

The Scribes of the Hieratic Book of the Dead Papyri of Hatnefer A palaeographic investigation

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ABSTRACT

The New Kingdom preserved very few copies of the hieratic Book of the Dead texts. The majority of copies were written in hieroglyphic or cursive hieroglyphic scripts. Small-scale usage of the hieratic script occurred during the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th dynasties. Later, the hieratic script was abandoned for the sake of the previously mentioned scripts. The two papyri of Lady Hatnefer are among the most intriguing specimens of hieratic script that have survived from this era. They were entirely written in horizontal hieratic script. The number and identity of the scribes who produced these writings are unknown to us. Therefore, using paleographic and handwriting analysis, this study will attempt to determine how many scribes were involved in creating this text. Additionally, the differences between each scribe's handwriting and those of the others will be presented.

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INTRODUCTION

In general, the New Kingdom Egyptians used hieroglyphs and cursive hieroglyphs to write their funerary compositions (Hassan 2022, 131; Kockelmann 2017, 69; Lenzo 2023, 301; For more details about the Cursive Hieroglyphs cf. Verhoeven 2015, 23-63; Ali 2001, 9-21; Allam 2007, 33-37). The works were occasionally composed either in the usual order or with a *retrograde* orientation (For more information about this writing see Goelet 2010, 128; Niwinski 1989, 13; Chegodaev 1996, 19; Hassan 2014, 251–252). A few examples have surfaced, even though the hieratic writing was unusual for this genre at the time. For instance, hieratic writing from the Book of the Dead was initially found on the inside walls of Queen Mentuhotep's wooden coffin (Quirke 2013, 11; Dorman 2018, 34). Alongside the latter example, the coffin board of Prince Herunefer (BM EA 29997), was considered the first undeniable proof of the early Book of the Dead hieratic instances (PM I, 657; Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 47; Gestermann 2006, 104). These early examples were written in horizontal hieratic lines, which is quite similar to the writing style found on papyrus rolls (Dorman 2018, 34; Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 47). The linen shrouds of the 17th and 18th Dynasties used the hieratic script in vertical columns to write the Book of the Dead, in contrast to the horizontal style used on the coffins previously addressed.¹ In the New Kingdom, the hieratic copies of the Book of the Dead were exclusively produced only at the beginning of the 18th dynasty, not later. They were later discontinued, and copies were instead made in hieroglyphic and cursive

hieroglyphic scripts, probably in the first year of King Amenhotep II (Munro 2010, 208; Lucarelli 2020). About 12 hieratic samples were discovered in various locations and are now kept in various Museums (For these examples see Kh. Hassan 2022a, 132-133). They also vary in terms of form, writing style, line arrangement, spelling sequence, and the placement of the vignettes. Although it is unclear why the hieratic was abandoned in favor of other scripts, Hieroglyphic and Cursive Hieroglyphic may have been used instead of hieratic for pragmatic, artistic, and religious reasons. (For this debate see Hassan 2022a, 133-135; Lenzo 2023, 312). After the 18th Dynasty, scarce examples of hieratic Book of the Dead copies were spotted, mostly dated back to the 19th and 20th Dynasties, i.e., About 5 fragmentary papyri, 4 ostraca, and 1 linen shroud.² By the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period, the hieratic script was more frequently used for different funerary compositions, including the Book of the Dead, than hieroglyphic and cursive hieroglyphic scripts (Lenzo 2023, 303).

Book of the Dead Papyri of Hatnefer

Among the 12 surviving hieratic Book of the Dead copies of the 18th dynasty are the two papyri of Lady Hatnefer. She was the mother of the renowned official Senenmut, who was responsible for the construction work of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. Hatnefer and Ramose were buried in a small rock-cut tomb discovered by the Metropolitan Museum's expedition in the season of 1935–1936 on the northeast slope of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Lansing and Hayes 1937, 12; PM I, 2, 669). This small tomb included the wooden coffins of Hatnefer and Ramose, six mummies for three young women, and three children in two coffins. A few wooden boxes and domestic items were also discovered in the tomb along with the corpses and coffins (Lansing and Hayes 1937, 31; Dorman 1991, 23).³ The wooden coffin of Hatnefer was in anthropoid form containing a mummy covered with a linen shroud with the spell BD 72 and CT 335 in Cursive hieroglyphs (Lansing and Hayes 1937, 19; Diaz-Iglesias Llanos 2018, 95; Munro 1994, pl. 10; Hassan 2022b, 46). Two papyri and one leather roll were discovered beneath the shroud and on top of the mummy's chest. They were tied with a stripe of line and placed under the mask. After returning to Egypt from the MMA in 1953, the two papyri and the leather roll were eventually housed at the Egyptian Museum of Cairo with the TR-number (TR 25.1.55.6) (About the details of the Acquisition and state of the manuscripts see Hassan 2022b, 48).

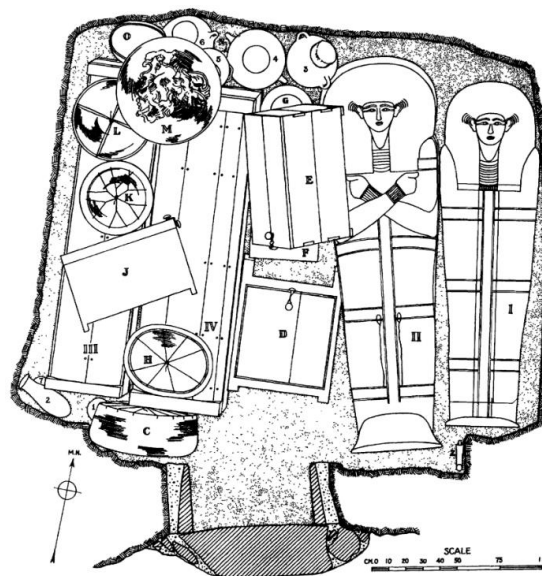

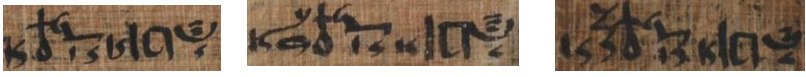
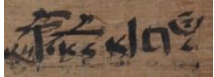

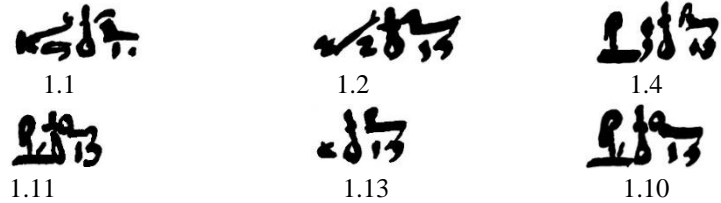



Fig. 1: The small rock tomb of Lady Hatnefer with the coffins and funerary belongings discovered inside. (After Lansing and Hayes 1937, 24, fig. 27)

Papyrus Hatnefer I is longer than Papyrus Hatnefer II and was written on both the verso and the recto. The majority of the spells was written in black ink, with a few insertions in red ink. Papyrus Hatnefer I is presently thought to be the longest hieratic Book of the Dead papyrus from the 18th dynasty (Hassan 2022b, 49). The recto is composed of 22 pages while the verso is composed of 18 pages plus 4 blank pages at the end of the verso. Hatnefer II is in a bad state of preservation, and the text is written only on the recto. Except for the final three lines of spell 149, which were written in columns, the papyrus' nine hieratic pages are written in horizontal lines (Hassan 2022a, 136). The owner's name was repeated several times .on both papyri with or without titles or predications (Hassan 2022b, 51). The author of this article has written two further papers that cover the layout, positioning of the vignettes, and order of spells of these two papyri (Hassan 2022a; Hassan 2022a).

Table 1: The spelling of the name of the lady Hatnefer in both papyri (Hassan 2022c, 291).

Spelling and form of the name in papyrus Hatnefer I	
Name	 rt. 5.2 rt.1.1 rt.12.7 rt. 4.10
Name with titles	 rt.13.1 vs. 16. 6 vs. 16 1
	 rt. 2. 6
Name with predications	 rt 12.4 vs. 15. 6 rt 7. 3, 4
Spelling and form of the name in papyrus Hatnefer II	
Name	 1.1 1.2 1.4 1.11 1.13 1.10
Name with predication	 1.11 2.5

Scribes and Book of the Dead Copies

Probably, most of the Book of the Dead's copies were created in temple workshops (Kockelmann 2018, 71). A few copies were created in response to individual requests, while the bulk were made in stock (Kockelmann 2018, 72). In the case of Pre-made copies, the spaces dedicated for the name of the owners were left empty until someone purchase the copy, then his name and titles were added in these free places (Kockelmann 2018, 72). In case the copies were made on special order, the name of the owner was written during the time of production in its proper places and fitted very well in these spaces. The scribes and draughtsmen who carried out the copies, in this genre, were anonymous, as there are no autographs for them at any place in the manuscript. Unlike other literary compositions, the signature of the scribe, and colophons were sometimes added at the end of the text. Consequently, the author of the text can be easily identified such as the scribe Amunnakhte from the time of Rameses III (Polis 2022, 406; Hassan 2017, 101-111; Polis 2017, 89-126; Dorn 2004, 39; Dorn 2013, 113; Burkard 2013, 65-82; Hassan, and Polis 2018, 244-264).

Indeed, identifying scribes' identities based on palaeography is a particularly challenging task because of the large degree of variation that can be found for individual hieratic hands and because handwriting analysis remains "*no less an art than science*" (Demarée, Gabler, and Polis 2022, 65). Through the paleography of the text, one can determine the number of the scribes who were involved in writing the same manuscript. Or one can attribute several texts written on different mediums for the same scribe such as the messy scribe Pay (i) (See Polis 2022). Sometimes, the signature of the scribe was added to only one manuscript and more documents can be attributed to the same scribe based on palaeographic bases as well (Hassan, Polis 2018). Most published studies for hieratic texts of unknown scribes attempted to pay close attention to paleography, concentrating on the peculiarities of the handwriting. In general, these studies don't adhere to a predetermined methodology that can always be identified;⁴ rather, each adheres to a methodology that the scholar developed based on the accessible information and stated in his paper. Numerous academics have raised awareness of the need for ongoing, methodical paleographic research in recent years, and various facets of this approach have been presented independently in various publications. As a result, clusters of manuscripts written by distinct hands have been identified, and a number of texts have been assigned to individual scribes (Polis 2022, 406). In terms of methodology, the first scholar who proposed a suitable methodology for keeping track of the scribe's handwriting was J. Janssen in 1987, then he was followed by D. Sweeny in 1998 who adapted Janssen's methodology (Sweeny 1998, 116-122). Janssen focused on comparing the most common and frequent words such as the definite article *p3* rather than isolated signs because they provide a lot of evidence and are usually unintentionally repeated (Janssen 1987, 162; Polis 2020, 15; Demarée 2018, 267; McClain 2018, 335).

Later, the Janssen theory was refined and enlarged by several researchers, comparing larger sign-groups, common and personal names, and full words instead of tiny sign-groups (Berg and Donker van Heel 2000, 9-49; Demarée 2018, 269; Polis 2020, 15). Recently Polis has concluded several fields should be taken into consideration when identifying the scribe/s of text/s such as the brush size with the number of dipping, and the ink intensity. The characteristics of the brush strokes including pen pressure, speed of the scribe's hand, and the spacing of the signs, format of the text and the general features of the signs (Polis 2020, 16; see also Demarée 2018, 268; Polis 2022, 409). Other criteria, including orthography, the object's provenance, spelling, the composition date, and theme evidence, should be examined in addition to the previously stated paleographic aspects (Polis 2022, 405-410). In addition to arranging the information on the object, mistakes and emendations, archaeological context

(Demarée, Gabler, and Polis 2022, 56). Presumably, one document cannot provide all the aforementioned aspects, so the investigation will only be based on the resources available.

Scribes of Papyrus Hatnofer I

General Appearance of the Handwriting

As indicated, the number of scribes who worked on a particular text may be estimated using paleography and other features. Some Books of the Dead papyri of a considerable length were inscribed by only one scribe, while some others were written by different hands. Several examples of the Late Period show that one manuscript was copied by different copiers such as the lengthy papyrus of Nespasefy that was carried out by two different hands. The papyrus Iahtesnacht, mid-26th dynasty, was written by at least three different hands (Verhoeven 2017, 55). The papyrus of Chamhor, priest of Monto, was written by four scribes, and the Book of the Dead papyrus of Djedchi from the end of 26th dynasty was executed by two scribes (Verhoeven 2017, 55; For the publication of the Book of the Dead papyrus of Djedchi cf. Munro 2011). The early Ptolemaic papyrus of Hor was probably written by no less than four scribes (Munro 2006, 6-13; Kockelmann 2018, 72). In some cases, the same Book of the Dead papyrus was written in two different scripts. This can be seen in the Book of the Dead papyrus of the Goldworker Sobekmose, New Kingdom, where the recto is written in cursive hieroglyphs while the verso is written in hieratic script. At first look, the whole text on the verso and recto of papyrus Hatnefer I seems to have been written by the same hand; nevertheless, upon closer inspection, the handwriting shows that at least three different scribes worked on this long papyrus. The general appearance of the handwriting indicates the different characters of each scribe in this papyrus. The peculiarities of each scribe can be seen in tiny and major clues throughout the pages of the papyrus. The author of this paper will refer the three scribes as A, B, and C.

Scribe (A): The lion's share of this papyrus was written by this scribe. Most probably he wrote the entire recto, except pages 3, and 14, and a few pages on the verso, 2-6, and 16-18. The general appearance of the handwriting indicates that the scribe typically employed a thick brush to write his text, making it compact and including bold forms. The ink density was constant throughout the majority of the pages, and it was difficult to follow the dipping.

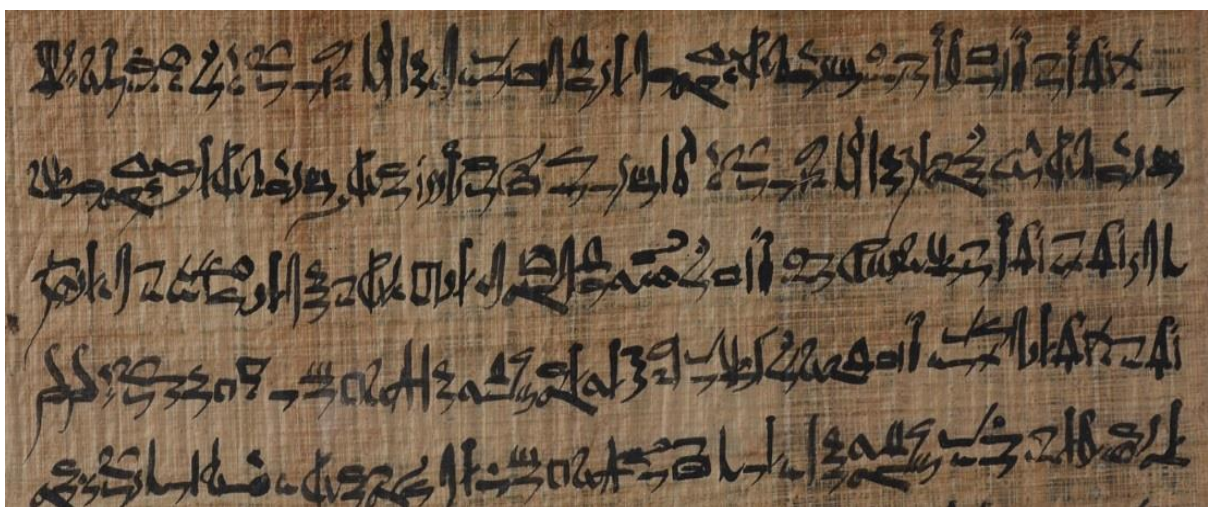



Fig. 2: Ink density are consistent, and dipping is difficult to follow

However, in some other examples, the dipping can be traced because the ink density was variable. The dips can clearly be seen on pages 11 on the recto and 3 on the verso (Fig. 3) The writing here seems to be fast and the text on these pages is stained in some places.  page. 11 recto, line 6. Additionally, there is inconsistency in the signs' arrangement; some were written with sufficient distance between one another, while others were placed quite closely together. Pages 10-11 on the verso show palimpsest traces where older traces of ink can be seen. Scribe (A) was sometimes inclined to write some individual signs in a detailed form very close to its hieroglyphic shape (table 2).

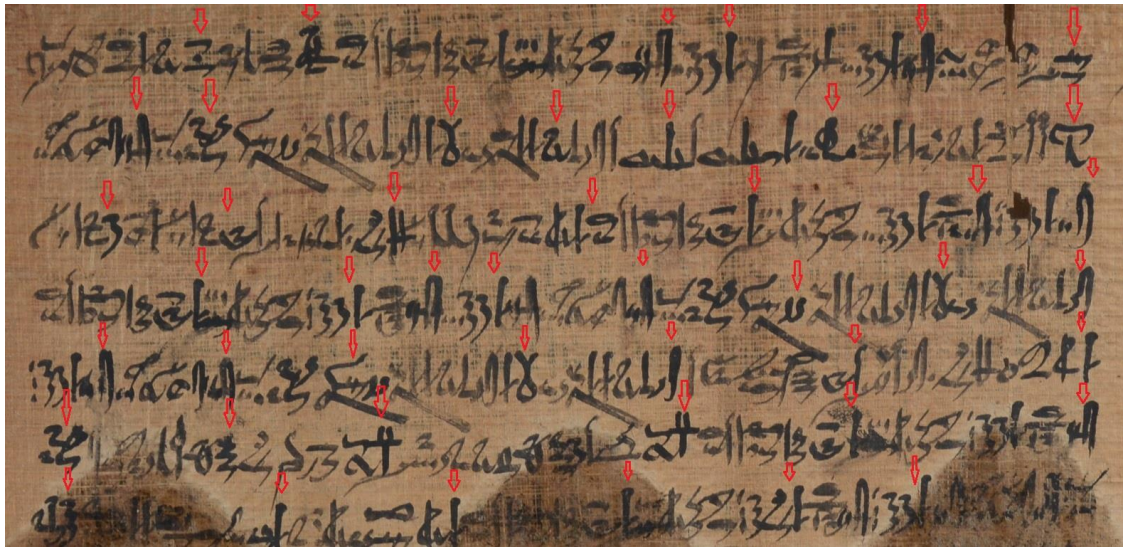








Fig. 3: The dipping locations of the scribe (A) on page 11 verso.

Table 2: Detailed signs written by the scribe (A) with variety of ink density and size of the brush

					
rt. 6, l. 3, 4, 5.	rt. 6, 6.	rt. 6, 3.	rt. 7, 1.	rt. 22, 8.	vs. 4, 3.

Several scribal marks and paratextual signs were made on this papyrus, the majority of them were done on the pages written by scribe (A) such as the attestation of black and red circles, addition over the lines, additions in the margins, deletion marks and modifications in the text (Hassan 2022b, 54-60). The scribe has the ability to write the signs in different variant forms and this sometimes has caused a problem in determining his handwriting. The connection between his handwriting on the recto and the verso came through the very close similarities on both sides. The space between lines was inconsistent in some examples and the lines did not write in their full straight. The size of his signs also varies from medium to large size.

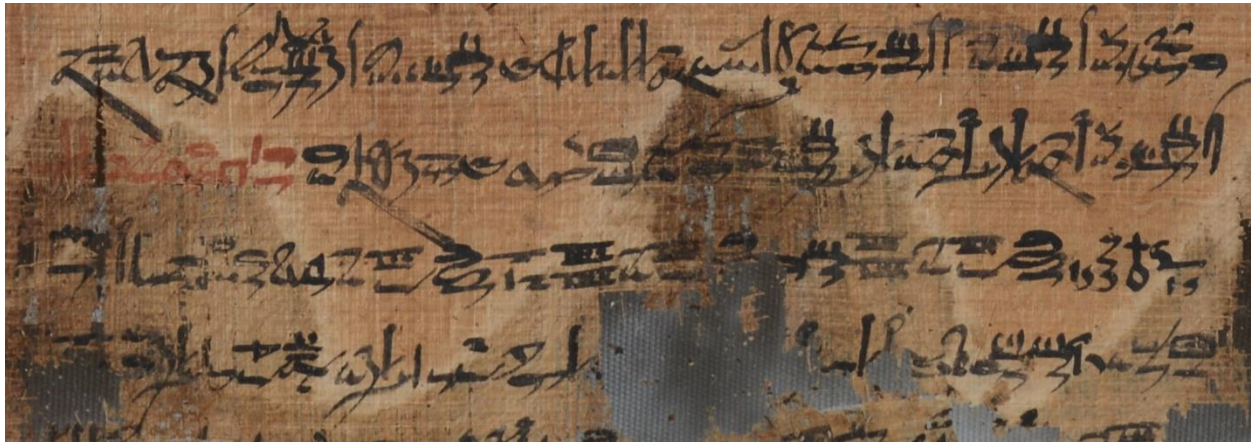







Fig. 4: The lines are not straight in this part, recto. 7, 5-8

Scribe (B): Most probably, this scribe was responsible for writing about eleven pages on the verso, 6-13, 15-17. The general appearance of his handwriting shows a clear distinction from the other scribes where he used a thinner brush to form his signs, and consequently his signs attested in a thinner form. The handwriting reflects quietness and consistency in the density of ink. The signs also are written in a taller form than those of the other scribes. The lines are running in parallel to each other's and the spaces between them are equal. There was a clear distinction in the writing technique that was different from the two other scribes. Unlike the scribe (A), this scribe avoids writing the detailed signs, except for one sign that was written in cursive hieroglyphic form and will be presented later on in this paper.

Scribe (C): Presumably, this scribe wrote only two pages on the recto i.e., 3, and 14. No similar features for his handwriting can be noticed on the recto or even on the verso. Particular signs found on the two pages have never been written in this way throughout the papyrus such as , , ,  as well as the word  that inscribed with an interesting classifier.

Scribe C and the Ostrakon 149 of Senenmut tomb no. 71

Despite contributing less to this lengthy document, writer (C) stood out from the other scribes due to the distinctive characteristics of his handwriting. At the same context, the tomb of Senenmut (no. 71), son of Hatnofer, has offered an extensive collection of ostraca, the most of which are written in hieratic script. Alongside the different topics of these ostraca i.e., literary, and administrative texts, they displayed different handwritings as well. According to a thorough examination of this set, ostrakon no. 149, which was discovered in this tomb and had a literary text inscribed on both sides, may have been written by the scribe (C) (Hayes 1942, 4). The similarities between the handwritings are very close, keeping in mind the different surfaces of both texts. Most of the signs are formed in the same form as the scribe (C), as well as the tall and thin forms of the handwriting are identical.

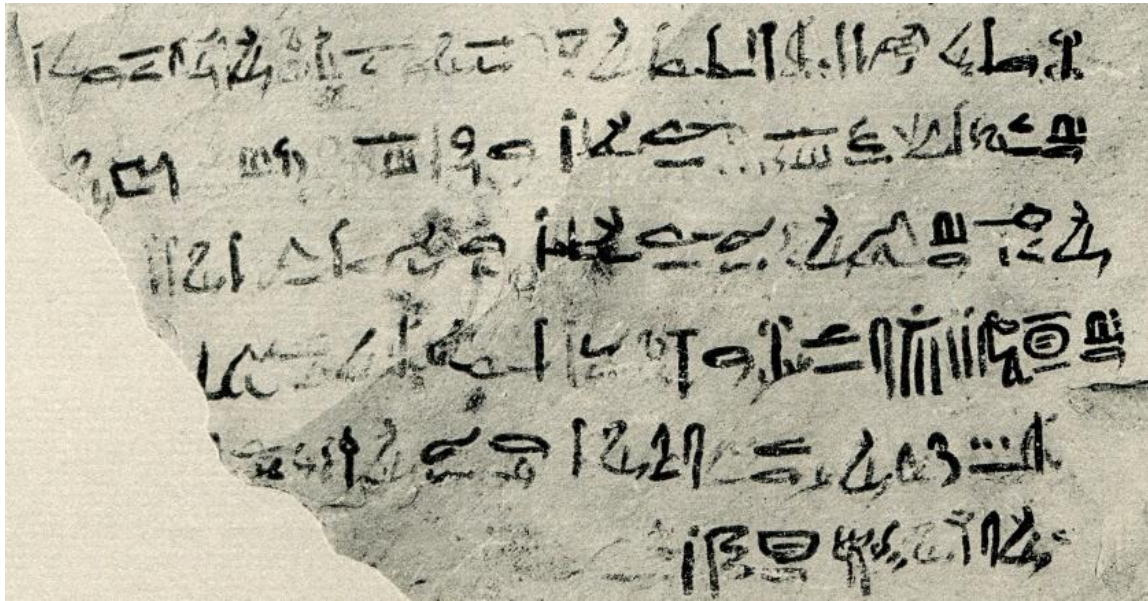


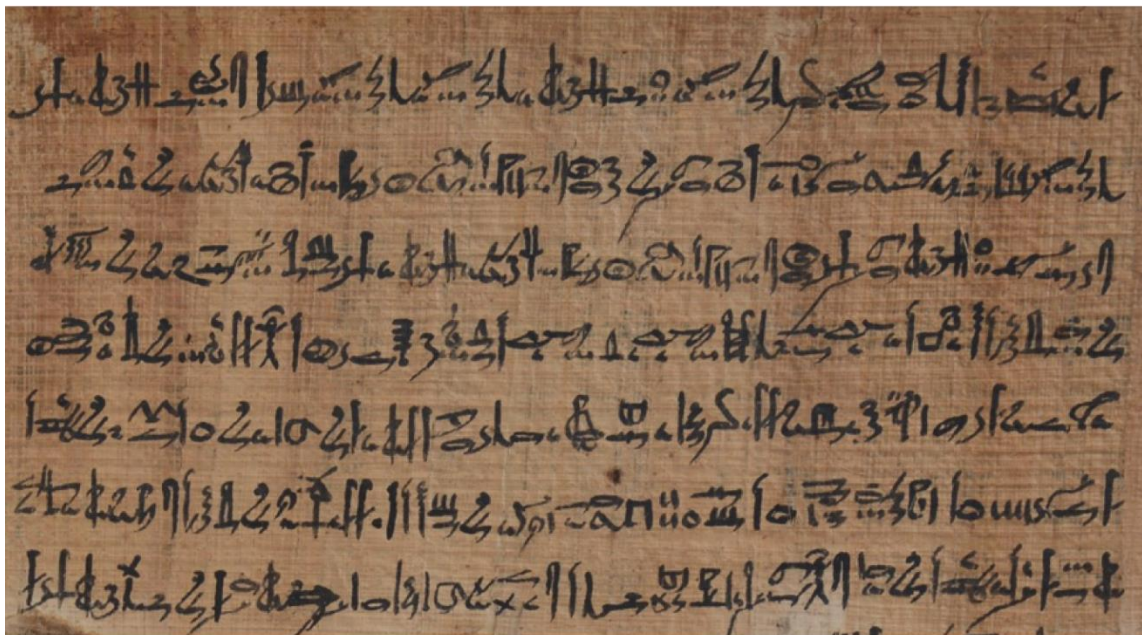
Fig. 5: Ostracon no. 149 verso found in the tomb of Senenmut. After Hayes 1942, 29, pl. 28.

Table 3: Scribe (C) and Ostracon 149

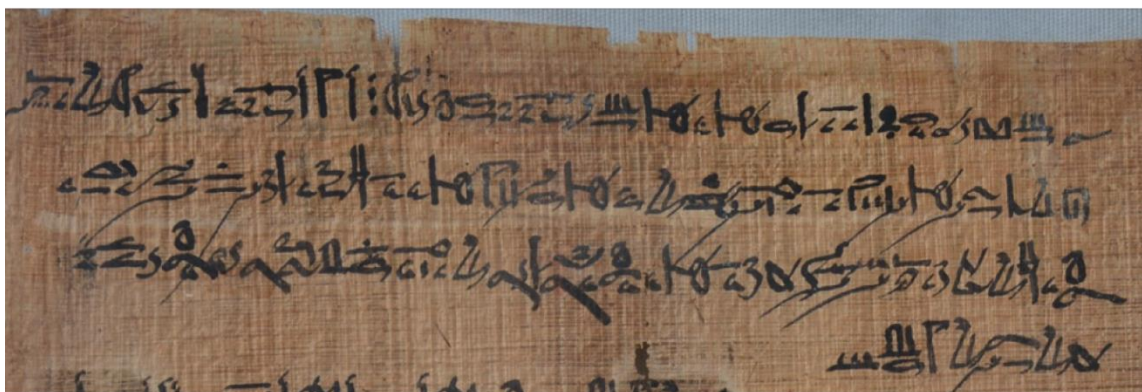
	Scribe C	Ostracon 149		Scribe C	Ostracon 149	
	 rt. 3.3	 vs. 4		 3. 10	 3. 4	 vs. 2
	 rt. 14. 4	 rt. 3. 1, 9		 rt. 3. 10	 rt. 3. 5	 vs. 1
	 rt. 3. 5	 rt. 5		 rt. 3. 14		 vs. 6
	 rt. 3. 5	 rt. 5		 rt. 3. 1		 Vs. 4, 5
	 rt. 3.2, 3	 rt. 4		 rt. 3. 2		 vs. 3
	 rt. 3. 1	 vs. 3		 rt. 3. 5, 7		 vs. 3, 4
	 rt. 14. 2	 vs. 1		 rt. 3. 1	 rt. 3. 10	 vs. 2
	 rt. 3. 9	 vs. 2,3				



Scribe A, page 11 recto



Scribe B, page 7 verso



Scribe C, page 3 recto

Fig. 6: Examples of the handwriting of the three scribes

Dissimilarities between the three scribes







Dissimilarities between the three scribes

A wide range of varieties and distinctions is possible to observe between the individual, group signs, and words of the three scribes. Some of these variations display a new writing technique that was only used by a certain scribe. The next table of paleography will introduce examples that show a clear distinction between the handwriting of the three scribes. Some of these examples will be accompanied by discussion while the rest will be displayed on the tables without comments.

Individual signs













A 2 


This sign is written in three different forms especially in its upper part. The form written by the scribe B was taller than the other forms. The vertical stroke that represent the back line is taller than the other forms as well. The hand refers to the mouth was not started at the beginning of this vertical strokes. In most cases, this vertical stroke was placed at the middle of the sign not on the left side, vs. 16, 2). Although the other forms of scribes A and C are written in the classical form, however they are not identical.

Scribe A		Scribe B			Scribe C
					
Rt. 1, 1	Rt. 4, 5	vs. 10.1	vs. 9. 5	vs.16. 2	rt. 3. 1






D1 


The sign of the head was written in three different forms, the scribes A and C wrote the sign in the classical form and close to each other’s but not identical, however, scribe B carried out this sign mostly in cursive hieroglyphic form. This form is one of the most important characteristic features of his handwriting. The latter form has never been written by the two other scribes. At the same time, scribe B also sometimes wrote the head sign in ordinary writing such as the scribes A and C.

Scribe A				Scribe B						Scribe C	
											
vs. 2. 3	vs. 2. 3	vs. 3. 7	rt. 9. 2	vs. 7. 7	vs. 7. 5	vs. 9. 6	vs. 9. 6	vs. 9. 4	vs. 15. 8	1. 8	1. 2








E 9 


Scribe (A) wrote the sign in a reduced format, with fewer details of the body and legs. Two short and quick lines were used for making the body and the legs, rt. 8.7. The four legs were written in detail by scribe B and the foreleg was opened to the outside. In the form written by the scribe C, the tail was longer, and the foreleg was written in hooked form.

Scribe A		Scribe B		Scribe C
				
rt. 8. 7	rt. 11. 8	vs. 13. 3	vs. 7. 8	rt. 14. 2









G 31 

The upper part of the *nh*-sign was written in different ways by the three scribes. The beak is not attached to the head in the majority of specimens written by scribe A, and it is frequently written diagonally. It was attached to the head in the examples of B and C. The beak of the latter scribes ended in a hook form.

Scribe A				Scribe B	Scribe C	
						
rt. 15. 4	rt. 9. 3	rt. 19. 1, 2		vs. 6. 8	rt.3.12	rt. 3. 18









M17+D54 

In this instance, it is easy to discern the differences in writing styles between the three scribes' handwriting. The upper part of the sign was carried out in different ways; scribe A wrote the upper part looking at the left side, while scribe B wrote this part looking at the right side. Scribe C wrote this sign without this part at the top of the sign.

Scribe A				Scribe B			Scribe C
							
vs. 5. 2	rt. 1. 2	rt. 8. 11	rt. 20. 5	vs. 6. 8	vs. 8. 4	vs. 8. 2	rt. 14. 2

S 28 

This sign is written differently by the three scribes with three different techniques especially the upper part that represent the strip of cloth with fringe. For instance, in the example of scribe A, rt. 4, 5, the strip was carried out in one brush movement, from right to left and vice versa, crowned the upper fold of cloth, and then the fringe was added later over the strip. Scribe B decided to use a different way of writing, where the fringe and the stripe was carried out together in one brush movement, vs. 12, 2. In other examples written by this scribe, he drew the fringe separately over the strip. Scribe C used a new writing technique that was not used before, where the strip was written in two separate strokes with the fringe over one of them.

Scribe A			Scribe B				Scribe C
							
rt. 4, 5	rt. 2. 14	rt. 8. 13	vs. 7. 5	vs. 10. 6	vs. 15. 9	vs. 12. 2	rt. 14. 8

Z11 †

The distinguishing feature of the scribe A was that the horizontal line was placed at the bottom of the mark, and sometimes the end of the two planks were hooked inward. In the two other examples, almost this horizontal stroke was placed in the middle of the planks.

Scribe A				Scribe B		Scribe C	
Rt. 5, 4	rt. 5, 4	rt. 4, 1	vs. 2, 2	Vs. 6, 6	vs. 7, 1	Rt. 3, 17	rt. 3, 13

Aa 1 ⊖

In some cases, this sign was written in similar forms by the three scribe, however different forms can be spotted as well. In the form of the scribe A, the rounded form was not written in full, instead a diagonal stroke was used to close the semi-rounded shape of the sign. Scribe B started his sign from the lower middle to the above then he turned to the right side forming his sign. While the scribe B started his sign from the upper middle part to the bottom, then he turned the line to the left side forming the sign.

Scribe A			Scribe B			Scribe C	
Rt. 4, 7	rt. 2, 1	rt. 5, 3	Vs. 6, 5	vs. 6, 5	vs. 6, 7	Rt. 3, 13	Rt. 14, 3





Group signs and words




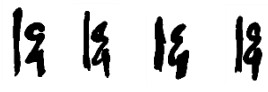


This section will introduce different groups of signs and words for the three scribes. Then, because of the available examples, some tables will introduce comparisons between each two scribes.

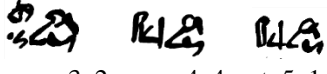

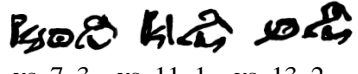
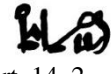
	Scribe A	Scribe B		Scribe C	Comment
					The upper part of the <i>snt</i> -board was written in three different forms and in different techniques.
	rt. 5, 7	vs. 6, 4	vs. 15, 3	rt. 14, 1	

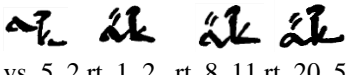
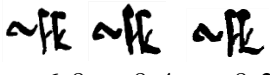

	Scribe A				Scribe B		Scribe C	Comment
								The semi rounded part of the sledge was carried out in different sizes and techniques. It was executed in small form by scribe A, while it was bigger by scribe B. Scribe C ligatured it with one of the arms of the sledge. The two arms of the sledge are always tall in the form of scribe A.
	rt. 1. 5	rt. 15. 1	rt. 2.	rt. 8. 9	vs. 13. 3	vs. 16. 3	rt. 3. 7	

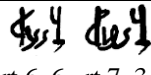

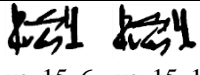

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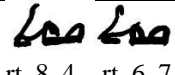


	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C	Comment
	 rt. 4. 9	 vs. 8. 1	 rt. 14. 6	The most distinct feature is the leg of the falcon that was written in one movement by scribe A, and abbreviated by scribe B, while in detail and separate form by scribe C. The tail of the falcon was also different in the form of the scribe B.

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C	Comment
	 vs. 2. 8 vs. 2. 6 vs. 4. 5  rt. 19. 7	 vs. 8. 5 vs. 13 vs. 10. 5 vs. 12. 1  vs. 6. 6	 rt. 3. 11	Most forms of the scribe A display a small tick out of the face and the lower part of the r-sign was written in sharp angles and looks to the left. The rounded face of the scribe B was formed mostly in an open circle. Scribe C was similar to scribe A, while there was no tick of the face, and the lower part of r-sign was not in sharp angle.





	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C	Comment
<i>3h/3hw</i>	 vs. 3. 2 vs. 4. 4 rt. 5. 1  rt. 6. 1	 vs. 7. 3 vs. 11. 1 vs. 13. 2	 rt. 14. 2	The beak and the feather over the head of the bird were written in different forms. The examples also display different spellings






	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C	Comment
<i>ii</i>	 vs. 5. 2 rt. 1. 2 rt. 8. 11 rt. 20. 5	 vs. 6. 8 vs. 8. 4 vs. 8. 2	 rt. 14. 2	M17+D54 was written in three different forms by the scribe (see individual signs). As well as the spelling of this word was different, as the scribe A omitted the M17 and sometimes used the two diagonal strokes.

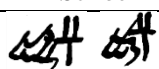
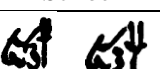

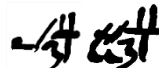

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C	Comment
<i>mdw</i>	 rt.6. 6 rt.7. 3  rt. 15. 5	 vs. 15. 6 vs. 15. 10	 rt. 3. 1	The walking-stick, S 43, was written in three different forms by the scribes. The scribe A made the lower part of the stick ended to the left side, while scribe B wrote it flat. Scribe C deleted this horizontal line. In terms of spelling, both scribes B, and C used the hand-sign D 46, while scribe A did not use it in his examples. Besides, scribes B, and C also used G43 in most examples instead of rope, while scribe A used two ropes for writing this word.






	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C	Comment
<i>dw</i>	 rt. 8. 4 rt. 6. 7		 rt. 3. 1	The form of this word was written differently by the three scribes especially for the N 26, and the bird G37. The spelling also was a bit different as the scribe B used the





		vs. 8. 6 vs. 8. 6		sign t under the rope. The scribe A put the rope over the bird sign.
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	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 9. 5	 vs. 8. 6	 rt. 3. 10

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 6. 13	 vs. 10. 7	 vs. 8. 3
			 rt. 14. 1

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C	Comment
<i>shm</i>	 vs. 2. 3 vs. 4. 8	 vs. 7. 2 vs. 7. 3	 rt. 3. 3	The main distinction can be seen in the sceptre-sign, S 42, as they formed in different forms. Scribe A used a flat horizontal line in the middle of the sceptre, while scribe B used two diagonal strokes. Scribe C wrote this part in the form of an upside down triangle.
	 rt. 2. 5 rt. 9. 6	 vs. 8. 6 vs. 10. 2		

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	 rt. 8. 2	 vs. 11. 7	 rt.3.5
			 rt. 3. 6

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C	Comment
	 rt. 21, 9	 vs. 7, 7	 rt. 14, 1	Scribe C used the sign W11 instead of the sign G 38 for writing the name of the god Geb.







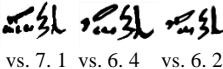



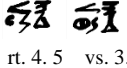


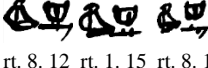
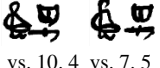






	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C	Comment
	 rt. 8. 9	 vs. 8. 3	 rt. 14. 8	The scribe B used a human figure instead of the Copra as a classifier for the name of the goddess Nut. The hieratic writing of the name was written in different forms.
				

Table 4: The handwritings of scribes A and B

	Scribe A	Scribe B		Scribe A	Scribe B
<i>bwt</i>	 rt. 2. 6 rt. 4. 1	 vs. 7. 1 vs. 6. 4 vs. 6. 2		 rt. 5. 3	 vs. 10. 6
<i>ddw</i>	 rt. 4. 5 vs. 3. 4	 vs. 7. 4		 rt. 8. 12 rt. 1. 15 rt. 8. 1	 vs. 10. 4 vs. 7. 5
	 vs. 3. 7	 vs. 7. 5		 rt. 6. 6	 vs. 13. 4



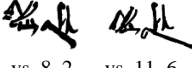

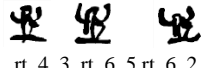


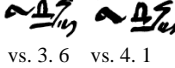

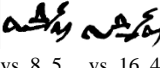


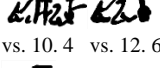

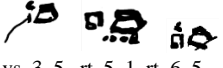



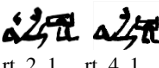
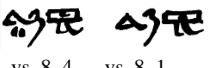



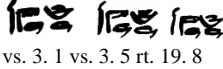

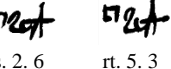




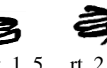

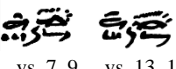
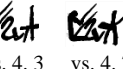


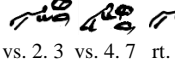
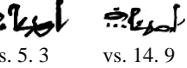


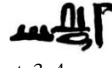



	 vs. 4. 1	 vs. 8. 2 vs. 11. 6		 rt. 4. 3 rt. 6. 5 rt. 6. 2	 16. 5 vs. 10. 2 vs. 10. 5
	 vs. 3. 6 vs. 4. 1  rt. 5. 5	 vs. 8. 5 vs. 16. 4  vs. 7. 2	<i>sm3</i>	 rt. 7. 4	 vs. 10. 4 vs. 12. 6  vs. 15. 11
<i>nst</i>	 vs. 3. 5 rt. 5. 1 rt. 6. 5	 vs. 8. 3	<i>k3</i>	 rt. 13. 5	 vs. 6. 6 vs. 12. 1
<i>sm</i>	 rt. 2. 1 rt. 4. 1	 vs. 8. 4 vs. 8. 1	<i>ism</i>	 vs. 4. 3	 vs. 12. 2
	 vs. 3. 1 vs. 3. 5 rt. 19. 8	 vs. 8. 5	<i>sb3</i>	 vs. 2. 6 rt. 5. 3	 vs. 2. 5 vs. 8. 8
	 vs. 3. 9	 vs. 13. 11		 rt. 1. 5 rt. 2. 2	 vs. 8. 8 vs. 7. 4 vs. 8. 2
<i>hw</i>	 rt. 5. 1 rt. 13. 2 rt. 8. 9	 vs. 7. 9 vs. 13. 11	<i>dw3</i>	 vs. 4. 3 vs. 4. 7	 vs. 10. 8
	 vs. 2. 3 vs. 4. 7 rt. 2. 1	 vs. 8. 7 vs. 9. 3 vs. 9. 1	<i>iry</i>	 vs. 5. 3 vs. 14. 9	 vs. 15. 4

Table 5: The handwritings of scribes B and C and A , C.

	Scribe B	Scribe C		Scribe A	Scribe C
<i>hmw</i>	 vs. 11. 5. 1	 rt. 14. 1	<i>hk3</i>	 rt. 1. 3	 rt. 3. 17
<i>Rc</i>	 vs. 10	 rt. 14. 1		 rt. 17. 8 rt. 1. 16	 rt. 3. 6
<i>Y1</i>	 vs. 10.1 vs. 10. 3 vs. 6. 3	 rt. 3. 1 rt. 3. 2 rt. 3. 10		 rt. 2. 16	 rt. 3. 10
	 vs. 10. 4 vs. 9. 5 vs. 16. 2	 rt. 3. 14		 rt. 13. 2	 rt. 3. 10
	 vs. 10. 8 vs. 6. 2	 rt. 3. 15		 rt. 4. 10	 rt. 3. 4
	 vs. 12. 6 vs. 8. 4 vs. 15. 3	 rt. 3.		 rt. 7. 3	 rt. 3. 2
	 vs. 6. 1	 rt. 3. 3		 rt. 5. 4 rt. 8. 2	 rt. 14. 1
	 vs. 6. 5	 rt. 3. 2,3		 rt. 9. 7	 rt. 14. 8






	vs. 10. 2	vs. 7. 6					
	vs. 7. 2						
<i>hpt</i>	vs. 13. 7						
<i>h3.ty</i>	vs. 15. 6						
<i>hnt/y</i>	vs. 10. 6						

Ligatures

Ligatures in this papyrus are relatively few as the most sources of the early 18th Dynasty. This papyrus presented the most common ligatures at that time. The following table shows the difference between the ligatures of each scribe on the papyrus.

Table 6. The ligatures of the three scribes

	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C		Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
	vs. 10. 5		vs. 14. 1		vs. 15. 2	vs. 15. 5	
	vs. 6. 2	vs. 9. 2	vs. 14. 2		vs. 2. 2	vs. 16. 3	
	vs. 2. 8		vs. 14. 2		vs. 2. 1	vs. 15. 1	vs. 16. 5
	vs. 6. 2		vs. 14. 4		vs. 2. 17	vs. 8. 4	
	vs. 22. 7	vs. 6. 1				vs. 7. 2	
	vs. 11. 3	vs. 1. 1	vs. 7. 1		vs. 1. 4		
	vs. 8. 3	vs. 9. 1	vs. 10.1 vs. 7. 2		vs. 2. 4		
	vs. 6. 2	vs. 18. 2	vs. 7.4 vs. 7. 6		vs. 14. 2		
	vs. 10. 4	vs. 10. 3	vs. 7. 3 vs. 15. 1		vs. 6. 6		
	vs. 5. 2	vs. 10. 2	vs. 10. 2 vs. 8. 1		vs. 7. 3		
	vs. 2. 4	vs. 15. 2			vs. 8. 12		

	 rt. 8. 12							
					rt. 12. 6	vs. 4. 6		

Scribes of Hatnefer Papyrus II

General appearance of the handwriting

This papyrus was found in the same place as the large papyrus; however, it is in a very bad state of preservation. It is composed of nine pages written in horizontal hieratic lines. The text is written only on the recto, while the verso is left without inscriptions (Hassan 2022b, 50-51). Only a very faint vignette for the spell 150 can hardly be seen on the verso. Several pages on the recto were blank. The main text was written in black ink with a few rubrics used for the titles of the spells. The vignette on the recto was executed in black and red ink. The format of the first six pages are different from the rest of the papyrus. These pages shows narrow line spaces, compact and bold forms. The scribal practice was changed in the last three pages, where the line spacing is now wider and the number of pages was less. The number of lines also varied between 10-14 lines per page. At the end of this papyrus, the scribe preferred to end his text in vertical columns. The spell 149, the last spell of the text, was entirely written horizontally except the last part that is formed in three columns (Hassan 2022b, 52). With the changing of the direction of the writing, the scribe also changed the forms of some hieratic signs to be fitted


with the columns such as . Like Hatnefer papyrus I, this short manuscript presents a few examples of proofreading most of them were addition over the lines (Hasan 2022b, 60). The palaeographic investigation of the handwriting suggests that it was written by only one hand.



Fig. The last section of Papyrus Hatnefer II inscribed in vertical columns (courtesy of the MMA).

Table 7: The comparison between the handwritings of the two papyri

	Papyrus Hatnefer I	Papyrus Hatnefer II		Papyrus Hatnefer I	Papyrus Hatnefer II
<i>nw</i>	 rt. 22. 2	 9. 3	<i>ii</i>	 rt. 20. 5 vs. 8. 2 rt. 14. 2	 2. 3
	 vs. 8. 1 rt. 18. 8	 9. 3 9. 5	<i>3h</i>	 vs. 4. 4 vs. 11. 1	 9. 1 9. 8
	 rt. 12. 4	 1. 4 1. 3 2. 1		 vs. 15. 12 rt. 3. 10	 3. 2
	 rt. 3. 6	 1. 3 1. 4  2. 2 2. 3		 rt. 8. 2 vs. 11. 7  rt. 3. 5 rt. 3. 6	 2. 14
<i>dsw</i>	 rt. 3. 11 vs. 16. 5	 7. 6	<i>dfw</i>	 rt. 15. 5, 6	 8. 1, 2
<i>hsf</i>	 vs. 9. 5	 2. 1 2. 14	<i>hfw</i>	 vs. 12. 11	 5. 11 9. 9
<i>sfst</i>	 vs. 6. 6	 9. 1	<i>ir-y</i>	 rt. 1. 4 vs. 15. 4	 4. 1
	 vs. 8. 5 vs. 15. 3  vs. 16. 7 vs. 16. 7	 3. 3 1. 13	<i>pp</i>	 vs. 8. 6	 9. 3 3. 6 3. 11
<i>skd.wt</i>	 vs. 16. 7	 1. 4		 rt. 14. 6 rt. 17. 2	 7. 3 8. 1
	 vs. 16. 11 vs. 7. 4	 2. 14	<i>mdw</i>	 vs. 15. 10 rt. 1. 1	 8. 3
<i>3h.t</i>	 rt. 13. 4 rt. 10. 3	 2. 2		 rt. 18. 5	 9. 12 9. 3
	 rt. 4. 9 vs. 8. 1 rt. 14. 6	 3. 1 3. 8		 rt. 1. 3 rt. 8. 2	 6. 10 8. 9
	 rt. 6. 2	 2. 4	<i>šw.t</i>	 rt. 9. 9 rt. 5. 1	 7. 2
	 vs. 7. 1 vs. 7. 3 vs. 9. 6	 3. 10 3. 5 2. 12		 rt. 3. 11 rt. 15. 6	 3. 3

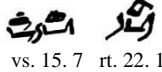




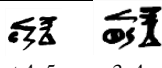


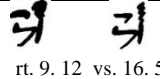










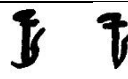


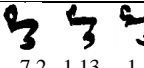



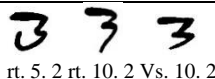


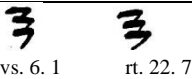












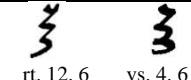





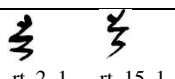


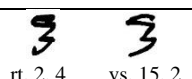









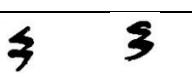
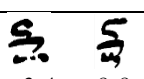
















<i>hw</i>	 vs. 15. 7 rt. 22. 1	 6. 2		 vs. 8. 2 vs. 8. 5	 6. 11
<i>9dw</i>	 rt.4. 5 vs. 3. 4	 9. 7		 rt. 9. 12 vs. 16. 5	 8. 8 1. 2
	 vs. 17. 2	 7. 2		 rt. 18. 6	 2. 2
<i>wnw.t</i>	 vs. 12. 5	 9. 10		 rt. 13. 1 rt. 9. 1	 7. 1

Table 8: The ligatures in the two papyri











	Papyrus Hatnefer I	Papyrus Hatnefer II		Papyrus Hatnefer I	Papyrus Hatnefer II
		 7.2 1.13 1.11			 1. 13 3.6 9. col. 1
	 rt. 5. 2 rt. 10. 2 Vs. 10. 2	 7.1 3.3		 vs. 6. 1 rt. 22. 7	 9. 9
		 7.3			 1. 12
	 rt. 7. 3	 7.5		 rt. 2. 4	 1. 11
	 rt. 12. 6 vs. 4. 6	 2. 5 1. 4 7. 2		 rt. 6. 2 rt.18. 2 rt. 14. 2	 2. 4
	 rt. 2. 1 rt. 15. 1	 7. 8		 rt. 2. 4 vs. 15. 2	 2. 5
		 7. 5			 2. 7
	 rt. 11. 3 rt. 1. 1	 8. 3		 rt. 14. 1 rt. 10. 5	 3. 4 8. 8
		 9. 5 8. 3		 rt. 8. 3 rt. 9. 1	 2. 13
		 9. 2			










Determinatives of the two Hieratic Papyri

The determinatives in these manuscripts were inscribed in different forms and styles. As well as the typology of the determinatives used for certain categories such as the human form, animal and birds were variable. Occasionally, the scribes are inclined to simplify the writing of the signs, and thus they choose to form the sign in simple shape instead of the complicated








one. For example, in the long papyrus, the term *pr-wr* was determined with the *pr*-sign , while the normal classifier of this word was the primitive shrine  (O 19). The latter determinative was inscribed in the same expression in the contemporary papyrus of Ahmose  (Munro 1995, pl. 12. 1. 149). Another example of simplification can be attested in the writing *3tf*-crown on Papyrus Hatnefer I. This crown was usually determined with the sign  (S. 8). While the scribe in this case used the diagonal stroke that was used instead of the difficult and complicated sign  rt. 20.7. This diagonal stroke is used with the word  rt. 8.7, instead of the other sign of the woman giving birth (B 3) that is also used several times in this papyrus. The simplification using the diagonal stroke or other simple sign was known in contemporary texts. The 18th Dynasty hieratic writing board of Neferti displays a detailed writing form of bubalis-sign  (F 5), while the other copy of this text on Papyrus St. Petersburg 1116B rt., presented a simply diagonal stroke instead of writing this sign (Hassan 2017a, 268; Golénischeff 1913, pl. xxv, 53). The reasons behind this simplification are unknown, but it is not related to the knowledge and the ability of the scribe to write this detailed sign because he already carried out signs of this kind on the same manuscript. In other cases, the scribes choose irrelevant determinatives, perhaps due to the misunderstanding of the meaning through the text. Choosing irrelevant classifiers can be observed in the long papyrus particularly with the sign  (A 13) that represents a man with arms tied behind his back. Usually, this sign is used with words such as “enemy”, “captive”, “rebel”, and “prisoner”. However, it was used several times with words such as *b3* , “soul” rt. 9. 2, and *šw.t*, “shade”. The translation of the text reveals that the existence of this sign as a determinative was irrelevant i.e. *b3.f 3h.f šw.t.f ʿpr*, *His ba-soul, his transfigured spirit, his shade, equipped* (Quirke 2013, 209).

Human determinatives





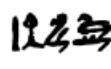







The two hieratic papyri of Hatnefer are rich with human determinatives in different forms and styles. It seems that this kind of determinatives is not difficult for the scribes especially for the ordinary forms such as the seated man, seated woman, and striking man etc. In most cases, the determinative of the seated woman was used in the compendious form  throughout the long Papyrus Hatnefer I, while the short manuscript was frequently used the detailed form of this sign . In the latter papyrus, the scribe was inclined to form the detailed sign of the seated woman more than the short form that occurred in very few cases. It is noteworthy that the complete form of the seated woman occurred once in the long papyrus in the word *hm.t*-servant  vs. 7.7. An interesting sign for the pregnant woman is mentioned on the verso of papyrus I (B 3)  vs. 13.3 in the word *iwr.t* . Two different classifiers were used in determining the word *Imn*, hidden; on the recto of the Papyrus Hatnefer I, the scribe used uncommon form for this sign  rt. 11.2, while on the verso of the same papyrus, an early form for this sign was used (A 4)  vs. 13. 3. The determinative of the god with arms supporting the sky (C 11)  rt. 6.2,  vs. 10. 2, is formed in these papyri in an early form without the stroke over the head, like the early form of papyrus Ebers  (Möller 1909, 37) In

Papyrus Hatnefer I, rt. 2.8, the determinative of the standing man raising up his hand is inscribed in odd form with the hands drawn on the back of the sign instead of the front side , maybe the scribe was confused with the sign (A 31) . The word *3h* was usually determined with the sign  of the noble squatting with flagellum (A 52), that is sometimes inscribed in two different forms  rt. 5. 1, and  9. 8, in Papyrus II. A perpendicular mummy form (A 53) is used in fixed shape through the papyri with several words such as *twt*, *hpr.t*  rt.10. 7. The falling man  (A 15) is attested several times in the normal context with words like  vs. 9.3. The group writing of the man and woman and three strokes was use as a determinative in different words such as *rhy.t*  rt. 8. 6.

Divine determinatives

Mainly, the sign of the falcon on the standard (G 7) , represents the main determinative for most of the divine names and sacred personalities in these two papyri. The scribes attached this classifier to most of the divine characters in the text such as the names of gods and goddesses. It is also used with the names of sacred places such as *Iwnw* (rt. 1. 7) and *hw.t-k3-Pth* (rt. 7. 1). In some cases, this sign was attached to the word *m3c.t* (rt. 7.5). The latter sign was not the only determinative for the divine personalities; however, the scribes used the snake-signs for some divine names. The cobra  is attached to the names of gods and goddess such as *Mw.t* (rt. 8. 7), *Nw.t* (rt. 8. 9; rt. 11. 6; rt. 14. 8), *3b.t* (vs. 3. 7), *r3rw.t* (rt. 22. 2), *w3dy.t* (Pap. II, 3. 5). Other deities were determined with the normal snake  such as *Nhb-k3.w* (rt. 19. 2), *dsr-tp* (rt. 19. 3), and *In-c.f* (rt. 19. 4) in the BD spell 125B of the long manuscript. Three superstition snakes were inscribed on the verso of the long papyrus relating to sacred figures ,  vs. 5, 1.  vs. 5, 2. They have been written in elaborate and detailed handwriting. The seated woman occurred once in the name of the goddess *Nw.t* on the verso of the long papyrus  vs. 8. 3.

Animals and birds

The two manuscripts offer a few examples of the determinatives for animals and birds. These examples show different writing styles and variant forms. As for the animals, the scribes used the common skin's cow (F 27)  for classifying most of animals' names such as the mouse  rt. 4.1, donkey  rt. 20. 1, cat  rt. 20. 3, and the dog  vs. 12. 2. However, some of the previous mentioned words were also determined with detailed signs such as the dog  vs. 4. 3, pig  rt. 22. 8, ape  rt. 7, 1 and the bull  rt. 8. 9. The birds were determined with different classifiers according to the type of the word, for example the falcon *bik* was always determined with the sign of the falcon with the flagellum  vs. 4. 1. The *bnw*-heron  vs. 4. 2, is also determined with the sign of the heron bird (G 31) .

Conclusion

The hieratic manuscripts display a wide range of varieties for writing the same hieratic signs. They also offer special features of handwriting. The paleographic investigation of the long papyrus reveals that this papyrus was written by three scribes. Each scribe was responsible for writing a particular part of the papyrus. The writing variations between the three scribes can be cleared through the tables of paleography. Based on paleographic bases, one can attribute one ostrakon found in the tomb of Senenmut to the scribe C. The palaeographic investigation for the short papyrus can indicate that this papyrus was written only by one scribe.

NOTES:

¹ For example, the linen shrouds of Ahmose-Penhat (MMA 22.3.296a), the prince and chancellor Ahmose (Turin Museum 63005), Ahmose Henut-tamehu kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE. 96810), and the shroud of the King Ahmose from the 17th Dynasty. For more details on these examples see Dorman 2018, 35–36, fig. 2.5; <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133831>> accessed 7.06.2023; Quirke 1993, 1.

² O. IFAO 1608, O. IFAO 3016, O. London BM EA 29511, O. IFAO 423, P. London BM EA 9953 A, P. New York Amherst 33, sh. 4[1], P. Reading, P. Marseille 5323, P. Turin 1828, Linen shroud of Cairo Museum J.E.35409. <<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>> accessed 07.06.2023.

³ The objects found in this tomb were kept in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo and the Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA. For these objects see Hassan 2022b, 46, Footnote 8.

⁴ Černý attributed to the scribe Qenherkhepshef (i) a collection of 19th dynasty papyri and ostraca, containing six journal texts. This attribution was made subjectively and without any methodical process. McClain 2018, 334. See also Černý 1937. These ostraca took the numbers CG 25524; CG 25539; CG 25540; CG 25622; CG 25816; CG 25817; McClain 2018, 334, footnote 7.

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كتابة برديات كتاب الموتى الهيراطيقي لحات نفر: دراسة خطية

المخلص

نسخ قليلة جداً من كتاب الموتى المكتوب بالخط الهيراطيقي تعود إلى عصر الدولة الحديثة حيث أن الغالبية العظمى من الأمثلة قد كتبت بالخط الهيروغليفى أو الهيروغليفى المختصر. جدير بالذكر أن الخط الهيراطيقي قد تم استخدامه على نطاق ضيق منذ نهاية الأسرة السابعة عشرة إلى الأسرة الثامنة عشرة كخط لكتاب الموتى ثم توقف بعد ذلك لصالح الخطوط السابق ذكرها. تعد برديات السيدة حات نفر من الأسرة الثامنة عشرة من أهم الأمثلة التي تعود إلى تلك الفترة. كتبت هاتان البرديتان بالخط الهيراطيقي فى خطوط أفقية. أسماء الكتبة القائمين على تنفيذ هذ العمل و كذلك عددهم غير معروف. و بالتالى يهدف هذا البحث إلى التعرف على عدد الكتبة المشاركين فى كتابه هذه البرديه من خلال دراسة السمات الخطية المختلفة الوارده فى البرديتين. كما سيتم عمل مقارنة بين الخطوط المختلفه لاطهار الخصائص و السمات الخطية لكل كاتب على حده.

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بيانات المقال

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٢٠٢٤

تم قبول البحث فى ٣٠ يونيه ٢٠٢٤
متاح على الإنترنت فى ٨ فبراير ٢٠٢٥

الكلمات الدالة

كتاب الموتى- الخط الهيراطيقي-
الأسرة الثامنة عشرة-
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