One Who Loves Knowledge

Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow



Edited by
Betsy Bryan
Mark Smith
Christina DiCerbo
Marina Escolano-Poveda
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ONE WHO LOVES KNOWLEDGE

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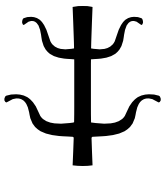
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Contents

Acknowledgments xi
Preface by Betsy Bryan xiii
Preface by Mark Smith xv
Bibliography of Richard Jasnow xvii
List of Figures xxiii
Abbreviations xxxi

Yekaterina BARBASH
Book of the Dead Scholarship in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Case of pBrooklyn 37.1484E 1

Horst BEINLICH
Dein sei die Maat, Thot verleihe sie dir 15

Betsy M. BRYAN
A Little Thoth Goes a Long Way 25

Kathlyn M. COONEY
Finding Nitocris: Patterns of Female Rule at the End of Egypt's Old Kingdom 33

John Coleman DARNELL
Epiphany or Erudition? The Inception of Atonism 43

Katherine E. DAVIS
Silent Signs: Determinatives as Markers of Scribal Knowledge 55

Paul DELNERO
The First Days of School in Mesopotamia: Preliminary Thoughts on the Personal Name List Inana-teš 71

Didier DEVAUCHELLE and Ghislaine WIDMER
L'ostracon Louvre E 11037 : Une lettre à un mort en démotique ? 79

Christina DI CERBO
Some Observations on the Demotic Lease P. Tebtynis dem. 5944 89

Mahmoud EBEID and Cary J. MARTIN
A Demotic Administrative Papyrus from the Tuna el-Gebel Necropolis (P. el-Ashmunein Magazine Inv. No. 1455-B) 105

Marina ESCOLANO-POVEDA
"Black Is Her Hair, More Than the Black of the Night": The Tale of the Herdsman and the Origins of Egyptian Love Poetry 123

Marian H. FELDMAN
Making an Impression: How to Seal an Ur III Period Administrative Tablet in Nippur 141

Hans-W. FISCHER-ELFERT
Göttlich, nicht königlich: Ein neuer Thot-Hymnus aus Deir el-Medineh 149

José M. GALÁN
Black Spread over Mummy Cases and Tomb Walls in Dra Abu el-Naga 171

François GAUDARD
Funerary Shrouds from Dendera in the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago.
Part II: Shroud OIM E4789 187

Friedhelm HOFFMANN
Anmerkungen zu P. Loeb 2 197

Fatma ISMAIL
A Statue of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in the Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University 207

Michael JASNOW
Richard at the Well 215

Jacob LAUINGER
Idrimi's Aunts at Emar: On Line 5 of the Idrimi Inscription 219

Theodore J. LEWIS
Gift Giving, Generosity, and the Etymology of Manna 227

Sandra LIPPERT and Maren SCHENTULEIT
Papyrus Berlin P. 7056: Division of a Kleros between Members of a Priestly Family from Roman
Soknopaiou Nesos 235

Alice MANDELL
Speaking Clearly through the Canaanite Amarna Letters: How to Connect with an Audience in Cuneiform 263

Franziska NAETHER
"Let the Ibis Be Consulted": Letters Mentioning Cult Practices or Containing Possible Allusions to
Literary Texts 277

Jeremy POPE
A New Inscription from Taharqo's "Cattle Road" 289

Luigi PRADA
New Studies on the Greek Version of the Demotic Myth of the Sun's Eye: An Additional Fragment
(P. Vindob. G 29357) and an Analysis of the *kwf/lynx*-Monkey 305

Joachim QUACK
Ein frühdemotischer Weisheitstext: Papyrus Berlin 23504 323

Robert K. RITNER
Jubilating Baboons and the Bes Pantheos 335

Kim RYHOLT
Notes on the Copenhagen Hawara Papyri 345

JJ SHIRLEY
Defining the *ḥ3 n t̲3ty*: Or, Where Did the Vizier Conduct His Work? 357

Ariel SINGER and Janet H. JOHNSON
Some Egyptian-Greek Language/Script Interactions as Reflected in *Magical* 385

Mark SMITH
Political, Social, and Economic Aspects of Dreams in the Archive of Hor 407

Martin Andreas STADLER
A New Version of the Beginning of the *Book of Traversing Eternity*: The Hieroglyphic-Demotic Funerary Stela of Pakhom, Son of Lykos, from Edfu (22 March 18 BCE) 419

John TAIT
Horus and Seth from North Saqqara: A Demotic Papyrus Fragment Excavated by the EES at the Sacred Animal Necropolis 439

Steve VINSON
Tabubue and the Menstrual Tabu 453

Günter VITTMANN
Eine pseudohieratische Gefäßinschrift der Spätzeit aus Deir el-Bahari (Kairo JE 56283) 467

Alexandra VON LIEVEN
The Name of the Teacher in the Ritual for Entering the Chamber of Darkness, alias "Book of Thoth" 493

Karl-Theodor ZAUZICH
Überlegungen zu einigen libyschen Personennamen 497

Karl-Theodor ZAUZICH
Jüdische Namen in einer demotischen Bier- und Weizenzuteilung aus Elephantine 509

Lingxin ZHANG
In What Ways Do the Gods Know You? A Bilingual Letter (Cairo Mus. Inv. Nos. 10313, 10328, 30961) Revisited 515

Indexes
- Subjects 525
- Names 533
- Ancient Sources 536

Acknowledgments

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Betsy M. Bryan
Mark Smith
Marina Escolano-Poveda
Christina Di Cerbo
Jill S. Waller

Preface – Betsy Bryan

Richard Jasnow has been my colleague since 1995 when he came to Johns Hopkins University from the Epigraphic Survey of the University of Chicago's Chicago House in Luxor, where he was Assistant Director and Senior Epigrapher. Although I did not know Richard extremely well before he arrived, we had become acquainted at the Wilbour Library of the Brooklyn Museum in the years before I left New York for Hopkins in 1986. Once I gave him a ride to Port Authority after we left the Library, and he still refers to it because it was out of my way home. One of Richard's characteristics, which all who get to know him are aware of, is his enjoyment of repeating favorite phrases ("où sont les neiges de hier [sic]?") and recalling incidents from the past, always with the same words ("Remember when you let me into the flow of traffic?") That ride into Manhattan is one of Richard's many repeated recollections, and even very good comedians would have a hard time getting laughs from repeating the same phrases and incidents day in and day out for decades. However, Richard is far more than a very good comedian. He's a demotist comic who has managed to make his Demotic lectures at the annual meetings of the American Research Center in Egypt standing room only because of his hilarious delivery of highly technical philological discussions. Richard is unique and a treasure for the field of Egyptology. His academic prowess needs no further accolade than the list of essays in his honor that we here present.

A product of the University of Wisconsin's Classics B.A. program, Richard then worked with Professors George Hughes and Jan Johnson at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago from 1977 until he received his doctorate in 1988. But after he earned his M.A. in September of 1986, Richard immediately found himself in Würzburg as Prof. Karl-Theodor Zauzich's Wissenschaftlicher Assistent as he wrote his dissertation, which he completed in 1988. He continued his three-year stint as Assistent through September of 1989 after which he joined Chicago House, where Tina still works and where Richard returns each winter (except 2020–2021) to seek and study Demotic graffiti, inscriptions, ostraca, or whatever texts he can put his hungry hands on. His research and publication of the Book of Thoth, together with Prof. Zauzich, on which he has spent more than three decades, must certainly be one of Richard's best recognized academic endeavors.

In the many years that Richard and I have been colleagues at Johns Hopkins, we have been fortunate to be able to teach together as well as advise, coach, and mentor our students collaboratively. For more than twenty-five years now we have co-taught Middle Egyptian Texts in a three-hour seminar on Thursday mornings with a short break in the middle that Richard refers to as "legally mandated." We enjoy bringing our separate areas of strength to bear in considering grammatical and lexical problems, allowing the students to consider the patterns of earlier Middle Egyptian as well as those of the late texts. We have been blessed with excellent students over the years, and Richard has worked with them to sharpen their language skills, when necessary. Such excellent scholars as Katherine Davis and Marina Escolano-Poveda, to name but two of the many represented in this volume, had the benefit of Richard's patient and persistent time with texts, as did many others whom we taught. Richard is a superb teacher whose students are dedicated to him. Undergraduates frequently have written how much they love his classes—for example, his "Gods and Monsters in Ancient Egypt" always brings enrollment of one hundred or more. Here is what one student wrote about Richard's class: "Every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday I look forward to this class. Every lecture is some middle ground between history, standup comedy, and performance art (don't worry, more on the side of history). He is extremely caring, just a lovely person, and so much fun to talk with. I highly recommend taking at least one class with him, if not more!"

I hope that most of you who read this preface will already know Richard Jasnow personally, because there is no way to describe him adequately. He is in many ways a Renaissance man: he is a musician, doing classical guitar en-

tirely for his own enjoyment, he reads constantly, enjoying biographies particularly. Indeed, his interest in the lives and careers of individuals from every walk of life is also emblematic of his interest in early Egyptologists. He not only collects books and photographs of early academics in our field, he often reaches out to find letters and biographical details about the early pioneers of the field. Richard's hero is Wilhelm Spiegelberg, but he becomes excited about learning new bits of information about any of the famous or the nearly invisible practitioners of the field.

I have been blessed with the brother that I never had, both Egyptologically and personally, in Richard Jasnow, and I know that my fellow editors, Mark Smith, Christina (Tina) Di Cerbo, Marina Escolano-Poveda, and Jill S. Waller join me in offering, together with the many authors here represented, a hearty "thank you" to Richard as a scholar and, perhaps even more, as a simply superb human being.

Preface – Mark Smith

My friendship with Richard began in the late nineteen seventies, more than forty years ago, when he and I worked together on the Chicago Demotic Dictionary. Along with other colleagues, we occupied a small office at the end of a corridor on the first floor of the Oriental Institute, where we spent our time going through Demotic texts sentence by sentence and word by word, transliterating, translating, and annotating them for eventual incorporation in that work. A portrait of Wilhelm Spiegelberg adorned one wall from which he oversaw our activities with a facial expression which we hoped was benign but, with hindsight, would probably better be described as inscrutable.

Like many of us who emerged from this Demotic crucible, Richard came away with a lifelong passion for texts written in the most cursive script ever devised by the ancient Egyptians. Since those early days in Chicago, he has gone on to great success, winning the esteem and admiration of colleagues in Egyptology and related subjects around the world. His career has led him on a peripatetic journey from Chicago to Luxor to Würzburg (with frequent return visits to each), and finally to Baltimore, where he has been based since 1995, rising through the academic ranks of Johns Hopkins University until his well-deserved appointment as Professor of Egyptology in 2004.

In seeking to describe Richard's contribution to Egyptology here, I would like to focus upon his research and scholarly publications. My co-editor Betsy Bryan has already spoken of his impact as a teacher and departmental colleague. The bibliography included elsewhere in this volume will reveal how prolific Richard has been as an author. One thing that stands out there is the breadth of subjects which he has covered in his published work, encompassing virtually every period of Egyptian history and many different types of text written in a variety of scripts. In response to questions, Richard is fond of saying "What do I know? I'm only a Demoticist." Yet a glance at his bibliography shows that this modest disclaimer should be taken with a pinch of salt. Richard's first monograph was the *editio princeps* of a hieratic wisdom text in the Brooklyn Museum, and he has published several other hieratic texts since then. As a member of the Epigraphic Survey he collaborated in producing records of the scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions in Theban temples. He has also deciphered hieroglyphic texts on smaller objects, including some from sites outside of Egypt, for example, a Late Bronze Age clay jug discovered at Lachish. In addition, he has co-edited or contributed to volumes on Egyptian and ancient Near Eastern law and written an insightful study of humour in ancient Egypt. Not bad for a mere Demoticist.

But wide-ranging as he is, both in interests and expertise, those who know Richard well can affirm that Demotic studies remain closest to his heart. Perhaps only those who do not limit themselves to Demotic can truly love it. Richard has enriched the discipline with a remarkable number of first editions of new Demotic texts, as well as studies and notes devoted to the elucidation of previously known ones, all of the highest quality and written with a style uniquely his. Chronologically, these extend from the Persian to the Roman period and include graffiti, legal and economic documents, hymns and other religious compositions, and literary works, inscribed on ostraca, papyri, stelae, and the walls of temples and tombs.

Among all these texts, I suspect that Richard's favorite is the Book of Thoth. This composition, attested by multiple witnesses dating to the Roman period, larger or smaller pieces of which are now scattered among museums and libraries throughout the world, records a dialogue between a teacher and his disciple, designated as "one who loves knowledge." Through a series of questions, the master tests the disciple's suitability for initiation into the mysteries of priestly and scribal lore. Richard, in collaboration with Karl-Theodor Zauzich, published the *editio princeps* of this text under the title *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth* in two magisterial volumes containing more than 600 pages and plates in 2005, the fruits of decades of painstaking study and research. In 2014, they published an updated translation of it designed for a nonspecialist readership, entitled *Conversations in the House of Life*. (I can still recall lengthy

discussions as to which direction the figure of Thoth on the cover should face.) Richard and Zauzich published a third volume devoted to these, along with a revised transliteration and translation of the entire text and facsimiles of the papyri, in 2021. Independently, Richard has also written numerous articles and has lectured widely on different aspects of the Book of Thoth, and no doubt will continue to do so. New fragments of this fascinating composition continue to come to light. Thus, the text shows every sign of becoming a permanent fixture in his life. The Book of Thoth is not only one of the most difficult texts to have survived from ancient Egypt but one of the most important surviving monuments of ancient Egyptian thought as well. Among Richard's many other achievements, the role he has played in making this challenging work available to scholarship will rank among the highest.

The reader will note that much of the research described above is of a collaborative nature. This is another salient feature of Richard's scholarly work, the frequency and success with which he has collaborated with others, whether in the US, Canada, England, Germany, Egypt, or Japan. Richard is very much an international figure, and the fact that he is so frequently sought out as a partner in collaborative projects reflects not only the degree to which his expertise and organisational skills are valued by others, but how much pleasure his colleagues derive from working with him as well. His enthusiasm for tackling even the most difficult project is both inspirational and infectious. I myself have collaborated with Richard on more than one occasion, and I describe how much I enjoyed the experience elsewhere in this volume.

But publications are by no means the whole story. There is more to Richard than these, and more to him than just Egyptology. At a relatively early stage in our acquaintance, he mentioned to me that he was a guitarist. With characteristic modesty, he underplayed his musical ability. It was only from subsequent conversations with Richard's brother Michael that I learned the extent of his skills and the depth of his knowledge of the guitar, which he actually studied at one time with a view to having a professional career, and found out how close music's gain came to being Egyptology's loss. On one visit to Baltimore several years ago, I had a few hours to spare before going to the airport to catch my flight back to the UK. We spent them in Richard's apartment playing records by the guitar genius Charlie Christian, and it was a privilege to hear these in company with such an acute and sensitive listener.

Over the years, Richard and I have developed a habit of recommending books to each other. Whenever he reads a book which he thinks I might enjoy, he recommends it to me, and I do the same for him. The books in question have been on a wide variety of subjects, but all have one thing in common: they have nothing to do with Egyptology. The most recent book which Richard has recommended to me is *Let's Play Two* by Ron Rapoport, a biography of Ernie Banks, legendary shortstop and first baseman for the Chicago Cubs baseball team from 1953 until 1971. The title of this book was his catchphrase; such was his love for baseball that he was ready to play two games even if only one was scheduled. As I have noted above, Richard brings the same infectious enthusiasm to Egyptology, particularly the reading and translation of difficult Demotic texts. I cannot recall ever hearing him say "Let's decipher two!," but it would not surprise me if one day I do.

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List of Figures

Barbash

Fig. 1. Weighing of the Heart in the Book of the Dead of Herw, P. Brooklyn 37.1484E. Image courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum. 2
Fig. 2. Columns x+13–14, P. Brooklyn 37.1484E. Image courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum. 3
Fig. 3. Columns x+15–16, P. Brooklyn 37.1484E. Image courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum. 8

Beinlich

Fig. 1. «111019» 16
Fig. 2. «111025» 16
Fig. 3. «110428» 16
Fig. 4. «110452» 16
Fig. 5. «142316» 16
Fig. 6. «142317» 16
Fig. 7. «110526» 17
Fig. 8. «142329» 18
Fig. 9. «142346» 18
Fig. 10. «111225» 19
Fig. 11. «111748» 19
Fig. 12. «130051» 19
Fig. 13. «110854» 20
Fig. 14. «111411» 20
Fig. 15. «422045» 21
Fig. 16. «901577» 21
Fig. 17. «440013» 21
Fig. 18. «111916» 22
Fig. 19. «111608» 22
Fig. 20. «345051» 22

Bryan

Fig. 1. Faience figurine of Thoth, Eton Myers Collection (ECM) 625: (a) front view; (b) left view; (c) right view. 26
Fig. 2. Faience figurine of Thoth. H. 13.5 cm, W. 4.5 cm, D. 3.5 cm. Eton Myers Collection (ECM) 1587. 27

Cooney

Fig. 1. Autobiography of Weni (Egyptian Museum, Cairo). Image source: E. Grébaut and G. Maspero, eds., *Le Musée égyptien: Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'*Égypte, vol. 1 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1890), pls. XXVII–XVIII; public domain. 39

Darnell

Fig. 1. Typeset copy of hieroglyphic text on Akhenaten Temple Project block X 1/5, from the Tenth Pylon of Karnak Temple. 44

Davis
Fig. 1. Entries 130–137 from the Ramesseum Onomasticon. After Gardiner, *AEO*, pl. 1A. 57
Fig. 2. P. Ramesseum V, columns 16–24 (upper). After Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, pl. 21. 59

Devauchelle and Widmer
Fig. 1. Facsimilé de l'ostracon Louvre E 11037. © Didier Devauchelle et Ghislaine Widmer. 80
Fig. 2. Ostracon démotique Deir el-Medineh 5-1. © Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire / Alain Lecler. 87
Fig. 3. Ostracon démotique Deir el-Medineh 5-2. © Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire / Alain Lecler. 87
Fig. 4. Ostracon démotique Louvre E 11037, recto. © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais/ Christian Décamps. 88
Fig. 5. Ostracon démotique Louvre E 11037, verso. © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais/ Christian Décamps. 88

Di Cerbo
Fig. 1. P. Tebtynis dem. 5944 in October 2000. 90
Fig. 2. Two mirrored images of the verso and recto showing the water damage of P. Tebtynis dem. 5944, with squares highlighting some of the imprints. 91
Fig. 3. Notation on verso of P. Tebtynis dem. 5944. 100
Fig. 4. Witnesses' signatures on the verso of P. Tebtynis dem. 5944. 101
Fig. 5. P. Tebtynis dem. 5944. Photograph by the author. 102
Fig. 6. P. Tebtynis dem. 5944. 103

Ebeid and Martin
Fig. 1. Front of P. el-Ashmunein Magazine Inv. No. 1455-B. Photograph © P. Brose. 106
Fig. 2. Back of P. el-Ashmunein Magazine Inv. No. 1455-B. Photograph © P. Brose. 107

Escolano-Poveda
Fig. 1. P. Mallorca I frags. 2-4. Photography by Sergio Carro Martín, facsimile by Marina Escolano-Poveda. 126
Fig. 2. S. Louvre C100. © 2015 Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais_Christian Décamps. 128

Feldman
Fig. 1. Scan of tablet UM 29-15-893 (NATN 642; CDLI P121340). Reproduced courtesy of Penn Museum. 142
Fig. 2. Hand copy of tablet UM 29-15-893 (NATN 642). Reproduced courtesy of David I. Owen. 142
Fig. 3. Drawing of process of sealing Ur III tablets. From Hattori, "Sealing Practices in Ur III Nippur," fig. 1. Reproduced courtesy of Atsuko Hattori. 144
Fig. 4. Ur III cylinder seal and impression, with two-line inscription "Aḫa-nīšu, the servant of Nūr-Šulgi." Black stone (hematite?). Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum FIC.07.178. Image courtesy of the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum. 144
Fig. 5. Reverse of tablet UM 29-15-893. Photograph by the author; reproduced courtesy of Penn Museum. 147
Fig. 6. Detail of corrected area on reverse of tablet UM 29-15-893. Photograph by the author; reproduced courtesy of Penn Museum. 147

Fischer-Elfert
Fig. 1. © ÄMUL 3957 recto. 150

Fig. 2. © ÄMUL 3957 verso. 150
Fig. 3. ANAsh Mus. H.O. 398. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. 150

Galán
Fig. 1. *Rishi*-coffin of Neb, Seventeenth Dynasty, with the box painted black. 172
Fig. 2. Lucía Díaz-Iglesias working on the backside of the cartonnage mummy case (SMDAN 1357). 174
Fig. 3. Detail of the black substance sliding down the sides of the mummy case. 174
Fig. 4. Part of the face and wig of the mummy case, coated with the black substance. 175
Fig. 5. Detail showing the flies trapped and a testimony of the gilded face under the black coating. 175
Fig. 6. Right wall of the tomb-chapel of Hery (TT 12), showing in red attached blocks. 177
Fig. 7. Detail of one of the blocks with different stages of the black coating. 177
Fig. 8. Detail of one of the blocks with different stages of the black coating. 178
Fig. 9. Right wall of the central corridor of the tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11) showing a missing block. 179
Fig. 10. Blackened repair block found in the excavation outside and placed back in the Opening of the Mouth tableau. 179
Fig. 11. Blackened block from Djehuty's Opening of the Mouth tableau in the process of being placed back. 179
Fig. 12. The block back in its original place, around which there are no traces of fire or any black coating. 179
Fig. 13. View of the block's front. 180
Fig. 14. View of the block's back. 180
Fig. 15. Section of Djehuty's tomb-chapel (TT 11) and upper gallery. 181
Fig. 16. Plan of the tomb-chapels TT 11, TT 12 and -399-, overlapped by the upper gallery. 182
Fig. 17. View of the central pillar of room E of the upper gallery. 183
Fig. 18. Entrance to room F, where Salima Ikram and José M. Parra are taking notes. Two Demotic graffiti are written over a clean surface above the entrance. 183
Fig. 19. Drippings of black substance next to the pillar in room E. 184
Fig. 20. Ptolemaic vessel with black substance solidified inside. 184
Fig. 21. The author showing to Christina Di Cerbo and Richard Jasnow the flies trapped under the black coating poured over the mummy case. 185
Fig. 22. Looking at Demotic graffiti in a blackened tomb-chapel parallel to Hery's corridor. 185

Gaudard
Fig. 1. Shroud OIM E4789. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 195

Hoffmann
Fig. 1. P. Loeb 2, Recto. Foto Marianne Franke; © Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, München. 198
Fig. 2. P. Loeb 2, Verso. Foto Marianne Franke; © Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, München. 198
Fig. 3. P. Loeb 2, Recto mit Markierung der Teiltexte. Foto Marianne Franke, Bildbearbeitung Friedhelm Hoffmann; © Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, München. 199
Fig. 4. P. Loeb 2, Verso. Foto Marianne Franke, Bildbearbeitung Friedhelm Hoffmann; © Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, München. 199

Ismail
Fig. 1. Statue of Ptah Sokar Osiris, JHU 2911, front view. Image courtesy of the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum. Photograph by Jay Van Rensselaer. 208
Fig. 2. Statue of Ptah Sokar Osiris, JHU 2911, showing back view of all separate parts. Image courtesy of the Walter's Art Museum. 208

Fig. 3. Two vertical columns of hieroglyphic inscription on the front of the statue. Image courtesy of the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum. Photograph by Lorraine Trusheim. 212
Fig. 4. Two vertical columns of hieroglyphic inscription on the back of the statue. Image courtesy of the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum. Photograph by Lorraine Trusheim. 212

Lippert and Schentuleit
Fig. 1. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P. 7056. Photograph by Sandra Steiß. 236
Fig. 2. Schematic drawing of the recto of papyrus Berlin P. 7056 (Lippert and Schentuleit). 237
Fig. 3. Family tree (Lippert and Schentuleit). 250
Fig. 4. Map of the Fayum (Lippert and Schentuleit). 256
Fig. 5. Schematic drawing of the *kleros* (Lippert and Schentuleit). 258

Pope
Fig. 1. Map of Lower Nubia. Courtesy of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Cartography Laboratory. 290
Fig. 2. Comparison of Taharqo's graffiti in the Kalabsha region. From top to bottom: Ambarkab, Tafa, Khor Hanush. Ambarkab transcription after Hintze, "Eine neue Inschrift vom 19. Jahre König Taharqas," 331. Tafa and Khor Hanush transcriptions after Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, Taf. 127a–b. 291
Fig. 3. Topographical map of Ibrim and its headlands, with black star inserted by the author to indicate the location of Taharqo's graffito. After Mills, *Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim*, pl. III. 292
Fig. 4. North headland at Ibrim, with rectangle inserted to show the location of Taharqo's graffito. Photograph by Mark Horton, Egypt Exploration Society Archive; courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. I thank Pam Rose for indicating the exact location of the graffito: pers. comm. 28 May 2019. 292
Fig. 5. Taharqo's graffito at Ibrim. Photograph by Mark Horton, Egypt Exploration Society Archive; courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 294
Fig. 6. Site card containing Peter French's transcription of the Ibrim graffito in 1988. Egypt Exploration Society Archive, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 294
Fig. 7. Verso of the site card shown in figure 6, containing Peter French's second attempt to transcribe the Ibrim graffito in 1988. Egypt Exploration Society Archive, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 295
Fig. 8. Aerial photograph of headland north of Qasr Ibrim, with arrow showing location of Taharqo's graffito (now underwater). © Google Earth 2009 (with better contrast than more recent photographs). I thank Mark Horton for indicating the exact location of the graffito on the headland: pers. comm., 6 August 2019. 295
Fig. 9. Somers Clarke's transcription of the Ibrim graffito in 1899. Somers Clarke notebook O, page 88. Copyright Griffith Institute, University of Oxford. 296
Fig. 10. Author's JSesh transcription of Taharqo's Ibrim graffito. 296
Fig. 11. Left end of line 2 in Taharqo's Ibrim graffito. Photograph by Mark Horton, Egypt Exploration Society Archive; courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 303
Fig. 12. Negative image of figure 11, showing the left end of line 2 in Taharqo's Ibrim graffito. Photograph by Mark Horton, Egypt Exploration Society Archive; courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 303

Prada
Fig. 1. P. Lond. Lit. 192 in its current mounting. Courtesy of The British Library, London. 307

Fig. 2. P. Vindob. G 29357. Courtesy of the Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. 308
Fig. 3. Guenons (top row) and baboons (bottom row), from the Middle Kingdom tomb of Neheri, Deir el-Bersha. After Griffith and Newberry, *El Bersheh*. 311
Fig. 4. Baboon as a musician, from the temple of Hathor, Philae. After Daumas, "Les propylées du temple d'Hathor." 311
Fig. 5. The Nile Mosaic, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Palestrina, with indication of the monkeys featured in it. Courtesy of Polo Museale del Lazio, Rome. 314
Fig. 6. The lynx in the Nile Mosaic (section 6), Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Palestrina. Courtesy of Polo Museale del Lazio, Rome. 317
Fig. 7. The lynx (caracal) in the hunting frieze of Tomb I, Marisa. Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London. 318
Fig. 8. The lynx (caracal) in the Artemidorus Papyrus. After Gallazzi et al., *Il papiro di Artemidoro*. 319
Fig. 9. The *tigreis* (cheetahs) in the Nile Mosaic (section 7), Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Palestrina. Courtesy of Polo Museale del Lazio, Rome. 320
Fig. 10. The *lynx* in the Dal Pozzo copy of the Nile Mosaic. After Whitehouse, *Ancient Mosaics and Wall-paintings*. 321
Fig. 11. A baby of De Brazza's monkey (*Cercopithecus neglectus*), a guenon with a characteristically speckled coat. © Lynne Gorrie, Blackpool Zoo. 321

Quack
Fig. 1. Text verso. © SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. Foto: Sandra Steiß. 326
Fig. 2. Text recto. © SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. Foto: Sandra Steiß. 327

Ritner
Fig. 1. Naos Cairo 70028: baboons adore the rising sun. Photograph by the author. 337
Fig. 2. Graffito at Ptah temple in Karnak, south external wall: baboons adore the rising sun. Photograph by the author, 1996. 337
Fig. 3. P. Turin 1778. Creator transformed through Amduat imagery. After Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, 187, fig. 63. 339
Fig. 4. (a) Penn Museum E387. (b) Penn E387, top. 340
Fig. 5. After Petrie, *Illahun Kahun and Gurob*, pl. XXIX, no. 44. 340
Fig. 6. (a) Penn 13050. (b) Penn 13050, top. 341
Fig. 7. Penn 38-28-24. 341
Fig. 8. Glencairn scarab front and back. 342
Fig. 9. Private collection. Top rotated. Photograph by permission of owner. 342
Fig. 10. Akephalos – PGM vol. I pl. 1 fig 2 1928. 343

Ryholt
Fig. 1. P. Carlsberg 47. 351
Fig. 2a. P. Carlsberg 51 recto. 352
Fig. 2b. P. Carlsberg 51 verso, position of sealing. 352
Fig. 3. The sealings of P. Carlsberg 46. 353
Fig. 4. The sealing of P. Carlsberg 47. 354
Fig. 5. The sealings of P. Carlsberg 48. 355
Fig. 6. The sealing of P. Carlsberg 51. 355

Shirley
Fig. 1. Scenes of Amenemopet (top) and Rekhmire (bottom) seated within the *ḥ3* of the vizier. Photographs © Dimitri Laboury, FNRS-U Liège. 359
Fig. 2. Rekhmire seated within the *ḥ3 wr*. Photograph © Dimitri Laboury, FNRS-U Liège. 362
Fig. 3. Suggested architectural reconstruction of the vizier's *ḥ3*. Drawing by Hazem Shared; after van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 67, fig. 5. 364
Fig. 4. Mayor's home and nearby residences at Wah-sut. From Picardo, "Hybrid Households," fig. 11.4, with thanks also to J. Wegner. 367
Fig. 5. Town plan of Lahun. © Moeller, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*, fig. 8-26. 368
Fig. 6. Town plan of Elephantine. © Moeller, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*, fig. 8-40. 370
Fig. 7. The mayor's residence at Edfu. © Moeller, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*, fig. 8-45. 371
Fig. 8. Eighteenth Dynasty Palace Precinct at Tell al-Dab'a with entrances/exits noted in red. After Bietak, "A Thutmosid Palace Precinct," 226, fig. 4; additions by Hazem Shared. 374
Fig. 9. Detail of Building L in figure 8, with entrances/exits noted in red. After Bietak, "A Thutmosid Palace Precinct," 226, fig. 14; additons by Hazem Shared. 375
Fig. 10. Remains of the Middle Kingdom city of Thebes, within the current Karnak Temple precinct. © Moeller, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*, fig. 8-39. 376
Fig. 11. Site plans of Malkata with structures denoted. Above: after Lacovara, "In the Realm of the Sun King," 8, with retouching by Hazem Shared. Left: after Lacovara, "Recent Work at Malqata Palace," 275, fig. 1. 378
Fig. 12. Detail of the "Palace of the King" and structures to the east at Malkata. After Lacovara, "In the Realm of the Sun King," 8; with retouching by Hazem Shared. 379
Fig. 13. Plan of the "Central City" section of Amarna. After Anna Stevens, "Tell el-Amarna," *UCLAEE* (2016), fig. 12, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1k66566f; with additions by Hazem Shared. 381

Stadler
Fig. 1. Stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, from Edfu, hieroglyphic front. 434
Fig. 2. Stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, from Edfu, Demotic back. 435
Fig. 3. The stela's Demotic colophon. 437
Fig. 4. The hieroglyphic text of the stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, from Edfu. 437
Fig. 5. The demotic paraphrase of the offering formula and of the beginning of the Book of Traversing Eternity on the stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, from Edfu. 438

Tait
Fig. 1. H5-DP79, front. 440
Fig. 2. H5-DP79, hand copy. 441
Fig. 3. H5-DP79, back. 443

Vittmann
Fig. 1. Kolumne I. Photo M12C 13; © Metropolitan Museum. 482
Fig. 2. Kolumne I oben. Samih Mohsen; © Ägyptisches Museum Kairo. 483
Fig. 3. Kolumne I unten. Samih Mohsen; © Ägyptisches Museum Kairo. 484
Fig. 4. Kolumne II. Photo M12C 14; © Metropolitan Museum. 485
Fig. 5. Kolumne II oben. Samih Mohsen; © Ägyptisches Museum Kairo. 486
Fig. 6. Kolumne II unten. Samih Mohsen; © Ägyptisches Museum Kairo. 487
Fig. 7. Kolumne III. Samih Mohsen; © Ägyptisches Museum Kairo. 488

Fig. 8. Kolumne III. Photo M12C 15; © Metropolitan Museum. 489
Fig. 9. Kolumne III unten. Samih Mohsen; © Ägyptisches Museum Kairo. 490
Fig. 10. Kolumne IV. Photo M12C 16; © Metropolitan Museum. 491
Fig. 11. Kolumne III–IV oben. Samih Mohsen; © Ägyptisches Museum Kairo. 492
Fig. 12. Kolumne I–IV Anfang. Photo M12C 17; © Metropolitan Museum. 492

Zauzich (Jüdische Namen)
Fig. 1. Papyrus Berlin P. 15625. Foto: Sandra Steiß; © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. Nr. P. 15625. 511
Fig. 2. Papyrus Berlin P. 15625. Foto: Sandra Steiß; © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. Nr. P. 15625, verso. 511

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

///	indicates damage to the text
AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe
Abb.	Abbildung, (illustration)
Abt.	Abteilung
Akk	Akkadian
ÄMUL	Ägyptisches Museum – Georg Steindorff – der Universität Leipzig
ANAsh Mus	Antiquities section, Ashmolean Museum
Anm.	Anmerkung
Arb	Arabic
Arm	Aramaic
AUC	The American University in Cairo
BCE	Before Common Era
BD	Book of the Dead
Bd.	(German) Band, (volume)
BM	British Museum, London
BM EA	British Museum, Egyptian Antiquities section
bzw.	beziehungsweise
ca.	circa, approximately
Cat.	catalog
CBS	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, catalog of the Babylonian section
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative
CE	Common Era
CES RAS	Center for Egyptological Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences
cf.	confer, compare
Chr	Book of Chronicles
cm	centimeter(s)
CNI	Carsten Niebuhr Institute
col(s).	column(s)
CT	Coffin Text
d.h.	das heißt
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst
DAHT	Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts
DeM	Deir el Medina
Dem	Demotic
ders.	derselbe
det.	determinative
Deut	book of Deuteronomy

dies.	dieselbe
diss.	dissertation
DMP	Demotic Magical Papyri
Dyn.	Dynasty
e.g.	exempli gratia
ECM	Eton College Myers
ed.	edition; edited by
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund, London
EES	Egypt Exploration Society, London
EM	(Egypt Exploration Society) Excavation Memoir
EU	Egyptologische Uitgaven
esp.	especially
et al.	et alii
etc.	et cetera, and so forth
ex.	example
Exod	book of Exodus
Ezek	book of Ezekiel
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	feminine
ff.	following
fig(s).	figure(s)
FN	footnote. Also fn. or Fn. (Fußnote).
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Fs.	Festschrift
ggf.	gegebenenfalls
GR	Greco-Roman (period)
Hbw	Hebrew
HALMA	Histoire, Archéologie et Littérature des Mondes Anciens
Hg(g.)	Herausgeber (singular and plural)
HO	Hieratic Ostracon
HPBM	Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum
i.e.	id est
i.S.v.	im Sinne von
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo)
ined.	ineditus, unpublished
insbes.	insbesondere
inv.	inventory
JE	Journal d'Entrée (Cairo Museum)
JHU	Johns Hopkins University
JHUAM	Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
Kol.	Kolumne
KV	Valley of the Kings
l(l).	line(s)
Lev	book of Leviticus
lit.	literally

LXX	Septuagint
m	meter
m.	masculine
m.E.	meines Erachtens
MK	Middle Kingdom (period)
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art
MN	Magical Names
MS	manuscript
n(n).	note(s)
NATN	Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur in the University Museum, The Oriental Institute and the Iraq Museum
NCBT	Newell Collections of Babylonian Tablets
Neh	book of Nehemiah
NK	New Kingdom (period)
NN	nomen nescio, name unknown
no(s).	number(s)
Nr.	Nummer
Num	book of Numbers
n(s).	number(s)
NWS	Northwest Semitic
O.	ostracon
o.J.	ohne Jahr
OAD	Oracular Amuletic Decrees
ODeM	Ostraca, Deir el Medina
ODL	Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre
OC	Old Coptic
OI	Oriental Institute, Chicago
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
OK	Old Kingdom
Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus
p(p).	page(s)
P.	Papyrus (e.g., P. Loeb = Papyrus Loeb).
pers. comm.	personal communication
PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae (Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri)
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PIFAO	Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)
pl(s).	plate(s)
PT	Pyramid Texts
Ptol.	Ptolemaic / Ptolemy
PTT	Private Tombs at Thebes
rev.	revised
RSV	Revised Standard Version (of the Bible)
rt./ro.	recto
S.	Seite
S.	Stela
scil.	scilicet, namely

s.n.	sine numero, without number
s.u.	siehe unten
s.v.	*sub verbo*, under the word
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta
SMDAN	Spanish Mission in Dra Abu el-Naga
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb; word order in a sentence
s.v.	sub voce
Syr	Syriac
Tab.	Tabelle
Taf.	Tafel(n) (German)
Tebt.	Tebtunis
TIP	Third Intermediate period
trans.	translated by
TT	Theban Tomb
u.a.	unter anderem/n; und andere
UCL	University College London
Ugr	Ugaritic
UMR	Unité Mixte de Recherche
Ur III	Third Dynasty of Ur, ca. 2112–2004 BCE
Urk.	Urkunden
v.	
var.	variant
vel sim.	vel similia, or the like
vgl.	vergleiche
vol.	volume
vs./vo.	verso
VSO	Verb-Subject-Object; word order in a sentence
WS	West Semitic
z.B.	zum Beispiel
z.T.	zum Teil

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ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden, 1960–.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Wiesbaden, 1979–.
AAWL	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Leipzig, Stuttgart, 1915–.
ABD	Freedman, David N., ed. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*
AegLeod	Aegyptiaca Leodiensia. Liège, 1987–.
AEO	Gardiner, Alan H. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947.
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen. Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York, 1936–.
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
ÄgLev	*Ägypten und Levante*
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica. Geneva, then Basel, 1974–.

AHAW Phil.-hist. Kl. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil-hist. Klasse, Heidelberg, 1913–.
AHw *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden, 1959–1981.
AMun *Magazin für die Freunde ägyptischer Museen und Sammlungen, Berlin*
AnnEPHE Ve sect. Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses. Paris, 1964–.
AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Münster, 1969–.
AoF *Altorientalische Forschungen*
ÄOP Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin, 2012–.
AOS American Oriental Series. New Haven, 1925–.
APAW Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin, 1804–1907.
APF *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*
APFB Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete Beiheft. Leipzig, 1901–.
ArOr *Archiv Orientální*
ARG *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*
ASAE *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
ASE Archaeological Survey of Egypt. London, 1893–.
AuOr *Aula Orientalis*
AV Archäologische Veröffentlichungen/ Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo. Berlin, Mainz am Rhein, 1970–.
BA *Biblical Archaeologist*
BaM *Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAR-IS British Archaeological Reports. International Series. Oxford, 1974–.
BAR-SS British Archaeological Reports Supplementary Series. Oxford, 1975–1978.
BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASP *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BDB Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as Translated by Edward Robinson*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
BdÉ Bibliothèque d'étude. Cairo, 1908–.
BES Brown Egyptological Studies. Oxford/Providence, 1954–.
BFA *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*
BGU Berliner griechische Urkunden. Berlin, 1895–.
BiAe Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1932–.
BICS *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BIE *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien* (later *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*). Cairo, 1859–1950.
BiEtud Bibliothèque d'étude. Cairo, 1908–.
BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BiGen Bibliothèque générale. Cairo, 1959–.
BiOr *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BMMA *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
BMOP British Museum Occasional Papers. London, 1978–.
BMSAES British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan. London, 2002–.
BSAE British School of Archaeology in Egypt. London, 1905–1953.
BSEG *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève*
BSFE *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*

BZÄS	Beiträge zur Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. Berlin/Leipzig, 2013–.
CA	Colloquium Africanum: Beiträge zur Interdisziplinären Afrikaforschung. Köln, 1994–.
CAD	Gelb, Ignace J., et al., eds. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 21 vols. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.
CAENL	Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant, 2012–.
CANE	Sasson, Jack, ed. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York: Scribner, 1995.
CASAE	Cahiers. Suppléments aux ASAE. Cairo, 1946–.
CCdE	*Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie*
CD	Crum, Walter E. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1939.
CDA	*Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000–.
CDD	Johnson, Janet H., ed. *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 2001–. https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth*
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Iniative. https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=start
CDPBM	Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. London, 1939–.
CED	Černý, Jaroslav. *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
CENiM	Cahiers de l'Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne. Montpellier, 2008.
CG	Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cairo, 1901–.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East. Leiden, 2000–.
ChronÉg	*Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth*
CLE	Frédéric Colin. *Les Libyens en Egypte*. Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1996.
CNIP	The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Publications. Copenhagen, 1986–.
CRIPEL	*Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology. Bethesda, 2008–.
DCH	Clines, David J. A. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
DDD	Lippert, Sandra, and Maren Schentuleit. *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006–2010.
DemNb	Lüddeckens, Erich, et al. *Demotisches Namenbuch*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980–2000.
DemStud	Demotische Studien. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901–1928. Continued, Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich Verlag, 1988–.
DFIFAO	Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Cairo, 1934–.
DG	Erichsen, Wolja. *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954.
DGE	Gangutia Elícegui, Elvira, and Francisco Rodríguez Adrados. *Diccionario Griego-español*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Antonio de Nebrija," 1980.
Diosc.	Dioscorides Pedanius. *De Materia Medica*.
DÖAWW	Denkschrift der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Vienna, 1850–.
DPAA	Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rome, 1821–1921.
DPB	Spiegelberg, Wilhelm. *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1902.
Edfou	M. de Rochemonteix, continued by É. Chassinat, continued by S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, *Le Temple d'Edfou*. 14 vols. Cairo: IFAO, 1897–.
Edfou I	M. de Rochemonteix, continued by É. Chassinat, continued by S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, vol. 1. 2nd ed. Cairo: IFAO, 1984.
EA	Egyptian Archaeology, The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society. London, 1991–.

EA	Rainey, Anson F. *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets*. Handbook of Oriental Studies Vol. 110/1–2. Edited by William Schniedewind and Zipora Cochavi-Rainey. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
EES EM	Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoirs. London, 1885–.
EES GRM	Egypt Exploration Society Graeco-Roman Memoirs. London, 1922–.
EES TEM	Egypt Exploration Society Texts from Excavations, Memoirs. London, 1975–2011.
EI	*Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies*
Enchoria	*Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie*
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, Leiden, 1961–1992.
EQÄ	Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie. Münster, 2003–.
Esna	Sauneron, Serge. *Le Temple d'Esna*. 8 vols. IFAO. Cairo, 1959–1982.
EVO	*Egitto e Vicino Oriente*
FAO	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien. Freiburg, 1975–.
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Cairo, 1921–.
FolOr	*Folia Orientalia*
G&T	Griffith, F. L., and H. Thompson. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*. Vols. 1–3. London: H. Grevel and Co., 1904, 1905, 1909.
GAG	Soden, Wolfram von. *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1952.
Gardiner	Gardiner, Alan H. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950.
Gauthier, *DG*	Gauthier, Henri. *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*. 7 vols. Cairo: IFAO, 1925–1931.
GHP Egyptology	Golden House Publications Egyptology. London, 2004–.
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen (IV. Reihe: Ägypten), Göttingen, 1973–.
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge. Hildesheim, 1976–.
HALOT	Koehler, Ludwig, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Trans. and ed. under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
HAT	Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches. Wiesbaden, 1995–.
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten. Leiden, 1952–.
HEMGR	Hautes Études du monde gréco-romain. Genève, 1965–.
HES	Harvard Egyptological Studies. Leiden and Boston, 2015–.
Holladay	Holladay, William L. *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden: Brill, 1971.
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient. Heidelberg, 1988–.
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies. Winona Lake, 1976–.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Berlin, London, 1998–.
IPN	Noth, Martin. *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928.
JAC	*Journal of Ancient Civilizations*
JAEI	*Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion*
JANES	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies*

JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JAR	*Journal of Archaeological Research*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JCSSup	Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*
JHUSA	The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology. Baltimore, 1924–1950.
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
KÄT	Kleine ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden, 1969–.
KB[1]	Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner. *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*. Leiden: Brill, 1951.
KB[3]	Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner. *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. 3rd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
KHw	Westendorf, Wolfhart. *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1977.
KRI	Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968–1999.
KTU	Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
LÄ	Helck, Wolfgang, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
LD	Lepsius, Richard. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. 12 vols. Berlin: Nicolai, 1849–1856.
LGG	Leitz, Christian, et al., eds. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. 8 vols. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–116 and 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003.
LingAeg	*Lingua Aegyptia*
LingAeg SM	Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica. Hamburg, Göttingen, 1994–.
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1843.
Lucentum	Lucentum: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante; Prehistoria, Arqueología e Historia Antigua. Alicante, 1982–.
MBPR	Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. Munich, 1915–.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo. Mainz/Cairo/Berlin/Wiesbaden, 1930–.
MEEF	Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund. London, 1885–1936.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Paris, Cairo, 1902–.
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Berlin, 1953–.
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire. Cairo, 1889–.
MMJ	*Metropolitan Museum Journal*
Möller	Möller, Georg. *Hieratische Paläographie: Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. 3 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909–1912.

MPER NS	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Neue Serie. Vienna, 1932–.
MVCAE	Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt. Atlanta, 2015–.
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
NAC	Numismatica e antichità classiche: quaderni ticinesi. Lugano, 1972–.
NATN	Owen, David I. *Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur in the University Museum, The Oriental Institute and the Iraq Museum*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1982.
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NeHeT	Revue numérique d'Égyptologie. Paris, 2014–.
NIDB	Sakenfeld, Katherine Doob, ed. *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006–2009.
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Fribourg, Göttingen, 1973–.
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications. Chicago, 1941–.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924–.
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars. Chicago, 2004–.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven, 1975–.
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica. Leuven, 1970–
OMRO	Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Leiden, 1907–.
Or	*Orientalia*
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Tübingen, 2009–.
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
OrSuec	*Orientalia Suecana*
PALMA	Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities. Turnhout, 2005–.
PapBrux	Papyrologica Bruxellensia. Brussels, 1962–.
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie. Leiden, 1953–.
PEFA	The Palestine Exploration Fund Annual. Leeds, 1911–.
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PLB	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava. Leiden, 1941–.
PM I.1	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 1: *The Theban Necropolis. Part 1: Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1960.
PM I.2	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 1: *The Theban Necropolis. Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1964.
PM II.1	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 2: *Theban Temples*. 2nd ed., rev. and augmented. Oxford, 1972.
PM III.1	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 3: *Memphis. Part 1: Abu Rawash to Abusir*. 2nd ed., rev. and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1974.
PM III.2 fasc. 1	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 3: *Memphis. Part 2: Saqqara to Dahshur*. Fascicle 1 (III.2, 393–574). 2nd ed., rev. and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1978.

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PM III.2 fasc. 3	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 3: *Memphis. Part 2: Saqqara to Dahshur*. Fascicle 3 (III.2, 777–1014). 2nd ed., rev. and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1981.
PM IV	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 4: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyut)*. Oxford, 1934.
PM V	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 5: *Upper Egypt: Sites (Deir Rîfa to Aswan, Excluding Thebes and the Temples of Abydos, Dendera, Edfu, Esna, Kôm Ombo, and Philae)*. Oxford, 1937.
PM VI	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 6: *Upper Egypt: Chief Temples*. Oxford, 1939.
PM VII	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 7: *Nubia, The Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Oxford, 1952.
PMCDPA	Davies et al. *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo: A Catalogue Raisonné: Drawings and Prints in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, the British Museum, the Institut de France and Other Collections*. London: Royal Collection, 2013.
PMMAEE	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition. New York, 1926–.
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen. Bonn, 1968–.
PtoLex	Wilson, Penelope. *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*. OLA 78. Leuven: Peeters, 1997.
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire. Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Cairo, 1930–.
RAR	Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rome, 1921–.
RdÉ	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RechPap	*Recherches de Papyrologie*
RecTrav	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
RGRW	Religions of the Graeco-Roman World. Leiden, 1992–.
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RPN	Ranke, Hermann. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Glückstadt: Augustin, 1935.
RR	Recherches et Rencontres. Genève, 1990–.
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens. Heidelberg, 1990–.
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records. Berlin, 2012–.
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. Chicago, 1931–.
SArchClass	Volumi di Supplemento di Archeologia Classica. Rome, 1956–.
SAT	Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch. Wiesbaden, 1998–.
SAWM	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München. Munich.
SCCNH	Studies in the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians. Winona Lake, IN, 1981–.
SEAP	Studi di egittologia e di antichità puniche. Bologna and Pisa, 1987–.

SERaT	System zur Erfassung von Ritualszenen in altägyptischen Tempeln. https://www.serat.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions. Leiden, 1954–.
SRaT	Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel. Dettelbach, 2007–.
SSA	Series Syro-Arabica. Córdoba, Beirut, 2012–.
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities. Toronto, 1977–.
SSR	Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion. Wiesbaden, 2010–.
StudDem	Studia Demotica. Leuven, 1987–.
StudHell	Studia Hellenistica. Leuven, 1942–.
SWGS	Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Strassburg. Berlin, 1920–1929.
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 8 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006.
Thots	Infoheft des Collegium Aegyptium e.V.: Förderkreis des Instituts für Ägyptologie der Uni München. München, 2008–.
TLA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae. Berlin-Brandenburg, 2004. http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Gütersloh, 1982–2001.
TUAT NF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Gütersloh, 2004–.
UCLAEE	*UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles, 2010–. https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas*
UPZ	Wilcken, Ulrich. *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)*. 2 vols. Berlin, Leipzig, 1927–1957.
Urk. IV	Sethe, Kurt. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 4, fasc. 1–16. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–1909. 2nd rev. ed., 1927–1930. Continued by Wolfgang Helck, fasc. 17–22. Berlin, 1955–1958.
Urk. VI	Schott, Siegfried. *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929–1939.
UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes. Vienna, 1975–.
VIO	Veröffentlichungen des Institut für Orientforschung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Berlin, 1968–.
VOHD	Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Wiesbaden, Göttingen, 1971–1994
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta, 1990–.
Wb.	Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols, plus 5 vols. Belegstellen. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1926–1963.
WdO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies. New Haven, 1986–.
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Book of the Dead Scholarship in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Case of P. Brooklyn 37.1484E

Yekaterina Barbash

I first met Richard Jasnow at Johns Hopkins University, where I came for graduate studies in 1998. His care for students, warmth, and an unparalleled sense of humor made the graduate school experience magical. I feel tremendously lucky to have studied with Richard Jasnow, to have worked with him as my dissertation advisor, and to have gotten to know him as a professor, a mentor, and a friend. His passion for learning and willingness to share his knowledge are akin to descriptions of the god Thoth. He is an excellent scribe, skilled in knowledge, who is always cool of mouth while advising, and who can lecture with his eyes closed. In Richard's honor, I offer a study of one spell in a very curious Book of the Dead. This manuscript appropriately holds clues to understanding ancient Egyptian scholarship. My contribution discusses the famous BD spell 125 that concerns events at the judgment hall of Osiris, which were diligently recorded by the god who loves knowledge.

The Book of the Dead of Herw (P. Brooklyn 37.1484E)[1] measures 23 feet in length and comprises a sequence of spells from 100 to 153 with some spells omitted.[2] Its hieratic script, enclosed with double lined margins on all sides along with the black outline vignettes in the top registers, place the papyrus among a group of BD manuscripts belonging to high-ranking priests from the Saite and early Ptolemaic periods.[3]

The manuscript was made for the God's father Herw,[4] son of Takhabes. Herw's other titles are recorded in hieroglyphs in the Weighing of the Heart vignette of spell 125 (fig. 1). These include King's Familiar, Servant of Ptah, *wab*-priest of the Gods of the Temples of Memphis, *Hm* priest of Min, Scribe of Ptah, and Chamberlain of the King.[5] Several members of a Memphite priestly family from the Ptolemaic period held almost exactly the same titles. Herw

1. The papyrus came to the Brooklyn Museum in 1937 from the New York Historical Society. Prior to that, it belonged Dr. Henry Abbott, who allegedly purchased it in Saqqara in the nineteenth century.

2. Several small fragments from the beginning of the scroll are held by the Penn University Museum, and another fragment appeared in a Sotheby's sale in 2009.

3. These parameters fit Style 2, see Malcolm Mosher, "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period," *JARCE* 29 (1992): 150–51, and nn. 39–40.

4. The name and titles were written at the same time as the primary inscription. The name, spelled in several ways, is well attested in the Late and Greco-Roman periods, Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1935), 230.

5. Chamberlain of the King appears to have been added after the original inscription in the vignette. For the title *ḫry-tp nsw.t,* well attested since the OK, see Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom,* BAR International Series 866 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 2:788, no. 2874; *Wb*. III:396, 2. Hans Goedicke, "Titles for Titles," in *Grund und Boden in Altägypten: Rechtliche und sozio-ökonomische Verhältnisse; Akten des internationalen Symposiums, Tübingen 18.–20. Juni 1990,* ed. Shafik Allam (Tübingen: Allam, 1994), 227–34, argues that this title (in the OK) should rather be read *tpy ḫrt-nsw.t*, "One upon Royal Property." The argument is partly based on the semantic relationship of *ḫr* and (*n*)*sw* and the adjacent position of these signs in the writing of this title, which is clearly not the case in Herw's papyrus.

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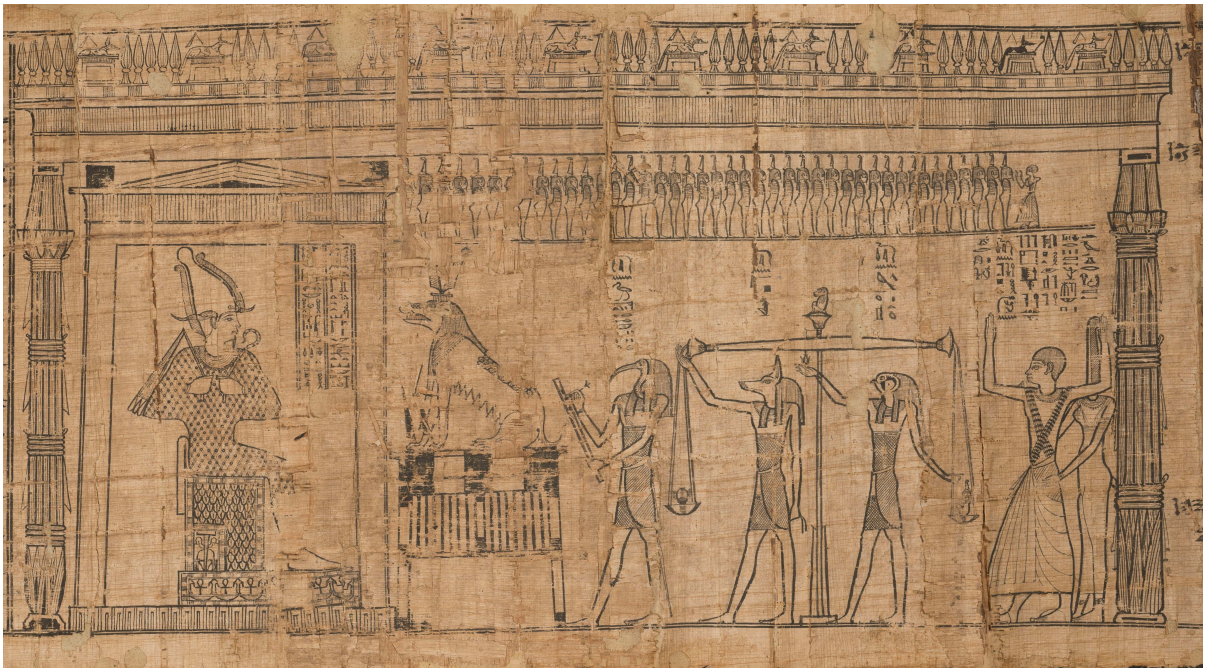


Figure 1. Weighing of the Heart in the Book of the Dead of Herw, pBrooklyn 37.1484E. Image courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.

must have been part of this family in the very early Ptolemaic period.[6] Judging by the list of titles and the stylistic parallels, this papyrus was certainly made in Memphis, which is a relatively rare origin for such texts.[7]

The most striking feature of Herw's papyrus is the scholarly tendency of its scribe. Eighteen out of the twenty-six textual spells preserved on the Brooklyn portion of Herw's BD include an unusually high number of variants, marked by the phrase *ky-ḏd*. While it is quite typical for Books of the Dead to occasionally incorporate variants, our scribe took this practice to the extreme, at times listing several variants in a row. Spell 125, as it appears in our manuscript, contains sixteen variants—an extraordinarily large number.[8] I compared this spell with over fifty Books of the Dead.[9]

6. Eberhard Otto, "Eine memphitische Priesterfamilie des 2. Jh. v. Chr.," *ZÄS* 81 (1956): 108–29, discusses this family and suggests that the list of titles likely identified the priestly rank, rather than referred to specific posts. At least three persons by the name of Herw belong to this priestly family, but no other Herw with a mother named Takhabes is known, see Otto, "Eine memphitische Priesterfamilie." None of the attested members of this family include the title *ḫry-tp nsw.t*. Carbon 14 analysis performed at the University of Arizona confirmed a range of 360–200 BCE.

7. Mosher, "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions," 145 and n. 21, describes the manuscripts in his corpus as follows: "of the nearly 200 documents … the vast majority come from Thebes and only five can be assigned a Memphite provenance." The situation is compounded by the lower chance of preservation of papyrus in the "shallow sands of the Saqqara desert," Martin Raven, "Book of the Dead Documents from the New Kingdom Necropolis in Saqqara," *BMSAES* 15 (2010): 257. There are 49 papyri with BD from Saqqara, compared to 527 from Thebes in the database of the Totenbuch-Projekt, http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/. The provenance of many manuscripts remains undetermined, Marcus Müller-Roth, "From Memphis to Thebes: Local Traditions in the Late Period," *BMSAES* 15 (2010): 175.

8. For example, the famous papyrus of Iufankh only includes one variant in BD 125, Richard Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1842), pl. XLVI–XLVII. Interestingly, this spell in the Saite papyrus of Iahtesnakht incorporates eight *ky-ḏd* variants, also a considerable number, but none of them correspond to ours, Ursula Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht: P. Colon. Aeg. 10207*, 2 vols. (Bonn: Habelt, 1993), 2:79–85.

9. The published papyri include Günter Lapp, *Totenbuch Spruch 125* (Basel: Orientverlag, 2008); Charles Maystre, *Les déclarations d'innocence: Livre des morts, chapitre 125* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1937); Martin von Falck, *Das Totenbuch*

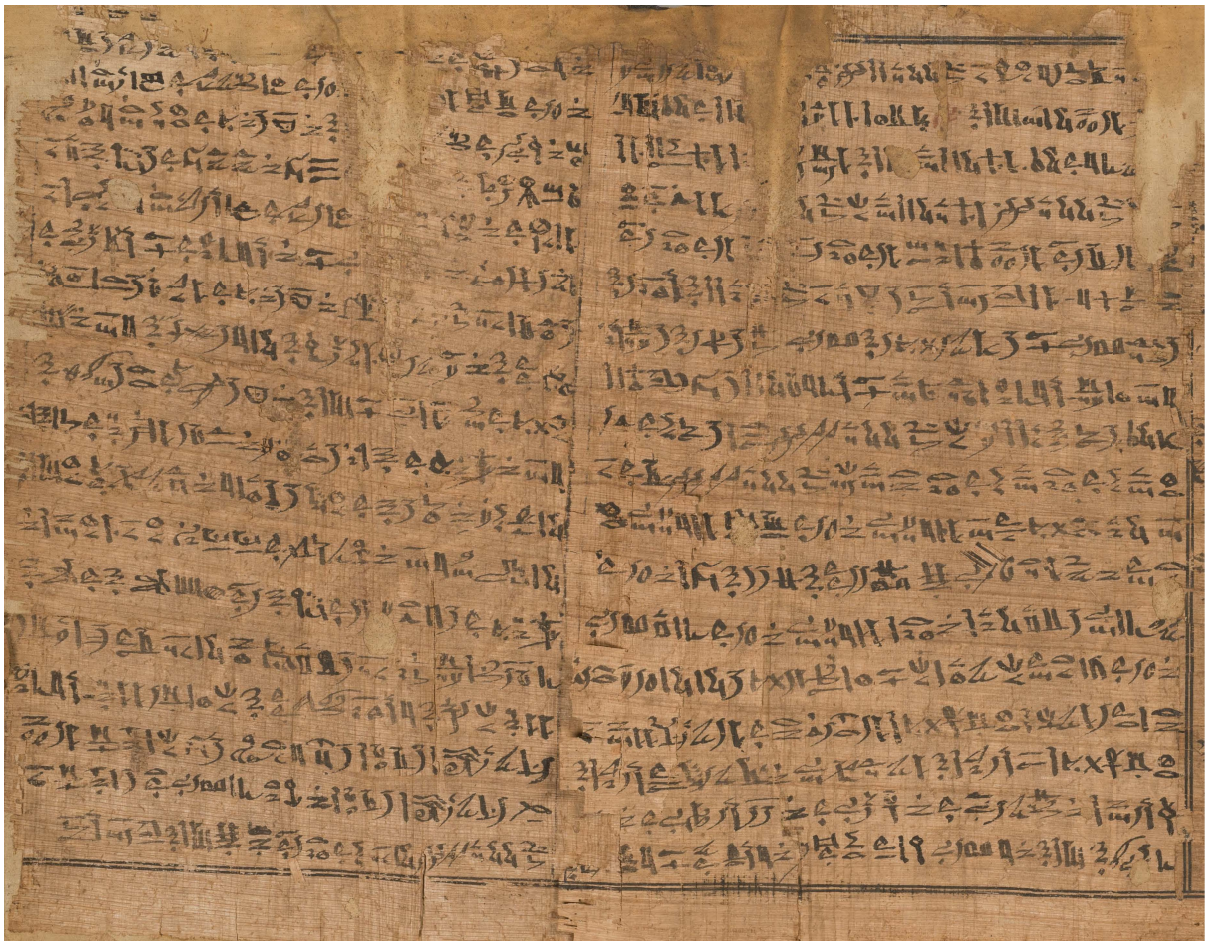


Figure 2. Columns x+13 – 14, pBrooklyn 37.1484E. Image courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.

Most of the comparanda date from the Late and Ptolemaic periods, with a smaller selection of earlier texts.[10] The comparable papyri cover most of Egypt, including Thebes, Memphis, as well as sites in Middle Egypt.

The initial variant of BD 125 occurs as the deceased addresses Osiris in the very beginning of the spell (fig. 2):

der Qeqa aus der Ptolemäerzeit (pBerlin P.3003), HAT 8 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006); Annie Gasse, *Le Livre des morts de Pacherientaihet au Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican: Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, 2001); Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter*; Günter Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, Catalogues of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum I (London: British Museum Press, 1997); Irmtraut Munro, *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus des Hor aus der frühen Ptolemäerzeit: pCologny Bodmer-Stiftung CV + pCincinnati Art Museum 1947.369 + pDenver 1954.61* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2006); Irmtraut Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Pa-en-nesti-taui aus der Regierungszeit des Amennemope (pLondon BM 10064)*, HAT 7 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowtiz, 2001); Paul O'Rourke, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Papyrus of Sobekmose* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2016); Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht*. Access to the unpublished examples is provided by the immensely useful Totenbuch Project, http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/.

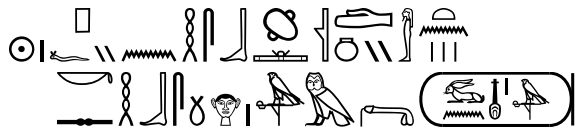
10. The BD manuscripts in my list of comparanda range in dates from Dynasty 18 to the GR period.



I know your name.
I know the name(s) of your 42 gods
who exist with you in the broad hall,
who live on those who do evil;
variant: those who guard evil;
who swallow their blood.
(Col. x+13, 5–8)

Both versions of this epithet—"those who do evil," and "those who guard evil"—point to one of the functions of the 42 gods in Osiris' court—that of keeping evil at bay. The first epithet, *iry ḏw*, "those who do evil," depicts these gods as devourers of evildoers. Surprisingly, this direct and seemingly clear version does not occur in any of the parallels. The epithet that follows *ky-ḏd*, *sꜣw ḏw*, "those who guard evil," extends the gods' function to the next level, painting them as the eradicators of the protectors of evil. It is this broader version—once removed from directly living off evil—that is the more common one. This version occurs in all of the parallels consulted. The scribe of Herw's manuscript must have deemed the epithet "those who guard evil" insufficient, and supplied *iry ḏw*, which points to the heart of the issue. This unique epithet possibly stems from a misreading due to the similarity of hieratic signs for *sꜣw*,  (Gardiner's A47), and (Gardiner's A48), which may be read as *iry*. A copyist may have seen the ambiguous sign on a master copy, and to be sure, wrote both words, spelling *iry* phonetically with an eye, for clarity.[11]

The clause that follows immediately after continues the string of epithets of the 42 gods:

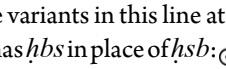


(on) that day of reckoning your character;
variant: veiling the face in the presence Wennefer.
(Col. x+13, 8)

There is no question that the entire clause describes the day of the Osirian judgment. The initial version, *ḥsb ḳd.w*, is what predominantly appears in the parallel papyri. Most modern editors translate this phrase as "reckoning (or

11. While *iry* is typically spelled phonetically, the eye (Gardiner's D4) does occur occasionally in this word, see Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 91.

calculating) the character(s)," in the sense of "settling up" during judgment.[12] In the immediate context of spell BD 125 and its adjacent Weighing of the Heart scene, the phrase *ḥsb ḳd.w* forms a pun on *ḥsb ḳd.t*, "counting the kite (i.e., measures of weight)."[13] The pun suggests that the Osirian judgment and the weighing of the heart literally concern calculating the number of kites needed to balance the scale against the weight of one's heart.

Because the verbs *ḥsb* and *ḥbs* use the same consonants, the variants in this line at first appear to be an intentional pun. Only one papyrus, a Ptolemaic-period BD from Memphis, has *ḥbs* in place of *ḥsb*: .[14] Nevertheless, since in this example *ḥbs* is spelled phonetically with a pustule determinative and is followed by *ḳdw.t*, it is most likely a mistake. The scribe of this manuscript probably rearranged the spelling of the verb *ḥsb* accidentally. The presence of *ḥbs* in Herw's papyrus, however, may be explained as a scribal attempt to correct a text that he was collating. When another scribe—perhaps the scribe of Herw's papyrus himself—was faced with the erroneous writing of *ḥsb*, he deemed it significant to record the frankly odd word and to justify it.[15] Our scribe supplied the variant *ḥbs* with *ḥr*, "face."[16] The phrase *ḥbs ḥr* is typically used in literary and biographical texts with the sense of "ignoring" or "turning away from" people in need or from wrongdoing. For instance, the Eloquent Peasant says: "if you avert your face (*ḥbs ḥr*) from violence, who then shall punish wrongdoing?"[17] Consequently, the variant *ḥbs ḥr*, placed in the middle of the clause, introduces a wholly new nuance to the process of Osirian judgment. "Covering the face in the presence of Wennefer" points to an act of ignoring or turning away from Osiris and does not sound appropriate for the circumstance. However, the notion is not as audacious as it seems at first glance. Spell BD 30, which appears on heart scarabs and addresses one's heart and consciousness, does suggest that some deception may be in order, as it requests that the heart not bear witness against the deceased.[18] Herw's scribe perhaps reveals a hidden truth: that some details should best be ignored or omitted even in front of Osiris.

Next, as the deceased denies wrongdoing and describes his positive qualities, he says:

12. See for instance, O'Rourke, *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 101; Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht: P. Colon. Aeg. 10207* (Bonn: Habelt, 1993), 1:228; Stephen Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight – prt m hrw. The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead. Translations, Sources, Meanings*, (London: Golden House Publications, 2013), 270. For *ḥsb*, "to reckon, count, calculate," see *Wb*. III:166, 11–167, 15. For *ḳd*, "form, character," see *Wb*. V:75, 3–77, 11.

13. *ḳd.t*, "a weight, kite," *Wb*. V:79, 15–80, 3. John Gee, "Of Heart Scarabs and Balance Weights: A New Interpretation of Book of the Dead 30B," *JSSEA* 36 (2009):1–15, points out that in Dynasties 18 and 19 the Weighing of the Heart scene was associated with BD 30B, which is typically inscribed on heart scarabs. He further demonstrates that the weight of many heart scarabs corresponds to standard weight amounts, particularly to the kite weights.

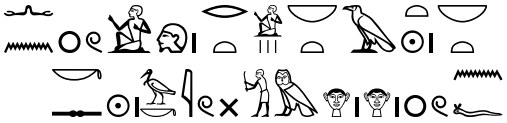
14. P. Wien Vindob. Aeg. 65 is stylistically similar to the BD of Herw, but inscribed in a distinctly different hand.

15. Daniel Werning, "Inner-Egyptian Receptions of a Theological Book between Reproduction, Update, and Creativity: The Book of Caverns from the 13th to the 4th Century BCE," in *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th–8th February 2013*, ed. Todd Gillen (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017), 57–58, interprets such emendations as belonging to a "reproductive" rather than a "creative" working mode.

16. Terence DuQuesne, *At the Court of Osiris, Book of the Dead Spell 194: A Rare Egyptian Judgment Text* (London: Darengo Publications, 1994), 30, offers examples of the confusion between *ḥbs* and *ḥsb* in the phrase *ḥbs-ḥr* as seen in various sources of BD 194.

17. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 1:176. The phrase is also representative on two MK stelae. Stela of Mentuwoser, MMA 12.184: *n ḥbs=i ḥr r nty m bȝk.w*, "I have not hid my face from the one who is in servitude," Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924) 79, 13–14; and Stela of Intef, BM EA 581: *ink ḥd-ḥr ȝw-ḏrt nb ḏfȝ šw m ḥbs ḥr*, "I'm bright faced, open-handed, an owner of food who does not cover his face," Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 122 and n. 6; Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, 80, 21–22. For the phrase *ḥbs ḥr*, see *Wb*. III:64, 13–14. DuQuesne, *At the Court of Osiris*, 17 and 30, points to the similar *ḥbs-tp* in the context of the ritual wearing of masks, such as the jackal mask of Anubis.

18. See for example, BD 30A: "…My heart of my mother, my heart from when I was upon the earth. Do not stand against me as my witness at the side of the lord of offerings. Do not say against me: he has done it in truth (about) what I have done…"; O'Rourke, *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 125.



I have not acted as the leader of any people (at) any moment;
variant: (on) the day (of) working in view of what he has done.
(Col. x+13, 14)

This sentence seems convoluted and many translators have supplied words to make sense out of it.[19] Notably, none of the parallels consulted have *ȝt nb.t*, "any moment."

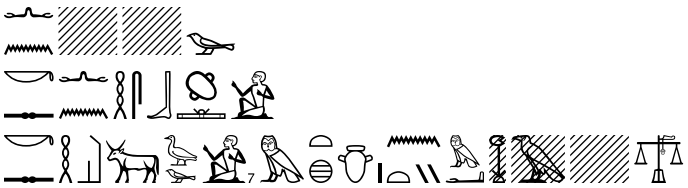
Following just three more lines, we encounter another *ky-ḏd*:



I have not caused hunger;
variant: beaten.
(Col. x+13, 18)

This variant introduces a completely different concept from the initial verb. *sḳr* appears in only three parallel texts where it replaces *sḥḳr*. None of these three parallels are Memphite.[20] Since both verbs do not appear together in any other manuscript that I consulted, the variants *sḥḳr* and *sḳr* are either puns or result from an accidental omission of the phoneme "*ḥ*," which was at some point reinterpreted into a different verb that was also appropriate for the context.

Several lines later, the scribe added two variants in a row. Unfortunately, as often happens in the most interesting places, one of the variants is lost in a lacuna, with only the sparrow determinative  (Gardiner's G37) surviving:



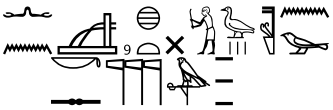
I have not …;
variant: I have not calculated;
variant: destroyed the plummet of the sca[le].
(Col. x+14, 6–7)

19. The most common translations of the line point to not increasing the workload of one's employees, see O'Rourke, *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 101n73.

20. The early Ptolemaic pLouvre N. 3115 and the Ptolemaic-period P. Berlin P. 3039 are both Theban. The third occurrence of *sḳr* in this line is in the Saite Period papyrus of Iahtesnakht, pCologne 10207, which is allegedly from Herakleopolis, Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht*, 1:6.

Many papyri agree on *nn* (*s*)*nmḥ=i*, "I have not tempered with the plummet of the scale," which was likely the verb in the lacuna of Herw's papyrus. Oddly, none of the parallels show either *ḥsb* or *ḥtm*.[21] Other parallels use a number of different verbs, pointing to the broad range of options for tempering with the plummet and the scale.[22]

The following *ky-ḏd* appears only two lines later:



(I) have not snared the birds of the reeds;
variant: the gods.
(Col. x+14, 8–9)

Of the consulted parallels only one fully corresponds to Herw's version, including both nouns and the *ky-ḏd*.[23] In this Saite-period manuscript from Thebes, the variant *nṯr:w* is added above the line, suggesting that *nṯr:w* was meant to replace *ꜣpd.w* here. Most other manuscripts choose either *ꜣpd ḳs*(*n*), with *ḳs* written as "bird," "reed" or "harpoon,"[24] or as *ꜣpd nṯr:w*. Interestingly, such Theban manuscripts as the Eighteenth Dynasty papyrus of Nu, the Twenty-First Dynasty papyrus of Paennestitawy, as well as the Saite papyrus of Iahtesnakht, which were created in rather distant locations and time periods from each other, use both modifiers in a slightly different order. And yet, they all result in a similar translation "I have not caught birds in the reeds of the gods."[25]

The next two columns record 125B, known as the Negative Confession (fig. 3). In Herw's manuscript this portion is, in fact, not a confession but rather a mere address to the 42 gods because all the denials have been omitted. All other papyri among my comparisons contain the negative statements.[26] The scribe of Herw's papyrus nevertheless deemed it necessary to include a number of variants among the epithets of the deities:

21. For *ḥtm*, spelled , "to destroy," see *Wb*. III:197. The BD of Iahtesnakht (54, 3) also includes a *ky-ḏd* in this line, but it does not correspond to our text: *nn sḫsḫs=i ky-ḏd swsr m tḏ n mḫꜣ.t*, "I have not weakened; variant: strengthened the plummet of the scales." This reading appears without the *ky-ḏd* in other versions. Chloé Ragazzoli, "Beyond Authors and Copyists: The Role of Variation in Ancient Egyptian and New Kingdom Literary Production," in Gillen, *(Re)productive Traditions*, 102, discusses lexical variation based on phonetic associations.

22. "Measures were probably often altered deliberately or deemed to be unreliable," Pierre Grandet, "Weights and Measures," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald Redford (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 493. For an in-depth discussion of the ancient Egyptian scale, see Hippolyte Ducros, "Étude sur les balances égyptiennes," *ASAE* 9 (1908): 32–53; Hippolyte Ducros, "Deuxième étude sur les balances égyptiennes," *ASAE* 10 (1910): 240–53; Hippolyte Ducros, "Troisième étude sur les balances égyptiennes," *ASAE* 11 (1911): 251–56; Eva Martin-Pardey, "Waage," *LÄ* 6:1081–86. Colleen Manassa, "Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates," *RdÉ* 57 (2006): 57, describes the plummet as the hypostasis of Thoth, as an indicator of balance.

23. P. Cairo CG 40024, the BD of the God's Father Ankhefenkhonsu.

24. The spelling of *ḳsn* with the sparrow,  (Gardiner's G37), leads to the clearly erroneous reading "difficult, painful," *Wb*. V:69, 7–70, 16. The parallels, however, do not include this determinative. *ḳsn* may conceivably be a writing of *gnw*, "bird," *Wb*. V:69, 6, which also does not make sense here.

25. See the translation by Quirke, *Going Out in Daylight*, 271, of the early NK Theban papyrus of Nu: *n sḫt=i ꜣpd.w n ḳs.w nṯr:w* (Lapp, *Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 65, lines 4–5): "I have not the snared birds of the thickets(?) of the gods." The BD of Paennestitawy, also from Thebes reads: *nn sḫt=i ꜣpd.w ḳs.w n nṯrw*, Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Pa-en-nesti-taui*, pl. 52. The papyrus of Iahtesnakht reads: *nn sḫt=i ꜣpd.w nṯr:w ḳs.w*, "Ich habe nicht Vögel <im> Röhricht der Götter gefangen," Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht* 1:230, 2:80. The Ptolemaic, Theban papyrus of Hor, line 284 offers a variation of this: *n sḫt=i ꜣpd.w=k n nṯrw ḳs.w*, Munro, *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus des Hor*, pl. 12. See also Raymond Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, British Museum Publications, 1972), 31: "I have not trapped the birds from the preserves of the gods." And see the Eighteenth Dynasty BD of Sobekmose: *nn sḫ.t=i ꜣpd.w n ḳs.w nṯr:w*, "I have not trapped birds belonging to the harpoons of the gods," O'Rourke, *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 102.

26. Most early examples record the invocations and applicable negative statements in a table-like arrangement. In KV9 only the