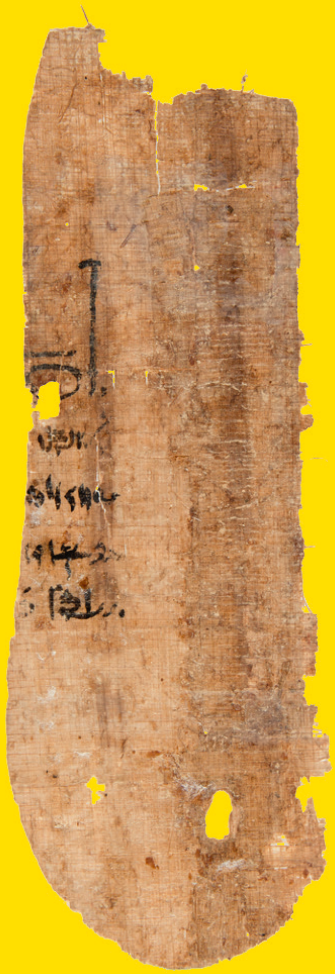
Evil Egyptian Scripts

Abnormal Hieratic, Demotic and Hieratic Texts and Studies in Honour of Koenraad Donker van Heel

edited by

CARY J. MARTIN



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Tabula gratulatoria

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Preface

When in 1937 Hermann Grapow described demotic 'as the most evil of all evil Egyptian scripts',[1] he clearly had never had occasion to look at an abnormal hieratic papyrus. If he had done so, he would have quickly realised that, if demotic were the most evil, abnormal hieratic must be the Devil's Spawn. In the early days of Egyptology, abnormal hieratic and demotic were not differentiated; they were both 'démotique archaïque' (Eugéne Revillout). It was Francis Llewellyn Griffith (who else!), who was the first Egyptologist to separate them, when he established that, in Dynasties 25 and 26, there were actually two cursive administrative systems operating alongside each other in Upper Egypt. Since then, a few brave (foolish?) Egyptologists have attempted to edit abnormal hieratic texts. For most of these, one publication, occasionally two, was enough. But there are exceptions. Just three. First, of course, is Michel Malinine, the 'grandmaster' of abnormal hieratic. The magnitude of his achievements does not need repeating here. Second, Günter Vittmann, a contributor to this volume, and the author of many important text editions and studies since the 1990's. And third, the honoree himself. Koen, however, was not content to just publish abnormal hieratic texts. He wanted Egyptologists, beyond the traditional rather narrow group of specialists, to be able to read and understand the script. But more on that in a moment; let's start at the beginning.

Koen studied demotic and abnormal hieratic in Leiden in the late 1980's under Pestman and Vleeming. His doctorate (awarded in 1996) was the publication of an archive of 22 abnormal hieratic and early demotic papyri contained in the Eisenlohr lot in the Louvre, along with two related texts in the British Museum. While individual papyri from this archive had been spasmodically published over the preceding century, there had hitherto not been any serious attempt to study it in its entirety. As well as making these important texts accessible to the Egyptology community through reliable translations, Koen's work was of particular significance, and represented a great leap forward over previous studies, in identifying when and how the demotic script and legal tradition from the north infiltrated and then supplanted that of abnormal hieratic in the south.

While over the next decade he continued to publish abnormal hieratic papyri, he was also employed in developing the Leiden based Deir el-Medina Database (from 1997 to 2004). This was initially with Ben Haring, and after 2000 with Rob Demarée and Jaana Toivari-Viitala (Rob having been involved from the start as an advisor). The first stage was the creation of the database. This sounds simple but of course involved, especially in the initial stages, a lot of trial-and-error with a new electronic database. Together, Koen and Ben started by producing *c.*500 handwritten records on paper until Hans van den Berg had a first version of the programme for the database ready. From then on, they could create electronic records immediately, while also both keeping their own indexes of English keywords, Egyptian terminology and proper names etc. Every few weeks they would sit together and compare indexes to make sure they had entered similar data in precisely the same way. When Rob and Jaana also started to create records, every team member checked the work of one other. Koen's and Ben Haring's book *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003) was an offshoot of this database work.

1 H. Grapow, 'Review of Erichsen, Demotische Lesestücke', *OLZ* 40 (1937), p. 487.

The employment situation at Leiden University forced Koen out of Egyptology for the period from 2004 to 2012 and he developed other skills as an editor, copywriter and translator, which he continues to this day. Thankfully, for the future of abnormal hieratic,[2] circumstances in Leiden were to change and Koen was able to return to the University in 2012 as part-time Lecturer in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic. This was a new beginning, and Koen was determined to make up for lost time. By inaugurating a fully-fledged course in the script, he effectively established in Leiden what we should now refer to as an Abnormal Hieratic School (AHS). In the first semester this attracted no less than eight participants and over the following years there has been a steady influx of students from other countries. However, this on its own was not enough. So, with a zeal bordering on the evangelical, he set out to bring the study of abnormal hieratic into mainstream Egyptology. First, in 2013, he published online a teaching manual – *A Very Easy Crash Course in Abnormal Hieratic* – and, in that and the following year, *An Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book* (in three parts), followed by an *Abnormal Hieratic Palaeography*. He prepared an intensive one-to-two-day abnormal hieratic workshop, which he then held in myriad venues across Continental Europe, the UK and even on one occasion venturing to the West Coast of the USA. This was all in addition to the lectures, workshops and masterclasses that he organised in Leiden. The result? There are today more people able to read the script than at any time since the middle of the sixth century BCE.

Although Koen put considerable emphasis on teaching, this was not at the expense of his academic publications. He regularly produced a series of articles for journals or *Festschrifts*. These included text publications and discussions of particularly problematic reading problems (of which there were many), and also reflected his interest in the law, social history and the economy of ancient Egypt. However, his most important work in this period was the first full edition (in 2021) of the eight papyri belonging to the abnormal hieratic business archive of the Theban choachyte Petebaste son of Peteamunip (P. Louvre E 3228 A–H). In this there was a particular focus on abnormal hieratic palaeography, making the volume an important companion to the online material.

Throughout his career Koen has always sought to communicate not just with Egyptologists and fellow travellers, but also with the wider public. After visits to conferences or meetings, since the beginning of the 1990s he regularly produced small privately-printed booklets that he sent to friends and colleagues (and later 'published' online) with a tongue-in-cheek account of what had been happening outside the formal proceedings. Shortly after his return to Egyptology in 2012, he began with *Djekhy & Son* a series of publications for the non-specialist in which he used the 'dry' papyrus documents from the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate and Late Period to conjure up a vivid and often hilarious picture of everyday life in ancient Egypt. Three further volumes, all published by the American University in Cairo Press, have followed at regular intervals to critical acclaim.

In his usual inimitable way, Koen concluded one article with the comment that the appearance of a *Festschrift* always carries a subtle message, 'right, you're at the end of the line pal'. However, and paraphrasing what Koen himself wrote at the time, abnormal hieratic would be totally lost without you, so do continue to delight and surprise us for many years to come. Because if you don't, we might drop the moniker abnormal hieratic and use 'späthieratische Kursive', 'Kursivhieratisch', or 'late cursive hieratic' instead. And we know you would hate that.

Cary J. Martin
Honorary Research Fellow, University College London

Postscript

This publication would never have been produced without the ongoing help and support of Cisca Hoogendijk, who proof read the entire manuscript and drew up the index of Greek words and Greek sources, and of Elena Hertel in compiling Koen's bibliography and in checking the indexes. We are particularly grateful to Gert Baetens and Ben Haring for their assistance, as well as those who were involved in the often thankless (albeit not in this case) task of formal peer-reviewing – Adrienn Almásy-Martin, Charlotte Dietrich, Katrin Gabler, Fredrik Hagen, Richard Jasnow, Anthony Leahy, Claudia Näser, Brian Muhs, John Tait and Günter Vittmann – along with Robert Kade, Kim Ryholt and Petra Hogenboom-Meijerink, and to all the authors who have contributed to the volume. It goes without saying that we have been fortunate in the commitment of the staff at Brill, especially Vincent Oeters, Giulia Moriconi and Gera van Bedaf. The typesetting of what is a most difficult manuscript must have been very challenging, and we can imagine that, by the end of the process, they might not share quite the same enthusiasm as the honoree for abnormal hieratic.

2 Or as one of the contributors to this *Festschrift* were to remark: 'One of the finest moments in 21st century Egyptology … was the return of our friend Koen to the university world of Leiden after a long absence due to the need to make a living'.

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Een prettige regeling (1991).
Faustino (1991).
Sept rue Vauvilliers (1992).
Wenen in Wenen (1992).
Bengels in Berlijn (1992).
And the Same to You! (1992).

De bus naar Castello Branco (1992).
Dat ziet u niet goed (1992).
Een schrijver in de war (1992).
Regarde la vie autrement (1992).
Tips for Trout on Trains (1992).
De vos & het varkentje (ed.) (1992).
Een dag van je leven (1992). With A. VERHOOGT (eds).
Geen bloemen, bezoek! (1993).
Het archief van Djechy (1993).
Een moeilijk mensch (1993).
The Three Muskebeers (1993).
De ontdekking van het breedbilvirus: op zoek naar het geluk (1994).
Twee enkeltjes Groningen graag (1994).
Behoorlijk blauw & een graf of de Greb (1994).
Een kneus in Knossos (1995).
A Hippo in Helsinki (1995).
Them & Us (1995).
A Hand on My Knee: The Trouble of Being Blunt (1995).
The Hairy Rocket (undated, c. 1997).
Nein doch! Abnormhieratisch. Ja, lesen die Studenten das hier? Ein Büchlein für unsere Münchener Kollegen zum Anlass ihres Besuches am Papyrologisch Instituut (1. Oktober 2013) (2013).
Dear Professor Thissen (2014).
Les enculeurs de mouche (2015).
How Kim & I Became a Staff of Old Age (2017).
Circus Knie hoe dan? (2018).
Gefundenes Fressen – Back in Your Face (*Die Schneeflöckchen werden immer besser, stärker, schneller*) (2019).
It's Only a Tin Full of People (2019).

Abbreviated Literature

1 Text Editions

Papyrological text editions and corpora have generally been cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*, at https://papyri.info/docs/checklist.

2 Periodicals

AEPHE SHP	*Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences historiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1873–)
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung* (Vienna, 1923–)
AfP	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* (Berlin etc., 1901–)
AltorForsch	*Altorientalische Forschungen* (Berlin, 1974–)
aMun	*aMun: Magazin für die Freunde ägyptischer Museen und Sammlungen* (Berlin, 1999–)
Annales HSS	*Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales* (Aubervilliers, 1929–)
AnPap	*Analecta papyrologica* (Messina, 1989–)
AOB	*Acta Orientalia Belgica* (Brussels, 1966–)
ASAE	*Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1900–)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Ann Arbor, MI, etc., 1919–)
BiblNot	*Biblische Notizen* (Bamberg, 1976–)
BIE	*Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien* > *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1859–)
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (Cairo, 1901–)
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden, 1943–)
BSÉG	*Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève* (Geneva, 1979–)
BSFÉ	*Bulletin de la Société français d'égyptologie* (Paris, 1949–)
Cahiers Glotz	*Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* (Paris, 1990–)
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte* (Brussels, 1925–)
ClassAnt	*Classical Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA, 1968–)
ClassQuart	*Classical Quarterly* (Cambridge, 1908–)
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris, 1857–)
CRIPEL	*Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille* (Lille, 1973–)
EA	*Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1991–)
ÉAO	*Égypte, Afrique et Orient* (Avignon – Montségur, 1996–)
Enchoria	*Enchoria, Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1971–)
ENiM	*Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* (Montpellier, 2008–)
EVO	*Egitto e Vicino Oriente* (Pisa, 1978–)
FolOr	*Folia orientalia* (Krakow, 1959–)
ForschBer	*Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Forschungen und Berichte* (Berlin, 1957–1991)
GLECS	*Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* (Paris, 1931–2003)
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* (Göttingen, 1972–)
ImagAeg	*Imago Aegypti: internationales Magazin für ägyptologische und koptologische Kunstforschung, Bildtheorie und Kulturwissenschaft* (Göttingen, 2005–)

Isimu	*Isimu: Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la antigüedad* (Madrid, 1998–)
IWNW	*Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology, Ain Shams University* (Cairo, 2022–)
JAEI	*Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* (Tucson, AZ, etc., 2009–)
JANEH	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* (Berlin – Boston, 2014–)
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Ann Arbor, MI, etc., 1843–)
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Boston etc., 1962–)
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (Ann Arbor etc., 1947–)
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1914–)
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux / Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society 'Ex Oriente Lux'* (Leiden, 1933–)
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden, 1957–)
JHA	*Journal for the History of Astronomy* (London etc., 1970–)
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology* (Warsaw, 1946–)
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago, 1942–)
JRASGBI	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 1834–)
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies* (London, 1911–)
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism* (*in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*) (Leiden – Boston, 1970–)
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* (Toronto, 1970–)
LingAeg	*Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies* (Göttingen, 1991–)
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (Wiesbaden etc., 1930–)
MMJ	*Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York – Chicago, 1968–)
Mythos n.s.	*Mythos n.s.: Rivista di Storia delle Religioni* (Palermo, 2007–)
NeHeT	*Revue numérique d'Égyptologie* (Paris – Brussels, 2014–)
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* (Leuven, 1970–)
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1898–)
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (Leiden, 1920–1999)
Pylon	*Pylon: Editions and Studies of Ancient Texts* (Online, Heidelberg, 2022–)
RAAO	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* (Paris, 1884–)
RdÉ	*Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris etc., 1933–)
RecTrav	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris, 1870–1923)
RevEg	*Revue égyptologique* (Paris, 1880–1914, N.S. 1919–1924)
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité* (Brussels, 1948–)
SAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg, 1974–)
SEAP	*Studi di egittologia e di antichità puniche* (Bologna – Pisa, 1987–)
TijdRecht	*Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* (Leiden, 1918–)
Tyche	*Tyche: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (Vienna, 1986–)
WdO	*Die Welt des Orients* (Göttingen, 1947–)
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna, 1887–)
ZABR	*Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtgeschichte* (Wiesbaden, 1995–)
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig – Berlin, 1863–)
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (Bonn, 1967–)

3 Series

AAP	Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere (Cologne, 1985–2002)
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments (Wiesbaden – Münster, 1979–)
AAWL	Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philol.-hist. Kl. (Leipzig – Berlin, 1849–)
AAWMainz	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse (Mainz etc., 1950–)
AcUniv (U) HR	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Historia Religionum (Uppsala, 1961–)
AegHelv	Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Basel – Geneva, 1974–)
AegLeod	Aegyptiaca Leodiensia (Liège, 1987–)
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt etc., 1936–)
AfP Beihefte	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* – Beihefte (Berlin – Boston, 1910–)
ÄgAbh	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden, 1960–)
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia (Rome, 1931–)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Münster, 1969–)
ÄOP	Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin (Berlin, 2012–)
AOS	American Oriental Series (New Haven, 1925–)
APAWB	Abhandlungen der (Königlich) Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philos.-hist. Kl. (Berlin, 1804–1944)
ArchVer	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Abteilung Kairo (Mainz am Rhein – Wiesbaden, 1970–)
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology (New Haven etc., 1966–)
ASSM	Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean (London, 1995–)
BAÄ	Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten (Basel, 2007–)
BÄB	Bonner Ägyptologische Beiträge (Bonn, 2013–)
BAM	Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen (Berlin – Boston, 1963–)
BAR-IS	British Archaeological Reports – International Series (originally Supplementary Series) (Oxford, 1975–)
BÉHÉ	Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris, 1869–)
BeitrÄg	Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Vienna, 1978–)
BES	Brown Egyptological Studies (London etc., 1954–1979)
BiAeg	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Brussels etc., 1932–)
BiÉtud	Bibliothèque d'Étude (Cairo, 1908–)
BiGen	Bibliothèque générale (Cairo, 1959–)
BMPES	British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (Leuven etc., 2014–)
BMRP	British Museum Research Publications (formerly British Museum Occasional Papers) (London, 1978–)
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London, 1905–1954)
BSAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Beihefte (Hamburg, 1989–)
BSE	Biblioteca di studi egittologici (Pisa, 2001–)
BzA	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Berlin – New York, 1990–)
BZAR	Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte* (Wiesbaden, 2000–)
CASAE	Supplément aux *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1946–)
CDPBM	Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum (London, 1939–)
CENiM	Les Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (Montpellier, 2008–)

CGC	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Cairo etc., 1901–)
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden – Boston, 1982–)
CLeO	Classica et Orientalia (Wiesbaden, 2011–)
CMT	Catalogo del Museo egizio di Torino (Milan etc., 1967–)
CNIP	Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies Publications (Copenhagen, 1986–)
CNMAL	Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (Leiden, 1974–)
CNWS	Centrum voor Niet-Westerse Studies, Universiteit Leiden (Leiden, 1991–)
CP	Carlsberg Papyri (Copenhagen, 1991–)
CPR	Corpus Papyrorum Raineri (Vienna, 1895–)
DakhlOP-Monogr.	Dakhleh Oasis Project Monographs (Melbourne etc., 1987–)
DAWB SSA	Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft (Berlin, 1956–)
DAWW	Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil-os.-hist. Kl. (Vienna, 1850–)
DDD	Demotische Dokumente aus Dime (Wiesbaden, 2006–)
DemStud	Demotische Studien (Leipzig – Sommerhausen, 1901–2006)
DFIFAO	Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo, 1934–)
DHR	Dynamics in the History of Religions (Leiden etc., 2011–)
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui (Leiden etc., 1947–)
DPB	Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin, 1978–)
DVSM	Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-fil. Meddelelser (Copenhagen, 1917–1956)
EEF Arch.Rep.	Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Reports (London, 1892–1911)
EES EM	Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoirs (continues MEEF and MEES) (London, 1885–)
EES OP	Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications (London, 1984–)
EES TEM	Egypt Exploration Society Texts from Excavations Memoirs (London, 1975–)
EgToday	Egyptology Today (Warminster, 1978–1981)
EgUit	Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden, 1982–)
EQÄ	Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie (Münster, 2003–)
ERA	Egyptian Research Account (London, 1893–1905)
EtudAlex	Études alexandrines (Cairo – Alexandria, 1998–)
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo, 1950–)
GdM	Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter (Berlin, 1954–1973)
GHP Egyptology	Golden House Publications Egyptology Series (London, 2004–)
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden etc., 1952–)
HES	Harvard Egyptological Studies (Leiden – Boston, 2015–)
HomRel II	Homo Religiosus Série II (Turnhout, 2002–)
HPBM	Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (London, 1910–)
IPNB	Iranisches Personennamenbuch (Vienna, 1979–)
JJP Suppl.	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology* Supplements (Warsaw, 2002–)
KÄT	Kleine Ägyptische Texte (Wiesbaden, 1969–)
KSG	Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen (Wiesbaden, 2004–)
La roue à livres	Collection « La roue à livres » (Paris, 1990–)
LDAS	Legal Documents in Ancient Societies (Wiesbaden etc., 2013–)
LingAeg – StudMon	*Lingua Aegyptia* Studia Monographica (Göttingen – Hamburg, 1994–)

MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin – Munich, 1962–)
MÄSB	Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin, 1910–)
MEEF	See now EES EM
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo, 1902–)
MKS	Middle Kingdom Studies (GHP Egyptology) (London, 2015–)
MonAeg	Monumenta aegyptiaca (Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth) (Brussels, 1968–)
MonÄS	Monographien zur Ägyptischen Sprache (Göttingen, 1997–)
MPER NS	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien, N.S. (Vienna, 1932–)
MRÉ	Monographies Reine Élisabeth (Brussels – Turnhout, 1971–)
M-S	Maghreb-Sahara (Paris – Leuven, 1982–)
MTK	Materiale Textkulturen (Berlin etc., 2015–)
MVCAE	Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt (Atlanta – Columbus, GA, 2015–)
MVEOL	Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux' (Leiden – Leuven, 1934–)
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philol.-hist. Kl. (Göttingen, 1845–)
ÖAWDG	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie (Vienna, 1947–)
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg – Göttingen, 1973–)
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications (Chicago, 1924–)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago, 1922–)
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven, 1975–)
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike: Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient (Tübingen, 2009–)
OSAD	Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents (Oxford, 2003–)
PalHiéro	Paléographie hiéroglyphique (Cairo, 2004–)
PapBrux	Papyrologica Bruxellensia (Brussels, 1962–)
PapCol	Papyrologica Coloniensia (Opladen etc., 1964–)
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy (Oxford, 1905–)
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie (Leiden etc., 1953–)
Philippika	Philippika: Altertumswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen – Contributions to the Study of Ancient World Culture (Wiesbaden, 2009–)
P. L.Bat.	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava (Leiden – Boston, 1941–)
PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition (New York, 1917–)
PPYE	Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt (New Haven – Philadelphia, 1963–)
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire (Cairo, 1930–)
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (Leiden – Boston, 1992–)
RINAP	Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period (University Park, 2011–)
RitEg	Rites égyptiens (Brussels, 1962–2005)
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies (Helsinki, 1992–)
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg, 1990–)
SAM	Studies in Ancient Medicine (Leiden etc., 1991–)
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin – Boston, 2012–)

SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago, 1931–)
SAT	Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch (Wiesbaden, 1998–)
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. (Vienna, 1848–)
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature: Writings from the Ancient World (Atlanta, GA, 1990–)
SDAIK	Sonderschrift des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo (Mainz etc., 1975–)
SHR	Studies in the History of Religion: Supplements to *Numen* (Leiden etc., 1954–)
SieglinExp.	Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition (Leipzig, 1912–1936)
SMC	Studies in Manuscript Cultures (Berlin etc., 2014)
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phi-los.-hist. Kl. (Berlin, 1882–1938)
SRaT	Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel (Dettelbach, 2007–)
SsR	Studien zur spatägyptischen Religion (Wiesbaden, 2010–)
StudAeg	Studia Aegyptiaca (Budapest, 1974–)
StudDem	Studia Demotica (Leuven etc., 1987–)
StudHell	Studia Hellenistica (Leuven etc., 1942–)
StudPohl	Studia Pohl Series Maior (Rome, 1969–)
STUSMA	Studi Udinesi sul Mondo Antico (Florence, 2004–)
SWGS	Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft aus Straßburg (Strassburg, 1907–1919)
TDSA	Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità (Milan – Varese, 1959–)
TeG	Tuna el-Gebel (Hildesheim – Vatterstetten, 1987–)
TLA Publications	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae Publications (Berlin, 2000–)
TOP	Trismegistos Online Publications (www.trismegistos.org/top/)
TOP SS	Trismegistos Online Publications Special Series (https://www.trismegis-tos.org/top/)
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments (Gütersloh, 1982–1997)
TUAT NF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge (Gütersloh – Munich, 2004–2020)
UitgLPI	Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting 'Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut' (Leiden, 1981–)
URAÄ	Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im alten Ägypten (Tübingen, 1973–2019)
UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes (Vienna, 1975–)
VHPS	Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung (Heidelberg, 1954–)
VIAÄUW	Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien (Vienna, 1976–)
VOHD	Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (Wiesbaden, 1961–)
WVPM	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim (Hildesheim etc., 1911–)
WSA KBÄ	Wahrnehmungen und Spuren Altägyptens: Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Würzburg, 2005–)
ZÄS Beihefte	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Beihefte (Leipzig – Berlin, 2013–)

4 Monographs

ČERNÝ, *CED*	J. ČERNÝ, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge etc., 1976)
CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*	W.E. CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939)
DemBL	A.A. DEN BRINKER – B.P. MUHS – S.P. VLEEMING, *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents* (StudDem 7, Leuven etc., 2005)
ERICHSEN, *Glossar*	W. ERICHSEN, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954)
KRI	K.A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford, 1969–2014)
KRITA	K.A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated* (Oxford etc., 1993–2014)
KRITANC	K.A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated, Notes and Comments* (Oxford etc., 1993–2022)
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (W. HELCK – E. OTTO – W. WESTENDORF, eds) (Wiesbaden, 1975–1992)
LESKO, *DLE*	L.H. LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (1982–1990, Berkeley – Providence, RI); 2nd revised edition (Providence, RI, 2002–2004)
LGG	C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (OLA 110–116, 129, Leuven etc., 2002–2003)
LRL	J. ČERNÝ, *Late Ramesside Letters* (BiAeg 9, Brussels, 1939)
LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*	E. LÜDDECKENS et al. (eds), *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1980–2000)
PM	B. PORTER – R.L.B. MOSS – E.W. BURNEY – J. MALEK, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* (Oxford, 1927–)
PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*	F. PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden* (*Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschildern usw*) *Ägyptens sich vorfinden* (Heidelberg, 1922)
RANKE, *Personennamen*	H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 1–2 (Glückstadt – Hamburg, 1935–1952)
SPIEGELBERG, *DemGram*	W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1925)
TAD	B. PORTEN – A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (Jerusalem, 1986–1999)
Urk. IV	K. SETHE – W. HELCK, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, IV (Leipzig – Berlin, 1906–1958)
VYCICHL, *DictÉtym*	W. VYCICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven, 1983)
Wb.	A. ERMAN – H. GRAPOW (eds), *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig – Berlin, 1926–1963)
WESTENDORF, *KHW*	W. WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch: Bearbeitet auf Grund des Koptischen Handwörterbuches von Wilhelm Spiegelberg* (Heidelberg, 1965–1977)

5 Websites

AGÉA	Anthroponymes et Généalogies de l'Égypte Ancienne (https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/)

AKU-PAL	Paläographie des Hieratischen und der Kursivhieroglyphen (https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/graphemes/125)
CDD	J.H. JOHNSON (ed.), *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* (www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/PROJ/DEM/Demotic.html) (2001–)
DimeData	Dime Data (https://dimedata.huma-num.fr)
DPDP	The Demotic Palaeographical Database Project (http://129.206.5.162/beta/index.html)
HSO	Hieratic Studies Online (http://doi.org/10.25358/openscience-7839)
LGPN-Egypt	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names-Egypt (https://search.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/egypt/)
PNM	Personal Names of the Middle Kingdom (https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/info)
Prosopographia Aegypti	Prosopographia Aegypti (https://www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/prosoaeg/index0pg.htm)
TLA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae: Datenbank demotischer Texte (https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/home)
TM	Trismegistos Online Platform (www.trismegistos.org)
TM Arch	Trismegistos Archives (www.trismegistos.org/arch/index.php)
TM Geo	Trismegistos Places (www.trismegistos.org/geo/index.php)
TM Nam	Trismegistos People (www.trismegistos.org/ref)
UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology	*UCLA Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures: Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee) (2008–)

Text Editions and Re-editions in This Volume

Bloc SDM 21-02-A0114	Serapeum, 26th–27th Dynasties (Devauchelle and Widmer, pp. 42–44)
O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273	Deir el-Medina, mid 20th Dynasty (Goecke-Bauer, pp. 88–94)
O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607	Deir el-Medina, mid 20th Dynasty (Goecke-Bauer, pp. 94–100)
O. Athribis 19-36-61/5156 +20-36-64/4564	Athribis, end of second to early first century BCE (Lippert, pp. 97–209)
O. Athribis 19-36-30/1746	Athribis, end of second to early first century BCE (Lippert, pp. 97–209)
O. Brooklyn 16.580.579	Findspot not known, July 2, 57 CE (Ryholt, pp. 272–277)
P. Berlin P. 15592	Achmim, Ptolemaic (Baetens and Depauw, pp. 11–23)
P. BM EA 76274.1	Herakleopolis, July 2, 422 BCE (Martin, pp. 210–226)
P. Dem. MAIL 2	Thebes, *c.*150 BCE (Jasnow, pp. 137–143)
P. Dresden 828	Thebes (?), Roman period (Hoffmann, pp. 125–133)
P. Duke Inv. 648	Northern Upper Egypt (Fayum?), 800–650 BCE (Vittmann, pp. 320–340)
P. Köln Inv. 3609	Findspot not known, *c.*750–650 v. Chr. (?) (Quack, pp. 250–258)
P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 1008	Arsinoite nome (?), end of third century BCE (?) (Hoogendijk, pp. 134–136)
P. LHTT4975	Thebes, late 25th or early 26th Dynasty (Dietrich and Hertel, pp. 45–56)
P. Mallawi 486D	Tuna el-Gebel, late 26th or 27th Dynasty (Chauveau, pp. 24–28)
P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/4	Tuna el-Gebel, early Ptolemaic period (Ebeid† and el-Bokl, pp. 57–65)
P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/5	Tuna el-Gebel, Ptolemaic period (Ebeid† and el-Bokl, pp. 57–65)
P. Mich. inv. 2096	Hermopolites?, 12th June 84 CE (Escolano-Poveda, pp. 66–75)
Saqqara H5-DP 227 [1825]	Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara, early fourth century BCE (?) (Tait, pp. 313–319)
SB III 6840	Karnak, Ptolemaic period (Prada, p. 248)
Scribal palette AH 130	Findspot not known, 19th Dynasty (?) (Soliman, pp. 299–303, 310–312)
Stèle SDM 21-02-A0027	Serapeum, 26th–27th Dynasties (Devauchelle and Widmer, p. 36)
Stèle SDM 21-02-A0028	Serapeum, 26th–27th Dynasties (Devauchelle and Widmer, p. 37)
Stèle SDM 21-02-A0039	Serapeum, 26th–27th Dynasties (Devauchelle and Widmer, pp. 38–40)
Tablette SDM 21-02-A0059	Serapeum, 26th–27th Dynasties (Devauchelle and Widmer, pp. 40–42)

Editorial Notation

The transcription of abnormal hieratic, demotic, hieroglyphic and hieratic texts employs the following system of symbols (the so-called 'Leidener Klammersystem'):

[ ] indicates a lacuna in the original.
⌜ ⌝ indicates a partial restoration or words or signs of uncertain reading.
? indicates uncertain readings.
⟨ ⟩ indicates an omission by the ancient scribe.
{ } indicates a cancellation by the editor of the text.
⟦ ⟧ indicates a deletion by the ancient scribe.
˹ ˺ indicates an interlinear addition.
( ) indicates an addition made by the editor for the sake of greater clarity and/or word(s) not written but assumed in speech.

Articles

∵

1

The Unique Handwriting of P. GEM 66796: 'Stereotype or Otherwise?'

Hasnaa Abdellatif

P. GEM 66796 was discovered in El-Lahun by the SCA in 2009 and deposited in Kom-Ushim Magazine no. 91.[1] In 2016 it was taken to the Grand Egyptian Museum and inventoried as GEM 66796. It underwent some restoration work, but unfortunately the conservators did not seek the expertise of any demotists and they incorrectly placed the fragments of the papyrus of the upper part of the first column and the second column as follows (Fig. 1).

As currently restored, it is not possible to read text C of the papyrus (Fig. 2 shows the papyrus before the attempted restoration), as the conservator did not consider the content of the papyrus but simply placed the fragments beside each other. A new reconstruction of the papyrus will be made in the near future.

The importance of the papyrus lies in its unusual script, for this contains elements that belong to late cursive hieratic (abnormal hieratic') and elements that belong to demotic. How therefore should we classify it? The content concerns a division of a property that was located in Persekhemkheper(re), 'City of Osorkon I', between two brothers *Ṯ3j-B3st.t-n.ỉm=w* and *Gw3w3*. Their father was *'Irj* and their grandfather *Gw3w3* (the son, as so often, named after the grandfather). It dates to year 26 of Psamtik I = 639 BCE.[2]

The scribe and copyists:

TABLE 1 Col. 1

P3-bs s3 Nmrṯ	Scribe (text A)
Šd(?)-s(w)-Nfr-tm s3 Ḏd-Mw.t-ỉw=f-ʿnḫ	First witness copy (text B)

TABLE 2 Col. 2

----------	Second witness copy (text C)
... -ỉ.ỉr-sʿnḫ (?) *s3 ...*	Third witness copy (text D)
Ḥr s3 P3-šr-n- ...	Fourth witness copy (text E)

The main document (text A) (Fig. 3) was used by the copyists as a model. The first line of text A contains the dating formula and then, placed to the left of this and slightly above the line, two short additional notes (which are of uncertain reading). These are clearly separated from the main text and were written by another scribe, as the size of the signs is much larger. Moreover, they do not form part of the core of the document. The second line of text A begins with *ḏd* 'to declare', followed by the two parties of the contract with their titles. There are in total seven lines of text.

1 The papyrus was published by the author in: H. ABD-ELLATIF – M. EISSA, 'Between Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic: A Legal Document of the Early 26th Dynasty from the Fayoum (P. Cairo GEM 66796)', *GM* 262 (2020), pp. 49–64; H. ABD-ELLATIF, 'New Lights on Illahun Papyrus P.GEM 66796: "Some Paleographical Notes"', *GM* 265 (2021), pp. 11–21.

2 It was originally dated to year 16, but a recent reanalysis of the writing of the numbers 10 and 20 in abnormal hieratic has suggested that a reading 'year 26' is to be preferred; cf. G. VITTMANN, 'Altes und Neues zu pBerlin P 3048 *Verso* und den Zahlen 10 und 20 im Späthieratischen', in: GERHARDS et al. (eds), *Schöne Denkmäler sind entstanden: Studien zu Ehren von Ursula Verhoeven* (Heidelberg, 2023), pp. 596–597.

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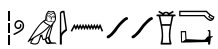
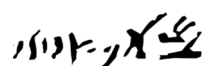
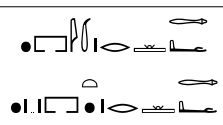
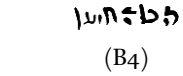
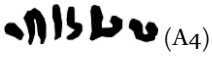
The first witness scribe (text B) (Fig. 4) has basically copied the first text. He wrote his text under that of the notary and also has seven lines. The only significant differences are that the main text (A) starts with the dating formula (A1), and then begins line A2 with the *ḏd* formula 'to say'; whereas text B starts with the name of the first witness scribe *Šd*(?)-*s*(*w*)-*Nfr-tm s*; *Ḏd-Mw.t-ỉw=f-ʿnḫ* preceded by *sḫ* and followed by the formula *ỉw=f mtr*, 'while he is witness', the dating formula and *ỉn ḏd ỉ.ỉr*, 'to the declaration which … made'.[3]

Due to the damage at the end of the first three lines of text A, the best preserved version is text B. Text C has six lines of text (Fig. 2), but is in very bad condition and, at the moment, barely usable for paleographic purposes, while texts D and E are abbreviated copies (four and three lines respectively) and therefore only contain part of the main text (Fig. 5).

The following table compares a selection of the signs that appear in the main papyrus and the witness copies. They are arranged in three columns. The first contains the hieroglyphic sign(s); the second lists those writings which would typically be classified as late cursive hieratic, while the third shows those are closer to regular early demotic renderings. The most important point to be emphasized here is that these all come from the same papyrus, written at the same time, albeit by different scribes.

TABLE 3 Comparison of signs that appear in main papyrus and witness copies

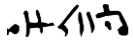
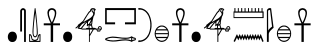
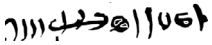
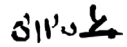
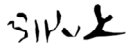
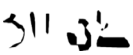
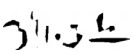
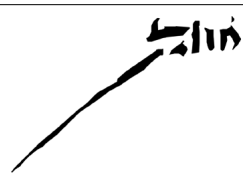
The hieroglyphic sign(s)	Late cursive hieratic	Early demotic
p;	(A3) , (A4a) , (A4b) . , (A6c) , (A7) , (B6) (A6b) , (B5) , (E2) , (E3a) , (E3b) (E1) .	(A5a) , (B4) , (D2) , (D3) .
s;	(A2 \B1.a\ B2.b \E1) (A3 > \ A7 \B1.a).	(B7)
 *Ṯ*;*j-B*;*st.t-n.ỉm=w*	(B1) Within the same short text of only seven lines, the scribe writes the name in two different styles.	 (B7)
sn sn.t		(A5 /B3)
 *ʿrṯ*/*ʿrt*[a]	 (B4)	 (A4)

a The *ʿ*; sign is written in demotic in A4, but in late cursive hieratic in B4. The house sign is in demotic in A4, but it is in late cursive hieratic in B4, where it keeps the square shape of the sign and is followed by a small stroke.

3 The *ỉn* is a writing of the emphatic form of the preposition *n*; cf. F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, with Facsimiles and Complete Translations* (London, 1909), III, p. 205 note 40.

The following table shows how certain words and phrases are rendered for which only late cursive hieratic or demotic is used:

TABLE 4 Words/phrases only attested in late cursive hieratic or in demotic

Hieroglyphic	Late cursive hieratic	Early demotic
mỉ-nn[a]		B6 C6
ptr sw	 B2 D2 E2	
 *ʿnḫ ʾImn ʿnḫ Pr-ʿ₃ʿ.w.s.*	A6  B6	
ỉ r₃ n	D1 E1	
ỉn ḏd ỉ.ỉr		 B1  B2  D1  E1
tp=f		 B7

a A similar sign appears before *mỉ-nn* in the witness copies of P. Rylands 1, 2 and 6. In GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III, p. 205 note 41, it was cautiously suggested that this might be read *n₃*. More recently, M. DEPAUW, 'Demotic Witness-Copy-Contracts', *RdÉ* 50 (1999), p. 78, in noting this, commented that in some cases the group actually looks more like an *m* than *n₃*. The writing in text C of our papyrus supports this statement, as the sign looks exactly like an elaborate letter *m*. In the witness copies of the Rylands papyri it is not always written, which would suggest that perhaps it should be interpreted as a phonetic complement to the *mỉ* of *mỉ-nn* rather than a separate lexeme.

Summary

The writing of P. Cairo GEM 66796 contains elements that belong to both the late cursive hieratic and early demotic traditions. The study of the papyrus is therefore particularly significant in understanding the development of the cursive scripts in the northern half of the country, as hitherto the vast majority of papyrus documents of the seventh century BCE have come from the Theban area. The handwriting of P. GEM 66796 is neither identical to the first demotic papyri, P. Rylands 1 and 2, nor to that of Theban late cursive hieratic. How should we describe it? Should it be categorized as a northern Egyptian variant of late cursive hieratic that contains elements that belong to early demotic? In other words, it belongs to the transitional phase from northern late cursive hieratic to demotic. Or would it be better to define it as 'proto-demotic'? Perhaps Koen would like to give an answer to this question?

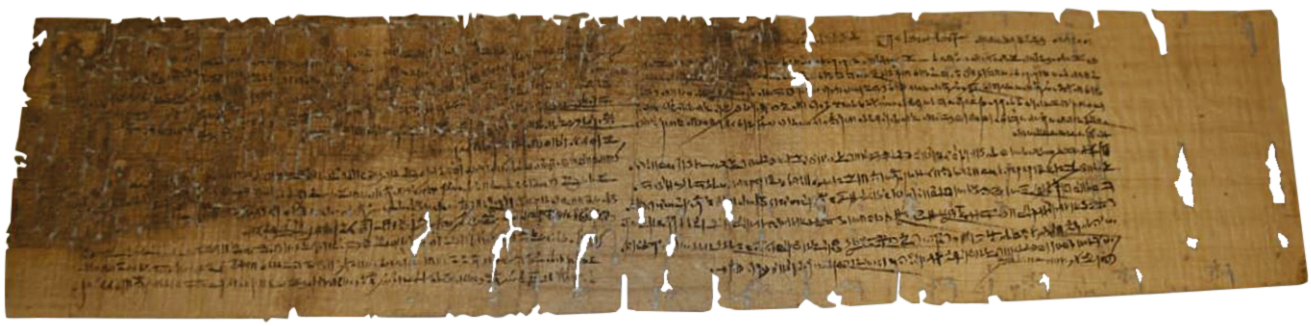


FIGURE 1 P. GEM 66796 – Original restoration
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FIGURE 2 P. GEM 66796 – Text C before restoration
© HASNAA ABDELLATIF

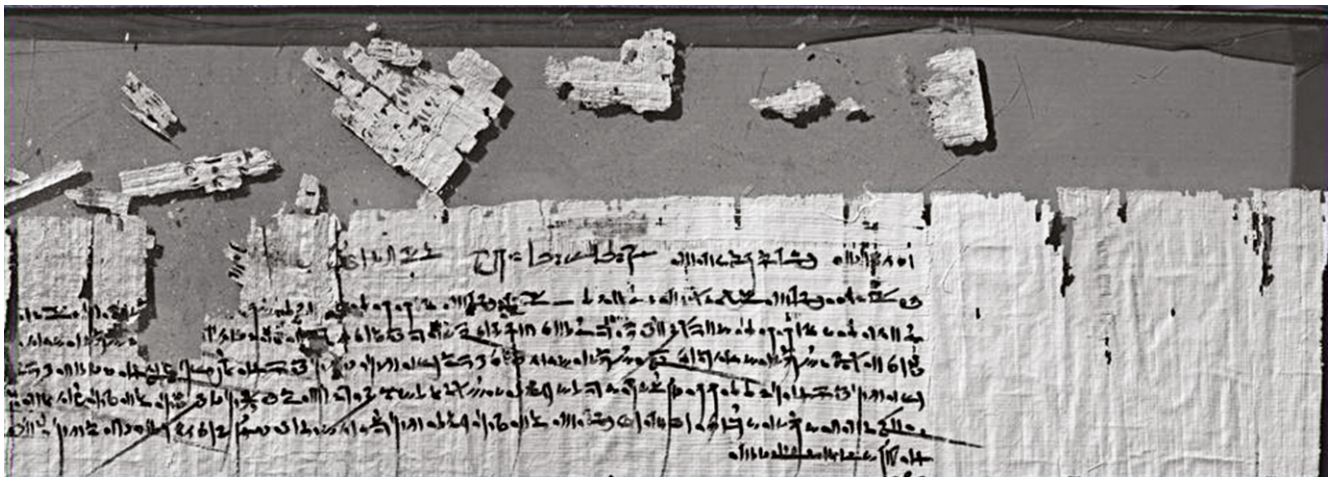

FIGURE 3 P. GEM 66796 – Text A, the main document
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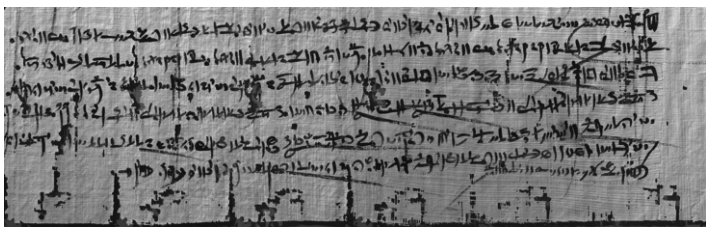

FIGURE 4 P. GEM 66796 – Text B, the first witness copy
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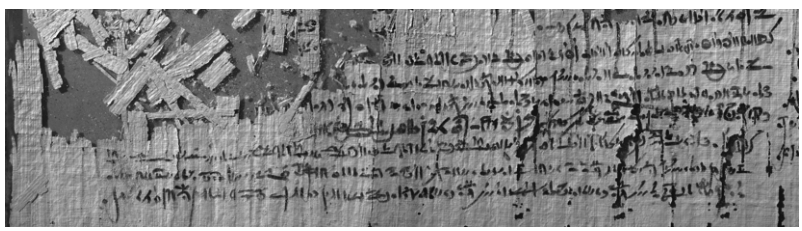

FIGURE 5 P. GEM 66796 – Texts D and E, abbreviated witness copies
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2

wbn, la mesure comble

Damien Agut-Labordère

Au cœur de ce petit article se trouve le verbe égyptien *wbn*, « se lever » (concernant le soleil), « briller » et, plus rarement, « déborder », « dépasser » lorsqu'il décrit la mesure comble, remplie au maximum par une main généreuse. Lumière et prodigalité, deux mots qui évoquent Koen, le collègue et l'ami que nous souhaitons honorer ici. Lui offrir cette petite réflexion, c'est lui témoigner mon admiration mais aussi ma gratitude pour l'envoi, il y a presqu'un quart de siècle, de son *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis*, cadeau que l'apprenti reçu comme une invitation du maître à poursuivre.

•••

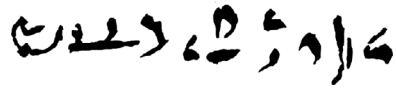
La page 85 du *Demotisches Glossar* contient une entrée particulièrement problématique. Celle-ci concerne un lemme translittéré *wbr*. Erichsen indique qu'il désigne une certaine qualité de céréales[1] et rattache à celui-ci trois graphies dont il est aisé de reconstituer l'origine: une provient du P. Strasbourg 4 (= P. Hou 13)[2] et deux du P. Louvre E 9293,[3] deux reconnaissances de dette en orge provenant de la région thébaine et datées du règne de Darius Ier.

P. Strasbourg 4, l. 2 (= P. Hou 13)

ỉt 27 t3 hn 40 wbr
« 27 (sacs) d'orge (compté avec) l'(oipé de) 40 *hins* … »

P. Louvre E 9293, l. 3

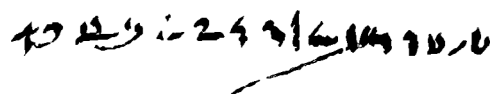
ỉt 1 t3 hn 40 wbr
« 1 (sac) d'orge (compté avec) l'(oipé de) 40 *hins* … »



ỉt 1 + 1/2 t3 hn 40 wbr
« 1 + ½ (sac) d'orge (compté avec) l'(oipé de) 40 hins … »

L'un des relecteurs anonymes de ce travail, que je remercie vivement, m'a signalé une occurrence de cette formule qui m'avait échappée. Celle-ci se trouve dans le P. Caire CG 50061a, un document comptable sans date appartenant au dossier dit des « prêtres d'Assiout » (TM Arch 415) daté de la période 543-521 av. J.-C.[4] Ici, l'oipé de 40 hins est employée pour mesurer ce qui semble être une quantité de *bt*, de « blé amidonnier ».

P. Caire CG 50061a, verso, col. I, l. 12



p3y bt 441 t3 hn 40 wbr
« Ces 441 (sacs) de blé amidonnier[5] (comptés avec) l'(oipé) de 40 hins … »

1 ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 85 « von der Qualitat der Gerste ». L'entrée du *CDD* renvoie au *Glossar*.

2 S.P. VLEEMING, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (*Pap. Hou*)*: A Dossier Relating to Various Agricultural Affairs from Provincial Egypt of the Early Fifth Century B.C.* (StudDem 3, Leuven, 1991), pp. 178–188, pls 12 et 14.

3 M. MALININE, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique « anormal » et en démotique* (*XXVe–XXVIIe dynasties*), I: *traduction et commentaire philologique* (BÉHÉ 300, Paris, 1953), pp. 20–24.

4 W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, III: *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 48–51, pls 23–24.

5 Spiegelberg avait proposé, sans certitude, de lire *ʿq* « Ration ». Cette proposition doit être abandonnée, elle n'avait d'ailleurs pas été retenue par M. MALININE, « Graphies démotiques du mot *ʿḳ* 'nourriture, ration', etc. », *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 150–152. Je propose plutôt d'y voir ce que ce dernier auteur a nommé la « forme pleine » de *bt* « blé amidonnier », M. MALININE, « Un prêt de céréales à l'époque de Darius Ier (Pap. dém. Strasbourg N°4) », *Kêmi* 11 (1950), pp. 1–23, spécialement p. 9 et pl. 2.

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La plupart des difficultés de lecture posées par ces deux passages ont été magistralement résolues par Malinine.[6] Ce dernier a cependant laissé entière la question du sens du mot qu'il propose, à la suite de Spiegelberg,[7] de lire *wbr* et de traduire par « de l'espèce appelée *wbr* », sans toutefois être convaincu de la justesse de sa position.[8] Celle-ci se révèle, en effet, insatisfaisante pour, au moins, trois raisons. (1) L'incertitude la plus gênante concerne la nature grammaticale du mot. Alors que Malinine et Vleeming en firent un substantif (« de blé-*wbr* », « (in) *wbr*-grain »), les auteurs du *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* y virent un adjectif.[9] Aucune de ces deux propositions n'est en réalité pleinement satisfaisante. En effet, s'il avait désigné un type de céréale, une variété de blé ou, en l'occurrence, d'orge, *wbr* aurait simplement remplacé le mot *ỉt*. De même que, dans le cas où ce mot aurait qualifié la céréale, il aurait alors dû suivre immédiatement *ỉt*. Or, dans les deux papyrus, *wbr* est placé juste après l'expression de la quantité *t; hn 40* « l'(oipé) de 40 hins ». Il semble donc que la précision apportée par lui ne concerne pas la céréale proprement dite mais la mesure elle-même. (2) On doit ensuite faire remarquer que, si la lecture des deux premiers signes ne fait aucun doute, celle du troisième pose problème. Revillout avait proposé de lire *wbm*[10] tant il est vrai que, dans le P. Strasbourg 4, le signe est clairement incurvé. Cet aspect arrondi est à l'origine de l'hésitation de Sven Vleeming, qui assortit le *r* d'un point d'interrogation dans son édition du P. Hou 13.[11] Dans sa recension des *Gooseherds of Hou*, Günter Vittmann propose de lire *ȝ* au lieu de *r* en P. Strasbourg 4 ainsi que dans la seconde occurrence de la l. 3 du P. Louvre E 9293.[12] La lecture *wbȝ*, avec le sens de « öffnen » ainsi suggérée ne donne cependant pas de certitude quant à la signification précise de la mot. (3) Une dernière difficulté survient au niveau de l'interprétation du déterminatif. Concernant le P. Louvre E 9293, Malinine a proposé de transcrire ce dernier par . Sven Vleeming est, en revanche, plus circonspect. Une analyse paléographique minutieuse le conduit cependant à proposer de transcrire , solution qu'il suggère d'étendre au P. Louvre E 9293.[13] Je propose d'interpréter le déterminatif de l'occurrence qui se trouve en P. Caire CG 50061a de la même façon. On peut, en effet, rapprocher celui-ci des formes que l'on trouve en P. Tsenhor 7, 1 (dans l'anthroponyme *ỉr.t=w-r-r=w*)[14] et P. Rylands IX, 8. 8 (dans le verbe *nw*).[15] Le mot ne relèverait donc pas du champ sémantique des céréales mais de celui de la vue, de la lumière.

Je propose de lire la dernière lettre de ce verbe *n*. La paléographie ne s'oppose pas à cette opération. La forme ainsi obtenue, *wbn*, serait à rapprocher du verbe attesté aussi bien en égyptien classique qu'en néo-égyptien qui signifie « se lever », « briller ».[16] Au vu des occurrences rassemblées dans le *Wörterbuch*, le mot est généralement déterminé par , ce qui explique l'adoption du déterminatif en démotique.[17] Le sens, quant à lui, devient évident lorsque l'on sait que le verbe *wbn* peut prendre celui de « déborder » dans le cas d'une quantité de grains

6 MALININE, *Kêmi* 11 (1950), p. 17 où l'auteur lit *ȝrtb* (?) *hn 40*. Cette lecture s'appuie sur F.Ll. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester – London, 1909), 3, p. 242, note 12. Nims a ensuite suggéré de lire le premier signe *t;* plutôt que *ȝrtb* ou *ỉpt*, C.H. NIMS, « A Demotic 'Document of Endowment' from the Time of Nectanebo », *MDAIK* 16 (1958), pp. 237–246 (voir p. 242, note o). La formule est aussi discutée par J. ČERNÝ – R.A. PARKER, « An Abnormal Hieratic Tablet », *JEA* 57 (1971), pp. 127–131 et *DemBL*, pp. 806–807 § 3 où l'on propose la lecture *t; hn 40* « (with) the (oipe of) 40 hin », que je retiens ici (S.P. Vleeming y récuse E. CRUZ-URIBE, « A Note on the Early Demotic Grain Formula », *Enchoria* 17 [1990], pp. 55–68, pls 3–4). À la lecture de D. EDELMAN, « Economic and Administrative Realia of Rural Idumea at the End of the Persian Period », in: B. HENSEL – E. BEN ZVI – D.V. EDELMAN (éd.), *About Edom and Idumea in the Persian Period: Recent Research and Approaches from Archaeology, Hebrew Bible Studies and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* (Sheffield, 2022), pp. 277–301, je me demande si le fait d'abréger le nom de la mesure par le seul article dans le cas de documents datant de la periode perse n'est pas à rapprocher d'une pratique des scribes araméens: « Subsequent practice in the Persian-era ostraca was to use the first letter of a given quantity as shorthand for recording » (pp. 281–282).

7 W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek* (Strasbourg, 1902), p. 17, « gewissen Getreidesort ».

8 Un point d'interrogation flotte au-dessus de la translittération *wbr*, MALININE, « Un prêt de céréales », *Kêmi* 11, pp. 3–4.

9 *CDD*, *W*, p. 65.

10 E. REVILLOUT, « Quelques textes en démotique archaïque transcrits à mon cours », *RevEg* 12, 1907, pp. 72–107, p. 73, MALININE, « Un prêt de céréales », *Kêmi* 11, p. 15 note que Revillout a lu *wbn* mais je ne suis pas parvenu à retrouver de référence.

11 VLEEMING, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, p. 182.

12 G. VITTMANN, « Rez. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* », *Enchoria* 21 (1994), pp. 176–183, voir p. 182. Cette solution est reprise en *DemBL*, p. 233 où l'on écarte avec raison la lecture *šbr* proposée par G. CHARPENTIER, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte antique* (Paris, 1982), pp. 666–667 § 1090.

13 VLEEMING, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, p. 182, note *e* et, surtout, la discussion pp. 201–202 § 33.

14 P.W. PESTMAN, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (*P. Tsenhor*)*: les archives d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius 1er* (Leuven, 1994), 2, p. 9* D6.

15 VLEEMING, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, p. 201 § 33.

16 *Wb.* 1, pp. 292–294.

17 On se reportera aux occurrences rassemblées en ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 85; *CDD*, *W*, pp. 64–65.

remplissant un récipient jusque par-dessus ses bords.[18] Parmi les occurrences réunies dans le *Wörterbuch*, celle issue des inscriptions de la tombe de Parennéfer constitue un exemple particulièrement expressif. *wbn* y est employé par le défunt qui supervise une opération de mesure de grains pour l'offrande à Aton. Parennéfer ordonne ainsi aux manœuvres qui manipulent les boisseaux:

TT 188 = *Urk.* IV 1996[19]
ḫȝ=tw n pȝ ỉtn m wbn
« Que l'on compte pour le disque solaire en mesures combles ».[20]

Précédé par la préposition *m*, *wbn* indique l'état de la mesure après qu'elle ait été remplie. Cette acception se retrouve dans la *Prophétie de Néferti*:

Prophétie de Néferti 51[21]
ḫȝ.tw=s m wbn
« On compte en mesures combles ».

wbn « être comble » est aussi attesté dans un adjectif-verbe.

Paysan éloquent Version B1 325/anc. 294[22]
wbn ḥqȝ.t ṯtf=s ȝq pr.w=s n tȝ
« Le boisseau-*ḥqȝ.t* est comble au point qu'il déborde et que son excès se gâte sur le sol. »

Fort de ces parallèles, il est alors possible de traduire la formule commune aux P. Strasbourg 4, P. Louvre E 9293 et P. Caire 50061a de la manière suivante:

ỉt x *tȝ ḥn 40 wbn*
« *tant de* (sac) d'orge (compté avec) l'(oipé de) 40 hins comble … »

Ici, *wbn* est donc un adjectif qualifiant le composé *tȝ ḥn 40*, le mesure de 40 hins.[23]

À la fin de cette petite étude survient une question: comment se fait-il que cette précision capitale pour les deux parties du contrat (le rapport entre la mesure rase et la mesure comble peut en effet aller jusqu'à 1/1, 4)[24] apparaisse uniquement dans ces trois documents datés de la fin du VIe siècle av. J.-C.? Faut-il en déduire que toutes les quantités de grains étaient, par défaut, évaluées en mesures rases, passées à la radoire? Je n'ai pu trouver de réponse satisfaisante à cette question. Je me tourne vers la sagacité de Koen …

18 *Wb.* 1, p. 294. 12.
19 N. DE G. DAVIES, « Akhenaten at Thebes », *JEA* 9 (1923), pp. 132–152, pls 22–28 (erronément indiqué comme *JEA* 6 en *Urk.* IV 1996). On consultera la pl. 25.
20 Il est intéressant de noter que, dans ce cas, *wbn* est déterminé par .
21 H. GOEDICKE, *The Protocol of Neferyt* (The Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies, Baltimore, 1977), pp. 112–114, note aw.
22 R.B. PARKINSON, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, 1991).
23 L'artabe de 40 hin procèderait d'une réduction de moitié de la mesure *ḫȝr*, traditionnelle en Égypte, effectuée à l'époque perse, S.P. VLEEMING, « The artaba, and Egyptian Grain Measures », in: R.S. BAGNALL – G.M. BROWNE – A.E. HANSON – L. KOENEN (éd.), *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Papyrology* (ASP 23, Chico, 1981), pp. 537–545, spécialement p. 543.
24 L. DREVET, « Les mesures à grains du XVIIIe siècle », *Le Monde des moulins*, 32, avril 2010 (article consulté en ligne, non paginé).

3

Family Matters: Adoption, Brother-Sister Marriage and a Mysterious Royal Decree in Ptolemaic Achmim

Gert Baetens and Mark Depauw

As a delegation from KU Leuven, that other Dutch-speaking university with demotic studies, we are glad to present our northern neighbour Koen Donker van Heel with a small token of our gratitude and friendship. Since we do not have anything abnormal hieratic at hand, nor a text about dogs or an interesting Amarna pot, we would like to offer him an edition of an abnormal demotic papyrus from Ptolemaic Achmim.[1] To be honest, we do not really understand much about the text, but we believe an adoption is involved: very rare in the Egyptian textual record and on Koen's radar of interest ever since his work on the Saite P. Louvre E 7832.[2] On top of that, the apparent adopters seem to be brother and sister, adding extra fuel to the debate about sibling marriage. Finally, as a cherry on the cake, the text refers to a mysterious royal decree.

P. Berlin P. 15592
Achmim (Panopolis), Ptolemaic
TM 91946

Description

The papyrus is currently housed in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin, but was formerly in the possession of Heinrich Karl Brugsch (1827–1894). Internal evidence dates the text to the Ptolemaic period (see the reference to the royal decree in ll. 18 and 28) and connects it to Achmim (see the references to this town in ll. 18 and 28).[3] The papyrus consists of multiple fragments, some of which may have been joined to each other at a later time: the old inventory of the Museum records two fragments measuring 9 cm × 11.5 cm (A) and 8 cm × 11.5 cm (B), but at present the papyrus measures *c*.27.5 cm in height × 12 cm in width. Parts of all four sides of the papyrus are preserved, but there are several lacunae, especially in the upper half and on the right. As will be discussed more fully in the commentary below, the papyrus actually contains two documents: a letter (ll. 1–19), which ends with a line break, followed by a *mḳmḳ* or 'memorandum' (ll. 20–29). The text comes close to the edge on both sides. At the top and bottom, a somewhat larger margin is preserved. Curiously, the recto of the papyrus is blank and the text is written on the verso, against the fibres, with a vertical sheet join (left over right) at *c*.4.5 cm from the left.[4] Some vertical fibres are missing

1 We wish to thank Jan Moje and the staff of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin for permission to publish this papyrus and for providing us with an image and information. Our contribution has benefited from corrections and remarks made by colleagues at the *8e école d'été démotique* in Paris in 2015, where Koen was also present, and a secret session of the *Squiggle Squad*, hosted by Elena Hertel in 2023.

2 K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis: Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot* (Dissertation, Leiden, 1995), pp. 177–182. He recently returned to the subject in an article focusing on adoption during the New Kingdom: K. Donker van Heel, 'When Your Wife Becomes Your Daughter: Adoption in New Kingdom Egypt', *JEOL* 46 (2016/2017), pp. 75–86.

3 The names Pelilis (TM Nam 800), Senpelilis (TM Nam 5718), and Tatriphis (TM Nam 1221) also fit this provenance, as does the palaeography of the text (cf. notes below). There are only a few other demotic documentary papyri from Achmim: see M. Depauw, 'The Late Funerary Material from Akhmim', in: A. Egberts – B.P. Muhs – J. van der Vliet (eds), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (P. L.Bat. 31, Leiden, 2002), pp. 79–80; J.F. Quack, 'Ein Formular für Eheurkunden', in: J.V. Stolk – G.A.J.C. van Loon (eds), *Text Editions of* (*Abnormal*) *Hieratic, Demotic, Greek, Latin and Coptic Papyri and Ostraca:* Some People Love Their Friends Even When They Are Far Away. *Festschrift in Honour of Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk* (P. L.Bat. 37, Leiden – Boston, 2020), p. 97; J.F. Quack, 'Neue Fragmente der einleitenden Erzählung der Lehre des Chascheschonqi', *Enchoria* 36 (2018/2019), p. 132. The last two publications also discuss palaeographical characteristics of these texts.

4 Another letter that seems to be written on the verso of a papyrus, with the recto left blank, is P. Oxf. Griffith 15 (E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford* [TDSA 49, Milan, 1975], p. 16), also in long and narrow format. Usually, letters in high format are written along the fibres and letters in broad format across: see M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against their Intra- and Intercultural Background* (DemStud 14, Sommerhausen, 2006), pp. 72–76. Memoranda are normally written along the fibres as well: the only real exception (besides memoranda written on the verso of other documents) is P. Berlin P. 13533 = P. Cairo CG 50162 (K. Sethe – J. Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* [AAWL 32, Leipzig, 1920], pp. 314–319).

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here and were already absent when the text was written, as becomes clear from the ink on the underlying horizontal fibres (see in particular ll. 25–29). In several places, the papyrus was broken as a result. Elsewhere, small strands of vertical fibres got stripped off after writing (see in particular ll. 1–3, 7, 24, and 28–29). The handwriting is neat, but has its peculiarities.

	Transliteration	**Translation**
1	[*ḫrw-bꜣk* (?)] ⌜*Bw-ỉr≠s-*⌝*šm-n≠w r.ms Ta-Tꜣ-Rpy*(*.t*) *ta*	[Voice of the servant (?)] Bouiresshemenou, born of Tatriphis, daughter of
2	[*Pꜣ-*⌜*lr*⌝]*l m-bꜣḥ pꜣy≠s ḫry Wsỉr-ḫ*⌜ (*sꜣ*) *...-sḏm*	[Peli]lis, before her master Ousircha, son of ...sedjem,
3	⌜*r.ms*⌝ *Bw-ỉr≠s-šm-n≠w pꜣy*(*≠y*) ⌜*ỉ*⌝*ṯ pꜣ ḥp*	born of Bouiresshemenou, my legal father.
4	*tw≠y tbḥ n.ỉm≠s m-bꜣḥ≠k* (*r?*) *ḫtp* (?) *r* (?) *Pꜣ-*⌜*lr*⌝*l*	I beg it before you to (?) be gracious (?) to (?) Pelilis,
5	(*sꜣ*) *...-sḏm r.ms* ⌜*Bw-ỉr≠s-*⌝*šm-n≠w ỉrm*	son of ...sedjem, born of Bouiresshemenou, and
6	[*Ta-*]*Tꜣ-Rpy*(*.t*) *ta Ḥr-pa-ỉs.t r.ms Tꜣ-šr.t-Ḥr- ...*	[Ta]triphis, daughter of Harpaesis, born of Tasherether ...,
7	⌜*... ... ...*⌝ [...] ⌜*... ḫry* (?) *š*⌝⌜ *ḏ.t* (*r?*) *tw* (?) *ḫt*⌜*p*⌝ (?)	... ... [...] ... onwards (?) until eternity, and to (?) cause (?) these (?) to be gracious (?)
8	*nꜣy* (?) *... pꜣ smt* (?) (*r?*) *Tꜣ-šr.t-Pꜣ-*⌜[*lr*]*l ta ...-sḏm*]	... likewise (?) to (?) Senpe[lilis, daughter of ...sedjem],
9	⌜*r.ms Bw-ỉr≠s-*⌝[*šm-*]⌜*n≠w tꜣy≠k*⌝ *sn.t* (*r?*) *dỉ.t* ⌜*ḫtp* (?) *nꜣ ḫrd.ṯ.w*⌝ [... (?)]	born of Bouires[shem]enou, your sister, and to (?) cause the children to be gracious (?) [... (?)]
10	[*... ... ... š*]⌜ *ḏ.t ỉrm nꜣ ḫrd.ṯ.w nty-ỉw-ỉw≠k r dỉ.t ḫpr*[*≠w ỉrm*]	[... ... ... un]til eternity, together with the children whom you will beget [and]
11	[*nꜣ ḫrd.ṯ.w*] ⌜*nty-*⌝*ỉw≠n* (*r*) *ms.ṯ≠w* ⌜*n mtw≠f ḫpr ỉw≠n smꜣ*⌜ [... (?)]	[the children] whom we will give birth to as well, so that it may happen that we bless [... (?)]
12	[...] *pr* (?) *Wsỉr tꜣy pꜣ ḥrw r ḫry š*⌜ *ḏ.t mtw≠k* ⌜*dỉ.t* (?) ... (?)⌝	[...] house (?) of Osiris from today onwards until eternity, so that you may give (?) ... (?)
13	[...] ⌜...⌝ *tꜣy≠w* (?) *rse.t* (?) *mtw≠k s ... ...*	[...] ... their (?) custody (?). It is yours (?) ... ...
14	[... ...] *ḏꜣy*(*.t*) (?) *pꜣ tꜣ ỉr* (?) ⌜*n≠n ...*⌝ *ỉrm nꜣ ḫrd.ṯ.w*	[... ...] harm (?) in the world to act (?) for us ... together with the children
15	[...] ⌜*dỉ.t* (?)⌝ *ḫpr n≠n mtw≠f ḫpr ỉw≠k mtw≠n* (*n*) *nḫṯ.t ỉrm Tꜣ-šr.t-Pꜣ-*⌜*lr*⌝*l*	[...] beget (?) for us, so that it may happen that you are with us as protection, together with Senpelilis,
16	[*ta ...-*]*sḏm r.ms Bw-ỉr≠s-šm-n≠w tꜣy≠k sn.t*	[daughter of ...]sedjem, born of Bouiresshemenou, your sister,
17	[*mtw≠f* (?)] ⌜*ḫpr* (?)⌝ *ỉw-ỉw≠w* (*r*) *ḏd md*(*.t*) *rmṯ ꜥꜣ md*(*.t*) *nṯr r-ḥr≠n* (?)	[so that it may (?)] happen (?) that they will say a thing of a great man and a thing of a god for us (?)
18	[...] ⌜*... ... ...*⌝ *r-ḫ*(*.t*) ⌜*pꜣ*⌝ *wy r.ỉr Pr-*ꜥꜣ*r.w.s. r Ḫnṯ-Mn*	[...] ... ... according to the exemption which Pharaoh$^{l.p.h.}$ has made for Achmim
19	[*ỉrm pꜣy≠*]⌜*f*⌝ *mš*⌜ *ỉrm nꜣy≠f* ⌜*nṯr.w*⌝	[together with it]s people and its gods.
20	⌜*w*⌜ *mḳmḳ n-ḏr.t Ta-Tꜣ-Rpy*(*.t*) *ta Ḥr-pa-ỉs.t mw.t≠s Tꜣ-šr.t-*⌜*Ḥr-...*⌝	A memorandum from Tatriphis, daughter of Harpaesis, her mother Tasherether...,
21	*ỉrm Pꜣ-*⌜*lr*⌝*l* (*sꜣ*) *...-sḏm mw.t≠f Bw-ỉr≠s-šm-n≠w r dỉ.t s*	together with Pelilis, son of ...sedjem, his mother Bouiresshemenou, to be given
22	[*n Wsỉr-*]⌜*ḫ*⌜ (*sꜣ*) *...-sḏm r.ms Bw-ỉr≠s-šm-n≠w ỉrm*	[to Ousir]cha, son of ...sedjem, born of Bouiresshemenou, together with
23	[*Tꜣ-šr.t-*]⌜*Pꜣ-*⌝⌜*lr*⌝*l ta ...-sḏm r.ms Bw-ỉr≠s-šm-n≠w*	[Sen]pelilis, daughter of ...sedjem, born of Bouiresshemenou.
24	⌜*tw≠n*⌝ *tbḥ* ⌜*n.ỉm≠s*⌝ *r dỉ.t ỉr≠w n≠n r-ḫ*(*.t*) *pꜣ ḥrw-bꜣk* ⌜*nty-ỉw* (?) ... *≠k* (?)⌝	We beg it to cause that one acts for us according to the voice of the servant which (?) ... you (?)
25	*Bw-ỉr≠s-šm-n≠w ta Pꜣ-*⌜*lr*⌝*l r.ms Ta-Tꜣ-Rpy*(*.t*)	Bouiresshemenou, daughter of Pelilis, born of Tatriphis,
26	⌜*tꜣy≠*⌝*tn šr.t pꜣ ḥp r.tw≠s n≠tn mtw≠f ḫpr* [... (?)]	your legal daughter, which she has given to you, so that it may happen [... (?)]

(*cont.*)

27	[... ...] ⌜... ... ... *m*⌝*tw=tn* (?) ⌜...⌝ [... (?)]	[... ...] ... ... you (?) ... [... (?)]
28	[... *r-*]*ḫ*(*.t*) *pȝ wy r.ir* ⌜*Pr-ꜥ*⌝[c.w.s.] *r Ḫnṯ-Mn ỉrm pȝy=f* ⌜*mš*ꜥ⌝	[... ac]cording to the exemption which Pharaoh[l.p.h.] has made for Achmim together with its people
29	⌜*ỉrm* (?)⌝ *nȝy=f nṯr.w ḫr ... ... sḫ bȝk* (?)	and (?) its gods under ... ... Written by the servant (?).

Textual Notes

Lines 1–3. The introductory formula of the letter, with [*ḫrw-bȝk* (?)] reconstructed in the lacuna before the name of the sender and *m-bȝḥ* introducing the addressee, is typical for early demotic letters, but rare after the third century BCE. The unpublished letter P. Tebt. SCA 3731 (to be published in the *Fouilles franco-italiennes* series) provides a second-century example of the variant formula *ḫrw-bȝk A nty ḏd m-bȝḥ B*. In related genres such as letters to gods and oracle questions, the formula still occurs at later dates as well. Perhaps it mainly continued to be used in this period for formal requests, although the usual format for petitions was the *mḳmḳ* or 'memorandum' (see below). The element *-bȝk*, sometimes abbreviated to a small bracket, is optional, but is added in its full form to the same expression in l. 24, clearly referring back to this letter. The title *pȝy=s ḫry* added before the name of the addressee is also not obligatory but is very common in this formula. It is almost always written with the possessive article in the third person, as it is here, in contrast with *pȝy*(*=y*) *ỉṯ* in l. 3. For a detailed discussion of the address formula, see DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter*, pp. 127–132. The use of patronymics and metronymics throughout the text (with exceptional inverted order in ll. 1–2) is discussed in the commentary below.

Line 1. The start of the name of the sender, ⌜*Bw-ỉr=s-*⌝*šm-n=w*, can be read on the basis of occurrences further in the text. Both the main character in the text and her paternal grandmother bear this name. It can be translated as 'She cannot go to them', in the negative aorist, and is not yet attested in other texts. It has now been recorded as TM Nam 47926. It can be added to the list of personal names with suffix *=w* referring to malign forces collected by P. COLLOMBERT, 'Qui sont-"ils"? L'enfant nouveau-né comme enjeu divin à la lumière de certains anthroponymes d'époque tardive', in: R. MEFFRE – F. PAYRAUDEAU (eds), *Éclats du crépuscule: recueil d'études sur l'Égypte tardive offert à Olivier Perdu* (OLA 315, Leuven, 2022), pp. 171–230. A rather similar name, also discussed by COLLOMBERT (*op. cit.*, p. 192), is *Bw-ỉr=w-th.ṯ=s*, 'They cannot transgress against her' (TM Nam 14649). In the metronymic at the end of the line, *Ta-Tȝ-Rpy*(*.t*) (TM Nam 1221), the *Ta-* and *Tȝ-* appear to have almost merged. In the rest of the text, the signs are clearly separated from each other.

Line 2. The name [*Pȝ-*ꜥ*l*ꜥ]*l* (TM Nam 800) is fully preserved further on. The article *Pȝ-* may also have been written at the end of the previous line. The name *Wsỉr-ḫ*ꜥ (TM Nam 573) is otherwise only attested in texts from the Hermopolite nome. The patronymic at the end of the line seems to end with *-sḏm* but begins with a problematic group. A longer variant of the name, with some additional signs between the vertical and *-sḏm*, is used for the same person in ll. 16, 21, and 23 (but not in ll. 5 and 22). The name could be a van Gogh variant of *Msḏr*(*.wy*)*-sḏm* or Mestasytmis (TM Nam 471; suggestion and joke by Cary Martin), with an exceptional *Msḏr-* written with one ear instead of two. In view of the different shape of the ear in *-sḏm,* it could perhaps even be an unetymological spelling, possibly inspired by *m-šs*. Alternatively, the first element could be read as the nose, eye and cheek sign (Gardiner D19) followed by the sail sign (Gardiner P5): an almost identical group is used in *fnṯ* 'nose' in P. BM EA 10507 from Achmim (see the index and facsimile by M. SMITH, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* [CDPBM 4, London, 1987], p. 167). Admittedly, 'listening nose' sounds very silly, but maybe the group could also be read as *ḫnt-* (for *ḫnt-sḏm*, 'listening face') or *ḫnṯ* (for *ḫnṯ-sḏm*, 'listening foremost one', although *ḫnṯ* is written alphabetically in *Ḫnṯ-Mn* in ll. 18 and 28).

Line 3. The metronymic *Bw-ỉr=s-šm-n=w* (referring to the paternal grandmother of the main character) is also introduced by *r.ms* in all the other places in the text (with the exception of *mw.t=f* in l. 21: see the commentary below). The demonstrative article *pȝy*(*=y*) is written with four small strokes, like the start of *pȝy=s* in the previous line. The preceding three strokes constitute the person's determinative belonging with the name. The word *hp* is probably simply written with the expanded man-with-hand-to-mouth group, as in l. 26, although it

has a wilder shape here. The title *ỉṯ pȝ ḥp* is discussed in the commentary below.

Line 4. For the use of the polite request formula *twꜣy tbḥ n.ỉmꜣs* in letters, see DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter*, pp. 267–268. In combination with the preposition *m-bȝḥ*, it only seems to be attested in the Canopus Decree (addressed to the king and queen) and literary texts (five examples in the TLA, all addressed to gods). The verb following the request formula, which also occurs in a more poorly preserved shape in ll. 7 and 9, is probably an infinitive complementing *tbḥ* and appears to be followed by the preposition *r*. Presumably, the verb should be read as *ḥtp*, despite the strange sign shaped like *ỉr* in the middle of the group. A similar sign is used in the words *ḥtp* 'offering' and *ḥtp.t* 'offering table' in P. Harkness: see the index and facsimiles by M. SMITH, *Papyrus Harkness* (*MMA 31.9.7*) (Oxford, 2005), p. 333. There are also some writings with a vertical in this position: see ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 340; *CDD*, *Ḥ*, p. 295. The verb *ḥtp* could be used in its meaning 'to be at peace', 'to be gracious', or perhaps even 'to make peace' or 'to reconcile' here: admittedly not very common, but see the same dictionary entries and similar meanings in earlier Egyptian (see *Wb.* 3, p. 193) and Coptic (ϩⲧⲡ: see CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, pp. 724–725). We have opted for the vague translation 'to be gracious', even though this expression is elsewhere constructed with the preposition *n* according to *CDD*, *Ḥ*, pp. 298–299.

Line 5. There is room for a filiation stroke at the start of the line, but it usually appears to be omitted.

Line 6. The final group in the metronymic, written with a large sign followed by a house determinative and a divine determinative at the end of the name, is unclear. It can hardly be *-wḏȝ*, given the house determinative, unless it would have been added under influence of the word *wḏȝ* 'storehouse'. Perhaps *-ḥw.t* makes a better option (suggestion by Cary Martin), but the top of the big sign does not seem ideal for that. Moreover, we have only found one doubtful attestation of the name *Ḥr-ḥw.t*; yet strikingly, it does occur in a stela from Achmim: see RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 249. In l. 20, the group is largely lost.

Line 7. Nothing in the damaged part can be read with certainty. Presumably, the sign preceding *šʿ* is the upper part of *ḥry*, but it seems impossible to reconstruct the typical formula *tȝy pȝ hrw r ḥry šʿ ḏ.t*, used in l. 12. Perhaps the first sign in the line could belong to *tȝy*, followed by a more specific date: e.g. ⌜*tȝy ḥȝ.t-sp 38.t ỉbd-4*⌝ [season] ⌜*sw-10+*⌝ [*r*] ⌜*ḥry š*⌝ʿ *ḏ.t*, 'from year 38 month 4 of [...] day 10+ onwards until eternity'. Not all of this looks palaeographically convincing, however, and it would be strange to have *pȝ hrw* 'today' in l. 12, but a specific date here.

Lines 7–8. At the end of l. 7, the same problematic verb as in ll. 4 and 9 is used, in this case even more troublesome since it is preceded by the verb *tw* without suffix. We have chosen to interpret the latter as an exceptional writing of the infinitive of the verb (cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 605), again following *tbḥ* in l. 4, even though the regular infinitive *dỉ.t* is used elsewhere in the text. If this is accepted, *ḥtp nȝy* has to be a prospective following this infinitive, with the demonstrative *nȝy* referring back to Pelilis and Tatriphis, and *Tȝ-šr.t-Pȝ-*ʿ[*l*ʿ*l*] further along in l. 8 has to be the indirect object of *ḥtp*. The first group in between could be *ḥʿꜣy* or *ḥtr*, but neither seems to fit the context, so we have left it unread. The second group in between is probably *pȝ smt*, perhaps in the same sense as *pȝyꜣs smt*, 'likewise': see *CDD*, *S*, p. 243. The reading *ḥʿꜣy* might work better if the whole construction is understood differently, but we have not found a plausible explanation: a reading *tw*(*ꜣy*) *ḥtp nȝy* (*r*) *ḥʿꜣy* ('I caused these to be gracious to myself') or *tw*(*ꜣy*) *ḥtp* (*r*) *nȝy ḥʿꜣy* ('I am gracious to these myself') would imply an unusual writing of *twꜣy*, in contrast with the regular group in l. 4, and would complicate the syntax of the rest of the text; if one would read (*r*) *tw ḥtp nꜣy ḥʿꜣy pȝ smt Tȝ-šr.t-Pȝ-*ʿ[*l*ʿ*l*] ('and to cause Senpe[lilis] to be gracious to me myself likewise (?)'), the verb *ḥtp* would be constructed with a different preposition to that in l. 4, and the position of *pȝ smt* would be strange. Moreover, this would seem less in line with the rest of the text than a rapprochement between Senpelilis and Pelilis and Tatriphis.

Lines 8–9. The identification string can be reconstructed on the basis of ll. 15–16. The possessive article *tȝyꜣk* is written with a high vertical, just like in l. 16, but here damaged. Comparable writings are found in other papyri from Achmim: see for example *pȝyꜣk* and *tȝyꜣk* in P. BM EA 10507 (see the index and facsimiles by SMITH, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, pp. 167 and 182) and *nȝyꜣk* in P. Moscow 123 (M. MALININE, 'Partage testamentaire d'une propriété familiale (Pap. Moscou nº 123)', *RdÉ* 19 [1967], pp. 67–85, l. 1).

Lines 9–10. After the infinitive *dỉ.t*, one should probably read the same problematic verb as in ll. 4 and 7, followed by *nȝ ḫrd.ṯ.w*, 'the children', written just as in the following lines. We have interpreted all this in the same way as *tw* (?) *ḥt*⌜*p*⌝ (?) *nȝy* (?) in ll. 7–8. The size of the lacuna in l. 10 (and possibly the end of l. 9), preceding [*š*]ʿ *ḏ.t*, would fit the formula *tȝy pȝ hrw r ḥry šʿ ḏ.t*, returning in l. 12, but one rather expects a further specification of the children here. There does not appear to be enough room in this passage for an indirect object for *ḥtp*.

Lines 10–11. There are no other plausible restorations for the end of l. 10 and the start of l. 11. Two additional groups

of children are mentioned here: the children 'whom you will beget' (*nty-ỉw-ỉw=k r dỉ.t ḥpr*[*=w*]), with the second person singular suffix referring to Ousircha, and the children 'whom we will give birth to' (⌜*nty*-⌝*ỉw=n* (*r*) *ms.ṯ=w*), with a problematic first person plural suffix, repeated further on in l. 11 and also in ll. 14–15 and 17. The contrast between *dỉ.t ḥpr* and *ms* is striking. One could think that these are separate expressions to designate male and female procreation, but Coptic ϫⲡⲟ and ⲙⲓⲥⲉ at least are applicable to both genders: see CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, pp. 184–185 and 778–779. To whom could the first person plural in 'whom we will give birth to' refer? Intuitively, one would be inclined to relate this to Bouiresshemenou and her (future) partner, but this interpretation seems less suitable for the first person plural suffixes in the following lines, especially for the first person plural in 'beget (?) for us' (⌜*dỉ.t* (?)⌝ *ḥpr n=n*) in l. 15, where the suffix appears to denote multiple persons for whom children are begotten (by other people). Moreover, one would expect that the partner was mentioned by name in this case. We can think of only two other options: the first person plural could refer to Bouiresshemenou and Pelilis and Tatriphis, or, less likely, it could refer to Bouiresshemenou and Senpelilis. Note that the latter seems to be married to Ousircha (see the commentary below), whose children have already been mentioned in l. 10. Another group of children appears to be mentioned in l. 9. We have not found a satisfactory solution.

Line 11. For reasons of convenience, we have translated the conjunctives in ll. 11, 12, 15, 17 (?), 21, 26, and 27 (?) as result clauses; they should probably be understood as continuations of the infinitive purpose clauses or as independent hortative clauses following *tbḥ*: cf. J.H. JOHNSON, *The Demotic Verbal System* (2nd edition, SAOC 38, Chicago, 2004), pp. 181–192. Most of the conjunctives in the text are constructed with the verb *ḥpr*.

Lines 11–12. The phrase can probably be reconstructed as *sm;*⌜ [*r.r=k ḫn p;*] *pr Wsỉr* ('bless [you in the] house of Osiris') or similar: if Ousircha grants Bouiresshemenou's request, he will be blessed in the house of Osiris. It is common to indicate before which god someone is blessed, but it is not customary to refer to the actual cult place. The house sign could also be a determinative, e.g. for (*ỉ*)*rpy*, a more usual term for referring to a temple. To our knowledge, there is no evidence for an Osiris temple in Achmim, but hieroglyphic inscriptions in the nearby temple of Athribis also mention a *pr Wsỉr*: see M. CLAUDE, *Akhmîm et la 9e province de Haute Égypte: étude de géographie religieuse* (SsR 41, Wiesbaden, 2024), pp. 288–290; C. LEITZ, *Athribis VII: Übersetzung der Inschriften des Tempels Ptolemaios XII* (Cairo, 2022), pp. 1032–1034 and 1037. For Osirian belief in Achmim more broadly, see CLAUDE, *op. cit.*, pp. 275–291; M. SMITH, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 423–430.

Line 12. The word *ḥrw* is written with the sun disk. In other places in the text, the element *mtw=* is written without the vertical. In the following line, *mtw=k* is written with the typical ligatured group, possibly to distinguish it as an independent pronoun. Presumably, *mtw=k* in this line starts another conjunctive. There appear to be faint traces following the sign read as *dỉ.t*.

Line 13. This line is difficult to understand. The first two signs might be a man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative and plural stroke. It is not clear to whom the possessive article would refer: maybe to some of the children mentioned above. There is a noun *rse.t* derived from the verb *rs*, 'to watch' or 'to guard', but it usually refers to guard posts or camps: see *CDD*, *R*, pp. 62–65. We are uncertain about the second determinative of the word, between the eye and the *.t* for the feminine ending. The group could also be understood as a writing of *rsw.t*, 'dream'. The next two groups are clear enough: *mtw=k s*, presumably the independent and dependent pronoun in the typical possessive construction, although this might break up the syntax, with the dependent pronoun possibly referring back to *t;y=w rse.t*. What follows is again problematic: first a group that looks like *n.ỉm=f* or *n.ỉm=w* (depending on whether the diagonal is associated with this line or the next; in the former case perhaps a correction from *n.ỉm=w* to *n.ỉm=f*, as suggested by Cary Martin), unless this would be *ỉw=f* or *ḥḏ* (*dbn*) *100*; second a sign that could be read as *dỉ.t* or *t;*/*n;*; then maybe *ỉr t;*/*n;* or *ḫr*; and finally a group with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, which could be understood as *gm* (not attested with this determinative), *g;* ('to be silent', silence' or 'other'?), or *ḫnm* (the rare verb 'to join' or 'to unite', as in *CDD*, *Ḫ*, pp. 42–45?).

Line 14. There do not seem to be any demotic parallels for *ḏ;y*(*.t*) rather than simple *ḏ;*(*.t*), but there are earlier Egyptian attestations of the word written with *-y*: see *Wb.* 5, p. 518. For *p; t;* without preceding *nb*, see J.H. JOHNSON, 'The Use of the Articles and the Generic in Demotic', in: S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (StudDem 1, Leuven, 1987), pp. 50–53. The grammatical status of the verb *ỉr*, if read correctly, is unclear. The group following ⌜*n=n*⌝ is a problem: one could try and read *t;y p; ḥrw*, 'from today', written in a similar way as in l. 12 (suggestion by Cary Martin), but this hardly fits the context.

Line 15. The first clause in this line probably connects to *nꜣ ḫrd.ṯ.w* in the previous. If that is correct, the restoration [*nty-ỉw=w r*] ⸢*dỉ.t*⸣ *ḫpr n=n* seems most straightforward: the children '[whom one will] beget for us'. Alternatively, it could be a nominalized relative clause referring to property, as is often the case with *dỉ.t ḫpr*: e.g. [*nꜣ nty-ỉw=w r*] ⸢*dỉ.t*⸣ *ḫpr n=n*, '[what one will] produce for us', possibly with a pronoun of a different person and/or number as subject. The position of *ỉw=k* in the following clause, above the tail of *ḫpr*, is slightly awkward: maybe the scribe initially forgot to write it. It is not entirely clear how the *nḥṯ.t* 'protection' required of Ousircha (and Senpelilis, unless this would continue *mtw=n*) should be understood. The term is commonly encountered in letters to gods and wisdom texts: see E. Love, *Petitioning Osiris: The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus and Curse of Artemisia in Context among the Letters to Gods from Egypt* (zäs Beiheft 11, Berlin – Boston, 2023), pp. 414–417, with additional references in the index on p. 680. It also features in self-dedications: see recently K. Ryholt, 'Two Self-Dedications Addressed to Isis-Nephersais of Euhemeria (P. Cairo cg 50018 and P. Louvre E 10606)', in: K. Donker van Heel – F.A.J. Hoogendijk – C.J. Martin (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There Is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming* (P. L.Bat. 34, Leiden – Boston, 2018), pp. 205–218. Furthermore, it is used in references to places of asylum: see *cdd*, ʿ, pp. 14–15. Occasionally, the term is attested in connection with legal protection in letters (P. Loeb 5: W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb* [Munich, 1931], pp. 15–17, ll. 29 and 32), *mḳmḳ* or 'memoranda' (P. Fitzhugh D. 2: E.A.E. Reymond, 'Two Demotic Memoranda', *jea* 58 [1972], pp. 260–267, ll. 16 and 19) and court records (P. bm ea 10591 recto: H. Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum Including an Account of a Trial Before the Laocritae in the Year b.c. 170* [Oxford, 1934], pp. 1–33, col. ii l. 7 and col. iii l. 26), but never with a clear technical meaning. Presumably, the 'protection' in the present text relates to Ousircha's position as legal father (and probably Senpelilis' position as legal mother) of Bouiresshemenou: see the commentary below.

Line 17. The reading [*mtw=f*] ⸢*ḫpr*⸣ seems plausible in view of the use of this construction elsewhere in the text, but one could also reconstruct [*ỉw=f*] ⸢*ḫpr*⸣, '[if it] happens'. The word *md*(*.t*) could also be translated as 'word(s)' rather than 'thing'. We have not found any parallels for *md*(*.t*) *rmṯ ʿꜣ*, but several similar compounds starting with *md.t rmṯ* are listed in *cdd*, *M*, pp. 266 and 268. The best parallel for *md*(*.t*) *nṯr* is provided by Stela Aswan 1057 (J.K. Winnicki, 'Petisis, Sohn des Pachnumis, Offizier und Priester an der Südgrenze Ägyptens im 2. Jh. v. Chr.', *jjp* 26 [1996], pp. 127–134), where a variant of the expression with plural *nṯr.w* is used on three occasions to refer to pious acts. A search in the tla shows that the expression additionally occurs in P. Rylands 9 and in literary texts, where it can also denote words of gods (and hieroglyphs, if preceded by *sḫ*). The dot before *nṯr* in the present text should probably not be read as *n*, but as part of the *nṯr* group, since it also occurs before *nṯr.w* in ll. 19 and 29. Presumably, the line ends with the prepositional group *r-ḫr=n*, although the final sign could also be read as the suffix *=tn* (which seems even better from a palaeographical point of view, but this would be the only second person plural in the letter) or possibly the feminine singular copula pronoun *tꜣy* (which would allow a nominal sentence with *md*(*.t*) *rmṯ ʿꜣ md*(*.t*) *nṯr*, 'it is a thing of a great man and a thing of a god', but this would leave the preceding signs unaccounted for).

Line 18. We do not dare to propose a reading for the first signs in this line.

Lines 18–19. This passage concerning a royal decree is repeated in ll. 28–29. Similar writings of *Ḫnṯ-Mn* with ligatured *ḫ* and *n* appear in other papyri from Achmim: see for example P. Mainz 1 (E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* [ÄgAbh 1, Wiesbaden, 1960], pp. 46–49, l. 4) and P. Moscow 123 (see above, ll. 1 and 4). Comparable short writings of *mšʿ* can be found through the dpdp, apparently including a similar example with deep vertical from Achmim in P. bm ea 10508 (Anchsheshonqy, col. 12 l. x + 4), previously read differently, as explained in the online edition. Another example that probably comes from Achmim can be found in the demotic P. Gieben 1 (M. Depauw – K. Vandorpe, 'A Ptolemaic Letter on Looters: The Demotic Papyrus Gieben 1', *CdÉ* 72 [1997], pp. 229–241, ll. 5, 22, and 24). The group for *nṯr.w*, consisting of two divine signs preceded by a dot (also used for the singular form in l. 17) and followed by the three ligatured vertical plural strokes, is also uncommon, but clear enough. The meaning of the terms *wy* and *mšʿ* is discussed in the commentary below.

Lines 20–23. Here, a second document starts: a so-called *mḳmḳ* or 'memorandum' (see the commentary below). The introductory formula of these texts can vary, but there are parallels for *wʿ mḳmḳ* followed by the name of the person

submitting the document introduced by *n-ḏr.t* and subsequently the name of the recipient introduced by *r dỉ.t s*: see G. Baetens, *A Survey of Petitions and Related Documents from Ptolemaic Egypt* (TOP SS 5, Leuven, 2020), pp. 157–158 and 166; G. Baetens, 'Demotic Petitioning', *JJP* 44 (2014), pp. 36–38; Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, pp. 326–327. The dependent pronoun looks like plural *st*, but this is simply a variant writing of the singular *s*: cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 471. It is striking that Tatriphis is mentioned before her husband Pelilis: see the commentary below.

Line 21. The last sign of the tripartite person's determinative of *P3-ʿlʿl* looks odd: the usual vertical appears to be crossed by an oblique stroke here. This could be the filiation stroke, but elsewhere in the text it appears to be omitted. The suffix in *mw.t=f* almost merges with the horizontal of *n=w* in the following line.

Line 22. The top of the divine determinative of *Wsỉr-* in [*Wsỉr-*]⌜*ḥ*⌝ is also preserved.

Line 24. For the request formula *tw=y tbḥ n.ỉm=s* in *mḳmḳ* or 'memoranda' and especially in petitions, see Baetens, *A Survey of Petitions and Related Documents*, pp. 159 and 166; Baetens, 'Demotic Petitioning', *JJP* 44, pp. 40–41; Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, p. 328. The *ḫrw-bȝk* must be the letter at the top of the papyrus. It is not a common term for referring to a letter outside the introductory formula, but perhaps the standard word for letters, simple *bȝk*, was derived from it; simple *ḫrw* is also rare in the body of letters: see Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, pp. 257–258. The big horizontal at the end of the line is probably the suffix *=k*. After the apparent relative converter, *wȝḥ* or *ḥr* could be read, but we do not know how to make sense of this. It might be possible to read a short form of *ỉ.ỉr-ḥr=k*, but with the following reference to Bouiresshemenou and the subsequent relative clause, that seems difficult.

Line 25. The first sign of *-Rpy*(*.t*) is written differently than in other places here, with an awkward vertical stroke crossing the horizontal, but thanks to l. 1 there can be no doubt about the reading.

Line 26. The family relations and the title *šr.t pȝ hp* are discussed in the commentary below. The relative form *r.tw=s* must have the letter (*ḫrw-bȝk* in l. 24) as object. It is not clear if there was another word in this line following *ḫpr*.

Line 27. This is the most obscure line of all. The penultimate preserved group is probably ⌜*m*⌝*tw=tn*, with incomplete *m* due to the loss of vertical fibres. It is preceded by a group that looks like *g* above *r*, followed by a dying warrior determinative and another diagonal, and completely unreadable traces at the start of the line.

Lines 28–29. These lines repeat a passage in ll. 18–19, but here more is added at the end. The traces at the start of l. 28 are not ideal for *ỉrm*, elsewhere written with a distinctive dot below the last sign, but nevertheless the reconstruction seems plausible. The preposition *ḫr*, which may introduce the reason for the *wy*, could possibly be followed by *nȝ nkt*(*.w*) (suggestion by Cary Martin). The beginning of the alleged *nkt*(*.w*) could also be read as *mḥ* or as *š* and something else. What follows might be *pȝy=w sḫ*, but *sḫ* has a different shape at the end of the line. Next, there is a group resembling the numeral *28* or *ỉry* without frontal *ỉ-* (or with a very much below-the-line *ỉ-*, if this does not belong to *sḫ*). We have considered reading the group as the relative form (*r.*)*ỉr=n*, but this seems far-fetched, given the omission of the *r* and the different writing of the suffix *=n* (with dot below) elsewhere in the text. For the reading of the bracket following *sḫ* at the end of the line as *bȝk*, cf. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, pp. 228–230.

Commentary

The papyrus under consideration contains two documents: above a letter (ll. 1–19: *ḫrw-bȝk*) and below a memorandum (ll. 20–29: *mḳmḳ*), written in the same hand. This is an unusual combination, but the letter and memorandum are closely related. The letter is addressed by Bouiresshemenou, daughter of Tatriphis and Pelilis (metronymic and patronymic in this order), and named after her paternal grandmother, to her legal father (l. 3: *ỉṯ pȝ hp*) Ousircha, apparently a brother of her father Pelilis, on account of the identity of their parents' names. The memorandum is written by Tatriphis and Pelilis (note again the order) to the same Ousircha, now together with Senpelilis, apparently a sister of Pelilis and Ousircha, with reference to Bouiresshemenou as the legal daughter of both Ousircha and Senpelilis (l. 26: ⌜*tȝy=*⌝*tn šr.t pȝ hp* or 'your legal daughter' in plural), suggesting that they are married. The memorandum refers to the letter as given by Bouiresshemenou to Ousircha and Senpelilis (ll. 24–26; note the inclusion as addressee of Senpelilis here), so it must be the earlier document of the two. It looks as if it was copied on the present papyrus in order to quote it in its integrity.

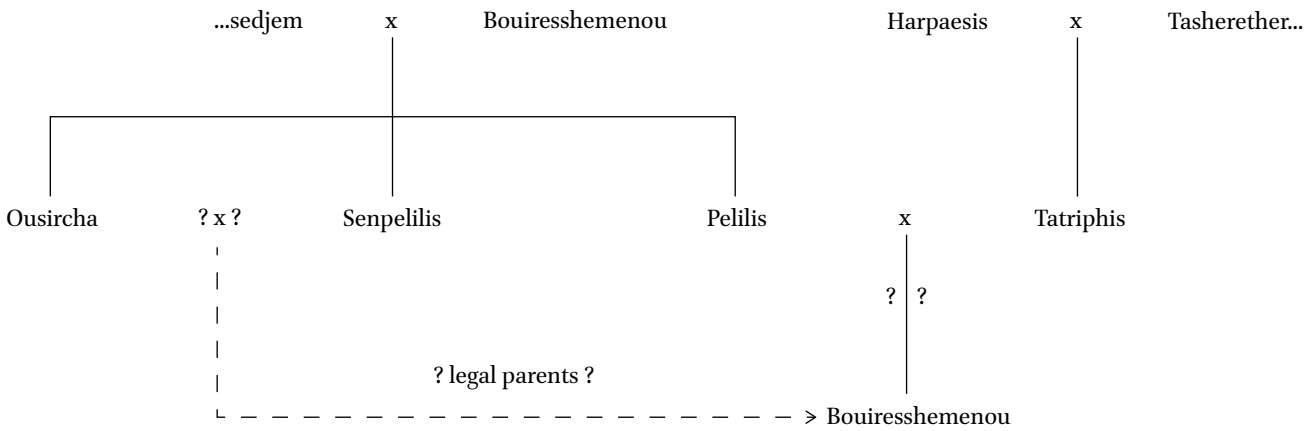


FIGURE 1 Reconstruction of family tree

The letter makes requests that are difficult to understand but clearly relate to the complex family relations between the main characters. Different family members seem to be asked to be gracious (?) to one another (ll. 4, 7, and 9: *ḥtp*?), until eternity (ll. 7 and 10: *šr ḏ.t*). Perhaps this concerns the settlement of a dispute between Pelilis and Tatriphis on the one hand and Ousircha and Senpelilis on the other hand regarding the position of Bouiresshemenou. There is also mention of other (future) children of Ousircha, Bouiresshemenou and possibly other parties (ll. 9–11 and 14: *ḫrd.ṯ.w*), maybe because they could constitute an additional complication. Further on, the letter refers to protection (l. 15: *nḫṯ.t*) required of Ousircha and probably Senpelilis, and perhaps also to custody (l. 13: *rse.t*?) and possible harm (l. 14: *ḏ.y*(*.t*)?). The memorandum appears to serve as an endorsement to the letter, repeating its plea. The use of this particular format, typically used to write petitions and other messages to priests and government officials, for a document addressed to family members, is exceptional.[5] Both the letter and memorandum end with a reference to a royal decree regarding Achmim.

All names throughout the text are accompanied by both a patronymic and metronymic. The use of mothers' names is very rare in demotic letters and completely unparalleled in demotic memoranda.[6] In the present case, they are probably added because they are relevant for understanding the complex family relations. The patronymics in the text are always introduced through direct apposition in case of men, with two possible but doubtful exceptions in ll. 5 and 21, and by *ta* in case of women. The metronymics of the submitters in the address formula of the memorandum (ll. 20–21) are introduced by the usual expression *mw.t=f/s*, 'his/her mother', but all other metronymics are introduced by the rare relative form *r.ms*, 'born of' or more literally 'whom … bore'.[7] One could speculate that *mw.t=f/s* is used in the address formula of the memorandum due to special rules regarding identification in this type of texts, but that seems unlikely, given the use of *r.ms* for the metronymics of the addressees in the same formula (ll. 22–23) and the lack of additional evidence for such rules in memoranda.[8]

5 For a detailed discussion of this format, see BAETENS, *A Survey of Petitions and Related Documents*, pp. 151–168; BAETENS, 'Demotic Petitioning', *JJP* 44, pp. 35–43; DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter*, pp. 323–330. Only one other demotic memorandum to a private person is preserved: P. Fitzhugh D. 1 (REYMOND, 'Two Demotic Memoranda', pp. 254–260), addressed to a royal farmer leasing land to the submitter of the document. Note that the present text also provides the only example of a demotic memorandum in which the request immediately follows the address formula.

6 For a unique example of a mother's name in a demotic letter (replacing the patronymic in the context of an oracle consultation), see DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter*, p. 95 n. 124 (P. Cairo JE 95205). Metronymics are regularly found in demotic contracts and in the Roman period also in several types of Greek documents: see M. DEPAUW, 'Cultural Transfer and the Evolution of Formal Aspects of Demotic Papyrus Contracts in Hellenistic Egypt', in: B. LEGRAS (ed.), *Transferts culturels et droits dans le monde grec et hellénistique* (Paris, 2012), pp. 309–320; M. DEPAUW, 'Do Mothers Matter? The Emergence of Metronymics in Early Roman Egypt', in: T. EVANS – D. OBBINK (eds), *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 120–139; M. DEPAUW, 'The Use of Mothers' Names in Ptolemaic Documents. A Case of Greek-Egyptian Influence?', *JJP* 37 (2007), pp. 21–29; Y. BROUX – M. DEPAUW, 'The Maternal Line in Greek Identification: Signalling Status in Roman Egypt (30 BC–AD 400)', *Historia* 64 (2015), pp. 467–478.

7 For *r.ms* as a filiation marker, see J. DIELEMAN, 'What's in a Sign? Translating Filiation in the Demotic Magical Papyri', in: A. PAPACONSTANTINOU (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids* (Aldershot, 2010), pp. 127–152; S.P. VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications* (StudDem 9, Leuven, 2012), pp. 902–903.

8 This has been examined for Greek memoranda (ὑπομνήματα) used for petitioning by A.E. VEÏSSE, 'L'expression de l'identité dans les pétitions d'époque ptolémaïque. Étude préliminaire', in: S. BUSSI (ed.), *Egitto dai Faraoni agli Arabi. Atti del Convegno "Egitto:*

We have already pointed out above that the father's name is exceptionally preceded by the mother's name in the identification string of Bouiresshemenou at the start of the letter (ll. 1–2). This is all the more remarkable since the same identification string appears in the usual order further on in the memorandum (l. 25). In the request in the letter (ll. 4–6), the father is also named first. On the other hand, in the address formula in the memorandum (ll. 20–21), Bouiresshemenou's father is again only mentioned after her mother. Perhaps something was amiss with Bouiresshemenou's father, preventing him from playing an active role in the matter. Alternatively or additionally, his secondary place might be connected to the position of the addressee, his brother, as legal father of Bouiresshemenou.

We have not found a single parallel for the demotic expression *ỉṯ pȝ hp* (l. 3), 'legal father', or perhaps 'lawful' or 'rightful father', nor for its counterpart *šr.t pȝ hp* (l. 26), 'legal daughter' or similar. Bouiresshemenou is identified as the daughter of Pelilis and Tatriphis through her patronymic and metronymic (also in reverse order), so how should her position as legal daughter of Ousircha and Senpelilis, brother and sister of Pelilis, be understood? It seems unlikely that we are dealing with guardianship or fosterage here: the words 'father' and 'daughter' suggest a genuine filial relationship, and the term *hp* hints at a legally recognized arrangement.[9] It also does not make sense to regard Ousircha and Senpelilis as the biological parents of Bouiresshemenou: this would simply move the problem to Pelilis and Tatriphis, who are more likely to be the biological parents given the patronymic and metronymic (introduced by *r.ms*, 'born of'), and this would not explain the use of the term *hp*.[10] In the end, we can think of only one plausible scenario: that Bouiresshemenou was the biological daughter of Pelilis and Tatriphis, but had been adopted by Ousircha and Senpelilis.

Adoptions are rarely recorded in the papyri, although they may have been commonplace. Only two other demotic papyri possibly refer to adoption. P. Louvre E 7832 (539 BCE) concerns a sale of a man as a son (*šr*), possibly a paid adoption, but its close similarity to contracts through which people are offered as servant or slave (*bȝk*) prompts caution.[11] P. Tsenhor 1 (556 BCE) identifies the singer of the interior of Amun Nitokris as the *šr.t n ḫn*(*t*?) (l. 6) of another woman with the same function, also seemingly referring to a document called *ḏmꜥ n sȝwṯ* (?) (l. 8) connected to this relationship.[12] Since singers of the interior of Amun are considered to have transferred their office through adoption, the *šr.t n ḫn*(*t*?) has been understood as an expression for an 'adoptive daughter' and the *ḏmꜥ n sȝwṯ* as a 'contract of patronage' related to this adoption, but neither reading is entirely clear.[13] No other Egyptian expressions for adoptive children or parents are known.[14] Greek papyrological evidence regarding adoption is also scarce. For the Ptolemaic period, the only clear witness is found in P. Col. III 58 (248 BCE?), which refers to 'contracts of marriage and adoption' (l. 9: συγγραφὰς τῶν γαμούντων καὶ τεκνοθεσιῶν); another alleged example from the katochoi archive can probably be rejected.[15] There is more material dating to the Roman period, but most sources simply mention adoptive children without much additional information; actual adoption contracts are rare and only survive from the fourth century CE onwards.[16]

amministrazione, economia, società, cultura dai Faraoni agli Arabi" (Milano, 7–9 gennaio 2013) (Pisa – Rome, 2013), pp. 81–90.

9 For guardianship of women and minors in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see S. LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte* (EQÄ 5, Berlin, 2008), pp. 116–117. Legal guardians of women are normally referred to as *ṯsy* in demotic. For fosterage in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see S.R. HUEBNER, *The Family in Roman Egypt. A Comparative Approach to Intergenerational Solidarity and Conflict* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 197–198; B. LEGRAS, 'L'adoption en droit hellénistique, d'après les papyrus grecs d'Égypte', in: A. BRESSON – M.P. MASSON – S. PERENTIDIS – J. WILGAUX (eds), *Parenté et société dans le monde grec de l'Antiquité à l'âge moderne* (Bordeaux, 2006), pp. 175–188.

10 Unless the parenthood had been debated and was now recognized in this way, but why would Pelilis and Tatriphis at the same time identify Bouiresshemenou as the lawful or rightful daughter of Ousircha and Tatriphis, but as their own daughter through her patronymic and metronymic in that case? Koen has astutely remarked that 'if your solution makes things more complicated it is probably not the best solution' (DONKER VAN HEEL, 'When Your Wife Becomes Your Daughter', *JEOL* 46, p. 83).

11 See n. 2 above. A good summary of the difficulties of interpretation is found in DONKER VAN HEEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–77, continuing with an overview of the earlier pharaonic evidence, including the famous Adoption Papyrus. Cf. also n. 29 below.

12 P.W. PESTMAN, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (*P. Tsenhor*)*: les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius Ier* (StudDem 4, Leuven, 1994), pp. 35–42.

13 The last scholar who commented on this was G. VITTMANN, 'Kursivhieratische und früdemotische Miszellen', *Enchoria* 25 (1999), pp. 113–114, with references to earlier discussions.

14 See M. MALININE, 'L'expression désignant l'enfant adoptif en égyptien', *GLECS* 6 (1952), pp. 13–14. For the expression *sȝ.t wr.t*, see LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 124.

15 For adoption in Ptolemaic Egypt, see LEGRAS, 'L'adoption en droit hellénistique', in: *Parenté et société dans le monde grec de l'Antiquité à l'âge moderne*, pp. 175–188. For the alleged example in the katochoi archive, see also A. KACPRZAK – M. NOWAK, 'Foundlings in the Greco-Roman World: Status and the (Im)possibility of Adoption', *TijdRecht* 86 (2018), pp. 45–46.

16 For adoption in Roman Egypt, see S.R. HUEBNER, 'Adoption and Fosterage in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean', in: J.E. GRUBBS – T. PARKIN – R. BELL (eds), *Oxford Handbook of*

If *iṯ pȝ hp* and *šr.t pȝ hp*, 'legal father' and 'legal daughter', indeed refer to adoption, the present text makes a welcome addition to the corpus. The demotic expression does not seem to be based on Greek, where adoptive status is usually marked by the term θέσει, 'by adoption', derived from the verb τίθημι, 'to place'. In one Byzantine papyrus, P. Oxy. XVI 1895 (554 CE), an adoptive daughter is referred to as 'legal daughter' (l. 10: θυγατέρα νομίμην; derived from νόμος), which bears a closer resemblance to the demotic expression but there is probably no etymological connection. Similarly, a Syrian papyrus from the second quarter of the third century CE, P. Dura 12, mentions a man adopted as son 'according to the law' (l. 6: κατὰ τὸν νόμον). The expression in the present text also contrasts with the demotic *šr.t n ḫn*(*t*?) in P. Tsenhor 1 (see above), but this phrase is not attested elsewhere and is still poorly understood, as explained above, and moreover it dates to a much earlier period. Perhaps the addition of *pȝ hp* in the expressions under consideration could be understood in the sense that the adoption was legally established through written contract.[17] The observation that Bouiresshemenou would have retained her original father's and mother's names forms no objection against the adoption hypothesis: adoptees in the Greek papyri often keep their original father's and mother's names, with the name of the adoptive father only mentioned at the end.[18] Adoptions by women, alone and together with their husbands, are also attested in the Greek papyrological record.[19] This could fit Bouiresshemenou's status as legal daughter of both Ousircha and Senpelilis. PSI VII 732 (153–154 CE) and P. Lips. I 28 (381 CE) mention children adopted by their paternal uncle, as appears to be the case in the present text. The protection required of Ousircha and probably Senpelilis and the references to other (future) offspring of the different parties also make sense in the context of an adoption.

To sum up, we believe that Bouiresshemenou was adopted. What is even more striking is that both her paternal uncle Ousircha and her paternal aunt Senpelilis are identified as her adopters by the reference in the memorandum to Bouiresshemenou as their legal daughter (l. 26: ⌜*tȝy*⌝*tn šr.t pȝ hp* in plural). This seems to imply that Ousircha and Senpelilis, full brother and sister according to their father's and mother's names, were married. We cannot review the whole debate about sibling marriage here, but we do want to make some comments. There is very little evidence for possible non-royal brother-sister marriage from the Ptolemaic period. The best candidate comes from P. Tebt. III 766 (147 or 136 BCE), in which a certain Dionysios refers to a woman named Euterpe as 'my sister and wife' (ll. 6–7: τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου καὶ γυναικός); she could also be a half-sister.[20] In the Roman period, there appears to be much more evidence for marital unions between brother and sister, especially in census returns from the Arsinoite nome, but Huebner has argued that these marriages were actually concluded between biological and adopted children, whose adoptive status was concealed because they took on the nomenclature of the adoptive family.[21] This hypothesis does not seem tenable for Ousircha and Senpelilis, however, since they always receive the same patronymic and metronymic, whereas Bouiresshemenou appears to retain her original father's

Childhood and Education in the Classical World (Oxford – New York, 2013), pp. 519–525; S.R. HUEBNER, '"Brother-Sister" Marriage in Roman Egypt: A Curiosity of Humankind or a Widespread Family Strategy?', *JRS* 97 (2007), pp. 33–40; HUEBNER, *The Family in Roman Egypt*, pp. 175–196; KACPRZAK – NOWAK, 'Foundlings in the Greco-Roman World, *TijdRecht* 86, pp. 13–54; M. KURYŁOWICZ, 'Adoption on the Evidence of the Papyri', *JJP* 19 (1983), pp. 61–75; K. TIRLA, 'Adoption Practices in Late Antique and Byzantine Egypt', in: M. CAPASSO – P. DAVOLI – N. PELLÉ (eds), *Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of Papyrology, Lecce, 28th July–3rd August 2019* (Lecce, 2022), pp. 968–976.

17 For the different connotations of the term *hp*, see C.F. NIMS, 'The Term *hp*, "Law, Right," in Demotic', *JNES* 7 (1948), pp. 243–260.

18 This has not been sufficiently taken into account by HUEBNER, '"Brother-Sister" Marriage in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 97, pp. 38–39; HUEBNER, *The Family in Roman Egypt*, p. 195. A useful overview of the different identification strings used for adoptive children in the Greek papyri is given by N. LITINAS in P. Oxy. LXXIV, pp. 106–107. Of course, it is theoretically possible that some adoptive children are simply identified with the name(s) of their adoptive parent(s), without the name(s) of their biological parent(s) or an explicit adoption marker, but clearly this cannot be generalized.

19 See HUEBNER, 'Adoption and Fosterage in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean', in: *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, pp. 522–525; HUEBNER, '"Brother-Sister" Marriage in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 97, pp. 39–40; HUEBNER, *The Family in Roman Egypt*, p. 186; KURYŁOWICZ, 'Adoption on the Evidence of the Papyri', *JJP* 19, p. 63. According to classical Greek and Roman law, women are unable to adopt children, so this might be an indigenous Egyptian custom.

20 The evidence has been collected and discussed by HUEBNER, '"Brother-Sister" Marriage in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 97, pp. 40–41; S. REMIJSEN – W. CLARYSSE, 'Incest or Adoption? Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt Revisited', *JRS* 98 (2008), p. 56; J.M. ROBINSON, *'Blood is Thicker than Water.' Non-Royal Consanguineous Marriage in Egypt: An Exploration of Economic and Biological Outcomes* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 23–25 and 163–165; J. ROWLANDSON – R. TAKAHASHI, 'Brother-Sister Marriage and Inheritance Strategies in Greco-Roman Egypt', *JRS* 99 (2009), pp. 111, 114–115, and 131.

21 HUEBNER, '"Brother-Sister" Marriage in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 97, pp. 21–49; HUEBNER, *The Family in Roman Egypt*, pp. 189–196.

and mother's name after adoption.[22] As a consequence, the present text seems to provide a real example of full brother-sister marriage, an early one and the first in demotic.[23]

A final feature of the text has not yet been commented upon: the royal decree regarding Achmim mentioned at the end of both the letter and memorandum. In fact, the text refers to a *wy* made by Pharaoh for Achmim, its *mšʿ* and its gods (ll. 18–19 and 28–29). The demotic noun *wy*, derived from the verb *w(ꜣ)y*, 'to be far', has several usages, but regularly occurs in references to royal exemptions or amnesty decrees, in a similar way to Greek ἀφίημι and ἀπολύω, used as equivalents of the Egyptian verb in the priestly decrees.[24] In P. Oxf. Griffith 14 B (149 BCE), an almost identical phrase seems to appear: 'the *wꜣy* of Pharaoh which he has made (?)' (l. 10: *pꜣ wꜣy Pr-ʿꜣ.w.s. r.ỉr=f* (?)), parallel to 'the *wy* which Pharaoh has made' (*pꜣ wy r.ỉr Pr-ʿꜣ.w.s.*) in the present text. The phrase was not recognized by Bresciani in her initial edition of the papyrus, but was read later on by Zauzich, who took it as a reference to the journey of Ptolemy VI Philometor to Ptolemais in Phoenicia for the marriage of his daughter Kleopatra Thea with the new Seleucid king Alexander Balas.[25] We believe that it is more likely to refer to a tax exemption, since the text continues to say that this royal *wꜣy* was beneficial to the gods (l. 11: *ỉw=f ỉr md(.t) nfr.t n nꜣ nṯr.w*, 'while he did a good thing for the gods'), and the rest of the document focuses on a large sum of money paid to the treasury of the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos.

Let us return to the royal *wy* regarding Achmim, probably to be explained as an exemption or amnesty decree. We have not found precise parallels for 'a town, its *mšʿ* and its gods'. The gods bring to mind the *wꜣy* as 'good thing for the gods' in P. Oxf. Griffith 14 B (see above), presumably meaning that the temples benefited from the measure. The term *mšʿ* can be translated as 'army' or 'people', but the latter meaning seems more straightforward here, unless the name of the town as such would refer to its civil population. The official context is reminiscent of the royal decisions mentioned in the priestly decrees, where the meaning of *mšʿ*, its hieroglyphic equivalent *mnfy.t* and its Greek equivalent λαός is also debated.[26] Perhaps this new piece of evidence supports its translation as 'people' in those texts as well. The term is clearly used in this sense in the demotic P. Gieben 1 (see above, ll. 5 and 24), a letter regarding looters in the district of Achmim.[27] Additionally, one can wonder if the earlier reference in the present text to 'a thing of a great man and a thing of a god' (l. 17: *md(.t) rmṯ ʿꜣ md(.t) nṯr*) could parallel these 'people' and 'gods' of Achmim for whom Pharaoh made the *wy*.

Achmim features in one of the royal decrees recorded in C. Ord. Ptol. 53 (118 BCE), where the rulers give the people the permission to rebuild their houses and temples up to a certain height, 'except for the inhabitants of Panopolis' (ll. 138 and 153–154: πλὴν τῶν ἐκ Πανῶν πόλεως). This harsh treatment probably resulted from their participation in a rebellion some years earlier, referred to in UPZ II 209 (129 BCE).[28] This specific ruling can hardly be connected to the problems surrounding Bouiresshemenou,

22 As noted above, there are several examples in the papyri of adoptive children keeping their original father's and mother's names. In our opinion, this has not received sufficient attention in the debate about brother-sister marriage. It has been touched upon by REMIJSEN – CLARYSSE, 'Incest or Adoption?', *JRS* 98, pp. 58–59, but they largely focus on the grandfather's names of adoptive sons.

23 For the lack of demotic evidence for full sibling marriage, see HUEBNER, '"Brother-Sister" Marriage in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 97, pp. 23–24; ROWLANDSON – TAKAHASHI, 'Brother-Sister Marriage and Inheritance Strategies in Greco-Roman Egypt', *JRS* 99, pp. 111 and 131.

24 See U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, '*wꜣj* "Abstand" als demotischer Terminus für einjährige Steuer-Freiheit von thebanischem Tempel-Land', *AfP* 46 (2000), pp. 269–270; U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, 'Theben-Ost III: Die *r-rḫ=w*-Tempel-Quittungen und ähnliche Texte. Erster Teil: Allgemeiner Teil und Texte Nr. 18–25', *ZÄS* 128 (2001), pp. 30–31; A. NESPOULOUS-PHALIPPOU, 'L'amnistie décrétée en l'an 21 de Ptolémée Épiphane (185/184 a. C.)', *ENiM* 5 (2012), pp. 153–154. Kaplony-Heckel already included references to the present text. For land ἐν ἀφέσει or *nty sḫ wꜣy*, see also K. VANDORPE, 'A Controlling or Accommodating Government? Management of Temple Land and Economic Activities in Ptolemaic Thebes', forthcoming.

25 BRESCIANI, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford*, pp. 14–15; K.-Th. ZAUZICH, 'Zwei übersehene Erwähnungen historischer Ereignisse der Ptolemäerzeit in demotischen Urkunden', *Enchoria* 7 (1977), p. 193. The phrase is preceded by a regnal year and an unread damaged passage.

26 See F. KAYSER, 'Étude épigraphique et historique des fragments grecs conservés au Louvre (doc. 329)', in: E. DELANGE (ed.), *Les fouilles françaises d'Éléphantine (Assouan), 1906–1911: les archives Clermont-Ganneau et Clédat* (Paris, 2012), p. 429 n. 41; NESPOULOUS-PHALIPPOU, 'L'amnistie décrétée en l'an 21 de Ptolémée Épiphane', *ENiM* 5, pp. 155–156.

27 As explained by DEPAUW – VANDORPE, 'A Ptolemaic Letter on Looters', *CdÉ* 72, p. 234.

28 For the nature and date of this rebellion, see A.E. VEÏSSE, *Les "Révoltes égyptiennes": recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Égypte du règne de Ptolémée III à la conquête romaine* (StudHell 41, Leuven, 2004), pp. 56–57 and 184. Panopolis had probably also played a major part in an uprising in the 160's BCE: see VEÏSSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–43. The above-mentioned demotic P. Gieben 1 possibly also relates to one of these troubles: see DEPAUW – VANDORPE, 'A Ptolemaic Letter on Looters', *CdÉ* 72, p. 241.

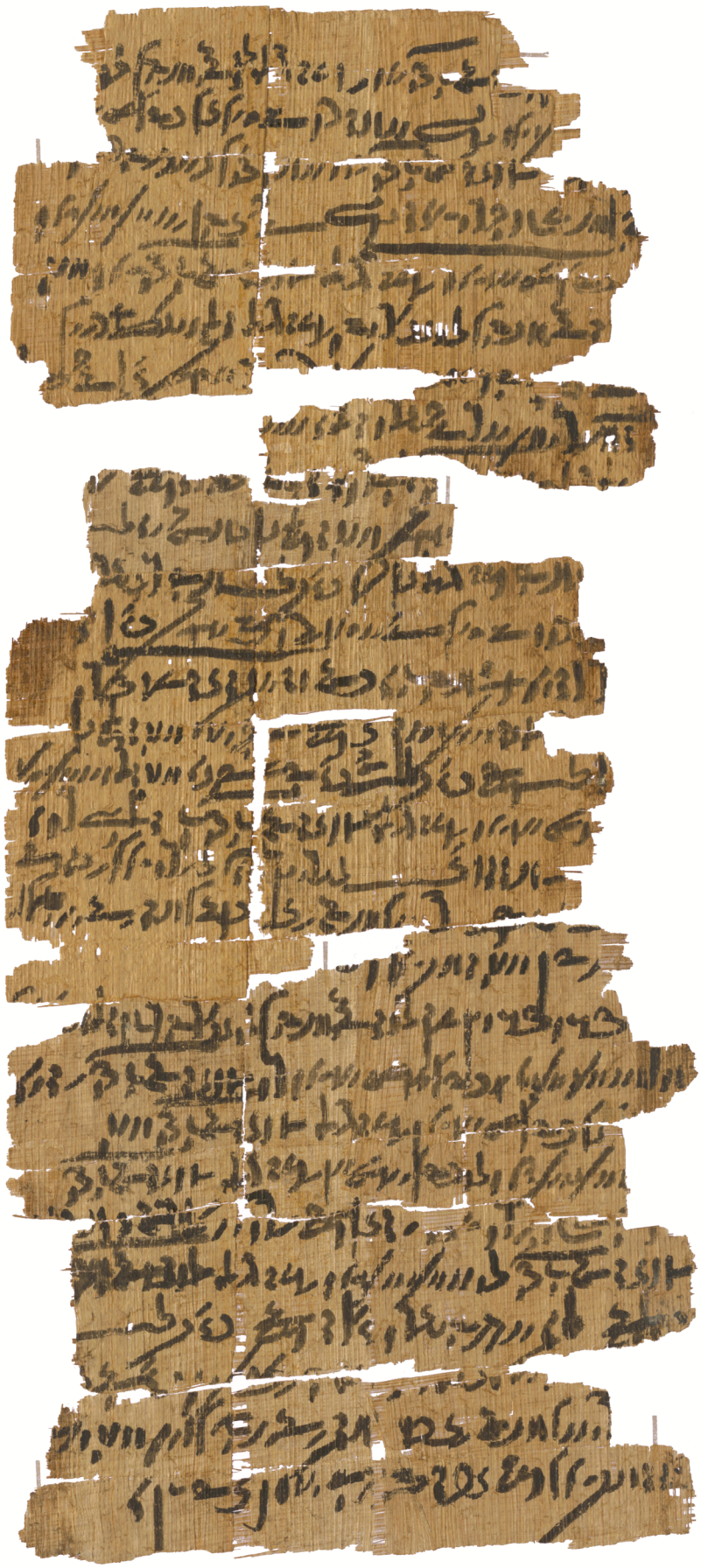
but perhaps more decisions regarding Achmim were taken following the revolt.

What sort of royal exemption or amnesty could theoretically have been relevant for Bouiresshemenou's case: possibly one that influenced the position of her biological parents or the reasons for her adoption? Maybe Pelilis and/or Tatriphis had been forced to leave Achmim without their daughter during or after political troubles, or had committed some other offence, or had been burdened by debts, now relieved by royal decree?[29] This might explain the awkward position of Pelilis throughout the text, and circumstances like this might have troubled family relationships, necessitating a reconciliation. One could even imagine that Pelilis and Tatriphis wanted to have their daughter back.[30] Of course, all this is mere speculation.

It must have become clear by now that there are many outstanding problems, but, as the *Festschrift* adage goes, we are sure that Koen will be able to solve them, lying back in a reclining chair somewhere in Portugal. Perhaps he can write a novel about it.

29 One could even consider the possibility that Bouiresshemenou had been offered as security for a loan by Ousircha to Pelilis, or that the two brothers had settled a debt through a *paramone*-agreement, forcing Bouiresshemenou to serve her uncle. According to K. Vandorpe, '*Paramone* in Ptolemaic Egypt' in: S. Maillot – J. Zurbach (eds), *Statuts personnels et main-d'oeuvre en Méditerranée hellénistique* (Clermont-Ferrand, 2021), pp. 205–208, this practice of *paramone*, which is well-attested in Graeco-Roman Egypt, may have been inspired by Late Period contracts through which people are offered as a servant or slave (*b;k*). Perhaps the aforementioned P. Louvre E 7832 concerns a similar case concealed as adoption: see Donker van Heel, 'When Your Wife Becomes Your Daughter', *JEOL* 46, p. 77. For debt slavery in Late Period and Ptolemaic Egypt, a controversial topic, see E. Karev, 'Debt Bondage in Late Period Egypt (8th–5th Century BC)', *JANEH* 10 (2023), pp. 371–394; Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, pp. 110, 112–114, and 163–165; B.P. Muhs, 'The Late Period', in: J.L. Rowlandson – R.S. Bagnall – D.J. Thompson (eds), *Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt: Sources in Translation* (Cambridge, 2024), p. 122; D.J. Thompson, 'Ptolemaic Egypt', in: Rowlandson – Bagnall – Thompson (eds), *op. cit.*, pp. 227–228.

30 In principle, parents who had surrendered their children for adoption could not reclaim them, or at least not without paying money: see Kuryłowicz, 'Adoption on the Evidence of the Papyri', *JJP* 19, pp. 71–72; Tirla, 'Adoption Practices in Late Antique and Byzantine Egypt', in: *Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of Papyrology*, pp. 969–971.



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P 15 592

FIGURE 2
P. Berlin P. 15592
© SMB ÄGYPTISCHES MUSEUM UND PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG

4

Une lettre de condoléances en démotique ancien

Michel Chauveau

Le document que j'ai choisi de présenter à Koen pour son *liber amicorum* n'est pas, tant par son propos que par son contexte, d'une franche gaieté, je l'avoue volontiers, mais j'espère bien que notre affectionné récipiendaire y trouvera, sinon quelque amusement, au moins un certain intérêt pour l'aperçu qu'il nous donne sur l'univers émotionnel des Égyptiens de l'époque saïto-perse. Il s'agit en effet d'une lettre consécutive à un deuil subi par son destinataire. Au risque de gâcher l'effet de surprise, je dévoilerai d'emblée que celui-ci n'a jamais pu en prendre connaissance, puisqu'il était déjà mort avant que ce témoignage d'affection d'un ami inquiet ne lui fût parvenu. En revanche, c'est paradoxalement cette triste circonstance qui nous permet aujourd'hui de pouvoir lire et comprendre cette émouvante missive.

Ce papyrus fait partie d'un ensemble relativement homogène provenant des fouilles effectuées par Sami Gabra dans les années 30 à Touna el-Gebel. Il s'agit de lettres privées, retrouvées intactes dans les catacombes des ibis, soigneusement pliées et munies de leurs sceaux d'expédition.[1] Conservées au musée de Mallawi et dans le magasin de fouilles d'Al-Ashmunein, quelques unes d'entre elles ont été publiées de manière dispersée. En particulier, celle que je présente ici, référencée comme P. Mallawi 486D, a fait l'objet d'un article en 2020.[2] Ce dernier comporte cependant un si grand nombre d'erreurs qu'une nouvelle lecture, permettant une interprétation complètement divergente, ne paraîtra pas un vain exercice.

Pour la description matérielle du document, on pourra se référer à la précédente édition,[3] en avertissant toutefois le lecteur sur un point extrêmement douteux. L'auteur considère en effet que la première ligne de la lettre n'est pas de la même main que la suite du texte, en arguant que *the handwriting … is more compact and smaller than that of the rest of the letter, especially in its first half*. Mais un examen attentif de la photographie ne permet pas de justifier une telle opinion: aucun élément strictement paléographique ne distingue l'écriture de la première ligne par rapport à celle des suivantes. On remarquera par ailleurs que cet aspect effectivement un peu plus serré du début de cette première ligne se retrouve aussi (et même de manière accentuée) au début de la deuxième, sur une longueur à peu près égale. De telles variations de module au sein d'un même document sont loin d'être rares et ne suscitent généralement pas l'hypothèse d'une multiplicité de mains. Dans le cas présent, cette irrégularité de l'écriture peut aisément s'expliquer par la difficulté éprouvée à caler un texte d'une longueur imprécise dans un espace limité: quand le scribe craint de ne pas avoir assez de place, il resserre son écriture, pour la relâcher ensuite quand il se sent plus à l'aise! L'hypothèse des deux scribes avancée par l'éditrice tend uniquement à appuyer sa propre interprétation de deux expéditeurs qu'elle suppose distincts, laquelle doit être à mon sens définitivement rejetée.

P. Mallawi 486D
Touna el-Gebel, fin de la 26e ou 27e dynastie
TM 46834

Translittération

Recto

1 *Pȝ-whr sȝ Pȝ-dỉ-Wsỉr pȝ wʿb* ⸢*ʾItm*⸣ *sm* (*r*) *Ḥp-ỉw sȝ Ḥr-m-ḥb m-bȝḥ Nb.t-ḥtp*(*.t*) *dỉ=s nfr md.t nb.t mtw=k ỉ dỉ Pȝ-Rʿ ḳy pȝy=f ʿḥʿ*

1 Cf. M. Ebeid, « Two Early Demotic Letters from the Tuna al-Gebel Necropolis, P. Al-Ashmunein Magazine Inv. Nr.1093 (P. Hormerti-1) and P. Mallawi Museum Inv. Nr.486 C (P. Hormerti-4) », in: S.L. Lippert – M. Schentuleit – M.A. Stadler (éd.), *Sapientia Felicitas: Festschrift für Günter Vittmann zum 29. Februar 2016* (CENiM 14, Montpellier, 2016), pp. 123–124; M. ebeid – M. El-Bokl, « A New Early Demotic Letter from Hermopolis (P. Mallawi Museum Inv. N°.1093/1) », in: A. Almásy-Martin – M. Chauveau – K. Donker van Heel – K. Ryholt (éd.), *Ripple in Still Water When There is no Pebble Tossed: Festschrift in Honour of Cary J. Martin* (ghp Egyptology 34, Londres, 2022), pp. 93–94. Comme pour les autres lettres de Touna el-Gebel qui ont été récemment (2003) déscellées et dépliées, le sceau qui fermait le P. Mallawi 486D a été soigneusement récupéré et photographié. On y lit apparemment le cartouche d'un roi Psammétique, mais l'usage de tels sceaux royaux pour des lettres privées semble être dépourvu de signification propre, ne livrant d'indication fiable ni sur la provenance ni sur la date.

2 S.S. Abdelaal, « An Early Demotic Letter from Tuna el-Gebel », in: J. Kamrin – M. Bàrta – S. Ikram – M. Lehner – M. Megahed (éd.), *Guardian of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass* (Prague, 2020), 1, pp. 73–86.

3 Abdelaal, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–75.

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2 *ḫrw-bꜣk Pꜣy=s-⌜hmy⌝ ⌜m-dỉ⌝ Pꜣ-whr m-bꜣḥ Ḥp-ỉw sꜣ Ḥr-m-ḥb ỉ ⌜nḫ=f ỉn md.t ỉw ḫpr=s tꜣy ỉr pꜣy ꜣs-*

3 *ḳ ỉw bn-pw=k hb n=y n pꜣy=k wḏꜣ ⌜s-my mn mtw=k nbỉ n-ỉm(=y) ỉn ỉw ỉr=k pꜣ mn*

4 *Tꜣ-dỉ-Wsỉr tꜣ ḫm my hb=w n=y n pꜣy=k wḏꜣ Tꜣ-dỉ-Wsỉr tꜣ ḫm sm my hb=w n=y*

5 *r-ḫ tꜣ šʿ.t sḥ bꜣk n ḥꜣ.t-sp 22 tpy šmw (sw) 27*

Verso (adresse)

ḫrw-bꜣk Pꜣy=s-⌜hmy⌝ ⌜m-dỉ⌝ Pꜣ-whr (vacat) *m-bꜣḥ Ḥp-ỉw sꜣ Ḥr-m-ḥb*

Traduction

Recto

1 Pouher fils de Pétosiris, le prêtre d'Atoum (?), salue Hapiou fils d'Horemheb devant Nebet-hetepet afin qu'elle favorise toutes choses te concernant. Ô, puisse Phrê prolonger sa durée de vie !

2 La voix du serviteur *Pꜣy=s-hmy* (?), *alias* Pouher, devant Hapiou fils d'Horemheb, puisse-t-il vivre ! : « Est-ce quelque chose qui arrive (normalement), passer (tout) ce

3 temps sans que tu m'aies envoyé (des nouvelles) de ton état? Vois, tu n'as donc aucune attention envers moi! As-tu accompli les funérailles de

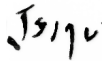
4 la (pauvre) petite Tétosiris? Envoie-moi (des nouvelles) de ton état. (Quant à elle,) la (pauvre) petite Tétosiris est bénie. Écris-moi

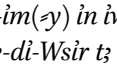
5 en réponse à cette lettre. » Écrit par le serviteur en l'an 22, le 27 Pakhons.

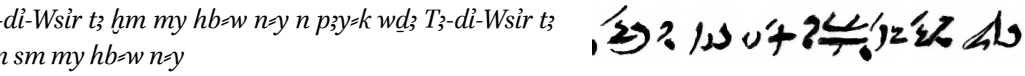
Verso

La voix du serviteur *Pꜣy=s-hmy* (?), *alias* Pouher, devant Hapiou fils d'Horemheb.

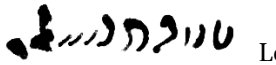
Notes[4]

Ligne 1.  *pꜣ wʿb ⌜Itm⌝* ; *pꜣ wʿb Ḥr* « the priest of Horus » (SA): La graphie de *wʿb* semble réduite à , sans le déterminatif habituel. L'initiale du théonyme est probablement un *ḥ* ou un *ỉ*. Je propose de lire *ʾItm*, Atoum, qui serait la divinité la plus cohérente avec celle nommée dans le proscynème, *Nb.t-ḥtp.t*, malgré le groupe central qui ne peut être , mais que l'on peut interpréter comme la ligature d'un *t* surmontant un *m*.

 *Ḥp-ỉw*[5] ; *ʾInp-ỉw* (SA).

 *m-bꜣḥ Nb.t-Ḥtp(.t) dỉ=s nfr md.t nb.t mtw=k* ; *m-bꜣḥ ʿn ʿ.wy nb Bḥd.t nb Mtn* « in the presence of the one whose arms are beautiful, lord of Behedet, lord of Metjen (*sic*) » (SA): Pour la localisation de l'envoi de la lettre déduite de la lecture correcte de ce proscynème, voir le commentaire général.

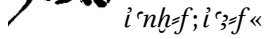
Ligne 2. *ḫrw-bꜣk Pꜣy=s-⌜hmy⌝ ⌜m-dỉ⌝ Pꜣ-whr* ; *ḫrw-bꜣk Pꜣy-mjḥy.t sꜣ Pꜣ-whr* « voice of the servant *Pꜣy-mjḥy.t* son of *Pꜣ-whr* » (SA): La même séquence se retrouve en tant qu'adresse au verso du papyrus. Selon l'éditrice, celle-ci révèlerait l'identité du véritable rédacteur de la lettre qui serait le fils de Pouher, l'auteur du proscynème développé à la ligne précédente, mais une telle disposition épistolaire serait tout-à-fait exceptionnelle. En fait, le groupe qui lie les deux noms en question ne peut en aucune manière être lu *sꜣ* et n'indique certainement pas une filiation. Malgré quelque incertitude sur son identification exacte, on peut raisonnablement avancer que ce groupe problématique, lu provisoirement ⌜*m-dỉ*⌝, indique simplement une double identité, de la même manière que *mtw=w ḏd n=f* dont il n'est peut-être qu'une version abrégée. À mon sens, il n'y aurait donc qu'un seul expéditeur, celui déjà nommé dans le proscynème, Pouher fils de Pétosiris. Pour l'explication probable d'un tel redoublement de la salutation initiale, voir le commentaire général.

 Le nom que je lis *Pꜣy=s-⌜hmy⌝*, inconnu du *Demotisches Namenbuch*, doit être plutôt un sobriquet ou un hypocoristique. La lecture de l'article possessif *pꜣy=s* me paraît certaine,[6] mais l'identification du substantif qui suit ne peut guère être assurée. Le déterminatif pourrait être celui de l'enfant comme dans *Pꜣ-whr*, mais aussi son homographe démotique . Si l'on accepte la lecture *hmy*, le surnom de Pouher pourrait signifier « son pilote » ou « son gouvernail ». Ce serait alors une allusion au rôle tenu par le personnage dans les fêtes de la déesse locale Nebet-hetepet, celui de conducteur ou de guide de la barque processionnelle.

4 (SA) marque les translittérations et traductions du texte données par Soad Abdelaal.

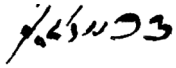
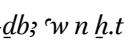
5 Cf. LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 780.

6 Un seul exemple recensé dans LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch, Korrekturen und Nachträge*, p. 171: *Pꜣy=s-ṯꜣw*. Le nom *Pꜣy=s-nfr* référencé *Namenbuch* p. 448 a été corrigé en *Pꜣ-tj-ḥnsw*.

 *ỉ ʿnḫ=f* ; *ỉ ʿ3=f* « May he will be great » (SA): En l'absence d'autre attestation d'une formule épistolaire *ỉ ʿ3=f*, il doit plutôt s'agir d'une graphie abrégée de l'expression courante de salutation *ỉ ʿnḫ=f*.[7]

ỉn md.t ỉw ḫpr=s t3y ỉr p3y 3sḳ ; *ỉn n3.w ỉw ḫpr=s ỉr p3y 3sq* « will this matter happen making (no) delay? » (SA).

Ligne 3. *mn mtw=k nbỉ n-ỉm(=y)* ; *mn mtw=k (ỉr) nbỉ n-ỉm=s* « you did not (take) care about her » (SA): Le pronom suffixe *=y* n'est pas écrit selon l'usage général en démotique ancien jusqu'à la fin du Ve siècle. Le substantif *nbỉ* est ici problématique, les dictionnaires distinguant deux lexèmes homophones de sens opposés: « soin, attention » (généralement dans l'expression *ỉr nbỉ* « prendre soin de »), ou bien « faute, dommage ». Si l'on préfère la seconde acception, le sens pourrait être: « tu n'as pas de faute à m'imputer ».

Ligne 3–4. *ỉn ỉw ỉr=k p3 mn* (*n*) *T3-dỉ-Wsỉr t3 ḫm* ; *ỉn ỉ.ỉr=k p3 mḫy* (*ỉrm*) *T3-dỉ-Wsỉr-t3-ḫm* (SA): L'éditrice traduit cette séquence ainsi « Are you the one who quarrels (with) *T3-dỉ-Wsỉr-t3-ḫm*? », apparemment selon sa transcription hiéroglyphique qui correspond à *ỉn ỉ.ỉr=k p3 nty mḫy* … Mais aucune des deux lectures, *mḫy* ou *nty mḫy*, n'est paléographiquement acceptable. En revanche, la lecture *mn* pour la séquence  paraît évidente. Une graphie identique avec les signes alphabétiques *m* et *n* remplaçant le bilitère *mn* se trouve dans deux papyrus littéraires bien connus datés de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque. Dans ces deux cas, il s'agit d'un emploi métaphorique de *mn* « accostage, amarrage » pour évoquer le dépôt d'un défunt dans sa dernière demeure :[8] *m-ỉr ḫsy n ḥ3.ṯ ỉw=k tḥr bw-ỉr=w ỉr p3y=k mn* (P. BM EA 10508, 18, 21)[9] « Ne perds pas espoir quand tu es triste: on ne fait pas (encore) ton enterrement! » ; *wn p3 nty ỉr p3y=f mn*  *ḫn bw3.t r-ḏb3 ʿw n ḫ.t* (P. Insinger, 5, 23) « Il y a celui qui accomplit ses funérailles dans l'infamie à cause de (sa) cupidité ».

Enfin il faut signaler le problème posé par la présence d'un *ỉw* entre *ỉn* et *ỉr=k*. Sur le plan syntaxique, le plus simple est de le lier à l'adverbe interrogatif *ỉn*, mais une forme *ỉn-ỉw* de ce dernier ne semble pas attestée par ailleurs et l'occurrence du même adverbe à la ligne précédente, dans la séquence *ỉn md.t ỉw ḫpr=s*, est bien écrite sans *ỉw*. On pourrait donc le considérer comme un *ỉw* circonstanciel devant le *sḏm=f* passé *ỉr=k*, ce qui contraindrait à relier *ỉn* à la proposition précédente, soit comme post-négation en relation avec la forme négative *mn mtw=k*, soit comme une graphie phonétique de l'adverbe *ʿn* « encore ». La première solution est difficilement compatible avec l'usage démotique quasi exclusif de la post-négation pour la seule forme du présent 1 *bn … ỉn*.[10] La seconde, syntaxiquement correcte, se heurte à l'extrême rareté de la variante graphique *ỉn* pour *ʿn*.[11] L'une ou l'autre de ces solutions aurait néanmoins l'avantage de lier les deux propositions et de donner au texte un sens plus cohérent. On pourrait ainsi comprendre soit: « Vois donc, tu n'as aucune faute à me reprocher alors que tu as accompli l'enterrement de la petite Tétosiris », ou bien: « Vois donc, tu n'as eu encore aucun égard pour moi alors que tu as accompli l'enterrement de la petite Tétosiris ». Dans les deux cas, la principale conséquence pour le sens serait que l'enterrement en question aurait déjà eu lieu et que l'auteur de la lettre en était déjà informé au moment de sa rédaction.

Ligne 4. *T3-dỉ-Wsỉr t3 ḫm sm* « La petite Tétosiris est bénie » ; « *T3-dỉ-Wsỉr-t3-ḫm* greets » (SA): L'absence de complément pour le verbe *sm* laisse supposer que ce dernier est un qualitatif avec le sens « (être) béni ». L'attribution d'un tel qualitatif au défunt est bien attestée dans les textes funéraires, cf. *šm=k r ḥ.t-sr ỉw=k sʿym* « Puisses-tu aller dans la maison des magistrats en étant béni » (P. Berl. 8351, II, 7).[12]

Ligne 4–5. *my ḥb=w n=y r-ḫ t3 šʿ.t* ; *my ḥb=w n=y r-ḫ n3 rmt.w* « may they send to me, likewise the people » (SA).

ḥ3.t-sp 22 tpy šmw sw 27: D'une lecture incontestable, cette date du 27 Pakhons de l'an 22 ne permet le choix qu'entre trois hypothèses chronologiques au sein de la période compatible avec le style d'écriture: 1er octobre 549; 17 septembre 500; 4 septembre 443 (Artaxerxès 1er). La première éditrice a opté pour la solution la plus haute,[13] correspondant au règne d'Amasis, en désaccord avec l'opinion de Mahmoud Ebeid qui n'envisageait que la

7 Cf. G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (ÄAT 38, Wiesbaden, 1998), 2, pp. 487–488.

8 Ce substantif a été traduit par « mort » (cf. *CDD*, *M*, p. 97, s.v. *mn*), mais l'exemple du P. BM EA 10508 ainsi que la présente occurrence font préférer une traduction « enterrement, funérailles ». Le verset du P. Insinger peut s'accommoder des deux acceptions.

9 S.R.K. GLANVILLE, *The Instructions of ʿOnchsheshonqy* (CDPBM 2, London, 1955).

10 On en trouve cependant au moins un exemple en copte dans une séquence similaire: ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ (= *mn mtw=tn swn n.ỉm=f ỉn*) « Vous n'avez aucune connaissance le concernant », citée par W.C. TILL, *Koptische Grammatik* (*Saïdischer Dialekt*) (Leipzig, 1955), pp. 203–204 § 406.

11 Un seul exemple relevé dans le *CDD*, ʿ, p. 73, s.v. *ʿn*.

12 Cf. M. SMITH, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* (Oxford, 1993), p. 45, line 7 n. (d) et index p. 114.

13 ABDELAAL, « An Early Demotic Letter », in: *Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass*, p. 82.

deuxième possibilité (règne de Darius Ier), mais les arguments paléographiques qu'elle avance ne me semblent pas très convaincants. Pour ma part, je préfèrerai laisser la question ouverte, en espérant que Koen trouvera un argument décisif pour résoudre un problème aussi épineux !

Commentaire général

Cette missive ainsi relue, malgré sa brièveté et son caractère très allusif, révèle un sens bien différent de celui avancé dans sa première publication. Tout d'abord, son lieu d'expédition doit être revu à la lumière de la lecture correcte du nom de la divinité invoquée dans le proscynème initial. Il ne s'agit pas de l'Horus d'Edfou mais de la déesse Nebet-hetepet, connue pour son rôle de « main d'Atoum » dans le mythe héliopolitain de la création du monde. Celle-ci était essentiellement vénérée dans la région d'Héliopolis où elle possédait un temple,[14] proche d'ailleurs d'un sanctuaire d'Atoum dont l'auteur de la lettre était prêtre selon ma lecture. La capitale du 13e nome de Basse-Égypte est donc sans aucun doute le lieu de résidence de ce dernier.

Le deuxième problème concerne la mention apparente d'un second expéditeur à la ligne 2. Même si la formulation du lien entre les deux noms est inhabituelle, il ne fait guère de doute qu'il s'agit de l'expression d'une double dénomination, ce qui implique qu'il n'y a qu'un seul destinateur. Ce redoublement assez surprenant de l'adresse initiale peut s'expliquer par les rapports personnels entre l'auteur de la lettre et son correspondant. Le nom *P3y=s-⸢hmy⸣* doit être un sobriquet utilisé intimement entre les deux amis. Pouher aurait d'abord rédigé sa salutation initiale dans un style très protocolaire, en usant de son nom ordinaire et de son titre de prêtre, puis, se rendant compte du ton trop distant et officiel de celle-ci, il l'aurait refaite de manière plus informelle et plus intime afin d'insister sur sa relation amicale avec Hapiou, dans une sorte de *captatio benevolentia*. Ce changement d'attitude en cours de rédaction se serait même prolongé dans l'ajout final de l'adresse au verso où il reprend encore son sobriquet précédant son nom officiel.

Le contenu de la lettre est très sommaire: Pouher se plaint de l'absence de nouvelles de la part de son correspondant. Il s'agit bien sûr d'un topos extrêmement répandu dans les missives privées, mais l'insistance est ici remarquable avec la question rhétorique initiale que l'on peut traduire en substance: « Est-ce que cela est normal, d'autant tarder à m'envoyer de tes nouvelles? », suivie du reproche: « Tu n'as donc aucun égard pour moi! », indiquant bien un lien fort entre les deux individus. Vient ensuite l'unique question précise de la lettre, à savoir l'accomplissement des funérailles d'une certaine Tétosiris dont le destinataire de la lettre est censé être chargé. Pouher est donc déjà informé de la mort de cette femme[15] qui pourrait être soit l'épouse, soit la fille de Hapiou. On ignore en revanche s'il a appris son décès par une précédente lettre de son correspondant ou par l'intermédiaire d'un tiers, cette seconde éventualité expliquant mieux son insistance pour obtenir une réponse. En tout cas, il s'inquiète sincèrement du silence prolongé de son ami, mêlant reproches (dans l'éventualité d'une simple négligence de ce dernier) et témoignages d'affection. En particulier, l'affirmation: « La petite Tétosiris est bénie! » apparaît comme une forme de consolation, en rassurant son ami sur le sort favorable qui attend la disparue dans l'au-delà.

Un point mérite une attention particulière: l'emploi de l'épithète *t3 ḥm*, « la petite », accolée au nom de Tétosiris. Il peut bien sûr s'agir d'un discriminant permettant de distinguer la défunte d'une parente proche qui serait surnommée *t3 ʿ3(.t)*, « l'ainée ». Cependant, l'insistance sur cette épithète permet aussi de suggérer une autre hypothèse: celle de l'expression d'une commisération face au décès d'une personne jeune. On retrouve en effet ce qualificatif *ḥm* appliqué à des défuntes dans des textes funéraires d'époque romaine. Ainsi, P. Louvre N 2420 c, 1: *špy=s r=tn i n3 imnṯ.w n3 in-mwṯ.w n t3 wsḫ.t (n) m-iṯ (= m3ʿ.ty) r-ḏb3 ḫpr ḥm t3y* « Puisse-t-elle être reçue auprès de vous, les Occidentaux et les morts de la Salle des Deux Vérités car c'est une (pauvre) petite! ».[16] Le P. Harkness désigne à plusieurs reprises la défunte comme *t3y ḥʿm* « cette petite ».[17] Il est donc probable que cette qualification évoque un décès considéré comme prématuré, ce qui est censé entraîner un sentiment de pitié chez les vivants comme chez les esprits de l'au-delà.[18] En utilisant cette épithète,

14 Cf. J. Vandier, « Iousâas et (Hathor-)Nébet-Hétépet, II », *RdÉ* 17 (1965), pp. 141–145; G. Björkman, *LÄ* 2, s.v. *Hetepet*, col. 1171–1172.

15 Et même peut-être de son enterrement si l'on retient l'interprétation du *iw* devant *ir=k p3 mn* comme le convertisseur d'une forme circonstancielle, cf. *supra*, note aux lignes 3–4.

16 M. Chauveau, « Glorification d'une morte anonyme », *RdÉ* 41 (1990), pp. 5–6.

17 Ainsi e.g. *rt wʿ iwlly ḫn t3 ḫw.t t3y ḥʿm* « Puisse une vigne pousser dans la tombe de cette petite! » (P. Harkness I, 18), cf. M. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness* (*MMA 31.9.7*) (Oxford, 2005), pp. 51 et 112.

18 En particulier à travers l'expression *ḥm ʿḥʿ* « décédé prématurément » que l'on trouve dans nombre d'étiquettes de momies à l'époque romaine, cf. M. Chauveau, « 'Mort à huit ans, enterré à neuf …' Âge et mort prématurée en Égypte romaine », in: M.-D. Nenna (éd.), *L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité II: Types*

Pouher exprime sa compassion envers son correspondant endeuillé, tout en l'assurant que l'être disparu a été bien accueilli dans le royaume d'Osiris.

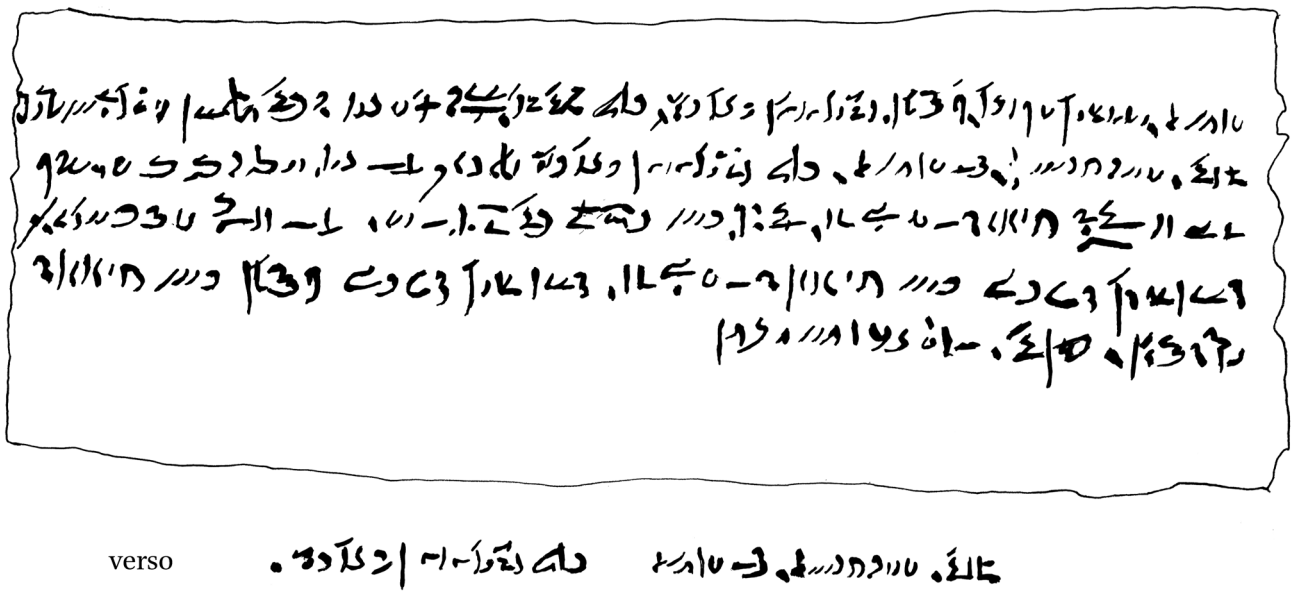
Pour conclure, il faut s'interroger sur le contexte archéologique de cette lettre, qu'elle partage avec un certain nombre d'autres découvertes dans les mêmes conditions.[19] Celles-ci ont toutes été retrouvées dans les catacombes des ibis sacrés de la nécropole de Touna el-Gebel, pratiquement dans le même état de conservation, c'est-à-dire dans leur état d'expédition, soigneusement pliées et scellées. De toute évidence, elles n'ont jamais été ouvertes ni lues par quiconque à leur réception, ce qui ne permet pas de les considérer comme des pièces d'archives, d'autant que leur contenu, la plupart du temps d'ordre privé et anecdotique, ne les destinait pas à être longuement conservées. Une seule et unique explication peut être avancée: si ces lettres n'ont jamais été ouvertes, c'est qu'elles n'ont pas pu être remises à leurs destinataires, ce qui implique que ceux-ci étaient décédés au moment où chacune d'entre elles arrivait à Hermopolis. Dans ce cas de figure, il est clair qu'on ne savait pas quoi faire de ce courrier encombrant et qu'un renvoi à l'expéditeur pouvait comporter diverses complications (frais éventuel, ignorance de l'adresse de l'expéditeur). La solution la plus simple était donc de déposer ces missives telles qu'elles étaient parvenues auprès des dépouilles des ibis sacrés, à charge pour ceux-ci de les convoyer dans l'au-delà pour les remettre à leurs légitimes destinataires, d'une manière quelque peu similaire aux lettres de requête à Thot retrouvées à proximité. En quelque sorte, les catacombes des ibis faisaient alors office de poste restante ![20]

La fin de cette histoire est que le pauvre Hapiou fils d'Horemheb, peu de temps après avoir perdu sa chère Tétosiris, est probablement à son tour mort de chagrin, tandis que son ami héliopolitain, inquiet de son silence, rédigeait ce billet où la réprimande apparente voile pudiquement la plus sincère des sollicitudes. Celui-ci n'aura en tout cas jamais reçu de réponse en retour, et sa lettre, tel un message jeté à la mer dans une bouteille, attendra le XXIe siècle pour toucher enfin quelque lecteur compatissant.

de tombes et traitement du corps des enfants dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine (ÉtudAlex 26, Alexandrie, 2012), pp. 378–386.

19 Aux quatre papyrus numérotés 486 et conservés au musée de Mallawi (cf. Abdelaal, « An Early Demotic Letter », in: *Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass*, pp. 74–75, avec la photo du lot entier dans son état d'origine), il faut ajouter six autres lettres numérotées 1093 dans le magasin de fouilles d'Al-Ashmunein, sur lequel cf. Ebeid – El-Bokl, « A New Early Demotic Letter », in: *Festschrift in Honour of Cary J. Martin*, pp. 93–94, avec également la photo du lot ; cf. aussi K. Ryholt, « The Storage of Papyri in Ancient Egypt », in: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum – J. Kahl – E.-J. Leen (eds), *Collect and Preserve: Institutional Contexts of Epistemic Knowledge in Pre-Modern Societies* (Wiesbaden, 2021), p. 31.

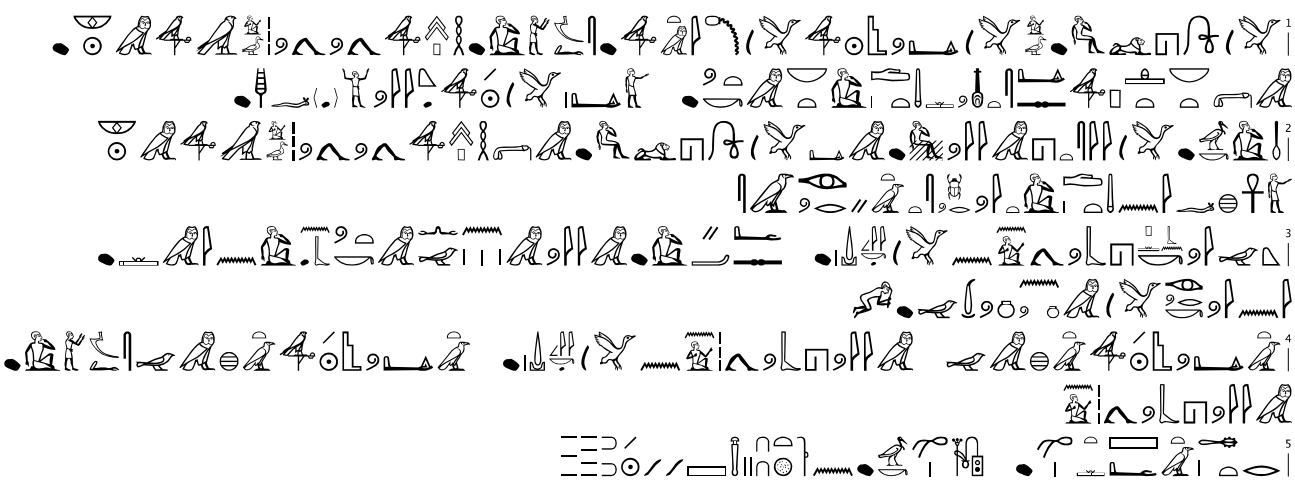
20 Cf. M. Chauveau, « Démotique », *AEPHE SHP, Résumé des conférences, 154e année, 2021–2022* (2023), pp. 22–23. On ne saurait trop insister sur l'importance de ce point, et l'ensemble de la correspondance provenant des mêmes fouilles doit être considéré de ce point de vue.



verso

FIGURE 1 P. Mallawi 486D-fac-similé
© MICHEL CHAUVEAU

recto



verso

FIGURE 2 P. Mallawi 486D-transcription
© MICHEL CHAUVEAU

5

A Thrifty Draughtsman at Work?

Rob Demarée

It is a pleasure to tribute to a volume dedicated to Koen Donker van Heel. Knowing his keen interest for the devil in the detail, I sincerely hope he will appreciate this little note as a token of esteem and friendship.[1]

Two articles published some years ago discuss various material details indicating that a number of limestone ostraca from the Theban necropolis were 'fabricated', i.e. irregular chunks of limestone were shaped in such a way as to obtain a flat surface for writing a text or painting a sketch.[2] Examples are numerous and it is therefore easy to understand that notably limestone ostraca were often used more than once as writing and drawing support.[3]

Multiple use of both limestone and pottery ostraca can be observed in various forms that may be categorized in two distinctive groups, either without or with deliberate erasure of earlier use. To the first group belong ostraca:

– that were kept for several months or even years and during this period inscribed with different business notes (e.g. O. Ashmolean Museum 1933.810 and O. OIM Chicago 12073);[4] – with a primary literary text and a secondary documentary text, or vice versa (e.g. O. DeM 1045 and O. DeM 1068); – with a primary literary or documentary text and a secondary literary or documentary text (e.g. O. BM EA 65933; O. DeM Cat. 1039);
– with a text on one side and a sketch on the other side (e.g. O. BM EA 43472); a remarkable case is O. DeM 1068 with on the recto a literary text and a secondary documentary text and on the verso a clumsy sketch of a royal head over traces of a literary text;
– with texts and sketches on one or on both sides (e.g. O. BM EA 50716).

The last two of these subgroups may aptly be called crossing boundary ostraca. Not surprisingly, they show that scribes and draughtsmen shared a parallel education and worked closely side by side. Even a famous Deir el-Medina scribe like Amennakhte son of Ipuy began his career as a draughtsman.[5] During his career as Scribe of the Tomb he not only wrote administrative texts and authored several literary compositions, but most probably also drew the famous Turin Mine Map.[6] His son Amenhotep followed in his footsteps and became a master draughtsman responsible for the decoration of the tombs of Ramesses VI–IX and several private tombs in the Theban Necropolis.[7]

The second group of ostraca, those with clear signs of reuse after cleaning or effacing earlier writing, comprises the pieces that are commonly labeled as palimpsest ostraca. Although it may seem superfluous to wash an ostracon for reuse when fresh writing support was always readily available in the form of limestone chunks and potshards, many examples of reuse have survived. In a recent publication it has been stated that approximately five percent of the ostraca are palimpsest.[8] This figure was mainly based on data from records listed in the Deir el-Medina Database at the time of publication.[9] A recent personal extensive search among published and unpublished ostraca from different sites at Western Thebes has led to the conclusion that this figure is more likely to be much higher and nearer to approximately ten percent. Just as

1 My sincere thanks go to Ms. Nicola Woods of the Royal Ontario Museum for providing the image of the Toronto ostracon. I am greatly indebted to Maren Goecke-Bauer (Munich) for the drawings of the three successive phases of use of the Toronto ostracon and to Matthias Müller (Basel) for the computer hieroglyphic version of the text section of the *Teaching of Amenemhet I*. I would also like to express my grateful thanks to a peer reviewer for improving this article by their remarks and suggestions.

2 J. PELEGRIN – G. ANDREU-LANOË – C. PARISELLE, 'La production des ostraca en calcaire dans la nécropole thébaine: étude préliminaire', *BIFAO* 115 (2015), pp. 325–352; G. ANDREU-LANOË – J. PELEGRIN, 'La fabrique des ostraca en calcaire – Comment scribes et dessinateurs se procuraient-ils ces supports?', in: A. DORN – S. POLIS (eds), *Outside the Box: Selected Papers from the Conference 'Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact'* (AegLeod 11, Liège, 2018), pp. 17–25.

3 For types and purposes of ostraca see also B. HARING, 'The Survival of Pharaonic Ostraca: Coincidence or Meaningful Pattern', in: C. CAPUTO – J. LOUGOVAYA (eds), *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World* (MTK 32, Berlin – Boston, 2020), pp. 89–90.

4 Non-literary ostraca mentioned in this contribution can be consulted at The Deir el-Medina Database: https://dmd.wepwawet.nl.

5 J. ČERNÝ, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo, 2004), p. 240 note 2.

6 A. DORN – S. POLIS, 'Le scribe de la Tombe Amennakhte', in: F. ALBERT – A. GASSE (eds), *Études de documents hiératiques inédits* (Cairo, 2019), pp. 15–24.

7 C.A. KELLER, 'How many Draughtsmen named Amenhotep? A Study of some Deir el-Medina painters', *JARCE* 21 (1984), pp. 119–129.

8 B.J.J. HARING, 'Material Matters: Documentary Papyri and Ostraca in Late Ramesside Thebes', in: F.A.J. HOOGENDIJK – S. VAN GOMPEL (eds), *The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt* (P. L.Bat. 35, Leiden – Boston, 2018), p. 45.

9 K. DONKER VAN HEEL – B.J.J. HARING, *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina* (EgUit 16, Leiden, 2003), p. 4, note 24.

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with papyri, the ostraca examples show different degrees of erasure. On some the earlier writing is still (partly) legible and on others the primary writing or drawing is almost completely washed off with only some traces or smudges of the ink from earlier use still remaining.

A unique example of the palimpsest reuse of ostraca as a writing medium is documented in O. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 907.18.14 (Fig. 1). This limestone fragment, measuring 21.5 × 12.4 × 4.8 cm, was found – together with other ostraca dating to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty – during the 1905–1906 excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society around the temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari.[10] The piece is broken off on all sides and the left half is missing.

Whereas more examples are known of limestone slabs or pottery shards bearing texts or drawings made on two different occasions, this Toronto ostracon has served three times as a writing and drawing support. It was first used to write the introductory section of the *Teaching of Amenemhet I*, § 1a – § 2a (Figs 2 and 3).[11] The text is written in black ink in vertical columns between red ruled lines. The only other known examples of sections of this teaching written in vertical columns are O. Michaelides 50 (now O. LACMA 80.203.204),[12] O. DeM 1175 verso,[13] and O. DeM 1346.[14] The version on the Toronto ostracon is almost certainly the oldest example. Writing text passages in vertical columns may have been utilized in an educational context and helped students when practicing their handwriting.[15] More recently it was suggested that these examples of writing in columns represent copies made from a master-copy from a temple library.[16] In support of both suggestions one may refer to the writing in vertical columns of almost all copies of sections of the educational text par excellence, the *Kemit,* and several of another school text, the *Satire of Trades*.[17]

Without washing off the black text columns a draughtsman used the Toronto ostracon for a second time to paint a sketch in red ink of a lady seated on a chair (Fig. 4) – a figure well-known from the wall-scenes in many 18th Dynasty Theban tombs.

Seemingly not hindered by the two still visible earlier phases of use, a draughtsman then used the piece to draw an unfinished sketch in black of what has been called a catafalque or a shrine. A version of this wooden construction is also known from a wall-painting in color in the tomb of Ipuy, TT 217, at Deir el-Medina (Fig. 5).[18] The tomb will be restored and republished by a mission led by Kathrin Gabler (University of Mainz).

The upper register of the unfinished sketch contains from right to left respectively the figures of Taweret, Anubis on a stand and Bes playing a hand drum or tambourine. On the edge of the break are the remains of a decoration around a cartouche. In the example in TT 217 the cartouche contains the name of Djeserkare, i.e. Amenophis I. The apotropaic figures of Bes and Taweret are reminiscent of similar ones on the right-hand panel of the arm of the chair of princess Sitamun, Cairo CG 51113 (Fig. 6).[19]

In the middle register only a few traces remain of a Hathor-symbol and in the lower register there is a rough sketch of a bed with a lion-headed support and a leg in the shape of a Bes-figure. Bes-legged beds or biers are known from scenes on several figured ostraca from Deir el-Medina, but their context is completely different.[20] The purpose of the wooden construction represented on the Toronto ostracon and in TT 217 therefore remains to be determined. Shape and size would seem to speak against a function as catafalque. The royal names in the cartouches on the example shown in TT 217 may rather point to a function in the cult of the deified Amenophis I, who had a temple dedicated to him and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari as patron saints of the village of Deir el-Medina. The three phases of use of this ostracon are most likely all dated to the 18th Dynasty, the phases probably separated by decades, but a closer dating would be speculative.

A thrifty draughtsman has left us a broken piece of limestone with more than one open question.

10 E. NAVILLE – H.R. HALL – C.T. CURRELLY, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari* (London, 1913), p. 18.

11 F. ADROM, *Die Lehre des Amenemhet* (BiAeg 19, Turnhout, 2006), pp. 1–11.

12 H. GOEDICKE – E.F. WENTE, Ostraka Michaelides (Mainz, 1962), p. 11 and pls I and II.

13 G. POSENER, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, II (nos 1109–1167) (DFIFAO 18, 1, Cairo, 1951), pls 26–26a.

14 G. POSENER, *Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, III, 1 (nos 1267–1409) (DFIFAO 20, Cairo, 1977), pl. 8.

15 F. HAGEN, 'Ostraca, Literature and Teaching', in: R. MAIRS – A. STEVENSON (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology*, 6 (Oxford, 2007), p. 43.

16 F. HAGEN, 'Libraries in Ancient Egypt', in: K. RYHOLT – G. BARJAMOVIC (eds), *Libraries before Alexandria: Ancient Near Eastern Traditions* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 263–264.

17 See J. JURJENS, *The Teaching of Khety* (Leiden, 2024), p. 400.

18 N. DE GARIS DAVIES, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes* (New York, 1927), pl. 37.

19 J.E. QUIBELL, *The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu* (Cairo, 1908), pl. 41; T. BAGH – L. MANNICHE (eds), *Bes: Demon God – Protector of Egypt* (Copenhagen, 2021), pp. 78–79.

20 M.J. RAVEN, 'Women's Beds from Deir el-Medina', in: B.J.J. HARING – O.E. KAPER – R. VAN WALSEM (eds), *The Workman's Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (EgUit 28, Leuven – Leiden, 2014), pp. 199–202.

FIGURE 1 O. Toronto 1907.18.14. Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum
© ROM

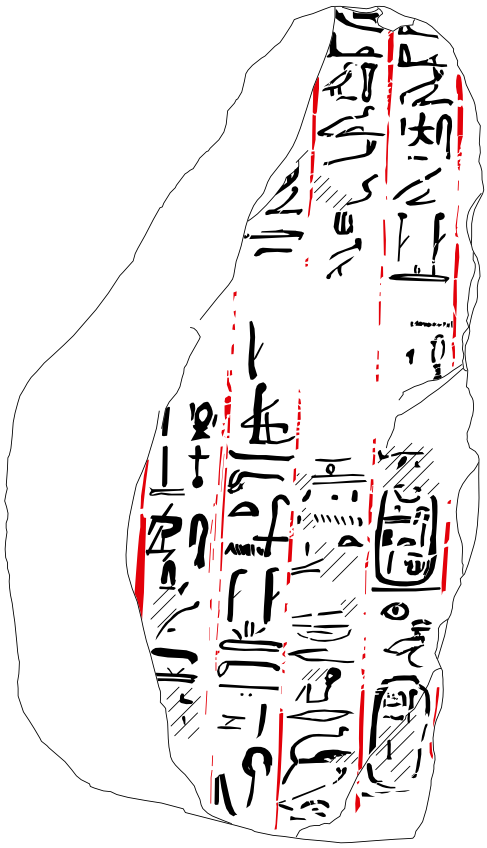

FIGURE 2 Primary use: beginning of the *Teaching of Amenemhet I*

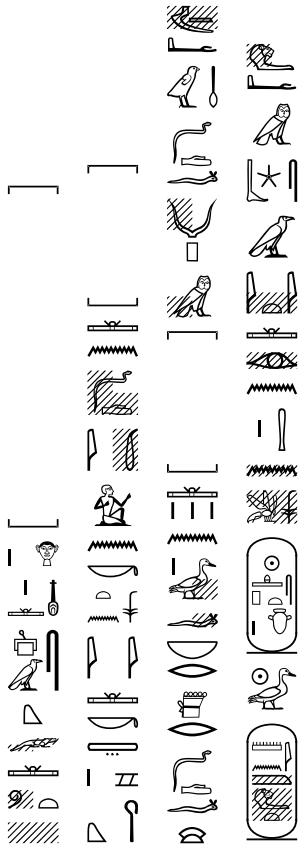

FIGURE 2A Transcription

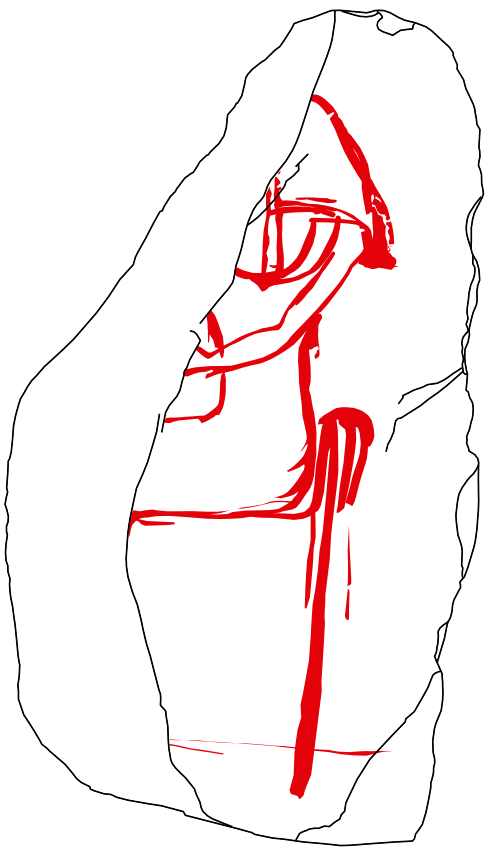

FIGURE 3 Secondary use: a sketch figure of a sitting lady

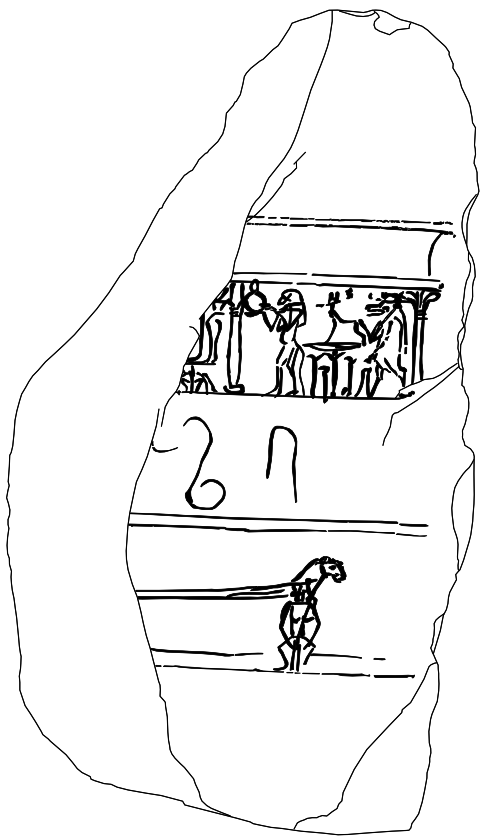

FIGURE 4 Tertiary use: an unfinished sketch of a shrine

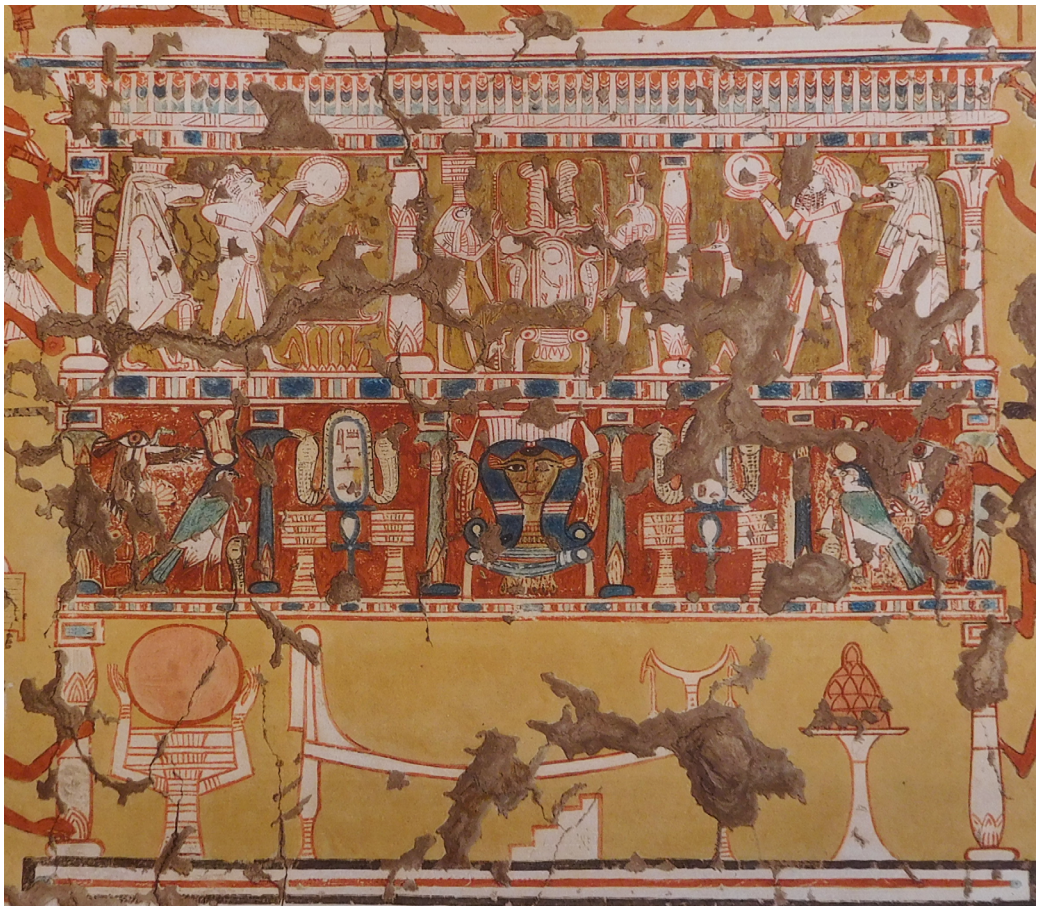

FIGURE 5
Work on a wooden shrine, wall-painting in TT 217 (After DE GARIS DAVIES, *op. cit.*, pl. 37)

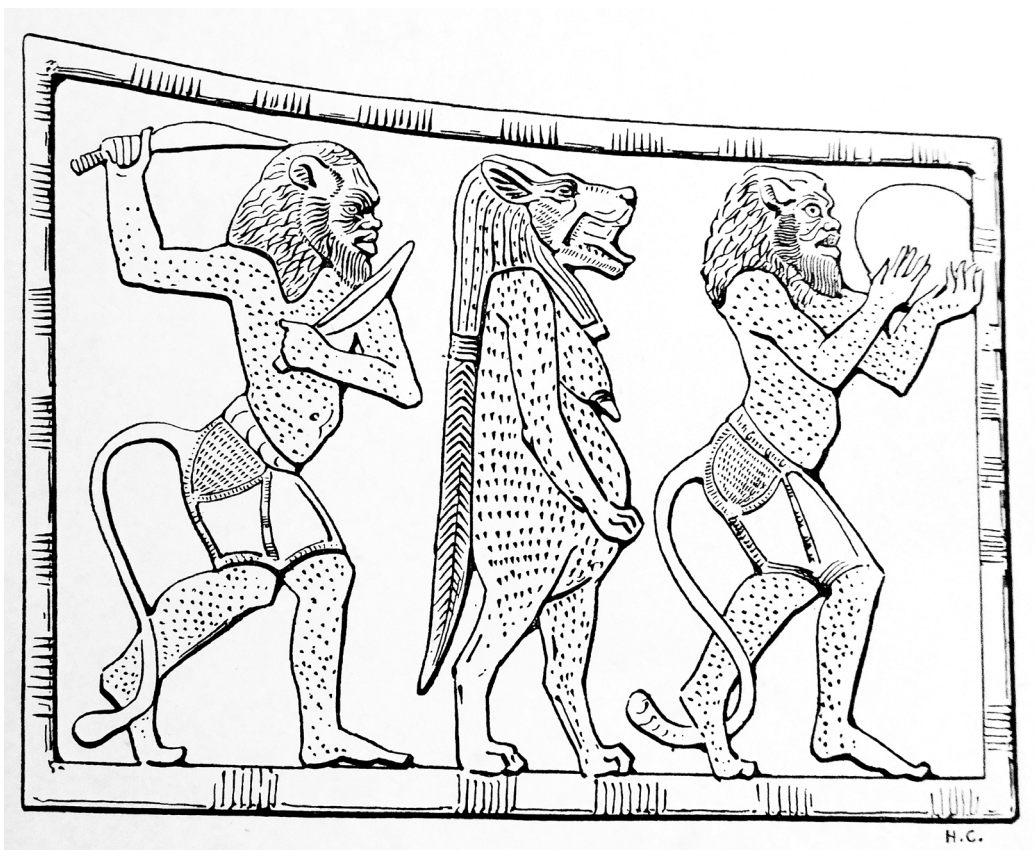

FIGURE 6
Right-hand panel of the chair of princess Sitamun (After T.M. DAVIS, *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou* [London, 1907], p. 39)

6

Un peu de démotique archaïque

Didier Devauchelle et Ghislaine Widmer

Les récents travaux de dégagement de la zone de surface au-dessus des Petits Souterrains du Sérapéum de Memphis, sous la direction de Vincent Rondot et d'Hélène Guichard (Musée du Louvre), ont livré un lot non négligeable de documents inscrits.[1] Parmi ceux-ci, cinq témoignages de dévotion à Apis, paléographiquement datables des 26e ou 27e dynasties et rédigés à l'encre noire sur des supports en calcaire ou en bois, ont attiré notre attention; nous profitons de l'occasion qui nous est offerte pour les présenter à Koen, lui qui ne craint pas de s'attaquer aux graphies cursives désespérantes! Si les trois premiers objets ont la forme classique des stèles cintrées, les deux derniers, bien qu'au contenu tout à fait similaire, se distinguent par leur apparence: ce sont des déchets remployés qui ont servi de support aux textes démotiques.

Dans cette contribution,[2] qui vise avant tout à sauver de l'oubli de modestes documents découverts dans un contexte perturbé et, pour certains d'entre eux, tracés à la hâte et sur un espace contraint, les notes et commentaires seront volontairement réduits: ainsi, nous traduirons simplement par « serviteur-*by* », « serviteur-*bak* », « serviteur-*menekh* » et « serviteur-*by-menekh* », les qualificatifs portés par les dédicants, sans discuter de leur sens plus précis.[3]

Signalons quelques stèles similaires de provenance identique et déjà publiées: CG 31085 r°–v° (26e–27e dyn.), par W. Spiegelberg,[4] et BM EA 35635 par C. Andrews,[5] auxquelles il convient d'ajouter Louvre IM 62, IM 4088 et IM 5942 (inédites). On pourra aussi comparer ces petits monuments avec quelques documents de même époque, mais dont l'inscription est incisée: Louvre IM 2772 (hiératique), BM EA 49678[6] et Berlin 2140.[7]

1 Voir la présentation générale de la mission par V. Rondot – H. Guichard, « Dans les souterrains inconnus où reposent les taureaux de Ptah », *Grande Galerie* 51 (2020), pp. 76–80, ainsi que sur le site https://halma.univ-lille.fr/vie-scientifique/activites-de-terrain/egypte/sakkara. Deux stèles découvertes dans la même zone, également en 2021, ont déjà été publiées, cf. D. Devauchelle – Gh. Widmer, « Deux nouvelles stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis », dans: S. Holvoet – R. Veymiers (éd.), *Les écritures orientales inventées, cryptées, détournées, oubliées, redécouvertes. Christian Cannuyer* in honorem (AOB 36, Bruxelles, 2023), pp. 177–184.

2 Nous remercions Günter Vittmann qui nous a suggéré quelques améliorations de lecture, ainsi que Thomas Nicq pour le traitement de certaines photographies.

3 Nous renvoyons aux discussions dans l'ouvrage de H.S. Smith – C.A.R. Andrews – S. Davies, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara: The Mother of Apis Inscriptions* (EES TEM 14, Londres, 2011), en particulier pp. 241–247.

4 W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler 30601–31166*, I: *Die demotischen Inschriften* (CGC, Leipzig, 1904), pp. 11–12 et pl. I.

5 C.A.R. Andrews, « A Memphite Miscellany: Four New Demotic Texts », dans: K. Ryholt (éd.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies* (CNIP 25, Copenhague, 2002), pp. 27–29 et pl. I. Noter toutefois que l'éditeur suggère une datation de la fin de la 30e dynastie ou du début de l'époque ptolémaïque.

6 Andrews, « A Memphite Miscellany », dans: *Acts of the Seventh International Conference*, pp. 29–30 et pl. I.

7 D. Devauchelle, « Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire du Sérapéum de Memphis (VI–X) », *RdÉ* 51 (2000), pp. 25–26 et pl. 4b.

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Doc. 1: stèle SDM 21-02-A0027

– calcaire
– h. 8 cm; l. 5,2 cm; ép. 2 cm
– zone de surface au-dessus des Petits Souterrains (secteur 02)
– démotique archaïque 26e–27e dyn. (d'après la paléographie)
– TM 1000241

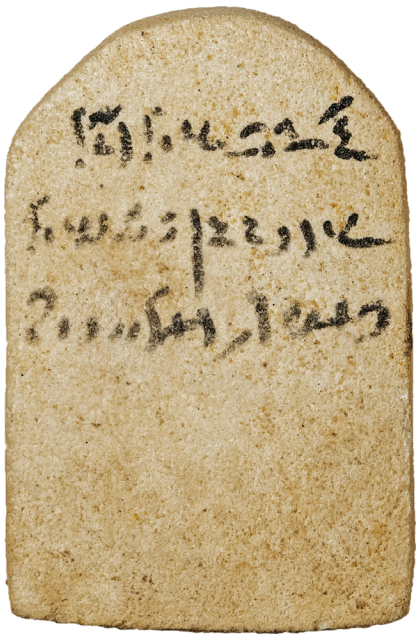

FIGURE 1 Stèle SDM 21-02-A0027
© MISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DU LOUVRE AU SÉRAPÉUM / AUDREY VIGER

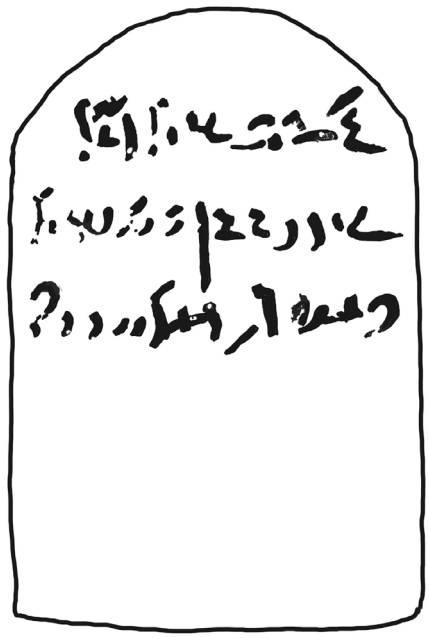

FIGURE 2 Fac-similé de la stèle SDM 21-02-A0027
© DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE

1 *bꜣk mnḫ Wsỉr-Ḥp*
2 *ʾỈỉ-m-ḥtp sꜣ Pꜣ*(?)*-dỉ-Wsỉr-*
3 *Wn-nfr* (?) *mw.t=f Ḫnsw-ỉ-ỉr-dỉ-s*

Le serviteur-*bak* d'Ousir-Hep
Imhotep fils de Pe(?)tousir-
ounnefer (?), dont la mère est Khonsouiirdis.

L. 2–3: la lecture *Pꜣ*(?)*-dỉ-Wsỉr-Wn-nfr* nous a été suggérée, avec prudence, par G. Vittmann; nous supposons donc qu'une tache surmonte l'article (?) *pꜣ* ( ). L'association des théonymes *Wsỉr* et *Wn-nfr* est rare dans la documentation onomastique du Sérapéum de Memphis, voir cependant le nom *Pꜣ-dỉ-Wsỉr-Wn-nfr* sur la stèle Louvre IM 4150, cintre et l. 2 (fin 26e–30e dyn.; É. CHASSINAT, « Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis (Suite) », *RecTrav* 23 [1901], p. 87 n° CXLVI); cf. aussi RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 123. 2 et 2, p. 356. Pour l'écriture de *Wn-nfr*, comparer avec LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 118, 1 et 2.

Doc. 2: stèle SDM 21-02-A0028

– calcaire
– h. 8,6 cm; l. 6,3 cm; ép. 1,5 cm
– zone de surface au-dessus des Petits Souterrains (secteur 02)
– démotique archaïque 26e–27e dyn. (d'après la paléographie)
– TM 1000242

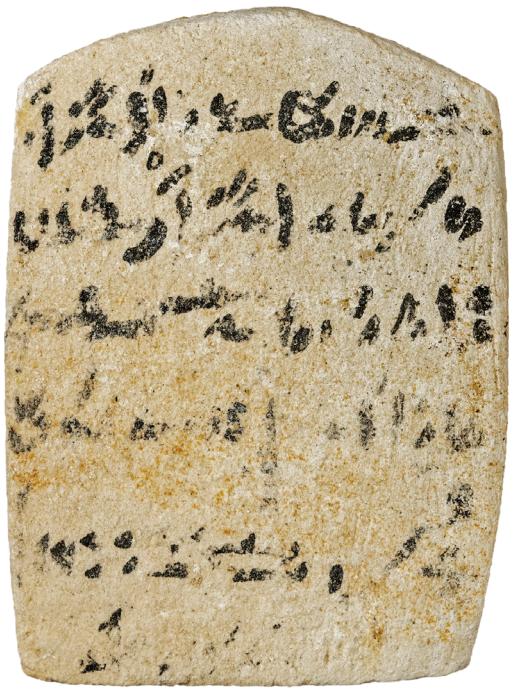

FIGURE 3 Stèle SDM 21-02-A0028 © MISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DU LOUVRE AU SÉRAPÉUM / AUDREY VIGER

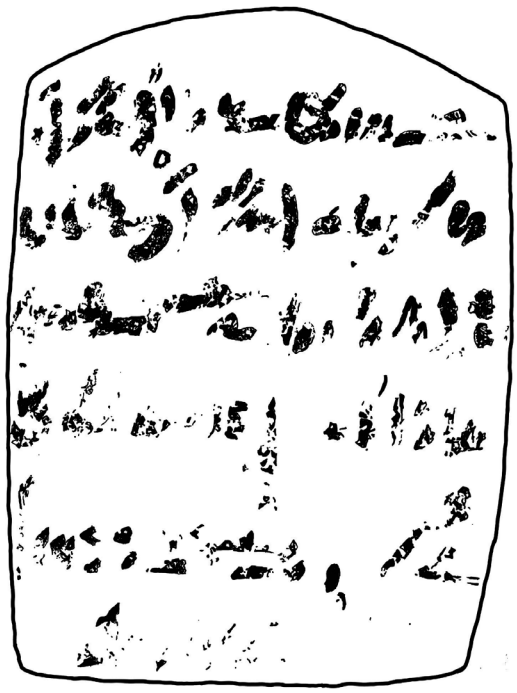

FIGURE 4 Fac-similé de la stèle SDM 21-02-A0028 © DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE

1 *by Wsir-Ḥp*
2 *ʿr-Ḥp-r-Mn-nfr*
3 *sȝ n* (?) *Pȝ-s-n-*⌜*m*⌝*tk* ⌜*bȝk*⌝(?)
4 ⌜*Wsir-Ḥp*⌝ *Ḥr* (?) … *š*(ʿ)
5 *ḏ.t* ⌜*sḫ* (?)⌝ *Pȝ-s-n-*⌜*mtk sȝ* ? …⌝
6 traces

Le serviteur-*by* d'Osiris-Apis
Ârhepermennefer
fils de Psammétique. Le serviteur-*bak* (?)
d'Osiris-Apis Hor (?) … pour
l'éternité. A écrit (?) Psammétique fils (?) de …
…

L. 2–3: la ligne 3 semble débuter par les déterminatifs de l'anthroponyme *ʿr-Ḥp-r-Mn-nfr* cité à la ligne précédente; pour ce nom, voir RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 70. 16 et LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 106 et *Korrekturen und Nachträge*, p. 138; voir encore M. THIRION, « Notes d'onomastique », *RdÉ* 55 (2004), p. 152.

La lecture *bȝk* à la fin de cette ligne est une suggestion, tant la formulation est banale, malgré l'espace particulièrement restreint; le titre de serviteur-*bak* peut être employé seul ou suivi de Osiris-Apis, var. Apis-Osiris, cf. SMITH – ANDREWS – DAVIES, *The Mother of Apis Inscriptions*, pp. 241–242.

Doc. 3: stèle SDM 21-02-A0039

- calcaire
- h. 16,5 cm; l. 9,8 cm; ép. 3,5 cm (maximum)
- zone de surface au-dessus des Petits Souterrains (secteur 02)
- démotique archaïque 26e–27e dyn. (d'après la paléographie)
- TM 1000243

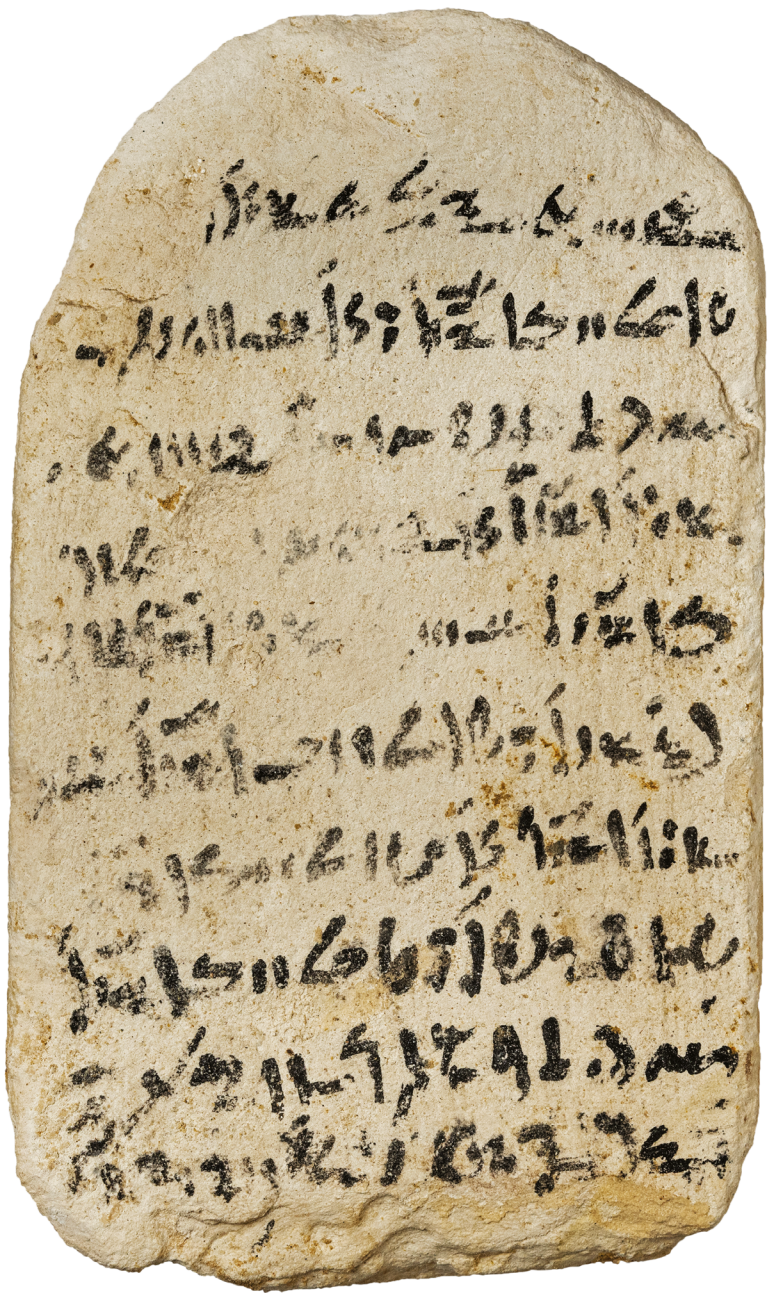

FIGURE 5 Stèle SDM 21-02-A0039
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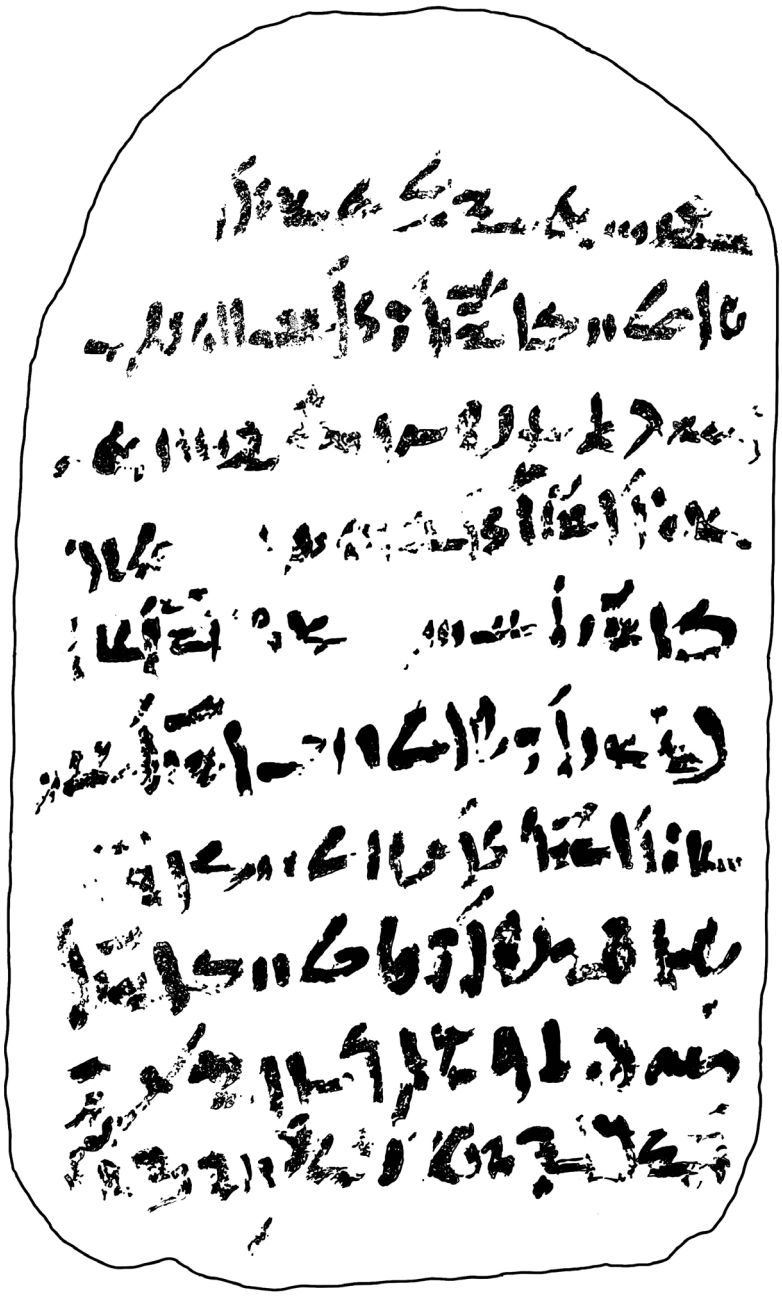

FIGURE 6 Fac-similé de la stèle SDM 21-02-A0039
© DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE

1	*by mnḫ Wsỉr-*[*Ḥp*]	Le serviteur-*by-menekh* d'Osiris-[Apis]
2	*Pꜣ-ʿnḫ-ỉ-ỉr-Ḥp sꜣ Ḥr-Bs*	Paânkhiirhep fils de Horbes
3	*ms Nfr(.t)-ỉw* (?) *by n* (?)	qu'a enfanté Nefer(et)iou. Le serviteur-*by*
4	*Wsỉr-Ḥp Ḥr-*⌜*Bs*⌝ [*sꜣ Pꜣ-*ʿ]*nḫ-ỉ-*	d'Osiris-Apis Horbes [fils de Paâ]nki-
5	*-ỉr-Ḥp by* ⌜*Wsỉr*⌝*-Ḥp ʾỉỉ-*	irhep. Le serviteur-by d'Osiris-Apis I-
6	*-m-ḥtp sꜣ Pꜣ-*ʿ*nḫ-ỉ-ỉr-Ḥp b*(*y*) (?)	mhotep fils de Paânkhiirhep. Le serviteur-*by* (?)
7	*Wsỉr-Ḥp Ḥr sꜣ Pꜣ-*ʿ*nḫ-ỉ-ỉr-Ḥp*	d'Osiris-Apis Hor fils de Paânkhiirhep.
8	*Pꜣ-dỉ-*(*ʾỉ*)*tm* (?) *sꜣ Pꜣ-*ʿ*nḫ-ỉ-ỉr-Ḥp*	Padi(a)toum (?) fils de Paânkhiirhep,
9	*ms Stꜣ.ṯ-ỉr.t-b*(*ỉ*)*n.t*	qu'a enfanté Setjatiretbinet.
10	*rn=w mn r nḥḥ š*(ʾ) *ḏ.t*	Leur nom demeure pour toujours et à jamais.

Cette petite stèle évoque les membres de la famille de *P3-ʿnḫ-i-ỉr-Ḥp* fils de *Ḥr-Bs* et de *Nfr(.t)-ỉw* (?), à savoir, si nous avons bien compris, son épouse et ses quatre fils.

L. 2, 4–5, 6, 7 et 8: pour le nom *P3-ʿnḫ-i-ỉr-Ḥp*, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 103.3, et 2, p. 352; il se rencontre sur deux stèles du Sérapéum datées de l'an 20–21 de Psammétique Ier, IM 2645 (PM III², 811: graffite cursif) et IM 3087 (PM III², 792: hiéroglyphes gravés, nom cité 3 fois; exemple cité par Ranke, *Personennamen*). Nous remercions G. Vittmann qui a attiré notre attention sur la présence de l'article *p3* au début de ce nom. On remarquera également que, dans sa hâte (?), le scribe de la stèle a omis le signe vertical *ʿnḫ* à la ligne 8 et qu'il semble avoir condensé les groupes *s3* et *P3* (ligne 7).

L. 2 et 4: pour l'anthroponyme *Ḥr-Bs* (peut-être pourvu d'un second déterminatif après celui de la peau d'animal), cf. Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 800 et *Korrekturen und Nachträge*, p. 190, ainsi que D. Meeks, « Le nom du dieu Bès et ses implications mythologiques », dans: U. Luft (éd.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (StudAeg 14, Budapest, 1992), p. 424.

L. 3: Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 1067: *T3-nfr.t-ỉỉ.ṭ* (aussi Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 364. 2 et 2, p. 396), var. *T3-nfr(.t)-ỉw*, et les deux noms sans le *T3* initial, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 201. 12 (*Nfr.t-ỉỉ.tỉ*), 13 (*Nfr(.t)-ỉw*) et Ranke, *Personennamen*, 2, p. 370.

L. 8: la lecture du nom divin Atoum dans l'anthroponyme *P3-dỉ-(ỉ)tm* (?) est vraisemblable, même si aucune graphie tout à fait comparable ne peut être rapprochée, cf. Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 294, et *Korrekturen und Nachträge*, p. 160.

L. 10: les traces en début de ligne pourraient être celles de l'article *n3* devant *rn.w*, mais les parallèles nous ont incités à lire *rn=w* seul.

Doc. 4: tablette SDM 21-02-A0059

- bois
- h. 6,4 cm; l. 10,5 cm; ép. 1,5 cm (maximum)
- zone de surface au-dessus des Petits Souterrains (secteur 02)
- démotique archaïque 26e–27e dyn. (d'après la paléographie)
- TM 1000244

Recto

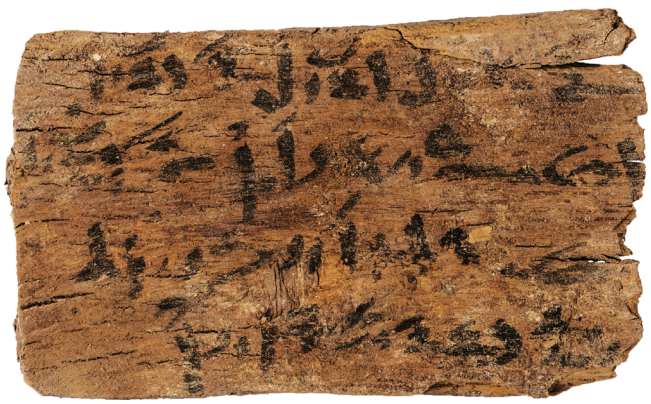

FIGURE 7 Tablette SDM 21-02-A0059 face A
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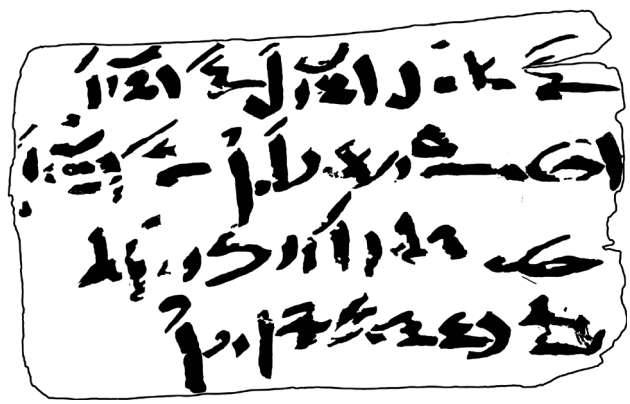

FIGURE 8 Fac-similé de la tablette SDM 21-02-A0059 face A
© DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE

1	*b3k Wsỉr-Ḥp b3k Ḥp*	Le serviteur-*bak* d'Osiris-Apis et serviteur-*bak* d'Apis
2	*ʿnḫ Ḫn(?)-ỉmn s3 b3k Ḥp*	vivant Khen(?)imen fils du serviteur-*bak* d'Apis
3	*⸢ʿ⸣nḫ Ḫnsw(?)-i-ỉr-ʿw*	vivant Khonsou(?)iirâou;
4	*P3-s-n-mtk-mnḫ p3y=f s3*	Psammétiquemenekh son fils;

Verso

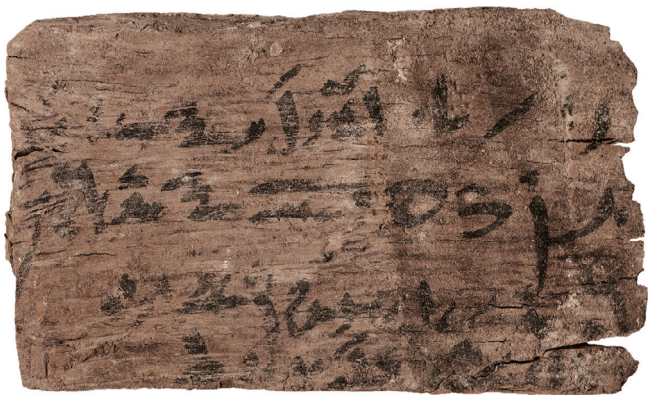

FIGURE 9 Tablette SDM 21-02-A0059 face B
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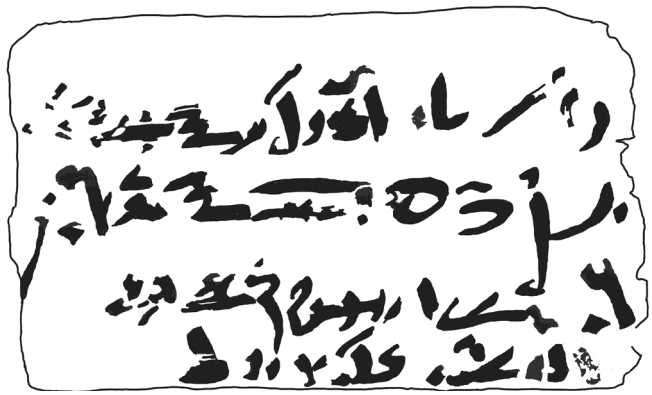

FIGURE 10 Fac-similé de la tablette SDM 21-02-A0059 face B
© DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE

1 *ʿr-Ḥp-r-Mn-nfr*
2 *pꜣy=f sꜣ Nʿ-nꜥs-Bꜣst.t sn.t*(?)*=f*
3 *mw.t=f* (?) *Tꜣ-dì-…*
4 *… ḥm.t* (?) *Ḥr-ḫb* (?) *pꜣy=f* (?) *šr* (?)

Ârhepermennefer
son fils; Nâenesbastet, sa sœur (?);
sa (?) mère Tadi …
… épouse (?); Horkheb (?) son (?) fils (?).

Comme mentionné en introduction, le texte a été peint (recto-verso, tête-bêche) sur un élément de forme biseautée, récupéré ou, du moins, qui n'était pas initialement prévu à cet effet.

FIGURE 11 Tablette SDM 21-02-A0059 face B
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Les documents de ce type en bois et provenant de Saqqara nord sont exceptionnels, sans doute en raison de leur fragilité: stèle (Groppi n°1, cf. D. Devauchelle, « Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire du Sérapéum de Memphis (vi–x) », *RdÉ* 51 (2000), pp. 21–23 et pl. 3) et plaquette de bois (Saqqara H6–161 [1957]; transcription et traduction de J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Ḥor* [ees tem 2, Londres, 1976], pp. 151–154). En revanche, les fouilles britanniques dans la nécropole des animaux ont mis au jour divers objets en bois (statues, socles de bronze, naos, etc.), voir, par exemple, Chr. Insley Green, *The Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra 1964–1976* (ees em 53, Londres, 1987), pp. 5–39, et E.A. Hastings, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra 1964–76* (ees em 61, Londres, 1997, pp. 32–34 (par H.S. Smith).

r° l. 2: la lecture proposée, *Ḫn*(?)-*ʾImn*, est très hypothétique et ne correspond à aucune formation onomastique connue.

r° l. 3: la lecture du nom divin est incertaine; à l'appui de notre suggestion, *Ḫnsw-ỉ-ỉr-ꜥw*, voir Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, pp. 876–877, et *Korrekturen und Nachträge*, p. 193.

r° l. 4: les anthroponymes composés sur le nom royal Psammétique sont assez fréquents à la 26e dynastie, dans la région memphite en particulier, mais le composé Psammétiquemenekh(ib) est rare, cf. Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 214, et *Korrekturen und Nachträge*, p. 152. Nous avons considéré que le groupe *ỉb* après *mnḫ* est un déterminatif, cf. *ḥr*(*ỉ*), « être content, être satisfait ».

v° l. 1: concernant *ꜥr-Ḥp-r-Mn-nfr*, voir *supra* doc. 2 note de la l. 2.

v° l. 2: pour *Nꜥ-n≠s-Bȝst.t*, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 182, 17, et 2, p. 366; comparer avec *Nꜥ-n≠f-Bȝst.t* dans Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch, Korrekturen und Nachträge*, p. 185.

La lecture *sn.t*(?)*≠f* est incertaine, mais pourrait convenir au contexte, puisque le dédicant semble mentionner plusieurs membres de sa famille sur l'inscription: d'abord son père, ses deux fils, puis, peut-être, sa sœur, sa mère et son épouse; comparer avec la stèle bm ea 35635 (Andrews, « A Memphite Miscellany », dans: *Acts of the Seventh International Conference*, pp. 27–29) où « son frère » apparaît aux côtés des deux enfants du dédicant dans une formulation similaire à la nôtre.

v° l. 3: Tadi … est l'épouse de Khonsouiirâou et la mère de Khen(?)imen. Nous serions tentés de translitérer ce nom *Tȝ-dỉ-pȝ-nfr-ḥȝ.t* (à rapprocher de *Nfr-ḥȝ.t*, dans Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 198, 1; nous remercions le relecteur anonyme pour cette suggestion), plutôt que *Tȝ-dỉ-pȝ-nfr-nḥm* (cf. Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 1157), qui était notre première hypothèse.

v° l. 4: la dernière ligne est problématique. Si l'on admet la lecture *Ḥr-ḫb*, il faut considérer que la graphie de l'anthroponyme a été écourtée en raison du manque de place; on ne comprend cependant pas le lien avec le groupe *ḥm.t* (?) qui précède. En outre, nous ne savons pas expliquer la mention d'un troisième (?) fils qui serait désigné par *pȝy≠f* (?) *šr* (?), alors que les deux précédents sont qualifiés de *pȝy≠f sȝ*.

Doc 5: bloc sdm 21-02-A0114

- calcaire
- h. 8 cm; l. 4,5 cm
- zone de surface au-dessus des Petits Souterrains (secteur 02)
- démotique archaïque 26e–27e dyn. (d'après la paléographie)
- tm 1000245

Face A

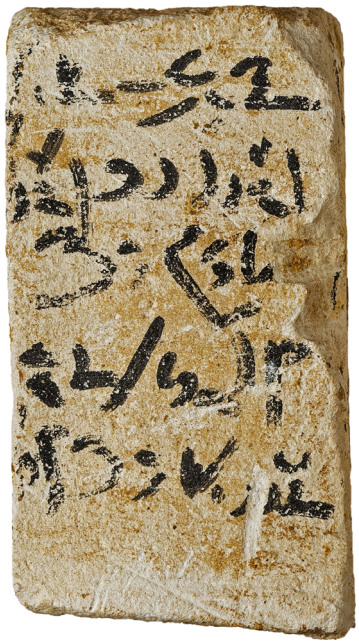

FIGURE 12
Bloc SDM 21-02-A0114
face A
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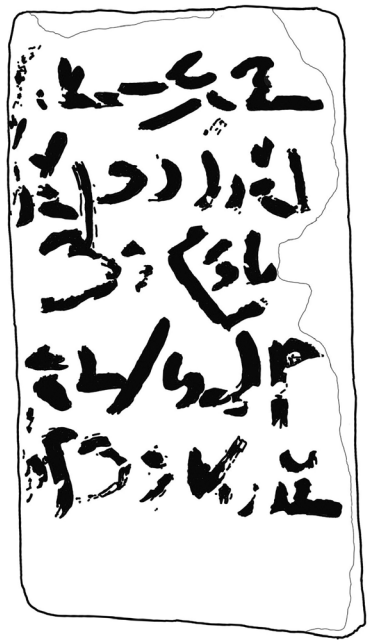

FIGURE 13
Fac-similé du bloc SDM
21-02-A0114 face A
© DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE

1	*mnḫ n Wsỉr-*	Le serviteur-menekh d'Osiris-
2	*Ḥp ...-Ḥp-*	Apis ... hep-
3	*... sꜣ Wn*	... fils de Oun-
4	*... ʿr-tꜣ*(?)-	... Ârta(?)-
5	*... sꜣ Wn- ...*	... fils de Oun- ...

Face B

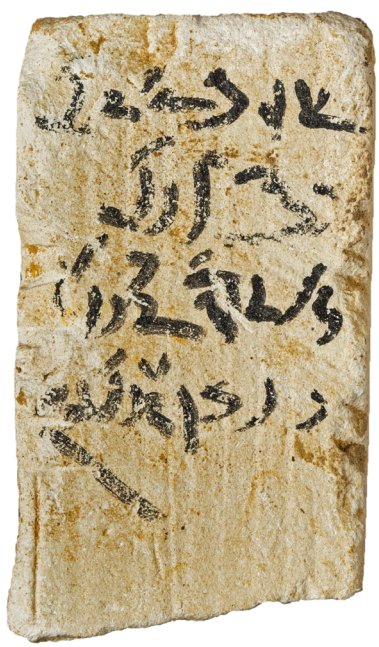

FIGURE 14
Bloc SDM 21-02-A0114
face B
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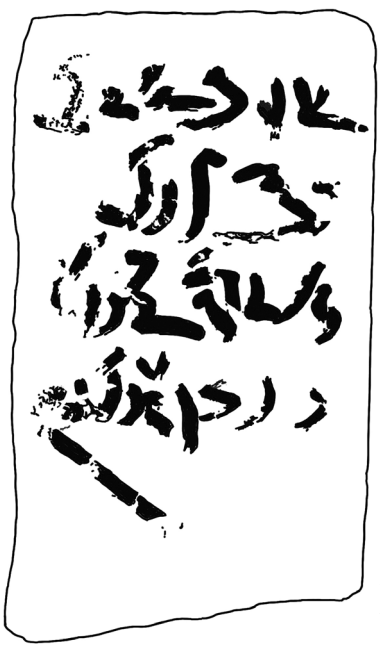

FIGURE 15
Fac-similé du bloc SDM
21-02-A0114 face B
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1	*ʾỈỉ-m-ḥtp*	Imhotep
2	*sꜣ Wn- ...*	fils de Oun ...
3	*ʿr-tꜣ*(?)- ...	Ârta ... (?)
4	*sꜣ ... -Ḥp- ...*	fils de ... hep ...

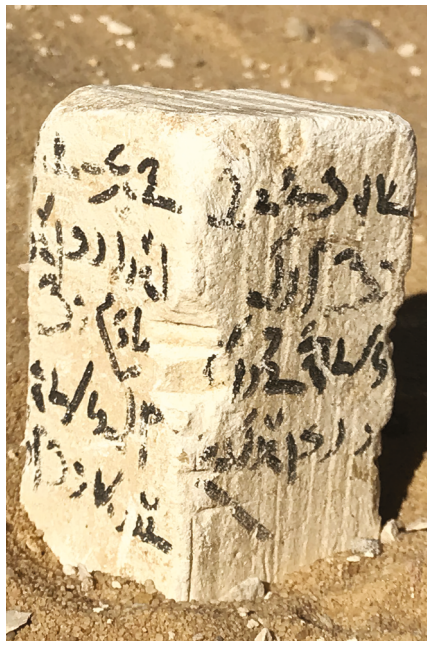

FIGURE 16 Bloc SDM 21-02-A0114
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Ce petit bloc de huit centimètres de haut est, à notre connaissance, le seul monument de ce type qui ait été trouvé à ce jour au Sérapéum de Memphis: il était peut-être déposé à même le sol (voir Fig. 16). L'ordre de lecture proposé pour les deux faces n'est pas celui que l'on attendrait, c'est-à-dire de droite à gauche en suivant l'orientation de l'écriture; nous avons en effet considéré que la présence du titre *mnḫ* marquait le début du texte, d'autant plus que l'espace demeuré vierge est plus important sur la face B que sur la face A. Malgré le bon état de préservation des inscriptions, en dehors du nom Imhotep (face B, l. 1), nous ne parvenons pas à proposer de lecture satisfaisante pour les autres anthroponymes qui apparaissent pourtant à plusieurs reprises sur le bloc. Nous avons aussi été tentés de considérer le groupe débutant par *Wn* comme un titre (*wn-nṯr* [?]) plutôt qu'un anthroponyme, mais nous avons renoncé à cette solution par manque de parallèle. Nous reproduisons ci-dessous les éléments qui se répètent:

A l. 2–3 et B l. 4: ... *-Ḥp-* ...[8]

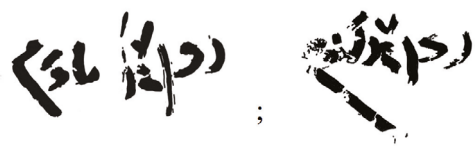

FIGURE 17

A l. 3–4, l. 5 et B l. 2: *Wn-* ...

FIGURE 18

A l. 4–5 et B l. 3: *ꜥr-tȝ*(?)- ...

FIGURE 19

8 Noter la différence dans le tracé du deuxième signe de l'anthroponyme qui est peut-être due à une tache d'encre. Dans la seconde partie, le déterminatif du lotus et les éléments qui le précèdent évoquent le groupe *ḥb*, « fête ».

7

One Man's Trash Is an Abnormal Hieraticist's Treasure: an Abnormal Hieratic Account from Sheikh ʿAbd el-Qurna

Charlotte Dietrich and Elena L. Hertel

It was not easy to find an abnormal hieratic papyrus to surprise Koen with – usually when one is identified, it is sent straight to him. Fortunately, we managed to intercept this one so it should do the trick. This article is a preliminary presentation of one of the better-preserved parts of the papyrus pLHTT4975. A full publication is in preparation, but it will take some time to reassemble the many fragments that have been found. As the reader can see, we have also left some reading problems to keep Koen entertained.[1]

pLHTT4975
Thebes (Sheikh ʿAbd el-Qurna), late 25th or early 26th Dynasty
TM 1000246

Find Context

The papyrus pLHTT4975 was discovered in March 2018 during the excavations of the Life Histories of Theban Tombs project of the University of Basel at Sheikh ʿAbd el-Qurna.[2] It was located in the archaeological unit AU 1000 which describes the large debris mound located above the tomb K555 (Fig. 1) and more precisely in the stratum 1251. The debris hill is an accumulation of material moved there by earlier missions excavating in the area and produced, among a variety of ancient objects apparently discarded by the excavators, some modern objects that help to identify which missions may have been responsible for creating the heap. Potential candidates range from Walter B. Emery's work at TT 97 from 1924 to 1926 to the relatively recent excavations of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) at TT 84 from 1996 to 1998. A currently ongoing study[3] on the different layers and finds of the spoil heap may shed more light on the provenance of pLHTT4975 and maybe provide more detailed information on the original find spot of the papyrus. To date, it can only be concluded that one of the earlier excavators either overlooked the papyrus or decided to discard it.

Description

The manuscript was found in three clusters of twisted and deformed papyrus fragments (Fig. 2). After restoration and cleaning, it could be confirmed that all fragments belong to the same manuscript which, judging by the textual content and the more or less regular vertical break patterns, is likely to have been part of a longer roll. It is made up of a total of 70 fragments, ranging from sizeable pieces preserving several lines of text to minuscule ones with only a few ink traces or none at all. The quality of the papyrus was described by the conservator as medium to coarse, with the fragments showing a degree of variance in colour from grey to brown and yellowish. Occasional ink smudges and traces of erased earlier inscriptions make it likely that the papyrus is a palimpsest, although it cannot be excluded that this is only the result of occasional corrections. The papyrus is inscribed on one side only, except for one fragment, 1251_35, which shows partly erased traces of numerals on the verso.

The part of the papyrus presented here is a comparatively well-preserved section with three columns of text, of which the rightmost one (col. I) consists only of a few signs and ink traces. It is made up of the fragments numbered 1251_47, 1251_48, 1251_49, 1251_50, 1251_51, 1251_55, and 1251_59 (Fig. 3). Given the relatively wide margin at the bottom, it is likely that this is the bottom part of the manuscript. How much is missing at the top is difficult to judge. Its dimensions are 24 cm in height and 18 cm in width. On the part of the manuscript presented here, traces of erased earlier inscriptions are particularly noticeable in the area of col. III. Nothing of the original

1 We thank the team of the Life Histories of Theban Tombs project for entrusting us with the publication of this papyrus and for providing all the information on the excavation and find context. Several colleagues have been a great help in deciphering this papyrus. We are particularly indebted to Günter Vittmann, Cary Martin, and Gert Baetens for their suggestions on several reading problems.

2 A. Loprieno-Gnirs (ed.), *Life Histories of Theban Tombs. Transdisciplinary Investigations of a Cluster of Rock-Cut Tombs at Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna* (Cairo, 2021).

3 To be published as N. Villars et al., *Archaeological Analysis and Validation of Twentieth Century Excavation Spoil* (forthcoming).

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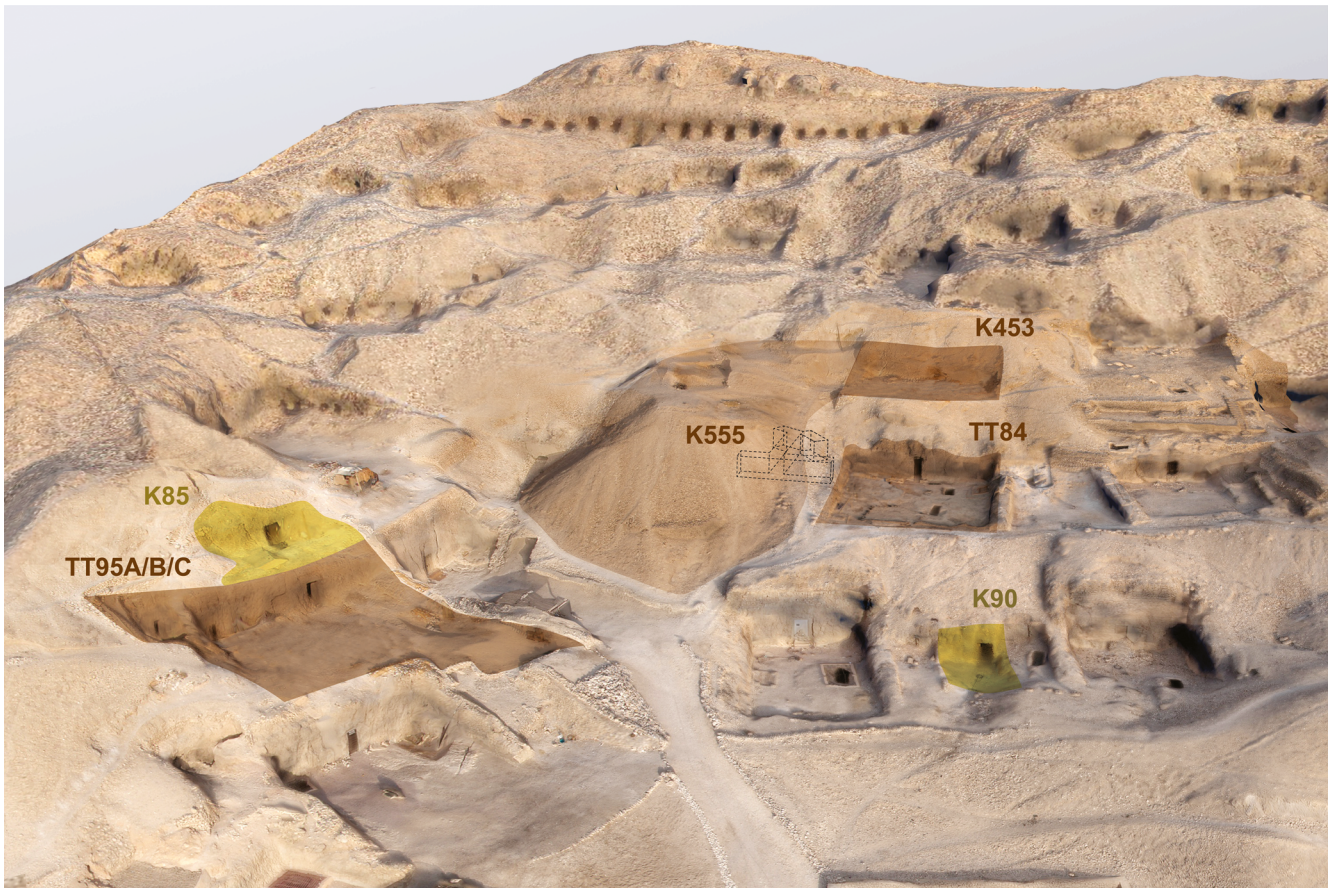

FIGURE 1 Overview of the excavation area of the LHTT mission
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FIGURE 2 The papyrus before restoration
© UNIVERSITY OF BASEL, LHTT

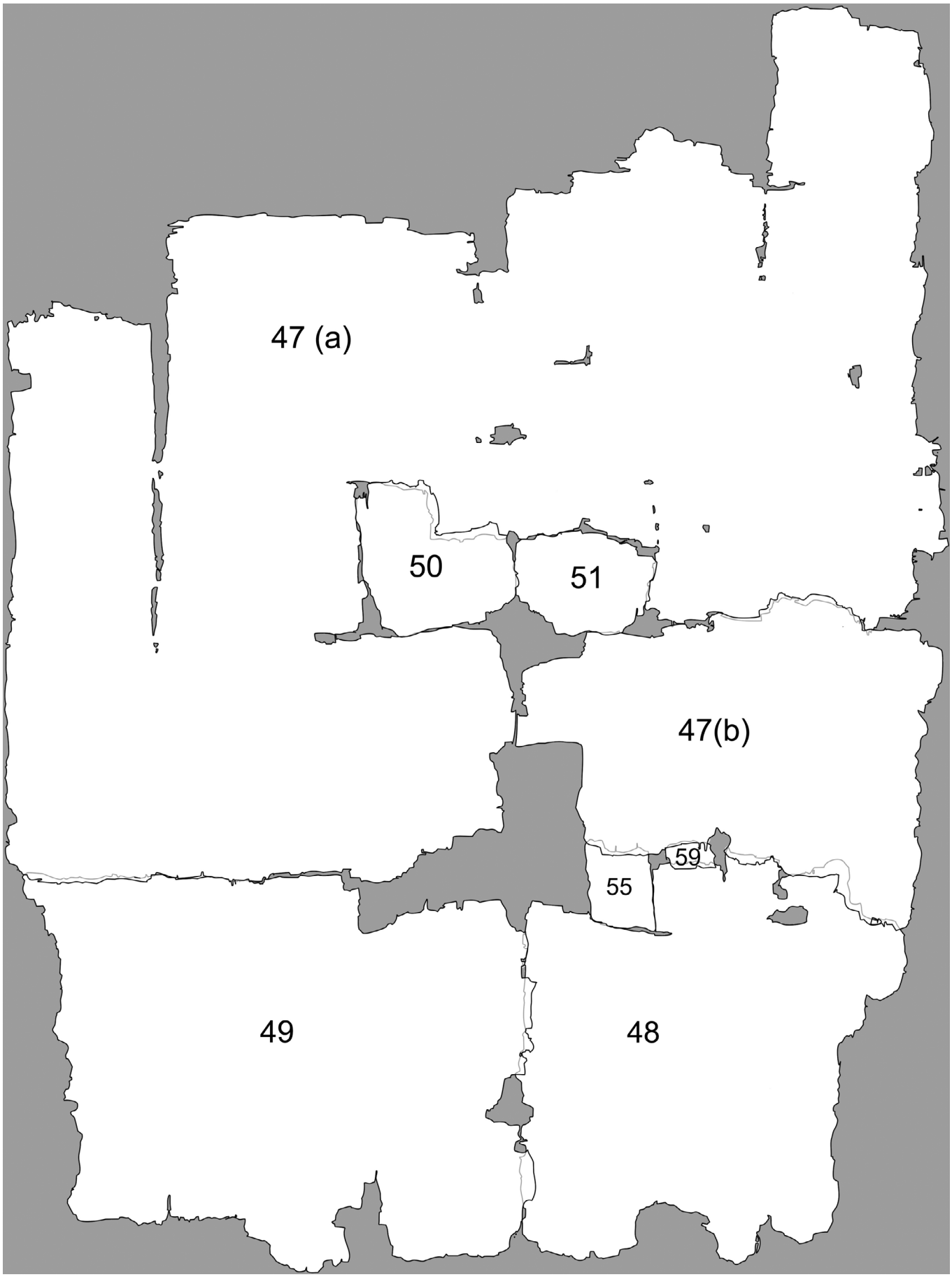

FIGURE 3 Overview of the joined fragments (1251_47+48+49+50+51+55+59)

text can be discerned, but the long vertical strokes typical for figures over 100 indicate that the earlier text was also likely an account. Some strokes are clearly made in a darker ink than the main text and appear to be unrelated to it. They may have been part of an earlier inscription phase or got on the papyrus by accident.

Text Content

The text is divided into several sections listing entities (individuals with a title or filiation, or a group of people with the same occupation), to each of which a number is assigned indicating a quantity of an unspecified product. At the end of such a section, the scribe made a calculation of totals (*dmḏ*) and remainders (*mn*). The text also contains sections of more detailed calculations, beginning with a date and including the values of totals (*dmḏ*), remainders (*mn*), sums (*ḥr*), expenses (*ḫ3.w*), etc.

The fragments published here provide only one section with a date, year 5, 3rd month of the *šmw*-season, day 12. Another fragment (1251_18) preserves another date, year 5, 3rd month of the *šmw* season, but unfortunately the day date is lost, so that – if the preserved part is representative of the whole manuscript – it can only be concluded that the entries were made at intervals of two or three weeks, if not more frequently.[4]

Comparable Documents

Not many abnormal hieratic accounts on papyrus are known and even fewer are already published. The largest examples are certainly P. Vaucelles[5] and the accounts on the verso of P. Queen's College.[6] More fragmentary but probably as large or even larger is P. BM EA 10798.[7] Some smaller pieces of various accounts are going to be published by Günter Vittmann.[8] Two frames containing several small fragments with abnormal hieratic script that most likely belong to accounts were recovered from a 'made up roll' in the British Museum.[9] So far published accounts are those on P. Cologne 5632,[10] the verso of P. Duke 648,[11] and on P. Cairo CG 50012.[12]

Comparable in content, although written on a different carrier, are accounts on pottery. One was found on a 'sausage jar' in Gurna and was published by Vittmann[13] and another was recently identified as being inscribed with abnormal hieratic in the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin.[14] Of a slightly earlier date is probably the account on a jar published only as a facsimile in Ayrton et al.[15]

Although fragmentary, our document appears to have originally been a longer roll inscribed with several columns of the same account. With 24+ cm in height, it may have been of a slightly smaller size than P. Vaucelles (35 cm height). Taking all the fragments into account, it would have had at least five columns of text, likely more. The handwriting is relatively even across all fragments, although some parts appear to be written a bit more hurried than the fragment under discussion here. Overall, the handwriting is very tidy and well-shaped, with signs of a height of about 0.6 to 0.8 cm.

Dating and Handwriting

The papyrus preserves a date, but unfortunately without mentioning a ruler and a rather non-diagnostic regnal year 5 that does not exclude any of the rulers of Dynasties 25 and 26. In our subjective opinion the handwriting appears early which may be due to aspects such as a clear separation of the signs and some rather elaborate shapes that are more reminiscent of classical hieratic than the more extreme abbreviation of signs and sign groups in demotic. It is noticeable that, compared to other

4 In comparison, the recto of P. Vaucelles has 36 entries in less than six months, so an average of an entry about every five days.

5 P. BM EA 87512. To be published by the jubilee.

6 H.-W. Fischer-Elfert – G. Vittmann, forthcoming.

7 To be published by P. Hogenboom-Meijerink.

8 E.g. P. Heidelberg D 645 and a papyrus discovered by the Polish excavations in Thebes West, see G. Vittmann, 'Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen (und neue Texte)', in: U. Verhoeven (ed.), *Ägyptologische „Binsen"-Weisheiten I–II: Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik. Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013* (AAWMainz 14, Stuttgart, 2015), p. 417.

9 P. BM EA 76182 and P. BM EA 10984, to be published by I. Christensen and E.L. Hertel.

10 G. Vittmann, 'Eine "protodemotische" Abrechnung aus der Dritten Zwischenzeit (Papyrus Köln 5632)', in: S.-W. Hsu – V.P.-M. Laisney – J. Moje (eds), *Ein Kundiger, der in die Gottesworte eingedrungen ist: Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkeln zum 65. Geburtstag* (ÄAT 99, Münster, 2020), pp. 317–343.

11 See the contribution by G. Vittmann in this volume.

12 W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler 30601–31270, 50001–50022*, II: *Die demotischen Papyrus* (CGC, Strassburg, 1906–1908), pp. 329–332 and pl. 143.

13 G. Vittmann, 'Eine kursivhieratische Gefäßinschrift aus Gurna', in: K. Donker van Heel – F.A.J. Hoogendijk – C.J. Martin (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There is no End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming* (P. L.Bat. 34, Leiden – Boston, 2018), pp. 81–100.

14 Inv. Berlin ÄM 601, to be published by R. Kade.

15 E.R. Ayrton – C.T. Currelly – A.E.P. Weigall, *Abydos*, III (EES EM 25, London, 1904).

accounts in abnormal hieratic, the script is very tidy with well-spaced signs and the shapes are not as simplified as e.g. on P. Vaucelles or P. BM EA 10798. Obviously, this could also be a peculiarity of the scribe and does not necessarily relate to the date of the text. However, the papyrus clearly comes from a time where typical abnormal hieratic traits such as the use of the multifunctional sign were already fully developed. For that reason, a dating in the period before Dynasty 25 appears less likely.

Some of the personal names could be helpful for dating the papyrus. Most obviously, the name Montuemhat is rather prominent (col. II, x+11 'the scribe Montuemhat'; col. II, x+15 'the people of Montuemhat'; col. II, x+17, 'the prophet of Amun Montuemhat'). Since the most notable Montuemhat in Egyptian history was the well-known mayor of Thebes during the reigns of Taharqa, Tanetamani, and Psamtik I, this may be a possible indication that the papyrus belongs to the late 25th or early 26th Dynasty.[16] Hopefully, further research on the other fragments and possibly more information via the archaeological context will clarify the issue in the future.

What Is Calculated?

At the current state of research, it is uncertain as to what exactly the scribe of this papyrus was taking notes for. It is clear that both individual people as well as groups of people are correlated with sums; however, it cannot be determined if these are payments to the people, or debts collected, or the like. Overall, it can be observed that our writer seems to finish the list of people with a calculation which, at least in this section, is concluded with two totals (*dmḏ*) and all remainders (*nb n.tj mn*). In column II this is followed by an addition of some sort that is defined with a term that we could not decipher (see below, comment to col. II, x+24), but that appears to have been added to the remainder, since the calculation 1804 ('all that remains', x+23) + 135 (? (*p; ḏrp*), x+24) = 1939 ('total', x+25) adds up. The lower part of column III seems to be the end of an entry and/or the beginning of a new one. A date and the name of the possible scribe are written in a section containing further calculations, parts of which are still unclear to us at the moment.

Some of the accounting terms are of interest for understanding the purpose of the document. For instance, the term *p; ꜥḥꜥ* (col. III, x+8) is listed as being equivalent to the value 248. Translations of the term *ꜥḥꜥ* vary and its exact purpose in accounting contexts is not entirely clear yet (see comment on col. III, x+8 below). In this case, it can be said with certainty that *ꜥḥꜥ* seems to refer to some sort of standing or recurring expense or income since it appears on two other fragments and always has the value 248.

In general, it is noticeable that the values listed after the persons and groups of persons are relatively small, ranging from 2 to 20, while the totals and remainders calculated between the sections are extremely large, ranging from high hundreds to even thousands. This leads to the conclusion that this document is probably not a simple list of small transactions, but used by an individual working for a more complicated administrative apparatus in which large sums of money were reorganised.

16 It is worth considering that listing a group of individuals not by name but with the information 'the people of Montuemhat' (col. II, x+15) only makes sense if said Montuemhat is prominent enough to make this identification unambiguous. However, without knowing the context of the document and which audience it is directed at, it cannot be said with certainty that the text is referring to the mayor of Thebes.

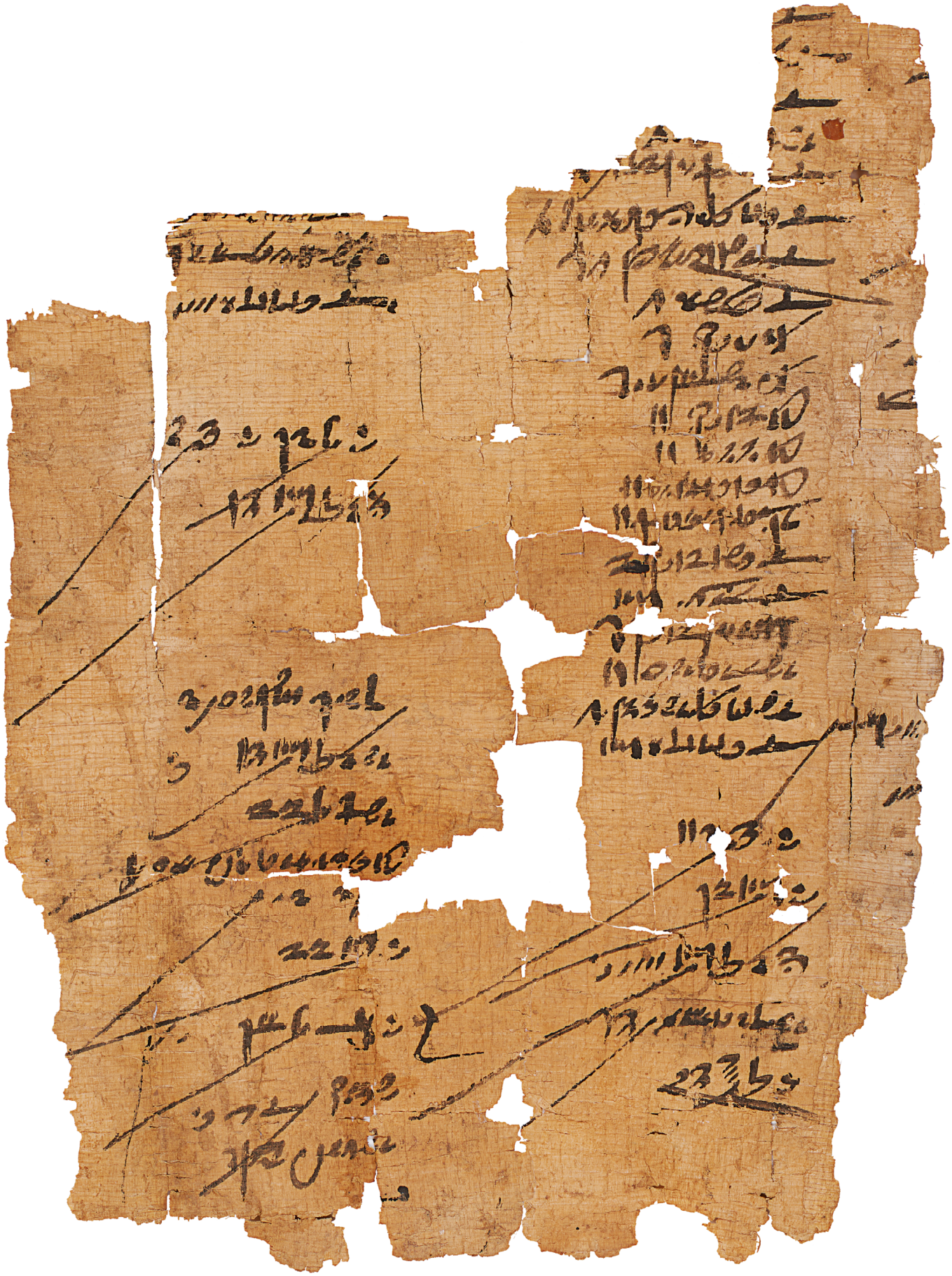

FIGURE 4 pLHTT4975 as reconstructed so far

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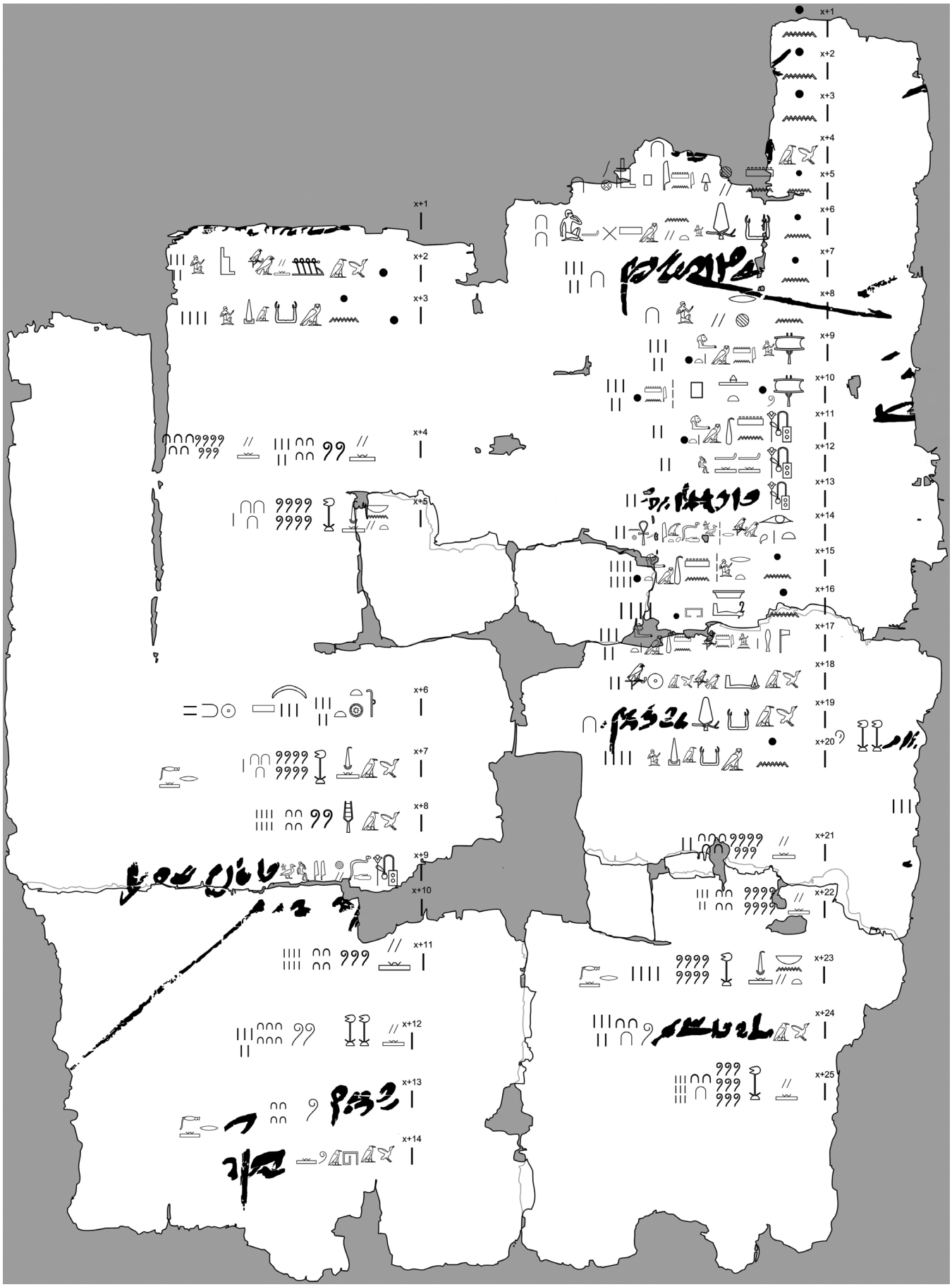


FIGURE 5 Hieroglyphic transcription of pLHTT4975 (illustration by the authors)

Transliteration and Translation

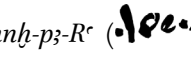
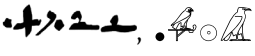
Col. I

	Transliteration	Translation
x+1	[...] traces	[...] traces
x+2	[...] traces	[...] traces
x+3	[...] traces	[...] traces
x+4	[...] traces	[...] traces
x+5	[...] *2100*	[...] 2100
x+6	[...]*4*	[...]4
[...]		

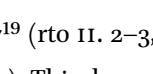
Col. II

x+1	*nꜣ* [...]	the (pl.) [...]
x+2	*nꜣ* [...]	the (pl.) [...]
x+3	*nꜣ* [...]	the (pl.) [...]
x+4	*pꜣ* [...] *20*	the (sg.) [...]: 20
x+5	*Nꜣ-mnḫ-ʾImn-ʾIp* (?) *10/20*	*Nꜣ-mnḫ-ʾImn-ʾIp* (?): 10/20
x+6	*nꜣ kꜣm.w n.tj m šꜥ(j) 20*	the gardeners which are in the garden with a pool (?): 20
x+7	*nꜣ ... Rʿ* (?) *15*	the ... *Rʿ* (?): 15
x+8	*nꜣ rḫ.w 10*	the wise men (?): 10
x+9	*nf ʾImn-m-ḥꜣ.t 5*	the sailor *ʾImn-m-ḥꜣ.t*: 5
x+10	*nf Ḥtp-ʾImn 5*	the sailor *Ḥtp-ʾImn*: 5
x+11	*sš Mnṯ-m-ḥꜣ.t 2*	the scribe *Mnṯ-m-ḥꜣ.t*: 2
x+12	*sš Ḥḥ* (?) *2*	the scribe *Ḥḥ* (?): *2*
x+13	*sš Ḥr-rṯ 2*	the scribe *Ḥr-rṯ*: 2
x+14	*ʾIr.t-Ḥr-rꜥw sꜣ Ḏd-Mw.t-ỉwꜥf-ʿnḫ 2*	*ʾIr.t-Ḥr-rꜥw* son of *Ḏd-Mw.t-ỉwꜥf-ʿnḫ*: 2
x+15	*nꜣ rmṯ(.w) Mnṯ-m-ḥꜣ.t 8*	the people of *Mnṯ-m-ḥꜣ.t*: 8
x+16	*nꜣ ỉrj-ʿꜣ.w 4*	the pastophoroi: 4
x+17	*ḥm-nṯr n ʾImn Mnṯ-m-ḥꜣ.t 5*	the prophet of Amon *Mnṯ-m-ḥꜣ.t*: 5
x+18	*Pꜣ-dj-Ḥr-pꜣ-Rʿ 2*	*Pꜣ-dj-Ḥr-pꜣ-Rʿ:* 2
x+19	*pꜣ kꜣm* (*n*) *pꜣ ... / Pꜣ-kꜣm* (*sꜣ*) *Pꜣ-m-tpꜥw 10*	the gardener (of) the ... / *Pꜣ-kꜣm* son of *Pꜣ-m-tpꜥw*: 10
x+20	*nꜣ mkḏ 4*	the ...: 4
Spatium		
x+21	*dmḏ 752*	total: 752
x+ 22	*dmḏ 845*	total: 845
x+23	*nb n.tj mn 1804 r-mḥ* (?)	all that remains: 1804 to complete (?)
x+24	*pꜣ ḏrp? 135*	the ...: 135
x+25	*dmḏ 1939*	total: 1939

Commentary

Line x+5. *Nꜣ-mnḫ-ʾImn-ʾIp*?: The reading of is encumbered by the damaged state of the papyrus. At the beginning of the line, *Nꜣ-* ( ) is still clear. Then, only traces of at most two sign groups remain, likely a *mn* ( ) and a *ḫ* ( ). The following *mnḫ* () is very large, but this shape is known from P. Turin 2118[17] in rto l. 36 as part of *Nꜣ-mnḫ-pꜣ-Rʿ* ( , )

17 The papyrus was published by M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique « anormal » et en démotique* (*xxve–xxviie dynasties*), I: *traduction et commentaire philologique* (BÉHÉ 300, Paris, 1953), pp. 56–71 and M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique anormal et en démotique*, II (RAPH 18, Cairo, 1983), pp. 22–32; for a photograph see R. Kade (in preparation).

and from P. Turin 2119[18] in col. I, 1 and II, 1 as part of *Nꜣ-mnḫ-ʾImn*. The following spelling of Amon as a small V-shape ( ) occurs regularly in abnormal hieratic and in this papyrus (see e.g. l. x + 10 in this column). Amun appears to be followed by , which would allow for a reading *Nꜣ-mnḫ-ʾImn-ʾIp* "effective/beneficient is Amon of Luxor", known from another abnormal hieratic text, P. Louvre E 7847[19] (rto II. 2–3, ). This, however, leaves the tall sign following unread and one would usually expect as the determinative, which does not match the traces here as they are more reminiscent of an animal tail ( )[20] or the reverse walking legs ( ).[21] The sign palaeographically fits a sign, which would allow for a reading *Nꜣ-mnḫ-ʾImn-ʾIp*(*.t*)*-sw*(*.t*) 'effective/beneficient is Amon of Karnak'. In this case, the determinative could be a variant of a city determinative with strokes such as . This interpretation is problematic, too, since *ʾImn-ʾIp*(*.t*)*-sw*(*.t*) is not known to occur in personal names.

Line x+6. *kꜣm.w*: The spelling of *kꜣm.w* presents some difficulties and is best understood by comparing it with the same word in l. 19. In both cases the *kꜣ* arms ( ) are very disjointed, the right arm consisting of a loop detached from the rest of the sign. The determinative is clearly the tree ,[22] which is typical for *kꜣm* in demotic.[23]

š(*j*): The reading is clear, but its interpretation is not. Considering the mention of *kꜣm.w* 'gardener' in this line, an interpretation as *šj* 'lake'[24] with its extended meaning 'garden with pool'[25] appears likely, but is in contradiction with the determinatives. *šj* '(garden with) pool' is usually followed by a place determinative, water ripples or a canal group. Interpreting the *š* as a phonetic complement to in order to read *šbn* does not yield any satisfactory reading and is unlikely, as *šbn* is usually complemented by or , not just .[26]

Line x+7. The meaning of this line is problematic. Palaeographically, the first part after the plural article seems quite clearly readable as or possibly . What is suggested here as *mꜣʿ* could also be the lotus flower. It seems likely that the word is a title or description of some kind of occupation. The line ends with what appears to be a solar disc before a divine determinative, perhaps the divine name *Rʿ*.

Line x+8. The reading of *rḫ.w* is clear, but the appearance of the title 'wise men' in this context is somewhat odd. An alternative would be to interpret it as a writing for *rḫt.j* 'the washermen'.[27] This would be a better contextual fit, but to our knowledge the word is not yet attested in abnormal hieratic and is generally written with the spelling in earlier hieratic sources.

It is noteworthy that the scribe made a clear distinction between the determinative for groups of people and that for single individuals, e.g. after names, which is rendered only as a dot. The use of this more elaborate form is also known from other papyri, for example to determine the word *šmꜣ* 'singer' on P. Louvre E 3228 Étiq. A Carton H.[28]

Line x+9, x+10. *nf*: The transcription of the sign as a sail is clear by comparison with other examples, e.g. P. Louvre E 3228 Étiq. E Carton D l. 2.[29] The title *nf.w*[30] 'boatman, sailor' can be spelt ideographically[31] as it is here

18 R. Kade (in preparation).

19 K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts* (Dissertation, 1995), pp. 120–124, 260, pl. VIII; K. Donker van Heel, *An Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book Containing Texts from the British Museum* (*London*)*, the Brooklyn Museum* (*New York*)*, the Egyptian Museum* (*Cairo*)*, the Louvre* (*Paris*)*, the Museo Egizio* (*Turin*)*, the Nationalbibliothek* (*Vienna*)*, Queen's College* (*Oxford*) *and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (*Leiden*)*, with a Palaeography of Abnormal Hieratic Signs and Sign Groups*, II: *Papyri from Paris* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 7–8 (Doc. 8).

20 For samples of this determinative (F28) in abnormal hieratic, see Donker van Heel, *An Abnormal Hieratic Palaeography* (https://lab.library.universiteitleiden.nl/abnormalhieratic/understanding-ah/), Gardiner number F28 on p. 10.

21 For samples see A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales*, pl. IX (54 / M 121); Donker van Heel *An Abnormal Hieratic Palaeography*, Gardiner number D55 on pp. 7–8.

22 For samples of this sign see Donker van Heel, *An Abnormal Hieratic Palaeography*, Gardiner number M1 on p. 18; P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (*P. Tsenhor*)*. Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius Ier*, II: *paléographie et planches* (StudDem 4, Leuven, 1994), p. 23* (M1).

23 *CDD*, *K*, p. 6 (s.v. *kꜣm*).

24 *Wb.* 4, pp. 397. 1–398. 17; Erichsen, *Glossar*, pp. 484–485.; TLA Word Corpus Number (WCN) 874889 (https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/874889), 151010 (https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/151010), d5813 (https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/d5813), Lesko, *DLE*, 3, p. 129.

25 N. Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne: la liste de la tombe thébaine d'Ineni* (*no. 81*) (OLA 31, Leuven, 1988), pp. 33–34; *CDD*, *Š*, p. 7 (s.v. *šy*).

26 See e.g. Lesko, *DLE*, 3, p. 144 (s.v. *šbn*).

27 *Wb.* 2, pp. 448. 9–11; TLA WCN 95930 (https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/95930).

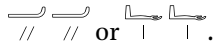
28 Col. I, 3; K. Donker van Heel, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste Son of Peteamunip* (*Floruit 7th Century BCE*) (P. L.Bat. 38, Leiden, 2021), pp. 116–117, 118, 202–203 (pls XXXVII–XXXVIII).

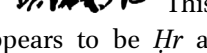
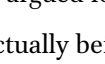
29 Donker van Heel, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste*, pp. 40–41, 42, 166–167 (pls I–II); see also the note (jj) on p. 127.

30 *Wb.* 2, pp. 251. 1–7; TLA WCN 855709 (https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/855709), d3155 (https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/d3155); Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 216.

31 Lesko, *DLE*, 2, pp. 16–17.

and occurs twice in this papyrus, col. II, x+9 and x+10 in a similar but not identical spelling. Because of the ligature present in col. II, x+10 but not in x+9, we suggest different transcriptions.

Line x+12. We have not yet found any convincing parallels for this name. The writing would allow a reading  or .

Line x+13.  This name is puzzling. The beginning appears to be *Ḥr* and is followed by what looks like the second part of the name that has conventionally been read *ʾIr.t=w-r-ṯzj,* resulting in a transcription of the name at hand as . Recently, both S. Lippert and P. Collombert have argued for an interpretation of the  element as actually being *rṯ*/*lḏ* 'to be squashed/crushed',[32] resulting in a name *ʾIr.t=w-rṯ* 'Their eyes are squashed/crushed', 'their' referring to unspecified malevolent entities. A parallel construction (*'Horus is squashed/crushed') seems unlikely despite the similar spelling; any possible meanings of the name at hand escape us.

Line x+15. The preceding plural article *nꜣ* makes an interpretation of *rmṯ* as a title of Monthuemhat impossible; the line can only be understood as a direct genitive i.e. 'the people (of) Montuemhat'. A very similar line is known from an abnormal hieratic account on a 'sausage jar' found in Qurna (col. I, 20: *nꜣ rmṯ*(*.w*) ... 23 / 3 ⅓), although the following name (or title) employed as a nomen rectum is not deciphered.[33] In P. Louvre E 3228 Étiq. F Carton B (l. 3) from the archive of the choachyte Petebaste, the dependants *ʾIr.t=w-r=w, Mw.t-i.ir-dỉ.t-s* and *Wḏꜣ-Ḥr* are referred to as *nꜣ rmṯ*(*.w*) *n Sṯꜣ-ʾImn-gw ḥnʿ Ḥtp-ʾIs.t tzy=f ḥm.t* 'the people of Setjaamungu and Hetepese, his wife'.[34]

In W. Murnane's edition of *Texts from the Amarna Period*, he translates a caption from the tomb of Huya (AT 1) as 'The people of the overseer of the royal quarters, the treasurer Huya (...)',[35] suggesting a transliteration such as *nꜣ rmṯ.w n ỉm.j-rʾ pr-nswt ỉm.j-rʾ pr-ḥḏ Ḥjjꜣ*.[36] This reading was followed by prominent scholars such as B.J. Kemp[37] and cited when exploring the social stratigraphy and organization of work force at Amarna.[38] However, the plates provided by N. de Garis Davies show a destruction at the very beginning of the passage, leaving only a person determinative and plural strokes.[39] This would of course allow for Murnane's reading [*nꜣ rmṯ.*]*w*, but many other possible reconstructions of a group denomination remain. N. de Garis Davies translates 'Appointment of the porters of Huya, Superintendent of the royal harem and of the Treasury',[40] reconstructing [*dhn fꜣ.jj*]*w* following a photograph which showed a better state of preservation of the inscription.[41] Therefore, this possible New Kingdom example of the *nꜣ rmṯ.w* (*n*) PN construction is far from certain. Nevertheless, the parallels suggest that in the line at hand, certain workmen or otherwise dependent individuals answering to Montuemhat have been summarized as 'his people'.

Line x+16. The reading of the title as *ỉr.j-ʿꜣ* (instead of *wn-pr*) follows J.F. Quack and F. Hoffmann.[42]

Line x+18. The name in this line is the only one that is not accompanied by a title or filiation.

32 S. Lippert, '675. Abschrift eines Prozessprotokolls vor den Laokriten von Theben', in: C. Armoni – T. Backhuys – S. Lippert – E.O.D. Love – E. Skarsouli – N.V. Navarrete – R. Vecchiato (eds), *Kölner Papyri* (*P. Köln*), 17 (Paderborn, 2021), pp. 143–144; P. Collombert, 'Qui sont-"ils"? L'enfant nouveau-né comme enjeu divin à la lumière de certains anthroponymes d'époque tardive', in: R. Meffre – F. Payraudeau (eds), *Éclats du crépuscule: recueil d'études sur l'Égypte tardive offert à Olivier Perdu* (OLA 315, Leuven, 2022), pp. 210–213.

33 G. Vittmann, 'Eine kursivhieratische Gefäßinschrift aus Gurna', in: K. Donker van Heel – F.A.J. Hoogendijk – C.J. Martin (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There Is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming* (P. L.Bat. 34, Leiden – Boston, 2018), pp. 83, 85, 89.

34 Donker van Heel, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste*, pp. 70–71, 72.

35 W.J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (SBLWAW 5, Atlanta, 1995), p. 134.

36 To the jubilee's delight, we will discuss this possibly not relevant attestation from the Amarna period in great length due to his intense interest in the period.

37 B.J. Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and its People* (London, 2012), p. 42 and B.J. Kemp, 'Leben in Amarna', in: C. Tietze (ed.), *Amarna. Lebensräume – Lebensbilder – Weltbilder* (Potsdam, 2008), p. 270.

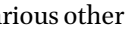
38 See the discussion of reward scenes featuring the Window of Appearances (Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, pp. 41–43) and including the reference to the management of craft manufacture on pp. 292–296; the latter is also discussed in B.J. Kemp, 'Appendix: Workshops and Production at el-Amarna', *Amarna Reports*, V (EES OP 6, London, 1989), pp. 60–63, again citing the tomb of Huya (although focusing on another group of craftsmen next to the supposed 'people'); see also the discussion of the officials' villages inhabited by their subordinates or dependants in B.J. Kemp, 'Leben in Amarna', in: C. Tietze (ed.), *Amarna*, pp. 268–272.

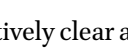
39 N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, III: *The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes* (EEF Arch. Rep. 15, London 1905), pl. VIII.

40 Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, III, pp. 8–9.

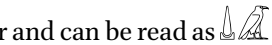
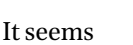
41 W.M.F. Petrie, *Racial Photographs from the Egyptian Monuments* (London, 1887), p. 612.

42 J.F. Quack – F. Hoffmann, 'Pastophoros', in: A.M. Dodson – J.J. Johnston – W. Monkhouse (eds), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W.J. Tait* (GHP Egyptology 21, London, 2014), pp. 127–155. L. Uggetti, 'Theban Choachytes, Pastophoroi, Door-keepers: Some Terminological Remarks', *BiOr* 80 (5–6), pp. 441–454, offers a current overview of the ongoing discussion.

Line x+19. *P3-k3m*: For the palaeographical note on *k3m*, see the comment on l. x+6. Unlike group labels, titles of individuals are generally not preceded by an article. This means that here it is either to be understood as a description of a person without mentioning their name ('the gardener of …'), or as *P3-k3m* being a personal name, which is attested in various other sources.[43] What follows it () appears to be *p3 … tp-w* which would either be an identifying description of the gardener or, if the second is correct, the name of *P3-k3m*'s father. However, neither the name of an institution/place nor a personal name fits well. If it is a personal name, *s3* needs to be emended.

Line x+20. The identification of the signs of this word is relatively clear and can be read as  *mkḏ*. It seems to be a hapax legomenon whose meaning remains elusive. It appears twice in this part of the papyrus, here and in col. III, x+3. In both cases it is preceded by the plural article *n3*, suggesting that it must be a title or an indication of the profession of a group of people. This is also confirmed by the use of as classifier as used by this scribe to define groups of people (see above comment on col. II, x+19). Each time it is followed by the number 4, indicating that these people paid or received the same amount each time.

Line x+23. What we read as *r-mḥ* '(in order) to complete' ( ) is to our knowledge not attested in any other abnormal hieratic source and is a suggestion primarily based on the context. The expression is frequently attested in demotic.[44] If correct, the first part of the sign group would be the *r* while the *mḥ* would be reduced to a dot. We are not aware of any parallels in abnormal hieratic using the expression *r-mḥ* but in this context it is the best solution we can offer.

Line x+24.  The transcription as  is clear.[45] The beginning of the word is transcribable as *ḏ3rp* or *ḏrp*. Perhaps the term is related to *ḏrp*(*ṯ*) 'a type of tax (?)',[46] which, however, is generally not written with a as determinative like the word at hand.

Col. III

	Transliteration	**Translation**
x+1	[…]	[…]
x+2	· *p3 šp Ḥr-(s3)-3s.t* ⌜*10* (?)⌝	· the compensation of *Ḥr-(s3)-3s.t*: ⌜10 (?)⌝
x+3	· *n3 mkḏ 4*	· the … 4
spatium		
x+4	*dmḏ 245 dmḏ 750*	total: 245; total: 750
x+5	*nb n.tj mn 1831*	all that remains: 1831
spatium		
x+6	*ḥ3.t-sp 5 ibd 3 šmw* (*sw*) *12*	year 5, 3rd month of the Shemu-season, (day) 12
x+7	*p3 mn 1831 r-mḥ* (?)	the remainder: 1831 to complete (?)
x+8	*p3 ⌜ḥ⌝ 248*	the carryover/fixed amount: 248
x+9	*sš Ḏd-ḫy s3 Ḥr* (?)-…	the scribe Djedkhe son of *Ḥr* (?)-…
x+10	[…] …	[…] …
x+11	*dmḏ 348*	total: 348
x+12	*dmḏ 2265 wp-st*	total: 2265, specification:
x+13	*p3* (?)… *140 … r-mḥ* (?)	The (?)… 140 … to complete (?)
x+14	*p3 h3w* (*r-*)*bl* (?) *1 ½* (?)	the expense (given) out (?): 1 ½ (?)
x+15	*100* […]	100 […]

43 RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 120. 6; TLA WCN d8279 (https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/d8279); K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, I: *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 26; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, IV: *Die 26. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2014), p. 67 (122), l. 3 of the hieratic text. For an overview of titles used as names, see RANKE, *Personennamen*, 2, pp. 187–191 (IX); K. SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER, *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches: Altägyptische Onomastik unter lexikographischen und sozio-kulturellen Aspekten* (Philippika 28, Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 96–97.

44 See *CDD*, *M*, pp. 174–176 (s.v. *r mḥ*).

45 On the photograph, the *p* seems to have one stroke too many, looking more like than . However, the ink of the leftmost stroke is very light. Since there are traces of ink around the word, suggesting that the scribe erased and rewrote parts of this line, it may be that the otherwise unexplained fourth stroke belongs to the earlier, erased version.

46 *CDD*, *Ḏ*, p. 72 (s.v. *ḏrpṯ*); ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 684.

Line x+2. This part seems to be the only instance on this papyrus where the scribe not only wrote a name and an amount, but also gave further information, i.e. that the amount was supposed to be a compensation. The only alternative would be to consider the whole passage as a proper name *Pꜣ-šp-Ḥr-(sꜣ)-ỉs.t*, although this would be a rather odd name.

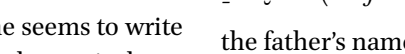
Line x+3. *nꜣ mkḏ*: see the comment for col. II, x + 20.

Line x+4. The way this scribe writes the number 200 (also in col. III, x + 8 and x + 12) is peculiar, as he writes a long diagonal stroke below the line and only a single vertical one on it. Out of context it could be taken as an elaborate writing for 100, but given that he seems to write 100 only with this long diagonal (without the vertical, e.g. in col. II, x+24; col. III, x+13), the reading 200 seems reasonable. This assumption is supported by the fact that the calculations at the end of col. II only make sense if the diagonal (without the vertical line) is taken as 100 (see also above, What is calculated?).

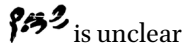
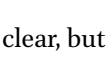
Line x+7. *r-mḥ*: see comment for col. II, x+23.

Line x+8. The reading as *ḥr* ( ) seems clear and is attested in some abnormal hieratic documents such as P. Louvre E 3228 étiq. E carton D[47] and the as-of-yet unpublished P. Vaucelles (e.g. rto col. XII, 12).

The term has been translated in various ways, such as 'sum'/'summation'[48] or 'amount,'[49] terms that are generally applicable in many contexts but do not shed much light on what exactly is being calculated. A more literal understanding of the word would imply that what is meant is an amount that is 'standing', i.e. possibly still valid (e.g. as a carry-over from a previous calculation), or some sort of unchanging amount. Such an interpretation would be supported in the case of this papyrus, where the expression *ḥr* appears three times throughout the manuscript (here on fragment 1251_47 and on the not-yet-joined fragments 1251_18 and 1251_16) and is followed in each case by the same value 248.

Line x+9. *Ḏd-ḫy* is a shortened form of *Ḏd-Ḫnsw(-ỉw.f-ʿnḫ)*.[50] The following filiation (*sꜣ*) is clear, but the father's name  remains a reading problem.

Line x+10. What remains of this line is difficult to read without context. The last sign with its long vertical stroke is reminiscent of a 100.

Line x+13. This line is difficult to understand. The group  is unclear to us. The beginning could be *pꜣ*, although only the second part, i.e. the multifunctional sign, is present here. Judging by the context, it should be a specification of the sum mentioned in the line above. The number 140 is clear, but the sign that follows () is again problematic. It looks like an arm (),[51] which could mean ½ arura.

Line x+13. *r-mḥ*: see comment for col. II, x+23.

47 Line 5; K. Donker van Heel, 'A Very Curious Abnormal Hieratic Preposition', *RdÉ* 69 (2019), p. 256; Donker van Heel, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste*, pp. 40–41, 43.

48 E.g. by K. Donker van Heel; see Donker van Heel, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste*, p. 125 palaeographical note (l); similarly, W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (MÄS 31, Munich – Berlin, 1974), p. 127, translating 'Zusammenfassende Aufstellung' (for hieratic documents).

49 TLA WCN 40160 (https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/40160).

50 Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 1374.

51 See A.S. von Bomhard, *Paléographie du Papyrus Wilbour: l'écriture hiératique cursive dans les papyri documentaires* (Paris, 1998), p. 85 (M: 687).

8

Two New Demotic Oracle Questions from the Tuna el-Gebel Necropolis

Mahmoud Ebeid† and Mahmoud el-Bokl

Publication of two papyri with oracle questions.[1] They were found in the Tuna el-Gebel necropolis during the excavations of Cairo University under the leadership of Sami Gabra. They are stored now in the Mallawi Museum. The handwriting of the pieces suggests that they date to the early Ptolemaic period.

The first oracle question published here was written for a person called *Ḏd-ḥr* son of *Ms-nḥm-s* who was consulting the god '*Ḏḥwty-ỉw* the great', one of the specially named defied ibises or baboons concerning his desire to get married to a woman called *Ḥrry*(*.t*)-(*n*)-*nb* born by *Ta-bȝ*. The second oracle question is by the woman *Ta-ḥȝ.t* who appealed to the god '*Ḏḥwty-pȝ-ʿn*, Thot, the baboon', probably concerning selling a house to a person named *Pa-Rʿ* (?).

Introduction[2]

These two oracle questions can be added to the group of oracle questions excavated in the Tuna el-Gebel necropolis during the excavations of Cairo University. The pieces were first kept in el-Ashmunein magazine and subsequently moved to the Mallawi Museum. Unfortunately, no information is available concerning the find-spot of the papyri in the register book of the excavations. They were found folded and sealed and were opened and restored (see Figs 1, 2, 6 and 7).[3]

Tuna el-Gebel, where Thot with his various forms was worshipped, served as a rich ground for the practices of oracle and prophecy. This is evidenced by the numerous texts concerning this that have been uncovered at the site, for example:

Text 1

P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/4 (Figs 1–5)
Tuna el-Gebel, early Ptolemaic period
TM 1000248

Dimensions: H. 4 cm × W. 5.5 cm.
Description: A small well-preserved rectangular papyrus, exhibiting a yellowish hue and displaying minimal wormholes. It has five lines of a demotic text written along the fibres in black ink on the recto of the papyrus; the verso is blank. The text is almost complete. The handwriting presents a neat script. The papyrus has the usual layout of an oracle question, with the text written on a small square or rectangular segment of papyrus.
The impression on the seal may be interpreted as depicting two anthropomorphic manifestations of the god Thoth in his iconic Ibis form facing a figure of the goddess Maat (?).
Content: Oracle question concerning marriage.[4]

1 With feelings of profound reverence and nostalgia for my late Professor Mahmoud Ebeid, this marks the second article from his unfinished work that, following his passing, is being published under our joint names.

2 I would like to express my gratitude to Koen Donker Van Heel by dedicating this article to him. He shared a profound scientific friendship with the late Professor M. Ebeid. Their intellectual partnership was marked by mutual respect and admiration, enriching their respective fields. Professor Ebeid had expressed a deep desire to invite Professor Donker van Heel to Egypt as a visiting professor, to share his expertise through lectures and teaching. Unfortunately, due to security concerns and prevailing disturbances at that time, this opportunity never came to fruition. With a sense of both honour, responsibility, and a generous invitation from my friend Cary Martin, I completed this work, initiated by my late professor. If he were with us today, he would undoubtedly be delighted to participate in this tribute to his dear friend and colleague. Last but not least, I want to thank Günter Vittmann, Cary J. Martin and Adrienn Almásy-Martin for their useful suggestions on this contribution.

3 This was done under the observation of Ebeid in 2017.

4 The fundamental studies on demotic oracle questions are: W. Erichsen, *Demotische Orakelfragen* (DVSM 28. 3, Copenhagen, 1942); U. Kaplony-Heckel, 'Neue demotische Orakelfragen', *ForschBer* 14 (1972), pp. 79–90. See also, K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Die demotischen Orakelfragen – eine Zwischenbilanz', in: P.J. Frandsen – K. Ryholt (eds), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies* (CP 3 = CNIP 22, Copenhagen, 2000), pp. 1–25; M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions Against their Intra- and Intercultural Background* (DemStud 14, Sommerhausen, 2006), pp. 301–307; H.S. Smith – S. Davies, 'Demotic Papyri from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara: Pleas, Oracle Questions and Documents Referring to Mummies', in: M. Depauw – Y. Broux (eds), *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies, Leuven, 26–30 August 2008* (OLA 231, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2014), pp. 263–317.

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Transliteration

1 *Ḏd-ḥr s; Ms-nḥm-s p; ntj ḏd i.ỉr-ḥr p;j≠f ḥrj*
2 *Ḏḥwty-ỉw p; wr m-ỉr ḥr (r.)ḥr≠j ỉnk*
3 *p;j≠k b;k ỉw≠f ⸢ḥpr⸣ r p;j(≠j) ʿš-sḫn nfr ḥms*
4 *ỉrm Ḥrrj(.t)-(n)-nb ⸢r.⸣ms Ta-b;*
5 *mj ỉn≠w ⸢n≠j⸣ p;j bk r-bnr sḏ*

Translation

Ḏd-ḥr son of *Ms-nḥm-s*, is the one who says to his lord *Ḏḥwty-ỉw* the great. Don't be distant from me. I am your servant. If it is my good fortune to sit with (to marry) *Ḥrrj(.t)-(n)-nb* whom *Ta-b;* bore may this letter be brought out to me. Written.

Notes

Line 1

– The reading of the proper name *Ms-nḥm-s* i.e. 'The young one (whom they) have rescued' is relatively certain. The element *ms* is well-attested as a component of names, often appearing at the beginning, as in *Ms-wr* and *Ms≠w-ỉs.t*.[5] Similarly, the component *nḥm-s* is clearly attested; it occurs at the beginning of some names, such as *Nḥm-s-ỉs.t*,[6] and at the end of others, such as *T;-nḥm-s*.[7] The name is not otherwise attested in either Ranke, *Personennamen* or Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*.

In the Ibis inscriptions, the proper name *P;-dỉ-nḥm-s* (?) is mentioned on pottery coffin TG 3090.[8] Additionally, there is a name *P;-nḥm-s* which is attested in the *Demotisches Namenbuch*[9] that occurs on pottery coffin TG 3091 and on limestone sarcophagus TG 3849 + TG 3851 + TG 3852.[10]

An alternative interpretation for *s; Ms* may be proposed, suggesting that it represents an abbreviated form of *r.ms* 'born of', thereby introducing the mother's name. In this case, the mother's name would be *Nḥm-s*. A parallel for this interpretation can be found in Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 643, no. 7.

Line 2

– *Ḏḥwty-ỉw p; wr: 'Ḏḥwty-ỉw* the great' is one of the individually named deified ibises or baboons for which cult chambers and niches were erected inside the subterranean galleries of the sacred animals during the reigns of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II.[11] It is noticeable that the oracular god *Ḏd-ḥr-p;-ḫb* 'Teephibis' is not mentioned in this oracle question or in the following text.[12]

– *m-ỉr ḥr (r.)ḥr≠j*: 'Don't be distant from me', lit. 'Don't be distant from my face'. For this meaning of *ḥr*, cf. *CDD*, *Ḥ*, pp. 213–214.

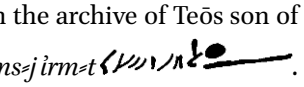
Line 3

– *ỉw≠f ⸢ḥpr⸣ r p;j<≠j> ʿš-sḫn nfr*: 'If it is my good condition/good fortune/good graces'. Both *ʿš-sḫn* and *sḫn* were used interchangeably for the same meaning; see, Erichsen, *Glossar*, pp. 446–447; *CDD*, *S*, pp. 343–344; *CDD*, *ʿ*, pp. 135–136. It occurs also as *p; ʿš-sḫn nfr*, for which see, Kaplony-Heckel, 'Neue demotische Orakelfragen', *ForschBer* 14, p. 86, n. 31.

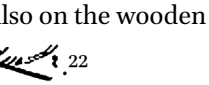
Lines 3–4

– *ḥms ỉrm Ḥrrj(.t)-(n)-nb ms (n) Ta-B;*: lit. 'sitting with *Ḥrrj(.t)-(n)-nb* born by *Ta-B;*'. *ḥms ỉrm* ≠ ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ 'to marry'.[13] This expression is used frequently during the

5 Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, pp. 604–605.
6 Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, pp. 643–645.
7 Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 1069.
8 M. Ebeid, *Demotic Inscriptions from the Subterranean Galleries of the Sacred Animals in the Tuna al-Gebel Necropolis*, I (TeG 10, Vaterstetten, 2021), p. 200, no. 181.
9 Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 194, with the comments of G. Vittmann, 'Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion: Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names', *Enchoria* 24 (1997/8), pp. 94–95.
10 Ebeid, *Demotic Inscriptions from the Subterranean Galleries*, pp. 201, 266, nos 182 and 256.
11 D. Kessler, 'Ibis-Vögel mit Eigennamen: Tiere des Festes und des Orakels', in: H. Kunf – C. Leitz – D. von Recklinghausen (eds), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch–römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, (OLA 194, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2010), pp. 261–272; K. Schlüter, 'Einige unter Vielen: Pavianindividuen aus Tuna el-Gebel', in: M.C. Floßmann-Schütze – M. Goecke-Bauer – F. Hoffmann – A. Hutterer – K. Schlüter – A. Schütze – M. Ullmann (eds), *Kleine Götter – Große Götter: Festschrift für Dieter Kessler zum 65. Geburtstag* (TeG 4, Vaterstetten, 2013), pp. 403–416; K. Schlüter, *Die Kultstellen im Tierfriedhof von Tuna el-Gebel in frühptolemäisher Zeit. Der Gang C-B und die Kammer C-B-2*, (TeG 7, Vaterstetten, 2017), 1, pp. 17–41.
12 Kaplony-Heckel, 'Neue demotische Orakelfragen', *ForschBer* 14, pp. 79–90; K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Teephibis als Orakelgott', *Enchoria* 4 (1974), p. 163; J. Quaegebeur, 'Teëphibis, dieu oraculaire?', *Enchoria* 5 (1975), pp. 19–24; El-H.O. Zaghloul, 'An Eye Disease (Amblyopia) Mentioned in a Private Letter from Tuna el-Gebel (Pap. Mallawi Inv. no. 484)', *MDAIK* 48 (1992), pp. 255–260; K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Eine unerkannte Orakelfrage', *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 227–229.
13 P.W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt: A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of the Woman* (P. L.Bat. 9, Leiden, 1961), p. 10 n. 3.

Ramesside period to express the meaning of marriage;[14] it is literally translated as 'to sit with',[15] 'to dwell',[16] 'to live with', يجلس مع /يسكن مع / يعيش مع. This expression of marriage occurs in a marriage contract from Tuna el-Gebel i.e. P. Cairo TR 24/11/62/1[17] from the archive of Teōs son of Horos[18] (191 BCE) in the form *ḥms=j ỉrm=t*  .

Line 4

– The female name *Ḥrrj*(*.t*)-(*n*)-*nb* means 'golden flower' (chrysanthemum, زهرة الأقحوان),[19] Coptic ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ.[20] This name occurs for a plant in P. Vienna 6257, 14/5,[21] and for a person also on the wooden coffin TG 2479 from Tuna el-Gebel  .[22]

– For the proper name *Ta-bȝ*, see LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, pp. 1172–1173.

– The reading of ⌜*r*⌝ *ms* 'whom FN bore' has been adopted instead of *ms* (*n*) 'born of FN', based on a trace of the relative converter *r* between the *nb* group and *ms*; for filiation markers with *ms* see S.P. VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications* (StudDem 9, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2011), B, pp. 902–903.

Line 5

– *mj ỉn=w* ⌜*n=j*⌝ *pȝj bk r-bnr sḫ*: 'may this letter be brought out to me. Written'. This phrase regularly appears at the conclusion of the oracle questions. In his analysis, Erichsen demonstrates the variations in this phrase across the oracle documents; see ERICHSEN, *Demotische Orakelfragen*, pp. 12–13.

– One wonders whether the *sḫ* really belong to the same phrase, or is it simply the closing of the oracle question (similar to *sḫ* at the end of letters and petitions)? The bracket following *sḫ*[23] is also found in such endings and is read as *-bȝk*, 'The servant has written', by DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter*, pp. 228–230.[24]

– The initial sign of *pȝj* exhibits an unusual form, closely resembling *pa-*.

Commentary

This text presents an intriguing oracle question that exemplifies the cultural and religious practices that permeated ancient Egyptian civilization. It concerns a person named *Ḏd-ḥr*, who is about to get married and seeks guidance from the god *Ḏḥwty-ỉw* the Great. The question revolves around whether it is advisable for him to marry a woman named *Ḥrrj*(*.t*)-(*n*)-*nb*, meaning 'golden flower'. Such oracle questions are rare among published texts by comparison with others that typically address issues such as robbery, with petitioners seeking to identify the true perpetrators of property crimes. Examples include P. Carlsberg nos 15, 16, 17, 18[25] and P. Berlin P. 13584.[26] C.J. Martin, in his commentary on P. Ash. D. 40 (1968.31) from Dimê,[27] refers to analogous texts that inquire about marriage. Martin divides these oracle questions into three groups:

a) Texts in which a man asks the oracle whether he should marry or not (five texts). b) Texts in which a man asks which of two women he should marry or not marry (one text, specifically P. Carlsberg 429, and a related letter P. Berlin P. 13538). c) Texts represented by P. Ash. D. 40 and a similar oracle (P. Firenze 8703), where the issue concerns whether the marriage is in the best interests of the woman's father.

The text begins with a formal introduction, identifying the supplicant as *Ḏd-ḥr* son of *Ms-nḥm-s*, who addresses himself as a servant of *Ḏḥwty-ỉw* the Great. This introduction shows a tone of respect and deference towards the

14 For the discussion of this expression during the Ramesside period, see J.J. CLÈRE, 'Un mot pour « mariage » en égyptien de l'époque ramesside', *RdÉ* 20 (1968), p. 171.

15 *CDD*, Letter *Ḥ*, p. 139.

16 LESKO, *DLE*, 2nd ed., 1, p. 314.

17 It was studied with other three marriage contracts in a PhD dissertation: M. EL-BOKL, *Miscellaneous Demotic and Greek Documents from Tuna el-Gebel Necropolis: A Philological, Palaeographical, and Cultural Study*, which was supervised by the Late Professor Mohammed Kashaf (Äin Shams), the Late Professor Mahmoud Ebeid (Cairo), and Professor Maha Akeel (Helwan). It underwent a thorough examination by Professors Günter Vittmann and Ola el-Aguizy, Department of Archaeology and Civilization, Faculty of Arts, Helwan University (Cairo 2017).

18 The whole archive is in the process of being published; for an overview of the archive see, M. EL-BOKL, 'New Light on the Archive of Teōs son of Horos from Tuna el-Gebel Necropolis (191–162 BC)', *IWNW* 2. 1 (2023), pp. 113–133.

19 ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 326; *CDD*, *Ḥ*, pp. 239–240.

20 ČERNÝ, *CED*, p. 294.

21 *CDD*, *Ḥ*, p. 240.

22 EBEID, *Demotic Inscriptions*, p. 130, no. 116.

23 Depauw has rejected reading it as the feminine *t* marker or a writing of the suffix *=w*.

24 I am indebted for this insight to one of the anonymous reviewers.

25 See ERICHSEN, *Demotische Orakelfragen*, pp. 2–5 and ZAUZICH, 'Die demotischen Orakelfragen', in: *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts*, pp. 1–25.

26 KAPLONY-HECKEL, 'Neue demotische Orakelfragen', *ForschBer* 14, p. 81.

27 C.J. MARTIN, 'Questions to the Gods: Demotic Oracle Texts from Dimê', in: F. HOFFMANN – H.J. THISSEN (eds), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (StudDem 6, Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA, 2004), p. 416.

deity, hoping that Thoth will guide him concerning this marriage. Following this is the Oracular Invocation, the core of the text, which contains the question or request addressed directly to Thoth. The supplicant implores Thot not to remain distant and emphasises his role as a faithful servant. The phrase, 'If it is my good fortune to sit with (to marry) *Ḥrrj(.t)-(n)-nb* born by *Ta-bꜣ*', suggests a specific desire or intention that the supplicant hopes Thoth will facilitate or bless. The concluding line of the text, 'May this letter be brought out to me. Written', introduces a magical or ritualistic element, whereby the supplicant requests for a letter to be brought forth to him, inscribed with the answer or blessing from Thoth.

In the Tuna el-Gebel necropolis, the place of discussing oracular answers[28] in the later Ptolemaic time was the priests' house.[29] But it was not the place where the answers were given to the petitioners.[30]

Text 2

P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/5 (Figs 6–9)
Tuna el-Gebel, Ptolemaic period
TM 1000249

Dimensions: H. 11.5 cm × W. 5.4 cm.
Description: The papyrus is not well preserved. It has seven lines written across the fibres in narrow lines on the recto; the verso is blank. There are some holes in the surface. The handwriting is very faded in places. The last line is completely lost except for a few signs. The seal is roughly spherical, with an obscured impression on its surface. It shows signs of wear and fragmentation.
Content: Oracle question concerning selling a house by a woman named *Ta-ḥꜣ.t* to *Pa-Rʿ* (?)

Transliteration

1 ⸢*ḫrw-bꜣk*⸣ (?) (*n*) *Ta-ḥꜣ.t m-bꜣḥ*
2 *pꜣj=s ḥrj Ḏḥwty-*⸢*pꜣ-ʿʿn*⸣
3 *ỉw=f ḫpr r pꜣj(=j)* (ʿš)-*sḥn nfr*
4 *tỉ pꜣj(=j)* ʿ*.wj* (?) *n* ⸢*Pa-Rʿ*⸣ (?)
5 *my nw=j* (*r.*)*ḥr=j* (?)
6 *ỉw=j ỉr n=f sḫ r.r=f*

7 [*mj ỉn=w n=j pꜣj bk r-bnr*] *sḫ*

Translation

Voice of the servant (?) (of) *Ta-ḥꜣ.t* before
her lord Thot, the baboon.
If it is my good fortune
to give my house (?) to *Pa-Rʿ* (?)
Let me see myself (?)
while I make (write) a document for him concerning it (the house).
[May this letter be brought out to me]. Written.

Notes

Line 1

– *ḫrw-bꜣk* (?)[31] is regularly attested in the introduction to such documents, e.g. P. Ash. D 40, 41, 43 and 44.[32] The sign at the end of the group is considered to be an abbreviated writing of *bꜣk*, as it can be reduced to the small bracket; see Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, pp. 128–129. It may also be worth considering whether the *ḫrw-* is absent due to the damage to the papyrus (as the vertical fibers at the beginning of the line are missing), and whether the remaining traces correspond to a fully written *-bꜣk*.

28 It seems that in this house the priests or religious functionaries deliberated on the content of the oracles. This could involve interpreting the divine message, formulating a coherent response to the petitioners' inquiries, and ensuring that the answer was aligned with the deity's will, as understood within the religious framework. In contrast, the 'place where the answers were given' was likely a more public or accessible area where petitioners could receive the oracle's response. This may have been a temple forecourt, a shrine, or another designated space near the sacred area of the necropolis.

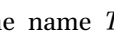
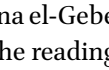
29 For additional perspectives on the purpose of this house, see D. Kessler, with contributions by P. Brose – M. Ebeid – M.A. Nur el–Din – F. Steinmann, *Die Oberbauten des Ibiotapheion von Tuna el-Gebel: Die Nachgrabungen der Joint Mission der Universitäten Kairo und München 1989–1996* (TeG 3, Haar, 2011), pp. 133–134.

30 We owe this information to Prof. D. Kessler (email, 1 November 2019).

31 This was suggested by Vittmann instead of our reading *pꜣ ḥtr* (email, 28 March 2024).

32 Martin, 'Questions to the Gods', in: *Festschrift Zauzich*, pp. 413–426.

While the signs actually look like *pꜣ ḥtr*, 'necessity', this would make no sense in the context.

– The name *Ta-ḥꜣ.t*  , Ταης (also Θαης, Τεης), is attested in Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*[33] and is common in Tuna el-Gebel documents, e.g. Papyrus Cairo 24/11/62/8, *l.* 7. The reading *Ta-wꜣ*,[34]  , is also possible.[35]

Line 2

– Although the papyrus is in very poor condition here, the reading of the oracular god *Ḏḥwty-pꜣ-ʿʿn*, 'Thot, the baboon', is certain. The appeal to the oracle of the god Thot-Baboon was performed in the Baboon cult chambers in the sacred animal galleries and the courtyard of the Thot temple. Special temple baboons were kept alongside the cult images of baboons, which were effectively 'dii minores (minor gods)' in the temple area. These baboons lived as enthroned animals next to the cult statue of the protective god Thoth-baboon in the courtyard of the Thoth temple. There were also special oracle animals, maintained by cult guilds, which lived alongside the baboon-shaped cult images of gods such as 'The Hearing Ear'.[36]

Line 3

– *ỉwꜥf ḫpr r pꜣj<ꜥj>* (*ʿš*)*-sḫn nfr*, 'If it is my good fortune/if it happens that it is good for me': see the comments on the same phrase in line 3 of P. Mallawi Museum inv.no 1093/4 above.

Line 4

– This line appears to explain the reason behind the lady's oracle question; however, the text is unfortunately too unclear to discern the details.

– In the beginning of this line, the verb *tỉ* is clear, then *pꜣ* followed by two little parallel strokes (not well preserved) represent the usual spelling of *pꜣj*. An addition of the suffix pronoun (*ꜥj*) here is logical as a subsequent possessive noun is expected.

– The word *ʿ.wj* is not completely certain. Likewise, the personal name *Pa-Rʿ* (Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 391).[37] As the second part looks more like *Ptḥ* than *Rʿ*, this could also be read *Pa-Ptḥ*.[38]

Line 5

– *my nwꜥj* (*r.*)*ḥrꜥj* (?), 'Let me see myself (?)'. This phrase was discussed by J.D. Ray in the context of dream texts, where he suggested that it was a way of expressing the idea of 'envisaging' or 'imagining', i.e. 'I imagine myself'.[39]

– There is an alternative interpretation of this expression which may be more suitable to our context. In contemporary Colloquial Arabic, Egyptians often use the phrase 'Let me see myself' (خليني أشوف (أشاور) نفسي), which can be translated as 'Let me consult myself'. This expression is used when someone is uncertain about a matter and indicates their need to reflect or deliberate before making a decision.

– *wꜣḥ*, 'region', was initially proposed instead of *ḥr* but it has been ruled out because *wꜣḥ* as substantive cannot be used with a pronominal suffix, it would have to be *pꜣjꜥj wꜣḥ*, not *wꜣḥꜥj*.[40]

Line 6

– *ỉwꜥy ỉr nꜥf sḫ r.rꜥf*, 'while I make (write) a document for him concerning it (the house)'. This circumstantial clause may refer to writing a contract of sale of her house for *Pa-Rʿ*.

Line 7

– [*mj ỉnꜥw nꜥj pꜣj bk r-bnr*] *sḫ*, '[May this letter be brought out to me]. Written'. This line is almost entirely lost. Its restoration is based on the common conclusion formula in oracle questions. See the comment on line 5 of P. 1093-4 above.

– The bracket following *sḫ* is also found in this oracle question; see the comment above on line 5 of the first text.

Commentary

This text is structured according to the regular formulae of oracle questions. The subject matter is not completely clear, but it appears to concern the selling of a house by a woman named *Ta-ḥꜣ.t* to a person named *Pa-Rʿ* (?). The question was directed to the god 'Thot, the baboon' and was concerned with the giving or selling (?) of her house. It seems that the woman was rather hesitant about what to do but from lines 5–7 she wanted (or needed) to make a quick decision.

33 Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 1202; Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, col. 405.

34 Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 1169; Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 355. 5.

35 I owe this suggestion to C.J. Martin (email, 24 July 2024).

36 D. Kessler, 'Ibis–Vögel mit Eigennamen', in: *Studien Thissen*, pp. 264–265; Schlüter, 'Einige unter Vielen: Pavianindividuen', in: *Kleine Götter – Große Götter: Festschrift Kessler*, pp. 403–416; Schlüter, *Die Kultstellen im Tierfriedhof von Tuna el-Gebel*, pp. 17–41.

37 I owe this suggestion to Adrienn Almásy-Martin.

38 I owe this suggestion to C.J. Martin.

39 J.D. Ray, 'Phrases used in Dream–Texts', in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (StudDem 1, Leuven, 1987), pp. 87–89.

40 As pointed out to me by Vittmann (email, 28 March 2024).

Published Oracle Questions from Hermopolis Magna

P. Antiquities Mallawi Museum Inv. 484	Zauzich, 'Eine unerkannte Orakelfrage', *Enchoria* 19/20, pp. 227–229 (Corrections to Zaghloul, 'An Eye-disease [Amblyopia] Mentioned in a Private Letter from Tuna El-Gebel', *MDAIK* 48, pp. 255–260).
P. BM EA 10851	Kaplony-Heckel, 'Neue demotische Orakelfragen', *ForschBer* 14, pp. 87–88 (DP Michaelides C); Zauzich, 'Teephibis als Orakelgott', *Enchoria* 4, p. 163; Zauzich, 'Die demotischen Orakelfragen', in: *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts*, p. 18 (Nr. 25).
P. BM EA 10853	Kaplony-Heckel, *op. cit.*, p. 88 (DP Michaelides D); Zauzich, 'Teephibis als Orakelgott', *Enchoria* 4, p. 163.
P. CUL Michael.1167	Kaplony-Heckel, *op. cit.*, p. 87 (DP Michaelides B); Zauzich, 'Teephibis als Orakelgott', *Enchoria* 4, p. 163; Zauzich, 'Die demotischen Orakelfragen', in: *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts*, p. 17 (Nr. 24).
P. CUL Michael.1168	Kaplony-Heckel, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–87 (DP Michaelides A); Zauzich, 'Teephibis als Orakelgott', *Enchoria* 4, p. 163; Zauzich, 'Die demotischen Orakelfragen', in: *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts*, p. 17 (Nr. 23).
P. 1093/4	The subject of this contribution.
P. 1093/5	The subject of this contribution.
P. Al-Ashmunein Magazine 1420	To be published by the second author.

FIGURE 1 P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/4 folded and sealed
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FIGURE 2
Seal of P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/4
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FIGURE 3 P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/4 recto
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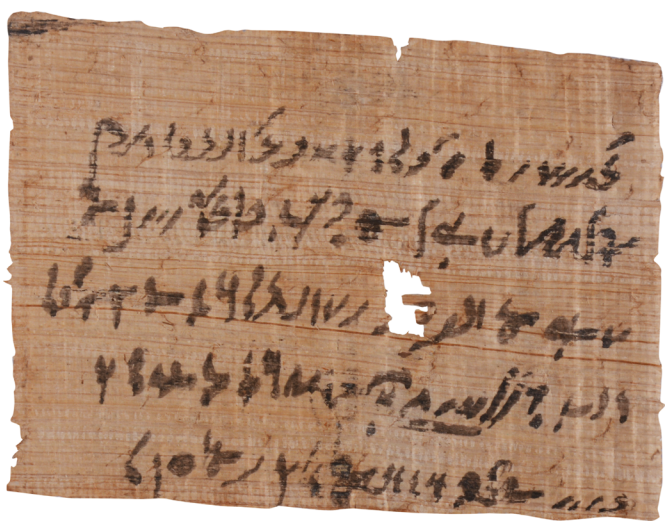

FIGURE 4 P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/4 recto
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FIGURE 5 P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/4 verso
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FIGURE 6 P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/5 folded and sealed
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FIGURE 7
Seal of P. Mallawi
Museum Inv. No. 1093/5
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FIGURE 8 P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/5 recto
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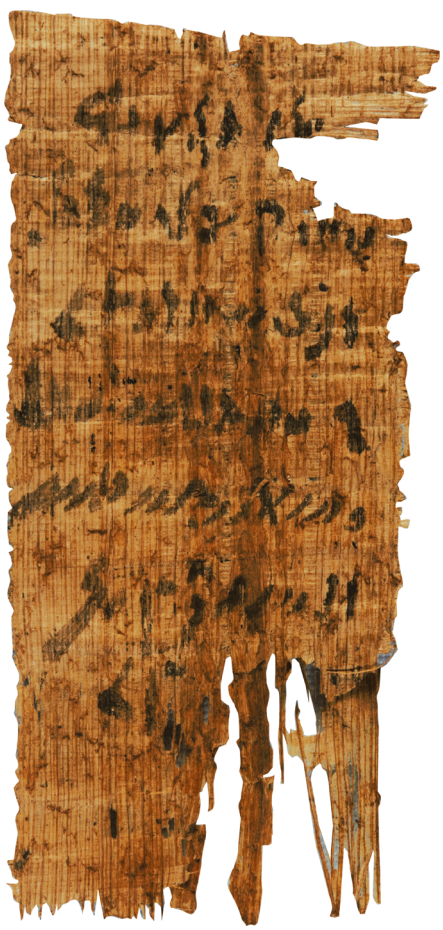

FIGURE 9 P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/5 recto
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9

A Demotic Temple Oath from the Third Regnal Year of Domitian (84 CE): P. Mich. inv. 2096

Marina Escolano-Poveda

In the summer of 2012, still a fledgling demotist, I participated in the Summer Institute in Papyrology at the University of Chicago. I then had the chance to work for the first time with the papyrological collection of the University of Michigan. Apart from the Greek pieces examined during the Institute, I selected two demotic papyri to, in due course, edit and publish. However, later vicissitudes of life delayed the completion of these editions. Dear Koen, our exchanges about the late Ursula Kaplony-Heckel and your deep appreciation of her, excellently encapsulated in your piece in *Enchoria* 37,[1] together with your particular predilection for difficult texts, made me think that this tricky demotic temple oath, the latest dated example of such a text attested so far, would be an enjoyable tribute to your outstanding career.

The completion of this edition would not have been possible without the contributions and discussions I have been delighted to have had with a group of excellent scholars. I would like to acknowledge here the generous feedback provided on several drafts of this paper by Sandra Lippert, Cary Martin, Kim Ryholt, Joachim Quack, and Jannik Korte. Their readings and suggestions have been indicated in the notes to the text. Any shortcomings of the present piece are entirely mine.

P. Mich. inv. 2096
Hermopolites?, 12th June 84 CE
TM 1000250

The papyrus arrived in Michigan in November of 1924 as part of a lot to which P. Mich. inv. 1444–2753 belong. Michigan's lot belonged to a large purchase of papyri, of more than 4,700 pieces, that was brought from Egypt to the British Museum in May of 1924 by Francis Kelsey, and sorted by Idris Bell.[2] It consisted of 19 boxes of varied content, including papyri, ostraca, mummy labels, tablets, etc. in various languages and scripts, acquired mostly from Maurice Nahman, but also from other dealers. P. Mich. inv. 2096 corresponds to item 121 in Box II of Bell's report, which, according to Bell, was purchased from Nahman.[3] Due to the large size of the purchase, Bell notes that only a cursory inspection of the pieces was possible. The demotic texts were examined by Herbert Thompson,[4] who noted for item 121 of Box II (p. 13): 'Demotic? Or (less likely) shorthand? 4 ½″ × 3 ½″.' This hesitation may indicate that the contents of the papyrus were not clearly visible when Thompson examined it, perhaps due to its being folded (see below), since, while the script is certainly not beautiful, its identity as demotic is clear at first glance. The left-hand side section of the papyrus is still covered in small, brown-coloured spots that look like specks of mud, which may have obscured its surface more extensively before it was cleaned. The catalogue of the Michigan collection indicates that 'the papyrus was mounted on a mat on 7-20-1984'.[5]

The dark-brown papyrus (H. 9.2 cm × W. 10.8 cm) is mostly complete, preserving all its margins except for the lower left-hand side corner. The surface of the papyrus is coarse and presents darker sections in the first third of lines 4 and 5, along line 8, and in the middle section of lines 13 to 15, which may correspond to the remaining ink from a series of erasures. The papyrus appears to have been folded first horizontally in half, which has significantly affected the preservation of line 9. It was then folded vertically twice, creating four vertical sections. The

1 K. Donker van Heel, 'A Fond Farewell to Ursula Kaplony-Heckel', *Enchoria* 37 (2020/23), pp. xxxv–xxxviii.

2 H.I. Bell, *Report on Papyri* (1924), pp. 1–2 (publicly accessible in https://apps.lib.umich.edu/papyrus-collection/report-papyri-1924; last accessed 09 July, 2024). In the document 'Inventory of papyrus 1444–2108', which lists the papyri that entered the collection of the University of Michigan in November of 2024, the papyrus appears already catalogued as 2096 (p. 26), and labelled as 'Demotic (?)', with the same measurements as those in Bell's report, p. 13. The document 'List of Papyri delivered to the University of Michigan. November, 1924' follows the inventory in Bell's report, and lists P. Mich. inv. 2096 still as item 121 in Box II (p. 3). I thank Arthur Verhoogt and Monica Tsuneishi for making these documents accessible to me.

3 On the 1924 expedition, cf. J.G. Pedley, *The Life and Work of Francis Willey Kelsey. Archaeology, Antiquity, and the Arts* (Ann Arbor, 2012), pp. 310–331. On the purchase of papyri from Nahman and their arrival in London, cf. in particular Pedley, *op. cit.*, pp. 317–318. The papyri were divided among the British Museum, Columbia, Michigan, and Princeton.

4 Bell, *Report on Papyri*, p. 1.

5 https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/api/manifest/apis:8831:2096R.TIF (accessed on 08/07/2024).

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lower left-hand side section, now lost, may have ended as the outer surface of the folded papyrus packet, which, after being folded vertically, would have been folded horizontally once more. The upper left-hand side section, which is the worst preserved, may have been located right underneath the lost section.[6]

The text is written with a thin pen in a rather careless way. Apart from the aforementioned darker spots that may be due to erasures, the text presents a number of ink smudges (for instance, line 1, on top of the determinative of *ʿnḫ* and over the first *s* in *Tyʿsḳʿrws*; at the end of line 3; over *tw* in *mtw=y* in line 14, as well as over *mḥ* in this same line). The scribe has made several corrections, overwriting signs as in the beginning of line 3, and adding words above the line, as in lines 9 (*p3 ḫrw*), 10 (adding the number *6*), and 11 (adding the number *10*). The hand shows some idiosyncrasies. Tall vertical signs, such as *ỉw* or the two vertical 4-signs that form the number 8 in *Ḥmn.w* (both in line 13) have their lower ends extended with oblique traces towards the left. The large *3*-sign in *3s* (line 8) is written in a bipartite way. Some signs have a small oblique trace on top, such as the first sign in *3ḥ* (lines 7, 10, and 11), and the sign for *ỉbd-2* (line 5). Some orthographies should be noted. In line 2, the suffix pronoun *=f* is used to indicate possession: *mw.t=f*, rather than the possessive article *t3y=f*. The conjunction *ỉrm* is consistently written as *ỉrm-n*, and the relative converter *nty* appears as *nty-n* in line 13. These orthographies may reflect their pronunciation at the time.

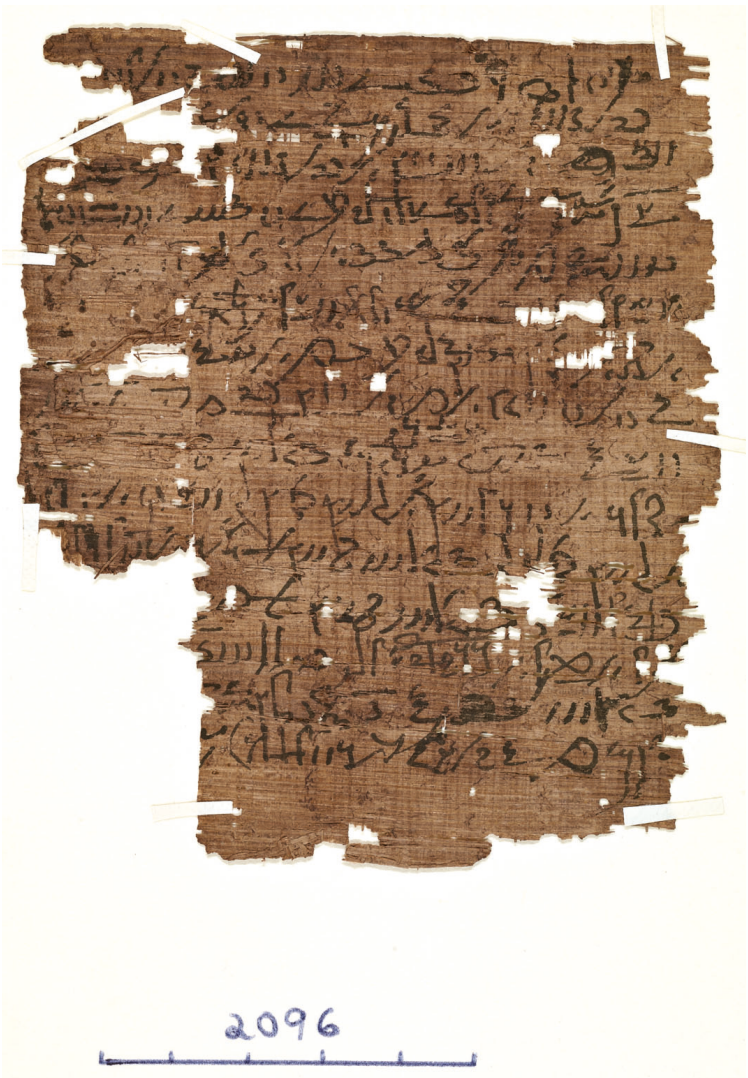

FIGURE 1 P. Mich. inv. 2096

6 These comments are made on the basis of the photograph and have not been checked against the original. The vertical folds could have been performed as an accordion, or as two successive folds in half. For the folding of papyri, cf. M. KRUTZSCH, 'Falttechniken an altägyptischen Handschriften', *AfP* 24 (2008), pp. 71–83.

Transliteration

1 *{pȝ} ḫ(.t) (n pȝ) ʿnḫ nty (i.)ỉr Tyʿsḳʿrws [pa*
2 *ȝrȝs r ỉr⸗f (n) mw.t⸗f Ḳstȝrw[s*
3 *⟦m⟧ ỉrm-n Hȝryʿn pa ȝrȝs (n) [p]ˈȝ˥ ˈḥfṯ-h˥*
4 *n ȝs.t ˈtȝ-Bḫ˥ tȝ nṯr.t ʿȝ(.t) ḥȝ.t-sp 3(.t)*
Tʿmytyȝns
5 *pȝy⸗n ḥry ỉbd-2 šmm sw 18 ḏd ʿnḫ ˈtȝy⸗n*
ḥry.t˥
6 *ˈỉrm-n˥ nṯr ˈnb˥ nty ḥtp ty ỉrm-n⸗w ˈpȝy˥*
sḫn ˈnty ỉw⸗y/n ỉr˥
7 *r-ḏbȝ ˈpȝy˥ ȝḫ (r) pȝ rd ḥȝ.t-sp 3(.t) nty ḥry r*
pȝ ˈrd˥ [ḥȝ.t-sp 4.t] ˈnty ỉw˥
8 *Ḳʿrʿs pa Hȝrʿn (pȝ) ȝs hn n-ỉm⸗y*
9 *ỉrm-n⸗tn mn ⸌pȝ ḥrw⸍ pȝ sḫn mtw⸗y*
ˈtm ...˥
10 *n ḥw r rtb sw-ỉt ⸌6⸍ r wʿ.t sṯȝ.t (n) ȝḫ {wʿ.t}*
ỉrm-n rtb ỉt 5
11 *r wʿ.t sṯȝ.t (n) ȝḫ {wʿ.t} mtw⸗y tm dỉ.t ⸌10⸍*
(n) ˈšb(.t)˥ n-ỉm⸗w swˈṯ˥[
12 *Pr-ʿȝ mtw⸗y tm dỉ.t h[*
13 *]⸗w r-ỉn{⸗f}⸗w r Ḫmn.w nty-n ỉw⸗y ỉr [*
14 *mtw⸗y mḫ n⸗tn nȝ ḫmȝ.w ...[*
15 *sḫ ḥry mn md(.t) ʿwḏ (n) pȝy [ʿnḫ*

Translation

1 Wording (of the) oath that Dioskouros [son of
2 Ares will make to his mother Kastorou[s
3 and Horion son of Ares (in) the *dromos*
4 of Isis, she of Bekh, the great goddess, in the third year of Domitian,
5 our lord, second month of Shemu, day 18, saying: "As our mistress (?) lives
6 and every god who dwells here with them (sic). This lease [which I/we (?) made (?)
7 concerning this field (for) the agricultural period of the aforementioned year 3, until the agricultural period [of year 4], which
8 Kouros son of Heron (the) Elder agreed with me
9 and you (pl.). The ⸌stipulations⸍ of the lease stand; and I shall not ...
10 more than 6 artabae of barley-wheat for one aroura of field {one} and 5 artabae of barley
11 for one aroura of field {one}; and I will not give 10 (as?) replacement there. [...] delivered [...]
12 Pharaoh; and I shall not give ...[
13 them, which they delivered to Hermopolis Magna, which I shall make [
14 and I shall pay to you (pl.) the rent (?) in full ...[
15 written above. There is nothing false in this [oath]."

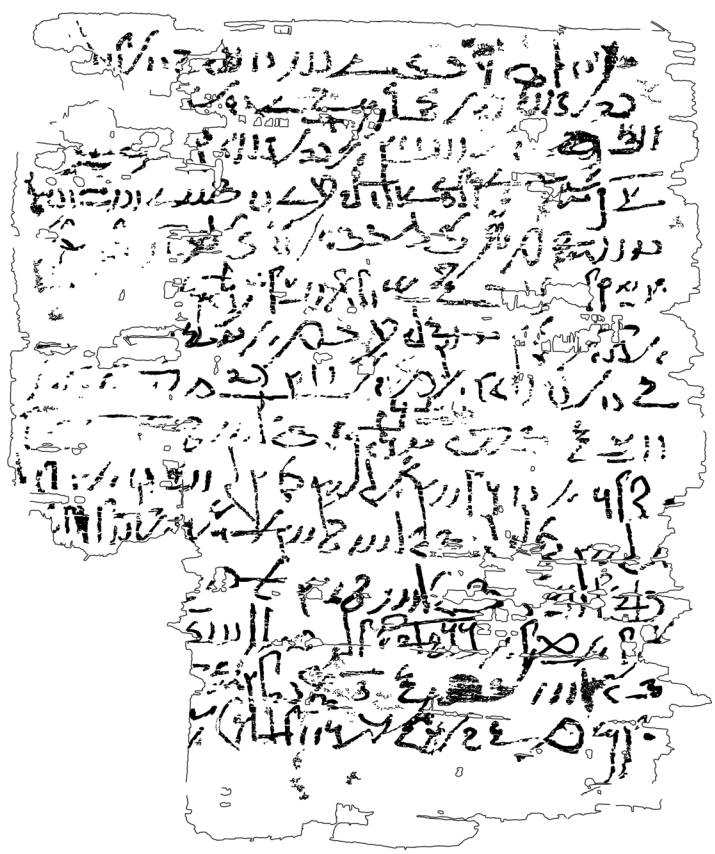

FIGURE 2 P. Mich. inv. 2096
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Textual Notes

Line 1

Two strokes forming what looks like a diminutive *pꜣ* precede *ḥ*(*.t*) in this oath's introductory formula. The absence of the article before *ʿnḫ* would indicate a transposition, since *ḥ*(*.t*) is a feminine word. The article *pꜣ* is written throughout the text in a larger and more defined way, cf. line 7 (although with a line crossing its lower part), or *pꜣy=n* in line 5. Other examples of *pꜣ* preceding the introductory formula can be found in O. Tempeleide 108 and O. 23 in R.A. Fazzini – R. Jasnow, 'Demotic Ostraca from the Mut Precinct in Karnak', *Enchoria* 16 (1988), p. 45. In both these cases, however, the article appears in duplicate, both before *ḥ*(*.t*) and *ʿnḫ*. The phenomenon is discussed in V. Massa, *Temple Oaths in Ptolemaic Egypt: A Study at the Crossroads of Law, Ethics and Religion* (unpublished dissertation Leiden, 6 December, 2018, available online since 6 June, 2020: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/67293), p. 107 fn. 402.

For a discussion of the translation of *ḥ*(*.t*) as 'wording', cf. Massa, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–109. However, note Massa's point that, for oaths written on papyrus, the translation of *ḥ*(*.t*) as 'copy' can be considered correct, as they would be copies of previous drafts written on ostraca.

Tyʿsḳʿrws = Διόσκουρος (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, cols 90–91). I owe the identification of the name to Cary Martin and Sandra Lippert. The scribe consistently uses to render Greek ο. This sign, which goes back to *ʿꜣ*, is used in its full form in the bilingual Graeco-Egyptian magical formularies for Greek ο, cf. J.H. Johnson, 'The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden', in: J.H. Johnson – E.F. Wente (eds), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC 39, Chicago, 1976), p. 120, table 6; J.F. Quack, 'Griechische und andere Dämonen in den spätdemotischen magischen Texten', in: T. Schneider (ed.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis* (AOAT 310, Münster, 2004), p. 433.

Line 2

The name of the father, which appears again in line 3, is written as *ỉrꜣs*. In Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 25, s.v. *ỉryꜣ*, it is suggested that the form *ỉrꜣs* may be a spelling of the genitive of the Greek name Ἀρεία. However, this is a feminine name, which would not fit here. The name could be a demotic form of Ἄρης (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, col. 47). This form of the *ꜣ*-sign in word-internal position can be used to render Greek η (Johnson, 'The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden', in: *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, p. 120, table 6; Quack, 'Griechische und andere Dämonen', in: *Das Ägyptische*, p. 433). Another possibility, suggested to me by Sandra Lippert, would be to take *ỉrꜣs* as a phonetic rendering of Ὧρος (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, col. 497). The phonetic writing in demotic of the Greek form of Egyptian names (in this case, the original Egyptian name would be *Ḥr,* Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, pp. 786–788), is attested in late mummy labels from the Akhmim region, cf. examples in C. Arlt, *Deine Seele möge leben für immer und ewig: die demotischen Mumienschilder im British Museum* (Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2011), p. 156. I thank Sandra Lippert for this point. The name appears again in the following line.

ỉr=f: I thank Kim Ryholt for the reading of *=f*. The connection of the lower horizontal stroke of the sign is flaked. Compare with *ỉr=f* in O. Bodl 1074, 2 (*CDD*, *'I*, p. 175).

mw.t=f: One would have expected *tꜣy=f mw.t* rather than *mw.t=f*, which is generally restricted to the indication of filiation. A similar shape for the *mw.t*-sign can be found in P. BM EA 10750A, 3 (*CDD*, *M*, p. 71). As an alternative, Cary Martin points out that the sign could be read as *ḥʿ=f*, 'himself', but in the context of the text, with a feminine name following, *mw.t=f* seems to make more sense.

Ḳstꜣrw[*s* = Καστοροῦς (TM Nam 7009). I thank Cary Martin for the identification of this name. The scribe seems to have hesitated between *ꜣ* and *ʿ*, with the second trace of the latter having been corrected to the small form of the former: .

Line 3

ỉrm-n: The scribe seems to first have written an *m*, and then corrected it to *ỉrm*, which he consistently writes in the text as *ỉrm-n*. He added the two vertical strokes before the *m*, consequently moving the margin of the text towards the right, a placement that is followed by the rest of the lines below. He then transformed the *m* by extending its lower trace horizontally, and added the little curved trace above it. For *ỉrm-n*, cf. R.K. Ritner, 'Gleanings From Magical Texts', *Enchoria* 14 (1986), p. 100 (I thank Cary Martin for this reference), alluding to temple oath O. BM EA 25673, 5, cf. U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeleide* (ÄgAbh 6, Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 76–780, no. 31. This and other examples can be found in *CDD*, *'I*, pp. 198–199, but none have the *n*-sign placed under the curved trace of *ỉrm*. This error of the scribe is interesting, as it may constitute a phonetic rendering of

the current pronunciation of the word *ỉrm* (Sahidic ⲙⲛ), since it seems to be followed by a large round *n*, which has also been corrected (I thank Sandra Lippert for this remark).

The next sign has also gone through corrections, displaying an overlap of curved traces: . It seems to originally have been a large *n*-sign with a flat top like those in *ḥn* in line 8, and *mn* in line 9. Overwritten on top of the *n*-sign, the traces may correspond to a *h*-sign starting the personal name, as in the first sign of *Hꜣrʿn* in line 8. I am reading the name here as *Hꜣryʿn* (see below). Another option is to read it as a carelessly written *sn=f*, following the practice of the previous line for the use of the possessive in *mw.t=f*. I thank Sandra Lippert for this suggestion.

Hꜣryʿn = Ὡρίων (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, col., 497; TM Nam 4746). The orthography resembles that of the second name in line 8, *Hꜣryʿn*, but lacking the yod sign. See notes to line 8.

ḫft-ḥ: The end of this line, after the name, is damaged. The traces can be identified as an orthography of *ḫft-ḥr* 'dromos', with the first traces corresponding well to the *ḫ*-sign over an *f*, and the article *pꜣ* lost in the lacuna except for its tail: . I thank Sandra Lippert for this reading. The second part of the word is unclear due to missing horizontal fibres: . It may consist of a *t* over a very flat *h*, an orthography that appears in P. Harkness 4.6 and 27, cf. M. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness* (*MMA 31.9.7*) (Oxford, 2005), p. 188, note d to line 33. However, there is also a curved trace that crosses both signs. The determinative of the word has been lost in the lacuna. The dromos of the temple was one of the main places where oaths were sworn, cf. Massa, *Temple Oaths in Ptolemaic Egypt*, p. 116. On *ḫft-ḥr*, cf. G. Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (ÄAT 38, Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 485–486.

Line 4

The beginning of this line is problematic. I initially had tried to read it as *n bḫn.t* 'in the pylon', in order to make sense of what looks like *ḫn* after the vertical sign. However, after the identification of *ḫft-ḥr* in the previous line, rather than *ḥw.t-nṯr*, which was my first reading, this would not work. After *ḫft-ḥr* we would normally find the name of a deity (cf. Massa, *op. cit.* p. 117), and so *n ỉs.t* 'Isis' works better (I thank Cary Martin and Sandra Lippert for this remark). It is relevant to note that Isis does not appear in other temple oaths (cf. Massa, *op. cit.*, pp. 166–169), but is the only deity singled out in Greek royal oaths together with Serapis (Massa, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

The second word should be an epithet or a geographical location, which is followed by *tꜣ nṯr.t ʿꜣ.t* 'the great goddess'. The vertical sign could be read as *tꜣ* 'land' or *tp* 'first'. The following signs can be interpreted as *ḫn* or as *bḫ*. Sandra Lippert suggests the reading *tꜣ-Bḫ*, perhaps referring to *Bḫ*, a toponym near Tehna (15th Upper Egyptian nome), attested in P. Loeb 6, 7, 8, and 10. However, the deity associated to this location is Sobek rather than Isis. Another possibility suggested by Sandra Lippert is to take *Bḫ* as the western mountain range (*Bꜣḫ.w*, *Wb*. 1, p. 422. 8–13). This would explain the foreign determinative. The initial *tꜣ* could be an unetymological writing for *ta* 'she of'. If the first vertical sign is read as *tp*, Cary Martin suggests the reading *Tp-sḏm*, a place in the Fayyum, which appears in the *Book of the Fayyum* § 246, cf. H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum* (Wiesbaden, 1991), pp. 162–163. For the demotic form of the toponym, as *Ṯp-˹sḏm˺.t*, cf. G. Vittmann, 'Ein Entwurf zur Dekoration eines Heiligtums in Soknopaiu Nesos (pWien D 10100)', *Enchoria 28* (2002/3), p. 127 n. B 12.

I thank Sandra Lippert for the reading of *ʿꜣ.t*.

Tʿmytyꜣns = Domitian, cf. *CDD*, *T*, pp. 123–124; P.W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques* (*332 av. J.-C.–453 ap. J.-C.*) (P. L.Bat 15, Leiden, 1967), pp. 100–101. I thank Sandra Lippert for noting that the sign on top of the *n* is, in fact, a flaked *ꜣ*.

Line 5

The epithet of Domitian *pꜣy=n ḥry* (cf. Pestman, *op. cit.*, p. 100) is written here with the uraeus determinative (*CDD*, *Ḥ*, p. 221).

ỉbd-2 is written with an oblique stroke on top, which can also be found in P. Berlin P. 23624, x+11 (*CDD* Months: 8). Jannik Korte notes to me that this oblique stroke is a normal orthography in early Demotic, and Sandra Lippert points out that it is also found in later texts from Hut-Repit (Athribis in Upper Egypt).

The date, 18th day of the second month of Shemu (Payni) of the third regnal year of Domitian, corresponds to the 12th of June of 84 CE.

Few traces survive at the end of the line, after *ʿnḫ*. Here, we expect the name(s) of the god(s) before whom the oath is being sworn. The formula ends in line 6 with *ỉrm-n=w*, which would mean that more than one god should be mentioned at the end of line 5. Kim Ryholt suggests to me the reading *nꜣ nṯr.w*. However, this would render the second part of the formula (*ỉrm-n nṯr nb nty ḥtp ty*) rather pointless. The traces at the end could correspond to

a uraeus determinative like the one for *ḥry* earlier in the same line, or to the top of *ḥry* itself. Sandra Lippert suggests *tȝy=n ḥry.t* as a reference to Isis, which is the reading I have adopted here, but we would still need the name of another god.

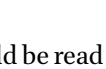
Line 6

The body of the oath starts with ⸢*pȝy*⸣ *sḥn*. Sandra Lippert notes that we would expect a relative clause here, e.g. 'This lease which … made for … concerning …'.

sḥn (CDD, *S*, pp. 351–354) is written here and in line 9 with the book determinative, which is more clearly visible in line 9: . For a discussion of Egyptian leases, cf. S. LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 157–159.

Line 7

The sign after *r-ḏbȝ*, which looks like another *r*, may actually be the tail of *pȝy*, which fits better in the sentence. I thank Sandra Lippert for this suggestion.

The word that precedes *pȝ rd*, written with the plant determinative, appears again, better preserved, in line 10:  . It should be read as *ȝḫ* 'field' (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 9; CDD, *ȝ*, pp. 61–65). It has a diagonal tick on top of the first sign, which is more common in Ptolemaic orthographies. A similar orthography appears in P. Berlin P. 7056 line 6, where it is written with an additional *y*, which is typical for Soknopaiou Nesos, cf. S. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT, 'Papyrus Berlin P. 7056: Division of a *Kleros* between Members of a Priestly Family', in: B. BRYAN et al. (eds), *One Who Loves Knowledge: Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow* (Atlanta, GA, 2022), p. 241 with n. 39; I thank Sandra Lippert for this suggestion.

An identical orthography of *rd* 'growth' (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 257; CDD, *R*, pp. 77–78) with the plant determinative beneath the *rd*-group is attested in the archive of Dionysos son of Kephalas, cf. E. BOSWINKEL – P.W. PESTMAN, *Les archives privées de Dionysios, fils de Kephalas* (Leiden, 1982), p. 130 n. 13; I thank Cary Martin for this reference.

The line ends with a masculine noun, preceded by the article *pȝ*, which starts with a group that may be read as *ʿwy*, *bn*, *tn*, or *ḫt*, amongst others. It could also be interpreted as *rd*, written without the vertical trace. Two small specks of ink in the beginning of the lacuna (right-hand side, after the *rd*-sign, and below its lower end) may belong to the plant determinative. This would be followed by the next year (*ḥȝ.t-sp 4.t*). I thank Jannik Korte for this reading. The line could end with *nty ỉw* followed in the next line by the subject, introducing another relative clause. Another possibility, suggested to me by Sandra Lippert, would be to take the missing section as the title of Kouros, placed in front of the name to avoid confusion as to whether it referred to him or to his father.

Line 8

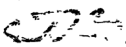
The first name in the line is written as *Ḳʿrʿs* or *Pʿrʿs*. The shape of the first sign is similar to the fifth sign of *Tyʿsḳʿwrs* in the first line, which would point towards the first reading. The former could be identified as the Greek name Κοῦρος (TM Nam 17044). Sandra Lippert alternatively proposes the identification of the name with the Greek Κῦρος (TM Nam 3785, PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, col. 189). Cary Martin suggests its identification as Καρᾶς (TM Nam 3541; PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, col. 166). The name ends with a clumsily written seated-man determinative. If the first sign is to be understood as *p*, Sandra Lippert suggests Πόρος (TM Nam 5255; PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, col. 339).

The name of the father is written as *Hȝrʿn*, followed by the seated-man determinative. Cary Martin suggests the identification of this name with Greek Ἅρων (TM Nam 3380; PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, col. 125). Another option is to take the name as a variant of *Hȝryʿn*, as written in line 3, without the *y*.

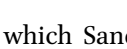
After the determinative of *Hȝrʿn*, we find a series of uniliterals: *ȝ s ḥ n*, with no determinatives preserved. The two traces of the *ȝ*-sign are written slightly separated, but can be identified as a single sign; compare with the initial *ȝ* of *ȝrȝs* in lines 2 and 3. The first two signs can be identified with *ȝs* (for *ỉs*, Coptic ⲁⲥ, CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 17a) 'elder' (CDD, *ʾI*, p. 220), which appears after a personal name in O. Tempeleide 39, 7 (as *pȝ ȝs*), but was not read by KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Tempeleide*, p. 95. There, however, it is followed by the elder-man determinative, while in our text the determinative is missing.

For the following two signs, *ḥ* and *n*, Sandra Lippert suggests the reading *ḥn* 'to agree' (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 276; CDD, *H*, pp. 56–57), with all traces of the determinative lost in the missing horizontal fibres, and followed by *n-ỉm=y* at the end of the line.

Line 9

A new sentence starts after *ỉrm-n=tn*. The first word is spelled out as *m* and a large *n* with flat top, followed by what looks like the walking-legs determinative:  . Sandra Lippert suggests the reading *mn* 'to remain' (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 159; CDD, *M*, pp. 90–94),

despite not employing the *mn*-group that is usual for the orthography of this word. Syntactically, Sandra Lippert notes to me that this could be considered the beginning of the main clause, with the preceding section constituting a topicalisation.

Above the line, between *mn* and *pȝ sḫn*, three signs are written  , for which Sandra Lippert suggests the reading *pȝ ḫrw* 'the voice, statement' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, pp. 365–366; *cdd*, *Ḥ*, p. 131). The article and the lower part of the *ḫrw*-sign are obscured by the loss of horizontal fibres.

Line 10

For the expression *n ḥw r* 'more than' (lit. 'in excess of'), cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 294; *cdd*, *Ḥ*, p. 63.

I thank Cary Martin and Sandra Lippert for the reading *sw-ỉt* = κριθόπυρος, rather than just *sw*. This is thought to be a mixture of wheat and barley, cf. A. Monson, 'Seed in an Early Ptolemaic Land Survey', *Enchoria* 34 (2014/15), p. 75; I thank Cary Martin for this reference.

The number 6 has been added above the line, between the plant-determinative of *sw-ỉt* and the preposition *r*.

For the reading *sṯȝ.t* (*n*) *ȝḥ* 'aroura of field', I thank Sandra Lippert. *sṯȝ.t* 'aroura' is written as two short vertical strokes (*cdd*, *S*, pp. 498–499) followed by the plant determinative, which is unusual, but may be influenced by the surrounding words with plant determinatives: . Another option, suggested to me by Joachim Quack, would be *wȝḏ*(*.t*), corresponding to Coptic ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲟ)ⲧⲉ 'herbs, vegetables' (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 493b).

The scribe has written the number *wʿ.t* both before *sṯȝ.t* and after *ȝḥ*, the second one being superfluous, but perhaps influenced by the placement of the numbers 6 and 5 after the nouns they qualify in the first section of each phrase. The expression is repeated, with the same superfluous *wʿ.t*, in the beginning of line 11.

I thank Cary Martin and Sandra Lippert for the reading *ỉt* after *rtb* at the end of the line.

The long vertical trace at the end of this line may belong to the line above. I thank Sandra Lippert for this observation.

Line 11

The number 10 has been written above the line after the infinitive *dỉ.t*.

The signs at the end of this line are damaged and have been partly lost in the lacuna. Partially intersecting with the 10 above the line, the traces would fit *šb* (EG 497, cf. especially the third Roman-period example; I thank Kim Ryholt for this reading). A similar orthography appears in P. Rhind I, IV.d11 (reference retrieved through DPDP Palaeography s.v. *šb.t*). The man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative is partially lost in the lacuna.

I thank Sandra Lippert for the reading of *n-ỉm=w*, which I interpret here as Coptic ⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'there' (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 196b).

The traces after the *w*, may be read as *sw*⌜*ṯ*⌝ 'to deliver' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 418; *cdd*, *S*, pp. 109–111), with the *ṯ* almost lost in the lacuna at the end of the line. I thank Cary Martin for this reading. The subject of the verb, and perhaps also an object, may be lost in the lacuna. Based on the presence of *Pr-ʿȝ* in the beginning of the next line, Cary Martin suggests 'granary' or 'house' for this object. A short orthography of *ʿ.wy* would fit in the available space.

Line 12

The traces after *Pr-ʿȝ*, which look like *ỉrm-n*, are rather *ʿnḫ wḏ̣ snb* plus the end of the cartouche. I thank Cary Martin and Sandra Lippert for pointing this out.

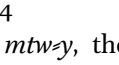
The last word in the line, following the infinitive *dỉ.t*, starts with the *h*-sign. Of the following signs there are three traces left, including two below the line.

Line 13

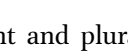
The beginning of the line is lost in the lacuna. One oblique trace may belong to an *f*-sign, followed by *w*, which I have identified as a 3rd person plural suffix pronoun. Following this, the verb is a relative form, after which the scribe first wrote *=f*, and then corrected it to *=w*. The verb in question looks like *ỉn* 'to deliver'. For this orthography, cf. e.g. *ỉny* 'delivery' in P. Wien D 6839 line 3, and P. Wien D 6487a+6861 line 3 (written as *ỉne*), in S.L. Lippert– M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II: Quittungen* (DDD II, Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 189 and 192, and plates 25 and 39. I thank Sandra Lippert for this reading and the reference.

Towards the end of the line, *nty* appears to be followed by a small horizontal trace, *nty-n*, which may reflect its pronunciation. I thank Sandra Lippert for this remark, who points out that similar writings are attested in Soknopaiou Nesos.

Line 14

After *mtw=y*, the next signs are smudged:  . The first one can be easily identified as an *m*, and under the smudge, the traces of the *mḫ*-sign are visible. The verb *mḫ* 'to pay in full' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, pp. 171–172) works well here. I thank Kim Ryholt for this reading. The verb is followed by a sign that looks like *f* and the dative *n=tn*. While

the former can be understood as the pronominal direct object of the verb, another possibility is to understand it as a long *ḥ*-sign as phonetic complement, cf. P. Louvre 2377 vso, line 10 (*CDD*, *M*, p. 170).

The next word is clearly written as *nꜣ ḫmꜣ.w*, ending with the plant and plural determinatives:  . No word written in this way is attested. Sandra Lippert suggests the interpretation of *ḫmꜣ.w* as a phonetic rendering of *šmw* 'rent' (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 507; *CDD*, *Š*, p. 142), which would make sense in this context.

Line 15

The first word after *ḥry* is written in an unusual way: , but from the context of the text Sandra Lippert suggests the reading *mn* 'there is not', with a slightly deformed *mn*-sign followed by a *nw*-group with an oblique stroke, which is often added to this sign when it is the pot determinative, and the abbreviated form of the evil-bird and the dying-warrior determinatives.

The following word , which looks like *ḫpr*, is to be read, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, as *md.t*. It is followed by , which should be interpreted as *ʿḏ*, ending again with the evil-bird and the dying-warrior determinatives. I thank Sandra Lippert and Cary Martin for these readings.

The last word in the line can be identified as *pꜣy*, which allows the restoration at the end of the line of *ʿnḫ* 'oath'. I thank Sandra Lippert for this suggestion.

Commentary

Outline of Contents

The papyrus contains a temple oath consisting of three clauses: protocol (I), wording of the oath (II), and assertion of truthfulness (III).[7] The protocol states that Dioskouros son of Ares (the oath-taker) swears an oath to his mother Kastorous and his brother Horion son of Ares. The location in which the oath takes place is the dromos of a temple of Isis (see above, note to line 4, and discussion below), and the oath is taken on the 18th of the second month of the season of Shemu (Payni), in year 3 of Domitian, which corresponds to the 12th of June of 84 CE. Ares, the father of Dioskouros and Horion, does not have any role in the oath-taking, which may indicate that he was dead.

The body of the oath starts with the invocation formula, which follows the usual wording. It ends in *ỉrm-n=w*, which indicates that two or more deities were invoked. Unfortunately, the poor state of preservation of the end of line 5 does not allow the identification of their names. Following the mention of Isis as the deity of the temple in whose *dromos* the oath is taken, I have reconstructed the tentative *tꜣy=n ḥry.t* 'our mistress' at the end of line 5, but the traces may instead correspond to at least two divine names. It should be noted that Isis is not attested in other demotic temple oaths (MASSA, *Temple Oaths in Ptolemaic Egypt*, pp. 119 and 166–169). The other deity may have been Sobek, if the toponym in line 4 is read as *Bḥ* (see below).

The oath concerns the stipulations of a lease about a field for the agricultural period of regnal year 3 of Domitian (83–84 CE). The lease was agreed between a man called Kouros son of Heron the Elder, who is not involved in the matter that concerns the oath, and Dioskouros together with his mother Kastorous and his brother Horion. Dioskouros swears that the stipulations of this lease have not changed. After this, a series of clauses written as negative conjunctives establish a number of actions that Dioskouros will not undertake. These refer to amounts of grain (lines 10 and 11: more than 6 artabae of barley-wheat and 5 artabae of barley for one aroura of field), as well as a replacement of 10 of something. References to deliveries to something of Pharaoh (line 12, perhaps the 'house' or 'granary' of Pharaoh) and to Hermopolis Magna (line 13) are unclear. The body of the oath concludes with the statement that Dioskouros will pay to Kastorous and Horion the rent(?) in full. This brings up the question of who the lessor and lessee would have been. As Sandra Lippert notes to me, the loss of the verb at the end of line 11 creates some ambiguity, but the most likely scenario is that Dioskouros, his mother, and his brother were the lessors, and Kouros son of Heron the Elder the lessee.

The temple oath ends with the assertion of truthfulness *mn md(.t) ʿwḏ (n) pꜣy* [*ʿnḫ* 'there is nothing false in this [oath' (line 15). It is interesting to point out that this clause has also been designated by scholars as the 'Theban oath', since it has been considered as a feature of the temple oaths of this region, appearing in one third of them (MASSA, *Temple Oaths in Ptolemaic Egypt*, p. 146; LIPPERT, *Einführung*, pp. 175–176). However, it should be noted, as Lippert has done, that the fact that most of the preserved temple oaths come from the Theban area may be due to chances of preservation, and therefore other regions may also have employed this formula (S. LIPPERT, 'Die Rolle des Eides im ägyptischen Recht der Spätzeit und der griechisch-römischen Zeit', *ZABR* 26 [2020], p. 67).

7 I follow here Massa's classification of the clauses of a temple oath, cf. MASSA, *Temple Oaths in Ptolemaic Egypt*, pp. 100–102.

Material Support, Date, and Type of Document

The text presents three main features that make it stand out within the corpus of temple oaths: its material support, its date, and its type. The temple oath is written on papyrus. Out of 858 surviving temple oaths (855 according to Massa, *op. cit.*, p. 104 fn. 396),[8] only 13 are written on papyrus (cf. table on Massa, *op. cit.*, p. 170; to which add O. Tempeleide 220).[9] These are all written in demotic, date to the Ptolemaic period (from 202 to 88/87 BCE), and come from Thebes and Pathyris. Temple oaths on papyrus have the same format as those written on ostraca and have been understood as copies made to be kept in family archives. They tend to concern valuable items such as immovables (Massa, *op. cit.*, p. 103). In one case the same text is both preserved on an ostracon and a papyrus (O. Strasb. inv. 137+268 and P. Ryl. dem. 36 = O. Tempeleide 172 A and B).

Another unusual feature is the date, which is given with the specification of the ruler,[10] allowing the precise dating of the oath: day 18 of the second month of Shemu (Payni), in year 3 of Domitian, which corresponds to the 12th of June of 84 CE. This date is 50 years later than the latest temple oath attested so far: O. Lips. ÄMUL dem. inv. 340, which has been dated to year 34 CE, in the reign of Tiberius (if the palaeographical dating is correct).[11] The majority of the corpus of temple oaths dates from the second century BCE to the reign of Augustus. Consequently, the date of our temple oath indicates that the practice of performing and consigning temple oaths in Egyptian was still used in some localities towards the end of the first century CE.[12]

The third unusual feature is the type of oath the text represents, which is determined, especially, by its late date. Most of the preserved temple oaths were sworn in the context of a trial in the Egyptian courts.[13] These are designated as assertory or decisory oaths, and were meant to settle a dispute in a judicial context (Massa, *op. cit.* p. 82). These Egyptian courts (whose members are designated in the Greek documentation as λαοκρίται, for the Egyptian *wpṯy.w* 'judges') are attested from the first half of the third century BCE to the end of the second century BCE directly, and indirectly until the early first century CE, by means of the last temple oaths.[14] Our text, however, fits better in a non-judicial context, and is better classified as a promissory oath, made in a contractual context, like the Greek royal oaths.[15] Only a few promissory oaths between private individuals and concerning private property are attested.[16] The role of the oath would have been to guarantee the fulfilment of a contractual obligation, in this case the payment in full by Dioskouros of the rent from the land lease owed to his mother and brother. This payment was probably the result of an oral agreement amongst the lessors, which the writing of the oath would guarantee. The absence of Ares, the father, from the transaction outlined by the oath may indicate that Dioskouros was by then the eldest male in the household, in charge of managing the rent received from Kouros. According to the oath, part of this rent seems to have belonged to Kastorous and Horion, probably as part of their inheritance from Ares.[17] Dioskouros confirms in line 9 that he has not changed the stipulations of the lease. The existence of the oath appears to indicate that Kastorous and Horion were not receiving their dues, or at least the

8 Two further temple oaths on ostraca were found by the Brooklyn Museum expedition to the temple of Mut at Karnak in 2016. These are being edited by myself, and bring the total number of temple oaths to 858 (including also the one edited here).

9 Only six temple oaths are written in Greek. They all date to the Ptolemaic period (183–67 BCE), with five coming from Thebes and one from Koptos. They are all written on ostraca. Cf. Massa, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 252, and edition of the texts in pp. 284–297.

10 Temple oaths almost never indicate the name of the ruler. Exceptions are O. Tempeleide 27 and 98, both dated to year 31 of Augustus, and 220, to regnal year 23 of a Ptolemy son of Ptolemy; cf. Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, p. 7.

11 This poorly preserved ostracon contains references to regnal years 6 and 21 of an unspecified ruler. The dating to the reign of Tiberius was originally proposed by Kaplony-Heckel, and is followed by the editors of the text, cf. F. Naether – T. Schmidt-Gottschalk, 'Die Tempeleide: Kulturelle und rechtshistorische Kontextualisierung einer Textorte. Mit einer Edition vom O. Lips. ÄMUL dem. inv. 340', in: K. Donker van Heel – F.A.J. Hoogendijk – C.J. Martin (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There Is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming* (P. L.Bat. 34, Leiden – Boston, 2018), p. 295.

12 On the demise of demotic legal documents, cf. U. Yiftach – K. Vandorpe, 'Immigration, Globalization, and the Impact on Private Law: The Case of Legal Documents', in: K. Vandorpe (ed.), *A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt* (Hoboken, NJ, 2019), pp. 196–197.

13 On temple oaths, cf. Lippert, *Einführung*, pp. 174–176.

14 For a discussion of these Egyptian courts, cf. Lippert, *Einführung*, pp. 180–181.

15 I thank Sandra Lippert for discussing with me the nature of this oath. On the characteristics of promissory oaths, cf. Lippert, 'Die Rolle des Eides', *ZABR* 26, p. 71.

16 Massa, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Promissory oaths represent less than 2% of the preserved temple oaths (Massa, *op. cit.*, p. 104 fn. 396).

17 The consistent use of the second person plural pronoun to refer to the opponents appears to rule out Kastorous' role as just a representative of Horion as a minor (younger than 14). On oaths being sworn by the parents on behalf of their children, cf. Massa, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

totality of them as established in the stipulations of the lease, from Dioskouros.

Personal Names, Toponyms, and Deities

An interesting aspect of this oath is that all the names of those mentioned are Greek: *Tyʿsḳʿrws* (Dioskouros), *ỉrỉs* (Ares), *Ḳstỉrws* (Kastorous), *Hỉryʿn* (Horion), *Ḳʿrʿs* (Kouros), and *Hỉrʿn* (Heron). This is an unusual feature, since only a few individuals involved in the demotic temple oaths attested so far have Greek names.[18] Especially in the Roman period, the language of the name does not necessarily correlate with the ethnicity of the individual, but it is remarkable that a family with fully Hellenised members, at least according to their names, opted for the use of a document that was mostly obsolete at the time, written in a script that was not generally employed in a legal context any longer. The fact that all the parties who had a vested interest in the matter of the oath are family members would indicate that, despite their names, their language of communication was Egyptian. It is relevant to point out that the lessee of the land also has both a Greek name and patronymic (Kouros son of Heron).

Another element that merits attention are the toponyms and deities mentioned in the oath. The difficulties in the reading of the epithet of Isis in line 4 create uncertainty as to the original location in which the oath is being sworn. In the notes to line 4, several possibilities have been discussed that range from the 15th Upper Egyptian nome to the Fayyum. The mention in line 13 of Hermopolis Magna would speak in favour of its identification as *Bḥ*, a locality in the vicinity of Tehna in the 15th Upper Egyptian nome. Isis is, however, not attested in connection with this town. Lippert notes that the choice of invoked deity in the oath was apparently reserved to the opposing party, in this case Kastorous and Horion (Lippert, '*Die Rolle des Eides*', *ZABR 26*, p. 74). The choice of Isis as opposed to the main deity of the town, Sobek, may then have been a personal option of Kastorous or, less likely, Horion. No temple oaths have been previously attested in this region.

18 Massa provides some examples, such as O. Tempeleide 31, where the parties have Greek names, and O. Tempeleide 67, in which the oath-taker has a Greek name, but his father an Egyptian one (Massa, *op. cit.*, p. 110).

10

Ermahnung eines *spijbelaar* in den *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* oder Sprachunterricht anhand eines bewegten Wortfeldes (pTurin A vso 1. 5–2. 2)

Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert

Das Reizvolle an der Arbeit mit entweder bislang *unbe*kannten oder edierten, aber noch nicht *er*kannten, Textquellen ist das Bemühen um nötigenfalls verbesserte Transkription und dann – im Bestfalle – ihre gelungene Identifizierung und Verständnis. Wir verdanken Andreas Dorn einen wahren Steinbruch solcher und in den allermeisten Fällen identifizierter Texte aus dem Konzessionsgebiet des MISR Projektes des Basler Ägyptologischen Fachbereichs im Tal der Könige, genauer gesagt aus dem Umfeld des Grabes KV 18 von Ramses' x.[1] Eine winzige dreieckige und offensichtlich einseitig beschriftete Scherbe oBTdK 813 von H 7,5 × B 7,7 × D 2,7 cm soll hier einer solchen Bestimmung zugeführt werden. Das Ostrakon stammt aus Hütte 51.A5 (Fundnummer: KV 18/6.865, Fundort: E.SH1e). Die Dorn'sche Klassifizierung als „Brief" trifft, wie wir sogleich sehen werden, durchaus ins Schwarze, jedoch wäre diejenige als sog. „Blauer Brief"[2] noch treffender. Zudem, und dieser Umstand ist nicht hoch genug einzuschätzen, erhält ein seit 1954 *in toto* bekannter Schultext jetzt durch seinen archäologisch vorbildlich dokumentierten Kontext zumindest in Gestalt dieses Textschnipsels eine regelrecht dreidimensionale Verortung. Wir können uns nun durch den Fundort in Hütte 51 in etwa vorstellen, wo oder in welcher nicht allzu großen Entfernung er kopiert worden sein dürfte, aber von wem, steht auf einem anderen Blatt.

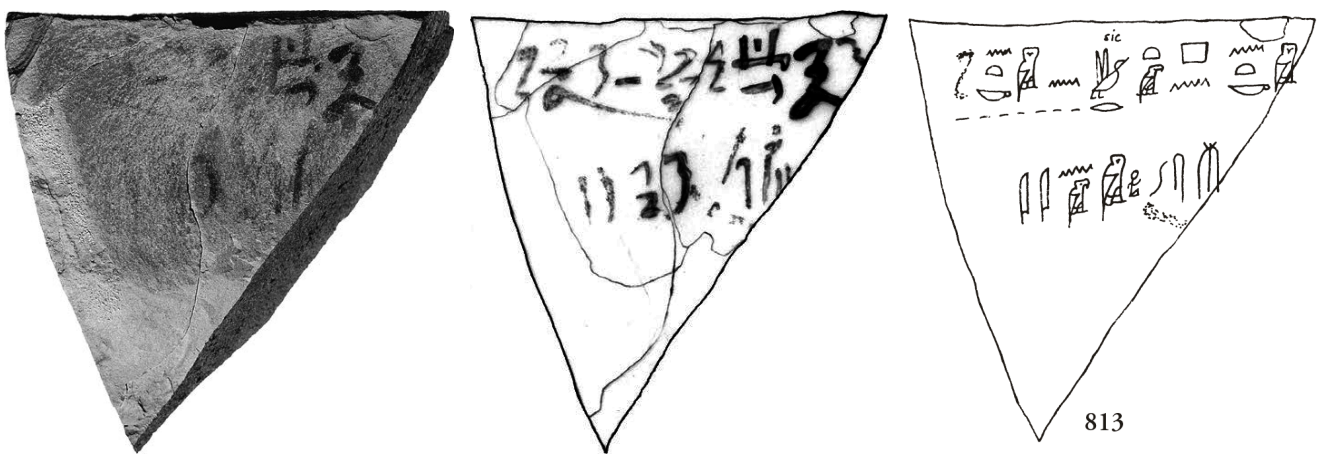


FIGURE 1 oBTdK 813 = DORN, *Arbeiterhütten*, Taf. 715–717

1 Der offizielle Name des Projektes lautete: MISR: Mission Siptah – Ramses X. | Departement Altertumswissenschaften | Universität Basel (unibas.ch); zu den Textfunden s. grundlegend A. DORN, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige. Ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.)* (AegHelv 23, Basel, 2011). Hier behandeltes Exemplar findet sich unter der Nr. 813 auf S. 480 im Textband: „Unklarer Text, Brief". – Ich danke Andreas Dorn sehr herzlich für seine Genehmigung zum Wiederabdruck seines Faksimiles, der Transkription und Photographie des Stückes.

2 Ein „Blauer Brief" an deutschen Schulen weist Schüler wie Eltern auf die gefährdete Versetzung in die nächsthöhere Klasse hin: „Blauer Brief ist die umgangssprachliche Bezeichnung für eine Benachrichtigung, mit der die Schule den Eltern eines Schülers (oder dem Schüler selbst, wenn dieser volljährig ist) mitteilt, dass die Versetzung gefährdet ist." (Wikipedia, s.v.; März, 2024).

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Hieroglyphische Transkription [Ergänzungen nach pTurin A vso 1. 8–9]:

Transliteration:

1 [*nn/jn*]*-mnt=k-pʿr.t* (*j*)*n-mnt=k-t͗ȝ*
2 [*n-zšȝw n-*]*ms m-nȝy-*
3 [*ȝbd.w* ⟨*n*⟩*-pry.t ḥnʿ-nȝ-gḥs.y*]

Übersetzung:

1 Du bist doch keine/Bist du denn eine/ Wachtel? Bist du denn ein Küken
2 [aus einem *Nest, weil] geboren in den
3 [Monaten der Perytzeit zusammen mit den Dorkas-Gazellen !/?]

Ich vermute, es war das zweite vollständig erhaltene Wort, dessen Transkription Andreas Dorn die Korrelation mit zwei anderen und seit 1937 bzw. 1954 bekannten Quellen zu den sog. *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* verbaut hat: lies *pʿr.t* statt *pntȝ*; s. A.H. GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (BiAeg 7, Bruxelles, 1937), p. 122. 1 und R.A. CAMINOS, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (BES 1, London, 1954), pp. 507 (Trskr.) und 450–452 (Übers. und Komm.; zu Caminos' „bubalis" in vso 1. 8 s. weiter unten).

Um den hier zitierten Passus und um die bei Caminos zu findenden Ergänzungen dank des Genfer Fragmentes[3] von pTurin Museo Egizo Inv. 1882 CG 54035 vso transparenter zu präsentieren, zitiere ich die Caminos'sche Übersetzung (Kursives entspricht den Texttrümmern auf dem KV-Ostrakon, Gesperrt Kursives den verwendeten Verben der Bewegung):[4]

> (vso 1. 5) *To the following effect*: I am told that you have *abandoned* writing and *whirl*[5] *around* in pleasures. Your heart is *perturbed* and your will *fled*. (vso 1. 6) Your face is like the bubalis; you are prepared and ready to *leap away*, you are ready to *escape*. If your feet are put in the stocks (vso 1. 7) you set fire to them at night that you may *scramble over* a high wall in the place in which you are. You have *gone* in (vso 1. 8) to your father and your mother and are *come out* justified, (which is) a flattery to your heart. *You are neither a quail* (*?*) *nor a youngling* of a bubalis, *because* (vso 1. 9) *you were born in the* months of winter together with the gazelles. You act yourself as a gnat after the jackals. (vso 1. 10) You are a mating bird. Do not *fly up*, do not (*fly*) *down*. You are in the place for perfecting yourself. Do not make (vso 2. 1) your heart puerile: you are a man of thirty. Pleasant is a scribe who knows his office: his god loves him. (vso 2. 2) Take note of this.

Da der Kommentar bei Caminos so rein gar nichts zum zoologischen und ethologischen Hintergrund dieses Schreibens an einen faulen Schreiber vermeldet, sei dieses Defizit hier zum Anlass für seine etwas schärfere Ausleuchtung genommen. Es steckt nämlich so Einiges an Naturbeobachtung darin, und die metaphorische Nicht-Gleichsetzung (bei Annahme der Negation *nn-mnt=k*) bzw. rhetorische Frage (wenn (*j*)*n-mnt=k*) stellt den Adressaten in jedem Falle auf die Stufe von als Schädlingen klassifizierten wilden Tieren wie u.a. der Wachtel (*pʿr.t*) und Bubalis-Antilope (*šsȝw*; nicht so in vso 1. 8). Ich denke, dass der Autor nur einmal von dieser Antilopenart im Text spricht und das ist die Stelle in vso 1. 6, dort dann vom „Gesicht" dieses Tieres. Die bereits hier verkürzte Graphie ist dann nach vso 1. 8 Ende verschleppt worden, wie auch Gardiner seiner Anmerkung zur Stelle in *LEM* 122a, 2[b] bereits plausibel gemacht hat, weil mit dem Wort für *zš* – „Nest" (*Wb.* 3, pp. 483–485) zusammengefallen. Ein *t͗ȝ*–Tier muss längst nicht immer das Junge eines – nach unserer Taxonomie – Wirbeltieres sein, sondern bezeichnet ebenso gut auch Küken – und diese auch in ihren Nestern (*Wb.* 3, pp. 339. 15).[6] Deshalb würde ich mit Gardiner gerne Caminos' „youngling of a bubalis"

3 Dessen Inv.-Nr. mir unbekannt ist, da bei CAMINOS, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 450, nicht indiziert.

4 S. a. diejenige von M. BROSE, in: https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetTextDetails?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=169&db=0,woauchweitere bibliographische Angaben, die hier nicht eigens wiederholt werden sollen.

5 Zum angeblich syllabisch geschriebenen *š-m* für genuin Ägyptisch *šm* „gehen" s. W.A. WARD, „Lexicographical Miscellanies II", *SAK* 9 (1981), pp. 359–373; dort: 371–373. Allerdings würde ich es im Unterschied zu Ward denn doch nicht bei simplem „gehen" belassen wollen, denn dagegen spricht die fein gewählte Determinierung , auch wenn der VectorOffice-Zeichensatz das entscheidende Zeichen nicht exakt abbildet (vgl. A32F).

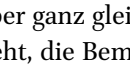
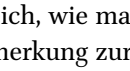
6 W. SCHENKEL, *„zȝ.t* ‚Kindchen', *t͗ȝ.t* ‚Jüngchen'", *GM* 84 (1985), pp. 65–70; dagegen J. OSING, „Etymologische Notizen", in: D. MENDEL – U. CLAUDI (Hgg.), *Ägypten im Afro-Orientalischen Kontext. Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Archäologie und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes. Gedenkschrift Peter Behrends* (Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere, Sondernummer, Köln, 1991), pp. 245–248.

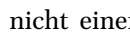
in „Küken im Nest / eines Nestes“ emendieren. Des Weiteren sehe ich eine geradezu genetische Beziehung zwischen diesem Küken und der vorangehend genannten Wachtel, deren Küken folgende Eigenschaft zeigen: „Die Küken sind Nestflüchter. Sie schlüpfen innerhalb kurzer Zeit und verlassen nach wenigen Stunden das Nest.“ (Wikipedia, s.v. Wachtel; 22. März, 2024). So rasch wie ein Wachtelküken aus seinem Nest hüpft, genauso schnell fliehe auch der Adressat seinen Ort des Schreibens und der Schriften und stolziere auf Tanzparties herum! Zudem sind die Tiere Zugvögel, also „ohne festen Wohnsitz“, was sie als Kontrastfolie zum Schulschwänzer anbietet.

Den Adressat zeichne ferner die Eigenschaft aus, „zusammen mit den Gazellen in den Wintermonaten geboren“ zu sein, nämlich in der *pry.t*- oder Sprosszeit zwischen November und Februar.[7] Das fügt sich bestens zur Wurfzeit der *gḥs.t* – Dorkas-Gazellen laut Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre.[8] Allerdings werden wir eine erhebliche Verschiebung des 2-Jahreszeitenkalenders der 5. Dyn. gegenüber der entsprechenden Platzierung dieser Zeiträume in der 20. Dyn. in Rechnung stellen müssen aus welcher der Miscellany-Text stammt.

Aber ganz gleich, wie man mit diesen Verschiebungen umgeht, die Bemerkung zur Koinzidenz des Geburtszeitraumes des Adressaten und der Gazellen-Wurfzeit entbehrt nicht einer gewissen biographischen Anspielung, was wiederum für eine historische Vorlage bei der Wahl des Adressaten sprechen würde. M.a.W., wir hätten es bei der Ermahnung von pTurin A vso 1. 5–2. 2 nicht mit einem fiktiven Schülertext zu tun, allenfalls mit einem – aus welchem Grund auch immer – anonym gehaltenen. Die scheinbare Altersangabe *z᾽ n-mʿḫ* „eines Mannes von 30“ (Jahren, wenn so korrekt; vso 2. 1) markiert eine fiktionale Individualität des Adressaten. Der in der Ramessidenzeit seltene administrative Terminus für das im Diesseits wie Jenseits agierende Gremium der „Dreißigerschaft“ dürfte gleichfalls in dem Quasi-Titel (!) *z᾽ n-mʿḫ* mitschwingen.[9] Mit dieser Amphibolie wird der Adressat bei seiner Berufsehre gepackt, noch dazu, wo er gleich im Anschluss an die „Annehmlichkeiten des Schreibermetiers“ (*nḏm-zḫ*) erinnert wird. Die angesprochene Altersgruppe ist mitnichten die der Dreißigjährigen, ein für damalige Verhältnisse bereits fortgeschrittenes Lebensalter. Vielmehr zielt das Epitheton auf eben diesem Umweg über bereits etablierte Elitemitglieder, die in der aktuellen Ausbildungsphase befindlichen Zöglinge auf die Warnung, es den älteren Herren in Sachen mangelnder Pflichterfüllung gleichzutun.

Diese vordergründig als Standpauke an einen faulen Schreiber daherkommende Rüge ist zudem für uns Ägyptologen ein Lehrstück in Sachen Lexikographie, speziell auf das hier üppig exzerpierte Wortfeld der *verba movendi*. Welche Naturbeobachtung hätte sich auch besser dafür geeignet als damals wohlbekannten Wildtieren ihre Bewegungsmuster abzuschauen und mit neuem, eben menschlichem, Akteur im Textverlauf durchzudeklinieren? Die Prominenz dieses Reigens einschlägiger Lemmata beginnt eventuell mit einer von der Standardgraphie abweichenden Determinierung des Feld-, Wald- und Wiesenverbums für „gehen“, i.e.

1)  *šm*, nämlich als  , so jedenfalls Ward u.a.[10] Es folgen spezifische Bewegungsmuster wie

2)  *tftf* (Lemma-ID = 171950)[11] „loseilen; (sich) völlig entfernen“ vom *ḥꜣty* „Herzen“, das *jb* „Herz“ ist

7 Im sog. Gazellenwunder unter Mentuhoteps’ IV. gebiert die Gazelle ihr Junges im 2. Monat der Achetzeit; s. I. Shirun-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle* (ÄAT 24, Wiesbaden 1993), p. 4.

8 E. Edel, *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der „Weltkammer“ aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Niuserre* (NAWG 1. Phil.-hist. Kl. Nr. 5, Göttingen, 1963), pp. 175 und 189 zu deren Wurfzeit im „Frühjahr“, die unserem gregorianischen Januar entsprechen könnte; K.-J. Seyfried, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Niuserre* (MÄSB 9, Berlin, 2019), p. 95; weitere Details und wertvolle Literatur bei C. Leitz, *Tagewählerei: Das Buch ḥꜣt nḥḥ pḥ.wy ḏt und verwandte Texte* (ÄgAbh 55, Wiesbaden, 1994), p. 260 Anm. 3: Geburt der Dorkas-Gazellen im späten Winter.

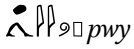
9 K. Konrad, „Zur kosmischen Konnotation des Zahlenwertes Dreißig“, *ZÄS* 130 (2003), pp. 81–87.

10 S. aber N. Tacke, *Verspunkte als Gliederungsmittel in ramessidischen Schülerhandschriften* (SAGA 22, Heidelberg, 2001), pp. 64–65 und 121–122, mit guten Gründen dagegen. – Es ist aber auffällig, dass just dieses Verbum *šm*, genauso wenig wie *jy/jwj*, *ʿq*, *prj* oder *hꜣj* auf zwei aus TT 34 (Monthemhet) und in frührömischer Kaiserzeit in dieses Grab gelangten und durch Verf. in Bearb. befindlichen Holztafeln unter den ca. 100 darauf gelisteten Verben der Bewegung keinen lemmatisierten Eintrag erfahren haben, noch gar selbst als Hyponym gelistet und erklärt werden. Dieses Musterbeispiel einer zu Lehrzwecken verfassten Wortfeldstudie aus dem 2. nachchr. Jh. findet seine qualitative Analogie in der kalligraphischen Exzellenz seiner Niederschrift; s. H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, „Semantic Fields in Ancient Egyptian Philology – Verbs of Motion as Explained on two Roman Period Writing Boards“, in: S. Uljas – A. Dorn (eds), *Crossroads VI: Between Linguistics and Philology* (LingAeg – StudMon 30, Hamburg, 2024), pp. 125–145.

11 Ich vermute hierzu eine Metathese – oder genau umgekehrt – von *ftft* (Lemma-ID 64170) „springen; hüpfen; sprießen (Pflanzen)“, das auf der hieratischen Holztafel Schøyen Collection unter MS 189 als eigenständiges Lemma rangiert, u.a. mit den folgenden Hyponymen: *tnbḫ* „herumirren (wie eine Herde ohne Hirten)“ und *ṯs* „schnell sein; eilen“ (Kopt. ϣⲱⲥ). Zu *fd n-ḥꜣty* „Überdruß des Herzens“ s. die drei Einträge im Onomastikon aus Tebtunis,

3) *mḥy* (*Wb.* 2, p. 126. 16–19; Lemma-ID = 73780; DZA 24.309.180; ohne Belege) „abgehauen; geflohen“. Die Medinet Habu-Belege in *Wb.* 2 könnten auf ein „Fliehen“ oder einen „Rückzug“ aus Furcht vor dem Feind bei Kriegshandlungen hindeuten. Im Auslieferungsabkommen zwischen Ramses II. und Hattusili III. wird das Verbum *wˁr* „fliehen“ auf diejenigen Personen angewandt, die zum jeweiligen königlichen Vertragspartner „überlaufen“ sollten und die es anschließend zu amnestieren gelte.[12]

Des Adressaten *ḥr* „Gesicht“ gleiche dem der *šsꜣ* „Kuhantilope“,[13] und er sei im Begriff,

4)  *pwy* ‘drauflos zu stürzen; fliegen’ (Lemma-ID = 58780) bei gleichzeitiger

5) *wˁr*(*.t*) „Flucht“ (Lemma-ID = 867269). Dieses Verbum bzw. Substantiv bezeichnet nicht simples „Fliehen“ aus Furcht vor etw. oder jmd., sondern im Kontext von Arbeitsverpflichtungen auch konkret „Sich der *corvée* durch Flucht entziehen“ und wird durch die Glosse *wˁr nn jr.t ḥn.t=f* „fliehen durch Nichtverrichten seiner Dienstpflichten“ in dem in die 13. Dyn. datierenden pBrooklyn 35.1446 rto 63d semantisch erklärt.[14] Übertragen auf den Miscellany-Text bedeutet dies des Schülers widerrechtliches Fliehen aus der „Schulpflicht“ bzw. Schreiberausbildung.

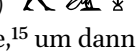
All diese Bewegungsarten werden kurzfristig durch Hinweis auf das Anlegen einer Fessel an die Füße des Zappelphilipps verunmöglicht, ein Verspaar (vso 1. 6–7), das vom Herumtollen und -hüpfen eine kurze Verschnaufpause verschafft, um dann sogleich in die nächste Turbulenz des Adressaten zu springen, wenn er an diese Fesseln Feuer

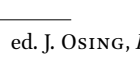
6) *ḫꜣˁ* „abgeworfen“ (Lemma-ID = 113560) habe,[15] um dann eilends *jnbw.w-qꜣy* „hohe Mauern“ zu

7) *tfy* „‘überspringen; -klettern“ (= *tfj* „(ent)springen; zurückdrängen, jmd. des Amtes entheben“ etc.; Lemma-ID 171780),[16] und, als wäre das noch nicht genug des *frolicking*, um anschließend bei Papa und Mama (*jtj=k mw.t=k*) *ˁq* „einzutreten“ und sich moralische Absolution für sein flügges Verhalten abzuholen, indem er dann

8) *pr.tw jw=k-mꜣˁ.tw* – paraphrasiert – „gerecht(fertigt) herauskommt“. Diese Wortwahl insinuiert jemanden, der das „Toten“gericht schon zu Lebzeiten mit der Note 1,0 bestanden hätte (*pr.t-ḫrw m-mꜣˁ-ḫrw*), ohne dass dieser Vergleich *expressis verbis* gezogen werden müsste. Das muss er aber auch gar nicht, weil jedem gebildeten zeitgenössischen Leser und Hörer diese Allusion nur allzu bekannt war. In diesem Kontext sei noch eine weitere Anspielung auf die „Halle der Dreißig“ im Totengericht zur obigen Bemerkung anlässlich des Pseudo-Titels (!) *zꜣ n-mˁbꜣ* nachgereicht. Adressat kann unmöglich ein „Mann von 30 (Jahren)“ sein in diesem Stadium seiner Schreiberausbildung. Angesichts der geringen durchschnittlichen Lebenserwartung wäre das einfach grotesk und vollkommen weltfremd. Stattdessen lese ich diese Zuschreibung als satirische Prägung eines *ad hoc*-Titels, der des Adressaten Mitgliedschaft im *mˁbꜣ.yt* – „Gremium der 30“ suggeriert und ihn damit zugleich ridikülisiert.

Anschließend geht es kinetisch oder kinematisch vom Boden in die Lüfte, indem nun der auf dem winzigen Tal der Könige-Ostrakon erkennbare Passus zur Wachtel und dem Küken im Nest folgt. Kurz drauf schwirrt Adressat hinter den Schakalen her (*jry=k-n=k ḫnws m-sꜣ-wnš.w*), indem er sich selbst zu deren Gnitze-Quälgeist aufspielt.[17] Sodann verhält er sich wie ein brünftiger Vogel (*ꜣpd-dydy*), nach dessen

9)  *pwy* „Aufflattern“ (Lemma-ID = 58780) er sich gleich danach

10)  *hꜣy*(*.t*) „niederlässt; herabsteigt“ (Lemma-ID = 97350). Es fehlt eigentlich nur noch der

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ed. J. OSING, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis: Text* (CP 2 = CNIP 17, Copenhagen, 1998), p. 70 (Fragment B, Taf. 2 Seite 1 und 3).

12 E. EDEL, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Ḥattušili III. von Ḥatti* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 55 und 59 § 17a und § 18a. Deshalb kann hinter *mḥj* resp. *wˁr* (s. hier 5)) unmöglich die gleiche Motivation für „Flucht“ stehen. – Die Medinet Habu-Passagen finden sich bei *KRI* V (Oxford, 1983), pp. 31. 5 (hier von Löwen); 63. 6; in 32. 10 und 39. 12 subst. „Flüchtling“.

13 Es fällt mir nicht leicht, diesen Vergleich mit dem Naturvorbild zu korrelieren. Zudem sind Frontal-Abbildungen in Anbetracht der Ausrottung dieser Tierart vor über 120 Jahren nicht eben leicht zu finden.

14 W.C. HAYES, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* (*Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446*) (New York, 1955), pp. 49f. – S.a. W. SCHENKEL, s.v. „Flüchtling und Flucht aus Arbeitsverhältnissen“, in: *LÄ* 2, Sp. 276–277.

15 Die Motivation der Misch-Determinierung von *ḫꜣˁ* durch eine Kombination aus (D36) und (D54) schreibt sich daher, dass dieses Verbum Tätigkeiten sowohl mit der Hand wie z.B. „werfen; legen“ als auch mit den Beinen wie etwa „jmd./einen Ort verlassen“ abdeckt.

16 Interessanterweise begegnet diese Kollokation aus *tfj* + *jnb.w* auch in einer Traumprognose von pChester Beatty 3 (BM EA 10683, 5. 14) als *nfr* – „positives“ Omen: *wˁb m ḏw.t pw* „das bedeutet Reinigung vom Übel“. Das will recht gut zum direkt anschließenden moralischen *backup* seitens seiner Eltern passen.

17 In der Wiedergabe bei C. RAGAZZOLI, *Scribes: les artisans du texte en Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 2019), in der Tabelle auf S. 345: „Tu te lies d’amitié avec les chacals“, wird der bekannte Phonemwechsel /w/ : /m/ bei fehlendem vorangehendem Vokal nicht beachtet.

aquatische Bereich für weitere und z.B. bei Fischen typische Bewegungsmuster.

Ich halte diese gesuchte Wortwahl für alles andere denn zufällig, sondern möchte in ihr das Leitmotiv für die gesamte Version des Generalthemas „Ermahnung schreibfauler Schüler" erblicken.[18] Diese Eingangs-Schelte und das Lob des Schreibermetiers am Textausgang bilden nur den Genre-Rahmen des dazwischen auf anschauliche wie unterhaltsame und nicht ganz ironiefreie Exposition zu Explizierenden aus dem Bereich der eigenen Muttersprache: Bewusstsein zu schaffen für solche diskreten sprachlichen Größen wie semantische oder Wortfelder und diese mittels der gewählten Beispiele auf kurze textuelle Distanz quasi spielerisch zu internalisieren, die ein Tagespensum (*wʿ.t-ḥw.t m-mn.t*) eines Schreiberschülers nicht überschritten haben dürften.[19] Trifft diese meine Unterstellung einer dezidiert eigensprachlichen Sensibilisierung für Lexeme und damit identische Wortarten eines und desselben semantischen Feldes zu, dann hätten wir damit einen weiteren Nachweis für das dahinterstehende Sprachbewusstsein um diese linguistische Entität eines Wortfeldes, das aus mindestens in diesem Text inkorporierten – verbalen – Feldmitgliedern besteht.[20] Ausgehend vom kosmologischen Diskurs hat J. Zeidler 1999 den ägyptischen Mythologen bereits „die Kenntnis der Sprache und bes. das Wissen um die Strukturierung ihrer Wortfelder" attestiert, die sich in den „*sprachlich-assoziativen* Reihungen" der einschlägigen Welterklärungsmodelle allein schon über *Antonyme* wie „Aufgehen" und „Untergehen" der Sonne bzw. des Sonnengottes greifen lassen.[21]

Durch die in der 2. Pers. mask. Sg. bewirkte direkte Ansprache des – anonym gehaltenen – Adressaten im Mittelteil wird seine Person in den „eigentlichen" Lehrstoff dieser Schulstunde buchstäblich inkorporiert, was den mnemotechnischen Effekt dieser Didaktik noch erhöht haben dürfte, zumindest diesen erreichen sollte. So antik diese Lehrmethode auch scheinen mag, als antiquiert würde ich sie dennoch nicht abtun wollen. In jedem Falle ist sie allemal cleverer als vermeintlich die reine „Kompilation" von Vokabeln (*contra* Brunner).

Kurz nochmals zurück zum archäologischen Kontext von oBTdK 813. Das kleine Ostrakon ist innerhalb eines durch Regenwassereinbruch verbackenen Konvolutes innerhalb einer vermutlich bereits antiken Deponierung entdeckt worden.[22] Unter den 34 Ostraka aus Hütte 51 bildet oBTdK 813 eines der kleinsten Exemplare, vergesellschaftet mit einem bemerkenswert breiten Spektrum an Text-Genres und Zeichnungen. Die Nutzung der Hütte zu Unterrichtszwecken in Sachen Literatur, eventuell gar von Vater an Sohn, ist somit nicht von vornherein auszuschließen.

•••

Zugegeben, mit der Betrachtung des vorangehenden Miscellany-Textes spiele ich angesichts des Jubilars ein wenig über Bande, denn diese Textgruppe hat in Koens Œuvre bislang nicht die Nr. 1 gespielt, dafür aber das schier unerschöpfliche Corpus der Deir el-Medineh-Dokumentaria. Des Weiteren sind hier seine zahlreichen und grundlegenden Arbeiten zum Kursiv-Hieratischen und Demotischen zu würdigen. Koens Karriere verlief nicht ganz schnurstracks in eine Richtung, sondern erfuhr eine längere und unbeabsichtigte Unterbrechung. Er war dem ägyptologischen Schreiberdasein mithin für eine gewisse Zeit „entzogen", aber dies eben nicht aus Faulheit wie der in pTurin A vso 1. 5–2. 2 gescholtene ramessidische *spijbelaar* oder „Schulschwänzer". Auch hat Koen sich m. W. nicht stattdessen Tanz und Rausch eines Partylöwen hingegeben, denn wie für so viele Ägyptologen auch gab es einfach keine adäquate Position, um sein

18 Mit Verweis auf das Corpus der *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* glaubte sich noch 1986 ein Hellmut Brunner zu folgendem *maledictum* hinreißen lassen zu können: „Die Absicht, den Schüler zum Fleiß anzuhalten und ihm zugleich recht viele Vokabeln und deren Rechtschreibung beizubringen, ist allzu penetrant sichtbar, als daß wir diesen Kompilationen an dieser Stelle noch viele Worte widmen sollten."; H. Brunner, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der altägyptischen Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1986), p. 86, und mit vollem Recht gegen diese „snobbish(ness)" dann J. Baines in seiner „Rez: Brunner, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte*", *JEA* 76 (1990), pp. 209f. Was H. Brunner dabei verkannte, war das genuin ägyptische Sprachbewusstsein der Ramessidenzeit, das immerhin Kategorien wie „Personal-Suffix", „Verbum" und „Lexikalische Semantik" bereits als diskrete sprachliche Konstituenten ihrer eigenen Sprache erkannt hatte, ob, und falls ja, wie auch immer kultur- und eigensprachlich terminologisiert.

19 H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, „Vermischtes II", *GM* 135 (1993), pp. 31–37; dort: 32–34, dazu Korrekturen bei A. McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs* (Oxford, 1999), p. 130 no. 94.

20 Zu weiteren Feldmitgliedern s. den in Anm. 8 zitierten Aufsatz in *Crossroads VI*.

21 „Der kosmologische Diskurs im alten Ägypten während des Neuen Reiches und der Spätzeit", in: D. Zeller (Hg.), *Religion im Wandel der Kosmologien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), pp. 151–162; dort: p. 156.

22 Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten. Text*, pp. 64f., mit allen weiteren Angaben zur Befundsituation.

Auskommen und vor allem eine Familie zu finanzieren. Diese ägyptologisch-demotistische Karenz war dann 2012 erfreulicherweise überwunden durch Antritt der Stelle eines *Lecturer* an seiner Heimat-*alma mater* Leiden/NL. Seitdem hat er das Lehren und Edieren kursiv-hieratischer Quellen auf eine neue und international zuhöchst respektierte Stufe gehoben. *A Very Easy Crash Course in Abnormal Hieratic* samt dem *Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book* trugen ihm diverse Einladungen zur Erprobung seiner Unterrichtsmaterialien ein, darunter im Februar 2016 auch nach Leipzig. Diese Tage gehören zum kulturellen Gedächtnis des dortigen Ägyptologischen Institutes und haben u.a. Charlotte Dietrich und Johannes Jüngling zu Profis im Kursiv-Hieratischen und Demotischen werden lassen. Neben der Lehrtätigkeit entstanden quasi im Vorbeigehen innerhalb von nur wenigen Jahren drei Monographien zu Archiven und ihren antiken Inhabern bei *The American University in Cairo Press*.

In Anspielung auf pAnastasi I 8.7 möge Dir, lieber Koen, diese Miszelle dennoch zu einem kleinen gereichen.

11

M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f schreibt noch mehr Briefe: O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273 und O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607 mit einigen Bemerkungen zur Handschrift

Maren Goecke-Bauer

Den Herausgebern sei herzlich gedankt für die Einladung, sich an der Festschrift für Koenraad Donker van Heel zu beteiligen. Es gibt wohl nicht viele Vertreter unseres Faches, die mit so viel Leidenschaft den Nachwuchs fördern und fordern, Begeisterung für schwierige Texte in (abnorm)hieratischer oder demotischer Schrift vermitteln, unpublizierte Texte ganz selbstverständlich in den Unterricht einbauen, für ihren akademischen Nachwuchs Netzwerke knüpfen und sie manchmal auch ganz unkonventionell bei einem Glas Bier (oder zwei) unterstützen. Reine Selbstläufer sind seine Seminare dabei wahrlich nicht, Koens Ansprüche und Erwartungen sind hoch, aber alles ist machbar. Oder wie er selbst sagt: „We do shit!"

Seit den Tagen der Leidener *Deir el-Medina Database*,[1] die in etwa zeitgleich mit unserem Münchner Projekt *Deir el Medine online*[2] Ende der 1990er Jahre aufgebaut wurde, schlägt Koens Herz aber auch für die gleichnamige Siedlung und deren Bewohner, die mit dem Bau der Gräber im Tal der Könige und Königinnen beauftragt waren. Die über 10.000 administrativen Ostraka und Papyri der Ramessidenzeit,[3] die bislang vor allem in Deir el-Medine und im Tal der Könige und Königinnen gefunden wurden, erteilen Auskunft über die Struktur, Organisation und Versorgung der Arbeiterschaft, über Freud und Leid der Menschen, über den Handel untereinander, den gelegentlich darüber entbrannten Streit oder über die lokale Gerichtsbarkeit, die dann Recht sprechen muss. All dies niedergeschrieben von den offiziellen Schreibern (*sš n pȝ ḫr*) oder anderen, mehr oder weniger schreibkundigen Personen, über die wir aus den Texten im Prinzip schon recht viel wissen. Nur leider viel zu selten: „Wer hat's geschrieben?", denn viel zu selten ist der Verfasser eines Textes genannt. So wurden im Bereich der Deir-el-Medine-Texte, ob literarisch oder administrativ, gerade in den letzten Jahren verstärkt Versuche unternommen, auf diese Frage neben Untersuchungen zu grammatikalischen und orthographischen Strukturen und Eigenheiten auch über die Analyse der Handschrift erste Antworten zu geben.[4] Dennoch ist man bislang noch weit davon entfernt, umfassende paläographische Dossiers zu verschiedenen Schreiberhänden vorzulegen, zu viele Faktoren spielen eine Rolle, die eine Zuweisung erschweren können.

Individuelle Unterschiede in der Handschrift sind von Anfang an gegeben. Man lernt an einer (Schul-)Vorlage, doch die Individualität in der graphischen Ausformung ist schon beim Schreiben lernen erkennbar, wenn auch noch nicht so stark ausgeprägt. Mit zunehmender Übung verbessern sich die feinmotorischen Fertigkeiten und die Formgebung wird spezifischer, die individuellen

1 Zusammen mit Rob Demarée, Ben Haring und Jaana Toivari-Viitala, https://dmd.wepwawet.nl.

2 Günter Burkard, Stefan Wimmer und Maren Goecke-Bauer, https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de. Mein herzlicher Dank geht an die beiden Kollegen sowie an Frauke Pumpenmeier für ihre hilfreichen Kommentare zu diesem Beitrag.

3 B.J.J. Haring, *From Single Sign to Pseudo-Script: An Ancient Egyptian System of Workmen's Identity Marks* (Leiden – Bosten, 2018), S. 145.

4 M. Miyanishi, *Palaeographical Study of the Late Ramesside Letters* (Dissertation, Liverpool, 2016) (http://doi.org/10.17638/03002144); S. Polis, „The Scribal Repertoire of Amennakhte Son of Ipuy: Describing Variation across Late Egyptian Registers", in: J. Cromwell – E. Grossman (Hgg.), *Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period* (Oxford, 2017), S. 89–126; S.E. McClain, „Authorship and Attribution: Who Wrote the Twentieth Dynasty Journal of the Necropolis?", in: A. Dorn – S. Polis (Hgg.), *Outside the Box: Selected Papers from the Conference „Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact", Liège, 27–29 October 2014* (AegLeod 11, Liège, 2018), S. 333–364; R.J. Demarée – K. Gabler – S. Polis, „A Family Affair in the Community of Deir el-Medina: Gossip Girls in two 19th Dynasty Letters", in: S.A. Gülden – T. Konrad – U. Verhoeven (Hgg.), *Ägyptologische „Binsen"-Weisheiten IV. Hieratisch des Neuen Reiches: Akteure, Formen und Funktionen. Akten der internationalen Tagung in der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz im Dezember 2019* (AAWMainz Einzelveröffentlichungen 17, Stuttgart, 2022), S. 43–126; S. Polis, „The Messy Scribe from Deir el-Medina: A Paleographical Journey through the Texts of a Draughtsman and Scribe from the 19th Dynasty: Pay (i)", in: S.A. Gülden – T. Konrad – U. Verhoeven (Hgg.), *Ägyptologische „Binsen"-Weisheiten IV. Hieratisch des Neuen Reiches: Akteure, Formen und Funktionen. Akten der internationalen Tagung in der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz im Dezember 2019* (AAWMainz Einzelveröffentlichungen 17, Stuttgart, 2022), S. 405–453; K. van der Moezel, *Administrative Hieratic from Dynasties 19 and 20: Case Studies on Selected Groups of Ostraca with Necropolis Administration* (HSO 4, Mainz, 2022) (http://doi.org/10.25358/openscience-7839).

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Merkmale treten deutlicher hervor.[5] Im Erwachsenenalter bleibt die Handschrift innerhalb einer natürlichen Variationsbreite relativ konstant. Im Alter verändert sich die Schrift wiederum aufgrund graphomotorischer Altersabbauerscheinungen stärker.[6]

Durch die Individualität und relative Konstanz von Handschriften ist es möglich, den Verfasser eines Textes durch Handschriftenvergleichung zu identifizieren. Das setzt allerdings ein qualitativ und quantitativ ergiebiges Schrift- und Vergleichsmaterial voraus. Denn eine Handschrift ist eben nur relativ konstant. Einerseits entwickelt sie sich langfristig, andererseits hat sie eine natürliche Variationsbreite, die je nach Training und Routine deutlich variieren kann.[7] Auch weitere, äußerliche Bedingungen können zu Veränderungen von Merkmalen einer Handschrift führen, wie die Wahl und Beschaffenheit des Textträgers (Papyrus, Kalkstein, Keramik, …), Art und Zustand der verwendeten Binse oder die Zusammensetzung der Tusche. Auch die verschiedenen Textgenres wirken auf den Schreibvorgang; administrative Listen oder kurze Nachrichten können weniger sorgfältig geschrieben sein als z.B. Briefe oder auch Texte in einem juristischen Kontext; von der hieratischen Buchschrift der literarischen Texte ganz zu schweigen. Neben den paläographischen Untersuchungen spielen also Erfahrung und ein „gut feeling" in der Bearbeitung eine wichtige Rolle.[8]

Vor über 25 Jahren legte Koen einen Grundstein zum Thema Handschriftenanalyse für Deir-el-Medine-Texte, indem er ein eigentlich recht simples Verfahren zum Vergleich hieratisch geschriebener Texte innerhalb der Textkategorie „Nekropolenjournal" erdachte und in der Hieratistik etablierte.[9] Gleiche Wörter (bzw. hier vor allem Personennamen) werden mit denen auf zwei vorher definierten Basis-Ostraka verglichen und je nach Übereinstimmung mit „yes" (+), „likely" (+?) oder „no" (–) versehen und entsprechend ausgewertet. Kaum eine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung aus diesem Bereich verweist nicht auf seine Arbeit.

Der Fokus meiner Untersuchungen liegt auf den Schreiberhänden aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie und hier zur Zeit auf den Briefen namentlich bekannter Absender, um eine Grundlage an verschiedenen individuellen Paläographien für einen Vergleich im größeren Rahmen zu schaffen.[10] In diese können dann weitere – vor allem anonyme – Handschriften eingehängt oder auch davon abgegrenzt werden. Dieses auch von mir in leicht modifizierter Form gewählte rein optische Verfahren basiert neben dem „Bauchgefühl" auf den beiden Grundprinzipien der forensischen Handschriftenvergleichung:

5 A. Seibt, *Forensische Schriftgutachten: Einführung in Methoden und Praxis der forensischen Handschriftenuntersuchung* (München, 1999), S. 6–7.

6 Seibt, *op. cit.*, S. 8.

7 Seibt, *op. cit.*, S. 9. So besonders gut am Beispiel des *'Imn-nḫt* (v), Sohn des *'Ipwy* (ii) zu sehen, der im Laufe seiner etwa 35-jährigen Karriere als Nekropolenschreiber viele Texte zu verschiedenen Genres produzierte. Dem Geheimnis seiner Handschrift auf die Spur kommen langsam aber sicher schon seit einigen Jahren Andreas Dorn und Stéphane Polis, siehe z.B. A. Dorn, „Diachrone Veränderungen der Handschrift des Nekropolenschreibers Amunnacht, Sohn des Ipui", in: U. Verhoeven (Hg.), *Ägyptologische „Binsen"-Weisheiten I–II: Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik. Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013* (AAWMainz Einzelveröffentlichungen 14, Stuttgart, 2015), S. 175–218, aber auch K. Hassan, „New Literary Compositions of the Scribe Amunnakhte Son of Ipuy: A Study of Hieratic Ostracon in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo", *SAK* 46 (2017), S. 101–111 mit Tafn. 7 und 8. Ebenso Rob Demarée für den Urenkel und nicht weniger bekannten und schreibaktiven Nekropolenschreiber *Ḏḥwtỉ-ms* (ii): R.J. Demarée, „Some Notes on the Handwriting of the Scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose", in: S.A. Gülden – K. van der Moezel – U. Verhoeven (Hgg.), *Ägyptologische „Binsen"-Weisheiten III: Formen und Funktionen von Zeichenliste und Paläographie. Akten der internationalen und interdisziplinären Tagung in der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz im April 2016* (AAWMainz Einzelveröffentlichungen 15, Stuttgart, 2018), S. 267–80 bzw. R.J. Demarée – R. Hölzl – M. Neumann, *The Notebook of Dhutmose. P. Vienna Ä 10321* (PdÄ 37, Leiden, 2018).

8 G. Burkard, „Amunnakht, Scribe and Poet of Deir el-Medina: A Study of Ostracon O Berlin P 14262", in: R. Enmarch – V.M. Lepper (Hgg.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice* (PBA 188, Oxford, 2013), S. 77 warnt zu Recht davor, sich bei der Zuweisung von hieratischen Handschriften hauptsächlich auf die Intuition zu verlassen. In der modernen Handschriftenvergleichung beginnt jede Untersuchung aber genau auf diese Art und Weise. Selbstverständlich müssen dann handfeste Kriterien einbezogen werden, um die Analyse auf eine solide Basis zu stellen, so auch schon Dorn, „Diachrone Veränderungen", in: *Ägyptologische „Binsen"-Weisheiten I–II*, S. 196.

9 Zusammen mit Hans van den Berg: K. Donker van Heel – H. van den Berg, „A Scribe's Cache from the Valley of Queens? The Palaeography of Documents from Deir el-Medina: Some Remarks", in: R.J. Demarée – A. Egberts (Hgg.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millenium AD: A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen* (EgUit 14, Leiden, 2000), 9–49. Diese Case Study fokussiert sich auf die von E. Schiaparelli für das Turiner Museum im Tal der Königinnen gefundenen und von J. López publizierten Abrechnungen hauptsächlich von Lampendochten. J. López, *Ostraca ieratici N. 57001–57092, N. 57093–57319, N. 57320–57449, N. 57450–57568, Tabelle Lignee N. 58001–58007* (CMT Serie II – Collezioni III. 1–4, Mailand, 1978–1984).

10 Neben den Untersuchungen zur Paläographie müssen natürlich weitere Faktoren einbezogen werden, die das Schriftbild allgemein und im Detail, den Strich in sich und das Layout betreffen. Im Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags kann auf diese Punkte nicht eingegangen werden.

1) „No two people write exactly alike."
2) „No one person writes, exactly, the same way twice."[11]

Diese Grundsätze bringen auf den Punkt, dass Varianz innerhalb einer Handschrift und auch innerhalb eines Textes ganz natürlich ist und nicht bedeuten muss, dass verschiedene Schreiber am Werke waren. Neben dem optischen Vergleich von Zeichen, Zeichengruppen bis hin zu ganzen Wörtern und Phrasen, sollten bei der Untersuchung von Schreiberhänden daher ganz besonders die individuellen Merkmale im Fokus stehen, also besondere graphische Ausformungen von Zeichen, Zeichenkombinationen oder Ligaturen, die im Idealfall so nicht oder nur selten in anderen Handschriften zu finden sind. Die Identifizierung mehrerer idiosynkratischer Merkmale erhöht die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass zwei Texte von einer Hand geschrieben wurden.[12]

Eine Person, die ganz offensichtlich besonders gerne Briefe schrieb (vielleicht wollte es auch nur der Zufall, dass zahlreiche erhalten sind), war der Arbeiter *M3ꜣ(.nfr)-nḫt=f*, der in der Mitte der 20. Dynastie in der Siedlung Deir el-Medine lebte und ab Jahr 1, Ramses' IV. am Bau einiger Gräber im Tal der Könige und Königinnen beteiligt gewesen sein dürfte.[13] Aufgrund seiner Korrespondenz und den Niederschriften über private Transaktionen, seiner Graffiti im Tal der Könige und Königinnen sowie der zahlreichen Nennungen in administrativen Texten der Nekropolenverwaltung in hieratischer Schrift oder in Form von Identity Marks eignet er sich besonders gut für eine Fallstudie zu seiner Person im Allgemeinen, denn es liegen über 100 Belege vor, die seinen Namen nennen. 15 Briefe können darüberhinaus auf seine Handschrift untersucht werden und bilden die Grundlage einer individuellen Paläographie des *M3ꜣ(.nfr)-nḫt=f*, die im Folgenden diskutiert werden soll.[14]

11 Z.B. R. Morris, *Forensic Handwriting Identification: Fundamental Concepts and Principles* (2. Auflage, London – San Diego, CA – Cambridge, MA – Oxford, 2021), S. 155.

12 Ein schönes Beispiel für die Unsicherheit, die einen begleiten kann, wenn man mit einer breiten Varianz im Zeichenmaterial einer Handschrift konfrontiert wird, bietet der paläographische Teil in dem Artikel von D. Sweeney, „Friendship and Frustration: A Study in Papyri Deir el-Medina IV–VI", *JEA* 84 (1998), S. 101–122. In der Untersuchung der vier Briefe P. DeM 4, 5, 6 und 22 des *Nḫt-Sbk* arbeitet Sweeney im Appendix Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede einzelner Zeichen, aber auch Zeichengruppen und Wörter heraus (Sweeney, *op. cit.*, S. 113–115) und vergleicht ihre Ausformung in den vier Briefen. Am Ende kommt sie zum Schluss, „there seems to be no consistent pattern of similarity which would lead us to identify any two of these texts as written by the same hand. The importance of these results, I suggest, lies in their opening up wider questions about hieratic palaeography: Which factors are significant? How great a degree of variation is to be expected within one person's handwriting?" (Sweeney, *op. cit.*, S. 115). Die Handschriftengruppe des *Nḫt-Sbk* wird von mir für einen Vergleich mit der Handschrift des *M3ꜣ(.nfr)-nḫt=f* herangezogen, da ich meine, eindeutige individuelle Merkmale in diesen vier Briefen gefunden zu haben, die eine sichere Zuweisung zu einer Hand rechtfertigen.

13 *M3ꜣ(.nfr)-nḫt=f* wird erstmals sicher erwähnt im Journal O. DeM 41 + O. Berlin P. 12626, verso 10, als er an Tag 24 des 2. Monats Achet, Jahr 1 Ramses' IV. in den Turnus der Wachhabenden aufgenommen wurde.

14 Eine Diskussion der Begriffe Brief, Übungsbrief, Modellbrief oder Musterbrief würde an dieser Stelle den Rahmen sprengen und ist für die hier behandelte Fragestellung vorerst auch nicht weiter relevant. Die Definition eines Übungsbriefes als Brief mit „Übungen zu Briefformularsentenzen" folgt A. Dorn, „*M3ꜣ-nḫt.wf*, ein (?) einfacher Arbeiter, schreibt Briefe", in: A. Dorn – T. Hofmann (Hgg.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine: Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts* (AegHelv 19, Basel, 2006), S. 67 mit Anm. 1.

Nicht aufgenommen wurden hier die Briefe des *M3ꜣ(.nfr)-nḫt=f*, die weder als Faksimile oder Foto vorliegen, wie O. Kairo CG 25750, verso (nur in Transliteration publiziert) oder das unpublizierte O. Kairo JE 96544, siehe dazu die Erwähnung bei Dorn, *op. cit.*, S. 85, Addendum. Andere (Übungs-)Briefe wurden von verschiedenen Autoren und Autorinnen *M3ꜣ(.nfr)-nḫt=f* zugewiesen, ohne dass sein Name genannt ist oder sonst ein Zusammenhang zu seiner Person hergestellt werden kann. Sie können erst berücksichtigt werden, wenn verschiedene individuelle Paläographien vorliegen. Dabei handelt es sich z.B. um O. BTdK 715, 716 und O. Ashmolean Museum HO 59 (= O. Gardiner 59 / HO 58,1), Dorn, *op. cit.*, S. 72, 75. Aber auch für P. DeM 3, ein Brief des Arbeiters *Ḥ3y* an den Schreiber *'Iỉ-m-sb3*, lohnt der paläographische Vergleich, denn bereits J. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, I (nos 1–17) (DFIFAO 8, Kairo, 1978), S. 15 bemerkte: „Une question se pose si l'ouvrier Ḥay est identique à la personne qui ailleurs dans notre correspondance est appelée ‚artisan (*ḥmw*) du seigneur des deux pays'. La probabilité de l'identité des deux personnages est très forte", womit er natürlich auf *M3ꜣ(.nfr)-nḫt=f* anspielte. Ebenfalls unberücksichtigt bleiben die Übungsbriefe an den Wesir mit der Einleitung *ṯ3y ḫwy ḥr wnmy nswt* O. IFAO OL 203 (publiziert von N. Leroux, „Les ostraca IFAO OL 202 et OL 203: brouillons de lettres ou exercices épistolaires", in: F. Albert – A. Gasse [Hgg.], *Études de documents hiératiques inédits: les ostraca de Deir el-Medina en regard des productions de la Vallée des Rois et du Ramesseum. Travaux de la première Académie hiératique – Ifao [27 septembre–1er octobre 2015]* [BiGen 56, CENiM 22, Kairo, 2019], S. 76–84) und O. IFAO OL 204 (F. Kamal – N. Sojic, „L'Ostracon IFAO OL 204: exercice épistolaire de Maa(ni)nakhtouf", in: F. Albert – A. Gasse [Hgg.], *Études de documents hiératiques inédits: les ostraca de Deir el-Medina en regard des productions de la Vallée des Rois et du Ramesseum. Travaux de la première Académie hiératique – Ifao [27 septembre–1er octobre 2015]* [BiGen 56, CENiM 22, Kairo, 2019], S. 85–90). Sie weisen zwar Ähnlichkeiten mit seiner Handschrift auf, aber aufgrund ihres fragmentarischen Zustandes und des zu geringen Zeichenrepertoires lassen sie kein aussagekräftiges Ergebnis zu. Da es sich zudem um Schreibübungen eines festen Formulars handelt, kann man von einer gewissen einheitlichen Ausformung, die sich an der Vorlage orientiert, ausgehen. Es lohnt sich sicher, diese Textgruppe auf eventuelle „Schulen" zu untersuchen.

TABELLE 1 Übersicht der Briefe des *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*

	Inv.-Nr.[a]	**Herkunft / Material**	**Datierung**	**Titel und Namensschreibung**	**Inhalt**
09)	O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273	Keine Angabe / Kalkstein; Palimpsest	Ramses V.	*sš*	Brief des Schreibers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Schreiber *P3-nfr-m-Ḏd.w* (i)[b] (Sohn des *'Imn-nḫt* [v]) mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung und der Aufforderung, die Arbeit nicht zu vernachlässigen.
36)	O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607	Keine Angabe / Keramik; Palimpsest?	Mitte 20. Dynastie	*sš*	Brief des Schreibers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Vorsteher (?) der Handwerker (?) *Nfr-ḥtp* (vermutlich [xvi], sein Bruder) mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung, der Erwähnung einer Schreibpalette sowie eines Festes des Sobek.
08)	O. Berlin P. 14353	Deir el-Medine / Kalkstein	Ramses IV. oder Ramses V.	*sš*	Brief des Schreibers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Zeichner *'Imn-ḥtp* (vermutlich [vi], Sohn des *'Imn-nḫt* [v]) mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung. Die Rückseite ist beschädigt, erwähnt wird eine Schreibpalette.
06)	O. Berlin P. 14684, rto	Deir el-Medine / Keramik; Palimpsest	Mitte 20. Dynastie	*sš*	Fragmentarischer Brief des Schreibers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an unbekannt mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung und unklarem Inhalt.
11)*	O. BM EA 50723	Ankauf 1912 von M. Mohassib in Luxor[c] / Kalkstein; Palimpsest (frühere Zeichnungen)	Mitte 20. Dynastie	*sš*	Übungsbrief des Schreibers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Wesir *Nfr-rnp.t* über die Arbeit am Königsgrab; mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung.

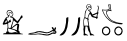
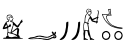
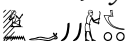
* Die mit * gekennzeichneten Nummern weisen auf die mit gebildete Schreibung des Namens *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*. Siehe dazu die Diskussion vor allem im paläographischen Vergleich.

a Die Informationen zu Inventarnummer, Herkunft, Datierung und Textklassifikation der tabellarisch zusammengestellten Ostraka und Papyri basieren – soweit dort aufgenommen – auf den Angaben der *Deir el-Medina Database* (Stand Oktober 2024) bzw. auf den Angaben der entsprechenden Publikationen. Die Nummerierung der Texte wurde von mir in der Reihenfolge ihrer Bearbeitung vergeben, wobei 01) P. DeM 9, 02) P. DeM 10 und 03) P. DeM 11 die Kerngruppe der paläographischen Untersuchung bildet. Die Auflistung in der Tabelle erfolgt alphabetisch.

b Die römischen Ziffern in Klammer hinter dem Personennamen nehmen das von B.G. DAVIES, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina: A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community* (EgUit 13, Leiden, 1999) eingeführte System zur Unterscheidung der verschiedenen Namensträger auf. Personen ohne Ziffer wurden von Davies entweder nicht bearbeitet oder konnten keinem Individuum zugeordnet werden.

c Wahrscheinlich stammt das Stück aus der Arbeiterhüttensiedlung im Tal der Könige, A. DORN, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige: Ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie* (*ca. 1150 v. Chr.*) (AegHelv 23, Basel, 2011), CD Tabelle 14.

(*cont.*)

	Inv.-Nr.	Herkunft / Material	Datierung	Titel und Namensschreibung	Inhalt
04)	O. BTdK 712, rto	Tal der Könige, Arbeiterhütten Nähe KV 18 (B.SH1. A5) / Kalkstein	Mitte 20. Dynastie	*sš*	Übungsbrief des Schreibers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Wesir *Nfr-rnp.t* über die Arbeit am Königsgrab; mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung.
05)	O. BTdK 714, rto	Tal der Könige, Arbeiterhütten Nähe KV 18 (B.AH-W.Hütte 32.A1) / Kalkstein	Mitte 20. Dynastie	*sš*	Unvollständiger (Übungs-)Brief des Schreibers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Schreiber *'Imn-nḫt* (evtl. [xxvi], sein Bruder?) mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung.
21)	O. BTdK 714, vso	Tal der Könige, Arbeiterhütten Nähe KV 18 (B.AH-W.Hütte 32.A1) / Kalkstein	Mitte 20. Dynastie	-	Übungsbrief an den Wesir *Nfr-rnp.t.*
07)	O. DeM 418	Deir el-Medine, Grand Puits / Keramik	Ramses V.	*ḥmww* 	Brief des Handwerkers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an (seinen Bruder) den Handwerker *Qn-ḥr-ḫpš=f* (iv) über seine Ankunft in Hut(sechem?) und mit der Bitte, verschiedene Güter zu schicken; mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung.
10)	O. Kairo CG 25747	Tal der Könige, Arbeiterhütte zw. KV 17 u. KV 21 (HO ω.8) / Kalkstein	Ramses IV.	*sš* 	Fragmentarischer Übungsbrief des Schreibers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Wesir *Nfr-rnp.t.*
12)*	O. Kairo CG 25750, rto	Tal der Könige, Arbeiterhütte zw. KV 17 u. KV 21 (Haus ν.1) / Kalkstein	Mitte 20. Dynastie	*sš*	(Übungs-)Brief des Schreibers *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Schreiber *Nb-nfr* mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung.
01)	P. DeM 9	Deir el-Medine, südl. P. 1165 / Papyrus; Palimpsest	Ramses IX.	*ḥmww.w wr n nb-t3.wy* 	Brief des großen Handwerkers des Herren der beiden Länder *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Schreiber des Wesirs *'Imn-ms* mit der Bitte, Weihrauch, roten Ocker und Wachs für den Firnis eines Sarges mit Deckel zu schicken.
02)	P. DeM 10	Deir el-Medine, südl. P. 1165 / Papyrus; Palimpsest	Ramses IX.	*ḥmww.w wr n nb-t3.wy*	Brief des großen Handwerkers des Herren der beiden Länder *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Schreiber *'Imn-ms* vom Tempel der Hathor in Hutsechem mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung und diversen Bitten sowie Informationen u.a. für die Sängerin des Amun.

(*cont.*)

	Inv.-Nr.	**Herkunft / Material**	**Datierung**	**Titel und Namensschreibung**	**Inhalt**
03)	P. DeM 11	Deir el-Medine, südl. P. 1165 / Papyrus; Palimpsest (rto)	Ramses V.	*sš*	Brief des Schreibers *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Schreiber *'Imn-nḫt* (evtl. [xxvi], sein Bruder?) mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung. Genannt werden Syrer sowie das Bringen eines Bettes und eines Stuhls in einem unklaren Zusammenhang.
13)*	P. DeM 13, rto	Deir el-Medine, südl. P. 1165 / Papyrus, Palimpsest?	Ramses IX.	- [ ]	Beginn eines (Übungs[?]-)Briefes mit ausführlicher Briefeinleitung von *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Wesir *Nb-Mɜʿ.t-Rʿ-nḫt*.

Bereits A. Dorn und K. Donker van Heel – um nur die beiden aktuelleren Untersuchungen herauszugreifen – beschäftigten sich mit diesem Arbeiter.[15] Hier ist nicht der Platz, um näher auf die Person *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* einzugehen, auf seine Arbeit im Tal der Könige als Mitglied der rechten Seite der Mannschaft, auf seine große Familie, sein Vater war der Arbeiter *Ḥʿ-m-Nwn* (i) und seine Mutter *Nỉw.t-nḫt.tỉ* (i), die uns durch ihr umfangreiches Testament bekannte ist,[16] und auf den „Familienschatz" in Form einer eigenen Bibliothek, deren letzter Besitzer wohl *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* selbst war.[17] Hier soll es nur um seine Handschrift gehen, und damit letztendlich auch um die Frage: Haben wir es eigentlich mit zwei zeitgleich lebenden Männern gleichen Namens oder doch nur mit einer Person zu tun?[18] Zu diesem Zwecke werden zwei Ostraka aus dem Ashmolean Museum Oxford – die beiden Briefe O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273 und HO 607 – vorgestellt[19] und an ihnen sowie den anderen 13 Briefen die Besonderheiten der Handschrift des *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* diskutiert.

Für die Untersuchung individueller Schreiberhände ist es unerlässlich, Vergleichsgruppen anderer Handschriften heranzuziehen, um bestimmte Eigenheiten oder Besonderheiten besser herausarbeiten zu können. Dies geschieht hier unter Zuhilfenahme der zeitgenössischen Handschriften des Schreibers des Tempels der Hathor in Hutsechem[20] *'Imn-ms*, der die Briefe P. DeM 8, 12 und 18[21]

15 DORN, *„Mɜɜ-nḫt.w=f*, ein (?) einfacher Arbeiter, schreibt Briefe", in: *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine*, S. 67–86; K. DONKER VAN HEEL, *Mrs. Naunakhte & Family: The Women of Ramesside Deir al-Medina* (Kairo – New York, 2016), besonders Kap. 8. „A Boy with a Golden Pair of Hands", S. 105–117. Weitere Untersuchungen stammen von M.L. BIERBRIER, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (*c. 1300 ~ 664 B.C.*)*: A Genealogical and Chronological Investigation* (Warminster, 1975), S. 26–29 und DAVIES, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, S. 250–256, Chart 25.

16 J. ČERNÝ, „The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents", *JEA* 31 (1945), S. 29–53, Taf. 8 a–12.

17 P.W. PESTMAN, „Who were the Owners, in the 'Community of Workmen', of the Chester Beatty Papyri", in: R.J. DEMARÉE – J.J. JANSSEN (Hgg.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna* (EgUit 1, Leiden, 1982), S. 155–172 rekonstruierte die Geschichte dieser umfangreichen Bibliothek und konnte überzeugend die verschiedenen Besitzer ermitteln.

18 Diese Frage wurde von DORN, *op. cit.*, S. 67–85 aufgeworfen, der aufgrund von zwei verschiedenen Schreibungen des Namens *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* zu dem Schluss kommt, dass hier auch zwei verschiedene Personen zeitgleich belegt sein müssen. Die Handschrift wurde dabei allerdings nicht beachtet. Eine Diskussion erfolgt später anhand des paläographischen Vergleiches.

19 An dieser Stelle geht mein Dank an das Team des Ashmolean Museums für die Bereitstellung des Fotomaterials. Ein Abgleich mit den Originalen war nicht möglich.

20 *Ḥw.t-Sḫm* oder *Ḥw.t*, die Hauptstadt des 7. oäg. Gaus, liegt auf der Westseite des Nils, etwa 10 km südöstlich von Nag Hammadi entfernt. In griechisch-römischer Zeit war der Ort als Diospolis Parva bzw. Diospolis Mikra bekannt und wird heute Hu/Hiw (arabisch هو) genannt.

21 Informationen zu den Metadaten dieser und im Folgenden genannten Ostraka und Papyri aus dem Deir-el-Medine-Umfeld liefert, wenn nicht anders angegeben, die *Deir el-Medina Database.*

an *Mꜣꜣ(.n=i)-nḫt=f* geschrieben hat und des *Nḫt-Sbk*, dessen Briefe P. DeM 4, 5, 6 und 22 an einen *'Imn-nḫt*, bei dem es sich vermutlich um *Mꜣꜣ(.n=i)-nḫt=f*s Bruder *'Imn-nḫt* (xxvi) handelt, gerichtet waren.[22] Diese sieben Papyri aus dem IFAO Kairo waren mit ziemlicher Sicherheit ebenfalls Teil jener oben genannten Bibliothek wie die vier Briefe P. DeM 9, 10, 11 und 13 aus der Hand des *Mꜣꜣ(.n=i)-nḫt=f* selbst.[23] Durch den gemeinsamen Fundkontext und die zeitliche Einordnung bilden diese Texte die ideale Grundlage eines Handschriftenvergleiches.

Die drei Briefe O. Berlin P. 10627, 10628 und 10630 eines bislang nicht identifizierten Schreibers an einen Schreiber *Nfr-ḥtp* bzw. Schreiber *Nḫw-m-Mw.t* gehören dagegen nicht dazu, auch wenn ihre genaue Herkunft unbekannt ist.[24] Sie werden hier aufgenommen, da ihre Handschrift zahlreiche eigene Charakteristika aufweist, die für eine Gegenüberstellung mit den drei anderen Gruppen geradezu prädestiniert sind. Diese Texte sind zeitlich wohl etwas früher in die Zeit Ramses' III. anzusetzten.[25]

Doch zunächst werden die beiden Briefe des *Mꜣꜣ(.n=i)-nḫt=f* aus dem Asmolean Museum vorgestellt.

O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273
Deir el-Medine, Mitte 20. Dynastie
TM 136233

Andere Bezeichnung: O. Gardiner 273
Material: Kalkstein.
Maße: Höhe 122 mm, Breite 188 mm (jeweils an der breitesten Stelle gemessen).
Beschreibung: Beidseitige Beschriftung. Vorderseite sechs Zeilen, Rückseite drei Zeilen. Das Stück ist komplett erhalten, auch wenn der Text an einigen Stellen auf der Vorderseite in Z. 1 und zu Beginn der Z. 3–5 sowie auf der Rückseite an den Zeilenenden abgerieben ist. Zahlreiche kleine Abplatzungen der Oberfläche vor allem auf der Vorderseite erschweren zudem die Lesbarkeit. Die Vorderseite oben entspricht der Rückseite oben. Die Schriftgröße der Oberlänge beträgt auf der Vorderseite etwa 11 bis 14 mm, auf der Rückseite etwa 14 mm.[26] Der Zeilenabstand auf der Vorderseite liegt zwischen 16 und 22 mm, auf der Rückseite beträgt er etwa 26 mm.[27] Die Unterlängen einiger Zeichen (vor allem) reichen gelegentlich bis in die Zeichen der darunterliegenden Zeile hinein. Die Schrift ist gut lesbar und weist nur wenige Ligaturen auf. Palimpsest, Spuren einer älteren Beschriftung auf beiden Seiten.

Erwerb und Herkunft: Dieses Stück stammt aus der Sammlung A.H. Gardiners, der, nach R. Demarée (Email vom 18. Mai 2023), den Großteil seiner hieratischen Ostraka direkt bzw. über J. Černý von dem Antiken-Händler Sayed Molattam in Luxor bezog.[28]

Publikation und Literatur: Transliteration basierend auf Gardiner in Černý, Notebook 31.75 in *KRI* VII, S. 355 mit Übersetzung, *KRITA* VII, S. 239–240 und Kommentar, *KRITANC* VII, S. 276–277. Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar in TLA;[29] Übersetzung in DONKER VAN HEEL, *Mrs. Naunakhte*, S. 113 für recto 5–6 und verso.

Datierung: Aufgrund der Personennamen Mitte 20. Dynastie; nach *KRI* VII, S. 355 Ramses V.

22 Bearbeitet von SWEENEY, „Friendship and Frustration", *JEA* 84, S. 101–122.

23 Zum vermutlichen Umfang dieser Bibliothek siehe PESTMAN, „Who were the Owners of the Chester Beatty Papyri", in: *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, S. 155.

24 Laut Inventarbuch wurden sie am 26. Mai, 1905 von Ludwig Borchardt in Qurna (?) erworben.

25 In die Diskussion, ob es sich bei O. Berlin P. 10627 um einen „speziellen ‚literarischen' Brief" (A. DORN, „Zur Lehre Amunnachts: Ein Join und Missing Links", *ZÄS* 140 [2013], S. 113, Anm. 12), gar einen „öffentlichen Brief" (H.-W. FISCHER-ELFERT, *Lesefunde im literarischen Steinbruch von Deir el-Medineh* [KÄT 12, Wiesbaden, 1997], S. 47, Anm. 30) oder doch „nur" um einen „missive letter" (G. BURKARD, „‚Die Götter gebären in diesem Monat': Ostrakon Qurna 633", *GM* 169 [1999], S. 6, Anm. 5) handelt, soll nicht eingegriffen werden.

26 Gemessen werden die Einzelzeichen der Oberlänge

27 Gemessen wird von Grundlinie zu Grundlinie. Es werden drei Punkte pro Zeile gemessen (Zeilenbeginn, -mitte, -ende), der Durchschnitt errechnet sich aus allen Messpunkten.

28 Eine entsprechende Angabe findet sich auch in der *Deir el-Medina Database* zu O. Ashmolean HO 198, Remarks. Vgl. auch P. ONDERKA – H. NAVRÁTILOVÁ – J. TOIVARI-VIITALA – A. HALLMANN – A. HILBIG – K.-H. VON STÜLPNAGEL – H. SVOBODOVÁ, *The Deir el-Medina and Jaroslav Černý Collections* (Editio Monographica Musei Nationalis Pragae 19, Prag, 2014), S. 70. Sayed Molattam war einer der erfolgreichsten Antiken-Dealer in Luxor, der von 1917 bis 1977 sein Geschäft betrieb; vgl. F. HAGEN – K. RYHOLT, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930. The H. O. Lange Papers* (Sci.Dan.H.4 8, Kopenhagen, 2016), S. 261.

29 https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/text/5VAGJ3HMK5ACBLEQ7CFIBR3P4I.

Vorderseite

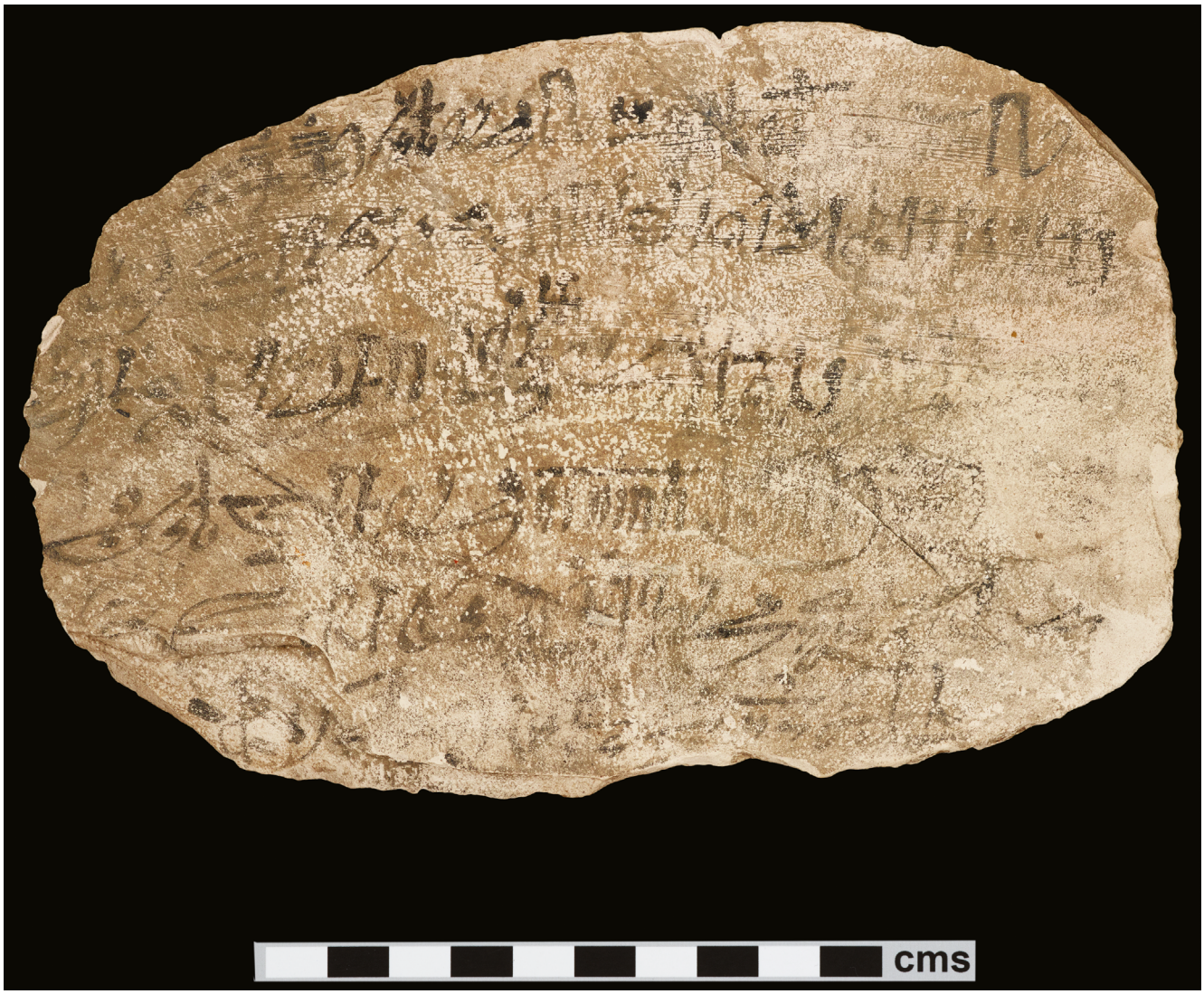


ABBILDUNG 1 O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273, Recto
© ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

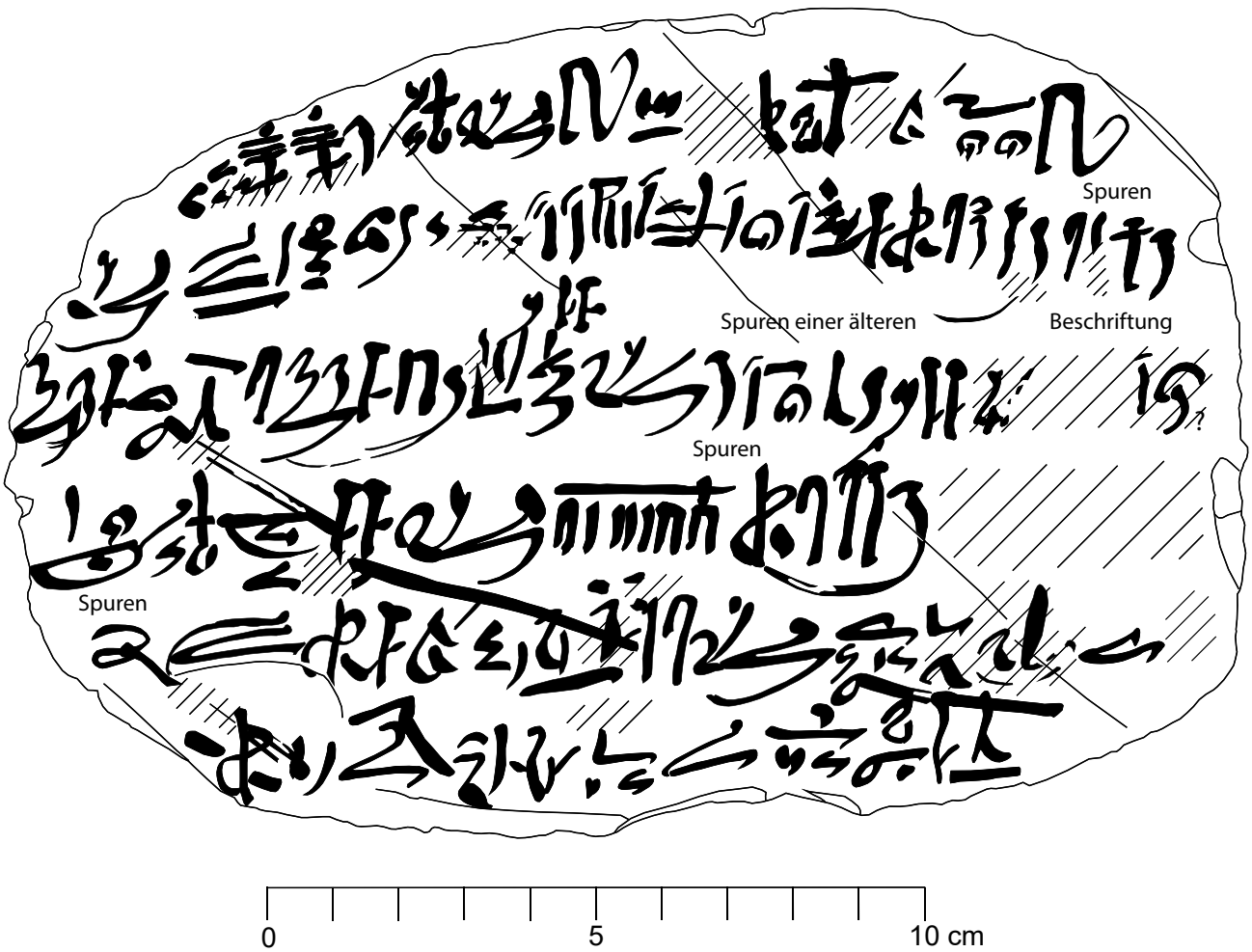


ABBILDUNG 2 Faksimile von O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273, Recto
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1	*sš*[c] *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt[=f]*[a, b] *nḏ-ḥr.t*[d] *n sš Pɜ-nfr-m-Ḏd.t*	Schreiber *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt[=f]* grüßt den Schreiber *Pɜ-nfr-m-Ḏd.t*
2	*m ʿnḫ wḏɜ snb m ḥs(w.t)ʾImn-Rʿ*[e] *nswt-nṯr.w r-ntỉ*[f] *tw=ỉ ḥr*[g] *ḏd n Pɜ-*	in Leben, Heil und Gesundheit, in der Gunst Amun-Res, König der Götter. Folgendes: Ich bete zu Pa-
3	*Rʿ [m p]ɜy=f wbn m pɜ ỉy=f ḥtp ỉmỉ*[h] *snb=k ỉmỉ*	Re [bei sei]nem Aufgang und bei sein ỉy=f Untergang. Mögest Du gesund sein, mögest
4	[*ʿnḫ=k wnn=k*] *m ḥs(w.t)*[i] *pr-ʿɜ ʿnḫ wḏɜ snb pɜy=k*[j] *nb nfr*[k] *rʿ nb*[l]	[Du leben] (und) in der Gunst Pharaos l.h.g., Deines guten Herren [existieren], jeden Tag.
5	[*m-*]*ỉrỉ ḫɜʿ ḏr.t=k pɜ sḫn.w ỉ.ḏd(=ỉ) n=k*	[Ver]nachlässige nicht den Auftrag, den (ich) Dir erteilt habe.
6	*bn ỉnk ỉwtỉ ḫɜ.tỉw ỉwnɜ*	Ich bin nicht ohne Verstand.

Rückseite

ABBILDUNG 3 O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273, Verso
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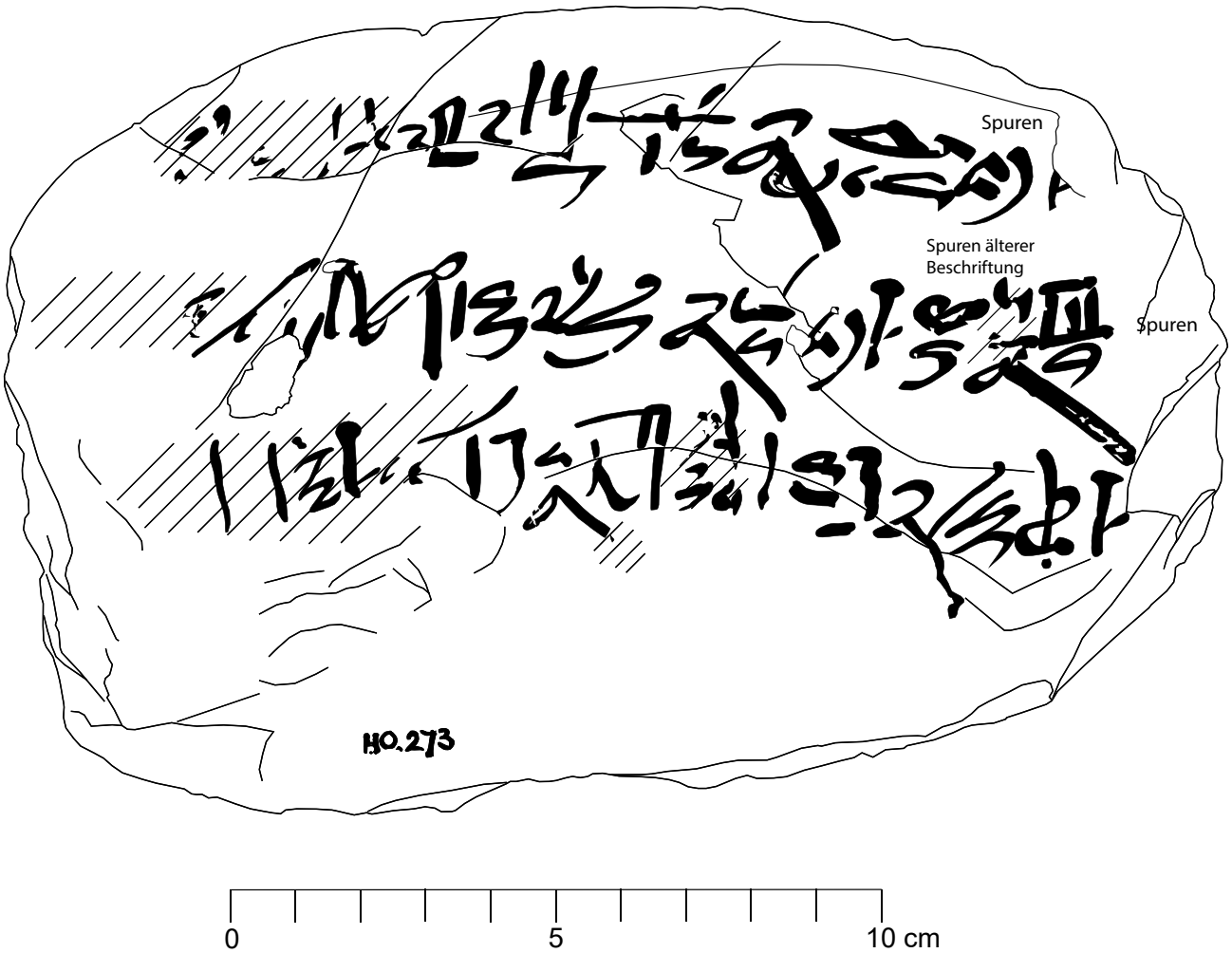

ABBILDUNG 4 Faksimile von O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273, Verso
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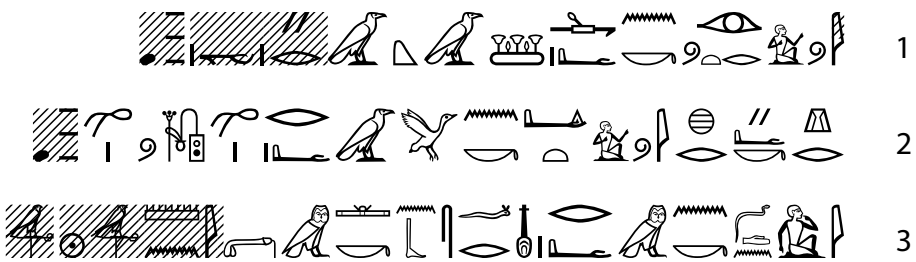

1 *ỉw=ỉ (ḥr) ỉrỉ.t n=k wʿ šqr*
Ich werde für Dich einen *šqr*-Kasten machen

2 *ḫr-ʿ=k ḫr ỉw=ỉ (ḥr) dỉ.t n=k pȝ r-ʿ-sš*
unter Deiner Aufsicht und ich werde Dir die Bemalung geben,

3 *ỉ.ḏd.n n=k m-r-ʿ nfr snb=k m-bȝḥ ỉmn-Rʿ*
von der ich zu Dir sprach, ebenfalls. Lebewohl vor Amun-Re.

Anmerkungen und Kommentar

Vorderseite
Zeile 1
Der Platz zwischen und ist recht knapp, so dass die Endung des Namens nicht eindeutig ergänzt werden kann. Zu den verschiedenen Namensschreibungen von *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* selbst und anderen siehe die paläographischen Anmerkungen (a). Da bei *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* besonders ausgeformt ist, siehe gesondert die pal. Anm. (b); zu den Schreibungen von siehe (c).

Man kann davon ausgehen, dass vor *nḏ-ḥr.t n* kein *ḥr* zu rekonstruieren ist, da *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* diese Grußformel in der Regel ohne die Präposition schreibt, wie O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607 (s.u.), O. Berlin P. 14684, O. DeM 418, P. DeM 10 und P. DeM 11 belegen. Auf O. Kairo CG 25750, recto ist der erste Teil der Phrase nicht mehr erhalten, auf der Rückseite heißt es aber in einem weiteren Brief *nḏ-ḥr.t n*. Auf O. Berlin P. 14353 ist die Begrüßung auf *nḏ n* reduziert. Nur auf O. BTdK 714, recto liest man vollständig *ḥr nḏ-ḥr.t n*; siehe auch die pal. Anm. (d).

Bei *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḎḎ.t* handelt es sich sicher um *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḎḎ.w* (i), einem Sohn des Nekropolenschreibers *ʾImn-nḫt* (v), der uns vor allem aus zahlreichen Graffiti, die ab Jahr 29 Ramses' III. datieren, gut bekannt ist.[30]

Zeile 2

Die guten Wünsche für den Adressaten *m ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb m ḥs(w.t) ʾImn-Rʿ nswt-nṯr.w* gehören zum allgemeinen Einleitungsformular für Briefe aus dem Deir-el-Medine-Umfeld und darüberhinaus; so auch in den Briefen O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273 und 607, O. Berlin P. 14353 und 14684, O. DeM 418 und O. Kairo CG 25750 aus der Hand des *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*. Auf O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607 ist die Apposition *pꜣ⟨y=ỉ⟩(?) nb nfr* „⟨mein⟩es guten Herren" nachgestellt, auf O. Berlin P. 14353 folgt *pꜣy=k nb nfr rʿ nb* „Dein guter Herr, jeden Tag". [*pꜣ nb*] oder [*pꜣy=k nb*] *nfr rʿ nb* heißt es auch auf O. Berlin P. 14684. In dem Brief O. BTdK 714, recto wird Amun-Re-Harachte angerufen, so auch in P. DeM 11 (oder [Pa-]Re-Harachte?). Auf P. DeM 10 wählt *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* die Form *m ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb m ḥs(w.t) nṯr=k š*[*psỉ*] *Ḥr-ỉꜣḫ.tỉ*. Zur Schreibung des Götternamens Amun-Re siehe auch die paläographischen Anmerkungen (e), für / siehe (f), für siehe (g).

Zeile 3

Ergänzung des Zeilenbeginns mit KRI VII, S. 355. Auf dem Foto ist an der Stelle nichts mehr zu erkennen.

Um *m pꜣ ḥtp* in *m pꜣy=f ḥtp* zu korrigieren, setzte *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* die beiden Schilfblätter und die Hornviper aus Platzgründen oberhalb . Für die Schreibung dieses Wortes wurde die Binse frisch in die Tusche getaucht, denn der Farbauftrag ist hier satt wie auch bei den ergänzten Zeichen oberhalb. Es kann daher nicht entschieden werden, ob die Korrekturen gleich ausgeführt wurden oder erst später.

Die Phrase *r-nṯỉ tw=ỉ ḥr ḏd n* Gott *m pꜣy=f wbn m pꜣy=f ḥtp* verwendete *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* auch auf O. BtdK 714, recto 3, inklusive der ungewöhnlichen Schreibung von *ḥtp* mit als zweitem Determinativ.[31]

Zur Schreibung von siehe die pal. Anm. (h).

Zeile 4

Ergänzung des Zeilenanfangs mit KRI VII, S. 355. Die Stelle ist komplett abgerieben. Auch wenn eher wie aussieht, soll das untere Zeichen sicher den sitzenden Mann darstellen.

Zu den verschiedenen Schreibungen von (i), + Varianten (j) und (k) siehe die pal. Anm.

Zeile 5

m-ỉrỉ ḫꜣʿ: Den Gebrauch des negativen Imperativs finden wir auch auf O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607, 4, siehe unten. *ḫꜣʿ ḏr.t*: „ablassen, aufhören" (*Wb.* 1, S. 227. 19). Am Ende der Zeile liest KRI VII, S. 355 über *n=k* den sitzenden Mann . Auf dem Foto sind über der Gruppe zwar länglich-gewölbte Zeichenreste zu erkennen, die aber kaum dazu passen wollen und eher zu einer früheren Beschriftung gehören.

Zeile 6

Wörtl. „Nicht bin ich einer, der kein Herz hat".

Rückseite

Zeile 1

Ergänzung der Schreibung von *šqr* nach KRI VII, S. 355. Auf dem Foto sind nur noch geringe Zeichenreste zu erkennen. Bei *šqr* handelt es sich um einen hölzernen Kasten, der im Deir-el-Medine-Material häufig genannt ist.[32]

Zeile 2

KRI VII, S. 355 liest *ḫr=k*. Die Bedeutung wird letztendlich in die gleiche Richtung gehen: *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* erklärt, den Auftrag genau so auszuführen wie von *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḎḎ.w* (i) gewünscht.

Zeile 3

r-ʿ-sš ist in dieser Schreibung mit dem Riemen () hinter dem Präfix *r-ʿ* ungewöhnlich, vgl. auch die Beispiele bei LESKO, *DLE*, 1, S. 261, *Wb.* 2, S. 395. 2 („Buchrolle,

30 Seine Person wird von DAVIES, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, S. 108–109 mit Chart 9 behandelt.

31 So schon DORN, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige*, S. 442.

32 Zu diesem Kasten siehe ausführlich J.J. JANSSEN, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period: An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes* (Leiden, 1975), S. 200–203 und zuletzt J.J. JANSSEN, *Furniture at Deir el-Medîna Including Wooden Containers of the New Kingdom and Ostracon Varille 19* (GHP Egyptology 9, London, 2009), S. 40–41.

Schriftstück“) und 395. 3 („Schreibzeug (?)“, mit 𓏛-Determinativ). In diesem Kontext handelt es sich wohl eher um eine Bemalung (des in Auftrag gegebenen *šqr*-Kastens?) als um ein Schriftstück, denn man sollte meinen, dass *Pȝ-nfr-m-Ḏd.w* (i) in der Lage war, letzteres selbst zu verfassen.[33]

Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f verabschiedet sich von seinem Briefpartner in aller Form mit *nfr snb=k* „Lebewohl“ (wörtl. „Möge Deine Gesundheit gut sein“), so auch am Ende von O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607 (siehe unten) und O. DeM 418.

In diesem kurzen, aber durchaus selbstbewussten Schreiben ermahnt *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* den Schreiber *Pȝ-nfr-m-Ḏd.w* (i), Sohn des Nekropolenschreibers *ʾImn-nḫt* (v), seinen Auftrag nicht zu vernachlässigen. Im Gegenzug (?) verspricht er ihm, einen *šqr*-Kasten samt Bemalung (?) herzustellen. Was genau *Pȝ-nfr-m-Ḏd.w* (i) liefern soll, geht aus dem Text nicht hervor, doch über *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*s handwerkliche Qualitäten wissen wir einiges. Er, der sich auch *ḥmww.w wr n nb-tȝ.wy* „großer Handwerker des Herren der beiden Länder“ nennt[34] bzw. auch so vom Schreiber *ʾImn-ms* vom Tempel der Hathor in Hutsechem betitelt wird,[35] war aktiv in der Herstellung von Holzarbeiten aller Art. So fertigte er neben dem bemalten *šqr*-Kasten ein Bett (*ḥʿtỉ*)[36] für einen *Wsr-ḥȝ.t*, wie die drei Berliner Ostraka P. 14357, 14262 und 14365 bezeugen.[37] Ein *mȝs.t*-Möbelstück[38] und ein kleines Bett (*ḥtʿ šrỉ*),[39] die für den Schreiber *ʾImn-ms* vom Tempel der Hathor, Herrin von Hutsechem angefertigt werden sollen, werden in dem Brief P. DeM 18 angesprochen. Auf P. DeM 8, recto muss *ʾImn-ms* allerdings noch mal mit Nachdruck an den Auftrag erinnern. P. DeM 9 beinhaltet u.a. die Bitte des *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* an den Schreiber des Wesirs *ʾImn-ms*, Weihrauch (*snṯr*), Rötel (*mny*) und Wachs (*mnḥ*) zu schicken, um Firnis für einen von ihm auch dekorierten Innensarg (*wt šrỉ*)[40] mit Deckel (?) (*wȝ.t*) herstellen zu können. Ob das Bett (*ḥʿtỉ*) und der Stuhl (*qnỉw*), über die *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* auf P. DeM 11, verso schreibt, von ihm selbst hergestellt wurden, geht aus dem fragmentarischen Zustand des Briefes leider nicht hervor. Besonders umfangreich ist die private Transaktion zwischen *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* und einem Schreiber von *pȝ ḫr*,[41] die O. BTdK 686 dokumentiert: *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* stellt vier Holzmöbel her – zwei *mšr*-Tische[42] sowie zwei Betten (*ḥʿtỉ*) – und lässt sich für diese reich entlohnen. Zu guter Letzt reist *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* nach Hutsechem (?) (*Ḥw.t*) und bittet seinen Bruder *Qn-ḥr-ḫpš=f* (iv) im Brief O. DeM 418 um Nachsendung einer Tür und einer hölzernen Elle.

Aber auch ganz offiziell waren seine Arbeiten geschätzt, wie O. Glasgow D. 1925.68 zeigt, eine Absentenliste aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie. Hier ist *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* zusammen mit anderen von der Arbeit entschuldigt, da sie an einem Bett (*ḥʿtỉ*) und anderen Möbeln arbeiten, die womöglich für den Wesir bestimmt sind.

Andererseits hat *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* nicht nur Holzgegenstände für andere Personen hergestellt, sondern laut O. Ashmolean Museum HO 66 auch selbst in Auftrag gegeben. In dieser Abrechnung bezahlt er den Arbeiter *Pn-Tȝ-wr.t* – vielleicht in der Funktion eines „Subunternehmers“? – für einen Stuhl (*qnỉw*). O. Černý 20 dokumentiert die Übergabe eines dekorierten *wt*-Sarges (*wt sš*) durch eine unbekannte Person. Wir können davon ausgehen, dass *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* es mit diesen Zusatzverdiensten zu einigem Wohlstand gebracht hat.

O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607[43]
Deir el-Medine, Mitte 20. Dynastie
TM 1000251

Andere Bezeichnung: –
Material: Keramik.
Maße: Höhe 180 mm, Breite 140 mm (jeweils an der breitesten Stelle gemessen).

Beschreibung: Einseitige Beschriftung auf der Außenseite mit zehn Zeilen; oben, unten und an den Zeilenanfängen komplett; die Zeilenenden vermutlich auch? Die

33 Eine Diskussion des Wortes, bei C.J. EYRE, „A Draughtsman's Letter from Thebes“, *SAK* 11 (= *Festschrift Wolfgang Helck zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, 1984), S. 198 Anm. h und F. NEVEU, „À propos du P. DM 28: un conseil royal consacré aux affaires de ‚La Tombe‘“, *RdÉ* 41 (1990), S. 143–152. Neveu übersetzt diese Stelle „Et je te donnerai le document dont je t'ai déjà parlé“ (*op. cit.*, S. 148), und fügt in der Bearbeitung des P. DeM 28 eine weitere Bedeutung von *r-ʿ-sš* hinzu, das er als technisches Dokument mit Anweisungen für den Bau oder Fortgang der Arbeiten durch die offiziellen Stellen verstehen möchte, NEVEU, *op. cit.*, S. 152.

34 P. DeM 9, recto 1; P. DeM 10, recto 1. Auf O. DeM 418, recto 1 betitelt er sich kurz als *ḥmww*.

35 P. DeM 8, verso 1–2; P. DeM 12, recto 1, verso Adresse; P. DeM 18, verso 2 (= Adresse).

36 JANSSEN, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, S. 180–184; JANSSEN, *Furniture at Deir el-Medîna*, S. 16–17.

37 Siehe *Deir el Medine online*, O. Berlin P. 14357, Beschreibung.

38 JANSSEN, *Furniture at Deir el-Medîna*, S. 11, ohne jedoch sagen zu können, um was es sich dabei handeln könnte.

39 *ḥtʿ* entspricht *ḥʿtỉ*, siehe JANSSEN, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, S. 180. Ob *ḥtʿ šrỉ* ein Kinderbett meint? Auch Betten für Frauen wurden unterschieden, vgl. JANSSEN, *Furniture at Deir el-Medîna*, S. 16.

40 Zum *wt*-Sarg siehe JANSSEN, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, S. 215–233.

41 Der Name ist zerstört, DORN, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige*, S. 424–425 vermutet eine Ergänzung zu *Ḥrỉ*.

42 JANSSEN, *Furniture at Deir el-Medîna*, S. 12–13; JANSSEN, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, S. 194–196.

43 R. Demarée machte mich auf dieses Stück aufmerksam und versorgte mich mit einer ersten Transliteration, wofür ich ihm an dieser Stelle sehr herzlich danke.

Schrift ist vor allem in der Mitte großflächig abgerieben, so dass der Text stellenweise nicht mehr zu erkennen ist. Auch Verschmierungen bzw. Überschreibungen beeinträchtigen die Lesbarkeit. Die Schriftgröße der Oberlänge beträgt etwa 7 bis 13 mm (ø 10 mm), der Zeilenabstand durchschnittlich zwischen 15 und 19 mm. Der Henkel von 𓋴 verläuft hier fast waagerecht, so dass er nicht in die darunterliegende Zeile reicht. Die für *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* so typische Handschrift ist gerundet, weich und etwas ungelenk, weist allerdings hier ein sehr uneinheitliches Schriftbild auf, was nicht nur am Erhaltungszustand liegt. Möglicherweise liegt ein Palimpsest vor, einige Textspuren würden sich am ehesten so erklären lassen. Auf der Rückseite wurde mit Bleistift die Zahl 8 1/2 angebracht, bei der es sich um die Preisangabe in Piaster handeln dürfte.[44]

Erwerb und Herkunft: Vermutlich stammt auch dieses Stück aus der Sammlung von A.H. Gardiner, siehe dazu die Angaben zu O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273.

Publikation und Literatur: Unpubliziert.

Datierung: Aufgrund der Personennamen Mitte 20. Dynastie.

ABBILDUNG 5 O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607
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44 Der Antiken-Händler Sayed Molattam in Luxor verkaufte Ostraka an Gardiner zu einem durchschnittlichen Preis von 5–10 Piaster pro Stück, so F. Hagen nach persönlicher Mitteilung von R. Demarée, vgl. F. HAGEN, „On some Fake Hieratic Ostraca", *JEA* 96 (2010), S. 75–76. Die 8,5 Piaster passen also gut ins Bild.

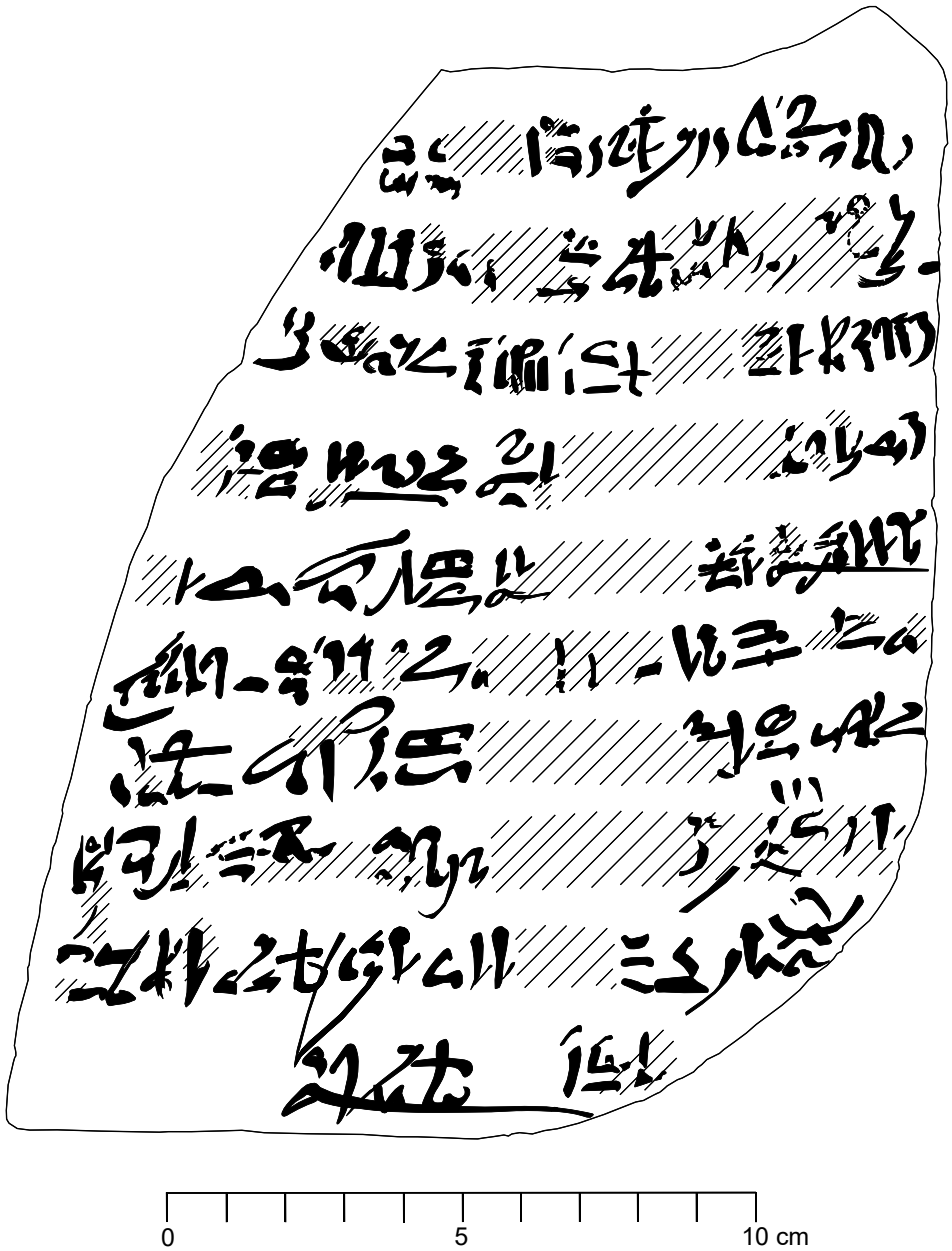

ABBILDUNG 6 Faksimile von O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607
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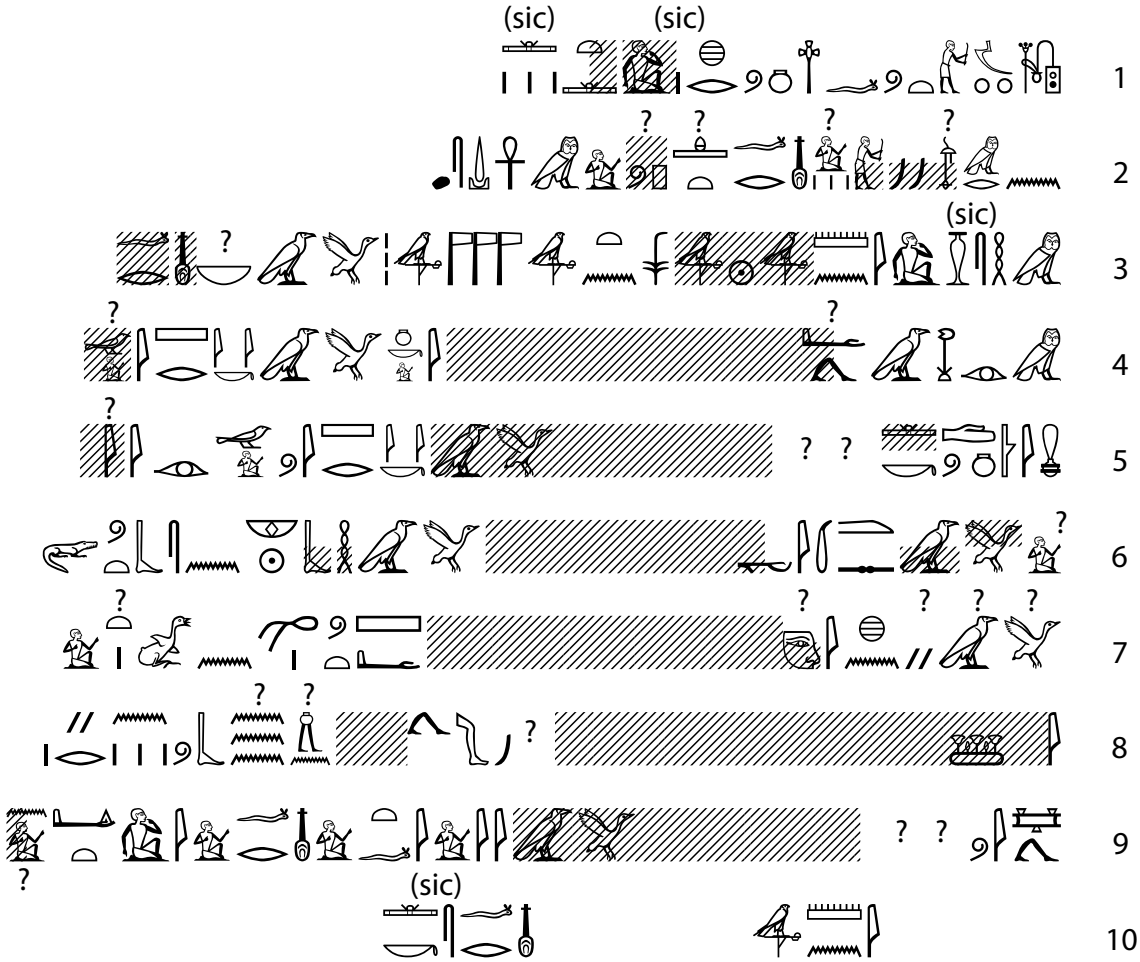


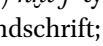
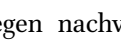
1	*sš*(c) *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*(a, b) *nḏ-ḥr.t*(d)	Schreiber *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* grüßt
2	*n ỉm.y-r* (?)(m) *ḥmww.w* (?) *Nfr-ḥtp* (?) *m ꜥnḫ wḏꜣ snb*	den Vorsteher (?) der Handwerker (?) *Nfr-ḥtp* (?) in Leben, Heil und Gesundheit,
3	*m ḥs(w.t)*(i) *ʾImn-[Rꜥ] nswt-nṯr.w pꜣ⟨y= ỉ⟩* (?) *nb nfr*	in der Gunst Amun-[Res], König der Götter, ⟨mein⟩es (?) guten Herren.
4	*m-ỉrỉ ḫꜣꜥ* (?) [.....] *ỉnk pꜣy=k*(j) *šrỉ*	Lasse nicht ab (?) [.....] Ich bin Dein Junge
5	*mỉ-qd=k* -?- [..... *pꜣ*]*y=k šrỉ ỉr.y*	so wie Du -?- [..... D]ein Junge, dem ich (?) gemacht habe
6	*=ỉ* (?) *pꜣ gstỉ* [.....] *pꜣ ḥb n Sbk*	die Schreibpalette [.....] das Fest des Sobek
7	*pꜣỉ* (?) *ḫnỉ* (?) [.....] *šꜥ.t n ṯꜣty* (?)(n)	dieser (?) Sperrbereich (?) [.....] Brief des Wesirs (?)
8	-?- [.....] -?-(o) *bnr*	-?- [.....] -?- außen
9	*ỉw*[..... *pꜣ*]*y=ỉ* (?) *ỉt nfr*(k) *ỉ.dỉ.t n=ỉ* (?)	[..... me]in (?) guter Vater, den mir (?) gegeben hat
10	*ʾImn nfr s⟨nb⟩=k*	Amun. Le⟨be⟩wohl!

Anmerkungen und Kommentar

Zeile 1

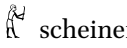
Ein weiterer Beleg der einleitenden Briefform *nḏ-ḥr.t n* für *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*. Allerdings scheint er hier bei der Reihenfolge der Zeichen etwas durcheinandergekommen zu sein: folgt fälschlich direkt , danach ein senkrechter Strich (?), ist in der verschmierten Lücke nur zu erahnen. Ob danach noch eine weitere Zeichengruppe folgt? Eigentlich ist nichts mehr zu erwarten, im Gegenteil, denn das Ende der Phrase besteht hier sogar aus zwei Gruppen mit Buchrolle (oder Pluralstrichen?). Bei korrekter Schreibung wäre für ausreichend Platz am Ende Z. 1, so steht es nun zu Beginn von Z. 2.

Zeile 2

Der Adressat ist mit Fragezeichen versehen, denn der Beginn der Zeile ist verschmutzt und stellenweise verblasst. Vermutlich kann man hier den Titel *ỉm.y-r ḥmww.w* lesen. Dafür spricht der „lange Hals“ in der Ligatur , eine für *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* typische Schreibung und ein Merkmal seiner Handschrift; siehe die paläographischen Anmerkungen (m). Das nachfolgende Zeichen erstreckt sich über die gesamte Oberlänge, die folgenden Striche und scheinen dagegen nachvollziehbarer. Der Titel *ỉm.y-r ḥmww.w* ist im Deir-el-Medine-Material selten belegt, so in den in die Zeit Merenptahs zu datierenden Journalen O. Kairo CG 25504, recto Kol. I 9: , bzw. verso Kol. II 2:  und O. Kairo CG 25788, recto 3: , jeweils für einen Mann namens *Rm*, der aber nicht zur Arbeiterschaft gehörte.[45] Einen weiteren Beleg finden wir auf O. DeM 10387, 2, einem Brief an den *ỉm.y-r ḥmww.w* ( ) *ʾImn-nḫt n pꜣ ḫr*. Diesen möchte P. Grandet mit dem Nekropolenschreiber *ʾImn-nḫt* (v) identifizieren und den Brief somit in die Zeit ab Jahr 16, Ramses' III. datieren.[46] Ebenfalls aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie stammt der Brief P. Louvre E 32309 vom Zeichner der Nekropolenverwaltung *Ḥr-Mnw* (i) an den „Vorsteher der Handwerker am Platz der Wahrheit“ *ỉm.y-r ḥmww.w n S.t Mꜣʿ.t* () *Rwtỉ* (ii).[47]

Sollte die Lesung des darauf folgenden Namens als *Nfr-ḥtp* korrekt sein, handelt es sich dabei vermutlich um den Bruder *Nfr-ḥtp* (xvi), den *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* in Graffito 396 auch als *sn=f ḥmww Nfr-ḥtp* „seinen Bruder, den Handwerker *Nfr-ḥtp*“ bezeichnet.[48] Ihr gemeinsamer Bruder *ʾImn-nḫt* (xxvi) verewigte sich und drei seiner Brüder im „Traumbuch“ des P. Chester Beatty 3 (= P. BM EA 10683) in einem später angebrachten Kolophon (recto Kol. X 20–23)[49] und betitelt dabei sich selbst und *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* als Schreiber sowie die Brüder *Qn-ḥr-ḥpš=f* (iv) und *Nfr-ḥtp* (xvi) als *ḥmww*.

Zeilen 2–3

Dieser Teil des ausführlichen Grußformulars ist eindeutig in der Lesung bzw. Ergänzung, er wird von *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* regelmäßig so verwendet, siehe auch die entsprechende Passage O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273, recto 2. Wobei sich auch hier ein kleiner Fehler eingeschlichen hat, denn in  *m ḥs(w.t)* sind und vertauscht.

Das Zeilenende ist verblasst und auch sonst etwas problematisch, denn ist der Artikel *pꜣ* noch mühelos zu erkennen, könnte man sich fragen, was der Bogen über dem nachfolgenden macht: Ist er eine etwas weit oben angesetzte Innenzeichnung des *nb*-Korbes? Oder handelt es sich um den sitzenden Mann A1 über dem Korb, wobei die beiden Schilfblätter für das Possessivpronomen vergessen wurden?[50] *pꜣy=ỉ nb nfr* wäre zu erwarten, siehe auch *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*s Brief O. Berlin P. 14353, recto 3, vielleicht auch *pꜣ nb nfr*, wenn man die vielen Fehler in diesem Brief betrachtet.[51] Die Zeichenreste am Ende lassen sich zumindest einigermaßen sicher zu rekonstruieren.

Zeile 4

Die Aufforderung, sich um etwas zu kümmern in Form des negativen Imperativs *m-ỉrỉ ḫꜣʿ* „Vernachlässige nicht!“ findet sich auch auf O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273, recto 5 (s.o.). Die Gruppe ist wohl in Ligatur geschrieben und hier nur noch zum Teil erhalten. Sie erinnert zwar eher an das Bein , doch *ḫꜣb* „beugen“ kann wohl ausgeschlossen werden. Da *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* allerdings allgemein wenige Ligaturen verwendet, muss auch hier ein Fragezeichen angebracht werden. Das Folgende ist vollständig abgerieben, doch die Begründung, warum der Adressat sich kümmern soll, ist erhalten: „Ich bin Dein Junge …“, wobei nahezu verblasst ganz an den Rand gequetscht ist.

45 DAVIES, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, S. 247.

46 P. GRANDET, *Catalogue des Ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médîneh*, 12 (nos 10276–10405) (DFIFAO 50, Kairo, 2017), S. 143–144, 416–417.

47 Der Brief wurde publiziert von M. ÉTIENNE, „Le veau du dessinateur Hormin (P. Louvre e 32309)“, in: A. FANCIULLI – K. GABLER – J. IZAK – M. LANDRINO – M. MÜLLER – R. PIETRI – S. POLIS – N. SOJIC – S.M. UNTER (Hgg.), *New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World*, 2 (AegLeod 13.2, Liège, 2024), S. 51–88. Zur Identifikation des *Rwtỉ*, siehe ÉTIENNE, *op. cit.*, S. 63–65.

48 W. SPIEGELBERG, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti* (*Inschriften und Zeichnungen*) *aus der Thebanischen Nekropolis* (Heidelberg, 1921), S. 34, Taf. 45.

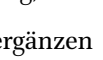
49 = Text D: A.H. GARDINER, *Chester Beatty Gift* (HPBM 3, London, 1935), S. 8, 26–27, Taf. 8, 8A.

50 Die Schreibung z.B. auch auf O. OIM E 16991, recto 2 und recto 3.

51 So geschehen z.B. auch in der Orakelanfrage O. IFAO 187, 1, die mit *pꜣ nb nfr* anstatt *pꜣy=ỉ nb nfr* beginnt, siehe J. ČERNÝ, „Nouvelle Série de Questions adressées aux Oracles“, *BIFAO* 41 (1942), S. 20, Taf. 3.

Zeile 5
Der Anfang der Zeile ist klar, so auch das letzte Drittel, in dem [*pꜣ*]*y=k šrỉ* weitaus lesbarer wiederholt wird.

Zeile 6
Um eine Schreibpalette geht es auch in *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*s Brief O. Berlin P. 14353. Ob die hier genannte im Zusammenhang steht mit dem nach der Zerstörung folgenden *pꜣ ḥb n Sbk* „Fest des Sobek", bleibt unklar. Auf O. DeM 603, 7 (Zeit Ramses' III.) bittet der Schreiber *Qn-sty* seinen Bruder um Zusendung von Tusche und Binsen, um seine Schreibpalette am „Tag des Thot" zu füllen. Vermutlich handelt es sich dabei um das Opfer einer Schreibpalette für den Gott Thot an seinem Festtag.[52]

Zeile 7
Ich sehe keine andere Lösung, als die Zeichenreste nach dem Schilfblatt zu zu ergänzen und so  *ḫnỉ* zu lesen. Ob im Sinne von „geheim" oder „bewacht"?[53] Dieser Zusatz findet sich gelegentlich in den ausführlichen Titeln der Vorgesetzten aus Deir el-Medine – vor allem der Schreiber – und in einem offiziellen Kontext als *sš n pꜣ ḫr ḫnỉ* „Schreiber der inneren (= geschützten, bewachten o.ä.) Nekropolenverwaltung" oder *sš n pꜣ ḫr n ḫnw ḫnỉ* „Schreiber der Nekropolenverwaltung des geschützten Inneren" und Varianten.[54] *ḫnw* „dwelling, hut, shed, resting place, chapel"[55] ist wohl auszuschließen, die Schreibweise mit ist meines Wissens nicht belegt.

Nach der Lücke, am Ende der Zeile, ist wohl [*tꜣ* bzw. *tꜣy=ỉ/k*] *šꜥ.t n tꜣty* „der Brief des Wesirs" oder „mein/Dein Brief an den Wesir" zu lesen, auch wenn es scheint, als hätte *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* bei *tꜣty* und vertauscht, so dass unten steht. Allerdings ist auch diese Stelle verblasst.[56] Siehe zu seinen Schreibungen von die pal. Anm. (n).

Zeile 8
Die ersten beiden Drittel der Zeile sind kaum lesbar, für die noch vorhandenen Zeichenreste verlässt mich meine Phantasie. Vor *bnr* in Z. 8–9[57] erinnern mich die verschmierten Zeichen an *ỉnw-mw*, siehe die pal. Anm. (o), ohne dass sich daraus ein besseres Verständnis ergeben würde.

Zeile 9
Hier ist sicher nicht der Personenname *ʾIt-nfr* gemeint, wenn die Ergänzung zum voranstehenden Possessivpronomen richtig ist. Der lange dünne Ausstrich (?) zwischen und kann leider nicht aufgelöst werden. Vielleicht gehört er noch zu Z. 8.

Zeilen 9–10
Zwischen *ʾImn* und *nfr s⟨nb⟩=k* scheint mit Absicht Platz gelassen worden zu sein, so dass ich hier zwei separate Sätze lesen möchte. *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* beschließt diesen Brief mit einem weiteren Fehler, denn er vergaß die Gruppe zu schreiben.

Auch in zwei anderen Briefen verabschiedet sich *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* von seinem Briefpartner in aller Form mit „Lebewohl": O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273, verso 3: *nfr snb=k m-bꜣḥ ʾImn-Rꜥ* „Gut sei Deine Gesundheit vor Amun-Re" (s.o.) und O. DeM 418, verso 1: *ḫr dỉ.t n=k ʾImn nfr snb=k* „Und möge Dir Amun Deine Gesundheit wohl sein lassen".

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52 H. JAUHIAINEN, *"Do not Celebrate your Feast without your Neighbours": A Study of References to Feasts and Festivals in Non-Literary Documents from Ramesside Period Deir el-Medina* (Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies 10, Helsinki, 2009), S. 272. Damit ist wohl – nach dem Medinet Habu Kalender – der 1. Monat Achet, Tag 19 gemeint, siehe *KRI* V, S. 146. Ein wiederkehrendes Fest des Sobek ist für Deir el-Medine bislang nicht belegt, D. VALBELLE, *"Les ouvriers de la tombe": Deir el-Médineh à l'époque Ramesside* (BiÉtud 96, Kairo, 1985), S. 326.

53 LESKO, *DLE*, 1, S. 361. *Wb*. 3, S. 296. 12 und 13: „belegt Dyn. 20 im Namen einer Nekropole in Theben".

54 Eine Diskussion der Begrifflichkeiten bei E. THOMAS, *„pꜣ ḫr ḫnỉ ḫnw / n ḫnw ḫnỉ*, a Designation of the Valley of the Kings", *JEA* 49 (1963), S. 57–63 sowie R. VENTURA, *Living in a City of the Dead: A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis* (OBO 69, Freiburg, Schweiz – Göttingen, 1986), S. 65–70.

55 LESKO, *DLE*, 1, S. 362.

56 Schwache Spuren lassen am Anfang Z. 8 die Lesung zu. Ob also Ende Z. 7 und Anfang Z. 8 gar der Titel *tꜣy-bšꜣ* „Steinmetz/Meißelführer" (*Wb*. 1, S. 478. 13; LESKO, *DLE*, 2, S. 224–225) gelesen werden kann? Dieser Titel ist bei den Arbeitern von Deir el-Medine allerdings nicht gebräuchlich, siehe J. ČERNÝ, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (BiÉtud 50, Kairo, 2001²), S. 46 mit einigen wenigen Beispielen, die in den thebanischen Raum verortet werden können. Zu Bedeutung und Herkunft des Wortes *bšꜣ* siehe zuletzt den Kommentar von L. POPKO, TLA, https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/57580 (letzter Zugriff am 15. September 2023). Eine weitere Interpretation dieses Berufes, der mit der Herstellung von Schmucksteinen zu tun haben könnte, schlägt F. STEINMANN, „Untersuchungen zu den in der handwerklich-künstlerischen Produktion beschäftigten Personen und Berufsgruppen des Neuen Reiches I", *ZÄS* 107 (1980), S. 149 Nr. 2.2.1.4. vor.

57 Für diese Lesung bedanke ich mich beim Leidener Deir-el-Medina-Seminar 2022.

Dieser leider sehr fragmentarische Brief des *Mꜣꜣ*(*.nꜥỉ*)*-nḫtꜥf*, vermutlich an seinen Bruder *Nfr-ḥtp* (xvi), bietet nach den ausführlichen einleitenden Grüßen und Wünschen nur wenige Informationen. Von Interesse dürfte die Erwähnung eines Festes des Gottes Sobek sein, für das *Mꜣꜣ*(*.nꜥỉ*)*-nḫtꜥf* seinem Bruder evtl. eine Schreibpalette liefert. Sobek gehört in Deir el-Medine zu den weniger verehrten Gottheiten. Hatte *Nfr-ḥtp* (xvi) eine Funktion in der Ausübung seines Kultes inne?[58] Einige Belege in Form von Stelen, Bild- bzw. Votivostraka und Architekturteilen weisen darauf hin, dass neben den Hauptgöttern von Deir el-Medine wie Amun(-Re), Hathor, Meresger, Ptah und dem vergöttlichten Amenophis I. auch Sobek bzw. Sobek-Re, vor allem in seiner Form als Herr von *Swmnw*, verehrt wurde.[59]

Neben dem hier vorgestellten O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607 wird nur in einem weiteren Brief ein Fest des Sobek erwähnt. Der Arbeiters *Ḥꜣy* berichtet einem Schreiber namens *ʾIỉ-m-sbꜣ* unter anderem, dass er „opfere für Sobek, Deinem Herren" (*wdn n Sbk pꜣyꜥk nb*, P. DeM 3, recto 6–7). Für das Fest (*wp*, recto 8) erbittet er für „Deine Diener" Stoffe, die er danach zurückbringen lassen wird. Dabei bleibt allerdings unklar, ob es sich um ein persönliches Fest handelt, oder um eines, welches das ganze Dorf feiert.[60]

Dass es in Deir el-Medine bzw. in der näheren Umgebung eine Kultstelle für Sobek gegeben haben muss, verdeutlicht O. DeM 10187. Diese Abrechnung über Holzteile nennt neben anderen Ortsangaben in Z. 4 *ntỉ* (*r*) *q*(*ꜣ*)*ỉ Sbk* 1 „Das, was bei Sobek ist: 1".[61] Auch der Titel einer *ḥsỉ.t ʿꜣ.t n Sbk* „Großen Sängerin des Sobek" namens *Nfr.w*[62] deutet auf einen institutionalisierten Kult für die Krokodilgottheit, genauso wie der Titel des *ʿꜣ-mk.t* (i), der sich als „Diener" in den Dienst „des Sobek-Re" (*bꜣk n Sbk-Rʿ*) gestellt hat.[63] Direkten Kontakt zum Personal des Tempels des Sobek in *ʾIw-m-ỉtrw*[64] hatte dagegen der Schreiber *Ḏḥwtỉ-ms* (ii), wie aus dem Turiner Steuerpapyrus hervorgeht, als er vor Ort dort wie auch in anderen Tempeldomänen in Jahr 12 und 14 Ramses' XI. die Getreideabgaben überwachte.[65]

Doch wieder zurück zu *Mꜣꜣ*(*.nꜥỉ*)*-nḫtꜥf*. Sein direkter oder indirekter Bezug zu einem Fest des Sobek geht aus O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607 klar hervor. Darüberhinaus wird er in drei weiteren Texten in Verbindung mit einem Fest genannt: Der unbekannte Verfasser von O. Berlin P. 12635 listet verschiedene Nahrungsmittel und Getränke auf, die er an mehrere Personen zu verschiedenen Festen ausgeteilt hat. An seinem (persönlichen?) Fest (*pꜣyꜥỉ ḥb*) von Taweret trinkt er mit *Mꜣꜣ*(*.nꜥỉ*)*-nḫtꜥf* (verso 4–6). Bei einer „drinking party" im Hause des *Mnw-ḫʿ* waren sowohl *Mꜣꜣ*(*.nꜥỉ*)*-nḫtꜥf* als auch sein Bruder *ʾImn-nḫt* (xxvi) anwesend.[66] Und dann heißt es noch in einer Mitteilung des *Mꜣꜣ*(*.nꜥỉ*)*-nḫtꜥf* an eine Sängerin des Amun, dass „der große Gott ein Kalb von mir verlangt […]" (*pꜣ nṯr ʿꜣ wḫꜣ wʿ bḥs m-dỉꜥỉ* […], P. DeM 10, verso 2–3). Dies ist sicher auch im Kontext eines Opfers (im Rahmen eines Festes?) zu sehen.

Paläographische Anmerkungen zu O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273 und HO 607

Vorbemerkung: Wie oben angesprochen, stehen die 15 Briefe des *Mꜣꜣ*(*.nꜥỉ*)*-nḫtꜥf* im Fokus des paläographischen Vergleichs mit drei weiteren Gruppen, um die Übereinstimmungen in der graphischen Ausformung, die Breite ihrer Varianz bzw. die Abgrenzung zu anderen Handschriften besser herausarbeiten zu können. Dabei handelt

58 Wir wissen zumindest, dass *Nfr-ḥtp* (xvi) zu einer wie auch immer gearteten Kultgemeinschaft des Amun gehörte, wie ein Kalksteinsitz – nun im Museum Turin mit der Inv.-Nr. 50252 – belegt, der zusammen mit anderen in einer der Kapellen südlich der Umfassungsmauer des Tempels in Deir el-Medine gefunden wurde. Zuletzt zu diesen Sitzen, ihrer Funktion und ihren Inhabern D. Sweeney, „Sitting Happily with Amun", in: B.J.J. Haring – O.E. Kaper – R. van Walsem (Hgg.), *The Workman's Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (EgUit 28, Leiden – Leuven, 2014), S. 217–231.

59 Das in der Nähe von er-Rizaqat gelegene Sumenu gilt als eines der wichtigsten Kultzentren des Sobek im thebainschen Raum und darüber hinaus, vgl. H. Kockelmann, *Der Herr der Seen, Sümpfe und Flußläufe: Untersuchungen zum Gott Sobek und den ägyptischen Krokodilgötter-Kulten von den Anfängen bis zur Römerzeit* (ÄgAbh 74, Wiesbaden, 2017), S. 312–321. Eine ausführliche Zusammenstellung der Belege zu Sobek/Sobek-Re in Deir el-Medine zuletzt bei Kockelmann, *op.cit.*, S. 324–326.

60 Jauhiainen, *"Do not Celebrate your Feast without your Neighbours"*, S. 272.

61 *r qꜣỉ* (*n*) „a) bei jem. stehen (sein u.ä.), b) zu jem. bringen, gehen u.ä.", *Wb.* 5, S. 7. 2–3.

62 B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (*1931–1932*)*: première partie* (FIFAO 10. 1, Kairo, 1934), S. 68, Nr. 13.

63 B.G. Davies, „The *ʿꜣ-n-ʿ*: A new Title for a Deir el-Medina Ritualist?", in: B.J.J. Haring – O.E. Kaper – R. van Walsem (Hgg.), *The Workman's Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (EgUit 28, Leiden – Leuven, 2014), S. 38.

64 In der Nähe von Gebelein, ca. 30 km südlich von Theben, Kockelmann, *Der Herr der Seen, Sümpfe und Flußläufe*, S. 308–312.

65 = P. Turin Cat 1895 + P. Turin Cat 2006, z.B. recto Kol. II 1–3 und recto Kol. V 8–9.

66 O. Berlin P. 14328. Mit diesen sog. „gift-giving"-Texten haben sich J.J. Janssen, *Village Varia: Ten Studies on the History and Administration of Deir el-Medina* (EgUit 11, Leiden, 1997), S. 55–86 und Jauhiainen, *"Do not Celebrate your Feast without your Neighbours"*, S. 258–264 näher beschäftigt.

es sich um folgende Texte, die im weiteren Verlauf mit ihren vorangestellten Nummern aufgeführt werden:

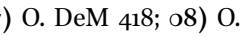
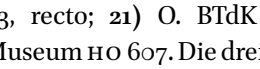
Handschrift *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f*
01) P. DeM 9;[67] **02)** P. DeM 10; **03)** P. DeM 11; **04)** O. BTdK 712, recto;[68] **05)** O. BTdK 714, recto;[69] **06)** O. Berlin P. 14684, recto; **07)** O. DeM 418; **08)** O. Berlin P. 14353; **09)** O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273; **10)** O. Kairo CG 25747;[70] **11)*** O. BM EA 50723; **12)*** O. Kairo CG 25750, recto;[71] **13)*** P. DeM 13, recto; **21)** O. BTdK 714, verso;[72] **36)** O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607. Die drei Briefe P. DeM 9, 10 und 11 bilden aufgrund des Fundkontextes und einer hohen Anzahl vergleichbarer Zeichen, Zeichengruppen, Wörter und Phrasen (>37) die Basis dieser Handschriftengruppe.

Handschrift *'Imn-ms*, Schreiber vom Tempel der Hathor in Hutsechem
01) P. DeM 8, recto; **02)** P. DeM 8, verso;[73] **03)** P. DeM 12; **04)** P. DeM 18.

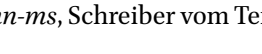
Handschrift *Nḫt-Sbk*
01) P. DeM 4; **02)** P. DeM 5; **03)** P. DeM 6; **04)** P. DeM 22.

Handschrift unbekannter Verfasser
01) O. Berlin P. 10628;[74] **02)** O. Berlin P. 10630;[75] **03)** O. Berlin P. 10627.[76]

(a) Schreibung des Namens *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f*

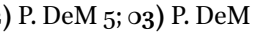
Besonderes Augenmerk wird auf die Namensschreibung gelegt, entzündet sich an dieser doch die Diskussion um die Frage, wie viele Personen dieses Namens in der Mitte der 20. Dynastie in Deir el-Medine lebten. A. Dorn zieht die Möglichkeit in Betracht, dass zwei Namensträger zeitgleich an den Königsgräbern arbeiteten und darüberhinaus schreiben konnten:
– „*M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* (iii)" mit dem ersten Namensbestandteil in Form von  und Varianten sowie
– „*M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* (iv)" in ausführlicher Schreibung beginnend mit in Form von  und Varianten.[77]

Auffällig ist die homogene Ausführung der Schreibung des eigenen Namens mit durch *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* in den untersuchten Briefen:

01)  1.

02) rto 1.

03) rto 1.

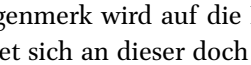
04)  2.

05) 1.

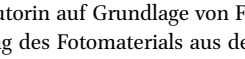
06) 1.

07) rto 1.

08) rto 1.

09)  rto 1.

10) 2.

36)  1.

: In dieser Kombination findet man hier die Sichel in der nach unten gewölbten Form, aber auch mit gerader Klinge. Der Strich endet in acht von elf Beispielen in einem kurzen Ausstrich. Die Kreise für die beiden Pupillen sind

67 Wenn nicht anders angegeben, wurden auch diese Faksimiles durch die Autorin auf Grundlage von Fotos angefertigt. Für die Bereitstellung des Fotomaterials aus dem IFAO danke ich dem dortigen Team. Alle Faksimiles im Folgenden sind verkleinert wiedergegeben.

68 Faksimiles aus DORN, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige*, Taf. 606.

69 DORN, *op. cit.*, Taf. 611.

70 Faksimiles aus J. ČERNÝ, *Ostraca hiératiques* (CGC 25675–25832, Kairo, 1935), Taf. 90.

71 ČERNÝ, *op. cit.*, Taf. 94.

72 Faksimiles aus DORN, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige*, Taf. 611. O. BTdK 714, recto und verso wurden separat untersucht, da DORN, *op. cit.*, S. 441 hier von verschiedenen Schreibern ausgeht.

73 P. DeM 8, recto und verso wurden separat untersucht, da die *Deir el-Medina Database* hier (mit Fragezeichen) verschiedene Hände vermutet.

74 Faksimiles aus A.H. GARDINER – G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung*, 3. *Schriftstücke der VI. Dynastie aus Elephantine: Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind. Ostraka* (Leipzig, 1911), Taf. 39.

75 GARDINER – MÖLLER, *op. cit.*, Taf. 39.

76 GARDINER – MÖLLER, *op. cit.*, Taf. 33.

77 DORN, „*M33-nḫt.w=f*, ein (?) einfacher Arbeiter, schreibt Briefe", in: *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine*, S. 67–85. Die Texte, die einen mit gebildeten Namen aufweisen, werden hier mit * gekennzeichnet.

zumeist unten offen und ebenfalls mit einem Ausstrich versehen.

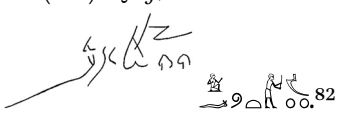
: Das hintere Bein geht in einem Bogen vom Körper ab, das vordere ist separat als Welle oder Strich angebracht. Da diese besondere Ausformung typisch ist für *Mȝȝ*(*.n=ỉ*)-*nḫt=f*s Handschrift, werden die Hieratogramme unter (b) separat diskutiert.

wird sowohl in der vollen Form (Wimmer, Typ a)[78] als auch abgekürzt als Striche bzw. längliche Tupfer geschrieben (Typ c).

: Der Kopf der Hornviper ist entweder gabelförmig (Wimmer, Typ a)[79] oder auch als Tupfer gestaltet (Typ b), der Strich für den Körper unterschiedlich lang, gebogen oder gerade, er läuft schräg oder steil nach unten aus.

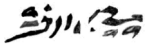
: Der sitzende Mann als Personendeterminativ ist in mind. drei Fällen nicht geschrieben, ansonsten in den ausführlicheren Formen Wimmer, Typ a und b.[80]

: Der sitzende Mann über der Hornviper bei 02) P. DeM 10, 03) P. DeM 11, 04) O. BTdK 712, recto und evtl. 05) O. BTdK 714, recto wird von Černý als Fehler angesehen,[81] ist jedoch eine graphische Variante, die typisch ist für *Mȝȝ*(*.n=ỉ*)-*nḫt=f*, wie auch sein Graffito 782 zeigt:



.[82]

Auch die von *Mȝȝ*(*.n=ỉ*)-*nḫt=f* geschriebene Abrechnung O. BTdK 686 weist in Z. 2 eine ähnliche Strichführung auf:



.[83]

Einzig 10) O. Kairo CG 25747 passt nicht in dieses einheitliche Bild, denn der Name ist nicht so sorgfältig geschrieben wie die anderen Beispielen hier. Bislang gibt es allerdings keinen Grund anzunehmen, dass dieser kurze Text nicht von *Mȝȝ*(*.n=ỉ*)-*nḫt=f* persönlich geschrieben wurde.

Der Vergleich mit Schreibungen durch andere Hände verdeutlicht diese Gleichmäßigkeit besonders gut.
Briefe des Schreibers *'Imn-ms* vom Tempel der Hathor in Hutsechem:

02) 2.

03) vso Adresse.

04) [ ] vso Adresse.

Aufgrund der Zerstörungen lässt sich hier nur die Gruppe einigermaßen sinnvoll beschreiben: Die Sichel ist als gerader und waagerechter Strich gestaltet, die Pupillen sind tropfenförmig bzw. oval. Zu siehe unter (b). Man beachte auch die unterschiedlichen Orthographien: In der Einleitung des Briefes 02) P. DeM 8, verso ist der Name mit aber ansonsten in ausführlicher Form geschrieben (inkl. dem Bildungselement *n* der Verbalform *sḏm.n=f* + Suffix 1. Pers. sg.!) , das Adressfeld von 03) P. DeM 12, verso dagegen in Kurzform.

Da *Mȝȝ*(*.n=ỉ*)-*nḫt=f* regelmäßig in den Turnuslisten erscheint, werden die Namensschreibungen durch den bislang noch nicht sicher identifizierten Schreiber der Nekropolenjournale aus Jahr 1 und 2, Ramses' IV. ebenfalls hinzugezogen:[84]

O. Ashmolean Museum HO 113, rto 17.[85]

O. Berlin P. 12626 + DeM 41, vso 10.

[ ] O. Berlin P. 12642 + DeM 160 + Straßburg H. 5, rto Kol. II 3.

O. DeM 44, rto 17.

O. DeM 44, vso 15.

O. DeM 45 + Berlin P. 12651 + Wien H. 4, rto 18.

: Die Sichel ist gerade, weist nach rechts oben und ist mit einem Ausstrich versehen, die beiden Pupillen sind auf Tupfer bzw. Punkte reduziert.

: Die Bein-Fußpartie ist als längerer Basisquerstrich geschrieben, die Arme sind als Abstrich an den

78 S. WIMMER, *Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie* (ÄAT 28, Wiesbaden, 1995) bildet die Grundlage meiner Beschreibung der Hieratogramme. Hier: WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 366.

79 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 153.

80 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 4.

81 ČERNÝ, *Papyrus hiératiques* (nos 1–17), Taf. 26. In der Transliteration zu P. DeM 10, recto und P. DeM 11, recto ist die Gruppe jeweils mit „sic" markiert.

82 SPIEGELBERG, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, S. 63, Taf. 83.

83 Faksimile aus DORN, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige*, Taf. 554.

84 = „Case-Study v" in K. DONKER VAN HEEL – B.J.J. HARING, *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina* (EgUit 16, Leiden, 2003), S. 72–82. Die Handschriftengruppe des unbekannten Schreibers wurde von MCCLAIN, „Authorship and Attribution", in: *Outside the Box*, S. 339–344 um zahlreiche Texte erweitert (= Scribe „B").

85 Faksimile aus J. ČERNÝ – A.H. GARDINER, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford, 1957), Taf. 78A, 1.

Körperstrich angesetzt, der Stock ist kurz und berührt den Abstrich.[86]

Ebenfalls reduziert sind , die in den meisten Fällen als Striche (Wimmer, Typ c) ausgeführt sind.

als Namensdeterminativ ist in diesen Beispielen einmal als Punkt (Wimmer, Typ e)[87] und einmal als rechts offener Winkel mit schwach ausgeprägtem Ausstrich (eher Wimmer, Typ b als Typ d) vertreten.

Doch wieder zurück zu unserem Briefeschreiber. Trotz zahlreicher Zerstörungen ist gut zu erkennen, dass *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* seinen Namen mit dem Bestandteil ebenfalls sehr einheitlich schreibt, wenn auch mit wenigen, doch zumindest einer ganz signifikanten Übereinstimmung zur Kurzform:

11)* 2.

12)* 1.

13)* rto 2.

Zum Vergleich wird hier auch die vollständige Schreibung des Namens in der von *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* angefertigten Abrechnung O. Berlin P. 14260, recto 2 herangezogen: .

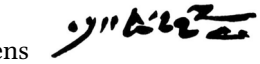
: Zwei Beispiele mit waagerechtem Strich für die Sichel, eines mit gebogenem; das Auge darunter ist schmal und mit einem kleinen Ausstrich versehen.

: Die hohe bzw. niedrige „z"-Form (Wimmer, Typ c bzw. d[88]) bei allen Beispielen. Der linke Geier ist dabei leicht nach links gekippt und sitzt etwas höher.

und sind zu zerstört für einen Vergleich.

: In der für *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* (Schreibung mit) typischen Schreibweise geht auch hier das hintere Bein in einem Bogen vom Körper ab, das vordere steht unverbunden und bogenförmig davor. Ein starkes Indiz, dass die Briefe von einer Person geschrieben wurden, vgl. auch (b).

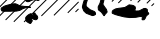
Ob es sich nur um einen Zufall handelt, dass die beiden einzigen erhaltenen Endungen des Namens in dem Brief O. BM EA 50723 und der Abrechnung über eine private Transaktion O. Berlin P. 14260 ohne den sitzenden Mann geschrieben sind, kann nicht entschieden werden.

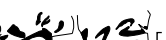
Auch die Abrechnung über eine private Transaktion O. Ashmolean Museum HO 66 wurde vielleicht von *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* selbst geschrieben. Die Ausführung seines Namens  passt zumindest im ersten Teil zu den oben aufgeführten Formen. Anders als in den gezeigten Beispielen wird der zweite Namensbestandteil hier allerdings verkürzt geschrieben.

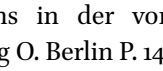
(b)

M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f:

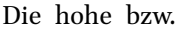
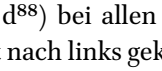
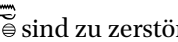
01): in: 1; in: 1.

02): in:  rto 1; in: rto 1.

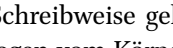
03): in: rto 1. **04):** in: 2; in: 4. **05):** in:  1; in: 1.

06): in: 1. **07):** in: rto 1; in: rto 1. **09):** in: rto 1; in: rto 5. **11)*:** in:  2. **13)*:** in: 1. **36):** in: 1.

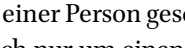
'Imn-ms:

01): in: 2; in: 2. **02):** in:  2. **03):** in:  rto 7; in: rto 7; in:  vso Adresse; in: vso Adresse.

Nḫt-Sbk:

01): in:  rto 1.

Verfasser unbekannt:

02): in:  rto 3–4; in: rto 4. **03):** in: 1; in: 8.

Auffällig ist die durchaus homogene Schreibung des Mannes mit Stock aus der Hand des *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f*, die eher an die Ausführungen in literarischen Texten der Ramessidenzeit erinnert wie z.B. die Lehre des Ani

86 WIMMER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 382.
87 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 4.
88 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 124.

(P. DeM 1, recto, z.B. Kol. V 4, V 5, VI 4)[89] oder aber auch P. Harris I (= P. BM EA 9999), z.B. Kol. III 1, XXV 1, XCVI 9 aus der Zeit Ramses' IV.[90] Diese Variante mit dem separat stehenden und als Bogen oder Abstrich ausgeführten vorderen Bein findet sich in den administrativen Texten oder Briefen aus Deir el-Medine in der 20. Dynastie relativ selten.[91] Die Arme sind von *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* als Abstrich angesetzt, der Stock ist als dünner und meist langer Strich wiedergegeben, der den Arm berührt oder frei davor steht. Die graphische Ausformung der Hieratogramme stimmt bei den beiden verschiedenen Namensschreibungen des *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* klar überein.

'Imn-ms variiert dagegen deutlich in den Schreibungen: Der Körper ist gebogen, recht gerade oder auch schräg, der Stock endet über dem Arm oder über dem vorderen Bein. Die Arme sind sowohl separat als Abstrich angesetzt als auch in einem Zug mit dem gebogenen Körper zusammengefasst, das vordere Bein ist in einer Welle an das hintere angesetzt oder steht unverbunden als Abstrich davor. *Nḫt-Sbk* und der Schreiber der Berliner Ostraka setzen das vordere Bein als Welle an (Wimmer, Typ b), die jedoch bei letzterem sehr viel flacher ausfällt. Bei *Nḫt-Sbk* endet der Stock dazu noch auf der Welle, wobei diesem einen Beispiel noch keine große Aussagekraft zugesprochen werden kann.

(c)

M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f:

02): rto 1. 03): rto 1. 04): 2. 05): rto 1; rto 1. 06): 1. 08): rto 1; in: rto 1. 09): rto 1; rto 1. 10): 2. 12)*: 2. 36): 1.

'Imn-ms:

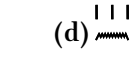
02): 1. 04): rto 1.

Verfasser unbekannt:

01): 1; 4; 7. 02): rto 1; rto 3. 03): 1.

Alle drei Schreiber schreiben in Form von Wimmer, Typ a,[92] im Prinzip zwei Grundstriche, die oben gerade oder bogenförmig miteinander verbunden sind. Der rechte Grundstrich weist zudem einen mehr oder weniger ausgeprägten Ausstrich auf, der linke einen kleinen. Die Ausführung ist allerdings bei genauerer Betrachtung recht unterschiedlich. In der Handschrift des *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* läuft der Ausstrich des rechten Grundstrichs in den meisten Fällen entweder in einem Bogen nach oben aus, der dazu noch in einer Schlaufe enden kann, oder er knickt scharf nach oben ab. Der linke Grundstrich ist eher etwas kürzer und kann leicht nach rechts oben ausstreichen. Die obere Verbindung der beiden Grundstriche ist meist recht gerade und läuft ganz leicht schräg nach rechts oben. Auch hier stimmt die Gestaltung des Hieratogramms von 12)* O. Kairo CG 25750, recto – also einem Text mit ausführlicher Namensschreibung – mit denen der Kurzform überein.

Bei dem Absender der drei Berliner Briefe streicht der linke Grundstrich jeweils leicht nach rechts unten aus. Ein rechts abgeflachter Bogen setzt oben an den linken Grundstrich an und geht in den rechten über. Unten knickt dieser leicht gerundet nach oben ab und streicht zum Teil auch eingedreht aus. *'Imn-ms* führt dieses Zeichen dagegen schmal und hoch aus (aber Achtung, die ersten Zeilen eines Briefes aus seiner Binse können allgemein höhere Hieratogramme aufweisen), der rechte Grundstrich endet in einem kleinen Ausstrich.

(d) 

M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f:

02): rto 1.

03): rto 1.

05): [93] 1.

06): 1.

07): rto 1.

89 Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques* (nos 1–17), Taf. 5 a, 6 a. Auch dieser Papyrus gehört zur Bibliothek der Familie des *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f*.

90 Für eine übersichtliche Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen Hieratogramme inkl. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, siehe Aku-Pal, https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/graphemes/43 (letzter Zugriff am 7. Mai 2023).

91 Die Schreibung mit flachem Fußbereich (Ansatz als Strich oder als flache Welle) überwiegt in den administrativen Texten der 20. Dynastie deutlich, die hohe Welle bzw. der freistehende Bogen dagegen in der 19. Dynastie. Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 16 führt diese spezielle Form nicht auf.

92 Wimmer, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 382.

93 Oder ?

08): rto 1.[94]

09): rto 1.

12)*: [1–]2.

36): 1.

'Imn-ms:

02): 1.

03): rto 1.

04): rto 1.

Sowohl *'Imn-ms* als auch *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* leiten die Briefe regelmäßig mit S(ender) (*ḥr*) *nḏ-ḥr.t n* E(mpfänger) = „S fragt nach dem Befinden von E" ein. Diese Begrüßung wurde vor allem in der Korrespondenz zwischen Gleichgestellten verwendet.[95] Während *'Imn-ms* die volle Form mit *ḥr* schreibt, bevorzugt *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* – mit Ausnahme von 05) O. BTdK 714, recto – die kürzere Variante *nḏ-ḥr.t n* ohne Präposition.

In der Handschrift *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*s fallen drei Elemente ins Auge: reicht über die Oberlänge hinaus und weist einen langen Firstquerstrich auf, der über vorausgehende und/oder nachfolgende Zeichen reichen kann; über diesen Querstrich ist ein kleiner Haken angebracht. Der Grundstrich mit dem der Körper von gebildet wird, ragt ebenfalls in einigen Beispielen weit nach oben und reicht dazu noch tiefer, so dass die Grundlinie der gesamten Phrase optisch einen Bogen nach unten beschreibt. wird unter (i) separat diskutiert. Und als drittes ist den erhaltenen Schreibungen gleich, dass das -Brot in „z"-förmig ist und in mittiger Höhe dieser Gruppe liegt. Der Winkel für weist dazu noch einen ausgeprägten Ausstrich auf. *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* führt diese Schreibung identisch in *ḥr.t* „Angelegenheit"[96] aus: 07) O. DeM 418, recto 4 .

An dieser Stelle sei bemerkt, dass keine vollständigen Phrasen *nḏ-ḥr.t n* für die Briefe aus der Hand des *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* mit der Schreibung vorliegen: 11)* O. BM EA 50723 wird mit E [*n*] S *swḏꜣ-ib n nb=f* eingeführt, so auch 13)* P. DeM 13, recto. Beide Texte sind an den Wesir gerichtet und somit wohl als Übungstexte einzustufen.[97] Bei 12)* O. Kairo CG 25750, recto ist nur noch erhalten. Die Rückseite, die ebenfalls diese Einleitung aufweist, liegt leider weder in Foto noch Faksimile vor.

Die Handschrift des *'Imn-ms* weist für die Schreibung weniger auffällige Elemente auf. Die Orthographie unterscheidet sich ein wenig von den Beispielen aus der Hand des *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f*, denn neben der Verwendung der Präposition (zur Paläographie dieser Gruppe siehe [g]) finden wir bei ihm konsequent die Abfolge am Ende, wobei in Ligatur ist. Einzige Abweichung innerhalb dieser Phrase ist die Verwendung der reduzierten Form von (Wimmer, Typ c[98]) in 03) P. DeM 12 und der kleine Schrägstrich, der

94 Ob nachträglich über den Titel gesetzt wurde, weil vielleicht vergessen, ist nicht mehr zu entscheiden. Die Tusche entspricht von der Sättigung her den umgebenden Zeichen.

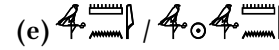
95 B.J.J. HARING, „In Life, Prosperity, Health!' Introductory Formulae in Letters from the Theban Necropolis", in: D. KESSLER – R. SCHULZ – M. ULLMANN – A. VERBOVSEK – S. WIMMER (Hgg.), *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente: Festschrift für Günter Burkard* (ÄAT 76, Wiesbaden, 2009), S. 184. Zur weiteren Verbreitung dieser Begrüßungsformel in den Briefen aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie aus Deir el-Medine vgl. M. GOECKE-BAUER, „Amunmes – EIN Deir-el-Medine-Schreiber?", in: M. BROSE – P. DILS – F. NAETHER – L. POPKO – D. RAUE (Hgg.), *En détail – Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert* (ZÄS Beiheft 7, Berlin, 2019), S. 366–370.

96 Möglicherweise eine Verschreibung für *ḫ.t* „Sache, Ding", denn an dieser Stelle zählt *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* all die guten Dinge auf, mit denen er auf seiner Reise nach oder bereits schon in Hut(sechem?) versorgt wurde.

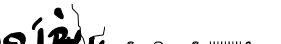
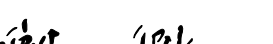
97 O. BM EA 50723 richtet sich an den *ṯzy ḫwy ḥr wnmy nswt ỉm.y-r nỉw.t ṯzty Nfr-rnp.t*, der zwischen Jahr 1 oder 2 Ramses' IV. bis in die Regierungszeit Ramses' VI. dieses Amt innehatte, vgl. G. DRESBACH, *Zur Verwaltung in der 20. Dynastie: das Wesirat* (KSG 9, Wiesbaden, 2012), S. 86. Der Adressat von P. DeM 13, recto ist dagegen der *ṯzy ḫwy ḥr wnmy nswt ỉm.y-r nỉw.t ṯzty Nb-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ-nḫt*, der erst einige Jahrzehnte später in Erscheinung tritt. Dresbach setzt für das Ende der Ramessidenzeit zwei Wesire dieses Namens an: *Nb-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ-nḫt* (A), der in P. Abbott, recto Kol. IV 15–16 für das Jahr 14, Ramses' IX. belegt ist (DRESBACH, *op. cit.*, S. 73) sowie *Nb-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ-nḫt* (B), der u.a. in den Grabräuberprozessakten aus Jahr 19./20. Ramses' XI. genannt wird (DRESBACH, *op. cit.*, S. 92). P. DeM 13 ist sicher in den Zeitraum des früheren Wesirs anzusetzen, was aber dennoch bedeutet, dass *M3ꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* zu diesem Zeitpunkt schon ein Mann jenseits der 50 war. Man möchte meinen, er hatte ausreichend Erfahrung im Verfassen von Briefen. Die Bruchstellen des Papyrus lassen noch die frühere Faltung erkennen, so dass man hier auch einen echten Brief vermuten kann, der dann allerdings seinen Weg wieder zurück in die eigene Bibliothek gefunden hätte. Der Papyrus wurde desweiteren zurechtgeschnitten und die leere Rückseite für eine Abrechnung genutzt.

98 WIMMER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 10.

im Hieratogramm in 04) P. DeM 18 anstatt nach rechts oben nach rechts unten führt.

(e) 

M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f:

02):  vso 2. 04): 7. 05): 2; 3. 06): 2. 07):  rto 2; vso 1. 08): in: rto 2–3; rto 4. 09): rto 2. 12)*: 3; 5. 21): 2; 3; 6.

ʾImn-ms:

02): 2. 03): rto 2. 04): rto 2.

Nḫt-Sbk:

01): rto 2; vso 5; vso 6.

02): vso 2.

Verfasser unbekannt:

01): 2; 11. 02): rto 2; vso 2. 03): 2.

Die Bitten und Gebete an Amun-Re, König der Götter, sind in der Korrespondenz aus Deir el-Medine fester Bestandteil des Briefformulars. Die 15 Nennungen von Amun bzw. Amun-Re in neun von *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* geschriebenen Briefen zeigen dies ganz deutlich. Auch die anderen drei Handschriften bieten ein gutes Vergleichsmaterial.

 ist in den vier Handschriftengruppen vor allem als Grundstrich mit einer Verdickung oben (Anstrich von rechts) geschrieben.[99] Diese Verdickung ist bei dem Verfasser der Berliner Briefe weniger stark ausgeprägt als bei den anderen. Hier fällt auch der gebogene, senkrecht bis leicht nach links geneigte Grundstrich auf, der in einem leichten Ausstrich nach rechts endet. Dies ist ein typisches Merkmal für diesen Schreiber, denn auch andere Hieratogramme, die mit einem Grundstrich gebildet werden, weisen diese Ausformung auf; vgl. z.B. den Falken auf Standarte in diesem Götternamen. Der kleine Schrägstrich in der hieratischen Schreibung des Schilfblatts berührt bei dem unbekannten Schreiber in der unteren Hälfte den Grundstrich bzw. schneidet ihn.

Die Handschrift des *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* zeigt einen senkrechten bis leicht rechtsschrägen Grundstrich, der von dem Schrägstrich vor allem im unteren Drittel berührt wird. Die drei Beispiele des Schilfblatts aus der Hand des *ʾImn-ms* sind dagegen senkrecht, der Schrägstrich endet auf verschiedenen Höhen. *Nḫt-Sbk*s Ausführung des ist eher nach rechts geneigt, der Schrägstrich kann recht weit oben den Grundstrich berühren.

Die Zeichengruppe erweist sich als hilfreicher Marker zur Identifizierung von hieratischen Handschriften, auch wenn eine breite Varianz innerhalb der einzelnen Handschriftengruppen gegeben ist.[100] Dies liegt sicher auch an der Komplexität dieser Gruppe, werden doch bis zu sieben Striche für ihre Erstellung benötigt. Darüberhinaus ist Bestandteil zahlreicher Wörter und wird regelmäßig geschrieben, gehört also zum Grundrepertoire eines jeden Schreibers. Die insg. über 20 Beispiele aus der Hand des *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f* decken die ganze Bandbreite von ausführlicher Schreibung bis hin zur Vereinfachung als Zickzackline ab, so auch die 15 Hieratogramme im Götternamen Amun(-Re). Sie weisen – im Gegensatz zu den Beispielen aus den anderen drei zeitgenössischen Handschriften – meist einen diakritischen Punkt auf.[101] kann durch eine diagonale Verlängerung des mittleren kurzen senkrechten Strichs mit dem

99 Wimmer, Typ a bzw. b, wenn der Schrägstrich den Grundstrich schneidet, Wimmer, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 181.

100 Vgl. auch Dorn, „Diachrone Veränderungen“, in: *Ägyptologische „Binsen“-Weisheiten I–II*, *passim*, bes. S. 181.

101 Siehe die Typenaufteilung bei Wimmer, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 383. Ob die Schreibung oder Auslassung eines diakritischen Punktes ausschlaggebend für eine Handschriftenzuweisung sein kann, haben schon G. Bouvier, „Quelques remarques sur l'identification des « mains » dans les documents hiératiques de l'époque ramesside“, *Annales de la Fondation Fyssen* 17 (2002), S. 16 und Dorn, „Diachrone Veränderungen“, in: *Ägyptologische „Binsen“-Weisheiten I–II*, S. 181 mit Anm. 22, S. 191 angesprochen – mit unterschiedlichem Ergebnis. Vermutlich wird es so sein wie es immer ist, wenn es um menschliches Handeln geht: Eine Person ist konsequenter, geübter oder einfach weniger „nachlässig“ als eine andere, was bedeutet, dass die Verwendung von diakritischen Zeichen – hier in diesem Fall nicht zwingend notwendig, um diese Gruppe von einer anderen zu unterscheiden – für einen bestimmten Schreiber sprechen kann, aber nicht muss. Eine Untersuchung zu diesem Thema könnte durchaus lohnen, sobald weitere Handschriftengruppen identifiziert werden können.

Basisquerstrich für verbunden sein. An dem linken kurzen senkrechten Strich der ausführlichen Schreibung von ist ein nach rechts gewölbter Bogen angebracht, der, je nach Anbringungsart, auch zu einer nach rechts gerichteten „Fahne“ werden kann. *Nḫt-Sbk* bevorzugt die Schreibung mit „Fahne“ ohne diakritischen Punkt. Im Gegensatz zu *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* und *ʾImn-ms* lässt er den Mittelquerstrich für die untere Kante des Spielbretts weg, so dass nur noch die drei Striche bleiben, von denen der mittlere in den Basisquerstrich für übergeht und der rechte linksschräg ist. Ebenso auffällig ist die Schreibung von aus der Hand des *Nḫt-Sbk*, da der Grundstrich weit unter die Grundlinie reicht. In Kombination mit der eigenwilligen Wiedergabe von und dem dicken und großzügigen Binsenstrich wird so die Schreibung des Götternamens Amun zu einem Indikator für *Nḫt-Sbk*s Handschrift. Sehr zierlich mutet dagegen die Schreibung Amun-Re aus der Hand des unbekannten Briefeschreibers an, die bei ihm allerdings weniger homogen ausfällt als andere Worte bzw. Zeichengruppen aus seiner Hand. Auffällig ist hier die zu einer Zickzacklinie reduzierten Schreibung der Gruppe in Amun im Gegensatz zu den ausführlicheren Varianten für Amun-Re, wobei die beiden erstgenannten Beispiele Teil des Abschiedsgrußes *nfr snb=k m-bȝḥ ʾImn* „Lebewohl vor Amun“ sind. Die Zeichengruppe wirkt in der Handschrift des *ʾImn-ms* weniger dynamisch, als bei den anderen drei Schreibern, was sicher an der geraden Strichführung liegt.

Den Bestandteil Re schreibt *Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* vor allem nur mit der Sonnenscheibe und diese meist als unten offener Kreis mit einem kleinen Ausstrich (Wimmer, Typ b)[102] sowie in einem Beispiel auch mit phonetischem Komplement . Dabei bilden die beiden unteren Zeichen eine der wenigen Ligaturen. Der Falke auf Standarte ist als Grundstrich mit einem kleinen, frei stehenden Querstrich (Wimmer, Typ b)[103] wiedergegeben. Gelegentlich ist der Querstrich so stark gewölbt, dass er als Bogen den Grundstrich berührt (Typ a). Die Sonnenscheibe wird von *ʾImn-ms* in zwei Fällen dreigeteilt geschrieben (Typ b) und einmal als Kreis mit einem innenliegenden Querstrich (Typ a). Auch in der Handschrift *Nḫt-Sbk*s findet sich ein Querstrich in der Sonnenscheibe, die allerdings hier aus zwei Bögen besteht (Typ b). Die Schreibung Re erfolgte durch den unbekannten Verfasser immer mit phonetischem Komplement , wobei die unteren beiden Zeichen nur in einem Fall in zickzackförmiger Ligatur geschrieben sind, bei den anderen beiden Schreibungen tangiert der Ausstrich des ovalen den Arm. Der Strich über dem gebogenen Grundstrich für ist nach oben gewölbt (Typ b).

(f) /

Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f:

01): 2. 02): vso 3. 05): 2. 07): rto 2. 08): rto 4. 12)*: 3.

ʾImn-ms:

01): 2. 02): 5. 04): rto 7.

Nḫt-Sbk:

02): rto 1. 03): rto 1.

Verfasser unbekannt:

01): 3; 9. 02): rto 2. 03): 4; 9.

Auch anhand der Schreibungen für bzw. lassen sich die Eigenheiten der verschiedenen Schreiberhände gut dokumentieren. Wimmer unterscheidet hier zwischen unverbundenen Formen von Typ a sowie Typ b mit Ligatur von und bzw. beide Zeichen tangierend.[104]

Mȝȝ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f setzt an den leicht nach rechts unten weisenden Mittelquerstrich für rechts in einem Zug oder tangierend in Form eines nach rechts geöffneten Winkels an, welcher zum Teil mit einem Ausstrich versehen ist. Die beiden Schrägstriche befinden sich dergestalt oder als Tupfer daneben. Das über dieser Gruppe sitzende Hieratogramm für ist winklig, oval, geschlossen oder offen. Auch 12)* O. Kairo CG 25750, recto kann in dieses Formenspektrum untergebracht werden.

Im direkten Vergleich dazu fällt auf, dass der Schreiber der Berliner Briefe in den Beispielen von 01) O. Berlin P. 10628 und 02) O. Berlin P. 10630 einen großen Winkel mit einem ausgeprägten und bogenförmigen Ausstrich für mit dem Querstrich verbindet. Die beiden Schrägstriche werden als solche wiedergegeben oder sind tupfenförmig. sitzt als breites geschlossenes Oval mit Ausstrich über der Gruppe.

In der Handschrift des *Nḫt-Sbk* ist wiederum kreisförmig und geschlossen, der Ausstrich berührt den

102 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 194.

103 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 128.

104 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 234.

Querstrich für und // stehen als separate Zeichen deutlich in der Schreibung darunter.

Mit der zu einem rechten Winkel mit Tupfer reduzierten Ausführung von bei 01) P. DeM 8, recto und 04) P. DeM 18 greift *'Imn-ms* dagegen der später im Abnormhieratischen gängigen Schreibweise voraus, vgl. die beiden Beispiele aus der 25. Dynastie (Jahr 3 bzw. Jahr 15 Taharka): (P. Louvre E 3228 Étiq. D Carton A, 8)[105] bzw. (P. Louvre E 3228 Étiq. A Carton F, Kol. I 2).[106]

(g)

Mɜɜ(.n=i)-nḥt=f:

03): rto 2. 04): 1; 6. 05): 1; 2. 06): 4. 07): in: rto 1. 08): rto 4. 09): rto 2. 11)*: in: 1; 8. 12)*: 3. 13)*: in: 1. 21): in: 1; 4; 5.

'Imn-ms:

01): 1. 02): in: 1. 03): rto 7; vso 1. 04): in: rto 1; rto 3.

Nḥt-Sbk:

01): rto 2. 02): rto 1. 03): rto 6; rto 7; vso 3. 04): vso 1.

Verfasser unbekannt:

01): 3; 4; 4; 8; 10. 02): rto 2; rto 4.

Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 26 zeigt die große Bandbreite der hieratischen Schreibungen für das Gesicht anhand der Einteilung in die Typen a–g plus Sonderformen. Die 16 Beispiele aus elf Briefen des *Mɜɜ(.n=i)-nḥt=f* bilden dieses Spektrum recht gut ab, auch wenn die ganz vereinfachte Variante von Typ a bislang nicht in seinem Zeichenrepertoire zu finden ist. Fast alle Hieratogramme beginnen oben mit einer Schlaufe und etwa die Hälfte weist mindestens einen Querstrich auf, der verbunden ist oder frei stehen kann (Typ d, f). Innerhalb der Typeneinteilung ähneln sich die Ausführungen sehr, nur die Sonderform von 03) P. DeM 11 findet bislang keine Entsprechung. 11)* O. BM EA 50723, 12)* O. Kairo CG 25750, recto und 13)* P. DeM 13, recto aus der Hand des *Mɜɜ(.n=i)-nḥt=f* geschrieben mit fügen sich in das Gesamtbild ein.

'Imn-ms schreibt in einer der reduzierten Formen von Typ a und b und im Vergleich zu den anderen Gruppen recht einheitlich.

Die Handschrift des *Nḥt-Sbk* zeichnet sich auch hier durch einen langen und kräftigen Determinativstrich aus, zum anderen liegen vier einheitliche Schreibungen von Typ c/d vor sowie zwei Sonderformen, wenn man den ausgeprägten Ausstrich bei 04) P. DeM 22 als solche sehen möchte. Beim Verfasser der Berliner Briefe weisen die Formen eine mehr oder weniger ausgeprägte Zickzacklinie auf, die aus der Schlaufe herausführt (Typ c/d). Der Determinativstrich ist leicht wellig und kann in einem kleinen Ausstrich enden, so wie auch andere Grundstriche in dieser Handschrift.

(h)

Mɜɜ(.n=i)-nḥt=f:

02): in: vso 10. 04): in: 8. 08): in: vso 2. 09): in: rto 3; in: rto 3. 12)*: in: 4. 21): in: 2.

'Imn-ms:

04): in: rto 4; in: rto 4.

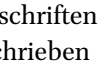
Nḥt-Sbk:

01): in: rto 3; in: rto 3; in: vso. 02): in: rto 1; in: rto 2; in: rto 4. 03): in: rto 5. 04): in: rto c 1.

105 K. Donker van Heel, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste Son of Peteamunip (Floruit 7th Century BCE): Abnormal Hieratic Papyrus Louvre E 3228 A–H* (P. L.Bat. 38, Leiden, 2021), S. 173, Taf. 8. Zur Datierung der beiden Texte, siehe Donker van Heel, *op. cit.*, S. 1.

106 Donker van Heel, *op. cit.*, S. 199, Taf. 34.

Verfasser unbekannt:

01): in: 5. 03): in:  10.

Den vier Handschriften ist gemein, dass und in Ligatur geschrieben sind (Wimmer, Typ c).[107] Die Ausführung dieser ist allerdings sehr unterschiedlich. *M33(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* betont den Arm, der als breiter, waagerechter Strich in einem scharfen Knick nach unten ausgeprägt auslaufen kann. Die Eule in vereinfachter Form ist graphisch erhalten, im Verhältnis zum Arm aber deutlich kleiner ausgeführt. Das Beispiel 12)* O. Kairo CG 25750, recto findet seine Übereinstimmung vor allem mit 08) O. Berlin P. 14353.

Die beiden Hieratogramme aus der Hand des *'Imn-ms* erscheinen insgesamt recht schmal, dazu noch in einem Fall in Ligatur mit vorausgehender *m*-Eule. Ebenso schmal ist auch die Ausführung durch den unbekannten Schreiber der Berliner Briefe, der den unteren Querstrich allerdings mit einem Ausstrich versieht.

Eine der auffälligsten Merkmale der Handschrift des *Nḫt-Sbk* ist die Gestaltung der Ligatur mit dem in die Breite gezogenen, wellenförmigen oberen Bereich (ein um 90 Grad nach links gedrehtes Hieratogramm der Eule) und der allgemein eher bogenzügigen Strichführung. Hiervon unterscheiden sich allerdings die Schreibungen im Imperativ , die deutlich weniger ausgeprägt und zickzackförmiger sind.

(i)

M33(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f:

01): in: 3; in: 6. 02): in: vso 2. 03): in: rto 1; in: rto 4; in: rto 5. 05): in: 1; in: 2. 06): in: 2. 07): in: rto 1; in: rto 2. 08): in: rto 1; in: vso 2. 09): in: rto 2; in: rto 6. 21): in: 3. 36): in: (sic) 3; in: 9.

'Imn-ms:

01): in: 1; in: 1; in: 5; in: 5; in: 9. 02): in: 1; in: 5. 03): in: rto 1; in: rto 2. 04): in: rto 1; in: rto 2.

Nḫt-Sbk:

01): in: rto 7; in: rto 7; in: rto 9; in: rto 10; in: rto 10. 02): in: rto 2; in: rto 4; in: rto 7; in: vso 3. 04): in: rto 2; in: rto 4; in: rto b 2; in: vso c 4.

Verfasser unbekannt:

01): in: 2; in: 4. 02): in: rto 1; in: rto 5. 03): in: 1; in: 3; in: 4; in: 5–6; in: 6.

Vier hieratische Handschriften, vier verschiedene Arten den sitzenden Mann mit Hand am Mund zu schreiben. Das Hieratogramm besteht in seiner ausführlichen Form (Wimmer, Typ a)[108] aus einem Grundstrich für den Körper; die beiden Arme sind in einer schräg liegenden, gespiegelten „S"-Form wiedergegeben, das aufgestellte Bein der knieenden Figur als ein Strich oder Tupfer. *M33(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* führt den Grundstrich in einigen Beispielen etwas länger, mit einem leichten Bogen nach rechts im

107 WIMMER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 130.

108 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 10.

oberen Bereich und einem kleinen Ausstrich nach rechts aus. Die Bögen des gespiegelten „S“ sind recht gerundet, der untere kann dabei etwas größer sein. Die obere Schleife startet auf dem Grundstrich, die untere endet in der Regel auf diesem. Das vordere Bein sitzt als Tupfer, Welle oder kleiner Strich vor der Form oder tangiert sie. Nur 06) O. Berlin P. 14684, recto 2 und 36) O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607, 9 zeigen eine andere, etwas einfachere Ausführung des Zeichens von Typ b. Die Briefe 11)* O. BM EA 50723, 12)* O. Kairo CG 25750, recto und 13)* P. DeM 13, recto können mangels Belege leider nicht für den Vergleich herangezogen werden. Die Kurzform Typ c, bestehend aus einem oben gegabelten Grundstrich, der unten nach rechts ausstreicht, ist für *M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f*s Handschrift bislang nicht nachgewiesen.

'Imn-ms dagegen zieht einen geraden Grundstrich. Die obere Schleife für den oberen Arm ist tendenziell etwas größer als die untere. Das Bein steht in Form einer Welle vor dem Zeichen. Die Kurzform findet bei *'Imn-ms* meist in Kombination mit dem Schilfblatt für das „i“-Augment Verwendung, aber nicht nur, wie die Beispiele zeigen. Andersherum schreibt *'Imn-ms* dieses Präfix auch mit der ausführlichen Form, ein System ist nicht zu erkennen.

Ein ähnlicher Sachverhalt liegt auch bei *Nḫt-Sbk* vor, der Typ c im „i“-Augment bzw. in Kombination mit dem Schilfblatt verwendet, aber nicht nur dort; siehe 02) P. DeM 5, verso 3 und 04) P. DeM 22, recto b 2. Für die ausführliche Variante schreibt auch er den Grundstrich länger, der entweder gerade ist oder in einem leichten Bogen nach links endet. Die obere Schleife des gespiegelten „S“ ist schmal aber groß, die untere deutlich kleiner, diese reicht auch nicht in allen Fällen bis zum Grundstrich. Das Bein steht als Strich oder Welle vor dem Zeichen.

Der uns unbekannte Schreiber der Berliner Briefe zeigt auch hier ein vertrautes Element seiner Handschrift, denn der Grundstrich kann leicht gebogen sein und weist einen deutlichen Ausstrich nach rechts auf. Die Schleife, die den oberen Arm wiedergibt, reicht in den meisten Fällen nicht bis zum Grundstrich im Gegensatz zur unteren. Auch hier sitzt das Bein in Form einer Welle oder eines Tupfers vor dem Zeichen bzw. bildet die Verlängerung der unteren Schlaufe. Für die Interjektion kommen in 03) O. Berlin P. 10627 die Kurzformen Typ b und c zum Einsatz.

(j) + Varianten

M33(.n=i)-nḫt=f:

01): 3; 4; 5. 02): vso 3; vso 6. 03): vso 2; vso 5. 04): in: 4; 5; 7. 05): 3; 3. 07): in: rto 4. 09): in: rto 1; rto 4; vso 2. 11)*: in: 4; in: [ ] 5. 13)*: in: 3. 36): 3; 4; 6.

'Imn-ms:

01): 1; 2; 2; 6; 7. 03): rto 2; vso 2. 04): [ ] rto 6.

Nḫt-Sbk:

01): rto 4; rto 6. 02): rto 2; rto 5; vso 2; vso 3. 03): rto 1; rto 1; rto 3; rto 7. 04): vso 1; vso b 2; vso b 4.

Verfasser unbekannt:

01): 5; 6; 7; 8. 02): rto 3. 03): 2; 3; 3; 9.

Die *p3*-Pronomina-Gruppe wird von einigen Autorinnen und Autoren herangezogen, um die Möglichkeiten bzw. Unmöglichkeiten der Handschriftenvergleichung in hieratischen Texten zu demonstrieren.[109] An dieser

109 J.J. JANSSEN, „On Style in Egyptian Handwriting“, *JEA* 73 (1987), S. 161–167; SWEENEY, „Friendship and Frustration“, *JEA* 84, S. 101–102; DONKER VAN HEEL – VAN DEN BERG, „A Scribe's

Stelle soll nicht näher auf deren Schlussfolgerungen eingegangen werden, denn wie man auf einem Blick sieht, kann die Varianz innerhalb einer Handschrift sehr groß sein, so dass eine Schreibung genauso gut für oder gegen einen Verfasser sprechen könnte, wollte man diese Gruppe alleine betrachten. Es gibt sicherlich andere Zeichengruppen, die für einen Vergleich aussagekräftiger sind. Dennoch finden wir auch hier einige Elemente, die das Gesamtbild der vier Handschriften abrunden.

Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 145 unterscheidet sinnvoll nach der Gestaltung der landenden Spießente , die als großer nach rechts geöffneter Winkel geschrieben ist, dessen unterer Schenkel in einen mehr oder weniger ausgeprägten Ausstrich enden kann. Der Ansatz des oberen Schenkels besteht aus einem von links kommenden Anstrich (Typ a), aus einem „T"-Strich (Typ b) bzw. ist ohne weiteren Anstrich (Typ c) geformt. Typ d, eine gabelförmige Gestaltung, ist in den Beispielen hier nicht vertreten. Wimmers tangierende Untertypen werden nicht weiter beachtet.

In den Briefen des *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* treten wie zu erwarten verschiedene Varianten auf, diese auch innerhalb eines Textes wie Typ a und b in 01) P. DeM 9, 03) P. DeM 11, 09) O. Ashmolean Museum HO 273, 11)* O. BM EA 50723 und 36) O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607. Der zum Teil gebogene Ausstrich des unteren Schenkels kann dabei sehr ausgeprägt sein. Nicht vertreten ist die einfache Form ohne besonderen Anstrich (Typ c), die man in den Texten des *ʾImn-ms* neben Typ a dagegen häufig findet. Der untere Schenkel streicht bei diesem nur in 04) P. DeM 18 deutlich aus. Auch in den Texten des unbekannten Briefeschreibers sind Typ a und b vertreten. Im Gegensatz zu *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* kann der untere Schenkel des Winkels bei ihm dabei auch deutlich nach unten gewölbt sein und bogenförmig auslaufen.

In der großzügigen Handschrift des *Nḫt-Sbk* liegt ausschließlich Typ a mit Ausstrich vor. Auffällig hier ist die Gestaltung des Flügels, der bei 02) P. DeM 5 in drei Beispielen in Ligatur mit geht, während der zweite Flügel als Strich unverbunden danebensteht. Die Gruppe reicht weit über die Oberlänge hinaus. Eine ausgeprägte Gabelung zeigen die Flügel in zwei Beispielen auf 04) P. DeM 22.

Die Flügel der Spießente werden von *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* als gegabelter und teils leicht gebogener Strich geschrieben, eine reduzierte Form findet sich nur bei 05) O. BTdK 714, recto und 36) O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607. liegt hier in der hohen Form mit Welle bzw. „Fuß" Typ b vor, ebenso auch in den hohen bzw. niedrigen „z"-Formen Typ c und d.[110] Nur in dem kursiver geschriebenen Brief 05) O. BTdK 714, recto ist zu einem Strich reduziert. Die Flügel von tangieren gelegentlich . In der Handschrift des *ʾImn-ms* besteht diese Gruppe aus einem teils gebogenen Schrägstrich, der rechts auf einen kurzen Strich bzw. Bogen trifft.

Neben der auffälligen Schreibung auf 02) P. DeM 5 findet sich bei *Nḫt-Sbk* die niedrige „z"-Form für sowie die zu einem Strich reduzierte Variante. Auch die Flügel von sind dann zu einem Strich reduziert oder in leicht gegabelter Form wie bei *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* bogenförmig vor oder über und tangieren dieses Zeichen zum Teil. Beim Verfasser der Berliner Ostraka liegt vor allem die niedrige „z"-Form Typ d für vor. Die Flügel der Spießente stehen gabelförmig vor oder über und können das Zeichen berühren.

An dieser Stelle soll auf eine kleine orthographische Besonderheit hingewiesen werden, die drei Briefe aus der Hand des *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* mit beiden Namensschreibungen betrifft: In der Phrase *hꜣb pw r rdỉ.t rḫ pꜣy=ỉ nb* „Das ist ein Brief, um wissen zu lassen meinen Herren" von 04) O. BTdK 712, recto 3–4, 11)* O. BM EA 50723, 3 und 13)* P. DeM 13, recto 3 bzw. auch *ky swḏꜣ-ib n pꜣy=ỉ nb* „Eine weitere Mitteilung für meinen Herren" (O. BM EA 50723, 3–4) setzt unser Schreiber das Suffix der 1. Pers. sg. nicht direkt hinter das Possessivpronomen als , er schreibt den sitzenden Mann auch nicht über den *nb*-Korb – nein, wie bei seinem eigenen Namen vertauscht er zwei Zeichen und setzt über bzw. bei 04) O. BTdK 712, recto 4 über das nachfolgende Relativpronomen :[111]

04) O. BTdK 712, rto 4;

11)* O. BM EA 50723 4;

13)* P. DeM 13, rto 3.

Ganz singulär ist diese Vertauschung allerdings nicht, mit Hilfe der *Deir el-Medina Database* bin ich auf ein paar

Cache from the Valley of Queens?", in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millenium AD*, S. 11–13 und besonders ausführlich zuletzt Miyanishi, *Palaeographical Study*, S. 19–65.

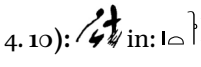
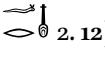
110 Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 124.

111 Alternativ könnte man auch vermuten, dass *Mꜣꜣ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* den sitzenden Mann ganz vergessen hat und hier zu lesen ist. Die letzte Gruppe würde gut in das Spektrum seiner Schreibungen für *r-nty* passen, siehe (f).

weitere Abweichungen dieser Art für *pꜣy=i nb* „meinen Herren“ gestoßen.[112]

(k)

Mꜣꜣ(.n=i)-nḫt=f:

04): 2. 09): in: rto 1; rto 4. 10): in: 2. 12)*: in: 2. 36): in:  2; in:  9; 10.

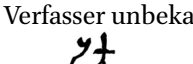
ʾImn-ms:

02): in: vso 3. 04): in: rto 5.

Nḫt-Sbk:

01): rto 11; rto 12; vso 7. 02): rto 5; vso 3. 03) in: vso 2.

Verfasser unbekannt:

01): in:  1; 10. 02): in: rto 1; in: rto 6; vso 2.

Die acht Beispiele der hieratischen Schreibung aus fünf Briefen des *Mꜣꜣ(.n=i)-nḫt=f* weisen eine gewisse Varianz auf. deckt dabei in etwa das Spektrum Wimmer, Typ a, b und c ab.[113] Der z.T. lange Grundstrich kann sowohl in einem oben offenen Kreis auslaufen als auch in einem Bogen, Ausstrich oder einer Welle. Der Querstrich ist kurz, befindet sich eher im mittleren Bereich des Grundstrichs und kann leicht nach rechts oben verlaufen. Der Schlangenkörper und der obere Schenkel des Winkels für sind in etwa parallel, der Winkel weist zudem einen Ausstrich auf. Der Kopf der Hornviper ist gabelförmig oder in Form einer Verdickung wiedergegeben, ihr Körper endet in etwa auf der Grundlinie oder leicht darüber.

ʾImn-ms, dessen Handschrift eher kursiv ist und mit vielen Ligaturen versehen, schreibt die Zeichengruppe *nfr* erstaunlich sorgfältig. ist von Typ a, der Kreis dabei rund und geschlossen, der Mittelquerstrich weist eine leichte Schräge nach rechts oben auf. Die Hornviper ist als kurzer, gebogener Strich mit gabelförmigen Kopf geschrieben; der untere Schenkel des Winkels für endet in einem Beispiel in einem ausgeprägten Ausstrich, im anderen nicht.

Von der sechs Beispielen aus der Hand des *Nḫt-Sbk* ist nur einmal von Typ a, die anderen fünf sind von Typ c, bei dem der Grundstrich in einem Bogen oder Strich nach rechts ausläuft. Der Querstrich kann hier etwas länger sein und rechts einen Ausstrich aufweisen, der bis zum Grundstrich reichen kann. Die Schlange ist variantenreich, denn ihr Körper kann kurz oder länger sein, gerade oder gebogen und ihr Kopf ist mit einer Gabelung versehen, als Tupfer markiert oder ohne weitere Ausformung. Das darunter sitzende weist einen z.T. sehr ausgeprägten Ausstrich auf.

Wieder anders führt der Schreiber der Berliner Ostraka die Gruppe aus: ist auch hier von Typ a – im Namen *Nfr-ḥtp* bei 01) O. Berlin P. 10628 und 02) O. Berlin P. 10630 endet der Grundstrich in einem länglichen Oval, sonst eher kreisförmig. Auch die Viper ist im Namen des Adressaten elaborierter geschrieben, denn nur hier ist sie mit den beiden Hörnern ausgestattet.[114] Ihr Körper macht unterhalb des Kopfes einen Bogen und verläuft dann eher senkrecht nach unten. In den anderen drei Beispielen ist die Form dagegen gerundeter. ist auch hier der nach rechts geöffnete Winkel mit oder ohne Ausstrich und nicht ganz so spitz in der Ausformung wie in den Handschriften des *Mꜣꜣ(.n=i)-nḫt=f* und des *Nḫt-Sbk*.

(l)

Mꜣꜣ(.n=i)-nḫt=f:

06): 3. 08): rto 3. 09): rto 4.

112 Vor allem bei den kurzen Orakelfragen tritt diese Vertauschung in der Anrufung *pꜣy=i nb nfr* „Mein guter Herr!“ gelegentlich auf, vgl. O. DeM 805, 1; O. IFAO AG 51, 1; O. IFAO 850, 1 und O. IFAO 1396, 1.

113 WIMMER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 118.

114 Aber Achtung, der Name *Nfr-ḥtp* ist jeweils in der ersten Zeile genannt, die von vielen Schreibern allgemein sorgfältiger ausgeführt wird als die folgenden.

ʾImn-ms:

02): 4. 04): rto 5.

Nḫt-Sbk:

01): rto 5. 02): rto 1. 03): rto 3.

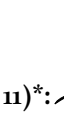
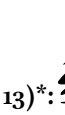
Verfasser unbekannt:

01): 3. 02): rto 2. 03): 2.

Der Korb V30 weist in der Phrase *r ʿ nb* „jeden Tag/täglich“, Bestandteil des ausführlichen Briefformulars in Form von z.B. „NN grüßt NN, in Leben, Heil und Gesundheit, in der Gunst des Amun-Rasonter, Deines guten Herrn, täglich“, in der Regel die geschlossene Schreibung von Wimmer, Typ a auf,[115] so auch bei den Beispielen der vier hier aufgeführten Handschriften. *ʾImn-ms* und *Nḫt-Sbk* schreiben in anderem Kontext ausschließlich in der oben offenen Form (Typ b), *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* verwendet beide. So fällt bei den hier gezeigten Beispielen vor allem die unterschiedliche Ausführung der Innenzeichnung des *nb*-Korbs auf: *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* setzt einen Punkt, *ʾImn-ms* einen breiteren Tupfer, *Nḫt-Sbk* einen waagerechten Strich und der Verfasser der Berliner Briefe einen Haken. Die Sonnenscheibe wird durch einen Kreis gebildet, der bei *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* unten offen ist und einen Ausstrich aufweist (Typ b). Bei *Nḫt-Sbk* ist der Kreis einmal unten und einmal auch oben offen, an der unteren Öffnung sitzt ein separater Strich; das dritte Beispiel ist eher „s“-förmig. Und bei dem unbekannten Schreiber sitzt dieser Strich eher rechts am Kreis. Der Determinativstrich befindet sich bei allen vier Handschriften in der Regel leicht gebogen über dem linken Ende des Korbes.

(m)

Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f:

04): 1. 10): 1. 11)*: 1. 13)*:  1. 21): 1. 36)  2.

Im Brief 36) O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607 schreibt *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* vermutlich einen *ỉm.y-r ḥmww.w* „Vorsteher der Handwerker“ an. Auch wenn die Stelle aufgrund von Abrieb und Verschmutzung schlecht lesbar ist, kann man zu Beginn der Z. 2 gut das hohe Hieratogramm erkennen, das große Ähnlichkeit mit der so typischen Schreibweise von mit dem langgezogenen „Hals“ aus der Hand des *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* – sowohl mit als auch mit geschrieben! – aufweist. Diese spezielle Variante ist ein weiteres starkes Indiz, dass es sich hier um nur eine Person handeln kann. Leider ist diese Ligatur in den Vergleichsgruppen des *ʾImn-ms*, des *Nḫt-Sbk* und des Verfassers der Berliner Ostraka nicht belegt, doch weder die Beispiele bei WIMMER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 132 noch bei MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2, S. 64, Nr. 13 zeigen eine ähnliche Gestaltung.

(n)

Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f:

01): 2. 04): 2. 11)*: 1. 21): 1. 36): 7(?).

Auch der Titel *ṯɜty* „Wesir“ ist in den Vergleichsgruppen nicht enthalten, soll hier aber aufgeführt werden, da die Lesung in 36) O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607, 7 nicht ganz sicher ist. Das Küken G47 weist ähnliche Merkmale auf, wie die anderen Hieratogramme aus der Hand des *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* in der Grundform von Wimmer, Typ a:[116] Der Körper des Vogels ist durch einen Bogen für den Kopf und einen daran anschließenden langen und leicht rechtsschrägen Strich wiedergegeben, der unten in einem kleinen Ausstrich nach rechts (für das linke Bein) endet. Das rechte Bein sitzt als hoch angebrachter Abstrich oder Welle am Körper. Die Flügel werden durch einen hier langen und hoch angesetzten Querstrich markiert, der leicht nach rechts oben führt. Der Querstrich ist so lang, dass er das nachfolgende vom Determinativstrich trennt. Auch hier kann 11)* im Zeichenspektrum des *Mɜɜ(.n=ỉ)-nḫt=f* geschrieben mit untergebracht werden.

115 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 326.

116 WIMMER, *op. cit.*, 2, S. 149.

(0)

Mȝȝ(*.nꜣi*)*-nḫt=f*:

01): in: 6; in: 7. 02): in: rto 7; in: vso 2; in: vso 11; in: Fragment vso. 03): in: rto 4; in: vso 3. 07): in: rto 7.

ʾImn-ms:

01): in: 4; in: 7.

Nḫt-Sbk:

02): in: rto 7. 03): in: rto 4.

Verfasser unbekannt:

01): in: 5. 02): in: rto 3; 03): in: 10.

Ebenfalls schwer lesbar ist die Gruppe vor *bnr* in 36) O. Ashmolean Museum HO 607, 8. Ob man hier eine verunglückte Form von „Wasserträger“ lesen kann? soll trotz dieser Unsicherheit diskutiert werden, denn die Zeichenkombination eignet sich ebenfalls gut als Indikator für die Analyse hieratischer Handschriften. Auch in diesem Fall: Vier Handschriften, vier verschiedene Arten diese Gruppe zu schreiben. Der *nw*-Topf ist bei allen Beispielen als mehr oder weniger waagerechter Firstquerstrich gezogen. In der Handschrift des *Mȝȝ*(*.nꜣi*)*-nḫt=f* kann dieser recht lang sein. An seinem rechten Ende setzen die beiden Striche für die Beine an, der linke, im gleichen Zug geschrieben, knickt winkelig ab und läuft in einem Bogen oder zumindest in einer kleinen Welle aus. Der Strich, der das recht Bein wiedergibt, ist gerader und läuft nur in einigen Beispielen in einer Welle aus. Da der Firstquerstrich recht ausgeprägt sein kann, liegt der optische Schwerpunkt bei einigen Hieratogrammen weiter links, was durchaus als Charakteristikum für *Mȝȝ*(*.nꜣi*)*-nḫt=f*s Handschrift gelten kann. Der Basisquerstrich für ist mindestens so breit wie das darübersitzende Zeichen.

Bei den beiden Beispielen aus der Hand des *ʾImn-ms* knickt der Strich für das linke Bein in einem Zug und in einem spitzeren Winkel vom Firstquerstrich ab und beschreibt dann einen Bogen. Das rechte Bein ist etwas unterhalb des Querstrichs und ebenfalls bogenförmig an das linke Bein angesetzt. sitzt als kurzer Strich und etwas nach rechts versetzt unter dem Zeichen. Bei *Nḫt-Sbk* sind Firstquerstrich und der Bogen für das linke Bein wie bei *ʾImn-ms* ausgeführt, der nur unten gebogene Strich für das rechte Bein tangiert diese aber nicht. Die Variante mit freistehendem rechten Bein ist Wimmer, Typ b, im Gegensatz zu allen anderen Beispielen hier, die von Typ a sind.[117] sitzt auch als kurzer Strich und bei 02) P. DeM 5 etwas nach rechts versetzt unter dem Zeichen. Ein ähnlicher Aufbau findet sich auch bei dem unbekannten Verfasser der Briefe an *Nfr-ḥtp* und *Nḫw-m-Mw.t*: Der Bogen für das linke Bein führt etwas gerundeter von einem kürzeren und leicht nach oben gewölbten Firstquerstrich weg, das rechte Bein setzt ebenfalls bogenförmig etwas tiefer an das linke an und beschreibt einen ausgeprägten Bogen. Der Basisquerstrich für hat die Breite des oberen Zeichens und weist jeweils einen kleinen Ausstrich auf.

Diese Gegenüberstellung ließe sich mit zahlreichen weiteren Einzelzeichen, Gruppen, Wörtern und Phrasen fortsetzen. Die Unterscheidungsmerkmale sind dabei selbstverständlich nicht immer so offensichtlich wie bei der hier diskutierten Auswahl. Manchmal liegen sie im Detail wie dem kleinen Haken, in den der Strich für den Henkel des Korbes beim unbekannten Schreiber der Berliner Briefe häufig ausstreicht: z.B. 01) O. Berlin P. 10628 9 oder 03) O. Berlin P. 10627 1.

Ebenso sollte auf die Ansatzhöhe bzw. den Ansatzwinkel des kleinen Schrägstrichs an den Grundstrich in den Hieratogrammen zu geachtet werden, bzw. auf eine mögliche Änderung des Schreibflusses, wenn geschrieben wird. Auch die eingedrehte Spirale für (Wimmer, Typ b/ba)[118] wird von verschiedenen Schreibern unterschiedlich ausgeformt: Mal ist sie rund oder oval bis „brezelförmig“, mal oben offen oder geschlossen, mal knickt der innere Bogen ab, mal ist er gerundet; er kann die Spirale schneiden oder auf dem unteren Bogen enden. In manchen Handschriften bleibt das Hieratogramm in Kombination mit einem anderen ein Einzelzeichen, in anderen wird es in Ligatur geschrieben. Überhaupt kann der Einsatz von Ligaturen ebenfalls auf Vorlieben

117 Wimmer, *op. cit.* 2, S. 347.
118 Wimmer, *op. cit.* 2, S. 396.

eines Schreibers hinweisen. Werden nur bestimmte Kombination in einem Zug geschrieben? Oder finden wir Zeichengruppen in Ligatur nur in bestimmten Wörtern, in anderen dagegen nicht? Eine ausführliche individuelle Paläographie, in der das Hieratogramm zum einen in der Gruppe abgebildet ist, zum anderen im (hieroglyphischen) Kontext des Wortes oder einer Phrase, verschafft einen schnellen Überblick für weitere Untersuchungen.

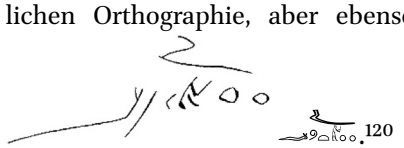
Auf das Layout, das Schriftbild, die Größe der Schrift und den Zeilenabstand im Verhältnis zur Größe des Texträgers oder die Strichbeschaffenheit wurde hier darüberhinaus gar nicht eingegangen. Auch diese sowie weitere Parameter spielen bei der Identifizierung einer Handschrift eine Rolle, ebenso orthographische Eigenheiten oder – gerade bei nicht-professionellen Schreibern – ein vielleicht eingeschränkteres Vokabular. Verschiedene Indizien also, die sich im Idealfall zu einem aussagekräftigen Gesamtbild zusammensetzen.

Mit diesem kleinen paläographischen Streifzug durch die vier Handschriften des *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f*, des *ʾImn-ms*, des *Nḫt-Sbk* und des Verfassers der drei Briefe aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Berlin soll die Bedeutung umfangreicher individueller Paläographien zu verschiedenen Schreiberhänden im Allgemeinen und für die schreibaktiven Bewohner von Deir el-Medine im Besonderen verdeutlicht werden. Je zahlreicher die Paläographien (Man denke nur an die hier bereits erwähnten Schreiber *ʾImn-nḫt* [v] und *Ḏḥwtj-ms* [ii], aber auch die Handschrift des Schreibers *Qn-ḥr-ḫpš=f* [i] aus der 19. Dynastie hat viele Besonderheiten zu bieten!), desto vielfältiger und detaillierter das Vergleichsmaterial und desto eher wird es möglich sein, auch anonyme Handschriften einzuordnen.

Im vorliegenden Fall konnte zudem bewiesen werden, dass die Briefe des *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* mit dem ersten Namensbestandteil = „*M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* (iii)“ und die des *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* beginnend mit = „*M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* (iv)“ von ein und derselben Person geschrieben wurden, nämlich von *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* (iii), dem Sohn des *Ḥr-m-Nwn* (i) und der *Nỉw.t-nḫt.tỉ* (i). Dieses Ergebnis ist nicht ganz überraschend, denn es wird auch durch Texte gestützt, die weitere Familienmitglieder nennen. So bezeichnet sich *ʾImn-nḫt* (xxvi) in dem bereits oben erwähnten Kolophon des P. Chester Beatty 3 als Sohn des *Ḥr-m-Nwn* (i) und führt danach seine Brüder *Nfr-ḥtp* (xvi), *Qn-ḥr-ḫpš=f* (iv) und *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* (iii) auf. Auch wenn die entsprechende Stelle recht zerstört ist, ist klar ersichtlich, dass der Name *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* mit geschrieben wird:

[119]

Mit Graffito 1283 verewigt sich *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* im Tal der Königinnen und nennt im Anschluss die gleichen Brüder *ʾImn-nḫt* (xxvi), *Qn-ḥr-ḫpš=f* (iv) und *Nfr-ḥtp* (xvi). Dabei schreibt er seinen Namen zwar in einer ungewöhnlichen Orthographie, aber ebenso eindeutig mit :

 [120]

Selber Vater, selbe Brüder, selbe Handschrift: *M33(.n=j)-nḫt=f* (iii) schrieb nicht nur gerne Briefe, er war auch ganz offensichtlich flexibel in der Orthographie seines Namens. Welche Variante er in welchem Kontext bevorzugte oder ob es überhaupt ein System gab, kann zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt nicht beantwortet werden. Diese Frage wird hoffentlich im Zuge der weiteren Bearbeitung geklärt.

Aber so oder so, die Arbeit an den verschiedenen Schreiberhänden aus Deir el-Medine schreitet voran, was sicherlich ganz in Koens – oder soll ich sagen Koenraads? – Sinne sein dürfte.

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119 P. BM EA 10683, recto Kol. x 22. Der vorangestellte Artikel *p3* ist allerdings diskussionswürdig. So ist er für DORN, „*M33-nḫt.w=f*, ein (?) einfacher Arbeiter, schreibt Briefe“, in: *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine*, S. 80 der Beleg, dass diese Schreibung „auf die Existenz einer weiteren Person gleichen Namens hin(weist), da dem Namen trotz Angabe der Filiation, *M33-nḫt.w=f* (iii) Sohn des *Ḥr-m-Nwn* (i), der Artikel *p3* vorangestellt ist, was ich als Betonung der angesprochenen Person und als Abgrenzung von einer anderen verstehe“.

120 J. ČERNÝ, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la Nécropole thébaine* (nos 1060 à 1405) (DFIFAO 9, Kairo, 1956), Taf. 46.

12

The Scribe of the Mat: an Update

Ben Haring

At the beginning of this millennium, a *Festschrift* was published in honour of Professor Jac. J. Janssen.* Among its many contributions was one with the title 'The Scribe of the Mat: From Agrarian Administration to Local Justice', written by the same hand as the present paper.[1] In the course of the years that followed, a substantial number of additional references to scribes of the mat have surfaced, and it seemed appropriate somehow to submit a follow-up to the original article for the present *Festschrift*. Koen may, of course, raise his eyebrows when confronted with a mere update, the more so since some of the references to be discussed reached me precisely through his own scholarly generosity. I can only hope to be forgiven for this, as well as for taking issue with him about some of these references (for which see section 5 below). Our long-time cooperation, especially in matters concerning Ramesside Deir el-Medina, is hopefully a sufficient basis for a mild if not overjoyed reception of this modest paper.

1 The Scribe of the Mat: Recapitulation

In the article in *Fs. Janssen* I collected the references to the titles 'scribe of the mat' (*sš n tmꜣ*) and 'chief scribe of the mat' (*ḫr.y sš.w n tmꜣ*) that were available to me at the time. On the basis of these references an attempt was made to establish the meaning of the titles, to describe the duties of those who held them, and to outline the historical development of these duties. The scribes are mentioned in monumental inscriptions, documentary papyri and ostraca from the early 12th to the early 26th Dynasty. Middle Kingdom sources suggest a close association of the scribes of the mat with agricultural land and the workforce, as well as with grain crops. Some documents (P. Harageh 3 and the Duties of the Vizier) specify their activities as measuring fields and establishing their boundaries. From the 18th Dynasty onward we see them as scribes of legal documents, which are not necessarily connected with agriculture nor fields. The juridical capacity of the scribe of the mat is already apparent from the title itself, the mat (*tmꜣ*) being a typical attribute of administrative and juridical authorities, human as well as divine.[2] Scribes of the mat were members of courts of justice, and as such the persons responsible for writing down the courts' findings. This was projected onto the divine world, in which Thoth is a judge as well as the 'scribe of the mat of the Ennead', and the 'scribe of the mat who establishes the record' (*sš n tmꜣ smn ꜥr.t*).[3]

New Kingdom texts mention the scribe of the mat as a member and scribe of temple courts of justice, and of the Great Court of Thebes, the administrative and judicial council of the vizier of Upper Egypt. It is in the latter capacity that we see the scribe of the mat in documentary papyri and ostraca from Deir el-Medina, mainly in connection with the supply of grain rations of the necropolis workmen, and the problems arising from the delays of those rations. Here also, the scribe assumed a juridical role when hearing, with other high officials, the workmen's complaints. It is in the same role of member of the Great Court that texts from the Third Intermediate Period and the 26th Dynasty mention the chief scribes of the mat, who were also priests in Theban temple cults.[4]

Ever since the appearance of the article in *Fs. Janssen*, its findings have been quoted in Egyptological literature, and have usually met with acceptance,[5] but some authors

* I wish to thank Elizabeth Bettles, Rob Demarée, Frédéric Payraudeau, and an anonymous peer reviewer for reading a draft of this paper, for their additional references, and for their suggestions for improvements.

1 B.J.J. Haring, 'The Scribe of the Mat: From Agrarian Administration to Local Justice', in: R.J. Demarée – A. Egberts (eds), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD* (EgUit 14, Leiden, 2000), pp. 129–158. In the same volume is a much-quoted pilot study of Ramesside hieratic palaeography by the dedicatee of the present *Festschrift* and Hans van den Berg: H. van den Berg – K. Donker van Heel, 'A Scribe's Cache from the Valley of Queens? The Palaeography of Documents from Deir el-Medina: Some Remarks', in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium*, pp. 9–49.

2 Haring, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 138–139.

3 See Haring, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–145, for the latter title. Thoth is called 'scribe of the mat of the Ennead' on a stela fragment from Deir el-Medina: B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935–1940)* (fifao 20/ii, Cairo, 1952), p. 17 – I wish to thank Rob Demarée for this additional reference.

4 Haring, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 150–153.

5 E.g. G. Dresbach, *Zur Verwaltung in der 20. Dynastie: das Wesirat* (ksg 9, Wiesbaden, 2012), pp. 57–59; K. Donker van Heel, *Djekhy & Son: Doing Business in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo – New York, 2012), pp. 112–113; F. Payraudeau, *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXIIe dynastie bubastite* (2 vols, BiÉtud

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favour different interpretations.[6] It will be seen that the references to be discussed in the present update support my previous understanding of the title, and extend our knowledge of the officials designated by it.

2 References from Middle Kingdom and/or Second Intermediate Period

Nine additional documents from these periods have come to my attention,[7] mentioning different men bearing the title 'scribe of the mat'. None of these seem to be identical with the scribes of the mat identified previously.[8]

Papyrus Berlin P. 10201c of the late 12th or 13th Dynasty mentions a scribe of the mat (name lost) in the very fragmentary copy of a letter.[9]

A scribe of the mat called Siamun is mentioned on stela BM EA 209, also dated to the 12th or 13th Dynasty.[10] Siamun was a brother of the stela owner, the scribe of the vizier Senusert, while another brother called Dituseneb was scribe of the treasury.

Stela Aswan 1310, dated to the early 13th Dynasty, mentions a scribe Iuy whose title might well be 'scribe of the mat', although the sign supposedly rendering *tmꜣ* is none too clear.[11] He is a son of the stela owner, whose title is *wḥm.w* 'herald', while his two brothers are a *šms.w* 'retainer' and a *sš n ḫnr.t wr* 'scribe of the great prison'. The title of his grandfather is '*ꜣṯ.w* of the town'.

Stela Louvre C 289, dated to the mid-13th Dynasty, mentions a scribe of the mat called Sobekhotep.[12] The stela owners are the great scribe of the vizier Iy-ankh and the overseer of things sealed (*ỉm.y-r ḫtm.t*) Wennefer. That is, again a scribe of the vizier and a treasury official. The titles of other officials on the stela mostly relate to priestly duties and temple administration but also include those of scribe of the overseer of things sealed and scribe of the great prison (*sš n ḫnr.t wr*).

Stela Marseille 24 of the 13th Dynasty very probably mentions a scribe of the mat called Amenhotep.[13] His

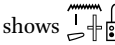
160, Cairo, 2014), pp. 191–195; R. JASNOW – J.G. MANNING – K. YAMAHANA – M. KRUTZSCH, *The Demotic and Hieratic Papyri in the Suzuki Collection of Tokai University, Japan* (Atlanta, GA, 2016), p. 11.

6 E.g. A. ILIN-TOMICH, 'Persons and Names of the Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom' (PNM, https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/5/info): *sš n ṯmꜣ* 'scribe of fields register'; Alain Zivie (see footnotes 27–29 below): *zš ṯmꜣt*, 'scribe du cadastre' – for the ghost word *tmꜣ*/*ṯmꜣ*(*.t*) 'cadaster' see HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, p. 137; S. ALLAM, 'Review Dresbach, *Zur Verwaltung in der 20. Dynastie*', *BiOr* 70 (2013), col. 408. Allam reverted to the older interpretation *sḫ n ḏmʿ* 'papyrus scribe' (sic; cf. HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 132–133), incorrectly referring to Alan H. Gardiner and Aristide Théodoridès, who both read *sš n tmꜣ*.

7 Six of which are mentioned by ILIN-TOMICH, PNM (see the previous footnote). Three of these are included in W.A. WARD, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), and H.G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index* (2nd edition, New York, 1997), both of whom failed to recognize the title. Three additional references (Louvre C 289, Marseille 24 and Louvre scarab, not in PNM) are due to Marcel Marée (email, 19 November, 2009). Dating to the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period in some cases depends on whether one wishes to see the 13th Dynasty as part of the one or the other period.

8 HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 139–141, 153–154.

9 U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, I (VOHD 19.1, Wiesbaden, 1971), p. 104 (reading *sš n mḏ.t*). Dating to the late 12th or 13th Dynasty by ILIN-TOMICH, PNM; reign of Amenemhat III according to Kaplony-Heckel.

10 See The British Museum Collection online: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA209 (accessed January, 2024). Provenance unknown. Previously published in E.A. WALLIS BUDGE, *Hieroglyphic Texts on Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, III (London, 1912), p. 10, pl. 45. Siamun's title was read as *sš n ỉm.y-ḫnt* by WARD, *Index*, p. 157, no. 1352 and as *sš n ỉm.y-wḏb*/*w* (?) by FISCHER, *Egyptian Titles*, p. 74. None of these titles are attested with certainty; see the following footnotes. The online photo shows  as read by Ward and Fischer and as suggested by Budge's drawing, with actually representing ; see the orthography of *sš n tmꜣ* in other Middle Kingdom sources, and the use of as a determinative of *tmꜣ* 'mat' on stela Louvre C 30: HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 136 (note 39 – the relevant line in K. SETHE, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches* [2nd edition, Leipzig, 1928], p. 64 is 11, not 10), pp. 153–154.

11 D. FRANKE, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine: Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich* (SAGA 9, Heidelberg, 1994), p. 71 and pl. 11 (left); L. HABACHI, *Elephantine* 4. *The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (ArchVer 33, Mainz, 1985), p. 99 (no. 80) and pl. 179: *sš n* 'scribe of the cadaster(?)'. Reading *sš n tmꜣ* by ILIN-TOMICH, PNM.

12 See Louvre Collections: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010028827# (accessed January, 2024). Provenance: Abydos. Previously known from E. LEDRAIN, *Les monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques*), I (Paris, 1879), pl. VIII, where the name is rendered incompletely. FISCHER, *Egyptian Titles*, p. 74, no. 1352 read , which is correct as shown by the online photo, with representing .

13 G. MASPERO, 'Monuments égyptiens du Musée de Marseille', *RecTrav* 13 (1890), pp. 114–115; J. CAPART, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens: cinquante planches phototypiques avec texte explicatif*, I (Brussels, 1902), p. 8, pl. XXXII. The title 'scribe of the mat' was not recognized at the time of these publications and its transcription is not quite clear, but strongly

family members included two scribes of the vizier and several elders of the portal (*smsw ḥ3y.t*).

Stela Rio de Janeiro 641 of the 13th Dynasty belongs to an 'inspector of scribes' called Sobekhotep. Two of his sons were scribes of the mat; one was called Wernef, the name of the other is unclear. The titles of other individuals mentioned on the stela are lost or not given.[14]

Middle Kingdom stela Cairo CG 20555 has three rows of family members, only a few of whom have titles.[15] Among them is probably a scribe of the mat called Amenemkhauf, together with several persons with a title I interpret as 'scribe of the board' (*sš n ḏ3ḏ3.t*).[16]

Stela Avignon A 28 of the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period mentions a scribe of the mat whose name is lost.[17] The stela mentions no other individuals with titles.

Finally, a scarab in the Louvre from the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period very probably mentions a scribe of the mat called Khentykhetyhotep.[18]

The titles of family members and associates of the scribes of the mat on some of the stelae above, including scribes of the vizier and treasury officials, suggest that the function of 'scribe of the mat' was amongst the highest state offices. The co-occurrence of the titles 'scribe of the mat' and 'scribe of the board' is reminiscent of the association of the scribe of the mat with *ḏ3ḏ3.t* 'boards', whether that be the board of the mat (*ḏ3ḏ3.t n.t tm3*) that is known from the Duties of the Vizier, or the board deciding on the fate of *corvée* workers of the great prison (*ḫnr.t wr*).[19] In the article in *Fs. Janssen*, I noted a significant correlation between the scribe of the mat and the great prison with its scribes in Middle Kingdom sources.[20] Stelae Aswan 1310 and Louvre C 289 also mention the latter category of scribes, thus providing additional support for the hypothetical involvement of Middle Kingdom 'scribes of the mat' in matters of the 'great prison'; thus they were very possibly connected with that institution's function as a source of (agricultural) labour.

3 Eighteenth Dynasty References: How Many Scribes of the Mat Ptahmose?

Among the seven scribes of the mat identified in 18th Dynasty texts in the article in *Fs. Janssen* there is one called Ptahmose, who is mentioned in P. Louvre 3170, column II, at the beginning of a list of bronze and textile items brought from his house or office.[21] The scribe Ptahmose in the list following it (columns II–III) may be the same person. At the time of writing the article, another 18th Dynasty papyrus probably mentioning a scribe of the mat Ptahmose had somehow escaped my attention; an oversight all the more regrettable as it shows the scribe of the mat performing what may be regarded as one of his core duties: drawing up a legal document.[22] The document in question is the papyrus itself, P. Munich Äs 809, also called P. Mook after its former owner.[23] The

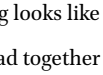
suggestive of . Just possibly another scribe of the mat called Ha-ankh-Neferhotep (?) occurs on the same stela.

14 K.A. KITCHEN, *Catálogo da coleção do Egito Antigo existente no Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro* (Warminster, 1990), pp. 51–53 and pls 31–32, no. 14.

15 H.O. LANGE – H. SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, II (CGC 20012–20780, Berlin, 1908), pp. 185–187.

16 The title 'scribe of the mat' is rendered on p. 186 as ; is here again for ; see note 10 above. The photo in vol. IV (Berlin, 1902), pl. XLIV, is too small to be of help, but the size of the stela (33 × 60 cm) makes it likely that its individual signs are very small and sketchy. 'Scribe of the board' is my understanding of , which I take to be an abbreviation of ; cf. WARD, *Index*, p. 167, nos 1453–1455. The abbreviated spelling was already noted but considered 'extremely doubtful' by F.Ll. GRIFFITH, *Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), p. 22.

17 A. MORET, 'Monuments égyptiens du Musée Calvet à Avignon (suite)', *RecTrav* 34 (1912), p. 12 and pl. V, no. 3.

18 G.T. MARTIN, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (Oxford, 1971), p. 97, no. 1242; pl. 24, no. 37. For the typological dating see MARTIN, *op. cit.*, p. 202. The writing looks like  as on the Cairo stela (see note 16); this was read together with the following as *sš n ỉm.y-ḫnt* by MARTIN, followed by WARD, *Index*, p. 157, no. 1352 but dismissed by FISCHER, *Egyptian Titles*, p. 74, who read *sš n ỉm.y-w* or *sš n ỉm.y-wḏb*, both with a question-mark. is actually the beginning of the proper name *Ḫnty-ḫty-ḥtp*.

19 See HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 138–140.

20 HARING, *op. cit.*, pp. 140–141.

21 HARING, *op. cit.*, p. 155, no. 13; W. SPIEGELBERG, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (ca. 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches* (Strasbourg, 1896), pp. 76–77, pl. XVII.

22 As in other 18th Dynasty legal papyri: P. Gurob II.1 and 2, P. Berlin P. 9785; see HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 143, 155.

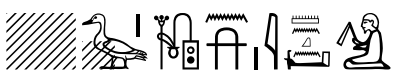
23 W. SPIEGELBERG, 'Ein Gerichtsprotokoll aus der Zeit Thutmosis' IV', *ZÄS* 63 (1928), pp. 105–115, pl. I (photo); S. ALLAM, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri. Transkriptionen aus der Nachlaß von J. Černý* (URAÄ 1, Tübingen, 1973), pls 102–103 (reproduction of J. Černý's provisional transcription; the papyrus is not included in the accompanying text volume, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*).

first of its two columns of text is largely lost, but it appears to record a dispute about produce or payments (*bȝk.w*) for Hathor of Gebelein, and a verdict pronounced by a judicial court (*ḫnb.t sḏm.y.w*) presided over by the viziers Ptahhotep and Hapu. The opponents were the treasury overseer Sobekhotep and the soldier Mery. The *bȝk.w* in question was probably a share of agricultural produce reserved for a temple of the goddess Hathor, from land perhaps cultivated by Mery.[24] Sobekhotep may have represented the relevant fiscal administration, and was found by the court to be in the right. Column II ends with a list of court members and a colophon, the first line of which (line 10) is much damaged but may be partly transcribed and translated as follows:[25]

'Made by the scribe [*of*] *the mat* Ptahmose, son of the [scribe] of the mat Amun[...] on this day (?)'

The supposed filiation is heavily damaged, but G39/sȝ 'son' was already suggested by Černý (only the base line of the sign is preserved), and the traces between it and following name would suit the title *sš n tmȝ*. The name of the supposed second scribe of the mat, the father of Ptahmose, was restored by Černý as Amen[emhat]. Indeed, a tiny trace beneath the lacuna after *'Imn* may belong to *m*, although the space available seems very small for the following *ḥȝ.t* + determinative. Too little remains of the text after *hrw pn* (?) to suggest a reconstruction. The title of another person is mentioned toward the end of the line (not transcribed here); it ends with *ʿry.t* 'gate' and is followed by the name Anhurmose in the next line. That line continues with saying that 'order was given to the chief retainer Tel to do the same'. Together, lines 10 and 11 of column II thus seem to say that the papyrus document we have was written by the scribe of the mat Ptahmose, and that two further persons were involved in finalizing the document or the court's procedure.

The precise date of P. Munich ÄS 809 is lost, but what remains of the dateline at the beginning of column I mentions King Thutmose IV, and reference is made in the text to earlier investigation under Thutmose III. The date of P. Louvre 3170 is uncertain, but Spiegelberg assigned it to the early 18th Dynasty on the basis of its palaeography and orthography.[26] It is therefore possible that both texts mention the same scribe of the mat Ptahmose, but the name Ptahmose was a very common one in the 18th Dynasty. Interestingly, there is a possible third 18th-Dynasty attestation of a scribe of the mat called Ptahmose, this one archaeological. Tomb Boubasteion II. X at Saqqara, excavated under the direction of Alain Zivie, belonged to one Ptahmose, whose father Qenamun was a scribe of the mat. No full publication of the tomb has appeared as yet, and the single available image of a relevant inscription in the tomb only gives the title and name of the father:[27]



In one publication Zivie merely inferred that Ptahmose himself was also scribe of the mat,[28] but stated this as a fact elsewhere.[29] It is impossible to check this with the data currently available. It would not be unusual for a son to inherit the office of his father. Looking again at the mention of Ptahmose in P. Munich ÄS 809, one might even be tempted to read the father's name there also as Qenamun (*Ḳn-ʾImn*), with the element qen/*ḳn* written after Amun/*ʾImn*, that is, with the latter in honorific transposition, as in the Bubasteion tomb.[30] As we have seen,

24 The text does not explicitly refer to land or agriculture, but mentions a register (*ỉp.w*, col. I line 5) in the context of a previous investigation of the matter. For *ỉp.w* as an agricultural document ('cadaster') see D. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt: Fiscal Vocabulary of the New Kingdom* (OBO 151, Fribourg – Boston, 1997), p. 167, note 483.

25 Column II line 10, on the basis of the photo in Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), pl. I, and Černý's transcription in Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 103. For similar colophons, see the papyri mentioned in note 22.

26 Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I.*, p. 76.

27 A. Zivie, 'Une « tombe des vignes » memphite', in: E. Warmenbol – V. Angenot (eds), *Thèbes aux 101 portes: mélanges à la mémoire de Roland Tefnin* (MonAeg 12, Turnhout, 2010), pp. 185–189, 223, pl. 47.

28 Zivie, *op. cit.*, p. 187: 'Il portait sans doute, comme son père (pl. 47), le titre de *zš ṯmȝt*, "scribe du cadastre".' For the supposed 'cadaster', see above, note 6.

29 A. Zivie, 'Un detour par Saqqara. Deir el-Médineh et la nécropole memphite', in: G. Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: la vie en Égypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 2003), p. 71; A. Zivie, 'Amenhotep III et l'Ouest de Memphis', in: L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis 'Enduring is the Perfection': Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14–15, 2008* (OLA 214, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2012), p. 436.

30 As happens more often in the writing of this name; see Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 334. 18.

Černý read the father's name in the Munich papyrus as Amenemhat/*'Imn-m-ḥ3.t*. If, instead,*'Imn* was followed by *ḳn*, the latter word may have been written with a single sign: , but it is doubtful if the base ('feet') of that sign would have extended beneath the line, as is suggested by the trace remaining.[31]

Tomb Bubasteion II. X was dated by Zivie to the reign of Amenhotep III on the basis of its style. The identification of the Ptahmoses mentioned in the tomb and in P. Munich ÄS 809 (and indeed in P. Louvre 3170) as one and the same person is therefore chronologically possible, but remains uncertain on the basis of the extant texts and of the state of publication of the Bubasteion tomb.[32] It is therefore impossible to be certain how many scribes of the mat called Ptahmose were living during the 18th Dynasty.

Two more Eighteenth Dynasty references should be added to those presented in *Fs. Janssen*: stelae Cairo JE 34583 and Bologna EG 1923.[33] The former mentions a scribe of the mat called Amenemhat, who may be identical with the owner of Theban Tomb 182; the latter stela mentions the scribes of the mat Amenhotep and his son Pennebu. Both stelae do not mention any other individuals with titles.

4 Ramesside References: Deir el-Medina

Six different names of scribes of the mat, all living during the 20th Dynasty, were retrieved previously from the papyri and ostraca of the Ramesside workmen of Deir el-Medina.[34] The scribe of the mat Hor is exceptionally well-attested, mainly as a consequence of the relatively high number of papyri surviving from the reign of Ramesses IX. A papyrus text kept in the Archeological Museum of Milan, and published in 2010, also mentions the scribe of the mat Hor,[35] as do recently published papyrus fragments in the Museo Egizio Turin, and ostracon MMA 09.184.703 + 09.184.728 of the Metropolitan Museum in New York.[36] The same person appears in unpublished ostracon MH 1985 of the Oriental Institute Museum of Chicago University,[37] that is if Hor's title, clearly written here as , is indeed an odd spelling of *sš n tmȝ*. The sign (Aa 2) rather invites the reading *wt* or *ḥsb*, but a scribal title including one of these words and with this spelling is otherwise unknown. What is more, the group after *sš* implies genitive *n* followed by a word starting with *t*. The solution to this orthographic conundrum is the similarity, in hieratic, of (Aa 2) and (V 19), with their confusion as a consequence.[38] Actual replacement of with in the title *sš n tmȝ* was so far only known from Third Intermediate Period sources,[39] and the present ostracon appears to be an early example of this practice, with even extended to the group usually read as *wt*. The text is dated to regnal year 8, very probably of Ramesses IX.

A more conventional spelling is found on the small fragment O. BTdK 610; however, the name that must have followed after the title is lost here.[40] This is one of the ostraca found among the remains of workmen's huts in the Valley of the Kings, and dated by Andreas Dorn towards the middle of the 20th Dynasty (Ramesses IV–VII), which

31 See the photo in SPIEGELBERG, 'Ein Gerichtsprotokoll', *ZÄS* 63, pl. I; compare in col. II lines 3, 4, 5, 8.

32 Zivie did not connect these sources when discussing tomb Bubasteion II. X, although he referred to P. Munich ÄS 809 in connection with Bubasteion tomb I. 3 of the standard-bearer Resh, in a much earlier discussion: A. ZIVIE, 'La tombe d'un officier de la XVIIIe dynastie à Saqqara', *RdÉ* 31 (1979), p. 147.

33 Both are mentioned by ILIN-TOMICH, PNM, and dated there to the 18th Dynasty, before Amenhotep IV. Stela Cairo JE 34583 is unpublished; PM I. 2, p. 618 (referred to by Ilin-Tomich) describes the owner of TT 182 as a 'true scribe of the mat'. Stela Bologna EG 1923: E. BRESCIANI, *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1985), pp. 58–59, no. 20; S. CURTO, *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale* (Bologna, 1961), pp. 76–77 and pl. 25, no. 40.

34 HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 146–150, 155–157, nos 19–27. The name *Pȝ-sr* (no. 22, O. Nicholson Museum R 97) should be corrected to *Pȝ-wr*.

35 P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40126 + 0.9.40128 verso II 4–5 (year 9 of Ramesses IX): R.J. DEMARÉE, 'Ramesside Administrative Papyri in the Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche di Milano', *JEOL* 42 (2010), p. 63 and 65, pls II–IIa.

36 Turin papyrus fragments CP18/003 + 006 recto 5 and CP18/007 recto 1; see the Museo Egizio Papyrus Database: https://collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it/en-GB/section/Papyrus-Database. Three more fragments mentioning Hor are as yet unpublished: CP144/005 recto, CP144/008 recto, CP144/019 recto. The Metropolitan Museum ostracon is also unpublished. I wish to thank Rob Demarée for bringing these texts to my attention.

37 Known to me through a photograph and a transcription by Rob Demarée; I wish to thank him here for bringing this ostracon to my attention.

38 HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 131–132.

39 HARING, *op. cit.*, p. 132, note 16: Golénischeff Onomasticon and statue Cairo JE 37878; the latter hieroglyphic.

40 A. DORN, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige: Ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie* (*ca. 1150 v. Chr.*) (AegHelv 23, Basel, 2011), p. 433, pls 484–486, 582–584.

means that the choice remains between many if not all of the known Deir el-Medina scribes of the mat.

Two papyrus fragments mention a scribe called Hermaat (*sš Ḥr-Mꜣʿ.t*),[41] who may be identical with the scribe of the mat of that name in P. Turin Cat. 2071/139 (year 14 of Ramesses IX).[42] Alternatively, he may be the scribe of the vizier with the same name, who is known from P. Turin Cat. 1881 (reign of Ramesses IX).[43] It is even possible that the same person used both titles: as a member of the Great Court of Thebes, which was chaired by the vizier of the south of Egypt, the scribe of the mat was in a sense a scribe of the latter.[44]

The additional references to scribes of the mat discussed in the previous paragraphs present them in familiar contexts. The relevant passage in the Milan papyrus relates how the necropolis scribe (*sš n pꜣ ḫr*) Hor and two watchmen (*wrš*) went to visit the scribe of the mat Hor in Thebes, hoping to receive grain rations from the latter. In O. MH 1985 the same scribe of the mat arrives together with a secretary (*sš šʿ.t*) called Merysakhmet with supplies for the right and left sides of the gang of workmen. One of the Turin fragments (CP15/037) mentions Hermaat in a necropolis journal entry of year 14 (without any doubt being the reign of Ramesses IX), with surrounding entries mentioning supplies of lamps and oil, inactivity of the workmen, and hunger, together painting a familiar picture of life at Deir el-Medina in the later 20th Dynasty.

The other fragments in the Turin collection merely mention Hor and Hermaat as belonging to the Great Court of Thebes. O. BTdK 610 is about a court session involving the scribe of the mat, possibly together with the high priest of Amun and the mayor of Thebes.[45] Supplies to the necropolis workmen, and the shortages in these supplies, were often the reasons for the scribe of the mat and other high officials to appear on the Theban West Bank. The judicial context suggested by O. BTdK 610 may well be connected with complaints of the workmen about insufficient provisioning, as is the arrival of the scribe of the mat Hor together with other officials to 'hear the statement of the gang' in ostracon MMA 09.184.703 + 09.184.728. Both incomplete texts are reminiscent of O. Nicholson Museum R. 97 of the mid-20th Dynasty, where these complaints are precisely the subject of an investigation by a high committee including the high priest of Amun, two royal butlers, two scribes of the mat, a deputy of the granary, and a *sem*-priest, who found the workmen justified.[46]

5 Third Intermediate Period and Later References

Texts from the Third Intermediate and Saite Periods mention a number of persons who held the title 'chief scribe of the mat' (*ḫr.y sš n tmꜣ*).[47] Most of these texts are inscriptions on statues and coffins, and provide no information on the status and activities of such officials, except for the fact that they also had priestly titles and duties. Only one papyrus from the 25th Dynasty mentions a chief scribe of the mat hearing a legal dispute together with the officials of the Great Court of Thebes.[48]

Six additional occurrences of the title 'chief scribe of the mat' have been recognized by Frédéric Payraudeau.[49] Five of them were members of the same family:[50] Amenhotep and his son Penmaat (A),[51] Penmaat's son Padiamunet, the latter's son Amenhotep, and a Nesamun, son of Amenhotep. The first four were priests of Montu, the fifth (Nesamun) was a priest of Amun. It seems likely that these men succeeded each other as chief scribes of the mat during the Theban 22nd Dynasty. By the end

41 Turin papyrus fragments CP15/035 recto and CP15/037 recto; see the Museo Egizio Papyrus Database: https://collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it/en-GB/section/Papyrus-Database. I wish to thank Rob Demarée for bringing these fragments to my attention.

42 Recto II 9: *KRI* VI, p. 642; ALLAM, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pls 122–123.

43 Recto II 11: *KRI* VI, p. 611.

44 HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, p. 149.

45 See DORN, *Arbeiterhütten*, p. 433, for the possible mention of the mayor Amenmose. 'King of the gods' (*nswt nṯr.w*) in the preceding line may be part of the high priest's title.

46 HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 146–148. For O. Nicholson Museum R. 97 see C. EYRE, 'A "Strike" Text from the Theban Necropolis', in: J. RUFFLE – G.A. GABALLA – K.A. KITCHEN (eds), *Orbis Aegyptiorum Speculum: Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), pp. 80–91.

47 HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 150–151, 157–158, nos 28–34.

48 P. Louvre E 3228 C; HARING, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

49 PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, pp. 191–195. Of the nine persons listed in his table (p. 193), three have already been included in HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 157 (nos 28–30): Nebnetjeru (ix), Penmaat (B), Djedkhonsuiufankh. For the alternative translation 'scribe du cadastre' suggested in PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, p. 191, cf. note 6 above.

50 The so-called 'Besenmut family', which also included Nebnetjeru (ix), Penmaat (B), and Djedkhonsuiufankh (see note 49). Their family relationships and titles can be established mainly on the basis of statues Cairo JE 37878 and Cairo CG 48617; see PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, p. 192, and H. DE MEULENAERE, 'La famille de Khonsoumès, un contemporain de Montouemhat', *Isimu* 2 (1999), pp. 393–399.

51 Amenhotep is referred to as the father of Penmaat in PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, p. 193; incorrectly as his son *ibid.*, p. 416 (document 19).

of the 25th Dynasty, the office seems to have passed to a different family, and was held by Nebnetjeru (viii).[52] According to an inscription on statue Cairo CG 717, he was the father-in-law of the statue-owner, Ankhpakhered son of Pashedmut. Both were priests of Amonrasonter among other religious capacities, but only Nebnetjeru appears to have combined his priestly duties with juridical ones: not only was he chief scribe of the mat, but also 'superior of the court' (*ꜥ n ḫnb.t*). The latter title, which was held previously by Penmaat (B) and Djedkhonsuiufankh, may indicate that they and Nebnetjeru acted as presidents of the court,[53] possibly representing the vizier in this capacity. None of these titles were held by Ankhpakhered according to the text on statue Cairo CG 717.

Payraudeau also recognized a scribe of the mat called Nebnetjeru on a cartonnage fragment excavated by James Quibell at the Ramesseum.[54] He seems to have been a member of the same family, since the same fragment mentions Ankhpakhered son of Pashedmut. According to Payraudeau this Nebnetjeru was a son of Ankhpakhered.[55] Indeed, although the relevant texts on the cartonnage fragment as preserved do not connect the two names directly, it stands to reason that Nebnetjeru, who is mentioned in a horizontal band on what must have been the front side of the cartonnage, was its owner, while Ankhpakhered and his father Pashedmut feature in a vertical side column as his ancestors. The *simplex* 'scribe of the mat' instead of the longer title 'chief scribe of the mat' on the cartonnage[56] would appear to be exceptional for post-New Kingdom Egypt, but may not be the single such reference (see below).

Although chief scribes of the mat called Nebnetjeru and Ankhpakhered are already known from the Third Intermediate Period and the 26th Dynasty,[57] and the scribal office may be expected to have passed down in the same families, the scribe of the mat Nebnetjeru and his son Ankhpakhered known from statue Cairo CG 717 do not seem to be identical with any of their aforementioned namesakes. The chief scribe of the mat Nebnetjeru who is known from coffin Cairo CG 41001 is dated before the middle of the 22nd Dynasty, about five generations earlier than the Nebnetjeru of statue Cairo CG 717.[58] The latter's son-in-law Ankhpakhered cannot be identical with the known scribe(s) of the mat of that name since the names of their relatives are different, and the only securely dated scribe of the mat Ankhpakhered lived at the end of the 25th and the beginning of the 26th Dynasty.[59]

A funerary stela from Abydos, the present whereabouts of which is unknown, mentions a scribe of the mat called Hory.[60] He was a great-grandfather of the stela owner, the *wab*-priest of Amun Harresnet. The stela has been ascribed to the New Kingdom in Porter & Moss, but the name of the stela owner is strongly suggestive of a (much) later date.[61] Importantly, the stela seems to present another possible attestation of the *simplex* 'scribe of the mat' after the New Kingdom.

The final references to be included in this paper are papyrological; that is, they are found in abnormal hieratic and early demotic papyrus documents.[62] As the reader is probably aware, such documents are foremost in Koen's area of expertise, and I have to thank him for all of the references to be discussed in this and the following paragraphs. The first is from P. Suzuki Collection h 1, a fragmentary grain account from the Third Intermediate Period.[63] The title is preceded here by the definite article *pꜣ*, hence the scribe may have remained anonymous – the few remaining traces after the title make it impossible to establish if a name followed. The editors do not supply a

52 Already discussed in F. PAYRAUDEAU, 'La statue Caire CG 717 et la famille de Ânkhpakhéred fils de Pashedmout', *RdÉ* 56 (2005), pp. 203–207. I am grateful to the author for sending me a draft of that article prior to its publication.

53 As stated by PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, p. 192.

54 J.E. QUIBELL – R.F.E. PAGET – A.A. PIRIE, *The Ramesseum and the Tomb of Ptah-Hetep* (ERA Memoir 2, London, 1898), pl. XXV, no. 23.

55 PAYRAUDEAU, 'La statue Caire CG 717', *RdÉ* 56, p. 205.

56 As read by PAYRAUDEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 205, note 21. The title is preceded by a small rectangular sign that does not resemble *ḥr.y*; perhaps read *p(ꜣ) sš n tmꜣ*?

57 HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 157–158, nos 28–34.

58 This is Nebnetjeru ix, possibly a contemporary of Osorkon II according to PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, p. 193; of Takelot I according to M.L. BIERBRIER, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster, 1975), 92; see also G. VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (VIAÄUW 3, BeitrÄg 1, Vienna, 1978), pp. 9–10; K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (2nd edition, Warminster, 1986), pp. 224–226.

59 For the one or two scribes of the mat Ankpakhered see the references in HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, p. 158.

60 A. MARIETTE, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris, 1880), p. 456, no. 1211. The title is rendered there by MARIETTE as ; there is no image of the original.

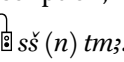
61 PM V, p. 264: 'N.K.'. The references for the name given by RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 249; 2, p. 378, are from the Late and Ptolemaic Period.

62 Two hieratic references from the Third Intermediate Period (a doubtful one in P. Reinhardt and a certain one in P. Louvre E 3228 C) were already discussed in HARING, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, p. 151.

63 Recto II, line x + 5; JASNOW et al., *Demotic and Hieratic Papyri*, pp. 10–11, pls 1–2.

Sign(s) following in P. Louvre E 7834, line 6. Facsimile from: Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts*, p. 274.	Sign(s) following in P. Turin Cat. 2118 recto 15 and Cat. 2120, line 37. Facsimiles from: Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts*, p. 275.

FIGURE 1 Scribal titles in P. Louvre E 7834, P. Turin Cat. 2118 and P. Turin Cat. 2120

hieroglyphic transcription; my understanding of the title is  *sš* (*n*) *tmꜣ*. This means that the indirect genitive *n* is missing here, and *tmꜣ* is spelled phonetically. The latter feature is so far unique among references that postdate the early 18th Dynasty, but at the same time it is a clear indication for the correct reading of the title. The context, also, seems an appropriate one for the scribe of the mat, if we think of his involvement in grain deliveries (or shortage) in Ramesside sources.[64] It is to be noted that we see here another example of the title 'scribe of the mat' instead of 'chief scribe of the mat'.

Several early demotic documents which have been suggested as mentioning scribes of the mat during the reign of Amasis must be discussed here as well, since these would extend the timespan for which such scribes are attested beyond the beginning of the 26th Dynasty. Four receipts for harvest tax from the years 31, 34 and 35 of Amasis mention a Petemestu, son of Harsiese, as the scribe who wrote the receipts. In his edition and discussion of the Louvre Eisenlohr papyri, Koen rendered the scribe's title as *sḫ ỉt* 'scribe of corn',[65] but later he came to the conclusion that it should rather be interpreted as 'scribe of the mat'.[66] A scribe with that title would indeed seem to be an appropriate official to write grain receipts – see the previous paragraph. The demotic writing of the title has *sḫ* followed by a sign or rather a ligature of signs as rendered in Table 1 (left). Reading *sḫ n tmꜣ* seems possible from a graphic point of view; the ligature then requires the hieroglyphic transcription , with reduced to a vertical stroke, and graphically connected to what appears to be a cross for at the end.

Koen noted the resemblance of the title in the Louvre papyri with a scribal title attested in two demotic papyri from the reign of Psamtik I in the Museo Egizio Turin, which were read as by Michel Malinine (see the Fig. 1, right).[67] The scribes thus designated were the receivers of a tithe in the context of the sale of fields. Indeed, presents itself as a possible graphic alternative to Malinine's . The context may be a fitting one for a scribe of the mat as far as the sale of fields is concerned, but also introduces something new: in both Turin papyri the scribe (who remains anonymous) is attached to the House of Amun. Although several of the more certain attestations of scribes of the mat after the New Kingdom show that they were also priests, no text yet known to me, from any period, connects the title explicitly with a temple. This temple affiliation may, of course, have come about through the combination of scribal and priestly duties mentioned in texts of the Third Intermediate Period. I gladly leave this matter to colleagues who are better versed in abnormal hieratic and early demotic documents, such as Koen, for further discussion.

6 Conclusion

The references discussed in this paper largely confirm the conclusions reached in my original analysis of the titles 'scribe of the mat' (*sš n tmꜣ*) and 'chief scribe of the mat' (*ḫr.y sš.w n tmꜣ*). The Middle Kingdom stelae in section 2 connect the scribe of the mat with officials of the great prison and of the treasury, as well as with scribes of the

64 Haring, in: *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, pp. 146–148.

65 P. Louvre E 7834 l. 6, 7835 l. 5, 7838 l. 6 and 7842 l. 3: K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis. Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot* (Dissertation, Leiden, 1995), pp. 170, 184, 187, 190, 274–275, pls XVIII A, XX A, XXI A, XXII A.

66 Donker van Heel, *Djekhy & Son*, p. 113 (no transcription suggested there). I am grateful to Koen for alerting me to this and the following references even before the publication of *Djekhy & Son*.

67 P. Turin Cat. 2118 recto 15 and 75; Cat. 2120, line 37; see M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique « anormal » et en démotique (XXVe–XXVIIe dynasties)*, I (BÉHÉ 300, Paris, 1953), pp. 58–59, 64–65, 69–70, 76–77; II (RAPH 18, Paris, 1983), pp. 23, 30, 37; Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts*, p. 275.

vizier and 'scribes of the board'. These titles, some of which reflect the same work environment of the scribe of the mat as seen in the article in *Fs. Janssen*, suggest that this scribe lived and worked amongst the highest state officials. The information given by 18th Dynasty P. Munich 809 and by the papyri and ostraca from Ramesside Deir el-Medina (sections 3–4) is entirely in agreement with that of similar documents discussed previously. They present the scribe of the mat as a member of a court of justice, a scribe of legal documents, and involved in necropolis workmen's supplies and problems connected with these supplies.

The priest and chief scribe of the mat Nebnetjeru of the 23rd Dynasty (section 5) was also superior of the court, and thus explicitly connected with jurisdiction. On the other hand, P. Suzuki Collection h 1 mentions a scribe of the mat in the context of grain accounts – a type of reference previously lacking for the Third Intermediate Period, and indicative of the scribe's responsibility for grain supplies also after the New Kingdom. Together with a funerary stela from Abydos and cartonnage from the Ramesseum it also testifies to the survival of the simple title 'scribe of the mat' after the New Kingdom, which was previously unrecognized. I am not entirely certain whether the scribes of the House of Amun receiving tithes in the reign of Psamtik and the scribes writing harvest tax receipts under Amasis were indeed scribes of the mat. Although the relevant papyri mention these scribes in contexts seemingly appropriate for scribes of the mat, the explicit connection of the supposed title 'scribe of the mat' to the House of Amun is unusual.

Thus, some of the references discussed on these pages confirm the picture presented in *Fs. Janssen*, while others provide some additional data without essentially altering the aforementioned picture, perhaps with the exception of the survival of the scribe of the mat next to the chief scribe of the mat after the New Kingdom. I hope that this paper pleases the dedicatee of the present *Festschrift*, and that it provides him with some useful food for thought.

13

P. Dresden 828 Recto 11–13

Friedhelm Hoffmann

Koen und ich kennen uns schon seit vielen Jahren. Obwohl sein Arbeitsschwerpunkt auf früheren Epochen liegt, hoffe ich, daß meine Miszelle, die ich mit den besten Wünschen zu Koens Pensionierung anläßlich seines 67. Geburtstags verbinde, dennoch willkommen ist, denn Koen hat Spaß an schwierigen Texten. Er hat zudem die Demotische Sommerschule 2023 in Leiden veranstaltet, auf der ich die hier behandelte Textstelle bereits mit Gewinn vorlegen konnte. Außerdem beschäftigt sich Koen viel mit den thebanischen Choachyten. Immerhin funerär und wahrscheinlich aus Theben ist auch P. Dresden 828, freilich aus römischer Zeit.

P. Dresden 828
Theben (?), röm. Zeit
TM 46283

P. Dresden 828, der schon 1855 als erster publizierte demotische funeräre Kurztext,[1] gehört zu jener römerzeitlichen Gruppe wohl überwiegend thebanischer[2] Texte, die weitgehend demselben Formular folgen, sich daher gut miteinander parallelisieren lassen und so trotz der mitunter schlimmen Schrift, in der Zeichenproportionen ungewohnt verzerrt sein können, ganz gut verstehen lassen.[3] Am Anfang der Texte steht stets der Wunsch *ʿnḫ by=f/s* oder *ʿnḫ pꜣy=f/s by* „Sein/Ihr Ba lebe[4]“, worauf weitere als Konjunktive formulierte Wünsche für den Verstorbenen bzw. die Verstorbene folgen, die ebenfalls in der Regel einem mehr oder weniger festen Formular folgen, das allerdings nicht alle Textzeugen in seiner Gänze benutzen. Schwierig kann es dann werden, wenn ein Text Sondergut hat. Das ist der Fall in P. Dresden Recto 11–13 bei einem Satz, der daher bisher weitgehend unverstanden geblieben ist.[5]

Brugsch, der in seiner demotischen Grammatik nur die Zeilen 1–7 übersetzt hat, gibt von dem ganzen Papyrus immerhin das folgende Faksimile,[6] das Vleeming reproduziert:[7]

1 H. Brugsch, *Grammaire démotique contenant les principes généraux de la langue et de l'écriture populaires des anciens égyptiens* (Berlin, 1855), Taf. x; F.D. Scalf, *Passports to Eternity: Formulaic Demotic Funerary Texts and the Final Phase of Egyptian Funerary Literature in Roman Egypt* (Dissertation, Chicago, 2014), S. 67 (online unter https://www.academia.edu/8334429/Passports_to_Eternity_Formulaic_Demotic_Funerary_Texts_and_the_Final_Phase_of_Egyptian_Funerary_Literature_in_Roman_Egypt_PhD_Dissertation_University_of_Chicago_2014). Zum Schicksal von P. Dresden 828 nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg – der Papyrus hat zwischenzeitlich schon die Inventarnummer 15829 der Berliner Papyrussammlung bekommen – s. J. Quaegebeur, „P. Brux Dem. E. 8258 une lettre de recommandation pour l'au-delà“, in: S. Israelit-Groll (Hg.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), 2, S. 776–795, dort S. 781 Fn. 12. Der Papyrus wird in *LÄ* 4, Sp. 762 unter der Berliner Nummer geführt, Sp. 789 unter der Dresdner!

2 S.P. Vleeming, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications* (*Short Texts II 278–1200*) (StudDem 9, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2011), Teil A, S. 675 und Teil B, S. 782–783.

3 Synoptische Zusammenstellung bei M.A. Stadler, „Fünf neue funeräre Kurztexte (Papyri Britisches Museum EA 10121, 10198, 10415, 10421a, b, 10426a) und eine Zwischenbilanz zu dieser Textgruppe“, in: F. Hoffmann – H.J. Thissen (Hgg.), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (StudDem 6, Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA, 2004), S. 561–569; eine Synopse auf der Basis der Übersetzungen bei Vleeming, *op. cit.*, S. 783–789. Als Vertreter der ganzen Gruppe hat M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2009), S. 557–560 als Nr. 40 den P. Berlin P. 1522 vorgestellt.

4 J.F. Quack, „Über die mit *ʿnḫ* gebildeten Eigennamen und die Vokalisation einiger Verbalformen“, *GM* 123 (1991), S. 91–100 zur Schreibung des optativischen *sḏm=f* von *ʿnḫ* mit ausgeschriebenem Ajin seit der Ptolemäerzeit.

5 Vleeming, *Short Texts II*, B, S. 788 oben.

6 Brugsch, *Grammaire démotique*, Taf. x, die Reproduktion bei Vleeming, *Short Texts II*, B, S. 677 Nr. 1144. Brugsch hat den Papyrus nicht ganz fehlerfrei faksimiliert: In Z. 1 bei *r nḫḥ* fehlt der obere Teil des *r*; in Z. 9 bei *nṯr* fehlt der Haken des Gottesdeterminativs. Der Einfachheit halber benutze ich dennoch Brugschs Faksimile, weil die Zeilen, die mich interessieren, korrekt wiedergegeben sind. Ein Foto (leider vor schwarzem Hintergrund aufgenommen) findet sich in S. Koja – S. Wetzig (Hgg.), *Faszination Ägypten: Ausgewählte Werke aus der Dresdner Skulpturensammlung* (Dresden, 2022), S. 154, eine Bibliographie zum Text auf S. 157.

7 Scalf, *Passports to Eternity*, S. 127 Fn. 245 hat nicht bemerkt, daß Vleeming Brugschs Faksimile verwendet und keine eigene „hand copy“ vorlegt.

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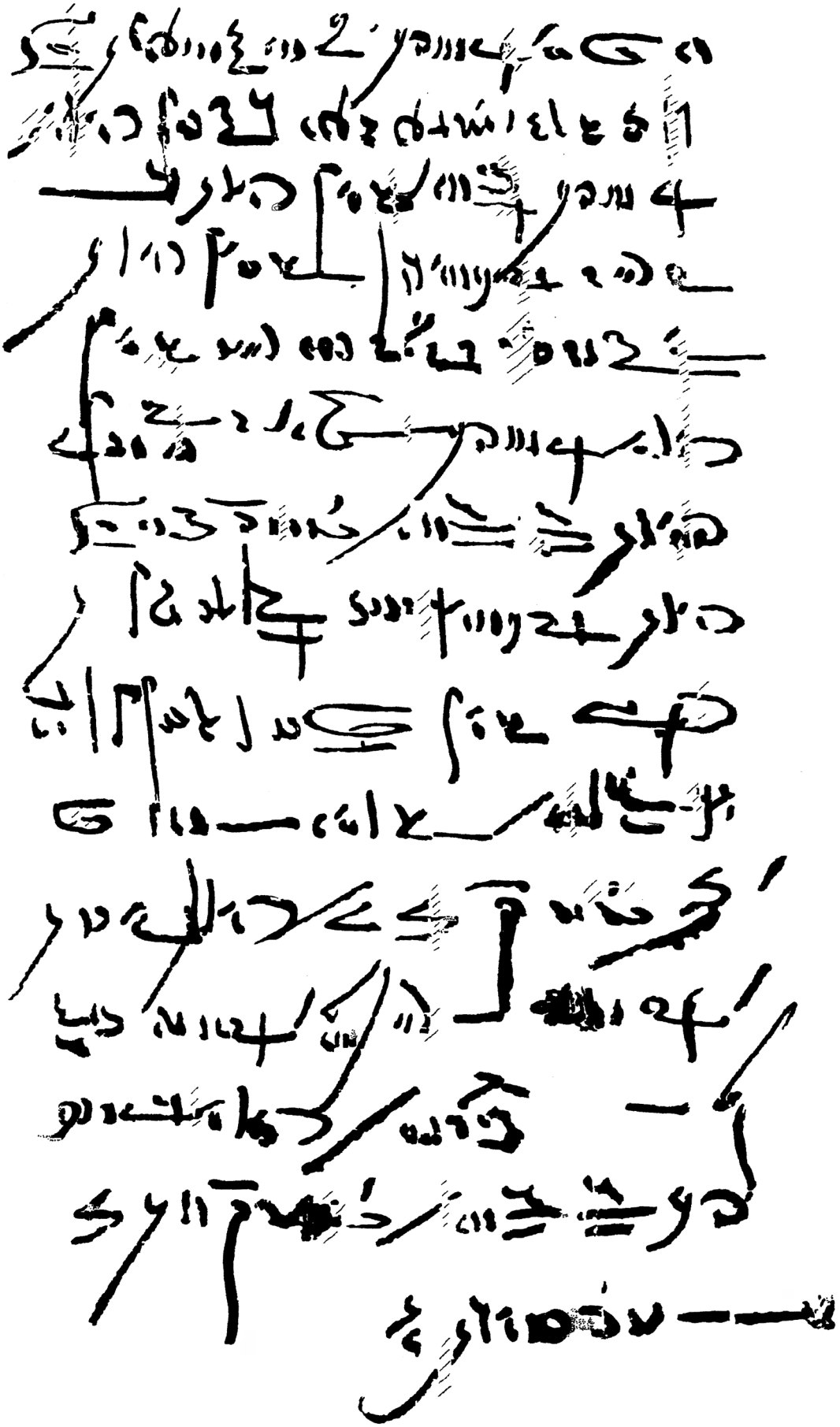
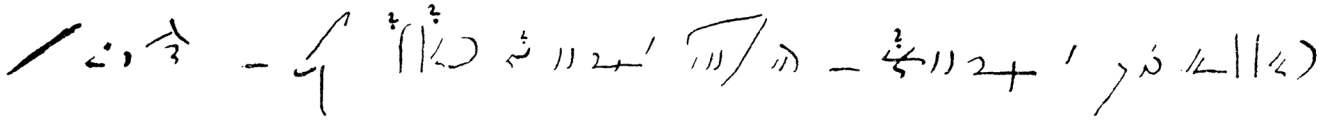


ABBILDUNG 1 P. Dresden 828 Brugschs Faksimile

Spiegelberg, der fünf demotische funeräre Kurztexte (vier Papyri und ein Sargbrett) synoptisch zusammengestellt hat, wagt sich an die Umschrift der Stelle, die er in folgender Abzeichnung wiedergibt:[8]



Er liest unsere Stelle; die er ohne Übersetzung läßt, so:

> *ᵉntᵘ ṯit-f e .... pr .... ᵉntᵘ* (?) .....

Spiegelberg hat also, wie seine Umschrift erkennen läßt, lediglich einzelne Wörter verstanden.

Stadler[9] schlägt Jahrzehnte später als Umschrift und Übersetzung vor:

> *mtw[[ꜥf]]ꜥw ṯ.ṯꜥf* (12) *r ḥsy.w? n pr ḥsy.w?? ỉbt ..?..* (13) *sw ..?.. n šmw*
>
> so daß man ihn nehme (12) zu (den) Gepriesenen (?) des Hauses der Gepriesenen (??) Monat ..?.., (13) Tag ..?.. der Schemu-Jahreszeit.

Dazu bemerkt Stadler, daß ihm die Verbindung *pr ḥsy.w* „Haus der Gepriesenen" sonst nicht bekannt ist, daß er auch den Schrägstrich vor dem vermuteten *ḥs*-Zeichen nicht versteht.[10] Er kann nur den Strich beim zweiten Vorkommen meinen, denn beim ersten Mal liest er ja *r* „zu". In dem Datum vermutet Stadler das Sterbedatum des *pa-ỉry*, für den der Papyrus geschrieben ist.[11]

Hierzu ist zu sagen, daß die Graphie nicht für *pr* „Haus" stehen kann, denn das alphabetisch ausgeschriebene *r* zeigt an, daß an unserer Stelle dieser Konsonant erhalten war, während *pr* „Haus" spätestens im Neuen Reich sein *r* verloren hat und sogar als Schreibung für den Artikel *pꜣ* (> kopt. ⲡ) dienen kann.[12] Auch kann die ohne Fragezeichen gegebene Lesung *ỉbt* (*ꜣbd*) für den Anfang der Stelle nicht überzeugen. Ich verstehe nicht, wie Stadler die Schreibung auffaßt.[13] Auch wie Stadler für auf *sw ..?..* kommt, erschließt sich mir nicht. *sw*, das man wenigstens als Punkt erwarten würde, ist jedenfalls nicht geschrieben. Stadler hat sich wohl von seiner Vermutung leiten lassen, hier stehe ein Datum.[14] Aber *sw* selbst steht definitiv nicht da. Offenbar meint Stadler (*sw*) *..?..*

Die nächste Bearbeitung der Stelle hat wenige Jahre später Vleeming in seinen *Short Texts II* vorgelegt.[15] Er hatte inzwischen ca. 20 Textzeugen zusammengetragen und auch synoptisch präsentiert.[16] In seinem Kommentar dokumentiert er die bisherigen Auffassungen, hält sich mit Spekulationen zurück und versteht:[17]

> *mtwꜥ[[ꜥf]]w ṯzy.ṯꜥf* (12) *r – – n pr(.t), r – – – –* (13) *– – n šmw*
>
> And they will take him (12) to – – – – in winter, (and) to – – – – – – – – (13) – – in summer.

Vleeming bemerkt, daß die von Stadler *ḥsỉ* gelesenen Schreibungen (und) anders als das sichere *ḥsy* in Z. 8 ( ) – und man könnte hinzufügen: auch in Z. 4 – aussieht, weshalb Vleeming sich einer Lesung enthält, aber die Frage aufwirft, ob vielleicht *sḏr* „schlafen" gemeint sein könnte. Er denkt offenbar an römische Schreibungen wie z. B. oder .[18] Vleemings Lesung *pr(.t)* „Winter" in Z. 12 ist offenbar von einem vermuteten Parallelismus zu *šmw* „Sommer" in Z. 13 beeinflußt. Tatsächlich gibt es gelegentlich Schreibungen,

8 W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit auf Grund von großenteils unveröffentlichtem Material gesammelt und erläutert* (DemStud 1, Leipzig, 1901), S. 9–12; die Abzeichnung auf S. 11.

9 Stadler, „Kurztexte", in: *Fs. Zauzich 2004*, S. 566–567 Text A iv.

10 Stadler, *op. cit.*, S. 566 f. Fn. 66.

11 Stadler, *op. cit.*, S. 567 Fn. 68.

12 A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1933), S. 76 § 172; J. Černý – S. Israelit Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (StudPohl: Series Maior 4, Rom, 1975), S. 45 3.5.

13 Zu Graphien für *ỉbt* (*ꜣbd*) „Monat" vgl. Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 27; *cdd, ỉ*, S. 82–87; dpdp (online unter http://129.206.5.162/beta/index.html).

14 Stadler, *op. cit.*, S. 567 Fn. 68.

15 Vleeming, *Short Texts II*, A, S. 676–678 Nummer 1144.

16 Vleeming, *op. cit.*, B, S. 783–789.

17 Vleeming, *op. cit.*, A, S. 676 Nr. 1144. Vleeming trennt die Suffixe mit Punkt ab. Ich setze dafür den Doppelstrich.

18 Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 481.

die ähnlich wie die an unserer Stelle aussehen, indem sie ebenfalls das *r* alphabetisch ausschreiben (, u. ä.).[19]

Wieder zehn Jahre später hat sich Scalf im Rahmen seiner Dissertation mit P. Dresden 828 beschäftigt und die Stelle diskutiert. Scalf versteht:[20]

> *mtw{=f}=w ṯ3y.ṯ=f* (12) *r ḥw.t* (?) *n pr.t r ḥw.t* (?) *mtḥ* (?) (13) *n šmw*
>
> And may they take him (12) to the tomb (?) in winter (and) to house (?) of ointment (?) (13) in summer.

Völlig richtig bemerkt Scalf, daß das fragliche Zeichen vieldeutig ist,[21] was ja gerade die Schwierigkeit an unserer Stelle ausmacht. Scalf entscheidet sich unter Vorbehalt für *ḥw.t* „Haus". Dabei schweben ihm vielleicht die normalen Schreibungen wie , u. ä.[22] vor. Aber gibt es Belege dafür, daß der Querstrich an *ḥw.t* auch einmal senkrecht stehen kann? Im *Glossar* und im *CDD*, *Ḥ* finden sich nur Schreibungen mit schrägem Strich, selten auch welche ohne Strich, aber keine mit senkrechtem.[23] Außerdem vermißt man ein Hausdeterminativ.

Scalfs Auffassung des ersten Zeichens in Zeile 13 bleibt mir unklar. Versteht er es als Determinativ zu *mtḥ* (?)? Aber welches Determinativ meint er? S. 128 Fn. 249 erwähnt er lediglich, daß M. Smith unter größtem Vorbehalt *t3* „Erde"[24] vorschlägt und für das letzte Wort in Zeile 12 *tp* „auf". Er denkt also offenbar an u. ä. „auf" < „Kopf".[25]

Meine eigene Diskussion der Stelle möchte ich mit der Feststellung beginnen, daß die angesprochene Schreibung für *pr.t* auf jeden Fall vom Verb *prỉ* „herauskommen" beeinflußt ist, wie vor allem das große Determinativ der laufenden Beinchen zeigt. Es stellt sich die Frage, ob denn nicht überhaupt gleich *prỉ* „herauskommen" zu lesen ist. Wir hätten dann „Und man soll ihn nehmen (d. h. bringen)[26] (12) zu … (des) Herauskommens[27] (und) zu … … (13) … des (Spatium) Sommers."

Stadler hatte am Ende der Zeile 12 und am Anfang der Zeile 13 ein Datum vermutet, zu dem auch das bisher ungedeutete gehört. Ich finde, daß das nur die Tageszahl *19* sein kann, daß also (*sw*) *19* geschrieben ist.[28] Damit ergibt sich für diesen Teil (*sw*) *19 n* (Spatium) *šmw* „Tag 19 des (Spatium) Sommers". Auffällig ist die Voranstellung des Tagesdatums vor die Jahreszeit, doch begegnet die Reihenfolge Tag – Monat – Jahreszeit – Jahr durchaus auch sonst in der Römerzeit. Z. B. heißt es in Graffito Philae 365 Z. 6 f. *sw 6 ȝbd-4 ȝḫ.t ḥȝ.t-sp 169* „Tag 6, Monat 4 der Überschwemmungszeit, Jahr 169 (der Diokletianischen Ära)".[29] Unser Schreiber hat aber den Monat nicht geschrieben. Man erwartet ihn da, wo der Schreiber aus welchen Gründen auch immer das Spatium gelassen hat, auf das verblüffenderweise noch niemand hingewiesen hat. Ich schlage also als Verständnis dieses Teils vor: „Tag 19 des <soundsovielten Monats des> Sommers".

Jetzt bleibt u. a. noch die Frage, wie und zu lesen sind. Es wird das beste sein, die rein paläographisch möglichen Lesungen der Reihe nach durchzudiskutieren. Dabei kann das Vorkommen der Ligatur u. ä. in bestimmten festen Verbindungen, die an unserer Stelle definitiv nicht vorliegen, außen vor bleiben. Ich denke da an *n=s* „für sie",[30] das häufige *ḥms*

19 Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 135.

20 Scalf, *Passports to Eternity*, S. 128. Mir ist nicht ersichtlich, warum Scalf in seiner Übersetzung vor „tomb" den bestimmten Artikel ergänzt, vor „house (?)" aber nicht. Im Demotischen steht er an beiden Stellen nicht.

21 Scalf, *Passports to Eternity*, S. 128 Fn. 247. Die dort von Scalf erwogene Alternative *ḥm* scheint mir nicht gerechtfertigt zu sein. Welches Wort *ḥm* meint Scalf? *ḥm.t* „Ehefrau"? Oder liegt bloß ein Tippfehler für *ḥms* vor?

22 Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 284.

23 Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 283–286; *CDD*, *Ḥ*, S. 10–39.

24 Aber *t3* sollte keinen langen Schrägstrich haben.

25 Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 626 zweiter römischer Beleg; vgl. besonders auch noch den ersten und dritten ptolemäischen und den ersten römischen Beleg.

26 Demotisches *ṯȝỉ* „nehmen" bezeichnet eine Bewegung weg vom Sprecher, wo man im Deutschen durchaus „bringen" (im Sinne von „wegbringen") sagen kann.

27 Infinitiv ohne Artikel.

28 Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 710. Auf der Demotischen Sommerschule 2023 wurde schon vorgeschlagen, das Zeichen als stark kursive/reduzierte Form des Schriftrollendeterminativs zu verstehen. Aber auch wenn ich zugebe, daß die Handschrift des P. Dresden 828 nicht ganz einheitlich ist, scheint mir die eindeutige Form auf dem Verso ( ) so stark von der Zeichenform an unserer Stelle abzuweichen, daß ich Bedenken habe, die eine Form als Verkürzung oder Vereinfachung oder überhaupt als Variante der anderen zu verstehen.

29 F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*, vol. 2 (Les temples immergés de la Nubie, Oxford, 1935), pl. 54.

30 Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 197.

in *ḥmsi̯* „sitzen“,[31] das ebenfalls häufige *mt* in *smt* „Art“,[32] das gelegentliche *mn* in *mn* „täglich“[33] oder in *mnḫ* „vortrefflich“,[34] in denen die graphisch immer gleiche Ligatur vorkommt bzw. vorkommen kann, doch stets nur in einer charakteristischen Verbindung mit anderen Zeichen zusammen.

Die beiden Belege des P. Dresden 828 scheinen sich, obwohl man den Eindruck bekommt, sie stünden in zueinander parellelen Verbindungen, darin zu unterscheiden, daß beim zweiten Beleg hinter der entscheidenden Ligatur noch ein separates, winkeligen Zeichen zu stehen scheint, fast wie ein kleines *b*: . Darauf werde ich später zurückkommen, möchte jedoch zunächst klären, welche Lesung die Ligatur überhaupt haben könnte.

ḥs

Bereits Stadler hat gesehen, daß die Schreibungen in Z. 12 nicht völlig mit denen in Z. 4 und 8 übereinstimmen. Oben wird deutlich ein alphabetisches *ḥ* (in zwei Strichen geschrieben) als Komplement hinter die Ligatur gesetzt, das Wort auch mit dem Mann mit der Hand am Mund determiniert. In Z. 12 ist das Determinativ beim ersten Vorkommen des Wortes nicht zu erkennen (Spiegelberg denkt mit Fragezeichen an den schlagenden Arm),[35] beim zweiten Vorkommen könnte ein Gefäßdeterminativ stehen (Spiegelberg hat fragend ein Silber- bzw. Tierfelldeterminativ.). *ḥsi̯* „loben“ ist durchaus mit *pri̯* zusammen belegt: *di=f ꜥq ḥsy pri̯ mrw* „Er (= Chnum) gebe ein Eintreten, indem er (= der Verstorbene) gelobt ist, ein Herauskommen, indem er geliebt ist“ (*Urk.* IV 2022. 2).[36] Auch sonst können *ꜥq* und *pri̯* mit *ḥsi̯* verbunden werden: „gelobt eintreten/herauskommen“.[37]

An unserer Stelle hätten wir „Und man wird ihn zum Lob(en) des Herauskommens und zum Lob(en) des … nehmen.“ Das scheint mir eine leidlich sinnvolle Übersetzung zu sein, aber es bleiben die paläographischen Bedenken. Man könnte die Lesung mit dem Hinweis darauf, daß z. B. auch *by* „Ba“ uneinheitlich geschrieben wird,[38] verteidigen. Daß beim zweiten Mal wohl auch noch eine Femininendung angehängt ist, kann man verschmerzen, wenn man die Nachahmung einer früheren Sprachform akzeptiert, hat doch *ḥsi̯* in älterer Zeit durchaus einen femininen Infinitiv, auch wenn im Demotischen Infinitive syntaktisch längst als Maskulina behandelt werden. Zur Not weichen wir für eine Erklärung auf das alte feminine Wort *ḥs.t* „Gunst“[39] aus.

Noch nicht vorgeschlagen wurde, soweit ich sehe, statt *ḥs* „loben“ vielmehr *ḥs* „singen“ zu verstehen: „Und man wird ihn zum Gesang des Herauskommens und zum Gesang des … nehmen.“ Interessanterweise scheint bei diesem Wort die Komplementierung mit *ḥ* weniger häufig zu sein.[40] Damit wäre ein Teil des paläographischen Problems beseitigt: Der Schreiber hätte *ḥs* „loben“ und *ḥs* „singen“ durchaus mit Absicht differenziert geschrieben.[41] Aber es bleibt die Schwierigkeit, daß auch „Gesang“ am ehesten mit dem Mann mit der Hand am Mund determiniert werden sollte.

Noch andere Wörter *ḥs* wie z. B. *ḥsi̯* „sich begeben nach“[42] kommen mir nicht plausibel vor.

sḏr

Dieser Vorschlag stammt, wie oben erwähnt, von Vleeming. Man müßte dann „Und man wird ihn zum Ruhen des Herauskommens und zum Ruhen des … nehmen“ oder, wenn es sich um *sḏr.t* handelt (beachte besonders die mögliche Femininendung beim zweiten Vorkommen des fraglichen Wortes!), „Und man wird ihn zur Ruhestätte des Herauskommens und zur Ruhestätte des … nehmen“ übersetzen. Freilich ist eine *sḏr.t*-Ruhestätte normalerweise etwas, das dem Toten im Jenseits lediglich bereitet wird. So heißt es beispielsweise in P. BM EA 10507[43] 7. 11

31 ERICHSEN, *op. cit.*, S. 308–309.
32 ERICHSEN, *op. cit.*, S. 434–435.
33 ERICHSEN, *op. cit.*, S. 160 (römisch).
34 ERICHSEN, *op. cit.*, S. 163 (ptolemäisch).
35 SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, S. 11.
36 W. HELCK, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22* (Berlin, 1961), S. 363 versteht mit Bezug des Pseudopartizips auf die substantivierten Infinitive „daß er gebe ein gelobtes Eintreten und ein geliebtes Herausgehen“.
37 *Wb.* 3, S. 155. 7–8.
38 In Z. 13 wird eine andere Form des *b* benutzt.
39 *Wb.* 3, S. 157 f.
40 ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, S. 330–331.
41 Vgl. K.-Th. ZAUZICH, „Differenzierende Schreibungen bei differierender Wortbedeutung“, in: S.P. VLEEMING (Hg.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (StudDem 1, Leuven 1987), S. 109–113. Dasselbe Phänomen gibt es schon viel früher, s. beispielsweise U. LUFT, „Asiatics in Illahun: A preliminary report“, in: G.M. ZACCONE – T.R. DI NETRO (Hgg.), *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti* (Turin, 1993), 2, S. 291–297, hier 293 Nr. 7 zu unterschiedlichen Schreibungen von *s;* „Sohn“ als Bestandteil von Eigennamen oder als Filiationsangabe in den Illahun-Papyri des Mittleren Reiches. Weiterführende Gedanken bei L. DEPUYDT, „Demotic Script and Demotic Grammar: A Peculiar Case Involving *hyn* ‘Some’“, *Enchoria* 26 (2000), S. 31–40.
42 *Wb.* 3, S. 159, 4–17.
43 Ed. M. SMITH, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (CDPBM 3, London, 1987).

(mit Parallele in P. Harkness 2. 27 „Man wird dir eine vorzügliche Ruhestätte in der Unterwelt bereiten“ oder in 11. 7 „Eine Ruhestätte wird dir zwischen den Westbergen bereitet werden.“ Aber gleichwohl sind die Toten an ihren Ruhestätten nicht unbeweglich gedacht, heißt es doch in O. Hor 13 4–6 „(4) ⟨Komm zu mir,⟩ mein Herr Osiris-Apis, … (5) … zusammen mit denen, die auf dem Schlafplatz (von) Per-Thot (6) (in) Memphis ruhen!“ (Übersetzung nach VITTMANN, TLA).[44] Eine Ruhestätte am Eingang der Unterwelt scheint eine naheliegende Idee zu sein: Der Verstorbene ist quasi vor Ort und wird z. B. den Augenblick des Herauskommens bei der Wiedergeburt nicht verpassen. Die Lesung *sḏr*(*.t*) hätte zudem den Vorteil, daß man das Determinativ beim zweiten Vorkommen des Wortes als Stoffdeterminativ verstehen könnte, das bei *sḏr* durchaus normal ist.[45]

šd

Die Verben *šd* „graben“ und *šd* „nehmen“, aber auch *šde.t* u. ä. „Brunnen, Distrikt“ können in der Ptolemäerzeit ebenfalls mit einer Ligatur geschrieben werden, die wie das Zeichen an unserer Stelle aussieht.[46] Der Sinn der sich ergebenden Übersetzung „Und man wird ihn zum Brunnen/Distrikt des Herauskommens und zum Brunnen/Distrikt des … nehmen“ ist der Auffassung als *sḏr*(*.t*) vergleichbar: Der Tote befindet sich dauerhaft an der Stelle oder den Stellen, wo … und Herauskommen aus der Unterwelt erwartet werden. Als Ort im Jenseits kommt *šdy.t* z. B. in der Schlußrede von Totenbuchspruch 125 vor: „Meine Mitte ist ein Distrikt der Maat. … Ich habe mich gereinigt im südllichen Distrikt“[47] und ähnlich im *Buch vom Atmen, das Isis für Osiris gemacht hat,* „Osiris … wird gereinigt werden in diesem Distrikt der Hetepet-Gefilde“ (so z. B. P. Louvre N 3284 1. 12[48]).

Faßt man das Determinativ beim zweiten Vorkommen des fraglichen Wortes als Krugdeterminativ auf, erscheint eine Deutung des Wortes als „Brunnen“ akzeptabel. Trotzdem überzeugt die Lesung nicht ganz, da die Wörter *šd* bzw. *šde.t* u. ä., soweit ich sehe, bisher nur in der Ptolemäerzeit mit der *šd*-Ligatur belegt sind, aber nicht mehr in der Römerzeit.

i̯p

Das Verb für „zählen“ kann ebenfalls mit einer Ligatur geschrieben werden, die der an unserer Stelle gleichkommt.[49] Dann mag auch das Substantiv *i̯p.t* „Zahl“ so geschrieben werden können. „Und man wird ihn zur Zahl des Herauskommens und zur Zahl des … nehmen“ mag einen akzeptablen Sinn ergeben, wenn gemeint ist, daß eine Anzahl von Menschen, die in die Unterwelt ist, z. B. herauskommt.

Aber häufig ist die Schreibung von *i̯p* mit der Ligatur nicht. Überdies wäre am Wortende ein senkrechter Strich oder das Determinativ des Mannes mit der Hand am Mund zu erwarten.

mšʿ

Ausgesprochen selten kann in der Römerzeit sogar *mšʿ* „Truppe“ mit einem zusätzlichen senkrechten Querstrich geschrieben werden.[50] „Und man wird ihn zur Truppe des Herauskommens und zur Truppe des … nehmen“ könnte noch einen verständlichen Sinn ergeben. Doch abgesehen davon, daß schon die Schreibung nicht üblich ist, wäre die Determinierung irregulär.

mꜣy

Verschiedentlich findet sich die *mꜣ*-Ligatur ohne schrägen Abstrich nach vorne, sondern als waagerechtes Zeichen, das dann auch noch einen Querstrich bekommen kann. Wenn *Glossar*[51] und *CDD*[52] repräsentativ sind, dann scheint diese Form der *mꜣ*-Ligatur allerding auf *mꜣy* „Löwe“ beschränkt zu sein. Als Übersetzung unserer Stelle hätten wir: „Und man wird ihn zum Löwen des Herauskommens und zum Löwen des … nehmen.“ Man mag dabei vielleicht an die Rücken an Rücken dargestellten Horizontlöwen im Kapitel 17 des Totenbuches denken, die das Gestern (= Osiris) und das Morgen (= Re) bezeichnen,[53] so daß sich tatsächlich eine Verbindung mit zwei Löwen, davon einem des Herauskommens (aus der Unterwelt), ergeben würde.

Was die Paläographie anbelangt, so erinnere ich daran, daß Spiegelberg das Determinativ beim zweiten Vorkommen des Wortes zwar als verstanden hat, was

44 https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/, der *sḏr.t* liest. J.D. RAY, *The Archive of Ḥor* (EES TEM 2, London, 1976), S. 55 hatte in seiner Erstedition des Textes noch *štrt* umschrieben, das aber als Schreibung für *sḏr.t* interpretiert.

45 ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, S. 480–481.

46 ERICHSEN, *op. cit.*, S. 527–529.

47 E. NAVILLE, *Das Ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, Bd. 1 (Berlin, 1886), Taf. 137 Sp. 19; E. HORNUNG, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Darmstadt, 1990), S. 241 Z. 152 und 154 („Feld“ – das Wort ist hier mit dem kleinen Kanalzeichen determiniert).

48 P.J. DE HORRACK, *Le Livre des Respirations d'après les manuscrits du musée du Louvre: texte, traduction et analyse* (Paris, 1877), Taf. 1; vgl. F. HERBIN, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité* (OLA 58, Leuven, 1994), Taf. 29. M. SMITH, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2009), S. 469 übersetzt „pool“ (*šdy.t* ist hier mit dem Wasser determiniert.).

49 ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, S. 28 letzter Beleg.

50 *CDD*, *M*, S. 247 aus P. Omina B 16. 8.

51 ERICHSEN, *op. cit.*, S. 148 bei *mꜣ* „Löwe“.

52 *CDD*, *M*, S. 19 bei *mꜣy* „Löwe“.

53 Vgl. HORNUNG, *Totenbuch*, S. 60–61.

durchaus ein Tierfelldeterminativ sein könnte. Aber die Strichführung des Originals scheint mir, soweit ich sie überhaupt erkennen kann, doch nicht dafür zu sprechen. Wenn die Femininendung beim selben zweiten Wort korrekt ist, wird eine Gleichsetzung einer „Löw*in*“ mit Osiris oder Re schon wieder problematisch.

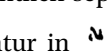
ḫd

Schließlich sei noch an die Ligatur *ḫ* + *d* in *ḫdb* „töten“ erinnert. Das *Glossar* kennt sie für die ptolemäische und römische Zeit;[54] man kann noch z. B. P. BM EA 10508 (Anchscheschonqi) 4. 20 und 23. 7 hinzufügen. „Und man wird ihn zum Töten des Herauskommens und zum Töten des … nehmen.“ Ist das sinnvoll?

Nach dieser langen Vorstellung graphisch prinzipiell denkbarer Lesungen, in der ich hoffentlich keine Möglichkeit, die Ligatur zu verstehen, übersehen habe, scheint sich mir in Weiterführung von Vleemings Vorschlag als plausibelstes Ergebnis *sḏr*(*.t*)[55] „Ruhestätte“ herauszuschälen. Die Schreibung wäre nicht ungewöhnlich, die Determinierung würde passen, wenn man ein Stoffzeichen versteht, und der Sinn wäre nicht schlecht: „Und man wird ihn (12) zur Ruhestätte des Herauskommens (und) zur Ruhestätte des … bringen (13) (am) Tag 19 ⟨des …ten Monats⟩ des Sommers.“ Freilich ist mir ein *sḏr*(*.t*) des Herauskommens sonst nicht bekannt.

Da unmittelbar vor unserer Stelle die Angabe des Lebensalters steht, kann es gut sein, daß der hier diskutierte Wunsch auf den Todeszeitpunkt zielt, in dem unvollständigen Datum also tatsächlich das Sterbedatum zu sehen ist, wie es schon Stadler vermutet hat. Ein Götterfest am 19. Tag eines der vier Monate des Sommers, an dem ein Herauskommen oder irgendein *sḏr*(*.t*) eine Rolle spielte, kann ich jedenfalls in den Festkalendern der Tempel der griechisch-römischen Zeit oder vorher nicht finden.[56] Auch in den Tagewählkalendern[57] ist mir nichts Passendes aufgefallen.

Eine vage Anknüpfungsmöglichkeit bietet allenfalls das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit (P. Leiden T 32 4. 2–4), in dem der Verstorbene am Jahresende in den Lobpreis der Mut einstimmen soll, der laut Edfou V 358. 8 am 19.–21. Mesore stattfand, wenn die Göttin herauskommt, um ihre Stadt zu schützen. Zugleich scheint dieses Ereignis mit dem Frühaufgang („Herauskommen“, *pr.t*) der Sothis und dem Beginn des neuen Jahres verbunden worden zu sein.[58]

Bis zu diesem Punkt war ich gekommen, als ich den Text am 17. Mai 2023 im Rahmen einer demotischen Lektüreveranstaltung behandelte und meine Überlegungen und Ergebnisse zur Diskussion stellte. Als Problem blieb damals in meinen Augen vor allem, wie man den *b*-ähnlichen Haken direkt hinter der oben ausführlich diskutierten Ligatur erklären sollte: . Ich machte auch auf die verblüffende Eigenheit der Handschrift von P. Dresden 828 aufmerksam, daß der Schreiber die Tendenz hat, Bögen von links nach rechts im Uhrzeigersinn ( ) zu vermeiden. Stattdessen setzt er lieber zweimal an: (vgl. den „Punkt“ in *pꜣyꜥf* in Z. 1, das *ḫ* in *ḥtp* in Z. 5 und das Sonnendeterminativ in *rnp.t* in Z. 10). Christopher Wass hat dann als erster erkannt, daß das vermeintlich separate winkelartige Zeichen nach der ersten Ligatur in  auch nichts anderes als der Anstrich zum ersten Zeichen ist. Dann folgt ein senkrechter Strich, der genauso im ersten Vorkommen unseres Wortes, das im hinteren Teil stärker verkleckst ist, auf die einleitende Ligatur folgt: . In Normalschrift sieht unser Wort also so aus: . Das ist eine ganz übliche Schreibung für *sḏr.t* „Ruheplatz“.[59] Hat man die Lesung *sḏr.t* einmal erkannt, durchschaut man am Foto auch den verklecksten ersten Beleg. Der Schreiber hat offenbar am Wortende korrigiert und dabei vor allem ein fettes Feminin-*t* hineinkorrigiert, während das Stoffdeterminativ recht mager, aber insgesamt höher geraten ist.

Zum vollständigen Verständnis unserer Stelle fehlt noch das letzte Wort in Zeile 12, das Stadler meiner Meinung nach, wie oben dargelegt, als *ibt* (*ꜣbd*) „Monat“

54 ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, S. 398.

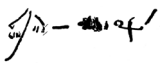
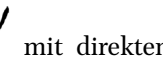
55 Beim zweiten Vorkommen des fraglichen Wortes im Dresdner Papyrus ist das Feminin-*t* sogar geschrieben. VLEEMING, *Short Texts II*, A, S. 678 berücksichtigt es in seiner Diskussion nicht.

56 A. GRIMM, *Die altägyptischen Festkalender in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (ÄAT 15, Wiesbaden, 1994), S. 110 f., 118 f., 128 f. oder 138 f. (zu dieser Stelle vgl. aber anschließend im Haupttext und die übernächste Fußnote!); S. SCHOTT, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (AAWMainz 1950, 10, Mainz – Wiesbaden, 1950), S. 983 (103)–991 (111) kennt nur die Orakelanfrage eines Arbeiters am 19. Tag des ersten Monats des Sommers (S. 986 [106]).

57 C. LEITZ, *Tagewählerei. Das Buch* ḥꜣ.t nḥḥ pḥ.wy ḏt *und verwandte Texte*, 2 Bde. (ÄgAbh 55, Wiesbaden, 1994).

58 HERBIN, *Livre de parcourir*, S. 443 mit Kommentar auf S. 171 f. und Übersicht auf S. 344; GRIMM, *Festkalender*, S. 138 f.

59 ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, S. 480 die erste, dritte und fünfte ptolemäische und S. 481 die zweite, siebte und neunte römische Schreibung. Weitere übereinstimmende Belege finden sich im *CDD, S*, S. 535–537. Im Prinzip ganz genauso wie im Dresdner Papyrus ist *sḏr.t* auch im P. BM EA 10507 geschrieben (SMITH, *Mortuary Texts*, S. 179), nur steht dort der Querstrich am ersten Zeichen schräg.

mißverstanden und für das Smith versuchsweise *tp* (*dp*) vorgeschlagen hatte und das ich bisher als „…“ wiedergegeben habe. Mit diesem Problem habe ich lange gekämpft. Zunächst war ich bei der Lesung von einem Parallelismus von  mit indirektem Genitiv und  mit direktem Genitiv ausgegangen, sah also in Parallele zu *prỉ* „herauskommen“. Dann war der erste Gedanke, daß die fragliche Gruppe *ʿq* „eintreten“ sein könnte. Man müßte die Zeichen als eine etwas verkomplizierte Schreibung etwa wie o. ä. interpretieren. Der Querstrich am *q* hätte der Lesung bisher im Wege gestanden. Dabei ist es in der römischen Zeit gar nicht so selten, daß ein Schreiber einen zusätzlichen senkrechten Strich setzt, sei es als Querstrich so wie hier, sei es als separaten Strich.[60]

Aber so einfach ist es dann doch nicht. Denn natürlich sollte in der Schreibung von *ʿq* das *ʿ* über dem *q* stehen. Außerdem ist die normale Reihenfolge der beiden Verben *ʿq prỉ*,[61] auch wenn es seltene Ausnahmen gibt.[62] Auf der von Koen organisierten Demotischen Sommerschule in Leiden 2023, deren Teilnehmer ich sehr herzlich dafür danke, daß sie ihre Überlegungen mit mir teilten, wurden genau diese Bedenken geltend gemacht.

Man könnte nun nach einem anderen Verb suchen, das in Parallele zu *prỉ* belegt ist. Da käme grundsätzlich *ḥ3ỉ* „fallen“ in Frage.[63] Dieses Verb wird demotisch zu *hy*.[64] Aber eine solche Lesung halte ich für die Schreibung im P. Dresden 828 paläographisch für ausgeschlossen.

Ich hatte daher auch schon an *mqỉ* „schützen“ gedacht, also o. ä., wobei der Aufstrichbogen des *m* von unserem Schreiber wieder als separater Strich gemacht wäre – so wie z. B. in *ḥ*, anderen Zeichen oder in der Ligatur in ; das habe ich oben diskutiert. Das Wort kommt zwar von älterem *mkỉ*, wird aber im Demotischen mit *k3* > *ḳ* = *q*[65] geschrieben.[66] Der Satz würde dann lauten: „Und man wird ihn zum Ruheplatz des Herauskommens und zum Ruheplatz des Schutzes nehmen.“ Warum nicht?

J.F. Quack hat auf der Sommerschule allerdings Bedenken gegen meine Auffassung der Strichführung geäußert und stattdessen *wḥ3* vorgeschlagen. Ich verstehe, was er meint, nämlich in verdeutlichender Wiedergabe etwa . Das letzte Zeichen, zwei Strichlein, bleibt unklar. Sollen es laufende Beinchen oder eine in zwei Striche zerlegte Sonnenscheibe sein? „Säule“ (das Determinativ steht dann für Stein oder Korn), „suchen, wünschen“ (dann wären die zwei Strichlein nur Füllsel), „Brief“ (das Wort wäre ohne vernünftiges Determinativ geschrieben) oder „Ohrring (?)“ (dann wieder mit Körnerdeterminativ)[67] wären Möglichkeiten, das Wort zu verstehen. So recht überzeugt mich keine dieser Alternativen.

Aber warum lesen wir, wenn wir das Wort schon mit *w* beginnen lassen, was ich nachvollziehen kann, nicht einfach *wtn* (< *wdn*) „(Trank-)Opfer“ mit reduziertem Determinativ? Nach dem *w* käme einfach die normale Ligatur *t* + *n*. Zwar hat der Schreiber die Tendenz, waagerechte Striche teilweise überlang zu machen, doch am Zeilenwechsel hatte er keine Möglichkeit dazu, denn innerhalb des Wortkörpers trennt er keine Wörter, sondern nur vor der Determinierung.[68] *wtn* „Opfer“ wird generell uneinheitlich determiniert, sogar mit pluralischem Körnerdeterminativ.[69] Vielleicht ist das letzte Zeichen, das wie zwei eng beieinanderstehende Strichlein aussieht, ein in zwei Striche zerlegter Kringel.

Das Wort „Opfer“ hat den Vorteil, daß es recht gut in einer inhaltlichen Parallele zu *pr.t* „Herauskommen“ = „Prozession“[70] denkbar wäre. Allerdings konnte ich Sätze, in denen die Wörter *wdn* und *pr.t* parallel mit *sḏr.t* verbunden sind, bisher nicht finden. Darum muß mein Vorschlag noch unter Vorbehalt stehen: „Und man wird ihn (12) zur Ruhestätte des Herauskommens[71] (und) zur Ruhestätte des Opfers bringen (13) (am) Tag 19 <des …ten Monats> des Sommers.“ Es wäre jedenfalls die Ruhestätte gemeint, von der aus der Verstorbene die geschilderten festlichen Ereignisse beobachten und an ihnen teilhaben kann. Die Alternative „Und man wird ihn (12) zur Ruhestätte des Herauskommens (und) zur Ruhestätte des Eintretens bringen (13) (am) Tag 19 ⟨des …ten

60 F. Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus* (mper ns 26, Wien, 1996), S. 26.

61 *Wb.* 1, S. 231. 22–232. 6.

62 Z. x + 2 des Grabreliefs des *sn-n-rs* aus dem frühen Neuen Reich in Leipzig (Inventarnr. 5147; R. Krauspe, *Das Ägyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig* [Mainz, 1997], S. 93 Abb. 75).

63 *Wb.* 1, S. 521. 9–14.

64 Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 266.

65 G. Vittmann, „Zum Gebrauch des *k3*-Zeichens im Demotischen“, *seap* 15 (1996), S. 1–12.

66 Erichsen, *op. cit.*, S. 183.

67 Zu den vier Wörtern vgl. Erichsen, *op. cit.*, S. 98 f. und *cdd*, *W*, S. 146–148.

68 So *by* beim Übergang von Z. 13 auf Z. 14.

69 Vgl. Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 107 und *cdd*, *W*, S. 202 f.

70 Dazu vgl. *Wb.* 1, S. 525. 7–14.

71 Des Verstorbenen, seines Ba oder der Sothis?

Monats〉 des Sommers“ möchte ich aber trotz der dargelegten Bedenken noch nicht völlig ausschließen.

Ich habe meine Überlegungen mit Absicht so ausführlich dargelegt, weil ich davon überzeugt bin, daß nicht nur ein fertiges Entzifferungsergebnis lehrreich ist, sondern mindestens ebenso – wenn nicht sogar noch mehr – die Wege, die zu ihm führen, und die Sackgassen, in die man geraten kann. Aber natürlich hoffe ich, daß eines Tages der Fund eines neuen Textzeugen, in dem die hier diskutierte Passage eindeutig lesbar ist, die immer noch verbleibenden Probleme des P. Dresden 828 restlos lösen hilft, sofern nicht vorher schon Koen die zündende Idee hat.

14

Fragment of a Demotic Contract in the Form of a Sandal Sole

Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk

In a volume published to honour Koen Donker van Heel, a contribution from his former Greek colleague of the Leiden Papyrological Institute could not be missed. We have worked together since 1987, when Koen started as a student-assistant for demotic and abnormal hieratic. He was subsequently promoted to PhD candidate and research assistant, until in 1997 he continued his career elsewhere, first inside then outside our university. It lasted until 2012 for Koen to return to the then rather stripped down Papyrological Institute and become my demotic counterpart. I thank him for helping keep the Institute alive and for having been my nearest and dearest colleague for so many years.

The demotic papyrus presented below is a text Koen is already familiar with: a fragment from cartonnage in the form of the sole of a shoe that we have always shown in our temporary exhibitions. From a text that was originally probably more than a meter wide only the initial signs of five lines are preserved. It may be clear that the aesthetic quality of this papyrus by far surpasses the value of its content.[1]

P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 1008
Arsinoite nome (?), end of third century BCE (?)
TM 1000252

Description

P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 1008. Acquired in 1981.[2] H. × W = *c.*20 cm × 7 cm. Only the beginnings of 5 lines of demotic, written in black ink along the fibres, are preserved on the recto. There are margins of *c.*5 cm at the top, *c.*7.5 cm at the bottom and *c.*3.8 cm at the right. An irregular *kollesis* is visible, right over left, at *c.*2.3–3.3–1 cm from the right; the straight break along the right side probably coincides with the other edge of the overlap. The papyrus stems from cartonnage, as is also shown by faint traces of remaining white gesso. The fragment was cut off in the form of a sandal sole; two of the three holes for the toe strap are visible: the middle hole in the bottom right corner (*c.*3 cm from bottom and 2 cm from right side) and one of the side holes along the left edge, between lines 1 and 2. A fragment containing the third hole on the right and the heel of the sole is missing. The verso is empty except for some small traces of ink.

Introduction

This papyrus was re-used for making a cartonnage sandal to be used in the afterlife.[3] Because it was cut in the form

1 I wish to thank Cary Martin without whose generous help with deciphering this article could not have been written.

2 The cartonnage fragment Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 1008 was received in November 1981 as a donation of H. Harrauer, who sent it to the Institute by mail. It was first kept in a folder labelled 'postmap Harrauer Dem. VII' and was afterwards put under glass to be shown in exhibitions. The cartonnage fragments Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 1007 and 1009–1010 were received at the same time as inv. 1008. None of them are published yet, but they do not seem to be part of the present text.

This group of papyri belongs to a larger group that was donated by H. Harrauer in several separate mail deliveries over the years 1980–1981 that were given the inventory numbers 1000–1010. The following four of these are now published; they are all dated to the end of third century BCE and stem from the Fayyum.

- inv. 1000a–b recto: J.F. Quack, 'Magischer Text (Demotisch in hieratischer Schrift)', in: F.A.J. Hoogendijk – J.V. Stolk (eds), *Greek, Demotic and Coptic Papyri and Ostraca in the Leiden Papyrological Institute* (P. L.Bat 40, Leiden – Boston, 2023), pp. 1–12, Oxyrhyncha, spätes 3. Jhd. v. Chr.
- inv. 1002: F.A.J. Hoogendijk, 'Fragment of Demotic Contract of Sale (?) with Greek Tax Receipt', in: K. Donker van Heel – F.A.J. Hoogendijk – C.J. Martin (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming* (P. L.Bat. 34, Leiden – Boston, 2018), pp. 190–197, Oxyrhyncha, 209/208–205 BCE.
- inv. 1004 a–c, 1005 a, c–e: J.F. Quack, 'Fragmente einer Erzählung über Setne und Naneferkaptah', in: F.A.J. Hoogendijk – J.V. Stolk (eds), *Greek, Demotic and Coptic Papyri and Ostraca in the Leiden Papyrological Institute* (P. L.Bat 40, Leiden – Boston, 2023), pp. 13–27, Busiris (Ars.), spätes 3. Jhd. v. Chr.

3 Similar demotic texts written on sandals can be found in, e.g., J.E. Jay, 'Five Ptolemaic Demotic "Marriage" Contracts (P.Tebt. Frag. 15161, 15162, 402, 411 + 412, P.Tebt. 3.982 descr.)', *BASP* 60 (2023), pp. 31–55, texts 1 and 3 with figs 1, 2 and 4. On ancient Egyptian footwear see in general A.J. Veldmeijer, *The Ancient Egyptian Footwear Project: Final Archaeological Analysis* (Leiden, 2019); cartonnage sandals are only mentioned in passing, see p. 214 with n. 182, referring to the images in A.J. Veldmeijer, *Footwear in Ancient Egypt: The Medelhavsmuseet* (Världskulturmuseerna 2014), pp. 66–69; these

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of a sandal sole, only small fragments of the demotic text are preserved. The layout of the text (five probably very long lines with lots of space around it) and the dating phrase at the beginning suggest a contract of the 'larger type'.[4] The words *pꜣy=t sʿnḫ* 'your endowment' might perhaps point to a marriage document (see further note to line 3).[5]

Looking at the cartonnage fragments acquired together with this one (see above, footnote 2), one might expect this papyrus to stem from the Arsinoite nome and date from about the end of the third century BCE. Due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus this must, however, all remain speculation.

Transliteration

1 *ḥꜣ.t-sp* [– – –]
2 *f(ꜣ)y* [– – – *ḏd* – – –]
3 *pꜣy=t sʿ*[*nḫ* – – –]
4 ⌜*mtw=y*⌝ *dỉ.t st* (?) [– – –]
5 *pꜣy=f ỉt* ⌜*ḏd*⌝ [– – –]

Translation

1 In year [*x, month, day, pharaohs, eponymous priests* – – –]
2 bearer [– – – *eponymous priests. Said N.N.* – – –]
3 your endowment [– – –]
4 and I am to give it/them (?) [– – –]
5 his father, says [– – –]

Commentary

1–2 One may compare the fragmentary dating formula of P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 1002, lines 1–2 (HOOGENDIJK, 'Fragment of Demotic Contract of Sale (?)', in: *Fs. Vleeming*, 193), dated to Ptolemy III and Berenike II (Oxyrhyncha, between 209/208 and 205 BCE), which papyrus belongs to the same group of donated papyri as the present fragment; see above footnote 2. If a similar dating formula would have been written here, one might supply *f(ꜣ)y* [*špp ḳn m-bꜣḥ Brnygꜣ*, 'bearer [of the prize of victory (Gr. ἀθλοφόρος) of Berenike'. The position of *f(ꜣ)y* at the start of line 2 would then point to longer lines of text than in P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 1002, where the same word is written further on in the second line.

3 *pꜣy=t sʿ*[*nḫ*: the expression 'your endowment' is found in marriage contracts of the so-called 'Type B2' in which the marriage is doubly documented in a *sḫ-n-sʿnḫ* 'document of maintenance' plus a *sḫ r-dbꜣ ḥḏ* 'document concerning money'. For 'Type B2' see H.S. SMITH, 'Marriage and Family Law', in: M.J. GELLER – H. MAEHLER, *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World* (London 1995), pp. 46–57, here 53; it is called 'Class C' in P.W. PESTMAN, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (P. L.Bat. 11, Leiden, 1961), pp. 37–50, 181; see DEPAUW, *Companion* (fn. 4), p. 140 with further literature, and JAY, 'Five Ptolemaic Demotic "Marriage" Contracts' (fn. 3, citing recent literature), where two fragmentary *sʿnḫ* documents also happen to be written on cartonnage sandal soles. The word *sʿnḫ* could sometimes also refer to an endowment outside of marriage; see PESTMAN, *Marriage*, pp. 44–48.

4 ⌜*mtw=y*⌝ *dỉ.t st* [– – –]: the reading of the beginning of this line is problematic. The words *dỉ.t st* are common in the payback-formula; see, e.g., E. LÜDDECKENS, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (ÄgAbh 1, Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 324. If the reading of *dỉ.t st* is right, *mtw=y* would be expected in front of it, although this is hard to read.

5 *pꜣy=f ỉt* ⌜*ḏd*⌝: this would form part of the consent to the document by the father of the husband. Starting at the end of line 4 the text might have read: [N.N. son of N.N.], | his father, says … . It was not uncommon for a family member to consent to a marriage document; see LÜDDECKENS, *Eheverträge*, pp. 246–247, 331–333 and PESTMAN, *Marriage*, pp. 158–160, 204 § 20 and Schedule C § 20; instances of the father of the husband giving his consent to the marriage contract are listed on p. 158, n. 6. The last visible sign can only be *ḏd*, so *ḏd* 'says' must have been written instead of the more common *ʿḥʿ ḏd* 'stands near and says'.

examples from Stockholm are all made with stucco on linen, not on papyrus. See https://www.sidestone.com/books/the-ancient-egyptian-footwear-project and https://www.academia.edu/9844568/Footwear_in_Ancient_Egypt_The_Medelhavsmuseet_Collection.

4 See M. DEPAUW, *A Companion to Demotic Studies* (PapBrux 28, Brussels, 1997), p. 76.

5 On marriage in ancient Egypt in general, with bibliography, see J. TOIVARI-VIITALA, 'Marriage and Divorce', in: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2013).

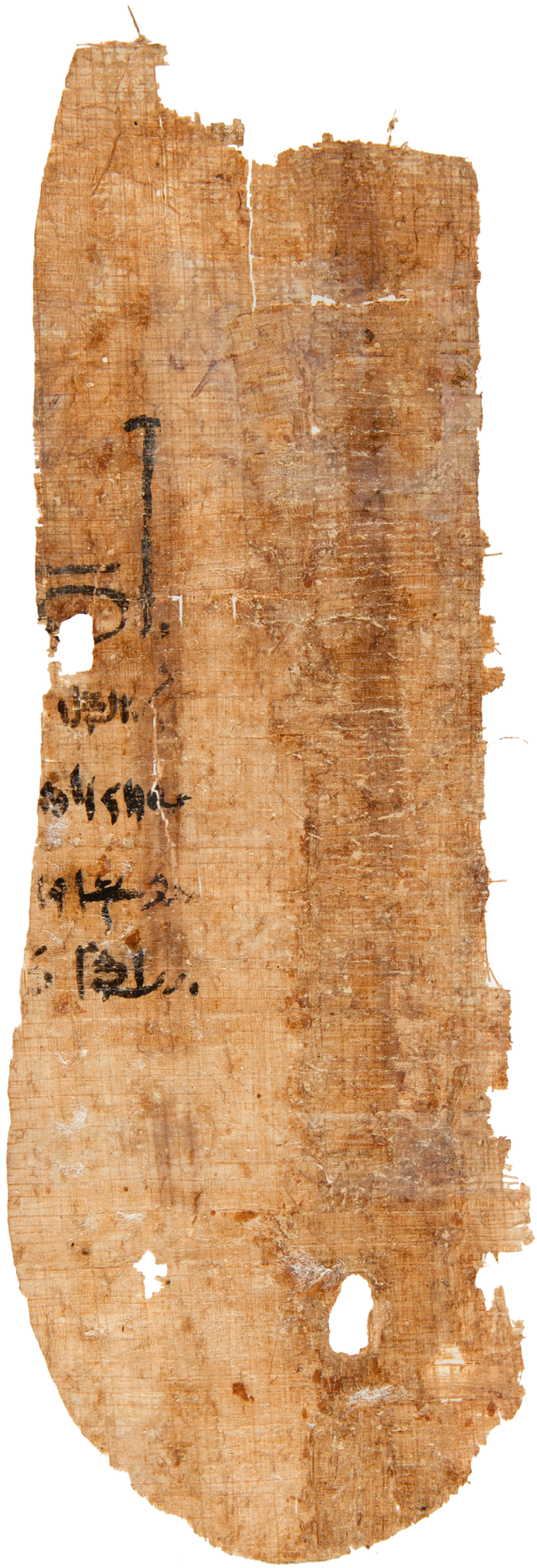

FIGURE 1 P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 1008
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15

'Why Haven't You Called?' A Demotic Letter from the Tomb of Harwa (P. Dem. MAIL 2)

Richard Jasnow

I am honored to present to my friend and colleague, Koen Donker van Heel, this article in his *Festschrift*.[1] Of course, Koen is famous as an expert in abnormal hieratic, certainly among the most challenging scripts ever devised by the mind of humans (I think, humans). I fear my own abnormal hieratic skills are too weak to dazzle him with a *tour de force* in his own specialty. Still, I know that Koen appreciates 'normal' demotic as well, and has an affection for documents of daily life. I therefore offer to him this demotic letter.[2]

P. Dem. MAIL 2 was recovered in the course of excavations at the funerary complex of Harwa (TT 37) and Akhimenru (TT 404) by the Italian Archaeological Mission to Luxor under the direction of Francesco Tiradritti. That scholar has kindly described the circumstances of discovery on November 29, 2010: 'The papyrus was found at the beginning of the season in the Layer 1062, which was a disturbed sandy accumulation lying in squares A4 and B4 of the courtyard. Layer 1062 partly covered the ramp of the false door carved on the south portion of the west wall (to the left of the entrance to the Cenotaph of Harwa).'[3] Tiradritti himself reconstructed and conserved the still rolled-up, but fragmentary papyrus, for which he deserves great credit.

The letter is primarily a complaint about lack of communication from the recipient, Nesmin, who is presumably at Thebes.[4] The letter-writer is in a locality called *'Ib3*, perhaps Kom Ombo (see note [b] on recto line 4). He is apparently annoyed that the recipient and his associates have not sent him information about their well-being. There seem to have been several opportunities for the recipients to have sent such information, but they have failed to do so. The writer wants to make sure that they do communicate before anyone else is dispatched to the locality of the letter-writer. The writer is very concerned that anyone sent to where he is should bring with him the desired supplies. He includes in his letter the standard inquiries regarding any items desired by the recipient. The

1 I am profoundly grateful to Francesco Tiradritti, for permission to publish the demotic texts discovered in the course of his excavations at the Tomb of Harwa in Luxor.

2 The abbreviation stands for 'Missione Archeologica Italiana at Luxor.' I had the good fortune to discuss this letter with Karl-Th. Zauzich, who was, of course, a great expert in this particular genre. I indicate in the commentary where I have adopted a suggestion of Zauzich. I have not had the opportunity to study the papyrus in person, but have relied on the image published with this article. I thank Christina Di Cerbo for her help in the execution of the digital handcopy of the papyrus. I read through this letter in a class with Alison Wilkinson and Giulia Tonon, and benefited from their comments. I am very grateful to Ariel Singer for her assistance in preparing the manuscript.

3 Email of 22 November, 2023.

4 Still basic is the excellent monograph of M. DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against their Intra- and Intercultural Background* (DemStud 14, Sommerhausen, 2006). The demotic letter corpus has naturally grown in the last few years since the publication of Depauw's volume: M. EBEID – M. EL-BOKI, 'A New Early Letter from Hermopolis (P. Mallawi Museum Inv. No. 1093/1)', in: A. ALMÁSY-MARTIN – M. CHAUVEAU – K. DONKER VAN HEEL – K. RYHOLT (eds), *Ripple in Still Water When There Is No Pebble Tossed: Festschrift in Honour of Cary J. Martin* (GHP Egyptology 34, London, 2022), pp. 93–99; L. ZHANG, 'In What Ways Do The Gods Know You? A Bilingual Letter Revisited (Cairo Mus. Inv. Nos. 10313, 10328, 10961)', in: B. BRYAN – M. SMITH – C. DI CERBO – M. ESCOLANO-POVEDA – J.S. WALLER (eds), *One Who Loves Knowledge: Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow* (MVCAE 6, Columbus, GA, 2022), pp. 515–523; S. ABDELAAL, 'An Early Demotic Letter from Tuna el-Gebel,' in: J. KAMRIN – M. BÁRTA – S. IKRAM – M. LEHNER – M. MEGAHED (eds), *Guardians of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass* (Prague, 2020), 1, pp. 73–86; S.P. VLEEMING, 'A Priestly Letter of Recommendation (P. CtYBR inv. 4628)', in: R. JASNOW – G. WIDMER (eds), *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith* (MVCAE 2, Atlanta, 2017), pp. 375–378; C.J. MARTIN – H. SMITH –S. DAVIES, 'Demotic Letters from the Animal Necropolis of North Saqqara (7–20): The Final Installment', in: K. DONKER VAN HEEL – F.A.J. HOOGENDIJK – C.J. MARTIN (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There Is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming*, (P. L.Bat. 34, Leiden – Boston, 2018), pp. 123–147; C. ARLT, 'A Demotic Letter from the Stanford Green Collection (P. Stanford Green Demotic 70)', in: S.L. LIPPERT – M.A. STADLER (eds), *Gehilfe des Thot: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zu seinem 75. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 1–5; M. EBEID, 'A New Demotic Private Letter from Hermopolis,' *JEA* 98 (2012), pp. 211–223; H.S. SMITH, 'A Saqqara Letter Concerning a Captive Fugitive (Saq. H5-DP241)', in: G. WIDMER – D. DEVAUCHELLE (eds), *Actes du IXe Congrès international des études démotiques, Paris, 31 août–3 septembre 2005* (BiÉtud 147, Cairo, 2009), pp. 331–346; W. WEGNER, 'Ein demotischer Brief aus Tebtynis (P. Yale 4628 qua)', *RdÉ* 60 (2009), pp. 159–177.

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script seems to me to be Middle Ptolemaic and I suggest a date about 150 BCE.

P. Dem. MAIL 2
Thebes, *c.*150 BCE
TM 1000253

Height: 37.5 cm
Width: 6.1 cm
Writing on the recto and verso
Black ink on papyrus
From MAIL CR.A4; layer 1062

Comment

For a discussion of the physical dimension of demotic letters, see DEPAUW, *Demotic Letter*, pp. 73–82.

Recto

Transliteration

1 *i-ir-ḥr Ns-Mn*
2 *sꜣ* ⌜*Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn-nswt-tꜣ.wy*⌝ *n-tr.t* ⌜*wy*<*=y*>⌝
3 ⌜*r-ḥr*⌝*=k*(*?*) *nꜣ ḏy*
4 *ỉw r ʾIbꜣ*
5 ⌜*sp-2 bn-pw=k*⌝
6 *hb n=y pꜣe=k wḏꜣ*
7 *ḥnᶜ pꜣ wḏꜣ Pꜣ-wrm*
8 *ḥnᶜ pꜣ wḏꜣ n Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn-nswt-tꜣ.wy*
9 *Brḥm šᶜ*
10 ⌜*pꜣ*⌝ *hrw m-ỉr wrr*
11 *hb n=y pꜣe=k wḏꜣ*
12 *ḥnᶜ rmt nb nt ỉ-ỉr n=k*
13 ⌜*ỉw*⌝*=f ḫpr ỉw Pꜣ-sḥn* (?)
14 *r ʾIbꜣ m-ỉr tỉ.t*
15 *ỉw=f r bn-ỉw* (?)
16 *ḥḏ* (?) *ty ỉrm=f ỉn*
17 *m-ỉr tỉ.t ỉw=f*
18 *r-bnr r tꜣ ḫpr* (?) *r wn*
19 *mt.t pꜣ tꜣ ỉw=tn*
20 *mr* (?) *s r bn-pw=tn*
21 ⌜*ḏrᶜ*⌝ *s* ⌜*ỉrm*⌝*=f*
22 *m-ỉr* ⟨*tỉ.t*⟩ *ḫꜣᶜ=f s* (?)
23 *ỉ-ỉr=tn tbḥ*
24 *mt mtw=f ty*
25 *ḏrᶜ s r=tn*
26 ⌜*ḥᶜ*⌝*=tn*

Translation

1 Before *Ns-Mn*,
2 son of *Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn-nswt-tꜣ.wy*, since ⟨I⟩ have been far
3 from you (?), the ships have
4 come to Kom Ombo (?)
5 two times, (but) you have not
6 written to me of your health,
7 and the health of *Pꜣ-wrm*,
8 and the health of *Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn-nswt-tꜣ.wy*
9 (and) *Brḥm* until
10 today. Do not delay
11 to write to me of your health
12 and (the health) of every man with you!
13 [If] it happens that *Pꜣ-sḥn* (?) comes
14 to Kom Ombo (?), do not let
15 him come, without
16 silver (?) being there with him!
17 Do not let him come
18 away, to the land, there being
19 anything in the world which
20 you wish (?), you not having
21 confirmed it with him.
22 Do not ⟨let⟩ him ignore it!
23 If you need
24 anything of his (?) here,
25 confirm it you
26 yourselves.

Commentary

Line 1

(a) *ỉ-ỉr-ḥr* lacks the determinative, but otherwise closely resembles other examples, ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 318. For this introductory epistolary formula, see DEPAUW, *Demotic Letter*, pp. 141–144.

(b) *Ns-Mn* would seem to be a subordinate or of equal status as the letter-writer, who frequently uses the imperative form. I have not been able to identify *Ns-Mn*, son of *Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn-nswt-tꜣ.wy*. On the relative status of the sender and address on the basis of this introductory address, see DEPAUW, *Demotic Letter*, p. 143.

Line 2

(a) For *Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn-nswt-tꜣ.wy*, see LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, pp. 284–285. For the reading, compare the better preserved writing of *Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn-nswt-tꜣ.wy* in line 8.

(b) For the conjunction, see *tr.t*, 'weil', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 645. The break here naturally complicates the reading. The top of *tr.t* is damaged.

(c) I had first assumed that *wꜣḥ⟨=y⟩* is written supra in this damaged section. However, I now am in favor of the more straightforward *n-tr.t* ⌜*wy⟨=y⟩*⌝.

(d) *wy*, 'fern sein', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 78, is preferable to *ỉw*, 'kommen', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, pp. 20–21. Cf. the examples of *ỉw* in recto 4, 15, 17.

Line 3

(a) I had first read *ỉ-ỉr-ḥr=k*, but now believe more probable is *r-ḥr=k*, CDD, *Ḥ*, pp. 197–99, which also fits better with *wy*, 'to be far'. However, *r-ḥr=k* is also not secure, but a preposition with this meaning is probable.

(b) *ḏy*, 'Schiff', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 674; CDD, *Ḏ*, pp. 14–15, *ḏy*, 'ship'. Note how boldly *ḏ* is written.

Line 4

(a) *ỉw*, 'kommen,' ERICHSEN *Glossar*, pp. 20–21.

(b) *ʾIbꜣ* is a place-name which occurs also in recto 14 and verso 5. As mentioned above, I had shown this text to Zauzich, and in an email to me he quoted his commentary on *ʾIbꜣ* to P. Berlin P. 13569,[5] which I here cite in its entirety:[6] 'Der hier beschädigte Ortsnamen ist in Zeile 7 und 23 eindeutig als *ʾIbꜣ* zu lesen. Trotz des fehlenden *m* dürfte 'Ombos' gemeint sein, da in Zeile 11 der Gott Haroeris gennant is. G. Vittmann hat kürzlich eine ähnlich verkürzte Schreibung mit dem auch sonst bekannten Ausfall eines *n* erklärt in: I. MUNRO – G. VITTMANN, *The Abridged Book of the Dead Scroll of Pa-sheri-Khonsu* (BAÄ 9, Basel: Orientverlag, 2018), p. 29 Anm. b. Zu *ʾImnbꜣ* Ombos s. F. PREISIGKE – W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*, S. 22ff.,[7] sowie VERRETH, *Toponymes*, S. 454.[8] On the place-name, see *ʾImbꜣ*, 'Ombos,' ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 30; CDD, *ꜣ*, pp. 35–36, *ꜣnbꜣ*, 'Ombos' (modern 'Kom Ombo'). A. ABDELHALIM ALI, 'The Pictorial Graffiti in the Main Temple of Kom Ombo: A Case Study of Jackals', in: C. RAGAZZOLI – K. HASSAN – C. SALVADOR (eds), *Graffiti and Rock Inscriptions from Ancient Egypt: A Companion to Secondary Epigraphy* (BiÉtud 182, Cairo, 2023), pp. 395–418, also discusses the demotic graffiti from that temple. Kom Ombo is TM Geo 1499.

Line 5

(a) The section is slightly distorted due to the break, but *sp 2*, 'two times', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 425, is a plausible reading.

(b) *bn-pw=k* is damaged; the *=k* overlaps the second sign of *bn-pw*. For comments regarding reproaches about neglect in correspondence, see DEPAUW, *Demotic Letter*, pp. 245–251.

Line 6

(a) *hb*, 'senden, schreiben', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, pp. 271–272. As is often the case, the *b* is scarcely more than a vertical stroke with a slight bend at the bottom. One might also transliterate *n=y n*.

(b) *wḏꜣ*, 'gedeihen', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 108, is also written in a rather abbreviated fashion. On such inquiries concerning the addressee's condition, see DEPAUW, *Demotic Letter*, pp. 197–203 and 216–28.

Line 7

(a) *Pꜣ-wrm*, LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 180.

Line 8

(a) This *Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn-nswt-tꜣ.wy* may be identical with the father of the recipient, *Ns-Mn*.

Line 9

(a) *Blhm*, 'Belmmus', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 120; CDD, *B*, pp. 71–72, *Blhm(wt)*, 'Blemmye'. One notes the evil determinative. This ethnic term may be here the personal name *blhmwt*, 'Blemmyer', LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 145.

Line 10

(a) On stressing formula with *m-ỉr wrr*, DEPAUW, *Demotic Letter*, pp. 269–270,

Line 12

(a) *ỉ-ỉr n=k*, ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 16; CDD, *ʾI*, p. 19, *ỉ-ỉr-n=k*, perhaps 'from you?'

Line 13

(a) The grammar is difficult. I assume that *ỉw=f* is to be transliterated at the beginning of the line; the ink seems to have flaked off. Is *ỉw=f ḫpr* followed by a circumstantial past *sḏm=f*? The circumstantial *r* or

5 Zauzich had virtually completed the next fascicle of the Berlin Elephantine Papyri, and P. Berlin P. 13569 is to be included in this publication. See https://elephantine.smb.museum/objects/object.php?o=100424.

6 I have added the full bibliographical information.

7 F. PREISIGKE – W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka: griechische und demotische Beisetzungsurkunden für Ibis- und Falkenmumien aus Ombos* (SWGS 19, Strasburg, 1914).

8 K. VERRETH, *Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts from the 8th Century BC till the 5th Century AD* (TOP 5, 2011), p. 454.

ỉw do not seem to be written after *ḫpr*. One expects the sense to be: 'If it happens that the official were to come to *'Ibꜣ*, do not etc.'. See perhaps CDD, *Ḥ*, p. 53 *ỉw=f r ḫpr r*, 'If it should happen that …' or *ỉw=f ḫpr ỉw*. See also J.H. JOHNSON, *The Demotic Verbal System* (SAOC 38, Chicago, 1976), pp. 155–156, on *ỉw=f ḫpr*.

(b) I had initially considered this to be the personal name *Pꜣ-sḥn*, LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 218, and *Korrekturen und Nachträge*, p. 157, but it is not quite identical to the examples provided there and the personal name determinative is absent. The editors have reasonably suggested that this may rather be better understood as 'the official,' rather than a named individual, citing: S. WACKENIER 'La performativité des termes administratifs démotiques: l'exemple du *sḥn tꜣ ḳḥj*', *Cahiers Glotz* 27 (2016), pp. 215–227; K. VANDORPE – S.P. VLEEMING, *The Erbstreit Papyri: A Bilingual Dossier from Pathyris of the Second Century BC* (StudDem 13, Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT, 2017), p. 151.

Line 14

(a) *'Ibꜣ* appears also in recto 4 and verso 5.

Line 15

(a) *ỉw* is a reasonable transliteration at the beginning of the line.

(b) There follows a difficult section. Zauzich proposed *bn-ỉw … ỉn* (in line 16). While *bn-ỉw* is certainly reasonable, given the securely read *ỉn* concluding the sentence, the writing of the apparently undamaged *bn*, with the stroke separation within the usually ligatured *bn*, is very unusual. One does find the first present negation written as *bn-ỉw*, and not *bn*, ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 115. Alternative transliterations, such as *ṯ=w* or *ṯ.ṯ=w* do not yield satisfactory sense. I have therefore adopted Zauzich's suggestion.

Line 16

(a) The initial group resembles *ḥḏ*, ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, pp. 335–36; CDD, *Ḥ*, pp. 328–341, *ḥḏ*, 'silver, silver coin piece of money', or *pꜣy*. Zauzich had first considered *tw=tn* for this and the following group, the second person plural absolute pronoun, ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 597. However, that reading is hard to accept, since the following sign scarcely resembles *tn*. Is the writer warning the recipient not to allow *Pa-sḥn* to travel to where the writer is, without bringing money with him?

(b) The sign before *ỉrm=f* closely resembles the Ptolemaic writings of *ty*, 'hier', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 604; CDD, *T*, p. 82, *ty*, 'here, there'. See K.-Th. ZAUZICH, 'Differenzierende Schreibungen bei differierender Wortbedeutung', in: S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference of Demotic Studies, Leiden 19–21 September 1984* (StudDem 1, Leiden, 1987), p. 110. A typical writing of *ty* appears in recto line 24.

Line 18

(a) The first group is perhaps best read as *r-bnr*, ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 118. This seems preferable to *ỉw=n*.

(b) I have difficulty with the following groups. *r tꜣ* is a secure transliteration, even if it seems a rather awkward phrase. The editors tentatively propose as one possible reading for this and the following group *n-ḏr.t ḫpr*, 'since it happened'. The sense remains rather unclear.

(c) I had first thought the sign after *tꜣ* was a directional word such as *mḥ*, 'North,' CDD, *M*, p. 210; *rs*, 'südlich', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, pp. 254–255, but these hardly suit the traces. I now tentatively propose that the best reading is *ḫpr*, perhaps *ḫpr r*, where *r* is the circumstantial converter. I can find nothing in the available demotic grammars, but the sense required seems to be 'Do not let him come out to the land, (if it) happens that there is a thing in the world which you desire it, without you having confirmed it with him'. It may be that the scribe has simply omitted *ỉw=f* before *ḫpr*. One might compare verso line 7: ⌜*ỉw*⌝*=f ḫpr r wn*. However, the form of *ḫpr* here does not much resemble the clear writings of *ḫpr* in recto 13 and verso 7. There are, therefore, both palaeographical and grammatical problems with this interpretation. The editors have suggested that one might transliterate *r-wn-nꜣ.w* at the end of this line.

Line 19

(a) *ỉw=tn* would be the circumstantial form.

Line 20

(a) Zauzich was not convinced by the transliteration *mr*, 'lieben', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 167, but it seems reasonable. Still, the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative is a simple vertical, in contrast to the well-formed example, e.g., in *mt.t* of the previous line 19. The editors suggest that this may rather be a shortened writing of *wḫꜣ*, 'to wish', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 98.

(b) The two strokes following the proposed *mr* would be *s*, ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 399.

Line 21

(a) *ḏr*ˁ is a plausible reading. I identify this with CDD, *Ḏ*, p. 68, *ḏr*ˁ, 'to strengthen (?)'. A clearer example is in recto 25. One might also consider *ḏl*ˁ, 'sammeln', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, pp. 684–685.

Line 22

(a) It seems necessary to supply *tỉ.t* after *m-ỉr*. The antecedent of *f* would be *P3-sḥn* (line 13). The writer is concerned that this messenger will forget something or be sent to him without bringing along what he desires.

Line 23

(a) This statement is formulated as a second tense.
(b) *tbḥ*, 'bitten, erbitten', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 624.

Line 24

(a) I am uncertain of the antecedent of *mtw=f*. Is it again *P3-sḥn*?

Line 25

(a) The writer has also employed *ḏr*ˁ in recto 21.
(b) I assume *r=tn* is for *r-ḥr=tn*, ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 237 (one example there does seem to be simply *r=tn*). Alternatively, the editors propose *tzy=tn* with the noun subject lost in the lacuna.

Line 26

(a) *ḥ*ˁ*=tn* appears to be a reasonable restoration, *ḥ*ˁ, 'selbst', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 292.

Verso

Transliteration

1 *m-ỉr* ˁ*w ḫ3ṯ*
2 *n-ỉm=w* (?) ˁ*n m-ỉr*
3 *tỉ.t* ⌜*mt* (?)⌝ *ḥr p3 t3*
4 *ḫ3.t ỉ-ỉr=tn*
5 ⟨*ỉw*⟩ *r* ʾ*Ib3*
6 *ỉm n=y* (?) *p3 hrw*
7 *s 2* ⌜*ỉw*⌝*=f ḫpr r wn*
8 *mt ty hb n=y*
9 *n-ỉm=s sḫ*
10 *... s3 P3-tỉ-Ḫnm*
11 *sw 11*

Translation

1 Do not be great of heart
2 therein also (?)! Do not
3 place a thing on the ground (i.e., ignore)
4 before you
5 ⟨come⟩ to Kom Ombo.
6 Come to me (?) today,
7 the 2 men (?). [If] it happens that
8 there is anything here, write to me
9 about it! Has written
10 ... son of *P3-tỉ-Ḫnm*,
11 day 11.

Commentary

Line 1

(a) For ˁ*w ḫ3.t*, 'hochmütig', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 53, but see CDD, ˁ, p. 22, ˁ3 (*n*) *ḫ3ṯ*, 'to be (self-)confident'. This phrase is often translated as 'arrogant' (particularly in Wisdom Literature). The ˁ seems to be written almost as *ỉw*. Cf. the form of ˁ in *ḏr*ˁ, recto 25. The determinative is presumably a variant of the usual sign found in ˁ*w*, 'weit sein', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 57.
(b) The flesh determinative of *ḫ3ṯ*, 'das Herz', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, pp. 289–290, is also distinctive. It does not much resemble either typical demotic or hieratic forms, comparing, e.g., G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie* (2nd edition, Leipzig, 1927–1936), 3, p. 16 no. 178.

Line 2

(a) *n-ỉm=w*, seems preferable to *n-ỉm=s*, ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, pp. 199–200. To be sure, I suggest this transliteration based on the sense; the group itself does not look much like the standard examples in *Glossar*. However, other readings, such as *n n3 nkt.w*, are also not very attractive.

Line 3

(a) *mt*, 'Sache', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 184, is faint, but plausible. Cf. the better preserved examples of *mt* in recto 19 and 24.
(b) *ḥr*, 'auf', ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, pp. 319–321. The editors intriguingly suggest deleting the *ḥr* and reading rather *mt nb* ⟨*n*⟩ *p3 t3*. The *nb* would be written in abbreviated form, and ligatured to the preceding *mt*.
(c) The transliteration seems secure, but the meaning is more difficult. This may be an variant of the old idiom *rdỉ r t3*, 'auf den Boden legen'. 'Auch im Sinne

von: vernachlässigen', *Wb.* 2, p. 467. 19–21. However, I have not found this expression elsewhere in demotic. One might compare: *ḫ3ʿ r p3 t3*, 'unbeachtet lassen (?)', Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 599; *CDD*, *T*, p. 47.

Lines 4–5

(a) *ḥ3.t*, 'früher, vor', Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 287.

(b) *i-ỉr=tn* appears to be a second tense. One may understand a verb of movement, e.g., *ỉy*, 'to come', but this is perhaps unnecessary. The writer emphasizes that the addressee and his people should not proceed to where the writer is without making sure they have all the desired goods or information.

Line 6

(a) *ỉm*, 'komme!', Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 30. The walking-legs determinative overlaps the *m*.

(b) *n=y*, Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 196, is a reasonable transliteration, although the top of the sign is difficult for *n=y*.

(c) It may be preferable to read *r pr-mḥt*, 'northwards', Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 175, in place of *p3 hrw*, 'heute', Erichsen, *Glossar*, pp. 278–279. Note the apparent *Punkt* after the vertical stroke.

Line 7

(a) Zauzich proposed *s 2*, *s*, 'Person', Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 400. *s* is perhaps slightly preferable to the definite article, *p3*. Presumably the writer wishes that the addressee come down to him along with a comrade.

(b) *ỉw=f* is damaged, but is probable.

Line 8

(a) The editors have reasonably suggested ⌜*m*⌝*y ḥb<=w> n=y*.

Line 9

(a) Cf. the (very different) writing of *n-ỉm=w* in verso line 2.

(b) Perhaps transliterate, as Depauw proposes, *sḫ-b3k*.

Line 10

(a) I cannot read the damaged name of the writer, which occurs again in the address below. The initial sign (*tn*, *ḳn* ?), clearly has a rather pronounced stroke slanting to the right beneath it. It seems to be more than a mere *Punkt*. Is this perhaps *ʿn-ḥr*, Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 97? While I am still not entirely certain, given the damage, I am glad to note that the editors of this *Festschrift* support the proposed *ʿn-ḥr* (or rather *ʿn-m-ḥr*).

(b) *P3-tỉ-Ḥnm*, Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 339.

Address at Bottom of Verso

Transliteration

1 ...

2 *Ns-Mn*

Translation

1 ...

2 (to) *Ns-Mn*

FIGURE 1 Image and Digital Handcopy of P. Dem. MAIL 2
© FRANCESCO TIRADRI

16

All Quiet at the Western Front? Some Overdue Remarks on Truly Abnormal-(Hieratic) Personal Names, Dogs, the Libyan Wars, Abysses Found in Accounting and the Philological Neglection of Pottery

Robert Kade

Inter arma enim silent leges

Few Egyptologists have done as much as the honoree for the study of the most evil of all evil Egyptian scripts and you can sit relaxed Mr Grapow, we are for once not talking about demotic.[1] One could even go so far as naming that *meneer* from Leiderdorp the queen bee of abnormal hieratic education on the basis of his alluring crash-courses, with which he spread the knowledge of that strange cursive across the world, but also through the publication of a myriad of helpful books and articles to make the journey enjoyable and pleasant, at least on the level of eloquence. In this context, it can only be a side note that he might be the most prolific author and copywriter of our discipline, earning accolades for studies on Mrs Naunakhte and Mrs Tsenhor as well as autonomous robots and potatoes.[2] It is a matter of argument if this makes him a genius or a polymad, but it naturally complicates the appropriate gifts that friends and colleagues can offer. The author acknowledges that any attempt to mimic his razor blade wit must be considered futile. Therefore, the following article is constructed around three insights that he had frequently shared during personal encounters and conversations along the past 10 years, which will set the tone and titles for the subchapters *infra*. The first offers the foundation of our case study with a short glimpse on the Libyan wars and their influence on the ancient Egyptian language. The second is spiced with stuff scholars are often not that interested in, namely onomastic challenges, name patterns and writing conventions, including short detours into abnormal hieratic accounting. Finally, this article is concluded by a summary of the findings, honoring the reservations of the honoree towards the consumer goods also known as pottery. It is the hope of the author that he will enjoy the journey and that the outcome is equally interesting for anyone else who happens to stumble across it. Reader discretion is advised.[3]

1 'Don't Mention the War!'

If you spent some evenings in discussion with Koen and his friends, surely this line was brought up at one time or another and, while a peaceful view is admirable for all generations, all the more in the tumultuous waters in which our current times are sailing, it is quite impossible to leave the more violent aspects out of our evaluation of later Egyptian history, where the civilization of the

1 'Und zwar von allen bösen ägyptischen Schriftarten die böseste', cf. H. Grapow, 'Review: Erichsen, Demotische Lesestücke', *OLZ* 40 (1937), p. 487.

2 K. Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor: A Female Entrepreneur in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2014), K. Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Naunakhte: The Women of Ramesside Deir Al-Medina* (Cairo, 2016), S. de Wilde (ed.), *Van Autonome Robots tot Zilte Aardappels. Toekomstverkenning naar de invloed van technologische ontwikkelingen op de agri- & food-sector tot 2050* (Stichting Toekomstbeeld der Techniek 81, Den Haag, 2015). Not to mention his commentaries on the scientific realm and its particularities in his infamous *boekjes*.

3 This article would not have been possible without the support of the papyrus collections in Berlin (represented by Jan Moje) and Vienna (represented by Guus van Loon), who provided me with high-definition photographs of a number of unpublished papyri. I would like to express my special thanks to Maren Goecke-Bauer, who produced the facsimiles to illustrate some of the most difficult reading problems. As the following pages demonstrate, lexicography is never a solitary activity. I am therefore grateful to the many people who, through individual discussions about words, etymologies and contexts, enriched the three years of my doctorate and the years that followed, enabling me to build up my lexicographical database, which I have been expanding and maintaining ever since. In alphabetical order: Charlotte Dietrich, Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, Roman Gundacker, Elena Hertel, Petra Hogenboom-Meijerink, Maarten Kossmann, Tonio Mitto, Maarten Mous, Joachim Friedrich Quack, Tonio Sebastian Richter, Malte Römer, Philipp Seyr. I would particularly like to thank Günter Vittmann, who kindly agreed to read an earlier version of this article and was thus tempted into a close reading of some of the cited abnormal hieratic papyri, resulting in a number of valuable comments and corrections. I am also greatly indebted to Josef Tropper, who reviewed the attestations I collected for possible connections to the Semitic lexicon and provided several helpful comments on similar names and root incompatibilities.

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Nile valley became a pawn in the hands of other powerful nations and their violent conflicts on a regular basis. Aside from shorter periods of stability, most of the Third Intermediate and Late Period is spent under foreign rule.[4] Although each period was perceived very differently by the Egyptians, each foreign occupation induced periods of innovation and change, which left marks in the royal and private realms but also in the administrative and intellectual production.[5] With regard to the abnormal hieratic evidence, it makes sense to concentrate on the Third Intermediate Period, e.g. the Libyan conquest of Egypt, during which the scribes in Upper Egypt departed more and more from the regular cursive of the Late New Kingdom before they lost another (paleographical) battle, which ultimately led to the demoticisation of the whole of Egypt.[6] But although the political framework is fairly clear and a dense colonization can be proven during all parts of the Libyan period, it is difficult to track down philological evidence for the corresponding language contact situations.[7] This partially results from the smaller amount of available archaeological material, especially with regard to written objects, but even the material at hand is hitherto often not sufficiently researched or evaluated by the scientific community.[8] It is appropriate to ask: Where were all these Libyans and what traces have they left in the sources of that time?

From the documents at hand, it is possible to deduce that the local elites were Libyan, but as they themselves lacked an established writing system, it is reasonable to assume that most of the scribal activities were done by Egyptian and not Libyan scribes by using the available Egyptian scripts.[9] This is a significant difference to the later Persian and Graeco-Roman periods of foreign occupation, when several scripts and languages were in competition with each other, which had a greater impact on the language change for both sides of the contact situation.[10] But although it is impossible to estimate the level of bilingualism among the Egyptian scribes in the Third Intermediate Period, one can still expect that the long-term language contact should have left some marks in the local administration and private interactions. A natural tendency of the scribes to work with their familiar

4 An overview is given by K. Jansen-Winkeln, 'Die Fremdherrschaften in Ägypten im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.', *Orientalia* 69 (2000), pp. 1–20.

5 On the Libyan influence, see especially F. Payraudeau, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 3: *Les époques tardives* (*1069–332 av. J.-C.*) (Paris, 2020), pp. 409–414, K. Jansen-Winkeln, 'Libyer und Ägypter in der Libyerzeit', in: C. Zivie-Coche – I. Guermeur, *'Parcourir l'Éternité': Hommages à Jean Yoyotte* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 609–624, A. Leahy, 'The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation', *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), pp. 51–65, J. Taylor, 'The Third Intermediate Period', in: I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 330–368, and also G. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend* (Mainz, 2003), pp. 1–20 with references to other valuable contributors and the diverging positions in the discourse.

6 Cf. K. Donker van Heel, 'The Lost Battle of Peteamonip Son of Petehorresne', *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 115–124, M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en écriture hiératique anormal et démotique*, I (Paris, 1953), pp. vii–xxi, C.J. Martin, 'The Saite "Demoticisation" of Southern Egypt', in: K. Lomas – R.D. Whitehouse – J.B. Wilkins (eds), *Literacy and the State in the Ancient Mediterranean* (ASSM 7, London, 2007), pp. 25–38, S.P. Vleeming, 'La phase initiale du démotique ancien', *CdÉ* 56 (1981), pp. 31–48.

7 An overview of Libyan tribes and their leaders is provided by J.K. Winnicki, *Late Egypt and her Neighbours* (Warsaw, 2009), pp. 379–425. Cf. also K. Jansen-Winkeln, '"Libyerzeit" oder "postimperiale Periode"? Zur historischen Einordnung der Dritten Zwischenzeit', in: C. Jurman – B. Bader – D.A. Aston (eds), *A True Scribe of Abydos: Essays on First Millennium Egypt in Honour of Anthony Leahy* (OLA 265, Leuven, 2017), pp. 203–238.

8 One can well understand the hesitancy towards onomastic and lexicographical challenges, which all too often turn out to be impossible to solve; cf. G. Vittmann, 'Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion: Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names', *Enchoria* 24 (1997/1998), pp. 90–102. On the limited archaeological evidence, see L. Hulin, 'The Libyans', in: I. Shaw – E. Bloxam (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptology* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 493–513. Aside from this summary, substantial quantities are still unpublished. This concerns especially the numerous ostraca from the Dakhleh Oasis (publication in preparation by Günter Vittmann). An overview of personal names, titles and products hitherto identified is given by G. Vittmann, 'Demotische und kursivhieratische Ostraka aus Mut al-Kharab', in: R.S. Bagnall – P. Davoli – C.A. Hope (eds), *The Oasis Papers 6: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* (DakhlOP-Monogr. 15, Oxford, 2012), pp. 29f. On the epigraphic evidence, see also O. Kaper, 'Epigraphic Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis in the Libyan Period', in: G.P.F. Broekman – R.J. Demarée – O.E. Kaper (eds), *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 5–27 October 2007* (EgUit 23, Leuven, 2009), pp. 149–159.

9 Jansen-Winkeln, *op. cit.*, pp. 207f.

10 Cf. S.K. Dahlgren, *Outcome of Long-term Language Contact: Transfer of Egyptian Phonological Features onto Greek in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Helsinki, 2017), F. Feder, 'Der Einfluß des Griechischen auf das Ägyptische in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit', in: T. Schneider (ed.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis: Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum ägyptisch-nichtsemitischen Sprachkontakt, Basel 9.–11. Juli 2003* (AOAT 310, Münster, 2004), pp. 509–512, T. Schneider, *Language Contact in Ancient Egypt* (EQÄ 16, Münster, 2023), D.J. Thompson, 'The Multilingual Environment of Persian and Ptolemaic Egypt: Egyptian, Aramaic, and Greek Documentation', in: R. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 395–417.

lexicon and to paraphrase foreign terminology could have been an inhibiting factor, but this strategy could never completely prevent the borrowing of suitable lexemes, while a significant number of foreign names should have appeared in administrative documents as well as private inscriptions.[11]

The success of our investigation is hindered by our limited understanding of the Libyan language(s). Although some bilingual texts are preserved, none are sufficiently complex to allow for a linguistic description, aside from the regional assumption that the ancient Libyan or Numidian language(s) should be distantly related to modern Berber languages.[12] The Libyco-Berber alphabets of possibly Phoenician origin can only partially help in this process, as it is unclear how many variants of these were in use to write an unknown number of different languages.[13] This script became obsolete in the early centuries CE, but as the local languages were only transcribed into Arabic several centuries later, we lack convincing etymological connections to most of the older language material. This also implies that the diversity of languages and dialects can be expected to be much more complex than we currently envision. If we consider the similar root patterns that appear in other Afroasiatic languages, as for example in Semitic, there is a high probability that we overlook potential lexemes, after they were borrowed and well-integrated into the Egyptian language.[14]

It is at this point that we have to address an important issue, namely the accurate transliteration of foreign words and names written in abnormal hieratic. It is no secret that our current methods lack precision in comparison to other disciplines, but it should be possible to sharpen our eyes through the reading.[15] During the New Kingdom the Egyptians developed a complex syllabic orthography for the rendering of foreign terminology and names in particular, which was frequently used during the Ramesside Period and thereafter.[16] Comparable to an 'alphabet' it was intended by the Egyptians as a reading aid for uncommon words. It would therefore be sensible to follow that intention and render each sign or group written also in the transliteration. Several editors did and do this in their editions, but especially in the rendering of Libyan or other foreign words and names we often encounter a simplification, comparable to the 'bound transcription' used in other studies of ancient languages. But while other disciplines aim to accurately transcribe the phonetic values, the Egyptological approach only takes into account the

11 In a multilingual society, foreign words or languages can either be used as a sign of prestige, or deliberately avoided. The first case nurtures the borrowing of foreign lexemes, while the second promotes a contra-motion. A good example of the latter can be observed in the indigenous languages of North and South America, which adopted remarkably few loanwords after the Portuguese-Spanish conquest and tended to articulate even the objects unknown in the cultures through neologisms, semantic extensions and loan translations. This deliberately dismissive attitude can still be seen in everyday life today, where, for example, speakers of Kiowa-Tano languages refrain from using established loanwords if they fear that these could be recognized as Spanish by listeners, cf. M. Mithun, *The Languages of Native North America* (Cambridge Language Surveys 1, Cambridge, 2001), pp. 31f. A certain restraint towards the incorporation of foreign terminology can also be detected during the Persian and Graeco-Roman Period, but in no documented long-term language contact situation could the borrowing of foreign lexemes be completely avoided.

12 Cf. M. Kossmann, 'Berber', in: Z. Frajzyngier – E. Shay (eds), *The Afroasiatic Languages* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 20f, O. Rössler, 'Die Sprache Numidiens', in: *Sybaris – Festschrift für Hans Krahe zum 60. Geburtstag am 7. Februar 1958, dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen* (Wiesbaden, 1958), pp. 94–120. This article follows the common designation of the languages of various North-African (semi-)nomadic tribes in the western territory of Egypt as 'Libyan', which goes back to the ancient Greek description of the entire region as Λιβύη. On closer inspection, this attribution is highly problematic, as the lack of a broad written tradition obscures the true diversity of languages, dialects and their relationships in the region.

13 On the proposed origins of the Libyco-Berber alphabets, see S. Chaker – S. Hachi, 'A propos de l'origine et de l'âge de l'écriture Libyco-Berbère', in: S. Chaker (ed.), *Etudes berbères et chamito-sémitiques: mélanges offerts à Karl-G. Prasse* (M-S 15, Paris – Leuven, 2000), pp. 95–111, W. Pichler, *Origin and Development of the Libyco-Berber Script* (Cologne, 2007), D. Casajus, 'Sur l'origine de l'écriture libyque: quelques propositions', in: *Afriques, Débats et lectures* (2013), accessed via http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/1203 (29 January 2024).

14 On the difficulties of a precise identification of foreign lexemes, see also R. Kade, 'Fifty Shades of Gyl: Deciphering the "Other" in Demotic Scientific Tradition', in: S. Schiødt – A. Jacob – K. Ryholt (eds), *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near East: Joint Proceedings of the 1st and 2nd Scientific Papyri from Ancient Egypt International Conferences, May 2018, Copenhagen, and September 2019* (New York, 2023), pp. 119–125.

15 Cf. J.F. Quack, 'Bemerkungen zur Struktur der demotischen Schrift und zur Umschrift des Demotischen', in: M. Depauw – Y. Broux (eds), *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies: Leuven, 26–30 August 2008* (OLA 231, Leuven, 2014).

16 The accurate interpretation of the syllabic script is a complicated issue, which has brought forth numerous arguments, although so far none has received absolute recognition, cf. e.g. W.F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (AOS 5, New Haven, 1934), J. Zeidler, 'A New Approach to the Late Egyptian "Syllabic Orthography"', in: G.M. Zaccone – T. Ricardi di Netro (eds), *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egittologia: atti* (Turin, 1993), 2, pp. 579–590.

potentially strongest consonants of a given word. This strategy distorts our understanding of a lexeme from several vantage points, for which I will provide two examples in the following:

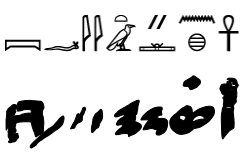
The most common case is the omission of signs or groups that served to mark vowel positions. While it is true that they can never be unambiguously read in abnormal hieratic, their reading can be complementary to the identification of name-building elements and thereby the underlying lexemes as well.[17] More importantly, each omission obscures the relations in-between the signs. For example, some 2-consonantal signs (e.g. *wꜣ*, *mꜣ*, *šꜣ*) in abnormal hieratic and demotic are often reduced to their initial values, when the editor judges that they had lost their weaker secondary element at the point of writing. But these signs are often followed by a complement, which you could also call a syllabic remainder, and for good reason if you compare the examples with the Coptic attestations *infra*.

pꜣ-wꜣ-ꜥ-h-ꜥ-r
P. Turin 2118 rto 42

In this example, the name would be transliterated as *pꜣ-whr* by most editors, harmonizing it to the later attestations in demotic, which were often written only with the strong consonants. The (bound-) transliteration omits the additional information provided for the vowel structure by the writing of two multifunctional signs for *ꜥ*, the first a syllabic remainder of the 2-consonantal sign *wꜣ* (compare the Coptic rendering as ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ).

The omission of these markings in the transliteration obscures the written reality and *en passant* suggests to the reader that the word could be considered to be genuinely Egyptian, while the actual complete rendering would imply a stronger possibility of a foreign transfer. In some cases, this is connected to the writing conventions of abnormal hieratic, wherein an aleph (G1) or waw (V1) can be written with the multifunctional sign but also reduced to a mere dot or stroke, which can easily be overlooked in the transliteration process, while the same sign can have different meanings in other circumstances.[18]

Similarly, other small characters, diacritical markers and classifiers are often not noted in the editing process. They can be paleographically similar to the named vowel markings *supra*, in extreme cases abbreviated to a single dot or stroke, but cannot easily be displayed in the transliteration, which facilitates their omission.[19] A notable case is found in the personal names formed with an initial *ꜥnḫ*, which normally consists of two elements, going back to the sandal strap (S34) and the group of the mono-consonantal signs *n* above *ḫ* (N35:Aa1).[20] Especially in abnormal hieratic, it is also possible to find examples of a tripartite construction including the book-roll classifier (Y1).[21]



ꜥnḫ-tꜣy=f-ḥrỉ
P. Vienna 12011b rto 4, 18[22]

17 Aside from the ambiguity of sign shapes in abnormal hieratic, the phonetic values of these markings are a different issue, for which no simple solution can be applied to all written examples. The recent approach by M. Kilani, *Vocalisation in Group Writing: A New Proposal* (LingAeg – StudMon 2, Hamburg, 2019) towards the indication of vowel positions was met with harsh criticism with regard to the minor selection of material and its anachronistic comparison with vocalized examples in other languages and scripts; cf. J.F. Quack, 'Review: M. Kilani, *Vocalisation in Group Writing: A New Proposal*', *WdO* 51 (2021), pp. 251–258. The predicament becomes especially visible in the royal and personal names, which are written with similar vowel markers, while the reality of the vocalization including the accent is only visible in renderings in Semitic languages and ancient Greek. Some of these difficulties were already noted by T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (OBO 114, Freiburg, 1992), pp. 360–402. These also become clear when comparing the usages of signs and groups in specific words to their pronunciation in Coptic, cf. Zeidler, *op. cit*.

18 Cf. the comprehensive study by J.J. Archidona Ramírez, *A Study of Abnormal Hieratic Dots, Ticks, and Strokes* (Dissertation, Leiden, 2020), especially pp. 31f and 37.

19 Cf. Archidona Ramírez, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–31, 44–46.

20 The writing of this group can also be reduced to a simple dot, cf. Archidona Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

21 Unfortunately, this writing variance of reducing the group to a simple dot is also recorded in non-initial position, e.g. in *ḏd-X-ỉw=f-ꜥnḫ* names and therefore does not function as a marker of differential pronunciation in certain name types, cf. J.F. Quack, 'Über die mit *ꜥnḫ* gebildeten Namenstypen und die Vokalisation einiger Verbalformen', *GM* 123, (1991), pp. 91–100.

22 Cf. on this attestation also G. Vittmann, 'Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen (und neue Texte)', in: U. Verhoeven, (ed.), *Ägyptologische 'Binsen'-Weisheiten I–II:*

As a consequence of these predicaments, the variance of signs and groups for similar sound values cannot easily be displayed in the transliteration. Therefore, facsimiles and hieroglyphic transcriptions will be provided for an in-depth analysis of the more ambiguous abnormal hieratic examples *infra*.[23]

Despite the lexical impediments mentioned before, it is possible to successfully connect a number of lexemes to potential Libyan languages. The words will be summarized with their diachronic usages and a short etymological commentary in descending order of frequency. The first four are well attested and can be considered as clear borrowings, which is also supported by the continued usages in Coptic:

w-h-r
ⲟⲩⲁⲣ
Third Intermediate Period – Roman Period

The most common word, probably borrowed as a more specific term for a wild dog or fox during the Third Intermediate Period, is later also used in corresponding titles and personal names (as discussed *infra*).[24] It never completely replaces the older *ỉwỉw*, which is still used e.g. in literary sources and personal names, but there might be a tendency for the new term to be adopted wherever no older tradition was harmed by it.

s-w-n
ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ
Late 20th Dynasty – Roman Period

The borrowing of this term should be aligned with the arrival of the Libyans in late New Kingdom Egypt.[25] As another common word with the meaning 'to know', it later coexisted with similar words *rḫ* and *sỉȝ*, each of which was used in specific circumstances.

s-g-r / s-g-l / s-k-r / s-k-l
ⲥⲅⲏⲣ / ⲥⲕⲏⲣ
Late Period – Roman Period

This word is attested from the 30th Dynasty, but by the etymological analysis should belong to the Libyan lexicon.[26] The lack of non-administrative sources from the Third Intermediate Period certainly obscures the true popularity of the term, as it became a common word for 'sailing' in demotic, which is attested in letters and literary sources and also in titles. Presumably, it represents a lexical specification of sailing, while partly synonymous terms such as the pair of *ḫdỉ* and *ḫntỉ* for 'travelling downstream and upstream' remained in use until the Graeco-Roman Period.

m-l-ṯ
ⲙⲟⲣⲧ
Third Intermediate Period – Roman Period

This word is only attested a few times in sources from the Third Intermediate Period to the Roman Period, but through etymological connection should belong to the Libyan lexicon.[27] It probably replaced older words for

Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik. Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013 (AAWMainz Einzelveröffentlichung 14, Stuttgart, 2015), p. 396.

23 With regard to the abundance of attestations in some sources, only a selection of the spelling and paleographical variations can be displayed *infra*. In a number of cases, especially in relation to P. Vienna 12013, it was not possible to produce some facsimiles due to the poor preservation of the ink on the papyrus.

24 Cf. Vycichl, *DictÉtym*, p. 242.

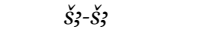
25 A convincing etymological derivation is given by Černý, *CED* (1976), p. 168 and C. Peust, 'Bemerkungen zur berberischen Etymologie des spätägyptischen Verbs *swn* / ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ "wissen"', *LingAeg* 21 (2013), pp. 159–165. On the chronological circumstances, see K.A. Kitchen, 'The Arrival of the Libyans in Late New Kingdom Egypt', in: A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt, c 1300–750 BC* (London, 1990), pp. 15–27.

26 Cf. *CDD*, *S*, pp. 472–483, Vycichl, *DictÉtym*, p. 207b.

27 Cf. Černý, *CED*, p. 89 and Vycichl, *DictÉtym*, p. 120b. The earliest attestation is found in P. Queen's College rto x + III, 2 (see *infra*) dating to the 25th Dynasty. Additional attestations are found in P. Boulac 3 rto 4, 14 via S. Töpfer, *Das Balsamierungsritual. Eine (Neu-)Edition der Textkomposition Balsamierungsritual (pBoulaq 3, pLouvre 5158, pDurham 1983.11 + pSt. Petersburg 18128)* (SsR 13, Wiesbaden, 2015), pp. 15, 115, 128 (note s), the narrative text P. Carlsberg 79 + PSI Inv. D 80 via J.F. Quack, 'Isis, Thot und Arian auf der Suche nach Osiris', in: J.F. Quack – K. Ryholt (eds), *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond* (CP 11 = CNIP 36, Copenhagen, 2019), p. 90 and in the magical Papyrus of London and Leiden rto 14, 20 via F.Ll. Griffith – H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 (Oxford, 1921), p. 38 (no. 387). Uncertain is the reading of *mrṯ ḫbs* 'wick of a lamp' in P. Philadelphia 30, II. 2, for which H.J. Thissen – K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Ein thebanisches Grab und seine Restaurierung', in: K. Donker van Heel – F.A.J. Hoogendijk – C.J. Martin (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There is no End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming* (P. L.Bat. 34, Leiden, 2018), p. 150 had suggested an identification with the word *šrṯ* for a piece of linen. Both readings are paleographically possible, but hitherto not attested with the meaning of 'wick', for which later manuscripts of the Roman Period employ the term *sʿl*/*šʿl*, itself also a loanword from Semitic, cf. Arabic شعل 'kindle'.

'chin', which are no longer attested in demotic, but there might be a slight coexistence visible in Graeco-Roman temple hieroglyphic texts.[28]

A second group of words show lesser evidence for a borrowing process, but it is uncertain if this can be linked to the Libyan languages or a different language contact situation.

šȝ-šȝ

Third Intermediate Period – Roman Period

A pot, jar or liquid measure of this name appears for the first time in the sources of the Third Intermediate Period and continues to be recorded frequently even in late demotic accounts.[29] No immediate etymological connection is evident.[30]

s-t-r-p-y-s-i̯ 21st–22nd Dynasty

This title appears in the combination with *ḥrí̯* in a number of unpublished papyri from the 21st and an inscription of the 22nd Dynasty and is sometimes translated as a 'chief of scouts', although the second lexeme has no known etymology.[31]

tȝ-m-r-g-nȝ / t-m-r-h-t-n Third Intermediate Period

Another potentially military title appears in the literary letter P. Moscow 127 and also in P. Cairo 30865 as *tȝ-m-r-g-nȝ*.[32] It is sometimes compared to an equally elusive title *t-m-r-h-t-n*, which is attested only once in the Second Intermediate Period but, even if all these attestations denote the same function, its etymology remains uncertain.[33]

A significant number of unknown syllabic words and potential titles are included in P. Vienna 12011 and 12013, but with regard to the diversity of the names recorded in these texts (as discussed *infra*) it is currently uncertain how many of these can be securely connected to a Libyan origin.

A third group of foreign titles is only found in a number of hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Third Intermediate Period, but it is impossible at this moment to prove that they were used outside of that context, so there is no evidence for a completed borrowing process.

m-s Third Intermediate Period

A well-known honorary title for men, also attested in Libyan inscriptions.[34]

m-k Third Intermediate Period

The reading of this title as well as its exact meaning is a matter of debate.[35]

28 Singular attestations, like the enigmatic *prḏȝ* in the so-called Demotic Chronicle, are difficult in their semantic evaluation, while the context does not allow for a secure identification as a 'chin'.

29 One of the earliest attestations of this term is found in P. Vienna 12013 (see *infra*).

30 The term was only linked to demotic in Černý, *CED*, p. 259 and Vycichl, *DictÉtym,* p. 275a; cf. also the discussion in E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (ÄgAbh 1, Wiesbaden, 1960), pp. 299f.

31 M. Römer, 'Die Datierung des Papyrus Prachov und andere Merkwürdigkeiten desselben', *GM* 248 (2016), p. 120 counted five attestations in P. Prachov. Cf. also P. Berlin 8547 via G. Burkard – H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, 4 (VOHD 19. 4, Stuttgart, 1994), p. 31 no. 25. For attestations in a papyrus in Aberdeen and in the Louvre, cf. M. Müller, 'The "el-Hibeh" Archive', in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, p. 262. The title is also mentioned in an inscription on a block from Herakleopolis (Cairo JE 39410), cf. K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, II: *Die 22.–24. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 6 (12. 15), X + 19.

32 R.A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe: From a Hieratic Papyrus in the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* (Oxford, 1977), p. 68, G. Vittmann, 'Ein kursivhieratisches Brieffragment (P. Kairo CG 30865)', *Enchoria* 27 (2001), p. 159.

33 D. Klotz, 'Emhab versus the tmrhtn: Monomachy and the Expulsion of the Hyksos', *SAK 39* (2010), pp. 211–241 gives a summary of potential etymological connections, mentioning the phonetic similarity to the original name of Genghis Khan *Timüjin* 'blacksmith' (formed with Turkish *timur–* 'iron' and a suffix *–či*). Despite all his efforts, doubts remain about all of the possible connections; cf. also G. Vittmann, 'Kursivhieratische Texte aus sprachlicher und onomastischer Sicht', in: I. Hafemann (ed.), *Perspektiven einer corpusbasierten historischen Linguistik und Philologie. Internationale Tagung des Akademienvorhabens „Altägyptisches Wörterbuch" an der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 12.–13. Dezember 2011* (TLA Publications 4, Berlin, 2013), p. 276.

34 Cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften*, II, pp. 23 (S. Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1894.107a) and 416f (coffin ensemble Berlin 7478) and the stela S. Louvre 279. For the Libyan etymology, cf. S. Chaker, 'Onomastique libyco-berbère (Anthroponymie)', *Encyclopédie berbère* 35 (2013), p. 5773.

35 M. Borla – F. Colin, 'Titre et noms libyens sur un *chaoubti* du Musée égyptien de Turin (catalogue no 2802)', *BSÉG* 24 (2000/2001), pp. 18f.

m-ȝ-ṯ-w-h-r Third Intermediate Period

In this title an initial element *mȝṯ-* was combined with the word for the wild dog (*whr*). It is possible that it is an equivalent to the title of the dog keeper (*mn whl*), which is also attested with the foreign animal in the onomasticon of P. Carlsberg 594+.[36]

It is unlikely that the first four established borrowings denote the true extent of the Libyan lexicon in Egyptian, especially considering the large number of words attested in demotic and Graeco-Roman temple hieroglyphs with unknown etymologies but, as in current research there is not an appropriate lexical field for exact comparison, it is impossible to link any of them with Libyan or Berber languages.[37]

The onomastic situation is slightly better, thanks to the important work done by Frédéric Colin, although aside from the gathering of sources it was almost impossible for him to offer an etymological analysis for the names found.[38] Another issue concerns the evidence itself, as he could only include a small amount of papyri into his study, as several others were unpublished and likely unknown to him at that time. Accordingly, most of the known Libyan names are currently not attested on papyrus, while it is unclear how many attestations of hitherto unknown names are still hidden in the papyrological evidence.

Alongside the lexicographical research for my PhD thesis on contact-induced language change in later Egyptian, I also worked through a large number of unpublished sources in abnormal hieratic and demotic. Although most of the administrative texts contained only a limited number of foreign lexemes, I was able to note the appearance of uncommon names and name-patterns. Originally, I had planned to extend my thesis with a chapter on personal names and name-building elements, but I had to abandon this task because of the enormous scope my thesis had reached in the summer of 2019. The following segment can be considered as a first step in that direction for the case of the Third Intermediate Period.

2 'You Must All Be Mad!'

The teachings of Koko Donker drew myself and numerous young and innocent students into the perilous realm of abnormal hieratic, always leaving a trail of papyrus crumbs in front of us which we would never dare to leave. It became clear, however, at an early date that he – like most of our colleagues elsewhere in Egyptology – was not very fond of deeper onomastic research. This is understandable, as the truly fascinating aspects of a text are

36 K. Ryholt, 'Four Demotic Onomastica: Occupations and Plants', in: *The Carlsberg Papyri*, 11, p. 401. On the title *mtwhr*, cf. A. Leahy, 'The Libyan Period', *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), p. 60. A similar name seems to be attested in P. Prachov, as noted by F. Colin, *Les Libyens en Égypte* (*XVe siècle a.C.–IIe siècle p.C.*): *Onomastique et histoire*, 2: *Onomasticon* (Brussels, 1995/1996), pp. 49f, and was possibly used as an element in the name *k-n-mȝ-ṯ-wȝ-h-r* on the stèle de l'apanage, cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *op. cit.*, p. 79 (16.8), lines 16 and 18. The element mt- is also used as a kinship term (mother of) in Libyan inscriptions. While a similar usage in the given words seems rather unlikely, it is possible that the element mt- had some nuanced etymological relationship for a person in charge of the dogs.

37 A complete list of foreign lexemes and terms with unknown etymology visible in Egyptian sources from the Third Intermediate to the Graeco-Roman Period will be published as an online database alongside the printed version of my PhD thesis on contact-induced language change in demotic. This will allow for regular updates and extensions, which should hopefully lead to a better understanding of the respective language contact situations. For the basis of this article, I had shared a list of the most common examples with Maarten Kossmann (personal communication).

38 Colin, *op. cit*. The difficulties of establishing reliable etymologies are exemplified by K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Überlegungen zu einigen libyschen Personennamen', in: B. Bryan – M. Smith – C. Di Cerbo – M. Escolano-Poveda – J.S. Waller (eds), *One Who Loves Knowledge: Festschrift in Honor of Richard Jasnow* (mvcae 6, Columbus, GA, 2022), pp. 497–506, who tried to segment Libyan names into known Egyptian root patterns. Even though it is not unlikely that some lexical similarities can be identified due to the close relationships within the Afroasiatic language family, his findings are impaired by his avoidance of grammatical analysis, which leads him to incorporate potential affixes or suffixes into his proposed root clusters. One should also mention the attestations in cuneiform sources, which although not very substantial, shed some light on the possible vocalization of some common names, cf. S. van Gompel, 'Egyptian Names', in: C. Waerzeggers – M.M. Groß (eds), *Personal Names in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonia* (*c. 750–100 bce*) (Cambridge, 2024), pp. 201f, C. Draper, 'Two Libyan Names in a Seventh Century Sale Document from Assur', *jaei* 7. 2 (2015), pp. 1–15. Included therein is a discussion of the enigmatic personal name *ḥa-la-be$_2$-su* = *ḥ-r-b-s*, for which A. Leahy, '"Ḥarwa" and "Ḥarbes"', *CdÉ* 55 (1980), pp. 43–63 had proposed a Libyan origin. The earliest attestations can be found in the Third Intermediate Period but, as most of the later examples did not indicate a foreign origin and the name could follow (partial) Egyptian etymologies by its phonetic structure, it was tentatively excluded from Colin, *Les Libyens*, 2, pp. 122f. At least one (incomplete) attestation can be found on a fragment of the papyri from Qasr Ibrim (on these see *infra*). In support of the Libyan origin, it is possible to compare the Libyan names iarbas and hiarbas via K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources* (cnws Publications 21, Leiden, 1994), pp. 57 and 62, to date only known from singular attestations. It is even more difficult to come up with a reliable equation for Harwa, so that other origins are also possible.

usually not found in the names mentioned, reading them correctly is a mere formality. So, if one got too attracted by this abnormal discipline and personal names, he or she surely had to be mad, or, by using one of Koen's favorite metaphors, were up a certain creek without a paddle. But as fate willed, the papyrus I had chosen for my MA (P. Cologne 5632) turned out to contain almost exclusively personal names. And it was through this papyrus that we met in Paris for the first time and I still remember fondly the spontaneous reading session we undertook together with Friedhelm Hoffmann during one of the lunch breaks at that Demotic Summer School, as even reading a weirdly written name correctly can be a rewarding experience. For better or worse, this papyrus left a mark and the field of onomastic studies, especially of the Third Intermediate Period, as well as Egyptian accounting became a habit of mine, which allows for the following overview of Libyan names discussed alongside the papyrological evidence in abnormal hieratic (including some pottery and a block of stone).

The most frequent cases concern the personal names related to the Libyan term *w-h-r* for the wild dog, which appear some time after the initial borrowing process.[39] The derivations including the definite article (*p3-whr*/*t3-whr*) are widely attested in the Late and Graeco-Roman Period including transcriptions in Greek (Πουωρις/Τουωρις) and subsequently in Coptic (ⲡⲟⲩϩⲁⲣ/ⲑⲟⲩϩⲱⲣⲉ).[40] This is undoubtedly linked to the popularity of this borrowed lexeme outside of the onomastic tradition, but the continuity of the usages also decreases the significance in the identification of potentially Libyan people, as we do not know when exactly the term was borrowed and can only speculate on how it was perceived by the following generations.[41] For reasons of completeness, the attestations of these names without additional evidence for Libyan names, are given in the following overview:

Singular attestations of p3-w-h-r Ranke 1, 104. 12

P. BM EA 10432[42] **555/554 BCE**

This papyrus contains an abnormal hieratic land lease, naming among other people *p3-w3-3-h-3-r* within a longer filiation.[43]

P. Cairo CG 30858[44] **690–664 BCE**

Among the fragmentary papyri that still remain unpublished in the collection of the Grand Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Spiegelberg considered P. Cairo CG 30841–30870 to be part of a longer account book from the reign of Taharqa.[45] Without all the fragments published with photographs, it is unclear if they all really belonged to the same manuscript, but according to the summary given by Günter Vittmann, P. Cairo CG 30858 forms a small fragment of an initial line, which includes the personal name *p3-w3-3-h-3-r*.

39 The earliest attestations of *w-h-r* can be found as part of the title *m-3-ṯ-w-h-r* mentioned in P. Prachov and the stèle de l'apanage, cf. footnote 36 *supra*, so the borrowing of the word likely occurred at the beginning of the Libyan Period. Personal names constructed with this element have not yet been identified in the 21st–24th Dynasty, but became very frequent in the 25th and 26th Dynasty, cf. K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, III*: Die 25. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2009), pp. 595, 612, K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, IV*: Die 26. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 1210, 1215, 1251 and E. LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, pp. 181, 1059.

40 Cf. PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, pp. 342, 444, CRUM *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 511a. On the feminine form, see also RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 355. 20. The masculine name is also attested in Carian inscriptions as puorś, cf. G. VITTMANN, 'Ägyptisch-Karisches', *Kadmos* 40 (2001), p. 41 and in cuneiform as *pu-ḫe-e-ra*, cf. A.C.V.M. BONGENAAR – B.J.J. HARING, 'Egyptians in Neo-Babylonian Sippar', *JCS* 46 (1994), p. 70.

41 Comparative research of loanword studies shows that especially in a language contact situation induced by a conquest there can be resentment towards accepting foreign terminology, which makes the selection of those words less likely for the conquered people, cf. footnote 11 *supra*. On the difficulties of identifying Libyans in the Egyptian sources, see also LEAHY, 'The Libyan Period', *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), pp. 54–56. A clear designation can often only be given through the mention of foreign titles or a filiation with other Libyans, or in rare cases an ethnic designation, e.g. in the usage of a classifier; cf. A. EFFLAND, 'Iuwelot der Libyer: Zwei neue Belege für den thebanischen Hohepriester des Amun aus der 22. Dynastie und ein ungewöhnliches Personendeterminativ', in: E.-M. ENGEL – V. MÜLLER – U. HARTUNG (eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand: Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer* (Wiesbaden, 2008), pp. 59–69.

42 G.R. HUGHES, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (SAOC 28, Chicago, 1952, pp. 9–17 (no. 1), JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, IV, pp. 566f (57.299), K. DONKER VAN HEEL, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis* (Dissertation, Leiden, 1995), pp. 236–239 (no. 24).

43 On a potential foreign etymology of his father *g-g-3-i-w*, cf. the similar name *g-3-y-g-3-i-i-w* in P. Vienna 12011 discussed *infra*.

44 VITTMANN, 'Der Stand der Erforschung', in: *'Binsen'-Weisheiten I–II*, p. 418.

45 W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler 30601–31270, 50001–50022*, II: *Die demotischen Papyrus* (CGC 39, Strassburg, 1906–1908), p. 190.

P. Cairo CG 30884 + 30864 + 31182[46] **686 BCE**

This papyrus contains a document of public protest (*šʿr*) that a female choachyte named *tȝ-ḥȝr* addressed to her colleague, whose name is not preserved, who was the son of a *pȝ-wȝ-ȝ-h-ȝ-r*.[47]

P. Cairo CG 30886[48] **Third Intermediate Period**

Another unpublished fragment from Cairo belongs to a receipt, dated to a regnal year 13 without giving the king's name. In line 3 the second contracter is identified as the choachyte *pȝ-wȝ-ȝ-h-ȝ-r*.

Gurna Vessel[49] **680–650 BCE**

In 1983 a German excavation team in Thebes-West discovered fragments of an almost complete storage vessel with two columns of an inscription in abnormal hieratic. The account is given in list form and contains numerous personal names and numbers, among which a *pȝ-wȝ-ȝ-h-ȝ-r* is also mentioned.

P. Louvre E 7856 vso[50] **672 BCE**

Another abnormal hieratic land lease belonging to the Louvre Eisenlohr lot acquired in 1885 also mentions the choachyte [*pȝ*]*-wȝ-ȝ-h-ȝ-r*.

P. Turin 2118[51] **635 BCE**

This abnormal hieratic sale contract belongs to the Turin archive of four papyri (2118–2121), all dealing with the same piece of land in Armant. The second witness is identified as a *pȝ-wȝ-ȝ-h-ȝ-r*.

Multiple attestations of different Libyan names:

Papyrus fragments from EES excavations in Qasr Ibrim[52] **744–656 BCE**

A number of papyrus fragments from the Third Intermediate Period was found during the EES excavations in Qasr Ibrim. Most of these are not well preserved and very difficult to read, but according to Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert they include a set of names, which you could denote as the standard inventory of Libyan names. These are well known from the kings and influential priests and high-ranking officials of the 21st and 22nd Dynasty and remained in use for some time thereafter.[53]

i̯w-wȝ-ȝ-r-i̯-ṯ	Colin 2, p. 9	Ranke 1, p 18. 10
mȝ-ȝ-s-h-ȝ-r-ṯ / *m-s-h-ȝ-r-ṯ*[54]	Colin 2, pp. 46–48	Ranke 2, p. 292. 18
nȝ-mȝ-r-i̯-ṯ[55]	Colin 2, pp. 50–55	Ranke 1, p. 204. 11
šȝ-šȝ-q[56]	Colin 2, pp. 61–88	Ranke 1, p. 330. 6
ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ[57]	Colin 2, p. 106–113	Ranke 2, p. 330. 10

The names are attested with different filiations resulting in a high proportion of presumably Libyan persons

46 G. VITTMANN, 'Zwei kursivhieratische Urkunden in Kairo', *Enchoria* 26 (2000), pp. 125–150.

47 On the legal procedure of public protest, cf. S. LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte* (Münster, 2008), pp. 98, 177. On the etymology of *šʿr*, cf. also G. VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 143f (note z).

48 SPIEGELBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 194, VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

49 G. VITTMANN, 'Eine kursivhieratische Gefäßinschrift aus Gurna', in: *Fs. Vleeming*, pp. 81–100.

50 K. DONKER VAN HEEL, 'Papyrus Louvre E 7856 Verso and Recto: Leasing Land in the Reign of Taharka', *RdÉ* 49 (1998), pp. 91–102, G.R. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, p. 79 (no. 10).

51 MALININE, *Choix*, I, pp. 56–71, JANSEN-WINKELN, *op. cit.*, pp. 238–245, 53.368. A new edition of the abnormal hieratic archive P. Turin 2118–2121 is under preparation by the author.

52 I would like to thank Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, who provided me with material from his lecture at the annual conference 'Neue Forschungen' in Berlin 2012 and conducted a workshop on the remaining reading problems in Leiden in the summer of 2018 in which I was allowed to take part. The publication is now in preparation by the honoree.

53 On the popularity of these names and their derivations outside of the papyrological evidence, cf. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, II, pp. 432, 508, 509, 517, 530, JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, III, pp. 592, 593, 610, 615. An overview of spelling variations of the royal names Osorkon and Takeloth is given by M-A. BONHÊME, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (BiÉtud 98, Cairo, 1987), pp. 177–179, 186–188, 191–192, and J. BERLANDINI, 'Petit monuments royaux de la XXIe à la XXVe dynastie', in: *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron,* 1 (Cairo, 1979), pp. 95–98. For Iuwelot, Masaharta and Nimloth, cf. COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, pp. 9, 46–48, 50–55.

54 RÖSSLER, 'Sprache Numidiens', p. 271 compares this name to Libyan MSLT via J.-B. CHABOT, *Recueil des inscriptions libyques* (Paris, 1940), p. 196 (no. 895), which would be possible if we consider a weak element -h- in the middle of the name, which is also visible in a number of names attested both with initial hi- or simple i- in JONGELING, *North African Names*.

55 Cf. NMRT via CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 149 (no. 680). This name might be attested in cuneiform sources as *lamintu*, cf. M. KARLSSON, *From the Nile to the Tigris. African Individuals and Groups in Texts from the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (SAAS 31, Helsinki, 2022), pp. 46f with footnote 168.

56 This name might be attested in cuneiform sources as *susinqu*, cf. KARLSSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 84f with footnote 322.

57 Cf. TKLT via CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 6 (no. 7). This name is likely attested in cuneiform sources as *takilāti*, cf. KARLSSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 91f with footnote 352.

present at the site. From the context of the documents, these were brought from other places to be employed in building activities connected with the extension of the temple area. The fragments also include a number of Nubian names and uncertain readings, allowing for the possibility that additional foreign names will be identified in the final edition.

Papyrus Fragments from the DAI excavations in Elephantine[58] **900–800 BCE**

A considerable number of abnormal hieratic papyrus fragments was found during the excavations of the German Archaeological Institute in Elephantine. Based on content and structure, most of these should belong to accounts and they include a wide set of personal names. But only in rare cases is it possible to detect some of the well-known Libyan personal names among them:[59]

nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ
šꜣ-šꜣ-q

Papyrus Fragments from the LHTT excavations in Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna[60] **???**[61]

Several papyrus fragments in abnormal hieratic were recently discovered in the hillside of Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna by members of the 'Life Histories of Theban Tombs' (LHTT) project of the University of Basel (P. LHTT4975). Some consist of lists of personal names and titles. Of particular interest is the fragment with the preliminary inventory number 1251_15, as it contains two potentially Libyan names in a filiation, written with the classifier of the throw stick (T14):

ṯ-k-r-q-ꜣ

šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ

It is tempting to compare this pair with the many variations of the common names Takeloth (son of) Sheshonq, but the paleography does not support this. In the name of the son the penultimate sign resembles a *qof*, although a small damaged area might also allow for an identification with the group with the canal (N36) used to render the phonetic value *i*. Neither case can explain the horizontal line that was drawn into the final multifunctional sign, which is also atypical to the known abnormal hieratic renderings of Takeloth. The penultimate sign of the father's name is a multifunctional sign, which appears slightly larger than the other examples in the same word and is also uncommon in the spelling of the name. Taking all these uncertainties together, the examples could represent previously unattested spelling variants of the given names or something completely different.

Hieratic inscription on a block (SCA 2816) from Amheida (Dakhleh Oasis)[62] **c. 748–743 BCE**

Several potentially Libyan names are listed in a donation text inscribed in hieratic on a (reused) block of stone discovered during the excavations in Amheida and dated to year 13 of Takelothis III. The text mentions a Libyan chief, who bears the Egyptian name *ns-ḏḥwty*, who presides over a local ethnic group named *šꜣmꜣỉn*, which is only attested in sources from the oasis.[63] Most of the mentioned persons are listed with Egyptian names, but none of the foreign ones were previously discussed by Colin or are attested in any other known Egyptian source.

ỉ-mꜣ-ꜣ-s

pꜣ-d-g-ꜣ-s

58 The publication of these fragments is in preparation by Günter Vittmann.

59 Cf. VITTMANN, 'Stand der Erforschung', in: *'Binsen'-Weisheiten I–II*, p. 398. The son of *ššq* seems to have a different foreign name written with the classifier of the throw stick (T14), but it cannot yet be read with certainty (personal communication).

60 The publication is in preparation by Elena Hertel and Charlotte Dietrich, who were so kind as to share this papyrus with me and to discuss the possibility of foreign names: see their contribution in this publication.

61 The editors are uncertain about the precise dating of the fragments, 'but suggest the late 25th or early 26th Dynasty'.

62 O.E. KAPER – R.J. DEMARÉE, 'A Donation Stela in the Name of Takeloth III from Amheida, Dakhleh Oasis', *JEOL* 39 (2005), pp. 19–37, JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, II, p. 329 (30.14). On the monumental usage of hieratic in the Libyan Period, cf. also LEAHY, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 60.

63 Cf. KAPER – DEMARÉE, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–37, K. ZIBELIUS, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 155.

Both were written with the classifier of the seated child and the first is attested as the name of a son and a father of a *pꜣ-nḥs*, indicating a longer family tradition. Similar names are not known from other Libyan sources, but it would be possible to link *i-mꜣ-ꜣ-s* to the Phoenician name YMS.[64] The usage of the definite article *pꜣ* in the second name is remarkable, as a number of similarly formed names with unknown lexemes are attested in the papyri discussed *infra*.

The Berlin Takelothis Lot (P. Berlin 3048, 3049, 3050, 3053 + 3014, 3055 and 3056 vso)[65] **842–816 BCE**

The above were acquired by Karl Richard Lepsius in 1845 and form the so-called Berlin Takelothis papyri. Structure, form and paleography allow for an assumption of an archival context, which was discovered somewhere in Karnak before it was put on the antiquities market.[66] While the rectos contain a hymn to Ptah and a prayer for the protection of Ramesses IX (P. Berlin 3048) and the rituals for the daily cult of Amun and Mut (P. Berlin 3053 + 3014, 3055), the versos contain a number of short notes, drafts and excerpts of legal texts and longer lists in late and abnormal hieratic.[67] The most detailed example is the verso of P. Berlin 3048, which contains 37 individual texts alongside various drawings, the greater part of which is still unpublished. Aside from the eponymous Takelothis (III), who appears in some of the dating formulae, currently only one person could be identified with another secure Libyan name in this collection:[68]

nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ

P. Brooklyn 47.218.3[69] **651 BCE**

The 46th witness of the Saite Oracle Papyrus bears the name *ʿnḫ-wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-n*, son of *ỉr.t-ḥr-r.r=w*, son of *ʿnḫ-wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-n*, constructed with the famous kings name, which will be further discussed *infra*.[70]

P. Cairo CG 30907 + 30909[71] **669 BCE**

The marriage contract on this papyrus includes at least one (female) Libyan name, which is well known from the sources compiled by Colin in many spelling variations:[72]

bꜣ-bꜣ Colin 2, pp. 38–41

P. Cairo GEM 66796[73] **639 BCE**

In 2020, another proto-demotic papyrus from Illahun was published by Hasnaa Abd-Ellatif and Maher Eissa. It

64 Cf. F.L. BENZ, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Rome, 1972), p. 128.

65 Some of the administrative texts were published by G. MÖLLER, 'Ein ägyptischer Schuldschein der zweiundzwanzigsten Dynastie', (SPAW philos.-hist. Kl. 15, Berlin, 1921), pp. 298–304, G. MÖLLER, *Zwei ägyptische Eheverträge aus vorsaïtischer Zeit* (APAWB philos.-hist. Kl. 1918. 3, Berlin, 1918). An overview of all texts on P. Berlin 3048 vso is given by K. DONKER VAN HEEL, 'The Scribbling-pad of Djemontefankh son of Aafenmut, Priest of Amonrasonter and Overseer of the King's Treasury (P. Berlin 3048 verso)', in: K. RYHOLT (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies: Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999* (CNIP 27, Copenhagen, 2002), pp. 139–147, G. VITTMANN, 'Altes und Neues zu pBerlin P 3048 *Verso* und den Zahlen 10 und 20 im Späthieratischen', in: S. GERHARDS et al. (ed.), *Schöne Denkmäler sind entstanden: Studien zu Ehren von Ursula Verhoeven* (Heidelberg, 2023), pp. 583–610. A publication of all the texts is in preparation by Elena Hertel and Günter Vittmann.

66 On the acquisition history, see DONKER VAN HEEL, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

67 A selected paleography of the religious text was included as 'Takelothis-Papyri' in G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, 3 (Leipzig, 1936).

68 On the dating of P. Berlin 3048 vso, see F. PAYRAUDEAU, 'Takeloth III: considerations on Old and New Documents', in: G.P.F. BROEKMAN – R.J. DEMARÉE – O.E. KAPER (eds), *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 5–27 October 2007* (EgUit 23, Leuven, 2009), pp. 291–302, correcting his older proposal towards Takelothis III. in F. PAYRAUDEAU, 'Le règne de Takélot III et les débuts de la domination koushite à Thèbes', *GM* 198 (2004), pp. 79–90.

69 JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, IV, pp. 218–231 (53.363), R.A. PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* (Providence, 1962).

70 On his family, cf. also JANSEN-WINKELN, *op. cit.*, p. 214 (53.355).

71 JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, III, p. 220 (48.159), LÜDDECKENS, *Eheverträge*, pp. 12f.

72 Cf. the Libyan name BB via CHABOT, *Recueil*, p. 154 (no. 708) and maybe babbe and babuis via JONGELING, *North-African Names*, p. 15. A similar initial element bb- is attested in a number of other Libyan names. A similar name *ba-ba-a-a* is also attested for a Carian in a cuneiform document from Borsippa dating to 514 BCE, cf. M. KARLSSON, *From Memphis to Babylon. African Individuals and Groups in Texts from Chaldean and Achaemenid Babylonia* (AAT 99, Münster, 2024), p. 70 (2.1.3.8).

73 H. ABD-ELLATIF – M. EISSA, 'Between Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic: A Legal Document of the Early 26th Dynasty from the Fayoum (Preliminary Edition of P. Cairo GEM 66796)', *GM* 262 (2020), pp. 49–64. The dating has recently been corrected from 649 to 639 BCE, cf. G. VITTMANN, 'Altes und Neues zu pBerlin P 3048 *Verso* und den Zahlen 10 und 20 im Späthieratischen', in: GERHARDS et al. (eds), *Schöne Denkmäler sind entstanden: Studien zu Ehren von Ursula Verhoeven* (Heidelberg, 2023), pp. 596–597.

contains a legal contract on a division of a house of the 26th Dynasty and was recently moved from the storeroom in Kom Aushim to the Grand Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where it shall be restored further. Currently, the upper left corner is in a very fragmentary and scattered state but as the second column contains witness copies, which closely follow the formulae of the main text, it is possible to restore most of the content. The father of the scribe of the main contract is identified as:

nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ

In addition, the second contractual partner bears the name:

g-w-ꜣ-w-ꜣ

It was written with the classifier of the seated child (A17). The name is also recorded for his grandfather but it is hitherto unattested in other Egyptian sources and cannot be securely linked to an attested Libyan name. A different foreign background of his family is possible.

P. Cologne 5632[74] **750–650 BCE**

I worked on this papyrus during my MA thesis in Heidelberg during the summer of 2015, which was the main reason I got in touch with the honoree for the first time, and then also regarding many questions about personal names. The paleography of this papyrus is a weird mixture going beyond the typical abnormal hieratic, which brought Günter Vittmann in his edition to classify it as proto-demotic.[75] The papyrus was purchased in Cairo in 1971 as part of a group of papyri, which are now recorded under the inventory numbers 5631–5680 in the Cologne Papyrus Collection. The other papyri in this group are a Greek document from the 3rd or early 2nd cent. BCE (P. Cologne 5631) and a series of often only fragmentarily preserved demotic texts, most of which also appear to be fragments of accounts and are still unpublished.[76] Unfortunately, none of these show any similarities in its style or type of papyrus with P. Cologne 5632. They probably originate from different places and times and were subsequently combined as a group by a dealer and offered for sale. The exact places and circumstances of the fragments' discovery are unfortunately unknown. Based on some uncommon personal names and the priestly titles, Günter Vittmann proposes a localization in or around Herakleopolis or even the temple of El-Hibe.[77]

With 37 different names preserved in 116 lines it is a complex onomastic repository, but hitherto only the following name can be read with certainty as Libyan:

nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ

The papyrus was written by at least two different individuals and does contain a number of uncommon short writings for known and uncertain names, of which *ḥ-p-w-r* is the most prominent, but none of these can be securely linked by their phonetic structure to any known Libyan name.[78]

P. Prachov[79] **mid-21st Dynasty**

This unpublished papyrus from the collection of the Eremitage in St. Petersburg consists of more than 16 columns on the recto, each of more than 100 lines in length, and additional columns on the verso. According to Malte Römer, who is currently working on the edition, it shows severe damage on the upper side as well as passages with minor traces of ink, which appear to have been rubbed off. Despite its unfortunate condition, it is of great importance for Third Intermediate Period onomastics as it records the names of hundreds of land owners in the 10th upper Egyptian nome. The number of Libyan or other foreign names in the papyrus is hitherto unknown, but Römer mentioned an attestation of at least one of the usual suspects on the verso:[80]

mꜣ-s-ḥ-ꜣ-r-ṯ

74 Published by G. VITTMANN, 'Eine "protodemotische" Abrechnung aus der Dritten Zwischenzeit (Papyrus Köln 5632)', in: S.-W. HSU – V.P.-M. LAISNEY – J. MOJE (eds), *Ein Kundiger, der in die Gottesworte eingedrungen ist: Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkeln zum 65. Geburtstag* (ÄAT 99, Münster, 2020), pp. 317–343.

75 VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 331f.

76 The best-preserved examples are P. Cologne 5633, 5634, 5635, 5636, 5637 and 5680, despite their small size and deplorable condition.

77 VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 317 (note 4). The accounts of P. Vienna 12011 and 12013 and at least parts of P. BM EA 10798 should also be localized in this region. A connection could be substantiated if one *ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t sꜣ nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ* is identical to the individual mentioned in P. Vienna 12011 rto (see *infra*).

78 VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 318, 331.

79 I would like to thank Malte Römer, who kindly answered my questions and shared some material from his completed DFG-project on the edition of P. Prachov and related texts. An overview of the project is provided at https://www.academia.edu/24492200/Informationen_zum_Projekt_EDITION_DES_PAPYRUS_PRACHOV_2016 (29 January, 2024).

80 Cf. RÖMER, *op. cit.*, p. 118. On a potential name *m-ꜣ-ṯ-w-ḥ-r*, cf. A. GASSE, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales sur l'organisation du domaine d'Amon*, 1 (BiÉtud 104, Cairo, 1988), pp. 203f and footnote 36 *supra*.

P. Queen's College[81] **678–677 BCE**

While the Queens-College papyrus is best known for containing the hitherto only preserved substantial literary composition written in abnormal hieratic, the verso is also of interest from the perspective of abnormal hieratic accounting. It was reused during the reign of Taharqa for recording a number of accounts and, although the ductus and preservation makes the understanding impossible in several sections, Günter Vittmann was able to decipher a number of personal names in that context. Among these, the following is mentioned as a Libyan name:

ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ

Some of the uncertain spellings were also written with the classifier of the throw stick (T14), but without a better understanding of the contexts, it is currently not possible to read them as foreign names.[82]

P. Strasbourg 21[83] **21st Dynasty**

This letter from the so-called El-Hibeh archive is dedicated to the god *Pꜣ-n-pꜣ-iḥꜣy*. It was probably written by the high priest of Amun *mn-ḫpr-rᶜ* for the benefit of his ailing brother:

mꜣ-ꜣ-s-ḥ-ꜣ-r-ṯ

The brother's illness prompted the letter, in the hope that the god would cure him.[84]

P. BM EA 10798[85] **25th–26th Dynasty**

The British Museum catalogued under this inventory number a complex acquisition of more than one hundred and fifty fragments of different size and preservation in 1962. According to Petra Hogenboom-Meijerink, who is currently working on the arrangement and translation of the fragments, these include sections of notes and accounts in different hands of abnormal hieratic and at least one possible Osirian text written in a more standard style of late hieratic. It is unclear if they all once belonged to the same manuscript and if and how the different sections were related to one another. Based on a number of the personal names mentioned, at least part of the papyrus can be localized in the area of Herakleopolis according to an assessment by Günter Vittmann.[86] It can further be stated that one section in frame 2 (with additional fragments in frame 6) is significantly different from all the others, first in its paleography and second as it includes a large number of potentially foreign names in syllabic script. The families mentioned demonstrate different approaches to the foreign ancestries, as some show common Egyptian names for the sons but not the fathers, while others show foreign names for all generations, documenting large families of Libyans and other foreigners in the late Cushite and early Saite Period.[87] As several passages are difficult in their readings and/or not well preserved, the edition of this papyrus is still at a very early stage. In the following, I will only discuss the cases in which the sequence of signs is largely comprehensible.

The text includes many of the standard inventory of Libyan names, most of which were already discussed *supra*:

i̯w-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-ṯ	Colin 2, p. 9	Ranke 1, p. 18. 10
wꜣ-ꜣ-ḥ-ꜣ-r		
nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ		
šꜣ-šꜣ-q		
ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ		

81 The accounts of P. Queen's College were edited by Günter Vittmann and will be published as part of the edition by Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert. Preliminary hieroglyphic transcriptions of most of the texts on the verso were made by Koenraad Donker van Heel and, albeit to a lesser extent, by Guillaume Bouvier in 2003 (directly from the original) and 2004.

82 An example is found in vso x + IV, 15, where Günter Vittmann has tentatively read *pꜣ rhn* (*r-ꜣ-ḥ-nꜣ-i*), which displays a phonetic similarity to Libyan names constructed with a final element -rhn, e.g *y-r-ḥ-n* and *r-y-w-r-ḥ-n,* cf. Colin, *Les Libyens*, 2, pp. 10–12, 57f and the attestations in P. Vienna 12011 and 12013 with footnotes 120 and 121 *infra*.

83 K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, I: *Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 205f (11.39), Müller, 'The "el-Hibeh" Archive', in: *The Libyan Period*, p. 263, W. Spiegelberg, 'Briefe der 21. Dynastie aus El-Hibe', *ZÄS* 53 (1917), pp. 13f.

84 This letter was written in New Kingdom hieratic. A summary of the distribution of fragments of the El-Hibeh archive among international collections is given by Müller, *op. cit.*

85 The publication is in preparation by Petra Hogenboom-Meijerink, who presented this text at the Demotic Summer School in Munich at the end of August 2018 and most recently at the International Congress of Egyptology in Leiden 2023. She generously allowed me to inspect photographs of the papyrus during a research visit in Leiden in July 2018. Over a period of two days, we were able to make considerable progress in understanding the personal names, on which the following summary is based.

86 Cf. footnote 77. The localization is further supported by the large number of potentially Libyan names mentioned in the text (as discussed *infra*), cf. in this context K. Jansen-Winkeln, 'Die Libyer in Herakleopolis Magna', *Orientalia* 75 (2006), pp. 297–316.

In addition, it is possible to identify several attestations of the name:

i-k-ꜣ-nꜣ Colin 2, pp. 14f Ranke 1, p. 48. 15

It is also attested on the stèle de l'apanage (S. Cairo JE 31882).[88] It is possible to compare the consonantal cluster to the Libyan name iacina, attested in several spelling variations.[89]

Another name from this group deserves special attention, which is attested at least 15 times on this papyrus alone:

wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ
Colin 2, pp. 20–36 Ranke 1, p. 87. 2t

The etymology of this famous name of kings and officials is still a matter of dispute. If we consider that Colin had identified a large number of Libyan names with an initial w-, it is possible to compare this element (written *wꜣ-ꜣ-* with a syllabic remainder) with a known element wa/wi- in Libyan denoting an affiliation 'the one of', which is further supported by the segmentation of three previously unattested Libyan names on the same papyrus discussed *infra*.[90] A possible feminine equivalent is attested as *tꜣ-n.t-srkn* (which in Libyan would have been *ta(n)srkn or *ti(n)srkn).[91] The element *srkn* can then be compared to the numerous attestations of the Libyan name selcheni/slkny, found both in classical and Phoenician inscriptions in many spellings variations.[92] The final -i/y poses a certain problem, as it is absent in most of the Egyptian attestations, but seems to have been an integral part of the name elsewhere. This poses the question if it could have been preserved also in the Egyptian pronunciation, for which the local spellings would not be

87 Several attestations of the name *pꜣ-ḫꜣr* 'The Syrian' could indicate that at least some unknown names and families have a North-West-Semitic origin (see on this also P. Vienna 12011 *infra*).

88 Cf. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, II, pp. 78f (16.8) and COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, pp. 14f.

89 Cf. JONGELING, *North African Names*, p. 59 and also the numerous attestations of IKNH in CHABOT, *Recueil*, *passim*. The combination of the prefix i- and the final element -an has been analyzed as a verbal participle, cf. CHAKER, 'Onomastique', *Encyclopédie berbère* 35 (2013), pp. 577of and the name icnanus via JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 64 (written with an additional Latin case ending -us).

90 On this element in Berber grammar, cf. CHAKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 5764f, 5775f; on the personal names, see COLIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–38. The initial element w- was recently discussed by F. PAYRAUDEAU, 'Note d'onomastique libyco-égyptienne', in: S.-W. HSU – V.P.-M. LAISNEY – J. MOJE (eds), *Ein Kundiger, der in die Gottesworte eingedrungen ist: Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkeln zum 65. Geburtstag* (ÄAT 99, Münster, 2020), pp. 205–207, but a similar segmentation had been proposed (and apparently been ignored) several times before, cf. W.M. MÜLLER, 'Königsnamen der 22. ägyptischen Dynastie', *OLZ* 8 (1908), pp. 361–363 and O. RÖSSLER, 'Libyen von der Cyrenaica bis zur Mauretania Tingutana', in: G. NEUMANN – J. UNTERMANN (eds), *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* (Cologne, 1980), p. 271. The reticence within the scientific community is certainly related to the incomplete linguistic tradition, in which numerous Libyan names with initial w- (and the feminine equivalent t-) are attested in the classical sources, but a secure analysis has hitherto only been provided for medieval and modern examples. One also has to exclude the examples with initial wr-, which can be analysed as an element of negation via CHAKER, *op. cit.*, p. 5774.

91 COLIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 59f. It is a curious coincidence that the female Egyptian name-building element is phonetically and semantically similar to Libyan-Berber ta/ti (n) with the notion 'the one of/who', while the male equivalent in Libyan could have been confused with the Egyptian indefinite article *wʿ*. A similar element w- is used in inscriptions to mark an ancestry 'the son of', for which the feminine equivalent is wlt-. Due to our poor knowledge of the Libyan lexicon, it is not possible to say at this moment to what extent the personal names with the prefix w- were in general analogous formations to the Egyptian *pꜣ-šrỉ-X* and *pꜣ-n-X* names.

92 Cf. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, pp. 130f, K. JONGELING, *Names in Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (Groningen, 1984), p. 192f.

93 Prominent exceptions are found in P. Vienna 12011, cf. footnote 119 *infra*.

94 Cf. H. BAKER, *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* 3/2 (Philadelphia, 2011), pp. 1421f, KARLSSON, *From Nile to Tigris*, pp. 96–98. The Assur Prisma mentions a king *ši-il-kan-ni*, who brought twelve horses as a gift to Sargon; other documents from Assur record a servant by the name *ši-il-ka-a-nu* and other individuals of higher and lower standing by the name of *u$_2$-si-il-ka-nu*. Only the first was identified with Osorkon IV by E.F. WEIDNER, 'Šilkan(ḫe)ni, König von Muṣri, ein Zeitgenosse Sargons II.', *AfO* 16 (1941–1944), 44f and RÖSSLER, *op. cit.*, p. 271 on the basis of historical arguments, although these have subsequently been questioned by several scholars, cf. K. JANSEN-WINKELN, 'The Third Intermediate Period', in: E. HORNUNG – R. KRAUSS – D.A. WARBURTON (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Leiden, 2006), p. 260. The second person can be linked even less reliably to a historical Libyan background. But as the phonetic structure is very similar to the first name, it is possible that both can be compared to the Libyan name ŠLKN via CHABOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 (no. 367) and 221 (no. 1028), for which a singular Egyptian attestation of a *š-r-k-n* is cited by J. YOYOTTE, 'Petits monuments de l'époque libyenne', *Kêmi* 21 (1971), 51f. That alone is not able to substantiate the existence of a final /i/, as also JONGELING, *North-African Names*, p. 130f is cautious in his assessment due to the existence of the similar Libyan name ŠLUKN, which can be compared to Latin selaucha but not to the syllabic structure of the Assyrian examples. The third name provides the only attestations, which indicate an initial

indicative.[93] It is found in a number of similar names attested in cuneiform, but it is difficult to harmonise all of them with a common origin.[94] This leaves the late sound change a > o (also visible in the Semitic and Greek renderings of king *šśq*) as an essential counterargument against the final -i, as it would only work if *á > *ó was in a closed syllable, which is less likely given the Egyptian and Assyrian evidence.[95] As an alternative to selcheni, it might be worthwhile to compare the name with selkan, which is attested in the name of a Berber tribe *bnw slk'n* recorded in the Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ by Ibn Ḥawḳal.[96] An *w-selkan would then be a designation of a member of the tribe, comparable to other ethnic personal names constructed in Egyptian, e.g. *pꜣ-n-kꜣš* (The one of Kusch) and *pa-ḫꜣr* (The one of Syria).

Let us now turn to the three remaining names containing an initial element *w*:

wꜣ-ꜣ-i̯-mꜣ-r
frame 2, rto col. 3, 6 + 13 / frame 6b, rto col. 1, 16 + 27

The group above the *mꜣ* does not resemble the one used in the name *nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ* in the same papyrus, but is paleographically similar to the group with the canal (N36) used to render the phonetic value i̯ in some of the other names. It is then possible to compare *i̯-mꜣ-r* to the Libyan name IMR.[97] As an alternative, one could consider the similar arrangement of the signs and propose a spelling variant for *nꜣ* (similar to the variations documented for *nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ* in other sources). The name could then be a derivation from the Libyan name nimira.[98] But as this is a very common consonantal cluster, it would also be possible to connect it with the Semitic root *NMR, which was also used for personal names.[99]

The same combination of the elements w- and -i̯mr can also be found at the beginning of a longer name in the same column:

wꜣ-ꜣ-i̯-mꜣ-r-q-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-s
frame 2, rto col. 2, 22

The name differs in length from most examples discussed in this article. Following the previously given identification, a division into two names would also be conceivable in principle, omitting the filiation, which the writer otherwise marks very regularly with the multifunctional sign. While it would be possible to compare the remaining *-q-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-s* with the Libyan name KRZ, no secure attestation of a similar construction can be found in the classical sources.[100]

u- comparable to the majority of the Egyptian examples. If it was also related to ŠLKN, it would require a rendering of Libyan /š/ in /s/ in Egyptian and Assyrian, similar to Latin /s/ and /sh/ in the examples cited *supra*. It could also have been private individuals adopting the king's name for which there are numerous examples in the Egyptian sources. On the basis of the available evidence, one should distinguish between the possible shared origins of Assyrian *ši-il-kan-ni, ši-il-ka-a-nu* // Egyptian *š-r-k-n* and Assyrian *u$_2$-si-il-ka-nu* // Egyptian *wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*.

95 If we assume a final -i as certain, this would only be possible if we accept a geminated -nn-, only visible in the first Assyrian example cited in the footnote *supra*, but in none of the variants in the classical or Egyptian sources. If we instead consider the numerous cuneiform renderings of Egyptian and Libyan names with final vowels, for examples, cf. VAN GOMPEL, 'Egyptian Names', in: *Personal Names in Cuneiform*, pp. 200–202, it is conceivable that these indicate difficulties with the phonetic rendition or that Akkadian etymologies were taken into account (e.g. they could have thought about *milku* 'advice' when rendering Psamtik as *pi-ša$_2$-mi$_3$-il-ki*, similar to the association as a seller of *mṯk* 'mixed wine' in the Egyptian 'reinterpretation' of the name as *pꜣ-s-n-mṯk*); cf. the attestation in J. NOVOTNY – J. JEFFERS, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627 BC), and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1* (RINAP 5/1, University Park, 2018), p. 238.

96 Cf. J.H. KRAMERS (ed.), *Opus Geographicum* (Leiden, 1967), p. 106 and T. LEWICKI, 'Du nouveau sur la liste des tribus berberes d'Ibn Ḥawḳal', *FolOr* 13 (1971), p. 187. selkan was noted by JONGELING, *North African Names*, p. 131 as a possible etymological connection with selcheni, but without the Egyptian evidence it is impossible to recognize the significance of an ethnic designation with this phonetic structure. This does not exclude the possibility that selcheni had a completely different origin, taking into account the phonetic difficulties discussed *supra*. A personal name *s-r-k-n* is attested twice on an Osiris figurine from the 25th Dynasty; cf. L. DE BLACAS, 'Une statue d'Osiris de la XXIIIe dynastie', *RevÉg* NS 1 (1919), pp. 39–46 and JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, III, p. 370 (52.41).

97 CHABOT, *Recueil*, p. xviii *passim*, compared with ihimir in JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

98 JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

99 Cf. e.g. BENZ, *Personal Names*, p. 147 (NML).

100 Cf. CHABOT, *Recueil*, p. 185 (no. 849).

wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-mꜣꜣ-n
frame 2, rto col. 2, 4 + 6, col. 4, x + 25

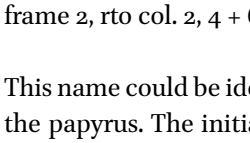
This name could be identified only twice in this column of the papyrus. The initial combination of signs for *wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-* is identical to the numerous attestations of *wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*, but instead of the writing of *k* above aleph these two instances contain a group, which is paleographically similar to a writing of *mꜣꜣ* 'to see'. If we take *wꜣ-ꜣ-* as a rendering of the prefix w-, which would follow the same principle as the names *supra*, the remainder aligns with the Libyan name zruman.[101]

A more complicated case is found in a name, which combined the Egyptian article *pꜣ* with a possibly Libyan word:

pꜣ-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-m-s
frame 2, rto col. 2, 4, col. 4, x + 25

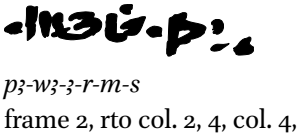
As the article was written in both attestations, it seems that the name did not exist without the article (only partially comparable to (*pꜣ*)-*bꜣ-r-wꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ* discussed *infra*). It is unlikely that a foreign word was constructed here in a similar manner to *pꜣ-w-h-r* (as discussed *supra*), as there is no evidence for a longer tradition of usages, which would have eventually induced a borrowing into the Egyptian vocabulary. Without a better knowledge of the Libyan lexicon, it is equally impossible to say whether a title has been constructed here as a personal name. The remaining consonantal cluster can be compared to the common Libyan name URMZ.[102]

Most of the other names are currently unattested in any Egyptian script, but it is still possible to make some assumptions on Libyan connections. A good example is the attestation of the name:



k-ꜣ-r-s
frame 2, rto col. 2,8

It can be compared with the Libyan name KRZ.[103] There is slight uncertainty in the reading of the last two signs as a two-part *s*, as this is paleographically identical to the spelling of *i̯-w*, which is often attested in final position in Libyan personal names. The large number of names in this papyrus in which the two-part *s* is definitely used makes the given interpretation somewhat more probable. Alternatively, this name could also be read as an equivalent to the well-known name *k-r-i̯*.[104]



k-ꜣ-r-p-ꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ
frame 2, rto col. 2, 20 / frame 6b, rto col. 1, 1

The reading of the first sign is uncertain in both attestations, but it looks slightly more like a smaller version of *k-ꜣ* than simple *nꜣ*. The ending *-r-i̯-ṯ* is secure, often seen among Libyan names discussed *supra*. In comparison with the known inventory of Libyan names, no preference can be assigned to either of the two consonants. The Egyptian sources include a number of names with initial *k-r-*, while a large number of names with initial *n-r-* can be found in the classical sources.[105]

101 Cf. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 156. The same name is possibly also attested as an element in the name kn-zrmn, cf. JONGELING, *Names in Neo-Punic*, p. 176. Both could be further segmented into the Libyan name SRM, attested in CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 144 (no. 655), constructed with an additional suffix -an; see on this K. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, pp. xiv–xv, and A. WILLMS, *Grammatik der südlichen Beraberdialekte* (Hamburg, 1972), p. 141. A possible assimilation of m-n might be detected in the Libyan name SRN, cf. J.-B. CHABOT, *Recueil*, p. 71 (no. 298). The rendering of Libyan /z/ with Egyptian /s/ is further supported by the names *pꜣ-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-m-s* and *k-ꜣ-r-s* discussed *infra*.

102 Cf. CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. xxii *passim*.

103 Cf. CHABOT, *Recueil*, p. 185 (no. 849). It could be a short rendering comparable to the many variations of Latin gulussa, cf. JONGELING, *North African Names*, p. 54. RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 347. 19 records a personal name *k-ꜣ-r-s*/*k-r-s*, but with no indication of a potential foreign origin.

104 Cf. COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, pp. 93–96 and RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 346. 28. It is attested since the New Kingdom.

105 Cf. CHABOT, *Recueil*, p. xx, COLIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–102.

k-ꜣ-r-p-ʔ-y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r
frame 2, rto col. 2, 5

A similar name, which shows the same initial sign group, can also be found in line 5 of the same column. At least one sign in the middle is severely damaged, but the remaining signs can be clearly read, unfortunately still leaving many possibilities as to its potential origin.

y-m-g-ꜣ-r
frame 2, rto col. 2, 6 + 13 / frame 6b, rto col. 1, 23

This name can be compared to the Libyan name iamcar/iamgur.[106] An initial element *i̯-/y-* is often used in Libyan names, cf. e.g. *y-r-h-n, y-k-n-w-š* and *y-w-ṯ-k*.[107] It should be identical to the prefix i- (Chelha, Kabyle) and e- (Touareg) in modern Berber languages denoting the masculine article a-, which is commonly affixed to the root.[108] As the article has no definite function, it is not uncommon that nouns are written with or without the affix, which could explain similar variances in the Libyan names from the Egyptian sources. Accordingly, this name could also have been constructed out of the initial element y- and the Libyan name macer.[109]

bꜣ-r-wꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ
frame 2, rto col. 2, 10, col. 3, 9 + 10

This name is attested in at least three different filiations. In col. 3, 9 + 10 it is the third name, but it seems to be preceded by another sign, which has some paleographical similarity to a two-part article *pꜣ*. As in the name *pꜣ-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-m-s* (discussed *supra*), it is unlikely that an otherwise uncommon Libyan word was constructed with an Egyptian article to form the given name. It can be compared with the Libyan name BRS, but the etymology of the element *brš* remains uncertain.[110] As an alternative, the god Baal in initial position is a common element in Libyan personal names, which could have been combined with an element *-w-š*, not widely attested in the Libyan onomasticon.[111]

The papyrus contains several more names where a syllabic reading is undeniable, but no secure connection can be established either to other Egyptian or classical sources. A foreign connection is likely due to the usage of the same classifier, also found in the names Takeloth, Nimloth and Sheshonq, which should be the throw stick (T14), and the filiations. The following is a selection of (current) hapax legomena, which despite the complexity of the consonantal structure and the classifiers did not offer any convincing connections:

p-n-y-i̯-nꜣ
frame 2, rto col. 2, 14

h-ꜣ-ṯ-ꜣ-r-ꜣ
frame 2, rto col. 2, 9

106 Cf. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

107 Cf. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, II, p. 505 (numerous entries), JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, III, p. 385 (52.79), JONGELING, *North African Names*, pp. xi–xii.

108 This was already noted by VYCICHL, *DictÉtym*, p. 88 for some etymological connections; see e.g. in the entry for KAC. Cf. also K. MOURIGH, *A Grammar of Ghomara Berber* (Leiden, 2015), p. 68 and WILLMS, *Beraberdialekte*, pp. 131f. The feminine equivalent is initial t-. Alternatively, with a verb, it could be used as a third person sg. masc. affix; cf. CHAKER, 'Onomastique', *Encyclopédie berbère* 35 (2013), pp. 5768f.

109 JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi–xxvii and CHABOT, *Recueil*, p. xix for the names MGRU p. 88 (no. 394) and MKR p. 144 (no. 651) as well as numerous variations and extensions, e.g. MGR-KN p. 86 (no. 384) with a typical final element -kan. Cf. also the widely attested name MUKR (*passim*). For a similar name attested in Phoenician, cf. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 180, K. JONGELING, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (Tübingen, 2008), pp. 346f.

110 Cf. CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 236 (no. 1106).

111 Cf. JONGELING, *op cit.*, p. vii. A similar final element is visible in the name *i̯-k-n-w-š* via COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, p. 15f, which can be analysed as an extension of the common name *i̯-k-n* discussed *supra*. Hitherto, it has been impossible to prove if that was a more common component in the construction of names.

šȝ-wȝ-ȝ-k-ȝ-y-h-ȝ-p-ȝ-nȝ
frame 2, rto col. 2, 17

šȝ-h-mȝ-ȝ
frame 2, rto col. 2, 10

The first and second names are attested in the second and third positions of a filiation, i.e. as father and grandfather of a *pȝ-ḏi-ȝs.t*. The second is one of the rare examples, where a personal name in this papyrus used the classifier of the seated child (A17). The third displays a widely more complex consonantal cluster, which could indicate a Nubian or Persian origin, but no similar names or elements are listed in the current studies by Zibelius and Vittmann. It might be the extension of a shorter name, as *y-h-ȝ-p-ȝ-nȝ-i̯-w* is attested also in P. Vienna 12011 b vso 2, 13 (discussed *infra*). The fourth example is also significantly different from the other names previously discussed from this papyrus. Based on the classifier of the animal hide (F27), it could have been derived from an animal name, similar to the common name *pȝ-w-h-r*. With regard to the frequent attestations of the name *pȝ-ḫȝr* mentioned *supra*, also North-West-Semitic origins have to be considered to solve these enigmata.

ṯ-ȝ-pȝ-k-ȝ-šȝ-r
frame 2, rto col. 2, 6

This combination occurs only once in a filiation in the position of the grandfather with two more potentially Libyan names mentioned before. A feminine name of the type *ta-pȝ-* or a similar pattern in Berber seems to be an unlikely choice in that position, but it is not completely unprecedented in accounting practices.[112] The major problem is related to the enigmatic element *kšr*. If it could be integrated into a common type of Egyptian names, one would expect a well-known lexeme but, although several foreign etymologies are possible, none are very likely for a hapax otherwise not attested in the Egyptian onomasticon.[113]

P. Vienna 12011 and 12013[114] **c.740 BCE or before**[115]

These two papyri stored in three (12011) and two (12013) frames include the longest accounts in list-form in abnormal hieratic. Because of the nature of this administrative text type, they are a treasure trove of titles and personal names, but also important for general lexicography with an abundance of products mentioned. A significant number of all the lexemes are written in the syllabic style and accordingly should be considered as foreign. Like P. BM EA 10798, most of the material is not otherwise attested in

112 Attestations of female names in P. Vienna 12011, cf. VITTMANN, 'Stand der Erforschung', in: *'Binsen'-Weisheiten I–II*, p. 396, could indicate that the multi-functional sign could occasionally be used both with male and female names and should therefore be considered as a gender-neutral filiation marker.

113 It is tempting to connect the word to the name of the divine master craftsmen, which is well-known in Ugaritic mythology, derived from the Semitic root K-Ṯ-R → K-Š-R 'to be suitable, capable, competent', cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE – J. SAMMARTÍN, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (3rd revised edition, Leiden, 2015), 1, pp. 467f. It is often used as a component in the construction of Ugaritic and Phoenician names, cf. BENZ, *Personal Names*, p. 336 and JONGELING, *Handbook*, pp. 342f and a potential usage in the Libyan name cusoris via JONGELING, *North African Names*, p. 38. It is attested once as the name of a ruler of the land *šwtw* in the Egyptian execration texts; cf. K. SETHE, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 46f (no. e5) and A. GOETZE, 'Remarks on Some Names Occurring in the Execration Texts', *BASOR* 151 (1958), p. 28, but would not require the usage of a definite article *pȝ*.

114 First mentioned by M. MALININE, 'L'hiératique anormal', in: S. SAUNERON (ed.), *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique* 1 (BiÉtud 64, Cairo, 1972), p. 32. These papyri were presented together with P. Vienna 8460, 8462, 8466 and 8467 during the lecture 'Neue Papyrusquellen der Libyerzeit' by Rolf Wassermann at the 'Ständige Ägyptologenkonferenz' in Würzburg 1996; cf. U. VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift* (OLA 99, Leuven, 2001), p. 13. Since his work on these papyri was discontinued shortly thereafter, these texts will now be published by Günter Vittmann; initial observations are given in VITTMANN, 'Stand der Erforschung', in: *'Binsen'-Weisheiten I–II*, pp. 395–397.

115 VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 397 collected evidence of regnal years 2, 5 and 33 together with attestations of the basilophoric personal name *ʿnḫ-pȝ-my* and proposed a dating during the regency of Sheshonq V. The reading of the name is unquestionable, but if *ʿnḫ-ḥr sȝ nȝy-w-mȝ-r-i̯-ṯ* (P. Vienna 12013 rto) is identical with the person mentioned in P. BM EA 10798, at least the section with the Libyan names appears to have been written earlier than the other sections in that papyrus.

Egyptian, which complicates the allocation to a particular language. But with regard to the frequent attestations of the name *pꜣ-ḥꜣr* 'The Syrian' alongside a single attestation of *pꜣ-ḏi-ʿsṯrṯ* 'The one that Astarte has given', it is at least a possibility that the foreign names mentioned in these papyri were not all of Libyan origin, but some also belong to North-West-Semitic.[116] Like P. BM EA 10798 mentioned previously, Günter Vittmann gives a localization of the papyri in the area of Herakleopolis on the basis of the personal names used therein.[117]

Although the texts were written in a similar ductus, which points to a close relationship for the dating and origination, there are some differences in the layout of the accounts and even more so at the lexical level.[118] The accounts of P. Vienna 12011 show a wider diversity of products and personal names, several of them with unknown etymologies. By comparison, P. Vienna 12013 is no less fascinating, but displays a lower lexical complexity with regard to the known and unknown words and names recorded therein. The following is an assessment of the most obvious readings noted during my short analysis of these papyri in 2019, starting with P. Vienna 12011.

P. Vienna 12011

Unquestionable are the frequent attestations of names from the standard inventory alongside derivations following typical name patterns for divine or royal personnel:

wꜣ-ꜣ-s-ꜣ-r-k-nꜣ-i̯-w[119]
frame c, rto col. 2, 3

nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ *passim* → *ʿnḫ-nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*
frame b, rto col. 3, 3

ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ *passim* → *ʿnḫ-ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*
frame b, rto col. 3, 15

šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ *passim* → *ʿnḫ-šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ*
frame c, rto col. 3, 8, 11

The papyrus also includes another attestation, which can be read as a variation of the common Libyan name *bꜣ-bꜣ* mentioned *supra*.

bꜣ-bꜣ-i̯-i̯-w Colin 2, pp. 38–41

116 For the name *pꜣ-ḥꜣr*, cf. RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 117. 17. The name *pꜣ-ḏi-ʿsṯꜣrṯ* was first identified by VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 395. A worship of the goddess Astarte has its origin in the Ramesside Period, where the name is also attested in a number of Late Egyptian literary texts. A second line of tradition can be detected in the Ptolemaic and Roman Period with attestations in a letter via W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb* (Munich, 1931), pp. x, 26–30 (no. 8) and a handbook on divine epithets via SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, 2, p. 274 (P. Cairo CG 31169 rto v, 11) and also in a religious text including an identification of Isis with numerous foreign goddesses (P. Vienna D 6297 + 6329 + 10101) to be published by Martin Stadler; cf. the preliminary reports in M.A. STADLER, *Théologie et culte au temple de Soknopaios. Études sur la religion d'un village égyptien pendant l'époque romaine: quatre séminaires à l'École pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences religieuses, mai–juin* (Paris, 2017), pp. 70–75, M.A. STADLER, 'New Light on the Universality of Isis (P. Vienna D. 6297 + 6329 + 10101)', in: S. NAGEL – J.F. QUACK – C. WITSCHEL (eds), *Entangled Worlds: Religious Confluences between East and West in the Roman Empire* (ORA 22, Tübingen, 2017), pp. 232–243 and L. BRICAULT – M.A. STADLER, 'Le P. Oxy. XI 1380 et le pVienne D 6297 + 6329 + 10101 recto', in: L. BRICAULT – M.A. STADLER (eds), *Hymnen und Aretalogien im antiken Mittelmeerraum: Von Inana bis Isis* (Philippika 154, Wiesbaden, 2021), pp. 271–282. In addition, one has to consider the attestations in the temples of the Graeco-Roman Period, a selection of which is given in C. LEITZ, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, VIII (OLA 129, Leuven, 2022), pp. 212f; on the Greek evidence, see also W.J.R. RÜBSAM, *Götter und Kulte im Faijum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (Bonn, 1974), pp. 210f.

117 Cf. VITTMANN, 'Protodemotische Abrechnung', in: *Fs. Jansen-Winkeln*, p. 317 note 4.

118 The most striking difference is found in the columns with religious texts identified by Günter Vittmann in addition to accounts on the recto of P. Vienna 12011, while the preserved passages of P. Vienna 12013 seem to be limited to the latter. An in-depth comparison of the accounts is only possible after the typology of the different sections has been established.

119 The rendering of the final -i̯-w deserves a closer look, which is absent in most of the other Egyptian attestations of this name. It can be compared to similar writings in the names *mtwhri̯*, *tꜣ-n.t-shri̯* and most importantly the many attestations of *kni̯*, cf. COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, p. *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 60 and 90–92., but also the name *y-w-r-h-n-i̯-w* discussed *infra*. It was an integral part in many Libyan names, e.g. also in the name selcheni discussed *supra*, and might offer a clue on the grammatical analysis of similar constructed names, cf. JONGELING, *Handbook*, p. 362.

There is also one attestation of:

y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-h-ꜣ-nꜣ-i̯-w
frame b, rto col. 3, 2 Colin 2, pp. 10–12

This name may be a variant of the Libyan name *y-r-h-n* constructed with the prefix y- and the common final element -rhn, cf. also in *r-y-w-r-h-n*.[120] It can be compared with the Libyan name iaraucan, while *r-y-w-r-h-n* relates to rirachan.[121] Both in P. Vienna 12011 and P. Vienna 12013 the writings of the tripartite *y* and *s* are very similar and can be difficult to distinguish due to the visibility of the ink and the preservation of the section of text, but the latter should normally include an additional diacritic stroke at the end.

Some more names with similar elements can be identified, which should also be Libyan:

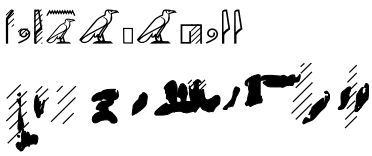
wꜣ-ꜣ-s-ꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ
frame c, rto col. 2, 9

This name could have been constructed with the prefix w- and the Libyan name solute, which would follow the same principle as noted in P. BM EA 10798 *supra*.[122]

bꜣ-g-r-i̯-w
frame b, vso col. 2, 9

As the second name in a filiation, the father of a Sheshonq, this name should most probably also be Libyan. No certain identification can be proposed, but there are some phonetic similarities to the names becar, bucar and bucari.[123]

y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-k-ꜣ-wꜣ-ꜣ-ṯ
frame c, rto col. 2, 3



y-h-ꜣ-p-ꜣ-nꜣ-i̯-w
frame b, vso col. 2, 13

Both names can be analyzed with initial y-, although the first displays an exceptional writing with four almost identical oblique strokes, which is not attested in any of the other columns of this papyrus, nor in P. Vienna 12013. The other elements do not seem to be otherwise attested

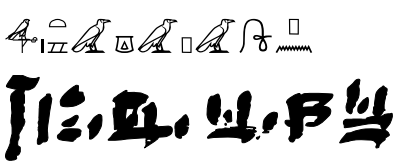
120 Cf. COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, pp. 57f and C. JURMAN, *Memphis in der Dritten Zwischenzeit: Eine Studie zur (Selbst-)Repräsentation von Eliten in der 21. und 22. Dynastie* (Hamburg, 2020), pp. 822f. A similar name *wlhny* is also attested in the demotic narrative 'The Battle for the Armor of Inaros', cf. F. HOFFMANN, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus* (MPER NS 26, Vienna, 1996), p. 333.

121 Cf. JONGELING, *North African Names*, pp. 62 and 120. The final -i could be visible in the variant IRKNH via CHABOT, *Recueil*, p. 70 (no. 291). If both identifications are correct, it would follow that the typical final element -kn could be rendered as -hn in Egyptian names. This approach was not pursued in all cases, as shown by the common name *wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ* discussed *supra*.

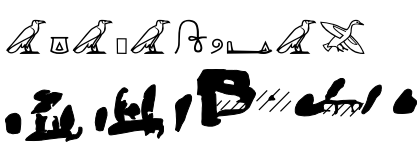
122 Cf. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 135 and the numerous attestations of the name SLT via CHABOT, *op. cit.*, *passim*. As an alternative, by segmenting the ending *-ṯ*, one can compare the Libyan name uasari via JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 147, also recognizable in the first element of the name *w-s-i̯-r-h-r-ṯ*, which can be segmented as *wsi̯r-hrṯ*, cf. F. COLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

123 Cf. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

in Libyan.[124] The second corresponds in its structure to the latter part of *šȝ-wȝ-ȝ-k-ȝ-y-h-ȝ-p-ȝ-nȝ* discussed *supra*.



p-n-wȝ-ȝ-p-ȝ-g-ȝ
frame c, rto col. 1, 11



pȝ-ḏi-wȝ-ȝ-p-ȝ-g-ȝ
frame a, rto col. 3, 10

The combination of the enigmatic element -wpg with not one but two typical Egyptian name-building elements is conspicuous and should point against a foreign etymology. This interpretation is also supported by the choice of a different (divine) classifier (G7) in the first example and the omission of one in the second. One possibility would be a writing of *ww-pḳr*, which is attested only once in the personal name *pȝ-n-ww-pḳr* in an inscription of the 25th Dynasty, albeit with a slightly uncertain reading.[125]

Additional names in the papyrus follow the *p-n-* formation:

p-n-ḥȝ?-wȝ-ȝ-ḥȝ?-i-i-w
frame a, rto col. 3, 12

p-n-ṯ-wȝ-ȝ-i-i-w
frame a, rto col. 3, 15

For both no clear identification of the affiliated element is forthcoming. The first includes two instances of an unusual combination of signs in 2nd and 4th position, which hitherto could only be identified in this name on the papyrus and in the similarly written *ḥȝ?-n-wȝ-ȝ-ḥȝ?-wȝ-ȝ-i-w* in P. Vienna 12013 (discussed *infra*). It could be segmented into a vertical sign, which could resemble the wick of twisted flax (V28) among others, and an elaborate writing of the vulture (G1), which normally appears in a much more abbreviated form in abnormal hieratic texts. Since this results in a phonetically unusual sequence of characters, in comparison with both Egyptian and Libyan personal names, it is perhaps more reasonable to assume that completely different signs have to be read here, e.g. a spelling of the group for *ms* (F31), which is otherwise not very well attested in abnormal hieratic texts.[126] The omission of a classifier in both examples, similar to the names discussed *supra* and *infra*, could be indicative of an Egyptian origin of these names. However, since this papyrus records a number of complex accounts and accounting scribes tend not to mark classifiers for personal names with utmost precision, a certain doubt remains as to how these names were really perceived by the scribes, especially in view of the unusual consonantal clusters.[127]

The papyrus contains two names with an initial g-, which is an unattested pattern in the known Libyan name inventory in Egyptian. A small number of Libyan names with initial g- is attested in the classical sources, but it is also not clear if one has to take into account a potential sound change during the transcription into abnormal hieratic, which would allow for different derivations:

124 In comparison with *y-wȝ-ȝ-r-h-nȝ-i-w* discussed *supra* one could assume a Latin name with initial iar- for the first, but no suitable example can be found in the classical sources. Without the initial y- one could compare uarigata via Jongeling, *op. cit.*, p. 146, but this name is also not well attested and difficult to analyze. If it is indeed Libyan, the initial wr- should be understood as the negation; cf. Chaker, 'Onomastique', *Encyclopédie berbère* 35 (2013), p. 5774. Another word with a similar ending *-k-ȝ-wȝ-ȝ-ṯ* is also attested in P. Vienna 12013 frame 1, rto col. 2, 21, but the bad preservation of the ink in that line makes the segmentation of the names very difficult. It might be possible to read *y-wȝ-ȝ-h-ȝ-p-ȝ-ṯ-nȝ sȝ wȝ-ȝ-s-?-r-s-k-ȝ-wȝ-ȝ-ṯ*.

125 Cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften*, III, p. 359 (52.21).

126 The latter would allow for a comparison with the wide range of Libyan names with initial mas-, cf. Chabot, *Recueil*, p. xix and Jongeling, *North African Names*, pp. 83–88.

127 Especially in frame a it is possible to detect a tendency of the scribe to omit the classifier of the throw stick (T14), which is used to demarcate foreign individuals in other sections of the papyrus. This occurs also with common Libyan names, e.g. *šȝ-ȝ-šȝ-ȝ-q*.

g-ʒ-y-g-ʒ-i̯-i̯-w
frame c, rto col. 3, 15

g-ʒ-r-šʒ-ʒ-g-ʒ-i̯-w
frame c, rto col. 1, 7

The first can be compared to the Libyan name gogius, attested in several variant writings with a probable Latin case ending -us.[128] The reading of the penultimate sign before the classifier is not completely certain. It seems too small by comparison with the many other examples of final *-ṯ*, so in all likelihood it just renders the reed leaf as the first element of the ending *-i̯-w* often preserved in Libyan names in Egyptian sources.

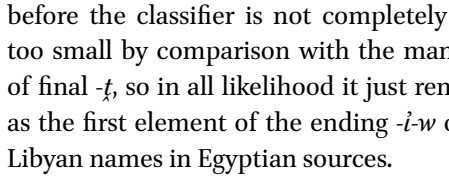
The second name does not seem to display any pattern attested in the Egyptian and classical sources, which makes a Semitic connection slightly more probable. It might not be coincidence that a name *g-ʒ-r-g-ʒ-šʒ-i̯-w* appears once on the verso of the same papyrus (P. Vienna 12011 frame c, vso col. 2, x + 3) and several times in P. Vienna 12013, which can be linked to a Phoenician origin, as discussed *infra*. It is therefore likely that there is metathesis here.

P. Vienna 12013

By comparison with P. Vienna 12011 several sections on this papyrus are even harder to decipher, as the surface has been rubbed off so that almost no traces of ink are left. Still, it is possible to identify a number of common Libyan names:

nʒ-mʒ-r-i̯-ṯ[129]	*passim*
šʒ-šʒ-q	*passim*
ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ	*passim*

It is possible to add some more attestations of another name discussed *supra*.[130]



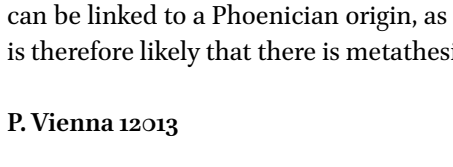
y-wʒ-ʒ-r-h-ʒ-nʒ-i̯-w
frame 2, rto col. 3, 14, vso col. 2, 6, 9

There is also one attestation of:

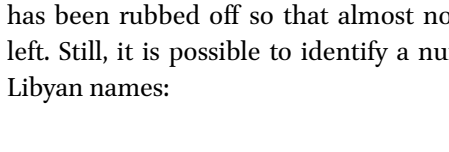
wʒ-ʒ-r-wʒ-ʒ-ṯ-wʒ-ʒ
frame 2, rto col. 2, 8

Although the first sign is slightly damaged, this could be the Libyan name URTU or URT or a longer rendering of the Libyan name *i̯w-w-r-i̯-ṯ*, which could have the same origin.[131]

The text also includes two names with initial *g-*:



g-r-r-i̯-w
frame 2, rto col. 4, 14



g-ʒ-r-g-ʒ-šʒ-i̯-w
frame 2, rto col. 4, 14, vso col. 2, 10

128 Cf. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 51. A similar name *g-g-ʒ-i̯-w* is attested once as the father of a *pʒ-wʒ-ʒ-h-ʒ-r* in the land lease P. BM EA 10432 (discussed *supra*). It is possible to compare it also with the Ugaritic name *ggy*, cf. DEL OLMO LETE – SAMMARTÍN, *Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language*, 1, p. 293 The etymology of the name is uncertain. It was suggested that the name was Hurrian, but for now it can only be said with certainty that a genuine origin is unlikely both in Egyptian and Semitic due to the unusual root pattern.

129 In one severely rubbed passage in frame 1, rto col. 2, 23, the text might include the longer variant *nʒ-m-r-i̯-ṯ-i̯-p-ṯ*; cf. COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, pp. 55f.

130 Cf. footnotes 82, 120 and 121.

131 Cf. CHABOT, *Recueil*, pp. 194 (no. 884) and 206 (no. 945), JONGELING, *Names in Neo-Punic*, p. 165 and also COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, p. 9.

The first could be a rendering of the Libyan name galara, while the second displays a similar consonantal cluster to *g-ȝ-r-šȝ-ȝ-g-ȝ-i̯-w* mentioned *supra*.[132] It can be compared with the Phoenician name recorded as GRGŠ and GRGŠY (note that a final vowel *-i̯-w* is indicated in both variants in the Egyptian sources), but its etymological roots are uncertain.[133] A similar word is attested in Ugaritic inscriptions also as a personal name.[134] The identification bears a certain significance, as a similar ethnic group (גִּרְגָּשִׁי) appears as a non-Israelite Canaanite tribe several times in the Old Testament, but its precise location has not yet been identified.[135] Once again, the consonantal sequence does not fit the compatibility laws of the Semitic languages, but this does not rule out the possibility that the attestations belonged to members of a Northwest Semitic ethnic group. Despite the remaining uncertainties and in comparison with the name cited *supra*, these attestations should at least follow the actual order of the letters in the word.

ḫȝ?-n-wȝ-ȝ-ḫȝ?-wȝ-ȝ-i̯-w
frame 2, rto col. 2, 9

Based on the paleography of the same, unusual sign combination and the consequent phonetic structure, this name can be compared with *p-n-ḫȝ?-wȝ-ȝ-ḫȝ?-i̯-i̯-w* in P. Vienna 12011 (discussed *supra*). The reading of *ḥ-ȝ* is here even more unlikely due to the variation displayed in the initial position, where it has been extended by a horizontal element (which in all probability stands for *n*).

3 'I Am Not Looking for People Doing Amarna Pottery'

Koen Donker van Heel might be described as a man of words and whims but there can be no doubt about a certain reservation of his towards pottery and all people specializing on these objects of utility. This may be one of the reasons why he is seeking only the best and the hardiest to be seduced by this severe philological preference disorder also described as abnormal hieratic. He should therefore be pleased to read that, although the author had planned to close this article with a pot, this long study of foreign-language onomastics has left no space for ceramic disquisitions. All that remains is to summarize the collected findings. Overall, a mixed picture emerges. There is greater diversity in names outside the papyrological corpus, which, as Colin has demonstrated, is dominated by the most common Libyan names Nimloth, Takeloth and Sheshonq (including their derivations), whose popularity resulted directly from the reigning kings and elites. A number of the sources cited above contain only individual foreign names, which is partially dependent on the type of text, if the context did not require the mention of a large number of names. There are, however, three particular texts, namely P. BM EA 10798 and P. Vienna 12011 + 12013, which each display a varied and exceptional onomastic diversity, including several names unattested to date in the Egyptian corpus. While it might be expected that there would be more names in Egyptian accounts, the high number of potentially foreign names there exceeds all expectations. In the course of this study, it has been possible to connect a significant number of these with a Libyan origin. Our limited understanding of the Libyan lexicon hinders further allocations, so that many etymologies remain uncertain for now. But as several attestations do not fit the inventory of known Libyan names collected by E. Chabot, F. Colin and K. Jongeling, a connection

132 Cf. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 48, but also gerris on page 50 excluding the potential Latin ending -is and the name GLLSN including a Libyan ending -sn via CHABOT, *op. cit.*, *passim*. For an older attestation of a name *pȝ-grr*, cf. JURMAN, *Memphis*, p. 664 note 3191 and possibly RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 120. 15.

133 Cf. BENZ, *Personal Names*, pp. 103 and 299.

134 Cf. F. GRÖNDAHL, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome, 1967), p. 129, DEL OLMO LETE – SAMMARTÍN, *Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language*, 1, p. 304. Contrary to older interpretations, the attestation in KTU 4.812:3 should not be read as a toponym, but *gt grgš* is a gittu named after a person, as it is the case also with other gittu in Ugarit.

135 Cf. M. GÖRG, 'Dor, die Teukrer und die Girgasiter', *BiblNot* 28 (1985), p. 8, who tried to link the term to the region of Karkiša in Asia Minor, which is known from Hittite texts, and also to the ethnic term *q-r-q-š* mentioned in Egyptian sources, more precisely the accounts of the battle of Kadesh. The arguments are not convincing from both a linguistic and a geographical point of view. The Egyptian rendering *g-ȝ-r-g-ȝ-šȝ-i̯-w* seems to be closer to the vocalization of the Ugaritic form *girgiš-u*, with two identical vowels used in the root, than to the biblical-Hebrew form *girgaš*.

TABLE 1 Libyan name-building elements

Initial Elements	Final Elements
i̯w– / *y–* / *i̯–*[a]	*–ʿn*
i̯l– / *yl–*	*–bl*
w– / *wꜣ–*	*–pd* / *–pṯ* / *–pṱ*[b]
wr–	*–rhn*[c]
m–	*–l*
ms–[d]	*–ln*
ry–	*–hrṱ*[e]
	–hst[f]
	–sn
kn–[g]	*–kn* / *–kni̯*[h]
	–gm
t–	*–ṯ* / *–t*[i]
	–tn

a This element aligns with the introductory i- / y- identified by JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

b The existence of this element can be deduced from the usage in the names *i̯w-wꜣ-p-ṱ* and *n-mꜣ-ṯ-i̯-p-d*; cf. COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, pp. 5–9 and J. MOJE, 'Neues zur verschollenen Schenkungsstele des Westdelta-Lokalregenten Ni-ma-teped "B"', in: *Fs. Jansen-Winkeln,* pp. 175–186.

c The existence of this element can be deduced from the usage in the names *y-r-h-n* and *r-y-w-r-h-n*.

d This element aligns with the introductory element mas- identified by JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

e The existence of this element can be deduced from the usage in the names *m-s-h-r-ṱ* and following divine elements, e.g. *spd.t-h-r-ṱ* and possibly *w-s-i̯-r-h-r-ṱ*; cf. COLIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 46–48 and 59.

f The existence of this element can be deduced from the usage in the name *w-y-h-s-t*; cf. COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 2, pp. 17f.

g This element is possibly identical to the same, which is often attested as a final element. The existence of this element is likely due to its usage in the name *k-n-mꜣ-ṯ-w-h-r*, in combination with the title discussed in footnote 36 *supra*.

h The existence of this element can be deduced from the usage in the names *k-n-i̯* and *i̯-k-n* together with *r-m-r-s-k-n-i̯* and *h-n-r-k-n*. It aligns with the final -kan identified by JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

i This element aligns with the final element -t identified by JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. xi. Although many names seem to contain a longer ending *-rṱ*/*-riṱ*, this cannot be successfully segmented from the varying initial elements and should therefore be seen as a common consonantal cluster in various Libyan roots. As in the Egyptian language, a final -t can mark a feminine form in several Berber languages, cf. T. G. PENCHOEN, *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir* (Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 12–14, WILLMS, *Beraberdialekte*, pp. 132f, but without convincing etymologies, it is impossible to say if some of the names did indeed contain feminine nouns, e.g. divine names. Based on the name *ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*, O. RÖSSLER, 'Libyca', *WZKM* 49 (1942), pp. 29of footnote 4 proposed an initial element *ṯk-*, which would leave the possibility of a combination with a final element *-riṱ*, but it cannot yet be substantiated by comparison with the remaining onomastic inventory.

with other languages is also likely. By combining the elements identified above from the abnormal hieratic papyri with the evidence provided by F. Colin and K. Jongeling, it is possible to extend the table of potential Libyan name-building elements, given here in their most likely Egyptian spelling.[136]

On the basis of the sources cited *supra*, it is possible to assemble an updated inventory of distinguishable Libyan (L), potentially Semitic (S?) and other (?) individuals in the papyrological sources of the Third Intermediate Period (including a block of stone); see table 2 below. The concluding table *infra* records all (partially) deciphered filiations. It has to be emphasized again that the above is only a sample of the onomastic and lexical diversity these papyri have to offer. Although not all readings could be solved within the scope of this article, it is the hope of the author that the arguments will encourage further interactions to elicit more wonders from the lexical treasure trove, which is found in Ancient Egyptian accounting, more precisely in the fascinating onomastic diversity of abnormal hieratic, so that bit by bit we get a better understanding of the Libyans and their language(s). But while this article has now turned along too many insights and

136 Cf. COLIN, *Les Libyens*, 1, pp. 51–53, 60f and JONGELING, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi–xxviii.

sidesteps, the smaller pieces of this etymological puzzle are to be deciphered in the future, which leaves many lines to read and sherds to turn for the honoree and his many students including their followers and successors. Excluding the ones who lack the time for an in-depth interaction, because they have better or less abnormal lesser calculating things to do, like being out walking their *whr*-dogs.

TABLE 2 Filiation of Libyans and other foreigners in abnormal hieratic papyri and one hieratic inscription on a block of stone

No.	Lang.	Son	Father	Grandfather	Source
1	L	*iʿḥ-tꜣy⟨≠f⟩-nḫṯ*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ*		P. Cologne 5632
2	L	*i-mꜣ-ꜣ-s*	*pꜣ-nḥs*		Block Amh. SCA 2816
3	L	*ir.t≈w-r-ṯꜣi*	*pꜣ-wꜣ-ꜣ-h-ꜣ-r*	*g-g-ꜣ-i-w*	P. BM EA 10432
4	L	*i-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*	*hrỉ-mw.t*		P. BM EA 10798
5	L	*y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-h-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*	*ʿnḫ-pꜣy≠f-ḥri*		P. Vienna 12013 vso
6	L	*y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-h-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*	*ʿnḫ-ḥr*		P. Vienna 12011 vso
7	L	*y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-h-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*	*ʿnḫ-ḥr*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
8	L	*y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-h-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*	*pꜣ-my*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
9	L	*y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-h-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*	*pꜣ-ḏỉ-ꜣs.t*		P. Vienna 12011 vso
10	L	*y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-h-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*	*ḥr-wḏꜣ*		P. Vienna 12011 vso
11	L	*y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-k-ꜣ-wꜣ-ꜣ-ṯ*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-ꜣ-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
12	L	*y-m-g-ꜣ-r*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-mꜣꜣ -n*	*ta-pꜣ-k-ꜣ-šꜣ-r*	P. BM 10798
13	L	*ʿnḫ-wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-n*	*ir.t-ḥr-r.r≈w*	*ʿnḫ-wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-n*	P. Brooklyn 47.218.3
14	L	*ʿnḫ-nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i-ṯ*	*pꜣ-iwiw*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
15	?	*ʿnḫ-pꜣy≠f-ḥri*	*p-n-ḥꜣ?-wꜣ-ꜣ-ḥꜣ?-i-i-w*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
16	L	*ʿnḫ-pꜣ-ḫrd*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-ꜣ-r-i-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
17	L	*ʿnḫ-pꜣ-ḫrd*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
18	L	*[ʿnḫ]-ḥr*	*iw-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-i-ṯ*		Papyri Qasr Ibrim
19	L	*ʿnḫ-ḥr*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*		P. BM EA 10798
20	L	*ʿnḫ-ḥr*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i-ṯ*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*	P. BM EA 10798
21	L	*ʿnḫ-ḥr*	*nꜣy≈w-mꜣ-r-i-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
22	S	*ʿnḫ-ḥr*	*pꜣ-ḏỉ-ʿsṯrṯ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
23	S?	*ʿnḫ-ḥr*	*g-ꜣ-r-g-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-i-w*		P. Vienna 12011 vso
24	L	*ʿnḫ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wi*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i-ṯ*		P. BM EA 10798
25	L	*ʿnḫ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wi*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ*	*ṯ-k-r-i-ṯ*	P. BM EA 10798
26	L	*ʿnḫ-šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ*	*pꜣ-ḫrd*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
27	L	*wꜣ-ꜣ-r-wꜣ-ꜣ-ṯ-wꜣ-ꜣ*	*pꜣ-ḏỉ-ꜣs.t*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
28	L	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-i-m-r*		P. BM EA 10798
29	L	*[wꜣ-ꜣ-s]-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*	*pꜣy≠f-tꜣw-ʿ.wi-bꜣst.t*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
30	L	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*	*pꜣy≠f-tꜣw-ʿ.wi-pꜣ-ntr*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
31	L	*[wꜣ-ꜣ]-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ*		P. BM EA 10798
32	L	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*	*ns-nꜣ-...*		P. BM EA 10798
33	L	*wnš*	*šꜣ-šꜣ-q*		Papyri Qasr Ibrim
34	L	*bꜣk-rn≠f*	*šꜣ-šꜣ-q*		Papyri Qasr Ibrim
35	L	*pꜣ-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-m-s*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-mꜣꜣ-n*		P. BM EA 10798
36	L	*pꜣ-wꜣ-ꜣ-h-ꜣ-r*	*i-tꜣ.wi*[a]		P. Turin 2118 rto
37	L	*[pꜣ]-wꜣ-ꜣ-h-ꜣ-r*	*pꜣ-ḏỉ-ꜣs.t*		P. Louvre E 7856 vso
38	L	*pꜣ-bs*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ*		P. Cairo GEM 66796
39	L	*pꜣy≠f-sn*	*y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-h-ꜣ-nꜣ-i-w*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
40	L	*pꜣy≠f-tꜣw-ʿ.wi-bꜣst.t*	*ṯ-k-r-i-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
41	L	*pꜣ-my*	*šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ*		P. Vienna 12011 vso

TABLE 2 Filiation of Libyans and other foreigners in abnormal hieratic papyri and one hieratic inscription on a block of stone (*cont.*)

No.	Lang.	Son	Father	Grandfather	Source
42	L	*pꜣ-nḥs*	*i̯-mꜣ-ꜣ-s*		Block Amh. SCA 2816
43	?	*pꜣ-ḫꜣr*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-i̯-mꜣ-r-q-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-s*		P. BM EA 10798
44	L	*pꜣ-ḫꜣr*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*	*y-m-g-ꜣ-r*	P. BM EA 10798
45	L	*pꜣ-ḫꜣr*	*šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
46	?	*pꜣ-ḫꜣr*	*šꜣ-h-mꜣ-ꜣ*	*bꜣ-r-wꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ*	P. BM EA 10798
47	?	*pꜣ-k-ꜣ-r-i̯*	*pꜣ-ḏi̯-wꜣ-ꜣ-p-ꜣ-g-ꜣ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
48	L	*pꜣ-ḏi̯-ꜣs.t*	*ʿnḫ-ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
49	?	*pꜣ-ḏi̯-ꜣs.t*	*p-n-y-i̯-nꜣ*	*h-ꜣ-ṯ-ꜣ-r-ꜣ*	P. BM EA 10798
50	L	*pꜣ-ḏi̯-ꜣs.t*	*mꜣ-ꜣ-s-h-ꜣ-r-ṯ*		Papyri Qasr Ibrim
51	L	*pꜣ-ḏi̯-ꜣs.t*	*nꜣy=w-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
52	L	*pꜣ-ḏi̯-ḥr?*	*y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r-h-ꜣ-nꜣ-i̯-w*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
53	?	*pꜣ-d-g-ꜣ-s*	*pꜣ-i̯mn?*		Block Amh. SCA 2816
54	L	*p-n-y-i̯-nꜣ*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*	*y-m-g-ꜣ-r*	P. BM EA 10798
55	L	*p-n-...?*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
56	L	*mꜣ-ꜣ-s-h-ꜣ-r-ṯ*	*pꜣy-nḏm*		P. Strasbourg 21
57	L	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*ꜣs.t-nḫṯ*		P. BM EA 10798
58	L	*nꜣy=w-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*ʿnḫ-wn-nfr?*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
59	L	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*ʿnḫ-pꜣ-ḫrd*		P. Vienna 12011 vso
60	L	*nꜣy=w-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*ʿnḫ-ḥr*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
61	L	*nꜣy=w-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-ꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
62	L	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*pꜣy=f-ṯꜣw-ʿ.wi̯-?*		P. Vienna 12011 vso
63	L	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*k-ꜣ-r-p-?-y-wꜣ-ꜣ-r*		P. BM EA 10798
64	L	*nꜣy=w-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
65	L	*ns-nꜣ-...*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*pꜣ-bꜣ-r-w-šꜣ*	P. BM EA 10798
66	L	*šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ*	*b-k-i̯-i̯-w*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
67	L	*šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ*	*bꜣ-g-r-i̯-w*	*ʿnḫ-pꜣy=f-ḥri̯*	P. Vienna 12011 vso
68	L	*šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
69	L	*šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q*	*ns-wn-nfr*		P. BM EA 10798
70	L	*ḥꜣn-n-i̯mn*[b]	*šꜣ-šꜣ-q*		Papyri Qasr Ibrim
71	L	*ḥr*	*pꜣ-i̯n-mw.t*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-s-r-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*	P. BM EA 10798
72	L	*ḥr-wḏꜣ*	*i̯-k-ꜣ-nꜣ*		P. BM EA 10798
73	?	*ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t*	*ʿnḫ-wn-nfr*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-i̯-mꜣ-r*	P. BM EA 10798
74	L	*ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-ṯ*		P. Cologne 5632
75	L	*ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t*	*nꜣ-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
76	?	*k-ꜣ-r-p-ꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t*		P. BM EA 10798
77	?	*g-w-ꜣ-w-ꜣ*	*i̯ry*	*g-w-ꜣ-w-ꜣ*	P. Cairo GEM 66796
78	S?	*g-r-r-i̯-w*	*g-ꜣ-r-g-ꜣ-šꜣ-i̯-w*		P. Vienna 12013 rto
79	S?	*g-ꜣ-r-šꜣ-ꜣ-g-ꜣ-i̯-w*	*pꜣ-šri̯-n-i̯mn*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
80	S?	*g-ꜣ-r-g-ꜣ-šꜣ-i̯-w*	*pꜣy=f-ṯꜣw-ʿ.wi̯-bꜣst.t*		P. Vienna 12013 vso

a For more attestations of this name, cf. G. VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit: genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie* (VIAÄUW 3, BeitrÄg 1, Vienna, 1978), pp. 6, 18–21 and JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften*, II, pp. 245, 455 and *Inschriften*, III, p. 436.

b The same name was recorded by RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 229. 22, which refers to an attestation in the Judicial Papyrus of Turin Cat. 1875, cf. *KRI* V (Oxford, 1983), p. 358 (line 15). It is also attested in the accounts of the abnormal hieratic P. Vaucelles = P. BM EA 87512.

TABLE 2 Filiation of Libyans and other foreigners in abnormal hieratic papyri and one hieratic inscription on a block of stone (*cont.*)

No.	Lang.	Son	Father	Grandfather	Source
81	L	*ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*	⌜*i̯r.t=w-rwḏ*⌝	*ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*	Papyri Qasr Ibrim
82	L	*ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*	˹*nḫ-ḥr*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
83	L	*ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*	*wꜣ-ꜣ-i̯-mꜣ-r*	*pꜣ-bs*	P. BM EA 10798
84	L	*ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*	*nꜣy=w-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*		P. Vienna 12011 rto
85	L	*ṯ-k-r-i̯-ṯ*	*nꜣy=w-mꜣ-r-i̯-ṯ*	*p-n-*?	P. Vienna 12011 vso
86	L	*ṯ-k-r-q-ꜣ*	*šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ*		P. LHTT4975
87	L	*ḏd-bꜣst.t-i̯w=f-˹nḫ*	*šꜣ-ꜣ-šꜣ-ꜣ-q-ꜣ*		P. Vienna 12013 vso

17

The Birth House of Isis at Abydos in the Seventh Century BCE and Beyond

Anthony Leahy

It is a pleasure to contribute to a volume in honour of a scholar whose passionate engagement with cursive papyri has illuminated so many aspects of Egyptian, and especially Theban, society in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. I hope Koen Donker van Heel will enjoy this exploration of family and institutional history in a contemporary community at no great distance to the north.

Our understanding of the Birth House (*pr ms*, mammisi) in ancient Egypt derives mainly from the survival of such monuments in a small number of places from the fourth century BCE through to Roman times.[1] Abydos is not among them, yet Herman De Meulenaere was able to demonstrate the existence there of a cult of Isis '(lady) of the *pr ms*' – and thus by inference of a Birth House dedicated to Isis as mother goddess[2] – as early as the thirteenth century BCE.[3] In doing so, he illustrated the potential of prosopographic data to illuminate the early history of a distinctive feature of the late Egyptian temple landscape.[4] For scholars investigating the site of Abydos, his observations have stimulated reflection on the location of its Birth House, a topic he addressed in a later essay.[5] They have had little impact in wider Birth House studies,[6] and the view that the earliest mammisis are those of the 30th Dynasty has flourished into the twenty-first century.[7] A recent volume emanating from a colloquium devoted to the mammisi promises change in that respect.[8]

Evidence for a Birth House at Abydos survives most abundantly from the Saite Period, and that is the initial focus here. I present three funerary stelae which record several generations of a family in the service of 'Isis (lady) of the *pr ms*' in the late 25th and the 26th Dynasty. Although these have long been in the academic domain, their links have not previously been explored.[9] Each

1 F. Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens* (Annales de l'Université de Lyon, 3e série, Lettres 32, Paris, 1958).

2 H. Kockelmann, *Praising the Goddess: A Comparative and Annotated Re-edition of Six Demotic Hymns and Praises Addressed to Isis* (AfP Beiheft 15, Berlin – New York, 2008), p. 80, n. 94, emphasises that this denotes where the goddess gave birth, not where she was born. The latter event was celebrated, e.g., in the temple of Isis at Dendera: S. Cauville, 'Le temple d'Isis à Dendera', *BSFÉ* 123 (1992), pp. 31–48; L. Coulon, 'Les formes d'Isis à Karnak à travers la prosopographie sacerdotale de l'époque Ptolémaïque', in: L. Bricault – M.J. Versluys (eds), *Isis on the Nile: Egyptian Gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Isis Studies, Liège, November 27–29, 2008. Michel Malaise* in honorem (RGRW 171, Leiden, 2010), p. 124, n. 12.

3 H. De Meulenaere, 'Review: F. Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens', BiOr* 16 (1959), cols 223–224; idem, 'Isis et Mout du Mammisi', in: J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster oblata, 2: orientalia antiqua* (OLA 13, Leuven, 1982), pp. 25–27. Daumas did not mention De Meulenaere's observations in his article 'Geburtshaus', *LÄ* 2 (1977), cols 462–475. See also H. Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities as Expressed on Wooden Funerary Stelae from the Libyan Period (c. 1069–715 B.C.E.) in Egypt* (BAR-IS 1734, Oxford, 2007), pp. 28–29.

4 De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–29, also identified a Birth House of Mut at Thebes from the 21st Dynasty.

5 H. De Meulenaere, 'Meskhénet à Abydos', in: U. Verhoeven – E. Graefe (eds), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991* (OLA 39, Leuven, 1991), pp. 243–251.

6 Abydos is not listed in D. Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs* (New York – Oxford, 1999), pp. 285–288, or in H. Kockelmann, 'Birth House (Mammisi)', *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (2011).

7 E.g., C. Zivie-Coche, 'Late Period Temples', *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (2008), p. 9; F. Payraudeau, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, 3: les époques tardives (1069–332 av. J.-C.)* (Nouvelle Clio: l'histoire et ses problèmes, Paris, 2020), pp. 444–446.

8 A.A. Ali – D. Budde (eds), *Mammisis of Egypt: Proceedings of the First International Colloquium Held in Cairo, 27–28 March 2019* (BiÉtud 185, Cairo, 2023). A common theme in the papers, published after this essay was substantially complete, is the desirability of a more nuanced understanding of the Birth House. Those by Kockelmann and Kaper offer fresh historical overviews, incorporating recent identifications. De Meulenaere's work on Abydos is noticed by H. Kockelmann, 'Göttliche Geburt und mehr: Zur Entwicklung und kultischen Rolle des Mammisis in Philae und anderen griechisch-römischen Tempeln', pp. 13, 15–16, F. Labrique, 'Un proto-mammisi saïte à Bahariya?', p. 89, A.A. Ali, 'Female Hippopotami inside the Shrines Depicted in the Mammisi of Kom Ombo: the Word *Opet* as Mother Goddess, Birth House, and Festival', p. 103, and H. Sonbol, 'Giving Birth in Funerary Temples and Chapels: the Birth Cycle before its Depiction in the "pr-ms"', p. 66. The latter also refers to an unpublished presentation on the subject by A. and U. Effland in Cairo in 2018. Another site for which a private inscription implies a mammisi is Xois: I. Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes: recherches de géographie religieuse* (BÉHÉ sciences religieuses 123, Turnhout, 2005), pp. 163–164, n. i. On Akhmim, see now M. Claude, *Akhmîm et la 9e province de Haute-Égypte. Étude de géographie religieuse* (SsR 41, Wiesbaden, 2024), pp. 151–152.

9 De Meulenaere, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, p. 26 n. 10, followed by Saleh, *op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 132, noted that two of the stelae (A and C here) had a title in common, but neither suggested further connection. For A. Forgeau, 'Prêtres isiaques: essai d'anthropologie religieuse', *BIFAO* 84 (1984), p. 169, the stelae belong to different families.

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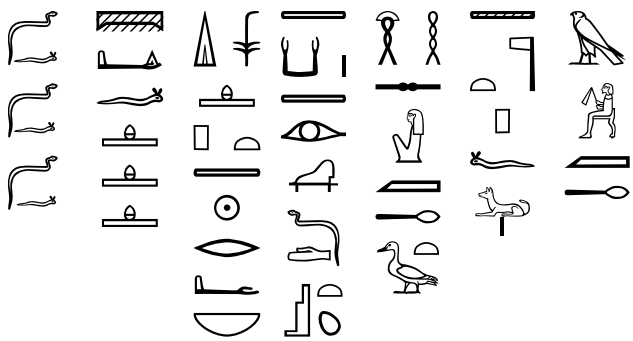
makes a particular contribution to the overall picture: the first provides a firm chronological basis, the second reveals a popular dimension, while the third establishes the family links and confirms the provenance suggested for the first two by internal considerations. I then review the contribution of these and other sources to understanding the Birth House, its personnel and its place in the religious hierarchy. In a concluding discussion of physical setting, I argue that the key to locating the *pr ms* at Abydos lies in recognising the existence of a temple of Isis.

FIGURE 1 Leiden NMA CI 324
© NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIDEN

A National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden CI 324 (Fig. 1)

This finely carved, painted limestone stela depicts a woman offering to Re-Harakhte. Acquired in 1827 as part of the Maria Cimba collection, which had been formed in Egypt by 1824, it lacks any more specific provenance.[10] Stylistically, it is from an Abydos workshop of the first half of the seventh century BCE.[11] Munro dated it to *c.*650 BCE, but several features suggest it belongs slightly earlier, perhaps *c.*675 BCE. One is the use of hieroglyphic emblems to frame the offering scene, with 'east' on the right and 'west' (largely lost) on the left.[12] Epigraphic details, as well as formal design and text arrangement,[13] link it to one particular stela from the same atelier, Louvre E 13069, which has been attributed to the 25th Dynasty on stylistic grounds.[14] That date finds support in the divine caption here. The deity is called 'Re' at a time and place in which the falcon-headed solar god was usually styled 'Re-Harakhte', and his name is spelt with the frontal placement of the sun hieroglyph, .[15] He is 'lord of heaven' rather than the standard 'great god, lord of heaven', and *pt* is written without phonetic complements as .[16] Parallels can be cited for each feature individually, but the only other Abydos monument on which all four occur is a relief of the Kushite prince Ptahmaakheru from cemetery D.[17]

Above the scene, seven short columns of inscription are divided, in the manner characteristic of the workshop phase, into two facing units. The first three, closest to the deity, read from right to left and present the beginning of the offering formula as emanating from him, while the remaining four read in the opposite direction yet continue the sense in identifying the intended beneficiary. Captions for the two figures are thus incorporated into the two formulae. The text reads:[18]



'An offering which the king gives to Re, lord of heaven,[a] that he may give offerings and nourishment for the *ka* of the Osiris Djedesewahes, justified, daughter of the god's father Pefiuhor,[b] justified'.

10 C. LEEMANS, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas, à Leide* (Leiden, 1840), p. 274; P.A.A. BOESER, *Die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches, Abt. 3: Stelen, Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden* [6] (The Hague, 1913), p. 14 no. 54, pl. xxvi. The latter gives the dimensions as 37 × 27.5 cm. See also DE MEULENAERE, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 10; FORGEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 182, doc. 53; PM 8.4, p. 406. The stela has been referred to in the literature as 'V, 24' and 'VI, 54' following the catalogues of Leemans and Boeser respectively. I am grateful to Lara Weiss, formerly curator, and Marein Meijer, assistant curator, of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden for the digital image reproduced here, permission to include it and guidance on the inventory number of the stela. For the Cimba collection, see L. WEISS – I. MORFINI, 'Een belangrijke, raadselachtige collectie', in: P. TER KEURS (ed.), *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden: Een geschiedenis van 200 jaar* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 86–92.

11 P. MUNRO, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (ÄF 25, Glückstadt, 1973), pp. 90–94, 267–268. See further A. LEAHY, 'Text and Image in Funerary Identity at Abydos in the Early Seventh Century BC', *ImagAeg* 3 (2010), p. 57 n. 8; IDEM, 'Kushites at Abydos: The Royal Family and Beyond', in: E. PISCHIKOVA – J. BUDKA – K. GRIFFIN (eds), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2014), pp. 81–82.

12 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, p. 91; LEAHY, 'Kushites at Abydos', in: *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, p. 78, n. 73.

13 These include the determinative, the writing of as a flat line and the archaising spelling of *ḥtpw dfȝw*.

14 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, pp. 92, 268; O. PERDU, 'Stèle de Irretj', in: O. PERDU – R. MEFFRE (eds), *Le crépuscule des pharaons: chefs d'oeuvre des dernières dynasties égyptiennes. Ouvrage publié à l'occasion de l'exposition au Musée Jacquemart-André du 23 mars au 23 juillet 2012* (Brussels, 2012), pp. 130–131, no. 52; F. PAYRAUDEAU, 'Stèle de Irretj, père divin d'Osiris, orfèvre du domaine d'Amon adorant Rê-Horakhty', in: F. GOMBERT-MEURICE – F. PAYRAUDEAU (eds), *Servir les dieux d'Égypte: divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes* (Paris, 2018), p. 203, no. 103; PM 8.4, p. 421; museum website at https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl01002146 3 with further bibliography.

15 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, figs 109, 111–112; LEAHY, 'Text and Image', *ImagAeg* 3, p. 59, n. 73. For Thebes, see M. LOTH, 'Lost in Transition: die Stele Berlin ÄM 823, ein Kriegsverlust, mit einem Anhang zu den Holzstelen des Ägyptischen Museums Berlin', in: F. FEDER – G. SPERVESLAGE – F. STEINBORN (eds), *Ägypten begreifen: Erika Endesfelder in memoriam* (London, 2017), p. 249, n. 49.

16 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, figs 104–108, 110–111. Another example is Edinburgh NMS 1962.33 (PM 8.4, p. 395), kindly brought to my attention by Margaret Maitland, Curator of the Ancient Mediterranean at National Museums Scotland.

17 Edinburgh NMS 1901.429.11: LEAHY, 'Kushites at Abydos', in: *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, pp. 63, 66; NMS website: https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/relief/303012. A painted stela of similar date, Cairo JE 6297, has three of the features: IDEM, 'Text and Image', *ImagAeg* 3, p. 62 n. 34, pl. 20.

18 I acknowledge with thanks the JSesh font of Serge Rosmorduc: http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org.

Notes

a) The alignment of the damaged *pt* sign with the start of the offering formula in the adjacent column shows that nothing has been lost.

b) Pefiuhor has been variously mis-transcribed as: .[19] However, the bird, which is carved off-centre with a disc above its head, is a falcon. The putative stroke or flesh-sign following the letter *f* is probably a chip in the stone comparable to those beneath the central column of inscription, whereas the stroke touching the belly of the recumbent canid (Fig. 2a) is likely to be meaningful as it recurs in the text at the bottom of the stela (Fig. 2b). It may exemplify the ancient method of nullifying potentially dangerous nature.

FIGURES 2A AND 2B
Canid hieroglyphs on Leiden NMA CI 324

The font does not contain an exact match for the canid, which combines the head and profile of the recumbent jackal ( ) with the curled tail of the dog ( ). Since *ỉw*, in the name *pꜣ-ỉw-n-ḥr*, is usually rendered by or ,[20] the prone pose here may show awareness of the third alternative , which is the form used in cursive texts and occasionally found in hieroglyphs.[21]

The name is thus ostensibly *pꜣ.f-ỉw-ḥr*, as read by Munro.[22] Whether this is actually different from *pꜣ-ỉw*(*ỉw*)-(*n-*)*ḥr* is debatable.[23] Whereas the latter is common from the 22nd Dynasty onwards,[24] only one other instance of *pꜣ.f-ỉw-ḥr* is known,[25] and the combination of an initial possessive and a divine name is a complication.[26] It seems preferable to postulate a confusion in cursive texts, in which an accidental dash of the brush on the papyrus would suffice to transform *pꜣ* into *pꜣ.f*.[27] A man *pꜣ-ỉwỉw-mwt* is mentioned numerous times in an archive of abnormal hieratic papyri in Turin yet in one instance Malinine transcribed the initial component as *pꜣ.f-*.[28] In demotic,

19 BOESER, *op. cit.*, pl. xxiv; RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 127. 9 (2nd example); PM 8.4, p. 406.

20 For a prone canid, in the form of a more orthodox jackal, as *ỉw*, see A. LEAHY, 'Two Painted Wooden Stelae Attributable to Nag el-Hassaia', in: M. HABACHY – F. SERVAJEAN (eds), *A Wise Man from the Beloved Land: Recueil d'études dédiées au professeur Aly Omar Abdalla par ses amis, collègues et étudiants* (CENiM 34, Montpellier, 2023), p. 155, n. 109.

21 Writings in the Serapeum stelae published by M. MALININE – G. POSENER – J. VERCOUTTER, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1968), are interesting in this respect: fig. 244 has two cursive recumbent hartebeest; fig. 142 has a playful variant with what appear to be a pair of prancing kids (so PM 3^2, p. 808, unless these are poorly rendered puppies?); fig. 98 again has two hartebeest, but with front legs extended!

22 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, pp. 267–268; RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 127. 10; R.K. RITNER, 'The Hound of Horus', in: S.L. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT – M.A. STADLER (eds), *Sapientia Felicitas: Festschrift für Günter Vittmann zum 29. Februar 2016* (CENiM 14, Montpellier, 2016), p. 508. H. DE MEULENAERE 'Notes d'onomastique tardive (Quatrième Série)', *BiOr* 38 (3–4) (1981), col. 254, read simply *pꜣỉ. f-ỉw*, taking the falcon as a determinative. The parallels he cited vary in persuasiveness. That the falcon in the basiliphorous name *wꜣḥ-ib-rᶜ-ḥr-n-p* is indeed phonetic is shown in G.T. MARTIN, *The Tomb of Ḥetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqâra, 1964–1973* (EES TEM 4, London, 1979), p. 70, no. 263, pl. 57, in which the bird is replaced by . The name *twt-ḥr* (RANKE, *Personennamen*, 2, p. 329. 10; LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 1341) does identify Tutu with Horus: O. KAPER, *The Egyptian God Tutu: a Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments* (OLA 119, Leuven, 2003), pp. 185, 232.

23 Cf. *pꜣ-*/*pꜣ.s-ṯnfj*: RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, pp. 121. 14, 128. 20. J. QUAEGEBEUR – A. RAMMANT-PEETERS, 'Le pyramidion d'un "danseur en chef" de Bastet', in: J. QUAEGEBEUR (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster oblata, 2: orientalia antiqua* (OLA 13, Leuven, 1982), p. 202, surmised that *pꜣ-ṯnfj* was 'en quelque sorte la forme simple' of *pꜣ.s-ṯnfj*; K. DONKER VAN HEEL, 'P. Louvre E 7858: Another Abnormal Hieratic Puzzle', in: B.J.J. HARING – O.E. KAPER – R. VAN WALSEM (eds), *The Workman's Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (EgUit 28, Leiden – Leuven, 2014), p. 53, v, suggests they could be distinct names for the same person.

24 RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 100, 9. 11; LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 156; RITNER, *op. cit.*, pp. 507–508. For occasional omission of the article, see LEAHY, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–155.

25 RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 127. 10, 'Marseille 47', for which see G. MASPERO, 'Monuments égyptiens du Musée de Marseille', *RecTrav* 13 (1890), p. 124, no. 47; C. MEEKS – D. MEEKS (eds), *La collection égyptienne: guide du visiteur* (Marseille, 1989), pp. 62–63; museum website at https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/15-621780-2C6NU0AM26V47.html.

26 Ritner's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 508) that the name signifies 'His Horus dog' does not convince. Forms such as *pꜣ.f/tꜣ.f ỉw*(*ỉw*) are straightforward: RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, pp. 127. 9, 375. 19, but other *ỉw*-dog names are not: E. GRAEFE, 'Stellung, Familie und Herkunft des ʿAnch-Hor', in: M. BIETAK – E. REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des ʿAnch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris*, I (ÖAWDG 6 = UZK 4, Vienna, 1978), pp. 44–45.

27 Cf. O. EL-AGUIZY, *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign of King Taharqa to the End of the Ptolemaic Period* (*684–30 B.C.*) (MIFAO 113, Cairo, 1998), pp. 404–405, CCXXXV; 406–407, CCXXXVII.

28 P. Turin 2120, line 59: M. MALININE, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique « anormal » et en démotique* (*XXVᵉ–XXVIIᵉ dynasties*), I: *traduction et commentaire philologique* (BÉHÉ 300, Paris, 1953), pp. 71, n. 31, 80–81; IDEM, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique anormal et en démotique*, II (RAPH 18, Cairo, 1983),

albeit in a different grammatical context, *pfì* occasionally appears where *pꜣì* is expected.[29] If some such confusion is accepted, two men called Paiuenhor, who are known on Abydos monuments with *ỉt nṯr* among their titles, become potentially relevant, although no further connection with the Leiden stela is discernible for either.[30]

As to meaning, Robert Ritner regarded the name as based on '… a fairly obscure mythological figure …"the Hound of Horus"'.[31] The existence of forms such as *pꜣ-ỉwỉw-mwt*, *pꜣ-ỉw-n-ḥp*[32] and *pꜣ-ỉwỉw-ḫnsw*[33] suggests that, unless we are willing to entertain a veritable pack of divine hounds, Ranke's interpretation of *ỉw*(*ỉw*) in reference to the child, the 'dog' of the deity in the sense of 'faithful follower', is more plausible.[34]

There is a single line of text at the bottom of the stela:

ḥry ỉryw-ʿꜣ n pr ꜣst pr ms hr-ỉw mꜣʿ-ḫrw n nb(*t*) *pr ḏd-ꜣst-wꜣḥ.*[*s*] *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*

'The chief doorkeeper of the temple[a] of Isis of the Birth House,[b] Heriu,[c] justified, [son ?] of/for the lady of the house Djedesewah[es], justified'.

Notes

a) The use of instead of is paralleled in other stelae of group I A.[35]

b) is surely a graphic inversion of *pr ms*[36] rather than a distinct word *ms*(*t*).[37]

c) The recumbent canid differs from the one above only in the fact that the front paws are tucked under (Fig. 2b), in the manner of the hartebeest .[38] A name *hr-ỉnpw* is attested several centuries later,[39] although the pattern, *hr*-DN, was already current in the 25th–26th Dynasties.[40]

p. 40. Photographs of the unpublished P. Turin 2119 in the papers of F.Ll. Griffith, for access to which I thank Elizabeth Fleming and Jennifer Turner in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, confirm the reading *pꜣ-ỉwỉw-mwt*. For the archive, see G. Vittmann, 'Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen (und neue Texte)', in: U. Verhoeven (ed.), *Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten I–II: Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik. Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013* (AAWMainz 14, Stuttgart, 2015), p. 413.

29 J.F. Quack, 'Fragmente memphitischer Religion und Astronomie in semidemotischer Schrift (pBerlin 14402 + pCarlsberg 651 + PSI Inv. D 23)', in: F. Hoffmann – H.J. Thissen (eds), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (StudDem 7, Leuven – Dudley, MA, 2004), p. 472; idem, 'Die Initiation zum Schreiberberuf im Alten Ägypten', *SAK* 36 (2007), p. 290; R. Jasnow – K.-Th. Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth II: Revised Transliteration and Translation, New Fragments, and Material for Future Study* (Wiesbaden, 2021), pp. 61–62.

30 Statue Brussels E.587 (E.R. Ayrton – C.T. Currelly – A.E. Weigall, *Abydos*, 3 [MEEF 25, London, 1904], pp. 42, 52, pl. 24. 13; PM 5, 48) and stela Cairo TR 1.7.18.2 (J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques en ordre généalogique et alphabétique: publié d'après les monuments égyptiens, Supplément* (Christiania – Leipzig, 1892), no. 2494; Munro, *Totenstelen*, p. 277; PM 8, 4, p. 388).

31 Ritner, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

32 G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzewerke* (WVPM 3, Glückstadt, 1937), pp. 55–56, fig. 136a; PM 8.2, p. 1118.

33 E. Jelínkova-Reymond, '"Paiement" du président de la nécropole (P. Caire 50060)', *BIFAO* 55 (1956), p. 39; M. Thirion, 'Notes d'onomastique: contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN* (deuxième série)', *RdÉ* 33 (1981), p. 85; Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch: Korrekturen*, p. 144. *pꜣ-ỉwỉw-šj* may be a phantom (Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 156), but cf. Ritner, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

34 Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 100, n. 3; G. Vittmann, 'Personal Names: Structures and Patterns', *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (2013), p. 3, no. 2.

35 E.g., Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs 103–104. For this use of the hieratic form, common in late hieroglyphic texts, see U. Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift* (OLA 99, Leuven, 2001), pp. 166–167, O1; D. Meeks, *Les architraves du temple d'Esna: paléographie* (PalHiéro 1, Cairo, 2004), p. 146, § 394; G. Lenzo, *Les stèles de Taharqa à Kawa: paléographie* (PalHiéro 7, Cairo, 2015), pp. 105–106, §§ 245, 247.

36 *LGG* I, p. 72a; De Meulenaere, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, p. 26, n. 10, read *mst*, without comment. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 353, gives as *pr ms*, but the group is preceded by in the source cited, *Edfou* V, 348, 6.

37 occurs in the divine birth of the king ritual. For discussion, see Daumas, *Les mammisis*, pp. 54–55, 467; H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos* (ÄgAbh 10, 2nd revised edition, Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 140–143; D. Budde, 'Harpare-pa-chered: ein ägyptisches Götterkind im Theben der Spätzeit und griechisch-römischen Epoche', in: D. Budde – S. Sandri – U. Verhoeven (eds), *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit: Zeugnisse aus Stadt und Tempel als Spiegel des interkulturellen Kontakts* (OLA 128, Leuven, 2003), p. 21; A. Forgeau, *Horus-fils-d'Isis: la jeunesse d'un dieu* (BiÉtud 150, Cairo, 2010), p. 307, n. 110; H. Sonbol, 'Giving Birth', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, p. 65, n. 4.

38 Boeser, *op. cit.*, pl. xxii, read . Forgeau, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 182, doc. 53, transliterated *hr-ỉw* and PM 8.4, p. 40, *hrjw*, the latter reading .

39 Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 230, 9; Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, pp. 745–746. For examples at Abydos, see E.R. Ayrton – L. Loat, 'Excavations at Abydos', EEF Arch. Rep. (1908–1909), p. 4; A. Almásy-Martin, 'Demotic, Greek and Coptic Ostraca from Abydos in the British Museum', in: E. O'Connell (ed.) *Abydos in the First Millennium AD* (BMPES 9, Leuven, 2020), p. 227, O. BM Abydos Dem 2, 5, col. 1, 5.

40 Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 230, distinguished *hr*-DN from *hr-ỉb*-DN, but the heart sign there is a determinative: H. De Meulenaere – L. Limme – J. Quaegebeur, *Peter Munro, Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen: index et addenda* (Brussels,

However, the curly tail and the folded legs support *hr-ỉw*, 'the dog is content' (?), a name not known elsewhere.

This line, which provides the Birth House connection, is exceptional, as other stelae of this workshop phase do not include text below the offering scene, and so is perhaps an afterthought.[41] Whether *s;* has been omitted before *n* in mid-line, or whether the intended sense is '(By) Heriu *for* Djedesewahes', it seems that Heriu, probably a son or a husband, commissioned the stela to commemorate the lady. Her name *ḏd-ỉst-w;ḥ.s*, 'Isis says: she will endure',[42] offers a variation on the much more common *ḏd-ỉst-ỉw.s-ʿnḫ*. Both express parental devotion to the goddess and – at least formally – a consultation of her oracle.[43] *ḏd-ỉst-w;ḥ.s* may refer to a delayed consultation in the case of a sickly infant. While such events have often been regarded as occurring before birth,[44] the incorporation of gender in the names requires that the final choice occurred *post-partum*, and it makes better sense if birth had been survived and there was a physical child to be named.

B Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow I.1.a 5615 (Fig. 3)

This incised limestone stela was published in 1982.[45] It has no recorded provenance and, although its editors, who dated it to 'Dyn. 26', recognised the 'Abydene type', they were unaware of De Meulenaere's work (as was he of theirs), and thought of Dendera as the location of the Birth House mentioned in the text.[46] However, the style is again that of a workshop at Abydos, in this case well into the Saite Period.[47] Munro's groups I, D–E (*c.*630–600 BCE) and especially II, F (*c.*600 BCE) provide the closest parallels, in features as diverse as the retrograde text above the

FIGURE 3 Moscow, Pushkin MFA I.1.a.5615
© PUSHKIN STATE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, MOSCOW

1985), p. 38 no. 8; LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, pp. 744–745, s.v. *hrj-ỉmn*; M. THIRION, 'Notes d'onomastique: contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN* (douzième série)', *RdÉ* 54 (2003), p. 180, n. 9. The name pattern appears late in the eighth century BCE, e.g., MALININE – POSENER – VERCOUTTER, *Catalogue des stèles*, pp. 81–82, fig. 100.

41 Bands with unused inscriptional potential do occur, e.g., MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, figs 107–109.

42 This is the only example in RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 409. 18. For other names based on Isis, see KOCKELMANN, *Praising the Goddess*, pp. 73–81, esp. 81. For parallels, see RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, pp. 410. 1; 410. 5 = 2, pp. 334. 10; 412. 7. To those add [*ḏd-ḫn*]*sw-w;ḥ.s*, for which see MARTIN, *The Tomb of Ḥetepka*, p. 60, no. 205, pl. 52; H.S. SMITH, 'Appendix B. Transliterations and Translations of Inscriptions', in: E.A. HASTINGS, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqāra 1964–76* (MEEF 61, London, 1997), p. 81, no. 36 n. 1, pl. xxvii; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, IV (Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 927–928, no. 325, 1262. GUERMEUR, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes*, pp. 196–197, prefers '[Djedkhon]sou-ouahséneb'. A name *ḏd-ḥr-w;ḥ.w* is also attested once: RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 411. 18; 2, p. 227, n. 13; C. BARBOTIN, *Collection égyptienne: Musée Granet – Aix-en-Provence* (2nd revised edition, Paris, 2020), pp. 170–187.

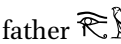
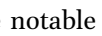
43 Mammonomy also needs to be considered: VITTMANN, 'Personal Names', *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, p. 2. For another possibility, see J. ČERNÝ, 'Egyptian Oracles', in: R.A. PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* (*Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3*) (BES 4, Providence, 1962), p. 43.

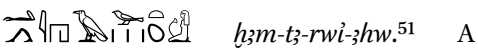
44 H. RANKE, 'Zur Namengebung der Ägypter', *OLZ* 29 (1926), p. 733–735, with reference to *ḏd-ỉst-w;ḥ.s* on p. 735, n. 6, See further P. COLLOMBERT, 'Qui sont-"ils"? L'enfant nouveau-né comme enjeu divin à la lumière de certains anthroponymes d'époque tardive', in: R. MEFFRE – F. PAYRAUDEAU (eds), *Éclats du crépuscule: recueil d'études sur l'Égypte tardive offert à Olivier Perdu* (OLA 315, Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT, 2022), p. 193, § 22, with earlier literature at n. 152.

45 S. HODJASH – O. BERLEV, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), pp. 177–179, no. 121 (30 × 23 cm); PM 8.4, pp. 415–416; JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, IV, p. 1024, no. 492.

46 HODJASH – BERLEV, *op. cit.*, p. 179, n. k.

47 HODJASH – BERLEV, *op. cit.*, p. 177; DE MEULENAERE – LIMME – QUAEGEBEUR, *Index et Addenda*, p. 82.

offering scene and the format of the offering table.[48] The stela depicts a woman before Re-Harakhte. Her mother is called *tȝw-ʿȝ*,[49] her father  *wḏȝ-ḥr*, variant  , a common name notable here for the writing of the verb with the *wḏȝt*-eye.[50] The Birth House association is manifest in his titles: *ḥry šmsw*(*t*) *ḥry mnʿ*(*w*)*t n pr ȝst nbt pr ms*, 'chief of servants and chief of nurses of the temple of Isis, lady of the Birth House'. The divine association applies to both the preceding titles, which are abbreviated in a second iteration to *ḥry šmsw*(*t*) *ḥry mnʿ*(*w*)*t*.

The woman commemorated is called  *ḥȝm-tȝ-rwỉ-ȝḥw*.[51] A shorter variant omits the *-m-*.[52] The name pattern *ḥȝm*-DN, 'worshipper of DN', appears in the 25th Dynasty and disappears with the 26th. Khamtaruahu was a *šms*(*t*) *n tȝ-rwỉ-ȝḥw*, 'servant of Taruahu'. In the context of her father's titles, the unique divine epithet 'she who alleviates suffering', enshrined in name and title,[53] can be taken as alluding to Isis and to the pain and danger to life associated with childbirth. Isis as prototype for a woman enduring a difficult pregnancy is found in P. Leiden I 348 and in the varying traditions that the birth of Horus was either early or late.[54] However, the double allusion to *tȝ-rwỉ-ȝḥw* here evidences a distinctive popular cult of the goddess among her official adherents.[55]

C Egyptian Museum, Cairo?

A third limestone stela, with dimensions of 28 × 20 cm, recorded by Mariette as from the 'Nécropole du Nord' at Abydos, links the Leiden and Moscow monuments.[56] I have been unable to trace it in Cairo, and so depend on his cursory account.[57] Whether it was carved and/or painted is not stated, but the description is compatible with

48 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, pp. 99–101, figs 125–126; 103–105, figs 135–136.

49 One wonders whether this might be a diminutive form of *pȝ.s-tȝw-*(*m-*)ʿ*wy*-DN (RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 128. 14–19). For for ʿ*wy*, see RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 127. 25. Another example is (Cairo JE 6301, my copy), misread as *pf-ḥr.w* ... by MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, p. 290, followed by DE MEULENAERE – LIMME – QUAEGEBEUR, *Index et Addenda*, p. 48. Munro's description of the stela as 'unveroffentl.' overlooks the brief notice in A. MARIETTE, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880), no. 1265. A similar writing, , occurs on a Ramesside stela (i.e., at a date too early to be explained thus) formerly in Graz: Fr. W. VON BISSING, 'Three Stelae at Graz', *Ancient Egypt* (1914), p. 15; PM 8.4, p. 218. There it is a masculine name, however, and perhaps a variant of , RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 386. 25.

50 RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, p. 88. 26; see *Wb*. 1, p. 399, for the use of the eye for the verb from the New Kingdom.

51 The name is unique. *Pace* the editors of the stela and of the Topographical Bibliography volume, the after *ḥȝm* represents a definite article governing the following word (so JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, IV, p. 1245). For *ḥȝm*+DN, see RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, pp. 262. 29; 263. 1; E. GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit* (ÄgAbh 37, Wiesbaden, 1981), 1, p. 135, ḫ11, n. 1; HODJASH – BERLEV, *op. cit.*, p. 179, n. g.

52 On this point, see GRAEFE, *loc. cit.*; M. THIRION, 'Notes d'onomastique: contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN*', *RdÉ* 56 (2005), p. 183; C.M. SHEIKHOLESLAMI, 'Some Theban Choachytes of the Third Intermediate Period', in: C. JURMAN – B. BADER – D.A. ASTON (eds), *A True Scribe of Abydos: Essays on First Millennium Egypt in Honour of Anthony Leahy* (OLA 256, Leuven, 2017), p. 426.

53 See *LGG* IV, pp. 657a–659a, for other constructions with *rwỉ*. The name *stȝ-ȝst-gȝw*, 'May Isis ward off misery', has similar sense but wider import: M. THIRION, 'Notes d'onomastique: contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN* (sixième série)', *RdÉ* 39 (1988), p. 144; KOCKELMANN, *Praising the Goddess*, p. 76, n. 37. Cf. *stȝ-imn-gȝw*, K. DONKER VAN HEEL, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste Son of Peteamunip* (*Floruit 7th Century BCE*): *Abnormal Hieratic Papyrus Louvre E 3228 A–H* (P. L.Bat. 38, Leiden – Boston, 2021), p. 56, n. 79.

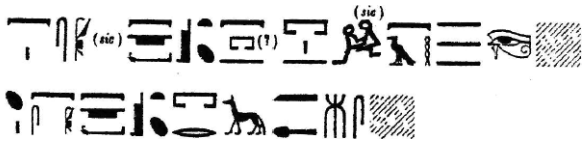
54 J.F. BORGHOUTS, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (*OMRO* 51, Leiden, 1970), pp. 30–31, spell 34; J.G. GRIFFITHS, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 220–221, 530; S. TÖPFER, 'The Physical Activity of Parturition in Ancient Egypt: Textual and Epigraphical Sources', *Dynamis* 34 (2) (2014), p. 327.

55 On such interventionist cults alongside official theologies, see P. VERNUS, 'Amon *pȝ-ʿḏr*: de la piété "populaire" à la spéculation théologique', in: J. VERCOUTTER (ed.), *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927–1976*, 1: *Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), pp. 463–476. For Isis, see COULON, 'Les formes d'Isis à Karnak', in: *Isis on the Nile*, p. 144.

56 MARIETTE, *Catalogue général*, p. 479, no. 1271; DE MEULENAERE, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, p. 26, n. 10.

57 Its absence from Munro's corpus suggests that he did not locate the stela either. Some of Mariette's finds were registered in Cairo as early as 1859, when he was himself responsible for the Journal d'Entrée (M. TRAD, 'Varia Musée du Caire. 1: Journal d'Entrée et Catalogue Général', *ASAE* 70 [1985], p. 351), others not until many decades later (DE MEULENAERE, 'Meskhénet à Abydos', in: *Religion und Philosophie*, p. 246, n. 22). See also M. DEWACHTER, 'L'original de l'"inventaire de Boulaq"', *BIFAO* 85 (1985), pp. 120–121. It is possible that some objects did not reach Cairo.

manufacture in the later seventh century BCE.[58] 'Armachis' is worshipped by two men named in captions to the offering register as and .[59] Of the main text, invoking Osiris in an offering formula, Mariette gave only an extract:



After MARIETTE, *Catalogue général*, p. 479 no. 1271.

This may be transliterated as *ḥry šms(wt) ḥry ỉry(w)-ʿ; ꜣst ḥry-pr n pr n mnʿt ḥry ꜣḫw wḏ-*[*ḥr*], *s; ḥry šms(wt) ḥry ỉry(w)-ʿ; ꜣst hr-ỉw mꜣʿ-ḫrw ms* … and translated as: 'chief of servants and chief door-keeper of Isis, superintendent of the House of Nursing, chief of inundated land[60] Udja[hor], son of the chief of servants and chief doorkeeper of Isis, Heriu, justified, born to [mother's name lost]'.

In the first line, Forgeau reads *ḥrt pr n pr mnʿt*, 'chef du domaine du mammisi', as a divine epithet.[61] However, the occurrence of *ḥry mnʿt n pr ꜣst nbt pr ms* on the Moscow stela, in a context in which such an explanation is not possible, suggests a further secular title and *ḥry-pr* is well attested in temple administration contexts.[62] *Pr mnʿt* has often been regarded as synonymous with *pr ms* but it has an earlier history and may describe a sub-unit of the latter.[63] The spelling of the father's name as suggests that the first element reads *hr*, with confusion of and .[64] In the second writing, may be an ancient misreading of a cursive draft.[65]

Family Summary

Key to reconstructing the relationships is the assumption, based on correspondence of titles and rarity of spelling of the first name, that Udjahor of B and C is the same man, and that Heriu of A and C is a single person. In the genealogy below, the dates, which build from the Leiden stela and assume 25 years per generation, refer to the deaths of the individuals and consequently the production of their stelae. If Heriu were to prove to be the husband of Djedesewahes rather than her son, the chronological gap between A and C would shrink and both B and C would move a generation earlier.

58 Cf., e.g., MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, groups I D, I E: pp. 98–101, 278–282; figs 125–130. FORGEAU, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 186, doc. 85, dates it 'entre 27e et 30e dynastie' without explanation.

59 FORGEAU, *loc. cit.*, truncates both names, taking the son as *ḥr*, his father as *ỉw*.

60 Although ignored by previous commentators, the absence of alternatives links this title to Isis by default. *ỉmy-r ꜣḫw* is the usual title for those responsible for land: E.A.E. REYMOND, 'Two Demotic Memoranda', *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 262–263; G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (ÄAT 38, Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 516–517; F. PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXIIe dynastie bubastite* (BiÉtud 160, Cairo, 2014), pp. 261–262; A.R. AL-AYEDI, *The Egyptian Titles of the Late Period: An Index of Administrative, Religious and Military Titles* (Cairo, 2022), pp. 25–26, nos 81–85.

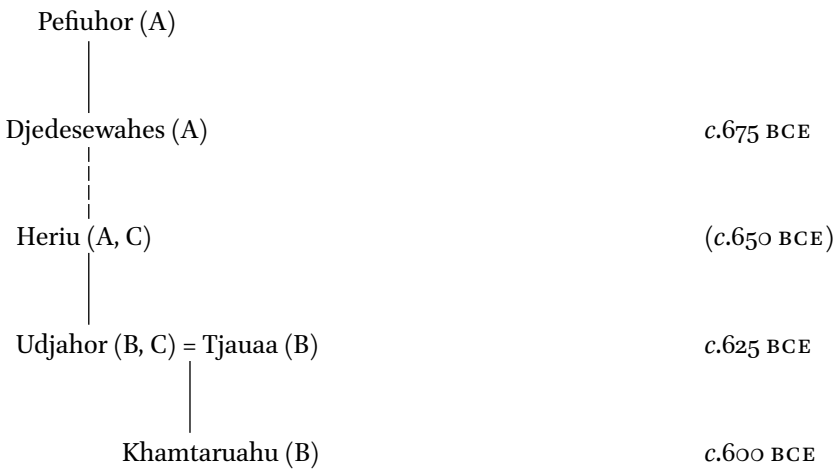
61 FORGEAU, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 186, doc. 85; AL-AYEDI, *op. cit.*, p. 624, no. 2077. The *ḥry ʿ; ꜣst n pr ms* of DE MEULENAERE, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, p. 26, n. 10, diverges from Mariette's text.

62 For *ḥry-pr n pr ỉmn*, see GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen*, 2, pp. 74, n. 5, 81, n. 20; G. VITTMANN 'Der große Priesterstammbaum in Karnak', *SAK* 30 (2002), pp. 357, n. y; PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration*, p. 259, n. 135.

63 For *pr-mnʿt*, see H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, 2 (Cairo, 1925), p. 85; DAUMAS, *Les mammisis*, p. 513; S.-A. NAGUIB, *Le clergé féminin d'Amon thébain à la 21e dynastie* (OLA 38, Leuven, 1990), pp. 225–232; WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 425; *LGG* IV, p. 54b; B. KASPARIAN, 'La condition des nourrices sous le Moyen Empire', *BIFAO* 107 (2007), pp. 109–126; S. QUIRKE, *Birth Tusks: The Armoury of Health in Context – Egypt 1800 BC* (MKS 3, London, 2016), pp. 443–444.

64 H. DE MEULENAERE, 'La stèle Louvre C 117', *OLP* 4 (1973), p. 79, n. f; O. PERDU, 'Un Héliopolitain à Bouto sous les Ptolémées', *RdÉ* 71 (2021), p. 111, n. 40.

65 VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*, pp. 158–159, N1; 166–167, O1, O4.



A: Leiden CI 324 B: Moscow I.1.a 5615 C: MARIETTE, *Catalogue général*, no. 1271.

The family titles, in descending chronological sequence, are:

ḥry ỉryw-ʿ3 n pr ȝst pr ms	Heriu as son (?)	(A)
ḥry šms(wt) ḥry ỉry(w)-ʿ3 ȝst	Heriu as father	(C)
ḥry šms(wt) ḥry ỉry(w)-ʿ3 ȝst *ḥry-pr n pr n mnʿt* *ḥry ȝḫw*	Udjahor, own stela (C)	
ḥry šmsw(t) ḥry mnʿt n pr ȝst nbt pr ms	Udjahor as father (B)	
šms(t) n t3-rw-ȝḫw	Khamtaruahu, own stela (B)	

While the titles are not an exact match from one monument to another, the variations, if not a result of inconsistent presentation, can be explained. Heriu was not yet *ḥry šms(wt)* when he commissioned the Leiden stela but had become so before his son's monument was inscribed, his own stela not being known. Udjahor's titles, on B compared to C, may have been limited for reasons of space to those directly relevant to his daughter's status. The overall picture suggests that Heriu added a second position, *ḥry šms(wt)*, to that of *ḥry ỉryw-ʿ3*, which he may have inherited from his unnamed father. Family fortunes increased through Udjahor's acquisition of two more posts. One put him in charge of the nursing cohort.[66] The other, *ḥry ȝḫw*, fits well with what may have been the most important office, that of chief doorkeeper, in extending his responsibilities beyond the temple precinct to control of landed estate.

The title of 'doorkeeper' is associated with very varied functions from the New Kingdom onwards.[67] While

66 For Isis as nurse, see FORGEAU, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, pp. 171–172. For nurse-titles, see, e.g., NAGUIB, *Le clergé féminin d'Amon*, pp. 225–232; D. KLOTZ, 'The Theban Cult of Chonsu the Child in the Ptolemaic Period', in: C. THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives* (D3T 1), (CENiM 3, Montpellier, 2009), pp. 126–127; A.M. VILLAR GÓMEZ, *The Personnel of Khonsu during the Third Intermediate Period at Thebes: A Prosopographical Study of the 21st Dynasty* (Madrid, 2015), pp. 141–144; AL-AYEDI, *op. cit.*, pp. 341–342, 635. The wife of Pinudjem I was 'chief nurse of Mut, lady of Isheru': JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, I, p. 86.

67 See C.M. SHEIKHOLESLAMI, 'Doorkeepers in Third Intermediate to Saite Period Thebes', *JARCE* 59 (2023), pp. 177–205, with extensive bibliography. For recent discussions of the reading

an element of physical safeguarding of the temple and its estate certainly remained,[68] they were also senior administrators, especially at the level of *ḥry ỉryw-ʿ3*. Their responsibility for managing land donations made to temples is well documented for the Saite Period,[69] and the agricultural activities overseen by a 'chief doorkeeper' in the fourth century BCE are amply illustrated by the statue inscription of Djedher 'the saviour'.[70] The high standing of this position after the New Kingdom is reflected in the quality of the Leiden stela.

The responsibilities of a *šmst*, the title held by Khamtaruahu, are less clear. The translation 'servant', rather than 'follower', derives from the widespread late use of the verb *šms* to describe a range of service to a deity.[71] The existence of a hierarchy led by Khamtaruahu's father and grandfather suggests that the title represented more than a 'sentiment d'allégeance'.[72] One aspect is revealed by the Theban *šmswt mwt*, for whom participation in a mirror ritual is explicit in their commemoration.[73] Theban sources also record a *ḥryt šmsw*(*t*) *n ỉmn*[74] and a *ḥry šmsw*(*t*) *n mwt*.[75] The depiction of a *ḥryt šmswt* in the household of the God's Wives playing a sistrum may imply that duties included the musical accompaniment of ceremonies.[76]

This then was a family of substance, with important managerial roles in temple administration. Its private devotion to Isis is evident in names, one explicitly based on hers, another obliquely, and two more commemorate Horus.[77] While only stela C has an excavation history, all three are likely to derive from unrecorded plots in the 'Nécropole du Nord'. In the funerary context, the depiction of Re-Harakhte was typical of seventh century BCE Abydos, so it is unsurprising that Isis is not shown.[78]

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of the title, see F. Hoffmann – J.F. Quack, 'Pastophoros', in: A.M. Dodson – J.J. Johnston – W. Monkhouse (eds), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W.J. Tait* (GHP Egyptology 21, London, 2014), pp. 127–155; M. Chauveau, 'Démotique', *AEHPE SHP* 151 (2018–2019), pp. 5–10. For female doorkeepers, see P.C. Hogenboom-Meijerink, 'Women's Involvement in Choachytal Work', in: Donker van Heel, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte*, pp. 21–22, n. 199.

68 According to the Book of the Temple, doorkeepers had a reserved physical space in the temple and were among those divided into four phyles: J.F. Quack, 'Conceptions of Purity in Egyptian Religion', in: C. Frevel – C. Nihan (eds), *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism* (DHR 3, Leiden, 2013), p. 119; Hoffmann – Quack, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Almásy-Martin, 'Demotic, Greek and Coptic Ostraca', in *Abydos in the First Millennium AD*, p. 229.

69 E. Jelínkova-Reymond, 'Recherches sur le rôle des "gardiens des portes" (*ỉry ʿ3*) dans l'administration générale des temples égyptiens', *CdÉ* 28 (1953), pp. 51–53; D. Meeks, 'Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte du Ier millénaire avant J.-C.', in: E. Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978* (OLA 6, Leuven, 1979), 2, pp. 645, 647–648; K. Donker van Heel, 'Delta Donations for Doorkeepers, Why?', *JSSEA* 44 (2017–2018), pp. 205–218.

70 E. Jelínkova-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-ḥer-le-Sauveur* (BiÉtud 23, Cairo, 1956), pp. 113–119, lines 75–85; Sheikholeslami, *op. cit.*, p. 182. For Thebes, see J. Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens à l'époque dite "éthiopienne"* (*XXVe dynastie*) (BiÉtud 17, Cairo, 1954), pp. 43–72; E. Graefe – M. Wassef, 'Eine fromme Stiftung für den Gott Osiris-der-seinen-Anhänger-in-der-Unterwelt-rettet aus dem Jahre 21 des Taharqa (670 v. Chr.), *MDAIK* 35 (1979), p. 114; Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities*, pp. 66–67; Payraudeau, *Administration*, p. 254.

71 Leclant, *Enquêtes,* p. 69 with n. 3; Jelínkova-Reymond, *op. cit.*, p. 94 n. 6; Hodjash – Berlev, *op. cit.*, p. 179, n. j; C. Jurman, 'Vom *šmsw jḳr* zum g'schamsten Diener: eine etymologisch-kulturhistorische Spurensuche', in: J. Budka – R. Gundacker – G. Pieke (eds), *Florilegium Aegyptiacum – eine wissenschaftliche Blütenlese von Schülern und Freunden für Helmut Satzinger zum 75. Geburtstag am 21. Jänner 2013* (Göttingen, 2013), p. 215.

72 Forgeau, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, pp. 169–170. For discussion, see P. Munro, 'Eine Gruppe spätägyptischer Bronzespiegel', *ZÄS* 95 (1969), p. 108; Graefe, *Untersuchungen*, 2, §§ 20, 39; Jurman, *loc. cit.*; for examples, see Al-Ayedi, *op. cit.*, pp. 688–689, 919–921.

73 Munro, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 101–108; F. Gombert-Meurice, 'Miroir dédié par une suivante de Mout faisant l'offrande du miroir à la déesse', in: Gombert-Meurice – Payraudeau (eds), *Servir les dieux d'Égypte*, p. 386.

74 British Museum EA 25262: M.L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.,* 11 (London, 1987), p. 14, pls 14–15; Saleh, *op. cit.*, p. 171; PM 8.4, p. 347; C. Koch, *"Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen": Gottesgemahlinnen und Musikerinnen im thebaischen Amunstaat von der 22. bis zur 26. Dynastie* (SRaT 27, Dettelbach, 2012), p. 83, n. 232.

75 Leclant, *Enquêtes*, pp. 50, n. l, 68. The mother of the *ḥry šmsw*(*t*) *n mwt* Pesdimen, was *šms*(*t*) *n*(*t*) *mwt*, or possibly [*ḥry*] *šmsw*(*t*) *n*(*t*) *mwt.*

76 L. Coulon, 'Autour de l'adoratrice du dieu: l'administration de son domaine et le harem d'Amon', in: Gombert-Meurice – Payraudeau (eds), *Servir les dieux d'Égypte*, pp. 323–325, fig. 3; cf. S. Quirke, 'Women in Ancient Egypt: Temple Titles and Funerary Papyri', in: A. Leahy – J. Tait (eds), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith* (EES OP 13, London, 1999), pp. 228–229. For the 'chief servant' of the God's Wife, see Graefe, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 49, f; Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 82, n. 222.

77 Many Isis names from Abydos appear in, e.g., Forgeau, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, pp. 165–166; Kockelmann, *Praising the Goddess*, pp. 73–81; W. Clarysse, 'Isis Names in Graeco-Roman Egypt', in: V. Gasparini – R. Veymiers (eds), *Individuals and Materials in the Greco-Roman Cults of Isis: Agents, Images, and Practices. Proceedings of the VIth International Conference of Isis Studies* (*Erfurt, May 6–8, 2013 – Liège, September 23–24, 2013*) (Leiden – Boston, 2018), 1, pp. 198–220.

78 Munro, *Totenstelen*, p. 90.

Other Sources

It was sufficient for De Meulenaere's purpose to establish that a Birth House existed at Abydos from the 19th Dynasty. A fuller analysis of the data will help in understanding contexts and chronology. Although the securely Ramesside sources number only three, they establish the main patterns of presentation. The solitary attested functionary is a 'doorkeeper of Isis (lady) of the Birth House', known from a stela in Naples, on which the dedicator is depicted worshipping Osiris, Isis '(lady) of the Birth House', Werethekau and Horus.[79] On another stela fragment, a wab priest invokes Isis 'the great, lady of the Birth House' after Osiris-Khentamentiu, and before Heqet and Horus.[80] The most revealing is a stela Louvre C 219, dedicated by a 'first prophet of Isis' Wenenefer at the end of the 19th Dynasty, on which he kneels before Isis 'of the Birth House' who is followed by three other female deities.[81] The goddess was depicted on all three stelae but only her lower part survives on the one in Columbia. The representation on Louvre C 219 is remarkable for its simplicity: Isis wears only a tripartite wig and sheath dress, holds an *ankh* and a *was*-sceptre, and is indistinguishable from the other goddesses. On the Naples stela, she also has the Hathor-crown.

Two stelae from Mariette's excavations, now in Cairo, which commemorate *ḥsyt*-singers of Isis '(lady) of the Birth House',[82] may belong late in the New Kingdom or early in the Libyan Period.[83] One worships Osiris, the other a lioness goddess. The only other evidence from that time frame is a graffito in the Osireion discussed at the end of this essay.

The evidence from the Saite Period, including those discussed above, extends the range of titles considerably.[84] The most informative source is a stela, Oriental Museum, Durham, N 1971 (Fig. 4), which commemorates Hep, son of Djedher and of the lady of the house Irtyru. It is larger than those discussed above – at 74 × 36 cm twice the height of the Leiden monument – allowing the lengthier text often found on Abydene stelae in the first half of the sixth century BCE.[85] A more significant difference is the depiction of Isis, in solitary splendour rather than as a member of the triad in which she usually appears (Fig. 5), and with an attention to detail that suggests a temple template.[86] The exceptional character of its iconography is brought out by comparison with Louvre C 219. The foregrounding of Isis here may explain the classification of the Durham stela in the *Topographical Bibliography* as 'probably votive'. However, the triad had appeared on tomb stelae since the New Kingdom, and as text and offering scene here are both funerary in character – Isis's 'speech' is a *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* formula invoking Osiris – Munro's inclusion of it in a book on *'Totenstelen'* is justified. It is nonetheless a striking statement of attachment to the goddess. A related personal touch is the basket on the ground between worshipper and offering table. Its caption, , for which the basket serves as determinative, identifies it as a grain

79 Naples 1020: De Meulenaere, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, pp. 25–26; G. Hölbl, *Le stele funerarie della collezione egizia: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*. Rome, 1985, pp. 30–34, no. 13, pl. xiii; PM 8.4, p. 283.

80 Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia MO, X-2: De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 8; PM 8.4, p. 248; https://maacollections.missouri.edu/ArgusNET/Portal.aspx?lang=en-US.

81 Louvre website: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl01 0026270; E. Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt* (SBLWAW 26, Atlanta, GA, 2007), pp. 104–106; Forgeau, *Horus-fils-d'Isis*, pp. 149–150, 344, 362, pl. 29; M.-A. Pouls Wegner, 'Birth and Rebirth in the Abydos Landscape', in: I. Regulski (ed.) *Abydos: the Sacred Land at the Western Horizon* (BMPES 8, Leuven, 2019), p. 249; E. Dalino, *Les grands prêtres d'Égypte à l'époque ramesside: prosopographie et histoire* (CENiM 30, Milan, 2021), pp. 111–112, 114, 116, 351–353, doc. 457. Wenenefer was also a prophet of Har(si)ese (reading with Forgeau, against Frood and Pouls Wegner, cf. n. 159 below). On another stela, Louvre C 98 (https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl01002 2576), Wenenefer worships the Osirian triad, Isis has no caption and there is no reference to the *pr ms*.

82 Mariette, *Catalogue général*, nos 1177 and 1191; De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 13; Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities*, p. 28, n. 134.

83 On dating this material, see A. Leahy, 'Dating Stelae of the Libyan period from Abydos', in: G.P.F. Broekman – R.J. Demarée – O.E. Kaper (eds), *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007* (EgUit 23, Leiden – Leuven, 2009), p. 420; J. Li, 'Identity and Burial Practices in the *Nécropole des chanteuses* at Abydos', in: C. Geisen – J. Li – S. Shubert – K. Yamamoto (eds), *His Good Name: Essays on Identity and Self-presentation in Ancient Egypt in Honor of Ronald J. Leprohon* (MVCAE 5, Atlanta, GA, 2021), pp. 65–66.

84 Cf. Forgeau, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 169.

85 S. Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* (London, 1880), pp. 312–313; Munro, *Totenstelen*, p. 296, fig. 150; De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 12; Forgeau, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 182, doc. 52; PM 8.4, pp. 496–497; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* IV, p. 988, no. 428. For the photograph and permission to reproduce, I am grateful to John Ruffle and Kate Weightman, respectively sometime curator and photographer at the Oriental Museum.

86 Cf. A.M. Calverley – M.F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, I: *The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus* (London – Chicago, 1933), pls 18–19.

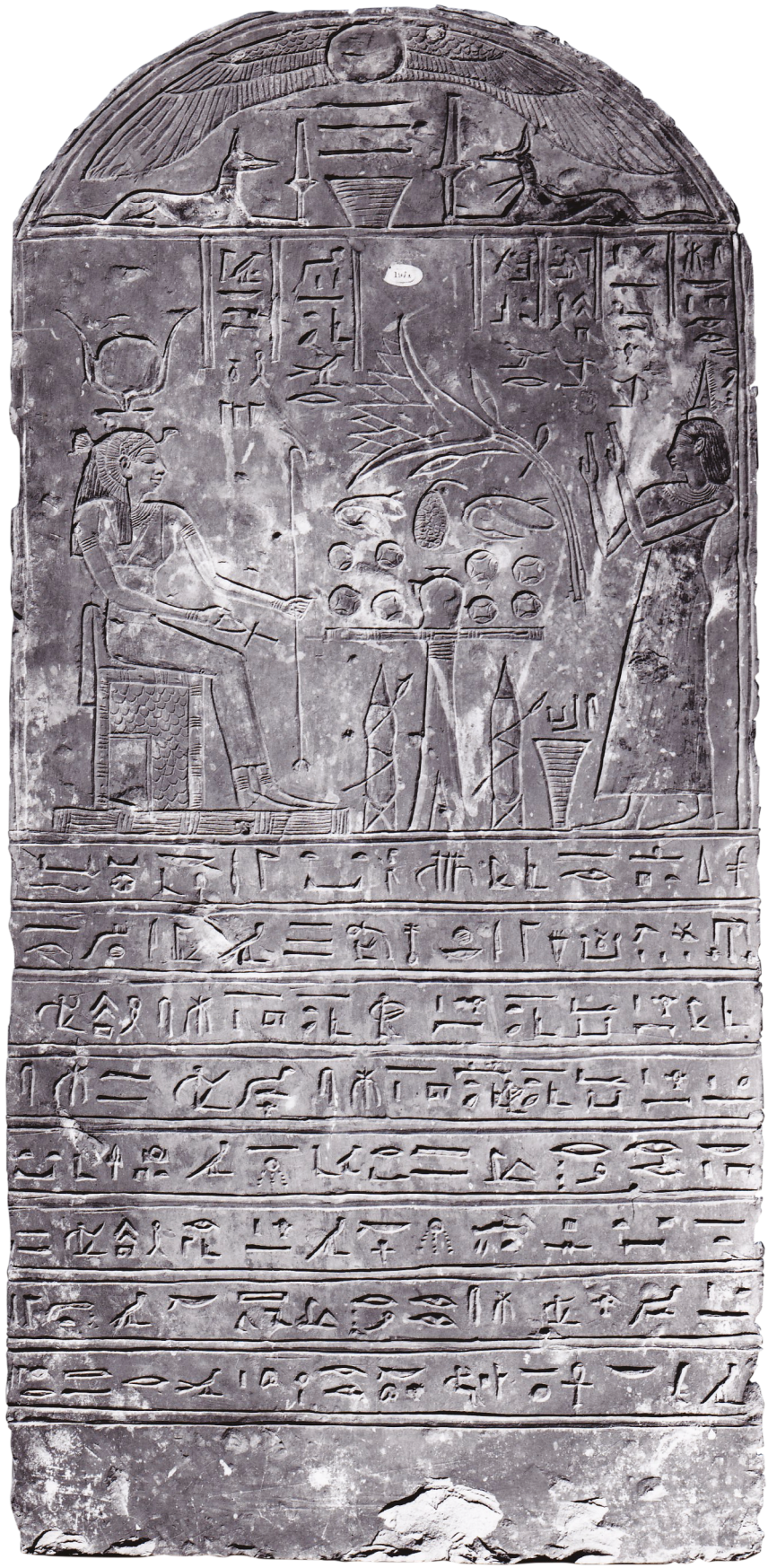

FIGURE 4 Durham, Oriental Museum N 1971
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container, the significance of which is best understood by reference to his titles.[87]

The same two distinct offices are recorded for both Hep and his father: *ḥry ʿqw* (?) *n ʒst ḥrj sṯw* (?) (*n*) *ʒst n pr ms*.[88] The reading of the second depends on an enigmatic hieroglyph: .[89] Günter Vittmann tentatively suggested that this might be 'ein „phallisches" Schriftzeichen', possibly to be read *ṯkrw*.[90] It seems instead to show a man scattering seed from a container and thus to justify Munro's 'Saemann' (*sṯw*).[91] The *kbs*-vessel symbolises agricultural activity and the combination supports the interpretation of the puzzling group in the first title, , as an aberrant writing of *ʿqw*, '(temple) rations'.[92] Hep would then have overseen both grain production and its distribution to temple staff.

The stela also offers an iconographic guide. Given the epithet *n pr ms* in the men's titles, the goddess shown must represent Isis 'of the Birth House', although her caption describes her as 'the great, mother of the god, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods', *wrt mwt nṯr nbt pt ḫnwt nṯrw* and her devotee's caption addresses Isis *wrt mwt nṯr*. Her costume and regalia are as they appear in contemporary presentations of the local triad at Abydos and elsewhere.[93] The core sequence *wrt mwt nṯr* is also characteristic of Birth House captions.[94] Isis of the *pr ms* is thus both the archetypal mother goddess and the universal deity of later hymns and aretalogies, even if those do not mention the Birth House.[95]

Broadly contemporary with Durham N 1971 are three early sixth century BCE monuments naming a Pediese, son of Ankhharsiese. A block statue in the Michaelides collection and a pyramidion, Cairo TR 15/3/25/6, are known for him,[96] while a stela once in the Amherst collection (Fig. 5), and in private hands in Boston in 1974, commemorates a daughter called Istemkheb.[97] It is more conventional than

87 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, p. 109, interpreted it as representing 'das Saatgut'. *kbs* is attested principally at Deir el-Medina: *Wb.* 5, p. 118. 9–10; J.J. JANSSEN, Commodity *Prices from the Ramessid Period: An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 133–136.

88 The two were conflated by DE MEULENAERE, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 12, and by GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen*, 2, pp. 68–69.

89 This image, from line 3, is clearer than that in line 4, where the sign was initially omitted.

90 G. VITTMANN, 'Von Kastraten, Hundskopfmenschen und Kannibalen', *ZÄS* 127 (2000), p. 172, presumably influenced by his interpretation of the preceding title, wondered whether the father might be adoptive.

91 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, p. 296; *Wb.* 4, pp. 346–347. FORGEAU, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 182, doc. 52, translates the title as 'chef des semeurs (?)', but regards it (p. 169) as equivalent to 'portier'. Similar confusion in SALEH, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities*, p. 28, n. 133, is perhaps due to DE MEULENAERE, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, p. 26.

92 This was considered, but discounted, by VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 44. For *ʿqw*, see M. MALININE, 'Graphies démotiques du mot *ʿq* "nourriture, ration", etc.', *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 150–152; IDEM, *Choix de textes*, pp. 110–112; GRAEFE – WASSEF, 'Eine fromme Stiftung', *MDAIK* 35, p. 108, n. d; GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen*, 2, pp. 34–35; *CDD ʿ*, pp. 144–145. AL-AYEDI, *op. cit.*, pp. 625–626, nos 2083–2088, translates all examples of this title as 'sowers'.

93 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, figs 145, 148; N. DE GARIS DAVIES, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khārgeh Oasis*, 3: *The Decoration* (PMMA 17, New York, 1953), pl. 24. 2. Earlier and later examples respectively are Louvre C 219 and Cairo CG 70018 (n. 104 below). A rare instance in which the depiction of Isis 'of the Birth House' exhibits the mammisiac role implied by the epithet is the Saite 'inventory' stela from Giza (Cairo JE 2091), on which a gilded wooden statuette of the goddess is shown in a suckling pose: C.M. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Giza au premier millénaire: autour du temple d'Isis Dame des Pyramides* (Boston, 1991), pp. 231–232, 236–237, 297, 310, pl. 39. This motif is of course common in the Graeco-Roman mammisis.

94 F. COLIN, 'L'Isis "dynastique" et la Mère des dieux phrygienne: essai d'analyse d'un processus d'interaction culturelle', *ZPE* 102 (1994), pp. 271–276, especially 275, n. 24.

95 J. BERGMAN, *Ich bin Isis: Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien* (AcUniv [U] HR 3, Uppsala, 1968), pp. 134–135; J.D. RAY, *The Archive of Ḥor* (EES TEM 2, London, 1976), pp. 155–158; L.V. ŽABKAR, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, (Hanover – London, 1988); T.M. DOUSA, 'Imagining Isis: On some Continuities and Discontinuities in the Image of Isis in Greek Isis Hymns and Demotic Texts', in: K. RYHOLT (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999* (CNIP 27, Copenhagen, 2002), p. 181; J.F. QUACK, '"Ich bin Isis, die Herrin der beiden Länder": Versuch zum demotischen Hintergrund der memphitischen Isisaretalogie', in: S. MEYER (ed.), *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World / Ägypten – Tempel der gesammten Welt: Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann* (SHR 97, Leiden, 2003), pp. 319–366; KOCKELMANN, *Praising the Goddess*; O.E. KAPER, 'Isis in Roman Dakhleh: Goddess of the Village, the Province, and the Country', in: *Isis on the Nile: Egyptian Gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, pp. 149–180.

96 DE MEULENAERE, *op. cit.*, p. 26 n. 9; FORGEAU, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 182, docs 51a–b; F. VON KÄNEL, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket* (BÉHÉ sciences religieuses 87, Paris, 1984), pp. 86–90, no. 41 A-C; JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, IV, pp. 996–998, nos 440–442. For the pyramidion, from the 'Nécropole du Nord' (MARIETTE, *Catalogue général*, pp. 561–562, no. 1435), see H. SELIM, 'Four Pyramidia in the Cairo Museum', in: U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER – T. TAWFIK (eds), *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet … Wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen: Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed* (SDAIK 16, Berlin – New York, 2009), pp. 192–198, pl. 25.

97 MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, pp. 292–293, fig. 147; PM 8.4, pp. 438–439. Dimensions *c.*66 × 42 cm. Comparison of the photograph in S.S. REAHARD, *Ancient Art from Private Collections: Indianapolis Museum of Art* (Indianapolis, 1974), p. 260, no. 36 fig., with the 1921 catalogue image reproduced in MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, fig. 147 (and Fig. 5 here) shows some damage in the intervening years, especially to the beginning of the first three lines and the end of line 6.

FIGURE 5 Stela sold as part of Amherst collection in 1921 (after MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, fig. 147)

the Durham stela in its depiction of the deceased before standing figures of Osiris, Horus and Isis.[98] The caption for Isis is *wrt mwt nṯr*, but in all three inscriptions Pediese's titles include 'prophet of Isis, lady of the birth house'.[99] Other posts held, which include separately prophet of Osiris and prophet of Horus, great prophet of the House of Life and scribe of the divine book, imply a more elevated position in the Abydene hierarchy than those discussed above.[100]

A further possible Saite source is a stela from the 'Nécropole du Nord', on which Munro suggested a lost title, '... vom Geburtshaus (?)'.[101] There are two post-Saite references. A stela from the 'Nécropole du Nord – Zone du Nord-Est', of the fourth century BCE or the Ptolemaic Period (Fig. 6),[102] commemorates a *gwṯ* 'of the temple of Osiris (*and*) of the temple of Isis of the Birth House' named Harsiese.[103] A 30th Dynasty naos from the 'Petit temple de l'ouest' depicts 'Isis of the Birth House, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods' with Osiris and Horus.[104]

Only a few inscriptions at Abydos mention personnel attached to Isis without the Birth House epithet.[105] A Saite pyramidion, Cairo TR 12.3.25.5, belonged to a priest Harsiese, whose father was a 'prophet of Isis the great, mother of the god, lady of Abydos'.[106] A perhaps slightly later stela, Cairo CG 22003, commemorates a , perhaps to be understood as a *ḥsyt*-musician of Isis.[107] A sarcophagus of Ptolemaic date, formerly in the Horniman Museum in London, was made for a prophet of Isis 'the great, mother of the god' named Imhotep, who also held priesthoods of Osiris and Horus.[108] Another prophet of Isis named on a stela found at Abydos, Cairo JE 36492, may not refer to a local cult.[109] Finally, Theban sources emphasise the triad: a 21st Dynasty priestess was 'prophetess of Osiris, Horus and Isis in Abydos',[110] and a 4th Prophet of

98 On the sixth century BCE shift to the triad rather than Re-Harakhte, see MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, pp. 107–108. On the variation in the sequence of Horus and Isis, which goes back to the New Kingdom, see FORGEAU, *Horus-fils-d'Isis*, p. 150.

99 The only other prophet of Isis with this epithet served in Bahariya: F. LABRIQUE, 'La salle aux Bès géants à Ayn el-Mouftella: une lecture de pieds', in: D. DEVAUCHELLE (ed.), *La XXVIe dynastie, continuités et ruptures: actes du Colloque international organisé les 26 et 27 novembre 2004 à l'Université Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille 3; promenade saïte avec Jean Yoyotte* (Paris, 2011), pp. 192–194; EADEM, 'Un proto-mammisi saïte à Bahariya?', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, p. 89, § 4.2, figs 6a–b. There is currently nothing beyond their common name and the title 'prophet of Isis of Abydos' to connect the Pediese of the Amherst stela with the villain of a Setna fragment: J.F. QUACK – K. RYHOLT, 'Notes on the Setne Story P. Carlsberg 207', in: P.J. FRANDSEN – K. RYHOLT (eds), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies* (CP 3 = CNIP 22, Copenhagen, 2000), pp. 141–163. On priests of Isis generally, see J.F. QUACK, 'What is a priest of Ēse, of Wusa, and of Isis in the Egyptian and Nubian World?', in: *Individuals and Materials in the Greco-Roman Cults of Isis*, 1, pp. 108–126.

100 A. LEAHY, 'The Initiation of a Scribe of the Divine Book at Abydos in the 8th century BC', in: T. GAMELIN – J. HOURDIN – N. LEROUX (eds), *Au héraut d'Apis: recueil d'études offert au professeur Didier Devauchelle pour son 70e anniversaire* (OLA 325, Leuven, 2024)

101 MARIETTE, *Catalogue général*, p. 478, no. 1269, now Cairo TR 23.10.24.1: MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, p. 296. Since Munro's reading is not recognisable in Mariette's copy, he must have taken it directly from the stela, which I have not seen.

102 Cairo JE 21788: MARIETTE, *Catalogue général*, p. 464, no. 1227; LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire*, no. 2271; MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, p. 303; DE MEULENAERE, 'Le clergé abydénien d'Osiris', *OLP* 6–7, p. 148 no. 42; IDEM, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, p. 26, n. 11; FORGEAU, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 169, n. 8. Dimensions: 37 × 25 cm. Thanks are due to the late Abdel Kader Selim, sometime director of the Cairo Museum, for permission to publish the image.

103 On the title, see LECLANT, *Enquêtes*, p. 68; C.M. SHEIKHOLESLAMI, 'Sokar-Osiris and the Goddesses: some Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty Coffins from Thebes', in: *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, pp. 458, n. 29, 461–462; J.H. TAYLOR, 'Evidence for Social Patterning in Theban Coffins of Dynasty 25', in: J.H. TAYLOR – M. VANDENBEUSCH (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft Traditions and Functionality* (BMPES 4, Leuven, 2018), p. 382; SHEIKHOLESLAMI, 'Doorkeepers', *JARCE* 59, pp. 186–187.

104 Cairo CG 70018: G. ROEDER, *Naos: nr. 70001–70050* (CGC 75, Leipzig, 1914), pp. 54–55, § 271; A. EFFLAND – U. EFFLAND, *Abydos: Tor zur ägyptischen Unterwelt* (Darmstadt, 2013), pp. 90–91; A. FORGEAU, *Nectanébo: la dernière dynastie égyptienne* (Paris, 2018), pp. 273–274; JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, V, pp. 393–394.

105 The 'priest of Isis' recognised by W.K. SIMPSON, *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos* (PPYE 6, New Haven– Philadelphia, 1995), p. 84, is in fact an archaising 'servant of the throne': A. LEAHY, 'Tomb Relief Carving at Abydos in the Seventh Century BCE', in: Z.A. HAWASS – J.E. RICHARDS (eds), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor* (CASAE 36, Cairo, 2007), 2, p. 43, n. 8.

106 SELIM, 'Four Pyramidia', in: *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet ...*, pp. 198–203, pl. 26; JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, IV, pp. 1008–1009, no. 460.

107 A. KAMAL, *Stèles ptolémaiques et romaines: n°s 22001–22208* (CGC 20, Cairo, 1905), pp. 3–4, pl. ii; MUNRO, *Totenstelen*, p. 310; FORGEAU, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 183, doc. 64. POULS WEGNER, 'Birth and Rebirth', in: *Abydos: The Sacred Land*, p. 249, prefers 'one praised by' for *ḥsyt*. See S.L. ONSTINE, *The Role of the Chantress* (*šm'yt*) *in Ancient Egypt* (BAR-IS 1401, Oxford, 2005), pp. 6–7, on *ḥsyt* as distinct from *šm'yt*.

108 F.R. HERBIN, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité* (OLA 58, Leuven, 1994), pp. 20–21, pl. xxiv.

109 A. LEAHY, 'A Priest of Mut of Megeb at Abydos', in: D. MAGEE – J. BOURRIAU – S. QUIRKE (eds), *Sitting beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute* (OLA 185, Leuven, 2009), p. 276.

110 Cairo CG 61030: G. DARESSY, *Cercueils des cachettes royales: n°s 61001–61044* (CGC 37, Cairo, 1909), p. 112; FORGEAU, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 180, doc. 36a.

FIGURE 6 Stela Cairo Museum JE 21788
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Osiris, Horus and Isis in Abydos and overseer of prophets of Thinite Abydos is named in a papyrus of year 47 of Psammetichus I.[111]

The Epithet and Its Import

The full name of the institution to which the offices are attached is *pr ỉst nbt pr ms*. The initial *pr* may be omitted and/or a genitival relationship substituted for *nbt*.[112] The affiliation could even be reduced to the name of the goddess alone, as on stela C. On present evidence, the expression *n*/*nbt pr ms* came into being as an epithet of Isis at Abydos early in the Ramesside Period, when it is first attested both as a divine caption and as an element in temple titles.[113] It offers strong presumptive evidence for the existence of a physical reference point and is likely to derive from the establishment at Abydos of the first divine Birth House.[114] The epithet remained characteristic of Isis at Abydos thereafter, denoting a local cult.[115] Its embodiment of the goddess as the model of motherhood also spread across Egypt by the 26th Dynasty at the latest. 'Isis of the Birth House' was among those venerated in the temple of Isis, 'mistress of the pyramids' at Giza,[116] while a prophet of 'Isis of the Birth House' is attested in the Saite temple at Ayn el-Muftalla.[117] At Philae, the epithet was used under Ptolemy II and III, both in the Birth House and in her main temple.[118] Late in the third century BCE, Isis was *nbt pr ms* in the Birth House at Coptos.[119] The appearance of *ỉst n pr ms* in personal names at Memphis and Buto testifies to still wider diffusion of Isiac theology.[120]

What stands out most clearly from the above review is that the *pr ỉst nbt pr ms* does not refer directly to the Birth House,[121] but designates an independent temple of Isis, in which her role as mother goddess was particularly celebrated. The recurrent alternation of *ỉst* and *ỉst nb/n pr ms*, notably on Louvre C 219 and Durham N 1971, suggests that the Birth House stands behind most references to Isis at Abydos in the first millennium BCE, even when it is not explicit.

This helps to explain the range of titles attested, many of which are lay in character. Agricultural activities are particularly well represented, with a 'chief of inundated land', a 'chief of sowers' and probably a 'chief of grain rations' to be added to 'chief doorkeeper'. Only the singers, the *šmswt* and the prophets would have been directly involved in cult activities. The sample is small, of course, but there is a dearth of mammisiac titles. Only those relating to nursing are suggestive of that institution and constructions such as x + *pr ms* are not attested.[122]

The position of Birth Houses within a temple precinct implies that they were ancillary extensions of that temple. They did not warrant autonomous staffing because the priests and administrators of the parent temple were responsible for the cult services of the Birth House, and for its provisioning. The allusions throughout are to a temple of Isis, to whose name the distinctive epithet was often added, and to her personnel.[123]

111 P. Turin 2021, line 4: Malinine, *Choix de textes*, pp. 118–119; Forgeau, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 181, doc. 43; G. Vittmann, 'Kursivhieratische und frühdemotische Miszellen', *Enchoria* 25 (1999), p. 111.

112 Such variation is present from the earliest references to Isis and the Birth House: De Meulenaere, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, p. 25; Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millénaire*, p. 237 n. 741; *LGG* I, p. 72a–b; *LGG* IV, p. 54c–55a. For the supposed 'Isis *in* the Birth House' cited in the latter place, see below, n. 160.

113 Both are exemplified on Naples 1020 (n. 79 above). It is possible there were earlier developments in the Delta, in the light of both the focus on Chemmis in Isiac mythology and the origins of the new dynasty at Pi-Ramesse.

114 That is, '… nicht nur ein rein gedankliches theologisches Konzept', as H. Kockelmann, 'Göttliche Geburt und mehr', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, p. 16, has it.

115 See Forgeau, 'Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 169, on the epithet as an original Abydos creation. Its absence from monuments attesting the cult of Isis in neighbouring Akhmim over a similar timespan is noteworthy: Claude, *Akhmîm*, pp. 151–152, 222–227.

116 Cairo JE 2091 (n. 93 above).

117 F. Labrique, 'Un proto-mammisi saïte à Bahariya?', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, p. 89, figs. 6a–b.

118 H. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (ÖAWDG Phil.-Hist. Kl. Sonderband, Vienna, 1958), pp. 162, 2; 254, 10; H. Junker – E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (ÖAWDG Phil.-Hist. Kl. Sonderband, Vienna, 1965), pp. 209, 2; 305, 4; 371, 2; Kockelmann, 'Göttliche Geburt und mehr', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, pp. 15–16.

119 L. Pantalacci, 'Les sept Hathors, leurs bas et Ptolémée IV Philopator au mammisi de Coptos', *BIFAO* 114 (2014), pp. 397–399, 402, n. 12; L. Pantalacci – C. Gobeil, 'The Mammisi of Coptos', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, p. 248, fig. 2. The epithet is preceded by *wrt mwt nṯr* and followed by *nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw*.

120 De Meulenaere, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, p. 27.

121 *pr-rʿt-tỉwy* and *pr-ḥwt-ḥr*, cited by Daumas, *Les mammisis*, p. 514, as occasional forms of reference for the Birth Houses at Armant and Philae, would provide parallels.

122 For the hypothesis that staff associated with a Birth House would mostly have been women, see C.M. Sheikholeslami, 'A Stela of Two Women from Abydos (Cairo JE 21797)', in: M. Eldamaty – M. Trad (eds), *Egyptian Museum Collections Around the World* (Cairo, 2002), 2, p. 1116. For a few titles connected to another temple unit, the 'House of Life', see Leahy, 'The Initiation of a Scribe', in: *Au héraut d'Apis*.

123 A separate temple for Isis is implied in the reference on Cairo JE 21788 (Fig. 6) to 'the temple of Osiris *and* the temple of Isis of the Birth House'. It also appears occasionally in onomastic evidence, such as the name *tȝ-nḫt-n-pr-ỉst*: Leahy, 'Tomb Relief Carving', in: *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*, 2, p. 46.

The Physical Setting

A temple of Isis has not figured in discussions of the sacred landscape at Abydos, yet it is a natural corollary of both the increased evidence for her cult there in Ramesside times,[124] which includes the appearance of a first prophet of Isis, and the contemporary expansion of wider religious infrastructure in the north of the site.[125] Earlier provision for her worship perhaps took the form of a chapel within the sanctuary of Osiris, as in the nearby temple of Sety I.[126] The new era demanded more, and Thebes, with separate complexes for Mut and Amun, provides a parallel, in principle, if not scale or detail. A temple of Horus, echoing that of Khonsu at Karnak, might also be envisaged.

The prime candidate is the poorly-preserved 'Portal' temple, begun under Sety I but essentially constructed under Ramesses II.[127] It was oriented to local east and immediately adjacent to a very crowded Osiris temple enclosure.[128] Exactly how it related to the temple of Osiris cannot be determined until the latter, the subject of much debate, is securely identified,[129] but issues of space as well as a desire for a modicum of seclusion may have influenced the selection of the site. The 'Portal' temple has been attributed to Osiris, based on the frequency of reference in the inscriptional record.[130] Frequency of reference to her husband would be equally compatible with a monument dedicated to Isis, however, as her shrines at Philae and Behbeit el-Hagar show,[131] and the work of both William Kelly Simpson and Mary-Anne Pouls Wegner points in that direction.

Among the material from the 'Portal' excavations published by Kelly Simpson is a hieratic ostracon recording building work on *p; wb; n ;st*.[132] He interpreted *wb;* as 'open court' and suggested that the ostracon provided 'the designation of the temple as a temple of Isis'. Pouls Wegner has since argued that *wb;* refers rather to a sanctuary of Isis within the temple and, more recently, that the 'Portal' is itself the Birth House.[133] Her evidence for the latter suggestion includes a fragment from the excavations naming Isis and, more persuasively, one mentioning the Meskhenet birth deities (*msḫnt 4 ḥryt-ib ;b*[*ḏw*]).[134] The published plan and dimensions are more appropriate to a temple than a Birth House, however, as even fourth

124 De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–27; Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities*, p. 28; Pouls Wegner, 'Birth and Rebirth', in: *Abydos: The Sacred Land*, p. 249. On the wider growth of her cult, see J.F. Quack, 'Ein Lobpreis der Isis', in: J.F. Quack–K. Ryholt (eds), *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond* (CP 11 = CNIP 36, Copenhagen, 2019), nos 2–4.

125 P.J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (PdÄ 16, Leiden, 2000), pp. 357–358; K. Eaton, 'Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment', in: *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*, 1, pp. 231–250. For 18th Dynasty developments, see M.-A. Pouls Wegner, *The Cult of Osiris at Abydos: An Archaeological Investigation of the Development of an Ancient Egyptian Sacred Center during the Eighteenth Dynasty* (Ann Arbor, 2002).

126 Calverley – Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, I, pls 17–23. The epithets of Isis there include variations on *wrt/mwt nṯr/ nbt pt/ḥnwt tȝwy* but typically the location-specific *ḥryt-ib ḥwt mn-mȝʿt-rʿ*. The Birth House is not mentioned.

127 Brand, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–185; D. O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* (London, 2009), p. 117. How closely the finished temple resembled the initial design cannot, of course, be known.

128 The principal accounts of the excavations are D. O'Connor, 'Abydos: A Preliminary Report of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition', *Expedition* 10.1 (1967), pp. 10–23, and idem, 'Abydos: The University Museum – Yale University Expedition', *Expedition* 21.2 (1979), pp. 46–49. The most detailed plans of the complex are those in Simpson, *Inscribed Material*, pp. 2–3. What survived of the temple decoration remains unpublished, as does the archaeological record. For an update on recent work, see the Abydos Archaeology website at https://abydos.org/blog/2019/8/12/field work-on-the-edge-of-forever-an-update-on-the-portal-temple -of-ramses-ii-at-abydos-part-one.

129 B.J. Kemp, 'The Osiris Temple at Abydos', *MDAIK* 23 (1968), pp. 138–155; Pouls Wegner, *The Cult of Osiris at Abydos*, pp. 176–260; M. Marlar, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2009), pp. 27–41; O'Connor, *Abydos*, pp. 110–114.

130 D.P. Silverman, 'The So-called Portal Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos', in: S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985* (BSAK 2, Hamburg, 1989), 2, p. 272; O'Connor, *Abydos,* pp. 117–118 suggested that 'the chief recipient of the cult' was Ramesses II himself. He had initially cast the net more widely, describing the temple as '… dedicated to Osiris, Horus, and Isis and gods associated with their cult': O'Connor, 'Abydos: a preliminary report', *Expedition* 10.1, p. 12.

131 Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*; Junker – Winter, *Das Geburtshaus*; C. Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara: essai de reconstitution et d'interprétation* (BSAK 6, Hamburg, 1991). Osiris often precedes Isis in scenes in these temples.

132 Simpson, *Inscribed Material*, p. 16, fig. 15 B 1, 93.

133 M.-A. Pouls Wegner, 'The Construction Accounts from the "Portal Temple" of Ramesses II in North Abydos', in: Z. Hawass – J.H. Wegner (eds), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman* (CASAE 39, Cairo, 2010), 2, pp. 107–108; eadem, 'Birth and Rebirth', in: *Abydos: The Sacred Land*, pp. 245–246, 249. See also Li, 'Identity and Burial Practices', in: *His Good Name*, pp. 62–63; Sonbol, 'Giving Birth', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, p. 66, n. 6.

134 Pouls Wegner, 'Birth and Rebirth', in: *Abydos: The Sacred Land*, pp. 246, pl. 3, 249. In the first fragment, Isis is only said to be 'beloved of [kn]', as is Osiris in the preceding column, so the context is triadic.

century BCE examples were modest in scale.[135] A fuller reconciliation of the data can be achieved through a combination of these ideas: *wbꜣ* refers either to the open court or to the 'temenos',[136] i.e. the whole temple of Isis, and the Ramesside Birth House was either a chapel within the precinct or a room or suite inside the temple.[137]

Scholars have rightly cautioned that the 'classical' Birth Houses might not be a reliable guide to a Ramesside predecessor.[138] Nonetheless, temple A in the precinct of Mut at Karnak, which provides the earliest archaeological evidence, does display some characteristics of the later mammisi in its relationship to the enclosure entrance and its orientation to the temple axis.[139] The Birth House at Abydos is earlier still, on present evidence the prototype,[140] yet it was not without antecedents. It represents the beginning of the transition from a chamber in a temple devoted to the birth of the king, and with restricted access, to a separate building for the birth of Horus (and subsequently other child deities) that was accessible to a wider audience.[141] While the precise form the Abydos Birth House took will have reflected theological developments in the century since the end of Amenhotep III's reign, a close connection to royal precursors might still be expected.

The apparent absence of any structure in the open court of the 'Portal' suggests an internal location. For that, the 18th Dynasty offers two possible models: the portico fronted by an open court at Deir el-Bahari and the secluded room deep in Luxor temple.[142] It may be significant that the main feature within the 'Portal' temple, situated immediately beyond the open court, was architecturally a miniature version of the portico in which Hatshepsut's birth scenes were carved at Deir el-Bahari. Is it coincidence that those scenes were restored under Ramesses II or might they have been a source of inspiration?[143] The revival of a more open arrangement could have paved the way for the later shift in Birth House location to a free-standing structure. In any case, the *msḫnt* inscription cited by Pouls Wegner might have come from the Birth House, while the open court would have accommodated large votive monuments such as Louvre C 219, for which a mammisiac setting has been postulated.[144] The first *pr ms* for a divinity would then have been constructed in the temple of Isis at Abydos, just as its later Theban counterpart appeared in the precinct of Mut.

Since there is no sign of Libyan or Kushite temple construction at Abydos, the Ramesside temple of Isis and its Birth House were probably still in use in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, and even later.[145] The excavators did not report any overbuild[146] and noted that it remained

135 Estimates of the Portal temple's size vary from 2000 to 3500 sq. m: SILVERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 268; POULS WEGNER, 'The Construction Accounts', in: *Millions of Jubilees*, 2, p. 109. O'CONNOR, *Abydos,* pp. 117–118. For the 30th Dynasty, see ARNOLD, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, p. 286. Even under the Ptolemies, Birth Houses could be very small: PANTALACCI – GOBEIL, 'The Mammisi of Coptos', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, p. 242.

136 For 'temenos' as often the most appropriate rendering of *wbꜣ*, see P. SPENCER, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984), pp. 4–13.

137 A Birth House could still be a room in a temple in the 26th Dynasty: F. LABRIQUE, 'Un proto-mammisi saïte à Bahariya?', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, pp. 85–98.

138 E.g., R. FAZZINI – W. PECK, 'The Precinct of Mut during Dynasty 25 and Early Dynasty 26: a Growing Picture', *JSSEA* 11 (1981), pp. 120–126; ARNOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 286; SHEIKHOLESLAMI, 'A Stela of Two Women', in: *Egyptian Museum Collections*, 2, pp. 1115–1117; POULS WEGNER, 'Birth and Rebirth', in: *Abydos: The Sacred Land*, p. 249.

139 Despite DAUMAS, *Les mammisis*, pp. 44–54, the identification of Temple A as a Birth House is widely accepted, e.g., DE MEULENAERE, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, pp. 28–29; FAZZINI–PECK, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–126; ARNOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 288; KLOTZ, 'The Theban Cult of Chonsu the Child', in: *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives*, pp. 98–99; FORGEAU, *Horus-fils-d'Isis*, pp. 306–307; IDEM, *Nectanébo*, pp. 273–275; KOCKELMANN, 'Göttliche Geburt und mehr', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*, p. 10; LABRIQUE, *op. cit.*, p. 86, n. 1.

140 FORGEAU, *Horus-fils-d'Isis*, p. 307, tacitly corrected her own earlier assertion (IDEM, Prêtres isiaques', *BIFAO* 84, p. 170) of the primacy of Mut in this respect.

141 DAUMAS, *Les mammisis*, pp. 160–161; D. BUDDE, '"Kommt und seht das Kind": Kindgötter im Festgeschehen der griechisch-römischen Geburtshäuser Ägyptens', in: D. PRECHEL (ed.), *Fest und Eid: Instrumente der Herrschaftssicherung im Alten Orient* (Würzburg, 2008), p. 15; KOCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13; SONBOL, 'Giving Birth', in: *Mammisis of Egypt*.

142 SONBOL, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 78.

143 Compare the plan of Deir el-Bahari in PM 2^2, pl. xxxv, with that of the 'Portal' temple in SIMPSON, *Inscribed Material*, p. 3. On the renewal of Hatshepsut's birth cycle scenes, see SONBOL, *op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 51. The eventual publication of the *in situ* 'Portal' reliefs may shed some light on the character of its portico scenes.

144 The stela is 1.0 × 0.7 m. For interpretation, see FROOD, *Biographical Texts*, pp. 104–106; FORGEAU, *Horus-fils-d'Isis*, pp. 149–150, 344, 362, pl. 29; POULS WEGNER, 'Birth and Rebirth', in: *Abydos: The Sacred Land*, p. 249; DALINO, *Les grands prêtres d'Égypte*, 2, p. 350 n. 671. Statues of two Ramesside *îsw* or 'bald ones' (Cairo CG 1203 and CG 627), both in all probability from Abydos, record their placement in a temple of Isis, in locations described respectively as the *wbꜣ* and the *pr/wbꜣ/r-pr*: J.J. CLÈRE, *Les chauves d'Hathor* (OLA 63, Leuven, 1995), pp. 73–80, 192–199.

145 LEAHY, 'The Initiation of a Scribe', in: *Au héraut d'Apis*. There is no reference to a Birth House in the account of temple renewal left by Peftjauawyneith under Amasis, for which see M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings, 3: The Late Period* (Los Angeles, 1980), pp. 33–36.

146 Presumably the statement in O'CONNOR, 'Abydos: the University Museum – Yale University Expedition', *Expedition* 21.2, p. 48, that 'tombs never intruded into the temple or its forecourt'

accessible from the Osiris enclosure even after a surrounding wall of uncertain date was cut through its pylon.[147]

De Meulenaere proposed to identify a 30th Dynasty structure in the south-west corner of the Osiris enclosure as the Abydos Birth House.[148] If the hypothesis just outlined is accepted, that would mean the addition of a second Birth House some 900 years after the first. His argument rested on some statue fragments found by Petrie.[149] These included a block on which the names of Nectanebo II and Meskhenet are juxtaposed, the king being described as 'beloved of Meskhenet, the excellent one who is in Abydos'. De Meulenaere suggested that this was the base of a female statue of the same crystalline limestone as the block, forming a dyad depicting the birth goddess and the king. His interpretation is complicated by Biri Fay's later reaffirmation of a Middle Kingdom date for the statue, which she further argues represents a free-standing princess rather than a goddess as part of a pair.[150]

While that raises questions about the coherence of Petrie's find and/or the late repurposing of Middle Kingdom sculpture, the association of Nectanebo II with Meskhenet is not affected, and Michelle Marlar's subsequent excavations have confirmed the 30th Dynasty date of the structure.[151] However, its monumental scale, considerably larger than the 'Portal' temple, has led scholars to see it as the main Osiris temple in the fourth century BCE.[152] If that is so, and if the block of Nectanebo II was close to its original position when excavated, and if the Meskhenet inscription suffices to indicate a Birth House, the latter is at that date likely to have been a free-standing building within the precinct, perhaps supplementing rather than replacing the earlier one in the temple of Isis. Although a new Birth House at Abydos would sit well among the constructions of the Nectanebos in Upper Egypt,[153] Marlar's demonstration that the stratum beneath dates to the 18th Dynasty nullifies De Meulenaere's assumption that this was also the site of the Ramesside *pr ms*.[154]

Another location proposed as a Birth House is the 'petit temple de l'ouest'.[155] Cynthia Sheikholeslami's argument for this rests on the building's proximity to burials of women and children rather than on its character or its contents.[156] It did, however, contain two 30th Dynasty royal naoi. On Cairo CG 70018 (n. 104), Isis 'of the birth house, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods' is venerated as part of the local triad. Many other deities are invoked, however, and the discovery there of a votive stela of Wenenefer, first prophet of Osiris under Ramesses II, on which he describes his participation in the mysteries of the god, suggests that the building was dedicated to Osiris.[157] Its location halfway along the processional route to the Umm el-Qaab implies that it was a barque station, providing a necessary resting place during the god's processions.

A revealing text with which to conclude, exemplifying the triadic context in which references to the *pr ms* are often found, is the hieratic graffito left by visitors to the Osireion early in the Libyan Period (Fig. 7).[158] An

supersedes his earlier reference (IDEM, 'Abydos: a preliminary report', *Expedition* 10.1, pp. 13–14) to '… apparently later tombs (tombs 4, 5, 6) built in and around the temple'. For the location of these tombs, see SIMPSON, *Inscribed Material*, pp. 2–3.

147 B. KEMP, 'Abydos', *LÄ* 1 (1975), col. 33; O'CONNOR, 'Abydos: The University Museum – Yale University Expedition', *Expedition* 21.2, p. 48; MARLAR, *The Osiris Temple*, p. 11.

148 DE MEULENAERE, 'Meskhénet à Abydos', in: *Religion und Philosophie*, pp. 248–249; FORGEAU, *Horus-fils-d'Isis*, pp. 149–151, 307–308; EADEM, *Nectanébo*, pp. 273–274, 336–337.

149 W.M.F. PETRIE, *Abydos*, 1 (MEEF 22, London, 1902), p. 33; IDEM, *Abydos*, 2 (MEEF 24, London, 1903), pl. xlix. The complex shares the (local) easterly orientation of the 'Portal' temple.

150 Cairo JE 36359: B. FAY, 'The "Abydos Princess"', *MDAIK* 52 (1996), pp. 115–116, with possible identification of another of Petrie's fragments on p. 125, pl. 25d. De Meulenaere's 30th Dynasty attribution is maintained without comment by FORGEAU, *Nectanébo*, p. 336.

151 MARLAR, *The Osiris Temple*, pp. 104–139; O'CONNOR, *Abydos*, pp. 111–113.

152 PETRIE, *Abydos*, 1, p. 33; KEMP, *LÄ* 1, col. 34; O'CONNOR, *Abydos*, pp. 113, 128–129. MARLAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–133.

153 N. SPENCER, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis: Religious Iconography and Temple Building in the 30th Dynasty* (BMRP 156, LONDON, 2006); FORGEAU, *Nectanébo*, pp. 141–200; PAYRAUDEAU, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, pp. 324–327, 334–337. See also D. KLOTZ, 'Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos', *BIFAO* 110 (2010), pp. 134–135, for private activity.

154 MARLAR, *op. cit.*, p. 35, n. 164, references De Meulenaere's article, but does not engage with his argument.

155 For its location and significance, see KEMP, *LÄ* 1, col. 37; POULS WEGNER, *The Cult of Osiris at Abydos*, pp. 364–365; O'CONNOR, *Abydos*, p. 131; EFFLAND – EFFLAND, *Abydos*, pp. 43, fig. 6; 46, fig. 12; 77, fig. 30; 97, fig. 6.

156 SHEIKHOLESLAMI, 'A Stela of Two Women', in: *Egyptian Museum Collections*, 2, pp. 1115–1117.

157 For the stela, Cairo CG 34505, see FROOD, *Biographical Texts*, pp. 100–101; EFFLAND – EFFLAND, *Abydos*, p. 43; C. RAEDLER, 'Creating Authority: The High Priest of Osiris Wenennefer and a Special Deification of Ramesses II', in: T.A. BÁCS – H. BEINLICH (eds), *Constructing Authority: Prestige, Reputation and the Perception of Power in Egyptian Kingship, Budapest, May 12–14, 2016. 8. Symposion zur ägyptischen Königsideologie/8th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology* (Wiesbaden, 2017), pp. 231–234.

158 B. GUNN, 'The Graffiti and Ostraka', in: H. FRANKFORT, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (MEES 39, London, 1933), p. 89, no. 12, pls lxxxviii, xci; DE MEULENAERE, 'Isis et Mout', in: *Studia Paulo Naster*, 2, p. 26, n. 7; A. LEAHY, 'Abydos in the Libyan Period', in: A. LEAHY (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c. 1300–750 BC*

invocation, 'Hail to you (?) Isis of the Birth House, Osiris and Har[si]ese', introduces a request that those gods ensure the survival of the names of two scribes:[159]

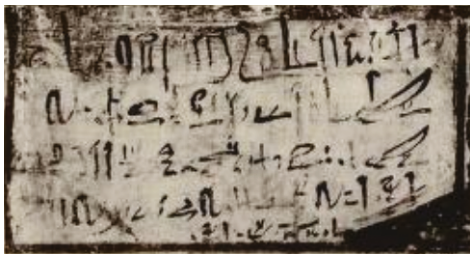

FIGURE 7 Osireion graffito
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(London, 1990), pp. 166–167; A.J. PEDEN, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings* (*c. 3100–332 B.C.*) (PdÄ 17, Leiden – Boston, 2001), pp. 266–267; *LGG* I, p. 72b; N.J. ADDERLEY, *Personal Religion in the Libyan Period in Egypt* (Saarbrücken, 2015), pp. 157–160.

159 Readings of the end of the invocation as '... Horus and Isis' (Gunn) or '... Horus, Isis' (Adderley) render what the scribe wrote, but the assumption of an omitted filiation avoids a puzzling repetition of the name of the goddess, cf. n. 81.

The author can hardly have thought that he was in a Birth House.[160] Isis is not otherwise named in the 40 graffiti Gunn published, and a nearby exemplar (no. 3) shows that contemporaries knew the Osireion as '*t3 št3yt dw3t* of king Menmaare, l.p.h.'. The choice of location and the decision to place Isis first in the address are both intriguing. but neither constitutes evidence for the identity of the building. The scribe used the epithet because it denoted the local, Abydene, form of the goddess.

To summarise, references to 'the temple of Isis (lady) of the Birth House' at Abydos, do not refer directly to the Birth House, but to a temple of the goddess which is to be identified with the 'Portal' construction from the reign of Ramesses II. The original Birth House, and the source of her epithet, lay within that temple. A second may have been added under the Nectanebos in the 30th Dynasty precinct in the Osiris Enclosure.

160 Although the text, uniquely, has 'Isis the Birth House', and scholars have translated 'in', a preferable alternative is to assume the common Late Egyptian use of *m* for *n* before the noun.

18

No Striking in the Hereafter! On the Oracle Decree for the Ushebtis of Neskhonsu and Its Possible Implications

Alexandra von Lieven

One of the finest moments in twenty-first century Egyptology was not a hyped discovery of yet another bunch of coffins or a new 'pyramid' into which somebody had accidentally stumbled, but something rather different. It was the return of our friend Koen to the university world of Leiden after a long absence due to the need to make a living. Any scholar who did not get a permanent position soon after graduating (i.e. the majority!) will understand the problem. I remember how shocked I was about hearing that he had left Egyptology for good when I invited him for the 5th Demotic Summer School at FU Berlin, which I organized there in 2006. It was all the more a pleasure to welcome him back only six years later.

Koen is the wonderful combination of a very nice and roaringly funny person with a brilliant scholar, not just of demotic, but also of abnormal (aka cursive) hieratic.[1] As a matter of fact, for a long time he was one of only about four scholars in the world who were able to read this difficult script. That by now this number has increased among younger colleagues is not least to his credit.

The fact that he does not sit on top of an ivory tower is also reflected in several engagingly written volumes which popularize in a witty and yet scholarly impeccable way the world of New Kingdom and especially Late Period administrative texts.[2] One of the texts treated there by a full fresh translation is the oracle decree concerning the ushebtis of Neskhonsu from the 21st Dynasty.[3] Koen already commented on it in precisely the direction I understand the text. So, I almost could stop here already. However, I hope to still be able to add a few tiny little aspects here that might be of interest.

The oracle decree for the ushebtis of Neskhonsu exists in two copies, bought in Luxor by their first owners, one already in 1874 and the other by a Mr Rogers[4] in 1878 respectively. The name of the buyer of the first one is given in the literature in different forms. McCullum seems to be most frequent within the Egyptological literature and is therefore also used here to facilitate a search (especially an electronic one). Whether this is indeed the correct name is another matter. In fact, just the object page from the British Museum webpage states the original buyer/owner as one 'F. MacCallum'. This is in strong contrast to the indication by J. Černý, who speaks about an 'A. McCullum', who himself would have acquired it from the Duke of Hamilton.[5] As also their initials differ, it is questionable whether they are really the same person. At least, the error must sit somewhat deeper than just a single typo, although that might have been the ultimate origin of the confusion. The likeliest explanation would be an oral confusion from hearing of the surname. The other details like the initials or Mc vs Mac could then probably be added on top. The different vowel in the surname could just be due to different pronunciations in different dialects of British English. To add to the confusion, the *Who Was Who in Egyptology* lists an Andrew MacCallum (1822–1902) as the first owner of the tablet.[6] While the sur-

1 Apart from many other important papers and text editions, my personal favourite is probably K. Donker van Heel, 'The Lost Battle of Peteamonip Son of Petehorresne', *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 115–124.

2 K. Donker van Heel, *Djekhy & Son: Doing Business in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo – New York, 2012); *Mrs. Tsenhor: A Female Entrepreneur in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo – New York, 2014); *Mrs. Naunakhte & Family: The Women of Ramesside Deir al-Medina* (Cairo – New York, 2016); *Dealing With the Dead in Ancient Egypt: The Funerary Business of Petebaste* (Cairo – New York, 2021).

3 Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor*, pp. 169–170.

4 Edward Thomas Rogers Bey (1830–1884), see W.R. Dawson, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1951), p. 137; W.R. Dawson – E.P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (2nd revised edition, London, 1972), p. 252; M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (3rd revised edition, London, 1995), p. 361; M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (4th revised edition, London, 2012), p. 471; M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (5th revised edition, London, 2019), p. 398. While one would not expect many differences between the five editions of one and the same book concerning a nineteenth century person, some 'text critical studies' reveal this not to be the case. While most differences concern only the wording (including politically correct changes from 'English' to 'British' or 'Mohammedan' to 'Muslim'), between the third and the fourth editions also the year of birth changed from '1831' to '14. Aug. 1830'. Between the fourth and fifth editions, the main text stayed the same but, in the list of literature, one title was added.

5 J. Černý, 'Le caractère des oushebtis d'après les idées du Nouvel Empire', *BIFAO* 41 (1942), p. 105.

6 Dawson, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, p. 95, Dawson – Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (2nd revised edition), pp. 187–188; Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (3rd revised edition), pp. 265–266; Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (4th revised edition), p. 345; Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (5th revised

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name fits the indication on the BM website, the initial F there clearly does not fit the first name Andrew. There also seems to have been some confusion about his birth date. It is not the place here to investigate further who actually was the first owner of the tablet nor which form of the name is correct, but it seems this would be a worthwhile subject for a study on the history of Egyptology (including the origins of the differing forms).

It is believed that the two writing boards originate from the cachette DB320 found around this time by the Abd-er-Rasul brothers.[7] Černý proposed that there were two tablets because they would originally have accompanied the ushebtis themselves.[8] Maybe there were two boxes with one decree each. Later both went to major museums, namely the British Museum in London and the Louvre in Paris, where they still are kept.

Therefore, good colour photos of the Rogers tablet Louvre E 6858 can today be found in the catalogue *Servir les dieux d'Égypte*[9] as well as under https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010002386 and for the McCullum tablet BM EA 16672 under https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA16672 (last visited 24 January, 2024). They show the same beautiful hieratic hand and also exhibit largely the same text, except for very small orthographic variants. The line breaks also vary slightly. A synopsis of both was given by Černý in 1942, although for the Rogers tablet he only indicates the differences.[10] Similarly, K. Jansen-Winkeln only gives the McCullum tablet's text and states about the other in the preamble 'enthält bis auf minimale orthographische Varianten denselben Text'.[11]

According to the respective museum pages, the Rogers tablet measures 27.9 cm in height and 16.5 cm in width, while the McCullum tablet is 28.90 cm high and 16.5 cm wide. The thickness is unfortunately only indicated for the former; it is 1.4 cm. These measurements clearly indicate the direction in which both were cut from the same plank of wood. Unfortunately, the photos on the Louvre page are not as sharp as those on the BM page. I (therefore?) did not succeed in finding an actual 'join' by wood texture between the two tablets. Of course, maybe some more tablets were cut from the same plank, which need not be preserved at all. In that case a direct join is not necessarily present at all.

The text runs as follows (line numbers according to the McCullum tablet):[12]

Recto: (1) Amun-Re, King of the Gods, the very great god of the beginning of transformation,[13] has said : 'I (2) will command the *ỉr*-ushebtis that have been made for Neskhonsu, this (3) daughter of Tenthendjehuti,[14] to cause them to do (4) all the tasks (*mṭ.t*) that are set (*ḫꜣm*) for Neskhonsu, the daughter of Tenthendjehuti, for every unit (*wnḏw*) of tasks (5) *ỉr*-ushebti know to do, they being a task that is set for the man who (6) dies[15] and they take him to the cemetery and he becomes divine, without (7) them having a remainder'. Speaking is, what Amun did :[16] 'I will order that they do (8) it for Neskhonsu, this daughter of Tenthendjehuti'. Speech (by)
(9) Amun-Re, King of the Gods, the very great god, who began transformation: 'I will command (10) the *ỉr*-ushebtis that were made for Neskhonsu to let them do (11) every task which *ỉr*-ushebtis have done[17] for[18] the protection of (12) every excellent (*mnḫ*) noblewoman/mummy (*sʿḥ*(*.t*)), to make them do this for the protection of Neskhonsu. I (13) will command them to protect her in every year, every month, every decade, every time and for all five epagomenal (14) days.'

edition), p. 295 (again with slight differences between the first four editions, including a change from being born in 1821 in the third to being baptized 15 Dec. 1822 in the fourth edition).

7 E. Graefe, *Cachette Datenbank des Instituts für Ägyptologie und Koptologie der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster*, https://www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/litw3/Aegyptologie/index04.htm (last visited 24 January, 2024).

8 Černý, 'Le caractère des oushebtis', p. 106.

9 F. Gombert-Meurice – F. Payraudeau (eds), *Servir les dieux d'Égypte: Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes* (Grenoble, 2018), p. 191.

10 Černý, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–110.

11 K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit, 1: Die 21. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 119–121.

12 I would like to thank J. Quack for some important comments on my translation.

13 For this being an epithet typically associated with oracle gods see J.F. Quack, 'Das Dekret des Amun an Isis: Papyrus Kairo CG 58034 + 58028', in: J. Hallof (ed.), *Auf den Spuren des Sobek: Festschrift für Horst Beinlich zum 28. Dezember 2012* (SRaT 12, Dettelbach, 2012), p. 231 with further literature.

14 The Rogers tablet has instead 'whose mother is Tenthendjehuti', cf. Černý, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

15 Rather infinitive than qualitative. The latter would likely mark the *ṯ* of *mwt*, which is preserved in the pronunciation.

16 McCullum has *pꜣ*, i.e. an infinitive in a cleft sentence, Rogers has instead *pꜣỉ*, which would be a copula in a substantive sentence.

17 Černý, *op. cit.*, p. 113, note G emends the text. According to J. Quack (personal communication), the text could be understood as 'have done', with the relative form signalling a past tense. However, this would be a bit strange in the context, unless it implies that these tasks have always been done by ushebtis and not really by their owners. As the text continues with them first speaking of what they did for everybody and then continues that they also should do so for Neskhons, this must indeed be the meaning.

18 The *n* is missing in the Rogers tablet, cf. Černý, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

(15) Copy of the documents that were laid in front of Amun of the Throne of the Two Lands of the Mansion of Benben (16) in year 5, month 4 of Shemu, day 2.

(17) Speech (by) Amun of the Throne of the Two Lands of the Mansion of Benben, the great god in two pieces of documents,

Verso: (18) that are exactly corresponding:[19] 'Concerning everything which was given to the glaze makers to compensate for the (19) *tỉr*-ushebtis, that were made for Neskhonsu, this daughter of Tenthen(20)djehuti in copper, clothing, bread, cakes, fish, everything that was (21) given to them and equally what will be given to them, (22) the glaze makers are fully provided with them in silver as payment for them. Concerning everything that (23) has been done to the *tỉr*-ushebtis in exchange for them,[20] let them be done (24) in exchange for a man for an assignment,[21] saying "I will do everything that they do". (25) It is worth making the *tỉr*-ushebtis do it instead of Nes(26)khonsu, the daughter of Tenthendjehuti so that they are good for her and that they (27) do for her every good affair'.

The first interesting observation is that the word *čṭ* 'to speak' is always determined by G7 so as to indicate that it is Amun's divine speech, i.e. an oracular statement. So is its qualification by *pȝ ỉ:ỉrỉ* *'Imn.w* *-Rʿw* 'what Amun-Re did' in line 7. At the end of line 8, is furthermore written with a bit of extra space around it, thus marking it as a sort of heading for the following text.

A still unsolved problem is the meaning of the word *tỉr* which always precedes the word 'ushebti'. It has been proposed by J.F. Borghouts that it should be understood as a 'group of ushebtis', derived from *čnw* 'number'.[22] H.D. Schneider instead wants to explain it as a form of *čnr* (i.e. *tl*!) 'strong, keen, diligent', thus 'the keen ones in answering'.[23] As this is precisely the period when the older term *šȝwȝb.tỉ* for a funerary figurine is reinterpreted as *wšb.tỉ* 'The one belonging to the answer', this is a viable possibility, although it also cannot be proven. One major problem is the fact that there is another, very different orthography of apparently the same lexeme attested in some attestations of BD supplementary spell 166 (Pleyte).[24] At least the two writings in Černý's synopsis (and) are determined by A24 and D40 respectively, which would fit Schneider's proposal. What is conspicuous in this synopsis of 15 sources, however, is the fact that 13 of them write the plural article *nȝ* and no *tỉr*, while the two which have *tỉr* do not write *nȝ* in front of the word *wšb.tỉ*. The reason for this is unclear, but this fact should be taken into account in the discussion of the word. It could be an argument for the view of Borghouts. Interestingly, in line 19 of the Rogers tablet, the element *tỉr* was also only added secondarily over the rest of the line, as it apparently had been forgotten.[25]

As for the owner's name, it is clearly determined by a different sign than her mother's name. While the latter's name is simply determined by B1, the normal Sitting Woman, Černý transcribes the determinative of the name Nesikhonsu as a Sitting Woman with a modius (B7C), Jansen-Winkeln has her moreover sit on a mat (B7D). However, she clearly holds a flail and would thus rather be (B7F). In its ultimate origin, it most likely is simply a female version of A52 , just with a diacritical dot over the head to mark it as female, similarly to the diacritical stroke differentiating the Sitting Woman B1 from the Sitting Man A1 in hieratic. The same determinative occurs in line 11 with the word *sʿḥ* 'noble' or 'mummy', here clearly denoting a dead noblewoman.

That the latter is further qualified as *mnḫ* 'excellent' is remarkable in view of the fact that this word is the typical opposite of *whỉ* 'ineffective'. While this opposition is not astonishing in texts speaking about a successful life, it is also used concerning the justification before the judgement of the dead, where especially in the later periods it is the usual expression of the two poles instead of a clearcut opposite between good vs bad, which one could expect.[26]

19 Reading *sp* 2, as already considered by Černý, *op. cit.*, p. 113, is more sensible than an unexplainable *fỉ*.

20 I.e. the above-named objects as payment. See further F. Poole, '"All That has been Done to the Shabtis": Some Considerations on the Decree for the Shabti of Neskhons and P. BM EA 10800', *JEA* 91 (2005), pp. 165–170 and in reaction D.A. Warburton, 'Work and Compensation in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 93 (2007), pp. 175–194.

21 Cf. F. Poole, '*R-ḏb*; and Pronoun Reference in the Decree for the Shabtis of Neskhons and P. BM EA 10800', *GM* 225 (2010), pp. 84–87.

22 J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (*OMRO* 51, Leiden, 1970), p. 127, n. 1.

23 H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, I (Leiden, 1977), pp. 328, 344 note 30.

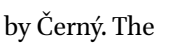
24 Černý, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–121 (C1, C6), A. Wüthrich, *Édition synoptique et traduction des chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 162 à 167* (SAT 19, 1, Wiesbaden, 2015), pp. 217–218.

25 Černý, *op. cit.*, p. 109, note (1).

26 Treated in extenso in A. von Lieven, 'Kann denn Mißerfolg Sünde sein? Lexikographische Überlegungen zur Bedeutung von *whỉ* durch die ägyptische Sprachgeschichte', in: S.-W. Hsu – V.P.-M. Laisney – J. Moje (eds), *Ein Kundiger, der in*

Thus the implications of calling a dead person *mnḫ* are that she is justified in the hereafter, which is of course precisely the wished-for state of affairs.

It is interesting to see that the text constantly uses the filiation by the mother, never mentioning a father. This is of course the type of filiation that is interested in a secure identification (*pater semper incertus* …) of the person in question, thus e.g. typical for magical texts, in contrast to texts focussing on social status, which always mention the father, while the mother is only optional.

To note is further the writing of *wnḏw* with a hieratic sign that does indeed suggest the transcription (thus Jansen-Winkeln), not  as given by Černý. The simplification of certain shapes is of course frequent in hieratic. Particularly a form resembling is even attested instead of .[27]

What is easily overlooked in the synopsis by Černý, but can readily be seen on the photographs on the respective museum websites, is the spatial organization of the two tablets. The *ḏṯ* 'speech' in line 8 is particularly in tMcCullum separated by a tiny space from the rest of the line (as indicated by Černý, not reproduced in Jansen-Winkeln), but afterwards there is a clear free end of the line, so that the text starts in both tablets in line 9 with the divine name 'Amun-Re King of the Gods'. The clearest marks of a layout can be seen at the end of the recto, where line 14 is very short. Then the part starting with *ḥ.t* 'text' (here likely to be understood as a copy of the text) and ending with the actual date of the oracle session in front of Amun of the Throne of the Two Lands occupies lines 15 and the beginning of 16. The text of Amun's pronouncement is then following again starting with *ḏṯ* 'speech' from line 17 onwards. The text on the recto thus has 17 lines, which end on both tablets with *ʿ 2 n.i mḏȝ.wt* 'two pieces of documents'.

There are 26 lines on the Rogers tablet, of which 9 are on the verso (just fitting the line length), and 27 in the McCullum tablet, 10 of which are on the verso (half of the last line is still filled). Except for the fact that both tablets start on the back with *i̯w=w mtr sp 2*, there does not seem to have been any particular layout needed to be observed here.

In sum, three speech acts of two different forms of Amun are marked: two are just called 'speech' by Amun-Re King of the Gods, and one is dated, where the 'speech' is manifest within two written documents, 'that were placed in front of Amun of the Throne of the Two Lands'. Clearly, the first is the record of an oral oracle, while the latter is the record of a choice between two written documents containing opposing statements. These are two different oracle techniques, one being a very public declaration, which as such can be staged, while the other is in principle a genuine choice between two hidden options – unless, of course, the two documents containing the different options would have contained the same text (as the wording here *strictu sensu* suggests!), or it was clear which document lay on which side, so it could be staged again. With a matter as important as the one treated here, it is to be assumed that the priests carrying out the oracle would not want to leave anything to chance. To make the decision more watertight in the view of any observer, the two different oracles were also made in front of two different forms of the same deity.

That Amun's speech act in the first procedure also apparently consists of two different parts should not surprise us. In fact, other texts from more or less the same period or only slightly older illustrate very well what is to be expected in the real life procedures behind those texts.

The two speech acts are reminiscent of the Banishment Stela, where the god is asked subsequently 'My good lord, will you do X?' and the god approves strongly. – 'My good lord, will you do Y?' and the god approves strongly – and so on.[28] The appeal to two different forms of one deity finds its parallel in pBM EA 10335, where a culprit asks three different local forms of Amun whether he was guilty, before he finally accepts the verdict.[29]

die Gottesworte eingedrungen ist: Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkeln zum 65. Geburtstag (ÄAT 99, Münster, 2020), pp. 165–174.

27 Compare A. VON LIEVEN, *Grundriß des Laufes der Sterne: Das sogenannte Nutbuch* (CP 8 = CNIP 31, Copenhagen, 2007), p. 35.

28 J. VON BECKERATH, 'Die „Stele der Verbannten" im Museum des Louvre', *RdÉ* 20 (1968), pp. 7–36, JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, I, pp. 72–74, R.K. RITNER, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period* (SBLWAW 21, Atlanta, 2009), pp. 124–129, GOMBERT-MEURICE – PAYRAUDEAU, *Servir les dieux d'Égypte*, pp. 188–189, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl01002936o (last visited 25 January, 2024).

29 W.R. DAWSON, 'An Oracle Papyrus: BM 10335', *JEA* 11 (1925), pp. 247–248, A.M. BLACKMAN, 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt I', *JEA* 11 (1925), pp. 249–255, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10335 (last visited 25 January, 2024). I have given several comments and corrections to the new translation by F. KAMMERZELL, 'Aufklärung eines Diebstahls durch mehrfache Orakelbefragung', in: O. KAISER et al. (eds), *Orakel, Rituale. Bau- und Votivinschriften. Lieder und Gebete* (TUAT 2, Gütersloh, 1986–1991), pp. 123–126, who claimed that only two forms of Amun were involved, first in A. VON LIEVEN, 'Divination in Ägypten', *AltorForsch* 26 (1999), pp. 81–82 and subsequently in VON LIEVEN, 'Das Orakelwesen im Alten Ägypten', *Mythos* 10 *n.s.* (2016), pp. 23–24. In the latter p. 23 note 35, I could even indicate the location where the events probably took place, thereby substantiating my critique in the former paper p. 82 note 25. Thus, the traditional understanding of an appeal to three different forms of Amun in a row is clearly correct.

Here, the second oracle moreover also uses a different technique. Maybe the glaze makers did not accept the first decision? That at least persons from within the inner circle of the priesthood knew very well how it was possible to cheat can be shown by pGeneva D191 (= *LRL* 37), where the lady Henuttaui expects that 'Amun will do everything bad to me', i.e. that she will be cheated on by the priests conducting Amun's oracle, unless her male partner accompanies her.[30]

Clearly, there was some trouble taken to establish that the glaze makers had actually been paid correctly and that the rest of the payment would subsequently be made.[31] The concern to prove this is of course precisely what has to raise suspicion. Be that as it may – it cannot be verified – it is interesting to wonder why these oracle decrees were included with the ushebtis themselves in Neskhonsu's burial. Clearly, the ushebtis should be prevented from going on strike![32] This expands on the concept of older texts that are worried whether the ushebtis would obey their makers, not their eventual owner.[33] Here, however, that is at least not stated, rather the stress is on their work as such.

The question has to be – although again not provable – whether this idea was triggered by striking workmen in real life. The famous so-called[34] first strike in history under Ramses III might have been remembered. However, even if that was indeed the first one, which is doubtful, it certainly was not the last.[35] As it happened about 180 years before Neskhonsu's time, it is probably more likely that there were other strikes in this economically not so prosperous period, even when they are not necessarily attested. That the one under Ramses III is known today is just by the luck of preservation of some documents. Of course, similar archives as in Deir el-Medineh will have existed for the temple building projects in Karnak, but those are not preserved.

Then again, maybe Pinodjem II was just particularly keen on not leaving anything unsettled that might have caused problems. After all, the decrees on the ushebtis were not the only divine decrees from the burial of Neskhonsu.[36] Of course, the answers to all these questions cannot be given, but at least they should be asked.

30 J.F. Quack, 'Henuttawis machtlose Unschuld: Zur Deutung von LRL 37', in: C. Gallois – P. Grandet – L. Pantalacci (eds), *Mélanges offerts à François Neveu par ses amis, élèves et collègues à l'occasion de son soixante-quinzième anniversaire* (BiÉtud 145, Cairo, 2008), pp. 259–263.

31 For the legal aspects see B. Menu, 'Les ouchebtis de Neskhons, entre droit et croyances', *ENiM* 4 (2011), pp. 39–49.

32 Cf. Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor*, p. 169, who already quotes the important pBM EA 10800 for this (I.E.S. Edwards, 'Bill of Sale for a Set of Ushabtis', *JEA* 57 [1971], pp. 120–124).

33 M. Silver, 'What Makes Shabti Slave?', *JESHO* 52. 4/5 (2009), pp. 619–634.

34 For example, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, 'Der älteste Streik der Weltgeschichte? Überraschender Fund in der Berliner Papyrussammlung', *aMun* 46 (2013), pp. 57–58, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, 'A Strike in the Reign of Merenptah? *plus* The Endowment of Three Cult Statue(tte)s on Behalf of the Same King at Deir el-Medina (Pap. Berlin P. 23300 and P. 23301)', in: V.M. Lepper (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung: Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum* (ÄOP 1, Berlin, 2013), pp. 47–73 thinks that pBerlin P. 23300 from the reign of Merenptah might attest an even earlier strike.

35 For a much later one, see e.g. E. Cruz-Uribe – G.R. Hughes, 'A Strike Papyrus from the Reign of Amasis', *Serapis* 5 (1979), pp. 21–26.

36 B. Gunn, 'The Decree of Amonrasonthēr for Neskhons', *JEA* 41 (1955), pp. 83–105, Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, pp. 145–158, for the background cf. A. Niwiński, 'The Wives of Pinudjem II: A Topic for Discussion', *JEA* 74 (1988), pp. 226–230.

19

Two Copies of a Model for a Lease Document: The Demotic Ostraca Athribis 19-36-91/5156 + 20-36-64/4564 and 19-36-30/1746

Sandra Lippert

Among the by now over 36,000 inscribed sherds that have been discovered by the German-Egyptian archaeological mission under the direction of Christian Leitz (Tübingen) at Hut-Repit/Athribis in Upper Egypt since 2005, mainly in a large *sebakhin* dump to the west of the temple of Ptolemy XII,[1] over 70% are inscribed in demotic. Of these, several hundred can be attributed to a school context.[2] While basic writing exercises, grammatical exercises and thematic word lists make up the bulk of these, there are also more advanced exercises such as model letters and excerpts from literary texts. Very few ostraca bear texts that might be more specifically linked to the apprenticeship of notaries.[3] It is my pleasure to offer the edition of two of these, ostraca Athribis 19-36-91/5156 + 20-36-64/4564 and 19-36-30/1746, to my esteemed colleague Koen Donker van Heel.

Ostracon Athribis 19-36-61/5156 + 20-36-64/4564 and Ostracon Athribis 19-36-30/1746
Athribis, end of second to early first century BCE
TM 1000254 and TM 1000255

Ostracon Athribis 19-36-61/5156 + 20-36-64/4564 (A)
Found on February 5, 2023 and December 21, 2024.
Height: 13.0 cm; width: c. 20.6 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm
Body sherd of an amphora in alluvial clay (type 1a).[4]

Ostracon Athribis 19-36-30/1746 (B)
Found on December 28, 2021.
Height: 7.1 cm; width: 4.7 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm
Ceramological description outstanding.

Ostracon Athribis 19-36-61/5156 + 20-36-64/4564 (Fig. 1a and 1b, henceforth ostracon A) consists of two fragments; I am grateful to the editor for allowing me to revise my manuscript in order to include it at such a late stage. Since it has not yet been possible to unite the two fragments physically, the join has only been realised in the facsimile (Fig. 2). While fragment 19-36-61/5156 conserves the original edge on its upper, left and part of its lower side,[5] the new fragment 20-36-64/4564 completes the upper right corner of the ostracon. The lower part of the right edge and most of the lower edge are still missing, although the space after the last preserved line suggests that this might actually be the last line. The sherds show faint, washed-off traces of writing on the upper right part which might indicate that the same sherd had been used before for another exercise. These traces are indicated in light grey on the facsimile (Fig. 2), which was executed with the help of

1 As of the end of the 21st campaign in February 2024. For more information about the archaeological context see M. Müller in A. Boudh'ors – D. Dixneuf – I. Guermeur – C. Leitz – S. Lippert – M. Müller – C. Teotino – N. Vanthieghem, 'Les dépotoirs à tessons de Hout-Répit/Athribis et leur matériel inscrit. Rapport préliminaire (mission 2019–2020)', *BIFAO* 121 (2021), pp. 72–80, and for an updated overview of the ostraca finds S. Lippert, 'The Athribis Ostraca – Overview of the Corpus and Preliminary Results from the Demotic Material, with a special focus on the moschosphragists' certificates', in: M. Müller – C. Teotino Tattko (eds), *Athribis* (*Atripe*) *im Kontext: Die Stadt und der Tempel als religiöses und kulturelles Zentrum von ptolemäischer bis frühmittelalterlicher Zeit* (SsR 43, Wiesbaden, 2024), pp. 295–317.

2 For more details on this material, see S. Lippert, 'The School Ostraca from the Upper Egyptian Athribis (*Ḥw.t-Rpy.t*): Preliminary Results', *Enchoria* 38 (2025), pp. 95–117.

3 Besides the two ostraca edited below, I have currently identified only one other model document, on ostracon Athribis 21-39-108/11, which joins neither of the two and seems to belong to a different type of document.

4 Ceramological description by Delphine Dixneuf (CNRS, UMR 7298 LA3M, Aix-Marseille).

5 'Original edge' refers to the state of the sherd when reused for inscribing the text, not of the whole vessel.

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DStretch[6] and by assembling several photographs in order to 'unroll' the curved sherd. The writing tool was a reed brush, as can be seen in line 3 where the individual fibres are clearly visible in the horizontal line of *mw*.

Ostracon Athribis 19-36-30/1746 (Figs 3 and 4, henceforth ostracon B) is broken off on all sides, but the first preserved line most likely was the original first line, as suggested by the distance between the text passages that are preserved on this sherd which shows that the lines on ostracon B must have been slightly longer than the ones on ostracon A. Scribes using ostraca normally preferred at least to start with lines of approximately equal length, so that it is unlikely that a sherd would have been chosen and/or turned in such a way that it was significantly narrower on the top. Therefore, one may presume that the first line of A would not have been split into two lines on B. Because the line breaks on B are in lacuna, the estimated position is indicated by (?x?). The surface of this sherd is in some places covered by salt concretions which cannot be removed due to the fragility of the epidermis. As for sherd A, the facsimile (Fig. 4) has been executed with the help of DStretch. Given that ostracon B conserves so little of the text, it is difficult to decide whether both A and B were inscribed by the same hand; the handwriting seems quite similar, but slightly smaller on B.

For the purpose of comparing and commenting on the text, the following presentation structures it by clauses. The names given to these clauses do not correspond to the terminology used by Felber, who groups several clauses (here § 3–6) under the single term 'Bewirtschaftungsklausel'.[7]

§ 0 Introduction

A (1) *ḫ(.t (n) pȝ sḥn nty ỉw nȝ.w*(sic!) ⟦*ỉ.*⟧*ỉr=f* □

B (1) [---]

Model of the lease document which one will make:

§ 1 Presentation of the parties

A *ḏd Pȝ-mn sȝ Pȝ-mn mw.t Tȝ-mn.t* {*sȝ*(?)} *n* (2) {*n*} *Pȝ-mn sȝ Pȝ-mn mw.t Tȝ-mn*(*.t*)

B [*ḏd Pȝ-mn sȝ Pȝ-mn mw.t Tȝ-mn.t n*] ⌜*Pȝ-mn*⌝ [*sȝ Pȝ-mn* (?2?) *mw.t Tȝ-mn*(*.t*)]

Said So-and-so, son of So-and-so, mother So-and-so, to So-and-so, son of So-and-so, mother So-and-so:

§ 2 Lease clause (with description of the plot and duration of the lease)

A *sḥn=k nȝy nȝy=k ȝḫ*(*.w*) *nty ỉr ḫty*(*.t*) (3) ⌜*mn* {*sȝ*(?)}⌝ ⟨*nty*(?) *n tȝ*⟩ ⌜*sḫ*(*.t*)⌝ [*n pȝ*] *mn pȝ* {*n*} *tmy n pȝ mw* (*n*) *ḥȝ.t-sp mn r ḥȝ.t-sp mn*

B [*sḥn=k n=y nȝy=k*] ⌜*ȝḫ*⌝(*.w*) *nty* ⌜*ỉr*⌝ [*ḫty*(*.t*) (?3?) *mn nty* (?) *n tȝ sḫ*(*.t*) *n pȝ mn pȝ tmy n pȝ mw* (*n*) *ḥȝ.t-sp*] ⌜*mn*⌝ *r ḥȝ.t-sp* ⌜*mn*⌝

'You have leased to me your fields which consist of so-and-so many plots which are (?) in the agricultural land of such-and-such a town from the inundation (of) regnal year so-and-so to (that of) regnal year so-and-so.

§ 3 Irrigation clause

A (4) [*mtw=y* (?) *ỉr=w* (?) *twl* (?) *n* (?) *dỉ.t* (?)] *mw*

B [*mtw=y* (?) *ỉr=w* (?) (?4?) *twl* (?) *n* (?) *dỉ.t* (?) *mw*]

I shall (?) make them (?) cultivatable land (?) through (?) irrigation.

§ 4 Cultivation clause

A *mtw=y skȝ=w*

B [*mtw=y skȝ=w*]

I shall till them.

6 Image enhancing software developed by Jon Harman (https://www.dstretch.com/).

7 H. Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge der Ptolemäerzeit: Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Entwicklung und inhaltlichen Aspekten einer Gruppe von demotischen Urkunden* (ÄgAbh 58, Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 130–138.

§ 5 Equipment clause

A *mtw=y mḥ=w* (5) [*n --- pr.t-*]ʳ*sḫ*(*.t*)ˀ *n pꜣy=y nmḥ*

B *mtw=y* ʳ*m*ˀ[*ḥ=w n* --- (?5?) --- *pr.t-sḫ*(*.t*) *n pꜣy=y nmḥ*]

I shall fill them with --- (and) seed-grain from my private property.

§ 6 Work clause

A *mtw=y ỉr=w n* (6) [*wp.t nb n wy*]ʳ⌜ *n pr*(*.t*) *n* {*pꜣ*} *šmw*

B [*mtw=y ỉr*]*=w* (?) *n wp*(*.t*) [*nb n w*]ʳ*y*ˀ[⌜ (?6?) *n pr*(*.t*) *n šmw*]

I shall work them with every work of a farmer, in the *peret* and *shemu* seasons.

§ 7 Tax (?) clause

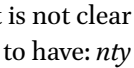
A *mtw*ʳ*=y*ˀ (7) [*mḥ* (?) *pꜣ* (?) *šmw* (?) *r*] ʳ*pꜣ*ˀ *ỉp r pr-ꜥ*ˀ·ʷ·ˢ· ʳ*ḥr* (?) *ỉw* (?)ˀ [---]

B [*mtw=y mḥ* (?) *pꜣ* (?) *šmw* (?)] *r pꜣ ỉp r* ʳ*pr-ꜥ*ˀ[ˀ·ʷ·ˢ· *ḥr* (?) *ỉw* (?) ---]

I shall pay (?) the harvest tax (?) in full to the account for the king against (?) receipt (?) ---'

Commentary[8]

§ 0 Introduction

At least on ostracon A l. 1, where the beginning is now fully preserved thanks to the new fragment, the model lease was introduced by a header that recalls that of the model lease in P. Mattha recto,[9] col. x+2, l. 27, *ḫ*(*.t*) *pꜣ sḫn nty ỉw=w* (*r*) *ỉr=f* 'model of the lease document that one will make'. However, the pupil seems to have misunderstood the group *ỉw=w* and thus duplicated the vertical strokes. He later tried to correct this by scratching out the first of the vertical strokes before *ỉr=f*:  . It is not clear what reading he intended the resulting group to have: *nty ỉw nꜣ.w ỉr=f* does not yield any sense. The introduction is completely lost on ostracon B, but would most likely have followed the same pattern, although probably without the mistakes.

It might seem strange that the model omits an anonymized dating formula, like those attested in some of the models for other document types in P. Mattha recto,[10] but this is also the case in the above-mentioned model lease in P. Mattha recto col. x+2, l. 28–col. x+3, l. 1, as well as in the model *sḫn* in P. Mattha recto, col. x+2, l. 24–25, which concerns the engagement of a guardian for a house, while real leases were obviously always dated. A model lease from the notary office of Tebtunis,[11] while comprising the mention of the date (year, month and day), does not use the habitual dating prescript by itself, but inserts it into a different kind of introduction, where it is part of a relative clause; this might be the introductory formula that was supposed to be used in the registration of such a document in the ledgers of the local notary office.

§ 1 Presentation of the Parties

The scribe of A uses the long-drawn-out forms of *ḏd* and *n* that notaries generally employed in actual documents in order to help the reader find the names of the parties.

8 [A] indicates that the discussed passage or writing is not preserved on ostracon A, [B] that it is missing on ostracon B.

9 P. Cairo JE 89127–89130 + 89137–89143 recto, also known as Codex Hermopolis: G. MATTHA, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West: Preface, Additional Notes and Glossary* by G.R. Hughes (BiÉtud 45, Cairo, 1975); B. JORDAN, *Die demotischen Wissenstexte* (*Recht und Mathematik*) *des pMattha* (TeG 5, Vaterstetten, 2015).

10 The placeholders *ḥꜣ.t-sp mn pꜣ mn pꜣ ꜣbd* 'Regnal year so-and-so, such-and-such month' for the dating are attested in the introductions of the three models for a public protest in pMattha recto (col. x+2, l. 13 and 20; col. x+3, l. 24); this is also the way the date placeholder is phrased in the text bodies of a model receipt (col. x+4, l. 1 and 2, partially lost) and the model *sʿnḫ* document (col. x+4, l. 21, partially lost). In the text body of another model receipt (col. x+4, l. 31), *pꜣ mn* before *ꜣbd* is left out, probably erroneously due to *aberratio oculi*. That only place holders for the year and month but not for the day were given there conforms to the early demotic legal practice, since a day date for *sḫ* documents was only (re-)introduced in the reign of Ptolemy VI. For a discussion of the rare exceptions, see J. QUAEGEBEUR, 'Review: Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri in the Brooklyn Museum*', *CdÉ* 49 (1974), p. 290.

11 C.J. MARTIN, 'How to Write a Demotic Legal Document: P. BM EA 10648', in: G. WIDMER – D. DEVAUCHELLE (eds), *Actes du IXe congrès des études démotiques* (BiÉtud 147, Cairo, 2009), pp. 195–222, esp. pp. 197–209 (there labelled text A). P. BM EA 10648 has now been shown to join with P. BM EA 10643 (C.J. MARTIN, 'Another Legal Template from Tebtynis: P. BM EA 10643', in: F. HAIKAL (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy* (BiÉtud 164, Cairo, 2015), pp. 277–302) and P. Carlsberg 635 (C.J. MARTIN, 'P. Carlsberg 635 – The Missing Link', in: D. AGUT-LABORDÈRE – B. BAKECH – G. GORRE – S. LIPPERT (eds), *NEC PLURIBUS IMPAR: Mélanges en l'honneur de Michel Chauveau* (Philippika 176, Wiesbaden, 2025, pp. 243–259) to form a single manuscript of at least 92 cm in width and 22.3 cm in height, containing models for two different document types on the recto and for two on the verso.

Probably due to the line change, he erroneously repeats the *n*.

The oblique stroke after *T3-mn.t* in A l. 1 is superfluous, perhaps the scribe already thought of *s3* which occurs again shortly in the filiation of the second party, *P3-mn s3 P3-mn*, at the beginning of l. 2.

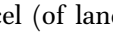
As is common in model documents, the place-holders *P3-mn* (A l. 1 and 2; B l. 1) and *T3-mn.t* (A l. 1 and 2; [B]) are used for the names of the parties and their parents.[12] It is interesting that the suffix after *mw.t* (A l. 1 and 2; [B]), which would have been needed to adapt to the gender of the actual lessee, is not given as *=f*, but each time simply left out. The same lack of a suffix after *mw.t* can also be observed in the model documents from Tebtunis,[13] while the presentation of the parties in the model land lease in the P. Mattha recto (as in the other model documents of this text) does not mention the filiation through the mother at all. The maternal filiation with a possessive suffix after *mw.t* is, however, mentioned for the female beneficiary of the model *sʿnḫ* document in P. Mattha col. x+4, l. 7 (*mw.t=s* (*T3-*)*mn*(*.t*) 'her mother being So-and-so'). Thus, the lack of a suffix after *mw.t* or even of the entire maternal filiation might have been a way to avoid having to commit to a gender for the parties in model documents where they could be either male or female. Much like *p3 nty …* 'the one who …' or *p3 rmṯ*, which, despite being grammatically male, does not only mean 'the man', but 'the person' in legal regulations,[14] the place-holder *P3-mn* could be used when the parties might have been either male or female, while the female equivalent *T3-mn.t* was only used in cases when the person in question could only be female.

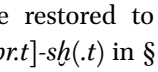
§ 2 Lease clause (with description of the plot and duration of the lease)

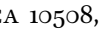
sḫn 'to lease' (A l. 2; [B]) is written with the same small book roll determinative which the scribe of A also uses for *sḫn* 'lease document' (§ 0: A l. 1; [B]) and, more surprisingly, *sk3* 'to till' (§ 4: A l. 4; [B]) and *wyʿ* 'farmer' (§ 6: A l. 6; [B]); the scribe of B uses the same determinative for *wp*(*.t*) 'work' (§ 6: [A]; B l. 5).

n3y (A l. 2; [B]) is an unetymological writing of *n=y*.

(A l. 2; ⌜B l. 2⌝) might be understood as *t3y=k 3ḥ*(*.t*) or *n3y=k 3ḥ*(*.w*). While the following relative clause 'which consist of so-and-so many plots' makes the reading *n3y=k 3ḥ*(*.w*) more likely, feminine *3ḥ.t*, which was the standard form in earlier stages of Egyptian, is occasionally still attested in demotic.[15] The writing of *3ḥ* with the first sign ending in a horizontal bar is common in texts from the Panopolite region, compare e.g. P. BM EA 10508,[16] col. 10, l. 19: .[17]

 (A l. 2; [B]): for a similar writing of *ḫty*(*.t*) 'parcel (of land), plot' also from the Panopolite region, see P. Moscow 123,[18] l. 1 bis, . For the use of *ḫty*(*.t*) in the description of the leased object, see for example P. BM EA 10597, l. 6 from Assiut,[19] which makes it clear that the following placeholder *mn* (A l. 3, [B]) stands for a number.

(A l. 3; [B]): The traces after *mn* can be restored to *sḫ*(*.t*), compare  [*pr.t*]-*sḫ*(*.t*) in § 5 (A l. 5; [B]), preceded again by a superfluous oblique stroke following *mn* (see also § 1).

(A l. 3; [B]): The simplified writing of *tmy* is typical for the Panopolite region; it also occurs in P. BM EA 10508, e.g. col. 8, l. 17:  .[20] The curved stroke above might be a fossilised genitive-*n* which the pupil who wrote A erroneously interpreted as being part of the

12 See the already mentioned model documents.

13 Thus in the model lease (P. BM EA 10643 + P. Carlsberg 635 + P. BM EA 10648 recto, col. 2, l. 2, 4 and 6) and the model for pension payments to the parents (P. BM EA 10643 + P. Carlsberg 635 + P. BM EA 10648 verso, col. 2, l. 6). It is therefore likely that one also has to restore *mw.t*, and not *mw.t=f*, as MARTIN, 'Another Legal Template', in: *Mélanges el-Aguizy*, p. 288, had originally presumed, in the introduction of the model exchange document (P. BM EA 10643 + P. Carlsberg 635 + P. BM EA 10648 verso, col. 1, l. 1–2).

14 For a clear example of laws phrased with *p3 nty …* also being applied to women see the trial proceedings of P. Köln XVII 675; S. LIPPERT, 'Abschrift eines Prozessprotokolls vor den Laokriten von Theben', in C. ARMONI – T. BACKHUYS – S. LIPPERT – E.O.D. LOVE – E. SKARSOULI – N. VEGA NAVARETTE – R. VECCHIATO (eds), *Kölner Papyri* (*P. Köln*), 17 (PapCol VII/17, Paderborn, 2021), p. 165.

15 E.g. P. Mattha recto, col. x+1, l. 22: *k.t 3ḥ.t* 'another field'.

16 S.R.K. GLANVILLE, *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy* (*British Museum Papyrus 10508*) (CDPBM 2, London, 1955).

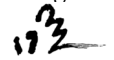
17 The facsimile is taken from the glossary in H.J. THISSEN, *Die Lehre des Anchscheschonqi* (*P. BM 10508*). *Einleitung, Übersetzung, Indices* (PTA 32, Bonn, 1984), p. 48.

18 M. MALININE, 'Partage testamentaire d'une propriété familiale', *RdÉ* 19 (1967), pp. 67–85; the facsimile is taken from plate 5, 2nd detail. See for corrections K.-Th. ZAUZICH, 'Drei christlich-koptische Ortsnamen aus der Gegend von Achmim', *Enchoria* 11 (1982), pp. 117–118.

19 H. THOMPSON, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum Including an Account of a Trial before the Laocritae in the Year B.C.170* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 73–76; FELBER, *Ackerpachtverträge*, pp. 61–64.

20 The facsimile is taken from the glossary in THISSEN, *Ankhsheshonqy*, p. 133.

word. Similar horizontal strokes that cannot be explained as genitive *n* are also attested with other words; compare the common writings of *ḥy* 'expense' and 'construction work' in some regions,[21] perhaps influenced by the similar looking word *šmw* 'summer, harvest'.

 (A l. 3; [B]): *mw* is written with an additional curve; the same writing was initially repeated in A l. 4, where, however, it was then corrected.

As in this model, Ptolemaic land leases from Upper and Middle Egypt are generally phrased from the lessee's point of view,[22] while leases from the Fayum could also be phrased from the lessor's.[23] The model land lease in P. Mattha recto is also phrased from the lessee's point of view, as is the above-mentioned model lease from Tebtunis, which however does not address the lessor – the lesonis of the temple of Soknebtynis – in the 2nd person singular, but speaks of him in the 3rd person in the lease clause and avoids all further reference in the following clauses.

In the model land lease of P. Mattha recto col. x+2, l. 28, there is no placeholder for the number of plots, and the placeholder for the location of the fields is simply given as *nty n p3 mn p3 tmy* 'which is in such-and-such a town'.[24] Extant land leases generally contain precisions about the location of the fields using expressions like *n t3 sḫ.t n …* 'in the agricultural land of …' (e.g. P. BM EA 10560,[25] l. 9; in P. BM EA 10597, l. 6 as a relative clause *nty n t3 sḫ.t n …*). Occasionally, the neutral term *t3 sḫ.t* is replaced by more specific ones like *t3 q3y.t* 'the high land' (e.g. P. Turin 2133,[26] l. 7; P. BM EA 10597, l. 6; P. Tebt. Botti 1,[27] l. 7), *t3 mrwṭ* 'the arable (?) land' (e.g. P. Heidelberg dem. 778a + P. BM EA 71003,[28] l. 6), *p3 ḥtp-nṯr* 'the temple domain land', followed by the divinity (e.g. P. BM EA 10230,[29] l. 4; P. Turin Suppl. 6077,[30] l. 10; P. BM EA 10597, l. 6) etc. that precede the toponym. These can also be combined with each other and/or with cardinal directions for more accurate localisations.[31] In A l. 3, where the word *sḫ*(*.t*) can now be restored thanks to the new fragment 20-36-64/4564, the scribe left out the syntactic connection: one should therefore emendate to ⟨*n t3*⟩ *sḫ.t* [*n p3*] *mn p3* {*n*} *tmy* 'in the agricultural land of such-and-such a town' or even ⟨*nty n t3*⟩ *sḫ.t* [*n p3*] *mn p3* {*n*} *tmy* 'which are in the agricultural land of such-and-such a town'.

The indication of the duration of the lease as 'from the inundation (lit. 'water') of year x to (that of) year x+1' (*n p3 mw n ḫ3.t-sp x r ḫ3.t-sp x+1*), here A l. 3 and B l. 3, within the Lease clause corresponds to the version of this clause generally employed at Gebelein.[32] In leases from Thebes it is rather added to the Cultivation clause[33] and in P. BM EA 10597 from Assiut to the Work clause which, in this document, follows the Lease clause and precedes the Cultivation and Equipment clauses.

21 C.J. MARTIN, 'Legal and Administrative Texts from Tebtunis in the Carlsberg Collection', in: M.-P. CHAUFRAY – I. GUERMEUR – S. LIPPERT – V. Rondot (eds), *Le Fayoum. Archéologie – Histoire – Religion: Actes du sixième colloque international Montpellier, 26–28 octobre 2016* (Wiesbaden, 2018), p. 82.

22 FELBER, *Ackerpachtverträge,* pp. 117–118. C.J. MARTIN, 'Ptolemaic Demotic Land Leases', in: J.G. KEENAN – J.G. MANNING – U. YIFTACH-FIRANKO (eds), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest: A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation with Introductions and Commentary* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 346.

23 FELBER, *op. cit.*, p. 118, analyses only two leases from the Fayum (*op. cit.*, p. 67), both of which are drawn up from the lessor's point of view. The still unpublished land leases from Oxyrhyncha can be phrased either from the lessor's or the lessee's point of view (S. LIPPERT, 'Like Phoenix from the Mummies: Demotic Documents from Oxyrhyncha in Cartonnages from Tebtunis', in: S. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT (eds), *Graeco-Roman Fayyum: Texts and Archaeology* [Wiesbaden, 2008] p. 170), as seems also to be the case for Tebtunis (C.J. MARTIN, 'A Third-Century Demotic Land Lease (P. BM EA 10858)', in: R. JASNOW – G. WIDMER (eds), *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith* [MVCAE 2, Atlanta, 2017], p. 295).

24 The passage is somewhat damaged, but sufficient traces survive for the restoration to be without doubt.

25 C.J. MARTIN, 'A Demotic Land Lease from Philadelphia: P. BM 10560', *JEA* 72 (1986), pp. 159–173.

26 P.W. PESTMAN, *L'archivio di Amenothes foglio di Horos* (*P. Tor. Amenothes*)*: Testi demotici e greci relativi ad una famiglia di imbalsamatori del secondo sec. a. C.* (CMT Monumenti e testi 5, Milan, 1981), pp. 140–152, n° 17.

27 G. BOTTI, 'Papyri demotici dell'epoca imperiale da Tebtynis', in: *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* (Milan, 1957), pp. 76–80. This document is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Florence and has the inventory number P. Florence MA 11915; I thank C. Martin for this information.

28 U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Die demotischen Gebelen-Urkunden der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* (VHPS 4, Heidelberg, 1964), pp. 31–32, n° 9 (only P. Heidelberg dem. 778a); FELBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–42 (both fragments). For other examples, see FELBER, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

29 N. REICH, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts in hieratischer und demotischer Schrift aus dem British Museum* (DAWW 55.3, Vienna, 1914), pp. 77–82; FELBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–15.

30 G. BOTTI, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh* (CMT Monumenti e testi 1, Florence, 1967), pp. 142–144, n° 25C; FELBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–26.

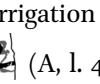
31 Cf. the example from Gebelein given by FELBER, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

32 FELBER, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Exceptions (see *op. cit.*, p. 125, n. 156) are P. Heidelberg dem. 781c (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Gebelen-Urkunden*, pp. 42–44, n° 14), l. x+6–x+7, where it is added to the Cultivation clause (according to the terminology used here), and P. Heidelberg dem. 711 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29, n° 8; FELBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–60), where the duration seems to have been left out by mistake in the Lease clause and then to have been attached to the Damage clause.

33 FELBER, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

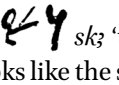
The Lease clause should be followed by an enumeration of the neighbours of the plot or plots.[34] However, given that we can estimate the length of the lost beginnings of the lines securely, it is clear that there is not enough space here for even just the introduction *nꜣ/nꜣy=w ḫyn.w* 'the/their neighbours' or similar, which is generally used in extant leases,[35] let alone the four cardinal directions *rsy mḥty ỉꜣbty ỉmnty* 'south, north, east, west' that serve as shortened placeholders for the neighbours on all four sides in several model documents in P. Mattha recto.[36] In the model lease from Tebtynis P. BM EA 10643 + P. Carlsberg 635 + P. BM EA 10648 recto, col. 2, l. 8–9, the placeholder clause about the neighbours is even more elaborate, given that this model concerns the lease of a specific plot of land from the temple domain of Soknebtynis, so that most information concerning the neighbours could already be filled in.

§ 3 Irrigation Clause

 (A, l. 4, [B]): *mw* 'water' was initially written with the same superfluous additional curve as in A l. 3, but here the scribe corrected it by overwriting.

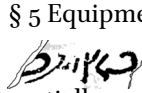
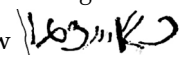
This clause, almost entirely lost in A l. 4 and completely in B l. 3–4, can be restored with some plausibility through parallels in leases from Thebes and Gebelein[37] where it follows the indication of the neighbours and precedes the Cultivation clause; it seems not yet attested elsewhere. For the translation of *twl*, sometimes also written *tlꜣ* ([A], [B]), as 'cultivatable land' specifically obtained through irrigation, see the discussion by Felber;[38] Pestman, to whom Felber refers, understood *ỉr twl* and *dỉ.t mw* as successive steps and therefore considered *twl* to be a method for preparing a field for the irrigation.[39] The clause is absent from both the P. Mattha and the Tebtunis models for land leases, although the latter (l. 10) contains stipulations for land reclamation that might implicitly refer to irrigation.

§ 4 Cultivation Clause

 *skꜣ* 'to till' (A l. 4; [B]) is here written with what looks like the small book roll determinative (see above § 2) instead of the more common plant determinative that can also be found in P. BM EA 10508, e.g. col. 17, l. 23: .[40]

The short form of this clause found in the model lease from Hut-Repit is attested several times in leases from Gebelein,[41] but also in P. BM EA 10597, l. 7 from Assiut, while leases from Thebes that contain a version of the Tilling clause add the year dates for the duration of the lease here,[42] and the model land lease in P. Mattha recto added the length of the lease ((*n*) [*tꜣ mn.t*] ⸢*tꜣ rnp.t*⸣ '(for) [so-and-so many] years'). The only two known leases from Hakoris/Tihna el-Gebel[43] combine this clause with elements of the Equipment clause. Note that *skꜣ* 'to till' needs of course to be replaced by another expression when the field that is leased is not used for growing crops that require tilling,[44] while occasionally other more specific treatment obligations are added.[45]

§ 5 Equipment Clause

 : The horizontal stroke visible above the partially preserved curved sign following *mtw=y* in B, l. 4 makes one at first glance doubt that this is the parallel to *mtw=y mḥ=w*  at the end of A, l. 4. However, this stroke is somewhat fainter than the rest of the text of this line, so two possibilities can be envisioned: either the scribe committed an error, perhaps by starting to write the word *nmḥ* (cf. A, l. 5) from the end of this clause, and then wiped out the superfluous horizontal line, or the sherd, like A, is a palimpsest – similarly faint traces of ink can also be seen underneath *mtw* between lines 4 and 5 of this ostracon.

34 FELBER, *op. cit.*, p. 125, classifies this as part of the 'Verpachtungsklausel', but it generally consists of two syntactically independent phrases, one enumerating the bordering plots or topographical features, the second stating that these constitute the totality of the neighbours.

35 See also the model protest col. x+2, l. 13–14 and the model *sḫn* document for guarding a house P. Mattha recto col. x+2, l. 25. The model land lease col. x+2, l. 29 and the model protest col. x+3, l. 24 instead use *nty ỉw pꜣy=f⌈=s* as introduction.

36 See the preceding footnote.

37 FELBER, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

38 FELBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–137.

39 PESTMAN, *Archivio di Amenothes*, p. 151, n. i.

40 The facsimile is taken from the glossary in THISSEN, *Anchscheschonqy*, p. 117.

41 E.g. P. Heidelberg dem. 723 (K. SETHE – J. PARTSCH, *Demotische Urkunden zum aegyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* [AAWL 32, Leipzig, 1920], pp. 154–204), l. 11; P. Strasbourg dem. 9 (W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek* [Strasbourg, 1902] pp. 26–27; FELBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50); P. Heidelberg dem. 711 (= P. Gebelen Heid. 8), l. 11. The clause is placed strangely late in the text in P. Heidelberg dem. 778a (= P. Gebelen Heid. 9), l. 10, where it is preceded by the tax clause.

42 E.g. P. Turin Suppl. 6077 (= P. Tor. Boti 25C), l. 13–14; P. Berlin P. 3102 (W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* [Berlin, 1902], p. 14; FELBER, *Ackerpachtverträge*, pp. 15–19), l. 13.

43 P. Reinach 1 (P.W. PESTMAN, *Les archives privées de Dionysios, fils de Kephalas. Textes grecs et démotiques* [P. L.Bat. 22, Leiden, 1982], pp. 82–90, esp. pp. 83–84), l. 9–10 and P. Reinach 5 (PESTMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–114), l. 9–10.

44 FELBER, *Ackerpachtverträge*, p. 134. See also the clauses for the cultivation of wine and fruit in the model lease from Tebtunis, l. 10.

45 E.g. in P. Turin 2133 (= P. Tor. Amenothes 17), l. 10–11.

Even though the middle of this clause is lost in A, only the very beginning is preserved in B and no exact parallel seems hitherto attested, its identification as a variant of the Equipment clause is unproblematic. In extant leases from Gebelein and Thebes, this clause generally takes the form *mtw=y mḥ=w n ỉḥ pr.t rmṯ stbḥ nb n wyʿ* (*n*) *pr.t* (*n*) *šmw* 'I shall fill them (scil. the fields) with cattle, grain, men, all tools of a farmer in the *peret* and *shemu* seasons',[46] which, while fitting the beginning of the clause at the end of line 4 on ostracon A, does not correspond to the end of the clause preserved in A l. 5 ([B]). A possible restoration for [...]⸢*sḫ.t*⸣ is the word *pr.t-sḫ.t* 'seed-grain' that is used repeatedly in the section of the P. Mattha recto concerning land leases[47] and also in the two already mentioned land leases from Hakoris/Tihna el-Gebel where the Cultivation clause and the Equipment clause are combined into a single phrase. In the better preserved document P. Reinach 1, l. 9–10, this clause reads *mtw=y skȝ=w n nȝy=y ỉḫ.w n nȝy=y rmṯ.w n nȝy=y stbḥ.w* (10) *n ḫwṯ n tȝy=y pr.t-sḫ.t* 'I shall till them with my cattle, my people, my farming utensils and my seed-grain'. A similar enumeration ending with the element *pr.t-sḫ.t* might therefore also have been used here. However, the available space at the beginning of line 6 on ostracon A is certainly insufficient to restore *ỉḫ*, *rmṯ* and *stbḥ nb n wyʿ*[48] before [*pr.t-*]⸢*sḫ.t*⸣. It is therefore likely that not all of these elements were mentioned, as in P. Heidelberg dem. 781c,[49] l. x+7–x+8 (*mtw=y mḥ=s* (*n*) *pr.t stbḥ nb* (*n*) *wyʿ n šmw pr.t* 'I will fill it with grain and every tool of a farmer in the *shemu* and *peret* seasons'),[50] or in P. BM EA 10560, l. 11 from Philadelphia, where the lessee is the addressee (*mtw=k mḥ=w n ỉḫ grg* 'You will fill them with cattle and equipment').

The final element of this clause, *n pȝy=y nmḥ* (A l. 5; [B]), seems not yet to be attested, but a very similar expression, *n pȝy=y rmṯ-nmḥ*, occurs at the end of the enumeration of the Equipment clause in the lease P. BM EA 10597, l. 8,[51] where Thompson translated 'of (?) my free man'[52] and Felber 'als Privatmann' ('as a private person'),[53] thus ignoring *pȝy=y*, and it can also be found in the lease proposal P. Ox. Griffith 46,[54] l. 19–20, from Soknopaiou Nesos (*mtw=y dỉ.t*⟨*-s*⟩ *wbȝ pȝ ḥtp* (*n-*)*rn=f n*[55] *pȝy=y rmṯ-nmḥ*) where Bresciani translated 'e io farò allontanare[56] dal terreno sudetto. ... il mio (?) uomo libero (?)'. That *nmḥ* and (*n*) *rmṯ-nmḥ* can be used interchangeably to mean 'private', one being the adjective and the other the genitive construction 'of a private person', is well known, and these expressions are indeed used to qualify the equipment in the extended Work clauses that can be found in two leases from the Fayum: in P. BM EA 10560, l. 11–12, from Philadelphia, this clause follows immediately after the already cited Equipment clause: *mtw=k ỉr=w* (*n*) *wp*(*.t*) *nb* (12) (*n*) *ḫwṯ n pȝy=k grg n rmṯ nmḥ* 'you will work it with every work of a farmer with your private equipment'. In P. Tebt. Botti 1, l. 8–9, from Tebtunis, there is no separate Equipment clause, but the Work clause which contains elements of it follows directly after the Cultivation clause; there it is the lessor who furnishes the equipment to the lessee: *mtw=k ỉr=s* (*n*) *wpy.t nb* (9) (*n*) *wyʿ* (*n*) *nȝy=y* (?) *rmṯ*(*.w*) (?) *nȝy=y grg*(*.w*) (*n*) *rmṯ-nmḥy*[57] 'You will work it

46 Gebelein: e.g. P. Berlin P. 9069 (U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, 'Die demotischen Gebelên-Papyri der Berliner Papyrussammlung', *Forsch-Ber* 8 [1967], pp. 73–75, n° 1), l. 13; P. Strasbourg dem. 9, l. 11–12; P. Heidelberg dem. 711 (= P. Gebelen Heid. 8), l. 12; P. Heidelberg dem. 738 + 758b (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Gebelen-Urkunden*, pp. 37–39, n° 12), l. x+10. A shortened version which only mentions grain and farming tools and inverts the order of the seasons is attested in P. Heidelberg dem. 781c (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Gebelen-Urkunden*, pp. 42–44, n° 14), l. x+7–x+8. Thebes: e.g. P. Berlin P. 3102, l. 16; P. Turin Suppl. 6077 (= P. Tor. Botti 25C), l. 14; P. Turin Suppl. 6087 (= P. Tor. Botti 37), l. 16–17.

47 Col. x+1, l. 1–x+2 l. 11; it is probably also to be restored in the lacuna in the model land lease col. x+2, l. 28, in a clause stipulating that the lessor provide the seed-grain to the lessee, and how much per aroura.

48 For the likely use of *wyʿ* 'farmer' instead of *ḫwṯ* 'farmer' in this text see the commentary to § 6 below.

49 KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Gebelen-Urkunden*, pp. 42–44, n° 14.

50 It is unclear why FELBER, *Ackerpachtverträge*, p. 135, n. 201 labels this shortened version of P. Heidelberg dem. 781c a 'Mischform' of what he deems alternative versions of the 'second phrase of the Bewirtschaftungsklausel', that is, in the terminology used here, between the Work clause and the Equipment clause.

51 In this text from Assiut, the unspecific *pr.t* 'grain' is replaced by a defined amount (*rtb*) *19* (*n*) *sw* '19 (artabas) (of) wheat' and the word *wyʿ* 'farmer' by *ḫwṯ* 'farmer'.

52 THOMPSON, *Family Archive*, p. 75.

53 FELBER, *Ackerpachtverträge*, p. 63.

54 E. BRESCIANI, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiou Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford I. P.Ox. Griffith nn. 1–75* (TDSA 49, Milan, 1975), pp. 60–63.

55 BRESCIANI, *op. cit.*, p. 62 read *r* (?).

56 BRESCIANI, *op. cit.*, p. 62–63, had transliterated *tj wj* instead of *dỉ.t*⟨*-s*⟩ *wbȝ*, which was corrected by K.-Th. ZAUZICH, 'Rezension: Edda BRESCIANI, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford*', *Enchoria* 6 (1976), p. 135.

57 BOTTI, 'Papiri demotici', in: *Studi Calderini Paribeni*, p. 78, had transliterated *mte-k ỉr-s* (*n*) *wpj.t nb.t* (9) (*n*) *wjʿ ỉrm nȝe-j kȝ rmt nmḥj* and translated 'tu (la) devi coltivare (con) tutti i lavori, dell'agricoltura con i miei tori di uomo libero'. G. VITTMANN transliterates for the TLA *mtw=k ỉr=s* (*n*) *wpj.t nb* (9) (*n*) *wjʿ* (*n*) ⟨*nȝy=j*⟩ *ȝḥ.w* (*n*) *nȝy*(*=j*) *grg rmṯ-nmḥj* 'und du sollst (...) es (das Ackerland) bestellen in jeglicher Bauernarbeit (als) ⟨meine?⟩ Felder (mit) meinen privaten Ausstattungen', crediting W. Wegner for the emendation of l. 9. However, while the sign following *wyʿ* has indeed a supplementary vertical stroke on top that makes it look like the first sign of *ȝḥ* (cf. l. 6 and l. 8), the following two vertical strokes are the same length, contrary to *ȝḥ*, where the second one is significantly longer. Nor does this reading explain the sign following the supposed *ȝḥ*: despite the transliteration *ȝḥ.w*, it is not just a vertical stroke and therefore cannot be the plural mark, nor can it be understood as a plant

with every work of a farmer (with) my people (and) my private equipment'. Thus, it is clear that *n pꜣy=y nmḥ* / *n pꜣy=y* (*n*) *rmṯ-nmḥ* should have the same meaning, i.e. 'of/from my private property' and not 'as a private person' or '(of) my free man'. Since the adjective *nmḥ* or the genitive construction (*n*) *rmṯ-nmḥ* needs to modify a noun, the element *pꜣy=y* in these expressions has to be analysed as the nominalised possessive article, meaning 'that which belongs to me', compare French 'le mien' or German 'das Meinige'. This also works well in P. Ox. Griffith 46, where the whole passage (16) *pꜣ sw pꜣ ḥḏ pꜣ nkt nb n pꜣ tꜣ* (17) *nty ỉw=w* (*r*) *dỉ.t tw=y-s n pr-ꜥꜣ*r.w.s. (18) *ỉ.ỉr=tn šsp=f n=y ḫn nꜣ pr.w*(*.t*) (19) *nty sḫ ḥry mtw=y dỉ.t*⟨*-s*⟩ *wbꜣ* (20) *pꜣ ḥtp n-rn=f n pꜣy=y* (*n*) *rmṯ-nmḥ* (21) *bn-pw=y ỉp=f ỉrm=tn* should therefore be translated: 'The wheat, the money, everything whatsoever which one will oblige me to give to the king, you will receive it from me with the abovementioned grain; I shall give ⟨it⟩ on behalf of the temple land in question from my private property, I will not have balanced[58] the account with you'. Theoretically, the preposition *ḫn* could also be understood with the meaning 'within', as is attested in other papyri, the sense being that the tax payment is already contained within the rent payment. However, the explicit addition of *n pꜣy=y* (*n*) *rmṯ-nmḥ* makes it clear that the tax payment is additional and not to be deducted from the proposed rent payments in grain that the lessee is going to obtain from the cultivation of the leased fields. By using *ḫn*, the lessee therefore simply meant that he will pay both sums together to the lessors, who would then have been responsible for paying the tax to the state.

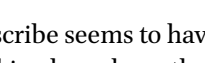
This clause is absent from the model lease of P. Mattha recto and from the Tebtunis model.

§ 6 Work Clause

In A l. 5, a small curved *n* is visible at the end of the line after *ỉr=w*. Its position, very high in the line, shows that the scribe at first intended to write *wp.t* here, but then decided that there was not enough space left.

The traces of a stroke just before *wp*(*.t*) on B l. 5, although quite oblique at least in its still visible lower part, should belong to the suffix of *ỉr=w*. No ink traces are visible immediately after *wp*(*.t*), although the surface seems undamaged.

The remaining traces on A l. 6 suggest that the model lease from Hut-Repit used the term *wyꜥ* for 'farmer', like the leases from the Theban region, and not *ḥwṯ*, as is the case in the leases from Assiut and Hakoris/Tihna el-Gebel. The *w* at the beginning of this word on B l. 5 has disappeared together with the preceding *nb* and possibly the genitive *n*; the remains of a vertical stroke should belong to the *y*.

 *pr.t* (A l. 6, [B]): the scribe seems to have corrected the shape of the 'small walking legs above the path' sign underneath the large walking legs; the result shows two parallel horizontal lines which make it look like there was an additional *k*-shaped sign underneath.

The superfluous addition of the article *pꜣ* before *šmw* might have been caused by *aberratio oculi*. As will be argued below, the word *šmw* 'harvest tax' is very likely to have been used with a definite article in the following Tax clause, where it is now lost in both A and B.

The Work clause can be restored almost completely from the complementary fragments in A l. 5–6 and B l. 5–6. The remaining lacuna can be filled through attestations of this clause in other leases. Although rare in leases from Gebelein and Thebes, the Work clause does occur in P. BM EA 10230, l. 6 and P. Turin Suppl. 6107,[59] l. 7–9. In both it replaces the Equipment clause, which prompted Felber to understand it as a variation of this clause (his 'zweite und letzte Satz' of the 'Bewirtschaftungsklausel).[60] However, in P. Reinach I, l. 10 from Hakoris/Tihna el-Gebel,[61] the Work clause in an almost identical form[62] occupies the same position as in the model document from Hut-Repit, i.e. after the (there combined) Cultivation and Equipment clauses. A version of the Work clause is also attested as a separate phrase in P. BM EA 10597, l. 7 from Assiut, where it precedes the Cultivation and Equipment clauses. In this document, the leased object is repeated in full instead of being referred to by a pronoun, *wp.t* is not qualified with a genitive construction, and the indication of duration *n pꜣ*

determinative, which is not only lacking in the other instances of *ꜣḥ*, but is also much longer in those words where it does occur, i.e. *skꜣ* 'till' in l. 8 and *swꜣ* 'wheat' in l. 10 (misread *swḥ*(*.w*) 'raccolti' by Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 79). Finally, (*n*) ⟨*nꜣy=j*⟩ *ꜣḥ.w* does not yield a satisfying sense in the context of this clause – why would the lessor need to stress here that the fields remain his property? It is more plausible to assume that the scribe, influenced by the repeated occurrences of the word *ꜣḥ*, erroneously added a small vertical stroke to the first sign of *nꜣy=y*. He might also have miscopied the word *rmṯ*(*.w*) as *ḥḏ* – the vertical stroke underneath is not connected to the curved upper part. I am grateful to C. Martin for providing me with a good colour photograph of this papyrus.

58 Since the document is a lease proposal, *bn-pw=y ỉp* here (and in l. 15, where the same form occurs) has to be a *perfectum futuri* and not a past tense.

59 BOTTI, *Archivio demotico*, pp. 197–200, n° 43.

60 FELBER, *Ackerpachtverträge*, pp. 134–135.

61 This passage is lost in P. Reinach 5.

62 As in the Equipment clause, this lease uses *ḥwṯ* instead of *wyꜥ*.

mw (*n*) *ḥ3.t-sp x r ḥ3.t-sp x+1 rnp.t 1.t* 'from the inundation of year x to (that of) year x+1, one year' is used instead of *n pr*(*.t*) *n šmw* 'in the *peret* and *shemu* seasons'.

While, as mentioned above, the Work clause is not present in most leases from Thebes and Gebelein, the expression *n pr.t n šmw* 'in the *peret* and *shemu* seasons' can occur there as the final element of the Equipment clause.[63] It is also absent from the model lease of P. Mattha recto and from the Tebtunis model.

§ 7 Tax (?) Clause

(A, l. 7), (B, l. 6): for the angled shape of the *p* and the simple vertical stroke as determinative in the word *ỉp* 'account', see the similar writings for *ỉp* (as verb or noun) in other texts of the region, e.g. P. BM EA 10508, col. 22, l. 18 ( ),[64] P. Spiegelberg, col. 11, l. 16 (),[65] and P. BM EA 10507, col. 2, l. 13 (; similar col. 2, l. 9 and 12).[66]

 pr-ʿ3ʿ.w.s. (A l. 7): on B l. 6, only small traces of the oblique stroke, which must have extended much further above the horizontal stroke than on A l. 7, are preserved .

(A l. 7, [B]): without a clearer parallel, the traces after *pr-ʿ3ʿ.w.s.* remain enigmatic. Given that the Tax clause is followed in Thebes and Gebelein by a clause about tax receipts (see below), perhaps one might read *ʿḥr ỉw*ˀ 'against receipt', cf. the shape of the large walking legs in *pr.t*, A l. 6.

This clause, badly preserved on both A and B, is very likely a clause about the lessee's obligation to pay the harvest tax (*šmw*) to the royal granary: this assessment is based on the position – after the Cultivation, Equipment and Work clauses – and the occurrence of the word *pr-ʿ3*, fully preserved on A l. 7. This word occurs in leases practically exclusively in the set of clauses which Felber jointly labels 'Klausel über Erntesteuer'.[67] The first of these, here termed Tax clause, is habitually phrased in Theban leases as *mtw=y mḥ p3y=w šmw r p3 wḏ3*[68] *n pr-ʿ3ʿ.w.s. r-ḫ*(*.t*) *p3 nty ỉ.ỉr n3 sḫ.w n pr-ʿ3 r sḫ=f r-r=w* 'I shall pay their harvest tax in full to the royal storeroom according to that which the royal scribes will write down for them',[69] while in leases from Gebelein, it usually starts with a conditional phrase: *ỉn-n3.w šmw ḥpr* (...[70]) *mtw=y mḥ p3*/*p3y=w šmw r p3 wḏ3 n pr-ʿ3ʿ.w.s. r-ḫ*(*.t*) *p3 nty ỉ.ỉr n3 sḫ.w n pr-ʿ3 r ỉn.ṯ=f r-ḥr=y n ỉw-ḫy* 'When the harvest arrives, I shall pay in full the/their harvest tax to the royal granary according to that which the royal scribes will bring to me as measuring receipt'.[71] The construction with a conditional protasis including a date for the harvest is also used in P. BM EA 10597, l. 8–9 from Assiut: *ỉn-n3.w šmw r ḥpr* (...) *mtw=y mḥ p3 šmw n n3 ʒḥ*(*.w*) *nty ḥry r p3 wḏ3* (*n*) *pr-ʿ3* (...) 'When the harvest arrives (...), I shall pay in full the harvest tax of the above-mentioned fields to the royal granary (...)'.

The preserved beginning of the clause at the end of A l. 6 shows that no conditional protasis was used in the model lease from Hut-Repit. The verb and direct object are lost in both copies, but given that all other examples use *mḥ* 'to pay in full' and *šmw* 'harvest tax', the latter preceded either by the definite article *p3* or a possessive article referring back to the field(s), this is most likely the phrasing that was used here as well. As mentioned above, a reconstruction *mtw=y mḥ p3 šmw* 'I shall pay the harvest tax in full' would also explain the scribe's mistake in adding a definite article before *šmw* in the Work clause in A l. 6. However, this would just about fill the available space at the beginning of line 7 on sherd A, which means that the continuation of the clause did not adhere to the phrasing known from Gebelein, Thebes and Assiut where this is followed immediately by *r p3 wḏ3 n pr-ʿ3ʿ.w.s.* 'to the royal granary': *pr-ʿ3ʿ.w.s.* is fully preserved in A l. 7 and at least some traces of it remain in B l. 7, but the whole passage there reads *r p3 ỉp r pr-ʿ3ʿ.w.s.* 'to the account for the king'. Could this mean that not all towns had royal granaries so that the grain for the harvest tax would not be paid

63 See for examples n. 46 above.

64 The facsimile is taken from the glossary in THISSEN, *Anchscheschonqi*, p. 51.

65 W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis nach dem Strassburger demotischen Papyrus sowie den Wiener und Pariser Bruchstücken* (DemStud 3, Leipzig, 1910); the facsimile is taken from the glossary, p. 5*.

66 M. SMITH, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (CDPBM 3, London, 1987). The facsimile is taken from the glossary, p. 162.

67 Cf. FELBER, *Ackerpachtverträge*, pp. 144–146.

68 For the reading *wḏ3* instead of *r3* see J.F. QUACK, 'Zu einigen demotischen Gruppen umstrittener Lesung oder problematischer Ableitung', in: S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Orthography* (StudDem 11, Leuven, 2013), pp. 106–111.

69 E.g. P. Berlin 3102, l. 15–16, P. Turin Suppl. 6093 (BOTTI, *Archivio demotico*, pp. 17–19, n° 19; FELBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–22), l. 5–6, and P. Turin Suppl. 6087 (= P. Tor. Botti 37), l. 17–18. In P. Turin Suppl. 6077 (= P. Tor. Botti 25C), l. 16 the lessor is the one who has to pay the tax to the royal granary.

70 Here a specific date can be inserted.

71 E.g. P. Cairo CG 30874 + 31009 + 30785 + 30663 + 30789 (W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, II: *Die demotischen Papyrus* (CGC, Strassburg, 1908), pp. 99, 163–165, 221; FELBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–46), l. x+6; P. Heidelberg dem. 723 (= P. Bürgschaft 9), l. 13–14 (with an addendum between the lines); P. Heidelberg dem. 778a (P. Gebelen Heid. 9), l. 8 (only the apodosis is preserved). Without the protasis in P. Heidelberg dem. 781c (= P. Gebelen Heid. 14), l. x+8–x+10 and probably also in P. Heidelberg dem. 738 + 758b (= P. Gebelen Heid. 12), l. x+11.

directly by the lessee into such a granary, but instead to royal accountants undertaking collection tours?

In leases from Thebes and Gebelein, the Tax clause is normally followed by the Tax receipt clause, which in Thebes takes the form *mtw=y di.t ỉr=w nꜣy=f/nꜣy=w ỉw.w-n-mḥ r rn=k* 'I shall make them (*scil.* the royal scribes) issue its/their payment receipts in your name' and in Gebelein *mtw=y ỉn nꜣy=f ỉw.w-n-mḥ ỉw=w ỉ.ỉry.ṯ r rn=k* 'I shall bring its payment receipts which are issued in your name'.[72]

No Tax clause is included in the model land lease of P. Mattha recto or in the Tebtunis model.

While line 7 seems to have been the last one on sherd A, it is obvious that the model was not complete: other clauses, most importantly the clauses about the rent payment and the necessity of a receipt as proof of payment,[73] but probably also the clauses about guaranties[74] and about fines for breach of contract[75] would have followed. The exercise might therefore have been continued on a second sherd. It is unclear whether more text was inscribed on sherd B.

Conclusion

The model lease preserved in two copies on the ostraca Athribis 19-36-91/5156 + 20-36-64/4564 and 19-36-30/1746 presents a form that has hitherto no exact parallel, and it is indeed the first known example of a demotic lease for the Panopolite area. Compared to extant leases from other regions of Upper Egypt, it displays for some clauses very close similarities to leases from Thebes and/or Gebelein, while for other clauses, it corresponds more to leases from Assiut and/or Akoris/Tihna el-Gebel. This further underlines the striking regional diversity of land leases throughout Egypt, but also shows that there was a certain continuum of traditions between regions.

72 See Felber, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–146.

73 See Felber, *op. cit.* pp. 151–158 (rent payment) and 159–163 (proof of payment). Clauses about rent payment are also present in both the model land lease of P. Mattha recto and the Tebtunis model lease.

74 See Felber, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–175.

75 See Felber, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–195. This clause is also present in both the model land lease of P. Mattha recto and the one from Tebtunis.

FIGURE 1A Ostracon Athribis 19-36-61/5156 (left fragment of A)
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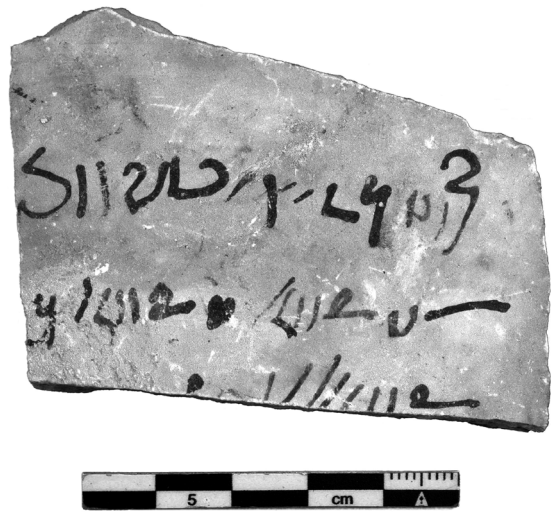

FIGURE 1B Ostracon Athribis 20-36-64/4564 (right fragment of A)
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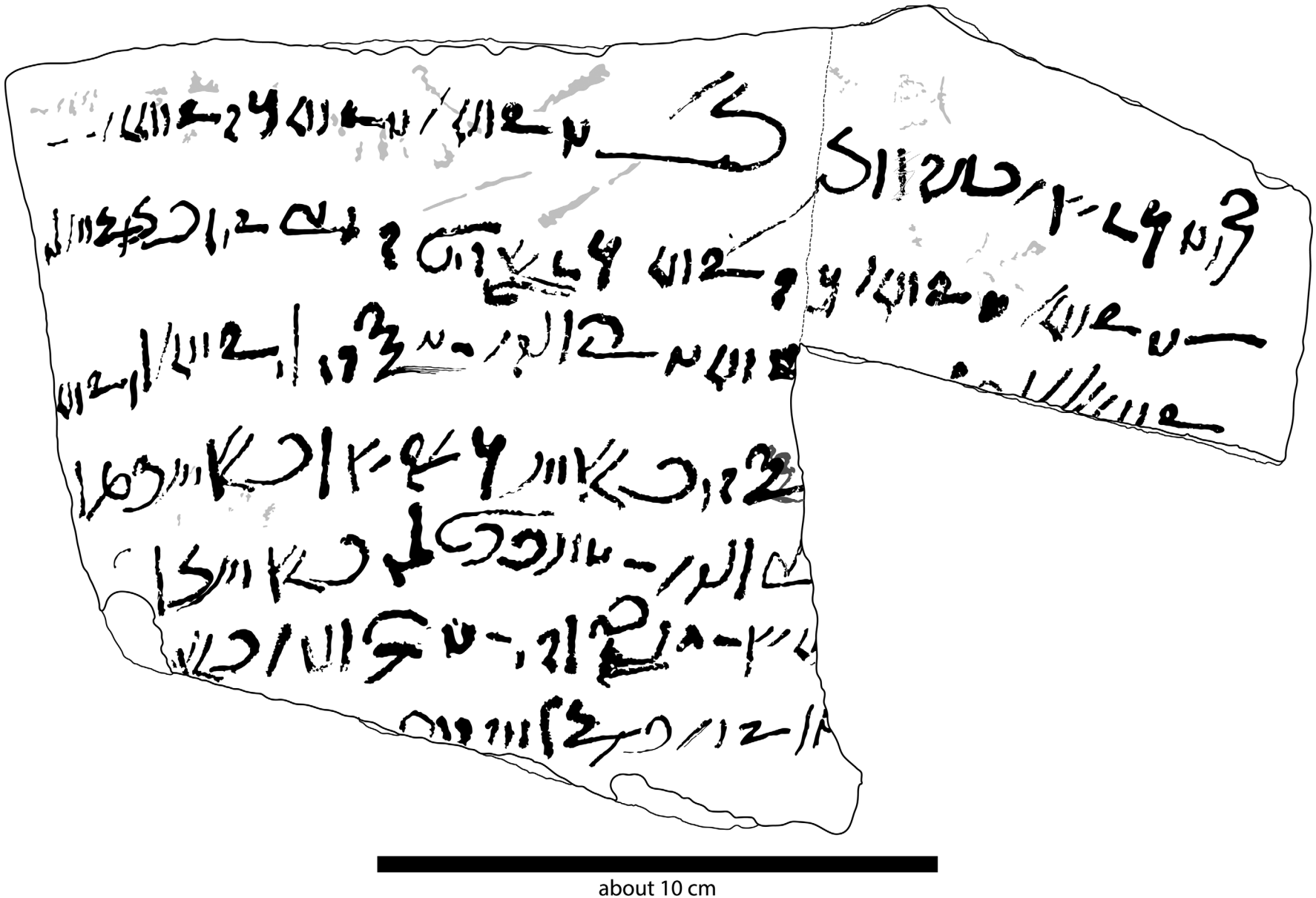

FIGURE 2 Ostracon Athribis 19-36-61/5156 + 20-36-64/4564 (A) (Flattened facsimile)
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FIGURE 3 Ostracon Athribis 19-36-30/1746 (B)
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FIGURE 4 Facsimile of ostracon Athribis 19-36-30/1746 (B)
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From Aramaic to Demotic: Papyrus British Museum EA 76274.1

Cary J. Martin

Koen's publications range from the scientific – *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste son of Petamonip* (2021) – to the scurrilous – *A Hand on My Knee* (1995) – and include a series of books that metamorphose the squiggles of abnormal hieratic and demotic legal documents into racy page turners that introduce the reader to what really went on in ancient Egypt. In these volumes we meet, *inter alia*, female entrepreneurs, undertakers and local businessmen, but what Koen has not yet addressed is what life was like under foreign occupation, a subject that is dear to his heart ('Don't mention the War'). Mrs Tsenhor was born around 550 BCE. She lived through the undoubtedly traumatic years of Cambyses' conquest and was still active right at the end of the reign of Darius I. Documents drawn up before and after the arrival of the Persians do not show any signs that the ownership of property within her family had been affected by the fact that Egypt was now administered as a satrapy within the Empire. Indeed, if it were not for the name of the Pharaoh in the dating protocols of the texts, we would not even know that there had been a regime change. But by the end of the fifth century, which is when the papyrus published here was written, life for the Egyptians may have been very different. I hope that, as well as making more sense of the text than I have managed, Koen might also like to use this as a starting point for a popular treatise on what daily life was like when foreign rulers called the shots.

P. BM EA 76274.1
Herakleopolis, July 2, 422 BCE
TM 874323

1 Introduction

P. BM EA 76274.1 belongs to a group of 15 papyri which were registered together in the year 2000 (BM EA 76273–76287). They were the subject of a preliminary report at the 13th International Demotic Congress in 2017 and P. BM EA 76274.1 at the Munich Summer School in 2018.[1] On the basis of their consecutive registration numbering, original Perspex framing, content and script, we can be confident that they were acquired together, even though there is no information on when this was, from whom they were originally acquired or where they were found. Internal information in the documents, however, would suggest that this was in Herakleopolis or its immediate vicinity.[2] While the texts are primarily administrative documents concerned with land surveys and land surface measurements, the papyrus studied here deserves special attention. This is not only because it contains the translation into demotic of letters originally written in Aramaic, like P. Berlin P. 13540 from the Pherendates correspondence,[3] but also because it refers to the Persian satrap Aršāma and probably comes from the administrative records of his Egyptian estates. Although Aršāma is not specifically referred to as satrap in the papyrus, its content makes it clear that we are dealing with a high-level official and there is no plausible reason to reject this identification. Furthermore, on the basis of the script, the 'Darius, Pharaoh', mentioned in col. II. 12 can only be the second of this name, which dates the text to 422 BCE, precisely in the period when Aršāma was satrap. It can therefore be added to the extensive body of material relating to Aršāma, written in Aramaic, Akkadian, demotic and in Greek literary sources, which has recently been the subject of a three-volume monograph by Christopher Tuplin and John Ma.[4]

1 C.J. MARTIN, 'A Persian Estate in Egypt: Early Demotic Papyri in the British Museum', in: F. NAETHER (ed.), *New Approaches in Demotic Studies: Acts of the 13th International Conference of Demotic Studies* (ZÄS Beiheft 10, Berlin – Boston, 2019), pp. 175–195. We would like to thank Daniel Antoine, Keeper of the Department of Egypt and Sudan of the British Museum, for permission to publish this papyrus, and to his colleagues for their help and hospitality on our visits to the Museum. We are also most grateful to Damien Agut-Labordère, Rüdiger Schmitt, Christopher Tuplin, Günter Vittmann and the participants at the Leipzig Demotic Congress in 2017, the Munich Demotic Summer School in 2018 and the online Squiggle Squad for their comments on this text and the related papyri.

2 For further details, cf. MARTIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–176.

3 G.R. HUGHES, 'The So-called Pherendates Correspondence', in: H.-J. THISSEN – K.-Th. ZAUZICH (eds), *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983* (Würzburg, 1984), pp. 75–86; C.J. MARTIN, 'The Demotic Texts', in: B. PORTEN – J.J. FARBER – C.J. MARTIN – G. VITTMANN et al. (eds), *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (2nd revised edition, DMOA 22, Atlanta, 2011), pp. 291–292.

4 C.J. TUPLIN – J. MA, *Aršāma and his World: The Bodleian Letters in Context* (OSAD, Oxford, 2020). For the career of Aršāma, cf. in particular the chapter by TUPLIN, 'Prince and Satrap', 3, pp. 3–72. The preliminary report on the demotic Aršāma papyri was available in time for Tuplin and Ma to incorporate it into their study.

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2 Physical Description (Fig. 1)

Papyrus with two columns of demotic text on the Front (↔), written parallel to the fibres; the Back (↕) is blank. H. × W.: 20 cm × 37.5 cm. The papyrus has suffered considerable damage, with some of the text of column II lost, and at the bottom on the right of col. I. In addition, in places in both columns the ink is faded or rubbed off entirely. Column I has 15 + x lines of text. There is an upper margin of 2.5 cm and a right-hand margin of 6 cm. It is torn at the bottom and part of lines 14–15 is lost. The average line length is 10–11 cm. There is a space of *c.*1 cm after line 4, which is a half line, and a new section begins with line 5. Column II has 12 lines of text with an average line length of 18 cm. It is torn at the top and the bottom, but part of an upper margin of 2.5 cm is preserved and a lower margin of 2 cm. There is a left-hand margin of *c.*0.5 cm and the space between columns I and II is *c.*1.5 cm. The badly damaged line 1 of column II concludes the text of column I. There is then a space of 1.5 cm and a new section begins. This section ends in line 12 (half-line). Column I and the first line of column II are in a different hand to that of lines 2–12 of column II, which is written with larger and bolder strokes. There are traces of a washed out text to the right of column I and the D-Stretch image of the papyrus suggests that col. I is also a palimpsest. There are 4 sheet joins, all right over left as seen from the Front: the first is *c.*5.25 cm from the right edge and the others follow at 11 cm, 10.5 cm and 10.75 cm respectively.

The text was originally preserved in the same frame as the papyrus now inventoried as 76274.2, mounted back to back with a sheet of paper between them. They were placed in separate frames in 2015. The hand of column I of 76274.1 is similar to that of 76274.2, which may be the reason why they were once framed together.

3 The Text

Col. I (Fig. 2)

	Transliteration	**Translation**
1	*ʒbd-3 pr.t* (*sw*) *28 n Ḥ.t-nn-nsw*	Third month of *peret*, (day) 28, in Herakleopolis.
2	⌜*ḫ.t n nʒ*⌝ *šʿ*(*.t*)*.w n sḫ* ⌜*Iš*⌝*wr r.tʒy* ⌜*Tyr*⌝ ⌜…⌝ […]	Copy of the letters in Aramaic writing which Tira (?) has taken. … […]
3	*pʒ brr* ⌜. …⌝ ⌜*ḥr*⌝*-ḫ.t n …* ⌜*m*⌝*ṯwry*⌜.⌝ […] ⌜*nb*⌝	…. … upon … … … … every (?) […]
4	⌜*Ḫnsw*⌝*-i.ir-dỉ-s sʒ Pʒ-dỉ-ʾImn*	Khonsuertais son of Padiamun.
5	⌜*wʿ.t n tʒy ḥty*⌝ *hb=k n=y dy ḏd tws sny* [*Pʒ*]-⌜*ḏbʒ*⌝	One: And now, you wrote to me here, as follows: Look, [Pa]djeba (?) passed by.
6	*Pʒ-ḏbʒ* (?) *i ʒtp=w i.ḥr*⌜*=y*⌝ *i-ḏbʒ=f i* ⌜*pʒ*⌝ *wḏʒ n*	Padjeba (?) will load them for me on account of him at the storehouse of
7	*ʒršm n tʒy ḥty pʒ ss n* ⌜…⌝	Aršāma. And now, the time of …
8	[…… …] ⌜*i*⌝ *thm=f i.ir* ⌜…⌝ […]	[…… …] which he unloaded before … […]
9	⌜*nʒ fy.w*⌝ *i pʒ hrw n md*(*.t*) ⌜*bw-ir=y*⌝ ⌜.⌝ […]	the deliveries for today in (any) matter. I am not accustomed to . […]
10	⌜…… …⌝ *pʒ nty iw=k ḏd n.im=f ḏd m*[*y*] *r*[*k*] […]	… … That which you are saying, as follows, Cause that […] ceases
11	[…… …] ⌜. .⌝ *irm=s pʒ he iw*[*=y*] (*r*) *in=w* […… …]	[…… …] . . with it/her. The expense (?), [I] will bring them
12	[…… …] ⌜. .⌝ *Mtr*⌜*ḫe*⌝ ⌜*Pʒ-ḏbʒ*⌝ […]	[…… …] . . Miθraxa. Padjeba (?) […]
13	⌜…… …⌝ […… …… ……]	… … […… …… ……]
14	⌜*irm nʒy=f iry.w*⌝ […… …… …… ……] *r rsy*	and his companions […… …… ……] southwards.
15	[…… …] ⌜*nty pḥ*⌝ […… …… ……] ⌜. .⌝	[…… …] who reaches […… …… ……] . .
16	[…… …… …… ……]	[…… …… …… ……]

Col. II (Fig. 3)

1	*pȝ i.ir [sḫ=s n sw … … … …] ⸢.⸣ […. … .]*	is the one who [wrote it on day … … … …] . […. … .]
2	*k.t n ⸢tȝy ḥty⸣ [hb=k] ⸢n=y⸣ [ḏd] pȝ wsṯr⸢br⸣ ⸢pȝ⸣ nty ḏd n=y*	Another. And now [you wrote] to me [as follows]: The *vastrabara* is the one who says to me,
3	*hb ⸢n=y ʿnḥ-Ḥp⸣ [. …] ⸢. .⸣ ⸢irm⸣ nȝy=f iry.w nȝ ⸢rmt⸣[.w] ⸢nty⸣ tȝy ḫrš*	‘Ankhhap (?) has sent (word) to me (?) [. …] . . and his companions, the people who take *ḫrš*.
4	*md(.t) nb nty iw=w (r) ⸢ir=w⸣ […] ⸢…⸣ ⸢irm⸣ nȝ sḥn.w n nȝ/tȝ ⸢…⸣ st*	Everything which will be done […] … and the officials of the […]. They
5	*ḥn-s n=w r ir […. … …] ⸢ʿ.wy⸣ rsy st ⸢ir⸣ sp*	order them to carry out […. … …] southern house. They make (the) remainder.
6	*tȝ dni.t (n) ⸢Pr-ʿȝ.w.s⸣ ⸢nty n⸣ tȝ/nȝ […] ⸢…⸣ […] ⸢nty⸣ ḥn n pȝ sḥn (n) Pr-ʿȝ.w.s ⸢pȝ⸣ ⸢. .⸣ nty ḥry*	The share (of) Pharaoh[l.p.h.] which is in the […] … […] who orders the official (of) Pharaoh[l.p.h.], the . . who is above.
7	*Grgše […. … …] ⸢.⸣ ir=f n nȝ tš.w n ȝršm nty iw=k*	Kṛkiča […. … …] . which (?) he did in the districts of Aršāma, which you will
8	*[f]y di.t rḫ […] ⸢… … ⸣ tws iw hb Grgše*	deliver to cause to know […]…. … Look, now Kṛkiča
9	*irm nȝy=f iry.w nȝ rmt(.w) nty ⸢tȝy ḫrš⸣ pȝ nty iw=f r pḥ r ir=f r.ḥr=n*	and his companions, the people who take *ḫrš*, have sent (word). That which it will be appropriate to do for us is
10	*tȝy ḫrš ⸢i⸣ nȝ ʿ.wy.w (n) ȝr[šm] i.ir=s irm pȝ sḥn n ȝršm*	to take *ḫrš* to the houses of Ar[šāma]. Do it with the official of Aršāma.’
11	*Yṯbr ⸢rḫ pȝy wȝḥ⸣ ⸢Grn⸣mrṯg pȝ i.ir sḫ=s n sw 12*	Yātabara knows this order. Karnamartaka is the one who wrote it on day 12
12	*sy[w]n n ⸢ḥȝ.t-sp⸣ 2.t (n) ⸢Tȝry⸣[whw]⸢ š⸣ʿ.w.s Pr-ʿȝ.w.s*	Sivan of year 2 (of) Dar[iu]s[l.p.h.], Pharaoh[l.p.h.],

4 Textual Notes

4.1 *Col. I*

Line 1

– Assuming that this is year 2 of Darius (cf. col. II. 12), this date would be July 2, 422 BCE.
– *Ḥ.t-nn-nsw*: Although slightly damaged, the reading is certain. For writings of Herakelopolis in demotic, cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 285; *CDD*, *Ḥ*, pp. 26–27.

Line 2

– *sḫ ʾIšwr*:[5] ‘Aramaic writing’, literally ‘script of (As)syria’, was the vehicular language of the Persian empire.[6] The expression is also found in the report on the back of the so-called Demotic Chronicle concerning the instructions by Darius for the collection of the laws of Egypt.[7]
– For the combination of *tȝy* with *šʿ.t.w* to refer to the sending of letters, cf. P. Berlin P. 15617, Ft, lines 6–7, *iw=y r tȝy nȝ šʿ(.t).w … (n) nȝ sr.w*, ‘I will take the letters … (to) the officials’.[8]
– The reading and interpretation of what follows *r tȝy* is a crux. We initially read the first three signs as *ḫyr*, but were not comfortable with the *ḫ*. An alternative, which on balance is now to be preferred, would be *tyr*. The *t* looks to be at a slight angle compared with other

5 The reading ⸢ʾIš⸣*wr* was a suggestion of Joachim Quack at the Demotic Summer School in Munich in August 2018.

6 For the expression *sḫ ʾIšwr*, cf. R.C. STEINER, ‘Why the Aramaic Script was Called “Assyrian” in Hebrew, Greek and Demotic’, *Orientalia* 62 (1993), pp. 80–82; D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, ‘Ägyptische Quellen zum Judentum’, *ZÄS* 132 (2005), p. 151. For the use of the term ‘vehicular language’, cf. the comments of M.C.A. MACDONALD, ‘Babel around Taymā’ and Dūmat’, in: I. GAJDA – F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET (eds), *Arabie – Arabies: volume offert à Christian Julien Robin par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris, 2023), p. 208 n. 6, who points out that *lingua franca* was a ‘specific language which served this purpose, rather than a general term for any language which does so’.

7 For the text, cf. S.L. LIPPERT, ‘La codification des lois en Égypte à l’époque perse’, in: D. JAILLARD – C. NIHAN (eds), *Writing Laws in Antiquity: L’écriture du droit dans l’Antiquité* (BZAR 19, Wiesbaden, 2017), pp. 81–87. For the use of Aramaic as the administrative language of the Persian empire, cf. H. GZELLA, ‘Aramaic Sources’, in: B. JACOBS – R. ROLLINGER (eds), *A Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire* (Hoboken, NJ, 2021), 1, pp. 117–131, with further literature.

8 K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine* (DPB 3, Berlin, 1993).

examples of the letter in the text, but this could be because the scribe has ligatured it with the *y* beneath it. It seems difficult to read the slightly damaged sign or signs after the *r* as a letter and we therefore have to interpret it as a classifier. Is this a slightly distorted writing of the person classifier that is used with foreign names in the papyrus? This of course assumes that we have a personal name here. It could also be seen as a writing of the foreign land sign, but there is no obvious candidate for where this might be.[9] If it is a personal name, one possibility is that it is Old Persian **Tīra-* (Babylonian *Ti-ra-a*), a retrenchment of a compound with the name of the Iranian god Tīr?[10] Name formations with the deity Tīr are numerous in reconstructed Old Iranian.[11] Rather than a proper name, *tyr* might also belong to a title but, if so, there is no obvious candidate in either Egyptian or Old Persian.[12]

Line 3

– The entire line is very faded and the traces and readings uncertain throughout. In addition, the last part of the preceding line is lost so there is no context to guide us.

– *pꜣ brr*: While the *pꜣ* is rubbed and the reading not clear, the following signs can hardly be anything other than *brr*, but any classifier, if there ever was one, is no longer visible. Is this a proper name, *Pꜣ-brr*? Only the name *Bl*, without *pꜣ* and with one *l*, is attested in demotic,[13] but cf. Coptic ⲡⲃⲗⲗⲉ.[14]

– While the *ḥ.t n* is clear, it is not certain whether this is the noun, 'copy', as in line 1, or a prepositional expression. If it is the latter, the question is how to read the signs that precede it, as these do not suit a reading *r-ḥ.t* or *m-ḥ.t*. Possibly this is an abbreviated writing of *ḥr* without its usual dot and oblique stroke, giving *ḥr-ḥ.t n*, 'on'.[15] An alternative possibility would be *ḥr-ḥ.t*, but as far as we are aware this, as a prepositional combination, is not otherwise attested, and in the broken context its meaning is uncertain.

– The broken upper horizontal stroke and long vertical stroke descending below the line would be consistent with a reading *sḫn*, 'command', 'order', or the title 'official', 'administrator' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, pp. 446–447), but there are other possible interpretations, e.g. *tꜣ*, 'earth'. Although the writing of *sḫn*, 'official', differs slightly from the examples in col. ii, this does not present a problem given that the hands are different.

– ⌜*m*⌝*ṯwry*⌜.⌝: The initial sign could also be an *n*. The word, the ending of which is badly rubbed, is written alphabetically. We are, however, unable to identify what Old Iranian or Aramaic title, personal name or even place name may lie behind it. At the end of the line the traces might be *nb*, 'every'. Alternatively, if Khonsuertais son of Padiamun in the next line is the scribe of the text (a suggestion of Damien Agut-Labordère, email 26 March, 2024), this might be a rather rubbed *sḥ*, '(in the) writing (of)' (cf. the verb *sḥ*, col. ii. 12).

Line 5

– *n tꜣy ḥty*: For the reading, cf. line 7 where it is clearly written. Its use here reflects the Aramaic wʿkt, 'and now', as we find in the Pherendates letter (cf. also Aramaic kʿt, 'now'). The sign preceding it must be *wʿ.t*, 'one'; cf. col. ii. 2 which begins with *k.t*, 'another'.

9 Even though there is a superficial resemblance to the Phoenician city of Tyre, Greek Τύρος, we do not consider *Tyr* to be a plausible rendering of this. As far as we are aware, the city is not attested in the demotic material, but in New Kingdom hieroglyphic texts it appears as *Ḏwr*. It is rendered as ṣwr in Hebrew and ṣr in Phoenician (latter reference courtesy of Günter Vittmann, email 27 February, 2024); cf. W. Helck, 'Tyrus', in: *LÄ* 6, cols 817–820.

10 For this deity and his popularity in the Achaemenid period, cf. J. Tavernier, 'Reflections on the Origin and the Early History of Tīr', in: W.H. van Soldt (ed.), *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1–4 July 2002* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 356–371; Idem, 'The Origin and the Early History of Tīr', in: R. Lebrun – E. Van Quickelberghe (eds), *Cosmogonies et religion: aspects particuliers des astres dans les religions de l'antiquité méditerranéenne. Actes du colloque organisé à Louvain-la-Neuve le 3 juin 2016 par le Centre d'Histoire des Religions Cardinal Julien Ries* (HomRel ii 18, Turnhout, 2018), pp. 77–98.

11 Cf. J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 b.c.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts* (ola 158, Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA, 2007), pp. 325–328, nos 4.2.1702–4.2.1717, p. 543.

12 A connection with the Avestan *dri-*, 'carrying' (with metathesis), for which cf. Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 552, perhaps referring to someone who brought the letters, is a possibility but no more than that given the uncertain reading and context.

13 There is a possible hieroglyphic writing *Pꜣ-brr*, but the second letter *r* is probably in error for the eye classifier, as suggested by Ranke, *Personennamen*, 2, p. 174 n. 5.

14 M. Hasitzka, *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (Online pdf Publication, 22 January, 2007), p. 74. Hieroglyphic/demotic *br*/*bl* > Coptic ⲃⲗⲉ; Westendorf, *khw*, pp. 23–24, 494; Černý, *ced*, p. 23; Vycichl, *DictÉtym*, p. 27.

15 For the different writings of the composite preposition *ḥ.t* in early demotic, cf. P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor): les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius ier* (StudDem 4, Leuven, 1994), i, pp. 132–133. For the meaning, 'on', 'upon', cf. G.R. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (saoc 28, Chicago, 1952), p. 49 § l.

– It is possible that the presence of *tws* at the beginning of a letter may reflect the Aramaic H', 'Behold'; cf. the discussion in section 7. 14 below.
– *sny* is written with the dying-warrior classifier, which makes the interpretation of the word as the verb 'to pass by' problematic. It was suggested that rather than a classifier this might be a writing of *ʿn*, 'again', but in this case we would expect it at the end of the clause. There is a writing with this dying-warrior classifier in Onchsheshonqy, but there it has the extended meaning of 'to pass away', 'die' (CDD, *S*, p. 260), which would not be appropriate here.
– The group at the end of the line is the same as that at the beginning of line 6, where the writing is clearer. From the context there it must be a personal name, but the reading is not certain. Our initial preference was that this was a cursive version of *Pꜣ-s-n-mtk*, which can take some abbreviated forms.[16] The initial group after the *Pꜣ* would be a ligature of the *s* and *n*, while the *mtk* is reduced to no more than two oblique strokes and an elaborate person classifier. Vittmann, however (email, 31 January, 2024), expressed considerable doubt about this and pointed out that the writing looks more like the *ḏbꜣ*, 'on account of', in line 6. While *ḏbꜣ* 'on account of', would make no sense as part of a name, there is a homograph noun and verb *ḏbꜣ*, 'the avenger', 'to avenge'. Although this is normally written with the dying-warrior classifier, there is an early demotic example with the book-roll,[17] so we can allow for a change in the classifier (our writing being that of the seated man).[18] While palaeographically this is acceptable, the question is whether there could be a personal name *Pꜣ-ḏbꜣ*. This originally divine epithet, 'the avenger', 'the one who seeks retribution', became a deity in its own right. In due course it is found as a personal name, but to date only in the Greek transcription, Petbês,[19] and not in hieroglyphs or demotic. Although it was particularly popular in the Roman Period and later, there is one probable attestation from the second century BCE.[20] In addition, there are names formed with the plural *nꜣ ḏbꜣ.w*, e.g. *Pa-nꜣ-ḏbꜣ.w* and *Ta-nꜣ-ḏbꜣ*(*.w*), 'He/she of the avenging demons'. As these are found in the Ptolemaic Period,[21] it is not unreasonable to consider that we have here an early example of *Pꜣ-ḏbꜣ* written in demotic. Similar name formations with the element, *ḥt*, the 'avenging demon' or 'combatting demon', are well-attested in demotic and Greek, e.g. *Pꜣ-ḥt*, *Pa-nꜣ-ḥt.w*, Pechutês, Panechatês.[22]

Line 6
– *i-ḏbꜣ=f*: For an identical writing of *ḏbꜣ* in early demotic, cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 620.
– *wḏꜣ*: The reading of the word for 'storehouse' as *wḏꜣ* is to be preferred to that of *rꜣ*.[23]

Line 7
– *ꜣršm*, *Aršāma-*: the name is directly attested in Old Persian, *Ṛšāma-*. As well as demotic it appears in Aramaic (ʾRŠM), Babylonian, Elamite, Lycian and Greek.[24]
– The word after *ss n* begins with a long vertical stroke that descends below the line. This looks rather like the sign for *ḥ*, but none of the words that begin with this

16 LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 212.
17 P. Wien D 12026, line 3, published by G. VITTMANN, 'Zwei demotische Briefe an den Gott Thot', *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 176–181.
18 For this transcription, cf. S.P. VLEEMING, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (*Pap. Hou*)*: A Dossier Relating to Various Agricultural Affairs from Provincial Egypt of the Early Fifth Century B.C.* (StudDem 3, Leuven, 1991), pp. 244–245 § 83, who points out that the writing of the two oblique strokes above the book-roll and the seated man classifier are homographs in early demotic.
19 J. QUAEGEBEUR, 'De l'origine égyptienne du griffon Némésis', in: F. JOUAN (ed.), *Visages du destin dans les mythologies. Mélanges Jacqueline Duchemin. Travaux et mémoires: actes du colloque de Chantilly, 1er–2 mai 1980* (Centre de recherches mythologiques de l'Université de Paris 10, Paris, 1983), pp. 51–52.
20 O. Strasb. 1 518, col. 2. 10. A Ptolemaic example mentioned by QUAEGEBEUR, *op. cit.*, p. 52 n. 2, comes from a reference to the name in the unpublished P. Amherst dem. 1 by W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge* (*Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln „Kufi"*) *nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strassburg, 1917), pp. 296–297 no. 912. However, this appears to be to an attestation of the deity rather than a person. In any case, it is at the moment not easy to check this. The numbering of the Amherst papyri that Spiegelberg used is that of the photographs that were supplied to him by Charles Cheston of the Tyssen Amherst Estate Office in London, not to the order of the catalogue entries first made by Newberry; cf. R.C. STEINER, 'Lord Amherst's Demotic Papyri and Lady Amherst's Mummy', in: N. REGGIANI (ed.), *Miraggi d'eternità: le mummie egizie dal tempo dei papyri ad oggi* (Papyrotheke 16, Parma, 2024), pp. 184–188.
21 LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, I. 1, p. 384, s.v. *pa-nꜣ-tbꜣ.w*, I. 3, p. 1193, s.v. *ta-nꜣ-tbꜣ*.
22 J. QUAEGEBEUR, 'A propos de Teilouteilou, nom magique, et de Têroutêrou, nom de femme', *Enchoria* 4 (1974), pp. 24–26.
23 Following J.F. QUACK, 'Zu einigen demotischen Gruppen umstrittener Lesung oder problematischer Ableitung', in: S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Orthography* (StudDem 11, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2013), pp. 106–111.
24 TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, p. 13 no. 1.2.3, p. 44 no. 2.2.2; R. SCHMITT – G. VITTMANN, *Iranische Namen in ägyptischer Nebenüberlieferung* (IPNB 8, Iranische Onomastik 13, SAWW 842, Vienna, 2013), p. 40 no. 5; TUPLIN, 'The Bodleian Letters: Commentary', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 1, pp. 62–63 n. line 1(2).

seem to fit a clause that should follow 'the time of'. The traces that come after this are too faint to permit any plausible reconstruction.

Line 8

– Initially we had thought of *tš*, 'to determine', 'fix', and by extension 'to schedule a payment', but on closer consideration a reading *thm*, 'to summon', 'invite', 'load',[25] seems a better reading. The following *i.ir* could be the preposition 'to', often used before high-ranking people,[26] the marker of a second tense or, perhaps less likely, an imperative. The faint traces of the rest of the line are illegible.

Line 9

– *i pȝ hrw* seems better than *Pȝ-Rʿ*, despite the vertical sign that looks like a divine classifier. Pre would be strange in a Persian context.
– *n md*(.*t*) does seem to be the most acceptable reading, even though the *n* is rather elaborate. An alternative we considered was *n.im≠w* but on balance it is difficult to justify this. Similar examples of *n md*(.*t*) on its own and not in a nominal compound or with a qualifying adjective do appear in demotic letters and have been translated as 'in any way/matter' or 'on any account' or similar.[27] That the writing of *md*(.*t*) differs from that in col. II. 4, is not a problem, given that the two parts of the text are by different scribes.

Line 10

– *m*[*y*] seems a likely reading for the beginning of the statement after *ḏd*. The *rk* that follows is more speculative, but the initial *r* is clear.

Line 11

– Rather than, *in≠w*, 'bring them', *tȝy≠w*, 'take them', is also possible. Vittmann points out to me (email, 31 January, 2024) that we would expect *.ṯ* before the suffix object, but this is not written.

Line 12

– *Mtr*⌜*ḥe*⌝: Old Iranian **Miθraxa-* (**Miθra-x-a-*).[28] A variant demotic writing of the same name, *Mytrḥȝ*, is also attested in P. Saq. H5-DP 269+284.[29]
– Initially we read the signs after *Mtr*⌜*ḥe*⌝ as *pȝ nty*, but this writing of *nty* would be rather uncial and different to that in line 10. Inspection of the original shows that there is shadow at the edge of the small hole to the right of the word and that *Pȝ-ḏbȝ*, the same name that we find in lines 5 and 6, is better suited to the traces.

Line 13

– Very little of this line is preserved, but the traces just before the lacuna are probably the initial *ḫr* of *ḫrš* which appears in col. II. 3, 9, 10.

Line 14

– *irm nȝy≠f iry.w*, 'and his companions': For a clearer writing of this phrase, which occurs regularly in Aramaic documents, cf. col. II. 3, 9. Its significance is discussed in the commentary below (§ 7. 10).
– The slightly bent vertical stroke after the *rsy* group we take to be part of the classifier of the word.

Line 15

– The traces at the end of the line look like *ḫr*, possibly the particle that introduces the aorist, and do not suit the classifier of a proper name. As col. II. 1 begins with 'the one who', which is the opening of the scribal clause, as in col. II. 11, there was probably another now missing line (or lines) below line 15 of column I.

25 CDD, *T*, pp. 269–270.

26 SPIEGELBERG, *DemGram*, pp. 173–174 § 390; QUACK, *DemGram*, p. 46 § 7.3.

27 J.D. RAY, 'The Voice of Authority: Papyrus Leiden I 382', *JEA* (1999), p. 193 n. c, with the comments of M. DEPAUW, 'Controlling the Perfume Monopoly: A Demotic Letter in Macquarie Referring to a Proxy in Duke', *ZPE* 171 (2009), p. 205 n. 18. P. Berlin P. 13585, line 5, for which cf. K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine* (DPB 3, Berlin, 1993).

28 TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, p. 253 no. 4.2.1125; SCHMITT – VITTMANN, *Iranische Namen in ägyptischer Nebenüberlieferung*, pp. 66–67 no. 35.

29 Originally published by H.S. SMITH – A. KUHRT, 'A Letter to a Foreign General', *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 199–209; for the preferred reading *Mytrḥȝ* rather than *Šytrḥȝ*, cf. H. KLINKOTT, 'Der „Oberste Anweiser der Straße des Pharao Xerxes"', in: R. ROLLINGER – A. LUTHER – J. WIESEHÖFER (eds), *Getrennte Wege? Kommunikation, Raum und Wahrnehmung in der Alten Welt* (Oikumene 2, Frankfurt am Main, 2007), p. 444 n. 99 (citing a comment of J.F. Quack); H.S. SMITH – C.J. MARTIN, 'Demotic Papyri from the Sacred Animal Necropolis of North Saqqara: Certainly or Possibly of Achaemenid Date', in: P. BRIANT – M. CHAUVEAU (eds), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide. Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la « Chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre » et le « Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides »* (*GDR 2538 CNRS*), *9–10 novembre 2007* (Persika 14, Paris, 2009), p. 49.

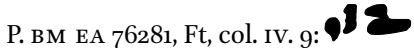
4.2 *Col. II*

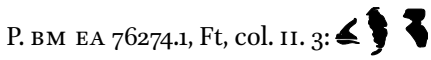
Line 1
– The restoration is based on line 11 below.

Line 2
– *n tȝy ḥty*: For the reading, cf. col. I. 7 where it is clearly written. The beginning of the second letter has a similar structure to the first; cf. col. I. 5.
– [*hb=k*] ⌜*n=y*⌝: The restoration, which follows the wording of col. I. 5, is consistent with the traces.
– *pȝ wsṯr⌜br⌝*: **vastra-bara-* is the Median form of Old Persian *vaça-bara-* (in Darius I's tomb at Naqš-i Rustam)[30] and is regularly attested in Babylonia, *ustarbaru*.[31] The meaning is 'chamberlain', literally 'garment-bearer', and it is found as a marker of status held by individuals involved in the management of royal family estates.[32]

Line 3
– ⌜*nḫ-Ḥp* was a suggestion of Vittmann (email, 31 January, 2024), who noted that the beginning of the name does not present any difficulty, but the first sign of *Ḥp* is quite small and the divine classifier rather high and straight. The preceding *n=y* would not be problematic were it not for the writing at the end of the line above, which shows a large dot at the bottom of the sign (this is often but not always written with *n=y*; cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 196). As it happens, an individual named ⌜*nḫ-Ḥp*, Anchhap, was a *pqyd* on Aršāma's estates (and succeeded by his son Psamtek).[33] The name is too common, however, to speculate that this is the same person.

An alternative reading would be to take this as the first part of the military title *gl-šr*, *kalasiris*, which would be consistent with the early demotic examples in Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 588.[34] This also, however, presents problems, as in the related land survey, P. BM EA 76281, Ft, col. IV. 9, 11, 15, 20, 21, a number of *kalasiries* are mentioned by name, and the writing of the title there differs from that of the papyrus published here. While some variation in the writing of this title in early demotic is attested in other papyri, possibly because the orthography was not yet standardised,[35] in contemporary texts from the same archive this casts doubt over the reading, even though the papyri are by different scribes:

P. BM EA 76281, Ft, col. IV. 9: 

P. BM EA 76274.1, Ft, col. II. 3: 

– Even if the reading *gl-šr* is acceptable, what follows is more problematic. We would expect either a personal name or the nome or temple which they served.[36] As the word begins with a slightly curved sign that could be the letter *m*, a possible reading would be *Mtn*, the name of the nearby 22nd Upper Egyptian nome.[37] The traces of a tall vertical stroke and a large dot at the end of the word do not help in its interpretation, as these would be consistent with both the writing of the place classifier, e.g. *Ḥ.t-nn-nsw* in col. I. 1, and a personal name, e.g. *Pȝ-dî-ʾImn* in col. I. 4.
– *tȝy ḫrš*: also in lines 9 and 10 (and possibly I. 13). There are three words spelt *ḫrš* listed in the dictionaries. Two of these are written with the dying-warrior classifier: (a) 'flaw', 'blemish';[38] (b) 'to break into pieces', 'to press together' (one example with the striking-arm as well as the dying-warrior);[39] and one (c) 'bundle', 'bunch',[40] which is usually provided with the plant classifier. If the

30 R. Schmitt, *Wörterbuch der altpersischen Königsinschriften* (Wiesbaden, 2014), p. 273. Schmitt suggests, email, 4 May, 2018, that rather than Median it might be better to describe **vastra-bara-* as the non-Persian form of the title that was hitherto only known from Babylonia.

31 Tavernier, *Iranica*, pp. 434–435, no. 4.4.7.121; M. Jursa, '«Höflinge» (*ša rēši, ša rēš šarri, ustarbaru*) in babylonischen Quellen des ersten Jahrtausends', in: J. Wiesehöfer – R. Rollinger – G.B. Lanfranchi (eds), *Die Welt des Ktesias* (CLeO 1, Wiesbaden, 2011), pp. 159–173.

32 Martin, 'Persian Estate', in: *New Approaches in Demotic Studies*, pp. 180–181 (where *wsṯr⌜br⌝* is misprinted as *wsṯ⌜br⌝*); Smith – Martin – Tuplin, 'The Egyptian Documents', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 1, p. 296 n. ii.

33 Tuplin, 'The Bodleian Letters: Commentary', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 1, p. 72 n. line 1(11), p. 88; Idem, 'Aršāma: Prince and Satrap', in: *op. cit.*, 3, pp. 20–21.

34 Cf. also Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, p. 197.

35 Cf. the comments of G. Vittmann, 'Kursivhieratische und frühdemotische Miszellen', *Enchoria* 25 (1999), pp. 120–123.

36 On the *kalasiries* and their role in Late Period and Ptolemaic Egypt, cf. the comments of J.K. Winnicki, 'Die Kalasirier der spätdynastischen und der ptolemäischen Zeit', *Historia* 26 (1977), pp. 257–268; 'Zwei Studien über die Kalasirier', *OLP* 17 (1986), pp. 17–32; *Late Egypt and her Neighbours: Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC* (JJP Suppl. 12, Warsaw, 2009), pp. 92–94; C. Fischer-Bovet, 'Egyptian Warriors: the Machimoi of Herodotus and the Ptolemaic Army', *ClassQuart* 63 (2013), pp. 209–236.

37 H. Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts from the 8th Century BC till the 5th Century AD* (TOP 5, 2011), p. 390, Medenit.

38 Erichsen, *Glossar*, p, 367, *CDD*, *Ḫ*, p. 148.

39 Erichsen, *Glossar*, p, 367, *CDD*, *Ḫ*, p. 149; cf. also the discussion by G. Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (ÄAT 38, Wiesbaden, 1998), 2, pp. 630–631 n. Zeile 5.

40 Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 367; *CDD*, *Ḫ*, pp. 147–148.

'bundle' in question was of agricultural produce, the replacement of the plant classifier by the striking-arm could be explained by the fact that we are dealing with seeds or cereals of some kind that had been prepared for consumption (note that in col. I. 6, there is a reference to a granary). However, Damien Agut-Labordère draws my attention to a noun *ḳrš* in the demotic receipts from ʿAyn Manâwir and Qasr el-Zayyan, which is also written with the striking-arm classifier.[41] In these receipts, *ḳrš* is usually preceded by the preposition *r* and followed by an ordinal number, either *mḥ-1*, 'first' (most often), or *mḥ-2*, 'second', which Agut-Labordère, in deriving this substantive from the verb *ḫrš*, 'to press together', suggests may refer to the payment due for using a pressing or grinding device to crush oleaginous seeds. The receipts were therefore probably issued as proof that the harvest had been brought to the mill.[42] The *ḳrš* of these receipts is very likely the same word as the *ḫrš* of our text, for the change *ḫ* > *ḳ* is also attested in other words and does not present any phonetic problems.[43] If *ḳrš*/*ḫrš* denotes some form of tax,[44] the *t̲ȝy ḫrš* in the BM papyrus could, therefore, refer to the collection of this. In column II of the papyrus it is stated that this is to be made to the 'houses' of Aršāma. As 'houses' is in the plural, this must be more than just his simple abode, and we would suggest that what lies behind this expression may be the payment to the satrap of the taxes/rent by the tenants/fief-holders on his estate.[45] This would be separate to the payment of taxes to the king, which is the *dnỉ.t* of Pharaoh in line 6 below. The payment of taxes to the satrap's estate is mentioned in one of the Aršāma Bodleian letters (*TAD* A6. 11. 5–6).[46] In the Kharga receipts the *ḫrš* appear to be specifically connected to the crushing of oleaginous seeds, although Agut-Labordère does not rule out the possibility that it refers to the repeated grindings of cereals. In the BM papyrus it is perhaps more likely that it is the latter here and that we are dealing with grains in general rather than just oil. The *ḫrš* would then be the term for the taxes/rent that are to be paid in grain after threshing (and presumably also winnowing).[47] The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica* records that there were six different categories of satrapal income and that two of these were levied on agricultural production (in Greek these were called *ekphorion* and *dekatē*).[48]

Günter Vittmann has drawn my attention to another example of the same expression *nty ỉw t̲ȝy ḫrš* in the scribal exercise text, P. Berlin P. 13639, line 3.[49] It is written here with the dying-warrior classifier, as well as another sign of uncertain identification. The preceding and following lines are concerned with agricultural matters, so despite the different classifier, which may just have been borrowed from *ḫrš*, 'fault',[50] the context would suggest we have the same expression. Regrettably, the word immediately before it is not clear, but it does appear to be preceded by the masculine singular definite article. Following the clause is written *r-ḏbȝ.t̲=w*, the antecedent of which might be the 'fields of Pharaoh' in the line above.

Line 4

– *ỉr=w* is a probable reading; cf. the writing of *ỉr* directly below in line 5.

41 O. Man. NP 794 and 816. I am most grateful to Damien Agut-Labordère for providing me with images of these two unpublished ostraca (email, 26 March, 2024).

42 D. AGUT-LABORDÈRE, 'What Remains in the Hands of the Gods: Taxation in Kharga Oasis through the Demotic Ostraca (Fifth Century BC to First Century AD)', in: R.S. BAGNALL – G. TALLET (eds), *The Great Oasis of Egypt: The Kharga and Dakhla Oases in Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 130–131.

43 G. VITTMANN, 'Bemerkungen zu spätzeitlichen Objekten in Frankfurt', *GM* 141 (1994), pp. 101–102; VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2, p. 632; C. PEUST, *Egyptian Phonology* (MonÄS 2, Göttingen, 1999), pp. 118–119 § 3.8.5.

44 For this meaning of *t̲ȝy*, cf. *CDD*, *T*, p. 2.

45 The division of taxes between the king and the satrap is one of the subjects discussed in the Pseudo-Aristotelian, *Oeconomica*. For the role of the satrap in the collection of taxes, cf. H. KLINKOTT, *Der Satrap: Ein achaimenidischer Amtsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume* (Oikumene 1, Frankfurt am Main, 2005), pp. 204–213; J. HACKL – K. RUFFING, 'Taxes and Tributes', in: B. JACOBS – R. ROLLINGER (eds), *A Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire* (Hoboken, NJ, 2021), 2, pp. 969–972; J. MA, 'Aršāma the Vampire', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 3, pp. 195–204.

46 Cf. the discussion by TUPLIN, 'The Bodleian Letters: Commentary', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 1, pp. 212–214 n. line 5(4), 6(1).

47 M.A. MURRAY, 'Cereal Production and Processing', in: P.T. NICHOLSON – I. SHAW (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 524–526.

48 Cf. HACKL – RUFFING, 'Taxes and Tributes', in: *Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire*, 2, p. 970.

49 Published by W. ERICHSEN, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung in demotischer Schrift* (DVSM 31. 4, Copenhagen, 1948), with comments and corrections by L. PRADA, 'Egyptian Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: A Take from the Fayum – School Textbooks and *P.Schulübung* Revisited', in: M.-P. CHAUFRAY – I. GUERMEUR – S. LIPPERT – V. RONDOT (eds), *Fayoum: Archéologie – Histoire – Religion. Actes du sixième colloque international Montpellier, 26–28 octobre 2016* (Wiesbaden, 2018), pp. 101–128.

50 Or possibly it is just reinterpreted. Cf. the example of *sḳȝ*, 'to plough', used adjectivally and written with this group where it renders the cow classifier; cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p, 467, for a facsimile which is taken from P. Rylands 8, line 2. The translation by 'Schaden', in ERICHSEN, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung*, p. 7, was presumably influenced by the classifier.

– *sḫn*, 'official', is a title with a wide range of meanings, including administrative, financial, military and judicial.[51] It appears three times in our text (possibly four, if the suggested reading in col. I. 3 is correct). Here in line 4 it is in the plural *sḫn.w* but what follows is damaged (cf. next note). In line 6 it is the *sḫn* of Pharaoh and in line 10 the *sḫn* of Aršāma. It is an attractive possibility that this is the demotic rendering of the Aramaic title PQYD, Neo-Babylonian *paqdu*, which would in the context mean estate-manager.[52] Whether there was just one estate-manager at a time or whether there were separate appointments for Lower and Upper Egypt is uncertain. Three individuals with Egyptian names are attested as estate-managers in the Aramaic papyri: Anchhap, Psamtek and Nachthor.[53]
– The damaged word after *sḫn.w* appears to end with the place classifier, but this could also be the plural marker and then a dot. While further on there are references to the 'official of Pharaoh' (line 6) and 'official of Aršāma' (line 10), the presence of the following definite article rules both of these out here. The apparent dot with which the word begins and the vertical stroke and dot at the end would be consistent with early demotic writings of *ꜣḫ*,[54] so a plausible restoration in the context would be *ꜣḫ(.w)*, 'fields'.

Line 5
– Of *ꜥ.wy*, 'house', only the building classifier and preceding vertical stroke are preserved, but these are consistent with the clear writing in line 10 below.
– The reading of what follows *st* is problematic. The *sp* seems plausible, but is this *ỉr* that precedes it? Note the space after *sp*. This would suggest that it is the end of the sentence, and there are no traces of ink following it that would indicate that some text has been rubbed off. This does, however, mean that the *tꜣ dnỉ.t* at the beginning of the next line must start a new sentence.

Line 6
– ⌜*Pr-ꜥꜣꜥ.w.s.*⌝: Although the writing of the beginning of the word is rubbed, the opening cartouche and final *ꜥ.w.s.* are clear; cf. the writing further along the line.
– For the writing of *pꜣ* after *Pr-ꜥꜣꜥ.w.s.*, cf. the example before *sḫn* in line 10.
– How to interpret the signs at the end of the line is problematic. The tall vertical stroke looks exactly like the man-with-hand-to-mouth classifier, as for example in *md*(*.t*) at the beginning of line 4. This seems a more plausible reading than taking it as the letter *s* (our scribe forms this quite differently, e.g. in *sḫn* in lines 4, 10, *st* in lines 4, 5). The preceding signs look like an otherwise unattested word *nḳ*. Or is this a writing of *rn*, 'name', 'list'? For what follows, *nty ḫry*, 'which is above', seems acceptable, but the meaning of the whole expression, given the uncertainty of the readings, is difficult to disentangle.

Line 7
– *Grgše*: This may be a rendering of Old Iranian **Kṛkiča-*, *ička-* extension of **Kṛka-* with hypocoristic suffix, 'the cock', or 'cockerel'.[55] Diether Schürr has suggested that Persian *karka-*/*kṛka-*, 'cock', is a nickname for the Carians because of their use of cockscomb helmets.[56]
– *tš.w*: The demotic term can have a range of meanings and is usually translated as 'nome' or 'district',[57] but here it is likely that it refers to the 'estates' of Aršāma. These were located in both the north and south of Egypt and were managed by administrators called PQYD in Aramaic and *paqdu* in Neo-Babylonian (cf. col. II. 4 note above).[58]
– The trace of ink at the end of the line after *ỉw=k* we take to be just a space marker, given that the verbal predicate follows at the beginning of the next line.

Line 8
– On the *tws ỉw* clause as a subordinating conjunction and the difference in meaning between this and *tws* alone (in col. I. 5 only *tws* is written), cf. the discussion by VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2, pp. 274–279.

51 Cf. the comments of VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2, pp. 479–480. n. Zeile 3.

52 MARTIN, 'Persian Estate', in: *New Approaches in Demotic Studies*, p. 180; TUPLIN, 'The Bodleian Letters: Commentary', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 1, pp. 91–95 n. line 2(1); SMITH – MARTIN – TUPLIN, 'The Egyptian Documents', in: *op. cit*, 1, p. 296 n. i; TUPLIN, 'Aršāma: Prince and Satrap', in: *op. cit.*, 3, pp. 52–57.

53 TUPLIN, 'The Bodleian Letters: Commentary', in: *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 91–92 n. line 2(1).

54 For early demotic writings of *ꜣḫ*, cf. VLEEMING, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, pp. 239–241 § 77.

55 TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, p. 232 no. 4.2.984.

56 D. SCHÜRR, 'Anmerkungen zum Namen der Karer', *Gephyra* 16 (2018), pp. 13–17. Schürr also points out that this nickname is noted by Plutarch in his biography of Artaxerxes I: 'Thus, Cyrus fell, as some say, by a wound at the hands of the king, but as sundry others have it, from the blow of a Carian, who was rewarded by the king for this exploit with the privilege of always carrying a golden cock upon his spear in front of the line during an expedition; for the Persians call the Carians themselves cocks, because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets' (trans. Loeb edition).

57 *CDD*, *T*, pp. 296–300.

58 TUPLIN, 'Prince and Satrap', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 3, pp. 52–61.

– *hb* is written with the running-legs classifier.[59]

Line 11

– *Yṯbr*: The same Old Persian name, **Yātabara-*, but a different person is attested in P. Berlin P. 13540, line 8, from the Pherendates letter.[60] It was originally read there as *ʾIṯbr* or *ʾIebr*, but this was later emended to *Sṯbr*, which has remained the accepted reading. This would be a reconstructed Old Iranian **Satabara-*, but its interpretation has proved to be problematic.[61] While the first letter of the name in the Berlin papyrus could be either *S* or *ʾI*, in the papyrus published here the reading *ʾI* seems inescapable. Our scribe clearly differentiates these two letters and he writes the third stroke of *s* with a distinct angle bracket, while the *y* is formed with a vertical stroke. Compare, for example, the writing of *s* in *wsṯr*⌜*br*⌝ in col. II. 2 and *s* and *y* in *sy*[*w*]*n* in line 12 below. If the name, therefore, is to be read *ʾIṯbr*, this should be reconstructed as **Yāta-bara-* or **Yatabara-*. While *bara-*, 'bearing',[62] is a regular component of Old Persian personal names, the meaning of **yāta-* is not clear. TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, p. 489, suggested a connection with Avestan *yāta-*, 'share', 'possession'. Alternatively, cf. Old Indian *yáti-*, 'control', 'guidance' (Avestan *yati-*).[63]
– Was the space between *Yṯbr* and *rḫ* blank or should we restore *ỉr* to form *ỉr-rḫ*? Demotic usually differentiates *ỉr-rḫ*, 'to know', from *rḫ*, 'to be able',[64] and we would expect the former to be written here. There does not, however, appear to be anything between the two words. In the Pherendates letter the scribe had written *ỉ.rḫ*, which Hughes, in his re-edition, interpreted as an early demotic form of *ỉr-rḫ*, 'to know'.[65]
– *pȝy wȝḥ*: The ink is faded, but the reading is supported by the identical expression in the Pherendates Letter, line 9, which also shows a rather small writing of the *wȝḥ*.[66] While demotic *wȝḥ* can be translated as 'answer' or 'order', it is the latter that is appropriate here, rendering Aramaic ṬʿM, 'order'.
– ⌜*Grn*⌝*mrṯg*: The reading of the first part of this name is uncertain. The rather blotchy opening sign looks like the letter *G*, as in *Grgše* in II. 7 and II. 8, but an aleph might also be considered. The *r* is problematic, as little is still visible. For the next sign only *n* seems possible, given that what follows must be *m* (our scribe consistently differentiates *š* from *m* through the small loop at the top of the sign and this is absent here; cf. the writing in *ȝršm* above). An alternative approach of splitting it into two names does not, on balance, seem acceptable, as it is difficult to see the sign preceding the *m* as a classifier. In addition, the letters are written very close together, which suggests that the scribe considered it as one word. While the name looks Iranian, its construction resists any acceptable explanation. If it is correctly read, it must be a compound with the junction after the *n*, **Grn-mrṯg-*. Schmitt points out that the second component, *mrṯg*, could be identified with Old Iranian **Marta-ka* (reflected by Middle Persian *Mltky*/ Mardag), a hypocoristic to **marta-*, 'mortal', but this is not attested as the second element of a compound and does not seem plausible in this context.[67] For *Grn-* it is even more difficult to see a remotely acceptable relationship with any Iranian word.[68]

Line 12

– *sywn* is the Judean-Babylonian month name Sivan, which is also attested in demotic in the Lunar-Omina papyrus in Vienna.[69] The original Aramaic letter followed the Babylonian calendar, and the translator had not changed this to the Egyptian. The Pherendates letter, P. Berlin P. 13540, on the other hand, was dated according to the Egyptian calendar. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that the scribe had translated the

59 For similar examples, cf. *CDD*, *H*, pp. 30–33.
60 C.J. MARTIN, 'The Demotic Texts', in: *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, pp. 291–292, but correcting Šatibara to *Satabara.
61 Cf. the comments of TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, pp. 488–489, no. 5.3.2.172, and SCHMITT – VITTMANN, *Iranische Namen in ägyptischer Nebenüberlieferung*, pp. 85–86, no. 54.
62 R.G. KENT, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (2nd edition, AOS 33, New Haven, Connecticut, 1953), p. 200; TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, pp. 549, 579.
63 Mentioned by TAVERNIER, *Iranica*, p. 408, s.v. *Hamyati-, no. 4.4.3.3.
64 J.H. JOHNSON, *The Demotic Verbal System* (SAOC 38, Chicago, 1976), p. 24.
65 HUGHES, 'The So-called Pherendates Correspondence', in: *Grammata Demotika*, p. 83 n. v. For other examples of this early form of the participle, cf. QUACK, *DemGram*, pp. 99–100 § 12. II. 3. 2.
66 For the image of the papyrus, cf. W. SPIEGELBERG, *Drei demotische Schreiben aus der Korrespondenz des Pherendates, des Satrapen Darius' I., mit den Chnumpriestern von Elephantine* (SPAW philos.-hist. KL. 300, Berlin, 1928), pl. 4.
67 Email, 4 May, 2018.
68 Phonetically Schmitt notes that this could be understood as Old Iranian **karna-*, 'ear', but this does not lead to any convincing meaning. For Avestan *karəna-*, which corresponds to Sanskrit *karṇa-*, 'ear', cf. T. BURROWS, 'The Proto-Indoaryans', *JRASGBI* 1973/2 (1973), p. 132; R. SCHMITT, *Iranische Namen in Nebenüberlieferungen indogermanischer Sprachen*, 5a: *Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander D. Gr.* (IPNB 5, Iranische Onomastik 9, SAWW 823, Vienna, 2011), pp. 215–216, s.v. no. 176, Κρανάσπης.
69 R.A. PARKER, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina* (BES 2, Providence, 1959), p. 22 col. IV. 11 (misread as *šywn*).

date there, as the Aramaic original may have used the Egyptian calendar, particularly as it was written with the intention of being rendered into demotic for the priests.[70] Babylonian month names rarely appear in demotic administrative texts, only one other example being attested to date, Tammuz (*ṯmṯs*) in P. Berlin P. 15625 from Elephantine.[71]

– Only faint traces remain of *ḥ3.t-sp*. The 2.*t* is certain and in the context we would expect the word for 'year'. The date follows the Aramaic formula, i.e. day, month, year, unlike the Egyptian which uses the reverse order – year, month, day.[72] This dates the letter to 9 June 422 BCE. The date in the introduction, which is when the compilation of the two letters was written, is 23 days later than this.

– ⌜*T3ry*⌝[*whw*]⌜ *š*⌝*r.w.s*: Only the damaged beginning of the name and the final *š* are preserved, but the opening and end of the cartouche are clear. The first part of the name is written, as often in demotic, with the *t3* group above the *r* (*t3* is for *t*, written with the 'land' sign).[73] The examples of the demotic forms of the name in the lists published by Vittmann and Cruz-Uribe (see footnote 73) would appear to be too short to fill the lacuna in our text, but a longer form, *T3rywhwš*, is attested in an ostracon from ʿAyn Manâwir, O. Man. 4162,[74] in the Mother of Apis stela no. 48,[75] and with *Ṯ* rather than *T3* in two demotic papyri from North Saqqara (all referring to Darius II).[76] This writing would be appropriate for the space here (note the short oblique sign on our papyrus just before the lacuna that could be the third stroke of the *y*). After the cartouche there are traces of ink which we interpret as the honorific *ʿ.w.s*. This is present in O. Man. 4162 but not in any of the demotic writings from the texts in the lists of Vittmann and Cruz-Uribe.[77] The order 'Darius Pharaoh' follows the Aramaic style, as we also find in the Pherendates letter, rather than the usual demotic, which would write 'Pharaoh Darius'.[78]

5 Date

As the second letter is dated to regnal-year 2 of Darius II, we have assumed that the date in line 1 of col. I, which mentions only the month and day, belongs to the same year. This would accordingly be 2 July 422 BCE, which is 23 days later than the date of the second letter, 9 June (the date of the first letter is lost or possibly was never recorded). As the date in the introduction is that of the compilation of the two letters, a gap of less than a month seems quite reasonable. The introduction uses an Egyptian style date, while the letter follows that of the Babylonian. In the other texts from the Aršāma demotic administrative archive the year dates that are mentioned are 6, 13 and 14 (419–418 BCE, 412–411 BCE and 411–410 BCE).[79]

6 Location

Although there is no information about where the papyri were found, internal evidence suggests that this was in Herakleopolis or its immediate vicinity. Herakleopolis is mentioned in the first line of the text, as well as in two of the other related demotic papyri. There is also a reference in P. BM EA 76282 to the temple-domain of Herishef, the principal deity of Herakleopolis.[80]

70 In Aramaic private letters it is not unusual for the Egyptian calendar to be followed. Official letters, however, used the Babylonian; cf. PORTEN et al. (eds), *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, p. 110 n. 31.

71 This is concerned with the distribution of beer and wheat and the recipients include a number of people with Judean names; cf. K.-Th. ZAUZICH, 'Jüdische Namen in einer demotischen Bier- und Weizenzuteilung aus Elephantine', in: B. BRYAN – M. SMITH – C. DI CERBO – M. ESCOLANO-POVEDA – J.S. WALLER (eds), *One Who Loves Knowledge: Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow* (MVCAE 6, Columbus, GA, 2022), pp. 509–513.

72 Cf. PORTEN et al. (eds), *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, p. 82.

73 For the demotic writings of Darius, cf. the lists published by G. VITTMANN, 'Bemerkungen zu einem frühdemotischen Papyrusfragment in Kairo (CG 31241)', *GM* 115 (1990), pp. 107–111; E. CRUZ-URIBE, 'The Writing of the Name of King Darius', *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 5–10.

74 D. AGUT-LABORDÈRE – M. CHAUVEAU, 'La chasse aux *kémis* dans l'Oasis de Kharga à l'époque perse (O. Man. 4162 et 4164)', *CENiM* 11 (2015), pp. 2, 15 (correcting *T* to *T3* in the edition); cf. also G. VITTMANN, 'Iranisches Sprachgut in ägyptischer Überlieferung', in: T. SCHNEIDER (ed.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens Nordafrikas und der Ägais: Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum ägyptisch-nichtsemitischen Sprachkontakt Basel 9.–11. Juli 2003* (AOAT 310, Münster, 2004), p. 163 (correcting, n. 156, Ostrakon 1662 to Ostrakon 4162).

75 For this correction to the *ed. princ.*, cf. G. VITTMANN, 'Review: Smith – Andrews – Davies, *Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara: The Mother of Apis Inscriptions*', *BiOr* 69 (2012), col. 463.

76 Cf. the comments of SMITH – MARTIN, 'Demotic Papyri from the Sacred Animal Necropolis of North Saqqara', in: *Organisation des pouvoirs*, p. 28 n. 11 (the two examples of this writing of Darius II are in text 2, Ft, line x+7; text 3, Bk, line 1).

77 It is also present, albeit slightly damaged, in the writing in the opening line of P. Rylands 9; cf. the hieroglyphic transcription in VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 1, p. 1.

78 Cf. MARTIN, 'The Demotic Texts', in: *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, p. 292 n. 11.

79 MARTIN, 'Persian Estate', in: *New Approaches in Demotic Studies*, p. 183.

80 In other papyri from the demotic archive there are three place-names mentioned, but these have not to date been identified

7 Aramaic in the Demotic

In the introduction (line 2 after the date) it is stated that the papyrus contains demotic translations of letters written in Aramaic: 'Copy of the letters in Aramaic writing'. This contrasts with the Pherendates letter, which makes no reference to an Aramaic original, but its peculiar demotic idiom shows it to be a clause-by-clause translation. The reason for the difference is explicable in that the latter is an actual letter, while the BM text is a report containing the content of two letters.

The text contains a series of names that are Old Iranian:

1. *ꜣršm*, *Aršāma-*: directly attested in Old Persian, *Ṛšāma-*; cf. cf. I. 7 note.
2. *Mtr⌜ḫe⌝*, **Miϑraxa-*: Old Iranian **Miϑraxa-* (**Miϑra-x-a-*); cf. I. 12 note.
3. *Grgše*, **Kṛkiča-*: Old Iranian **Kṛkiča-, ičа-* extension of **Kṛka-* with hypocoristic suffix, 'the cock', or 'cockerel'; cf. II. 7 note.
4. *Yṯbr*, **Yātabara-*: this should be reconstructed as **Yāta-bara-* or similar; cf. II. 11 note.

There is one title:

5. *wsṯr⌜br⌝*), 'chamberlain': **vastra-bara-* is the Median form of Old Persian *vaça-bara-*; cf. II. 2 note.

And the name of a month:

6. *sy*[*w*]*n*, Sivan: this is the Judean-Babylonian month name; cf. II. 12 note.

In addition, names whose reading is uncertain but which appear to be Old Iranian are:

7. *⌜Tyr⌝*, **Tira-*: this is possibly a retrenchment of a compound **Tira-*, with the name of the deity Tir; cf. I. 2 note.
8. *⌜Grn⌝mrṯg*, **Karnamartaka-*: Presumably a compound **Grn-mrṯg-*, but its interpretation is problematic; cf. II. 11 note.

There are also a series of phrases that reflect the style of the Aramaic original. These include:

9. *n tzy ḥṯy*, 'at this moment', 'now' (col. I. 5, 7, II. 2), is a translation of WKʿT/KʿT, which is a feature of Aramaic epistolary style.[81] It is also attested in the Pherendates letter, P. Berlin P. 13540, lines 1, 3–4, 6.[82]
10. *ỉrm nzy=f ỉry.w*, 'and his companions' (col. I. 14, II. 3, 9), is a demotic rendering of the Aramaic phrase WKNWTH, which appears frequently in Achaemenid period texts in connection with officials from various government departments.[83] It occurs five times in the Aršāma demotic papyrus from North Saqqara,[84] as well as in the Aramaic papyri,[85] and also in Babylonian and Elamite texts (a calque on the reconstructed Old Persian expression **haxāya-šai-*).[86]
11. Of particular significance is the structure of the letter subscript:
    - *Yṯbr rḫ pzy wꜣḥ⌝*, 'Yātabara knows this order', renders the first part of the regular letter-subscripts of the Aramaic: cf. for example *TAD* A6. 11, line 6, 'Artāvahyā knows this order'.[87]
    - *⌜Grn⌝mrṯg pꜣ ỉ.ỉr sḫ=s*, 'Karnamartaka is the one who wrote it', is the second element: cf. *TAD* A6. 11, line 6, 'Rāšta is the scribe'.

These subscripts are found frequently in the Aršāma correspondence (*TAD* A6. 8, line 4; A6. 9, line 6; A6. 10, line 10; A6. 11, line 6; A6. 12, line 3; and A6. 13, line 5). In the Pherendates letter, a third official is named, as follows:

- 1st official: *Yṯbr ỉ.rḫ pzy wꜣḥ*, 'Yātabara knows this order'.
- 2nd official: *Pzy=f-tzw-ʿ.wy-Nỉ.t pꜣ ỉ.ỉr sḫ tzy šʿ.t*, 'Payeftjauawynit is the one who wrote this letter'.
- 3rd official: *sḫ Wꜣḥ-ỉb-Rʿ n ḥz.t-sp 30 ꜣbd-4 ꜣḫ.t sw 29*, 'Wrote Wahibre in year 30, 4th month of *achet*, day 29'.

In both the British Museum and Pherendates letter the first-named individual has an Iranian name. In the British Museum text the second writer has an Iranian name, but in the Pherendates text it is Egyptian. The procedure for the composition of the letter subscripts would be as

with any known localities; cf. MARTIN, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

81 TUPLIN, 'The Bodleian Letters: Commentary', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 1, pp. 67–68 n. line 1(7); SMITH – MARTIN – TUPLIN, 'The Egyptian Documents', in: *op. cit.*, p. 297 n. 5. i.

82 MARTIN, 'The Demotic Texts', in: *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, p. 291 n. 3.

83 MARTIN, 'A Persian Real Estate', in: *New Approaches in Demotic Studies*, p. 182; TUPLIN, 'The Bodleian Letters: Commentary', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 1, pp. 85–86 n. 7(2); SMITH – MARTIN – TUPLIN, 'The Egyptian Documents', in: *op. cit.*, p. 296 n. 4. iii.

84 SMITH – MARTIN, 'Demotic Papyri from the Sacred Animal Necropolis of North Saqqara', in: *Organisation des pouvoirs*, pp. 31–39 text 4, Ft, col. I. 4, 6, Bk, II. 7, 11, 12.

85 J.B. SEGAL, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra: With Some Fragments in Phoenician* (EES TEM 6, London, 1983), pp. 49–51 text 30, p. 98 text 79, p. 116 text 123; A. LEMAIRE – M. CHAUVEAU, 'Nouveaux textes démotiques et araméens trouvés à Saqqarah', *CRAIBL* 2008, pp. 142–143.

86 J. TAVERNIER, 'The Use of Languages on the Various Levels of Administration in the Achaemenid Empire', in: B. JACOBS – W.F.M. HENKELMAN – M.W. STOLPER (eds), *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich* (CLeO 17, Wiesbaden, 2017), p. 347; J. TAVERNIER, 'Persian in Official Documents and the Process of Multilingual Administration', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 3, pp. 86–87; T. SCHNEIDER, *Language Contact in Ancient Egypt* (EQÄ 16, Berlin, 2023), pp. 108, 132.

87 It is also present in the Aršāma demotic papyrus from North Saqqara; cf. SMITH – MARTIN, 'Demotic Papyri from the Sacred Animal Necropolis of North Saqqara', in: *Organisation des pouvoirs*, p. 37, line 3 note.

follows (based on the analysis of Tavernier).[88] An official gives an order in Old Persian to the first-named individual. This 'order' is then passed orally to the second official, the *sepīru*, who translates it and provides a written version in Aramaic. When a third language is involved, as with the Pherendates letter, a local scribe makes a copy in that language. As the British Museum text is a report containing the text of two letters, there was no need to add the name of the local scribes at the end of each letter. The names of the two officials involved with the first letter are presumably lost in the lacuna at the end of col. I and the damaged first line of col. II.

12. The text uses the Babylonian calendar and records that the letter was written in the month of Sivan (col. II. 11–12). The translator had not changed this to the Egyptian calendar. In addition, the sequence of day, month, year, follows the order of the Aramaic texts (Egyptian writes year, month, day).
13. The sequence 'Darius$^{l.p.h.}$ Pharaoh$^{l.p.h.}$' (col. II. 12) follows the Aramaic style, as we also find in the Pherendates letter. A demotic text would write 'Pharaoh$^{l.p.h.}$ Darius$^{l.p.h.}$'.
14. *n tꜣy ḥty hb≠k n≠y dy ḏd tws* (col. I. 5), 'And now, you wrote to me here, as follows: Look'. It has been suggested that the presence of *tws* at the beginning of the letter may reflect the Aramaic הא, 'Behold', which is found in two of the Aršāma letters, as well as more informal letters written by non-Persians.[89] However, as the phrase is widely used in demotic and there are examples where it appears in the introductory section of letters, this may only be coincidence.[90]

88 J. Tavernier, 'Multilingualism in the Fortification and Treasury Archives', in: P. Briant – W.F.M. Henkelman – M.W. Stolper (eds), *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: état des questions et perspectives de recherches. Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la « Chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre » et le « Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides »* (*GDR 2538 CNRS*), *3–4 novembre 2006* (Persika 12, Paris, 2008), pp. 59–86; Tavernier, 'The Use of Languages', in: *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich*, pp. 355–360; Tavernier, 'Persian in Official Documents', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 3, pp. 87–96.

89 Smith – Martin – Tuplin, 'The Egyptian Documents', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 1, p. 297 n. 5. ii.

90 Cf. e.g. P. Loeb 8, line 2, and 9, line 3 (both papyri by the same addressor), published by W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb* (Munich, 1931); Trinity College 354/2, line 3, published by W. Clarysse – M. Depauw, 'Two Demotic Letters from a Village Scribe of Alexandrou Nesos', in: H. Knuf – C. Leitz – D. von Recklinghausen (eds), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (OLA 194, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2010), pp. 150–151.

8 Content and Conclusions

This papyrus, written in Herakleopolis on 2 July 422 BCE, records the text of two letters which it states were translated from Aramaic into demotic. There are two columns of text. Column I begins with an introductory section of four lines: there is then a space before the beginning of the text of the first letter of 12 lines (col. I. 5–15 and col. II. 1) and a further space before the second column of 11 lines. The papyrus is torn at the bottom and we can see from the context that at least one line of the first text is lost. The introductory section is badly damaged and little, apart from the date, location and statement of the translation, can be read with confidence. There is a reference to these letters being taken by an individual with a possibly Iranian name, and in the last line mention is made of an Egyptian, Khonsuertais son of Padiamun, who may have been the writer of the document or perhaps the translator of the Aramaic into demotic.

As a result of the damage and the lacunae, we have no continuous text for either letter. All that can be said with certainty of text 1 is that it refers to the loading of something at the storehouse (or granary) of Aršāma (line 6) and unloading (line 8). The Aramaic expression 'and now' appears twice (lines 5 and 7). There is also a mention of 'deliveries for today' (line 9) and there is a reference to someone or something coming or being brought southwards. One Persian individual, Miθraxa, is mentioned by name. The letter was probably structured to conclude, like the second letter, with a two-part subscript and a date, but only a couple of words of this remains.

The second letter begins with a reference to earlier correspondence in which the speaker reports the instructions that he had received from a Persian official, a *vastrabara*, and then switches – by line 7 – to addressing the recipient. The initial report referred to an individual (the name is in lacuna but may be the Persian official Kṛkiča who is mentioned later in lines 7 and 8) and to 'his companions', who are 'the people who take *ḫrš*'. In lines 9 and 10 it is stated that the *ḫrš* should be taken to the 'houses' (note the plural) of Aršāma and that both writer and recipient are to be responsible for this ('that which it is appropriate to do for us is to take *ḫrš* to the houses of Aršāma'). If the suggestion given above (col. II. 3 note) is correct, *ḫrš* would be the rent or taxes that are to be paid in kind to the satrap's estate. The delivery of these plays a central role in the text, being mentioned three or four times. The letter states that the 'official of Aršāma', who may be his estate-manager, the *pqyd*, should be involved in this. Other sections of the letter refer to an 'official of

Pharaoh' and to a group of 'officials' (their affiliation is in lacuna). In line 6 the 'share of Pharaoh' may be a reference to the payments due to the king (it is in this same line that 'the official of Pharaoh' is mentioned). A further support for the possibility that we are looking at correspondence concerned with the payment of taxes is the mention of the 'districts' (demotic *tš.w*) of Aršāma, which in the context is likely to mean his estates. The letter concludes with a two-part subscript, which names the Persian officials involved and the date, which is written in accordance with the Babylonian calendar.

This letter is unique in the archive. The other demotic texts are predominately land surveys and land measurements. These specify the sizes of the plots, which are typically quite small, between two and six arouras, and the names of the individuals responsible for the cultivation. They are not, however, just land surveys as administrative reports are interspersed with the measurements and holdings. The names of the cultivators appear to be predominantly Egyptian, some of whom belong to the military, but Persian officials regularly accompanied by their 'companions' are also mentioned by name, albeit not apparently as land-holders or cultivators.[91] Although Aršāma is cited only once in the other texts,[92] the content of the report published here and the intriguing reference to Babylon in P. BM EA 76282,[93] where he also had estates, make it very probable that it is from the administrative records of his Egyptian estates that these papyri come. Aršāma is firmly attested as satrap between 435 and 407 BCE, but in recent years evidence has been found which may push back his appointment to 454 BCE, immediately after the rebellion of Inaros.[94] The text presented here is one of four papyri written in demotic in which he is mentioned, along with 36 in Aramaic, one in Old Persian and 13 in Akkadian, as well as texts in the Greek literary tradition.[95]

91 For an overview of the demotic papyri, cf. the discussion in MARTIN, 'Persian Estate', in: *New Approaches in Demotic Studies*, pp. 182–185.

92 P. BM EA 76287, Bk II. x+4, *pꜣ ʿ.wy (n) ꜣršm*, 'the house (of) Aršāma'.

93 MARTIN, 'Persian Estate', in: *New Approaches in Demotic Studies*, pp. 185–186.

94 MARTIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–180.

95 For an overview of the texts, cf. TUPLIN, 'Prince and Satrap', in: *Aršāma and his World*, 3, pp. 4–6.

FIGURE 1 P. BM EA 76274.1
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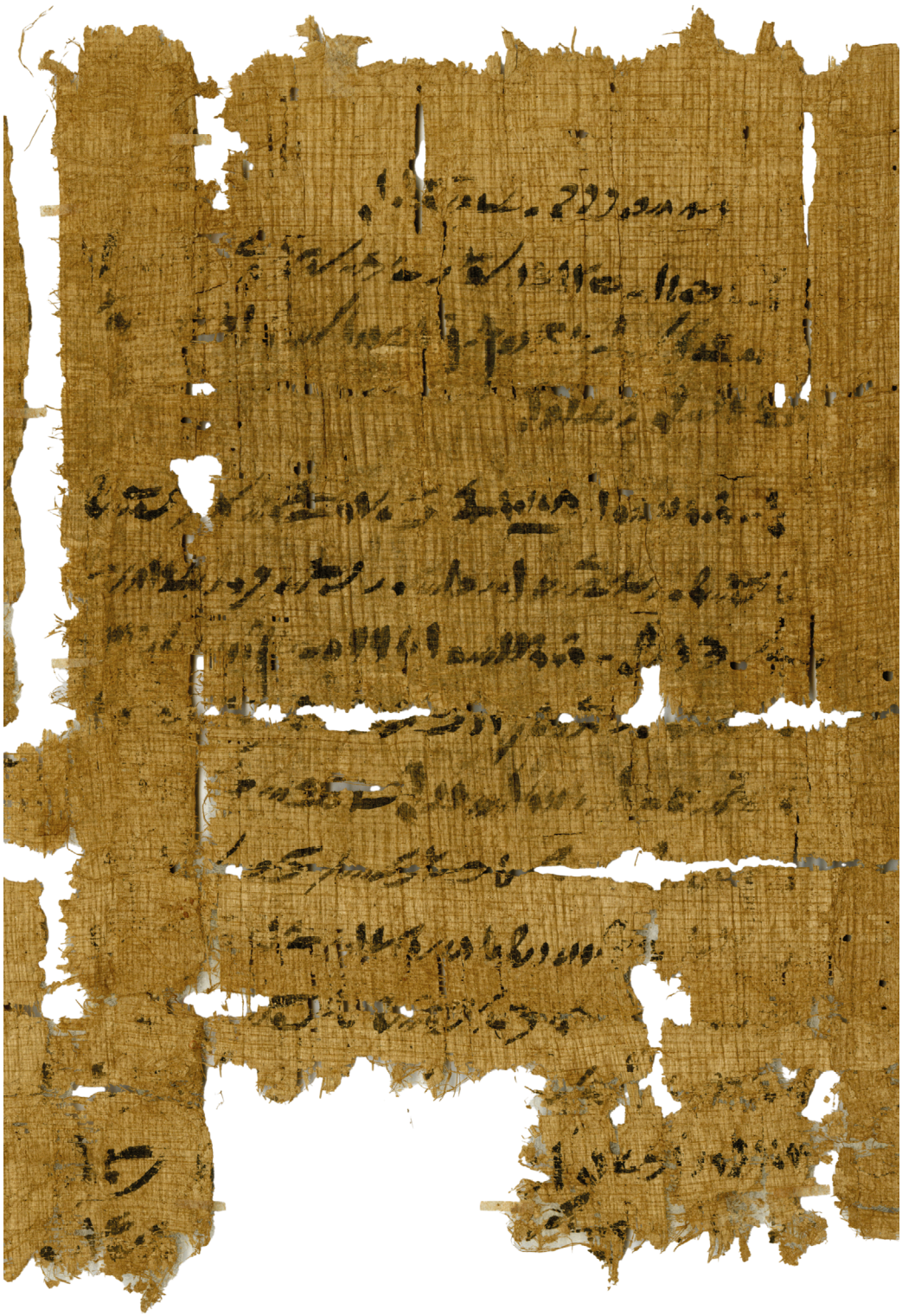

FIGURE 2 P. BM EA 76274.1 column I
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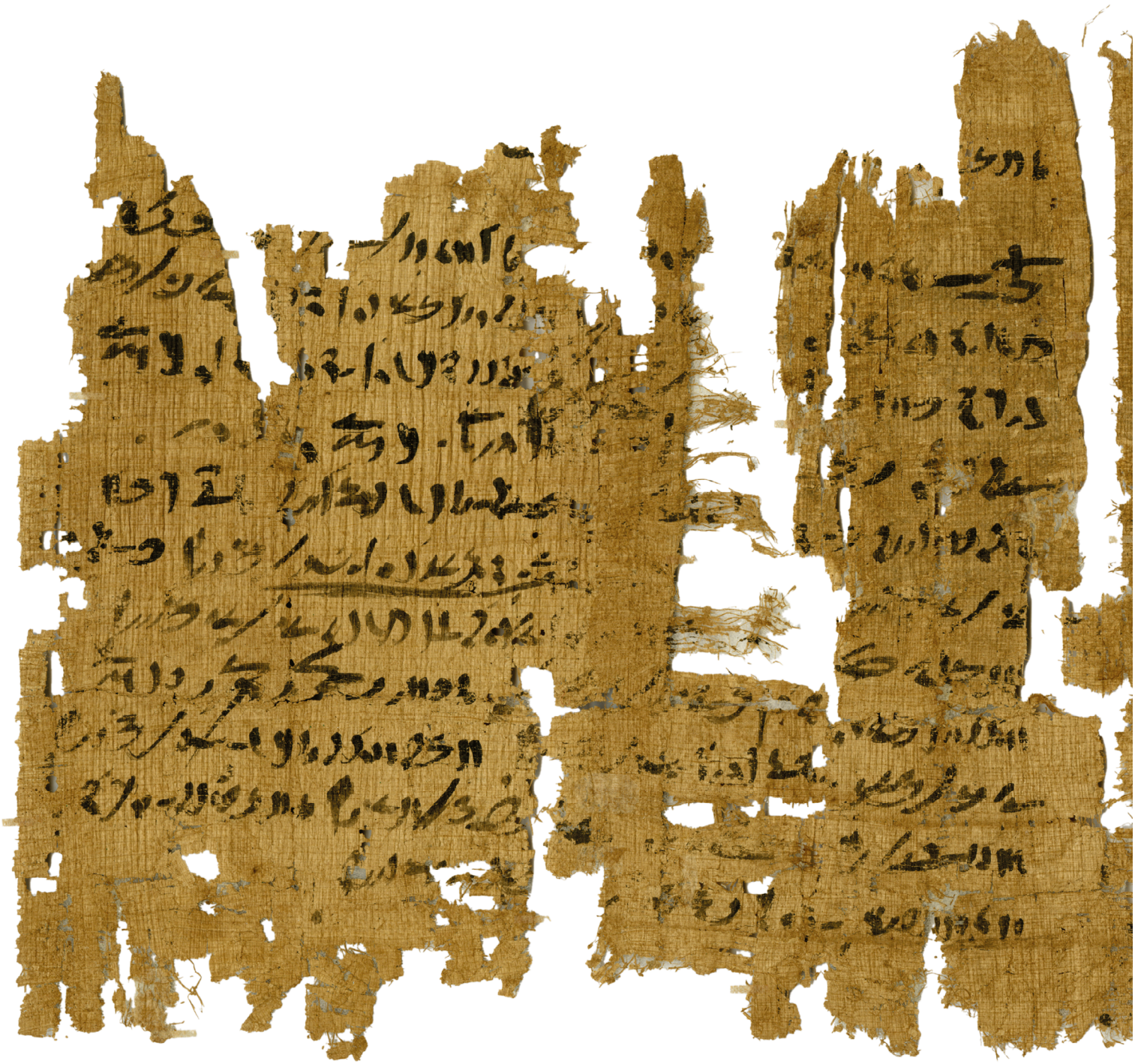

FIGURE 3 P. BM EA 76274.1 column II
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21

Late Cursive Hieratic–Early Demotic Receipts and Ostraca from Medinet Habu

Brian Muhs and Foy Scalf

The authors would like to offer the following 'trifles',[1] which certainly 'smell funny',[2] for their esteemed colleague Koen Donker van Heel in celebration and appreciation for all that he has done for Egyptology, but particularly for his field-defining studies of so-called 'abnormal' or late cursive hieratic. We are certain that he will find the following study not only interesting, but also entertaining. As the *Gottesvater* of cursive hieratic studies he will surely have much to say about the many puzzles[3] and challenges[4] that remain.

Receipts written in late cursive hieratic and early demotic are rare, compared to their later abundance in Ptolemaic demotic. Indeed, late Pharaonic receipts were once thought to have been written primarily on papyrus,[5] in contrast to Ptolemaic receipts which were frequently written on ostraca or potsherds.[6] This simple dichotomy can no longer be maintained, however, after the discovery of Persian Period receipts on ostraca from Ayn Manawir,[7] and of the Late Period receipts on several ostraca from Medinet Habu (Figs 1–5), discussed below. In light of these discoveries, this article proposes a more nuanced history of receipts from the Saite to the Ptolemaic Period, which will hopefully be revised in turn after future publications and further work on the administrative documents of these otherwise rather opaque periods.

Before sketching a revised version of this history, however, it will be useful first to define the term receipt. Receipts are simply texts written to acknowledge payment, which theoretically could include sales contracts, but in practice notary contracts are usually excluded.[8] It has been suggested that the term receipt should be restricted to texts issued by institutions for unilateral payments such as taxes,[9] but records of payments to institutions in exchange for tombs and burial plots are frequently also termed receipts.[10] Receipts meeting these criteria definitely appear in the late Pharaonic Period, and do not

1 See K. Donker van Heel, 'Some Abnormal Hieratic Trifles', in: K. Donker van Heel – F.A.J. Hoogendijk – C.J. Martin (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There Is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming* (P. L.Bat 34, Leiden, 2018), pp. 9–14.

2 See K. Donker van Heel, 'Abnormal Hieratic is Not Dead; It Just Smells Funny', in: U. Verhoeven (ed.), *Ägyptologische „Binsen"-Weisheiten I–II: Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik. Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013* (AAWMainz Einzelveröffentlichung 14, Mainz, 2015), pp. 371–381.

3 See K. Donker van Heel, 'P. Louvre E 7858: Another Abnormal Hieratic Puzzle', in: B.J.J. Haring – O.E. Kaper – R. van Walsem (eds), *The Workman's Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir El-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (EgUit 28, Leuven, 2014), pp. 43–55.

4 S. van Gompel – P. Hogenboom, 'P. Louvre E 7859 – An Abnormal Hieratic Challenge', in: K. Donker van Heel – F.A.J. Hoogendijk – C.J. Martin (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There Is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming* (P. L.Bat 34, Leiden, 2018), pp. 115–122.

5 M. Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies* (PapBrux 28, Brussels, 1997), pp. 132–133. In his recent discussion of 'abnormal' hieratic documents, Vittmann listed only the large corpus of ostraca from Dakhleh. See G. Vittmann, 'Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen (und neue Texte)', in: U. Verhoeven (ed.), *Ägyptologische „Binsen"-Weisheiten I–II: Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik. Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013* (AAWMainz Einzelveröffentlichung 14, Mainz, 2015), p. 420.

6 F. Hoffmann, 'Demotic Ostraca from Elephantine', in: D. Raue – S.J. Seidlmayer – P. Speiser (eds), *The First Cataract of the Nile: One Region – Diverse Perspectives* (SDAIK 36, Berlin – Boston, 2013), p. 91.

7 M. Chauveau, 'Les archives d'un temple des oasis au temps des Perses', *BSFÉ* 137 (1996), pp. 32–47; M. Chauveau, 'The Demotic Ostraca of 'Ayn Manâwir', *Egyptian Archaeology* 22 (2003), pp. 38–40; D. Agut-Labordère, '« L'orge et l'argent »: Les usages monétaires à 'Ayn Manâwir à l'époque perse', *Annales HSS*, 2014/1, p. 78; D. Agut-Labordère, 'What Remains in the Hands of the Gods: Taxation in Kharga Oasis through the Demotic Ostraca (Fifth Century BC to First Century AD)', in: G. Tallet – R. Bagnall (eds), *The Great Oasis of Egypt: The Kharga and Dakhla Oases in Antiquity* (New York, 2014), pp. 122–132; D. Agut-Labordère, 'Oil and Wine for Silver? The Economic Agency of the Egyptian Peasant Communities in the Great Oasis during the Persian Period', in: J.C. Moreno García (ed.), *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East, 1300–500 BC* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 45–46; D. Agut-Labordère, 'Les prélèvements en orge à 'Ayn Manâwir: le dossier du collecteur Horkheb fils de Hor (435–425 av. J.-C.)', in: A. Bats (ed.), *Les céréales dans le monde antique: regards croisés sur les stratégies de gestion des cultures, de leur stockage et de leur mode de consommation* (= *NeHeT* 5, Paris – Brussels, 2017), pp. 71–79.

8 For the development and use of notaries, see B. Muhs, 'Egyptian Scholars, Priests and Temples between Autonomy and State Authority', *JANEH* 8 (2021), pp. 203–222.

9 Depauw, *Companion*, pp. 132–133.

10 S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia* (P. L.Bat 26, Leiden, 1994), pp. 113–119 (no. 53); B.P. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (OIP 126, Chicago, 2005) pp. 95–98.

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seem to be restricted to specific script types (e.g., cursive hieroglyphs, late cursive hieratic, early demotic) or to specific media types (e.g., limestone stelae, papyri, ostraca).

Saite Period Receipts for Tombs and Burials

Two categories of receipts can be identified in the Saite Period: those issued for payments in exchange for tombs and burials, and those issued for payment of other taxes. The earliest published Saite Period receipts are written on three hieroglyphic and hieratic limestone stelae, probably from Saqqara, dating from the late seventh to the early sixth centuries BCE.[11] Each stela states that payment was made for a tomb, and they were presumably erected outside of the tombs to which they refer to publicly establish the rights of their owners to them.

Hieratic Stela Louvre C. 101, dated to Year 8 of Psammetichus I (657 BCE).[12]
Hieroglyphic Stela Florence 1639 (2507), dated to Year 4 of Apries (586 BCE).[13]
Hieratic and hieroglyphic Stela Florence 1658 (2536), dated to a Year 4 of Pharaoh.[14]

The presence of hieratic on two of the three stelae suggests that they may be copies of documents originally written in hieratic or demotic on papyrus.

They begin with the date and the formula, 'PN1 has said to PN2'. This introductory formula is followed by the direct speech of PN1 to PN2, stating in Stelae Louvre C. 101 and Florence 1639 (2507) that 'you (PN2) have satisfied my heart (of PN1) with the silver/price' (*dỉ=k mtr ḥ3ty=ỉ n p3 ḥḏ*) for a tomb. Stela Florence 1658 (2536) has the variant 'you (PN2) have given the silver' (*dỉ=k p3 ḥḏ*) for a tomb. Malinine described the stelae as sales, and formally they do resemble sales contracts, but they are functionally similar to early Ptolemaic Theban receipts for the price of burial plots,[15] and indeed PN1 in two cases (Stelae Louve C. 101 and Florence 1639) is titled 'overseer of the necropolis' (*ỉmy-r3 ḫ3s.t* > *mr ḫ3s.t*), an official who in early Ptolemaic Thebes was responsible for both the burial tax and the price of burial plots.[16]

The overseer of the necropolis also appears in a Saite Period receipt on papyrus for the burial tax, the demotic P. Louvre 7850, dated to Year 38 of Amasis (533 BCE).[17] It comes from the archive of Djechy and son, from Thebes, dating to the late sixth century BCE. It takes the form of a letter, beginning with the names of the writer and the addressee, 'Communication of PN1, the overseer of the necropolis, before PN2' (*ḫrw-b3k* PN1 *p3 mr ḫ3s.t m-b3ḥ* PN2). This introduction is followed by the direct speech of PN1 to PN2, 'PN2 (the Payer) has given to me the PAYMENT, which has been received at the RECEIVING INSTITUTION' (*dỉ n=y* PN2 PAYMENT, *ỉw=f šp ỉ* RECEIVING INSTITUTION). The payment is then further acknowledged: 'I have received the PAYMENT. I have taken it. My heart is satisfied with it. I am far from him' (*šp(=y)* PAYMENT, *ṯ3y(=y) st, ḥ3ty(=y) mtr.w n-ỉm=f, tw=y wy r-r=f*). It concludes with the name of the scribe, 'Has written PN on DATE' (*sẖ* PN *n* DATE).

Saite Period Receipts for Other Taxes

The receipts for tombs and burials on stelae and papyrus can be contrasted with late cursive hieratic Ostracon Medinet Habu 471 (Fig. 1), dated to Year 47 of Psammetichus I (618 BCE). It begins with the date, followed by the formula 'Entered as received (from) PN' (*ỉw m šp* (*n*) PN). Although it has not yet been fully deciphered, based on later Saite Period parallels it is probably an institutional receipt.

The parallels to Ostracon Medinet Habu 471 consist of five receipts on papyri from the papyrus archive of Djechy

11 M. MALININE, 'Vente de tombs à l'Époque Saïte', *RdÉ* 27 (1975), p. 173 fn. 11 mentions an unpublished fourth stela, Collection Nicholson (Sydney), Stela no. 52, dated to Year 27 of Amasis (544 BCE).

12 MALININE, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–174.

13 MALININE, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–168, where it was suggested that the hieroglyphic version may have been transcribed based on a demotic original (we thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out); see also B. MUHS, *Ancient Egyptian Economy 3000–300 BCE* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 204. Malinine erroneously gave the inventory number as Stela Florence 1659, and erroneously identified the pharaoh as Psammetichus I, but see *DemBL*, p. 686.

14 S. BOSTICCO, *Museo archeologico di Firenze: le stele egiziane di epoca tarda* (Cataloghi dei musei e gallerie d'Italia, Rome, 1972), pp. 38–39 (no. 28); MALININE, *op. cit.*, p. 173 fn. 11.

15 VLEEMING, *Ostraka Varia*, pp. 113–119 (no. 53); MUHS, *Tax Receipts*, pp. 95–98.

16 M. DEPAUW, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes: P. Brux. dem. inv. E. 8252–8256* (MRÉ 8, Turnhout, 2000), pp. 64–65; B. MUHS – F. SCALF – J. JAY, *The Archive of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis: Early Ptolemaic Ostraca from Deir el Bahari* (*O. Edgerton*) (OIP 146, Chicago, 2021), pp. 31–32, 42–43.

17 K. DONKER VAN HEEL, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis* (Dissertation, Leiden, 1995), no. 22. See also the abnormal hieratic/early demotic P. Louvre 7856 C, published in K. DONKER VAN HEEL, 'P. Louvre E 7856 C: A Possible Memorandum about Tax Payment from the Eisenlohr Lot', *ZÄS* 146 (2019), pp. 30–35.

and son, from Thebes, dating to the late sixth century BCE. All five receipts are for the payment and delivery of agricultural harvest taxes to officials of the temples of Amun and Khonsu at Thebes. In the earliest receipt the harvest tax is paid in flax; in the later four it consists of emmer wheat.

P. Louvre 7841, dated to Year 12 of Amasis (559 BCE).[18]
P. Louvre 7842, dated to Year 31 of Amasis (540 BCE).[19]
P. Louvre 7835, dated to Year 34 of Amasis (537 BCE).[20]
P. Louvre 7838, dated to Year 35 of Amasis (536 BCE).[21]
P. Louvre 7834, dated to Year 35 of Amasis (536 BCE).[22]

The script and formulae represent the final stages of the transition from late cursive hieratic to early demotic, and they take the following form: 'DATE. Entered (as) received from the hand of PN1 (the Payer), delivered to/to the hand of PN 2 (the Receiving Official*), PAYMENT' (DATE *ỉw* (*m*) *šp m-ḏr.t* PN1, *swṯ ỉ*/*r-ḏr.t* PN2 PAYMENT). 'I have received the PAYMENT. My heart is satisfied with it' (*šp*(*=ỉ*) PAYMENT, *ḥ;ty*(*=ỉ*) *mty n-ỉm=w*). 'In the writing of PN3+ (the Scribes*)' (*m-sḫ* PN3+).

The receiving official PN2 may be named in the second clause and again as one of the scribes PN3+ who signs the receipt, as in P. Louvre 7841. Alternatively, only the title of the receiving official PN2 may be given in the second clause, but then the title reappears with some of the scribes PN3+, as in P. Louvre 7841, 7842, 7835, 7838, and 7834, where the recipients are the (anonymous) 'scribes of the Domain of Amun', but some of the scribes who sign their names are titled 'scribe of the Domain of Amun'.

This *ỉw*-formulary appears to be a portmanteau of older phrases known from hieratic document headings on accounts of supplies from Deir el-Medina dating to the thirteenth through eleventh centuries BCE, such as 'Arrived/Entered through the hand of PN' (*ỉw m-ḏr.t* PN);[23] 'Received through the hand of PN' (*šsp m-ḏr.t* PN);[24] and simply 'From the hand of PN' (*m-ḏr.t* PN).[25]

Persian Period Receipts

The *ỉw*-formulary also appears in two receipts on papyri from the later papyrus archive of the Gooseherds of Hou, dating to the early fifth century BCE. Both receipts record payment and delivery of the agricultural harvest tax, in this case geese, to officials of the temple of Amun at Hou.

P. Loeb 46, dated to Year 35 of Darius I (487 BCE).[26]
P. Strasbourg 5, dated to Year 35 of Darius I (487 BCE).[27]

The script and formulae are fully early demotic, and they take the following form: 'DATE. Entered as received from PN1 (the Payer), delivered to RECEIVING INSTITUTION, to the hand of PN2 (the Receiving Official*), PAYMENT' (DATE. *ỉw m šp n* PN1, *swṯ ỉ*/*r* RECEIVING INSTITUTION, *ỉ*/*r-ḏr.t* PN2 PAYMENT). 'I have received the PAYMENT, my heart is satisfied with it' (*šp*(*=y*) PAYMENT, *ḥ;ty*(*=y*) *mty n-ỉm=w*). 'In the writing of PN3+ (the Scribes*)' (*m-sḫ* PN3+). The receiving official PN2 named in the third clause is also one of the scribes PN3+ who signs the receipt.

The *ỉw*-formula also occurs on nearly two dozen receipts, many for barley, among the early demotic ostraca from Ayn Manawir in Kharga Oasis from the late fifth century BCE.[28] However, the formula is reduced to 'Entered from the hand of PN1 (the payer), PAYMENT' (*ỉw m-ḏr.t* PN1, PAYMENT). There are several examples among the Ayn Manawir barley receipts of the new *ỉn*-formula,[29] which becomes common in the early Ptolemaic Period. In contrast to early Ptolemaic Period receipts, however, the *ỉn*-formula is introduced by a letter formula, 'PN1 greets PN2 before Amun, may he live: PN3 (the payer) has brought to me the PAYMENT' (PN1 *sm r* PN2 *m-bȝḥ ỉmn, ỉ ʿnḫ=f, ỉn n=y* PN3 PAYMENT). Other Ayn Manawir receipts for castor seem to use a letter formula 'PN1 greets PN2 (the

18 DONKER VAN HEEL, *op. cit.*, no. 3.
19 DONKER VAN HEEL, *op. cit.*, no. 12.
20 DONKER VAN HEEL *op. cit.*, no. 14.
21 DONKER VAN HEEL, *op. cit.*, no. 15.
22 DONKER VAN HEEL, *op. cit.*, no. 16.
23 K. DONKER VAN HEEL – B.J.J. HARING, *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina* (EgUit 16, Leiden, 2003), pp. 126–127, Formula 1.
24 DONKER VAN HEEL – HARING, *op. cit.*, p. 132, Formula 7.
25 DONKER VAN HEEL – HARING, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–130, Formula 4.
26 S.P. VLEEMING, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (StudDem 3, Leuven, 1991), Hou 2.
27 VLEEMING, *op. cit.*, Hou 3.
28 O. Man. 5747, O. Man. 4128, and O. Man. 4121 in AGUT-LABORDÈRE, 'Les prélèvements en orge', in: *Les céréales dans le monde antique*, p. 73. See also O. Man. 3936, O. Man. 4100, O. Man. 4108, O. Man. 5539, O. Man. 5747, O. Man. 5793, O. Man. 5808, O. Man. 5809, O. Man. 6000, O. Man. 6019, O. Man. 6020, O. Man. 6040, O. Man. 6054A, O. Man. 6812, O. Man. 6816, O. Man. 6852 (only *ỉw* PN), O. Man. 6857, O. Man. 7002; O. Man. 6002A, O. Man. 6023B. For images and editions of the ostraca from Ayn Manawir, see http://www.achemenet.com/en/tree/?/textual-sources/texts-by-regions/egypt/ain-manawir/ostraca-from-ain-manawir.
29 O. Man. 4028 in AGUT-LABORDÈRE, 'Les prélèvements en orge', in: *Les céréales dans le monde antique*, p. 75. See also O. Man. 4665. There are also examples of the use of *r-wt*, e.g., O. Man. 4667.

payer)' (PN1 *sm r* PN2), introducing the statement that 'You (PN2) have given to me (PN1) PAYMENT' (*dỉ=k n=y* PAYMENT), which is followed by further statements that 'I have received it from your hand' (*šp=y s n-ḏr.ṯ=k*) and 'my heart is satisfied with them' (*ḥꜣṯ=y mty n-ỉm=w*).[30]

Macedonian and Early Ptolemaic Period Receipts

The *ỉw* formula is still occasionally found in papyrus and ostracon receipts for the burial tax from the late fourth and early third centuries BCE, but the *ỉn*-formula becomes more common in the early Ptolemaic Period, as well as receipts without a verb.[31] Examples of the now rare *ỉw*-formula include:

P. Brussels 8256 B, dated to Year 2, probably of Alexander IV (315 BCE).[32]
Tablet BN 1892, dated to Year 2, probably of Alexander IV (315/4 BCE).[33]
P. Brussels 8255 A, dated to Year 6 of Alexander IV (311 BCE).[34]
P. Brussels 8255 C, dated to Year 7 of Alexander IV (310 BCE).[35]
P. Brussels 8256 A, dated to Year 7, probably of Alexander IV (310 BCE).[36]
O. Brooklyn 37.1859, dated to Year 18 of Ptolemy II (267 BCE).[37]
O. Brooklyn 37.1865, dated to Year 19 of Ptolemy II (266 BCE).[38]
O. Brooklyn 37.1858, dated to Year 21 of Ptolemy II (264 BCE).[39]

The formula in these texts was reduced to *ỉw m-ḏr.t* PN (Payer), 'Entered from the hand of PN (Payer)', followed by the payment. P. Brussels 8255 C adds 'I have received it from you' (*šp=y s n-ḏr.ṯ=k*)[40] while P. Brussels 8256 A adds 'for PN (Receiving Official)' (*ỉ.ỉr-ḥr* PN the Receiving Official).[41] The date now comes at the end of the document, following the signature of the scribe.

Late Cursive Hieratic Ostraca from Medinet Habu

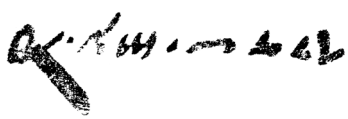
Among the larger corpus of ostraca from Medinet Habu, a small selection of four[42] have been identified as examples of late cursive hieratic or early demotic, including MH 471 (Fig. 1),[43] MH 1431 (Fig. 2),[44] MH 1592 (Figs 3–4),[45] and MH 2500 (Fig. 5).[46] Only the two receipts will be discussed below. While the Medinet Habu corpus of ostraca is well known for its many demotic,[47] Coptic, and Greek materials, relatively unknown are ostraca inscribed in hieratic from the site,[48] with those inscribed in late cursive hieratic unidentified in the secondary literature. The late cursive hieratic ostraca derive from the excavations carried out at Medinet Habu by Uvo Hölscher on behalf of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (formerly Oriental Institute). Their exact find spot from the site is currently uncertain. As noted in the preceding discussion, very few late cursive hieratic or early demotic ostraca have been published in general,[49] and searching for parallels

30 O. Man. 4047 and O. Man. 3984 in AGUT-LABORDÈRE, 'Oil and Wine for Silver?', in: *Dynamics of Production*, pp. 45 and 46.
31 MUHS, *Tax Receipts*, p. 87.
32 DEPAUW, *Archive of Teos and Thabis*, Teos-Thabis, text 9.
33 Unpublished, but see DEPAUW, *op. cit.*, p. 65 n. 199, pp. 66–67.
34 DEPAUW, *op. cit.*, Teos-Thabis, text 5.
35 DEPAUW, *op. cit.*, Teos-Thabis, text 6.
36 DEPAUW, *op. cit.*, Teos-Thabis, text 8.
37 M. MALININE, 'Taxes funéraires égyptiennes à l'époque gréco-romaine', in: J. SAINTE FARE GARNOT (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette* (BiÉtud 32, Cairo, 1961), p. 148 (no. 3).
38 MALININE, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149 (no. 4).
39 MALININE, *op. cit.*, pp. 146–147 (no. 1).
40 DEPAUW, *op. cit.*, Teos-Thabis, text 6.
41 DEPAUW, *op. cit.*, Teos-Thabis, text 8.
42 A fifth (MH 3386) may be another example, but so few words are fully preserved that it is difficult to confirm if the text is hieratic or late cursive hieratic.
43 Reverse is blank.
44 Reverse is blank.
45 The text appears to be a contract or receipt beginning with the date, *ḥsb.t* 22 (?) *tpy pr.t sw* 12 (?), and ending with the formula *mn* (*m*)*-dỉ=*(*y*) *md nb r ḏd.ṯ=s ỉrm=k* 'I have nothing to dispute with you'. Cf. P. Louvre E 7851 in K. DONKER VAN HEEL, 'Papyrus Louvre E 7851 Recto and Verso: Two More Land Leases from the Reign of Taharka', *RdÉ* 50 (1999), pp. 135–144. The reverse has the final line of the text after the scribe flipped the sherd vertically.
46 An account arranged by date with a second section written at a right angle. The reverse is blank. The ostracon is composed of three separate fragments.
47 For an overview of the demotic corpus and its accessions, see F. SCALF – J. JAY, 'Oriental Institute Demotic Ostraca Online (OIDOO): Merging Text Publication and Research Tools', in: M. DEPAUW – Y. BROUX (eds), *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies Leuven, 26–30 August 2008* (OLA 231, Leuven, 2014), pp. 243–246; MUHS – SCALF – JAY, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, pp. 3–4.
48 See B. MUHS – F. SCALF, 'New Kingdom Hieratic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago)', in: A. FANCIULLI et al. (eds), *New Kingdom Hieratic Collections* (AegLeod, Liège, 2024), pp. 333–347 for an overview of New Kingdom hieratic manuscripts in the ISAC Museum.
49 Note the comments of HOFFMANN, 'Demotic Ostraca from Elephantine', in: *The First Cataract of the Nile*, p. 91: 'For,

for these texts resulted in extremely little in terms of comparative material.[50] All of these factors demonstrate the extreme rarity of similar texts and the dearth of such documentation for Late Period Thebes.

Like so many of the manuscripts published by our honoree, the texts on these ostraca do not reveal their secrets easily (at least to us). The current contribution represents ongoing work to decipher these texts, to relate them to parallels in the corpus, and to situate their contents into the broader developments outlined above. Much work remains to be done on the administration of Late Period Egypt prior to the remarkable increase in documentation witnessed in the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. In lieu of a final publication of these ostraca, a few preliminary observations can be made.

MH 471 appears to be a receipt for the harvest tax dated to year 47, Epeiph 19 (*ḥsb.t* 47 *ꜣbd* 3 *šmw sw* 19) of Psammetichus I. The high year date can only be attributed to Psammetichus I and just a single other document is known from the same year,[51] dated three days earlier than MH 471.[52] The ductus between the two texts is quite similar, as can be seen by comparing the date formula:

MH 471, 1: 

P. Turin 2121, 1:

As described above, after the date MH 471 continues with the formula 'Entered as received from PN1' (*ỉw m šp*).[53] The following personal name begins clearly as *Pꜣ-šr-n-* ...,[54] and it appears that the same name is found again in line 4, while *ʾIr.t-r-r⸗w* is mentioned in line 3. The signature of the scribe is found after *m-sš* in the final line. Thus, in general terms, MH 471 confirms to the expected format and formulae for such ostraca receipts as might be predicted based upon the published papyrus examples.

While the ductus leans toward early demotic in the appearance of certain signs and words, it is tempting to interpret MH 1431 (Fig. 2) likewise as a receipt related to the harvest. The text is dated to Epeiph (like MH 471), but to year 1 of an unnamed ruler, *ḥsb.t* 1 *ꜣbd* 3 *šmw sw* 3 (?), and although flaked, the similarity of the sign groups suggests that the date of payment appeared in line 4 (*ꜣbd* 3 *šmw*). The key player appears to be *Wn-nfr* (*sꜣ*) *Pꜣ-dỉ-Ḥr-pꜣ-ḫrd* whose name is found in lines 3 and as the scribe in lines 4–5 (*sḫ Wn-nfr sꜣ Pꜣ-dỉ-Ḥr-pꜣ-ḫrd*), while *Ns-Mn* (*sꜣ*) *Ḏd-Ḥr* occurs in line 2 as the party responsible for making the payment.[55] Against expectations, the payment listed in lines 3–4 may involve 'silver' (*ḥḏ*) instead of payment in kind, as might be typical for a harvest-related receipt.

Conclusions

Although the discussion presented above is extremely preliminary and much work remains to be done, the late cursive hieratic–early demotic ostraca from Medinet Habu and Ayn Manawir help to document the threads of continuity in the administration of Egypt from the 25th Dynasty through to the Ptolemaic Period. Apart from the large corpus at Ayn Manawir, direct attestations of receipts on ostraca remain paltry. Yet, despite the very inconsistent nature of this evidence, the texts reflect the ways in which individuals on the ground adapted to the various changes in the political landscape. Reuse of similar formulae (e.g., *ỉw m šp*) to document specific transactions speaks to their comfort and utility, as well as the reliance of new administrations (e.g., Alexander and the Ptolemies) on the systems already in place (e.g., under the Achaemenid or Saite rulers). Nevertheless, developments in the documentation (e.g., use of the *ỉn* formula) clearly reflect the ways in which fiscal reforms affected how personal business was accounted for. Further scholarship to help reveal these lesser-documented periods and means of transactions (e.g., receipts on ostraca), along with the often-difficult nature of their texts, will be a welcome addition to the very brief outline presented above.

generally speaking, early demotic ostraca are rare. For some reason, ostraca became uncommon after the New Kingdom.' See also DEPAUW, *Companion*, p. 133: 'The rare receipts from the early Demotic period are written on papyrus sheets'.

50 For the reign of Psammetichus I, for example, not a single ostracon is listed in M. DEPAUW (ed.), *A Chronological Survey of Precisely Dated Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Sources* (TOP 1, Leuven, 2008), pp. 3–4.

51 TM 46184 = P. Choix 18 = P. Turin 2121; DEPAUW, *Chronological Survey*, p. 4; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit, 4: Die 26. Dynastie, 1: Psametik I.–Psametik III* (Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 253–254, no. 53.372; MUHS, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, pp. 200–201.

52 The date has recently been reread from 'day 19' to 'day 16' by J.J. Archidona Ramírez in the Turin Papyrus Online Platform (https://collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it/en-GB/document/123/?inventoryNumber=2121).

53 For *ỉw m šp* (*n*), see VLEEMING, *Gooseherds*, pp. 32–33, n. bb. For the form of *šp*, cf. P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E, 12 in R. JASNOW – G. VITTMANN, 'An Abnormal Hieratic Letter to the Dead (P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E)', *Enchoria* 19–20 (1992–93), p. 23 and pl. 2.

54 Perhaps *Pꜣ-šr-n-pꜣ-Rʿ* (?).

55 The writing of *Ns-Mn* here is particularly reflective of early demotic, rather than late cursive hieratic. See LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 674.

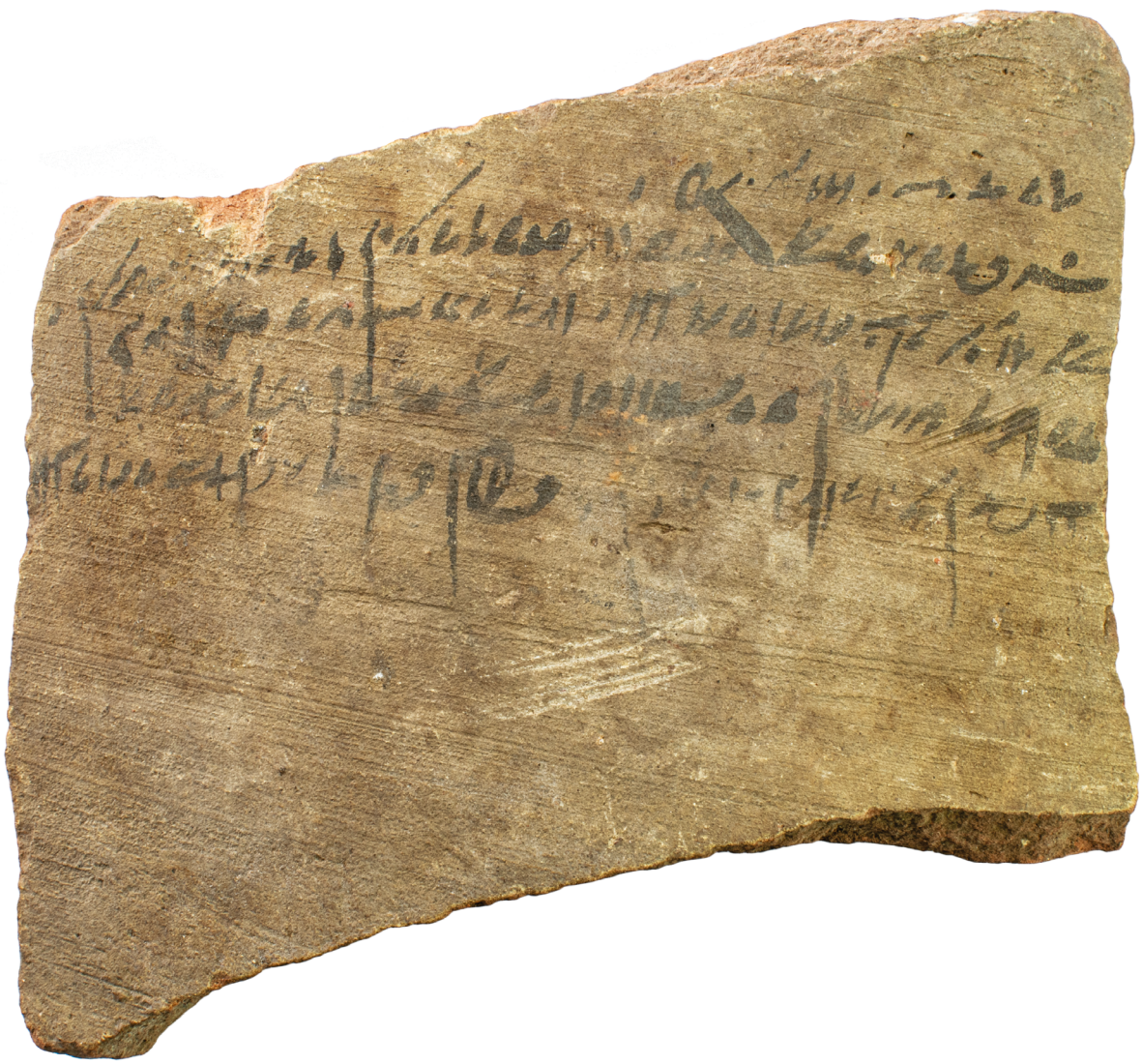


FIGURE 1 MH 471. Image has been enhanced to increase contrast and visibility of text.
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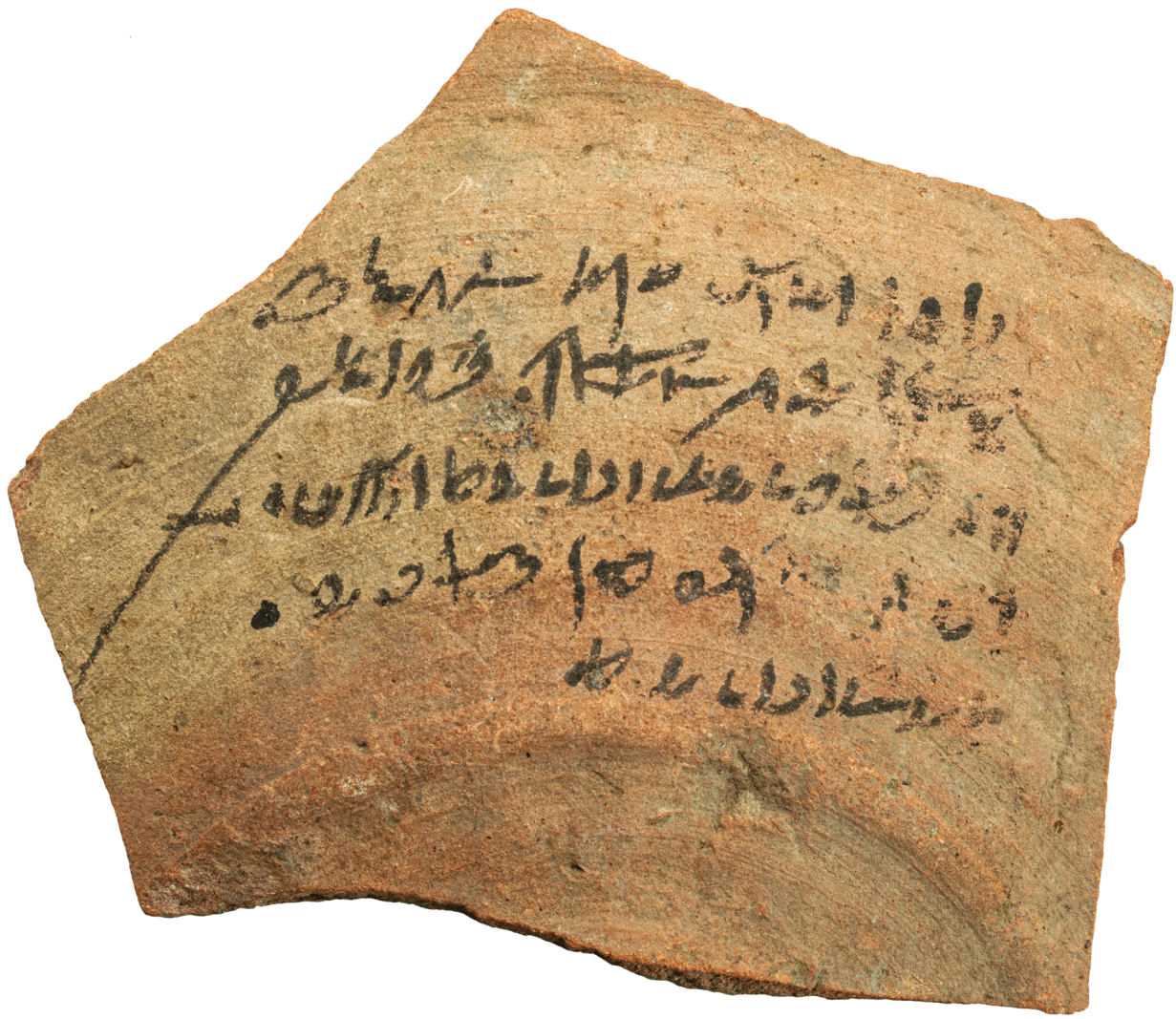

FIGURE 2 MH 1431. Image has been enhanced to increase contrast and visibility of text.
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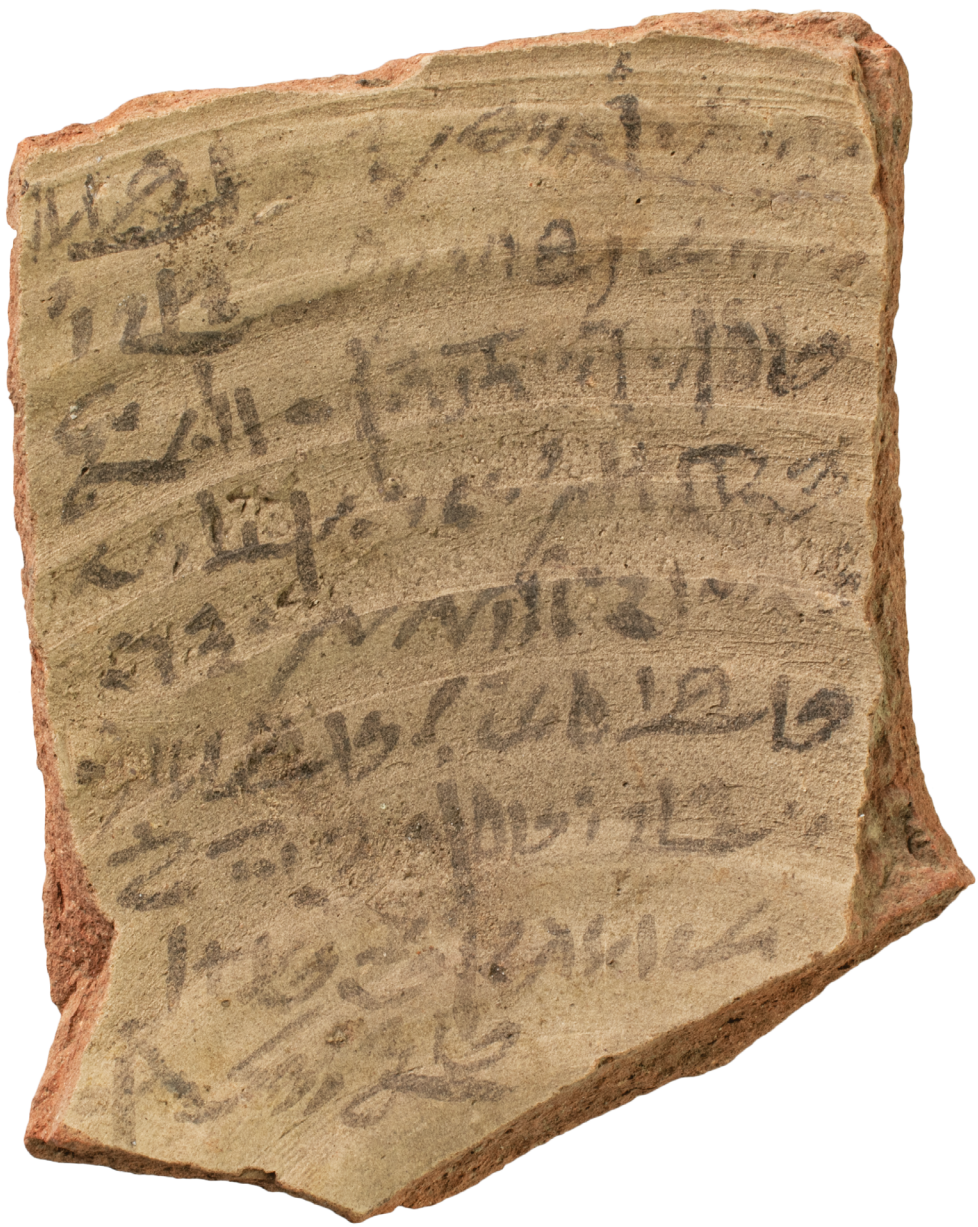

FIGURE 3 MH 1592 Obverse. Image has been enhanced to increase contrast and visibility of text.
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FIGURE 4 MH 1592 Reverse. Image has been enhanced to increase contrast and visibility of text.
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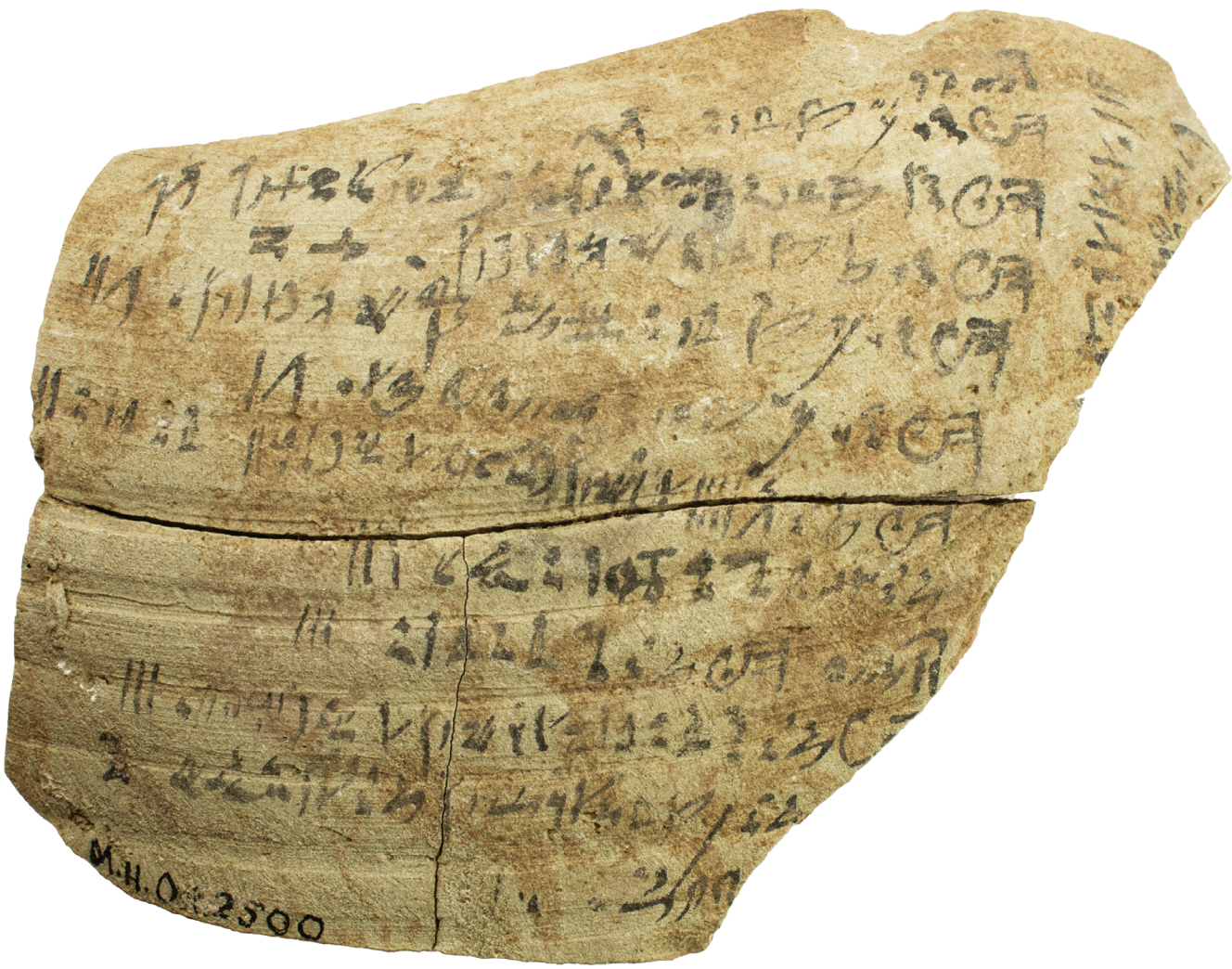

FIGURE 5 MH 2500. Image has been enhanced to increase contrast and visibility of text.
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22

A Whoremonger or a Bottom? The F-word, Cursing, and Bottom-shaming in an Ancient Egyptian Literary Text (P. Wien KHM ÄS 3877, col. III/3)

Luigi Prada

I had the luck of meeting Koen whilst I was still a doctoral student, and, from the start, he has been a breath of fresh air whenever most needed. Over the years I have profited from both his intimate knowledge of the ancient Egyptian cursive scripts, and from his hilarious company at workshops and other socio-demotic events – not to mention the loss of my abnormal hieratic virginity, for which I have to thank the crash course in this script that he held at the end of July 2015 in Heidelberg, where I was holding an Alexander von Humboldt visiting fellowship. But, the most important lesson that Koen taught me (in fact, confirming a natural instinct of mine) is bigger than abnormal hieratic: it is the fact that it is indeed possible to engage our academic discipline and the ancient material with utter rigour and integrity, without taking the people in our field and – most importantly – yourself too seriously.

Koen is someone who can truly make the past live again (as the successful series inaugurated by his *Djekhy & Son* shows better than any clichéd rambling I may concoct here), but who does so without ever compromising on scholarly honesty. He is also a person whose conversation can more than occasionally be coloured by salacious and rather lively (dare I say, Dutch?) irreverence. Hence, it was almost of its own accord that the topic of this short paper presented itself to me, as something most suitable for his *Festschrift*: a *mêlée* of palaeography and buggery.[1] Hopefully, he will enjoy this study, in which I try to get the record straight about a famously debauched (to believe the text's author) harpist, whilst peeking into the history of cursing and verbal abuse in the ancient Egyptian language.[2]

1 Haryotes' Kinky Alias in the Demotic *Invective against a Debauched Harpist*: *šp-nq* or *ḫnt-nq*?

When looking around for a perkier reading than the *Tale of Sinuhe*, the demotic *Invective against a Debauched Harpist*, preserved in the Roman Period P. Wien KHM ÄS 3877, is a clear winner.[3] Something with which this text lavishes its reader, and which comes particularly welcome to any scholar of the ancient Egyptian language with an

1 Moreover, writing about buggery as a tribute to a Dutch Egyptologist appears to have its own Leiden-esque tradition, started by Jac. J. Janssen to honour Thieu Heerma van Voss. In that case, Janssen remarked that the topic 'may seem slightly unsuitable for a Festschrift' dedicated to his esteemed friend and colleague (J.J. Janssen, 'Two Egyptian Commandments', in: J.H. Kamstra – H. Milde – K. Wagtendonk [eds], *Funerary Symbols and Religion: Essays Dedicated to Professor M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss on the Occasion of His Retirement from the Chair of the History of Ancient Religions at the University of Amsterdam* [Kampen, 1988], pp. 52–59, at 52). But, surely, Koen will agree with me that such a topic is far from unbecoming for him, or for our longstanding acquaintance.

2 I originally touched upon the issue at the core of this article in passing, within a footnote, in L. Prada, 'Sex and Gender Balance in Oneirocritic Science: If Ancient Egyptian Women Could *nk*, then Men Were Allowed to Have Erotic Dreams, Too (with the Edition of P.Saqqara EES H5-DP 351 *recto*)', in: S. Schiødt – A. Jacob – K. Ryholt (eds), *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near East: Joint Proceedings of the 1st and 2nd* Scientific Papyri from Ancient Egypt *International Conferences, May 2018, Copenhagen, and September 2019, New York* (New York, 2023), pp. 393–416, at 402 (fn. 30). The resolve of devoting proper space to it here also follows the advice of yet another wiseman of Egyptology, who once observed that, 'as a method of disseminating an idea among the wider community of Egyptologists, publishing it in a note [...] in an edition of a demotic text is likely to be only marginally more effective than writing it on a piece of paper, putting the paper inside a bottle, and throwing the bottle into the ocean with the hope that a group of Egyptologists will sail past it and find it' (M. Smith, 'Osiris NN or Osiris of NN?', in: B. Backes – I. Munro – S. Stöhr [eds], *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums: Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005* [SAT 11, Wiesbaden, 2006], pp. 325–337, at 325, fn. *).

3 Most recent edition in H.J. Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler: Eine altägyptische Invektive* (*P. Wien KM 3877*) (DemStud 11, Sommerhausen, 1992); most recent translation in F. Hoffmann – J.F. Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* (EQÄ 4, 2nd edition, Berlin, 2018), pp. 348–357. For a general overview, see J.F. Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte*, III: *Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur* (EQÄ 3, 3rd edition, Berlin, 2016), pp. 108–110. A colour – though, not high resolution – image of the papyrus is available online, on the database of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, at: www.khm.at/de/object/319362/ (last consulted 21 January 2025). More references appear further on in the present paper.

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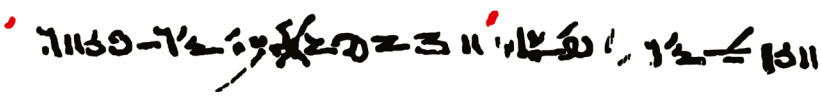
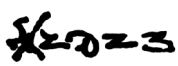
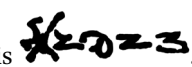
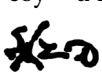
interest in social history, is a series of thundering insults addressed at its target, a useless harpist – who may have actually existed or may just be a literary invention – by the name of Haryotes (Horwedja). The insults come with different gradations, from *ḫnš* 'stinker' (col. II/2) to *sg* 'moron' (col. III/13), via *ḥrš n lḫ* 'humongous cretin' (lit., 'burden of idiocy') (col. II/8) and others.[4] One particular jibe, though, plays a special role in the text's economy. It occurs at the point in which the author introduces the name of the harpist (or, to be cautious, in the name's sole attestation in the papyrus, which lacks both beginning and end), and is used not simply to characterise Haryotes, but, in fact, to re-christen him with what the author feels would be a more suitable name. Here is the passage:

P. Wien KHM ÄS 3877, col. III/3 (see *addendum* at fn. 83 regarding the following transliteration)


ỉ-ỉr=w tỉ rn⌜=f r⌝ Ḥr-wḏ3 • *ỉw*  *p3y p3y=f rn n mtre* •
He was named Haryotes • although, truth be told, his name is  . •

The insult, a *hapax legomenon* in the ancient Egyptian lexicon, is a compound, but both its transliteration and its translation have given generations of demotists – some more, some less coy – a headache. Its second element is unproblematic:  *nq*, the word 'fuck',[5] here in a commonly attested spelling with *q* in lieu of *k*,[6] and with a rather peacocking phallus determinative (perhaps traced over another, aborted sign, or just simply affected by an accidental blob of ink at its centre). The issues have historically lain with the reading of the first element: . I say 'historically', but the problems are in fact of a relatively recent date (at least when it comes to this word's transliteration), for all interpreters of this line of the papyrus, from its *editio princeps* in 1885 until 1990, have read this first element as *šp*, understanding it as a phonetic spelling of the verb 'to receive',[7] and with the whole insult resulting in the transliteration *šp-nq*. Here below, I gather such earlier interpretations, highlighting in bold the translation (if any) concocted by each author for the compound, and adding brief comments, whenever needed:

1) Revillout and Krall (1885): 'Hor Ut'a surnommé **Pšpiu** (**le corrompu**)' (no transliteration given).[8]
2) Revillout (1885): 'Ils lui ont donné pour nom ; *Hor Ut'a* ***l'impur***. – C'est un nom juste. –'. Further on, he clarifies his translation of *šp-nq* in the word-by-word analysis of the text as: '**impur** (**pédéraste passif**) […] *sep-nek* = '.[9]
3) Brugsch (1888): 'Indem sie ihm den Namen Horut'a (d.i. „Horus ist heil") gaben, : dieser wäre **Kuppler**, sein eigentlicher Name, gewesen'. A slightly different translation (but with no change as to the word at

4 All translations from ancient and modern languages are the author's own, unless otherwise stated. For the ancient vocabulary, more idiomatic translations are paired, whenever needed, with literal ones, so as to clarify the meaning (and implications) of the original. Ancient crass language is rendered with its modern, equally crass, counterpart, so as not to betray the ancient words through an Edwardian euphemistic purge of sorts. Some of this language, which was used by the author of the *Invective* to generate hilarity amongst its ancient audience, is by today's standards – hopefully – anything but hilarious, amounting in fact, in the case of the passage at the centre of this study, to a hateful expression of homophobia. Such an insult I have still tried to translate with equivalent modern slurs, in order to reflect the intent of the ancient text, but let it be clear that this is done with no levity whatsoever.

5 On modern translations of *nk*, and its application in insults, see *infra* in this article (§ 4), as well as PRADA, 'Sex and Gender Balance', in: *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, pp. 402 (fn. 30), 409 (fn. 44).

6 See writings in ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 229 (s.v. *nk*), and CDD, *N*, p. 131 (s.v. *nk*).

7 For conventional, etymological writings of this verb, derived from the *šsp*-hieroglyph and with book-roll determinative, see ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, pp. 500–501 (s.v. *šp*), and CDD, *Š*, pp. 86–94 (s.v. *šp*). But, note also the phonetic and determinative-less writing of a Roman date in ERICHSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 500 (second-to-last row, left).

8 E. REVILLOUT – J. KRALL, 'La vie d'artiste ou de bohème en Égypte (fragment d'un poème satyrique en vers démotiques de l'époque romaine.)', *RevEg* 3 (1885), pp. 98–100, at 99. To be exact, the quote comes from a section of the article explaining the nature of the text, rather than translating it. The peculiar rendering 'Pšpiu' is no longer present in Revillout's actual edition of the text (see entry no. 2).

9 E. REVILLOUT, *Un poème satyrique composé à l'occasion de la maladie du poète musicien hérault d'insurrection Hor-ut'a* (*Αρυωθης*) (*papyrus de Vienne*) (Paris, 1885), pp. 15 (Leçon d'ouverture), 16 (Texte).

hand) is given in the final synopsis: 'Wenn man ihm den Namen Horut'a gegeben hat, so wäre **Kuppler** sein richtigerer Name gewesen'.[10] Brugsch explicitly agrees with Revillout's transliteration, but declares himself uncertain about the homosexual colouring of the latter's translation, suggesting instead an edulcorated term as an alternative, that of 'Kuppler', i.e., 'matchmaker'. The immoral connotation in his idea of 'Kuppler' is, however, clear, so much so that, in contemporary English, I would think it best rendered as 'pimp'.

4) Sottas (1919): 'Et on lui donne le nom d'Aruôtès, ** alors que celui qu'il mérite est . . . . . .' (no transliteration given).[11] He leaves the word intentionally untranslated, surely out of modesty, and not on account of questioning its transliteration.[12]

5) Lüddeckens (1977): '*šp-nk* ist sein eigentlicher Name'. Following this partial translation, he timidly ('mit allem Vorbehalt') declares his preference for Revillout's original understanding, '**Pederaste passiv**' (*sic*), over Brugsch's 'Kuppler'.[13]

6) Thissen (1989): 'Man gab ihm den Namen "Horus ist heil", • obwohl "**Strichjunge**" sein passender Name wäre! •'. Welcoming Revillout's understanding of *šp-nk*, Thissen opts for a slang for male prostitute, further explaining the connotation of the original demotic in his commentary as '**Beischlaf-Empfänger**', i.e, 'receiving-party-of-sexual-intercourse'.[14]

7) Bresciani (1990): 'Quando gli hanno dato il nome di Horugia, il suo giusto nome sarebbe stato « **ruffiano** »' (no transliteration given).[15] Bresciani's translation probably uses the Italian word 'ruffiano' not in its modern and less specific meaning of 'sycophant', but in its original value of 'matchmaker'; it thus seems to depend directly on Brugsch's translation.

For just over a century, scholars have therefore agreed on one and the same transliteration for this insult, and – with the exception of Brugsch (plus his follower Bresciani) and his tentative, watered-down, and overall unjustified translation as 'pimp' – have understood it as an accusation against Haryotes of not only indulging in homosexual practices, but, more specifically, of being the receptive party in them, i.e., a bottom.

This general consensus on the reading *šp-nq* came to an abrupt end in 1992, with Thissen's *editio altera* of the text – to this day, its reference edition. Below are his and all – to my knowledge – subsequent scholarly dealings with this passage of the *Invective*:

8) Thissen (1992): 'man gab ihm den Namen "Horus ist heil" – obwohl "**Erzhurer**" passend sein Name wäre' (transliteration: *ḫnṯ-nq* – that is, in a more common typographical choice, *ḫnṯ̱-nq*).[16] He ascribes the new transliteration to a suggestion by Zauzich, and declares to now favour it over *šp-nq* on account of palaeographical reasons (which I will discuss later, § 2). The compound is thus understood to mean something to the effect of 'foremost (*ḫnṯ̱*) of fuckers (*nq*)' (or, to be close to Thissen's German letter, 'arch-whoremonger'), with Haryotes being ridiculed simply for his sexual rapacity, rather than for his penchant for enjoying anal sex on the receiving end.

9) Brunsch (1996): '"**Erzhurenbock**" ist sein wahrer Name' (transliteration: *ḫnṯ-nq*).[17] He takes on board Thissen's new reading, giving his own translation a personal spin.

10) Chauveau (1996): '**inverti**' (transliteration: *šp-nq*).[18] Reviewing Thissen's edition, he suggests going back to Revillout's reading and understanding of the insult.

11) Morenz (1996): '**Erzhurer**' (no transliteration given, but clearly *ḫnt-nq* is implied).[19] Another review, in which Morenz just quotes from Thissen's translation, implicitly welcomes the latter's new reading.

12) Smith (2000): only transliteration given, as *šp-nq* (no translation). In this third review of Thissen's

10 H. Brugsch, 'Das Gedicht vom Harfenspieler. Eine demotische Studie', *ZÄS* 26 (1888), pp. 1–52, at 24, 48 (l. 43).

11 H. Sottas, 'Remarques sur le « Poème satirique »', *RevEg* ns 1 (1919), pp. 129–147, at 145 (l. 43).

12 As an easily-offended and censorship-prone Egyptologist, Sottas is in good company: see the remarks and references in Prada, 'Sex and Gender Balance', in: *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, pp. 411–412.

13 E. Lüddeckens, 'Zum demotischen Gedicht von Harfner', in: J. Assmann – E. Feucht – R. Grieshammer (eds), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 325–348, at 329 (fn. 13).

14 H.J. Thissen, 'Der verkommene Harfenspieler', *ZPE* 77 (1989), pp. 227–240, at 230, 233.

15 E. Bresciani, *Letteratura e poesia dell'antico Egitto* (2nd edition, Turin, 1990), p. 996.

16 Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler*, pp. 72–73, with commentary at 41–42.

17 W. Brunsch, 'Eine mögliche, weitere Parallele zum Protagonisten im demotischen Gedichte des Harfners', *GM* 155 (1996), pp. 7–13, at 9.

18 M. Chauveau, 'Review: Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler: Eine altägyptische Invektive* (*P. Wien KM 3877*)', *CdÉ* 71/141 (1996), pp. 62–67, at 65.

19 L.D. Morenz, 'Review: Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler: Eine altägyptische Invektive* (*P. Wien KM 3877*)', *OLZ* 91/5–6 (1996), cols 541–547, at 544.

edition, Smith states his preference for Revillout's old reading.[20]

13) Collombert (2003): 'On lui a donné le nom de Horoudja ("Horus-est-sauf") ◦ alors que c'est *Shep-neq* ("**le niqué**") le nom qui lui convient. ◦'.[21] Sticking with the old *šp-nq*, in his translation he makes clever use of the French slang 'niquer' ('to fuck'), with its Semitic linguistic link to ancient Egyptian *nk* via the related Arabic verb *nāka* (نَاكَ) 'to fuck', which has made its way into French slang via the North African diaspora of France.

14) Agut-Labordère and Chauveau (2011): 'On [lui] a donné le nom d'Horoudja ◦ alors que c'est « **Enculé** » le nom qui lui convient' (no transliteration given, but clearly *šp-nq* is implied).[22] This less than squeamish translation (lit., 'fucked-up-the-arse') is probably the most faithful modern rendition of *šp-nq*.

15) Gaudard and Johnson (2013): '*ḫnt nq*, literally, "**foremost of fornicators**", [...] "**arch fornicator**"'.[23] They discuss the phrase up close, following Thissen's reading and commenting on its inclusion in the *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*.

16) Morenz (2014): 'Man gab ihm den Namen „Horus ist heil" (*ḥr-wḏ*ȝ) – obwohl **Erzhurer** passend sein Name wäre' (no transliteration given, with *ḫnt-nq* clearly implied).[24] He seemingly just quotes from Thissen's translation.

17) Hoffmann and Quack (2018): 'Man hatte ihn Haryothes genannt, während sein wahrer Name »**Erzhurer**« ist'; and: 'Man taufte Haryothes ihn, / doch besser wäre »**Hurer**«' (in both cases, no transliteration given, but clearly *ḫnt-nq* is implied).[25]

18) Prada (2023): '**pillow-biter** (lit., **receiver of fucks**)' (transliteration: *šp-nq*).[26]

Finally, to the above one can add two modern lexicographical tools of demotic studies that tackle this passage and this compound, namely:

19) *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*: '*ḫnt-nq* "**arch fornicator** (lit., **foremost of fornicators**)"'.[27] An entry is also given to *šp-nq*, expressly to mark it as a ghost-word based on a mistaken reading: '*∅šp nq* n.m. "receiver of (sexual) intercourse"; reread *ḫnt nq* "**foremost of fornicator(s)**"'.[28]

20) *Demotische Textdatenbank*: '*?šsp? nq* [...] Man nannte ihn Haryotes ("Horus ist heil"), während sein wirklicher Name "**Erzhurer**" ist.'[29] Oddly, the transliteration and translation do not match: the former follows, albeit *dubitanter*, the old reading *šp-nq*, but the translation reproduces that of Thissen's *ḫnt-nq*. On account of this inconsistency, it is unclear what version the *Demotische Textdatenbank*'s editors intended to endorse, if any.

In summary, following the emergence of Thissen's competing reading, modern interpreters of this text have been radically split over the understanding of Haryotes' alias. Perhaps surprisingly for late twentieth to early twenty-first century Egyptology (or not?), the divide seems to reproduce the boundaries of 'national schools', with all Francophone and German-speaking publications on opposite sides of the barricade, and a wee more variety of opinions amongst the three Anglophone studies. More remarkably, of two lexicographical tools (which, as such, are bound to be more influential on future studies), one explicitly embraces the reading *ḫnt-nq*, and the other partly sanctions it by way of its chosen translation. Overall, *ḫnt-nq* appears to be today's favourite reading, embraced by a majority of the surveyed studies:

20 M. Smith, 'Egyptian Invective: A Review Discussion of *Der verkommene Harfenspieler: eine altägyptische Invektive* (*P. Wien KM 3877*). By Heinz Josef Thissen', *JEA* 86 (2000), pp. 173–187, at 178.

21 P. Collombert, 'Le "harpiste dévoyé"', *ÉAO* 29 (2003), pp. 29–40, at 37.

22 D. Agut-Labordère – M. Chauveau, *Héros, magiciens et sages oubliés de l'Égypte ancienne: Une anthologie de la littérature en égyptien démotique* (La roue à livres 60, Paris, 2011), p. 316.

23 F. Gaudard – J.H. Johnson, 'Chicago Demotic Dictionary', in: G.J. Stein (ed.), *The Oriental Institute 2012–2013 Annual Report* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 23–28, at 24; online at: https://isac.uchicago.edu/about/annual-reports/oriental-institute-2012-2013-annual-report (last consulted 21 January 2025).

24 L.D. Morenz, *Kleine Archäologie des ägyptischen Humors: Ein kulturgeschichtlicher Testschnitt* (BÄB 3, 2nd edition, Berlin, 2014), p. 67.

25 Hoffmann – Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, pp. 350, 355. The exact same translations (in the first case, a literal one, in the latter, a literary rendering) appear in the earlier edition: F. Hoffmann – J.F. Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* (EQÄ 4, Berlin, 2007), pp. 313, 318.

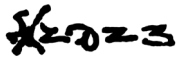
26 Prada, 'Sex and Gender Balance', in: *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, p. 402 (fn. 30).

27 *CDD*, *N*, p. 131 (s.v. *nk*); *CDD*, *Ḥ*, p. 117 (s.v. *ḫnṯ*).

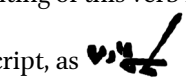
28 *CDD*, *Š*, pp. 88, 90 (s.v. *šp*).

29 Consultable within the online TLA, under the entry for 'Wien 3877 (Verkommener Harfenspieler)', at: https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/text/ZUUZUYWKCFEGNDJOTR67Q6PKT4 (last consulted 21 January 2025).

Interpreter	*šp-nq*	*ḫnt-nq*		Interpreter	*šp-nq*	*ḫnt-nq*
Thissen (1992)		✓		Gaudard and Johnson (2013)		✓
Brunsch (1996)		✓		Morenz (2014)		✓
Chauveau (1996)	✓			Hoffmann and Quack (2018)		✓
Morenz (1996)		✓		Prada (2023)	✓	
Smith (2000)	✓			*Chicago Demotic Dictionary*		✓
Collombert (2003)	✓			*Demotische Textdatenbank*	?	?
Agut-Labordère and Chauveau (2011)	✓					

In fact, the correct reading of  is *šp-nq*, with an unambiguous reference to bottoming, and this can convincingly be argued on the grounds of both palaeography and textual content, as I will present in what follows.

2 Getting to the Bottom of the Palaeography

To begin with the palaeography, it is perhaps surprising that, despite the wild disagreement on our compound's reading, the only technical discussion of its writing ever to appear was in Thissen's edition – a discussion that, in itself, is quite brief and hardly conclusive.[30] Thissen commences by remarking that the reading of as *šp* is unlikely, in that such a phonetic writing of *šp* (hieroglyphic equivalent:) in III/3 would be inconsistent with the expected, etymological writing of this verb found elsewhere within the same manuscript, as  (hieroglyphic equivalent:), in col. IV/14. This is a reasonable *caveat*, but hardly a strong counterargument.

First of all, phonetic writings are not surprising, particularly during the Roman Period, and even in the case of common verbs.[31] The same goes for the possible omission of determinatives, notably when the determinative is a semantically light one (the book-roll determinative that normally accompanies *šp* being a case in point) and the word at hand is in a *status constructus*, standing as the first element of a compound term.[32] In this respect, it can hardly be shocking that the scribe should have used the traditional writing of *šp* when plainly employed in a full and independent fashion, as the verb 'to receive' (*bw-ỉr=w šp=f* 'he cannot be received/admitted' in polite society – as the text continues to clarify, still banging on about the flaws of Haryotes), and instead should have chosen to resort to a determinative-less and purely phonetic writing when *šp* stood as the lesser-spotted introductory element of a compound, meaning 'receiver of' – the overall *šp-nq* compound being the actual word the scribe perceived as a lexical unit worthy of a determinative (the phallus one, given its overall sexual meaning).[33] One may further note that phonetic writings of the verb *šp* are uncommon but not unattested, being perhaps also influenced by the – traditionally phonetic – orthography of the noun *šp* 'gift'.[34]

Moreover, I believe the difference in writing between the two occurrences of *šp* in our papyrus can be further justified through this verb's morphology, as made apparent in its Coptic forms. Indeed, in Coptic this verb – whose typical Sahidic paradigm is ϣⲱⲡ, ϣ(ⲉ)ⲡ-, ϣⲟⲡ= – need not necessarily use the ⲣⲉϥ-periphrastic construction to become a *nomen agentis*, as most verbs ought to (Coptic

30 Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler*, p. 42.

31 See, for example, the phonetic writings (both with and without *m*) of *šm* 'to go' in P. Turin N 766 (c. first century CE), in M.A. Stadler, 'The Funerary Text of Papyrus Turin N. 766: A Demotic Book of Breathing (Part 1)', *Enchoria* 25 (1999), pp. 76–110, at 109.

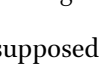
32 For another Roman example, and another omission of the book-roll determinative in the first element of a compound, see the treatment of the word *sr* in P. Wien D 6165, with *sr* 'to arrange' sporting such a determinative when used independently, but with no determinative of its own within the compound *sr-qnqn* 'order of battle': F. Hoffmann, *Ägypter und Amazonen: Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri: P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A* (MPER NS 24, Vienna, 1995), p. 168 (s.v. *sr*, *sr-qnqnw*).

33 See the remarks already made in this direction by Chauveau, 'Review: Thissen', *CdÉ* 71/141, p. 65.

34 For another phonetic (and determinative-less) writing of *šp* 'to receive', see the reference *supra*, at fn. 7. For standard writings of *šp* 'gift', see Erichsen, *Glossar*, pp. 502 (s.v. *šp*), and *CDD*, Š, pp. 98–99 (s.v. *šp*).

ⲣⲉⲫϣⲟⲡ = demotic *rmṯ ỉwf šp* 'man who receives, receiver').[35] This is because ϣⲟⲡ is one of those few Coptic verbs to have its own *participium coniunctivum*, in the form ϣⲁⲡ-, a distinct verbal form to be used in compounds and by itself meaning 'receiver of'.[36] This suggests that what we have in our text's *šp-nq* is a so far unique attestation of this *participium coniunctivum* in demotic, a special and rare form likely to further justify a special and rare orthography.[37] Looking again at Coptic, moreover, the vocalisation of this participial form, with ⲁ (as characteristic of all *participia coniunctiva*), is striking, for it makes it a homophone of another Coptic word, ϣⲁⲡ '(prenuptial) marriage gift', itself the Coptic counterpart of demotic *šp* 'gift'.[38] Could not this homophony be yet an additional reason that influenced our scribe to resort to a phonetic spelling for *šp*, as customary for its occurrences as the word for 'gift'?[39]

Now, what about Thissen's new reading and his palaeographical justification of it? My opinion is that they do not bear close scrutiny. To support his *ḫnt* reading (more specifically, in his transliteration, *ḫnṯ* [= *ḫnṯ*], the word's etymological writing with strong *ṯ*) of , he invokes two parallels; yet, when collated, both appear anaemic.[40] The first is from P. Cairo CG 50058, l. 1 (a document dated to the reign of Amasis, year 543 BCE), occurring within the title of Osiris *ḫnṯ ʾImnt.t* 'foremost of the West'.[41] The second is from P. Paris BN 219, l. 2 (a contract from the reign of Philip III Arrhidaeus – in fact, just posthumous –, year 316 BCE), here part of the personal name *Ta-pȝ-ḫnṯ-nwn*.[42] Both are very similar to late hieratic executions of *ḫnt*(*y*) (from hieroglyphic), such as .[43] The hieratic sign shows the face's profile as the element on its right-hand side, and, to its left, two horizontal lines are added for the visage's essential features (originally, the eye and eyebrow?); the aforementioned demotic versions have an overall identical structure, except that the two horizontal lines are now ligatured.

Now, it is clear at first sight how unrelated our writing and Thissen's supposed parallels and  are. The first is obviously made of two distinct signs, which lie at an interval from one another. The other two are composed of one sign traced by two elements, with the curved shape on the right embracing from beneath the other group made by the two ligatured horizontal lines. They are structurally different. Besides, even if one were to forcibly want to see a relation between them, it remains startling that Thissen should invoke demotic parallels that predate the *Invective*'s papyrus by more than three to five and a half centuries.[44] The fact is that Roman demotic executions (and many Ptolemaic ones, too) of *ḫnṯ* tend to be remarkably different, often writing *ḫ* and *n* with the

35 See CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 576a (s.v. ϣⲟⲡ > ⲣⲉⲫϣ.).

36 See CRUM, *op. cit.*, p. 576a (s.v. ϣⲟⲡ > p c).

37 Incidentally, I even wonder whether the presence of this *participium coniunctivum* in our text may be indicative of its (and not just specifically the Vienna manuscript's) geographical origin. Indeed, this form of ϣⲟⲡ is only attested in Lycopolitan (Subachmimic) and Boahiric Coptic, according to Crum (see *supra*, reference in previous fn.), and, whilst the provenance of P. Wien KHM ÄS 3877 is unknown, the wider Akhmim region has previously been suggested as a plausible candidate, also on account of other linguistic features (THISSEN, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler*, pp. 2, 9–10, 80–83). Finally, back with regard to Coptic, it is interesting to briefly note that the use of the *participium coniunctivum* of ϣⲟⲡ is clearly alien to Sahidic, rather than simply happening to be unattested in it. In a passage from the *Acts of the Apostles*, xviii.7 (in which Paul speaks of how he was welcomed in Malta, following his shipwreck on the island), the word 'hospitality', which is ⲛⲉⲧϣⲁⲡϣⲉⲛⲏⲟ in the Bohairic version (lit., 'acceptance of strangers', expressed in the Greek *New Testament* by the adverb φιλοφρόνως 'affably, hospitably'), appears in Sahidic as ⲛⲏ̈ⲧⲛⲁⲓϣⲛ̄ⲏⲟ (lit., 'love of strangers'), a compound built not on ϣⲁⲡ-, but on ⲙⲁⲓ- instead, the much more common *participium coniunctivum* of ⲙⲉ 'to love'. See CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 576a (s.v. ϣⲟⲡ > p c), and, for the full version of the Sahidic passage, H. THOMPSON, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 83.

38 See CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 574b (s.v. ϣⲁⲡ).

39 See *supra*, at fn. 34.

40 THISSEN, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler*, p. 42.

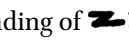
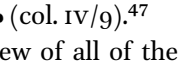
41 W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, III: *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* (*Fortsetzung*) (CGC 50023–50165, Berlin, 1932), p. 39, pl. xvii/b. Also reproduced in ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 363 (s.v. *ḫnṯ*, first example).

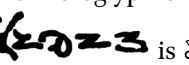
42 E.A.E. REYMOND, 'Papyrus No. 219 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', *ZÄS* 111 (1984), pp. 18–24, at 23 (n. i), pl. ii. The correct reading of this anthroponym is given in LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, I/16, p. 1181 (s.v. *ta-pȝ-ḫnṯ-nwn*, no. 1).

43 See G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, III: *Von der zweiundzwanzigsten Dynastie bis zum dritten Jahrhundert nach Chr.* (2nd edition, Leipzig, 1936), p. 8 (no. 90). The example I reproduce here is from the Roman P. Rhind 1, col. v/5, but, for a wider diachronic selection of samples (showing how this writing is not limited to late hieratic), see the entry for (D0030 / MdC D20) in the online AKU-PAL, at: https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/graphemes/125 (last consulted 21 January 2025) (with thanks to Susanne Töpfer, Turin, for discussing this sign with me).

44 In this respect, Thissen's description of P. Paris BN 219 as 'mitteldemotisch' (THISSEN, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler*, p. 42) could have been a tad more specific, for, as seen above, this papyrus is in fact Macedonian in date, lying at the transition between early and middle (Ptolemaic) demotic.

phonetic ('alphabetic') signs to either replace or act as a supplement to the demotic equivalent of 𓂋.[45]

The reading of  can only be understood to be *šp*, and this is additionally confirmed by comparison of the writing of its two elements with other (unquestioned) occurrences of *š* and *p* in the *Invective*'s papyrus. The match between *š* (in its shape derived from hieroglyphic 𓈖) here and everywhere else in the papyrus is positive: suffice to compare it with its writing in *šʿiy*(*.t*) just in the line above ours: (col. III/2).[46] As for *p*, one can see how its angular execution (which may at first mislead one into interpreting it as an *n* above a *t*) is consistently typical of our scribe: compare it, for example, in *pne*,  (col. IV/9).[47]

So, in view of all of the above, I think it unquestionable that, palaeographically, the reading *šp-nq* must be adopted, and *ḫnt-nq* once and for all discarded: the only possible hieroglyphic transcription of our papyrus' demotic  is 𓈖𓂋𓏏𓐍𓋴𓈙. But – and Koen will concur here – there is more to life than palaeography. And a number of points transpiring from our textual passage itself, and its co(n)text, also strongly support the reading *šp-nq*.

3 A Man Upside-Down: Bottom-shaming Haryotes

From a literary and linguistic point of view, calling Haryotes *ḫnt-nq* 'whoremonger' would certainly be pertinent as yet another insult piling upon his head and contributing to his character assassination, mocking the harpist's already notorious greediness and intemperance – in this case, with regard to his sex life. But the fun (for the audience/reader) and literary play (for the author) would pretty much end there. Through *šp-nq*, instead, a game of linguistic and cultural references, as well as a better intratextual fit within the *Invective*'s structure, are unlocked. To begin with, one ought to remember that, in the author's intention, *šp-nq* is not meant to be yet just another insult against Haryotes, but an alias – in fact, what his name should be *n mtre* 'for real'. What better choice, then, than to fashion a lewd pseudonym starting with the element *šp-*, thus mimicking the pattern of real contemporary anthroponyms (names such as *Šp-ỉs.t*, *Šp-Bȝst.t*, and the particularly popular *Šp-Mn*)?[48] This would further create a pun, with the element *šp-* here used as the *participium coniunctivum* meaning 'receiver of', yet also reminiscent of the noun *šp* 'gift' (the word used in the aforementioned theophoric anthroponyms),[49] a wordplay facilitated by the homophony of the two words, as seen above from Coptic ϣⲁⲡ (§ 2).[50] On the other hand, none of this would be possible with an alias such as *ḫnt-nq*, for there are no personal names attested in demotic that begin with the element *ḫnṯ*.[51]

Another element that must have influenced the author's choice of *šp* in creating our compound is the fact that this verb could occasionally be employed with a sexual connotation, in both earlier Egyptian and demotic.[52] In this respect, *šp* ('to receive') operates as the antonym of *nk* (which, albeit often plainly rendered with 'having sex', specifically denotes 'penetrating'), with the former indicating the receiving and the latter the giving party in

45 See examples in Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 363 (s.v. *ḫnṯ*), and *CDD*, *Ḥ*, pp. 116–119 (s.v. *ḫnṯ*). The only way one could – rather forcibly – impose Thissen's reading onto the signs in our Vienna papyrus would be to fancy a purely phonetic writing of *ḫnt*, with *š* for *ḫ*, followed by a short horizontal *n* atop an angular *t*, thus transcribing the word as *šnt*, rather than *ḫnṯ*. I mention this to play devil's advocate, but it is hardly an option deserving consideration (nor one that Thissen himself ever contemplated), and one that would be much more peculiar, and create more issues, than simply read *šp* (note also that our scribe writes *n* above *t* as a curved, not straight, stroke, which further invalidates this already most unlikely suggestion: compare the writing of *ntm* in col. I/17).

46 But any other example of *š* in its 𓈖-derived shape within this papyrus will do: search *š*-initial words *ad libitum* in the editor's glossary, Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler*, pp. 116–117.

47 Several other examples can be put forward, such as in *ḫp* (col. IV/18), with yet more that can easily be identified by the reader throughout Thissen's glossary (Thissen, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–123).

48 See Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, I/13, pp. 964–965 (s.v. *šp-ỉs.t*, *šp-bȝst.t*, *šp-mn*).

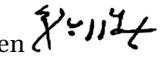
49 For example, the name *Šp-ỉs.t*, also attested in Egypt as Greek Σποννησις (Lüddeckens, *op. cit.*, I/13, p. 964, s.v. *šp-ỉs.t*), is the exact counterpart of Greek Ἰσίδωρος (Isidore, 'Gift-of-Isis') – granted, it was vastly outcompeted, in terms of popularity, by the conceptually similar name *Pȝ-tỉ-ỉs.t* 'The-one-whom-Isis-gave' (Lüddeckens, *op. cit.*, I/4, pp. 290–291, s.v. *pȝ-tj-ỉs.t*).

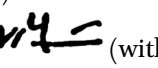
50 One may even wonder whether this pun further contributed to the phonetic orthography used for *šp* in our passage, which, as previously remarked, is typical of the word for 'gift' (see *supra*, at fns 34, 39). Note also the variation in the writing of *šp* amongst orthographies of the personal name *Šp-Mn*, resulting in three main alternative patterns, one of which includes the use of 'alphabetic' signs (Lüddeckens, *op. cit.*, I/13, p. 965, s.v. *šp-mn*, no. 8).

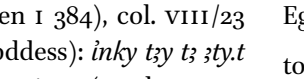
51 See Lüddeckens, *op. cit.*, I/12, p. 882.

52 *Wb.* 4, p. 533.6–7 (s.v. *šsp*); Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 501; *CDD*, *Š*, p. 88 (s.v. *šp*). This is already noted by Chauveau, 'Review: Thissen', *CdÉ* 71/141, p. 65.

sexual intercourse,[53] something that would not have gone unnoticed by the ancient audience or readers of this text. Sexually-connoted examples of *šp* are attested in other demotic literary texts. Here follow two examples from Roman manuscripts:

a) *Myth of the Sun's Eye* (P. Leiden I 384), col. VIII/23 (as part of a speech by the goddess): *ỉnky tȝy tȝ ȝty.t nt šp* 'I am the vulva that receives (*sc.*, becomes impregnated)', written  (note the phallus determinative).[54]

b) *Setne II* (P. BM EA 10822), col. VII/10 (concerning Setne and his wife lying together at night): *šp=s ḫn wʿ mw n ỉwr* (*n-*)*ḏr.t=f* 'she received of (lit., from within, with partitive value) a fluid of impregnation from him', written  (with both the phallus and flesh determinatives).[55]

In the author's intention, the description – in fact, the renaming – of Haryotes as *šp-nq* makes him no longer just a rapacious and overindulgent fool, as he is characterised through much of the *Invective* (which is also what a compound like *ḫnt-nq* would have been limited to, within the sexual sphere). Far worse by the author's and his audience's socio-cultural standards, being a *šp-nq* defines him as the receiving party in anal intercourse. Literally, a 'receiver of fucks', the term is easily rendered in English LGBTQ+ slang as 'bottom'. However, to reflect the author's offensive intent, a more faithful modern English translation would be an openly derogatory term originally coined from outside the queer community, such as 'pillow-biter'.[56] As a *šp-nq*, Haryotes is portrayed as something much worse than a despicable man: surely, he is utterly despicable, but he is anything but a man, for he has renounced what sexually defines a male, i.e., agency in the act of penetration. In this respect, suffice it here to see how performing penetrative sex is euphemistically dubbed in the context of another case of literary bottom-shaming (following the notorious passage of Seth's attempted rape of Horus in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*), where Seth, in order to show himself worthier of the kingship of Egypt than his nephew, testifies before the divine Ennead to have performed (⟶)  *kȝ.wt ʿḥȝ(w)ty* 'a macho's work' on Horus, i.e., to have anally penetrated him.[57] In ancient Egyptian culture, as in many other human cultures ancient and modern, the condemnation and shame cast on men who have sex with men is not equally shared between the two parties, but is primarily (or, in many cases, fully) directed at the bottom, as someone who enacts a taboo reversal of gender roles, someone who undermines and overturns rules that are perceived as foundational of both nature and society.[58]

The idea of topsy-turviness and inversion is indeed central to the depiction of Haryotes and his being a walking abomination (*btȝ.t* 'abomination' is a word that occurs to describe his dealings a few lines down in our text, at col. III/19). As a *šp-nq*, inversion defines his personality.[59] So much so, the concept is reiterated just two lines down from our passage – in what is likely to be an intentional intratextual echo – to also depict his professional skills as a harpist (at col. III/5), which are summarised as a *pne n sbȝ.t* 'perversion (lit., inversion, overturning) of teaching'. Whether as a person or as a musician, the character assassination of Haryotes as the pervert of perverts is relentless.

To conclude the present analysis of the compound *šp-nq*, and of how this coinage was intended to operate on multiple semantic levels by its author, one more aspect ought to be highlighted: the Sethian characterisation of

53 See discussion and references in PRADA, 'Sex and Gender Balance', in: *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, p. 402 (fn. 30).

54 W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge* (*der Papyrus der Tierfabeln – „Kufi"*) *nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strasbourg, 1917), pl. vii. Other instances in this text can be found in col. VIII/22, 32.

55 F.Ll. GRIFFITH, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis: The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas: Atlas: Facsimiles of the Demotic Text of the Second Tale* (Oxford, 1900), pls vii–vii.a. Another example is in col. I/5. On this idiom, see K. RYHOLT, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library* (CP 10 = CNIP 35, Copenhagen, 2012), pp. 190–191 (no. 3).

56 In this respect, by far the best translations to appear to date for this compound are those by Collombert ('le niqué') and Agut-Labordère and Chauveau ('[e]nculé'); see *supra*, in the list of previous interpretations, at nos 13–14.

57 From P. Chester Beatty I, col. XII/3; see A.H. GARDINER, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: Description of a Hieratic Papyrus with a Mythological Story, Love-songs, and Other Miscellaneous Texts: The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I* (London, 1931), pls xii.a–xii.

58 Generally on the topic of homosexuality in ancient Egypt, see B. SCHUKRAFT, 'Homosexualität im alten Ägypten', *SAK* 36 (2007), pp. 297–331; D. MONTSERRAT, *Sex and Society in Græco-Roman Egypt* (London – New York, 1996), pp. 136–162. On the concept of bottom-shaming, its modern history in western societies, and its presence even within today's LGBTQ+ community, see R. VYTNIORGU – J. GARCIA-IGLESIAS, 'Bottom Shaming, Shame Anxiety, and Sexual Wellbeing', *Lambda Nordica* Online first (2025), pp. 1–25, at 4–12; online at: https://doi.org/10.34041/ln.v.990 (last consulted 18 February 2025) (with thanks to Robert Jacobsson, Stockholm, for the reference).

59 Homosexuality can still directly be characterised as an inversion even in modern language – though, thankfully, through terms that mostly sound increasingly obsolete and oldy-worldy –; see the English noun 'invert', Italian 'invertito', or French 'inverti' (see also *supra*, no. 10 in the list of previous interpretations of our passage).

our harpist. In this respect, his renaming is not only apt in the author's view, but necessary, for, far from being a case of *nomen omen*, Haryotes (*Ḥr-wḏ;* 'Horus-is-sound') partakes in none of the characteristics of the god Horus, but rather in those of his nemesis, Seth.[60] Mention of Horus himself – and the god's punishing fury against his enemies, to whom Haryotes is associated – actually directly precedes our passage, and leads to it in a crescendo:

> *ḫ‹r› Ḥr r-r=f n m;‹r›.t* • *šm=f n t; š‹i›y(.t) n s; ;s.t* • 'truly Horus raged against him (*sc.*, Haryotes), • (and) he (*sc.*, Haryotes) got into the massacre of the son of Isis (i.e., was slaughtered by Horus) •' (col. III/2).

Further on, Seth, too, is explicitly mentioned in the *Invective*, and his depravity directly likened to the harpist's, with the ironic outcome that Seth's skills at evildoing appear to be amateurish compared to Haryotes' own:

> *wn-n;.w ỉw=y ḏ.ṯ=s r n; gne.w r-ỉr=f* • *ỉw=w ‹š; r n;-ỉ-ỉr St* • 'I was going to talk about the misdeeds that he (*sc.*, Haryotes) committed, • (but) they would be more numerous than those that Seth committed! •' (col. V/1).[61]

It is important to clarify that the rechristening of *Ḥr-wḏ;* into *šp-nq* is unlikely to constitute a direct reference to the attempted rape of Horus by Seth as best known from the New Kingdom tale of P. Chester Beatty I.[62] This is what Thissen believed (at a time when he still accepted the old *šp-nq* reading), understanding the author's jibe as one drawing an opposition between the god, who did escape Seth's bed unscathed (hence, a Horus who is *wḏ;*), and Haryotes, whose depraved sexuality makes him anything but *wḏ;* (hence, a 'damaged' Horus).[63]

Rather, the connection is traced between Haryotes and Seth directly, with *šp-nq* being as good an alias for Haryotes as it could be, in the author's eye, an epithet for Seth, too. Indeed, depictions of this god in religious/ritual texts can be found that dub him *ḥmty* 'the effeminate',[64] and even allude to elements of his mythology – attested as early as the Old Kingdom, within the *Pyramid Texts* of Pepy I – according to which he was himself the victim of anal rape.[65] At the same time, other texts ridicule him as an incompetent sexual predator and a failed rapist, fundamentally questioning his virility.[66] In this light, at least, it is in fact reasonable to think that Haryotes' new name may indeed also contain an indirect echo of the so-called 'homosexual episode' between Horus and Seth, as best known to us from the aforementioned New Kingdom story.[67] The link, however, is with the figure of

60 As already remarked by previous interpreters: see Chauveau, 'Review: Thissen', *CdÉ* 71/141, pp. 65, 67; Collombert, 'Le "harpiste dévoyé"', *ÉAO* 29, pp. 33, 40 (n. 5).

61 On the reading of Seth's name here, see Smith, 'Egyptian Invective', *JEA* 86, p. 181 (note that I translate here *ỉw=w ‹š;* as an independent third future, but this may just as well be a present circumstantial, 'as they are more numerous'). Another allusion to Seth is seen in col. III/1 by Collombert, 'Le "harpiste dévoyé"', *ÉAO* 29, pp. 37, 40 (n. 5) (followed by Agut-Labordère – Chauveau, *Héros, magiciens et sages oubliés de l'Égypte ancienne*, pp. 316, 362, n. 12). Given the sorry state of the papyrus in this point, it remains however uncertain whether this is the case.

62 See *supra*, at fn. 57.

63 Thissen, 'Der verkommene Harfenspieler', *ZPE* 77, p. 233.

64 See, in the case of Edfu temple, P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (OLA 78, Leuven, 1997), p. 650 (s.v. *ḥmty*). See also H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion* (PdÄ 6, Leiden, 1967), pp. 31, 44. I do not refer here to the myth of Seth's castration, for this god's connection with the protagonist of our *Invective* in this passage seems, to me, to lie in mythological portrayals of Seth as the receiving party of sexual intercourse, rather than in his genital mutilation (but, see the speculations about eunuchs in Collombert, 'Le "harpiste dévoyé"', *ÉAO* 29, p. 34).

65 See the discussion and references in V. Altmann, *Die Kultfrevel des Seth: Die Gefährdung der göttlichen Ordnung in zwei Vernichtungsritualen der ägyptischen Spätzeit (Urk. VI)* (SsR 1, Wiesbaden, 2010), pp. 78–79. To be supplemented with A. von Lieven, 'Review: Altmann, *Die Kultfrevel des Seth: Die Gefährdung der göttlichen Ordnung in zwei Vernichtungsritualen der ägyptischen Spätzeit (Urk. VI)*', *WdO* 42/2 (2012), pp. 244–256, at 248; C. Leitz, *Die Gaumonographien in Edfu und ihre Papyrusvarianten: Ein überregionaler Kanon kultischen Wissens im spätzeitlichen Ägypten: Soubassementstudien III* (SsR 9, Wiesbaden, 2014), I, pp. 184–186; and A.-K. Gill, *The Hieratic Ritual Books of Pawerem (P. BM EA 10252 and P. BM EA 10081) from the Late 4th Century BC* (SsR 25, Wiesbaden, 2019), I, pp. 240, 271 (concerning P. BM EA 10252, col. X/24–25; with thanks to Ann-Katrin Gill, Leipzig, for this reference).

66 See, e.g., M. Smith, 'The Reign of Seth: Egyptian Perspectives from the First Millennium BCE', in: L. Bareš – F. Coppens – K. Smoláriková (eds), *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE: Proceedings of an International Conference: Prague, September 1–4, 2009* (Prague, 2010), pp. 396–430, at 402–403.

67 This is our first go-to text, being the most extensive and best preserved version of this mythological episode, but the legend was still popular in Graeco-Roman times. See, e.g., the allusions within the inscriptions of the temples of Edfu and Dendera, as discussed in D. Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta d'après le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84* (MIFAO 125, Cairo, 2006), pp. 257–258. Given their fragmentary state, it is unfortunately unclear whether the episode was properly featured in the demotic sources that concern the myth of Horus and Seth, such as the Ptolemaic manuscripts P. Berlin P. 8278 (in which the latter god still appears as a laughable anti-hero) and P. Berlin P. 15549 + 15551 + 23727 (where one finds a tantalising mention of *wty* (*n-*)*ḏr.ṯ=f* 'semen in his hand', at l. 15), on which, see, respectively, F. Gaudard, 'Pap.

Seth, not of Horus, for Seth in fact here becomes the victim of his own rape plot: it is he who ends up being the receiving party – albeit by proxy, through the shrewdness of Isis – and ingesting the semen of Horus, as will be revealed later before the tribunal of the gods. By all intents and purposes, Seth is 'topped' and inseminated by Horus, with the outcome of becoming pregnant by the latter with Thoth, in some versions of this myth. That the process is here, strictly speaking, a case of indirect *irrumatio* (oral), rather than *paedicatio* (anal), does not make Seth any less of a bottom, from the ancient viewpoint.[68]

And it is so that Haryotes, unsuitably named at birth after the god Horus, is re-baptised Mr Pillow-biter by the author of the *Invective*, who thus aims to perfect his victim's intimate connection with the deity that truly reflects his nature, Seth, via the denial of manhood that this bottom-shaming jibe implies.

4 By Way of a Conclusion: the Time-honoured Tradition of Insulting with the Ancient Egyptian F-word

The *Invective against a Debauched Harpist* is an extraordinary text, and its outpour of insults against Haryotes – topped by the new coinage *šp-nq* – surely makes it stand out amongst many of its literary peers. The use of insults and swearwords in the ancient Egyptian *belles lettres*, and in other areas of textual production, however, is anything but unique to this text. This is not the place to trace a history of insults and swearing in ancient Egypt,[69] so, suffice to bring up just a handful of examples, beginning from some roughly contemporary material in demotic.

Poetic (most likely, sung) compositions pertaining to religious rituals of an orgiastic nature abound, unsurprisingly, with cursing, the best example possibly being the so-called text for the goddess Bastet's festival of drunkenness, primarily preserved in P. Carlsberg 69.[70]

A text which is as tantalising as it is complex, inked on O. Wien D 70, contains a list of 'abuses/insults' (*hwš.w*, according to its own heading, at l. 1) against a woman named Tbekis (*T3-byk.t* 'The-she-falcon').[71] In this respect, it offers many a point of comparison with our *Invective*, but directed against a female target. The very idea of questioning the victim's name in light of their real nature, which is at the centre of our passage in col. III/3, is featured here too, though in a looser and artistically less consummate way, when the speaking voice says of Tbekis: *t3 ḫyb.t m rn=s t3 wr3.t m ḫrb=s* '(she is) the lamb in her name, the witch in her appearance' (l. 5).[72]

But, swearwords occur even in genres that, perhaps, modern literary sensitivity would expect to be immune from them, such as epic (or martial narratives, should the former term irk some in our discipline). Within the demotic *Inaros Cycle*, the *Battle for the Armour of Inaros* (P. Krall) offers an excellent example of a heroic clash, in which curses, rather than blows, are exchanged between

Berlin P. 8278 and Its Fragments: Testimony of the Osirian Khoiak Festival Celebration during the Ptolemaic Period', in: V. Lepper (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung: Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum* (ÄOP 1, Berlin, 2012), pp. 269–286, at 273; and K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Der Streit zwischen Horus und Seth in einer demotischen Fassung (Pap. Berlin P 15549 + 15551 + 23727)', in: H.-J. Thissen – K.-Th. Zauzich (eds), *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983* (Würzburg, 1984), pp. 275–281, at 276, 278–279, pl. 38.

68 Both sexual practices are closely connected from a conceptual point of view, as forms of man-on-man domination through sexual violence. For the Roman world, such an understanding is consummately showcased by the notorious opening of Catullus' (first century BCE) *Carmen* XVI (ll. 1–2): *pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo / Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi* 'I will fuck you in the arse and in the face, / you Aurelius, poof, and you faggot, Furius'.

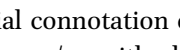
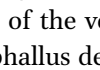
69 A separate study on this topic is currently in the works by the present writer, with a specific focus on *nk* and its derivatives. On swearing in ancient Egypt, see R. Fuchs, 'Schimpfwörter', in: *LÄ* 5 (Wiesbaden, 1984), cols 634–638. On *nk*, see also S. Schreiber, '"Keusch wie kaum ein anderes Volk"? Einige Anmerkungen zum Sexual-Vokabular der alten Ägypter', in: D. Mendel – U. Claudi (eds), *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext: Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes: Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* (AAP Sondernummer 1991, Cologne, 1991), pp. 315–335, at 322–326 (nos 5–8); and Prada, 'Sex and Gender Balance', in: *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, p. 402 (fns 29–30), with further references.

70 Unpublished, but see the discussion and translations in Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 110–113; Hoffmann – Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, pp. 305–311. Indulging for a second in pure speculation, one may wonder whether the *Invective*'s author imagined our own Haryotes as possibly hired to perform – less than admirably – such orgiastic songs, too, given the recurrent mentions of Mut and Sekhmet in the text (see, e.g., col. II/18). For an orgiastic demotic composition used in the cult of Mut, see R. Jasnow – M. Smith, 'New Fragments of the Demotic Mut Text in Copenhagen and Florence', in: R. Jasnow – K.M. Cooney (eds), *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan* (MVCAE 1, Atlanta, GA, 2015), pp. 239–282.

71 Published in K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Schmähworte gegen eine Frau', *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 135–151. Most recent treatment in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, 'Der Ritt auf der Sau: Kulturgeschichtliche Anmerkungen zum demotischen Ostr. D 70 in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek', in: S.L. Lippert – M.A. Stadler (eds), *Gehilfe des Thot: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zu seinem 75. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 43–50.

72 Zauzich, 'Schmähworte gegen eine Frau', *Enchoria* 18, pp. 136–137, 140, 150, pls 23–25.

the two warriors Petekhons (Padikhonsu) and Khayris (Ankhhor): their fine lexical picks would no doubt become, to this day, the rowdiness of an officers' mess. The former's choice of words includes [*n*]*ts* '[wh]oremonger' (or 'rent boy'?) and *n*[*t*]*sy*(*.t*) 'wh[o]re' (lit., 'cheap woman', from *nḏs.t*) (col. XVI/20),[73] in the context of a passage apparently intent on demeaning his rival's pedigree (see also the special connotation of the verb *rḫ* 'to know', just above, at col. XVI/19, with phallus determinative to indicate knowledge in the biblical sense). But, as in the case of the alias of our Haryotes, this text also resorts to the use of *nk*, with Petekhons directly calling his rival not just a fucker, but, more elaborately, *p; nk n t; ḫ*|[*l.t*(?)] '(you) wi|[dow(?)]-fucker' (col. XVI/15–16).[74] Nor should one think any less, for this, of the ancient Egyptian epic genre, for its supposedly most dignified Greek counterpart can be equally lively – or foul-mouthed, depending on how delicate the modern reader's sensibility is –, even in the works of Homer. It is sufficient here to refer to the passage of *Iliad* VI, l. 344, in which Helen, the heroine at the origin of the Trojan war, in conversation with Hector regrets her own existence, and, in a startlingly self-abasing outburst, calls herself a κύων 'bitch'.[75]

The above should be enough to show that the potty-mouthed language found in the *Invective* does not stand in isolation, and that insults have a glorious tradition within ancient Egyptian textual production, a tradition well-attested in demotic, but which, in fact, virtually spans the entirety of ancient Egypt's history (at least, the part of it illustrated by written records). As in the case of English 'fuck', probably the most prevalent and versatile word for swearing in the Anglophone world (and beyond),[76] likewise *nk* seems to have enjoyed pride of place in the hierarchy and popularity of ancient Egypt's aischrology, its attestations going back from demotic and Roman times all the way into hieroglyphs and the Old Kingdom.[77] To my knowledge, the earliest example appears in a relief in the mastaba of Ty in Saqqara, dating to the 5th Dynasty, within a caption from a scene showing a group of fighting boatmen, one of whom addresses his adversary so: (←)[1]  [2]  *mi̯ (i)r=k r(=y)* | *nk pw* 'come to me, yeah, | you fucker!'.[78]

From the twenty-fifth century BCE rowdy boatmen in Ty's mastaba to Petekhons' crude war cry in the second century CE P. Krall, over more than two and a half millennia and from Old Egyptian to demotic, the ancient Egyptian F-word seemingly ruled as the unchallenged queen of cursing along the Nile. But, even within this impressive tradition, our *Invective*'s slur can still be argued to hold a special place (for better or for worse), and not just for being a *hapax legomenon*. Its specificity rests in the fact that *šp-nq* belongs to the category of bottom-shaming. And whilst the concept of bottom-shaming is well present in ancient Egyptian culture since earlier times – as we have seen above (§ 3) through the famed example of the *Contendings of Horus and Seth* and Seth's claim to have topped Horus (very much physically so) –, distilling such an idea into one very specific, very explicit, and very virulent insult like this demotic compound is, to my knowledge, unparalleled in ancient Egyptian textual culture.

73 F. Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus* (MPER NS 26, Vienna, 1996), pp. 315–316 (fns 1798–1799), pl. 16. The editor took these words as *hapax legomena*, reading them, respectively, as *ns* and *nsy*, due to damage affecting the papyrus. For the correct reading, and their identity with earlier Egyptian *nḏs*/*nḏs.t*, see H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at: Fallstudien zu Außenseitern im Alten Ägypten* (WSA KBÄ 1, Würzburg, 2005), p. 212 (fn. 153).

74 Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, p. 314, pl. 16.

75 M. Graver, 'Dog-Helen and Homeric Insult', *ClassAnt* 14/1 (1995), pp. 41–61.

76 Though only attested in writing over a mere five centuries; for a general overview, see M. Mohr, *Holy Shit: A Brief History of Swearing* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 151–153, 288. In this respect, other modern European languages are much more precocious than English with their insults, as in the case of Italian. I am thinking of the so-called St Clement and Sisinnius inscription in the Basilica di San Clemente al Laterano, Rome, a medieval instance of *Reden und Rufe* caption from the late eleventh century and an early written attestation of the Italian language, which reads: 'fili de le pute traite' ('you sons of bitches, pull!'); see, e.g., C. Marazzini, *La lingua italiana: Profilo storico* (2nd edition, Bologna, 1998), pp. 156–159.

77 Not to forget that *nk* continued its life even after as ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ, its Coptic descendant, with its meaning now narrowed down to the concept of 'illicit sex', namely, 'adultery' (see Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, pp. 222b–223a, s.v. ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ). Use of vocabulary related to sex in Coptic is of course hugely affected by the new cultural frame of Christian Egypt, its strict rules, and the obsession with sin, which take out of it most of the potential for laughter – at least, that of the intentional kind. In a monastic environment, even the means of transportation available to monks are strictly regulated by the fear of sex (and of the possible temptation induced by accidental body contact), with precept no. 109 of the *Rule of St Pachomius* stating that: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲗⲉ [ⲉⲩ]ⲉⲓⲱ̄ ⲉⲩⲃⲏⲩ ⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲥⲛⲁⲩ 'two men shall not mount (*sc.*, ride) [an] ass bareback'. See H. Behlmer, 'Koptische Quellen zu (männlicher) "Homosexualität"', *SAK* 28 (2000), pp. 27–53, at 39.

78 By 'yeah', I render the text's strengthening of the imperative through (*i*)*r=k*. The hieroglyphs are copied after the excellent photograph in G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (SieglinExp. 2, Leipzig, 1913), pl. 110. For further references to this inscription, see Prada, 'Sex and Gender Balance', in: *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, p. 402 (fn. 30).

Surely, this passage would have elicited laughter from the ancient audience and readers of the *Invective*, for buggery was alive and well in contemporary Egyptian society. This being Graeco-Roman Egypt, the mind immediately goes to P. Oxy. XLII 3070, a notorious papyrus containing a Greek letter (or pseudo-letter, in fact just a joke amongst mates?) from two men to another, making plans for a threesome.[79] But, Egypt provides us with even more interesting epigraphic testimonies, in the form of a Greek graffito that can proudly stand comparison with the so-called 'obscene' (and wildly more famous) graffiti from Pompeii, and that shows us that buggery was practiced (if we are to believe this text), or at least thought of and talked about, even within the august surroundings of Karnak temple – as was, depending on how we understand the text, bottom-shaming.

Unlike its Pompeian counterparts, this graffito has remained relatively unknown, due to a combination of scholars' unfamiliarity with ancient Greek in Egyptology and prudery. The graffito is SB III 6840. Seemingly dating from the Ptolemaic Period, it is inscribed on the outer face of the southern wall delimiting the great court of Amun's temple in Karnak. First published in 1923, it only received a modern translation in 1996 (so far the only one, to my knowledge), as its content was considered too foul to be translated into a modern language (or even the safer resource of Latin!).[80] I offer here below the full text with a new translation, since the published one significantly misapprehends part of the text, despite its moral merits against supercilious academic censorship. It consists of six lines, and, though written by one and the same hand, it could also be understood as a cluster of three (sub-)graffiti (A to C):

Graffito Karnak SB III 6840

A	1.	Πτολεμαῖος βινοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ῥύμῃ.	Ptolemy gets fucked in the alleyway.[a]
B	2.	Πτολεμαῖος Ἀβδαίου ἐπυγίζοσαν αὐ-	Ptolemy son of Abdaios got fucked up the arse
	3.	τὸν ἐν⟦θ⟧τῆι αὐτῇ ῥύμῃ, ὁ πυγίσας αὐ-	in the same alleyway, the one who fucked him
	4.	τὸν . . .	up the arse (being) . . .[b]
	5.	ος . . .	os . . .
C	6.	Πτολ{ε}εμαῖος . . .	Ptolemy . . .

a Both here and in the next line, the construction sounds linguistically quite Graeco-Egyptian, as it does not use the Greek passive voice, but rather an impersonal third person plural (as demotic does), first emphasising Ptolemy's name in a left dislocation, and then resuming it with the pronoun αὐτόν: lit., '(as for) Ptolemy, they fuck him in the alleyway' (*pace* D. BAIN, 'Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress (βινῶ, κινῶ, πυγίζω, ληκῶ, οἴφω, λαικάζω)', *ClassQuart* 41/1 [1991], pp. 51–77, at 56, who, approaching the graffito from a standard Greek linguistic perspective, tries to justify the name's nominative case by seeing in it 'a kind of rubric'). MONTSERRAT, *Sex and Society in Græco-Roman Egypt*, p. 154, inexplicably renders this first sentence with a past tense.

b The identity of the man who buggered Ptolemy would have been revealed in this lacuna (and perhaps the -ος at the start of l. 5 concluded his name, unless it was part of yet another iteration of Ptolemy's). MONTSERRAT, *Sex and Society in Græco-Roman Egypt*, p. 154, completely misunderstands the syntax here and mistranslates the text, reading: 'The one who was buggered [is] PTOLEMAIUS'. This is impossible, for πυγίσας is an aorist active participle, not passive, and is further accompanied by its direct object, αὐτόν: it can therefore only refer to Ptolemy's topping partner.

79 This first century CE papyrus (which, if a real letter, should surely be considered a rape threat, rather than an 'indecent proposal' – as instead dubbed since the time of its edition –, given that the third man is threatened with being thrashed, should he not agree to be buggered by the other two) is featured in many publications: see, e.g., MONTSERRAT, *Sex and Society in Græco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 136–138.

80 *Editio princeps* in N. AIMÉ-GIRON, 'Sur des graffiti grecs découverts à Karnak par M. Pillet', *ASAE* 23 (1923), pp. 139–142, commenting (at 140, 142): 'Il est impossible d'oser une traduction française de ces textes, et le latin lui-même braverait l'honnêteté [...] [mais le] text grec [...] n'offrira du reste aucune difficulté aux hellénistes'; and 'Voilà tout ce qui se peut décemment écrire sur ces graffiti. [...] On voudra bien excuser mon silence'. The text was then reprinted in the *Sammelbuch*, also without translation, though in this case for general editorial practice, rather than censorship. It then resurfaced in A. BERNAND, *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*, I: *Les confines libyques* (MIFAO 91, Cairo, 1970), III, pp. 918–919, again left untranslated (see p. 918: 'La décence nous interdit de le traduire ...'). On prudery-induced censorship or omitted translations in Egyptological publications, see *supra*, fn. 12. Its first translation finally appeared in MONTSERRAT, *Sex and Society in Græco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 154–155.

The graffito prodigally regales its reader with not one, but two verbs, to describe the goings-on in which a certain Ptolemy son of Abdaios allegedly engaged in this corner of the temple area: first βινέω, a vulgar slang ('to fuck'), often applied to illicit liaisons and also to man-on-man bum-sex; and then πυγίζω (twice), the lexical rock star of anal sex in the Greek language ('to fuck up the arse'), derived from the noun πυγή 'arse'.[81] Of course, any interpretation of this graffito must rely on speculation, but it seems safe enough to understand it as a case of defamation, scratched on the temple's wall by somebody who was ill-disposed towards Ptolemy, rather than a case of boasting by Ptolemy himself about his amatory skills. There is a clear crescendo from text A to B (which perhaps originally continued in C?), with the latter being a longer text, identifying more precisely Ptolemy by means of his patronymic, choosing the even more explicit verb πυγίζω, and ultimately naming Ptolemy's companion in his Karnak trysts.[82] Whatever the truth, whether Ptolemy had been actually 'outed' by this graffito, or was hereby attacked with wholly made-up accusations motivated by a personal vendetta, what is interesting to note here is that buggery was very much present in the life and minds of the inhabitants of Graeco-Roman Egypt, and could even be weaponised in social interactions, particularly through the accusation of being the object of πυγίζειν, that is, in contemporary demotic Egyptian, a *šp-nq*.

Wherever the reader's preferences may lie, I hope these pages have managed to provide them with material that they will find of interest, be it with regard to demotic palaeography, the history of sexuality in ancient Egypt, the evolution of swearing in the ancient Egyptian language, or a most startling case of a bottom-shaming slur from an ancient civilisation. And woe to the one who may again think that palaeography is a dull art, for – as witnessed by Koen's own published work – one never knows what dark and interesting (bunny) holes the study of the cursive scripts of ancient Egypt may take you down.[83]

81 F. Montanari, *Vocabolario della lingua greca* (2nd edition, Turin, 2004), pp. 426 (s.v. βῑνέω), 1863 (s.v. πῡγίζω). For a detailed discussion of these two verbs, see Bain, 'Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress', *ClassQuart* 41/1, pp. 54–62, 67–70. Note that πυγίζω is also the verb chosen for specifying the details of the 'gay threesome' envisaged in the aforementioned P. Oxy. xlii 3070 (twice, ll. 5, 8).

82 This person's name, which would have identified the πυγίσας, was later scratched away alongside the final part of text B – likely, by the very person who was here mentioned; see Aimé-Giron, 'Sur des graffiti grecs', *ASAE* 23, p. 140.

83 *Addendum*. My transliteration of the passage describing Haryotes' original naming (*i-ir=w tỉ rn⸢=f r⸣ Ḥr-wḏ;* see *supra*, § 1) rectifies those of the previous editors. Revillout reads *i-ir=w tỉ rn [r-r=f] Ḥr-wḏ;* (Revillout, *Un poème satyrique*, p. 16 [Texte]), whilst Thissen has *i-ir=w tỉ rn [n=f] Ḥr-wḏ;* (Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler*, p. 72). The latter is not only palaeographically implausible, but also grammatically impossible, as a nominal direct object cannot precede a pronominal dative. For a parallel to the idiom *tỉ rn=f r* PN, see, for example, *Setne II* col. vii/10: *tỉ<=w> rn=f r Wsy-mn-Rᶜ* 'he <was> named Zmanres'; text in Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pls vii–vii.a; correct reading of the name by Ritner in W.K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (3rd edition, New Haven – London, 2003), p. 489 (fn. 46).

23

Ein abnormal-hieratischer oder protodemotischer Brief über ein Bauprojekt (pKöln Inv. 3609)

Joachim Friedrich Quack

Den hier endlich publizierten Papyrus[1] kenne ich an sich schon sehr lange. Bereits etwa 1997 hat mich Friedhelm Hoffmann auf ihn aufmerksam gemacht, weil er es angesichts der Bauthematik für möglich hielt, daß es eine Verbindung zum Buch vom Tempel gebe. Damals hat Heinz-Joseph Thissen das Original kurzzeitig nach Berlin mitgebracht, wo der damalige Photograph des Ägyptologischen Instituts der FU Berlin, Herr Frey, davon Photos gemacht hat. Nachdem rasch klar war, daß der Text in keiner Verbindung zum Buch vom Tempel stand, legte ich ihn einstweilen beiseite, um prioritär andere Textbearbeitungen voranzubringen.

Ein nächster Anlaß, näher auf den Papyrus zu schauen, ergab sich im September 2015, als ich die Möglichkeit hatte, die ägyptischen Handschriften der Kölner Papyrussammlung durchzusehen.[2] Glücklicherweise hatte kurz vorher, im Sommersemester 2015, Koen seinen Crash-Kurs zum Abnormal-Hieratischen in Heidelberg angeboten, so daß ich nicht ganz unvorbereitet war. Und die Festschrift für Koen ist schließlich die Gelegenheit, sich endlich einmal zu einer Publikation aufzuraffen. Zwar kann ich kaum sagen, alle Probleme des Textes gelöst zu haben. Aber irgendwann kommt einfach der Punkt, an dem es sinnvoller ist, das öffentlich vorzulegen, was man erreicht hat. Vielleicht können andere damit sinnvoll weiterarbeiten und auch neue Ideen entwickeln.

Über die Herkunft des Papyrus ist nichts bekannt. Charikleia Armoni verdanke ich die Angabe: „der Papyrus ist zusammen mit einigen wenigen griechischen und einem koptischen Text 1965 in Kairo gekauft worden. Die restlichen Teile dieses Ankaufs deuten darauf hin, dass es sich nicht um ein zusammenhängendes Konvolut handelte. Denn darunter sind Papyri, die aus unterschiedlichen Perioden und wohl auch Gegenden stammen, z.B. inv. 3602 (griech. liter., 1.–2. Jh. n.Chr.), inv. 3603 (kopt., Urk., 8. Jh.), inv. 3608 (griech., Urk., 7. Jh., Herm.), inv. 3612 und 3613 (griech., Urk., 3.–4. Jh. n.Chr., Oxy.?)." Diese Erwerbung gibt somit weder für die Herkunft noch für die Datierung belastbare Informationen. Textintern sehe ich keine harten Indizien, auch wenn die Präsenz eines mit Chons gebildeten Personennamens gewisse Hinweise liefert.

pKöln Inv. 3609
Unbekannte Herkunft, ca. 750–650 v. Chr. (?)
TM 644678

Der Papyrus ist deutlich ein Palimpsest, auch auf der Rückseite gibt es teilweise extreme Grauschleier. Selbst im erhaltenen Textbereich der Letztbeschriftung sind einzelne Passagen nachträglich stark verwischt worden. Das muß die Frage aufwerfen, ob es sich nur um einen Entwurf handelt, oder ob in der konkreten Kommunikationssituation auch relativ informelle Schreiben mit geringen Ansprüchen an materielle Qualität akzeptabel waren. Auffällig ist jedenfalls auch, daß es keine explizite Adressenangabe gibt, und abgesehen von der (auffällig oft wiederholten) Anredeformel *i ʿnḫ=f* keine sonstigen Grüße, auch keine Bitten oder Aufforderungen, so daß es sich allenfalls um eine Nachricht über ein erfolgtes Stadium der Arbeit handeln kann.

Die Ausmaße sind etwa 23,2 × 12,0 cm. Der Papyrus ist nach den erkennbaren Schwachstellen und Brüchen gefaltet worden; insbesondere die zentrale vertikale Falte, an der entlang im unteren Teil des Blattes die rechte Hälfte verlorengegangen ist, zeichnet sich deutlich ab. Auf dem Verso fehlen am linken Rand in einem Streifen die Vertikalfasern vollständig. Gerade dort sind Spuren erkennbar, die intentional genug wirken, um im Verdacht spezifischer Schriftzeichen zu stehen, die dann mutmaßlich um 90° gegenüber dem Rekto-Text gedreht wären. Allerdings kann ich davon auch aufgrund des lückenhaften Zusammenhangs nichts sicher genug erkennen, um hier einen Lesevorschlag zu machen.

1 Für die Digitalbilder (© Papyrussammlung Köln) und die Publikationsgenehmigung danke ich Charikleia Armoni. Für eine kritische Durchsicht und hilfreiche Bemerkungen danke ich Günter Vittmann.

2 Die Mittel für die Forschungsreise stammten aus dem mir von der DFG 2011 verliehenen Leibnizpreis (Geschäftszeichen QU 98/9-1).

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Umschrift

1 *ỉ ꜥnḫ=f ỉ:ỉrỉ̯=n snt nꜣ wḫꜣ.w n wꜥ sp*
2 *qd Ḫnsw-(ỉ:)ỉrỉ̯-ḏỉ̯-s ḥr pꜣ rsï qd=n ḥr pꜣ mḥ.tï*
3 [...]⌜.⌝ *n nꜣ wḫꜣ.w n pꜣ rmn* (?) *rsï ỉ:ỉrỉ̯ h*⌜*ꜣy*⌝ *r*
4 ⌜...⌝ *ỉ ꜥnḫ=f ỉ:ỉrỉ̯=n ḥwỉ̯* (?) *snt ỉw ḏỉ̯`=n´ ỉnỉ̯=w n=k pꜣ*
5 [...] ⌜... *ỉw=f ỉrỉ̯* (?)⌝ *n šꜥ n=k ỉ:ỉrỉ̯ ḏd ỉ:ỉrỉ̯* ⌜*pꜣ*⌝ *8 wḫꜣ*
6 [...] *pꜣ ntỉ nꜣ-nfr=f pꜣỉ* ⟦... ... ...⟧
7 ⟦... ... ...⟧ *ỉ ꜥnḫ=f (ỉ:)ỉrỉ̯(=ỉ) ỉwỉ̯.w ḥr.r=f pꜣ*
8 [...] ⌜*ỉ:ỉrỉ̯.n=s ỉ ꜥnḫ*⌝[*=f*] ⌜*ỉ:ỉrỉ̯=n q*⌝[*d*] ⌜*n nꜣ rsï(.w) nb.w n nꜣ mḥ.tïw*⌝
9 [... ... ...]
10 [... ... ... *ḫ*]⌜*ft* (?) (*n*) *ꜣs.t*⌝ *mtw=f `ỉrỉ̯´ mḥ-ꜥ 1 1/2 ḥr-*
11 [*ẖ.t mḥ-ꜥ* ... ...] *wꜥ sn* (*n*) *Ḫꜣꜥ=w-s-*(*n*)*-ꜣs.t ỉtỉ* (?) *mw.t* (?)
12 [. ....]*=f n=k st n pꜣ hrw ỉ ꜥnḫ=f mtw=w* (?) *tm*
13 [... ... ...].. *ḏỉ̯.t rḫ=f tꜣy=k ḥw.t-nṯr ḫm tꜣï nꜣ* ⌜...⌝
14 [... ... ...] ⌜*n*⌝[*ꜣ*] *wḫꜣ.w ntỉ qd* (*n*) *mḥ-ꜥ 3* (?) (*n*) *rsï*
15 [... ... ...] ⌜*ỉ*⌝*wd `ḥr.ï-ỉb´* (?) *ỉwd* ⌜*rw.tï* (?) *m*⌝*tw=f ỉrỉ̯*
16 [... ... ...].*w ỉwd ḥꜣ.tï ỉwd*
17 [... ... ...]
Großer Freiraum
18 [... ... ...] ⌜*ỉrỉ̯*⌝ *ỉmn.tï n 10* (?) *n wḫꜣ mtw ḫpr=f ỉw*
19 [... ... ...] ⌜*mtw*⌝*=f ỉrỉ̯ mḥ.tï n 4 mḥ-ꜥ*

Übersetzung

1 Sei gegrüßt![a] Wir haben das Fundament der Säulen gemeinsam gelegt.
2 Chonsirdis[b] hat im Süden gebaut. Wir haben im Norden gebaut.
3 [...] der Säulen der südlichen Hälfte (?)[c], die gefallen[d] (?) ist auf
4 .... Sei gegrüßt! Wir haben ein Fundament angelegt[e] (?), nachdem wir[f] dir den [...] hatten bringen lassen
5 [...] ..,[g] wobei er als Brief für dich ausgearbeitet[h] (?) ist, der angegeben hat:[i] Macht die acht Säulen
6 [...] Das ist, was gut ist. ⟦... ... ...⟧[j]
7 [⟦... ... ...] ... ...⟧ Sei gegrüßt! Ich (?) bin deswegen (?) gekommen (?)[k]
8 [...] zu ihr hin.[l] Sei gegrüßt! Wir bauen alle südlichen und [alle] nördlichen
9 [.... ....][m]
10 [... ... ... des] Dromos[n] (?) der Isis, und er soll eineinhalb[o] (?) Ellen auf[p] [... Ellen] betragen.[q]
11 [... ... ...] ein Bruder des Chaausenaset.[r] Vater und Mutter[s] (?)
12 [... ... ...] er es dir[t] heute. Sei gegrüßt! Und man soll nicht[u] (?)
13 [... ... ...] ... ihn wissen lassen (?): Dein kleiner (?) Tempel (?) ist es[v] (?). Die ...
14 [... ... ...] die Säulen, die gebaut sind, drei Ellen im Süden[w] (?)
15 [... ... ...] zwischen der Mitte und dem Außenbereich,[x] und es soll [...] machen
16 [... ... ...] zwischen einem Außenrand[y] und
17 [... ... ...]
Großer Freiraum
18 [... ... ...] bildet den Westen für zehn[z] (?) Säulen, nachdem es so war, daß[aa]
19 [... ... ...], und er soll den Norden bilden mit vier Ellen.

ABBILDUNG 1 pKöln Inv. 3609 Rekto
© PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG KÖLN

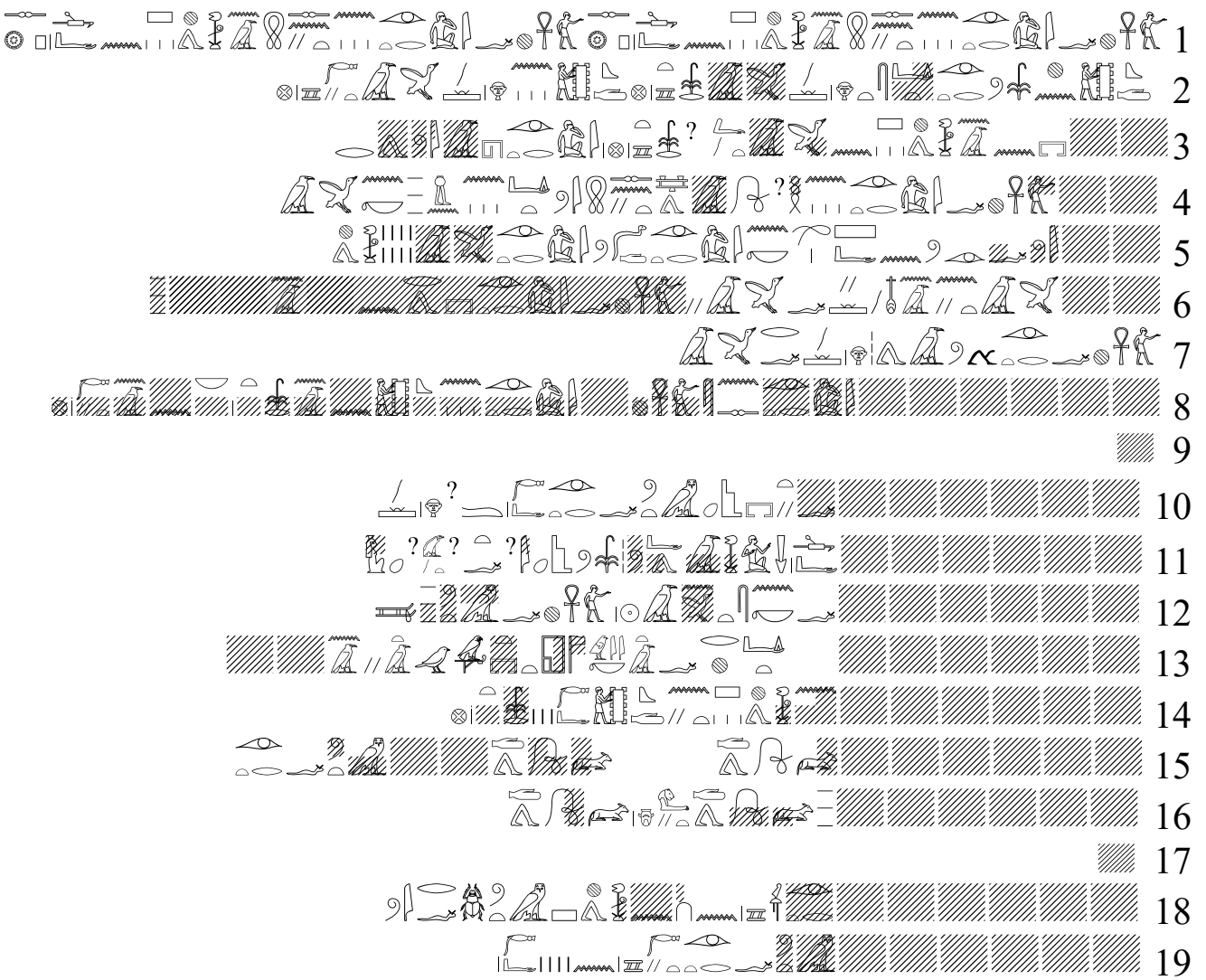

ABBILDUNG 2 pKöln Inv. 3609 Rekto, hieroglyphische Transkription
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Kommentar

a. Für diese Grußformel s. besonders G. POSENER, *Le papyrus Vandier* (BiGen 7, Kairo, 1985), S. 47; G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (ÄAT 38, Wiesbaden, 1998), S. 487–488 mit Zusätzen in ders., „Ein kursivhieratisches Brieffragment (P. Kairo *CG* 30865)", *Enchoria* 27 (2001), S. 155–163, dort S. 159 Anm. l. Die Formel wird in der dritten Person konstruiert (mit Genus- und Numeruskongruenz nach der oder den angesprochenen Person[en]), richtet sich aber sachlich an eine direkt angesprochene zweite Person. In Briefen ist diese Formel am Textbeginn in frühdemotischen Texten gelegentlich belegt, s. M. DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions Against their Intra- and Intercultural Background* (DemStud 14, Sommerhausen, 2006), S. 202. Sie richtet sich typisch an deutlich ranghöhere Personen. Es scheint mir zumindest erwägenswert, ob es sich um eine Verkürzung von *i ḏi ʾImn ʿnḫ=f* „Oh möge Amun bewirken, daß er lebt" handelt, wie es tLeiden I 431, recto 6f., 17, 25f. belegt ist. Zumindest wäre dies eine gute Parallele für einen Text, der diese Formel nicht nur einmalig gegen Anfang gebraucht, sondern mehrfach im Haupttext des Briefes, wie im vorliegenden Papyrus.

b. Der hintere Teil des Namens ist ziemlich beschädigt, mein Lesevorschlag wird aber von Günter Vittmann als sicher eingestuft. In jedem Fall ist das Augment des Partizip-Konverters nicht ausgeschrieben.

c. Die Entzifferung der hier als gelesenen Gruppe ist durchaus unsicher; auch die phonetische Lesung ist nicht völlig sicher. Angesichts der nachfolgenden Himmelsrichtungsangabe wäre ein Verständnis als *rmn* im Sinne der einen Seite eines Bauwerks zumindest denkbar.

d. Das Wort ist im hinteren Teil stark beschädigt und entsprechend von etwas unsicherer Lesung. Da anlautendes und das Determinativ der laufenden Beine aber recht

sicher sind, kann kaum ein anderes Wort als *ḥ3y* vorliegen. Aufgrund des nachfolgenden Textverlusts bleibt unsicher, ob ein Bauteil umgefallen ist oder bestimmte Aufgaben jemandem zugefallen sind.

e. Die Lesung des ersten Zeichens im Wort als ist nur möglich, wenn der Schreiber es durch zwei seitliche diakritische Striche „verschönert" hat (vgl. K. Donker van Heel, *A Very Easy Crash Course in Abnormal Hieratic: Being a Step by Step Introduction to the Least Accessible of all Ancient Scripts* [UitgLPI 25, Leiden, 2013], S. 26). Koptisch ist die Verbindung ϩι ⲥⲛⲧⲉ für das Anlegen eines Fundaments real belegt (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, S. 346a); für die demotischen Bezeugungen s. *CDD*, *S*, S. 281 (letzteres Hinweis Vittmann).

f. Das Suffix ist supralinear hinzugefügt worden. Möglicherweise hatte der Schreiber zuerst die 1. Person Singular wählen wollen.

g. Die Entzifferung der Spuren am Anfang der Zeile ist mir nicht geglückt.

h. Die hier als gedeutete Zeichenform ist in der Lesung problematisch, aber ich sehe keine Alternative. Es könnte sich um eine spezielle Form handeln, die im Unterschied zum Infinitiv den Qualitativ markiert. Auffällig, aber unabhängig von der konkreten Entzifferung nicht zu ändern, ist die Stellung des *n=k* hinten im Satz, das man eher vor dem Substantiv erwarten würde.

i. Ich deute die Stelle als periphrastische Bildung des Partizips mit anschießendem Imperativ. Eine rein von der Graphie her mögliche Deutung als 2. Tempus *i:ỉrị(=ỉ) ḏd* mit ungeschriebenem Suffix der 1. Person Singular scheint mir nicht zu semantisch und syntaktisch überzeugenden Möglichkeiten zu führen. Bei meiner Deutung ist das Partizip zu rechtfertigen, sofern es sich auf das am Anfang der Z. 6 verlorene Substantiv bezieht, das durch den am Ende von Z. 5 noch erhaltenen bestimmten Artikel determiniert ist.

j. Der hintere Teil dieser Zeile und der Anfang der nächsten ist bewußt getilgt worden. Am Anfang dieses Bereichs läßt sich noch *ỉ ⸢nḫ=f* erahnen, dann eventuell *i:ỉrị(=ỉ) prị n* […] *n3* […].*w* „ich kam aus dem […] der […] heraus."

k. Der Satz bereitet paläographisch und syntaktisch erhebliche Schwierigkeiten. Von den Zeichenformen her scheint mir eine Lesung *ỉwị.w* überzeugender als *sḏm*, auch wenn es ein Zeichen hinter dem gibt, daß ich dann als Füllsel deuten muß (bei einer Lesung *sḏm* wäre es potentiell als kleine Buchrolle deutbar). Da für beide Verben kein Anlaß gegeben wäre, in einem Basistempus periphrastisch zu konstruieren, versuche ich mich zweifelnd an einer Deutung als zweites Tempus mit ungeschriebenem Augment. Sofern die Lesung *ỉwị.w* zutrifft, könnte es sich nur um ein Präsens II mit Qualitativ als Prädikat handeln – und da wäre dann die Verwendung der ursprünglich für die 3. Person gebildeten Form auch in der 1. Person bemerkenswert, weil sich im Frühdemotischen im Qualitativ noch stärker nach der Person flektierte Schreibungen finden und die 1. Person Singular mindestens im pRylands 9 regulär die Endung *.k* hat (Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, S. 235). Für *ḥr.r=f* sehe ich keine andere Optionen als die Ansetzung der Präposition mit Suffix. Das wäre sehr auffällig, weil wir dann eine Bildung hätten, die vom regulären demotischen *ḥr-ȝ.t=f* abweicht.

l. Die Spuren scheinen mir ausreichend, um die Präposition (vgl. *CDD*, *ỉ*, S. 18–23) anzusetzen.

m. Im Bereich fehlender Oberflächenfasern dürfte eine Zeile ganz verloren sein.

n. Ausgehend von den m.E. vergleichsweise sichersten Elementen, nämlich einem schrägen Abstrich, der am besten zu einem *f* paßt, sowie dem Hausdeterminative vermute ich, daß hier *ḫft* als Kurzform für *ḫft-ḥr* zu verstehen ist; für die Bedeutung s. Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, S. 485–486. Es könnte sich dann aber, sofern die folgende Maßangabe korrekt gelesen ist, nur um ein kleines Teilelement eines Dromos handeln.

o. Da die Zahl acht in Z. 5 eine deutlich andere Form hat, deute ich den hohen Vertikalstrich nicht als Ideogrammstrich, sondern als Zahl 1, und die anschließende Gruppe als 1/2.

p. Für die Präposition *ḥr-ḫ.t* zur Koordinierung zweier Maßangaben vgl. Spiegelberg, *DemGram*, 1925), S. 157 § 349; R.A. Parker, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri* (BES 7, Providence, RI – London, 1972), S. 42 u. 55–59; B. Jordan, *Die demotischen Wissenstexte* (*Recht und Mathematik*) *des pMattha* (TeG 5, Vaterstetten, 2015), 2, O 26.

q. Die Gruppe *ỉrị* ist supralinear nachgetragen.

r. Der Name (vgl. Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, S. 870) dürfte ungeachtet gewisser Beschädigungen im vorderen Bereich hinreichend deutlich sein.

s. Die Lesung ist unsicher und eher als Zielscheibe für Kritik intendiert. Angesichts der recht deutlichen Reste eines hohen vertikalen Zeichens versuche ich mich an einem determinativlos geschriebenen *ỉtỉ* „Vater", und anschließend sehr ausführlich geschriebenen *mw.t* „Mutter". Weniger erfolgversprechend schiene es mir, hier eine Schreibung von *Tfnw.t* zu suchen.

t. Auffällig ist die Wortstellung mit Präposition *n* und Suffix vor dem enklitischen Personalpronomen. Das ist im Mittelägyptischen normal, aber gegen die Konventionen des Neuägyptischen und Demotischen, die auch im Abnormal-Hieratischen tLeiden I 431 recto 18 in *ḏị(=ỉ) ỉnị=w sw n=k* (*n*) *š‘.t* „ich ließ sie es dir brieflich bringen" in einer Passage belegt ist, die relativ enge Parallelen zu der vorliegenden Passage zeigt; ferner pKairo CG 30865, Z. 6 u. 13.

u. Eine sehr tentative Lesung, die nur geht, wenn der Konjunktiv ungeachtet der davorstehenden Grußformel an eine dieser vorangehende Aufforderung anschließen kann.

v. Die Lesung der gesamten Zeile, die auffällig klein wirkt und wohl nachträglich eingefügt ist, ist mit sehr großen Schwierigkeiten verbunden. Die Lesung *tȝy=k* geht nur, wenn man eine demotische, nicht abnormal-hieratische Zeichenform ansetzt.

w. Die Lesung des stark beschädigten Wortes ist sehr unsicher.

x. Sowohl der supralineare Nachtrag als auch das Wort am Satzende sind in der Lesung ausgesprochen zweifelhaft. Zumindest passen meine Vorschläge für die beiden Wörter inhaltlich zusammen.

y. Vgl. für diese Bedeutung des koptischen ϩнт Westendorf, *KHW*, S. 394. Allerdings wäre für die bei Erichsen, *Glossar*, S. 287 genannten Stellen für „Spitze" eine Überprüfung sinnvoll. Er bietet ohne genaue Stellenangabe Schreibbelege aus pSpiegelberg, pInsinger und Mythus Leiden. Schaut man sich die konkreten Stellen an, ergibt sich Folgendes: pSpiegelberg 9,14 bietet *r wn wʿ glʿ* [*n*] *nb.w sʿsʿ* (*n*) *ḥȝ.ṯ pȝ ḫt-tȝw n pȝy=f rms* „wobei ein goldener Schild aufgezogen war an der Spitze (?) des Masts seines Schiffes"; da ist „Spitze" inhaltlich relativ plausibel, allerdings nicht zwingend die einzige Option. Für pInsinger gibt F. Lexa, *Le Papyrus Insinger: les enseignements moraux d'un scribe égyptien du premier siècle après J.-C. Texte démotique avec transcription, traduction française, commentaire, vocabulaire et introduction grammaticale et littéraire* (Paris, 1926), 2, S. 79 mehrere Stellen an, an denen seiner Meinung nach *ḥȝ.ṯ* (geschrieben wie „Herz") für *ḥȝ.t* „vor" steht, konkret 2,12; 6,8; 9,4; 10,13; 11,10; 22,14; 22,23; 30,22. Mutmaßlich ist diese Einstufung die Quelle für Erichsens Angabe. Meiner Meinung nach kann man aber an all diesen Stellen mit „Herz" (teilweise metaphorisch im Sinne von „Meinung, Ansicht") durchkommen (vgl. die Übersetzung in F. Hoffmann – J.F. Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* [Zweite, neubearbeitete und erheblich erweiterte Auflage, EQÄ 4, Berlin, 2018]), so daß sie für angebliches „Spitze" ausscheiden müssen. Für den Mythos vom Sonnenauge pLeiden I 384 recto gibt W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge* (*Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln – „Kufi"*) *nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Straßburg, 1917) in seinem Glossar S. 204f. Nr. 513 zwei Stellen an, nämlich 8,30; 16,18. Davon ist 8,30 *ḥr ḥ.ṯ=s* geschrieben, also mit der Gruppe für „Leib". Dort ist in antithetischem Parallelismus zu *ḥr pḥ.ṯ=s* „an ihrem Hinterteil" relativ plausibel, daß es sich um eine Bezeichnung des Vorderteils handelt. Schwieriger ist es mit 16,18. Dort heißt es von den zwei Schakalen *ỉw=w qbʿȝ ḥr ḥȝ.tï wʿ ḫt n tw* „indem sie sich abkühlten *ḥr ḥȝ.tï* eines Bergbaums". Sachlich kann man grundsätzlich erwarten, daß die beiden Schakale im Schatten des Baums rasten. Aber bedeutet *ḥr ḥȝ.tï* hier konkret „unter der Spitze" (bei einem gerade gewachsenen Baum zumindest ganz exakt kaum möglich), „unter der Mitte" (d.h. nahe am Stamm im zentralsten Bereich des Schattens) oder „unter dem Rand" (d.h. im äußersten Schattenbereich)?

z. Angesichts des leichten Schrägstrichs links ist die Zahl am ehesten als 10 zu lesen (Hinweis Günter Vittmann).

aa. Angesichts der Abfolge der Elemente kann hier nicht der Konjunktiv vorliegen, der *mtw=f ḫpr* erforderte. Ich deute die Schreibung als Temporalis; mit einer bereits in dieser Zeit auch sonst belegten Fluktuation zwischen *mtw*, *m-ḏr* und *m-ḏi* (für frühe Belege dieser Fluktuation s. J.F. Quack, „Ein neuer Versuch zum Moskauer literarischen Brief", *ZÄS* 128 [2001], S. 167–181, dort S. 180 Anm. 126). Hier sei zudem als besonders extremer Fall von Fluktuationen in diesem lautlichen Bereich pBrooklyn 37.1799 E, recto 19 angemerkt, wo der überlieferte Wortlaut *m-ḏi=k wwy.ṯ ỉ.ḥr*(*=ỉ*) *n.ỉm=f* angesichts der klaren Angabe des Qualitativs nur als Relativsatz des Präsens I *ntỉ ỉw=k wwy.ṯ ỉ.ḥr*(*=ỉ*) *n.ỉm=f* „im Hinblick auf den du Abstand von mir genommen hast" verstanden werden kann.[3]

Die Schrift

Es dürfte zwingend nötig sein, die Frage nach der systematischen sowie chronologischen Einordnung der Schrift des hier publizierten Papyrus zu diskutieren. Handelt es sich um abnormal-hieratische oder demotische Schrift, oder etwas noch anderes? Die Frage muß um so berechtigter sein, als sich inzwischen eine deutlich komplexere Situation abzeichnet. Es gibt nicht nur eine demotische Tradition im Norden des Landes (die gerade dadurch, daß sie vor den Papyri Rylands I und II nicht konkret belegt schien, die Modellbildung sehr vereinfacht hat) und eine „abnormal-hieratische" in der Thebais. Gerade in Mittelägypten und dem Fayum scheint noch Raum für mindestens eine weitere Tradition gewesen zu sein, die einstweilen schwer zu beschreiben und genau einzuordnen ist und für die zuletzt ein Terminus „Protodemotisch" vorgeschlagen wurde.[4] Das

3 R. Jasnow – G. Vittmann, „An Abnormal Hieratic Letter to the Dead (P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E)", *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), S. 23–43, dort S. 27 u. 39 Anm. ppp haben zwar angegeben, daß Schreibungen der Art *wwy.ṯ* „usually" für den Qualitativ gebraucht werden, aber die durchgängige Gültigkeit dieser Regel nicht beachtet; ihre Vorschläge als entweder unabhängiges Personalpronomen mit Partizip oder Konjunktiv sind beide nicht möglich.

4 G. Vittmann, „Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen (und neue Texte)", in: U. Verhoeven (Hg.), *Ägyptologische „Binsen"-Weisheiten I–II: Neue Forschungen und Methoden der*

ist insofern kulturgeschichtlich nicht unplausibel, als die mittelägyptisch-fayumische Region in der Dritten Zwischenzeit weder von Theben noch vom Westdelta politisch kontrolliert oder kulturell dominiert wurde, also plausibel eine nochmals eigene Tradition stärker abgekürzter Geschäftsschrift entwickelt haben könnte. Allerdings ist „Protodemotisch" kein sonderlich guter Terminus. Zum einen suggeriert er, daß diese Schriftform dem üblichen „Demotisch" deutlich näher stände als dem „Abnormal-Hieratischen", was nicht zwingend zutrifft, und zudem der chronologische Vorläufer des „Demotischen" ist, was so auch heikel ist. Zum anderen ist „Protodemotisch" auch schon als Terminus für einen Sprachzustand verwendet worden, speziell für den literarischen Text auf den Papyrus Vandier rt.[5] Ihn für einen damit nicht intrinsisch verbundenen Schreibstil zu verwenden, könnte Mißverständnissen Vorschub leisten. Ein besserer Begriff bleibt noch zu finden; ich möchte hier nicht im Alleingang einen Vorschlag versuchen.

Ein Punkt hat dabei mehr Aufmerksamkeit verdient: egal welche konkreten Lösungen gewählt werden, das Ziel ist grundsätzlich die Erhöhung der Schreibgeschwindigkeit. Das muß keineswegs rein über die Verkürzung der Strecke der gezogenen Striche laufen. Gelegentlich, gerade im Abnormal-Hieratischen, hat man eher den Eindruck, daß längere Striche nicht nur toleriert, sondern sogar aktiv gewünscht sind, sofern sie zu einem insgesamt schnelleren Schreibfluß führen können. Dies wirft auch die Frage auf, in welcher sozio-historischen Situation der Druck in diese Richtung so stark war, daß das Hindernis der *prima vista* schlechteren Lesbarkeit der betreffenden Texte, die einen potentiellen Zeitverlust bei der Bearbeitung durch andere Personen als den Originalschreiber beinhaltet, an Gewicht verliert. Ein plausibler Gesichtspunkt könnte sein, daß die Menge des Geschriebenen in der betreffenden Zeit deutlich erhöht wurde und die Menge der ausgebildeten Schreiber nicht in gleichem Maße expandierbar war, so daß ein Schreiber mehr Text als früher in derselben Zeit niederschreiben mußte. Besonderer Anlaß war mutmaßlich, daß damals Rechtsgeschäfte in weit größerem Umfang als vorher verschriftlicht festgehalten wurden.[6]

Von den bislang definierten Kriterien für die Differenzierung zwischen Abnormal-Hieratisch und Demotisch[7] sind manche für den vorliegenden Text nicht anwendbar, da sie Merkmale von Verträgen betreffen. Die Schreibung des Gottesnamens Chons im Personennamen ohne Determinativ (Z. 2) entspricht abnormal-hieratischen Konventionen.[8] Das Hochformat des vorliegenden Papyrus wäre ebenfalls tendenziell ein Indiz für eine Zuweisung zum Abnormal-Hieratischen.[9]

Von den drei von Vleeming als besonders charakteristisch für die jeweiligen Schriftformen angegebenen Zeichen ist das Determinativ des Mannes mit der Hand am Mund im vorliegenden Papyrus nicht in freier Funktion belegt, sondern nur als Element des Augments, wo auch im Abnormal-Hieratischen knappere Formen gebraucht werden, die sich nicht grundsätzlich von der frühdemotischen Form unterscheiden. Die anderen beiden als besonders signifikant angesehenen Zeichen (geschminktes Auge und Gruppe für *wꜣḥ*) fehlen ganz.

Einige weitere Zeichen scheinen mir zumindest für einen tendenziellen Vergleich geeignet zu sein. Die Form für *rsỉ* ist relativ hieratisch, mit langem Fuß. Das entspricht tendenziell der demotischen Zeichenform, während im Abnormal-Hieratischen kein solcher Fuß vorhanden ist.[10] Das Zeichen für *ntỉ* (Z. 6) zeigt eine eher frühdemotische Form mit geknickter Linie oben, nicht die abnormal-hieratische. Gleichartig erscheint es auch pKöln 5632, x+III 6. Der Plural-Artikel wird stets geschrieben, nicht mit dem für thebanische abnormal-hieratische Texte normalen .[11] Das Einkonsonantenzeichen *ꜣ* wird in diesem Papyrus stets als distinktives Zeichen in der Form

Hieratistik. Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013 (AAWMainz Einzelveröffentlichungen 14, Stuttgart, 2015), S. 383–433, dort S. 402–403; H. Abd-Ellatif – M. Eissa, „Between Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic: A Legal Document of the Early 26th Dynasty from the Fayoum (Preliminary Edition of P. Cairo GEM 66796)", *GM* 262 (2020), S. 49–64; G. Vittmann, „Eine ‚protodemotische' Abrechnung aus der Dritten Zwischenzeit (Papyrus Köln 5632)", in: S.-W. Hsu – V.P.-M. Laisney – J. Moje (Hgg.), *Ein Kundiger, der in die Gottesworte eingedrungen ist: Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkeln zum 65. Geburtstag* (ÄAT 99, Münster, 2020), S. 317–343. C.J. Martin, „The Demotic Legal Manuals – Or Codes – Or Coutumiers – Or Commentaries – Or Case Laws? Does Modern Terminology Help or Hinder Us in Interpreting These Texts?", *RIDA* 67/68 (2020/2021), S. 249–290, dort S. 262 Anm. 61.

5 J.F. Quack, „Notes en marge du papyrus Vandier", *RdÉ* 46 (1995), S. 163–170, dort S. 163.

6 Martin, „The Demotic Legal Manuals", *RIDA* 67/68, S. 264–267.

7 S.P. Vleeming, „La phase initiale du démotique ancien", *CdÉ* 56 (1981), S. 31–48.

8 Vleeming, *op. cit.*, S. 38.

9 Vleeming, *op. cit.*, S. 37. Vgl. Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, S. 73, der angibt, daß die Querformate bei demotischen Briefen weitestgehend frühdemotisch sind und ab dem 3. Jhd. v. Chr. das Hochformat normal wird.

10 Belege nennt G. Vittmann, „Ein kursivhieratisches Brieffragment (P. Kairo *CG* 30865)", *Enchoria* 27 (2001), S. 155–163, dort S. 160 Anm. t.

11 Diese Umschrift scheint mir passender als das z.B. von K. Donker van Heel, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste Son of Peteamunip* (*Floruit 7th Century BCE*)*: Abnormal Hieratic Papyrus Louvre E 3228 A–H* (P. L.Bat. 38, Leiden – Boston, 2021) verwendete , vgl. weiterhin die Argumente von

des demotischen „kleinen“ *ꜣ* geschrieben, niemals mit dem multifunktionalen Zeichen. Die Gruppe für *ḏd* (Z. 5) hat als Abschluß einen offenen Winkel, nicht den für das Abnormal-Hieratische regulären langen Vertikalstrich.

Zusammengenommen stehen auf der formalen Seite mindestens einige Elemente näher am Abnormal-Hieratischen, während die konkreten Zeichenformen tendenziell eher dem Demotischen ähneln. Insofern möchte ich den vorliegenden Papyrus keinem der beiden Schriftbereiche uneingeschränkt zuweisen. Da die Kreierung immer weiterer Kategorien (wie z.B. „Pervers-Hieratisch“) irgendwann an die Grenzen der Sinnhaftigkeit kommt, neige ich dazu, den vorliegenden Papyrus provisorisch im Bereich des „Proto-Demotischen“ zu verorten, wie es Günter Vittmann für pKöln 5632 gewählt hat.[12] Ebenso komme ich mangels wirklich guter sicher datierter Vergleichsstücke nicht über eine sehr vage Datierung ca. 750–650 v.Chr. hinaus.[13] Mehr kann man wohl erst sagen, wenn mehr alltagsschriftliche Zeugnisse der spätlibyschen Zeit aus dem „Mittelbereich“ Ägyptens publiziert sind, vorzugsweise auch solche mit einer absoluten Datierung.

Inhalt

Briefe sind innerhalb des abnormal-hieratischen Corpus bislang ausgesprochen selten.[14] Die publizierten sind pKairo CG 30865,[15] die Holztafel Leiden I 431,[16] der Brief an einen Toten pBrooklyn 37.199 E[17] und das Ostrakon Amheida 16003.[18] Keiner davon zeigt inhaltlich engere Beziehungen zum hier publizierten Text. Im Formular zeigt pKairo CG 30865 mit Verwendung von *ỉ ʿnḫ=f* eine deutliche Parallele, möglicherweise auch tLeiden I 431, sofern mein Vorschlag zu *ỉ ʿnḫ=f* als Verkürzung von *ỉ ḏỉ ʾImn ʿnḫ=f* zutrifft. Allerdings sind diese beiden Briefe deutlich elaborierter in der Verwendung höflicher Grußformeln, wie sie insbesondere Untergebene in Briefen an Hochrangige verwenden.

Damit komme ich zum Inhalt, soweit dieser vom Erhaltungszustand her noch erschließbar ist. Der Absender und der Empfänger sind beide nicht namentlich angegeben. Das spricht für eine spezifische Kommunikation, bei der allein dieser Brief einem Boten anvertraut wurde, der wußte, von wem er kam und für wen er intendiert war; mutmaßlich auch eine eher kurze Distanz, die zu überbrücken war. Die Passage in Z. 4 deutet darauf hin, daß es öfters briefliche Kommunikation zwischen Absender und Empfänger gab, und der vorliegende Brief ein Update gegenüber der letzten Nachricht darstellt. Der Absender ist mutmaßlich gegenüber dem Empfänger der hierarchisch Niedrigere. Er tritt als Sprecher einer „Wir“-Gruppe auf, die bei Baumaßnahmen aktiv ist. Dabei interagiert sie mit anderen Personen, die offenbar nicht Teil dieser Gruppe sind. Insbesondere ein gewisser Chonsirdis wird explizit erwähnt. Weiterhin wird eine Person erwähnt, deren eigener Name in einer Lücke verloren ist, die aber explizit als Bruder des Chaausenisis bezeichnet wird. Eine solche Angabe ist vorrangig dann sinnvoll, wenn die betreffende Person selbst weniger vertraut ist, aber die Korrespondenten mit dem Bruder bereits zu tun hatten.

Das Bauwerk, um das es geht, hat mindestens 8, eher sogar 10 Säulen, was eher für ein kultisches Gebäude als für ein Wohnhaus spricht. Kultischer Kontext wäre noch eindeutiger, sofern meine versuchsweisen, aber durchaus unsicheren Lesungen von einem „Dromos der Isis“ sowie einem „kleinen Tempel“ zutreffen. Von den erhaltenen Dimensionen her wirkt es relativ klein, allerdings ist es vielleicht nur Teil eines größeren Komplexes.

So oder so ist der vorliegende Papyrus eines von nur wenigen erhaltenen Zeugnissen für Briefverkehr im Zusammenhang mit Bauprojekten.[19] Von daher hoffe ich, daß er ungeachtet seiner lückenhaften Erhaltung, schwerer Lesbarkeit und entsprechend begrenzten Menge wirklich belastbarer inhaltlicher Informationen ein gewisses Interesse finden wird. Speziell bei Koen bin ich zuversichtlich, daß er nicht nur an sich neugierig auf ihn sein, sondern auch aktiv zur weiteren Klärung der mit ihm noch verbundenen Fragen beitragen wird.

B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris 1924; 2. Auflage, Oxford, 2012), S. 84–87.

12 Vittmann, „Eine ‚protodemotische‘ Abrechnung“, in: *Festschrift für Karl Jansen-Winkeln*, S. 317.

13 Vittmann, *op. cit.*, S. 331–332.

14 Vittmann, „Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen“, in: *Ägyptologische „Binsen“-Weisheiten I–II*, S. 419 nennt nur 4, von denen einer (pDuke 648 recto) noch nicht publiziert ist. S. jetzt den Beitrag Vittmann in diesem Band.

15 G. Vittmann, „Ein kursivhieratisches Brieffragment (P. Kairo *CG* 30865)“, *Enchoria* 27 (2001), S. 155–163.

16 Edition J. Černý, „The Abnormal-Hieratic Tablet Leiden I 43“, in: S.R.K. Glanville (Hg.), *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), S. 46–56. Eine Neubearbeitung wäre dringend nötig. Für eine wichtige Deutung eines spezifischen Ausdrucks in diesem Text s. Posener, *Le papyrus Vandier*, S. 43.

17 Jasnow – Vittmann, „An Abnormal Hieratic Letter to the Dead“, *Enchoria* 19–20, S. 23–43.

18 G. Vittmann, „An Abnormal Hieratic Letter from Dakhleh Oasis (Ostracon Amheida 16003)“, in: C. Jurman – B. Bader – D.A. Aston (Hgg.), *A True Scribe of Abydos: Essays on First Millennium Egypt in Honour of Anthony Leahy* (OLA 265, Leuven, 2017), S. 491–503.

19 Weiteres findet sich z.B. bei G.W. Hayes, „Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut“, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), S. 78–90, Taf. 10–13, bes. S. 89–90.

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ḥnḥn and its Supposed D53 (𓎛) Classifier in Demotic pVindob D 6257

Jonny Russell

This paper is a study of the meaning and context for the use of *ḥnḥn* in the Roman-Period demotic therapeutic compendium pVindob D 6257 (*c.*200 CE; TM 55973) and the supposed D53 (𓎛) determinative that classifies it. It argues that this word is here used to mark an 'explanatory model' for sickness experiences – one which can be found in earlier well-known compendia of the mid-second millennium BCE – in this case associated with afflictions of the bronchia. To do so, the paper first provides a summary of explanatory models as they are found in earlier and more complete Egyptian therapeutic compendia and asks whether the demotic use of *ḥnḥn* can be linked to concepts represented by *ʿ3ʿ* in the second millennium BCE. It then explores the meaning of *ḥnḥn* through a) a study of its related word root and derivatives, b) the context of its application in pVindob D 6257. The paper concludes with a summary of implications, including on our perception of variation and continuity in ancient concepts.

1 Introduction[1]

A member of the recently coined 'Fayum library'[2] and now housed in the Papyrussamlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, pVindob D 6257 is a much-damaged Roman period (*c.*250 CE) demotic therapeutic compendium. Indeed, it remains the only hitherto published manuscript of its kind in demotic from the Graeco-Roman period, a title it will soon lose upon the publication of Amber Jacob's much-anticipated *editio princeps* of fragmentary compendia found in the temple library at Tebtynis.[3] That pVindob D 6257's own *editio princeps* by Eve Reymond was highly problematic is well known;[4] as such, a much-deserved re-edition of the manuscript is in preparation by Friedhelm Hoffmann, who has already deduced further major issues with the work, not the least of which is Reymond's claim that the manuscript consists of 16 columns, rather than Hoffmann's own 6![5] Provisional translations of parts of the newly arranged manuscript have been released,[6] though the complete reedition remains eagerly anticipated by demotists and historians of medicine alike.

Perhaps because of the poor quality of its initial edition, attention given to pVindob D 6257 has been minimal. It is certainly renowned for its incorporation of loanwords for new *materia medica* and use of non-Egyptian drug

1 The theme of this paper, dedicated to Koen on the occasion of his retirement, was chosen as both a reflection of and a tribute to the highly enjoyable and detailed academic discussions which dominated the MA-level *Demotic III* seminars. These classes were taught by myself under his supervision during my time as a PhD student in Leiden from 2017–2019. I am ever grateful for having Koen as both an inspiring and personable, as well as generous, mentor in demotic studies; his unwavering support for his students – consistently going above and beyond – is renowned far beyond Leiden and sets a standard of supervision to be both admired and followed.

I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this paper, and am particularly indebted to Friedhelm Hoffmann, who very kindly took the time to go over the manuscript's contents to both correct and offer solutions to problems in my own readings, improving this paper considerably. I am incredibly grateful for his generous contributions.

All texts translated are my own renderings.

2 For this and the reanalysis of this manuscript's origin, see K. Ryholt, 'The "Fayum Library"', in: F. Naether (ed.), *New Approaches in Demotic Studies: Acts of the 13th International Conference of Demotic Studies* (ZÄS Beiheft 10, Berlin, 2019), 259–261. For the assumption of its provenance from Kom el-Chariana, now to be considered invalid, see E.A.E. Reymond, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum*, 1: *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis – P. Vindob. D. 6257* (MPER NS 10, Vienna, 1976), pp. 21–40.

3 A report on the contents of these already exists, see A. Jacobs, 'Demotic Pharmacology: An Overview of the Demotic Medical Manuscripts in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection', in: N. Reggiani – F. Bertonazzi (eds), *Parlare la medicina: fra lingue e culture, nello spazio e nel tempo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Università di Parma, 5–7 Settembre 2016* (STUSMA 7, Florence, 2018), pp. 52–79.

4 See e.g., D. Devauchelle – M. Pezin, 'Un papyrus médical démotique', *CdÉ* 53 (1978), pp. 57–66; J.H. Johnson, 'Review: Reymond, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum*, 1: *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis – P. Vindob. D. 6257*; 2: *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings*', *JNES* 41. 4 (1982), pp. 301–303; F. Hoffmann, 'Zur Neuedition des hieratisch-demotischen Papyrus Wien D 6257 aus römischer Zeit', in: A. Imhausen – T. Pommerening (eds), *Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Rome, and Greece: Translating Ancient Scientific Texts* (BzA 286, Berlin, 2010), pp. 201–218.

5 Hoffmann, *op cit.*, pp. 202–203.

6 F. Hoffmann – J.F. Quack, 'Demotische Texte zur Heilkunde', in: B. Janowski – D. Schwemer (eds), *Texte zur Heilkunde* (TUAT NF 5, Munich, 2010), pp. 300–305.

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quantities.[7] In addition, it has been remarked that an apparent continuation of earlier 'native' concepts can be observed in the manuscript, though on this matter there remains a notable lack of any substantial discussion.[8] Given the present dearth in published demotic therapeutic compendia, however, a comparative study of the contents and structures of this manuscript and those of earlier manuscripts – arguably its cultural predecessors – remains highly desirable. That said, due to their significant temporal separation, such analyses must be conducted with due caution.

Egyptian therapeutic compendia (a category of so-called 'medical papyri') are here defined as manuscripts (primarily) dedicated to the collection and recording of selected therapeutic recipes (*pḫr.t*), prioritising lists of specific ingredients, processing/preparation instructions, and administration methods for recipes.[9] In earlier manuscripts such as pEbers, recipe titles indicate the sicknesses for which medicaments were used; however, these categories were not exclusive nor absolute delimitations of sickness *experiences* (or associated 'symptoms' and 'syndromes'). One might wonder, for example, whether titles such as 'to open (*pḫꜣ*) the belly',[10] 'cause that one evacuate (*wsš*)',[11] or 'remove the *wrm.yt*-substance from the belly'[12] all reflect unique sicknesses with shared intended therapeutic outcomes – i.e., bodily evacuation – perhaps justifying their listing under the heading 'a collection of recipes that remove afflictions (*m(ḥ)r.t*) from the belly (*ḥ.t*)'.[13] Such an interpretation might tempt one to consider these according to modern, often biomedical and/or pharmacological categories for indication, such as 'laxatives'.[14] This term is, however, loaded with meaning which is firmly grounded in the modern experience. Such an interpretation might also be considered an oversimplification of a more complex ancient model which is less easy to correlate with modern categories. Taking another look at these examples, we note that the first title describes the necessary result in terms of physiology (*pḫꜣ*), the second the necessary result in terms of bodily production (*wsš*), and the third instead specifically names a pathogenic matter or phenomenon within the body to be removed (*wrm.yt*).[15] From this vantage, analyses for the use of *materia medica* becomes more complicated simply as, seeing a recipe cluster as a whole rather than as alienable entries, increases the diversity of items prescribed. Can they all really be laxatives?

The precise sickness experiences encoded by such labels and the means by which their genesis was understood can be difficult if not impossible to ascertain. What was the difference, in terms of experience, of *wrm.yt* being

7 Thus far, only brief observations are referenced in literature, e.g., Reymond, *Medical Book*; Hoffmann, 'Zur Neuedition des hieratisch-demotischen Papyrus Wien D 6257', in: *Writings of Early Scholars*; R.K. Ritner, 'Innovations and Adaptations in Ancient Egyptian Medicine', *JNES* 59. 2 (2000), pp. 113–114. Westendorf's volume includes an 'Ausblick' for Egyptian medicine but only addresses later Coptic and Greek sources (*Handbuch*, pp. 536–546); his references to pVindob D 6257 elsewhere are too decontextualised and too reliant on Reymond's edition to be of much use.

8 Ritner, 'Innovations and Adaptations', *JNES* 59. 2, p. 113.

9 Seemingly dispensable though frequently included in such lists are exact measurements for constituent ingredients. A useful summary of this can be found in T. Pommerening, 'Classification in Ancient Egyptian Medical Formulae and its Role in Re-Discovering Comprehensive and Specific Concepts of Drugs and Effects', in: T. Pommerening – W. Bisang (eds), *Classification from Antiquity to Modern Times: Sources, Methods, and Theories from an Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Berlin, 2017), pp. 181–184.

10 E.g., Eb 7.

11 E.g., Eb 8.

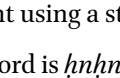
12 E.g., Eb 20.

13 E.g., Eb 4 – whose title marks the group Eb 4–103; see e.g., Pommerening, 'Classification in Ancient Egyptian Medical Formulae', in: *Classification from Antiquity*, pp. 185–186, though here assuming further implicit subsection markers Eb 4–38, 39–43, 44–52, and so forth; for discussions of similarly enlightening common recipe clusters across manuscripts, see H. Grapow, *Von den medizinischen Texten: Art, Inhalt, Sprache und Stil der medizinischen Einzeltexte sowie Uberlieferung, Bestand und Analyse der medizinischen Papyri* (GdM 2, Berlin, 1955) pp. 105–106.

14 A wealth of medical-anthropological literature exists that problematises the imposition of foreign lenses (including the biomedical) over unrelated healing practices; see e.g., M. Singer – H. Baer, *Critical Medical Anthropology* (New York, 1995); despite this, Egyptology occasionally continues to retain the understanding that a study of 'medical papyri' is challenging when the prospective researcher is not trained in both Egyptology and medicine; e.g., most recently J. Unger, 'Zum medizinischen Wissen der Alten Ägypter', in: B. Janowski – D. Schwemer (eds), *Texte zur Wissenskultur* (TUAT NS 9, Munich, 2020), p. 334, citing J.F. Quack, 'Methoden und Möglichkeiten der Erforschung der Medizin im Alten Ägypten', *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 38 (2003), p. 1. Cf. T. Pommerening, 'Heilkundliche Texte aus dem Alten Ägypten: Vorschläge zur Kommentierung und Übersetzung', in: A. Imhausen – T. Pommerening (eds), *Translating Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Rome* (BzA 344, Berlin, 2016), pp. 175–280.

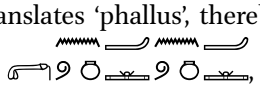
15 See e.g., H. von Deines – W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der Medizinischen Texte* (GdM 7. 1, Berlin, 1961), 197–198, who understand the word to represent an internal 'Knäuel von Eingeweide-Würmern'; whether of course the use of this otherwise rare word is descriptive of a feeling or sensation remains to be questioned; for a short summary of other interpretations, see L. Popko, '*wrm.yt-Leiden*', in: *Science in Ancient Egypt* (URL: https://sae.saw-leipzig.de/de/glossar/wrmyt?version=4, accessed 9 December, 2023).

in the belly (Eb 20) and removing *wḥd.w* (Eb 32).[16] Seldom do we find extended recipe titles that include more detailed descriptions that would otherwise offer a little more insight into the correlations between Egyptian perspectives of sickness onset, experience, and treatment.[17] Alone, the *pḫr.t* 'recipes' were rarely the place to explain precise meanings of or outline salient experiences against which the documented recipes were targeted. This knowledge was therefore implicit to a manuscript's user, though patterns in thought can be observed.

This paper will explore these patterns in implicit thought using a study of a single word in pVindob D 6257. This word is *ḥnḥn*  , a word which is as curious in meaning as it is in orthography.[18] It appears in a damaged passage which is read here as follows:

pVindob D 6257, col. 4, 38–39: [*pḫr*] *n r*⌜*k*⌝[*y* ...] ⌜*r*?⌝ *ʒrʒ.w sỉ ỉwꜣf šny ḥnḥn r w*⌜*n*⌝ *tʒyꜣf šnby m-qty mt n ỉpt ḥmt ḏwf psy ḥï ḥr jrt*(*.t*) [... *r-ḫ*]⌜*.t*⌝*-ḏnf n wꜥ.t bty tỉ rꜣf ỉby* ⌜*1/8*⌝ *kš r rʒꜣf*

[A recipe] for rem⌜o⌝[ving ...] ⌜from?⌝ a youth (or) a man who suffers a *ḥnḥn* so that his chest is like bird sound: copper (flakes/powder?),[19] burned papyrus, beaten with milk [... at the stand]⌜ard⌝ measurement in a shell; add honey 1/8 to it and pour into/sprinkle against his mouth.

In the Chicago Demotic Dictionary (*CDD*), the entry *ḥnḥn* where our example is listed[20] redirects the user to *ḥnn* and translates 'phallus', thereby implicitly reading the group as  , as a variant of the former, classified with the D53 determinative (𓂻). Though rejected by the *CDD*, Reymond's original reading of the signs was unclearly stated; nevertheless, she understood the word to represent a 'glandular ailment':[21]

> (36) [...]? *ʒrʒ.w ḫm ỉwꜣf šny ḥnḥn r-wn ḥr* [...]? *kš r rʒꜣf*
> (36) [...] a small boy who suffers of glandular swelling(s) which are on [...] ? to pour into his mouth

Presumably tentatively following Erichsen's entry *ḥnḥ* 'fürchten', a word typically classified with the bad bird and stick (G37 and Z6); a provisional translation of the same passage published by Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Quack was somewhat more abstract. It reads:[22]

> Heilmittel: Beseiti[gen von .]. eines Kindes, das an einer >Furcht< leidet, indem ein Ger[äu]sch in seiner Brust ist wie [4,39]ein Geräusch eines Vogels: Papyrus, geworfen auf Milch; [...] in entsprechender Menge in einer (Muschel-)Schale. Dazugeben: Honig 1/8. Zu seinem Mund gießen.

Beyond the obvious difference of the surviving text attributed to this recipe, Hoffmann and Quack's rejection of Reymond's 'glandular swellings' entirely changes the nuance of the text; nevertheless, this word fails to account for the difficult to discern classifier used in pVindob D 6257.[23] Their own tentative rendering, however, leaves

16 If not the frequency of their occurrences, for example. *Wrm.yt* occurs only in Eb 20 and Ram. III,7(A,10–11); *wḥd.w* is notably ubiquitous to the second millennium BCE texts.

17 E.g., the *rʒ* 'incantation' texts, *šsʒ.w* 'teaching texts' or *rḫ* 'knowledge' texts in pEbers. For a discussion of text categories, see W. Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin* (HdO 36.1–2, Leiden, 1999), pp. 80–92.

18 This word and its curious orthography elicited much discussion among the students of the graduate *Demotic III* class which I lead together with Koen in Leiden from 2017–2019, not least because of the D53 classifier used.

19 For copper ( ) in earlier manuscripts, see *ḫʒ.w n.w ḥmt* ('Hammerschlag von Kupfer'; Bln 55, 183; Eb 482, 491, 634, 638, 640, 707, 738, 861; H. 185; L. 61; Ram. V 15, 20), and even the hapax but presumably figurative *ḫs ḥmt* 'copper faeces' (Eb 701; H. von Deines – H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Drogennamen* [GdM 6, Berlin, 1959], noted by J.R. Harris (*Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* [Berlin, 1961], p. 56) as 'almost certainly the Greek λεπὶς χαλκοῦ, Latin *aeris squama*, a common medicament consisting of the small flakes which are hammered off in forging ingots of copper'. Not read by Hoffmann – Quack (see below).

20 *CDD*, *Ḥ*, pp. 162–163.

21 Reymond, *Medical Book*, pp. 92–93, 155; following B. Ebbell, 'Die ägyptischen Krankheitsnamen', *ZÄS* 63 (1929), p. 73.

22 Hoffmann – Quack, 'Demotische Texte', in: *Texte zur Heilkunde*, p. 304; their due caution is likely explained by the fact that neither the spelling nor the orthography of this entry listed in Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 314 satisfactorily secures the identification.

23 Friedhelm Hoffmann also expressed uncertainty in reading the sign, offering the large book-roll ( ) as a possible though equally puzzling alternative; personal communication.

further questions unanswered: 1) Does it indeed refer to 'fear', and if so, is it classified with the D53 ejaculating penis determinative? 2) Does it refer to a failure in physiology, point towards an explanatory model for affliction, or is it simply a word that categorises sickness (similar to Reymond's 'glandular ailment')? 3) How does the recipe to which the word belongs relate to those surrounding it in the manuscript?

The present paper seeks to move closer towards an answer to these three interrelated questions. It will first briefly outline common themes in explanatory models according to earlier therapeutic compendia. This discussion will establish a question that will be followed throughout – namely, can the earlier models be witnessed in the use of *ḥnḥn* in pVindob D 6257, or does the word's use represent an entirely novel means of classifying sickness? The paper will then explore the nuances of the word where it is found elsewhere, paying attention also to assumed lexical roots and related derivatives. Finally, the discussion will return to the passage in question, further exploring its placement, context and associated words. The paper will end with a summary that attempts to contextualise the concepts represented by this word within a diachronic frame, adding further depth to a discussion of the longevity of ancient Egyptian ideas.[24]

2 Egyptian Explanatory Models[25]

Chief among the explanatory models in surviving mid-second-millennium BCE healing literature is the notion of a 'disturbance' of sorts caused by external forces – primarily animated influences such as the divine (*nṯr.w*) or ghosts of deceased ancestors (*mwt.w*), as can be seen in these two spells that front the pEbers therapeutic compendium, a manuscript dated to *c.*1530 BCE:[26]

> **Eb 1 (col. 1, 1–11):** An incantation for placing a recipe (*pẖr.t*) upon any part of a man('s body): … The utterances belonging to me which the All-Lord has made will remove the action of a god, a goddess, a male ghost, a female ghost … that cause (something) that disturbs (*ẖnn*) enter into this flesh of mine …

The overall model is explicit – that a 'disturbance' (*ẖnn*) caused directly by the action of an external animate being was held responsible for the onset of an affliction to be treated with a topical therapeutic. Far from being an isolated occurrence, the notion reappears in various guises in passages from other incantations, such as in the incantation immediately following this one (Eb 2), which refers to these beings with the additional epithet 'wrong-doer' (*ḏꜣy/.t*).[27]

Similar notions are reflected in recipe titles specifically tailored to challenge the malignant agent in its form as either the entity's ꜥꜣꜥ-substance ( ) or its *s.t-ꜥ* ( ). The latter appears to refer to an entity's harmful tactile ability – 'a touch', or direct contact with an entity which is both pathogenic and typically treated with externally placed recipes, in Nyord's terms following a SURFACE schema of conceptualisation. Conversely, and perhaps more interesting for the present discussion, the former instead represents a certain transgression of pathogenic matter, whereby the body is conceptualised in terms of a CONTAINMENT schema – i.e., as a vessel into which good or bad substances can enter:[28]

24 At least far more specifically than in earlier attempts at doing so; see e.g., RITNER, 'Innovations and Adaptations', *JNES* 59. 2.

25 It should be noted that what is discussed under this subheading forms a part of the present author's PhD thesis, submitted to Leiden University in March 2023 under the title: *Towards a Historical Contextualisation of Ancient Egyptian Perspectives of the Inner Body, Sickness, and Healing*.

26 Such notions in their essential form appear also in Mesopotamian literature, suggesting that these understandings were salient models in this region of the world, rather than uniquely developed within isolated cultural entities; see U. STEINERT – J. RUSSELL, 'Ideas of Possession in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt: A Comparative View', in: N. BAUER – A. DOOLE (eds), *Ideas of Possession: Interdisciplinary and Transcultural Perspectives* (Oxford, 2024). For the results from a recent C-14 dating of pEbers, see B. KROMER – L. POPKO – R. SCHOLL, 'Die Altersbestimmung des Papyrus Ebers', *GM* 256 (2019), pp. 63–71.

27 STEINERT – RUSSELL, 'Ideas of Possession', in: *Ideas of Possession*; note, as with many classes of demonic agents, the *ḏꜣy/.t* are typically regarded as independent of the *mwt.w/t* or *nṯr.w/t* and their presence in such lists is reflective of the Egyptian culture's penchant for incorporating 'lengthy lists' of 'partly overlapping' characteristics reflecting a 'very general' understanding of the cause of afflictions rather than as a situation-specific epithet(/s) that further specifies the characteristics and typical behaviours of the transgressor; e.g., cf. R. NYORD, 'Experiencing the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Healing Texts', in: U. STEINERT (ed.), *Systems of Classification in Premodern Medical Cultures* (London, 2021), p. 85.

28 NYORD, *op. cit.*, p. 95; for a handy discussion of schemata in Egyptian conceptual metaphors, see R. NYORD, 'Analogy and Metaphor in Ancient Medicine and the Ancient Egyptian Conceptualisation of Heat in the Body', in: J. WEE (ed.), *The Comparable Body: Analogy and Metaphor in Ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman Medicine* (SAM 49, Leiden, 2017), pp. 12–24.

> **Eb 227 (col. 45, 6–8):** Another (recipe) for removing *ꜣr* upon the heart and removing *mh.t-ib, wꜥr(.t)-ib,* and *dmw.t-ib*-conditions: *ỉns.t*-plant 1/8 *dja*, figs 1/8 *dja*, celery (?) 1/16 *dja*, yellow ochre 1/32 *dja*, *šꜣšꜣ*-fruit/seed 1/8 *dja*, honey 1/32 *dja*, water 2 *dja*; (prepared and administered) likewise [i.e., to be strained and drunk before sleeping].

> **Bln 58 (col. 5, 9–11):** A recipe for removing the *ꜣr* of a god or goddess, the poison/semen (*mtw.t*) of a (male) ancestor or (female) ancestor, removing *wrd-ib*-condition, [...] *ḥꜣti*-condition, and removing *mh.w-ib*-condition: long beans, *bsbs*-tree fruit, carob, castor seed, [... *šꜣ*]*ms*-plant, *ḏꜣỉs*-plant seed; to be heated; fumigate the man with it.

In these two examples with *c.*250 years between them,[29] the transgressive nature of *ꜣr* into the BODY as a CONTAINER can be seen rather clearly – in Eb 227, *ꜣr* is in the heart (*ḥꜣti*) of the patient; in Bln 58, it is characterised as poison/semen (*mtw.t*), a bodily fluid noted in Egypt for both its creative and destructive potential.[30] In the present texts, these two potentials do not appear mutually exclusive – its power to both create afflictions and destroy the body from within is seemingly here implied. The descriptive association with poison/semen also corresponds to the notion of a substance sent by an external entity with an ability to transgress the confines of the body/container and thereby to transform it. In Bln 58, it is implied that this *ꜣr* was responsible for the manifestation of three conditions, a notion apparent also in Eb 227, though without the direct reference to poison/semen. The transformative capacity of *ꜣr* is more explicit in other passages, including pEbers itself:

> **Eb 62 (col. 19, 11–19):** Another effective recipe [for killing a *ḫfꜣ.w*-worm] with what is made for the belly: reed 1, *šꜣms*-plant 1; finely ground, heated with honey, and eaten by the man in whose belly is the *ḫrr.t*-worm. It is *ꜣr* which created it; it cannot die from any (other) recipe.

Found in a list of recipes seemingly dedicated to removing worm-like beings (in this case a *ḫrr.t ḫfꜣ.w*),[31] this recipe actually belongs to a larger group – the same group for removing 'afflictions from the belly' (Eb 4–103). The latter portion of this same list contains recipes for killing *wḫd.w* or *wḫd.w*-related experiences. This word is well-documented in Egyptological scholarship as it appears as the focus of Eb 856 – a well-known text included in pEbers that maps the sub-surface strands (the so-called 'vessels', *mt.w*) through the body and the *wḫd.w* that runs through them when the patient is in a sick state which is famously created by evacuations (*wsš*) in the region of the rear.[32] What triggers this process, however, is left unmentioned. Given the frequent reference to *wḫd.w* in *ꜣr* recipe titles from pEbers, it becomes apparent that the start of this process is the initial 'disruption' or 'wrong doing' (*ḫnn*; *ḏꜣỉ*) to the body's equilibrium by the external entity:

> **Eb 231 (col. 45, 13–16):** A quick (recipe) for removing a ghost from the belly; removing the *ꜣr*-substance of a god or a ghost, the *wḫd.w*-substance, (and/or) to throw down anything bad: Upper Egyptian celery (?) 1/32 *dja*, tiger nuts 1/4 *dja*, sycamore figs 1/8 *dja*, figs 1/8 *dja*, linseed 1/64 *dja*, *šꜣšꜣ*-fruit/seed 1/64 *dja*, honey 1/32 *dja*, water 2 *dja*; (prepared and administered) likewise [to be strained and drunk before sleeping].

The selection here of a slightly complex example is intentional.[33] The recipe title mentions *ꜣr*, but also the *wḫd.w*-substance, and the statement 'to throw down anything bad'[34] – seemingly a more general expression for removing the harmful substances cited. Perhaps reflective of a social anxiety about the dark and a divine or ghostly personification of its harmful entities,[35] recipes treating the *ꜣr*-substance were uniquely prescribed for

29 For pBerlin P. 3038, see e.g., M. Brose, 'Papyrus Berlin P 3038', in: *Science in Ancient Egypt* (URL: https://sae.saw-leipzig.de/de/dokumente/papyrus-berlin-p-3038?version=47).

30 For a detailed survey of semen and the Egyptian perception of its creativity, see N. Schmidt, *Körperflüssigkeiten und -ausscheidungen der Götter des Alten Ägypten* (ÄgAbh 82.1, Wiesbaden, 2022), pp. 333–374.

31 Eb 50–85.

32 E.g., K.S. Kolta – H. Tessenow, '"Schmerzen", "Schmerzstoffe" oder "Fäulnisprinzip"? Zur Bedeutung von *wḫd.w*, einem zentralen Terminus der altägyptischen Medizin', *ZÄS* 127 (2000), pp. 38–52.

33 Recipes from this series in pEbers – Eb 221–241 – are targeted at the *ꜣr* of a god or ghost, either from the belly or the heart; for a discussion of the significance of the specification for removing *ꜣr* from the heart, and a brief discussion of the physiological role of the heart as a commander, see Steinert – Russell, 'Ideas of Possession', in: *Ideas of Possession*.

34 I.e., out of the body through defaecation/urination; cf. the use of *wsš* in Eb 8.

35 E.g., K. Szpakowska, 'Demons in the Dark: Nightmares and Other Nocturnal Enemies in Ancient Egypt', in: P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Demonology: Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic* (OLA 175, Leuven, 2011), pp. 63–76.

use before the sufferer slept,[36] at least during the second millennium BCE. This is not the case with any other category of recipe recorded in any surviving compendium, a detail that is therefore significant. If the deduction that an animate-being's transgression of the body through its *ꜣꜥ* is the first stage in a potentially more complicated or at least variable sickness episode, then this exceptional method of drug administration is a reflection of its conceptualisation as the first part of a longer conceptualised process. A final example supporting this hypothesis is from pLeiden I 348, an incantation compendium:[37]

> **pLeiden I 348 13 (6, 4–7, 1):** 'Back enemy (*ḫftỉ*), fiend (?) (*pfṯ*), male or female ghost, etc. that makes affliction (*m(ḥ)r.t*) against NN born of NN. You say that you will extend wounds in this head in order to extend your entry into this forehead of his … Turn back! Be repelled by the striking power (*ꜣ.t*) of this flaming eye of his; may it oppose your wrath (*ꜣ.t*) and remove your *ꜣꜥ*, your poison/semen (*mtw.t*), your harms (*nkn.w*), corruptions (?) (*ỉwtỉ.w*), your lackings (?) (*gꜣ.w*), your chaoses (*ỉsf.wt*), your afflictions, your *wḫḍ.w*, your sufferings (*nqw.wt*), and any evil heat or flame of which you have said "he will suffer them!"'

In this last text, the broad and more general model that has been described with the past examples is exemplified. Here, the aggressive agent is referred to as an enemy, a fiend (?), and a ghost – it causes its affliction, in this case specifically in the head, by making a wound in that area and entering (i.e., transgressing the limits of the BODY as a CONTAINER). A series of activities thus follow: the amulet (here, the flaming eye) mirrors the behaviour of the entity in its wrath. It is invoked to eradicate a process represented by groups of words arranged in an order particular to the explanatory model:

1) the *ꜣꜥ*, a poison/semen
2) a harm, a corruption (?),[38] a lacking (?),[39] chaos
3) afflictions, *wḫḍ.w*,
4) suffering, heat/flames

The explanatory model tapped into in this incantation is thus similar in structure to those referenced in the recipe titles of therapeutic compendia. In this case, the instrument of the entity (*ꜣꜥ*) creates harm, corruption, chaos; in turn, this results in a state of affliction, of *wḫḍ.w*, and of suffering and pain.[40] Thus, the transcendent behaviour of the *ꜣꜥ*, and perhaps even its transformative semen/poison-like power, is encapsulated by the use of the D53 classifier, the ejaculating penis. Whether *ḥnḥn*, as the only other lexeme found in any other therapeutic compendia that was potentially classified with D53, one might wonder whether it fits the same or a similar model of explanation – if so, how can this aid our understanding of pVindob D 6257 and the arrangement of its recipes?

3 A Brief Lexicography of *ḥnḥn*

To draw closer to answering this question, it is worth considering related words and their uses – i.e., possible etymological roots and associated derivatives thereof – with the aim of further colouring nuance for *ḥnḥn*.

A search for *ḥnḥn* in the TLA indicates three possible lexical roots for words that contain variations of these duplicated radicals. The first is the lexeme *ḥnn* 'to chop',[41] a word commonly classified with the U8 determinative (𓌷). Under this are rather listed entries such as *ḥnn* 'phallus' (including multiple demotic examples), as well as the verb *ḥnḥn* 'to tear apart'.[42] For the latter, only a reference to its use in PT 476 (Pepi II – the second half of the third millennium BCE) is listed: 'scribe, scribe, break your *mnḥḏ*-writing apparatus, snap your stylus, tear apart your book rolls'.[43] The absence of a classifier (not unusual for a *Pyramid Text*) does little to hinder the interpretation,

36 E.g., NYORD, 'Experiencing the Dead', in: *Systems of Classification*. Good examples of such texts are Eb 221–241.

37 A so-called 'magical text'; these are here defined as healing compendia whose primary *raison d'être* is to document the specifics of and variations for incantations, rather than recipes.

38 Meaning unclear; the word *ỉwt.w* has been translated as 'what is putrid' (e.g., TLA lemma-ID 23190); cf. J. ZANDEE, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (SHR 5, Leiden, 1960), pp. 73–74), who reads 'digestive products', followed also by J.F. BORGHOUTS, 'The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348', *OMRO* 51 (1970), pp. 21, 100 n. 176, pls 6–7.

39 Meaning unclear; it certainly describes some form of bad-state mechanism; cf. the Admonitions of Ipuwer (pLeiden I 344, recto 7, 6), where 'fear' (*snḏ*) in the residence results from *gꜣ.wt* 'want, lack'; A.H. GARDINER, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, From a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden* (Leipzig, 1909), pl. 7; cf. BORGHOUTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 100 n. 177, who translates 'oppressions'.

40 For 'heat' as a metaphor and its association with pain, see NYORD, 'Analogy and Metaphor', in: *The Comparable Body*, esp. pp. 32–36.

41 S.D. SCHWEITZER and A. SINCLAIR, '*ḥnn*', in: TLA (Lemma-ID 873362, accessed 31 January, 2024).

42 Cf. SATZINGER – STEFANOVIÇ (*Root Lexicon*, 264) who separate these lexemes.

43 Pyr. 954b – *sš(.w) sš(.w) sḏ mnḥḏ=k ḥsb ꜥr.wy=k ḥnḥn=k mḏꜣ.wt=k*; K. SETHE, *Die altaeyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 32.

as the meaning is clear from the context. The relationship in terms of meaning between the TLA's word grouping is far less evident, especially between *ḥnn* 'to chop' and *ḥnn* 'phallus'. Nevertheless, a relationship between *ḥnn* 'phallus' and the *ḥnḥn* in our pVindob D 6257 example – as observed by the *CDD* – appears entirely possible, though at this stage not at all helpful for understanding the passage, unless somehow related via the same concept represented by *ꜣꜥ* (and *mtw.t* 'poison/semen'). Of course, tracing a connection between these two based on this information alone would require quite a stretch of the imagination.

The second root entry is the verb *ḥn* 'to close, to shut',[44] a verb that is frequently classified with the V36 'sheath or receptacle' classifier. Noted derivatives of this lexeme are *ḥn.t* 'pool, lake', as well as various other containers, such as the *ḥn.w*-jar, a *ḥnw.t*-vessel (for beer and wine?), and the *ḥnw.t*-coffin case. Included also are the *ḥn.w*-ribs, perhaps by virtue of their function as containers of inner-bodily structures, so to speak. Interestingly amongst this list is also included a *ḥnḥn.t*, a word that appears in pEbers (Eb 857–862) which is classified with the AA2 'pustule' determinative and is typically understood to denote a type of 'swelling'.[45] The passages which contain this word are actually 'teaching text' excerpts (*šsꜣ.w*) rather than simple 'recipes' (*pḫr.t*), offering a greater potential for more explicit insight into the mechanics of ancient thought. Perhaps not incidentally, these teaching texts follow immediately after Eb 856 – a well-known 'knowledge book'[46] related to the Egyptian perspective of the heart and sub-surface strands (*ḥꜣtï* and *mt.w*, respectively) which is chiefly concerned with removing *wḫd.w* from 'any bodily part of a man'. A summary of the contents of the *ḥnḥn.t* teaching-text series can be seen as follows:

Eb	Title	Cause	Treatment	Additional description
857	*ḥnḥn.t* in *ḥtỉ*-throat	*ꜥr.wt*-substance pressing (*wd.t*)	Drugs in bandage; applied for 4 days	surface covered but soft to touch
858	*ḥnḥn.t* in any part	*wḫd.w*-substance pressing (*wd.t*); pus (*ry.t*) inside body	Drugs in bandage; applied until recovery	like *ḫsd*-swelling 'which disturbs the skin'
859	*ḥnḥn.t* in *šꜣšꜣ.yt*-area (?)	*ꜥr.wt*-substance of pus (*ry.t*) pressing (*wd.t*)	Drugs in bandage; applied for 4 days	*ḥnḥn.t* 'head' is 'pointed' with pus leaking
860	*ḥnḥn.t* in *ḫꜥm*-throat	(made of?) fat (*ꜥḏ*)	Knife treatment; drugs in bandage	like a *sḫn* skin-swelling; soft to touch; 'white and hidden'
861	*ḥnḥn.t* in *ḥtỉ*-throat	Pus (*ry.t*) in man's throat enlarged (*ꜣ.tỉ*)	Drugs in bandage	Years/months old; like *iꜣr.t* 'fish-discharge (?)'; makes a *twꜣ.w*-lump
862	*ḥnḥn.t*, many days old	*ꜥr.wt*-substance	Drugs made into a powder	makes pus (*ry.t*) 'rise' (*ꜥḥꜥ*); makes a *twꜣ.w*-lump of 'fat' (*ꜥḏ*)

Common themes in these texts are clear – the *ḥnḥn.t* is invariably caused by a set of typical substances which 'press' (*wd.t*), presumably marking the start of their pathogenic nature, and there appears to be an apparent interchangeability between them: in Eb 857 and 859, this substance is referred to as *ꜥr.wt*;[47] in the latter example specifically of pus (*ry.t*). In Eb 858, it is instead referred to as *wḫd.w*; perhaps unsurprising, given the placement of this series as a whole after Eb 856. It seems likely that terms such as 'fat' (*ꜥḏ*) might even be considered a euphemism for the same, especially as Eb 861 and 862 both refer to lumps, the latter specifying specifically one made of 'fat', and the former instead referring to 'pus' that has 'enlarged' (*ꜣ.tỉ*). The cyst-like nature of the *ḥnḥn.t* becomes apparent from the descriptions provided in the symptom and diagnostic clauses, and this itself may even be referred

44 SCHWEITZER and SINCLAIR, '*ḥn*', in: TLA (Lemma-ID 873344, accessed 31 January, 2024).

45 E.g., VON DEINES – WESTENDORF (*Wörterbuch*, pp. 609–610), who disregard the interpretation of 'lymphatic swelling' offered in the article by EBBELL (*ZÄS* 63) that inspired REYMOND's interpretation (*Medical Book*, p. 155).

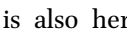
46 See n. 17, above.

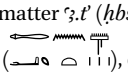
47 Untranslatable; see e.g., VON DEINES – WESTENDORF, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 147–148.

to under an alternative euphemism used in the texts following immediately after the *ḥnḥn.t*-unit – texts for the *ʿȝ.t*-swelling, literally, 'a growth':

> **Eb 864 (col. 106, 7–13):** Instructional text for a *ʿȝ.t* covering[48] upon the upper-side of his belly. Should you determine that an *ʿȝ.t* covering is upon the upper side of his belly – (i.e.,) in the upper-part of his navel, you have to put your fingers upon it and have to palpate his belly and separate with your fingers; if you cause that he coughs and what exits and manifests is his *sry.t*,
>
> Then you say: 'this is an *ʿȝ.t* covering upon his belly, an affliction which I will treat'. It is heat upon his bladder at the front of his belly which makes this; (it) falls to the ground and reverting (back) the same way (lit.: 'according to the same') ...

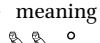
The duration of this condition is understood to be governed by a sickness (expressed metaphorically as 'heat', perhaps used with a 'disturbance' nuance)[49] in the bladder region and front of the belly, implicating pathogenic urine in some way.[50] This heat, lower in the body than the area in question – i.e., the upper belly – manifests both 'growths' covering the upper belly and a bronchial complaint expressed through the use of *srỉ* 'to cough' and *sry.t*, the substance coughed up.[51] Unlike the word *ḥnḥn.t*, which appears to connote physiological pathogenesis via containment of substances (cf. 'pool, lake', or the various containers in the TLA's list of derivatives), the word *ʿȝ.t* appears descriptive of physical characteristics (*ʿȝ.t*, a 'growth'), characteristics that seemingly would apply also to *ḥnḥn.t*, according to the additional information clauses, but are even more clearly evident in the use of *ʿȝ* in the stative to describe the *ḥnḥn.t* in Eb 861. Thus, it seems likely that the two terms as used in Egyptian were not mutually exclusive, but could be used to designate any tangible lump or raised skin abnormality of any kind.[52] What is entirely absent from the descriptions of *ḥnḥn.t*(/*ʿȝ.t*) physiology is any statement explaining the original cause of the pathological process – perhaps this was attributed to the notion represented by 'disturbances' from external agents as suggested by the spells that front pEbers; equally, perhaps the notion of 'a cause' in this case was not a crucial aspect of the ancient thought processes represented. In any case, the nuance here offers an interesting means of interpreting pVindob D 6257, perhaps much in the same way that Reymond did in her determination of 'glandular swellings'. Unlike the first word group provided by the TLA, however, the nuance encoded by the application of the D53 determinative is entirely unclear.

The third and final root entry for consideration here is another *ḥn*, this time offered by the TLA with the meaning of 'to hurry, go speedily', a verb classified with the 'walking-legs' determinative (D54) with many attestations and known since the Old Kingdom.[53] Under this lexeme are noted the derivatives *ḥn* 'to draw back from' – written with the 'reverse walking-legs' (D55) classifier, as well as *ḥnḥn* 'to hinder, detain', also with D55. A demotic *ḥn*  is also here listed as 'to approach, move, go toward'. Though classified with the 'man with hand to mouth' (A2) classifier typical of later demotic texts, this example from pLondon-Leiden (19,29; *c.*250 CE) can be found in the instructions for applying an oil to the client as part of a ritual: 'While you place his face, belonging to that man, upwards; you place it (the oil) down into his mouth, and you *ḥn* your fingers and your nails (into?) the two sub-surface strands (*mwt*) of his chest'.[54] In all cases, a core association of the word is movement; interestingly, many of the derivatives listed encode a sense of retention, whereas the later demotic example from pLondon-Leiden maintains a sense of boundary transgression – in this case, what appears to be the imposition of fingers into the sub-surface strands of the chest area. The use of the duplicated stem with the D54 and D55 classifiers appears in healing texts from the second millennium BCE:

48 Or perhaps also 'concealed/hidden matter *ʿȝ.t*' (*ḥbs.w*/*ḥsp.w*(?)) – the latter is written logographically (), explaining the emphasis on tactile examination; cf. S. RADESTOCK, *Prinzipien der ägyptischen Medizin: Medizinische Lehrtexte der Papyri Ebers und Smith, Eine wissenschaftstheoretische Annäherung* (WSA KBÄ 4, Würzburg, 2015), pp. 197–200, where it is read as 'ʿȝ.t-Geschwulst der Decke', referring to the abdominal wall, and interpreted through a notable retrospective diagnostic lens.

49 See NYORD, 'Analogy and Metaphor', in: *The Comparable Body*.

50 For pathogenic urine and faecal matter and its possible association with the *ʿȝʿ* -> *wḥd.w* explanatory model, see RUSSELL, *Towards a Historical Contextualisation*, especially section 3.2.

51 For recent, short summary of the meaning of *sry.t*, see J. RUSSELL, 'The Identification of *mjmj*  as Linseed', *ZÄS* 151. 2 (2024), pp. 293–294.

52 For blurred boundaries between domains of sickness, see RUSSELL, *Towards a Historical Contextualisation*; following especially J.P. OLIVIER DE SARDAN, 'Illness entities in West Africa', *Anthropology and Medicine* 5. 2 (1998), pp. 193–217.

53 SCHWEITZER and SINCLAIR, '*ḥn*', in: TLA (Lemma-ID 872774, accessed 31 January, 2024).

54 *mtw=k tỉ.t ḥr=f n pȝ rmṯ r ḥrỉ mtw=k ty.w=f r ḫ(ry) ḫn rȝ=f mtw=k ḥn pȝy=k ḏbʿ ỉrm tȝy=k ʿne.t mwt 2 n tȝy=f šnbe.t*; F.Ll. GRIFFITH – H. THOMPSON, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 2 (London, 1905), pl. (rto) 19.

> **pLondon BM EA 10059 26 (col. 9, 3–7):** 'These *ꜣꜥ* of the One in his Weakness, whom Mafdet took in this chamber where Isis rejoiced, and where the two testicles of Seth were severed. Do not *ḥnḥn*! Come out, *ꜣꜥ*, from Horus, of One in his Weakness, which comes out from a male or female ancestor, etc. [Insert:] The name of the enemy, the name of its father, the name of its mother. Oh Mafdet! Open wide your mouth against that enemy, the male or female ancestor, etc.! Do not even let me see him!' Words to be spoken over a firm *ḥnn*-penis *dp.t*-cake, made with the name of the enemy, [...] the name of his father, and the name of his mother (inscribed); to be placed inside fatty meat and given to a female cat.

This text, from the London healing incantation compendium (*c.*1350 BCE)[55] uses the verb *ḥnḥn* in the negated imperative; here, the expression is understood as 'do not hinder; hold back!', specifically referring to the *ꜣꜥ* of Apophis.[56] The explanatory model represented by *ꜣꜥ* in other texts such as pEbers discussed above is clear, and though associated with Apophis, it appears that the animate being(s) responsible for its transmission remain the typical ghost entities, further qualified in the rubric as 'enemy' or 'opponent' – i.e., those that oppose the typical *status quo* (alluded to elsewhere through verbs such as 'wrong-doer' [*ḏꜣy/.t*] or 'to disturb' [*ḫnn*] elsewhere). The ritual accompanying the spell can even be seen as a 'medical re-enactment'[57] – or analogy to the desired result: a *ḥnn*-phallic shaped *dp.t*-cake – here representative of the causal *ꜣꜥ* of the entities being devoured by a female cat, representing the protective feline goddess Mafdet. As a means to express the pathogenic agency of *ꜣꜥ* and the concept it represents, this example is far from an isolated occurrence.[58] pBerlin P. 3038, too, includes the same *ḥnḥn* in a recipe title, also classified with D54:

> **Bln 169 (col. 18, 1–2):** A recipe for a *ḥnḥn* in the legs: honey 1/4 *dja*, fresh moringa oil 1/2 *dja*, Lower Egyptian salt 1/64 *dja*, sweet beer 5 *dja*; to be poured into the rear for four days.

The context of this recipe is difficult to ascertain without due consideration of the recipes with which it is grouped together in the manuscript:

Bln	Recipe title	Administration
164	A recipe for removing *wḫd.w* from his belly, a stoppage (?) of *wḫd.w*, an obstruction of the rear	Poured in the rear for four days (× 3)
165	A recipe for a man when he evacuates with a lot of blood	Poured in the rear for four days
166	What is made for a man suffering from urine	Poured in the rear for four days
167	A recipe for a man with a difficult (?) affliction	Poured in the rear for four days
168	A recipe for digging out *wḫd.w*	Poured in the rear for four days
169	A recipe for a *ḥnḥn* in the legs	Poured in the rear for four days
170	A recipe for breaking *wḫd.w* from the belly	Poured in the rear for four days
171	What is made (for) the urine when it is afflicted	Poured in the rear for four days
172	A good recipe of a sickness agent (*ḫꜣy.t*) or affliction (*m(ḥ)r.t*)	Poured in the rear for four days
173	Another of any difficult affliction	Poured in the rear for four days
174	Another for a sub-surface strand when it shudders itself and the course [of the *ḥꜣtỉ*-heart] is troubled; of breaking *wḫd.w*	Poured in the rear for four days

55 Otherwise known as the London Medical Papyrus, this document is primarily a compendium of healing incantations; see e.g., C. Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* (HPBM 7, London, 1999).

56 Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, p. 68 n. 156, who compares the epithet *ỉmỉ nhd=f* with the same used for Apophis in *CT* 5, 244 a–b.

57 For this, see T. Pommerening, 'Medical Re-enactments: Ancient Egyptian Prescriptions from an Emic View', in: G. Rosati – M. Guidotti (eds), *Proceedings of the XIth Congress of Egyptologists, Florence, Italy* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 519–526; now also Russell, 'The Identification of *mjmj*', *ZÄS* 151. 2 (2024).

58 See e.g., pChester Beatty 8 (19th Dynasty), col. 15, 7–8: *nn* [...] [*mtw.t*?]*=k m ḫ.t n mn* [*msỉ.n mn.t*] *nn s*[*ḥtm*]*=k* [...] [*nn*] *ḥnḥn=k mn* [...] '[...] your [poison/seed?] in the belly of NN [born of NN], you will not de[story ...] you [will not] *ḥnḥn* NN [...]'; A.H. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Gift*, 1 (HPBM 3, London,

The key unifying theme of all these recipes is their administration into the rear of the patient; nonetheless, the themes with which these recipes are associated is predominantly of the *wḫd.w* paradigm and – where specified – the bodily substances with which it is associated, here blood and urine in the lower parts of the body. From these examples of the use of *ḥnḥn* as a derivative of the TLA's third root *ḥn* 'to hurry', a full association can be observed between the explanatory model represented by *ʿȝʿ*, *wḫd.w*, and even in one case the phallus as a representative of the notion, suggestive of potential nuances reflected in the term as used in pVindob D 6257.

A final passage worth consideration enables us to draw a connection between *ḥnḥn*'s use in earlier texts with a Roman-Period demotic copy of the Myth of the Sun's Eye from second century CE Dime (pLille 31, col. A, 45–46)[59] in the Fayyum, wherein it is said of the goddess that *pȝ ntỉ šbỉ pȝỉ=t ḥn ḥr tȝỉ s pȝ šny ḥnḥn* 'the one who changes your command, a *ḥnḥn* affliction takes him'. In this context, the word ( ) is classified with a combination of the 'bad bird' (G37) and 'bad stick' (Z6), and, from the context, the meaning is clear. Presumably due to an observation that the term *ḥnḥn.t* in pEbers represents some form of lump, the most recent translation of this term is a tentative 'Beulenpest (?)'.[60] Whether the demotic expression is more nuanced and less specific, though, is open to interpretation; given the divine context of this narrative, it is perhaps not inadmissible that the *ḥnḥn* is used specifically because of its power to disturb the body, a power primarily associated with external beings. At the very least, the notion which the term represents – at least in the earlier sources – appears to be primarily one of physiological corruption, rather than descriptive of tangible alterations to the body or as an exclusive category of sickness experience.

While useful indicators of potential nuances encoded in pVindob D 6257's use of *ḥnḥn*, it must be noted that these three lexical categories observed by the TLA should not be considered absolute. The science of identifying lexical roots of words in Egyptology is fraught with risky assumptions. A browse through Satzinger and Stefanović's *Root Lexicon* for example suggests alternate groupings:[61] 1) *ḥnn* 'to hoe' – *ḥnḥn* 'to tear up' appears to correspond somewhat with the TLA's first meaning *ḥnn* 'to chop'; another entry in their *Lexicon*, though separated from 'to hoe', is *ḥnn* 'phallus' – a connection to 'to hoe' which might be more clearly seen through analogy to the boundary-transgressive actions of both ploughing and intercourse.[62] 2) *ḥn* 'to block' appears to correspond with the TLA's second entry, though here the emphasis is not on containers, per se, though *ḥn.wt* 'casket' is listed here. 3) *ḥn* 'to hurry' – *ḥnḥn* 'to hinder, detain' (also listing the Bln 169 example); this entry appears to neatly correspond with the TLA's third root *ḥn* 'to hurry, go speedily'. A fourth entry, *ḥn* 'to be fresh', confounds the mapping of terms somewhat; here are listed words such as *ḥn* 'to grow (of lotus)', *ḥn.t* 'palm, irrigation channel', and *ḥn.t* 'pool, lake', the last of which was listed as a derivative of *ḥn* 'to block' by the TLA. Under this list appears the entries *ḥnḥn* 'vitality' and *ḥnḥn* 'dawdler', the latter of which perhaps related to the TLA's third root, as well as *ḥnḥn.t*, the word used together with *ʿȝ.t* 'growth' to denote lumps in pEbers, listed as a derivative of *ḥn* 'to block' by the TLA.

What can be deduced with relative certainty is that a lexicographical analysis of the term *ḥnḥn* and both its potential roots and associated derivatives thereof strongly indicate a conceptual affinity with that represented by the notion of *ʿȝʿ*/ disruption -> *wḫd.w* -> sickness paradigm, even if the classifier does not represent the phallus, after all: 'to block', 'to dawdle', and even 'to tear up' perhaps all reflective of a notion of disturbance, considered the initial onset of sickness. Whether the later application of a term in this category is what is found in pVindob D 6257, i.e., representing an absolute continuity of an ancient concept of disturbance, however, be scrutinised.

1935). Also pWilbour 47.218.138 (26th Dynasty), col. x + 4, 4–5: *tȝ mtw.t bỉn.t* [...] *ḥnḥn=t* [...] *nn bgȝ ỉb=f n hh=t* 'this evil poison/seed [...] you hinder [...] his insides will not (become) tired because of your heat blast'; J.-C. GOYON, *Le recueil de prophylaxie contre les agressions des animaux venimeux du Musée de Brooklyn: Papyrus Wilbour 47.218.138* (SsR 5, Wiesbaden, 2012), pl. 4. In these texts, the determinative D55 is used to classify the verb, certainly suggestive of a notion comparable to the English 'hindrance'.

59 F. DE CENIVAL, 'Les nouveaux fragments du mythe de l'oeil du soleil de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille', *CRIPEL* 7 (1985), p. 102.

60 F. HOFFMANN – J.F. QUACK, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* (2nd edition, EQÄ 4, Munster, 2018), p. 201.

61 H. SATZINGER – D. STEFANOVIĆ, *Egyptian Root Lexicon* (LingAeg – StudMon 25, Hamburg, 2019), pp. 261, 264.

62 For Akkadian agricultural metaphors for intercourse, see e.g.: M.E. COUTO-FERREIRA, '"Let Me be Your Canal": Some Thoughts on Agricultural Landscape and Female Bodies in Sumero-Akkadian Sources', in: L. FELIU – F. KARAHASHI – G. RUBIO (eds), *The First 90 Years: A Sumerian Celebration in Honour of Miguel Civil* (SANER 12, Berlin – Boston, 2017), pp. 60–65; for the equation of the penis with the seeder-plough, see W.G. LAMBERT, 'Sum. nínda = Akk. ittû "father"', *RAAO* 76 (1982), p. 94.

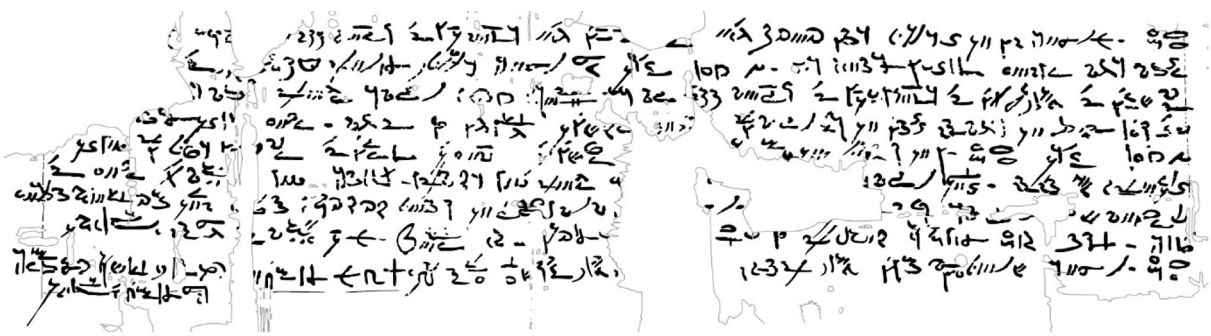
4 Contextualising *ḥnḥn* in pVindob D 6257

To contextualise the model(s) in which our pVindob D 6257 passage was grounded, it is first necessary to reconsider our passage:

> **pVindob D 6257, col. 4, 38–39:** [A recipe] for rem⌜o⌝[ving …] ⌜from?⌝ a youth (or) a man who suffers a *ḥnḥn* so that his chest is like bird sound: copper (flakes/powder?), burned papyrus, beaten with milk […at the stand]⌜ard⌝ measurement in a shell; add honey 1/8 *dja* to it and pour into/sprinkle against his mouth.

For the retention of health, the title implies that something is to be removed[63] – what specifically is lost in the lacuna. The target, in red, was an *ʒrʒ.w* 'youth', 'child'; however, an additional descriptive clause is untypically appended 'or a man who suffers a *ḥnḥn* so that his chest is like bird sound'. Here, we see the causative effect of the *ḥnḥn* – it creates a sound (here, *mt*) that marks the sickness episode.[64] Herein lies our first indication of a complaint in some way related to the bronchia. In this regard, the administration of the therapeutic directly to the mouth – specifically, the region of the body from which the physiological manifestation of bronchial complaints is most evident – is no minor detail. Whether the bronchial complaint was registered as the prime or singular target of the recipe, or whether instead it was only part of a more complex syndrome, is unfortunately lost in the lacuna. The aforementioned Eb 864 is a useful example of the latter – the *ḥnḥn.t*/*ʿʒ.t* lumps are tangible across the upper belly and were experienced *in concert* with 'coughing' (*srỉ*) and the production of the pathogenic '*sry.t*-substance'. Were the classifier to be registered as the ejaculating phallus, then its application would indeed indicate an explanatory model for the bronchial complaint experienced. The appendage of the D53 classifier is thus crucial to appreciate the nuance of the word's use – it would seem suggestive of a concept centred on boundary-transgression, perhaps even in a similar way as the earlier explanatory model patterns represented by *ʿʒʿ*, whereby the intervention of hostile entities disturbed the body's otherwise healthy equilibrium.

To explore this hypothesis further, and assuming that the scribe who penned our manuscript did not do so at random,[65] it is necessary to consider the recipe categories which surround our bronchial-condition causing *ḥnḥn*-disruption passage to contextualise the model. Two recipe groups whose connection is difficult to ascertain due to the significant lacunae are here considered:



pVindob D 6257, col. 4: (32) *pḫr.t tỉ.t rky mw-rmṯ ỉw=f ỉrỉ srf(.ṯ) sm nyn 1/10.t qt(.t)* […]⌜?⌝ *1/10 qt(.t) snby-n=f 1/8 ḥnqy nḏm* […] ⌜*rq 4.t*⌝ [*psy*? …] (33) *ʿtḫ swr twʒy bw-ỉrỉ pʒ rmṯ wnm swr n pʒy hrw rn=f k.t rky srf.ṯ ḏrỉ ḥm* […] *1/8* […] (34) *ʒpstn 1/8 stỉ nḥsy 1/8 snby-n=f 1/8 ḥnqy nḏm rq 4.t psy r hn r rq 2 šty rq* ⌜2?⌝[…] (35) *pʒ ḏd wnw.t 8.t ḫpr ỉw=f swr mw ʿʿ(ʒ)m ỉw=f psy rq wʿ* […] ⌜*ỉw=f*⌝ [?] *qḥs 1/4 bšwš ḥr pwr n nḥḥ* ⌜*b*⌝*w-ỉrỉ=f w*⌜*nm*⌝ [*swr n*] (36) *pʒy hrw rn=f*

63 *rky* is here tentatively translated as 'to remove', as it appears to assume the function of the verb *dr* in earlier texts, despite the semantics of this word prioritising the notion of 'to stop'.

64 This paradigm of expressing bronchial afflictions is perhaps not an isolated occurrence – in the far earlier pEbers, following *sry.t*-substance afflictions (also concerned primarily with bronchial afflictions; Eb 305–325), a series on 'killing *gḥ.w*' (𓄿𓎛𓏏𓅱) follows (Eb 326–335). The recipes in this series offer little indication of the types of sickness experience associated with this term, but the fact that the condition was personified in writing through the use of a 'gecko' classifier, a reptile known for the bird-like noise it emits (the means of its eradication, 'to kill' [*smʒ*] is also suggestive of this personification) and that the series was juxtaposed immediately after the *sry.t* series led B. Ebbell, 'Die ägyptischen Krankheitsnamen', *zäs* 59 (1924), pp. 144–147, to assume somewhat problematically that the term referred to 'asthma'.

65 As with other manuscripts, rather grouped associated themes or copied from another manuscript in which the themes were already grouped; Pommerening, 'Classification in Ancient Egyptian Medical Formulae', in: *Classification*.

(32) A recipe for causing that urine which makes *srf*(*.ṯ*)-heat is removed: 'trembling-plant' 1/10-*qite*, […] ⌜?⌝ 1/10-*qite*, 'health to him'-plant 1/8 *dja*, sweet beer […] ⌜4-*leq*⌝ [to be heated? …] (33) strained, and drunk in the morning, and the man should not eat or drink for this named day. Another for removing all-over *srf.t*-heat: *ḥm*-substance […] 1/8 *dja* […] (34) *ȝpstn*-plant 1/8 *dja*, Nubian ochre 1/8 *dja*, 'health to him'-plant 1/8 *dja*, sweet beer 4-*leq*; to be heated down to 2-*leq*; take the ⌜2?⌝-*leq* […] (35) (when?) the 8th hour has occurred, he drinks ⌜ʿ(*ȝ*)*m*-plant drink and heats one *leq*-measure […] ⌜he?⌝ [.] *qḫs*-plant 1/4 *dja*, *bšwš*-plant in vinegar and *nḥḥ*-oil; he should not e⌜at⌝ [or drink for] (36) this named day.

pVindob D 6257, col. 4: (36) *pḫr.t n rmṯ ỉw=f šny ỉw=f* ⌜*psy*⌝[…] *ḫts 1/4 nȝy 1/4 btt 1/8 ȝt*⌜*r*⌝[*m*?] *sḫ wʿ ntï ỉw=w ỉrỉ=f* [*n*] (37) *wtfy.t sp-sn.w mȝ n ʿȝ rq* [2?… …]⌜?⌝ *šty ntï ỉw=w sḫm=w wḥm ntï ỉw=w* [*tỉ.t*] *ỉby 1/30 nḥḥ 1/8* (38) *ỉrty ỉḥ 1/4* […]⌜?⌝ *wtḥ m p*[*ḥw*]

(36) A recipe for man when he suffers and it/he ⌜heats (?)⌝[166][…] *ḫt-ds*-wood 1/4 *dja*, *nȝy*-substance 1/4 *dja*, *btt*-plant 1/8 *dja*, *ȝt*⌜*r*⌝[*m*]-plant <?>, one gall bladder,[67] which one will do [with] (37) piercings, twice-over; donkey urine [2(?)]-*leq* […]⌜?⌝ to be taken, which one will pound repeatedly [and to] which one will [add]: honey 1/30, *nḥḥ*-oil 1/8 *dja*, (38) cow milk 1/4 *dja* […]? Pour into the re[ar].

The first text contains a group of therapeutic recipes directed against treating *srf.ṯ*-heat,[68] the genesis of which is made clear from the first title. Here, the sickness experiences associated with *srf.ṯ*-heat are caused by urine – not unlike urine's pathogenic role in the model used to explain the genesis of *ʿȝ.t*/*ḫnḫn.t*-lumps in Eb 864. The second text appears also to conform to this perspective of affliction – unfortunately, herein lies our most confounding lacuna. That the treatment uses donkey urine is, however, unlikely to be a mere coincidence, given that this animal had negative connotations through its association with Seth.[69]

These texts host a moderate display of innovation in terms of expected measures and some *materia medica* not seen in earlier texts. In addition, the specification for the patient to consume the therapeutic 'without eating or drinking' is not something observed with such prevalence in earlier Egyptian texts.[70] On the whole, however, the formation of these therapeutics is very similar to those herb-based beers consumed to treat such internal afflictions as those associated with *wḫd.w*, which were made with herbs and other items added to beer, the volume of which was often calculated far in excess of the therapeutics' dry ingredients (typically 4 or 5 *dja*).[71] Similar relationships can be seen in the second text, where the condition was treated with a secondary enema, again hinting at its perceived root cause in the lower region of the body.

Following our *ḫnḫn*-text is another therapeutic strategy that appears to exhibit an impressive degree of salience across time, variants of which are found not only in pEbers and pBerlin P. 3038, but even twice in the Nineveh Therapeutic Compendium (*c.*640 BCE). These are specifications for creating an inhalation device for the treatment of Egyptian *sry.t* and Akkadian *suālu*, respectively – two sickness categories which both represent bronchial-affliction causing pathogenic substances in the body. These are roughly cognates of each other, though indeed in the Egyptian explanatory model the genesis of *sry.t* is often dependent on heat emanating from lower parts of the body, as seen in Eb 864.[72]

66 I thank Friedhelm Hoffmann for this reading suggestion, personal communication. It is unusual to find *psy* in descriptions of sickness; the present author can think of only one other occasion, in pEbers, in which *dḫr.t*-fever that enters in the eye and exits from the navel is said to *pss psy.t m ỉwf=f* 'heat the heat in his flesh' (100,20).

67 My thanks to Friedhelm Hoffmann for these suggestions, also.

68 A sickness category which features in a recipe list in pEbers that tackles *wḫȝ.w* and *wḫd.w* in the belly, the latter of which is even referred to as the 'root' (*mny.t*) of the former – Eb 93 and 96; for the list as a whole, see Eb 93–103; for 'killing *wḫd.w* in the belly; killing *wḫȝ.w*', see the title of Eb 103. For *srf.t* as referring to a 'rash' through association with *wḫȝ.w* in pEbers, see VON DEINES – WESTENDORF, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 781–782; the term is classified with the Q7 brazier, suggestive of 'heat' (perhaps metaphorically – so NYORD, 'Analogy and Metaphor', in: *The Comparable Body*. 'Fever' is also not unlikely; so HOFFMANN – QUACK, 'Demotische Texte', in: *Texte zur Heilkunde*, pp. 303–304, who interpret the first reference to what is here seen as the same word – *srf*(*.t*) as 'fiebern', and the second as '*serefet*-Hautenzündung'.

69 E.g., H. TE VELDE, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion* (PdÄ 6, Leiden, 1967).

70 Incidentally, this is a common requirement in Mesopotamian recipes for treating internal afflictions, where the expression *balu patān* 'without eating' is frequently applied as a requirement for internally administered therapeutics: for Akk. *balu patān*, see e.g., the bronchia and stomach tablets of the Nineveh Therapeutic Compendium: J. TAYLOR, *The Nineveh Medical Project*, (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/NinMed/; accessed: 02/01/2024).

71 RUSSELL, *Towards a Historical Contextualisation*.

72 For this, see RUSSELL, *Towards a Historical Contextualisation*.

pVindob D 6257, col. 4, 40–5, 1: *pḫr.t n rky sry pr.t šȝ.w stỉ km* […] *stỉ nḥsy snṯr wȝḏ nḏ snᶜᶜ tỉ.t* (*r*) *ḏp ntï mḥ* ⟨*n*⟩ *ḏᶜbs mt*(*w*)*≠k pḫt k.t ḏp r rȝ≠f* (5, 1) *pḥ≠f wtnṯ mt*(*w*)*≠k tỉ.t wᶜ.t sby.t qš ḥ*[*r pȝ*]˹*ḏ*˺*p ntï ỉw rmṯ tỉ.t r rȝ≠f tȝ sby.t ntï ỉw≠f ȝtḥ pȝ ḥtỉ ḥrï r rȝ≠f …*

A recipe for removing *sry*(*.t*): coriander seed, black/dark ochre (?) […] Nubian (yellow) ochre, fresh incense; ground finely and given (to) a *ḏp*-bowl which is filled ⟨with⟩ hot coals. You invert another *ḏp*-bowl over its opening, (5,1) its bottom being pierced, and you put a reed tube u[pon the *ḏ*]*p*-bowl which the man will (also) put to his mouth, the reed which he drags the smoke up to his mouth.

The focus of this passage is undoubtedly bronchial afflictions, broadly speaking – in fact, the prescription of therapeutic inhalation devices is unique to the treatment of *sry.t*-substance in all published compendia. The link between our *ḥnḥn*-text – where the disruption causes the chest to create the 'bird sound' that marks the sickness episode – and this passage is undeniable. Finally, it is not impossible that the notion of pathogenic heat situated in the lower reaches of the body is in this passage also reflected by the use of 'hot coals', upon which the *materia medica* was to be placed directly. The underlying explanatory model governing the grouping of these therapeutics in this part of the manuscript, then, appears to conform to expressions of various stages of what may have been considered a common underlying process principle: transgressive/disturbance -> heat/pathogenic matter/urine -> *srf.t*/*sry.t* -> associated tangible experiences (e.g., bird-sound/breathing difficulty).

It is now appropriate to consider a key question: does really represent a phallus? Contextually, reading a phallus here is entirely possible – rather than classifying a 'glandular swelling' or even 'fear', however, its use would correspond to an aspect of the semantic field encoded into words with the duplicated root *ḥn* – 'to tear up' or even 'to hinder, detain'. Here, the latter is considered most likely, as its negative connotations from a physiological perspective is representative of a disturbance. Reading D53 would presumably add the nuance that this disturbance was considered transgressive. Given the strong relationship between this word's use and sicknesses associated with the throat/bronchia, however, one could just as easily read this as a variant writing for D26 ( ), perhaps even with a final *.t*, altering the lexeme to *ḥnḥn.t*.[73] This alternate reading indicates the substance-like nature of the term, with its name likely retaining the nuance of a bodily disturbance. Such a seemingly small detail can alter our perception of the ancient perspective, however: the transgressive nature encoded in earlier texts with D53 becomes far less apparent.

73 The classification often used for *sry.t* in other documents (Von Deines – Westendorf, *Wörterbuch*, p. 773); see e.g., pRubensohn (pBerlin P. 10456), from Elephantine, *c.*26th dynasty: (line 3); (line 8); (line 10); (line 14); for the edition, see W. Westendorf, 'Papyrus Berlin 10456. Ein Fragment des wiederentdeckten medizinischen Papyrus Rubensohn', in: *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (MÄSB 8, Berlin, 1974), 247–254, pl. 33. Cf. the use of , here transliterated as the verb *wtḥ* 'to pour', earlier in line 38. For the use of earlier *wdḥ* in enema administration instructions, see Von Deines – Westendorf, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 236–237.

25

A Roman-Period Horoscopic Ostracon (O. Brooklyn 16.580.579)

Kim Ryholt

This edition is offered in appreciation of Koen's scholarship and friendship over many years. Having failed to find a suitable abnormal hieratic or early demotic documentary text (despite having attended and survived his celebrated crash course), I settled instead on a Roman-period horoscopic ostracon. It is never too late to broaden one's horizon, even for an old dog, and the text is strictly speaking documentary, so perhaps it will provide Koen with a modicum of pleasure. Moreover, as chance would have it, the native or subject of the horoscope was in fact a Cancer, just like the subject of the Festschrift. Above all, it was my sincere wish to present Koen with a stellar article and at least its topic arguably fits the bill.[1]

Demotic Horoscope

O. Brooklyn 16.580.579
Provenance unknown, July 2, 57 CE
TM 89006

Re-edition of the horoscope of an unidentified individual which, it is argued, can be dated to July 2, 57 CE. It was first edited by George R. Hughes in a posthumously published catalogue of the demotic texts in the Brooklyn Museum intended as a check-list.[2] Several readings were later corrected by Joachim Quack.[3] Having resolved the remaining readings and established its date, and also having identified another closely related horoscope, the text merits an updated edition and commentary.

The ostracon (H. 9.8 cm × W. 9.8 cm × Th. 0.7 cm) is slightly damaged.[4] The upper left corner and the bottom are broken off; in consequence a few signs are lost at the end of line 1, and only the upper half of line 12 is preserved. Presumably one further line, recording the position of the ascendant, is missing. Most of the text can be read without any problems. What few remain are caused by faded or irregularly shaped signs. The text is inscribed along the rotation marks on the outer surface of the sherd, which is a reddish-brown ware with interior ribbing.

The ostracon derives from the collection of Charles Wilbour and was presumably acquired during one of his many journeys to Egypt, but it does not have a recorded provenance. The text displays close similarities to the horoscope of O. Berlin P. 6152, and – as argued below – it seems reasonably certain that they belong to the same school. Unfortunately, that ostracon also lacks a secure provenance. According to the inventory, it was acquired at Karnak from Todros Bulos, who was one of the main dealers in his time and through whose hands passed antiquities from various sites.[5] Nor are there obvious text internal criteria that may help to settle the origin of the two ostraca. However, it is clear they display both a different set and arrangement of information, as well as different palaeography, than the known groups of horoscopic ostraca from Athribis (second half of the first century BCE/early first century CE),[6]

1 I am grateful to Katya Barbash, Curator of Egyptian Art at the Brooklyn Museum, and Kathy Zurek-Doule for providing me with a high-resolution version of the image of the ostracon available through the museum website (https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/179461), as well as further images from different angles, which have been indispensable for double-checking readings and making the facsimiles.

2 G.R. Hughes, *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum* (OIC 29, Chicago, 2005), p. 55, pl. 33c. The ostracon is there cited under its original accession number, 12768 1774.

3 J.F. Quack, 'Egypt as an Astronomical-Astrological Centre between Mesopotamia, Greece, and India', in: D. Brown (ed.), *Interactions of Ancient Astral Science* (Bremen, 2018), p. 102.

4 The measurements are taken from the website of the museum. *Ed. princ.* provides slightly smaller measurements: h. 9.3 cm × w. 9.3 cm × th. 0.7 cm.

5 I am grateful to Verena Lepper for providing me with the acquisition details. For Todros Bulos, see F. Hagen – K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930* (Copenhagen, 2016), pp. 249–250.

6 A number of these have been published and discussed by O. Neugebauer – R.A. Parker, 'Two Demotic Horoscopes', *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 231–235; M. Escolano-Poveda, 'Astrologica Athribitana: Four Demotic-hieratic Horoscopes from Athribis (O. Athribis 17-36-5/1741 and ANAsh. Mus.D.O.633 Reedited)', *JHA* 53 (2022), pp. 49–87; A. Winkler, 'On the Demotic-hieratic Horoscopes from Athribis', *JHA* 53 (2022), pp. 328–377; idem, 'The First Zodiac Sign and the *Daimon*: The Advent of an Astrological Tradition and Seven Elaborate Horoscopes', *SAK* 51 (2022), pp. 267–329. A further, large group of horoscopic ostraca discovered by the Athribis Project of the University of Tübingen is currently being prepared for publication by Marina Escolano-Poveda.

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Medinet Habu (first century CE),[7] and Medinet Madi (second century CE).[8]

	Transliteration
1	*ḥ3.t-sp ⌜3⌝.t*[a] *n Nʿrwnʿ.w.s. Glwt*[*sʿ.w.s.*][b]
2	*Gysrs Sybstsʿ.w.s.*
3	*Grmnḳwsʿ.w.s. ʒwtwkrtwr*
4	*ỉbt 3 šmw sw 8 n pȝ wynn*[c] *nty ỉr sw 28 n pȝ rmt*
5	*(n) Kmy*[d] *pȝ tȝy-wnw.t 12.t n pȝ hrw*[e]
6	*Pȝ-Rʿ n Pȝ-gnḥḏ*
7	*ʾIʿḥ*[f] *n Pȝ-nty-ʒtḥ*
8	*⌜Ḥr-pȝ-kȝ⌝ n Pȝ-kȝ*
9	*Ḥr-pȝ-⌜šw⌝ṯ n Pȝ-gnḥḏ*
10	*⌜Ḥr-tš⌝ n Nȝ-ḥtrȝ*[g]
11	*Pȝ-ntr-twȝ n ⌜Nȝ⌝-Ḥtrȝ*[h]
12	*⌜S⌝b[k]ȝ*[i] *n Pȝ-gnḥḏ*
--- break ---	

	Translation
1	Regnal-year 3 of Nero Claudiu[s]
2	Caesar Sebastos
3	Germanicus Autokrator,
4	3rd month of Shemu (Epeiph), day 8, of the Greek (calendar), which is day 28 in the Egyptian (calendar), the 12th hour of the day.
5	Sun in Cancer.
6	Moon in Sagittarius.
7	Saturn in Taurus.
8	Jupiter in Cancer.
9	Mars in Gemini.
10	Venus in Gemini.
11	Mercury in Cancer.
12	Mercury in Cancer.
--- break ---	

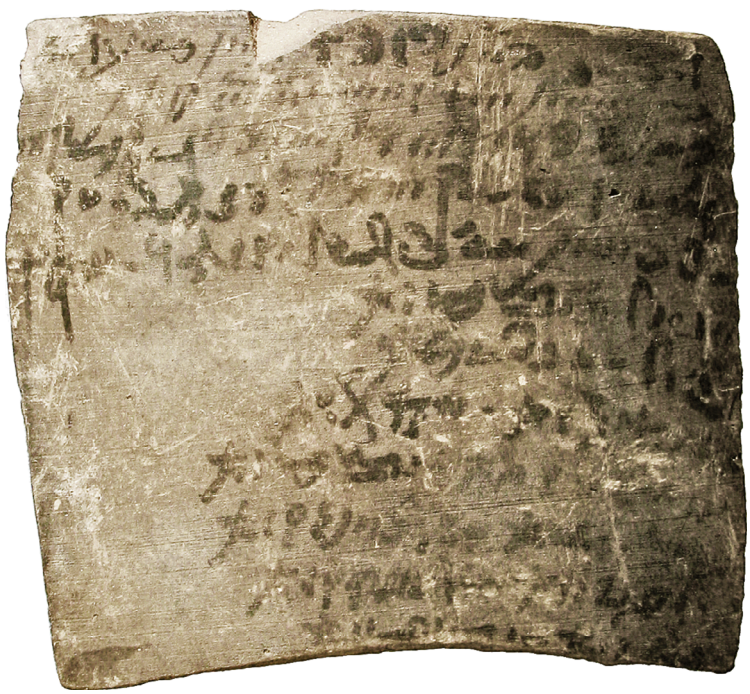


FIGURE 1 O. Brooklyn 16.580.579
© BROOKLYN MUSEUM

7 O. NEUGEBAUER, 'Demotic Horoscopes', *JAOS* 63 (1943), pp. 115–127; E.N.E. ABBAS, 'A New Demotic Horoscope from Medinet Habu', *JEA* 107 (2021), pp. 239–248.

8 M.T. ROSS, *Horoscopic Ostraca from Mêdinet Mâdi* (PhD thesis, Brown University, 2006); IDEM, 'An Introduction to the Horoscopic Ostraca of Medînet Mâdi', *EVO* 29 (2006), pp. 147–180; IDEM, 'A Continuation of the Horoscopic Ostraca of Medînet Mâdi', *EVO* 30 (2007), pp. 153–171; IDEM, 'Further Horoscopic Ostraca from Medinet Madi', *EVO* 32 (2009), pp. 61–95; IDEM, 'A Provisional Conclusion to the Horoscopic Ostraca from Medînet Mâdi', *EVO* 34 (2011), pp. 47–80.

Commentary

Line 1 (a). *Ed. princ.* and Quack 'Year 4 (?)'. The rubbed text has which I would understand, in normalized writing, as . See further the discussion below.

Line 1 (b). *Ed. princ. Glwts* (?).

Line 4 (c). *Ed. princ. r pȝ wyn …*, 'the light being'; Quack *n nȝ wyn*[*n*], 'of the Greeks'.

Line 4–5 (d). *Ed. princ. … ỉmnt ỉrm=f*; Quack *nty ỉr sw 12* (?) *n pȝ rmt kmy*. For the reading of the day, see below.

Line 5 (e). *pȝ hrw* written with sun-disc and stroke as usual. There is a vertical stroke through the sun-disc, which is the bottom part of the sign *rmt* descending from the line above.

Line 7 (f). *Ed. princ. ḫr*(?), adding 'a dubious guess for what ought to be *pȝ rʿ-ḫrʿ*, "the ascendant (?)"'; Quack *ỉrḥ*, 'Moon'. Winkler maintains the identification of the entry in line 7 as pertaining to the ascendant.[9] However, the reading is certain and the position would also be unexpected. If the present text included the ascendant, which it almost certainly did, it would have followed in its usual position after the luminaries and planets (cf. below).

Line 10 (g). *Ed. princ. tȝ ȝyḫw.t*, 'Libra'; Quack 'Libra'. For the writing of *Nȝ-Ḥtrȝ*, see Fig. 5 below. The word is written with the usual group of *ḥtr*, 'twin', followed by the seated-child determinative, the divine determinative, the phonetic ending *ȝ*, and the star determinative. The same orthography is used in the Berlin ostracon, except that the scribe adds the plural *w* where the present text has the phonetic *ȝ*, i.e., *Nȝ-Ḥtr.w*.

Line 11 (h). *Ed. princ. pȝ mȝy* (?), 'Leo (?)'; Quack 'Leo?', cautiously suggesting 'Virgo' as an alternative. *Nȝ-Ḥtrȝ* is written as in the preceding line.

Line 12 (i). *Ed. princ. Sbk*, adding 'The spelling might be *Swgȝ* because some of the bottom line is broken off.'

The Date

The date of the ostracon has hitherto caused problems. Both Hughes and Quack read the regnal-year as the fourth with a query, and the reading is admittedly difficult since the figure is partially rubbed. Hughes did not attempt to establish a specific date. Quack suggested the position of Venus might be in Virgo and that this 'would be relatively correct for July 20 or 21, 58 CE (…), but with Jupiter and Mercury at least a few degrees off the mark'. However, the proposed Julian dates ought to be 26/27 Epeiph (Alexandrian) and 16/17 Mesore (Egyptian) in 58 CE, which is plainly incompatible with the text. Moreover, with the corrected reading of the position of Mars and Venus, all of the planets would be off and several of them significantly so (Fig. 2, grey columns).[10]

The solution lies in the reading of the regnal-year as the third, which yields July 2, 57 CE. This brings into harmony the luminaries and important planets and only leaves the less significant Mercury slightly off the mark, well within the acceptable range of deviation.

The second challenge is the understanding of the correlation between the Alexandrian and Egyptian dates. The correlation itself was only identified with the corrected readings established by Quack. However, the two dates he cautiously proposes, day 8 (Alexandrian) = day 12 (Egyptian), cannot be correct since it is impossible to have a difference of just four days by the reign of Nero. As is well-known, the Alexandrian calendar gradually fell behind the Egyptian since the introduction of the leap day, because the latter did not observe the Julian wandering day and thus advanced by one day every four years. For the period of 55–59 CE, the difference ought to be 20 days.[11] The Alexandrian day, is recorded as which is plainly *sw 8*, 'day 8'. The Egyptian is written . At first sight, this looks like *sw 29*, 'day 29', with a horizontally written '9'. Yet with day 8 = day 29, the difference between the two calendars would be 21 days, one more than expected. This would work later in the reign of Nero, for the period of 59–63 CE, but it is quite impossible to match any of these years with the information provided by the horoscope. The near-contemporary Berlin horoscope correctly records a 20-day difference between the Alexandrian and

9 WINKLER, 'The First Zodiac Sign', *SAK* 51 (2022), p. 275; IDEM, 'A Starry Summer Night in AD 142: A Theban Horoscope (*Griffith MSS* 3.59) in Context', in: K. DONKER VAN HEEL – F.A.J. HOOGENDIJK – C.J. MARTIN (eds), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There Is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming* (P. L.Bat. 34, Leiden, 2018), p. 307.

10 The dates were obtained using the Almagest Ephemeris Calculator by R.H. van Gent (https://webspace.science.uu.nl/~gent0113/astro/almagestephemeris.htm) with a sidereal frame of reference. Having originally used the Tuckerman tables to establish the dates, I am grateful to Marina Escolano-Poveda for introducing me to this efficient and more detailed tool and for instructing me in its use. I have not included calculated positions for 21.7.58 ce, since the deviations do not differ significantly from 20.7.58 ce; Venus and Mercury had each moved just a single degree during those 24 hours.

11 D. HAGEDORN – K.A. WORP, 'Das Wandeljahr im römischen Ägypten', *ZPE* 104 (1994), pp. 243–255.

Luminary/planet	Recorded sign	Calculated pos. 2.7.57	Deviation	Calculated pos. 20.7.58	Deviation
Sun	Cancer	Cancer 12°	none	Cancer 29°	none
Moon	Sagittarius	Sagittarius 7°	none	Sagittarius 9°	none
Saturn	Taurus	Taurus 23°	none	Gemini 7°	7°
Jupiter	Cancer	Cancer 15°	none	Leo 13°	13°
Mars	Gemini	Gemini 22°	none	Libra 28°	88°
Venus	Gemini	Gemini 1°	none	Virgo 14°	74°
Mercury	Cancer	Leo 5°	5°	Leo 2°	2°

FIGURE 2 The recorded positions of the luminaries and planets in O. Brooklyn 16.580.579 compared with calculated positions for 2 July 57 CE and 20 July 58 CE

Egyptian dates, and an error – though not impossible – would be unexpected in the present text. I therefore propose to read the digit as the regular figure '8' for which the shape is perfect, despite the fact that the scribe used the expected, special writing of the same day number earlier in the line. In discussion with Marina Escolano-Poveda, she brought up the attractive possibility that the scribe may have been consulting an almanac table, where the day numbers can similarly be written with the regular figures. A particularly noteworthy example is the Stobart Tablets, where the scribe likewise alternated between the expected, special day numbers and the regular figures, and where '8' occurs in an identical orthography.[12]

Comparison with O. Berlin P. 6152

An important observation concerning the horoscopic Brooklyn ostracon is the fact that it is clearly related to O. Berlin P. 6152.[13] They share the same general date, dating method, set of information, layout, and orthography. The main difference is that Berlin economises with the text; it condenses the imperial names, the correlation between the Alexandrian and Egyptian calendars, and the position of the luminaries and planets.

Both ostraca are dated to the third regnal-year of Nero, February 27 (Berlin) and July 2 (Brooklyn) of 57 CE respectively. Brooklyn provides the full names of the emperor (Nero Claudius Caesar Sebastos Germanicus Autokrator), whereas Berlin records only the first three (Nero Claudius Sebastos).

Both texts correlate the Alexandrian and Egyptian calendars, and they are so far the only demotic horoscopes known to do so.[14] Brooklyn explicitly states to which calendars the two dates pertain, whereas Berlin does not. Similarly, the word for 'hour' is written out in full in Brooklyn, whereas it is abbreviated in Berlin.[15]

The two texts include the same basic layout and information; viz., a date according to the Alexandrian calendar (expressed as year, reign, month, and day), which is then converted (*nty ỉr*) into the Egyptian calendar, followed by entries for the two luminaries, the five planets, and – at least in the case of Berlin – the ascendant. Brooklyn breaks off after the last planet but would almost certainly also have included the ascendant, not least since the exact hour of birth is specified.[16] Brooklyn once again is slightly more detailed and provides a separate entry for each luminary or planet and its sign/position. By contrast, Berlin conflates those luminaries and planets that were in the same position thus: 'Sun, Mars, Venus, and

12 O. NEUGEBAUER – R.A. PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, 3 (Rhode Island, 1969), pp. 232–235, pls 70–78. Good colour images are available through the National Museums Liverpool website (www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/astronomical-text-stobart-tablets).

13 NEUGEBAUER – PARKER, 'Two Demotic Horoscopes', *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 234–235.

14 For the correct reading of the date in the Berlin ostracon, see QUACK, 'Egypt as an Astronomical-Astrological Centre', in: *Interactions of Ancient Astral Science*, p. 102, n. 190.

15 *ṯzy-wnw.t* and *ṯzy*(*-wnw.t*) represent orthographical variants of *ḏd-wnw.t* and *ḏd*(*-wnw.t*). The word is discussed in detail by P. COLLOMBERT, 'À propos de *pꜣ ḏd*(*-wnw.t*), "heure", en égyptien tardif', in: F. HAIKAL (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy* (Cairo, 2015), pp. 85–99, to whose survey the orthography *ṯzy*(*-wnw.t*) may be added.

16 Note that the ascendant is recorded as *pꜣy=f rʿ-ḥrʿ*, 'his (i.e., the native's) ascendant', in the Berlin ostracon (*pace ed. princ. pꜣ rʿ-ḥrʿ*), and similarly so in the Griffith MSS 3.59 ostracon (again *pace ed. princ. pꜣ rʿ-ḥrʿ*). The same expression occurs in the feminine as *pꜣy=s rʿ-ḥrʿ*, 'her ascendant', indicating the native was a women, in one of the ostraca from Medinet Habu; ABBAS, 'A New Demotic Horoscope', *JEA* 107 (2021), p. 247.

	Alexandrian date	Egyptian date	Hour
Berlin	*ỉbt 3 pr.t sw 3 r sw 4*	*nty ỉr sw 23 r sw 24*	*pȝ ṯȝy(-wnw.t) n pȝ grḥ*
Brooklyn	*ỉbt 3 šmw sw 8 n pȝ wynn*	*nty ỉr sw 29 n pȝ rmt (n) Kmy*	*pȝ ṯȝy-wnw.t 12.t n pȝ hrw*

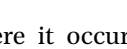
FIGURE 3 The correlation between the Alexandrian and Egyptian calendars in the horoscopic ostraca O. Berlin P. 6152 and O. Brooklyn 16.580.579

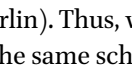
	O. Berlin P. 6152	O. Brooklyn 16.580.579
Sun	(4)	(6)
Moon	(5)	(7)
Saturn	(5)	(8)
Jupiter	(6)	(9)
Mars	(4)	(10)
Venus	(4)	(11)
Mercury	(4)	(12)
Ascendant	(7)	—

FIGURE 4 Orthographies of the luminaries and planets in the horoscopic ostraca O. Berlin P. 6152 and O. Brooklyn 16.580.579

Mercury in Pisces; Moon and Saturn in Taurus; Jupiter in Gemini; the ascendant in Scorpio'. Had Brooklyn done the same, this would have yielded 'Sun, Jupiter, and Mercury in Cancer; Moon in Sagittarius; Saturn in Taurus; Mars and Venus in Gemini.' Both texts are based on the common Greco-Roman period order where the luminaries (Sun, Moon) are followed by the planets (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury), proceeding from the slowest to the fastest.

The orthography of the luminaries, planets, and zodiac signs (Figs 4–5) is generally similar and stands apart from the three groups of horoscopic ostraca from Thebes, Athribis, and Medinet Madi cited above. While the luminaries and planets are preserved in both ostraca, only six of the twelve zodiac signs were relevant to the two horoscopes.

Perhaps most noteworthy is the writing of Mars, where the element *tš* has the striking arm determinative. This orthography is otherwise only known to me from the unpublished astrological manual of P. Carlsberg 107 ro. where it occurs, slightly rubbed, as  .[17] The determinative was undoubtedly added under the influence of the verb *tš*, 'determine, fix, divide' (*CDD*, *T*, pp. 293f), and it represents an unetymological writing of *Ḥr-tšy* < *Ḥr-tšr*, which originally meant the 'Red Horus', i.e., the red planet. The Carlsberg papyrus derives from Tebtunis, but there is no reason to assume that this orthography was confined to Tebtunis or the Fayum.

The main differences among the celestial bodies occur in the orthographies of the Moon and Venus (Fig. 4). Also the imperial names display some variation, e.g., *Nʿrwn* (Brooklyn) vs.  *Nʿrwns* (Berlin). Thus, while I would attribute the two horoscopes to the same school, there is enough variation between the two texts to indicate that they were written by different individuals.

17 A further example might occur in the similarly unpublished O. Athribis 20-36-64/1802. I owe this reference to Marina Escolano-Poveda.

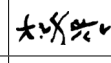
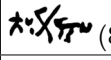
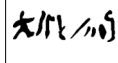
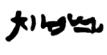
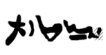
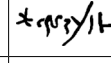
	O. Berlin P. 6152	O. Brooklyn 16.580.579
2. Taurus	 (5)	 (8)
3. Gemini	 (6)	(10) (11)
4. Cancer	—	 (6)  (8)
8. Scorpio	 (7)	—
9. Sagittarius	—	(7)
12. Pisces	(4)	—

FIGURE 5 Orthographies of the preserved zodiac signs in the horoscopic ostraca O. Berlin P. 6152 and O. Brooklyn 16.580.579

26

A Study of Female Personal Names in Graeco-Roman Dime Including Observations on the Practicalities of Using Cross-Gender Names

Maren Schentuleit

1 Introduction

In ancient Egypt, a person's name not only served to identify an individual but also defined their identity within the society. In turn, the onomastic material of a geographic area provides information about the inhabitants' worldview and their religious belief system, as personal names bear a meaning referring to deities, kings, the name-bearer specifically or their family, expressing a relationship between the individual and their environment or making an objective statement about god or king.

Thanks to an extensive corpus of administrative documents, the Fayum of the Graeco-Roman Period provides a richness of name attestations. In Dime, a settlement on the northern shore of the Fayum Lake, the priestly community, the temple administration, the notary, the village administration, the toll house, as well as the financial authorities produced demotic, Greek and bilingual documents such as legal deeds, agreements, receipts, accounts, declarations, petitions, notices and lists providing a wealth of attestations of individuals and their names.[1] The present article studies in particular those of the female inhabitants of this settlement with the hope it will be of interest of Koen, who has highlighted the lives of both ordinary and extraordinary women in ancient Egypt.[2]

The starting point for this study is the data provided by the sub-database 'People' of Trismegistos, collecting Egyptian and non-Egyptian names from demotic and Greek papyrological and epigraphical sources.[3] In the first stage, the data was reviewed and surveyed quantitatively to determine the number of name attestations and the number of individuals, the range of personal names in use, and the ratio between names of Egyptian and non-Egyptian origin (**§ 2**). This served as the basis for the study of the structure, patterns, and meaning of the Egyptian names to identify local-specific characteristics in form and content (**§ 3**). Some individual Egyptian names are then discussed in more detail (**§ 4**). The non-Egyptian names are analysed regarding their pattern and their linguistic origin (**§ 5**). Overview tables summarize the discussed data and findings (**§ 6**). The following paragraph focuses on the identification and study of regional- and place-specific names, i.e. names which are typical of the population of the Fayum and the community of Dime, respectively, showing that they reflect a part of the divine inventory of the settlement (**§ 7**). The final topic concerns cross-gender names and the practicalities of using those names for male and female individuals, e.g. whether the scribes felt the need to distinguish between male and female name bearers and, if so, by which means they achieved it **(§ 8)**. The paper concludes with a study on the name Heriea as a feminine form of the cross-gender name Herieus (**§ 9**).[4]

1 Most of the texts published are dated to the Roman Period. An annotated overview of the Greek documentary text material is provided by A. Jördens, 'Griechische Papyri in Soknopaiu Nesos', in: S.L. Lippert – M. Schentuleit (eds), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum* (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 41–50. There is no similar convenient compilation of the published demotic text material. Besides numerous text editions in journals, monographic text editions of demotic and/or bilingual documents of the Ptolemaic Period are published by E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford, 1: P.Ox. Griffith nn. 1–75* (tdsa 49, Milan, 1975) (a new edition by C. Arlt is in preparation) and M. Schentuleit – G. Vittmann, *'Du hast mein Herz zufriedengestellt …': Ptolemäerzeitliche demotische Urkunden aus Soknopaiu Nesos* (cpr 29, Berlin – New York, 2009). For documents dating to the Roman Period, see S.L. Lippert – M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime 1: Ostraka* (ddd 1, Wiesbaden, 2006), S.L. Lippert – M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II: Quittungen* (ddd ii, Wiesbaden 2006), and S.L. Lippert – M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime III: Urkunden* (ddd iii, Wiesbaden, 2010) [notary contracts]. Accounts from the bookkeeping of the Soknopaios temple are successively published online by the project DimeData; see n. 6.

2 K. Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor: A Female Entrepreneur in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2014); K. Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Naunakhte & Family: The Women of Ramesside Deir al-Medina* (Cairo, 2016).

3 Yanne Broux, Leuven, provided me with additional data whenever needed, for which I am extremely grateful.

4 I am very grateful to Sandra Lippert, Paris, Günter Vittmann, Würzburg, Adrienn Almásy-Martin, Oxford, and Willy Clarysse, Leuven, for discussing this topic with me and for reading various drafts of the manuscript.

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2 Quantitative Survey of Names for Female Individuals in Dime

The database *Trismegistos People* gives 16,580 name attestations in demotic and Greek script for 10,932 individuals from texts written in Dime (TM Geo 2157) to date.[5] The number of name attestations will rise as the publication of demotic priestly name lists, accounts, and allocation lists set up by the temple administration is underway. This corpus contains almost exclusively male name bearers and, although the overall number of attestations will change, the ratio between the different names will be affected only marginally.[6]

According to the numbers based on Trismegistos, the ratio between female (1,595) and male (13,922) name attestations turns out to be 1 : 8.7, with the remaining 1,063 attestations indeterminable regarding the gender of the name-bearer. The ratio between female and male individuals is currently 1 : 9.8, with 922 female individuals against 9,100 male individuals, and the gender of 910 individuals is indeterminable.[7] This fits into the picture for the whole of Egypt, given that TM registers more than 300,000 males against 36,000 females.

The lower number of women's name attestations not only in the Dime material can be explained by the fact that most documented activities are by males. However, the demotic and Greek documents from the temple milieu in Dime, especially, lack female names, suggesting that women did not play a prominent role in the temple cult or administration.[8] To what extent women were involved in the daily maintenance of the sanctuary is unclear, as bakers, brewers, weavers, etc., are rarely mentioned by name in the documents.[9] However, women are mentioned as acting parties in legal demotic and Greek documents (sales, divisions, marriage, loans, etc.), petitions, declarations, and private correspondence, and they are named in a wide range of text genres as mothers identifying individuals, but even here far less than fathers.

As this survey focuses on the documents written in Dime, it cannot be completely ruled out that sporadically local women were left out from this study if they were only mentioned in documents written outside of Dime.[10] Specifically, texts written in Neiloupolis and Psinachis occasionally mention inhabitants of Dime, as there was a close relationship between the *grapheia* of these villages at times.[11] In turn, texts written in Dime occasionally mention non-locals, and an attempt was made to identify as many of these individuals as possible alongside highly uncertain or obsolete name readings to present the Dime onomastics as accurately as possible.[12]

The following linguistically Egyptian and non-Egyptian names, name attestations and individuals were discounted and are therefore not listed in the overview tables (table 1: Names of linguistically Egyptian origin, table 2: Non-Egyptian names):

5 Last accessed in March 2024. As it is currently impossible to distinguish the place of writing from the find spot in TM searches, Yanne Broux provided me with a list containing only the attestations from texts written in Dime.

6 The joint French-German ANR/DFG edition project DimeData is directed by Marie-Pierre Chaufray, Paris, and Martin Andreas Stadler, Würzburg (https://dimedata.huma-num.fr). A preliminary report on this material is published by M. Schentuleit, 'Keeping Track of Accounts: The Editing Platform DimeData', in: C.E. Römer (ed.), *News from Texts and Archaeology: Acts of the 7th International Fayoum Symposium 29 October–3 November 2018 in Cairo and the Fayoum* (Wiesbaden, 2020), pp. 27–32.

7 These numbers include preserved as well as broken name attestations.

8 M. Schentuleit, 'Möglichkeiten und Grenzen zweisprachiger Textdokumentation am Beispiel des Titels "Phylenpriesterin"', in: M.-P. Chaufray – I. Guermeur – S. Lippert – V. Rondot (eds), *Le Fayoum. Archéologie – Histoire – Religion. Actes du sixième colloque international, Montpellier, 26–28 octobre 2016* (Wiesbaden, 2018), pp. 151–162, focussing on the title of 'priestess of the xth phyle', argues in favour of it being an indication of social background rather than an actual occupational title of the woman. Messerer, on the contrary, concludes that women played an important role in worship and argues that, as they usually did not have much influence over the temple and the personal income from their religious activity was probably rather modest, they were of no interest to the authorities and therefore rarely appear in the Greek documents: C. Messerer, 'L'attitude de l'administration romaine envers les femmes du clergé égyptien', *ZPE* 223 (2022), pp. 131–146.

9 Documents that provide insight into the maintenance and internal organisation of the Dime temple are demotic receipts (Lippert – Schentuleit, DDD II) and agreements (edition by Lippert – Schentuleit in preparation). I am aware of two attestations for women, in one case as a guard of the Isis-Nephremmis sanctuary in Gynaikon Nesos (pOxf. Griffith 1 40 = TM 48880; 147 or 136 BCE), in the other as a doorkeeper in the agreement for the lesonis of Pehenisis (pBerlin P. 7059 col. x + 2 l. 26 = TM 45755; 90 CE).

10 Unless otherwise stated, the texts quoted in this contribution are from Dime.

11 Lippert – Schentuleit, DDD III, pp. 106–107.

12 Without onomastic databases like Trismegistos People, Personal Names of the Middle Kingdom (PNM https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/info), AGÉA (https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/), Prosopographia Aegypti (https://www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/prosoaeg/index0pg.htm), and the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names-Egypt (LGPN-Egypt https://search.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/egypt/), broader studies on names and individuals would be impossible. However, data provided by such tools always need checking as these might not be up to date, can contain mistakes or do not address the intended research question.

According to TM, [Σεν]οῦφις (TM Per 257380, TM Ref 391782) is a woman.[13] However, as only the second half of the name is preserved – a reconstruction [Τεσεν]οῦφις also seems possible – this is too uncertain. It is not even certain that this person is female. This attestation is, therefore, not considered in the present study.[14]

TM Per 254065, [Τασών]σ̣ιος, is disregarded in the present study as the beginning of the name was reconstructed[15] and it is followed by the epithet 'the elder' in the masculine.

For the male individual called Tanephris (TM Ref 468512 [Τ̣άνεφρις]; TM Per 352859) one should consider the reading pi (Panephris) instead of the uncertain tau.[16]

Occasionally, female names designate cows instead of people. The material from Dime attests a cow called Telilis, lit. 'The female shrewmouse';[17] two others bear the name Tahyris 'She of Horos'.[18]

Likewise, the only attestation for Tephersais (TM Nam 1433, TM Per 321239, P. Louvre I 85 l. 8) was not taken into account as only the first half of the name is preserved (Τεφερ̣̈[σάιτος]). This could also be Tepheros (TM Nam 4996), Tephersos (TM Nam 18397) or Tephoras (TM Nam 7783), but even epsilon and rho are not completely certain.

Tomsais, 'The female crocodile', (TM Per 255067) attested 26 times in texts from Dime and Psinachis (TM Geo 1984) is almost certainly not a local resident.[19] The same is true for her mother-in-law, Thasis (TM Per 313017; 17 attestations).

Tathous (TM Nam 12354, SB XXII 15467 l. 18) is attested only once throughout Egypt. The editor reads Τ̣α̣θ̣οῦτος, but only faint traces are visible. Instead, it might be the well-known name Tabous (TM Nam 6003).

Due to its incomplete state, the once attested Τανσά[νιος] (genitive form; TM Nam 18836) was disregarded.[20]

The woman Agrippina (TM Per 429243) mentioned in a copy of an oath (CPR XXIII 1 l. 12 = TM 47155; 14–19 CE) refers to Agrippina Maior, a granddaughter of Augustus and the spouse of Germanicus Caesar, as the owner of an estate (*ousia*).[21]

Apia (TM Per 130257), the borrower in SB X 10294 (TM 14308; 157 CE), probably lived in Krokodilopolis, as did her mother Thermoutharion (TM Per 130258).

Aristokleia,[22] Eirene,[23] and Sarapias[24] are eponymous priestesses who appear in a dating formula of a Greek contract and, therefore, are not inhabitants of Dime.

The alleged (H)aplous offspring of (H)ekysis (καὶ Ἁ̣πλοῦς Ἐκύσιος, TM Per 306461) is a misreading by the *ed. pr.* for καὶ ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἄλλου Πεκ̣ύσιος ('and of the other one, (namely) Pekysis').[25]

Herakleia (TM Per 256626), the former owner of two arouras of catoecic land, is probably a local of Neiloupolis (SB XVI 12613 l. 9 = TM 14629; 81 CE).

Heraklous mother of Saturninus (TM Per 130554) is a resident in the *Tharapeias amphodon* of Krokodilopolis (TM Geo 2344) rather than of Dime as the indication of origin in SB XVI 13072 l. 2 (TM 14710; 155 CE) shows.[26] Her contract partner Kronia (TM Per 130556) is registered in the *Bithynon kai Allon Topon amphodon* (TM Geo 442).

The families of Iulia Eudaimonis (TM Per 305659) and Iulia Photis (TM Per 305650) had a military background and are unlikely to be locals of Dime.[27]

13 In this contribution, Egyptian names in Greek script are given with the accents found in the text edition that is cited; they are shown without accents when they are given as examples without reference to a text edition.

14 Stud. Pal. XXII 173 l. 25–26 (TM 15088; 40 CE). The following name, again Senouphis, was understood as the patronymic, which is why the name is listed as 'unisex' in Trismegistos (TM Nam 12049). If so, it is improbable that the element Sen- renders Egyptian *T₃-šr.t-n-...* 'The daughter of ...'. It cannot be ruled out that there are, in fact, two content-wise distinct but phonetical similar names, a female and a male one. Nb.: TM uses the term 'unisex' indicating that a name is attested for both genders. It is preferable to distinguish between linguistically neutral names that do not indicate the gender of the name bearer, and which might or might not be attested for both genders (non-gender specific names) and cross-gender names, which are demonstrably attested for both genders.

15 Papyrus Strasb. Gr VII 602 l. 6 (TM 13409, 41–54 CE).

16 BGU II 392 col. 2, 7 (TM 9146, 208 CE).

17 Papyrus Rainer Cent. 62 l. 9 (TM 442928; second century CE).

18 Papyrus Rainer Cent. 62 l. 10 (TM 442928; second century CE); SB XVI 12469 rto l. 7 and 24 (TM 14598, 26 BCE).

19 TM Nam 6301; cf. LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, DDD III, pp. 111, 155.

20 Papyrus Vind. Tand. 25a, col. 2, 3 (TM 26540; second century CE).

21 Agrippina as estate holder is discussed in more detail by F. MITTHOF, *Neue Dokumente aus dem römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Verwaltung und Reichsgeschichte* (CPR 23, Vienna, 2002), pp. 4–6.

22 TM Per 5802 (pAmh. Gr. II 43 rto l. 5 = TM 2650; 173 BCE).

23 TM Per 7647 (pAmh. Gr. II 43 rto l. 4 = TM 2650; 173 BCE).

24 TM Per 13247 (pAmh. Gr. II 43 rto l. 3 = TM 2650; 173 BCE).

25 For the new reading of BGU II 644 l. 8 (TM 9283; 69 CE), see S.L. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT, 'Papyrus Berlin P. 7056: "Division of a Kleros between Members of a Priestly Family from Roman Soknopaiou Nesos"', in: B. BRYAN – M. SMITH – C. DI CERBO – M. ESCOLANO-POVEDA – J.S. WALLER (eds), *One Who Loves Knowledge: Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow* (MVCAE 6, Columbus, Georgia, 2022), pp. 251–252 and § 9 below.

26 TM 14710; 155 CE.

27 BGU I 240 (TM 8999; 167–169? CE), cf. BGU XIII 2343 (TM 9729; Ptolemais Euergetis, *c.*168 CE), bank receipt related to the contract BGU I 240.

Longinia Fabulla was probably not a resident of Dime[28] as the recto of the papyrus in which her name is attested '(...) comes from a longer roll that was cut for re-use, and the individuals listed therein need not be more than incidentally associated with this village'.[29]

The name Sambous (TM Nam 5640, TM Ref 272976, P. Vind. Tand. 27 l. 23), which is attested once in Dime, seems to be a mistake in the Greek text since the same individual is otherwise called Sambion (TM Per 187781) throughout the document.

Satyriaina's father and brother are from the metropolis but reside in the hamlet (ἐποίκιον) of Areios near the village of Herakleia in the division of Themistos; the same origin and/or place of residence can also be assumed for Satyriaina (TM Per 241644, P. Lond. II 358 l. 11, pp. 171–172).

Instead of the female name Ἥρως (Herois; TM Per 340226, SB VI 8977 l. 15), Hagedorn suggests the reading Ἡρακλ(είδης), TM Nam 4550.[30] The presence of a male individual is more plausible, given that this person confirms officially to have counted the camels declared in the document.

The only attestation of the name Crispa (Κρείσπας in the genitive form as metronymic) is highly uncertain.[31] Clarysse suggests cautiously Τεμπας (TM Nam 23541), mentioned in the same tax register as the patronymic of a man called Paemis.[32] However, since the introductory word of the metronymic is clearly visible (μητ(ρός)), a female name in the genitive is to be expected. As Tempas is to date only attested referring to a male individual (TM Nam 23541, Stud. Pal. XXII 180 col. 1 l. 38 = TM 15095; 208 CE), it could be considered whether it is a variant of the female name Tembas (cf. table 1).

CPR VIII 4 (TM 24953; late first–early second century CE) shows the names of taxpayers of land in the Arsinoites. Since the verso contains a demotic receipt from the administration of the Soknopaios temple, it was assumed that the text on the recto was written in Dime as well. However, the origin of the other fragments of the same Greek tax list(s) is generally indicated as the Arsinoites or Herakleides meris.[33] Moreover, the listed taxpayers are not inhabitants of Dime (Ammonia (TM Per 119937), Artemidora (TM Per 119927; from Sebennytos), Kronia (TM Per 119929; from Karanis), Thasion (TM Per 119925; from Aphrodites polis), Aristion (TM Per 119938; from Aphrodites polis) and Dieus (TM Per 119933; from Hiera Nesos).[34]

The following individuals might not have been inhabitants of Dime; if their name is attested only once, the entry is set in italics in tables 1 and 2:

The only woman called Senatymis in Dime (TM Per 77053) had the duty of guarding the chapel of Isis-Nephremmis in Gynaikon Nesos and, therefore, might be an inhabitant of Tamauis, the nearby settlement. However, it cannot be excluded that the branch sanctuaries got their personnel from Dime.[35]

Tapetheus (TM Per 430853), Tethermouthis (TM Per 73770) and Tetosiris (TM Per 73769) are attested in the context of oracle questions. As the oracle of the Soknopaios temple attracted non-locals, their place of residence can be questioned.

For the minor buyer of a camel called Isidora (TM Per 305894),[36] Jördens notes as the place of origin Dionysias;[37] however, the text itself gives no indication.

Olympias (TM Per 42115), a buyer of a property with a Greek name, and her mother Magera (TM Per 435710), whose name is of unknown origin, were probably residents of Philopator Theogenous, where the building plot was located.[38]

28 TM Per 143181; Stud. Pal. XXII 178 rto l. 12 (TM 27657; second century CE).

29 W.G. Claytor, 'Notes on Papyri from Roman Egypt', *Pylon* 2 (2022), § 2.

30 D. Hagedorn, 'Bemerkungen zu den arsinoitischen Kameldeklarationen', *AnPap* 30 (2018), p. 162.

31 Stud. Pal. XXII 179 col. 1 l. 38 (TM 15093; 208 CE). The Greek form of the Latin name is known in the Mediterranean, see LGPN, www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk, s.v. Κρίσπα.

32 Stud. Pal. XXII 180 col. 1 l. 38 (TM 15095; 208 CE).

33 CPR VIII 1, 2, 3, 5–8 (TM 249150–249152, 249154–249157; late first–early second century CE) and pVind. Tand. 13, 13a, 14, 15 (TM 24923–24926; late first–early second century CE).

34 See CPJ V 655 (TM 24953; late first–early second century CE).

35 This branch sanctuary and the place Gynaikon Nesos are discussed in detail in the edition of the *henu* agreements; see for now S.L. Lippert – M. Schentuleit, 'Agreements and Accounts: On-going Research on Economic Activities of the Temple of Soknopaiou Nesos According to the Demotic Texts', in: A. Jördens – U. Yiftah (eds), *Accounts and Bookkeeping in the Ancient World* (LDAS 8, Philippika 55,2, Wiesbaden, 2020), pp. 151–155.

36 BGU I 88 (TM 9129; 146 CE); the seller is a resident of Dime, but the bank involved in the transaction is in Krokodilopolis ('the bank of Theon next to the Sebasteion').

37 A. Jördens, 'Sozialstrukturen im Arbeitstierhandel des kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten', *Tyche* 10 (1995), p. 69 n. 153, 77.

38 Papyrus EES inv. 91 rto DG l. 3, DA l. 3, GR l. 2 (TM 91829; 100 BCE). The seller Taesis is judged by her name and parental names (Orsenouphis and Tasos) to be an inhabitant of Dime. My assumption at the time of the edition that the buyer lived in Dime is no longer convincing (M. Schentuleit, 'Ein demotischer Beleg für den Ortsnamen Φιλοπάτωρ ἡ καὶ Θεογένους [P.E.E.S. inv.

Philoumene (TM Per 278658, CPR I 218 l. 11) is mentioned in connection with catoecic land in a village whose name begins with Ker[---] (TM 29082; 100–250 CE). Other toponyms in the text are associated with Krokodilopolis and Alabanthis near Tamauis.

More adjustments can be made to the number of individuals by examining the documents thoroughly. For example, the six individuals with the name Isarous listed in TM are, in fact, only four, as TM Per 356860, the buyer of a property, is the same person as TM Per 73580, here acting as a seller, and Isarous mother of Sotas mentioned in two tax lists might also be identical (TM Per 314582 and TM Per 308103). However, a large-scale identification of individuals lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

According to these findings, and disregarding attestations from texts whose place of writing is not certain, the number of female name attestations can be adjusted to 1,479, and the number of female individuals to 864. Both numbers include attestations for which the identification of the actual name is not possible, but the context makes it clear that they refer to female individuals. Therefore, these numbers differ from the numbers given in tables 1 and 2, which reflect only certain identifiable names.

In total, 127 different names could be identified, 98 (i.e. 77%) of Egyptian origin, including two derivations of Greek personal names built with Egyptian prefixes (Taisas and Tamystha), and 29 names of non-Egyptian origin (i.e. 23%), including six Egyptian theonyms (Thermoutharion) or personal names (Taisarion, Tasoucharion, Taesion, Thaubastion and Souerous) showing a Greek suffix.

1,184 of the 1,479 name attestations can be attributed to linguistically Egyptian names (80%), 161 to non-Egyptian name attestations (11%), and 134 are indeterminable because too damaged (9%). Among the non-Egyptian name attestations, those of Greek origin form the largest group (91 name attestations, 54%). Fifty name attestations are accounted for the Aramaic name Satabous (31%). In terms of individuals, 667 bore a linguistically Egyptian name (77%), 70 a non-Egyptian name (8%) and 127 attestations are broken and therefore uncertain (15%).

The latest demotic name attestation is dated to the first half of the second century CE,[39] while those in Greek script can be found until the mid-third century CE.[40] Due to the uneven chronological distribution of texts, almost all (96.6%) the name attestations date to the Roman Period.

A few names were particularly favoured: half of the individuals whose name is sufficiently preserved and who are likely to be inhabitants of Dime bear one of eight names – Thases (77 ind.), Stotoetis (75 ind.), Tapiomis (58 ind.), Tanephremmis (51 ind.), Taouetis (38 ind.), Segathis (35 ind.), Taesis (29 ind.), or Herieus/Heriea (27 ind.),[41] a total of 390 individuals. The focus on a few names is certainly due to the name-giving practice in priestly families. Names were passed on from generation to generation: the firstborn son was named after the paternal grandfather, the second son after the maternal grandfather, the first daughter after the paternal grandmother, and the second daughter after the maternal grandmother; further children would be named after other relatives.[42] Moreover, due to intermarriage within the priestly families, there was a limited pool of names resulting in a restricted selection of proper names.

3 Structure, Patterns, and Content of Egyptian Names for Females in Dime

Most of the Egyptian names, 76 out of 98, belong to the group of compound names not constituting a complete sentence, e.g., Taesis 'She of Isis', in the following abbreviated with the siglum [S2]. Seven anthroponyms are one-word names [S1], including those showing a definite article plus noun, e.g., Isis '(The goddess) Isis' but also Tesauris 'The Syrian'.[43] The smallest group with five attestations shows names that constitute a complete sentence [S3], e.g., Stotoetis 'May they avert the evil eye (i.e., calamity)!'. The structure of ten names is not determinable.

The predominant name pattern consists of the possessive article *Ta-* 'She of' plus a noun or a nominal expression,

D91]', in: G. MOERS – H. BEHLMER – K. DEMUß – K. WIDMAIER (eds), *jn.t ḏr.w: Festschrift für Friedrich Junge* [Göttingen, 2006], p. 593). The fact that the document was written and possibly also found in Dime but concerns a building site in Philopator Theogenous (TM Geo 1776) can also be explained by the fact that the seller was a native of Dime and, therefore, used the local notary's office.

39 DimeData 19 (TM 47504; approx. 100–150 CE).

40 The last securely dated Greek document written in Dime is BGU II 659 (TM 9294; 229 CE). Papyrus Louvre I 67 (TM 32229) is dated to 275–299 CE but might not have been written in Dime.

41 See § 9 below for the discussion of these renderings of Egyptian *Ḥr-ỉw*.

42 J. ROWLANDSON – S.L. LIPPERT, 'Family and Life Cycle Transitions', in: K. VANDORPE (ed.), *A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt* (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Chichester – Malden, MA, 2019), pp. 332–335, § 21.2.2 with fig. 21.3. The same phenomenon occurs with male names in Dime, cf. M. SCHENTULEIT, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names in Graeco-Roman Dime and Beyond', in: A. ALMÁSY-MARTIN – Y. BROUX (eds), *Greek Personal Names in Egypt* (Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents, Oxford, 2025), pp. 227–228, 2.4.

43 G. VITTMANN, 'Personal Names: Structures and Patterns', in: E. FROOD – W. WENDRICH (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2013), p. 1.

be it a theonym, a toponym, a personal or king's name, a substantivized participle, or a *nfr-ḥr* construction (41 names, one is questionable). For a further 16 names built with the possessive article, the second element is either unclear or hypocoristic, i.e. shortened.

The pattern *Tȝ-šr.t-n-* 'The daughter of'[44] plus a deity's or a personal name can be found in nine names, including one in which the second element is unclear. The feminine definite article as a first element paired with other nominal expressions or the *nfr-ḥr* construction occurs in six names, e.g., Thatres 'The twin', Thenapynchis 'The daughter of Apynchis', Tnepheros 'She with a beautiful face', lit. 'She beautiful of face'.

Names consisting of a deity's name as the only element (e.g., Isis) or in a compound with the theonym coming first (e.g., Soueris 'Isis is great') are attested six times.

Other less common patterns include substantivized relative forms (Tarobastis 'She whom Bastet has made', Tethermouthis 'She who was given by Thermouthis', and Tetosiris 'She who was given by Osiris'), verbal sentences with *sḏm=f* (Stotoetis 'May they avert the calamity!', Segathis 'Their eye is satisfied', Herieus/Heriea 'They are content'), sentences with the qualitative/present I (Soueris 'Isis is great'), nominal sentences (Bastettaiesnakht 'Bastet is her strength'), toponym plus adjective (Tesenouphis 'Good *nomos*'), and noun plus participle (Haynchis '(The) living face'). Ten names are yet to be determined regarding their pattern; they are attested only in Greek (Talbauis, Tanotis, Tapontos, Taseus, Taseutis, Tekiasis, Tekoris, Telbabis, Tembas, and Thatretis).

Regarding the content and semantics, most of the Dime female names are exophorous, i.e., introducing a deity (theophorous) or a pharaoh (basilophorous) with or without simultaneous reference to the bearer and her family. Only a few might be endophorous, i.e., making a statement about the bearer or her family without a reference to gods or kings.[45] At least 42 of the exophorous names belong to the category of theophorous names [C1], e.g., Isis '(The goddess) Isis', Thenhyris 'The daughter of Horos', Bastettaiesnakht 'Bastet is her strength', even the only basilophorous name [C2], Tamarres 'She of Marres', refers to the deified Amenemhat III and not to a contemporary ruler. Stotoetis, Segathis, and Herieus/Heriea lack an explicit god's name, but the theophorous element is inherent in the suffix pronoun of the third person plural *=w*.[46] The element *nȝ sn.w* 'the brothers' in the name Tanesneus refers to a divine pair of (crocodile) brothers prominent in the Fayum and identified with the *Dioskouroi*.[47] Also classified as theophorous names are those that refer to the divine sphere in a broader sense, e.g., containing divine epithets as an element (Tanephremmis: Nephremmis is an epithet of a local form of Isis; Taonnophris: Onnophris is a form of Osiris).[48] The name Tatichis 'She of drunkenness' is to be understood as a reference to the goddess Hathor.[49] The element *nȝ mȝy.wt* 'the lionesses' in Tanemieus points to a sanctuary called 'the room of the lionesses' within the temple precinct of Dionysias that was administered by the priesthood of Soknopaios in Dime.[50] For other names, their theophorous character is disputable. For those with a male personal name as an element, e.g. Tapetesouchos 'She of Petesouchos', Thenapynchis 'The daughter of Apynchis', and Taherieus 'She of Herieus',[51] there are,

44 The element *Tȝ-šr.t-n-* 'The daughter of X' is rendered Θεν-, Τσεν- or Σεν- in Greek due to dialectal reasons; Trismegistos registers a couple of further but minor variants: Ζεν-, Θσεν-, Θσεν-, and Χεν-, cf. name variants of Senamunis, TM Nam 1056. The entries in table 1 reflect the form favoured in Dime.

45 Vittmann, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

46 For a discussion on the identification of the entities behind the plural suffix pronoun in personal names of the Late Period in general, see P. Collombert, 'Qui sont-« ils »? L'enfant nouveau-né comme enjeu divin à la lumière de certains anthroponymes d'époque tardive', in: R. Meffre – F. Payraudeau (eds), *Éclats du crepuscule: recueil d'études sur l'Égypte tardive offert à Olivier Perdu* (OLA 315, Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT, 2022), pp. 171–230; for Segathis (*Sy-ỉr.ṯ=w*), Collombert draws a parallel with *Sy-pȝ-mwt* (Siepmous) 'Death is satisfied' (TM Nam 1114) and assumes malicious entities behind the plural suffix (pp. 214–216, §§ 49–50).

47 H. Kockelmann, *Der Herr der Seen, Sümpfe und Flussläufe: Untersuchungen zum Gott Sobek und den ägyptischen Krokodilgötter-Kulten von den Anfängen bis zur Römerzeit* (ÄgAbh 74, Wiesbaden, 2017), p. 41, § 18.

48 *LGG* II, pp. 375b–376c.

49 For 'Mistress of drunkenness' as an epithet of Hathor, cf. *LGG* IV, pp. 162b–163b. For Nebteichis (*Nb.t-ṯḥy*) as a proper name, cf. Lüddeckens, *Namenbuch*, p. 639, and H. Brunner, 'Die theologische Bedeutung der Trunkenheit', *ZÄS* 79 (1954), pp. 81–83 (re-printed in W. Röllig (ed.), *H. Brunner, Das hörende Herz: Kleine Schriften zur Religions- und Geistesgeschichte Ägyptens* (OBO 80, Freiburg – Göttingen, 1988) pp. 163–165).

50 Papyrus Berlin P. 6848B col. 3 l. 6 = pZauzich 12 (TM 46246; end of first century CE–beginning of second century CE). The Demotic Palaeographical Database Project (Heidelberg) transcribes a feminine *t* after the animal hide classifier; however, it translates it as a masculine plural *mȝe.w* 'Löwen', but see for the discussion of the feminine form T. Dousa – F. Gaudard – J.H. Johnson, 'P. Berlin 6848, a Roman Period Temple Inventory', in: F. Hoffmann – H.J. Thissen (eds), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (StudDem 6, Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA, 2004), p. 180 fn. 81. On the mention of this room in the demotic agreements from Dime see Lippert – Schentuleit, 'Agreements and Accounts', in: *Accounts and Bookkeeping*, pp. 149–150.

51 TM gives as translation 'This one of Herieus', understanding the first element *Tȝy-* as a demonstrative pronoun. However, it is a variant of the possessive article *Ta-*; see on interchangeability of

in fact, three possibilities. As Vittmann and Arlt have shown, there are cases where this element is a genuine patronymic[52] and, therefore, could be regarded as an endophorous name [C4]. However, this does not seem to be the default. An examination of the bearers of the 17 names in this category attested in Dime, totalling around 104 individuals, shows that in only three cases the names of father and daughter match in this way: Tapekysis daughter of Pekysis and Tapiomis (TM Per 161448; 119 CE), Tapakysis daughter of Pakysis (TM Per 292313; 178/179 or 210/211 CE),[53] and Taharpagathes daughter of Harpagathes and spouse of Stotoetis (TM Per 356939; 159 CE). Hence, a name originally used as a patronymic can have taken on a life of its own without any link to an ancestor. However, there is another option that shows a religious dimension, as three of these male individuals, Pakysis, Harpagathes[54] and Orsenouphis,[55] are attested as deified and worshipped humans in the Fayum. Taouetis 'She of Ouetis' might be seen in connection with the deified human Stotoetis as *Wty*/Ouetis is a shortened form of the full name.[56]

In the name Tasokmenis (TM Nam 6098), instead of being an anthroponym, the element Sokmenis ('Sobek endures') could be understood as the name of a form of the god Sobek[57] as was Petesouchos.[58] Therefore, for names based on personal names, the borders between groups C1, C3, and C4 become blurred.

The semantic class is uncertain for two names containing a geographical element. Tapiomis, 'She of the lake', might be endophorous, referring to the origin of the name-bearer. However, it also seems possible that it points to a female goddess connected to the Birket Qaroun, the Fayum Lake. Isis, for example, is called *ta pꜣ ym* and *tꜣ nb.t n pꜣ ym* 'the mistress of the lake' in different geographical contexts,[59] and would certainly be a suitable candidate. The geographic term in *Tš-nfr* Tesenouphis is either *tš* 'border',[60] *'nomos'* or *tꜣ-š* 'sea-land' (i.e., Fayum) in a non-historic writing.[61] However, *tꜣ-š* would rather be rendered Τσε- than Τεσε,[62] whereas *tš* 'border, district' is Coptic ⲧⲟϣ, ⲧⲉϣ-. Presumably, the same geographic element occurs in the male name *Pa-pꜣ-tš* 'He of the *nomos*', indicating the origin of a person or a deity or a close relationship of them to a place.[63] Tesenouphis, 'Good *nomos*', however, seems to refer to an abstract or possibly divinized geographic area.[64]

Besides Tapiomis, a few other names could be understood as endophorous [C4]. Tesauris 'The Syrian' and Thakoris 'The Arabian' could refer to the origin of the name-bearer. However, this might once have been the case, and later these names were used because of their sound or for other reasons we are not able to retrace. If Tapais is to be understood as 'She of the island', i.e. Soknopaiou Nesos, this could point to a local origin of the individual. Haynchis '(The) living face', Tnepheros 'She with a beautiful face' (lit. 'The beautiful of face') and Thatres 'The twin' might be interpreted as endophorous. However, *nfr.t-ḥr* 'The one with a beautiful face' is well attested as an epithet for female deities,[65] and Haynchis might also go back to an epithet of a divine entity, although not listed in *LGG*, but cf. 'The burning face' as a designation of the moon.[66]

pa/*pꜣy*, *ta*/*tꜣy* J. QUAEGEBER, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique* (OLA 2, Leuven, 1975), p. 204.

52 G. VITTMANN, 'Die Mumienschilder in Petries Dendereh', *ZÄS* 112 (1985), p. 157 Anm. 9; C. ARLT, *Deine Leben möge Leben für immer und ewig: Die demotischen Mumienschilder im British Museum* (StudDem 10, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2011), p. 157 with several examples; G. JENNES, *'Pꜣ-šr* + Personal Name: An Expression of Genealogical Relations?', *ZÄS* 140 (2013), pp. 132–141.

53 In a strict sense, Tapakysis 'She of He of (the) Nubian' is not identical to Tapekysis 'She of The Nubian' (see n. 106). TM distinguishes between Pakysis and Pekysis but not between Tapakysis and Tapekysis. Five of the attestations from Dime are spelled Tapakysis, four Tapekysis.

54 SCHENTULEIT, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, pp. 236–237, 239–240.

55 W. RÜBSAM, *Götter und Kulte im Faijum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (Marburg, 1974), pp. 108–109.

56 Known places of worship were in Tebtynis and Gynaikon Nesos: SCHENTULEIT, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, 2.7.7.

57 KOCKELMANN, *Der Herr der Seen*, p. 47, § 26 ('sekundäre Krokodilgötter').

58 KOCKELMANN, *Der Herr der Seen*, pp. 35–37, § 16 ('sekundäre Krokodilgötter').

59 Papyrus Cairo CG 31169 rto col. x l. 9 (TM 45958; Saqqara, 332–200 BCE), cf. *LGG* VII, p. 331b–c, and graffito 3445 l. 12 from Thebes West (TM 52909; first century BCE–third century CE), cf. R. JASNOW, 'Demotic Graffiti from Western Thebes', in: H.-J. THISSEN – K.-Th. ZAUZICH (eds), *Grammata demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983* (Würzburg, 1984), pp. 97–100, no. 7 with note R).

60 The element *t(ꜣ)š* 'border, to delimit, divide, split, dismember' occurs in several names and epithets of deities and divine entities, cf. *LGG* VII, p. 363a–c.

61 S.P. VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many* Publications (StudDem 9-B, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2011), p. 603, comm. to l. 1. SCHENTULEIT, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, pp. 233–234.

62 I would like to thank W. Clarysse for this remark.

63 TM Nam 10396. The name is attested once in Dime: pOxf. Griffith I 18 l. 2 (TM 46788; 154 or 143 BCE).

64 Cf. the name Piomis (*Pꜣ-ym*/Πιωμις) 'The lake' (TM Nam 12814).

65 *LGG* IV, p. 230a–c, e.g., for Isis, Bastet, Maat, Mut, Hathor, and Sakhmet.

66 *LGG* V, p. 300b.

Thatres may have a connection to the divine sister pair Isis and Nephthys mourning the Apis bull. The sisters Taues (TM Per 8776) and Taous (TM Per 8792), who acted as the two goddesses in the Serapeum in Memphis under Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II, were called *didymai* 'twins' in Greek papyri.[67] However, this is very speculative, and Clarysse (personal communication) points out that the background of the very common masculine form of the name, Phatres, seems to be in the crocodile cult. A theophorous character of these names is also possible.

Hypocoristic, i.e., shortened names, do not have a meaning of their own. Therefore, one should abstain from a translation. An abbreviated form is *Ta-sy* (Thasis); the element *-sy* is probably a shortened version of either *ʾIs.t* or *Wsir*.[68] In the name Thases, the element *s.t* is written with the house classifier like the noun *s.t* 'place', (in epithets of gods) 'seat'[69] and 'throne'.[70] This element immediately reminds us of a local form of Isis, Isis-Nepherses (*ʾIs.t-nfr-s.t*) 'Isis with perfect throne'; although, in order to understand the name as 'She of the throne', the definite article *tꜣ* is lacking. Therefore, it might be a shortening of a not yet attested full form **Ta-tꜣ-s.t*; cf. the male form *Pa-tꜣ-s.t* 'He of the place' (TM Nam 10947). Following a remark in *Demotisches Namenbuch*, the name might even be a variant of the hypocoristic *Ta-sy* (Thasis) mentioned above. A connection to a local feature, be it a form of Isis or something else, seems likely in any case, as 97% of all 260 attestations of the name *Ta-s.t* come from the Fayum, and 55% of the Fayum attestations are again from Dime. Tanephris, *Ta-nfr* (TM Nam 25586), might be a mistake for Tanephremmis but could also be a shortened form. The analysis of Tanouphis (*Ta-nfr*) as 'She of the good one' suggested by TM is improbable as a definite article should be expected; again, a hypocoristic form is likely. The meaning of Tabous (TM Nam 6003) is unclear as it is attested only in Greek like its male form Pabous (TM Nam 13136), a local-specific name in Dime.[71] Most likely, these are hypocoristic, i.e. shortened names which do not have a meaning of their own. The same is true for *Ta-ḥꜣ.t* (Taes, TM Nam 1236).[72]

4 Further Remarks on Egyptian Names for Females in Dime

The name Anches *ʿnḫ.t*, attested from the Old to the New Kingdom, is understood as a feminine active participle of the verb *ʿnḫ* 'to live' meaning 'The living one'.[73] However, De Meulenaere and Vleeming connect it to the name of a hippopotamus month goddess *ʿnḫ.t wnm wnn.t* as a namesake for female individuals of the Late Period.[74] This is in line with the classifier of the goddess ( )[75] as well as with the anthroponym *ʿnḫ.t-m-ḥꜣ.t* '(The goddess) Anches is at the forefront'.[76] In Graeco-Roman hieroglyphic texts, the name of the deity is written with the sign of the seated goddess, the cobra plus feminine *t* or the sign of the egg plus feminine *t* and, once, with the classifier of the fire ( ), hence Mendel's translation of *ʿnḫ.t wnm wnn.t* as 'The flame that devours what exists'.[77] However, the demotic attestations from Dime do not show a classifier at all in the cases where the end of the name is preserved[78] and *ʿnḫ.t* as an epithet of different goddesses, apparently meaning 'The living one', is well attested in Graeco-Roman hieroglyphic texts.[79] Presumably, therefore, the TLA lists the demotic personal name with both translations and refers to it as the historical successor of the Middle and Late Egyptian name *ʿnḫ.t*.

The name Smithis is attested once in Dime, in the demotic writing *Šmty*. TM does not draw a connection

67 TM Arch ID 119 (Katochoi of the Sarapieion).

68 J. QUAEGEBEUR, 'Aspects de l'onomastique démotique: forms abrégées et graphies phonétiques', in: S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (StudDem 1, Leuven 1987), p. 79.

69 *Wb.* 4, pp. 1, 3. 10–6. 20.

70 *Wb.* 4, pp. 2. 1–10. Cf. *nb.t-s.t-nfr.t* 'mistress of the perfect throne' as an epithet for Hathor in the temple of Dendara, *LGG* IV, p. 123b–c.

71 SCHENTULEIT, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, p. 238.

72 For the hieroglyphic writing see LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 1202.

73 PNM 3156; RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, 68. 14 (without translation); K. SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER, *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches: Altägyptische Onomastik unter lexikographischen und sozio-kulturellen Aspekten* (Philippika 28, Wiesbaden, 2014), no. 782, p. 312: 'die Lebendige'; Prosopographia Aegypti nos 9377–9286 (without transliteration). However, AGÉA gives the translation 'May you live / May she live' (no. 931) with *t* as the stative ending *.tj*.

74 TM Nam 55. H. DE MEULENAERE, 'Anthroponymes Égyptiens de Basse Époque', *CdÉ* 38 (1963), p. 219 no. 11; S.P. VLEEMING, 'Some Notes on P.Hawara OI 1', *GM* 225 (2010), pp. 103–105.

75 LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 105, att. 1 (pHaw. OI 1 l. 1 = TM 41454; Hawara, 365/364 BCE).

76 RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, 68. 15.

77 D. MENDEL, *Die Monatsgöttinnen in Tempeln und im privaten Kult* (RitEg 11, Brussels, 2005), pp. 55–56, no. 11, with hieroglyphic writings; cf. *LGG* II, p. 171c. For the translation of *ʿnḫ.t* with 'fire', see *Wb.* 1, p. 205. 15 and TLA Lemma ID 38770.

78 pDime III 9 DA l. 2; pDime III 14 DA l. 4, 11 (TM 45646; 23 CE).

79 *LGG* II, pp. 166b–167a (e.g., Isis, Mut, Neith, Hathor).

to the goddess Smithis but translates this and other demotic attestations written *Šmty* with 'The walking one' (TM Nam 1112), noting the existence of a male god *Šmty*.[80] However, the Dime attestation (pDime III 3 DA l. 3 = TM 45597; 2 CE, TM Per 354027) shows a snake classifier and others regularly the classifier of the seated goddess, indicating a female deity.[81] Furthermore, all but two name-bearers called *Šmty* are female. The theophorous name Smithis is recorded under TM Nam 20675 (*Šsm.t*, Σμιθις and variants), with attestations in Greek, hieratic, and hieroglyphic script as well as one in demotic that appears as *Šš̈m.t* in the database (TM 55537; Arsinoites, first century BCE–first century CE; TM Ref 574523; TM Per 430696) but was read *T-Š(m)ṯ.t* 'Ts(mi)this' by the *ed. pr.*[82] It is probable that all attestations written *Šmty*(*.t*) in demotic (and *Šsm.t* in hieroglyphs and in hieratic)[83] and referring to female individuals go back to the theonym of Shemtit/Smithis. If we do not want to assume that it is a cross-gender name, the attestations referring to male persons might then indeed go back to a male deity Shemty.[84]

Ἑριευς (Herieus) is the standard rendering of the Egyptian cross-gender name *Hr≠w* for both female and male name-bearers. However, a Greek feminine form Ἑριεα is listed in TM under a separate entry. See the more detailed discussion below in § 9.

The name Sisois, an element of Tasisois (TM Nam 27153), is attested only for male individuals in Dime. However, elsewhere, it was also used for women.[85]

Tapais is attested only in Coptic and Greek script, not in demotic. It is likely that Papais (TM Nam 7303) is the male version, which is known as *Pa-Pay* in demotic. The element *-Pay* was understood as the same as in the epithet of Soknopaios, *Sbk-nb-Pay* 'Souchos the Lord of the island, i.e., Soknopaiou Nesos' (*pay* < *pꜣ ỉw*[86]). A translation of Tapais by 'She of Soknopaiou Nesos' is therefore quite likely. Another possibility is to analyse the element -παις as the male Egyptian name *Pa-ḫy* / Παις (TM Nam 698), resulting in the translation 'She of Pais'.

Taaipis (TM Nam 5989) and Tasiaipis (12439) are exclusively attested in Greek script. The interpretation of the element -aip- being the theonym Apis by TM is improbable due to the iota following aleph.

TM lists Taon (TM Per 476119), attested in the genitive form Τάωνο(ς),[87] as a variant of Ταῶς/*Ta-ḥr* 'She of the face' (TM NamVar 42298). However, the regular genitive form is Ταῶτος and there is no explanation for the occurrence of the nu in this form. The masculine counterpart could be Paon (TM Nam 4977). Of the three attestations concerning the same individual, only one is fully preserved (TM Per 309618). Taous (*Ta-ꜥw*/Ταους) is translated as 'The one of the great one' in TM. However, *ꜥw* 'greatness, to be great, to be steadfast (inf.)' is not interchangeable with the adjective *ꜥꜣ* 'great', and 'The one of the great one' would probably be phrased *Ta-pꜣ-wr* or the like. A translation of 'She of greatness' seems possible. However, it is more likely an abbreviated form and the *Demotisches Namenbuch*, therefore, abstained from giving a translation.

Θασως (Thasos) is attested as the rendering of *Ta-Šw* (She of (the god) Shu; TM Nam 1307) as well as of *Ta-swr* (She of .?.; TM Nam 1378). However, all attestations from Dime belong to the latter name.

The demotic form of Taysis has not yet been attested; however, the male counterpart is probably Paysis (TM Nam 36983). While the *Demotisches Namenbuch* regards this as the rendering of *Pa-wsr* 'He of the strong one' (LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 361), TM expresses doubts due to the geographical distribution. The Greek Παυσις is found mainly in the Fayum (85.7%, 66 name attestations), while the demotic *Pa-Wsr* is exclusively attested in Upper Egypt. The attestations for Taysis, in turn, are split between the Fayum (42.1%, 8 att.) and Upper Egypt (47.4%, 9 att.).

For the female name Tapontos (Ταποντως, TM Nam 6080), a male counterpart, Papontos (Παποντως, TM Nam 4872), is attested. However, the meaning of the element -pontos/-ποντως is unknown. Tatsimourk(...) might be a derivation of the male name Σιμουρκ (TM Nam 33874) attested in pMich. VI 390 l. 4 (TM 12197; Karanis, 215 CE), the linguistic origin of which is unknown.

TM lists a single occurrence of the name Taseutis, abbreviated in the text as Ταση̣̂τι(ς) (TM Nam 12437).[88]

80 *LGG* VII, p. 77b.

81 LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*. p. 968.

82 G. WIDMER, 'La stèle de Paêsis (Louvre E 25983) et quelques formes d'Osiris dans le Fayoum aux époques ptolémaïque et romaine', in: L. COULON (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris au 1er millénaire av.J.- C.: découvertes et travaux récents* (BiÉtud 153, Cairo, 2010), pp. 74–75 note 1, p. 88. As a reason for the unusual demotic writing with a *t* at the beginning, Widmer considers that this rendered the pronunciation of the name approximately and assumes furthermore that the omission of the *m* was due to confusion maybe with the local name *Šd.t* (TM Nam 15516, with only one attestation).

83 For the elimination of *s* after *š* in later stages of Egyptian cf. also *šsp* > Coptic ϣⲥⲡ; *šs-n-nsw* > Coptic ϣⲛⲥ.

84 TM Per 464842 (CPJ IV 525 l. 92 = TM 43833; Edfu?; 250–200 BCE); TM Per 474182 (pEschmunein inv. 1455 l. 18 = TM 316151; Hermopolis, third century BCE).

85 SCHENTULEIT, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, pp. 230–232.

86 *CDD*, *Ỉ*, p. 50.

87 Papyrus Jördens 10 l. 6 (TM 989178; 161 CE).

88 Papyrus Bodl. I 17 col. 1 l. 15 (TM 10249; 132/133 CE).

It might be worth considering whether this is a mistake (dative form instead of nominative) for the well-attested name Taseus (TM Nam 6096), the meaning of which is unknown, or whether the beginning of the name is read correctly.

5 Patterns, Linguistic Origin and Semantic Classes of Non-Egyptian Names for Females in Dime

Greek names have the biggest share among the anthroponyms of non-Egyptian origin (15 or 16 out of 29), followed by Greek derivations of Egyptian theonyms and anthroponyms, seven attestations, e.g., Thaubastion. For two of these, the classification is not certain: instead of being a derivation of the Egyptian name Tasouchis, Tasoucharion could be an Egyptian derivation of the hybrid personal name Soucharion. However, the male name Σουχαρίων (TM Nam 23404) is not yet attested in Egypt, and the female form Σουχάριον (TM Nam 28128) only in two texts.[89] Therefore, it seems more plausible to analyse the name as a Greek derivation. Thasion, on the other hand, could be either a Greek name or an Egyptian name with a Greek ending.

With 13 female individuals bearing this name, Satabous is the best-attested non-Egyptian anthroponym for females. Its Semitic origin is assumed based on the Aramaic attested name ʾḤTBW 'Sister of the father'; however, there is no explicit link to the phonetic demotic rendering *Ḫtbȝ* or the Greek Σαταβους, e.g. through a bilingual attestation.[90] The name *Srȝ*/Σάραςς, attested in a bilingual contract, is listed as Sara in table 2 and refers to a woman. However, TM separates the Greek[91] and demotic[92] name attestations because *Srȝ* otherwise refers to male persons. The identification with the Hebrew name Sara is based on the demotic rendering, although a short form of Sarapias is also considered by the editors.[93] Claytor, bothered by the two end-sigmas, considers a reading Σαραῦς instead.[94] Sambion and Sabaiaitous might be Semitic names,[95] belonging to the group of so-called Sabbath names. The family members of both women bear Egyptian and, for the most part, local-specific names,[96] which shows the non-Judean use of Sabbath names.[97] For Magera, Tolis and Laineus, the linguistic origin has not yet been determined. Moreover, in both attestations of the latter name, the reading is uncertain.[98]

The predominant pattern consists of a deity's name plus a Greek suffix, e.g., Isarion, (six attestations), followed by the pattern showing a personal name plus a suffix, e.g., Thaubastion, (six attestations), and the pattern of noun plus a suffix, e.g., Soteris (five attestations). Less frequent is a god's name combined with a noun (one att.), a geographic name with a suffix (one att.) and a present passive participle (one att.). Since the identification with ʾḤTBW is not certain, the structure and origin of the name Satabous (noun + noun) are uncertain.

Regarding semantic classes, a quarter of the names belong to the category of theophorous names [C1] (seven to eight attestations). Six anthroponyms are based on other proper names [C3], which again contain theonyms, e.g., Taisarion, a Greek derivation of the Egyptian name Taesis (*Ta-ʾIs.t* 'She of Isis') with the Greek suffix -arion.[99] The five names formed from the combination of a noun plus a suffix or the present passive participle could be understood as endophorous [C4]. However, the masculine Soter (Soteria, Soteris) is an epithet of gods and, together with Tryphaina, an epithet of members of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

89 Papyrus Alex. 10 l. 4 (only first letter preserved), l. 10 (TM 10067; Karanis, 69–79 CE); pAthen. 57 l. 11 (TM 25229; first–third century CE): *ed. pr.* Πεθέω̣[ς το]ῦ Σουχαρί(ωνος), corrected into Πεθέω̣[ς μη(τρὸς) T]ασουχαρίου.

90 Schentuleit, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, pp. 234–235.

91 TM Nam 7576, TM Ref 595835.

92 TM Nam 13476, TM Ref 535085 and 535101.

93 Lippert – Schentuleit, DDD III, p. 175 comm. l. 6.

94 Claytor, 'Notes on Papyri', *Pylon* 2, n. 3.

95 TM registers Sambion as Greek name because of its ending, but see A. Galad Abd el-Fatah – G. Wagner, 'Epitaphes grecques d'époque ptolémaïque de Sedment el-Gebel (IIe/Ier siècles): une communauté juive dans la Chôra égyptienne', *CRIPEL* 19 (1998), pp. 89–90. For Sabaiaitous, see Claytor, 'Notes on Papyri', *Pylon* 2, § 27.

96 Sambion (TM Per 187781) is the mother of Theon alias Teos and Soterichos alias Stotoetis; her mother is Thaubastis, her grandfather Satabous and her two aunts were Tapiomis and Taesis. Sabaiaitous' (TM Per 276946) father and nephew were called Stotoetis, her grandfather Horos, and her sister Thases.

97 V.A. Tcherikover – A. Fuks – M. Stern, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, III (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), Section XIII, 'The Sambathions', pp. 43–56. N. Hacham – T. Ilan (eds), *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, IV (Berlin – Boston, 2020), pp. 10–13. For the non-Judean use of Sabbath names, see M.H. Williams, 'Jewish Festal Names in Antiquity: A Neglected Area of Onomastic Research', *JSJ* 36. 1 (2005), pp. 21–40.

98 Papyrus Lond. II, pp. 249–251 no. 156 rto col. II l. 61 (TM 11631; 208 CE), however, gives Λῆνεῦς instead of Λαινευς; Stud. Pal. XXII 180 col. II l. 50 (TM 15095; 208 CE).

99 For names with the suffix -arion, see N. Dogaer, 'Hybrid Names: Onomastics, Power and Identity in a Cross-Cultural Context', in: A. Almásy-Martin – Y. Broux (eds), *Greek Personal Names in Egypt* (Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents, Oxford, 2025), p. 191.

6 Overview Tables

Formal structure

- S1 one-word names
- S2 compound name not constituting a complete sentence
- S3 complete sentence

Semantic name class

- C1 exophorous and theophorous
- C2 exophorous and basilophorous
- C3 exophorous and based on names of other individuals
- C4 endophorous
- hypocoristic

DN: deity's name; GN: geographical name; AN: animal name; PN: personal name; KN: king's name

Rows set in italics indicate that these individuals might not have been inhabitants of Dime, cf. pp. 281–282 above.

TABLE 1 Egyptian names and Egyptian derivations of Greek names listed according to the pattern

Name	Translation	Formal structure	Semantic class	Pattern	TM Nam	# att. /ind.
Anches	The goddess Anchet	S1	C1	DN	55	14/6
Isis	The goddess Isis	S1	C1		3447	13/3
Smithis	The goddess Smithis	S1	C1		1112	1/1
					20675	
Thermouthis	The goddess Thermouthis	S1	C1		1381	20/10
Oubestersoys	Bastet-.?.	S2	C1	DN + ?	41056	1/1
Tesenouphis	Good nomos	S2	?	GN + adjective	1352	51/22
Thatres	The twin	S1	C1 / C4	def. article + PN	1379	8/7
Tesauris	The Syrian	S1	C4	def. article + GN	12514	1/1
Thakoris	The Arabian	S1	C4		9467	1/1
Senamunis	The daughter of Amun	S2	C1	def. article + noun	1056	3/1
Senatymis	*The daughter of Atum*	*S2*	*C1*	(*šr.t*) + DN	*1060*	*1/1*
Senhathyris	The daughter of Hathor	S2	C3		1069	1/1
Senobastis	The daughter of Bastet	S2	C1		1077	1/1
Senosiris	The daughter of Osiris	S2	C1		1080	3/2
Thenhyris	The daughter of Horos	S2	C1		1071	5/2
Thenapynchis	The daughter of Apynchis	S2	C3	def. article + noun (*šr.t*) +	1059	15/14
Thenpisais	The daughter of Pisais	S2	C3	PN	13662	4/1
Thenapaitis	The daughter of .?.	S2	?	def. article + noun (*šr.t*) + .?.	21881	3/1
Tromenesis	The woman of Isis	S2	C1	def. article + noun (*rmṯ*) + DN	1444	3/1
Touembellas	The eater of .?.	S2	?	def. article + noun + noun (?)	29992	1/1
Tnepheros	She with a beautiful face	S2	C1 / C4	def. article + *nfr-ḥr* construction	1272	5/2
Taapis	She of Apis	S2	C1	poss. article + DN	1226	4/1
Tabes	She of Bes	S2	C1		12335	15/1
Tachonsis	She of Chonsu	S2	C1		1233	1/1
Taesis	She of Isis	S2	C1		1237	82/29
Taharmachis	She of Harmachis	S2	C1		18815	5/1

TABLE 1 Egyptian names and Egyptian derivations of Greek names listed according to the pattern (*cont.*)

Name	Translation	Formal structure	Semantic class	Pattern	TM Nam	# att. /ind.
Tahopis	She of Hapi	S2	C1		1283	1/1
Tahyris	She of Horos	S2	C1		1243	8/3
Tamestasytmis	She of Mestasytmis	S2	C1		1255	1/1
Tamounis	She of Amun	S2	C1		1262	5/1
Tanupis	She of Anoubis	S2	C1		1278	1/1
Tasachmis	She of Sachmet	S2	C1		13884	2/2
Tasais	She of Shai	S2	C1		12445	4/4
Tasouchis	She of Souchos	S2	C1		1308	7/3
Taubastis	She of Bastet	S2	C1		1280	17/7
Tiesis	She of Isis	S2	C1		13905	1/1
Tamoutgebti	She of Mut of Coptos	S2	C1	poss. article + DN + GN	15635	1/1
Taamonnophris	She of Amonnophris	S2	C1	poss. article + PN	6049	1/1
Taharpagathes	She of Harpagathes	S2	C1 / C3		12328	14/8
Tahatres	She of Hatres	S2	C3		18719	1/1
Taherieus	She of Herieus	S2	C3		13923	1/1
Takollouthos	She of Kollouthos	S2	C3		12366	9/1
Taorsenouphis	She of Orsenouphis	S2	C1 / C3		1284	7/3
Taouetis	She of Ouetis	S2	C1 / C3		6126	53/38
Tapapais	She of Papais	S2	C3		40224	5/2
Tapasis	She of Pasis	S2	C3		6072	3/3
Tapekysis	She of Pekysis	S2	C1 / C3		1290	9/9
Tapetesouchos	She of Petesouchos	S2	C1 / C3		7731	9/3
Tapetheus	*She of Petheus*	*S2*	*C3*		*7727*	*2/1*
Tapetosiris	She of Petosiris	S2	C3		12408	22/15
Tasisois	She of Sisois	S2	C3		27153	5/2
Tasokmenis	She of Sokmenis	S2	C3		6098	1/1
Taisas	She of Isas	S2	C3	poss. article + Greek PN	6023	10/4
Tamystha	She of Mysthas	S2	C3	Egyptian derivation of Greek PN	6050	2/2
Tatsimourk(...)	She (?) of Simourk (?)	S2	C3?	poss. article (?) + PN (?)	28391	1/1
Tamarres	She of Marres (i.e., deified Amenemhat III)	S2	C2	poss. article + KN	6038	4/2
Tanemieus	She of the lionesses	S2	C1	poss. article + def. article + AN	6054	21/15
Tapiomis	She of the lake	S2	C1 / C4	poss. article + def. article + GN	6077	82/58
Tatichis	She of drunkenness	S2	C1	poss. article + noun	6120	2/1
Tanesneus	She of the brothers	S2	C1	poss. article + def. article + noun	6056	1/1
Taonnophris	She of the perfect being	S2	C1	poss. article + subst. active participle + adjective	1282	15/5
Tanephremmis	She of (Isis-) Nephremmis	S2	C1	poss. article + *nfr-ḥr* construction	7701	111/51

TABLE 1 Egyptian names and Egyptian derivations of Greek names listed according to the pattern (*cont.*)

Name	Translation	Formal structure	Semantic class	Pattern	TM Nam	# att. /ind.
Tapais	She of the island (?) / She of Pais?	S2	C4 / C3	poss. article + DN poss. article + PN	6071	1/1
Tabous		S2	hypocoristic?	poss. article +	6003	21/13
Taes		S2	hypocoristic?	abbreviation	1236	1/1
Tanephris		S2	hypocoristic?		25586	3/1
Tanouphis		S2	hypocoristic?		1276	2/2
Thases		S2	hypocoristic?		6097	136/77
Thasis		S2	hypocoristic		1306	6/6
Taaipis	She of .?.	S2		poss. article + .?.	5989	3/1
Tamerotis	She of .?.	S2			13845	4/1
Thamistis	She of .?.	S2			16860	4/1
Tanephronis	She of .?.	S2			34005	2/1
Taon	She of .?.	S2			1285	1/1
Taous	She of .?.	S2			1288	2/2
Tasiaipis	She of .?.	S2			12439	1/1
Taues	She of .?.	S2			1215	1/1
Taysis	She of .?.	S2			6137	1/1
Thasos	She .?.	S2			1378	13/4
Tarobastis	She whom Bastet has made	S2	C1	subst. relative form (def. article + verb *ỉr*) + DN	1350	3/2
Tethermouthis	*She who was given by Thermouthis*	*S2*	*C1*	subst. relative form (def. article + verb *dỉ*) + DN	*1368*	*1/1*
Tetosiris	*She who was given by Osiris*	*S2*	*C1*		*1372*	*1/1*
Stotoetis	May they avert the calamity!	S3	C1	verbal sentence with subjunctive *sḏm=f*	1147	98/75
Segathis	Their eye is satisfied.	S3	C1	verbal sentence with	5693	49/35
Herieus / Heriea	They are content.	S3	C1	perfective *sḏm=f*	335 21692	65/27
Soueris	Isis is great.	S3	C1	sentence with qualitative (present 1) DN + qualitative	190	19/10
Bastettaiesnakht	Bastet is her strength.	S3	C1	nominal sentence (A – B) with DN	47363	1/1
Haynchis	(The) living face	S2	C1 / C4	noun + participle	309	1/1
Talbauis	?				18086	12/3
Tanotis	?				25749	1/1
Tapontos	?				6080	1/1
Taseus	?				6096	9/7
Taseutis	?				12437	1/1
Tekiasis	?				12486	15/15
Tekoris	?				19426	1/1
Telbabis	?				25752	1/1
Tembas	?				19330	1/1
Thatretis	?				18854	1/1
98 names				**1,184 name attestations, 667 individuals**		

TABLE 2 Names of non-Egyptian origin and derivations of Egyptian names

Name	Origin	Main Element	Semantic Class	Pattern	TM Nam	# att./ ind.
Isarion	Greek	Isis	C1	DN + -arion	34866	6/1
Thermoutharion	Greek derivation of Egyptian DN	Thermouthis	C1		5514	4/4
Isarous	Greek	Isis	C1	DN + -arous	6948	8/4
Kroniaina	Greek	Kronos	C1	DN + -iaina	3770	4/1
Heraklous	Greek	Heracles	C1	DN + -ous	3374	1/1
Isidora	Greek	Isis, present	C1	DN + noun	3451	6/3
Taisarion	Greek derivation of Egyptian PN	Taesis (Isis)	C3	PN + -arion	5391	5/5
Tasoucharion	Greek derivation of Egyptian PN	Tasouchos (Souchos)	C3		6103	2/2
Taesion	Greek derivation of Egyptian PN	Taesis (Isis)	C3	PN + -ion	14019	1/1
Thaubastion	Greek derivation of Egyptian PN	Thaubastis (Bastet)	C3		25548	1/1
Dioskorous	Greek	Dioskouroi	C3	PN + -ous	2814	3/1
Souerous	Greek derivation of Egyptian PN	Soueris (Isis)	C3		19536	4/1
Olympias	*Greek*	*Olymp*	C1	*DN + -ias*	*4649*	*3/1*
Soteria	Greek	salvation	C1 / C2 / C4	noun + -ia	16695	2/2
Soteris	Greek	saviour	C4?	noun + -is	5951	12/9
Tryphaina	Greek	softness, luxury	C2 / C4	noun + -aina	6334	2/2
Tryphas	Greek	softness	C4	noun + -as	7856	2/2
Charitous	Greek	kind	C4	noun + -ous	2579	1/1
Philoumene	Greek	loving	C4	present passive participle	3255	1/1
Tapeinous (gen.)	Greek	humble			18409	1/1
Thasias	Greek				5418	16/5
Satabous	Aramaic	sister (?), father (?)		noun + noun (?)	1030	50/13
Teknas	Greek (?)				19281	9/1
Sara (?)	Hebrew (?)				7576 13476	3/1
Sambion	Semitic (?)				43215	6/1
Sabaiaitous	Semitic (?)				26606	1/1
Laineus	?				17071	2/1
Magera	*?*				*40338*	*3/1*
Tolis	?				23620	2/2
29 names				**161 name attestations, 70 individuals**		

7 Regional- and Local-Specific Names

Names did not only change over time, but they were also distributed differently geographically. The onomastic material from Dime shows indeed names used throughout Egypt like Tamounis (Upper Egypt 39.6%, Fayum 29.7.1%, Lower Egypt 14.9%, 222 names attestations in total) and Isidora (Upper Egypt 35.9%, Fayum 47.9%, Lower Egypt 9.2%, 791 names attestations in total), but the focus lies on regional- and local-specific names, i.e. primarily attested in Dime with a share of at least half of all Fayumic attestations.[100] Egyptian names attested predominantly in the Fayum, however, not necessarily in Dime are, e.g., Segathis, Tanemieus, Tromenesis, and Tasiaipis, which are local-specific for Karanis.[101] A few names are yet (almost) exclusively attested in Dime, but the number of attestations is quite low, so this might be due to a coincidence of transmission. Among them are Takollouthos (Fayum 100%, Dime 100% [9 att. / 1 ind.]), Tapapais (Fayum 100%, Dime 100% [5 att./2 ind.]), and Thenapaitis (Fayum 100%, Dime 100% [3 att./ 1 ind.]).[102] As local-specific names in a stricter sense can therefore be categorised Satabous, Tesenouphis, Tapiomis, Tanephremmis, Herieus, Stotoetis, and Thases:

TABLE 3 Local-specific names for female individuals in Dime

Name	Geographical distribution
Satabous	Fayum 100%, **Dime 78.1%** [50 att./13 ind.]
Tesenouphis	Fayum 100%, **Dime 77.1%** [51 att./22 ind.]
Tapiomis	Fayum 73.6%, **Dime 70.1%** [82 att./29 ind.]
Tanephremmis	Fayum 96.3%, **Dime 61.7%** [111 att./51 ind.]
Herieus Heriea	Fayum 83.6%, **Dime 68%** [65 att./27 ind.]
Stotoetis	Fayum 90.9%, **Dime 58%** [98 att./75 ind.]
Thases	Fayum 96.5%, **Dime 54.6%** [136 att./77 ind.]

A comparison of the local-specific names for women in Dime with those for men, i.e., Satabous, Tesenouphis, Stotoetis, Herieus, Panephremmis, Pakysis, Pabous, Harpagathes and Teses,[103] shows significant similarities:

TABLE 4 Comparison of local-specific names for females and males in Dime

Female	Male	Reference to
Satabous	Satabous	deified individual
Tesenouphis	Tesenouphis	deified individual
Stotoetis	Stotoetis	deified individual
Herieus	Herieus	deified individual ?
Tanephremmis	Panephremmis	Isis Nephremmis
Thases		[hypocoristic]
Tapiomis		(local) lake
		allusion to a female goddess ?
	Pakysis	deified individual
	Pabous	[hypocoristic]
	Harpagathes	deified individual
	Teses	[hypocoristic]

The cross-gender names Herieus, Satabous, Stotoetis, and Tesenouphis are present in both groups,[104] as is the name that refers to the local form of Isis, Isis-Nephremmis, in the female and male forms, respectively (Panephremmis, Tanephremmis).

The picture is different for Tapiomis, as the male counterpart, Papiomis (TM Nam 38254), might not be attested at all as the reading of the single alleged example is not certain.[105] The element *-ym* occurs in the male name Piomis (*P3-ym*; TM Nam 12814), but none of the 19 attestations is from Dime. The case of Thases is similar since it is not certain whether Pases (TM Nam 4913), listed in TM with two attestations from Dime, is indeed the male version of Thases because the name is only attested in Greek script.

Regarding the male gender-specific names Harpagathes and Pabous, female derivations, Taharpagathes and Tabous are indeed well attested in Dime, though their focus lies in Krokodilopolis and Karanis, respectively, and are therefore

100 On local-specific male names in Soknopaiou Nesos, Tebtynis and Bakchias, see B. SIPPEL, *Gottesdiener und Kamelzüchter: Das Alltags- und Sozialleben der Sobek-Priester im kaiserzeitlichen Fayum* (Philippika 144, Wiesbaden, 2020), pp. 38–52; more recently on local-specific names in Soknopaiou Nesos: SCHENTULEIT, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, p. 227.

101 Segathis: Fayum 98.5%, Dime 20.8% (49 att./35 ind.), Karanis 65.6%; Tanemieus: Fayum 89.4%, Karanis 70.1%; Tromenesis: Fayum 89.7%, Dime 8.6% (3 att./1 ind.), Karanis 88.6%; Tasiaipis: Fayum 100%, Dime 3% (1 att./1 ind.); Karanis 81.8%.

102 The name Magera is omitted here as the only individual of this name might not be a resident of Dime; see § 2 above.

103 SCHENTULEIT, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, p. 227.

104 These names are studied in more detail in SCHENTULEIT, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, pp. 237–242.

105 Ostracon Amst. 13 l. 8 (TM 70360; Upper Egypt, 175–199 CE). Clarysse suggests cautiously [Σ]αραπίων.

not local-specific. The female form of Pakysis, Tapakysis, occurs in Dime only marginally in five documents.[106] Teses, perhaps a shortened form of the cross-gender name Tesenouphis, is remarkably enough never attested for female individuals.

Local-specific names have a special significance for the place and its inhabitants. For Egyptian names, a link to the religious sphere can mostly be established,[107] and this is also true for the onomastic material from Dime, leaving aside the hypocoristic names. Specifically noteworthy is the high proportion of names which can be traced back to deified individuals rather than 'traditional' deities. At least for Stotoetis, Satabous, Tesenouphis, Pakysis, and Harpagathes, there is evidence suggesting the existence of cults in Dime or other Fayum towns like Dionysias, Gynaikon Nesos and Tebtynis. Evidence for a deified Herieus, however, is still lacking.[108] The cross-gender names Stotoetis, Satabous, Tesenouphis, and Herieus are the most popular anthroponyms in Dime among male individuals, while Stotoetis is the second most frequently attested name among women. This reflects not only the traditional priestly name-giving practice mentioned in § 2 but also the importance of deified human individuals for the local priestly community.

The local-specific names provide information about the religious landscape of a settlement or a region, and it would be worthwhile to extend the study to all theophorous names to better understand the divine inventory in Dime.

8 Observations on the Practicalities of Using Cross-Gender Names

The widespread use of cross-gender names in Dime leads to the question of whether there was a need to mark the gender of the name bearer of such names for clarification. For this, it is necessary to examine how the gender of individuals in texts is recognized in the first place apart from the personal name. First and foremost, titles (titles of rank, titles of honour) and occupational titles should be mentioned. However, not every person had a title, and titles were not used in all contexts. Women less frequently bear titles than do men, surely because they worked less in recognised professions and rarely, if ever, took on administrative tasks and higher religious offices. Instead, in demotic contracts, female individuals are often marked by the noun *sḥm.t* 'woman'. The Greek translations of a demotic cession document from Dime render this literally as ἡ γυνηι (l. γυνὴ) Τομσάις 'the woman Tomsais' but this is not an original Greek mode of expression.[109] Furthermore, information on ancestry provided as a means of identification in most of the text genres can be helpful. In demotic, the father's name is often but by no means always introduced by *sꜣ* 'son (of)' for male individuals, although in Dime this is habitually omitted; for females, *sꜣ.t* ('daughter (of)') or, in texts from Upper Egypt, *ta* ('she of') is used. The metronymic is introduced by the word for mother, *mw.t*, and the suffix pronoun agreeing in gender with the individual, e.g., *Ḥtbꜣ sꜣ.t n Hr=w mw.t=s Tše* 'Satabous daughter of Herieus, her mother being Teses'. In Greek, the patronymic in the genitive directly follows the name of the individual when it is in the nominative or dative (e.g., Ταβους Στοτοητιος 'Tabous daughter of Stotoetis'; Σαταβουτι Ὡρου 'for/to Satabous daughter of Horos'); if the anthroponym is in the genitive (and occasionally in the dative), the father's name, again in the genitive, is introduced by the definite article, e.g., παρὰ Σαταβουτος τοῦ Σαταβουτος 'by Satabous son of Satabous'. The mother's name is introduced by the noun μήτηρ in the genitive, e.g., Σαταβουτος τοῦ Ὡρου μητρὸς Ταμουνιος 'Satabous son of Horos and of the mother Tamounis'. Since the mother's name is not always given, an entry such as Σαταβουτος Ὡρου is ambiguous and may be understood either as 'Satabous son of Horos' or 'Satabous daughter of Horos'. In those cases and where the text is not completely preserved, other indications are needed. These can be epithets like 'the younger' (*tꜣ ḫm.t*/*pꜣ ḫm*, νεωτέρα/νεώτερος), 'the elder' (*tꜣ ʿꜣ.t*/*pꜣ ʿꜣ*, πρεσβυτέρα/πρεσβύτερος), expressions of familial relationships (*ḥm.t*/γυνή 'wife'; ἀδελφή 'sister'), the mentioning of a legal guardian (*kyrios*) for women[110] as well as other gendered references

106 TM lists the attestations for Tapakysis (TM NamVar 14489) among those for Tapekysis (TM Nam 1290). However, Pakysis is to be understood as 'He of (the) Nubian' (with possessive article), and Pekysis as 'The Nubian' (with definite article). But the Egyptians themselves do not always distinguish them and Pekysis and Pakysis are sometimes used for the same person.

107 W. Clarysse – D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, 2: *Historical Studies* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 332–341.

108 Schentuleit, 'Egyptian Cross-gender Names', in: *Greek Personal Names*, pp. 237–238.

109 SB I 5275 l. 9, 14 (TM 13994); SB I 5231 l. 9, 14 (TM 13979); CPR XV 2 (TM 9904) l. 13; not preserved in CPR XV 3 (TM 9911); CPR XV 4 (TM 9912) l. 7. The demotic original (pDime III 5 = TM 44702) was written and registered in Psinachis in 11 CE, the Greek translations (!) show the same date. However, they were set up later and probably not in Psinachis when they were used as evidence in a lawsuit about the sale of the property; see TM Arch ID 151 with bibliographical references.

110 Minors and women had to be represented by a guardian if the language of the document was Greek: M. Schentuleit, 'Nicht

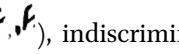
like pronouns (personal pronouns, relative pronouns), definite articles etc. or the context. All this information is given regardless of the type of personal name.

Specifically in the context of cross-gender names, the scribes of Greek texts very rarely add the adjective θήλεια 'female'. All examples concern the names Herieus and Stotoetis and date to the second century CE:

TABLE 5 Attestations for θήλεια 'female' in connection with cross-gender names

BGU III 959 l. 3[a]	Ἡριεὺς θήλ(εια) Στοτοή(τιος)	Herieus, female, daughter of Stotoetis
pMünch. III 97 l. 3[b]	Ἡριεὺς θ[ή]λεια Παν[εφρέμμεως ---][c]	Herieus, female, daughter of Pan[ephremmis ---]
pEirene III 10 l. 3[d]	Στοτοήτεως θηλείας Πανεφρ[έμμεως ---]	of Stotoetis, female, daughter of Panephr[emmis ---]
pEirene III 10 l. 5	Ἡριεῦτι θηλείᾳ Στοτοήτεως τοῦ Στοτοήτεως	to Herieus, female, daughter of Stotoetis
pWorp 21 l. 6[e]	Ἡριεὺς θήλια [NN ---]	Herieus, female, [daughter of NN ---]
pWorp 21 l. 13	[τῇ τῆ]ς Ἡριέως θυγατρὶ Στοτοῆτι θηλίᾳ Ὥρου	[to] the daughter of Herieus, Stotoetis, female, daughter of Horos

a TM 9418; Arsinoites, 148 CE.
b TM 12480; 161–180 CE.
c The reconstruction of the patronymic is not provided by the *ed. pr.*
d TM 128651; 176 CE.
e TM 115552; according to the *ed. pr.* written in Ptolemais Euergetis, found in Dime, 198/199 CE (?).

In demotic, the name classifier is the seated man (Gardiner sign A1 ; occurring in different shapes in demotic: e.g. ), indiscriminately for male and female names ('Personendeterminativ').[111] However, it was not mandatory to mark a proper name, and Egyptian names would end with the usual classifier of the last element of the name, e.g. with the divine classifier of a male and sometimes a female[112] theonym, the seated goddess of a female theonym, negative nouns like *mwt* 'death' and *bn.t* 'evil eye' with the dying warrior classifier, the flesh classifier with body parts, the striking arm classifier with words denoting strength, etc. or without any classifier at all (e.g., names ending on the theonym *Ḥr* 'Horus' or *ʿnḫ* 'to live, alive', names ending with suffix pronouns). Foreign names are usually marked with a foreign land and/or the name classifier, e.g., Arsinoe (*ꜣrsynꜣ*), which can in addition show the seated goddess, or the divine classifier influenced by the queen's name.[113] To clarify the gender of the name-bearer, the scribes had the option of adding a feminine ending *.t* at the end of the name after the classifier,[114] usually marking feminine nouns. This was done not only with foreign names, which were probably less well-known, so the scribes might have felt it necessary to explain them, but also with Egyptian names. Some examples to be found in the *Demotisches Namenbuch* are *ꜣrtmyꜣ.t* Artemis (LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 34, no. 1 + 3 foreign land classifier, no. 2 name classifier), *ꜣrtmtrꜣ.t* Artemidora (*op. cit.*, p. 36, foreign land classifier), *Brnygꜣ.t* Berenike (*op. cit.*, p. 144, nos 1, 3 divine classifier, no. 17 seated goddess?), *Tꜣ-šr.t-n-pꜣ-šy.t* Senpisais 'The daughter of Pisais' (*op. cit.*, p. 1085; *Tꜣ-šy.t* abbreviated writing or misspelling, more attestations under TM Nam 12104), *Tꜣ-šr.t-n-ʾIḥy.t* Senaies 'The daughter of (the god) Ihy' (*op. cit.*, p. 1090, no. 2; TM Nam 13632), *Tꜣ-šr.t-bs.t* Senbesis 'The daughter of Bes' (*op. cit.*, p. 1096, nos 2 and 3), *Tꜣ-šr.t-pꜣ-wr.t* 'The daughter of Poeris' (no examples in *op. cit.*, p. 1098, but see TM Nam 1086: Ref 127242, 12734, 88776, 88197), *Tꜣ-šr.t-n-pꜣ-šr-n-ta-pꜣ-šy.t* 'The daughter of Psentapsais' (*op. cit.*, p. 1122), *Tꜣ-šr.t-n-ḥtr.t* 'The daughter of Hathres' (*op. cit.*, p. 1131, nos 1, 3, 4, 7, 9; TM Nam 13691), *Ta-pꜣ-ḥr-nfr.t*

ohne Vormund? Frauen in römerzeitlichen bilinguen Urkunden aus Soknopaiu Nesos', in: R. EBERHARD – H. KOCKELMANN – S. PFEIFFER – M. SCHENTULEIT (eds), *'... vor dem Papyrus sind alle gleich!' Papyrologische Beiträge zu Ehren von Bärbel Kramer* (AfP Beiheft 27, Berlin – New York, 2009), pp. 192–212. On legal guardianship in general: S. LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte* (EQÄ 5, Berlin, 2008), pp. 116–118.

111 See S.P. VLEEMING, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (*Pap. Hou*) (StudDem 3, Leuven, 1991), p. 196 and in more detail, VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels*, § 15, pp. 821–826.

112 The theonym Bastet is written with the divine classifier rather than the sign of the seated goddess.

113 LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 30, n. 1, 5, and 9 shows the name classifier, n. 6 and 7 the foreign land classifier, no. 2 the seated goddess and no. 3 the divine classifier.

114 Exceptionally, the feminine ending *.t* is written before the name classifier, e.g. LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 1117, no. 15 (*Tꜣ-šr.t-n-ʾIs.t.t* Senesis 'The daughter of Isis').

Taphenouphis 'She of the beautiful face' (*op. cit.*, p. 1181, no. 2), *Ta-Wsi̯r.t* Taosiris 'She of Osiris' (*op. cit.*, p. 1172, nos 5 and 6, TM Nam 1286).

Remarkably, all Egyptian examples are gender-specific female names; a false allocation to male persons is, therefore, not to be expected.[115] Furthermore, the addition of the feminine ending is not consistent, and most of the female name attestations are not marked. A survey of the Dime material focused on cross-gender names shows a similar picture. In the published demotic documents from the Ptolemaic Period, there is no evidence for differentiated writings of names for different genders. In pOxf. Griffith I 56 l. 1 (TM 4640: 130 BCE), the metronymic Stotoetis is written with a feminine ending *.t*, but it cannot be excluded that this is the ending of the last element of the name, *wḏ̣.t*/*wty.t*,[116] although this is often omitted. In the demotic texts from the Roman Period, among the cross-gender names, only the name Satabous is attested with a feminine ending *.t* and both attestations concern the same individual.[117] Once the phonetic rendering of the Greek name Isarous, *Hysrʿ.t*,[118] occurs with a feminine ending, as well as the Egyptian name *Ta-bw-i̯r≠w-thy.t* Tamerotis 'She of …'.[119] From these observations, it appears that the scribes generally saw no need to mark names for female individuals as the structure, the meaning and the contextual information were apparently considered sufficient to make the gender of the bearer of the name visible. The same is true for cross-gender names since there is no consistent attempt to mark the gender specifically. However, the situation might be slightly different for *Hr≠w*/ Ἐριευς, which is discussed in the following paragraph.

9 The Case of Heriea

The Greek rendering of *Hr≠w* is usually Ἐριευς for both genders with the genitive forms Ἐριεως and *Ἐριευτος*,[120] the dative forms Ἐριει and *Ἐριευτι* and the accusative Ἐριεα and *Ἐριευτα*.[121] The forms in **bold** here show the declension of stems ending in diphthongs; the ones in cursive indicate the declension of words with dental stems. A single occurrence of Ἐριευν as an accusative form might be understood as just a mistake by the scribe or was constructed according to the declension of masculine nouns ending in -ος. In any case, the existence of these variants shows the uncertainty of some scribes when dealing with Egyptian names, which are not declined in demotic. In addition, a genitive form Ἐριεας and a dative form Ἐριεᾳ (in the papyrological material written without the *iota subscriptum*) are attested. They are understood as cases of a female nominative form Ἐριεα. However, evidence for this nominative form in texts from Dime is rare and open to interpretation:

1. TM lists BGU I 251 l. 19 (TM 9007; 81 CE) as showing an attestation of the nominative form, but the context and the proper name itself are only partly preserved, providing no base for an assessment ([---] Ἐρ[ιέ]α ε[---]).
2. The mention of a person called Ἐριέα Σαταβοῦτο[ς] in Stud. Pal. XXII 39 l. 12 (TM 15107; 155 CE) in a birth declaration is somewhat cryptic. TM records Ἐριεα as the nominative, but a signature of a woman otherwise not mentioned in the text is difficult to explain. Messerer has understood this passage as a note by the administration, suggesting that Herieus (Ἐριεα as the accusative form of Ἐριευς) is an alias name of Stotoetis, the boy whose birth is declared by the parents.[122] However, the alias name does not occur in the documents elsewhere and, as far as I am aware, Egyptian double names are very rare among the Dime priesthood.
3. In BGU II 644 l. 10 (TM 9283; 69 CE), the *ed. pr.* understands Ἐριεα as the dative (Ἐριεᾳ) and the name of one of the lessees; as, following the revised reading, Ἐριεα is now one of the lessors, her name should therefore be given in the nominative. However, her sister's name mentioned shortly before is set wrongly in the dative.[123]

115 This observation is in line with the onomastic material from Athribis, where the feminine marker also appears with gender-specific names (Sandra Lippert, personal communication).

116 LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, p. 945. The above-mentioned attestation is registered here as no. 9.

117 pDime III 5 GH l. 8 (TM 44702; 11 CE): *Ḫr-tȝ-b-i̯ȝ.t*; pDime III 37 DT l. 3 (TM 109343; 21/22 CE): *Ḫtbʿ.w.s.t*.

118 pDime III 12 DG l. 3 (TM 45636; 29 CE).

119 pDime III 14 DG l. 2, DA 14 l. 2 (TM 45595; 29 CE).

120 The once attested form Ἐριου in SB XII 10857 rto l. 2 (TM 4364; mid-third century BCE, Fayum) is a non-declined form rather than a genitive.

121 See the chart on the attestations of the cases under TM Nam 335. Instead of iota, gamma can occur as the rendering of the Egyptian fricative, cf. LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, DDD III, p. 80. These and other minor variations are not listed above.

122 C. MESSERER, *Corpus des papyrus grecs sur les relations administratives entre le clergé égyptien et les autorités romaines*, 1 (PapCol XLI/1, Paderborn, 2017), doc. 18, pp. 102–103.

123 LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, 'Papyrus Berlin P. 7056', in: *One Who Loves Knowledge*, pp. 251–252. ἐμίσθωσεν Πεκυσις Ἁρπαγαθου (…) καὶ 〈 τοῦ 〉 ἄλλου Πεκυσιος ὁμοπατρίαι ἀδελφαὶ Στοτοητι (l.

Although the scribe should not be accused of making a mistake without reason, there is a chance that the scribe wrote Ἐριεᾳ̣ here in the dative as well.

4. A similar case can be found in BGU III 719 l. 14 (TM 9317; 81 CE), where the names of the siblings should be in the nominative, but the one preceding Ἐριέα is in the dative.[124]
5. In BGU III 706 l. 18 (TM 9305; 119 CE), the mother of the declarant Harpagathes is attested as Ἐριέα in a census declaration. The passage is badly preserved, but the content is reasonably easy to grasp. The mentioned tax subjects occur in two cases in the nominative (l. 9, 12), in all other cases in the accusative (l. 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20).[125] Since the name of the mother of the declarant in l. 20 appears in the genitive Ἐριεῦτος, this is a strong argument for interpreting Ἐριέα in l. 18 as an accusative.[126]

This leaves us with two possible attestations of the nominative Heriea dating to the second half of the first century CE, BGU II 644 l. 10 and BGU III 719 l. 14. However, it seems that this feminine form with its declined forms was not applied consistently: assuming that the lessor in BGU II 644 l. 10 was called Ἐριεα in the nominative, in BGU III 706 the same individual (the mother of Harpagathes) is mentioned as Ἐριεα in the accusative in l. 18 (see the discussion above) and by the genitive Ἐριευτος in l. 20 suggesting that the nominative form was Ἐριευς.

The picture gets more interesting with the marriage contract and testament BGU I 183 (TM 8944; 85 CE). The bride, mentioned as Ἐριέᾳ̣ (sic!) in the dative (l. 4, 8, 9, 13, 16, 21, 35, 39) and Ἐριέας (sic!) in the genitive (l. 27), is recorded as Ἐριεύς in her signature written by her *hypographeus* Leonides, son of Zoilos (l. 31).[127] She is the same person as one of the sisters in BGU III 719, where her name is attested as Ἐριεᾳ̣ in the dative in l. 6 and as nominative Ἐριεα or dative Ἐριεᾳ̣ in l. 14. This seems to suggest that the individual called herself Herieu(s)[128] since this is the form in her statement (however written by a writing assistant), but that the genitive and dative forms applied by the contract scribe were not the usual ones (Ἐριεως or Ἐριευτος and Ἐριει or Ἐριευτι) but according to feminine nouns of the alpha declension.

Three attestations for Ἐριεα come from texts written and found in Thebes. Papyrus Lond. I, 151 no. 109b l. 126 (TM 28058; second century CE) lists a taxpayer called Ἐριέα Χεμτσνεῦς. Assuming the name is syntactically correct, Ἐριέα should be the nominative. Since more women are attested in this list (l. 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 25), this could be evidence for the name Heriea. The tax receipt oStras. II 834 l. 6 (TM 128378; 160 CE) might belong to the same individual showing the entry [καὶ] ὀνό(ματος) Ἐριέα Χεμτσνέως. Since the syntax requires the genitive after ὀνό(ματος) 'in the name of', the scribe must have made a mistake (Ἐριεα l. Ἐριεας). The account oBodl. II 1844 (TM 72527, third century CE) records Ἐριεᾶ ἀδελ(φὸς) καταβαίνει 'Herieus the brother goes down'. The *ed. pr.* assumes Ἐριεᾶ is an error for Ἐριεύς as a male person, hence the reconstruction as ἀδελ(φός); however, it could also be 'Herieus the sister' (ἀδελ(φή)). TM takes it as an attestation of a female Heriea (TM Ref 230001/ TM Per 153848).

A further hint for the existence of a feminine form Heriea at first sight also comes from Thebes. The account oBodl. II 2377, l. 34 (TM 73011; second century CE?) records a female person called Σενεριέα | Σενπαμώνθου Φμόιτο(ς). Although the preceding text is damaged, there is little doubt that the name is indeed in the nominative (and not in the accusative), as was assumed for the only other readable anthroponym (Ἀμμώ(νιος) Σερή(νου) 'Ammonios son of Serenus') in l. 7. Either this is a rare example of the pattern *Tȝ-šr.t-n-* + feminine personal name[129] or the scribe has used a feminine ending to indicate a female name, even if it is gender-specific due to the pattern similar to the *.t* ending discussed above. If the former were true, this would be the only attestation of the compound name 'The daughter of Heriea' (TM Nam 36991;) while Senherieus (TM Nam 1070) is to date attested 26 times, in demotic as well as in Greek, with a focus on Upper Egypt (24 att.).[130]

The documentation from Thebes speaks in favour of the existence of the name Heriea. Due to the isolated

Στοτοητις) (...) καὶ Ἐριεα (...) 'Pekysis, son of Harpagathes, and the sisters of the other one, (namely) Pekysis, from the same father, Stotoetis (...), and Heriea (...) have leased to (...)'.

124 [οἱ] τρῖς (l. τρεῖς) Στοτοῆτις καὶ Ὧρω (l. Ὧρος) καὶ Ἐριέα "[the] three, Stotoetis, Horos and Heriea".

125 [--- κ]αὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ Ἁρπαγάθου (...) [---] Ἐριέα Ἁρπαγάθου [---] "[---] and [the mother] of myself, Harpagathes, Heriea/Herieus (...)".

126 [---] [καὶ τὴν τ]ῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐριεῦτος ὁμοίως δούλην [---] "[and] likewise the slave of our mother Herieus [NN]".

127 Despite that, TM records this person as Heriea TM Per 388067.

128 W. Clarysse pointed out to me that individuals would not refer to themselves using a declined form with a Greek ending in spoken language, hence the writing of (s) in brackets.

129 Examples for this pattern are Sentahyris 'The daughter of Tahyris ('She of Horos')', Sentisais 'The daughter of Tisais ('She of Shai')', Senthentorseus 'The daughter of Thentorseus' ('The daughter of Orseus'?), Sentapatermouthis 'The daughter of Tapatermouthis' ('She of Patermouthis'), Senthasoies 'The daughter of Thasies' ('The blessed one').

130 The origin of the only text not attributed to Upper Egypt (pStrasb. Gr. VII 668 [TM 26856; second century CE]) is based on the personal names (Senherieus daughter of Marres [TM Per 273706]; Heron son of Per ... [TM Per 321826]; Amphion son of Mysthas [TM Per 321825]).

name entries in the accounts and receipts, no information on the other *casus* is given. The material from Dime shows that, alongside the usual varied declension forms of Herieus, a genitive and dative form according to the alpha declension was used. Although this suggests a nominative form of Heriea, only two possible examples could to date be identified. Moreover, it seems that the forms with the alpha declension were not used systematically, as suggested by the example of the bride in BGU I 183 calling herself Herieus. In any case, in our textual sources, the feminine form Heriea was limited to Thebes and Dime (and is not attested outside Egypt) and has by no means replaced the standard form Herieus but remains an exception.

10 Conclusion

As of March 2024, the onomastic material from Dime contains 1,479 female name attestations for 864 individuals who lived in this settlement from the second century BCE to the third century CE. With closer examination of the texts, it will certainly be possible to identify more identical persons and thus reduce the number of individuals. It goes without saying that the numbers change continuously as more texts are edited and entered in Trismegistos and other databases.

One-hundred-and-twenty-seven individual women's names could be identified. Proper names of Egyptian origin, including Egyptian derivations of Greek names, predominate. Greek names, including Greek derivations of Egyptian names, form the largest group of non-Egyptian anthroponyms. The corpus contains Semitic and possible Semitic names, but these are not evidence for the presence of Jews in Dime.

Except for hypocoristic, i.e. shortened, names, the meaning of most linguistic Egyptian anthroponyms can be determined. However, those that are attested exclusively in Greek are often difficult or even impossible to understand. A variety of different formations can be identified among the Egyptian names, with the most common consisting of a possessive article ('She of') plus a nominal expression, be it a god's name, an anthroponym, a toponym, a substantivized participle etc. Semantically, theophorous names form the majority.

Among names of non-Egyptian origin, the predominant pattern is that of a noun (theonym or anthroponym) plus a suffix. Exophorous theophorous proper names dominate in terms of the semantic class.

The onomastic material shows a high percentage of names strongly attested in the Fayum, seven of which are local-specific, i.e., names that are predominantly attested in Dime. A comparison with the local-specific male names shows significant similarities, as some reference local forms of Isis, and others go back to deified human individuals venerated in Dime or in the Fayum area. Among those names are cross-gender names, which enjoyed great popularity in Dime.

Despite the widespread use of these cross-gender names among the priestly community, with family members of different generations and genders bearing the same anthroponym, there is no indication that the scribes generally marked the names of female bearers to distinguish them from male name-bearers. In very few cases, they used a feminine *.t* in the demotic or the adjective θήλεια 'female' in Greek. There is evidence that a specifically feminine form of the Egyptian cross-gender name *Ḥr-w* Herieus, Heriea (Ἑριεα), developed, which was used both in the Fayum and in the Theban region. However, the attestations are rare and limited to a few individual cases. 'Heriea' is, therefore, by no means a substitute form for Herieus, as the standard form remains in use. It, therefore, appears that, in general, the context and the information that was provided about the persons were apparently sufficient to avoid confusion. It, therefore, seems to be more of a problem for modern researchers if they have difficulties assigning gender to name bearers, especially if the text is fragmentary, as the existence of almost 1,100 indeterminable name records from Dime shows.

11 Prospect

While certain names characterised women (and men) as members of the priestly community in Dime, they, in turn, reflect the inventory of the local and regional gods to whom the individuals were particularly attached. In addition to documentary and religious texts, onomastic material can, therefore, help to determine the religious inventory of a place or region for which the present survey could serve as a preliminary study.[131]

131 Addendum: For the interpretation of names containing the element Myst- as pseudo-Greek, attested in the Dime corpus in the name Tamystha, see now W. Clarysse – D.J. Thompson, 'New Rulers, New Names: Greek Names of Egypt', in: A. Almásy-Martin – Y. Broux (eds), *Greek Personal Names in Egypt* (Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents, Oxford, 2025), pp. 87, 92–93.

27

A Scribal Palette from the New Kingdom with Ink Inscriptions in Context

Daniel Soliman (*with a section by Grzegorz Nehring*)

Introduction[1]

Koen Donker van Heel is renowned as a scholar specialised in forging meaning out of hardly legible hand-written ancient Egyptian inscriptions in ink, particularly from the Theban region. The subject of this small contribution falls into this category of texts, at least partially, and we hope it will appeal to Koen's interests. It concerns one of two wooden scribal palettes in the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, both inscribed in ink on the topside and underside. The most legible of the two palettes will be discussed here and compared with other New Kingdom scribal palettes with ink inscriptions. This article may be seen as an open and heartfelt invitation to our colleague Koen to continue his research after retirement and investigate the inscriptions on the second palette.[2]

The Scribal Palette in the New Kingdom

The meaning and function of the New Kingdom scribal palette are multilayered. To begin with, most wooden palettes are also pen-cases. For the sake of convenience, this text will not distinguish between the two and refer to both palette and the combined palette and pen-case as scribal palettes. In a broader sense, the scribal palette has been explained as a tool to convey a sense of status and power of the social elite. As such, it was a prestigious object to be presented as a gift to a valued recipient during life or in death as part of the funerary equipment.[3] Moreover, the scribal palette plays a significant role in ideas about the divine and the afterlife. In ancient Egyptian iconography, kings may be depicted offering a scribal palette to a deity,[4] and the palette is an attribute of Thoth, god of wisdom and writing.[5] In Book of the Dead Spell 94, the deceased asks from Thoth a waterpot and scribal palette in the necropolis, to use for right-doing (*ỉrỉ-ỉ mȝʿt*) and to become justified in the afterlife.[6]

In addition to all these connotations, extant scribal palettes from the New Kingdom attest to their daily use as containers for pens and ink. Other aspects of their practical use are, unfortunately, rarely studied in detail despite the fact that scribal palettes seem to have had further functions. For example, several wooden palettes appear to have been used as rulers. Indeed, many examples are approximately four palms (30 cm),[7] five palms (37.5 cm)[8] or seven palms (a royal cubit, 52.5 cm) long.[9] Some New Kingdom wooden scribal palettes were effectively modified to be used as rulers. Three such palettes show on the topside a vertical column of alternating long and short incised notches along an edge of the pen slot, indicating digits.[10] One palette is inscribed on the thickness in black ink with a compartmentalised series of dots,

1 Daniel Soliman is much indebted to Rob Demarée and Hans Fischer-Elfert for discussing and improving his reading of the hieratic text on the underside of scribal palette AH 130. Some of the research for this paper was partially funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390,893,796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), University of Hamburg.

2 AH 134, supposedly inscribed with hieratic and demotic signs; see Appendix, 17.

3 A. Redwan, 'The Scribal Palette', in: J. Kamrin – M. Bárta – S. Ikram – M. Lehner – M. Megahed (eds), *Guardian of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass*, 3 (Prague, 2020), pp. 1278–1280; M.S. Pinarello, *An Archaeological Discussion of Writing Practice: Deconstruction of the Ancient Egyptian Scribe* (GHP Egyptology 23, London, 2015), pp. 23–99; J. Cashman, 'The Scribal Palette as an Elite Gift in New Kingdom Egypt', in: P. Kousoulis – N. Lazaridis (eds), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, 22–29 May 2008* (OLA 241, Leuven, 2015), *passim*.

4 Redwan, *op. cit.*, pp. 1287–1288.

5 Redwan, *op. cit.*, pp. 1283–1287.

6 Redwan, *op. cit.*, pp. 1281–1284.

7 E.g. Appendix 24, 38 and 39.

8 E.g. Appendix 1, 2, 16, 34 and 37.

9 E.g. Appendix 23 and 30.

10 Palette British Museum EA 5518, see Appendix, 22; palette Museo Egizio Cat. 6221, see https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/Cat_6221; palette Louvre N 2241, see Ch. Ziegler (ed.), *Pharaon: exposition présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe à Paris, du 15 octobre 2004 au 10 avril 2005* (Paris, 2004), p. 104; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010009682. In addition, palette Louvre N 3015 may have incised notches on the top left corner of the topside, see É. Delange – Ch. Ziegler (eds), *La vie au bord du Nil au temps des pharaons: Calais, Musée des beaux-arts*

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probably to create a ruler. Further down the same thickness, it is incised with short notches to indicate digits.[11] Finally, a good number of scribal palettes were used as a surface for inscriptions and drawings in ink. These inscriptions will be the focus of this contribution, starting with palette AH 130 in the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

Scribal palette AH 130
Unknown provenience, 19th Dynasty (?)
TM 1000247

Description

Palette AH 130 (Figs 1–3) was acquired by the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities (RMO) in 1828 as part of the first collection of Giovanni d'Anastasi,[12] without any indication of its original findspot. The rectangular scribal palette is of a simple design without incised inscriptions, cut from a single piece of dark wood to a length of 37.2 cm and a width of 5.2 cm. In the upper part of the topside, two oval-shaped inkwells are cut. Scribal palettes are often decorated to form a *shen* sign with finely incised lines around the well.[13] This decoration seems to be absent in AH 130, although it is possible that the *shen* rings are hidden by the layers of pigment around the inkwells.[14] The upper well was used for red pigment and the lower for black pigment, going against the typical arrangement that prefers the black pigment over the red.[15] In the topside, a long slot for pens is cut out from the bottom of the palette, leaving a small bridge across. The slot slopes upwards to a point some 5 cm below the lower inkwell. Below the bridge, the slot is covered by a thin sliding lid. Both lateral sides of the thickness are covered in black ink, with some of the pigment going over the edges onto the topside and underside. This may be an indication that the edges of the palette were used to draw straight lines, effectively functioning as a ruler; cf. several other palettes.

Palette AH 130 is well preserved and intact, apart from small cracks in the wood and small chips that have been lost around the opening for the lid and at the lower corners. These minor damages and the scratches on the surface of the underside give the impression that the palette was extensively used in antiquity. The upper half of the topside of the palette is very stained. The area around the upper inkwell was used to try out the red ink and perhaps mix it with water. An even larger area, mostly below the lower inkwell, was used for potentially mixing and trying out the black pigment. Remarkably, the area between the top of the bridge of the pen slot and the lower inkwell was possibly used to try out what appears to be a white pigment, despite the absence of an inkwell for this colour. The white stains cover the black and red stains and attest to a later use. To this same later phase date the many smaller stains of white pigment that cover the topside. Around the edges of the topside, a scribe seems to have cleaned the pen from the white pigment.

The material and the design of AH 130 are similar to other wooden scribal palettes, notably Leiden Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AH 134 and Louvre E 5722.[16] Both palettes are also of unknown provenience and a New Kingdom date, but have *shen* rings incised around the inkwells. Louvre E 5722 has nearly the same dimensions as AH 130. Like AH 130, AH 134 was acquired from the collection of D'Anastasi. It has the same width as AH 130 and is about 3 cm shorter. Palette British Museum EA 5513 is of approximately the same design and size as AH 130 but has *shen* rings incised around the inkwells, an incised inscription with the cartouche of Amenhotep III in hieroglyphs at the top, as well as the owner's name and titles incised in the slot just above the bridge.[17] The palette may have come from Saqqara. The aforementioned palette Louvre N 2241 has nearly the same dimensions, has *shen* rings incised around the inkwells and has a hieroglyphic inscription with the cartouche of Tutankhamun incised at the top. The palette was found at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Finally, palette Louvre N 3015, also mentioned above, has a similar design but has two columns of incised hieroglyphic

et de la dentelle, novembre 1980–février 1981 (Calais, 1980), p. 21; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl01000592 8.

11 See Appendix, 15. Compare Petrie Museum UC 16054 (see Appendix, 30), a palette that may have ink markings to form a ruler.

12 C. LEEMANS, *Description raisonnée des monumens égyptiens du musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (Leiden, 1840), p. 110, I 302. C. LEEMANS, *Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden*, II. *Monumenten behoorende tot het burgerlijke leven* (Leiden, 1846), p. 14, pl. XCVI, I 302; P. TER KEURS – W. WIRTZ (eds), *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Leiden: Een geschiedenis van 200 jaar* (Zwolle, 2018), pp. 72–78, 79–85, 108–111.

13 REDWAN, 'Scribal Palette', in: *Studies Hawass*, 3, p. 1278.

14 This will be explored in a paper in preparation by Grzegorz Nehring and Daniel Soliman.

15 Cf. S.R.K GLANVILLE, 'Scribes' Palettes in the British Museum. Part I', *JEA* 18 (1932), p. 54.

16 See Appendix, 34.

17 GLANVILLE, 'Scribes' Palettes', *JEA* 18, pp. 57–58, pls VI. 3 and VIII. 2; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA5513.

inscriptions and *shen* rings around the inkwells. It is of nearly the same length but is 2 cm wider. The palette is dated to the 18th Dynasty and of unknown provenience.

Infrared Reflectography (Grzegorz Nehring)[18]

As will be become clear further below, scribal palette AH 130 was studied with infrared reflectography, which resulted in a particularly interesting image of the underside of the palette. To enhance the legibility of the faded ink inscription on this face of the palette, which is partially obstructed by a thin layer of unknown deposits, we employed an infrared camera to capture this surface. The technique of visualizing carbon-rich pigments using infrared reflectography is a well-known method commonly used to reveal underdrawings in paintings.[19] Recently, infrared reflectography has been also successfully applied for the typology and characterization of black writing inks.[20] As the person(s) who inscribed palette AH 130 most likely used a carbon-based ink, known for its light-absorbing properties, the image produced using infrared reflectography eliminates the surface deposits to reveal the ink inscriptions more clearly (Fig. 5). This effect occurs due to the absorbance of infrared light by the pigment used by the scribe, as well as the transparency of other layers in the selected region of the electromagnetic spectrum.

Infrared reflectography was conducted with the Opus Instruments APOLLO camera. This Infrared Reflectography (IRR) imaging system is equipped with a 128 × 128 pixel, Short Wave Infrared (SWIR) area scanning InGaAs sensor sensitive between 900 and 1700 nm. Thanks to the area sensor, the camera captures images up to 26 MP by taking and automatically stitching thousands of tiles. The full-frame scan, equivalent to 5100 × 5100 pixels, takes approximately 22 minutes. The objects were illuminated with dual-channel SWIR (1050 and 1450 nm) 4W LED panels designed by Ivan Shevchuk and Kyle Huskin from the University of Hamburg's CSMC, together with the Polish company Involutech®. The working distance was set to 91.5 cm, and the LED panels were set to 1450 nm illumination. The images were captured with the aperture set to f/5.6 and an acquisition time of 50 ms per tile. For image flattening, Epson Enhanced Matte Finish paper KAF250 was used. The registered files were corrected using the freeware image processing software Hoku. Additionally, the images were normalized to Spectralon reflectance standards. To further improve the reading of the erased writing, in one case, Contrast-Limited Adaptive Histogram Equalization (CLAHE) was applied using the MPICBG plugin in Fiji: ImageJ software. The following parameters were used: block size: 50; bins: 256; max slope: 2.5.

Inscriptions and Drawings on Palette AH 130

The topside of palette AH 130 appears to have been used on more than one occasion as a surface for writing and drawing. A greyish veil over the lower half indicates that inscriptions in black ink were erased, and the faded colour of some of the remaining inscriptions suggest that some are older than others. The inscriptions on the topside can be interpreted as a figurative drawing, a hieratic inscription, and isolated signs and strokes that are perhaps a calligraphic exercise, doodles and trials of the individual(s) who had used the palette.

At the top of the topside are scribbles in black ink that pertain the latter category. They cannot be read as hieroglyphic or hieratic signs with any certainty. It is, moreover, unclear if they were added at the same time because of the variation in the orientation and thickness of the strokes. Perhaps they are trial strokes to test the ink on the pen of the user. On the bridge of the pen slot, traces of a column of hieratic signs in fine strokes can be seen (Fig. 4). They are tentatively identified as the word *bꜣk*, 'servant'. No other signs belonging to this inscription can be identified with any certainty, and with little else to go on the meaning of the text remains obscure. Perhaps the word was once part of the phrase *bꜣk ḏd ḥr nb=f mrr.w=f ꜥnḫ=f*, 'the servant says before his master whom he wishes to live', the first sentence of the Kemyt text. This suggestion has a parallel in Louvre AF 12725,[21] a New Kingdom scribal palette of unknown provenience that bears this phrase in a black ink hieratic inscription on the underside. The other scribbles on the lower half of the topside of AH 130 are difficult to interpret. At the top of the sliding lid is perhaps an isolated instance of the hieratic sign *sš* (Gardiner sign Y3), possibly written as a trial sign. To the left of it

18 Our thanks go to Ivan Shevchuk and Kyle Huskin for their help in conducting IRR imaging and data handling.

19 J.R.J. VAN ASPEREN DE BOER, 'Infrared Reflectography: a Method for the Examination of Paintings', *Applied Optics* 7.9 (1968), pp. 1711–1714.

20 G. NEHRING – O. BONNEROT – M. GERHARDT – M. KRUTZSCH – I. RABIN, 'Looking for the Missing Link in the Evolution of Black Inks', *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 13 (2021), https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-021-01320-5; C. COLINI – I. SHEVCHUK – K.A. HUSKIN – I. RABIN – O. HAHN, 'A New Standard Protocol for Identification of Writing Media', in: J.B. QUENZER (ed.), *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts* (Berlin – Boston, 2021), pp. 161–182.

21 See Appendix, 32.

is a series of three hourglass-shaped signs one above the other. The middle sign differs from the other two, as an additional vertical line extends from the top right corner of the sign to the bottom right corner. The meaning of this sign is unclear. Hourglass-shaped signs are well-attested in ancient Egypt as masons' marks, quarry marks and identity marks.[22] At New Kingdom Deir el-Medina, for example, the sign was a used as an identity mark by generations of necropolis workmen, notably by Irysu and Nesamun (III) during the beginning of the 20th Dynasty and later by Khons (VI).[23] These men may, however, not be signified by the hourglass-shaped sign on scribal palette AH 130, as there are no clear indications that the object comes from Deir el-Medina. The three signs could therefore be meaningless doodles. Halfway of the lower half of the topside is drawn a large hieratic rendition of (Gardiner sign D34), the arms with shield and battle axe, with phonetic value *ʿḥ3*. It appears to be a trial sign with no relation to other inscriptions on the palette. Below this sign is a drawing in black ink along the width of the palette of an eye with pupil and eyebrow. It is somewhat similar to the drawing of the head of a man with a prominently drawn eye and eyebrow on the underside of scribal palette Louvre N 3014, dated to the reign of Ramesses II.[24]

Like the lower part of the topside, the underside of palette AH 130 has a greyish hue with darker spots, which appear to be older inscriptions in black ink that had been erased in antiquity. Thanks to the image produced with infrared reflectography as described above, some of these inscriptions have now become more visible (Fig. 5). The image shows that in the upper right corner is a column of large, simple but monumental hieroglyphs drawn in black ink. Recognisable are (perhaps among other unidentifiable signs or drawings) from top to bottom, a locust (Gardiner sign L4), a baboon (Gardiner sign E32), a monkey (Gardiner sign E33), a falcon (Gardiner sign G5) and a bull (Gardiner sign E1). The animals do not seem to have been arranged in any particular order and their sequence does not, for example, clearly relate to the list of animals in the Ramesseum Onomasticon (P. Berlin 10495).[25] While the falcon followed by the bull are reminiscent of the Horus names of several New Kingdom pharaohs, no signs are visible below the bull to warrant such a reading. Neither are the animals drawn large enough to interpret them as sketches, although all five animals are attested in drawings on New Kingdom ostraca.[26] As the drawings or signs do not constitute a word or a sentence and, given their relatively large size, they are presumably trial or calligraphic practice signs. Similar drawings or signs of animals are attested in the New Kingdom on ostraca[27] and in the margins of hieratic papyri.[28]

The upper half of the underside contains three hieroglyphic inscriptions in black ink (Fig. 6). The first is written in two columns of cursive hieroglyphs and consists of the name and titles of the goddess Hathor:

ḥw.t-ḥr ḥrỉ.t-tp wȝs.t
ḥnw.t smỉ.t ỉmnt.t
Hathor, who is at the head of Thebes,
Mistress of the Western Desert.

22 B. HARING, *From Single Sign to Pseudo Script: An Ancient Egyptian System of Workmen's Identity Marks* (CHANE 93, Leiden–Boston, 2018), pp. 44; 45; B.J.J. HARING and O.E. KAPER (eds), *Pictograms or Pseudo Script? Non-Textual Identity Marks in Practical Use in Ancient Egypt and Elsewhere* (EgUit 25, Leuven, 2009), pp. 45, 90, 99, 166, 178.

23 M. COLLIER, 'Integrating Hieratic and Marks Data for the Prosography of Deir el-Medina Workmen in the Early to the Mid 20th Dynasty', in: B.J.J. HARING – K.V.J. VAN DER MOEZEL – D.M. SOLIMAN (eds), *Decoding Signs of Identity. Egyptian Workmen's in Archaeological, Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Perspective* (EgUit 32, Leuven, 2018), pp. 138, 140; D. SOLIMAN, *Of Marks and Men: the Functional and Historical Context of the Workmen's Marks of the Royal Theban Necropolis* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Leiden, 2016), p. 518.

24 See Appendix, 36.

25 A.H. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), p. 9, pl. IIA.

26 Compare ostraca with locusts: London UC 33231 (A. PAGE, *Ancient Egyptian Figured Ostraca in the Petrie Collection* (Warminster, 1983), p. 53, fig. 77); Berlin 21452 (E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder* [*Bildostraka*] *der deutschen Museen und Sammlungen* [Wiesbaden, 1956], p. 118, pl. XLI; Cairo CG 2446 (J. VANDIER D'ABBADIE, *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh* [nos 2256 à 2722] [DFIFAO 2.2, Cairo, 1937]), pl. LX); an ostracon with a baboon: Leipzig 1643 (BRUNNER-TRAUT, *Scherbenbilder*, p. 112, pl. XL); an ostracon with a monkey: London UC 1585 (PAGE, *Figured Ostraca*, p. 42, fig. 61); ostraca with bulls: Cairo CG 2754 and CG 2763 (J. VANDIER D'ABBADIE, *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh* [nos 2734 à 3053] [DFIFAO 2.4, Cairo, 1959], pl. C); Berlin 21470 (BRUNNER-TRAUT, *Scherbenbilder*, p. 107, pl. XXXVIII).

27 Compare ostraca Cairo CG 2931 and 3003 (VANDIER D'ABBADIE, *Catalogue des ostraca figures* [nos 2734 à 3053], pls CXXXIV and CL); Berlin 21465 (BRUNNER-TRAUT, *Scherbenbilder*, p. 112, pl. XXXIX); BTdK 273, 320 and 502 (A. DORN, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige: ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie* [*ca. 1150 v. Chr.*] [AegHel 23, Basel, 2011], pp. 303, 314, 362; pls 244–245, 274–275, 434–435).

28 Ch. RAGAZZOLI, *Scribes: les artisans du texte de l'Égypte ancienne* (*1550–1000*) (Paris, 2019), pp. 91–97.

Both epithets are attested for Hathor during the New Kingdom.[29] The name of Hathor is written with a single sign, the square temple plan, omitting the Horus falcon in the middle. The sign for *tp* is incorrectly oriented to the left, and the signs *ḥnw* and *t* in *ḥnw.t* and the sign with the three desert hills in *ỉmnt.t* are not much more than horizontal ticks.

The second inscription is similarly unorthodox at places. It consists of a single column of hieroglyphs and contains a phrase reminiscent of the first sentence of the Kemyt text:

sḏm {mr} ⟨-ꜥš⟩=f mr⟨r⟩=k
His servant whom you love.

This reading of the column is tentative and requires some emendations. In the writing of *ꜥš*, the arm for the *ꜥayin* is omitted and the pool sign for *š* is written as the word *mr* 'canal' with Gardiner sign N37. The expected gemination of the *r* in *mrr=k* is not spelled out, and the determinative of the seated man with his hand to his mouth (Gardiner sign A2) seems to have been forgotten first and then superimposed on the sign for the suffix *=k*. This may be the reason for the repetition of the determinative just left of the column. Immediately above the second determinative is a repetition of the sign group for *wꜣs.t* from the inscription above. Here, the city determinative is omitted. Below it is perhaps a variation on the sign for *smỉ.t* in the top inscription. The deviating orientation in the signs, the repetition of signs and sign groups, and the writing mistakes suggest that these hieroglyphic inscriptions are writing exercises.

The lower half of the underside is inscribed in black ink with a mostly hieratic inscription in ten continuous lines (Fig. 7). The text consists of phrases, most of which are know from prayers and hymns to the god Amun-Re:

1 *ỉnḏ ḥr*
2 *kꜣ=k ỉnḏ ḥr*
3 *kꜣ=k rᶜ nb pꜣ*
4 *ỉỉ nb ḥḳꜣ ỉdb.wỉ*
5 *nb pt ḳmꜣ wnn⟨.t⟩*
6 *m nṯr ᶜꜣ nn*
7 *rḫ.tw sšm{sw}=f*
8 *nḏ{.w} n mꜣ*
9 *ꜣ ḥꜣw.t ỉmn*
10 *-rᶜ pꜣwtỉ tꜣ.wỉ*
(1) Hail to (2) your *ka*, hail to (3) your *ka*, every day, my (4) lord, ruler of the two banks, (5) lord of the sky, the one who creates that which exists (6) as a great god, not (7) is his shape known, (8) he who protects the one who sees (9) the face of Amun- (10) Re, the primordial one of the two lands.

The opening of text with *ỉnḏ ḥr kꜣ=k* is remarkable because the preposition *ḥr* is here followed by the noun *kꜣ* instead of the expected suffix pronoun. There are Book of the Dead texts in which the *ka* of the deceased or of Osiris is greeted, but always as *ỉnḏ ḥr=k kꜣ=ỉ* 'Hail to you, my *ka*'[30] or *ỉnḏ ḥr=k kꜣ pn n wsỉr* 'Hail to you, this *ka* of Osiris'.[31] In prayers and hymns, the *ka* of a deity is not usually invoked in this manner either,[32] but there is a close parallel in TT

29 *LGG* V, pp. 203, 447.

30 E.g. Book of the Dead of Maiherperi, P. Cairo CG 24095, l. 120; Book of the Dead of Nu, P. BM EA 10477, l. 2.

31 E.g. Book of the Dead of Tasjerytentaihet, P. Leiden AMS 42, l. 28.

32 This phrasing is not attested in H. GRAPOW, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander*

218, the tomb of Amennakht (xxi) and Iyemwaw (iii) at Deir el-Medina from the 19th Dynasty. There, the god Re is greeted: 'Hail to you, hail to your *ka*, hail to your *ka*, every day'.[33] In lines 3 and 4 of the hieratic inscription on palette AH 130, Amun-Re is described as 'my lord' with the possessive pronoun *pꜣỉỉ* in an expression used for gods and kings that is not uncommon in prayers.[34] The titles 'ruler of the two banks' (line 4) and 'lord of the sky' (line 5) are well-attested for Amun and Amun-Re in the New Kingdom.[35] The epithets 'the one who creates that which exists' (line 5) and 'the primordial one of the two lands' (line 10) are similarly common for Amun and Amun-Re,[36] describing the god as the demiurge who forms time and the world.[37] The latter title may be a reference to Amun-Re as progenitor of other primordial gods.[38] The spelling of the verb *ḳmꜣ* with the omitted owl (Gardiner sign G17) after the *alef* deviates from the orthography. The following phrase 'not is his shape known' finds parallels and similar formulations in hymns to Amun and Re from the Ramesside Period and more specifically the 19th Dynasty.[39] The word *sšm* in line 7 is strangely written with a phonetic complement *s*(*w*) instead of the expected *m*. I have not been able to find a parallel for the sentence in lines 8–10, which seems to contradict somewhat the proceeding sentence: although Amun-Re's shape is unknown, he protects those who see his face[40] – the word *ḥꜣ.t* is here written with the superfluous coil (Gardiner sign Z7) and divine determinative (Gardiner sign G7). This seemingly contradictory expression may be compared to a hymn to Amun as Atum and Rehorakhty, in which the god is described as both majestic of face (*šfỉỉ ḥꜣ.ti*) and secret of being, keeping himself hidden (*štꜣ ỉrw* [*sš*]*tꜣ sw*).[41] Other hymns point to the significance of facing Amun in his various forms. In a 19th Dynasty hymn to Amun on P. Leiden I 344 = AMS 27, it is said that the people's hearts live when they see the god,[42] and that their faces jubilate upon seeing him.[43]

Other Inscribed Palettes

To place the inscriptions on palette AH 130 in a broader context, a survey of other scribal palettes with ink inscriptions is presented in the appendix. Although an effort was made to collect all published examples, this survey certainly will not be exhaustive. It lists the 39 palettes dated in and around the New Kingdom (Dynasties 17–21) known to me.[44] Indeed, most scribal palettes with ink inscriptions are of a New Kingdom date, although much earlier[45] and later[46] examples exist. With the exception of the two palettes in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Appendix, 16–17) and one in Marseille (Appendix 13), I have not personally examined the palettes listed in the appendix and often had to rely on the available descriptions and photographs. Therefore, the data in the survey may not always be complete, accurate or fully reliable.

Evidently, scribal palettes did not have to remain pristine, regardless of the material from which they were cut. Like palette AH 130, all other scribal palettes with ink inscriptions are made from wood, apart from two examples that are cut from ivory. Inscribed palettes occur in a wide range of sizes, suggesting they may have been used in various Egyptian regions and social and functional spheres. Most palettes do not have a documented archaeological context, but in five instances it is evident that the palette was found in a tomb. Such a context is plausible for the other palettes too, particularly because sixteen palettes come from major New Kingdom cemeteries (Thebes, including Deir el-Medina and Qurna: 8 instances; Saqqara: 4 instances; Gurob: 2 instances; Sedment: 2 instances).

sprachen (DAWB SSA 26, Berlin, 1960), pp. 54–58.

33 *ỉnḏ ḥr=k ỉnḏ ḥr kꜣ=k ỉnḏ ḥr kꜣ=k rˁ nb*, see J. ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern* (Theben 1, Mainz am Rhein, 1983), p. 294.

34 GRAPOW, *Wie die alten Ägypter*, pp. 9–14.

35 *LGG* III, p. 624; *LGG* V, p. 499.

36 *LGG* VII, p. 189–191; *LGG* III, p. 23.

37 G. BORGES PIRES, 'Time of Creation, Creation of Time: Notes on the Making of Time in Six Religious Hymns of the New Kingdom (ca. 1539–1077 BCE)', *JAEI* 38 (2023), pp. 48–49, 62 n. 8.

38 J. ZANDEE, *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (*OMRO* 28, Leiden, 1947), p. 79; K. SETHE, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs* (APAWB 1929/4, Berlin, 1929), p. 84.

39 ZANDEE, *De hymnen*, pp. 38, 81; J. ZANDEE, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso* (CNAML 7, Leiden, 1992), pp. 733–740; ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 204, 253; H.-W. FISCHER-ELFERT, 'Versatzstücke eines Hymnus an den Sonnen- und Schöpfergott (O. Lg Ae BJF 31a, O. ANAsh.Mus. H.O. 302 + 342 etc. und Lied Nr. 100 des Großen Leidener Liederzyklus I 350)', *ZÄS* 149 (2022), p. 4.

40 *Wb.* 3, 19. 2.

41 ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 18, 259.

42 ZANDEE, *Der Amunhymnus*, pp. 45–49.

43 ZANDEE, *Der Amunhymnus*, p. 1025.

44 Excluded here is palette Louvre N 3015 (see footnote 10), of which the underside may show traces of a completely erased ink inscription.

45 E.g. London UC 16394, dated to the reign of Pepi I, see W.M.F. PETRIE, *Objects of Daily Use* (BSAE, London 1927), p. 64, no. 41, pl. LVII.41; https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/Details/collect/30454.

46 E.g. Brooklyn Museum 16.611, dated to the Late Period, see https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/10100.

Many of the palettes show traces of palimpsest. The attested ink inscriptions are rarely written in hieroglyphic script (7 instances) and occur predominantly in hieratic (31 instances). The ink inscriptions can be categorised as follows: documentary texts (22 instances), dedicatory texts (5 instances), literary texts (2 instances), isolated (trial) signs (10 instances), and drawings (4 or 5 instances).

Discussion

Although the design of palette AH 130 is somewhat similar to examples from the second half of the 18th Dynasty, textual parallels for the hieratic hymn on the underside of the palette suggest a date in the 19th Dynasty. To this time date several other inscribed palettes. Nothing can be said about the palette's provenience with any certainty, but the textual references to Amun-Re and Hathor of Thebes render a Theban origin plausible. Parallels suggest that the palette probably comes from a funerary context. Should one accept the proposed Theban provenience, the hourglass-shaped signs on the topside could be considered as the identity mark of a royal necropolis workman from Deir el-Medina.

There are numerous indications that the palette was extensively used before the possible deposit in a burial. This is evident from the traces of wear and tear on the underside, the areas on the topside around the inkwells that were used to try out and perhaps mix the pigment, and the trial strokes. The black ink on the edges of the long sides of the palette may be the result of the usage as a ruler. The white pigment on the topside demonstrates that at one point the palette might not have been used to produce documentary texts but for painting objects, decorated walls or funerary papyri. Indeed, the drawing of the eye shows that someone who used the palette had a steady hand and a good sense of Egyptian artistic proportions. Moreover, the hieratic and hieroglyphic inscriptions on the underside suggest that the palette was used in a context in which these two scripts were relevant.

While palette AH 130 was used for writing and painting acts, it may not necessarily have been deposited in the burial of the person who used it.[47] Still, if the palette was indeed part of a funerary context, it may have been situated in close proximity to the body of the deceased. This is suggested by scribal palettes from documented finds that were discovered often with other scribal equipment next to the coffin,[48] on top of the coffin,[49] or on the body of the deceased.[50]

As the survey shows, palette AH 130 belongs to a well-attested group of inscribed objects from the New Kingdom. There are various parallels for its hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions, isolated trial and calligraphic hieratic signs and drawing, as well as the fact that the palette probably received several other inscriptions which were later erased. The combination on palette AH 130 of textual and figurative ink inscriptions, and the series of animals that are difficult to categorise, while not often attested on other palettes, corresponds to the fact that text and image went hand in hand in ancient Egypt.[51] Nevertheless, the literary character of the hieratic hymnic text, the hieroglyphic text that mentions a servant and the traces of what may perhaps be the first sentence of the Kemyt is uncommon, with the only clear parallel found on Louvre AF 12725.[52]

The possible relation between the two aforementioned inscriptions on AH 130 and the Kemyt text would fit with other ink inscriptions on the palette that probably were made as scribal exercises. The Kemyt composition is thought to have been used to train New Kingdom individuals to write hieroglyphs in columns and read classical literature.[53] Several ink inscriptions on the palette also show the hallmarks of a person who was practising writing and drawing. To begin, there are the irregularities in the orientation of signs, orthography and grammar of the hieratic and hieroglyphic texts. Isolated and repeated signs can be explained as trail signs. In addition, the large hieratic sign, the drawing of the eye, and the series of animals are reminiscent of isolated hieratic signs and

47 M.S. Pinarello, 'The Platypus Paradox: An Archaeological Approach to Ancient Egyptian Writing Practices', in: F.A.J. Hoogendijk – S. Van Gompel (eds), *The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt: New Approaches to the Study of Textual Material from the Early Pharaonic to the Late Antique Period* (P. L.Bat. 35, Leiden, 2018), p. 17.

48 S.T. Smith, 'Intact Tombs' of the 17th and 18th Dynasties from Thebes and the New Kingdom Burial System', *MDAIK* 48 (1992), p. 208.

49 J. Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt: A Report of Excavations Made in the Necropolis of Beni Hassan during 1902-3-4* (London, 1907), p. 77.

50 G. Brunton – R. Engelbach, *Gurob* (BSAE 41, London, 1927), pl. XV.223; Ch. Lilyquist, 'Twelve Carnarvon Writing Boards and their Provenances', *JEA* 105 (2019), p. 160. See also Appendix, 4.

51 U. Verhoeven, 'Writing Wherever Possible and Meaningful: Graffiti Culture in Ancient Egypt. Context, Terminology, Documentation', in: O. Škrabal – L. Mascia – A.L. Osthof – M. Ratzke (eds), *Graffiti Scratched, Scrawled, Sprayed: Towards a Cross-Cultural Understanding* (SMC 35, Berlin – Boston, 2023), p. 49.

52 See Appendix, 32.

53 L. Díaz Iglesias-Llanos, 'Linear Hieroglyphs', in: A. Stauder – W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (2023), p. 12.

drawings in the margins of hieratic papyri from the New Kingdom, made as calligraphic exercises and trials.[54]

Scribal palette AH 130 and several of the 38 other palettes constitute, therefore, an often-overlooked object group in the realm of writing surfaces that include walls inscribed with graffiti and dipinti, papyrus sheets, ostraca and writing boards. Besides their practical function and their social and religious connotations, the scribal palette could be used in the New Kingdom much like writing boards to accommodate a variety of activities performed with pen and ink: drawing, doodling, practising writing and calligraphy, and writing (drafts of) documentary texts and literary works such as the Kemyt and hymns.[55] This is well illustrated by writing board Ashmolean Museum 1948.91 from the early 18th Dynasty, which is palimpsest like many other writing boards and scribal palettes. The writing board in question is inscribed with administrative notes, a hymn to the Nile – interpreted as a scribal exercise – and drawings of grasshoppers and a falcon's head with a sun disk encircled by an uraeus.[56] The ink inscriptions on this writing board compare well to those on scribal palette British Museum EA 36825 (Appendix, 28). This palette is inscribed in ink with two cursive hieroglyphic signs, probably written as trial signs, and a similar drawing of a falcon's head with a sun disk.

It should probably come as no surprise that the very tool carried by individuals who practised drawing and writing in ink on writing boards could be used by the same persons as a (temporary) writing surface in the same way as a writing board. The writing board and the scribal palette both belonged to sets of writing equipment and have been found together in the archaeological record.[57] Moreover, like scribal palettes, writing boards are recorded to have been deposited close to the body of the deceased. Writing board Ashmolean Museum 1948.91, for example, was tied to a scribal palette and placed on the mummified body.[58] Palette AH 130 and many of the other New Kingdom scribal palettes should be viewed in this light. They are multipurpose tools used for writing and painting acts, often in combination with other scribal tools and occasionally in the context of learning and training. As status symbols and practical tools, sometimes inscribed with drawings and texts that invoked deities, to were meant to serve their purposes also in the afterlife.

54 RAGAZZOLI, *Scribes*, pp. 57–62, 91–96.

55 F. HAGEN, 'An Eighteenth Dynasty Writing Board (Ashmolean 1948.91) and the Hymn to the Nile', *JARCE* 49 (2003), p. 85.

56 HAGEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–82.

57 SMITH, 'Intact Tombs', *MDAIK* 48, 208; PINARELLO, *Archaeological Discussion*, pp. 33–35; PIACENTINI, 'Équipements de scribe', pp. 569–570; LILYQUIST, 'Carnarvon Writing Boards', *JEA* 105, p. 160.

58 LILYQUIST, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

Appendix

1. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, KS 3136[59]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the reign of Thutmose III. L.: 37.5 cm; W.: 11 cm. From a tomb in Saqqara. Inscribed on the topside in black ink with an effaced hieratic administrative account with below a red dot.

2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 72.4295[60]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the 17th or 18th Dynasty. L.: 38 cm; W.: 5 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed in black ink on the topside and underside with a hieratic administrative account, and with a series of dots on the underside.

3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 39159 = CG 69007[61]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the 19th Dynasty. Dimensions unknown. From a burial cut into the small satellite pyramid of Teti at Saqqara, placed with other scribal tools on the body of the deceased, which was wrapped in two mats. Reportedly with faint traces of a hieratic note written on the underside.

4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 32745 = CG 69008[62]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. L.: 27.6 cm; W.: 3.6 cm; Th.: 0.8 cm. From the vicinity of the pyramid of Iput in Saqqara. Inscribed on the topside in hieratic with administrative accounts in black ink. Reportedly inscribed on the underside with much-effaced hieratic accounts.

59 E. BRESCIANI, *La collezione egizia nel Museo Civico di Bologna* (Antichità archeologia storia dell'arte 2, Ravenna, 1975), p. 37, pl. 13; Ch. LILYQUIST, 'The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology', *MMJ* 23 (1988), pp. 44, 61.

60 https://collections.mfa.org/objects/134685/scribes-palette.

61 J.E. QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara 1906–1907* (Cairo, 1908), p. 3 and pl. XXXVI.1; P. PIACENTINI, 'Les équipements de scribe: des fouilles aux archives', in: Ph. COLLOMBERT – D. LEFÈVRE – S. POLIS – J. WINAND (eds), *Aere perennius: mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus* (OLA 242, Leuven, 2016), p. 571.

62 R. SCHULZ – M. SEIDEL (eds), *Egypt: The World of the Pharaohs* (Cologne, 1998), p. 348, fig. 38; P. PIACENTINI, 'Writing Tools in the Cairo Museum: Preparing the Volume of the CGC', in: Z.A. HAWASS – L. PINCH BROCK (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, 3. *Language, Conservation, Museology* (Cairo, 2003), p. 370; PIACENTINI, 'Équipements de scribe', pp. 569–570.

5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 69017[63]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. Dimensions unknown. From Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Reportedly inscribed on the underside with hieratic accounts.

6. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 32927 = CG 69021[64]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the middle of the 18th Dynasty. Dimensions unknown. From a group of scribal tools and papyri found in front the tomb of Ankhmaahor in the Teti pyramid cemetery in Saqqara. Reportedly inscribed in hieratic on the topside with a single line and on the underside with an administrative account.

7. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 69029[65]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the Ramesside Period. Dimensions and provenience unknown. Reportedly inscribed with a list of names.

8. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.GA.4557.1943[66]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the Third Intermediate Period. Dimensions and provenience unknown. Inscribed in black ink on the topside with unclear strokes, perhaps trail strokes, and what might be the name of the god Thot in hieroglyphs.

9. Durham, Oriental Museum EG1034[67]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom, broken in two fragments. L.: 27.6 cm + 15.2 cm; W.: 6.2 cm; Th.: 1.1 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed on the topside and underside with hieratic texts.

10. Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland, A.1921.1566[68]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the 18th Dynasty. L.: 22.3 cm; W.: 4.9 cm; Th.: 0.8 cm. From Sedment tomb 275. With traces of erased black ink inscriptions of unclear nature on the topside and an isolated bird-shaped sign on the underside.[69]

11. Hannover, Museum August Kestner, 2885[70]
Upper part of a wooden scribal palette dated to the reign of Thutmose III. L.: 19 cm; W.: 7 cm. Provenience unknown, perhaps Memphis. Inscribed in black ink on the topside and underside with a hieratic administrative account.

12. Hildesheim, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, 04/030/10819, 1598[71]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the Ramesside Period. L.: 44 cm; W.: 6 cm; Th.: 1.8 cm. From Deir el-Medina. Inscribed in black ink on the underside in hieratic with an administrative account.

13. Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne – Centre de la Vieille Charité, 477[72]
Wooden scribal palette, probably datable to the New Kingdom. Dimensions and provenance unknown. Inscribed in black ink on the topside with two vertical series of dots in black ink.

14. New York, Brooklyn Museum, 37.450E[73]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. L.: 28.5 cm; W.: 3.8 cm; Th.: 0.9 cm. From Thebes. Inscribed on the topside and underside in black ink with hieratic documentary texts (grain accounts), and with isolated scribbles or signs on the topside.

15. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 47.123a–g[74]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the reign of Smendes II. L.: 48.6 cm; W.: 7.2 cm; Th.: 1.1 cm. Presumably from Thebes. Inscribed in black ink on the underside with a hieratic dedication to the High Priest of Amun Smendes II. Thickness inscribed in black ink with compartmentalised series of dots to create a ruler. Further down, the same thickness is incised with short notches to indicate digits.

63 PM I.2, p. 844; PIACENTINI, 'Writing tools', p. 370.

64 V. LORET, 'Fouilles dans la nécropole Memphite (1897–1899)', *BIE* 10 (1899), p. 98; PM III, p. 557; PIACENTINI, 'Équipements de scribe', pp. 569–570; PIACENTINI, 'Writing tools', p. 370.

65 PIACENTINI, 'Writing tools', p. 370, n. 37.

66 https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/59008.

67 https://discover.durham.ac.uk/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma9910105039184073 66&context=L&vid=44DUR_INST:VU1.

68 https://www.nms.ac.uk/search-our-collections/collection-search-results?entry=304794.

69 I am very grateful to Dr Daniel Potter, curator at the National Museum of Scotland, for providing additional details about this palette.

70 W. HELCK, 'Eine Palette mit Schreibernotizen', *MDAIK* 48 (1992), pp. 41–44; G. ANDREU-LANOË (ed.), *L'Art du contour: le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne. Expositions Musée du Louvre, Musée du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles* (Paris, 2013), p. 144, no. 17.

71 G. ROEDER, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim* (Kunst und Altertum: Alte Kulturen im Lichte neuer Forschung Band 3, Berlin, 1921), p. 134; H. KAYSER, *Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1973), p. 31.

72 M. NELSON, *Catalogue des antiquités Egyptiennes: Collection des musées d'archéologie de Marseille* (Marseille, 1978), p. 31, nr. 63.

73 https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117099.

74 W.C. HAYES, 'Writing Palette of the High Priest of Amūn, Smendes', *JEA* 34 (1948), pp. 47–50; PM I.2, p. 844; https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545113.

16. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AH 130[75]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the 19th Dynasty. L.: 37.2 cm; W.: 5.2 cm; Th.: 0.7 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed on the topside in black ink with perhaps a hieratic literary text (the first sentence of the Kemyt), isolated signs including (trial) signs in hieratic, and the drawing of an eye. Inscribed on the underside in black ink with a hieroglyphic dedicatory text and a hieratic hymn.

17. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AH 134[76]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the late New Kingdom. L.: 33.8 cm; W.: 5.2 cm; Th.: 0.8 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed on the topside and underside with hieratic (?) administrative accounts and on the topside with isolated signs.

18. Liverpool, National Museum, 1973.4.137f[77]
Presumably a fragment of a scribal palette dated to the Ramesside Period. L.: 21.4 cm; W.: 3.5 cm; Th.: 1.0 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed in black ink on both sides with a documentary text in hieratic.

19. London, British Museum, EA 5514[78]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the reign of Ramesses II. L.: 36.6 cm; W.: 5.0 cm; Th.: 1.0 cm. From Thebes. Inscribed at the top of the underside with two lines of a hieratic (documentary?) text.

20. London, British Museum, EA 5515[79]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. L.: 40.2 cm; W.: 5.7 cm; Th.: 0.8 cm. From Thebes (?); reportedly found together with a razor, leather case, writing board and other instruments. The topside has traces of a much-effaced inscription in black ink, probably in hieratic.

21. London, British Museum, EA 5517[80]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the early 18th Dynasty. L.: 35.5 cm; W.: 3.8 cm; Th.: 1.8 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed in black ink on the topside with isolated hieratic (trial) signs.

22. London, British Museum, EA 5518[81]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. L.: 39.4 cm; W.: 5.9 cm; Th.: 1.5 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed in black ink on the topside with a much-effaced hieratic text and on the underside with a documentary text. Above the bridge of the pen slot, the right side is notched as a ruler.

23. London, British Museum, EA 5520[82]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. L.: 50.8 cm; W.: 5.8 cm; Th.: 1.4 cm. Provenience unknown. The topside and underside are inscribed in black ink with various hieratic accounts.

24. London, British Museum, EA 5524[83]
Ivory scribal palette dated to the 18th Dynasty. L.: 30.0 cm; W.: 3.6 cm; Th.: 0.8 cm. From Thebes. Inscribed in black ink on the topside and underside with hieratic administrative accounts.

25. London, British Museum, EA 12783[84]
Wooden scribal palette dated to 18th–19th Dynasty. L.: 38.4 cm; W.: 7.3 cm; Th.: 0.8 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed in black ink on the topside and underside with hieratic administrative accounts.

26. London, British Museum, EA 12784[85]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the reign of Ahmose. L.: 27.8 cm; W.: 3.4 cm; Th.: 0.5 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed in red ink on the underside with a hieratic documentary note.

75 See footnote 12.

76 LEEMANS, *Description raisonnée*, p. 110, I 308; LEEMANS, *Aegyptische Monumenten* II, pl. XCVI; J. MÜHLENBROCK – T. ESCH, *Irrtümer und Fälschungen der Archäologie. Katalog zur Ausstellung in Herne und im Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim* (Herne, 2018), p. 208, cat. 4.3; https://hdl.handle.net/21.12126/22081.

77 https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/scribal-palette-fragment-0.

78 GLANVILLE, 'Scribes' Palettes', *JEA* 18, p. 59, pl. VII.1; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA5514.

79 PM I.2, p. 844; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA5515.

80 GLANVILLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–61, pl. VII.2; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA5517.

81 GLANVILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 59, pl. IX.2–3; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA5518.

82 GLANVILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 61, pl. IX.1, 4; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA5520.

83 PM I.2, p. 843; GLANVILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 56, pl. IV.2–3; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA5524.

84 GLANVILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 58, pl. V.3; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA12783.

85 GLANVILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 55, pl. VI.2; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA12784.

27. London, British Museum, EA 26447[86]
Fragment of a wooden scribal palette dated to the Ramesside Period. L.: 19.2; W.: 4.9 cm; Th.: 0.7 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed on the underside with a hieratic administrative account in black ink. Inscribed on the topside and underside with isolated (trial) signs in black ink.

28. London, British Museum, EA 36825[87]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the 18th Dynasty. L.: 16.5 cm; W.: 6.4 cm; Th.: 1.2 cm. From Thebes. Eighteenth Dynasty. Inscribed on the topside in black ink with two isolated (trial) cursive hieroglyphic signs and a drawing of a falcon's head with a sun disk encircled by an uraeus.

29. London, Petrie Museum, UC 10895[88]
Wooden pen case that may originally have been a scribal palette dated to the 19th Dynasty. L.: 45.0 cm; W.: 4.6 cm. Provenience unknown. Reportedly inscribed in hieratic on the topside, no details available.

30. London, Petrie Museum, UC 16054[89]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the 18–19th Dynasty. L.: 52.3 cm; W.: 4.2 cm; Th.: 1.3 cm. From a tomb at Gurob. Reportedly inscribed in ink on the topside with a hieratic administrative account composed with rows of tally marks made with dots, although these may in fact represent a ruler.

31. London, Petrie Museum, UC 16055[90]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the 19th Dynasty. L.: 35.3 cm; W: 5.1 cm; Th.: 1.2 cm. From a tomb at Gurob. Inscribed on the topside and underside in black ink with a hieroglyphic dedicatory text describing the god Herishef, and with isolated hieratic (?) signs. Drawing of a lion and an anthropomorphic figure of Herishef in black ink on the underside.

32. Paris, Louvre, AF 12725[91]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. L.: 38.8 cm; W.: 4.3 cm; Th.: 1.1 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed on the topside in black ink with a hieroglyphic dedicatory text. Inscribed on the underside in black ink with a hieratic literary text (the first sentence of the Kemyt) and with isolated hieratic signs.

33. Paris, Louvre, E 3669[92]
Ivory scribal palette dated to the middle of the 18th Dynasty. H.: 28.2 cm; W.: 2.6 cm; Th.: 0.7 cm. From Thebes. Inscribed in black ink on the topside with a much-effaced hieratic text, probably of a documentary nature.

34. Paris, Louvre, E 5722[93]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. L.: 36.8 cm; W.: 5.5 cm; Th.: 1.1 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed on the underside in black ink with a documentary text in hieratic and with isolated signs.

35. Paris, Louvre, N 3011[94]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. L.: 26.5 cm; W.: 3.9 cm; Th.: 1.5 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed on the topside and underside in black ink with a hieratic documentary text.

36. Paris, Louvre, N 3014[95]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the reign of Ramesses II. L.: 40.2 cm; W.: 7.5 cm; Th.: 1.1 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed in black ink on the underside in hieroglyphs with a much effaced column and a line of text. Inscribed in black ink on the underside with a drawing of the head of a man.

86 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA26447.

87 GLANVILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 61, pl. VIII.3; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA36825.

88 PETRIE, *Objects of Daily Use*, p. 65, no. 47; https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/Details/collect/15024.

89 PETRIE, *op. cit.*, p. 65, no. 44, pl. LVII.44; A.P. THOMAS, *Gurob, a New Kingdom Town: Introduction and Catalogue of Objects in the Petrie Collection* (EgToday 5, Warminster, 1981), cat. no. 257, pl. 13; https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/Details/collect/26934.

90 PETRIE, *op. cit.*, p. 65, no. 45, pl. LVII.45; THOMAS, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 258, pl. 13; https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/Details/collect/26945.

91 E. DRIOTON, 'La cryptographie par perturbation', *ASAE* 44 (1944), pp. 18–19, 22–23, pl. I.A; S.J. SEIDLMAYER, 'Eine Schreiberpalette mit änigmatischer Aufschrift (Städtische Galerie Liebieghaus / Frankfurt a.M. Inv.-Nr. IN 1899)', *MDAIK* 47 (1991), pp. 319–320; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl01000 6490.

92 ANDREU-LANOË (ed.), *L'Art du contour*, p. 44; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl01000 6122.

93 M. ÉTIENNE (ed.), *Heka: magie et envoûtement dans l'Égypte ancienne. Exposition, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 2000* (Paris, 2000), pp. 46, 48, 105, no. 97; L. BAZIN RIZZO – A. GASSE – F. SERVAJEAN (eds), *À l'école des scribes: les écritures de l'Égypte ancienne* (Milan, 2016), pp. 195, 197, E 59; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl01000 6521.

94 ANDREU-LANOË (ed.), *L'Art du contour*, p. 44; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl01000 6524.

95 ANDREU-LANOË (ed.), *L'Art du contour*, pp. 44, 144–145; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl01000 6537.

37. Philadelphia, Penn Museum, 29-209-7A and -7B[96]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the New Kingdom. L: 37.5; W: 7.2 cm. Provenience unknown. Inscribed on the underside in black ink with a poorly preserved hieratic text of unclear nature.

38. Philadelphia, Penn Museum, E14246[97]
Wooden scribal palette dated to the 18th Dynasty. L.: 30.5 cm; W.: 6.3 cm; Th.: 1.4 cm. From Sedment tomb 263. Inscribed in black ink on the topside with isolated trial strokes. Inscribed on the underside in black ink with an isolated cursive hieroglyphic sign and tally marks.

39. Turin, Museo Egizio, S. 8387[98]
Wooden scribal palette dated between the reign of Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III. L: 30.5 cm; W.: 4.4 cm; Th.: 1.4 cm. From the tomb of Kha, TT 8. Reportedly, the topside and thickness of the palette show traces of inscriptions and black ink and perhaps drawings on the underside.

96 https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/137829; https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/195810.

97 H. Franzmeier, *Die Gräberfelder von Sedment im Neuen Reich: Materielle und kulturelle Variation im Bestattungswesen des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches* (PdÄ 34, Leiden – Boston, 2017), pp. 390, 1015; https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/137842.

98 Pinarello, *Writing Practice*, p. 41; E. Ferraris, *La tomba di Kha e Merit* (Modena, 2018), p. 110; https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/S_8387.

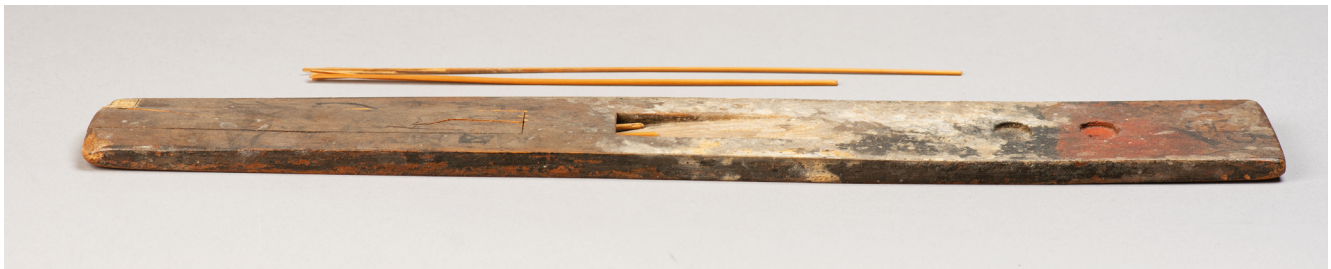

FIGURE 1 Side of scribal palette AH 130
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FIGURE 2 Topside of scribal palette AH 130
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FIGURE 3 Underside of scribal palette AH 130
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FIGURE 4 Ink inscription on the lower half of the topside of AH 130
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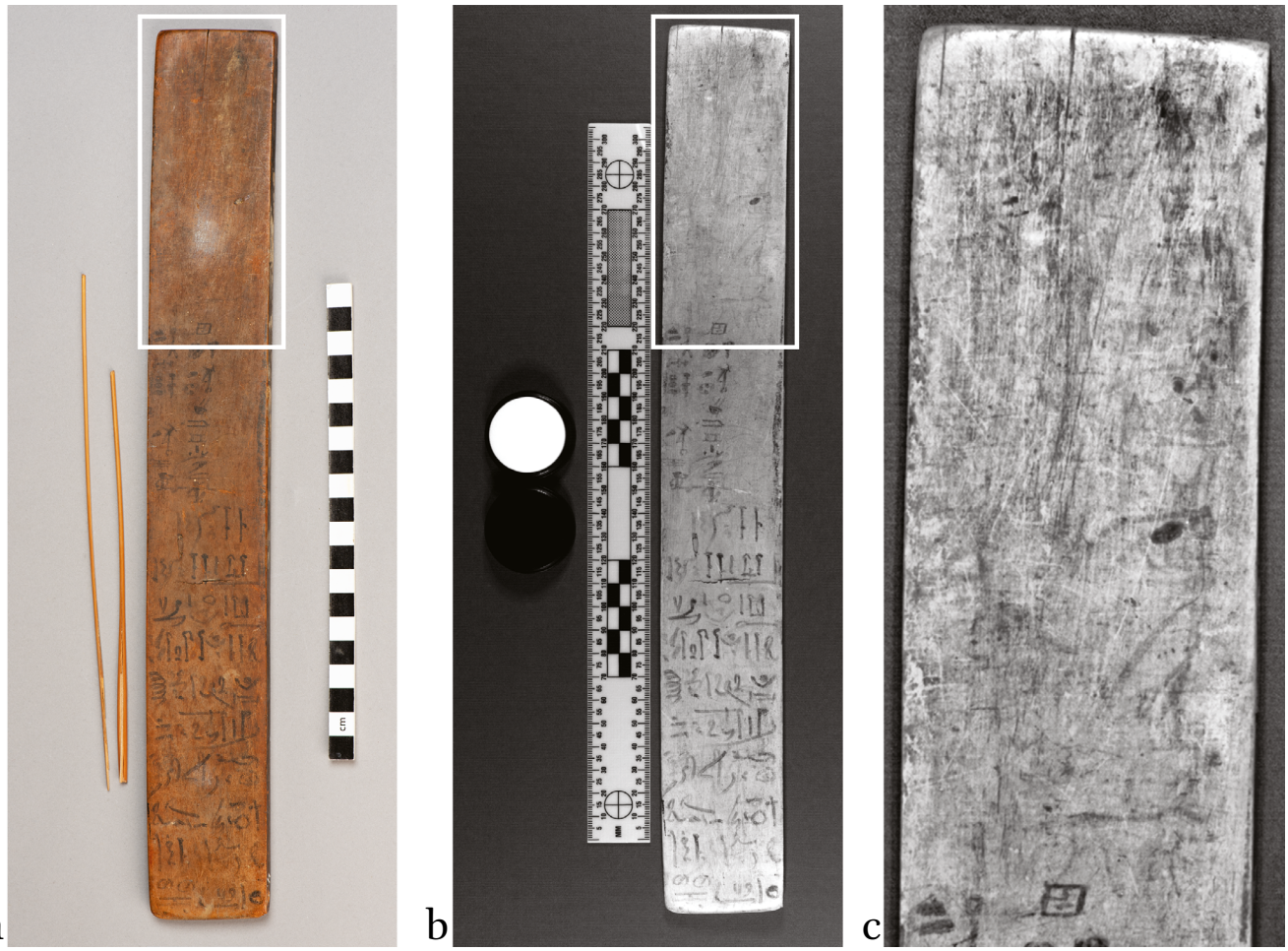

FIGURE 5 The underside of scribal palette AH 130: (a) Visible light image; (b) Results of infrared reflectography; (c) Digitally enhanced detail. The cropped area of the detail is marked with a white frame in both (a) and (b). The infrared image was taken with the Apollo Infrared Camera (Opus instruments) using 1450 nm LED illumination.

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FIGURE 6 Hieroglyphic inscriptions on the underside of AH 130
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FIGURE 7 Hieratic inscription on the underside of AH 130
© RIJKMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

28

A Saqqara Palimpsest Fragment with Scant Traces of Demotic Narrative

John Tait

This edition is a meagre but sincere offering to Koen, in appreciation of all he has done to help colleagues and to advance the subject. May he never tire of tackling the challenges of reading and of understanding even the weirdest of texts!

Saqqara H5-DP 227 [1825]
Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara, early fourth century BCE (?)
TM 1000240

The fragment from North Saqqara published here for the first time yields little text, but there are perhaps several reasons why it is worthwhile to make it known. For one, as far as the present writer is aware, it is the last papyrus fragment of demotic literary narrative (*if* that is indeed its nature) from the Sacred Animal Necropolis (SAN) as yet unpublished;[1] it has been referred to, and colleagues may prefer to know that all the material is in their hands. Also, publication may lead to its rediscovery: for over forty years, its whereabouts have been unknown.[2] It was photographed at a time when colour photography was not normally considered for papyri, and before digital photography became a practicality. Were the fragment now once again to come to light, there can be no doubt that modern imaging techniques would permit more of the writing to be distinguished and read.

Find-Spot and Date

The fragment stems from the 1966–1967 season of the Egypt Exploration Society's work in the SAN.[3] It belonged among the great haul of papyrus fragments that were found scattered through the fill of the 'Northern Enclosure'.[4] The fragment was entered into the Antiquities Service register for the site in April 1967, with the number 1825.[5] Like all

1 Previous publications of demotic narrative material on papyrus from the site are P. Saqqara Dem. I = H.S. Smith – W.J. Tait, *Saqqara Demotic Papyri*, I (EES TEM 7 = Excavations at North Saqqara, Documentary Series 5, London, 1983); in addition, two fragments of mythological narratives have been published more recently: J. Tait, 'Horus and Seth from North Saqqara: A Demotic Papyrus Fragment Excavated by the EES at the Sacred Animal Necropolis', in: B. Bryan – M. Smith – C. Di Cerbo – M. Escolano-Poveda – J.S. Waller (eds), *One Who Loves Knowledge: Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow* (MVCAE 6, Columbus, GA, 2022), pp. 439–452; and J. Tait, 'A Mythological Fragment from North Saqqara', in: A. Almásy-Martin – M. Chauveau – K. Donker van Heel – K. Ryholt (eds), *Ripple in Still Water When There is no Pebble Tossed: Festschrift in Honour of Cary J. Martin* (GHP Egyptology 34, London, 2022), pp. 257–266.

2 To the present writer's personal knowledge, two batches of SAN papyri (evidently stolen from the North Saqqara Magazine No. 8) have surfaced in London with a view to sale, one comprising only SAN material, the other mixed with other fragments. All this SAN material was identified before any sale took place, and was eventually restored to the Egyptian authorities; the intention was that all the SAN papyri, whether recovered from the market or found remaining in Magazine No. 8, should be reunited in Cairo. Further fragments have come to light elsewhere; see H.S. Smith – C.J. Martin – S. Davies, 'The "Horhotep Letters" from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara', *JEA* 100 (2014), p. 440; cf. L. Prada, 'Sex and Gender Balance in Oneirocritic Science: If Ancient Egyptian Women Could *nk*, then Men Were Allowed to Have Erotic Dreams, Too (With the Edition of P. Saqqara EES H5-DP 351 *Recto*)', in: K. Ryholt – A. Jacob – S. Schiødt (eds), *Scientific Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near East: Joint Proceedings of the 1st and 2nd* Scientific Papyri from Ancient Egypt *International Conferences, May 2018, Copenhagen, and September 2019, New York* (New York, 2023), p. 404. However, the fragment published here, H5-DP 227, does not so far seem to have been recognised amongst any of this material.

3 As ever, I am grateful to the EES for its support of work upon the Saqqara textual material, and to all at its London office for their assistance, and to the late Harry Smith, who, as director of the SAN excavations, first invited me to participate in the study of the demotic papyri, for his on-going encouragement; my more recent thanks are due to Koen and to all his colleagues who organized the 2023 Demotic Summer School in Leiden, where this text was presented; to fellow demotists who offered comments at the Summer School; and finally to the editor and reviewers of this volume for their kind help.

4 The context of the fill of the Northern Enclosure has been most fully discussed by H.S. Smith – S. Davies – K.J. Frazer, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Main Temple Complex: The Archaeological Report* (EES EM 75, London, 2006), pp. 111–122. Some implications of the nature of the deposition of the papyrus fragments have been most recently reviewed by J. Tait, 'Issues in the Dating of Saqqara Papyri', in: F. Naether (ed.), *New Approaches in Demotic Studies: Acts of the 13th International Conference of Demotic Studies* (ZÄS Beiheft 10, Berlin – Boston, 2019), pp. 295–302.

5 Fragments up to number H5-DP 306 were relaxed and registered before the end of the 1966–1967 season; fragments H5-DP 307 onwards were dealt with in the following season or later.

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the material from the fill, it should have been deposited no later than the first half of the fourth century BCE.[6] It is imponderable how long a lapse of time should be allowed for the narrative text to have been discarded and the fragment re-used for the account, but a date early in the fourth century might be considered for the narrative text. The place of writing of the account is likely to have been close to the find-spot; that of the narrative is more open to debate.

Description

H. × W. = 19.5 cm × 18.5 cm. The papyrus is virtually all opaque, except where abrasion has made it thinner. There are many holes, some apparently caused by insect damage, but many just owing to wear. The shade of the front surface varies from dark normal to brown; a grey wash covers most of the surface; in various places, however, the general wear that the fragment has suffered has rubbed away this wash. Viewed from the front, there is a sheet-join, about 1.5 cm wide, right-over-left (as normal), 13.5 cm from the right-hand edge, and about 5 cm from the left-hand edge.

The front surface bears two texts. The earlier, plainly, was the narrative text that is the focus of this edition. A deliberate but perfunctory attempt seems to have been made to wipe away this text, presumably to prepare the roll or a portion of the roll for re-use. This hasty cleaning was doubtless the origin of the grey wash. The second use was for an account, written, with the same orientation, in a large, rough, but competent hand, with a thick rush.[7] It is difficult to judge whether or not the fragment, when used for the account, was approximately of the same width as that which now survives; plainly the present uneven bottom edge interrupts both the narrative text and the account.

The narrative text survives as the upper part of a single column,[8] broken at both left and right. The original column-width is therefore unknown, although it is at least possible that it might have been similar to that preserved in P. Saqqara Dem. I, text 2 (27–27.5 cm),[9] or estimated for the Saqqara 'Horus and Seth' fragment H5-DP 79 (roughly 32 cm).[10] The writing is continuous, with no apparent extra spacing inserted between 'paragraphs',[11] or spaces left blank within the text. Although the top edge of the fragment is not fully preserved, it is fairly even, and may well roughly preserve the original edge; if so, the top margin of 3.5 cm is of the same depth as that of the Saqqara 'Horus and Seth' fragment H5-DP 79.[12]

The back surface is blank, except for one ink stroke and a few tiny traces of ink at the middle of the bottom edge (bottom as corresponding on the front) and one near the top. The shade varies from dark normal to brown. The back has, apart from a general dirtiness, no sign of the grey wash present on the front. It may also be a little less badly rubbed. Thus the back surface shows no definite sign of ever having borne any writing.

The image in Figure 1 has been scanned from a b&w negative in the EES archives: regrettably, ink, dirt, marks and holes are often hard to tell apart, and standard photo-editing techniques do not seem to improve matters.[13] Figure 2 shows a bleached reproduction of the fragment, with a schematic copy superimposed of those limited portions of the narrative text for which readings are suggested. Thus it is not a scientific handcopy,[14] and is provided solely in order to help readers find their way about the image in Fig. 1.

Hand

The hand of the narrative text is a little problematic to characterize, because of the heavy damage that the writing has suffered. It is upright[15] and rounded, and

6 See TAIT, 'Issues in the Dating of Saqqara Papyri', in: *New Approaches in Demotic Studies*, pp. 296–297.

7 The numerals would seem to guarantee that this is a practical account, and not any kind of vocabularium.

8 Although there is little legible writing in the left-hand third of the fragment, because the papyrus is very badly rubbed there, no break between columns can be seen: those who studied the original fragment at Saqqara were agreed that there were slight traces of writing throughout, and that thus only one column was preserved.

9 See SMITH – TAIT, *Saqqara Demotic Papyri*, p. 70.

10 See TAIT, 'Horus and Seth from North Saqqara', in: *One Who Loves Knowledge*, p. 442.

11 As found, for example, in P. Saqqara Dem. I, texts 1 and 2: see SMITH – TAIT, *Saqqara Demotic Papyri*, pp. 3, 70, pls 2, 4, 6.

12 See TAIT, 'Horus and Seth from North Saqqara', in: *One Who Loves Knowledge*, p. 442. The top margins of P. Saqqara Dem. I, texts 1 and 2 are a little less deep.

13 The fragment was studied thoroughly at the site in the seventies and eighties: the present writer has the impression that the image reproduced here is actually slightly easier to read than the original.

14 Hatching has been added only where there is a special point in marking that a sign is assumed to be incomplete.

15 Tall vertical strokes are made precisely vertical; the tails of suffix *-f* are freely extended below the line, but vary between curved and almost straight.

the writer has used a fairly thin rush pen. Because of the damage, it is impossible to plot how often the pen was re-dipped; however, it is clear that the pen was refilled at *gm=f* in line 11, and the strokes are thicker in consequence. As in many Saqqara papyri, the hand seems to have a very partial tendency to follow a notional baseline, but not at all any notional headline. The line-spacing is very consistent, with a mean around 9 mm (similar, therefore, to the spacing of much of the Saqqara 'Horus and Seth' fragment H5-DP 79,[16] and only a fraction less than that of the Saqqara mythological fragment 72/73-DP 28).[17] The horizontal spacing-out of the signs is less compressed than that in P. Saqqara Dem. I, texts 1 and 2, and more similar to that of H5-DP 79. However, the hand of H5-DP 227 is clearly not the same as that of H5-DP 79: the hand is more rounded, and the general ductus is a little different.[18] The whole style of writing of 72/73-DP 28 is so unlike, that details need not be considered here.

The dating and characterization of hands from North Saqqara in general remain challenging, but the hand of H5-DP 227 is sufficiently similar to those of some of the other literary papyri from the site that there is little problem in supposing that it comes from the same milieu, and belongs to a roughly similar date to that of the other literary material.

Comment

The nature of this damaged text must remain doubtful, but the following points suggest that it is a narrative: the continuous-text lay-out; the hand; a few (possible) past-narrative verb-forms; a few hints that direct speech was included; the presence of a few phrases that could belong in narrative;[19] and the absence of any clearly documentary vocabulary or phraseology. It is hardly possible to go any further to try to identify the type of composition: a fictional narrative such as those unambiguously evidenced in P. Saqqara Dem. I, texts 1, 1a, 2, 3, and 4 is a possibility, but so also is a mythological narrative such as the two fragments more recently published, mentioned frequently above (H5-DP 79 and 72/73-DP 28).

Transliteration[20]

top margin of about 3.5 cm.

1] *=f* ..... det. (?) *šn=w* ..... *i-ỉr-ḥr pꜣ ... s* .....[...].....[

2]...[.....].....*y* dets (?) ... ⌜*md*(*.t*)⌝ [...].....[..].....[

3]..... *=f*. ...[.....] .. *ḏd*(?)*=f n* (?) *tꜣy-d*(*i*)*t* ..[.]....[...].....[

4].....*=w nꜣ*..... *gm* ... *ḏd*. ....[....].....[

5]....[..].[..].....[...].....[...].. ⌜*wn*⌝ .....[...].....[

6]..... *ỉw t/nꜣ* ...[..] .....[....].....[

7]..[..]..... *d*(*i*)*=w ỉr* .....[.....].....[

8]..[...].....*=w* ⌜*ms*⌝.... *wꜥ.t wnw*(*.t*)....[...]...[...].....[

9]..[...].....*=w* ⌜*i*⌝*-ỉr*. .... *ḏd=w*. ...[...].[....].....[

16 See TAIT, 'Horus and Seth from North Saqqara', in: *One Who Loves Knowledge*, p. 443.

17 See TAIT, 'A Mythological Fragment from North Saqqara', in: *Ripple in Still Water*, p. 258.

18 For the writings of words, very little can be directly compared, but H5-DP 227 does not show the distinctive form of *ḏd* found in H5-DP 79, nor of the definite article *pꜣ* with the left-hand part rising markedly higher than the right-hand part.

19 There are, however, no conspicuous examples of the clichéd idioms typical of demotic stories, unless in line 8 *wꜥ.t wnw*(*.t*), '(at) a moment' (i.e. 'somewhat later', 'on another occasion') is taken to belong to one such; these 'stock' or 'formulaic' phrases have been discussed from a wide variety of different standpoints: see for example recently F. HOFFMANN, *Ägypter und Amazonen: Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri, P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A* (MPER NS 24, Vienna, 1995), p. 17; F. HOFFMANN, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus* (MPER NS 26, Vienna, 1996), p. 34; J. TAIT, 'The Sinews of Demotic Narrative', in: F. HAGEN – J. JOHNSTON – W. MONKHOUSE – K. PIQUETTE – J. TAIT – M. WORTHINGTON (eds), *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches* (OLA 189, Leuven, 2011), pp. 397–410; K. RYHOLT, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library* (CP 10 = CNIP 35, Copenhagen, 2012), pp. 181–208; J.E. JAY, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales* (CHANE 81, Leiden – Boston, 2016), chapter 2, esp. pp. 104–120; chapter 3, esp. pp. 157–182; J.F. QUACK, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte*, 3: *Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur* (Dritte, erneut veränderte Auflage, EQÄ 3, Berlin – Münster, 2016), pp. 18–21; S. VINSON, *The Craft of a Good Scribe: History, Narrative, and Meaning in the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas* (HES 3, Leiden – Boston, 2018), pp. 178–182.

20 The transliteration (as also the translation) tries to omit too speculative readings and restorations (some are mentioned in the notes), but many uncertainties remain.

10]..... *ḫrd ỉrm* ..... *ḥ*ʿ *n* (?) *nsw* .....[..].....[
11]..... *gm=f* ..... *nꜣ* ⸢*ḥ*⸣*ḳy.w* .....*=w*. ....[
12]... *y* det. *nb ỉ*..... *w*ʿ..... *ỉr=w* .....[
13]....*'Imn* (?)....[..] *=f*. .... *šn* .....[
14]..... ⸢*md*(.*t*)⸣ *-nb.t nty-ỉw=w r* (?) *ỉr=w n pꜣy=f s* ..... *f* .....[
15]....*=w n* .... *w pꜣ* .. *r-wn-nꜣ-w ỉ-ỉr-ḫr* .....[
16].... *ḏd=f* ..... ʿ*šꜣ* .....[
17]...[..]..... *r wnw.t*. ...[
18]traces[
– – – – – – – –

Translation

1]... they asked/sought / which they sought ... before the ...[
2]... thing/matter ...[
3]... he said (?) to (?) the one (fem.) who ... gave/caused ...[
4]... the ... find/found ... say/said ...[
5]...[
6]... the ...[
7]... they caused ... do/make ...[
8]... bore/bear ... (at) a moment ...[
9]... they said ...[
10]... (divine) child ... with ... appearance as king ...[
11]... he found that ... the hungry ...[
12]... every ... a/one ... they did/made ...[
13]... Amun (?) ... ask ...[
14]... everything that they shall do ...[
15]... the ... who/which was before ...[
16]... he said ... many ...[
17]... hour/moment ...[
18] *traces* [
– – – – – – – –

Notes

1. det. (?) *šn=w*: read a det. (animal or silver) before *šn=w*? or read *pꜣy-šn=w*?
2. .....*y* dets (?): read the sparrow and the fallen captive dets? – although the combination is not usual in the Saqqara hands.
3. *ḏd*: or possibly *ỉr*.
5. .....[...].. ⸢*wn*⸣: for the first traces here, the reading *Pr-*ʿ*ꜣ* ..[, 'Pharaoh ...' might be considered.
— In the same portion of text, at .. ⸢*wn*⸣: read *r-wn*?
9. ⸢*ỉ*⸣*-ỉr*: read ⸢*ỉ*⸣*-ỉr=f*?
10. *ḫrd*: possibly read *pꜣ ḫrd*, 'the (divine) child' – or as the end of a personal name?
— *ḥ*ʿ *n* (?) *nsw*: it is very uncertain whether the *n* may be read, or is to be understood; 'appearance as king' – accession, anniversary?[21]
11.]..... *gm=f* ...: possibly read ⸢*pꜣ*⸣ ⸢*y*⸣ʿ*r gm=f r-wn*, 'the river. He found there was'?
— *nꜣ* ⸢*ḥ*⸣*ḳy.w*: the top of the first sign of *ḥḳy* is damaged, and *sḳy* is not an impossible reading. It is easiest to understand *ḥḳy.w* as 'hungry persons',[22] but a

21 See *CDD*, *Ḥ*, *ḥ*ʿ *nsw*(.*t*), 'accession as king', p. 31.
22 See *CDD*, *Ḥ*, *ḥqr* v. it., 'to be hungry' and related entries, pp. 284–285.

connection with the verb *ḥq*, 'to capture',[23] or with *ḥq*, 'magic',[24] could be considered.

13. *ʾImn* (?), 'Amun' – the god; or part of a personal name?
— Possibly read *ʾImn .. nw*?
— *šn*: the traces do not suit *wnw.t* here.

14. *n pꜣy=f s ...*: restore *n pꜣy=f smt*? – i.e. understand 'everything that they shall do of the same kind'?

15. *pꜣ .. r-wn-nꜣ-w*: the sign read here as *pꜣ* might seem to resemble *f*, but it has too large an upper part (cf. esp. lines 11 and 14) and seems to be muddled with some stray marks. It is similarly difficult to be sure of the shape of the following sign (and the apparent dot below is chiefly a hole in the papyrus). The next, tall sign is surely a god's-standard determinative: its top can hardly be a descender from the previous line. A reading *pꜣ ʾIꜥḥ*, 'the Moon', might be considered.

23 See Erichsen, *Glossar*, *ḥḳ*, 'erbeuten', pp. 333–334; *CDD*, *Ḥ*, *ḥq* v. 'to capture', p. 279.

24 See *CDD*, *Ḥ*, *ḥq* n.m., 'magic', etc., pp. 279–282.

FIGURE 1 H5-DP 227 [1825]
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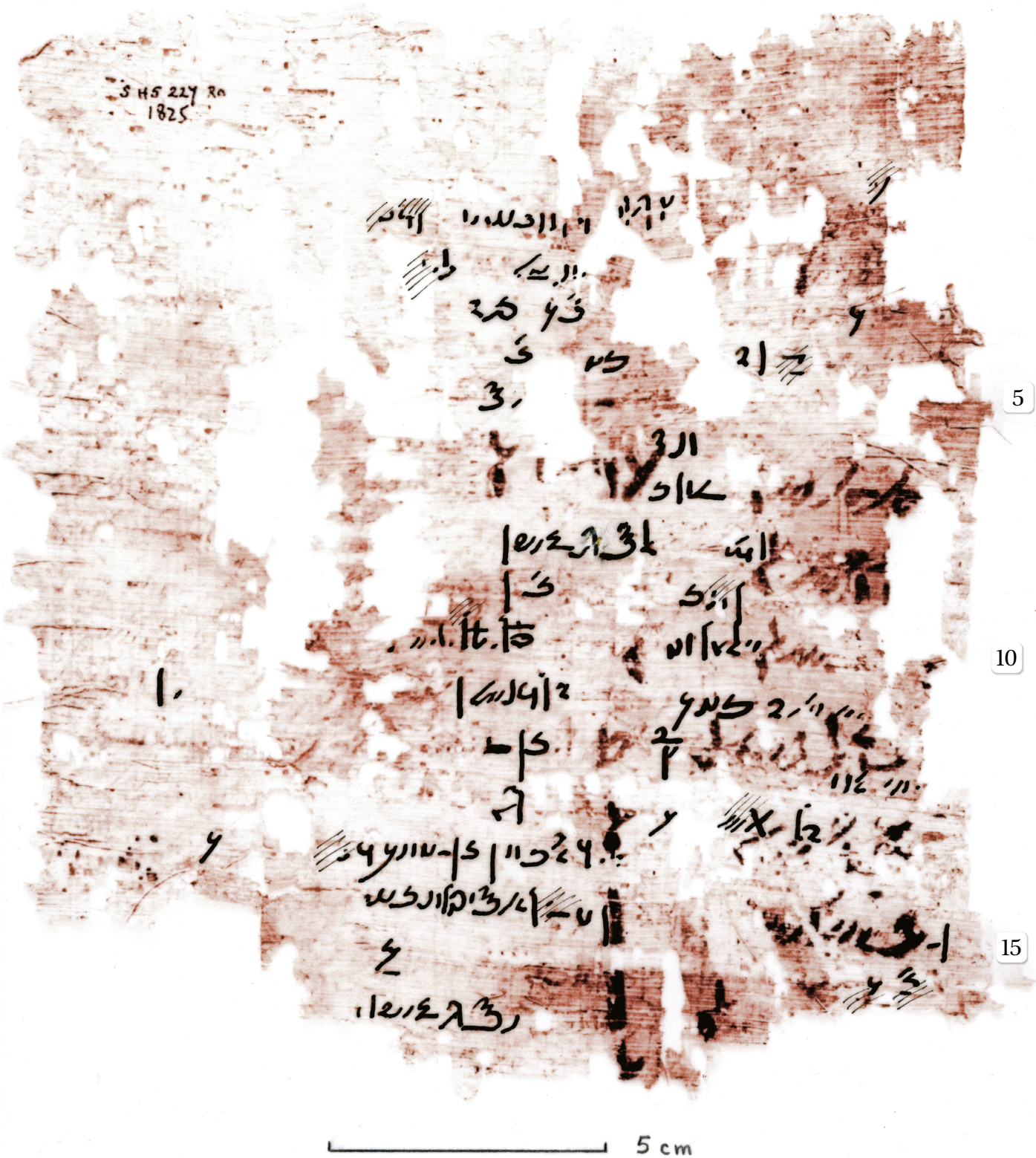

FIGURE 2 H5-DP 227 [1825] with schematic copies of selected phrases
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29

Ein späthieratischer Brief aus dem nördlichen Oberägypten (P. Duk. Inv. 648)

Günter Vittmann

Meine allererste Begegnung mit Koen liegt inzwischen über dreißig Jahre zurück. Sein im September 1993 beim Demotistenkongreß in Pisa gehaltener bahnbrechender Vortrag „The Lost Battle of Peteamonip Son of Petehorresne" über die Verdrängung des Kursivhieratischen durch das Demotische innerhalb derselben Familie ist mir in nachhaltiger Erinnerung geblieben. Vom wissenschaftlichen Austausch mit Koen und seiner Bereitwilligkeit, Informationen und Materialien zu neuen kursivhieratischen Quellen selbstlos zu teilen, habe ich in all den Jahren viel profitiert.

P. Duk. Inv. 648
Nördliches Oberägypten (Fayum?), 800–650 v. Chr.
TM 132233

Den hier erstmals veröffentlichten, 24,7 cm hohen und 14,8 cm breiten aus Mumienkartonage gewonnenen Papyrus[1] hat die Duke University im November 1974 von Michael Fackelmann angekauft, der ihn seinerseits im Frühjahr 1973 von einem unbekannten Händler in Ägypten erworben hatte. Das Recto enthält einen 14 Zeilen umfassenden, in einer nördlichen Abart des „Kursivhieratischen"[2] geschriebenen und vollständig erhaltenen Brief, der einen gelöschten, nicht mehr rekonstruierbaren Text überlagert. In keinem inhaltlichen Zusammenhang zum Recto steht das Verso mit einer in zwei Kolumnen angeordneten Folge von Tagesdaten; auch hier sind vereinzelte Spuren eines früheren Textes zu erkennen. Daß der (unklare) Name des Absenders in der ersten Zeile des Versos wiederkehrt, deutet aber darauf hin, daß Recto und Verso zusammengehören.

Über die ursprüngliche Herkunft des Dokuments ist nichts bekannt; da der Absender aber Sobek von Schedet/Krokodilopolis um langes Leben für den Adressaten bittet und diesem Gunst und Beliebtheit bei Amun wünscht, liegt die Annahme nahe, dass das Schriftstück im Fayum abgefaßt wurde und der Adressat im Raum von El-Hibeh saß bzw. wohl besser gesagt, gedacht war (vgl. unten): Der Hauptgott dieses Ortes war ja Amun, und der Name des Adressaten paßt ebenfalls gut in diese Region (s. unten Kommentar f). Die Datierung läßt sich aus Mangel an Parallelen vorerst nur großzügig mit ca. 800–650 v. Chr. abschätzen; zeitlich nicht allzu fern stehen dürfte eine kürzlich von Hasnaa Abd-ellatif vorläufig bekannt gemachte, in Illahun (Fayum) entdeckte Urkunde aus dem Jahr 26 Psammetichs I.[3] Hier wie dort fallen die großen Unterschiede zum „klassischen" Kursivhieratisch der 25. und 26. Dynastie, wie es uns in der südlichen Landeshälfte, vor allem in Theben, entgegentritt, sofort ins Auge. Allerdings bestehen auch nicht unerhebliche paläographische Unterschiede zu dem ebengenannten Illahun-Papyrus sowie zu den relativ wenigen bisher bekanntgewordenen in die erste Jahrtausendhälfte anzusetzenden Urkunden aus der Region von Herakleopolis bis Hibeh.[4]

1 Abbildungen und Beschreibungen sind seit vielen Jahren auf https://library.duke.edu/papyrus/records/648r-b.html und https://library.duke.edu/papyrus/records/648v-b.html (letzter Zugriff Juni 2024) zugänglich; einen Vorbericht gibt G. Vittmann, 'Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen (und neue Texte)', in: U. Verhoeven (Hg.), *Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten I–III: Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik* (Stuttgart, 2015), S. 383–433, hier S. 402–403. Die hier veröffentlichten Reproduktionen werden der neuen hochauflösenden Digitalisierung durch die Rubinstein Library verdankt. Für hilfreiche Auskünfte, erste Unterlagen und Publikationserlaubnis danke ich Linda McCurdy, seinerzeit Director of Research Services (Brief vom 23. Mai 2000), und J. Andrew Armacost, Curator of Collections & Head, Collection Development Department, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University Durham. Demnach stammen die Papyri Duk. inv. 598–659 sowie 803 aus dem obengenannten Ankauf und sind mit Ausnahme von 642–652 und 656–657 aus Mumienkartonage gewonnen (email J.A. Armacost, 2. Januar 2024). Für kritische Bemerkungen danke ich den Peer Reviewern.

2 In meinem in Anm. 1 genannten Beitrag, S. 403, hatte ich die Schrift des P. Duk. 648 allgemein als „besondere, nicht an die Thebais gebundene Ausprägung des Kursivhieratischen im weiteren Sinne" charakterisiert, was mir nach wie vor zuzutreffen scheint.

3 H. Abd-ellatif – M. Eissa, „Between Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic: A Legal Document of the Early 26th Dynasty from the Fayoum (Preliminary Edition of P. Cairo GEM 66796)", *GM* 262 (2020), S. 49–64; H. Abd-ellatif, „New Lights on Illahun Papyrus P. GEM 66796: Some Paleographical Notes", *GM* 265 (2021), S. 41–49. Zur Lesung des Datums siehe G. Vittmann, „Altes und Neues zu den Zahlen 10 und 20 im Kursivhieratischen", in: S. Gerhards – N. Gräßler – S.A. Gülden – A. Ilin-Tomich – J. Kertmann – A. Kilian – T. Konrad – K. van der Moezel – M. Zöller-Engelhardt (Hgg.), *Schöne Denkmäler sind entstanden: Studien zu Ehren von Ursula Verhoeven* (Heidelberg, 2023), S. 583–610, hier S. 596–597. Vgl. auch den Beitrag von H. Abd-ellatif in diesem Band.

4 P. Rylands 1 und 2: F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester – London, 1909), vol. 1, pl. 1–14; vol. 2, pl. 1–15; P. Köln 5632: G. Vittmann,

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Die erwähnte namentliche Verbindung des Verfassers des Briefes auf dem Recto mit der Liste von Tagesdaten auf dem Verso wirft die Frage auf, ob wir es wirklich mit einem „echten“ Brief zu tun haben und nicht eher mit einer Art Schulübung, deren Hauptteil dem Briefstil gewidmet war. Die letzte Zeile des Recto scheint diesen Eindruck zu bestätigen, vgl. unten Kommentar ll und mm.

Recto

Umschrift

1 *pꜣ ḫrw n* (?)[a] *Pꜣj(=j)-...-r=w*[b] *ntj-ỉw=f*[c] *m-bꜣḥ*[d] {*n*} *ỉt-nṯr*[e] *Wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wj*[f] *pꜣj(=j) ḥrj*[g] *ỉ.ỉr(=j) hꜣ_*
2 *b ḫrw(=j)*[h] *m-bꜣḥ pꜣj(=j) ḥrj ỉw ḏd*[i] *ptr sw*[j] *ỉw(=j) ḏd* (*n*)[k] *Sbk Šddtj*[l] *pꜣ nṯr ʿꜣ*
3 *ḏd mj*[m] *n=k ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb ʿḥ.ʿ q(ꜣ)j ỉꜣw.t ʿꜣ*(*.t*) *nfr*[n] *mj n=k ḥs*(*wt*) *mr*(*wt*) *n-*
4 *ḥr ʾImn*[o] ...[p] *ntj*[q] *dj=k n=f ỉ.ỉr(=j) hꜣb ḫrw(=j) m-bꜣḥ pꜣj(=j) ḥrj*
5 *ỉw ḏd*[i] 〈 *ỉ*〉 *dj ʾImn* {*dj*} *ʿnḫ=f*[r] *qꜣj pꜣj=f ʿḥ.ʿ hꜣb mj* (?) *n*[s]
6 *pꜣj* (?) *ḫpr*[t] *n.ỉm=k ḥnʿ sḫm.t ʾIrj*[u] *tw(=j) ʿš* (*n*)[k] *ʾImn-n-pr* (?)[v]
7 *ỉḫ pꜣ ḫpr*[w] *ỉw bn-ỉw nꜣj* (?)[x] *hꜣb n=j rmṯ*[y] *ỉw tꜣj-ptj*[z]
8 *ỉrm=k*[aa] *hꜣb n=j ḥ.t* (?)[bb] *ỉw ʿnḫ=f*[cc] *pꜣ gm*[dd] *n=f rmṯ*[y]
9 *hꜣb n=j* {*m*}[ee] *ḫrw ỉ.ỉr(=j) hꜣb ḫrw(=j)* (*n*)[k] *pꜣj(=j) ḥrj rḫ=k*[ff]
10 *mt*(*r*) *sḥ*[gg] *Pꜣj(=j)- ... f-r=w*[b] *sꜣ Pꜣ-*[..] ...[hh] ⌜*tp*⌝*=f*[ii]
11 *pꜣ ḫrw n* (?)[a] *Pꜣj(=j)- ... f-r=w*[b] *ntj ỉw=f m-bꜣḥ*[d] *ỉt-nṯr*[e] *ʾIr.t-ḥr-r=w*[jj] *pꜣj(=j) ḥrj*
12 *ỉ.ỉr(=j) hꜣb ḫrw(=j) m-bꜣḥ pꜣj(=j) ḥrj ỉw ḏd ptr sw ỉw(=j)*
13 *ỉw*[kk] *smꜣʿ ỉ.r=k m-bꜣḥ Sbk Šddtj*[l] *pꜣ nṯr ʿꜣ dj=f ʿnḫ=f ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb*
14 *ʿḥ.ʿ*[ll] *sw 15 19*[mm]

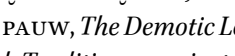
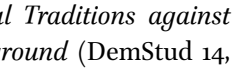
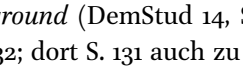
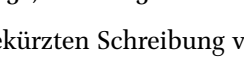
Übersetzung

1 Die Stimme[a] des Pai ... eru,[b] die[c] für den Gottesvater[e] Udjasemataui,[f] meinen Herrn,[g] bestimmt ist:[d] Ich sende
2 meine Stimme[h] vor meinen Herrn folgendermaßen:[i] Siehe[j], ich spreche (zu)[k] Sobek von Krokodilopolis,[m] dem großen Gott,
3 folgendermaßen: Gib ihm (wörtl. „dir“) Leben, Heil und Gesundheit, eine lange Lebenszeit, ein schönes hohes Alter![n] Gib ihm (wörtl. „dir“) Gunst und Liebe vor
4 Amun[o] ...[p] ...[q] du hast ihm gegeben. Ich sende meine Stimme vor meinen Herrn
5 folgendermaßen: Möge Amun geben, daß er lebe[r] und seine Lebenszeit lang sei! Schreibe (mir) bitte (?) über[s]
6 das, was mit dir und Frau Iri[u] geschehen ist.[t] Ich rufe (zu)[k] Amunenper (?):[v]
7 Was soll es,[w] daß es dies (?) nicht gibt (?)?[x] Sende mir Leute,[y] indem (ein) Bogenträger[z]
8 mit dir ist.[aa] Sende mir eine Mannschaft (?),[bb] denn (wieder) lebendig geworden[cc] ist derjenige, der sich Leute gefunden hat![dd]
9 Sende mir Nachricht![ee] Ich sende meine Stimme (vor)[k] meinen Herrn. Mögest du (es) wissen! (?)[ff]
10 Zeuge und Schreiber[gg] Pai ... eru[b] Sohn des Pa ...[hh] eigenhändig.[ii]
11 Die Stimme[a] des Pai ... eru[b], die für den Gottesvater[e] Inaros,[jj] meinen Herrn, bestimmt ist:
12 Ich sende meine Stimme vor meinen Herrn folgendermaßen: Siehe, ich
13 werde dich grüßen[kk] vor Sobek, Herrn von Krokodilopolis,[l] dem großen Gott. Möge er dich (wörtl. „ihn“) leben lassen (in) Leben, Heil und Gesundheit
14 (in) 〈langer (?)〉 Lebenszeit (?).[ll] Tag 15: 19.[mm]

„Eine ‚protodemotische‘ Abrechnung aus der Dritten Zwischenzeit (Papyrus Köln 5632)“, in: Sh-W. Hsu – V.P-M. Laisney – J. Moje (Hgg.), *Ein Kundiger, der in die Gottesworte eingedrungen ist. Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkeln zum 65. Geburtstag* (ÄAT 99, Münster 2020), S. 317–343; P. Wien D 12011, 12013, 8460–8467 (alle unpubl.); P. BM EA 10798 (die Kenntnis dieses Dokuments sowie Bildmaterial verdanke ich K. Donker van Heel; Publikation durch Petra Hogenboom-Meijerink vorgesehen). Das letztgenannte umfangreiche Dokument fällt insofern aus der Reihe, als die Schrift dem normalen thebanischen Kursivhieratisch entspricht. Ein weiterer hier zu nennender Papyrus wird von J.F. Quack in diesem Band publiziert.

Kommentar

a. Zu *ḫrw* und *ḫrw bꜣk* als Einleitung von Briefen vgl. M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against their Intra- and Intercultural Background* (DemStud 14, Sommerhausen, 2006), S. 118; 127–132; dort S. 131 auch zu der kursivhieratisch belegten abgekürzten Schreibung von *ḫrw* mit . Der „Mann mit der Hand am Mund" kann kursivhieratisch sowohl in vollerer Form (Holztafel Leiden AH 155 [= ex I 431], 1;[5] O. Mut 29/14, 1;[6] O. Mut 9/17, 1) als auch seinerseits stark abgekürzt , u. ä. geschrieben werden (inklusive folgendem ausgeschriebenen *n* für den „Genitiv" O. Amheida 16003, Verso 1;[7] O. Amheida 16464, 1;[8] O. Mut 8/27, 1). Bei der in P. Duk. 548 vorliegenden Schreibung (Z. 1), (Z. 11) ist derzeit nicht sicher zu entscheiden, ob wir es mit einer starken Verkürzung des demotisch gut belegten Ausdrucks *ḫrw bꜣk* – in späterer Zeit auch mit Abkürzung von *bꜣk* zu bezeugt (Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, S. 128) – oder, wie es wohl wahrscheinlicher ist, einfach mit einer Schreibung für *ḫrw n* zu tun haben. Im letzteren Fall wäre das *n* mit einem in Funktion und Herkunft nicht näher zu bestimmenden Vertikalstrich verschmolzen; vgl. O. Amheida 16463, 1.[9] Hierher stellen möchte ich mit Vorbehalt in O. New York MMA 19.3.24, 1 (*pꜣ ḫrw n* (?) *Ḏd-... ḥnʿ ʾImn-ỉ.ỉr-...-ʿnḫ* (2) *ntj ỉw=w m-bꜣḥ nꜣ sḫ*(*.w*) etc.);[10] vgl. auch unten Kommentar d.

b. Der Name des Absenders erscheint als  (Z. 1),  (Z. 10),  (Z. 11) und  (Verso 1), wobei sich der zweite und dritte Beleg von den anderen durch das Vorhandensein eines zusätzlichen langen Abstrichs nach der Mitte – also offenbar eines überflüssigen (?) *f* – unterscheidet. Die Lesung des Anfangs als *pꜣj*(*=j*) wird durch die gleichartige Schreibung in *pꜣj*(*=j*) *ḫrj* gestützt; am Ende könnte im Hinblick auf *ʾIr.t-ḫr-r=w* in Z. 11 (s. unten Kommentar jj) sowohl *r=w* als auch „Horus" gelesen werden. Als Lesung des ganzen Namens wäre *Pꜣj*(*=j*)*-sꜣ-r=w* „Mein Schutzamulett ist gegen sie"[11] zu erwägen, ein freilich weder so noch in ähnlicher Form bezeugter Name, der aber inhaltlich durchaus sinnvoll wäre; vgl. zu den mit dem Suffix 3. P. Pl. gebildeten Namen und ihrer Bedeutung Ph. Collombert, „Qui sont-‚ils'? L'enfant nouveau-né comme enjeu divin à la lumière de certains anthroponymes d'époque tardive", in: R. Meffre – Fr. Payraudeau (Hgg.), *Éclats du crépuscule: Recueil d'études sur l'Égypte tardive offert à Olivier Perdu* (OLA 315, Leuven etc., 2022), S. 171–230.

c. Man darf vielleicht zu der alten, im Grunde ja naheliegenden Ansicht zurückkehren, daß sich das Pronominalsuffix in der Formel *pꜣ ḫrw n* X *ntj-ỉw=f m-bꜣḥ* Y auf die „Stimme", d.h. den Brief, bezieht[12] und nicht auf den Namenträger, der ja vor dem Adressaten nicht physisch präsent ist. In P. Brooklyn 37.1799, 1 ist die Situation eine andere: Nach Donker van Heels[13] überzeugender Lesung ist dort nämlich nicht, wie in der *ed. princ.*[14] im Hinblick auf das Formular anderer kursivhieratischer Briefe

5 J. Černý, „The Abnormal-Hieratic Tablet Leiden I 431", in: *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), S. 47–56; K. Donker van Heel – J. Golverdingen, *An Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book Containing Texts from the British Museum* (*London*)*, the Brooklyn Museum* (*New York*)*, the Egyptian Museum* (*Cairo*)*, the Louvre* (*Paris*)*, the Museo Egizio* (*Turin*)*, the Nationalbibliothek* (*Vienna*)*, Queen's College* (*Oxford*) *and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (*Leiden*)*, with a Palaeography of Abnormal Hieratic Signs and Sign Groups* (UitgLPI 24/1–3, Leiden, 2013–2014), III, doc. 19.

6 Die hier und im folgenden zitierten Ostraka aus Mut (Dachla) sind noch unpubliziert.

7 G. Vittmann, „An Abnormal Hieratic Letter from Dakhleh Oasis (Ostracon Amheida 16003)", in: C. Jurman – B. Bader – D.A. Aston (Hgg.), *A True Scribe of Abydos: Essays on First Millennium Egypt in Honour of Anthony Leahy* (OLA 265, Leuven etc., 2017), S. 491–503.

8 R. Ast – R.S. Bagnall – C. Caputo – R. Casagrande-Kim – G.R. Ruffini – G. Vittmann, *Ostraka from Trimithis, 3: Texts Mainly from the 2014 and 2015 Seasons* (New York, im Druck), Text Nr. 878.

9 *Ostraka from Trimithis* 3, Text Nr. 877.

10 K. Donker van Heel, „An Enigmatic Ostracon from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and some other Things", in: S.L. Lippert – M. Schentuleit – M.A. Stadler (Hgg.), *Sapientia Felicitas: Festschrift für Günter Vittmann zum 29. Februar 2016* (CENiM 14, Montpellier, 2016), S. 107–121, hier S. 112, mit abweichenden Lesungen für Z. 1).

11 Das ist also nicht weit von **Pꜣj*(*=j*)*-ỉb-r=w* entfernt, was mir der Jubilar seinerzeit auf Grund einer Lektüre dieses Dokuments mit seinen Schülern vorgeschlagen hatte.

12 Černý, „The Abnormal-Hieratic Tablet Leiden I 431", in: *Studies Griffith*, S. 50 (3).

13 Donker van Heel – Golverdingen, *Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book*, I, doc. 5.

14 R. Jasnow – G. Vittmann, „An Abnormal Hieratic Letter to the Dead (P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E)", *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), S. 23–43, besonders S. 26 und 28 (D). Die Übersetzungen dieses Briefes von G. Miniaci, *Lettere ai morti nell'Egitto antico* (Brescia, 2014), S. 80–82, und M. Panov (М. В. Панов), *Письма мертвым. Избранные тексты 18–20-й династий. Рецензий* (Египетские тексты 5, Novosibirsk, 2016), S. 38–40, berücksichtigen beide die obengenannte Korrektur.

angenommen wurde, *pꜣ ḫrw ʾIr.tˁw-rˁw sꜣ.t n Pꜣ-dj-pꜣ-nb ntj-ỉwˁs m-bꜣḥ* etc. zu lesen, sondern vielmehr ein Umstandssatz (…) *Pꜣ-dj-pꜣ-nb-ʿꜣ ỉwˁs m-bꜣḥ* etc. „die Stimme der Irturu, Tochter des Padipanebaa, indem sie (Irturu) vor (…) ist". Diese Abweichung ist dadurch begründet, daß im Brooklyner Papyrus die Absenderin tatsächlich präsent ist, und zwar am Grab des Verstorbenen, an den sie sich in dem Schreiben wendet. Vgl. auch Kommentar d.

d. Zur Formel *pꜣ ḫrw* / *ḫrw bꜣk* x *ntj-ỉwˁf m-bꜣḥ* Y vgl. Kommentar c und Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, S. 131. Ein weiterer Beleg im kursivhieratischen P. Moskau I.1.b87, II 1[15] sowie vermutlich in O. New York MMA 19.3.24, 2 (s. oben Kommentar a und Anm. 10). Die Relativkonstruktion sollte nicht als „(die Stimme,) die vor Y ist" übertragen werden – dies wäre im Ägyptischen *ntj m-bꜣḥ* Y –, sondern „die für Y bestimmt ist" o.ä., also mit implizitem Futurbezug.

e. Zu *ỉt-nṯr* (hier geschrieben, in Z. 11 in Bezug auf eine andere Person)[16] in einem Dokument aus dem nördlichen Oberägypten fügt es sich gut, daß zahlreiche Schreiber der Zeugenkopien von P. Rylands 1 und 2 aus el-Hibeh (644 v. Chr.) diesen Titel – und in durchaus signifikanter Weise nur diesen, und zwar ebenfalls ohne Erweiterung – tragen.[17]

f. Der relativ seltene Name *Wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wj* ist in Abusir el-Meleq, el-Hibeh und im Delta bezeugt; vgl. die Hinweise bei Vittmann, „Eine ‚protodemotische' Abrechnung", in: *Fs. Jansen-Winkeln* [Anm. 4], S. 324 (19).

g. Die der Einführung des Adressaten nachgestellte Bezeichnung desselben als *pꜣj(ˁj) ḫrj* „mein Herr" (und nicht in der 3. Person *pꜣjˁf*/*s ḫrj*) ist typisch für kursivhieratische Briefe. Den bisher bekannten Belegen[18] ist P. Moskau I.1.b87, II 2 [Anm. 15] hinzuzufügen.

h. *ỉ.ỉr(ˁj) ḥꜣb ḫrw(ˁj) m-bꜣḥ pꜣj(ˁj) ḫrj* nochmals in Z. 4. 9. 12; in analoger Position auch Holztafel Leiden AH 155 (= ex I 431), 1–2. 6 [Anm. 5]; ähnlich P. Moskau I.1.b87, II 2 [Anm. 15].

i. *ỉw ḏd* (, auch in Z. 5 und 12) steht für *r ḏd* (so in P. Moskau I.1.b87, II 3 [Anm. 15]), wofür Holztafel Leiden AH 155 (= ex I 431), 1–2. 6 [Anm. 5] einfach *ḏd* (> ⲁϫⲉ) schreibt. Die vollständige Form *r ḏd* ist vereinzelt im Frühdemotischen belegt; vgl. in anderem Zusammenhang G. Vittmann, „Two Early Demotic letters (P. Cairo 50068 and 50067 + 50087)", in: C. Zivie-Coche – I. Guermeur (Hgg.), *« Parcourir l'éternité »: Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, 2 (Turnhout, 2012), S. 1075–1095, hier S. 1079 (f).

j. Das neuäg. *ptr sw* (auch in Z. 12) ist in kursivhieratischen und protodemotischen Texten, wie in P. Duk. 648 mit folgendem Umstandssatz, gut belegt. Bei Briefen findet es sich zusätzlich zu P. Duk. 648 auf Holztafel Leiden AH 155 (= ex I 431), 2. 23 [Anm. 5]; P. Kairo CG 30865, 2;[19] P. Moskau I.1.b87, II 3 [Anm. 15]; O. Amheida Inv. 16580, 4;[20] Belege in anderen Textgattungen sind P. Kairo GEM 66796, A 2. B 2;[21] P. Queen's College, x + II *passim*.[22]

k. Das grammatisch erforderliche *n* des „Dativs" ist in Z. 2, 6 und 9 nicht ausgeschrieben.

l. Zu *Sbk Šddtj* (Z. 2, Z. 13) „Sobek von Krokodilopolis" vgl. *LGG* VI, S. 263–265, wo S. 264 [47] auch der bis dahin früheste bekannte demotische Beleg aus P. Rylands 9, VIII. 19 aufgeführt wird; H. Kockelmann, *Der Herr der Seen, Sümpfe und Flußläufe. Untersuchungen zum Gott Sobek und den ägyptischen Krokodilgötter-Kulten von den Anfängen bis zur Römerzeit*, Teil 2: *Kulttopographie und rituelle Wirklichkeit* (ÄgAbh 74,2, Wiesbaden, 2017), S. 361–372 und zu dem eben genannten demotischen Beleg S. 367.

m. Der hier beginnende Wunsch für Leben, Heil, Gesundheit und hohes Alter in identischem Wortlaut auch in P. Moskau I.1.b87, II 4 [Anm. 15]; vgl. auch Kommentar n.

15 Die Kenntnis dieses unpublizierten Papyrus (vgl. auch Anm. 4) verdanke ich Koenraad Donker van Heel, der mir davon Bilder übersandte. Die Publikation soll von Charlotte Dietrich übernommen werden.

16 Das kleine weiße Rechteck im Faksimile bezeichnet ein Loch im Papyrus!

17 Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri*, 2, pl. 8; 3, S. 47; 48; 205–206; 209. Vgl. auch N. Rodríguez i Corcoll, *Sacerdoci i cultes del nord de l'Egipte Mitjà durant la baixa època* (*segles VII–IV aC*). *Del nomus 14 al 22 de l'Alt Egipte* (Barcelona, 2008), S. 121–125; 132–139, und speziell zu „Gottesvater" als einzigem Titel auf hieroglyphischen Belegen auf Särgen aus El-Hibeh B. Gessler-Löhr, „Eine Gruppe spätzeitlicher Mumiensärge aus el-Hibeh", in: K.A. Kóthay (Hg.), *Burial and Mortuary Practices in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 17–19 July 2014* (Budapest, 2017), S. 197–242, hier S. 222; 231; 233; 234. Zu *ỉt-nṯr* in der Spätzeit vgl. generell C. Koch, „Titeleien", in: *Festschrift Vittmann* [Anm. 10], S. 285–299.

18 Vgl. G. Vittmann, „Ein kursivhieratisches Brieffragment (P. Kairo *CG* 30865)", *Enchoria* 27 (2001), S. 155–163, hier S. 158 (e).

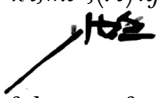
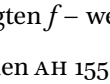
19 Vittmann, a.a.O., S. 156. Bezüglich der dort S. 158 (f) erneut vertretenen Ableitung des demotischen *tws* von *ptr sw* ist das letze Wort sicher noch nicht gesprochen.

20 *Ostraka from Trimithis* 3, Text Nr. 886.

21 Abd-ellatif – Eissa, „Between Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic", *GM* 262, S. 49–64.

22 H.-W. Fischer-Elfert – G. Vittmann, *Papyrus Queen's College Oxford: A Juridical Tale* (*Recto*) *and Accounts* (*Verso*) *from 25th Dynasty Egypt in Abnormal Hieratic* (Leiden, in Druckvorbereitung), *passim*, vor allem § 4.5.

Der Imperativ von *dj* „geben“ wird *mj* geschrieben (, , beides Z. 3), also wie im Demotischen, aber mit Determinativen (u. ä.). Kursivhieratisch wird üblicherweise ganz wie im Neuägyptischen eine als *ỉm*/*ỉmm* transkribierte Form benutzt (z.B. Holztafel Leiden AH 155 = ex I 431, 4 [Anm. 5]; P. Moskau I.1.b87, II 4 und 5 [Anm. 15] schreibt jedoch *mj*, also nach demotischem Usus; vgl. auch *mj n=k* (ebenfalls in Briefformel) P. Wien D 8460,[23] Verso 4 (unpubl.). Man beachte, daß der „normalhieratisch“ geschriebene, sprachlich aber (proto)demotische P. Vandier neben dem moderneren *mj* auch die neuägyptische Schreibung *ỉmm* kennt.[24]

n. Auf Holztafel Leiden AH 155 = ex I 431, 4–5 [Anm. 5] lautet der Wunsch abweichend *ỉmm ꜥnḫ=k ỉmm snb=k ỉmm q(ɜ)j pɜj=k ḥꜥ ỉmm ỉr=k ỉɜw.t ꜥɜ(. t) nfr.t.*[25] Die Schreibung von *ỉɜw.t ꜥɜ*(*.t*) *nfr*(*.t*) als  in P. Duk. 648 – offenbar mit einem fehlerhaft hinzugefügten *f* – weicht sehr stark von  auf Holztafel Leiden AH 155 = ex I 431, 5 ab.

o. Dem *Wḏɜ-smɜ-tɜ.wj* (s. Kommentar f) werden Gunst und Beliebtheit bei (*n-ḥr*, kopt. ⲛⲁϩⲣⲏ) Amun gewünscht, was sich im Zusammenhang auf den Amun von Teudjoi/El-Hibeh beziehen dürfte. In den wenigen kursivhieratischen Parallelen aus Briefen wird, soweit erhalten, der König genannt: P. Moskau I.1.b87, II 5 [Anm. 15] (sonst ähnlich wie in P. Duk. 648); Holztafel Leiden AH 155 = ex I 431, 5 [Anm. 5] wünscht die Beliebtheit beim Pharao (*ỉmm n=k ḥs*(*wt*) *mr*(*wt*) *ỉ-ḥr pr-ꜥɜ*); P. Kairo CG 30865, 4 nennt expressis verbis Taharka.[26]

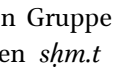
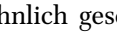
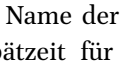
p. Der Schrägstrich in überlagert den kurzen Vertikalstrich, eine Erklärung als vom Schreiber getilgtes führt zu keinem befriedigenden Ergebnis. Auch Lesungen wie oder helfen nicht weiter.

q. Unabhängig von der Interpretation des vorangehenden Zeichens ist eine Analyse des satzschließenden *ntj dj=k n=f* auf Basis der Standardgrammatik unmöglich, es muß hier also irgendein Fehler vorliegen.

r. Die fehlerhaft reproduzierte Formel ist richtig geschrieben in Holztafel Leiden AH 155 = ex I 431, 6–7 [Anm. 5] und P. Moskau I.1.b87, II 7 [Anm. 15], während P. Kairo CG 30865, 5 [Anm. 18] zu dem auch anderweitig sehr gut belegten *ỉ ꜥnḫ=f* verkürzt.[27]

s. In hat der Schreiber anscheinend etwas korrigiert. Es sieht aus, als habe er in Erinnerung an *hɜb ḫrw* in Z. 1–2 und 4 zu einem *ḫrw* angesetzt, dann aber rasch gemerkt, daß er stattdessen mit *mj* fortfahren wollte. Allerdings gibt auch *mj n=k* (so zweimal in Z. 3) in Verbindung mit Z. 6 keinen rechten Sinn, so daß vielleicht *mj* als enklitische Partikel beim Imperativ[28] zu interpretieren und *hɜb mj n pɜj* (?) *ḫpr n.ỉm=k* „Schreibe (mir) bitte über das, was mit dir geschehen ist“ zu verstehen ist.

t. Ich verstehe *pɜj* (?) *ḫpr* als Schreibung für *pɜ ỉ.ḫpr*. Vgl. auch unten Kommentar dd.

u. Der Anfang der in dieser Form nicht sinnvoll zu lesenden Gruppe  dürfte teilweise zum vorangehenden *sḫm.t* gehören, das dann also ganz normal  [29] oder ähnlich geschrieben wäre. In jedem Fall ist der Name der Frau *ʾIrj* () zu lesen, was in der Spätzeit für Männer (kursivhieratisch und protodemotisch sonst immer)[30] und Frauen[31] bezeugt ist; vgl.

23 Vgl. VITTMANN, „Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen“ [Anm. 1], S. 412.

24 G. POSENER, *Le papyrus Vandier* (Kairo, 1985), S. 100 und 101 (Index). Zur Sprache des P. Vandier siehe A. SHISHA-HALEVY, „Papyrus Vandier Recto: An Early Demotic Literary Text?“, *JAOS* 109 (1989), S. 421–435; J.F. QUACK, „Notes en marge du papyrus Vandier“, *RdÉ* 46 (1996), S. 163–170. Zum Sachverhalt vgl. bereits VITTMANN, „Kursivhieratisches Brieffragment“, *Enchoria* 27, S. 158 (h).

25 Vgl. mit älteren Parallelen ČERNÝ, „The Abnormal-Hieratic Tablet Leiden I 431“, in: *Studies Griffith*, S. 51.

26 Die unmittelbar vorangehenden Wörter sind nicht erhalten; nach der Leidener Holztafel ergänzt von VITTMANN, „Kursivhieratisches Brieffragment“, *Enchoria* 27, S. 156.

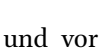
27 Vgl. auch den Beitrag von Joachim Quack in diesem Band.

28 Zur Partikel *mj* vgl. VITTMANN, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, S. 306.

29 Zum zweiteiligen Frauendeterminativ vgl. G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2 (Leipzig, 1909) und 3 (Leipzig, 1912), jeweils Nr. 61 (B); U. VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift* (OLA 99, Leuven, 2001), S. 110–111 (B1a).

30 Vgl. RANKE, *Personennamen* 1, S. 41: 5. 8; ABD-ELLATIF – EISSA, „Between Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic“, *GM* 262, S. 57 (mit Faksimiles); K. DONKER VAN HEEL, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste Son of Peteamunip* (*Floruit 7th Century BCE*): *Abnormal Hieratic Papyrus Louvre E 3228 A–H* (P. L.Bat. 38, Leiden – Boston, 2021), S. 134 (v) (hält das mittlere Zeichen eher für *r* statt *ỉr*, was ebenso möglich ist).

31 Vgl. RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, S. 41: 4. 5. 8.

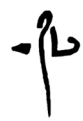
für letzteres [32] und vor allem  [33] als perfekte Parallele zur Schreibung in P. Duk. 648.

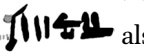
v. Zu *ʿš (n) ʾImn* vgl. *tȝ wḏ.t (n) ʿš (n) ʾImn* „das Dekret der Anrufung Amuns" im Brooklyner Saitischen Orakelpapyrus, mit untereinander stark abweichenden Schreibungen von *ʿš* und *ʾImn*.[34] Eine Lesung des an unserer Stelle nachfolgenden als *n pr* ist paläographisch denkbar, und *pr* ist ausnahmsweise auch ohne Ideogrammstrich belegt.[35] Ein „Amun im Haus (Tempel)" wirkt im Zusammenhang zwar merkwürdig, doch ist *ʾImn-m-pr* im Neuen Reich als Personenname bezeugt,[36] und tatsächlich erscheint an dieser Stelle des P. Duk. 648 ein Personenname vielleicht plausibler als eine neuerliche Erwähnung Amuns. Der „Füllpunkt" kann als Personendeterminativ dienen wie bei den Namen von Absender und Adressat in Z. 1. Vgl. aber auch *ȝs.t-m-ḫnw-pr* LGG I, S. 76 und die Gottesbezeichnungen des Typs Gottesname-*m*/*n-pr=f* LGG III, S. 38.

w. Eine gute Parallele zur Konstruktion *ỉḫ pȝ ḫpr ỉw* … findet sich auf Holztafel Leiden AH 155 = ex I 431, 7 [Anm. 5]: *ỉḫ pȝ ḫprj ỉw bn ỉr rḫ(=j) md.t ỉ dmj ȝbw* „What happened that I do not know anything concerning the town of Elephantine".[37]

x. In der kurzen Gruppe zwischen *bn-ỉw* und *hȝb* müßte das Subjekt enthalten sein; weder ein Substantiv noch ein Pronomen sind leicht identifizierbar. Zu erwägen ist eine Lesung *nȝj*, was eine Analyse von *nȝj hȝb n=j rmṯ* als „diejenigen, die mir Leute gesandt haben" ermöglichen würde, *nȝj hȝb* wäre also eine Schreibung für *nȝ ỉ.hȝb*, vgl. analog oben Kommentar t. Die gesamte Zeile wäre dann etwa „Was soll es bedeuten, daß diejenigen, die mir Leute gesandt haben, nicht … nehmen werden?" zu übersetzen.

Eine einfachere, aber keineswegs unproblematische Lösung besteht darin, *bn-ỉw* als Schreibung für *mn* im negativen Existenzsatz zu verstehen,[38] also im Zusammenhang „was soll es bedeuten, daß es dies nicht gibt?" *hȝb n=j rmṯ* „Sende mir jemanden!" leitet dann also einen neuen Satz ein. In jedem Fall bleibt offen, was die Äußerung mit dem vorher angerufenen Amun (oder eher einem Mann namens *ʾImn-n-pr*?) zu tun hat.

y. Die Lesung von (Z. 7),  (Z. 8) als *rmṯ* wird durch die substantiell identische Schreibung in P. Kairo GEM 66796, 5 [Anm. 21] (vgl. dagegen durch einen anderen Schreiber ibid., 11) gestützt.

z. Die Lesung von  als *ptj* „Bogen" und damit von *tȝj-ptj* als „Bogenträger" wird durch demotisch *ptj.t* < *pḏ.t* (vgl. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, S. 142) und die bisher nur für das Neue Reich belegte Bezeichnung *tȝj-pḏ.t* „Bogenträger" gesichert (vgl. *Wb.* 1, S. 569. 16).[39] Da Adverbialsatz mit indeterminiertem Subjekt neuägyptisch und vor allem demotisch üblicherweise durch *wn* eingeleitet wird, das hier aber fehlt, wäre auch eine Analyse des Satz mit *tȝj* als finitem Verbum zu überlegen, also z.B. *hȝb n=j rmṯ ỉw<=f/w> tȝj ptj ỉrm=k* „Sende mir jemanden, der bei dir den Bogen trägt" bzw. (…) „Leute, die bei dir den Bogen

32 K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, IV: *Die 26. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2014), Teil 2, S. 998 (442); S. 1105 (661) und (662). Es sind dies die drei von RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, S. 41: 8 unter „f" genannten Belege.

33 Sarg Brüssel E 586 (26. Dynastie), s. L. SPELEERS, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles* (Brüssel, 1923), S. 90, Z. 28; vgl. zu diesem Objekt auch O. PERDU (Hg.), *Le crépuscule des pharaons: Chefs-d'oeuvre des dernières dynasties égyptiennes* (Brüssel, 2012), S. 140–141, Nr. 57. Von RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, S. 41: 5 irrtümlich zu den männlichen Belegen gestellt.

34 R.A. PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* [*Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3*] (Providence, 1962), pl. 5 (D, 7.11); pl. 6 (E, 7); pl. 9 (H, 6–7) und öfter. Vgl. mit Faksimiles ausgewählter Belege VITTMANN, „Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen" [Anm. 1], S. 384–385.

35 Zwei kursivhieratische Belege für *mr-pr* ohne Determinativstrich (mit Faksimile) bei G. VITTMANN, „Wine for the Gods of Dakhleh (Ostracon Mut 38/70)", in: A.R. WARFE – J.C.R. GILL – C.R. HAMILTON – A.J. PETTMAN – D.A. STEWART (Hgg.), *Dust, Pots and Demons: Studies in Honour of Colin A. Hope* (OLA 289, Leuven etc., 2020), S. 715–737, hier S. 731 (10).

36 RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, S. 28: 3. Für die beiden dort genannten Belege vgl. *KRI* III, S. 264: 9; S. 513: 5.

37 So nach ČERNÝ, „The Abnormal-Hieratic Tablet Leiden I 431", in: *Studies Griffith*, S. 48 und S. 51 (16) mit weiteren Hinweisen zu *ỉḫ pȝ ḫpr …*

38 Demotisch erst in ptolemäischer und vor allem römischer Zeit belegt, vgl. die Hinweise bei F. HOFFMANN, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus* (MPER NS 26, Wien, 1996), S. 145 Anm. 587.

39 Die dort genannten Belege finden sich im „Kadesch-Gedicht" (*KRI* II, S. 6: 11.14–15) und in Grab Theben 22 (Wah); ein weiterer Beleg (18. Dynastie) auf der Statue Louvre E 29585 des Pehsucher, vgl. CHR. BARBOTIN, *Les statues égyptiennes du Nouvel Empire. Statues privées* (Paris, 2024), Nr. 11. In seinem Grab Theben 88 führt Pehsucher den gleichbedeutenden Titel *jrj-pḏ.t*, vgl. H. HEYE, *Die Gräber des Amenemhab und des Pehsucher Theben Nr. 85 und 88* (ArchVer 138, Wiesbaden, 2023), S. 269. Ebenfalls in die 18. Dynastie datiert der Bogenträger Merire, vgl. P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (Antony, 1994), S. 191 (26.04).

tragen", muß dann aber einen groben Fehler annehmen, ohne daß sich inhaltlich ein großer Unterschied ergäbe.

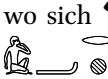
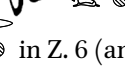
aa. Die Lesung von als *ỉrm=k* scheint unumgänglich, wenngleich die zwei Zeichen nach *m*, insbesondere der Vertikalstrich, überflüssig sind. Bei einer Lesung der zweiten Häfte als *mdj/mtw=k* für den Konjunktiv bliebe die erste Hälfte der Gruppe ungeklärt. Der frühsaitische P. Kairo GEM 66796 aus Illahun [Anm. 21] schreibt, wie dies auch im thebanischen Kursivhieratisch üblich ist, *rm* (Z. 5, ähnlich Z. 11), die Gruppenschreibung *ỉrm* ist aber im Demotischen wie überhaupt im Neuägyptischen Standard.

bb. Ist die vorgeschlagene Lesung von als *ḥ.t* zutreffend, kann man mit den Bedeutungen „Partei, Körperschaft, Mannschaft" u.ä. operieren, vgl. *Wb.* 3, S. 357–358; ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, S. 374; *CDD*, *Ḥ*, S. 3–4; VITTMANN, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, S. 416. Im Zusammenhang mit den Ausdrücken „Mann" (*rmṯ*) und „Bogenträger" (*ṯzj-ptj*) wäre dies nicht unpassend.

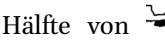
cc. *ỉw ʿnḫ=f* ist Umstandssatz der Vorzeitigkeit, wobei *ʿnḫ* hier nicht als Zustand „leben", sondern fientisch als „(wieder) lebendig werden, wiederaufleben" aufzufassen ist und *ỉw* eine kausale Konnotation hat. Das Subjekt des Satzes *pȝ gm* (vgl. den folgenden Kommentar) wird durch ein Pronomen antizipiert.

dd. *pȝ gm n=f rmṯ* verstehe ich als „der, der für sich einen (oder mehrere) Menschen gefunden hat", mit *gm* als Partizip für *ỉ*(*.ỉr*) *gm*; vgl. auch oben Kommentar t. Der ganze Satz soll wohl – in Form eines Sprichworts? – Freude und Erleichterung dessen, der „für sich Menschen gefunden hat" ausdrücken. Wofür die Leute und der Bogenschütze benötigt wurden, geht aus dem Text nicht hervor.

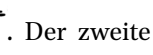
ee. Wieder ein Fehler des Schreibers.

ff. Mit der Gruppe wird der erste Teil des Briefes abgeschlossen. Trifft der hier gebotene Lesungsvorschlag *rḫ=k* zu, würde es sich dabei um einen ungewöhnlichen Reflex der neuägyptischen Formel *jḫ rḫ=k st*[40] „mögest du es wissen!" oder einfach eine fehlerhafte Verkürzung handeln. Die Schreibung steht dann in der Mitte zwischen kursivhieratischem , also *rḫ* mit zwei Determinativen, und der im Demotischen üblichen rein alphabetischen Schreibung von ohne Determinativ. Die Hinzufügung des „Mannes mit der Hand am Mund" als einzigem Determinativ bei *rḫ* ist mir sonst nur aus dem kursivhieratischen P. Kairo CG 30884 + 30864, 9[41] bekannt, wo sich  von der Normalschreibung  in Z. 6 (anderer Schreiber!) unterscheidet.

gg. *mt*(*r*) *sḫ*, im Englischen meist mit „witness-scribe" übersetzt, ist von der Zeit Takelothis' III. bis in die Psammetichs I. belegt; vgl. DONKER VAN HEEL, *Archive of Petebaste*, S. 49 (xiv), und P. Kairo GEM 66796, II 7 (= D 1). 11 (= E 1) [Anm. 21].

hh. Die zweite Hälfte von  erinnert an *ptr* in Z. 2, eine Ergänzung *Pȝ-*⌜*ptr*⌝ ist jedoch zweifelhaft, da außerhalb des dicken Kleckses keine passenden Reste zu erkennen sind und zudem ein derartiger Name nicht belegt ist.[42]

ii. *tp=f* „eigenhändig", „persönlich" ist vor allem demotisch in der Phrase *sḫ* NN *tp=f* „geschrieben von NN eigenhändig" bekannt, vgl. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, S. 626; *CDD*, *T*, S. 168; M. DEPAUW, „Autograph Confirmation in Demotic Private Contracts", *CdÉ* 78 (2003), S. 66–111 *passim*. Wegen der geographischen Nähe besonders zu erwähnen ist P. Kairo GEM 66796, I 14/B 7.[43] Eine bemerkenswerte Parallele für *mt*(*r*) *sḫ* NN *tp=f* liefert der ja geographisch und zeitlich nicht weit entfernte P. Rylands 1, 9.[44]

jj. Der sehr geläufige Name *ʾIr.t-ḥr-r=w*[45] ist hier mit zwei überflüssigen zusätzlichen Vertikalstrichen am Ende versehen:  . Der zweite dieser Striche ähnelt einem Gottesdeterminativ, das aber bei diesem Namen vor der Römerzeit nicht üblich ist und z.B. bei *ʾImn* eine abweichende Form aufweist (Z. 2, Z. 4).

kk. Wegen des in Z. 12 vorangehenden *ỉw*(*=j*) zweifellos als Schreibung für *r*/*ỉ* des Futurum III zu bestimmen.

ll. Da dem Adressaten unmittelbar vorher Leben, Heil und Gesundheit gewünscht wurde, liegt die Annahme nahe, daß *ʿḥʿ* „Lebenszeit" diesen Wunsch fortsetzt. Um die qualifizierende Ergänzung eines vergessenen *q*(*ȝ*)*j* (vgl. Z. 3 und 5) kommt man dann nicht herum. Eine ganz andere und im Hinblick auf die abschließende Notiz

40 A.M. BAKIR, *Egyptian Epistolography from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasty* (BiÉtud 48, Kairo, 1970), S. 68 und 69.

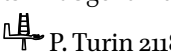
41 G. VITTMANN, „Zwei kursivhieratische Urkunden in Kairo", *Enchoria* 26 (2000), S. 125–150, hier S. 136 und 139; Taf. 16–17.

42 Als Namenbildung mit *ptr* ist *Ptr-ỉmn-mn* zu nennen; vgl. M. THIRION, „Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN*", *RdÉ* 54 (2003), S. 177–190, hier S. 179.

43 ABD-ELLATIF – EISSA, „Between Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic", *GM* 262, S. 51.

44 GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri*, 2, pl. 8 (A 9; Faksimile). Die Umschrift *a.a.O.*, vol. 3, S. 205, ist entsprechend zu korrigieren (ebenso die Transkription *m* bei VITTMANN, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, S. 224).

45 RANKE, *Personennamen*, 1, S. 42: 11–12; LÜDDECKENS, *Namenbuch*, S. 72–73. Für kursivhieratische Belege vgl. beispielhalber DONKER VAN HEEL, *Archive of Petebaste*, S. 153 (Index).

vielleicht sogar wahrscheinlichere Deutung wäre, *ḥr* nicht als „Lebenszeit", sondern als „Summe, Menge" zu verstehen. Kursivhieratisch ist dieser Terminus – allerdings stehts in abgekürzter Schreibung – mehrmals belegt; vgl.  P. Turin 2118, 17.[46] Ob man die äußerlich nicht von *ḥr* „Lebenszeit" unterschiedene Schreibung in P. Duk. 648, 14 als „Summe, Menge" verstehen darf, bleibt vorerst aber fraglich.

mm. Während *sw 15* offensichtlich den Tag der Niederschrift angibt, ist unklar, worauf sich das abschließende Zahlwort *19* bezieht. Falls es sich, wie oben in der Einleitung vermutet, um einen Schultext handelt, könnte mit „19" vielleicht die Anzahl der einzelnen Teile des Briefes gemeint sein. Unter Weglassung von die direkte Rede einleitendem *ỉw ḏd* und ähnlich käme folgende Gliederung in Frage:

1 *pȝ ḫrw* bis *pȝj(=j) ḥrj* (Z. 1)
2 *ỉ.ỉr(=j) ḥȝb* bis *pȝj(=j) ḥrj* (Z. 1–2)
3 *ptr sw* bis *pȝ nṯr ʿȝ* (Z. 2)
4 *mj n=k ʿnḫ* bis *ỉȝw.t ʿȝ(.t) nfr* (Z. 3)
5 *mj n=k ḥs(wt)* bis … *ntj dj=k* (Z. 3–4)
6 *ỉ.ỉr(=j) ḥȝb* bis *pȝj(=j) ḥrj* (Z. 4)
7 *< ỉ> dj ʾImn* bis *qȝj pȝj=f ʿḥʿ* (Z. 5)
8 *ḥȝb mj*(?) bis *sḫm.t ʾIrj*(?) (Z. 5–6)
9 *tw(=j) ʿš (n)*k *ʾImn* … (Z. 6)
10 *ỉḫ pȝ ḫpr* bis *ỉrm*(?)*=k* (Z. 7–8)
11 *ḥȝb n=j* … bis *rmṯ* (Z. 8)
12 *ḥȝb n=j* {*m*} *ḫrw* (Z. 9)
13 *ỉ.ỉr(=j) ḥȝb* bis *pȝj(=j) ḥrj* (Z. 9)
14 *rḫ=k* (Z. 9)
15 *mt*(*r*) *sḫ* bis ⌜*tp*⌝*=f* (Z. 10)
16 *pȝ ḫrw* bis *pȝj(=j) ḥrj* (Z. 11)
17 *ỉ.ỉr(=j) ḥȝb* bis *ỉw ḏd* (Z. 12)
18 *ptr sw* bis *pȝ nṯr ʿȝ* (Z. 12–13)
19 *dj=f ʿnḫ=f ʿnḫ wḏȝ snb ʿḥʿ* (Z. 13–14, siehe aber oben Kommentar ll)

In gewisser Weise eine Parallele würde P. Anastasi 1 bieten, wo sieben Schreiber mit der Abfassung von jeweils zwei Abschnitten bzw. Paragraphen (*sd.t*/*smd.t*) eines Briefes (*šʿ.t*) betraut werden, so daß also ein „Brief von 14 (Abschnitten)" (*šʿ.t nt 14*) zustandekommt.[47] Der Umstand, daß die Einträge auf P. Duk. 648 Verso ebenfalls nach dem Schema „Monatstag x" (*sw*-x) – „Zahl" gebildet sind, läßt die erwogene Deutung freilich als problematisch erscheinen. Ob dem Umstand, daß Tagesdatum und Zahl gegenüber *ḥr* etwas nach oben versetzt sind, besondere Bedeutung zukommt, läßt sich schwer abschätzen. Eventuell hat der Schreiber nach dem Zählen der Abschnitte einfach etwas höher angesetzt. Daß die Angabe zum Verso gehört, eventuell als vorgezogene Fortsetzung zu Kol. 11, die mit *sw 12* endet, erscheint mir weniger plausibel.

46 M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique anormal et en démotique*, II (RAPH 18, Kairo, 1983), S. 24 (unser Faksimile nach Photo des Museums); ebenso Turin 2120, 15, vgl. Malinine, *a.a.O.*, S. 34, und zu weiteren kursivhieratischen Belegen Donker van Heel, *Archive of Petebaste*, S. 43 (5) („summation") und S. 125 (l). Für Belege von *ḥʿw* in entsprechender Bedeutung aus dem Mittleren und Neuen Reich vgl. R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, II: *Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit* (Mainz, 2006), Teil 1, S. 563–564 („Betrag, Zahl, Menge, Bestand"); W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v.Chr.* (MÄS 31, Berlin, 1974), S. 127–128 (i) („zusammenfassende Aufstellung").

47 Für die Erinnerung an diese Stelle danke ich H.-W. Fischer-Elfert sehr herzlich; siehe H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I: Textzusammenstellung* (KÄT, Wiesbaden, 1992²), S. 62–63; idem, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar* (ÄgAbh 44, Wiesbaden, 1986), S. 59.

Verso

Umschrift (□ bezeichnet ein Spatium)

1 *ḥ3.t-sp* (?) ..[a] *P3j(=j)-..-r=w*[b] □ *4*[c]

(*Kolumne I*)

2[d] *sw 4* ⌜*10*⌝ ...[e]
3 *sw 5* □ *5*
4 *sw 6* □ *5*
5 *sw 7* □ *5*
6 *sw 8* □ *5*
7 *sw 9* □ *5*
8 *sw 10* □ *5*
9 *sw 11* □⌜*5* ⌝
10 *sw 12* □ *5*
11 *sw 13* □ *5*
12 *sw 14* □ *5*
13 *sw 15* □ *5*
14 *sw 16* □ ⌜*5* ⌝
15 *sw 17* □ *4*
16 *sw 18* □ ⌜*4*(?)⌝
17 *sw 19* □ *12*⌜+x⌝

(*Kolumne II*)[f]

18 *sw 9* □ *9*
19 *sw 10 4*
20 *sw 11* □ *5*
21 *sw 12* □ ⌜*5* ⌝(?)[g]

Statt der aus evidenten Gründen überflüssigen Übersetzung begnügen wir uns mit einem Kommentar:

a. Die Lesung von als *ḥ3.t-sp*/*ḥsb.t* x „(Regierungs-)Jahr x“ ist verlockend, die Schreibung von *ḥ3.t-sp* als ist in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (aber auch schon viel früher) nicht selten belegt.[48] Daß das erste Zeichen im Unterschied zu frühen demotischen sowie kursivhieratischen Belegen wie P. Rylands 2, G 1;[49] ibid., H 1; P. BM EA 10798 [Anm. 4], III 1 keinen Fortsatz in der Mitte oder unten aufweist, ist unproblematisch, vgl. P. Rylands 2, B 1; P. Kairo GEM 66796 [Anm. 21], I 1 und identisch ibid., II *ult.*

Trifft die Lesung *ḥ3.t-sp* zu, muß – die Schriftführung ist nicht völlig exakt und zweifelsfrei zu bestimmen – das Regierungsjahr bezeichnen, und hier beginnen die Probleme. Eine Erklärung als einziges einheitliches Zeichen ist anscheinend unmöglich; eventuell hat der Schreiber ein ursprüngliches *sw 3* „Tag 3“ – die folgende Zeile fährt mit *sw 4* fort – zu einem *ḥ3.t-sp 5* korrigiert. Allerdings wird *5* in den folgenden Zeilen viel größer geschrieben, so daß die Lesung der Passage leider offenbleiben muß. Ein weiteres Problem besteht schließlich darin, daß man nach einem Jahresdatum und gerade auch im Hinblick auf die in den folgenden Zeilen beginnende Reihe von Tagesdaten zunächst einmal die Angabe von Monat und Jahreszeit erwarten würde und keinen Personennamen.

b. Der in Z. 1, 10 und 11 des Rectos begegnende Personenname *P3j(=j)-...-r=w* (vgl. oben Kommentar b zum Recto), wodurch die Zusammengehörigkeit von Recto und Verso erwiesen wird.

c. Worauf sich die Zahlenangabe *4* am Ende der Zeile bezieht, wissen wir nicht; dies gilt analog für sämtliche folgenden Zeilen; vgl. den folgenden Kommentar.

d. Mit Zeile 2 beginnt eine bis ans Ende der Kolumne reichende lückenlose Folge der Monatstage „Tag 4“ bis „Tag 19“, mit Ausnahme der Zeilen 2 und 15–17 stets von der Zahl *5* gefolgt. Die oben mit großer Vorsicht erwogene Deutung der letzten Zeile des Rectos als Angabe der Gesamtzahl der am betreffenden Tag geschriebenen Abschnitte wird man kaum auf Kol. II übertragen können.

48 Vgl. R.A. CAMINOS, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (AnOr 37, Rom, 1958), S. 76–77, § 113, mit weiteren Beispielen bei G. VITTMANN, „Eine genealogische Inschrift der Spätzeit im Tempel von Luxor“, *SAK* 10 (1983), S. 325–332, hier S. 330–331 (k); A. LEAHY, „Two Donation Stelae of Necho II“, *RdÉ* 34 (1982–1983), S. 77–91, hier S. 80 (a).

49 Die Faksimiles aus P. Rylands 1 sind der Synopse bei GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri*, 2, pl. 8 entnommen.

e. Das im Faksimile heller wiedergegebene Zeichen in gehört vielleicht zum getilgten Text.

f. Kolumne 11 führt nicht die Datenreihe von Kolumne 1 fort, sondern setzt mit „Tag 9“ ein, um wenig später mit „Tag 12“ aufzuhören. Da nirgends Monat und Jahreszeit genannt sind, läßt sich über den Sinn dieser Angaben nur spekulieren.

g. Die beschädigte Zahl ist vielleicht eher ⌜1⌝ zu lesen.

Möge es dem Jubilar, der den Text ja schon lange kennt, vergönnt sein, die vielen verbleibenden Unklarheiten zu beseitigen!

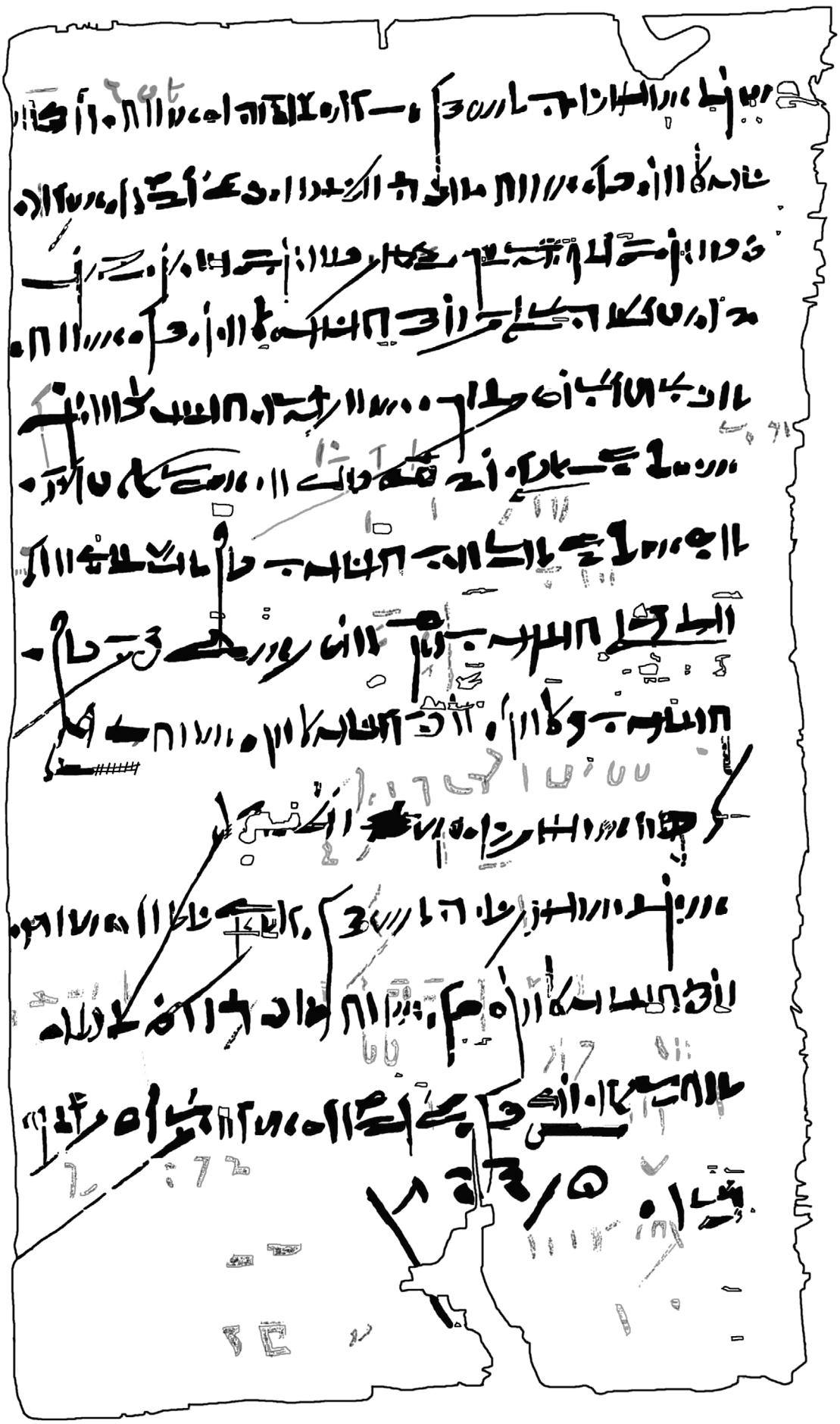


ABBILDUNG 1 P. Duke 648 Recto, Faksimile
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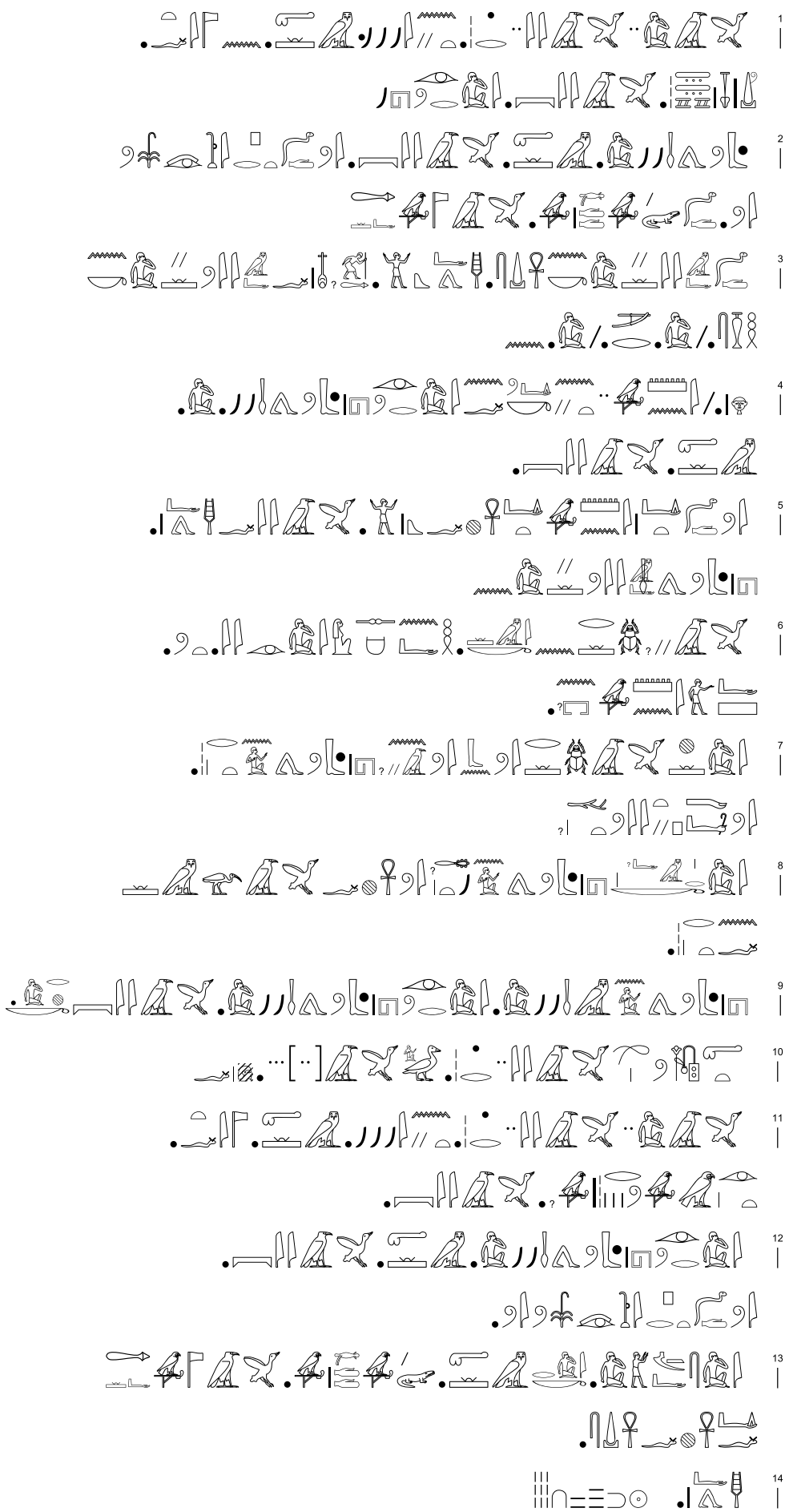

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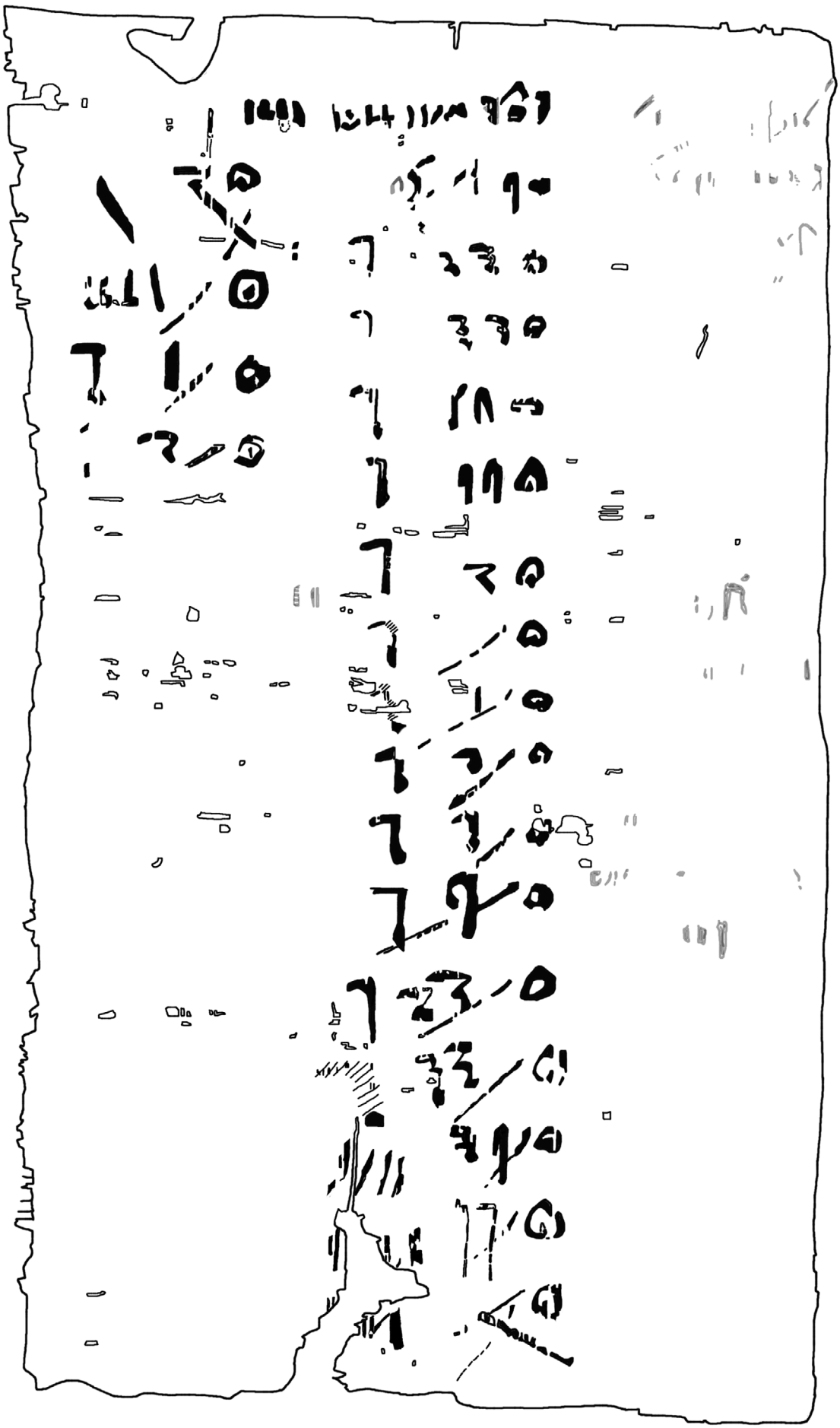

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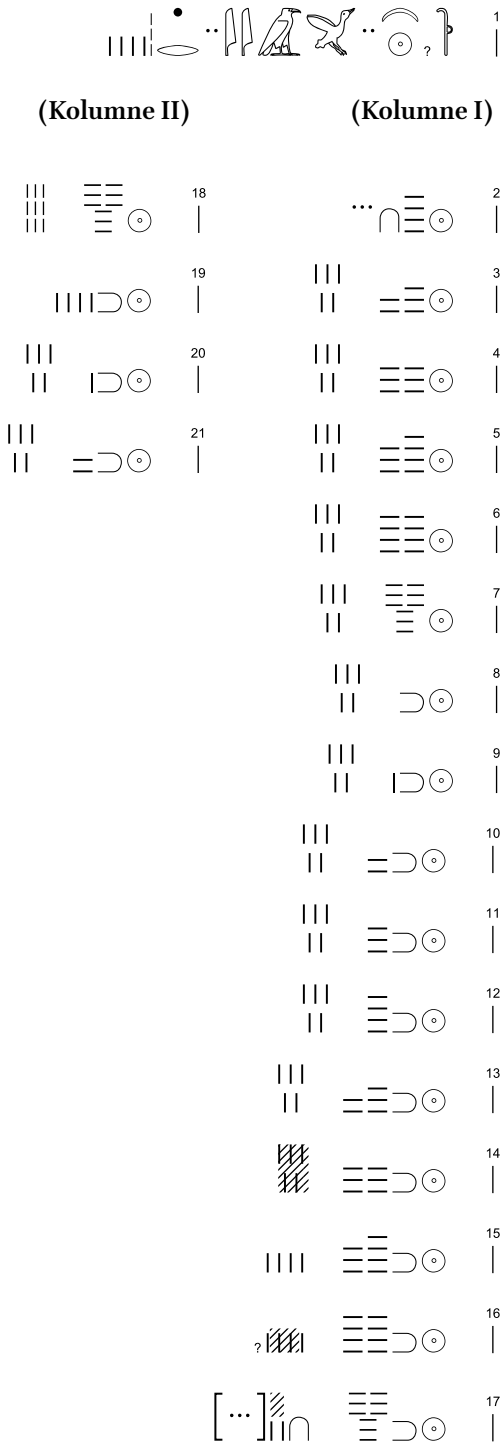

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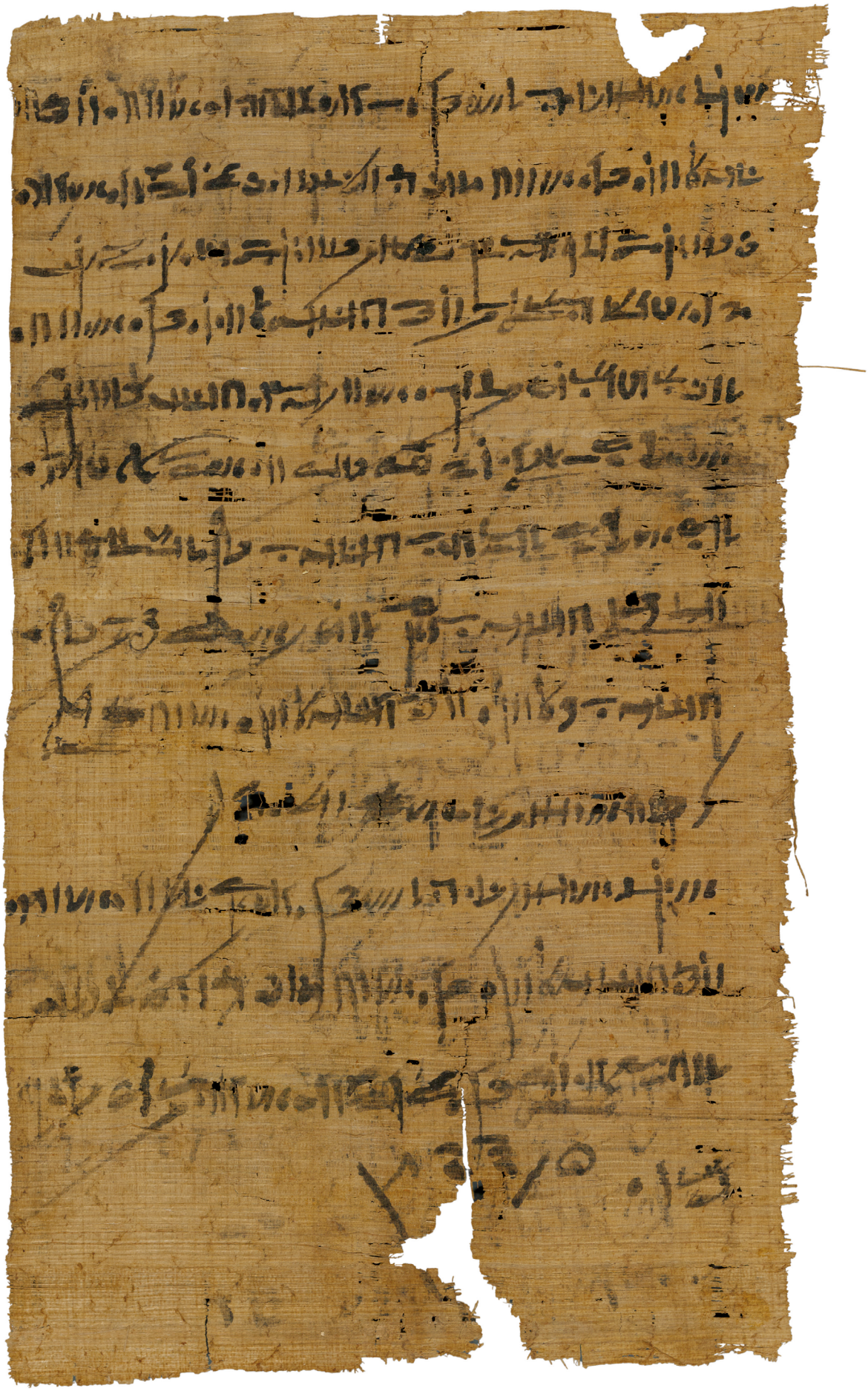

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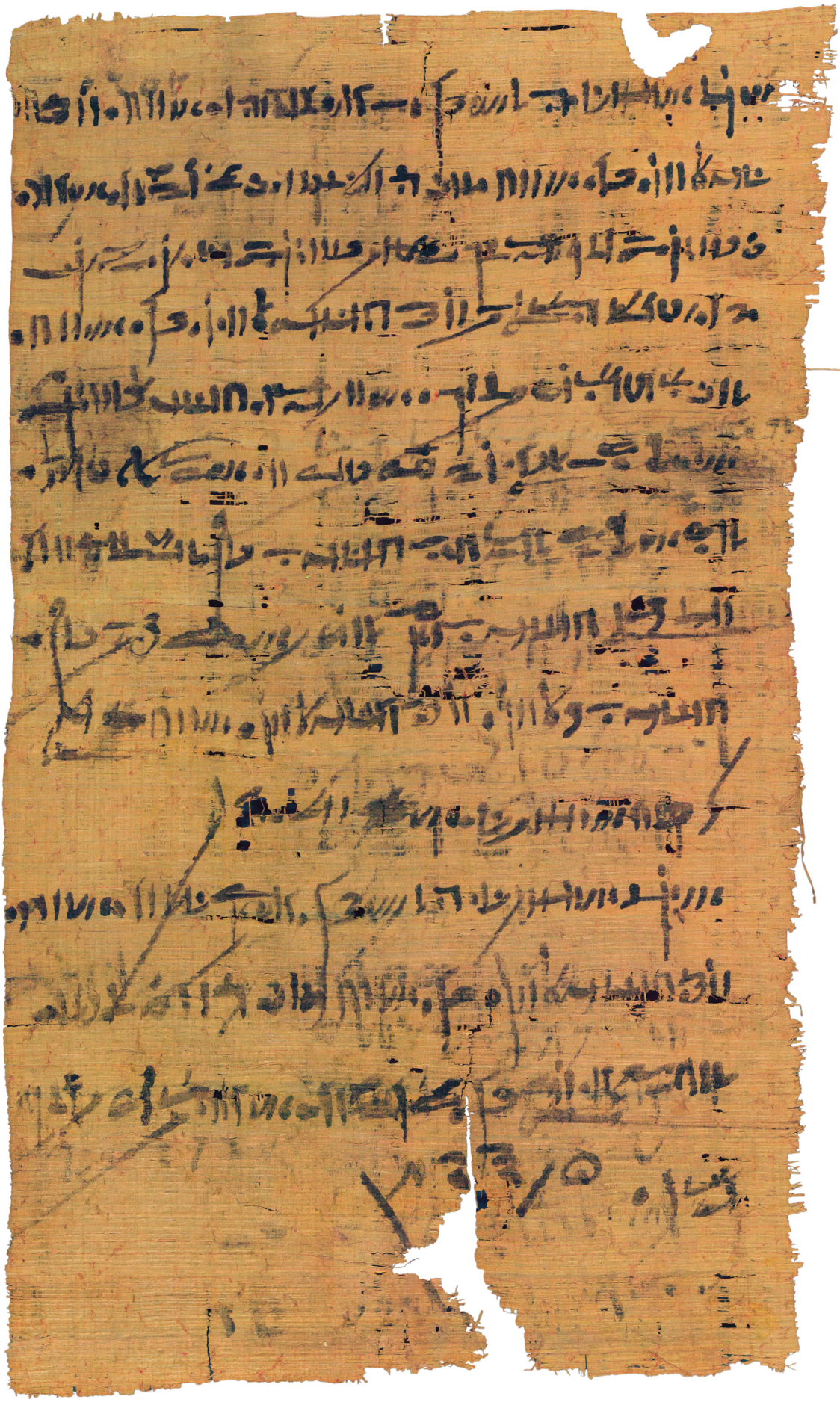

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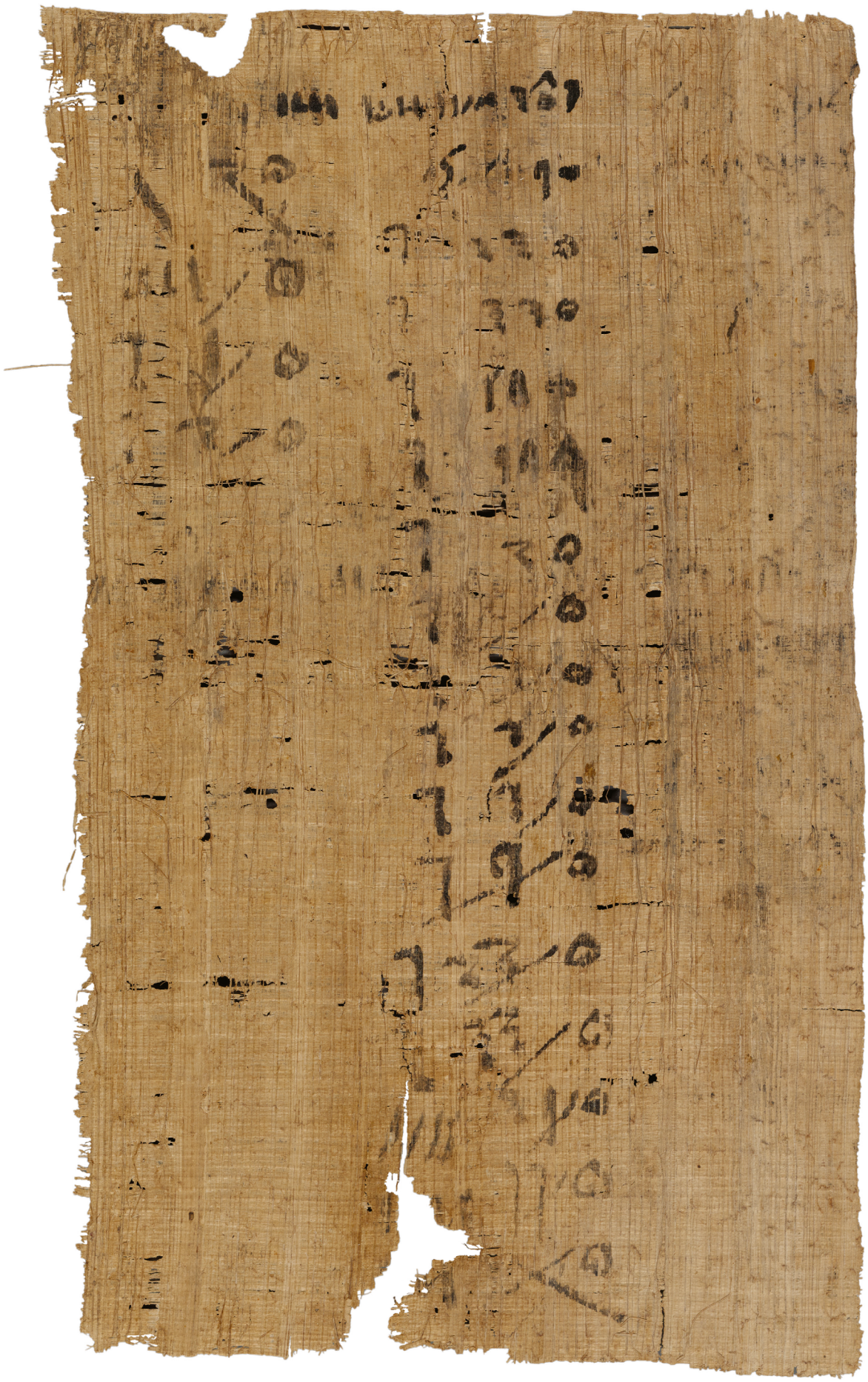

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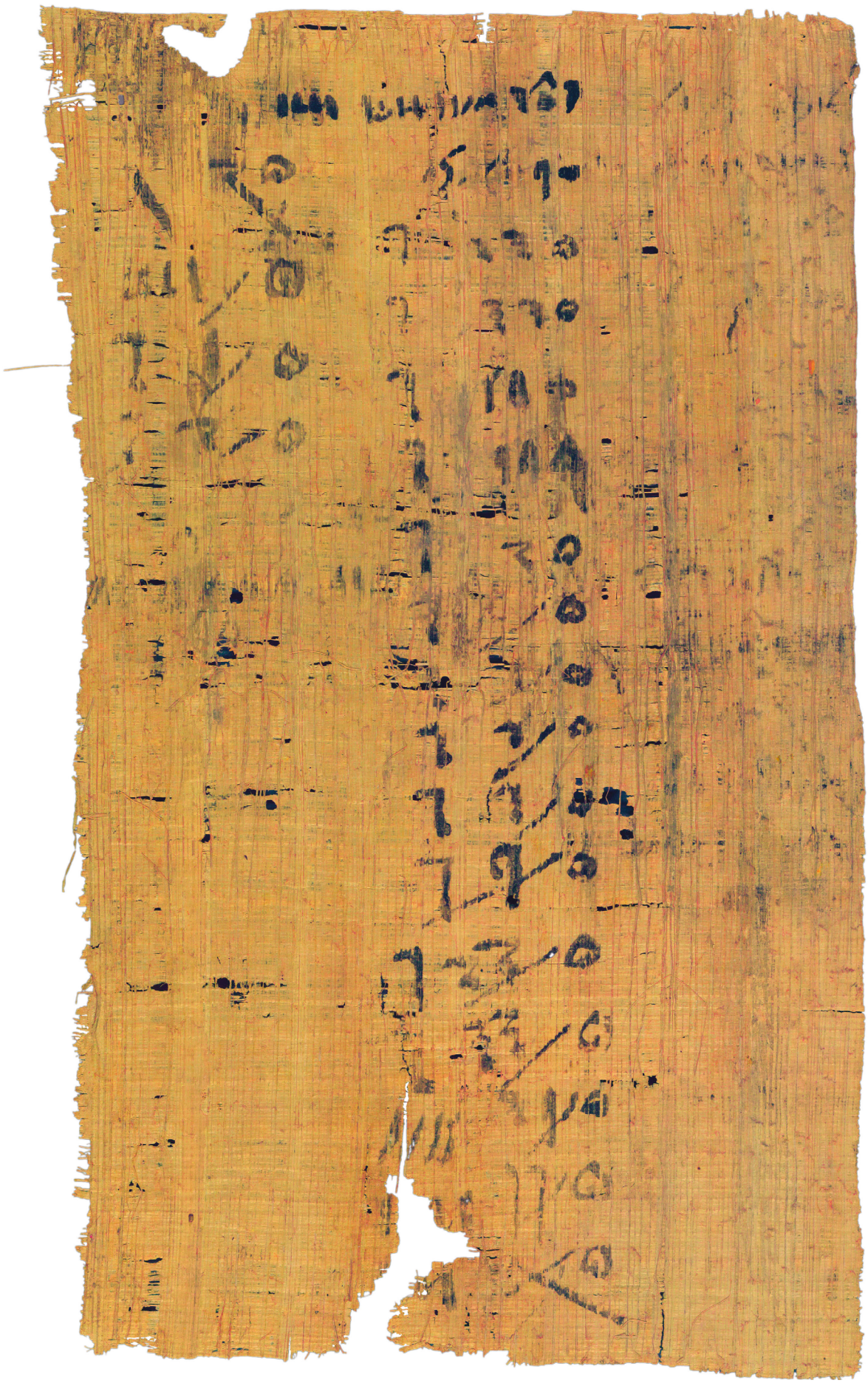

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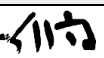
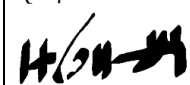
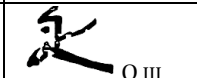
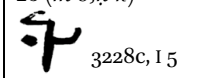
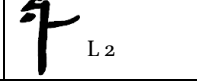
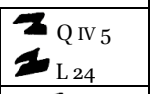
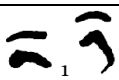
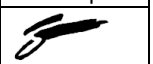
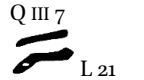
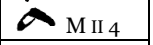
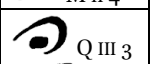
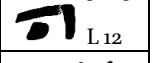
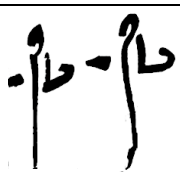
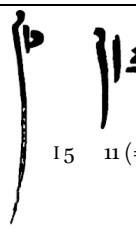
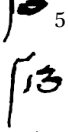
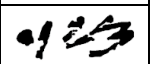
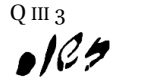
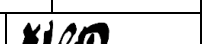
TABELLE 1 Paläographie

	P. Duk. 648	P. GEM 66796	P. Köln 5632	P. Rylands 1	Klassisches Kursiv-hieratisch
ỉwꜣf	1	I 5 I 8 (= B 1)	II 11 (in PN) II 12 (in PN)	5 C 6	L 1 Q III 18
ỉr *ỉ.ỉr*	4	I 5 I 3	II 18 (in PN)	–	L 1 Q II 20, IV 1
ỉmn	4	I 6 I 10 (= B 3)	III 9 *Pꜣ-dj-ỉmn*	3 F 3	L 3 M II 7 Q Vso III 18
ỉrm	8 *ỉrm(?)ꜥk*	 I 5 *rmꜥf*	–	–	Q II 12 3228c, I 5
ꜣ	2	I 11 (= B 4)	–	–	Q III 20 3228c, I 10
ꜥnḫ	5	I 6	II 14 *ꜥnḫ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wj*	7 C 8	Q III 7 L 10
Wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wj	1	–	II 19	1	–
pꜣ	1 2 1 *pꜣj(ꜣj)* 4 *pꜣj(ꜣj)*	I 6	III 5	2 B 3	Q II 1 Q Vso IV 15 3228c, I 4

	P. Duk. 648	P. GEM 66796	P. Köln 5632	P. Rylands 1	Klassisches Kursivhieratisch
ptr *sw*	2	 I 9 (= B 2)	–	–	Q II 7  L 2
m-bꜣḥ	1	–	–	–	 Q III 20 (*m-bꜣḥ=k*)  3228c, I 5  L 2
n=j	7	–	–	–	 Q IV 5 L 24
n=k	3	–	–	 1 B 1	 Q III 7  L 21  M II 4
ntj	1	3 5	III 6	2 B 2	 Q III 3  L 12
rmṯ	 7 8	 I 5 11 (= B4)	–	5  ibid.	 Q III 3  L 8 3228c, I 22
ḫꜣb	4	–	–	–	 L 6 M II 2
ḫpr	6	–	–	–	Q III 15 L 7

	P. Duk. 648	P. GEM 66796	P. Köln 5632	P. Rylands 1	Klassisches Kursiv-hieratisch
sḫ	10 *mt(r)-sḫ*	I 7 I 14 (= B 7) *mt(r)-sḫ*	IV 11	1 B 1 *mt(r)-sḫ*	Q IV 4 3228c, I 10
dj	5 4 *dj=k* 13 *dj=f*	I 5 *dj.t*	III 9 (in PN)	1 3 *dj=k*	Q IV 16 *dj=k* Q IV 12 Q IV 11 *dj.t*
ḏd	2 3	I 2	II 12 (in PN)	1	Q IV 5 L 2

P. GEM 66796: Siehe oben Anm. 3.
P. Köln 5632: Siehe oben Anm. 4.
P. Rylands 1: Siehe oben Anm. 17.
Abkürzungen in der Spalte „Klassisches Kursivhieratisch“:
L = Holztafel Leiden AH 155 [= ex I 431]: Siehe oben Anm. 5.
M = P. Moskau: Siehe oben Anm. 15.
Q = P. Queen’s College: Siehe oben Anm. 22.
3228c = P. Louvre E 3228c: DONKER VAN HEEL, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste* [Anm. 30], Text 5.

Index of Hieratic and Hieroglyphic Words

art.	article
circ.	circumstantial
conj.	conjunctive
conv.	converter
def.	definitive
demonst.	demonstrative
dep.	dependent
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
imp.	imperative
ind.	independent
indef.	indefinite
inter.	interrogative
masc.	masculine
neg.	negative
obj.	object
part.	particle
plu.	plural
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
rel.	relative
sing.	Singular
vb	verb

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