shows a section of the vignette of Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead and whose authenticity was doubted by the curator already at first sight, given the poor quality of the sketch.¹⁵ After the chemicals testings and the analysis of the material, the curator P. Boffula argued that the brown colour resulting from the UV analysis of the fragment surface, instead of the general blue colour produced by the analysis of the other ancient papyri, may be an indication of the use of a modern glue and therefore it could confirm that we are facing a forgery. 16

4. Uncertain cases

Finally, there are cases when it is not easy at all to detect if a Book of the Dead document is an original or a fake. As written above, some mummy bandages decorated for the most part or completely with vignettes of the Book of the Dead could be forgeries, but a poor style or unusual forms of hieroglyphs and figures could also be due to the use of poor material or to a badly trained scribe or draftsman.

Unusual as well are the hieroglyphs on a shroud containing Book of the Dead sections and kept in Würzburg. 17 The ears of the owl-hieroglyph are like antennas or horns of a goat (Gardiner sign G 17 in col. x+2; x+3); the seal in *htm.ty* (Gardiner sign S 19 in col. x+6) is too poorly sketched; the ligature in the *d3d3.t*-sign ("court, tribunal", in col. x+5) and the hieroglyph of the fallen man (Gardiner sign A 14, in col. x+4) are also very unusually presented. The whole fragment itself seems to be so peculiar that it could be easily assumed to be a fake. But luckily another fragment in the ancient Egyptian collection of the University of Heidelberg matches directly the piece in Würzburg: this is the so-called shroud Heidelberg Ä.I. 1787, which shows the figure of the deceased

¹⁴ We wish to thank Dr. Paola Boffula for the information on this piece, which has been temporarily labeled as Papiro. Lincei.leratico I.

¹⁵ However, it shall be pointed out that in the Greco-Roman period there are some Book of the Dead papyri whose vignettes were of very poor quality. That the scrolls made for the dead were always masterpieces of the scribal and artistic traditions of ancient Egypt is just a cliché to be avoided; sometimes the deceased had to be content and try to make it during his journey in the afterlife also with a poorly made scroll. Therefore, we cannot use the stylistic poverty as an univocal evidence of forgery as far as Book of the Dead papyri are concerned.

¹⁶ P. Boffula, "Principles of consolidation and diagnostic applied to the restoration of the arab papyri of oriental

origin founded in Rome", in: Strategie e programmazione della conservazione e trasmissibilità del patrimonio culturale, Fidei Signa Edizioni Scientifiche, Roma 2013, p. 80-87, in particular p. 87 and fig. 7,

¹⁷ Würzburg H 393. Cf. M. Müller-Roth, Das Leichentuch des Pa-heri-pedjet, in: Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 135, 2008, p. 142-153, esp. 146-147 and pl. XL.

praying in front of an offering table. The figure is made in a fine style dating to the middle of the 18th Dynasty; there is no doubt that the Heidelberg fragment is authentic, and consequently also the piece kept in Würzburg should not be a forgery. This case shows that the uncommon characteristics and style of the hieroglyphs is not an evidence for detect a forgery of the Book of the Dead genre.

Another similar example is a Book of the Dead manuscript of the Ptolemaic period, Papyrus Cairo J.E. 95859, belonging to a woman called 3nkh-tjekeret and which contains a complete sequence from spell BD 1 to BD 162. The style of this manuscript is typical of the Ptolemaic Period, with the exception of the judgment scene (BD 125); the drawing of the latter is very clumsy, especially for the ibis-head of Thoth, and therefore, if it would have been found separate from the rest of the manuscript, it would have been considered fake, if it would have been found separate from the rest of the manuscript. At any case, it is very unlikely that this scene was realised by the same draughtsman and scribe who made the rest of the manuscript, which however looks authentic.

5. Conclusion

The series of examples presented here show the range of variation in relation to forgeries of the Book of the Dead manuscripts. The case of documents which are clearly fake because of a phantasy script, which is believed to be mysterious or not yet deciphered, has already been discussed in one of the first scholarly essays raising the issue of forgery in ancient papyri, presented by the papyrologist Carl Schmidt during the 5th International Congress of Papyrology. However, the identification of forgeries keeps being a difficult task for scholars, since in most of the cases the faker uses original manuscripts and produces well-made copies.

It is interesting to note, in the cases presented above, that often forgeries concern inscribed linen and mummy bandages, which were especially *en vogue* during the Ptolemaic Period. It would be interesting to discuss the possible reasons of this rich production of fake mummy bandages inscribed with texts, in relation to the phenomenon of *Egyptomania*

and the use of mummy bandages and materials like magical or healing amulets already from the Middle Ages. ¹⁹ However, perhaps the abundance of blank linen, which was a cheaper material in comparison to papyrus, plays a role as well in the tendency to realize fakes of Book of the Dead on mummy bandages.

In most of the cases the origin of the forgeries is unclear and only very general informations of the pieces could be developed. As pointed out by Schmidt, the Fayum was a well-known center of papyri forgeries, which were then sold to the European collectors or even kept in local museums in Egypt; perhaps some of the examples above originate as well from the Fayum. Scholars of the Book of the Dead studies are particularly interested in the local traditions of the genre and therefore should keep in mind that studying the local traditions of Book of the Dead forgeries could also provide useful information for the reconstruction of the Book of the Dead history.

Sources

Figures 1, 4, 5 are courtesy of the private owner

Figure 2: © Totenbuch Datenbank, Bonn. Reproduced by Courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester.

Figure 3: from: Neret, Gilles; Napoleon, Description de l'Égypte. publ. sous les ordres de Napoleon Bonaparte. [Conception and Text: Gilles Néret], Köln 1994, Pl. 62.

Figure 6: © British Museum

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¹⁸ Cf. Schmidt, op. cit.

¹⁹ See H. Pringle, The Mummy Congress: Science, Obsession, and the Everlasting Dead, London 2001.

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