



The guardian-demons of the Book of the Dead

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Among the encounters of the deceased during his journey, a special place is given to those creatures who watch over certain passages that are represented as gates, portals and doors; these encounters are described in BD 144–147 (Fig. 1). Doors and door-watchers of the netherworld are also the theme of other ancient Egyptian funerary compositions, for example the Book of Gates and the Book of the Night. On a broader perspective, the central role that demonic beings play for the protection of sacred liminal places located between earth and the netherworld is also well attested in other religions, be it that of ancient Mesopotamia, or modern Buddhism and Hinduism. Nonetheless, the manner in which the deceased personally interacts with the guardians of the doors, and in most of the cases engages in a direct dialogue with them, is unique to Book of the Dead spells. These spells are also among the Book of the Dead compositions which appear more often on coffins, in tombs¹ and temples (Kákosy 1982), while antecedents of BD 144 and 147 can be found in the Coffin Texts (Barguet 1967, 190, 203).

From an ontological point of view, I would define these guardian-figures as ‘demons,’ namely supernatural beings which mediate between gods and mankind. Although the term *ntr* or its hieroglyphic determinatives can designate the inhabitants of the netherworld and in particular the door-guardians,² I think it is possible to distinguish the guardians from the gods of the official pantheon. As a matter of fact, the ancient Egyptian demons possess supernatural powers like the gods, but, in general, they have rather specific tasks and often their action is the consequence of the gods’ will.³ In the particular case of the guardian-demons, their sphere of action is limited to the place they watch over. Moreover, while other types of demons are only mentioned in the texts, the guardians of the Book of the Dead are almost constantly associated with a pictographic representation, which is generally a hybrid creature with human body and animal head, although sometimes it can be purely anthropomorphic.

The importance of representing these demons pictographically is motivated by the fact that the deceased must be ready not only to know their names,⁴ but also to visually recognize them. Their outward appearance is not much different from the way deities are depicted in their animal and hybrid forms. However, the repertoire of the animals included in their composite bodies is somewhat more varied: reptiles, felines, canines, donkeys, baboons, hippopotami, goats, bulls, insects, scorpions, and birds such as falcons and vultures. They generally hold attributes in their hands; the most recurrent ones are knives, while *ankh*-signs

¹ For the occurrences of these chapters in the tombs of the New Kingdom, see Saleh 1984, 76–81; for Ramesside tombs, see Assmann 1991, 193 and Barthelmeß 1992, 175–81.

² See for instance the title of BD 147, mentioned below.

³ For a detailed definition of demons in ancient Egypt, see Lucarelli, in press.

⁴ ‘Knowing the name’ of beings, places and sacred objects is one of the central principles of funerary magic and occurs frequently in the spells of the Book of the Dead; see in particular the so-called spells for ‘knowing the *bas* of the sacred places’ (BD 107–109, 111–116), Lucarelli 2006, 95–104.

and vegetal elements appear as well, clear symbols of the potentially benevolent nature of these creatures (Guilhou 1999).

Spells BD 144 and 147 are two variants of the same text, which refers to the seven

“*rr.wt*-gates of the house of Osiris in the west and the gods who are in their caverns while offerings for them are upon earth.”⁵

The *rr.wt* are guarded by triads of demonic beings for each gate: an *iry-ʿ3* ‘doorkeeper,’ a *s3w* ‘watcher,’ and a *smi* ‘herald’ (Fig. 2). The vignettes accompanying these spells, especially in the Late Period and Ptolemaic papyri, may depict however only one or two of the triad’s components.⁶ BD 145 and 146 are also variants of the same spell, which deals with the passage through the *sbh.wt*-portals,⁷ each of them guarded by one demon (Fig. 3).

The iconographical variants of these guardians have already been a topic of study in the past (Guilhou 1999; Munro 1987, 215, for BD 144); analysis of this iconography could help identify those papyri deriving from one single prototype and produced in the same workshop. On the other hand, from a theological perspective, the inconsistency in their iconography deserves comment: the depiction of each guardian can feature different forms of heads, although there are few cases where it is possible to isolate common animal heads and associate them with a specific guardian.⁸ It is likely that the variety in the guardians’ iconography symbolizes their capacity to manifest in many forms. More consistent, and less subject to variants, are the guardians’ epithets, which occur more or less unvaried both in the New Kingdom Theban redaction and the later Saite version. These composite names and epithets generally refer to parts of their body, or to a specific character trait indicating their protective, but potentially aggressive, function.

Since they originally belonged to the imagery of the Beyond, it is especially notable that the door-guardians can also be found in the ritual context of the Ptolemaic temples, where they contribute to strengthen the army of the temple protectors.⁹ Apart from excerpts from BD 144 in the temple of Abydos of Ramses II, and BD 146 in the temple of Hibis at el-Kharga (Cauville 1997, 2:166 n. 342), it is in the so-called Osiride chapels of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendera that the function of these demons as temple guardians can be better analysed. More exactly, it is on the walls of the second western chapel that BD 144, 145 and 146 occur (Figs 4–6). Within the complex of the six chapels, those of the middle (second east and second west) have a liminal function and represent the dynamic and sensitive moment of transition between the rituals devoted to the mysteries of Osiris during the month of

⁵ This title occurs in a small number of papyri, especially in Dynasty 21, see Lucarelli 2006, 60 n. 227 and 164–65.

⁶ See for example P. London BM 10588 (Mosher 2001, pl. 25), P. Cairo JE 32887 (unpublished, photos from the Book of the Dead Project, Bonn), P. Greenfield (P. London BM 10554, Budge 1912, pls. XCVI–C). See also the remarks in Lucarelli 2006, 164 n. 1166 and 165 n. 1167.

⁷ Their number oscillates from 14 to 21, according to the variants.

⁸ The most fully-documented study in this direction is Pantalacci 1983, on the turtle-headed guardian *wnm-hw3t* of BD 144. A more general survey of crocodile-headed demons has been published (Grimm 1979).

⁹ According to Leprohon 1994, the figures of the guardians of the underworld may have been inspired by mortal gate-keepers working in the temple.

Khoiak (performed in the first chapels) and the process of death and resurrection of the god occurring in the third chapels (Cauville 1997, 2:209–10).

As usual during a moment of transition, the forces of chaos are particularly active, and this may explain why a consistent part of the decoration of the middle chapels has an apotropaic character. In particular, it must be remembered that the second western chapel precedes the tomb of the god (namely the third western chapel). Therefore, the spells of the Book of the Dead recorded on it may be associated with the entrance to the realm of the dead. The function of the guardian-demons here is that of opening the gates of the netherworld for Osiris, therefore the private funerary sphere to which the Book of the Dead spells refer gains an amplified cosmogonical and ritual dimension, concerning the rebirth and power of Osiris in the realm of the dead. What is especially interesting is that, in the version attested in Dendera only, the textual section concerning the description of the gates and of their keepers occurs, while the introductory and final texts, as well as other recitative passages, occurring in the papyri version in between the names of the gates and doorkeepers, are omitted. Moreover, the scene shows Horus, accompanied by Anubis, who greets Osiris at the entrance of the gates (Fig. 4), a function which, in the papyri, was instead played by the deceased.¹⁰ Moreover, in BD 144 only two guardians per gate are represented, namely the watcher and the herald, while the seated doorkeeper is omitted; as mentioned above, the same layout is found in some late papyri of the Book of the Dead and may be a means of saving space.

One of the reasons why these figures of door-watchers of the netherworld have been introduced among the legions of the temple genii is to be found in their skill in ‘opening the way’ (*wn w3.t*), granting the passage through gates and doors separating different domains (earth/netherworld, pure/impure, sacred/profane). Both funerary magic (opening the gates of the netherworld) and temple ritual (giving access to the most hidden spaces where the rituals were performed) are based on this skill; the guardian demons become therefore the ideal, dynamic link among funerary and daily ritual magic. It is not a coincidence that in BD 145 a recurrent declaration pronounced by the deceased in front of the gates is

*‘Make way for me, since I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the god who guards you.’*¹¹

In the Ptolemaic period the theme of ‘opening the way’ is also highlighted in what we may call ‘ritual papyri, containing royal and divine temple rituals adapted for private, funerary use. These kinds of documents, which are typical of the Ptolemaic period,¹² may include the elaboration of earlier funerary texts such as the Book of the Dead spells on the guardian

¹⁰ The centrality of the role of the deceased in this context is especially clear in a Dynasty 21 papyrus, where BD 146 (including extracts from BD 145) opens the scroll and the deceased is depicted while offering his heart to the guardians (Gozdawa-Golebiowska 2009).

¹¹ See the invocation recurring at the beginning of BD 144 in the second western chapel (*Dendera* X, 345), and in the third western chapel near the doorway (*Dendera* X, 399): *sth.tw n=k sb3.w n.w dw3.t*, ‘the doors of the netherworld are open for you (i.e., Osiris)’ (Cauville 1997, 1:186–87 and 216–17).

¹² The occurrence of new funerary texts for private persons during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods has been studied by Smith 2009. In particular, see pp. 18–22 for the texts originating from temple rituals.

demons mentioned above.¹³

A particularly interesting case is that of the very well known Ptolemaic papyrus kept in the Metropolitan Museum (P. MMA 35.9.21), containing six rituals devoted mainly to the Osirian mysteries adapted for a deceased person, a priest called Imuthes (Goyon 1999; Smith 2009, 67–95). In particular, the first of these rituals, called ‘The great decree issued to the nome of *Igeret* (Silent Land)’ (Goyon 1999, 17–26), aims to let Osiris (the deceased) rule in the ‘nome of the Silent Land,’ which is one of the names of the realm of the dead. In fact, this is a temple ritual, devoted to Osiris. The ‘house of Shentayt,’ mentioned as the starting place of the ritual (Goyon 1999, 27, col. 1/6), is a toponym referring to temple buildings such as the Osirian chapels of Dendera (Goyon 1999, 22 n.31, with further bibliography); ‘Shentayt’ is also a name of Isis as mourner of Osiris (Smith 2009, 68; Cauville 1981). The ritual mentions various demonic and divine inhabitants of the netherworld, listed and occasionally described as well, who are asked to give access, to protect and to adore the god/deceased who is approaching them. Among others, the guardian demons of BD 144–145 are mentioned, and it is clear that the knowledge of the names of these guardians is crucial for granting the passage into the netherworld for Osiris/the deceased. In contrast to Book of the Dead papyri, however, here there are no illustrations representing the guardians. Moreover, their names are listed one after the other without specifying their function as doorkeeper, watcher and herald, as in the Book of the Dead version.¹⁴

A comparison of the guardians’ names in BD 144, as occurring in a Ptolemaic period papyrus (P. Turin 1791: Lepsius 1842, pls. LX–LXI), in the temple of Dendera (*Dendara* X, 345–346; Cauville 1997, 1:186–87) and in the ritual papyrus of Imuthes (Goyon 1999, 34–5, cols. 7/16–8/5, pls. VI–VIIA) can be found in Table 1. Many of the guardians have a double name, one referring to a physical feature and the other to moral behaviour. The Book of the Dead version on papyrus was certainly the model-copy for the temple version and the ritual papyrus. The latter shows the most corrupted forms of names and in one case even a lacuna,¹⁵ but also some interesting interpretations: for instance the name of the falcon-headed guardian of the first gate, which was originally *smt(.w)*, *smtr*, ‘the eavesdropper, the hearer,’ is transformed in the papyrus of Imuthes to *s3w mtwt*, ‘The Watcher of Venom.’¹⁶ A further reference to the potentially venomous nature of some guardians is in the name that the watcher of the second gate takes in the papyrus of Imuthes, *mtwtj*, ‘The Toxic One,’ which has no parallel in the other versions.¹⁷ In the case of the doorkeeper of the seventh gate, the papyrus of Imuthes seems to improve the other two versions by adding an object to

¹³ On the later papyri recording temple rituals, see Quack 2002. The difference is stressed between the epigraphic versions of the rituals devoted to the gods of the temple and those on papyri kept in the libraries of the temple itself and composed mostly for the king. On amulets and funerary papyri, it is the private deceased who benefits from the same rituals.

¹⁴ A close parallel to P. MMA 35.9.21 is the ritual P. Tamerit 1, which also contains a version of BD 144 and 145. Due to its fragmentary state, this document has been edited through a comparison with the texts of P. MMA 35.9.21 (Beinlich 2009, 48–59). Different from the papyrus of Imuthes, P. Imuterit 1 does not refer to a private owner and must have been used by the priests of a temple.

¹⁵ The epithets of the watcher and of the herald of the 6th gate are missing.

¹⁶ Same epithet also in P. Tamerit 1 (l. 7,1), Beinlich 2009, 77 and 131.

¹⁷ Same variant in P. Tamerit 1.

the participle: *ds h3.t=sn*, ‘the slaughterer of their bodies.’

In contrast, the text in Dendera temple is a faithful copy of the Book of the Dead version, with the exception of a few variants for the names of the last three guardians. Moreover, the fact that in Dendera as well as in the ritual papyrus the guardian-demons remain connected to the domain of Osiris, namely to the realm of the dead, shows that their role must be slightly differentiated from that of many other protective genii and deities that occur in temple decoration. The names of these last figures are often followed by the toponym of the earthly town or sanctuary to which they belong.¹⁸

On the other hand, the iconography of the guardians of the netherworld occurs also on a peculiar category of monuments of non-funerary character, namely the architectural slabs from temples, and monolithic *naoi* of the Saite Period and of Dynasty 30.¹⁹ A significant example can be seen on a greywacke architectural slab originally belonging to the Atum temple at Heliopolis in Lower Egypt and presently kept in the Archaeological Museum of Bologna (Fig. 7). It represents the pharaoh Nectanebo I kneeling in front of demonic figures whose iconography identifies them as guardians (crocodile- or multiple-snake-headed figures with long knives). Nectanebo offers jewellery and clothes to them and in the inscriptions he thanks them for having granted to him victory and power over Egypt and the foreign countries (Bologna KS 1870: Morigi Govi and Pernigotti 1994, 103; Bologna 1990, 172, pl. 119). Similar slabs are now in the British Museum²⁰; one of these dates to the reign of Psamtek I (Fig. 8) and shows depictions of similar demonic beings, to which offerings are brought as on the Bologna slab. In this type of scene the guardians are clearly dealt with as if they were gods, according to a widely attested trend in the religious life of the later periods: demons can be divinized and receive a cult like the gods.²¹

Moreover, the guardians of the Book of the Dead belonged to that sub-category of demonic beings that, as already mentioned above, already had a beneficial, protective role on earlier monuments. In particular, we should mention the wooden statuettes of anonymous guardian-like gods, which were probably objects of funerary cult and which have been found in some of the royal tombs of Dynasties 18 and 19 (Fig. 9; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 132–3, 135 and 169; Strudwick 2006, 188–9). Later examples of statues and coffins depicting the same figures have been found in the tomb of Montuemhat (Dynasty 25–26; Leclant 1961, Pantalacci 1983, 304 n. 1). Where the text of these statuettes is still readable, some of the epithets given to these tomb-guardians correspond to those of the BD spells (see Table 1,

¹⁸ For instance, the third register of the same Osirian chapel with the guardians contains the depiction of a series of protective figures including some of the official gods of the pantheon, such as Bastet of Bubastis, Sekhmet of Memphis and Khnum of Elephantine (Cauville 1997, 2:168–74).

¹⁹ For examples depicting protective figures reminiscent of the guardians of the Book of the Dead, see Spencer 2006, 21. In particular, upon a naos from Kom el-Ahmar, dedicated to Osiris Hemag (Leiden IM 107) and dating to the reign of Amasis, some of the epithets of the deities represented correspond to the guardians of BD 144, see Zecchi 1996, 12–15.

²⁰ British Museum EA 20, 22 and 928. A study of these slabs is in preparation by Neal Spencer, whom I wish to thank for the information on this material.

²¹ I am currently preparing a monograph on demonology in ancient Egypt, where this issue will be broadly discussed. The case of the first of the seven demons commanded by Tutu, ꜥꜣ *phṯy*, who received a personal cult during the Ptolemaic period, is particularly notable (Kaper 2003, 62 n. 33).

particularly nn. 4–11).

Finally, depictions of guardian demons, closely resembling those of the Book of the Dead, also occur in the wall decoration of a few Ramesside tombs in the Valley of the Queens, such as in the anonymous tomb QV 40, where an abstract of BD 145 occurs (Abitz 1986, 84). Later occurrences of our guardians are to be found in funerary compositions which reuse texts and vignettes of the Book of the Dead, for example a papyrus from Thebes dating to the first or second century BC, and containing extracts from the *Livre de parcourir l'éternité* (P. Louvre N 3147: Herbin 1994). In a scene which reminds us also of the vignette of BD 151, figures of divine beings hold knives and protect the mummy, thus similar to the doorkeepers of BD 146. The guardians of BD 146 are also deployed in a Book of Breathing of the same period, as protection for the mortuary bed supervised by Anubis (P. BM EA 9995: Herbin 2008, 40, pl. 23); in these later documents the protective role of the guardians seems to be more directly related to the body of the deceased than to the door which they traditionally guard.²²

In accordance with the evidence discussed above, we may say that the figures of the guardian-demons and the spells related to them are a perfect example of how a Book of the Dead theme can be employed and re-interpreted in a number of other sources, including those not of a strictly funerary character.

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²² In P. BM EA 9995 the scene includes the depiction and names of the *sbh.wt*-portals that appear in the vignette of BD 146.

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Gates	Guardian names	P. Turin 1791	Second Western Osirian chapel, Dendera	P. MMA 35.9.21
1	Doorkeeper	<i>šhd-ḥr</i> ; <i>š3 ir.w</i> ‘Face-downward, numerous of shapes’	<i>šhd-ḥr</i> ; <i>š3 ir.w</i>	<i>s3w ḥr.w</i> ; <i>š3 ir.w</i> , ‘The One with vigilant face, numerous of shapes’
1	Watcher	<i>smt(.w)</i> ‘Eavesdropper’	<i>smt(.w)</i>	<i>s3w mtwt</i> , ‘The Watcher of venom’ ¹
1	Herald	<i>3h-ḥrw</i> , ‘Sad of Voice’	<i>3h-ḥrw</i>	<i>ih3m ḥr</i> , ‘The One with lamenting voice’
2	Doorkeeper	<i>dwn-ḥ3.t</i> , ‘One who stretches out (his) brow’ ²	<i>dwn-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>dwn-ḥ3.t=f</i>
2	Watcher	<i>skd ḥr</i> , ‘One with vigilant face’	<i>skd ḥr</i>	<i>Mtw.tj</i> , ‘The Toxic one’
2	Herald	<i>3sb.w</i> , ‘The Burning One’	<i>3sb(.w)</i>	<i>3sb.t</i>
3	Doorkeeper	<i>wnm ḥw3.w n ph.w(y)=f</i> , ‘One who eats the excrement of his rectum’ ³	<i>wnm ḥw33.t</i>	<i>wnm ḥw3.w (n) ph.w(y)=f</i>
3	Watcher	<i>rs ḥr</i> , ‘Alert of face’	<i>rs ḥr</i>	<i>rs ḥr</i>
3	Herald	<i>wš3.w</i> , ‘The Reviler’	<i>wš3(.w)</i> , ‘the Calumniator’	<i>š3-3w.t (?)</i>
4	Doorkeeper	<i>hsf ḥr</i> ; <i>š3-ḥrw</i> , ‘Repulsive of face, who is noisy’	<i>hsf ḥr</i> ; <i>š3-ḥrw</i>	<i>hsf ḥr</i> ; <i>š3-ḥrw</i>
4	Watcher	<i>rs ib</i> , ‘Awake of heart’ ⁴	<i>rs ib</i>	<i>rs ib</i>
4	Herald	<i>š3 ḥr</i> ; <i>hsf3d.w</i> , ‘Great of face, who repel the furious one’ ⁵	<i>š3 ḥr</i> ; <i>hsf3d.w</i>	<i>sd.t š3 ḥr hsf</i> , ‘Great of flame, repulsing face’ ⁶
5	Doorkeeper	<i>nh m fnt.w</i> , ‘One who lives on worms’	<i>nh m fnt.w</i>	<i>nh m fnd.y</i>
5	Watcher	<i>wšb</i> , ‘The Devourer’ (?) ⁷	<i>3šb</i>	<i>3šb.w</i> ⁸
5	Herald	<i>nb.t ḥr khb.w 3t</i> , ‘Burning face with violent strength’	<i>nbd-ḥr khb 3t=f</i> , ‘Evil of face, with violent strength’	<i>nb ḥr nšn.yt 3t</i> , ‘The Lord of the face with destructive power’
6	Doorkeeper	<i>jnktt t3 khb.w ḥrw</i> , ‘One who grasps the bread, with violent voice’ ⁹	<i>jkt</i> (sic), <i>khb ḥrw</i>	<i>kkt t3</i> ¹⁰
6	Watcher	<i>jn ḥr</i> , ‘One who brings (his) face’	<i>jn ḥry.t</i> , ‘One who brings terror’	
6	Herald	<i>mds ḥr jr.y p.t</i> , ‘Violent of face, who belongs to the sky’	<i>mds ḥr jr.y p.t</i>	
7	Doorkeeper	<i>mds sn</i> , ‘One who slaughters them (the enemies?)’ ¹¹	<i>mds sn</i>	<i>šhd-ḥr ds ḥ3t=sn</i> , ‘One with reversed head, who slaughters their bodies’ ¹²
	Watcher	<i>š3 ḥrw</i> , ‘One with loud voice’	<i>š3 mi (sis)</i>	<i>š3 ḥrw</i>
	Herald	<i>hsf ḥm.y.w</i> , ‘One who wards off the subversives’ ¹³	<i>hsf ḥm.y.w</i>	<i>hsf ḥm.y.w</i>

Table 1: Comparison of the names of guardian figures.

¹ Alternatively: ‘One who wards off venom.’² Grimm 1979. This epithet probably indicates somebody who interferes with others affairs or a spy, as proposed by Allen 1974, 232, n. c.³ See Pantalacci 1983.⁴ The same epithet occurs on a statuette of guardian demons from Montuemhat (Leclant 1961, 117).⁵ This epithet occurs already in the Coffin Texts, where it depicts the guardian of a turn in the Book of the Two Ways (Leitz 2002, 2:35–36). *hsf3d* occurs also as a name of Shu in a magical text of the New Kingdom, and as an epithet of a temple god in late ritual texts (Leitz 2002, 5:954).⁶ Smith (2009, 84) translates: ‘flamer great in the act of repelling.’⁷ Two variants are known: *3bšw*, *šbw* (Munro 1987, 326 n. 533).⁸ Only in P. MMA 35.9.21: ‘The Ardent One’. In P. Tamerit a new epithet seems to have been inserted: *jmm(y)...*, ‘The hidden one...’ (Beinlich 2009, 132 nn. 163–64).⁹ This epithet has many variants and an unclear meaning (Leitz 2002, 1:569–70). *tkw t3*, ‘the Clawer of the earth’ is a name of Osiris in PT 959b.¹⁰ The indication *gm wš*, ‘found missing,’ follows.¹¹ *Mds* is also the name of a statuette of a guardian demon from the tomb of Montuemhat, Leclant 1961, 112.¹² In this case P. MMA 35.9.21 seems to explain the obscure epithet occurring in the papyrus and temple version (Goyon 1999, 35 n. 50).¹³ Cauville (1997a, 186), translates *ḥm.y.w* as ‘demons’; in fact, this epithet is employed also in magical texts to indicate a gang of demons (Leitz 2002, 5:740); Smith (2009, 84) translates: ‘he who drives back those who would destroy.’

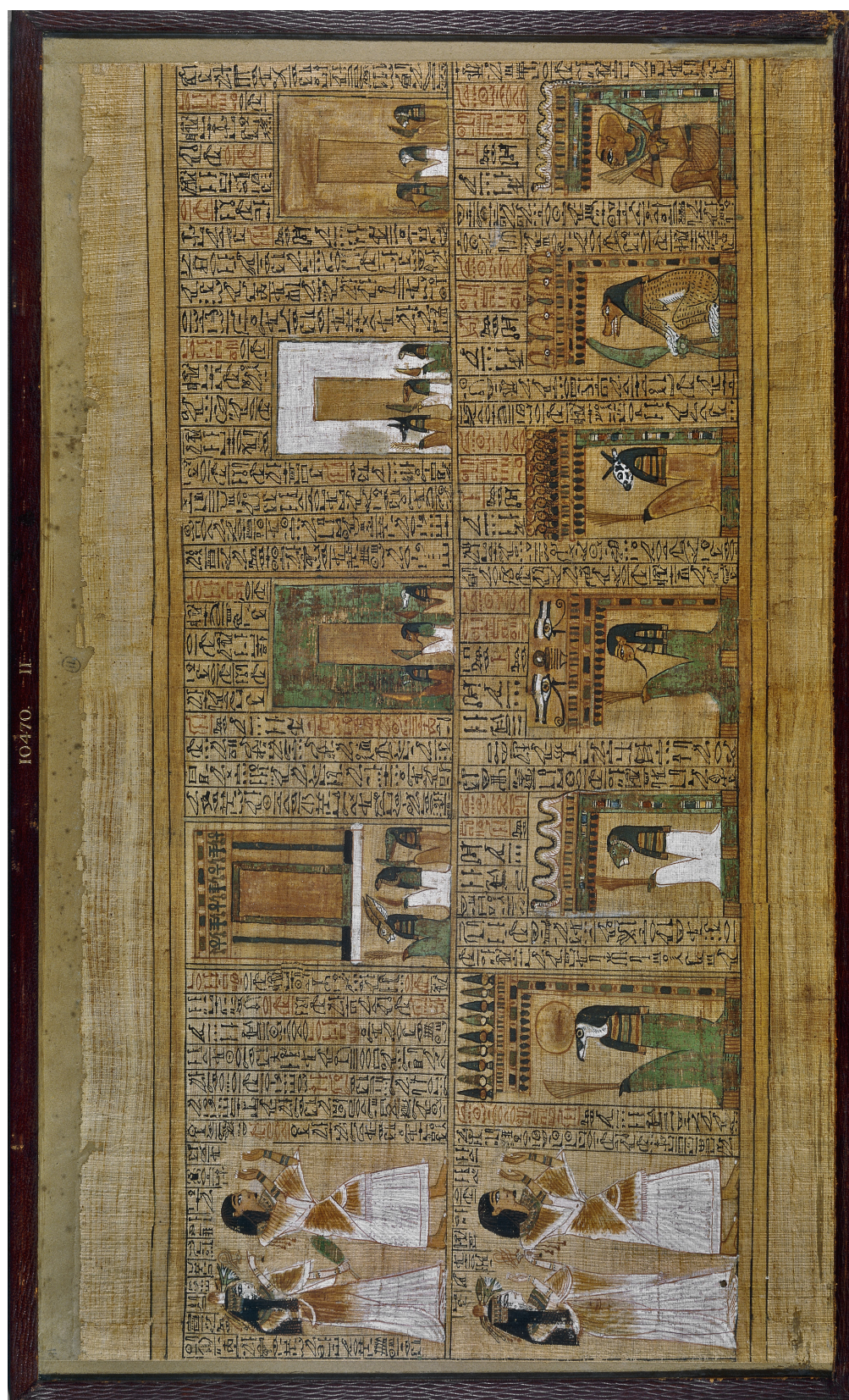


Fig. 1: Papyrus of Ani (P. BM EA 10470.11), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 2: BD 144, P. Turin 1791, from Lepsius 1842, pl. LX.

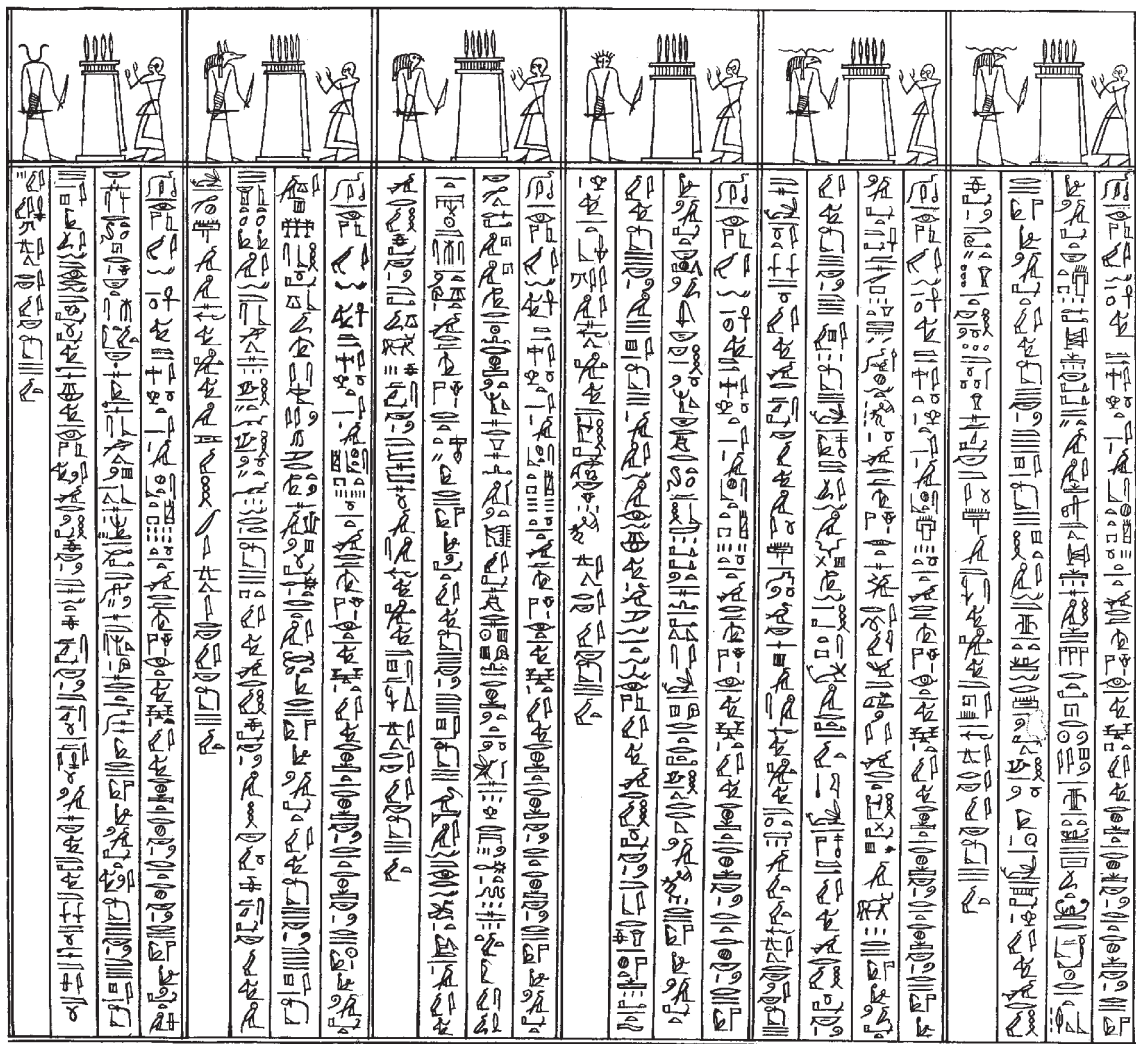


Fig. 3: BD 145, P. Turin 1791, from Lepsius 1842, pl. LXII.

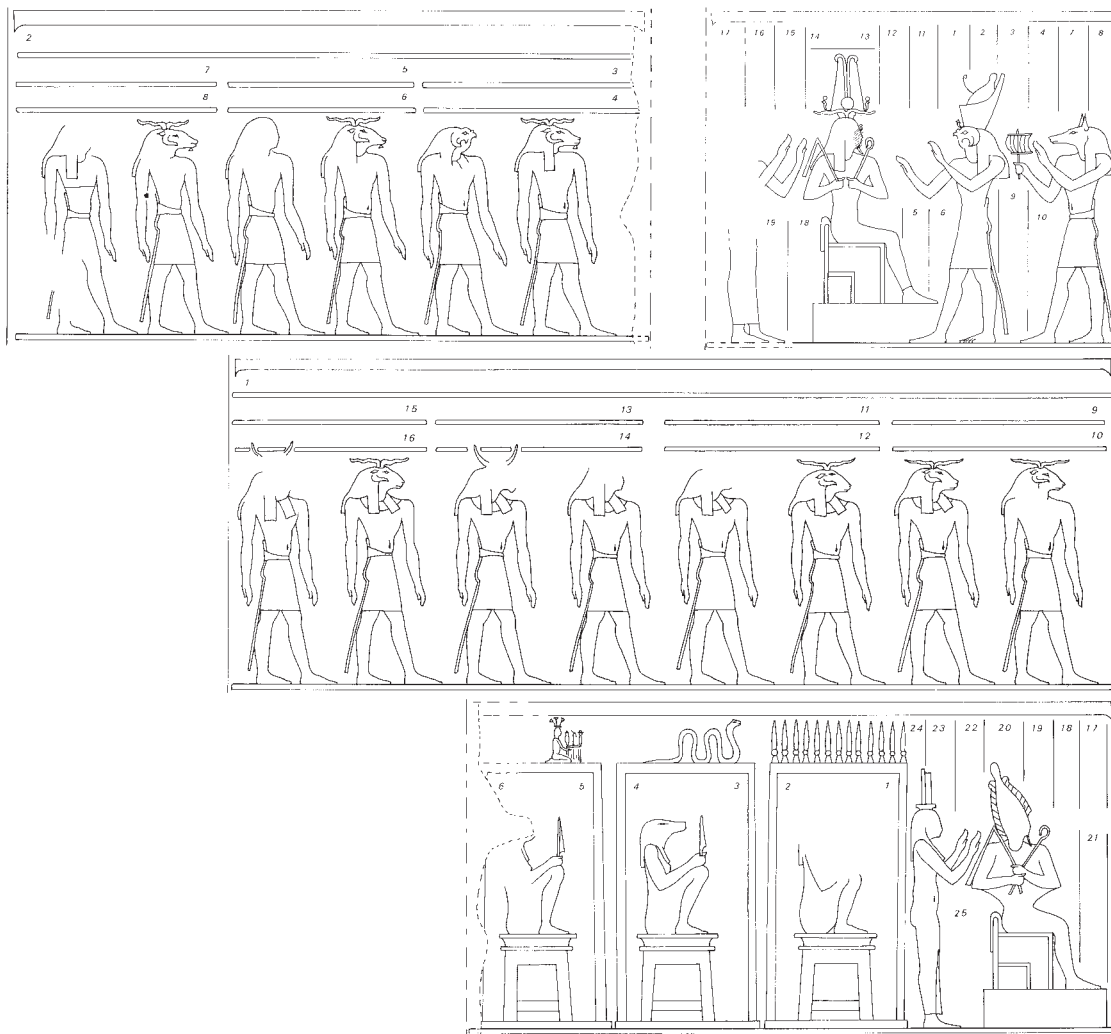


Fig 4: Second western Osirian chapel, temple of Hathor at Dendera, BD 144, from Cauville 1997, pl. 192.

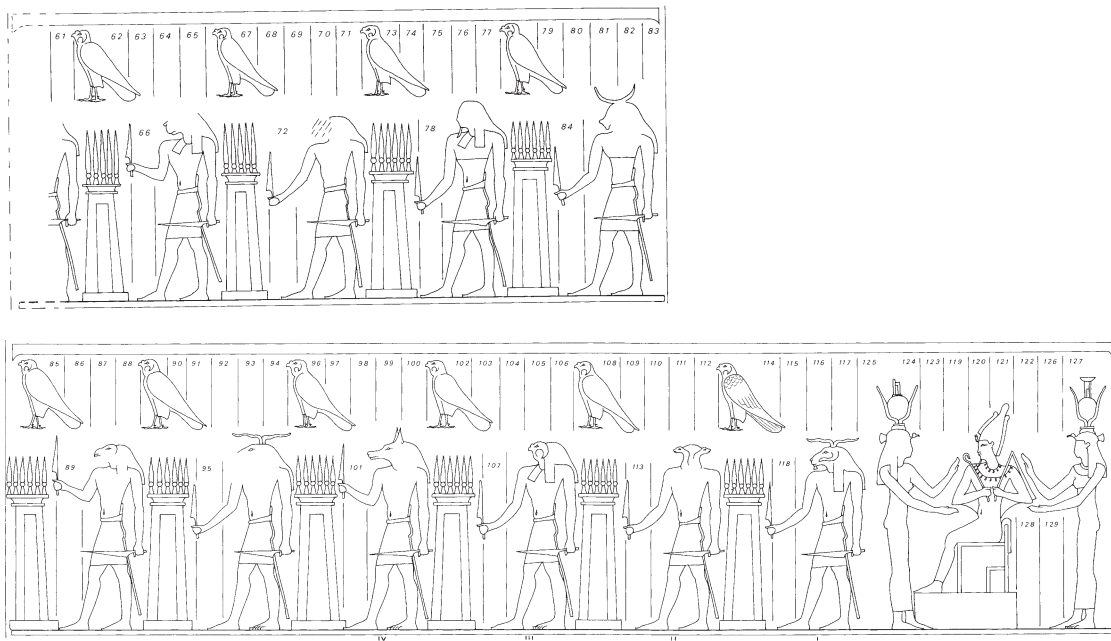


Fig. 5: Second western Osirian chapel, temple of Hathor at Dendera, BD 145, from Cauville 1997, pl. 195.

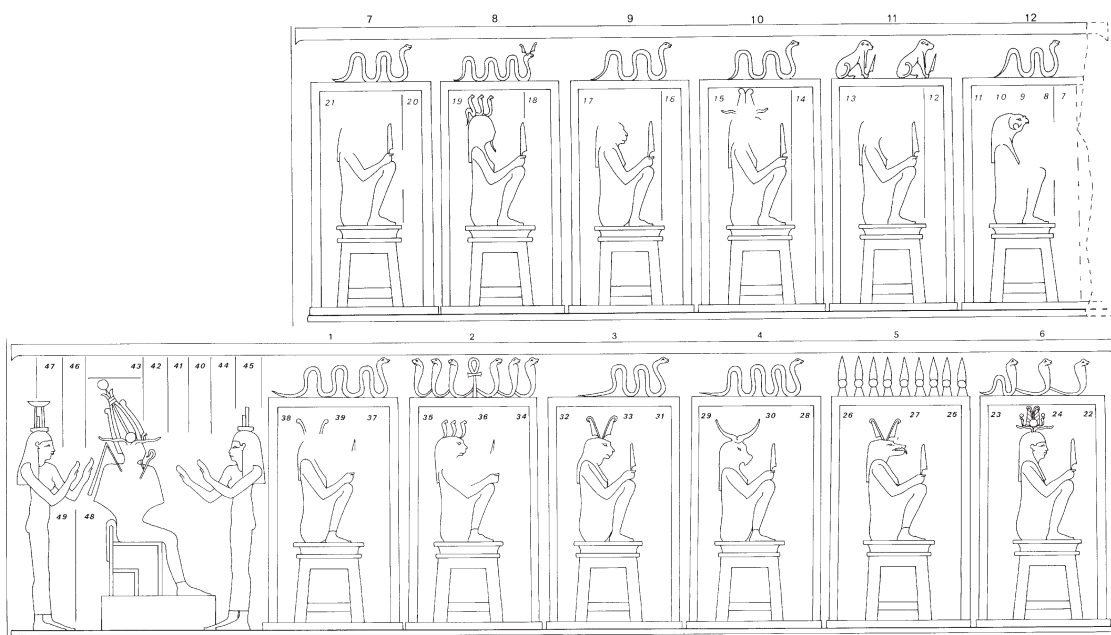


Fig. 6: Second western Osirian chapel, temple of Hathor at Dendera, BD 146, from Cauville 1997, pl. 193.



Fig. 7: Architectural slab, Bologna Museo Civico KS 1870 (photograph: Neal Spencer, courtesy of the Museo Civico).

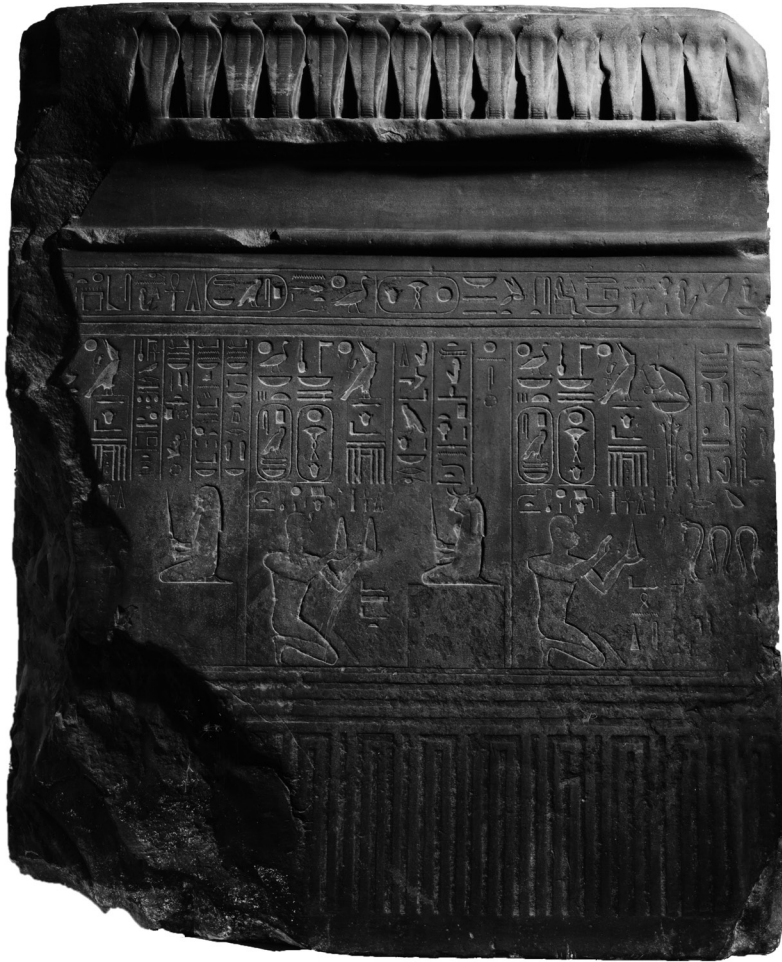


Fig. 8: Architectural slab, British Museum EA 20, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig 9: Wooden statuettes of guardian figures EA 50699, 50702 and 50703 (left to right), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig 10: P. Louvre N 3157, from Herbin 1994, pl. XXVIII.



Fig. 11: P. BM EA 9995.3, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.